Pallava Art

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with

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Preface

Dr. Gift Siromoney introduced me to Māmallapuram (and, thus, to the art of the Pallava dynasty) in the late 1960s. Over the years, he, Dr. Vishnu Bhat, Dr. P. Dayanandan, and I visited the site many times. All four of us were teaching at Madras Christian College, Tambaram. Dr. Siromoney was in the department of mathematics, and later became the chairman of the department of statistics. Sadly, he died, prematurely, in 1988. Dr. Bhat has been teaching in the English department of M.C.C., and is presently its chairman. Dr. Dayanandan, who has been teaching in the botany department, is now its chairman. My own teaching was in the philosophy department. The four of us thus came to the study of Pallava art from different disciplines.

By the word 'Art', I have intended to include not only the graphic and plastic arts (painting and sculpture), but also literature, music, and certain aspects of temple architecture, as well as the art of epigraphy.

This book comprises revised editions of two earlier works: *Mahabalipuram Studies* (1974) and *Māmallapuram and the Pallavas* (1982). These two books, which have been out of print for some years, contained collections of studies originally written between 1970 and 1982. In the decades following, we have carried out significant revisions and corrections. I have, therefore, reorganized these studies, and have brought them together, here, in one volume, adding twelve additional essays – some of which have never been published before.

Though I have been the principal author throughout, the following ten chapters were co-authored by my colleague, Prof. Bhat:

3. Pallava Gaṅgādhara
5. Śiva as *Liṅgin* in a Pallava Sōmāskanda
9. The Philosophy of Mahēndra's Tiruchi Poem
10. Śiva-Gaṅgādhara/Pallava-Kāvērīdhara
12. *Dhvani* in Epigraph and Stone
13. Queen Raṅgapatākā's Inscription
18. The *Birudas* of Mahēndravarmā
21. Kuḍumiyāmalai and Māmaṇḍūr Inscriptions
23. The Brāhmī Script and Phonetics
25. The Shore Temple Capital Inscription

Two chapters were co-authored by both of my colleagues, Profs. Siromoney and Dayanandan:

1. Pallava Dvārapālas and the Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple
2. Pallava Sōmāskanda

One chapter was co-authored by Prof. Siromoney:

6. Authorship of Māmallapuram Monuments

Twelve chapters (4, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, and 26) were authored by me, alone.

The 23rd essay in this book, "The Brāhmī Script and Phonetics: An Isometric Analysis of Vowels", may appear to be rather abstruse and to have little to do with the art of the Pallavas. But the script of their writing, engraved on their monuments and on their royal copper plate grants, has evolved from the Brāhmī script and has created some of the most beautiful calligraphy in the world. Some knowledge of the evolution of such beautiful writing may deepen our appreciation of it.

The 24th essay has been written and illustrated by Ms. Carmel Berkson, and was first published by the Lalit Kalā Akademi in its journal, *Lalit Kalā, Number 23* (1988). I consider her article, which compares an Amazonmachy sarcophagus with the Mahishāsuramardinī panel at Māmallapuram, to be a rare, groundbreaking investigation of Greco-Roman influence on the art of the Pallavas.

The 25th essay, "The Shore Temple Capital Inscription", deals with a recently unearthed capstone of a presumed victory pillar. The capstone has, engraved around its rim, four royal titles of the Pallava king, Rājasiṁha. A study of these titles throws interesting light on scribal practices of the early eighth century, A.D.

Chapter 26 presents additional facsimiles of Pallava inscriptions. Based on estampages published by the Archaeological Survey of India and on some of my own photographs of the original engravings, I have created delineations of the inscriptions which, I hope, reveal their artistic form more clearly than most of the estampages could.

Michael Lockwood
Milton, Mass., 2001

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Key to Transliteration and Pronunciation

Vowels

अ a	इ i	उ u	ए ē	ओ ō	ऋ ṛ
(mic*a*)	(f*i*ll)	(f*u*ll)	(pr*e*y)	(g*o*)	(mer*ri*ly)
आ ā	ई ī	ऊ ū	ऐ ai	औ au	
(f*a*ther)	(pol*i*ce)	(r*u*de)	(*ai*sle)	(*ow*l)	

Anusvāra – ं = *ṁ* = nasal *m* or *n*

Visarga – ः = *ḥ* = voiceless aspiration

Consonants

Voiceless		Voiced		
Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Nasal
क् k	ख् kh	ग् g	घ् gh	ङ् ṅ
च् c	छ् ch	ज् j	झ् jh	ञ् ñ
ट् ṭ	ठ् ṭh	ड् ḍ	ढ् ḍh	ण् ṇ
त् t	थ् th	द् d	ध् dh	न् n
प् p	फ् ph	ब् b	भ् bh	म् m

Semi-vowels	Sibilants & Voiced *h*:
य् y	ष् ṣ
र् r	श् ś
ळ् ḷ	स् s
ल् l	ह् h
व् v	

Introduction

On the coast, almost sixty kilometers south of the city of Madras, at a place called Māmallapuram, there are some of the most famous ancient monuments in India. They are appealing to the casual visitor. And to the student of South Indian art and architecture they are of fundamental importance.

In the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. and, perhaps, even earlier, kings of the Pallava dynasty created cave-temples, monolithic shrines, structural stone temples, and expansive relief panels carved on the open rock-face of the hillsides. These monuments are important because they were among the first major artistic monuments to be fashioned out of hard rock in South India. More than one thousand two hundred years have come and gone, and yet these works are still fresh before our eyes. The structures of all other temples of those days and earlier times have long ago vanished because they were made of relatively perishable material.

Although these monuments and their figures are all carved out of stone, every inch would have been covered by the artisans with a thin layer of fine, white plaster and then painted so as to simulate the materials and color of ordinary temples. All of the human and animal figures would have been painted so as to impart a startling realism to them. The paint, of course, has disappeared except for traces.[1]

Māmallapuram has more than 14 cave-temples, 9 monolithic shrines, 3 structural stone temples, and 4 relief-sculptured rock panels, all of which were created by the Pallavas in those early centuries.

The structural temples imitate, in the hard medium of stone blocks, the traditional temples which were built with brick, mortar, and wood. Each of the monolithic shrines is a whole temple carved out of a single mass of rock. They are sculptured replicas 'in the round', so to say.

In their cave-temples, the Pallavas have reproduced the interior aspect of shrines along with their porch-like pillared maṇḍapas by scooping and carving into the solid rock of the hillsides. Since the frontal maṇḍapa with its pillars is visually the most prominent feature of the cave-temple, these temples are often called simply "maṇḍapas".

The most unusual and impressive sight at Māmallapuram must surely be the so-called "Penance" panel. Popularly, it is believed to be an artistic representation of Arjuna's penance. However, certain scholars have persuasively shown it to represent Bhagīratha's penance and the descent of the river Gaṅgā.[2] In this huge 'open air' relief-carving with its multitude of figures (animal,[3] human and divine), the Pallava artists have used for their canvas the sheer rock which rises perpendicularly on one side of the hill.

The story of Bhagīratha's penance is given, among other places, in the epic of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bhagīratha wished to sanctify the ashes of his ancestors with the holy water of the Gaṅgā. This divine river was at that time confined to the heavenly realm. In order to bring her down to earth, Bhagīratha practiced severe penance. Brahmā finally agreed to grant his request, but warned Bhagīratha that in the mighty rush of her descent, the Gaṅgā would devastate the earth. Therefore, Bhagīratha continued his penance in order to win Śiva's protection against her terrible onslaught. For a whole year Bhagīratha remained standing on one foot with his arms upraised, his body becoming emaciated. Śiva, pleased by Bhagīratha's austerities, appeared and granted him his boon. It is this moment which is portrayed in the Māmallapuram panel, to the upper left of the central cleft in the rock which divides it into two sections.

The water which the Pallava engineers planned to have cascade down the cleft into a pool below would represent the Gaṅgā reaching the earth.[4] All the figures, human and divine, are thus shown gravitating towards the central cleft to behold this glorious miracle of the Gaṅgā's descent.

Between the point in the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s account where Śiva grants the boon to Bhagīratha and the part in which the Gaṅgā reaches the earth, there is the scene of Śiva's carrying out Bhagīratha's request – an act which is not depicted in this panel, though it was a favorite of the Pallavas and appears twice elsewhere in Māmallapuram. It is the 'Gaṅgādhara' theme in which Śiva controls the fury of the descending Gaṅgā by holding her captive in the locks of his hair until she flows gently to earth. The oldest Pallava representation of the Gaṅgādhara theme (even pre-dating by one generation the Māmallapuram Penance Panel) is the Gaṅgādhara panel in a cave-temple in Tiruchirapalli. The significance of the Tiruchi panel in relation to the art of the Pallavas at Māmallapuram will be discussed in the third, ninth, and tenth studies in this book.

The Mahishamardinī Cave is one of the most remarkable of the cave-temples at Māmallapuram. It takes its name from the Mahishamardinī panel carved on the right wall of its maṇḍapa. On the wall opposite there is a panel cut in deep relief, depicting Vishṇu in trance-like sleep, reclining on the great serpent, Sēsha. These panels represent two scenes described in the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*, an episode in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*. Particularly effective is the striking contrast achieved by the artists between the calm potency of the Reclining Vishṇu panel and the vigorous action in the other panel which depicts Durgā waging her victorious battle against the buffalo demon, Mahisha.

There are three cells or sanctums cut into the rear wall of the maṇḍapa of this cave-temple. At the back of the central sanctum there is a large carved panel representing Śiva together with his consort

Umā, and their little son Skanda. All three are shown seated together on a royal throne. This image is called 'Sōmāskanda'. The very earliest Sōmāskanda panel was a creation of the Pallava king, Paramēśvara-I, in the latter half of the seventh century. In the first study of this book, we discuss the Sōmāskanda panel of the Mahishamardinī Cave and try to show that it is an addition which was executed at a date distinctly later than that of the Vishṇu and Mahishamardinī panels of this same cave-temple.

The Shore Temple is the most important structural temple at Māmallapuram. Built by the Pallava king, Rājasiṁha, in the early eighth century, it is picturesquely situated on the edge of a promontory jutting into the ocean. There are actually three separate shrines which form the Shore Temple complex. The eastern and western shrines which have high towers are dedicated to the god Śiva. In between them is one dedicated to Vishṇu. On the back, inner walls of the two Śaivite shrines there are Sōmāskanda panels.

Our second study is devoted to an analysis of the stylistic development of the Sōmāskanda panel during the successive reigns of several Pallava kings. In their extant art, it is by far the most often repeated image. More than 40 Pallava Sōmāskanda panels remain to this day, providing thus an important key to the problems of the chronology of Pallava monuments. The fourth and fifth studies also investigate various aspects of the Pallava Sōmāskanda.

The finest examples of monolithic shrines at Māmallapuram are found in the group popularly called the "Five Rathas". The word 'ratha', which means 'chariot' or 'vehicle', has been imaginatively applied to these temples. Of these five, the so-called Draupadī Ratha is actually a small shrine for the goddess Durgā. Her image is carved in relief on the back wall of the sanctum. Two devotees are shown kneeling at her feet. One of them is in the act of making the supreme sacrifice of cutting off his own head! That this practice actually existed in Tamilnadu is revealed elsewhere both by inscription and in literature.

The great importance of the five shrines to the study of the development of temple architecture in South India lies in the fact that each one of them has a different form. The Draupadī Ratha is the simplest. The Dharmarāja Ratha is the largest and most elaborate. It is pyramid-like in form, with three stories. On the top level there is a small sanctum scooped out of the solid rock. On the back wall of this cell is carved the oldest extant Sōmāskanda panel. There is an inscription outside claiming that this is the Īśvara (Śiva) shrine of the Pallava king called 'Atyantakāma'. There are many other inscriptions on the walls of this temple.

The sixth study in this book considers the evidence provided by these inscriptions, plus evidence from several other sources, in an attempt to throw light on the problem of the authorship of the monuments of Māmallapuram.

In dealing with various problems of the history and art of the Pallavas, our studies have generally emphasized the importance of stylistic analyses of the dress and ornaments depicted in the sculpted figures. There are, however, several studies in the book which deal with the inscriptions of the Pallavas: the Tiruchi poem of King Mahēndra (9th & 10th), Queen Raṅgapatākā's Inscription (13th), the inscribed royal titles of Rājasiṁha and Mahāmalla (16th) and of Mahēndra (17th & 18th). Among the remaining assorted subjects, the recently discovered monuments at Māmallapuram are covered in two studies of the book (19th & 20th).

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[1]In a letter to the editor of *The Hindu w*hich appeared in the issue dated January 18, 1970, Gift Siromoney, P. Dayanandan, and I made the following observations about the painting of Māmallapuram (only a part of the letter is quoted here):

> A group of small school children found it most amusing that we three adults should be craning our necks and peering so intently at the upper reaches of the "Rathas". And we were quite ready to smile back at them because, on the basis of a little detective work, we were enjoying in our mind's eye a view of the monuments of Māmallapuram which they did not see. Imagine the "Rathas" completely covered outside and in with bright colors of paint. Imagine the many graceful figures which people the niches of these temples rendered in life-like color, their bright jewels and gold ornaments glittering, the stone pillars which they lean against (pillars imitating structurally the earlier style of wood) painted in an imitating maroon. Imagine further the great panel of "Arjuna's Penance" alive with color! I say imagine because, as any visitor to Māmallapuram knows, we see everywhere only the uniform grey-brown hue of the carved granite rock. Everywhere that is, unless you look as intently as we three were doing to perceive the unmistakable traces of plaster and paint which have survived perhaps more than a thousand years of weathering. . . . On the "Arjuna" Panel, traces of plaster and paint can be seen easily (especially with binoculars) under the upraised and joined hands of the ascetic practicing austerities. And there are many other places on the Panel where plaster and paint are quite evident.

[2]First advanced by V. Goloubew in 1914, this view has been ably supported later by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil and the archæological evidence noted by A.H. Longhurst. The point which is absolutely fatal to the "Arjuna's Penance" interpretation is the fact that some of the heavenly beings depicted in the panel actually have their backs to Śiva as he grants the boon to the ascetic who is supposedly Arjuna. The problem vanishes if it is the descent of the Gaṅgā which is the center of attention (the boon granted to Bhagīratha).

[3]Some 150 animals representing 16 different species.

[4]Longhurst describes the discovery of the stone-lined pool at the foot of the Penance Panel (*Pallava Architecture*, Part II). This pool was very likely a royal bath at the time of the Pallavas. There is also archæological evidence of a storage tank for water on top of the hill just above the central cleft. Thus, at special times of celebration, water could be let out of this tank by the Pallavas so as to produce an artificial waterfall down the central cleft and thus simulate the Gaṅgā descending to earth. It would have been quite a spectacle even by our modern standards!

ONE

Pallava Dvārapālas and the Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple[1]

The Tamil word for 'temple' ('kōyil') can also mean 'palace'. Usually, the temples of the gods are shown with guardians posted at the entrance to the sanctum. This only imitates the practice of the king in his palace, with guards protecting the royal chamber.

Our study would establish for the first time the fact that the carved guardians or door-keepers in many Pallava temples are really anthropomorphic representations of weapons or emblems peculiar to the god enshrined within. In Sanskrit such 'weapon-men' are called 'āyudhapurushas'. In Pallava temples, the particular weapon or other emblem which a guardian represents is usually shown on his head-dress.

The second part of this study is devoted to a comparative analysis of carved panels. The purpose of such an analysis is to help discover the chronological development in Pallava art. It is concerned with details of the dress and ornaments depicted on figures of people and gods. Fortunately for our study, Māmallapuram has an impressive population of stone figures. Gods and goddesses are represented in idealized human form. Also shown are many of the lesser divinities. Most of these are also depicted in human form, though some are part animal. Of great interest are the numerous ordinary humans who have been sculpted. Common people are seen tending cattle and carrying children. Hunters are shown in their forest habitat. There are ascetics and holy men with beards. Even kings and queens have been portrayed.

It is important to note that in the sculpture of this period, very little difference is seen between the dress and ornaments of divine beings and those of humans. The one really distinguishing feature of the gods is the addition of extra arms, with their identifying emblems. The lesser divinities have only two arms, but they can be distinguished easily when they are shown flying through the upper regions – a feat not possible for ordinary mortals! Other semi-divine beings are half human and half animal. The upper half is usually human. The lower half may be of a bird, or snake, or some such creature.

Our analysis of stylistic development together with the significance of the discovery that Pallava temple guardians are 'āyudha-purushas' has been used by us in this study to show that the Mahisha-mardinī Cave has had an erratic history of development (it still remains unfinished) – and that there are reasonable grounds to suppose that what was originally planned as a Vishṇu sanctum was transformed into a Śaivite one during the reign of Paramēśvara-I, a Pallava ruler in the latter part of the seventh century.

Scholars have long been aware of the fact that there was a period in Māmallapuram's history (some would say, the 13th century) when Vaishṇavite sectarians took possession of Śaivite temples there. This "take-over" has been signified by their engraving the emblems of Vishṇu (the discus and the conch shell) on the walls of these appropriated temples. Our study, however, would for the first time show that much earlier there was an appropriation of a Vishṇu sanctum by Śaivites, undoubtedly on the direct order of King Paramēśvara, himself.

The curious horns on some of the dvārapālas (door guardians) in early Pallava temples gave us the clue to the surprising conclusion that in the Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple at Māmallapuram, the main sanctum was originally planned for Vishṇu, not for the Sōmāskanda panel which we see today.

In regard to the horns on the dvārapālas, there are several conflicting views among scholars as to their significance. One view would have it that they are a kind of mutation of the early Buddhist motif of Nāgarāja as dvārapāla. That is, the multi-headed snake-hood of Nāgarāja develops into two horns.[2] A second theory is that the horns of the dvārapālas can be explained with reference to the practice of wearing horns by such tribes as Nāgas and the Gonds. Still a third explanation is that the horned dvārapālas represent a humanized form of the bull, Nandi.[3]

Trident

While photographing a dvārapāla in the upper cave-temple at Vallam (two miles east of Chingleput town), we were struck by the similarity between the horns of this dvārapāla and the outer prongs of the trident or triśūla as represented in Pallava sculpture elsewhere. These horns and the outer prongs of the triśūla have the same peculiar compound curve at their base. Further, the so-called horns in the Vallam example are not shown attached to the head or head-dress in a very realistic manner. We concluded, therefore, that the horns of the dvārapāla along with his elongated makuṭa (as the central prong) did, in fact, represent the triśūla, an emblem of Śiva.

At Vallam, only the dvārapāla on the proper right of the entrance has horns. However, we soon discovered that, although the dvārapāla on the left did not have horns, he did have an axe-blade projecting edge-forward from the front of his head-dress. The axe is another Śaivite emblem. The triśūla "horns" and the axe-blade, then, can be clearly recognized as Śaivite symbols which, along with certain

“Horned” Dvārapāla, Vallam Cave-Temple

other characteristics such as the snake-entwined club, go to indicate quite unambiguously that these dvārapālas are guarding a Śaivite shrine.

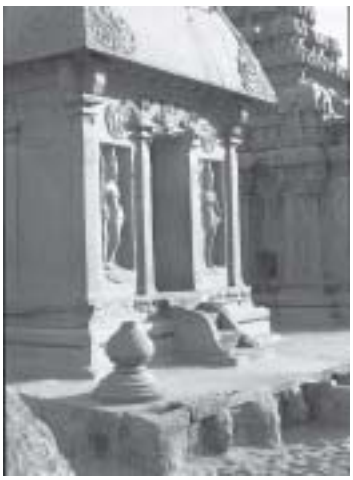
Other examples of dvārapālas with "horns" and axe-blades on their head-dress are to be found in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram, at the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple at Saluvankuppam, and at various shrines at Māmallapuram. In most of these cases, a knowledge of the significance of the triśūla "horns" or the presence of the axe-blade is not necessary for an identification of the shrines as Śaivite because within the shrines there is a liṅga. However, consider the shrine on the western side of the second level of the Dharmarāja Ratha at Māmallapuram. This sanctum is empty and unfinished, and there is nothing inside it now that would indicate which god it was fashioned for. Therefore, it is the horned guardian to the proper right of this shrine which reveals it was intended as Śaivite.

Conch Shell Personified
Varāha-II Cave-Temple

The practice of showing the emblems of the deity on his guardians' head-dress is applied by the Pallavas to Vaishṇavite shrines as well as Śaivite. A clear example of this is found in the Varāha-II cave-temple at Māmallapuram: the dvārapāla immediately to the right (proper) of the sanctum's entrance has a discus represented edge-forward at the very top of his head-dress. The dvārapāla to the left has a conch placed at the top of his head-dress. The discus and conch are Vishṇu's insignia. That this Varāha cave-temple is a Vaishṇavite temple is undisputed, and we find here the Varāha, Trivikrama, and Gajalakshmī panels which are all Vaishṇavite themes. But the discus and conch emblems on the head-dress of the dvārapālas give additional confirmation that the (now empty) sanctum was for Vishṇu.

Another important example of Vaishṇavite emblems on the head-dress of dvārapālas is to be found in the Ādivarāha cave-temple at Māmallapuram. Here the Varāha figure in the central shrine is under worship. The modern walls which enclose the front of this shrine hide parts of the dvārapālas. However, one is still able to see the discus at the top of the head-dress of the right dvārapāla and the conch similarly placed on the left dvārapāla.

We must also mention that the guardians of King Mahēndra's Vishṇu cave-temple at Mahendravadi also have the discus and conch on their head-dress.



Dvārapālikās
Draupadī Ratha

In the case of the goddess Durgā, the dvārapālikās (female guards) in her shrines at Māmallapuram are shown with a sword in hand (guard to the proper right) and with a bow (left guard). There are two Durgā shrines at Māmallapuram: the Draupadī Ratha and Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa. The two young fighting women accompanying the goddess in the Durgā panel of the Ādivarāha cave-temple are similarly armed and provide an analogous example, though, strictly speaking, they are not guarding a door here.

Our main conclusion so far, then, is that dvārapālas are often shown with emblems or weapons which are characteristic of the deity

Dvārapāla with axe-blade on head-dress, Vallam Cave-Temple

they guard. They are, in effect, *āyudhapurushas*. In the case of many Śaivite shrines, one dvārapāla has horns and the other an axe-head shown on the head-dress, and both may have clubs with snakes encircling them. In the case of Vaishṇavite shrines, we find the following arrangement: one dvārapāla has a discus represented on his head-dress, and the other, a conch.

With these facts in mind, let us turn to the famous Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple at Māmallapuram. There are three sanctums in this cave-temple, and one naturally thinks of the many Pallava cave-temples created for the Hindu Trinity. The central sanctum of this cave is given special prominence by having before it a raised porch with two lion pillars in front. But considering first the right (southern) sanctum, one finds that the dvārapāla to its proper right has "horns". The dvārapāla to the left has a single axe-blade projecting edge-forward above his forehead. The right dvārapāla has a club with a snake around it. We conclude from these facts that the right sanctum is clearly for Śiva.

Considering next the left (northern) sanctum, one does not find any of the above Śaivite emblems. Further, both the dvārapālas wear the long dress and the *uttarīya* (upper cloth) which are uncharacteristic of Śaivite dvārapālas. We conclude that the left sanctum of the Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple is distinctly non-Śaivite.

With a clearly Śaivite sanctum to the right, with a distinctly non-Śaivite sanctum (undoubtedly for Brahmā) to the left, and, further, with a large panel on the porch's right wall depicting Vishṇu reclining, one would naturally expect the main, central sanctum to be for Vishṇu. But surprisingly, one finds instead a large Sōmāskanda panel on the back wall of this main sanctum.

This led us to examine with care the dvārapālas of the central sanctum. At first glance, both dvārapālas seem to be Śaivite: they both have clubs – the club of the proper right dvārapāla being encircled by a three-headed snake. The dvārapāla to the right has horns (in light relief), and the dvārapāla to the left has a triple-bladed axe-head represented on the head-dress above his forehead.

But there are several puzzling aspects about the way in which these two dvārapālas have been sculpted. In fact, it looks as though these niches may have been originally intended for dvārapālas without clubs – the kind of dvārapālas one would expect to be guarding a shrine for Vishṇu. The reason we say this is that the clubs seem like an afterthought. The clubs are carved where the pilasters should be, and completely break the orderly boundary of the rectangular niches. It would be interesting to know whether there is a single other example in Pallava sculpture of such an extreme disregard of the rectangular boundaries of the niche.

It is possible that work had begun on these niches at a time when the main sanctum was intended for Vishṇu. At that time, the

Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

Porch within a porch – Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

boundaries of the niches and the general pose of the dvārapālas were established. For one reason or another, the work was not completed. At a later date, when Śaivism was in the ascendancy, the details of the dvārapālas were finished as Śaivite, including the "horns" in very shallow relief on one guard and an axe-head on the other's head-dress. The clubs had to be added in a most unusual place: where the pilasters normally would come. To accomplish this addition of the clubs, the rock area for the pilasters and all the rest of the architectural ornamentation of the main sanctum's façade had to be removed. This refacing of the rock has left only a plain surface around the niches for us to see today.[4]

This evidence of re-working led us to note, first, the obvious fact that the Sōmāskanda panel of the central sanctum is different stylistically from the other two panels (of Vishṇu and Durgā) in this temple; and, secondly, that there is a striking similarity between this Sōmāskanda panel and like panels found in the eighth century Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram.

We, therefore, began to feel certain that the Sōmāskanda panel in this cave-temple was a later addition, transforming what was originally planned as a Vaishṇavite main shrine into a Śaivite shrine.

Speaking generally of Māmallapuram, one can observe a marked difference in style, as shown in the dress and ornaments of the sculptured figures. Just as fashion changes today, so it must have changed in the time of the Pallavas. This change is reflected in their sculptural art and thus provides us with a means of dating the monuments.

As we have noted, even in one and the same cave-temple one finds distinctly different styles. To help us date the panels of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple, we examine them in detail with regard to the style of dress and ornaments of the figures portrayed. As a basis for our argument, we mention certain general observations we have made about the dress and ornaments of Pallava sculpted figures.[5]

(i) Early Pallava Characteristics

In early Pallava sculpture (roughly, around the period of the Great Penance Panel and the Five Rathas, which are usually ascribed to King Narasiṁha-I in the seventh century A.D.), men do not wear any leg ornaments and are shown with only one diagonal band (sacred thread, etc.[6]) across the body. In the early period, women do not wear any diagonal band and have only single anklets on each leg.

(ii) Later Pallava Characteristics

In the later Pallava sculpture (eighth century, around the time the Kailāsanātha and Shore temples were built), we notice that men now sometimes have leg ornaments and often have more than one diagonal band. Leg ornaments as a common feature for men appear to have been introduced gradually for the first time in Indian art by the

Pallava sculptors of the early 8th century. In the whole sweep of art history from Bharhut in the centuries B.C., through Amaravati and the earlier phases of Ajanta up till the end of the 7th century A.D., *men do not wear leg ornaments*. The very few exceptions to this claim will certainly prove the general rule.

In the later period of Pallava sculpture, women are seen wearing the diagonal band; they frequently have multiple ornaments on each leg; shoulder straps for the breast-band are introduced; and the head-dress which looks like a turban around the base of a crown develops two distinctive characteristics: the turban-like portion is slightly pinched (indented) in the front, and the crown-like portion is unusually tall. (This is actually only an arrangement of tying up the hair and is neither a turban nor a solid crown.)

It is on the basis of these general observations that we have analyzed the panels of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple and have concluded that the Sōmāskanda panel was done at a distinctly later time than the other two panels in this cave.

(iii) The Sōmāskanda Panel

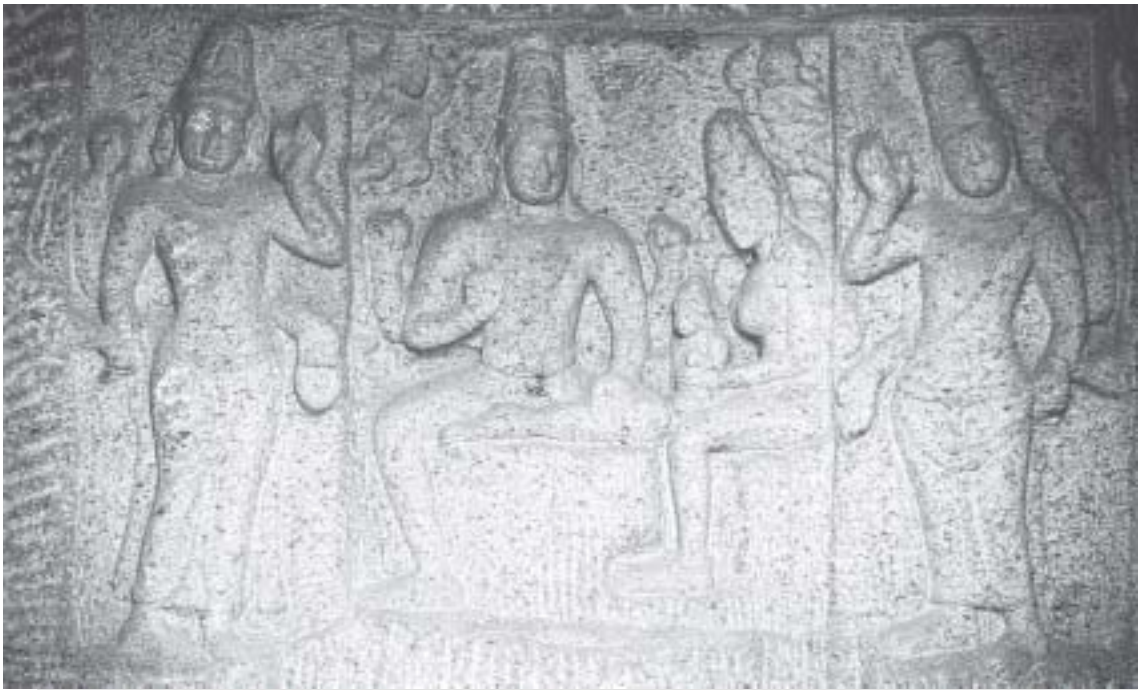
To establish that the Sōmāskanda panel of the cave-temple has the characteristics of the later (8th century, Kailāsanātha) period, we mention some of the close similarities between the figures of the Sōmāskanda panel of this cave-temple and the figures of like panels in the Kailāsanātha temple – in particular, the Sōmāskandas of the two sub-shrines centrally located on the northern and southern sides of the main sanctum of the Kailāsanātha temple. In both the Mahishamardinī cave-temple Sōmāskanda and the Kailāsanātha examples, one finds these characteristics of the later period: Umā has a diagonal band, multiple anklets, and the characteristic late-period head-dress. Śiva has multiple diagonal bands.

Next, to show that the Sōmāskanda panel of the Mahisha-mardinī cave-temple is quite different stylistically from the early Sōmāskanda panel of the Dharmarāja Ratha, it should be noted that the following characteristics of the later period, all of which are found in the cave-temple panel, are absent in the Ratha panel: Umā's characteristic late-period head-dress, her diagonal band and multiple anklets, and Śiva's multiple diagonal bands. In addition, Umā's profile pose in the Ratha panel is absolutely unique; whereas, in the cave-temple panel, she strikes the oft-repeated pose found at the Kailāsa-nātha, Shore temples, etc. Further, in regard to the small Vishṇu figure appearing in the cave-temple's Sōmāskanda panel (above and behind Śiva's throne), Vishṇu's discus and conch are depicted with flames (generally accepted as a later characteristic); whereas the discus and conch have no flames in the Ratha's depiction of Vishṇu in an adjoining side panel to the Sōmāskanda proper.

This photograph, courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India:

Sōmāskanda, Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

Sōmāskanda, Kailāsanātha Temple



Sōmāskanda, Dharmarāja Ratha

Reclining Vishṇu, Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

Reclining Vishṇu, Kailāsanātha Temple

Mahishamardinī Panel, Sāluvaṅkuppam

Mahishamardinī Panel, Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

Thus, the Sōmāskanda panel of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple has much in common, stylistically, with Sōmāskanda panels of the later, Kailāsanātha period; and it is significantly different from the earlier Sōmāskanda panel of the Dharmarāja Ratha. It would seem, therefore, that the Sōmāskanda panel of the cave-temple was executed much closer to the period in which the Kailāsanātha temple was built than were the other panels.

Finally, it must be shown that the other two panels of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple (the Reclining Vishṇu and the Mahishamardinī panels) were done during an earlier period – in the mid-7th century.

(*iv) The Reclining Vishṇu Panel*

Considering first the Reclining Vishṇu panel in this cave-temple, one finds these early characteristics: no man wears more than one diagonal band, and none has any leg ornament; the women have no diagonal bands, only single anklets, no characteristic late-period head-dress, and the breast-band is depicted without shoulder straps.

On the other hand, the Reclining Vishṇu panel of this cave-temple (as an early example) contrasts with the little-known, and much smaller Reclining Vishṇu panel of the Kailāsanātha temple (as a later example). This latter panel is found directly above the entrance to the Sōmāskanda sub-shrine centrally located on the northern side of the main sanctum. The patchy coating of plaster on this panel makes any job of detailed study risky guesswork. However, mention may be made of the following later characteristics of it which are free of plaster covering: the woman (Bhū-dēvī) kneeling at Vishṇu's feet wears shoulder straps on her breast band and she has the characteristic late-period head-dress; and the five heads of the great serpent on which Vishṇu reclines are ornately carved as horned-yāḷi-type heads (which contrasts with the more naturalistic treatment of these heads in the cave-temple panel).

(v) The Mahishamardinī Panel

Considering, finally, the Mahishamardinī panel of the cave-temple, it contrasts (as an early work) with the Saluvankuppam and Kailāsanātha Mahishamardinī panels (as later works): in the cave-temple panel, there are these early characteristics: Durgā has no distinctive late-period head-dress, no diagonal band, no shoulder straps on her breast-band, and only single anklets; whereas, in the Kailāsanātha and Saluvankuppam panels, one finds the later characteristics. Again, in the cave-temple panel, the buffalo demon has only one diagonal band and no leg ornaments, whereas in the Saluvankuppam panel he wears two diagonal bands and has prominent anklets.

(vi) Summary

Let us summarize our stylistic analysis. The Sōmāskanda panel of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple is a relatively later Pallava

work as it *compares* with similar panels of the 8th century Kailāsanātha period, and *contrasts* with the 7th century Sōmāskanda panel of the Dharmarāja Ratha. The other two panels of the cave-temple are earlier, 7th century works as they have the early characteristics, and *contrast* with panels of the same themes created in the Kailāsanātha period.

The conclusion that the Sōmāskanda panel of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple is a decidedly later work than the other two panels of the same cave strengthens the claim we have made earlier (on the basis of an examination of the cave-temple's dvārapālas) that there are reasonable grounds to suppose that the main, central shrine was originally planned for Vishṇu.

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[1]This first study is based on "Pallava Dvārapālakas and the Mahishāsuramardinī Cave at Mahābalipuram", by Michael Lockwood and Gift Siromoney, a paper read at a meeting of the Archæological Society of South India, April 4, 1970, and on its modified version which appeared in *The Sunday Standard,* Madras, in two parts: "Guardians of Pallava cave temples" (February 14, 1971) and "Changing fashions in Pallava art" (February 28, 1971).

[2]P.R. Srinivasan, "Beginnings of the Traditions of South Indian Temple Architecture", *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series – General Section, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1959, p. 34.

[3]K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, Architectural Survey of Temples Series, No. 1 (New Delhi: Archæological Survey of India, 1964), p. 36.

[4]Surprisingly, the façades of the other two sanctums seem to have been re-faced in a similar way. In doing this job of recessing the walls, the feet of the dvārapālas of the left sanctum have been sheared off. In the case of the right dvārapāla of the right sanctum, his right foot remains projecting out beyond the wall's surface in a most unusual manner. While re-facing the wall, a portion of the rock was left underneath this foot to give some sort of support to it.

We must mention, in passing, two other puzzling aspects: (1) the dvārapālas of the main, central sanctum are noticeably *smaller* than the dvārapālas of the other two sanctums; (2) the entrances of the two side shrines are in poor alignment with the stairways provided for them.

[5]Some of these observations have been discussed in "Mahabalipuram: Costumes and Jewellery", by Gift Siromoney, *M.C.C. Magazine,* 1970.

[6]As there is much confusion in the application to early sculpture of the term 'sacred thread', we have deliberately coined the more general term 'diagonal band' which we intend to include the sacred thread as well as other similarly worn items.

TWO

Pallava Sōmāskanda[1]

The Sōmāskanda images of the Pallavas are carved stone panels which portray Śiva and his consort Umā, seated together on a royal throne with their little son, Skanda, between them. Of all the Pallava images which have survived to the present, the Sōmāskanda panels are by far the most numerous. There are more than forty of them. They offer an extremely important key to the solution of several thorny problems in the history of the development of Pallava art.

The Sōmāskanda image was most probably the creation of the Pallava king Paramēśvara-I. However, there are only four extant Sōmāskanda panels (plus one which has been effaced) which can be attributed to his reign. Fortunately, almost forty Sōmāskanda panels survive from the period of his son, King Rājasiṁha.

The Sōmāskanda image continued to be popular with later Pallava kings. For instance, there is a fine example at Kanchipuram in the sanctum of the Muktēśvara temple which was built around the 28th regnal year of the Pallava king Nandivarmā-II (during the latter half of the eighth century). The Sōmāskanda was also very common in the Chola period, especially in the medium of bronze casting. Its popularity with South Indian artists continued into the modern period.

We give below a list of the Pallava temples which have the Sōmāskanda panel on the inner back wall of their sanctum:

Pre-Rājasiṁha Style

Māmallapuram:

1. *Dharmarāja Ratha (3rd level shrine)*
2. *Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa (main shrine)*

Rājasiṁha Style

Māmallapuram:

3. *Kshatriyasiṁhēśvara*
4. *Rājasiṁhēśvara (3 and 4 belong to the Shore Temple)*
5. *Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple (main sanctum)*
6. *Mukundanayanār*

Saluvankuppam:

7. *Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara (main + 2)*

Tirukkalukkunram:

8. *Vēdagirīśvara (main + 1)*

Kanchipuram:

9. *Mahēndravarmēśvara – Kailāsanātha (1 + 28)*
10. *Piravātanēśvara*
11. *Iravātanēśvara*
12. *Amarēśvara (also called Tripurāntakēśvara)*
13. *Airāvatēśvara*
14. *Muktēśvara*
15. *Mātaṅgēśvara*

Panamalai:

16. *Tālagirīśvara*

The Sōmāskanda theme originated in a period when the Pallava kings of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. made a distinct effort to integrate the worship of Śiva with the Dēvī cult and the Murugan cult. In the Sōmāskanda panels carved in relief on stone, and in later Sōmāskanda bronzes, these three deities are shown as a family group. Śiva and Umā are portrayed sitting on a throne with their son, Murugan, in the form of the young child, Skanda, between them. The term 'Sōmāskanda' (sa-Umā-Skanda), translated into English, literally means, 'with Umā and Skanda'.

Ordinarily, in Śaivite temples, where the main object of worship is the liṅga, no anthropomorphic form of the deity, either in painting or in carving, appears in the sanctum. However, in the Pallava period the custom was different. The carved Sōmāskanda panel is commonly found on the back inner wall of the sanctums of their Śaivite temples. This practice was not continued by later dynasties. So, as a rule of thumb, we can say that if a Śaivite temple has a sculptured panel in its sanctum, almost certainly it is a temple of the Pallava period.

In our first study, we have, on the basis of an analysis of the dress and ornaments of sculpted figures, established two distinct styles for the Pallava Sōmāskanda panels. The earlier style we call 'pre-Rājasiṁha' and the later style, 'Rājasiṁha' (after the eighth century Pallava ruler whose identified temples have a total of around forty Sōmāskanda panels in them).

We know of only two examples of the pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda. One of them is found in the third-level sanctum of the Dharmarāja Ratha at Māmallapuram. The other, which is on the back wall of the central cell of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa cave-temple of the same place, has been destroyed. Only a rough outline of the figures remains.

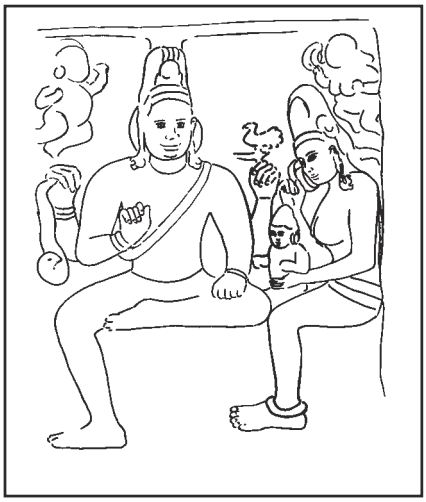
Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram

The Sōmāskanda panel in the third-level shrine of the Dharmarāja Ratha, therefore, is unique in that it is the only well-preserved Sōmāskanda which is of a distinctly pre-Rājasiṁha style. It is, thus, the earliest extant Sōmāskanda.

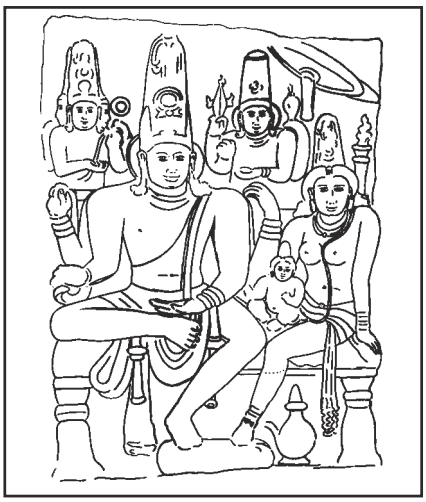
There are some interesting details of the Ratha's Sōmāskanda. In this panel, Śiva, as indicated by his attitude, is imparting words of wisdom, and Umā is bending the tip of her right ear with her fore-finger so as to catch every word. There is a figure of a bird which is carved in light relief immediately above Śiva's upper left hand. This is most probably the cock standard of Skanda, but the details are indistinct.

In our first study, we have noted those characteristics of the dress and ornaments which distinguish the Rājasiṁha-style from the pre-Rājasiṁha style in Pallava works of art. Such an analysis of dress and ornaments, we argued there, shows that the Ratha's Sōmāskanda belongs to the pre-Rājasiṁha period. With regard to our present comparison between the pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda (Dharmarāja Ratha) and any of the numerous Rājasiṁha-style Sōmāskandas, we note here the following points of contrast:

Pre-Rājasiṁha Style *Sōmāskanda Panel* (*Dharmarāja Ratha)*	**Rājasiṁha Style** (*Shore Temple and 40+ other examples*)
1. Umā is seated in profile.	1. Her torso is *always* turned front.
2. Umā's back abuts niche's edge.	2. Because of her frontal posture, her back *never* abuts niche's edge.
3. Umā's left hand is in front clasping Skanda's waist.	3. Her left arm is *always* on her left side supporting her body.
4. Śiva's lower left hand rests clenched on his left knee.	4. His lower left hand *always* rests on his right ankle in dhyāna mudrā.
5. Śiva's right leg only is down.	5. *Always* only his left leg is down.
6. Śiva's lower right forearm is held vertically close to his chest (with hand in 'chin mudrā').	6. His lower right forearm is held horizontally away from his body.
7. Two gaṇas with fly-whisks hover above Śiva and Umā in corners of the panel. Brahmā & Vishṇu stand on either side in adjoining niches.	7. *Never* any hovering gaṇas above. They are replaced by Brahmā and Vishṇu standing directly behind the throne, just above Śiva's upper arms.



Pre-Rājasiṁha Style Sōmāskanda, Dharmarāja Ratha



Rājasiṁha Style Sōmāskanda, Shore Temple

Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, Māmallapuram

As we have said, the Ratha's panel is the earliest *preserved* Sōmāskanda. We would maintain, however, that the smashed Sōmāskanda panel of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, Māmallapuram, is also pre-Rājasiṁha style. Another table of characteristics will show why we take the Rāmānuja panel to be pre-Rājasiṁha:

Pre-Rājasiṁha Style		**Rājasiṁha Style**
Dharmarāja Ratha	*Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa*	*Shore Temple & 40+ others*
1. Umā in profile.	1. Also in profile.	1. *Never* in profile.
2. Umā's back abuts niche.	2. Also abuts niche.	2. *Never* abuts niche.
3. Śiva's lower left hand rest on his left thigh.	3. His lower left hand also on thigh (certainly not dhyāna mudrā).	3. His lower left hand *always* in dhyāna mudrā.
4. Two gaṇas hover above Śiva and Umā; no Brahmā and Vishṇu in the panel.	4. Also two hovering gaṇas and no Brahmā and Vishṇu.	4. *Never* any hovering gaṇas; instead, Brahmā and Vishṇu are behind Śiva's throne.

The Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa's Sōmāskanda relief has been chiseled and leveled off. However, the outline of figures remains, and the outline is enough to allow one to deduce the characteristics which are listed above.

It should be added that the details which are discernible in the smashed Durgā panel of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa are similar to those of the Durgā panel in the Ādivarāha cave-temple of Māmallapuram. These observations, taken together with an acknowledgment of the early architectural characteristics of this cave-temple, all go to support a pre-Rājasiṁha date.

Five more Temples, Māmallapuram

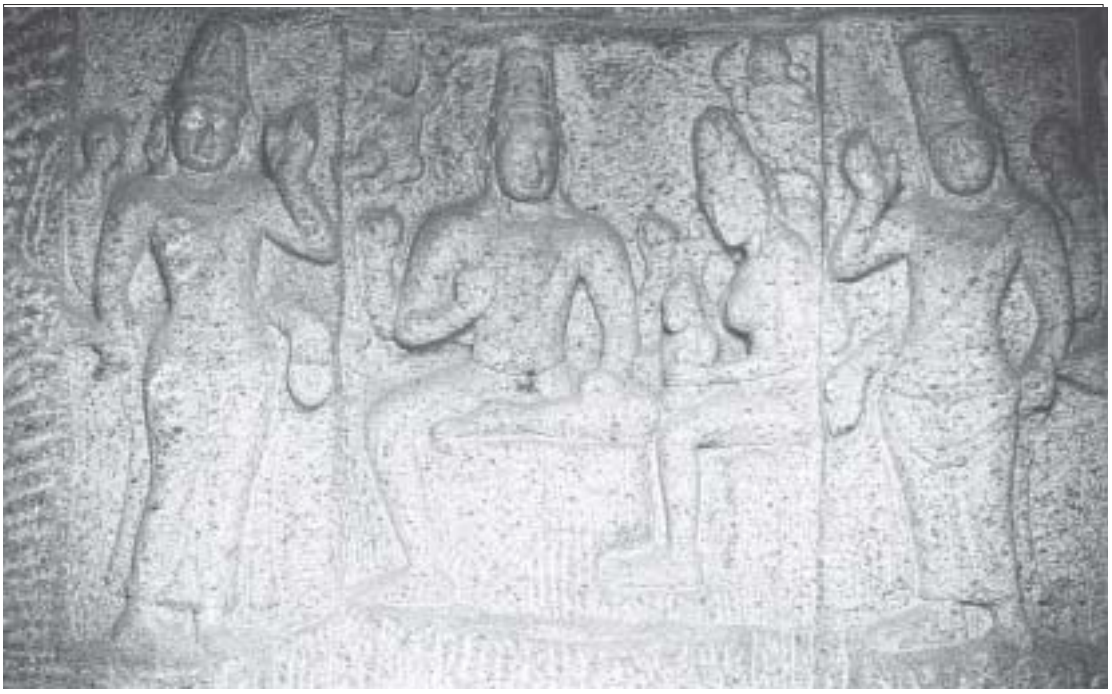
Māmallapuram has five more temples whose Sōmāskanda panels are in the Rājasiṁha-style. They are:

1. the Kshatriyasiṁhēśvara,
2. Rājasiṁhēśvara,
3. Mahishamardinī cave-temple,
4. Mukundanayanār stone-structure temple, and the
5. Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple.

We include the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple in the list since it is only a short distance away from the town of Māmallapuram.

The Shore Temple actually has two Śaivite temples, each of which has a Sōmāskanda in its sanctum. The Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple has, in addition to the Sōmāskanda in its sanctum, two other Sōmāskandas carved on the rear wall of its *maṇḍapa*.

The Mahishamardinī Cave and the Mukundanayanār structural temple each has a Sōmāskanda in its sanctum sanctorum.



Sōmāskanda, Dharmarāja Ratha

‘Sōmāskanda’ (outline), Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa

Rājasiṁha-Style Sōmāskanda
In the west-facing shrine of the Shore Temple

All of these Sōmāskanda panels are of the Rājasiṁha-style, as a summary of their characteristics will indicate. The following characteristics are common to *all* of these Sōmāskanda panels. Indeed, these characteristics are common to practically *all* of the Rājasiṁha-style Sōmāskandas. We, therefore, call it the:

Standard Table of Characteristics of the Rājasiṁha-Style Sōmāskandas

Śiva:

1. left leg only down.
2. four arms:
   upper right: holding snake's tail.
   lower right: 'chin' mudrā.
   upper left: 'jñāna' mudrā.
   lower left: 'ardha-dhyāna' mudrā.
3. lower right forearm held horizontally away from his body.
4. ear ornaments are both makara kuṇḍalas.

Umā:

1. left leg only down.
2. torso turned to the front (non-profile).
3. two arms.
4. leaning on her left arm.
5. peculiar head-dress: a turban-like portion which is pinched in the middle and a tall crown-like portion.
6. ear ornaments are both patra kuṇḍalas.

Skanda:

1. has the same peculiar type of head-dress that Umā has.

General:

1. no gaṇas in upper part of panel.
2. Brahmā and Vishṇu in panel immediately above Śiva's upper hands (Brahmā always to proper right, Vishṇu to proper left).
3. umbrella above Umā.
4. āsana is a royal throne.

Vēdagirīśvara Temple, Tirukkalukkunram

In addition to the Dharmarāja Ratha and Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, the only other temple we could think of which might boast of a pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda was the famous Vēdagirīśvara structural shrine on top of the hill at Tirukkalukkunram. It was with great interest, therefore, that we visited it some time ago and had a look at the three carved stone slabs which form a major part of the inner back and side walls of the sanctum sanctorum.

The inner structure of the sanctum probably dates from the time of the Pallava king, Paramēśvara-I, the father of Rājasiṁha. It is not generally appreciated that this ancient Pallava shrine is completely encased within a later Chola vimāna. It is a temple within a temple.

From the outside, only the Chola structure can be seen. The inner shrine belonging to Paramēśvara's reign, therefore, is the oldest extant structural temple under worship in South India. There is another

temple of Paramēśvara's time at Kuram, but only the basement of the original structure remains, and no regular worship is conducted there.

It must be said right away that the various descriptions of these relief carvings inside the sanctum, beginning with those of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* of 1909 (pp. 76-77), were based on mere hearsay. That information, unfortunately, was over-imaginative. The *Report* claims, for example, that:

(1) Mārkaṇḍēya appears in the Sōmāskanda panel [he doesn't!];

(2) two ṛishis appear in the northern panel [they don't!]; and

(3) Nandikēśvara and Chaṇḍikēśvara appear in the southern panel [a puzzling way of describing Śiva-Ardhanārī seated on the bull, Nandi].

On the *Report's* authority, these misleading descriptions were repeated.[2]

Our own report follows: On the back inner wall of the sanctum which faces east is a typical Rājasiṁha-style stone Sōmāskanda panel of impressive dimensions. The pilasters framing the panel and the portion of the wall above it are clearly brick, *not stone*. On the inner side wall, facing north, is an equally large relief of Śiva-Ardhanārī. Ardhanārī, holding a vīṇā and other insignia, is seated on Śiva's mount, the bull, Nandi. To the upper right (proper) of Ardhanārī, in this panel, is a small bust of Brahmā with three of his faces showing. To the upper left (proper) is a small bust of Vishṇu, wearing kirīṭa makuṭa.

On the inner side wall facing south is a panel showing a four-armed figure seated by itself on a royal throne, in almost the same pose and regalia which Śiva has in the Sōmāskanda panel. We shall call this figure 'Rājamūrti'. In this panel of Rājamūrti, above and behind his throne, on either side of him, are two ladies of royal appearance, with their hands held in añjali mudrā. There are no other figures.

On the outer sides of the sanctum walls, in deeply recessed niches, there are similar but smaller and very badly worn panels.[3] The unusual depth of the niches is due to the fact that the Pallava shrine with its panels is encased within the later Chola structure. These outer panels duplicate the inner ones. That is, on the back wall of the sanctum, outside, facing west, is a second Sōmāskanda panel; on the southern wall, facing south, is a second Ardhanārī; and on the northern wall, facing north, is a second Rājamūrti flanked behind by two ladies, with their hands in añjali mudrā.

The two Sōmāskanda panels of this temple agree completely with all of the characteristics listed in the *Standard Table (Rājasiṁha-Style)* given earlier in this study.

We give further details of the two Sōmāskandas below:

	Inner Sōmāskanda	*Outer Sōmāskanda*
Śiva:		
1. leg ornaments:	none	none
2. diagonal bands:	two (at least)	one (visible)
over right arm?	no	no
Umā:		
1. leg ornaments:	4+1	indeterminable (worn)
2. diagonal band:	one (strands of pearls?)	one
between breasts?	yes	no: down her left side
General:		
1. Vishṇu's emblems:		
(a) flames?	no	indeterminable (worn)
(b) valampuri?	no	indeterminable (worn)
2. moon	yes: disc raised and crescent raised further	no
3. Nandi below	no	no
4. attendants below	one (as in Mahish. Cave Sōmāskanda panel)	none
5. vessel below	yes: water pot type (spout)	yes: wide-mouth bowl
6. throne legs:	non-animal	non-animal

We also give a detailed analysis of the Ardhanārī and Rājamūrti panels found in the same sanctum of the Vēdagirīśvara temple:

	Inner Ardhanārī	*Outer Ardhanārī*	*Inner Rājamūrti*	*Outer Rājamūrti*
The Deity:				
1. leg ornaments:	Śiva-half: none Umā-half: none	Ś-half: indet. U-half: silambu	none	none
2. diagonal bands:	two	indeter.	two	1 visible
over right arm?	no	no	no	no
3. ear ornaments:	Ś-half: makara U-half: patra	Ś-half: indet. U-half: indet.	both makara	both makara
4. leg position:	left down	left down	left down	left down
5. four arms:				
upper right:	triśūla shaft	indeter.	snake tail	indeter.
lower right:	snake staff	indeter.	abhaya	abhaya
upper left:	vīṇā neck	indeter.	chin mudrā	indeter.
lower left:	vīṇā neck	indeter.	ardha-dhyāna	ardha-dhyāna
General:				
1. figures above:	Brahmā & Vishṇu	nobody	two ladies	two ladies
2. āsana:	Nandi	Nandi	throne	throne
(a) throne legs:	–	–	non-animal	non-animal
(b) ends of back rests:	–	–	makara head above rampant lion	makara head above rampant lion
3. figures below:	none	none	none	none
4. yōga paṭṭa	on right knee	indeter.	no	no

We add a few comments on the inner panel facing south with the figure we have called 'Rājamūrti'. The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* of 1909 describes this panel as representing Yōga-Dakshiṇāmūrti and two ṛishis. R. Nagaswamy has said that it represents Mēdha-Dakshiṇāmūrti and

two female chauri-bearers.[4] It is difficult to see how a kingly figure seated on a royal throne, flanked by two ladies with their hands held in añjali mudrā (they do not have chauris) can be Dakshiṇāmūrti. There are no sages, no tree, nor any of the other characteristics which usually go along with the Dakshiṇāmūrti theme. The figure is certainly not seated out in the forest, and, as mentioned before, he has almost the same pose and regalia which Śiva has in the Sōmāskanda panel.

It is interesting to note that, in the courtyard of the Shore Temple, Māmallapuram, there is a stone block which has panels carved in relief on its four sides, two of which are similar Ardhanārī and Rājamūrti panels. [1997 note: this block is now in the ASI museum, Māmallapuram.] These panels, much more modest in size and execution, and with variations of emblems and āsanas, nevertheless reflect the style we see in the earlier and bigger panels of the Vēdagirīśvara temple.

Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchipuram

The visits to the Vēdagirīśvara temple had aroused our curiosity concerning the Sōmāskanda panels in the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi – that fountainhead, as it were, of Rājasiṁha's art. We soon found an opportunity to go there. Examining first the Sōmāskanda in the sanctum of the smaller temple, the Mahēndravarmēśvara, we found a panel which in every respect was typically Rājasiṁha in style. It agrees in every detail with the characteristics listed in the *Standard Table (Rājasiṁha-Style).*

We were stunned, therefore, when we saw next the Sōmāskanda in the main sanctum of the Rājasiṁhēśvara: a diminutive panel which in no way can be considered the work of Rājasiṁha's period. It is certainly a later addition.

Anyone who has first seen the large and imposing Sōmāskanda panel of the Vēdagirīśvara temple (whose sanctum is of modest dimensions: 187 cm. length by 170 cm. breadth, approx.), would naturally expect an even more imposing panel in the Kailāsanātha temple (whose main sanctum is 265 cm. in length and 273 cm. in breadth, approx.). But this is not the case. The Vēdagirīśvara panel is roughly 160 cm. high and 122 cm. broad (a vertical format). Whereas the Rājasiṁhēśvara panel is only 94 cm. high and 115 cm. broad (a horizontal format).

But it is not just the small size of this panel which is unexpected. The details of the figures themselves are completely at variance with the usual Rājasiṁha-style Sōmāskanda (of which there are 29 such examples in this temple alone). In particular, the main sanctum's aberrant panel has:

1. Śiva's *right* leg down.
2. Śiva has an *axe* in his upper right hand and a *deer* in his upper left.

3. Śiva's lower right forearm is *not* held horizontally away, with the 'chin' mudrā (his lower left arm, unfortunately, seems to be broken off).
4. Brahmā and Vishṇu are *not* included in the panel.
5. There are *no* gaṇas above, either.
6. Nor any umbrella.
7. Umā is seated with *both* legs drawn up on the āsana.
8. The āsana has lost any resemblance to a royal throne.
9. Skanda is *standing* on the āsana (between Umā and Śiva).

Further analysis of details in dress and ornaments is impossible because the panel has a thick coating of plaster on it.

One more anomaly is that whereas the panel in the Mahēndravarmēśvara sanctum shows Śiva and his family seated on a throne in the façade of a shrine or pavilion which is carved in relief with side pillars and kapōta, there is no indication of such a façade in the Rājasiṁhēśvara sanctum. However, such a façade is found framing the Sōmāskanda panels of Rājasiṁha-style in all of the structural temples – in the sanctums sanctorum. The only possible exception is the Vēdagirīśvara sanctum where the side pillars framing the panel are distinctive in both form and material (brick) and where there is no kapōta.

Where, then, is the original Sōmāskanda? Hidden behind an added wall and this later panel? Removed as a war trophy, many centuries ago, by the Chālukyas? It is difficult to say.

There are fragments of painted (not carved) Sōmāskanda panels which have been uncovered in a couple of the enclosure shrines of the Kailāsanātha temple.[5] Although little remains of the complete scene, there are some interesting details which add to our knowledge of the carved Sōmāskanda panels. For instance, in shrine No. 41, the three separate loops of Śiva's diagonal band are clearly shown in the painting. The large (and thick) diagonal band is made of many strands of pearls. The other two narrow diagonal bands seem to be strips of cloth: the shorter loop passing around his chest rather high on his right side; the longer loop falling almost vertically downward and disappearing beneath his belt and waist garments.

Two side loops of the waistbands are each weighed down by a heavy ring (with ornamental knob and tassel) through which they pass. The waistband, itself, is a long strip of folded or pleated cloth which is striped with transverse bars of color.

The glimpse one gets of Umā's bust, in the painting of shrine No. 23, is a perfect illustration of one of the ways in which women used to paint their breasts in the early period. In the Kailāsanātha painting the red color of her breasts contrasts with the normal flesh color of her stomach. Some art historians have long been attempting by argument to clothe the heavenly maidens of the famous Sigiriya frescoes in Sri Lanka with diaphanous blouses. But it is quite clear in this Kailāsanātha painting that the colorful, but otherwise invisible, "blouses" are merely applications of sandal paste.

Questions have been raised about the age of the fragments of painting found in the Kailāsanātha temple. It is true that one can find several layers of plaster and paint – one on top of the other. We have observed up to three layers of plaster and paint. But it is natural, in the absence of any contrary evidence, to take the layer of plaster and paint nearest the stone's surface to be the original. And when the paintings themselves (for example, in shrines No. 41 and No. 23) not only parallel the details of the sculptured panels, but actually make clear certain points which are otherwise obscure, then we are inclined to believe that the lowest layer of paint in these cases is coeval with the original construction of the temple.

The eastern and western enclosure shrines contain sculpted Sōmāskanda panels in typical Rājasiṁha-style. In several cases, Brahmā and Vishṇu have been completely hidden by plaster during renovation.

On the wall between the shrines appear panels representing the King and a Queen – they very closely resemble Śiva and Umā in the Sōmāskandas. The King, of course, has only two arms. At the back, stand two female chauri bearers.

It is interesting to note that the *Śilparatinam* prescribes that, in a Sōmāskanda, Śiva "must be like Rājarāja". Other works prescribe "Rājaguṇam" for Śiva. Thus, the tradition of Śiva being represented as the king continues even into the post-Rājasiṁha period.

Six Pallava Temples, Kanchipuram

Having seen the thirty Sōmāskanda panels of the Kailāsanātha temple, we next turned our attention to six minor Pallava shrines – all of them also in Kanchipuram. In 1971, we visited all six of them and made a detailed comparison. All six of the Sōmāskanda panels in their sanctums exhibit the characteristics listed in the *Standard Table (Rājasiṁha-Style)* with the following exceptions.

Śiva, in the Iravatanēśvara, Amarēśvara, Muktēśvara, and Mātaṅgēśvara, has his lower right hand in abhaya mudrā. And in the Muktēśvara, Śiva's upper hands hold an axe (right hand) and deer (left). It must be emphasized here that the Amarēśvara, Airāvatēśvara, and Muktēśvara temples all have Sōmāskanda panels which are heavily plastered. So heavily so that even the details of emblems are conjectural. For instance, we find in the Muktēśvara Sōmāskanda that Śiva has the axe and deer emblems in his upper hands, which are post-Rājasiṁha characteristics. But it is anybody's guess whether these stucco emblems truly represent the stone carving beneath.

Iṟavāttaṉēśvara

Mātaṅgēśvara

Airāvatēśvara

Muktēśvara

Additional details are these:

	Piravātanēśvara	Iravatanēśvara	Amarēśvara	Airāvatēśvara	Muktēśvara	Mātaṅgēśvara
General:						
1. gaṇas below:	3	3	none	1	none	1
2. vessels below:	none	none	wide-mouth	?	none	none
3. throne legs:	lion	plain	plain	?	lion	lion
4. sanctum sides:	carved	plain	plain	carved	carved	carved

Tālagirīśvara Temple, Panamalai

There remained one major temple for us to see, and in August, 1971, we visited it: the Tālagirīśvara structural stone temple at Panamalai. The Sōmāskanda in the sanctum is of the expected Rājasiṁha-style. Unfortunately, it is rather thickly plastered over. What is unusual is that the Sōmāskanda panel is framed by a complete shrine (carved in relief) which rises high above to a second level which is topped by a barrel vaulted roof with kūḍu arches and two stūpīs.

The Sōmāskanda panel of this temple conforms to every one of the characteristics listed in the *Standard Table (Rājasiṁha-Style)*.

Additional details are these:

General:

1. The throne has a lateral back rest which ends in makara heads with rampant lions directly below them; the throne legs are non-animal.
2. No gaṇas or attendants below.
3. But two vessels: one pot with spout; and one wide-mouth bowl.
4. The sanctum's side (inner) walls are plain.
5. There is a torch on a standard to the proper left of Umā's head – as is also found in a Shore Temple Sōmāskanda panel (in the Rājasiṁhēśvara).

Śiva has no leg ornaments. Umā has silambu and a diagonal band which passes between her breasts. Nothing can be said of Śiva's diagonal bands, as there is a thick covering of plaster on his chest.

Post-Rājasiṁha Style Sōmāskandas

The Sōmāskanda theme continued to be popular in the bronzes of Tamilnad for several hundred years. The later Sōmāskandas are distinctly different from the Rājasiṁha-style.

Instead of dealing with individual Sōmāskandas of the later period, we shall contrast some of the characteristics of Sōmāskandas as laid down by the *Śilparatinam* with those of the Rājasiṁha-style Sōmāskanda:

	Rājasiṁha-Style <u>Sōmāskanda</u>	*Śilparatinam's* <u>Sōmāskanda</u>
Śiva:		
1.	left leg only down	1. right leg only down
2.	four arms: UR: holding snake's tail LR: 'chin' mudrā UL: 'jñāna' mudrā LL: 'ardha-dhyāna' mudrā	2. four arms: UR: axe LR: 'abhaya' mudrā UL: spotted deer LL: 'kaṭaka' or 'siṁhakarṇa' mudrā
3.	ear ornaments both makara kuṇḍalas	3. right ear: makara or siṁha kuṇḍala left ear: patra kuṇḍala, or both ears: patra kuṇḍalas
Umā:		
1.	peculiar head-dress: turban-like portion pinched in the middle; tall crown-like portion.	1. kirīṭa-makuṭa
Skanda:		
1.	always sitting.	1. standing, sitting, or dancing.

Sōmāskanda, Post-Rājasiṁha Style, Triśūlam Temple, Pallavaram

Conclusion

In conclusion, we would like to say that there are enough uniformities in all of the panels which we have examined to establish a Rājasiṁha-style for most of them. We have listed these common characteristics in the *Standard Table (Rājasiṁha-Style)*. We have called it 'Rājasiṁha' because his authorship of several temples which contain the majority of Sōmāskandas of this type is clearly established by inscriptions. In our fourth study we shall argue, however, that it was his father, Paramēśvaravarmā-I, who actually initiated the 'Rājasiṁha' style and who was the author of some of these monuments.

In two cases, the Muktēśvara and Mātaṅgēśvara temples, inscriptions indicate that they were built after Rājasiṁha's reign, even though their Sōmāskanda panels continue in the Rājasiṁha-style.

In the Appendix, we have applied the techniques of numerical taxonomy to an analysis of stylistic differences in various Sōmāskanda panels.

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[1]This second study is based on "Pallava Somaskandas", by Michael Lockwood, P. Dayanandan, and Gift Siromoney, a paper read at a meeting of the Archæological Society of South India, September 9, 1971, and on its modified version which appeared in two parts in *The Sunday Standard*, Madras, on the 19th and 26th of November, 1972.

[2]For instance, see Longhurst's work, *Pallava Architecture* (Archæological Survey of India, Memoir No. 17, 1928), Pt. 1, p. 21. It is not until 1966 that one gets anything like an accurate description of the Vēdagirīśvara carvings. This description comes in the form of a note written by R. Nagaswamy which is appended to Chapter Eleven of S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's *Early Chola Art: Part I* (pp. 251-52).

[3]The "outer sides" of the main sanctum are nevertheless protected within the enclosing verandah walls and are roofed over. Therefore, in the darkness, a light of some sort is necessary to see the panels in the outer niches.

[4]See Nagaswamy's note, pp. 251-52, *Early Chola Art: Part I*.

[5]In the enclosure shrine No. 44, a carved panel of Śiva and Umā has been inserted some nine inches in front of the back wall – which may still have the original painting intact.

[6]Tanjore, 1961, chp. 22.

APPENDIX A

A Numerical Taxonomic Analysis of Various Sōmāskandas

Taxonomy is the study of the principles of classification. With the advent of computers, there has been a considerable development in the field of numerical taxonomy. We have applied the methods of numerical taxonomy to our study of the Sōmāskanda panels. The results more or less confirm our main findings presented in the body of our second study.

Numerical taxonomists recommend a large number of characters (say from 40 to 100) to be selected for study. We have chosen 40 characters as given in Table I. When a particular character is present, it is coded with a plus (+); when it is absent, a minus (–), and when it is not possible to determine the presence or absence of the character, a zero (0). For example, we may use the presence of a leg ornament as a character. If a leg ornament is present, we mark '+' against the character; if the leg ornament is absent, we use '–'. In some cases, the leg may be covered with a thick coating of plaster so that it is impossible to determine the presence or absence of the leg ornament. Then the corresponding code given is '0'.

We have listed characters for 15 panels. However, only the first 10 panels have been used by us in our numerical taxonomic analysis. They are the Sōmāskanda panels of the Dharmarāja Ratha, Mahishamardinī cave-temple; the Vēdagirīśvara, Tālagirīśvara, Rājasiṁhēśvara (Shore), Kailāsanātha (façade panel of Shrine No. 51), Mukundanayanār, and Mātaṅgēśvara temples; the east gōpura of the Naṭarāja temple of Chidambaram; and a bronze from Nidur (see Fig. 189 in P.R. Srinivasan's book on *Bronzes of South India*). We have not included the panel from the main sanctum of the Kailāsanātha temple because many of the characters cannot be determined due to the thick coating of plaster on it.

We compare these ten panels two at a time, and calculate a similarity coefficient (S) for each pair. If two panels were to have 30 characters in common out of a total of 40 characters, then the similarity coefficient would be 75. If all characters agree, then S is 100. And if no characters agree, then S is 0. If the number of characters which the panels have in common is 18, and 4 out of the 40 characters are indeterminable (allowing, then, 36 pairs of character comparison), then S is 50.

Since we have taken 10 panels for study, we have had to make 45 different comparisons. A similarity table for the 10 panels is given in Table II.

Each value in the similarity matrix (table) is represented by a square, in Fig. 1 – each square being shaded, the depth of shading varying in proportion to the similarity index. Figure 1 also represents the stage of cluster analysis, where the similarity matrix is shown rearranged so as to bring together into clusters those panels which have the greatest mutual similarity.

In conclusion, Fig. 1 shows clearly that the Dharmarāja Ratha panel (A) stands by itself. The two late Sōmāskandas, one from Chidambaram (I) and the other, the Nidur bronze (J), stand together, but at the same time differ from the rest of the panels.

The remaining panels, with the exception of the Mātaṅgēśvara's, stand together in a group and share high levels of similarity (89 and above). They are all panels which exhibit what we have called the 'Rājasiṁha'-style: those of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple (B), the Vēdagirīśvara (C), Tālagirīśvara (D), Rājasiṁhēśvara (Shore) (E), and Mukundanayanār (F) temples, & shrine No. 51 of the Kailāsanātha (G).

The Mātaṅgēśvara Sōmāskanda when compared with the panels of this group yields values of similarity ranging from 76 to 86. Thus, even though this Sōmāskanda (H) is close to the panels of the BCDEFG group, yet it stands significantly apart from them.

We hope that this experiment in the application of numerical taxonomy to iconography may lead the way to wider and more intensive studies using this method.

Key to the Panels Listed in TABLE I

(A) ***Dharmarāja Ratha*** (Māmallapuram)
(B) ***Mahishamardinī cave-temple*** (Māmallapuram)
(C) ***Vēdagirīśvara*** (Tirukkalukkunram)
(D) ***Tālagirīśvara*** (Panamalai)
(E) ***Rājasiṁhēśvara*** (Shore Temple, Māmallapuram)
(F) ***Mukundanayanār*** (Māmallapuram)
(G) ***Shrine No. 51*** (Kailāsanātha, Kanchipuram)
(H) ***Mātaṅgēśvara*** (Kanchipuram)
(I) ***Naṭarāja Temple*** (Chidambaram)
(J) ***Nidur Bronze*** (P.R.S.'s book, Fig. 189)
(K) ***Periyavenmani*** (Chingleput Dist.)
(L) ***Trisulam*** (Pallavaram)
(M) ***Tirupparankkunram*** (Madurai)
(N) ***Takkolam*** (Chingleput Dist.)
(O) ***Tirupanjili*** (Tiruchi Dist.)

TABLE I: Coded Data

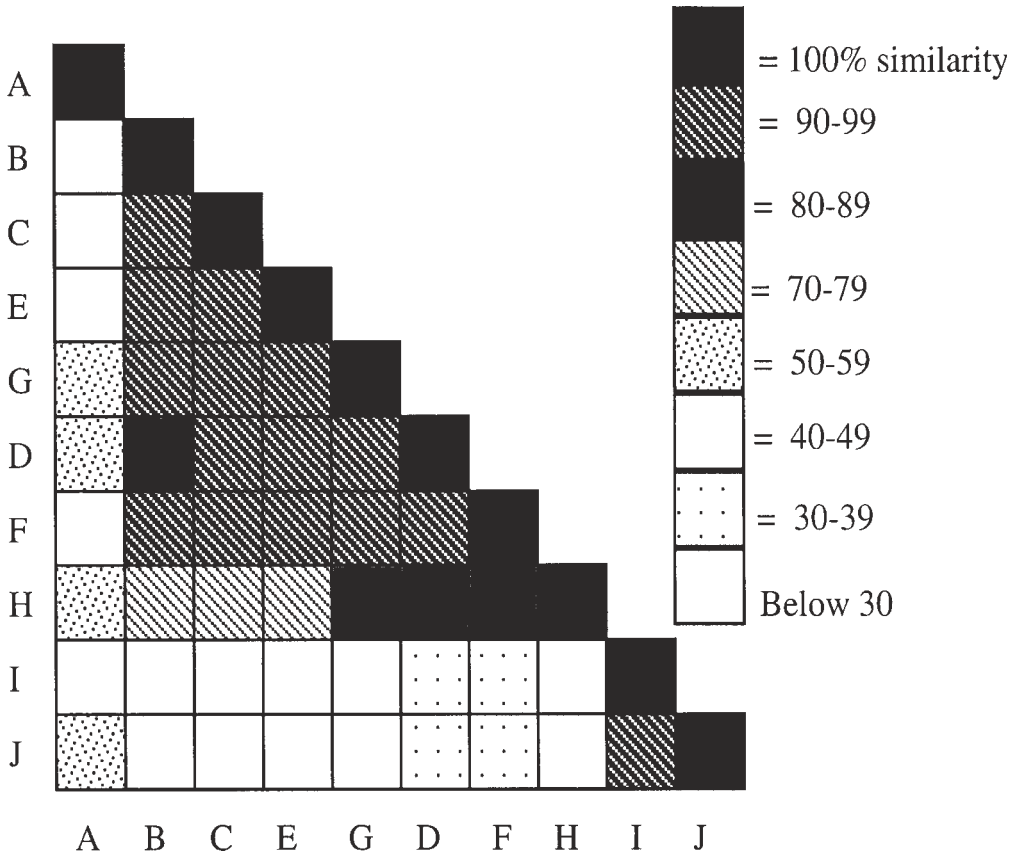
	Panels:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Śiva:																
1.	right leg down	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2.	left leg down	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3.	leg ornament present	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	0	+	–
4.	waist band loops down	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	0	+	–
5.	two+ diagonal bands	–	+	+	0	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
6.	LR: forearm horiz.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7.	UR: snake tail	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8.	UR: axe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
9.	LR: chin mudrā	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
10.	LR: abhaya	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
11.	UL: jñāna mudrā	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12.	UL: deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
13.	LL: dhyāna mudrā	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
14.	LL: fist on thigh	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
15.	LL: chin mudrā	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
16.	left ear: makara kuṇḍala	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
17.	right ear: makara k.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
18.	headdress short (1.5x)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
19.	udarabandha present	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
Umā:																
20.	left leg down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21.	waist band sash down	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	0	0	–	–
22.	long diagonal band	–	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	–	–	0	–	0	+	+
23.	torso profile	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
24.	leaning on left arm	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
25.	right hand touching ear	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
26.	right ear: patra kuṇḍala	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	0	–
27.	left ear: patra kuṇḍala	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	–	+	+	–	0	+
28.	*large* patra kuṇḍala	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	+
29.	‘*pinch* in middle’ (hair)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	0	–	–
30.	headdress short (1.5x)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
31.	headdress conical	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Skanda:																
32.	seated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
General:																
33.	gaṇas above (in panel)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
34.	Brahmā & V. behind Ś.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35.	umbrella above	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
36.	royal throne	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
37.	makara tōraṇa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
38.	attendants below	–	+	+	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
39.	vessel(s) below	–	–	+	+	+	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
40.	Śiva & Umā *close*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+

TABLE II: **Similarity Matrix**

Dharmarāja Ratha (Māmallapuram)	(A)	100									
Mahisha. Cave-Temple (Māmallapuram)	(B)	44	100								
Vēdagirīśvara (Tirukkalukkunram)	(C)	41	98	100							
Tālagirīśvara (Panamalai)	(D)	50	89	92	100						
Rājasiṁhēśvara (Shore Temple)	(E)	44	95	98	95	100					
Mukundanayanār (Māmallapuram)	(F)	46	93	90	92	93	100				
Shrine 51 - Kailāsanātha (Kanchipuram)	(G)	50	94	94	97	94	94	100			
Mātaṅgēśvara (Kanchipuram)	(H)	54	79	76	86	79	82	86	100		
Naṭarāja Temple (Chidambaram)	(I)	47	23	21	31	23	31	29	46	100	
Nidur Bronze	(J)	54	23	20	30	23	30	28	45	90	100
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J

Fig. 1

Matrix Rearranged According to Cluster Analysis



1. Sōmāskanda, Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

APPENDIX B

Five Sōmāskanda Panels

The five Sōmāskanda panels illustrated in this Appendix are from the following temples:

1. Mahiṣamardinī cave-temple (Pallava), Māmallapuram;
2. Yamadharma temple, Tirupanjili;
3. Kṣatriyasiṁhēśvara (the east-facing shrine of the Shore Temple) (Pallava), Māmallapuram;
4. Tiruvural-Mahādēva temple (Pallava), Takkolam;
5. Kāyārōhaṇa temple (Chola), Kanchi.

All of the photographs of these Sōmāskanda panels, excepting the fifth, are courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India, Temple Survey Project (Southern Region). Copyright belongs to the Archæological Survey of India. The fifth photograph is reproduced courtesy of Mr. V. Narayanaswamy, who came across this Sōmāskanda in one of his many investigative expeditions.

2. Sōmāskanda, Yamadharma Temple, Tirupañjili

3. Sōmāskanda, Shore Temple, east-facing shrine

4. Sōmāskanda, Tiruvural Mahādēva Temple, Takkolam

5. Sōmāskanda, Kāyārōhaṇa Temple, Kanchi

Gaṅgādhara, lateral niche, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchi

THREE

Pallava Gaṅgādhara[1]

In the Introduction to our studies, we have briefly noted the story of Bhagīratha and the descent of the river Gaṅgā, which is narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa. *The point we would like to emphasize here is that the goddess Gaṅgā was enraged when Śiva commanded her to descend to earth:*

> "He calls me," in her wrath she cried,
> "And all my flood shall sweep
> And whirl him in o'erwhelming tide
> To hell's profoundest deep."
>
> *(After Griffiths'* Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 190.)*

But in the ensuing trial of strength, Śiva proved his superiority by capturing the descending Gaṅgā in the locks of his hair! There she stayed until her temper cooled down, when at last she flowed into the Vindu lake, the source of the seven sacred rivers of India.

It may be of interest to note here that the 'terrific' aspect of Śiva's tussle with the goddess is clearly emphasized in the major Gaṅgādhara panel of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram, built in the early eighth century by the Pallava king, Rājasiṁha. This panel which forms the inner back wall of the central western sub-shrine of the main tower shows Śiva with a fearsome expression. His mouth is slightly open, his teeth are bared, with two elongated fangs curving downward. These are details on the original sandstone carving.

In this same panel, Pārvatī stands on Śiva's left. As a matter of fact, Pārvatī appears for the very first time in any Pallava Gaṅgādhara when she appears in the Gaṅgādhara panels of this temple.

The Gaṅgādhara theme is repeated on the façades of two of the enclosure shrines of the Kailāsanātha temple. And what is extremely significant for the debate over the Penance Panel at Māmallapuram (the question whether it is Bhagīratha's or Arjuna's penance) is the fact that one of the sub-shrine panels (sub-shrine No. 50) actually shows Bhagīratha standing next to Śiva in the same tortuous stance as is found in the Māmallapuram Penance Panel. There is no parallel example in the whole range of Pallava art which thus portrays Śiva and the penitent Arjuna.

The Gaṅgādhara theme can be considered both as a terrific form as well as a grace-bestowing form of Śiva. It is terrific in its aspect of portraying his contest with Gaṅgā. It is grace-bestowing in its showing the god as fulfilling the fervent prayer of Bhagīratha. This

double aspect is emphasized in the Kailāsanātha temple by the Gaṅgādhara theme appearing both in the southern row of enclosure shrines (which portray terrific forms of Śiva) as well as the northern row of enclosure shrines (which portray grace-bestowing forms of the god).

It is the much earlier Gaṅgādhara panel of King Mahēndra's in his cave-temple at Tiruchirapalli which is the main subject of the following study. This particular panel would seem to emphasize the grace-bestowing aspect of the theme.

The new contribution which this study seeks to make to Indian art history is the realization that an Indian king had an image of a god carved, which image was at the same time a portrait or representation of the king himself. That king was Mahēndravarmā-I, and the image is the Tiruchi Gaṅgādhara. Historians know that the practice of making 'God-king' images was common in the east Asian colonies of India. But in the following study, we would not only establish that this practice existed in India, we would also suggest that it most probably originated here.

Śiva-Gaṅgādhara Panel, King Mahēndra's Cave-Temple, Tiruchi

Near the summit of the Rock Fort Hill at Tiruchirapalli, there is a cave-temple created in the seventh century A.D. by the Pallava king, Mahēndra-I. His craftsmen carved a large panel representing Śiva-Gaṅgādhara on the living rock which forms the western wall of the cave-temple. In the art history of the Tamil country, this carving marks the very earliest extant, large stone-sculptured panel representing a deity.

On the two pillars – actually, pilasters – which frame this imposing carving, there is a famous inscription of King Mahēndra's. This inscription was translated as far back as 1890 by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the first volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions*. His interpretation has, more or less, been followed by scholars up to the present day. However, we wish to present a fresh translation of this inscription which is radically different at three key points.

First, Hultzsch, in his translation, says that King Mahēndra "placed" an image of Śiva in the cave-temple. The English word 'placed' is misleading here, and Hultzsch and others have concluded that a separate piece of sculpture was brought from somewhere and 'placed' in the cave-temple. But, in fact, the image referred to in the inscription is the obvious one: the figure of Gaṅgādhara in the relief panel itself which was carved *in situ*. The Sanskrit word 'nidhāya' may be translated, poetically, as 'established'.

Secondly, when King Mahēndra had the figure of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara carved in anthropomorphic form, it was given the human form of the king himself. That is, when we look at the Gaṅgādhara panel, we are actually seeing a figure of Śiva which is at the same time a portrait of King Mahēndra. This is the significance of the passage in the inscription which claims that in the making of the image of Śiva the king "became himself *sthāṇu* (fixed, immortal) together with [Śiva] on earth." We probably see in this figure of Gaṅgādhara not only the bodily and facial likeness of the king, but also his royal dress and ornaments. If this appears vainglorious on the part of the king, one ought to remember that in Śaivism, as in other faiths, the human person, itself, has been taken as a true temple or house of God. This is certainly the idea conveyed in the inscription when it speaks of God being immanent in the king.

Thirdly, in the inscription, the title 'Daughter of the Mountain' was taken by Hultzsch, and by everyone else since his day, to refer to Pārvatī. But we wish to submit that in the context of the Gaṅgādhara theme, the 'Daughter of the Mountain' is none other than Gaṅgā. Gaṅgā, as well as Pārvatī, is referred to in literature as the Daughter of the Mountain. And it is extremely significant that in the story of Bhagīratha, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the theme of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara occurs (the very same theme of the carved panel), Gaṅgā is referred to as the elder daughter of Himavān, the king of the Himālaya mountains.

Mahēndra's Inscription

The inscription begins on the northern pilaster:

(*Verse 1*) When King Guṇabhara [Mahēndra] established a stone figure [the relief image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara] in the wonderful stone abode on top of the King of Mountains [the Rock-Fort Hill], this ruler, (entitled) 'Vidhi' [the Creator], made Sthāṇu [Śiva] true to His name ['*sthāṇu*': stationary / firmly fixed] and became himself *sthāṇu* [fixed, immortal] together with Him, on earth.

(*V. 2*) The lord of wealth, Śatrumalla [Mahēndra], made on this mountain an abode for the husband [Śiva] of the 'Daughter of the King of Mountains' [Gaṅgā], so that the meaning of His [Śiva's] title 'Giriśa' (i.e., 'Mountain Dweller') would be made literally manifest.

(*V. 3*) Having affectionately been asked by Hara [Śiva], 'How can I, while remaining in an earthly abode, see the abundant wealth of the Chōḷas and the river Kāvērī?', this Supreme Ruler, Guṇabhara, the fame of whose empire rivals that of Manu, ordered for Him [Śiva] this sky-scraper ['cloud-licking'] mountain-abode.

(*V. 4*) By first raising Śiva, the God within (his) heart, to his head, an incomparable stone figure of Hara [Śiva] was then, with pleasure, raised to the top of the mountain by this Puruṣōttama [Mahēndra]. And by thus himself first bearing, and then by making the mountain bear, God immanent, on top, the 'Exaltedness' of the 'Immovable One' [*acalasya*] was made a concrete reality by him.

The inscription continues on the southern pilaster:

(*V. 5*) Suspecting that the God [Śiva], who is fond of rivers, on seeing the Kāvērī, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses attractive qualities, might fall in love with her also, the 'Daughter of the Mountain' [Gaṅgā] has left her father's family to reside, I reckon, permanently here on this mountain, calling this river [Kāvērī] the beloved wife of the Pallava (king).

(*V. 6*) As the king called Guṇabhara has become embodied in this image [*liṅgini* = Kāvērīdhara / Gaṅgādhara], let the Faith, which has been brought back from the encircling opposition, be forever spread by this same image [*liṅgēna*] throughout the world!

(*V. 7*) This mountain is like the diadem of his [Mahēndra's] Chōḷa province, this abode of Hara his (diadem's) chief jewel, and the splendor of Śaṅkara [Gaṅgādhara] is, as it were, his [Mahēndra's / Kāvērīdhara's crest-jewel's] splendor.

(*V. 8*) This bodily image [of Satyasandha (God/king)] was created out of the stone inscription [*śilākṣarēṇa*] of Satyasandha [the poet-king]. By the same imperishable character, an embodiment of His/his fame was made imperishable.

(*Coda*) The firm, surpassing devotion within Guṇabhara [king/'Mountain King'] was (thus) scooped out and made manifest! . . .

As we have mentioned above, the Gaṅgādhara panel is framed by two pilasters, and it is on these two pilasters that the inscription is engraved.

If one were to find an inscription on the pedestal of a statue, it would be most natural to expect some intimate relation between the statue and the inscription. The same thing should be expected here in the case of the Gaṅgādhara panel. The inscription refers to the panel itself, and to the figures therein, and not to some supposed separate pieces of carving which would have been "placed" at the opposite end of the cave-temple (far away from the inscription).

It has long been known that from a very early period in Greater India, there existed the practice of creating images of gods which were at the same time portraits of royal persons. In R.C. Majumdar's work on "Champa", there is an ancient inscription which explicitly and unequivocally mentions this custom. It is the 'Hoa-Que stelæ inscription' of Bhadravarman-III. The relevant passage is translated thus:

> [Ugradēvī's] brothers, being of one mind and with the permission of their mother, have erected in the middle of their native place, in the śaka year denoted by "*gagana-dvi-maṅgala*" (820), an image of Śrī Mahārudradēva, out of devotion to and in imitation of the features of their father, named Ajña Sarthavaha, brother of the chief queen of king Śrī Indravarman. . . .
>
> To the north of this they erected, in their native place, in the śaka year denoted by "*kha-vahni-tanu*" (830), an image of Bhagavatī, out of devotion to and in imitation of the features of their mother named Pu Pov ku Rudrapura, . . . who had issued from a family, pure from time immemorial, and who had herself established in the śaka year denoted by "*chandra-agni-tanu*" – (831), the images of Dēvī, Gaṇēśa and Kumāra. . . .[4]

Since the brothers made an image of a goddess in the likeness of their mother's features in the śaka year 830, and we learn from the inscription that the mother was herself alive and active in the following year (Śaka 831), we have a record of the practice of making an image of a god in the likeness of a living person.[5]

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, in his book, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, speaking of the cult of deifying royal ancestors, says that the custom existed in Java, and he mentions in particular the portrait image of King Erlanga as Vishṇu. Coomaraswamy further adds, however, that in

> India, royal images were indeed often set up in temples, but so far as we know always in human form.[6]

Mahēndra's Tiruchirapalli cave-temple inscription reveals, then, that, contrary to Coomaraswamy's supposition, the custom of making an anthropomorphic image of a god, which was at the same time a portrait of a person, was practiced in the 'Mother Land', and has

been documented in the early seventh century A.D. We may reasonably assume from this that 'Greater India' was only following a custom which had developed at some earlier period in India itself.

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[1]This third study is based on "Pallava Gangadhara", by Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat, a paper read at a meeting of the Archæological Society of South India, March 20, 1973, and subsequently published under the same title in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha*, Vol. XXVIII, Parts 3-4 (July-October, 1972), pp. 159-166. A modified version of this paper appeared in *The Sunday Standard*, Madras, on April 22, 1973.

[2]*The Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakaṇḍa, Chapter 42, Ślōka 23 (Sanskrit edition published by Jalana Motilal, Gorakhpur, p. 82).

[3]This figure is simply the Gaṅgādhara image in its aspect of being also a portrait of King Mahēndra.

[4]R.C. Majumdar, *Champa,* Vol. I, Book II of Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East (Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927), p. 120.

[5]It must be admitted, however, that the grammatical structure of the passage throws doubt on the correctness of the reading of the dates.

[6]Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965 – first published by Karl W. Hiersemann in 1927), p. 185.

FOUR

God/King Images and Cult Worship[1]

There has been a difference of opinion among scholars over the question of a liṅga cult in early Pallava Śaivite temples. Liṅga worship was a common practice in many parts of India during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and it was perhaps only natural to suppose that the Pallavas followed the same practice in their Śaivite temples. But some scholars have tried to argue that the liṅga was not the object of worship in any Pallava temple until a date later than the construction of Rājasiṁha's temples in the early part of the eighth century.

Our fourth study goes against this view and supports the opinion that the consecrated object of worship in Rājasiṁha's temples was indeed the liṅga, and that the same was true of Mahēndra's cave-temple at Tiruchi.

We are not claiming that every Śaivite temple of the early Pallavas originally had a liṅga in its sanctum. The central sanctum of the Trimūrti cave-temple at Māmallapuram, for instance, did not. The object of worship there was the relief image of Śiva in anthropomorphic form carved on the back wall of the sanctum.

However, we are arguing for an original liṅga cult specifically with regard to Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple and all of Rājasiṁha's structural temples.

The subject matter of our third study, "Pallava Gaṅgādhara", especially the famous inscription of the Tiruchi cave-temple, provides supporting evidence for an early Pallava liṅga cult. And the practice of making God-king images, which is introduced there, is developed further in the present study.

Two major problems are dealt with in this paper. One of them is the question of the God-king relationship expressed in the art of the Pallavas. The other problem is the question of whether there was liṅga worship in the early Pallava Śaivite temples.

These two problems are indirectly related, and we have tried to draw upon the evidence in one field for enlightenment in the other.

1. Pallava Liṅga Worship

K.R. Srinivasan in the *Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures, 1959-60,* advanced the following thesis:

> . . . the sanctums in the early Pallava cave-temples dating upto 730 A.D. in Tondaimandalam and dedicated to Siva were devoid of a "*liṅga*" of Pallava origin. Even in the structural temples of Rājasiṁha with the Sōmāskanda relief on the hind wall of the sanctum, forming the primary object of worship, the installation of the "*liṅga*" was an afterthought, as the *in situ* evidences would indicate.[2]

The evidence put forward in the above lectures was developed and augmented by K.V. Soundara Rajan in his 1964 paper, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples".[3] In this paper he points out that during the Mahēndra, Mahāmalla, and Paramēśvara reigns:

> There was no provision for any '*liṅga*' to be fixed in the centre of the shrine chamber. . . .[4]

And a little later in the same paper:

> Although '*liṅgas*' are found in most of the temples of Rājasiṁha, as we see them today, there are strong grounds in favour of their being later insertions.[5]

Some of these arguments are based on the observation that the arrangements for abhiṣēka in early Pallava temples follow no rational plan and betray a make-shift workmanship and crude improvisation – a crudeness which is not in keeping with the care and precision shown in the plan and the construction of the temples themselves.

The abhiṣēka arrangements which appear crude are as follows. First, the channel on the floor for removing the abhiṣēka water is often crudely cut, and the spout on the outside appears improvised – and in some cases was not even provided. Secondly, some of the liṅga pīṭhas are oversize for the sanctum and have therefore required assembly in parts. Thirdly, in the Śaivite cave-temples of the early period which now have liṅgas, these liṅgas are sometimes not truly centered in the cells. The "Cult" article concludes that the "use of regular praṇāḷa [spout, with properly oriented channel] came into ritual use by about the end of the eighth century A.D."[6]

Now, let us grant the contention of these two scholars that some of the present liṅgas and pīṭhas are later additions (on the basis of their sound observations). One can, nevertheless, still maintain the thesis that an earlier form of liṅga was the central object of worship in many of these very same early Śaivite temples, especially those of Rājasiṁha.

For instance, the abhiṣēka ritual, itself, might have been only of a token nature, and therefore would not have required any channel or spout. If these original liṅgas were anything like the one pictured in the bas-relief panel of the Airāvatēśvara (Pallava) temple, Kanchipuram, this could have been the case. Such a liṅga has a square base with miniature rampant lion pilasters at its corners and an elaborately carved padmabandha on the liṅga's shaft. This liṅga has no apparent

arrangement whatsoever for the abhiṣēka ritual as practiced today. Further, such a form of the liṅga (especially if it were carved out of a single block of stone) might not have required any special provision for being fixed in the center of the shrine's chamber.

Or again, another possibility (in case there was abhiṣēka water flowing off these earlier type liṅgas) is that the abhiṣēka water was collected in a container placed in the cella, itself, and therefore the channel and spout outside were not originally required.

But there is still another argument which has been used to back up the thesis that liṅgas represent a later development in the ritual of these temples. According to K.V. Soundara Rajan, some of the foundation inscriptions of these temples actually state explicitly that Śiva in the Sōmāskanda group was the main object of worship in many early Pallava Śaivite temples. In his book, *Indian Temple Styles*, he says:

> For Rajasimha's explicit reference to Somaskanda as the consecrated God in his temples, we must refer to the inscriptions found in the cave-temples of his at Saluvankuppam near Mahabalipuram.[7]

The reference here is to the fifth ślōka of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara inscription. This ślōka may be translated as follows:

> (King) Atiraṇachaṇḍa, the lord of the rulers of the earth, is the cause of making this temple (called) Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara. May Paśupati (Śiva), together with the 'Daughter of the Mountain' (Pārvatī / Umā), Guha (Skanda), and his retinue of gaṇas, always be happy here.

At face value, this passage would seem to support the claim that Śiva-Sōmāskanda was indeed the consecrated object of worship in this cave-temple. And there is, in fact, a Sōmāskanda panel carved in bas-relief on the rear wall of its sanctum.

But the famous inscription of the Pallava king, Mahēndra-I, in his cave-temple, Tiruchi, provides evidence for an alternate interpretation.

There is a much disputed passage in this inscription which has crucial significance for our study. It reads as follows:

> *Guṇabhara-nāmani rājany-anēna liṅgēna liṅgini jñānam* ।
> *Prathatāñ-cirāya lōkē vipakṣa-vṛttēḥ parāvṛttam* ॥

Dr. E. Hultzsch, in the first volume (p. 29) of *South-Indian Inscriptions* (1890), translated this passage as follows:

> While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the *liṅga*, let the knowledge which has turned back from hostile (*vipaksha*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *liṅga*!

If this translation were to be accepted as a correct reading of the Sanskrit, it would naturally provide almost conclusive evidence that the liṅga was an object of worship in Mahēndra's kingdom – and most probably in this Tiruchi cave-temple, itself.

But there are more ways than one of interpreting the above passage, and our two scholars have taken exception to Hultzsch's interpretation. In the *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, K.R. Srinivasan says of this cave-temple of Mahēndra's:

> The temple is called *śilā-bhavana* ('the wonderful stone house') and the installed object is referred to as *śailītanu* (stone body or form), which seems to suggest a stone image or *sakala liṅga* and not perhaps a symbol or *nishkala liṅga*.[8]

Thus, on his interpretation, the consecrated object of worship which was placed in the shrine's chamber would have been an anthropomorphic image of Śiva and not a 'symbolic' liṅga. The author then explains his understanding of the expression '*liṅgēna liṅgini*' in the inscription:

> In the context of the preceding verses liṅga would denote only the entire work (excavation of the cave-temple and the installation therein) of the liṅgin viz. king Guṇabhara.[9]

In the article, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples", K.V. Soundara Rajan gives the following comment on the Sanskrit passage under discussion:

> To begin with, '*liṅga*' as well as '*liṅgin*' used by the royal author of the epigraph should at once put us wise about the *gūḍhārtha* rather than the *vyakta* character of the nomenclature. If Mahēndra meant a physical *liṅga* – the object of worship – he would have certainly been more explicit and less pedantic. That he did not imply the material *liṅga* is also borne out by the rest of the sentence, which also indulges in denominational jargon of "*vipakṣa vṛttī*" etc.[10]

Now, I fully agree with these two scholars when they claim that in the Tiruchi inscription the primary meaning of '*liṅga*' refers to the anthropomorphic form of Śiva. But I must disagree with them in their assumption that the anthropomorphic image of Śiva referred to in the inscription was an image installed in the sanctum of the cave-temple, which image is now missing.

On our interpretation, the *entire* inscription (which is found on the two pilasters framing the Gaṅgādhara panel) refers in its primary meaning to the contents and figures of this panel.

The significance of our interpretation is this: the words '*anēna liṅgēna liṅgini*' *do* refer in their primary meaning to the anthropomorphic form of Śiva – specifically to Śiva in the Gaṅgādhara panel. But the expression '*liṅgēna liṅgini*' is an unusual one, to say the least, and the poet must surely be punning here. Thus, the secondary

meaning of '*liṅgēna liṅgini*' should be understood in the sense in which Hultzsch has translated it: that King Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) was a worshipper of the liṅga (the aniconic form of Śiva).

That the poet is punning here is quite in keeping with the general style of this inscription. For instance, in the very first ślōka he puns repeatedly on the word '*sthāṇu*'.[11]

The outcome of this line of reasoning is the conclusion that Mahēndra's inscription definitely refers (though in a secondary meaning) to liṅga worship.

Our translation[12] of the disputed passage, giving its primary meaning, is as follows:

> As the king called Guṇabhara has become embodied in this image [*liṅgini* = Gaṅgādhara/Kāvērīdhara], let the Faith which has been brought back from the encircling opposition be forever spread by this same image [*liṅgēna*] throughout the world!

The same passage, giving a secondary meaning, would be:

> As the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the liṅga, let the Faith which has been brought back from the encircling opposition be forever spread by this liṅga throughout the world!

Now let us return to the claim in the book, *Indian Temple Styles* (p. 105), that a Pallava king made explicit reference to Śiva-Sōmāskanda (and not to the Śiva-liṅga) as the consecrated God in his Saluvankuppam cave-temple. It seems to me that the Tiruchi inscription of Mahēndra's provides grounds for an alternate interpretation which could challenge the above claim.

The Tiruchi inscription repeatedly declares that King Mahēndra made the cave-temple there for Śiva. And throughout the inscription the *explicit* reference to the God is *only to his anthropomorphic form*! Take, for example, the following ślōka:

> Having affectionately been asked by Hara [Śiva], 'How can I, while remaining in an earthly abode, see the abundant wealth of the Chōḷas and the river Kāvērī?', this Supreme Ruler, Guṇabhara, the fame of whose empire rivals that of Manu, ordered for Him [Śiva] this sky-scraper ['cloud-licking'] mountain-abode.

And yet we have seen that the anthropomorphic form of Śiva referred to by the inscription was not any consecrated image installed in the sanctum, but rather, it was the figure of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara in the panel carved on the wall opposite the shrine's chamber (sanctum sanctorum).

Further, we have seen that the secondary meaning of the words '*liṅgēna liṅgini*' is that King Mahēndra worshipped the liṅga, and thus the liṅga should have actually been the consecrated form of Śiva worshipped in the sanctum of this particular cave-temple.

We may conclude, on this interpretation, that God was One for the poet – whether in the anthropomorphic form of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara, or the form of the consecrated liṅga, or the Spirit indwelling in

the king's consciousness – God immanent. That the poet chose to speak *explicitly* of Śiva in the anthropomorphic form rather than in the form of the symbolic liṅga, should not surprise us. The impressive panel of Gaṅgādhara, which was also a portrait in stone of King Mahēndra, was there for all to gaze upon and admire.

2. Image of Deity and King

The Tiruchi Gaṅgādhara is the earliest documented example in India where the artist has combined in one anthropomorphic figure both a major image of a deity as well as a royal portrait. Was this artistic synthesis of the divine with the human continued in the art of the Pallavas? We suggest that the Sōmāskanda image represents just such a combination. Only, in the Sōmāskanda panels there are three figures which represent both divine beings as well as royal persons. A well-known inscription of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram, outlines such a parallelism in poetic language:

> Just as Guha (*also called* Subrahmaṇya or Kumâra) took birth from the supreme lord (*Śiva*), the destroyer of the war-like (*demon*) Pura, thus from the supreme lord [A]gradaṇḍa [King Paramēśvara-I], who was born in the race of these (viz., *the Pallavas*), . . . there took birth a very pious prince (*subrahmaṇyaḥ*, *kumâraḥ*), the illustrious Atyantakâma [i.e., King Rājasiṁha], the chief of the Pallavas. . . .[13]

In this ślōka, King Rājasiṁha and his royal father (King Paramēśvara-I) are compared to the divine Skanda and his father, Lord Paramēśvara (Śiva). It is significant that the Sōmāskanda panel (showing Śiva, his consort Umā, and their infant son Skanda, all seated on a royal throne) is repeated more than 28 times in the Kailāsanātha temple built by King Rājasiṁha.

The same comparison between kings and gods is drawn in the Panamalai inscription of King Rājasiṁha:

> From the lord Ēkamalla [King Paramēśvara] . . . was born, like Guha [Skanda] from the great Īśvara [Śiva], he . . . who was well-known as [King] Rājasiṁha. . . .[14]

Or, again, to return to the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi, there are the famous, so-called 'Raṅgapatākā' inscriptions,[15] one of which likens the dowager queen to Umā (Pārvatī) and compares her husband, the late king, to Paramēśvara (Śiva):

> (Her) husband's [i.e., King Paramēśvara's] well-merited fame being widespread as 'Kālakāla' on account of his bow's power (having been made) manifest in the destruction of cities, (thus) like the 'Daughter of the Great King of Mountains', (she,) the dearly beloved wife of Paramēśvara, the 'Bull-Bannered One', . . . shines with surpassing splendor. . . .

On the inner back walls of the sanctums of the two shrines associated, in the past, through their inscriptions, with 'Raṅgapatākā', are stone bas-relief Sōmāskanda panels. We may conclude from our analysis above of the inscriptions, that the comparison between gods and royal persons is maintained:

King Paramēśvara	=	Paramēśvara (Śiva)
his chief queen	=	Umā (Pārvatī)

This comparison fits in with the other two inscriptions already mentioned which made the following comparison:

King Paramēśvara	=	Paramēśvara (Śiva)
King Rājasiṁha	=	Guha (Skanda)

Now, besides this parallelism between poetic comparison and sculptured panel, is there any further evidence to support our claim that the Sōmāskanda figures originally possessed an aspect of royal representation? Fortunately, there is a Pallava temple which provides substantial support for our theory. It is the Vēdagirīśvara shrine at Tirukkalukkunram.

In the paper, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples", there is the following statement:

> . . . according to religious canons, normally only one exclusive object of worship is to be installed.[16]

The import of such religious canons for the main thesis of the 'Cult' article is this: since one finds the Sōmāskanda panel on the inner back wall of most of the temple sanctums belonging to King Rājasiṁha, then one ought to conclude that the Sōmāskanda was originally the exclusive, consecrated object of worship – not the liṅga which, though perhaps the chief object of veneration today, represents nevertheless a later intrusion.

The Vēdagirīśvara sanctum presents a serious blow to this line of reasoning. There are no less than three equally large carved panels of deities which fill up most of the space of the inner walls of the sanctum of this temple.[17] On the inner back wall is a superb Sōmāskanda panel. On the inner wall facing north is an equally imposing panel depicting a four-armed Śiva-Ardhanārī holding a vīṇā and trident and bow, and seated on the bull, Nandi. On the inner wall facing south is a third panel which depicts a royal-looking figure with four arms. This kingly figure is seated on a throne which is identical with the type of royal throne found in the Sōmāskanda panels. Standing in back of this king-like figure, just behind his upraised left and right hands, are two queen-like ladies with their hands in añjali mudrā.

With these three equal-size panels of deities in the sanctum, it would be difficult to maintain that only one of them was the consecrated object of worship.

But what is one to make of the seated king-like figure (which, in a previous study, we have called 'Rājamūrti') in the panel facing

south, who has two queen-like ladies in attendance? It is specifically this figure which reveals to us most clearly that behind these works of art depicting deities, there is also a positive aspect of royal representation, if not portraiture.

Others have seen in this Rājamūrti panel a type of Dakshiṇāmūrti.[18] But frankly, the only thing in common, here, would be the aspect of meditation (indicated by the Rājamūrti's ardhadhyāna-mudrā of the lower left hand) and wisdom (indicated by his chin-mudrā of the upper left hand).

King Siṁhavishṇu, Ādivarāha Cave-Temple

A more significant comparison can be made between this figure of Rājamūrti and figures in the *earlier*[19] panels of the Ādivarāha cave-temple and the Dharmarāja Ratha, both of Māmallapuram.

The figure we wish to draw attention to in the Ādivarāha cave-temple is the portrait of King Siṁhavishṇu. The figure of Rājamūrti and the portrait of Siṁhavishṇu have the following characteristics in common:

(1) both have the bearing and full regalia of kingship;
(2) both are seated majestically on a royal throne;
(3) both figures have a hand in chin mudrā; and
(4) both are attended by two consorts (queens) who are standing respectfully either to the side of the throne (Ādivarāha) or behind the throne (Vēdagirīśvara).

Again, the portrait relief sculpture of King Siṁhavishṇu in the Ādivarāha temple may very well be taken as the model for Śiva in the early Sōmāskanda panel in the third level sanctum of the Dharmarāja Ratha.[20] Both figures (the portrait of Siṁhavishṇu and the Ratha's Śiva) are very similar in their general posture, and have the following characteristics in common:

(1) both have right hand (Śiva's lower right) in chin mudrā;
(2) both have left hand (Śiva's lower left) clenched in a fist and placed on the left thigh;
(3) both are seated on a royal throne (Śiva's is unfinished, though).

Śiva-Sōmāskanda Dharmarāja Ratha

The line of evolution can thus be traced as follows:

(1) first, the figure of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara, Tiruchi, which is also a portrait of King Mahēndra (clearly establishing for us the God-king synthesis in Pallava art);
(2) second, the straight portrait of King Siṁhavishṇu in the Ādivarāha temple of Māmalla's period;
(3) third, the similar looking representation of Śiva (God-king) in the 'pre-Rājasiṁha'-style Sōmāskanda panel of the Dharmarāja Ratha;[21] and
(4) finally, the transformation of the 'pre-Rājasiṁha'-style Sōmāskanda into the 'Rājasiṁha'-style Sōmāskanda, and its widespread repetition in the many shrines of King Rajasiṁha – more than 40 such Sōmāskanda panels have survived.

Even considering only the 'Rājasiṁha'-style Sōmāskanda panels, there is discernible among them a definite evolutionary trend. We would hold that those Sōmāskanda panels which tend to fill up the entire back wall of the sanctum are the earliest. Specific examples of such early panels would be the huge Sōmāskanda of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple at Māmallapuram and the inner Sōmāskanda of the Vēdagirīśvara temple at Tirukkalukkunram.

In filling up the back wall of the sanctum, these examples only follow the existing practice in the early temples of Māmallapuram, such as the Draupadī Ratha, the third-level shrine of the Dharmarāja Ratha, the central shrine of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa cave-temple, and all three cells of the Trimūrti cave-temple.

Further, another aspect of the evolution of the Sōmāskanda panels which should be kept in mind is that the God-king equation in them is most appropriate and flattering to the earlier king, Paramēśvara, since the parallel is between himself and Lord Paramēśvara (Śiva), the head of the divine family. The God-king relationship is not as flattering to his son, King Rājasiṁha, since the parallel would be between Rājasiṁha and the infant Skanda, who as an infant is outranked by Śiva, his father, and, iconographically speaking, even by his mother, Umā.

Let us then postulate the following: the Vēdagirīśvara Sōmāskanda and the Mahishamardinī cave Sōmāskanda are the works of King Paramēśvara-I.[22]

Now, when we compare the Sōmāskanda panels in the established temple of Rājasiṁha's with the above two panels, we note several things. First, the relative size of the Rājasiṁha panels (when compared to the dimensions of the sanctum's back wall) is drastically reduced. The panels are small. They occupy just a fraction of the space on the back wall. Secondly, the relative size of the three main figures (Śiva, Umā, and Skanda) in relation to each other become more stylized. For instance, in the Rājasiṁha temple panels, Umā is distinctly smaller in relation to Śiva than she is in the Mahishamardinī cave-temple Sōmāskanda panel. The relation of size between Śiva and Umā in the Mahishamardinī panel is far closer to what would be the case between an actual human male and female. In other words, the Mahishamardinī Sōmāskanda is closer to actual royal portraiture than is any of the Sōmāskanda panels in Rājasiṁha's temples.

This obvious departure by Rājasiṁha's panels from the physical norms of relative figure size, together with the reduction of overall panel size is quite in keeping with the process of ritual formalization going on during Rājasiṁha's reign and with the fact that the parallelism between King Rājasiṁha and the *infant* Skanda is less appropriate. Should we not, then, expect that the actual consecrated objects of worship in the sanctums of Rājasiṁha's temples were liṅgas and not the Sōmāskanda panels?

In further support of this conjecture, we wish to point out a fact which is otherwise extremely hard to understand. In two out of the seven subordinate lateral shrines of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi, there are huge carved Sōmāskanda panels which fill not only the back wall of the shrines but spill over into the side walls also. It seems clear that no liṅgas were planned for these subordinate lateral shrines.[23] Now, if one believes that the Sōmāskanda panel was the exclusive consecrated object of worship in the main sanctum, one has to answer this question: How is it possible that the Sōmāskanda panels in the *main* sanctums of the Kailāsanātha (in both the Rājasiṁhēśvara and the Mahēndravarmēśvara) are very much *smaller* than those in the *subordinate* lateral shrines of the Rājasiṁhēśvara? It seems to us that the proponents of the thesis that the Sōmāskanda panel was the exclusive object of worship in the sanctum sanctorum have no adequate answer to this paradox.

But there is no paradox when one supposes that there *was* a liṅga as the consecrated object of worship in the sanctum sanctorum from the very beginning, but no liṅgas in the subordinate lateral shrines. In this case, the Sōmāskanda panel in the sanctum would be only of secondary importance, and understandably small, whereas, in the subordinate lateral shrines, the Sōmāskanda carving would be the *exclusive* object of veneration, and thus understandably large.

We must point out one more paradox which is created by the insistence that the Sōmāskanda panel was the exclusive consecrated object of worship in the sanctums of Rājasiṁha's temples. In the sanctum of Rājasiṁha's Tālagirīśvara temple at Panamalai, we see very clearly that the Sōmāskanda panel is placed within the sculptured *relief* of a full pavilion-like shrine. This image of a shrine is complete with roof *surmounted by two stūpīs* (all in bas-relief, of course). Now, if the Sōmāskanda panel were really the consecrated object of worship, then the actual *vimāna* of the Tālagirīśvara temple would be its shrine, and not a mere bas-relief image of a shrine. The actual *stūpī* on top of the Tālagirīśvara temple would be the ritually placed part consecrating the object of worship within. What then would be the significance of the two stūpīs on top of the relief-sculptured shrine on the back wall? They would be absolutely redundant!

In concluding the arguments advanced by us to show that the Sōmāskanda panel in Rājasiṁha's sanctums sanctorum was not the primary object of worship, it should be noted that these panels are raised a significant distance above the floor level of the chamber. For example, in the Tālagirīśvara temple at Panamalai, the bottom edge of the Sōmāskanda panel is 188 cm, above the floor level of the chamber – that is, more than 6 feet! This elevation provides ample visual clearance above the prismatic liṅga which is there now. On the other hand, this elevation of more than six feet would be hard to explain on the view that the Sōmāskanda panel was the *exclusive* object of worship.

The 'Cult' article has shown us that in the Pallava art of Rājasiṁha's period, we have an example of a sculptured panel in which *both* the liṅga and the anthropomorphic form of Śiva are shown together.[24] In this panel an eight-armed deity is shown offering worship (flowers) to an elaborately designed *liṅga*. That the anthropomorphic image of Śiva in the same panel is *subordinate* to the liṅga is proved by the fact that Śiva in his anthropomorphic form is on a distinctly smaller scale than the eight-armed figure who is offering flowers to the liṅga in worship. It should also be noted that the anthropomorphic form of Śiva (together with Umā) appears in the panel *above the liṅga*! This example shows that the Pallavas were perfectly familiar with the *simultaneous* representation of Śiva in his iconic and aniconic forms – and familiar with a representation in which the worship being offered to the aniconic form is given unequivocal primacy! We may conclude then that this panel mirrors the actual set-up inside the sanctums of Rājasiṁha's temples.

The article, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples", also mentions the figure of Liṅgōdbhavamūrti found on the outer side of the main vimāna of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi. It is thus admitted that this representation of Śiva which combines both his iconic and aniconic forms was propagated by Rājasiṁha himself. But the article has overlooked still other examples of the Liṅgōdbhavamūrti in the Kailāsanātha temple complex. For example, there is a Liṅgōdbhavamūrti panel on the façade of the enclosure shrine No. 49. Again, it is found on no less than three of the eight shrines in front of the main precincts of the Kailāsanātha temple:

(1) in the southern niches of the second shrine to the right of the entrance to the main precincts;

(2) in the northern niche of the fourth shrine to the right; and

(3) in the northern niche of the fifth shrine to the right.

Is not this five-fold repetition of the Liṅgōdbhavamūrti panel at the Kailāsanātha temple good evidence to support the claim (based on other grounds) that liṅga worship was original to this temple?

Five of the six shrines to the right of the entrance of the Kailāsanātha have liṅgas in them now. It must be granted, however, that these particular liṅgas are probably later replacements – and thus not original. Yet, it seems that scholars have failed to notice a unique *square* sandstone liṅga pīṭha in the fourth shrine to the right. Further, the peculiar, indented sides of this pīṭha are duplicated almost exactly in the rectangular foot-rest for Śiva in the Sōmāskanda panel which is directly in back of the pīṭha. It would thus seem that this unique pīṭha is an original one, whereas the circular pīṭhas in the other shrines are admittedly later substitutions. In passing, it should be noted that the very fact the square pīṭha is made of friable, unpolished sandstone (and would thus require a suitable coating of plaster over the rough surface) provides additional evidence against an original ritual of full-fledged abhiṣēka.

Finally, in *all* the representations of liṅgas in the panels of these Pallava temples, not one of them is shown faceted in the manner so common to the liṅgas actually found in these temples' sanctums. What are we to make of this?

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[1]This fourth study is based on "Some Thoughts on the Early Temples of Tondaimandalam" by Michael Lockwood, a paper read at a seminar organized by the Archæological Society of South India, October 4, 1973.

[2]K.R. Srinivasan's *Lectures,* published as, *Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South* (Madras: University of Madras, 1960), p. 61.

[3]K.V. Soundara Rajan, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples", *Transactions of the Archæological Society of South India: 1962-65* (Madras: Archæological Society of South India, 1969).

[4]*Ibid*., p. 144.

[5]*Ibid*., p. 145.

[6]*Ibid*., p. 154.

[7]K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1972), p. 105.

[8]K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, Architectural Survey of Temple Series, No. 1 (New Delhi: Archæological Survey of India, 1964), p. 87.

[9]*Ibid*., p. 88.

[10]*Transactions: 1962-64,* p. 150.

[11]This śl̄oka reads: "When King Guṇabhara [Mahēndra] established a stone figure [*śailīn-tanuṁ*: the relief image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara/Pallava-Kāvērīdhara] in the wonderful stone abode on top of the King of Mountains [the Rock-Fort Hill], this ruler, (entitled) '*Vidhi*' [the Creator], made *Sthāṇu* [Śiva] true to His name ['*sthāṇu*': stationary/firmly fixed] and became himself *sthāṇu* [fixed, immortal] together with Him [Śiva], on earth."

[12]I am indebted to Prof. A. Vishnu Bhat and his brother, Śrī Subraya Bhat, for their aid in all matters Sanskrit.

[13]The full inscription and translation are given by Hultzsch in *South-Indian Inscriptions,* I, pp. 12-14.

[14]*See Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, pp. 113-115.

[15]Our full translation of the 'Raṅgapatākā' inscription is given later in this book, in the article, "Queen Raṅgapatākā's Inscription".

[16]*Transactions: 1962-65*, p. 156.

[17]These panels have been described in detail in our second study, "Pallava Sōmāskanda".

[18]The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* of 1909, pp. 76-77; Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture* (Archæological Survey of India, *Memoir No. 17*, 1928), Pt. I, p. 21; and a note written by R. Nagaswamy which is appended to Chapter Eleven of S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's *Early Chola Art: Part I*, pp. 251-52.

[19]The clear priority of these Māmallapuram panels has been shown in (or would be evident from) our study, "Pallava Sōmāskanda".

[20]And the model also for the destroyed Sōmāskanda panel in the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa. See our study, "Pallava Sōmāskanda".

[21]And also the Sōmāskanda of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa.

[22]These panels, nevertheless, as far as *style* is concerned, have been classified by us in the study, "Pallava Sōmāskanda" as belonging to the Rājasiṁha-style group.

[23]This fact is evident from the presence of a granite plinth-like altar at the foot of the Sōmāskanda in the north-central lateral shrine (and in some of the other lateral shrines, also). The altar is actually a sandwich of a sandstone slab between two granite slabs.

[24]This panel in the Airāvatēśvara temple, Kanchipuram, has been described and illustrated in the article, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples".

Śiva-Sōmāskanda, Periya Venmani

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FIVE

Śiva as *Liṅgin* in a Pallava Sōmāskanda[1]

A Pallava Sōmāskanda panel was discovered some time ago by R. Champakalakshmi and A. Swamy in the village of Periya Venmani in the Madurantakam Taluk of Chingleput District.[2]

In their description of the Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda panel, Champakalakshmi and Swamy did not notice the liṅga *which is portrayed immediately behind Śiva's right shoulder.*[3]

In the various sculptured panels found elsewhere which illustrate the theme of Śiva as Liṅgin, *Śiva, in anthropomorphic form, is shown carrying, supporting, or otherwise possessing the* liṅga *(the aniconic symbol of Śiva). Images of Śiva as* Liṅgin *usually portray the god holding with one of his arms the aniconic* liṅga *on his shoulder, or just behind his neck. In some sculptures Śiva supports the* liṅga *in front of himself. There are further variations. (Even other gods and goddesses are sometimes portrayed carrying the* liṅga.*) In the Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda panel, Śiva does not hold the* liṅga – *rather, the* liṅga *stands directly behind Śiva's right shoulder.*

R. Sen Gupta has written two articles on sculptures of Śiva as *Liṅgin*.[4] In Sen Gupta's first article, "Two Sculptures of Śiva as *Liṅgin* from the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora", the author actually discusses many more than two *liṅgin* images. Here is a list:

1. Śiva as *Liṅgin*, in an Umā-Mahēśvara panel (on a wall flanking the *gōpura*), illustrated in Sen Gupta's first article, Pl. I, fig. 1.
2. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (alone, in a panel of the *garbhagṛha*), Pl. I, fig. 2.
3. Śiva and Pārvatī both holding a *liṅga* (a panel on the north side of the *prākāra*), Pl. II, fig. 4.

From Aihole, now in the Prince of Wales Museum:

4. Śiva as *Liṅgin*, in an Umā-Mahēśvara panel.

A fragment in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan:

5. A *liṅga* on *padmapīṭha* held with two hands atop a man's head, Pl. II, fig. 3.

From Pālikherā Well II, now in the Mathura Museum (No. 882):

6. Dēvī (4-armed) as *Liṅginī*, the *liṅga* held atop her head with the extra pair of hands – illustrated in Sen Gupta's *second* article, Pl. V-A.

At the Siddhēśvara temple, Haveri:

7. Dēvī as *Liṅginī*, a piece lying loose.

8. Viṣṇu as *Liṅgin* (6-armed), carrying a *liṅga* in his proper left hand with the right hand held over it.

At the Pandharpur temple, the main image:

9. Viṭhōbā (Viṣṇu) as *Liṅgin*.

In Sen Gupta's second article (1962), he has discussed several more examples of *liṅgin* images. The list continues:

At the Kailāsa temple, Ellora:

10. Śiva as *Liṅgin*, in an Umā-Mahēśvara panel (immediately above the principal *śukanāsā* of the *prākāra* to the north).
11. Śiva and Pārvatī both holding the same *liṅga* (sculpture found on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *prākāra* to the north), Pl. VI-B.

At Pattadakal's Saṅgamēśvara temple:

12. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (and as Vīṇādhara), alone, on the outer south wall, in a miniature *dēvakōṣṭha* set in a *pañjara*, Pl. I-A.

At Pattadakal's Mallikārjuna temple:

13. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (on the outside, north wall of the *vimāna*).
14. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (playing a game of dice with Umā), Pl. II.

At Pattadakal's Virūpākṣa temple:

15. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (2-armed), *liṅga* on right shoulder – *not held* by either arm; Śiva holds a snake in his right hand, and embraces Pārvatī with his left arm; on eastern side of *vimāna*.
16. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (2-armed), alone (southern side of *vimāna*).
17. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (4-armed), alone (southern side, above Rāvaṇa panel).
18. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (on southern side).
19. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (4-armed), with Umā (northern side), Pl. I-B.
20. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (4-armed), alone (on the lintel of the entrance to the shrine), Pl. III-A.

At Kanchipuram's Muktēśvara temple:

21. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (4-armed), with Umā in *Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti* panel, in the temple's *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, Pl. III-B.
22. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (4-armed), with Umā in facing panel, same place, Pl. IV-A

The Mathura *liṅga* with figure of Śiva in front (2nd century A.D.).

23. Śiva as *Liṅgin* (4-armed), with his extra pair of hands he is holding his *jaṭās* which encircle the *liṅga* and thus support it, Pl. IV-B.

The Kolhapur image of Mahālakṣmī:

24. Lakṣmī as *Liṅginī* – she carries the *liṅga* on her head.

At the Bṛhadīśvara temple, Tanjore:

25. An *asura* as *Liṅgin* – a painted 2-armed figure carrying a *liṅga* on his head; on the outer face of the south wall of the *garbha-gṛha*, part of a Tripūrāntaka scene, Pl. VIII.

At the Khajuraho site museum:

26. Trimūrti as *Liṅgin*, a 3-headed figure (in the round) surmounted by three more heads, with a *liṅga* at the top, Pl. VII-B.

At the Kandariyā Mahādēva temple:

27. Trimūrti as *Liṅgin*, a similar figure, with the *vāhanas* of the three deities indicated.

Sen Gupta notes, in his earlier paper (p. 41), that there is epigraphical evidence that the Bhāraśiva kings used to carry a liṅga as a load on their shoulder (‘*Aṁśabhāra sannivēśita Śiva liṅgōdvahana . . .*’, J.F. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 236, 245). Sen Gupta also mentions the Vīraśaivas and Liṅgāyats as worshipping Śiva by carrying a small *liṅga* tied around the neck. It is further suggested by him that in doing this they only followed the Buddhists who used to carry relics, symbols, and effigies of the Dhyānī Buddhas.

Sen Gupta emphasizes the fact that the representation of Śiva as *Liṅgin* has a philosophic dimension. He says that according to the Vēdāntins, Śiva is the ‘father’ or ‘manifestation’, whereas the *liṅga* stands for the ‘Divine Essence’. On this view, the *liṅga* symbolizes the Absolute or the Unmanifest, whereas the anthropomorphic form of Śiva represents the manifest form.

Sen Gupta considers this dual aspect a parallel to the doctrine of Kāya in Mahāyāna Buddhism. In Buddhist iconography, a parallel to Śiva as *Liṅgin* can be seen in the sixth century A.D. relief sculpture at Kanheri: a small image of a seated Buddha is carried over the head of a standing ‘Buddha’. In this way, Sen Gupta says, *Dharmakāya* (the Reality) is shown as the Buddha being held over the head of standing Buddha, and the latter Buddha represents *Rūpakāya* (the Unreality or the subtle form).

We add that the Bōdhisattvas, in Buddhist art, have a small image of the Buddha or stūpa portrayed on the front of their headdress.

Sen Gupta then goes on to point out parallel images also in Vaiṣṇava and Saura examples. He mentions the small image of Yōgāsana Viṣṇu, seated on a flying Garuḍa; and again, the small image of Yōga-Nārāyaṇa seen at the top of a Viṣṇu figure in the Khajuraho Museum; and, finally, a similar small image appearing above the Bhū-Varāha (432) of the Allahabad Museum. And he concludes:

> Thus it will appear that the same conception of the Supreme Spirit was entertained by the different sects: be it Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Brahmā or Saura and was represented in their images to show the relationship with its respective manifested forms as was done in turn by the Mahāyāna Buddhists to show the doctrine of Kāya.[5]

We would like to carry this idea even further. The manifest form of the deities or ‘Buddhas’ could, and did, represent actual contemporaneous human beings. The Kanheri ‘Buddha’ (standing image) could represent a particular monk who had achieved the highest level of wisdom. And the many Bōdhisattvas in Buddhist art quite clearly represented kings or other rulers. Similarly, the Hindu

images of the gods can be understood as representing the manifestation of the Supreme Reality in a particular ruler on earth.

The Tamil word for 'temple' ('*Kō-y-il*', i.e., 'king's abode') is absolutely appropriate to such a localization in a shrine-house of the embodiment (the god/king image) which is the manifestation of the Unmanifest (the Transcendent Reality).

Even the Sanskrit names given by the Pallava kings to their own temples exhibit this god/king *dhvani*. For example, consider:

1. '*Mahēndravarmēśvara-Gṛha*'
2. '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛha*'
3. '*Rājasiṁhēśvara*'

Our modern minds usually construe these names as:

1. The Shrine of (Śiva,) the Lord of (King) Mahēndravarmā
2. The Shrine of (Śiva,) the Lord of the Pallava (king,) 'Atyantakāma'
3. (Śiva,) the Lord of (King) Rājasiṁha

Fair enough! But this way of interpreting them gives only one level of, perhaps, several levels of meaning. *Dhvani* also gives us the following legitimate renderings:

1. The Shrine of the Lord (god/king) Mahēndravarmā
2. The Shrine of the Pallava Lord (god/king), 'Atyantakāma'
3. The Lord (god/king) Rājasiṁha

It is in the latter sense of these names of temples that the Tamil word '*kōyil*' is really appropriate.

To return to the Sōmāskanda panels of the Pallavas, the manifestation here takes the form of the royal family. Śiva is king, Umā is queen, and Skanda is the baby prince. The actual *liṅga*, which would be standing in front of the Sōmāskanda panel in the *garbhagṛha* of the Pallava temples, would symbolize the Supreme Being in its unmanifest form.

This relationship of the manifest with the Unmanifest is represented in the Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda panel, and the *liṅga* appears in the panel itself, where it is portrayed behind Śiva's right shoulder. This explicitly represented relationship throws further light on the function of god/king images in Indian art.

In the context of the discussion so far, how should we interpret then the passages in the Pallava inscriptions which have led such scholars as H. Krishna Sastri to hold that these passages indicate the practice of wearing an image of Śiva on the royal headdress.[6]

In the second half of the fourth verse of the famous Tiruchi cave-temple inscription of King Mahēndra-I,[7] the religious and philosophical basis of the identification of God with king is clearly implied:

Kṛtvā śivaṁ śirasi dhārayatâtma-saṁstham=uccaiḥ
śirastvam=acalasya kṛtaṁ kṛtārttham ||

The gist of the above passage may be given as follows:

> (King Mahēndra) bore 'on his head' (that is incarnate in his features and in his mind) God *immanent*.

As we have already maintained, the 'bearing' of Śiva on one's head, as expressed in this inscription, is a metaphor expressing God's *immanence* in one's mind, soul, and self.

Two Pallava inscriptions of Māmallapuram have also confused scholars in this regard. Consider first the ninth verse of the inscriptions of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa:[8]

> *Abhiṣēka-jalā-pūrṇṇē citra-ratnāmbujākarē* ।
> *Āstē viśālē su-mukhaḥ śiras-sarasi śaṅkaraḥ* ॥

This ślōka poetically describes the anointed head of King Paramēśvara-I (not Rājasiṁha, as Krishna Sastri holds), and we translate it as follows:

> In the lofty head-lake
> full of the water of coronation,
> A mine of multi-colored jewel-lotuses,
> the handsome-faced Śaṅkara is manifest.

We shall maintain that it is the idea of God being incarnate in human form which is expressed by the poetry – and not that an actual image of Śiva was fixed on the headdress of the king. The portrait sculptures of Pallava kings and queens do not have any such images on their headdress.

Another passage referred to by Krishna Sastri is the third verse of the inscriptions of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa:

> *Yasyāṅguṣṭha-bharākrāntaḥ kailāsas-sa-daśānanaḥ* ।
> *Pātālam-agaman-mūrdhnā śrīnidhis-tam bibharty-ajam* ॥[9]

This we translate as follows:

> The weight of (Śiva's) big toe was enough to plunge (Mount) Kailāsa together with the 'Ten-Faced' (Rāvaṇa) down to the underworld, (and yet) Śrīnidhi (the king) (manages to) bear that 'Unborn' (Śiva) on his own head!

Here, again, we would maintain that the king 'bears Śiva on his own head' in the sense that God is spiritually immanent within the mind of the king.

Furthermore, these verses really make better sense esthetically when the metaphors they contain are understood in the philosophical sense of the Unmanifest and the manifest, and are not taken literally. In fact, a literalism would ruin the whole effect of the poetry. To emphasize this point, consider what literalism would do to the following example taken from the poetical work, *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, by Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka. In this ślōka, a gōpī speaks to her lord, Kṛṣṇa:

> *Urvyāṁ kōpi mahīdharō laghutarō dōrbhyāṁ dhṛtō līlayā*
> *Tēna tvaṁ divi bhūtalē ca satataṁ gōvardhanôddhārakaḥ* ।
> *Tvāṁ trailōkyadharaṁ vahāmi kucayōr-agrē na tad-gaṇyatē*
> *Kiṁ vā Kēśava bhāṣaṇēna bahunā puṇyair-yaśō labhyatē* ॥[10]

Our translation:

Some small hill, with your hand,
you easily held on high,
And now, as 'Gōvardhanōddhara'
you're ever praised from earth to sky.
I hold you, 'Bearer of the Three Worlds',
on the tips of my breasts!
But why talk so much, Kēśava? Who takes account?
On one's luck it merely rests.

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[1]This study is based on an article of the same title by M.C. Lockwood and A.V. Bhat, appearing in *Śrīnidhi: Perspectives in Indian Archæology, Art and Culture*, ed. by K.V. Raman *et al*. (Madras: New Era Publications, 1983), pp. 131-35.

[2]First reported in the *Indian Express*, Madras, February 4, 1972, and later described in their article, "Pallava Antiquities in Periya Veṇmaṇi", *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XLI, Nos. 1 & 2, (pre-dated) 1969, pp. 129-37.

[3]*Ibid*., pp. 131-32.

[4]"Two Sculptures of Śiva as *Liṅgin* from the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora", *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, pp. 41-45; and "More Sculptures of Śiva-Liṅgin", *J.A.S*., Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962, pp. 41-47.

[5]"More Sculptures of Śiva-Liṅgin", p. 45.

[6]*Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, pp. 149-50.

[7]*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 30. In our own book, here, in several studies, we argue that the Tiruchi image of Gaṅgādhara represents at the same time both the god, Śiva, and the king, Mahēndra-varmā-I.

[8]*S.-I.I*., Nos. 18 & 19.

[9]*Ibid*.

[10]Līlāśuka's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam*, ed. and trans., K.P.A. Menon (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1994), pp. 111-12.

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Authorship of Māmallapuram Monuments[1]

One of the outstanding problems concerning Māmallapuram has been to determine who exactly it was that created the monuments there. After centuries had wiped away the memory of those early days, various answers to this question have been forthcoming. In the early eighteenth century, one observer even suggested a Chinese influence. Later guesses included the Siamese and Roman. However, scholarly historical research in the nineteenth century has satisfactorily fixed the authorship on the Pallavas. In the twentieth century, then, the chief problem has been to determine which particular kings of this dynasty were responsible for the monuments. The research of such scholars as Messrs. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, A. H. Longhurst, and K.R. Srinivasan began to bring about a consensus of opinion that several Pallava kings were consecutively responsible for the great monuments of Māmallapuram, and that one king in particular had created the majority of them in the seventh century, that king being Narasiṁhavarmā-I, otherwise known as 'Mahāmalla'.

However, in recent years a dissenting view would move forward to the eighth century the building of all the monuments of Māmallapuram. Mr. T.N. Subramaniam, in his book, The Pallavas of Kāñchī in South-East Asia*, and Mr. R. Nagaswamy, in a research paper, have proposed that the Pallava king, Rājasiṁha (Narasiṁhavarmā-II), was the sole author of all the Pallava monuments at Māmallapuram.*

According to this latter view, Rājasiṁha was the greatest Pallava king, and his title 'Atyantakāma' indicates his ability to have created the 'unlimited variety' of monuments and sculpture at Māmallapuram.

At the time this debate was developing over the authorship of the monuments, no statistical analysis had been made of the problem of stylistic variation. However, there are, today, scientific tools which can be used to attack general problems of 'variation'.

It is a plain fact that the monuments of Māmallapuram reveal a great variety of architectural and sculptural styles. The more widely accepted view on the chronology of the monuments takes this variety as evidence of an evolutionary development during the reigns of several Pallava kings. However, the opposing view would have it that only one king was responsible for all the variety we find at Māmallapuram.

Now, the scientific study of variation is not new. The problem of variation is of great importance to many scientific disciplines, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, and psychology, to mention only

three. The scientific tool which is common to them in such a study is the statistical analysis of variance or variation.

Let us consider, for example, an agricultural experiment involving two different varieties of paddy. Let each variety be grown in 10 plots of equal area. Suppose that the total yield of the first variety works out to an average 1000 gms per plot, and that that of the second variety, to 1500 gms per plot. Nevertheless, if the plots are considered one by one, it will be seen that in the 10 plots of the first variety of paddy there is bound to be a certain amount of variation from plot to plot. Thus, one particular plot may yield 900 gms, while another yields 1100 gms. Whereas, in the 10 plots of the second variety, there may be a variation between different plots ranging from, say, 1200 gms to 1700 gms.

When one is confronted with the variations in yield between all 20 of the plots, it is possible, therefore, to separate out the variation due to differences between the two varieties and the variation within the two varieties. When the difference between varieties is significantly higher than the difference within varieties, we say that the two varieties of paddy give significantly different yields.

The same kind of statistical analysis can be applied to stylistic variations found in art and architecture. Such an analysis was basic to our study "Pallava Sōmāskanda". It is also fundamental to a full understanding of several sections in the following study.

In February, 1962, at a meeting of the Archæological Society of South India, Mr. R. Nagaswamy read a paper entitled "New Light on Mamallapuram".[2] This paper radically challenged the accepted position developed by such outstanding students of the subject as G. Jouveau-Dubreuil,[3] A.H. Longhurst,[4] and K.R. Srinivasan,[5] who held that several Pallava kings were consecutively responsible for the great monuments of Māmallapuram, and that one king in particular had created the majority of them, that king being Narasiṁhavarmā-I, 'Mahāmalla'. As against their position, Nagaswamy's thesis was that Rājasiṁha (Narasiṁhavarmā-II) was the sole author of "all the Mamallapuram monuments and inscriptions."[6]

Many years have passed since Nagaswamy's paper was presented, and there is still no general agreement on this issue. There are many who, on reading Nagaswamy's published articles, take it for granted that his position has been indisputably established. On the other hand, those who support the traditional view seem to continue confident in their own position, paying slight attention to Nagaswamy's challenge. To our knowledge, no scholar has yet subjected Nagaswamy's thesis to a detailed, critical analysis. This kind of analysis is what we shall attempt in what follows. We shall argue that the traditional view is quite right in asserting multiple authorship. Our main point, however, will be negative: Rājasiṁha was not the sole author of Māmallapuram's monuments. And, therefore, we shall not

attempt, in this essay, the positive, and much more difficult, task of establishing a comprehensive chronology of the monuments.

The supporters of the traditional view might ask us what value there is in trying to disprove a theory which, from their points of view, is so obviously untrue: that Rājasiṁha was the sole author of Māmallapuram's monuments. However, we suggest there is value in marshaling the various types of evidence so as to have an overall, systematic view of the problem. Further, this kind of preliminary effort may serve as the basis for that positive task of establishing a comprehensive chronology of the monuments which will eventually earn general agreement. Therefore, although we may take issue with T.N. Subramaniam and Nagaswamy, we nevertheless feel that they have done good service to scholarship on Māmallapuram by presenting a bold challenge to the traditional view.

Summarizing the position he wants to attack, Nagaswamy says that the supporters of the traditional view held that:

> Mahendra introduced the rock cut technique to South India for the first time and that before him, all the temples were built of brick, mortar and other perishable materials. His caves were characterised by simplicity in plan and in the treatment of pillars which were square [in cross-section] at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle. His son Narasimha also known as Mamalla continued the rock cut caves and for the first time conceived the idea of cutting the huge boulders into monolithic temples, familiarly known as rathas. He also introduced the sedant lion at the base of the pillars and bulbous capitals with palaka at the top. Paramesvaravarman-I who succeeded Narasimha-I, continued the monoliths. . . . Rajasimha who succeeded Paramesvara-I was a great builder of structural shrines as evidenced from the Kailāsanātha temple of Kanchi and the Sea-shore temple at Mamallapuram. Except the stray example of Saluvankuppam cave, excavated by Rajasimha, there are no other caves, which could be ascribed to him. Rajasimha for the first time introduced the rampant lions at the base of the pillars.[7]

Now, according to Nagaswamy, the above hypothetical framework suggested by the supporters of the traditional view runs into several serious difficulties which would ultimately force them to give up their position altogether. These difficulties would include:

(1) the lack of **Literary** evidence concerning the authorship of Māmallapuram;

(2) confusion involving **Paleographic** evidence;

(3) evidence derived from a study of the evolution of temple **Architecture**; and

(4) evidence from **Inscriptions**.

1. Literature

Concerning evidence from literary sources, Nagaswamy says: "no light is thrown on the subject by literature, for there are very few references to Mamallapuram."[8] Without giving any reason, he discounts the references to the Vishṇu sea-shore temple in the *Avantisundarīkathā*. But the evidence in Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarīkathā* and its abstract, *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, is extremely important and should not be summarily dismissed without specific reasons being given. Obviously, at the time Daṇḍin was writing, King Rājasiṁha had not yet built the Shore Temple as we see it today. Only the Vishṇu shrine existed with the "waves brushing the feet of the image." And Daṇḍin, who must have been writing during the reign of Paramēśvara-I, speaks of the Vishṇu image as a work of the great *ancient* architects. Since Paramēśvara was the father of Rājasiṁha, the term 'ancient' must take the origin of the Vishṇu shrine back to a time long before Rājasiṁha's reign.

2. Paleography

Concerning the evidence provided by a paleographic study of the various scripts found on the monuments of Māmallapuram, Nagaswamy holds that it will be of little value in providing any support for the traditional position. Nagaswamy points out that, in the recording of more than 200 royal titles of Rājasiṁha's in the Kailāsanātha temple (Kanchi), several different forms of alphabet were used. On the basis of these differences, some scholars (Hultzsch, in particular) had supposed that these inscriptions belonged to successive rulers of Kanchi, and thus represented an evolutionary development of the script.[9] The same view was held regarding the two epigraphs of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple at Saluvankuppam. In this cave, several verses praising the king, 'Atyantakāma', have been inscribed on one wall in one script and then the same verses on another wall in a second script. The theory was that one inscription was a later copy of the other.

This theory, according to Nagaswamy, has been discarded:

> It was only in later times that the suggestion of successive engravers was discarded and [it was] rightly noted that since the inscriptions on the south and north wall are identical verses, they were written by the same king Rajasimha. In the same vein it was [rightly] concluded that the inscriptions in four different alphabets, found at the Kailāsanātha temple, which were the repetitions of the same titles of the corresponding tiers, were all inscribed by Rajasimha himself to exhibit varieties. Thus . . . paleography [will certainly fail] in determining the age of the monuments of Mamallapuram.[10]

First, we think it should be noted in passing that the inscriptions of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple are assigned to Rājasiṁha by scholars on the assumption that the title 'Atiraṇachaṇḍa', in this inscription, belongs firmly, and, perhaps, solely to Rājasiṁha.

Secondly, it should be noted that it was Dubreuil, in 1916, who clearly sounded the warning about using the different forms of the alphabet as supposedly conclusive evidence concerning chronology:

> . . . we have come to the conclusion [from a paleographic study of the inscriptions of Rājasiṁha] that the form of the alphabet is not an absolute test of the age of antiquities and that inscriptions which, by their alphabet, seem to belong to different epochs, can, in reality, be contemporaneous.[11]

Yet, even this awareness of the pitfalls in drawing chronological conclusions from paleography does not in the least weaken the evolutionary theory, a fact which can be seen from Dubreuil's own pioneering work.

In regard to the *form* of the script employed for the titles engraved on the Dharmarāja Ratha, we must point out the fact that it is closer to the Badami stone inscription of 'Vātāpi-Koṇḍa' Narasiṁhavarmā and some of the inscriptions of Mahēndra-I than it is to any one of the several forms of script used by Rājasiṁha in the temples indisputably assigned to him.

But there are two label inscriptions found on the third level of the Dharmarāja Ratha which are distinctly different in form of script from the other titles on the same monument. These two label inscriptions read: '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-gṛham*', and they are written in a form of script quite similar to the one belonging to Rājasiṁha which is found on the base of the main shrine of the Kailāsanātha, Kanchi.

Now, it has been suggested by some (who support the traditional view) that Paramēśvara-I continued work on the Five Rathas, which monuments were begun by his grandfather, Mahāmalla. Nagaswamy, however, disagrees with this supposition.

> The view that the monuments were consecrated by Paramēśvara-I is untenable since most of the monuments at Mamallapuram are unfinished and were never consecrated.[12]

We agree with Nagaswamy with regard to the work done on the Five Rathas. It seems to us that work on them was started and came to a premature halt in a relatively short span of time. Where we disagree with Nagaswamy is concerning the labels: 'Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham'. These labels, we suggest, represent an appropriation by a King "Atyantakāma" of the unfinished Dharmarāja Ratha (with special reference to the 3rd-level cell with its Sōmāskanda panel on the back wall). In suggesting this we go along with the traditional view

that this particular Atyantakāma was certainly not Mahāmalla, but a later king.

3. Architecture

Turning next to the evidence for multiple authorship of Māmallapuram's monuments provided by a study of the evolution of architectural style, Nagaswamy also rejects such evidence.

(i) Pillar Styles

Speaking of one of the key elements in the traditional argument – the evolution of pillar styles – Nagaswamy says:

> We all owe a great deal to Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil for his illuminating study of South Indian architecture. . . . The evolution of pillar [styles] as shown by Dubreuil was perhaps the best study from which we were able to arrive at some tangible conclusions. . . . Dubreuil suggested that beginning from the Mandagapattu cave, the pillars of Mahendra are plain; Narasimha I introduced the sedant lion[-based pillar] and Rajasimha introduced the rampant lion motif [as pillar base]. But I am afraid that Dubreuil made [a] fundamental mistake and scholars subsequent to him, followed suit without pausing to question the suggestion. In my opinion the evolution of architecture as suggested by Dubreuil is of little help for our study as we shall presently notice.[13]

A little later in the same paper, Nagaswamy outlines the method he will use in his attempt to discredit the architectural evolutionary theory as applied to the monuments of Māmallapuram:

> I shall now proceed to prove that the study of architecture falls short of expectation. . . . If it is proved that during the rule of one and the same king the architectural details exhibit great variety, then the evolutionary theory which is based on the conviction that with one king only one form of architecture prevailed and each king introduced a novel theme will certainly fall short of any satisfactory [confirmation].

We hold that it is Nagaswamy who, at this point, has fundamentally mistaken what is at issue. Dubreuil, in his *Pallava Antiquities*, never makes such a claim: that "with one king only one form of architecture prevailed." After all, just because each king may have introduced a novel architectural feature, this would not necessarily mean that he gave up entirely the features established by his predecessors.

Be that as it may, let us continue with Nagaswamy's attempt at proof:

> The rock cut cave of Saluvankuppam excavated by Rajasimha has very simple and plain pillars very much like the Mahendra pillars. Therefore Saluvankuppam cave posed a great problem for scholars in placing it in the evolutionary [framework]. . . . [L]et us take the

> case of [the] Vayalur inscription of the same king. The inscription is engraved on a pillar itself, which is plain and is in the so-called Mahendra style. The huge *Nandi Maṇḍapa* in front of the Kailāsanātha temple of Kanchipuram has four pillars with sedant lions at the base. The small cells running along the outer walls of the same temple, also have pillars with sedant lions at the base.[15]

Continuing with a consideration of the Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa and the Ādivarāha cave (unfortunately his description of these cave-temples is mixed up), Nagaswamy concludes:

> Thus the theory that with one king only [one] form of architecture prevailed will not hold good. . . . Thus it is quite evident, the evolution of architectural motifs fails with reference to our present study.[16]

(ii) Our Comment

Let us be perfectly clear about our criticism of Nagaswamy's methodology. In attacking the claim of "one king, only one form of architecture," Nagaswamy is attacking a position which certainly Dubreuil and K.R. Srinivasan never held!

(iii) Variety

But it is not just evidence based on the evolution of pillar styles which is discredited in Nagaswamy's eyes. He compares the three major temples which are now unanimously assigned to Rājasiṁha (the Kailāsanātha, Tālagirīśvara, and Shore temples) and finds such a "bewildering variety in their architectural details", that had

> Rajasimha not left his inscriptions in these temples, certainly these monuments would have been ascribed to various monarchs and would have been ascribed to various centuries.[17]

What are these variations in architectural details which lead Nagaswamy to the above conclusion? They are variations in:

(1) ground plans,

(2) shapes of vimāna superstructures,

(3) variations as to whether the temple walls are plain or relief-sculptured, and

(4) whether liṅgas are present or absent in lateral shrines (of the Kailāsanātha and Tālagirīśvara temples).

(iv) Our Comments

Now, interesting as these variations may be, Nagaswamy has chosen to deal with features which do not provide *in themselves* the most adequate basis for either establishing or challenging a given chronology of evolutionary development. During the earliest development of structural stone temples in the Tamil country, it is not surprising that a great deal of experimenting was done with regard to ground plans, shapes of the vimāna, and such details as whether to have 'plain' walls (that is, walls with only paintings of figures on them) or to have

'sculptured' walls (that is, walls with paintings which are enhanced by the tri-dimensionality of relief carvings). In regard to this latter variation, it cannot be over-emphasized that it is the art of painting which is absolutely fundamental. Painted sculptural reliefs are primarily paintings, and only secondarily carvings! Thus, the 'plain' walls of the Tālagirīśvara temple side-shrines with their paintings (now almost irretrievably lost due to centuries of deterioration) and the 'sculptured' walls of the Kailāsanātha temple (which have also lost their original cover-paintings) do not represent a variation which significantly challenges or weakens the evolutionary analysis of the development of Pallava architecture.

What then (we may be asked) *are* the significant features for such an evolutionary analysis?

First, and most important, would be a minute and exhaustive study of variations in the dress and ornaments of figures in sculpted panels. Charles Fabri has rightly expressed the importance of such a study:

> Dress, as must be obvious to anyone interested in humanity, is a marked characteristic of any culture. . . . [The] tastes and tendencies of an age are clearly indicated by the type of clothes a period fancies. . . . Because fashions change, a careful observation of these changes is one of the most powerful tools in the hands of an art historian. For it is possible to date paintings and sculpture within a generation when no other data, such as inscriptions, are available, by an accurate attention to the clothes worn by the human figures depicted.[18]

Secondly, even details of sculpture which are not connected with human dress and ornaments may be quite significant. To mention one example as illustration, Nagaswamy has tried to show that any argument supporting a given chronology which is based on a supposed evolution of pillar styles is worthless. According to Nagaswamy, the existence of all three types of pillars (plain 'Mahēndra', sedant-lion-based 'Māmalla', and rampant-lion-based 'Rājasiṁha') in Rājasiṁha's Kailāsanātha temple is enough to prove the worthlessness of such an analysis. However, we suggest that a detailed and careful study of the features and characteristics of the carved lions, themselves, which form the base of the pillars of the 'Māmalla' type and the 'Rājasiṁha' type would enable one to distinguish easily a sedant-lion-based pillar carved in the time of Rājasiṁha from a sedant-lion-based pillar carved in an earlier king's reign.[19]

Thus, if we avoid the over-simplification involved in the belief that with one king only one form of architecture prevailed, then the study of pillar style evolution will surely continue to be one of the most important elements in any effort to establish a chronological development of early Pallava temples.

Another detail of sculpture which underwent an evolutionary development, and which was noted by Dubreuil in *Pallava Antiquities*,

is the 'tiruvāṭchi' (the term Dubreuil uses for the ornamental arch spanning the top of the niche and issuing on both sides from the mouths of *makaras*). Dubreuil had noted that in Mahēndra's time (for instance, on the façade of the Dalavanur cave-temple), the *tiruvāṭchi* is double-arched. In all of the undisputed temples of Rājasiṁha, the *tiruvāṭchi* is single-arched. It is therefore significant that on the Draupadī Ratha and the Trimūrti cave-temple at Māmallapuram, the *tiruvāṭchi* is double-arched.

Finally, K.V. Soundara Rajan has pointed out certain other features which seem to be significant for an evolutionary analysis. About one, he says:

> An important compositional feature of the free-standing monoliths of Mamallapuram is that almost all of the series . . . show the *hāra* of *karṇakūṭas* and *bhadra śālas* in each of the *talas*, including the topmost. [A] significant modification of this rule is the ending of the last *tala* of the *vimāna* with a *kapōta* and *prastara* above, but without the *kṣudra alpa śikhara* above them in their respective places along the periphery of that *tala*. This [modification] becomes the norm in all the structural temples of post-Māmalla period which further shows a secondary variation by replacing the *hāra* of miniature *śikharas* by the *nandis* placed in the corner.[20]

Another significant architectural change, according to Soundara Rajan,

> was the dropping of the *hāra* in almost all Rājasiṁha temples around the lowest tala as well, except on the *mukhamaṇḍapa* roof.[21]

But let us return to Nagaswamy's paper. Having attempted to disprove the evolutionists' position by linking it with the untenable claim of 'one king, only one architectural form', Nagaswamy turns, finally, to the evidence available from inscriptions.

4. Inscriptions

Speaking of the various kinds of evidence examined by him so far, and considering their failure in establishing the chronology of the various monuments of Māmallapuram, Nagaswamy has this to say (and we paraphrase him):

> Neither literature nor paleography nor for that matter architecture helps us in determining the age of the monuments. We find ourselves on no better ground when we turn to the inscriptions of Māmallapuram. The reason for this predicament is that many kings are said to have assumed the same names and titles, and with respect to Māmallapuram's monuments, where we have only titles, the difficulty is all the greater.[22]

(i) Nagaswamy's Hypothesis

In the very next paragraph following the above quotation, Nagaswamy says:

> When thus, all our tangible sources fail how are we to arrive at a conclusion? My answer will be that the clue to our problem lies in the very failure of all these sources. Paradoxical it may seem, when I say that all these evidences do not fail us when we reverse our process of enquiry by first taking inscriptions, applying it to architecture and applying both to paleography. We arrive at a solution which is quite convincing.[23]

What Nagaswamy means, of course, is that if one proceeds on his hypothesis (that is, that Rājasiṁha was the sole author of all the monuments and inscriptions at Māmallapuram), then one may, according to him, arrive at a convincing solution by the route he outlines (examining first inscriptions, then architecture, and finally palæography). It must be noted, however, that in fact he never did go beyond a discussion of inscriptions.

First, Nagaswamy notes that 'Atiraṇachaṇḍa' is given as one of the many titles of King Rājasiṁha in his Kailāsanātha temple inscriptions. There is also a cave-temple at Saluvankuppam, near Māmallapuram, which has foundation inscriptions clearly stating that "Atiraṇachaṇḍa made this (temple called) Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara." Therefore, assuming that the same title refers to the same king (Rājasiṁha), Nagaswamy says:

> The same king Atiraṇacaṇḍa has excavated the Saluvankuppam cave and left his inscriptions. . . . But strange indeed, [some of] the same verses are found [in inscriptions] in the Dharmarājamaṇḍapa and Ganesa ratha! Verse for verse, word for word and syllable for syllable they are identical. . . .[24]

This concordance of verses is enough to convince Nagaswamy that the author of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, and the Gaṇēśa Ratha was also King Rājasiṁha.

Secondly, the king who caused the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple to be made at Saluvankuppam also had the title 'Atyantakāma'. The same title, 'Atyantakāma' appears on the Dharmarāja Ratha, and Nagaswamy points out that the Dharmarāja Ratha also bears the label '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-gṛham*'. And thus Nagaswamy adds the Dharmarāja Ratha to his list of Rājasiṁha's monuments.

Of course, one of the key assumptions upon which Nagaswamy's argument is based is that the titles 'Atiraṇachaṇḍa' and 'Atyantakāma' were titles *not* shared by other Pallava kings.

We must emphasize the fact, here, that there simply is no sound method available to Nagaswamy or anybody else to prove that a given title belongs exclusively to one king. Using Nagaswamy's methodology, one might as well argue that because Mahēndra had the title 'Avanibhājana', and that title appears on the Kailāsanātha temple, therefore Mahēndra built that monument! Or, vice versa, because Rājasiṁha had the title 'Avanibhājana', and we find this same title on

several cave-temples commonly ascribed to Mahēndra, we must conclude that these cave-temples were really built by Rājasiṁha!

(ii) Concordance of Titles on Dharmarāja Ratha and Kailāsanātha

Nagaswamy makes the following claim:

> Of the thirty titles inscribed [on the] Dharmarājaratha, over fifteen titles are found in Kanchi inscriptions of Rajasimha.[25]

The list of royal titles which he says are common to both the Kailāsanātha temple and the Dharmarāja Ratha are given below in the left-hand column. We give our comments and the niche numbers of the Kailāsanātha (where a given title is found) to the right:

1.	Narasiṁha ('Narasiṁhaviṣṇu', on one of the small shrines in front of the Kailāsanātha)	
2.	Śrībhara	(3-3)
3.	Bhūvanabhājana	(24-1)
4.	Śrīmēgha	(4-1)
5.	Trailōkyavarddhana	[only 'Trailōkyanātha' (17-3) at Kanchi]
6.	Atyantakāma	(1-2)
7.	Kāmalalita	(not at Kailāsanātha)
8.	Nayanamanōhara	(44-4)
9.	Sarvvatōbhadra	(15-1)
10.	Śrīnidhi	(not at Kailāsanātha)
11.	Niruttara	(not at Kailāsanātha)
12.	Parāvara	(essentially the same title as 14 below)
13.	Raṇajaya	(1-3)
14.	Parābhara	(21-1)
15.	Mahāmalla	(23-1)
16.	Apratihataśāsana	[only 'Apratihata' (UG-2) at Kanchi]

It can be seen from our analysis that of the 29 different titles (not 30) inscribed on the Dharmarāja Ratha, only 12 are identical (or very similar) to titles found at the Kailāsanātha. That is, only 41% of the Dharmarāja Ratha titles are duplicates (even approximately) of titles found in Kanchi.[26]

(iii) Our First Point

Nagaswamy thinks that this fact (that nearly half of the titles on the Dharmarāja Ratha are found in Kanchi) provides significant support for his hypothesis that Rājasiṁha built the Dharmarāja Ratha. But we are of the opposite opinion that this fact actually goes against his hypothesis. There are over 250 different titles given to Rājasiṁha in his Kailāsanātha inscriptions. How is it, we ask, that with this exceedingly large collection of titles available to Rājasiṁha, only 41% of the Dharmarāja Ratha titles are titles which are also found in the Kailāsanātha inscriptions? On the other hand, this low percentage is

quite understandable if the Dharmarāja Ratha inscriptions are by predecessors of Rājasiṁha.

(iv) Our Second Point

Of the 252 different royal titles which are engraved on the shrines surrounding the Kailāsanātha temple, only 2 titles appear twice (that is only 2 titles are repeated on a given level). But of the 29 different titles engraved on the Dharmarāja Ratha, 7 appear twice on this ratha, and 1 title ('Vidhi') appears 3 times. Why are the titles on the Dharmarāja Ratha so repetitious?

(v) Our Third Point

'Rājasiṁha' is a title not found on the Dharmarāja Ratha! – though it is found on all of Rājasiṁha's undisputed temples: the Kailāsanātha, Tālagirīśvara, and Shore temples.

(vi) Our Fourth Point

In fact, except at the Shore Temple, the title 'Rājasiṁha' does not appear at all at Māmallapuram!

(vii) Our Fifth Point

'Rājasiṁha' is the very first title one meets when circumambulating the Kailāsanātha temple. Similarly, 'Narasiṁha' is the first title one meets when circumambulating, at ground level, the Dharmarāja Ratha. And, to take an even earlier example, 'Mahēndravikrama' is the first title given in the Pallavaram cave-temple inscription of Mahēndra-I. Isn't there some significance in these 'first-place' titles? It should be noted in this connection that 'Narasiṁha' is *not* among the 252 titles engraved in the Kailāsanātha. Isn't there some significance in this omission, which surely must have been deliberate? The name 'Narasiṁhaviṣṇu' appears only on one of the little shrines outside of the main precincts of the Kailāsanātha temple. As we have noted above, the title 'Rājasiṁha' does not appear at all on the Dharmarāja Ratha. Finally, it should be noted that in Rājasiṁha's Vayalur inscription, it is 'Rājasiṁha' (not 'Narasiṁha') which is the title given the king, whereas, in the same inscription, 'Narasiṁhavarmā' is the given name of his great-grandfather. We may therefore assume that though 'Narasiṁha' was Rājasiṁha's coronation name, yet he preferred 'Rājasiṁha', or other titles, so as to distinguish himself from his illustrious great-grandfather, Vātāpi-Koṇḍa Narasiṁhavarmā.

(viii) The Śaivite Curse

Nagaswamy notes that the last verse of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions (a curse) is found repeated at the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa and the Ādivarāha cave-temple. This verse has been rendered thus:

> Six times cursed be those, in whose hearts does not dwell Rudra (*Śiva*), the deliverer from the walking on the evil path![27]

The concordance of this verse, together with a concordance of other verses, leads Nagaswamy to add the Ādivarāha cave-temple to the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, the Gaṇēśa Ratha, and the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple, as monuments built by Rājasiṁha. However, there are a few points we would like to make concerning this Śaivite curse which are in opposition to Nagaswamy's thesis.

(ix) Our First Point

The Śaivite curse does not appear on any of the monuments which are indisputably assigned to Rājasiṁha (the Kailāsanātha, Tālagirīśvara, and Shore temples).

(x) Our Second Point

The curse, by itself, appears on the floor of the Ādivarāha cave-temple (a Vishṇu temple still under worship today). It is extremely unlikely, to say the least, that the builder of this structure would have put a Śaivite curse on the floor of his own temple dedicated to Vishṇu! If this reasoning is sound, then the following logical deductions may be made:

Let the author of the curse = x;

Then the author of the Ādivarāha temple is an ancestor of 'x';

If x is Rājasiṁha, then the builder of this temple was Paramēś-vara-I and/or previous ancestor(s);

If x is Paramēśvara, then the builder was Mahāmalla and/or previous ancestor(s).

(xi) A Final General Observation on Inscriptions

We should like to emphasize the fact that not one of the following monuments at Māmallapuram has any foundation inscription: the Five Rathas, the Ādivarāha and Varāha-II cave-temples, the Kōṭikal, Rāmānuja maṇḍapas, and the Mahishamardinī cave-temple. This is unlike Rājasiṁha's practice in those temples which are ascribed to him by scholars.

So much for stone inscriptions, admittedly an area in which there seems to be no proof positive, one way or the other, on the issue of the authorship of Māmallapuram's monuments. However, we hope that we have raised enough points to indicate the serious problems for anyone trying to use inscriptions to confirm the hypothesis that Rājasiṁha was the sole author of the monuments and inscriptions of Māmallapuram.

5. Dress and Ornaments

Our first study, "Pallava Dvārapālas and the Mahishamardinī Cave", provided overwhelming evidence that in one cave-temple there were at least two distinct stages of work. The most obvious evidence is the fact that, stylistically speaking, the Sōmāskanda panel on the back wall of the central sanctum of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple is quite different, in many points of dress and ornaments of the figures depicted,

when compared with the Reclining Vishṇu and Mahishamardinī panels on either side of the rock-cut maṇḍapa of the *same temple*.

Further, the evidence from a study of the figures of guardians carved on the sides of the entrances to the three sanctums of this cave-temple indicated that the main sanctum was originally intended for Vishṇu, but that it was converted at a later date into a Śaivite sanctum with the Sōmāskanda panel on its rear wall.

In regard to our stylistic analysis of the three panels of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple, we demonstrated in the earlier study the following relationships. The Sōmāskanda panel of the cave-temple is a relatively later Pallava work, as it *compares* with similar panels of the eighth century Kailāsanātha period, and *contrasts* with the seventh century Sōmāskanda panel of the Dharmarāja Ratha. The other two panels of the cave-temple are earlier, seventh century works, as they have the early characteristics, and *contrast* with panels of the same theme created in the Kailāsanātha period.

It is therefore difficult to believe that one king, Rājasiṁha, created all the monuments at Māmallapuram, when in this cave-temple there is such a change in the style of panels, and when there is evidence for a shift in the dedication of the main sanctum from Vishṇu to Śiva-Sōmāskanda!

6. Size of Ear Ornament

One of the most important characteristics in a study of the evolution of dress and ornaments of Pallava-period sculpture is the relative size of ear ornaments. In particular, the circular patra kuṇḍala is easy to measure and compare. Now, the figures in Mahēndra's cave-temples (mostly dvārapālas) have enormous ear ornaments, extending well below shoulder level. But in all of the temples unanimously attributed to Rājasiṁha, the figures have very much smaller ear ornaments. The patra kuṇḍalas in the Rājasiṁha period often do not even touch the shoulder.

What then is the relative size of ear ornaments of figures belonging to the Māmallapuram monuments under dispute? Well, the ear ornaments of figures in the Ādivarāha cave-temple, the Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa, and the Kṛishṇa Maṇḍapa are very large – approaching the relative enormousness of the Mahēndra period! And the ear ornaments of figures on the Five Rathas, the Penance Panel, Varāha-II, and Trimūrti cave-temples are of a size intermediate between the Mahēndra and Rājasiṁha periods. (There is no doubt, however, that they *are* distinctly larger than those of the Rājasiṁha period!)

Now, an interesting point arises. According to Nagaswamy, Rājasiṁha created all of the (Pallava) monuments at Māmallapuram. But the Five Rathas are incomplete. So are many of the cave-temples and both Penance Panels. Nagaswamy's chronology, then, would have Rājasiṁha completing all of his known structural temples, but leaving unfinished the monuments listed above. That is, the Five Rathas, many

of the cave-temples, and both Penance panels are the very latest monuments to have been attempted by Rājasiṁha, but he was unable to complete them. We feel that this is a very strange order of events. And our study of the evolution of ear ornament size would provide clear evidence against such an order.

7. Rājasiṁha and Variety

As mentioned earlier, Nagaswamy has tried to argue that Rājasiṁha was the greatest Pallava king and quite capable of creating all of the various styles found at Māmallapuram. Nagaswamy has equated Rājasiṁha with King 'Atyantakāma', and has interpreted this biruda as meaning a king capable of creating "unlimited variety". We, of course, feel that this is stretching too far the meaning of 'Atyantakāma'.

Now, fortunately, because the Sōmāskanda panel was almost a trademark of Rājasiṁha, we were able to make a detailed study of the degree of variety this king was capable of in all of his known temples. In the Kailāsanātha temple alone there are thirty Sōmāskanda panels! In the Shore Temple, there are two Sōmāskandas. In the Tālagirīśvara, one. In our second study we have shown that a detailed comparative study of Sōmāskanda panels will provide overwhelming evidence against Nagaswamy's contention about Rājasiṁha's creative capacity. The Rājasiṁha-style Sōmāskanda repeats itself more than 46 times – almost monotonously, when one carries out such an overall comparison!

8. The 'Great Gap'

There is a general observation which we would like to stress at this point. If, on Nagaswamy's view, all of the monuments at Māmallapuram are to be assigned to the reign of Rājasiṁha, there is then a perplexing gap of rock-cut architectural and sculptural inactivity between the time of Mahēndra-I and the time of Rājasiṁha. Mahēndra created more than nine cave-temples. And Māmallapuram is a showcase of many different types of stone monuments. But if the monuments of Māmallapuram are all assigned to Rājasiṁha, then what were all the artisans and sculptors doing during the reigns of the great Mahāmalla, his son (Mahēndra-II), and Paramēśvara-I? Was there really a gap of some 70 years when no rock-cut caves or stone temples were being created? *Prima facie,* this seems highly unlikely, indeed.

9. A Last Word from Inscriptions

N. Ramesan has edited two copper plate grants in a publication of the Government of Andhra Pradesh.[28] One of these grants, the 'Chiṟṟūr' copper plates of the Pallava king Nṛipatuṅga, gives us information about a Vishṇu shrine (an abode built out of stones) constructed on the sea-shore by King Narasiṁha. Since this information is given in the genealogical account of King Nṛipatuṅga, it is clear that this Narasiṁha is 'Mahāmalla' (Narasiṁhavarmā-I).

The relevant Sanskrit passage actually reads:

Yaś-śayyā-gṛham-aśmabhir-j-jala-nidhau cakrē Mahā-c-cakrinaḥ ||

This passage may be translated into English as follows. It speaks of King Narasiṁha:

> who built out of stones, on the ocean, an abode (for) the One who possesses the mighty discus (Vishṇu) to recline in.

The reference, unquestionably, is to the Vishṇu shrine belonging now to the Shore Temple complex at Māmallapuram.[29]

Some objections have been raised concerning the genuineness of the Chiṟṟūr grant. And even if it were genuine, the fact that it is removed some eight generations from the days of King Narasiṁha-I would not allow us to accept all of its statements blindly. Nevertheless, until some specific arguments falsify it, the statement stands as a clear contradiction of the hypothesis that King Rājasiṁha built all the monuments at Māmallapuram.

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[1]This study is based on a paper entitled, "On the Authorship of Mahabalipuram's Monuments", by Michael Lockwood and Gift Siromoney, which was read at a meeting of the Archæological Society of South India, March 20, 1971.

[2]Published in the *Transactions of the Archæological Society of South India: 1960-62* (Madras: The Archæological Society of South India, 1962), pp. 1-50.

[3]*Pallava Antiquities,* Vol. I (London: 1916).

[4]*Pallava Architecture*, 3 Parts, being *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, Nos. 17, 33, and 40* (Archæological Survey of India, Simla, 1924, and Calcutta, 1928 and 1930).

[5]*Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, Architectural Survey of Temple Series, No. 1 (New Delhi: Archæological Survey of India, 1964).

[6]Nagaswamy, *Transactions: 1960-62*, p. 34.

[7]*Ibid*., p. 2.

[8]*Ibid*., p. 5.

[9]See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Madras: Archæological Survey of India, 1890), p. 10.

[10]Nagaswamy, pp. 6-7.

[11]*Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 74.

[12]Nagaswamy, p. 25.

[13]*Ibid*., p. 7.

[14]*Ibid*., p. 9.

[15]*Ibid*., pp. 11-12.

[16]*Ibid*., p. 12.

[17]*Ibid*., p. 11.

[18]Charles Fabri, *A History of Indian Dress* (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1960), p. 1.

[19]For instance, lions of the pre-Rājasiṁha style often have the hair of their mane and head arranged in circular whorls, and their 'canine' teeth are only moderate in length. But in the lions of Rājasiṁha's time, there are no whorls, and the canine teeth are extraordinarily long – almost half again as long as those of the earlier lions.

[20]K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Rājasiṁha's Temples", *Transactions: 1962-65*, pp. 173-74.

[21]*Ibid*., p. 176.

[22]A paraphrase of a passage from page 12 of Nagaswamy's article.

[23]Nagaswamy, p. 12.

[24]*Ibid*., p. 14.

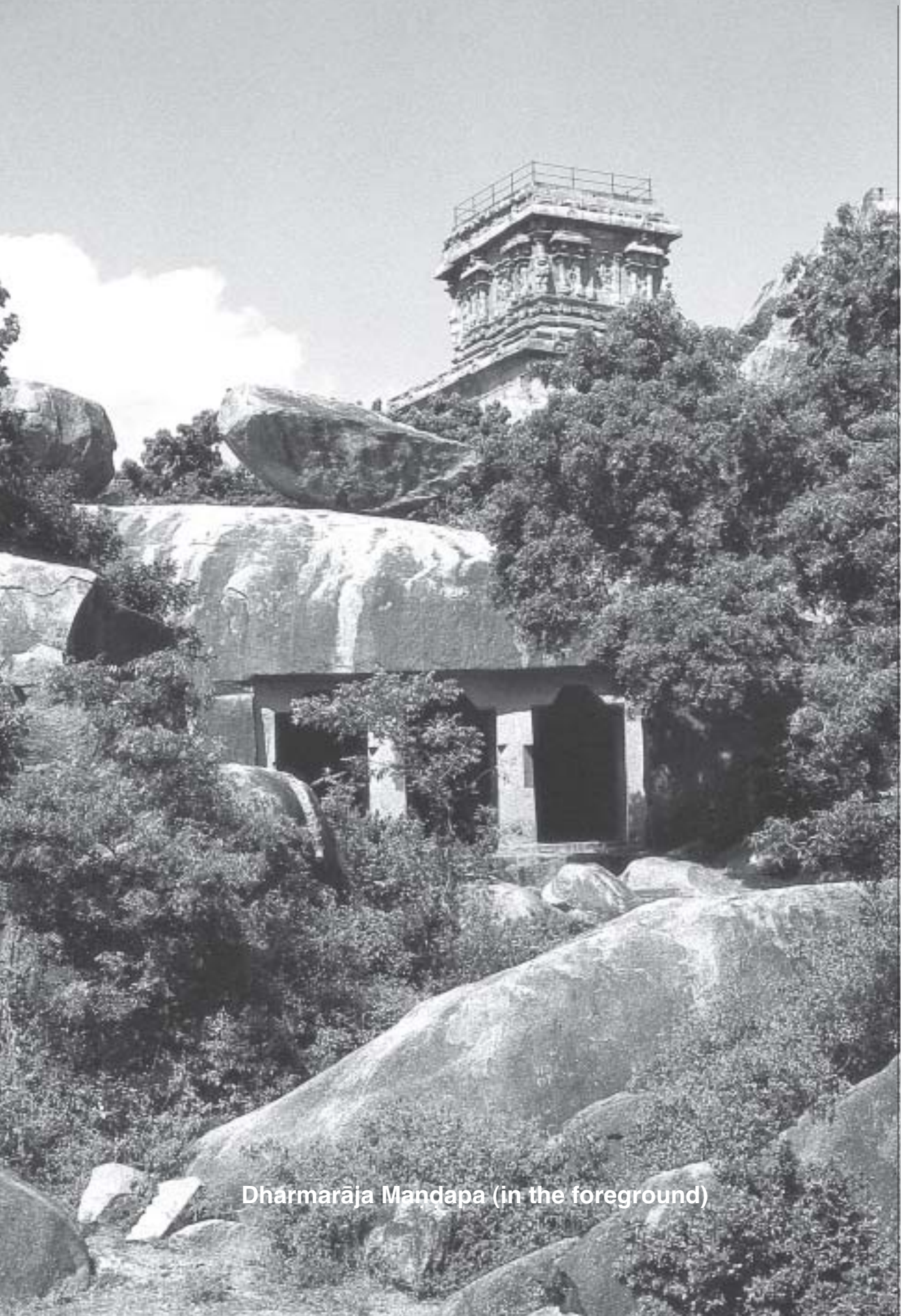
[25]*Ibid*.

[26]Whereas with Rājasiṁha's 34 titles given in the Shore Temple inscription (No. 18A, Vol. XIX, *Ep. Ind*.), 65% are duplicates of the Kanchi titles; of his nine titles given in the Vayalur inscription, 67% are duplicates; and of his 16 titles given in the Tiruporur pillar inscription, 63% are duplicates.

[27]See the 11th verse of Inscription No. 18, *S.-I.I*., Vol. I.

[28]N. Ramesan, *Studies in Medieval Deccan History (Late Pallava and Telugu Chola Period)* being *Copper Plate Inscriptions of the State Museum, Vol. III*, Archæological Series No. 29 (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972).

[29]In his work on the Chiṟṟūr plates, Ramesan at first jumped to the conclusion that Mahāmalla built the Shore Temple complex as we see it today (see his article, "New Light on Shore Temple", *The Sunday Standard*, Madras, November 12, 1967). But to try to maintain such a theory in the face of all the evidence to the contrary would be futile. As any close study of the Shore Temple complex would reveal, the present superstructure of the Vishṇu shrine is obviously of the later Rājasiṁha style of architecture. So are the two Śaivite shrines. But the base of the Vishṇu shrine, which together with the image inside is carved out of the living rock, has a plinth molding which is clearly of a pre-Rājasiṁha style. The proper interpretation, then, in the light of the Chiṟṟūr plates and the architectural and inscriptive evidence at hand, is that Mahāmalla built the original shrine house for the Reclining Vishṇu image, and that Rājasiṁha, in his reign, rebuilt its superstructure and added two new shrines dedicated to Śiva. Ramesan accepts this position in the final publication of the Chiṟṟūr plates, in 1972.



Dharmarāja Mandapa (in the foreground)

SEVEN

Māmallapuram Chronology – Part I: The Cave-Temples[1]

In our previous study, we tackled the problem of the authorship of the monuments of Māmallapuram. There, our main aim was to challenge the claim that all the Pallava monuments at Māmallapuram were created during the reign of only one king, Rājasiṁha.

The present study pursues the more positive task of establishing the chronological order in which the cave-temples were excavated. One of the important tools needed for this task is a clear understanding of the various levels of meaning in the stone inscriptions associated with several monuments at Māmallapuram. These inscriptions provide an important, though slender, link with the past history of those monuments.

The Sanskrit verses of the inscriptions contain various levels of meaning. Woven into these verses are many titles (or birudas*) which apply at one level of meaning to the deity and at another, to the king. The surface or obvious meaning of the poetry is often concerned with the praise of a god. The suggested or implied meaning (*dhvani*) of the very same verses, however, praises the king.*

One might be tempted to interpret these passages in terms of their surface meaning alone. The verses would then be seen as fulsome praise of some deity. However, I would like to stress the point that it is the suggested *or* implied *meaning of the verses which is by far the most important. Any learnèd person of the seventh century would clearly understand this literary convention and appreciate the fact that these poetical verses are most fundamentally a glorification of the king.*

One of the key points in my study will be the claim that the expression 'Paramēśvara' in these inscriptions refers to King Paramēśvara-I, and is not a title of King Rājasiṁha.

There are more cave-temples at Māmallapuram than any other type of monument. But the majority of these cave-temples were never finished. The more complete ones all have dvārapālas (door guardians) sculpted in relief on either side of the entrance to their sanctums.

Let us list, then, the eight major Māmallapuram cave-temples which do have dvārapālas:

1. Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa
2. Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa
3. Ādivarāha cave-temple
4. Varāha-II cave-temple
5. Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa
6. Mahishamardinī cave-temple
7. Trimūrti cave-temple
8. Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa

Previous studies of ours on the history and art of the Pallavas provide the background for my chronological analysis of these monuments in this study.

In the first study of this book, we have drawn a sharp distinction between a 'pre-Rājasiṁha' style of Pallava art and 'Rājasiṁha' style. This distinction involves differences in dress and ornaments of the figures portrayed in Pallava sculptural art.

The criteria we used in distinguishing these two styles can be applied to all of the Pallava monuments at Māmallapuram. When this is done, we see that the only monuments which exhibit the Rājasiṁha style at Māmallapuram are the structural temples (the Olakaṇṇēśvara and Shore temples) and the isolated Sōmāskanda panels, themselves, in the Mahishamardinī cave-temple and the Mukundanayanār temple.[2]

1. The Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

Of the eight major cave-temples which I have noted, the Mahishamardinī triple-shrined excavation stands out as being the only one in such an unfinished state. Furthermore, there is the peculiarity that at least three distinct stages are evident in the work on this cave-temple.

The most obvious stage is that in which the Reclining Viṣṇu and the Durgā panels were done, as well as the details of the small porch with lion pillars which is in front of the central sanctum.

As we have mentioned above, the Sōmāskanda panel was introduced into this cave-temple at a definitely later stage. However, what I wish to suggest here is that there was also a distinct stage of work *prior* to the major work on the two panels of the maṇḍapa. In a footnote to our earlier study, we observed a puzzling fact about the three pairs of dvārapālas in this cave-temple: the dvārapālas of the main, central sanctum are noticeably *smaller* than the dvārapālas of the other two subordinate sanctums. Now, this extraordinary discrepancy demands an explanation! There is no other example in the whole range of Pallava cave-temples where, if there is more than one pair of dvārapālas in a given temple, there is a difference in size.[3]

The explanation I suggest for the difference in size of the dvārapālas of this cave-temple is as follows. The initial excavation, including the two pairs of dvārapālas guarding the two side sanctums, was carried out in the first stage of work. There was then a distinct break between this stage and the second stage. In the second stage, the dvārapālas of the central sanctum (which was originally intended for Viṣṇu), the panels of the maṇḍapa, and the porch and pillar details were done. Then, in the third stage, after another break, the Śiva-Sōmāskanda panel was cut on the back wall of the central sanctum, and the dvārapālas of the central sanctum were altered by sculpting in the clubs, snakes, horns, and axe-blade details, thus transforming them from Vaiṣṇavite into Śaivite guardians.

There is even a fourth stage which is evident. Vaiṣṇavite sectarians, at some later date, re-appropriated this cave-temple. There are signs that they walled up and closed off the central sanctum with its

The Olakaṇṇēśvara Temple, above, being used as a lighthouse!
The Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple, below (19th century photo)

Śaivite Sōmāskanda image inside, and then transformed the lion-pillared porch into a new Viṣṇu sanctum. There is a hole cut in the floor of the porch to hold the base of an image. And an area has been crudely cut out of the front of the porch, evidently in order to facilitate the ritual practice of an officiating priest within the new sanctum. In this fourth stage, Viṣṇu's emblems, the discus and conch, have been engraved prominently on the walls of this cave-temple, signifying its re-appropriation by these Vaiṣṇavite sectarians.

What I wish to emphasize here, and to offer as an explanation of the difference in the dvārapālas' size, is the claim that when there was a break at the end of the first stage of work on the Mahishamardinī cave-temple, the artisans who took up the work in the second stage were never really interested in finishing the cave-temple along the lines of whatever the original design might have been. Nor were they particularly concerned with achieving a really finished monument of their own design somehow rationally superimposed on the work already done during the first stage. For all we can say, the two side sanctums may have been abandoned after the first stage. I suggest that the workers of the second stage did as much as they ever intended to do on this cave-temple. Thus, the question of harmonizing the sizes of the dvārapālas may not have even entered the minds of the artisans. In spite of this somewhat casual attitude towards the overall design of the temple, the artisans of the second stage produced two of the most famous examples of South Indian art – the Reclining Viṣṇu and the Mahishamardinī panels.

The workers of the third stage were even less interested in the overall design or finish of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple. They were intent merely on transforming the main, central sanctum into a shrine for Śiva and his family. They accomplished this transformation by carving the huge Sōmāskanda on the back wall of the central sanctum (the other two sanctums are without any carving inside) and by carving appropriate Śaivite insignia on the already existing Vaiṣṇavite-type dvārapālas guarding this main sanctum.

2. Pallava Sōmāskanda

In an earlier study on 'Pallava Sōmāskanda', we analyzed the more than forty examples of this theme found in sculpted stone panels of the Pallava period.[5] We divided them into two categories according to *style*: those of 'pre-Rājasiṁha' style and others of 'Rājasiṁha' style. There is, in fact, only one known pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda panel which has survived intact. It is found on the back wall of the third-level sanctum of the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram. There is one other pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda panel which, though most of it has been destroyed and leveled off, still can be identified as such from the remaining outline of its figures. This destroyed pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda is found on the back wall of what was once the central sanctum of the three-celled Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa cave-temple.

Of the Rājasiṁha-style Sōmāskanda panels, there are more than forty remaining examples from the Pallava period.

As we have explained in previous studies, we have given the name 'Rājasiṁha'-style to Sōmāskanda images of a certain type because that style of Sōmāskanda is uniformly and prolifically found in the well-identified temples belonging to the Pallava king Rājasiṁha. It may seem paradoxical, but what we have called the 'Rājasiṁha'-style appears to me to have been initiated late in the reign of King Paramēśvara-I (the father of King Rājasiṁha).

Two earlier studies of ours provide the basis for this assertion. The first, "Pallava Gaṅgādhara", establishes the fact that the Pallava king Mahēndravarmā-I created in his cave-temple near the summit of the Rock-Fort Hill, Tiruchi, an image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara which was also at the same time a portrait or representation of himself, the king.

The other study, "God/King Images and Cult Worship", shows that this god-king synthesis in Pallava art was continued in the Sōmāskanda images.

There are, in the inscriptions of Rājasiṁha, the well-known poetical comparisons between his father, King Paramēśvara, and Śiva (Lord Paramēśvara), and between himself and Skanda. The Sōmāskanda image, then, at its inception was peculiarly appropriate to King Paramēśvara when he was reigning, and Rājasiṁha, a baby prince.

A consideration of the evolution of the Sōmāskanda image in our study on 'God/King Images' substantiated the view that the Sōmāskanda image originated in the reign of Paramēśvara-I. In several respects, the Sōmāskanda images in Rājasiṁha's temples reveal an advanced stage of formalization. For instance, (i) the small size of the Sōmāskanda panel in relation to the size of the back wall of the sanctum on which it is placed; (ii) the 'abnormally' exaggerated size differences between the principal (male) figure of Śiva (large), on the one hand, and the subordinate (female) figure of Umā (small), on the other; and (iii) the Sōmāskanda panel's being raised a significant distance above the level of the sanctum's floor – all of these characteristics are typical of the Sōmāskanda panels in the sanctums of those temples which are indisputably credited to King Rājasiṁha.

On the other hand, the Sōmāskanda panels of the Mahishamardinī cave-temple and the Vēdagirīśvara temple at Tirukkalukkunram have the characteristics which could be interpreted as typifying an earlier date: (i) the panels tend to fill the entire back wall of the sanctum; (ii) the relative sizes of Śiva and Umā are much closer to those of actual human males and females, and (iii) the panels begin near the floor level.

We suggested tentatively in the earlier study, therefore, that the Mahishamardinī and Vēdagirīśvara Sōmāskanda panels belong to the reign of King Paramēśvara-I.

To whose reign, then, can we assign the two pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda panels (the intact one of the Dharmarāja Ratha and the destroyed one of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa)? On the basis of my research in the 'God/King Images' study, the parallelism between King Paramēśvara and Lord Paramēśvara (Śiva) and between Prince Rājasiṁha and the child Skanda appears so strong and so specific to these

Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara Cave-Temple

persons, that I am compelled to conclude that these two pre-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda panels must also be credited to the reign of King Paramēśvara-I, and not earlier.

The line of development which seems to emerge is as follows. At the end of the reign of Mahāmalla (Narasiṁha-I), the artisans continued the Mahāmalla style (pre-Rājasiṁha style) over the very short reign (of about three years) of his son, Mahēndra-II, and into the beginning of the reign of Paramēśvara-I. We know from various sources that during the reign of Paramēśvara-I, the Pallava kingdom was thrown into confusion by enemy attacks and that probably it suffered several years of famine and utter disorder.[4] We may suppose then that it was when Paramēśvara managed to restore his rule from Kanchipuram that a new group of artisans was employed and the so-called 'Rājasiṁha' style was actually initiated. This style was continued by King Rājasiṁha throughout his reign. In fact, many of the characteristics of the Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskanda are found in the Sōmāskandas belonging to the later reign of Nandivarmā-II (Pallavamalla).

On my interpretation, then, the most dramatic break in the continuity of Pallava art style over the two centuries of its greatest glory (the seventh and eighth) occurred sometime during the reign of Paramēśvara-I.

Thus, the style of sculptural art during the early part of Paramēśvara's reign would be included by me within the style of King Mahāmalla (the pre-Rājasiṁha style group); and the style of sculpture during the latter part of Paramēśvara's reign I would include within the Rājasiṁha-style group.

3. The Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara Cave-Temple

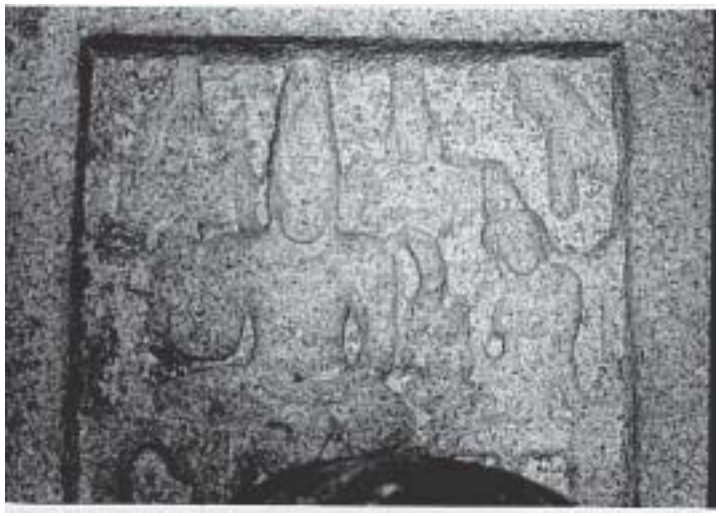
Very near Māmallapuram, at a place called Saluvankuppam, there is a Pallava cave-temple called the temple of Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara. There seems to be a general consensus among scholars over the years – though not complete agreement – that this cave-temple was created by King Rājasiṁha.[5]

I wish to suggest, however, that Rājasiṁha had little to do with the creation of this cave-temple.

The two foundation inscriptions (virtually the same verses in each inscription, but in two different scripts) located on the southern and northern walls in front of the maṇḍapa must be assigned to Paramēśvara-I (for reasons I shall set forth in detail later in this study).

There are three Sōmāskanda panels found on the walls of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara. These *carvings* were probably done late in Rājasiṁha's reign or in the post-Rājasiṁha period. Here are my reasons. There are twenty-nine Pallava Sōmāskanda panels in Rājasiṁha's Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram; there are two Sōmāskanda panels in his Shore Temple, Māmallapuram; and there is one Sōmāskanda in his Tālagirīśvara temple, Panamalai – this comes to a total of thirty-two Sōmāskanda panels attributable to Rājasiṁha in the three temples assigned to him on indisputable grounds. In Pallava Sōmāskanda panels of the 'Rājasiṁha'-style, there is above Umā's head a royal parasol.

which has a garland hanging from its center, vertically downwards. (This garland may be mistaken by some observers for the umbrella's handle, but it is not.) In the many Sōmāskanda panels of Rājasiṁha's three major temples, the garland *always* falls to the proper right of Umā's head. However, in the three Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara Sōmāskanda panels, the garland falls to the proper left (main sanctum's panel) or is above Umā's head (the two porch panels).



Sōmāskanda in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara sanctum

Sōmāskanda, Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara porch

The three early 'Rājasiṁha'-style Sōmāskanda panels which I have tentatively attributed to Rājasiṁha's father, Paramēśvara-I (that is, the panel in the Mahishamardinī cave-temple and the two in the Vēdagirīśvara temple), all have the umbrella's garland hanging to the proper right of Umā's head.

But what about the post-Rājasiṁha *period*? In the Muktēśvara panel, the umbrella's garland is carved directly *above* Umā's head. In the Mātaṅgēśvara panel, it is to the proper *left* of her head.

Tenuous as all these comparisons of garland positions may seem, yet they are at least something positive by which one could guess at the chronological ordering of the Sōmāskanda panels. A more exhaustive comparison of all the known Sōmāskanda panels, perhaps involving a numerical taxonomic study of the various proportions of the figures in the panels, might either confirm or disconfirm my hypothesis.

In this study, then, I shall proceed on the assumption that the three Sōmāskanda panels of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple were carved in a period definitely later than the reign of Paramēśvara-I.

Now, the two inscriptions (which are, in the main, identical verses, but in two different scripts) do refer rather pointedly in their fifth ślōka to the 'Sōmāskanda' group of deities:

> May Paśupati (Śiva), together with the 'Daughter of the Mountain' (Pārvatī/Umā), Guha (Skanda), and his retinue of *gaṇas*, always be happy here (in this temple).

I suggest that King Paramēśvara appropriated this Mahēndra-style cave-temple (which may have been lying in an unused or unfinished state) and brought it near to its present state of completion and caused a painting of the Sōmāskanda group to be executed on the back wall of the sanctum. Then, sometime afterwards, perhaps late in Rājasiṁha's reign, but more probably in the post-Rājasiṁha period, the painted Sōmāskanda was transformed into a *carved bas-relief* (painted) Sōmāskanda panel. The two porch Sōmāskandas were also carved at the same time.

The two dvārapālas of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple are definitely 'Rājasiṁha'-*style*, what with their torso-twisted stance. But even accepting this fact of style, there is still the question where exactly these dvārapālas should be placed: (1) in the late Paramēśvara period, (2) in Rājasiṁha's reign, or (3) in the post-Rājasiṁha period?

4. Concordance of Verses and Royal Titles

Let me turn then to an analysis of the foundation inscriptions of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple. These two inscriptions must be studied alongside several inscriptions found at Māmallapuram, which share some of the same verses (word for word). Perhaps the clearest way of presenting these different inscriptions and of indicating the degree of concordance among them is through the following type of arrangement:

Concordance of King Paramēśvara's Inscriptions

Gaṇēśa Ratha & Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa Inscriptions

1. May he (Śiva) who destroyed (Kāma) the 'God of Desires' (nevertheless) be the fulfiller of the countless desires of mankind – he (Śiva) who is the cause of (all) creation, preservation, and destruction, (but is) himself uncaused.

2. May he be victorious! – he who is immutable (*amāya*), (and yet) the ground of all transient existence (**Citramāya**); who is without qualities (*aguṇa*), (and yet) the receptacle of (all) qualities (**Guṇabhājana**); who is self-dependent (*svastha*), (and yet) without superior (**Niruttara**); who is without any lord (*anīṣa*), (and yet is himself) the Supreme Lord (**Paramēśvara**)!

3. The weight of (Śiva's) big toe was enough to plunge (Mount) Kailāsa together with the 'Ten-faced' (Rāvaṇa) down to the underworld, (and yet) **Śrīnidhi** (the king) bears that 'Unborn' (Śiva) on his head!

4. May (he) be victorious always, that **Śrībhara** (the king) who so easily bears Bhava (Śiva) in his mind which is filled with devotion, and who bears the burden of (ruling) the earth as lightly as a mere ornament on his arm.

5. This temple of Śambhu (Śiva) was caused to be made by King **Atyantakāma**, conqueror of his enemies' territory and renowned by the title **Raṇajaya**!

6. May he be victorious! – (he) who is unmoving (**Sthāṇu**), (yet) aware of everything (*jñaḥ*); who is fiery souled (**Pāvakātma**), (yet) whose body is (infinite) space (*viyadvapu*); who is fearsome (**Bhīma**), (yet) auspicious (*Śiva*); who is the 'Destroyer of Desire' (**Kāmasūdana**), (yet) the 'Comforter' (*Śaṅkara*).

7. May (King) **Taruṇāṅkura** be victorious! – (he) who is **Rājarāja** ('King of Kings' – a title also of the god, Kubēra), (yet) not uncultured (*virasa* – as is Kubēra); who is **Cakrabṛt** ('Emperor ', also a title of Viṣṇu), (yet) not *Janārddana* (Viṣṇu's title, here punned on suggesting 'Torturer of Mankind'); who is **Tārakādhipati** (a title of the moon god), (yet in his supremacy) completely sound (*svastha* – unlike the moon which waxes and wanes).

8. This lord of wealth (**Śrīman**, Lord of the goddess Śrī) and of unlimited desire (**Atyantakāma**), who strips his enemies of their pride (**Dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇ**), who is the 'Storehouse of Prosperity' (**Śrīnidhi**), who possesses the charm of the god of love (**Kāmarāga**), worships Hara (Śiva) ardently (**Harārādhanasaṁgin**).

9. In the lofty head-lake (i.e., the anointed head of the king), full of the water of coronation, a mine of multi-colored jewel-lotuses, the handsome-faced Śaṅkara (god Śiva) is manifest.

10. This lofty temple of Dhūrjjaṭi (Śiva) was caused to be made by him (the king) who was desirous of attaining the eight-fold treasure of Śaṅkara (Śiva) and of (thus) providing his subjects with all their desires.

[The following verse is also found in the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa & Ādivarāha Cave-Temple:]

11. Cursed be those, cursed be those, and again cursed be those, cursed, cursed, cursed be those in whose hearts does not dwell Rudra (Śiva), the deliverer from treading the evil path.

The temple of Atyantakāma Pallavēśvara.[6]

Concordance of King Paramēśvara's Inscriptions

Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara Inscription (all seven verses & titles): South Wall

This framed portion (just six verses) is also found on the North Wall

1. This lord of wealth (**Śrīman**, Lord of the goddess Śrī) and of unlimited desire (**Atyantakāma**), who strips his enemies of their pride (**Dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇ)**, who is the 'Storehouse of Prosperity' (**Śrīnidhi**), who possesses the charm of the god of love (**Kāmarāga**), worships Hara (Śiva) ardently (**Harārādhanasaṁgin**).

2. In the lofty head-lake (i.e., the anointed head of the king), full of the water of coronation, a mine of multi-colored jewel-lotuses, the handsome-faced Śaṅkara (god Śiva) is manifest.

3. For the welfare of this earth, he, who is foremost among the rulers of the world, caused to be made this temple of Śambhu (Śiva) which shines like the Kailāsa (mountain) peak.

4. May (he) be victorious always, that **Śrībhara** (the king) who so easily bears Bhava (Śiva) in his mind which is filled with devotion, and who bears the burden of (ruling) the earth as lightly as a mere ornament on his arm.

5. **Atiraṇacaṇḍa**, the lord of the rulers of the earth (**Avanibhūjāmpati**), made this temple (called) Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara. May Paśupati (Śiva), together with the 'Daughter of the Mountain' (Umā), Guha (Skanda), and his retinue of gaṇas, always be happy here.

6. May the eight-formed Lord of animate beings abide eternally in this (temple called) Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara which was made by him who possesses along with the title of **Atiraṇacaṇḍa** a deep devotion to Īṣāna (Śiva), and (also) the heavy burden of (ruling) the earth, an extraordinary liberality (to the needy), and the widely famed title of **Raṇajaya**!

(He is one) who is inclined to be gentle (**Anugraśīla**).

7. Except for Vidhāṭṛ (Brahmā), Bharata, Hari, Nārada, and Skanda, who is there who can understand the music of **Kālakāla** (the king)?

The Arjuna in War (**Samaradhanañjaya**); who is brave in battle (**Saṁgrāmadhīra**).

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*Please note that verse 4 (shaded) is the same in the Gaṇēśa Ratha, Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, and Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara Inscriptions. And note that verses 8 and 9 (shaded) of the former two are the same as verses 1 and 2 (shaded) of the Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara Inscription.

**The titles 'Śrīman' and 'Śrīnidhi' are also appropriate to the god Viṣṇu. And 'Atyantakāma' and Kāmarāga' are suggestive of the god of love. By the clever device of *dhvani*, the poet appears to make Viṣṇu and Kāma the ardent worshippers of Śiva. In this context, consider the eleventh verse of the inscription opposite which upholds the worship of Śiva. Note that this imprecatory verse is also found on the floor of the Ādivarāha cave-temple – a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu in his Varāha avatāra. This verse bespeaks a clear attempt to subordinate Viṣṇu to Śiva.

The above concordance deals with inscriptions found in five different monuments:

1. Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple;
2. Gaṇēśa Ratha;
3. Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa;
4. Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa; and
5. Ādivarāha cave-temple.

The inscription of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa is identical with the inscription of the Gaṇēśa Ratha. There is not only an agreement here, verse for verse and word for word, but also the form of the script used in both inscriptions is identical. Now, three of the ślōkas in these two inscriptions are also identical to three ślōkas in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara inscriptions – although their order has been altered in the case of two of these ślōkas. The first and second ślōkas of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara inscriptions are the eighth and ninth ślōkas of the other inscriptions.

Now, I wish to claim that all of these inscriptions belong to Paramēśvara-I.

There are others who would assign some or all of these inscriptions to Rājasiṁha. The main reason given for their doing so is usually the fact that several of the royal titles (birudas) appearing in these inscriptions are also titles applied to King Rājasiṁha in his Kailāsanātha temple inscriptions. Let us look into this matter more closely.

The collection of Rājasiṁha's titles found in his Kailāsanātha temple is perhaps the largest single collection of royal titles in India. The full list is given in Chapter Sixteen. More than 250 different titles of his are inscribed on the little shrines which form the enclosure of the main temple.

Of the 13 royal titles found in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara inscription, six of them are common to the Kailāsanātha also (that is, 46%):

1. **Atyantakāma** (1-2) (niche & place no., Kailāsa.)
2. Dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇ
3. Srīnidhi
4. Kāmarāga
5. Harārādhanasaṁgin
6. **Śrībhara** (3-3)
7. **Atiraṇacaṇḍa** (3-2)
8. Avanibhujām patiḥ
9. **Raṇajaya** (1-3)
10. **Anugraśīla** (48-4)
11. Kālakāla (front shrine, 3rd to right, applied to Paramēśvara-I)
12. **Samaradhanañjaya** (20-1)
13. Saṁgrāmadhīra

Next, let us consider the twenty royal titles found in the verses which are common to the inscriptions of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa. Four out of their twenty titles are common with Rājasiṁha's titles in the Kailāsanātha temple (that is, 20%):

1. Citramāya
2. Guṇabhājana
3. Niruttara
4. Paramēśvara (front shrine, 3rd to r., applied to Paramēśvara-I)
5. Śrīnidhi
6. **Śrībhara** (3-3)
7. **Atyantakāma** (1-2)
8. **Raṇajaya** (1-3)
9. Sthāṇu
10. Sōma
11. Pāvakātma
12. Bhīma
13. Kāmasūdana
14. Taruṇāṅkura
15. **Rājarāja** (13-4)
16. Cakrabhṛt
17. Tārakādhipati
18. Dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇ
19. Kāmarāga
20. Harārādhanasaṁgin

We have noted that 46% of the royal titles found in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara inscription are also Rājasiṁha's titles in his Kailāsanātha inscriptions. And we have noted that 20% of the titles found in the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions are also Rājasiṁha's titles in his Kailāsanātha inscriptions.

Now, when we make a similar comparison between inscriptions elsewhere (*definitely* known to belong to Rājasiṁha) and the more than 250 different royal titles found in the Kailāsanātha temple, we get significantly higher percentages.

Let us consider first Rājasiṁha's Vayalur inscription. Six out of its nine titles are also found in the Kailāsanātha temple (that is, 67%):

1. **Rājasiṁha** (1-1) (niche & place no., Kailāsanātha)
2. Kṣatriyasiṁha
3. **Yuddhārjjuna** (15-4)
4. Narēndrasiṁha
5. **Atyantakāma** (1-2)
6. **Śrīmēgha** (5-1)
7. **Mahāmalla** (23-2)
8. **Raṇajaya** (1-3)
9. Śrīnidhi

Next, consider Rājasiṁha's Shore Temple inscription. Twenty-four out of its thirty-four titles are also found in the Kailāsanātha temple (that is, 71%):

1. **Apratima** (29-1)
2. Avanibhūṣaṇa
3. Akalaṅka (modified: 9-1; 20-6)
4. Dharaṇicandra
5. **Arimarddana** (5-4)
6. **Atulabala** (28-1)
7. **Kulatilaka** (5-3)
8. **Bhayarahita** (?) (23-1) or **Chalarahita** (10-4)
9. **Bahunaya** (3-4)
10. **Atyantakāma** (1-2)
11. **Aparājita** (2-1)
12. **Ēkarāja** (on Rājasiṁhēśvara – Kailāsanātha)
13. Candrārdhaśēkharaśikhāmaṇi
14. Adbhuta (modified: 11-3; 29/30-3)
15. Caṇḍāśani (modified: 11-1)
16. **Udayacandra** (12-3) (niche & place no., Kailāsa.)
17. **Rājasiṁha** (1-1)
18. **Raṇajaya** (1-3)
19. **Śrībhara** (3-3)
20. **Citrakārmmuka** (14-2)
21. **Ēkavīra** (on Rājasiṁhēśvara – Kailāsanātha)
22. **Śivacūḍāmaṇi** (on Rājasiṁhēśvara – Kailāsanātha)
23. **Kāmuka** (modified: 14-4)
24. Kālakāla (front shrine, 3rd to right, applied to Paramēśvara-I)
25. **Abhirāma** (1-4)
26. Raṇabhīma
27. **Guṇālaya** (33-1)
28. **Śrī-vallabha** (16-1)
29. Atimāna
30. **Raṇavīra** (26-3)
31. **Ūrjjita** (2-4)
32. **Unnatarāma** (7-3)
33. **Yuddhārjjuna** (15-4)
34. Narēndrasiṁha

Rājasiṁha's inscription on the Tālagirīśvara temple at Panamalai (at least, the portions which are exposed) has only one title: 'Rājasiṁha'. So, it hardly affords us a comparison. However, one out of one is 100%.

Finally, there is the Tirupporur Pillar Inscription which is usually taken as Rājasiṁha's. There are sixteen royal titles in this inscription. Ten out of the sixteen are ones which are also found in the Kailāsanātha inscriptions (that is, 63%):

1. Kāmalalita
2. **Kulatilaka** (5-3) (niche & place no., Kailāsa.)
3. **Guṇavinīta** (20-4)
4. **Dharaṇitilaka** (51-4)
5. Jñānasāgara
6. Tribhūvanadīpa
7. **Aviratadāna** (18-3)
8. **Īśānaśaraṇa** (12-2)
9. Pṛthivīsāra
10. **Samaradhanañjaya** (20-1)
11. **Atyantakāma** (1-2)
12. **Abhayaṅkara** (5-2)
13. **Avanidivākara** (20-5)
14. **Atiraṇacaṇḍa** (3-2)
15. Avāritavīryya
16. Arikarikēsarī

To summarize the concordance of the royal titles in this last group of inscriptions with Rājasiṁha's many titles found at the Kailāsanātha temple:

1. The Vayalur inscription yields a concordance of 67%.
2. The Shore Temple inscription yields 71%.
3. The Tirupporur pillar, 63%.

These percentages, as I have said, are significantly higher than what is the case with the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara inscription (46%) and with the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscription (20%).

The evidence along this line of investigation, then, would indicate that the inscriptions of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara, Gaṇēśa Ratha, and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa are more likely to be Paramēśvara's than Rājasiṁha's. But there are further grounds for assigning these inscriptions to Paramēśvara-I.

Early scholars dealing with the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions held that the word 'Paramēśvara' which appears in the second ślōka has a double meaning. In its primary reference, the term 'Paramēśvara' refers to Śiva, who is being praised as the Supreme Lord of the universe. In its secondary reference, however, it is a play on the name of the king, himself, Paramēśvara-I.

More recently (1962), however, R. Nagaswamy, discussing the same ślōka, has denied that the reference is to King Paramēśvara-I, and instead he attributes the title 'Paramēśvara' in this inscription to King Rājasiṁha. Thus, Nagaswamy believes that the author of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions was Rājasiṁha. Speaking of the first two ślōkas of these inscriptions, he has this to say:

> . . . the word Atyantakāma is primarily employed to denote boundless desires, but also implies a reference to the King Atyantakāma (whose prosperity Siva may fulfil). It is in the same context the word Paramesvara in the second verse must be taken to refer to Siva primarily. [But it] also implies a reference to a title of the King as Paramesvara. [That the] title Paramesvara was borne by Rajasimha also is seen from his Kanchi inscription as ĪḶĀ PARAMESVARA. In [the] Rangapatāka inscription [of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi,] he is referred to as PARAMESVARA. . . . Thus the secondary reference to the title of Paramesvara in the second verse of the Ganesaratha and the Dharmarāja maṇḍapa is only a reference to Rajasimha.[7]

I cannot agree with Nagaswamy's concluding sentence. As Nagaswamy himself points out, Rājasiṁha assumes (in the niche of shrine 31 of the cells surrounding the main temple complex) the title, '**Ilā-Paramēśvara**'. The qualification '**Ilā-**' is necessary precisely because 'Paramēśvara' by itself would not be appropriate to Rājasiṁha. After all, 'Paramēśvara' was the coronation name (*abhiṣēka-nāma*) of Rājasiṁha's father. It would be very odd within the Indian context for a royal son to assume his father's *coronation name* as one of his own titles. Therefore, Rājasiṁha had to add the qualification 'Ilā'. In Sanskrit, one meaning of 'Ilā' (or 'Iḷā') is 'the earth' or 'the world'. Thus, Hultzsch has translated the whole expression ('Ilā-Paramēśvara') as 'the supreme lord of the earth'.[8]

Thus, I do not believe that the 'Paramēśvara' in the Kanchipuram title 'Ilā-Paramēśvara' can be taken alone as a proper title of Rājasiṁha's – that is, as a title of his on which could be based the kind of punning and *double entendre* which we find in the second ślōka of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions.

Neither do I agree with Nagaswamy when he voices the generally held view that the name 'Paramēśvara' in the so-called 'Raṅgapatākā' inscription (Kailāsanātha, Kanchi) refers to King Rājasiṁha (in addition to its alternate reference to the god Śiva). The reasons for my disagreeing with this view are put forward in the study, "Queen Raṅgapatākā's Inscription".

It is my opinion, then, that with regard to the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions, the earlier interpretation of scholars is the correct one: the second ślōka of the inscriptions does refer to King Paramēśvara-I (and not to Rājasiṁha). These inscriptions, along with those of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara, therefore, can all be assigned to Paramēśvara-I.

I shall mention another fact which would support the view that these inscriptions all belong to Paramēśvara, and none to Rājasiṁha. That fact is that in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara, Gaṇēśa Ratha, Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, and Ādivarāha cave-temple inscriptions which we are considering, not one of them has a royal title using a term meaning 'lion', nor is there any reference in them whatsoever to lions, metaphorical or otherwise. The significance of this omission can

perhaps be appreciated when we note that in every inscription which has been positively assigned to Rājasiṁha, there is always given at least one of his titles which is based on a word meaning 'lion'. Further, there is often praise of the king which employs the metaphor of lion-like bravery. This kind of thing is to be expected since 'Narasiṁha' (the name of Viṣṇu's Man-Lion avatāra) was the coronation name of Rājasiṁha. In the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi, these are his 'lion' titles:

1. Rājasiṁha (the lion among kings) (1-1) (niche & place no.)
2. Puruṣasiṁha (the lion among men) (21-4)
3. Āhavakēsarī (the lion in battle) (8-3)
4. Vīrakēsarī (the lion among heroes) (14-3)
5. Vikramakēsarī (the lion in valor) (57-3)
6. Pārtthivasiṁha (lion among princes) (54-1) (3rd tier down)

In Rājasiṁha's Shore Temple inscription, there are these 'lion' titles:

1. Rājasiṁha (1-1)
2. Narēndrasiṁha (the lion among rulers of men)

In his Tālagirīśvara inscription at Panamalai, we find one such title:

1. Rājasiṁha (1-1)

In his Vayalur inscription, there are three 'lion' titles:

1. Rājasiṁha (1-1)
2. Narēndrasiṁha
3. Kṣatriyasiṁha (the lion among warriors)

And, finally, in the Tirupporur Pillar Inscription, we find the following 'lion' title:

1. Arikarikēsarī (a lion to the elephants, his enemies)

Further, it should be noted that wherever we do have the original names of Rājasiṁha's temples given in the earliest inscriptions, they are all 'lionized':

1. '**Rājasiṁhēśvara**' was the original name of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram.
2. '**Rājasiṁhēśvara**', '**Kṣatriyasiṁhēśvara**' and '**Narapati-siṁha-Pallava-Viṣṇu-Gṛham'** were the names given by King Rājasiṁha to the three shrines of the Shore Temple complex, Māmallapuram.

In concluding these arguments, I must also mention the fact that the 'lion' pillars, used everywhere in the architecture of Rājasiṁha's temples, provide simply another device which was ultimately intended to emphasize the lion-like nature of the king.

Both Rājasiṁha and his ancestor, Mahāmalla, had the same coronation name: 'Narasiṁha'. The lion-based pillars were introduced by Mahāmalla (Narasiṁha-I) and vigorously continued by Rājasiṁha (Narasiṁha-II). Of course, architectural motifs such as the lion pillar were employed by kings who had no such 'lionized' coronation name. For instance, Nandivarmā Pallavamalla's temples make liberal use of the lion pillars. In passing, I would like to point out that the Gaṇēśa Ratha (one of the few Māmallapuram monuments which seem to

belong to Paramēśvara from original plan to final execution) does have two 'lion' pillars (*vyāḷa* pillars), but that the two *vyāḷa*-like pilasters on either side of the entrance have peculiar faces with bird-like beaks (they appear to be griffins).

However, with regard to verses praising the king, the situation is more strict. The punning use of titles, signifying by means of metaphor or *double entendre* the lion-like nature of the king, would not be appropriate to a king whose coronation name was, for instance, 'Paramēśvara'!

It is against this background of the traditional use of 'lionized' titles and metaphors by King Rājasiṁha, and the inappropriateness of such titles and metaphors with regard to Paramēśvara, that we must see the significance of their ***complete omission*** in the inscriptions which we have examined in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara, Gaṇēśa Ratha, Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, and Ādivarāha cave-temple.

5. The Śaivite Curse

If we go along with the traditional view that it was Mahāmalla who introduced the lion-pillars in the architecture of Māmallapuram, then the Ādivarāha cave-temple should be assigned to Mahāmalla, as the lions of this cave-temple and the other sculpture in it are of the early style. The Ādivarāha is a Viṣṇu temple, and is still under worship today. Yet, on the floor in front of the sanctum, engraved in large letters, is the following Śaivite curse (I give here Hultzsch's translation of it):

> Six times cursed be those, in whose hearts does not dwell Rudra (*Śiva*), the deliverer from the walking on the evil path.[9]

This curse, as we have seen, is also found in the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, and it forms the last verse of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscriptions – inscriptions which pun on the royal-divine name, Paramēśvara.

By no stretch of the imagination is it reasonable to suppose that the creator of the Ādivarāha cave-temple, a Viṣṇu shrine, would have engraved such a Śaivite curse in front of the very sanctum he has dedicated to the Varāha form of Viṣṇu! The author of the Śaivite curse inscriptions, then, must be someone who came after Mahāmalla.

Paramēśvara-I is well known for his zealous, even exclusive devotion to Śiva. And from the evidence we have already given that it was he who appropriated the once Vaiṣṇavite Mahishamardinī cave-temple and who transformed its main, central sanctum into a shrine for Śiva-Sōmāskanda, it would seem that Paramēśvara-I was probably the author of the Śaivite curse. In this connection, it must be noted that nowhere does the Śaivite curse appear in any of the inscriptions and temples which are indisputably assigned to King Rājasiṁha. This negative fact, therefore, provides additional confirmation that Rājasiṁha was not the author of the Śaivite curse, nor the inscriptions which contain it.

6. Review of Major Cave-Temples

In the beginning of this study, I gave a list of eight major cave-temples at Māmallapuram. These eight are distinguished from the others at Māmallapuram by being more complete and by having dvārapālas sculpted on either side of the entrances to their sanctums. Let's look again:

1. Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa
2. Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa
3. Ādivarāha cave-temple
4. Varāha-II cave-temple
5. Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa
6. Mahishamardinī cave-temple
7. Trimūrti cave-temple
8. Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa

The first two cave-temples in this list, the Kōḍikal and the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapas, are distinguished from the others by belonging to the early style so typical of Mahēndra's cave-temples. This early style is characterized by a simplicity in the general plan and execution of the temple. Pillars are massive, with plain square section (except for the middle third of the pillar which is chamfered to an octagonal section). There is usually very little in the way of sculpture – sometimes no figures at all. If any sculptured figures are present, they are almost always only door guardians.

On purely architectural grounds, these two cave-temples would be placed in the Mahēndra period or even earlier. They have the same general simplicity in plan and detail. Their pillars are massive and are typical of the Mahēndra type pillar. The only sculpture these two temples have is a pair of door guardians.

(i) Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa

In the case of the Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa (a cave-temple which was dedicated to Durgā [Koḍi]), the two female guardians are more crudely carved than their counterparts found guarding the Draupadī Ratha. (Rather surprisingly, the Kōḍikal guardians have no leg ornaments – an almost unique omission for females.)

(ii) Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa

In the case of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, which has three sanctums, the two dvārapālas of the central shrine have been chiseled off, but their outline remains. There is no sign of any dvārapālas for the two side shrines of this same cave-temple.

Though this cave-temple would, on purely architectural grounds, be placed in or before the Mahēndra period, these architectural considerations, for most scholars, have been completely over-ruled by the presence of a single inscription. This inscription – one we have already dealt with – very clearly states that King Atyantakāma caused to be made this temple for Śiva. Since most scholars consider the King Atyantakāma of this inscription to be either Paramēśvara-I or Rājasiṁha, this cave-temple is accordingly attributed either to Paramēśvara or to Rājasiṁha.

I go along with the view that the inscription in the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa belongs to Paramēśvara-I, but I do not think that this inscription provides conclusive proof that Paramēśvara was responsible for the excavation of this cave-temple. Instead, I believe that this cave-temple existed prior to the time of Paramēśvara, and that its main, central sanctum was originally intended for Viṣṇu. What suggests this to me is the character of the two dvārapālas of the main shrine which have been chiseled off. The remaining outlines of these two dvārapālas show us that they are not the usual Śaivite type of dvārapālas. They have no clubs. Their hair-style (judged by the outline) is moderate. And their general pose and slender appearance is counter to what we would expect in the case of guardians of Pallava Śaivite shrines. Finally, we should note that these dvārapālas were facing the observer, standing in relatively spacious niches – an early, Mahēndra-period characteristic.

Now, this kind of observation about the character of the dvārapālas is merely suggestive, and I realize that it cannot, in itself, settle the issue about the origin and development of this cave-temple. Is there any other evidence, then, which could support my view that in consecrating the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa to Śiva, Paramēśvara had appropriated a cave-temple already started – and probably fully established – by a predecessor of his?

Speaking generally, it can be said that the more temples we discover at Māmallapuram which show signs of having been appropriated, the more we would, perhaps, be willing to suspect such a thing with regard to the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa. (In passing, it should be noted that the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa has Viṣṇu's emblems, the discus and conch, engraved on its walls by Vaiṣṇavite sectarians who, thus, signified its re-appropriation by them.)

But more specific evidence of Paramēśvara's having appropriated the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa is to be discovered in his 'foundation' inscription in this same cave-temple. First, the fact that this inscription is an *exact duplicate* of the foundation inscription of the Gaṇēśa Ratha should make one stop and think. If a king had actually been completely responsible for two such different types of monuments, why would he repeat his foundation inscription *word for word* in both places – even going to the extent of giving both temples the same name: '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham*'? Rendered into English, this name means 'the temple of (Śiva) the Lord of the Pallava (king,) Atyantakāma'.

While I am touching on this point, I must also emphasize the fact that the third-level sanctum of the Dharmarāja *Ratha* also bears the label inscription, '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham*'! And in this particular case, we have an obvious example of an appropriation by this king, 'Atyantakāma', of a sanctum in a monument which most certainly was started by his predecessor. (The Dharmarāja Ratha, of course, is still very much unfinished with regard to its overall design.) For those of us who hold that the king, 'Atyantakāma', of *these* inscriptions was Paramēśvara-I, the inscribed label on the third-level sanctum of the Dharmarāja Ratha is prime evidence of his appropriative tendencies.

Furthermore, it is quite extraordinary that three different temples in the same place (and within a few hundred meters of each other) should bear exactly the same name – with respect to the same king. Appropriation by King Atyantakāma is almost certain in the case of the Dharmarāja Ratha's upper shrine. Is it not probable, then, that the unusual repetition of both the Gaṇēśa Ratha's inscription and name on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa occurs because (like the Ratha's shrine) the Maṇḍapa's shrine was also merely an appropriation?

It is true that, in the case of Rājasiṁha, there are two temples built by him which were both originally named 'Rājasiṁhēśvara'. But one of them is in Kanchipuram (the Kailāsanātha temple), whereas the other is the west-facing shrine of the Shore Temple complex, Māmallapuram. And when it came to naming the three shrines of the latter, Rājasiṁha used three different variations of his own titles:

1. Rājasiṁhēśvara (the west-facing shrine)
2. Kṣatriyasiṁhēśvara (eastern shrine)
3. Narapatisiṁha-Pallava-Viṣṇu-Gṛham (central shrine)

To return to the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscription, there is another peculiarity in it. It gives us no information concerning the fact that this cave-temple has *three* sanctums. Thus, the same inscription and temple name have been applied, on the one hand, to a monolithic temple with a single sanctum (the Gaṇēśa Ratha), and, on the other hand, to a cave-temple with three sanctums (Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa).

In contrast, the Mandagappattu inscription of Mahēndra-I was perfectly clear in its reference to the three separate sanctums of that cave-temple:

> [This temple (*ayatana*)] was caused to be made by King Vicitracitta for Brahmā, Īśvara, and Viṣṇu.

There is even a third oddity of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscription. As we have said before, it is an exact duplicate of the inscription in the Gaṇēśa Ratha. Now, the tenth verse of these inscriptions reads (in part) in translation:

> He (the king) . . . caused to be made this lofty dwelling of Dūrjaṭi (Śiva) in order to procure the fulfilment of their desires to his subjects.[10]

The term 'lofty' may, with poetic license, be applied reasonably to such a monument as the Gaṇēśa Ratha. But, when we consider the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, the adjective 'lofty' seems positively absurd. It is a cave-temple – and one with a none too high ceiling!

Let me summarize, then, the three peculiarities of the inscription in the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa:

(1) it is an *exact* duplicate of the Gaṇēśa Ratha inscription, even repeating the same name, '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham*';

(2) it in no way acknowledges the fact that there are *three* sanctums in the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa (contra the Gaṇēśa Ratha's single sanctum);

(3) it repeats the term 'lofty' with respect to the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa, a cave-temple which is not at all lofty!

These oddities can be explained if we understand that *this* King Atyantakāma (Paramēśvara-I) was not responsible for the creation of the cave-temple, but that he summarily appropriated the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa and dedicated it anew to Śiva. Such an act of appropriation did not call forth the originality and care in framing an inscription of re-dedication as would be the case if it had been an original dedication climaxing the entire creation of the cave-temple.

Thus, for the various reasons I have outlined above, I feel that the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa must be dated on the basis of its architectural features. And so I would place both the Kōḍikal Maṇḍapa and the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa in the Mahēndra or even pre-Mahēndra period. At present, I know of no way we could positively assign them to Mahēndra instead of some earlier king. Therefore, I only conclude by assigning these two cave-temples the earliest relative position in the chronology of Māmallapuram's monuments.

We next turn to the four cave-temples which are the classic examples of the Mahāmalla style:

Finished monuments:

Ādivarāha cave-temple
Varāha-II cave-temple
Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa (cave-temple)

Unfinished monument (multi-stage):

Mahishamardinī cave-temple

In the Mahāmalla style, we may first mention that the pillars are slender, and have eight- or sixteen-sided shafts, with elegant ornamentation. And their most outstanding feature is present when the base of the pillar is carved in the form of a seated lion or seated *vyāḷa*. Secondly, the general details and decoration of the Mahāmalla style cave-temples are far more elaborate than those of the Mahēndra style. Thirdly, the walls of the maṇḍapas of these cave-temples have been transformed into impressive sculptured panels depicting gods and goddesses in traditional scenes or illustrations of episodes from Hindu scriptures.

While touching on the subject of the great sculptured panels found on the maṇḍapa walls of Mahāmalla's cave-temples, it should be noted that of them *not one single major panel deals with the god Śiva!* Instead, they all deal with Viṣṇu or the two goddesses, Lakṣmī and Mahiṣamardinī (Durgā [Jayalakṣmī]). In fact, in the maṇḍapa panels, Śiva appears in his own right *only* in the *minor* niche found on the northern wall of the Ādivarāha cave-temple's maṇḍapa. In this niche, Śiva is portrayed as Gaṅgādhara.

(iii) Ādivarāha Cave-Temple

One other appearance (or half-appearance) of Śiva is in the

Harihara figure (half Śiva, half Viṣṇu) found in the same cave-temple (the Ādivarāha).

Both the Gaṅgādhara and Harihara figures are in narrow niches, and cannot be considered major maṇḍapa panels when compared to the Gajalakṣmī and Durgā panels of the Ādivarāha cave-temple, or the large panels of the other cave-temples.

Now, the mere appearance of Śiva in a Viṣṇu temple is remarkable.[11] Of course, it is true that their joint portrayal was started earlier in the famous Viṣṇu cave-temples of Badami. And it is true that Mahēndra had established several triple-celled cave-temples dedicated to the Trimūrtis (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva). But in the Ādivarāha cave-temple, there is only one sanctum, and that one is dedicated to the Varāha form of Viṣṇu. The images of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara and Harihara are subordinate images, outside of the sanctum. On the southern wall, directly opposite, and facing, the Gaṅgādhara image, there is a figure of Brahmā. Thus, in a sense, we do have the Trimūrtis in the Ādivarāha cave-temple, but Brahmā and Śiva are clearly subordinate, in that they do not have sanctums of their own.

I should also add that in the Durgā panel of this same temple, there is depicted behind Durgā (a little to her right) a tall standard with the triśūla (trident) emblem of Śiva at its top.

Because of this admixture of Śaivite images and emblems in the Ādivarāha cave-temple, I would consider this to be the earliest of the Mahāmalla style cave-temples. It is certainly nearest in spirit to the earlier Chālukyan examples and to the inclusiveness of Mahēndra's triple-celled cave-temples dedicated to the Trimūrtis.

(iv) Varāha-II Cave-Temple

Almost immediately, however, the Viṣṇu temples of the Pallavas were to drop the practice of showing anything Śaivite. Thus, the fact that in the Varāha-II cave-temple at Māmallapuram, no trident or other Śaivite emblem is shown in its Durgā panel, is an indication to me that this temple is later than the Ādivarāha. Though the Varāha-II cave-temple *does* have a small image of Śiva in its Trivikrama panel, yet Śiva is shown in diminutive size when compared with the Gaṅgādhara and Harihara figures of the Ādivarāha cave-temple.

It may be of interest to note that Viṣṇu's emblems, the discus and conch, are found engraved on the façade sides of the Varāha-II cave-temple.

(v) Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa

We turn next to the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, a cave-temple which has, unfortunately, been radically altered. Its maṇḍapa panels have been chiseled away, leaving only outlines of the figures. The front and separating walls of what were once three sanctums have all been excavated away. The Śiva-Sōmāskanda panel on the back wall of what was once the central sanctum has also been chiseled off, so that only an outline of the figures remains.

From the outline of the figures on the southern wall of this cave-temple's maṇḍapa, we can easily identify a Durgā panel which is very similar to the one in the Ādivarāha cave-temple.

Unfortunately, the outline of the figures on the northern wall of the maṇḍapa is not enough of a clue to identify that panel.

King Atyantakāma's (Paramēśvara's) Śaivite curse is found on the floor of this cave-temple, in front of what was once the central sanctum. Thus, there is a parallel here with the manner in which the same Śaivite curse is engraved on the floor of the Ādivarāha Viṣṇu cave-temple. The paleography of the two 'floor' imprecatory inscriptions is practically identical. The size of the letters in both cases is large, and the engraving deep.

From this parallelism, I would judge that the central sanctum of this cave-temple was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, and that Paramēśvara-I appropriated it and had the Sōmāskanda panel carved on the back wall of the central sanctum. (It is significant, in this connection, that there is no trace of any carvings on the back walls of the other two sanctums.) Viṣṇu's emblems, the discus and conch, are engraved on the walls of this temple, signifying the re-appropriation of it at a later date by Vaiṣṇavite sectarians.

From all indications (including the early type lion pillars), the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa is a cave-temple belonging originally to Mahāmalla's time. But we have tried to show that the Sōmāskanda image was a creation of Paramēśvara-I. Hence, our conclusion is that the Sōmāskanda panel in this Maṇḍapa was a later addition to this cave-temple, which transformed the central sanctum into a Śaivite shrine.

(vi) Mahishamardinī Cave-Temple

Finally, in concluding my survey of this group of the Mahāmalla style cave-temples which have maṇḍapas, I shall consider again, briefly, the Mahishamardinī cave-temple. As I have already pointed out, it stands apart from the other three in revealing a very erratic development and an unfinished appearance. Our previous studies suggested that during the Mahāmalla period, the main sanctum of this cave-temple was intended for Viṣṇu, but that later, King Paramēśvara-I transformed it into a Śaivite shrine and had a Sōmāskanda panel carved on its back wall. At the same time, Śaivite emblems and weapons were added to the dvārapālas of the main sanctum in an obvious attempt to give them a Śaivite appearance.

Our discussion so far, concerning the development of cave-temples at Māmallapuram, would indicate that Vaiṣṇavism was dominant in them throughout the period of Mahāmalla's reign. However, in Paramēśvara's reign there was a vigorous 'completion' or conversion of these earlier temples into Śaivite shrines, and only a few new monuments were created (the Gaṇēśa Ratha being the foremost example).

There is evidence that the Pallava kingdom suffered invasion by enemy forces during the successive reigns of Mahāmalla, Mahēndra-II, and Paramēśvara-I. The Chālukyas of Badami were long-standing

enemies of the Pallavas. In the Gadval copper-plate grant (dated A.D. 674) of the Chālukyan king, Vikramāditya, it is stated that this king invaded the Pallava capital and "crushed the glory of Narasiṁha (Mahāmalla), caused the dissolution of the valor of Mahēndra (Mahēndra-II), and subdued Īśvara (Paramēśvara-I) with his eyes."[12] It is possible that an invasion disrupted the temple-building going on at Māmallapuram. It is even likely that some of the temples were damaged by the enemy. There is plenty of evidence of deliberate destruction of the shrines at Māmallapuram. Thus, Paramēśvara might have had on his hands several abandoned monuments at Māmallapuram. His completion or 'conversion' of these monuments could be viewed within such a context.

Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that there does seem to have been a significant degree of resentment on the part of the Vaiṣṇavite community at Māmallapuram, which was later to reassert its claims to these monuments. For instance, the discus and conch, emblems of Viṣṇu, are engraved – indicating such re-appropriation – on all of the following cave-temples:

1. Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa (cave-temple)
2. Varāha-II cave-temple
3. Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa (cave-temple)
4. Mahishamardinī cave-temple
5. Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa (cave-temple)

(vii) Trimūrti Cave-Temple

There is one major cave-temple at Māmallapuram which appears to belong to the Mahāmalla style group, but is different from the others in that it has no maṇḍapa and was primarily dedicated to Śiva. It is the so-called 'Trimūrti' cave-temple. The name is appropriate as there are three sanctums having in them relief figures of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Subrahmaṇya.

Subrahmaṇya, here, replaces Brahmā. He is carved in a standing pose on the back wall of the northern sanctum. He has four arms.

Śiva, similarly, is carved on the back wall of the central sanctum. This central sanctum is given additional prominence by being set forward in front of the other two side sanctums.

In the southern sanctum is a four-armed figure of Viṣṇu.

An eight-armed figure of Durgā is carved in a niche, outside, on the southern side of the Viṣṇu sanctum.

(viii) Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa

The last of the major cave-temples of Māmallapuram (and the eighth in our list) is the Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa. It has slender, Mahāmalla type pillars – but none with lions or *vyāḷas*. There are five cells (the two which flank the central one are set back a little from the others). Most of the cells seem to have been dedicated originally to forms of Śiva, since their guardians have Śaivite emblems (trident 'horns' or axe-blades) depicted on their headdress.

There are three features which indicate to me that this cave-temple should be assigned to the early part of Paramēśvara's reign:

1. It is predominantly, if not totally, Śiva-oriented.
2. Though all the pillars of this cave-temple are slender, and those of the inner row are of the elegant Mahāmalla style, yet there are no 'lions' at the base of these pillars.
3. The dvārapālas of this cave-temple have leg ornaments, a characteristic not found on the dvārapālas of monuments more certainly belonging to Mahēndra's or Mahāmalla's reign.

7. Additional Notes

(i) On the Number of Sanctums

Of the eight major cave-temples at Māmallapuram, three are single-celled (i.e., have only a single sanctum), four are triple-celled, and one has five sanctums. Thus, there are more triple-celled cave-temples in this group than any other type!

(ii) On the Introduction of Relief Images in Cave-Temples

The relief images found in the early temples are only an extension of the art of painting. Mahēndra's early cave-temples have very few figures carved in them. His cave-temple at Pallavaram, for instance, has none. However, every inch of these temples would have been plastered and painted. And we may be sure that the walls of the maṇḍapas would have been decorated with large painted panels dealing with the same kind of subjects which we find in the later, carved maṇḍapa panels. Mahēndra's title 'Citrakārapuli', which glorifies his mastery of painting, surely refers especially to the paintings which originally adorned the walls of his own cave-temples.

Now, the introduction of relief-carvings is only a three-dimensional enhancement of the wall painting technique, itself. Thus, the famous carved Gaṅgādhara panel of Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple was *fundamentally a painting*, whose realism was enhanced by its relief-carved ground. It is merely an accident of time that the plaster and paint of this image have all but disappeared, and that we now perceive this work solely in terms of the plastic art of carving.

The above comments apply equally to the maṇḍapa panels of Mahāmalla's cave-temples at Māmallapuram. And, also, to the great 'Penance Panel' of the same place. The Penance Panel was basically a great open-air painting. Today, we admire only the carved 'skeleton' of that great work.

When we turn to the question of the nature of the image worshipped within the sanctum of the early Pallava temples, K.R. Srinivasan has this to say:

> A close scrutiny of the earlier cave temples and *rathas* reveals that though Mahēndra and Māmalla deviated from the traditional materials of construction, they perhaps could not do so in respect of the principal image consecrated. In the earlier and contemporary temples, the principal object of worship consecrated was a painting on the wall or one fixed to the wall, or picked out or

> moulded in stucco and painted, or of wood, carved and appropriately painted.[13]

Several supporting references are then quoted by him from Saṅgam and post-Saṅgam works. He adds:

> The *Avanti-Sundarī-Kathā-Sāra* narrates how the queen of Rājahamsa offered worship to Guha in the cave temple and saw the wall painting (*bhitti citra*) of Guha playing beside his parents (evidently the Sōmāskanda panel), and a son was born to her, as a result of her wish and prayer.[14]

Since, on my view, a *carved* sanctum wall with the god's *relief* image painted, would *not* be significantly different from a plain sanctum wall painted with the god's figure (both are basically paintings), I would say that the reference in the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* to the cave-temple's wall painting (*bhitti citra*) could very well be to the kind of carved (and originally painted) Sōmāskanda image which we find in the Mahishamardinī cave-temple, Māmallapuram.

The developments which led to carved stone images of deities in the sanctums sanctorum must have been gradual. Perhaps the earliest such creation in the Tamil country is that of the Reclining Viṣṇu in the Shore Temple, Māmallapuram. This may very well have been created during the reign of King Siṁhaviṣṇu (father of Mahēndra-I). It would appear that this image, in the beginning, was lying in the open air. (Only much later did Mahāmalla construct an abode out of stone for the 'One with the mighty discus'.)

Apart from this unique image, some of the earliest '3-D paintings' on stone of anthropomorphic figures were of the dvārapālas guarding the entrance(s) to the earliest Pallava cave-temples and their sanctums. Then there are the 3-D paintings on stone of deities found in the maṇḍapas, *outside* the sanctum sanctorum:

(1) the sizable figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu in the Orukkal Maṇḍapa cave-temple, Tirukkalukkunram;
(2) the small Naṭarāja and Vṛṣabhāntika panels in the Pallava cave-temple at Siyamangalam; and
(3) the large Gaṅgādhara panel of Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple.

Finally, judging from the evidence at hand, Mahāmalla became the first of the Pallava kings to introduce a 3-D painting on stone of a deity in a sanctum of his own temple: it is the Durgā image in the Draupadī Ratha. (Thus, I must disagree with K.R. Srinivasan's first statement above which implies that it was only during Paramēśvara's reign that a carved image in stone appeared in a Pallava temple's sanctum.) Not long after this, the 3-D paintings on stone reliefs of Subrahmaṇya, Śiva, and Viṣṇu were executed in the Trimūrti cave-temple sanctums, along with the adjacent Durgā figure.

Once again, to judge from the evidence at hand (this evidence being the remarkable image of Cāmuṇḍā at Māmallapuram), it was during Mahāmalla's reign that a stone figure of a deity was created clearly *in the round*. Is this stone image of Cāmuṇḍā to be considered as fundamentally a 'painting in the round'? Or shall we finally admit that

sculpture has taken precedence over painting?

Whatever way we answer these questions, we ought to note that, from being simply the background material (a flat wall) on which figures of deities were painted over a plaster base, the use of the material *stone* evolved gradually till this stone became the very substance which takes the form of the gods themselves.

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[1]This study is a revised version of "On the Chronology of Mahabalipuram's Monuments, Part I: the Cave-temples", a paper by Lockwood read at a meeting of the Archæological Society of South India, October 22, 1974.

[2]I am ignoring the very small monolithic shrines found on the beach to the south and north of the Shore Temple.

[3]Consider, as examples, the Mahēndra caves at Kuranganilmuttam and Mamandur (the Rudravālīśvara), and also the Trimūrti cave-temple and Kōṉēri Maṇḍapa at Māmallapuram. I am, of course, excluding any comparison between dvārapālas carved on either side of the façade of a cave-temple's maṇḍapa and dvārapālas inside guarding the entrances of sanctums.

[4]These sources are discussed in detail in Chapter VIII of C. Minakshi's book, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* (Madras: University of Madras, 1977).

[5]The following scholars have all assigned the excavation of the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple to Rājasiṁha: G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, in his book, *Pallava Antiquities*, Pt. 1 (1916), pp. 66-68; R. Nagaswamy, in his paper, "New Light on Mamallapuram", *Transactions of the Archæological Society of South India: 1960-62*, p. 11; K.V. Soundara Rajan, in his paper, "Rajasimha's Temples in Tondaimandalam", *Transactions: 1962-65*, p. 169; and K.R. Srinivasan, in his book, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas* (1964), pp. 128-29.

[6]In the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa inscription, this name of the temple comes between verses 10 and 11.

[7]R. Nagaswamy, "New Light on Mamallapuram", *Transactions: 1960-62*, pp. 23-24.

[8]*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 25, p. 20.

[9]*Ibid*., the 11th verse of Inscription No. 18.

[10]*Ibid*., Inscription No. 18, p. 5.

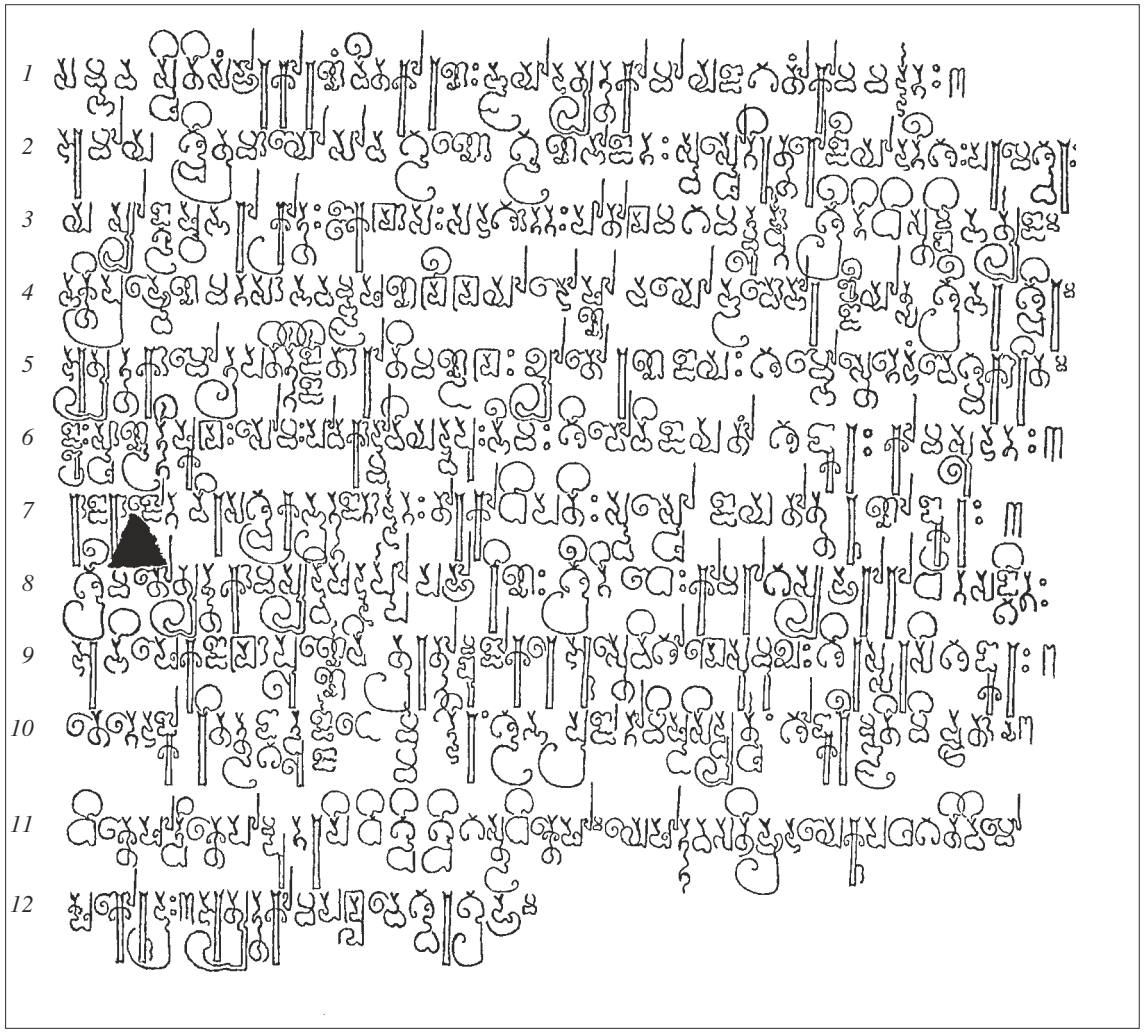
[11]Other notable appearances of Śiva in Viṣṇu temples in the Tamil country are to be found in the Namakkal Viṣṇu cave-temples in the Salem district.

[12]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, No. 22, p. 101.

[13]*Some Aspects of Religion* . . . (Madras: Madras University, 1960), p. 10.

[14]*Ibid*., p. 11.

Gaṇēśa Ratha Inscription



– *del.* Michael Lockwood

The Eleven Verses of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa Inscriptions

1. *Sambhavasthitisaṁhārakāraṇaṁ vītakāraṇaḥ* ।
   Bhūyādatyantakāmāya jagatāṁ kāmamarddanaḥ ॥
2. *Amāyaścitramāyōsāvaguṇō guṇabhājanaḥ* ।
   Svasthō niruttarō jīyādanīśaḥ paramēśvaraḥ ॥
3. *Yasyāṅguṣṭhabharākrāntaḥ kailāsassadaśānanaḥ* ।
   Pātālamagamanmurddhnā śrīnidhistambibhartyajam ॥
4. *Bhaktiprahvēṇa manasā bhavaṁ bhūṣaṇalīlayā* ।
   Dōṣṇā ca yō ***bhuvō bhāraṁ*** *jīyātsa śrībharaściram* ॥
5. *Atyantakāmō nṛpatirnnirjjitārātimaṇḍalaḥ* ।
   Khyātō raṇajayaḥ śambhōstēnēdaṁ vēśma kāritam ॥
6. *Jñaḥ sthāṇurnniṣkalaḥ sōmaḥ pāvakātmā viyadvapuḥ* ।
   Bhīmaḥ śivō vijayatāṁ śaṅkaraḥ kāmasūdanaḥ ॥
7. *Rājarājō na virasaścakrabhṛnna janārddanaḥ* ।
   Tārakādhipatiḥ svasthō jayatāttaruṇāṅkuraḥ ॥
8. *Śrīmatōtyantakāmasya dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇaḥ* ।
   Śrīnidhēḥ kāmarāgasya harārādhanasaṅginaḥ ॥
9. *Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇṇē citraratnāmbujākarē* ।
   Āstē viśālē sumukhaḥ śirassarasi śaṅkaraḥ ॥
10. *Tēnēdaṅ kāritantuṅgandhūrjjaṭērmmandiraṁ śubha*(*m*) ।
    Prajānāmiṣṭasiddhyartthaṁ śāṅkarīm bhūtimicchatā ॥
    Ōṁ ॥ *Atyantakāmapallavēśvaragṛham* ॥*
11. *Dhiktēṣān-dhiktēṣām-punarapi dhig-dhig-dhigastu dhiktēṣām* ।
    Yēṣānna vasati hṛdayē kupathagativimōkṣakō rudraḥ ॥
    Atyantakāmapallavēśvaragṛham ॥**

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*The temple name (together with the symbol for '*Ōṁ*') is found in this position *only* in the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa Inscription.

**The temple name is found in this position *only* in the Gaṇēśa Ratha Inscription. '*Ōṁ*' does *not* appear at all in this inscription.

Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara Cave-Temple Inscription

1. *Śrīmatōtyantakāmasya dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇaḥ* ।
   Śrīnidhēḥ kāmarāgasya harārādhanasaṁginaḥ ॥

2. *Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇṇē citraratnāmbujākarē* ।
   Āstē viśālē sumukhaḥ śirassarasi śaṁkaraḥ ॥

3. *Tēnēdaṁ kāritaṁ śambhōrbhavanaṁ bhūtayē bhuvaḥ* ।
   Kailāsamandaranibhaṁ bhūbhṛtāṁ mūrdhni tiṣṭhatā ॥

4. *Bhaktiprahvēṇa manasā bhavaṁ bhūṣaṇa*[*ṁ*]*līlayā* ।
   Dōṣṇā ca yō ***bhuvandhattē*** *jīyātsa śrībharaściram* ॥

5. *Atiraṇacaṇḍaḥ patiravanibhujāmatiraṇacaṇḍēśvaramidamakarōt* ।
   Iha giritanayāguhagaṇasahitō niyatakṛtaratirbhavatu paśupatiḥ ॥

6. *Gurvvīmīśānabhaktiṁ śriyamatiśayinīṁ durvvahaṁ bhāramurvvyā*
   nissāmānyañca dānaṁ samamati(ra)ṇacaṇḍākhyayā yō (*bibhartti*) ।
   Sthānē nirmmāpitēsminvidi(*taraṇa*)*jayakhyātinā tēna* (*bha*)*rttā*
   bhūtānāmaṣṭamūrttiściramatiraṇacaṇḍēśvarē yātu niṣṭhām ॥

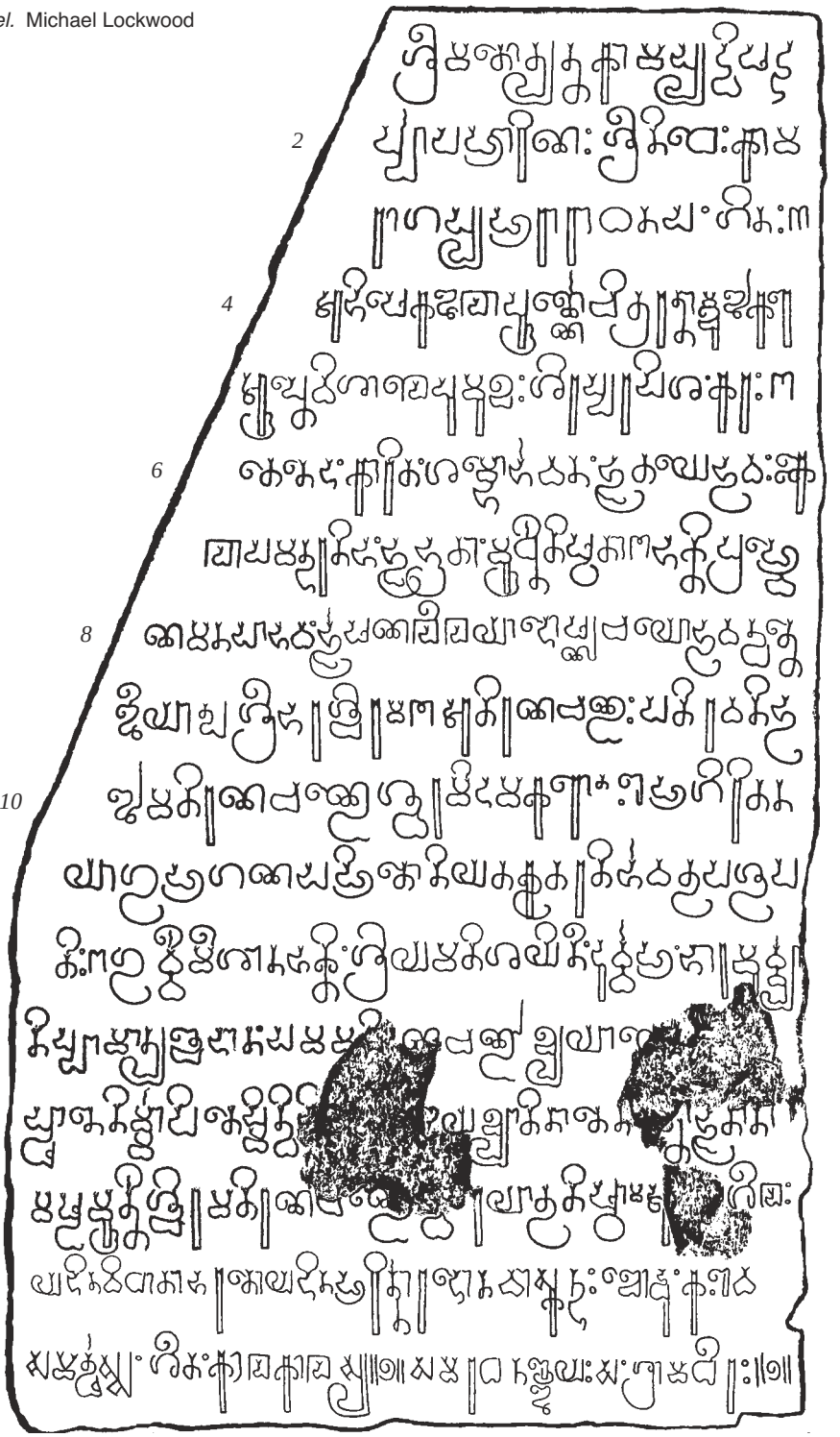
A(*nugra*)*śīlaḥ* ॥

7. *Yadi na vidhātā bharatō yadi na harirnnāradō na vā skandaḥ* ।
   Bōddhuṁ ka iva samartthassaṁgītaṁ kālakālasya ॥

Samaradhanañjayaḥ Saṁgrāmadhīraḥ ॥ *Ōṁ* ॥

Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara Inscription – Grantha version

– *del.* Michael Lockwood



EIGHT

Māmallapuram Chronology – Part II: The Rathas[1]

This study concentrates on the group of five monolithic temples in Māmallapuram called the Five Rathas. King Narasiṁha's name appears twice on the Dharmarāja Ratha, and his chief biruda, 'Mahāmalla', the very root of the town's name, Māmallapuram, is engraved in large letters on the parapet wall railing of the stairway between the 2nd and 3rd levels (eastern side) of this Ratha. A detailed study of the architecture and sculpture of this Ratha by K.R. Srinivasan[2] has clearly shown that this 'Mahāmalla' must be Narasiṁha-I (mid-7th century A.D.) and not the later king, Narasiṁha-II. Our earlier work has supported this position through a comparative study of the dress and ornaments of the sculptured figures in Pallava art. Though Narasiṁha-I was responsible for the major work on these Five Rathas, there remains the question of later stages in their development.

At the outset, two important observations should be made about the Five Rathas. First, these monolithic monuments are very much unfinished. Second, they all have been systematically and thoroughly damaged.

That these Rathas have been systematically and thoroughly damaged is not so obvious a fact. But let me present the following details. The upper levels of all the Rathas, excepting the Draupadī Ratha, have rows of miniature hut-like, barrel-vaulted roofed structures called *kūḍu sālās*. At the ends of each of these *kūḍu sālās,* there are horse-shoe shaped window arches called *kūḍus*. At the top of each arch there was a shovel-shaped finial projecting upward. And between the two shovel-shaped finials of each *kūḍu sālā*, there were carved in stone two pot-shaped pinnacles called *stūpīs*. So each *kūḍu sālā* had two finials and two *stūpīs* carved in stone projecting upward. On the

corners of each upper level, there is a hut-shaped roofed structure of square section. Each of these had a single *stūpī* projecting upward, but no shovel-shaped finial as vulnerable as those on the *kūḍu sālās*.

Let us now add up all these upward projecting parts:

Dharmarāja Ratha:

1st level:	26	stūpīs & 22 finials
2nd level:	20	stūpīs & 16 finials
3rd level:	4	stūpīs & 8 finials
Top:	1	stūpī (separate piece now on ground, broken)

Bhīma Ratha:

1st level:	36	stūpīs & 32 finials
Top:	18	stūpīs & 12 finials

Arjuna Ratha:

1st level:	8	stūpīs & 10 finials
2nd level:	4	stūpīs & 8 finials
Top:	1	stūpī (separate piece now on ground, broken)

Nakula-Sahādēva Ratha:

1st level,

front:	4	stūpīs & 2 finials
side:	2	stūpīs & 14 finials

2nd level,

Top:	?	stūpīs & 1 finial

Draupadī Ratha:

Top:	1	stūpī (separate piece now on ground, broken)

The totals of these are 127 stūpīs and 137 finials: 264 stone projections in all. Why have I presented all these details? To emphasize the point that someone (or some group) took the trouble of smashing and breaking off every one of these 264 projections! Consider how much work this destruction, itself, would have taken.

Further, there is hardly an example of a 'Pallava' nose left to see today on the faces of the figures at the Five Rathas. The Archæological Survey attempted to restore new ones made out of cement, but with unhappy results. In the Draupadī Ratha's sanctum, Durgā's arms have been broken off, and there are many other victims of mutilation – the various gargoyles on the Dharmarāja Ratha, for example.

When did this destruction take place? And by whom? Two Pallava monuments a little distance away from the Five Rathas, the Gaṇēśa Ratha built by King Paramēśvara-I (who ruled around the end of the seventh century) and the two towers of the Shore Temple built by his son, King Rājasiṁha (who ruled around the beginning of the eighth century), do not reveal any such systematic and thorough damage – though the weathering of the stone in the Shore Temple has been severe. On the Gaṇēśa Ratha, one of the two major finials, which are in the shape of a trident with a man's head at the base, is still intact. And eight crowning stūpīs are still safely atop its vaulted roof. As for the

Shore Temple, there are really quite a few well preserved stūpīs. These include the crowning ones atop the two towers, cut out of black basalt rock (reported to have been quarried in the Cuddapah region of Andhra Pradesh). The crowning stūpī on top of the bigger tower is perfectly preserved.

Detour

The question may arise whether these beautiful black basalt stūpīs are original. To help settle this question, I have photographed the topmost stūpīs and some of the others, and one may make a visual comparison of their shapes. The crowning stūpīs, in black basalt, are convincingly identical in shape to the other stūpīs. The only difference in treatment is that the basalt stūpīs have sixteen facets (each facet is cut with a slight concavity), whereas the other stūpīs are smoothly rounded. Now, the surviving, damaged Pallava liṅga recovered from the sands some decades ago and restored in a somewhat haphazard manner to the sanctum of the bigger, sea-facing shrine, is made of the same highly polished black basalt rock as the two crowning stūpīs. The liṅga is also cut in sixteen facets. And the facets are slightly concave, too. Thus, we have formal similarities which tie the black basalt liṅga to the basalt stūpīs, and those stūpīs to the other stūpīs, and thus to the original construction of these shrines by King Rājasiṁha.

Black basalt stūpī

I make one more observation, in passing. The shaft of this Pallava liṅga stands implanted (head up) in the stone floor of the sanctum. The liṅga pīṭha is not missing, though. The pīṭha is carved in light relief on the surface of the stone floor, itself. A circular depression on the floor surrounds the liṅga and 'drains off' to the northern side of the sanctum. Elsewhere, however, there is evidence in other Pallava temples that people at a later time were not satisfied with this modest and unobtrusive form of the pīṭha. At the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave-temple at Saluvankuppam, for instance, a massive pīṭha has been crudely placed over the Pallava liṅga. And in Rājasiṁha's Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram, the original Pallava liṅga was so large that a later pīṭha had to be introduced into the sanctum in three pieces as otherwise it would not have been possible to get it inside the sanctum!

Stūpīs, Shore Temple

Back to the Main Argument

We may infer from our earlier observations, that the systematic, thorough destruction of *all* 264 stūpīs and finials of the Five Rathas should have been carried out *prior* to the creation of the Gaṇēśa Ratha by Paramēśvara-I and the construction of the Shore Temple towers by Rājasiṁha. We may further infer that the systematic and massive destruction of all the stūpīs and finials of the Five Rathas occurred before the completion of these temples, and that in fact this destruction is probably the very reason why the Rathas were abandoned and forever left unfinished. (Note that these monoliths were all carved from the *top down* – so that all 264 upward projecting stūpīs and finials on top of the temples were finished, inviting the attention of the desecrators, whereas the lower parts were largely unfinished.)

Nevertheless, there is evidence that a small amount of work was continued on the Rathas subsequent to their being massively damaged. K.R. Srinivasan, in his book on the Dharmarāja Ratha, has, with painstaking detail, discussed the architectural and sculptural development of this Ratha. And I have already suggested, in a previous study, that the Sōmāskanda panel carved on the back wall of the sanctum of the third level of the Dharmarāja Ratha was a creation of Paramēśvara-I (during the latter part of the seventh century A.D.). I would like to add here that the *bhūtamāla* lintel, above the third level shrine's entrance, very clearly does not belong to the original design of this Ratha. The lintel has been cut unceremoniously through the existing architectural details of the cornice. The *bhūtamāla* carving should be contemporaneous with the later Sōmāskanda panel inside this shrine.

The form of the script of the two label inscriptions naming this third level shrine '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham*' is very close to those other Māmallapuram inscriptions which we have already attributed to Paramēśvara-I. This act of Paramēśvara's naming the shrine after a *biruda* common to himself and Narasiṁha-I is not unique. His son, Rājasiṁha, was later to do it with the Viṣṇu shrine in the Shore Temple complex. And K.R. Srinivasan has pointed out the fact that the name of the Chola king, Vijayālaya, was given to the 'Vijayālayacōḷīśvara' in Narttamalai, though, according to its own clear foundation inscription, it was built by an earlier ruler – not by Vijayālaya.

To go back to the Dharmarāja Ratha in Māmallapuram, I thus see this panel and its two related label inscriptions as part of an appropriative act of Paramēśvara's, creating a sanctum dedicated to Śiva-Sōmāskanda in what had otherwise been an abandoned monument.

I wish now to suggest that King Narasiṁha-I (Mahāmalla), himself, had the eight imposing figures on the first level of the Dharmarāja Ratha carved *after* the Rathas had been massively damaged. I offer the following observations in support of this claim. The first level carvings are equal, if not superior, to the sculpture on the other levels, yet it would appear that the artisans were no longer interested in maintaining architectural symmetry and order. One has merely to stand at the northeast corner of the Dharmarāja Ratha and look at the two adjacent niches with the figures of Harihara and Śiva-Ardhanārī. They are superb carvings, but the bottom edges of these two adjacent niches are not at all on the same level! I would maintain that this inequality would have been architecturally unthinkable in the ordinary order of events. If one inspects the upper levels of this same Ratha, there is no evidence whatsoever of such a disregard of symmetry. A comparison of the other proportions of these first level niches will strengthen my claim that there has been an architecturally lax approach in executing the niches' proportions.

The inscriptions on this first level begin above the Harihara figure with the name, 'Śrī-Narasiṁhaḥ'. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to assume that these first level figures and the inscriptions above them were also carved and inscribed during the reign of Narasiṁha-I. Thus, we would have the following sequence of events: the

Rathas were started by Narasiṁha-I (Mahāmalla), but during his reign they were massively damaged by his enemies; nevertheless, Narasiṁha had the figures on the first level of the Dharmarāja Ratha executed *after* this destruction, and his name and *birudas* added at that time above the figures. The last stage of work on this Ratha, carried out after a gap of some time, was the carving by King Paramēśvara's artisans of the Sōmāskanda panel in the third-level sanctum and the *bhūtamāla* lintel above the sanctum's entrance, and the engraving of the two label inscriptions relating to this third-level shrine.

Conjecture

The Gadval copper plate grant of the Chālukya king, Vikramāditya-I, declares that "victory was achieved by the lord Śrīvallabha (Vikramāditya), who crushed the glory of Narasiṁha (Mahāmalla)." (*E.I.*, X, p. 105.)

Earlier, Narasiṁha-I had fought three battles with Vikramāditya's father, Pulikēśi-II at Pariyala, Maṇimaṅgala, and Śūramāra. Maṇimaṅgalam is a village a short distance south of Madras city, and therefore not far away from Māmallapuram. Thus, we have evidence of the Chālukyan army invading the Pallava territory, first, in the reign of Pulikēśi-II, sometime before his defeat and death at the hands of Mahāmalla, in 642 A.D., and next in the reign of Vikramāditya-I, sometime before 668 A.D., when Mahāmalla's rule is supposed to have ended.

Narasiṁha-I succeeded his father Mahēndra in 630 A.D. In his 13th regnal year (642 A.D.), Narasiṁha crushed Pulikēśi and destroyed the Chālukyan capital, Vātāpi (Badami). After this victory, Narasiṁha ruled for another 26 years.

I would suggest that the victorious Mahāmalla brought back artisans from Vātāpi. Māmallapuram was then developed by him and took its name from his victorious title 'Mahāmalla'. At some time during the period when most of these monuments (including the Five Rathas) were being created, Vikramāditya-I invaded and "crushed the glory of Narasiṁha" ("*Narasiṁha yaśasā vihita*"). (*E.I.*, X, p. 105.)

Many years later, in 735 A.D., Vikramāditya-II (the grandson of Vikramāditya-I) invaded Kanchipuram during the reign of Nandivarmā-II. It should be noted that, though Vikramāditya-II captured the capital city of the Pallavas, he expressly stated that *he did not destroy it*. (*E.I.*, IX, p. 206.) At Kanchi, the invading king "rejoiced Brahmins and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, (and he) acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasiṁhēśvara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by Narasiṁha Pōtavarman." (*E.I.*, IX, p. 206.)

This account of the gracious behavior of Vikramāditya-II may be supposed to contrast pointedly with the more destructive campaigns of Mahāmalla (Vātāpi) and of Vikramāditya-I (Māmallapuram).

Vikramāditya-II, at the end of his campaign, took back with him to his capital some of the leading southern architects. This fact is evidenced in the inscriptions of the Virūpākṣa and Pāpanātha temples, Pattadakal. (*I.E.*, X, pp. 165 and 171.)

Postscript (1997):

In his review of *Māmallapuram and the Pallavas* in *The Indian Express*, Madurai, 13 Nov. 1982, the late Mr. N.S. Ramaswami had this to say about my '*Conjecture'* in this study:

> [O]ne point must be taken up here. Asserting that the Five Rathas are not merely unfinished but also have been "systematically and thoroughly damaged" because he [Lockwood] has found that all 264 "stone projections" have been broken, he conjectures that Vikramaditya I, the Badami Chalukya, who invaded the Pallava kingdom, was responsible for it. This is hardly conceivable and quite opposed to old Hindu practices.

I regret my response to Ramaswami's claim that such desecration is 'inconceivable' comes more than ten years after his review. However, I do have a response. In *South Indian Studies–II*, in his article, "Purananuru and a Rethinking on Ganapathi Worship in Tamilnadu", M. Arunachalam has noted the following (p. 43):

> A laudatory verse on Maravarman Sundara Pandya says that when he conquered the Chola country in the days of Raja Raja III, every temple and monument in the land was razed to the ground except the sixteen pillared hall which commemorated the grant of King Karikāla Chola to the poet Rudrankanna for the song Pattinappālai.

And I would mention one further observation. In the book, *Tamil Epigraphy – A Survey* (Madurai: Enness Publications, 1980), p. 11, N. Subrahmanian and R. Venkatraman write:

> A stone inscription at Trivendipuram in South Arcot district inscribed during the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja III Chola (A.D. 1231) is an example of this class [of political inscriptions]. It says: Kōpperunjinga imprisoned Rajaraja III at Sendamangalam, devastated the Chola country and *desecrated the temples*.[8]

(The emphasis in the above quotation is mine.) The footnote, No. 8, is *their* footnote. That footnote reads:

> [8]*E.I.*, Vol. VII. It is interesting to note that a Hindu chieftain destroyed Hindu temples.

Still other examples could be given to emphasize my point that the claim that Hindus desecrated the temples and monuments of other Hindus is not only conceivable, but, unfortunately, is supported by historical facts, but I shall rest my case with the above observations.

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[1]This study by Lockwood was first published in *Māmallapuram and the Pallavas* (1982).

[2]*The Dharmarāja Ratha and its Sculpture: Mahabalipuram* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1975).

NINE

The Philosophy of Mahēndra's Tiruchi Poem[1]

In the first volume of South-Indian Inscriptions*, E. Hultzsch edited King Mahēndravarmā's inscription which is engraved on two stone pilasters flanking the famous Śiva-Gaṅgādhara panel in the king's cave-temple on the Rock-Fort Hill, Tiruchirapalli. A puzzling error in Hultzsch's reading of the Tiruchi inscription has necessitated a fresh examination of it.*

A point which we shall also discuss now is the popularly held identification of King Mahēndra with the Pallava king in the Periya Purāṇam *account who was converted from Jainism to Śaivism. Mahēndra's Tiruchi inscription is often offered as historical evidence of his conversion. We wish to insist in the following study that Mahēndra's inscription does not really support such an interpretation.*

Mahēndra's Sanskrit inscription exhibits dhvani *– it possesses different levels of suggested or implied meaning in addition to the surface or obvious meaning. This inscription refers to the adjacent stone sculptured Gaṅgādhara panel. We reveal how the* dhvani *in the inscription is echoed by a kind of parallel* dhvani *in the stone sculpture to which it refers.*

The reading of ancient inscriptions of the Pallavas is beset with many difficulties. There are the usual problems of philology. And in many cases, these records have suffered from the passage of time and are damaged and fragmentary. But it would seem to us that the greatest problem standing in the way of a correct understanding of many of these inscriptions is a proper interpretation of their underlying spirit and philosophy. This observation is especially relevant to King Mahēndravarmā's famous inscription found in Tiruchirapalli. The Pallava king, Mahēndravarmā-I, excavated a cave-temple in the Rock-Fort Hill, in the center of this town, in the early part of the seventh century A.D. In this cave-temple there is a carved wall panel depicting Śiva-Gaṅgādhara. And on the hard rock surface of the pilasters which frame this panel, Mahēndra's inscription is engraved.

In 1890, Hultzsch edited and translated this inscription. With all due respect to him, we have maintained in previous studies that Hultzsch had misunderstood three things with regard to the interpretation of this inscription.[2]

First, Hultzsch, in his translation, had given a misleading interpretation of the Sanskrit word *nidhāya*, and said that King Mahēndra "placed" an image of Śiva in the cave-temple. Because of this misinterpretation, Hultzsch failed to understand that the inscription was specifically related to the Gaṅgādhara panel which is carved *in situ*.

Secondly, Hultzsch did not understand the inscription's import that when King Mahēndra had the figure of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara carved, this figure was also fashioned as a portrait or representation of the king, himself.

Thirdly, in the inscription, the expression 'Daughter of the Mountain' can refer to the goddess Gaṅgā who is depicted in the carved panel, and not just to Pārvatī, as all scholars have been assuming since Hultzsch's day.

Our reinterpretation of Mahēndra's inscription is significant in that it shows that the making of a major image of a god which was also a representation of a human being was practiced in India in the early seventh century A.D.

In this study, we would like to point out that Hultzsch mis-read as '*śilākhara*' a word in the last verse of the Tiruchi inscription. An examination of the original inscription reveals very clearly that the proper readings is: '*śilākṣara*'. As the word *śilākṣara* is clearly engraved in this inscription, the question naturally arises how Hultzsch could have read *"śilā[kh]ara"* in its place. We can only guess that from the interpretative framework which he had established for the whole inscription, this particular verse would make very little sense to him with *śilākṣara* instead of his reading: *śilākhara* (stone-chisel). Thus, Hultzsch considered it a scribal error and corrected it editorially. Hultzsch translated this verse, therefore, as follows:

> By the stone-chisel a material body of Satyasandha was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.

Here are the actual inscribed words:

> *Śilākṣarēṇa janitā satyasandhasya bhautikī* ।
> *Mūrttiḥ kīrttimayīñ-cāsya kṛtā tēnaiva śāśvatī* ॥

One solution we propose – and we assume that there was no scribal error – is that the expression *śilākṣara*, in its most easily understood meaning here, should be interpreted as 'imperishable stone'. We would, therefore, translate the above ślōka thus:

> Through Satyasandha's bodily image [*bhautikī-mūrttiḥ* – the Gaṅgādhara image is meant by this expression] created out of imperishable stone [*śilākṣarēṇa*], an imperishable embodiment of his [Satyasandha's – i.e., the king's/God's] fame has been made.

'Satyasandha' is a well-known title of Mahēndra's. It is found in the list of royal titles engraved on the façade pillars of this cave-temple, as well as in other cave-temples of his. 'Satyasandha' is also one of the 'Thousand Names' of the god Śiva. Thus, we have an example of *dhvani* in the dual reference of the title 'Satyasandha' in this passage. The whole verse may be read as referring to the god Śiva or, alternately, it may be read as referring to King Mahēndra.

The plastic form of the carved Gaṅgādhara figure which represents 'Satyasandha' is, in a parallel way, a kind of sculptural *dhvani*, and it also has a dual reference to both God and king. (This point is being made, we believe, for the first time in Indian epigraphy and art.)

Another interpretation of this verse is possible. The word '*Akṣara*' is also a name of Śiva. '*Akṣara*' has the meaning of 'imperishable', and as such it may stand for the immutable god-head, Śiva. Thus, the expression '*śilākṣara*' can be read as '*śilā*-Śiva' (i.e., 'stone-Śiva'). In this context, the verse may be read as:

> Through this stone-Śiva, a physical embodiment of Satyasandha [King Mahēndra] was created, and through this form, his fame was made eternal.

This interpretation would again support our claim that the Tiruchi Śiva-Gaṅgādhara image is also at the same time a representation of King Mahēndra.

There is one more level of interpretation which may be given, which we consider to be the most fundamental level. King Mahēndra was a noted poet. He pioneered the writing of farcical drama in Sanskrit with his two plays, *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka*. The author of this Tiruchi inscription was very likely the king, himself. Mahēndra was also a noted artist. The royal title '*Citrakārapuli*' ('Tiger among artists'), which appears in this very same cave-temple at Tiruchi, testifies to his artistic ability. The king's creative and inventive powers are praised here in another of his titles, '*Vicitracitta*'. Thus, we may understand that both the poetry of the inscription and the remarkable sculpture of the panel in this cave-temple owe their existence to his creative inspiration. In this context, the above verse, with the existing word *śilākṣara*, can be rendered in English as follows:

> This bodily image [of Satyasandha (God/king)] was created out of the stone inscription [*śilākṣarēṇa*] of Satyasandha [the poet-king]. By the same imperishable character, an embodiment of His/his fame was made imperishable.

Our view, then, is that Mahēndra made the image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara in his own image. Consider, for instance, the first verse of the inscription. In this verse, the self-identification of King Mahēndra with Śiva is expressed quite emphatically. However, in literally interpreting the word *nidhāya*, Hultzsch ends up with a translation at once perplexing and erroneous:

> When King Guṇabhara placed a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple on top of the best of mountains, he made in this way Sthāṇu (*Śiva*) stationary and became himself stationary (i.e., *immortal*) in the worlds together with him.[3]

Hultzsch's reading of *nidhāya* as meaning literally 'placed' has led to the supposition by him and subsequent scholars that no less than three separate statues were 'placed' in the sanctum of the cave-temple by King Mahēndra!:

1. a stone statue (anthropomorphic) of Śiva;
2. a portrait statue of himself (the king); and
3. a statue of Pārvatī (this statue being postulated on the basis of another verse which speaks of the 'Daughter of the Mountain' taking up permanent residence on this mountain).

There is not a trace of any of these separate statues. Nor need there be any! There never were such separate pieces. Once the proper, poetic interpretation of '*nidhāya*' in this context is understood together with the true nature of the God/king image, the meaning of the whole inscription with its specific reference to the figures in the Gaṅgādhara panel becomes obvious. Here is our translation:

> When King Guṇabhara [Mahēndra] made a stone figure [the relief image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara] in the wonderful stone abode on top of the King of Mountains [the Rock-Fort Hill], this ruler, (entitled) 'Vidhi' [the Creator], made Sthāṇu [Śiva] true to His name ['*sthāṇu*': stationary / firmly fixed] and became himself *sthāṇu* [fixed, immortal] together with Him, on earth.

Now let us consider the fourth verse where there is an identification of God and king. In this verse, the religious and philosophical basis of the identification of God with king is specifically stated:

> Puruṣōttama (Mahēndra) bore 'on his head' (that is, incarnate in his features and in his mind) God *immanent*.

The full verse may be translated thus:

> By first raising Śiva, the God within (his) heart, to his head, an incomparable stone figure of Hara [Śiva] was then, with pleasure, raised to the top of the mountain by this Puruṣōttama [Mahēndra]. And by thus himself first bearing, and then by making the mountain bear, God immanent, on top, the 'Exaltedness' of the 'Immovable One' [*acalasya*] was made a reality by him.

The seventh verse, with its underlying metaphor comparing the Rock-Fort Hill to the king's crowned head, may be translated thus:

> This mountain is like the diadem of his [Mahēndra's] Chōḷa province, this abode of Hara his (diadem's) chief jewel, and the splendor of Śaṅkara [Gaṅgādhara] is, as it were, his [Mahēndra's / Kāvērīdhara's crest-jewel's] splendor.

The metaphorical comparison is as follows:

Chōḷa province	=	king
mountain	=	diadem of king
cave-temple	=	crest-jewel of diadem
Śiva's splendor	=	splendor of crest-jewel

Mahēndra's metaphor stands at the root of various titles assumed by later Pallava kings:

(1) Śiva-cūḍāmaṇi[4]

(2) Candrārdhaśēkhara-śikhāmaṇi[5]

(3) Mahēśvara-śikhāmaṇi-dīptamauliḥ[6]

And the key to a proper understanding of the meaning of these titles is found in the Tiruchi inscription in the phrase:

> . . . *Śivaṁ śirasi dhārayatâtma-saṁstham* . . .

The 'bearing' of Śiva on one's head is merely a metaphor to express God *immanent* in one's mind, soul, and self.

Various scholars have suggested that some of the Pallava kings wore an image of Śiva (iconic or aniconic) on their heads. For instance, H. Krishna Sastri, in his commentary on the Vayalur Pillar Inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 149-50) of Rājasiṁha Pallava (Narasiṁha-II), says:

> The adjunct [*Mahēśvaraśikhāmaṇidīptamauliḥ*] which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means 'one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, viz. Mahēśvara (Śiva),' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like [*Śivacūḍāmaṇi*] etc. and the verse [*yasyāṅguṣṭhabhārākrāntaḥ*] etc. which occur in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19 (v. 3) [*abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇṇē*] etc. in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22 (v. 2) – all with reference to king Rajasimha – it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the *liṅga*, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse [*Guṇabharanāmani rājanyanēna liṅgēna liṅgini*] etc. (*ibid.*, No. 33, v. 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again, v. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of 'Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head.'[7]

We feel that this is to take too literally the metaphor and fail to give due weight to the philosophy underlying the metaphor. Of course, one might argue that in Buddhist iconography, a small image of the Buddha or the symbol of the *stūpa* is found as a head ornament. But in Pallava iconography, there is no known example of any god's image (iconic or aniconic) appearing on the heads of the various royal portraits at Māmallapuram and Kanchipuram.

Further, the very passages which Krishna Sastri cites as supporting the suggestion that a figure or symbol of Śiva was worn as a royal head ornament are themselves perplexing when interpreted in this way. Consider, first, the second verse of the second half of the Tiruchi inscription (*S.-I.I.*, I, No. 33):

> *Guṇabhara-nāmani rājany-anēna liṅgēna liṅgini jñānaṁ* ।
> *prathatāñ-cirāya lōkē vipakṣa-vṛttēḥ parāvṛttam* ॥

We have tried to show in a previous study[8] that King Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) possessed the *liṅga* (or anthropomorphic form of Śiva) primarily in the sense that his portrait was combined with the image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara. We, therefore, gave the following translation of this passage to bring out this primary meaning:

> As the king called Guṇabhara has become embodied in this image [*liṅgini* = Kāvērīdhara / Gaṅgādhara], let the Faith which has been brought back from the encircling opposition be forever spread by this same image [*liṅgēna*] throughout the world!

Hultzsch has given an alternative reading of the same verse in his translation of it:

> While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the *liṅga* let the knowledge which has turned back from hostile (*vipaksha*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *liṅga*![9]

Following Hultzsch's reading of this verse, we have seen how some scholars, including Krishna Sastri,[10] considered 'the knowledge (*jñānam*) which turns back from hostile conduct' to be the king's knowledge, and thus this reading would give support to the story that King Mahēndra was converted to Śaivism from Jainism.

However, according to our own reading, *jñānam*, here, should be understood as the 'faith' of the people in general, and therefore the king's spiritual enlightenment is expressed by the two words: *liṅgēna* and *liṅgini*. Thus, the, king's enlightenment would be the instrument of re-converting others back to Śaivism from rival faiths.

Our view is strengthened from the *dhvani* (suggested meaning) of this same verse – a meaning rather vaguely hinted at by Hultzsch in one of his footnotes:

> This whole verse has a *double entendre*. It contains allusions to the Indian logic (*tarkaśāstras*), in which *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition, *liṅga* the predicate of a proposition and *vipaksha* an instance of the opposite side.[11]

This suggested *dhvani* with reference to Indian logic has been repeated by later scholars, but the appropriateness of the *logical terms* in the present context has not been made evident by any of them.

First, we think that the proper logical basis for the *dhvani* is not that *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition and *liṅga*, the predicate, but rather that *liṅgin* means the conclusion to be arrived at in an argument or inference, and *liṅga* means a reason advanced in support of the conclusion:

Liṅgin = conclusion to be arrive at (*pratijñā*)
Liṅga = supporting reason (*hētu*)

The whole inference is known in logic as *anumānaḥ*.

In this context, then, *liṅgin* would represent the conclusion to be established, *viz*. King Guṇabhara's (Mahēndra's) identity with lord Śiva. And *liṅga* would represent the artistic work expressing this. (And what is true for the king is true for *everyone* and *everything*.)

And, further, in this context, the verse expresses the hope that this artistic work (image, temple) should become the instrument by which others were to be brought back to the fold of Śaivism from rival (atheistic) faiths (such as Jainism and Buddhism).

It is significant that one of the titles of Mahēndra in the Tiruchi cave-temple inscriptions is *Anumānaḥ*.[12] This title of his, in the above context, should be understood as indicating that the king had given artistic expression to his (and others) spiritual self-identity with God; and, in still another context, that he would be able to *defend* this enlightened position through disputational arguments and the satirical plays which he wrote – which especially poked fun at degenerate Buddhists.

It would seem, then, that for hundreds of years now, people have gazed on the Gaṅgādhara panel in the Tiruchi cave-temple and

have not realized that they were also looking straight at a portrait of the great Pallava king, Mahēndravarmā-I. It is the philosophic dimension of *dhvani* which has allowed us such an insight.

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[1]This study is based on "The Philosophy of Mahēndravarman's Tiruchchirapalli Epigraph", by M.C. Lockwood and A.V. Bhat, published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. III, 1976, pp. 91-102.

[2]Refer to our study, "Pallava Gaṅgādhara".

[3]*S.-I.I.*, I, p. 30.

[4]A title applied to Rājasiṁha both in the Kailāsanātha temple inscription and Shore Temple inscription.

[5]A title applied to Rājasiṁha in the Shore Temple inscription.

[6]A title applied to Rājasiṁha in his Vayalur Pillar inscription.

[7]See also T.V. Mahalingam's endorsement of this interpretation in his book, *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1969), p. 124.

[8]"Pallava Gaṅgādhara".

[9]*S.-I.I.*, I, p. 29.

[10]See also T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[11]*S.-I.I.*, I, p. 29.

[12]This title appears in the list of royal titles engraved on the pillars of this cave-temple. The same title, *Anumānaḥ*, is also applied to King Mahēndra in his Pallavaram cave-temple inscription.

Śiva-Gaṅgādhara panel, upper cave-temple, Rock-Fort Hill, Tiruchi

TEN

Śiva-Gaṅgādhara/Pallava-Kāvērīdhara[1]

Work of the epigraphist includes discovering, reading, and interpreting and translating inscriptions. After some introductory remarks, we give a detailed word-for-word translation of King Mahēndravarmā's long inscription (eight verses) found in his cave-temple near the top of the Rock-Fort Hill.

First, we note that the first four verses of this inscription are on the northern pilaster, and the last four verses are on the southern one. The number '2' is actually engraved at the end of the second verse on the northern pilaster. If the inscription had begun on the southern pilaster, this verse would have been number '6'.

Our previous studies of this inscription have shown how the Śiva-Gaṅgādhara image is also a portrait of King Mahēndra. We would make one additional comment here. In verse 5, the poet reckons that the 'Daughter of the Mountain' (Gaṅgā) has left her father's family to stay permanently on this mountain (the Rock-Fort Hill), calling the river Kāvērī the beloved wife of the Pallava king. Though the central figure of the panel is to be viewed at the primary level as Śiva receiving the descending river Gaṅgā on the locks of his hair, at another level this same figure can be viewed as King Mahēndra slowing the descent of the river Kāvērī. May we speculate that Pallava engineers had been involved in some way with the damming of the Kāvērī?

King Mahēndra's Tiruchi 'Gaṅgādhara' Poem Inscription

Beginning on the Northern Pilaster:

1 *Śailēndra-mūrdhani śilā- bhavanē vicitrē*
mountain=king top-of-on stone abode-in wonderful-in

2 *śailīn-tanuṁ Guṇabharō nṛpatir-n-nidhāya* [|*]
stone-body Guṇabhara king established-having

3 *Sthāṇuṁ vyadhatta Vidhir= ēṣa yathârtha saṁjñaṁ*
Sthāṇu made 'Creator' this meaning-true-to name

4 *sthāṇuḥ svayañ- ca saha tēna-ñ [j]agatsu jātaḥ* [|| 1 ||*]
fixed himself also together Him-with worlds-in become-has

5 *Gṛham=akṛta Śatrumallō gir[ī]ndra-kanyā-*
abode made Śatrumalla mountain=king daughter-of

6 *patēr-g- girāv= asmiṁ* [|*] *Giriśasya giriśa-*
husband's mountain-on this Giriśa's 'Mountain-Dweller'

7 *saṁjñām=anvartthī- kartum= artthapatiḥ* || 2 ||
name meaningful to-make wealth-lord

8 *Vibh[ū]tiñ-Cōḷānāṁ katham=aham=avēkṣē*
wealth Chōḷas-of how I see-will

9 *ya vipulām nadīṁ vā Kāvīrīm=avani-bhavanāva-*
which abundant river and Kāvērī earth-abode=remain-

10 *sthita iti* [|*] *Harēṇōktaḥ prītyā vibhur= adiśa-*
ing thus Hara-by=asked-having-been affection-with the-king ordered

11 *d=abhraṁ-liham=idam-Manu-prakhyē [rājyē*] giri- bhavana-*
cloud- licking this Manu-famous country-in mountain- abode

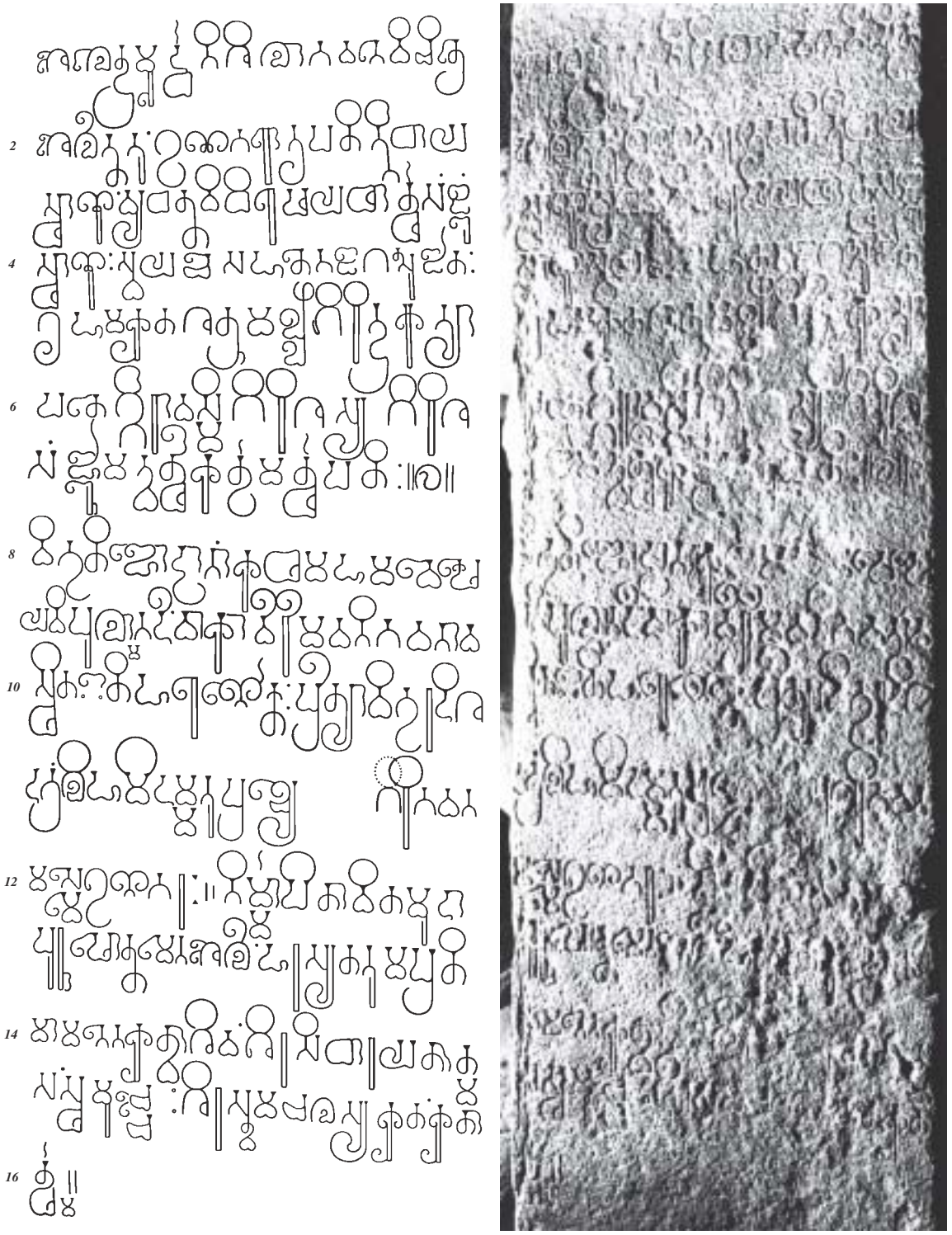
12 *m=asmai Guṇabharaḥ* ||[3 ||*] *Nirmmāpitā[m]=it[i] mudā*
Him-for Guṇabhara made-was thus pleasure-with

13 *Puruṣōttamēna śailīṁ Harasya tanum=aprati-*
Puruṣōttama-by stone Hara's body incompara-

14 *mām=anēna* [|*] *Kṛtvā Śivaṁ śirasi dhārayatâtma-*
ble him-by made-having Śiva head-on holder-by=heart

15 *saṁstham= uccaiḥ śirastvam= acalasya kṛtaṁ kṛtā-*
firmly-fixed-in lofty- mindedness mountain's made-was real-

16 *rttham* ||[4 ||*]
ity



Delineation and photograph of the inscription on the northern pilaster

Continuing on the Southern Pilaster:

1 *Kāvīrī-n-nayanābhirāma-salilām= ārā-*
Kāvērī eye=pleasing water-possessor gard-

2 *ma-mālā- dharām dēvō vīkṣya nadī-priyaḥ*
en- garland-bearer the-god on-seeing river-lover

3 *priya- guṇām= apy=ēṣa rajyēd= iti* [|*] *Sāśaṁ-*
pleasing qualities-possessor also this desiring thus with=suspi-

4 *kā giri- kanyakā pitṛ- kulaṁ hitvēha manyē gi-*
cion mountain-daughter-of father's family having-left=here I-guess moun-

5 *rau nityan- tiṣṭhati Pallavasya dayitām=ētāṁ bru-*
tain-on forever stations (herself) Pallava's wife this call-

6 *vāṇā nadīm* ||[5 ||*] *Guṇabhara-nāmani rājany=anēna li-*
ing river Guṇabhara- named king this-by im-

7 *ṅgēna liṅgini jñānam* [|*] *Prathatāñ- cirāya lōkē vi-*
age-by image-having-become-embodied-in Faith renowned-be for-long the-world-in en-

8 *pakṣa-vṛttēḥ parāvṛttam* ||[6 ||*] *Cōḷa- viṣayasya śailō*
emy circle-from brought-back Chōḷa province-of mountain

9 *maulir= ivāyaṁ mahā-maṇir= ivāsya* [|*] *Hara-gṛham=ēta-*
diadem like=this great jewel like=his Hara-abode this (*his* Chōḷa province)

10 *j-jōtis- tadīyam= iva Śāṁkaraṁ jyōtiḥ* ||[7 ||*] *Śilâkṣarē-*
splendor his (crest jewel's) like Śaṅkara's splendor stone=inscrip-

11 *ṇa janitā Satyasandhasya bhautikī* [|*] *Mūrttiḥ kīrttima-*
tion-out-of created-has-been Satyasandha's bodily image fame-full-

12 *yī-ñ cāsya kṛtā tēnaiva śāśvatī* ||[8 ||*] *Niṣkṛṣy[ā]calā-sa-*
of and=his made-has-been it-(stone)-by eternal scooped-out=firm well

13 *m-adhāyi Guṇabharē bhaktiḥ [parā] . . .*
made-manifest Guṇabhara-in devotion surpassing

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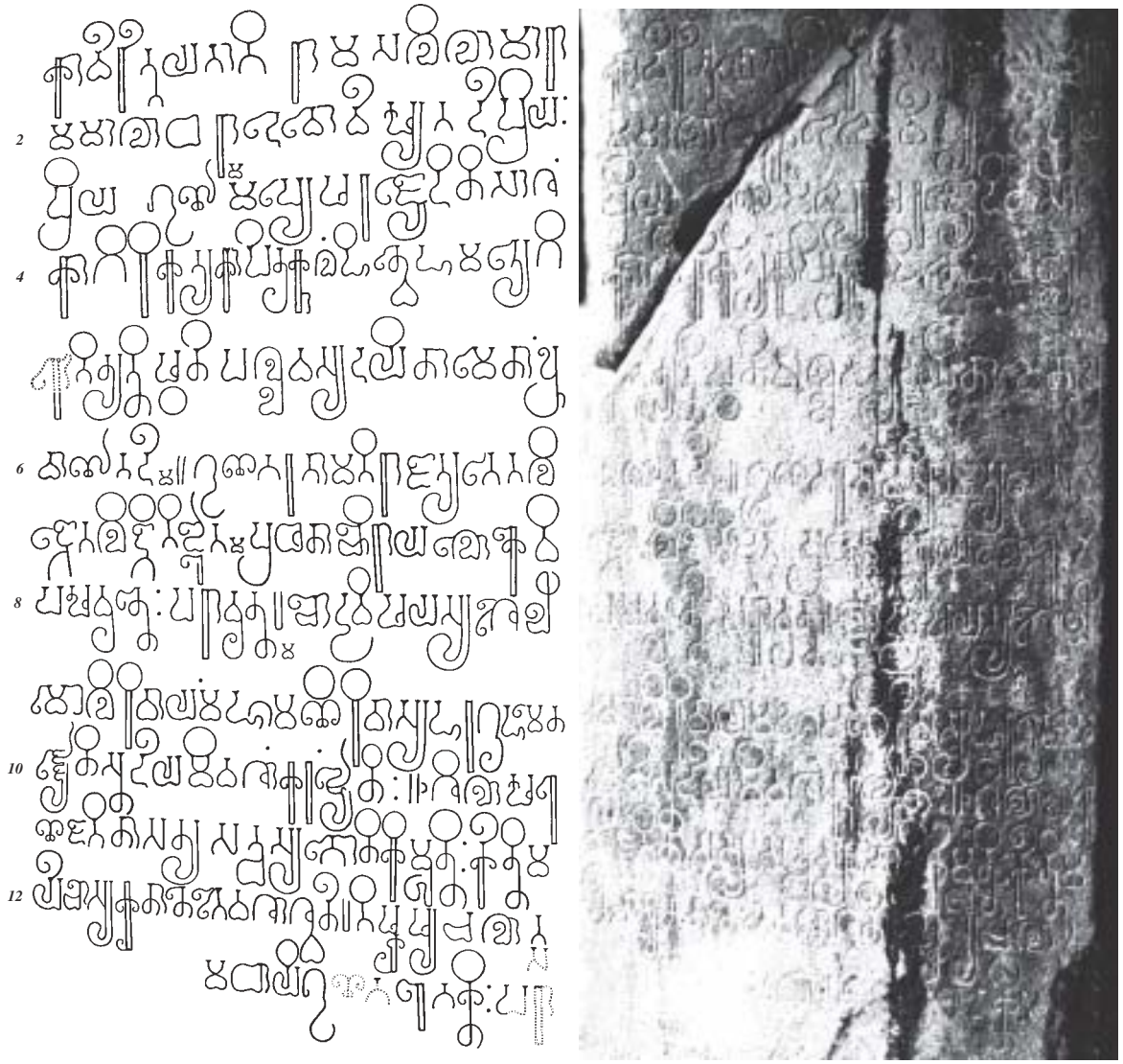
[1]Based on part of the paper, "Trichy Pallava 'Kāvērī-dhara'", by M.C. Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat, published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XX, 1994, pp. 4-9.



Delineation and photograph of the inscription on the southern pilaster

Śiva-Gaṅgādhara, Mātaṅgēśvara Temple, Kanchi

ELEVEN

A Mystery Dog in Sculpture[1]

This article and the following study continue the examination of the various levels of meaning of a given Pallava sculpture.

When the Gaṅgā was called down to earth from her heavenly abode by the great *tapas* of King Bhagīratha, she would have destroyed the earth in a cataclysmic deluge had it not been for the intervention of Śiva who received her mighty force on the locks of his hair and held her there as easily as a single droplet until she was prepared to flow gently down. Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* recounts the event which, represented in Indian art, is called 'Gaṅgādhara'.

This theme was very popular in Pallava art. In fact, the very earliest extant major sculptured panel in the Tamil country is the Gaṅgādhara panel carved in Mahēndravarmā's cave-temple in Tiruchi. This earliest of major panels, which belongs to the seventh century A.D., was followed by many other Pallava renditions of Gaṅgādhara. There are two Gaṅgādhara panels at Māmallapuram, and four at the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram. In the same city of Kanchi, there are at least three smaller Pallava Śiva shrines which have them.

What is surprising is that in many of these Gaṅgādhara panels a dog appears in one of the upper corners. To put it mildly, the dog is considered a lowly creature in Indian tradition. It is therefore difficult to guess why the Pallava artists should have introduced a dog into the Gaṅgādhara theme – a theme which represents such an auspicious event for the whole world.

Mayilai Seeni. Venkatasamy, in a learned journal, noted that a passage in a Tamil stone inscription at Tiruvannamalai (North Arcot) which was engraved during the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga, who claimed Pallava descent, can be interpreted as saying that Śiva, the Primeval Being, at the time of receiving the Gaṅgā on his head, created the illusion of a dog. Unfortunately, the inscription provides no other information about the significance of this incident. Further, the crucial passage in the Tamil inscription is open to other interpretations which would eliminate any reference to a dog.

To the best of our knowledge, the *purāṇas* are silent about any dog in relation to the Gaṅgādhara story. Apart from Venkatasamy's suggestion, we have not yet met a single person who could enlighten us from other sources about the mystery dog.

But still the plain fact remains that a dog does appear in many Pallava Gaṅgādhara panels, and even in a few Gaṅgādhara panels found in other regions. The accompanying photograph is of the dog in the Gaṅgādhara panel of the Mātaṅgēśvara temple at Kanchi. Fortunately,

this carved dog is well preserved and is not covered with that thick plaster which obscures so many of the great works of the ancient past.

The hitherto enigmatic animal carved in the Tiruchi Gaṅgādhara panels of Mahēndra's, which in its present damaged state has mystified generations of scholars, is now known to be a dog. The creature in the upper left (proper right) corner of the Gaṅgādhara panel of the west-central lateral shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchi can now confidently be accepted as a dog, if any doubt may have existed earlier. Similarly, we can be sure that it is a dog appearing in Gaṅgādhara panels of the Muktēśvara and Iravātanēśvara Pallava temples at Kanchi.

But the basic mystery remains over the question why the dog appears in any Gaṅgādhara panel. Somewhere there should be a version of the Gaṅgādhara story which would account for this unusual appearance of a dog.

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[1]Based on "A mystery dog in sculpture", an article by M.C. Lockwood, published in *The Indian Express*, Madras, March 6, 1976.

TWELVE

Dhvani in Epigraph and Stone[1]

This study is devoted to the further investigation of dhvani *in epigraph and stone sculpture. It will become evident that* dhvani *in Pallava art is not merely* one *level of implied or suggested meaning, but rather a rich spectrum of different levels of suggested meaning.*

The various inscriptions of the Pallavas which are in poetic form are excellent examples of the use of *dhvani*. We have already examined King Mahēndra's poem inscribed in his Tiruchi cave-temple.

Mahēndra's Tiruchi epigraph refers specifically to the adjacent carved Gaṅgādhara panel. We pointed out the fact that the *dhvani* in the poem is paralleled by a type of *dhvani* in the sculpture itself (a God-king image).

Mahēndra's inscription, however, does not give us any clue to the significance of the two prince-like figures with *jaṭā-makuṭas* who are kneeling on either side of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara. Nor does it give any clue to the recumbent creature carved to the upper proper left of Śiva. The head of this animal has unfortunately been damaged, making its identification difficult.

Mayilai Seeni. Venkatasamy was the first to point out the presence of a dog in a Pallava Gaṅgādhara panel found in Kanchipuram.[2] In his article, Venkatasamy noted that there is a passage in a Tamil stone inscription at Tiruvannamalai (North Arcot District) which provides an explanation of the dog's presence in the Gaṅgādhara panel. The inscription was engraved during the reign (in the 13th century A.D.) of the ruler Kōpperuñjiṅga, who claimed Pallava descent. The relevant passage in this inscription describes Śiva receiving the Gaṅgā on his hair. And Venkatasamy finds in it the clue to the dog's presence:

> *Kaṇṇutar-perumāṉ=ātinātanāy vēṭaṅ koṇṭu pāypuṉar*
> *Kaṅkaiy=āyira-mukaṅkoṇṭ=ārtteḻum=aṉṉāḷ=ēṟṟu-k-koṇṭa*
> *tiruntiya piṟai muṭiy=aruntava-c-caṭātarar. . . .*[3]

However, Venkatasamy's interpretation of this passage has been questioned.[4] Whatever be the proper interpretation of the Tiruvannamalai inscription, the fact remains that a dog does appear in Pallava Gaṅgādhara panels – and in Gaṅgādhara panels elsewhere also.[5]

Following Venkatasamy's paper, we wrote an article published in *The Indian Express* about several other Pallava Gaṅgādhara panels which have a dog portrayed in them.[6] A photograph accompanying the article clearly showed a dog seated on its haunches in the upper corner of the panel opposite the half-anthropomorphic image of Gaṅgā.

But the basic mystery remained over the question of why a dog should appear in any Gaṅgādhara panel. In the *Express* article, we appealed for any further information which might solve this problem. One reader, in a letter to the editor, suggested that the dog should be one of the two dogs guarding Yama's gate.[7] Another reader felt that it should be Yama himself, in the form of a dog, as told in a story in the *Mahābhārata*.[8]

The most thought-provoking idea offered as a solution to our problem came in an article which proposed that the mythology and iconography of the Gaṅgādhara theme involved the constellations in the heaven.[9] Śiva-Gaṅgādhara, on this interpretation, is imaged in the constellation called Orion by the Greeks. The Gaṅgā is the heavenly Milky Way. The dog would then be the constellation Canis Minor, the Little Dog.

But let us return to the Tiruchi Gaṅgādhara panel and to the realm of epigraphy. Perusing the early volumes of *The Indian Antiquary*, we came across a surprising fact which would seem to have relevance to an interpretation of the dog portrayed in the Gaṅgādhara panels of the Pallavas. More than one of the Kadamba copper-plate grants have a dog engraved as the emblem of the royal seal of the grants.[10] Now, it is well known that the western Gaṅgās and the Kadambas were important feudatories of the Pallavas. We therefore suggest that at one level, at least, the implied meaning of the sculptural *dhvani* of the Pallava Gaṅgādhara panel in Tiruchi is as follows: the image of Gaṅgā, with her hands held in añjali mudrā, may be taken as an emblem of the Gaṅgā feudatories of the Pallavas; and the image of the dog may be taken as an emblem of the Kadamba feudatories. We have already argued in detail earlier that the Śiva image is also a representation of King Mahēndra, the Pallava 'King of kings'. The two prince-like figures which are carved in the Tiruchi panel, kneeling on either side of the Śiva/Mahēndra image, would then represent the respective kings of those two subordinate dynasties. The kneeling figure on the proper right, under the Gaṅgā figure, would portray the Gaṅgā king. And the figure on the other side, beneath the dog, would portray the Kadamba king.

One level of the implied meaning of the dog in these panels would then be apparent. But the mythological significance of the dog in relation to the Gaṅgādhara theme would seem to require further investigation.

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[1]Based on "*Dhvani* in Epigraphy and Stone", a paper by Lockwood and Bhat read at the Fifth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, Bangalore, Feb. 3-5, 1979.

[2]M.S. Venkatasamy, "Kaṅkātara mūrttiyiṉ ariyatoru ciṟpa vaṭivam" (in Tamil), *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol. V, Sep. 1974, pp. 70-74.

[3]*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VIII, No. 69, p. 40. (*A.R.* 480 of 1902.) On the west wall of the first *prākāra* of the Arunāchal-

ēśvara temple. A record of the "Pallava" king, Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, the protector of Mallai (Māmallapuram). Records gift of ornaments by the king and erection of buildings by his son. In interpreting the relevant passage of this inscription, Venkatasamy actually suggests that Śiva, the Primeval Being, took the form of a dog: "*ātinātaṉ nāy vēṭaṅ koṇṭu*". The precise reading of the beginning of this passage, however, is "*ātinātanāy* . . .", not as Venkatasamy reads it. This difference has left room for alternate interpretations.

[4]See, for instance, Ta. Mu. Subrahmanyam's rebutting article, "*Nāy vēṭaṅkoṇṭa nampaṉ*" (in Tamil), *Koṅku*, Vol. V, May 1975.

[5]See, for instance, plate XXVI, fig. 1, the Gaṅgādhara panel of the Kailāsa temple, Ellora, in J. Burgess, *Elura Cave Temple,* Vol. V, Archæological Survey of Western India (reprinted in 1970 by Sagar Publications, New Delhi); and fig. 27, the Gaṅgādhara panel of the Garuḍa temple, Alampur, in C. Sivaramamurti, *Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1974), p. 186.

[6]Lockwood, "A mystery dog in sculpture", *The Indian Express,* Madras, March 6, 1976.

[7]M.E. Adiceam, *The Indian Express,* March 17, 1976. Adiceam refers to an article of hers (in French) published in *Ars Asiatica,* Vol. 32, 1976. (The scriptural reference is to the *Ṛg Vēda*, X.14 & 15.)

[8]G. Basker, *The Indian Express*, Madras, March 27, 1976.

[9]R. Venkatram, "A Mystery Dog in Sculpture", *Journal of Tamil Studies,* Vol. 8, Dec. 1975, pp. 12-17. (It should be noted that this journal is pre-dating its publication! Venkatram's article was actually written after Lockwood's *Express* article of March 6, 1976, to which Venkatram refers and whose title he borrows.)

[10]See the seal of the Kadamba copper-plate grant of Kākusthavarmā (*The Indian Antiquary,* Vol. VI, 1877, No. 20) for a clear example of the dog. It is interesting – and, at the same time, puzzling – that the emblem on the seal of the Uruvupaḷḷi grant of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, issued during the reign of the Pallava king, Siṁhavarmā, is also a dog (*The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, plate opposite p. 50).

Façade of the 'Fifth Shrine' (note the inscription!)

THIRTEEN

Queen Raṅgapatākā's Inscription[1]

In the first volume of South-Indian Inscriptions*, the pioneering, German epigraphist, E. Hultzsch, erred in fixing the location and sequence of some of the inscriptions on the small shrines in front of the Kailāsanātha temple complex at Kanchipuram. One group of these seemingly related epigraphs includes the delightful foundation inscription of the Pallava queen, Raṅgapatākā.*

While correcting the sequential order of these inscriptions, Prof. Bhat and I have also given a fresh translation of them. One of the key points made in our new translation is that the expression 'Paramēśvara' of these inscriptions refers to King Paramēśvara-I, and is not a title of King Rājasiṁha. When this fact is clearly established, it demolishes the last support of the mistaken claim that King Rājasiṁha assumed his father's abhiṣēka-nāma *(coronation name), 'Paramēśvara', as his own* biruda *(royal title). This is an important issue because this mistaken claim is the mainstay of the misplaced attempt to credit Rājasiṁha with the creation of all the Pallava monuments at Māmallapuram.*

The Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram is rich with inscriptions of its builder, the Pallava king, Narasiṁhavarmā-II (Rājasiṁha) as well as of his son, Mahēndravarmā-III. In front of the main temple complex, just outside its enclosing wall, are several small shrines which belong to the same general period. On three of these small shrines are some inscriptions which relate to their foundation by other members of the royal family.

Dr. E. Hultzsch, who edited and translated the Kailāsanātha temple inscriptions in Volume I (1890) of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, included in that volume the inscriptions found on these small shrines in front.[2] The most notable of these inscriptions are three verses in Sanskrit poetry ascribing the creation of one of the shrines to Queen Raṅgapatākā. There is an error in Hultzsch's location of Raṅgapatākā's inscription. Hultzsch located the verse which contains the name 'Raṅgapatākā' on the façade of the third shrine to the right of the front entrance to the main temple complex. But this is *not* its correct position. This verse is actually found on the façade of the *fifth* shrine to the right of the front entrance.

This error in location is serious because the verse which contains the name, 'Raṅgapatākā', does not stand alone. Hultzsch read it in conjunction with two other verses which actually are to be found on the third shrine. But now we shall have to read the 'Raṅgapatākā' verse in conjunction with the two different verses found on the *fifth* shrine!

Because of this mistaken juxtaposition of verses, Hultzsch and all scholars since his day have unquestioningly thought Raṅgapatākā to be the queen of Narasiṁha-II. For a clearer understanding of why they did so, we give below, in the order in which Hultzsch presented them in Volume I of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, the several verses inscribed on the third and fifth shrines.

Here follows Hultzsch's translation – along with *his location* of the various verses:

On the **Third Shrine**[3] to the Right of the Front Entrance

On the façade, first line:

Adoration to Śiva!

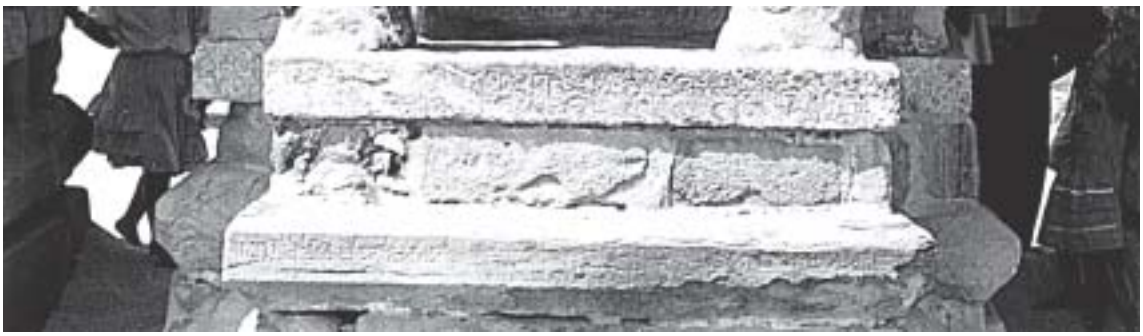
(*Verse* 1.) She, who was the dearly beloved mistress of her husband, the supreme lord, who was famed by the name of Kâla-kâla, whose sign was the bull, and the strength of whose bow had become manifest at the destruction of cities, just as the daughter of the king of mountains (*Pârvatî*) is the dearly beloved mistress of her husband, the supreme lord (*Śiva*), whose sign is the bull, and the strength of whose bow has become manifest at the destruction of (*the demon*) Pura; –

On the back:

(*Verse* 2.) She, who is resplendent, as she has attained the mighty position of favourite with king Narasiṁhavishṇu, who has split the hearts of his foes, and who has devoted himself to the protection of the circle of the world, and as thus she seems to have subdued the pride of Pushkaradevatâ (*i.e.*, Lakshmî, *the wife of the god* Narasiṁha-Vishṇu); –

On the façade, second line:

(*Verse* 3.) That Raṅgapatâkâ, who was, as it were, the banner (*patâkâ*) of women, caused to be built this lovely dwelling of (*Śiva*,) whose crest-jewel is the moon.



Façade inscription on the Fifth Shrine

On the **Fifth Shrine**[4] to the Right of the Front Entrance

On the façade:

Prosperity!

(*Verse* 1.) She, who, full of loveliness, softness, grace and cleanliness, seemed to be the master-piece of the first creator, whose skill had attained perfection at last, after he had created thousands of good-looking women; –

On the back:

(*Verse* 2.) She, who was charming through genuine sweetness, who was adorned with grace, coquetry and feeling, who, like the art of attraction, . . .

* * * * * * *

It should be immediately obvious, though, that if Verse 3, which mentions the name, 'Raṅgapatākā', is *not* located (as stated above) in the inscription of the *third* shrine, but rather is Verse 3 of the inscription of the *fifth* shrine, then the heretofore unquestioned identity of Raṅgapatākā as the "favourite" queen of King Narasiṁha must be examined afresh and established solely by some new evidence!

But this is not the only major reassessment called for with respect to the inscriptions on these shrines. In re-translating the two verses which properly belong to the third shrine, we would like to emphasize the point that there are *four* royal persons (not two) who are involved in the poetical comparison with four divine beings:

1. King Paramēśvara-I (who is evidently deceased);
2. his wife (the surviving Queen Mother);
3. King Narasiṁha-II (son of Paramēśvara-I);
4. King Narasiṁha's wife.

The similes are as follows:

King Paramēśvara-I	=	the god, Paramēśvara (Śiva)
Paramēśvara's queen	=	the goddess, Pārvatī (Daughter of the King of Mountains)
King Narasiṁha-II	=	the god, Narasiṁhaviṣṇu
Narasiṁha's queen	=	the goddess, Lakṣmī (Puṣkaradēvatā)

Here, then, is our own translation of the verses, with the correction of the location of the 'Raṅgapatākā' verse:

On the **Third Shrine** to the Right of the Front Entrance

On the façade:

Salutations to Śiva!

(*Verse* 1) (Her) husband's [i.e., King Paramēśvara's] well-merited fame being widespread as 'Kālakāla' on account of his bow's power (having been made) manifest in the destruction of cities, (thus) like the 'Daughter of the Great King of Mountains', (she,) the dearly beloved wife of Paramēśvara, the 'Bull-bannered One',

On the back:

(*Verse* 2) attaining supremacy [as Queen Mother], shines with surpassing splendor, subduing, as it were, the pride of Puṣkara-dēvatā, while god-like Narasiṁhaviṣṇu, true to his sacred vow, is protecting the encircling world, tearing out the hearts of his enemies.

On the **Fifth Shrine** to the Right of the Front Entrance

On the façade, first line:

Prosperity!

(*Verse* 1) (She,) who, full of loveliness, gentleness, grace, and purity, seemed to be the masterpiece of the primeval creator, Brahmā, whose craftsmanship had attained perfection at last, after he had created thousands of good-looking women,

On the back:

(*Verse* 2) (she,) who was so appealing because of (her) genuine sweetness, adorned with sentiments (both) charming (and) fascinating, (who,) like the art of attraction, . . .

On the façade, second line:

(*Verse* 3) that Raṅgapatākā, who was, as it were, the banner of women, caused to be built this lovely dwelling of (Śiva), whose crest-jewel is the moon.

* * * * * * * *

Finally, we give the Sanskrit texts of the inscriptions of the third and fifth shrines *in their correct order*:

On the **Third Shrine** to the Right of the Entrance

On the façade:

Namaśśivāya [||*]

(*Verse* 1) *Bharttuḥ purōnmathana-dṛṣṭa-dhanurbbalasya*
Śailādhirāja-tanayêva vṛṣadhvajasya [|*]
Yā Kālakāla iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttēḥ
Kāntā nitānta-dayitā Paramēśvarasya ||

On the back:

(*Verse* 2) *Dēvē jagad-valaya-rakṣaṇa-baddha-dīkṣē*
Nirbbhinna-śatru-hṛdayē Narasiṁhaviṣṇau [|*]
Vāllabhyam-ūrjjitam-avāpya virājatē yā
Nirjjitya-garvvam-iva Puṣkaradēvatāyāḥ ||

On the **Fifth Shrine** to the Right of the Front Entrance

On the façade, first line:

Śrī [||*]

(*Verse* 1) *Ākāra-sundara-vilāsavatī-sahasra-*
sarggaprabandha-cira-[saṁskṛta-kau]śalasya [|*]
Lāvaṇya-mārddava-vilāsa-mṛjā samagrā nirmmāṇa-
siddhir-iva yā prathamasya dhātuḥ ||

On the back:

(*Verse* 2) *Akliṣṭa-mādhuryya-vilōbhanīyāṁ vibhūṣitāṁ*
vibhrama-hāva-bhāvaiḥ [|*]
Ākarṣa-vidyām-iva lō . . .
. . . . . [||*]

On the façade, second line:

(*Verse* 3) *Nirmmāpitam-idan-dhāma tayā Candra-[śikhā]manēḥ* [|*]
Patā[kayêva] nārīṇāṁ ramyaṁ Raṅgapatāka[*yā* ||*]

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[1]This study is based on "Pallava Queen Raṅgapatākā's Inscription", by M.C. Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat, a paper published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. IV, 1977, pp. 67-69.

[2]*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 28-30.

[3]*Ibid*., No. 29.

[4]*Ibid*., No. 30.

Chāmuṇḍā

FOURTEEN

Notes on Māmallapuram[1]

There is much to be seen at Māmallapuram. And many interesting things will be missed on a first visit. The following observations were made on return visits to the site.

A Unique Image of Chāmuṇḍā

Dr. Gift Siromoney and I first noted the significance of this image in a newspaper article (1972).[2] Most visitors to Māmallapuram never get around to seeing the stone-carved Saptamātṛkās (Seven Mothers) which are placed in a row on a raised platform near the local Branch Library. Actually, there are eight separate figures in the group. The few guide books which mention these Saptamātṛkās consider them all to be Pallava creations. But in our opinion, seven of them are definitely late-Pallava or post-Pallava.

The remarkable exception is the central figure of Chāmuṇḍā (*Cāmuṇḍā*) which is considerably larger than the others. What is so rare about this piece? First, it is an image 'in the round' datable to the mid-seventh century A.D. Such a free-standing figure of the Pallava period would be rare enough, but here is one which is contemporaneous with the Penance Panel and the Five Rathas. There is no other Pallava example of such an early free-standing image of god or goddess known to us.

Second, even taking the relief images into account, it would seem that this Cāmuṇḍā is the only example which we have in the south of a Saptamātṛkā of the seventh century – the earliest period here of such surviving stone sculpture. We have to turn to the eighth century to find the Saptamātṛkās carved in relief on the enclosure wall of the Kailāsanātha temple in Kanchipuram.

Since Cāmuṇḍā represents the fearful destroying power of Time, the Māmallapuram image of her has a skull on the center of her headdress. She has a diabolical grimace with bulging eyes, pointed elf-ears, and two fangs protruding downwards from her mouth. The ornament hanging through her pierced right ear-lobe is a corpse (*prēta-kuṇḍala*). (The goddess's size must then be envisioned as gigantic.) She wears, diagonally across her body, a garland of severed human heads strung together. There is a thin band tied around her torso above her slightly drooping breasts.

The Māmallapuram image of Cāmuṇḍā also has several unusual features which indicate an early experimentation unfettered by the stereotype of later tradition. She holds a dagger in her lower right hand and grips a second corpse in her lower left hand. Originally, the figure

had four arms, but, unfortunately, the upper left one has broken off entirely. Her upper right hand seems to be holding a bell.

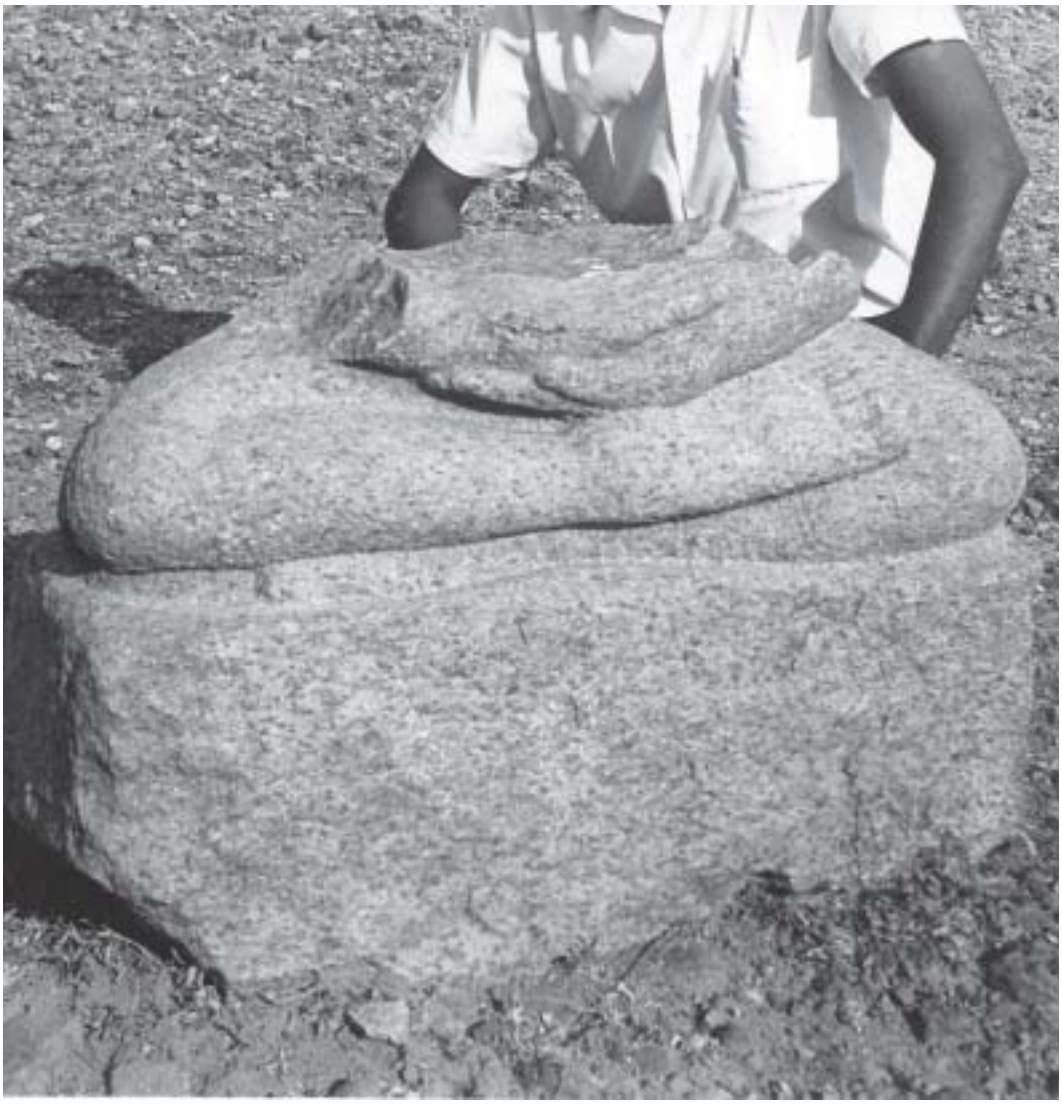
What leads us to claim that this is a seventh century Pallava figure? The more obvious characteristics of this early period which we can list in summary form[3] are: the very large circular ornament in her left ear (such a large size goes out of fashion by the time of King Rājasiṁha Pallava, in the early eighth century); the bikini-like lower garment that she is wearing, which has no waist ornaments whatsoever (this extremely simple women's dress, it should be noted, is found only in the earliest period of Māmallapuram art); the plain, single anklets; and a general slenderness in the treatment of the torso that we connect with the early Pallava style.

Overlooked Heterodox Image

Another overlooked piece is a badly damaged, but surprising stone image found by us originally on top of the hill, opposite the so-called Dharmarāja Lion Throne (this area is generally thought to be the site of palace buildings in the Pallava period). Dr. P. Dayanandan and I noted this piece in a newspaper article (1970).[4] Since then, the Archæological Survey of India have removed it from the hill top and have kept it in their museum, adjacent to the A.S.I. office, nearby.

The image is that of a seated figure in a yogic posture. The upper half of the image was missing when we originally photographed it. The pedestal of the image measures 31 inches across and has no design on it.

It was difficult to identify this broken fragment because there was no other image like it in Māmallapuram. Our immediate reaction was to consider it to be part of an image of the Buddha or a Jain saint. As the upper portion of the figure was later found and restored, it can now be identified confidently as a Jaina image. Quite a surprising find, this lone heterodox figure, among all the Hindu art at Māmallapuram!



Jain image – found on top of Māmallapuram hill

The Reclining Viṣṇu Image in the Shore Temple

The reclining Viṣṇu in the central shrine of the Shore Temple complex has a really unusual feature which has somehow escaped notice: Viṣṇu is portrayed with jaṭā-makuṭa. The Jaṭā style of hairdo, of course, is a well-known characteristic of Śiva and Śaivite images. But it is unknown on images of the Reclining Viṣṇu. The Shore Temple Viṣṇu image is thus unique in this respect.

A second aspect of this same image which I would like to discuss is the claim by many scholars (which claim has hitherto remained unchallenged) that there is no serpent, Ananta, portrayed with this image of Viṣṇu. Now, it is true that there is no elaborate and massive carving of Ananta here as there is in the Mahishamardinī cave-temple panel of the same theme. However, as the Reclining Viṣṇu image is carved out of the living rock at this very spot in the Shore Temple, the original rock formation may have limited the sculptors. In any case, there *are* two wavy, engraved lines running somewhat parallel immediately in front of Viṣṇu. It has always seemed obvious to me that these lines represent the body of Ananta gradually tapering to the right.

If anyone were to object that Ananta's multiple heads are nowhere to be seen, I would only answer that this shrine (which existed from before Mahāmalla's time, well before the Śaivite shrines of the Shore Temple complex were raised by Rājasiṁha) was, from the Mahāmalla period a composite structure: a built-up stone superstructure on a rock-cut base formed from the living rock *in situ*. Outside, on the back, at the base of this Viṣṇu shrine, one can still see the bottom portion of figures in niches carved in the living rock. These figures must have been continued in the stone superstructure which King Mahāmalla built, sheltering the pre-existing image of the Reclining Viṣṇu. (The present superstructure is a later rebuilt one dating only from the days of King Rājasiṁha. Rājasiṁha's workmen never bothered to recreate again the upper portions of these outside figures. And the stones in the reconstructed wall are placed in a hodge-podge manner.) I suggest that a similar fate befell the upper portion of the serpent Ananta, so that a lack of heads is no proof that Ananta never existed in this Viṣṇu shrine! (The repaired heads may have been made of stucco.) In conclusion, I note that the mass of rock (the original mother rock) under the head of Viṣṇu is ribbed horizontally in representation of the layered coils of Ananta.

World's Oldest Children's Slide

My brother, Dr. Merrick Lockwood, pointed out to me what is plainly before everyone's eyes: a children's slide cut into the living rock. What makes this particular slide so unusual is that it was created over 1,200 years ago, and is located to the immediate right of the famous Penance Panel of Māmallapuram.

The children of Māmallapuram also know a slide when they see one – and make proper use of it. One often sees children sliding down it. In a newspaper article (dated April 16, 1972)[5] which first reported this slide, I also raised some questions concerning it. Was the slide created only for children or for grown-ups too? Since we see only the upper two meters of the slide (and the steps leading up to it), how far down below the present ground level does the slide extend? Did the slide, perhaps, end in a watery splash in the same pool which received the cascading 'Gaṅgā'?

Thanks to a little dig which the Archæological Survey of India carried out, I was able to report the following in a newspaper article dated October 1, 1972.[6] From the excavation, it was found that the slide continued for approximately another one meter below the present ground level. The total length of the slide, therefore, is about three meters. Five more steps were uncovered by the digging, making a total of 12 steps leading up to the top of the slide. The bottom of the steps is at the same level as the bottom of the slide.

The last question, whether the slide ended in the pool, could now be answered negatively – the pool level (assuming it to have been under the elephants' feet) would have been far below the end of the slide. The earlier question, whether the slide was created for children only or for grown-ups too, would (in view of its three-meter length) probably be decided in favor of children alone.

The Penance Panel – Its Interpretation[7]

The great open air bas relief at Māmallapuram continues to be the subject of scholarly controversy. Does it portray Arjuna's penance, or King Bhagīratha's? The debate is still very much alive.

Some time ago, I entertained the idea that possibly *both* sides in this debate could be right! The figure standing on one leg doing penance could represent both King Bhagīratha and Arjuna at the same time. This suggestion is not as preposterous as it might at first seem. Several studies in this book, including "*Dhvani* in Epigraph and Stone", should explain the mechanism by which this double meaning is possible for a given sculptured figure. It was around the period when Māmallapuram's monuments were being created that the great poet Daṇḍin is credited with having written a type of poem, a *dvisaṁdhāna-kāvya*. This work of his could be read either as an account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or, alternately, of the *Mahābhārata*. One particular manner of arbitrarily dividing the compound Sanskrit would result in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But if the compound expressions were divided differently, it was instead the story of the *Mahābhārata*. Which epic did Daṇḍin's *dvisaṁdhānakāvya* really relate? The answer is: both.

In a parallel way, couldn't the Māmallapuram Penance Panel portray both Arjuna's penance and King Bhagīratha's? The single penitent figure could then be both Arjuna and Bhagīratha at the same time. Theoretically, there is no reason why this figure might not have represented both. However, when all the available evidence is weighed, I feel that the great panel does not satisfactorily allow for the Arjuna interpretation. Therefore, my loyalty remains undividedly with King Bhagīratha. In what follows, I argue for the Bhagīratha interpretation and against the Arjuna interpretation.

> From [Aśokavarmā] descended the powerful, spotless race of the Pallavas . . . which resembled the descent of the Gaṅgā (*on earth*), as it purified the whole world.[8]

This passage is from the Kaśākkuḍi Copper Plate Grant of Nandivarmā Pallavamalla (8th century A.D.). The comparison made between the advent of the Pallava race and the descent of the Gaṅgā had already been given a graphic and concrete form a century earlier in the Great Penance Panel of Māmallapuram.

C. Minakshi pointed out to scholars, many years ago, another graphic representation of this same idea in the series of sculptured stone panels in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, Kanchipuram, which illustrate the history of the Pallava race. Describing the fourth panel in the upper row to the left of the entrance, she wrote:

> The . . . idea that the Pallava race resembled the descent of the Ganges is expressed by the artists by depicting a man, obviously Bhagīratha, performing penance just as in the Gaṅgāvataraṇa scene on the rock at Māmallapuram. Resting on one foot, . . . his *jaṭā* and beard and his uplifted arms mark him out as one in severe penance.[9]

A third Pallava representation of Bhagīratha (chronologically midway between the Penance Panel and the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ panel) is found in the façade sandstone carving of the enclosure shrine No. 50 of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram. There can be no doubt that this figure, standing on one foot, with upraised hands and *jaṭā* hairstyle, is Bhagīratha, as the main figure of the same panel is Śiva-Gaṅgādhara.

Is it possible to find an unequivocal, Pallava representation of Arjuna in penance which will similarly parallel the debated figure in the Māmallapuram Penance Panel? The answer is a clear-cut 'No'. There is only one unquestionable appearance of Arjuna in the whole range of extant Pallava art, and that is in the façade sandstone carving of the enclosure shrine No. 16 of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi. In this panel, Arjuna is portrayed fighting with Śiva, who is disguised as a huntsman (*Kirāta*). The boar, which is at issue in this fight, is shown prominently at the bottom of the panel.

In our book, *Mahabalipuram Studies* (1974), we mentioned in passing, in the Introduction (in a footnote), that the Penance Panel of Māmallapuram was first interpreted as the Descent of the Gaṅgā by V. Goloubew in 1914, and that the

> point which is absolutely fatal to the 'Arjuna's Penance' interpretation is the fact that some of the heavenly beings actually have their backs to Siva as he grants the boon to the ascetic who is supposedly Arjuna. The problem vanishes if it is the descent of the Ganga which is the centre of attention (the boon granted to Bhagiratha).[10]

Having pronounced on this matter in a somewhat off-hand manner, we were censured by a reviewer of the book. We had, the critic said, endorsed the claim

> that the great 'open air bas relief' represents Bhagiratha's penance. It might have been thought that the identification with Arjuna's penance is final and complete after Mr. T.N. Ramachandran's study of Bharavi's 'Kiratarjuniyam'. It is disheartening that scholars should continue to argue about it.[11]

Disheartening or not, the debate continues, and there are many who disagree with Ramachandran and such like-minded scholars as C. Sivaramamurti. These two scholars would interpret the Penance Panel as a gigantic and detailed illustration of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīyam* (the famous Sanskrit poetic composition dealing with Arjuna's penance and his ensuing combat with Śiva, who took the form of a hunter [*kirāta*]).

There is no doubt that these two scholars are backed by a deep knowledge of Sanskrit sources, but the vessel of their argument, constructed as it is out of speculative comparisons, is destined, in my opinion, to be shipwrecked on that fatal rock of objective fact which we have footnoted in *Mahabalipuram Studies*.

Let us take a closer look at this question. Ramachandran puts it thus:

> A rocky fissure has been turned into a natural causeway such as would suggest a river course and the right half of the relief is filled up with beholders, participants and applauders of the grand event, *the event in the present case being Arjuna's penance, victory and reward. This event was witnessed by the whole creation* of the Lord of the three worlds.[12] [Italics added.]

And Sivaramamurti, in the official guide book on Māmallapuram published by the Archæological Survey of India, writes:

> ***Arjuna's Penance***:— This magnificent carving is unique in the range of Indian art. Two large boulders with a narrow fissure in between have been chosen to represent a series of rows of gods and goddesses like Chandra, Sūrya, pairs of Kinnaras and Siddhas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, etc., rushing towards *a central point near the cleft where a sage stands on his left foot* deeply engaged in penance. . . .[13] [Italics added.]

Now, both of these learned gentlemen are contradicted by the fact that just at the foot of the man doing penance are *two* heavenly couples flying by with their backs to what Ramachandran calls the 'grand event' – supposedly Arjuna's penance.

This contradiction is stunningly clear in the Minor Penance Panel (near the light house), where Śiva and the penitent figure are isolated in the upper left-hand corner of the relief, and *all* the creatures of the 'three worlds' (animals, humans, and demigods), which are portrayed under them and to their left, have their backs to Śiva and instead have their attention focussed on, and are moving toward, the cleft to the right, which represents the path of the descending Gaṅgā!

These observations may have been made by others before us; but they need to be repeated. And the proponents of the 'Arjuna's Penance' interpretation must be specifically challenged to explain the above-mentioned anomaly in their interpretative framework. To my knowledge, Ramachandran and Sivaramamurti never gave such an explanation, in spite of their elaborate theorizing.

Let me next take up an objection put forward by Ramachandran to the Gaṅgāvataraṇa interpretation. He says that Śiva (in the Great Panel) is by no means Śiva as Gaṅgādhara:

> Gangadhara must be Siva's form if we accept the theory of Bhagiratha's penance. As Gangadhara he should stand with his right leg planted vertically on the earth and the left slightly bent. His upper right arm should be raised to support a braid of his locks on which river Ganga descends or settles (cf. Trichinopoly cave temple and Adivaraha Cave).[14]

Ramachandran, evidently, was not familiar with Pallava Gaṅgādhara images, for his prescription is inaccurate on every point with relation to the majority of their Gaṅgādhara panels. As a matter of fact, the Tiruchi Gaṅgādhara image, which he himself refers to, has Śiva with his *left* foot planted solidly, and his *right leg* bent; and nine

The Great Penance Panel (central cleft area), Māmallapuram

out of eleven Pallava Gaṅgādhara panels have Śiva's *left* hand raised to hold his locks. But all these details are neither here nor there. Why should the Pallavas have to portray Śiva-Gaṅgādhara in order to satisfy the Gaṅgāvataraṇa theme? It would only be an anachronistic imposition of the later rigidity in art traditions on the creative freedom of the Pallava artists. In fact, in this particular case, such a requirement would have resulted in the ludicrous juxtaposition of an anthropomorphic form of Śiva, a few feet tall, with the actual torrents of a real (but artificially created) waterfall (which the Pallava engineers had provided) dropping fifty feet from top to bottom of the central cleft. No, the Pallava artists chose to represent Śiva at the moment he appears before Bhagīratha to assure him of the boon. This event precedes the episode in which Śiva takes the form of Gaṅgādhara. In the Penance Panel, the Gaṅgādhara form is skipped over, and the grand, climactic event of the Gaṅgā reaching the earth (with a real waterfall) is shown. There is no difficulty in the Indian art tradition of thus showing chronologically distinct episodes in one and the same panel.

How very popular the Gaṅgāvataraṇa theme was with the Pallavas, may be indicated by the following list of Gaṅgādhara panels which have survived from the Pallava period.

1. In Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple; this is the first major stone sculpted panel of the Pallavas – and of Tamil Nadu!
2. In the Ādivarāha cave-temple, Māmallapuram.
3. In the central niche, north side, second level, of the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram.
4. In the central, west-facing lateral shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi.
5. In the same temple, on the outer wall of the main sanctum.
6. In the same temple, the façade panel of the enclosure shrine No. 24.
7. In the same temple, the façade panel of the enclosure shrine No. 50.
8. In the mukha-maṇḍapa of the Mātaṅgēśvara temple, Kanchi.
9. On the north side of the *vimāna* (outside) of the same temple.
10. In the mukha-maṇḍapa of the Muktēśvara temple, Kanchi.
11. On the north side of the *vimāna* (outside) of the Iravātanēśvara temple, Kanchi.

As against these eleven panels, many of which are of impressive size and in important locations, there is the sole instance of Arjuna fighting with Śiva portrayed in an enclosure shrine's façade panel in the Kailāsanātha temple. This panel cannot compare in importance, for instance, with the Gaṅgādhara panel in the lateral shrine of the same temple.

If the significance of all this is not lost, and we recognize the Penance Panel of Māmallapuram for what it is – Bhagīratha's penance and reward – then we can appreciate the impress which this spectacle made down the ages.

The Chōḷa emperor, Rājēndra-I, proclaimed, in his Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Copper Plate Grant, that he,

> the light of the solar race, mocking Bhagīratha who by the force of his austerities caused the descent of the Ganga, set out to sanctify his own land with the waters of that stream brought by the strength of his arm.[15]

In bringing back water from the Gaṅgā in golden vessels carried on the heads of the rulers defeated during his victorious march to the North, and then in ceremoniously pouring it into the great man-made lake at his capital city, Gangaikondacholapuram, Rājēndra meant not only to mock Bhagīratha, but, for us, more significantly, to mock the Pallavas and their Māmallapuram make-believe Gaṅgā flowing down into the small pool below.

Empires have come and gone. Fortunately for us, Bhagīratha's Penance Panel at Māmallapuram has survived.

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[1]These notes, except for the last one, are based on a paper, "Mamallapuram – Assorted Observations", by M.C. Lockwood, read at the Symposium on Mahabalipuram held in Washington, D.C., Jan. 31 to Feb. 3, 1979, organized by the American Committee for South Asian Art. This paper was subsequently published in *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. XLVIII, 1979, pp. 41-44.

[2]*The Sunday Standard*, Madras, October 1, 1972.

[3]For the detailed analysis which forms the basis of our present observations, see the earlier studies in this book.

[4]*The Indian Express*, Madras, February 28, 1970.

[5]*The Sunday Standard*, Madras, April 16, 1972.

[6]*The Sunday Standard*, Madras, October 1, 1972.

[7]This last Note is based on a paper of the same title submitted by M.C. Lockwood to the Symposium on Mahabalipuram (Jan. 31 to Feb. 3, 1979, Washington, D.C.), published subsequently in the *Ācārya-Vandanā – D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume*, ed. by S. Bandyopadhyay (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1982), pp. 272-276, and which then formed the second study in the book, *Māmallapuram and the Pallavas* (1982).

[8]*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 355.

[9]C. Minakshi, *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ Temple, Kāñchī*, being *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 63* (Delhi: Archæological Survey of India, 1941), p. 9.

[10]Lockwood, Siromoney, and Dayanandan, p. 6.

[11]*The Indian Express*, Madras, December 28, 1974.

[12]T.N. Ramachandran, "Māmallapuram", *Marg*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (June 1970), p. 36.

[13]C. Sivaramamurti, *Mahabalipuram*, third edition (New Delhi: Archæological Survey of India, 1972), p. 21. Sivaramamurti has

indicated his preference for the 'Arjuna Penance' interpretation elsewhere in more scholarly publications. See, for instance, his *Early Eastern Chalukya Sculpture* being the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum: New Series – General Section, Vol. VII, No. 2* (Madras: Madras Government Museum, 1962), pp. 42-46.

[14]Ramachandran, p. 50.

[15]*S.-I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 109.

FIFTEEN

Notes on Pallava Art[1]

1. Sōmāskanda

Since the 1974 publication of our study on "Pallava Sōmāskanda", friends of ours have discovered three more important examples of the Pallava Sōmāskanda.

i. Kanchipuram, in the Ōṇakānthan Talīśvara temple

Mr. A. Ekambaranathan directed us to a small shrine, the Ōṇakānthan Talīśvara, in Kanchipuram, which is situated to the northwest of the Ēkāmbaranātha temple. The Ōṇakānthan Talīśvara is locally called the 'Ōṇīśvara'. The shrine itself is a modern structure, but placed on the inner back wall is an ancient carved Sōmāskanda panel which certainly belongs to the classical Rājasiṁha style and Rājasiṁha period.

ii. Periya Venmani, loose lying panel [photograph, p. 66]

Ms. R. Champakalakshmi and Mr. A. Swami noticed a carved stone Sōmāskanda panel lying near two old brick temples in the village of Periya Venmani, Madurantakam Taluk, Chingleput District.[2] This panel is approximately 3 ft. 6 in. in height and 3 feet in breadth. Śiva is four-armed. His upper right hand holds the shaft of a trident; his upper left, the shaft of an axe. In both these hands the shafts are grasped by the tips of the index fingers and thumbs, the other fingers being folded downwards, except for the little fingers which again point upwards.

Śiva's lower right hand rests in a clenched fist on his right thigh. His lower left hand holds a flower. The positioning of Śiva's two lower hands and his legs are almost an exact mirror image of the positioning of the same limbs of Śiva in the pre-Rājasiṁha Sōmāskanda of the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram, which in turn reflects the posture of King Siṁhaviṣṇu in the portrait sculpture of that king found in the Ādivarāha cave-temple of the same place. In the Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda panel, Umā has her left leg down at almost the same angle as in the Dharmarāja Ratha panel. These are thus similarities which tie in with a pre-Rājasiṁha style.

The axe (usually held by Śiva's upper right hand) is common in post-Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskandas. But the trident is unique. Śiva wears a stomach band (*udarabandha*) and both his ears have *makara* type ear ornaments. He has no leg ornaments. He wears the *vēṣṭi* (long lower garment), which reaches down to the ankle of his left leg.

Umā's torso is twisted toward the viewer, whom she faces. This attitude is in keeping with the Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskandas. Her left hand is on her left hip; her right hand supports the infant Skanda,

who is seated on her *knees* (a characteristic which is shared with the pre-Rājasiṁha Sōmāskanda of the Dharmarāja Ratha). Umā wears a *patra-kuṇḍala* in each ear. Umā's wearing two *patra-kuṇḍalas* is a standardization reached in the Rājasiṁha style Sōmāskandas. Furthermore, the diameter of these earrings is relatively small, a characteristic also in keeping with a Rājasiṁha period date. Umā's hair is done up in the *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* style. This hairstyle for Umā in a Sōmāskanda is a post-Rājasiṁha characteristic. But the lower band of hair on Umā's head is pinched in the middle just above her forehead – and this peculiarity is characteristic of the Rājasiṁha style. Because of this single characteristic, I would not place the Periya Venmani panel in the pre-Rājasiṁha *period*.

Thus, we see that the various characteristics of the Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda oscillate between pre-Rājasiṁha and Rājasiṁha characteristics, with one or two post-Rājasiṁha characteristics thrown in to confuse the issue. I would tentatively date this Sōmāskanda in the late Rājasiṁha period, and see it as carrying over some of the characteristics of the pre-Rājasiṁha style.

Behind the throne, mid-way between the heads of Śiva and Umā, appears one of the two animals connected with the goddess, especially in her Durgā form. It is a deer, with an attendant bearded sage having a *jaṭā* hair-style. That this animal is a deer is clearly shown by a comparison of it with the deer in the contemporaneous panel of *Mahiṣamardinī*, also from Periya Venmani. The heads of the two animals are practically identical. The fact that Durgā is to be identified with Śiva's consort, Umā, in Pallava art, is thus established quite conclusively.

A unique aspect of the Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda panel is the appearance of the *liṅga* (as a smooth cylinder with hemispherical top) just behind Śiva's right shoulder. We have discussed the significance of this aspect elsewhere in this book in our study of 'Śiva as *Liṅgin* in a Pallava Sōmāskanda'.

This appearance of the *liṅga* recalls to my mind the various small sculptured panels (e.g., 30 x 20 cm.) found in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Pallava) area, at Kanchipuram, Munnur, Manimangalam, Teneri, Madurantakam, Uttaramerur, Ukkal, and Brahmadesam.[3] Typically, these small panels show seated in a row on a common 'throne' (which here appears as a long bench-like *āsana*) the following deities: Brahmā, the aniconic *liṅga*, Umā, Subrahmaṇya (Skanda grown up!), and Viṣṇu in the form of Narasiṁha. These small panels, some of which are *Sati* stones, are thus transmuted Śiva-Sōmāskanda panels, Śiva being represented *only* in the *liṅga* form, and Skanda being shown full-grown, instead of as an infant. I would therefore suggest that these panels be dated sometime *after* the early Sōmāskandas belonging to the Paramēśvara and Rājasiṁha reigns at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries A.D. The Periya Venmani Sōmāskanda panel can be viewed as an important link between the standard type of Pallava Sōmāskanda and later variations or mutations of it.

Mr. V. Narayanaswamy discovered another Pallava Sōmāskanda panel in a small shrine in the village of Vallam, situated about six miles to the south-east of Sriperumbudur, on the road to Chingleput town.[4] The shrine is called 'Sadayīśa'. The Sōmāskanda panel is found inside the sanctum, on the wall behind the *liṅga*. It is of the classical Rājasiṁha style. We note that the umbrella's garland is directly above Umā's head; and a crescent moon is carved to the immediate proper right of the top of Śiva's *jaṭā-makuṭa*.

2. 'Lion-face' Buckle

In the sixth study of our book, *Mahabalipuram Studies*, we mentioned, and illustrated, one of the earliest examples of the 'lion-face' belt buckle, on a Viṣṇu figure of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple, Kanchipuram, built by King Nandivarmā-II, 'Pallavamalla', in the eighth century A.D. However, K.R. Srinivasan, in 1964, had pointed out an example of the *siṁha-mukha* (lion-face) clasp or buckle on the dvārapāla carved on the eastern end of the façade of King Mahēndra's Mandagapattu cave-temple.[5]

Since the Mandagapattu cave-temple is usually considered Mahēndra's earliest, we thus have an example of the 'lion-face' buckle in a Pallava monument excavated around the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

3. Pallava Paintings

In King Rājasiṁha's temple at Panamalai, there are fragmentary remains of paintings on the inner walls of one of the lateral shrines. On the inner back wall of this shrine, in the central and most important position, only an outline remains of the major painting of Śiva dancing. From this very fragmentary outline, one can make out Śiva in the dancing pose called *ālīḍha*. The stance called *ālīḍha*, in Sanskrit, is the position taken by an archer when he kneels on one knee and keeps the other leg advanced with that foot squarely on the ground. (It is the half-kneeling stance taken by a person being knighted.) Śiva is said to strike the *ālīḍha* stance in his victory dance after having destroyed the Tripūras with his mighty bow and flaming arrow.

On the inner flanking wall (to the proper left of Śiva) is a less fragmentary painting of Umā standing, watching Śiva dancing.

A carved sandstone panel in a niche in the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram, shows clearly the same dance pose of Śiva, and in a side niche (to the proper left), Umā is seen standing and watching Śiva dancing.

Some of the small shrines which surround the courtyard of the main shrine have patches of paintings on the inner walls of their cells. The French scholar, G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, discovered these remnants in the early part of the twentieth century.

One may ask whether these fragments belong to the Pallava period. What would be the methods of dating such early paintings? Since the paintings are found on shrines built by King Rājasiṁha,

obviously the paintings cannot be older than the buildings. But how could one establish that they are not much later?

One method would be to find out whether there existed other layers of paintings underneath the visible painting. That layer nearest the stone surface underneath would be the earliest. However, there is no certain way of knowing whether the original layer had not peeled off and someone had painted the stone surface subsequently. As a matter of fact, there is a Chola inscription engraved on the inner stone wall of one shrine which was subsequently covered by thick plaster till the plaster fell off very recently.

Another method would be to date a painting on general stylistic grounds. This method would require several samples of well-dated works of art from other places for a satisfactory comparison. Unfortunately, in the Pallava period, the only other known examples of paintings are found in Rājasiṁha's Panamalai temple. And the same questions could arise with regard to the age of the Panamalai paintings. Therefore, Gift Siromoney and I suggested, in an article in 1975, a comparison of the paintings with Rājasiṁha's sculptural works with respect to the dress and ornaments of the figures.[6]

In one of the enclosure shrines of the Kailāsanātha temple, there is a notable fragment of a painting portraying the Sōmāskanda theme. We proceeded to show that this painting does indeed belong to the Rājasiṁha period. There are several significant parallels between this painting and sculpture of the Rājasiṁha period in terms of characteristics peculiar to this period. For instance, Śiva is shown seated on a throne with only his left leg extending down. This is a standard characteristic of the Rājasiṁha style sculptured Sōmāskandas, and is found in more than twenty examples of the Sōmāskanda panel in this very same temple. In the post-Pallava period – that is, throughout the Chola and Vijayanagar periods, Śiva is always portrayed with only his right leg down in Sōmāskandas.

Umā (detail of painting)
Kailāsanātha, Kanchi

Again, in the Kailāsanātha painting, the maid at the feet of Umā wears a breast-band with shoulder straps of the Rājasiṁha style. (Umā is not shown with a breast-band, but her torso is represented as colored with sandal paste.) And again, Umā is shown wearing a sārī from the waist down, just covering her knees. This is exactly as depicted in the Sōmāskanda sculptures of the Rājasiṁha period.

The parallels in dress and ornaments between the paintings of Sōmāskanda, on the one hand, and sculptures belonging to Rājasiṁha, on the other, were very close except for two peculiar ornaments portrayed in the painting. Both are found on Umā's arms, above the elbow. One is an unusual upper arm-band with spaced rosettes. The other is a simple single band worn just above the elbow. This elbowlet is similar to those so commonly found on figures of the Chola period.

From the time we first noted the elbowlet in the Kailāsanātha painting, we began to wonder whether this painting was indeed contemporaneous with the temple's construction.

However, while examining a niche of the main shrine, we

came across both the unusual ornaments on a sculpture of Umā. This figure is found in a niche next to that of Śiva dancing. It is reached through the front hall of the main shrine. The sculpture in this niche is part of the original temple. Thus, the parallel between painting and sculpture is complete. The unusual rosetted upper arm-band found on both painting and sculpture is striking confirmation that the painting belongs to the Rājasiṁha period.

Another important outcome of this discovery is that the elbowlet, so common on Chola figures, clearly appears in sculpture (and painting) of the Rājasiṁha Pallava period, around 700 A.D. This appearance is some two hundred years before the coming to prominence of Chola art.

Umā (detail of sculpture)
Kailāsanātha, Kanchi

4. Earliest Sculpture of Kaṇṇappaṉ[7]

Tirukkalukkunram is a town situated between Chingleput and Māmallapuram. The town lies at the foot of a low range of four hills which are said to represent the four Vēdas.

On the highest of the four, the sacred Vēdagiri, there are two Pallava temples, one of which is the picturesque hilltop shrine, the Vēdagirīśvara, with the nearby noon-time feeding of the sacred birds.

There is also an important temple complex at the foot of the hill, the Bhaktavatsala. An inscription on the *prākāra* wall of this temple states that in the 9th year of Jaṭāvarmā Sundara Pāṇḍya, around 1260 A.D., the present main shrine of the Bhaktavatsala was built.

The Bhaktavatsala has for its strong room, however, a structure which is far older than its main shrine. This room is, in fact, the *garbhagṛha* of a ninth century apsidal temple belonging to the late Pallava period. The upper storey of this temple is now missing, and its *garbhagṛha* has evidently been repaired and given a flat roof in more modern times. Just under its cornice, however, remains an original feature: an interesting row of small, sculptured figures, impish and pot-bellied, called *bhūtagaṇas*. This group of figures is especially important because it contains the earliest sculptural representation of the story of Saint Kaṇṇappaṉ so far discovered.

It was on a recent trip that we discovered amidst all the frolicking *gaṇas* a clear portrayal of Saint Kaṇṇappaṉ, who is here also one of them. This ardent devotee of Śiva is shown kneeling next to a *liṅga*, ready to gouge out his right eye with an arrow held in his right hand.

Among the earliest references to the Kaṇṇappaṉ theme are brief passages in the seventh century hymns of Appar and Sambandhar. The basic point being made in the Kaṇṇappaṉ story is that the intense devotion of the rough hunter, Kaṇṇappaṉ, was as pleasing to Śiva as the more refined worship of the orthodox priests. Brief references in Śaṅkara's *Śivānandalahari* and Sundara's *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*, in the eighth and ninth centuries, led up to the more detailed twelfth century account in Sēkkiḻār's *Periya Purāṇam*.

It will be evident, then, that the ninth century sculptured representation of Kaṇṇappaṉ which we have noticed at Tirukkalukkunram takes one back more than a thousand years, and is very close to the

period of the earliest literary references to Kaṇṇappaṉ. Heretofore, the earliest known sculptural representations of Kaṇṇappaṉ have been bronze images assigned to the late tenth and the eleventh centuries.

The relevant figures in the Tirukkalukkunram panel, from left to right, are as follows. First, comes a hunter (who is Kaṇṇappaṉ) shouldering a pole with two pigs suspended by the hind legs, one at each end of the pole. Next, is a hunting dog, with its head turned back towards the pigs. Then, we see Kaṇṇappaṉ kneeling next to the *Śiva-liṅga*, ready to gouge out his right eye with the tip of an arrow (the bow is portrayed just below the arrow, and above the dog's head). A hand can be seen projecting out of the *liṅga*, indicating to Kaṇṇappaṉ that he should desist from his extreme act of self-sacrifice. On the other side of the *liṅga* are two figures (also *gaṇa*-like) representing the orthodox priesthood, shouldering baskets of flowers for worship, and holding lotuses in their left hands.

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[1]"Notes on Pallava Art" formed the tenth study in the book, *Māmallapuram and the Pallavas* (1982).

[2]*Indian Express*, Madras, February 4, 1972. This Sōmāskanda panel was discussed in greater detail later in 1972 (though the journal is pre-dated, Jan.-Jul., 1969) in an article by the same authors published in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XLI, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 129-137, and fig. 3.

[3]*Damilica*, I, Dec. 1970, pp. 1-2, figs. 6a & 6b.

[4]Reported in an article, "A new Pallava Somaskanda", *The Sunday Standard*, Madras, April 8, 1979.

[5]*Cave-Temples of the Pallavas* (New Delhi: Archæological Survey of India, 1964), p. 50; Pl. III-A shows this dvārapāla, but the details of the buckle are not distinguishable in the photograph.

[6]"Pallava paintings of Kanchipuram", *Indian Express*, Madras, September 20, 1975. This part of the study is based on that article.

[7]This last note is based on an article of the same title, by M.C. Lockwood and Gift Siromoney, first published in *The Indian Express*, Madras, March 3, 1977.

SIXTEEN

Royal Titles of Rājasiṁha and Mahāmalla

Two sets of inscribed royal titles (or birudas*) are given below. The first set, 252 titles of King Narasiṁha-II (Rājasiṁha), is from the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram. The second set is from the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram, and belongs to King Narasiṁha-I (Mahāmalla).*

Each set of titles is first given in the order in which the inscriptions are located on the temple structures. Next, the same titles are given in alphabetical order along with a translation into English.

Rājasiṁha's titles are engraved in four tiers on the façades of the many little shrines which form an enclosure around the main structures of the Kailāsanātha temple. The first (and uppermost) tier is formed by granitic stone slabs, and because of this hard medium, the inscribed titles on this level have been well preserved. (It should be noted that the script used on this level is a southern variety of *Nāgarī* – not the usual Pallava Grantha.) The lower three tiers are of soft sandstone. The inscriptions on these have, in many places, been badly weathered, and therefore the titles are often fragmentary or missing altogether. From the fragments, however, it appears that the lower three tiers usually – but not always – repeat titles which are found on the first tier. The script of the second tier is simple, plain Pallava Grantha. In the third tier, a florid Pallava Grantha. And in the fourth and lowest tier, an extremely florid *Nāgarī* – more decorative than readable!

In the alphabetical list of King Rājasiṁha's titles, the three numerals in brackets after each title indicate, first, the *tier*, then the *shrine number*, and, finally, the *serial order* of the given title. For the shrine numbers, I have used the numbers which have been engraved on the shrines by the Archæological Survey of India. There are five titles which are engraved on the small gōpura which is situated between shrines Nos. 29 and 30. In the alphabetical list, I have used the initials 'UG' (Unnumbered Gōpura) to indicate the location of these five titles.

There are eleven titles of Rājasiṁha's ending in short *i* (plus *ḥ*) which the first editor of these inscriptions, E. Hultzsch, noted and said should be corrected to the long *ī*. I would like to point out that this

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*This study is based on Appendix A of Lockwood's *Māmallapuram and the Pallavas*.

shortening is no simple scribal error. Instead, it represents the strong influence, in the Tamil country, that the Tamil language and its scribal conventions had on the writing of Sanskrit. The eleven titles are:

Āgamānusāriḥ	(I: 39.3)
Āśāvijayiḥ	(III: 30.2)
Āhavakēsariḥ	(I: 8.3)
Khinnānukampiḥ	(I: 10.1)
Gandhahastiḥ	(I: 50.1)
Daridrānukampiḥ	(I: 18.2)
Dūradarśiḥ	(I: 44.1)
Dharmmavijayiḥ	(I: 42.4)
Nayānusāriḥ	(I: 44.3)
Vikramakēsariḥ	(I: 57.3)
Vīrakēsariḥ	(I: 14.3)

One other title in this series which was influenced by Tamil is 'Lōkaśikāmaṇiḥ' (I: 53-4), where correct Sanskrit would have the aspirate '*kh*' in '°ś*i*k*h*āmaṇiḥ'.

In the Dharmarāja list, the following titles have been influenced by Tamil:

Correct Sanskrit	*Actually Inscribed*	*Softened Consonant*	*Other Changes*
Pṛthvīsāraḥ	Pridhivisāraḥ	*th* to *dh*	*ṛ* to *ri* *ī* to *i*
Anēkōpayaḥ	Anēkōbhayaḥ	*p* to *bh*	
Parāparaḥ	Parābharaḥ	*p* to *bh*	
Parāparaḥ	Parāvaraḥ	*p* to *v*	
Bhuvanabhājanaḥ	Bhuvanabhāchanaḥ		*j* to *ch*

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Postscript (1997):

K.G. Krishnan, begins his article, '"Convertibility of Surds and Sonants" – Historical Evidence' (*Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 3/4 [1972], pp. 241-46) with these statements:

> Professor Kuiper has summarised clearly the results of the attempts of scholars made so far both in favour of and against the theory of the 'convertibility of Surds and Sonants' originally propounded by Caldwell. He has come to the conclusion that 'the modern opposition between a tense voiceless articulation of the plosives in initial position, and a lax (more or less voiced) articulation with weakened occlusion intervocally seems essentially to have existed already about the beginning of our era'.

Krishnan goes on in his article to cite examples from (1) Tamil written in Kannada script, (2) Tamil in Grantha script, and (3) Tamil in Nāgarī script, in support of Caldwell's theory. All the examples he gives date from around 1000 A.D. or later. The examples which I have given above (in the 'softened consonants' category), which date from around 650 A.D., give further evidence supporting Caldwell's theory.

Samples of Rājasiṁha's Titles Inscribed in the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchi

All four tiers of a single enclosure shrine (No. 8) giving royal titles in four different scripts:

1. First (Uppermost) Tier, titles in early, plain Nāgarī script:

2. Second Tier, titles in plain Pallava Grantha script:

3. Third Tier, titles in florid Pallava Grantha script:

4. Fourth (Lowest) Tier, titles in extremely florid Nāgarī script:

Birudas of King Narasiṁhavarmā-II

(around the inside of the enclosure of the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram)

First Tier Titles

South side of east enclosure:

Shrine No.

1 Śrī Rājasiṁhaḥ Śrī Atyantakāmaḥ Śrī Raṇajayaḥ Śrī Abhirāmaḥ
2 Śrī Aparājitaḥ Śrī Amitramallaḥ Śrī Akutōbhayaḥ Śrī Ūrjjitaḥ
3 Śrī Jayaparaḥ Śrī Atiraṇacaṇḍaḥ Śrī-bharaḥ Śrī Bahunayaḥ Śrī Udayabhāskaraḥ

South enclosure:

5 Śrī-mēghaḥ Śrī Abhayaṅkaraḥ Śrī Kulatilakaḥ Śrī Arimarddanaḥ
6 Śrī Uditaprabhāvaḥ Śrī Uditakīrttiḥ Śrī Ṛṣabhadarppaḥ Śrī Ṛṣabhalāñchanaḥ Śrī Ēkac . . .
7 Śrī Ugravīryyaḥ Śrī Uditōditaḥ Śrī Unnatarāmaḥ Śrī Ugrapratāpaḥ
8 Śrī Atyadāraḥ* Śrī Anunayasāddhyaḥ Śrī Āhavakēsariḥ*
9 Śrī Kalaṅkavarjjitaḥ Śrī Kāñcīmahāmaṇiḥ Śrī Kharavikramaḥ Śrī Cakravarttīḥ*
10 Śrī Khinnānukampiḥ* Śrī Cāpadvitīyaḥ Śrī Chinnasaṁśayaḥ Śrī Chalarahitaḥ
11 Śrī Amitrāśaniḥ Śrī Apratimallaḥ Śrī Adbhutacaritaḥ Śrī Ibhavidyādharaḥ
12 Śrī Icchāpūraḥ Śrī Īśānaśaraṇaḥ Śrī Udayacandraḥ Śrī Parjanyarūpaḥ
13 Śrī Paracakramarddanaḥ Śrī Narēndracūlāmaṇiḥ Śrī Nityavarṣaḥ Śrī Rājarājaḥ
14 Śrī Vādyavidyādharaḥ Śrī Citrakārmmukaḥ Śrī Vīrakēsariḥ* Śrī-kāmukaḥ
15 Śrī Sarvvatōbhadraḥ Śrī Kṣatracūlāmaṇiḥ Śrī-vilāsaḥ Śrī Yuddhārjjunaḥ
16 Śrī-vallabhaḥ Śrī Saṁgrāmarāmaḥ Śrī Sārvvabhaumaḥ Śrī Kṣatravidrāvaṇaḥ
17 Śrī Āhavabhīmaḥ Śrī Amitaprabhāvaḥ Śrī Trailōkyanāthaḥ Śrī Dānavarṣaḥ
18 Śrī Tṛṣṇāpūraṇaḥ Śrī Daridrānukampiḥ* Śrī Aviratadānaḥ Śrī Dīptapauruṣaḥ
19 Śrī Dānaśūraḥ Śrī Dharmmanityaḥ Śrī Dhavalāśayaḥ Śrī Dharmmakavacaḥ
20 Śrī Samaradhanañjayaḥ Śrī Bhīṣaṇacāpaḥ Śrī Ajjayaḥ Śrī Guṇavinītaḥ Śrī Avanidivākaraḥ Śrī Kalaṅkarahitaḥ Śrī Kalāsamudraḥ Śrī Āhavadhīraḥ Śrī Dūṣṭadamanaḥ Śrī Pallavādityaḥ
21 Śrī Parāparaḥ Śrī Parahitaḥ Śrī Nityōtsāhaḥ Śrī Puruṣasiṁhaḥ
22 Śrī Puṇyaślōkaḥ Śrī Pārttavikramaḥ Śrī Bhīmakāntaḥ Śrī Bahudakṣiṇaḥ
23 Śrī Bhayarahitaḥ Śrī Mahāmallaḥ Śrī Mattapramattaḥ Śrī Mattavikāraḥ
24 Śrī Bhuvanibhājanaḥ* Śrī Mahēndraparākramaḥ Śrī Mahāprabhāvaḥ Śrī Manucaritaḥ

West enclosure:

26 Śrī Māyācāraḥ Śrī-pativallabhaḥ Śrī Raṇavīraḥ Śrī Yugāntādityaḥ
27 Śrī Raṇadhīraḥ Śrī Rakṣāmaṇiḥ Śrī Raṇacaṇḍaḥ Śrī Raṇavikramaḥ
28 Śrī Atulabalaḥ Śrī Ahitāntakaḥ Śrī Apāravikramaḥ Śrī Aśvapriyaḥ
29 Śrī Apratimaḥ Śrī Akhaṇḍaśāsanaḥ Śrī Akhaṇḍāśaniḥ Śrī Amōghavikramaḥ
UG Śrī Ānatamaṇḍalaḥ Śrī Apratihataḥ Śrī Adbhutaśaktiḥ Śrī Ājñārasaḥ Śrī Āścaryyavīryaḥ
30 Śrī Āpātadurddharaḥ Śrī Āśāviyiḥ* Śrī Āhavōddhuraḥ Śrī Ibhavatsarājaḥ
31 Śrī Iddhaśāsanaḥ Śrī Ilāparamēśvaraḥ Śrī Ugradaṇḍaḥ Śrī Unnatamānaḥ
32 Śrī Ucchritavīryyaḥ Śrī Udayatuṅgaḥ Śrī Uttarōttaraḥ Śrī Ugraśāsanaḥ
33 Śrī Guṇālayaḥ Śrī Udayavasantaḥ Śrī Ēkasundaraḥ Śrī Mahānubhāvaḥ

North Enclosure:

35 Śrī Upēndravikramaḥ Śrī Āśāpūraḥ Śrī Kuladhvajaḥ Śrī Guṇōnnataḥ
36 Śrī Unnatēcchaḥ Śrī Utkhātakaṇṭakaḥ Śrī Ēkadhanurddharaḥ Śrī Udārakīrttiḥ
37 Śrī Ācāraparaḥ Śrī Ārttāyanaḥ Śrī Āśrītavatsalaḥ* Śrī Ītiśātanaḥ
38 Śrī Ātōdhyatumburuḥ Śrī Āgamapramānaḥ Śrī Ājñālaṅkṛtaḥ Śrī Itihāsapriyaḥ
39 Śrī Atisāhasaḥ Śrī Anavagrahaḥ Śrī Āgamānusāriḥ* Śrī Utthānaśīlaḥ Śrī Udayōnnataḥ Śrī Udvṛttadamanaḥ Śrī Ēkarājaḥ Śrī Kālavikramaḥ Śrī Jayanidhiḥ Śrī Kālavasanaḥ Śrī Garvvitadamanaḥ
40 Śrī Jātigambhīraḥ Śrī Cāracakṣuḥ Śrī Jñānāṁkuśaḥ Śrī Taptaśaraṇaḥ
41 Śrī Damitavyālaḥ Śrī Dānavarṣaḥ Śrī Dēvadēvabhaktaḥ Śrī Durvvāravēgaḥ
42 Śrī Cāruvilāsaḥ Śrī Tuṁgavikramaḥ Śrī Tīvrakōpaḥ Śrī Dharmmavijayiḥ*
43 Śrī Dāvāgniḥ Śrī Dēśavarddhanaḥ Śrī Dūraduritaḥ Śrī Dharmmasētuḥ
44 Śrī Dūradarśiḥ* Śrī Dṛptaśāsanaḥ Śrī Nayānusāriḥ* Śrī Nayanamanōharaḥ
45 Śrī Anindyacaritaḥ Śrī Agādhagāmbhīryyaḥ Śrī Anabhravṛṣṭiḥ Śrī Atanupratāpaḥ
46 Śrī Adharmmabhīruḥ Śrī Arināśaḥ Śrī Avanibhājanaḥ Śrī Aprativāryyaḥ
47 Śrī Avandhyakōpaḥ Śrī Amitrāntakaḥ Śrī Avihataśaktiḥ Śrī Anavagītaḥ
48 Śrī Arātikālaḥ Śrī Anavagrahaḥ Śrī Atisāhasaḥ Śrī Anugraśīlaḥ
49 Śrī Abhayarāśiḥ Śrī Āhatalakṣaṇaḥ Śrī Utsāhanityaḥ Śrī Upāyanipuṇaḥ
50 Śrī Gandhahastiḥ* Śrī Kāmavilāsaḥ Śrī Kāviprabōdhaḥ* Śrī Kāraṇakōpaḥ
51 Śrī Caṇḍadaṇḍaḥ Śrī Asahyakōpaḥ Śrī Chāyāvṛkṣaḥ Śrī Dharaṇitilakaḥ
52 Śrī Varuṇapāśaḥ Śrī Dhairyyasāgaraḥ Śrī Pravṛttacakraḥ Śrī Nāgapriyaḥ
53 Śrī Niramitraḥ Śrī Nirarggalaḥ Śrī Parantapaḥ Śrī Lōkaśikāmaṇiḥ*
54 Śrī Pārttivasiḥ* Śrī Balapramaḥ* Śrī Bhūridānaḥ Śrī Pratibhayaḥ Ōṁ

North side of east enclosure:

56 Śrī Bhīmavikramaḥ Śrī Rājakuñjaraḥ Śrī Lalitavilāsaḥ Śrī Śāstradṛṣṭiḥ
57 Śrī Vāraṇabhagadattaḥ Śrī Vikṛtavilāsaḥ Śrī Vikramakēsariḥ* Śrī Viṇānāradaḥ*
58 Śrī Śaṁkarabhaktaḥ Śrī Śūrāgraganyaḥ Śrī Tatvavēdīḥ Śrī Īśvarabhaktaḥ

Fourth Tier Titles

Shrine No.

2 Śrī Atyantakāmaḥ Śrī Amitramallaḥ
3 Śrī Guṇavinītaḥ Śrī Aparājitaḥ
5 Śrī Avanidivākaraḥ Śrī Ūrjitaḥ
6 Śrī Uditaprabhāvaḥ Śrī Uditakīrttiḥ
7 Śrī Kalaṁkarahitaḥ Śrī Kalāsamudraḥ
8 Śrī Ugra(vī)ryaḥ Śrī Uditōditaḥ
9 Śrī Atyudāraḥ Śrī Anunayasā(ddhyaḥ)
10 Śrī Unnatarāmaḥ Śrī Ugrapratā(paḥ)
11 Śrī Āhavadhīraḥ Śrī Āhavakēsarī
12 Śrī . . . Śrī Kālakōpaḥ

Shrine No.

13 Śrī Kharavikramaḥ Śrī Khinnānukampī
14 Śrī Cakravarttī Śrī (Cāpa)dvitīyaḥ
15 Śrī *Amōghabāṇaḥ* Śrī *Asahyamārggaṇaḥ*
16 Śrī *Ugrasāyakaḥ* Śrī *Uddhataviśikhaḥ*
17 Śrī *Bhīmakārmmukaḥ* Śrī Bhīṣaṇacāpaḥ
18 Śrī *Avismitaḥ* Śrī Amitrāśaniḥ
19 Śrī *Iṣṭavarṣaḥ* Śrī *Indralīlaḥ*
20 Śrī *Amitra(marddanaḥ*)* Śrī *Ājimarddanaḥ*
21 Śrī Duṣṭadamanaḥ Śrī *Durutsahaḥ . . .*

More Examples of Rājasiṁha's Titles Inscribed in the Kailāsanātha Temple

On enclosure shrine No. 9:

On enclosure shrine No. 10:

Alphabetical List

(of Royal Titles in the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchipuram)

A

Akutōbhayaḥ (I:2.3) Always the Fearless [Also the title of a commentary by the Buddhist, Nāgārjuna!]
Akhaṇḍaśāsanaḥ (I:29.2) Unswerving Rule
Akhaṇḍāśaniḥ (I:29.3) Mighty Thunderbolt (literally: an unbranched, single, solid bolt [cf. *Viḍēlviḍugu*
Agādhagāmbhīryyaḥ (I:45.2) Unfathomable Profundity and *Pakāppiṭuku*])
Ajayyaḥ (I:20.3) The Invincible
Atanupratāpaḥ (I:45.4) No Small Prowess
Atiraṇacaṇḍaḥ (I:3.2) The Exceedingly Fierce in Battle
Atisāhasaḥ (I:39.1 & 48.3) The Exceedingly Daring
Atulabalaḥ (I:28.1) Matchless Strength
Atyadāraḥ* (I:8.1) [A misspelling; see: *Atyudāraḥ*, below]
Atyantakāmaḥ (I:1.2 & IV:2.1) Boundless Desires (not limited, in the sense of being selfish)
Atyudāraḥ (IV:9.1 & misspelled *Atyadāraḥ* in I:8.1) The Exceedingly Noble
Adbhutacaritaḥ (I:11.3) (He of) Astonishing Deeds
Adbhutaśaktiḥ (I:UG.3) (He of) Astonishing Strength
Adharmmabhīruḥ (I:46.1) Fearing (only) Injustice
Anabhravṛṣṭiḥ (I:45.3) Cloudless Showerer (of benefits)
Anavagītaḥ (I:47.4) The Irreproachable [See line 44 of *Mattavilāsa*]
Anavagrahaḥ (I:39.2 & 48.2) The Unrestricted
Anindyacaritaḥ (I:45.1) (He of) Blameless Behavior
Anugraśīlaḥ (I:48.4) (He of) Gentle Character
Anunayasāddhyaḥ (I:8.2 & IV:9.2) (He who is) Won by Gentle Means (only)
Aparājitaḥ (I:2.1 & IV:3.2) The Invincible
Apāravikramaḥ (I:28.3) (He of) Boundless Valor
Apratimallaḥ (I:11.2) The Unchallenged Wrestler
Apratimaḥ (I:29.1) The Incomparable
Aprativāryyaḥ (I:46.4) The Irresistible
Apratihataḥ (I:UG.2) The Imperishable [One of the names of Viṣṇu]
Abhayaṅkaraḥ (I:5.2) The Creator of Safety
Abhayarāśiḥ (I:49.1) The Ocean of Safety
Abhirāmaḥ (I:1.4) The Charming
Amitaprabhāvaḥ (I:17.2) (He of) Unlimited Power
Amitramarddanaḥ (IV:20.1) The Foe-Crusher
Amitramallaḥ (I:2.2 & IV:2.2) The Foe-Mauling Wrestler [Cf. Mahēndra's title, *Śatrumallaḥ*]
Amitrāntakaḥ (I:47.2) The Foe-Destroyer
Amitrāśaniḥ (I:11.1 & IV:18.2) A Thunderbolt (to his) Foes
Amōghabāṇaḥ (IV:15.1) (One whose) Arrows (do) not (fly) in Vain
Amōghavikramaḥ (I:29.4) (He of) Not Unavailing Valor
Arātikālaḥ (I:48.1) Death (to his) Enemies
Arināśaḥ (I:46.2) Destroyer (of his) Enemies
Arimarddanaḥ (I:5.4) Crusher (of his) Enemies
Avanidivākaraḥ (I:20.5 & IV:5.1) Sun of the Earth
Avanibhājanaḥ (I:46.3) Receptacle of the World [Mahēndra's title also; see *Mattavilāsa*]

Avandhyakōpaḥ (I:47.1) (He whose) Anger (is) not Fruitless
Aviratadānaḥ (I:18.3) (He of) Unceasing Donations
Avismitah (IV:18.1) The Never Perplexed
Avihataśaktiḥ (I:47.3) The Unquellable Power
Aśvapriyaḥ (I:28.4) A Lover of Horses
Asahyakōpaḥ (I:51.2) (He of) Unbearable Anger
Asahyamārggaḥ (IV:15.2) (Follower of the) Arduous Path
Ahitāntakaḥ (I:28.2) Destroyer (of his) Enemies

Ā

Āgamapramānaḥ (I:38.2) (One whose) Authority (is) the Āgamas
Āgamānusāriḥ* (I:39.3) [Correct: °*sārī*] Follower (of the) Āgamas
Ācāraparaḥ (I:37.1) (One who is) Devoted to Tradition
Ājimarddanaḥ (IV:20.2) The Crusher in Battle
Ājñārasaḥ (I:UG.4) (He who) Relishes (issuing) Orders [Adding one more *rasa* to the list of nine?]
Ājñālaṅkṛtaḥ (I:38.3) (He who is) Adorned (with the power of issuing) Orders
Ātōdyatumburuḥ (I:38.1) Tumburu with Musical Instruments [*Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Act V, śl. 11]
Ānatamaṇḍalaḥ (I:UG.1) (He to whom) the Provinces Bow
Āpātadurddharaḥ (I:30.1) The Irresistible (in) Attacking
Ārttāyanaḥ (I:37.2) The Refuge of the Distressed [One of the functions of a kṣatriya]
Āśāpūraḥ (I:35.2) The Fulfiller (of) Hopes
Āśāvijayiḥ* (III:30.2) [Correct: °*vijayī*] Successful (in attaining his) Desires [Incorrect: *Āśāviyi,* I:30.2]
Āścaryyavīryyaḥ (I:UG.5) (He of) Amazing Prowess
Āśrītavatsalaḥ* (I:37.3) [Correct: *Āśrita*°] (He to whom) Refugees (are as his) Children [Cf. Trimūrtis]
Āhatalakṣaṇaḥ (I:49.2) (He of) Numerous Good Qualities [Cf. *Bhagavadjjuka*, Śl. 3]
Āhavakēsariḥ* (I:8.3 & IV:11.2) [Correct: °*kēsarī*] The Lion in Battle
Āhavadhīraḥ (I:20.8 & IV:11.1) The Steady in Battle
Āhavabhīmaḥ (I:17.1) The Fierce in Battle [*Bhīmaḥ*, a title of Śiva]
Āhavōddhuraḥ (I:30.3) The Unrestrained in Battle

I

Icchāpūraḥ (I:12.1) The Wish-Fulfiller
Itihāsapriyaḥ (I:38.4) (One who is) Fond of History
Iddhaśāsanaḥ (I:31.1) (He of) Fiery Command
Indralīlaḥ (IV:19.2) (He who in his) Exploits (resembles) Indra
Ibhavatsarājaḥ (I:30.4) (He who is like) the King of Vatsa [Udayana] (in dealing with) Elephants
Ibhavidyādharaḥ (I:11.4) Musician expert in capturing Elephants [as Udayana did]
Ilāparamēśvaraḥ (I:31.2) Supreme Lord of the Earth [*Iḷā*° in III:31]
Iṣṭavarṣaḥ (IV:19.1) Showerer of Desires [I.e., Fulfiller of Desires]

Ī

Ītiśātanaḥ (I:37.4) The Protector from Epidemics
Īśānaśaraṇaḥ (I:12.2) (As) Protector (he is like) Īśāna (the Supreme Lord = Śiva)
Īśvarabhaktaḥ (I:58.4) The Devotee of Īśvara (Śiva)

U

Ugradaṇḍaḥ (I:31.3) (He whose) Punishment is Terrible [Cf. Kālidāsa's *Raghu*.: to maintain order]
Ugrapratāpaḥ (I:7.4 & IV:10.2) (He of) Terrifying Bravery
Ugravīryyaḥ (I:7.1 & IV:8.1) (He of) Terrifying Prowess
Ugraśāsanaḥ (I:32.4) (He whose) Commands are Terrifying
Ugrasāyakaḥ (IV:16.1) (He whose) Arrows are Terrifying
Ucchritavīryyaḥ (I:32.1) (He of) Heroic Prowess
Utkhātakaṇṭakaḥ (I:36.2) (One who) Uproots Evildoers
Uttarōttaraḥ (I:32.3) The Ever-Progressive
Utthānaśīlaḥ (I:39.4) By Nature, Active
Utsāhanityah (I:49.3) The Ever-Active
Udayacandraḥ (I:12.3) The Rising Moon (in beauty?)
Udayatuṅgaḥ (I:32.2) The Highly Exalted
Udayabhāskaraḥ (I:3.5) The Rising Sun (in majesty?)
Udayavasantaḥ (I:33.2) The Rising Spring (of happiness?)
Udayōnnataḥ (I:39.5) The Extremely Exalted
Udārakīrttiḥ (I:36.4) (He of) Exalted Fame (for his munificence) [Cf. *Kirātārjunīyam*: Canto I:18]
Uditakīrttiḥ (I:6.2 & IV:6.2) (He of) Ever-Fresh Fame
Uditaprabhāvaḥ (I:6.1 & IV:6.1) (He of) Ever-Freshly (manifested) Power
Uditōditaḥ (I:7.2 & IV:8.2) (One who is) Ever Progressive
Uddhataviśikhaḥ (IV:16.2) (He whose) Arrows (i.e., defenses) are Ever-Raised (ever-ready)
Udvṛttadamanaḥ (I:39.6) The Subduer of Rebels
Unnatamānaḥ (I:31.4 & IV:10.1) (He of) Exalted Honor
Unnatarāmaḥ (I:7.3) The Extremely Gracious
Unnatēcchaḥ (I:36.1) (He of) Lofty Desires
Upāyanipuṇaḥ (I:49.4) (He of) Adroit Diplomacy
Upēndravikramaḥ (I:35.1) (He who has) The Valor of Upēndra (Viṣṇu)

Ū

Ūrjjitaḥ (I:2.4 & IV:5.2) The Mighty

Ṛ

Ṛṣabhadarppaḥ (I:6.3) (He who takes) Pride in the Bull (as his emblem)
Ṛṣabhalāñchanaḥ (I:6.4) (He whose) Emblem is the Bull

Ē

Ēkadhanurddharaḥ (I:36.3) Foremost among Archers (lit., '. . . among Those who Hold the Bow')
Ēkarājaḥ (I:39.7) Foremost among Kings
Ēkasundaraḥ (I:33.3) Foremost among the Handsome
Ēkac . . . (III:6.5) [We suggest that this title is: '*Ēkachatraḥ*' = 'Foremost among Kings'; cf. Kālidāsa]

K

Kalaṅkarahitah (I:20.6 & IV:7.1) The Spotless [Superior to the moon which has a blemish]
Kalaṅkavarjjitaḥ (I:9.1) The Spotless [Superior to the moon]
Kalāsamudraḥ (I:20.7 & IV:7.2) The Ocean of Arts
Kāñcīmahāmaṇiḥ (I:9.2) The Great Jewel of Kanchi
Kāmavilāsaḥ (I:50.2) (He who embodies the) Sport of Kāma (Cupid)
Kāraṇakōpaḥ (I:50.4) (One who gets) Angry (only for good) Reason
Kālakōpaḥ (III:20.9 & IV:12.2) (He who has) The Anger of Death (Yama)
Kālavasanaḥ (I:39.10) (He who has) The Appearance of Death (to his enemies)
Kālavikramaḥ (I:39.8) (He who has) The Valor of Death; or: (whose) Valor is Death (to enemies)
Kāviprabhōdaḥ* [Correct: *Kavi*°] (I:50.3) (He of) Poetic Insight
Kulatilakaḥ (I:5.3) The Ornament of his Clan
Kuladhvajaḥ (I:35.3) The Banner of his Clan
Kṣatracūlāmaṇiḥ (I:15.2) [°*cūḷāmaṇiḥ* in III:15.2] The Crest-Jewel of Warriors
Kṣatravidrāvanaḥ (I:16.4) The Router of Warriors

Kh

Kharavikramaḥ (I:9.3 & IV:13.1) (He of) Fierce Valor
Khinnānukampiḥ* (10.1 & IV:13.2) [Correct: °*kampī*] (He who is) Compassionate to the Distressed

G

Gandhahastiḥ* (I:50.1) [Correct: °*hastī*] The Musth Elephant (i.e., one who is unrestrainable)
Garvvitadamanaḥ (I:39-11) The Subduer of the Haughty
Guṇavinītaḥ (I:20.4 & IV:3.1) (He who has) the Virtue of Modesty [!]
Guṇālayaḥ (I:33.1) The Abode of Virtues
Guṇōnnataḥ (I:35.4) (He of) Exalted Virtues

C

Cakravarttīḥ* (I:9.4 & IV: 14.1) [Correct: °*varttī*] Emperor
Caṇḍadaṇḍaḥ (I:51.1) (He whose) Punishments are Fierce
Cāpadvitīyaḥ (I:10.2 & IV:14.2) (He whose) Constant Companion is the Bow
Cāracakṣuḥ (I:40.2) (He whose) Eyes are Spies [I.e., the spies (agents) who serve him are his eyes]
Cāruvilāsaḥ (I:42.1) The Graceful Sport
Citrakārmmukaḥ (I:14.2) [°*kārmukaḥ* (III:14)] The Wonderful Archer

Ch

Chalarahitaḥ (I:10.4) (He who is) Not Rash
Chāyāvṛkṣaḥ (I:51.3) The Shade-Giving Tree
Chinnasaṁśayaḥ (I:10.3) (He of) Dispelled Doubts

J

Jayanidhiḥ (I:39.9) The Treasure of Victory
Jayaparaḥ (I:3.1) (He who is) Determined on Conquest
Jātigambhīraḥ (I:40.1) (He whose) Profundity is Inborn
Jñānāṁkuśaḥ (I:40.3) (He who uses) Wisdom (as his) Goad

T

Tatvavēdiḥ* (I:58.3) [Correct: °*vēdī*] Philosopher
Taptaśaraṇaḥ (I:40.4) The Refuge of the Distressed
Tīvrakōpaḥ (I:42.3) (He whose) Anger is Fierce
Tuṅgavikramaḥ (I:42.2) The Eminently Valorous
Tṛṣṇāpūraṇaḥ (I:18.1) The Fulfiller of Desires
Trailōkyanāthaḥ (I:17.3) The Lord of the Three Worlds

D

Damitavyālaḥ (I:41.1) (One in whom there is) No Trace of Villainy
Daridrānukampiḥ* (I:18.2) [Correct: °*kampī*] (He who is) Compassionate to the Poor
Dānavarṣaḥ (I:17.4 & 41.2) The Showerer of Gifts
Dānaśūraḥ (I:19.1) (He who is) Keen on Giving Gifts
Dāvāgniḥ (I:43.1) The Forest-Fire (to his enemies) ['*Davāgniḥ*' was a title of Mahēndra's]
Dīptapauruṣaḥ (I:18.4) (He of) Brilliant Manliness
Durutsahaḥ (I:21.2) (Of) Unthwartable Resolution
Durvvāravēgaḥ (I:41.4) The Unthwartable Force
Duṣṭadamanaḥ (I:20.9 & IV:21.1) The Subduer of the Wicked
Dūradarśiḥ* (I:44.1) [Correct: °*darśī*] The Far-Seeing
Dūraduritaḥ (I:43.3) (He who is) Far from Sin
Dṛptaśāsanaḥ (I:44.2) (He who) Firmly Commands
Dēvadēvabhaktaḥ (I:41.3) The Devotee of the God of Gods (Śiva)
Dēśavarddhanaḥ (I:43.2) (One who causes) The Prosperity of (his) Country

Dh

Dharaṇitilakaḥ (I:51.4) Earth's Beauty-Mark
Dharmmakavacaḥ (I:19.4) Protector of Dharma
Dharmmanityaḥ (I:19.2) (One who) Ever Abides by Dharma
Dharmmavijayiḥ* (I:42.4) [Correct: °*vijayī*] (He whose) Victories (are always) Dharmic
Dharmmasētuḥ (I:43.3) The Bridge (for others to reach) Dharma
Dhavalāśayaḥ (I:19.3) [°*ḷāśayaḥ*, in II & III:19.3] The Pure in Heart
Dhairyyasāgaraḥ (I:52.3) The Ocean of Fortitude

N

Nayanamanōharaḥ (I:44.4) (He who is) A Delight to the Eye
Nayānusāriḥ* (I:44.3) [Correct: °*sārī*] The Follower of Polity
Nāgapriyaḥ (I:52.4) The Lover of Elephants ['*Nāga*' also = snakes; thus, *Nāgapriyaḥ* = Śiva]
Narēndracūlāmaṇiḥ (I:13.2) [°*cūḷāmaṇiḥ*, in III:13.2] The Crest-Jewel of Princes
Nityavarṣaḥ (I:13.3) (He who is like) Continual Rains
Nityōtsāhaḥ (I:21.3) The Ever-Resolute
Niramitraḥ (I:53.1) (He who has) No Enemies (left)
Nirarggalaḥ (I:53.2) The Unimpeded

P

Paracakramarddanaḥ (I:13.1) The Destroyer of Hostile Empires
Parantapaḥ (I:53.3) The Mortifier of (his) Enemies
Parahitaḥ (I:21.2) (He who) benefits others
Parāparaḥ (I:21.1) The Supreme Lord [Brahmā]
Parjjanyarūpaḥ (I:12.4) (He who) Appears Cloud-Like (in raining prosperity)
Pallavādityaḥ (I:20.10) The Sun of the Pallavas
Pārtthivasiṁhaḥ (III:54.1) The Lion among Kings [Incorrectly, *Pārtthivasiḥ*, in I:54.1]
Pārtthavikramaḥ (I:22.2) (He who has) The Valor of Arjuna [Pārtha]
Puṇyaślōkaḥ (I:22.1) (He whose) Fame is Pure
Puruṣasiṁhaḥ (I:21.4) The Lion among Men
Pratibhayaḥ (I:54.4) The Formidable Antagonist
Pravṛttacakraḥ (I:52.3) The Emperor

B

Balapramathanaḥ (III:54.2) Subduer of the Mighty [Śiva's *Yajur-Vēdic* title] [*Balapramaḥ**, in I:54.2]
Bahudakṣiṇaḥ (I:22.4) The Munificent
Bahunayaḥ (I:3.4) The Great Statesman

Bh

Bhayarahitaḥ (I:23.1) The Fearless
Bhīmakarmmukaḥ (IV:17.1) (He whose) Bow is Terrifying
Bhīmakāntaḥ (I:22.3) (He of) Awe-inspiring Loveliness
Bhīmavikramaḥ (I:56.1) (He of) Awe-inspiring Valor
Bhīṣaṇacāpaḥ (I:20.2 & IV:17.2) (He whose) Bow is Terrifying
Bhuvanibhājanaḥ* (I:24.1) Receptacle of the World [Correct: *Bhuvana°*] [See, also: *Avanibhājanaḥ*]
Bhūridānaḥ (I:54.3) The Bounteous

M

Mattapramattaḥ (I:23.3) The Intensely Passionate
Mattavikāraḥ (I:23.4) The Intensely Active
Manucaritaḥ (I:24.4) (Like) Manu in Demeanor
Mahānubhāvaḥ (I:33.4) (His) Majesty
Mahāprabhāvaḥ (I:24.3) The Immensely Powerful
Mahāmallaḥ (I:23.2) The Mighty Wrestler [This was the No. 1 title of Narasimha-I]
Mahēndraparākramaḥ (I:24.2) (God) Mahēndra in Heroism [*Mahēndra* also = his g.g. grandfather]
Māyācāraḥ (I:26.1) The Diplomat

Y

Yugāntādityaḥ (I:26.4) The Sun at the End of the World; or, 'The Sun till the End of the Eon'
Yuddhārjjunaḥ (I:15.4) The Arjuna in Battle

R

Rakṣāmaṇiḥ (I:27.2) The Jewel of Protection
Raṇacaṇḍaḥ (I:27.3) The Fierce in Battle
Raṇajayaḥ (I:1.3) The Victorious in Battle
Raṇadhīraḥ (I:27.1) The Steady in Battle
Raṇavikramaḥ (I:27.4) The Valorous in Battle
Raṇavīraḥ (I:26.3) The Hero in Battle
Rājakuñjaraḥ (I:56.2) The Elephant among Kings
Rājarājaḥ (I:13.4) King of Kings
Rājasiṁhaḥ (I:1.1) The Lion among Kings

L

Lalitavilāsaḥ (I:56.3) [*Laḷita*°, in III:56.3] (He of a) Graceful Smile; or, 'The Graceful Sport'
Lōkaśikāmaṇiḥ* (I:53.4) [Correct: °*śikhāmaṇiḥ*] The Crest-Jewel of the World

V

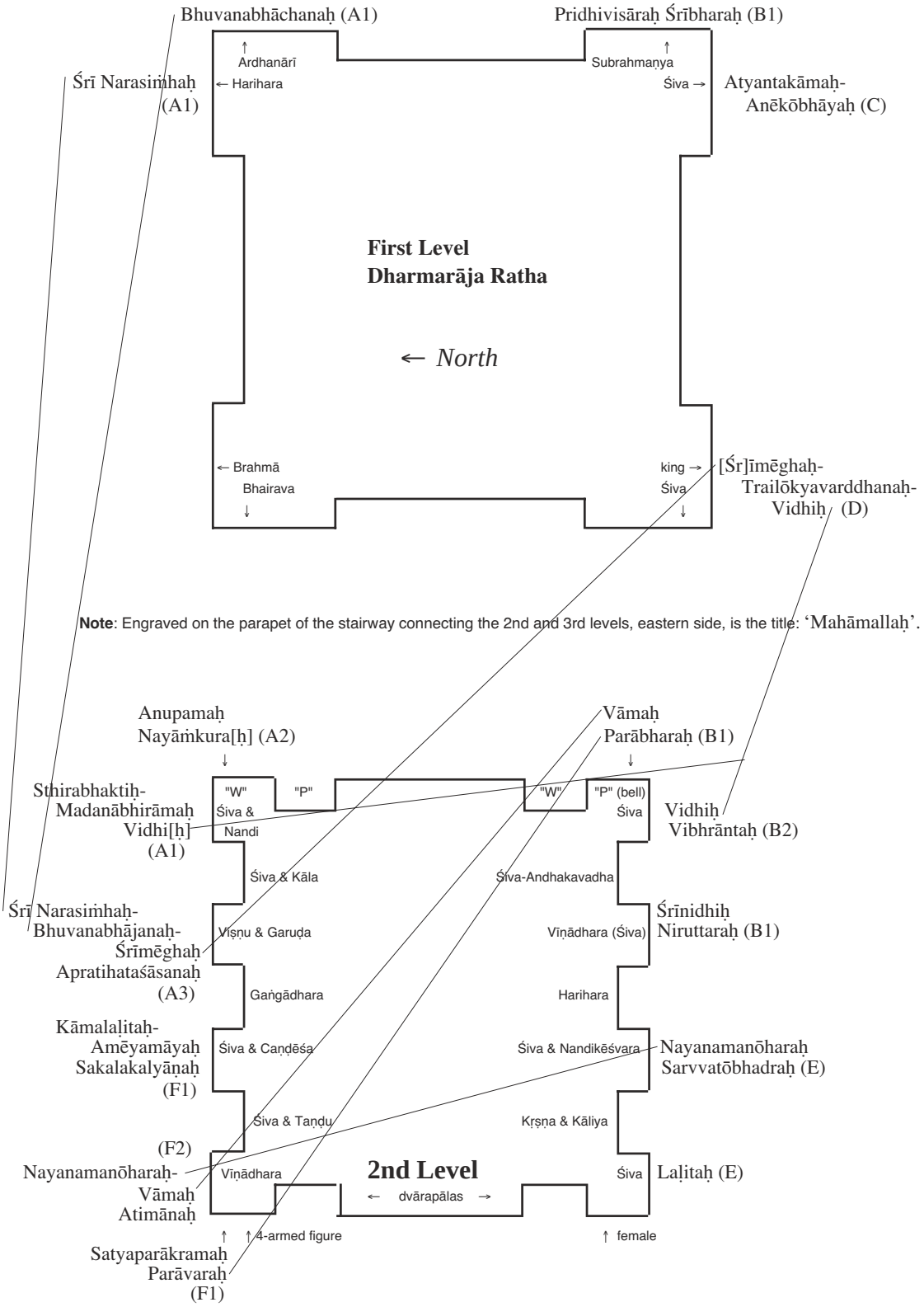
Varuṇapāśaḥ (I:52.1) The Noose of Varuṇa
Vādyavidyādharaḥ (I:14.1) A Vidyādhara (with) Musical Instruments
Vāraṇabhagadattaḥ (I:57.1) (He who resembles) Bhagadatta (in the knowledge of) Elephants
Vikṛtavilāsaḥ (I:57.2) (He of an) Ironic Smile
Vikramakēsariḥ* (I:57.3) [Correct: °*kēsarī*] A Lion in Valor
Viṇānāradaḥ* (I:57.4) [Correct: *Vīṇā*°] Nārada (in playing the) Vīṇā [*Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Act V, śl. 11]
Vīrakēsariḥ* (I:14.3) [Correct: °*kēsarī*] The Lion among Heroes

Ś

Śaṁkarabhaktaḥ (I:58.1) The Devotee of Śaṅkara (Śiva)
Śāstradṛṣṭiḥ (I:56.4) (He whose) Eyes are the Śāstras
Śūrāgraganyaḥ (I:58.2) Foremost among Heroes
Śrīkāmukaḥ (I:14.4) (He who) Desires Prosperity
Śrīpativallabhaḥ (I:26.2) The Favorite of Śrīpati (i.e., of Viṣṇu)
Śrībharaḥ (I:3.3) The Bearer of Prosperity
Śrīmēghaḥ (I:5.1) The Cloud (which showers) Prosperity
Śrīvallabhaḥ (I:16.1) Favorite of the Goddess of Prosperity (i.e., of Śrīdēvī)
Śrīvilāsaḥ (I:15.3) The Smile of Fortune; or '(He who) Sports with Śrī (the goddess of prosperity)'

S

Saṁgrāmarāmaḥ (I:16.2) (He who is like) Rāma in War
Samaradhanañjayaḥ (I:20.1) The Arjuna in Battle [Implied: 'The Conqueror of Wealth in Battle']
Sarvvatōbhadraḥ (I:15.1) (He who is) Auspicious in All Respects
Sārvvabhaumaḥ (I:16.3) (Possessor of) The Whole Earth [I.e., 'The Emperor of the Whole World']



I claim that all the above titles are *birudas* of Narasiṁha-I (Mahāmalla). But on the **3rd level**, east side, just above the central figure of Sūrya, there is a label inscription, in two lines, by Paramēśvara-I, naming the sanctum:

Śrī Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛha[*m* ||]
Raṇajayaḥ

The title, '*Raṇajayaḥ*', in the second line, therefore belongs to Paramēśvara-I. The name of the **3rd level** shrine – minus the '*Śrī*' and the title '*Raṇajayaḥ*' – is also found engraved by Paramēśvara on the west side of the 3rd level, just above the entrance to the sanctum in which he had carved the Śiva-Sōmāskanda panel.

Alphabetical List

(of the Royal Titles engraved on the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram)

In the following alphabetical list of the titles engraved on the Dharmarāja Ratha, the numbers in the brackets after each title indicate the level (1 = ground level; 2 = second level; and 3 = third level), and the letters N, S, E, and W, indicate north, south, east, and west sides of the Ratha.

Atimānaḥ (2-N) The Most Honorable [Also in Rājasiṁha's Shore Temple inscription]
Atyantakāmaḥ (1-S) (He of) Boundless Desires [Also, in Kailāsanātha temple, I:1.2]
Anēkōbhāyaḥ* (1-S) [Correct: *Anēkōpāyaḥ*] The Highly Enterprising
Anupamaḥ (2-E) The Incomparable
Apratihataśāsanaḥ (1-E) (He whose) Commands are Unopposed [*Apratihataḥ* in I:UG.2]
Amēyamāyaḥ (2-N) (He whose) Power is Unfathomable
Kāmalaḷitaḥ (2-N) (He who has the) Charm of Kāma (Cupid) [Also, in Rājasiṁha's Tiruporur inscrip.]
Trailōkyavarddhanaḥ (1-S) (He who) Prospers the Three Worlds [Also: Tiruporur pillar inscription]
Nayanamanōharaḥ (2-N & 2-S) (He who is) A Delight to the Eye (I:44.4)
Nayāṅkuraḥ (2-E) The (Flower-)Bud of Wisdom in Polity
Śrī Narasiṁhaḥ (1-N & 2-N) The Illustrious Narasiṁha [the king's *abhiṣēka nāma*]
Niruttaraḥ (2-S) The Unexcelled
Parābharaḥ* (2-E); **Parāvaraḥ*** (2-W) The Omnipotent [I:21.1 – *Parāparaḥ*, which is correct Skt.]
Pridhivisāraḥ* (1-E) [Correct: *Pṛthivī°*] The Essence of the World
Bhuvanabhāchanaḥ* (1-E & 2-N) [Correct: °*bhājanaḥ*] The Receptacle of the World (I:24.1)
Madanābhirāmaḥ (2-N) The Charming God of Love
Mahāmallaḥ (2/3-E: on the outer side of parapet railing) The Mighty Wrestler (I:23.2)
Raṇajayaḥ (3-E) The Conqueror in Battle [This title alone, here, belongs to Paramēśvara-I] (I:1.3)
Laḷitaḥ (2-S) The Charming
Vāmaḥ (2-N & 2-E) The Handsome
Vidhiḥ (1-S & 2-N & 2-S) The Ruler [Also a title of King Mahēndra in his Tiruchi poem inscription]
Vibhrāntaḥ (2-S) The Extremely Passionate [Mahēndra has the simpler title, *Bhrāntaḥ*]
Śrīnidhiḥ (2-S) The Treasure-House of Prosperity [Also, in Rājasiṁha's Vayalur pillar inscription]
Śrībharaḥ (1-E) The Bearer of Prosperity (I:3.3)
Śrīmēghaḥ (1-S & 2-N) The Cloud (which showers) Prosperity (I:5.1)
Sakalakalyāṇaḥ (2-N) (He who causes) Prosperity (to) All [Cf. *Sarvvakalyāṇaḥ*, Vēsanta plates, l. 9.]
Satyaparākramaḥ (2-W) The Truly Heroic
Sarvvatōbhadraḥ (2-S) (He who is) Auspicious in All Respects (I:15.1)
Sthirabhaktiḥ (2-N) (He who is of) Firm Devotion [Cf. Mahēndra's similar title, *Dṛḍhabhaktiḥ*]

The titles of the king are found engraved above a number of the figures carved in niches of the Dharmarāja Ratha. In the diagram, on the facing page, are given the titles engraved on the first and second floor plans of the Ratha (that is, at the ground level and middle storey).

All of the titles are in the nominative case and end with the letter 'ḥ' (*visarga*).

In the diagram, I have identified the location of the sculptured figures by labeling them in the area inside the floor plans. Thus, for instance, on the lowest level of the Ratha, the name of the king, '*Narasiṁha*', is engraved above the image of Harihara on the north-east corner.

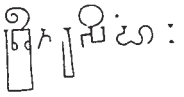
The capital letters 'W' and 'P' stand for 'worshipper' and 'priest'.

The royal titles appear as though written by different scribes. My guess is that six different scribes (A to F) were responsible for the 35 titles (27 different ones) inscribed on the first and second levels. (The numbers appearing with the letters indicate slight sub-variations which I perceived.) The two label inscriptions, the ones which give the name of the third-level shrine as: '*Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham*', are in a very different style of writing, and belong to the later reign of King Paramēśvara-I.

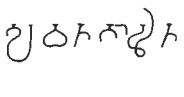
Inscriptions on the Dharmarāja Ratha

Titles on the ground level, starting clock-wise from the north-east corner:

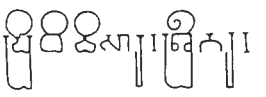
Śrī Narasiṁhaḥ



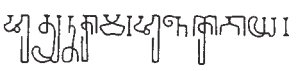
Bhuvanabhāchanaḥ



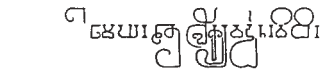
Pridhivisāraḥ Śrībharaḥ



Atyantakāmaḥ Anēkōbhāyaḥ



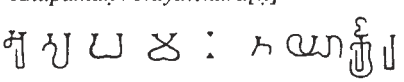
[Śr]īmēghaḥ Trailōkyavarddhanaḥ Vidhiḥ



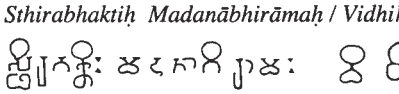
Titles on the second level:

NE corner to NW corner:

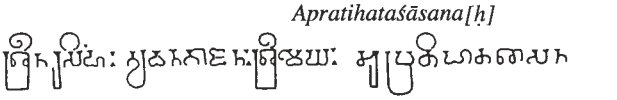
Anupamaḥ / Nayāṅkura[ḥ]



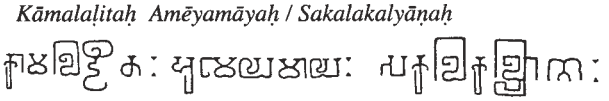
Sthirabhaktiḥ Madanābhirāmaḥ / Vidhiḥ



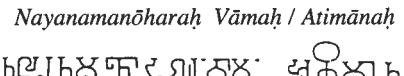
Śrī Narasiṁhaḥ Bhūvanabhājanaḥ Śrīmēghaḥ / Apratihataśāsana[ḥ]



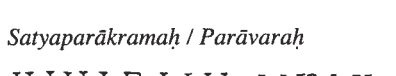
Kāmalaḷitaḥ Amēyamāyaḥ / Sakalakalyāṇaḥ



Nayanamanōharaḥ Vāmaḥ / Atimānaḥ

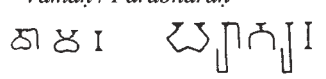


Satyaparākramaḥ / Parāvaraḥ

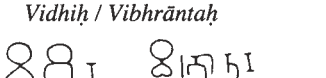


SE corner to SW corner:

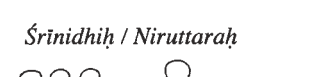
Vāmaḥ / Parābharaḥ



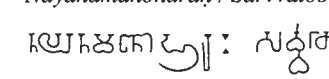
Vidhiḥ / Vibhrāntaḥ



Śrīnidhiḥ / Niruttaraḥ



Nayanamanōharaḥ / Sarvvatōbhadraḥ



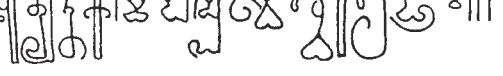
Laḷitaḥ

Title on stairway railing: *Mahāmallaḥ*

Label inscriptions on the third level:

Śrī Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛha[m ॥]
Raṇajayaḥ
(east side, above the central figure of Sūrya)

Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-Gṛham ॥
(west side, above sanctum entrance)



SEVENTEEN

Mahēndra's Paradoxical *Birudas*[1]

Subtle dimensions of the various levels of possible meanings of the titles glorifying gods and kings are to be found in the 'paradoxical' birudas *used in Pallava inscriptions. The following study investigates these dimensions.*

The Pallava king, Mahēndravarmā-I, is widely acknowledged as one of the outstanding rulers of South India. His reign, before and during the early part of the seventh century, A.D., was a time of great revival for the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite faiths, even as Buddhism and Jainism were declining.

The religious and philosophical outlook of King Mahēndra can be gathered from a study of the two plays which he authored and which have come down to us: the *Mattavilāsa Prahasanam* and the *Bhagavad-ajjukam*.[2] Another source of his views is found in the various stone inscriptions engraved on his monuments. In his cave-temple, near the summit of the Rock-Fort Hill, Tiruchirapalli, there is, besides the famous poem inscribed there, a long list of his *birudas*. Ordinarily, a *biruda* is a title glorifying a king in an unambiguous way. And the majority of Mahēndra's *birudas* do conform to this norm. Take, for instance, his title '*Dharmmapālakaḥ*', which in English may be rendered as the 'Protector of dharma'. Or, again, '*Satyasandhaḥ*', which means '(He who) sticks to the truth'. Mahēndra's best known *biruda*, '*Guṇabharaḥ*', is of this type, and means 'The bearer of virtues'.

But Mahēndra had an unusual sense of humor, and delighted in the paradoxical by way of adopting many strange *birudas* which have baffled scholars.

If historians had had no knowledge of Mahēndra's authorship of the Sanskrit farcical drama entitled *Mattavilāsa-Prahasanam*, what would they have made of his *biruda*, '*Mattavilāsaḥ*', which may be translated as 'Drunken sport'? It is not exactly the most complimentary *biruda* for a king, at face value. Or, again, the *biruda*, '*Virasaḥ*', which at face value translates to 'Tasteless' (or 'Obscene'). Another *biruda* of his is '*Akaruṇaḥ*', 'The merciless'. And a final example here is '*Saṅkīrṇṇajātiḥ*', which, again at face value, means 'Of mixed caste'.

I suggest that a linguistic and philosophical analysis will help in understanding the paradoxical nature of these titles. And the key to that understanding is the Gaṇēśa Ratha Inscription of Māmallapuram, which is attributable to King Paramēśvara-I (Mahēndra's great grand-son). In the Gaṇēśa Ratha Inscription, which is Sanskrit poetry, Śiva (or, alternately, the king, himself) is described in seemingly paradoxical pairs of epithets. For instance, consider this passage:

May he (Śiva) be victorious! – he who is both '*Amāya*', yet '*Citramāya*'; who is '*Aguṇa*', and yet '*Guṇabhājana*'; who is '*Svastha*', and yet '*Niruttara*', who is '*Anīśa*', and yet '*Paramēśvara*'!

Let's consider the first apparent paradox, where Śiva is claimed to be both '*Amāya*' and yet '*Citramāya*'. If the mundane world of ordinary sense experience is taken to be the effect of God's creative power, '*māya*', then, to say that Śiva is '*Amāya*' would, in one sense, mean that he does not have such creative power. But the next half of the figure of speech asserts that Śiva is '*Citramāya*'. That is, he not only possesses the power of '*māya*', but it is amazing ('*citra*').

But this apparent paradox is resolved once the term '*Amāya*' is rightly perceived to mean that the primeval God (Śiva) is immutable and cannot be equated with the transient world which is produced through his creative power.

Thus, we may translate the first portion of the passage as follows:

May he (Śiva) be victorious! – he who is both immutable (*amāya*) and yet the ground of all transient existence (*citramāya*); . . .

There is nothing paradoxical about the passage when interpreted in this way.

The other apparent paradoxes may be resolved in a similar way. We give below a table to illustrate this:

Seeming Paradox			***Resolution***		
Negative & <u>undesirable</u>		**Positive & <u>desirable</u>**	**Negative & <u>desirable</u>**		**Positive & <u>desirable</u>**
Amāya (powerless)	vs.	*Citramāya* (amazing power)	*Amāya* (immutable)	&	*Citramāya* (ground of all transient being)
Aguṇa (no virtues)	vs.	*Guṇabhājana* (vessel of all virtues)	*Aguṇa* (quality-less)	&	*Guṇabhājana* (vessel of all qualities)
Svastha (alone)	vs.	*Niruttara*[4] (superior to all)	*Svastha* (self-sufficient)	&	*Niruttara* (superior to all)
Anīśa (leaderless)	vs.	*Paramēśvara* (Supreme Lord)	*Anīśa* (no Lord [above Him])	&	*Paramēśvara* (Supreme Lord)

The extreme left column lists the negative term of each seemingly paradoxical pair. It is the *undesirable* connotation latent in each of the negative terms which gives rise to the paradoxical effect.

However, each negative term also has a desirable connotation. When each of the negative terms is understood in its desirable sense, then the paradox disappears:

May he (Śiva) be victorious! – he who is immutable (*amāya*), (and yet) the ground of all transient existence (*citramāya*); who is without qualities (*aguṇa*), (and yet) the vessel of all qualities (*guṇabhājana*); who is completely self-dependent (*svastha*), (and

yet) without superior (*niruttara*); who is without a master (*anīśa*), (and yet is) the Supreme Lord!

Mahēndra's linguistic exercise with regard to some of his own titles is even more compressed than Paramēśvara's. This is because each title or *biruda* is a unit in itself. It is this group of 'paradoxical' titles of Mahēndra which we shall now analyze. Each separate *biruda* in this group generates two or more distinct levels of meaning to create its effect of paradox.

The first level involves the most obvious connotation of the word which is used as a title – which connotation is negative and *undesirable*. Thus, '*Virasa*' is 'Tasteless' ('Obscene'); '*Akaruṇa*' is 'Merciless'; and '*Saṅkīrṇṇajāti*' is 'Of mixed caste'.

The second level is generated from the possible *desirable* connotations of the terms, still negatively conceived. Thus, '*Virasa*' becomes 'One who has attenuated his sensual experience' – as, for instance, a sannyāsin would do; '*Akaruṇa*' becomes '(One who is) merciless (to evil-doers)'; and '*Saṅkīrṇṇajāti*' becomes a name, some scholars would say, of a type of mixed *rāga* (melodic scale) in music – and thus would personify Mahēndra, its inventor. Be that as it may, we shall suggest that there are still further levels of meaning of this *biruda* which can co-exist with the above.

This brings us to the third level of meaning generated by a few of these title terms. At this third level, '*Virasa*' sheds its negative aspect altogether and is transformed into the wholly positive meaning of '(He of) extraordinary sensitivity' (in matters artistic or philosophical). This transformation is possible because the prefix '*vi-*', in Sanskrit, can have a positive as well as a negative effect.

'*Saṅkīrṇṇajāti*' may turn out at the third level to have a rather philosophical import. This title appears in Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple which also has the famous poetical composition inscribed near the Gaṅgādhara image carved on one of the rock walls of its maṇḍapa. And the clue to the higher meaning of '*Saṅkīrṇṇajāti*' is found in the fourth line of the poem:

. . . sthāṇuḥ svayañ-ca saha tēnañ-jagatsu jātaḥ ।

The context of this passage is the claim that King Mahēndra had an image of Śiva created in his cave-temple (Tiruchi), which image was at the same time a portrait of the king, himself. Thus, the poem informs us, by the creation of this fixed image-cum-portrait, Śiva's title, '*Sthāṇu*', became literally meaningful (fixed, stationary), and the king, himself, became '*sthāṇu*' (fixed, immortal) together with Śiva in the world.

The religious and philosophical significance of this verbal and visual pun – or *dhvani*, to use the more appropriate Sanskrit term – would be that the king had attained awareness of his spiritual union with God. '*Saṅkīrṇṇajāti*' would signify precisely this spiritual birth (*-jāti*) into the knowledge of this union (*saṅkīrṇṇa-*) with God. We should also be aware of the presumption that the union is an eternal fact

with regard to all creatures, but it is the birth of the realization of this union to which the king alludes.

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[1]Based on "Mahēndravarman's Paradoxical *Birudas*", by M.C. Lockwood, a paper first published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*: Madras, Jan. to Jun., 1976, pp. 11-16.

[2]Both plays are edited and translated into English by Lockwood and Bhat in *Metatheater and Sanskrit Drama* (Madras: Tambaram Research Associates, 1994).

[3]The full passage reads:

S*ambhavasthitisaṁhārakāraṇaṁ vītakāraṇaḥ* ।
Bhūyādatyantakāmāya jagatāṁ kāmamarddanaḥ ॥

Amāyaścitramāyōsāvaguṇō guṇabhājanaḥ ।
Svasthō niruttarō jīyādanīśaḥ paramēśvaraḥ ॥

[4]In this pair, '*Niruttara*' is actually a negative term having a desirable meaning and '*Svastha*' is a positive term having an undesirable connotation (alone and helpless). The paradox and its resolution, however, are otherwise similar to the other pairs.

EIGHTEEN

The *Birudas* of Mahēndravarmā[1]

Introduction

From the stone inscriptions of the Pallava king, Mahēndravarmā-I (who flourished around 600 A.D.), an astonishing number of royal titles (or *birudas*) can be collected – nearly 130 of them!

Most of the available titles have been published in text form (Nāgarī script). And most (though not all) of these titles have been illustrated in the accompanying facsimiles of the original inscriptions. However, the published sources are scattered; the facsimiles in certain parts are difficult to read; and the editors have left many of the titles uninterpreted as to their meaning.

To date, the most vigorous effort to interpret Mahēndra's titles is found in T.N. Ramachandran's article (published in the 1930's), "The Royal Artist Mahendravarman I".[2] Even so, this was a general article on Mahēndra's artistic accomplishments, and Ramachandran's reading is doubtful in several places, and there still remain many titles whose meanings he was not able to suggest.

In 1967, T.N. Subramaniam proposed that some of the titles of Mahēndra appeared mysterious because they were in a foreign language of the Indochina region colonized by the Pallavas.[3] T.V. Mahalingam repeated this view in 1969 in his book on the Pallavas:

> Mahendravarman assumed a bewildering variety of birudas after some of which he named his architectural excavations. . . . He bore also a considerable number of Telugu titles, the import of many of which is mysterious, while a few like *Bḷāpu* or *Vlasu*, *Mlayu*, *Kaṭumtayu*, *Kaṭumtarambu* etc. look more like foreign titles, probably having Khmer origins.[4]

It is against this background of lingering mystery that I present here the full range of Mahēndra's titles (in transliteration and facsimile). It is my hope that a renewed interest in these titles by scholars will lead to a fuller understanding of most of them.

First, in **Part One**, all of the titles which are engraved in list form are given in the order in which they appear *in situ* in the Pallavaram and Tiruchirapalli cave-temples, and on one of the four Kanchi Pillars which are now placed in the front entrance of the main building of the Madras Museum.

More than one hundred of Mahēndra's titles in list form are engraved in his cave-temple at Pallavaram, near Madras.[5] About eighty titles in list form are legible in his cave-temple at Tiruchi.[6] Of these eighty, 60 or so are titles also found at Pallavaram. The Kanchi Pillar has fourteen titles engraved on it, and every one of these titles is also

found either at Pallavaram or at Tiruchi (or at both places).[7] These three sources give the king's titles in list form, one *biruda* after another.

In **Part Two**, a concordance is given in alphabetical order of all these titles together with facsimiles arranged in 3 columns according to their three sources: Tiruchi, Pallavaram, and Kanchi. A comparative study of these titles will be useful to epigraphy because the majority of Mahēndra's titles appear in the different locations written in various styles of early Grantha script, and a few are even written in the early Pallava Tamil script. Such a comparative study will also give us a good idea of the actual variations in spelling which occur when titles taken from different languages (Sanskrit, the Prakrits, Telugu, Tamil, and Kannada) are written in Grantha.

In **Part Three**, a separate concordance is given for the few remaining titles which are gleaned from the dedicatory and poetical inscriptions at Mahēndra's cave-temples at Mandagappattu,[8] Vallam,[9] Mahendravadi,[10] Mamandur,[11] Dalavanur,[12] Siyamangalam,[13] and again also from the same cave-temple at Tiruchi,[14] and from Mahēndra's Chezarla Slab Inscription.[15] From these sources, six new (different) titles can be added to our list.

Finally, in **Part Four**, a fresh attempt is made in this study to interpret as many of the *birudas* as is possible. For many titles, this task is difficult, and necessarily tentative. Further, any given title of Mahēndra's most probably had multiple *intended* meanings. It would be a serious mistake to necessarily limit each title to a single meaning! Therefore, I have often given more than one meaning which may be appropriate to an intended context of a title.

That some of the royal titles actually had an obvious (*prima facie*) derogatory connotation may seem shocking and even absurd. Our previous study, however, has attempted to provide a basis for interpreting such titles.

Please Note: Most of Mahēndra's titles have been written in what is loosely called the 'Pallava Grantha' script. However, a few of his titles are written in the 'Pallava Tamil' script – a script for Tamil developed from 'Pallava Grantha' by scribes of the royal court. (The modern Tamil script has directly descended from this 'Pallava Tamil' script.) In the following pages of Parts I and II, the transliterated forms of those titles of Mahēndra's written in 'Pallava Tamil' are printed in **bold type**!

PART I

Mahēndravarmā's Pallavaram Cave-Temple Inscription (Titles)

1

Śrī Mahēndravikramaḥ Mattavilāsaḥ Ceṟṟakāri Vicitracittaḥ Ciḻundu Ceruḷuccemprūru
Āluptakāmaḥ Viḍēmāyaḥ Da(rppa)viṣaḥ Lōkavaśyaḥ (Davā)gniḥ Kalahapriyaḥ
Laḷitāṅkuraḥ (Mayamakku) Citrakārappuli Nivambu Nilvulēneyyambu Vampu Vukā
Vaṅka(ḥ)mpu Kāṟṟu[17] *Kaṟumpu*[18] *Kaṭuṁkṭāyu Vilē(yā)ḷa Pala(pāṭi) Vēntulavittu Alavala*[19]
Āsiṭṭi Aṁkkapā(s)umbu[20] *Daṇḍikalla Vāyiveṇḍi Yamuku Saṅkīrṇṇajātiḥ (Ē)ṟṟu*[21]

2

Iṭukaḻi Pisugu Piṭuviṟē[22] *Perindhi*[23] *Prakāraṇa(ḥ) Pravṛtta-mātra(ḥ)*
Pukāpiṭuku (Pa)sarambu (Ananyaḥ ?) Pavi(ṭu)[24] *(Pa)kaḷi Bāku Bujjanakanthu Bhrāntaḥ (Ō)ṟṟu*[25]
Ōtha[26] *Ututi*[27] *Upamānaḥ Ummāṁkuṁṭu*[28] *Kāmārjjavaḥ Kaṭuṁkrāka*[29] *Kaṭuṁterambu Guṇabharaḥ*
Teppu Tā(ḷ)vi Taṟudaṇḍa[30] *Tanumpu(nō)mi Tukānu Tō(ṟṟ)u*[31] *Tōda Tēṟṟa*[32]
(Śrī Dṛḍhabhaktiḥ) (Dunuvāryyaḥ) (Udukāsiṭṭi) . . . (Dharmmapālakaḥ) . . . .

3

Satyasandhaḥ Lakṣitaḥ Iṣṭaduṣṭabhraṣṭacaritaḥ Naihikāmutrikaḥ Nayambu Naṟuku[33]
Mahāmēgha(ḥ) Ma(nprā)vu Maṟumāṟ[ṟ]a[34] *(M)iḍēlcuṟo*[35] *(Mūrkhavijja) (Moggara) (Cōḷaculi)*
(Curmbu)
(Paṭu[si]dhdha) (Caḷisa)ppuru(ṭ)ṭu (Vēsātha)[36] *Vu(nātha)*[37] *(Vambara) (Vāveṇḍi)*[38] *. . . (Vaṁkiḻu)*
(Vḷāpu)[39] *(Virasaḥ)*[40]
Vyavasthitaḥ Vyavasāyaḥ Anityarāgaḥ Avanibhājanaḥ Anumānaḥ Abhimukhaḥ Akari[41]
Āhāryyabuddhiḥ (Āyati)[42]

Mahēndravarmā's Tiruchi Cave-Temple Inscriptions (Titles)

<u>On outer row of pillars</u>:

Proper right[43] pilaster (bracket): *Vañjavalava*

First pillar: *Sarvvana*(*yaḥ*)[44]

Taṟudaṇḍa	*Nityavinītaḥ*	*Nivambu*
Tanumpunōmi	*Nirapēkṣaḥ*	*Nayambu*
Tukānu	*Nilvulēneyambu*	*Naṟuku*
Tōḷpukā	*Naihikāmutrikaḥ*	*Narāpaśa*(*ṁkaḥ*)[45]
	U*(*l*) . . . *ku	

Second pillar: *Saṅkīrṇṇajātiḥ*

Virasaḥ	*Anityarāgaḥ*	*Vambu*
Vyavasthitaḥ	*Anumānaḥ*	*Vukā*
Vyavasāyaḥ	*Avanibhājanaḥ*	*Vḷāpu*
	Cittira(kkā)rappu(li)	

Third pillar: *Satyasandhaḥ*

Kaḍuṁkṭāyu	*Abhimukhaḥ*	*Vēsātha*
Kaḍuntarambu	*Akaruṇaḥ*	*Vakiḷu*
Kaṟumpu	*Alavala*	*Vaṁkaḥ*
	Piṇapiṇakku	

Fourth pillar: (*Laḷi*)*tāṁkuraḥ*

Maṁku	*Calambu*	*Emuku*
Kaṣṭa	*Kilambu*	*Ēthi*
Kuṟṟambu	*Mlāyu*	*Kuhakaḥ*
Vambara	*Vāveṇḍi*	*Vunātha*
	Kucañāṇa	

Proper left pilaster (bracket): *Lakṣita*(*ḥ*)

On the west-facing side of the proper left (eastern) pilaster (outer row of pillars):

1 *Svasti Śrī Mahēndravikramaḥ*
2 *Mattavilāsaḥ Mayamayakku*
3 *Maṟumāṟṟa Mahāmēghaḥ*
4 *Manprāvu Miḍēlcuṟo*
5 *Mūrkhavijja Moggara*
6 *Ma . . i Ceṟṟakāri*
7 *(Ciḷundhu) (Ceruḷuce)mbru*
8 *Cuḷi . . . (S)aṟṟa*
9 . . . *(Caḷisappuruṭṭu)*
10 *(Viḍē . . .) (Vicitrac)ittaḥ*
11 . . . . . .

<u>On the inner row of pillars</u>:

Proper right pilaster (bracket): *Guṇabharaḥ*

First pillar: (bracket): *Aṁkkapāsunṟu*
('central' facet): *Tō . .*

Second pillar: (bracket): *Āseṭṭi Āya(t)i*
(CF): *Teṟṟa*

Third pillar: (bracket): *Āluptakāmaḥ*
(CF): *Te(ṟa)*

Fourth pillar: (bracket): *Āhāryyabuddhiḥ*
(CF): *Kaṟṟa*

Proper left pilaster: (bracket): damaged

On the west-facing side of this same left (eastern) pilaster:

1 *(Iṣṭaduṣṭabhraṣṭa)caritaḥ*
2 damaged
3 damaged
4 *Prak(āraṇaḥ)* the rest damaged
5 This and following lines are unreadable

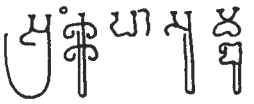
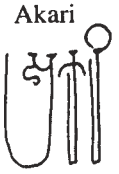
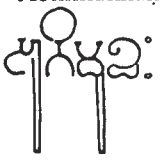
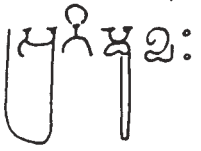
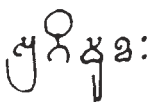
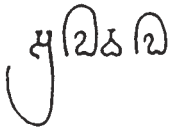
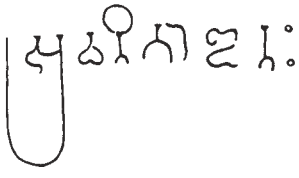
Mahēndravarmā's Kanchipuram Pillar Inscription (Titles)

First face: *Ēthi*
Kucañāṉa
Mahāmēghaḥ
Dṛḍhabhaktiḥ

Second face: *Abhimukhaḥ*
Citrakārapuli
Kuṟṟambu

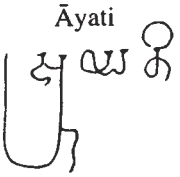
Third face: *Curmbu*
Vaṁkaṁbu
Vnātha

Fourth face: *Pisugu*
Vambara
Bhrāntaḥ Akari

Tiruchirapalli	**Pallavaram**	**Kanchipuram**
Aṁkkapāsuṉṟu	Aṁkkapāsumbu 	
	Akari 	Akari
Akaruṇaḥ		
Anityarāgaḥ	Anityarāgaḥ	
Anumānaḥ	Anumānaḥ	
Abhimukhaḥ 	Abhimukhaḥ 	Abhimukhaḥ 
Alavala	Alavala 	
Avanibhājanaḥ	Avanibhājanaḥ 	

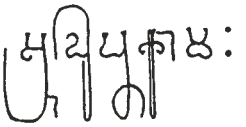
Āyati

Āyati



Āluptakāmaḥ

Āluptakāmaḥ

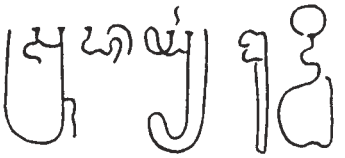


Āseṭṭi

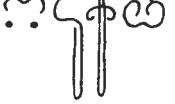
Āsiṭṭi

Āhāryyabuddhi(ḥ)

Āhāryyabuddhi(ḥ)

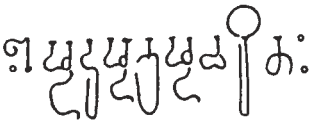


Iṭukaḷi



(Iṣṭaduṣṭabhraṣṭa)caritaḥ

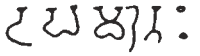
Iṣṭaduṣṭabhraṣṭacaritaḥ



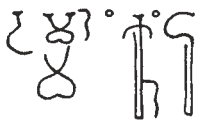
[Udukāsiṭṭi]

Ututi

Upamānaḥ



Ummāṁkuṁṭu



U(l) . . . ku

Emuku

[Yamuku]

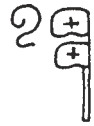
Ēthi

Ēthi

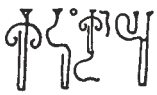
(Ē)rru

Ōtha

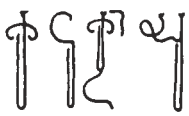
(O)rru



Kaḍuṁkṭāyu



Kaṭu(ṁ)kṭāyu



Kaṭuṁkrāka

Kaḍuntarambu

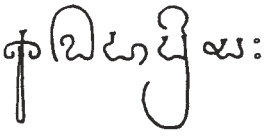
Kaṭuntērambu

Kaṟumpu

Kaṟumpu

Kaṟṟa

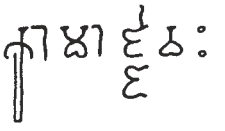
Kalahapriyaḥ



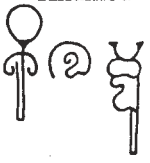
Kaṣṭa

Kāṟṟu

Kāmārjjavaḥ



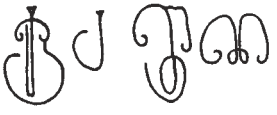
Kilambu



Kuṟṟambu

Kuṟṟambu

Kucañāṇa

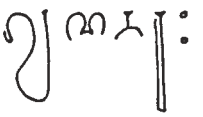


Kucañāṇa

Kuhakaḥ

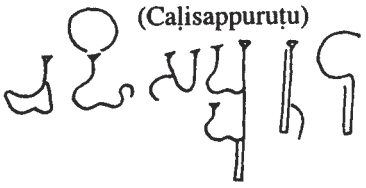
Guṇabharaḥ

Guṇabharaḥ



Calambu

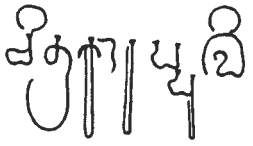
(Caḷisappuruṭu)



(Caḷisa)ppuru(ṭ)ṭu

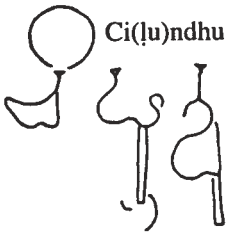
Cittira[kkā]rappu[li]

Citrakārappuli



Citrakārapuli

Ci(ḷu)ndhu

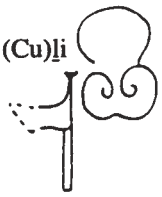


Ciḷundu

Curmbu

Curmbu

(Cu)ḻi

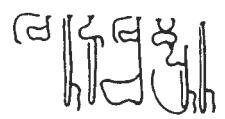


[. . . cerrakāri]

Cerrakāri

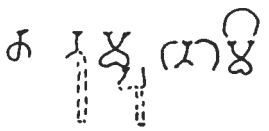
Ceruḷucembru

Ceruḷuccemprūru



Tanumpunōmi

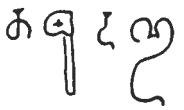
Tan(u)m(pu)nōmi



Tāḷvi

Taṟudaṇḍa

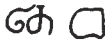
Taṟudaṇḍa



Tukānu

Tukānu

Te(tha)



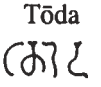
Teppu

Tēṟṟa

Tēṟṟa

Tō . .

Tōda

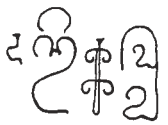


Tōṟṟu

Toḷpukā

Da(ṇ) . . . ku

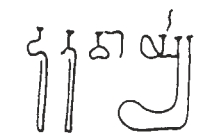
Daṇḍikkalla



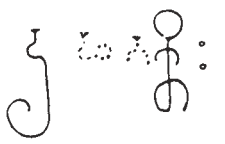
Darp[p]aviṣaḥ

Davāgniḥ

Dunuvāryya(ḥ)

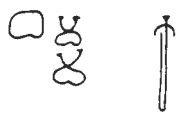


Dṛ[dhabha]ktiḥ



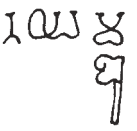
Dṛḍhabhaktiḥ

Dha[r]mma . . ka .



Nayambu

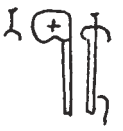
Nayambu



Narāpaśa[ṁkaḥ]

Naṟuku

Naṟuku



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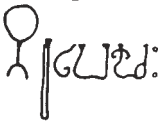
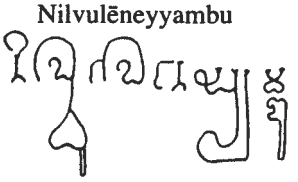
Nirapēkṣaḥ



Nilvulēneyambu

Nilvulēneyyambu



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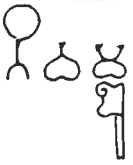

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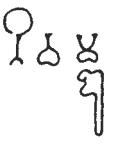

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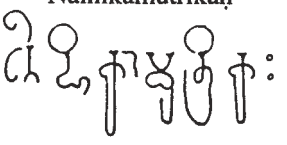
Naihikāmutrikaḥ



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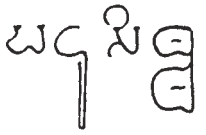
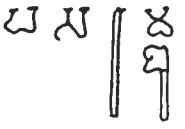
Paṭusidhdha



Palapāṭi

Paviṭu

Pasarambu



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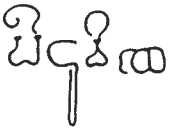
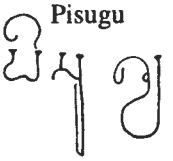


Piṇapiṇakku

Pisugu



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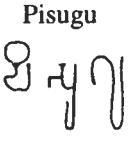

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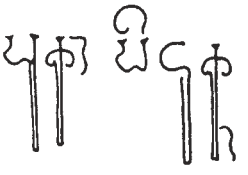

Perindhi

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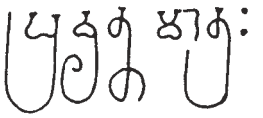
Prakāraṇa(ḥ)

Pravṛtta-mātra(ḥ)

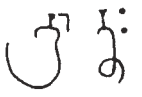


Bāku

Bujjanakanthu

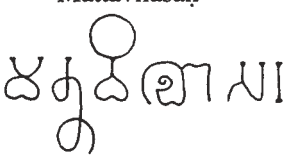
Bhrāntaḥ

Bhrāntaḥ



Maṁku

Mattavilāsaḥ



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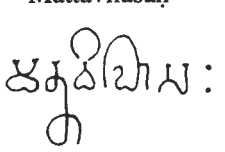
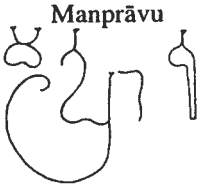


Manprāvu



Manprāvu

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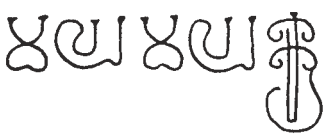

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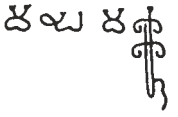
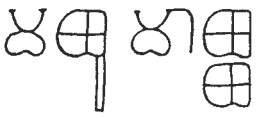


Maṟumāṟṟa



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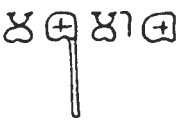

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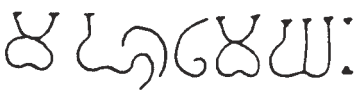

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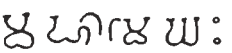

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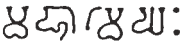

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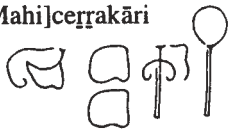


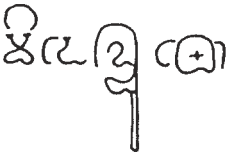
[Ceṟṟakāri]

Mahēndravikramaḥ

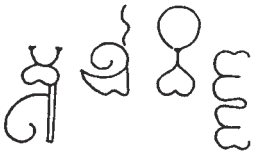
Śrī Mahēndravikramaḥ

Miḍēlcuṟo

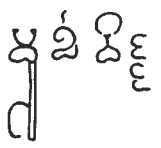
Miḍēlcuṟo



Mūrkhavijja



Mūrkhavijja



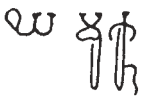
Moggara

Moggara

Mlāyu

[Emuku]

Yamuku

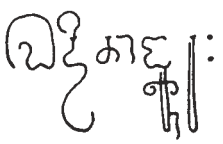


Lakṣitaḥ

Lakṣitaḥ

[La]ḷitāṁkuraḥ

Laḷitāṅkuraḥ



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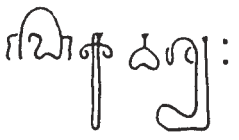
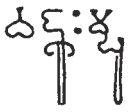


Vaṁkaḥ

Vaṅkaḥmpu



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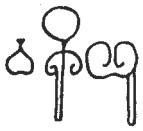

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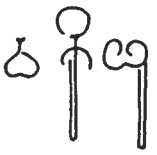

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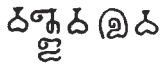
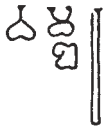


Vambara

Vambara



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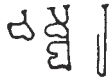

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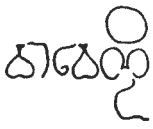
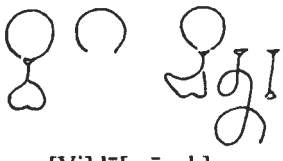
Vampu

Vāveṇḍi



Vāyiveṇḍi

Vi[c]i[tra]cittaḥ



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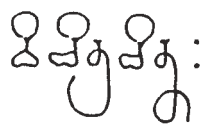
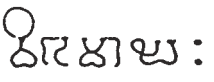
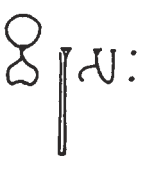


[Vi]ḍē[māyaḥ]

Viḍēmāyaḥ

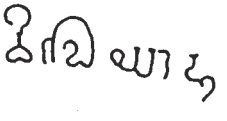


Virasaḥ



Virasaḥ

Vilēyāḷa



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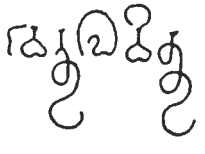
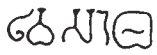


Vēsātha



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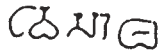

Vukā

Vukā

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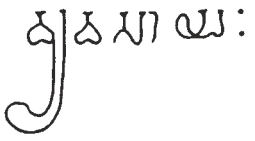

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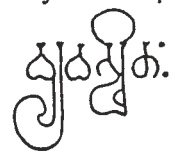

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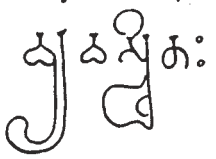

Vḷāpu

Vḷāpu

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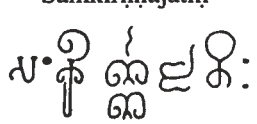
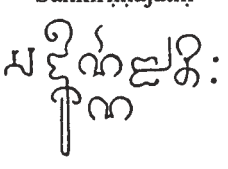
Saṁkīrṇṇajātiḥ

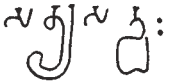


Saṅkīrṇṇajātiḥ

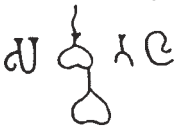


Satyasandhaḥ

Satyasandhaḥ



Sarvvana(yaḥ)



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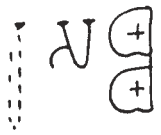

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Titles also in non-list form	Mandagappattu	Vallam	Mahendravadi	Mamandur	Dalavanur	Tiruchirapalli	Siyamangalam	Chezarla	Pallavaram	
Avanibhājana						◦	+	+	◦	
Guṇabhara (Kuṇaparaṉ)		 +	+			+◦			◦	
Narēndra (Daṇḍānatanarēndra)					+ +					
Nityavinīta				+		◦				
Pukāpiṭuku (Pakāppiṭuku)		 +							◦	
Puruṣōttama						+				
Bhūbhuja				+						
Mahēndra (Mahēndravikrama) (Mayēntirappōttarēcaru)		 +	+			 ◦		 +	 ◦	
Lakṣita	+					◦			◦	
Laḷitāṁkura (Laḷitāṅkuraṉ)		 +				+	+		◦	
Vicitracitta	+					◦			◦	
Vidhi						+				
Śatrumalla (Catturummallaṉ)		 +		+	+	+				
Satyasandha				+		+◦			◦	
Sthāṇu						+				

\+ = titles found in dedicatory and poetic inscriptions
◦ = titles found in list form inscriptions (Parts I & II)

Aṁkkapāsunṟu (T); **Aṁkkapāsumbu** (P). Tel., 'In battle (*aṁkam*), the one who (wields) the noose', i.e., 'The God of Death in battle' (Yama). See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 178, where the king, Kṛishṇa-III, has the title, '*Aṁkatrinētra*': "a very Trinētra (Śiva) in battle" (the Atakur inscription of A.D. 947-50). See my comments on the *-nṟu* and *-mbu* endings under the entry, **Kuṟṟambu**.

Akari (P)(K). *Akkari* fr. Tamil *Akkarai*, foreign/er; or fr. Skt. *Akṣari*, 'Maker of inscriptions' or 'Immortal'; or *kari* (anger, rage; poison; fearful) and *a-* (the negation of those qualities).

Akaruṇaḥ (T). Skt., 'Merciless' – the satirist is merciless to his victims (especially to his Buddhist victims, to whom *karuṇa* is such an important virtue!): see Mahēndra's plays, *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka*, for a humorous treatment of the emotion of *karuṇa*. "Comedy demands a suspension of mercy" (Lee Siegel, p. 19).

Anityarāgaḥ (T) (P), Skt., 'Not permanently or continually drawn to pleasure'. '*Anitya*' may also mean 'unusual' or 'unstable' – hence, '(One of) unusual or unstable desires'.

Anumānaḥ (T) (P). Skt., 'Reasoner', logician, disputant. Philosophical: the second of three stages, where one attains the knowledge of God through reason. One of the means of obtaining knowledge (*pramāna*) according to the Sāṅkhya system (or Nyāya).

Abhimukhaḥ (T) (P) (K). Skt., 'Forward looking'; daring; straight-forward.

Alavala (T) (P). Skt., *vala* (darkness; dryness); '*alati*' fr. root '*ala*' (prevent, ward off): "*Valaṁ alati iti Alavalaḥ*". There was a large irrigation lake at Mahendravadi named after Mahēndra, and we have suggested elsewhere that the king may have involved his engineers with damming the Kāvērī.

Avanibhājanaḥ (T) (P) (Siyamangalam) (Chezarla). Skt., 'The receptacle of the earth'. In the invocation (Nāndī ślōka) at the opening of King Mahēndra's play, *Mattavilāsa*, there occurs the expression '*vyāptāvanibhājanam*' which incorporates his title, '*Avanibhājana*', and indicates that we may interpret it philosophically as, 'He in whom the world is manifested'. This title is also found at the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram (3rd title inscribed on niche 46 [46.3]).

Āyati (T) (P). Prob. Skt., 'Majesty'; dignity; height (tall); restraint of mind; extension, length, prolixity. Kan., majesty; length, restraint of mind; an ascetic (in the present context, a 'Rājarṣi').

Āluptakāmaḥ (T) (P). Skt., '(He who has) completely reduced to nothing (his) desires' (*Ā* = all-round, as far as; *-lupta* = destroy, suppress; *-kāma* = desire, passion). See also: '*Nirapēkṣaḥ*' of this list, i.e., 'One who has attained cessation (or perfection) of his desires'.

Āseṭṭi (T); **Āsiṭṭi** (P). Kan. (Kit.), 'The creator', fr. '*siṭṭi*' (a tadbhava), creation, etc. Or: Prkt. fr. Skt., '*śrēyas*', most excellent, superior; auspicious. *Ā* = in all respects. Syn., *Sarvvatōbhadraḥ*.

Āhāryyabuddhiḥ (T) (P). Skt., 'Incarnate wisdom'; '(One) knowledgeable about costumes, dress'; 'Awareness of indwelling Self'.

Iṭukaḷi (P). Tam., '*iṭu*' = obstacles; '*kaḷi*' = remove: 'Remover of obstacles'. Or, '*iṭu*' = give; '*kaḷi*' = excessive, abundant: 'The munificent'. Or, '*iṭu*' = put, place; erect; set up; '*kaḷi*' = stick, staff: '(He who) wields the stick'. Also, cf. the expression, '*Iṭu kaṇ kaḷi*', in the *Tirukkuṟal*.

Iṣṭaduṣṭabhraṣṭacaritaḥ (T) (P). Skt., '*iṣṭa*' = friends; that which one holds dear; '*duṣṭa*' = rogues, that which is undesirable; '*bhraṣṭa*' = degenerates, those who have lost caste or status; '*carita*' = behavior or character. '(He who) 'act'-ivates the good, bad, and degenerate'. We see these types of characters acting in Mahēndra's two farces and the prakaraṇa, *Cārudattam*, and its adaptation, *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

(**Udukāsiṭṭi**) (P). I cannot make out this word from estampage or site. As given in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, XII, No. 13, it might be interpreted as derived from Skt., '*uduka*' = star; '*ā-siddhi*' = completely accomplished (i.e., 'Master of astrology or astronomy'). In the prologue of Mahēndra's play, *Bhagavadajjuka*, he refers to astrology.

Ututi (P). From Skt., '*uddhathiḥ*' = '(His) eminence'.

Upamānaḥ (P). Skt., ‘Standard of comparison’ (logic); resemblance, analogy; recognition of likeness. Awareness of indwelling Self? Third of four *pramāṇas* (means of attaining correct knowledge).

Ummāṁkuṁṭu (P). Tel., ‘He who has Umā seated on his thigh’ (‘*Ummā* = Umā; ‘*aṁka*’ = thigh; ‘*uṇṭu*’ = one who has). I.e., Śiva.

U[l] . . . ku. (?)

Emuku (T); **Yamuku** (P). Kan., ‘*amuku*’ = press down, crush. Tam., ‘*amukku*’ = press down (*Tiruvācakam*). ‘The oppressor’ (of the wicked).

Ēthi (or **Ēṟi**) (T) (K). Tam., to shine brilliantly; or ‘*ēṟi*’ = to reach high estate. Tel., ‘*eriya*’ = king; ‘*Eṟikal*’ = a title of a Renati Chōḷa king. Tam., ‘*ēṟu*’ = bull. I.e., ‘He who has the bull’ (Śiva – and King Mahēndra, because the Pallava kings had the bull as their emblem, too). *Ēttu* = extol, praise.

(**Ē**)**ṟṟu** (P). Tam., to raise, teach; ‘*ēṟṟam*’ = excellence, superiority; fame. *Ēṟṟaṉ* = ‘Lord of the Bull’.

Ōṟa (or **Ōtha**) (P). Skt., ‘*ōtha*’ = extending in all directions: ‘All-encompassing’. Tam., ‘*ōtam*’ = ocean.

(**O**)**ṟṟu** (P). Tam., ‘*ōṟṟu*’ = frets or plectrum. ‘*Ottu*’ = keep time to music. Tel., ‘*ottu*’ = drone instrument.

Kaḍuṁkṭāyu (T); **Kaṭu**[**ṁ**]**kṭāyu** (P). Tel., fr. Tam., ‘*kaṭun*’ = strong; fierce; ‘*kaṭṭāyam*’ = compulsion; force, power; constraint; certainty: ‘(He of) fierce power’.

Kaṭuṁkrāka (P). From Skt., ‘*kaṭuṁ*’ = biting; ‘*krākam*’ = saw. ‘The saw which cuts down (enemies)’.

Kaḍuntarambu (T); **Kaṭuntērambu** (P). Tel., ‘*kaḍun*’ = fierce, mighty, ‘*tērambu*’ = ‘chariot’, accd. to I. Mahadevan. Compare ‘Mahārathi’, the name of an early, Andhra dynasty. ‘*Tērambu*’ = Tam. ‘*tēr*’.

Kaṟumpu (T) (P). Tel., ‘Tormentor’. Or, ‘*kaḍumpu*’ = mighty. Tam., ‘*k[u]ṟumpu*’ = ‘Mischief-maker’ (similar to ‘Kalahapriyaḥ’).

Kaṟ[**ṟ**]**a** (T) (P). Tam., ‘*karṟar*’ = ‘The learnèd’.

Kalahapriyaḥ (P). Skt., ‘(One who) enjoys a fight’. An epithet of the mischievous Nārada. A fight is also acted out in Mahēndra’s play, *Mattavilāsa*.

Kaṣṭa (T). Fr. Skt., ‘Calamity’. In the *Mattavilāsa*, the Kāpālika cries out, “*Bhōḥ kaṣṭam!*” (line 59).

Kāṟṟu (P). Tam., wind. ‘The wind (storm)’.

Kāmārjjava[**ḥ**] (P). Skt., ‘Subduer of desires’. Skt., ‘(One of) honest or straightforward desires’.

Kilambu (T) Skt., ‘*kila*’ = sport, amorous play. Kan., ‘*kila*’ = laughter, playing. Tam., exaltation, emergence. ‘*Ambu*’ = ‘*pallava*’ = ‘*aṁkura*’. A title equivalent to ‘*Laḷitāṁkuraḥ*’ (see below).

Kucañāṇa (T); **Kucañāṉa** (K). The Tamil script is used in both cases. And as the second consonant ‘*c*’, in the Tamil script, could be pronounced ‘*ś*’, the first half of the title could derive from Skt. ‘*kuśa*’ and mean, ‘sharp’ (as the tip of a blade of *kuśa* grass); and ‘*ñāṇa*’ would derive from Skt. ‘*jñāna*’ and mean ‘intellect’. Also, consider: Kuśa, a son of Rāma, who was an actor – or ‘*kuśa*’, an actor, in general: the whole title would then mean, ‘One who is knowledgeable about acting’. Or, one more possibility: Tam. ‘*kucaṉ*’ = a wicked, depraved, mad, or inebriated person. Thus, ‘A rogue’s cunning’ or ‘(One who is) knowledgeable about rogues’. This last reading would be a Tamil equivalent of ‘*Mūrkhavijja*’, a Prakrit title also found below in this list of Mahēndra’s *birudas*.

Kuṟṟambu (T) (K). Tel. form of Tam., ‘*kuṟṟam*’. The *-mbu* ending, along with *-nṟu* (this latter which, if written in the Tamil script would be -அன்று or -உன்று), indicates the gender of the word in archaic Telugu (6th/7th centuries, A.D.). I. Mahadevan noted that the dual appearance of the very first title of King Mahēndra in my present list illustrates this: *Aṁkkapāsunṟu* (m.); *Aṁkkapāsumbu* (n.).

Kuhakaḥ (T). From the Skt. root, ‘*kuha*’ = to surprise, cause wonder. ‘Abhinavagupta . . . commenting on Bharata’s list of determinants of the comic sentiment, understands “*kuhaka*,” the term used for “trickery,” to refer specifically to tickling, to “touching children’s necks, armpits, and the like, in order to surprise them” (*Problems*).’ This quotation is from Siegel’s book, *Laughing Matters*, p. 16.

Guṇabharaḥ (T) (Mahendravadi) (Vallam). Skt., ‘Bearer of virtues’. It can also be taken as a synonym of ‘Sūtradhāra’. Vallam’s version in the Tamil script is: ‘*Kuṇaparaṉ*’. This title, *Guṇabhara*, is played upon in the second line of the farcical comedy, *Mattavilāsa*.

Calambu (T). Tel., 'The charming'; or, 'Persevering antagonist'. Kan., '*Calla*' = great mirth, fun, jest, laughter. Cf. Sōmanātha, *Padhita-radhya Charita Basavapurāṇam*, wherein he mentions methods of manipulating the strings of a vīṇā including '*challaṇamu*' and '*malapu*'; also cf. Bharata's experiment on the Dhruva and Cala vīṇās.

Caḷisappuruṭu (T); **Caḷisappuruṭṭu** (P). Kan., '*caḷisu*' = to be in motion, shake, tremble (vīṇā strings?); be confused; go astray; sport about. '*Puraṭṭu*' from Skt. '*paryastha*' = thrown or cast about; surrounded, encompassed, ensnared; overturned, upset, inverted; struck, killed; eyes rolling, etc. (RSA)

Cittira[**kkā**]**rappu**[**li**] (T); **Citrakārappuli** (P); **Citrakārapuli** (K). The Tiruchi title is in the Tamil script. Tam. & Tel., 'Tiger among artists'. '*Citra*' may be taken as the 'fine arts', in general.

(**Ciḻundhu**) (T); **Ciḻundu** (P). Tam., '*cilampam*' = fencing, sword play; '*cilaiyaṉ*' = bow-man. Hence, '*ciḻundu*' = 'The one who wields the bow (or staff)' – i.e., Śiva or Kāma.

(**Curmbu**) (T); **Curmbu** (K). Tel.& Skt., '*cur*' = theft; thief (ref. Sajjalaka, in the play, *Chārudattam*)

(**Cuḻi**) (T); **Cōḷacuḻi** (P). Tam., '*cuḻi*' = whirlwind; whirlpool; cunning; afflicted in the mind. '*Cōḷacuḻi*' = 'Whirlwind to the Chōḷas'.

Ceṟṟakāri (T) (P). Tam., '*ceṟṟam*' = anger, fury, rage ('*ceṟampukkāraṉ*' = malicious person). '*Ceṟṟu*' = to engrave ('*ceṟṟakkāri*' = 'Engraver' [of inscriptions ?]). Or, '*cēththa-*' from Skt., '*cēṣṭa*' = creative; and '*kāri*' = person. From the last century, however, '*Cēththa-*' has been interpreted by scholars as '*Caithya-*' and translated as 'temple'; and hence the full title has been understood as 'Builder of temples'.

Ceruḷucembru (T); **Ceruḷuccemprūru** (P). Tel., '*ceruḷu*' fr. Skt. '*cēlṛ*' = to move; '*cēm*' = fierce; and '*brū*' = (eye) brow. See *Epigraphia Indica*, X, pp. 101ff., the Gadval Plates of the Chālukya king, Vikramāditya-I, for an illustration of this figure of speech. Another possibility: Skt., '*cēru*' = respectfully, worshippingly; '*cebrolu*' = a town/city in Andhra. I.e., 'One who is worshipped in Cebrolu'.

Tanumpunōmi (T) (P). Skt., 'The purified one' ('*tanum*' = body; '*punōmi*' = purified).

Tāḻvi (P). Tam., '*tāḻ*' = 'Enterprising'; energy, exertion, perseverance; '*tāḻ kuṟal*' = low tone in music. Again, '*tāḻ*' = Śiva's foot. See the Nāndī ślōka of Mahēndra's farce, *Bhagavadajjuka*.

Taṟudaṇḍa (T) (P). Tam., '*taṟu*' = fierce; restraining; '*daṇḍa*' = scepter. Thus, '(He who wields) a fierce (restraining or punishing) scepter'.

Tukānu (T) (P). From Skt., '*duḥkha*' = distress, suffering; and '*anu*' = look after. I.e., 'One who looks after the welfare of those in distress'. Tam., '*tukkam*' = distress; '*anu*' = benefit, goodness. Hence, the same meaning as in Skt.

Teppu (P). From Tam., '*teppam*' = raft; i.e., 'One who helps people cross over the ocean of life' (with all its difficulties and suffering). Tel., '*teppu*' = relief. Ma., '*Tēppu*' = rubbing, polishing; scratching.

Te(**ṟa**) (T). Kan., the state of being clear. Equivalent to the name '*Prasanna*'.

Teṟṟa (T) (P). Tam., '*teṟṟam*' = assurance, relief from doubt; comfort; certainty; perseverance. '*Tēṟṟu*' = clearness; certainty. Again, equivalent to '*Prasanna*'.

To . . . (T); **To**(**da**) (P). Tam., '*toṭakkam*' = beginning, origin, commencement.

To(**ṟṟ**)**u** (P). Tam., '*tōṟṟam*' = appearance (equivalent to Skt. '*bhāsa*'); strength, power; fame; 'Source' (cf. *Tiruvācakam*, 5:70 and 7:20); '*tōṟṟu*' = create, generate, invent.

Toḻpukā (T). Tam., '*toḻu*' = worship; serve; '*pukā*' = undivided. I.e., 'One whose devotion (to God) is undivided, steady'. This would be the Tamil equivalent of his title, '*Dṛḍhabhaktiḥ*'. Also, consider: 'One of steady friendship' ('*tōḻaṉ*' = friend).

Daṇḍikkalla (P). Kan., Mace bearer. Pāli, '*kalla*' = clever, able; '*daṇḍi*' = scepter. I.e., One who wields a mighty royal scepter. Also consider: Tel., '*daṇḍi*' = neck of a vīṇā (Krishnadevaraya, in his work, *Āmuktamālyada*).

Darppaviṣaḥ (P). Skt., Poison to (enemies') pride; or 'He whose pride is poison (to his enemies). Refer to the expression, '*Dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇ*' (He who deprives [his enemies] of their pride') – found in the Gaṇēśa Ratha Inscription, Māmallapuram.

Davāgniḥ (P). Skt., 'The forest-fire', or 'Wildfire' (to his enemies). This is also one of Rājasiṁha's titles ('*Dāvāgniḥ*', Kailāsanātha temple, Shrine No. 43, first title). The Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati (*E.I.*, IV, 45, pp. 317-18) elaborates the forest-fire metaphor; and contains also the title, '*Calamartiganda*'.

Dunuvāryyaḥ (P). Skt., 'The preventer of hardships' ('*dunu*' = hardships; '*vāryya*' = preventer). See also: '*Aprativāryyaḥ*' (Kailāsa, Shrine No. 46, fourth title), 'The Irresistible'.

Dṛ[**ḍhabha**]**ktiḥ** (P); **Dṛḍhabhaktiḥ** (K). Skt., '(One whose) devotion (to God) is firm'. Mahēndra has a Tamil title, '*Tolpukā*', which has a similar meaning. Ref. also to the title, '*Sthirabhaktiḥ*', which is found on the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram.

Dha[**r**]**mm** . . . **ka** (P). In *S.-I.I.*, XII, 13, this title is given as '*Dharmmapālakaḥ*', i.e., 'The protector of dharma'.

Nayambu (T) (P). Tel. ruler, diplomat; pleasant. Ref. also to '*Nayāṅkuraḥ*', 'Sprout of polity', found on the Dharmarāja Ratha; '*Bahunayaḥ*', 'Great ruler', or 'Great statesman', Kailāsanātha, Shrine No. 3, fourth title; and, '*Nayānusāriḥ*', 'Follower of polity', Kailāsanātha, Shrine No. 44, third title.

Narāpaśa[**ṁkaḥ**] (T). Skt., '(One who is) Fearless of men'.

Narēndra & **Daṇḍānatanarēndra** (Dalavanur). Skt., 'King of men'; and 'King of men (before whose) scepter (others) bow'.

Naṟuku (T) (P). Tam., & Tel., & Kan., cut, chop to pieces, crush. Also: nāgasvaram.

Nityavinītaḥ (T) (Mamandur). Skt., 'Ever-modest'.

Nirapēkṣaḥ (T). Skt., 'Desirelessness'. "As a Buddhist term the word [*Nirapēkṣa*] indicates a virtue, a lack of concern with mundane things. Through the satirical character to whom it is applied, however, the virtue becomes a vice, an expression of expedient heartlessness rather than spiritual accomplishment", Lee Siegel, *Laughing Matters*, pp. 215-16. See also: '*Āluptakāmaḥ*' of this same list, with similar meaning. '*Nirapēkṣa*' is the name of a character in the bhāna, *Pādatāḍitaka*.

Nilvulēneyambu (T); **Nilvulēneyyambu** (P). Tel., invincible; invincible arrow; invincible friendship (i.e., an ever-constant friend) – similar to '*Tōlpukā*' (Tamil).

Nivambu (T) (P). Tel., 'The exalted'. Tam., '*nivappu*' = elevation, height.

Naihikāmutrikaḥ (T) (P). Skt., 'Neither this (world) nor other(-world)'; i.e., as expressed in *Puṟaṉāṉūṟu* 134: One who is righteous and liberal not because of any thought of reward either in this world (*immai*) or in the next (*maṟumai*), but because that is just the way of a noble person.

(**Pa**)**kaḷi** (P). Kan., a corolla or row of petals. Tam., '*kaḷi*' = jollity, hilarity; intoxication; bewilderment ('*Mayakkam*'); frenzy ('*Bhrāntaḥ*').

Pakāppiṭuku (Vallam). Tamil script. See '*Pukāpiṭuku*' in this same list. Same title spelled differently.

Paṭu[**si**]**dhdha** (P) Kan., '*Paṭu*' = sharp, clever, cunning; eloquent; cruel; '*sidhdha*' = accomplished. Skt., '*paṭu*' = proficient; persevering.

Palapāṭi (P). Tam., '*pala*' = much, many; '*pāṭi*' = sung, singer – i.e., 'The singer (of) many (songs)'.

Pavi[**ṭu**] (P). Prkt. fr. Skt., '*pavithaḥ*' = 'The purified'.

Piṭuviṟē (P). Tam., '*piṭuṅkal*' = grip; '*viṟai*' = bewilderment; frenzy. Tamil equivalent of Mahēndra's Skt. title, '*Bhrāntaḥ*', which is listed below.

Piṇapiṇakku (T). Tamil script. Tam., 'A devil to devils'. Tel., '*piṇakku*' = champion (in single combat) – thus, 'Champion of champions' (in single combat).

Pisugu (P) (K). Tel. & Kan., to squeeze, knead; stingy. Tam., '*picaku*' & '*picukku*' = failure, mistake (syn., '*tavaṟu*'); blunder (syn., '*kuṟṟam*'); disagreement; alteration; deviation; '*picaku*' = miss a note or beat ('*aṭaital*').

Pukāpiṭuku (P). In the Vallam inscription of Mahēndra's reign, this title of Mahēndra clearly appears in the Tamil script as: '*Pakāppiṭuku*'. Thus, '*pukā*' = '*pakā*' = undivided, indivisible (e.g., Tam., '*Pakāpporuḷ*' = 'The Indivisible' – 'The Supreme Being'); and Tel., '*piṭuku*' ('*piḍugu*') = thunderbolt. Full title: 'Undivided thunderbolt', i.e., a single, solid bolt of lightning (not branching). Another Pallava Tam./Tel. title equivalent to this is '*Viṭēlviṭuku*' ('*Viḍēlviḍugu*'). The Skt. equivalent is: '*Akhaṇḍāśaṇiḥ*' (King Rājasiṁha's title found in his Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi [29.3]). The later Pallavas also assume such titles as '*Perumpiṭuku*' and '*Mārppiṭuku*'.

Puruṣōttamaḥ (T). Skt., 'Best among men'; 'Noblest of men'.

Perindhi (P). Kan., '*per*' = great; '*indhana*' = kindling, fuel. Thus, 'Great fire'. '*Indha*', from the root, '*indh*', applied to Indra as God of lightning. Thus, '*per*' = '*mahā*'; and '*indhi*' = 'Indra'. And we finally have the equation: '*Perindhi*' = Mahēndra (King Mahēndra, identified with the King of the gods).

Prak[**āraṇaḥ**] (T); **Prakāraṇa**[**ḥ**] (P). Skt., 'The creator (author) of a prakaraṇa'. [*Cārudattam*?]

Pravṛtta-mātra[**ḥ**] (P). Skt., '*pravṛtta*' = worldly affairs; '*mātra*' = solely. I.e., '(One who is) devoted (to the) welfare (of his people)'. Or: 'Ever-enthusiastic'; 'Ever-active'. Or: 'Ever-creative, inventive'.

Bāku (P). Tam., '*pāku*' = beauty. Tel., '*bāgu*' = beauty, charm. Kan., '*bāku*' = dagger.

Bujjanakanthu (P). Prkt., 'Downfall (*kanthu*) to the Buddhists (*Bujjana*)'.

Bhūbhuja (Mamandur). Skt., '(He who supports) the world (by the strength of his) arm'.

Bhrāntaḥ (P) (K). Skt., frenzied; varied, versatile. Ref. also to: '*Vibhrāntaḥ*', 'The highly passionate', a title on the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram. We find these ideas given flesh humorously in the Madman, in the *Mattavilāsa*.

Maṁku (T). Kan., '*maṅku*' = dullness, stupidity. Skt., '*maṅku*' = to go, to move, to act (for the sake of others); also, shaking, vacillating; and adorned, decorated. Kan., '*maṅgu*' = masculine, manly.

Mattavilāsaḥ (T) (P). Skt., '(One who) sports (with) revelry'. Some similar Pallava titles are: '*Mattapramattaḥ*', 'The madly excited', Kailāsanātha (23.3); and '*Mattavikāraḥ*', 'The madly passionate', Kailāsanātha (23.4). '*Madanavilāsa*', 'Manifestation of the god of love', was a title of the Atiya king, Guṇaśīla, in Namakkal. Consider, also, '*Mudamuditṉṟ*', 'One who enjoys revelry', 8th century Tel. title. Most importantly, '*Mattavilāsa*' was the title of King Mahēndra's farce dealing with drunkenness and madness.

Manprāvu (T) (P). Skt., '*man*' = desires, wishes; '*prāvu*', fr. Skt., '*prav*' = satisfy. Thus, '*Manprāvu*' (Tel. form) may be translated as: '(One who) satisfies desires'.

Mayamayakku (T); **Mayamakku** (P). Tam., '*mayakku*' = enchantment, spell, swoon, etc.; the doubling may indicate the causative form or simply an enhancement of the root word. '*Maya*' was the name of an asura, described sometimes as the artificer of the daityas, versed in magic, astronomy, and military science; and therefore this title of the king could indicate that the king has the abilities of Maya which astonish and dumbfound.

Maṟumāṟṟa (T); **Maṟumāṟ**[**ṟ**]**a** (P). Tam., '*maṟumāṟṟam*' = renaissance, *re*-conversion (the king is the agent of a renaissance). We may understand that this refers to a renaissance of Hinduism, a reconversion of the people back to their old faith, away from the heterodox religions of Buddhism and Jainism. Also, the overthrow of King Pālaka by Āryaka in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

Mahāmēghaḥ (T) (P) (K). Skt., 'The great cloud'; or, 'Thundercloud'. See also: '*Śrīmēghaḥ*', 'The cloud (which showers) prosperity' – a title found on the Dharmarāja Ratha, Māmallapuram.

Mahēndra (Mahendravadi); **Mahēndravikramaḥ** (T) (P) (Chezarla); **Mayēntirappōtarecaru** (Vallam). Skt., '*Mahēndravikramaḥ*' = 'The valorous Mahēndra'. Tam./Tel., '*Mayēntirappōtarecaru*' is in the Tamil script – and is a Dravidianized form of the Sanksrit, '*Mahēndra-Pōta-Rāja*' ('*pōta*' = Pallava).

Miḍēlcuṟo (T) (P). Kan., '*miḍe*' = to love, unite, understand; seize, hurt; '*cuṟo*' = thief. Thus, '(One who) understands thieves'. Similar to his title, '*Mūrkhavijja*'.

Mūrkhavijja (T); [**Mūrkhavijja**] (P). Prkt. fr. Skt., '*mūrkha*' = rogues; '*vijja*', from '*vidyā*' = knowledge. The title may be translated as, '(One who is) wise to rogues'. Or: 'A rogue's cunning'.

Moggara (T); **Mogga**[**ra**] (P). Guj., 'Mogra'= croc god. Skt., '*mudgara*' = mace, club; bud ('*pallava*')?

Mlāyu (T). From Skt., '*mlāyin*' = growing thin or emaciated (through tapas?). 'Wither(er) (of enemies)'. Or: derived from '*malāyu*' (an area in Sumatra?). '*Mlōyu*' is another reading.

Yamuku (P). Refer to '*Emuku*', above, in this list.

Lakṣitaḥ (T) (P) (Mandagappattu). Skt., 'Distinguished'; auspicious, having auspicious marks; authoritative!

[**Laḷi**]**tāṁkuraḥ** (T) (Siyamangalam); **Laḷitāṅkuraḥ** (P); **Laḷitāṅkuraṉ** (Vallam). Skt., 'The charming rake' (or scion = *pallava*)'. The title at Vallam is written in the Tamil script and in Tamilized form. Related titles, '*Laḷitaḥ*' and '*Kāmalaḷitaḥ*', are found on the Dharmarāja Ratha; '*Nayāṁkuraḥ*', Dharmarāja Ratha; and '*Taruṇāṁkura*', Gaṇēśa Ratha and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa.

Lōkavaśyaḥ (P). Skt., 'Controller of the world' (by attraction, positively, rather than by force).

Vaṁkaḥ (T); **Vaṅkaḥmpu** (P); **Vaṁkaṁbu** (K). In the Tamil epic, *Maṇimēkalai*, King Ceṅkuttuvaṉ crosses the Gaṅgā river in a boat called '*vaṅkam*'. Consider Mahēndra's title, '*Teppu*'. Tel., '*vaṅka*' = stream, current of water, torrent. Pāli, '*vaṅka*' = crooked, deceitful. The idea of crookedness here may have some reference to musical scales differing in descent from ascent – one meaning, perhaps, of Mahēndra's title, '*Saṅkīrṇṇajātiḥ*'.

Vakiḷu (T); **Vaṁkiḷu** (P). Tel., upper arm band. Or: 'crooked' musical scale?

Vañjavalava (T). Tam., '*vañcam*' = cruelty; violence; wickedness; revenge; '*valavaṉ*' = conqueror; emperor; strong man. Thus, the title may be translated, 'Subduer of the wicked (or rebels)'. Also: Tam., '*vañca*', from Skt. '*vaṁśa*' = lineage; thus, '(Of the) family of emperors'. '*Vañja-valava*' = '*Vaṁśa-rāja*' = '*Vatsa-rāja*' (ref. to the hero of one of the so-called Bhāsa plays). Finally, consider the equation: *Vañjavalava* = *Vēntulavitta* (Tamil), another title in this list.

Vambara (T) (P) (K). From Skt., 'Remover of burdens' (lit., 'Vomiter of burdens'). Tel., '*vembara*' = a fool; a wicked person, a madman; '*Vempara*' = plague; trouble; annoyance.

Vambu (T); **Vampu** (P). Tam., ribaldry, obscenity; breast-band; quarrelsomeness; newness, novelty (all of this is representative of Mahēndra's two farces, *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka*).

Vāyiveṇḍi (P). Old Tel., '*vāyi*' = mouth; '*veṇḍi*' = silver; pure. 'Silver tongued (orator, singer)'. 'He of pure speech' (connected with his title, '*Satyasandhaḥ*'?).

Vāveṇḍi (T). As above?

[**Vicitra**]**cittaḥ** (T); **Vicitracittaḥ** (P) Skt., 'Inventive mind'; a mind of many-sided talents.

Viḍē[**māyaḥ**] (T); **Viḍēmāyaḥ** (P). Tel., '*viḍē*' = unsplittable; unstoppable; '*māya*' = power. Thus, '(He of) unstoppable power'. Ref. to '*Amēyamāyaḥ*', '(He whose) power is unfathomable', a title on the Dharmarāja Ratha. The title, '*Māyacāraḥ*', 'Diplomat', is found in the Kailāsanātha list (26.1).

Vidhi[**ḥ**] (T). Skt., Ruler; Fate.

Virasaḥ (T) (P). Skt., Tasteless (or: Exalted taste!). Also: 'Vulgar', 'Obscene' – the Tamil form is '*viracam*' (see the *Dictionary of Contemporary Tamil*), a synonym of which is '*āpācam*' = pornographic; salacious. Mahēndra's two farces may appear to portray such 'tastelessness' in certain passages.

Vilē[**yā**]**ḷa** (P). Tam., '*Vilaiyāḷar*' = seller, dealer; (public) servant?

Vukā (T) (P). From Tam., '*pukā*' = 'Indivisible'; 'Impregnable'. Skt., '*buka*' = '*hāsya*', laughter (also written '*vuka*'); the long '*ā*' may indicate the causative form: to make laugh.

Vunātha (T); [**Vunātha**] (P); **Vnātha** (K). From Skt., '*vinātha*' = having no lord or master; and, therefore, unprotected. Note the use of the terms, '*Anīśa*'/'*Paramēśvara*', in the Gaṇēśa Ratha Inscription.

Vēntulavittu (P). Tam., '*vēntu*' = king; royal; '*vittu*' = race, lineage; i.e., of royal lineage. *Vēntulavittu* = *Vañjavalava*.

Vēsātha (T); [**Vēsātha**] (P). Pāli, '*Vesārajja*' from Skt., '*Vaiśa-radhya*' = perfect enlightenment.

Vyavasāyaḥ (T) (P). Skt., 'Resolution (personified)'; energy; enterprise; perseverance; painstaking; industry; diligence. The fourth sandhi in dramaturgy is concerned with frustration – one element of which is '*vyavasāya*' (perseverance, determination).

Vyavasthitaḥ (T) (P). Skt., 'Ordered rule'; perseverance, determination.

Vḷāpu (T) (P). "[F]rom old Tamil *viḷā* and the grammatical suffix *-pu*. The words *vaḷā* or *viḷā* in Tamil mean 'to pervade'."[46] 'One/which pervades (all)'

Śatrumalla (Mamandur) (Dalavanur) (T); **Catturummallaṉ** (Vallam). Skt., 'The foe-mauling wrestler'. This title of Mahēndra was used by him in the 'Bharatavākyam' (Benediction) of his play, *Mattavilāsa*.

Saṁkīrṇṇajātiḥ (T); **Saṅkīrṇṇajātiḥ** (P). Skt., mixed caste; mixed (musical) rāga; awareness of the indwelling Self ["*sthāṇuḥ svayañ-ca saha tēnañ-jagatsu jātaḥ* l", i.e., awareness that the king was united with Śiva (Sthāṇu) in (this) world – the Tiruchi poem of Mahēndra's]. In the drama, *Cārudattam*, the Sūtradhāra is 'born again' (in another *jāti*).

Satyasandhaḥ (T) (P) (Mamandur). Skt., '(One who) sticks to the truth'. One of the 108 names of Śiva.

Sarvvana[**yaḥ**] (T). Skt., 'All-round master of polity'. Note that in Mahēndra's play, *Mattavilāsa*, this title is used by him with reference to his father, King Siṁhaviṣṇu:

> *Pallava-kula-dharaṇi-maṇḍala-kula-parvatasya* ***sarvanaya****-vijita-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalasya ākhaṇḍala-sama-parākrama-śriyaḥ śrī-mahimānurūpa-dana-vibhūti-paribhūta-rājarājasya Śrī-Siṁhaviṣṇuvarmaṇaḥ. . . .*

Sthāṇu (T). Skt., firm, steady, etc. Also a name of Śiva.

——[**s**]**arṟa** (T). (?)

——**gu** (P). (?) This title has been read as '*Ananyaḥ*' (*S.-I.I.*, XII, 13) – which is certainly a misreading of the word. The conjunct letter is definitely not '*-nya*'. I read it '*-gu*'. Other possible consonants which could be found with this particular form of the '*u*' are '*bh*', '*t*', and '*ś*'.

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[1]This study by Lockwood and Bhat is a revised version of an earlier one which, on March 25th, 1977, was read at the Third Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, meeting at Udupi.

[2]*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VII (1937), pp. 219-246 and 303-330.

[3]*The Pallavas of Kāñchī in South-East Asia* (Madras: The Swadesamitran Press, 1967), pp. 76ff.

[4]*Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1969), pp. 70 & 71.

[5]PALLAVARAM: the text and facsimile are given in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, XII, No. 13. See also: *Archæological Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1908*, No. 369. The temple is described in the *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 17*, p. 16.

[6]TIRUCHIRAPALLI: *S.-I.I.*, XII, Nos. 8 & 9. *A.R.S.I.E.*, *1908*, Nos. 411 & 411-A.

[7]KANCHIPURAM PILLAR: *S.-I.I.*, XII, No. 14.

[8]MANDAGAPPATTU: *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 14-17; *S.-I.I.*, XII, No. 12; *A.R.S.I.E., 1905*, No. 56.

[9]VALLAM: *S.-I.I.*, II, No. 72 (with estampage, Plate X).

[10]MAHENDRAVADI: *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 152-53; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Pallava Antiquities* has an estampage.

[11]MAMANDUR: *S.-I.I.*, IV, No. 136 (text and estampage); *A.R.S.I.E., 1888*, No. 58.

[12]DALAVANUR: *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 225-26; noted in *S.-I.I.*, XII, No. 10; *A.R.S.I.E,, 1905*, No. 51.

[13]SIYAMANGALAM: *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 319-320 (text & estampage).

[14]TIRUCHI: *S.-I.I.*, I, Nos. 33 & 34 (text of poem); the estampage for No. 34 only is found in *S.-I.I.*, II, Plate X; *A.R.S.I.E., 1888*, Nos. 63 & 64; *S.-I.I.*, XII, No. 9 (text and estampage of dedicatory inscription); *A.R.S.I.E., 1904*, Nos. 411 & 411-A.

[15]CHEZARLA: *S.-I.I.*, VI, No. 595 (text only); *A.R.S.I.E., 1899*, No. 155-A.

[16]See the chapter above, in this book: "Mahēndra's Paradoxical *Birudas*".

[17]*S.-I.I.*, VI, No. 13: '*Kaththu*'. [18]*Ibid.*: '*Kathumpu*'.

[19]*Ibid.*: '*Alarvale*'. [20]*Ibid.*: '*Arkkapā(s)umpu*'.

[21]*Ibid.*: '*(Ē)ththu*'. [22]*Ibid.*: '*Piṭuvārē*'. [23]*Ibid.*: '*Perinthi*'.

[24]*Ibid.*: '*Pavi(thuh)*'. [25]*Ibid.*: '*(Ō)ththu*'. [26]*Othu*?

[27]*S.-I.I.*, VI, No. 13: '*(Udhdha)ti(ḥ).* [28]*Ibid.*: '*Ummākuṁḍu*'.

[29]*Ibid.*: '*Kaṭuḥkrakaṁḥ*'. [30]*Ibid.*: '*Tathudaṇḍa*'.

[31]*Ibid.*: '*Tō(thth)u*'. [32]*Ibid.*: '*Tēththa*'.

[33]*Ibid.*: '*Nathuku*'. [34]*Ibid.*: ' *Mathumātha*'.

[35]*Ibid.*: '*Vithēlcuthō*'. [36]*Ibid.*: '*Vēsāḷi*'. [37]*Ibid.*: '*Vu(sātha)*'.

[38]*Ibid.*: '*(Vāvēḷti)*'. [39]*Ibid.*: '*Vḷā(su)*'.

[40]*Ibid.*: '*Vērasaḥ*'. [41]*Ibid.*: '*Ākaraḥ*'. [42]*Ibid.*: '*Āyatha*'.

[43]Proper right pilaster, high up on the bracket, facing south.

[44]The '*y*' can be deduced with reasonable certainty from the remaining fragment of that letter; the '*aḥ*' are postulated.

[45]A tiny fragment of a letter ('*ka*'?) remains; this and the other letters are postulated.

[46]Iravatham Mahadevan suggested this interpretation in an e-mail sent to us on the 19th of June, 2004. The relevant passage in full in his e-mail is the following:

> According to me, the *biruda* [Vḷāpu] is made up of the stem *vḷā* (< from old Tamil *vaḷā* or *viḷā*) and the grammatical suffix *-pu*. The words *vaḷā* or *viḷā* in Tamil mean 'to pervade' or 'occupy space', thus being the equivalent of Skt. *vyāp*. It is interesting that both citations of this word in the *Tamil Lexicon* are from [the] *Divya Prabandham* referring to the legend of Trivikrama (*TL*, vol. 6, p. 3728). On this evidence I would translate Vḷāpu as 'One/which pervades (all)'.

This title of Mahēndra's may, therefore, strengthen the possibility of the royal poet being the author of the short Sanskrit play, the *Traivikramam*.

NINETEEN

Newly Discovered Monuments at Māmallapuram[1]

The little shrine and examples of sculpture discovered (1990) by the Archæological Survey of India beneath the sands, immediately to the north of the main complex of the Shore Temple, Māmallapuram, are important new additions to the known works of the Pallava king, Narasiṁhavarmā-II, more commonly referred to by his title, Rājasiṁha.

The center of interest in the area uncovered is a small cylin-drical shrine which stands in the focal point of the protective stone wall which curves around it on the southern side. Positioned against this wall on the southern side is a massive image of the Varāha (Boar) Avatāra of Lord Viṣṇu, shown here completely in animal form, with its snout rooting downward into the earth. Water is indicated by the lotuses under its body. This image is carved in the round from the bedrock.

Inscriptions

On the front face of the pedestal of the Varāha image are engraved three of Narasiṁhavarmā's titles: *Śrī Rājasiṁhaḥ*, *Śrī Raṇajayaḥ*, and *Śrībharaḥ*. On the west flank of the pedestal is inscribed: *Śrī Citrakārmmukaḥ*. These four titles, along with the honorific '*Śrī*', may be translated as: 'The illustrious Lion among Kings', 'The illustrious Victor in Battle', 'The Upholder of Pros-perity', and 'The illustrious Wonderful Archer'.

These four titles appear in other inscriptions of Rājasiṁha's elsewhere in the Shore Temple, itself, and in Kanchi and Panamalai.

In Kanchi

The four titles are among the *birudas* inscribed on the façades of three of the little shrines surrounding the main Kailāsanātha temple. (Ref. to Chp. 16, above, for further details.) '*Śrī Rājasiṁhaḥ*' is the first title engraved on Shrine No. 1. '*Śrī Raṇajayaḥ*' is the third title on the same shrine. '*Śrībharaḥ*' is the third title on the third shrine; and '*Śrī Citrakārmmukaḥ*', the second on shrine 14. (The shrine numbers which I am using are the ones engraved on them by the A.S.I.)

Again, these same four titles appear in the final verse (*V. 12*) of King Narasiṁha's inscription around the outside of the main shrine (the main vimāna) of what is today called the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi.[2] This verse reads:

Rājasiṁhō Raṇajaya[*ḥ*] *Śrībharaś-Citrakārmukaḥ* [|*]
Ēkavīraś-ciraṁ pātu [*Śi*]*va-cūḍāmaṇir-m-mahīm* [||12||*]

May Rājasiṁha, the Victor in Battle, the Upholder of Prosperity, the Wonderful Archer,
First among Heroes (*Ēkavīra*), (who has) Śiva for his crest-jewel, for a long time protect the earth!

In Panamalai

In a natural cavern near the hill at Panamalai, there is a slab inscription which repeats just this one verse (the twelfth verse of the Kailāsanātha inscription).

In Māmallapuram

This same verse is part of Rājasiṁha's inscription on the balipīṭhas (the stone altars for offerings) for the three shrines of the main complex of the Shore Temple.

Fragments of **a second newly discovered inscription** are found on the inner faces of three upper rim stone slabs on the south western curve of the retaining wall which surrounds the cylindrical shrine. They read, in the following order, from left to right:

(1) *. . . Rājasiṁhō yaḥ kṣatrasiṁha iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttiḥ jīyā-*

(2) *t-[Ma]hēśvara-śikhāmaṇi-dīpta-mauli-*

(3) *[ryyu]ddhārjjunō nikhila-lōka-narē . . .*

These lines are identical with the major portion of the following passage found in Rājasiṁha's Vāyalūr Pillar Inscription:

Śrī-Pallavānvaya-kulācala-Rājasiṁhō
yaḥ kṣatrasiṁha iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttiḥ |
Jīyāt-Mahēśvara-śikhāmaṇi-dīpta-maulir-
y-yuddhārjjunō nikhila-lōka-Narēndrasiṁhaḥ ||[3]

Which may be translated:

The illustrious Rājasiṁha, of that mountain range which constitutes the Pallava dynasty,
Whose well-merited fame is widespread as the Lion among Warriors (*Kṣatrasiṁha*),
(For whom) Mahēśvara is his crown's gleaming crest-jewel, (and) who is the Arjuna-of-War,
Long may he live, that Lion among Kings (*Narēndrasiṁha*), Ruler of the entire world!

This verse proclaims King Rājasiṁha's devotion to Mahēśvara (Śiva). It is, therefore, interesting to find such a striking image of the Varāha Avatāra of Viṣṇu among these monuments. Unfortunately, this sculpture has been deliberately broken into pieces at some time in the distant past. More than one series of wedge holes were chiseled into the back and flank of the Boar, and then the stone was split apart. The pieces of the image have been reassembled by the A.S.I. so that it is now close to its original form.

Cylindrical Shrine

The little cylinder-shaped shrine is very unusual. Its adhiṣṭhāna – the part from the molded base up to the floor of the miniature sanctum – has been carved out of the bedrock, a fine quality, beige gneiss. The rest of the shrine is made up of three carved blocks of another type of stone placed one on top of the other on this fixed base. These three blocks were lying scattered under the sand until the A.S.I. cleared the area, found them and refitted them, forming, once again, a complete shrine.

The first block, which forms the main walls of the sanctum (the *pāda*), with four pilasters having rampant *yāḷis* with riders carved

in front of each, rises from the base of the sanctum to the top of the pilasters.

The second block forms the cover to the sanctum, with overhanging cornice (*kapōta*) and the narrow neck (*grīvā*). The cornice is decorated with four horse-shoe shaped 'windows', unfinished in detail, which are positioned, one each, over a pilaster. On the upper surface of the cornice is a ring of four little, horned *yāḷi* busts alternating with four little *gaṇas* (goblins). The *grīvā* has four conch-blowing *gaṇas* carved directly above the *yāḷis* on the cornice.

The third block forms the crowning cupola (*śikhara*), with four horse-shoe 'windows' (*nāsikās* or *kūḍus*) carved on the east, south, west, and north sides. A miniature bas-relief image of Gaṇapati is found within each of these 'windows'.

The topmost finial (*stūpī*) is missing.

Every part of this little shrine is round on the outside except for two sub-plinth moldings (*upānas*) at its very base. The lowest of these moldings forms a regular octagon; the one just above it has sixteen sides.

It is an interesting fact that another example of a slender, cylindrical shrine is found carved in high relief under the great arches of the Gaṇēśa Ratha, Māmallapuram. This rendition of a cylindrical shrine is severely simple, lacking ornamentation such as pilasters, *yāḷis*, and *gaṇas*.

Cylindrical Shrine, Shore Temple

On the eastern side of the Shore Temple's cylindrical shrine is the opening to the cubical sanctum. On the back wall of this tiny cell is carved an image of Ardhanārīśvara (the hermaphrodite, composite image of Śiva and his consort, Umā). The right half of the figure is Śiva; the left half, Umā. This figure is seated on the bull, Nandi. Ardhanārī holds a vīṇā (lute) diagonally across the chest.

I must add that these details are not clear in the little image of Ardhanārī in this shrine. One must be acquainted with this form of the god/dess as portrayed by Pallava artists elsewhere. One of the finest, clearest, and most accessible examples of Vīṇādhara Ardhanārī is found carved on the outer, western side of the Kailāsanātha temple (main *vimāna*), Kanchi. The largest and most impressive panel showing just this form of Ardhanārī, seated on Nandi, holding a vīṇā, is found on the inner left wall of the sanctum sanctorum of the Vēdagirīśvara temple, Tirukkalukkunram. However, a visitor to this temple might not even notice this masterwork of Pallava art because there is such dim light within the sanctum.[4]

Cylindrical Shrine in relief, Gaṇēśa Ratha

Historically, there was a close connection from the time of Rājasiṁha between the Śiva temples at Tirukkalukkunram and the Shore Temple (Śiva shrines), Māmallapuram. For hundreds of years, the deity was brought from Tirukkalukkunram to Māmallapuram in a ritual annual ceremony. In recent years, however, this custom has been abandoned due to friction between dominant groups in each place (Śaivites in Tirukkalukkunram; Vaiṣṇavites in Māmallapuram).

The extraordinarily slender, cylindrical shape of the newly discovered shrine suggests that it is a novel expression of the Liṅgōdbhava theme. That the Ardhanārī form of the Almighty is at the heart of the Divine's creative power, symbolized by the liṅga form, would be most appropriate.[5] The suggestiveness of this interpretation would incorporate into the Liṅgōdbhava myth the image of the Boar nearby – Viṣṇu's taking this form to root downward to try to find the lower limit of the pillar (liṅga). Will an image of the sacred Goose (Haṁsa – the corresponding form of Brahmā) also be found in the sands nearby?

Cistern

To the north of the little shrine, at ground level, there is a small circular cistern carved out of stone. Recessed into its eastern side is a small bas-relief carving of a royal-looking lady seated at ease on a throne, with two attendant females standing behind.

Retaining Wall

Some observers have proposed that the wall around the little shrine was the wall of a spacious temple, apsidal in form, and that the little cylindrical shrine was the central object of worship within this much larger temple.

This view seems to me to be mistaken for the following two reasons. First, the wall is stepped – a characteristic more appropriate to a retaining wall (to keep sand out) than to a wall of a temple's sanctum (*vimāna*). Second, the inscriptions on the Varāha image's pedestal and on the inner face of the wall would indicate that there was sufficient light to read the inscriptions, and that people moved freely within the confines of the wall. This freedom would not have been there if this were the sacred area within the sanctum of an apsidal temple.

Chronology

We learn from the Ciṟṟūr Grant (copper plates) of the Pallava king, Nṛpatuṅgavarmā, that one of his predecessors, King Narasiṁhavarmā (the First), "built out of stone, on the ocean, an abode for the One who possesses the mighty discus [i.e., Viṣṇu] to recline in":

Siṁha Śrī-Narasiṁha ity-ari-kula-sthambēramāṇām-abhūd-yaś-śayā-gṛham-aśmabhir-j-jalanidhau cakrē Mahā-cakriṇaḥ ‖7‖[6]

The great poet Daṇḍin, in the latter half of the 7th century, A.D., tells of his visit to the Reclining Viṣṇu image on the sea-shore at Māmallapuram. It is evident from his account that the two Śiva sanctums had not at that time been built by King Rājasiṁha. Daṇḍin speaks of the image of Viṣṇu as having been made by the 'ancients'. Therefore, I would suggest that the Viṣṇu image was carved in a period even earlier than the reign of Narasiṁha-I (Mahāmalla) – probably during the reign of Siṁhaviṣṇu, Mahāmalla's grandfather – and that it originally was in the open air. Then, in the reign of Narasiṁha-I, the king had a superstructure built of stone blocks. Five or so decades later, Rājasiṁha, first, created the little cylindrical shrine for the 'Liṅgōdbhava Ardhanārīśvara', establishing the presence of Śiva and Umā in this holy place, along with an image of Varāha, and, then, at some later date, he radically transformed the site by constructing two Śiva shrines,

Cistern

Stepped wall around cylindrical shrine

one (the Kṣatriyasiṁhēśvara) in front of, and the other (the Rājasiṁhēśvara) in back of the Reclining Viṣṇu. At the same time that Rājasiṁha built these two Śiva temple towers, he rebuilt the superstructure of the Viṣṇu shrine and named it '*Narapatisiṁha-Pallava-Viṣṇu-Gṛham*', incorporating this shrine architecturally and visually into the prākāra wall of the larger, east-facing Śiva shrine, the 'Kṣatriyasiṁhēśvara'. The assortment of shrines on the shore of Māmallapuram was, thus, finally, brought to the number which we see today at this place.

Further Discoveries at the Shore Temple

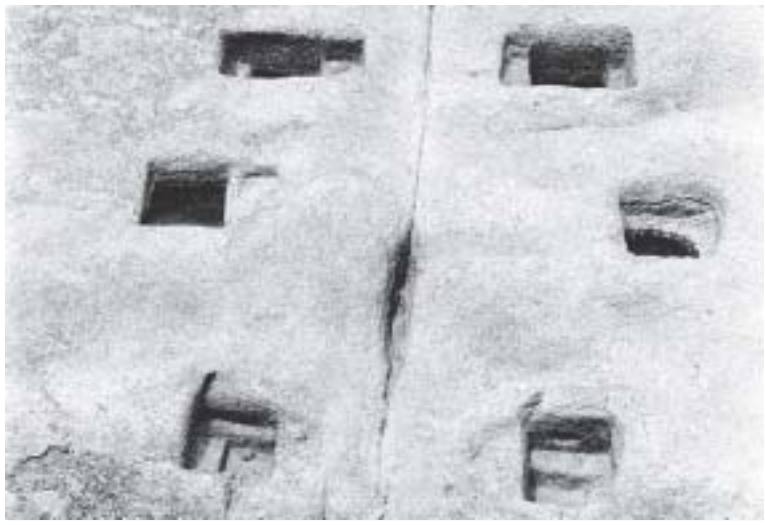
The Eastern frontage of the prākāra wall of the Shore Temple, with its little proto-gōpura doorway, was built on a large, massive rock which forms the very foundation of the whole temple complex.

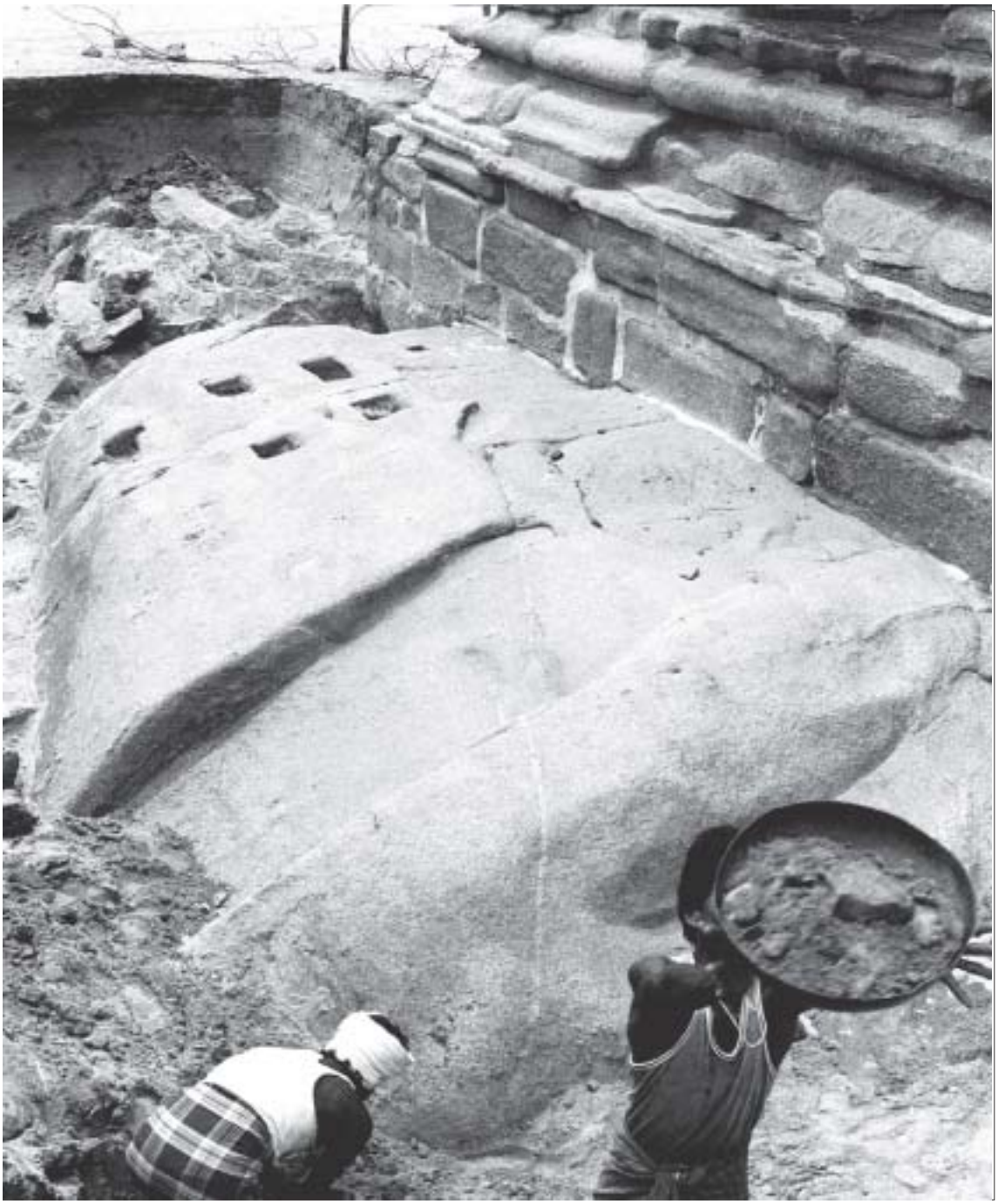
Until a few decades ago, the waves of the Bay of Bengal broke against this rock formation which curved downward into the sand and water. Then, in the mid-century, a groyne wall or breakwater was constructed several meters in front of the temple to protect it from the sea. The rock formation just in front was covered with sand.

In 1991, the Archæological Survey of India began a little dig and exposed once again the rock in front of the temple. What is very interesting, indeed, is the fact that there is a slide carved in this rock. Did the children of that time, more than 1200 years ago, slide with a splash into the waves?

The rock surface to the left (south) of the slide has six sockets cut into it, presumably to hold six pillars of a small shrine. This is the second six-sided shrine we have noticed at Māmallapuram. Skanda (Subrahmaṇya/Murugaṉ), the six-faced god, was born on the banks of the river Gaṅgā. We have, here, a re-creation of river and bank!

A groove in the rock runs straight across the "floor" of this shrine, from back to front. The groove, in part, appears to have been formed by nature. Was it venerated as a *svayambhū* (self-born) *yōnī*, the feminine counterpart of the liṅga, enshrined in the Shore Temple?





The rock formation on which the Shore Temple stands is exposed once again. The sea water used to reach this rock until a groyne wall was built in front during the early part of this century. Note the (children's?) slide cut in the stone.

An Ancient Breakwater

In 1992, yet another ancient feature of the Shore Temple complex was uncovered beneath the sands. An excavation, to the south-west of the temple, has exposed a stepped structure. What at first appeared to be the stepped side of a temple tank, has turned out to be the elaborate stonework foundation of a breakwater. This ancient groyne wall is presently a considerable distance inland from the shoreline. In the seventh and eighth centuries, however, the sea must have reached around in back of the complex, almost creating a little island on which the monuments were located.

Blocks of reddish laterite stone form the basic material of this wall. But a stepped system of keyed granite slabs was designed to keep the wall from yielding to the force of the waves which dashed against

'Keyed' structure – Breakwater foundation

Breakwater wall – intact section

it. A short length of this wall is [was] still relatively intact from top to bottom. It can be seen that rough lime plaster had been used to fill the gaps between the stone blocks.

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[1]Based on M.C. Lockwood's essay of the same title published in *Indological Essays: Commemorative Volume II for Gift Siromoney* (1992), pp. 44-56.

[2]First published by E. Hultzsch in *South-Indian Inscriptions* (1890), Vol. 1, pp. 12-13.

[3]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 145-152.

[4]We have described this panel in detail in the second study of this book.

[5]In May, 1994, I visited an exhibition of South Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. One of the exhibits displayed one half each of two portable, stone liṅgas, only a few inches tall. (Only the right half of the larger liṅga has survived; and only the left half of the smaller liṅga.) The divide in each liṅga is from top to bottom and front to back. When closed, the two halves of each liṅga would have formed an *ēka-mukha-liṅga* (a liṅga having Śiva's anthropomorphic face on the front). When opened up, in the manner of a diptych, there would have been revealed carvings on the inside of both halves. On the 'inside' of the extant, larger liṅga-half, there are four relief images: Śiva, Umā, tiny Skanda holding the *vēl* (spear), and Nandi (all of them, thus, forming a miniature Sōmāskanda!). The exhibitors had dated the larger liṅga in the seventh century A.D. The smaller one, from the sixth to the seventh century. These miniature liṅgas could have been used in household worship, and, thus, may be considered portable, private versions of the type of cylindrical shrine built by King Rājasiṁha, which was fixed, royal and public. (I am speaking, here, of general practice, and am not suggesting any direct copying, one way or the other!) The monthly magazine, *Span*, published by the U.S.I.S., Delhi, had a photograph of the larger of these two portable liṅgas on the cover of its June, 1992, issue. The following information about it was given: "One of the Indian art objects from the Samuel Eilenberg Collection on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City – *Section of a Portable Linga with Shiva and Parvati*, Kashmir, 7th century, chlorite, height 7.6 cm. [3 in.]."

[6]See *Copper Plate Inscriptions of the State Museum*, Vol. III, edited by N. Ramesan (Hyderabad: Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, 1972), pp. 170-171.

Half of the larger ēka-mukha-liṅga, Samuel Eilenberg Collection

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987. (1987.142.66)
Photograph by Otto Nelson.
All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Inner figures of the liṅga's half

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987. (1987.142.66)
Photograph by Otto Nelson
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Fig. 1. In the foreground: Mini Well, Cylindrical Shrine, and Varāha.

Fig. 3. Ardhanārī image inside the Cylindrical Shrine.

Fig. 4. Relief image of a 'cylindrical' shrine, Gaṇēśa Ratha.

Fig. 5. Mini Well, with carving of a seated, regal-looking lady.

TWENTY

Vīṇādhara Ardhanārīśvara

A popularized and somewhat (editorially) transmogrified account of my previous essay on newly discovered monuments at Māmallapuram, together with a number of photographs, was published in the July 30th, 1993, issue of the magazine, Frontline. *It generated an interesting exchange of letters to the editor, which appeared in the August 27th issue of that magazine. I reproduce, below, with permission, the two letters – and the three photographs which accompanied my letter:*

Mamallapuram

This has reference to Dr. Michael Lockwood's article, "Stone stories" (July 30), on the recent discoveries at Mamallapuram. The writer neither was associated with the excavation nor seems to have consulted any archaeologist who made the discoveries. He has wrongly identified some important sculptures, and I am writing because this excavation has added a new chapter to Pallava history and architecture at Mamallapuram.

Fig. 1: The author identifies the engraved figure in the *sanctum* as Ardhanarisvara. In fact, it is Vrishabhantika-Siva (Siva leaning on his vehicle, Vrishabha or bull). His description of the Varaha's "snout pointing downwards to burrow through to the lower extremity of the Sivalinga" is purely imaginary. No Sivalinga was installed in the *Garbhagriha* or *sanctum sanctorum* during Rajasimha's time, whereas the famous Somaskanda panel can be seen in all temples of his period.

Fig. 3: The engraved figure is identified as Ardhanarisvara as well as Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara. As far as I know there is no Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara, especially in the Vrishabhantika pose, occurring during the Rajasimha period. Here, the figure in the miniature temple is that of Vrishabhantika-Siva.

Fig. 4: The author compares the miniature temple's vimana with the Ganesa ratha's kanta-bhithi relief. This is not acceptable because the vimana has *kudus*, *ganavali* and *kirti mukha* while the Ganesa ratha's relief is simple and plain.

Fig. 5: The seated figure is identified as a royal lady whereas it is the river goddess attended by her servants. No royal lady would sit on the rim of a well.

K.T. Narasimhan
Archaeological Survey of India
Madras Circle
Madras

Dr. Michael Lockwood writes: With regard to K.T. Narasimhan's first paragraph, with all due respect to the Archaeological Survey of India and its officers, they are not the sole, nor necessarily the final authority in identifying and interpreting ancient sculptures.

Regarding the problem of identifying the bas relief figure in the *sanctum* of the cylindrical shrine (Figures 1 & 3) I said in the article that a familiarity with similar portrayals by Pallava artists elsewhere would help. There is a very large carved panel, representing this very same figure (Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara seated on the bull, Nandi) on the inner proper [right] (north facing) wall of the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Vedagirisvara temple at Tirukkazhukkunram. Almost 20 years ago, my colleagues, Dr. P. Dayanandan and the late Dr. Gift Siromoney, and I published a detailed description of this Rajasimha-style 'Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara' in our book *Mahabalipuram Studies* (1974). As this detailed and well-preserved carved figure is inside the sanctum, photography is not permitted. However, anyone who would take the time and trouble to make a careful visual study of this Vedagirisvara carving would understand the logic of my identification of the Shore temple figure.

To support my argument further, however, I have photographs of three smaller sculptures of Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara belonging to the Rajasimha period.

Photograph A is of a sandstone image which [was] found in the courtyard of the Kailasanatha temple, Kanchipuram, and is remarkably similar to the one in the much larger Tirukkazhukkunram panel. The figure in this photograph, like those of Tirukkazhukkunram and Mamallapuram, is also seated on Nandi.

Photograph B is of a figure of Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara seated on a plain throne – not on Nandi. This panel, carved on one face of a four-sided block of granite, was, at the time the picture was taken, in 1969, located in the forecourt of the Shore temple. The figure in this panel is almost identical in attributes and pose to the Tirukkazhukkunram, Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram images. Yet, as there is no bull in this panel, obviously, this figure cannot be called Vrishabhantika-Siva.

Photograph C is of a figure of Veenadhara-Ardhanarisvara, also seated on a plain throne. It is carved on the west side of the outer wall of the vimana of the Kailasanatha temple, Kanchi.

In response to Narasimhan's claim that "during Rajasimha's time no Sivalinga was installed in the *garbhagriha*" of his temples, I need only point out that this thesis has been a matter of scholarly debate for some years now. My own position is that the Sivalinga in the Shore temple is original, and I have argued this point in my book, *Mamallapuram and the Pallavas* (1982).

In all Pallava art, be it poetry, drama, or sculpture, there is *dhvani* (suggestiveness). Thus, I have suggested that the image of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu (Fig. 1) can be viewed as illustrating the Lingodbhava legend. This theme is found well illustrated in the sculpture of Rajasimha.

In Fig. 4, I illustrated another cylindrical shrine carved in high relief under the southern arch of the Ganesa ratha. That there is "some similarity," as I have stated, between this relief carving of a shrine and the newly-discovered cylindrical shrine, I leave to the readers to judge for themselves.

Finally, there is the question of the identity of the seated figure, carved in relief on the rim of the well (Fig. 5). Is it a royal lady or a river goddess? Let me answer this question by saying that in the time of the Pallavas – as in our own – the line between queen and goddess was exceedingly thin, and sometimes non-existent.

Photograph B

Photograph C

Postscript 1997:

Photograph A was taken by me in the late ’60s. This Vīṇādhara Ardhanārīśvara carving has, at some later time, been removed from Kanchipuram and is presently being exhibited, along with the carved block (Photograph B), in the A.S.I.’s site museum at Māmallapuram!

TWENTY ONE

The Kuḍumiyāmalai and Māmaṇḍūr Inscriptions of King Mahēndravikramavarman: A Review[1]

The Kuḍumiyāmalai and Māmaṇḍūr Inscriptions of the great Pallava king, Mahēndravikramavarman, are extremely tantalizing – each of them in its own way.

The Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription, though excellently preserved, presents a puzzling record of musical exercises involving various notes, to be played on the Parivādinī, an ancient type of vīṇā, having seven strings. Among the few scholars who have attempted to solve the enigma of this inscription, there has been no consensus about its ultimate interpretation.

The Māmaṇḍūr Inscription, on the other hand, has suffered grievously from the ravages of time. The rock surface on which it was engraved has crumbled away in many places leaving only patches of readable words and passages, which now constitute, perhaps, a little more than half the original inscription. It has been extremely difficult to get a coherent idea of the over-all flow of the text.

To assist in the re-translation of the Māmaṇḍūr Inscription, we have devised a transliterated version of the text, together with a word-for-word translation, directly underneath, which reproduces (approximately) the spacing of the words in the original inscription. This version is given on the next page. Our attempt at a running translation of the main body of the text, starting with line 6, now follows:

Māmaṇḍūr Inscription (lines 6 to 15)

[6] . . . Nāṭaka (one of the ten types of drama) . . . Vyāsa's equal's (work) . . . entitled *Bhagavadajjuka* (i.e., the work of him who is Vyāsa's equal, which is entitled *Bhagavadajjuka*), (which manifests the essence of) Hāsya (Rasa) (i.e., which manifests the Laughable); *Mattavilāsa* (which is both the title of one of the king's plays and a *word* signifying the highest degree of uncontrollable laughter), the quintessence (*uttama*) of the Prahasana (one of the ten types of drama), (which represents life from its) beginning (*ādi*) (to its end!).

[7] . . . Prākṛt . . . exciting . . . (these) four (plays) . . . ¶ She, who having (taken) delight in (her) victorious husband, King *Śatrumalla's* (singing),

[8] and gaining (through concentrated practice) a voice (resembling) the sound of honey-bees,
Who established (herself as) possessing the enlightening poetic intellectual insight, which
equalled that of her husband's,

[9 end] . . . Who, earlier, attained to the discipleship (of *Śatrumalla*) in the hallowed Śāstras
[9 beginning] . . . (on account of) her (singing) lofty-pitched syllables (conveying) poetic speech, full of meaning.

[10] . . . Who became the veritable goddess of music and art, in the company of her creator-husband . . .
. . . ¶ (He, the king,) together with his senior wife,

[11] . . . analyzing the rules (culled) from tradition, distinguished (the three ways in which the instrument may relate itself to the voice:) *Vṛtti*, *Dakṣiṇā*, and *Citrā*.[2] . . . Having carried (this) out (i.e., accomplished it) according to rules,

[12] (by) arranging (musical) syllables into groups of four, he established instrumental music (at a level) not achieved previously (by any of his predecessors), . . . (following her singing, in which) she (had distinguished herself) as (being) fully accomplished . . .

[13] . . . (on account of her) extraordinary wealth of vocal musical quality, which, with elation, was made manifest by him (on the instrument) . . .

[14] . . . With her (i.e., in the company of her), (one) who, needless to say, possessing the enthusiasm of Lakṣmī, as well as extraordinary character, . . .

[14 & 15] . . . whose inner brilliance was manifest in her teeth,

[15] resembling the crescent moon (*Candralēkha*) . . .

* * * * * * * * * *

avinitaka-samṛddha
arrogant arise

khya ndh

bharatānāyaka sabhā
actor-leading (hero) assembly

kāma[kṛta] ndhata cēra

n[ā]rīñca nāṭakam ‖
woman & Nāṭaka

[rā]ṇām-prāgṛta
prākṛt

d-bhramarīvāptasammadāḥ
bee like=gained delight

gurusvaravarṇṇayā
pitch note syllables-by-her

prajāpati samanvitām
Creator's with consort (Sarasvatī)

kalpāt pravibhajya
(from rules established by) tradition analyzing

[ya]ścavividhaiḥkṛtvāvarṇṇa–caturtthaya
various having-made syllables fours-groups-of

[kaṇṭha]śruti-guṇād- asādhāra[ṇa]sampadā
vocal note- quality-by extraordinary wealth-by

yatō visaṁvādaṁ lakṣmyā[manōtsu]katayā
because needless-to-say Lakṣmī-with mind-excitement due-to

[kānti]yathārtthēna candralēkēva yāgatā
brilliance truly-like moon-crescent-like who's-attained

yēṣu parāprītissaṁpanna syavapuṣā
in-whom highest affection wealth's abode's

[sa]hasrajharasaṁpūrṇṇamēghaśyāmasyagarjjita
thousand torrents-full cloud dark roar

1 vṛttamasya-vija[l]
conduct-of

2 prājāpatya
Brahmā-of

3 tt

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

vyāsakalpasya
Vyāsa's equal's

samūttējita
exciting

yā kavīnām prakāśa vattā
who poets-to enlightening containing

purātasyāḥ kavigi[rajasyārtha]vatā
in the past her poetic speech born meaning-full-of

pr[a] [ṇō]tta

[v]ṛtti-dakṣiṇa-citrâkhya[ṁ]
Vṛtti- Dakṣiṇā- Citrā=called

aprāptapūrvvannivēṣṭuṁvādya śravaṇa ya
un-attained previously establish-to instr. sound-heard

dṛṣṭvēvōtkarṣa[ṇē]na
having-made-it-manifest elation-with him-by

yasyāśśīlaviśē[ṣa]
whom-by character extraordinary-with

gātrandhaha ta
body-wealth

nityavinītēna satyasa[ndhēna]
Nityavin•ta-by Satyasandha-by

[madama]

gandharvvaśāstramakhila khilamukhōdgata
music science whole mouth-sprung

nād-bhāvanāgama[naḥ] pāṇḍuṁ gandhānā impāñcālanirmmita
imagination-coming fragrance Pāñcāla-in made

[śa]śikētuna manōbhirāma ma vālmīkivarṇ[ṇ]ita
Śaśikētu-by mind-pleasing by-Vālmīki described

vastrāpahāra [ri]pūṇāṁvajrasāyaka[ḥ]
clothes-stripping (grabbing) enemy thunderbolt-arrow

mudārārtthamurvvaśīsarvvaśōbhanā
crying Urvaśī all- shining

bhagavadajjukā[khyaṁhā]syammattavilāsādipadamprahasanōttama
Bhagavadajjuka titled the laughable Mattavilāsa starting word Prahasana quintessence

[cā]tuṣṭaya jayasyapatyuśśatrumallasyabhūbhuja[ḥ]
four victorious-husband's Śatrumalla's king's

[sa]mpattissamabuddhirivasthitā
wealth equal-know-how remained

[śā]strapunāṁtuśśiṣyatvamēyuṣaḥ
śāstras- hallowed discipleship attained

jyāyayā-svay[ā]
elder wife-with his own

ra [kāra]yitvāyathāvidhi
having done accd.-to-rule

ya ta kṛtavatīva
(she) fully-accomplished=as-if

yinī kṣēva[sdhakasa]

snāyata yā dantam-antara
ablution whose teeth inner

śāstrēśu nityavihitabudha
(all) śāstras-in ever well-versed scholar

sya bhaktyāvarjjitamaulinā

pati vatayā
jointly-with

Line 6 of the Māmaṇḍūr Inscription mentions the titles of two plays which are close to our hearts. We have made a concentrated study of these plays over the last twenty years, publishing the text and translation of *Bhagavadajjuka*, first, in 1978, and of *Mattavilāsa* in 1981. Our fourth edition of the plays (both revised for the third time) was published in 2005.[3]

There has been a long-standing debate about the authorship of the play, *Bhagavadajjuka*. An anonymous, sixteenth century commentary on this comedy was found in Kerala, which declares that Bōdhāyaṇa was the author of *Bhagavadajjuka*. But, who was this 'Bōdhāyaṇa'? No one has come forward with an answer. Therefore, the Māmaṇḍūr Inscription's mentioning the titles *Bhagavadajjuka* and *Mattavilāsa* in the same sentence, one after the other, led early scholars, such as C. Minakshi and V. Raghavan, to take it for granted that the author of *Bhagavadajjuka* was King Mahēndra – since *Mattavilāsa* is acknowledged by everyone to be his work. But other scholars, especially those from Kerala, have denied King Mahēndra his due, and have maintained that *Bhagavadajjuka's* author was 'Bōdhāyaṇa', who was supposed to have lived several centuries earlier than the Pallava king. In our editions of the two plays, we have marshalled detailed arguments in support of Mahēndra's authorship of *Bhagavadajjuka*. In this paper, we shall just take for granted his authorship of it.

Let us, then, examine **Line 6**. The beginning of the line is obliterated. The first three readable words are '*n[ā]rīñ-ca nāṭakam*. We can only say that a reference is being made, here, to a Nāṭaka (one of the ten types of drama), in which a woman (*nārī*) plays an important part.

The ślōka, immediately following in the same line, begins with the expression '*Vyāsa-kalpasya*'. The poet king, Mahēndra, is being compared, here, to the great Vyāsa. But it would be a mistake to interpret this comparison literally. Mahēndra enjoyed poking fun at the whole world, including himself. Vyāsa, as author of the *Brahma-Sūtra*, was famous as a Sūtrakāra. In the comedy, *Bhagavadajjuka*, the sūtra-spouting of the main character, the Parivrājaka, is a parody of the outpouring of the great Sūtrakāra, Vyāsa. The comparison made between Vyāsa and King Mahēndra, in this line of the inscription, is, therefore, itself, only a pleasant joke.

The author of *Bhagavadajjuka* did not include the term '*Prahasana*' in its title. Its title is, simply, *Bhagavadajjukam* or *Bhagavadajjukīyam*. Whereas, the other play's title is *Mattavilāsa-Prahasanam*. In **Line 6**, the play *Bhagavadajjuka* is linked (according to our interpolation) to the technical term '*Hāsya*' ('The Laughable'), whereas *Mattavilāsa* is specifically associated with the highest degree of uncontrollable laughter ('*mattavilāsa*), and is called a Prahasana. The word '*ādi*', immediately following '*Mattavilāsa*', should *not* be translated simply as 'etc.'! We get a clue to the primary meaning of 'ādi', here, from the Prastāvanā of *Bhagavadajjuka*. The playwright (Mahēndra), through the mouth of the Sūtradhāra, declares that, of all the different types of Rasas, the Hāsya Rasa is the "primary, most important Rasa". And he is not talking only about dramaturgy. He is talking about life in general – from its beginning, through its middle, to its end! It is just this expansive idea which has been encapsulated in the little word '*ādi*'. It is in this sense that we understand the last part of **Line 6** to be an assertion that the play, *Mattavilāsa*, conveys the quintessence ('*uttama*', i.e., it is the very *best* embodiment) of the 'Highest Degree of the Laughable' (that is: '*mattavilāsa*'), which is the predominant flavor in the Prahasana and in all of life, from birth to death!

Line 7 is also only readable after an obliterated initial stretch. The first word clearly decipherable is '*Prāgṛt*' (for '*Prākṛt*'). From this one word we can deduce that King Mahēndra's scribe's 'mother tongue' was Tamil. Just as we see today, in Tamil Nadu, the name Rēnukā inscribed in roman letters as 'Renuga', the same process was occurring over 1300 years ago at Māmaṇḍūr – in the Pallava script. The next expression, '*samūttējita*' translates as 'exciting'. Then, after an obliterated gap, there is the word '*cātuṣṭaya*', which sums up four of something. Since the preceding passage has touched on a 'Nāṭaka', a Comedy, a 'Prahasana', and another work where Prākṛt was important, may we not assume that the 'four somethings' referred to by the term '*cātuṣṭaya*' are four plays which the king wrote which excelled in different genres?

Then, after another gap (but still in **Line 7**), the inscription begins to describe the senior queen of King Mahēndra (the queen he is holding by the wrist in the portrait sculpture in the Ādivarāha Cave-Temple at Māmallapuram). The inscription, from this point up to – but not including – the last readable fragment in Line 10, gives grammatical priority to the queen. This queen, whom we shall call Chandralēkha (on the basis of dhvani in Line 15), was inspired by her husband's singing. It should be noted, here, that Mahēndra assumed the Tamil biruda '*Palapāḍi*' ('One [who sings] many songs' – i.e., 'One who has a great repertoire of vocal music').

Line 8: There is an obliterated portion in the beginning. Then we learn that Chandralēkha developed a voice which had the quality of the sound of 'honey bees'. The end portion states that her intellectual grasp of the arts was equal to that of her husband's.

Line 9: Again, the beginning of the line is unreadable. The first fragment of this line seems to indicate that her voice was excellent in the high registers, and was very expressive of poetic meaning (in the lyrics). The readable portion at the end of this line states that she had become a śiṣyā of the king, well educated in the sacred śāstras.

Line 10: Another break. Then a fragment indicating that she was like the goddess of music and art (Sarasvatī) in the company of her creator-husband (Brahmā).

Towards the end of this line (10), the inscription shifts to the king as the primary grammatical subject, though his queen still shines supreme. The king, together with her, [**Line 11**:] studied the musical traditions of the past and distinguished what are called *Vṛtti*, *Dakṣiṇā*, and *Citrā* (the three ways in which the instrument may relate itself to the voice, as described in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*). Then, creating an ordered system of rules, [**Line 12**:] by arranging musical syllables in groups of four (as we find in the musical inscription at Kuḍumiyāmalai), he established instrumental music (for the vīṇā) at a level which had not been attained before. And the king did this by being able to follow (on the instrument) the music she was so expertly singing.

T.N. Ramachandran, one of the earliest scholars to have commented on these passages, gave (in 1931) an interpretation quite opposite to what our translation, above, indicates concerning the relation of instrumental music to singing:

> The king wanted to achieve what was not achieved before in the realm of music. Seeing the various intonations of sounds that stringed musical instruments like the vīṇā alone could produce and actuated by a zeal and determination to produce the same results in vocal music, he designed, by dint of uncommon and superior resources probably a successful notation of musical sounds to be produced in vocal music. . . .[4]

Ramachandran's statement seems to fly in the face of the almost universal belief that the human voice is *the* supreme 'instrument'. Now, there are several accounts, coming down to us from the Pallava period, which go against Ramachandran's view. Minakshi mentions the incident, recorded in the *Periya-Purāṇam*, involving the singing saint-child, Tirujñānasambandhar, and the renowned vīṇā player, Tirunīlakaṇṭhappāṉar. After the two met, Tirunīlakaṇṭhappāṉar

> resolved to spend the rest of his life in the company of [Sambandhar,] playing on his matchless yāḻ [vīṇā] every song that his young master produced.[5]

Unfortunately for him, there was one song which Sambandhar sang which he was not able to follow on his instrument. He then determined to master the difficult passage or never play again. However, in this attempt, he 'broke' his instrument. (Though it was probably his pride which was broken, and not the instrument, since the child-saint, in a following verse, requests him to continue playing it.)

Then, there is the ślōka, attributed to Ādi-Śaṅkara (who lived during the Pallava period), which seems to stress the same point:

Vipañcyā gāyantī vividham-apadānaṁ paśupatēs-
Tvayârabdhē vaktuṁ calita-śirasā sādhu-vacanē ।
Tadīyair-mādhuryair-apalapita-tantrī-kala-ravāṁ
Nijāṁ vīṇāṁ vāṇī niculayati cōlēna nibhṛtam ॥[6]

Once, again, the superiority of the voice (Pārvatī's) over the instrument is demonstrated.

Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription – Sketch of Publishing History:

1. The Kuḍumiyāmalai musical inscription is first discovered in **1904**.
2. First reported in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy – Southern Circle*, Madras, **1905**.
3. First edited by P.R. Bhandarkar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 226-237, this scholar lays the foundation for further research.
4. T.A. Gopinatha Rao comments, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, on the Tirumayyam Cave inscriptions (companion inscriptions of those at Kuḍumiyāmalai – though, unfortunately, the main Tirumayyam inscription has, in the past, been almost entirely erased).
5. T.N. Ramachandran, in a paper presented during the inaugural session of the Indian Historical Congress, **1931**, brings to the notice of the scholarly world the import of the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription. His paper, "The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman I", is then published in two parts in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII: part iii, pp. 219-246, and part iv, pp. 303-330.
6. V. Raghavan's note, "Dakṣiṇa Citra", in *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts*, Vol. VI (**1938**), corrects Ramachandran's interpretation of the terms, '*Vṛtti*', '*Dakṣiṇa'*, and '*Citra*' (as pertaining to the art of painting) in the 11th line of King Mahēndra's Māmaṇḍūr Inscription. Raghavan correctly points out that these three are *musical* terms, which are discussed in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*. (The Māmaṇḍūr and Kuḍumiyāmalai inscriptions should be read together.)
7. C. Minakshi, in her book, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, first published in **1938**, presents the most detailed study, as yet, of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription. This book, along with two others, represents the results of her research for the Ph.D. degree (Madras University), which she earned in 1936.
8. K.R. Srinivasan edits a transliterated version of the text of the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription in the **1941** publication, *Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State, Translated into English, Part I, Early Pallava and Chola Inscriptions* (Pudukkottai: Sri Bṛhadamba State Press), pp. 3-10.
9. V. Premalatha produces a Ph.D. thesis (Madras University) in **1964**, "Sources for the Construction of a Detailed History of Indian Music". She is guided, in her research, by her supervisor, P. Sambamoorthy, and T.N. Ramachandran. After C. Minakshi's pioneering analysis, hers is the most thorough study of the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription.
10. V. Premalatha and S. Ramanathan present separate, short papers on the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription at the **1966** Seminar on Inscriptions, Madras. These two papers, "Kudumiyaamalai Inscription on Music", pp. 29-31 (by V.P.), and "Music from Inscription", pp. 32-35 (by S.R.), are among the speeches and papers published in the proceedings, *Seminar on Inscriptions – 1966*, ed. by R. Nagaswamy.
11. C. Minakshi's book, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* (listed as no. 7 above) is reworked by K.K. Pillay and transmogrified into a revised edition, which is published in **1977** by Madras University. Inserted as an Appendix to her XVIth chapter on "Music" is a short piece written by P. Sambamurthy[7] (supervisor of V. Premalatha's Ph.D. research). Sambamurthy's Appendix is a paraphrasing and sometimes verbatim reproduction of passages from his own candidate's (1964) thesis, which, surprisingly, he does not acknowledge.
12. V. Premalatha's Ph.D. thesis is finally published in **1985**, with a new title, *Music through the Ages* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan).

13. Richard Widdess's book, *Ragas of Early Indian Music: Modes, Melodies and Musical Notations from the Gupta Period to c. 1250,* is published by Oxford University Press in **1995**.

What we present in the following eight pages are the text of the seven Svarāgamas (pp. 245-47); Minakshi's 'Table III'[8] (page 248), showing the varjya svaras or śrutis in each of the seven Kuḍumiyā-malai Groups (we include, in this table, a few interpolated 'corrections'); Minakshi's Table, divided further by us to show the same for each of the 38 lines of the seven Svarāgamas (pp. 249-50); the same 38 lines, but shown with the actual number of occurrences of a given śruti in each line (pp. 251-52).

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[1]This study is based on a paper read by M.C. Lockwood and A.V. Bhat, on April 26, 1997, at a meeting of the XXIII Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu.

[2]The three ways in which the instrument may relate itself to the voice, according to Abhinavagupta's commentary on the relevant *Nāṭya-Śāstra* passage, are these: the instrument may dominate, and be played in a rapid, showy manner (*Citrā*); the instrument may be played in a subdued manner, allowing the voice to dominate (*Dakṣiṇā*); or the instrument may be balanced with the voice (*Vṛtti*). See the Appendix to this paper for a detailed account of these three.

[3]In *Metatheater and Sanskrit Drama: Second, Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Madras: Tambaram Research Associates, 2005). Distributed by EastWest Books, Madras (Chennai).

[4]*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII, Pt. iii, p. 237.

[5]*Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, 2nd ed., revised (Madras: University of Madras, 1977), p. 262.

[6]*Saundarya-Laharī*. Translation:

> When you, with a movement of your head, say "Bravo, Bravo"
> in appreciation of Sarasvatī, playing on her vīṇā (songs celebrating)
> Many a noble deed of Paśupati's, (Sarasvatī, finding) the vīṇā string badly
> articulating the low tone, quietly covers the vīṇā with its sheath.

[7]A variant of the earlier spelling of his name.

[8]*Administration and Social Life . . .* , p. 297.

Siddham । Namaḥ Śivāya ॥

I. Madhyamagrāmē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ

1	sā-ne-pū-sa	gi-ne-gi-sa	ne-dhu-ne-sa	mū-pū-ne-sa	mi-ra-gi-sa	rū-gē-nū-sū	sa-gi-ne-sa	ne-mū-pe-sū
	mi-ga-ne-sa	pē-mū-ne-sa	ra-mi-ga-se	dhu-ne-gi-sa	ne-pū-ne-sa	pi-ma-pi-se	ga-dhu-ne-sa	mū-ne-pū-? [॥]
2	na-pē-rū-ge	mi-ga-re-ga	ne-sa-ra-gi	dhu-ne-ra-gi	sa-gi-ne-gū	pē-mū-ra-gi	mū-pē-rū-gē	gi-sa-ra-gi
	sa-ne-ra-gi	rū-gē-nū-gē	pi-ga-re-ga	ne-pū-ra-gi	sū-ge-rā-ge	ga-re-mi-ga	pi-ne-ra-gi	se-ra-mi-ga [॥]
3	pū-sa-mū-pē	gi-sa-ne-pū	ne-sa-ne-pū	ma-ni-ma-pi	dhu-nē-mū-pē	sā-mū-ne-pū	ni-ma-ni-pa	re-ga-mū-pē
	dhi-su-(ne)-pū	mi-dhu-ne-pū	sa-dhu-ne-pū	ne-sā-mū-pē	gū-pē-mū-pē	sa-gi-ne-pū	ne-dhu-ne-pū	gi-sa-mū-pē: ॥
4	nē-pū-dhu-ne	mū-sa-dhu-ne	ra-gi-dhu-ne	gi-sa-dhu-ne	ni-ma-pa-ni	ne-sa-dhu-ne	mū-ne-dhu-ne	sa-mi-dhu-ne
	mi-ga-se-nu	se-ga-se-nu	ga-se-mū-ne	pū-sa-gu-ne	sa-ne-dhu-ne	mū-gi-dhu-ne	ni-ma-dhe-na	pē-sū-gi-ne ॥
5	mū-sa-pe-mū	gi-ne-sa-mū	ne-mi-sa-mi	sa-dhu-ne-mū	ne-gi-sa-mi	mū-pē-sa-mi	ra-gi-pē-mū	gi-sā-pē-mū
	dhē-sa-ne-mū	ga-se-pi-ma	sū-gē-sū-mā	mi-dhu-nē-mū	ra-gi-se-mū	ne-sa-ne-mū	ni-se-pi-mā	rū-mē-gū-me ॥

Samāptāḥ (Sva)(rāgamāḥ*)

II. Ṣaḍjagrāmē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ

6	sa-gi-dhe-sa	sū-rū-gē-sū	mi-ga-dhe-sa	dhe-se-pē-sū	gi-ne-dhu-se	pū-sa-dhe-sa	pē-na-pē-sū	sa-gi-pē-sū
	sa-mū-gi-sa	pū-dhu-ne-sa	ne-ra-gi-sa	dhi-ne-pū-sa	rū-gē-dhū-sē	dhi-ma-gē-sū	sa-pū-dhe-su	ne-pū-gi-sa ॥
7	sū-rū-gē-rū	gē-dhū-sū-rē	gi-dhe-gi-ra	ga-se-gi-ra	pū-ne-gi-ra	dhe-sa-ne-ra	dhi-ma-gē-rū	ra-dhe-gi-ra
	dhe-sa-gi-ra	pi-se-gi-ra	pū-gi-dhe-rū	na-(pē)-gi-ra	dhu-ne-sa-ri	ne-pū-se-ra	dhe-rū-gi-ra	gi-ra-dhe-rū ॥
8	gū-pē-rū-gē	gi-dhe-ra-gi	sa-dhe-ra-gi	dhe-mū-ra-gi	dhu-se-ra-gi	sa-pē-rū-gē	mi-ra-mi-ga	dhe-gi-sa-gi
	rū-gē-sū-gē	pi-se-ra-gi	sa-mi-ra-gi	(dhe)-gi-ra-gi	dhu-se-mi-ga	ne-pū-se-ga	dhi-pa-sū-gē	ga-pē-sū-gē ॥
9	ne-pū-ra-pi	pū-dhu-ne-pū	gi-dhu-(ne-pū)	na-pē-gu-pē	mū-dhe-na-pē	ra-gi-ne-pū	gi-ra-ne-pū	ne-sa-ra-pi
	pū-sa-ne-pū	dhe-na-gū-pē	(sā-rā)-gi-pē	pi-ra-gū-pē	pa-se-ga-pi	dhu-se-ga-pi	dhe-sa-gū-pē	gi-sa-gū-pē ॥
10	dhu-ne-pū-dh(e)	ga-pi-ga-dhe	gi-sa-ne-dhu	(ne-pū)-gi-dhe	gū-pē-na-dhe	pi-se-ga-dhu	se-ga-ne-dhu	sa-mi-ga-dhe
	dhū-sū-gē-dhū	pē-sū-na-(dhe)	ra-gi-pū-dhe	pi-ra-gi-dhe	sū-rū-gē-dhū	gē-sū-gē-dhū	sa-gi-pū-dhe	mi-ra-(gi-dhe) ॥
11	ne-gi-dhu-ne	dhu-se-dhu-ne	gi-pū-dhu-ne	sa-pū-dhu-ne	pū-gi-dhe-na	dhe-gi-dhe-na	gi-dhu-sa-ne	ra-(dhe)-sa-ne
	pū-dhu-se-nu	re-ga-se-nu	gi-sa-gi-ne	ga-se-pū-ne	pū-(nu)-dhu-ne	ga-pi-dhe-na	pe-sa-gi-ne	pi-ga-dhu-ne ॥
12	gū-na-dhe-mū	sa-gi-(dhe)-mū	gi-dhe-sa-mi	se-ra-gā-mi	rū-mē-sū-mē	gi-sa-(dhe)-mū	ne-sa-dhe-mū	ma-re-(ga)-mi
	gē-rū-gū-mē	rū-gū-dhe-mū	ga-dhu-ne-mū	mi-ga-dhe-mū	pi-re-ga-mi	mū-gi-dhe-mū	re-ga-dhe-mū	sa-pū-dhe-mū ॥

Samā(ptā)(ḥ Svarāgamāḥ*)

III. Ṣāḍabē Catuṣprahāra Svar(ā)gamāḥ

13	sa-dhu-ne-sa	mů-dhu-ne-sa	ne-dhu-ra-se	mi-ne-dhu-sa	rů-ů-mė̊-(sů)	mė̊-sů-på-sa	a-mi-pė̊-sů	ri-sa-dhu-se
	mů-ne-dhu-se	ra-dhu-ne-sa	dhe-mů-ri-så	ri-dhe-ri-sa	dhe-na-ri-se	mů-dhe-ra-se	sů-rė̊-dhů-sė̊	mi-ra-dhu-se ‖
14	rů-dhe-sa-ri	dhe-na-dhe-rů	mi-ra-dhe-rů	sa-ri-dhe-rů	a-mi-dhe-ra	dhů-sů-mė̊-rů	mė̊-sů-mė̊-rů	ri-sa-dhe-rů
	ne-dhu-se-ra	mů-dhė̊-sa-ri	sa-mů-(dhe)-rů	dhi-e-ma-re	dhu-ne-se-ri	dhe-rů-mi-ra	mi-ra-me-rů	ra-mi-se-ra ‖
15	mė̊-sů-rė̊-dhů	sů-rů-na-dhe	sa-dhu-ne-dhu	ri-sa-mů-dhe	sa-ne-mů-dhe	(rů)-mė̊-nå-dhe	mi-ra-ne-dhu	se-mů-ne-dhu
	se-(ra)-mů-dhe	na-dhe-mů-dhe	ů-mė̊-na-dhe	mi-(ra)-mů-dhe	mů-dhe-na-dhe	ri-sa-ne-dhu	ne-mů-ne-dhu	sa-dhe-mů-dhe ‖
16	ne-dhu-ne-mů	ri-dhe-na-mů	ma-se-a-mi	dhu-se-a-mi	dhu-ne-ů-mė̊	(a)-se-a-mi	mė̊-rů-ů-mė̊	dhi-ma-se-mů
	pa-dhi-e-ma	r(e)-su-e-ma	dhu-ne-ů-mė̊	dhi-su-e-ma	pů-dhe-na-mů	na-dhe-ů-mė̊	mi-dhu-se-mů	dhe-rů-(ů-mė̊) ‖

Samā(ptāḥ Svarāgamāḥ*)

IV. Sādhāritē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ

17	sa-pů-ke-sa	mů-dhe-pů-sa	dhe-pů-ke-sa	ri-sa-pė̊-(sů)	ka-si-pė̊-sa	sů-rů-pė̊-sa	dhe-rů-pė̊-sa	ri-dhe-pů-sa
	pů-dhu-ke-sa	mė̊-rů-mė̊-sů	mi-se-ra-se	ra-pů-ke-sa	mė̊-rå-pė̊-sů	mi-ra-ku-se	a-mi-ra-se	pů-dhe-ra-[se] ‖
18	se-pů-dhe-rů	sa-mė̊-sů-rė̊	mi-se-dhu-re	pů-dhe-sa-ri	ů-mė̊-sů-rė̊	dha-si-dhe-ra	dhe-ra-dhe-rů	sa-dhe-sa-ri
	pů-dhe-mi-ra	dhe-pů-dhe-rů	mi-pů-dhe-rů	sa-dhe-mi-ra	mi-ra-sů-rė̊	sů-rů-mė̊-rů	dhi-(ma)-dhe-ra	dhe-pů-sa-ri ‖
19	dhe-så-pů-dhe	pů-ke-sa-dhe	sa-pů-sa-dhe	ri-sa-pů-dhe	sů-rů-sa-dhe	ri-ke-sa-dhe	mi-ra-se-dhu	ke-sa-pů-dhe
	ra-pů-se-dhu	ke-ri-sa-dhe	mů-sa-pů-dhe	dhi-re-på-dhi	se-ra-pů-dhe	rů-dhe-pů-dhė̊	sa-dhe-pů-dhe	mi-ra-pů-dhe ‖
20	pů-sa-dhe-[p]ů	dhe-sa-dhe-pů	ma-e-dhi-pa	ri-sa-dhe-pů	så-dhe-rů-pė̊	rů-pė̊-ra-pi	dhe-rů-dhe-pů	ma-e-ma-p(i)
	s(a)-pů-dhe-pů	dhe-sa-rů-pė̊	ů-mů-dhe-pů	dhi-pa-re-pů	mi-r(e)-dhe-pů	ke-sa-dhe-pů	a-mi-rů-pė̊	mů-sa-dhe-[pů] [‖]
21	pů-sa-dhe-mů	mi-ra-se-mů	se-mů-a-mi	a-mi-se-mů	sa-dhe-ů-mė̊	ri-sa-dhe-mů	pů-dhe-(sa)-mi	dhe-pů-?-?
	?-(dhi)-e-ma	su-re-dhi-ma	re-pů-dhe-mů	mi-(sů)-dhe-mů	sa-dhu-se-ma	pů-ke-se-mi	mė̊-su-dhe-mů	dhi-?-?-(mů) [‖]

V. Pañcamē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ

22	pů-ne-dhu-se	ra-pi-ma-se	pi-mů-pė̊-sů	ne-ů-mė̊-sů	sa-mi-ra-se	dhu-ne-mi-sa	ne-sa-pė̊-sů	ri-sa-mė̊-sů
	sa-dhe-ri-så	ne-pů-ri-sa	pů-se-ra-se	dhi-a-mi-se	na-rů-pė̊-sů	ne-ra-mi-se	dhu-ra-pi-se	mi-a-mė̊-(sů) ‖
23	mů-pė̊-sa-ri	ne-mů-pė̊-rů	sa-dhu-ne-ra	pi-ma-se-ra	rů-ů-mė̊-rů	ma-dhe-na-ri	ne-dhu-ne-ra	pi-ra-se-ra
	dhe-na-pė̊-rů	ri-sa-mė̊-rů	ma-pi-ma-re	pů-dhu-ne-ra	rå-na-pė̊-rů	dhe-na-(mė̊)-rů	pi-a-mi-re	sa-ů-mė̊-rů (‖)
24	pe-mů-ra-mi	rů-mė̊-ů-mė̊	ma-pi-a-mi	ne-ra-se-mů	pi-ra-pė̊-mů	pi-ma-sė̊-mů	na-pė̊-rů-mė̊	rů-dha-ů-mė̊
	rů-pė̊-sů-mė̊	na-pė̊-ů-mė̊	mi-se-ra-mi	ne-pů-ne-mů	se-ra-a-mi	ra-se-ra-mi	dhu-se-pi-ma	pi-ra-se-mů ‖
25	dhu-ne-sa-dhe	na-dhe-pů-dhe	pi-ra-mi-dhu	ne-pů-ne-dhu	ra-dhu-ne-dhu	ne-ri-sa-dhe	mů-pė̊-mů-dhe	ri-sa-ri-dhe
	a-mi-ra-dhe	mů-pů-ne-dha	se-ra-mů-dhe	pi-sa-ne-dhu	se-mů-pů-dhe	rů-mė̊-sa-dhe	ra-mi-pů-dhe	dhi-ne-mů-dhe ‖
26	ne-ru-dhe-na	ů-mů-dhe-na	ri-sa-dhu-ne	ra-ne-dhu-ne	pů-ra-dhu-ne	su-ri-dhe-na	pė̊-mů-dhe-na	mi-ra-dhu-ne
	r(i)-mi-dhe-na	ri-pů-dhe-na	dhe-rů-dhe-na	rů-ů-mė̊-na	mů-pů-dhe-na	dhe-rů-sa-ne	dhi-pů-dhu-ne	sa-ri-dhe-na ‖
27	r(u)-e-ma-pi	mė̊-ů-mů-pė̊	ri-sa-ne-pů	ra-dhu-ne-pů	ma-pi-re-pů	ne-ů-mů-pė̊	rů-pė̊-ů-pė̊	dhi-e-ma-pi
	ra-mi-ů-pė̊	rů-na-mů-pė̊	mi-a-ma-pi	dhe-na-ri-pė̊	ri-pů-ne-pů	dhe-rů-na-pe	su-pa-ma-pi	ra-(ne)-mů-(pė̊) [‖]

VI. Kaiśikamadhyamē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḷ

28	sa-mṳ̊-ke-sa	mṳ̊-dhe-ka-si	dhā̊-me-ke-sa	mi-ra-mi-se	ri-(sa)-ke-sa	sṳ̊-mē̊-dha-si	dhe-mṳ̊-ke-sa	a-mi-ke-sa
	dhṳ̊-sē̊-ri-sa	dhe-ri-ke-sa	ri-sa-rē̊-sṳ̊	sā̊-(dhā̊)-ke-sa	(sṳ̊)-rṳ̊-ke-sa	mi-ra-ke-sa	ra-mi-ke-sa	mē̊-(si)-?-? [‖]
29	dhi-ma-se-ra	dhe-ri-sa-ri	rṳ̊-dhe-sa-ri	se-ri-sṳ̊-rē̊	sa-ke-sa-ri	mṳ̊-dhe-mi-ra	ke-sa-mi-ra	mi-ke-sa-ri
	dhu-ke-sa-ri	ke-sa-dhe-rṳ̊	ri-ke-sa-ri	dhe-ru-sa-ri	sā̊-ē̊-mā̊-rē̊	ra-mi-dhe-rṳ̊	ri-dhā̊-mē̊-rṳ̊	sa-ke-?-? [‖]
30	dhu-ke-sa-dhe	mi-(sā̊)-mṳ̊-dhe	ma-dhe-se-dhu	se-ku-se-dhu	ke-sa-mṳ̊-dhe	ṳ̊-mṳ̊-sa-dhe	ri-dhe-sa-dhe	sa-ṳ̊-mṳ̊-dhe
	sa-mṳ̊-sa-dhe	dhi-e-ma-dhi	dhe-sa-mṳ̊-dhe	sṳ̊-dhe-sa-dhe	dhi-re-ma-dhi	dhe-rṳ̊-sa-dhe	mṳ̊-ke-sa-dhe	me-dhi-?-? [‖]
31	sā̊-mē̊-rṳ̊-mē̊	ri-sa-dhe-mṳ̊	ke-sa-ṳ̊-mē̊	dhṳ̊-rē̊-sṳ̊-mē̊	sa-mṳ̊-dhe-mṳ̊	ke-sa-dhe-mṳ̊	dhi-ma-e-ma	dhu-se-dhu-ma
	rṳ̊-mē̊-dha-mē̊	sa-dhe-rṳ̊-mē̊	ri-ke-sa-mṳ̊	dhe-ka-si-mṳ̊	ma-dhi-rṳ̊-mē̊	dhṳ̊-mē̊-rṳ̊-mē̊	mi-ke-sa-mṳ̊	dhe-(sa)-?-? [‖]

VII. Kaiśikē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḷ

32	sa-ṳ̊-mē̊-sṳ̊	ri-ke-ri-sa	dhe-mṳ̊-dhe-sa	mṳ̊-ke-ri-sa	ri-dhu-ke-sa	dhu-ke-ri-sa	ke-su-dhu-se	a-mi-ke-sa
	rṳ̊-mē̊-dha-si	mē̊-dha-mē̊-sṳ̊	si-dhu-mē̊-sṳ̊	sa-ke-ri-sa	ke-sa-ri-sa	ṳ̊-mṳ̊-dhe-sa	dhi-sṳ̊-mē̊-sṳ̊	ka-(si)-?-? [‖]
33	mṳ̊-dhe-mi-ra	pi-se-mi-ra	mē̊-ṳ̊-mē̊-rṳ̊	a-mi-ma-re	mi-ra-mē̊-rṳ̊	sa-ke-mi-ra	sṳ̊-pā̊-mē̊-rṳ̊	dhe-pṳ̊-sa-ri
	ṳ̊-mṳ̊-ke-ra	mi-a-dhi-re	a-pi-se-ra	pē̊-rṳ̊-dhe-ra	ke-ra-se-ra	mi-se-dhi-ra	sṳ̊-pē̊-sṳ̊-[rē̊]	ma-pi-?-? [‖]
34	(sṳ̊)-rṳ̊-mē̊-ṳ̊	si-dha-mē̊-ṳ̊	mē̊-dha-mē̊-ṳ̊	mi-a-ke-ṳ̊	ma-pi-ma-e	dhu-se-mi-(a)	dhi-(ma-ke)-ṳ̊	dhe-rṳ̊-mē̊-ṳ̊
	ra-se-mi-a	kṳ̊-se-mi-a	mi-a-mē̊-ṳ̊	mē̊-rṳ̊-mē̊-ṳ̊	ra-pa-ma-e	rṳ̊-ṳ̊-mē̊-ṳ̊	ma-sa-?-?	?-?-?-? [‖]
35	se-kṳ̊-se-mṳ̊	ra-pē̊-ṳ̊-mē̊	(sṳ̊-rē̊-sṳ̊)-mē̊	pi-e-pi-ma	se-ma-pē̊-(mṳ̊)	ra-pē̊-rṳ̊-mē̊	pi-re-(a)-mi	rṳ̊-dha-sṳ̊-mē̊
	ṳ̊-mē̊-rṳ̊-mē̊	sa-ri-pē̊-mṳ̊	dhi-pa-e-ma	e-ma-pi-ma	ṳ̊-mṳ̊-(dhe-mṳ̊)	ri-dhe-rṳ̊-mē̊	a-pi-e-[ma]	?-?-?-? [‖]
36	sa-mi-ra-dhe	rṳ̊-ke-sa-dhē̊	mi-a-mi-(dhi)	(pē̊)-mṳ̊-ra-dhe	rṳ̊-(mē̊)-ra-dhe	mi-a-(pa)-dhu	(ra-ma)-ri-dhe	ra-mi-ra-dhe
	rṳ̊-ṳ̊-mē̊-dha	si-dhe-sṳ̊-dhe	a-pi-ma-dhi	dhe-mṳ̊-sa-[dhē̊]	(pṳ̊)-e-ma-dhi	dhe-pṳ̊-ma-dhi	?-?-?-?	?-?-?-? [‖]
37	ke-ra-se-(ku)	sa-mṳ̊-sa-ke	sṳ̊-rṳ̊-sa-ke	ri-dhu-sa-ke	sṳ̊-rṳ̊-(mā̊)-ku	ra-mi-sa-ke	ri-ka-sa-ke	e-ma-se-ku
	ma-dhi-se-ku	dhi-ma-se-ku	(se)-a-mi-ke	dhu-ra-se-ku	sa-dhu-(sa-ke)	mi-ra-se-[ku]	?-?-?-?	?-?-?-? [‖]
38	dhu-(kē̊)-sa-pṳ̊	(ke)-sa-mṳ̊-pē̊	sa-ri-mṳ̊-pē̊	ri-sa-ru-pē̊	mṳ̊-(kē̊)-sa-pṳ̊	(ke)-sa-ṳ̊-pē̊	sa-ma-(e)-pṳ̊	ri-ke-sa-[pṳ̊]
	sa-dhe-sa-pṳ̊	mi-dhu-re-pṳ̊	(ke)-sa-rṳ̊-pē̊	mṳ̊-pē̊-ra-pi	se-kṳ̊-se-pṳ̊	mi-se-ma-pi	?-?-?-?	?-?-?-? [‖]

Minakshi's 'Table III', showing the varjya svaras or śrutis in each of the Kuḍumiyāmalai Groups

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25*	*26*	*27*	*28*
Madhyama-grāma: ('+' *indicates the presence of svaras of the śruti and* '0' *indicates the absence of svaras of the śruti*)																											
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	ga	gi	gu	ge	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+
21	*–*	*22*	*1*	*2*	*–*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*–*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*–*	*–*	*16*	*–*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*
[*where we differ:*																+							+				]
Ṣaḍja-grāma:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	ga	gi	gu	ge	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
21	*–*	*22*	*1*	*2*	*–*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*–*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*–*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*–*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*–*	*19*	*20*
[*where we differ:*					+							+				+											]
Ṣāḍava:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
21	*–*	*22*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*–*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*–*	*14*	*15*	*–*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*–*	*–*	*20*
Sādhārita:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+
20	*21*	*22*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*–*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*–*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*–*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*–*	*–*	*–*	*19*
[*where we differ:*																+				+				+		+	]
Pañcama:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
21	*–*	*22*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*–*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*–*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*–*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*–*	*–*	*20*
[*where we differ:*																+				+							]
Kaiśika-madhyama:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
20	*21*	*22*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*–*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*–*	*–*	*–*	*–*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*–*	*18*	*19*
Kaiśika:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
[*where we differ:*																+											]

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25*	*26*	*27*	*28*	
	Madhyama-grāma:																												Line Totals
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	ga	gi	gu	ge	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne	↓
1	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	17
2	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	0	+	+	19
3	+	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	16
4	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	19
5	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	+	19
	Ṣaḍja-grāma:																												
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	ga	gi	gu	ge	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne	
6	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	18
7	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	(+)	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	19
8	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	19
9	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	15
10	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	17
11	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	14
12	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	20
	Ṣāḍava:																												
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne	
13	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	18
14	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	18
15	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	14
16	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	19
	Sādhārita:																												
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke	
17	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	17
18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	17
19	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	15
20	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	16
21	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	19

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25*	*26*	*27*	*28*	
	Pañcama:																												Line Totals
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne	↓
22	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	19
23	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	19
24	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	17
25	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	17
26	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	16
27	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	22
	Kaiśika-madhyama:																												
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke	
28	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	17
29	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	17
30	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	17
31	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	18
	Kaiśika:																												
	sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke	
32	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	17
33	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	21
34	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	19
35	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	20
36	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	22
37	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	16
38	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	18

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25*	*26*	*27*	*28*
Madhyama-grāma:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	ga	gi	gu	ge	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
13	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	3	5	0	1	1	3	4	0	0	2	4	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	14
4	0	1	1	10	0	3	3	7	9	1	6	0	3	2	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	6
8	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	3	1	7	0	1	1	9	7	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	12
6	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	3	4	1	0	2	2	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	9	1	1	3	2	16
9	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	1	5	1	1	3	5	11	2	0	2	0	4	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	8
Ṣaḍja-grāma:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	ga	gi	gu	ge	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
13	0	7	3	1	0	2	0	1	6	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	5	4	0	2	3	4	1	0	0	5
3	0	2	3	12	1	6	1	1	11	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	(1)	0	1	2	7	1	0	0	4
4	0	3	4	8	0	3	0	4	11	1	6	0	4	1	0	1	1	1	3	0	1	2	5	0	0	0	1
5	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	2	5	5	0	0	0	1	0	2	5	7	8	0	0	3	3	3	0	0	7
3	0	4	2	3	0	1	0	5	6	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	3	4	2	0	0	8	10	2	0	0	4
5	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	1	0	0	9	5	3	0	3	12
5	0	1	1	1	0	3	3	6	4	3	1	1	5	11	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	10	1	0	0	2
Ṣāḍava:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
9	0	4	7	4	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	9	4	1	0	0	6
5	0	2	3	7	5	10	1	1	0	0	1	1	5	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	10	1	0	0	2
5	0	2	2	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	13	5	0	0	7
0	0	2	5	0	1	2	1	3	0	5	3	5	4	5	6	1	0	1	0	0	3	5	4	3	0	0	4
Sādhārita:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke
11	1	4	5	6	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	7	5	0	0	1	5	1	0	1	4
6	1	4	2	6	3	6	4	0	0	1	0	1	5	0	3	0	0	6	0	1	1	1	12	0	0	0	0
10	0	1	3	4	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	11	0	0	1	2	17	0	0	0	4
8	0	0	0	1	1	5	2	0	0	0	2	3	2	3	0	2	2	11	4	0	2	0	13	0	0	0	1
5	0	3	5	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	3	6	9	2	0	1	5	0	0	2	1	8	0	0	0	1

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25*	*26*	*27*	*28*
Pañcama:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	na	ni	nu	ne
7	0	6	8	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	5	1	3	0	3	3	3	0	1	3	1	2	0	0	5
4	0	0	3	7	3	8	2	1	0	2	0	5	1	1	4	0	4	1	3	0	0	3	3	4	0	0	5
0	0	1	7	8	0	4	0	2	0	3	0	3	6	6	6	0	5	1	5	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
5	0	0	2	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	1	0	2	5	1	1	1	6	12	1	0	0	8
3	0	1	0	4	4	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	1	0	0	4	1	0	1	5	11	10	0	0	8
1	0	1	0	3	3	4	1	1	0	4	2	5	2	4	1	1	5	5	9	0	1	1	2	3	0	0	5
Kaiśika-madhyama:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke
15	3	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	3	1	0	0	10
12	0	1	2	4	11	5	2	0	0	0	1	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	7
12	0	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	2	3	1	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	16	0	0	1	3
9	1	1	1	0	2	5	1	0	0	1	0	4	1	7	10	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	6	1	0	0	4
Kaiśika:																											
sa	si	su	se	ra	ri	ru	re	a	i	u	e	ma	mi	mu	me	pa	pi	pu	pe	dha	dhi	dhu	dhe	ka	ki	ku	ke
12	3	6	1	0	7	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	6	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	3	1	0	0	8
2	1	3	4	11	1	4	2	1	0	1	0	2	7	2	4	1	3	1	2	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	3
1	0	1	3	2	0	4	0	4	0	10	2	5	5	0	9	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	2
1	0	3	3	2	2	4	2	0	0	1	3	5	1	5	7	1	5	0	4	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0
3	1	1	0	6	1	3	0	2	0	1	1	4	5	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	10	0	0	0	1
8	0	2	7	4	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	2	0	6	8
11	0	0	3	1	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	4	0	1	2	6	6	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	6

Appendix

The Terms *Vṛtti*, *Dakṣiṇā*, and *Citrā* in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*

Tisras-tu vṛttayaś-citrā-dakṣiṇā-vṛtti-saṁjñitāḥ ।
three indeed [are] vṛttis Citrā Dakṣiṇā Vṛtti designated
Vādya- gītôbhaya-guṇā nirdiṣṭās-tā yathākramam ॥**71**॥*
instrument voice=both lead shown [are] they in-order

Uktāṁ vṛttiṁ nirūpayati । *Tisras-tu vṛttayaḥ iti* । *Vṛttir-guṇa-pradhāna-bhāvātmāā*
the-said vṛtti defines-he three indeed vṛttis thus vṛtti role- foremost consists-of

vyavahāra iti sāmānya-lakṣaṇam । *Tata- vādya-prādhānyē gīta-guṇatēti*
performing thus general definition stringed-instrument playing predominant-when voice subdued=thus

citrā vṛttiḥ । *Gīta- mukhêpēkṣatā-virahitaṁ hi vādyaṁ yathā-vidhi vaicitrya-carcitaṁ kriyatē* ।
Citrā Vṛtti voice turning-to=regard devoid-of indeed instrument accd.to improvis. variations repetition played-is

Ētad- viparyayas-tu dakṣiṇā vṛttiḥ । *Gītaṁ hi viśiṣṭa[ṁ] sthānīyaṁ pradhānaṁ tad-anukūlaś-*
this-(of) converse indeed Dakṣiṇā Vṛtti voice indeed special place important that accompanying

cāyaṁ vyavahāraḥ । *Yatra samam-ēva dvayōr- vyavahāras-tatra sāmyēna vartanād-vṛttir-nāma* ।
and=this performing where equal indeed 'tween-the-two performing there balance-with being Vṛtti- called

Vṛtti-saṁjñita-śabdasyāyam-āśayaḥ । *Vṛttir-iti sāmānyē viśēṣē ca prayuktôtra* । . . .
Vṛtti- designated word's=this intended-meaning Vṛtti thus general-sense-(in its) special-sense & employed=here

Guṇa- śabdôtrātkarṣa-vācī na tv- apradhāna- vācī tēna vādyasya gītasya ca guṇa
'guṇa' the-word=here-'lead' meaning not-indeed 'secondariness' meaning in-this-way instrument's voice's & 'guṇa'

utkarṣō yatra prādhānyam-iti yāvat । . . .
lead where importance thus –

* * * * * * * * *

There are three Vṛttis, called *Citrā*, *Dakṣiṇā*, and *Vṛtti* ।

They are listed, in order, as (possessing) *Vādya-*, *Gīta-*, and both [*Vādya-Gīta-*] *Guṇas* ॥**71**॥

He [Bharata] defines the (above) mentioned (general) concept '*Vṛtti*', as well as the three (particular) *Vṛttis*. Thus, the general definition of the term '*Vṛtti*' is the 'performing' (*vyavahāra*) of the 'foremost role' (*guṇa-pradhāna*) [by either the instrument or voice].

When the stringed instrument predominates and the voice is subdued, then *Citrā-Vṛtti* (is manifested), and the instrument, turning away from (accompanying) the voice, plays a series of improvised variations [on 'themes' of the Rāga].

The converse of this (*Citrā-Vṛtti*) is *Dakṣiṇā-Vṛtti*, where the voice, occupying the dominant position, becomes important, and the instrument accompanies it.

When there is a balance between the two (instrument and voice) in their performing, then that is called *Vṛtti-Vṛtti*. This is the meaning of '*Vṛtti*' as given in its technical definition.

In this way, '*Vṛtti*', (both) in its general usage and in its special (technical) usage, is employed here [by Bharata]. . . .

The word, '*Guṇa*', here, means 'Lead Role' (and) does not mean 'Subordinate-ness' or 'Secondariness'; and, in this way, it [*Guṇa*] (refers to:) (i) the taking of the lead role by the instrument, (ii) by the voice, [and (iii) where both are equal].

**Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata Muni, with the commentary, *Abhinavabhāratī*, by Abhinavaguptāchārya (Delhi: Parimal Publications, 1984), Vol. IV, Chp. 29, p. 98.

TWENTY TWO

A Note on the Rape of the Liṅga by Lord Hobart

The monolithic shrine which is today called the Gaṇēśa Ratha was actually called the Arjuna Ratha prior to the nineteeth century. This temple was originally dedicated to Śiva, as evidenced by the long Sanskrit inscription on its maṇḍapa wall. And there was once a liṅga in the sanctum sanctorum. J. Goldingham, in his article, "Some account of the Sculptures at Mahâbalipuram", published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, 1798, observed that the shrine had a liṅga within:

> [One's] attention . . . is first arrested by a Hindu pagoda, covered with sculpture, and hewn from a single mass of rock; being about twenty-six feet in height, nearly as long, and about half as broad. Within is the lingam, and a long inscription on the wall, in characters unknown.[1]

Five years later, in 1803, Kāvali Lakshmayya, the Brahmin scholar-assistant of Colonel Mackenzie, wrote:

> On the South side of [the 'Butterball'] is Arjuna's *Ratha* [today's 'Gaṇēśa' Ratha], cut out of a single stone. The stone has been cut into the shape of a *Ma*n*tapam* with two pillars and a *Garbhag*ri*ha*, in which was placed *S*iva [liṅga]. When that *Linga* was carried off by Bu ** [*sic*], the people of this place took an image of Vināyaka [Gaṇēśa] which was near and put it in the *Garbhag*ri*ha*.[2]

In the book, *The Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast* (1869), edited by Captain M.W. Carr, B.J. Babington, in his article, "An account of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mahâmalaipûr", referring to the monolithic temple near the Great Penance Panel, speaks of this "small monolithic pagoda,† now dedicated to Ga*nes*a, and situated on the north side of the hill." Babington's footnote (†) here reads as follows:

> †When Mr. Goldingham wrote his account, this pagoda contained a *lingam*, so that it has passed from the *S*aivas into the possession of the Vaish*n*avas since that period. . . .[3]

In an editorial footnote on the above footnote, Captain Carr, in 1869, disputes the details of the transition: it was not the Vaishṇava Brahmins who introduced the image of Gaṇēśa, but the *villagers*!

> An old Vaish*n*ava Brahman tells a different tale: he states that the Lingam was taken away, (with an image of Hanumân,) by Lord Hobart (?) and sent to England, Lady H. giving 20 pagodas to the villagers as a consideration! Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras from Sept. 1794 to February 1798. Mr. Goldingham's account was *published* in the latter year.[4]

Here we learn that it was Lord Hobart who removed the liṅgam from this Ratha shortly before his departure in 1798. In any case, he must have removed it sometime during his governership (Sep. 1794 to Feb. 1798).

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[1]Reprinted in *The Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast* (Madras, 1869), which, in turn, was reprinted by Asian Educational Services (New Delhi, 1984), p. 30. Of course, we do not know how long it was before the original publication of this article in 1798 that Goldingham visited Mahabalipuram and made his observations.

[2]"Description of the Pagodas, &c., at Mâvalivaram, written in the Telugu language by Kâvali Lakshmayya in 1803 [with a translation]", *The Seven Pagodas* . . ., pp. 200-201. [The system of transliteration applied to Indian terms and names in this 19th century publication is responsible for what otherwise might appear as an accidental confusion of typographical fonts!]

[3]*The Seven Pagodas* . . ., p. 56; Babington's article was first published, in 1830, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. II).

[4]*The Seven Pagodas* . . ., pp. 56-57.

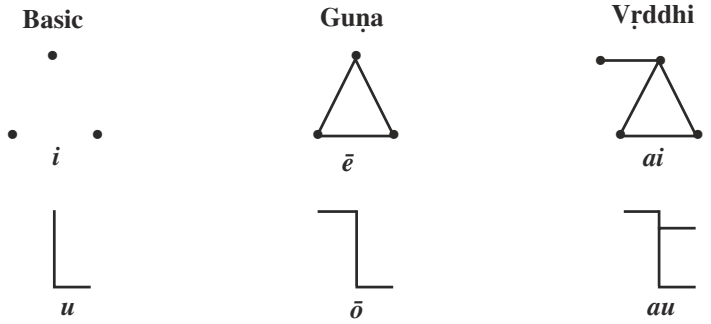
TWENTY THREE

The Brāhmī Script and Phonetics: An Isometric Analysis of Vowels*

More than one scholar has suggested that the Brāhmī alphabet was devised by a grammarian.[1] We propose to detail briefly the isomorphism which exists between the shapes of vowels of the Brāhmī script, on the one hand, and the phonetic analysis (Pāṇini's) of these same vowels, on the other.

In the Guṇa sandhi '*ē*' (ए) and '*ō*' (ओ) are used as substitutes for '*i*' (इ) and '*u*' (उ) respectively. In all guṇating processes, *a* (अ) remains unchanged [or, as it is sometimes said, *a* (अ) is its own Guṇa]. Both *a* (अ) and *ā* (आ) remain unchanged in the Guṇa and Vṛddhi sandhis. Thus, it can safely be said that '*ē*' and '*ō*' are the corresponding Guṇa vowels to '*i*' and '*u*', '*ai*' (ऐ) and '*au*' (औ) being the corresponding Vṛddhi vowels. In the *Prātiśākhyās*, *ē* and *ō* are called Sandhyakṣarās. But still the authors of the *Prātiśākhyās* give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them virtually to be unitary sounds. From these, the heavier *ai* and *au* were distinguished by the length (indicating growth/increment = Vṛddhi) with which they are invested. By the time of Pāṇini, *ē* and *ō* and *ai* and *au* came to be treated as purely unitary sounds and, accordingly, Pāṇini treats them, on the basis of tradition, as Guṇa and Vṛddhi Saṁjñās and uses them as substitutes for *i* and *u* and *ē* and *ō* in the Guṇa and Vṛddhi sandhis.

The inventors of the Brāhmī script must have had in mind both the *Prātiśākhyās* and Pāṇini's *Āṣṭādhyāyī*, especially, in their treatment of *ē* and *ō* and *ai* and *au* because they seem to take into consideration the Guṇa of *i* (*ē*) and the Guṇa of *u* (*ō*), and not the Guṇa of *a* (*ā*) because *ē* and *ō* share the characteristics both of *i* and *a*, and of *u* and *a*, respectively; whereas the Guṇa of *a* (that is, *a*) does not. While interpreting Pāṇini's sūtra "*Ād-guṇaḥ*", the commentator Bhaṭṭōji Dikṣita says, "*Avarṇad-aci parē*



pūrva-parayōr-ēkō guṇādēśaḥ syāt."[2] And he means by the expression '*pūrva-parayōr-ēkō guṇadēśaḥ*': 'one guṇa is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word, and that one guṇa substitute must necessarily share the characteristics of both the preceding vowel and the following vowel.' And, similarly, for any further increase of *ē* and *ō*, but also take into consideration Pāṇini's idea of saṁjñās (three strokes have been used to denote Guṇa, and the additional stroke found in *ai* and *au* to denote Vṛddhi):

(1) In the formation of vowels, the inventors seem to have taken the short *a*, *i*, and *u* as the basic characters, whereas in the formation of the *ē* and *ō* and the *ai* and *au*, they seem to have followed Pāṇini's definition of the 'Guṇa' and 'Vṛddhi' concepts as well as Pāṇini's rules regarding the Guṇa and Vṛddhi sandhis. Pāṇini's rules, in this context, are purely phonological in character, not grammatical.

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*Based on a paper read at the XV Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, Nov. 18th to 20th, 1988, Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh, and published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. 17 (1991), pp. 117-118.

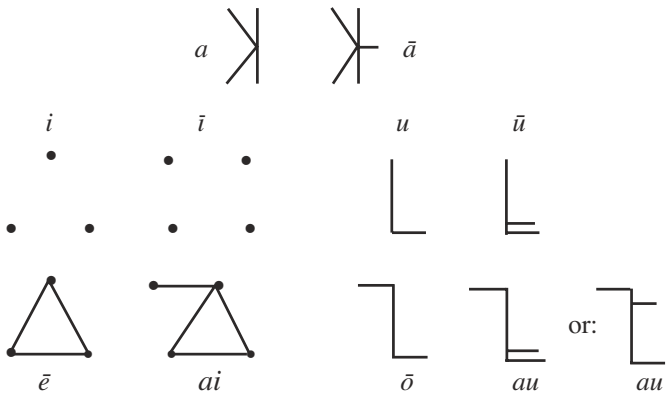
(2) According to Pāṇini, *a*, *ē*, and *ō* are called Guṇa letters, whereas *ā*, *ai*, and *au* are called Vṛddhi letters. The Guṇa and Vṛddhi letters are used as substitutes whenever Guṇa and Vṛddhi sandhis take place.

(3) The fourteen Māhēśvara sūtras given at the beginning of Pāṇini's work establish the independent origin of the Guṇa as well as the Vṛddhi letters. Pāṇini never says that the Guṇa letters are developed out of *a*, *i* and that the Vṛddhi letters, out of *ā*, *ē*, and *ō*. The terms 'Guṇa' and 'Vṛddhi' are used as Saṁjñās (the proper, as well as technical, names of *ē* and *ō*, and of *ai* and *au*, respectively). In the rules regarding sandhis, Pāṇini uses only these technical names and not the specific letters (e.g., "*Ād-guṇaḥ*", 6:1:87, and "*Vṛddhiḥ ēci*", 1:1:1, where *guṇaḥ* means *ē* and *ō*, and *vṛddhiḥ* means *ai* and *au*).

(4) Did the devisors of the Brāhmī script follow Pāṇini's rules? Certainly they did. Fundamental to the whole sandhi concept, there is a sūtra in Pāṇini: "*Sthānēntaratamaḥ*", 1:1:50. While discussing sandhis, Pāṇini uses only common terms like *ik* (*i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*), *yaṇ* (*y*, *v*, *r*, *l*), *Guṇa* (*a*, *ē*, *ō*), *Vṛddhi* (*ā*, *ai*, *au*), etc. Thus, Pāṇini simply says, "*Ād-guṇaḥ*", which means: "If the vowel *ā* is followed by a simple vowel, the Guṇa (*a*, *ē*, or *ō*) is the single substitute for the final *a* or *ā* of the preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding one." In this context, it is absolutely necessary to keep in mind the fundamental sūtra, "*Sthānēntaratamaḥ*". "Even if there is the chance of all the letters included in the technical term being comprehended on substitution, still the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, should be accepted as the actual substitute." Thus, in the case of the Guṇa sandhi, when we propose sandhi, for example, between '*Upa*' and '*Indraḥ*' (*Upēndraḥ*), we first of all get *a ē ō* Guṇa letters. The sandhi in this particular case has to take place between *a* and *i*. Here, according to Pāṇini, we must have regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance. '*A*' is guttural and '*i*' is palatal. As *ē* is both guttural and palatal, that letter is the actual substitute here. Similarly, in the place of *a* and *u*, *ō* is the actual substitute. In the case of Vṛddhi sandhi, in the place of *a* and *ē*, *ai* should be the actual substitute, and in the place of *a* and *ō*, *au* should be the actual substitute.

It should be borne in mind that Pāṇini uses the word 'substitute' (*ādēśa*) and never says that *a* and *i*, *a* and *u*, *a* and *ē*, *a* and *ō* become respectively *ē*, *ō*, *ai*, and *au*. Hence, any attempt to see a combination of the three basic vowels in the Guṇa and Vṛddhi letters will be mistaken. We note that, following Pāṇini's analysis, the devisors of the Brāhmī script used special symbols to denote Guṇa and Vṛddhi vowels. For Guṇa, they have used three strokes, and for Vṛddhi, they have used four.

It is interesting to note that *ē* bears closer similarity to *i*, *ō* to *u*, *ai* to *ē*, and *au* to *ō*. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that in many cases, in Pāṇini's work, the substitutes are used in the place of the following vowels, like *i*, *u*, *ē*, *ō*, without taking into consideration the preceding *a* or *ā*.



Notes

[1]For example: I. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, Vol. 2, second edition (London: 1899), p. 289; and G. Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, reprinted in *Indian Studies: Past & Present* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1962 [this English translation of the original German work was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1904]), p. 35; to mention only two early comments.

[2]*Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, edited by Srikrishnasvarupa (Banaras: Jyoti-Prakasha Press, 1937), p. 6.

Postscript

In a paper read at the XV Congress, Anantapur, Dr. S.P. Tewari has recorded the earliest known example of the initial vowel '*ṛ*', which he dates in the early 2nd century, A.D. Its shape is, approximately, an ×.

In the discussion following Dr. Tewari's paper, we hypothesized that the original form of the vowel '*ṛ*' was: . We noted that the inventors of the Brāhmī script designed all of their letters to be unique and free of any possible confusion due to spatial orientation. (Imagine that all the Brāhmī letters were made out of wire, and piled in a heap. No matter how you pick up any letter and hold it, it could not be confused with any other letter.) Examples, on the other hand, of orientation sensitive letters (in the Roman alphabet) are *p*, *q*, *b*, and *d*. (Children learning to read often get confused in identifying these letters.)

The Brāhmī medial vowel-marks, in contrast, are completely determined by the spatial orientation to the line of writing.

Since the 2nd century form of '*ṛ*' is ×, it will be obvious that this sign could be confused with the Brāhmī letter '*ka*': +. A rotation of 45° will transform either one into the other. This is why, in the discussion that followed Dr. Tewari's presentation, we proposed that the original design of '*ṛ*' was . The early 8th century form of the initial letter '*ṛ*' which appears in Pallava Grantha, in two of King Rājasiṁha's titles on a little shrine of the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchipuram, is: . This shape, though a much later example, is quite close to the original design.

The *medial* form of the vowel '*ṛ*' is unique. All the other vowels so far discussed have an original medial form established by a simple (straight line) dash mark. From the very beginning, the medial vowel form of '*ṛ*' is to be distinguished from the others by its basic curvature, its 'horn' shape. When the semi-vowel letter '*r*' gets a curved form in its later development, the medial '*ṛ*' usually gets an even tighter curl at its end in order to distinguish the two.

We make the further observation about the basic vowels, *i*, *u*, and the *ṛ*: they are all formed by two strokes. [The three dots of the *i* (∴) can be considered the skeleton of the two strokes of the *u* (𑍁).] The vowel '*ṛ*' is also composed of two strokes, either or . (The medial vowel form of '*ṛ*' is usually the simple-curve single stroke: . However, sometimes the compound-curve single stroke is used: .)

Thus, we can generalize: the basic vowels are two-stroke in conception; the Guṇa, three-stroke; and the Vṛddhi, four-stroke. Surprisingly, the word '*guṇa*' has the meaning of 'three', and the word '*vṛddhi*', the meaning of 'four'!

Fig. 1. Mahishāsuramardinī panel, *c.* 7th cent. A.D., Māmallapuram

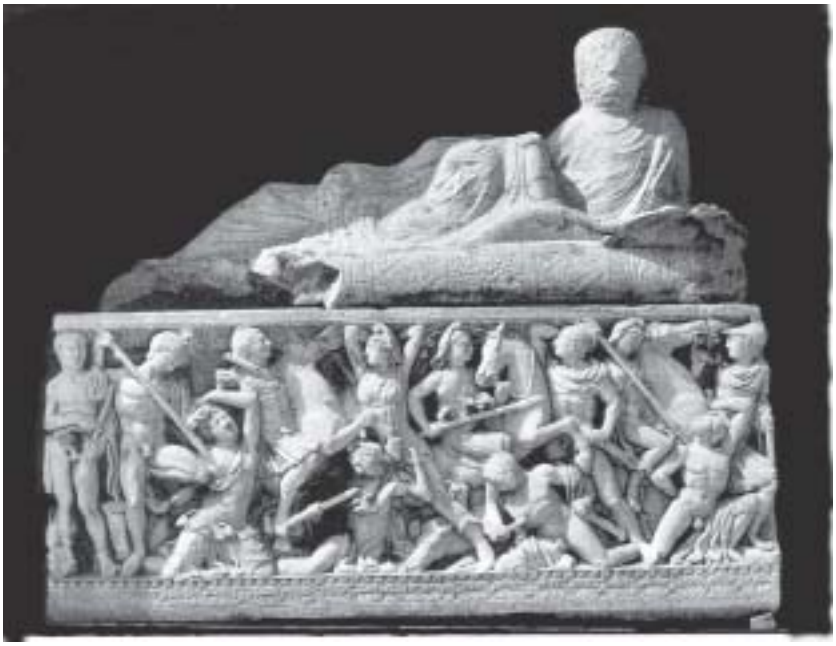


Fig. 2. The battle of the Amazons, *c.* A.D. 180, Amazonmachy sarcophagus at Tel Mevorakh, near Caesaria in Israel.

TWENTY FOUR

Comparison of an Amazonmachy with the Mahishamardinī Panel*

The recent discovery of an Amazonmachy sarcophagus (Fig. 2) at Tel Mevorakh, near Caesaria in Israel,[1] is important, as it contributes substantially to the body of knowledge regarding the flow of currents of culture between Greece and India in ancient times. While interchange between Greco-Roman and North Indian and Deccan art forms has been studied in detail, less attention has been directed towards the fecund and critical exchanges resulting as a consequence of the direct Arabian Sea route. When observed in relation to the Durgā Mahishsāsuramardinī panel (Fig. 1) at Māmallapuram, the sarcophagus, carved in *c*. A.D. 180, silently speaks volumes about the interconnections.

This combined evidence of intercourse between the Indian and the western world[2] permits us to formulate a theory that the Pallava sculptor in the seventh century had at his very fingertips an intimate familiarity with western art forms. Thus the relationship of the two works of art becomes entirely plausible. It is suggested here that, either by direct or indirect contact, the Durgā panel relied partially on Greek art for elements of the configuration and the postures of individual figures and for some of the themes and motifs, even while the particular style characteristics cannot but reflect the unique qualities of each of the two great civilizations.

The Tel Mevorakh sarcophagus and the Durgā panel can be compared in regard to:

(1) the similarities of the configurations and certain postures of individual figures;
(2) the analogous, underlying geometrical diagrams;
(3) the subject matter: the battle scene;
(4) the implicit symbolic references to the heroic element in each of the cultures.

(1) The most salient of the influences is exhibited in the analogous configurations. In both, a female warrior, in symbiotic connection with her mount, sits straight, wields a long spear and assumes an assertive attitude. She is shown to be in battle with a male opponent of approximate weight who stands in the

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*Reprinted with permission. This article, by Carmel Berkson, was first published in *Lalit Kalā*, *Number 23* (1988). Its full title, there, was "Comparison of the Recently Discovered Amazonmachy with the Mahishāsuramardinī Panel at Māmallapuram." The two photographs are by Berkson. Her study remains the groundbreaking investigation of the influence of Greco-Roman art on the Pallavas. In the much more detailed form of a monograph, her thesis appeared under the title, *The Amazon and the Goddess: Cognates of Artistic Form* (Bombay: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1987), and is to be re-issued, soon, in a revised edition. (ML)

archaic position. On the ground, between the two, a warrior falls or has fallen. Space separates the two opponents. A very long Greek tradition anteceded this unique combination of figures which form an original triad. With infinite variations, the individual elements and the triple configuration appear on vase paintings, friezes and sarcophagi first in Assyrian art and then in Greek. On the other hand, in India, Durgā and the buffalo had, in the previous centuries, been depicted in an entirely different formulation, as goddess and buffalo were united in a single volume, with the buffalo, in animal form, either spread across the front of Durgā's body or standing in front of her on the ground. The separation into two distinct and isolated entities, divided by ample space and more or less equally weighted in the Durgā panel appears in India for the first time here. It is safe to conclude that because of the complexity of these relationships, the composition could not have arisen spontaneously or indigenously in the mind of a single artist or group of artists in India, since in Greece, a millenium of experience had preceded the fixed relationship of the Amazon on her vehicle, the male opponent and the fallen warrior. It is a momentous achievement in the history of art, and most likely the artists at Māmallapuram borrowed the triad from the west.

Other motifs are the largely identical, accompanying fallen warriors (they appear earlier in Indian art, but rarely) and the positioning of a truncated figure – the horse in the sarcophagus and the warrior on the ground in the Durgā panel. An illusion of depth is sought by positioning each in a perpendicular relationship to the background. The warrior who lies with his head downward and serves as the center is also a Greek theme. Indian artists may have gained experience from working somewhere in the west, or the *Yāvana* artists, settled in India, may well have contributed their experience to their Māmallapuram counterparts. Since the icon is not sacred until duly consecrated, foreigners might have been permitted to work even directly on the panel.

(2) While styles evolve each out of the particular tradition of the past, underlying both panels are identical geometrical diagrams which the artist engraves upon the surface of the stone prior to initiation of the work. Both the sarcophagus and the Durgā panel carry within their internal structures inherent diagonal and circular arrangements. However, in this regard, it is not possible to determine how these methods came to be employed by the two cultures.

(3) The goddess riding on her mount as warrior in an aggressive stance, in the midst of battle, is portrayed at Māmallapuram for the first time in India, although the theme of goddess on lion had earlier been transported and adapted for the Brahmanical icon on coin and statue in the northwest. Prior to this in Indian sculpure references to battle were limited to processional scenes or to an occasional, single, or two male foot soldiers or to several cavalry members. Even though Purānic depictions teem with graphic descriptions of savage battles, the *field* itself, where the clash of battle is literally portrayed, had not been conceived as a theme for carved panels in India. This implies that the

the Pallavas were seeking an entirely changed frame of reference, and most likely, they turned to the west and adopted the triad as a reductive symbol for the whole field of battle as an apt form by means of which to express a growing concentration on the implications of the king, with his sacred power, as hero, and Durgā's role in regard to this.

(4) It has been observed that the Tamil king embodied in his authority the sacred power which found ultimate expression on the field of battle. Conquest in war is followed by prosperity, while defeat of the king is disastrous for the entire community.[3] Also, Durgā or Koṟṟavai, as goddess of the battlefield, rides at the head of her troops, and her powers determine the outcome of the struggle. It follows that to carve a monumental bas-relief, concentrating on the most dangerous instant in the battle, is an attempt to externalize fear, to maintain control and to influence the results; the execution of the panel is in itself deemed to be apotropaic. It would thus appear that the Pallava artists were attracted to the Greek Amazonmachies because the motif and the configuration best symbolized their most potent beliefs. The panel in the shrine thus serves a dual purpose. The goddess requires sacrifices and propitiation as the sacred deity. On the field of battle she also will assure the health of the kingdom.

To summarize: In order to best portray their ideological focus on the battlefield, as scene of heroic exploits effecting creation and the well-being of the community, the Pallavas turned to the long-term western experience which had developed out of the Greek heroic tradition. Primary influences seem to have travelled with the trade across the Arabian Sea.

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[1]It is now in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.

[2]Surrounded on east, west and south by oceans, the subcontinent of India is favorably suited for outward expansion of an active commercial life which radiates in many directions. We learn from Roman, Christian and Chinese treatises, from the Tamil Sangam literature and from archaeological evidence that, in the first centuries A.D., both India and Śrī Laṅkā were very much part of the known world of geographers, traders, ambassadors, Christian missionaries and piratical adventurers, and that *Yāvana* (Greek) craftsmen settled in South India and were employed by local rulers. Images for protection and painted vases for storage and sale came along with the trade, and *Yāvana* settlers built in their own styles. Since until the seventh century in South India images were constructed in perishable materials, it is not possible to know precisely when the intermingling of forms occurred; nevertheless, the Chinese Buddhist Fa-Hien and St. Jerome in the fifth century and Procopius and Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth, graphically described the ongoing mercantile expeditions, as the passion for Indian spices, silks and other goods did not diminish in these later centuries. Alaric, for example, in 408 A.D. postponed conquest of Rome for ten years in exchange for 3,000 pounds of Indian pepper. After the destruction of Rome, Byzantium developed a vast commercial network, and trade with India played a crucial role in the empire.

[3]George Hart, III, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil*, Berkely, 1975.

TWENTY FIVE

The Shore Temple Capital Inscription[1]

Excavations carried out by the Archæological Survey of India, in the sands immediately south of the Shore Temple, Māmallapuram, have unearthed remaining parts of what seems to have been a rather large pillar. (The shaft, itself, unfortunately, is missing.) Spokespersons of the A.S.I. have suggested that it should have been a *jaya stambha*, victory pillar. The presumed capital of this massive pillar is lying on the ground at the edge of the pond which has recently formed in the cavity of the excavations. Encircling this capital are four inscribed titles, three of which are well-known *birudas* of the Pallava king, Narasiṁhavarmā-II, and the fourth, a title of his, not previously found in his inscriptions:

Śrī Rājasiṁhaḥ ‖ ***Śrī Kṣatrasiṁhaḥ*** ‖ ***Śrī Narēndrasiṁhaḥ*** ‖ ***Śrī Mahēśvara cūḷāmaṇiḥ*** ‖

These four titles may be translated as ‘The illustrious Lion among Kings’, ‘The illustrious Lion among Warriors’, ‘The illustrious Lion among Rulers of Men’, and ‘The illustrious (One whose) Crest-jewel (is) Mahēśvara’.

Of the three well-known titles of King Narasiṁhavarmā-II, ‘***Rājasiṁhaḥ***’ was so widely used that he is actually better known today by this *biruda* than by his *abhiṣēka-nāma*. The title ‘***Kṣatrasiṁhaḥ***’ appears in his Vāyalūr inscription and is also incorporated in the inscribed name of his east-facing shrine of the Shore Temple. The title ‘***Narēndrasiṁhaḥ***’ is found in his major Shore Temple inscription as well as in his Vāyalūr inscription.

There is, however, no previously known appearance of ‘***Mahēśvara-cūḷāmaṇiḥ***’ among the lists of his many *birudas*, though the king has several titles incorporating the element, ‘*cūlāmaṇi*’ or ‘*cūḍāmaṇi*’ or synonym:

Kṣatracūlāmaṇiḥ (I:15-2)[2] [°***cūḷāmaṇiḥ*** (III:15-2), Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchipuram]

Narēndracūlāmaṇiḥ (I:13-2) [°***cūḷāmaṇiḥ*** (III:13-2), ditto]

Śivacūḷāmaṇiḥ or °***cūḍāmaṇiḥ*** (Shore Temple; Kailāsa’s vimāna, Kanchi; Vāyalūr inscriptions)

Mahēśvara-śikhāmaṇi-dīptamauliḥ (Vāyalūr inscription)

In the recently discovered Capital Inscription, there is a gap between the ‘*Mahēśvara*’ and the ‘*cūḷāmaṇiḥ*’ – which is a puzzle. However, it doesn’t make sense to read the separated parts as two different *birudas* since there is no visarga and no daṇḍa after ‘*mahēśvara*’, and, in the title lists of King Rājasiṁha, ‘*cūlāmaṇiḥ*’/‘*cūḷāmaṇi*’ always appears together with some other element. As there is space enough in the gap for two syllables, we suggest some such missing letters as *-candra-* should have been intended: ***Mahēśvara-candra-cūḷāmaṇiḥ*** – quite appropriate for a king belonging to the lunar dynasty.

‘***Śrī***’ precedes each of the four titles engraved on the capital, just as it precedes the more than 250 different titles of his engraved in the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchi. But there is an interesting twist in this matter which must be noted here.

The earliest editor of the Kailāsanātha titles (in 1890), E. Hultzsch, observed that there were four tiers of titles. He conjectured that the titles on the third tier were the first to be inscribed and that they were engraved at the time of the building of the temple by Rājasiṁha. The first and second tiers, he thought, were later copies “which were executed by some descendants of Râjasiṁha.”[3] He goes on to say that the fourth tier “is written in a peculiar ornamental alphabet, which is based on an alphabet of the same type, as that of the first tier; . . . perhaps the first and fourth tiers were contemporaneous.”[4] So, according to the first editor of these inscriptions, the four tiers of titles at the Kailāsanātha Temple were inscribed in the reigns of three successive Pallava kings: the third tier, first, in Rājasiṁha’s reign; then the first and fourth tiers, in the reign of a ‘descendent’ of his; and, finally, the second tier, during the reign of some even later descendent.

In the decades since Hultzsch’s pioneering work, scholars have realized that the titles engraved on the first and fourth tiers are written in the contemporary, northern, Nāgarī script of the early eighth century, A.D.: those of the first tier, in a plain style; and those of the fourth, in a pronounced floriated style, which even incorporates the long, graceful neck and head of birds to represent the medial ‘*i*’ and ‘*ī*’. It was observed, further, that the titles of the second and third tiers are written in the southern, Pallava Grantha script: those of the second tier, in a plain style; and those of the third, in a slightly more ornamental script. And, over the years, scholars have come around to the view that all four tiers of titles were inscribed during the reign of King Rājasiṁha, himself. In this paper, we would like to go one step further and suggest that all four tiers were the handiwork of one outstanding royal scribe – and that it is the Capital Inscription at the Shore Temple, Māmallapuram, which holds the key to this insight.

The surprising thing about Rājasiṁha's Capital Inscription is that while its four titles are written in the southern, ornamental Pallava Grantha script, the *Śrī* which precedes each of these four titles is written in the northern, floriated Nāgarī script! This would seem to us the playful mixing of styles by a scribe adept at both. The implication of all this is that the hundreds of different titles in the Kailāsanātha Temple, inscribed in four different forms at four different levels, may represent an artistic *tour de force* of the highest order, *designed by one single scribe*! These titles deserve more attention from the epigraphical clan than they have heretofore received. Have these titles ever been honored by having their facsimiles published?

One lesson which we can learn from the hand of this extraordinary scribe is that, in the chief cultural center of eighth century South India, there was not a trace of the linguistic chauvinism which plagues us today. Southern and northern scripts were both treated with respect.

A concluding guess: since we have argued (in chapters four and seven) that Rājasiṁha's father, King Paramēśvara, was responsible for the Atriraṇacaṇḍēśvara Cave-Temple inscription at Saluvankuppam, near Māmallapuram, which appears in two versions, one in the southern, Pallava Grantha script, and the other in the northern, Nāgarī script,[5] this scriptal cosmopolitanism could be due to King Paramēśvara's having taken as his chief queen a princess from the northern Nāgarī Nāḍu! Such an event would then pleasantly account for her son's having honored her, the dowager Queen Mother, when he, as the reigning sovereign, built his great temple in Kanchipuram and had his numerous royal titles engraved first and foremost in the Nāgarī script on the first tier of the dozens of small shrines surrounding the main vimāna.[6]

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[1]Paper by Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat read at a meeting of the XXIV Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, Trichur, Kerala, May 16, 1998.

[2]The three numbers in parentheses indicate: 1) on which tier (roman numeral), 2) on which shrine (using the A.S.I.'s engraved number), and 3) in which ordinal position on the front of each shrine the given title is to be found.

[3]*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 10.

[4]*Ibid*.

[5]The Pattadakal pillar inscription of the Chālukyan king, Kīrtivarmā-II (c. 757-57 A.D.) copies this practice initiated by Paramēśvara-I (see *Epigraphia Indica,* III, pp. 4-6).

[6]Rājasiṁha's sense of filial devotion to his mother is beautifully evidenced in the poetic inscription on the third shrine to the right of the entrance to the Kailāsanātha Temple complex – an inscription erroneously mixed up by Hultzsch and all later scholars with the so-called 'Queen Raṅgapatākā' inscription, which actually is to be found on the *fifth* shrine to the right! The inscription on the **third** shrine (we quote from chapter thirteen) which essentially praises Rājasiṁha's mother, reads:

Namaśśivāya [॥*]

(Verse 1) *Bharttuḥ purōnmathana-dṛṣṭa-dhanurbbalasya śailādhirāja-tanayêva vṛṣa-dhvajasya* [।*]
Yā kālakāla iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttēḥ kāntā nitānta-dayitā paramēśvarasya ॥

(Verse 2) *Dēvē jagad-valaya-rakṣaṇa-baddha-dīkṣē nirbbhinna-śatru-hṛdayē narasiṁhaviṣṇau* [।*]
Vāllabhyam-ūrjjitam-avāpya virājatē yā nirjjitya-garvvam-iva puṣkaradēvatāyāḥ ॥

Which we have translated:

Salutations to Śiva!

(*Verse* 1) (Her) husband's [i.e., King Paramēśvara's] well-merited fame being widespread as 'Kālakāla' on account of his bow's power (having been made) manifest in the destruction of cities, (thus) like the' Daughter of the Great King of Mountains', (she,) the dearly beloved wife of Paramēśvara, the 'Bull-bannered One',

(*Verse* 2) attaining supremacy [as Queen Mother], shines with surpassing splendor, subduing, as it were, the pride of Puṣkaradēvatā [Lakṣmī, here, also, Rājasiṁha's chief queen], while god-like Narasiṁhaviṣṇu [i.e., King Narasiṁha (Rājasiṁha)], true to his sacred vow, is protecting the encircling world, tearing out the hearts of his enemies.

The Shore Temple Victory Pillar Capital

Śrī Rājasiṁhaḥ ॥

Śrī Kṣatrasiṁhaḥ ॥

Śrī Narēndrasiṁhaḥ ॥

Śrī Mahēśvara . . .

. . . cūḷāmaṇiḥ ॥

Photos of a few of Mahēndra's titles on pillars of his Tiruchi cave-temple:

Avanibhājanaḥ

Kaḍunt[ē]rambu
Kaṟumpu

Abhimukhaḥ
Akaruṇaḥ

Emuku
Ēthi

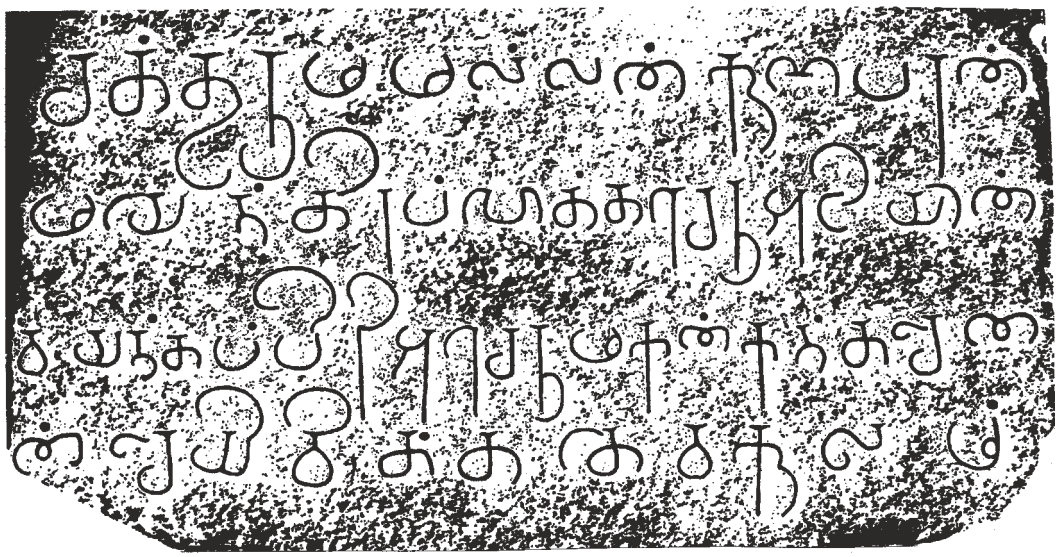
TWENTY SIX

Additional Facsimiles of Pallava Inscriptions

Some of the delineations of facsimiles of the Pallava inscriptions reproduced in the following pages are based on estampages printed in publications of the Archaeologica Survey of India. The rest are based on photographs by the author. *All* of the following renditions are delineations by the author.

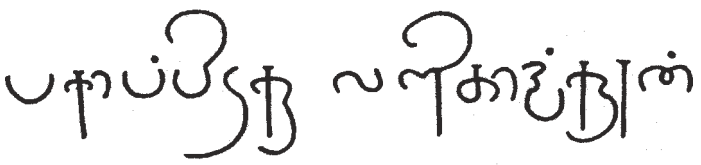
* * * * * * * * *

The Vallam inscriptions of Skantasēṉaṉ, son of King Mahēndra's feuditory, Rāja Vasantapriya:



Northern pillar façade:

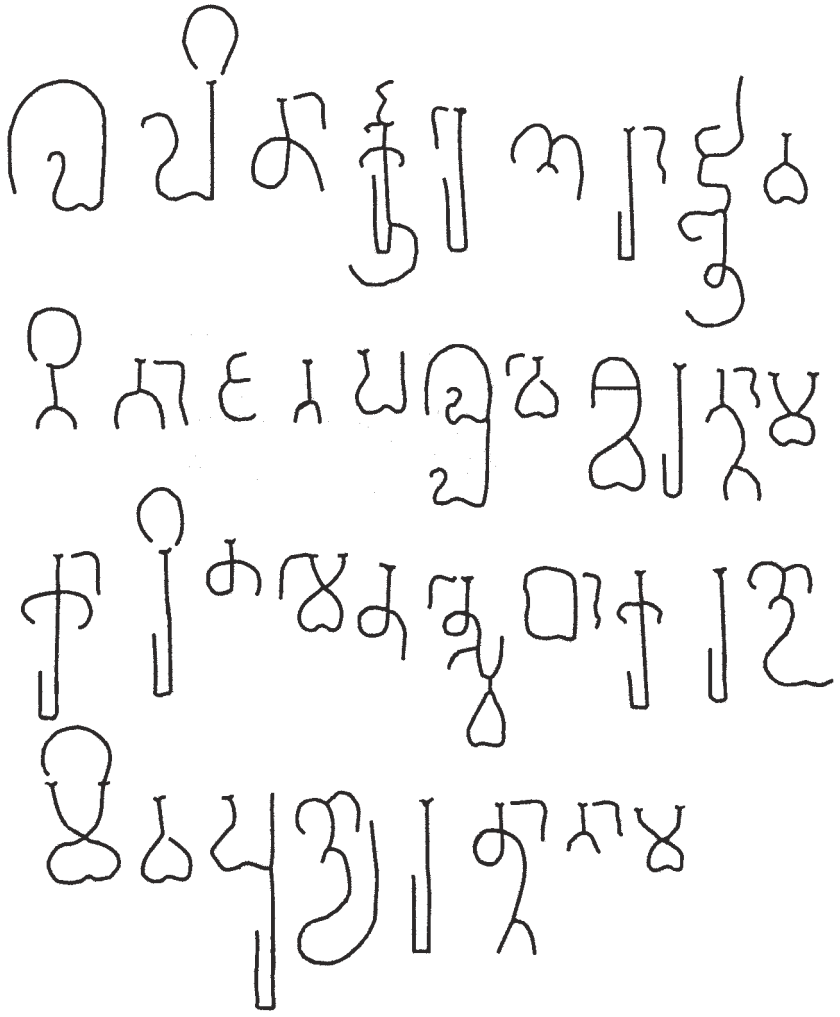
1 சத்துரும்மல்லன் குணபரன்
catturu-m-mallaṉ kuṇaparaṉ
2 மயேந்திரப்போத்தரேசரு அடியான்
mayēntira-p-pōttarēcaru aḍiyāṉ
3 வயந்தப்பிரி அரேசரு மகன் கந்தசேன
vayantappiri arēcaru makaṉ kantacēṉa-
4 ன் செயிவித்த தேவகுலம்
ṉ ceyivitta tēva-kulam



Southern pillar façade: பகாப்பிடுகு லளிதாங்குரன்
pakāppiṭuku laḷitāṅkuraṉ

(delineations by Lockwood from his photos)

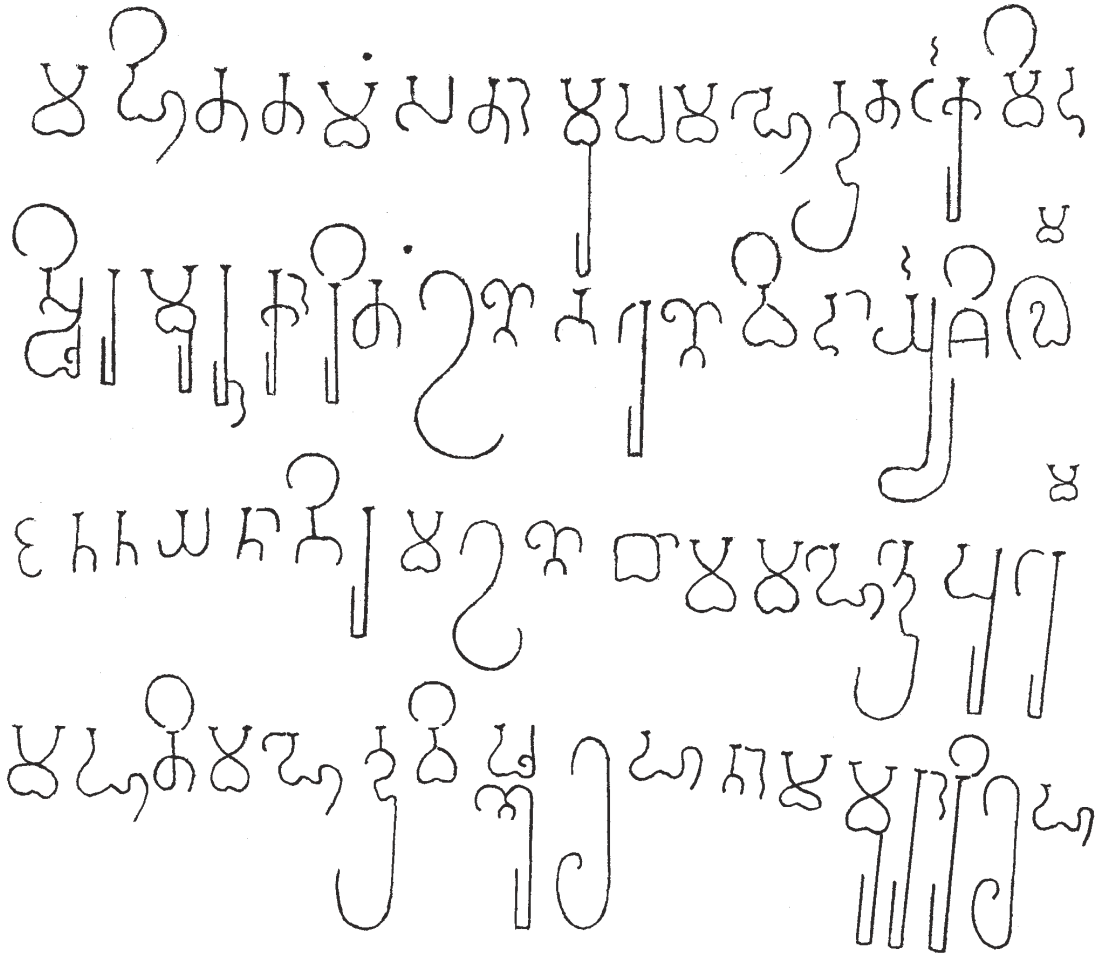
King Mahēndra's Cave-Temple's Foundation Inscription at Śīyamaṅgalam



1	*Lalitāṅkurēṇa rājñâva-*	by King Lalitāṅkura
2	*nibhājana-pallavēśvaran-nāma* [|*]	this (temple) named Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara
3	*Kāritam-etat-svēdhā*[1]*-karaṇḍa-*	was made at his (wish)
4	*m-iva puṇya-ratnānām* [||*]	like a reliquary for jewels of merit

[1]Hultzsch, considering this word to be a scribal error, corrected it to '*svēccha*' ('his own wish' – *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, pp. 319-322, with plate).

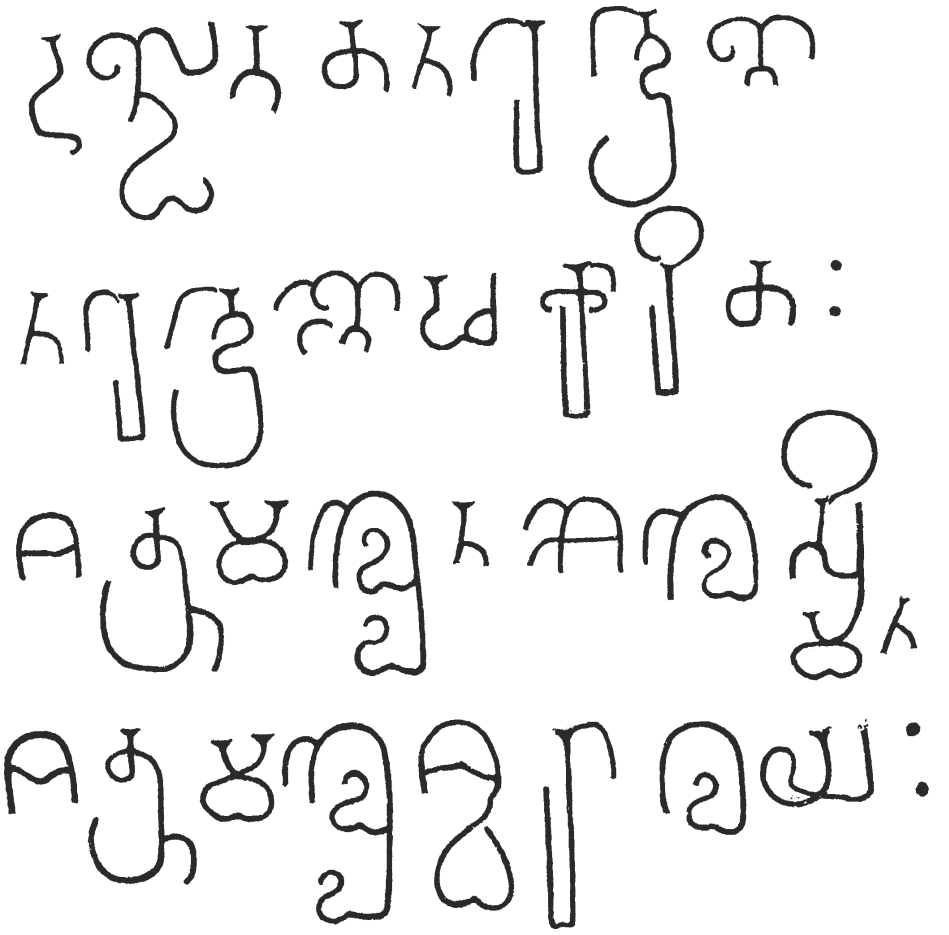
King Mahēndra's Cave-Temple's Foundation Inscription at Mahēndravāḍi



1	*Mahitatamaṁ satām=upa-mahēndra-taṭākam=idam*[1]	Next to the splendid, expansive Upa-Mahēndra Reservoir,
2	*sthiram=uru kāritaṁ guṇabharēṇa vidāryya śilam*[1] [|*]	(King) Guṇabhara caused to be excavated out of hard rock
3	*Jana-nayanâbhir[ā]ma-guṇa-dhāma mahēndra-purē*	An eye-pleasing, fine temple for the people of Mahēndrapuram,
4	*mahati mahēndra-viṣṇu-gṛha-nāma murāri-gṛha*[*m* ||*]	an abode for Murāri, this temple called 'Mahēndra-Viṣṇu-Gṛham'.

[1]The final '*m*' in each of the first two lines, because of space limitation, has been dropped down (by the scribe) just above the final letter of the next line. See E. Hultsch's article, "Mahēndravāḍi Inscription of Guṇabhara", *Epigraphia Indica,* IV, pp. 152-153.

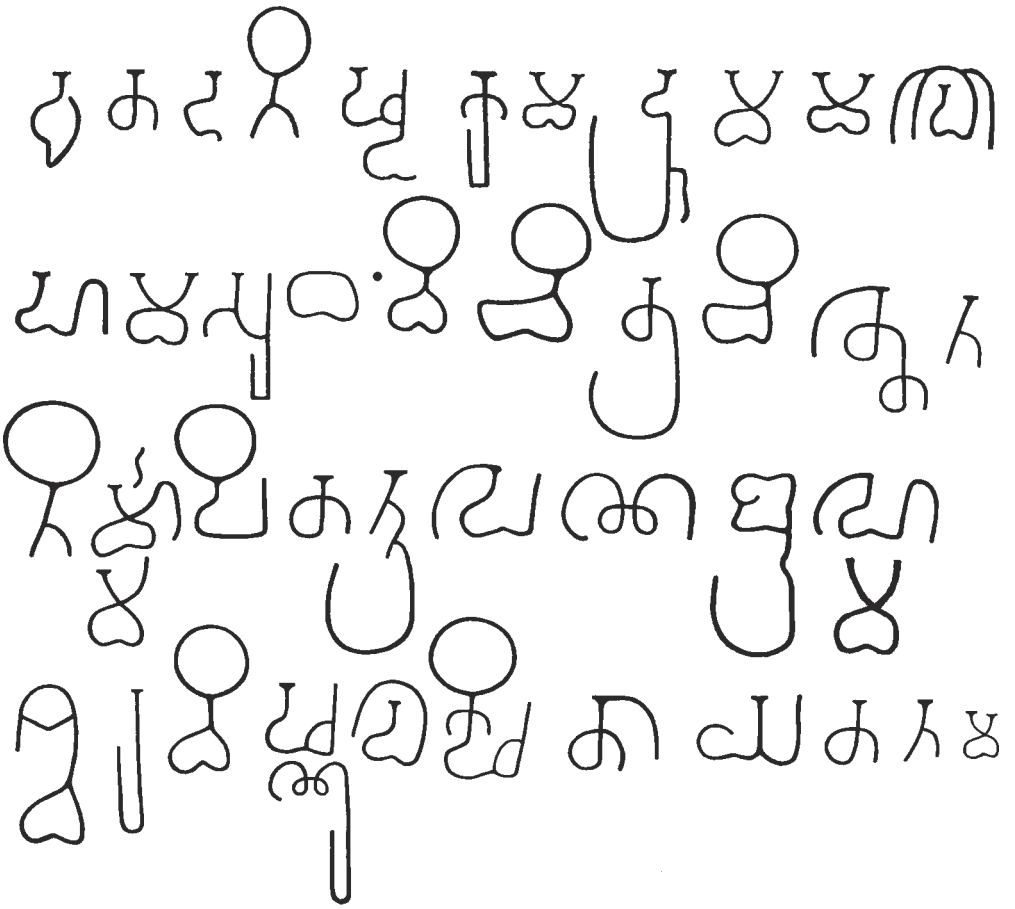
King Mahēndra's Cave-Temple's Foundation Inscription at Dalavāṉūr



1	*Daṇḍānata narēndrēṇa*	by scepter (order) bowed to by princes of men,
2	*narēndrēṇaiśa kāritaḥ* [।*]	by this king of men was made,
3	*Śatrumallēna śailēsmin*	by Śatrumalla, on this hill,
4	*śatrumallēśvarālayaḥ* [॥*][§]	the abode of Śatrumalla's Lord (Śiva)

[§]First edited by E. Hultzsch in "Two Cave-Inscriptions," *Epigraphia Indica*, XII (1913-1914), pp. 225-226, with plate.

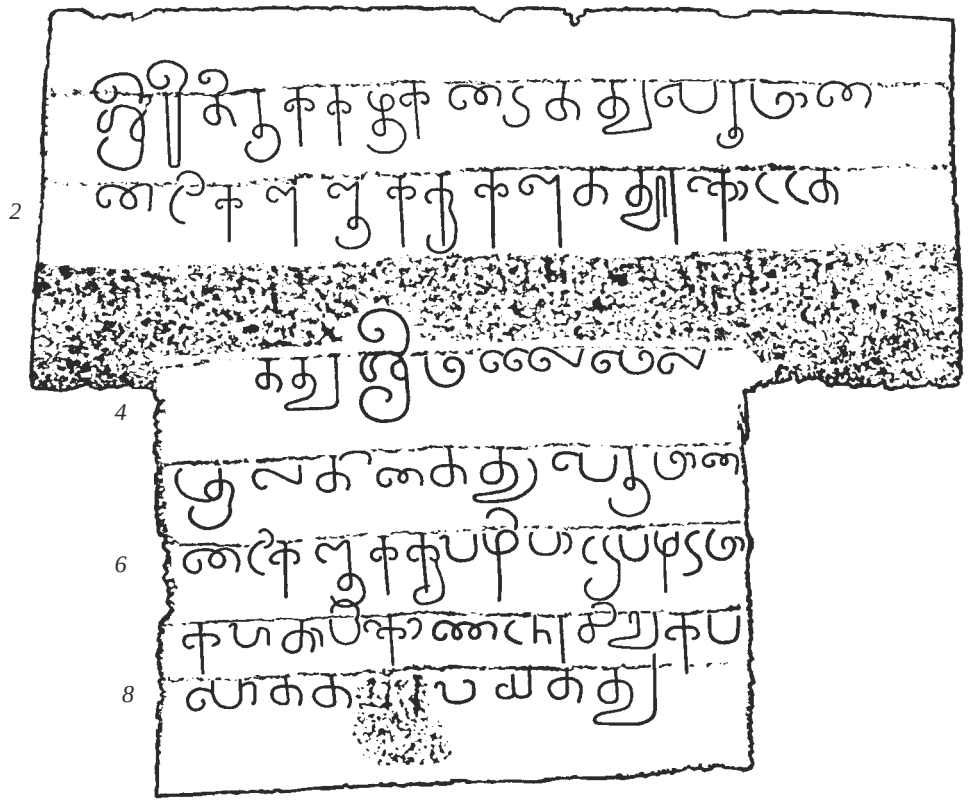
King Mahēndra's Cave-Temple's Foundation Inscription at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu



1	*Ētad=aniṣṭakam=adrumam=alō-*	Without brick, timber, metal, or
2	*ham=asudhaṁ Vicitracittēna* [।*]	mortar, by King Vicitracitta was
3	*Nirmmāpitan-nṛpēṇa brahmē-*	this distinguished temple made
4	*śvara-viṣṇu-lakṣitāyatanam* [॥*][§]	for Brahmā, Īśvara (Śiva), and Viṣṇu.

[§]First edited by T.A. Gopinatha Rao, "Mandagapattu Inscription of Vichitra-chitta", *E.I.*, XVII (1923-24), pp. 14-17. See also *S.-I.I.*, XII, No. 12.

Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam Tamiḻ Inscription[1] of King Narasiṁhavarman-I



1	*Śrīrī* [‖*] *Tirukkaḷuk[ku*]ṉṟattu perumāṉ-*	*Śrīrī* ‖ திருக்கழுக்குன்றத்து பெருமான்-
2	*ṉaḍigaḷḷukku* [|*] *Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭat-*	னடிகள்ளுக்கு. களத்தூர்கோட்டத்-
3	*[tu . . . Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟa-]*[2]	[து . . . திருக்கழுக்குன்ற-]
4	*ttu Śrī mal[ai]mēl*[3]	த்து Śrī மலைமேல்
5	*mūlatāṉattu perumāṉ-*	மூலதானத்து பெருமான்-
6	*ṉaḍigaḷukku vaḻipāṭṭuppuṟamā-*	னடிகளுக்கு வழிபாட்டுப்புறமா-
7	*ga Vātāpikoṇḍa-Naraciṅgap-*	க வாதாபிகொண்டநரசிங்கப்-
8	*pōtta[yara]*[4] *vaytatu* [‖*]	போத்த[யர] வய்தது.

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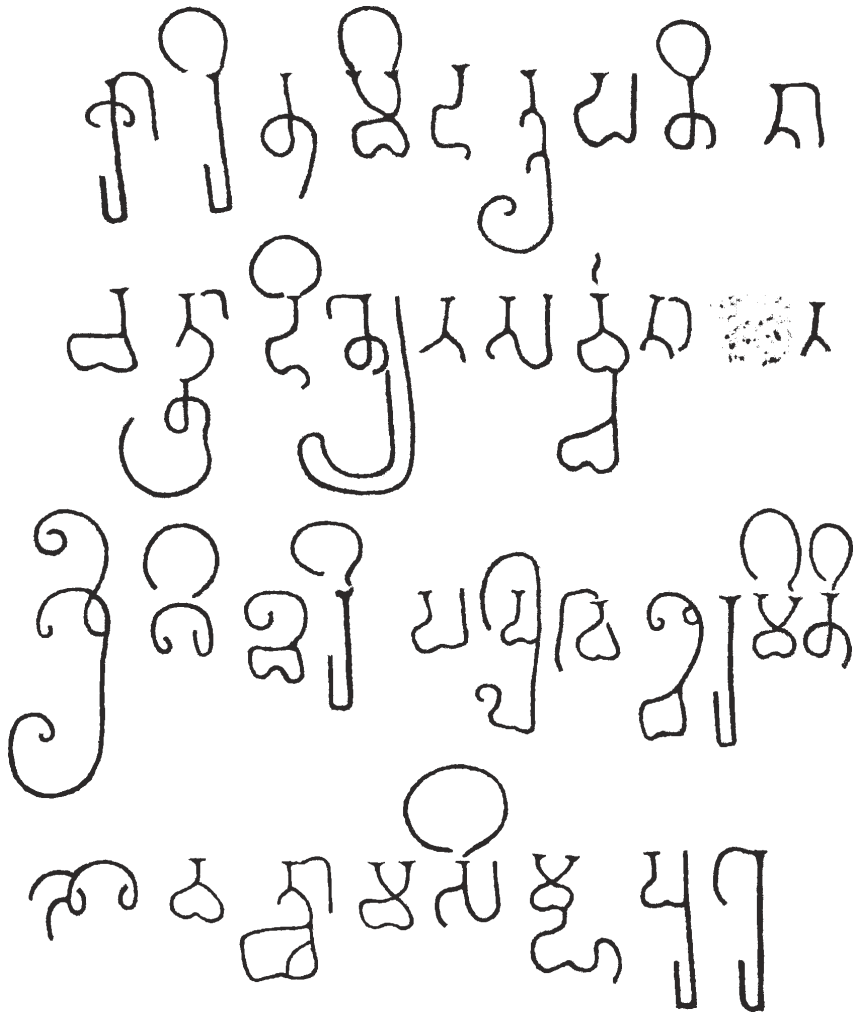
[1]*Annual Report for 1932-33 on South Indian Epigraphy*, p. 55.

[2]The third line has proved beyond my power to decipher. The reading which I have given here in brackets is that suggested by previous editors. I have left the estampage copy untouched in the third line so that the difficulty may be appreciated! (ML)

[3]My delineation of the medial vowel *ai* in '*malaimēl*' of the fourth line is purely conjectural!

[4]A reversed mix-up of the syllables '*rāya*'?

King Candrāditya's Cave-Temple's Foundation Inscription at Mēlaccheri



1 *Kāritam-idan-nṛpatinā* caused to be made by king
2 *candrādityēna sarvvanā[tha*]n* [|*] Candrāditya, emperor, was
3 *Śrī-śikhari-pallavēśvaram-iti* 'Śrī-Śikhari-Pallavēśvaram',
4 *śaivan-dhāma simhapurē*[1] [||*][2] this Śiva temple, in Simhapuram

---

[1]The engraver forgot to engrave on the stone surface the right half of the '*m*' of this word! I have re-instated it in my delineation. (ML)

[2]Edited in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, XII, No. 115, with plate V.

Badami Rock Inscription of King Narasiṁhavarman-I[1]

Text and word-for-word translation:

1 . . . *[saṁ*]vatsarē ātmanō rājya-varṣē- ca varddhamānō tra[yōdaśē*]* . . .
year-in-(the) own regnal year-in and running thirteenth

2 . . . *Narasiṁhēna Mahāmallēna vidviṣām Vātāpir-atimānō* . . .
Narasiṁha-by Mahāmalla-by enemy's Vātāpi haughtiness

3 . . . *[Bhāradvā*]ja . . . iṣṇur-atulaṁ gōtraṁ guṇair-ātmanō* . . .
Bhāradvāja -iṣṇu matchless gōtra deeds (his)-own

4 . . . *t . . . tayaḥ kṣiti bhujām-agrēsaraḥ Palla[vaḥ*]* . . .
earth rulers' foremost Pallava

5 . . . *[s]iṁhaviṣṇur-api- [ya]ḥ stambhañ-jaya* . . .
Siṁhaviṣṇu veritable who pillar (of) victory

6 . . . *[ṣē*]r-b-bahu-matē prakhyāta . . tth* . . .
many opinion esteemed

Running translation:

. . . in the 13th year running of his reign, Narasiṁha Mahāmalla wiped out the haughtiness of (his) enemy Vātāpi and brought renown to the matchless Bhāradvāja gōtra. . . . That veritable Siṁhaviṣṇu who (is) the foremost of the Pallavas and the kings of the Earth . . . (captured the) pillar of victory. . . .[2]

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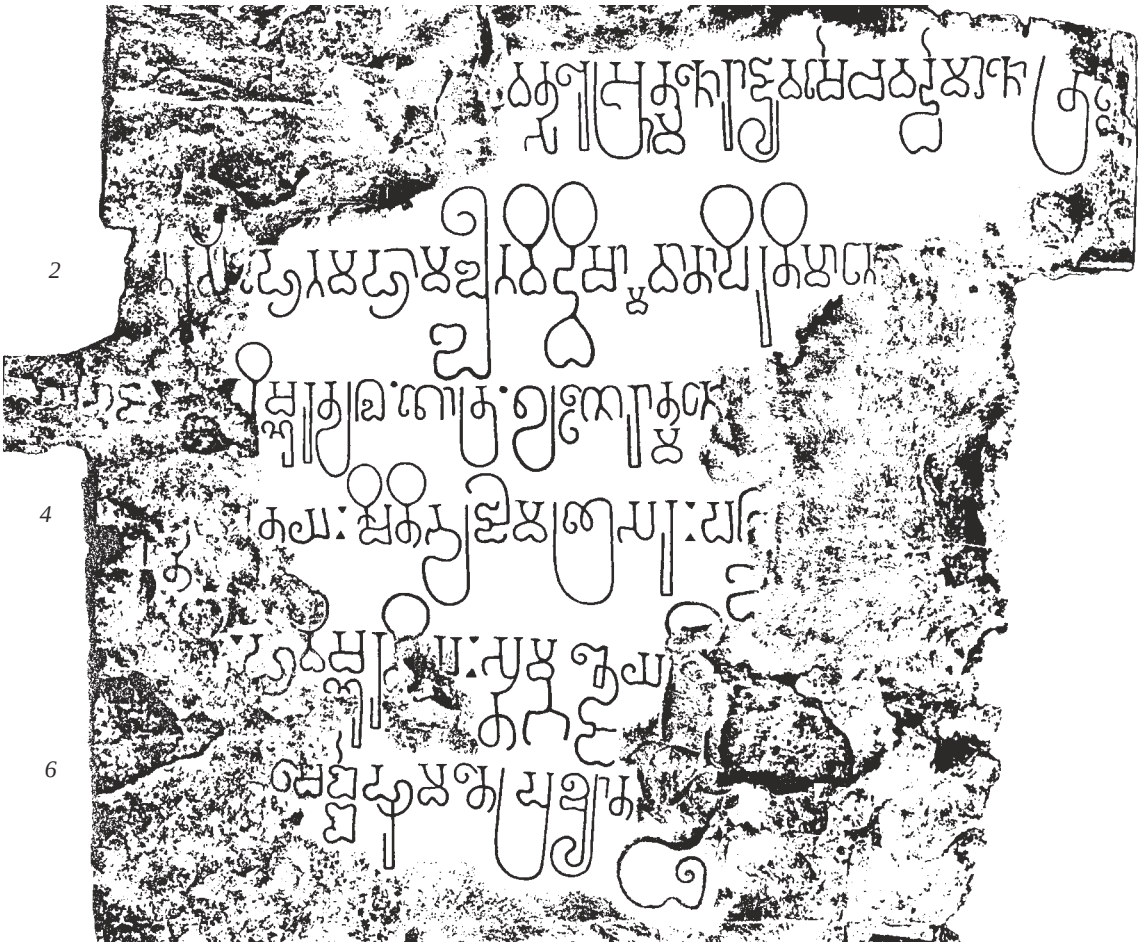
[1]The delineation, opposite, is based on facsimiles in *Indian Antiquary*, IX (1880), and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, XI, Part I.

[2]In the Vēlūrppāḷaiyam Plates of Nandivarman-III, it is claimed that Narasiṁhavarman, after defeating "the host of his enemies, took from them the pillar of victory standing in the centre of Vātāpi" (*S.-I.I.*, Vol. 2, pp. 508 & 511):

Tad-ātma-jād-āvirabhūm-Mahēndrād- Upēndra-kīrtti-n-Narasiṁhavarmmā [|*]
his son-from appeared Mahēndra-from Upēndra fame Narasiṁhavarman

Vātāpi-madyē vijitārivarggaḥ sthitañ- jaya- stambham-alambhayad-yaḥ [||11*||]
Vātāpi middle-in conq. enemy-host standing victory pillar removed who



Sambhavasthitisa[mhā]rakāraṇaṁ vītakāraṇaḥ [|] *Bhūyādatyantakāmāya jagatāṁ*

kāmamarddanaḥ ‖ *Amāyaścitramāyōsāvaguṇō guṇabhājanaḥ* [|] *Svasthō*

niruttarō jīyādanīśaḥ paramēśvaraḥ ‖ *Yasyāṅguṣṭhabharākrāntaḥ kailāsa-s-sada*

śānanaḥ [|] *Pātālamagamanmūrddhnā śrīnidhistambibhartyajam* ‖ *Bhaktiprahvēṇa manasā bhavaṁ bhū-*

ṣaṇalīlayā [|] *Doṣṇā ca yō bhuvō bhāraṁ jīyātsa śrībharaściram* ‖ *Atyanta-*

kāmō nṛpatirnnirjjitārātimaṇḍalaḥ [|] *Khyātō raṇajayaḥ śambhōstēnēdaṁ vēśma*

kāritam [‖] *Jñaḥ sthāṇurnniṣkalaḥ sōmaḥ pāvakātmā viyadvapuḥ* [|] *Bhīmaḥ śivō vijaya-*

tāṁ śaṅkaraḥ kāmasūdanaḥ ‖ *Rājarājō na virasaścakrabhṛnna janārddanaḥ* [|] *Tārakādhipatiḥ svasthō*

jayatāttaruṇāṅkuraḥ ‖ *Śrīmatōtyantakāmasya dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇaḥ* [|] *Śrīnidhēḥ kā-*

marāgasya harārādhanasaṅginaḥ ‖ *Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇṇē citraratnāmbujākarē* [|] *Ā-*

stē viśālē sumukhaḥ śirassarasi śaṅkaraḥ ‖ *Tēnēdaṁ kāritantuṅgandhūrjjaṭērmmandiraṁ*

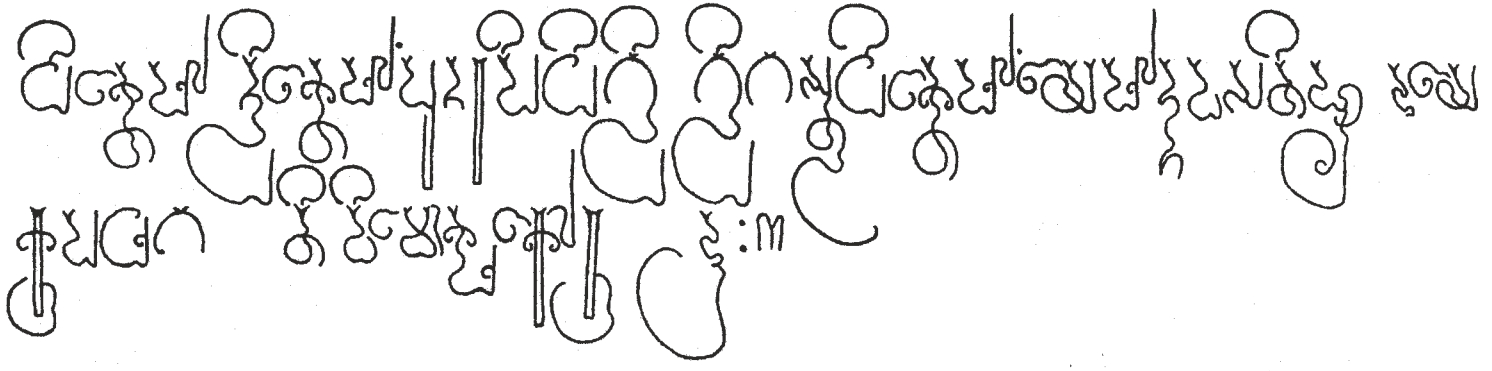
śubha[ṁ] [|] *Prajānāmiṣṭasiddhyartthaṁ śāṅkarīṁ bhūtimicchatā* ‖ *Ōṁ** ‖ *Atyantakāmapallavēśvaragṛham* ‖

Dhiktēṣāndhiktēṣāmpunarapi dhigdhigdhigastu dhiktēṣām [|] *Yēṣānna vasati*

hṛdayē kupathagativimōkṣakō rudraḥ ‖

King Paramēśvara's Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa Inscription

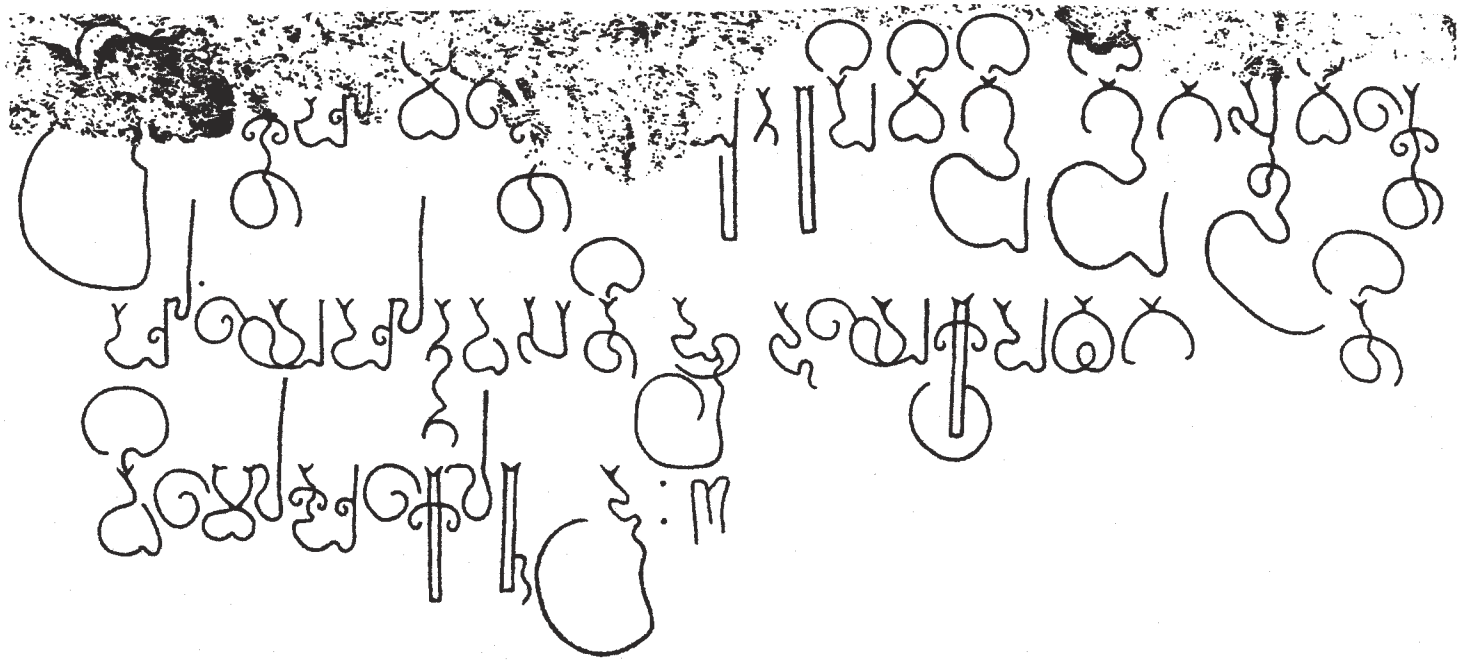
Inscription of King Paramēśvara, the First, on the floor of the Ādivarāha Cave-Temple, Māmallapuram, in front of the sanctum sanctorum:



1 Dhiktēṣān-dhiktēṣāṁ punar-api dhig-dhig-dhigastu dhiktēṣāṁ [|*] *Yēṣān-na vasati hṛdayē*

2 ku-patha-gati-vimōkṣakō rudraḥ ||

King Paramēśvara's inscription on the floor, at the entrance of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa, Māmallapuram:



1 [Śrī । Dhi]ktēṣā[ṁ]-dhiktē[ṣāṁ] punar-api dhig-dhig-dhigastu dhiktē*

2 ṣāṁ [।*] *Yēṣān-na vasati hṛdayē ku-patha-gati-*

3 vimōkṣakō rudraḥ ॥

Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara Cave-Temple Inscription (Grantha Script)

(Delineations based on plates No. 1 & 2 in *Epigraphia Indica*, X, No. 12)

1 *Śrīmatōtyantakāmasya dviṣadda-*

2 *rppāpahāriṇaḥ* [।*] *Śrīnidhēḥ kāma-*

3 *rāgasya harārādhanasaṁginaḥ* ॥

4 *Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇṇē citraratnāmbujākarē* [।*]

5 *Āstē viśālē sumukhaḥ śirassarasi śaṁkaraḥ* ॥

6 *Tēnēdaṁ kāritaṁ śambhōrbhavanaṁ bhūtayē bhuvaḥ* [।*] *Kai-*

7 *lāsamandaranibhaṁ bhūbhṛtāṁ mūrdhni tiṣṭhatā* ॥ *Bhaktiprahvē-*

8 *ṇa manasā bhavaṁ bhūṣaṇa[ṁ]līlayā* [।*] *Dōṣṇā ca yō* ***bhuvandhattē***

9 *jīyātsa śrībharaściram* ॥ *Atiraṇacaṇḍaḥ patiravanibhu-*

10 *jāmatiraṇacaṇḍēśvaramidamakarōt* [।*] *Iha giritana-*

11 *yāguhagaṇasahitō niyatakṛtaratirbhavatu paśupa-*

12 *tiḥ* ॥ *Gurvvīmīśānabhaktiṁ śriyamatiśayinīṁ durvvahaṁ bhāramurvvyā-*

13 *nissāmānyañca dānaṁ samamati(ra)ṇacaṇḍākhyayā [yō bibhartti]* [।*]

14 *Sthānē nirmmāpitēsminvi[ditaraṇaja]yakhyātinā tēna [bhar]ttā bhūtānā-*

15 *maṣṭamūrttiściramatiraṇacaṇḍē[śva]rē yātu niṣṭhām* [॥*] *A(nugra)śīlaḥ* ॥

16 *Yadi na vidhātā bharatō yadi na harirnnāradō na vā skandaḥ* । *Bōddhuṁ ka iva*

17 *samartthassaṁgītaṁ kālakālasya* ॥*Ōṁ*॥ *Samaradhanañjayaḥ Saṁgrāmadhīraḥ* ॥*Ōṁ*॥

Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara Cave-Temple Inscription (Nāgarī Script)

1 *Śrīmatōtyantakāmasya*

2 *dviṣaddarppāpahāriṇaḥ* [।*] *Śrīni-*

3 *dhēḥ kāmarāgasya harārādhanasaṁgi-*

4 *naḥ* ॥ *Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇṇē citraratnāṁ-*

5 *bujākarē* [।*] *Āstē viśālē sumukhaḥ śirassara-*

6 *si śaṁkaraḥ* ॥ *Tēnēdaṁ kāritaṁ śambhōrbhava-*

7 *naṁ bhūtayē bhuvaḥ* [।*] *Kailāsamandaranibhaṁ bhūbhṛtāṁ*

8 *mūrdhni tiṣṭhatā* ॥ *Bhakti[prahvē]ṇa manasā bhava[ṁ] bhūṣaṇaṁ*

9 *līlayā* [।*] *Dōṣṇā ca yō* ***bhuvandhattē*** *jīyātsa śrībharaści-*

10 *ram* ॥ *Atiraṇacaṇḍaḥ patiravanibhu[jāma]tira-*

11 *ṇacaṇḍēśvaramidamakarōt* [।*] *Iha giritanayāgu-*

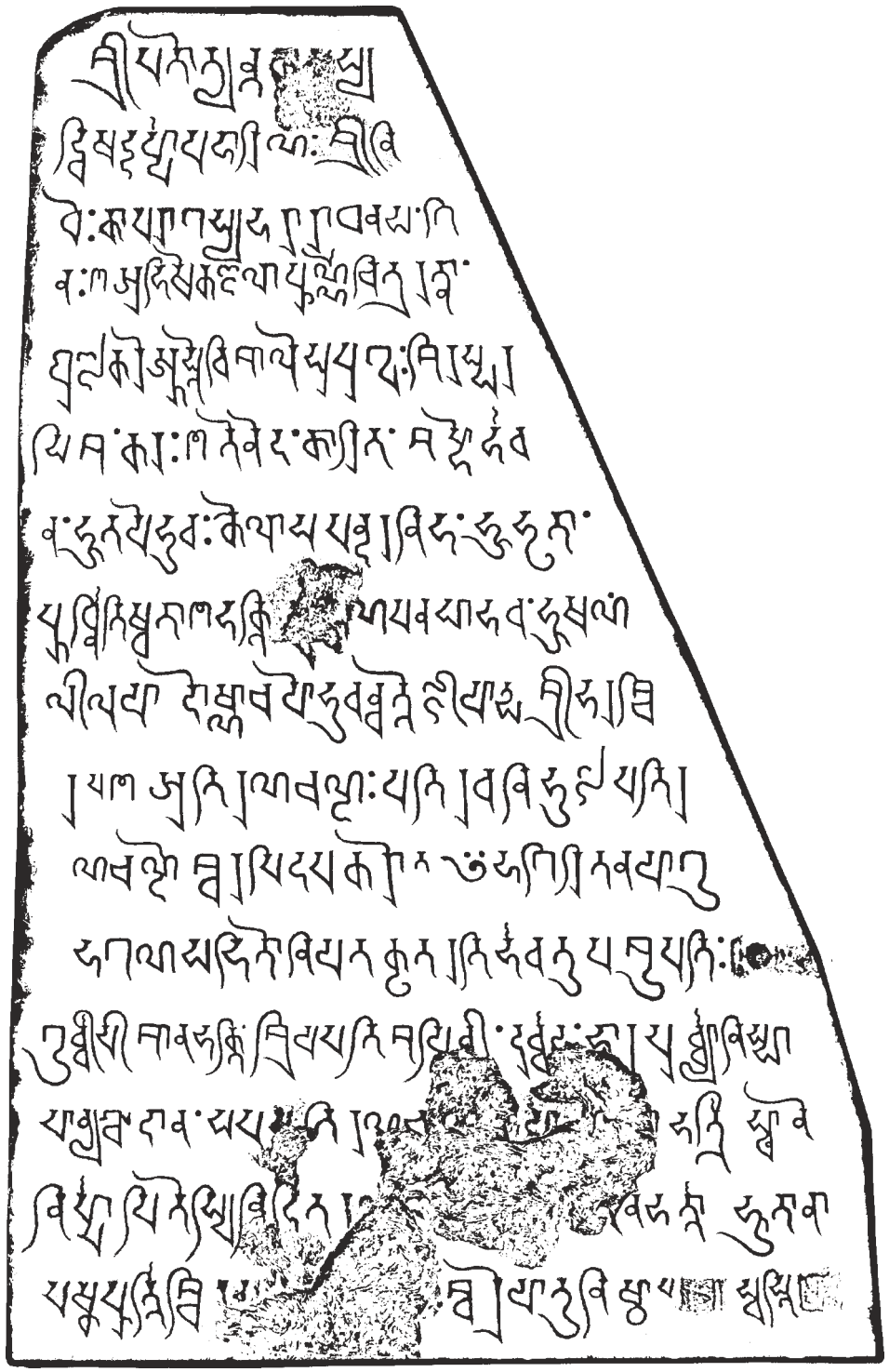
12 *hagaṇasahitō niyatakṛtaratirbhavatu paśupatiḥ* ॥*Ōṁ*॥

13 *Gurvvīmīśānabhaktiṁ śriyamatiśayinīṁ durvvahaṁ bhāramurvvyā nissā-*

14 *mānyañca dānaṁ sama[ma]tiraṇa[caṇḍākhya]yā [yō bi]bhartti* [।*] *Sthānē*

15 *nirmmāpitēsmin[v]iditara[ṇajayakhyātinā tē]na bharttā bhūtānā-*

16 *maṣṭamūrttiścira[matiraṇacaṇḍē]śvarē yātu niṣṭhām* ॥*Ōṁ*॥ *Svasti* ॥



The Shore Temple Sacrificial Altar (*Bali-Pīṭha*) Inscriptions of King Rājasiṁha:

(delineations based on facsimiles in *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, No. 18-A, pp. 105-9 and Plate)

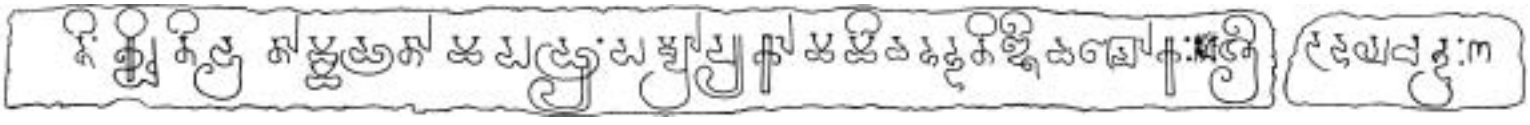
Altar A

West side:

South side:

East side:

North side:



The Shore Temple Sacrificial Altar (*Bali-Pīṭha*) Inscriptions of King Rājasiṁha:

Altar A

West side:

Śrī | *Apratimam=Avani-bhūṣaṇam=Akalaṁkan-Dharani-candram=avanīndrāḥ* [| *] *Arimarddanam=Atula-*
fortune matchless earth- ornament umblemished earth- moon earth-rulers enemy-crusher unequaled-

South side:

(ba)lam Kula-tilakaṁ yē namanti tē . . . [|| 1*] *. . . (Bhaya)rahitō Bahunayaḥ*
prowess race-forehead-mark who salute those fearless great-statesman

East side:

Atyanta- kāmam=Aparājitam=Ēkarājañ-Candrārddha-śēkhara-śikhāmaṇim=Adbhutaṁ yam [|*] *Caṇḍāśa-*
boundless-desires invincible #1-king moon-half- headed- crest-jewel marvelous-(one) whom fierce-

North side:

niṁ kṣitibhṛtām- mahatām=asahyaṁ samprāpya kāmam=iva nandati jīva- lōkaḥ || [2*] *Śrī- Udaya-candraḥ* ||
thunderbolt earth-bearers-to great unbearable attaining well thus enjoys living-beings-world illustrious-rising-moon

Verse 1: Good Fortune! Those rulers of the earth who salute the Matchless One, the Ornament of the Earth, the Unblemished Moon (of this) World, the Crusher (of his) Enemies, (He of) Unequaled Prowess, the Forehead Beauty-Mark (of his) Race.

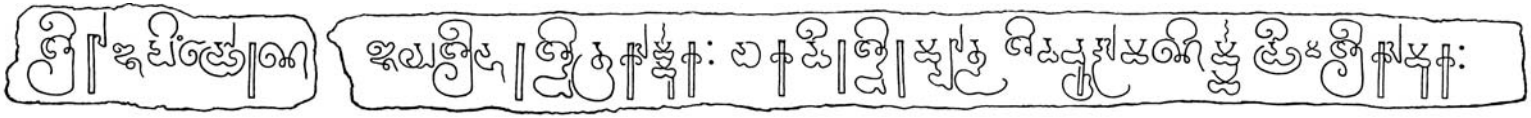
Verse 2: The Fearless, the Great Statesman, (He who has passed) beyond limiting desires, the Invincible, the Foremost among Kings, (He whose) Crest Jewel is the One (i.e., Śiva) whose head is ornamented by the crescent moon, the Marvelous, the Fierce Thunderbolt, (He who is) Unbearable to the great Bearers of the Earth (i.e., to other kings), through whom the world of the living attains full enjoyment.

The illustrious Rising Moon!

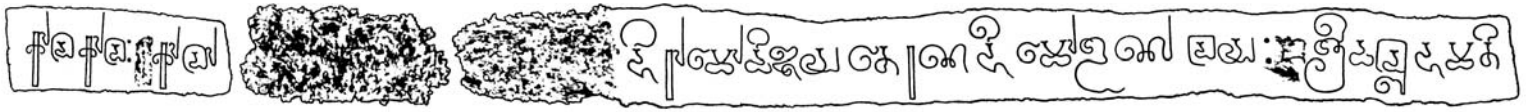
The Shore Temple Sacrificial Altar (*Bali-Pīṭha*) Inscriptions of King Rājasiṁha:

Altar B

West side:

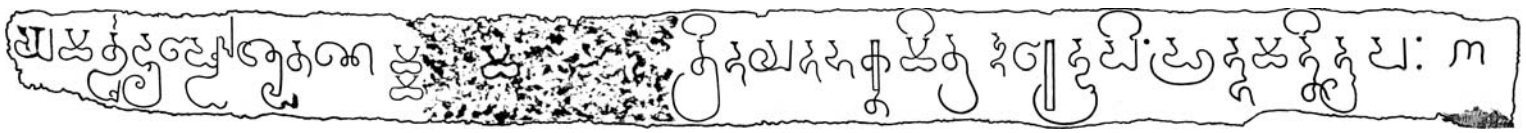


South side:



East side:

North side:



The Shore Temple Sacrificial Altar (*Bali-Pīṭha*) Inscriptions of King Rājasiṁha:

Altar B

West side:

Śrī Rājasiṁhō Raṇa- jaya(ḥ) Śrī-bharaś- Citra- kārmmukaḥ [|*] *Ēka-vīraś-ciram-pātu Śiva-cūḍā- maṇir-m-mahīm* [|| 3*] *Śrī- kāmukaḥ*
illust. Rājasiṁha battle-victor prosp.-possessor astonish.-archer #1 - hero ever protect Śiva-crest-jewel- earth prosperity-desirer

South side:

Kāla- kālaḥ Kālā . . . . [|*] *(A)bhirāmō vijayatē Raṇa- bhīmō Guṇālayaḥ* || [4*] *Śrī- vallabham-Ati-*
death's-death handsome prospers battle- terror virtue-abode fortune's favorite most-

East side:

mānaṁ Raṇa-vīraṁ Kula-(dhvajaḥ?) . . . . . . [|*] *Ūrjjitam-Unnata- rāmam praṇamata Yuddārjju(nam) . . . . . .* [|| 5*]
honored battle-hero race- (banner) mighty extremely-graceful salute-let's battle-Arjuna

North side:

. . . (y)am-arttha-dṛṣṭō (śru)taṇam-ma . . . ma . . . [|*] *Tri-nayana- bhakta- mitran- Narēndrasiṁhan-namanti nṛpāḥ* || [6*]
whom wealth seen 3-eyed (one) devotee friend-of king- lion salute kings

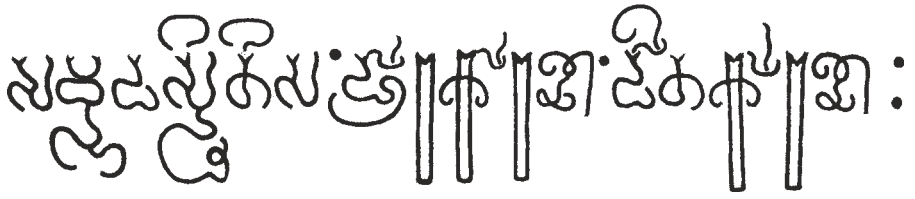
Verse 3: May the illustrious Rājasiṁha, the Victorious in Battle, the Possessor of Prosperity, the Amazing Archer, the Foremost Hero, (He whose) crest-jewel is Śiva, forever protect the earth!

Verse 4: The Lover of Prosperity, the Death to Death, "Kālā . . ." . . . The Handsome, the Terror in Battle, the Abode of Virtue, prosper!

Verse 5: Let us salute the Favorite of Fortune, the Most Honored, the Battle-Hero, the Banner (of his) Race, . . . the Mighty, the Most Pleasant, an Arjuna-in-Battle, ...

Verse 6: the Wealthy, . . . the devotee-friend of the Three-Eyed One (i.e., Śiva), the Lion among Kings, on seeing whom, the rulers of men salute.

Early Pallava inscriptions in Kāñchīpuram



"Madras, July 19: A historic Pallava inscription has been found on the steps of the Mangalatheertham in front of the Kanchi Sri Sankaracharya Mutt. It may be recalled that this tank, not in use, was in ruins and at the instance of H.H. Paramacharya of Kanchi, the HR and CE department renovated the tank, at a cost of Rs. 6 lakh. During the Paramacharya's visit to this tank, His Holiness noticed a few inscriptions on the steps of the tank. At his suggestion Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, who visited the site and studied the inscriptions, found them to be Pallava Grantha inscriptions assignable to A.D. 700 to 725.

"It is the beginning of the inscription of the Pallava ruler Rajasimha who ruled between 690-728 A.D. and exactly the same words are inscribed in the Ganesa ratha, monolithic temple and the Dharmaraja mantapa at Mamallapuram.* Rajasimha built the historic temple of Kailasanatha in Kanchi.

"The inscription also furnishes clues closely connecting the Mamallapuram monuments with the ruler of Kanchi."

[Printed in the *Indian Express*, Madras, Wednesday, 20 July 1988, with facsimile.]

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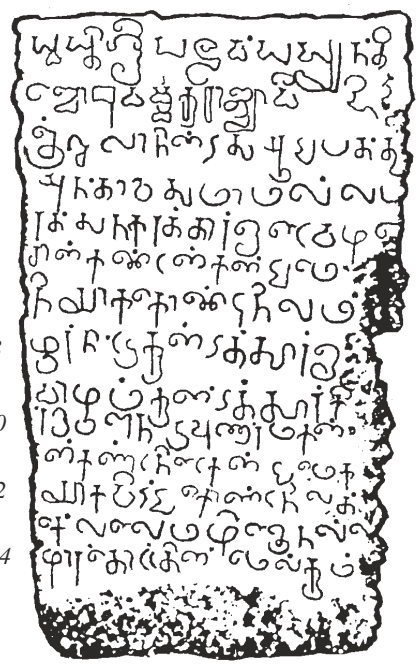
*Since I believe that the inscriptions of the Gaṇēśa Ratha and Darmarāja Maṇḍapa belong to King Paramēśvara (King Rājasiṁha's father), I would attribute this beginning fragment of those longer (and complete) inscriptions to Paramēśvara. (ML)

The Ādivarāha Cave-Temple's Tamil[1] Inscription of Nandivarman-II

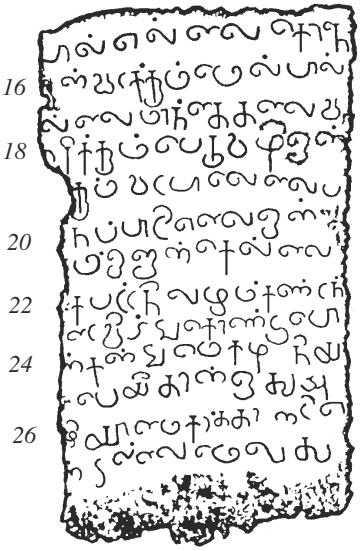
Front of Slab

1 Svasti Śrī Palla[va]-vaṁsasya* [||*] *Na[ṁti-]*
2 bōdhuvarmmaku rājyāvibhid[dhya-][2]*
3 ñ=celāniṉṟatu āṟupattu
4 antāvatu[3] [|*] *Māmallap[u-*]*
5 rattu nakarattār Iṭaivaḻa[ñ-]*
6 cāṉ Kaṇṭaṉ kaṉṟu-mē-[kaḻa-]*
7 niyāka koṇṭa nilam [|*] *[Ā-*]*
8 mūr-nāṭṭu Kuṉṟattūr-i[ṭai]*
9 vāḻum Kuṉṟattūr-ki[ḻā-]*
10 r Iḷa-Naṭuvuṇār makaṉ . .
11 ṉ Kaṇṭan-i[ṭai] kaṉṟu-mē-ka[ḻani-]*
12 yāka viṟṟukoṇṭa nilat[tu-]*
13 [k]k=ellai* [||*] *Maḻiñai Nall[u-*]*
14 ḻār tōṭṭa[t]ti[ṉ] mēlkum [teṉ-*]*



Back of Slab

15 pāl-ellai kōnē[ri]*
16 [i]ṉ vaṭakkum mēlpāl-[e-]*
17 llai Māntai talaiva[ṉ]*
18 [ē]rikkum peru-vaḻi iṉ-[ki-]*
19 [ḻak]kum vaṭapāl=e[l*]lai Pa-*
20 nappāṭi-e[l]lai iṉ-[te-*]*
21 [ṟku]m iṉāṉk=ellai [a-*]*
22 ka[p]paṭṭa nilamum Kaṇṭan*
23 [i]ṭai viṟṟukoṇṭu po-*
24 ṉ kaṉṟu-mē kaḻaniya-
25 [kku] peyitāṉ* [||*] *Itu a-*
26 [ḻi]yāmai kāttāṉ=aṭi e-*
27 [ṉ]ṟallai mēlatu* [||*]



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[1]The first two lines are corrupt Sanskrit written in the Pallava Grantha script. The scribe has omitted the final *va* of *Pallava*. In the 25 lines which follow, the Tamiḻ spelling is variable, and the Pallava Tamiḻ script, crude. Restorations and interpolations by me have been marked with asterisks in the transliteration. I have interpolated some of the *puḷḷis* in my facsimile delineation. (ML)

[2]Read: "***pōta**-varmmaku rājyā**bhivṛ**ddhya-*" for this second line.

[3]Read: "*aintāvatu* ஐந்தாவது".

1 *Svasti Śrī Palla[va*]-vaṁsasya* [||*] *Na[ṁti-]*

2 *bōdhuvarmmaku rājyāvibhid[dhya-*]*

3 ஞ்செலாநின்றது ஆறுபத்து
4 அந்தாவது. மாமல்லபு-
5 ரத்து நகரத்தார் இடைவழஞ்-
6 சான் கண்டன் கன்றுமே-கழ-
7 நியாக கொண்ட நிலம். ஆ-
8 மூர் நாட்டு குன்றத்தூர் இடை
9 வாழும் குன்றத்தூர் கிழா-
10 ர் இள-நடுவுணார் மகன் . .
11 ன் கண்டநிடை கன்றுமே கழநி-
12 யாக விற்றுகொண்ட நிலத்து-
13 க்கெல்லை. மழிஞை நல்லு-
14 ழார் தோட்டத்தின் மேல்கும் தென்

15 பால்எல்லை கோநேரி
16 இன் வடக்கும் மேல்பால் எ-
17 ல்லை மாந்தை தலைவன்
18 ஏரிக்கும் பெறுவழி இன் கி-
19 ழக்கும் வடபாலெல்லை ப-
20 நப்பாடி எல்லை இன் தெ-
21 ற்கும் இனான்கெல்லை அ-
22 கப்பட்ட நிலமும் கண்டந்
23 இடை விற்றுகொண்டு பொ-
24 ன் கன்றுமே கழநிய-
25 க்கு பெயிதான். இது அ-
26 ழியாமை காத்தானடி எ-
27 ன்றல்லை மேலது.

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