

Temple Art under the Chola Queens

By the same author

Laddigam (A Later Chola Temple)

Temple Art under the Chola Queens

B. Venkataraman
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*To
My mother Kaveri,
who bears the name of the river
that nurtured the Cholas
and
their culture and art*

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Foreword

The imperial dynasty of the Cholas may be said to have fostered a golden age of art and literature in South India. Rajendra Chola, the remarkable emperor, who conquered the Sailendra empire with his invincible navy, was a warrior with an indomitable spirit that assured him success in his expedition to the north to fetch the water of the Ganges to his realm—the only tribute that he asked of the vanquished sovereigns. In commemoration of his victories, he created a new capital named Gangai-konda-cholapuram and erected a central ornament in it in the form of a gigantic temple for Siva, as a thanksgiving to the Lord, as the final achievement of a long line of warrior kings, dreaded foes in war and distinguished patrons of art and literature.

South India is studded with gigantic temples, fascinating in their beauty and imposing in their appearance. Many of them are the creation of the Cholas and they proclaim, in mute eloquence, the glory of a galaxy of kings and emperors. The enormous wealth of inscriptions found in these temples reveals the heights attained by Literature under the Cholas. Grants inscribed on copper plates—one of which is an epigraphical wonder being the biggest among such plates in weight and longest in terms of running matter of the document—proclaim a degree of aesthetic and artistic attainment that could well qualify the Chola period to be the Classical age of South Indian art.

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A small band of dedicated scholars like Hultzsch and Venkayya, and later Krishna Sastri and Subramania Iyer working on these inscriptions assiduously for over half a century, produced a wealth of historical, political, cultural, and social data relating to this period of South Indian history. These data enabled Professor Nilakanta Sastri to paint for us a magnificent image of the Cholas, in his monumental volumes on them.

The art of the Cholas, though the acme of perfection in South Indian art, has not been adequately documented or illustrated. A great step in this field is a study of the bronzes, which are the most perfect of their kind, in the lovely book on *Early Chola Bronzes* by Douglas E. Barrett. But the mass of sculptural wealth viewed against their architectural settings, with epigraphical evidence as fundamentally necessary for a proper understanding of the chronology of the art of that period, has awaited the appearance of the liberally illustrated volumes on *Early Chola Art* by Professor S.R. Balasubrahmanyam whose enthusiasm and scholarship have been aided in no small measure by the unswerving devotion and help of his son Shri B. Venkataraman, IAS. It is rare for a senior officer in charge of a very difficult administrative department to give so much of his time and attention to historical or cultural studies, but in the case of Shri Venkataraman it would have been a wonder if it had not been so. Brought up by a scholarly father with a lifelong passion to understand Chola culture and following closely in his footsteps almost from his childhood, it is no wonder that Shri Venkataraman developed a taste for these studies to such an extent that for a while he even pulled himself away from his official duties to devote himself entirely to research to help him understand better so great a phase of the art of South India.

I have for a long time longed to see a book on the magnificent contribution of the great Chola queen Sembiyan Mahadevi along with those of Kundavai and a few others. I recall how, years ago, when I was in Tirumullaivayal temple to collect

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a beautiful inscription of Sembian Mahadevi for the epigraphical gallery of the Madras Museum, my sentimental feelings were so aroused when I thought of the great piety with which this great queen—the consort of the saintly king Gandaraditya, author of *Tiruvisaippa*, widowed early in life with a baby in her arms (the future Uttama Chola), loved and revered by successive generations of Chola emperors, by Sundara Chola himself, by Uttama Chola, by Rajaraja and Rajendra, a great and noble personality of the royal Chola family—had offered this inscription to the temple with the utmost devotion as her religious contribution. It occurred to me it was a sacrilege to remove it, even though the inscription was lying loose and almost neglected in the temple courtyard. I did not touch it. The Madras Museum has gone without it. This great queen and other queens and princesses of the Chola line not only fostered art and architecture, but with their deep devotional feeling spread an aroma around all these monuments.

It was indeed a great pleasure for me to know that Shri Venkataraman had chosen to research the magnificent theme of Temple Art under the Chola Queens. He has appropriately chosen the great fountain-heads of all this aesthetic appreciation and devotional offering—Sembian Mahadevi, Kundavai and Lokamahadevi. Kundavai, the elder sister of the emperor Rajaraja, who on the ascension of her mother on the funeral pyre of her lord Sundara Chola commissioned a magnificent portrait of the departed queen to be presented to the temple of Rajarajesvara at Tanjavur is only next to Sembian Mahadevi in her importance among the great Chola Princesses; the high regard with which she was held by successive generations is evidenced by the fact that Rajaraja named after her one of his daughters (married to the Eastern Chalukyan Prince Vimaladitya whom Rajendra honoured by welcoming not only as his nephew but also as his son-in-law).

Kundavai set an example of tolerance by contributing to the Jaina temple at Tirumalai near Polur. This was in continuation

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of the royal tradition not only of tolerance but active encouragement of other religions as seen in Rajaraja's splendid gifts to the Buddhist monasteries at Nagapattinam.

Lokamahadevi, the art-minded queen of Rajaraja—not unlike other art-minded queens of earlier periods such as Rangapataka, the queen of Rajasimha, and Trailokyamahadevi, the queen of the early Western Chalukyan king Vikramaditya, who respectively helped their consorts to erect monumental temples like the Kailasanatha at Kanchipuram, correctly styled Rajasimhesvaragriha, and the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal—was responsible not only for silently encouraging her consort, Rajaraja, but also for herself contributing actively to the architectural fabric of Chola art.

I am happy that Shri Venkataraman has written very lucidly, clearly bringing out the great qualities of these three great queens, besides others, who were responsible, in no small measure, for creating and enriching several Chola monuments of great artistic value and aesthetic appeal. He has given each of these great luminaries a distinct place in the cultural history of the Cholas, and showed how they helped the upsurge of an aesthetic torrent in fulfilment of the great religious fervour that marked, in general, the great temple-building activity of this noble dynasty. He has discussed the contribution of each in building, renovating, rebuilding, and endowing individual temples, freely drawing on their inscriptions for the excellent documentation that enhances the value of this monograph. I have no doubt that this book would form an inspiring companion to the beautiful volumes on Chola Temple Art produced by his father (the third volume in which series is shortly to be released).

Director
National Museum
New Delhi
15 September 1973

C. Sivaramamurti

Preface

One often wonders why South Indian Art and Architecture has remained a comparatively ignored field in the study of Indian Art. Art historians have contented themselves with a casual mention of the oft repeated examples of Dravidian art—the Shore temple at Mamallapuram, the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi, the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur and the Gangaikondasolisvaram temple at Gangaikondasolapuram. These by themselves would seem to span the great vista of Dravidian monuments which dot the South Indian peninsula. Peninsular isolation and possibly local indifference have contributed to this lack of interest and a surfeit of monuments is itself a demoralising factor, for they tend to get taken for granted. Except for the pioneering work of the early archaeologists like Fleet, Cousens, Hultsch, Venkayya, Krishna Sastri and a team of dedicated men who worked under very difficult conditions around the turn of the nineteenth century, there has been a general stagnation in the study of South Indian Art. After the contribution of J. Dubreuil, whose attention was basically confined to Pallava art, a whole quarter of a century drifted out of existence with no contribution made to enlighten the yearning reader on the art of South India. Mr. C. Sivaramamurti and Mr. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam should be given the pride of place for breaking fresh ground in the last two decades in an effort to bring to light the grandeur of this phase of Indian Art.

This book deals with an aspect of Chola art that has received

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casual attention only and attempts to bring out the role played by the Chola queens and princesses in the growth of the Chola temple art to the stage that resulted in the erection of edifices like the ones at Tanjavur, Gangaikondasolapuram, Darasuram, and Tribhuvanam. Sembiyan Mahadevi, who lived through the latter half of the tenth century, stands head and shoulders above all others in this respect. Her contribution extended to building new temples and replacing old brick ones, introducing certain major developments in temple art ever in a flux and casting some of the finest specimens of Chola bronzes. The next place is taken by Kundavai, the sister of Rajaraja I. Inspired by Sembiyan Mahadevi and revered by Rajaraja I, Kundavai concentrated her activities in the Tondaimandalam region where her husband, a *Samanta* in the service of Rajaraja I, lived and ruled as a feudatory of the Chola overlord. And third in the order is Rajaraja I's principal queen, Lokamahadevi, who independently and jointly with her consort added considerably to the movement of Chola art. The other queens of Rajaraja I have humbler contributions to their credit, most of them being in the form of metal images given to the temples built by their lord, and elaborate jewellery for those icons.

The source for the material on which this book is written is two-fold: inscriptions and the temples themselves. We are not dealing with the aesthetics of Chola art but with the provenance, growth and characteristics of religious monuments which can be attributed to specific queens and princesses. To that extent there will be no attempt to trace any continuity in the growth of Chola art under the queens. The emphasis is on the fact of contribution by them and their participation in the endeavour and activities of their spouses.

A word is necessary about the treatment of the subject. The monuments attributable to the queens and princesses are established on epigraphical evidence. Then a brief reference is made to the legends and traditions associated with each temple, wherever prevalent, followed by a brief history of the temple

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as culled from the inscriptions. Each monument is described in detail and the trends and features of the monuments concerned are delineated by grouping together their characteristics, based on empirical studies. Where it is possible to draw broad conclusions regarding trends, or highlight notable characteristics it has been done. Extrapolation, as a technique in art, is not quite scientific. Conclusions cannot be drawn from the study of some monuments and be applied to others to determine their position in time and area—a temptation many art historians fall prey to. In that respect art differs from science and defies codification, unless the coverage of the monuments concerned is complete to the best of our knowledge. So, the emphasis has been on baring the facts out of the shells of inscriptions and unnoticed monuments, leaving conclusions to flow where they can. No attempt to extract conclusions or to develop patterns, as is very often the tendency amongst art historians, has been made.

On Sembiyan Mahadevi, material from inscriptions is vast indeed. On Kundavai and Lokamahadevi, it is less so; on others it is meagre or none at all. But a study of this nature can help to throw light on a rarely known aspect of South Indian art. To that extent, the book justifies itself.

Sembiyan's monuments share a common plan; so do those of Kundavai, few though they may be. Lokamahadevi's contribution does not lend itself to any generalisations. But as individual pieces, her contributions are noteworthy and share the features of the period.

My thanks are due to the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, for sponsoring this book as an Institute publication. In its preparation, I have received help from a number of friends whose list will be too big to be enumerated. Mr. Varadarajan and Mr. Malhotra have done a lot to make the script ready for the press. The unseen hand of my wife is there in the text, in virtually every page. I thank Mr. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam for lending me some of the blocks and photographs used in the book. The French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry is a

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constant friend in all our endeavours, with their readiness to help in all respects. My thanks are due to my wife, Leela, my daughter, Nandini and my son, Mohan, who have prepared the Index for the book.

Bhubaneswar
January 11, 1976

B. Venkataraman

Background

The history of South India that is attempted in this preliminary chapter is almost a temerity for it cannot be compressed into a capsule of this dimension. But the attempt has been made with a view to satisfying the expressed need of the uninitiated interested in the subject of South Indian art. To them fixing the Chola dynasty in the context of world, Indian and South Indian history has appeared to be a desideratum or a prerequisite to studying its contribution to art. In fact it is so, for no movement of art takes place in a vacuum; it is a part of a trend, either moving with it or determining its pace.

By South India, we mean peninsular India,—south of the Vindhya range of mountains that stretches in an east-west direction, dividing the country into two distinct geographic entities; in fact, so distinct that the geography of each has determined its history too.

The Aryanisation of this region can be said to have commenced in about 1000 B.C. and to have gone on with varying success and resistance till the fourth century B.C., when a sort of equilibrium was achieved. Aryanisation was accepted, with reservations, by the peninsular population; their pre-Aryan identity was partly blurred but not given up. It is at this stage that Chandragupta Maurya (322 B.C.) extended his domain across the Vindhyas and built up an empire that, under his grandson Asoka (273–233 B.C.), bestrode the subcontinent. Asokan edicts find place in the Mysore—Andhra region,

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implying a state of social development in the south not different from that in the north while the Brahmi script formed a link in the field of *script* and consequently literature.

On the ashes of the Mauryan empire rose the powerful dynasty of the Satavahanas that ruled for over 450 years in the region bounded by the two seas in the east and west, delimited in the north by the Vindhya and sometimes the Satpura ranges, and in the south by the traditional triumvirate of the Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms. Their reign, commencing from 230 B.C., lasted till about A.D. 200 giving place to minor principalities of comparative insignificance. In the south-eastern part of the former Satavahana kingdom, however, the Pallavas made Kanchipuram their capital and ruled for well over six centuries in two distinct stages: a first stage of a hazy unlit period of history stretching from A.D. 275 to 550; and a second stage when the Simhavishnu branch emerged with a fanfare. The Mysore plateau came under a Brahmana dynasty known as the Kadambas whose rule extended from A.D. 345 to 565. In the region between the Kadambas in the west and the Pallavas in the east lay the kingdom of the Gangas—their heyday is rather limited from A.D. 400 to 500, though they persist for a long time. In the coastal Andhra region the Ikshvakus, who succeeded the Satavahanas, were followed for a brief spell by the rulers of the Brihatphalayana *gotra*, to be replaced shortly afterwards by the Salankayanas who ruled over Vengi (the territory between the delta regions of the Krishna and the Godavari) from the fourth century onwards. They were succeeded by the Vishnukundins who ruled from A.D. 440 to 616. In the eastern part of South India (constituting the present State of Orissa, the upper reaches of Andhra Pradesh and the eastern parts of Madhya Pradesh), a number of petty principalities arose during these centuries among whom were Kosala—comprising the modern districts of Bilaspur, Raipur, Sambalpur and portions of the Garhjat area of Bolangir and Kalahandi districts; Kurla—the region around the lake of Colair in coastal Andhra region;

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and a host of others known only by their capitals of Kotturu Erandapalla, Devarashtra, Palakka, and Kushtalapura. Their existence during the days of Samudra Gupta comes to light only in the wake of his over-running them, after which they are not heard of. This region again finds mention when the Matharas rise to power, their rule extending from A.D. 375 to 500, when they are succeeded by the Gangas in North Kalinga and South Kalinga gets merged in Vengirashtra.

The period commencing from the rise of the Satavahanas in upper South India to almost the end of the fifth century constituted the Sangam age in the traditionally Tamil-speaking kingdoms of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas. It was an age of great literary activity, the authorship of the works often vesting in the heretical writers; for it was an age of Jainism and Buddhism in this region. While no genealogy of rulers can be attempted for this period, a number of well-known Chera, Chola and Pandya kings find mention in the literature of the period: Udiyenjaral (c. 130), Seran Senguttuvan (c. 180), Perunjeral Irumborai (c. 190), the Adiyaman chiefs, Karikala Chola (c. 190), Pandya Nedunjeliyan (c. 210) and others. A protracted civil war ensues in the Chola kingdom—Nalangilli and Nedungilli confronting each other. The next important ruler we hear of is the celebrated Koch-Chenganan, the red-eyed king, who won a war against the Cheras and built as many as seventy temples for Siva according to Tirumangai Alvar. This brings us to the fourth or fifth century.

A pall of darkness descends on the southern part of the peninsula towards the end of the fourth century and in this interregnum an unknown tribe called the Kalabhras sweep through this region leaving a trail of destruction and chaos, of which we get glimpses from later references only. We have no clue as to who they were, from where they came, and how long their oppression lasted. But from the sixth century we find enough historical data to permit a cogent narrative of the growth and fall of succeeding dynasties.

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In the middle of the sixth century, the western plateau came under the sway of the Chalukyas, with their capital at Badami, who ruled for about 200 years from A.D. 540 to 755. The Pallavas of the Simhavishnu line, with Kanchipuram as their capital, rose to great fame and power and ruled for a longer period, from A.D. 500 to 900; while in the peninsular tip, the Pandyas of the first dynasty ruled for almost the same period, A.D. 590 to 920. The Eastern Chalukyas, a collateral branch of the Western Chalukyas, ruled with fluctuating fortunes in the deltaic region of the Krishna and the Godavari for a long period (A.D. 624–1060).

The Western Chalukyas reared the structural temple from its infancy to a degree of maturity that justified the western plateau being termed the cradle of the Dravidian temple. In fact, temple art grew in the rocky unevennesses of this region between A.D. 550 and 750 and went forth in various directions. The Nagara, Vesara, and Dravida styles seem to have been born of the same mother, but developed local and regional characteristics. The numerous temples at Aihole and its neighbourhood (dating from almost A.D. 520), like the Suryanarayana temple (strangely called Ladh Khan temple), the Durga temple, Huchchamalligudi temple, and the Malagitti Sivalaya at Badami, mark the first phase in the growth of the South Indian temple. The Pallavas followed up with two groups of temples—the Rajasimha group (A.D. 700–800) and the Nandivarman group (A.D. 800–900). Examples of the former are the Shore temple and the temples of Isvara and Mukunda at Mamallapuram, and the temples of Kailasanatha and Vaikunthaperumal at Kanchipuram. Among the latter group are a series of small temples like the Muktesvara and the Matangesvara at Kanchipuram, the temples of Virattanesvara at Tiruttani, and the Parasuramesvara at Gudimallam.

The ninth century marks the end of an epoch, the rise of a mighty empire in the southern region, and a succession of two major powerful dynasties in the northern and western regions.

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The Pallavas and the Pandyas declined out of exhaustion giving place to the Cholas who grew in the fertile soil of the Kaveri delta and built an empire, with which we are concerned in this book, commencing from A.D. 850 and lasting nearly 430 years. The last few decades of this empire witnessed a resurgence of the Pandyas, with their capital at Madurai, who staged a brilliant but short-lived come-back. This empire, called the Second Pandyan empire, which could be said to start around the year A.D. 1220, lasted a century or so till the year A.D. 1310 when Malik Kafur's invasion terminated its existence as a power. The Pandyas showed signs of life again when the Muslim sultanate of Madurai disappeared, but ceased to be of any significance, and were finally absorbed in the Vijayanagar empire.

The Chalukyas of Badami were replaced by the Rashtrakutas (A.D. 750–970) with their capital at Manyakheta. Just as they came to power by overthrowing their overlord, they were replaced in turn by the Western Chalukyas, who shifted their capital to Kalyani (Kalyanapuram of Tamil inscriptions), and ruled for more than 200 years (A.D. 970–1200). The years when the Cholas ruled in the south and the Chalukyas in the Deccan plateau saw some of the bloodiest battles of history—huge armies, hundreds of thousands in strength, facing each other in grim battles in the inhospitable clefts and ridges of the Tungabhadra valley which formed a shifting boundary between the two warring kingdoms. The exit of the Chalukyas is hastened by their feudatory, the Hoysalas, with their capital at Dvarasamudram, who rapidly rose to prominence; their span of three centuries' rule (A.D. 1022–1342) partly overlapped that of the Chalukyas. The Kakatiyas emerged from the debris of the Eastern Chalukyas in the Krishna-Godavari riparian region and after a brief succession of some very brilliant rulers fell in their turn in the year 1326.

The year 1310 etched a deep indelible line of demarcation in the canvas of South Indian history. The South was rudely shaken up and made aware of a new menace to their suzerainty—

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the growing power of the Delhi Sultanate. All the empires of the peninsula were swept out of existence in one big sweep of the Muslim invasion which virtually terminated the rule of the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudram, and the Pandyas of Madurai. Fortunately, the Cholas were more or less eclipsed by then and thus escaped the indignity and inhumanity of the invasion. But a militant Hindu reaction was born of the invasion. Harihara and Bukka established a Hindu empire south of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, swiftly erasing the slur of defeat and welding the entire region into a solid empire that lasted for more than three centuries (A.D. 1336–1640). The region between the Vindhyas and the river Krishna became a confederacy of Muslim principalities comprising the Bahamini kingdom and its successor Sultanates. Of the wars across the Krishna, whose gurgling waters were kept hot and bloody in a prolonged struggle for survival by the Vijayanagar rulers, we need make no mention. Suffice it to say that the balance was upset by the arrogance of a Vijayanagar prince, Rama Raya, which cost him his life, his capital, its existence, and his people, their freedom. The battle, which was fought in January 1565 at Rakshasi Tangidi (or Talikota), was bitterly fought and like the third battle of Panipat formed a turning point in the history of the region. Vijayanagar as a power was beaten. It dragged its feet for almost a century thereafter, though not as the empire the Portugese had seen in the heyday of Krishna Deva Raya (A.D. 1509–29). And that brings us to the modern history of the peninsula which need not concern us here.

This, in brief, is the story of South India during the ancient and mediaeval periods, meant to function as a backdrop to an understanding of the Cholas.

The classical period of South Indian history covers a span of more than four centuries, extending from A.D. 850 to 1279. During this period, the Chola dynasty dominated the South Indian scene and, apart from the vast conquests they made not

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only within the country but also overseas, built innumerable temples, the like of which we do not see anywhere else in the world. It would be unfair to the illustrious succession of great rulers of this dynasty if we were not to mention some of their less spectacular achievements; namely, land reforms, a detailed land survey, an elaborate set-up of decentralised democratic institutions, and a system of regional autonomy with nominal overlordship. We have seen that the Cholas did not emerge from a vacuum. They were in the line of succession of a series of dynasties and empires dating back to the pre-Christian era. Between A.D. 850 and 900 there was a struggle for power between the Pallavas and the Pandyas on the one side, and the Cholas on the other, resulting in the Cholas of Tanjavur establishing themselves firmly in the saddle and setting up a dynasty that has very few equals in the history of India. Neither the Mauryas and the Guptas nor the Mughals and the Marathas, including the Peshwas, dominated the political scene of a sizable expanse of India for an uninterrupted period of 429 years. And it was the good fortune of the South that during this period each ruler was as great as, if not greater than, his predecessor. As a result, there was peace in the land generally, and the people enjoyed the fruits of a well-established, orderly administration at the central, provincial, and local levels. This, in turn, provided the necessary climate for a tremendous outburst of artistic and religious activity, inspired by the enthusiasm, drive and religious devotion of the successive Chola rulers.

The foundation of this empire was laid by Vijayalaya, a local chieftain tracing Chola descent, who rose to prominence during the conflict between the Pandyas and the Pallavas. He captured Tanjai (Tanjavur) and in the course of his reign, lasting twenty years, built up a compact empire that extended up to Tiruttani (near Madras) in the north and to the banks of the Vellaru (near Pudukkottai) in the south. He was succeeded by his son, Aditya I, who did much to consolidate the kingdom. Parantaka I, the third in succession, annexed the Pandyan

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empire, finally eliminating the Pandyas from the scene, and was all set for further expansion when his ambitions received a setback after the tragic defeat and death of his son, Rajaditya, at the hands of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna III, in the battle of Takkolam. Parantaka I died a broken-hearted man. From the time of his death to the accession of Rajaraja I, who avenged the defeat and death of Rajaditya by winning back the areas of the Chola empire lost to the Rashtrakutas, the fortunes of the Chola empire were at a low ebb. Strangely enough, it was this same disturbed period of their history that saw the flowering of temple architecture and the emergence of a woman, Sembiyan Mahadevi, unparalleled in the history of India for her contribution to art, architecture, stone sculpture and, more than anything else, to the casting of bronzes. Metal-casting attained a high degree of excellence in this period and bronzes of great artistic merit were produced in profusion. South India owes its pre-eminent place in the field of bronze-casting to the patronage of this saintly lady whose tragic personal life was the reason and the provocation for the expression of her piety and devotion to her husband in concrete art forms.

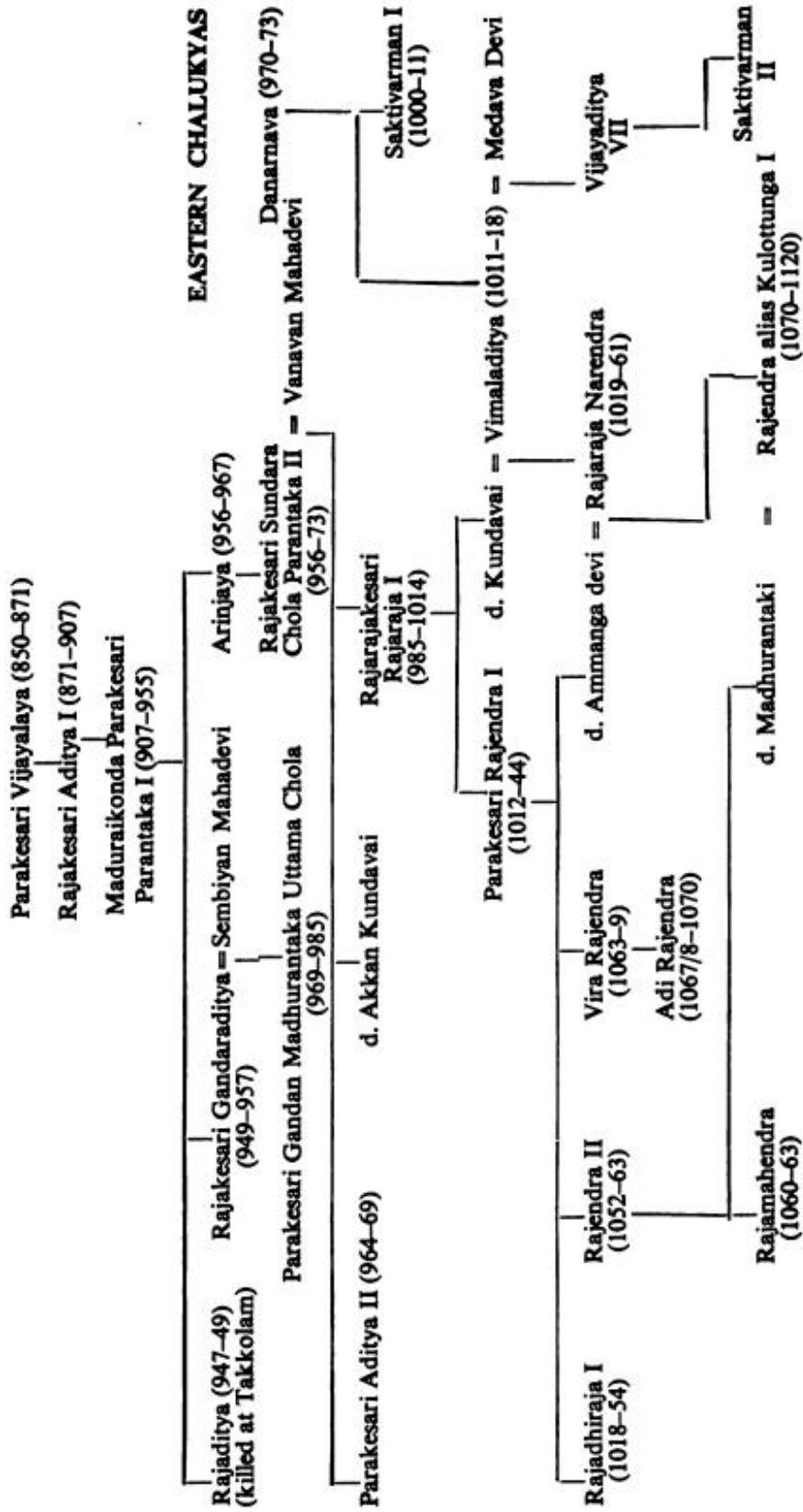
Parantaka I was followed by a quick succession of rulers who were not able to make much headway either in expanding the kingdom or consolidating it. The thirty years that intervened between the death of Parantaka I and the accession of Rajaraja I (A.D. 985) were years of introspection. Rajaraja I, however, was a brilliant statesman, a great builder of temples and a fearless warrior who placed the Chola empire on the map of India. He consolidated Vengirashtra in the Chola kingdom, conquered Sri Lanka, absorbed the Pandyan kingdom finally and firmly, and conquered the islands in the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal. He established diplomatic contact with Sri Vijaya in the Indonesian archipelago. Rajaraja I crowned his rule and his efforts with the magnificent edifice that he raised at Tanjavur which even today stands as an undying monument to his glory and piety.

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His sister Kundavai and his queens joined him in all his religious and temple-building activities. It is their contribution to Chola art that we shall study along with Sembiyan Mahadevi's. The genealogy of the early and middle Cholas (A.D. 850–1070) is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE CHOLAS



Sembiyan Mahadevi

In the earlier chapter we briefly mentioned that the third in succession in the Chola line was Parantaka I (907-955). He extended the empire by consolidating Tondaimandalam, the land of the Pallavas, which covered the area comprising the modern districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor, and those areas adjoining these districts in the north and the west. He also conquered Madurai as early as in his third regnal year and ruled peacefully over his empire for over four decades. However, towards the end of his life he had to lose the northern portion of his empire to the Rashtrakutas under Krishna III, at whose hands Parantaka I lost his son and crown prince Rajaditya in the battle of Takkolam in the year A.D. 949.

On the death of Rajaditya, Gandaraditya, Parantaka I's second son, became the crown prince. He ascended the throne on his father's death in A.D. 955. He married Sembiyan Mahadevi, the daughter of Malavarayan, a nobleman. Their son Uttama Chola ruled for over sixteen years before Rajaraja I ascended the throne. We also hear of another queen of Gandaraditya, by the name of Viranarayaniyar, from a 40th year (A.D. 947, 220 of 1936-37)* record of Parantaka I at Karadi. (See genealogical Table 2.)

*These refer to the *Archaeological Survey Reports on Epigraphy* (Government of India).

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TABLE 2

		Malavarayar (No. 444 of 1918 of Tiruvengadu)
Viranarayaniyar = Gandaraditya (first reference in a record of the 40th year of Parantaka I, No. 220 of 1936-37 of Karadi)	= Gandaraditya (alias Madhu- rantaka Gandaradittan) (A.D. 949-957)	= Sembiyan Mahadevi (first mention made in a record of the 41st year of Parantaka I, No. 221 of 1936-37 of Karadi)

The earliest reference to Sembiyan Mahadevi occurs in an inscription (S.I.I., I., No. 75 and S.I.I., V, No. 543; 96 of 1892)* found in the temple of Ujjivanathar at Uyyakondan-Tirumalai, a small village about five kilometres off Tiruchy. Dated in the 34th year of Parantaka I (A.D. 941), that is, much before the accession of Gandaraditya to the Chola throne, it relates to a gift of sheep made by Sembiyan Mahadevi—referred to in the inscription as Pirantakan Mahadevadigalar, the wife of Pirantakan Gandaraditta *devar*—for the purpose of maintaining a permanent lamp before the deity, Tirukkarrali Paramesvarar of Nandipanmamangalam which was the earlier name of Uyyakondan-Tirumalai. The last of the references to this noble lady is contained in an inscription belonging to the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1001). Thus, recorded references to Sembiyan Mahadevi are spread over a span of sixty years.

She was born under the asterism of *Jyeshtha*, the Tamil equivalent being *Kettai*, in the Tamil month of *Chittirai* (corresponding to March-April of the Gregorian calendar). She was a great temple builder, who apart from building new temples, made extensive additions to existing ones. She also rebuilt old brick temples in stone. Her contributions extended to many temples: Umamahesvarar temple at Konerirajapuram; Tirukurangaduturai temple at Aduturai; Tirukkotisvarar temple at Tirukkodikkaval; Cholisvarar temple at Kuttalam; Kailasanathasvamin temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi; Agastisvarar

*S.I.I. refers to the series, *South Indian Inscriptions*, published by the Government of India.

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temple at Anangur; Achalesvarar temple (also known as Tiruara-neri-Alvar) at Tiruvarur and Mayuranathesvarar temple at Mayuram in Tanjavur district; Sivalokam Udaiyar temple at Tiruvakkarai and Vriddhagirisvarar temple at Vriddhachalam in South Arcot district; and finally Masilamanisvarar temple at Vada-Tirumullaivayil in Chingleput district.

Sembiyan Mahadevi was not content with simply building temples. She made fabulous gifts of jewellery made of gold and precious stones. What is remarkable is that the details of the jewellery have been handed down to us through inscriptions. This tradition is followed in later days also, particularly those of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I.

But more significant for Indian art than these gifts is her contribution of some of the most fascinating bronzes cast at her instance. She set up a tradition of metal casting that became a matter of pride with her grand-nephew, Rajaraja I, in whose time the ateliers of the kingdom brought out innumerable bronzes of unsurpassed quality and grandeur. Rajendra I kept up the tradition.

She was known by many names—Udaiya Pirattiyar, Madhurantakanar Madevadigalar *alias* Sembiyan Mahadeviyar whose son was Gandan Madhurantaka *devar*, *alias* Uttama Chola *devar* (Sembiyan Mahadevi—485 of 1925) and Parantakan Madevadigalar *alias* Sembiyan Madeviyar (Tirunaraiyur—S.I.I., III, No. 149; 159 of 1908).

Daughter of Malavarayan, consort of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Chola, Sembiyan Mahadevi lived to a ripe old age. Widowed early, she dedicated herself to a life of piety and to the patronage of art; and for nearly six decades, which constitute a significant phase in the evolution of Dravidian art, she directed her unrivalled energy and enormous wealth to the development of art, religion and culture. She even founded a new village, Sembiyan Mahadevi, named after her, near Nagapattinam (Tanjavur district). Her devotion and piety were infectious and her noble example was emulated by Rajaraja I,

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his queens, and other relations and noblemen at the Chola court. The impact of her exemplary zeal continued even in the period of Rajendra I, Rajaraja I's son and successor. Sembian Mahadevi's contribution to Dravidian art is unprecedented in scale and formed the foundation for the future evolution of art in this region. She was the noblest among the royal ladies who adorned the Early Chola dynasty.

Sembiyan Mahadevi's husband, Rajakesari Gandaraditya, died young. Ascending the throne after the death of Rajaditya (A.D. 949), he ruled for a brief spell of only eight years. He is said to have founded a village after his own name—Gandaraditam, near Tirumalapadi in Tiruchy district, in the region north of the river Kollidam. He was a devout person, with a spiritual and scholarly bent of mind. He wrote the *Tiruvisaippa*, a Tamil literary composition of considerable merit. He probably went into seclusion, performed penance, and fasted unto death in order to seek eternal emancipation from worldly bonds, a surmise supported by the epithet applied to him, *merkelundarulinadevar* (literally meaning a man who went to the west—540 of 1920). As can be seen from the genealogical table at the end of chapter I, Sembian lived through the reigns of not only her husband but of her husband's brother Arinjaya (956–67), his son Sundara Chola Parantaka II (956–73), and the latter's son, Aditya II Karikala (964–69), besides that of her own son Uttama Chola (969–85). In fact, she lived well into the reign of her grand-nephew, Rajaraja I (985–1014). It is strange that, in spite of the family feuds that shook the kingdom for a while during this period when Aditya II Karikala was treacherously murdered, the devotion of the ruling monarchs towards Sembian Mahadevi remained unswerving. She seems to have endeared herself to her family to an extent that enabled her to devote a great deal of wealth and attention to temple-building.

We shall look at Sembian Mahadevi's contribution to Chola art in three parts: the first dealing with the new temples built by her and the earlier brick temples which she had renovated in

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stone; the second dealing with those temples to which structural and sculptural additions were made at her instance; and finally the fabulous gifts which were made by her to the new temples as also to those already in existence.

KONERIRAJAPURAM

1 UMAMAHEŚVARAR TEMPLE

The foremost among the temples built by Sembian Mahadevi is the one dedicated to Umamahesvarar at Tirunallam (which was the ancient name of Konerirajapuram), a flourishing village about 21 kilometres on the road from Kumbakonam to Karaikal in Tanjavur district. It was erected in memory of her husband and named after him. According to the inscriptions, it was built some time before the third regnal year of her son Uttama Chola (that is, before A.D. 972). This finds mention in an inscription (635 of 1909) dated in the eighth year, 151st day of the reign of Uttama Chola, of which more will be said later. Sculptural representation of the ruling kings or local chiefs is a rare phenomenon in South Indian art. But there are some examples of them. One of them is found in a panel carved on the south wall of the central shrine, representing Gandaraditya worshipping a *linga*, which represents the main deity of the temple of Tirunallam Udaiyar. Below the panel there is an inscription which reads as follows:

*Svasti Sri Gandaraditta devar deviyar Madevadigalar
Sri Sembian Ma deviya
rtammudaiya tirumaganar Sri Madurantaka
Devarana Sri Uttama Cholan Tiru rajyam Seyaada-
rulanirkat tammudaiyar Sri Gandaraditta devar
tiru namattal tiru nallam udaiyarkku
tirukkarrali elundarulivittu it tirukkarraliyi-
leye Tirunallam udaiyarai tiruvadit-to-
lu-kinraraha elundarulivitta Sri Gandaraditta
devar ivar*

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Translated into English this reads:

Hail! Prosperity! Madevadigalar *alias* the great Sembian Mahadeviyar, queen of Gandaraditya *devar*, constructed in the name of her husband, viz., the glorious Gandaraditya, a stone temple to the Lord of Tirunallam* when her illustrious son the great Madurantaka *devar alias* Uttama Chola was graciously ruling. This is the image of the glorious Gandaraditya *devar*, which was caused to be made in this sacred stone temple in the pose of worshipping the sacred feet of the Lord.

The inscriptions found on the walls of this temple throw considerable light on the growth of the temple. An inscription (638 of 1909) of the sixth year refers to a grant of land for maintaining a perpetual lamp in favour of the shrine of Adityesvaram Udaiyar in this temple. The inscription of the eighth year of Uttama Chola briefly referred to earlier, is important and interesting as it records the deliberations of the Assembly of Tirunallam. Briefly, it mentions the following facts:

That Sembian Mahadevi built the stone temple at Tirunallam (Konerirajapuram) and that in the third year of Uttama Chola she made a gift of two *velis* of land with an income of 224 *kalams* (a volumetric measure of grain) of paddy, bought from the Assembly of Tirunallam, for raising a flower garden called *Gandaradittam*, apart from other gardens (*nandavanappuram*). It goes on to say that on the 240th day of the seventh year of the reign of Uttama Chola, the king was camping in the palace at Pichchankoyil on the northern side of Kadambur, and that it was represented to him by one Parakesari Muvendavelan, who was in charge of the affairs of the state, that his (the king's) mother Sembian Mahadevi desired to increase the scale of expenses of the God and to provide for the feeding of 25 Brahmanas for the merit of her deceased husband. In deference to his mother's desire, the king ordered that the *panchavara* paddy of 600 *kalams*

*Tirunallam is the old name of Konerirajapuram.

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derived from 12 *velis* of land in Pungudi (an old *devadana* village dedicated to the Lord of this temple but given to the king) and the *panchavara* paddy of 200 *kalam*s from four *velis* of land at Musittaikkudi, were to be gifted to the temple. On representation that even this was insufficient, an additional grant of 12 *velis* of land yielding an income of 1590 *kalam*s of paddy in the village of Ilanalam was made.

In the eighth year while the king was camping at Karaikkattuppanaiyur, he issued an order foregoing a part of his share of the income from Tirunallam and diverting it to the temple. Later, the king ordered that 2½ *velis* out of the 70 *velis* of land at Tirunallam be made tax-free and made over for temple use.

With the income of the temple thus augmented expenditure on various items of activity was allocated by the royal officer in consultation with the *Sabha*. Every aspect of temple activity—from the celebration of Sembiyan Mahadevi's birthday under her natal star *Jyeshtha* and other festivals to the provision of houses for temple servants, hymnists and others—was taken care of.

This inscription of the eighth year is a valuable record of contemporary practices and throws considerable light on the role of the temples in the day-to-day life of the community and the deference with which trusts and donations were treated. The commonly held theory that the temple was merely a place of worship would seem to be at variance with the facts. It was the nerve-centre of the social, political and administrative activity of the village, the town, the city as well as regional units like the *nadu*, *kurram*, and *taniyur*. The inscription also throws light on the mode of documentation and registration of deeds prevalent in those ancient days. This document, like copper-plate grants, is attested by the king's councillors (*karumam araikkinra adhikari-gal*), other royal officers and representatives of the local bodies. Other royal and local administrative functionaries are also mentioned in the document, such as the executor of the grant

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(*anatti*), the revenue officers (*puravu vari*), the royal secretaries (*vaykkelvi*), and the accountant (*varippottagam*), who, incidentally, is the engraver of the king's orders (*mugavetti*).

There are two more inscriptions of the 11th and 14th years of Uttama Chola relating to gifts of land, one for maintaining lamps and the other for offerings to the shrine of Ganapati in the temple of Tirunallam.

On the south wall of the central (main) shrine, there is a stone sculpture of Sattan Gunabhattachan *alias* Haracharana Sekharan of Alattur, who erected this stone temple under the Royal order of Udaiya Pirattiyar (Sembiyan Mahadevi). The title of Rajakesari Muvendavelan was conferred on him in appreciation of his services.

Besides these inscriptions, which are of immediate relevance to our study, there are a number of inscriptions found in the temple covering a span of nearly 250 years from Uttama Chola's days to those of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1242). They reveal a variety of interesting facts: that a covered verandah (*tiru-nadai-maligai*) was put up by one Arumolidevan, *alias* Vayanattaraiyan of Adanur; that the *gopuram* was a gift of Mudalippillai of Vengipuram; that a silver image of the deity, Umamahesvarar and a copper image of Chandesvarar were gifted to the temple by one, Nakkan Nallattadigal, a servant of the palace harem (*velam*) and a member of the *Rajaraja-terinja kaikolar* (12th year of Rajaraja I). An image of the Sun God was probably worshipped, as can be inferred from a gift of seven *kasus* to Aditiesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar in the 15th year of Rajaraja I. There is an inscription (639 of 1909) in this temple belonging to the fifth year of Rajendra I which refers to a gift made by Alvar Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar, another member of the family of the Cholas, who is said to have been living (at the time the gift was made) at the palace of Palaiyaru near Kumbakonam. Like Sembiyan Mahadevi, she was devoted to temple-building and performed many acts of piety. Later, in the 17th year of Rajendra I, Queen Arindavan Mahadevi set up an image of Kshetrapala (632 of 1909).

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This temple must have been in existence even in the days of Appar (A.D. seventh century) as can be inferred from his *Devaram* hymns. He calls this place Tirunallam and the Lord, Umaikkunallavan (He that is dear to Uma). But the present structure is a foundation of Sembiyan Mahadevi, during whose time the deity was known by the name of Tirunallam Udaiyar. We gather from an inscription (633-34 of 1909) of the 11th year of Rajendra I that during his rule it was also known by the name of Umaikkunallavan.

With the passing of the years, the name of the deity underwent frequent changes. We find from an inscription of the seventh year of Rajendra II (i.e., Kulottunga I) that it was called Madurantakivaram Udaiyar, perhaps named after the daughter of Rajendradeva II who was married to the Eastern Chalukya Prince, Rajendra II, who later ascended the Chola throne as Kulottunga I. In his days, according to an inscription of his 47th year, the deity was also called Kailasam Udaiya Mahadevar at Tirunallam.

This is a fully evolved temple of the early Chola period and is very well preserved. Built by Sembiyan Mahadevi, the dowager queen, in memory and in the name of her husband Gandaraditya, this temple is worth a close study for its architectural and artistic wealth. An interesting feature is the existence of a panel of portraits of the king and the queen worshipping the Linga. There is also a portrait of the architect of the temple, installed here.

The temple, facing west, consists of a *garbhagriha*, 6.10 metres square, and an *antarala* with a grille connecting an *ardhamandapa* which projects 6.10 metres forward. The basement mouldings are plain. On the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are *devakoshthas* housing Brahma in the north, Lingodbhavar in the east and Dakshinamurti in the south. The eastern *devakoshtha* is flanked by two short and two tall pilasters, surmounted by a *markara torana*, in the centre of which is installed a miniature figure of Gajalakshmi. On the outer surface of the *ardhamandapa* walls are the sculptures of Natesa, Ganesa and Agastya all on the

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southern side; while on the northern side are the figures of Bhikshatanar, Durga and Ardhanari.

Encircling the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa* is a covered verandah supported by pillars, known in the local inscription as *tiru nadai maligai*. Finally, there is the addition of a *mukhamandapa* measuring 10.3 metres in length. This is perhaps the *Pugalabharana mandapa* referred to in one of Kulottunga III's inscriptions.

Konerirajapuram and Tiruvengadu have the largest and perhaps the finest collection of early Chola bronzes, most of them dating back to the Sembiyan age. The bronze of Bhogesvari at Konerirajapuram is perhaps one of the earliest of Sembiyan castings. Other icons cast in this age are those of Tripuravijayam, Rishabhavahana devar and Ganapati. There are two small metals of Nataraja, also attributable to this age; in addition, there is a set of metal images of Nataraja and his consort presumably belonging to the age of Rajaraja I.

ADUTURAI

TIRUK-KURANGADUTURAI MAHADEVAR TEMPLE 2

Like the temple at Tirunallam, the temple of Aduturai was in existence even in the days of Appar (A.D. seventh century) and the saint has composed a decad of praise on the deity, in which he describes the temple as being situated on the banks of the Ponni (the Kaveri). Vali and Sugriva are said to have worshipped the Lord of this temple.

According to an inscription (35 of 1907) of the 16th year of a Parakesarivarman, identifiable with Uttama Chola, this temple was reconstructed in stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi. The inscription mentions the temple as being situated in Tiraimur *nadu* on the southern bank of the Kaveri. It reads in translation as follows:

In the sacred stone temple, which Udaiya-pirattiyar Maha-

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devadigalar *alias* the glorious Sembiyan Mahadeviyar . . . had graciously caused to be built to the Alvar at Tirukurangaduturai in Tiraimur *nadu*, were engraved on stone the documents of grants made to the God in former times.

From the epigraphical material found on the walls of this temple, very interesting details are available about some ancient practices. Having got it rebuilt in stone, Sembiyan Mahadevi ordered that the old inscriptions of the former kings, which had been either damaged or were worn out, be re-engraved on the walls of the new structure. One such example is the inscription of the eighth year of Maran Sadaiyan, a Pandya ruler of the First Pandya empire. It is amazing that, a thousand years ago, the Cholas evolved a code of conduct and a method of preserving ancient records. But for their far-sightedness, we would have lost the basic source material for the history of South India during those years. Each generation was imbued with a sense of fidelity to the past and was confident that future generations would honour its grants and donations. This is borne out by the fact that, in practice, these grants were honoured and executed by successive generations with great reverence and piety. The inscriptions conveying grants and donations were orders of the king or a chieftain or an assembly, or a body of the town, village, district, or province and generally ended with a hope and an exhortation—that they shall last “as long as the Sun and the Moon last”. In most cases, there was the threat of the wrath and the curse of the Gods descending on those who did not honour the commitment. A variety of phrases were used by the donors to express their gratitude to future generations who were exhorted to maintain the charity. One such common expression is: “He will bow to him and say may his feet be on my head, who will protect and maintain the charity.” Such was their code of conduct, and sense of propriety and duty. This is reflected in the punctilious manner in which the earlier grants of a former ruler were faithfully copied from stray slabs in the presence of witnesses and then

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re-engraved on the walls of the new shrine when the earlier structure was dismantled and a new edifice erected.

Sembiyan's reconstruction comprised an *ekatala* shrine, with a spherical *griva*, crowned by a *sikhara*. There is a *garbhagriha*, 5.1 metres square, with an *antarala*, 0.60 metre wide, connecting it to the *ardhamandapa* which extends forward by 4.90 metres. Two cushion-capitalled pillars in the centre support the structure. There are two *dvarapalas* on either side of the entrance.

There are nine *devakoshthas* on the outer face of the *ardhamandapa* and *garbhagriha* walls, four on each side and one at the rear of the *garbhagriha*. These are Ganesa, Nataraja, Agastya and Dakshinamurti in the south; Brahma, Bhikshatanar, Alinganamurti (Siva and Parvati) and Durga in the north and Lingodbhavar at the rear.

TIRUKKODIKKAVAL

TIRUKKOTISVARAR TEMPLE

3

Another temple that was rebuilt during Sembiyan Mahadevi's time is the Tirukkotisvarar temple at Tirukkodikkaval. An ancient temple even in the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi, this edifice probably existed in the days of the Pallava ruler Nandipottaraiyar III (A.D. 846-869) as a brick structure. This is evident from an inscription of the 19th year of his rule which mentions a gift of paddy for maintaining a perpetual lamp to the deity of this temple, then called Siru-nangai-Isvaram. Yet another inscription (38 of 1930-31) relating to the 22nd year of Nripatunga refers to the performance of the *hiranya-garbha* and the *tulabhara*—important ceremonies of charity by royal dignitaries—by Vira Mahadeviyar, Queen of Nripatunga (A.D. 859-99). It is said that part of the gold gifted away during these ceremonies was presented to the Mahadevar of Tirukkodikka—the ancient name of this place—as an offering and for the maintenance of lamps.

It is interesting to know how these two inscriptions, which

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pre-date the new structure on whose walls they are found, came to be preserved for posterity. It is recorded that, before the temple was reconstructed, all the inscribed stones—about 26 in all—that lay scattered in the precincts of the temple were collected on the orders of Sembiyan Mahadevi and the records faithfully re-engraved on the walls of the new shrine as soon as it was completed. Care was taken to certify, for future generations, that they were “true copies” of the originals. Both the above-mentioned inscriptions are found among these copies. There are four inscriptions that relate to the Pandyan ruler, Varaguna Maharaja (Maran Sadaiyan). One of them, dating to his 11th year, refers to a gift of gold made by him for burning lamps to the subsidiary shrines of Sarasvati and Ganapati in the temple. These inscriptions tell us the tale of the penetration of the Pandyan rulers of the First Empire into the Pallava country during the disturbed period when the struggle for supremacy between the three dynasties—the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the Cholas—was going on. The waning influence of both the former dynasties in the region near their common border led to the rise of a local chieftain, Ilango Muttaraiyar with his capital at Niyamam, who started his own regnal year. Thus, we find an inscription in this temple relating to his 17th regnal year. That Ilango Muttaraiyar was no petty chieftain is seen from the provenance of his inscriptions which are found at Niyamam and Koyiladi both on the banks of the Kaveri. It was the defeat of the Muttaraiyars at the hands of Vijayalaya, who captured Tanjavur and Vallam from them, that led to the establishment of the Chola dynasty in Tanjavur.

There are three Parakesarivarman inscriptions, dating to his third and fourth regnal years, which probably belong to Vijayalaya. One of them refers to the sale of land in Kalakkudi to this temple by the assembly of Mahendravarman-chaturvedimangalam (of Tirukkodikka).

There are six inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman, which can be assigned either to Aditya I or to Sundara Chola. One,

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belonging to the 13th year probably of Aditya I, refers to a gift of land to the temple after it had been purchased from the assembly of Tirukkodikka, also known as Kannamangalam.

There are inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I also, ranging from his third to his 38th year. That the Pandyan rulers owed allegiance to the Cholas, is borne out by an inscription (11 of 1930-31) of the third year of Parantaka I according to which the Pandyan chief Maran Sadaiyan, possibly (a surname of) Rajasimha II (A.D. 905-20) who was a contemporary of Parantaka I, made a gift of land to this temple. The rest of the inscriptions of Parantaka I relate to routine gifts of land, gold, sheep and other similar items for maintaining offerings and lamps.

It is from an original inscription (36 of 1930-31) of the 11th year of Uttama Chola that we come to know that this temple was rebuilt in stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi. There are numerous other inscriptions on the walls of this temple, tracing its history right up to the days of Rajaraja I. From an original inscription of the 11th year of Rajaraja I, we learn that an image of Surya Deva (Sun God) was set up in the temple by Ilaiyan Aditta Pidan.

This temple is an *ekatala* structure with a bulbous *sikhara*. The *garbhagriha* is a square of 5.18 metres. An *antarala* (0.60 metre wide) connects it with the *ardhamandapa* which projects forward 5.10 metres. Supporting the latter structure are four round pillars with cushion capitals. Here again there are nine *devakoshtha* figures: Nataraja, Ganapati, Agastyar and Dakshina-murti in the south; Brahma, Bhikshatanar, Durga and Ardhanarisvarar in the north; and Lingodbhavar in the rear of the *garbhagriha*.

KUTTALAM

CHOLISVARAR TEMPLE

4

Among the three temples at Kuttalam in the Tanjavur district,

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the most important is Uttaravedisvarar or Uktavedisvarar temple. It is now known by the name of Cholisvaram.

According to local legend, Parvati once expressed to Siva a desire to go through the experience of a regular wedding in the traditional style. Siva consented and Parvati was born as the daughter of Bharata Muni who lived on the banks of the Kaveri. Siva emerged from the *linga* of *Turuttiyur* and paid court to Parvati. Bharata Muni approached Siva to fulfil the old promise and offered him his daughter in marriage and thus the divine wedding took place as promised by the Lord. Hence the deity is also known as Sonnavararivar—"He who kept his word". Turutti is an ancient Tamil name for an island in the Kaveri. The place where Siva stood was called Uttalam which, in the course of time, gained its present name, Kuttalam.

Appar and Sundarar have sung praises of the Lord of *Tiruturutti*. Sundarar is said to have been cured of some bodily ailment after bathing in the sacred tank at this temple.

An inscription (103 of 1926) in 14 fragments of the seventh year of Rajaraja I, mentions that this temple was *constructed* by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola. Gifts of land were made by Sembiyan Mahadevi for offerings, worship, music and for maintaining twenty-five Brahmanas who recited the Talavukara Sama, Taittiriya and Chandogya Sama *vedas* in the temple.

This is yet another temple which Sembiyan Mahadevi rebuilt in stone during the days of Uttama Chola. The oldest part of the temple, which faces west and which belongs to the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi, consists of a *garbhagriha* 6.60 metres square, an *antarala* 0.80 metre wide and an *ardhamandapa* which extends 5.80 metres forward. The entrance to the *ardhamandapa* is flanked by two *dvarapalas*. The *antarala* is relieved by a diamond-shaped grille serving to let light into the sanctum.

Images of Brahma, Lingodbhavar and Dakshinamurti are installed in the three main *devakoshthas* of the *garbhagriha*. The other *devakoshtha* sculptures in the *ardhamandapa* are Ardhana-

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risvarar, Durga and Bhikshatanar in the north, and Nataraja, Ganapati and Agastya in the south. The niches are crowned by *makara-toranas*.

The pilasters have cushion capitals and square *palagai*. Roll-ornamentation with median bands adorn the brackets. Below the cornice runs a *bhutagana* frieze. The second *tala* is decorated with *salas* and *kutas*. The *griva* and *sikhara* are round.

An interesting feature of this temple is the presence of a number of panels of miniature sculptures. There is a portrait sculpture, which probably represents Gandaraditya worshipping the Linga.

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KAILASANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE

5

The village of Sembiyan Mahadevi is about five kilometres from Tevur, and about ten kilometres south-east of Kivalur on the Tiruvarur-Nagapattinam road in Tanjavur district. This village, established by Sembiyan Mahadevi, must have been a prosperous town in ancient times. She built a temple dedicated to Kailasanathasvamin and settled a colony of brahmanas there. They were learned men, well-versed in the four Vedas, and were in consequence called the *chaturvedi bhattas*. A body of elders, known as *sasana baddha chaturvedi Bhattagana peru makkal*, was chosen from among them for the administration of charities. This body managed the affairs of the temple and ensured the proper utilisation of religious endowments and the various gifts made to the temple (496 of 1925). We know of a similar local body of elders and learned men at Srinivasanallur.

Kailasanathasvamin temple was a new edifice unlike the temples which we have dealt with earlier. The inscriptions found in this temple range from the period of Uttama Chola's rule to that of Rajaraja III's—that is, to about the end of Chola supremacy. Uttama Chola's inscriptions, which are the earliest to be

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found in the temple, range from his 12th to his 16th regnal years. We are able to have a glimpse of the devotion that Uttama Chola and his queens had for Sembiyan Mahadevi from the provision for gifts of lamps, offerings and the sacred bath of the deity on all *Sankranti* days, as also from the gift of a gold forehead plate and a gold-handled fly-whisk which were jointly made by the daughters-in-law and their mother-in-law. Besides, they also made arrangements for the celebration of Sembiyan Mahadevi's birthday on the day of her natal star of *Jyeshtha* (*Kettai* in Tamil) in the month of *Chittirai*.

Rajaraja I was equally dedicated to his grand aunt, Sembiyan Mahadevi. We learn from an inscription (497 of 1925) of the third regnal year of a Rajakesarivarman, who can be identified with Rajaraja I, that even in her old age, she continued to make donations to this temple. The inscription lists her gifts mentioning details like the metal they were made of and their weight. Among these were a gold pot weighing 190 *kalanjus*, two gold forehead plates weighing 90 *kalanjus* and 26 gold flowers weighing about 96 *kalanjus*. Possibly after Sembiyan Mahadevi died, Rajaraja I presented a metallic representation of this noble person to the temple. For, we find that in the eighth year of Rajendra I, there is a record (481 of 1925) which mentions the provisions made for the worship of this image along with those of numerous other images set up in the temple. These images, the inscription says, had not received any benefactions for the conduct of their worship. We get to know that an image of Ishabha-Vahanadevar was among them (Ishabha is a corruption of Vrishabha). The inscription refers to Sembiyan Mahadevi's icon as that of Sembiyan Madevippirattiyar.

One of the inscriptions of Rajendra I mentions a hall in the temple called *Sembiyan Madeviyar periya mandapam* ("the big hall of the great lady Sembiyan"), obviously named after her. We have not been able to identify this hall—it probably refers only to the *mahamandapa*.

In the closing years of Chola rule, the temple did not receive

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the attention it did during the early and middle Chola periods. For, there is a reference to the inadequacy of funds for meeting the expenses on oil used for burning lamps during the nocturnal deliberations of the village assembly for disposing of *grama-karyam* (village affairs) and *kadamai-karyam* (matters concerning land revenue). Therefore, the assembly decided to change the practice and hold its meetings during the day. This is learnt from an inscription dated A.D. 1233 belonging to the days of Rajaraja III. It may be mentioned that this king, who was the weakest of the Chola rulers, had been taken prisoner in A.D. 1232 and kept in captivity at Sendamangalam. His release from Pallava Kopperunjinga's custody was secured only after the Hoysala ruler intervened in the affairs of the Chola kingdom.

The temple faces east. The structure is *dvitala* with a round *griva* and *sikhara*. The original *stupi* has disappeared and has been replaced by a modern one. The *garbhagriha* is square in shape, measuring 5.9 metres along its sides. A narrow *antarala*, 0.50 metre wide, connects it with the *ardhamandapa* which extends forward by 4.90 metres. There are two *dvarapalas* on either side of the entrance. Like the Cholisvaram temple at Kuttalam, the *ardhamandapa* is supported by round pillars with cushion capitals and brackets decorated with roll ornamentation.

Padmam, *palagai* and roll-ornamented brackets characterise the pilasters. A *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it adorn the entablature of the *srivimana* on all four sides.

The *devakoshtha* figures on the south wall of the *ardhamandapa* are of Agastya, Nataraja and Ganapati. Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu, a later substitute for Lingodbhavar, in the west and Brahma in the north adorn the niches of the *garbhagriha* walls; while Ardhanarisvarar, Durga and Bhikshatanar occupy the niches of the north wall of the *ardhamandapa* portion.

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We are able to infer that the sub-shrines for the eight *parivara devatas*, that is the subsidiary deities, must have been built along with the central shrine though none of these shrines is to be found within the temple. The sculptures of *Jyeshtha* and the *Saptamatrikas* are all that remain of them to lend weight to this conclusion. Deprived of their original habitat, they have now found shelter in a covered *mandapa* in the temple, close to the wall of enclosure.

The village of Sembiyan Mahadevi and its temple are a symbol and a fitting memorial to the royal lady's greatness. But deserted and shorn of all its grandeur, the village lies desolate today in the wake of the unrelenting march of time.

ANANGUR

6

AGASTISVARAR TEMPLE

Another temple which is attributable to Sembiyan Mahadevi is an ancient one called Tiru-Agastisvaram, situated in the village of Anangur in the Mayuram taluk of Tanjavur district. It is about three kilometres to the east of Tiruvaduturai, which is a famous centre of Saivism with a *matha* known as the Tiruvaduturai *adinam*.

One of the inscriptions (75 of 1926) on the walls of this temple, which does not mention the name of the king or the date of the inscription, tells us that Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola, constructed this temple of stone and made extensive grants of land for worship. The details regarding the number and the extent of the *devadana* are also furnished in it. The deity of the temple went under the name of Tirukkarrali-Mahadevar (which means the Mahadevar of the stone temple) in the days of an unidentified king, who calls himself a Konerinmaikondan (73 of 1926). We have an inscription of a Parakesarivarman without any distinguishing epithets, which mentions the gift of a lamp made to the temple. It probably belongs to the

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reign of Uttama Chola. The temple continued to receive royal patronage during the reigns of Rajaraja I and the later Chola ruler, Vikrama Chola.

This temple is a foundation of Sembiyan Mahadevi and probably came into existence in or before the tenth regnal year of Uttama Chola (A.D. 979). It faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. There are no grilles on the flanks of the *ardhamandapa*. It is an *ekatala* structure. The *adhishtana* consists of the *padmam*, *kumudam*, *kandam* and *varimanam* mouldings, the central *bhadra* element being flanked by a *karna* element on either side. These three vertical faces are divided by a recess between two adjoining elements. The *ardhamandapa* and the *srivimana* are separated by a deeper and broader recess. The main pilasters of the *garbhagriha* are hexagonal with a broad *palagai* on the top. The corbels are in standard late tenth century style. Above them is the entablature with a *bhutagana* frieze while the cornice is decorated with *kudus*, and a *yali* frieze above it. The *hara* consists of a *bhadrasala* in the centre on each side of the *vimana* with a *karna-kuta* on either side. There are figures on the outfacing surfaces of the *kutas* and the *salas*. The *griva*, which is rather low, and the *sikhara* are circular and are adorned with a *griva-koshtha*, crowned by a *mahanasi*, facing each cardinal direction.

In the recess between the *vari* and the *varimanam* of the *adhishtana*, there are miniature sculptures just below each pilaster. By way of illustration, there is a panel depicting the cow worshipping the Linga by performing the *abhisheka* with milk straight from its udder; another is a figure of dancing Nataraja. The walls in the *karnas* are plain, with only the two pilasters decorating it.

There are as many as nine *devakoshtha* figures in this temple. On the *bhadras* of the three free sides of the *garbhagriha* there are *devakoshthas* housing Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma in the north. The half pilasters framing these niches on their sides are circular in cross-section.

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The south wall of the *ardhamandapa*, which maintains structural unity with the *garbhagriha* in the treatment of its wall surface, has three *devakoshtha* niches, containing sculptures of Nataraja, Agastya and Ganesa. Similarly, on the north wall of the *ardhamandapa*, Bhikshatanar, Durga and Ardhanarisvarar occupy the *devakoshthas*. The half-pilasters on the sides framing these niches are square in cross-section. The main pilasters are also square. The *makara-torana* over the *devakoshthas* are delicately carved with a *gadha* type of niche, semi-circular in shape, in the centre. In these small niches there are also sculptural representations of religious themes. There are *dvarapalas* on the two sides of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

TIRUVARUR

7

ACHALESVARAR TEMPLE

Tiruvarur, 55 kilometres east of Tanjavur and 23 kilometres west of the sea-coast, is a famous town of great antiquity. Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar are closely associated with this place. Appar (A.D. seventh century) composed a decad in which he described the miracles performed by Siva and wondered if the temple had its origin before or after these deeds were performed (Appar's *Tiruttandagam*). Tiruvarur was one of the five secondary capitals of the Chola kings of the Vijayalaya dynasty and the coronation ceremonies of some kings are said to have been held there.

This city is believed to be the home of the legendary king Manu Cholan, who followed the path of Manu and was reputed to be very just. There was a Bell of Justice in his palace which was rung only when injustice was done to man or beast. One day, according to local legend, a cow came into the palace and rang the bell. On enquiry, the king learnt that the calf of the cow had been run over by his son's chariot and killed. The king summoned his council of ministers, informed them of what he meant to do, and personally drove his chariot over his own

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son and crushed him to death at the very spot where the calf had met its end. The Lord at once appeared before the king and bestowed His grace on the king and his son. A reference to this legendary king is made in a local inscription (164 of 1894) of the fifth regnal year of the later Chola king, Vikrama Chola. According to this inscription, a descendant of the minister of Manu Cholan appealed to the king to issue an order for feeding a certain number of Saiva devotees in the house (at Tiruvarur) traditionally said to be owned by that minister's family, and a royal order was issued accordingly.

There is a shrine dedicated to Lord Thyagaraja adjacent to the *mulasthanam*, the original main shrine. Muchukunda Chakravarti, one of the mythical ancestors of the Cholas, is said to have helped Indra in his wars against the *asuras* and received the idol of Vidi-Vitankar (Thyagaraja) as a reward which was installed in the temple.

One of the *Sapta-Vitanka* temples, Tiruvarur has holy associations with the Saivite saints, Appar and Sundarar. In a hymn of ten stanzas, Appar describes the celebration of the Tiruvadiraï festival in ecstatic tones. Sundarar is said to have performed miracles here. One of the better known instances relates to a gift of gold given by the Lord at Vriddhachalam; it was flung into the Manimukta river and recovered by Sundarar from the sacred tank of Kamalalayam at Tiruvarur.

Tradition has it that, owing to a breach of promise to his wife, Sangiliyar, Sundarar lost his eyesight. He recovered sight in one eye at Kanchipuram and in the other at Tiruvarur. Siva played the role of one of Cupid's messengers and won over *Paravai-nachchiyar* for Sundarar. It was in the hundred-pillared hall (and not thousand pillared as it is often mistakenly described), known then as the Hall of *Devasriyan*, that he sang the divinely-inspired *Tirut-tondattogai*; and this famous composition of Sundarar's served as the source material for Sekkilar's *Tirut-Tondar-Puranam*, popularly known as the *Periya-Puranam*.

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The main temple of the town is known as Thyagarajasvamin temple. It consists of two parallel central shrines, one dedicated to Tirumulanathar or Valmikanathar, and the other to Thyagaraja or Vidi-Vitankar. These two shrines are enclosed in three parallel walls. If we include the area of the habitation of the temple servants and the local residents, there are five *prakaras*. The Valmikanathar shrine is the hub of the entire complex and the gateways on the eastern side of the first, second and third enclosure walls are along the axis of this shrine. Besides, it is also the most ancient shrine. The Thyagaraja shrine lies to the south of this shrine. These two shrines, which are independent of each other, have a common *mahamandapa*. We are, however, not concerned with these two shrines.

In the second *prakara*, that is between the first and the second walls of enclosure, on the south-eastern side, lies the Achalesvarar temple. While the twin shrines both face east, Achalesvarar temple faces west. Leaving aside the twin shrines, it is one of the four important shrines in this complex—the other three being the Atakesvarar shrine, the Anandesvarar shrine, and the Siddhesvarar shrine, which are located respectively in the south-west, north-west, and north-east corners of the second *prakara*. We are concerned here only with Achalesvaram, which is also known by its Tamil name of Tiru-ara-neri-Alvar temple.

This temple was rebuilt in stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi. Appar has sung on the Lord of this temple. Local legend has it that Naminandi Adigal, one of the sixty-three *Nayanmars*, kept the temple lamp burning with water when the supply of oil failed.

There are four inscriptions in all, on the south wall of this temple. Three of them belong to the period of Rajaraja I and one to that of Rajendra I. The earliest of them (570 of 1904) belongs to the second regnal year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 987). The second (571 of 1904) belongs to the seventh regnal year of the same king. The remaining two inscriptions on this wall are unfortunately mutilated; one belongs to the 23rd regnal year

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of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1008) and the other to the eighth regnal year of Rajendra I. These inscriptions throw considerable light on certain aspects of this temple. From one of them (570 of 1904), we gather that Sembiyan Mahadevi (Udaiya Pirattiyar) made a gift of silver vessels to the deity, presumably after the death of her son Uttama Chola, for the merit of his soul. The inscription of the seventh regnal year of Rajaraja I (571 of 1904) reads as follows:

Tiru-ara-neri-Alvar Koyil Tiruk-Karrali elundaruli-vitta Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar ikkoyillil tan elundaruli-vichcha Amara Sundara Devarkkum Uma Bhattariyarkkum tiruvamudukkum tiru vilakkennaikkum tirukkarralikkum surru-maligaikkum tiruppalli-kattil mandapattukkum puduk-kup-puram-agavum palisaikkittuk kolga enru arulichchey-duvara kattina kasu 234 (200 kalanju) konda parisavadu.

From the above extract we learn that Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar built this temple of Tiru-ara-neri-Alvar of stone and set up two icons of Amarasundara devar and his spouse. It also refers to a gift of 234 *kasus* made towards meeting the expenses on repairs, additions and alterations to the temple as well as its day-to-day needs. One of the three inscriptions found in the temple is on the west wall of the *mandapa*, situated in front of the *srivimana*, and refers to a gift of gold ornaments for a lamp in the temple. Though this inscription belongs to the age of Parantaka I, the characters in which it is engraved are of a later period. Presumably, it was re-engraved on the walls of the new structure that came into being in Sembiyan Mahadevi's days.

The temple consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*. Being located in the second *prakara* of the Thyagaraja temple, it has no separate wall of enclosure or *gopuram*. The *srivimana* is divided vertically into three segments—the central *bhadra* element and the two *karna* elements on either side. It is a *dvitala* structure and is square in cross-

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section up to the *griva*. The *griva*, which is not prominent, and the *sikhara* are octagonal. The structure rises above a low level sub-basement (*upanam*) and rests on a high *adhishtanam*, which has *padmam*, *kandam* and rounded *kumudam* mouldings. The wall on the three free sides is divided into three parts with two intervening wide and deep recesses in which there are two niches with appropriate niche figures. Eight massive octagonal pilasters crowned with square abaci (*palagai*), with lotus mouldings below it, adorn the wall on each side and support the entablature. Decorative crossed corbels mounted on each pilaster support the beam on which the entablature rests. The niches, two in the recesses and one in the middle of the *bhadra*, are framed on the sides by half pilasters, smaller in size than, but similar in detail to, the main pilasters. On top of the niche is a *makara-torana*, slightly raised from the wall surface. The entablature consists of a *bhutagana* frieze, a corbel decorated by equally spaced *kudus* housing a human head in its *gadha* (deep and narrow circular niche in the core of the *kudu*) and a *yali* frieze. It is noticed that the superstructure of the *srivimana* has undergone change, as there is considerable variation between the decorative treatment of the cornice in the *srivimana* and that of the one above the *ardhamandapa*.

The three main *bhadra* niches of the *garbhagriha* walls feature Brahma in the north; Lingodbhavar in the east; and Dakshinamurti, whose sculpture is covered up, in the south. In the niches in the recesses, of which there are six in all, at the rate of two to a side, are figures of life-size attendant deities which are 'difficult to identify. Could they be *rishis*? There are three *devakoshthas* on each wall of the *ardhamandapa*. In the south, they are adorned by the figures of Agastya, Ganapati and Nataraja; in the north, the niches hold the icons of Ardhanarisvarar, Durga and Bhikshatanar. They are all of exquisite workmanship, particularly Durga, Bhikshatanar, Dakshinamurti and Ardhanarisvarar.

At the main entrance to the shrine are two finely carved

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sculptures of guardian deities (*dvarapalas*), whose features and stance unmistakably foreshadow the *dvarapalas* of the heyday of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I as seen in giant proportions in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur and the Gangaikondasolisvaram temple at Gangaikondasolapuram (or Gangapuri).

MAYURAM

8 MAYURANATHESVARAR TEMPLE

Mayuram, or Mayavaram as it is now called, is a town in the Tanjavur district and lies on the main railway line from Madras to Tiruchy. There is an ancient and celebrated Siva temple in the town, known as the Mayuranathesvarar temple. According to local tradition, Parvati took the guise of a pea-hen (*mayura*) and worshipped Siva; her prayers bore fruit and she regained her place by the side of the Lord. So the deity in the central shrine is called Mayuranathar, the Lord of the pea-hen.

Both the Saivite saints, Appar and Sambandar, have sung hymns to the Lord of this temple. So the temple should date back at least to the seventh century. It must have been a brick structure like many of the structures of that period. While there is no direct evidence in the form of inscriptions, it seems reasonable to infer, on the basis of the characteristics of the sculptures found in the temple, that it was reconstructed of stone in the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi. Unfortunately, the enthusiastic and well-intentioned Nagarattars of Chettinad, who extensively renovated many South Indian temples during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, unwittingly destroyed all the old features of the temple along with the inscriptions on its walls. Unenlightened piety and enthusiasm can often do harm of an irreparable nature. This temple is a typical victim of such misguided enthusiasm. The silver lining, however, is that the original sculptures of Sembiyan days were not discarded in

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favour of the bizarre modern substitutes found in some places, but were reinstated in the renovated structure in their respective *devakoshthas*. Such figures are of Ganapati, Nataraja, Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti and Dakshinamurti in the south; Lingodbhavar in the west; and Brahma, Ganga-Visarjanamurti, Durga and Bhikshatanar in the north. They constitute a fine set of stone sculptures, typical of the age.

TIRUVAKKARAI

9 PARAMASVAMIGAL (SIVALOKAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

Tiruvakkarai, a village in the Villupuram taluk of South Arcot district, is situated on the banks of the Varaha (Ginjee) river, and is about 20 kilometres from the taluk headquarters of Villupuram on the Mailam-Ginjee road. It has an ancient temple dating back at least to the days of Aditya I (A.D. 870-907). It is a stone temple and was known only as that of Karrali Perumanadigal in his time. Now, it is known as the Chandramoulisvarar temple. This temple consists of a main (central) shrine dedicated to Chandramoulisvarar; a *mandapa* in front of it; an inner *prakara*; a second *prakara* containing a 100-pillared *mandapa* (190 of 1904) and a *gopuram*; a Siva shrine within the main temple campus, that is the Sivalokam-Udaiya Paramasvamin shrine; and a shrine dedicated to Varadaraja Perumal with a *mandapa* in front of it. In addition, there is a Vakra Kali shrine.

We are unable to ascertain how old each of these shrines is, as, at various points in time, they have been converted from brick to stone structures. However, from among the existing buildings, it is reasonable to assert that the central shrine—whose deity is now called Chandramoulisvarar, but who bore the name of Karrali Perumanadigal in the days of Aditya I—is the most ancient, dating back at least to the period of this

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ruler, if not earlier. For, on the two sides of the southern entrance to this shrine, there are two inscriptions (168 and 169 of 1904) which relate to the 19th and 26th regnal years of a certain Rajakesarivarman, who may be identified with Aditya I. The first concerns an endowment of 15½ *kalanjus* of gold for maintaining a lamp before the Karrali Perumanadigal of Tiruvakkarai. The second makes provision for the sacred bath of the deity in the days of the asterisms *Chitra* in the month of *Chaitra* and *Sravana* (*Onam*) in *Purattasi*, every year. At the northern entrance of the first *prakara* of the temple, there is an inscription (170 of 1904) of the tenth regnal year of a Parakesarivarman, who is to be identified with Uttama Chola. It records the decision of the *Perunguri Perumakkal* (the General Assembly) of Tribhuvana-mahadevi-chaturvedimangalam—evidently the new name, after a queen of Parantaka I, by which Tiruvakkarai was called—making a gift of land at Aliyur for the maintenance of offerings and worship to the deities Karrali Paramasvamin, obviously referring to the deity of the central shrine of Chandramoulisvarar, and Vishnu Bhattarakar, referring to Varadaraja Perumal. The gift was also intended to provide for the appointment of four persons to conduct worship in these shrines, and for four others to play music during the *sribali* ceremony. Presumably, the Vishnu temple was still a brick structure in the days of Parantaka I. In the days of Rajendra I, the deity of the central shrine was known as Mulasthanattu Mahadevar (106 of 1904).

It is to be noticed that there is no reference in this record to the existence of a shrine dedicated to Sivalokam Udaiya Paramasvamin. Evidently, it did not exist in the days of Parantaka I. The earliest reference to it is in an inscription (200 of 1904) dated in the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja I, which is found not on the walls of the central shrine, but on the south base of a ruined Siva shrine located inside the temple campus. It records the grant of the village of Manali in Amur *nadu*, a subdivision of Oyma *nadu*, as a *devadana* to the deity, Paramasvamigal of

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Sivalokam. And from this inscription, we gather that this stone temple was built by Sembiyan Mahadevi. The relevant portion of the inscription reads as below:

Sri Gandaraditya devar nam-pirattiyar Sri Uttama Solarait-tiru-vayirru-vaytta Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar eduppittarulina Sri Tiruvakkarai Tirukkarrali Sivalokam Udaiya Paramasvamigalukku devadanamaga seyda ur. 5

Translated, this reads:

This (Manali in Amur *nadu*) is the village which has been given as a *devadana* to Sivalokam Udaiya Paramasvamigal, the deity of the stone temple of Tiruvakkarai, raised by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the noble lady who gave birth to Uttama Chola and who was the Queen (*nam-Pirattiyar*) of Sri Gandaraditya.

There are some old sculptures now placed loosely in the *prakara* of the temple. Among them are some fine specimens of Ganesa, Lingodbhavar, Brahma, Bhairavar, Ardhanari, Durga (with four arms), Giri-Durga (with eight arms), Chandesvarar, Kshetrapalar and Virabhadrar. There are, in addition, some *parivara devatas* and a few other *devakoshtha* figures. We are unable to say which of them relate to the central shrine and which to the Siva temple built by Sembiyan Mahadevi. Both shrines have no figures in the niches now. At some stage in the history of the temple, the Siva shrine in the *prakara* would appear to have fallen into disrepair, and the sculptures have found their way to the verandah in the *prakara*.

We have some interesting information about the Vishnu shrine. It seems to have been built of brick by Kochcholan *alias* Kochchenganan, the ancient Chola ruler of the Sangam age. According to an inscription, it was reconstructed of stone in the second year of Adhirajendra. We know from the hymns on Tirunaraiyur sung by the Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai Alvar that Kochchenganan built seventy temples dedicated to

Siva and that he worshipped Vishnu at Tirunaraiyur.

VADA-TIRUMULLAIVAYIL

MASILAMANISVARAR TEMPLE

10

Vada-Tirumullaivayil is about 21 kilometres from the city of Madras. It is called the northern Tirumullaivayil to distinguish it from a place of the same name on the sea coast in the Tanjavur district, about 14 kilometres east of Sirkali. Only Sundarar among the *Devaram* hymnists has sung on the Lord of this temple. In eleven stanzas, he describes this place as being situated on the northern bank of the rivulet Pali, surrounded by *champak* groves, paddy fields and towering buildings. The *mullai* creeper is a sacred plant and it is associated with the Lord of this temple. The origin of the temple and its association with the *mullai* creeper are described in the tenth stanza. The famous Pallava ruler, Tondaiman—identifiable perhaps with Tondaiman Ilan Tirayan, a contemporary of Karikala Chola mentioned in the *Perumbanarrupadai*, a Sangam poem attributed to the second century—was once riding an elephant in this region. While going over some shrub-covered ground, the elephant's feet got entangled in the *mullai* creeper, and when the growth was cleared to disentangle the animal's feet, the hitherto unseen *linga* came to light. Ever since then the Lord in the shape of the *linga* has been worshipped here.

Sundarar's hymn goes on to describe many miracles which include Siva's divine dance, the overthrow of Gajasura, the destruction of the Tripura asuras, the defeat of Yama, and His assuming the form of a pillar of fire defying the search by Brahma and Vishnu who disputed his supremacy (depicted in sculptures as Lingodbhavar).

A few details of Sundarar's life are referred to in this hymn. Mention is made of the Lord winning him over to His grace at Tiruvennainallur and of his being punished with the loss of

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his eyesight for not keeping the vow he made at Tiruvorriyur to his wife. The first place he visited on his pilgrimage after losing his eyesight was Tirumullaivayil. Sundarar and Cheraman Perumal Nayanar were contemporaries and both are said to have attained divine grace in about the year A.D. 825.

The earliest inscription (S.I.I., III, No. 141; 669 of 1904) found on the walls of the *srivimana* of this temple, belongs to the 14th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman identified with Uttama Chola. We gather from this inscription that Sembiyan Mahadevi, the daughter of Malvarayan, queen of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Chola, bought 9,300 *kulis* of land for 80 *kalanjus* of gold from the *Mahasabha* of Ambattur, in Ambattur *nadu* and made a gift of it to the temple. The donee consented to supply one *nali* of oil daily for burning a lamp before the Mahadevar of Tirumullaivayil. As the characters of this inscription are of a somewhat later period, it and perhaps some others might have been inscribed after the completion of the temple. Its construction might have begun some time after the 14th regnal year of Uttama Chola, the son of Sembiyan Mahadevi.

There are two inscriptions belonging to the fifth and the 13th years of one Parthivendravarman, a local chief of eminence who lived in the years immediately preceding the accession of Rajaraja I and who was responsible for the gradual reconquest, on behalf of the Cholas, of the northern parts of the Chola empire lost to the Rashtrakutas during the last days of Parantaka I. The first inscription (S.I.I., III, No. 174), which is in archaic Tamil, relates to the fifth regnal year of this chief; it is found as a fragment on a slab in the floor of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine and contains a reference to the *Sabhaiyom* of the *devadana* village of Kalikesari-chaturvedimangalam which is probably another name for Vada-Tirumullaivayil. The second record (S.I.I., III, No. 196) refers to a gift of 90 sheep made by a native of Chola *desa* in the 13th regnal year of Parthivendra-dhipanmar for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of the

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Mahadevar at Tirumullaivayil. This inscribed slab is built into the floor of the *mandapa* in front of the Amman shrine. It seems likely that these two gifts were made before the temple was rebuilt of stone and that, after the renovation, the inscribed slabs were discarded and used as stones for paving the floor of the *mandapas*. However, contrary to tradition, these inscriptions do not seem to have been re-engraved on the stone walls of the rebuilt temple.

From the endowment inscription (669 of 1904) of Sembayan Mahadevi referred to earlier, we gather that the rebuilding of this temple in stone might have commenced in the latter part of the reign of Uttama Chola and was probably completed in the early years of the reign of Rajaraja I. Two inscriptions (677 and 678 of 1904) of Rajendra Chola I are found on a pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the main shrine. Inscriptions of the later Cholas—namely, Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III—one, of the Pandyan king Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (I) and a few of the Vijayanagara rulers are also found in this temple.

The temple is apsidal in shape from the basement to the finial—a common feature found in Tondaimandalam. It faces east with the apse towards the west. The *garbhagriha* is 5·80 metres from east to west and has octagonal pilasters. The *adishthana* is 1·52 metres high and has graceful *padmam*, *jagati* and rounded *kumudam* mouldings. The *ardhamandapa* projects 4·93 metres forward. There are *koshtha-pancharas* on both of the *devakoshthas*. The *vimana* is *tritala* and its *griva* and *sikhara* are both apsidal.

The *devakoshtha* figures are Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga. The sculptures in the small circular niches in the centre of the *makara-torana* above these *koshthas* make interesting study. In the centre of the *makara-torana* above the niche housing Ganapati, are the figures of *rishis* worshipping a *linga*. A figure of Rama with a bow and arrow adorns the *makara-torana* over the Durga niche. In another niche, there is

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the figure of Siva as Gajasamharamurti—a vigorous sculpture indeed.

The temple has a *prakara* enclosed by a *madil*. The only *gopuram* is situated on the southern wall of this enclosure. Round the main temple and north of the *mandapa* are the shrines housing Rishbhantikadevar, Nataraja and Bhikshatanar; and in the south-west, in the *prakara*, there is a shrine of Subrahmanya as an *ashta parivara devata*. The *nandi* is turned away from the *linga*, which is unusual.

This temple would seem to mark the northernmost limits to which the Sembiyan age temples extended.

VRIDDHACHALAM

11

VRIDDHAGIRISVARAR TEMPLE

Vriddhachalam is the headquarters of a taluk in the South Arcot district and is a station on the railway line between Madras and Tiruchy. It is situated on the banks of the Manimukta river—a tributary of the northern Vellar—which constituted the traditional northern boundary of the Chola kingdom. The temple is dedicated to Vriddhagirisvarar, meaning literally the Lord of the ancient hill and is one of the twenty-two sacred Siva temples of the Nadu *nadu* (the central province) of Tamil land. Vipachit, the sage, is said to be the earliest builder of this temple and after many years of penance, he is said to have gained salvation. There is an image of him at the foot of the sacred *Vanni* tree of the temple. Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar have sung His glory in their hymns. This place is also associated with one of Sundarar's miracles. Sundarar prayed to the Lord for gold and obtained it. Before going to Tiruvarur, he deposited the gold in the Manimukta river at Vriddhachalam and recovered it from the sacred tank at Tiruvarur. In inscriptions, Vriddhachalam is called Nerkuppai, and the Lord *Tiru-mudu-kundram-udaiyar* or its other Tamil equivalent *Palamalai-nathar*.

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The central shrine (*srikoyil*), the covered verandah encircling it (*surralai*), the *snapana* (bathing) *mandapa*, the *ardhamandapa* and the shrines for the minor deities were built by Sembian Mahadevi (47 of 1918). Also attributed to her are a number of costly presents to the temple including five copper lamps, one gold diadem weighing about five *kalanjus*, one silver salver weighing 389 *kalanjus*, one silver kettle weighing 199½ *kalanjus*, two gold flowers weighing 1½ *kalanjus*, one gold diadem for the Kuttaperumal (Nataraja) weighing one *kalanju*, one wedding badge (*tali*) for the Goddess *Uma Bhattaraki* weighing half a *kalanju* with three centre pieces, two *talimbam*, one *sari* made of pure gold, one gold plank, the *panchasari* and one gold flower.

From an inscription (57 of 1918) of the third year of Rajaraja I, we gather that the residents of Nerkuppai (Vridhachalam) assigned to a private individual the land which they had received from king Uttama Chola himself—as a *devadana* on perpetual tenure—for the supply of sandal paste, *dammar*, and the items needed for the sacred bath of the Lord on the *Uttarayana*, the *Dakshinayana*, and the monthly *Sankramana* days. In the 15th year of the reign of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1000), Sembian Mahadevi made a further gift of a costly crown weighing about 9 *kalanjus* set with three rubies (*manikkam*), 36 diamonds (*vayiram*) and 1998 round pearls; the total weight of silver in its lower cover was 206½ *kalanjus* (48 of 1918).

Various additions were made to the temple in later times. They include three big courts (*prakaras*, with the necessary walls of enclosure) and five *gopurams* with seven storeys—the oldest being the one at the entrance to the second *prakara* and the four others, at the four cardinal points of the outer wall.

The *garbhagriha* is 5.80 metres square. The *antarala* is 0.80 metre wide beyond which is the *ardhamandapa*, extending three metres eastwards. Further up, there are gateways on both sides leading to the *mukhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa*. One of these could be the *snapana mandapa* attributed to Sembian Mahadevi.

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The temple rests on a plinth, 1.50 metres high. It has *padmam*, *kandam* and *kumudam* mouldings. There are three projecting *devakoshthas*, with *makara-toranas* above them, on the three free sides of the *garbhagriha*, housing Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma. The pilasters flanking these *devakoshthas* are sixteen-sided, with bulbous capitals and brackets that are decorated with roll-ornaments with a central band. The outer walls of the *ardhamandapa* also have *devakoshtha* niches, some of which are now empty. On the south wall, we have only one niche figure, Ganapati, the other niches being empty; while on the northern wall we have two niche figures, Gangadharar and Ardhanarisvarar, the third being empty. These niches are flanked by eight-sided pilasters. There are panels of miniature sculptures, as in Tirukkandiyur, Pullamangai and Punjai. The cornice is adorned with *kudus*, with *gandharvas* in the centre and with circles at the edges. Below the cornice is a *bhutagana* frieze. Four pillars with cushion capitals support the *ardhamandapa*. There are two *dvarapalas* flanking the entrance. Above the second *tala* is the *griva* crowned with a bulbous *sikhara* and a modern *stupi*.

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PART II

Apart from these temples which can be definitely ascribed to Sembiyan Mahadevi, there are others that reflect the impact of the Sembiyan style. Evidence of this is found in the shape of (i) additions to and refinement of the existing structure—for example, the installation of new sculptures on the walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*; (ii) extensions to existing structures; and (iii) construction of new pavilions and halls. We give below three illustrative examples of this class of temples.

TIRUVELVIKKUDI

MANAVALESVARAR TEMPLE

1

Manavalesvarar temple at Tiruvelvikkudi, which is also called Tiruvilakkudi, is situated on the northern bank of the Kaveri in the Tanjavur district. The original structure belongs perhaps to the period of Aditya I and Parantaka I and, in its earlier forms must have had only Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma as niche deities on the *garbhagriha* walls, and Durga and Bhikshatanar on the walls of the *ardhamandapa*. Now, however, the sculptures of Agastya, Nataraja, Ganapati and Chandesanugrahamurti are also found on the *ardhamandapa* walls. Besides these, on the *srivimana* itself are the figures of Ardhanarisvarar and Hariharar, both on the western wall, on either side of the original Lingodbhavar figure. From the contours of the niche and the obvious improvisation that has been made, it is clear that these two sculptures were inserted at a later date. And from the style and other characteristics of these images, it is apparent that these insertions were made during the Sembiyan age. Similarly, Agastya and Nataraja have been fitted clumsily into new niches scooped out of the earlier plain inscribed walls thus obliterating some of the earlier inscriptions on it.

TIRUPPURAMBIYAM

2 ADITYESVARAR TEMPLE

This temple belonging to the age of Aditya I is in the typical Adityan style and has the original images of Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma in the north. Under Sembiyan Mahadevi's influence, one Muvendavelan inserted new images in improvised niches on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* as attested by an inscription (S.I.I., VI, 21; 72 of 1897) of the tenth year of Rajaraja I. These images are of Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, Nataraja, Ganapati (standing), Agastya, Kalasamharamurti, Ardhanarisvarar, Ganga-Visarjanamurti and Bhikshatanar.

KARUNTATTANGUDI

3 VASISHTESVARAR TEMPLE

A third instance of this kind is provided by the temple of Vasishtesvarar at Karuntattangudi (also known as Karandai) in Tanjavur district. Inscriptions call it Karuntittaikkudi or Karuvittaikkudi, and indicate that the temple was situated on the outskirts of Tanjavur city in Tanjavur *kurram*. In the *Devaram* hymns of Sambandar, it is called Tiru-Vittaikkudi. This temple, which must have been in existence at least as early as the seventh century, was, perhaps, rebuilt of stone in the days of Parantaka I.

There are three Parakesari inscriptions without any distinguishing epithets which may be assigned to Uttama Chola. One (42 of 1897), belonging to his tenth regnal year, refers to a gift of a lamp made by one, Madhurantakan Gandaradittan, perhaps a son of Uttama Chola. It may be mentioned in passing that he also figures as a royal officer in inquiries into temple affairs in the early years of the reign of Rajaraja I. Another inscription (51 of 1897) refers to the installation of the *dvarapalas*,

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in the eastern wall near the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* of the central shrine, by Vellatti Arunili Malay-Piratti of Palampattinam in Patti *nadu*.

The temple of Vasishtesvarar consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *antarala* followed by an *ardhamandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is square in cross-section, measuring 5.50 metres. The surface of the *garbhagriha* walls is segmented into three vertical parts. The central *bhadra* part is adorned with a niche flanked by fully evolved decorative *koshtha-pancharas* in high relief, followed by a tall pilaster on each side. On either side of the *bhadra* are the *karna* elements of the *garbhagriha* wall; they are flanked by two pilasters rising to the full height of the wall, with a *koshtha-panchara* in the middle. The *ardhamandapa* is 4.90 metres in length measured along the axis of the temple. It is linked to the *garbhagriha* by a narrow *antarala* which is only half a metre in length. The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four well-chiselled pillars with bulbous capital. There are two fine *dvarapalas* on either side of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* about whose installation we have already made a reference. The *srivimana* is an *ekatala* structure. The entablature consists of the standard components of a *bhutagana* frieze as the lower element, a cornice adorned with equidistant *kudus* in the middle, and a *yali* frieze as the upper element. The *griva* and *sikhara*, which are both later structures, are circular.

The original sculptures in the niches of the *ardhamandapa* and *garbhagriha* as built in the days of Parantaka I were Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar (with the figures of Brahma and Vishnu standing by his side), Brahma and Durga. But a number of sculptures were inserted into crudely scooped out niches wherever space could be found between pilasters and *koshtha-pancharas*. In fact, most of the images that are found in this temple have been accommodated in this manner. Starting from the eastern end of the south wall of the *ardhamandapa*, the figures are as follows:

On the south face, Sambandar the Tamil Saiva saint, Nataraja,

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Appar (again one of the Tamil Saiva saints), Bhikshatanar with the *rishipatnis*, *Ganapati* and *Dakshinamurti*; on the western wall, Agastya, Ardhanarisvarar, *Lingodbhavar*, Kankalmurti and Kalyanasundarar; and on the western wall, *Brahma*, Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, Kalarimurti showing the *linga*, Markandeya and Yama in the panel, Bhikshatanamurti, *Durga* and Subrahmanya (the original sculptures in proper niches have been shown in italics).

A new development even in the improvised additions of sculptures is the introduction of the Saivite saints of the Tamil country. We do not find these sculptures in Manavalesvarar temple at Tiruvelvikkudi. Thus, even in the same period and phase of temple art, we find that a significant development has taken place. We are led to conclude that these insertions of deities and saints in the temple of Vasishtesvarar took place during the time of Uttama Chola, when adding these *devakoshtha* sculptures became the fashion of the temples of the Sembiyan style. A brief review of the evolution of *devakoshtha* figures in the Chola period up to the Sembiyan period is contained in the chapter on Sembiyan style.

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PART III

In parts I and II of this chapter, we have dealt with the temples built as also rebuilt by Sembiyan Mahadevi, and also with the temples which, under the impact of the Sembiyan spirit in the field of temple art, underwent structural changes mainly in the form of multiplication of the *devakoshtha* images on the walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. Her dedication to religion and love of temples manifested themselves in yet another area. She must have commanded great respect from her son Uttama Chola and grandnephew, Rajaraja I, who succeeded him. For we get passages in inscriptions which indicate an almost reverential attitude on the part of these two rulers to Sembiyan Mahadevi. Thus, backed by royal support, her benefactions to existing temples as well as to those that she created flowed in a liberal, and sometimes in a fabulous, measure. She made gifts of land for a variety of purposes which included the maintenance of twilight and eternal lamps, the maintenance of temple servants of various orders so that they might discharge their duties effectively, the upkeep of the men learned in the "Tamil and Aryan *vedas*", and the conduct of daily worship in the temples. The truly spectacular gifts came in the form of gold, exquisite jewellery, ornaments of various types, various vessels and the paraphernalia needed for worship. It would take pages to describe these benefactions with any degree of detail. So, a summary of the several grants made by her to the temples, on the basis of inscriptional material, is given in Table 3.

Periodic spells of chaos and iconoclastic vandalism, coupled with long periods of foreign occupation, have combined to deprive us of the benefit of having any notion of these benefactions and the details of the jewellery, which have all disappeared without a trace.

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TABLE 3
SEMBIYAN MAHADEVY'S GIFTS TO VARIOUS TEMPLES : A SUMMARY

Temple	Land Gifts	Gifts of Ornaments	Other Gifts
Ujjiyanathar Temple, Uyyakkoodan Tirumalai (A foundation of Parantaka I)		Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola, presented, in the tenth year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 995), a costly bejewelled crown to the deity of the temple, comprising 149 <i>kalanjus</i> of gold, 190 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver, 700 pearls, 3 rubies and 27 diamonds (95 of 1892).	One, Peranan Viranarayana <i>alias</i> Sembiyan Marayan, a perundanam of Virasola Ilangovelan of Kodumbalur gave a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp to this God according to an inscription (470 of 1908) dated in the tenth year of Parakesari-varman, who should be identified with Parantaka I.
Anantivarasvamin Temple, Udayargudi (A foundation of Parantaka I)			Parantakan Madevadigalar, the daughter of Malaya Perumal and consort of Gandaradittadevar, who was the son of Parantaka I, made a gift of 90 ewes for the daily supply of one <i>ulakku</i> of ghee for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp according to an inscription (96 of 1829) dated in the 34th year of Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman, namely, Parantaka I.

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Temple	Land Gifts	Gifts of Ornaments	Other Gifts
<p>Tirumadappara Mahadevar Temple, Karadi (A foundation of Parantaka I)</p>			<p>ram for a lamp, in the second year of a Parakesarivarman, perhaps Uttama Chola, to Tiru-Anantisarattu Alvar of Viranarayana chaturvedimangalam, which was the ancient name of Udayargudi, a suburb of Kattumannargudi, in Chidambaram taluk.</p>
<p>Tirumadappara Mahadevar Temple, Karadi (A foundation of Parantaka I)</p>			<p>Sembiyan Mahadevi and Viranarayanaiyar, both queens of Prince (Pillaiyar) Gandardittar, son of queen Solamadeviyar, made a gift of 96 sheep each and left them in charge of the local <i>sabha</i> for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirumadappara Mahadevar, at Ravikulachulamani Chaturvedimangalam in Vanagoppadi (220, 221 of 1936-37).</p>
<p>Cholisvarar Temple, Kuttalam</p>	<p>Gifts of land were made for offerings to the deity for maintaining 25 brahmanas who recited the Talava kara Sama, Taittiriya, and Chandogya Sama veda, in the temple.</p>		
<p>Siddhanathasvamin Temple, Tirumaraiyur</p>			<p>She would appear to have donated the Nataraja bronze in this temple. In the second year of Rajaraja I, Sembiyan Mahadevi made a gift of some silver vessels and a fly-whisk with a golden handle, to this deity (156 of 1908).</p>
<p>Siddhanathasvamin Temple, Tirumaraiyur</p>	<p>According to the earliest inscription (159 of 1908) in this temple, a gift of six <i>velis</i> of land was made by Sembiyan Mahadevi to the Siddhisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, the income from</p>		

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Temple	Land Gifts	Gifts of Ornaments	Other Gifts
Udvabanasvamin Temple, Tirumananjeri	<p>which was to defray the expenses on rice for sacred offerings, vegetables, ghee, areca nuts, plantains, sugar, the maintenance of the priest, the supply of milk, curds, fried paddy, the requirements of <i>Jalapavitra</i>, and <i>Punyaha</i> ceremonies (purificatory ceremonies) on the twelve <i>Sankranti</i> days and feeding certain persons on festival days.</p>	<p>In the sixth regnal year of Raja-raja I, at the command of Udaiya Pirattiyar (Sembiyan Mahadeviyar) the mother of Uttama Chola, Aruran Kamban alias Tirukkarrali Pichchan of Tirumananjeri gave 16 <i>kalanjus</i> of gold for sandal paste, offerings, cloth, and oil for lamps to the Mahadevar of Tirumananjeri which is said to be in Kadalangudi in Vadagarai Kurukkai <i>nadu</i>.</p>	

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Temple	Land Gifts	Gifts of Ornaments	Other Gifts
<p>Tiru-ara-neri-Alvar (Achalesvarar) Temple, Tiruvarur</p>			<p>On the south wall of this temple are two inscriptions of Rajaraja I. The first, of the second regnal year (570 of 1904), mentions a gift of silver vessels by Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembian Mahadeviyar for the merit of her son Uttama Chola (evidently after his death).</p> <p>The other relating to his seventh regnal year (571 of 1904) mentions that the temple (of Tiru-ara-neri-Alvar) was built of stone by Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembian Mahadeviyar, and that she set up there two idols, viz., Amarasundara devar and his consort Uma-Bhattariyar and presented 234 <i>kasus</i>, for the daily needs, structural additions to the temple and for repairs. Here is an extract:</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Tiru-ara-neri Alvar koyil Tiruk-karrali elundaruli-vitta Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembian Mahadeviyar ikkoyilil tan elundarulivichcha Amara Sundara Devarkum Uma Bhattariyarkkum Tiru-amudukkum tiruvilak-kennaikkum tirukkarralikkum surru-maligaikkum Tiruppallikkattil mandapattukkum Pudukkuppuram agavum palisaikkittuk kolga enru arulichheydu varakattina kasu 234 (200 kalanjus) konda parisavadu.</p>

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<i>Temple</i>	<i>Land Gifts</i>	<i>Gifts of Ornaments</i>	<i>Other Gifts</i>
Vriddhagirisvarar Temple, Vriddhachalam	<p>(i) Having built this temple in stone by about the 12th regional year of her son, Uttama Chola, she made the following gifts:</p> <p>Gold diadem weighing about five <i>kalanjus</i>, one silver salver weighing 389 <i>kalanjus</i>, one gold diadem for the Kuttaperumal (Nataraja) weighing one <i>kalanju</i>, one wedding badge (<i>tali</i>) for the Goddess Umabhataraki weighing half <i>kalanju</i> with three centre pieces, two <i>talimbam</i>, one gold plank, the <i>panchasari</i> and one gold flower.</p> <p>(ii) In the 15th year of Rajaraja I, she made a further gift to the deity of a costly crown weighing nine <i>kalanjus</i> and odd. The total weight of silver in its lower cover was 206½ <i>kalanjus</i>; it was set with three rubies and 36 diamonds. To the crown were fastened 1998 round pearls (48 of 1918).</p>		

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Temple	Land Gifts	Gifts of Ornaments	Other Gifts
Siva Temple, Tiruvakkara	<p>The inscription on the south base of the ruined Siva temple, dated in the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja I, records the grant of the village of Manali in Amur <i>nadu</i>, a subdivision of Oyma <i>nadu</i>, as a <i>devadana</i> to Paramasvami of Sivalokam (200 of 1904). The inscription reads: Sri Gandaraditya devar tam-pirattiyar Sri Uttama Solairait-tiruvayiru-vaytta Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembian Mahadeviyar eduppittarulina Sri Tiruvakkara Tirukkarrali Sivalokam Udaiya Paramasvamiyalukku devadana-maga seyda ur.</p>		

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Temple	Land Gifts	Gifts of Ornaments	Other Gifts
<p>Masilamanisvarar Temple, Vada-Tirumullaivayil</p>	<p>Among the inscriptions found on the <i>srivimana</i> of this temple, the earliest is one relating to the 14th regnal year of Parakesarivarman <i>alias</i> Uttama Chola (669 of 1904; S.I.I., III, No. 141). It says that Sembiyan Mahadevi, the daughter of Malavarayar, queen of Gandaraditya Peruman and mother of Uttama Chola, bought 9300 <i>kuli</i> of land for 80 <i>kalanjus</i> of gold from the <i>Mahasabhai</i> of Ambattur, in <i>Ambattur nadu</i>, a part of <i>Pulal kottam</i>, and made a gift of it to the temple.</p>		<p>The donee agreed to supply daily one <i>nali</i> of oil for a lamp to the Mahadevar of Tirumullaivayil.</p>
<p>Kailasanathasvamin Temple, Sembiyan Mahadevi</p>	<p>The inscription (date and name of king not given) mentions that Sembiyan Mahadevi constructed this temple of stone and furnishes details of the number and extent of the <i>devadana</i> lands belonging to the temple (75 of 1926).</p>	<p>Sembiyan Mahadevi made donations which included gold forehead plates (90 <i>kalanjus</i>), 26 gold flowers (about 96 <i>kalanjus</i>) and a gold pot weighing 190 <i>kalanjus</i>, vide a third year inscription of a Rajakesari identified with Rajaraja I (497 of 1925).</p>	<p>Sembiyan Mahadevi and her daughters-in-law made gifts of lamps and offerings and made provision for the sacred bath of the deity on <i>Sankranti</i> days and for celebration of the birthday of Sembiyan Mahadevi on the day of her natal star of <i>Jyeshtha (Kettai)</i> in the month of <i>Chaitra</i>. They also made gifts of a gold forehead plate and a gold handled fly-whisk.</p>

The Sembiyan Style

South India presents a kaleidoscopic variety of structures and designs in temples, covering a period of over eleven centuries commencing from the seventh century and ending almost with the advent of British rule in India. Temple-building was, perhaps, the sublimation of the aims and aspirations of the people of this region, as is evident from the unique role that the temple played in their lives and fortunes. The temple was, at once, a place of worship, a coronation hall, a court of justice, an art gallery, and a centre where marriages were performed and community functions took place. All major government decrees emanated from the precincts of the temples and consequently carried with them the awe and respect of a divine dispensation. All the regional and local committees for the welfare and development of the community met and deliberated in the temple halls and their major orders and dealings were recorded on the walls of the temple. Even the booty of war was placed at the feet of the family deity (*kulanayakam*). Royal celebrations like the *tulabharam*, the *virabhishekam* and the *vijayabhishekam* were held in the temples. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that so much care and devotion was bestowed on the building and maintenance of temples—each king vying with the other in making his contribution.

Temple-building was never a static art tied to the apron-strings of the textbooks on architecture. There were prescribed patterns and designs, but within their frame-work there was

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infinite variation, innovation, and room for individuality—buildings were “fashioned to the varying hour”. This enables us to trace the features of each phase or period of art with a considerable degree of precision. The new facets of style make their appearance in each reign, and certain temples stand out almost as prototypes of a certain region and a certain reign. Even in the course of the same reign, as for example those of Vijayalaya and Aditya I, great changes occur showing a progressive evolution of style.

We may illustrate this by a few examples. In the days of Vijayalaya, the *devakoshtha* figures were generally three or five in number though unfortunately no clearly identifiable *devakoshtha* figures of this period are now extant, except for those at Panangudi, Kaliapatti and Visalur. However, some idea can be gathered about them from the *vimana devata* and the *ashta parivara devata* shrines found in this period. Typical of Vijayalaya's days is the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram temple at Narttamalai, which though without a precedent to speak of, in fact, incorporates some of the essential features of the earlier Pallava monuments, while at the same time making a departure from them. Such a departure is noticed in the lay-out of the *garbhagriha*, which is circular in form. This is perhaps “intended to represent *pranava* or *omkara*, the mystic spiritual symbol of the Hindus*”. Again, it is found in the introduction of four *talas* in the *srivimana* superstructure and of a circular, in place of the multi-sided, *sikhara*. This does not mean that, in the same period, there were no simple and conventional, but neat and graceful, temples like the one at Kaliapatti.

A further stride is taken in Aditya I's time when twin shrines constituting a temple complex come into existence. Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham is a good example of Aditya I's temples. The idea of a *garbhagriha* in two sections with a cornice separating the two is also introduced at this stage. A fine example

*S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, I, p. 48.

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of this type is to be found in the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur, which, in fact, was a forerunner of the later temples with two storeyed *garbhagrihas*, like the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur, Gangaikondasolisvaram at Gangaikondasolapuram, and many others.

During the course of the reign of Aditya I, another noteworthy change took place in regard to the identity of the sculpture that was housed in the main niche of the rear wall of the *garbhagriha*. Prior to the reign of Aditya I, this *devakoshtha* was occupied by an image of Vishnu. In this place, we notice Ardhanarisvarar at Gopurappatti in Tiruchy district and at Tiruchchennampundi in Tanjavur district. At Tiruverumbur, the sculpture is that of Hariharar. At the twin shrines of Avani-kandarpa-Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur, we get both a standing and a seated Subrahmanya. Tiruchchendurai has Rishabhavahana-devar and at Tudaiyur, near Tiruchy, the figure is of Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti. A similar change took place even in regard to the icon that was housed in the main niche of the southern wall of the *garbhagriha*, though the range of sculptures was limited and the places where such changes occurred were few. Jnana Dakshinamurti normally found in this niche was replaced by Sarasvati at Tudaiyur, and by Vinadhara Dakshinamurti both at Lalgudi and at Tudaiyur.

During the age of Parantaka I, Lingodbhavar came into prominence as the sculpture in the rear niche of the *garbhagriha* in preference to Vishnu. Occasionally, there is a stray addition of an odd *devakoshtha* figure to the standard figures in the three or five niches. In the case of a three-niche *garbhagriha*, the deity in the south was Dakshinamurti and in the north, Brahma. Where the niches were five in number, the additional figure in the south was that of Ganesa and in the north that of Durga. In the case of Nal-tunai Isvaram at Punjai as also Masilamanisvarar temple at Tiruvaduturai, we notice Agastya coming in as a niche figure.

Apart from the changes that occur in the *devakoshtha* figures,

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certain structural changes were also brought about in Parantaka I's time. There is an attempt to increase the size of the *garbhagriha* and, as mentioned earlier, Agastya's image finds a place in a niche in the *antarala*. Examples of this enlarged *garbhagriha* are found at Tiruvisalur and Kilur.

In the days of Sundara Chola a further stage was reached in the evolution of temple architecture and design, as witnessed by the features of the Muvar Koyil at Kodumbalur. This temple, as its name implies, consists of three shrines, all in a row (of one of which, only the plinth remains, the other two being intact), each a *dvitala* structure surrounded with subshrines for the sixteen *parivara devatas*. Apart from these features, there is a great increase in the number of *devakoshtha* figures on the walls of the *garbhagriha*, *antarala* and *ardhamandapa*. The number of such figures, which varied from three to five in the Pallava and Early Chola days (i.e., Vijayalaya, Aditya I and even Parantaka I), increases, with some exceptions, in the Sembiyan age to a minimum of nine as at Konerirajapuram, and to as many as 16 as at Karuntatangudi. It was easy to increase the number of *devakoshtha* figures in the new temples or where earlier brick structures were reconstructed in stone; but even in temples already built of stone, *devakoshtha* figures were added by the followers of the Sembiyan tradition, by carving out new and improvised niches in the existing walls of the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa*, even at the cost of damaging the inscriptions already recorded on the walls. This disregard for the sacred directions of earlier generations is at variance with the practice of Sembiyan Mahadevi and is utterly inexplicable. Such thoughtless damage was perhaps an indication of the assertion of a growing trend in temple art among the followers of the Sembiyan style, who, however, lacked her extreme sensitivity and regard for preserving old inscriptions. That this was probably the case, is supported by the fact that wherever Sembiyan Mahadevi herself had to impair existing inscriptions while redesigning a temple, she took care to copy out the earlier records faithfully.

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This trend enables us, however, to classify the temples with the increased number of *devakoshtha* figures as belonging definitely to this period. For a complete picture of the disposition of the *devakoshtha* figures in the Sembayan Mahadevi temples, see Appendix I.

In respect of Amman sculptures, no new features developed during her age. The Goddess continued to occupy the comparatively insignificant place near the entrance to the *garbhagriha* and went under the name of Bhogesvari. The practice of setting up the Goddess as a separate bronze icon positioned in the *garbhagriha* or the *antarala* as in the days of Parantaka I was continued.

Another noticeable feature of this period is the construction of an increasing number of temples in the apsidal shape, found in the region known as Tondaimandalam. This style is known in Tamil as *toonganai madam* and in Sanskrit as *Gajaprishta*—both meaning “a temple like a recumbent elephant”. Though not directly attributable to Sembayan Mahadevi, it is relevant to mention this style here as there are a number of temples built along these lines during Sembayan Mahadevi’s time, like the temple at Tirumiyachchur. We have already seen that Masilamanisvarar temple at Tirumullaivayil belongs to this architectural style.

Sembayan Mahadevi has earned a distinguished niche for herself in the hall of fame. She rebuilt some of the old brick temples in stone; she built new temples like the Kailasanathasvamin temple in the village of Sembayan Mahadevi established by and named after her. Whenever she rebuilt an old temple, she took great care to see that all the inscriptions on the walls of the earlier structure were transcribed in the temple books, and then, on completion of the new building, she had them re-engraved on the walls of the new temple, taking care to mention that the new inscriptions were faithful copies of the old ones. Thus she has preserved for posterity, invaluable source material on the history of this region and time. Her gifts of land

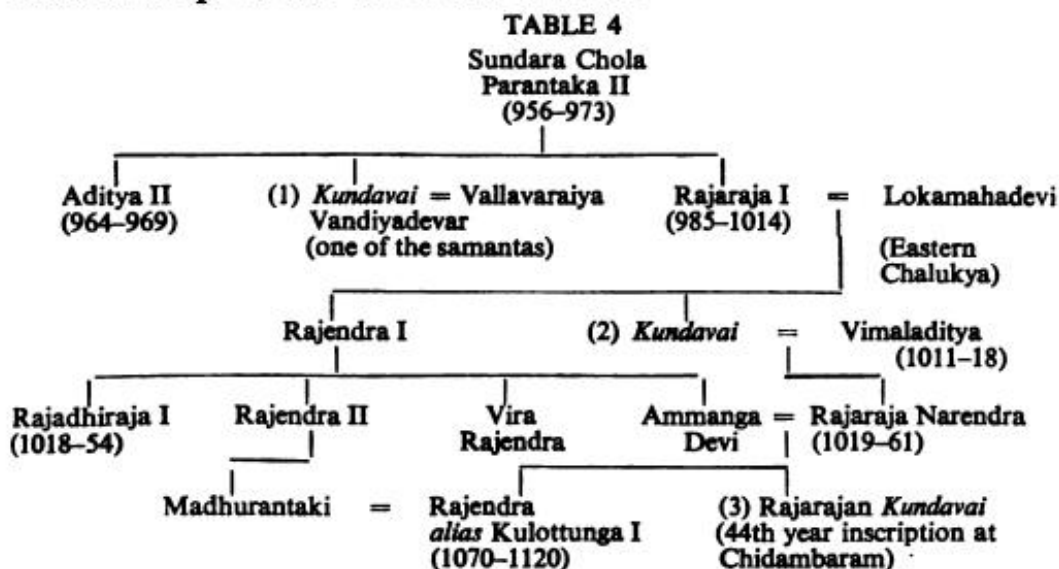
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for the purpose of worship and for various allied services cover a span of more than sixty years. Her gifts of gold ornaments, jewels studded with precious stones, and pearls are unique and are surpassed only by similar fabulous gifts made during the reign of Rajaraja I.

Above all, the encouragement and patronage that she gave to the casting of metallic images will earn for her an abiding place in the history of fine arts. Even from the days of Parantaka I, we have epigraphical evidence of the installation of images made of gold, silver, copper and bronze. But when we come to the period of Sembiyan Mahadevi, there is a sudden outburst of metal casting, and exquisite metallic representations of Ganapati, Nataraja, Kalyanasundarar, Tripurantakar, Bhikshatanar, Kankalamurti and many others pour out of the ateliers of the period. The concept of a consort of the main deity of the temple becomes more popular in the form of a Devi image in metal, kept close to the entrance to the *garbhagriha*. Known as Bhogesvari, this image was set up in many temples during Sembiyan Mahadevi's days and represents a high watermark in metal casting. In fact, some of the most exquisite Bhogesvari bronzes belong to this period. Some of these are found in the temples at Konerirajapuram, Kuttalam, Vriddhachalam, Tiruvenkadu and other places. Arumolidevar, the future Rajaraja I, who succeeded Sembiyan Mahadevi's son, Uttama Chola, owed his inspiration in religion and the arts to Sembiyan Mahadevi. The bronzes of her age are the coveted treasures of all art lovers in the world. A list of the bronzes of the Sembiyan age is given in Appendix II.

Kundavai

If Sembiyan Mahadevi's contribution to temple art and architecture is magnificent, as it undoubtedly is, then the contribution of Rajaraja I's elder sister, Kundavai Alvar, to art and temple-building is by no means inconsiderable. Kundavai was a common name among the Chola princesses and much confusion has been caused on this account. Rajaraja I's elder sister should be distinguished from his daughter who married Vimaladitya, the Eastern Chalukyan ruler of Vengi, who, as will be seen later, made extensive donations and gifts to the temple of Lokamahadevisvaram (Vada-Kailasam) at Tiruvaiyaru. A third Chola royal lady by the same name was the younger sister (*tiruttangaiyar*) of Kulottunga I. The genealogical table (Table 4) will show the relationship of the three Kundavais:



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These three princesses are best remembered respectively as the sister and the daughter of Rajaraja I, and the sister of Kulottunga I. The last of them, known by her full name of Rajarajan Kundavai Alvar, made extensive additions to the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram, according to an inscription (119 of 1888) belonging to the 44th year (A.D. 1114) of Kulottunga I, found on the outer north wall of the second *prakara* which encloses both the Nataraja and the Govindaraja shrines.

In this chapter, however, we are concerned with Kundavai, the elder sister of Rajaraja I, who is described as “the daughter of *Ponmaligai-tunjinadevar*”, which is an epithet describing Parantaka II *alias* Sundara Chola. Rajaraja I reverentially refers to her in his inscriptions as *akkan* meaning “elder sister”. She was married to Vallavaraiya Vandiyadevar, the Chief of the *Samantas* of Rajaraja I.

Kundavai's Contribution to Rajarajesvaram Temple, Tanjavur

That Rajaraja I held her in high esteem is borne out by the fact that he issued orders on completion of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, the Chola capital, that only the records of gifts and endowments made by him, his elder sister (Kundavai) and his queens, and possibly persons closely connected with the royal household, should be engraved on the *srivimana*. From one of the elaborate inscriptions found on the walls of this temple (S.I.I., II, 2), we gather that Kundavai set up four images in metal in the temple. Two of them were the consorts of the two metal images of Dakshina Meru Vitankar and Tanjai Vitankar set up by her brother Rajaraja I. Both the consorts were known by the same name—*Uma Paramesvari*. The other two were metallic images of her father and mother—*Ponmaligai tunjiya devar* (Sundara Chola) and Vanavan Mahadevi, whom she merely describes as “*tammai*” (mother). The extent of her devotion to her parents is shown by the unusual use of the expression *tirumeni* with reference to the icons of her parents. This

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term was used only to refer to icons of gods—the icons of human beings, otherwise described as portrait sculptures, were generally termed *pratimai*.

Having set up these four icons she proceeded to endow them, as well as the images of the two Vitankars set up by her brother, with ornaments and jewels whose number, value, and variety stagger the imagination of the reader.

She endowed the image of her mother with 20 earrings (*kambi*) valued at six *kasus*, weighing six *kalanjus* and one *kunri* of gold; and one string of beads for the marriage badge (*tali mani vadam*) weighing four *kalanjus*, six *manjadis* and one *kunri* of gold. To the God Dakshina Meru Vitankar, Kundavai gave an ornament consisting of a single string on which were strung 35 old pearls, two corals, two lapis lazuli, one *talimbam*, one *padugan*, and one *kokkuvay*, weighing four *kalanjus* and eight *manjadis*, valued at 11 *kasus*. She gave the Goddess Uma Paramesvari, the consort of Dakshina meru Vitankar, one ornament consisting of a single string on which were strung 35 round, polished and small old pearls, two corals, two lapis lazuli, one *talimbam*, one *padugan* and one *kokkuvay*, valued at 12 *kasus*.

In addition, for decorating the sacred hall (*tiruvarangu*) which the two Goddesses occupied while on procession during the sacred festival (*tiru vilaa*), she gave 3,500 *kalanjus* of gold, which was a quarter superior in fineness to the gold standard called *dandavani*; and 1,500 *kalanjus* of gold, which was one degree inferior to that standard, making a total of 5,000 *kalanjus* of gold. It is interesting to note that the record mentions that the gold thus gifted was weighed by the standard unit of gravimetric measure (*kudingaikal*)—a stone used in the city called the *Adavallan*; while the jewels were weighed by the standard jewel weight (*kasu kal*) called *Dakshina meru vitankar*, named after the processional deity of the Rajarajesvaram temple; and in so weighing care was taken to exclude the threads (*saradu*), the frame (*sattam*), the copper nails (*seppani*), the lac (*arakku*) and the *pinju* (?).

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Further, for the sacred food (*tiru amudu*), temple garlands (*tirupallittamam*), oil for the sacred lamps, and other expenses (*alivu*) required when the deities were carried in procession, Kundavai deposited money with various village bodies on interest in kind, i.e., paddy at the rate of three *kurunis* per *kasu* per year (which worked out to 12.5 per cent), to be delivered to the treasury of the temple of Rajarajesvaram measured by the standard unit of volumetric measure for grains known as the *Adavallan*. The deposits were made as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

<i>Village body</i>	<i>Capital amount given on interest (in kasu)</i>	<i>Interest in kind (kalams of paddy)</i>
Jananatha chaturvedimangalam	200	50
Irumbudal <i>alias</i> Manukulachulamani chaturvedimangalam	100	25
Rajasraya chaturvedimangalam	500	125
Villagers of Perumilattur	200	50
Total	1,000	250

To meet the requirements of the image of *Ponmaligai tunjiya devar*, she made an arrangement, similar to the one above, under which paddy in kind as interest at the rate of three *kurunis* per *kasu* per year on money deposited with them was to be measured into the sacred treasury. For this purpose, she deposited with the local body of Gandaraditta chaturvedimangalam a sum of 520 *kasus* bearing an annual interest of 130 *kalams* of paddy. In addition, she enumerated a list of items connected with the daily worship of this image, for which a total of 51 *kasus* per year was needed, which is broken down below:

- 26 *kasus* required for the daily sacred cloth
- 2 *kasus* required for sacred curtains

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2 *kasus* required for four sacred towels
 2 *kasus* required for four sacred canopies
 4 *kasus* required for 16 sacred pieces of cloth
 15 *kasus* required for temple garlands

 51 *kasus*

This amount was to be met by certain deposits of cash she made with the various villages (listed in Table 6), for which interest was to be paid into the sacred treasury, in cash, at the rate of one-eighth *akkam* (one-twelfth of a *kasu*) per month per *kasu*.

TABLE 6

<i>Village body</i>	<i>Capital in kasu</i>	<i>Interest in kasu</i>
Sri Viranarayana chaturvedimangalam	196	24½
Sri Parantaka chaturvedimangalam	112	14
Sri Sulamangalam	100	12½
Total	408	51

In addition, for keeping ten twilight lamps burning for this deity, she deposited 32 *kasus* with Pirantakan Achchan Adigal for purchasing 96 sheep at the rate of three sheep for one *kasu*. The milk from these sheep was to be converted into *ghee* which was used for keeping the lights burning, for which purpose the donee was to give one *ulakku* of *ghee* every day. Clarified butter from sheep's milk was used traditionally for the temple lamps.

Kundavai made almost identical arrangements for the worship of her mother's icon. For the general expenses of worship, she deposited 520 *kasus* with the village of Kundavai-nallur on the same terms of interest as in the case of the image of her father, fetching 130 *kalams* of paddy per annum. Cash was provided for the following requirements:

36 *kasus* for the purchase of sacred cloth
 2 *kasus* for the purchase of sacred curtains

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- 2 *kasus* for the purchase of four sacred towels
- 4 *kasus* for the purchase of 16 sacred pieces of cloth on which rice was offered
- 2 *kasus* for the purchase of four sacred canopies
- 15 *kasus* for the purchase of four temple garlands

- 61 *kasus*

This amount was to be credited into the sacred treasury, being the interest on a total of 488 *kasus* deposited by Kundavai with the assembly of Sri Parantaka chaturvedimangalam, on the same terms of interest as in the case of the father's icon.

She deposited 32 *kasus* with Pattattalan Kaliyan Paradan (Bharatan) for the purchase of 96 sheep, at the rate of three sheep for each *kasu*, to maintain ten twilight lamps before the image of her mother, one *ulakku* of *ghee* being made available daily for this purpose.

An inscription (S.I.I., II, No. 6) found on the second tier of the south wall of the *garbhagriha* describes a number of gifts which were made by "Alvar Pirantakan Kundavaiyar, the elder sister of Rajaraja *devar*", up to the 29th year of the reign of Rajaraja I. Besides these, she also presented 11 gold vessels to the Goddess Uma Paramesvari, who is "the consort of our Lord Adavallar", on the 310th day of the 25th year of the reign of Rajaraja I. This information is contained in an inscription (S.I.I., II, No. 2) engraved in five sections, each of which occupies a separate face of the west wall. It consists of two distinct parts—the first part describes the vessels referred to above; the second part enumerates other gifts of gold vessels and ornaments which were made by the same royal lady between the 25th and the 29th years of Rajaraja I, and also the gifts of gold vessels and ornaments which were made by the same royal lady "to the Goddess Uma Paramesvari, who is the consort of our lord Adavallar Dakshina Meru Vitankar". The last portion (Paras 44 to 59) lists the gifts made to the "Goddess Uma Paramesvari, who is the consort of our Lord Tanjai Vitankar".

In continuation of the former inscription (No. 6), another

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(No. 7), which is of a later date, covers the gifts made by Kundavai to the images set up by her in the Rajarajesvaram temple up to the third regnal year of her nephew, Rajendra I. Thirteen ornaments of gold and jewel were given to "Uma Paramesvari, the consort of our Lord Dakshina Meru Vitankar". The descriptions are too elaborate for inclusion here. Among these ornaments were a crown, two earrings, two *uruttus*, a sacred necklace, a *bahuvalayam*, an armlet, a *srichhanda*, two *pottus* and two bracelets having a total value of 11,820 *kasus*. (For details, see Appendix III.)

Kundavai's gifts to the icons set up by her and others in this temple were unceasing. A further record—engraved on the south, east and north walls of the portico which forms the main entrance to the east of the central shrine—relates to similar gifts of a number of ornaments of gold and jewels which were presented by her up to the third year of the reign of Ko-Parakesarivarman *alias* Rajendra Choladeva, the donees here being the images which she had set up herself. This inscription, which is in three sections of nine lines each, ends in the middle with a statement that the inscription is continued at the bottom of the south wall of the portico, which unfortunately cannot be seen as the present pavement of the temple court covers it. The visible part of the inscription lists the gifts given to the consorts of Dakshina Meru Vitankar and Tanjai Vitankar.

The value of the jewel pieces given to Uma Paramesvari, the consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar, adds up to 6,200 *kasus* in all (For details, see Appendix II). To the consort of Tanjai Vitankar she made a number of gifts of gold ornaments (For details, see Appendix III). In addition to these gold ornaments, Kundavai gifted to the same deity a number of jewelled ornaments which again are enumerated in this inscription (For details, see Appendix III).

Apart from her numerous gifts and donations made and the temples she built, Kundavai is credited with being responsible for the excavation of irrigation tanks named *Kundavai Per-eri* and

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Sundara Chola Per-eri (named respectively after her and her father) at Brahmadesam near Cheyyar in the North Arcot district (264 of 1915).

Kundavai probably outlived her brother, as we find two of her inscriptions (248 and 249 of 1923) in the third and the seventh years of the reign of her brother's son, Rajendra I. These inscriptions again are of interest as they mention that Kundavai built a hospital named *Sundara-Chola-Vinnagara-Atular-Salai* (*atular-salai*=hospital) after her father, in the Vishnu temple at Tanjavur. As the temple is named Sundara Chola Vinnagar, it was built, in all probability, either by Rajaraja I or Kundavai in memory of their father. For the maintenance of the hospital she made gifts of house sites and land, in perpetuity, at Pandaravadai near Tanjavur.

Temples Built by Kundavai

Three temples at Dadapuram and a fourth at Tirumalai near Polur are definitely attributable to her on the basis of inscrip-tional evidence. Built at Rajarajapuram, now called Dadapuram, in the present Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district, they are Ravikula-manikkesvaram (presently known as Sri Mani-kanthesvaram) temple, Kundavai Vinnagaram (now known as Karivarada-perumal) temple, and Kundavai Jinalayam (no longer in existence now). We give below a brief description of these temples.

DADAPURAM

1 SRI MANIKANTHESVARAM TEMPLE

The main temple at Dadapuram is the Siva temple, now known as Sri Manikanthesvaram and referred to in inscriptions as Ravi-kula-Manikkesvaram. In an inscription (17 of 1919) of the 21st year of Rajaraja I, found on the walls of this temple, there

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is a reference to the construction of three temples by the royal lady Kundavai Pirattiyar. It records that on receipt of a royal order, the administrative officers in charge of Panaiyur inspected the temple treasury and prepared an inventory of the various presents consisting of vessels, and a variety of ornaments in gold, silver and pearls. For future record, these details were engraved on stone in the respective temples.

Another inscription (8 of 1919) of the 21st year of Rajaraja I on the wall of the Vishnu temple, now called the Sri Kari-varada-perumal temple, gives a list of ornaments made of gold, silver and pearls, and vessels presented to all the three temples by "Parantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar, daughter of Ponmaligai Tunjinadevar (i.e., Sundara Chola) in the city of Rajarajapuram".

Yet another inscription (14 of 1919) found in the Vishnu temple records an order dated in the 23rd year of Rajaraja I, directing that the dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravikula Manikkesvaram and Kundavai-Vinnagara Alvar should accompany and dance before the deity in procession during the hunting festival (*Vettai Utsavam*) of the Vishnu temple. The name of Iravikula Manikkesvaram was evidently given to this temple after one of the titles of Rajaraja I.

There are four inscriptions on the walls of this Siva temple—three belonging to the 19th, 21st and 25th years of Rajaraja I (20, 17 and 18 of 1919) and one to the fourth year of Rajendra I (19 of 1919). The earliest of these, belonging to the 19th year of Rajaraja I, mentions a gift of sheep made by a servant of Kundavai Pirattiyar for burning a perpetual lamp in this temple. We have already referred to the inscription of the 21st year which mentions the construction of the three temples. The inscription of the 25th year mentions a gift of ten lamps by Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar. Finally, the inscription of the fourth year of Rajendra I also refers to gifts.

It is thus clear that this Siva temple at Dadapuram was built of stone some time before the 19th year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1004) and it will be interesting to note in passing that the temple of

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Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur was also started at about the same time.

The main temple consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *mukhamandapa* would seem to be a later addition, being very inelegantly dovetailed into the main structure without any attempt to give an integrated appearance. For instance, even the base mouldings are different and are at different levels.

The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* constitute an integrated structure, the external width of the former and the latter being identical; in other words, the cross-section presents a rectangular figure at the basement up to the plinth level. The edifice stands on a *upapitham*, a sub-basement of plain vertical surface, relieved by low relief plain pilasters, interspersed with figures of stolid elephants and lions at the corners and below the *devakoshtha* elements of the *garbhagriha*, in line with the flanking outer pilasters of the *devakoshtha* itself. These figurines remind one of the fully developed translation in stone of the concept of elephants bearing the weight of the edifice, as in the Kailasanatha temple at Ellora of a much earlier period.

Separating the *upapitham* from the *adhishtanam* (or the basement) is a three tier *vari* running right through the structure. Over that rises the *adhishtanam* itself with graceful mouldings in delicate proportions. First we have the *upanam*, a plain vertical moulding that gives strength and height to the basement; over it and separated by a recess is the *kumudam* moulding semi-oval in shape, imparting curve and grace to the basement; over this is the *kandam*, a recessed plain vertical moulding, in this case decorated with spaced-out, plain, low-relief pilasters; above that is a decorated *kapotam* moulding curving down from the top and abruptly receding inwards at the lower end, to join the recessed *kandam* element. This again runs through the entire structure, broken however at two places, on each face of the *garbhagriha*, by the recessed *koshtha-pancharas* which are superposed on the main mouldings and the wall. A fuller description of the *koshtha-panchara*, a delicately balancing element

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of decoration of the *garbhagriha* basement and wall, is given below. The *kapotam* moulding is decorated with a depression near the edge running the full length, and also a series of *kudus* at intervals having an empty semi-circular niche in the centre and crowned by a *simha-mukha*. Resting on it is a well-preserved *yali* frieze again going round the entire structure, thus forming the uppermost element in the several mouldings constituting the *adhishthanam*.

Over this rises the wall, both of the *garbhagriha* and of the *ardhamandapa*. On each wall of the *garbhagriha* are five vertical elements, a central niche, flanked by two small and two big pilasters, followed on either side by two recesses, decoratively filled with two *koshtha-pancharas* flanked in turn by a wall surface with two pilasters on each side. The *koshtha-pancharas*—starting off from the *upapitham* straightaway with a lotus (*padmam*) moulding followed (as one goes up) by a *kumudam* moulding and a *yali* frieze in line with the *kumudam* of the main structure—impart a heightening effect to the *garbhagriha* structure. The *simha-mukha* over the *kudu* at the top of the *koshtha-pancharas* ends with the *uttiram* (roof-beam) of the shrine, over which is a *bhuta-gana* frieze, that goes round the entire length and breadth of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The corbel that overhangs the *bhuta-gana* frieze gracefully curves down, with the outer surface decorated with well-spaced *kudu* elements; over the corbel is again a vigorous frieze of *yalis* (leogryphs).

Over this entablature rest the *talas* of the *srivimana*, and over the *ardhamandapa* is a plain flat roof. The *srivimana* is two storeyed. In the entablature are the usual *salas* in the middle and the *kutas* in the corners. As a backdrop to these *salas* and *kutas*, there are the decorated walls on which rests the *griva*. These wall surfaces are relieved with pilasters and *kudus*, topped by a cornice with a *bhuta-gana* frieze below. The top of the cornice constitutes the floor over which rests the eight-sided *griva*. At the four corners of this floor are four *nandis*; on each face, there are alternately big and small *maha-nasis*. The *sikhara*

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is also eight-sided. It culminates in a *padmam* moulding with a *stupi* at the top.

The *devakoshthas* on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are surmounted by *makara-toranas*. The following is a brief description of the niche figures in the clockwise order:

GANESA

Located on the south wall of the *ardhamandapa*, this sculpture is short, stout-legged and pot-bellied. It wears the *yajnopavita*, a necklace and the *udara-bandha*, and is dressed in delicate drapery with a broad sash with loops and tassels falling on the right leg. A semi-spherical umbrella protects the figure which is seated on a double lotus pedestal. It is of excellent workmanship.

JNANA DAKSHINAMURTI

Housed in the main *garbhagriha* niche in the southern wall, this sculpture is exquisite in its proportions and perfect in its finish. But for a broken left forearm, the piece is well preserved. It is elaborately carved and full of fine details—the twisting branches of the tree taking off from the massive trunk; the *akshamala* and the basket hanging from them; the flowing matted locks of hair almost in the shape of a semi-circular halo behind the sensitive face, deep in thought; with a delicate mouth almost about to break out in a smile. We find the usual *akshamala* in the right upper arm and the tongue of flame in the left upper arm. The third arm is in the *chinmudra* pose while the fourth is broken from the elbow. The *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) runs across the torso; and a necklace, the *katisutra* and the *udara-bandha* adorn the sculpture.

VISHNU

In contrast to both the preceding sculptures, Vishnu, found in the south-face niche of the *garbhagriha*, is, in all probability,

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a later replacement and is of inferior workmanship. Lacking the sensitive handling of a master craftsman, this piece is solid, probably unfinished, and has no great artistic merit.

BRAHMA

This figure is again not the original one but a much later and crude replacement. It is of poor workmanship and is a mere stylised representation of Brahma without proportion or sensitivity. It would be interesting to discover the original sculpture.

DURGA

In contrast to both Brahma and Vishnu and in consonance with the sculptures of Ganesa and Jnana Dakshinamurti, this sculpture, which is original, is beautiful, supple and delicately carved. The canopy (*chhatra*) on top and the buffalo's head at the base seem to be linked in one big sweep by the curving bow that flanks the entire icon, giving it a balance against the weight of the bending torso gravitating to the other side under the weight of the sword, the head and the breasts. The right foot, slightly bent forward and ahead of the left foot, adds to the balance of the sculpture, giving, at the same time, the impression of crushing the buffalo's head, whose protruding and upturned tongue bespeaks its defeat and surrender. *Sankha*, *chakra*, bow and arrow, and sword and shield adorn the hands, while the remaining two arms are in the *abhaya* and *katyavalambita* pose.

One wishes that the niches had been bigger than they are, as the sculptures seem almost squeezed into them. Besides these niche figures, there are Jyeshthadevi and a set of *Saptamatrikas* lying loose in the campus of the temple—Mahesvari, Varahi, Brahma, Vaishnavi, Chamunda and Kaumari.

KARI-VARADA-PERUMAL TEMPLE

2

The Kari-varada-perumal (Vishnu) temple lies about 1.6 kilo-

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metres to the southwest of the Siva temple of Sri Manikantesvaram. Inscriptions on the walls of this temple, along with those of the Siva temple, reveal that the original name of the deity of the Vishnu temple was Kundavai-Vinnagara-Alvar. Kundavai-Vinnagaram* was built by Kundavai Pirattiyar some time before the 20th regnal year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1005), which is about the time when the Siva temple of Manikantesvaram was also built.

The temple has a *garbhagriha* and, like the Siva temple, an *ardhamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa* also. The structure is a *dvitala* one crowned with a renovated, semi-circular *sikhara* and a *stupi*.

The two temples of Siva and Vishnu are similar even though they are dedicated to different deities. It is probable that the other temple, i.e., Kundavai Jinalayam (mentioned in inscriptions) was also of the same style. The *upapitham* should have had *Gaja* and *Simha* as in the Siva temple. All the niches on the free sides of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are surmounted by *makara-toranas*. The niches unfortunately are all empty now.

The *kapotam* (*kodungai*) is adorned with *kudus* just above the first *tala*. Above it is a *yali* frieze. The second *tala* has *salas* and *kutas*. Vishnu on Garuda, and Rajamannar are among the *vimana devatas*. Over the *kodungai* of the second *tala*, on the left side, is a sculpture of Hanuman. It is probable that more sculptures of the same deity adorned the edges.

There are nine inscriptions on the walls of this temple belonging to various Chola kings—four of Rajaraja I (21st, 23rd and 25th years), two of Rajendra I (fourth and 11th years), one of the fifth year of Rajendra (II?—15 of 1919) and one of Kulottunga (I?—13 of 1919).

The inscription of the 21st year of Rajaraja I, which is also the earliest, enumerates the vessels, the ornaments of gold and

*Vinnagaram is a corruption and colloquialisation of Vishnu-griham, meaning the house of Vishnu.

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silver, and the jewellery presented to the deities of the Kundavai-Vinnagaram, the Ravikula-Manikkesvaram, and the Kundavai Jinalayam temples built by the daughter of *Ponmaligai-tunjnadevar*, i.e., princess Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar, in the city of Rajarajapuram in Nallur *nadu*, a subdivision of Venkunra *kottam*. An official named Parakramasola Muvendavelar is also mentioned. The stone temple was probably completed by the year A.D. 1006, the date of the inscription. An inscription of the 23rd year of Rajaraja I mentions a gift, made by a maid-servant of the king, of 90 sheep for maintaining a perpetual lamp. The other inscription of the same year mentions that the temple girls attached to the Ravikula-Manikkesvaram and the Kundavai-Vinnagaram temples should accompany the deities while going out in procession during the hunting festival.

During the rule of the Pallavas and the Cholas (Rajaraja I in particular), dancing and music played a major role in the social life of the people. In the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, Rajaraja I made arrangements for a lavish provision of drummers on the festival days of Rajarajesvarar and Adavallan (S.I.I., II, part II, No. 25). To recite the *Tiruppadiyam* (*Devaram* hymns), forty-eight persons were appointed in addition to two accompanists on drums (*udukkai* and *kottimattalam*) (S.I.I., II, Part III, No. 65). Four hundred *talich-cherip-pendugal*, or temple women, were transferred from well-known temples all over the empire, to the capital for service in the Rajarajesvaram temple and settled in houses provided for them near the temple. Apart from that, they were provided an assured annual income of 100 *kalam*s of paddy from one *veli* of land allotted to each of them.

The inscriptions also mention other lavish grants made to the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur. Dance teachers (*nattuvanar*), musicians (*Ganapatis* and *gandharvas*, male and female), a pipe player (*vangiyan*), a drummer (*udukkai*), two *veena*-players, persons singing Aryam and Tamil, a person for beating the *kottimattalam*, and one for blowing the embossed conch (*muttirai sangu*) were all provided. Other temple functionaries like

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accountants, parasol-bearers, barbers, lamp-lighters, astrologers, potters, washermen, tailors, braziers, goldsmiths and carpenters were also provided (S.I.I., II, part III, No.66). Perhaps similar facilities in varying measure were also provided in the case of the temples at Dadapuram.

Princess Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar made a gift of sheep for maintaining a lamp in the temple of Kundavai-Vinnagara-Alvar, according to an inscription of the 25th regnal year of Rajaraja I. We learn from this inscription that Senapati Mummadisola Brahmamarayan was in charge of the management of the temple. This official seems to be the same Mummadisola Brahmamarayan who was the *Senapati* and the *Perudanam* of Rajaraja I. He belonged to Ammankudi *alias* Keralantakachaturvedimangalam in Venadu, a subdivision of Cholaman-dalam. The walls enclosing the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur are stated to have been built by this chief at the instance of the king, Rajaraja I. A loyal and trusted servant, he was put in charge of this temple, which indicates the importance the king and his sister attached to the religious welfare of their subjects.

Of the two inscriptions of Rajendra I, son of Rajaraja I, the first, belonging to the fourth regnal year, refers to a gift of sheep made by Kundavai for maintaining ten lamps in the Kundavai-Vinagara-Alvar temple. The other inscription, which belongs to the 11th regnal year, starts with a mention of the king's name and then stops abruptly. Another of the seventh year refers to Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga (I) Chola *devar* and concerns a gift of five cows for maintaining a lamp. An unfinished inscription, with the introduction, *tiru-madu-puvi-elum*, belongs to the fifth year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Rajendra *devar* (II ?).

On the north wall of the *mandapa*, in front of the central shrine, there is an inscription about a gift of vessels made to this temple by a temple woman. The inscription belongs to the fifth regnal year of a king whose name is lost.

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KUNDAVAI JINALAYA

3

Kundavai's, and in fact the entire dynasty's, liberal and catholic attitude to religion, with rare exceptions, is clearly demonstrated by this fine example of a trio of temples dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and the Jina.

The Jina temple was probably built at about the same time as the other two temples as is evident from the inscriptions of the period. That the queen bestowed equal attention on all the three temples can be seen from the numerous donations and grants she made to all of them (8 of 1919, 14 of 1919 etc.). This is further proof of the spirit of religious tolerance characteristic of the Chola dynasty in particular and of this period of South Indian history in general.

It is unfortunate that the temple is no longer in existence. Perhaps it was destroyed at some later and bigoted age; or, more charitably, it may have fallen into disrepair and disappeared altogether for want of patronage. We have few clues with which to reconstruct the shape and form of the Jinalaya. However, we can presume that the architectural features of this temple were similar to those of the other two. Instead of the *Rishabha* and *Garuda* adorning the *srivimana*, as in the case of the Siva and Vishnu temples respectively, the Jaina temple might have had *Simha* adornments.

TIRUMALAI

KUNDAVAI JINALAYA

4

On the Villupuram-Arkonam rail link of the Southern Railway, not far from Tiruvannamalai, there is a place called Polur. Sixteen kilometres to its east lies Tirumalai which, in the Pallava and Chola days, was an important Jaina centre. The hill in this village was described in the inscriptions found there as Vaigai-Tirumalai or Vaigavur-Tirumalai. All that is left in this locality

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are a *mandapa* at the base of the Tirumalai hill, a natural cave under a ledge of this rock with old paintings, a small shrine below the painted cave and a *gopuram* at the base of Tirumalai hill. There is a stone sculpture of Neminatha on the top of the Hill.

The Jaina centre, we learn from a later Chola inscription, was ruled by a Yavanika, called Elini of Vanji (which can be identified as modern Karur), during the early Sangam period. This chief claims to have set up images of Yaksha and Yakshi on the Tirumalai hill, which bore the Sanskrit name of *Arhasu giri* and the Tamil name of *En-guna-virai-tirumalai*.

The earliest Chola inscription at Tirumalai relates to a gift of gold by two residents of Kaduttalai for feeding a devotee in the Jaina temple at Vaigavur in the third regnal year of Parantaka I (A.D. 910). We next hear of a gift of a lamp to the Yaksha of Tirumalai made by a servant of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna III (A.D. 959) who conquered this region (Tondaimandalam) from Parantaka I after defeating the Cholas in the battle of Takkolam in A.D. 949.

The next record (S.I.I., I, No. 66) is dated in the 21st year of Ko-Raja-Rajakesarivarman (Rajaraja I), and is found on a rock in front of the *gopuram* at the base of the Tirumalai hill. It mentions that a certain Gunavira Mamunivan built a sluice in the local reservoir and named it after a Jaina teacher, Ganisekhara Maru Porchuriyan. Tirumalai hill is here referred to as Vagaimalai.

There are two inscriptions of Rajendra I. Both of them relate to his 12th year. One of them (S.I.I., I, No.67), found on a piece of rock on top of Tirumalai hill, begins with a long list of countries which he conquered, and then records a gift to the temple "on the top of the holy mountain". This temple was called the Kundavai Jinalaya, i.e., the temple dedicated by, or on behalf of, Kundavai to the Jina.

The inscription mentions that Chamuddappai, wife of the merchant Nannappaiyan, resident of Perumbanappadi *alias* Karaivarimalliyur, gave a perpetual lamp (*tiru-nanda vilakku*)

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to the temple called Sri Kundavai Jinalaya (on) the holy mountain at the *Pallichchandam* (a village gifted to a Jaina temple) of Vaigavur in Mugai *nadu*, a division in the middle of Pangala *nadu* in Jayangondasola mandalam.

Twenty *kasus* were given for one lamp and ten *kasus* for the "sacred food". Unfortunately, we have no trace of the Kundavai Jinalaya. Like the Jina temple at Dadapuram, it has also disappeared.

As mentioned earlier, there is a natural cave under a ledge of the *mandapa*. This cave contains images of a Jina and his attendant deities. It is likely that this cave temple was renovated at about the time the Kundavai Jinalaya came to be built and, possibly, the images of Yaksha and Yakshi set up in the days of Elini were reconsecrated too at the same time. Kundavai might have done this and repainted the cave temple as well. Presumably the cave had been painted on earlier, and, during the days of Rajaraja I, had become faded. This is evidenced by patches of the old painting showing through, wherever the paintings of the Kundavai period have peeled off. It may be mentioned that it was also about the same period that the walls of the chambers in the vestibule formed by the inner and outer walls of the *garbhagriha* of the Rajarajesvaram temple were decorated with exquisite paintings, some of which at least have weathered the ravages of time and have come down to us in a well-preserved condition.

The centre of attention in this painting is a wheel (*vijaya-chakra*), whose nave is occupied by the Jina flanked by attendant deities. What the *dharma-chakra* is to the Buddhists, the *vijaya-chakra* is to the Jainas. Such a wheel is mentioned by the Jaina ruler, Kharavela of Kalinga in his inscription at the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves near Bhubanesvar, in Orissa. There is also a *vijayachakra* painted on the ceiling of the Jaina cave temple at Sittannavasal, in the Pudukkottai district (A.D. seventh century). The temple probably continued to receive royal attention for at least a couple of centuries more. This conclusion is borne

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out by some of the paintings which can be attributed to the 12th and 13th centuries.

Thus the Jinalaya in Tirumalai* was established by Kundavai in the days of Rajaraja I, but unfortunately nothing worthwhile of this monument has been left. Only the paintings in the cave attributable to her are there—and they need to be taken care of before it becomes too late—as also the sculpture of the Jaina Tirthankara, Neminatha on the top of the hill.

*Also see *Lalit Kala No. 9*, pp. 30-54.

Lokamahadevi

Yet another Chola queen whose contribution to Dravidian art is noteworthy is Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Lokamahadevi, one of Rajaraja I's queens. By his brilliant campaigns, Rajaraja I extended his dominion from Sri Lanka in the south to the Raichur doab in the north and Vengi and Kalinga in the northeast. He built a temple at Polonnaruva which was then the capital of Ilangai (Ilam or Sri Lanka). This temple is known as Siva Devalaya No. 2. His son Rajendra I built a pillar of victory on the Mahendra mountains in the eastern ghats, thus establishing an empire that extended over one thousand miles north to south and almost from coast to coast in the east-west direction.

The seniormost among the queens of Rajaraja I was Lokamahadevi—the more prominent among the rest were Panchavan Mahadevi, Chola Mahadevi and Trailokya Mahadevi. These four queens wielded great influence over the king. Apart from making numerous donations and grants jointly with her royal consort to the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, Lokamahadevi also built temples on her own.

TIRUVAIYARU

VADA (OR UTTARA) KAILASAM TEMPLE 1

Among the temples built by Lokamahadevi is the temple of Vada Kailasam at Tiruvaiyaru, "the place of the five rivers",

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on the banks of the Kaveri, 16 kilometres from Tanjavur on the road to Kumbakonam in the Tanjavur district. This temple is located on the northern side of the outer *prakara* of the Panchanadisvarar temple at Tiruvaiyaru and must have been built between the 21st and 24th years of Rajaraja I. It is named Lokamahadevi-Isvaram after the queen who built this temple (219, 222 of 1894; S.I.I., V, No. 521).

The temple is an *ekatala* structure facing east with a spherical *stupi* and two *dvarapalas* on either side of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. It consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, and the *mukhamandapa*, with an *antarala* linking the latter two. The *garbhagriha* is a square measuring 3.35 metres externally and 3.20 metres inside. Its walls are 1.45 metres thick at the cardinal points and less by 0.15 metre otherwise. The outer surface of the *garbhagriha* is in two vertical levels. The central portion (the *bhadra*) is 2.60 metres wide on each face. It projects 0.15 metre from the rest of the surface which extends 1.70 metres on either side (the *karna* portions). The two side walls of the *ardhamandapa* are continuations of the side walls of the *garbhagriha*. The inner width of the *ardhamandapa* is the same as that of the *garbhagriha*, viz., 3.35 metres, while the inner length is twice the width, viz., 6.70 metres. The intervening wall is 0.85 metre thick while an opening, 0.90 metre wide, connects the two. Externally, the *ardhamandapa* projects 7.10 metres towards the east and has a one metre-wide doorway. Further east, is the *mukhamandapa*, a square structure 6.00 metres to a side inside and 7.75 metres externally, the wall being 0.70 metre thick. The *antarala* between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* is 0.90 metre in length.

Originally there should have been five *devakoshtha* figures, adorned with *toranas* over them. The images of Dakshinamurti and Brahma, the former in a mutilated state, are the only ones among the original sculptures of this period still found in the *devakoshthas* of the main shrine. They are of excellent workmanship. The other sculptures have disappeared. The original

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sculpture of Dakshinamurti in the southern niche of this temple is a piece of very sensitive workmanship—the tree of knowledge is carved in a stylised fashion, with twisting branches and low relief leaves, a squirrel, the *akshamala*, and the hanging bag; the head is surrounded by a halo (*mandala*) in two segments, fringed by bead-like decorative elements with a crescent and stars representing the cosmos; the two upper arms carry the *akshamala* in the left and the tongue of flame in the right, the two other arms, which should have been in the *varada* and *chinmudra* postures, are broken from the elbow; the *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) runs across the torso in a sinuous curve while the neck and the chest are adorned with three strands of necklaces and *haras*; both the legs are broken, but the *katisutra* (waist-band) is well preserved and the folds of the *dhoti* fall between the legs. The rock which forms the seat is adorned with frolicking and recumbent animals of which a boar, a deer and a calf are discernible. The *apasmara purusha* is recumbent and distressed by the pressure of the foot.

An equally attractive and majestic sculpture is that of Brahma in the northern niche. Three faces are visible. The *akshamala* is in the left upper arm and the *kamandalu* in the right upper arm, while the right lower arm rests on the right leg and holds a book in the upturned palm, the left arm being broken. He wears a *jata-makuta* on his head. The figure has a fine torso, adorned with *haras* round the neck, while a deer skin runs across the body in the fashion of an *yajnopavita*; a *katisutra* covers the loins while the *udarabandha* constricts the torso into a beautiful shape. The figure is seated on a lotus (*padmasana*), the left leg hanging down, while the right is flat on the seat and bent in a cross-legged fashion. A semi-circular umbrella and two flanking *chamaras* complete the background of the sculpture.

The first reference to the existence of Vada Kailasam is found in an inscription (S.I.I., V, No, 517; 218 of 1994) dated in the 21st year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1006) engraved on the south wall of this temple. According to this inscription a shepherd by the name

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of Aiyaran Valavan of the *brahmadeyam* of Perumpuliyur received from the Tribhuvana Chandesvara *kanmis*, 192 sheep for the supply of 27 *uris* (a measure) of oil for burning two perpetual lamps at the temple of Lokamahadevi-Isvaram (Vada Kailasam).

Another gift was made in the same year as seen from an inscription (S.I.I., V, No. 518; 219 of 1894) on the base of the south wall of this temple, dated in the 21st year of Kovirajakesarivarumar *alias* Sri Rajarajadevar. It refers to the sale of land by the Tribhuvana Chandesvara *kanmis* of Tiruvaiyaru in favour of the Mahadevar of Lokamahadevi-Isvaram, which was built by Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Ulokamahadeviyar. The land measured three *velis*, one *mahani*, half a *kani* and odd valued at 307 *kalanjus* and nine *manjadis*, the rate being 100 *kalanjus* to a *veli*.

In the 22nd year of Rajaraja I there is another inscription (S.I.I., V, No. 516; 217 of 1894) relating to a similar gift of 96 sheep for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp for the Mahadevar of Ulokamahadevi-Isvaram at the *devadana* village of Tiruvaiyaru, by Vimayan Vambavai, daughter of Salukki Vimayan Devi Vanjayan Perrappai, presumably a *talippen* (a woman dedicated to temple service). This inscription also is found on the south wall of Uttara (or Vada) Kailasam.

An inscription (S.I.I., V, No. 521; 222 of 1894), belonging to the 24th year of Rajaraja I on the base of the north, west and south walls, relates to the extensive gifts of ornaments and vessels made by Lokamahadevi *alias* Udaiyar Rajaraja Devar Nampirattiyar, Danti Sakti Vitanki, to the Mahadevar of Lokamahadevi-Isvaram (the deity of the central shrine) and to the Uloka Vitanka-*devar* (the processional deity). This inscription is of immense interest to students of South Indian art as it gives a complete and exhaustive description of the jewellery of various types presented to the deities. The details of such gifts are contained in a close rendering of the inscription given in Appendix IV.

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There is another interesting inscription which belongs to the 29th year of Rajaraja I. Found on the east wall of the *mandapa*, it mentions the gifts made by Sri Vishnuvardhana Mahadevar, *alias* Vimaladitya *devar* of Vengi *nadu*, of a number of silver pots (*velli-kalagam*)* to the Mahadevar of Ulokamahadevisvaram in the *devadana* village of Tiruvaiyaru. This Eastern Chalukyan prince was the viceroy of Vengi under the Cholas and was married to Kundavai, daughter of Rajaraja I.

The fourth year inscription of Rajendra I ("*Kop-Parakesaripanmarana Rajendra Chola devar*") tells us that Danti Sakti Vitanki, the queen of Rajaraja I (*Nampirattiyar* of *Periya devar*) made a gift of land as *tattarakkani* to Sakkadi Samudayan *alias* Sembayan Madevip-peruntattaa, who built the Ulokamahadevisvaram temple. The extent of the land and other details, like its boundary and cost, are not given.

While discussing this temple, it will be interesting to mention yet another inscription (S.I.I., V, No. 520; 221 of 1884) which belongs to the 32nd year of Rajadhiraja I (1018-1054) and is found on the north wall of the temple. This inscription is important as it gives a complete narration of all the wars and victories of the Chola king, thus enabling us to gather a good deal of information regarding contemporary political events, as also an idea of the extent of the empire. There is, for instance, a reference to the three Pandyas in confirmation of the Sivakasi plates—the three Pandyas being Manabharana, Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya. The substantive portion of the inscription

*1. One silver pot weighing	145 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
2. One silver pot weighing	145 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
3. One silver pot weighing	145 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
4. One silver pot weighing	145 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
5. One silver pot weighing	145 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
6. One silver pot weighing	144 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
7. One silver pot weighing	140 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver
8. One silver pot weighing	140 <i>kalanjus</i> of silver

In all 8 pieces having a total weight of 1149 *kalanjus* of silver.

is, however, a list of jewels and vessels granted as donations to the deity of the temple of Lokamahadevi-Isvaram Udaiyar of Tiruvaiyaru. Another interesting aspect of this inscription is that it reproduces the texts of two earlier gifts—one belonging to the 31st year of Rajadhiraja I and the other, an earlier gift, relating to the 27th year of Rajendra I. A full description of the gifts is provided in Appendix V.

TIRUVALANJULI

2 SHRINE OF KSHETRAPALA DEVAR

Tiruvаланjuli is a small village, five kilometres west of Kumbakonam, the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the Tanjavur district. It is close to Swamimalai railway station on the main line of the Southern Railway. The main temple in the village is dedicated to Kapardisvarar. According to local legend, the river Kaveri disappeared into an underground cavern. But when Eranda Munivar immolated himself, it reappeared and took a turn here to the right. Hence, the place came to be called *valamsuli*. The river Arisal flows close by. The presiding deity of the temple is said to have been worshipped by Indra and is sung both by Appar and Sundarar. The shrine of Kshetrapaladevar (Bhairavar) built of stone (*nam edippitta karrali*) in the campus of the Kapardisvarar temple, is attributable to Lokamahadevi. According to the *Agamas* (vide *Amsumadbhedagama* description), a temple or a shrine for Kshetrapalar is generally erected in the north-eastern corner of the town or village. The role of the deity, as the name implies (*Kshetra*-place and *pala*-protector), is that of a protector of the town or village and its people. It can face west or south, though the latter is not preferred so much, but it is not considered good to have it facing east.

The image of Kshetrapalar can have two or four arms (when it is described as being *satvika*), or it can have six or eight arms when it is said to be in the *rajasa* and *tamasa* forms respectively.

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The main deity of this shrine has eight arms in which are carried the bow (*dhanus*), the bell (*ghanta*), the drum (*damaru*), all on the left; and the trident (*trisula*), the sword (*khadga*), the noose (*nagapasa*) and the arrow (*bana*), all on the right. The fourth left arm, which is broken, should have carried the skull (*kapala*).

The image, as required in the *Agamas*, is in the nude, standing straight (*sama-bhanga* pose) on a lotus pedestal (*padma pitha*), and is adorned with snakes among other animals. The snake encircling the thighs is carved beautifully and the one at the base curled round the lower end of the bow is graceful and realistic. The armlets of snakes are clearly visible in the image. It has three eyes (*trinetra*) and a garland of skulls hanging from its neck. The mount or *vahana*, which is usually a dog, is missing. The Tamil *Pingala-nighantu* mentions the other names of Kshetrapalar as Kanchuka, Kari, Mukta, Nirvani, Siddha, Kapali, Vatuka and Bhairava. In other words, Kshetrapalar is the same as Bhairavar, excepting that the *Agamas* deal with this aspect of Siva separately, Kshetrapalar being one ten-thousandth part of Siva.

Apart from the above sculpture, there are two other, comparatively less significant pieces lying at the rear of the collapsing edifice. They are of Jyeshtha devi and Bhairavar again. Perhaps they formed a part of a full complement of *Saptamatrikas* set up at a somewhat later date. Jyeshtha devi is shown seated on a *bhadrasana* wearing a *karanda-makuta* and *patra-kundalas*. She holds a *nilotpala* flower in her right hand and her left arm rests on the seat. Her lower garments drop down to the ankles in graceful folds. The figure has the usual massive breasts and flabby belly associated with this deity. On her right is her son, half-man half-bovine; and on her left is her daughter, Agnimatha. Each of them has a leg tucked underneath the thigh of the other leg, which is hanging. The other sculpture of Bhairavar is four-armed, with round eyes popping out and stands vertically without any bends (*sama-bhanga* pose). The prescribed dog mount is carved at the back, in a standing posture. These two sculptures

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are of no great artistic merit but are significant in the context of their position in the Kshetrapalar shrine.

An inscription (S.I.I., VIII, No. 234; 633 of 1902) recorded in the 25th regnal year of Rajaraja I and engraved on the north wall of the shrine, contains an inventory of gold ornaments and jewellery in the treasury attached to the shrine. From this we learn that two of Rajaraja's daughters, Kundavai Nangaiyar, the youngest who was married to Vimaladitta devar (the Vengi prince), and Nangai Madevadigal, the middle born (*naduvil penpillai*) (evidently Rajaraja had three daughters) presented both gold and numerous ornaments of gold to the deity. In the case of the latter princess the gold for the gifts came from what she had received from her father at the time of his *abhishekam*. The relevant portion of the inscription reads as follows: "*Rajaraja devarkku adi arula prasadam perra pon.*"

From another inscription recorded on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, we learn that a gift of tax-free (*iraiyili-nikki*) land was made as *devadana* by a royal order on the 258th day in the 24th regnal year of Rajaraja I for various services to the two deities of Kshetrapalar and Ganapatiyar set up in the temple of Tiruvalanjuli Alvar by Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Lokamahadeviyar.

On the northern wall of this shrine is an inscription (S.I.I., VIII, No. 236; 633-8 of 1902) of the 221st day of the third year of Parakesari Rajendra Chola I, which states that he passed through a mound of gingily seeds in a traditional ceremony (*tila parvatam pukkaruli*) and that on that auspicious occasion he gave 12 gold flowers as a gift to be placed at the feet of the Lord (*Sri-pada-pushpam*). Another golden flower was gifted to this shrine by Rajendra's queen, Valavan Madeviyar.

We learn from another inscription (S.I.I., VIII, No. 237; 633-40 of 1902) belonging to the third year of the same ruler, found on the same wall of the Bhairavar shrine, that a gift of two gold flowers was made by Danti Sakti Vitanki to Lord Kshetrapalar of this shrine. They were made from the gold used

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by her for the *Hiranyagarbha* ceremony performed by her and her husband, Rajaraja I, who also performed the *Tulabhara* ceremony at Tiruvisalur in his 29th regnal year.

The shrine faces east. The *srivimana* is a simple *ekatala* structure, while the *mukhamandapa* is now without a roof. Built on a low plinth and with a nominal *upapitham*, it has a plain *adhi-shthanam* followed by a scalloped *kumudam* element skirting the entire structure, above which the fluted pilasters (*kal*) rise, one in each corner and two flanking the central niches, thus dividing each wall surface into two *karnas* with the *bhadra* element between them. The *devakoshthas* on the three sides are empty and are flanked by half-pilasters which support a *makara-torana* on the top with delicately carved floral designs. The *makara-torana* surrounds a shallow semicircular niche (*gadha*) housing a low relief Jyeshtha devi figure. The *prastara* (lintel) elements consist of a three-pronged, fluted corbel, mounted on each of the pillars. These corbels in turn support the *uttiram* (beam) from which rises in a forward and upward sweep a well preserved *bhutagana* frieze. Overhanging it is the *kapota* whose length is relieved by a *kudu* (*nasika*), crowned by a lion head, over each pillar. Over the receding flat top of the *kapota*, rests a frieze of frolicking leogryphs, again running the entire length of the *garbhagriha*. From the plinth up to this portion, the structure is in stone. The *griva*, the *sikhara* and the *stupi* are in brick and in great disrepair. In fact, the entire structure may not last many years, as the *garbhagriha* walls have given way, and the ashlers are tumbling. In spite of it all, what is fascinating about the temple is the beautiful calligraphy of the inscriptions on the three sides of the *garbhagriha* as well as on the walls of the *mukhamandapa*. A clear idea of the state of the buildings as also the beautiful calligraphy of the inscriptions can be had from the illustrations (Plates).

OLAGAPURAM

3 SIVA, VISHNU AND JAINA TEMPLES

Olagapuram is a village about three kilometres south-east of the road linking Tindivanam to Marakkanam in South Arcot district. The well known ancient centres of Alattur and Perumukkil are not far from there. It was originally known as Lokamahadevipuram, after Lokamahadevi under whose inspiration this settlement came up in the Chola period. Though an insignificant village today, during the Chola period it must have been a large urban settlement where a sizable contingent of the Imperial army was stationed. As inferred from the presence of the mercantile community, it probably was a flourishing trading centre. Its status as a *taniyur** indicates its importance in the past.

There are two very fine temples in this village, built under the inspiration of Lokamahadevi, one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu. The Siva temple was called Arikulakesari Isvaram, after Rajaraja I's grandfather, and the Vishnu temple was named Arinjigai Vinnagaram also after the same personage, who bore the alternate name of Arinjigai. There appears to have been also a Jaina temple, which was called Sundarasolap-perumpalli. The latter is no longer traceable in the vicinity of the village.

One cannot resist the temptation to draw a parallel with the township of Rajarajapuram (distorted and corrupted into Dadapuram) where, in a similar manner, Rajaraja I's sister Kundavai set up three temples, dedicated to Vishnu, Siva and the Jina.

KAILASAMUDAIYAR TEMPLE (ARIKULAKESARI ISVARAM UDAIYAR)

This temple, in the eastern part of the village, is now unfortunately in ruins and presents a sorry spectacle of neglect, and

*A *taniyur* was generally a big jurisdiction, with its own self-governing institutions; Chidambaram and Panaiyavaram are examples.

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apathy. The *srivimana* is split in twain, as if by lightning and now one half alone stands, presenting a gaping view of the interior of the *garbhagriha*, from which the main deity, Kailasanathar, has disappeared. It is an *ekatala* structure, the walls of the *garbhagriha* being of stone, while the superstructure of the *srivimana* is of brick and mortar. The *garbhagriha* is a square measuring 5.60 metres externally. The southern wall is intact, but the western and the northern walls have collapsed bringing down with them a part of the superstructure.

However, it is possible to gather an idea of the details of the structural composition of the temple from the features of the southern wall. This wall is divided into three vertical constituents, making for the central *bhadra* and the flanking *karna* segments. In this wall there is only one niche, located in the centre of the *bhadra* element and it houses a beautiful sculpture of Dakshinamurti. As originally conceived, the flanking wall-faces on the two *karna* segments should have been plain, framed by pilasters only. But while the western *karna* has not been touched, on the eastern *karna* an improvised niche has been crudely scooped out and a finely chiselled figure of Bhikshatanar fitted in. The southern niche of the *antarala* wall, which should have been occupied by Ganapati, is now empty. On the northern side, the niche, again an improvised one, houses a high quality icon of Durga. The improvisation is patent from the absence of any *makara-torana* over the niche and the flanking half-pilaster, which go with any designed niche.

We can form no idea of the sculptures in the niches of the western and northern walls; nor are there any loose sculptures of the prescribed icons near-by to offer any clue. In front of the *garbhagriha* is an *antarala*, beyond which is a *mahamandapa*, reminding one of the plans followed in the Dadapuram temples. In fact, it is a precursor of the Kulambandal temple of Gangaikondasolisvaram built more than three decades later in the reign of Rajendra I. The *mahamandapa* has a chamber-like layout with a southern entrance, again like the temples which

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have been mentioned above. This hall is in architectural unity with the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala*, having the same simple mouldings comprising the *padmam* (which is partially covered by the ground, its level having risen over the years), the *kumudam* and the *varimanam*. The *antarala* projects 3.90 metres forward of the east wall of the *garbhagriha*, while the *mukhamandapa* which is supported on 16 pillars (each 2.05 metres high), is a square measuring 10.25 metres to a side externally; inside, it measures 7.85 metres in width (across the axis of the temple) and 8.15 metres along the axis.

There is a beautifully carved *Nandi* in the axis of the central shrine, outside and to the east of the *mukhamandapa*; following this, in an easterly direction, is the *bali pitham*. The entire campus was surrounded by an enclosure wall (50.00 by 27.70 metres) of which only the basement remains.

In this temple campus are the structural remains of three sub-shrines—one in the north-west corner which perhaps originally housed Jyeshtha devi, but where now the consort of the central deity has been installed; another shrine with a circular superstructure immediately north of the *mahamandapa*, where an icon of Chandesar is housed; and a third shrine in the *prakara* close to the eastern wall, north of what should have been the main (eastern) gateway to the temple. The entrance to this last mentioned dilapidated shrine faces west and a loose image of Surya is kept in it. These shrines indicate the possibility of the eight *parivara devatas* having been provided shrines in the temple campus. The existence, in the vicinity of the central shrine, of loose sculptures of Bhairavar and Karttikeya, two more of the *parivara devatas*, also supports this view.

The earliest inscription (129 of 1919) in this temple is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine and is dated in the third year of a Rajakesarivarman, who is to be identified with Rajaraja I; this inscription deals with an endowment of 96 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Sri Kailayattu Paramasvāmin of Ulogamadevipuram, a *taniyur* in Oyma nadu,

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made by one Ambalavanana Gandaradittanar, a nobleman of the days of Rajaraja I; we also learn that the same nobleman built this temple in stone. Thus, this temple in its present structural form in stone can be attributed to the early years of this ruler.

Another inscription (127 of 1919) from the same temple, found on the south wall of the central shrine, and dated in the seventh year of Rajaraja I, records the donation of a flower garden to the temple by the same chief. It also records a sale of land by the *nagarattar* (merchant gild) of Ulogamadevipuram to Gangan Ambalavanana Gandaradittasola Villuparaiyan of Kuvallalam (Kolar town in Karnataka State) in Gangarusayira (Ganga Six Thousand) province, who in turn endowed it for the flower garden. Among the boundaries of the land is mentioned a ridge or pathway called *Kalikantika peruvarambu*. From an inscription found in the Anantisvarar temple at Udayargudi (near Kattumanarkoyil in Chidambaram taluk of South Arcot district) we find a reference to the same nobleman from Kuvallalam who is said to have endowed over 19 *velis* of land for feeding 56 Brahmanas in the said temple. The same officer or chief, who is said to have hailed from Kuvallalam and to have belonged to the *perundaram* of Mummudi Chola (Rajaraja I), was Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan *alias* Vikramasola Maharajan. He built the stone *srivimana* of the temple at Govindaputtur and endowed land for worship therein in the third year of the king (168 of 1928-29; also S.I.I., XIII, No. 76). This chief figures largely in the reign of Uttama Chola under this title. In another record from the same place dated in the second year of Rajaraja I, he is mentioned with title of Rajaraja Pallavaraiyan (175 of 1928-29; S.I.I., XIII, No. 124).

It is evident that this temple was already in existence by the third year of the reign of Rajaraja I (A.D. 988); and would thus constitute one of the important landmarks in the growth of Chola temple art and architecture. From a later record (130 of 1919), found on the south wall of the temple and belonging to the third year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar

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Sri Rajamahendradevar, beginning with the introduction of "*manu neeti murai valara*", we know that it was also called Arikulakesari Isvaram Udaiyar temple situated in Ulogamadevipuram in Peraayur *nadu*, a subdivision of Oyma *nadu*.^{*} This inscription records the sale of land by the *nagarattar* of this village for being presented to the temple in order to meet the expenses connected with the shrine of Rajendrasola Vitankar, built in it. We are unable to identify this shrine.

DEVARAYA PERUMAL TEMPLE (ARINJIGAI-VINNAGAR)

This temple dedicated to Vishnu is located in the western part of the village and is the first to be noticed as one approaches the village from the main road on the way to Kiliyanur. The earliest inscription in this temple belongs to the third year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Rajendra Chola Deva (I) and is found on the north west, and south walls of the central shrine. From this epigraph (140 of 1919), we learn that a number of grants made to the temple in previous years but not recorded on the temple walls (for which royal orders, or orders of the local body in some cases, were needed) were ordered to be engraved in that year by the king. Among such grants recorded here are some relating to gifts of lands for offerings and *sribali* to the temple of Arinjaya Vinnagar Alvar in Lokamahadevipuram in Peraayur *nadu* and in this connection we get references to the Kalikantikap-*pereri* and the Gandaradittan-*pereri*. The other record on the south wall of the central shrine (142 of 1919), also of the same king dated in the 24th regnal year, refers to the grants made by a

^{*}The *nadu* till then named Oyma *nadu* was renamed Vijayarajendrasola *valanadu* in the days of Kulottunga III, who occasionally bore this surname, according to an inscription found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the same shrine (132 of 1919). In the days of Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya, the temple went under the name of Vittanisvaram Udaiya Nayinar at Kumarapuram *alias* Ulogamadevipuram in Munnurru *parru*, a subdivision of Oyma *nadu* *alias* Vijayarajendra *valanadu* (Saka 1348 = A.D. 1426; 133 of 1919).

Also see *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 162-4.

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palace woman belonging to the *Rajendrasoladevar Mummudisolatterinda tirumanjanattar velam*.

The temple* is virtually a replica of the Siva temple with a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and a *mahamandapa* with, however, an entrance in the middle of the eastern wall, unlike the Siva temple where it is in the southern wall. The *garbhagriha* is a square and measures 5.63 metres on the outside and 3.45 metres inside. Its wall-face is divided into three vertical segments, the central portion, 2.15 metres in width, projecting 48 cm. over the side faces. There are three niches in the three cardinal directions, all of them housing images of Vishnu. The pilasters in this temple are octagonal, unlike those of the Siva temple where they are square; the lotus moulding in the pilaster upper element is more articulated here than in the Siva temple. So is the entablature over the *garbhagriha* niche; the *torana* decoration over it is also elaborate. The *antarala* projects forward by 2.80 metres while the *mahamandapa* is a rectangle, 9.40 metres along the length of the temple and 7.80 metres across. Inside, it measures 7.40 metres along the axis and 5.68 metres across. It is supported by two rows of four pillars. The entrance to the *mandapa* from the east is 1.75 metres in width.

During the recent renovation, the finely carved giant images of Vishnu, and Sridevi and Bhudevi have been removed from the *garbhagriha* and housed temporarily in an improvised structure in front of the temple.

SUNDARASOLAP—PERUMPALLI (THE JINA TEMPLE)

An inscription found on the south wall of the central shrine of the Siva temple and dated in the third regnal year of Rajamahendra (1060-63), the short-lived son and regent of Rajendra II, refers to the Jaina temple called Sundarasolap-perumpalli, set

*In recent years, the local village community has shown commendable and enlightened interest in this monument and conserved it, without damaging its sculptures or inscriptions.

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up by Rajaraja I, in this village and named evidently in memory of his father, Sundara Chola. One Samantabhu Acharya, a worshipper of the deity of this temple bought some land from the *nagarattars* of Ulogamadevipuram to present the same to the temple of Arinjigai Vinnagar Virrirunda Alvar, an obvious reference to the local Vishnu temple, in order to meet its expenses (141 of 1919).

From other records we gather that in this township, there were other temples and shrines which include the temple of Komani Undaar, Gokarnisvaram Udaiya Mahadeva temple, and an Aiyanar temple called that of the Terkilvasal-Mahasattanar. For the last mentioned temple, according to an inscription (144 of 1919) of Rajaraja I dated in his 11th regnal year, found on a slab in front of the Aiyanar temple, the *nagarattars* of this township made a gift of land for offerings.

The construction of a Siva temple, a Vishnu temple, a Mahasasta temple and a Jaina temple at Ulogamadevipuram and in virtually the same locations in relation to the township recommended in town planning treatises of the day, brings home the parallel with the township of Kulambandal and the later capital city of Gangaikondasolapuram.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Apart from building temples on her own and endowing them with generous donations and gifts, Lokamahadevi and the other queens of Rajaraja I joined their husband in his extensive munificence. A large number of images in bronze, copper and other metals and alloys were set up by various members of the royal household, as well as by other nobles of the court, in the years prior to the inauguration of the great temple at Tanjavur. In the 29th and last year (A.D. 1014) of Rajaraja I's reign, all the grants, gifts and donations were ordered to be engraved on the walls of the temple. In these inscriptions (S.I.I., II, Nos. 9, 34 and 35) we find mention of a copper image of Bhikshatanar, or

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Pichchadevar as he is called in Tamil, set up by Lokamahadevi†. The relevant portion reads as follows:

Udaiyar Rajarajadevar Nampirattiyar Ulokamahadeviyar Sri Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar Koyilil yandu irupat-tonpadavadu varai elundarulivitta sepputtirumenigal . . . pichchadevar tirumeni onru . . . (S.I.I., II, No. 34).

The inscription goes on to mention that the image was of solid copper and had four arms. It measured $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits (*muzham*) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ fingers (*viral*) in height from foot to head, and stood on a pedestal (*tiruvadainilai*) which was two *virals* and one *torai* high. By the side of the main deity was a solid copper goblin (*bhuta*), $15\frac{1}{2}$ *virals* high, holding a vessel of offerings (*bali-paatram*). There was also one 19 *viral* high antelope (*maan*) standing near the image. The entire set was placed on a lower pedestal, as different from the pedestal of the main deity, studded with jewels which measured one *muzham* and 11 *virals* in length, $\frac{1}{2}$ *muzham* and five *virals* in breadth, and seven *virals* in height. In addition, Lokamahadevi donated a heavy solid (*gana-mahach-cheyda*) aureola (*prabhai*) consisting of two ornamental pillars (*toranakal*) and one half-moon (*ardha-chandra*), which together were six *muzhams* and two *virals* long.

The same inscription carries a detailed inventory of all the pieces of jewellery* donated to this deity by Lokamahadevi.

†Lokamahadevi is spelt in Tamil as Ulokamahadevi or Ulokamadevi; hence such expressions as Ulokamadevisvaram, Ulokapuram etc.; occasionally it is spelt also as Olagamadevi and hence the village name of Olagapuram (see p. 94).

* (1) A seven-stringed garland ($36\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus* 3 *manjadis* and 1 *kunri*) valued at 100 *kasus*. This garland had 372 pearls of various types (viz., perfectly round pearls, roundish pearls, polished pearls, small pearls, *sappatti*, *sakkattu*, unpolished pearls (*karadum*), *nimbolam*, *payittam*, pearls having the hue of toddy, leathery-surfaced pearls, red coloured pearls, old pearls, etc.), 14 corals (*pavalam*) and 14 lapis lazuli (*rajavattum*).

(2) A three-stringed garland (*tri-saram*) weighing $9\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus*, 1 *kunri* and costing $20\frac{1}{2}$ *kasus*. This had 99 pearls of all descriptions, 6 corals and 6 lapis lazuli.

(3) One sacred gold flower (*tiru-por-pu*) weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus* of gold.

(4) One sacred ear-ring (*tiruk-kudambai*) weighing 2 *kalanjus* and 8 *manjadis* of gold.

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Another inscription (S.I.I., II, No. 35), which is evidently a continuation of the one referred to above, records the money that was deposited* in favour of this image of Pichchadevar, all before the 29th regnal year of the king, by *Valangai-param-badaigalilar* (a contingent of crack troopers of the Chola army), to whom was entrusted (*adaitta*) the duty of looking after the deity and ensuring proper worship.

Six years later, in the sixth year of Rajendra I, a number of further deposits were made. The interest accruing from these deposits was to be used for the worship of the various deities in the Rajarajesvaram temple. Two such deposits referred to in an inscription of Rajendra I (S. I. I., II, No. 9) are given in table 7.

-
- (5) One ear-drop (*todu*) weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus*, 4 *manjadis* and 1 *kunri* of gold.
 - (6) A three-stringed *hara* of *mani* (*beads*), each string weighing 4 *kalanjus* and 4 *manjadis*.
 - (7) Two arm-rings (*tiruk-kalk-kaarai*) of gold, each weighing $9\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus*, 2 *manjadis* and 1 *kunri*.
 - (8) Two more arm-rings, each weighing 12 *kalanjus* of gold.
 - (9) A girdle (*tirup-pattigai*) weighing $49\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus*.
 - (10) A gold foot-ring (*tiru-adik-kaarai*) weighing $11\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus*, 2 *manjadis* and 1 *kunri*.
 - (11) Another gold foot-ring weighing 12 *kalanjus*;
 - (12) One *kuzhu-madal* (a receptacle for the sacred ash) weighing $20\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus*, 2 *manjadis* and 1 *kunri*.
 - (13) A skull receptacle (*kapala*) made of silver weighing 34 *kalanjus*, 7 *manjadis* and 1 *kunri*.
- [1 *kalanju* = 20 *manjadis*; 1 *manjadi* = 2 *kunris*. *Tiru* is translated as sacred.]

*Among them was a deposit of 743 *kasus* on condition that 3 *kurunis* of paddy per year per *kasu* was delivered to the treasury of the Lord of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. This amounted to a total of 185 *kalams*, 2 *tunis* and 1 *kuruni* of paddy, as against which the actual delivery to the treasury was ordered to be 185 *kalams*, 7 *kurunis* and 4 *nalis* of paddy (an excess of 1 *kuruni* and 4 *nalis*) the measurement being made by the standard volumetric unit of measure for grains known as the *Advallan marakkal*. From this paddy, 8 *nalis* was used for boiled rice for the three daily services to Pichcha devar. The conversion ratio of paddy to rice was fixed at 5:2 (i.e., 20 *nalis* paddy daily). Similarly, in the 29th year of Rajaraja I, there was another deposit of 743 *kasus* which was received by the Assembly of Sri-Virananarayana-chaturvedimangalam, a free village of Rajendrasimha valanadu, at a rate of interest of 3 *kurunis* of paddy per *kasu* per year. This yielded 185 *kalams*, 2 *tunis* and 1 *kuruni* of paddy every year, as measured by the standard measure of *Advallan marakkal*, which was the same as *rajakesari* (another unit of volumetric measure). This paddy was also to be delivered into the great treasury of the Lord of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur.

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TABLE 7

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Rate of interest</i>	<i>Actual interest</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
Guru Isana Pandita	180 <i>kasus</i>	$1/8$ <i>kasu</i> per year per <i>kasu</i>	$22\frac{1}{2}$ <i>kasus</i>	This sum was to be used for the purchase of $56\frac{1}{2}$ <i>kalanjus</i> of camphor at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>kalanjus</i> of camphor per <i>kasu</i> . The camphor was to be used as follows: 1 <i>manjadi</i> of camphor, three times a day when the God takes his meal (<i>amudu</i>) i.e., 3 <i>manjadis</i> a day or, 1080 <i>majadis</i> or 54 <i>kalanjus</i> per annum.
Udaya Divakaran Tillaiyalayar <i>alias</i> Rajaraja- Muvenda-velar, a native of Kanchivayil (Minister).	13 <i>kasus</i>	..	$1\frac{1}{2}$..	For the worship of Kirata-arjuniya devar—another image in the Rajarajesvaram temple.

To these two deposits were added (a) a portion of the deposit which had been made in the 29th year of Rajaraja I, referred to earlier, by the *Valangai-parambadaigalilar* for the worship of Pichcha devar set up by Lokamahadeviyar, to the extent of 152 *kasus*; and (b) 805 *kasus* out of the sacred treasury (*Sri-bhandaram*) of the Lord of Tanjavur. Altogether the donations came to a total of 1250 *kasus*.

This amount was, in turn, entrusted to the members of the Assembly of Nedumanal in two parts—one part, to the extent of 1070 *kasus*, on an interest of 3 *kurunis* of paddy per *kasu* per year, to be measured into the large treasury of the Lord at Tanjavur; and the other part, viz., the balance of the deposit (180 *kasus*), was to earn an interest of $22\frac{1}{2}$ *kasus*, worked out at the rate of $1/8$ *kasu* per *kasu* per year, that works out to 12 per cent interest.

Other Queens

ANY DISCUSSION on the contribution of Chola queens and princesses to art would remain incomplete if a reference, however brief, were not made to a variety of metal images set up by them in the temple of Rajarajesvaram built by Rajaraja I. All these images were set up while the temple was being built and, on its completion, the king ordered that all the grants and gifts made to the temple should be recorded on its walls. These inscriptions constitute our source material regarding the icons gifted to the temple by Rajaraja's queens.* We briefly mention below the details of the images set up by the queens.

LOKAMAHADEVI

We have already seen in Chapter 5 that the principal queen, Lokamahadevi, gave a copper image of Pichcha *devar* (Bhikshatanar) sometime before the 29th regnal year (S.I.I., II, No.9).

PANCHAVAN MAHADEVI

Panchavan Mahadevi, referred to in the inscriptions as "*nam pirattiyar* of Rajarajadevar", gave a gift of one set of images centring round a solid copper image bearing the name of Tanjai Alagar. The group of images consisted of Tanjai Alagar,

*The language describing the images is a close rendering of the material as contained in the inscriptions.

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who could be none other than Nataraja, having four arms with Muyalagan lying prostrate at his feet. The image stood on a lotus pedestal, set with jewels. An image of his consort, Uma Paramesvari, cast in solid copper was adjacent to the main deity. It stood on a lotus pedestal, set with jewels. Both the images, with their pedestals, were on a common solid rectangular pedestal known as the *bhadrasana*. Encircling the two deities was a solid aureola consisting of two ornamented pillars supporting the *ardhachandra*.

Her gifts included a solid Ganapati with four arms in a standing pose on a lotus pedestal, set with jewels. Panchavan Mahadevi also presented a solid image of the saint Patanjali *devar*, which is described as having a human body above the waist and three serpentine coils below it. The five-headed serpent hood formed an umbrella over the head of the icon. The inscription gives a full list of various gifts of ornaments, like gold flowers, earrings and arm rings, made to this image.

CHOLA MAHADEVI

Chola Mahadevi, one of the more important queens of Rajaraja I, made a gift of a solid image of Adavallar (Nataraja), who is described as having four arms, with the image of Ganga Bhattarakki on his braided hair, there being as many as nine braids. The image wore seven garlands, and Muyalagan was shown lying at the feet of the Lord. The image stood on a lotus-shaped pedestal (*pitham*). By the side was the icon of Uma Paramesvari (consort of Nataraja), standing on a lotus pedestal, set with jewels. The image was encircled by a semicircular aureola. Chola Mahadevi endowed these two images with numerous gifts consisting of strings of round pearls and various other ornaments.

She also set up, in the temple of Sri Rajarajesvaram, a copper image of Rishabhavahana *devar* having four arms as also a solid image of his consort Uma Paramesvari, both standing on their respective lotus-shaped pedestals. The bull, the mount, was

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partially hollow and stood by the side of these two icons, all of them being mounted on a *bhadrasana*, and decorated with an aureola. To these images also she made extensive gifts which are enumerated in the inscriptions (S.I.I., II, Nos. 42 and 46). The details are given as elaborately as in the case of Lokamahadevi's gifts to the icon of Bhikshatanar.

PRITHIVI MAHADEVI

Prithivi Mahadevi presented a metal image of a deity known as Srikanthamurti. The image was said to represent Siva swallowing the poison of *halahala* but holding the poison in his throat, thereby acquiring for himself the appellation of *Nilakantha* (the blue-throated). The *Karanagamam* gives the iconographic characteristics of Siva in this form as having one face, three eyes, braided hair, four arms with upper arms holding the antelope and the axe, while the poison is held in a cup in the right lower hand. To the left of the icon is the image of Parvati shown with two arms. As in the other cases, a detailed list of ornaments, vessels and other gifts given to the deity is provided in one of the inscriptions (S.I.I., II, No. 82).

TRAILOKYA MAHADEVI

Before the 29th year of Rajaraja I, his queen Trailokya Mahadevi set up copper images of Siva under the name of Kalyanasundarar, of his consort Uma Paramesvari, and of Vishnu and Brahma represented as worshipping the image. This information is gathered from an inscription of the tenth year of Rajendra I. Here is a description of the deities: One solid image of Kalyanasundarar having four arms, with one lotus on which the image stood, set with jewels; one image of his consort Uma Paramesvari including one lotus, set with jewels, on which this image stood; one pedestal on which the god and his consort stood; one solid aureola (*prabha*) covering the god and his consort, consisting of two pillars and one crescent-shaped *prabha* over the heads of

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the two deities; one solid image of Vishnu, having four arms standing in the posture of pouring out water; one lotus on which this image stood set with jewels; one four-legged pedestal; one solid image of Brahma seated, having four arms and four faces, represented as offering oblation (*huta*); and one pedestal joined to a lotus set with jewels. To these images, she made extensive gifts of jewels and vessels for rituals, the details of which are contained in the relevant inscription. The gifts included strings of beads, sacred earrings, arm rings, foot rings and others.

ABHIMANAVALLI

As in the previous cases, before the 29th year of the reign of Rajaraja I, his queen Abhimanavalli set up a copper image of Lingapurana *devar* (Lingodbhavar). It consisted of the following constituents: one image of the main deity in the shape of a *linga*; one solid image of Siva having four arms represented as appearing from within this image; one pedestal surmounted by a lotus; one cow's head joined to this pedestal; one solid image of Brahma, having four arms, joined to the *linga*; and one solid image of Vishnu having four arms with the head of a boar (*varahamukha*) joined to the *linga*. She presented to this deity two necklaces, one strung with 430 pearls and the other with 887 both in clusters.

ILADA MAHADEVI

While we have no exclusive inscription dealing with images set up by this queen, an inscription dealing with donations of sheep, cows and buffaloes for the maintenance of lamps in the temple mentions that Ilada Mahadevi set up an image of Pasupata-murti. The inscription adds that she presented cows and she-buffaloes for the maintenance of lamps to this image. In all probability, her gift of this image is recorded in some other inscription not brought to light so far.

Later Chola Queens

TEMPLE-BUILDING and metal-casting activities continued unabated even during the reigns of the successors of Rajaraja I. We may reasonably assume that the contribution of the royal women, during these years, was also considerable. Unfortunately, however, either because of their preoccupation with the wars of defence as well as of offence in the years following the death of Rajaraja I, or because the tradition of placing on record the various contributions to temple-building activity by members of the royal household as well as by the nobility had not been meticulously followed in the post-Rajaraja I period, there is a general vacuum in our knowledge about the role of the queens and princesses during the reigns of Rajendra I and Rajadhiraja I.* In fact, we have to come well into the reign of Kulottunga I to hear of any contributions from the royal ladies.

RAJARAJAN KUNDAVAI ALVAR

First among them is Rajarajan Kundavai Alvar, the younger sister of Kulottunga I, the Chola-Chalukya prince who ascended the Chola throne at Gangaikondasolapuram, in A.D. 1070. According to a record of the 44th year of Kulottunga I found in

*We are not referring to the contributions made by Annukkiyar Paravai Nangaiyar, the noble lady closely associated with Rajendra I, for we do not know in what relationship she stood to the king; but her contributions to the embellishment of the shrines in Tiruvarur as well as the additions she made to the temple structures are well known.

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the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram in South Arcot district, apart from making provision for various services to the Lord of Chidambaram, she gilded the shrine of Nataraja, in the line of succession of a galaxy of kings* and rulers of the region who claim to have gilded the Chidambaram central shrine.

The inscription which is found on the outer face of the first wall of enclosure, facing north towards the second *prakara* reads as follows:

*Svasti sri Tribhuvanachakravartigal sri Kulottungasoladevar
tirut-tangaiyar Rajarajan Kundavai Alvar Aludaiyarkkut tannir
amudu seydarula itta mindam onrinal kudinarkkal nirai
Madhurantakan madaiyodokkum pon aiymbadin kalanju.
Nanilattai muludanda jayadhararkku narppattu nala mandil
meena nigal jnayirru velli-perra Urogani nal idabappodal
tenilavu polir-rillai Nayagar tan koyilelan sempon meyndal
enavarum toludettum Rajarajan Kundavai poo vindaiyaley.
Tillainayaka devarkkut tirukkannadiyum ittar. . .
Sri Rajendrasola devarkku Kambosa rajan katchiyagakkattina
kallu. Idu Udaiyar Rajendrasola devar tiruvai molindaruli
Udaiyar Tiruch-chirrambalamudaiyar Koyilil munvaittadu.
Ikkallu tiruvedirambalattut-tirukkal sarattil tirumunpattikku
melaip-pattiyiley vaittadu.*

SOLAKULAVALLI

Solakulavalli was one of the queens of Kulottunga I. From a Kanchipuram inscription (A.R.E. 39 of 1921) we get to know her full name as Adittan Anda Kuttiyar *alias* Solakulavalliyar. Perhaps it was after her that the maritime city and port of Nagapattinam was re-named Solakulavallipattinam as mentioned in the Leyden Grant. There are two verses in the east *gopuram* of

*Aditya I (A.D. 871-907) is said to have gilded the *Kanakasabha* with the gold taken by him as booty from Kongu desa, after its conquest. His son Parantaka I is said to have completed the work begun by the father. Kulottunga II and Kulottunga III among the Later Cholas are credited with a similar act of piety.

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the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram where mention is made that in Saka 1018 (A.D.1096) a village called Solakulavallinallur was established (A.R.E. 173 of 1892). Solakulavalli was evidently an important queen of Kulottunga I. She was perhaps instrumental in renewing the grant of the village of Anaimangalam and some other adjoining areas in favour of the Chulamani *vihara* at Nagapattinam, according to the smaller Leyden Grant. This inscription is found in the outer north face of the first wall of enclosure (in the second *prakara*).

DINA-CHINTAMANI

Chintamani Agaram is now a small village about two kms to the east of the main Villupuram-Madras trunk road, and about 12 kms from Villupuram. There is a compact, well-preserved temple in this village locally known as Vaidisvaran Koyil, or merely Isvarar temple. It is not far from another village by the name of Ayyur-Agaram, which is about five kms from Villupuram in the northerly direction. Here is a famous temple of Rajaraja I's days dedicated to the worship of Sasta, now called the temple of Abhiramesvarar. The village was known in ancient times by the name of Dina-Chintamani-nallur, named so after a queen of Kulottunga I. Kulottunga I, as Rajendra (II) of Vengi, had married Madhurantaki, the daughter of Rajendradeva (II) of the Solar race (Chola dynasty). She is generally referred to as Bhuvanamulududaiyal or Avani-mulududaiyal, meaning "the mistress of the world" and she also bore the surname of Dina-Chintamani. She seems to have been the chief queen during the first thirty years of Kulottunga I's rule, and on her death was succeeded by Tyagavalli. The village of Chintamani was evidently a creation during the days of Kulottunga I and the main temple in the village is attributable to Dina-Chintamani, the queen of Kulottunga I.

The main deity of the temple in this village now known as Isvarar or Vaidisvarar, was known in ancient days as Kulottunga-

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cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar of Sri Kailasa at Dina-Chintamani-nallur, or for short, as Cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, according to two inscriptions of Parakesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Vikrama Chola, engraved on the north wall of the temple. One is dated in the sixth year and the other is without a date. They begin with the usual introduction *pumadu punara* and the undated one records that the members of a regiment of the Chola army designated the "Four thousand of Minavanai Venkandan Vikramasolanudaiya Velaikkarar"* of Dina-Chintamani-nallur in Panaiyur *nadu*, a subdivision of Rajaraja *valanadu* agreed among themselves to set apart the taxes *kalalavu*, *korkuli* and *angadipattam*, levied from their village, for the purpose of conducting festivals of the god Cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (A.R.E. 389 of 1922). The dated (sixth year) inscription is unfinished but we get to know from it that some gift was made by a person from Okurppalli in Tirumunaippadi *nadu*, a subdivision of Rajaraja *valanadu*, to the god Kulottunga-Cholisvaram-Udaiya Mahadevar of Sri Kailasa at Dina-Chintamani-nallur.

Thus we learn from these two inscriptions that (i) the temple was built before the sixth year of Vikrama Chola and was named after Kulottunga I, (ii) that the modern day Chintamani Agaram was called Dina-Chintamani-nallur, located in Panaiyur *nadu* which was a subdivision of Rajaraja *valanadu*, which during the days of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I himself was known as Vadakarai Rajendrasimha *valanadu* and that (iii) Dina-Chintamani-nallur was a part of Nripatunga Jayantangi-Chaturvedimangalam. We also get the name of one of the regiments of the days of Vikrama Chola which must have been part of the royal crack-troopers, the term *Velaikkarar* being applied to those who were at the beck and call of the emperor in any crisis, and often entrusted with the protection and proper administration of the temple and its properties.

*This means : "The Four Thousand of the crack-troopers of Vikrama Chola, who defeated the Pandyas (Minavan)".

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From the inscriptions found in the Sasta temple at Ayyankovilpattu and the Valisvarar temple at Pundottam in the Villupuram taluk of South Arcot district (A.R.E. 32 to 38 of 1947-48), we learn that these two temples and consequently these two villages were a part of the bigger village of Nripatunga-Jayatangi-chaturvedimangalam, which was a *brahmadeya* with its *sabha*, and the governing body called the *alunganattar*. These two villages are close to the modern town of Villupuram, the taluk headquarters, and so are Ayyur-Agaram and Chintamani-Agaram. Evidently, this village of Nripatunga-Jayatangi-Chaturvedimangalam was an important centre in the later Pallava and Chola periods and probably took its name from an important local chief, deriving his name from Nripatunga, the well-known Pallava ruler of the ninth century A.D.; or perhaps it took its name from Nripatunga himself.

Incidentally, we get to know from the inscriptions of Rajaraja I dated in his 20th and 22nd years that the Sasta temple was indeed a temple for Aiyandar (Sasta) and it may have been erected during the days of Rajaraja I. Since the stones containing his inscriptions are fragmentary and built into the west and south walls of the present structure of the Sasta temple, it evidently underwent some repairs during a subsequent period. The inscriptions from the Valisvarar temple of Pundottam, however, are found on the south wall of the temple itself and so it is likely to have come into existence before the eighth year of Rajaraja I. From an inscription on the south wall of the Valisvarar temple, we get the names of two of the members of the *alunganattar*, viz., Enur Tiruvenkata Kramavittan and Enur Rishikesa Kramavittan, both of Nripatunga-Jayatangi-Chaturvedimangalam. The deity of the temple is called Paramasvamin of Tiruvalisvaram (36 and 37 of 1947-48).

The temple faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* 4.60 metres square, the sanctum being a smaller square 3.33 metres to a side, the walls at their thickest being 68 cms. The *adhishtanam* is 1.23 metres in height consisting of an *upanam*, a *jagati*, a *tripatta*

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kumudam, a plain *varimanam* and a *vari* mouldings. The *ardhamandapa* projects 5.22 metres forward and is supported by four finely moulded pillars. There is no *prakara* round the temple and no trace of any *madil* (wall of enclosure) or any *gopuram*. The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* constitute a single architectural composition. The *srivimana* is *eka-tala*, the *griva* and the *sikhara* being circular.

The main feature of the temple is the set of sculptures found in the niches on the southern and northern walls of the *ardhamandapa*. They are:

<i>South wall (east to west)</i>	<i>North wall (east to west)</i>
1. Bhikshatanar	1. Siva-Uma-alinganamurti
2. Ganapati	2. Durga
3. Urdhva Tandavamurti.	3. Bhairavar.

Besides these, the sculptures in the niches of the *garbhagriha* are Dakshinamurti in the southern niche (a mutilated image now lying on the ground), Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma in the north. The Dakshinamurti icon is dislodged from the *devakoshtha* and is now lying on the ground.

The noteworthy feature of this temple is not merely the disposition of the *devakoshtha* images, but the presence of Urdhva Tandavamurti, Siva-Uma-Alinganamurti and Bhairavar which are peculiar to this temple. Alinganamurti as a niche figure is found in the back niche of the Vishvamangalesvarar temple at Tudaiyur (see S.R.Balasubrahmanyam's *Early Chola Temples*, Illustrations, Supplement), near Tiruvasi in Trichy district. Bhikshatanar is found in a few early Chola temples as a *devakoshtha* sculpture but, so far as my survey goes, there is no installation of Urdhva Tandavamurti and Bhairavar as *devakoshtha* images, though they are found installed in *gopurams* of the Later Chola period.

Conclusion

IN DEALING with the contribution of the more famous Chola queens and princesses to the development of South Indian art and architecture, we have in one phase covered a span of nearly eighty years starting with the first recorded contribution that Sembian Mahadevi made in A.D. 941—a lamp to the deity at Nandipanma-mangalam—and ending in A.D. 1018—with the setting up of a copper icon of Bhikshatanar by Lokamahadevi along with endowments for its worship. In the second phase covering the period of the queens of Kulottunga I, we come across certain common evolved characteristics. The eighty years of the first phase are the most crucial ones in the evolution of temple art. The modest single-celled structure with an ante-chamber or a hall in front grew during this period to a structure as huge and ramified as the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. The addition of buildings progressed with passage of time. Starting with only the ante-chamber (*antarala*) or at best the *ardhamandapa* as an adjunct to the *garbhagriha*, various types of halls, like the *mahamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*, were erected. Often, there is a bathing hall, called the *snapana mandapa*, which could be an extra hall, or one of the other halls serving a dual role. The tradition of having a single wall of enclosure persisted till the period of the Rajarajesvaram temple which is encompassed by more than one wall, the inner one being elaborately done. Generally, however, having more than one wall of enclosure is a feature of the Middle and Later Chola

CONCLUSION

periods. Sometimes the wall is a plain unostentatious one; at other times it is in the form of a *tiruch-churru-maligai*—a wall often decorated with equi-spaced *Nandi* figures over the ridge with a collonaded covered platform running along its side. The *bali pitham* (sacrificial platform), the *dvajastambam* (the flag mast) and the *Nandi mandapam* (the pavilion for the mount of Siva) are the invariable components of a temple. A sacred tank is also usually found in the immediate vicinity.

Two or three tiers are a common architectural feature of the *srivimana*. The most noticeable changes are in the treatment of the wall surface of the *garbhagriha*, and often of the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa*. A careful analysis of the *devakoshtha* figures has yielded some interesting results.

No Chola temple upto, and including, those that came into being during the reigns of the first three rulers can boast of more than three or at best five *devakoshthas*. Using the elaborate survey contained in *Early Chola Art, I*, and *Early Chola Temples*,* which cover all the worthwhile and identifiable temples of these rulers, a study of the *devakoshtha* plan leads us to the following basic conclusions: (1) The temples of the earliest stage of the Chola dynasty have no *devakoshthas* at all or have *devakoshthas* without sculptures. Examples are the Vijayalaya-Cholisvaram, the Siva temple at Kaliyapatti, and the Siva temple at Enadi (*Early Chola Temples*, Pl. 22, and pp. 48, 53, 59). (2) During the reign of Aditya I, the temples follow a rather rigid plan of Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west or east depending on whether the temple faces east or west, and Brahma in the north. Even in Vijayalaya's days, the *griva-koshthas* (which means the niches in the region below the *sikhara*) repeat the figures in the corresponding *garbhagriha* niches. Occasionally, where there is a niche in the eastern portion of the *griva*, the figure of Indra is seen. (3) Bhikshatanar makes his appearance as a substitute for Brahma in the northern niche as seen in the Bhumisvarar temple at Viralur. (4) During Aditya I's reign, Vishnu, Ardhanari and Lingodbhavar

*Both by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam.

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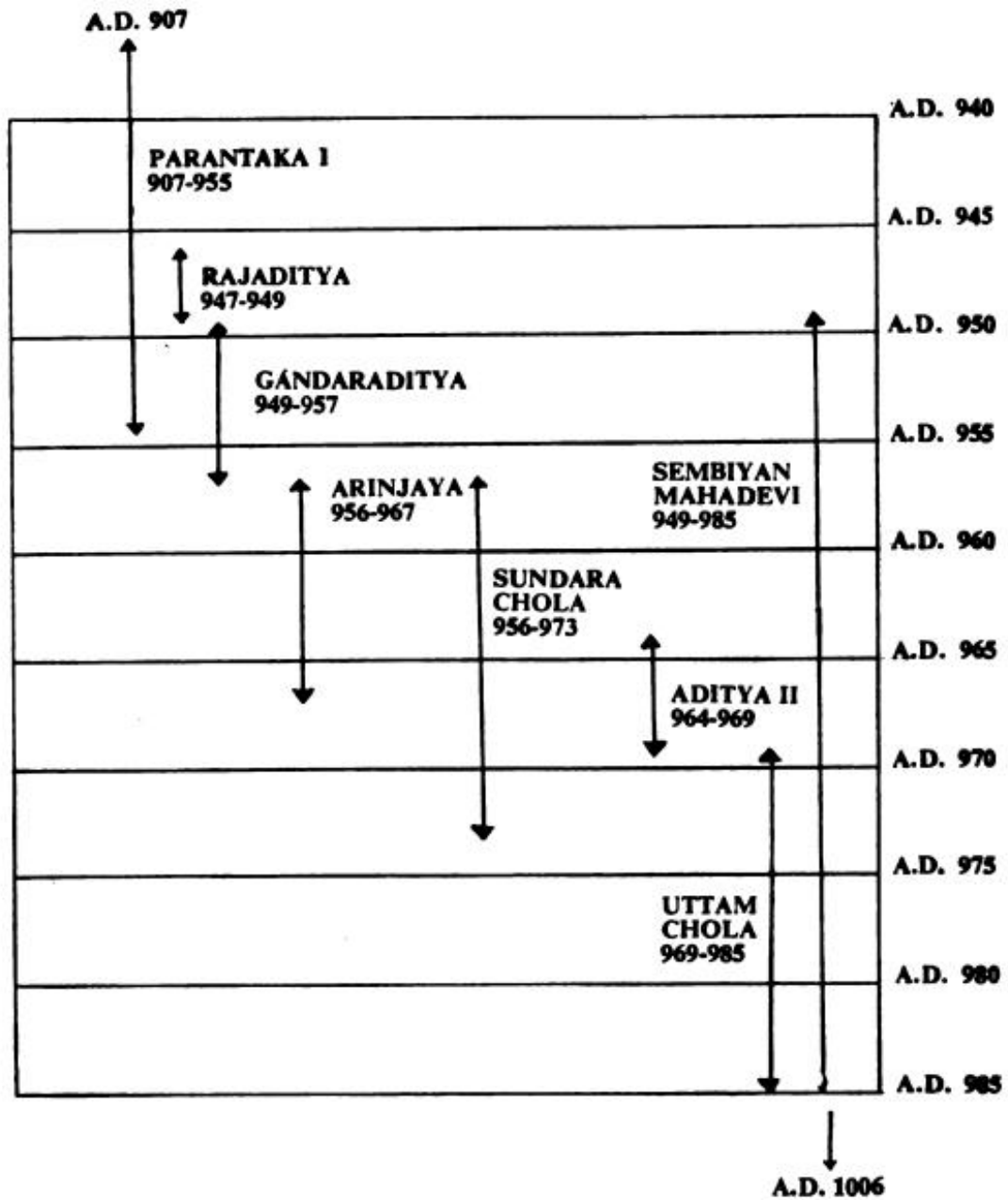
share the pride of place in the rear *devakoshtha*. While Vishnu as a niche figure in the rear *devakoshtha* is a spill-over from the Vijayalaya period, Ardhanari makes his appearance only in Aditya I's days. Some stray exceptions are seen in Agastyesvaram of Kilaiyur where the figure is a standing Subrahmanya; in Cholivaram at the same place, it is a seated figure of Subrahmanya; and in Tiruverumbur it is Hariharar. The deviations in the southern niche are rare and, where any, are either in the form of Vinadhara Dakshinamurti as at Lalgudi or Rishabhavahanadevar as at Tiruchchendurai, or Siva with *parasu* and *mriga* as at Agastyesvaram at Kilaiyur. (5) Two more niche figures occur frequently during this period—Ganapati occupying a niche in the south wall of either the *ardhamandapa* or the *antarala* or even the *garbhagriha* itself; and Durga occupying a corresponding niche on the northern wall. Occasionally the place of Ganapati is taken by Ardhanari, as in the Nagesvarar temple at Kumbhakonam, or Bhikshatanar as at Uyyakkondan Tirumalai and in the Abhiramesvarar temple at Tiruvamattur. However, though there are these variations in the figures, the number of niches does not exceed five. (6) Lingodbhavar is installed in the rear niche from the days of Parantaka I.

This tradition continued even in Sundara Chola's reign (A.D. 956–973). Kodumbalur, Tindivanam and Velachcheri—all have only five niches. Ardhanari and Gangadharar occupy the rear niche in Kodumbalur; for the rest, the stereotyped niche deities are repeated. At Kamarasavalli, there are more than five deities on the walls of the shrine—Agastya and Nataraja join Dakshinamurti and Ganapati on the southern wall, and Kalasamharamurti and Bhikshatanar join Brahma and Durga on the northern wall. Even Lingodbhavar on the rear wall is not alone—Ardhanari and Kankalamurti flank him. The temple of Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai attributed to Aditya II has only Agastya as an additional figure on the southern wall though there are many other points of similarity between the Punjai and Kamarasavalli temples and Nagesvaram at Kumbakonam.

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When we pass on to the reign of Uttama Chola, the occurrence of more than five *devakoshtha* images, an occasional feature in earlier times, becomes the rule. In the Gangajathadharar temple at Govindaputtur, Nataraja, Bhikshatanar and Kalarimurti also occur as niche figures for the first time—the last mentioned being a later insertion. This proliferation can be seen virtually in all the temples built during the days of Uttama Chola. A glance at the chart at the next page (p. 118) will show the reader to what extent the reigns of the monarchs who ascended the Chola throne after the death of Parantaka I, overlapped one another. The period following the death of Gandaraditya can be termed the Sembiyan age. In terms of development of art, the Aditya-Parantakan age gave place to the Sembiyan age around A.D. 955. The reigns of Sundara Chola, Aditya II and Uttama Chola fell within the latter period, extending from A.D. 955 to 985. The Sembiyan phase in fact lasted well into the reign of Rajaraja I, giving place to the Middle Chola phase at no clearly identifiable point of time though at about the turn of the century. The chart of the *devakoshtha* figures of the Sembiyan age (pp. 127, 128) shows that the most frequent number of niches, whether original or improvised, was nine. Invariably, in all the temples that were newly built or underwent major renovations, there are more than five niches. Wherever the structure of an existing temple could not accommodate more than the five standard sculptures without damaging the wall and the inscriptions upon it, the Sembiyan movement did not hesitate to cause the damage and improvise, even crudely, extra niches for the increasingly popular *devakoshtha* images. The Umamahesvarar temple at Konerirajapuram is a typical example of the Sembiyan style and the Vasisthesvarar temple at Karuntattangudi provides an example of an earlier existing temple that felt the impact of the new movement. The former temple has Nataraja and Agastya on the south wall and Bhikshatanar and Ardhanari on the north wall in addition to the standard set of five images—Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma

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and Durga. At Karuntattangudi, the extra figures, which are all fine sculptures but crudely and inartistically inserted, are Vasishta (or Agastya), Nataraja, Ardhanari, Appar, Sambandar and Bhikshatanar with the Rishipatnis, in the south; and Kankalamurti, Bhikshatanar, Kalyanasundarar, Vishnu, Dakshinamurti and Kalarimurti in the north. These twelve images, along with the pre-Sembiyan five-niche sculptures, constitute the largest complement of *devakoshtha* figures known to us in the Early Chola period. The first instance where this number is exceeded is in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur which belongs to the Middle period. Without implying the rigidity of a scientific formula, it can be postulated that, if there are more than five original *devakoshtha* figures, the temple can be attributed to the post-Parantakan age and, if these additional sculptures are in improvised niches, the temple could belong to the pre-Sembiyan age, exposed to the Sembiyan movement. Another conclusion that could almost be a norm is based on the presence, in original, of the Ardhanari sculpture in the rear *devakoshtha*. This trend occurred in Chola temples from the reign of Aditya I. Thus it could be formulated, to the extent such formulation is possible in art, that a temple with Ardhanari in the rear *devakoshtha* could belong to Aditya I's time or later.

Below is a list of the *devakoshtha* sculptures found in this period:

Ganapati	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Vishnu
Brahma	Durga	Nataraja	Agastya
Appar	Ardhanari	Kankalamurti	Sambandar
Bhikshatanar	Kalarimurti	Hariharar	Ganga Visarjanamurti
Achuyuta	Satya and Purusha (as a group)	Gangadharar	Siva-alinganamurti
Kalyanasundaramurti		Rishabhantika	
Subrahmanya in various forms as a group.			

The scope of this study does not permit of a similar analysis of the figures in the minor niches of the *makara toranas* over the *devakoshthas*, of the figures in the niches of the *salas* in the *hara* of the temple, and of the *griva-koshtha* figures. Such an analysis would form part of a study of Chola art as a general movement.

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However, we shall now briefly examine some other facets of the art of this age.

PORTRAIT SCULPTURES

We have very few sculptural representations, either in stone or in metal, of royal personages of the Chola period. The earliest of them is of Gandaraditya who is represented as worshipping Siva in the form of *linga* in a panel found on the south wall of the central shrine of the Umamahesvarar temple at Konerirajapuram. He is shown sitting in a meditating mood in front of the *linga*, with his legs crossed and hands folded in *anjali*. There are formalised representations of a *chauri* bearer and an attendant holding an umbrella. A priest is shown performing the anointment ceremony, as Gandaraditya offers prayers. A confirmatory inscription below the panel mentions the name of the king and also states that the temple was named after Gandaraditya.

There is a portrait of Sembiyan Mahadevi in the temple of Kailasanathasvamin which she built in the village of Sembiyan Mahadevi founded by her. The figure is shown in a posture of prayer with folded hands and a slight bend at the hip. She is severely clad and wears only the barest of ornaments, possibly made of beads.

We have a reference to metallic images of Parantakan Sundara Chola and his queen, Vanavan Mahadevi, in an inscription in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur. These metal representations of her parents were set up by Kundavai, Rajaraja I's elder sister, along with two images of Uma Paramesvari. Unfortunately, these portrait sculptures of Sundara Chola and his queen have been lost, along with many others.

Next in chronological order is a portrait sculpture of Lokamahadevi along with her consort, Rajaraja I, which is found in Tiruvisalur temple dedicated to Sivayoganathasvamin. These portraits were possibly intended to commemorate the

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hiranyagarbha ceremony performed by her and the *tulabhara* ceremony performed by her husband. Rajaraja I is also represented in one of the mural panels adorning the wall surfaces of the vestibule between the outer and inner walls of the *garbhagriha* of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur. There the king is shown with three of his queens of whom one must be Lokamahadevi.

STONE SCULPTURES

Stone carving received no less attention as can be seen from the various temples of Sembiyan Mahadevi described in Chapter 3. Some of the images of Durga and Brahma not only of Sembiyan Mahadevi but of Lokamahadevi and Kundavai also are perfectly chiselled and their expression delicately drawn.

METAL CASTING

Bronze-casting, or metal-casting as it should preferably be called, expanded beyond conceivable limits during the period under consideration and in fact this period could be said to have witnessed an explosion of this art form. Huge man-size bronzes of most intricate and perfect workmanship proliferate during this age. What again is noteworthy is that the vast output of the royal metal-casting workshops did not lead to any compromise in quality which attained new heights, perhaps yet to be surpassed. Rajaraja I and Rajendra I were great metal-casters too, but it was Sembiyan Mahadevi who showed them the way and blessed her nephew and her nephew's son in their endeavours in this direction. I refrain from dealing with this aspect in any depth, beyond listing out illustrative samples of these bronzes in Appendix II, because the Early Chola bronzes, by which term by and large Sembiyan bronzes are known, have been subjected to close examination by Sivaramurti, Srinivasan, Barrett and others.

JEWELLERY AND ORNAMENTS

Fashioning of jewellery and ornaments must have been a very ancient art to have attained the perfection it did during this period. Unfortunately, little information, literary or epigraphical, is available till we come to the period we are concerned with when there is an abundance of material.

I have deliberately included lists of jewels and ornaments in Appendices IV and V to indicate the variety of the jewellery that the Chola princes and their queens evidently wore and also gave to their Gods "who protected them through war and peace and raised them to unparalleled heights of glory". The elaborate ornaments of Pichchadevar, the copper icon set up by Lokamahadevi, are surpassed only by the jewellery given to the deities of Rajarajesvaram by Rajaraja I, his sister Kundavai and his son Rajendra I. The hundreds and thousands of pearls of various categories that were donated have all disappeared. But fortunately for us, we get such detailed descriptions of the jewels and ornaments from the inscriptions on the walls of the temples that we can recall the glory of the workmanship of that age. In one description which I have touched upon earlier there is a reference to at least a dozen different varieties of pearls alone—perfectly-round pearls, near-round pearls, polished pearls, small pearls, raw (unpolished) pearls, pearls having the hue of toddy, leathery pearls, red-tinted pearls, old pearls and many other types of pearls, whose modern equivalents are not known and which have been described in Tamil as *sappatti*, *sakkattu*, *nimbolam*, *payittam* and so on. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to reproduce any photographs of the jewellery.*

A variety of jewels and ornaments find mention in the inscriptions in the temples: gold bangles and pearl bangles (*valayil*); crowns set with stones like ruby, diamond, sapphire and other precious and semi-precious stones like *tarappu*, *potti* and *saprayogam*; *kudambai*, an ornament which is not readily

*See *Jewellery of India* by Francis Brunel, National Book Trust, India.

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identifiable; *talakkattu*, an ornament worn on the head; necklaces; marriage-badges (*tali*) strung in a necklace or chain; *khandapalagai*; necklaces with one, two, three or even five strings of pearls; *dalimba*-ornaments shaped like a pomegranate flower either singly or in clusters; *padukkan*; *kokku-vai*, which literally means the mouth of a stork; waist-bands, *sribandham*; *tavalai-vai*, which means literally the mouth of a frog; leg rings called *kaalkarai*, some of them studded with pearls; *uruttu* (made of pearls); golden *kalli* (cactus) flowers as ornaments; forehead plates with and without pearls; *tiruch-channa-vadam*, a type of chain; and many others. Some of these myriads of ornaments are identifiable, some are currently in vogue, but the rest are unidentifiable. For those interested in ancient jewellery and ornaments, this is a field in which there is considerable scope for detailed study. An attempt to correlate the elaborate ornaments on stone and metal sculptures, of which there are a large number, with the details of jewellery mentioned in the inscriptions relating to the periods of Uttama Chola and his successors of the Middle Chola period, particularly to that of Rajaraja I, would be rewarding indeed. In fact, the descriptive material on the structure and constituents of ornaments and jewels available from a single source like the Rajarajesvaram temple alone would throw considerable light on the subject.

VESSELS AND AIDS IN TEMPLE RITUALS

Elaborate details of the vessels used for worship and in the sacred kitchen can be gleaned from the same sources. However, I confine myself here to enumerating a list of these ritual vessels, as an attempt to deal with them in any detail will take us away from the purpose of this book. Vessels and aids to worship were made of zinc, bronze, copper, silver and gold. Some items, like the sacred umbrella, were heavily bejewelled. Among these vessels and aids are: *kalasam* (a pot); *paravai kannadi* (a type of mirror with a special decorative frame); *pitham* (seats); *pavvai*

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(whose meaning is not clear) used for playing on the big drum and the *udukkai* (kettle-drum); spouted vessels in zinc; pots in zinc; *dhoopappaatiram* (incense vessel); *tiruchchattiram* (umbrella used for ceremonial worship); *tonguvilakku* (hanging lamp); a type of lamp common in Sri Lanka called *Ila-seeval vilakku*; a type of lamp common in the Kerala region called *Malayan seeyal vilakku*; a lamp used by the *Choliar* (*anattalai vilakku*); *akkup-panaikkal* (stools); *tara saruvam* (zinc pots of big size); another type of pot called *saruvachchatti*; *kai mani* (hand bell); *kanga mugil*; *erimanai*; and so on. Some of these terms are in vogue even now, while others are not identifiable at all. As in the case of ornaments and jewels, a whole range of topics relating to this aspect of South Indian art remains to be studied and in a book of limited scope such as this we have to content ourselves with a bare enumeration of these items. (See Appendix IV: B)

A word must be said about the art and architectural features of the second phase, which as mentioned earlier covers the reign of Kulottunga I.

This reign marks a significant mile-stone in Chola art. In the outlying province of Kongu *nadu*, there came to be built by the Adiyaman local chiefs a temple dedicated to Nilakanthesvarar at Koyarrur, now called Laddigam (in Chittoor district, near Madanapalli), having a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa* enclosed in a *madil* with a single *sala* type *gopuram* with a *griva* and *sikhara*, marking a regional idiom of Kulottunga's times. At Trisulam (near Pallavaram, a suburb of Madras city), an ancient centre in Tondaimandalam region, the local idiom superposes itself on the evolving Chola style, producing a *srivimana* and a *garbhagriha* in the *gajaprishta* style, with the usual niche deities. At Melakkadambur, an entirely new concept of temple structure was evolved. The *srivimana* and the *ardhamandapa* were both converted into a complete chariot drawn by horses. This new style of temple came to be known as *Karakkoyil* or *Terkkoyil* (*Ratha-vimana*). And finally, Kulottunga I continued and refined the tradition of building temples in the

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style brought into vogue by Sembiyan Mahadevi, a structure with a *garbhagriha* and an *antarala*, false or real, followed by an *ardhamandapa* with three niches on each of its lateral faces. An excellent example of this tradition and style is the temple of Kulottungasolisvaram at Chintamani-Agaram. Thus in the period of Kulottunga I, we notice four different trends in temple architecture style: (i) a provincial style, (ii) the Tondaimandalam or *gajaprishtha* style, (iii) an altogether new concept of temple architecture, where the edifice is conceived of as a chariot, and (iv) a further evolved form of the Sembiyan style of temples.

Fortunately for us, the practice of recording grants and gifts on the walls of temples was followed with almost religious enthusiasm and fervour so that today we are able to reconstruct not only the history of the dynasty but also its contribution to art, architecture, dance, painting, music and metal-casting. One wonders what would have happened to the study of South Indian history if these dedicated souls had not centred their activities around the temple which was simultaneously a place of worship, a coronation hall, a court of justice, and in fact, the hub of all political, social and religious activity.

Chola rulers held their women in great esteem. They gave them an honoured place in all activities—social, religious, and even political. The high honour in which, for instance, Kundavai, the elder sister of Rajaraja I, was held is shown in his order that only the inscriptions of himself and his queens, his respected sister Kundavai (*Akkan*), and his immediate nobles should be engraved on the wall surface of the *srivimana* of the Rajarajesvaram temple. In other words, the *srivimana* walls were reserved for engraving the donations given only by the royalty and the selected nobility. Reared in a milieu where life centred round the temples, the Chola queens have made a significant contribution to Indian Art and Culture.

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Appendix I

PATTERN OF DEVAKOSHITHA FIGURES IN SEMBIYAN AND SEMBIYAN PERIOD TEMPLES

1. Konerirajapuram, Umamahesvarar temple	Nataraja	Ganesa	Agastya	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ardhanari
2. Aduturai, Tiruk-Kurangaduturai Mahadevar temple	Nataraja	Ganesa	Agastya	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Siva & Parvati (Alingana-murti)
3. Tirukkodikka (val), Tirukkotisvarar temple	Nataraja	Ganesa	Agastya	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ardhanari
4. Kuttalam, Cholivarar temple	Nataraja	Ganesa	Agastya	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ardhanari
5. Tirunaraiyur, Siddhanathasvamin temple	Nataraja	Ganesa	Agastya	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ardhanari
6. Sembayan Mahadevi, Kailasanathasvamin temple	Nataraja	Ganesa	Agastya	Dakshinamurti	Vishnu (a later substitute for Lingodbhavar)	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ardhanari
7. Karuntattangudi, Vasishtesvarar temple (16 figures)	Sambandar	Nataraja Ganesa	Appar	Bhikshatanar with Rishi-Patnis, Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar Kankalamurti	Durga, Vishnu, Dakshinamurti	Kalari-Vishnu, murti
8. Anangur, Agastisvarar temple	Nataraja	Agastya	Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ardhanari
9. Tirukkuruhavur, Tiruvelvidai Isvarar temple	Nataraja		Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar (Brahma in human form)	Brahma	Durga (8 hands)	Vishnu & Mohini
10. Tirumananjeri, Udvahanathasvamin temple	Nataraja	Bhikshatanar	Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar (Brahma in human form)	Brahma Kankalamurti	Durga	Adisesha

APPENDIX I (Contd.)

11. Tirumiyachchur, Muyarchinadesavar temple	Ganga-Visarjana-murti	Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar (Brahma in human form)	Brahma Siva Uma Alingana-murti	Durga	Risha-bbantikar
12. Mayuram, Mayurana-Nataraja Sivalingana-Nataraja murti		Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Bhikshatanar	Durga	Ganga-Visarjanamurti
13. Vriddhachalam, Vriddhagirisvarar temple		Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Gangadharar	Durga	Aradhanari
14. Tiruvennai (nallur), Kripapurisvarar temple	Nataraja Bhikshatanar	Ganesa	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma Gangadharar	Durga	Aradhanari
15. Tiruvidandai, Varaha temple		Achyuta	Satya	Purusha		Vishnu Durga	Hari-harar
16. Paramesvaraman-galam, Senpakesvarar temple	Bhikshatanar	Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar (Brahma as Hamsa)		Durga		
17. Vada-Tirumullaivayil, Masilamanisvarar temple		Dakshinamurti	Vishnu		Durga		

Appendix II

LIST OF BRONZES OF THE SEMBIYAN AGE

1. Konerirajapuram, Umamahesvarar temple: Siva; Nataraja; Bhogesvari; Nataraja and Sivakami; Kalayanasundarar; Tripurantakar and Tripurasundari; Kali; and Rishabhavahanadevar
2. Kuttalam, Cholisvarar temple: Bhogesvari; Appar; Sundarar; and Manikkavachagar
3. Tiruvelvikkudi, Manavalesvarar temple: Bhogesvari; Kalyanasundarar; and Tani-amman
4. Tirumananjeri, Udvahanathasvamin temple: Ganapati; Kalyanasundaramurti and consort; Pradoshamurti (Siva and Parvati); Chandesvarar; and Manikkavachagar
5. Tirumiyachchur, Muyarchinadesvarar temple: Nataraja and Sivakami
6. Vriddhachalam, Vriddhagirisvarar temple: Nataraja and consort; and Bhogesvari
7. Vada-Tirumullaivayil, Masilamanisvarar temple: Nataraja and Amman
8. Tirunaraiyur, Siddhesvarasvamin temple: Nataraja
9. Tiruvenkadu, Svetaranyesvarar temple: Nataraja and Ganapati
10. Mayuram, Mayuranathasvamin temple: Tripurantakar (Tanjavur Art Gallery)
11. Tanjavur, Rajagopalasvami temple: Tripurantakar (Tanjavur Art Gallery)
12. Pallavanesvaram, Pallavanesvarar temple: Ganapati; Rishabhavahanadevar; and Uma and Skanda
13. Peruntottam, Airavatesvarar temple: Consort of Nataraja
14. Tiruchcherai, Saranathar temple: Rama and Sita; and Dancing Krishna
15. Tirunamanallur, Tiruttondisvarar temple: Amman

Appendix III

KUNDAVAI'S GIFTS TO RAJARAJESVARAM

(a) Gifts to the consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar—Ornaments (SII, II, 7)

Sl No.	Item of gift	No. of pieces	Diamonds	Rubies	Pearls	Kalanju	Manjadi	Kunri	Value in kasu
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Makuta	1	859	309	669	407	9 ⁷ / ₁₀	—	5000
2	Earring	1	—	—	9	2	9 ⁷ / ₁₀	—	5
3	"	1	—	—	9	2	9 ⁷ / ₁₀	—	5
4	Uruttu	1	6	2	2	2 ¹ / ₂	1 ⁷ / ₁₀	—	15
5	"	1	6	2	2	2 ¹ / ₂	1	—	damaged
6	Tirumalai	1	505	110	94	103 ¹ / ₂	—	—	1000
7	Sribahuvalayam	1	441	54	68	104 ¹ / ₂	4	—	1250
8	armlet	1	448	53	62	104 ¹ / ₂	3 ⁷ / ₁₀	—	1250
9	Srichchanda	1	390	80	1462	174 ¹ / ₂	—	—	1500
10	Pottu	1	—	1	137	26 ¹ / ₂	4 ⁸ / ₁₀	—	8
11	"	1	—	1	143	26 ¹ / ₂	3 ³ / ₁₀	—	8
12	Sudagam	1	620	55	—	85 ¹ / ₂	1	1	800
13	"	1	675	60	—	90 ¹ / ₂	1	—	800
Total		13	3950	727	2659	1135	10 ⁷ / ₁₀	1	11,621

(b) Gifts to consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar—Ornaments (SII, II, 8)

Sl. No.	Item of gift	No. of pieces	Diamonds	Rubies	Pearls	Kalanju	Manjadi	Kunri	Value in kasu
1	Tiruppattigai	1	667	83	212	129	7 ⁷ / ₁₀	—	4500
2	Tiruvadikkarai	1	455	39	—	78	1 ⁸ / ₁₀	—	500
3	"	1	459	39	—	77	4	1	500

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4	<i>Sripadasayalam</i>	1	360	72	42	43	3	1	350
5	"	1	360	72	42	43	1	—	350
<i>Total</i>		5	2301	305	296	371	11 ⁵ / ₁₀	—	6200

(c) *Gifts to the consort of Tanjai Vitankar—ornaments (SII, II, 8)*

<i>Sl No.</i>	<i>Item of gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>Diamonds</i>	<i>Rubies</i>	<i>Pearls</i>	<i>Kalanju</i>	<i>Manjadi</i>	<i>Kunri</i>	<i>Value in kasu</i>
	<i>Makuta, Tukkam, Vali</i>								
	<i>Double uruttu, Tirukkambi, Taali-mani-vadam, Vayira-sayalam, Kantha-tudar, Purai-tudar</i>								
	<i>Pottu (for arms)</i>								
	<i>Kataka, Tiruk-kaik-kaarai, Tiru-adik-kaarai, Sri-pada-sayalam, Tiru-adik-kaal</i>								
	<i>Modiram.</i>	22+10				620 $\frac{1}{4}$	12		

(d) *Gifts to the consort of Tanjai Vitankar—Bejeweled ornaments*

<i>Sl No.</i>	<i>Item of gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>Diamonds</i>	<i>Rubies</i>	<i>Pearls</i>	<i>Kalanju</i>	<i>Manjadi</i>	<i>Kunri</i>	<i>Value in kasu</i>
1	<i>Makuta</i>	1	525	227	16	229 ³ / ₄	27 ¹ / ₁₀		
2	<i>Maalai (inscription lost)</i>	1	288	—	+385	46	8 ³ / ₄₀		
<i>Total</i>		2	813	227	401	375 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 ⁸ / ₁₀		

Appendix IV

Below is a list of the gifts made by Danti Sakti Vitanki, queen of Rajaraja devar, to the deity of the central shrine (Lokamahadevi Isvaradevar) and to the processional deity (Uloka Veedi Vitanka devar) as also to the other copper and metal images set up by Lokamahadevi in the temple of Lokamahadevi-Isvaram (Vada Kailasam) at the *devadana* township of Tiruvaiyaru on the north bank of the Kaveri in Poigai *nadu*, in Rajendrasimha *valanadu*. This list is contained in an inscription (S.I.I., V, No. 521; 222 of 1894) of the 24th year of Rajaraja I which is found on the north-west and south walls of the temple.

The gifts include (*tirukolgai kavacham* for covering the icon?) *tirupparikalam* (utensils for the temple) and *tiru-abharanam* (ornaments for the deities). The list of gifts was ordered to be engraved on the walls of the temple by the Royal Council (*Udankuttam*).

A: JEWELS AND ORNAMENTS GIFTED TO DEITIES

<i>Description of gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>No of Kalanju stones, pearls etc.</i>	<i>Madai</i>	<i>Manjadi</i>
(i) FOR THE DEITY KOLHAIDEVAR				
1. The image of Kolhaidevar (with bangles)	1		3273	
2. Lotus-flower (gold)	1		15	
3. <i>Pattam</i> (gold)	3		89½	
(ii) FOR THE DEITY LOKA VITANKA DEVAR				
*Crown weighing, covered over with gold sheets weighing, and silver sheets weighing,			105½	
with <i>Manikkam</i>		21		
„ <i>Diamonds</i>		102		
„ <i>Neelam</i>		1		

*The inscription is damaged in this portion

APPENDIX

Description of gift		No. of pieces	No. of stones, pearls etc.	Kalanju	Madai	Manjadi
	<i>Taruppu</i>		64			
	<i>Potti</i>		79			
	<i>Saprayogam</i>		240			
	Pearls		573			
(iii) FOR THE DEITY						
LOKADEVISVARAM						
UDAIYAR						
1.	<i>Kudambal</i> , weighing studded with <i>Manikkam</i> <i>Taruppu</i> <i>Saprayogam</i> Pearls	1	1 23 17 27	2		
2.	<i>Taalakkuttuk-kambi</i> (with a pair of nails etc.)	1		3½	4	2
3.	Necklace with marriage badge and <i>Kandap-palagal</i> (gold strips) studded with <i>Saprayogam</i> <i>Taruppu</i> <i>Potti</i> Pearls	1	57 461 27 70	28½		
4.	Single-stranded pearl necklet, with pearls	1	42			
5.	Pearl necklace (with three strands) Pearls	1	108			
6.	Cluster of three <i>dalimba</i> -flowers <i>Padukkan</i> <i>Kokku vai</i>	2 1 1		1½	4	2
7.	Pearl necklace with 5-strands, called <i>Pancha-Sari</i> , with <i>dalimba</i> -clusters + <i>Padukkan</i> + <i>Kokku vai</i> + gold joints	1 2 1 1 2		3½	4	
8.	Face-plate, with 4 gold joints	1		2	6	
9.	<i>Tavalai-vai</i> (frog's mouth) with a <i>Nayaka-Manikkam</i> , weighing with <i>Saprayogam</i> strung with 3 <i>Tiruchchana</i> chains of pearls	1 1	27 1278	½	4	6
10.	Pearl bangle with pearls	1	188	10½ + ½		
11.	" " " "	1	119	8		3
12.	" " " "	1	181	10	3	6
13.	" " " "	1	196	10	1	2

TEMPLE ART UNDER THE CHOLA QUEENS

<i>Description of gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>No. of stones, pearls etc.</i>	<i>Kalanju</i>	<i>Madai</i>	<i>Marjadi</i>
14. Pearl plate (<i>Muttin pattigai</i>)	1	} 1335	2½	4	
with gold flower	6				
" face strip	1				
studded " <i>Potti</i>					
" " <i>Saprayogam</i>					
" " fat pearls on the face strip					
" " other pearls					
15. <i>Kaalkkaarai</i> (made of gold)	1		19½	3	6
(iv) FOR THE CONSORT OF LOKAVITANKADEVAR					
1. Crown weighing	1		48	9	
studded with <i>Manikkam</i>		1			
" with <i>Saprayogam</i>		86			
" with <i>Taruppu</i>		249			
" with <i>Potti</i>		14			
" the gold in the plate is					
" with pearls		799		½ + 1 kunri	
" the silver element in it			1½	3	
2. <i>Kudambal</i>	1		1	1	5
studded with <i>Manikkam</i>		1			
" with <i>Taruppu</i>		9			
" with <i>Saprayogam</i>		9			
" with <i>Potti</i>		4			
" with Pearls		21			
3. <i>Kudambal</i>	1		1	1	5
studded with <i>Manikkam</i>		1			
" with <i>Taruppu</i>		9			
" with <i>Saprayogam</i>		9			
" with <i>Potti</i>		4			
" with Pearls		21			
4. Wire of gold with nails and screws			2½	2	
5. <i>Toranai</i> in blue stones	1		½		
studded with <i>Neelam</i>		2			
" with <i>Saprayogam</i>		5			
" with <i>Taruppu</i>		10			
6. <i>Toranai</i> in pearls	1		½ + 1 kunri		
studded with pearls		2			
" <i>Saprayoham</i>		7			
" <i>Taruppu</i>		3			
7. <i>Tiru</i> (gold)	1				
with <i>Nann</i>		1			
with <i>Padukkan</i>		2			

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<i>Description of gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>No. of stones, pearls etc.</i>	<i>Kalanju</i>	<i>Madai</i>	<i>Manjadi</i>
with <i>Kallip-pu</i>		1			
with <i>Kokku vai</i>		1			
8. <i>Malai tali</i>	21		18½		
with <i>Dalimbam</i>		2			
with <i>Saprayogam</i>		68			
with <i>Taruppu</i>		80			
with <i>Potti</i>		22			
+plate gold in it			3	2	2
with pearls therein		57			
9. Single strand string (<i>tanivadam</i>) studded with pearls	1	31			
10. <i>Tirusaram</i> (another string) studded with pearls	1	86			
11. A cluster of 3 <i>dalimba</i> pieces	2		½		
<i>Kokku vai</i>	1				
12. <i>Panchasari</i> (gold)	1		3½	5	
with pearls		188			
gold links	2				
<i>dalimbas</i> , five in a cluster	2		½		
<i>padukkan</i>	1				
<i>Kokku vai</i>	1				
13. face plate	1		1½		
with <i>Idaikkattu</i> (joints)	4				
<i>Tavalai vai</i>	1				
studded with <i>Manikkam</i>					
„ in the face		1			
„ <i>Taruppu</i>		14			
„ <i>Saprayogam</i>		4			
„ <i>Potti</i>		4			
<i>Tiruchchannavadam</i> (fitted to above)	3				
studded with pearls		752			
14. Pearl bangle	1		9½ + 1/8		
studded with pearls		207			
15. Pearl bangle			8½		
studded with pearls		126			
16. Pearl <i>Pattigai</i> with 7 gold flowers +(<i>Savi, Tukkam</i> and <i>Poo</i>) and studded with <i>Potti</i>	1		1½	1	
„ <i>Saprayogam</i>		11			
„ Pearls		18			
		1267			
17. <i>Kaalkaarai</i> (gold) with pearls	1		7		
		91			

TEMPLE ART UNDER THE CHOLA QUEENS

<i>Description of gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>No. of stones, pearls etc.</i>	<i>Kalanju</i>	<i>Madal</i>	<i>Manjadi</i>
(v) FOR THE DEITY PILLAIYAR SUBRAHMANYA DEVAR					
1. Crown	1		3½+1/8		
2. <i>Sutti</i> (?) studded with pearl	1	1		9	3
3. <i>Soolam</i> (spear)	1		½		
4. <i>Idukku Valayil</i> (bangles)	2		3		
5. Gold flowers	51		50		
6. Gold flowers	100		49½	4	2
7. Gold flower	1		1	2	
8. Gold flower	1		½		
9. Gold flowers	18		18	1	

B: GIFTS OF RITUAL AIDS AND VESSELS, AND KITCHEN UTENSILS

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>Weight*</i>	
1.	<i>Taligai</i> (gold)	1	448½	<i>kalanju</i>
2.	<i>Ottu-vatti</i> (gold)	1	200	"
3.	<i>Madal</i> (gold)	1	50	"
4.	<i>Maana-vattil</i> (gold)	1	14½+1/8	"
5.	<i>Chamara</i> -handle (gold)	1	30	"
6.	<i>Chamara</i> -handle (gold)	1	30	"
7.	<i>Ichopi</i> handle	1	30	"
8.	<i>Ichopi</i> handle	1	30	"
9.	<i>Palli Tongal</i> (crown with pendants, gold-coated on copper)	4		
	weight of gold	1	119½	"
10.	<i>Taligai</i> (silver)	1	161	"
11.	Head (<i>Mandai</i>) (silver)	1	195	"
12.	<i>Kalacham</i> (silver)	1	100	"
13.	<i>Sattuvam</i> (spoon) (silver)	1	98½	"
14.	<i>Kaicholam</i> (silver)	1	38	"
15.	Copper plate (<i>Taligai</i>)	1	28	<i>palam</i>
16.	Copper plate	1	24	"
17.	Copper plate	1	22	"
18.	Copper plate	1	26	"
19.	Copper plate (<i>Pali-talam</i>)	1	25	"
20.	Copper plate	1	54	"
21.	Copper <i>kai-vattakai</i> (without spout)	1	18	"

*The weight of gold/silver items is expressed in *kalanju* and its sub-units, while that of copper/zinc (*tara*) items is given in *palam*.

APPENDIX

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>Weight</i>	
22.	Copper plate	1	27	<i>palams</i>
23.	Copper <i>Kalam</i> (musical instrument)	1	20	"
24.	—do—	1	15	"
25.	—do—	1	16	"
26.	—do—	1	15	"
27.	Copper <i>Dunduru</i>	2	14	"
28.	Copper <i>Kalasam</i> (pot)	1	20	"
29.	Copper covered mirror, gilded (<i>Pavvai Kannadi</i>)	1		"
30.	<i>Mattalam Vasikkum Pavvai</i>	1		"
31.	Copper <i>Udukkal Pavvai</i>	1		"
32.	Copper <i>Paddum Pavvai</i>	1	80	"
33.	Copper <i>Peetham</i>	1		"
34.	Copper Mirror <i>Peetham</i>	1		"
35.	<i>Tara</i> (zinc) <i>Kundikai</i>	1	58	"
36.	<i>Tara Sangukkal</i>	1	6	"
37.	—do—	1	4	"
38.	<i>Ventara Sangukkal</i>	1	5½	"
39.	<i>Tara Chattikkal</i>	1	45	"
40.	—do—	1	24	"
41.	—do—	1	40	"
42.	<i>Tarakkal Chattikkal</i>	1	67	"
43.	—do—	1	88	"
44.	<i>Tarakkal Attanaikal</i>	1	150	"
45.	—do—	1	175	"
46.	<i>Doopa-pattiram</i> (incense vessel)	1	9	"
47.	Umbrella (<i>Tiruchchhatram</i>)	1	7½	"
48.	<i>Toongu Vilakku</i> (hanging lamp)	1	6	"
49.	<i>Tara Vilakku</i> (lamp)	1	53	"
50.	<i>Ila</i> (Ceylon) <i>Seeyal</i> lamp	1	200	"
51.	<i>Malayan</i> (Kerala) <i>Seeyal</i> lamp	1	310	"
52.	<i>Malayan</i> (Kerala) <i>Seeyal</i> lamp	1	320	"
53.	<i>Choliyar Seeyal</i> lamp	1	154	"
54.	—do—	1	220	"
55.	—do—	1	500	"
56.	—do—	1	260	"
57.	—do—	1	17	"
58.	<i>Ananttalai</i> (snake-hood) lamp	1	360	"
59.	—do—	1	180	"
60.	—do—	1	166	"
61.	<i>Akkupanni Kal</i> (stool)	1	80	"
62.	—do—	1	100	"
63.	<i>Tara Saruvam</i> (vessel)	1	150	"
64.	—do—	1	15	"
65.	—do—	1	165	"

TEMPLE ART UNDER THE CHOLA QUEENS

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Gift</i>	<i>No. of pieces</i>	<i>Weight</i>	
66.	—do—	1	90	<i>palams</i>
67.	—do—	1		"
68.	—do—	1	50	"
69.	<i>Saruvachatti</i> (pot)	1	50	"
70.	—do—	1	50	"
71.	—do—	1	45	"
72.	—do—	1	25	"
73.	—do—	1	52	"
74.	—do—	1	5	"
75.	<i>Kaaga Mugil</i>	1	5	"
76.	<i>Taligai</i>	1	54	"
77.	<i>Erimani</i>	1	176	"
78.	—do—	1	120	"
79.	—do—	1	105	"
80.	<i>Kai Mani</i> (hand bell) (1 pair)	1	58	"

Appendix V

An inscription (S.I.I., V, No.520; 221 of 1884) dated in the 32nd year of Rajadhiraja I (A.D.1050) found on the north wall of Vada Kailasam is important from a historical point of view as it gives a complete account of all the victories won by this Chola chief, thus enabling us to get a full picture of the extent of the empire under him. There is a reference here to the three Pandyas—Manabharana, Vira Pandya, and Sundara Pandya—in confirmation of the Sivakasi plates.

This inscription records two sets of gifts—one belonging to the 31st year of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1049) and the other to the 27th year of Rajendra I. The former relates to the gift of a number of jewels and vessels made to the deity of Lokamahadevi-Isvaram Udaiyar of Tiruvaiyaru. Shri Vishnuvardhana devar, the Eastern Chalukyan ruler-cum-vice-roy, offered his prayers to the Lord of this temple and made a gift to Chandesvara devar of 150 *senkaluneer* (red lotus) flowers made of gold weighing $337\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanju*, and a pair of anklets (*tirukkai kaarai*), worn low in the leg and studded with *saprayogam* (a precious stone), weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanju*.

Earlier, in the 27th year (A.D. 1039) of the reign of Rajendra I, the great *devar* who took the *Purvadesam* (the eastern land—Bastar area) and the Gangai region, Vishnuvardhana, had made a gift of 99 *madais* (a measure of gold) as detailed below:

<i>Gift</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Kalanju</i>	<i>Manjadi</i>	<i>Kunri</i>
<i>Tirukkaalkaarai</i>	2	79	2	1
<i>Tirukkai-valayil</i>	4			
<i>Pachchattagadu</i> (plate)	4			
Gold flowers	23			
<i>Tirukodikkil</i> plate	2	$32\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
<i>Ullalai Kuruntagadu</i> (plate)	1			
<i>Serundhi</i> flower	11			
<i>Koichagam</i>	2			
<i>Tai Vadam</i> (mother-chain) with pearls	4 851	22	6	2
<i>Saram</i> (string with pearls)	1109	47	6	—
<i>Tirukodukku</i> (one containing pearls)	315	72	1	3

Glossary

<i>abhaya mudra</i>	hand-pose assuring protection
<i>adhishtanam</i>	moulded basement usually resting on an <i>upa-pitham</i> (optional)
<i>ardhamandapa</i>	front porch (also <i>tiru-idaik-kattu</i>)
<i>bali pitham</i>	altar for offerings to deities
<i>devakoshtha</i>	niche for subordinate deities on the outer wall of the main shrine (their occupants are called <i>vimanadevatas</i>)
<i>dvarapala</i>	guardian deity at the door or gateway
<i>garbhagriha (mulasthanam)</i>	sanctum sanctorum, the cella (the chamber in which the main deity is housed)
<i>gopuram</i>	temple gateway
<i>gomukha</i>	gargoyle
<i>griva</i>	literally the neck: the part in the superstructure of the <i>srivimana</i> , between the topmost <i>tala</i> (tier) and the <i>sikhara</i>
<i>kalasam</i>	pot-shaped component of the capital of a pillar, also the pot used for the finial
<i>katyavalambita</i>	pose of hand where it is held straight down with the palm holding the thigh between the crook of the thumb and the forefinger
<i>kodungai</i>	cornice, moulded projection over a <i>tala</i>
<i>koshtha</i>	niche
<i>koshtha-panjara</i>	niche with cage-motif decoration
<i>kumbha-panjara</i>	niche adorned with a vase and foliage
<i>kudu</i>	chaitya window motif, on the facade of any monument, also found elsewhere, for decoration
<i>kumudam</i>	a basement moulding
<i>kutam</i>	a square ornamental pavilion on the storeys (tiers) of the <i>vimanas</i> (also see <i>tala</i>)
<i>makara torana</i>	motif of a crocodile with floriated tail—a decorative element with <i>makara</i> designs
<i>mandala</i>	halo
<i>mandapa</i>	any pillared covered hall
<i>mukhamandapa</i>	hall in front of the <i>ardhamandapa</i> , or even in front of the <i>garbhagriha</i> sometimes
<i>mulasthanam (garbhagriha)</i>	See <i>garbhagriha</i> above, the sanctum sanctorum
<i>nritta-mandapa</i>	hall of dance
<i>palagai</i>	abacus or tailloir: part of the capital of a pillar
<i>panchara (panjara)</i>	attique: a small pavilion (like a nest or cage, hence the name) used

GLOSSARY

<p><i>parivaralaya (ashta-)</i> (also <i>ashta-parivara-</i> <i>devata-griham</i>) <i>prakara</i> <i>sala (i)</i></p> <p><i>sikhara</i> <i>snapana-mandapa</i> <i>sthambha</i> <i>stupi</i> <i>tali</i> <i>tiruch-churru-maligai</i> <i>tiru-nadal-maligai</i> <i>upanam</i> <i>upa-pitham</i> <i>varada-mudra</i> <i>vimana</i></p> <p><i>vimana devata</i></p> <p><i>yali</i> <i>yajnopavita</i></p>	<p>as a decorative motif</p> <p>one of the subshrines (often eight) round the main shrine, housing subordinate deities</p> <p>one of the circuits round the sanctum</p> <p>rectangular ornamental <i>panchara</i> with wagon-roof on the storeys of <i>vimanas</i></p> <p>top covering of the <i>vimana</i>, above the <i>griva</i></p> <p>bathing hall (ceremonial bathing of deities)</p> <p>pillar</p> <p>finial, the crowning element over the <i>vimana</i> or <i>gopuram</i></p> <p>temple (in such phrases as Ayirattali, Paravai-un-man-tali)</p> <p>peristyle; enclosure wall with a <i>mandapa</i></p> <p>covered <i>mandapa</i> round the sanctum</p> <p>the lowest moulding of the basement</p> <p>the basement below the <i>adhishtanam</i></p> <p>hand pose symbolising offering of boon</p> <p>the sanctum together with the superstructure (from the <i>upanam</i> to the <i>stupi</i>)</p> <p>sculpture placed in a niche on the outer wall of the <i>garbhagriha</i> or on the upper <i>talas</i> of the <i>vimana</i></p> <p>leogryph</p> <p>the sacred thread</p>
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Acknowledgements for Photographs

1. *Photographs for plates 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63: Author's own*
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Errata

Page 101, l.10 : for pedestal read foot-wear

Page 118 : for UTTAM CHOLA read UTTAMA CHOLA

Page 152 Col.2.l.25 : for pedestal read foot-wear



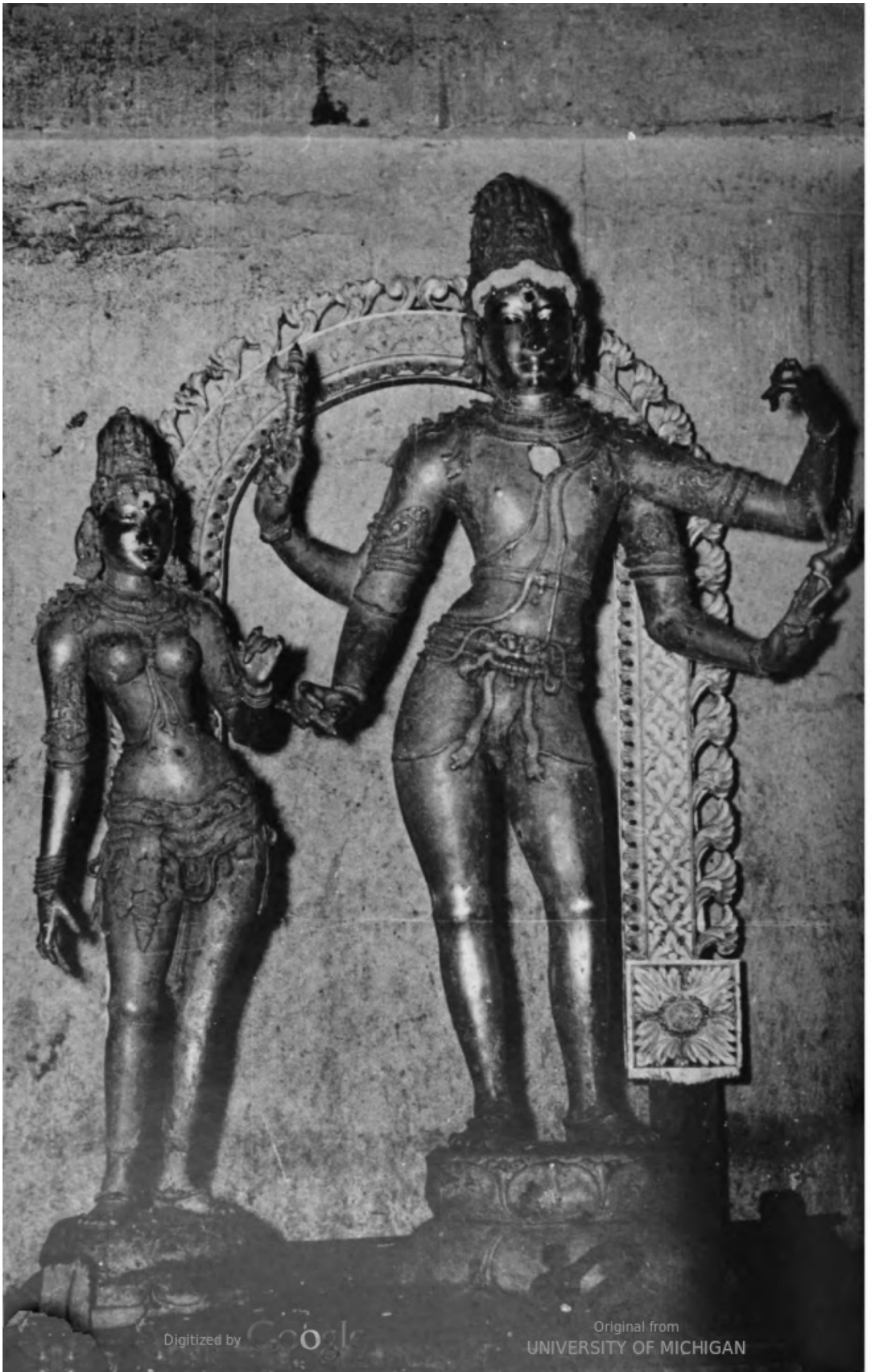
1. **KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple.**
Panel depicting Gandaraditya worshipping the Linga of Tirunallam



2. KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple.
Nataraja



3. KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple.
Nataraja and Amman (bronze)



4. KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple.
Tripurantakar and Tripurasundari



5. KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple.
Kalyana-Sundarar



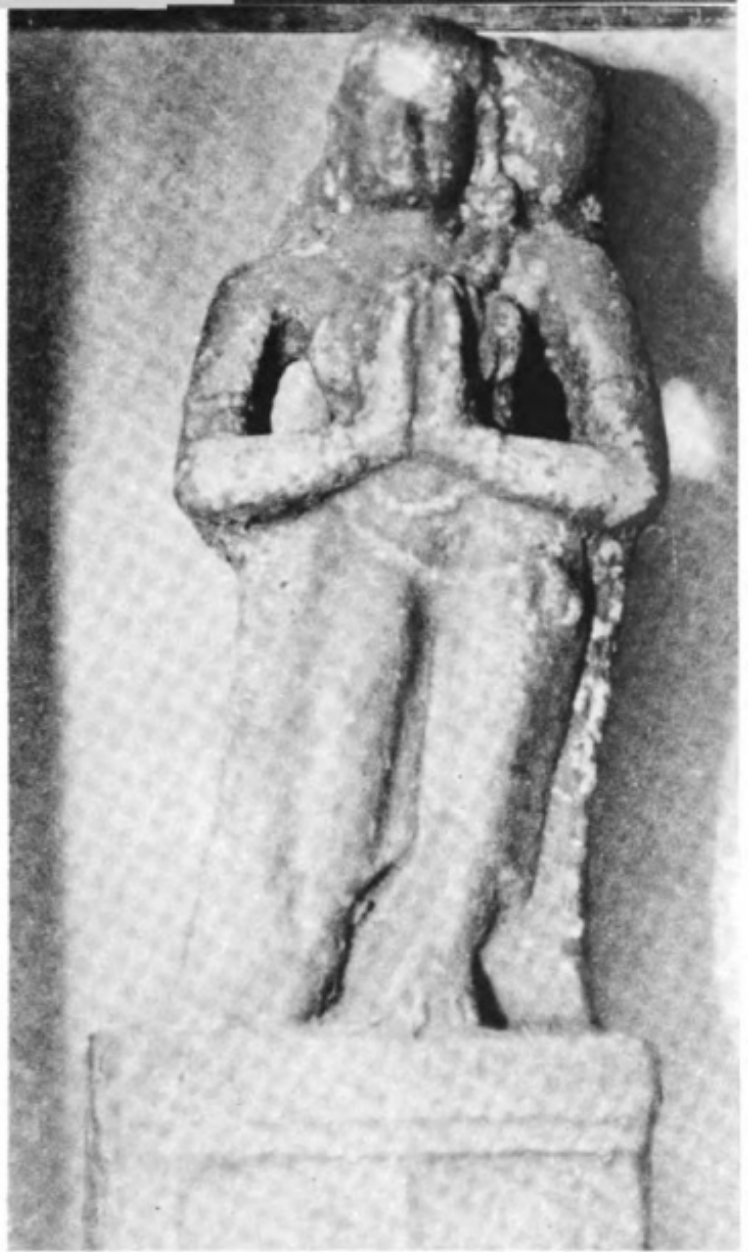
6. KONERI-
RAJAPURAM,
Uma-Mahesvarar
temple.
Bhogesvari



7. KUTTALAM,
Cholisvaram
Udaiyar temple.
Bhogesvari →

8. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI
Kailasanathar temple.
Srivimana





9. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple. Stone statue of Sembiyan Mahadevi



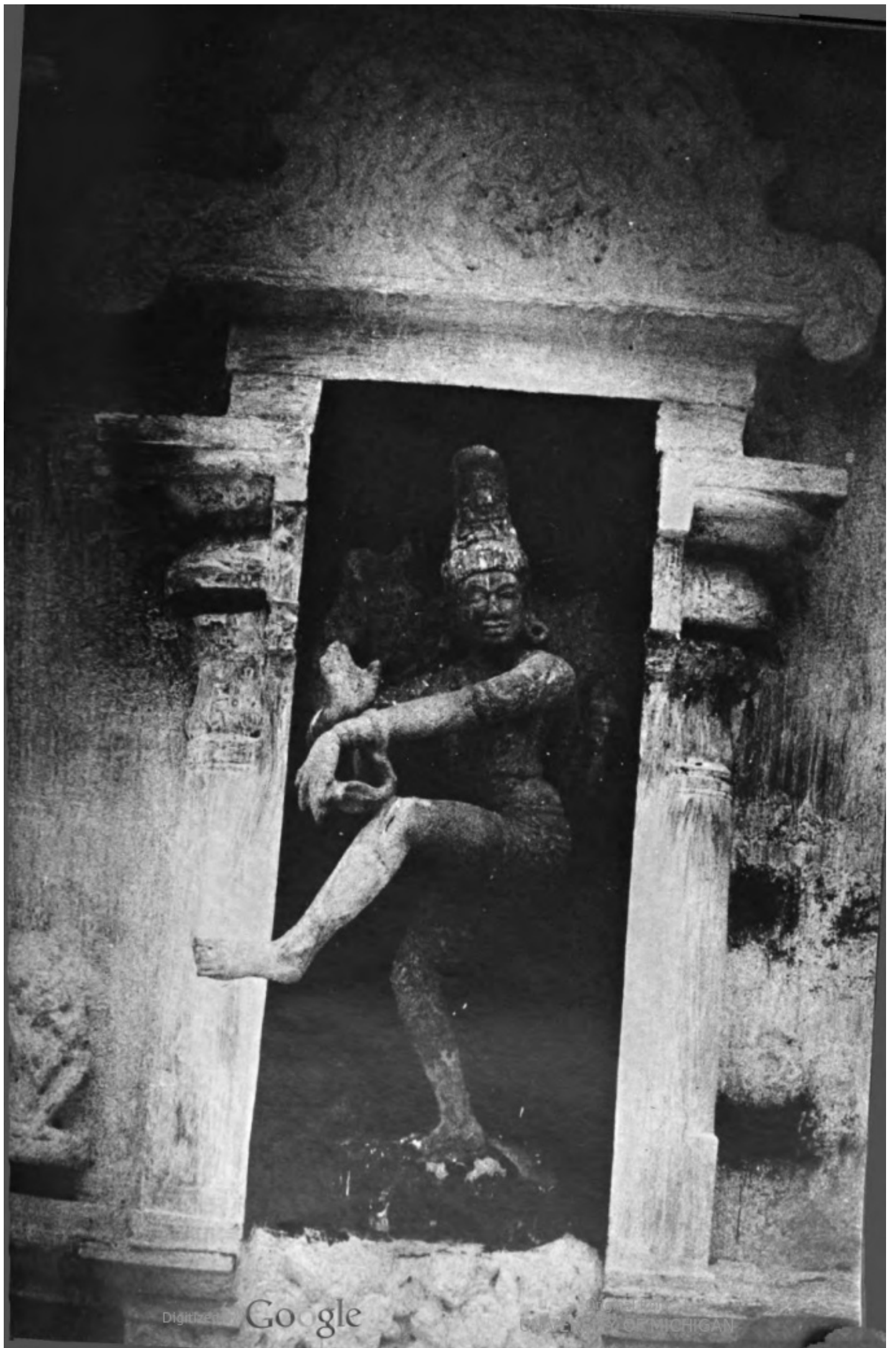
10. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple.
Ardhanarisvarar (*ardhamandapa*, north wall)

11. (*Right*) Bhikshatanar (*ardhamandapa*, north wall)





12. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple.
Durga





14. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple.
Somaskandar





16. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple.
Nataraja, Amman and Karaikkal Ammaiyar



17. SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple. Nataraja (close-up of 16)

SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple



18. Bhogasakti (bronze)
(front view)



19. Bhogasakti
(rear view)



20. ANANGUR, Agastisvarar temple. Srivimana (south-east view)



21. Lingodbhavar



22. Dakshinamurti

ANANGUR, Agastisvarar temple

ANANGUR, Agastisvarar temple

23. Durga



24. Ardhanari





25. (Left) ANANGUR, Agastisvarar temple. Bhikshatanar

26. TIRUKKURUHAVUR, Velvidai Isvarar temple (general view)





27. Dakshinamurti



28. Ganesa

TIRUMANANJERI, Udvahanesvarar temple



29. TIRUMANANJERI, Udvahanesvarar temple. Kalyanasundarar (bronze)



30. TIRUMANANJERI, Udvahanesvarar temple. Pradoshamurti (bronze)



31. TIRUMANANJERI, Udvahanesvarar temple. Ganapati (bronze)



32. GOVINDAPUTTUR, Gangajathadharar temple. General view (north)



33. GOVINDAPUTTUR, Gangajathadharar temple. Nataraja (bronze)



4. (Left) PARAMESVARAMANGALAM,
Senbakesvarar temple. Srivimana



35. VRIDDHACHALAM, Vriddhagirivarar temple. Bhogasakti



36. TIRUVELVIKKUDI, Manavalesvarar temple. Garbhagriha (south view)



37. TIRUVELVIKKUDI, Manavalesvarar
with Kalyanasundarar (bronze)

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38. DADAPURAM, Manikkesvarar temple (general view)





40. DADAPURAM, Manikkesvarar temple. Dakshinamurti



41. DADAPURAM, Maniksesvarar temple. Durga



42. DADAPURAM, Manikkesvarar temple. Vishnu (replacement)



43. DADAPURAM, Manikkesvarar temple. Bhairavar



44. Mahesvari



45. Varahi

DADAPURAM, Manikkesvarar temple



46. Vaishnavi



47. Chamunda



48. DADAPURAM, Kari-varada-Perumal temple. (general view)

↓ 49. DADAPURAM, Kari-
varada-Perumal temple.
Devakoshtha (general view)



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↑ 50. Kumbha with Simha

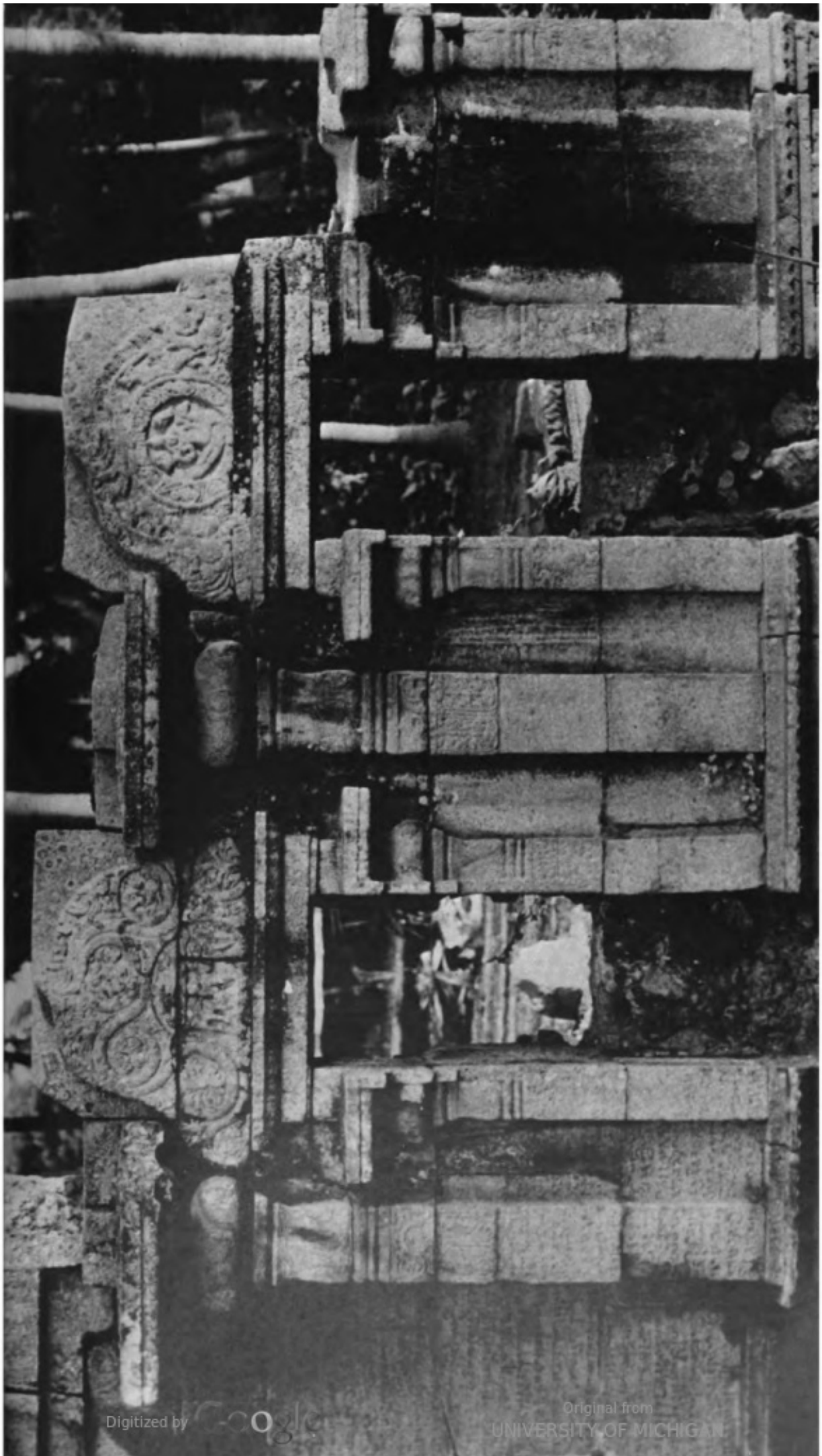
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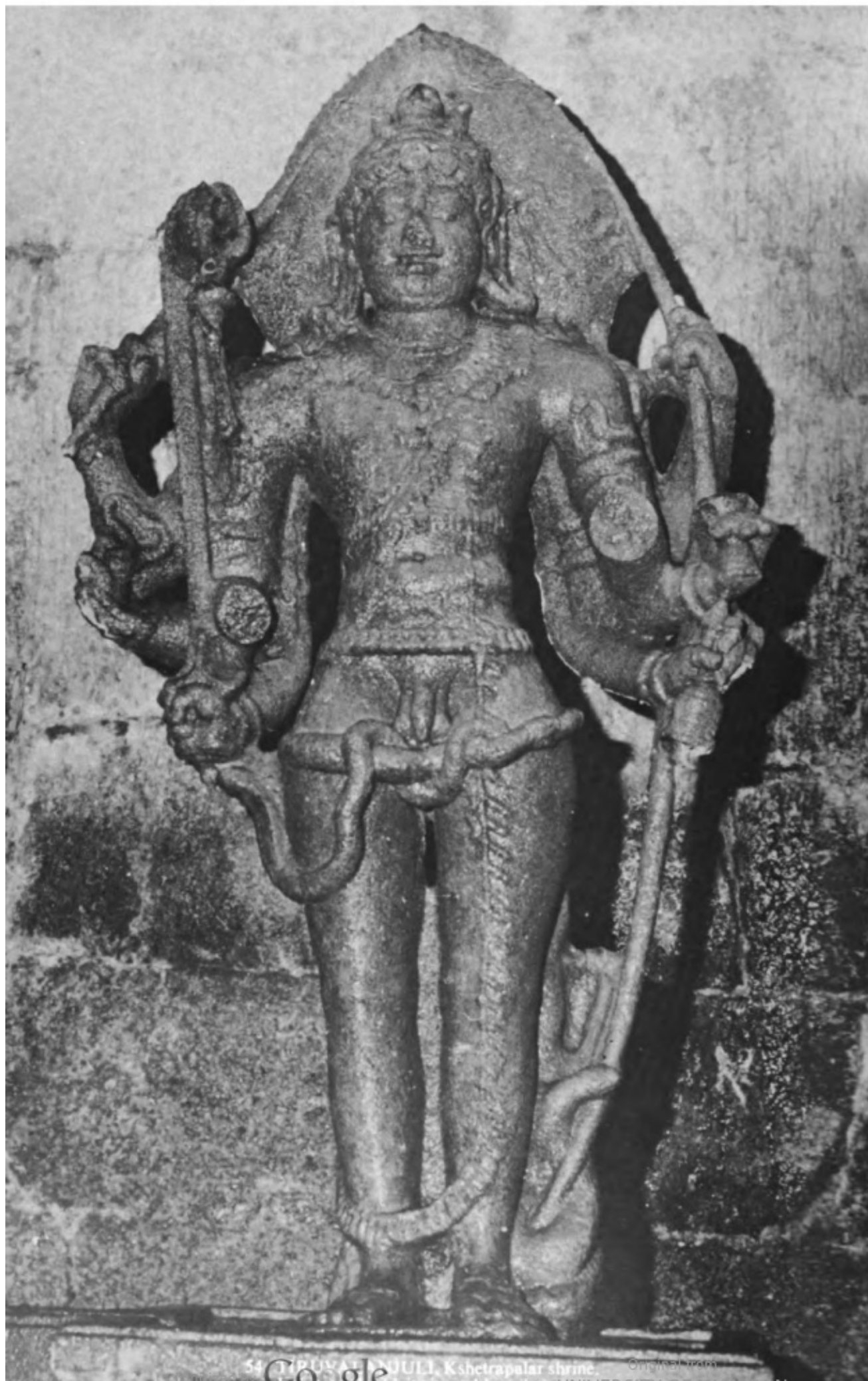


31. TIRUVĀLANJŪLĪ, Kāṇḍiśvarar temple.
Kōṭṭāpāṭar Shrine (general view from west)



52. TIRUVALANJULI, Kshetrapalar shrine. Srivimana





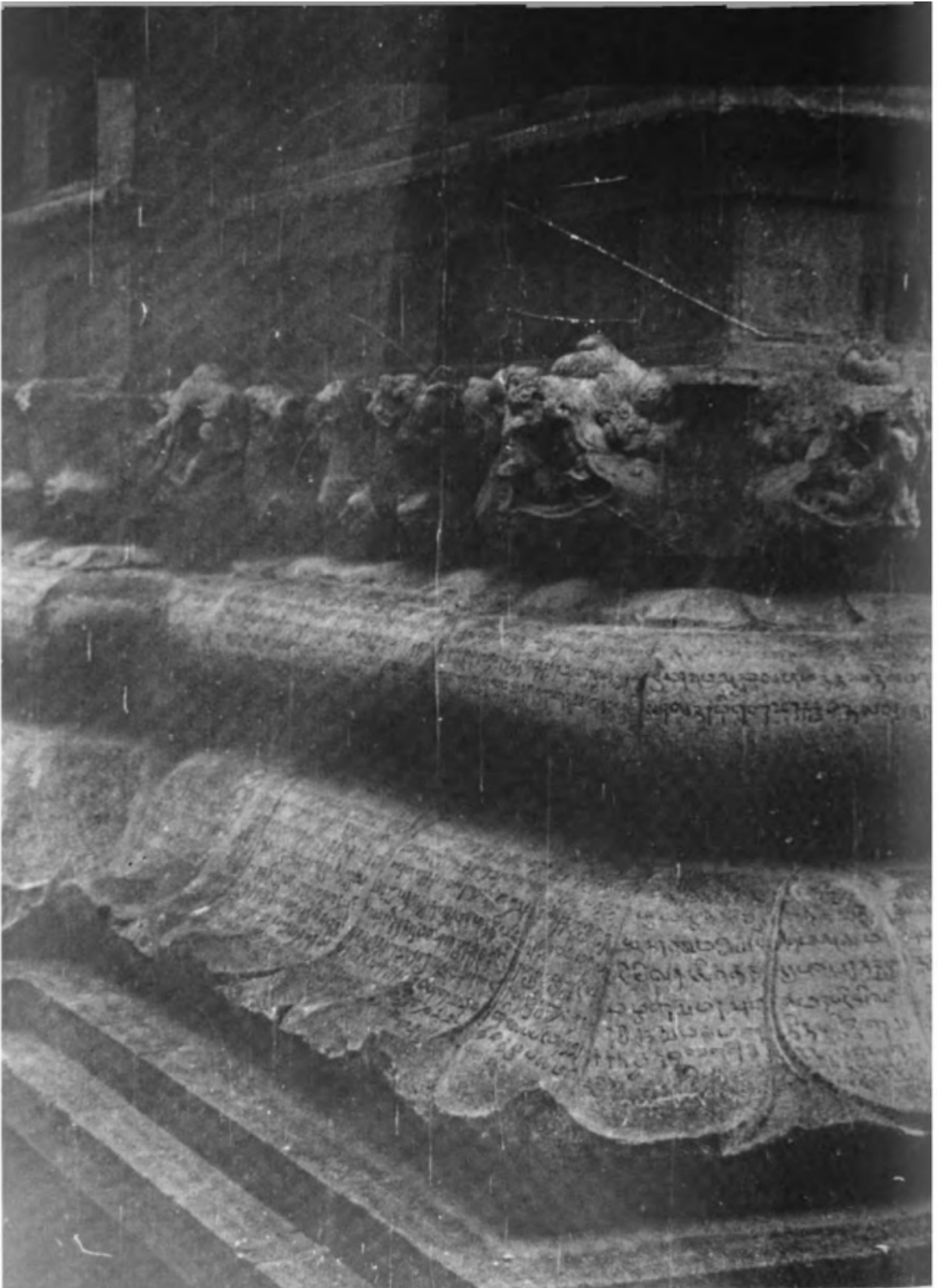
54. TIRUVANANTHURAI, Kshetrapalar shrine.

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55. TIRUVAIYARU, Vada-Kailasam (general view)



56. TIRUVAIYARU, Vada-Kailasam. Garbhagriha mouldings



57. TIRUVAIYARU, Vada-Kailasam. Brahma





59. TIRUVAIYARU, Vada-Kailasam (*ardhamandapa*, south niche) makara-torana



60. OLAGAPURAM, Siva temple. Srivimana (south-east view)



61. OLAGAPURAM, Vishnu temple (general view)

OLAGAPURAM, Siva temple



62. Srivimana (south-west view)



63. Srivimana (inner view)

64. Bhikshatanar



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65. Durga



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OLAGAPURAM, Siva temple



66. Ganesa



67. Dakshinamurti

68. Vishnu

OLAGAPURAM, Vishnu temple

69. Vishnu





OLAGAPURAM, Vishnu temple

70. Vishnu

71. Durga



