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R.K.K. RAJARAJAN

CANḌIKEŚVARA IN MYTH AND ICONOGRAPHY:
VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION

Abstract: Caṇḍikeśvara, Tamil Caṇṭipperumaṇ, was one of the Nayaṇmār who predates the time of the *Tēvāram* trio (seventh-eighth century CE). His hagiography is elaborately told in the *Tiruttonṭar Purāṇam* of Cēkkiḷār (twelfth century CE). He is represented in sculpture from the seventh or eighth century CE. An analogous iconographical figure is Lakulīśa, who appears in sculptural form since the Kuṣāṇa period. This connection has been noted by scholars working on Indian religion and art and is both nuanced and elaborated further in this essay. Caṇḍikeśvara was an *aṭiyar* (slave or servant of Śiva), and Lakulīśa was identified with Śiva. Caṇḍikeśvara was a fanatic or violent devotee who took to task anyone who hindered his worship of Śiva, even his father. This mythology is portrayed in a narrative sculptural panel, hitherto unreported, in the Toṇṭīśvaram at Nāvalūr, an early Cōḷa temple. The prime concern of the article is to examine the iconographical significance of this panel. The problems centering on Caṇḍikeśvara as *nāyaṇār*, his affinity with Lakulīśa, iconographical samples from various parts of South India, and the place of violence in mythology and art are discussed. The sources considered are mainly medieval Tamil literature, epigraphy, and iconography. The study shows how violence is pacified at the instance of divine grace.

Caṇḍikeśvara is one among the Nāyaṇmār. The saint's life is told in the *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam* of Cēkkiḷār c. 1135 CE (Zvelebil 1974: 91). The Nāyaṇār, Tamil Caṇṭipperumāṇ is mentioned in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*-trio¹. Cuntarar has listed the 63+ Nāyaṇmār, traditionally called Arupattumūvar 'the Sixty-three', in his work, the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* under the Seventh 'Tirumuṇai' (*Patikam* 39) of the Śaiva sacred books. Cuntarar, c. 780-830 CE (Zvelebil 1974: 91), says Caṇṭipperumāṇ hacked off the legs of his father². Nampī Āṇṭār Nampī c. 1080-1100 CE (Zvelebil 1974: 91), who composed a quatrain in honour of each saint in the *Tiruttoṇṭar-tiruvantāti* (v. 22 on Caṇṭi), adds that the legs were brutally amputated (*tāḷ iraṇṭum maḷuvāḷ eṇintu*). The Nāyaṇmār belong to a vast span of time (sixth to the tenth century CE), and are of various status groups, such as kings (Niṇṇacīr-Neṭumāraṇ, Aiyāṭikaḷ-Kāṭavarkōṇ), queens (Maṅkaiyarkkaraci), ādi-Śaiva-antaṇars (Cuntarar), ministers (Kulaccirai), vellāḷars (landlords or peasants, Nāvukkaracar), brāhmaṇas (Nāṇacampantar), vaṇikar (merchants, Kāraikkālammaiṇār), paṇṇama (Tirunālāippōvār), and so on (Sitānarasimhan 2006: 126-29). Cēkkiḷār narrates the myth in the *Caṇṭēcura Nāyaṇār Purāṇam* (CNP), Episode 22 of *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam*, also known as *Periya Purāṇam* (Zvelebil (1974: 174-75) presents a detailed enumeration of the *Periya Purāṇam* 'introductory legends' of 'Śaiva hagiographic tradition'. Nampī calls the boy-saint Caṇṭi and mentions cutting off his father's legs for hampering Liṅga worship of Śiva. Cēkkiḷār elaborates the myth in 60 quatrains. Solitary images of Caṇḍikeśvara in early medieval rock-cut (c. 550-850 CE) and structural temples have been reported. The present article brings

¹ The *Tēvāram* trio is Nāṇacampantar, Nāvukkaracar and Cuntarar (Sathyanathaier 1988: 263). Nāṇacampantar notes the cosmic mass that worships Śiva and brought Caṇṭi in his service as a slave (*aṭimai* [Dehejia 1988]): *Āṇṭartoḷu Caṇṭippani koṇṭaṭimai koṇṭavirai* (*Tēvāram* 3.326.10). The word *aṭimai* means "slave". Nāvukkaracar elaborates the episode in which Caṇṭi offers an *abhiṣeka* of milk, his father objects, and Caṇṭi hacks off his leg (*Tēvāram* 4.73.5, 5.187.8). He is named Caṇṭi (2.201.2, 3.326.10, 4.48.4, 6.247.10, 7.16.3, 7.17.4), Caṇṭican (1.62.4), Caṇṭicuvavar (5.184.1), Caṇṭanāyakan (5.187.8) and Taṇṭican (4.73.5).

² *meymaiyē tirumēṇi vaḷipatā niṇka vekunṭlunta tātaiṭāḷ maḷuviṇāḷeṇinta | ammaiṇāṇaṭic caṇṭipperumāṇ* (*Tēvāram* 7.39.3).

to light a narrative panel from the Toṇṭīśvaram (Sanskrit Bhaktajaneśvara) temple at Nāvalūr, the birthplace of Cuntarar. This early Coḷa temple dated around the tenth century (ARE 1939-40: no. 241), contains a chapel of Caṇḍikeśvara. The panel adds immensely to our knowledge of the religious history of South Asia. To my knowledge no such medieval sculpture of Caṇḍikeśvara has been reported (cf. Marr 1979; Sivaramamurti 1984). Independent images of Caṇḍikeśvara in Tamilnadu and Southeast Asia are seated, whereas the narrative panel shows him in action.

The article sets out to analyse the myth and cult of Caṇḍikeśvara from Tamil literary and epigraphical sources, tracing his representation in the art of Tamilnadu of the early medieval Pallavas and Pāṇḍya empire I, and its overgrowth during the later medieval phase under the Cōḷas (850-1250 CE); solitary Nāyaka (mid-sixteenth century onward) images are cited in the penultimate part. Caṇḍikeśvara is compared and contrasted with Lakulīśa, who is iconographically akin.

Hagiography of Caṇḍikeśvara

The hagiography of Caṇḍikeśvara, in the CNP of the *Periya Purāṇam*, states he was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family. He used to lead cows to their pastures, and collect the sacred firewood, *samidh-*, (Apte 2012: 588) for *yajñas* (Tamil *vēlvi*, Vedic fire sacrifices). Due to the inspiration of Śiva, he used to make sand Liṅgas and offer *abhiṣeka* of milk³, drawn from the teats of the cows under his care. The child's devotional play or prank was observed and reported to his father. One day the father followed his son unnoticed, and smashed the pots that were filled with milk meant for *abhiṣeka*. The furious son threw a battle-axe and

³ *Veṇmaṇal-ālaiyam* (CNP, v. 35) or *maṇal-kōyil* (CNP, v. 56) is a metaphor for the sand Liṅga. The *Kāñci Purāṇam*, the *sthalamāhātmya* of Kāñcīpuram says Umā made sand Liṅga in the Pālāru (Milk River), and undertook *pañcāgnitapas* to take the hand of Śiva-Ekāṃranātha (Shulman 1980, Jeyapriya 2016: figures of *pañcāgnitapas* by Umā). The climax is that the Milk River, Pālāru, wipes out the sand Liṅga. For a significant study on types of *abhiṣeka* system see Ferro-Luzzi 1981.

injured the legs of the intruder. Instantly, Śiva-Umāśahita appeared on the spot and honoured Caṇḍi with a garland of the sacred *konrai* (Cassia fistula) flowers (Fig. 14). He was appointed head of the *tonṭar* (“Slaves of the Lord” Dehejia 1998) and given the name Caṇḍicaṇ, Sanskritized Caṇḍikeśvara (cf. Zvelebil 1974: 175n, Prentiss 1999: 105-06, Goodall 2009: 363).

Centuries before Cēkḱilār, the myth of the boy-saint was mentioned in the *Tēvāram* (seventh-eighth century CE). A few references are cited hereunder.

Tantaitaṇaica cāṭa “remonstrates with the father” (1.62.4)

Tantai tālai eṛinta “threw (the axe) on the father’s knee” (4.73.5)

Viṇṭatātaiyait tālara_vīciya “throw (axe) to cut the knee of the angry father” (5.187.8)

Tātaiyattāl tuṇṭamiṭa “father’s leg amputated” (7.16.3)

Tātaiṭāl maḷuviṇāl eṛinta “threw the axe at the knee of his father” (7.39.3)

Śiva conferring his *aruḷ* “benediction” is noted in a number of hymns (e.g. 2.201.2, 4.48.4, 5.184.1, 5.187.8, 6.232.10)

Śiva honoured Caṇḍi with flowers: *malar koṭuttāṇ* 1.62.4, *muṭimēl malarmālai yaḷitta* “place a flower garland on the head” 6.232.10, *tātumalar Caṇṭikkuk koṭuttu* “offer honey-dripping flowers to Caṇḍi” 6.247.10.

For a detailed enumeration of these idioms see Kalidos (2006: II, 39-40).

Caṇḍikeśvara was a popular cult hero before the seventh century CE. He was recognized in literature, inscriptions and the arts during the seventh to the tenth centuries CE. The cult value attached to him is evident from literature and Cōḷa inscriptions (Sastri 1916: 161-62); e.g.

The service of Caṇḍi to the Lord is known as Caṇṭippani “service of Caṇḍi” (*Tēvāram* 3.326.10).

During the high Cōḷa time records in Śiva temples were maintained in the name of Caṇḍikeśvara, Āticaṇṭēcura-

cācaṇam (ARE 1922, no. 57) or *Caṇṭēcuraṇ-ōlai* (ARE 1912, no. 511).

Assets of Śiva temples were known as *Caṇṭēcuraṇ-ātēcām*. If temple properties were sold the price was called *Caṇṭēcuraṇ-peruvilai* (Kalidos 1988a: 435), which means all transactions took place in the name of *Caṇḍikeśvara*.

Donations to temples were registered in the name of *Caṇṭēcāṇ* (ARE 1921, no. 592, 1908, no. 658).

Bronze images of *Caṇḍikeśvara* were donated to temples of which detailed information is found in the *Taṇcāvūr* inscriptions of *Rājarāja I* 985-1016 CE (SII, II, 98).

Caṇḍikeśvara was the *mūlabhṛtya*, Ādidāsa of the Lord Śiva⁴ (SII, II, 78).

All these indicate the value that *Caṇḍikeśvara* commanded in the establishment of a temple for Śiva by about the tenth century CE (Kalidos 1988a: 435-36). He was accorded the status of legendary Lord Comptroller of the temples of Śiva.

The etymology of *Caṇṭi*/*Caṇḍi*/*Caṇṭa* needs clarification. It is not clear whether *Caṇṭi* is derived from *Caṇḍī*, *Caṇḍā* or *Caṇḍikā* (cf. Edholm 1984: 75)⁵. The *Cilappatikāram* (30.69) talks of *Pācaṇṭaṇ* or *Pācaṇṭa-cāttan* (*ibidem* 9.15), which may be early forms of *Caṇṭaṇ*/*Caṇḍa*⁶. *Pācaṇṭaṇ* was a guardian deity in metropolitan cities (*Cilappatikāram* 30.69; 30.78) who punished evil-doers by casting a *pāśa* “noose” and killing them; a *daṇḍanāyaka* of ancient Tamil tradition.

Caṇḍa in Sanskrit means ‘fierce, violent, angry’; *caṇḍiman* means ‘passion, violence’ (Monier-Williams

⁴ Earlier noted in Monius (2004: 171, fn. 39).

⁵ See the several lists of *Yoginīs* in Dehejia (1986: 194-218). *Cāmuṇḍā*, *Caṇḍogrā*, *Caṇḍaghaṇṭā*, and *C[h]aṇḍa* (Dowson 1996: 66).

⁶ A genie related to ‘*Pācaṇṭaṇ*’ is ‘*Pūtam*’ (*Cilappatikāram* 6.11, 15.78, 83, 28.147). Subrahmanian (1990: 544), citing the *Cilappatikāram* (9.15 ‘*Pācaṇṭacāttan*’, 26.130 ‘*Pācaṇṭatturai*’) considers *Pācaṇṭam* “logicians of the 96 varieties of faiths”. For a detailed discussion see Rajarajan 2016: chap. IV. The suffix *Cāttan* appears in early *Caṇkam* literature (*Akanāṇṭūru* 327, *Puṇāṇṭūru* 125, 178), and is frequent in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, dated since the fifth century BCE, latest radio-metric date (Rajan & Yatheeskumar 2013: 291-94).

2005: 383; Bhide 1990: 452). It might suggest Caṇḍikeśvara was a passionate devotee of Śiva and violent toward heretics.

The word *caṇṭi* in Tamil has odious meanings such as “wicked man or woman”, and “shameless (*lajjā Lalitāsahasranāma* 740), obstinate or perverse person” (*Tamil Lexicon* III, 1245).

Cēkkiḷār describes Caṇṭi as Vicāracarumaṇār (Sanskrit *viśāraśarma*), meaning a *brāhmaṇa* proficient in the *Vedas* (CNP v. 12). By about the age of five he had mastered the *Vedas*, the six *aṅgas* and *āgamas* (CNP, v. 13). His father is Eccatattāṇ, meanings one responsible for the *karmas* of both past and present births (*Peruñcollakarāti*, IV, 68). Strangely, the boy’s domestic job was to take care of cows. Inscriptional sources that register endowments of cows or sheep to medieval Indian temples do not associate menial jobs with the *brāhmaṇas*. A few inscriptions of the Toṇṭiśvaram in Nāvalūr reveal that donated cows and sheep were left in the charge of *āyar* “cowherd” or *iṭaiyar* “shepherd”, i.e. *maṇṇrāṭis* (ARE 1902, no. 357). Śiva-yogis seeking asylum in *maṭhas* may do it (ARE 1902, no. 361, cf. ARE 1904, no. 579). Otherwise, the village self-governing bodies such as *ūr* or *sabhā* (ARE 1902, nos. 336, 356) undertook the responsibility of cattle sustenance. The lease-holders were expected to repay milk for *abhiṣeka* or ghee for lamps and food preparation in temples (ARE 1939-40, nos. 227, 271). There is no epigraphic evidence to prove *brāhmaṇa*-boys tending cattle.

The village from where the boy-saint claims origin was Cēyñālūr⁷. It was inhabited by *iraṇṭupirappiṇ ciraṇṭappiṇar*, i.e. respected *dvijas* (includes *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*), and those who studied the *caturvedas* in the traditional way, *nāṅkuvētam muṇṇaipayinṇār*, and they were Maṇaiyōr/Vedis (CNP, v. 2). Cēyñālūr was a place where the *Vedas* were recited unfailingly, and *yajñas* conducted regularly (CNP, vv. 3-4). The CNP mentions activities associated with the rituals: *Cāmam-kaṇippōr*

⁷ It is one of the Śaiva *sthalas* mentioned in *Tēvāram* 1. 48.

those that memorize the *Sāmaveda*), *camittu/ samid* (wood for offering in *yāgakunḍa*), bathing in *tīrthas* (v. 5) (*tīrttanīrāṭal*), maintaining *yāgaśālā* (sacrificial yard), performing *vēḷvi* (Vedic sacrifices), and so on, and the presence of *vimānas* “temples” (v. 6).

For menial work such as feeding cows they had *śūdra* servants.

The family of Caṇḍi held the *urimai* “right” (CNP, v. 20) to perform the *abhiṣeka* in the temple at Cēyñālūr⁸; Cēyñālūr-pillai a boy of Cēñālūr (CNP, v. 37) and *patti mutirnta pālakaṇ* boy of mature devotion (CNP, V. 53). He is said to belong to *Ciṇa-Māl-viṭait-tēvar-kulam*⁹ or *Curapikulam* (*Surabhīkulam*)¹⁰, and the milkmen called *curapikaḷ* (CNP, vv. 20, 22). Zvelebil (1974: 175) says Caṇṭēcuvarar was a *brāhmaṇa* and “became a herdsman”. It is added he guarded “each day the kine of all the brāhmaṇ community of the town” (idem). T.A. Gopinatha Rao (1999: 205) adds the boy volunteered to do the job.

Caṇḍikeśvara is said to have attacked his father with a staff that “became the sacred axe of Śiva” at the time of *prayoga* (Zvelebil 1974: 175). He was given the name Caṇṭēcuvarar “The Impetuous Lord” (CNP, v. 55). The father was forgiven and restored. As punishment for kicking the pots of sacred *abhiṣeka*-milk, *tirumañcaṇak kuṭappāl kālāl iṭaric cintiṇāṇ* (CNP, v. 50), the boy-saint had amputated his leg. All this was the sacred play of the Lord; *tiruvīlaiyāṭṭu* or *līlā* (CNP, v. 39).

⁸ Cēyñālūr was close to Tillai/Citamparam. It is added the family of Aṇabhāya Cōla Kulōttuṅga used to get their coronation performed at Tillai: ‘Aṇapāyaṇ varum tolmarapiṇ muṭicūṭṭum’ (CNP, v. 8).

⁹ The Sanskrit equivalent may be *ugra-viṣṇu-vṛṣabhadeva-kula*. ‘Mālviṭai’ stands for Nandi, the bull vehicle of Śiva (cf. Rajarajan et al. 2017: 732), who is identified with Viṣṇu in Śaivite lore (Rajarajan 1996: 305-10).

¹⁰ *Curapikulam* is interesting. It may be the equal of *gotra* that is Kaśyapa or Vasiṣṭha. The word *gotra* stands for “a cowshed” or “herd of cows” (Basham 1971: 154). The other *gotras* are Bhṛgu, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri and Viśvāmitra, and Agastya added. Vasiṣṭha is said to have maintained the baby of Kāmadhenbu, Nandinī, and the celestial all-giving cow. Surabhī was another sacred cow, the daughter of *Prajāpati*-Dakṣa. Surabhī was the progenitor of cattle, and given in marriage to Kaśyapa (Liebert 1986: 287). Surabhī, the “cow of plenty” was born of the Ocean of Milk according to another mythology (Dowson 1998: 309). For illustrations see Boner 1994: *Tafel* 18, Rajarajan 2009: pl. VI).

It seems Caṇḍikeśvara's father did not accept the *bhakti* mode followed by his son, suggesting a conflict between orthodoxy and *bhakti*. It may lead to the question whether Vedic scholars did not approve of the devotional trends; e.g. the *muṇivar/ṛṣi*-priest, Cīvakoṅariyār's lamentations (*Periya Purāṇam*, 'Kaṇṇappa Nāyaṇār' alias Tiṇṇaṇ, v. 134). The devotional cult in its early stages had to face the opposition of Vedic *brāhmaṇas* (Stietencron 1977: 130-31), since most of the *tonṭar* were of low-grade caste lineages from *veḷḷālas* to *pañcamas*; this is exemplified in the story of the cunning *brāhmaṇas* of the 'Tillai...Āṇantap-Perunkūttar' temple (*Periya Purāṇam*, 'Tirunāḷaiappōvār' vv. 34, 36) forcing the *pañcama* Nāḷaiappōvar to plunge himself in fire (ibidem, vv. 30-31). Tiruppāṇālvār is another example, ill-treated by the high-minded Śrīraṅgam *brāhmaṇas* (Varadachari 1970: 105-106, Rajarajan 2016: 44-60). From Caṇṭi to Vicāracarman, it seems a god of the little tradition, seems to have been exalted to the high tradition.

The CNP refers to *veṇmaṇal-ālayam* (temple of white-mud). *Maṇal-kōyil* (mud temple) is a positive clue to the building material. The Tamil lexicon *Piṅkalam* (c. thirteenth century CE) includes *maṇ* among the raw materials employed temple building and sculpture making (Kalidos 1996-97: 19)¹¹. It suggests during the pre-Pallava period temples were built of mud or bricks and wood (cf. the Maṇṭakappaṭṭu Inscription in Srinivasan 1964: 47). Caṇḍikeśvara belongs to such a phase of history as he may be dated in the pre-Mahēndravarmaṇ (610-630 CE) period. 'Maṇṭali' (Temple of Mud) is the name of a sacred venue (*Tēvāram* 7. 96). Cuntarar's Ārūrpparavaiyiṇ-*maṇṭali*, is another venue in the Kāviri delta; a mud-temple within the [Tiru]Ārūr complex that retained the primeval mud-

¹¹ The other raw materials are stone, metal, brick, wood, stucco, ivory, paint and wax. The *Tēvāram* makes a note of mud-Liṅga made by Caṇṭi for worship: *niṇṇainta maṇalaik kūppi* "heap a good quantity of mud" (4.73.5) and *maṇali liṅkamatu [v]iyarri* "make a Liṅga out of mud" (7.16.3).

tradition. Such temples are a common sight in the countryside in Tamilnadu today (Fig. 8).¹²

It seems the boy built a model mud temple or toy house, called *cirril* (Subrahmanian 1990: 366 citing *Akanāṇūru* 110, *Kalittokai* 51, dated in the early centuries CE) for play, and mud Liṅgas to which he offered an *abhiṣeka* of milk. Caṇṭi's father must have considered the offering of milk to the toy Liṅga a waste, or not in harmony with orthodox practice, and hastened to punish the boy. Elders taking to task mischievous children playing with fire to cook rice in play-pots (Edholm 1984), called *ciṭṭi-muṭṭi* (*caṭṭi* is burnt earthen pot, see Dumont 1986: figs. 6, 20) is not uncommon today (Fig. 15). The Ālvārs, particularly Periyālvār in *Tirumōḷi* considers Kṛṣṇa a child and narrates his pranks at length. Āṇṭāl (*Nācciyār Tirumōḷi* 2.3) makes a specific reference to the play of Kṛṣṇa, who wiped out the toy houses or “sandcastles” of the *gopīs* (Dehejia 1992: 29):

Enkaḷ cirril vantu cītaiyēlē “Do not destroy our little houses”
The child's play with mud-Liṅga and milk *abhiṣeka* is admitted. What was frenzied devotion for the boy-Caṇṭicaṇ was naughty for the father-Eccatattaṇ. We must note here that the Pallavas, Calukyas and Rāṣtrakūṭas not only built mega-temples for Śiva and Viṣṇu (e.g. Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ in Kāñci and Ḍumārleṇa in Ellora) but also mini-masterpieces, technically *cirril*; e.g. the Kīḷmāvilāṅkai rock-cut temple (Srinivasan 1964: XXXVII.A) and Cave XXVIII (about a meter high) in Ellora that falls on the narrow pathway in between the Milk Maids Cave and Ḍumārleṇa (Rajarajan 2012: pls. 9-10, 28, 33, 52, 58) that were definitely centres of ritual.

Furthermore, these little houses or temples are the dreamland of immature boys and girls, metaphorically the dreaming *jīvātma*; e.g. Caṇṭi or Kōtai/Āṇṭāl and the *gopīs* that aspire to reach the sacred zone or venue, *tiruttalam* or *divyadeśa* of their personal god, *paramātma*. In their devotional approach the *cirril* is an instrument. The dream turns reality when the Almighty

¹² A meter-high mud-liṅga is supposed to have been installed by Arjuna reported from the Mahāliṅgeśvara at Aḍūr in Kāsargod, upper Kerala. The Māriyamman temple at Aitiri (Sultanpatēri Taluk) has a meter-high *mūlabera* in mud (Jayashanker 1997: 276-284).

arrives in person to honour the *tiruttonṭar* (sacred slaves) or *ālvār* (divers) (Fig. 14). The coming of God is not that easy; and to invite his presence the *tonṭar* have to undergo ordeals (cf. the Pālāru episode in note 4) such as dismantling the little houses, or Kṛṣṇa stealing the garments of *gopīs*. When the Self is mature enough to receive the blessings, the Lord arrives without an invitation to offer redemption.

Caṇḍikeśvara commands an outstanding status in the Tamil Śaivite ritual tradition and pantheon of gods. He receives the *nirmālyam* (*nirmala* “without impurity”) – the discarded remnants from sacrifices to Śiva (Goodall 2009: 356-358; 385-395; cf. Edholm 1984: 75, 83; Jayashanker 1997: 309). In Tamil tradition, he is one among the Pañcamūrtis, the hierarchical order being Gaṇapati/ Murugaṇ/ Umāsaḥita/ Devī/ Caṇḍikeśvara. In festive processions such as the *Brahmotsava* in Maturai, Nelvēli, Cītamparam, Ārūr, and Aṇṇāmalai, Gaṇapati leads the temple-car procession (*rathotsava*) and Caṇḍikeśvara comes last (Kalidos 1989: 224).

Sculptures of Caṇḍikeśvara

Art historical evidences with Caṇḍikeśvara images in chronological order may be listed in the following order.

The Dharmarāja-*ratha*, Māmallapuram dated in seventh century CE in its *madhyamatala* accommodates Caṇḍeśānugrahaṃmūrti (Srinivasan 1975; Kalidos 2006: II, 170-71). However, the identification of the image in Somāskanda of the same *ratha/vimāna* is controversial (Srinivasan 1964:153).

The Ḍumārleṇa (Cave XXIX) in Ellora, dated in 675 CE (Soundararajan 1981: 9) may be reexamined in the context of Kalidos (1988: fig. 70, Bisschop 2010: fig. 7) designating Lakulīśa as Caṇḍikeśvara (Fig. 2) and Edholm 1988 and Choubey (1997: fig. 6) renaming Caṇḍikeśvara of Arṭṭāpaṭṭi as Lakulīśa.

Kailāsanātha of Kāñci of Rājasimha Pallava in 690-91 CE (ARE 1888, nos. 5-6) brings to light a narrative

theme Caṇḍeśānugraha. The image is accommodated in *devakulika*, a model shrine; Śiva honouring his devotee with a wreath (Rajarajan 2012: figs. 46-47, Rajarajan 2015-16: figs. 16-17)).

Bhairavakoṇḍa caves with an inscription in Cave VI noting “Śrī Brahmīśvara Viṣṇu” is dated in 750 CE (Soundararajan 1981: 9, 307) accommodate Caṇḍikeśvara and Gaṇapati on either side of the façade (Kalidos 2006: IV-II, pl. VI.1, Rajarajan 2012a: fig. 65).

Vāgīśvara of Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi (Kalidos 2006: IV, II, pl. XXXVII.1) is of the period of Dandivarman Pallava, dated in 812 CE (IPS, no. 18).

Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi (Kalidos 2006: pl. XXXVI, cf. Edholm 1998) and Kuṇṇāṇṭārkōyil¹³ (Kalidos 2006: IV-II, pl. XXXVII 2) are not dated. Kuṇṇāṇṭārkōyil is an incomplete rock-cut excavation close to the main cave.

Among these, the Early Pāṇḍya Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi cave, with Caṇḍikeśvara (Fig. 1) and Gaṇapati on either side of the west-facing façade, may be the forerunner of Eastern Calukyan sculptures in Bhairavakoṇḍa (Kalidos 2006: II, 162). Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi may be dated in the later seventh century CE, thus bringing it close in time to Kāñci. There is no Caṇḍikeśvara in the Kuṇṇakkuṭi cave¹⁴. More images are spotted in the Bhairavakoṇḍa (‘Bhairava-Hill’¹⁵) caves than in comparable sites in Tamilnadu (Soundararajan 1981: 298-312).

¹³ Some scholars retain the archaic spelling, *kōvil* (L’Hernault 2006: passim); better *kōyil* (*Tamil Lexicon* II, 1190; Kalidos 2006: I, xxviii).

¹⁴ R. Nagasawamy (1964: 216, fig. 2a) identifies an attendant of Harihara with Caṇḍikeśvara. Harihara is not linked with Caṇḍikeśvara. It may be Nandi on the Hara side (right) and *Garuḍa* on the Hari side (left). See an image in the Durgā temple, Aihole (Tartakov 1997: fig. 73). The zoomorphic Nandi and *Garuḍa-puruṣa* appear in the Virupākṣa at Paṭṭadakkaḷ (Meister & Dhaky 1986: pl. 233). Anthropomorphic figures of Nandi and *Garuḍa* appear in the Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grha* in Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: II, pl. LXVIII.2). No attendant is present in the Dharmarāja-*ratha* (ibid., pl. LXXI.2). Harihara is a pan-Asian theme in art (cf. Taddei 1996: 453-56). Kalidos’ legend Kuṇṇakkuṭi (2006: IV, II, pl. XXXVII.2) is due to oversight; it is Kuṇṇāṇṭārkōyil.

¹⁵ I am told no one writing on Caṇḍikeśvara could visit Bhairavakoṇḍa; except K.V. Soundararajan, Raju Kalidos and ASI officers. It is situated in an inaccessible terrain. The route is: Nellore> Udayagiri> Sitārāmapauram> Kottapaḷli> Bhairavakoṇḍa. Raju Kalidos

A notable iconographic feature of these early medieval images is that Caṇḍikeśvara is seated, two-armed, and carries either a staff (*daṇḍa*) (Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi) or an axe (*paraśu*) (Kāñci and Bhairavakoṇḍa). The Kāñci image is the forerunner of Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti of Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōlapuram,¹⁶ an axe being fitted on top of the frame. The Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōlapuram masterpiece represents the final stage in the development of Caṇḍikeśvara iconography; miniature reliefs all round purport to illustrate events of the myth (Prentiss 1999: 109, Rajarajan 2012: fig. 1)¹⁷.

Cōla Stereotypes and Narrative Panel

Most Cōla and post-Cōla Śiva temples accommodate a separate chapel for Caṇḍikeśvara to the north of the *garbhagrha*, facing south, as in the Rājarājeśvaram temples at Tañcāvūr, Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōlapuram and Tārācuram¹⁸. Another

told me he had to walk about five kms from Kottapalli in a country path, noted for its awful silence, and fear of wild animals (Kalidos 2006: I, x; II, viii; IV-II, pls. IV 1, V 1-2).

¹⁶ Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti is a canonical form mentioned in the *Śrītatvanidhi* (1.3.60), citing the *Kāraṇāgama*. One among the Pañcaviṃśati-līlāmūrti (25 Sportive Forms) of Śiva, Caṇḍikeśvara is present with Śiva and Umā. Caṇḍi is golden in colour; cf. *poṇṇār mēṇiyanē* “Thou [Śiva] of golden mien” (*Tēvāram* 7.24.1). He is decorated with *ābharāṇas* meant for a child. Śiva places his hand on the head of his *tonṭar*. Caṇḍi does not carry any weapon. The *Śrītatvanidhi* (3.7.6, p. 373) assigns him the axe, Tamil *kōṭari*. The Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōlapuram masterpiece conforms with the above description (Rajarajan 2012: fig. 1). Rao (1999: 208-209) cites the *Uttarakāmikāgama* and *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*. Krishna Sastri (1916: 147), citing the Tañcāvūr inscriptions of Rājarāja I, calls the Lord Caṇḍeśavaraprāsādadeva.

¹⁷ The Sapienza University of Rome and ISIAO organized an International Congress on ‘Indian History and Art’, Rome, April 2011. The brochure had the images printed on its front page. The Proceedings of the Congress are published with the image printed (Lorenzetti and Scialpi eds. 2012: outer cover). The main image relates to Umāsahita honoring Caṇḍi while mini-reliefs of cows, milking cow, *abhiṣeka*, and lifting an axe to admonish Eccatattāṇ (Fig. 14).

¹⁸ The Murukaṇ temple, called Āviṇaṅkuṭi, Temple of the Cowman-Āviṇaṇ (Āputtiraṇ in *Maṇimēkalai* chaps. 12, 24, 25) at the foothill of Paḷaṇi is restructured. It includes a chapel for Caṇḍikeśvara in its northeast corner exactly, and a small chapel for Nakkīrār, author of *Murukāṇṇuppaṭai*. The venue is noted in the *Kantaśaṣṭikavacam* (eighteenth century), authored by Pālatēvarāyaṇ/Bāla-Devarāya. This work notes both Paḷaṇi and Āviṇaṅkuṭi: *Paḷaṇippativāl Pālakumāra Āviṇaṅkuṭivāl aḷakiyavēlā*.

example is the unreported Rājendracōḷīśvaram at Periyakuḷam (Fig. 13).

In mythological terms, Caṇḍikeśvara, as a fanatic *brāhmaṇa*, is the Tamil or Śaivite counterpart of Paraśurāma. Paraśurāma chopped off the head of his mother (Kalidos 1988a: 425); the violent “slave” of our study chopped off the leg of his father. However, the link between Caṇḍi and Paraśurāma is lost in historical mist; cf. Vṛṣabha in Jain (Rajarajan 2006: II, pl. 235) and Māl-viṭai “Viṣṇu-bull” in Śaivite traditions. The Caṇḍikeśvara-Paraśurāma link is relevant because the Toṇṭīśvaram where the narrative panel appears is associated with Malaiyāḷi/Kēraḷaputra (see below) for benefaction in its early stage.

A few words about Nāvalūr, the site of the stone relief under study, may help to understand the historical context. Nāvalūr is believed to be the birth-place of Saint Cuntarar. The Toṇṭīśvaram (Tamil Toṇṭīcuvaram “Temple of Toṇṭar”), also known as Rājādittīśvaram, was a donation of the servant-maid of the mother of Rājāditya c. 949 (ARE 1902: no. 335), son of Parāntaka I (907-955 CE). Rājāditya was the crown-prince, who died in a war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He is known as ‘Yāṇaimerruñciya-tēvar’, a “fragile dew drop” that died on an elephant, presumably during battle. The temple seems to have existed since the Pallava period, extolled in the hymns of Cuntarar (*Tēvāram* 7.17.1-11). S.R. Balasubrahmanian (1971) has left a note mainly based on epigraphical sources. Nāvalūr comes under the Naṭunāṭu (middle country) subdivision of the Tamil country. It stands on the banks of the river Keṭilam, a tributary of south-Peṇṇāru. In view of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa menace, the early Cōḷas seem to have maintained a military outpost at Nāvalūr, commanded by Rājāditya. The rebuilding and expansion of the temple was mainly due to the royal encampment. Many of the inscriptions in the Toṇṭīśvaram record gifts for maintenance of the temple. These are dated from Parāntaka I to the Vijayanagara period (Mahalingam 1988: nos. 387-408). The Cōḷa prince Rājāditya and his retinue were the early donors. The Cōḷa regiment largely consisted of *malaiyāḷa* cavaliers and footsoldiers, called *parivāram* (ARE 1902: no.

326). The gifts of lamps are known as *malaiyāḷa* or the Kēraḷa type of *nontāviḷakku* “perpetual lamp” (ARE 1902: no. 354). One of the donors is called *Malaiyāḷaṇ Māṇavallavaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ* (ARE 1902: no. 329). It is inferred that the temple at Nāvalūr of the time of Cuntarar was built of perishable materials such as mud and bricks. Many such temples in the Kāviri delta were converted to stone during and after the time of Parāntaka I, e.g. Puḷḷamaṇkai and Nāgeśvara in Kuṁbhakoṇam (see Harle 1958: 96-108, Kalidos 1996: 141-53, Rajarajan 2008: 405-14). The rebuilding at Nāvalūr was the work of Rājāditya. Early Cōḷa kings offered rich endowments for *nityapūjās*, *utsavas*, food offerings and gift of precious jewels (ARE 1902: nos. 238, 347, 369). More than 100 inscriptions are on record, indicating the flourishing status of the temple.

Caṇḍikeśvara is accommodated in a south-facing chapel that is located close to the *praṇāla* of the Śiva temple¹⁹. The south-facing *mūlabera* is seated with the right leg pendant. The face is smiling and illuminated by a halo. He carries a *paraśu* in *prayoga* mode in the right hand, and is decorated with *patrakuṇḍalas*, *yajñopavita*, *udarabandha* and necklaces of beads or pearls; the stance is upright (Fig. 3). The *mūlabera* seems to be a later addition to the original Cōḷa temple, indicating increasing emphasis on the cult of Caṇḍikeśvara through the ages. From Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi (Early Pāṇḍya) to Nāvalūr (with Vijayanagara fittings) the cult persisted. Its status seems to have increased since the time of Rājarāja I (as shown by his inscriptions in SII, II, I-II). The āgamic mandate elaborated in Edholm 1984 and Goodall 2009 is a twelfth-century overgrowth.

A narrative panel (cf. Alamelu 2006) in stone relief appears on the wall of the shrine, datable to the tenth century CE. Presumably, it illustrates a version of the story of Caṇḍikeśvara that was in oral circulation or based on the *Tēvāram* hymns (see note 1), before Cēkkiḷār composed the *Periya Purāṇam* in the twelfth century. Three episodes are illustrated (Fig. 4).

¹⁹ Caṇḍikeśvara is west-facing in Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi and east-facing in Bhairavakoṇḍa.

1. A cow is yielding milk and another cow appears behind. A lad, presumably Caṇḍikeśvara, is milking the cow, holding a pot (Fig. 5). The milk-giving cow turns her head towards him and licks fondly. It generates a similar sense of realism to the Govardhanadhāri relief in Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: I, pl. LXV).
2. The second relief shows a Liṅga below a tree (Fig. 6). The lad pours milk on the *śirovartana* of the Liṅga. A man, presumably Eccatattan, stands on the other side with a long staff in his hand. He knocks down three pots filled with milk.
3. The boy lifts an axe and the old man falls, lifting his injured right leg (Fig. 7). The wound is clearly shown.
4. The upper part of the relief seems to illustrate Mūvar “the trio” – Nāvukkaracar, Nānacampantar and Cuntarar – and others (Fig. 4).

This sculpture is anterior to the one in the Tārācuram temple of Rājārāja II 1146-73 CE (Sivaramamurti 1984: 41, Poongodi 2006: 38) by which time the *Periya Purāṇam* existed. The Tārācuram miniature-relief, in the *adhiṣṭhāna* part of the temple, repeats the three scenes enumerated above (Rajarajan 2009: pl. V), and includes Umāsaḥita blessing the boy-saint.

The Nāvalūr relief (Fig. 4) illustrates the important events connected with the Liṅga-*pūjā* of Caṇḍi and its aftermath. During the high Cōla period several episodes from the *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam* were carved in stone on the plinth sections of the Rājārājeśvaram/ Airāvateśvara at Tārācuram (Sivaramamurti 1984: 40-46);²⁰ Professor John R. Marr (1979)²¹ made a brief pioneering report. Such an array of sculptures or paintings is rare (cf. those reported by L’Hernault 2006). Images

²⁰ Not less than 42 episodes are illustrated; cf. Rajarajan (2009: pl. V) that pertains to Nānacampantar releasing a child from the clutches of a crocodile, which relates to the *sthalamāhātmya* of Avināci. The same theme appears on a stone slab in the huge *teppakkuḷam* (Tank for Festival of the Raft) of Vaṇṭiyūr in Maturai of the Nāyaka period (Rajarajan 2006: pl 295).

²¹ Raju Kalidos nostalgically tells me Prof. Marr was the referee for his paper published in the JRAS (1988) and that he shared the Chair with the doyen in a session of the International Conference of Tamil Studies (World Tamil Conference) in Kulala Lumpur (1988).

of the Aṛupattumūvar (the 63 Nāyaṇmārs) were installed in Śiva temples during the Nāyaka period in stone or bronze; e.g. the Rājēndracōlīśvaram in Periyakuḷam in stone (Fig. 11), and Sundareśvara enclave in the Mīnākṣī temple at Maturai in bronze²². The bronze images are prohibited for photography; and no-entry for non-Hindus.

The Caṇḍikeśvara-Lakulīśa Link

We now consider why Caṇḍikeśvara is identified with Lakulīśa (Edholm 1998, Choubey 1997), or Lakulīśa with Caṇḍikeśvara (Kalidos 1988, Goodall 2009). The identification of Lakulīśa with Caṇḍikeśvara or vice versa is a problem in religious and art history. He is said to be “an amalgam of more than one personality” (Goodall 2009: 5). Iconographically, Lakulīśa is mostly seated (Figs. 2, 10) or *sthānaka*, and *ūrdhvaretas* with two or more hands; in rare cases two phalluses (Choubey 1997: pl. 36 [Bhopāl Museum, Gujarat, fifth century]). Early medieval images mostly appear in the temples of Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakkal and Ellora, dated in the Western Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa period (Soundararajan 1986: pl. LVI.B; Rajasekhara 1985, Meister & Dhaky 1986: fig. 164; Kalidos 2006: pl. XLV). Choubey (1997: pls. 7, 11) has systematically catalogued the images. The images were meant for *sādhakas* of the Pāśupata-Lakulīśa cult; e.g. the Virupākṣa temple in Paṭṭadakkal, and Cave XX in a ravine and Ḍumārleṇa on a cliff in Ellora.

Scholars consider the Pāśupata-Lakulīśa cult to date from the Gupta period (Choubey 1997: 50, cf. Filliozat 2001), citing the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II (c. 381 CE). Kreisel (1986) and Choubey (1997: 115) provide early examples of images of Lakulīśa of the Kuṣāṇa period from the Mathurā museum²³. Around that period, the religious history of

²² The *prākāra* is prohibited for non-Hindus. For a detailed examination of sculptures in the sacred zone see Rajarajan (2016: 139-51, 145 figs).

²³ Kreisel (1986: pls. 104-106) shows a few examples of Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images.

Tamilnadu is mainly based on literature that offers no hint of a cult centered on Caṇṭi (Rajarajan 2013). The silence continues down to the time of the *Cilappatikāram* (which mentions ‘Pācaṇṭaṇ’) and *Maṇimēkalai*, c. 450-550 CE. From Nāṇacampantar to Cēkkiḷār via Cuntarar we do not get any clue to Pāsupata or Lakulīśa in Tamil literary tradition²⁴. D.N. Lorenzen (1991: 106-109; Lorenzetti 1996) finds Pāsupatas in the writings of Rāmānujācārya (c. twelfth century CE). The images of Caṇḍikeśvara examined in the present study are anterior to the time of Rāmānuja. The indices of A.L. Basham (1971) and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (1984) do not find a place for either Lakulīśa or Pāsupata. However, the Pāsupatas appear in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahēndravaramaṇ, c. 610-30 (Minakshi 1977: 18; Barnett 1928-30: 697-717; Kalidos 2006: III, 33-35). The Kāpālikas and Pāsupatas, and also Buddhists, were degenerate and despicable in the eyes of *bhakti* revivalists, the Nāyaṇmār and the Ālvārs (Minakshi 1977: 168, 194; Kalidos 2006: II, 61). Sastri (1984: 648) says Kālāmukhas and their *maṭhas* were widespread in South India during the ninth-eleventh centuries CE. Brockington (1996: 121-22) finds the Pāsupatas’ “rapid decline” in north India, and “sudden appearance of the name Lakulīśa” in inscriptions of Karnāṭaka during the eleventh century. The references to Pacupati in the *Tēvāram*, and its affinity with the Pāsupata cult, need to be further examined. One may find the *ūrdhvaretas* Paśupati (Doniger 2011: fig. 2) in the Indic culture c. 2750 BCE (Dhyansky 1987: 89-108, cf. Clark 2003: 304-23). The ithyphallic feature was totally unapproved in Tamil tradition from Pallava to Nāyaka. Ilakulīcaṇ and Ilakulīcamūrttam (Lakulīśamūrti) occur in Tamil tradition only in the eighteenth century (*Peruñcollakarāti*, II, 539; *Kāñci Purāṇam*, *Tiruvāṇaikkā Purāṇam*, Zvelebil 1974: 191). During a recent visit to Koṭuṅkallūr/Vaṇcaikaḷam in Kēraḷa, we found a shrine

²⁴ Pacupati/Paśupati is an epithet of Śiva (*Tēvāram* 1.22.5, 4.51.10, 7.92.1). Pācupataṇ is the Lord that carries the *pāsupatāstra* (Kalidos 2006: II, 65). Pacupati is the Lord that eradicates the accumulated evils, *karma-viṇai* of human birth; ‘Pacupati pāvanācaṇ’ (*Tēvāram* 4.51.10). He is the Eternal Śiva; ‘Pacupati paramēṭṭiyē’ (ibid. 7.92.1), i.e. Sadāśiva (Jeyapriya 2013).

dedicated to Paśupati in the Śiva Temple (Fig. 16) extolled in the hymns of Cuntarar (*Tēvāram* 7.4.1-10). Under such circumstances, the identification of Caṇḍikeśvara with Lakulīśa and vice-versa could not be justified unless we have solid evidences in Tamil literature and art.

We have several mythic parallels of interacting Sanskrit and Tamil mythologies (Shulman 1980, Hardy 1983), e.g.: Skanda with Kantaṇ/Murukaṇ (*Kumārasambhava* and *Tirumuru-kārrppaṭai* or *Paripāṭal*); Mahiśāsura-mardinī with Korṟavai (*Devīmāhātmya* and ‘Vēṭṭuvavari’ in *Cilappatikāram*); Vedic Varuṇa and Indra with Tamil-Caṅkam Varuṇaṇ and Vēntaṇ/Intiraṇ; and the Tamil Piṇṇai/Piṇṇai (‘Āycciyarkuravai’ in *Cilappatikāram*)²⁵ was the model for Rādhā in Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda*.

The identification of northern Pāśupata-Lakulīśa with the Tamil Caṇḍikeśvara remains under the historical mist.

Raju Kalidos (2006: II, 235-36, 253) suggests that *ūrdhvaretas* and multi-armed images may be treated as Lakulīśa, and those without an erect penis, mostly seated and two-armed, are Caṇḍikeśvara. The Tamil Caṇḍi never exposes his *liṅga* whether flaccid (e.g. Bhairava or Bhikṣāṭana) or ithyphallic; he is not *digambara* as in Jain images of the Tīrthaṅkaras (Settar 1986: pls. XXXIII).

When status is taken into consideration, Caṇḍikeśvara was a “slave” of the Lord. Lakulīśa in Pāśupata tradition is the Lord Himself. In other words Lakulīśa was a manifestation of Śiva whereas Caṇḍi was a *toṇṭar*. Logically a “slave” could not be the “Lord”. Maybe the slave was considered a divinity by the lapse of time; e.g. Caṇḍikeśvara brought under the Pañcamūrtis, and the Ālvārs during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka period. We may recall the chapels for Caṇḍikeśvara and his images appearing as *mūlaberas* (Figs. 3, 13) in Tamil tradition. The Tamil Pañcamūrti concept adds further support to the *āṇṭāṇ-aṭimai* “master-slave” notion (see *Tēvāram* 3.326.10 in note 1,

²⁵ The *Cilappatikāram* in ‘Vēṭṭuvavari’ finds Devī-[Korṟavai] appropriate several idioms of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa; e.g. Śakāṭāsura-bhaṅjana/Kṛṣṇā? (*Vēru* 22 ‘Vaṅca uruḷuṇ cakaṭam utai’), and decorated with a garland of *koṇṟai* (Cassia fistula) and *tuḷavam* (Oscimum sanctum) She-Harihara? (*Vēru* 10 ‘Koṇṟaiyun tuḷavamun kuḷumat toṭutta’).

Rajarajan 2016a). Lakulīśa in the early medieval art of the Calukyas, in the core Aihole zone and Upper Deccan (e.g. Ellora) is a *koṣṭhadevatā* and not a cult-mūrti appearing in the *garbhagrha*. Most images, totaling 40 in Choubey (1997: pl. 13), appear to be *koṣṭhadevatās*. In hierarchical order the *koṣṭhadevatā* is less-privileged, as Āvaraṇamūrti, when compared with the cult-Mūrti housed in the *garbhagrha*.

A systematic survey of the *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam* as amplified in the art of the Cōḷas and the Vijayanagara-Nāyakas is warranted. The departed and dedicated scholar L'Hernault (2006: 123-38) has reported the narrative images dealing with Nāṇacampantar in the Puṭaimarutūr and Āvuṭaiyākōyil Śiva temples. Rajarajan (2006: pls. 296-97) has reported rare images of Cīruttoṇṭar cutting the neck of his own son and the mother holding the head of the child (cf. Jeyapriya 2009). The narrative panel of Caṇḍikeśvara may help us to comprehend the representation of saints in visual media, based on ideas rooted in literature (cf. Marr 1979; Monius 2004a).

The myth of Caṇḍikeśvara in literary form has been reported time and again by scholars of Śaivite religious history. The narrative panel reported here is crucial in linking mythic imagery with sculptural evidence; when compared with mythological narratives in literature visual evidence provides a definitive clue to the cult status of a god-man. The Caṇḍikeśvara-Lakulīśa link remains to be further explored. Though semblances have been reported in myth and art, the historical channels of communication are hazy, especially when we talk with reference to *nirmālyam* (for a discussion on this topic see Jayashanker 1997: 309).

Conclusion

Bhakti to begin with is total surrender, e.g. Prahlāda. It may be meek or domineering in case of Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāma respectively. When one's *bhakti* is hampered by extraneous elements, it turns out to be violent (violence runs naked in the mythology of Vīrabahdra, another manifestation of Śiva, cf.

Jeyapriya 2019: 60-64). The Caṇḍikeśvara theme in myth and art demonstrates, Caṇḍikeśvara to begin with was a pacified benevolent devotee of Śiva. When his mode of approach to God is endangered even if that be his father, he resorts to violence. At the intervention of divine grace both benevolence and violence are conciliated finally. R.K. Parthiban brought to my attention the essay by Stieterncron at the final stage of rewriting this article. Orthodoxy and *bhakti* seem to have been at loggerheads since the Vedic period. I am not well versed in Vedic theology. This early conflict between Vedic orthodoxy and the later *bhakti* ideology may be an important factor behind the mythology of Caṇḍikeśvara vis-à-vis his father. It will have to be investigated deeply by scholars proficient in both Tamil and Sanskrit. As a specialist in iconography, I am of the view the most significant contribution of the present communication is the narrative panel in sculptural relief from the Toṇṭīśvaram at Nāvalūr. The Tamil litterateurs and sculptors were innovators in the context of the present study.

Abbreviations

ARE	Annual Reports on Epigraphy
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
CNP	<i>Caṇṭēcura Nāyaṇār Purāṇam</i>
SII	<i>South-Indian inscriptions.</i>

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Figure 1: Caṇḍikeśvara, Rock-cut Temple, Ariṭṭāpatti.



Figure 2: Lakulīṣa (Caṇḍikeśvara?), Ḍumārleṇa (Cave XXIX), Ellora.



Figure 3: Caṇḍikeśvara, Cult Image, Toṇṭīśvaram, Nāvalūr.



Figure 4: Narrative panel of 'Caṇṭēcura Nāyaṇār Purāṇam', Nāvalūr.



Figure 5: Detail of Fig. 4: Caṇḍikeśvara, milking the Cow.



Figure 6: Detail of Fig. 4: Caṇḍikeśvara offering milk *abhiṣeka*.



Figure 7: Detail of Fig. 4: Caṇḍikeśvara cutting his father's leg.



Figure 8: Mud temple, Highway Periyakuḷan-Tēṇi, Lakṣmīpuram.



Figure 9: Colossal image of Kālī, Highway Tirumaṅkalam-Rājapālaiyam.



Figure 10: Lakulīśa, Mathurā Museum (courtesy AIIS).



Figure 11: Nāyaṇmār in row, Rājendracōḷīśvaram, Periyakuḷam.



Figure 12: Detail of Fig. 11, Caṇḍikeśvara.



Figure 13: Chapel for Caṇḍikeśvara, Rājendracōlīśvaram, Periyakuḷam.

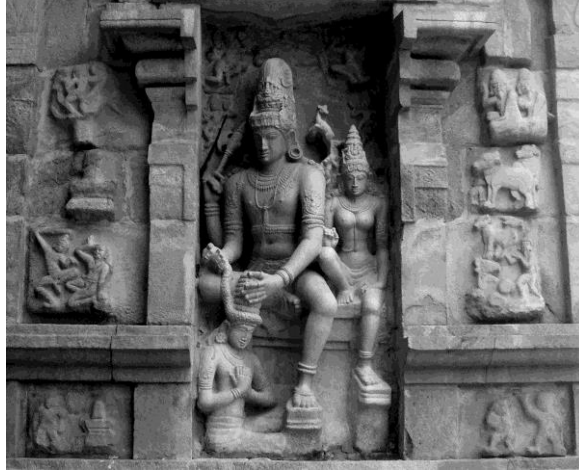


Figure 14: Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti, Rājarājesvaram, Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōlapuram



Figure 15: Petty-shop selling *ciṭṭi-muṭṭi*, Māriyammaṅkōyil Street, Periyakulam.



Figure 16: Paśupati shrine in the Śiva Temple, Vañcaikaḷam (Koṭuñkalūr) in Kēraḷa (Rajarajan 2015a).

