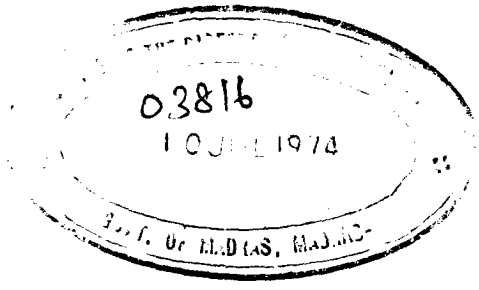
# THE
# KAMPAHARESVARA TEMPLE AT TRIBHUVANAM

*by*

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*Archaeological Survey of India*




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# EDITOR'S FOREWORD

"The Kampaharēśvara temple represents an important landmark, since there are several features of south Indian temple-architecture that underwent qualitative change in this very temple." How this last of the great Chōḷa temples is an important landmark, and whether the qualitative changes manifested in this temple improve the aesthetic appeal, or do they exhibit a decadence, are the points that are brought out vividly in this monograph by Sri H. Sarkar; the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology is thankful to him for kindly agreeing to have it published as one of the publications of this Department. Here is a monograph that gives adequate treatment to the Tribhuvanam temple with a measured plan, detailed drawings of the *adhishṭhānas*, a glossary and select photographs. However, for reasons beyond our control, the photographs have not come as one would like to have them.

Sarkar has presented in this work many important aspects of south Indian temple-architecture, hitherto unnoticed. The chapter on the "Architecture of Four Great Temples" is refreshingly an original contribution to the study of south Indian temple-architecture. He has collected vast data on the proportion of height of superstructure in relation to that of sanctum of some of the important temples of the south. While in Orissa the proportion between the height of the sanctum and the height of the *vimāna* has reached a ratio of 1 : 7, in the south it never seemed to have gone beyond 1 : 3, which clearly shows emphasis on horizontality of the south Indian temples. That the temples of Tanjore, Gangaikondacholapuram, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam belong to the *Mukhya-vimāna* type is an interesting classification. Sri Sarkar's observations, that the variations introduced in the temple of Tanjore and Gangaikondacholapuram are possibly intended to impart distinct personality seems to be valid.

The author has rightly drawn our attention to the role of literary movement on the contemporary society, which, in turn, influenced the plastic decoration of the contemporary temples. The temple of Darasuram

provides the best illustration, where the lives of Śaiva saints, as told in Tamiḻ literary work *Pēriyapurāṇa*, has left a permanent mark on the temple. The episodes connected with the lives of the saints are sculptured with inscriptions above. We have shown elsewhere that the temples of medieval south India have influenced to a very great extent the literary movement of the period; and the Darasuram temple provides the best example of such a movement. The *Takkayāgapparaṇi* by Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, a court poet of Rājarāja II, the latter being the builder of the Darasuram temple, has as its main theme the temple of Darasuram.

However, a word of caution is necessary lest the author be quoted out of context. For example, when the author says "its (the Tribhuvanam temple) plastic appendage is comparatively lesser than that of Airāvatēśvara temple of Darasuram", he means the available sculptures at the temple. Most of the niches in the *vimāna* and even in the *gōpura* are now empty but obviously they once housed sculptures as required by Āgamic texts, but have disappeared subsequently. Thus we have lost a collection of sculptures, which may be cited as an outstanding product of the time of Kulōttuṅga III. Here a special mention must be made of the three sculptures of *dōhada*, (one in the corridor and the other two flanking the Śarabha shrine) which are undoubtedly the finest examples of the art of Kulōttuṅga III's time.

Sri M. A. Dhaky's observation "The finer line of distinction between stone and bronze altogether disappears in the sculpture from the Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribuvanam" cited by Sarkar in this book (page 46) is an important contribution to the understanding of the sculpture of the period. We would like to present the same view in a slightly different perspective. The great movement in the art of bronze casting, ushered in by the Chōḻa queen Śēmbiyaṉ Mahādēvī and Rājarāja the Great, soon gained momentum, and a far greater number of bronzes came to be cast and presented to the temples for worship. The impact of this art of metal-works came to be felt on stone sculptor who began to give metallic finish to his products in stone. In the temples of Tanjore and Gangaikondacholapuram, the sculptures have rough finish, and were, therefore, originally plastered and painted. But the metallic finish of sculpture began to appear from the time of Kulōttuṅga I as in the case of Melakkadambur. The trend is continued in the sculptures of the *gōpuras* of Chidambaram, built by Vikrama-Chōḻa and Kulōttuṅga II, and it

# ARCHITECTURE OF FOUR GREAT TEMPLES

## 1. INTRODUCTION

THE Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam, near Kumbakonam, District Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu, is the last of the four great temples in the south. In the inscription, the temple has been called Tribhuvanavīrēśvaram,[1] its shortened form being still preserved in the name of the locality. But it is not known when or how the name Kampaharēśvara came into vogue. According to tradition, the temple has been so called because the god relieved a Chōḷa king of his *kampa* or shivering, caused by the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa.[2]

Tribhuvanavīra is the title of the king Kulōttuṅga III (1178–1218), who actually built the temple, perhaps towards the latter part of his long reign. On its superficial appearance, it recalls the Rājarājēśvara or Bṛihadīśvara temple at Thanjavur, that being the first Great temple in the south raised by Rājarāja (985–1014), the greatest of the Chōḷa rulers, in the early years of the eleventh century. Indeed it was Rājrāja I who initiated the architecture of the Great temple, with its lofty tower soaring high in the horizon. Proclaiming the glory and grandeur of the Chōḷa ascendancy stands another Great temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram built by Rājēndra I (1012–1044), the worthy son and successor of Rājarāja, in about A. D. 1030. The temple came into existence within twenty years of the completion of the Thanjavur monument, and both constitute a series by themselves. But they are not identical. Perhaps architecture epitomizes the ethos of a particular society and period; as a result, no two monuments, if they are of true artistic creation, are alike. The temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram, mentioned in the inscription as Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷīśvaram, is indeed vibrant with an altogether different spirit — a different personality.

The Kampaharēśvara at Tribhuvanam and the Airāvatēśvara temple at Darasuram form another series of Great temples coming into

1. T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, II (Madras, 1954), pp. 944–948.

2. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1908, p. 79.

existence during the period *c.* A. D. 1167 to 1218.[1] The Airāvatēśvara has been called Rājarājēśvara in the inscription as it was built by Rājarāja II (1146-1173). Darasuram, in fact, is the corrupt form of Rājarājēśvaram or Rājarājapuram; both these names are mentioned in an inscription dated to A. D. 1186. These two temples represent, as it were, the last flicker of a dying lamp. Soon after, the curtain fell on the history of the Chōḷa architecture in the south.

## 2. EARLY SERIES

### A. Background

The Chōḷa rulers were the great builders of temples, and also harbingers of religious awakening in the south. Innumerable temples were built since the revival of the Chōḷa power under Vijayālaya in *c.* A. D. 850, but most of them are of modest proportions. Aesthetically, many of them may claim to be masterpieces of south Indian architecture: the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakonam, the Vijayālayachōḷīśvaram at Narttamalai, the small Śiva temples variously at Visalur, Tiruppur, Kaliyapatti, the Sundarēśvara temple at Tirukkattalai, the Agastyēśvara temple at Panangudi, the Mahādēva temple at Tiruchchendurai, Koraṅganātha temple at Srinivasanallur, the Mūvar-kōvil at Kodumbalur, the Paśupati-kōvil at Pullamangai, the twin temples at Paluvur and a host of others are undeniably creations of charming simplicity.[2] In the period of Great temples itself, were also raised countless shrines of unpretentious dimensions though embodying in them all the grace and vitality of Chōḷa art and architecture. Evidently, the epical compositions, symbolized by the Great temples, are rare phonomenon and, as already stated, only four, out of a galaxy of Chōḷa rulers, ventured on such stupendous enterprise.

Rājarāja I had doubtless the required ability, vision and resources to turn a new leaf in the history of temple-architecture. As the greatest monarch that south India has ever produced, he can easily boast of having laid the foundation of the greatest empire of the south. His empire comprised the whole of Tamiḷ country, Āndhra, parts of Karṇāṭaka and the

1. K. R. Srinivasan, "The Last of the Great Cola Temples" *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XVI (1948), pp. 11-33.

2 For description of some of these temples, see S.R. Balasubrahmanyam *Early Chola Art* (London, 1966), and *Early Chola Temples* (New Delhi, 1971).

eventually reached its perfection in the temple of Darasuram. The images adorning the niches of Darasuram are so highly polished that it is almost impossible to plaster and paint them. Obviously from the time of Kulōttuṅga I onwards the niche figures were not painted, though the rest of the structure had to be painted as before. What we find in the Tribhuvanam temple is the same trend, which, however, betrays signs of decadence. But an exception to this trend is the fine bronze image of Śarabha, which was, in all probability, gifted to the Tribuvanam temple by Kulōttuṅga III himself.

Kulōttuṅga III enclosed the main *prāsāda* with pillared cloister, as found in other three great Chōḷa temples. Only a part of it survives towards the southern side. This brings us to an important question, namely, the date and authorship of outer eastern *gōpura*. Dr. Harle casts doubt on the inscription of Kulōttuṅga III of this *gōpura*, and Sarkar, too, thinks that it could possibly be a later copy. I have examined the epigraph *in situ* and am convinced that it is absolutely of the age of Kulōttuṅga III, and is exactly the same, both in content and script, as the one found on the main *vimāna*. Architecturally also there is nothing to show that this *gōpura* could be late. We have two fine *gōpuras* of Kulōttuṅga III to compare with: one at the Tyāgarāja temple of Thiruvarur and the other at Palaiyarai. Probably the outer *gōpura* of the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakonam also belongs to this period, and all of them exhibit similar features. We are thus convinced that the outer *gōpura* of Tribhuvanam is coeval with main *vimāna*.

My view that the Great temple of Tanjore was modelled probably on the lines of the Thiruvadigai temple, a Pallava foundation, is not accepted by Sarkar, who thinks that the extant structure at Thiruvadigai was a later Chōḷa renovation because the *adhishṭhāna* has been replaced completely. As this has to be dealt with at length, we will have occasion to discuss this elsewhere but the following points may be of interest to scholars of south Indian architecture. Renovations have been going on in this temple till recent times, the latest being as late as the 60's and it is thus difficult to say anything definite about this structure. However the core of the temple, the present plan, elevation etc., seem to be of the period of Nṛipatuṅga (9th century). The side-shrines (*aṅgālayas*) attached to the main shrine are found in the Pallava temples of Kanchi and not in Chōḷa temples. The stucco figures do not resemble the cult images placed inside

the niches as in Chōḷa temples, but resemble very much the wall-figures of the Pallava structural temples. Inside the sanctum, the Sōmāskanda panel is seen as in Pallava temples. In addition to the above two Pallava inscriptions, one of Tellārreṛinda Nandi and another of Nṛipatuṅga, are found on the door-jambs of the extant *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The inscription of Nṛipatuṅga specifically mentions that the Vīraṭṭanēśvara temple was renovated in his reign. Thus we have every reason to believe that the core of the main *prāsāda* belongs to the period of the Pallavas. Since the entire superstructure is of brick, it is possible that the *adhishṭhāna* part suffered damage in rains and has been reinforced with granite base at a much later date; possibly Sarkar is right when he says that this could have been done in the thirteenth century.

Mention must also be made of the erection of separate shrines for the goddess. In my book *Gangaikondacholapuram*, I have mentioned that the Northern Kailasa, which now enshrines the goddess, was a Rājēndra foundation and was originallay intended for a Śivaliṅga. I have also stated that the installation of the image of Goddess is late. I now hold the view that present image seems to be as late as the Vijayanagara period and should have been consecrated in about the 16th century.

As mentioned earlier, Sri Sarkar writes in a lucid style, never failing to point out the essential characteristic of each component of the temple-complex, be it art, architecture, literature or philosophy. We hope that this book would serve as model for future writings on South Indian temples.

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R. Nagaswamy

island of Śrī Laṅkā; his military achievement included victory over Kēraḷa rulers as well. All this campaign, apart from filling his exchequers with plundered wealth, enabled him to have effective control over the inland trade-routes feeding the ports of the Chōḷa country. The maintenance of a naval force provided great advantage over the control of the overseas trade with China and other Far Eastern countries. Further, his organized administrative system established peace and guaranteed civil liberties. Moreover, the presence of a strong army served as a check on the emergence of various feudal lords as the actual lever of political power. Thus, the stage was set, both economically and politically, for his undertaking the gigantic project of giving south India her tallest temple. Here the entire architectural composition breathes an air of freshness and spontaneity. Its emphasis is on the loftiness, with the wide horizon as the backdrop, apart from the elevational rhythm of its towering height.

Rājēndra I extended further the boundaries of the Chōḷa empire, which included, at least for some time, the Eastern Archipelago. It was by far the largest empire held by an Indian monarch of his time. His northern expedition, which penetrated into the Gaṅgā delta, proved to be a brilliant success from military point of view. The apparent object of the expedition was to fetch the water from the Gaṅgā but that can hardly be a real objective, especially when it involved ceaseless war for two years in adverse terrain and distant lands. Undoubtedly, it was some sort of a *digvijaya* to demonstrate his might to his contemporaries in the north but the fact that the expedition took largely a coastal route may not be without any significance, considering his stake and interest in the maritime trade of his times. These expeditions, including those carried out in Kerala, must have disrupted the arterial trade-routes, resulting in the diversion of the overseas trade to the safer ports of his own kingdom. His expedition to Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra seems to have been motivated by the same objective of stabilizing the commercial interests of his country with China and other Far Eastern regions.

Trade and commerce must have brought economic prosperity, and considerable part of this surplus wealth was invested, but hardly with any tangible return, to the construction of temples. To this wealth was added enormous quantity of booty collected in the course of various campaigns. A part of such plundered wealth was to go to the maintenance of temples and religious establishments. Rājēndra, in all probability, had built up a sounder economic base for his kingdom than his great predecessor.

Culturally also, no other period was as favourable as that of Rājarāja's for the growth of temples and other related institutions. Śaivism received its greatest fillip in the hands the Chōḷa rulers. And it was at its zenith when Rājēndra's campaign opened out the gate of close cultural contact between the south and the north. He brought Śaiva teachers from the banks of the Gaṅgā and established them in different parts of his territory. His patronage to Śaivism extended even beyond his own dominion. For example, Rājēndra made annual allotment of grain not only to Uḍaiyār-Śarva-Śiva Paṇḍita of the Thanjavur temple but also to his various lines of disciples living in Āryadēśa, Madhyadēśa or Gauḍadēśa.[1] In that period, an establishment of temple meant the settlement of the Brahmin population around it. Sometimes, as the temple-inscription of Agaram (District Chingleput) says, no less than four thousand Brāhmaṇa families were settled by Rājēndra Chōḷa in a village called Vānamaṅgai.[2]

## B. Early Experiments

A temple of great magnitude cannot be built by wealth alone, for it needs technical skill of very high order in various fields of specialization. In south India, the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, apart from a number of minor dynasties, had established sound tradition of stone-architecture. Truly speaking, the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Thanjavur is the supreme realization of temple-architecture after countless experiments. The Pallavas, however, never built any temple beyond the height of 73 feet (22·25 m.); as a matter of fact, this is the approximate height of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchīpuram (see Table I) built by Nandimalla Pallavamalla (731–796). Its height has been raised to this extent by introducing four functional *talas* or storeys, without taking recourse to corbelling or *kadalīkākaraṇa*. The Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple at Uttaramerur follows identical method of construction although its height is only 59 feet (17·98 m.). Both are Vaishṇava temples and it is not known if the technique of construction was followed to accommodate the idealogical need of enshrining the three forms of Vishṇu—standing (*sthānaka*), seated (*āśīna*) and reclining (*śayāna*). Normally, the technique of corbelling–and

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* (Madras, 1955), p. 642. The area encompasses the entire Ganga valley including north Bengal.

2. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1930–31, no. 232.

never the true arch—has been widely practised for spanning the space between the walls. As a result, the height of a temple depends, in no small measure, on the extent of horizontal space to be covered by this method of construction.

Next in height to the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, is the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī standing to a height of 66·33 ft. (20·27 m.). Compared to all this, the Rājarājēśvara or Bṛihadīśvara temple of Thanjavur has a soaring height of 196·50 ft. (59·98 m.) standing on a basal square of 30 m. side. It is achieved not only by accentuating the height of the spire but also by increasing the height of the *āditala*. Consequently, the ratio between the two factors, *i.e.*, the height of *āditala* in relation to the height of the superstructure does not indicate any appreciable change from what can be noticed in the Pallava tradition. In the Orissan architecture, one finds an interesting development so far as the ratio between the height of the *śikhara* and the height of the sanctum is concerned.[1] Unlike south Indian temples, the height has been steadily increased here by widening the ratio. In the initial stage, as in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, Orissa, it is 1:3, while it has reached 1:7 in the case of the Sun temple at Konarak. In south Indian architecture, the proportion varies from 1:1 to 1:2½. So, like the Kailāsanātha or Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temples at Kāñchī, the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Thanjavur has a proportion of about 1:2½. Only one early temple in the south has a ratio of 1:3 and that is the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram, while among the later group the Airāvatēśvara temple at Darasuram exhibits a ratio of 1:3.

Normally, the height of the sanctum in south India (see Table I) during the Pallava period is not more than 21 ft. (6·40 m.) but in the case of the Bṛihadīśvara temple it has been increased to two and a half times by introducing in the exterior an architectural pattern similar to the five-fold *bāḍā* conception of the Orissan tradition. In the interior, however, the lower part of the height is divided into four functional storeys, a method followed in the Pallava tradition of Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ at Kāñchī or Sundaravarada-perumāḷ temple at Uttaramerur. Above the storeyed construction rises a series of horizontal arches until the gap is closed by a slab of enormous dimensions weighing about 81·3 tonnes.[2]

1. *Archaeological Remains Monuments and Museums* (New Delhi 1964), p. 184.

2. K. R. Srinivasan, *Temples of South India* (New Delhi, 1972), p. 142.

Incidentally, the octagonal *śikhara* is made of several pieces of stones joined together. Anyway, storeyed construction was in vogue in the Eastern Chālukyan tradition as testified by the Bhīmēśvara temple of Drākshārāma and of Bhīmāvaram, Andhra Pradesh. These are early experiments which might have influenced, to some extent, the constructional aspect of the Great temple.

It needs no explanation to say that the height of a temple depends largely on the basal square upon which the structure has to be raised. The basal square of the Thanjavur temple is about 96·50 ft. (29·50 m.), thus obtaining a proportion of 1:2 (see Table II). Almost similar proportion is observed in the Airāvatēśvara temple and the Piravātanēśvara temple at Kāñchī, whereas the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram, the Kailāsanātha temple at Tiruppattur, Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple at Uttaramerur, Vaikuṇthaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchī and the Virūpāksha temple at Pattadakal[1] have the proportion of less than 1:1½. The Kailāsanātha temple has almost the same ratio if all the projections from the main square are taken into account; and without them it comes to about 1:3. In this respect also the Great temple at Thanjavur does not show any innovation.

C. ARCHITECTURE

The Bṛihadīśvara temple shows the maximum number of fourteen *talas*, while there is no Pallava temple having more than four. The *vimāna* with four *talas* has been mentioned in the *Vāstu-śāstras* as *jāti-vimāna*, and that with five or more than five is called *mukhya-vimāna*, which may have a maximum number of sixteen *talas*. According to this criterion the Great temple of Thanjavur, Gangaikondacholapuram, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam, having respectively fourteen, nine, five and six *talas* of diminishing tiers, belong to the *mukhya-vimāna*. It is thus evident that the Great temple at Thanjavur remains unsurpassed in height like the unparalleled glory of its builder, Rājarāja the Great.

The temple at Gangaikondacholapuram has a height of about 180ft. (54·86m.), the basal square measuring about 100ft. (30·48m.) side. Thus, here the proportion comes to 1:1·80 as against 1:2 of the Bṛihadīśvara temple of Thanjavur; conseqeuently, it does not suffer from overemphasis on verticality. Its sanctum-walls extend upwards to a height of 48·50ft.

1. It is in Bijapur District of Karnataka.

(14·79m.), thus giving almost the same ratio as that of the Thanjavur temple. Yet all its upward contour lines offer an impression of gradual rise. This mellowing effect has been brought about by introducing receding corners, an outcome of the "clever interposition of octagonal *kūṭas* in the *hāra* elements of the upper *talas* as *karṇakūṭas*."[1] Though raised on a square plan, the *talas* are endowed with a rhythm of wavy lines that has broken the monotony of sharp corners. As a result, the circular *śikhara* is in complete harmony with the alignments of the successive *talas*, free from any sharp angles of the basal square. Aesthetically, this is certainly an improvement over the earlier attempt. Even in plastic decorations, the Gangaikondacholapuram excels over the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Thanjavur. The other differences in the layout of the two temples may be summed up in the following paragraph.

The temple at Thanjavur, an example of *sarvatōbhadra* type *i.e.*, a temple having four doorways, is enclosed by two enclosures — a two-tiered *prākāra* and a double-storeyed cloister or *mālikā*, perhaps each one having a *gōpura*, apart from three smaller *tōraṇa*-entrances. In the case of the temple at Gangaikondacholapuram only one *prākāra* with a *gōpura* on the east, and a plain *tōraṇa*-entrance on the north can now be seen.[2] Another point of departure is the presence of murals on the walls of the *pradakshiṇā-patha*, and sculptures of dance-scenes on the upper floor of the Thanjavur temple—both these elements being absent at Gangaikondacholapuram. Yet, the constructional features of both the temples with *sāndhāra* arrangement, are similar, since in both the cases tapering *talas* rise above the storeyed formation of the lower part of the structure. Variations introduced in the general layout and in the elevation of the main temple are possibly intended to impart distinct personality.

## 3. LATER SERIES

### A. Background

The second group of Great temples came into existence about a century later when political condition had undergone considerable changes. The Chōḷa dynasty of Vijayālaya had ceased to exist although the continuity was maintained by the Chālukya-Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122). His mother was a Chōḷa princess, and with his accession to the

1. Srinivasan (1972), *op. cit.*, p. 145.
2. R. Nagaswamy, *Gangaikondacholapuram* (Madras, 1970), pp. 17–37.

throne after the death of Adhirājēndra, was averted the collapse of an empire and extinction of an ancient dynasty. Vēṅgī was thus brought closer to Tamiḻ-nāḍu, both politically and culturally. Even Orissa came within the ambit of this cultural interaction. Undeniably trade and commerce flourished as before; and breaking away of political barrier brought about closer cultural exchanges, as the interaction of ideas gave rise to a new outlook. Needless to say, Kulōttuṅga I and his successors were also great builders and patrons of art and Brāhmaṇical religion.

The political unification brought in its trail a cultural upsurge, when a number of literary figures of great renown appeared on the scene. Tirunārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, the author of *Kulōttuṅga-chōḻa-charitai*, and Jayaṅgoṇḍār, who has made himself immortalized in his *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, were contemporaries of Kulōttuṅga I. This cultural renaissance in some degree or other, in which literature and philosophy rather than visual art occupied the pride of place, continued till the final collapse of the great Chōḻa empire. Kūttaṉ, a poet of great fame, was in the court of three successive Chōḻa kings—Vikrama Chōḻa (1118-1135), Kulōttuṅga II (1133-1150) and Rājarāja II (1146-1173). Even the period of Kulōttuṅga III, the last great Chōḻa monarch, was rich in literary talents. As a matter of fact, the closing years of the great Chōḻa dynasty produced some of the greatest names in the Tamiḻ literature like Kambaṉ,[1] Sēkkiḻār, Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr Nambi and others. The two Great temples of this phase appear, therefore, to be the last attempt by the protagonists of visual art to recapture the earlier popularity without taking recourse to the pomposity of gateways and architecture of thousand-pillared halls of later periods. But the literary movement had on the society a tremendous impact, which influenced even the plastic decoration of the contemporary temples.

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1. There are scholars who are inclined to place Kamban in the eighth or ninth century. See M. Arunachalam, *Tamil ilakkiya varalaru* – 12th century, part II, (Madras, 1973) pp. 840–841. On the basis of a *Ramayanattaniyan* called *Enniya sakattam ennurrelin mel*, he assigns him to A. D. 885. However, see *Munram Kulottungan* by V. R. Ramachandra Diksitar (Madras, 1941), pp. 66–70, wherein Kamban has been dated to the second half of the twelfth century on the basis of the same verse. In these pages we have followed the view held by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

B. ARCHITECTURE

The two Great temples of the later series are definitely not so great as their forerunners. Built by Rājarāja II (1146–1173), the Airāvatēśvara is a smaller version of the Thanjavur and Gangaikonda-cholapuram of the previous century. But it is an ornate example with bold sculptures. Like its predecessors, its axial arrangement consists of main *vimāna*, *ardha-maṇḍapa*, connected by north-south transept, closed *mahā-maṇḍapa*, and a pillared *agra-maṇḍapa* with a portico in front. The last-mentioned part of the temple has been conceived and designed in the form of a chariot, an architectural conception which had its supreme realization in the world renowned Sun temple at Konarak, built a century later. *Maṇḍapas* simulating a chariot drawn by elephants or horses are found in various places in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, like Chidambaram, Melakkadambur, Kudumiyamalai, Nāgēśvara and Śārṅgapāṇi temples at Kumbakonam, Tiruvarur and Vriddhachalam. Even the Hazara Rāma temple (pl. xx) at Hampi follows the same architectural conception. The one at Darasuram has been called *Rājagambīran-tirumaṇḍapam* ("the sacred *maṇḍapa* of Rājagambhīra, perhaps a surname of Rājarāja II").

Apart from the chariot-shaped *maṇḍapa*, the Airāvatēśvara has a number of peculiarities not seen in its precursors. For instance, its axial *maṇḍapas* also bore *hāras*, an architectural scheme common in the Chālukyan tradition. Further, it is associated with the depiction of the stories of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, with appropriate labels: these scenes have been taken from Sēkkiḷar's *Periya-purāṇa*.[1] Some of the larger sculptures belonging to the niches and cloister are made of basalt-like stone instead of usual granite. None the less, the emphasis on decorative elements at Darasuram stands in sharp contrast to the simple and harmonious blend of both architectural and artistic features of the earlier series. To an onlooker, its height has no appeal, nor does it have a worthwhile view from distance. Like the shrunken empire of its builder it has a dwarfed appearance, with a limited expanse. Spontaneity and elegance of the earlier pair, born out of bold imagination and intensity of feeling, are absent here as well as at Tribhuvanam. Both Darasuram and Tribhuvanam are great in dimensions but lack the imprint of an aesthetic vision and boldness of conception.

1. *Annual Reports on Epigraphy*, 1908, pp.80-81 and 1920, pp. 102-107.

The Airāvatēśvara has a height of only 83 ft. (25·26 m.) and stands on a basal square of 45·50 ft. (13·87 m.); hence, the proportion between the height and the basal square is less than 1:2. Its vertical sanctum-wall rises to a height of only 19·50 ft. (5·82 m.), thereby giving a proportion of more than 1:3 in relation to its total height. In dimension it is even smaller than the Kampaharēśvara, which has a height of 126 ft. (38·40 m.) and a basal square of 60 ft. (18·29 m.). But in both the cases, the *sāndhāra* arrangement has been replaced by a blocked area around a small *garbha-gṛiha* measuring 13 ft. (3·96 m.) and 12·50 ft. (3·89 m.) for Darasuram and Tribhuvanam respectively. Evident as it is, both the temples are without any *pradakshiṇā-patha*. It may denote some change in rituals and practices although it is difficult to say what these changes precisely mean. Thus, morphologically, the Tribhuvanam temple compares well with its immediate predecessor at Darasuram. Before we pass on to the historical perspective of the temple of Tribhuvanam, it is necessary to examine the view that the Tiruviraṭṭanēśvara temple at Tiruvadi, District South Arcot, served as the model of the Great temples of the Chōḷas.

Nagaswamy holds the view that the Great temple at Thanjavur "seems to have been modelled on the lines of Vīraṭṭanēśvara at Tiruvadigai which was a Pallava foundation of the 7th century and renovated in 9th century."[1] The earliest inscription is engraved on a slab used as the door-stop of the inner *gōpura*, and it belongs to the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 672–700) or II (728–31). There is a likelihood of this loose slab belonging to the present temple but it should not be taken as *a priori* conclusion. In the inscription the deity has been referred to as "Aviyurdevarku" and not as Tiru Vīraṭṭāṇattu Mahādēva, the latter being used in the inscriptions of Nṛipatuṅgavarman (859–899). It was the pillars and door-jambs of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* which contain inscriptions of Nandivarman and Nṛipatuṅgavarman. There is a greater possibility of the present structure coming into existence during the time of Nandivarman and that the inscription of Paramēśvaravarman might have belonged to a nearby shrine or to a smaller temple that once stood at the present site. Thus, the beginning of the temple on the basis of available evidence may be dated to the ninth century. Unfortunately, there is hardly any architectural member, but for some movable components, which may be ascribed to the late Pallava times. The *adhishṭhāna* has been completely replaced by

1. R. Nagaswamy, *The Art of Tamilnadu* (Madras, 1972), p. 6.

TABLE I

*Table showing proportion of height of superstructure in relation to that of sanctum of some temples in south India*

| S. no. | Name of place | Name of the temple | Total height | Height of sanctum | Height of superstructure | Proportion of 6 in relation to 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. | Brahmadesam | Tiruvālīśvara temple | 27·33 ft. (8·39 m.) | 12·42 ft. (3·85 m.) | 14·91 ft. (4·72 m.) | 1·24 |
| 2. | Darasuram | Airāvatēśvara temple | 83·00 ft. (25·26 m.) | 19·50 ft. (5·82 m.) | 63·50 ft. (19·35 m.) | 3·20 |
| 3. | Gangaikondacholapuram | Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷiśvara temple | 180·00 ft. (54·86 m.) | 48·50 ft. (14.78 m.) | 131·50 ft. (40·08 m.) | 2·71 |
| 4. | Kanchipuram | Airāvatēśvara temple | 34.83 ft. (10·76 m.) | 13·17 ft. (4·07 m.) | 18·66 ft. (5·88 m.) | 1·43 |
| 5. | Kanchipuram | Chokīśvara temple | 27·00 ft. (8·23 m.) | 13·38 ft. (4·14 m.) | 13·62 ft. (4·24 m.) | 1·05 |
| 6. | Kanchipuram | Kailāsanātha temple | 66.33 ft. (20·27 m.) | 18·00 ft. (5.49 m.) | 48·33 ft. (14·79 m.) | 2·69 |
| 7. | Kanchipuram | Mātaṅgēśvara temple | 45·33 ft. (13·81 m.) | 15·50 ft. (4·81 m.) | 29·83 ft. (9·00 m.) | 1·86 |
| 8. | Kanchipuram | Muktēśvara temple | 51·50 ft. (15·78 m.) | 20·75 ft. (6.45 m.) | 30·75 ft. (9·50 m.) | 1·46 |
| 9. | Kanchipuram | Piravātanēśvara temple | 23·83 ft. (7·40 m.) | 10·83 ft. (3·44 m.) | 13·00 ft. (3·96 m.) | 1·18 |
| 10. | Kanchipuram | Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple | 72·75 ft. (22·06 m.) | 21·42 ft. (6·60 m.) | 51·33 ft. (15·70 m.) | 2·44 |

TABLE I (*Contd.*)

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Mahabalipuram | Shore temple. | 55·42 ft. (16·96 m.) | 13·20 ft. ( 4·06 m.) | 42·22 ft. (12·90 m.) | 3·25 |
| 12. | Nandi | Arunāchalēśvara temple | 39·17 ft. (11·97 m.) | 13·67 ft. ( 4·28 m.) | 25·50 ft. ( 7·86 m.) | 1·82 |
| 13. | Nandi | Bhoganandīśvara temple | 37·83 ft. (11·62 m.) | 18·42 ft. ( 5·68 m.) | 18·41 ft. ( 5·68 m.) | 1·02 |
| 14. | Pattadakal | Virūpāksha temple | 61·00 ft. (18·59 m.) | 19·00 ft. ( 5·79 m.) | 42·00 ft. (12·80 m.) | 2·20 |
| 15. | Thanjavur | Brihadīśvara temple | 196·50 ft. (59·98 m.) | 52·00 ft. (15·85 m.) | 144·50 ft. (44·13 m.) | 2·78 |
| 16. | Tindivanam | Tintrinīśvara temple | 32·33 ft. ( 9·91 m.) | 12·42 ft. ( 3·85 m.) | 19·89 ft. ( 6·18 m.) | 1·66 |
| 17. | Tirupattur | Kailāsanātha temple | 46·25 ft. (14·15 m.) | 15·50 ft. ( 4·81 m.) | 30·75 ft. ( 9·50 m.) | 2·05 |
| 18. | Tiruttani | Viraṭṭānēśvara temple | 28·75 ft. ( 8·89 m.) | 11·83 ft. ( 3·71 m.) | 16·92 ft. ( 5·27 m.) | 1·41 |
| 19. | Tribhuvanam | Kampaharēśvara temple | 126·00 ft. (38·40 m.) | 35·25 ft. (10.79 m.) | 90·75 ft. (27·66 m. | 2·43 |
| 20. | Ukkal | Śiva temple | 40·92 ft. (12·63 m.) | 18·17 ft. ( 5·47 m.) | 21·75 ft. ( 6·75 m.) | 1·21 |
| 21. | Uttaramerur | Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple | 59·00 ft. (17·98 m.) | 20·75 ft. ( 6·45m.) | 38·25 ft. (11·70 m.) | 1·82 |

m. = metre. ft. = feet.

TABLE II

*Table showing proportion of the plinth of the temple in relation to height*

| S. no. | Name of place | Name of the temple | Plinth | Height | Proportion of 4 in relation to 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. | Brahmadesam | Tiruvālīśvara temple | 27·33 ft. (8·39 m.) | 15·83 ft. (4·99 m.) | 1·70 |
| 2. | Darasuram | Airāvatēśvara temple | 83·00 ft. (25·26 m.) | 45·50 ft. (13·87 m.) | 1·80 |
| 3. | Gangaikondacholapuram | Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷiśvara temple | 180·00 ft. (54·86 m.) | 100·80 ft. (30·48 m.) | 1·80 |
| 4. | Kanchipuram | Airāvatēśvara temple | 34.83 ft. (10·76 m.) | 15·75 ft. (4·81 m.) | 2·18 |
| 5. | Kanchipuram | Chokīśvara temple | 27·00 ft. (8·23 m.) | 15·67 ft. (4·89 m.) | 1·69 |
| 6. | Kanchipuram | Kailāsanātha temple | 66.33 ft. (20·27 m.) | 49·58 ft. (15·21 m.) | 1·32 |
| 7. | Kanchipuram | Mātaṅgēśvara temple | 45·33 ft. (13·87 m.) | 28·25 ft. (11·70 m.) | 1·62 |
| 8. | Kanchipuram | Muktēśvara temple | 51·50 ft. (15·78 m.) | 29·67 ft. (9·15 m.) | 1·72 |
| 9. | Kanchipuram | Piravātanēśvara temple | 23·83 ft. (7·40 m.) | 11·67 ft. (3·67 m.) | 2·01 |
| 10. | Kanchipuram | Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple | 72·75 ft. (22·30 m.) | 50·75 ft. (15·59 m.) | 1·43 |

TABLE II (*Contd.*)

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Mahabalipuram | Shore temple. | 55·50 ft. (16·90 m.) | 39·75 ft. (12·29 m.) | 1·40 |
| 12. | Nandi | Arunāchalēśvara temple | 39·17 ft. (11·97 m.) | 20·63 ft. ( 6·39 m. ) | 1·86 |
| 13. | Nandi | Bhoganandīśvara temple | 37·83 ft. (11·67 m.) | 20·13 ft. ( 6·16 m.) | 1·89 |
| 14. | Pattadakal | Virūpāksha temple | 61·00 ft. (18·59 m.) | 45·00 ft. (13·72 m.) | 1·36 |
| 15. | Thanjavur | Bṛihadīśvara temple | 196·50 ft. (59·98 m.) | 96·50 ft. (29·50 m.) | 2·00 |
| 16. | Tindivanam | Tintrinīśvara temple | 32·25 ft. ( 9·97 m.) | 17·50 ft. ( 5·42 m.) | 1·79 |
| 17. | Tirupattur | Kailāsanātha temple | 46·25 ft. (14·14 m.) | 32·13 ft. ( 9·81 m.) | 1·43 |
| 18. | Tiruttani | Viraṭṭānēśvara temple | 28·75 ft. ( 8·89 m.) | 15·33 ft. ( 4·74 m.) | 1·93 |
| 19. | Tribhuvanam | Kampaharēśvara temple | 126·00 ft. (38·40 m.) | 60·00 ft. (18·29 m. ) | 2·10 |
| 20. | Ukkal | Śiva temple | 40·92 ft. (12·63 m.) | 24·67 ft. ( 7·63 m.) | 1·64 |
| 21. | Uttaramerur | Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple | 59·00 ft. (17·98 m.) | 41·00 ft. (12·50 m.) | 1·43 |

m. = metre. ft. = feet.

another one, in black granite, of the later period. Similarly, the wall above the *adhishṭhāna* must have undergone considerable alteration. Even the brick superstructure, of five storeys, with octagonal *grīvā* and *śikhara* has the appearance more of the Tribhuvanam temple than of the Kailāsanātha at Uttaramerur or any Pallava edifice. Unlike the Great temple at Thanjavur, no attempt has been made to raise the height of the *āditala* by introducing a constructional feature similar to that of the *bāḍā*-division of the Orissan architecture. In the circumstances, the present writer is inclined to take the extant structure as a later Chōḷa renovation of a temple, which may have a late Pallava foundation.

# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

## 1. POLITICAL

The Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam is an important landmark in the history of south Indian architecture. It is one of the last temples built by a Chōḷa monarch, and stands architecturally as a transitional type, when pure Chōḷa style, as a result of various experiments, was yielding place to new trends. These developments have often been termed collectively, perhaps also wrongly, as the Vijayanagara features. Many architectural characteristics of the Kampaharēśvara are common in the succeeding epoch than in Chōḷa times. Furthermore, it is a closely dated example without much later additions in the temple and in the general layout.

There are reliable epigraphical records to fix more or less precisely the period of construction of the temple. The temple itself contains three Sanskrit inscriptions in *Grantha* characters.[1] One of them occurs on the south wall of the central shrine, while the other two are engraved on the outer *gōpura*. But these are all copies of one and the same epigraph. In these inscriptions, as pointed out earlier, the temple has been called Tribhuvanavīreśvara following the title Tribhuvanavīra of Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1218). Two Tamil *praśastis* from the Pudukkottai region also records its construction.[2] According to these inscriptions, he defeated the lords of Siṁhala, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, besides suppressing the revolt of his vassal Telugu-Chōḍas.

Kulōttuṅga III, who succeeded Rājādhirāja II, ruled for about forty years. The provenance of his inscriptions goes to indicate clearly that he maintained successfully the same empire that he inherited from his predecessors. With the accession of Kulōttuṅga I in A.D. 1070, the great empire, assiduously built by Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I, had shrunk to some extent; Kulōttuṅga III maintained the same limits of the Chōḷa empire. Yet the greatest menace to the central authority was the

1. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1908, 79-80.

2. *Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State*, tr. by K. R. Srinivasan into English, nos 163 to 166.

influence of the overgrown feudatories. The process had set in from the time of Kulōttuṅga I but the forces of disruption could actually raise their heads only during the long reign of Kulōttuṅga III. By sheer personal ability he, however, saved the empire from being torn asunder under the pressure of centrifugal forces.

Kulōttuṅga III ascended the throne at a time when the political complexion of south had undergone considerable changes. The Hoysalas taking advantage of the weakness of the Western Chālukyan dynasty had established themselves as an independent power in Karṇāṭaka. In the Deccan, the Kākatīyas of Warangal were on their victorious march. Different subordinate powers like the Telugu-Chōḍas, though still owing allegiance to the Imperial throne, had been entertaining ideas of breaking away from the shackles of domination. On the whole, though the empire did not suffer from visible curtailment, an uneasy political condition had cast its ugly shadows in every direction.

The greatest danger to the Chōḷa supremacy was from its southern neighbour, the Pāṇḍyas, who had staged a come-back under their successive able and ambitious monarchs. Earlier, Kulōttuṅga III took up the cause of Vikrama Pāṇḍya in their internal strife, and deposed Vīra Pāṇḍya, who was aided by a Ceylonese army deputed by king Parākramabāhu I. Soon after, Vīra Pāṇḍya with the help of the Vēnāḍu ruler, made an attempt to recover the lost throne, but was defeated on the battle field of Neṭṭur. After some sojourn at Kollam or Quilon he surrendered himself to Kulōttuṅga III at the cost of everything save his own life. Yet it was not the end of Kulōttuṅga's southern campaigns, for in about A.D. 1205 he had to embark on another expedition against the rising Pāṇḍyas. This time the war was against Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (1190-1217) who is considered "as the first great ruler of the period of Pāṇḍyan revival that followed the close of the civil war."[1] Kulaśēkhara faced an ignoble defeat and to one's great dismay Kulōttuṅga resorted to senseless violence, and even devastated the Coronation Hall at Madurai. His title *Paṇḍyāri* denotes all this success and achievement.

In spite of the celebrations of *vijayābhishēka* and *vīrābhishēka*, Kulōttuṅga's shining glory was not to last long. With a view to avenge their earlier humiliating defeat, the Pāṇḍya monarch Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1955), *op. cit.*, p. 385. The political history sketched in these pages is based mainly on this monumental work.

Pāṇḍya (1216–1239) attacked Chōḷanāḍu. Kulōttuṅga failed to stem the tide of this invasion which penetrated deep into Chōḷa country. Much havoc was caused by the victorious army too, a retaliatory measure adopted by the Pāṇḍyas to pay back Kulōttuṅga III in his own coin. True, the kindom was restored to Kulōttuṅga, possibly due to Hoysala intervention, but the Pāṇḍyas succeeded in firmly establishing their independence. This momentous event signalled the end of Chōḷa supremacy and the rise of Pāṇḍyas on the political horizon of south India.

Kulōttuṅga III did not survive long after this fateful invasion and shattered glory. And within half a century, the Chōḷas were absorbed in the Pāṇḍya empire. Yet it must go to Kulōttuṅga's credit that he delayed the collapse, which was sensed long before his coming to the throne. Kulōttuṅga III was indeed the last of the great Chōḷa rulers.

## 2. CULTURAL

As a builder Kulōttuṅga III has immortalized his name not only in building the Kampaharēśvara but also a number of other religious edifices. Inscriptions from Tribhuvanam say that he had repaired the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram,[1] the Ekāmrēśvara at Kāñchipuram, the Sundarēśvara temple at Madurai, the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Tiruvidaimarudur and the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvarur.[2] Except in the Madurai temple, all other ones contain inscription of Kulōttuṅga III but without any reference to the building operation in the respective temples. Also he must have executed some renovations in the Airāvatēśvara temple at Darasuram.[3]

1. He built the *mukha-mandapa* of Sabhapati and the *gopura* of the shrine of the goddess Girindraja and the onclosing verandah (*prakara-harmya*). These two refer evidently to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, where the king must have built the *mukha-mandapa*, the *gopura* of the shrine of the goddess Sivakami Amman and the verandah enclosing the central shrine. See *Annual Reports of Epigraphy*, 1908.

2. Mentioned in the inscription as the temple of Valmikesvara where the *sabha-mandapa* and the big *gopura* were built by the king. Its present name Tyagarajasvamin is comparatively of recent origin. For the history of the temple see S. Ponnuswamy, *Sri Tyagaraja temple—Thiruvarur* (Madras, 1972).

3. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1908, no. 20. It is dated to A.D. 1186.

Inscriptions, including the two[1] from the Pudukkottai region, mention the construction of the Tribhuvanavīrēśvara at the end of the long list of building operations, thereby giving an impression that the present temple was built subsequent to these repairs and renovations; for that matter, the Tribhuvanavīrēśvara temple appears to be the culmination of Kulōttuṅga's building operations. If that be the case, the temple might have come into existence towards the latter part of Kulōttuṅga's reign.

There cannot be any room for doubt that like his forebears Kulōttuṅga was a devout Śaiva. He has been described in his inscriptions as the unrivalled (*ēka-bhakta*) devotee of the god of Chidambaram. Moreover, inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III offer more testimonies on the intimate connexion between the north and the south in the realm of religious thoughts and activities. One such inscription records a donation by certain Ōmkāradēva Iravaḷar of Vārānaśī to the deity at Tiruppasur in District Chingleput.[2] It was the period when tenets of Śaivism, due to closer contacts among various teachers, had undergone revolutionary changes: new schools of thought had emerged and new sects spread their sphere of influence. It has been recorded in the Kampaharēśvara temple inscription that Kulōttuṅga III had the consecration ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī performed by his *guru* Somēśvara, who was "well versed in the Śaiva-Darśana and the eighteen *vidyās* and had expounded the greatness of Śaiva thought in the Upanishads.[3]

At the same time, like any other Hindu ruler of India he followed a policy of religious tolerance. The history of the Raṅganāthasvāmī temple at Srirangam itself will show clearly the contribution of various Chōḷa rulers to the rise of this famous Vaishṇava establishment, associated with the immortal name of Rāmānuja. Kulōttuṅga III himself was responsible for various gifts to this temple. An inscription (50 of 1948-49) of his reign on the west wall of the fourth *prākāra* records a gift of one thousand *kāsu* for conducting a festival annually in the temple. Other Chōḷa monarchs, specially Kulōttuṅga I, made numerous gifts to the

1. One of them is dated to A.D. 1212. while the date of the other epigraph is lost.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1955) *op. cit.*, p. 642.

3. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1908, pp. 79-80.

temple. "Many of the other inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I copied at Srirangam have one main theme; and that is, of assigning by sale, to a person or groups of persons portions of a vast stretch of temple land that had been inundated and buried under sand by the overflow of the river Kāvērī and was consequently rendered unfit for cultivation for a century. In every one of these cases it was stipulated that the recipients should reclaim these lands, bring them under cultivation and make over a specified quantity of the produce into the temple granary or raise flower or fruit gardens for the benefit of the great temple." [1] All this evidence indicates that the Chōḷa rulers, whatever may be their religious faith, followed a policy of religious tolerance; undoubtedly, Vaishṇava temples received as much patronage as any Śaiva shrine.

The period witnessed spectacular growth in literary fields. Writings of Kambaṇ and Sēkkiḷār must have influenced the visual arts of the time. Scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* had already found their places in miniature panels engraved on the base of the early Chōḷa temples but the closing years of the Chōḷa rule saw greater popularity of these themes. Emergence of poets of repute and literary figures, coupled with the popularity of scenes from the epic, may tend to show the greater appeal of oral art and various forms of recitals and dance. However, as the labelled panels[2] of the Darasuram temple show, the *Periyapurāṇa* was a creation of the recent past. Admittedly, the labels had to be introduced to familiarize the scenes from the lives of the sixty-three Śaiva saints. All this portrays a society deeply religious in character, a society whose recreation merged and converged in different kinds of religious pursuits.

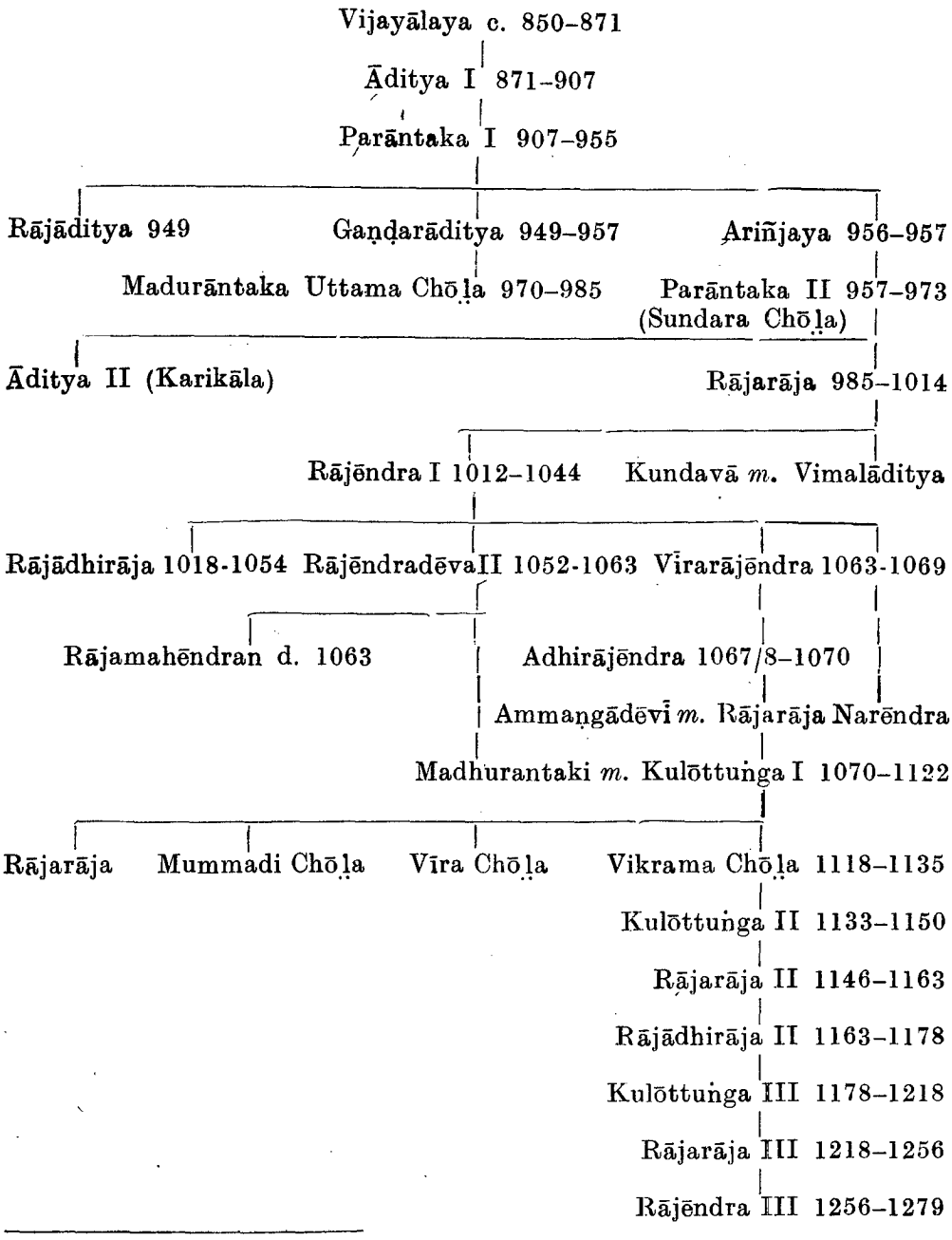
The Kampaharēśvara temple does not bear any narration on the lives of the Śaiva saints. In one way, its plastic appendage is comparatively lesser in quantity than that of the Airāvatēśvara temple. Relief-sculptures in the former occupy only the *upapīṭha* and, those too, executed in rather indifferent style. Even the sculptural representations

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1947-48, p. 3.

2. Forty-three of them are inscribed on the stone, while nine more bear painted labels. All the labels are in Tamil. See *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1920, pp. 102-107. Also P. V. J. Aiyar, "Periya-Purana scences in Darasuram temple" *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Volume II, pp. 30-31. Sculptures of 110 *Sivacharyas*, with inscribed labels, are to be seen in the cloister.

of the Darasuram temple are less vibrant with life, and on the whole, the execution lacks skill and imagination. They exude an air of didactism, and not of pure art. The same trend continues in the Kampaharēśvara but with less emphasis on the didactic import. There is an attempt to shift the emphasis on the exposition of dance, because the scenes devoted to the *Bharata-nāṭyam* are too many. These reliefs depict fine external forms but without the pulsating expression. In fine, some amount of decadence had certainly set in in the plastic art of the time. This could not be concealed even by the loftiness of the structure or the compactness of the unit. And even the architectural form, as it will be shown in the next chapter, does not introduce any new element nor its lines and contours are endowed with grace, mobility and assuredness of the mature Chōḷa tradition.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHOLAS[1]




1. Based on K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *A History of South India* (Madras, 1966), p. 206.

# THE TEMPLE AND ITS ARCHITECTURE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Tribhuvanavīrēśvaram at Tribhuvanavīrapuram, now shortened as Tribhuvanam, near Kumbakonam, is dedicated to Iṟaivar or Lord Śiva, who was adored, as the Pudukkottai inscriptions say, by Ari or Vishṇu and Piramar or Brahmā "so that the whole world may worship and praise Him." The "brilliant, tall and excellent *vimāna* interrupts the Sun (in his course)," and originally it might have commanded a grand view of the fertile plain, close to Paḷaiyāṟu, the secondary capital of the Chōḷas.[1] The temple, now called Kampaharēśvarasvāmī temple, is under the care of the Dharmapuram Ādinam, a well-known Śaivite Maṭha of south India, and had undergone two major renovations—one in 1937 and the other in 1963. These renovations have not altered the basic character of the temple although the exterior, because of recent figural paintings, has assumed an unaesthetic look; all the columns inside also appears to be of recent origin.

## 2. THE KAMPAHARĒŚVARA: DESCRIPTION

The temple-complex ( plates I-III & fig. 1), facing the east, consists of two *prākāras*, each pierced by a *gōpura*, not very tall, and a cloister enclosing the main edifice. On the whole, it follows a centripetal plan, the temples proper forming the nucleus. Between the two *prākāras* are located the *vasanta-maṇḍapa*, the *nandi-maṇḍapa*, *balipīṭha* and the flag-staff. The *vasanta-maṇḍapa*, also known as *alaṅkāra-maṇḍapa*, meant for placing the deities on festive occasions, is a stone structure which seems to have been restored, not very carefully, in subsequent period. Some dance-scenes as exterior decoration are also extant here. There are many *vāhanas* and various *utsava-mūrtis* inside the building, which has a high base but no superstructure. The office-building is also located within the same enclosure.

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1. Some of the Chola kings got themselves anointed at Palaiyaru. The village Pattisvaram has the temple of Panchavan-madevisvaram which was built as a *pallippadai* at Palaiyaru. Panchavanmahadevi was one of the five queens of Rajaraja I and the temple was built evidently on her mortal remains. See *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1927, no. 271.

Within the inner enclosure stand the central shrine, besides the shrine for Dēvī (fig. 2), Chaṇḍēśa and Śarabhamūrti. All the subsidiary shrines are posited towards the north, while the southern side was reserved for the chariot-shaped *maṇḍapa* (pl. II). Nevertheless, the distribution of various shrines inside the inner *prākāra* does not follow any symmetry. A cloister, with ornamental base, surrounds the principal as well as the subsidiary shrines.

The central shrine, facing east, consists of square *garbha-gṛiha* carrying a six-storeyed superstructure, a slightly narrower *ardha-maṇḍapa*, a transept (*iḍaikaḷi*), with flights of steps on either side (pl. III), *mahā-maṇḍapa*, *mukha-maṇḍapa* and a portico of later period. That the last-mentioned unit is added in subsequent times is evident from the presence of the central flight of steps leading from here to the *mukha-maṇḍapa*; the latter can be approached by another flight of steps from the south-east. All the steps are massive in size with *hastihastas* as banisters; the one leading to the niche of Dakshiṇāmūrti is, however, of recent addition. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has an opening on the south, with a portico-entrance, this being absent on the north. It is this portico which was shaped like a wheeled chariot, and has the Sōmāskanda shrine in the form of a small *vimāna*.

The side of the *garbha-gṛiha* measures only 12·50 ft. (3·81 m.) inside while it is a square of 60·00 ft. (18·29 m.) side externally. Evidently, the walls are considerably thick, and structurally, in the absence of *sāndhāra* construction, it was also a necessity in order to carry the load of the towering superstructure. As a result, the *garbha-gṛiha* is without a *pradakshiṇā-patha*, nor is there any column to bear the load of the flat ceiling, made of stone. A *liṅga*, on a circular *pīṭha*, is installed inside the *garbha-gṛiha* but compared to the height of the sanctum it looks rather small. Broadly speaking, the interior of the temple is free from any embellishment though it is certainly capacious.

Compared to inside, the view of the exterior is majestic and graceful. But the nearness to the cloister stands on the way of one's getting comfortably a full view of the tall edifice. It stands on a decorated *upapīṭha* whose lowest exposed member is *upāna*, with *padma-dala*, followed by *vyāla-mālā*. Interposed between the *vyāla-mālā* and the *kapōta* moulding is the high *kaṇṭha*, with *gala-pādas*, decorated with scroll-work. In between the intersecting *gala-pādas* run the panels depicting dancing poses,

evidently of the Bharata-nāṭya, accompanied by drummers and musicians. But these are confined to the base of the *garbha-gṛiha* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*. Here we will confine our attention to these two units before proceeding on to other parts of the temple. Now, above the *kaṇṭha*, comes the *kapōta* decorated with *kūḍus* or *nāsikās* with *siṁha-mukha* finial. There are representations of miniature shrines in the recesses of the *upapīṭha* on all the sides.

Above the *upapīṭha* stands the *adhishṭhāna* (fig. 3) leaving a walk on all the three sides. Its lowest moulding is the three-tiered *upāna*, followed successively by *padma*, vertically fluted *kumuda*, which is interposed between the *padma-dalas*, a high *kaṇṭha*, *kapōta*, and *vyāla-mālā*. The *kaṇṭha* here is also panelled by *gala-pādas*, each panel depicting a *gaṇa* or dwarf figure in a dance-pose. Above the *vyāla-mālā* of the *adhishṭhāna* comes the *vēdikā*. Unlike the *upapīṭha*, the *adhiṣṭhāna* has projections and returns corresponding to the *hāras* above. In fact, each projected part of the wall or *bhitti* carries the miniature representation of some superstructure or the other in the form of *kūṭas*, *śālās* and *pañjaras*.

As in the Darasuram temple here also the wall is divided into five bays alternating with four recesses. The central one or the *bhadra* has the maximum projection with *pañjara*, of course not belonging to the *hāra*, as the top. All the three central projections have *dēva-kōshṭhas*: a four-handed Dakshiṇāmūrti on the south, Liṅgōdbhava on the west (pl. V) and Brahmā (pl. IV), which is certainly not the original one, on the north. All the *karṇas* or corner bays contain sham niches, while the bays juxtaposed between the *bhadra* and *karṇa* are without any of them. Each bay is edged by pilasters or *kuḍya-stambhas*; they have square base, octagonal shafts overtopped by octagonal capital components. Corbels are of the early *pushpa-pōtikā* variety, which became the normal feature in the succeeding ages. There are pilasters on either side of the *dēva-kōshṭhas* but these are shorter in height and possess sixteen-sided fluted shaft (fig. 5). All the recesses are adorned with *kumbha-pañjaras*.

Equally ornamental is the *prastara* part of the *garbha-gṛiha* with a highly decorated *kapōta*, above which runs the *siṁha-mālā*. Below the *kapōta* has been shown *valabhī* supporting representations of *lupās* or beam-ends. The *hāra*, executed in bold relief, rises above the *prastara*; significantly, *kūṭas*, *śālās* and *pañjaras* have their own prominently-carved *kapōta* as well. This feature, as if to divide the *hāra* element into two segments, is

present in all the six storeys excluding the *grīvā* and *śikhara*. The *hāra* of the first *tala* extends conspicuously over the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, a feature common in all the four Great temples. Perhaps it represents the metamorphosed version of the *śuka-nāsā* of the Chālukyan tradition. The second *tala* shows a false opening on the east in the form of two circular pilasters on either side of the entrance, also flanked by *kuḍya-stambhas*. Over the sixth *tala* comes the circular *grīvā*, with *nandi* at four corners. Its *śikhara*, pinnacled by a *stūpī*, is also circular, with *nāsikās* on all the four sides.

The *ardha-maṇḍapa* is slightly narrower than the *garbha-gṛiha* and is relieved by recesses and projections. Its projecting central bays on the north and the south have a *dēva-kōshṭha* with wagon-vaulted top. The southern *kōshṭha* is now vacant but originally it enshrined an image of Gaṇēśa, as reported in an earlier description.[1] As usual, the northern one contains an image of six-armed Durgā (pl. VIII) standing on the severed head of Mahisha. The recesses on either side of the *dēva-kōshṭha* have *jālakas*, with a *tōraṇa*-top. As the *ardha-maṇḍapa* is slightly narrower, the extreme ends of the *garbha-gṛiha* remain exposed, accommodating on each side a niche enshrining a figure of a warrior with sword and shield (pl. VI). On front wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, is also to be seen a bay with sham niche having a *tōraṇa*-top, while the recesses on either side are adorned with *kumbha-pañjara*.

Now to the transept or *iḍaikaḷi*. There are two flights of steps on either side and, like other *sōpānas*, these are also flanked by *hastihasta* banisters (pl. III). These steps rise in two stages, with a landing separating them—the lower one having seven steps and the upper nine. Banisters are carved with various scenes, apart from a pair of miniature shrines abutting them. The idea of transept, as it is well known, is common to all the four Great temples.

The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has an opening on the south, with a portico in front. This type of arrangement is now absent on the north. However, there is no doubt that the northern side had undergone some repairs which were intended mainly to close an opening. The portico, fashioned as a wheeled chariot similar to that of the Airāvatēśvara, has a Sōmāskanda shrine of plain architecture. Wheels have all gone but for the one kept in

1. Srinivasan (1948), *op. cit.*, p. 27.

the cloister, while their axles are supported by rampant lions. Two elephants in front of *sōpāna* on the east are shown as if in the process of drawing the chariot. Significantly, in this structure, the corbels are of bevel-and-tenon type, whereas tetragonal pilasters have petalled *idaḷ*. Commenting on such Sōmāskanda shrine, Srinivasan says that "such shrines dedicated to Sōmāskanda, where the 'utsavabheras' of Sōmāskanda in bronze are also usually kept, are popularly called Tyāgarāja shrines after the famous one in Tiruvarur. These become common in the Thanjavur District, and surrounding areas from about this time."[1] The temple, square on plan, has circular *grīvā* and *śikhara*.

The *mahā-maṇḍapa* and *mukha-maṇḍapa* are without any recesses and projections but there are *kuḍya-stambhas* and niches with *makara-tōraṇas*—the most prominent one carrying a *pañjara*-top (fig. 4). Both the units have no superstructure despite the fact that they have been provided with full-fledged *prastara*, overtopped by *vyāla-mālā*. So far as the *upapīṭha* and the *adhishṭhāna* are concerned, they hardly differ from those of the *garbha-gṛiha* and other units. But the walk (*āḷōḍi*), as seen around the *garbha-gṛiha*, is absent here. Moreover, the panels depicted on the *upapīṭha* are devoted to dance, acrobatic poses and other scenes. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* houses a small Gaṇapati temple inside, having its own circular *grīvā* and *śikhara*, not to speak of the existence of *upapīṭha* and *adhishṭhāna*. The area to the north inside the *mahā-maṇḍapa* is meant for the Naṭarāja shrine.

## 3. SUBSIDIARY SHRINES

Towards the northern side of the main temple are to be seen three subsidiary shrines, also built of granite: these are Tirukkāmakōṭṭam or Dēvī shrine, popularly known as Ammankōvil (fig. 2), the Chaṇḍēśa shrine and the shrine dedicated to Śarabha. Facing south, the shrine meant for Chaṇḍēśa is the smallest. It carries an octagonal *grīvā* and *śikhara* but the plan of the temple is square. The *adhishṭhāna* consists of *upāna*, *padma*, *vṛitta-kumuda*, *kaṇṭha* with *gala-pādas*, *kapōta* and *vyāla-mālā* (figs. 5 & 6). Walls have central *dēva-kōshṭhas*, *kumbha-pañjaras* and *kuḍya-stambhas*. Corbels are associated with early type of *pushpa-pōtikās*. Doubtless, the shrine belongs to the same period as that of the central shrine. Significantly,

1. Srinivasan (1948), *op. cit.*, p. 29 fn.

all the subsidiary shrines have been grouped towards the north keeping the southern side free from any secondary edifice. Another point needs special mention in that the Tirukkāmakōṭṭam of the complex is possibly the first Dēvī shrine to come up as a part of the original layout. This aspect has been discussed at length in the last chapter.

The Dēvī shrine stands on a highly ornamental *upapīṭha* now represented by a *kapōta*-moulding (fig. 4). It has a rectangular *garbha-gṛiha*, with circular *grīvā* and *śikhara*. In axial alignment of the *garbha-gṛiha*, come the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a larger *mahā-maṇḍapa*, the latter being simpler in exterior decoration. From outside, no distinction can be made between the rectangular *garbha-gṛiha* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, except for the superstructure rising above the sanctum. In front of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* comes an open pillared *mukha-maṇḍapa* probably of a later date (not shown in the plan). The common *adhishṭhāna* consists of *upāna*, *padma*, *jagatī*, *tripaṭṭa-kumuda* with *padma-dalas* on either side. All the three *dēva-kōshṭhas* contain female figures representing *Ichchha-śakti*, *Jñāna-śakti* and *Kriyā-śakti*.[1] In the recesses of the wall are carved ornamental pilasters of the types seen in Thanjavur which differ from these *kumbha-pañjaras* in not having a typical *pañjara*-top.

The Śarabha shrine is located to the north-east corner of the main temple. It faces south, and the outer walls enclose a smaller temple, enshrining the image of Śarabhamūrti. In the Airāvatēśvara temple at Darasuram is also found the shrine dedicated to Śarabhamūrti, a peculiar iconographic form of Śiva. It is said that after the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu, it became difficult to control the ferocious mood of Narasiṁha. Devotees of Śiva prayed to him for protection and then Śiva assumed the form of Śarabha, combining in himself aspects of man, animal and bird. Thus was Narasiṁha subdued. As a plastic conception it is certainly unique but the concept that gave rise to this form appears to be well-nigh militant, at least so far as the stance of Śaivism against Vaishṇavism is concerned.

## 4. THE GŌPURAS

Our description will remain incomplete without a few remarks on the *gōpura*, which has not been allowed to overshadow the *vimāna* here.

1. Siva, Vishnu, Para-Brahma or Para-sakti are all endowed with three powers of Ichchha-sakti, Jnana-sakti and Kriya-sakti. In the present shrine, the three representations stand for three different manifestations of Sakti.

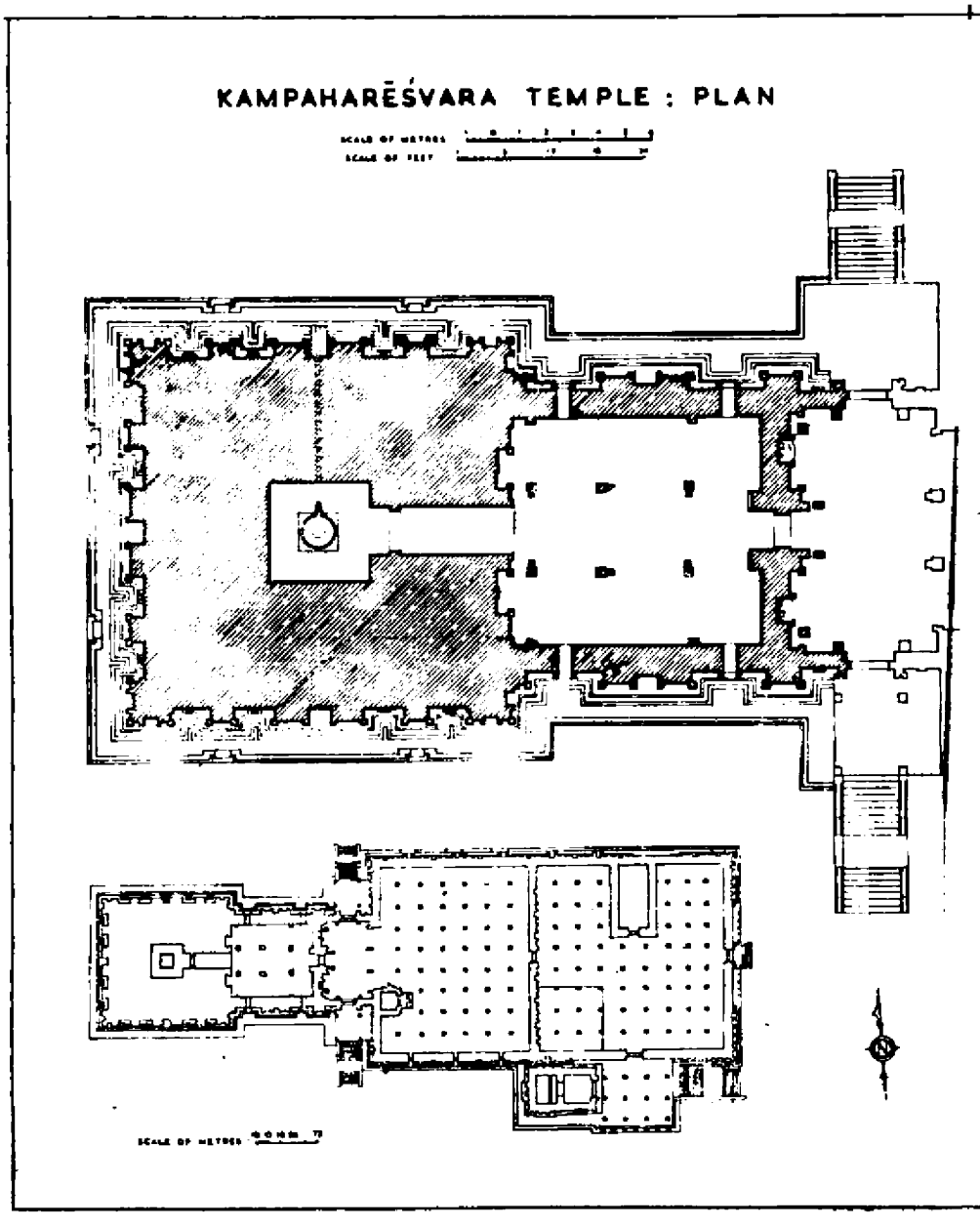



Fig. 1

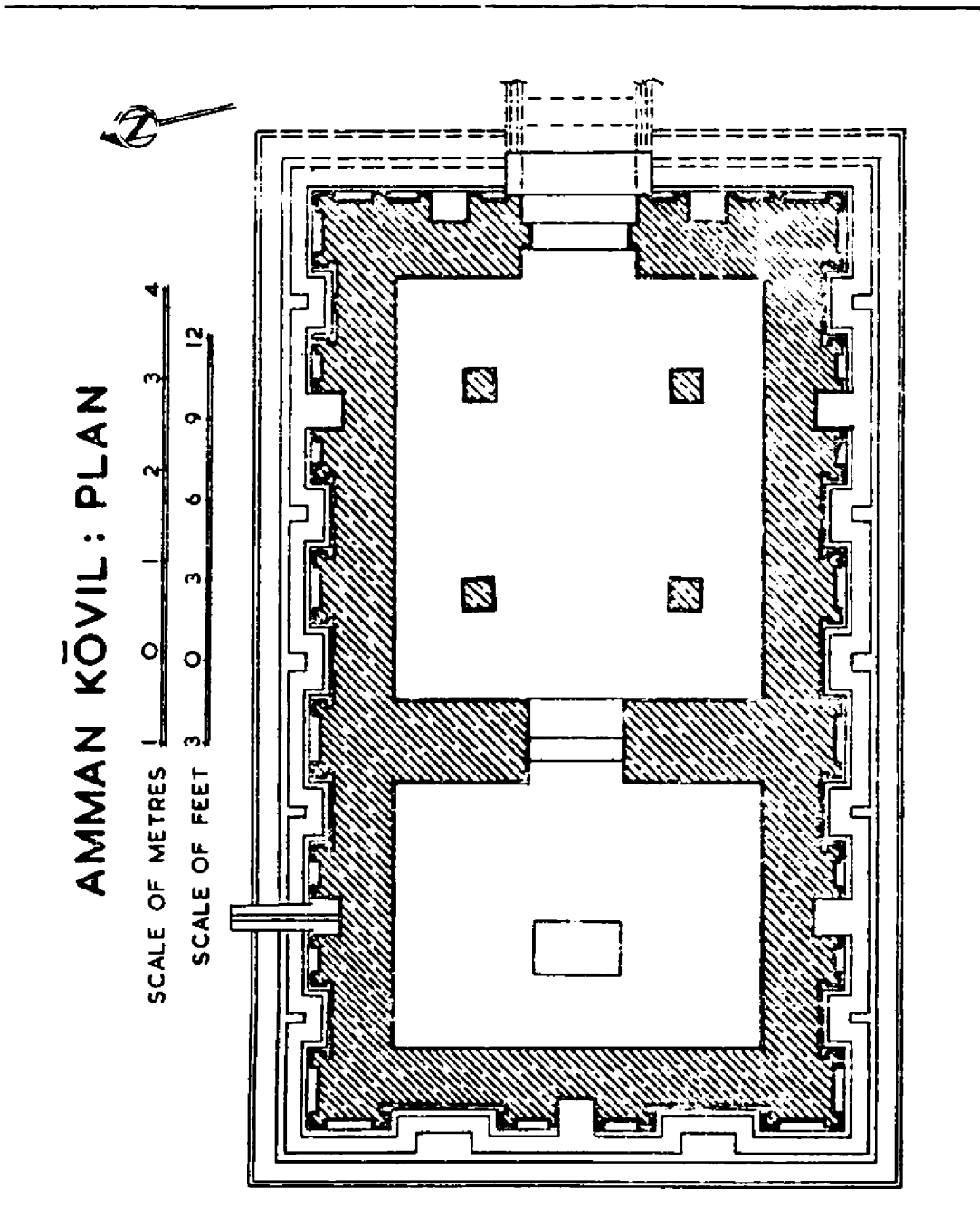

AMMAN KŌVIL : PLAN
SCALE OF METRES 1 0 1 2 3 4
SCALE OF FEET 3 0 3 6 9 12

Fig. 2

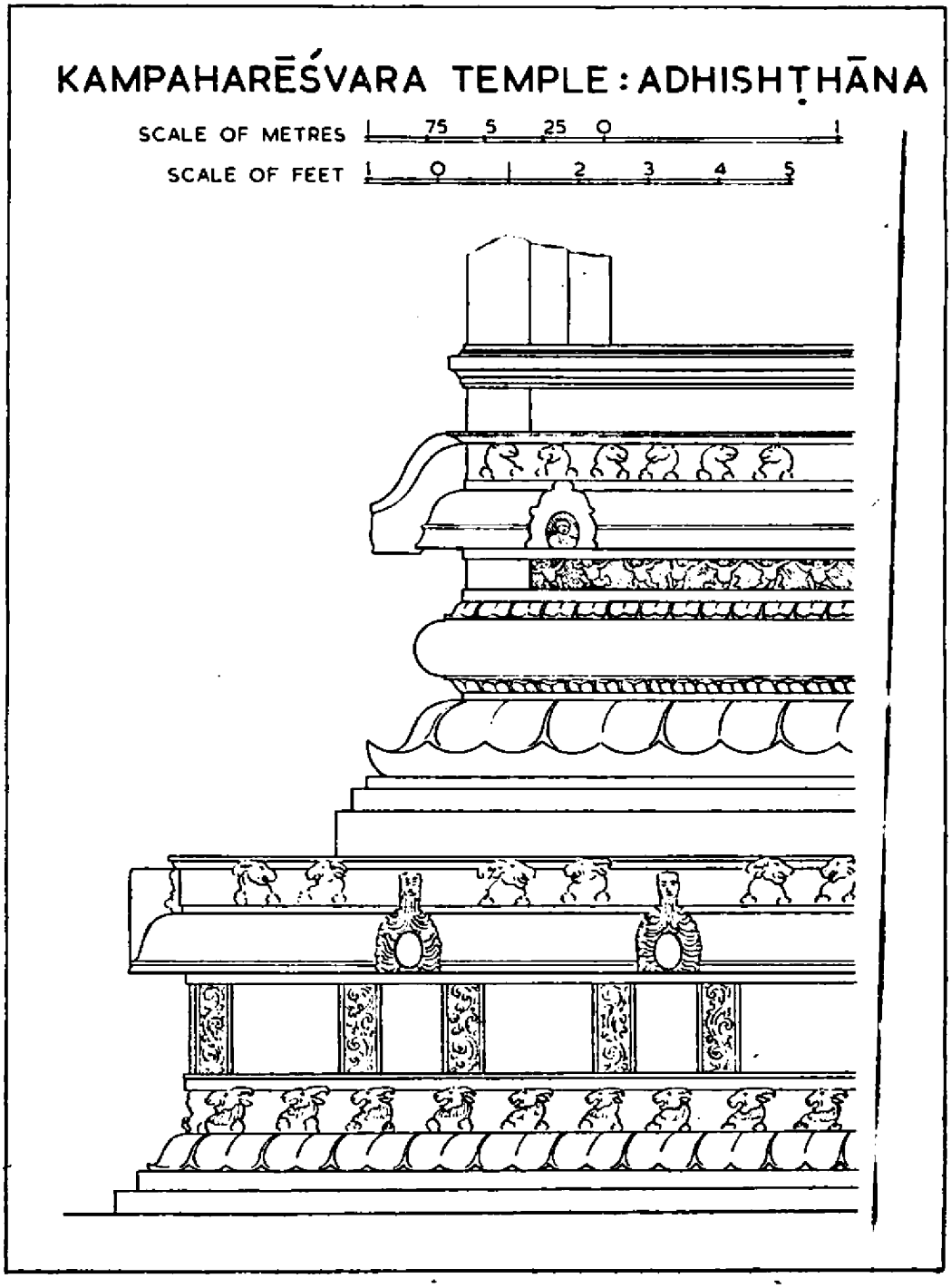

KAMPAHARĒŚVARA TEMPLE : ADHISHṬHĀNA
SCALE OF METRES
75 5 25 0 1
SCALE OF FEET
1 0 1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 3

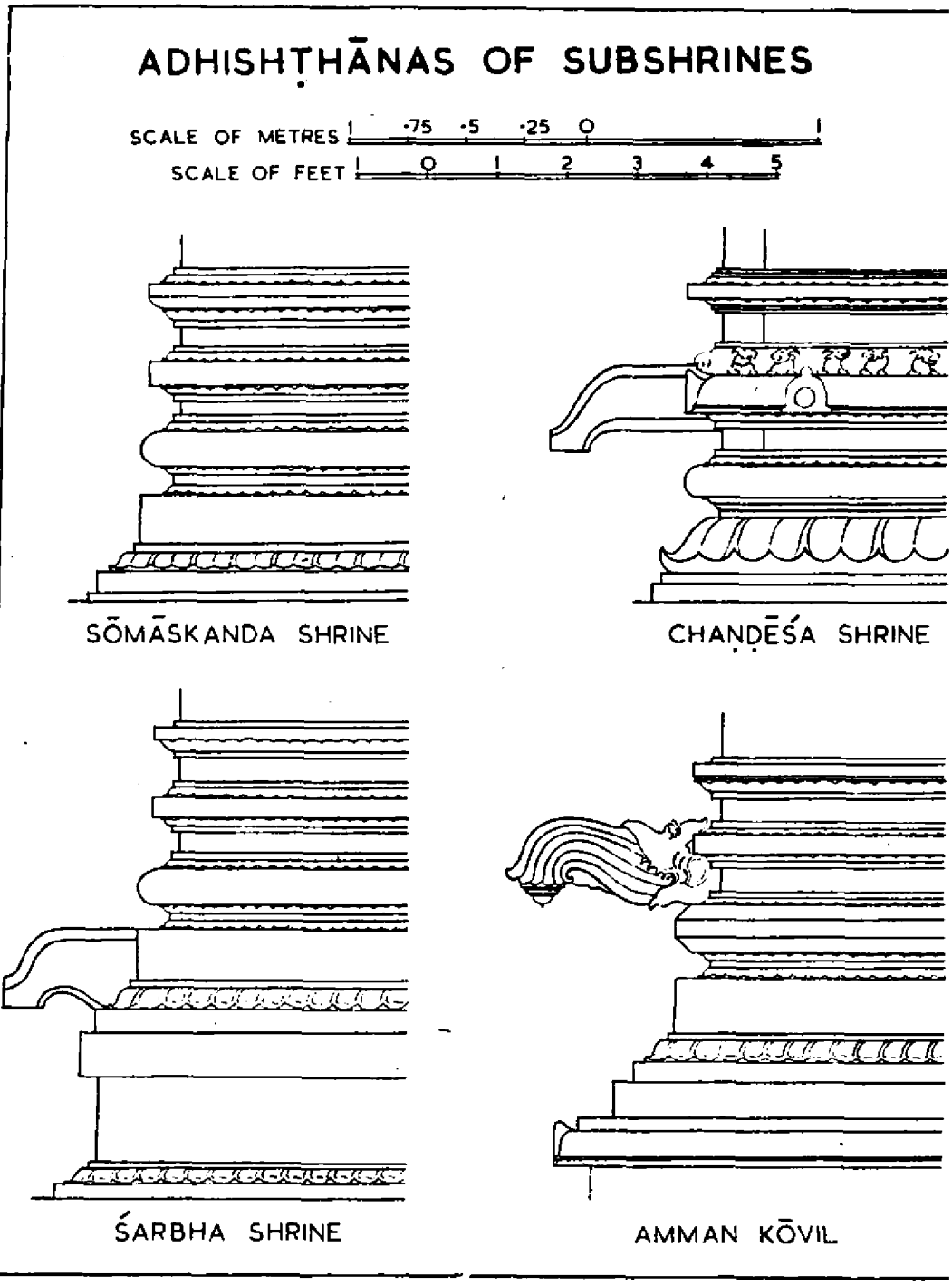

ADHISHṬHĀNAS OF SUBSHRINES
SCALE OF METRES
·75 ·5 ·25 0 1
SCALE OF FEET
0 1 2 3 4 5
SŌMĀSKANDA SHRINE
CHAṆḌĒŚA SHRINE
ŚARBHA SHRINE
AMMAN KŌVIL

Fig. 4

The eastern *gōpura* of the outer *prākāra* is of medium height, rising to five *talas*, and like all gateways of later periods, these are built of brick and decorated with stucco-work. As usual, the lower part enclosing the entry-way is made of stone and is divided into two tiers like the *āditala* of the Great temple of Thanjavur or Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. Pinnacled by *stūpīs*, the topmost part is a *śālā-śikhara*, simulating barrel-vaulted roof.[1] Needless to say, every storey has a large opening in the centre above the entry-way. "It is a large building," says Harle, "some 107 feet by 60 feet over all, having the rather squat superstructure characteristic of early *gōpuras*." He writes further that, "As regards the plan, the placing of the niches on the facades, vestibules and the general style, however, there is very little likeness between this *gōpura* and those at Chidambaram."[2] It is this *gōpura* which bears the two inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III.

The smaller inner *gōpura* on the east has three storeys, "measuring 52 feet by 39 feet." It has been restored in recent times. Yet its figural art is the best of the three gateways of the Kampaharēśvara temple. Two *dvārapālas*, figures of riders, dancers, musicians, "a *śāla-bhañjikā* on the south-east side, a Bhairava on the opposite one, and a figure of Vishṇu on the north-west side" are some of the stone-sculptures adorning the single tier of the gateway.

The fallen western *gōpura*, as its old photograph shows, had also five storeys. Like the other two, it is also of a squat type.

In the Kampaharēśvara, as in the Airāvatēśvara at Darasuram, Rājarājeśvara at Thanjavur or the one at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram, the *vimāna* is the dominant structure in the entire architectural composition, while the *gōpura* is subordinate to it in size and importance. But soon the emphasis shifts from the *vimāna* to the *gōpura*, from the *garbha-gṛiha* to the axial *maṇḍapa*. In short, the *garbha-gṛiha* has been made to hide itself behind an

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1. An interesting observation by Jouveau-Dubreuil is that "*gopuras* usually have an uneven number of storeys as well as an uneven number of finials *(stupis)* along the ridge of the crowning pavilion, the latter being equal to or two greater than, the number of floors," See James C. Harle, *Temple Gateways in South India* (Oxford, 1963), p. 5.

2. Harle (1963), *ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

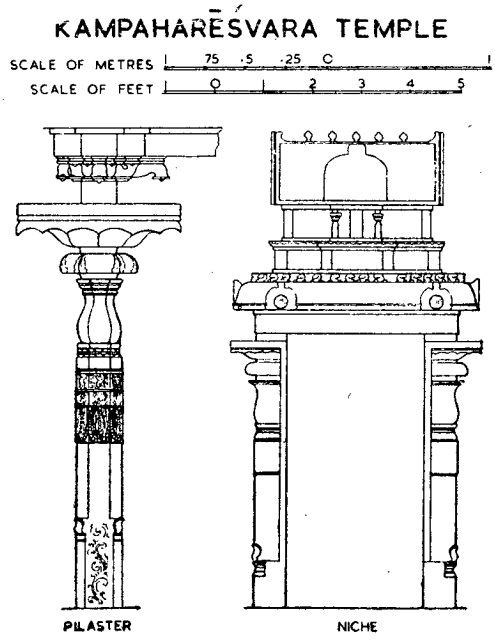



Fig. 5

array of structures of secondary importance. Evidently, the emphasis was laid, in the post-Chōḷa period on outward pomp and exuberance.

But the two outer *gōpuras*, with five storeys of the Kampaharēśvara temple, seem to be out of tune with the whole layout. There is no important structure between the inner and the outer *prākāras*. Moreover, the inner enclosure has been raised too close to the sanctum; and all the subsidiary shrines have been clustered on one side. All this gives an impression of non-availability of space, which might not have risen had the idea of the first enclosure been in the original scheme. In the circumstances, we have to assume that the outer *prākāra* is a later addition. But such a postulation raises a number of points, of which the presence of the inscribed stones in the eastern *gōpura* is the most baffling. These two inscriptions may be the later copies of the original meant for fixing them onto the outer eastern *gōpura*.

To Harle, the architectural style of the outer eastern *gōpura* appears to be late. He writes in a footnote as follows: "The style of this building casts some doubt even upon this evidence. The *kapōtas* are ribbed, for instance. This is so far unknown at such an early date. The odd rampant *yāḷis* emerging from the wall-surface of the sub-base are, strangely, almost identical to the figures in the same position on the *gōpura* at Tiruvarur just mentioned above. The whole style appears somewhat debased. The position and authenticity of the Kulōttuṅga III inscriptions should be verified."[1]

Incidentally speaking, it is doubtful if the temple-complex had any *teppakuḷam* inside in the original layout.[2]

1. James C. Harle (1963), *op. cit.*, p. 25 fn.

2. For fig. 4 on page 27, line 13 please read fig. 5, while for figs. 5&6 on line 30 of the same page please read fig. 4.

# SCULPTURAL ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The sculptural art of the Kampaharēśvara, compared to the great magnitude of the edifice, is not prolific, nor it is the product of any *atelier* noted for refined sensibility and freshness of ideas. Everything has now been standardized—sculpture as well as architecture. All the themes of the bas-reliefs harp on familiar subjects and episodes; even the dance-scenes do not cast any spell on the minds of onlookers. As most of the scenes, specially the narrations, are restricted to the narrow strip, representing the *kaṇṭha* of the *upapīṭha*, they are devoid of any natural appeal due, in no small measure, to the positional disadvantage.

The figures of the *dēva-kōshṭhas* are, however, marked by somewhat bold execution reminiscent of the Chōḷa tradition. Decadence had already set in, and emphasis was laid more on iconometry than on artistic expression and dynamism of form. This is apparent even from the bas-reliefs delineating the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Here some elements of folk-art pervades not only the execution but also the themes. It is doubtful if Kambaṇ's work was familiar to the sculptors of the Kampaharēśvara temple. Scenes selected here for the narration are noted for dramatic action and popular appeal but the execution lacks realistic form and refined expression. Nevertheless, these sculptural contents may be in the form of: (i) miniature panels and reliefs and (ii) the images in the round. The former group may further be subdivided into four, *viz*, (a) the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, (b) mythological scenes, (c) animal-fights, and (d) dance-scenes from the *Bharata-nāṭyam*. Let us begin here with the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, confined to the middle part of the southern basement.

## 2. SCENES FROM THE RĀMĀYAṆA

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been depicted in a score of panels beginning from the scene of the Pañchavaṭī to that of Kuśa and Lava reciting the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* before the large gathering

in the venue of Aśvamēdha sacrifice, as detailed in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of Vālmīkī's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some of the panels cannot be identified satisfactorily, though most of them present clearly the main subject of the individual reliefs. These are executed mostly on the base of the Somāskanda shrine, which seems to have been rebuilt at a later stage.

In the Pañchavaṭī scene (pl. IX A), are figured Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa seated on a *vēdikā*, perhaps inside a hut. It is followed immediately by the Sūrpaṇakhā episode occupying no less than four panels. In Vālmīkī's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sūrpaṇakhā appears throughout the incident in her original form whereas its Bengal recension portrays her as approaching Rāma in a most charming appearance.[1] The *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇa* also depicts her as a beautiful lady. Yet it seems that the authors of these reliefs followed some local theme, which differs more from Kambaṇ than from Vālmīkī. At first, Sūrpaṇakhā, assuming the form of a beautiful lady is shown enticing Rāma (pl. IX B). Sūrpaṇakhā, in the next panel (pl. X A), has been shown fighting, with weapons in hands, with Lakshmaṇa : she is depicted here twice in her assumed form. Then comes the episode of the disfigurement of Sūrpaṇakhā, which according to some scholars, was incorporated at a later stage in Vālmīkī's narration. Lakshmaṇa, at the behest of Rāma, cuts off the ears and nose of Sūrpaṇakhā, who is now in the original form as a *rākshasī*. Lakshmaṇa climbs on her left shoulder to disfigure her. With upraised hands she runs away in the forest. The seated figure to her left appears to be Rāma (pl. X B). There is doubtless a marked departure from Kambaṇ whose accounts say that not only ears and nose have been cut off but also her breasts. In the present scene, her breasts are shown unhurt. But the most interesting depiction is the portrayal of Lakshmaṇa almost as a child on the arm of the monstrous Sūrpaṇakhā.

As it is well-known the Sūrpaṇakhā episode leads eventually to the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. In these carvings, the narration of *Sītā-haraṇa* has been distributed into ten panels. Of them, the first one depicts Sītā imploring Rāma seated by her side, to catch hold of the agile and enchanting animal. Rāma goes out, and one of the scenes shows him shooting an arrow at the rearing golden deer. He chases it further, and this time his arrow hits the animal, who takes the real appearance of

1. C. Bulke, " Surpanaka in the Rama-story, " *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists, III, pt. I (Poona, 1699), pp. 204-206.*

Mārīcha (pls. XI A & B). On the other side Rāvaṇa arrives in a chariot with retinue; an elephant is also amongst them (pl. XII A). It is doubtful if the idea of the heavenly chariot, the *pushpaka-vimāna*, which moves in the sky, has been represented here. In the next scene, Rāvaṇa comes to Sītā as a *tapasi* ("sage"), evidently after the departure of Lakshmaṇa. However, the actual scene of abduction has not been shown. What has been delineated in the next panel is a wheeled chariot, in which Sītā sits in a pensive mood between Rāvaṇa and the charioteer; Jaṭāyu, the prince of birds, puts up a fierce resistence (pl. XII B). The bird has been shown in the next scene in a crest-fallen attitude while the chariot moves past the valiant Jaṭāyu, now maimed and fatally wounded (pl. XIII A). Sītā is in the same pose as before. In the original story as well as in the *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇa*, the charioteer dies because of Jaṭāyu's attack but in the present scene he is shown alive. Significantly, in none of the scenes, Rāvaṇa is depicted as embracing Sītā or making her sit on his lap. This is contrary to the description of Vālmīki.

The venue of events now shifts to Laṅkā, possibly symbolized by a part of an edifice; in the other half Trijaṭā, the daughter of Vibhīshaṇa and Saramā, consoles Sītā in the Aśōkavana (pl. XIII B).

The artist now takes us to the Ṛishyamūkha-*parvata* where Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are shown seated on an elevated place. Rāma now makes friendship with Sugrīva. The present scene belongs to one of the events at this place. In front of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, stands Sugrīva in folded hands, while Tārā prostrates before them; the other figure of the monkey appears to be Aṅgada, the son of Tārā by Vālī. In all likelihood, it is a scene of Tārā's grief after the death of her husband in the hands of Rāma (pl. XIV A).

Again the scene shifts to Laṅkā. Hanumān, after the burning of Laṅkā, meets Sītā in the Aśōkavana. In the middle part of the panel Hanumān is shown giving her signet ring, but Sītā wears a hesitant mood. It follows, though in the same relief, the scene of Hanumān's taking leave of Sītā, now a considerably relaxed figure. Evidently, it delineates the event of taking *chūḍāmaṇi* from Sītā (pl. XIV B).

Soon there ensues a fierce battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa for the rescue of Sītā. Rāvaṇa has been portrayed with ten heads and twenty

hands. He is engaged in a bitter fight with Rāma (pl. XV A). After this panel comes the scene of the killing of Rāvaṇa, who falls down at the fatal strike by Rāma. By the side of falling Rāvaṇa stands the wailing Maṇḍōdarī, his wife (pl. XV B). In the next one, Rāma is shown in the company of Vibhīshaṇa, who later becomes the king of Laṅkā (pl. XVI A).

A few scenes that follow the above-mentioned one are difficult to identify. In one of the scenes, Rāma, Sītā, and Lakshmaṇa offer worship to Śiva (pl. XVI B). Perhaps it pertains to the scene of their returning from Laṅka after the victory. Compared to the other events, which are full of dramatic import, it is a scene introduced only for didactic purposes, possibly to proclaim the glory of Śaivism. The scene of dance and merriment that succeeds the last one may represent Rāma's return to Ayōdhyā after fourteen years of exile (pl. XVII A). Here ends the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, and also possibly the original story of Vālmīkī. Kambaṇ stops his narration at this point.

But our story continues, perhaps following the thread of *Uttarakāṇḍa*, which is decidedly an interpolation of much later origin. In all probability, the next two panels deal with some incidents that take place at Vālmīkī's hermitage (pls. XVII B & XVIII A). As the story goes, Lakshmaṇa and Sumantra leave Sītā near the *āshrama* of Vālmīkī. Here Sītā gives birth to the twin, Kuśa and Lava. The portrayal of a lady with a child on her lap, flanked on either side by an armed person, may be identified as Sītā holding one of the sons. Of the last panel, the first part is devoted to the depiction of Kuśa and Lava reciting in the presence of Vālmīkī, the immortal story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To their right is Rāma with folded hands. The recital may have taken place at the site of the *Aśvamēdha* before a vast gathering, perhaps here represented by four figures, one of them being a lady, who might be even Sītā (pl. XVIII B).

It is evident from the above that the story here does not follow Kambaṇ. It is more nearer to Vālmīkī despite the fact that there are a number of local adaptations to suit the bardic needs and local moods. Undoubtedly, Vālmīkī's *Rāmāyaṇa* with some alterations here and there was in vogue in different parts of Tamiḻnāḍu; the artists of the Kampaharēśvara picked up one such theme to depict the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. As a corollary can it be assumed that *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇa* did not attain wide currency when Kulōttuṅga III built his stupendous monument?

## 3. MYTHOLOGICAL AND OTHER SCENES

The *Rāmāyaṇa* panels are followed by two main themes running in alternate succession. One of them relates to animal fights, in which a lion and an elephant take active part. Also, there is a scene of a deer fighting a lion. But most of the panels on the southern side are devoted to the fight-scene between lion and elephant. Occasionally, dance-scenes do intervene but not in the same incidence as we notice on the basement of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The other narrative deals with the Narasiṁha episode, and in one of the panels, Narasiṁha has been shown coming out of a column. It is followed by the scene of Yōga-Narasiṁha tearing the entrails of Hiraṇyakaśipu. After a few panels, has been depicted a fight-scene, which may be the scene of taming of Narasiṁha by Śarabha, a conception that made its appearance in the later Chōḷa times.

On the western side of *garbha-gṛiha* have been carved various scenes but without any continuous narration. They include *śāla-bhañjikā*, Gaṇēśa with Śaṅkha-nidhi and Padma-nidhi, and various dance-poses. Even the representations on the northern base show the predominance of dance-scenes, which continue to be the favourite motif of the Chōḷa artists from the time of Rājarāja I onwards. At the same time, the story of the lion and the elephant continues, and no less than forty panels deal with it. It is not known if all this scene pertains to some well-known story or is the product of artist's imagination. It has, however, to be admitted that the introduction of these panels in the basement, apart from other ornamental features, has made the *upapīṭha* and the *adhishṭhāna* highly attractive.

## 4. SCULPTURES IN ROUND

Sculptures in the round adorn the *dēva-kōshṭhas* of the four walls and these have already been described before (p. 26). However, for the sake of completeness, it is proposed to deal here with some of their artistic and iconographic features. So far as the images in the *dēva-kōshṭhas* of the sanctum are concerned they hardly reveal any iconographic peculiarity. Each deity has its place ear-marked : seated Dakshiṇāmūrti on the south, Liṅgōdhbava (pl. V) on the west and Brahmā (pl. IV) on the north, now replaced by a smaller image belonging to some other temple. In the niches of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* are to be seen six-armed Durgā (pl. VIII), on

the north, standing on the severed head of Mahisha, and Gaṇēśa on the south. Two *dēva-kōshṭhas* on the eastern side of the shrine proper are meant for warriors holding sword and shield (pl. VI). They have grace but not the vigour that a warrior should effuse in his appearance. Images in the niches of the subsidiary Dēvī shrine to the north contain representations of *Ichchhā-śakti*, *Kriyā-śakti* and *Jñāna-śakti*. All these sculptures are quite perfect in proportions, but lack vivacity and assuredness. Moreover, they are not noted for any refined expression, a quality inherent in a true work of art.

Of all the representations from this temple, the image of Śarabha, iconographically and from the point of view of religious history, is the most significant. Śarabha is a mythical animal which has been conceived as a foil to the Vaishṇava idea of Narasiṁha (above, p. 28 ). Various texts like the *Kāmikāgama*, *Śrītatvanidhi*, *Uttarakāraṇāgama* and others have described the Śarabhēśamūrti of Śiva. Gopinatha Rao has collected all the relevant data from different texts and has also described the bronze image from the Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam. He describes the image as follows : " In this piece of sculpture Śarabha is represented as having three legs, the body and a face of the lion, a tail and four human arms ; in the right upper hand is the *paraśu*, in the lower right one the *pāśa*, in the upper left one the *mṛiga* and in the lower left the *agni*. With the front leg Śarabhamūrti has pinioned Nṛisiṁha, who is struggling against his adversary with his eight arms.".[1] But the texts do not give identical description of the iconography of Śarabha.

The Śarabha cult became current possibly in the late Chōḷa times, as the representation of the deity has been noticed not only at Tribhuvanam but also at Darasuram.[2] The emergence of this conception coincides with the spectacular rise of Śaivism under the Chōḷa rulers. Perhaps the idea of Śarabhamūrti expresses the determination on the part of Śaivas to

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras, 1916), Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 171-74.

2. A Sarabha shrine is reported from Tirukkoshtiyur, in Tiruppattur Taluk of District Ramanathapuram but the sanctum enshrines a *linga*, and not a Sarabhamurti.

counter the rising influence of Vaishṇavism after the advent of Rāmānuja. It is evident also from its mythological background.[1]

The militant mood of Śaivism, as revealed in the iconography of Śarabha, is absent in other forms. As a matter of fact, there is no other *saṁhāramūrti* of Śiva in this temple. The Liṅgōdbhavamūrti enshrined in the western *dēva-kōshṭhas*, was, however, created to proclaim the glory of Śaivism as the legend associated with the Liṅgōdbhavamūrti of Śiva reflects sectarian bias.[2] Basically it is a combination of human form with the aniconic one, similar to the famous Gudimallam liṅga, near Renigunta, Andhra Pradesh. Generally, the figure of Śiva is shown emerging from the middle of the column. In the representation of the Tribhuvanam temple, Śiva is portrayed with four hands, one of the front ones is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the other resting on the hip (*kaṭyavalaṁbita*); the remaining two hold *paraśu* and black buck. It offers practically the full-length view of Śiva contrary to the prescriptions of the *Āgamas*. Over the top of the phallus has been shown a wreath of flowers and swan, the vehicle of Brahmā, on the top left. The Varāha-form of Viṣṇu, depicted at the bottom, is in the posture of burrowing the earth. Flames have been shown in very stylized form around the oval depression surrounding the anthropomorphic form of Śiva.

1. Gopinatha Rao writes as follows: "Vishnu in his Nrisimhavatara, destroyed the *asura* Hiranyakasipu who was causing great annoyance to the gods. Even after the destruction of the *asura* Vishnu did not abate his terrific attitude which was causing damage to the inhabitants of the world. They approached Siva for succour and Siva promised them his help. He at once assumed the form of a *sarabha*, an animal with two heads, two wings of resplendant beauty, eight legs of the lion with sharp claws, and a long tail; making dreadful noise the Sarabha approached Nrsimha caught hold of him and tore him up; the skin of Narasimha, he wore as his garment and the head was worn on his chest or as some accounts have it, on his *makuta* as an ornamont. Vishnu came to his proper senses and retired, after praising Siva, to his own abode, the Vaikuntha."

2. It is said that once Brahma and Vishnu were disputing their individual claims for the creation of the *Brahmanda*. There appeared all of a sudden a blazing column of fire. Vishnu tried to fathom the depth, while Brahma made an attempt to reach the top; both failed. When both the gods began to praise the fiery pillar, Siva appeared in the body of the blazing column. See T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-111. Also J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 462.

The other form of Śiva, and it is decidedly a *saumya* form, available in all the Śaiva or Vaishṇava temples, is Dakshiṇāmūrti, portraying god as the master of various arts like dancing, practising *yōga* and playing different musical instruments. Invariably the southern *dēva-kōshṭha* is reserved for this image, generally with four hands. The one at Tribhuvanam temple does not differ from the general type. One of its legs hangs down and touches the Apsmārapurusha symbolizing Ignorance, whereas the other one is placed on the thigh. Attributes in three hands comprise book, snake and fire—the fourth one being in the *chinmudrā*.

According to the general practice, the northern *dēva-kōshṭha* of a Chōḷa temple is ear-marked for Brahmā with four heads, three of which are visible. It is a standing four-armed image, all the heads wearing *jaṭā-makuṭa*. None of the attributes in the hands and hand-poses are usual: *akshamāla* in the back right, *kamaṇḍalu* in the back left, front right in the *abhaya* and the front left in the *kaṭyavalaṁbita-hasta*. This image is the best specimen of sculpture from the Kampaharēśvara temple but it appears to have belonged originally to some smaller temple.

Of the images of Dēvī from the temple, the most important is the representation of Durgā in a northern *dēva-kōshṭha*. She stands in *ābhaṅga* on the head of Mahisha and has six hands holding variously *chakra*, *śaṅkha*, shield and sword; of the two other hands, one is in *abhaya* and the other *kaṭyavalaṁbita*. Images of Durgā with six hands are rather uncommon although there are enough textual references to support the iconography.[1] All these deities hardly reflect any definite religious philosophy or attitude.

## 5. MISCELLANEOUS CARVINGS

It is not easy to list out the different types of carvings that this gigantic edifice possesses. Most of the decorative elements of the superstructure are in stucco, those too, retouched and re-painted in recent years. The *vyālamālā* of the *upapīṭha* or *adhishṭhāna* and the one above the *prastara* are not of any importance except the fact that

1. T. A Gopinatha Rao in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. II. (Madras, 1916), p. 103 quotes *patala* 44 of *Uttarakamikagama* according to which Devi can also have six-arms: *yathestastrapi va samkha chakra hasta tu shadbhuja*.

it is prescribed in various *śilpa* texts as a decorative motif. *Dvārapālas* carved on balustrades are executed in reliefs and not in the round. But reliefs of various *bhūta* figures on the balustrades are in frolicking mood and represent good examples of art. Architecturally as well as artistically the chariot-shaped *maṇḍapa* is a marvellous achievement. Unfortunately only one specimen of stone wheel with carvings in low relief is now available. It depicts twelve spokes indicating the twelve months of the year and twelve figures of Sūrya (*Dvādaśāditya*). Bracket-figures around the chariot-shaped *maṇḍapa* are also fine. A beautiful image of *dōhada* or *śāla-bhañjikā*, now kept in the cloister, was possibly a bracket figure. The slim and supple figure holds the branch of the blossoming *śāla* tree while her right foot touches its trunk.[1] Despite all this, it has to be admitted that sculptural art remains subservient to the architectural grandeur of this temple. Most of the art-pieces are impressive objects of craftsmanship, but the level of their artistic sensibility is perhaps not very high.

## 6. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Admittedly it was not a period of high watermark of the Chōḷa art which began from the time of Vijayalaya.[2] The art and architecture

1. As one of the hands is broken, it is not certain whether the figure stands for *sala-bhanjika* or *dohada*, the latter appears to be a better identification in view of the following facts. The tree represented appears to be *asoka* rather than *sala*, and *dohadas* are generally depicted in the same pose. According to Kalidasa (*Malavikagnimitra*, III, 12) the *asoka* tree has a special privilege to receive kick from *dohada*. The word *sala-bhanjika* means a statue or a game of gathering *sala* flowers. For the evolution of the meaning of the term, see C. Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art — Mirrors of Indian Culture*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 73 (Delhi, 1955), pp. 1 and 39.

2. The origin of Chola art is a subject of controversy. Percy Brown, Douglas Barrett and M. A. Dhaky hold that there was no Pallava-Chola transitional style. On the other hand, J. Dubreuil, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, K. R. Srinivasan, and R. Nagaswamy believe that the later Pallava style influenced early Chola art and architecture. The present position of the controversy has been summed up by R. Nagaswamy in his recent paper, "The Thirupalanam Temple — a study in the Pallava-Chola Transitional phase," *Damilica*, II (Madras, 1972), pp. 89-94.

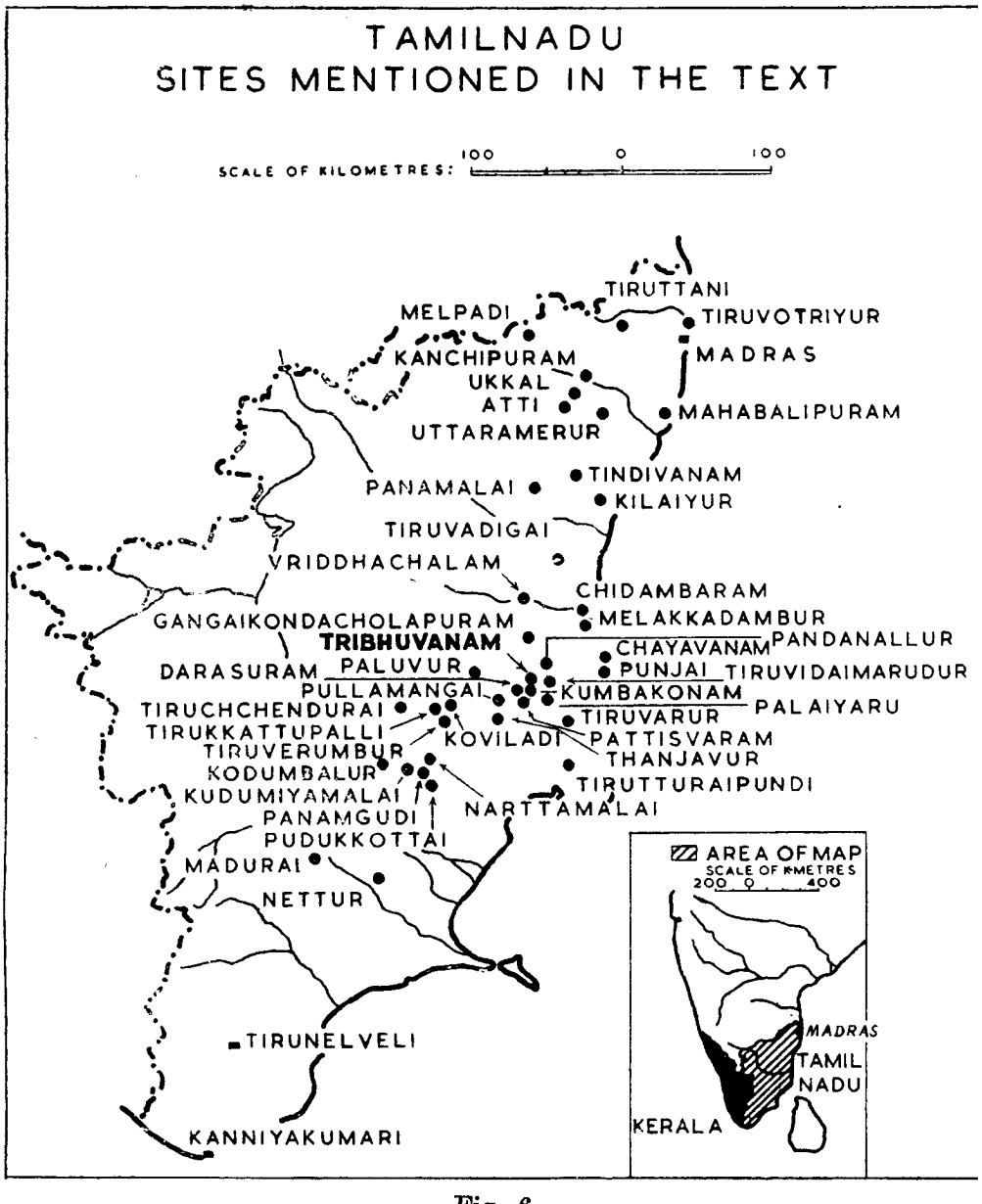

TAMILNADU
SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT
SCALE OF KILOMETRES: 100 0 100
TIRUTTANI
MELPADI
TIRUVOTRIYUR
KANCHIPURAM
MADRAS
UKKAL
ATTI
MAHABALIPURAM
UTTARAMERUR
PANAMALAI
TINDIVANAM
KILAIYUR
TIRUVADIGAI
VRIDDHACHALAM
CHIDAMBARAM
GANGAIKONDACHOLAPURAM
MELAKKADAMBUR
TRIBHUVANAM
CHAYAVANAM
PANDANALLUR
DARASURAM
PALUVUR
PUNJAI
TIRUVIDAIMARUDUR
PULLAMANGAI
KUMBAKONAM
TIRUCHCHENDURAI
PALAIYARU
TIRUVARUR
TIRUKKATTUPALLI
KOVILADI
PATTISVARAM
TIRUVERUMBUR
THANJAVUR
KODUMBALUR
TIRUTTURAIPUNDI
KUDUMIYAMALAI
NARTTAMALAI
PANAMGUDI
PUDUKKOTTAI
MADURAI
NETTUR
TIRUNELVELI
KANNIYAKUMARI
AREA OF MAP
SCALE OF KMETRES
200 0 400
MADRAS
TAMIL
NADU
KERALA

Fig. 6

of the Chōḷas, as it is well-known, passed through three major phases: early (850–1000), middle (1000–1078) and late (1078-1279); and the Kampaharēśvara was built in the late phase when many of the artistic impulses had become feeble and placid. The popularity of literature and oral art was also responsible for shifting the emphasis from the visual art. At the same time, the elegance of the metal form had caught the imagination and it is a fact that "the finer line of distinction between stone and bronze altogether disappears in the sculpture from the Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam for instance."[1]

In the Chōḷa times the sculptures in the *dēva-kōshṭhas* and panel-work in the bases of the temple achieved great excellence. The Chōḷa artists reduced the heaviness of the wall by striking a balance between the central niche and wall-pilasters. Sculptures here are inalienable components of architecture, and not independent entities. Generally, "the central niches on the *garbha-gṛiha* walls carry Dakshiṇāmūrti and Brahmā, on the southern and northern walls respectively; the western (or the back) niche will carry either Liṅgōdbhava, Ardhanārī or Harihara."[2] *Dēva-kōshṭhas* of the Chōḷa temples are really *koshṭhas* and not sham niches like those of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam or Chēra country nor they are excessively deep like those of the Muttaraiyar temples.[3] Modelling of these images is perfectly delectable and lively. Of all the images, Brahmā stands as an outstanding creation of Chōḷa art. Indeed the late Chōḷa phase shows the continuity of all the traits but lacks the ethereal beauty and animation that stir one's emotion.

Much greater decadence is noticed in the panel work of the bases. In the Pallava times, panels occur mostly on the *upapīṭha* as in the Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple at Uttaramerur. But the Chōḷa artists selected the *kaṇṭha* of the *adhishṭhāna* or *upapīṭha* to display their

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1 M.A. Dhaky, "Chola Sculpture," *Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume of Bharat Kala Bhavan* (Varanasi 1972), p. 285.

2. R. Nagaswamy (1973), *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91. Also, K. V. Soundara Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles* (New Delhi, 1972), p. 33.

3. M.A. Dhaky (1972), *op. cit.*, p. 288.

mastery over panel-work and miniature carvings. In imitation of log-ends, the *kaṇṭha* was decorated with *gala-pādas*, and the Chōḷa artists selected these places for delicate composition. These minute carvings include not only floral or animal motifs but also scenes from the *purāṇas* and the two epics. The *adhishṭhāna* and the *vēdikā* of the Naltuṇai-Īśvara temple at Punjai have exquisitely-carved reliefs depicting various such scenes: in dynamic movement and plasticity of forms these can hardly be equalled. Compared to these compositions, the panels of the Kampaharēśvara temple appear primitive, although their author was fully conversant with a *Rāmāyaṇa* story, then in vogue in the area.

# CONCLUSION

## 1. DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

The Kampaharēśvara or Tribhuvanavirēśvara temple was built towards the end of the long reign of Kulōttuṅga III (1178–1218) inasmuch as his inscriptions, including the two from the Pudukkottai region, mention its construction at the end of the long list of building operations (above p. 19). One of the Pudukkottai inscriptions is dated to the thirty-fourth regnal year, and it is, therefore, quite likely that the temple might have been consecrated in *circa* A.D. 1212 or one or two years before this date. It was a period when his earthly glory must have also reached its heights.

There is a possibility that the outer *prākāra* along with the two *gōpuras* came into existence at some later period. The mention of the Kampaharēśvara at the end of the epigraph may also suggest that either the inscriptions on the *gōpuras* were re-engraved or their last two lines have been incised in subsequent times.

## 2. SYSTEM OF ŚIVA-VIŚISHṬĀDVAITA

The Sanskrit inscription[1] from the temple says clearly that the consecration ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī was performed by Sōmēśvara, who bore another name Īśvaraśiva. As stated earlier, (p. 19), he was an authority on the *Śaiva-Darśana*, and eighteen *vidyās* and wrote *Siddhānta-ratnākara*. It has been surmised that Īśvaraśiva is synonymous with Īśānaśiva, who was the author of *Siddhāntasāra*.[2] But, as it will be shown presently, it is of doubtful correlation.

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1. The text of the inscription, based on T. N. Subramaniam (1954), *op. cit.*, pp. 944-948, has been given in Appendix I below. It is a metrical composition of a high order and various meters like *Salini*, *Vasanta-tilaka*, *Indravajra*, *Sardulavikriditam*, *Upajati* and *Arya* have been used here.

2. *Annual Reports on Epigraphy* 1908, pp. 80-81.

Kulōttuṅga III's period, from the point of view of religious history, was full of significant developments. Various Śaiva teachers from the north—it was certainly a two-way traffic — came on pilgrimage. We have already stated (p. 19) about the visit of one Omkāradēva Irāvaḷar of Vārānasī in 1214. In the epigraph, he has been described as a disciple of Jñāna-Śiva Irāvaḷar of the *Santāna* of Lakshādhyāya Irāvaḷar, of Vārānasī's Kollāmaṭha.[1] The name Jñāna-Śiva itself assumes significance, once we compare it with names like Īśvara-Śiva or Īśāna-Śiva. Perhaps names ending in Śiva or Śambhu is a peculiarity of some Śaiva sects,[2] who had their spheres of influence not only in the south but also in the north. If that be the case, it is not proper to equate, without definite evidence, Īśāna-Śiva with Īśvara-Śiva. It is also apparent that members of the sect was known not only by their real name but also by their assumed or probably *dīkshā*-name. For example, Kulōttuṅga III's *guru* was known both as Sōmēśvara and Īśvara-Śiva.

According to the inscription from the Kampaharēśvara temple Sōmēśvara was the son of Śrīkaṇṭha-Sambhu, who must have flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century. We know of one Śrīkaṇṭha who propounds a system of Śiva-Viśishṭādvaita, and the only commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's *Bhāshya* is Appayya Dīkshita's *Śivārkamaṇi-dīpikā*. His philosophy has many common points with the Viśishṭādvaita of Rāmānuja, who died in A.D. 1137 at Śrīraṅgam. It is well-known that Rāmānuja had to withdraw to Karnāṭaka in about A.D. 1098 and returned to Śrīraṅgam only after 1122. None the less, it has to be admitted that Śrīkaṇṭha-Śambhu, the father of Sōmēśvara, was by no means a contemporary of Rāmānuja, though it is not known for certain if the former and Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of *Brahmasūtra-bhāshyam*, are one and the same person. Yet another Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva Dēśika, a native of Gauḍadēśa (north Bengal) is mentioned by Aghōra Śivāchārya in his *Mahotsavavidhi*. In all likelihood, each one is a distinct personality, as the apparent dissimilarity in names may show. At the same time, it is clear from the Tribhuvanam inscription that the philosophy of Sōmēśvara bears close similarity with the Śiva-Viśishṭādvaita system of Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of *Brahmasūtrabhāshyam*,

1. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri (1955), *op. cit.*, p. 642.

2. Even the names of ascetics of the Mattamayura sect end in-Siva. In south Indian inscriptions, names of *gurus* or ascetics end usually in *-rasi*, *-siva* or *-pandita*. See *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV (Calcutta, reprinted), p. 71.

for that alone explains the statements *Viviktam-aupanishadam viśvādhikatvam viboh Yēna kāri cha śaiva darśana dṛiśā.* In his system, Śiva is the Supreme Being, conterminous with the entire universe. He equates Prajāpati with Paśupati; he identifies the "golden person within the Sun" with Śiva, who is higher than Nārāyaṇa.[1]

Śrīkaṇṭha, the exponent of the system of *Śiva-Viśishṭādvaita*, possibly belonged to Chidambaram, the mention of which occurs several times in his *Bhāshya*. An inscription dated to 1041, of the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa I refers to the *āchāryas* of the *Lakshādhyāya-santāna* of the *maṭha* of Patañjali-devar situated in Mēlaichchēri of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr (Chidambaram); the inscription is from the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Kilaiyur.[2] Kulōttuṅga III himself has been mentioned (above, p. 19) in his inscriptions as a great devotee of the god of Chidambaram. Evidently, Chidambaram continued to play a significant role in the history of Śaivism during the time of the later Chōḷas. Perhaps the place also attained renown as the centre of Śiva-Visishṭādvaita philosophy, and king Kulōttuṅga III was possibly a protagonist of the new system.

## 3. OTHER SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVISM

Apart from the Siddhāntins, there were several other Śaiva sects like Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Kāḷāmukhas (also called Mahāvratins),[3] Mattamayūras etc., in the Tamiḻ country. There are enough epigraphical evidence to show—some of the examples have already been cited (above, p. 49)—that contact between the north and south continued unabated. The Mattamayūra sect exercised great influence throughout India, and also over the rulers of the Kalachūri and Kākatīya dynasties. Branches of this sect were founded in several places of Āndhra and Tamiḻ

1. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *The Sivadvaita of Srikantha* (Madras, reprinted 1972), p. 50. It is worth-noting that the Tribhuvanam inscription does not say a word about the achievement of Srikantha-Sambhu, the father of Somesvara.

2. *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* 1946-47, no. 88.

3. This was the most dominant sect in south India in the ninth to the eleventh centuries and their important centres, as the epigraphical data reveal, were at Melpadi, Tiruvorriyur, Kodumbalur and so on. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1955), *op. cit.*, pp. 648-49.

countries. Known also as the Gōḷakī-maṭhas because of their association with circular shrines, they attracted scholars from distant parts of India. For instance, Vimala-śiva, one of the *Rājagurus* of the Kalachūri kings, hailed from Kēraḷa, while Viśvēśvara-śambhu, who initiated the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati to Śaiva faith, came from Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha in West Bengal. An inscription dated to A.D. 1217, of the time of Kulōttuṅga III speaks of another Irāvaḷan belonging to the Bhikshā-maṭha of Vārāṇasi.[1] A mythical king Arindama, who is said to have imported from Kanauj a number of learned Brāhmaṇas, together with their Śūdra sevants, is likewise mentioned in an epigraph of the time of Kulōttuṅga III. These Brāhmāṇas and their servants were settled in different parts of the Tamiḷ country.[2]

But the religious history of the Chōḷa country might not have been one of uninterrupted peace and tranquility. An inscription dated in the second regnal year of Rājarāja III (1146-1173) embodies a reference to *guhai-iḍikalaham* a "revolt in which monasteries were demolished."[3] The incident took place in the twenty-second regnal year (A.D. 1200) of Kulōttuṅga III. It is stated there that the property belonging to *guhai* in Tiruttuṟaipūṇḍi suffered considerable damage. Unfortunately it is not possible to infer anything positive from the meagre reference supplied by a solitary inscription. But we cannot rule out the possiblity of the presence of various rival groups, be they Śaivite or Vaishṇavite. It has also to be decided how far the philosophical developments of the time influenced the temple-rituals. At least, in the Tribhuvanam temple, we are unable to detect any change in rites and rituals.

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1955), *op. cit.*, p. 642. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1930-31, no. 72, furnishes the following information: "Registers gift of a gold ornament (terkkolgai) by Ravalan of the Varanasi Bhikshamatha to the temple of Pasupatisvaram-Udaiyar at Tiruppandanainallur, for being used at the time of the sacred bath of the god." The inscription belongs to the reign of Kulottunga III and occurs on the south wall of the Pasupatisvara temple at Pandanallur, near Kumbakonam.

2. Almost similar legend is in vogue in Bengal regarding the advent of Kulinism there. See D. C. Sircar "Rise of Kulinism in Mithila and Bengal", *K. A. Nilakantha Sastri Felicitation Volume* (Madras 1972), pp. 349-59. It is noteworthy that the Pala army before the time of Madanapala (1143-61), had also a Chola regiment.

3. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri (1955), *op. cit.*, p. 642.

## 4. CONCEPT OF DĒVĪ SHRINE

It is generally held that the Amman shrine or *Tirukkāmakōṭṭam* is "a new and significant addition introduced in the time of Rājēndra I."[1] Such a shrine was added later on in the Great temples of Thanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram. So far as the latter is concerned, the temple of goddess Bṛihannāyakī appears originally to be a Śiva temple enshrining the Śiva-liṅga, the image of the goddess being a later installation.[2] The temple seems to have been built on a square plan. Now the question arises if the conversion of the Śiva temple into a Dēvī shrine took place in the later years of Rājēndra I. Frankly speaking, we have no evidence to substantiate it. It is equally doubtful if the Dēvī shrine became an indispensible adjunct to a temple-complex from the time of Rājēndra I onwards. For, even in the Airavatēśvara temple at Darasuram, the Dēvī shrine did not come up as a part of the original layout. Srinivasan writes about the shrine as follows: "This Dēvī shrine or tirukkāmakōṭṭam as it is called seems to be a slightly later addition, perhaps of the time of Kulōttṅga III."[3] In the light of all this evidence, the Amman shrine of the Kampaharēśvara alone may be taken as one of the earliest such shrines which came up as a part and parcel of the original scheme and layout. As a corollary, we may say that it was Kulōttuṅga III who introduced this feature as an inalienable part of a temple-complex. That it was non-existent in the time of Rājadhirāja II is evident from the extant ruins of the Agastyēśvara temple at Atti, in North Arcot, which is a fairly big complex without any subsidiary shrine. It will be reasonable to conclude that the Amman shrine as a necessary adjunct became popular from about the last quarter of the twelfth century. Undoubtedly, as the use of rectangular plan discloses, the Amman shrines were inspired by the temples dedicated to Saptamātṛikas. It is noteworthy that rectangular shrines assumed considerable popularity in the west coast, and this architectural trend might have been derived there from the Maitraka and the Saindhava traditions of Gujarat.[4]

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1. *Archaeological Remains Monuments and Museums*, (New Delhi, 1964), [p. 233.
2. R. Nagaswamy (1970), *op. cit.*, p. 20.
3. K. R. Srinivasan (1948), *op. cit.*, p. 23.
4. The earliest epigraphical reference to *Tirukkamakottam* in Tamil inscriptions is from Chidambaram, dated to the rule of "Kulottunga I. Information from R. Nagaswamy.

## 5. NEW ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

It is difficult to surmise if the absence of *pradakshiṇā-patha* inside the sanctum in the temple-complexes at Darasuram and Tribhuvanam is due to some change in the ritual. It is present in the temples of Thanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram. Beautiful murals on the walls of the *pradakshiṇā-patha* in the former proves that it was very much in use. An intermediary wall was also a necessity to distribute the thrust and load of the superstructure. But in the temples of Airāvatēśvara and Kampaharēśvara, the circumambulatory path has been completely dispensed with. It was not a structural necessity, for the construction of a thicker wall must have cost more material and money. In the last two temples no attempt has been made to raise the height of the *āditala* by providing more than one functional storey. Indeed, what one sees in the Airāvatēśvara and the Kampaharēśvara is the amalgamation of *āntara-bhitti* and *bāhya-bhitti* without a *madhya-nāḍi*. This is prescribed in some of the *śilpa*-texts for smaller shrines[1] but why this construction was followed in the two gigantic temples is not known. One may detect in this innovation some change in outlook—some change in ritual, for by this time the provision of an inner ambulatory around the *garbha-gṛiha* was considered redundant. It is, however, an interesting development in south India because in contemporary Kēraḷa temples the number of circumambulatory path rose from one to four—two inside the sanctum and two outside, including the outer *pradakshiṇā-vari*.[2]

The Kampaharēśvara temple shares several architectural features which are common more in the succeeding rather than in the preceding phases. For instance, the corbels here are in the form of *pushpa-pōtikā*, which replaces completely the bevelled and tenon type of the Chōḷa tradition. It was the tenon projecting out of the bevelled surface that was transformed into a small lotus bud. The Great temple, either of Thanjavur or Gangaikondacholapuram, has bevelled corbels with tenon projecting out of it. On the other hand, the Airavatēśvara temple at Darasuram shows the employment of the *taraṅga* or rolled corbels with projecting tenon.

1. N. V. Mallaya, *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to Tantrasamuchchaya* (Annamalainagar, 1949) p. 47.

2. H. Sarkar, *Monuments of Kerala* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 34 and 40.

Incidentally, the *taraṅga* motif is an early form, more widespread in the Pallava phase of south Indian architecture. Nevertheless, it is in the Pārvatī shrine of the Airāvatēśvara temple-complex, built by Rājarāja II (1146–1173), that we come across the use of *pushpa-pōtikā*. Corbels here display "the gradual transition to the next stage of their evolution' with the central tenon assuming a campanulate floral form—the 'palastara' and 'pūmunai' the precursor of the later elaborate '*pushpa-bōdigais*' of the Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagara, Nāyak and modern times."[1] That the *pushpa-pōtikās* soon replaced the earlier trend completely is evident from their exclusive employment in the Agastyēśvara temple at Atti, in Cheyyar Taluk, District North Arcot. In was built, as the inscription on the *tripaṭṭa-kumuda* shows, in the second regnal year (1175) of Rājādhirāja II. It is a fairly big complex without any subsidiary shrine, and its superstructure, now completely lost, seems to have been built of brick.

Based on the evidence of the Airāvatēśvara temple, the appearance of the *pushpa-pōtikās* may, therefore, be dated towards the close of the third quarter of the twelfth century. The date does not differ substantially from the one propounded by Jouveau-Dubreuil. He dates this type to the thirteenth century and groups it under the Pāṇḍya style.[2] Eventually the lotus-bud takes the shape of what may be termed as plantain-flower.

Almost similar development takes place in the case of *praṇālas* used for letting out the lavation water. At the beginning it was just a channelled stone, which was provided later on with some sort of a lip or, in some cases, a marked curvature. The *praṇālas* of south Indian temples did show a line of evolution but this aspect need not detain us here. Suffice it here to say that in the last stage of development the lipped end, which has been termed in various *Vāstu-śāstras* as *gōmukha*, was replaced by a lotus-bud. Neither the *gōmukha* nor the *makara* or *siṁha-mukha* which in later times holds the shaft of the *ambu-mārga* or water-chute, are early features of the *praṇāla*. The *siṁha-mukha* motif is absent in the Great temples of Thanjavur

1. K. R. Srinivasan (1948), *op. cit.*, p. 21.

2. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archeologie du Sud de L'Inde* (Paris, 1914), p. 59.

and Gangaikondacholapuram but occurs in the Airavatēśvara and the Kampaharēśvara temples. In both the cases the end does not terminate into a lotus bud. It may tend to show that *praṇāla* ending in a lotus-bud appeared only during the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

In the delineation of *kūḍus* or *nāsikās* on various mouldings as well as of the *makara-tōraṇas* and *kumbha-pañjaras*, one notices marked developments which connect them more with the succeeding epochs than with the preceding phases. Now, the *adhishṭhāna* has become high and elaborate.[2] Practically the height of the *bhitti* is almost equal to that

1. During the Pallava period the *pranala* was just a channelled stone, some trace of which is extant in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi. In all the temples, however, some *ambu-marga* or the other is available; the most elaborate of such arrangement can be seen at the Talagirisvara temple at Panamalai. The one noticed in the Kailasanatha temple at Uttaramerur, of later Pallava origin, is in the shape of a channelled stone with an oblique cut at the end, simulating the lipped variety. But the Jalanadesvara temple at Takkolam built during the time of Aparajitavarman Pallava (885-903) has a unique type of *pranala* resembling a crouchant dwarf figure. It may be compared with a similar representation in the Airavatesvara temple at Darasuram, where the secondary *ambu-marga*, connecting the main one, has the shape of a *bhuta*-figure. The *pranala* in the Eastern Chalukyan temples of Biccavolu or Bhimavaram, resembles a *simha-mukha* without any channelled shaft. Thus, the two early types are: (i) channelled stone and (ii) *simha-mukha* respectively representing the Pallava and the Eastern Chalukyan traditions.

Some of the early Chola temples like the one at Chayavanam, Tiruchchennampundi, Tirukkattuppalli and other places have *pranalas* in the form of a curved stone issuing out of the *simha-mukha*. Perhaps it represents the fusion of two trends–the Pallava and the Eastern Chalukya. Examples from Tiruverambur, Punjai, Kovladi etc., represent just a curved stone without the *simha-mukha*.

2. James C. Harle, "South Indian Temple Bases", *Oriental Art* (New Series), Vol. III, no. 4 (1957), pp. 138-145. He writes, "In the later periods, the bases are the most remarkable feature of many temples. What is more, certain of these bases have never been surpassed, either in the spacing and individual beauty of their mouldings or in the harmony between their proportions and decoration and those of the building as a whole". His description of bases includes that of Tribhuvanam as well. According to him,

of the *adhishṭhāna*, and this type of arrangement and proportions later became the norm of the vertical elevation of a temple. Thus, from the standpoint of architectural development, the Kampaharēśvara temple represents an important landmark, since there are several features of south Indian temple-architecture that underwent qualitative change in this very temple after a long process of evolution, variously in the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa traditions. But the spire over the main shrine was not allowed to be overshadowed by its gateways which are not as short as those of the Pallava times but certainly do not belong to the category of the *rāya-gōpuram* represented by the ones at Srivilliputtur or Tiruvannamalai, the two tallest temple gateways of south India.

"In other respects, the treatment of the base at Tribhuvanam shows the tendency, already commenced at Gangaikondacholapuram, away from the simple, monumental and relatively flat mouldings of the early Chola Style, best exemplified in the great *vimana* at Tanjore, towards the more ornate, less imposing and at the same time more emphatic mouldings of later periods"

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# GLOSSARY OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

*Adhishṭhāna*: basement of a *vimāna*, *maṇḍapa* or similar structure. It consists of moulded tiers with distinct names like *upāna*, *jagatī*, *kumuda*, *kaṇṭha*, *paṭṭikā* and so on.

*Āditala*: ground-floor of the *vimāna*.

*Agra-maṇḍapa*: pillared hall preceding the portico.

*Alaṅkāra-maṇḍapa*: pillared hall wherein *utsava-murtis* are decorated.

*Ambu-mārga*: water-course.

*Āntara-bhitti*: inner wall of a *garbha-gṛiha*.

*Ardha-maṇḍapa*: a pillared hall immediately in front of the principal shrine.

*Bāḍa*: a term of Orissan architecture. The vertical part of the temple above the stylobate and below the spire. It has five main divisions, *viz.*, *pābhāga*, *tala-jāṅgha*, *bāndhanā*, *upar-jāngha* and *varṇḍa*.

*Bāhya-bhitti*: outer wall of *garbha-gṛiha* in *sāndhāra-vimāna*.

*Balipīṭha*: platform on which an oblation is placed, sometimes, as in Kerala, with a pillared hall above it.

*Bhadra*: central bay of the outer wall.

*Bhitti*: wall of the temple corresponding to the part above the *adhishṭhāna* and below the *prastara*.

*Bhūta*: "goblin". *Bhūtamālā* is a decorative frieze of the *valabhī* below the flexed cornice. Originally it marked the decorated ends of the joints over the main beams.

*Dēva-kōshṭha*: niche of exterior shrine wall enshrining the deity.

*Gala-pāda*: Vertical moulding of *kaṇṭha*.

*Garbha-gṛiha*: sanctum-sanctorum in which the deity is enshrined.

*Gōmukha*: the end of the *praṇāla*, and this extremity is of the shape of cow's face.

*Gōpura*: a gateway of the temple with a tower above.

*Grīvā*: "neck". Architectural portion below the *śikhara*.

*Hāra*: "garland". A row of miniature shrines or shrine-representations over each terrace occupying the position of parapet. The miniature shrines consist of *kūṭas* (shrines of square or circular plan), *śālās* (shrines of oblong plan) and *pañjaras* (shrines of apsidal plan).

*Hastihastas*: "trunk of an elephant". A type of rail of staircase with similar motif.

*Iḍaṅgaḷi*: transept. Same as *Iḍgaiḷi* in Tamiḷ.

*Idaḷ*: "petal" in Tamiḷ. Same as *padma*. A moulding resembling lotus-petals, below *phalaka* of a column.

*Jagatī*: second moulding from bottom upwards of the *adhishṭhāna*. It is vertical and oblong.

*Jālaka*: window with net or trellis work of different patterns.

*Jāti-vimāna*: a temple with four *talas* or storeys.

*Kadalīkākaraṇa*: technique of corbelling.

*Kaṇṭha*: "neck". The major recessed moulding of the *adhishṭhāna* connecting or separating other projected mouldings. It is often bounded by two *kampas* and is decorated with *gala-pādas*.

*Kapōta*: "pigeon". Overhanging cornice.

*Karṇa*: "ear". Corner bays of the wall.

*Karṇa-kūṭa*: miniature square shrine with a single finial at the corner of each storey of the *vimāna*. Rarely it is circular (*vṛitta*) on plan.

*Kōshṭha*: shrine of *āyatāśra* type (oblong) with barrel-vault roof and a series of *stūpīs* on its ridge. Same as *śālā*.

*Kūḍu*: a Tamiḷ term for *nāsikā*. It means "nest" in Tamiḷ. An arched or horse-shoe-shaped opening projected out of the flexed cornice, filled with human figures. It occurs not only on the *kapōta* or cornice of the *prastara* but also of certain types of *adhishṭhāna*.

*Kuḍyāstambha*: relief of pilasters on wall-surface.

*Kumbha-pañjara*: *pañjara* or "bird-cage". Relief of miniature apsidal shrine-motif issuing, as it were, from a *kumbha* or vase. Generally used as wall-decorations. Also called *vṛitta-sphuṭita* in various *Vāstu-śāstras*.

*Kumuda*: The most important moulding of the *adhishṭhāna*. It may be round (*vṛitta*), octagonal (*vasvaśra*) or three-sided (*tripaṭṭa*) in shape.

*Kūṭa* : shrine of square plan (*samachaturāśra*), with four-sided roof with a finial. It may also be circular with a domical, pyramidal or conical roof with a single finial.

*Lūpa* : beam-end represented on *valabhī*.

*Madhya-naḍi* : passage between outer wall and inner wall wall, forming the ambulatory, around *garbha-gṛiha*.

*Mahā-maṇḍapa* : pillared hall, closed or open, in front of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* or *antarāla*.

*Makara-tōraṇa* : representation of arches over gateway, *dēva-kōshṭha* or niches with festoon coming out of the mouth of two *makaras* placed over the capitals of supporting columns.

*Mālikā* : a double storeyed cloister around main complex.

*Mukhya-maṇḍapa* : first of a series of *maṇḍapas*. It is a pillared hall in front of *mahāmaṇḍapa* often with a porch in front.

*Mukhya-vimāna* : temple, which has five or more than five storeys. The maximum number of *talas* is sixteen.

*Nandi-maṇḍapa* : pillared hall constructed in front of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* over the nandi in Śiva temples.

*Padma* : "lotus". Capital member of the pillar below the abacus (*phalaka*) shaped like a lotus ; also an optional moulding in the form of *cyma recta* below *adhishṭhāna*. Also see, *idaḷ*.

*Padma-dala* : "lotus". Moulding resembling the lotus petal often enclosing the *kumuda* of the *adhishṭhāna*.

*Pañjara* : "bird-cage". Miniature shrine on an apsidal plan. Same as *nīḍa*.

*Pīṭha* : a seat.

*Pradakshiṇā-patha* : circumambulatory path.

*Prākāra* : enclosure wall.

*Prākāra-harmya* : enclosing verandah.

*Praṇāla* : projected water-chute for letting out the lavation water. It issues out of *vyāla* or *simha's* mouth and its other extremity is in the shape of *gōmukha* or "cow's face".

*Prastara* : entablature with mouldings like *uttara*, *vājana*, *valabhī*, *kapōta*, *āliṅga* and *antarī* over the wall or columns.

*Pushpa-pōtikā*: a type of corbel with drooping lotus-bud.

*Sabhā-maṇḍapa*: open pillared hall in front of the shrine.

*śālā*: open pillared hall or shrine of oblong plan with a barrel-vaulted roof crowned by several *stūpīs*. Same as *kōshṭha*.

*Sāndhāra*: shrine with circumambulatory path inside. The one without it is called *nirandhāra*.

*Sarvatōbhadra*: shrine with four openings on four sides.

*Śikhara*: "head". Spire or roof of a temple which is of various shapes like square, circular, octagonal, apsidal or elliptical.

*Simha-mukha*: motif depicting the face of a lion.

*Sōpāna*: flight of steps, often flanked on either side by fanciful balustrades or banisters.

*Stūpī*: finial; the uppermost part of the *vimāna*.

*Śuka-nāsa*: "parrot's beak". It denotes a projection from the main roof or *śikhara* over the hall in front of the sanctum.

*Tala*: storey of a *vimāna*.

*Taraṅga*: "wave". Wavy rolled decoration of corbels of early variety.

*Tōraṇa*: decorated gateway at the entrance of a temple or its representation on wall over the *dēva-kōshṭhas* or other niches. When free-standing, it is called *stambha-tōraṇa*, but when the arches are shown as if issuing out of the mouth of *makara*, it is called *makara-tōraṇa*.

*Tripaṭṭa-kumuda*: *kumuda* of the three-sided variety. At present hardly any distinction is made to differentiate octagonal variety from the three-sided one, as in either case only three sides are visible to the eye.

*Upāna*: "slipper". The first moulding of *adhishṭhāna*. Also called by its synonym *pādukā*.

*Upapīṭha*: pedestal or sub-basement. Additional member below the *adhishṭhāna* with mouldings often similar to those of the *adhishṭhāna*.

*Valabhī*: convex or concave moulding, below the cornice and above the beam. It is often decorated with *bhūta-mālā*, *haṁsa-mālā*, *padma-mālā* and so on.

*Vasanta-maṇḍapa*: auxilliary open pillared hall in the temple used for concerts and so on.

*Vēdikā*: railing; a moulding above the *adhishṭhāna*.

*Vimāna*: an entire temple from *adhishṭhāna* to *stūpī*. It is of various types like *jāti-vimāna*, *mukhya-vimāna* etc. depending upon the number of storeys.

*Vṛitta-kumuda*: an important moulding of the *adhishṭhāna*. As it is round in cross-section it is called *vṛitta-kumuda*.

*Vyāla-mālā*: decorative frieze with mythological animals called *vyāla*. Usually seen on *adhishṭhāna* and on the top of the entablature of each *tala* originally marking in timber-work the ends of cross-joints.[1]

1. For "*Mukhya Mandapa*" on p. 60 above, please read *Mukha-mandapa*.

# GLOSSARY OF ICONOGRAPHIC AND OTHER SANSKRIT TERMS

*Ābhaṅga*: a slight bend both in the upper and the lower halves of an image. *Bhaṅga* means "flexion" or "attitude".

*Abhaya-mudrā*: Utpala, the commentator of Varāha-mihira's *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, defines this hand-pose as "the hand turned towards the visitor with fingers raised upwards.". It symbolizes the idea of dispelling fear and offering protection.

*Āgamas*: constitute a vast body of Sanskrit literature prescribing rules and rites of various ceremonies, sacrifices and systems of worship, mostly relating to temples and individuals. It includes instructions for the use of the temple-builder and the image-maker. This literature also shows two main sectarian divisions: Śaiva-*āgamas* and Vaishṇava-*āgamas*, the *Vaikhānasāgama* being the earliest of the latter group and *Kāmika* for the former.

*Aksha-mālā*: a rosary of beads made of Eleocarpus seeds.

*Aśvamedha*: horse-sacrifice. The sacrifice, apart from actual slaying of the horse, is essentially one of princely greatness. According to the *Āpastambha-Śrauta*, only a universal (*sārva-bhauma*) monarch can perform the sacrifice, the antiquity of which dates back to the Vedic times. For detailed description of the ceremony associated with it, *vide*, P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, II, pt. II, pp. 1228–1239.

*Asuras*: foes of gods or *dēvas*. *Sura* is god and *a-sura* is he who is not *sura* or god. They have often been depicted as a group of evil beings opposed to the good gods.

*Bharata-nāṭyam*: a kind of dance popular in the Tamiḷ country from a very early period.

*Brahmāṇḍa*: universe; the mythological golden egg from which all creation is said to have begun.

*Chakra*: discus, generally an appurtenance of Vishṇu and Durgā.

*Chin-mudrā*: a hand-pose. In this hand-pose, to quote T. A. Gopinatha Rao, "the tips of the thumb and the forefinger are made to touch

each other, so as to form a circle, the other fingers being kept open. The palm of the hand is made to face the front."

*Chūḍāmaṇi*: crest-jewel worn as a head ornament.

*Digvijaya*: conquest of all the four regions by a monarch. It may or may not be followed by the Aśvamēdha sacrifice.

*Dikshā*: initiation to a religious order.

*Gaṇa*: attendant of Śiva, usually shown as a pot-bellied dwarf.

*Jaṭā-makuṭa*: hair worn in a *jaṭā* or matted plait, prescribed usually for Śiva, Brahmā and sages.

*Kamaṇḍalu*: handled water-pot often made of gourd, wood or even terracotta.

*Kaṭyavalaṁbita*: A hand-pose in which one of the arms "is let down so as to hang by the side of the body, and the hand is made to rest on the loin, indicating thus a posture of ease (Gopinatha Rao"). Generally the hand is bent slightly at the elbow and placed on the upper part of the waist.

*Liṅga*: phallus; aniconic representation of Śiva.

*Mṛiga*: deer; an attribute of Śiva.

*Paraśu*: axe. One of the attributes of Śiva and also of Paraśurāma.

*Pāśa*: noose, an attribute of Brahmā and also of Varuṇa.

*Pīṭha*: a seat.

*Praśasti*: compositions, generally metrical, in praise of kings and other greatmen.

*Purāṇas*: a distinct body of Sanskrit literature containing stories of the gods, including cosmogonic descriptions, genealogies of the sages, and sometimes, of various Indian dynasties of rulers. It is not merely a store-house of legendary lore but also, to some extent, of history. But invariably its character is didactic and the purpose sectarian. There are eighteen *Purāṇas* like the (i) Vāyu, (ii) Matsya, (iii) Kūrma, (iv) Mārkaṇḍēya, (v) Padma, (vi) Brahmā, (vii) Vishṇu, (viii) Bhāgavata, (ix) Brahmavaivarta, (x) Agni, (xi) Garuḍa, (xii) Nāradīya, (xiii) Vāmana, (xiv) Varāha, (xv) Skanda, (xvi) Śiva, (xvii) Liṅga, and (xviii) Bhavishya.

*Pushpaka-vimāna*: proverbial aerial chariot.

*Rājagurus* : royal preceptor.

*Śāla-bhañjikā* : sculptural representation of nymph holding a branch of *śāla* tree (*Vatica robusta*).

*Saṁhāra-mūrti* : an aspect of god as "destroyer" in contradistinction to *anugraha-mūrti* i. e., "bestower of favour."

*Śaṅkha* : conch, appurtenance of Vishṇu and Durgā.

*Saumya* : representation of images of deities in peaceful mood as opposed to *ghōra* or *ugra* ("terrific") aspect.

*Śilpa* : art of sculpturing, and secondarily also architecture.

*Utsava-mūrti* : images of deities, generally of metal, carried out in procession on festive occasions. It is also called *utsava-bhēra*.

*Vāhana* : a vehicle, represented by animal or even man, of a deity.

*Vāstu-śāstra* : science of building or architecture and allied arts.

*Vijayābhishēka* : a special celebration after a victory similiar to the coronation ceremony. It is perhaps performed at the very site of victory.

*Vīrābhishēka* : to anoint as an unrivalled hero, evidently after some victory over other kings.

*Yōga* : is "yoking" the mind—the mental concentration on a particular object. It was Patañjali, the grammarian, who elaborated this doctrine describing in great detail the means of attaining concentration. His *sūtras* comprise four chapters dealing with (i) *samādhi* (deep meditation), (ii) *sādhanā* (means of achieving), (iii) *vibhūti* (miraculous power it bestows) and (iv) *kaivalya* ("isolation of the redeemed soul"). There are eight branches of *yōga* practise in the form of *āsanas* or sitting posture, contortions of limbs or *mudrās* and so on.

# *Appendix I*

## Text of Sanskrit Inscription from the Kampaharēśvara Temple

*Svasti śrī* [ll]

1. *Ā-chakrām ānurādhām samara-śirasi yā*
   *Saṁharan-siṁhalēndrān* [l*] *yo-jeshit Keraḷeśam*
   *Vitara*[1]*-surapatim yo-vadhīt Vīra-pāṇḍyam* [ll*]

2. *Yo vā vīrā-bhishekam hy-atanuta*[2] *madhurām*
   *Pāṇḍya-guptam jayitvā*[3][l*] *dhatre veta* [*da*]*si*[*śi*]*ta-s*
   *Sa-bhūmi*[4] *vijayate śrī Kulōttuṅga Choḷah* [ll*]-[1]

3. *Viśvam-bharā yasya bhujā-rga mārga*[5]
   *Hato-pasargam pari-pālaya-j-jyām*[6][l*]
   *Prītyā surādyādi*[7] *varāha-damshṭrā*
   *Vāsa-sidhārā vrata degānāṁ*[8] [ll*]-[2]

4. *Bhuja-pratāpa-nala bhūma-lekhā*
   *Saṁgrāma lakshyah*[9] *kabarī-kalāpah* [l*]
   *Trai-lokya rakshā-vidhi viśva-mūrteh*
   *Jāgarti yasya-nuguṇah kripāṇāh* [ll*]-[3]

5. *Dyāvā-bhuvāu vyāpya vijrimbha-s-sādhā*[10]
   *Niraṅkuśam rājari*[11] *yasya kīrtih* [l*]
   *Pinākāpāṇo su-vratā vi*[12]
   *mūrter-aparyāpta jagatrayā-yāh* [ll*]-[4]

6. *Saundarye-madana-s-tarur vitarane*
   *divyāh kshamāyām kshitih* [l*]
   *krodhe daṇḍa-dharah parākrama-vidhau*
   *tau jāmadagny–arjunau* [ll*]

---

1. *Vijita.* 2. *Vyatanuta.* 3. *Mathitva.* 4. *Raja trai-lokya vira-s-sa-bhuvi.*
5. *Bhuja-rgalayam.* 6. *Pari-palayantyam.* 7. *Smaratyadi.* 8 *Vedananam.*
9. *Lakshmi.* 10. *Vijrimbhamana.* 11. *rajati.* 12. *Rathanga-paner-anukurvati va.*

*Nītau śukra-bṛihaspaticha-churapaits*[1]
*trai-lokya rakshākrame* [l]
*saṁgīte bharato munir-narapatis-*
*ti..... gata paṇḍite*[2] [ll*]

7. *Sabhā-pade(te) r maṇḍapam-agra-varti*
*girīndrajā veśmani gōpuram cha* [l]
*prākāra harmyam cha vidhāya hāiman-*
*tadeka bhaktō mumude narendrah* [ll*]

8. *Ēkāmreśvara divya-dhāma madhurā hālāhalasy-ālayam* [l*]
*Śrī-madhy-ārjuna dhāma dhāma cha tathā śrī rājarājēśaaram* [ll*]

9. *Valmī*[*ke*] (*ma*)*śvara-veśva* [*ma*] *chēti nikhilam*
*Nirmāya haima* (*nta*) [*nṛi*] *po* [l*]
*valmīkā-dhipateś-chakāra cha sabhām*
*divyām mahad-gōpuram* [ll*]

10. *Jitvā pṛithvīm tribhuvanam vīraś-chaturantām*
*chakre stānam*[3] *tribhuvana-vīreśvaram etat* [l*]
*Nānā harmya prakaṭita śobha*(*h*)[*m*] *bahurathyam*
*Vāimottuṅga*[4] *pravara vimānās-thagitā-rka*(*n*) [*m*] [ll*]
*Śrikaṇḍa*[5] *śambhu-tanayena patir-nṛipāṇām*
*pāndārī vīśara śive* [*namaha . . . . . .*][6]
[*Śomē* [*śva*] *reṇa guruṇā*] *bhuva*[*na*]*sya pitrō*
*śśreshṭhaām-akārayad-asau śivayoh pratishṭhām* [ll*]

11. *Vidyā yena manīshiṇā nikashitā*
*Vispṛishṭam-ashṭadaśa* [l*]
*sthāṇōr yena viviktam-ōpanishadam*
*viśvāsakatvam babhōh*[7] [ll*]
*Vēdā-kāra*[8] *cha śaiva darśana ḍriśā*
*Siddhānta ratnākakarō* [l] *rāgño yasya*
*gurus - sa* (*i*) [*ī*] *śvara śivah*
*kas-tasya mṛigyō guṇah* [ll]

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1. *Surapati.* 2. *Virah katham varnyate.* 3. *Sthanam.* 4. *Haimo.* 5. *Srikantha.* 6. *Pandya risvara sivena maha.* 7. *viviktam-aupanishadam visvadhikatvam vibhoh.* 8 *Yena-kari cha.*

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1. All the illustrations, except the one on plate XIX, are through the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, which holds their copyright. The copyright of the photograph printed on plate XIX vests with the Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu.

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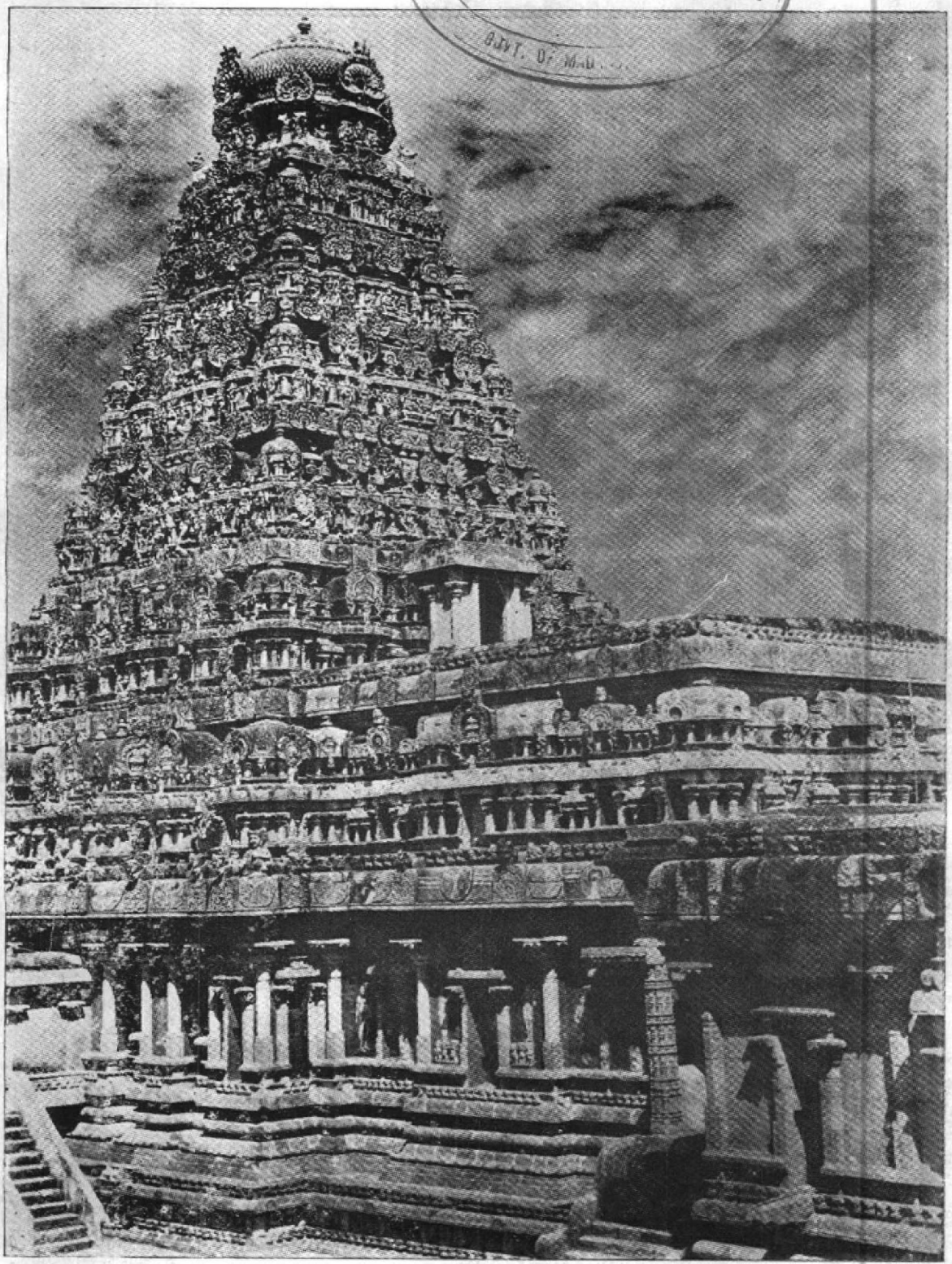
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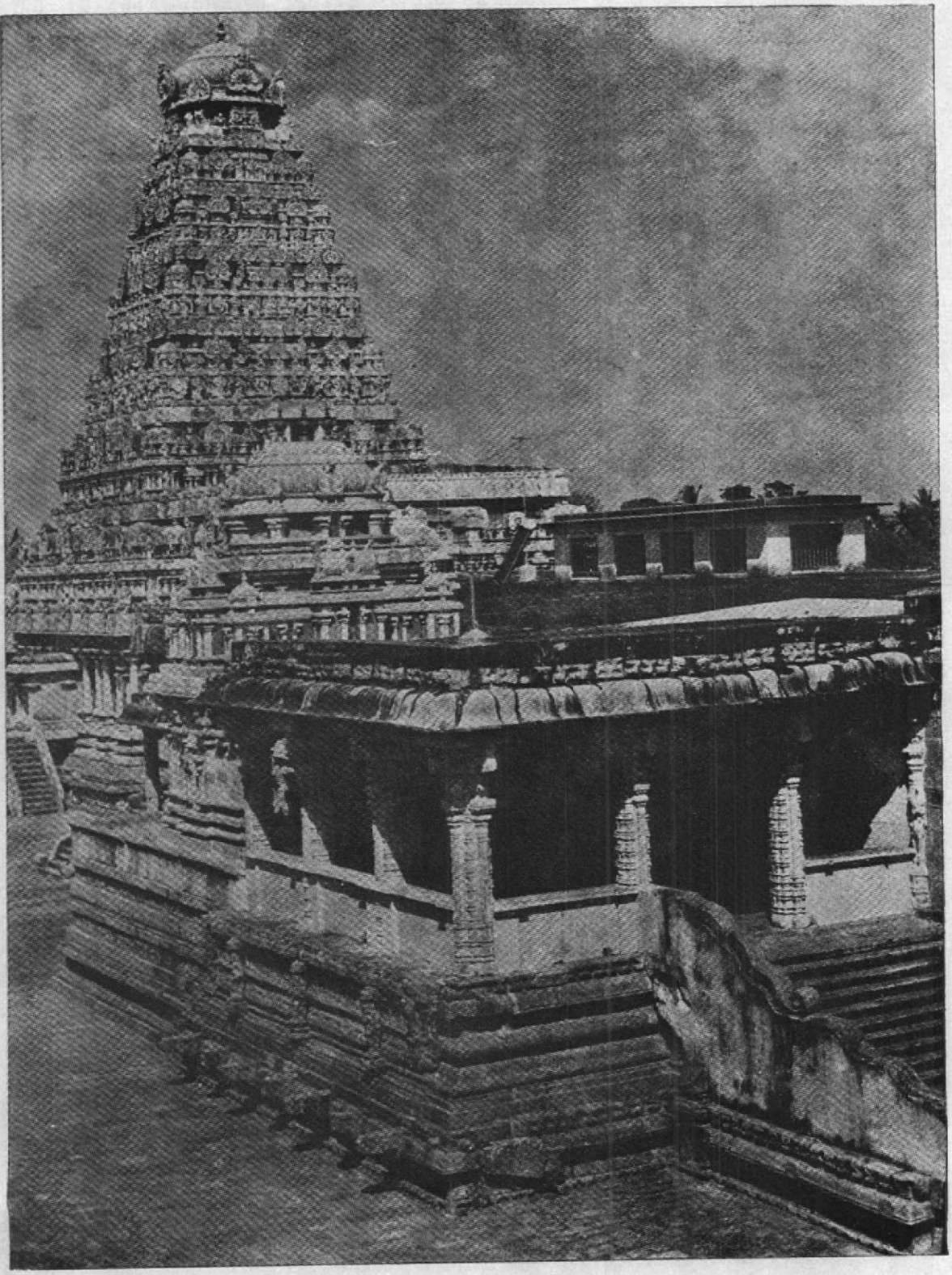
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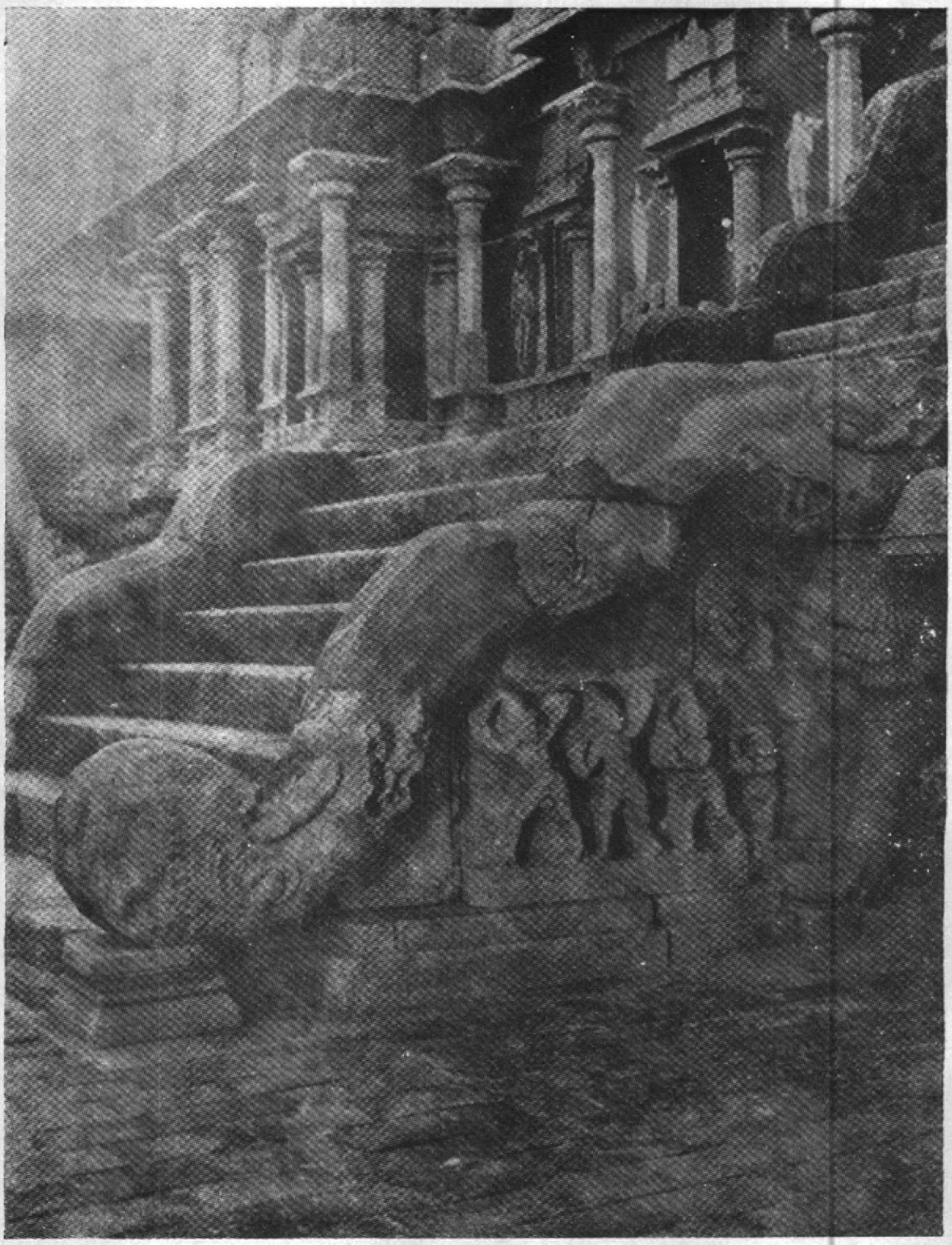




*General view of the Kampaharēśvara temple. See pp. 23-35*



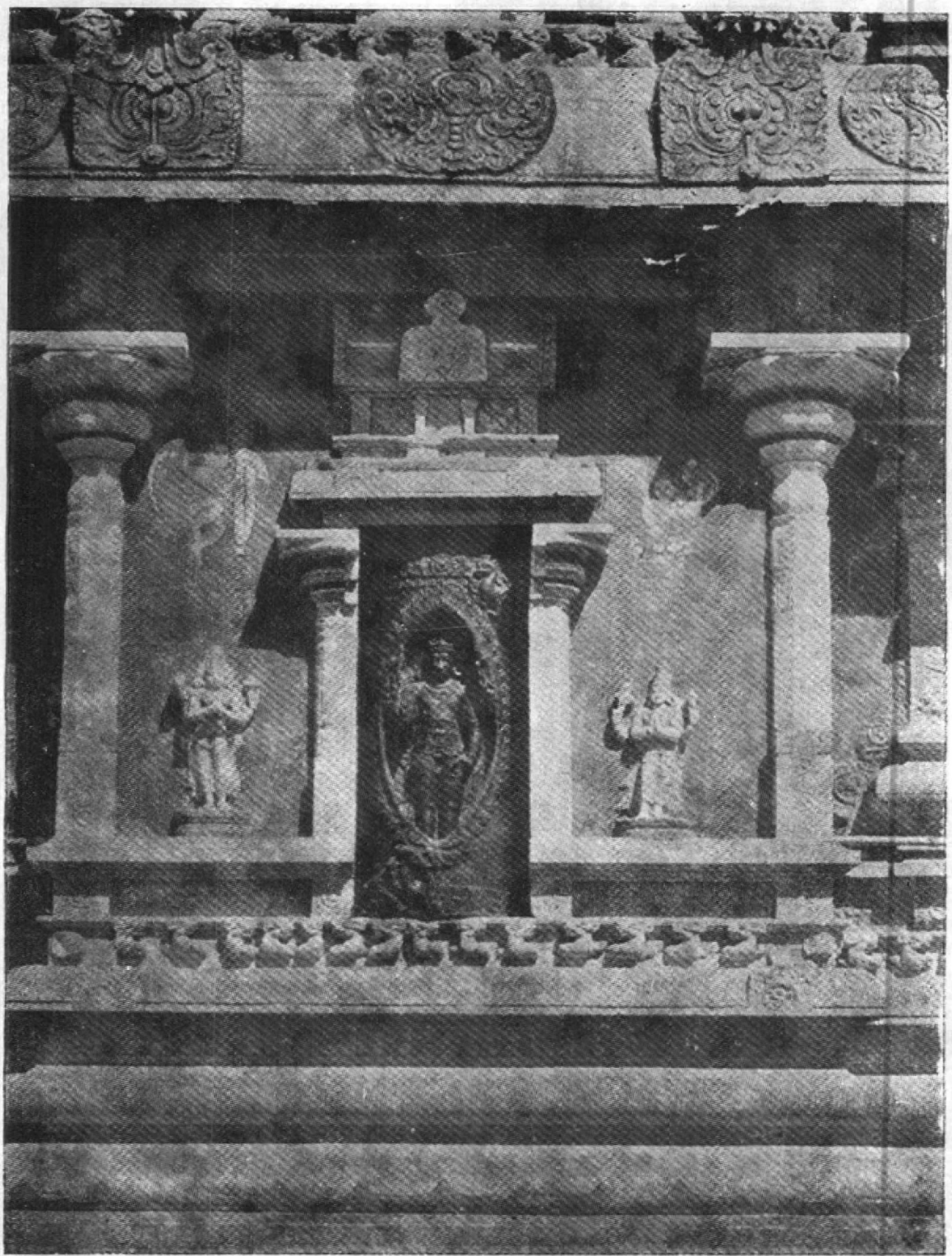
*General view with chariot-shaped maṇḍapa in front.* *See p. 24*



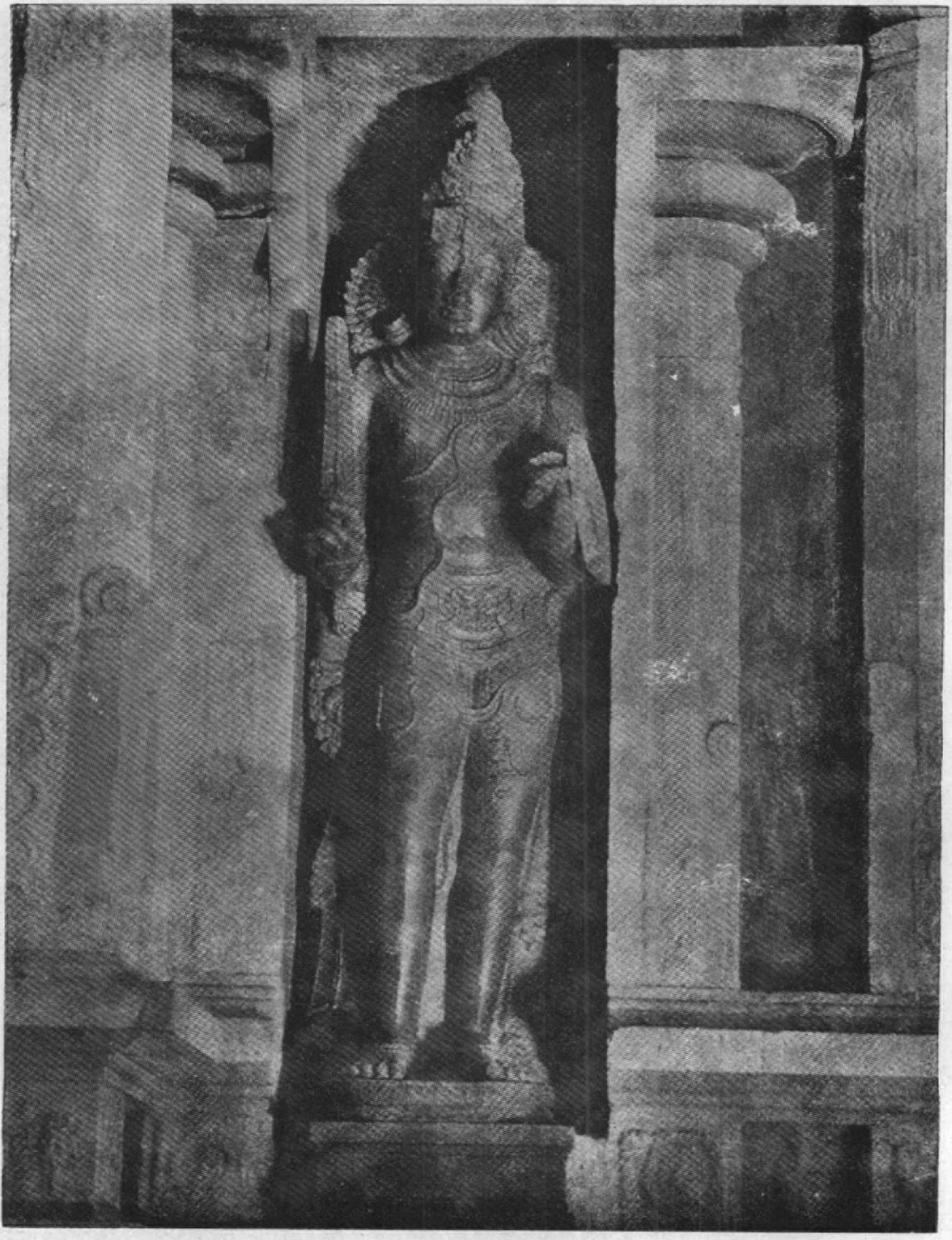
*Sōpāna leading to transept. See p. 24*



*Brahmā in northern devakōshṭha.* *See p. 25*



*Liṅgōdbhava in western dēvakōshṭha. See p. 25*

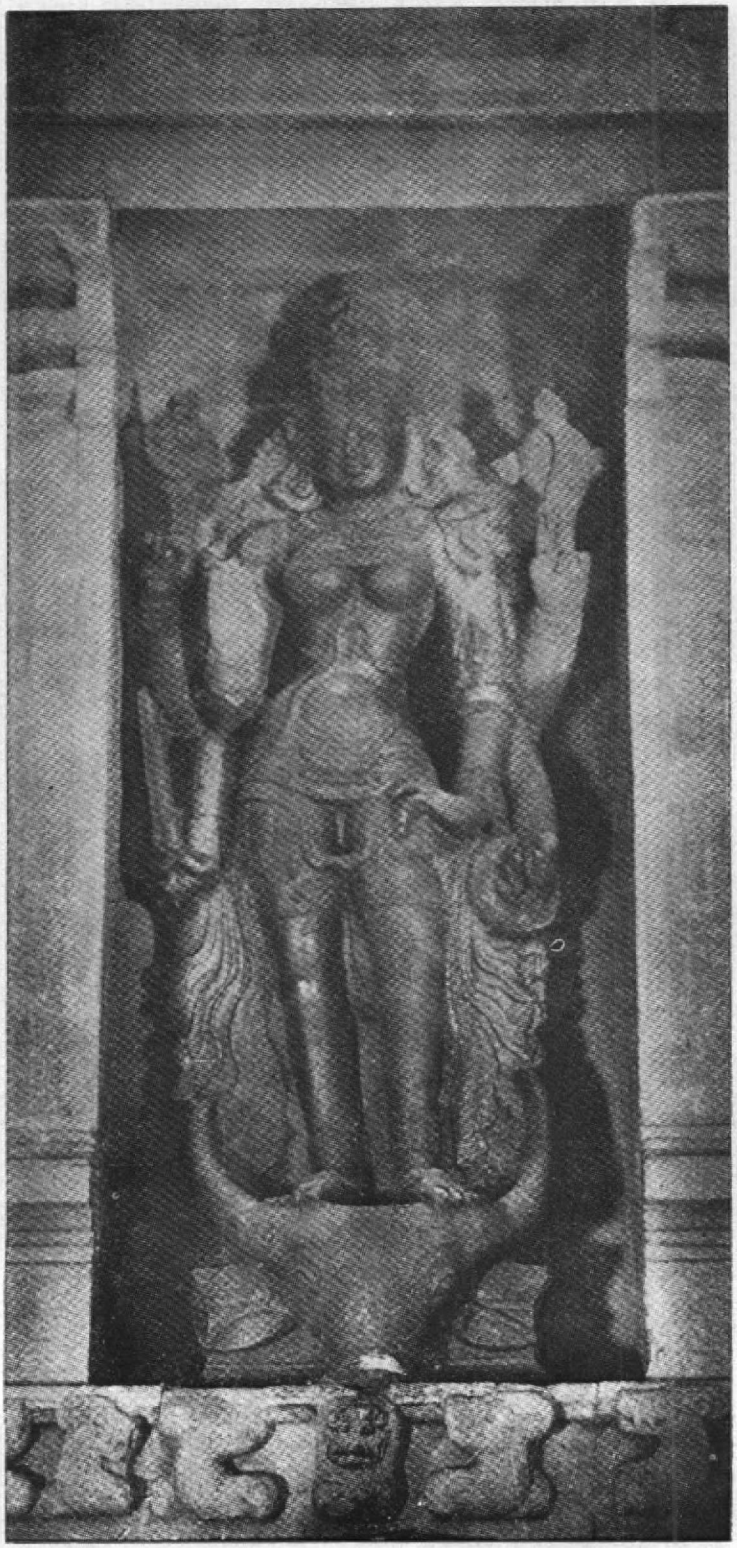


*Warrior in eastern dēvakōshṭha* *See p. 26*

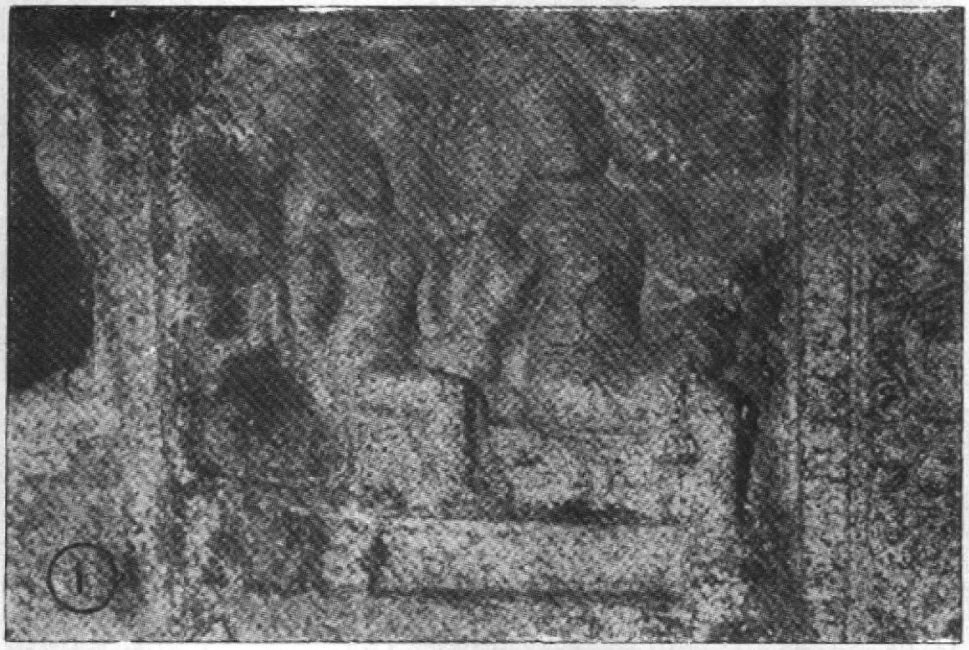


*Śālabhañjikā.* *See p. 44*

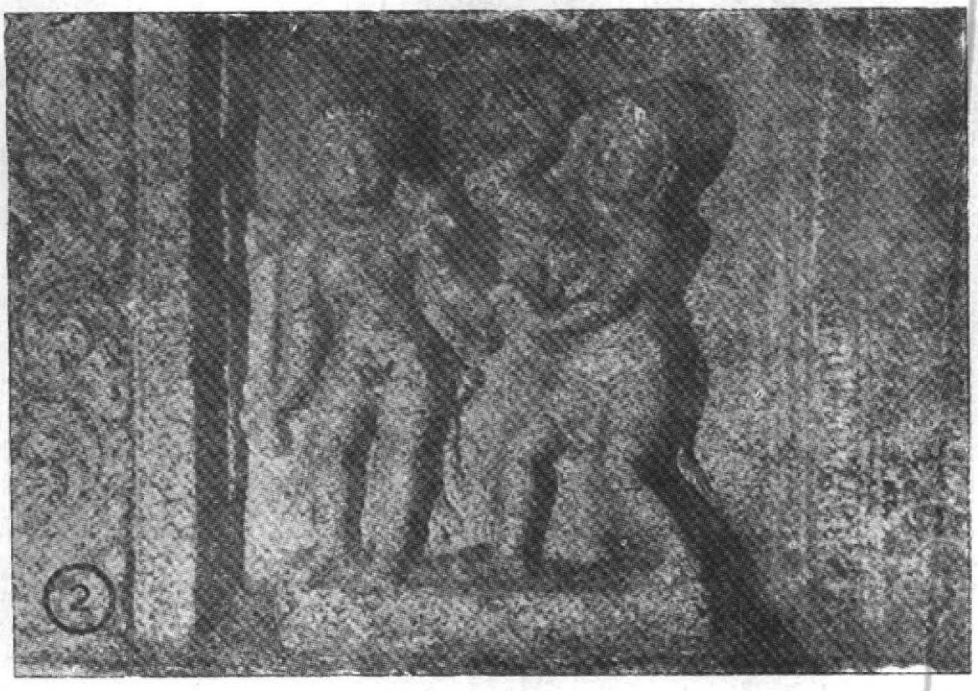
PLATE VIII



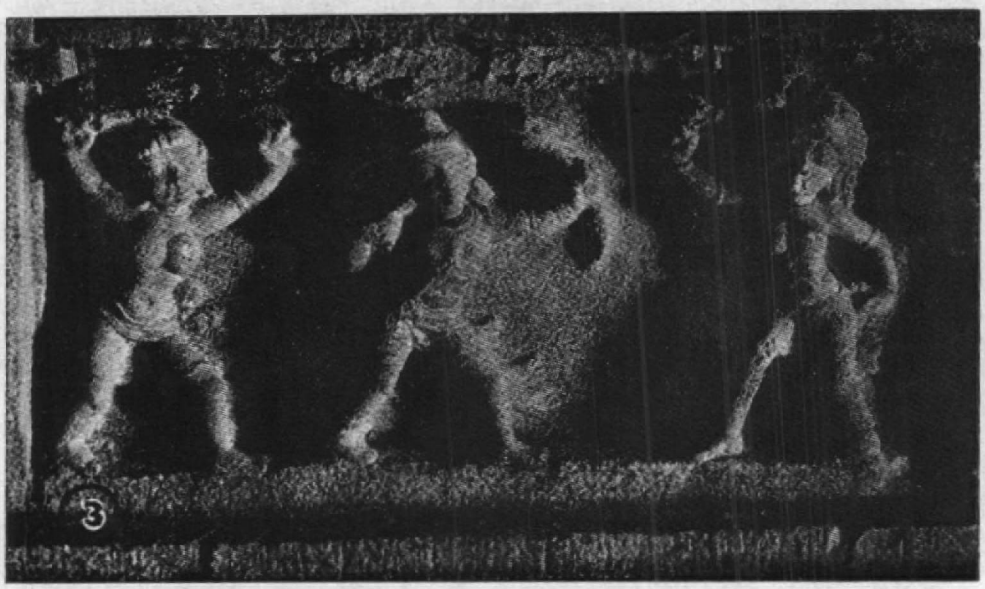
*Six-armed Durgā in northern dēvakoshṭha.* *See p. 26*



*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā in Pañchavati. See p. 37*



*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Rāma and Sūrpaṇakhā enticing Rāma. See p. 37*



*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Sūrpaṇakhā fights with Lakshmaṇa.* *See p. 37*



*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Disfigurement of Sūrpaṇakhā.* *See p. 37*



*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Sītā imploring Rāma to catch golden deer. See p. 38*



*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Rāma shooting at Mārīcha. See p. 38*



*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Rāvāṇa arrives, and appears as a sage before Sītā. See p. 38*



*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Jatāyu, king of birds, attacks Rāvāṇa See p. 38*

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*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Rāvaṇa's chariot moves past wounded Jaṭāyu. See p. 38.*



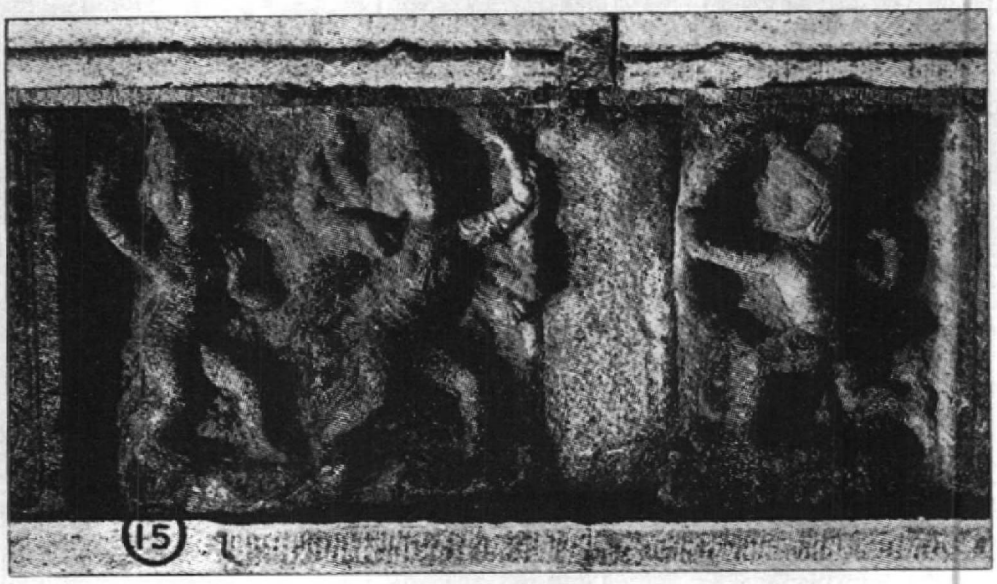
*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Sītā in Aśokavana. See p. 38*



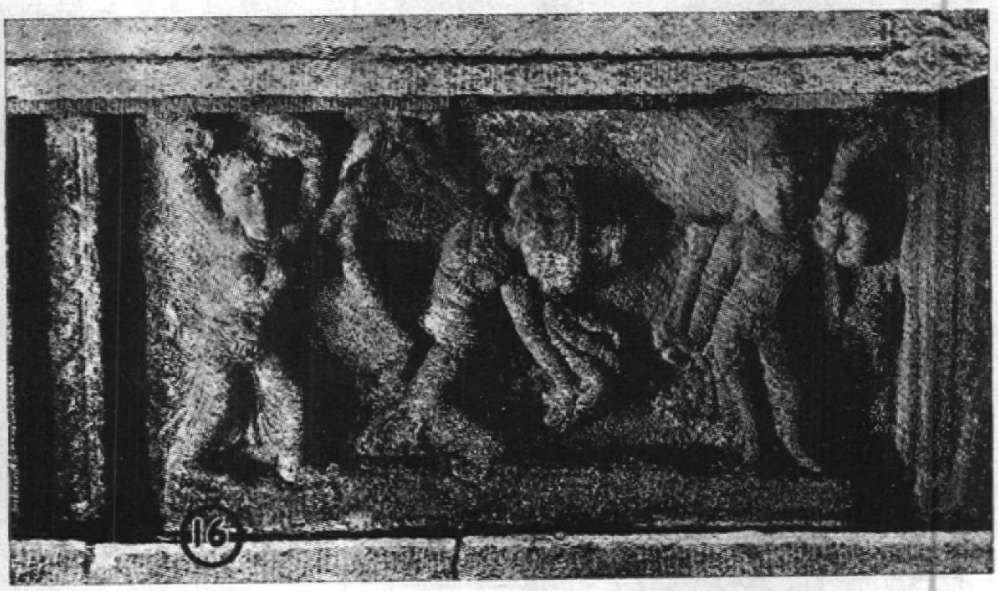

*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Tārā's grief after Vālī's death. See p. 38*




*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Hanumān meets Sītā in Aśokavana. See p. 38*




*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: Rāvaṇa fights with Rāma.* *See p. 39*



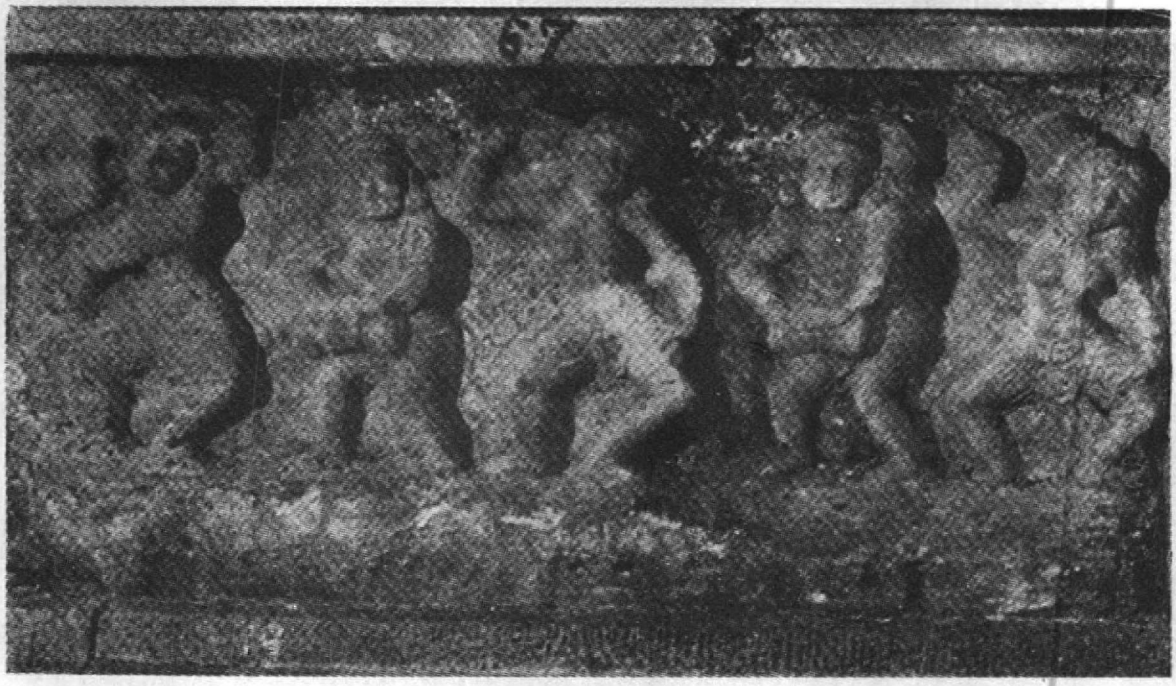

*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa: death of Rāvāṇa.* *See p. 39*



*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Rāma with Vibhīshaṇa. See p. 39*




*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā offering pūjā. See p. 39*



*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Rāma's return to Ayōdhyā.* *See p. 39*



*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : birth of Kuśa or Lava.* *See p. 39*

PLATE XVIII




*A. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Kuśa and Lava reciting Rāmāyaṇa in the presence of Vālmīkī. See p. 39*




*B. Scene from Rāmāyaṇa : an event in Vālmīkī's*

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*Thiruvaiur : gōpura of the time of Kulōttuṅga III.* *See p. 35*

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*Thiruvaiur : gōpura of the time of Kulōttuṅga III.* *See p. 35*