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CALUKYA TEMPLES:
HISTORY AND ICONOGRAPHY
VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By
Susan Locher Buchanan, B.S., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1985

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The Calukyas, also called Early Calukyas or Early Western Calukyas, were a dynasty of kings who ruled in India's western and central Deccan from the mid sixth to the mid eighth century A.D. They are to be distinguished from the Eastern Calukyas, a branch line which ruled independently in coastal Andhra Pradesh from the seventh to the twelfth century, and the Later Western Calukyas, descendants of the first Calukya kings, who came to power in their ancestral domains in 973 A.D. after two intervening centuries of Rästrakûta rule. The temples created in Calukya territory between 550 and 750 A.D. are termed Calukya temples. Although only a few of these temples are linked to members of the royal family by inscriptions, they form a distinct group whose limits in space and time parallel those of the dynasty. The Calukya kings seem all to have been Hindus, followers of the Brahmanical religion, though inscriptions record their occasional support of Jainism, and most of the known Calukya temples are dedicated to Brahmanical deities. The few extant Buddhist and Jain monuments fall outside the purview of this study.

The surviving Calukya monuments are clustered in Bādāmi, the capital, Mahākūṭa, a nearby early sacred site, Pattadakal, a nearby later sacred site, and Aihole, a thriving economic and cultural center, all within fifteen miles of each other in Karnataka state, and in
Alampur, 150 miles east of Bādāmi and probably the dynasty's headquarters in Andhra Pradesh. All these sites are linked to the Calukya dynasty by inscriptions. Other, isolated Calukya monuments have been identified elsewhere: in Karnataka at Cikka Mahākūṭa, Siddhanakoṭṭa, Nāgarahāl, Iṭagi (inscribed), Saṇḍūr, Sūlibhāvi, B.N. Jālihāḷ (inscribed), and Bāchinagudda; in Andhra Pradesh at Küḍavelli, Paṇcaliṅgāla (inscribed), Pānyam, Mahānandi, Satyavolu (inscribed), Banditandrapāḍu, and Kaḍamalakālava; in Maharashtra at Ellora. In all, about sixty major monuments are known. Some of the Calukya temple sites include, besides the large and/or significantly sculpted temples emphasized in this study, numerous single-celled undecorated shrines which may be Calukya in date but are of little interest, and post-Calukya temples.

The Calukya temples are of great importance for Indian art history because they constitute the first large surviving corpus of stone structural monuments in South India, and provide the first full display of Brahmanical iconography there. Though the sixth century Kalacuri cave temples of Maharashtra contain Brahmanical sculpture, the caves are few in number and many of their images are greatly damaged. The early Ikṣvāku and Viṣṇukundin dynasties in Andhra Pradesh and the Kadambas in Karnataka are known from inscriptions to have patronized the Brahmanical religion, but only a few stray sculptures may be attributed to them. The Pallava dynasty of Tamil Nadu was the chief South Indian power contemporaneous with the Calukyas, but the known Pallava rock-cut monuments postdate those of the Calukyas, and none of their structural temples survive before the eighth century.
The Calukya monuments are also unique in India for the combination of North Indian and South Indian elements, both architectural and iconographic, which they display. These elements are not only found juxtaposed at a single site, but on individual temples. This mixing of traditions, made possible by geography, bespeaks the eclectic tastes of patrons and the mobility and/or versatility of craftsmen in the Calukya domains. For the purposes of this study, "North Indian" tradition is defined as including Gupta and post-Gupta monuments in India north of the Vindhya mountains, as well as Vākāṭaka-Kalacuri art in Maharashtra and the works of the Southern Kosalas in Madhya Pradesh and the Kaliṅgas in northern Andhra Pradesh. South India, as noted above, has no comparable pre-Calukya monuments surviving. Thus, unfortunately, early "South Indian" influence on Calukya art must be extrapolated from the seventh and eighth century monuments of the Pallavas and later South Indian artistic and literary works. Nevertheless, the distinctiveness of South Indian architectural style (with its pilastered walls and its superstructures consisting of pyramidal clusters of miniature shrine forms) and South Indian iconography (with such popular iconic types as Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Somāskanda, Liṅgodbhavamūrti, cakra- and śaṅkha-bearing Mahiṣamardinī, etc.) from North Indian architectural style and iconography is clear in all periods from the seventh and eighth centuries on, and so must have been rooted in the sixth century at least. Literary tradition bears witness to a distinct Tamil religious and cultural tradition as early as the first few centuries A.D.
Calukya temples in Karnataka were first identified and described in the latter half of the nineteenth century by J. Burgess, and the major sites there were the subject of important studies in the 1920's by R.D. Banerji and H. Cousens. Many of the most important Calukya inscriptions were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by J.F. Fleet; since then, others have appeared intermittently in various epigraphical publications. The Calukya temples at Álampur were discussed in Archaeological Depart of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Annual Report for 1926-27, but their association with the Calukya dynasty was first noted by M. Rama Rao in the 1960's. In recent years, the more isolated temples have been "discovered" in turn, and appended to the Calukya temple corpus, and excavations have been undertaken at Aihole and Pattadakal.

During the last two decades, a number of books and articles dealing with one or more Calukya temples and/or their sculptures have been published. Among the more significant works are A. Lippe's articles on iconography, G. Tartakov's dissertation on architecture, the comprehensive views of O. Divakaran, sketched in three articles, G. Michell's monumental architectural analysis of the Karnataka temples, and Bolon's all-inclusive dissertation on sculpture. Each of these publications, except that of Michell, assumes as a framework some sort of temple chronology. Though the extremely early dates first assigned to the Aihole temples have now generally been discarded, no unanimity has been achieved on the subject of dating. For example, Tartakov places the Mālegitti Śivālaya at Bādāmi, which other scholars generally date in the early seventh century, in c. 730, while Divakaran places the Mahākūṭēśvara temple
at Mahākūṭa, which other scholars generally date in the late seventh century, at the end of the sixth century. Considering the eclecticism, interrelatedness, and occasional archaism of the temples, and the paucity of dated inscription on them, this is not surprising.

Nevertheless, a reliable comprehensive chronology is necessary, and the present thesis proposes one which seems more satisfactory than any earlier one, because it takes into consideration the best features of other authors' theories, while relying on epigraphy and iconography to a far greater extent. For each of the four consecutive chronological sub-periods or phases into which the dynasty's two centuries may be divided, a separate analysis of epigraphy has been provided, summarizing the religious/iconographic content of relevant inscriptions and other significant historical data about the reigning Calukya kings. Not only inscriptions carved onto the Calukya temple structures themselves, but also stone slab epigraphs and royal copper plate grant inscriptions have been considered. In the body of each of the text's four chapters, the individual Calukya Brahmanical temples proposed as belonging to each chronological phase are discussed in turn. Their architectural aspects are only occasionally noticed, and emphasis is placed on sculpture, particularly the images of deities. An attempt is made to define significant changes in and to traces sources of influence (both within and outside the Calukya domains) on the choice, form, and arrangement of such images. The interrelationships thus traced, combined with the evidence of epigraphy, form the basis for my chronology.
In addition, some specific suggestions about patronage are offered, and proposals are made about the original dedications of the temples, many of whose shrines are now empty or whose present lingas seem not to be original, about the iconological significance of a few notable images and groups of images, about the identity of some lost images, and about the origin of some displaced images, on the bases of epigraphy, traditional literature, extant images, and relationships between temples.

While the assemblage of dates, patrons, dedications, and image hypotheses assigned to individual Calukya temples in the following four chapters is in fact the conclusion of my study of the epigraphs, temples, and temple sculptures of the Calukyas, a separate concluding chapter summarizes some of the more significant trends noted and hypotheses made in the text.
Notes


Burgess (1970); Fergusson and Burgess (1969); Gupte (1962); Spink (1967a); (1967b); Collins (1980).

Sivaramamurti (1957a: pls. I, II); Khan (1964); Anand, Settar, Michell et al. (1978: 16); Divakaran (1981: fig. 112); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: fig. 79).


Stadtner (1976); (1980).

Barrett and Dikshit (1960); Ramaswami (1976).

Burgess (1874).

R.D. Banerji (1928).

Cousens (1926).

J.F. Fleet, "SOCl," Indian Antiquary, 1-20 (1872-1891); (1883-85); (1894-95a); (1894-95b), etc.

Rama Rao (1961); (1963); (1965). Michell (1975a: 5, note 3) maintains the opinion that the Alampur temples were patronized by the Eastern Calukya dynasty.

S.R. Rao (1972); (1973); (1978).

Lippe (1967); (1969-70); (1970-71); (1972); (1975).

Tarr/Tartakov (1969a).

Divakaran (1970); (1971); (1981).

Michell (1975a).

Michell (1975a) has summarized the different dates proposed for the Karnataka Calukya temples up to 1975, with the exception of Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 349-356). The most important chronological theories since that date dealing with the Karnataka Calukya temples are those of Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 565-568) and Divakaran (1981). For Andhra Pradesh Calukya temple chronologies see Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 349-356); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 565-568); and also Divakaran (1971); Prasad (1972-73); (1980).


For the architectural aspects of the Calukya temples see especially Tarr/Tartakov (1969a); Michell (1975a); Prasad (1972-73).

Usually the evidence for this is circumstantial, but at least two lingas presently enshrined at Aihole, in the Huccimalli temple and Huccappayya temple, were not present at the time of Cousens' visit (Cousens (1926: 41, 43-44)).

Occasionally, aspects of images are related to individual religious texts, particularly purānas, but this should not be taken as implying that these specific texts were known to the creators of the images, only that the concepts involved probably were similar. The range of texts available in translation is extremely limited, and few texts which can be dated with confidence as far back as the sixth to eighth century are presently extant in any form.
CHAPTER I
THE SIXTH CENTURY:
FROM THE CALUKYA DYNASTY'S FOUNDATION
THROUGH THE REIGN OF MAṆGALÉṢA

A. Epigraphy

A.1. Jayasiṁha and Raṇarāga (early sixth century)

Jayasiṁha and his son Raṇarāga, the immediate ancestors of the historical Calukya kings (Fig. 1), are known only from inscriptions of their descendants. The references to them in Calukya inscriptions are few and inconsistent, indicating either that they were not particularly distinguished or not well remembered. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the reign of Maṅgaleśa (M4; See Epigraphic Notation), great-grandson of Jayasiṁha, describes Jayasiṁha as having virtues like Maghavān (Indra) and affluence like Vaiśravana (Kubera). These gods were well known in Calukya times, and constituted two of the four main dikpālas (direction guardians), but neither of them is known to have been the focus of an independent cult then. Probably these and other such analogies based on well known attributes of minor gods were simply used to flatter. Similar flattery, of equally minimal significance for the individual concerned, is seen in the Meguṭi inscription of 634/5 A.D. (PkJ0), which states that Raṇarāga had godly dignity and a superhuman nature.
In royal inscriptions of the Later Western Cālukya dynasty, dating from the eleventh century, one particular eulogistic version of the family's genealogy was often used (C6). This genealogy portrays Jayasiṃha as the kamala (lotus or water lily) of Lakṣmī (i.e., her abode) and as the counterpart of the deva (god) who destroyed the Daityas (i.e., the counterpart of Viṣṇu), and it states that Raṇarāga delighted in the feet of Hara. These statements imply that Raṇarāga was a Śaiva devotee, and probably that Jayasiṃha honored Viṣṇu. The Kannada poem Gadāyuddha, written in 982 A.D. to honor a Later Western Cālukya prince, includes a list of early Calukya kings which refers to Raṇarāga as a Rāma in war. This statement implies that Raṇarāga admired Rāma, who was a divine avatāra (incarnation) of Viṣṇu as well as a legendary warrior hero. The lack of early corroboration for these tenth and eleventh century statements renders their worth doubtful. Nevertheless, the epigraphic description of Raṇarāga makes it clear that the Later Cālukyas, unlike many modern scholars, did not assume that all of the earliest kings of the Calukya family were Vaiṣṇavas.

A.2. Pulakesi I (c. 543/4 – 566/7 A.D.)

A son of Raṇarāga is the first ruler of the family known from an inscription of his own reign, the Bādāmi cliff inscription dated Śaka 55 (543/4 A.D.) (Pkl). Probably he was the first of his family to achieve the status of an independent king. It is likely that he began his career as a feudal subordinate of the Kadamba dynasty, whose rule preceded that of the Calukyas in Karnataka, but then renounced allegiance to his Kadamba overlord and established himself at the cliff-sheltered village of Vatāpi (Bādāmi) in Karnataka's Bijapur District (Fig. 6),
whose north hill he quickly fortified (Pkl) and which remained the center of his successors' power. This ruler, usually called Pulakeśi in inscriptions after c. 610 A.D. (Pk6,8,10,12; B5; Vk1, etc.) and known as Pulakeśi I in modern histories, received also the following alternative appelations: Vallabha (M5), Vallabheśvara (Pkl), Śrīprthivīvallabha (Pg1, M4, Ad1), Satyāśraya (M4, B2, Ad1), Raṇavikrama (Kl, M4; B2,3), and Dharmamahārāja (Kl). Among these appelations, the epithet Śrīprthivīvallabha literally means "fortunate lord of the earth" or "lord of fortune (śrī) and the earth (prthivi)". This second meaning relates to Viṣṇu, who had the goddesses Śrī and Prthivī for wives. It was appropriate as a royal title because Viṣṇu was believed to have embodied the virtues of kingship by preserving the earth and the prosperity of the righteous in his avatāras. The occasional use of this epithet for Pulakeśi I, however, by no means proves that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu. Pulakeśi II, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu, seems to have used the titles Śrī-Satyāśraya-Prthivīvallabha (Pk6,8) (the fortunate Satyāśraya, lord of the earth) and Satyāśraya-Śrīprthivīvallabha (Pk5,7) (Satyāśraya, lord of fortune and the earth) interchangeably, thus indicating that the title Śrīprthivīvallabha did not have an important Vaiṣṇava connotation for him. Additionally, it may be noted that in main line Calukya copper plate inscriptions from the century after c. 650 A.D. (Vk1, etc.) the title Śrīprthivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja was applied to all kings from Pulakeśi II on, most of whom were Saiva devotees, whereas the earlier and lesser rulers Pulakeśi I and his son Kīrttivarman I received merely the title Vallabha-Mahārāja. This would seem to indicate that these titles were related to a king's political power, whether real or professed, and were essentially secular in meaning.
Inscriptions of Pulakesi I and his sons and grandson record that Pulakesi I performed various *vajñas* (sacrifices) according to *śrauta* rites (Pkl), including the *āśvamedha* (horse sacrifice) (Pkl, Pgl, Kl; M4,5; Pk4,8) or *hayamedha* (Pkl10), *agnistoma* (Pgl; M4,5; Kl), *agnicayana* (Pgl, Kl, M4), *vrajapeya* (Pgl; M4,5; Kl), *bahusuvarna* (Kl; M4,5), and *paundarīka* (Kl; M4,5) sacrifices. Inscriptions of his descendants between c. 650 A.D. (Vkl, etc.), and the fall of the dynasty mention only the *āśvamedha*. Inscriptions before 650 A.D. further state that Pulakesi was born of Hiranyagarbha (Pkl, Pgl, M4, Pk4), which is a name of the god Brahmā and also of a *mahādāna* (great gift; a religious ritual involving gifts). The context in which the term is used seems to indicate that Pulakesi performed the Hiranyagarbha *mahādāna* rite. Pulakesi is also said to have bathed ritually in Gaṅgā water (Pk3). He was *brahmaṇya* (religious or friendly to *brahmanas*) (M4), delighted in *dharma* (law or proper conduct) (M4), and pursued the *trīvarga* (three things: *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*) (Pkl10). He knew the text of *Manu*, *purāṇas*, and *itihāsa* (epics) such as *Rāmāyana* and *Bhārata* (M5). He was compared to Brahmā in conduct or philosophy (M5) and to Vasudeva in majesty. This latter comparison appears in the Mahākūṭa inscription (M4) of Pulakesi's Vaisnava son Maṅgaleśa as part of an analogy whose prime intention was to compare Maṅgaleśa to Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, son of Vasudeva. Pulakesi was also compared to the legendary kings Manu, Nṛga, Nahusa, Yayāti, Dhundhumāra, Ambarīsa, Dilīpa and Nābhāga (Pk6).

Maṅgaleśa's Mahākūṭa inscription (M4), which records a land grant to the god Makuṭēśvaranātha, specifically states that this gift was intended to supplement riches given to their own god's treasury by Maṅgaleśa's father (Pulakesi) and elder brother. This seems to indicate
that Pulakesi was a devotee of Makuṭesvaranātha, who presumably was a form of Śiva.

The standard eleventh century Later Western Cālukya family epigraphic genealogy (C6) states that Pulakesi gave two thousand villages to priests at the celebration of his āśvamedha. This is probably an exaggeration, but based on a core of truth. The same genealogy asserts that Pulakesi was equal to the destroyer of Kesī (i.e., to Kṛṣṇa). However the context of this statement, a fanciful explanation of the name Pulakesi (literally, tiger-haired?), makes its value doubtful.

In conclusion, then, it seems that Pulakesi I was a strong believer in and practitioner of Brahmanical dharma, honoring brāhmaṇas (and perhaps the god Brahmā/Hiranyakagārbha, the archetypical brāhmaṇa), and valuing the sacrifices and rites presided over by them. While succeeding Cālukya kings made many gifts of land to brāhmaṇas, none seems to have had an interest comparable to Pulakesi's in performing sacrificial rituals. It is likely that Pulakesi used sacrifices as a means to legitimate his claims to king-ship. His son Kīrttivarman performed a few similar sacrifices, probably for the same reason, but the practice is not known to have been continued once the dynasty became well established.

Additionally, Pulakesi seems to have shown personal devotion to the purāṇic god Śiva in the form Makuṭesvaranātha (M4).

A.3. Pūgavarma (second half of the sixth century)

After Pulakesi I, the next Cālukya to be considered is Pūgavarma, eldest son of Pulakesi, known only from his undated Mudhol copper plate grant (Pgl). It is not certain whether Pūgavarma was identical to Kīrttivarman I, was a separate individual who ruled or attempted to rule
between the reigns of Pulakesi I and Kīrttivarma I but was ignored in all Calukya genealogies, or was a son who predeceased his father. One of the latter two hypotheses seems most likely. In any case, Pūgavarma's grant begins with an invocation to Brahmā, radiant like gold, causing good and evil in the three worlds, and worthy of worship by good people. Invocations praising Brahmā alone, not as one of a group of gods or as part of the trinity Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva, are relatively rare in India, and no cult is known to have been solely devoted to Brahmā. However he does seem to have been an honored god in this period in the Deccan.

The purpose of the Mudhol grant was to give land "for the second time" to Vārāhīdevasvāmi (the lord, the god of Vārāha; i.e., Varāha), which seems to indicate that Pūgavarma made at least two gifts to Varāha, Viṣṇu's boar avatāra. It is also implied that Vārāhī was a well known goddess at this time. The seal affixed to the Mudhol grant bears a worn figure with right hand raised; it has tentatively been identified as Hanumān or Varāha. Without other evidence, it can only be stated that Pūgavarma seems to have shown devotion to both Brahmā and Varāha/Vārāhī.

A.4. Kīrttivarma I (566/7 - 597/8 A.D.)

A son of Pulakesi I who definitely ruled after his father was Kīrttivarma I. Moving beyond his father's achievement, he actually defeated the Kadambas in battle (M4; Pk8,10;C6), and so insured Calukya independence. His Godachi plates (K1), issued in the twelfth regnal year, provide the earliest known Calukya praśasti (praise; eulogy of a king and his family). Several important statements in this praśasti are identical to those used in copper plate inscriptions of the Kadamba dynasty, and probably they were imitated from that source in order to
legitimize the replacement of Kadamba rule by Calukya rule. These
borrowed statements assert that the family members were sons of Ṫaritī,
belonged to the Mānava gotra, and were consecrated by meditation on the
Mātrgaṇa (assemblage of Mothers) and Svāmi Mahāsena (the lord who has a
great army; Kārttikeya). The Goḍachi grant goes on to state that
Kīrttivarma knew smṛti (sacred tradition) and all the Āsttras (sacred
books) and enforced varṇāṣṭram (caste and order) rules. He gave land to
a brāhmaṇa who knew vedas and vedāṅgas and maintained two sacrificial
fires. The gift was made at the request of Vyāghrasvāmi, who was a great
brāhmaṇa comparable to Brhaspati and apparently an important minister of
the kingdom. Vyāghrasvāmi knew purāṇas, itihāsa, vedas, vedāṅgas, and many
arts and sciences.

The Chiplun plates (Pk2) of his son describe Kīrttivarma as the
"first maker" of Bādāmi. Since Pulakeśi is known to have fortified the
site (Pk1), it has been assumed that Kīrttivarma was the individual
responsible for the earliest palaces, temples, tanks, etc. there.
In fact, several of the earliest Bādāmi temples do belong to his reign.

The main inscription (M1) at Cave 3 at Bādāmi, of the twelfth year
of Kīrttivarma's reign, is dated in Śaka 500 on a day equivalent to
October 31, 578 A.D. This inscription records a land grant to the
Vaiṣṇava cave temple excavated by Kīrttivarma's younger brother
Maṅgalesā. In it, Maṅgalesā transfers the merit of his action to
Kīrttivarma, who is described as one honored by gods, twice-born, and
gurus. The reference in Maṅgalesā's Mahākūṭa inscription (M4), noted
above in connection with Pulakeśi I, to riches given to their god
Makuṭesvaranātha by Maṅgalesā's father and elder brother, probably
indicates that Kīrttivarma was a devotee of Śiva Makuṭesvaranātha, since no other brother of Maṅgalesa but Kīrttivarma is mentioned in this inscription. Other Calukya inscriptions give little additional information about Kīrttivarma. His virtues are compared to those of Balabhadra (Balarāma) in the context of a comparison of Maṅgalesa to Vāsubhadra (Krṣṇa), younger brother of Balabhadra (M4). It is stated that at Kīrttivarma's death he rose to the skies (M4) and challenged the power of Suresvara (PkalO) (Indra), i.e., he went to Svarga (Indra's heaven). Kīrttivarma is also said to have performed bahusuvrana (M4), agnistoma (M4), and many adhvara sacrifices (Pkal).

To summarize, while Kīrttivarma did participate in traditional Brahmanical sacrifices, his chief interest probably lay in the worship of purāṇic gods. It must be assumed that he offered some worship to Mahāsena and the Mothers, since he initiated the claim that the Calukyas were consecrated by them (Kl). He also apparently accepted merit for the land grant made to Maṅgalesa's Vaiṣṇava temple (Ml), and so must have given his approval to this grant. Finally, he seems to have followed his father in worshipping Makuṭesvaranātha as a personal deity (M4).

A.5. Maṅgalesa (597/8 - c. 609/10 A.D.)

After the death of Kīrttivarma, his younger brother Maṅgalesa or Maṅgalarāja (M3,5) succeeded to the throne. Maṅgalesa is first known, however, from his inscription at Cave 3 at Bādami (Ml) which, as noted above, was composed in 578 A.D. during Kīrttivarma's reign. This inscription has a brief prāśasti of the Calukya family related to that of the Goḍachi plates (Kl). The elements "sons of Hāritī" and "Mānavyas- gotra," first seen in the Goḍachi plates, are present in this and in all
later royal Calukya prasastis. The family is also said to have meditated on the feet of Sri Svami, who can be identified with Svami Mahasena on the basis of his mention in a similar context in the Godachi plates and also in the Nerur plates (M5) of Mangalesa's own reign. No mention is made of the Mothers, however, in the Cave 3 inscription or in the prasastis composed during Mangalesa's own reign.

The inscription at Cave 3 at Badami (M1) describes Mangalesa as knowing all the Sastras and as being a paramabhagavata (great devotee of the Bhagavat, i.e., a Vaisnava). It claims that he made a layana (house), a mahavisnugraha (shrine of the great Visnu), surpassing everything divine or human; this temple is evidently the large Vaisnava rock cut shrine in the south cliff at Badami, known as Cave 3, where the inscription is found engraved next to an image of Varaha. The temple's (main) image is described as "Bhagavat Visnu who destroyed the enemies with his cakra (disc weapon) which had the form of the sun rising at/after the destruction of the universe". At the time of the consecration festival for this image, Mangalesa made a great gift to 25 brahmanas and gave a village whose income was to be used for oblations to Narayana and for a daily allowance to sixteen brahmanas, presumably those who would offer the oblation. Any daily remainder was allotted to parivrajas (mendicants in the fourth stage of life). In the presence of Aditya, Agni, and mahajana(s), the accumulated merit was assigned to Kirttivarma; Mangalesa retained for himself only the merit of obedience to his brother.

Mangalesa's undated Nerur copper plate grant (M5) makes no mention of Kirttivarman in its brief prasasti, and presumably was issued after his death. It describes Mangalesa as a paramabhagavata, as paramabrahmanya...
(extremely religious or friendly to brāhmaṇas), and as one who delighted in worshipping gods, twice-born, and gurus. It compares his fame to that of the legendary king Vainya (Prthu). This inscription records that, after fasting and praising Viṣṇu, Maṅgaleśa gave a village to a brāhmaṇa who knew veda and vedāṅga. The plates of this grant were provided with a seal bearing the image of a theriomorphic boar, evidently referring to the Varāha avatāra of Viṣṇu.

Maṅgaleśa's Mahāküṭa pillar inscription (M4) was written in his fifth regnal year, and possibly mentions a cyclic year which would make its date equivalent to April 12, 602 A.D. In the Calukya family prāśasti of this inscription, no mention is made of devotion to Mahāśena or the Mothers. The family is said to be characterized by meditation on the feet of parents, sacrifices made to Agni according to due rites, and many acts of dharma. In this inscription, Maṅgaleśa's virtues are compared to those of Vāsūbhadrā (Krṣṇa, younger brother of Balabhadra/Balarāma, compared to Kṛttivarma), and his invincibility to that of Rāma. He is said to be like the kamalas, an abode of Śrī, and to be like Vāsudeva, possessed of Śrī. His various other qualities are compared to those of the god Mahendra (Indra), and the legendary figures Uru, Śibi son of Uśīnara, Yudhiṣṭhira, Māndhātṛ, Brhaspati, and Usanas. He is also described, as in the Nerūr plates (M5), as honoring gods, twice-born, and gurus.

The Mahāküṭa pillar inscription further states that Maṅgaleśa desired to erect a victory pillar of dharma (dharma-jayastambha) before campaigning in the north and erecting a victory pillar of prowess at the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) River. This dharma-jayastambha is identical with the Mahāküṭa pillar itself, a sixteen-sided freestanding column now in the
Archaeological Museum at Bijapur (Fig. 136), which is in fact called a dharma-jayastambha in an adjunct to its main inscription. The purpose of the main inscription was to record the gift of ten villages to Makuṭeśvaranātha, to supplement an earlier donation made by Maṅgaleśa's father and elder brother. The gift was announced to Durlabhadevi, wife of Maṅgaleśa's father, who was described as a devoted wife like Madayanti or Damayantī, purified by various dharmas.

Maṅgaleśa's personal profession of Vaiṣṇava faith, indicated in his Cave 3 (M1) and Nerūr inscriptions (M5), is also implied by a line in the Mahākūṭa inscription. Loosely translated, this states that, the spoils gained from a victory over the Kalacuri dynasty having gone into his own temple's deva-droni (temple treasury), Maṅgaleśa gave ten villages to supplement the wealth given by his father and elder brother to their own deva-droni of Makuṭeśvaranātha. Thus, Maṅgaleśa's god (Viṣṇu) is clearly contrasted with Makuṭeśvaranātha, the god of his father and elder brother. Whether or not Maṅgaleśa had been requested by Durlabhadevi to make a donation to Makuṭeśvaranātha, it would seem that he decided to make the gift as a means of publicly demonstrating his reverence for his deceased father and brother and also his desire to perpetuate the royal/religious traditions they had established. Since Maṅgaleśa was occupying a throne which rightly belonged to Kīrttivarma's son, it is quite understandable that he would have wished to please the departed spirits, as well as the living relatives, of his brother's line.

The undated Hūli copper plate inscription (M3) records that an individual of the Sendraka family, probably a feudatory prince, made a gift of land to a Jain caitya (place of worship) at Maṅgaleśa's behest. The format of this grant suggests that the prince had requested and
received royal permission to make the gift out of his own property. The invocation of this inscription praises Jina and the dharma of the Arhats and, although Maṅgaleśa is briefly eulogized and compared to Purāṇḍara (Indra or Śiva), there is no Calukya family praśasti and the seal features a tigress with cub rather than a boar.

In conclusion, it is clear that Maṅgaleśa was a devotee of Viṣṇu, possibly especially honoring Varāha, but he also made a large gift to Makuṭeśvaranātha (M4) and sanctioned a gift to the Jain religion (M3). Since his Bādāmi Cave 3 inscription (M1) and Nerūr plates (M5) state that the Calukya family meditated on Svāmi or Svāmi Mahāsena, it is likely that Maṅgaleśa himself honored this god. It seems clear, on the other hand, that he was not a devotee of the Mothers, since he omitted reference to them while imitating all the other major elements of the family praśasti devised by Kārttivarma.
B. Temples

B.1. Pulakesi I as Patron: The Makuṭeśvaranātha temple at Mahākūṭa

The earliest surviving Calukya temple is Cave 1 at Bādami, dedicated to Śiva and probably dating late in the reign of Pulakesi I. As suggested by W. Spink, this monument may have been created in part by craftsmen who had worked at the Kalacuri Ellora excavations, but were lured south by the Calukya ruler's patronage. Pulakesi, once firmly established in power, seems to have wished to surround himself with the religious accouterments of kingship; since inscriptions reveal that he performed a large number of orthodox sacrifices (which were traditionally accompanied by lavish gifts to brāhmaṇa officiants) (C6), it is plausible that he also would have desired to create an impressive temple in his capital in the fashionable Kalacuri rock-cut mode, and would have offered to pay immigrant craftsmen well. However, Cave 1 at Bādami probably was not the earliest Calukya temple. Epigraphy (M4) implies that a temple of Śiva Makuṭeśvaranātha at Mahākūṭa, not a residential site but rather the location of a sacred spring about three miles east of Bādami, was of primary importance in Pulakesi's reign. The name of this form of Śiva, Pulakesi's "own" god (M4), means "the lord, lord of the crown" (or possibly even "the lord of the ruler possessing the crown"), and thus seems clearly to refer to Pulakesi's claim to independent kingship: the term makuta is used in numerous Calukya inscriptions to designate the headdress worn by a human ruler. It appears likely that, soon after he declared his independence from Kadamba authority and fortified the north hill at Bādami (Pkl; 543/4 A.D.), Pulakesi employed local craftsmen to build a temple to his patron god Śiva at a nearby tīrtha (Mahākūṭa), naming the liṅga (aniconic symbol of Śiva) in commemoration of and
thanksgiving for his kingship. The Mahâküta pillar inscription (M4) reveals that Pulakesi's son and successor Kiśtivarma also considered Makuṭeśvaranātha his "own" god, and that Maṅgaleśa, although he called another god his "own", gave rich gifts to Makuṭeśvaranātha after ascending the throne. Evidently, even after the death of the original patron of Makuṭeśvaranātha, the latter god was closely associated with Calukya kingship.

The stone Mahâküṭeśvara temple presently standing at Mahâküta seems to date from the second half of the seventh century and to be a replacement for Pulakesi I's original temple. Pulakesi's temple probably was built between 543 and 560 A.D., but what its form would have been is unknown, since it has not survived. It is possible, however, that at least two of the stone images on the present Mahâküṭeśvara temple were preserved and reused from the original Makuṭeśvaranātha temple: the Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 54) on the garbha grha's (sanctum's) north exterior and the standing male deity (Fig. 99) on the temple's west exterior. These two seem different in style from other images on the present temple, and also relate in iconography to surviving sixth century Calukya images. A Harihara image may have appeared on the original garbha grha's south exterior, since Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara are the dominant icons at Cave 1 at Bāḍāmi, and also are two of the three chief deities used on later Calukya temples at Mahâküṭa. We note that the Mahâküṭeśvara temple images of Ardhanārīśvara and the male deity both bear distinctive spear-tipped tridents of the type held by the Cave 1 dwârapāla (door guardian) (Fig. 18).
Excavation at Cave 1 (Figs. 9-11) at Bâdâmi, facing north near the west end of the site's south cliff, was probably begun after the Makuteśvaranâtha temple was complete, fairly late in Pulakeši's reign. The iconography of the cave has some influences from, but is not dependent on Kalacūri art, despite the supposed involvement of Kalacūri craftsmen. For example, the south-facing entablature at the verandah's west end features a relief of the testing of Pārvatī and her marriage with Śiva (Figs. 12-13), suggesting a knowledge of the large scale representation of the same subject at Cave 21 at Ellora (which must have been finished or at least well underway before this part of Cave 1 was excavated), but significant individual details, such as the prominence of the seven sages at the wedding in Bâdâmi, are different. It is also notable that the Mâtrakās, seen at Elephanta's east wing, Jogeswari, and Cave 21 at Ellora, are absent at Cave 1 at Bâdâmi. Evidently they did not yet play a significant role in Calukya dynastic iconography.

Cave 1 and its Brahmanical successors to the east, Caves 2 and 3, each consist of an open pillared verandah, pillared mandapā (hall), and nirandhâra garbhâ grha (sanctum lacking an enclosed area for the circumambulation rite). Cave 1's main sculptures are on the verandah end walls: four-armed Ardhanārīśvara is shown at the proper left (west) (Fig. 14) and Harihara at the proper right (east) (Fig. 15). The Ardhanārīśvara figure bears a vina (stringed musical instrument), an unusual attribute. None of Śiva's ugramūrtis (violent, angry or ferocious forms) appears in the cave proper. He is typically shown in passive modes, seated or standing with Pārvatī and/or Nandi, and holding nāga (snake) and paraśu (axe), the latter more common in South Indian
representations of Śiva than the *trisūla* (trident) of North Indian representations. This apparent regional preference may possibly be related to iconography; in texts and images Śiva is rarely represented as killing his foes with a *paraśu*, but rather with his trident, or with some other weapon or method. The *paraśu* may have been envisioned as a less aggressive and more symbolic weapon than the trident, appropriate for cutting through illusion, ignorance, or sin, rather than demons, and thus more suitable for passive forms of Śiva. In any event the association of the trident with Śiva was familiar to the Cave 1 sculptors; the Nandi attendant in the Harihara relief bears trident and the facade's *dvārapāla* (Fig. 18) a trident-spear.

Besides images of Śiva and his consort, Cave 1 features a four-armed Gaṇeṣa (bearing both axe and trident) on a *mandapa* pillar bracket, and a two-armed Gaṇeṣa centered over the westernmost (proper left) entrance to the *mandapa* from the verandah. Scenes of worship of a *liṅga* appear over the central of the three *mandapa* entrance bays and on a *mandapa* pillar bracket. The *garbha grha*’s rock-cut *liṅga* on a square *pīṭha* (pedestal) is still in situ. The number of independent minor Vaiṣṇava subjects included in this cave’s decoration indicates Viṣṇu’s status as a respected secondary deity. We find representations of Nṛsiṃha (a particularly popular form of Viṣṇu, even with Calukya Śaiva patrons) seated with *yogapatta* (leg-restraining band) on a *mandapa* pillar bracket (Fig. 16); Gaja-Lakṣāmi and seated Viṣṇu on adjacent inward-facing facade pillar brackets; and Viṣṇu seated on Ananta, with Vāmana and Nṛsiṃha as subordinate figures, on an outward-facing facade pillar bracket (Fig. 17). Nṛsiṃha and the seated Viṣṇu figures bear *cakra* (rear right) and *śaṅkha* (conch) (rear left), and also the left/Viṣṇu side of the
Harihara image has śaṅkha in the rear hand; these attributes are typical of Viṣṇu images in Calukya and South Indian art, but not North Indian or Kalacuri art.

Since the east (proper right) side of the Cave 1 facade is occupied by a large dvārapāla (Fig. 18), it may be supposed that the original intention was to place another on the opposite (west) side. However, it appears that plans were changed in mid excavation and, instead, on the west end, a group of deities constituting Śiva's "family" was carved. Most prominent is a large, eighteen-armed Naṭeśa relief (Fig. 27), including Nandi, Gaṇeśa, and a drummer; next to it is a pillar-screened subshrine containing figures of Kārṭtikeya (proper right), central Mahiṣamardini, and Gaṇeśa (proper left). The idea of a subspace screened by pillars is seen frequently in the Kalacuri caves (Jogeswari (Figs. 19-20), Mandapeswar, Elephanta (Figs. 21-22), Cave 21 at Ellora (Figs. 23-24)), and also the subshrine's inhabitants, Kārṭtikeya, Gaṇeśa and Mahiṣamardini, are grouped together at Jogeswari's east entrance, but the icons in the subshrine at Cave 1 at Bādāmi seem not to be of Kalacuri type. Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 715) has a different stance, and Kārṭtikeya is featured seated on his peacock (Fig. 25) rather than standing as at Elephanta, Jogeswari, and Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 26). Finally, although Naṭeśa reliefs were popular in the Kalacuri caves, the context was different, and Śiva's form at Cave 1 at Bādāmi is unlike either the Naṭeśas seen at Elephanta (Main cave (Figs. 29-30) and west wing), Mandapeswar (Fig. 31), and probably Jogeswari, or the one at Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 28), though the position of his feet resembles the latter. The unusually large number of the Cave 1 Naṭeśa figure's arms suggests that this image was an independent, imaginative creation, though
possibly the basic form was derived from a North Indian source or a lost, North Indian–influenced Kadamba prototype; Śiva holds a trident and lifts a snake in two hands over his head. The trident, as noted above, is most often associated with North Indian Śiva images, and the action of upholding a snake in this way appears in several examples of Naṭeśa from North India. Most of Naṭeśa's hands at Cave 1 display dance or other mudrās (gestures), including the prominent gaja-hasta (elephant's trunk gesture) of the front left hand; besides the trisūla and nāga, he holds damaru (drum) and noose (?) on the right, and vīṇā on the left.

B.3. Cave 2 at Bādāmi

Cave 2 at Bādāmi (Figs. 32–34) probably was begun just about when Cave 1 was finished, and employed the same craftsmen. This cave's iconographic relations to the later, inscribed Cave 3 suggest that its patron was also Maṅgaleśa, younger brother of King Kīrttivarma. When their father Pulakeśi I died and Kīrttivarma ascended the throne, Maṅgaleśa seems to have directed his energies toward temple construction. As he was a devotee rather of Viṣṇu than Śiva, he appears to have decided to create a comparable Vaisnava cave temple slightly east of and higher than the recently completed Śaiva Cave 1.

The Cave 2 dvārapālas, at both ends of the facade, are unarmed, as were most in the Kalacuri caves. The two major icons, on the verandah end walls, are two of Viṣṇu's avatāras, Trivikrama (west) (Figs. 69–71) and Varāha (east) (Fig. 35). These may have served, respectively, as metaphors for Maṅgaleśa and for his brother Kīrttivarma/father Pulakeśi I. At this time Varāha probably was not the Calukya dynasty's official lāṁchana (mark). However, the Agni Purāṇa (chapter 49, vs. 3) states
that installing a Varāha image insures acquisition of a kingdom, and
probably Varāha’s role as rescuer of the earth goddess Bhū was envisioned
by Maṅgalesā as paralleling Pulakeśi’s and Kīrttivarma’s rescue of
Karnataka from Kadamba rule and establishment of the Calukya kingdom.
Presumably, after Kīrttivarma’s death, when Maṅgalesā took the throne, he
used a boar seal (referring to Varāha) in an effort to legitimize his
rule. Pulakeśi II, who subsequently recovered the kingdom from
Maṅgalesā, seems to have used boar seals and some Varāha invocations for
the same reason; he claimed that the dynasty was given a boar lāṅchana by
Nārāyaṇa. Pulakeśi’s descendants followed his example in inscriptions,
and probably the appearance of Varāha images on later Śaiva Calukya
temples was due, at least in part, to their metaphoric association with
either the dynasty’s foundation or, by analogy, the reigning king.

The Varāha image at Cave 2 is four-armed and holds cakra and śaṅkha
in the rear right and left hands, typical attributes for Calukya Vaiśnava
images. He supports the standing Bhū on a lotus held in his front left
hand, and rests the front right near his hip. This position for Bhū
occurs as early as the two-armed Varāha from Badoh Pahari, but perhaps
its first combination with a four-armed Varāha occurred at just about the
time of Cave 2 at Bādāmi; a Mandasor pillar featuring a Varāha similar to
the Cave 2 example has been dated to the late sixth or seventh century.
The asura (demon) Hiraṇyaśa is absent, as in all known Calukya Varāha
images.

The eight-armed Trivikrama image at Cave 2 (Fig. 69), holds a
recurved bow with an inwardly bent arm on his left side, and seems
formally related in this respect to the roughly contemporaneous eight-
armed Nahiṣamardinī image at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Fig. 728), but which
image influenced which is uncertain. In this connection I would suggest that the carving of the verandah ceilings in Cave 2 progressed from east to west. The *gandharva* (heavenly demigod) couple in the east bay recalls Cave 1; moving west we find three decorative motifs: *svastikas*, central *matsyacakra* (fish-wheel), and *svastikas* with figures. In the westernmost (proper left) ceiling bay, an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Fig. 36) appears instead of another decorative *gandharva* couple like that at the east end.

This apparent change in plan (since it is unlikely that the original design would have placed Viṣṇu away from the center) probably was influenced by the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, where an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Fig. 37) decorates the ceiling at the proper left outside the *garbhagṛha*, next to/above the image of Mahiṣaṁardinī. In the latter cave, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa is part of a more consistent ceiling plan, with Indra on Airāvata as its counterpart at the proper right. Additionally, we note that, above the Cave 2 image of Trivikrama, on the entablature below the Viṣṇu on Garuḍa ceiling, is a small ten-armed image of Nāṭeśa (Fig. 39) which appears to be a copy of the large Nāṭeśa image at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Fig. 47). Thus, it would seem likely that the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave Mahiṣaṁardinī image preceded and influenced the Cave 2 image of Trivikrama, rather than vice versa.

We note that in Maṅgaleśa's later Mahākūṭa inscription (M4) he explicitly compares himself to Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Kīrttivarman to Kṛṣṇa's elder brother Balarāma. This analogy probably occurred to Maṅgaleśa earlier, and it is therefore not surprising that Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes appear in Cave 2 (on the three easternmost of the south-facing verandah entablatures) and also in other monuments attributed to his patronage. Besides those already mentioned, Vaiṣṇava subjects in the
Cave 2 verandah are Viṣṇu seated on Ananta (on a pillar bracket), Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa (above the image of Varāha, Fig. 35), and also Viṣṇu with consorts and on Garuḍa, the churning of the ocean, the battle for amṛta, devas approaching two-armed Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa(?), and Viṣṇu Anantaśayin (Fig. 38) (on the entablatures). The latter two reliefs probably are linked thematically with the Śākta (goddess-related) scenes of the central south bay's entablature (Fig. 726), containing central Gaja-Lakṣmī and Mahiṣamardinī.

It appears that even before the Cave 2 verandah was completely decorated, Maṅgaleśa decided to excavate another, more magnificent temple to Viṣṇu (Cave 3 at Bādāmi). He seems therefore to have proceeded to finish Cave 2 with the revised intention of enshrining a Devī, perhaps Mahiṣamardinī, who though conceived in Calukya art generally as a Śaiva goddess, was often complemented by or contrasted to images of Viṣṇu or Varāha. Probably datable after this change in plans are the three westernmost south verandah entablatures and the entire mandapa, whose pillars are adorned with a choice and arrangement of deity images which does not seem Vaiṣṇava. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Lakulīśa (Fig. 40) appear in comparable positions, but with the Lakulīśa image in the central aisle leading to the garbha grha. Also there are two representations of Kārttikeya riding a peacock, one two-armed and one four-armed (Fig. 40), and one each of Gaṇeśa, Śiva with Pārvatī, and Lakṣmī. The image which originally was placed upon the garbha grha's rock-cut pitha is now lost.

The seated Lakulīśa on a mandapa pillar bracket inside Cave 2 (Fig. 40) is nude, ithyphallic, and four-armed, bearing club and axe, right, and mudrā and rosary, left, and seems not to be imitated from the numerous two-armed images of Śiva-Yogeśvara and/or Lakulīśa (Fig. 214) in
the Maharashtra caves. Bolon's suggestion, that the Pāṇḍupata cult, whose doctrines were taught by Śiva's avatāra Lakulīśa, first reached Karnataka during the Calukya period as a result of contact with the Kalacuris, does not seem valid. While sixth-seventh century Kalacuri copper plates do indicate the devotion to Paṇḍupati Śiva of one Kalacuri queen and one king, two stone inscriptions of a Kadamba feudatory in South Karnataka reveal that Paṇḍupati Śiva was already known in that region as early as the mid fifth century. Thus, although it is likely that the popularity of Lakulīśa in Kalacuri sculpture influenced the choice of Lakulīśa as an image to be represented in Cave 2, the representation itself may have followed a now lost Kadamba tradition of Lakulīśa iconography.

B.4. Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Temple 69) at Aihole

The Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Figs. 42-44) is a Śiva temple excavated in a low ridge northeast of the town of Aihole in Karnataka's Hungund District, on the south/east bank of the Malaprabha River, downstream and about fifteen miles northeast from Bāḍāmi. Its iconography suggests that it was excavated early in Kirttivarma's reign, possibly by craftsmen who had just finished work on the Jain cave at Aihole. We note that Kirttivarma's sole surviving copper plate inscription (K1) adopts the Kadamba claim that the royal family was consecrated by meditation on the Mātrgaṇa (assemblage of Mātrakās) and Svāmi Mahāsena (Kārṭtikeya). Since the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave features a most impressive Māṭrka group (Figs. 45-49,) with images of Naṭesā, Bhṛṅgi, Pārvatī, Kārṭtikeya, and Gaṇesā, it may be suggested that this cave temple was carved to commemorate Kirttivarma's victory over the Kadambas (presumed to have occurred at the
very start of his reign), and his dynasty's adoption of the traditional Kadamba patron deities. It is likely that this cave was created at the order of King Kīrttivarma, and consequently was well financed and more quickly finished than Cave 2 at Bādāmi. It seems likely that the broken freestanding stone pillar situated in front of the Aihole cave was a royal jayastambha (victory pillar), like the one later erected by Kīrttivarma's younger brother Maṅgalesa at Mahākūta. Maṅgalesa himself may have been placed in charge of the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave's excavation; M.A. Dhaky has announced the discovery of an unpublished inscription reading "Rāṇavikrānta," the chief epithet used for Maṅgalesa in inscriptions (Ml,3,4), near the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave relief of Naṭeṣa and the Mothers.

The entrance to the cave faces west, is of the three bay type, and is flanked by unique worn guards and large images of nidhis (personified treasures). Unlike the Bādāmi caves, the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave has no verandah. Entrance is made directly to the mandapa, an open space with pillar-screened subshrines to north and south. The cave's images are chiefly Śaiva, but a Varāha image (Fig. 50) is placed just outside the garbha grha, across from the Mahiṣamardini image (Fig. 728). Although in the Kalacuri caves dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu appears only as a small attendant figure, Vaiṣṇava images in both Cave 1 at Bādāmi and the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave are found in positions which suggest respect, rather than extreme sectarian bias. While the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave's images of seated Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Fig. 37) and Indra on Airāvata probably should be conceived as flying toward the garbha grha to honor the rock-cut liṅga on a square pitha there, the Varāha is a major independent icon, presumably included due to its metaphoric association with the founding of the
Calukya kingdom. This Varāha seems unrelated to the example at Cave 2 at Bādāmi (Fig. 35), although the attributes are the same. Bhū does not stand on a pedestal, but rather is seated on Varāha's upper left arm, as in, for instance, the two-armed image at the Varāha temple at Deogarh. This position for Bhū, described in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa and Matsya Purāṇa, was more frequently used in later Calukya depictions of Varāha than any other. Further evidence that the Cave 2 image of Varāha was unknown to the sculptor of the Varāha at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave is the latter's pose with left leg bent and toes pointed down to touch the ground. This seems a misunderstanding of the pratyālīḍha stance, featuring the left foot raised to step on nāgas or water foliage, which was traditional in North India and used in Cave 2. In the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave relief, two nāgas are carved in front of, rather than under the god's left foot. Another unusual feature is the presence of a vanamālā on the Varāha image at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave; while this thick garland is characteristic of North Indian Viṣṇu forms, it is rarely ever found in Calukya Vaiṣṇava sculptures.

Two other icons at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, flanking the mandapa entrance on the inside, are Gaṅgādharamūrti (Fig. 51) (proper left) and Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 53) (proper right). These same deities are also associated in the Main cave at Elephanta, where they flank the three-faced Maheśamūrti image. Although the forms are not particularly similar, it has been noted by K. Mankodi that the Elephanta (Fig. 52) and Rāvaṇa Phadi cave images of Gaṅgādharamūrti do share an unusual centrally placed triple form Gaṅgā. In the Elephanta cave, Naṭeśa is located to the proper left inside the entrance and Ardhanārīśvara is to the proper right of the dominant Maheśamūrti image, while Śiva-Yogēśvara/Lakulīśa
and Gaṅgādharamūrti are to the proper right, inside the entrance, and to the proper left, by the Maheśamūrti, respectively (Figs. 21-22). If the iconography of the Rāvana Phadi cave corresponded in this respect to that at Elephanta, then the destroyed pillar-screened subshrine at the proper left of the Rāvana Phadi cave mandapa, across from the Naṭesā composition and next to the image of Gaṅgādharamūrti, would have been designed to contain a Śiva-Yogēśvara/Lakulīśa image.

On the other hand, the use of pillars to screen off side subshrines from the Rāvana Phadi cave mandapa recalls the treatment of Cave 21 at Ellora (Figs. 23-24), and the arrangement in the latter cave's south side area of Naṭesā (Fig. 28) (with Bhṛṅgī, Gaṅeśa, Pārvatī holding the child Kārttikeya, and many others) near seated Mothers (Fig. 175) perhaps relates to the Rāvana Phadi cave's north side area grouping of Naṭesā with dancing Mothers, Bhṛṅgī, Pārvatī, and child-like Gaṅeśa and Kārttikeya. If the iconography of the Rāvana Phadi cave mandapa side areas corresponded in general with that of Cave 21 at Ellora, then the destroyed south side area opposite the Naṭesā composition would have contained a scene or scenes relating to the testing of Pārvatī and the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, rather than an image of Śiva-Yogēśvara/Lakulīśa. This seems perhaps the more likely of the two possibilities. A version of the testing of Pārvatī and her marriage with Śiva, probably related to that at Cave 21 at Ellora, does in fact occur on a small scale at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Figs. 12-13), proving that it was part of the sculptural repertoire in Karmataka just prior to the date of the Rāvana Phadi cave. Also we note that the Main cave at Elephanta itself has a relief showing the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī not far from its representation of Gaṅgādharamūrti.
The iconography of the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave image of Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 53) is close to that of the representation of Ardhanārīśvara now on the Mahākūṭeśvara temple (Fig. 54), which also may be a sixth century image; both are two-armed and carry long-handled tridents (or trident-spears) on the proper right. The suggestion that Ardhanārīśvara and Gagādharamūrti icons were selected to appear across from each other at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave in imitation of the iconography of some non-Calukya temple, such as the Main cave at Elephanta, seem supported by the fact that an image of Harihara, a deity frequently paired with Ardhanārīśvara in Calukya art, appears as if inserted by afterthought next to the south dvārapāla flanking the steps to the garbha grha area (Fig. 56); this leaves the mandapa visually unbalanced, as the north dvārapāla (Fig. 55) has no companion image. The Rāvaṇa Phadi cave image of Harihara bears nāga, rosary, and śākha; perhaps the supposed original Makūṭeśvaranātha temple image of Harihara would have been similar.

The form of the ten-armed Naṭeśa image at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Fig. 47) closely imitates neither the example at Cave 1 at Bādami (Fig. 27) nor Kalacuri precedents. Like the Cave 1 example, he holds a snake aloft with two hands, but he bears no trident; his right hands hold damaṇu and paraśu, while one left hand grasps an unidentified object. His context is more similar than that of his Cave 1 counterpart to Kalacuri Naṭeśas (Figs. 28, 29, 31); like them he is closely surrounded with many other figures, not including Nandi. Bhṛṅgī and members of Śiva's "family" are present in both the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave and Kalacuri Naṭeśa compositions, and perhaps the Mothers at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave may be seen as replacing their deva counterparts (Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, etc.) typically found in Kalacuri Naṭeśa compositions. However the figures
surrounding Nāṭesā in Kalacuri examples are smaller in scale and less individually important than the Mothers and Pārvatī (the latter probably also considered to belong to the Mātrgaṇa) at the Rāvana Phadi cave, presumably because of the dynastic significance of the Mātrgaṇa.

When compared to Kalacuri precedents, the Mātrkā icons at the Rāvana Phadi cave (Figs. 45,46,48,49) relate most closely in pose to the Mātrkās at Elephanta, who stand, and in context to the group of seated Mātrkās (Fig. 175) at Cave 21 at Ellora, which is on a wall adjoining a Nāṭesā. Considering that the Mothers were patron deities of the Kadamba dynasty, however, it is likely that some lost Kadamba precedents were equally or more influential. Differences in detail from the Kalacuri precedents are notable. At the Rāvana Phadi cave, only Brahmāṇī carries attributes (vase and rosary). All seven Mothers are two-armed and lack vāhanas (vehicles) and children, although Gaṇeṣa and Kārttikeya are presented in child-like form. Vārāhi has a boar face, Brahmāṇī has three visible faces, and the other five Mothers, including Cāmuṇḍā (identified by her nāga belt and by the skull and crescent moon in her headdress), have similar faces. Māheśvarī is identified by the crescent moon in her headdress; the other, not clearly distinguishable three Mothers probably are Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, and Aindrī.

It has been noted above that the Rāvana Phadi cave ceiling image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa probably inspired its counterpart at Cave 2 at Bādami, that the Rāvana Phadi cave image of Mahiṣamardini (below the former ceiling) may have influenced the form of the Cave 2 representation at Trivikrama (below the latter ceiling), and that the small Naṭesā located at Cave 2 between the Viṣṇu ceiling and the Trivikrama image resembles the Rāvana Phadi cave's Naṭesā image. Possibly the location of the image
of Naṭesā at Cave 2 was chosen for iconographic purposes, but the image itself may have served as the signature mark of a master sculptor who, after the completion of the Rāvana Phadi cave, was recruited to work at Bādāmi, or as Maṅgalesa's proud reference to his accomplishment at the Rāvana Phadi cave. The latter seems especially likely because Maṅgalesa chose to have his epithet "Raṇavikrānta" inscribed near the Naṭesā image, as opposed to any other Rāvana Phadi cave sculpture.

Some stone fragments of a structural doorframe, presently lying loose inside the Rāvana Phadi cave's garbha grha, were supposed by Tartakov to have formed part of the original garbha grha doorway, closing much of the now open entrance area. Bolon believed that this doorway was added in c. 630, and A. Sundara suggested a date "possibly a hundred" years after the cave's excavation. The surviving side piece (Fig. 57) features a small trident(?)-bearing dvārapāla at its base, and the lintel (Fig. 58) displays a scene of liṅga worship in the center, an image of standing Sūrya on the proper right, and a two-armed single-headed male (Brahmaśāstā or abbreviated Brahmā) holding rosary and vase(?) on the proper left. Standing figures in registers and flying figures also adorn the fragments. While scenes of liṅga worship appear in Cave 1 at Bādāmi, related figures in registers are first seen on structural Calukya temple garbha grha doorway jambs in the mid seventh century, and the Brahmaśāstā or abbreviated Brahmā representation suggests an even later date. I would suggest that the original doorframe, which might also have featured liṅga worship at its center, needed replacement in the early eighth century (perhaps c. 720-25), at which time the stone frame whose fragments still survive was carved.
B.5. Cave 3 at Bādāmi

Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Figs. 59-61) is securely dated in 578 A.D. and ascribed to Maṅgaleśa's efforts during Kīrttivarma's reign by inscription (M1). The question remains as to whether Maṅgaleśa excavated this Vaiṣṇava temple on orders from Kīrttivarma or at his own volition. It is here suggested, on the basis of Maṅgaleśa's later reference (M4) to Śiva Makuṭeśvaranātha as the god of his elder brother, that the main responsibility for Cave 3 was Maṅgaleśa's, but probably Viṣṇu was an important secondary god for the first two Calukya rulers, and Kīrttivarma willingly gave approval when his brother suggested a land grant for the support of worship activities at Cave 3.

Cave 3 at Bādāmi is a larger temple than Cave 2 or Cave 1 and has more sculpture, including a quantity of iconic ceiling sculpture unequaled even in later Calukya art. Various forms of Viṣṇu are dominant on the wall surfaces of the facade and verandah, and on the verandah entablatures. He is also the deity in the central verandah ceiling. Although Viṣṇu is not represented on any mandapa ceiling in this cave, he appears seated with one or more consorts on at least four pillar brackets in the mandapa, and he is shown seated on Garuḍa in the decorative architecture centered over the garbha grha doorway (Fig. 62). The garbha grha image is lost, but the cave's dedication inscription (M1) makes it certain that it was a cakra-bearing form of Viṣṇu.

Cave 3 has no large dvārapālas, but instead has an image of Viṣṇu standing in samabhaṅga (without bends) (Fig. 63) at the east end, and one of Trivikrama (Fig. 68) at the west end of the facade. Both deities have eight arms and bear the same attributes as the Cave 2 image of Trivikrama (Fig. 69): right, sword, gadā (mace), arrow, and cakra; left, hand on
The east end figure is assumed to be Viṣṇu in a form which appears passive, but is actually full of potential for activity to aid his devotees, while the directly opposite west end figure exemplifies such activity, specifically when the god came to the help of Indra. In South India, Viṣṇu's eight-armed form (Aṣṭabhujasvāmī) was associated primarily with the rescue of the elephant king devotee Gajendra (a related role). However this form seems not to have been popular with the Calukyas before Pallava influences reached Ālāmpur near the end of the seventh century, and it typically features Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa rather than standing. Before the time of the Svarga Brahma temple at Ālāmpur, the only known eight-armed examples of human-faced Viṣṇu in Calukya art, besides the standing figure in Cave 3, show him as Trivikrama. Hence the Cave 3 figure, though perhaps related generally to other active, devotee-aiding forms of Visnu, is clearly most closely associated with the Trivikrama avatāra. The fact that we do not find images of eight-armed standing Viṣṇu later in Calukya art, except one (Fig. 674) at the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal, may be due simply to the scarcity of surviving Calukya temples dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Because of the presence of a bust-length representation of four-armed Nṛsiṃha over the eight-armed Cave 3 standing Viṣṇu image, and the fact that seven of Viṣṇu's eight attributes suit the Rūpamandana's description of Viṣṇu as Vaikuṇṭhanātha (the front left hand is on the hip rather than holding a padma (lotus)), Gopinatha Rao suggested that this image in fact represented Vaikuṇṭhanātha. R. D. Banerji disallowed the identification on the grounds that the image does not have four different heads or sit on Garuḍa, as the Rūpamandana requires, but North Indian images of four-headed Viṣṇu (Fig. 66), inspired by Pāñcarātra vyūha
doctrines, actually may be relevant to Cave 3 iconography. We note that in Cave 3, Varāha (Fig. 65) is not in the same position he occupied in Cave 2, on the east end wall of the verandah, but located just to the proper left of it. The image on the east verandah end wall is, instead, Viṣṇu seated on Ananta (Fig. 64), with the snake's hoods spread behind Viṣṇu's head. A related image appears on a pillar bracket on the south side of the Cave 3 verandah, and other small examples are found at Caves 2 and 1 (Fig. 17). Apparently this icon type was popular from the very beginning of Calukya art, and it probably represents Ādīmūrti, Viṣṇu before the first creation, since it generally conforms to the Vaikhānasāgama's description of Ādīmūrti. The concept of Ādīmūrti seems not to have been North Indian in origin, and rarely was used there, appearing in published examples only at Deogarh: one example (Fig. 67) is located over the doorway to the Daśāvatāra temple, and the other is a loose fragment, possibly of the original image enshrined there.

K. Desai has attributed the presence of this form of Viṣṇu at Deogarh to Deccan influence. Since the Daśāvatāra temple dates before the beginnings of Calukya art, the source of such influence would have been Kadambas and the Guptas are indeed mentioned in the Tāḷaṅgunda inscription, but whether the concept of Ādīmūrti was indigenous to the Deccan, or reached the Deccan from further south, is unknown. We note that the Deogarh doorway example has small figures of Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana as subordinates to Ādīmūrti, as does that on the facade of Cave 1 at Bādāmi, but none of the later Calukya examples. The implication may be that this particular aspect of a pre-Calukya motif was adopted at first, but did not continue in use long into the Calukya period.
The presence of Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana as subordinates to Ādimūrti at Deogarh and Cave 1 at Bādāmi suggests that this icon was conceived as representing Viṣṇu's supreme, universal form. The Ādimūrti iconic type may be usefully compared and contrasted to the Anantaāayin iconic type, which features Viṣṇu reclining on Ananta. Both forms represent Viṣṇu on Ananta as the sole living entity in the universal flood, the source of Brahmā and of all other elements of creation, but Viṣṇu's nature is not identical in both. While Anantaāayin is noted for causing the death of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, in many texts his action against them is only conditional, and his yogic slumber and passive nature are chiefly emphasized. In sculptural representations of Anantaāayin, Madhu and Kaitabha are sometimes shown as attacked by Viṣṇu's personified attributes and/or Garuḍa (Figs. 38,81,208), but not by the god himself, who remains at rest. Ādimūrti images, because they eliminate any reference to the Madhu and Kaitabha episode, seem more timeless. Because they portray the god sitting upright rather than reclining, they suggest a more active conception of Viṣṇu's essential nature.

Perhaps the supposed early Kadamba/South Indian iconography of Ādimūrti with subordinate Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana did not become widely popular because it was too similar visually to the North Indian Pāñcarātra composite iconographic form of Caturvyūha Viṣṇu, featuring a lion head to the proper right and a boar head to the proper left of the god's normal head (Fig. 66). Though the extra right and left heads theoretically represented, respectively, the Saṅkarṣaṇa and Pradyumna vyūhas, it is possible that they were popularly associated with the Nṛsiṁha and Varāha avatāras.
At Cave 3 at Bādāmi, then, it is possible to envision the iconography of the front of the cave as centered on the early Kadamba/South Indian Ādīmūrti form of universal Viṣṇu on the east verandah end wall; Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana/Trivikrama are no longer his subordinates, as on the Cave 1 facade bracket, but are seen as larger independent figures at the opposite verandah end (Fig. 74) and just outside it (Fig. 68). Instead, at the sides of Ādīmūrti (Fig. 64), hypothetically due to some influence of North Indian Pāñcarātra Caturvyuha Viṣṇu iconography, we find a large separate image of Varāha to the proper left (Fig. 65) (on the adjoining wall at a ninety degree angle) and the previously discussed large separate image of eight-armed standing Viṣṇu surmounted by a bust of Nṛsiṁha to the proper right (Fig. 63) (separated by a pilaster). The latter standing Viṣṇu thus not only relates to its active counterpart, the Trivikrama image with identical attributes directly across the facade from it, but also to the universal Ādīmūrti form from which it may have been conceived as emanating as the Saṅkarṣaṇa vyūha—thus explaining the otherwise puzzling bust of Nṛsiṁha.

We may speculate about significant secular meanings for Trivikrama imagery in Calukya art. Vāmana/Trivikrama, born of Āditi, was in fact the younger brother of Indra, king of the gods, and yet had greater power than Indra and recovered Indra's kingdom for him from the asura Bali. Maṅgalesa, younger brother of King Kṛttivarman, seems to have assisted Kṛttivarman in battle, for he boasts of conquests in the Cave 3 inscription (M1), and therefore may have compared his own deeds to Trivikrama's. We also note more general royal associations for the Trivikrama avatāra, which probably account, at least in part, for its usage on many later Calukya Śaiva temples. The Harivaṃśa states that
a king who hears the Vāmana/Trivikrama story will become a vanquisher of his enemies, like Viṣṇu himself, and the Vāmana Purāṇa (S.M., chapter 10, vs. 90) and Matsya Purāṇa (chapter 246, vs. 95) state that hearing about Vāmana/Trivikrama will enable a king who has lost his realm to regain it. This latter tradition is not relevant to Maṅgalesa or the Badami caves, but there is some evidence that it might have been relevant to the latter's successor, Pulakesī II, and the iconography of his reign.

The Trivikrama image at the west end of the Cave 3 facade is a particularly forceful presentation of the subject, and is oversized for its position, extending beyond the normal end of the facade. It seems to emulate the placement and impact of the Nāṭeṣa at Cave 1. A comparison of the Trivikrama (Fig. 68) image at Cave 3 to its counterpart in Cave 2 (Fig. 69), more balanced and conservative in composition, as well as the increase in Cave 3's size and sculptural elaboration and the addition of a self-laudatory dedication inscription, suggest that Maṅgalesa felt much more powerful and secure in his position in his brother's kingdom in 578 A.D. than he had a few years earlier.

Despite its enhanced drama, the iconographic content of the Cave 3 representation of Trivikrama seems basically similar to that in Cave 2. At both caves the scene of Bali's gift to Vāmana is placed below Trivikrama's upraised left leg, and the figure holding a water pot resembles the Buddha. In Cave 3 in particular he has short curls of hair and an usnīsa. This figure's identity has been disputed; however it seems to represent King Bali's preceptor/advisor, rather than Bali himself. In Cave 2 (Fig. 70), Bali stands behind the Buddha-like figure; the former grasps the latter's right arm with his right hand and points with the other hand to Vāmana--clearly directing the Buddha-like
figure's action. Three other asuras, with lower makutas than that worn by Bali, stand to his left; in front of them is Bali's queen. In Cave 3, the Vāmana figure has been destroyed and the three asuras attending Bali are absent. Bali stands to the proper left of the Buddha-like figure with the water pot, and grasps and directs him with both hands. Bali's queen stands immediately next to her husband, a more appropriate position than in the Cave 2 relief.

In Cave 2, a large disembodied head appears above Trivikrama's upraised left foot and near the pointing finger of his front left hand (Fig. 71). The head appears to be demonic; it probably is Rāhu, as suggested by J. N. Banerjea's amendment of the relevant Matsya Purāṇa iconographic text, but might be the asura Ciksura, described in the Vāmana Purāṇa (S.M., chapter 10, vs.61-62) as kicked by Trivikrama when trying to bite his big toe. Below Trivikrama's left leg, an armed asura falls, and at the god's lower proper right are two more demons: one holding a sword and gesturing arrogantly, the other grasping the god's leg in supplication. This latter figure may represent Namuci, or Bali shown a second time. Above and to the proper left of Trivikrama are a flying animal-headed figure, possibly the bear Jāmbavān, a winged Garuḍa, and the crescent moon. In Cave 3 (Fig. 72) we find the same Rāhu(?) head, falling warrior, and asura grasping Trivikrama's leg. Above Trivikrama, flying toward the crescent moon, are a fanged male armed with a sword, an animal-headed figure (Jāmbavān ?), and probably haloed Garuḍa. The fanged figure may be an asura equivalent to the one standing behind Trivikrama in Cave 2, though if so, his position behind Trivikrama's supporters is awkward. A totally new figure in Cave 3 appears next to the falling asura above the scene of Bali's gift; he is
haloed, appears to hold a noose, and may represent Garuḍa shown a second 45 time, preparing to bind Bali as described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. 96 It is unlikely that reference is made to the binding of Šukra, mandated 97 in the Vaikhānasāgama, since in the Bādāmi caves, Bali's advisor 98 apparently does not oppose the gift to Vāmana, for which fault Šukra is punished in the Vaikhānasāgama.

Perhaps the uncertainty about the identity of the pot-bearing figure in the Bādāmi cave representations of the gift to Vāmana can be traced to a misunderstanding on the part of the Calukya sculptors of traditional sacrificial costume. In early North Indian representations of the gift to Vāmana, the figure pouring water, apparently Bali as the texts require, seems usually to have been shown in non-royal dress, without crown or ornamentation. The Bādāmi sculptors may have been aware of such representations, but may have assumed that such a figure could not be a king, but only a priest/subordinate, and so added an additional crowned representation of Bali. In any event, the fact that the figure conceived as Bali's advisor in the Bādāmi caves does not oppose the gift to Vāmana, as does Šukra in the Bhāgavata and other purāṇas, but rather facilitates it, is unusual.

Perhaps the Trivikrama mythology followed by the Bādāmi cave sculptors incorporated an element usually belonging to other purānic stories: Viṣṇu playing the role of a "heretic" who advises the asuras misleadingly and so brings about the success of the gods. This heretic appears to resemble the Buddha, a Jain arhat, or both, in different texts. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (III; chapters 17-18), Viṣṇu creates a temporary illusionary form in order to bring about the destruction of the demon Hrāda. Most frequently, however, the divine goal is the delusion
and destruction of the asura residents of Tripura. Visnu-Buddha as facilitator of the demons' downfall probably was incorporated into the Trivikrama story at Badami in order to emphasize the multiple ways in which the god acts to aid his devotees; it does not provide proof that Buddha was accepted as one of Višnu's full āvatāras at this date.

The Trivikrama reliefs in the Badami caves are not particularly close to the earliest surviving Pallava representation, at the seventh century Varāha Maṇḍapa; though Trivikrama's attributes are similar, this may be due to independent reliance on a text such as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (VIII; chapter 20, vs. 30-31), which mentions Trivikrama's cakra, bow, śaṅkha, mace, sword, shield, and quivers of arrows. Probably the Trivikrama reliefs at Badami were based on some early North Indian representations of the subject; two surviving Nepalese examples datable to about 470 A.D. suggest the appearance of Gupta prototypes. Like the Badami reliefs, these include a scene of the gift to Vāmana below Trivikrama's upraised left leg, a disembodied large head or asura with a large head positioned near this leg, a figure clutching Trivikrama's right leg, a flying Garuḍa, Bali's queen, and even an inverted figure which may be a falling asura. Also both these Trivikramas are eight-armed, as are two less similar examples from Pawaya and Ramgarth Hill in North India itself.

The Adimūrτi Višnu image at the east end of the Cave 3 verandah (Fig. 64) is four-armed, as are most Calukya Viṣṇus, bearing cakra in the rear right, śaṅkha in the rear left, and a knobby fruit in the front right hand. His front left hand rests on his leg. Garuḍa sits at his lower right, and a female at Viṣṇu's lower left is probably Lakṣmī. The positioning of cakra and śaṅkha here, almost universal in Calukya images
of Viṣṇu, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha etc., is typically South Indian rather than North Indian; it is common in Pallava art and mandated by Āgamas such as the Vaikhānasāgama, but rare in Gupta art, the remains at Deogarh being one exception. Four-armed Pallava Viṣṇu images usually have no attributes in the front two hands, and no āyudhapurusas. Early North Indian and Kalacuri four-armed Viṣṇu images (Fig. 73), on the other hand, characteristically bear gadā in rear right, cakra in rear left, and śaṅkha in front left hand, with the front right hand gesturing or holding an object which seems to be a fruit (textually, Viṣṇu's fourth attribute is a padma); āyudhapurusas (personified attributes) often appear symbolizing gadā and cakra. Despite the Calukya preference for South Indian cakra and śaṅkha positions, many Calukya representations of Viṣṇu, like Figure 64, do show a front hand bearing a fruit, and a lesser number include a gadā, presumably due to North Indian/Kalacuri influences.

On the west end wall of the Cave 3 verandah is a standing Nṛsiṁha image (Fig. 74) with somewhat unusual inconography. The god's two rear hands seem to hold strands of something which has been identified as hair, but probably was meant to be enhanced by paint and to represent the entrails of the disemboweled asura Hiranyakāśipu. Above these two hands fly chubby dwarfs, probably cakra- and śaṅkha-purusas, since otherwise these attributes would be atypically absent. In his front right hand, Nṛsiṁha seems to hold a small object, probably a fruit, and his left front arm once rested on a mace, now much damaged. The presence of the mace on the left side is extremely rare in Calukya Vaishnava images. A winged Garuḍa appears behind the mace at lower left; the dwarf at lower right may represent Prahlāda.
References to a passive standing Nṛsiṁha icon have not been discovered in iconographic texts, though the Vaikhānasāgama describes passive seated cakra- and śaṅkha-bearing forms, called Kevala, Girija, or Sthauṇa Nṛsiṁha, which loosely relate to the seated Nṛsiṁha in Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 16) and to later Calukya seated examples (Figs. 105, 145, 341). Standing passive Nṛsiṁhas were nevertheless popular in Gupta sculpture. Surviving images include both two- and four-armed types, with most four-armed examples holding the same attributes as early North Indian Viṣṇus (see Fig. 73): śaṅkha, front left, cakra, rear left, gadā, rear right, and gesture or object (fruit/padma?), front right.

Perhaps the sculptor of the Cave 3 Nṛsiṁha imitated the North Indian standing type, though purposely altering the attributes in the rear hands. The fruit was maintained in the typical front right hand, and the gadā was placed in the sole remaining available location. The presence of Hiraṇyakaśipu's entrails in the rear hands of the Cave 3 standing Nṛsiṁha suggests an emphasis lacking in North Indian prototypes; the god's bloody victory, shown in a small entablature relief at the opposite (east) end of the verandah (Fig. 75), is clearly referred to.

Though the only other surviving Calukya representation of standing passive Nṛsiṁha, at the Durga temple at Aihole (Fig. 581), is often compared to the Cave 3 image at Bādāmi, several differences are seen. The god at the Durga temple holds no entrails in the rear hands, but only śaṅkha (left); probably a cakra at the right has been broken off. He is shown without āyudhapurusas or attendant figures. His mace is in the position where it is most often shown in Calukya Vaiṣṇava images, in the front right hand, and the front left hand rests on the hip. This image, more than the victorious Cave 3 image, may appropriately be labelled
Kevala Nṛsiṁha and grouped with the several Calukya passive seated Nṛsiṁhas.

Images of the Nṛsiṁha avatāra, in Cave 3 and elsewhere in Calukya art, may have had a secular as well as a purely religious aspect. The first known member of Calukya royal family was named Jayasiṁha (victory-lion), and Maṅgaleśa in inscriptions (M4,5) compared himself and other kings to lions, as did Pulakesi II (Pk5). A pillar inscription (K5) of the reign of Kṛttivarma II gave him the epithet Nṛpasiṁha (lion king), and a Gujarat Calukya copper plate (B19), dating to Vinayāditya's reign, compared Vinayāditya to Nṛsiṁha in heroism. These references, and the large number of extant Calukya Nṛsiṁha images, even on Śaiva temples, suggest that this half-lion god was widely accepted as an anthropomorphism of royal valor and kingship, symbolizing one or all kings of the dynasty. The Hayaśīra Pañcarātra states that the installation of a Nṛsiṁha image results, among other benefits, in the attainment of victory.

The verandah panels at the sides of the five bay entrance to the Cave 3 mandapa display Varāha (east) (Fig. 65) and Harihara (west) (Fig. 76). The Varāha is identical in essentials to its Cave 2 counterpart (Fig. 35). A pilaster next to this image, presumably symbolizing the foundation of the Calukya kingdom by Pulakesi I and Kṛttivarma, is the location of Maṅgaleśa's Cave 3 dedication inscription (M1). Harihara is more frequently found in Śaiva than Vaiṣṇava contexts, but we note the precedent of the late fifth century Kutari pillar base, which features standing Viṣṇu with Ananta behind him (Anantaśayin?), Varāha, and Vāmana with Harihara. The association of Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara icons with each other seems to have been very popular with Calukya patrons; thus, a representation of Ardhanārīśvara
also appears in Cave 3 (Fig. 77), but, being a totally Śaiva composite, it is placed in a less significant position: among the representations of Śiva with Pārvatī (Fig. 78) and more ordinary mithunas (couples) on the facade pillar brackets. The Harihara figure at Cave 3 holds a fruit in his lowered Śaiva hand; probably this was the attribute in the corresponding broken hand of the Harihara at Cave 1 also. As in the case of most other Śaiva representations in the Bādāmi caves, paraśu rather than trisūla is the dominant attribute. The Vaiṣṇava side of the Harihara has śaṅkha in rear hand and front hand on hip, just as in most other Calukya Hariharas.

The Cave 3 verandah entablatures are carved with entirely Vaiṣṇava subjects. The north side reliefs (south-facing) display scenes from Kṛṣṇacaritra; presumably these subjects were admired by Maṅgalesa because he associated himself metaphorically with Kṛṣṇa (M4). Reading from west to east (viewer's left and right), these scenes are: first bay (chronologically with respect to Kṛṣṇa's life, these scenes should be exchanged with the third bay's scenes), Kṛṣṇa suckles Pūtanā, Kṛṣṇa upsets a cart, Kṛṣṇa fights Arista (bull demon), Kṛṣṇa approaches the personified Yamāḷrjuna trees; Balarāma(?) prepares to fling Dhenuka (ass demon); second bay, Nārada visits Kaṁsa and foretells his death, Kaṁsa prepares to throw Kṛṣṇa's sister onto a rock, Devī is revealed in her four-armed form, observers (perhaps including Vasudeva and Devakī); third bay, Devakī reclines with baby Kṛṣṇa, cattle, Yaśodā receives Kṛṣṇa from Vasudeva, observers, Yaśodā again holds Kṛṣṇa or Rohiṇī holds Balarāma; fourth bay (central), gopīs (female cow tenders) and lustration of Kṛṣṇa (one gopī holding a garland is beneath a chattra (parasol) and may be a prototype of Rādhā), cattle and attendants; fifth bay,
Govardhanadāraṇa, Kṛṣṇa fights Keśi (horse demon), Kṛṣṇa fights Kuvalayāpīḍa (elephant demon); sixth bay, uncertain figures (possibly Kṛṣṇa returning garments to the gopīs after their bath in the Yamunā), Kṛṣṇa fights Kāliya (personified nāga), wrestlers in the Mathura arena; seventh bay, Balarañāma and Kṛṣṇa in divine form (the former is two-armed, holding a hala; Kṛṣṇa is four-armed, holding presumably cakra and śaṅkha), scene of conflict (probably related to the defeat of Kaṁsa), architectural divider, seated male with attendants (possibly Kṛṣṇa after his victory over Kaṁsa).

The corresponding Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes in Cave 2, reading west to east (viewer's left to right), are: first (central) bay, Devakī reclines with baby Kṛṣṇa while Vasudeva sits nearby, events relating to Kṛṣṇa's transfer to Nanda's family (probably Vasudeva and Yaśodā exchange Kṛṣṇa and Devī while Balarāma watches), cattle, churning and Kṛṣṇa's theft of butter, Kṛṣṇa suckles Pūtanā; second bay, Kṛṣṇa drags a mortar between the personified(?) Yamalarjuna trees, Kṛṣṇa upsets a personified(?) cart, Kṛṣṇa fights Keśi, Kṛṣṇa fights Ariṣṭa, Kṛṣṇa fights Kāliya, Balarāma(?) fights Dhenuka; third (eastmost) bay, uncertain figures (probably Balarāma defeats Pralambāsura), Govardhanadāraṇa, wrestlers in the Mathura arena, probably Kṛṣṇa or Balarāma strikes seated Kaṁsa with Kuvalayāpīḍa's tusk.

The west-facing entablature at the east end of Cave 3's verandah displays three separate subjects. At the north (viewer's left) is a continuation of Kṛṣṇacaritra: four-armed Kṛṣṇa on Garuḍa draws his bow and leads his followers against multiarmed Bāṇa and his army (Fig. 80), a conflict which is the Vaiṣṇava context for the Harihara theme of the unity of Viśṇu and Śiva. Centrally placed is a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī,
and at the south (viewer’s right) is eight-armed, attributeless Ugra-
Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 75). The latter is shown disembowelling Hiranyakasipu who
lies across his lap, while fighting surrounding demons with his other
arms. The representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī seems linked to the
Samudramathana (ocean churning) story portrayed in three south
entablature bays, since Lakṣmī was a product of this churning. She may
have been placed directly above Ādimūrti to indicate that it was Viṣṇu,
among all the gods, whom she chose as husband after the churning. Most
texts note that Lakṣmī was taken by Viṣṇu at this time, but the Bhāgavata
Purāṇa (VIII; chapter 8, vs. 17-25) describes her svayamvara (husband
choice ceremony) in detail. Both the Viṣṇu (I; chapter 9) and Bhāgavata
(VIII; chapter 8, vs. 14) Purāṇas describe a scene of Lakṣmī’s lustration
by elephants after the churning. Ugra-Nṛsiṁha does not seem to be
associated in any way with the churning theme, but obviously does relate
closely to the standing Nṛsiṁha on the wall at the opposite (west) end of
the verandah; similarly the Viṣṇu Anantasayin image on the west end
entablature (Fig. 81) relates to the Viṣṇu Anantāsana (Ādimūrti)
(Fig. 64) on the wall below here (east end). Also Ugra-Nṛsiṁha may have
been placed for contrast with the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Bāṇa.
Nṛsiṁha was an avatāra of Viṣṇu who fought to save the asura Prahlāda
(probably shown in Fig. 75 at Nṛsiṁha’s proper left ), who was a
Vaiṣṇava devotee, while Kṛṣṇa was an avatāra of Viṣṇu who fought to
defeat Prahlāda’s great grandson, the asura Bāṇa, who was a Śaiva
devotee.

The north-facing entablature reliefs, like those facing south on the
verandah’s opposite side, seem to be designed to be read from west to
east. The three westernmost reliefs deal with Samudramathana, as did the
two easternmost in Cave 2. The central bay's relief and the one just east of it represent Garuḍa's theft of *soma/amṛta* (divine beverage of immortality). This subject can clearly be associated with the neighboring churning theme, since the production of *amṛta* was the main goal of the churning. Also the major role played by Garuḍa in these two reliefs may be linked with the large representation of Garuḍa (Fig. 82) which is found centrally under the facade's eaves, facing inward toward these entablatures and the *garbha grha* deity, whose *vāhana* he was.

Both these centralized representations give Garuḍa independent status, and the latter especially suggests the possibility that early Calukya Vaiṣṇava structural temples, such as the Upper Śivālaya at Bādāmi, might have had separate representations of Garuḍa, on *stambhas* (pillars) or in *mandapas*, located in front of them.

The north-facing entablature relief east of the two showing Garuḍa's theft of *soma/amṛta* is a battle scene. It does not appear to relate to the theft story, since Garuḍa is absent, and it has no elements, such as a prominent pot or beheaded Rāhu, to relate it clearly to the battle for *amṛta*, seen in Cave 2 immediately east of the churning. Nevertheless, it evidently represents a victory of the *devas* (Fig. 91), led by Indra on Airāvata (the central subject of the adjacent verandah ceiling panel), since their enemies flee before them. Presumably this scene must be linked to the churning theme in some way. *Amṛta*, source of the *devas'* immortality, may have been envisioned as the reason for their victory here. Also we note that Airāvata, the prominently shown *vāhana* of Indra, was believed to have been produced in the churning.
The easternmost north-facing entablature in Cave 3 represents the Pārijātaśaraṇā in three scenes, reading west to east (viewer's right to left): four-armed Kṛṣṇa on Garuḍa draws his bow, battling Indra and his followers; Kṛṣṇa on Garuḍa flies away with the Pārijāta tree; and Kṛṣṇa sits with Garuḍa and others near the Pārijāta tree planted in his garden. This entablature's subject matter not only relates to the churning story depicted in the westernmost bays on the same side, due to the fact that the Pārijāta tree was produced in the churning, but also to the Kṛṣṇacaritracita subject matter on the north side of the verandah. Kṛṣṇa's four-armed form here, as in the fight with Bāna on the east end entablature, suits his use of Garuḍa as a vehicle; in both episodes Kṛṣṇa's divine nature and identity with Viṣṇu are thus specifically emphasized.

The west verandah end entablature relief is difficult to interpret. It clearly shows Viṣṇu Anantaśayin, at the south (viewer's left) (Fig. 81), probably with Madhu and Kaitabha near his feet. Beyond his feet are found Garuḍa and personified attributes(?); apparently one attribute (?) wrestles one demon while the other demon stands nearby. The meaning of the next scene, showing a man with cattle fighting, is unclear. Perhaps human and animal demons are harassing the earth cow. Finally, at the north (viewer's right), we find standing Viṣṇu addressing two males. This might be interpreted as Viṣṇu's conversation with Madhu and Kaitabha before he put them to death, in which he promised them rebirth as his sons, but otherwise Viṣṇu is not shown as personally involved in the conflict.
The verandah of Cave 3 has seven ceiling bays, six of them decorated with sculpture, the westernmost only having traces of paint. The ceiling bay next to westernmost (Fig. 83) was probably the first carved, as it shows evidence of experimentation in its irregularity; the eight subsidiary circles in a circle around the central Varuṇa, dikpāla of the west, shown riding his makara (sea monster) vāhana, are not symmetrically arranged. Also some are separated by figures, some by foliate motifs, and some by nothing at all. This ceiling’s counterpart near the opposite end, in the verandah bay next to easternmost, features Indra, dikpāla of the east, riding on Airāvata. The three middle verandah ceilings display not dikpālas but the greatest Brahmanical gods: Viṣṇu (center), Śiva (east), and Brahmā (west). The Brahmā ceiling (Fig. 84) features the four-armed, multiheaded god seated on his vāhana, haṃsa (goose), and bearing kamandalu (water pot) and sacrificial implement(?). The figures in the circle surrounding him include four pairs of rṣis (sages) and four dikpālas, the latter at the cardinal points: Indra on Airāvata (east), Yama on buffalo (south), Varuṇa on makara (west), and an unidentified male on a lion (north) (Fig. 85). R.D. Banerji has suggested that the latter figure (seen also in the same northern position in the Viṣṇu ceiling) is Budha, the planet Mercury, who typically is assigned a lion or haṃsa vāhana. However, the figure probably represents a common dikpāla of the north, such as Kubera or Soma/Candra, but provided with an unusual vehicle. Although Soma/Candra is usually conceived as riding a chariot drawn by ten horses, Gopinatha Rao cites the Ahsūmabhedāgama as placing him, if he sits, on a simhāsana (lion-seat), and the Matsya Purāṇa as assigning him a lion banner. Therefore this dikpāla may tentatively be identified as Soma/Candra. We note that in the Cave 2
entablature panel showing devas approaching Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 726), besides Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kārttikeya riding their vāhanas, we also find Indra on Airāvata, Varuṇa on makara, Yama on buffalo, a male on a lion, and possibly standing Śūrya. The next to last figure evidently represents the same northern dikpāla, Soma/Candra(?), seen later in the Cave 3 verandah ceilings.

The central Cave 3 verandah ceiling (Fig. 86), featuring Viṣṇu with typical attributes seated on a throne with Lakṣmī at the proper left and Garuḍa at the proper right, has eight deities in its outer circle. Indra at the east, Varuṇa at the west, and Yama at the south all ride their vāhanas, and the northern dikpāla sits in front of his lion (Fig. 87). At the southeast of the circle, to proper left of the central Viṣṇu (assuming Viṣṇu is viewed "right side up", with head at the top), is four-armed Brahmā seated on a lotus. At the southwest of the circle, to Viṣṇu's proper right, is four-armed Śiva seated on his bull. Evidently these two gods were not conceived as dikpālas, since Īśāna/Śiva is the dikpāla of the northeast, not the southwest, but as subordinates to Viṣṇu as universal deity.

At the northwest of the circle is a figure riding on a horse (Fig. 88), supposed by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw to represent Vāyu, the dikpāla of the northwest, whose usual mount is a deer. While this is possible, the presence of Brahmā and Śiva in the southeast and southwest positions suggests that a representation of the four intermediate dikpālas was not intended. In fact, the first Calukya representation of eight dikpālas seems to occur at Alampur at the Bāla Brahma temple of c. 660 A.D. In Karnataka, they do not appear until the eighth century, at which time only a couple of Calukya sets are known. Thus, there is
a reasonable doubt about the identification of the Cave 3 ceiling horse rider as Vāyu. Perhaps this figure was a demigod, such as a planet.

At the northeast of the ceiling circle around Viṣṇu is a figure riding on a ram-like animal (Fig. 89), identified by R.D. Banerji as a misplaced Agni, regent of the southeast, who textually and usually in art does have such a vāhana. This identification seems unlikely, however, since other intermediate dikpālas appear not to be represented. Additionally, it may be noted that, after Cave 3 at Bādāmi, every Calukya set of dikpālas in Karnataka has a ram rider as the guardian of the north, including the eighth century eight-dikpāla set at the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 708) which also includes Agni on a ram at the southeast. Even in Cave 3 itself a ram rider appears as the north mandapa ceiling dikpāla (Fig. 90), and another is grouped with Indra on Airāvata, Yama on buffalo, and Varuṇa on makara in the south verandah entablature relief showing devas and asuras in battle (Fig. 91). Why the lion rider north dikpāla used in the verandah Brahmā and Viṣṇu ceilings and probably in Cave 2 (Fig. 726) was replaced by a ram rider is unknown, and the latter's identity also is uncertain, but probably he is to be identified with Kubera, a standard guardian of the north. The South Indian iconographic text, Aṃśumadbhedagama, in fact states that Kubera should ride a ram, although most texts assign him a man vehicle or chariot. Since the northeast figure in the central Cave 3 verandah ceiling appears identical with the north mandapa ceiling dikpāla, the former may also have been intended to represent Kubera, positioned next to the quarter which he would henceforth rule. Still another possibility deserves notice. Gopinatha Rao states that the planet Mars (Maṅgala or Bhauma) may ride a goat, and so perhaps an allusion to Maṅgalesa was
made here. Perhaps the northwest horse rider figure correspondingly was associated with both a planet and King Kīrttivarma; in that case, both brothers would have acted as celestial adorers of Viṣṇu, with Kīrttivarma on the same side as his favorite god Śiva.

The verandah ceiling just east of center displays Śiva and Pārvatī riding Nandi (Fig. 92), a subject seen previously on the upper wall above the dvārapāla in Cave 1 (Fig. 18). The divine couple is surrounded by nine gānas and Ganeśa. East of this panel is the Indra on Airāvata panel, and east of the latter is a panel depicting in its center an unidentified male (Figs. 93-94), seated on a throne with makara ornaments at the sides and chaurī (flywhisk) bearers behind. He holds a club in his right hand and some unclear object in his left hand on his lap. Since no sculptured counterpart of the panel exists at the west of the verandah, its iconography is difficult to determine. J. Burgess described the male as Pradyumna seated on a pair of makaras; R.D. Banerji believed he was a second Varuṇa seated on a makara; Tartakov simply called him an unidentified god; and Bolon identified him as Kubera, presumably because Kubera often bears a club and because dikpāla representations are frequent on ceilings in this cave. One significant difference between the easternmost and the other verandah ceiling panels, however, is that in the former the central circle is not surrounded by other circles, but by a rectilinear pattern of squares and rectangles, the eight exterior ones filled by gandharva couples and composite foliate men and animals. This may indicate that the central figure of the easternmost ceiling was believed to be significantly different in nature from the central figures in the other verandah ceilings; perhaps he was a deified king rather than a deity. We
note that he is located next to the ceiling panel depicting Indra, lord of Svarga heaven, and above the wall panel representing Varāha, which, as suggested above, may have served as a metaphor for the foundation of the Calukya kingdom. Perhaps, then, the easternmost verandah ceiling central figure was meant to represent the deceased Pulakesī I, father of both Cave 3's patron Maṅgaleśa and King Kīrttivarma, envisioned as residing among the gods. That this was believed to be the fate of virtuous and victorious kings is implied by Maṅgaleśa's Mahākūṭa inscription (M4), in which the deceased Kīrttivarma is described as "ascended to the skies."

Inside the Cave 3 mandapa, the central ceiling area before the garbha grha is divided rectilinearly into nine compartments like the easternmost, probably the last carved, of the verandah ceilings. Here Brahmā on hamsa (Fig. 95) is shown in the center, Kubera(?) on ram at the north, Varuṇa on makara at the west, Indra on Airavata at the east, gandharvas at the corners, and Kārttikeya on peacock (Fig. 96–97) at the south, closest to the garbha grha. Perhaps Kārttikeya was substituted for Yama because the latter god, judge of the dead, was believed to be inauspicious near the shrine, but we note also that Maṅgaleśa's inscriptions M1 and M5 make reference to the former god, and so suggest Maṅgaleśa's personal devotion to him.

Kārttikeya previously appeared in Maṅgaleśa's Cave 2 twice on mandapa pillar brackets (Fig. 40), and once with other gods on a verandah entablature (Fig. 726). He is seen elsewhere in Cave 3 in a medallion on one of the facade pillar shafts (Fig. 98), and as a small figure at the proper lower left side of Śiva and Pārvatī on the bracket of another facade pillar (Fig. 79). In each case, as in the subshrine outside Cave 1 (Fig. 25), he is represented as riding his peacock. The god holds
no attributes at Cave 1 and probably also on the Cave 3 facade bracket.

Inside Cave 2's mandapa in one case he is two-armed and holds a long šakti (spear) or trisūla (the top is lost) in his right hand and places the left on his leg. In the other, four-armed example (Fig. 40), the front hands are similar; on the right, the upraised broad spear blade may or may not be faintly divided into three parts. The raised rear hands are unclear; the right probably makes a mudrā and the left may hold a vase. The Kārttikeya of Figure 98 holds an indisputable trident in his right hand, while his left holds the peacock's reins. The Kārttikeya of Figure 97 also holds a trident on the right; he places his left hand on his leg. This latter representation is unusual, however, for showing the god with multiple heads; three of the conceptual six are visible.

Precedents for Kārttikeya's six heads existed both in North India and the Deccan; the Pawaya lintel shows the god standing with multiple heads and six pairs of hands, while the Tālagunda inscription describes the Kadamba dynasty's founder as favored by Śaḍānana (the one with six mouths). The trisūla attribute at Cave 3 is also notable, since Kārttikeya usually bears a šakti in later representations, and in fact an inscription of Pulakeśi II (Pk7) makes reference to the šakti of Guha (Kārttikeya). Nevertheless, the tradition associating Kārttikeya with a trisūla was recalled in Pulakeśi II's reign and even later. The Hyderabad Museum Kārttikeya image (Fig. 191), probably from the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli, and the example at the Bāla Brahma temple at Alampur (Fig. 240) both show the standing god grasping in his right hand a long šakti which has at its top two trisūla-derived decorative side prongs beside the large central blade.
Perhaps the tradition of trisūla-bearing Kārttikeya may be traced back to the very beginning of Calukya art. It has been suggested above that the two-armed deity on the west exterior side of the present Mahākūṭa Śiva temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 99) was reused from the original mid sixth century Makuṭavarānātha temple at this site. This god stands samabhanga and bears, in his left hand, a snake, and in his right hand, a long weapon with the prongs of a trisūla at the top and a spear blade at the bottom. He is usually identified as a two-armed form of Śiva, but it is notable that all other early Calukya Śivas have four or more arms. Were it not for his position on the west of the garbha grha and his strictly samabhanga stance, this figure would be considered a dvārapāla. However, in light of the later frequent placement of Kārttikeya images on the west side of garbha grhas of Calukya Śaiva temples, and the definite association of two-armed Kārttikeya with a trisūla at Cave 3 at Bādāmi, it may be speculated that Figure 99 was meant to represent Kārttikeya, envisioned as the son of Śiva, and therefore endowed with some of Śiva's attributes, possibly including a third eye. It is surprising that the god is shown without his characteristic peacock. However the small Rāvapa Phadi cave Kārttikeya (Fig. 47) also stands without a peacock.

B.6. Upper Śivalaya at Bādāmi

After the completion of Cave 3 at Bādāmi, largest and grandest of the Calukya excavations, Maṅgaleśa seems to have turned his attention to structural architecture. The temple now called Upper Śivalaya, whose surviving sculpture clearly indicates its dedication to Viṣṇu rather than Śiva, probably was his first creation. Of the four temples whose remains
appear elevated north of the valley at Bādāmi, (Upper Sivālaya, Lower Sivālaya, Two Story temple, and Mālegitti Sivālaya) it occupies the highest and presumably the most choice site, on the main hill (Fig. 101). While Bolon assigns this temple and the Lower Sivālaya to Maṅgalesa's own reign, c. 600, the Upper Sivālaya probably should be placed slightly earlier, c. 590-600.

The Upper Sivālaya (Figs. 102-103) is sāndhāra (provided with an enclosed area around the sanctum for the circumambulation rite), with mandapa the same width as the garbha grha with pradaksināpatha (circumambulation path), and has a Southern style superstructure over the garbha grha, which has no niches for images. The east end walls and roof of the temple are destroyed, but the east basement remains, decorated with ganas and large elephant and lion figures. The side walls have one deity image apiece, west of center toward the garbha grha end. On the north is a representation of eight-armed, attributeless Ugra-Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 104), disembowelling Hiraṇyakaśipu on his lap and fighting surrounding demons, much like the Cave 3 verandah entablature version (Fig. 75). On the south is found Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadānā (Fig. 106), a subject depicted previously on both Cave 2 and Cave 3 verandah entablatures. However the Upper Sivālaya representation does not closely imitate the example in either cave; Kṛṣṇa uplifts the mountain with his right hand, whereas at Cave 2 the left hand and at Cave 3 both hands were used. The Upper Sivālaya's west exterior wall has an image of Kṛṣṇa fighting Kāliya (Fig. 107) at its center. This mūrti (iconic form), like Govardhanadānā, was seen twice at Maṅgalesa's caves. Its use of multiple nāga and gopa (cowherd) figures recalls the version in Cave 3 rather than Cave 2, but the most similar prior composition is actually
that of the Varāha panel at Cave 3 (Fig. 65). All three of the Upper Śivālaya's wall reliefs show an active deity and include numerous accessory figures, giving them an atypically strong narrative quality.

Most of the length of the basement of the southern side of the Upper Śivālaya is decorated with narrative reliefs from the story of Rāma, apparently reading from east to west. Just after/west of a representation of the waking of Kumbhakarṇa (Fig. 108) near the west end, however, are several non-narrative reliefs, including gānas and foliate creatures. The westernmost section beyond these (Fig. 109) seems to depict the chronologically earlier episode of Rāma shooting at the struggling Vāli and Sugrīva, rather than an event associated with the conclusion of the Rāmāyana. The west side basement of the Upper Śivālaya also has narrative reliefs, but in a more damaged condition. Those in the center and toward the south clearly refer to Kṛṣṇacaritra (Figs. 112-116), but their arrangement, described below, is less coherent than in either Cave 2 or Cave 3. Scenes of a dying warrior, club-bearing combattants, and a chariot in battle at the very north end of the west basement (Fig. 110) probably relate to the Mahābhārata; unfortunately the intervening reliefs between these and the Kṛṣṇacaritra episodes are destroyed. Above the basement, on the lower west wall at the very north end, is one isolated additional unfinished narrative scene. In a similar position at the very west end of the lower north wall is a solitary battle scene (Fig. 111), featuring two warriors in chariots. The chariot at proper right seems to have a four-armed cakra- and śaṅkha-bearing driver who must be Kṛṣṇa; thus the episode depicted is securely related to the Mahābhārata. The basement level which bears narrative reliefs on the temple's west and south sides is uncarved near the north side's east
end, and decorated with ganas elsewhere on the north side.

The Upper Śivālaya's west exterior basement Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes, moving southward from center to the temple's southwest corner, appear to be as follows: women hold children, Kṛṣṇa drags a mortar between two Yamalārjuna trees, churning and theft of butter, Kṛṣṇa suckles Pūtanā; in a building a standing woman holds/suckles a child and Kṛṣṇa in his bed is attacked by a bird (Fig. 112); churning scene with gopīs, unidentified figure holds a baby, four-armed Devī stands samabhāṅga with cakra and trisūla at right and saṅkha and hand on hip at left, Vasudeva(?) holds a baby, bull, Vasudeva(?) watches outside a building containing a standing figure, seated Devakī, and a baby on the floor (Fig. 113) (this section probably represents the exchange of baby Kṛṣṇa for Nanda and Yasoda's baby daughter, an incarnation of Devī who is shown also in her true form, and the subsequent discovery of the baby girl by Kaṁsa or a servant); uncertain scene (possibly showing the baby girl being dashed against a rock), Vasudeva and Devakī sit inside a building while an attendant and guard stand nearby, figures wrestling (Fig. 114); Kṛṣṇa fights Keśi, two men struggle(?) while another crawls(?) on the ground (Fig. 115); worn area, probably including fights with Kuvalayāṇīḍa and another animal demon and a scene of struggle or wrestling; Pralamba carries Balarāma amidst clouds, observers including a four-armed male, Kṛṣṇa fights Ariśṭa (Fig. 116).

Evidently a full iconographic program for the Upper Śivālaya's basement was not worked out before carving began. It is plausible to suppose that the non-narrative sections of the basement frieze were begun before a decision was made to include narratives, limiting the available room and preventing the completion of the Rāmāyaṇa story on the south,
but this does not explain the placement of the Vāli and Sugrīva scene or the arrangement of Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes. Perhaps the carvers of the basement were given only general directional and chronological instructions regarding their narrative subject matter. Rāmāyana events, belonging properly to South India and Laṅkā, were to be placed on the south, while Kṛṣṇacaritra and Mahābhārata events, occurring in Mathura, Dvāraka, and Kurukṣetra, were to be placed on the west and toward the north. Additionally, the circumambulating worshipper was to view the Tretā yuga (age) Rāmāyana first, and then see the Dwāpara yuga youth of Kṛṣṇa and subsequent Mahābhārata battles. The precise choice and order of events represented probably were left to the sculptors themselves. It would appear that the two reliefs on the lower wall near the temple's northwest corner were cut after the basement in this area was complete, in an attempt, soon abandoned, to extend the Mahābhārata narrative content. Comparable portions of the lower wall elsewhere on the temple are uncut, or bear isolated devices such as a fish or a lion head, or have small worn figures. The latter include Viṣṇu seated (north), Viṣṇu seated with consort (north), and śaṅkha nidhi (west).

While the dedication of the Upper Śivālaya appears to have been Vaiṣṇava, like that of Cave 3, it differs from the latter in including no representations of Śiva. However since Śiva images were located on verandah brackets and verandah ceilings at Cave 3, it is possible that they would have been found in the Upper Śivālaya's now destroyed porch. We note also the surprising absence at the Upper Śivālaya of images of Varāha and Trivikrama, so important in both Caves 2 and 3, attributed to the same patron. I would suggest that images of these deities appeared in lost areas of the east wall on either side of the entrance porch.
Possibly Varāha was on the south (proper right, as at Caves 2 and 3), and Trivikrama was on the north (proper left, as at Caves 2 and 3).

Viṣṇu's *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa, identified with Maṅgalesa in the Mahākūṭa inscription (M4), plays an even more important role in sculpture on the Upper Śivālaya than in Caves 2 and 3. Possibly Maṅgalesa at this later date additionally chose to flatter himself by comparision with Rāma.

The Mahākūṭa inscription compares his invincibility to that of Rāma, and this latter *avatāra* was famous for being superior to his reigning brother Bharata (Kīrttivarma?), just as Kṛṣṇa was to his elder brother Balarāma (specifically compared to Kīrttivarma in M4). Though both these comparisions appear obviously to flatter Maṅgalesa and insult Kīrttivarma, the explicit inscription dates after the latter's death, and the sculptural representations on the Upper Śivālaya and in the caves avoid controversy; a few great deeds of Balarāma (killing Dhenuka and Pralamba) are included with those of Kṛṣṇa, and there is no depiction of, for example, Bharata humbly bowing to Rāma's sandals. The enhanced number and importance of supposed personal references in the iconography of the Upper Śivālaya make it likely that this Viṣṇu temple was Maṅgalesa's "own temple" mentioned in the Mahākūṭa inscription of 602 A.D. (M4), having replaced the earlier Cave 3 Viṣṇu temple in its patron's favor. Whether two different forms of the god were originally enshrined in these two temples cannot be determined at present.
B.7. Lower Śivālaya at Bādāmi

The temple now called Lower Śivālaya (Figs. 119-120) was probably begun after the Upper Śivālaya, as it has a less elevated and distinguished position, on a rock outcrop of Bādāmi's north hill (Fig. 101), than the latter. Very little of the temple survives, only its Southern style tower and the *garbha grha* below. The *garbha grha* walls have shallow rectangular indentations on their outer north, west, and south sides, possibly for painted images. The temple appears to have been sāndhāra. If, as seems likely, the Lower Śivālaya was similar in form to the Upper Śivālaya, much of the ground on which its eastern portion once stood must be assumed to have fallen in a rock slide into the valley. The *garbha grha* contains an oval *pītha*, morticed for insertion of an image rather than a *liṅga*.

Both Bolon and Tartakov seem to have correctly assigned to the Lower Śivālaya two large unfinished image panels (Figs. 121-122) representing four-armed males, now built into a later gateway in the path leading up from the valley to the north hill fort, on the basis of their early style and the similarity of their lotus petal and pearl borders to those found on the *garbha grha* doorframe of the Lower Śivālaya. The deity in the more nearly completed of the two panels (Fig. 121) has a drum(?) in the upper right hand, a flying *gana* above it with a *triśūla*-fronted headdress, and a *gana* standing at lower right holding a *triśūla*. Tartakov has identified the deity figure as Harihara, but this is unlikely because the figure is in *tribhaṅga* (triple bend) stance, while Harihara is shown *samabhāṅga* in early examples at Cave 1 at Bādāmi, Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, and Cave 3 at Bādāmi, and in most later Calukya examples. Bolon more aptly identified this figure as Śiva. Tartakov
did not identify the deity of Figure 122, but Bolon believed it to be Viṣṇu. This suggestion also seems unlikely because of the figure's tribhāṅga pose; standing Viṣṇu icons are almost always samabhāṅga in Calukya sculpture. Probably Figures 121 and 122 were intended to represent complementary forms of Śiva; where they might have been placed on the temple's exterior is unknown.

Among the fragments of sculpture found in the north fort area are several friezes showing Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes. Bolon and Tartakov have assigned all these to the Lower Śivālaya; however only Figures 123-126, which have simple pearl motif borders resembling those of the gana entablature reliefs still attached to the garbha grha structure, can be associated with it with confidence. In fact, there are portions of at least two separate Kṛṣṇacaritra series surviving. Three fairly well preserved stones (Figs. 127-130) in the site museum lack pearl borders, and have an image area about thirteen inches high. The scenes with pearl borders have a ten inch high image area. They include one fragment in the museum and two others now built into the walls of the pathway to the north fort. The presumed Lower Śivālaya group will be discussed first. The museum fragment (Fig. 123) portrays, from viewer's left to right: Kṛṣṇa in bed attacked by a bird, Kṛṣṇa suckling Pūtanā, foliage, and half of a scene of Kṛṣṇa dragging a mortar between personified (?) Yamārjuna trees. The other half of this same scene (Fig. 124) is found in the north fort, where it adjoins the episodes of Pralamba and Kuvalayāpīḍa. Beyond a worn area on the same stone are scenes of wrestling (Fig. 125). A separate adjacent stone (Fig. 126) has more wrestling (or dancing) and probably a representation of Kṛṣṇa or Balarāma attacking seated Kaṁsa; the figure group beyond this is worn.
Two of the non-pearl-bordered museum reliefs duplicate some of these episodes. One (Fig. 127) includes, from viewer's left to right: Kaṃsa and attendants in a palace, the exchange of babies (probably Kṛṣṇa and Devī are held by Vasudeva and Nanda, the latter joined by Yaśodā and cattle), Kṛṣṇa in bed attacked by a bird, churning, Kṛṣṇa suckling Pūtanā, Kṛṣṇa kicking a cart, and Kṛṣṇa dragging a mortar between personified Yamāḷaṁjuna trees. The other (Fig. 128) depicts the episodes of Pralamba, Kuvalayāḍa, Dhenuka, and Govardhanadhāraṇa. These two reliefs feature garlands of pearls at their upper borders and floral filled zigzags at their bases. The borders are incompletely carved in the case of the first panel. The longest museum relief (Figs. 129-130), which duplicates none of the subject matter listed above, has an upper border of rosettes, and so is not linked directly with either the "Lower Śivaḷaḷaṇa" group or the other non-pearl-bordered museum reliefs. Although one of the "Lower Śivaḷaḷaṇa" pieces in the north fort pathway does feature some vertical rosettes (Fig. 125), it seems most reasonable to group the longest museum relief with the two similarly well preserved and similarly tall museum reliefs. It portrays Kṛṣṇa fighting Keśi, Kṛṣṇa fighting Kāliya, Kṛṣṇa fighting Arīṣṭa, and an uncertain scene with a sword bearer and a figure crouching on the ground. While it is possible that the proposed two sets of Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes decorated different architectural parts of the Lower Śivaḷaḷaṇa, it seems more likely that the non-pearl-bordered museum reliefs came from another temple entirely.

Both Bolon and Tartakov have supposed that the Lower Śivaḷaḷaṇa was dedicated to Viṣṇu, but the evidence does not seem to support this. The presumed presence of some Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes, while probably
relating the temple to Maṅgalesa's patronage, seems less significant than the presumed presence of the two large four-armed Śivas (Fig. 121 and 122) discussed above. A. Sundara, in an article published in Kannada in 1977, hypothesized that the Lower Śivālaya actually was dedicated to Gaṇeśa. He argued that the oval pitha in the garbhagṛha was appropriate to a seated Gaṇeśa image, that the two small gana figures at the base of the garbhagṛha doorframe were attendants of the chief of the gana, and that the garbhagṛha image could have been identical with Vatāpi-Gaṇapati, a Gaṇeśa icon traditionally said to have been taken from Vatāpi (Bādāmi) by the invading general and Śaiva saint Śiruttōṇḍa, and installed in the latter's home town in Thanjavur District. My suggestion is that the Lower Śivālaya was originally dedicated to the war god Kārttikeya, a deity consistently named in Calukya praśastis as favoring the Calukya family, and one who seems to have been honored by Maṅgalesa. Perhaps it was constructed after, and in commemoration of, Maṅgalesa's victory over the Kalacuris. The enshrined god probably was represented as seated on his peacock, as in all three Bādāmi caves.

Two additional surviving images which may have originally belonged to the Lower Śivālaya, a Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 729) and a similarly framed standing Viṣṇu (Fig. 131), are both now in the Bādāmi site museum. These images might once have appeared opposite each other like the paired representations of Mahiṣamardinī (north) (Fig. 745) and Viṣṇu (south) (Fig. 392) on the later Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi.
B.8. Two Story temple at Bādāmi

One last monument on Bādāmi's north hill may possibly be assigned to Maṅgaleśa's reign, the largely destroyed Two Story temple, first discussed by Bolon. This structure (Figs. 132-135), built like the Lower Śivālaya on a rock outcrop (Fig. 101), consists of two separate parts. On the east is an open square pavilion on a high base, with six large rock-cut elephant figures surrounding the extension provided for a staircase on its west side. To the west of this pavilion are rock-cut stairs leading to a two story east-facing porch-like area, which once fronted a larger two story structure, now completely lost, but presumably a temple of unusual form. Perhaps the open east pavilion contained the (west-facing) vāhana for the deity enshrined in the western main structure, such as the Garuḍa for a Viṣṇu temple.

Bolon has dated the Two Story temple to Kīrttivarma I's reign on the basis of comparisons to Cave 3 at Bādāmi and to the two story Buddhist cave temple with structural facade at Aihole. The elephant basement figures of the Two Story temple at Bādāmi, however, seem to link it with the Upper Śivālaya, and its less elevated position suggests a later date. The Two Story temple at Bādāmi most probably was an exotic experiment designed by a king who had already mastered conventional rock-cut (Caves 2 and 3) and structural (Upper Śivālaya and Lower Śivālaya) temple forms.

It seems possible that the three non-pearl-bordered Kṛṣṇacaritra narrative reliefs in the Bādāmi site museum (Figs. 127-130), described above, once decorated the basement or some other portion of the destroyed west/main structure of the Two Story temple. If so, all five of the monuments in Bādāmi ascribed to Maṅgaleśa's patronage would have possessed this same iconographic element. An examination of the few
surviving subjects common to all five Kṛṣṇacaritra series reveals that the female demon Pūtanā is found in both Caves 2 and 3, but neither cave has a bird demon; at the Upper Śivālaya (Fig. 112), a bird demon appears atop Kṛṣṇa's bed at ground level, adjacent to and presumably related to female representations of Pūtanā; the bird demon scene is raised up, though still near the female Pūtanā, in the "Lower Śivālaya" relief (Fig. 123); and the bird demon scene is at tree top level and separated from Pūtanā by a scene of churning in the "Two Story temple" relief (Fig. 127). While iconographic changes are not absolute chronological guides, it would seem likely that these last three narratives were carved in the order stated. No other known sculptures seem associated with the Two Story temple. Whether this monument was finished and later damaged, or left incomplete due to the civil war at the end of Maṅgaleśa's reign is unknown.
C. Notes

1 Narasimhachar (1911).

2 For the belief that the early kings of the Calukya family were Vaishnavas, see, for example, Cousens (1926: 34) and Bolon (1979: 254).

3 Spellings of Indian place names are based on Government of India survey maps as well as common scholarly usage.

4 For Visnu as the embodiment of kingship, see Bhattacharji (1978: 295-297).

5 This ritual is described in Matsya Purana, chapter 275. It may have originally been a ceremony of worship to the god Brahma; one who performs it is said to go to Brahma-loka. However D.C. Sircar (Studies in the Religious life of Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi, 1971, 166) has suggested that in the Matsya Purana, Hiranyakartha was identified with Visnu.

6 The translation of the Sanskrit compound devadroni is disputed. See below, note 31.

7 The identification of Makuteeswaranatha with Siva is based on the fact that the primary god presently enshrined at Mahakuta is known as Mahakutesvara and is a Siva-linga.

8 The tenth century poem Gadayuddha (Narasimhachar (1911)) also mentions Pulakesi I's asvamedha.

9 See note 5 above. Brahma carries vedas and a sacrificial ladle, and he performed the functions of a sacrificing priest, for example, at Siva's wedding.
That the two immediate successors of Kirttivarma I (Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśi II) clearly did consider their ancestor's/ancestors' sacrifices to be important dynastically is shown by the fact that Maṅgaleśa's M1 and Pulakeśi II's Pk4 and Pk6 state that the Calukya family was purified by such sacrifices as aśvamedha, vājapeya, bahusuvarna, and paundarika, which were exactly those performed by Pulakeśi I and Kirttivarma I. Similarly, Pulakeśi II's Pk7 and Pk9 state that the family was purified by an aśvamedha, presumably Pulakeśi I's. Other references to sacrifices performed by the family, which probably were those performed by Pulakeśi I and/or Kirttivarma I, are found in M4 and Pk3.

Notice may be taken of a somewhat similar situation in the case of the Kadambas. The aśvamedha performed by the fifth century Kadamba king, Kṛṣṇavarma I (see the Devagiri plates of his son, J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 35," Indian Antiquary, 7 (1878), 33-35) was presumably a source of pride to several later kings of the line who described their family as having been purified by the aśvamedha sacrifice (see, for example, Ravivarman's Kāśipura plates, MAR for 1943, 50-51). Possibly Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśi II were aware of this precedent.

A statement in the Godachi plates (K1) to the effect that Kirttivarma vanquished all his dāyādas (rivals/kinsmen) may indicate that Pūgavarma did assert a claim to the Calukya kingship, but was defeated by Kirttivarma, possibly aided by Maṅgaleśa. Intrafamily fighting was not unknown; Maṅgaleśa, during his own reign, boasted of killing a Calukya named Svāmi (M5). See Raychaudhuri (1973-74: 35 and a note by D.C. Sircar on that page).

For the apparent absence of a Brahmā cult, see Banerjea (1974: 513-514) and Gopinatha Rao (1968: 502-503).

In the pre-Calukya period, we note an invocation to Brahmā in the Hitnahebbāṣgilu plates of Kadamba Mṛgeśāvarma (Sircar (1939: 265)) in Karnataka, and a freestanding Brahmā image from Kalacuri Elephanta (Prince of Wales Museum #152) in Maharashtra. In the Calukya period, we note the performance of the Hiranyagarbha gift rite by Pulakeśi I (Pkl, etc.) in Karnataka; Pūgavarma's invocation to Brahmā (Pgl) in Karnataka; Ādityavarman's gift on the occasion of the great festival of Paitāmahī-Hiranyagarbha (Ad1) in Andhra Pradesh; the performance of the Hiranyagarbha gift rite by Vināpoṭi, a courtesan favored by Vijayāditya (Vj15), and Kuṭākumadevi, a sister of Vijayāditya (Vj9, C3), both in Karnataka; and a reference to the footprints of Bhagavat Brahmā in the Mānor (Maharashtra) plates of 749/50 A.D. during the feudatory rule of Rāstrakūṭa Dantidurga (Mirashi: 1961).

P.B. Desai (1957-58: 293).
Some inscriptions dating before 650 A.D. give this king instead the appellations Kīrttirāja (Pk3), Kattiarasa (K1), or Pururaṇaparākrama (M4).

The date details of this grant are the same as those for M1, except for the lack of any Śaka era date. Probably, then, the Gođachi plates can be dated, like M1, to October 31, 578 A.D. See Fleet (1896: 346).

Lewis Rice was among the first to suggest that Calukya ancestral claims (Māṇavṛṣaṅgotra, Hāritiṅputra) could have been artificially adopted from the Kadambas who preceded them. See, for example, Rice (1879a: 23). Similar ancestral claims were made by the Chutus, who preceded the Kadambas. See Fleet (1896: 277-278). P.B. Desai (1949-50: 60-61) was among the first scholars to suggest that the phrase Svāmī-mahāsena-mātrganāṇudvāt-ābhīṣikta was also borrowed from the Kadambas. This phrase might, alternatively, be translated "consecrated by meditation on the Mothers of Lord Mahāsena, i.e. on the six Kṛttikas," but the Tālagunda Kadamba inscription (Kielhorn (1904-05)) refers to the favor of the Mothers and of the war god separately. The ambiguous wording of K1 was used in only one other Calukya inscription, a fragment from Bādāmi (Pk12) possibly dating to Pulakeśi II's reign. In inscriptions of Maṅgalesa, the Mothers are omitted but Svāmī/Svāmi Mahāsena is retained, suggesting that he was conceived of as separate from the Mothers. Pulakeśi II's inscriptions sometimes omit the Mothers, but those which do mention them (B2; Pk6-9) consistently separate them from Mahāsena/Kārttikeya; it is clearly stated that both Mahāsena/Kārttikeya and a group of Mothers favored the Calukyas. Also Pk8 and Pk9 number the Mothers as seven, rather than six. Pulakeśi II's successors followed his example.

Fleet (1896: 345); Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 208). However Ramesh (1971: 218) has asserted that Pk2 has been misread, and that it actually calls Pulakeśi I, not Kīrttivarman, the first maker of Vātāpi, thus referring strictly to the site's settlement and fortification (Pk1). Even if Ramesh is incorrect, we note that no royal inscriptions known between the time of Maṅgalesa's death and the Later Western Cālukya dynasty mention Maṅgalesa or his reign at all. Therefore it is likely that significant accomplishments due in fact to Maṅgalesa would have been ascribed to Kīrttivarman by the latter's descendants. It is here hypothesized that it was Maṅgalesa, both during Kīrttivarman's reign and his own, who was the patron of the first known Brahmanical temples created in Bādāmi after Pulakeśi's Cave 1: Cave 2, Cave 3, Upper Śīvālaya, Lower Śīvālaya, and Two Story temple.

Fleet (1896: 346).
It is not clear whether the merit of the temple construction or of the village grant or both was meant here. I prefer to assume that the merit of the grant was meant. The probable chief purpose of M1, like most other royal inscriptions, was to make a permanent record of a land grant. Since the king owned all land, only he could authorize a gift of it, and Calukya kings habitually claimed the merit of such gifts, even when made at another's request. See, for example, Vā 3, 7, 8. We note in the Huli plates of Maṅgalesa's own reign (M3) a traditional verse, the second half of which appears in M1: "The earth has been ruled by many kings, the illustrious Sāgara and others. Every ruler who possesses the land from time to time enjoys the merit attached to it."

This seems to be the literal translation of devadviṣagurupūjīta, but it is an unusual statement. A more typical phrase is devadviṣagurupūjanirata (M5) or devadviṣagurucarapāṇudhyāta (M4), which indicate that devas, brahmanas, and gurus were honored by the individual described. Some authors, e.g. Raychaudhuri (1973-74: 38), have given a similar interpretation for the M1 phrase. Guru may be translated as either "father" or "spiritual preceptor." In this case, the latter meaning seems intended.

It may be mentioned at this point that Pk2 of Kīrttivarma's son Pulakeśi II refers to a member of the Sendraka family who was Pulakeśi II's maternal uncle, and therefore a brother-in-law of Kīrttivarma, and was a paramamāheśvara (great devotee of Maheśvara/Siva). This statement has been the basis for claims that Kīrttivarma's wife was a Śaiva, as in Bolon (1979: 254), but its evidence is inconclusive in this respect.

Inscriptions of the rulers of the main Calukya line after the mid seventh century refer only to Kīrttivarma's military prowess.

Three late seventh and early eighth century inscriptions (B16, 17, 26) of Gujarat rulers related to the main line Calukya family feature Kīrttivarma's name in place of Pulakeśi I's name in one line from the standard post-650 A.D. prāśasti, and thus ascribe Pulakeśi's aśvamedha to Kīrttivarma, who is the first Calukya king named in them. Their evidence on this point, unsupported by main line inscriptions, should not be trusted.

The name of the gift village in M1 was read as Laṃjīśvara (Burgess (1877: 363-364)), and J. P. Fleet ("SOCI No. 82," Indian Antiquary, 10 (1881), 59) first assumed that this should be translated "Lord of Lakṣmī," and that it was the name of the form of Viṣṇu to whom Cave 3 was dedicated. Later he gave an entirely different translation (Fleet (1890)), and another has more recently been proposed (Dhavalikar (1979-80: 31)). The name itself was read differently, as Biṭṭiśvara, meaning simply "Lord Viṣṇu," in ASIAR for 1925-26, 138.
The term mahājana(s) may mean either the general public or the great and important men of the town.

See note 20 above.


Probably this refers to the sacrifices of Pulakeśi I and Kīrttivarman I. See note 10 above. Kielhorn (1900-01: 4) observed that the half verse referred to here was copied from Kālidāsa's Rāghuvāṃśa.

It was the opinion of J.F. Fleet ("SOCI No. 185," Indian Antiquary, 19 (1890), 15) that Durlabhadevi was the mother of Kīrttivarman, but not of Maṅgaleśa. This would suit the Kṛṣṇa/Balarāma comparison, since Kṛṣṇa was born of Devakī and Balarāma of Rohiṇī, to whom Devakī's embryo was secretly transferred.

The term devadronī was first translated by Fleet (M4) as "idol procession." Mirashi (1955: I, xlviii) suggested that a better translation would be "temple treasury." The same term in another inscription has been translated as "temple tank" (ARIE for 1962-63, 21). Sircar (1966: 88) translated it as "temple property," which accords with Mirashi's point of view.

Two other probable cases of Maṅgaleśa favoring relatives of the deceased Kīrttivarman can be cited. Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, ruling at Revati-dvīpa at the time of his Goa plates (Bl, dating to the very end of Maṅgaleśa's reign or the start of Pulakeśi II's reign) belonged to the same Bappura/Batpura family as Durlabhadevi. He apparently first received a feudal office from Kīrttivarman, for his initial regnal year, calculated from Bl, occurred in Kīrttivarman's reign, but he must have been given control of Revati-dvīpa by Maṅgaleśa, because Maṅgaleśa was the first Calukya to conquer this province (PklO, C6). Also, the Hūli plates (M3) show that Maṅgaleśa favored a chief of the Sendraka family, who might have been related to Kīrttivarman by marriage, since it is known that his brother-in-law was a Sendraka (Pk2).

Though scholars have debated whether the chronological sequence of the Brahmanical caves at Bādāmi is 3-2-1 or 1-2-3, it seems now established that the sequence 1-2-3, with all work finished in 578 A.D., is correct. See the detailed analysis of Tarr/Tartakov (1970), supported by the subsequent arguments of Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 53-94) and Divakaran (1981: 59-62). For the most recent advocacy of the contrary view, see (de) Lippe (1978: 136-139). My dating of the beginning of the Bādāmi excavations in the 560's follows Tartakov and
Divakaran; Bolon places it in the 550's. See note 72 below.

The date of the Rāvana Phadi cave at Aihole is more controversial. (De) Lippe (1978: 140-141), who preferred the Bādāmi cave sequence 3 - 2 - 1, dated the Rāvana Phadi cave after Cave 1, in the mid seventh century, as did Soundara Rajan (1958-60: 30), who believed that significant portions of Caves 1 and 3 were created in the mid seventh century. Among those who prefer, as I do, the sequence 1 - 2 - 3 for the Bādāmi caves, Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 41-50) and Tarr/Tartakov (1970: 171-178) have both placed the Rāvana Phadi cave before Cave 1 at Bādāmi, while Divakaran (1981: 61-62) has placed it between Cave 1 and Cave 3. I believe that the historical and iconographic situation confirms Divakaran's chronology.

34 Spink (1967a: 10). I accept Spink's proposed attribution of the Jogeswari, Mandapeswar, and Elephanta caves, and the early Brahmanical caves at Ellora (up to and including Cave 21), to the period of Kalacuri rule in Maharashtra, the sixth century and the first decade of the seventh century (Spink (1967a); (1967b)). I will, consequently, refer to these monuments as the Kalacuri caves, with the understanding that their association with the kings of the Kalacuri dynasty has not been proven conclusively.

35 For example, kings wearing makutas were said to have bowed in submission to Maṅgaleśa (M1), Kirttivarma I (M4, Pk7), Pulakesī II (B4), etc. See Bolon (1979) for a different interpretation of the name Makuteśvaranātha, and the opinion that no temple was built for this god until after the death of Pulakesī I.

36 Both in the Kalcuri caves and in Calukya art, from the Rāvana Phadi cave on, the Mothers were associated with the Śaiva group of deities. While the Mudhol grant of Pūgavarma (Pg1) mentions Vārāha, it specifically associates her with her lord (Varāha) and does not refer to any group of Mothers.

37 For example, see Adiceam (1966) for the predominance of the paraśu in South Indian textual descriptions and actual images of Harihara, and see K.S. Desai (1973: 51-54) for the comparable predominance of trīśūla for Harihara in North India.

38 However Śiva did give to Paraśurāma the paraśu with which the latter killed the ksatriyas (Śiva Purāṇa V; chapter 1), and a paraśu was among the many weapons used by Śiva against Jalandhara and Śaṅkhacūḍa, though their deaths were by other means (Śiva Purāṇa II-5; chapters 22-24, 39-40).

39 We note a metaphor in Śiva Purāṇa II-1; chapter 4, comparing the names of Śiva to an axe for cutting the tree of sins.
In the Kalacuri Saiva caves, Viṣṇu appears chiefly as a subordinate, attendant figure. The several Kalacuri period Vaiśṇava fragments now in the Prince of Wales Museum (#74, 76, 77, 81) (M. Chandra (1974: pls. 77, 80, 78, 79)), probably belonged to temples not dedicated to Śiva.

See pages 46-47.

Also Gaṅeśa and Kārttikeya images face each other in the east wing of Elephanta's Main cave; Mahiṣamardini and Kārttikeya images face each other at Cave 21 at Ellora; Mahiṣamardini and Gaṅeśa images face each other at Cave 17 at Ellora.

See Figures 19-24. The image of Naṭeśa appears across a courtyard from images of Mahiṣamardini, Gaṅeśa, Kārttikeya, and the Mothers inside Jogeswari's eastern gateway structure, over the east vestibule's entrance doorway. Elsewhere in the Kalacuri caves his image is even less closely associated with separate icons of Mahiṣamardini, Gaṅeśa, and/or Kārttikeya. Though certainly Gaṅeśa, probably Pārvatī, and possibly also Kārttikeya are included among the many attendant figures within Kalacuri reliefs centering on Naṭeśa, such reliefs display Śiva's "cosmos," rather than merely his "family." Also it appears that no Kalacuri Naṭeśa reliefs include Nandi.

Kālidāsa described an image of dancing Śiva with a forest of arms (bhujataruvana) in his Meghadūta (Sivaramamurti (1957a: 16)), and indeed North Indian Naṭeśa images are more often multiarmed than South Indian (Sivaramamurti (1974: 170)). In the sixth century we note, besides the large eight-armed Kalacuri cave Naṭeśas, a small Naṭeśa figure from Bhumara which seems to have eight arms (Banerji (1924: pl. XIIIb)) and one at Sakhor which may have had ten arms (Williams (1982: pl. 190)). Nevertheless, South Indian āgamic texts do describe forms of dancing Śiva with as many as sixteen arms (Sivaramamurti (1974: 150-154)).

The nāga attribute, held aloft with two hands, is specified for Naṭeśa in the Orissan text Śilpa Prakāśa (Sivaramamurti (1974: 154-155)) and is seen in two relatively early-eight armed Naṭeśas who also bear trident (Sivaramamurti (1974: 172, fig. 9, "fifth century," and 177, fig. 14, "sixth century")). The former image includes Gaṅeśa, Kārttikeya on peacock, Bhringī, and Pārvatī. The latter image includes Nandi. Later North Indian images of Naṭeśa holding nāga aloft with two hands and bearing trident include, for example, two ninth century eight-armed images from Madhya Pradesh (Kramrisch (1981a: 42-43, figs. 35, 36)). Both these images include Nandi.

See page 42.
This is assumed because Varāha does not appear in Cave 1 at Bādāmi, though other Vaiṣṇava deities do. Maṅgaleśa's older brother Pūgavarma seems to have honored Varāha (Pg1), but whether or not he influenced Maṅgaleśa's interest in this deity cannot by determined.

It probably also related to Maṅgaleśa's own desire to rule. See Williams (1982: 45-46) for possible political (Gupta dynastic) associations of the rock-cut Varāha relief at Udayagiri, Vidiṣā.

K.S. Desai (1973: fig. 59).

Williams (1972-73: 61, fig. 26). Mankodi (1980: 34) dated it to the second half of the sixth century.

For descriptions, see pages 43-45.

See page 51.

This entablature relief, on the north side of the westernmost verandah bay, features Viṣṇu seated with Garuḍa, attendants, and two consorts, one holding a flower, at its east end, and Viṣṇu riding away on Garuḍa towards the west end. The suggestion of Banerji (1928: 24) that these scenes are associated with the birth of Kṛṣṇa seems unlikely, since Viṣṇu goes in the wrong direction. Also, texts typically do not describe Viṣṇu as flying on Garuḍa towards avatarhood, so the relief probably is not associated with the Trivikrama image on the west end wall of the verandah either. Perhaps the relief is not part of any particular narrative, but generally represents Viṣṇu's active nature, and so contrasts with his passive Anantaśayin aspect on the opposite, westernmost south entablature. Another possibility is that the scenes in question are the first portion of a Pārijātaharaṇa narrative which was never completed, perhaps because it was misplaced. The bay just to the east displays a series of couples; this non-narrative subject is unlike any other in Cave 2, but relates to Cave 1.

The subject matter of these three entablature reliefs may be related to Devī-Māhātmya, chapters 1-4, and to the version of the Mahīṣamardini myth in Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa V.

Probably another mandapa pillar bracket has images of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī below Śiva and Pārvatī; however both these reliefs are damaged, and the upper deity may be misidentified.


57 MAR for 1936, 74f.; MAR for 1911, 35f.

58 The numbers used for Aihole temples are those of Cousens (1926: pl. II). For an explanation of the modern name of this cave, see Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 41).

59 Probably the chief iconographic effect of the victory over the Kadambas was the introduction of the Mothers as patron deities of the Calukyas, because Kārttikeya presumably was important earlier, at Cave 1 at Bādāmi and possibly also at the Makuṭesvaranātha temple (see page 61). Thus, the Mothers were added to the Śiva-Nāṭeśa "family" group in the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave in as prominent a way as possible: their scale is large, they stand rather than sit, and they occupy the greatest amount of wall space in the composition.

One argument for dating the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave after Cave 1 at Bādāmi is that Cave 1 lacks the Mothers; also Nāṭeśa and his "family" are much more thoroughly integrated, into one composition and into the cave itself, at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave.

60 Symposium of the American Committee for South Asian Art (ACSSA), Minneapolis, Minn., May 9, 1981.

61 Harle (1971b).


63 Banerjea (1945: 121).

64 Mankodi (1973).

65 Bhṛṛigī is present in the Ardhaṇaṁśvarā relief in Cave 1 at Bādāmi, but not in the Nāṭeśa relief. He is sometimes considered a son of Śiva and/or Pārvatī (Kūrma Purāṇa I; chapter 16 and Śiva Purāṇa II-5; chapters 42, 49).
See pages 31-32 and note 59 above. Later in Calukya art, Naṭeṣa is rarely attended by any deities outside his "family," and even his "family" members are sometimes miniaturized. Most often he appears accompanied only by gana musicians, sometimes joined by Bhṛṅgi. It is curious that no musicians appear in the Naṭeṣa composition at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave.

The essential similarity of Naṭeṣa and Trivikrama, Śakti-infused/active forms of Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, has been noted by Soundara Rajan (1972-73: 80).


Sundara (1979: 98).

See pages 231-235; also Chapter IV, note 146.

See notes 18, 20, and 33 above. Tarr/Tartakov (1970: 169-170) tentatively ascribed Caves 1 and 2 to Kīrttivarma, but Cave 3 to Maṅgaleśa. Divakaran (1981: 62) concurred, though noting that possibly Cave 1 could be ascribed to Kīrttivarma during the reign of Pulakesi I. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 54) attributed Caves 1 and 2 to Pulakesi I, and gave Kīrttivarma, rather than Maṅgaleśa, chief credit for the creation of Cave 3. (De)Lippe (1978: 136-139) attributed Caves 3 and 2 to Maṅgaleśa, and Cave 1 to Pulakesi II.

The Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta's reign emphasizes that Trivikrama-Viṣṇu's action was for the sake of Indra. Banerjea (1945: 117).


There are some eight-armed lion-faced Calukya Nṛsiṁha images. Interestingly, Nṛsiṁha is shown with eight arms only when he is in the act of fighting demons (to aid his devotee Prahlāda, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I; chapters 17-20) and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (VII; chapters 5-10)) not when he is in a passive/yogic form.

On the basement frieze of the Mahākūṭa temple at Mahākūṭa, whose construction was probably begun late in Vikramādiṭiya I's reign and finished in Vinayāditya's reign, and so was approximately contemporaneous with the Svarga Brahma temple at Alampur, small images of six- and eight-
armed Viṣṇu appear riding Garuḍa in battle. Presumably this was another occasion when the god aided his devotees.

76 Banerji (1928: 30-31) called it Viṅga Puruṣa, the expanded form of Vāmana before he measured the universe with three steps.


78 Banerji (1928: 31).

79 Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, 261-262). For the Ādimūrti image at Cave 3 see page 46.

80 K.S. Desai (1973: 25, 26, figs. 18, 19).

81 Without reference to the fragmentary image at the site, Banerjea (1945: 65) suggested that the center overdoor image was a replica of the sanctum image.

82 K.S. Desai (1973: 26).

83 Kielhorn (1904-05).

84 Viṣṇu’s action against Madhu and Kaitabha is real and independent in the Mahābhārata (Vana Parva, chapter 202). See also Harivaṁśa (II, 305-307). He cannot rise to fight until the goddess Mahāmāya releases him from slumber in Devī - Mahātmya, chapter 1 (Mārkandeya Purāṇa, chapter 81), Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I; chapters 6-9 and X; chapter 11), and Śiva Purāṇa(V; chapter 45). In Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 170, Viṣṇu stays asleep, but by his māyā catches and kills Madhu and Kaitabha with his hands. In Kūrma Purāṇa (I; chapter 10), Anantasayin orders Viṣṇu and Jīṣṇu to kill Madhu and Kaitabha while he stays reclining.

85 A fourth head was implied at the rear and shown in three-dimensional representations. Banerjea (1945: 86-89, 94-104).

86 The metaphoric comparison of Trivikrama to Maṅgalesa and Indra to Kīrttivarma proposed here is not inconsistent with Māyā’s comparison of Kṛṣṇa to Maṅgalesa and Balarāma to Kīrttivarma, since Āditi and Kaśyapa, parents of Vāmana and Indra, were in fact identical with Devakī and Vasudeva, parents of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. See Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 47; Harivaṁśa (I, 255-256); Agni Purāṇa, chapter 276; and Bhāgavata Purāṇa X;
chapter 3. Maṅgalesa's historical role may be compared to that of the younger brother and military assistant of King Pulakeśi II, Viṣṇuvardhana, who in fact did compare himself with Trivikrama (B3).

87 Williams (1982: 53) suggested a Gupta dynastic secular meaning for the Trivikrama image at Pawaya.

88 Harivāhana (II, 494).

89 We note that Pulakeśi II had to fight to obtain his rightful realm from his uncle Maṅgalesa, and that one of Pulakeśi II's copper plate grants (Pk2) features an invocation praising Trivikrama and a possible eulogistic association of Pulakeśi II with Trivikrama, both of whom placed a foot over their enemies. The Nelkunda plates of Abhinavaḍītya (Abl), who probably also had to fight for his realm, also have an invocation to Trivikrama. However no known temples are associated with this king.

90 Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, 172) assumed it was Bali, as did Banerji (1928: 18–19, 31–32) and Lippe (1969–70: 8). Charpentier (1929) and Coomaraswamy (1929) assumed it was Sukra.

91 We note that Maṅgalesa defeated a King Buddharāja Kalacuri in battle shortly before 602 A.D. (M4), but he was not ruling when Caves 2 and 3 were excavated; his father was still on the throne in 597 (Mirashi (1955: I, 40)). It is possible that Buddharāja played a major role as advisor to his father, and so was caricatured as the advisor of the demon King Bali in the Badami caves. Though inscriptions do not list the Kalacuris among the several dynasties which were opposed by the Calukyas during Kṛttivarma's reign, this may have been because Kṛttivarma suffered a humiliating defeat at their hands.

92 Banerjea (1946: 5–6 and footnotes).


94 Jāmbavan is described as a drummer at the time of Trivikrama's triumph in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (VIII; chapter 21, vs. 8) and Vaikhānasāgama (Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, 167)), but no drum is seen in either the Cave 2 or Cave 3 representation.

95 See Lippe (1970–71: fig. 1).
Banerji (1928: 32); this figure has also been identified as Sūrya (Lippe (1970-71: 80)) and Brahmā (Tarr/Tartakov (1970: 165)).

**Bhāgavata Purāṇa** (VIII; chapter 21, vs. 26). Other purāṇas mention the binding of Bali without associating it with Garuḍa (Vāmanā Purāṇa, chapter 65, and Vāyu Purāṇa, II; chapter 36, excerpted in O'Flaherty (1978: 178-179)).


The Pawaya lintel relief (Williams (1982: pl. 50)) shows Bali and all other participants in the sacrifice so dressed. Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, 172) believed that the water pot holder at Cave 2 at Bādāmi was Bali, dressed for the sacrifice.

**Bhāgavata Purāṇa** VIII; chapters 19-20; Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 246; Agni Purāṇa, chapter 4; Harivamśa (II, 485-488); Vāmanā Purāṇa, chapter 64, and Sūrya Purāṇa, chapter 10.

Williams (1982: 53) expressed the opinion that the Pawaya lintel shows Bali making a cakravartin's gesture while Śukra pours. However it seems more likely that Bali himself pours while Śukra and another brāhmaṇa officiant make gestures of dismay.

In Śiva Purāṇa II-5; chapters 4-5, and Liṅga Purāṇa I; chapter 71, Nārada accompanies Viṣṇu's illusory form to the Tripuras. In Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 187, Nārada goes alone. In Bhāgavata Purāṇa II; chapter 7, vs. 37, a brief reference is made to Viṣṇu's heretic disguise used against the Tripuras. In Agni Purāṇa, chapter 16, and Garuda Purāṇa, I; chapter 15, vs. 26, Buddha is referred to as Viṣṇu's avatāra, born for the purpose of deluding asuras.

Banerjea (1946: 6, footnote) assumed that the Buddha-like figure was Bali himself, converted to Buddhism by an (unshown) deluding form of Viṣṇu.


Although these Nepalese examples seem to lack the figure of Jāmbavān, probably present in the Bādāmi caves, V.S. Agrawala (1937: 124)
has described an unillustrated Gupta Trivikrama image (Mathura Museum #2664) which includes a representation of Jambavan.

107 Since eight-armed images of Viṣṇu and his avatāras are otherwise rare in Gupta North India, it is conceivable that the earliest surviving Indian fragments of images of eight-armed "Viṣṇu" in fact represent Trivikrama. These include Mathura Museum #15.1010 (V.S. Agrawala (1937: fig. 3)), Lucknow Museum #49.247 (Joshi (1972: fig. 1)), and Mathura Museum #50.3550 (Joshi (1972: line drawing 9)). This last image shows the god's broken left leg (completely lost in the case of the other two images) raised up and bent, a pose not too dissimilar from that of the Ramgarth Hill Trivikrama (Berkson (1978: fig. 7)).

The early importance of Trivikrama images might be due to the fact that this aspect of Viṣṇu is the only one traceable to the Rig Veda (Banerjea (1974: 385)), as well as possibly to royal/dynastic symbolism.

108 Williams (1982: pl. 50); Berkson (1978: fig. 7).

109 A possible example from Elephanta (Prince of Wales Museum #81) is too damaged for comparison, as is the Ramtek image (Soundara Rajan (1980: pl. 27)).


112 Hair was suggested by Lippe (1969-70: 49). The Vaikhānasāgama mentions one active form of Nṛṣimha who holds Hiranyakaśīpu's entrails, drawn out in the form of a garland, in two hands lifted up to his ears (Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, 152-153)).

113 While āyudhapuruṣas are not common in Calukya art, several standing Viṣṇu figures (Figs. 131, 141, 354, 392, 577) are accompanied by standing gada-devī, and early representations of Anantasayin have active āyudha-puruṣas (Figs. 38, 81, 208). For possible trisūla-puruṣas, see pages 67, 109.

114 The only other examples in Calukya art seem to be a representation of standing Viṣṇu on the entablature just above this Nṛṣimha image, where the front right hand is used in gesturing/conversation, and one figure of Kṛṣṇa on Garuḍa in the easternmost south side entablature relief, where the front right hand draws a bowstring. Kṛṣṇa's attribute here might actually be a sword rather than a mace.

A standing Nṛsiṁha without āyudhāpurusas is seen on the Rajghat pillar (K.S. Desai (1973: fig. 69)). Examples with āyudhāpurusas include one in the Los Angeles County Museum (Harle (1974: pl. 12)) and a rock-cut example at Udayagiri (AIIS negative #73.55). The theriomorphic Nṛsiṁha from Kondamotu in Andhra Pradesh probably reveals North Indian influence in its added cakra- and gadā-bearing arms (Khan (1964)).

While passive seated Calukya images of Nṛsiṁha do not bear mace, one North Indian example, with South Indian style cakra and śaṅkha placement, from Deogarh, does (K.S. Desai (1973: fig. 67)).

The popularity of the Nṛsiṁha avatāra even with Śaivas probably inspired the post-Calukya creation of the Sarabha form of Śiva, which defeats Nṛsiṁha and thus proves Śiva's superiority. In the Śiva Purāṇa version of this story (III: chapters 10-12) Viṣṇu-Nṛsiṁha merges into Śiva after the former's death. Another story links Nṛsiṁha more positively to the Śiva cult. According to Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 179, and Kūrma Purāṇa I; chapter 16, when the Mothers created for the battle against Anhāka needed to be subdued, Śiva requested Nṛsiṁha to perform the task.

Banerjea (1945: 128).

P. Chandra (1970: figs. 203 a-d).

Exceptions at Cave 1 are Nāteśa, the dvārapāla, and Nandi in Figure 15. Also it is possible that the dhvaja with nāga held in the upper right hand of one Cave 3 Śiva figure (Fig. 78) has a trident top; this god holds parasu in his upper left hand.

For exceptions, see Figures 195, 535, 582.

For exceptions, see Figures 535, 545, 582, 671.

The sākta subjects (Mahīṣamardini and the procession of gods, including Viṣṇu, honoring Gaja-Lakṣmī) are absent.

One could suggest any number of possible non-iconographic explanations for the apparent chronological error here, such as two sculptors with assigned subjects mistakenly exchanging their places. See
also note 136 below.

126
Here in Cave 3, as also at the Upper Śivālaya, Devī plays a significant role within the Kṛṣṇacaritra. This contrasts with the situation in Cave 2, where Gaja-Lakṣmī and Mahiṣamardinī images are found across the verandah from the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

127
This scene may relate to the festival honoring Mount Govardhana, when Kṛṣṇa, representing the personified mountain, received the worship of the cowherd clan.

128
Alternately, it is possible that the entablature scenes in the seventh bay of the north side have nothing to do with Kāṃsa; they may represent Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and others watching a wrestling match between Bhīma and Jarāsandha. This has been the identification given by Joshi (1972: 24, figs. 11, 12) to a Gupta relief from Gaḍhavā, now in the Lucknow Museum. Banerji (1928: 41-55, pls. XXII-XXV) has described and illustrated all of the Cave 3 entablature subjects fairly accurately.

129
The entablature with the Kāliya story is directly opposite from that showing the churning of the ocean. O’Flaherty (1978: 221) has noted the complementary nature of these two themes. The churned ocean is the original source not only of nectar but also of nāgas (Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 250) and their poison (Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII; chapter 7, vs. 45). Kṛṣṇa sends the poisonous nāga Kāliya back to the ocean and transforms the poisonous Yamunā pool into nectar-like water (Bhāgavata Purāṇa X; chapter 16, vs. 60, 67).

130
Banerji (1928: 19-29, pls. XI, XII) has described and illustrated all of the Cave 2 entablature subjects fairly accurately.

131
Harivaṃśa (II, 238-248).

132

133
According to the Mahābhārata (Ādi Parva) it was at the time of the theft of amṛta that Garuḍa first became Viṣṇu’s vāhana (Dange (1969: 13)). See also purānic references (Dange (1969: 124-128)).

134
Garuḍa grasping nāga tails is first seen as the lalāṭa-bimba figure above garbha grha entrance doorways of Calukya temples during the reign of Pulakesi II. This feature might have been related to this king’s personal preference for Vaishnavism. It was probably not in itself an indication of Vaishnava dedication (presumably Vaishnava temples would
have had more prominent separate Garuḍa stambhas or mandapas), but rather an ornamentation which Pulakeśī II would have considered auspicious. Most of the known Calukya temples built soon after the end of Pulakeśī II's reign lack garbha grha doorway lalita-bimba Garudas (though some have him over the mandapa entrance) presumably because Garuḍa's Vaiṣṇava associations were considered unsuitable by their Śaiva patrons. However, after Śaivism was firmly entrenched as the dominant Calukya cult, toward the end of the seventh century, Garuḍa again was displayed over garbha grha doorways, even of Śaiva temples. He was not, however, used in this position in Śiva temples at Alampur, and rarely at Pattadakal.

135 The earth is a cow before the birth of Kṛṣṇa in Bhāgavata Purāṇa X; chapter 1, vs. 17-18.

136 Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, chapter 202. Another possible interpretation is that Viṣṇu is promising two appealing gods that he will incarnate to slay demons. Thus, a contrast would be established with the image of passive Anantaśayin Viṣṇu on the south end of this entablature, paralleling the similar contrast of the westernmost north and south entablatures in Cave 2. See note 52 above. This interpretation would seem to explain the presence of Kṛṣṇa slaying demons on the immediately adjacent westernmost Cave 3 north entablature, which is out of its correct chronological order among the north entablature Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes.

137 Banerji (1928: 56).


139 We note that Mahāgalaśa's inscriptions (II, 3, 4) compare him to the candra (moon) in the Calukya family, but this is a common analogy in Indian epigraphy.

140 When one looks up at the verandah ceiling main deities (viewed "right side up"), the Śiva of the ceiling bay east of center appears to the proper left and the Brahmā of the ceiling bay west of center appears to the proper right of the central Viṣṇu, a non-traditional placement opposite to that within the central ceiling bay. Apparently the ceilings themselves were arranged with respect to the garbha grha deity; the Śiva ceiling is toward the proper right and the Brahmā ceiling toward the proper left of the garbha grha axis.

141 Since Brahmā is shown formally surrounded by dikpālas twice on this cave's ceilings, it is likely that he was considered the standard deity for this position. His four heads facing four directions would seem to make him appropriate for this role, as would his status as
creator of the physical world. In fact, Brahma is described in some texts as the central apex deity with the dikpālas (Gobhila Grhyasūtra (Banerjea (1974: 521)); Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 264, vs. 23 and chapter 274, vs. 51; Agni Purāṇa, chapter 56; etc.). The four dikpālas shown surrounding the image of Viṣṇu in Cave 3's central verandah ceiling are probably present there because Brahma is also. The intention probably was not to position Viṣṇu in Brahma's place within the created cosmos, but to represent symbolically all powers (kings or planets, dikpālas, and major gods such as Śiva) as subordinate to Viṣṇu. The identical theme is exemplified by the ensemble of all the verandah ceilings, though without a hierarchy of size.


Sahai (1975: 56) cites later North Indian images supposedly representing Vāyu on a horse.

Examples of Vāyu in the Calukya art of Andhra Pradesh show the god standing, without any vāhana (Michell (1973b: fig. 7)).

Probably the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal had a set in niches on its exterior walls, in imitation of forms of the second half of the seventh century in Andhra Pradesh, but all its wall niches are lost. The surviving eighth century eight-dikpāla sets in Karnataka are on or near ceilings, which is also the locale of the major sixth and seventh century four-dikpāla sets in Karnataka. The eight-dikpāla examples are at the Huccappayya temple at Aihole (on the entablatures and beams surrounding the central mandapa bay's displaced ceiling) and at the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal (on a central ceiling in the east mandapa, surrounding Anantasayin). The set in the Kāsīviṣvanātha temple at Pattadakal (on a mandapa ceiling, surrounding an image of Somāskanda) seems just post-Calukya. The mandapa ceiling set in the Konta Northeast temple at Aihole, surrounding an image of Brahma, is somewhat later. At the Huccappayya temple, Vāyu rides properly on his deer, but Agni, the southeast dikpāla, rides a horse. This temple probably was the first in which an attempt was made to integrate eight dikpālas with the traditional Karnataka scheme of four vāhana-riding dikpālas, and a horse vāhana was probably used here for Agni, instead of the ram textually assigned to him, to avoid confusion with the ram vāhana standard for the north dikpāla in Karnataka from Cave 3 on. By the time of the Pāpanātha temple, it had evidently become acceptable to represent the southeast and north dikpālas with essentially identical vāhanas. This vāhana duplication is seen also at the Kāsīviṣvanātha and Konta Northeast temples.

There is no good reason for interpreting this horse rider as Kalki or Revanta. Burgess (1877: 361) suggested that he was the personified planet Mars, and Banerji (1928: 56) suggested Saturn, but no...
reasons were given. Standard iconographic works consulted by Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, 319-320) do not associate the horse vehicle with either planet. See page 58.

147 Banerji (1928: 56).

148 In the Calukya art of Andhra Pradesh, the north dikpāla Kubera is represented seated on a throne (Figs. 410, 466) and the southeast dikpāla Agni is standing (Figs. 242, 407, 437); thus, neither is shown with a vāhana.


150 Agni Purāṇa, chapter 51, vs. 15, concurs.


152 Burgess (1877: 361).

153 Banerji (1928: 55).


156 Possibly Kārttikeya, war god and patron of the Calukya dynasty, here was represented in the role each Calukya king envisioned for himself: lord of the southern quarter. An inscription of the reign of Pulakeśi II (Pk11) refers to Pulakeśi II as the lord of the earth's southern region (daksināpatha-prthivyaḥ-svāmī) employing the term svāmin (lord) which is used to refer to Kārttikeya in K1; Ml, 5; Pk4, 5, 6, 12; B2.

157 Mankodi (1966: 311) stated that the attributes in question were trisūla (right front) and possibly pustaka (left rear). However he also saw a possible danda (right rear) which is seemingly not present, so he cannot be absolutely relied on.

158 Williams (1982: 54 and pl. 52).
The Banditandapâdu temple of the early eighth century has a unique image of six-armed Kârttikeya seated on a peacock (Fig. 506). His front right hand seems to hold a triśūla; the attribute in question is certainly not a Śakti.

Examples in situ are found at Ālampur (Svarga Brahma and Padma Brahma temples) and Banditandapâdu.

That Kârttikeya was accepted in early Calukya art as Śiva's son seems demonstrated by his grouping with Māhiṣamardini and Gaṇeśa in the subshrine next to the Naṭeṣa image at Cave 1, with Gaṇeśa by Naṭeṣa and Pārvatī at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, and with Śiva and Pārvatī on a Cave 3 facade pillar bracket (Figs. 78-79).

A Kittur Museum image (Fig. 100), supposedly from the Mahākūṭa region (Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 189)), representing a male standing in samabhānga and holding trident at right and left hand on hip, is probably another Kârttikeya without peacock, imitated from Figure 99. The Kittur Museum piece may be dated between the latter and the Cikka Mahākūṭa Kârttikeya image (Fig. 223), to whose form it is very similar.

The only deity image on the Upper Śivālaya's eaves is a seated four-armed, cakra- and śaṅkha-bearing pacific Nṛsiṁha on the south side (Fig. 105). This seems intended to contrast with the Ugra-Nṛsiṁha image in the north wall niche, much as the Cave 3 verandah's west end wall standing pacific Nṛsiṁha did with the east end entablature Ugra-Nṛsiṁha image.

The situation does not suit the Bhāgavata Purāṇa story of Krṣṇa's fight with Baka (crane) demon (X; chapter 11, vs. 47-51). Probably the bird here is not a separate demon, but an initial form taken by Pūtanā, who is a bird in Harivaṃśa (I, 278). Thus, Pūtanā seems to be shown here thrice: arriving as a bird, picking up the baby to nurse as a beautiful woman (Bhāgavata Purāṇa X; chapter 6, vs. 4-6), and revealing a hideous form as she dies (Bhāgavata Purāṇa X; chapter 6, vs. 11-18). The identity of the bird with Pūtanā seems at a later date to have been forgotten. See below, page 72; note 172; Hawley (1981: 82-83).
This Devī is the central, and therefore the visually most important figure of the entire west basement. Perhaps this Devī was the same one enshrined in Cave 2 at Bādāmi.

In both the Harivamśa (I, 302–303) and Visnu Purāṇa (V; chapter 9) accounts of the Pralamba episode, Kṛṣṇa makes a point of reminding Balarāma of the latter's and his own true divinity.

Perhaps these supposed lost images were the sources for those of Figures 117 and 118, found on the eaves of the later Mālegitti Śivālaya at Bādāmi. Neither of these images resembles Bādāmi cave precedents, and it seems unlikely that new types would have been devised for such minor positions. The Trivikrama figure unusually faces the proper right, which would have been facing inward toward the entrance/shrine axis in the proposed Upper Śivālaya position. The Varāha figure unusually grasps a large figure of Bhu with two hands. Such hypothetical Upper Śivālaya facade images could have influenced the Varāha and Trivikrama images of Narasihhamarva Pallava's Varāha Maṇḍapa at Māhābalipuram (K.R. Srinivasan 1964: pls. XLI, XLIV). There, Bhu is similarly grasped with two hands; however both gods face the opposite directions from Figures 117 and 118.

Rāma is not represented in the Bādāmi caves. Maṅgalesa's nephew Pulakeśi II may have also used the Rāma analogy, because although he was the rightful heir to Kirttivarma I he was forced into exile (PKh10) before he could take the throne. A few Rāmāyana scenes appear on the north eaves of Pulakeśi's Mālegitti Śivālaya, and although Pulakeśi's own known inscriptions do not compare him to Rāma, a copper plate of his brother (Bl4) and another of the Gujarat Calukya branch (Bl3) do.

For dating theories, see note 164 above.

The suggestion of Tartakov (1981a: 182) about possible Pallava battle damage to the Upper Śivālaya and Lower Śivālaya in c. 643 seems plausible. Other damage may have occurred during the earlier conflict between Maṅgalesa and Pulakeśi II. Neither hypothesis, of course, can explain the lack of ground space east of the garbha grha of the Lower Śivālaya.

See Tartakov (1981a: pl. XLVI, a, b).

Tartakov (1981a: 181–182). However previously Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 144) identified the same figure as Śiva.

Visṇus in narrative scenes, of course, take varying poses. The only significant Calukya icon of standing Viṣṇu which is not samabhānga is found on the west exterior of Temple 5 (Fig. 305) at Mahākūṭa. Three small non-samabhānga and non-narrative images of standing Viṣṇu surrounded by attendant figures on the basement friezes of the Mallikārjuna and Mahākūṭēśvara temples at Mahākūṭa may imitate the Temple 5 example. The non-samabhāṅga Viṣṇu image at the Durga temple at Aihole (Fig. 577) is conceived as astride Garuḍa, not simply standing.


See Tartakov (1981a: pl. XLIX) for one of these.

The identifications given by Goetz (1951-52: 59) seem inaccurate.

The lower border is undecorated. See Tartakov (1981a: pl. LVic). It is presently hidden in the museum display.


Tartakov (1981a).

Dr. Sundara discussed his arguments with me in 1978.

Balasubrahmanyam (1962: 52), citing the twelfth century Peria-purāṇam. However see ARSIE for 1928-29, 77, for the view that this and other Tamil Nadu "Vātāpi Gaṇapatī" images were simply local images named in commemoration of the victory at Vātāpi.

This god is named in H1 and H5, and appears on the ceiling panel just before the garbha grha doorway in Maṅgaleśa's Cave 3 at Bādāmi.

Other possible locations include the Two Story temple and a presumed lost temple at Bādāmi of the reign of Pulakesi II. See Chapter II, note 102.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 117) assigned the Viṣṇu image to the Lower Śivālaya, but inexplicably ignored the Mahishāmardini image.
Radcliffe-Bolon (1981: 105-19 108 and plan). I am indebted to her for much information about this structure.

Setter (1969); Sundara (1976); Michell (1975a: 27 and drawing #15).

Certainly these reliefs should be dated after the Upper Śivālaya. The museum scene of Kāliya's defeat appears to imitate the composition of the large wall niche relief of the same subject on the Upper Śivālaya's west exterior, and the museum scene of Govardhanadhāraṇā shows the god using his right hand, as in the large wall niche relief of the same subject on the Upper Śivālaya's south exterior.

Apparently the bird was no longer associated with Pūtana by the time of the latter relief. Perhaps the bird was then equated with the whirlwind demon Tṛṇāvarta (Bhāgavata Purāṇa X; chapter 7, vs. 20-30), who uplifted the child Kṛṣṇa. See Hawley (1981: 82-83).
CHAPTER II
THE EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY:
THE REIGN OF PULAKEŚI II

A. Epigraphy (c. 609/10 - c. 643)

The Calukya ruler who followed Maṅgaleśa was a son of Kīrttivarman named Pulakeśi, like his grandfather. He was most often referred to in inscriptions by the epithet Satyāśraya, "asylum of truth" (Pk2, 3, 5-11; B3, 5; Ad1; Abl; Vkl, etc.), but since this same epithet was also used by his descendants, it is convenient to use the designation Pulakeśi II. This king acceded to the throne in c. 609/10 A.D. and, like his father, ruled for at least thirty years. The copper plate inscriptions which have survived from Pulakeśi II's reign show a great deal of variety in introductory format, which strongly contrasts with the situation during the reigns of his son, Vikramāditya I, and his descendants. Since several of Pulakeśi II's grants are undated, it is tempting to arrange them all in a hypothetical chronological order which would demonstrate a gradual development of the dynastic prāṣasti from its precedents in Kīrttivarman I's and Maṅgaleśa's reigns towards the form which became standard in Vikramāditya I's reign. However such efforts are frustrated by the fact that the format of the Hyderabad grant (Pk8), issued at Vatāpi/Bādami in Pulakeśi II's third regnal year, is closest to that of the grants of Vikramāditya I, while some grants from later dates in Pulakeśi's reign (eg. Pk5) have prāṣastis more similar to those of
Kirittivarma's and Maṅgaleśa's grants. Hence, the formats of Pulakeśi's grants will be discussed without reference to their relative dates.

Nine copper plate grants from Pulakeśi's reign (Pk2-9; B2) are generally accepted as genuine. An examination of these shows, first, that all assert that the Calukyas were sons of Hāritī and belonged to the Mānavya gotra. These elements were part of the family tradition before Pulakeśi II took the throne, and he fully accepted them. Second, of the nine grants, four (B2; Pk4-6) state that the Calukyas meditated on the feet of Svāmi Mahāsena, and three others (Pk7-9) state that they had the favor or protection of, or received prosperity from Kārttikeya. These references are all to the same god, and they represent another element maintained from Pulakeśi's predecessors' praśastis. The damaged Nerūr plates of Pulakeśi II (Pk3) seem to lack this element; they instead state that the family meditated on gods, twice-born, and gurus. Third, the Calukya family is said to have been favored, protected, and/or consecrated by the assemblage of Mothers (B2, Pk6), the Mothers of the three worlds (Pk7), or the seven Mothers of the worlds (Pk8, 9). All these references probably relate to the same group of female deities mentioned in Kirittivarma's Goḍachi plates (K1). In addition, Pulakeśi's Lohaner grant (Pk6) states that the Calukya family was reared by Kauśikī, a warlike form of Devī. Thus, Pulakeśi is seen to have maintained, though not necessarily consistently or in the same form, all the major elements of the Calukya praśasti used by his father, while once adding a reference to a new goddess.

A more significant and consistent innovation in Pulakeśi's versions of the Calukya praśasti is the importance of Viṣṇu. In this connection a fragmentary stone inscription from Bāḍāmi (Pk12) containing a Calukya
prasasti, may be mentioned. This inscription's prasasti includes the elements "sons of Hariti", Mänavya gotra, and meditation on the assemblage of Mothers and/or Svámi Mahásena, but it also describes the Calukyas as paramabhágavatas. Mañgaleśa was the first in the family known to have called himself a paramabhágavata, but his inscriptions do not mention the Mothers; therefore this fragmentary inscription can probably be dated to the reign of Pulakeśi II. Since the inscription is incomplete, it is not known whether it was issued by the king himself or by some subordinate, but it does indicate that at the time of its engraving the royal family was closely associated with the Vaiṣṇava faith.

Returning to the copper plates, it is notable that all seals surviving bear representations of a boar. A boar seal was also found on Mañgaleśa's Nerūr grant (M5), but Pulakeśi II seems to have been first to mention the varāha (boar) crest in the family's prasasti. In two grants, this crest is said to have been obtained by the Calukyas through the favor of Bhagavat Nārāyaṇa (Pk8,9), in another through the favor of Nārāyaṇa's foot (Pk7), and in one other (B2) through the favor of the One who was lying, arisen from sleep, on the milk ocean. All of these references are to Viṣṇu, and probably to his Anantaśayin form. Four other sets of Pulakeśi II's plates do not refer in their prasastis to the boar crest given by Viṣṇu, but do feature various invocations honoring Viṣṇu. The Nerūr plates (Pk3), though damaged, seem to praise the tusked one who raised the earth, i.e. Varāha. The Modlimb plates (Pk4) praise Varāha who raised the earth. Both these sets of plates, appropriately, have boar seals. The Lohaner plates (Pk6), whose seal does not survive, praise the boar form of Hari who raised the earth. The damaged Chipīḷūn
plates (Pk2), whose seal also does not survive, praise the foot of Viṣṇu who traversed the whole universe in trivikrama (three steps). Thus, of the four known invocations used by Pulakeśi, three honor the Varāha avatāra and one the Trivikrama avatāra of Viṣṇu. In addition, Pulakeśi's Lohaner plates (Pk6) specifically state that the king was a paramabhāgavata.

Eulogies in several of the copper plates and also in the Meguti stone inscription (Pk10) of Pulakeśi's reign provide information about this king which seems significant in the context of religion. Pulakeśi is said to have meditated on or done homage to gods (Pk6,9,10), twice-born (Pk6,9,10), gurus (Pk6,9), elders (Pk9), and his parents (Pk5), and to have brought tranquility to the best of the twice-born (Pk3). He is described as knowing various śāstras (Pk2) and as having the quality of paramabrahmanavatā (great religiosity or friendliness to brāhmaṇas) (Pk5). He is variously compared to the legendary heroes Vainya (Prthu) (Pk5) and Nahuṣa (Pk10) and to Himācala (Pk6), Bhāskara (Pk5) or Ravi (Pk2,7) (sun), Vasumatī (earth) (Pk7), Śakra (Indra) (Pk10), and Purabhid (either Śiva or Indra) (Pk10). Additionally, Pulakeśi is likened to Guha (Kārttikeya), having destroyed enemies with his own śakti (Pk7), and Nārāyaṇa, supporting the earth with his own arm (Pk7). Also he is described as having Kamalālayā (the goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī) as his wife (Pk2). These last analogies seem to reiterate the importance to Pulakeśi of the gods Kārttikeya and Viṣṇu/Varāha, already evident from the praśāstis of his grants.

Pulakeśi's copper plates record gifts of land to brāhmaṇas. Among the donees were some who made sacrifices (Pk2), performed the six duties of a brāhmaṇa (Pk7), and/or knew such texts as veda, vedāṅga, and itiḥāsa.
Some of the grants specify the reasons for their issue. The Hyderabad grant of Ś. 534 and Pulakeśi's third regnal year (Pk8) and the Lohaner grant of Ś. 552 (Pk6) were made for the celebration or maintenance of the five great sacrifices (including bali, caru, vaisvadeva, and agnihotra), as was the Sātārā grant which was issued in the eighth year of Pulakeśi's reign by his younger brother the Yuvarāja (heir apparent) Viśnuvardhana (B2). The Chiplūn grant (Pk2) was issued and approved by Pulakeśi, but recorded a gift made by his maternal uncle, a paramamāheśvara (great devotee of Maheśvara, i.e. a Śaiva) belonging to the Sendraka family. The Mārutūr grant of Pulakeśi's eighth year (Pk5) was made for two purposes. First, it was intended to fulfill a vow made by Kadamba, Pulakeśi's "first" queen, who was comparable to Sāvitrī, Suvarcalā, Arundhatī, Svāhā, and Śacī, to please her guru. Second, it was intended to benefit one of Pulakeśi's subordinates, Āluka Mahārāja. The Modlimb grant (Pk4) was given in connection with the construction of a tank. The Tummeyanūruru grant (Pk7) is particularly interesting because it states that its gift was given in front of Bhagavat Saṅgameśvara (the divine Lord of the saṅgama). The findspot of this grant is believed to have been in the border area between the Mahbubnagar and Kurnool Districts of Andhra Pradesh, and so the deity in question has been identified with the god, still called Saṅgameśvara, enshrined in the extant Śiva temple (or its predecessor) situated at the saṅgama (junction) of this area's two major rivers, the Krishnā and the Tuṅgabhadrā, near the modern village of Kūḍavelli. This identification is not certain, since copper plates are often found far from their issue sites, and Saṅgameśvara or Saṅgameśvara is a fairly common name for Śiva temples. However two sets of copper plates from early in Vikramaditya
I's reign, found in Kurnool District (Vkl,2), seem to refer to the same deity and so support his localization. Pulakeśi II's Hyderabad and Māruṭūru grants (Pk5,8), and probably also his Tummeyanūru grant (Pk7), were made during solar eclipses. This is notable because, among all other known royal Calukya copper plates, only one, Vkl, was issued at a solar eclipse.

The inscription on the Meguṭi temple (Pkl0) was written in Pulakeśi's reign in 556 (634/5 A.D.) and contains a long Calukya family prasasti. It records the construction of a stone Jain temple, evidently the building at Aihole on which it is inscribed, by the inscription's composer, named Ravikīrti, who had the favor of Pulakeśi II. Probably Ravikīrti was employed by Pulakeśi as a court poet, and possibly the king made some grant for the support of Ravikīrti's temple. This is not explicitly stated in the inscription, but it appears likely on account of the unusually long and detailed eulogy devoted to Pulakeśi, who is specifically described in it as generous in bestowing gifts.

Further information about Pulakeśi II appears in several inscriptions of members of the Calukya family who were not in the main line of rulers. The Sanjāṇ plates (B14), of uncertain authenticity, profess to have been issued by Buddhavarasa, a younger brother of Pulakeśi II, during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The grammar of these plates is faulty, and they seem to attribute aśvamedha, rājasūya, and paundarīka sacrifices, which purified the Calukya family, to Pulakeśi II, the first ruler named in them. However it may be assumed that these sacrifices were actually those performed by Pulakeśi I; the reference to purification of the family suggests that the writer of the Sanjāṇ plates' prasasti meant to attribute them to the Calukya family in general, as was
The Sanjan plates compare Pulakeshi II's skills in archery to those of Nṛgā, Nahuṣa, Dhundhumāra, Daśāratha, and Rāmadeva.

Several plates whose authenticity is not questioned, but which nevertheless contain significant errors, were issued by a branch of the Calukya family which ruled in the region of south Gujarat, northwest of the main Calukya kingdom, in the second half of the seventh and first half of the eighth centuries. Possibly this branch was given authority after the death of Buddhavarasa. Three sets of plates, issued in 684/5, 691/2, and 738/9 A.D. respectively by Dharäśraya Jayasimhavarma (B16), a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, and by Dharäśraya Jayasimhavarma's sons Jayäśraya Maṅgalarasa (B17) and Avanijanaśraya Pulakeshi (B26), begin the Calukya genealogy with Kṛttivarma I and attribute Pulakeshi I's 16 aśvamedha sacrifice to him. Three other related sets of plates, all issued by Śrīśrāya Śīlāditya, another son of Dharäśraya Jayasimhavarma, begin the Calukya genealogy with Pulakeshi II. One of these, from 669/70 (B13), does not mention any sacrifices, but two (B12, 19) attribute to Pulakeshi II several sacrifices which are not attributed to him in his own or his nearer relatives' inscriptions, yet are attributed to Pulakeshi I by several sources. The Mudgapadra plates of 668/9 (B12) state that Pulakeshi II performed bahusuvvarna, aśvamedha, paundarika, vājapeya, and other sacrifices, while the Surat plates of 691/2 (B19) state that he performed bahusuvvarna and aśvamedha sacrifices. Thus, it seems that copper plates of the Gujarat branch consistently ascribed Pulakeshi I's sacrifices, the most ancient significant deeds then remembered by the family, to whomever was the most ancient Calukya king named in them. Their evidence on this point, apparently, cannot be trusted.
Another significant error is found in just two sets of plates, issued by Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa (B17) and Avanijanāstaya Pulakesī (B26). By altering a few letters of a standard description found in grants of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarma (B16), Vikramāditya I (Vkl, etc.) and Vinayāditya (Vnl, etc.), these two sets of plates give Pulakesī II the title paramāheśvara (great devotee of Maheśvara), instead of the secular title paramesvara (great lord). Whether the alteration was intentional or accidental, the overwhelming evidence of earlier inscriptions suggests that Pulakesī II was not a paramāheśvara.

Additionally, inscriptions of the Gujarat branch compare Pulakesī II to Rāma (B13) and to the legendary heroes Yudhiṣṭhira (B13), Nṛga, Nahuṣa, Dhundhumāra, and Ambariṣa (B19). He is also characterized as most honorable like an excellent paramadevā (great deity) and as knowing all śāstras (B26). These descriptions are generally comparable to those found in Pulakesī's own grants.

The inscriptive evidence lead to the following conclusions about Pulakesī II. First, he was primarily a devotee of Viṣṇu; he seems to have especially honored Varāha and, to a lesser extent, Trivikrama. The fact that he introduced a statement about Nārāyaṇa's gift of the boar crest into the dynastic praśasti shows that he considered Viṣṇu to be more than a personal god, rather a sponsor or protector of his whole family. It is likely that Pulakesī particularly attributed his military success to Viṣṇu's favor, since two of his grants (Pk8,9) state that it was the sight of the boar crest given by Nārāyaṇa which made other kings fall subject to the Calukyas. Second, Pulakesī probably was devoted to Mahāśeṇa/Kārttikeya and the Mothers. It is conceivable that he might have named these deities in his praśastis simply to perpetuate a
tradition established by his father. However the fact that he did not restrict himself to the traditional wording, but instead elaborated upon it and used varying designations, such as Kārttikeya and Guha for Mahāsena, suggests that he personally honored these deities. Third, he may have shown devotion to Devī, under the name of Kauśika (Pk6). Fourth, it seems from his Tummeyanuru grant (Pk7) that he honored a god known as Saṁgameśvara, who was probably a form of Śiva. Fifth, his attention to solar eclipses (Pk5,7,8) and comparisons to the sun (Pk2,5,7) may be indicative of an interest in a sun god cult. Finally, the Meguṭi inscription (PklO) demonstrates that he was tolerant of the Jain religion. Thus, though Pulakesi was a Vaiṣṇava, he was not narrowly sectarian. He probably honored, to some extent, all the major deities worshipped in his kingdom. It may also be noted that Pulakesi II was the last of the Calukya kings of the main line to be refered to as brahmanya or as a knower of śāstras, and the last to commemorate in his inscriptions the several Brahmanical sacrifices, besides the aśvamedha, performed by his ancestors. It seems that the Calukya kings after Pulakesi II had less personal interest in traditional sacrificial Brahmanical religion than those before him, while the worship of cult deities, already important in Pulakesī II's reign, became ever more flourishing.

Many significant events in Pulakesi II's reign may be dated on the basis of epigraphy. He attained the throne in c. 609/10 A.D. after defeating his uncle Maṅgaleśa, who had attempted to ensure the succession of his own son (PklO). The intrafamilial conflict had led to near collapse of the kingdom, but Pulakesi defeated the resurgent Kadambas in Karnataka and also established Calukya sovereignty in Maharashtra (PklO),
which Maṅgaleśa had raided previously (M4). Additionally, Pulakeśi repelled an attempted invasion by Harṣa, ruler of North India (Pk10). Probably all these events occurred before Pulakeśi's third regnal year, when he was described in a copper plate inscription (Pk8) as governing at Vatāpi (Bādāmi) and as having acquired the title Paramesvara (supreme lord) by defeating some unnamed hostile king(s) who had fought a hundred battles. Inscriptions of Pulakeśi's successors (Adl, Ab1, Vkl, etc.) specify that he acquired this title by defeating Harṣa.

The next datable incident in Pulakeśi's career seems to be a grant made in his fifth regnal year after a ritual bath at Mākōṭa, probably the modern Mahākūṭa. The copper plate inscription (B6) which records this circumstance has numerous errors, and uses a prāśasti format which seems not to have been employed until the time of Pulakeśi's sons. However the editor of this grant observed that its boar seal seemed genuine, and its specific purpose, the performance of bali and other sacrifices, was common in Pulakeśi's reign but not found in any inscription of his main line descendants. It is possible that, the original plates having been damaged or lost during the period of confusion following the mid seventh century Pallava raid on Bādāmi, crude but legitimate replacements for them were made in Vikramāditya I's reign. Copper plates of the latter king (Vk2-5,7,9,10) in fact claim that he reestablished grants to gods and brāhmaṇas which had lapsed during this period of confusion.

In Pulakeśi's eighth regnal year, while his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana governed in the western Deccan (B2), Pulakeśi led an expedition across Andhra to East Godavari District near the Bay of Bengal, conquered Piṭḥāpuram, and make a grant (Pk5). He also won a bloody battle near the Kolleru Lake at the border of West Godavari and
Krishna Districts (Pk10). This campaign probably was the foundation of Calukya rule in Andhra, though it is possible that Kīrttivarma had led a military expedition into Kurnool District a generation earlier. In Ṣ. 552 (630/1 A.D.), Pulakeśi made a grant of land in Nasik District in Maharashtra (Pk6). Another grant, dated to his twenty-first regnal year on a day astronomically calculated as equivalent to October 10, 631 A.D. (Pk9), was made when the king was once again in eastern Andhra. Its praśasti praises the military prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana and mentions that the latter had been given a hereditary kingship. Probably Viṣṇuvardhana was thus rewarded by Pulakeśi for his aid in the latter's military expedition to the region around the Pallava dynasty's capital, Kānci, and to the Kāveri River beyond (Pk10). It is suggested that this expedition south to Tamil Nadu District occurred just before October 631, in a time of perceived Pallava weakness shortly after Narasiṃhavarma Mamalla succeeded his father Mahendravarman on the Pallava throne.

In Ṣ. 556 (634/5 A.D.), Pulakeśi was once more in Karnataka, "having entered Vatāpi (Bādāmi)" (Pk10). A few years later, at some time in the period 639–642, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang passed through Maharashtra and described its king, Pulakeśi, and its capital. The latter's description does not suit Bādāmi; probably Hiuen Tsang saw Pulakeśi in residence in Nasik, a governing center for the Maharashtra region. Though it is usually assumed that Pulakeśi lost his life during Pallava Narasiṃhavarma Mamalla's raid on Bādāmi, which occurred in about 643 A.D., it is equally possible that Pulakeśi died peacefully, and that the raid occurred early in the reign of his son and successor Ādityavarman. It seems plausible that Mamalla would have chosen to make his incursion into Calukya territory after the death of Pulakeśi, whose
powerful army and devoted subjects were noted with some admiration by Hiuen Tsang.
B. Temples

B.1. Malegitti Śivālaya at Bādāmi

The so-called Malegitti Śivālaya (Fig. 137), a nirandhāra temple with a Southern style śikhara (mountain peak, temple tower) over the garbha grha, a mandapa, and a porch, is located on a rock below the western crest of the north hill at Bādāmi (Fig. 101). The name Malegitti, referring to female garland maker, is inexplicable, and the temple probably was not dedicated to Śiva. An inscription on a pillar at this temple's entrance may supply the name of its architect, Āryaṁīci Upādhyāya; it has been dated paleographically to the seventh or eighth century. It is likely that many craftsmen who had worked on the Bādāmi monuments of Maṅgaleśa, until the struggle for succession forced an end to his patronage, were recruited for the construction of the Malegitti Śivālaya. The patron of this temple probably was Pulakeśi II himself, as it is located in his capital on the same hill ornamented by his royal predecessor Maṅgaleśa, and as he seems to have honored the sun god, to whom the Malegitti Śivālaya was dedicated, and to have especially favored Viṣṇu, who appears on its mandapa ceiling apparently in the role of supreme deity. We note in particular the solar eclipse commemorated in Bādāmi by Pulakeśi in his third regnal year (Pk8); work on the Malegitti Śivālaya may have been begun by this time. Though Sūrya (Fig. 138) is just one of many deity images appearing on the Malegitti Śivālaya's kapota (curved molding) eaves, his additional appearance in the central position over the garbha grha doorway (Fig. 139), above the Garuḍa lalāta-bimba (motif projecting centrally from the lowest portion of a lintel), implies the temple's dedication to him. The garbha grha's
pitha now bears a liṅga, but scholars from Cousens have noted that this does not suit its mortice hole, intended for an image. Another indication of the temple's dedication is the relatively equal treatment of Viṣṇu and Śiva, both of whose forms appear on the cornice kapota eaves and each of whom has one image on the temple's mandapa exterior walls. In Calukya art, such relative equality seems to occur only when a temple is dedicated to some deity other than Viṣṇu or Śiva; this is assumed, for example, at the Durga and Konta Northwest temples at Aihole, Cave 14 at Ellora, and the early phases of the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal.

The Mālegitti Śivālaya has no images on its garbha grha exterior walls, but two on the mandapa's east side and one each on the north and south. J.C. Harle has noted that these sculptures show influences of North Indian art in their style. The same is true for iconography, and may be related to Maṅgaleśa's and Pulakesi's military expeditions north to Maharashtra. These kings, admiring temples seen during their travels, may have encouraged or enforced the emmigration to Karnataka of selected sculptors. The main Śiva image at the Mālegitti Śivālaya (Fig. 140), centered on the south mandapa wall, stands samabhāṅga and holds nāga right and trisūla left, common North Indian attributes, in his rear hands; he gestures with his front right hand and places his left hand at his thigh. The two standing males flanking Śiva may be āyudhapuruṇas: Śiva's trisūla arises behind the mustached one on proper left. We recall that while the two "Lower Śivālaya" Śivas (Fig. 121-122) probably did not themselves bear trident, one (Fig. 121) had both trisūla-headdressed and trisūla-bearing attendant figures who might be identified as trisūla-puruṇas. The known precedents for such
āyudhapurusas are North Indian. The Mandasor region, for example, features Śivas and Śaiva dvārapālas, both trisūla-bearing and non-trisūla-bearing, with similar trisūla-related attendants, and the Śiva side of the Harihara image on the Kutari pillar base has an undeniable trisūla-purusa as counterpart to the Viṣṇu side's cakra-purusa.

The main Viṣṇu image at the Mālegitti Śivālaya (Fig. 141), centered on the north mandapa wall, is similar iconographically to the one in the Bādāmi site museum (Fig. 131) tentatively attributed to the Lower Śivālaya. The god, in common Calukya fashion, bears cakra in rear right, śaṅkha in rear left, and fruit in the front right hand (the latter is destroyed in the "Lower Śivālaya" example) and has the front left hand at his thigh. However, we also find gadā-devī, with gadā behind her, appearing at the god's proper right, and a male figure at his proper left, presumably due to influence of the North Indian Viṣṇu type (Fig. 73) in which gadā-devī is the attribute of Viṣṇu's rear right hand, and her counterpart on the opposite side, cakra-purusa, is the attribute of Viṣṇu's rear left hand. Since the sculptors of the "Lower Śivālaya" and Mālegitti Śivālaya Viṣṇu images placed cakra instead in the god's rear right hand, they altered the North Indian prototype to identify the male figure at lower left as Garuḍa, rather than cakra-purusa; a wing is clearly visible on his left side in both instances.

The same type of Viṣṇu, flanked by gadā-devī and Garuḍa, is seen later in Calukya art at the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi and the Lad Khan, Durga, and Konta Northwest temples at Aihole.

S. Padigar has interpreted the two male figures on the Mālegitti Śivālaya's east wall as Śūrya's attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. In fact, the weaponless northern figure (Fig. 143) has a wing form on his left
side and possibly also on his right, and so he can be identified as Garuḍa, and associated with the Viṣṇu image (Fig. 141) on the mandapa's north side wall. By analogy, the facade's southern figure (Fig. 142) should be identifiable with personified Nandi, Śiva's attendant and vāhana, though his danda or sword and shield attributes do not seem especially appropriate.

As mentioned above, the Malegitti Śivālaya has numerous deity figures sculpted in small nāsika (circular or horseshoe shaped) forms on its kapota eaves. Going from the east entrance toward the south, and around the temple in the direction of pradaksīna, we find the following subjects: mandapa southeast, Sūrya in chariot (Fig. 138), Śiva-Viśnudhara with Nandi and Gaṇeśa (Fig. 150); mandapa south, uncut, uncut, uncut, Brahman(?), uncut, seated deity; mandapa southwest, deity in combat, seated figure; garbha grha south, Mahiṣaṁardini (Fig. 730), Varāha with unusually large Bhū (Fig. 117), seated deity with another seated figure, unclear scene including a liṅga(?); garbha grha west, combative mace-bearing figure with attendants, seated deity with attendants, Ugra-Nṛsiṁha disembowling Hiraṇyakaśipu (Fig. 144), seated yogic Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 145), unclear scene, Śiva and Pārvatī seated with Nandi; garbha grha north, Bali's gift to Vāmana (Fig. 118), Trivikrama stepping to the proper right (Fig. 118), unfinished, Ādīmūrti (Fig. 146); mandapa northwest, Lakṣmaṇa with Rāma and Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa cutting Sūrpanaḥkahā's nose; mandapa north, Sūrpanaḥkahā complaining to Rāvaṇa, unfinished, unfinished, Vāli and Sugrīva fighting, Lakṣmaṇa with Rāma and Sītā(?), Gaṇeśa; mandapa northeast, Ādīmūrti, Varāha (Fig. 147). The two Ādīmūrti images and the eastern Varāha image in particular recall Bāḍāmi cave precedents (Figs. 35, 64, 65).
The Malegitti Sivâlaya's mandapa has a central nave and two side aisles. On the nave ceiling is one deity sculpture, a centralized Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa within a circular border (Fig. 148). This format recalls that of the mandapa ceilings at Bādāmi Cave 3. The god bears typical cakra and śaṅkha in his rear hands, upholds a mace in his front right hand, and rests his left hand on his thigh. The garbha grha doorframe has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba, the first known Calukya example, grasping nāgas whose heads appear at the inner jambs above the base boxes. The latter feature not just ordinary mithunas, as at the garbha grha of Cave 3, but the archetypical couple, Kāma and Rati. Kāma bears a flower arrow in both north and south base boxes; on the north alone he is accompanied by Āsvamukha, his horse-headed attendant, bearing a quiver. The same subject matter was seen on verandah pillar brackets at Caves 2 and 3, but not Cave 1 at Bādāmi, and so might have been associated with the Vaiṣṇava cult at this time; however, later in Calukya art it was common on Śaiva temples also.

The Malegitti Sivâlaya's small proto-antarāla (vestibule), formed at the west end of the nave by the insertion of two pilasters and a superstructure in front of the garbha grha doorway, has been judged by Bolon to be an addition dating considerably after the temple's construction, possibly in Vinayāditya's reign. It partly blocks an original gandharva ceiling medallion and the outer portions of the garbha grha door jambs. A portion of this addition, to the south of the garbha grha doorway, is carved with a representation of a male threatening a half-horse, half-female creature (Fig. 149), a scene which has probably been correctly identified by Padigar as relating to Sūrya and his wife Chāyā or Sāmjñā. As Padigar noted, a similar scene is found as an
integral part, south of the entrance, of the Durga temple at Aihole (Fig. 572), which probably also was dedicated to the sun god. It is therefore likely that the addition to the Mälegitti Śivālaya was made after the date of the Durga temple scene, at some time in Vijayāditya's reign.

One interesting feature of the Mälegitti Śivālaya is its representation of seated Śiva-Viṇādhara with small attendant Gañęśa (Fig. 150). A related but later image is found loose at Siddhanakollā (Fig. 232), where it was probably originally associated with that site's seated Saptamātrkās. Since Gañęśa is represented with Śiva, probably the Mātrkā set at Siddhanakollā did not include a separate full-sized Gañęśa image. The situation was similar at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Figs. 45-49), where Gañęśa adjoined Naṭesā and was not comparable in size or importance to the Mothers. Thus, although Gañęśa was a full and independent member of Kalacuri Mātrkā groupings (Fig. 175), he does not seem to have had the same significance in the earliest Karnataka Calukya groupings. Perhaps Kadamba precedents were influential in this respect. It is tempting to speculate that a Calukya set of seated Mātrkās, with an accompanying Śiva-Viṇādhara with small Gañęśa, was present in some shrine or temple in Bādāmi or its neighborhood before the Mälegitti Śivālaya image (Fig. 150) was carved, and provided the model for the latter. Since Maṅgaleśa does not seem to have shown devotion to the Mātrkās, such a set may be supposed to have been commissioned either in Kīrttivarma's reign or near the beginning of the reign of Pulakesi II.
B.2. Temple 9 and Temple 15 at Mahākūṭa

According to the Kāndalgām copper plate grant (B6), when Pulakeśī II took a ritual bath at Mahākūṭa in his fifth regnal year, he made a land grant to a brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇasvāmin, who from his name would seem to have been a Vaiṣṇava. While Mahākūṭa (Fig. 151) today is a Śaiva holy site, renowned for the Mahākūṭesvara Śiva temple, B6 suggests it also had Vaiṣṇava associations in Calukya times; even today the tank enclosing the natural spring to the south of the Mahākūṭesvara temple is known as Viṣṇu-Puṣkarini (Viṣṇu's lotus pool). Built inside this tank and surrounded by water is Temple 15, a small open pavilion (Fig. 154) which presently contains a caturmukha (four-faced) linga. Bolon has declared that the latter is post-Calukya in style, and suggested that a Garuḍa image now in the Kittur Museum (Fig. 155) originally belonged inside this pavilion. The idea of placing an open pavilion housing a deity's vāhana in front of his shrine probably was seen previously at the Two Story temple at Bādāmi. While Bolon associated the Mahākūṭa tank pavilion and Garuḍa image with Temple 5, west of the tank, it would be more appropriate to associate them with Temple 9 (Fig. 152), south of the tank. Temple 15 is in fact directly in line with the front of Temple 9, not Temple 5. The pavilion is not centered within the present tank walls, but probably was centered in the tank extant in the seventh century.

It is likely that Pulakeśī II did honor Śiva Makuṇṭesvaranātha, the god associated with his father and grandfather and the founding of the kingdom which he had fought to regain. However, because he personally was most devoted to Viṣṇu, I would suggest that he, or another early
Vaiṣṇava patron, established Temple 9 and its Garuḍa pavilion in order to incorporate the worship of Viṣṇu as a subsidiary deity at the site. Temple 9 faces north toward the Mahākūṭesvara temple. At present it enshrines a liṅga, has a Nandi image installed in front of it, has lost its roofing and all but the base of its porch, and has been partially reconstructed. Originally, it probably consisted of a multipillared porch fronting a large square garbha grha with ceiling beams running crosswise (east to west), comparable to those of the mandapas of Cave 1 at Bādāmi and the present Mahākūṭesvara temple, and perhaps of the original Makutesvaranātha temple as well. While it is assumed that the original Makutesvaranātha temple had image niches at least on the walls of its garbha grha, Temple 9 has no niches. Seemingly the latter was built, not to rival the former, but to complement it.

Temple 9's garbha grha door frame (Fig. 153) has a Lalāṭa-bimba Garuḍa. Each of its wide door jamb base boxes features four worn figures, probably two couples. Perhaps the original image enshrined in the garbha grha was the large standing Viṣṇu (Fig. 156) now placed with other sculptures by the edge of the tank. The image bears cakra in rear right, śaṅkha in rear left, and fruit in front right hand, and rests the front left hand on the thigh. It is unfinished, and the nāśikas of Temple 9's base kapota are also uncut. Since the date of Temple 9 is in no way established by inscription B6, it may be placed late in or near the end of Pulakeśī II's reign.
Alampur, about 150 miles east of Bādāmi, is a village in Mahbubnagar District in Andhra Pradesh on the north/west bank of the Tuṅgabhadra River, ten miles upriver (south) from its confluence with the Krishṇa River (Fig. 157). The names of nine Alampur temples are given in a sixteenth century copper plate inscription (Ś. 1448; 1526/7 A.D.): Bāla Brahma, Garuḍa Brahma, Vīra Brahma, Padma Brahma, Viśva Brahma, Kumāra Brahma, Svarga Brahma, Taraka Brahma, and Sūrya Brahma. The Bāla Brahma temple of this list probably was identical to one called Bāla Brahmeśvara in an inscription of Ś. 1443, only five years earlier, and it may be supposed that the term "Brahma" in the other eight temple names was also an abbreviation for "Brahmeśvara." A legend current in modern times at Alampur states that the god Brahma performed penance there for thousands of years to please Śiva, who then conferred on Brahma the powers of creation. "Hence the deity (Śiva at Alampur) is called Brahmeswara."

This Alampur manifestation of Śiva, Brahmeśvara, was the recipient of numerous gifts recorded in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and at least one dating from the late eighth century, just after the end of Calukya dynastic power and the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The temple presently known as Bāla Brahma, the only Calukya one in Alampur which has continued in active worship, is assumed to be identical with the Bāla Brahma of the Ś. 1448 and Bāla Brahmeśvara of the Ś. 1443 inscription. Since the latter inscription also calls this deity simply Brahmeśvara, using terminology comparable to that of the eleventh and twelfth century inscriptions cited in note 60 above, we may assume that the temple presently known as Bāla Brahma was known by the name Brahmeśvara at least as early as the eighth century. Probably it
was due to the predominance of this Śiva temple, demonstrated by the number of gifts it received, that eight other temples near it came to be grouped with it and given the suffix Brahma/Brahmesvara at some time before S. 1448. Besides the Bāla Brahma, eight Calukya period temples survive in Ālampur (Fig. 158). These are now called the Nava Brahmas, and each is assigned a name appearing in the S. 1448 list. However it need not be assumed that they all bore the same names in the sixteenth century. Also the case of the Brahmesvara/Bāla Brahma temple demonstrates that the names in the S. 1448 list were not necessarily identical with the temples' original names. That much confusion about names existed in modern times is shown by the fact that the Archeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Annual Report for 1926-27, the first important description of these temples, applied the name Tarika Brahma to the temple now called Padma Brahma, Arka Brahma to the temple now called Vīra Brahma, and Vira Brahma to the temple now called Viśva Brahma, while calling the present Svarga Brahma temple Solka Brahma and also failing to mention the names Bāla Brahma, Garuḍa Brahma, Viśva Brahma, and Padma Brahma. The present name assignments merit examination. The original Brahmesvara temple may have received the prefix "bāla" (boy, child) on the basis of the sthalapurāṇa (site history) legend which describes the founding of the Ālampur temples by a boy. The name "Tāraka" seems to be a Southern variant of Dāruka, name of the original forest site of the dance of Śiva Naṭarāja, a large sculpture of which appears on the sukanāsa fronting the sikhara of the present Tāraka Brahma temple. This temple probably originally was dedicated to Devī. The name "Svarga" (Indra's heaven) could possibly have been related to the image of Indra with Airāvata found in a facade
niche of the present Svarga Brahma temple, seemingly originally dedicated to Śiva. Though images of Indra probably once appeared on the facades of all eight sāndhāra Calukya temples at the site, the only other one in situ now, and perhaps also in the sixteenth century, is at the Bāla Brahma temple. The name "Garuḍa" could have been applied to the present Garuḍa Brahma temple because of the Garuḍa-riding Viṣṇu laḷāṭa-bimba of its mandapa doorway, and the Garuḍa laḷāṭa-bimba of its garbha grha doorway. Though mandapa doorway Garuḍa laḷāṭa-bimbas are common at Ālampur, no other temple displays Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa, and only the Viśva Brahma temple has another garbha grha doorway Garuḍa laḷāṭa-bimba.

Probably neither of these latter two temples was originally dedicated to Śiva. The name "padma" (lotus) could have referred to the lotus ceilings of the present Padma Brahma temple's mandapa and garbha grha. However other temples at Ālampur also have such ceilings, so the association of this name with this temple seems weak. The temple appears to have been originally dedicated to Śiva. The name "vīra" (hero) does not seem superficially relevant to any surviving Calukya temple. Possibly it is a remnant of an original Śaiva dedication name, such as Vīrabhadra or Vīraśvara. The temple presently called Vīra Brahma seems to have originally been dedicated to Śiva. The name "Sūrya" (sun god) or its equivalent "arka" (sun) probably was used in the sixteenth century to refer to the temple now called Viśva Brahma, because it was then remembered that this temple was originally dedicated to the sun god.

This temple could have been given the name "viśva" (all, universal) in modern times because of the unequalled number of deity images, in niches and above and between them, on its exterior walls. Possibly the name Viśva Brahma was applied in the sixteenth century to the defaced temple.
presently inappropriately called Arka Brahma. This latter temple is known from an inscription (Vkll) to have been originally dedicated to Śīva, and might have had a dedication name such as Viśvanātha, Viśveśvara, or Viśvarūpa. Finally, we come to the name Kumāra Brahma; it is the only name from the sixteenth century list which we find assigned to the same temple in 1926/7 and at present, and so this assignment is somewhat more secure than the others. The name "Kumāra" (prince, frequently applied to Kārttikeya) could have been given to this temple because it had a prominent niche image of Kārttikeya, but probably all eight sāndhāra Calukya temples at Ālampur originally had Kārttikeya images in their garbhā grha west niches. Therefore it is suggested that this name was used in the sixteenth century because it was then remembered that this temple was originally dedicated to Kumāra/Kārttikeya.

B.4. Kumāra Brahma temple at Ālampur

Pulakeśī II's Īruṭṭuru copper plates (Pk5) reveal that he had crossed victoriously through Andhra Pradesh to near the Bay of Bengal coast by his eighth regnal year. The Kumāra Brahma temple, architecturally earliest of the eight sāndhāra Calukya temples at Ālampur, may perhaps be dated after the conclusion of this campaign, in the period 618-630 A.D. O. Divakaran has also placed this temple in Pulakeśī's reign. The suggestion that Pulakeśī, a professed Vaiṣṇava, would have patronized a temple of the war god Kārttikeya seems justified by the frequent and varied mentions of this god in his copper plates, and the period after a military victory seems a particularly appropriate time for such a dedication.
The Kumāra Brahma temple (Figs. 159-161) has an entrance porch and is sāndhāra, with garbha grha enclosed by a westward extension of the mandapa walls, as at the Upper Śivālaya (Fig. 102), but the differences are significant: the Kumāra Brahma temple has a three stage Northern style rather than a Southern style tower over its garbha grha, rises from a slightly elevated platform, and has niches for sculpture on its garbha grha rather than its exterior walls. The Kumāra Brahma temple's entrance is of the three bay type, and all its interior peripheral ceilings slant, including the easternmost; only two central ceilings are level, and they are decorated with lotus sculptures, as is the porch ceiling. The Kumāra Brahma temple's sikhara has no śukanāsa, and there is no antarāla in front of the garbha grha. It may be hypothesized that this was the first Calukya temple to be built with a Northern style sikhara, and that the inspiration for it came from the area of Kosala or Kaliṅga. Pulakesi II's army is described in Pk10 as frightening the Kaliṅgas and Kosalas, just before the mention of the conquest of Pithāpuram; the latter occurred in c. 616-18 (Pk5), and temples in the Northern style were almost certainly extant in Kaliṅga and /or Kosala territory by this time.

Above the center of the Kumāra Brahma temple's mandapa doorway (Fig. 162), in an area which seems to have undergone alteration, is a frieze of seven male heads, the one next to the north end being bearded. This is identifiable as the only surviving Calukya overdoor representation of the grahas (planets); it would appear that the sun, moon, and five planets are shown, with the bearded face belonging to Bṛhaspati (Jupiter). Probably this motif had the same source as the temple's sikhara type. One pillar inside the Kumāra Brahma temple
mandapa has a representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī, and a second has a four-armed Gaṇeśa; another Gaṇeśa is found on a pillar of the porch. The garbha grha overdoor decoration (Fig. 163) is dominated by nāsikas and āmalakas (ribbed discs), and there is a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba. The base boxes each include one large male figure and two female figures with smaller attendants. Above the base box area on each side is one additional, smaller standing male figure, perhaps an unarmed dvārapāla of the type seen under the mithunas at the garbha grha doorway of Cave 3 at Bādāmi, and at both Cave 2's facade and garbha grha doorway. The Kumāra Brahma temple's three garbha grha niches, facing north, south and west into the pradaksināpatha, are features not seem previously, but prefigured by corresponding indented panels on the garbha grha of the Lower Śivālaya. The Kumāra Brahma temple's niches lack the framing pilasters typical later. These niches, and the pradaksināpatha itself, are illuminated by large grilled windows, placed in the temple's west, northwest, and southwest exterior walls. All three garbha grha niches are now empty, but probably they originally held images of Gaṇeśa (south), Kārttikeya (west), and Devī or Mahiṣamardini (north), a configuration assumed to have been standard on later Śaiva Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh, and perhaps related to the subshrine iconography at Cave 1 at Bādāmi. That the Kumāra Brahma was a Śaiva affiliated temple is suggested by the representation of Nāṭeśa (Fig. 164) at the top of the east side of its śikhara. Perhaps the hypothetical western garbha grha niche Kārttikeya was a standing figure, as at the Makuṭeśvaranātha temple, while the one inside the garbha grha was seated on a peacock. Bolon also believed that the liṅga presently on the garbha grha's pīṭha was not original; however she suggested that the
original deity enshrined was Brahma.

The Naṭeṣa on the east side of the Kumāra Brahma temple tower is found within a multiple nāsika/trefoil frame. The god is only four-armed, but the pose of his legs and the front left hand thrown across the chest in gaja-hasta recall the Naṭeṣa of Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 27). In a comparable frame and position atop the tower's south side is Yama, dīkpāla of the south, riding on his buffalo; on the north side is a seated male figure. Since three later Calukya temples at Ālampur feature an image of seated Kubera on the north exterior, this figure probably represents the same deity, dīkpāla of the north. The comparable trefoil on the west side contains an unidentified samabhānga standing figure; it seems to hold right hand at its waist, to grasp a stick-handled attribute (axe?) on the left, and to be flanked by two crouching creatures. Certainly it does not appear to be Varuṇa, dīkpāla of the west, but even its sex is uncertain. Naṭeṣa's position at the Kumāra Brahma temple was not repeated in Calukya art; later he typically appeared on a sukanāsa at the base, rather than at the apex, of a sikhara's front side, and without figures of comparable importance on the north, south, or rear.

B.5. Cave 14 (Rāvaṇa Ka Khaś) at Ellora

Probably roughly contemporaneous with the Kumāra Brahma temple at Ālampur is Cave 14 at Ellora in Maharashtra's Aurangabad District, which seems to have been dedicated to Devī. We note that in Pulakeśi II's Lohaner grant of 630/1 A.D. (Pk6), granting land in Nasik District about 50 miles from Ellora, one prāśasti phrase declared that the Calukya dynasty was reared by the goddess Kausīkā. Since this phrase has no counterpart in any other known early main line Calukya inscription, we
must assume that there was some particular motivation at this time and place for the mention of Devī, and possibly Cave 14 was related to the same motivation. Though perhaps this cave was not patronized by Pulakeśī himself, it may have been created in his or the dynasty's honor by some individual or group with importance in the Ellora area. Pulakeśī's particular interest in northern Maharashtra is suggested by the fact that Hiuen Tsang believed him to be king of Maharashtra, with Nasik as his capital.

Cave 14 (Figs. 165-167) is a sāndhāra temple, with its pradaksināpātha continuous with the side aisles, as at the Upper Śīvālāya, (Fig. 102) and the Kumāra Brahma temple (Fig. 159) and unlike Caves 17, 19, 21 (Fig. 23) and 26 at Ellora. Each side wall of Cave 14's mandapa has five niches carved with deity images. The north/proper right side, from exterior to interior, features images of standing Devī with lion vāhana (Fig. 733), Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 734), central Varāha (Fig. 168), seated Viṣṇu with consorts, and seated Viṣṇu with consort (Fig. 169). The south/proper left side features images of Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 731), Śiva and Pārvatī gaming (Fig. 170), central Naṭeṣā (Fig. 171), Rāvaṇanugrahamūrti, and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (Fig. 172). The south corridor of the pradaksināpātha is additionally carved with seated images of Mātrkās and associated deities (Fig. 174); from front to rear these are Kāla with other skeletal figures, Gaṇeṣa, Cāmuṇḍā, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Nāheśvarī, Brahmāṇī, and seated Śiva. Evidently Śiva is predominant on the southern side while Viṣṇu is predominant on the northern side of this cave temple. Such equality in a Calukya temple usually coincides with dedication to a third deity, in this case Devī. The small Mahiṣamardini image (Fig. 732), placed
centrally on the outward-facing entablature in front of the garbha grha doorway, seems added evidence for this conclusion. Also the pītha, placed against the garbha grha's back wall, has a mortice hole which would suit an image but not a liṅga.

The form of the representations of the Seven Mothers and other Devis in this cave may be attributed chiefly to local Kalacuri tradition. Especially the Mothers may be compared with the group in Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 175). Both groups have Kāla at the proper left end, and show the Mothers with single, beautiful faces, four arms, and children. In contrast, Calukya representations of the Mātrkās from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh seem always to have lacked children and Kāla, and to have shown Brahmāṇī as multiheaded and Vārāhī as boar-headed. Also, while Cāmunḍā at the Rāvana Phadi cave (Fig. 49) had a beautiful face, as at Ellora, later Calukya tradition (Figs. 231, 253, 257, 692) showed her as a fierce and/or emaciated Devī. It may additionally be noted that, unlike the Ellora Mothers, Calukya Mothers from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh often did not have four arms; at the Rāvana Phadi cave (Figs. 45, 46, 48, 49), all were two-armed; at Siddhanakōṭṭa (Figs. 230-231), Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, and Aindrī were two-armed; and even at the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur (Figs. 247-253), Kaumārī and Aindrī were still two-armed. The major Mahiṣamardini image in Cave 14 (Fig. 731) is of the format used previously at Caves 17, 21, etc. at Ellora (Fig. 714), and the image of standing Devī opposite her (Fig. 733) reveals a simple variation of this format. Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 734) is a motif which at this date probably was well known throughout India.
The Saiva subjects in the mandapa of Cave 14 at Ellora are likewise
drawn from the Kalacuri repertoire: the game of Śiva and Pārvatī
(Fig. 170), with a group of ganas teasing Nandi below, is also seen at
Caves 21 and 29 at Ellora and at Elephanta; Naṭesā (Fig. 171) is of the
type seen at Cave 29 at Ellora, Elephanta (Fig. 29), and Mandapeswar
(Fig. 31) while a different type is seen at Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 28);
Rāvaṇanugrahamūrti is seen at Caves 21 and 29 at Ellora and at Elephanta;
and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (Fig. 172) is seen at Cave 29 at Ellora and at
Elephanta (Fig. 173). The fact that Andhakāsuravadhamūrti in these three
examples upholds an elephant skin with two hands suggests inspiration
from the Varāha Purāṇa, which recounts the killing of an elephant demon,
whose skin Śiva wore, before the killing of Andhaka. In this text also
the Mothers are involved in the fight against Andhaka, which suits the
representation of the Mātrkā group in Cave 14 adjacent to its
Andhakāsuravadhamūrti relief.

Unlike the Śaiva subjects, the Vaiṣṇava subjects in Cave 14 have no
surviving Ellora antecedents. The prominent Varāha image (Fig. 168)
probably was specifically commissioned by the cave's patron to honor the
Calukyas. It resembles the type seen at Caves 2 and 3 at Bādāmi
(Figs. 35, 65), especially the latter, but has a North Indian vanamāla,
and so the possibility of other external models cannot be entirely ruled
out. The two repetitive images of seated Viṣṇu (Fig. 169) seem not to
illustrate any particular myth, and may be considered lackluster
productions by local carvers who had little experience in Vaiṣṇava
iconography.
The *garbha grha* doorframe of Cave 14 is undecorated (Figs. 176-178). At its sides are typical unarmed Kalacuri *dvârapâlas* and attendants, and also two large female figures and two large images of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their *vâhanas*. These rivers were both seen previously at Cave 21 at Ellora, on the facade, and Yamunā alone appears at Cave 29. The prominence of these goddesses at Ellora might have inspired Pulakeśi to commission their representation on temples in his southern territories. Since he had defeated Harṣa, lord of North India, in battle, he could have felt justified in claiming these two North Indian symbols as his own. The Surat plates (B19) of a nephew of Pulakeśi II's son Vikramāditya in fact state that Pulakeśi II won some unspecified war standard(s) (*yuddhapatāka*) from Harṣa, the lord of *sakalottarāpatha* (the entire north country). Later we find, in all Calukya copper plate inscriptions after 696 A.D. (Vj1, etc.), the claim that King Vinayaḍītya acquired various insignia of sovereignty by defeating the lord of *sakalottarāpatha*; the same inscriptions state that Prince Vijayaḍītya, who went in front of his father in battle in *uttarāpatha*, was the one who presented Vinayaḍītya with these insignia, and the latter are listed as Gaṅgā-Yamunā-śālikhāvajapata-dhakkāmahāśabda. Tartakov and Bolon have both assumed that the Gaṅgā and Yamunā insignia, thus acquired in Vinayaḍītya's reign, inspired the first river goddess representations on Calukya temples in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. However, since Pulakeśi II won a victory similar to that of Vinayaḍītya/Vijayaḍītya, and is said to have consequently acquired some war standard(s), and since also he probably had an association with Cave 14 at Ellora and its river goddesses, there is reason to suppose that some Calukya temples in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh would have featured
images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā during his reign.

B.6. Saṅgāmēsvāra temple at Kūḍavelli

It has been suggested above that shortly before October 10, 631 A.D., the date of the Kopparam grant (Pk9), Pulakeśī II conducted the most extensive military campaign of his reign, south to Kāṇcī and beyond. I would tentatively date Pulakeśī’s Tummeṇāuru copper plate grant (Pk7), probably found in western Andhra, a year or so earlier. This grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse, when Pulakeśī was in the presence of Bhagavat Saṅgāmēsvāra, and I accept the assumption of Ramesan that the god in question was identical to or the predecessor of the Śiva-liṅga in the temple now called Saṅgāmēsvāra, located at the junction (saṃgama) of the Krishṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā Rivers, about ten miles northeast (downstream) from Ālampur, near the modern village of Kūḍavelli. I would suggest that the Tummeṇāuru grant was made when Pulakeśī worshipped and requested this god for victory, before his southern expedition, noting as a precedent the case of the mid sixth century Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II, also a Vaiṣṇava, whose Beṇḍūr copper plates record a gift made when the king was before Mahādeva in a particular temple, in the course of a military expedition to capture the city of Vaijayaṁti. I would further suggest that, after his victorious return from the South and his installation of Viṣṇuvardhana in eastern Andhra Pradesh, Pulakeśī stayed for a while in the Ālampur region and made gifts which were used for a rebuilding of the Saṅgāmēsvāra temple, whose form before this date cannot be guessed.
The present Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Figs. 179-181), in worship at least until the eighteenth century, seems to have undergone construction work at least twice after the time of Pulakesi II. The surrounding prākāra wall probably was added around the original Calukya temple building in Vinayāditya's reign, and other alterations and additions may have been made at about the same time. Furthermore, a temple pillar inscription of Ś. 1322 records extensive repairs to the śikhara and mandapa. The north-facing rectangular subshrine with three bay entrance near the southeast corner of the temple (Fig. 182), probably for the Saptamātrkās, seems to have been an original element. A modern south-facing structure occupies a comparable position at the temple's northeast corner. Bolon's date of c. 690-96 for the original Calukya Saṅgameśvara temple seems far too late when Ālampur temples are considered. The temples of the end of the seventh century in Ālampur have projecting porches at the north, south, and west of their garbha grhas, while such porches are absent at Kūḍavelli. Also these temples, and those of Vikramāditya I's reign as well, have śikhara east base sukanāsas, but a sukanāsa is lacking at Kūḍavelli. Thus, even if the Tummeyanūru grant is disregarded, it would seem that the origin of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli should be placed before the Ālampur monuments of Vikramāditya I's reign, and probably after the smaller, simpler Kumāra Brahma temple.

The present Saṅgameśvara temple is sāndhāra with a Northern style tower, like the Kumāra Brahma temple (Figs. 159-161), though the former temple's śikhara has four rather than three stages. Unlike the Kumāra Brahma temple, its exterior walls are elaborately decorated. There are five niches for images on the north and south side walls, as at Cave 14
at Ellora, but with windows between them. The west exterior has three niches and two windows. The east exterior seems to have originally had two niches and two windows. The windows are topped mostly with decorative devices, such as makaras; however one on the south side has a representation of Gaja-Lakṣmi. The Saṅgameśvara temple's pattern of multiple alternating niches and windows relates to that of the nearly contemporaneous southern style Meguṭi temple at Aihole, rather than to any known Alampur temples. The mandapa doorway with Garuḍa lalāta-bimba is a post-Calukya insertion, and the form of the original entrance area is unknown; though the two large flanking nidhis (Figs. 183-184) seem Calukya, their exact date and their original positions are uncertain. The large image of Yamunā (Fig. 185), now covering the window south of the entrance, probably originally belonged elsewhere on this side of the facade, with a corresponding image of Gaṅgā on the north. The images of Naṭeṣā (Fig. 192) and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (Fig. 193) in the next to westernmost niches, closest to the garbhagṛha, on the north and south exterior sides respectively, are probably in their original locations. We note that these same two icons were the only standing Śiva forms at Cave 14 at Ellora, and also that they appear juxtaposed on a ceiling at the Cikki temple at Aihole (Fig. 202), datable only slightly later. The Harihara (south) (Fig. 195) and Ardhanārīśvara (north) (Fig. 194) images in the Kūḍavelli temple's east facade niches probably were similarly paired in the temple of Pulakeśi's reign. These two forms of composite Śiva were previously featured in opposing positions in the verandah at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Figs. 10, 11) and in the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave mandapa (Figs. 43, 44). The image of Yama (Fig. 427) now in a south wall niche on the Saṅgameśvara temple probably was not originally placed there, as it
is too small in size. The comparable north side niche image of nude, ithyphallic, two-armed samabhāṅga standing Śiva (Fig. 425), bearing rosary, right, and damaged club(?), left, has a hair style like that of Yama's attendant and probably was contemporaneous with the Yama image. Seven of the other exterior niches of the Saṅgāmeśvara temple are filled with unarmed, often flower-bearing standing male figures (Figs. 188, 189), one of whom has a nāga hood. An eighth figure from this group is loose inside the temple. Divakaran has tentatively identified these figures as yaksas (semi-divine beings), but they may best be related to Kalacuri type dvarapālas. Perhaps two were originally positioned on the facade, with river goddesses and nidhis near the original entrance, and two others were placed on each of the temple's north, west, and south exterior sides.

The mandapa interior of the Kūdavelli temple seems to have been altered significantly from its original appearance, probably in the course of the repairs of Ś. 1322. The innermost pillars appear not to be of Calukya type, though the outermost are. The liṅga-enshrining garbha grha itself probably has been much reconstructed. It now has numerous empty niches on both its exterior and interior, while originally it probably only had three exterior niches, as in the Calukya temples at Ālampur. The placement of four pillars inside the garbha grha, seen often elsewhere in Calukya temples of Andhra Pradesh, may have occurred here for the first time. An antarāla is present before the garbha grha, which does not suit the lack of a śukanāsa on the temple's śikhara. It may be speculated that this was one of the first Calukya antarālas. The garbha grha doorway (Fig. 190) has a lalāṭa-bimba Garuḍa, and the shrine-derived architectural elements in the overdoor area (kuta (with
curved roof), sala (barrel-roofed), kuta) seem to contain representations of seated Śiva and Pārvatī in the center, and possibly standing Śūrya on the south and Gaṇeśa on the north. The intervening figures are indistinct. This overdoor decorative format lacks amalakas, and does not relate closely to that at the Kumāra Brahma temple (Fig. 163). It seems nearer, for example, to that of the garbha grha doorway at Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 62) or the outer doorway of the Meguṭi temple at Aihole. The outermost jamb on each side is decorated with ganaś in registers, and the adjacent pilasters feature standing male figures near their bases, perhaps related to those at the Kumāra Brahma temple, but in samabhaṅga rather than relaxed poses. The south side base area is hidden, but the north side features images of a mithuna, and, moving inward, a small river goddess and staff-bearing dvārapāla. River goddesses seem not to have appeared before this date as part of the door base decoration of a Calukya temple; later this was their usual position. Perhaps this treatment was imitated from North Central or Western Indian doorway models, while the large facade river goddesses had a separate source in Kalacuri-Calukya Maharashtra. The large images of nidhis which flank the garbha grha doorway seem Calukya, though their original placement is uncertain.

It is presumed that the Saṅgāmesvara temple originally had images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and Mahiṣamardini in southern, western, and northern niches on its garbha grha. Bolon has stated that the Gaṇeśa image now positioned at the southern side of the garbha grha entrance is Calukya, so this may have been the original south garbha grha niche icon. An image of Kārttikeya (Fig. 191), now in the collection of the State Archeological Museum in Hyderabad, but previously in the Alampur site
museum and said to have come from the Saṅgamelāvara temple site, probably was the original west garbha arha niche icon. This image features the two-armed god standing samabhaṅga with sakti in right hand and cock in left hand. Behind his left side is a fluted pillar with an śamalaka-like ribbed capital and a crowning trilobed (?) motif, from which or around which foliage grows. Bolon noted that the pillar behind Kārttikeya resembles the Mahākūṭa inscribed jayastambha of 602 A.D. (Fig. 136). In fact, it probably was meant to represent, not Haṅgaleśa's Mahākūṭa jayastambha, but a similar one erected by Pulakesi II, perhaps one placed in the vicinity of Kūḍavelli or Ālampur. There is little doubt that a jayastambha commemorating one of Pulakesi's victories was erected in Bādāmi; a Pallava rock inscription in Bādāmi itself refers to it.

The Kūḍavelli temple's Naṭeśa and Andhadūravadhavamūrti images, though much mutilated, seem to have been influenced by Kalacuri prototypes, such as those followed at Cave 14 at Ellora. While the Cave 14 and Kalacuri images of Naṭeśa (Figs. 28, 29, 31, 171) had only eight arms, Figure 192 had at least fourteen, a multiplicity reminiscent of the Naṭeśa at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 27). Nevertheless, the positioning of the legs and main two hands of Figure 192 (right in gaja-hasta and left at the shoulder) seems identical to that at Cave 14 at Ellora, and basically opposite to that at Bādāmi. This positioning appears to have been repeated consistently in Calukya Naṭeśa images until near the end of Vinayāditya's reign. Both the Kūḍavelli and Cave 14 reliefs include the ascetic Bhrṛṅgli, absent at Cave 1 at Bādāmi though present in the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave composition. The Kūḍavelli example has
Ganapati at Naṭesā's lower left, as at Bādāmi; Ganapati is absent from the composition at Cave 14 at Ellora, but is present in Kalacuri Naṭesās at Cave 21 at Ellora, Nandapeswar, and Elephanta. The Cave 14 and Kalacuri images of Andhakāsuravādhamūrti (Figs. 172, 173) had eight arms, while the Kūḍavelli example probably had ten. All these images show the striding god similarly piercing Andhaka, and though the distinctive elephant skin and hanging demon figure held at Caves 14 and 29 at Ellora (and presumably at Elephanta) are not visible in the Kūḍavelli relief, this is probably due to mutilation. One surviving right hand of the Kūḍavelli image holds a nāga. Both the Cave 14 and the Kūḍavelli Andhakāsuravādhamūrti images feature a demon under Śiva's left foot, and a small attendant Ganapati. The Kūḍavelli piece also includes a squatting, cock-bearing Kārṛtikeśa.

The Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara images at Kūḍavelli are also damaged. Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 194) is four-armed with front arms at rest, and trident in rear right and flower in rear left hand. Śiva's bull Nandi stands behind the deity, as at Elephanta and Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 14). Harihara (Fig. 195) holds rosary in front right hand, as at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Fig. 56), and has front left hand on his hip. His rear right hand holds a long-shafted attribute with top broken off, probably a trident. The rear left hand holds a cakra. This latter attribute in this hand is not characteristic of South Indian or Calukya art, and must be attributed to Northern Indian/Kalacuri influences.
B.7. Destroyed monuments near the Cikki and Gauḍa temples at Aihole

The inscription (Pkl0) of 634/5 A.D. at the Meguṭi Jain temple at Aihole refers to Pulakesi as having, after his South Indian campaign, established himself at Bādāmi. The Meguṭi temple has its fourteen exterior sculpture niches all empty or filled with uncut blocks, and it may be suggested that they were left in this state because their carvers abruptly found other employment. Perhaps, soon after the return of Pulakesi to Karnataka, he showed an interest in temple building at Aihole and inspired other patrons as well. Among the Aihole Brahmanical temples datable to the period c. 631-43 are the Cikki temple northwest of the town walls, the ruined Apsidal Śiva temple directly north of the Cikki temple, the Gauḍa temple inside the town and northeast of a tank, and a lost temple north of the Gauḍa temple, a part of whose basement came to light in S.R. Rao's excavations.

It may be speculated that the last noted temple, north of the Gauḍa temple and destroyed in a flood just prior to the construction of the Lad Khan temple immediately to the west, could have inspired certain features of the Lad Khan temple. Perhaps the destroyed temple was patronized by Pulakesi II and had large Gaṅgā and Yamunā images, as at Cave 14 at Ellora and at Kūḍavelli, which served as precedents for the large porch pillar river goddesses of the Lad Khan temple, and those of the Huccappayya Maṭha which imitated the latter. Except for these examples, Calukya temples after the reign of Pulakesi II have only small, door base river goddesses. A broken female image now at the Aihole site museum (Fig. 187) could possibly have been the Gaṅgā image from this lost temple.
The ruined Apsidal Śiva temple at Aihole (Figs. 198-199), north of the Cikki temple, has only a linga in a circular pitha in its garbha grha area and one mandapa crossbeam raised on pillars still standing in situ above its completely surviving base. Tartakov has postulated that architectural fragments found near the temple were part of some sort of appropriately shaped Northern style superstructure once raised over its garbha grha. A lintel piece from the site features a central Garuḍa. The temple's base indicates that it once had a porch and four exterior niches, one near the east end and one near the center of each side wall. Comparison with the later Apsidal Śiva temple at Cikka Nahākūṭa suggests that its Aihole prototype had a narrow pradaksināpāthaka continuing from the mandapa aisles around the garbha grha, and three niches containing images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and Mahiṣamardini on the garbha grha. It may be speculated that the exterior niche images were the Śaiva pairs seen elsewhere: Ardhanārīśvara (north) and Harihara (south), and Naṭesā (north) and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (south).

B.8. Cikki temple (Temple 15) at Aihole

The Cikki temple (Fig. 200) at Aihole recalls the Kumāra Brahma temple (Figs. 159-161) at Ālampur in its sāndhāra form, with no exterior niches but with large western, northern, and southern grilled windows directly opposite the garbha grha niches. Both temples also have a porch, with a lotus carved on its ceiling, sheltering an entrance which was originally of the three bay type. The Cikki temple, however, lacks a base platform, has no śikhara, and has deities rather than lotuses sculpted on the two level ceiling bays before its garbha grha doorway (Figs. 201-202). This location for deity images recalls Cave 3 at
Bādāmi; the iconography of the ceilings recalls non-ceiling images at the Bādāmi caves, Cave 14 at Ellora, and earlier Kalacuri caves. The easternmost ceiling has a lotus motif in the center, a representation of Viśṇu Anantaśayin with Brahmā seated on the lotus issuing from his navel at the north, and Trivikrama at the south. The westernmost ceiling has an identical central lotus motif, an image of Naṭeśa on the south, and Andhakāsuravādhamūrti on the north. The easternmost ceiling has framing areas filled with mithunas and gandharvas; the framing areas of the westernmost ceiling have Śaiva subjects interspersed with these. The Cikki temple's mandapa ceilings may be envisioned as displaying the Brahmanical Trīṃūrti/Trinity, though Brahmā is underemphasized, with the three associated divine functions of creation (Viṣṇu Anantaśayin with Brahmā), preservation (Trivikrama and Andhakāsuravādhamūrti), and destruction (Naṭeśa). Though the number of major Viṣṇava and Śaiva images is equal, the unequal treatment of the framing areas and the position of the Śaiva images nearer the garbha grha suggest Śiva's relative primacy. The Trinity decoration over the garbha grha doorway confirms this; Śiva is represented standing with Nandi in the center, while Viṣṇu stands at the north (proper left) end and Brahmā stands at the south (proper right) end. It seems likely that the empty garbha grha niches would have held the common Śaiva image group of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and Mahiṣamardini.

Though scholars have accepted the Cikki temple as a Śiva temple, the liṅga presently in the garbha grha lacks a pitha and seems not to have been original. It seems likely that this temple, like the Kumāra Brahma temple which it resembles in form, was dedicated to Śiva's son Kārttikeya, and enshrined an image of this deity seated on or with
his peacock. A seated representation of Kārttikeya with peacock and devotees is found on the Śaiva half of the mandapa ceiling (Fig. 203) in a framing area, in an axial position. He holds ṣakti on the right, and fruit(?) on the left. He has only one head, but the garbha ārha image may have been six-headed, like the Kārttikeya of the mandapa ceiling before the garbha ārha entrance at Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 97), and like a loose Kārttikeya image (Fig. 204) now in the Aihole site museum. The Cikki temple's striking similarities to the Kumāra Brahma temple in form suggest that its patron was aware of the latter and probably was Pulakeśī II. While acknowledging the primary association of Kārttikeya with Śiva, as at the Kumāra Brahma temple, Pulakeśī seems here to have desired to assert also the importance of his favorite deity, Viṣṇu, and to have done so by employing the Trinity concept. This concept, seen here first in Calukya art, was of great importance in the temple sculpture of the dynasty's second century, especially in Karnataka.

The Cikki temple's garbha ārha doorway (Fig. 205) has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba, and the bases of its jambs display standing females with attendants. While female figures identifiable as yāksinīs or apsarases (semi-divine beings or nymphs) appeared at the mandapa entrance at Cave 1 and the garbha ārha entrance at Cave 2, the Cikki temple door base females have the areas below their feet worn, and are speculated to have originally featured kūrma (tortoise) and makara vāhanas there, identifying the females as river goddesses. The south side female unusually seems oriented away from, rather than toward the doorway, suggesting its carver's misunderstanding of an unfamiliar decorative motif, presumably imitated from a North Central or Western Indian doorway model. Perhaps these females were the first Calukya doorframe base river
goddesses in Karnataka, and influenced the creation of others at the Gauḍa temple at Aihole soon afterwards.

The Cikki temple’s garbha ṛgha over-door decoration with āmalakas and nāsikas recalls that at the Kumāra Brahma temple (Fig. 163), though iconic features are present only in the former. The image of Brahmā at the south has four arms and multiple heads. His front left hand holds a kamandalu. The Viṣṇu image at the north end also has four arms. The upper two are unclear, but the lower right has a fruit and the lower left rests on the hip. Viṣṇu’s small attendants may be gada-devī and Garuḍa. The central standing Śiva (Fig. 206) is not samabhāṅga, but leans against Nandi as over the east mandapa entranceway of Cave 1 at Bādāmi. His rear right hand may bear axe, and his rear left seems to hold a nāga. His front right hand is on his chest, and his front left on his thigh.

The iconography of the Cikki temple’s ceiling Trivikrama image (Fig. 207) seems to have been derived from the figure-filled wall panels representing the same subject at Caves 2 and 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 68, 69). Viṣṇu’s eight attributes are the same as in both caves, and comparable asuras grasp Trivikrama’s right leg and fall in the sky, while Jāmbavān and Garuḍa fly above. The area of the composition where the crescent moon and the head of Rāhu should appear is damaged. The sword-bearing asura behind Trivikrama, the crowd of asuras attending Bali’s gift, and the position of Trivikrama's mace recall Cave 2 rather than 3, while the placement of Trivikrama’s shield and bow and the turn of his head recall Cave 3 rather than 2. Evidently the sculptor of this Cikki temple ceiling paid attention to both precedents, while adding new elements such as a flying garland bearer behind Trivikrama and another female figure next to Bali’s queen. The water pourer now does not resemble Buddha, and
it is not clear whether he or the figure behind him is Bali, though probably the latter is. We may recall Pulakeshi's personal interest in Trivikrama, shown by the invocation of his Chipûn grant (Pk2).

The Cikki temple's ceiling representation of Viṣṇu Anantaśayin (Fig. 208) corresponds to its counterparts on the verandah entablatures of Caves 2 and 3 at Bādāmi (Figs. 38, 81) in having Brahmā seated on a lotus emerging from Viṣṇu's navel, and in showing Garuḍa and āyudhapuruṣas (cakra, śaṅkha, and perhaps khaḍga (sword)) challenging the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha (worn), but the Bādāmi cave examples seem too small and insignificant to have influenced this large work, and there are several notable differences. Most obviously, the Cikki temple image depicts Anantaśayin reclining on his left rather than his right side, but also he is four- rather than two-armed, and he has a consort massaging his foot and another seated by his head. Whether the model for this image was North Indian or South Indian cannot be determined, but since the temple's Śaiva ceiling subjects seem influenced by Ellora, the former seems more likely.

Considering the major positions occupied by Varāha images in earlier Calukya temples, and the importance of Varāha in Pulakeshi's inscriptions, it seems surprising that Anantaśayin rather than Varāha was selected for representation with Trivikrama at the Cikki temple. Two explanations for this may be proposed. First, Varāha and Trivikrama seem to exemplify a similar divine function, preservation, while Anantaśayin may be seen as exemplifying a different function, creation, and so as better completing the trinity of divine functions, which seems to be a major theme of the Cikki temple's ceiling ensemble. Second, beginning in Pulakeshi II's reign, Calukya copper plate inscriptions describe the source of the
dynastic varāha ensign as Nārāyaṇa (Pṛkṣṭha-9) or, apparently equivalently, the One who was lying, arisen from sleep, on the milk ocean (Bṛg). This latter description precisely suits Viṣṇu Ananta-sayin, and the name Nārāyaṇa, though more generally applied, according to Manu and the Mahābhārata refers to Viṣṇu as lying on the waters. Thus, Varāha probably was envisioned as a particular form of the more universal god Viṣṇu Ananta-sayin/Nārāyaṇa. For either or both of these reasons, the use of an image of Viṣṇu Ananta-sayin/Nārāyaṇa instead of Varāha on the Cīkki temple ceiling seems appropriate.

The major Śaiva ceiling subjects at the Cīkki temple appear to have been drawn directly from the iconography of Cave 14 at Ellora and earlier Kalacuri caves. The figure of Naṭeśa (Fig. 209) is eight-armed and has all four right hands (including the front in gaja-hasta), two left hands, and his legs in positions exactly comparable to those of the Naṭeśa image at Cave 14 (Fig. 171). His right hands hold a damaru, seen also at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 27), the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Fig. 47), and Caves 14, 21 (Fig. 28), and 29 at Ellora, and a nāga-entwined trident provided with a short side protrusion, which does not appear to be an axe blade, near the top of its shaft. This protrusion, often found on long-shafted attributes in Calukya Śaiva sculptures (Figs. 56, 78, 195), seems unexplained in the literature. Perhaps it was meant simply for attachment of a cloth banner/streamer, or was of military value in preventing the trident from thrusting too deeply, or was a piece of bone and referred to Śiva's khatvāṅga (skull club) attribute. The equivalent long-shafted attribute held by the Naṭeśa figure at Cave 14 at Ellora has its finial lacking the three prongs of a trident, perhaps due to damage, and also has a protrusion, as does that at Elephanta (Fig. 29).
where the shaft's finial or prongs, if any, are lost. Nāṭeṣa's uplifted rear left hand at the Cikki temple may hold either a nāga or a cloth, as at Elephanta, Nandapeswar (Fig. 31), and possibly Cave 21 at Ellora. His extended left hand holds an unidentified object, possibly seen previously at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave. The Nāṭeṣa panel at the Cikki temple includes numerous subordinate figures, though none of the dikpālas or devas on vāhanas seen at Ellora and other Kalacuri sites. As at Caves 14 and 21 at Ellora, Elephanta, Nandapeswar, Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, and Kūḍāvelli (Fig. 192), the ascetic Bṛiṅgī appears. Gānēṣa also is present, as at Cave 1 at Bādāmi, Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, Kūḍāvelli, Elephanta, Nandapeswar, and Cave 21 at Ellora, though not Cave 14. Probably Kārṭtikeya was also present in the Cikki temple Nāṭeṣa relief, on the damaged proper left side.

Like the representation of Nāṭeṣa, the image of eight-armed Śiva Andhakāsuravadhamūrti on the Cikki temple ceiling (Fig. 210) follows the form of Cave 14 at Ellora (Fig. 172) and Kalacuri precedents (Fig. 173), including some elements which do not appear later in Calukya representations of the same subject: the elephant skin upheld with two hands (as at Caves 14 and 29 at Ellora and at Elephanta) and the inverted hanging demon grasped with a right hand (surviving at Caves 14 and 29). Both the Cikki temple and the Cave 14 examples have four-armed Gānēṣa and seated Pārvatī present. The Cikki temple example also had Kārṭtikeya (destroyed) riding his peacock, perhaps actively involved in killing demons. Similarly, Kārṭtikeya and Gānēṣa were present at Kūḍāvelli (Fig. 193), where Śiva's arms and possibly other peripheral elements are damaged or lost. Both the Kūḍāvelli and Cikki temple images probably were inspired by examples in Maharashtra, and the Kūḍāvelli image in its
original state may have been much closer to the Cave 14 and/or Cikki temple images than now appears to be the case. Śiva's right arms hold a śūla/trisūla and kapāla (skull bowl), plus bell at Elephanta, nāga at Caves 14 and 29 at Ellora, and shield at the Cikki temple. A demon probably was intended to be portrayed under Śiva's striding foot in all these examples.

The framing portions of the Cikki temple's Śaiva ceiling panels include one more subject from Ellora iconography, Śiva and Pārvatī gaming (Fig. 211). Here, due to lack of space, Nandi is teased by ganas at the divine couple's side, rather than below as at Caves 14 (Fig. 170), 21, and 29 at Ellora and at Elephanta. Though the figures are worn, the game board is clear between Śiva and Pārvatī, and a nāga and a trident with protruberance are visible at Śiva's upper left side. The poses of the main figures seem closest to those of the example at Cave 21 at Ellora. Other Śaiva subjects represented in the ceiling's framing portions are seated, axe-bearing Śiva with Pārvatī, Nandi, devotees and attendants (Fig. 212); seated two-armed ithyphallic Lakulīśa (Fig. 213), bearing club in right hand and surrounded by ṛṣis(?); Kārttikeya (Fig. 203); and a procession led by a liṅga bearer. Lakulīśa was a frequent subject in the Kalacuri caves, but the Cikki temple example seems closer in form to the image in Cave 2 at Bādāmi (Fig. 40) than to Kalacuri examples (Fig. 214).
B.9. Gauḍa temple (Temple 13) at Aihole

S.R. Rao's excavations in the vicinity of the Gauḍa temple at Aihole have shown that this temple was built well before the Lad Khan temple northwest of it, but Rao's dating of the Gauḍa temple in the first quarter of the fifth century seems much too early. Probably it paralleled or closely followed the Cikki temple in date. The Gauḍa temple has on one of its ceiling beams an inscription which has been paleographically dated to the eighth century, recording a gift to Durgā-Bhagavatī (the inaccessible divine One) by several of the internal organizations of the town of Āryapura (Aihole). This implies that the temple's original dedication was to Devī, and probably to a militant form, such as Mahiṣamardini, rather than a passive one. The presence of images of Gaja-Lakṣmī with two female attendants, rather than three male deities as at the Cikki temple (Fig. 205), over the doorway to the Gauḍa temple's now empty garbha grha (Fig. 216) supports the assumption that a depiction of a goddess was enshrined. The Gauḍa temple might have been patronized by King Pulakesi II himself, and can be related to the reference to Kauśikī in Pk6 of 630/1 A.D..

The Gauḍa temple (Fig. 215) is sāndhāra, with garbha grha surrounded by a westward extension of the mandapa, as at Cave 14 at Ellora, the Upper Śivālaya, and the Kumāra Brahma and Cikki temples. It has a colonnade and benches rather than solid walls around its exterior, and also it has no porch. Presently it lacks a śikhara, and probably it never had one. Though there are no exterior walls which could display images, the garbha grha has a niche on each of its walls, as at the Kumāra Brahma and Cikki temples. What images might once have filled these niches are unknown. The format of the decoration over the garbha...
doorway (Fig. 216) seems based on that of the Cikki temple (Fig. 205). Garuda appears in the lalata-bimba, and the bases of the jambs have female figures. As their lower parts are worn, it cannot be determined for certain whether or not they were river goddesses with vahanas. However it is notable that the better preserved north side female (Fig. 217) has a pair of birds at her upper left. This motif was frequently found with North Indian river goddesses, and its presence suggests, though it does not prove, that the Gauda temple females were river goddesses.

The Gauda temple's only level ceilings (Figs. 218-219), in the two bays before the garbha grha doorway, once displayed deities, but these are now almost completely destroyed. The eastern ceiling probably showed Śiva and Pārvatī riding Nandi toward proper left (Nandi's hoofs are visible), a subject seen previously on a ceiling of the verandah at Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 92). The western figured ceiling at the Gauda temple, by the garbha grha, features a multiheaded figure seated on a winged vāhana. The figure has been identified as Brahmā on haṃsa, but probably actually is six-headed Kārttikeya seated on peacock, resembling the ceiling before the garbha grha at Cave 3 (Fig. 97), and possibly also the garbha grha image once enshrined at the Cikki temple. This identification as Kārttikeya is based on the fact that the god's less worn proper left side (Fig. 220) seems to have only one, rather than a pair of arms, and on the iconographic context; the combination of Śiva and Pārvatī and Brahmā seems less suitable for a Devī temple than Śiva and Pārvatī and their son Kārttikeya. The latter deity was grouped with Gaṇeṣa and Maḥiṣamardinī at Cave 1's subshrine, with Naṭeṣa and Pārvatī and Gaṇeṣa at the Rāvaṇa Phadi Cave (Figs. 47-48), and with Śiva and
Pārvatī on a Cave 3 verandah bracket (Figs. 78-79). To complete the apparent Śaiva "family" ceiling group, it seems likely that Pārvatī's son Gaṇeśa would also have been represented in one of the panels; probably he was a minor figure on the ceiling with Śiva and Pārvatī, as at Cave 3. A small worn Gaṇeśa figure is found on the Gauḍa temple's east basement, south of the entrance steps. Though the Gauḍa temple's ceilings seem to show influence of the ceilings of Cave 3 at Bādāmi in iconography, the format is different. Rather than appearing inside a circle centered in a larger square field, the deities and their surrounding attendant figures entirely fill broad rectangular areas. This seems to have been a modification of the Cikki temple ceiling format (Figs. 201-202), and it was the one most frequently used for later Calukya deity ceilings.
C. Notes

1. In his Modlimb copper plates (Pk4), Pulakeśi II is referred to only as Parameśvara, a title meaning "great lord."

2. Kauśikī is a name of the slayer of Šumbha and Niśumbha in Devī-Māhātmya (Mārkapdeya Purāṇa, chapter 85, vs. 38-40; see also chapter 91, vs. 38-39), Harivamśa (chapters 47, 48, excerpted in O'Flaherty (1978: 209-210)), and Skanda Purāṇa (I-2; chapters 27-29, excerpted in O'Flaherty (1978: 259)). She is envisioned as Kṛṣṇa's sister in Harivamśa, as either Kṛṣṇa's sister or a form of Pārvatī in Devī-Māhātmya, and solely as a form of Pārvatī in Skanda Purāṇa. In Śiva Purāṇa (VII-2, chapter 31, vs. 89-90) Kauśikī the slayer of Šumbha and Niśumbha is equated with Nahiśamardini.

3. These same elements are found in the possibly forged Hosur plates (B5) purporting to have been issued by a daughter of Pulakeśi II, and in the Timmapuram plates (B3) (though not in the Chīpurupalle plates, B4) of Pulakeśi's younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana, who ruled independently in the later years of Pulakeśi's reign and possibly also for a while after his death. The questionable Kāndalgām plates (B6), dated in Pulakeśi's fifth year, have these elements in their later form, as in Ad1, Vkl, etc.

4. Panchamukhi, ed., Karnatak Inscriptions 1, 1, also suggested this date. After the reign of Pulakeśi II, more discrete terms were used to denote Mahāsena/Kārttikeya and the Mothers in inscriptions of kings of the main Calukya line. See Chapter I, note 17.

5. See B2; Pk3, 4, 9. For the boar seal of Pk8, see Elliot (1858-59: 93 and fig. 32). Boar seals also appear on the questionable plates B5 and B6, and on the genuine Goa plates of a Calukya feudatory (B1), dated in S. 532, which was either the last year of Mahāgalesa's reign or the first year of Pulakeśi II. Pulakeśi's Tummeñāṇuru grant (Pk7), which is among the four mentioning the boar crest in its prāṣasti, has no known seal.

6. See page 140, and note 120 below.

7. None of these three invocations is identical to that one, also honoring Varāha, used in the Tagare plates of Kadamba Bhogivarma (MAR for 1918, 35, 40), the last king of the Kadamba dynasty known to have issued a copper plate. Pulakeśi II, like his father, fought against the Kadambas (Pk10). Whether Pulakeśi might have been influenced by Bhogivarma's interest in Varāha, or vice versa, and/or whether there was a relationship between Bhogivarma and Pulakeśi's "first" queen, named Kadamba (Pk5), cannot be determined.
Additionally, the first verse of Pk3 mentions Varāha's arm, while the second praises Pulakeśi's arm, thus comparing the god and the king. See also Chapter I, note 89.

Some or all of these sacrifices are also cited in B14 of Pulakeśi's brother and in B12, 16, 18, and 26 of the Calukya branch line in Gujarat. The questionable Kândalgám plates of Pulakeśi's fifth year (B6) record a grant to a brāhmaṇa for bali, caru, and vaiśvadeva.

Ramesan (1962: 40, 43).

It may be noted that the Hosur grant (B5), seen by its editor in Kolar District in South Karnataka, though not necessarily unearthed there, is said to have been issued at some "sanāgama-tirtha." Whether the same site as mentioned in Pk7 was intended is impossible to determine.

A grant of Pulakeśi's brother (B14) was also made at a solar eclipse, as was one much later private grant (K5). Additionally, a twelfth century stone inscription (C1), while giving the genealogy of a local ruler, states that an ancestor of his received the gift of a village from Calukya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya (presumably the seventh century Calukya king of that name) at the time of a solar eclipse.

A Lakshmesvar stone inscription of about the tenth century (B7) may be a copy of a grant made in Pulakeśi's reign. It records a gift made, during the reign of a Calukya King Satyāśraya, by a subordinate ruler of the Sendra family, to a Jain caitya. This inscription does not cite any relationship between the Calukya king and the gift.

Later inscriptions of Calukya rulers of the main line (Ad1, Vkl, etc.) concern themselves with Pulakeśi II's military prowess.

See Chapter I, note 10.

See Chapter I, note 24. The forged Nirpaṇ plates of Nāgavardhana (B18), which seem to copy some genuine source similar to Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa's plates (B17), attribute this aśvamedha to Kirttivarma, the first king named in them, in the same way, by inserting his name in place of that of Pulakeśi I in a line taken from the standard post-650 A.D. Calukya praśasti. The Kândalgám plates (B6) attribute an aśvamedha to Pulakeśi II, the only king mentioned in them, by a similar process of contraction.
The Sanjān plates (B14) have an ambiguity or error in their similar phrase, whose intended meaning is, as a result, unclear. The Nirpan plates (B18) call Pulakeśi II a paramāheśvara unambiguously, but these forged plates also ascribe to Pulakeśi II several other attributes which properly belong to Vikramāditya I.

Many scholars have assumed that the Calukya family was Vaiṣṇava from its origins. See Chapter I, note 2. I believe that the evidence does not support this assumption. While Pūgavarma and Maṅgaleśa showed devotion to Viṣṇu, Pulakeśi II was the first king to link the dynasty as a whole to this deity and to overtly adopt the Vaiṣṇava boar crest as dynastic emblem. It was probably Pulakeśi II's prestige as restorer of the direct succession and expander of the kingdom which encouraged his descendants to maintain the boar emblem, regardless of their personal beliefs.

This trend, as well as vicissitudes of time, may account for the fact that many more Brahmanical stone temples in Calukya territory survive from the century after Pulakeśi II's death than from the first century of Calukya rule. While royal support of brāhmanas through grants of land seems to have continued unchanged into the second century of Calukya rule, it is likely that tax income and spoils of war, increasingly rich after the kingdom was expanded into Andhra Pradesh, were more often spent on the construction of temples and worship of their deities than on the performance of elaborate sacrificial rituals such as aśvamedha and bahusuvrana. Private patronage probably paralleled, if it did not precede, royal patronage in this respect. Hiuen Tsang (Beal (1969: 257)) stated that in the country of Maharashtra, ruled by Pulakeśi (II), there were about one hundred deva temples in which dwelt heretics (non-Buddhists) of different persuasions.

This event is also recorded in Beal (1969: 256-257).

This dating for the conflict with Harṣa coincides with Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 214).

The name Makuta was used for this place as late as the tenth century (J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 185," Indian Antiquary, 19 (1890), 7–8), though possibly the name Mahākūṭa/Mahākoṭa was used as early as Vn6.

See page 100 and note 9 above.
Kṛttivarma is credited with defeating the Naḷas in Pk10, and a
territory in Kurnool District was known as Naḷavāḍi-viṣaya as early as Vk2 and as late as G2.

Nothing in the inscription proves that Pulakeśi was present in the
Nasik area at this time, but I assume it since there is no evidence to
the contrary.

The dynasty founded by Viṣṇuvardhana, the Eastern Calukyas,
subsequently ruled independently in eastern Andhra Pradesh.

It is often assumed (Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 215, 217-218);
Raychaudhuri (1973-74: 56, 60-61)) that Pulakeśi II made at least two
expeditions to South India, one whose success was commemorated in Pk10,
and a later one during which Namalla won three victories, as claimed in
the Kūram plates of his grandson, Pallava Parameśvaravarma (Hultzsch,
ed., South Indian Inscriptions 1, 152). It seems just as likely that
panegyrist of the opposing dynasties were referring to different aspects
of one expedition.

Fleet (1896: 352) suggested 639 A.D. Watters (1905: II, 336)
suggested the rainy season of 641. Sircar (1954: 239) accepted the date


Fleet (1896: 355) suggested Nasik, and this was accepted by Watters
(1905: II, 240) and Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 219). However Sircar (1954:
239) suggested Ellora.

A rock inscription of Pallava Narasiṃhavarma Mamalla in Bāḍāmi
itself (Krishnamacharlu et al., ed., South Indian Inscriptions 11/1, #1)
is dated Ś. 56X, Namalla's thirteenth regnal year. This proves that the
invasion/raid occurred before Ś. 570 (648/9 A.D.). The inscription is
damaged, but apparently refers to the capture or destruction of a
jayastambha at Vatāpi (Bāḍāmi) by Namalla. The Kūram plates of Mamalla's
grandson Parameśvaravarma (Hultzsch, ed., South Indian Inscriptions 1,
152) state that Namalla destroyed Vatāpi, and the Velūrpaḷaiyam plates of
the ninth century Pallava Nandivarman III (Hultzsch et al., ed., South
Indian Inscriptions 2, 506, 511) state that Namalla took the jayastambha
in the center of Vatāpi. The date 642/3 A.D. is often assigned to the
Pallava incursion because it seems to suit Mamalla's regnal dating, which
has no absolute fix, and because this is the date of the Kaira grant of Calukya Vijayarāja (B8), which does not refer to a reigning king of the Bādāmi Calukya line. This latter grant, found in the Gujarat region, includes some elements appropriate to its purported date and not typical of later Calukya inscriptions: it states that the Calukyas meditated on the feet of Śvāmi Mahāśena and it gives land to brāhmaṇas for performing bali, caṇu, vaiśvadeva, agniḥotra, and other sacrifices. However many of the phrases it uses to describe the Calukya family and the donor are identical to ones found in copper plates of the Kalacuris. If the use of these phrases does not brand the Kaira grant a forgery, it suggests that Vijayarāja's branch of the family was traditionally allied with/subordinate to the Kalacuris, rather than the Bādāmi Calukya line. Thus the non-mention of the latter in the Kaira grant may have no bearing on the date of the Pallava incursion.

Vijayarāja was a son of Buddhavarma and a grandson of one Jayasiṣṭha. Possibly the latter was grandson and namesake of the same Jayasiṣṭha who was grandfather of Pulakeśi I. Possibly Buddhavarma (one whose armor is Buddha) was an ally/subordinate of Kalacuri Buddhārāja. Buddhavarma may have been identical with, or a brother of, the Calukya called Śvāmi who was killed by Maṅgalesa at about the time of the latter's defeat of Kalacuri Buddhārāja (N5).

34 Beal (1969: 256).
36 Sundara (1978c: 296).
37 P.B. Desai, ed., South Indian Inscriptions 15, #473; ARSIE for 1928–29, Appendix E, #133. Fleet, see note 35 above, dated it to the eighth or early ninth century.
38 Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 143) and Lippe (1972: 274) suggested a dedication to Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa/Viṣṇu. However there is no particular reason for assuming that the Sūrya enshrined here was envisioned as a form of Viṣṇu, merely that he was a less important deity than Viṣṇu.
39 Cousens (1926: 54).
Harle (1974: pls. 95-97, 100).


Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 128-129) noted the similarity of the Mālegitti Śivālaya Viṣṇu image to one of North Indian type found at Elephanta and now in the Prince of Wales Museum (M. Chandra (1974: pl. 78, misidentified as Kārttikeya)).

Other scholars have nevertheless identified the Mālegitti Śivālaya male figure as kakrabha-purusa (Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 128); Begley (1973: fig. 22)).


See Chapter I, note 170.

Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 261, vs. 53-56.


Padigar (1977b: 64).

Suggestions about the Siddhanakoḷla images were made by Tartakov, personal communication, 1979.

See note 102 below.

The numbering used for Mahākūṭa temples follows Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: fig. 263, etc.).

J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 94," Indian Antiquary, 10 (1881), 102.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 161-162, 180, 566). She did not date Temple 9, but dated Temple 15 with Temple 5 or the Saṅgameśvara temple, in the reign of Vikramaśīta I.
Noted by Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 236-237, 345). He dated Temples 9 and 15 after the Saṅgameśvara temple, and contemporaneous with Temples 5, 22, and others, placing all these in the eighth century.

Its orientation with respect to the Makuṭeśvaranātha/Mahākūṭeśvara temple may be compared to that of the image of Varāha with respect to the liṅga of the Rāvana Phadi cave.

Khan (1973: 23); M. Radhakrishna Sarma (1972: 46).

Sreenivasaschar and Desai (1961: 34, #89).


Sreenivasaschar and Desai (1961: #80, 83, 86-88, 94-96, 108, 109, etc.).

Krishnan, ed., South Indian Inscriptions 17, #47c. This inscription is dated paleographically to the tenth century, but the events recorded in it are of the eighth century. See the Alampur gateway inscription: ARIE for 1959-60, #B143; Sreenivasaschar and Desai (1961: #99); Sampath (1979: 1087).

Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Annual Report for 1926-27, 7-12.


See Chapter III, pages 204-205 and note 116.

He is called *paramabhāgavata* in Pk6. Similarly, it has been hypothesized in Chapter I that the *paramabhāgavata* Maṅgalesā erected a Kārttikeya temple, the so-called Lower Sīvalaya, in Bādāmi.

Remains of the edges of this platform are visible around the temple's sides and rear.

Stadtner (1981: 49) dated the brick Laksmana temple at Sīrpur, which has a Northern style Śikhara, to 595-605.

Prasad (1972-72: 57) suggested that this graha frieze might be due to influence of Central Indian tradition. Sivaramamurti (1950: 35) noted that grahas are usually shown in a row in North India, in a square in South India.


Though Bolon and Tartakov have not linked this cave temple to the Calukyas, Spink (1967a: 5-6, 10) made a similar suggestion, and dated it to approximately 602-621. We note that Kauśikī, while not mentioned in any early main line Calukya grant except Pk6, is mentioned in many Eastern Calukya dynasty copper plates, including one as early as the generation after Pulakesī II (E. Hultzsch, "Kondanaguru Grant of Índravarman," Epigraphia Indica, 18 (1925-26), 1-5). Later Eastern Calukya tradition was probably the source for mentions of Kauśikī in Later Western Calukya dynasty inscriptions (C6). Since Viṣṇuvardhana, younger brother of Pulakesī II and founder of the Eastern Calukya dynasty, is known to have been a ranking official capable of granting land in Maharashtra in Pulakesī's eighth year, c. 618 (B2), several speculations may be made. First, Viṣṇuvardhana may have originated the belief that Kauśikī favored his family, and passed this belief on to his descendants. Second, Viṣṇuvardhana may have been the patron of Cave 14, designing it to enshrine Devī/Kauśikī for the sake of the dynasty, and hence including a Varāha image. Third, this cave temple may have temporarily (Pk6) interested Pulakesī in the cult of this goddess. It must be admitted, however, that Viṣṇuvardhana's three known copper plates (B2-4) do not mention Devī or Kauśikī; perhaps the actual Kauśikī-devotee and patron of Cave 14 was a wife of Viṣṇuvardhana, rather than this prince himself.

Beal (1969: 255-259), and see note 32 above.

The Mātrkās or a group of goddesses aid in the fight against Andhaka also in Kurma Purāṇa (I; chapter 16), Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 179, and Śiva Purāṇa (II-5; chapters 44-49).

See Chapter I, note 49.

Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 97-98); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 26, 247-248). This idea may first have been suggested by Sivaramamurti (1957a: 32).

See note 10 above. An inscription in the Alampur site museum (ARIE for 1962-63, #B163), dated paleographically to the thirteenth century, mentions the temple of Kūdali Saṅgāmeśvara. The Saṅgāmeśvara temple's present liṅga, lacking a pītha, may be a replacement.

The Bannahalli plates of Kṛṣṇavarma's seventh year have an introductory verse praising Hari as upholder, destroyer, and creator of the world (Kielhorn (1900-01b: 16-20)). Also the first phrase of his Bennur plates, "svasti jītaṁ bhagavatā," is usually considered to refer to Viṣṇu, and its last words are "nāmo Viṣṇave," (Sircar (1939: 294-297)).

This is the interpretation of Sircar (1939: 294-297).

It is alternately possible that the grant (Pk7) was made after the temple was finished, near the end of Pulakeśi's reign, though there is no evidence that the king returned to Andhra Pradesh after his entry into Bādāmi recorded in 634/5 (Pk10).


Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 310) also supposed that the prākāra postdated the temple itself; she dated it 700-720.
Probably there originally were paired subshrines at the northeast and southeast. The surviving southeast shrine's elongated rather than square shape suggests that a single seated or standing deity was not enshrined, and the presence of Mātrkā images here (or in a similarly shaped shrine at the northeast) would suit Pulakesi's interest, shown in his inscriptions, in the Mothers as dynastic supporters. While the Mothers at Cave 14 at Ellora are at the proper left (within the pradaksīnpāthā), the probable dedication of Cave 14 to Devi makes it a less likely model that the Rāvana Phadi cave, dedicated to Śiva, which has them in a subshrine at the proper right of the mandapa. It is therefore speculated that the Kūḍavelli proper right (southeast) subshrine originally contained a Mātrkā group. It is notable that the Agni Purāṇa associates the Mothers with the south rather than the north direction (chapter 39, vs. 11-13; chapter 43, vs. 3-7; chapter 75, vs. 60-63; etc.).

It is conceivable that the supposed original northeast Kūḍavelli subshrine contained an image of the Trimūrti, including Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu. This deity group probably never was present at the Rāvana Phadi cave, but does appear on the garbha grha overdoor of the Cikki temple at Aihole, attributed to the reign of Pulakesi II.

See pages 181-183, 345.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 311) theorized that a Lajjā-Gaurī image was the original deity installed in the Saṅgamaśvara temple's southeast subshrine. However the earlier of the two Alampur Museum Lajjā-Gaurī images from Kūḍavelli, #53, seems similar to the Lajjā-Gaurī image at Pañcalingāla (Fig. 278), and probably was installed at Kūḍavelli (in an unknown location) late in the reign of Vikramāditya I or in the reign of Vinayāditya at the time of the prākāra's construction.


Divakaran (1971: 73) dated the Saṅgamaśvara temple at Kūḍavelli to the mid seventh century. Prasad (1980: 93, 97) dated it, like the Kumāra Brahma temple, to the reign of Vikramāditya I.

Probably they were part of the original temple, placed somewhere near the entrance, as at the Rāvana Phadi cave (Fig. 42).

It is speculated that the original image in the central western niche was of Trivikrama, a deity praised in the invocation to Pk2 and also appearing with Naṭeśa, Andhakāśuravadhamūrti, and Anantaśayin on the mandapa ceilings of the Cikki temple at Aihole. Perhaps the Trivikrama image at Kūḍavelli faced the proper right, as does the Trivikrama image at the Mālegitti Śivālaya (Fig. 118), rather than left, as do the Bādāmi cave and Cikki temple Trivikrama images.
If this is a club, the deity of Figure 426 would appear to be Lakulisa, but see Chapter III, note 127. The Cikki temple at Aihole, assigned to the reign of Pulakeši II, has a small Lakulisa image on the ceiling (Fig. 213). However the god is seated and bears club on the right, and so seems not closely associated with Figure 426.

See Chapter III, note 127, and pages 257-258.


Similar dvārapālas appear on the facade at Cave 2 at Badami and by the garbha grha entrance at Cave 14 at Ellora (Figs. 177-178), but their presence away from an entrance would be unusual. They may have been used to flank the Kūdavelli temple's three main exterior images (those on the garbha grha axes); a precedent for such a usage is provided by the pair of dvārapālas who flank the dominant image of Mahesamūrti inside the Main cave at Elephanta.

See Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 314 and figs. 619-620), showing this jamb base without the paint and plaster which obscured it in 1977-78.


M. Radhakrishna Sarma (1972: 56, pl. 97); see also Khan (1973: 50).

Kārttikeya is shown holding a cock in his left hand at Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 26), and also in some supposedly early fragments excavated at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh. See Anand, Settar, Michell, et al. (1978: 16, fig. 13).

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 197-199) supposed that this image came from the Bāla Brahma temple at Alampur. However it was recorded as brought from the Saṅgamelavarā temple area, rather than Alampur (note 98 above), and its dimensions are too large for the Bāla Brahma temple niche in question.

Krishnamacharlu et al., ed., South Indian Inscriptions 11/1, #1. See above, note 33.
Perhaps the jayastambha at Bâdâmi was placed near a temple constructed there by Pulakeśī in c. 610-625. A large image of Yamunā (Fig. 186), now built into a wall below the site's north hill, resembles the one at Kûḍâvelli (Fig. 185) and might have belonged to such a temple. Perhaps the hypothetical Bâdâmi area Mâtrkâ set (see page 113 above) and/or Bâdâmi stone inscription Pk12 belonged to this temple.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 315-316) supposed that this deity was Viṣṇu rather than Harihara. In fact, there are few evident differences in costume between his right and left sides; the same is true later for the Svarga Brahma temple Harihara image (Fig. 416).

Probably these were not the earliest structural stone Brahmanical temples at Aihole. We may approximately date to Haftgalesa's reign the first stone form of the much reconstructed Temple 21 (Figs. 196-197), south of the Cikki temple and northwest of the town. The larger, east-facing structure of this two-part monument has a post-Calukya image of a samabhânga standing male with one female and one broken attendant installed in its garbha grha now, and a fragment of a Calukya image of a samabhânga standing male with two chauri-bearing female attendants installed in the corridor/subshrine north of the garbha grha. This god could be either Sūrya or Viṣṇu, and Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 227) probably was correct in supposing Sūrya. This western structure was built on top of a pre-Calukya brick building (S.R. Rao (1973: 27); (1978: 273-274); Anand, Settar, Michell, et al. (1978: 13, fig. 2)), and has been much reworked, but seems originally to have been sândhâra, with a niche-less garbha grha placed near the western end of a pillared mandapa. Sundara (1979: 101-102) supposed that the mandapa had exterior walls, but Michell (1975a: 35-36) seems to have believed that it lacked them. In the former case, it might have loosely resembled the Upper Śivâlaya in plan; in the latter case, a niche-less Gauda temple. The smaller, west-facing, eastern structure of Temple 21 originally had its pillared facade open and its rear closed with walls. Its rear interior is now partitioned into three adjoining shrines. If the partitions were original, and Harle (1971a: 49) suspects they were, or nearly so, it might be speculated that originally the west-facing structure contained images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā. The form of the latter structure might have been based on that of a vâhana mandapa, revised to enshrine deities. This could explain the rather unusual placement of its shrines under sloping roofing. While Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 226-227) placed Temple 21 at the end, rather than the beginning, of Calukya structural architecture at Aihole, Michell (1979: 147-148) noted its similarities to the Gauḍa temple.

S.R. Rao (1972: 12-14, fig. 6). He dated it contemporaneous with the Gauḍa temple.
Perhaps, considering Pulakesi II's religious preferences and the lack of any other known early Vaishnava temple at Aihole, the lost temple was dedicated to a form of Viṣṇu.


The word cikki or cikka in Kannada means small or young, but this temple is not particularly small. Perhaps the name was once cikkava (or another variant of cikka/cikki) meaning a small or young boy, and hence, like the Sanskrit kumāra, referring to Kārttikeya. For the date of the Cikki temple, see note 66 above. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 182) assumed that it was influenced by the Hucimallī temple, rather than vice versa.

Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 184) saw a loose Ganeśa icon on the north of the Cikki temple's porch. It is likely that the west niche Kārttikeya would have been a standing image, influenced by that of the Makuteśvaranātha temple (Fig. 99) and/or Kalacuri examples (Jogeswari, Elephanta east wing, Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 26)).

Rajasekhara (1975: 253-254) saw this image, which he believed to be post-Calukya, located inside the north-facing (Viṣṇu-Trīṃūrti) Calukya temple in the Galaganātha temple group at Aihole. He told me in 1977 that the image had been moved to the site museum from there. Mankodi (1966: 313) recorded what was probably the same image, present in "a Galaganātha group temple"; he believed it to be Calukya in date. Mankodi (1966: 312) also recorded another supposedly Calukya Kārttikeya image, loose at the guest house at Aihole, two-armed with lost attributes, five-faced, and seated ardhaparyāṇa on a peacock. The guest house is not far from the Cikki temple and if this image, not now traceable, was indeed as described, it might have been the original Cikki temple garbha grha deity.
The Cikki temple is located northwest of Aihole town while the Rava Phadi cave temple, dedicated to Śiva and containing large Mātrkā figures, is located northeast of Aihole. The former temple may purposely have been positioned directly west of and facing toward the latter in order to complement its supposed royal iconography.

The concept of the Brahmanical Trinity had appeared previously in Kadamba inscriptions. The Bīrūr plates of Viṣṇuvarma (late fifth or early sixth century), probably a Vaiṣṇava, have an invocation hailing Hara, Nārāyaṇa, and Brahmā (Sircar (1939: 290)). The Bannāhali plates of Kṛṣṇavarma II (mid sixth century), probably a Vaiṣṇava, mention the three divine functions (see note 80 above). The Sangoḷi plates of Harivarman (mid sixth century), a paramamāheśvara, close after naming Nāra, Nara, and Nīrāṇya garbha (K.N. Dikshit (1916-17)).

The verandah ceilings of Cave 3 at Bādāmi include adjacent Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā images, but these are not differentiated or segregated from adjoining images of the dikpālas Indra and Varuṇa. Also the central verandah bay ceiling shows Viṣṇu not approximately equal to, but far superior to, Brahmā, Śiva, and other deities. The Trimūrti concept might have first appeared in Calukya art at Aihole. See note 104 above.

See pages 43, 99; Chapter I, note 89.

The Vaikhānasāgama describes Bhūmidēvī at Viṣṇu's feet and Lakṣmi at his head (Gopinatha Rao (1968: 1, 92-93)).

The example at the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh suggests the appearance of such a North Indian prototype.


An example of a trident with an axe blade protruding from its shaft is illustrated in Harle (1974: pl. 100).

The right hand attribute held by the early Śiva illustrated in Harle (1974: pl. 54), if identified, might provide an answer.

Sivaramamurti (1974: 173) called this attribute a khatvāṅga.
124

Kramrisch (1901b: 460) evidently assumed that the protrusion was an axe blade, and that this attribute was simply an axe; the small size of the protrusion makes this unlikely. At Handapeswar (Fig. 31), the protrusion on the comparable attribute looks somewhat more like an axe blade. At Cave 29 at Ellora, the comparable attribute is a trident without any protrusion.

125

The extended left hand of the Naṭeśa figure at Cave 14 at Ellora may hold a nāga or cloth. His uplifted hand does not seem to hold a cloth.

126

A seated female on Naṭeśa's right side might be Pārvatī, but such a position would be unusual. Since the proper left side of the relief is damaged, it is preferable to assume that Pārvatī was once represented there, as usual in Kalacuri and other Naṭeśa images.

127

Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa form a pair in the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave's Naṭeśa composition, and Kārttikeya may have been present in some or all of the Maharashtra cave Naṭeśa compositions. A standing male figure with spear at Elephanta (Fig. 29) seems to be Kārttikeya. He is probably also present as a baby held by Pārvatī at Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 28), and he may be identified as the child-like figure reaching up to Pārvatī at Cave 14 (Fig. 171).

128

See Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 166-167) for a suggestion as to the origin of the Gauda temple's modern name. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 171) placed the Gauda temple after the Cikki temple in date, in the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya I. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 351) also placed the Gauda temple after the Cikki temple. Michell (1979: 143, 150) dated the Gauda temple to the late sixth or early seventh century, and assumed that the Cikki temple was influenced by it, rather than vice versa. Prasad (1972-73: 55) also assumed this order. He dated the Gauda temple to the first half of the seventh century.

129


130


131

The assumption of Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 166) that the narbha grha deity was a Vaiṣṇava Mother goddess/Srī seems based on a misunderstanding of the use of the term "Bhagavat," which was not specifically or only Vaiṣṇava in Calukya times.
CHAPTER III
MID TO LATE SEVENTH CENTURY:
THE REIGNS OF ĀDITYAVARMA TO VINAYĀDITYA

A. Epigraphy

A.1. Ādityavarma (mid seventh century)

The date of the end of the reign of Pulakeśi II is unknown, but it probably coincided with or was followed within a few years by an invasion of the Calukya homeland by Pallava Narasiṃhavarma Mammalla. I prefer to assume that Pulakeśi's death occurred before this raid, and that his immediate and designated successor was his priya (dear or favorite) son, Ādityavarma, presumably not his oldest son. Ādityavarma's Kurnool District grant (Adl), recording land gifts to brāhmaṇas, was issued in his first regnal year on the occasion of a great festival of Paitāmahī-Hiraṇyagarbha. Paitāmahī is the feminine form of the noun paitāmaha (grandfather, an epithet of Brahmā), and therefore it would seem that the festival honored the god Brahmā (Hiraṇyagarbha) and his wife or ōṣakti. Apparently, then, Ādityavarma offered some worship to Brahmā, and it is likely that a temple dedicated to Brahmā existed in his time in the general region of Kurnool District. The seal of the Kurnool grant bears a boar, and its invocation is a verse praising Viṣṇu's Varāha form which troubled the ocean and had the earth resting on its uplifted right tusk. This seems to indicate that Ādityavarma, like his father, was a devotee...
of Viṣṇu in his Varāha avatāra. It may be noted that the name Ādityavarma means "one whose armor is Āditya". Āditya is most commonly a name of the sun god, but whether Ādityavarma was possibly a devotee of the sun god cannot be determined.

The Kurnool grant's Calukya family prāñasti is very close to that used in Pulakeśi II's Hyderabad grant (Pk8), with brief eulogies of the early kings and references to "sons of Hāritī", Mānavya gotra, Kārttikeya, the seven Mothers, and Nārāyaṇa's gift of the boar crest. Ādityavarma's wording for the general section dealing with these deities and the family as a whole was not altered by any succeeding Calukya king. Why the Hyderabad grant's format was chosen to be Ādityavarma's model from among the several formats used during Pulakeśi's reign is not known. Possibly it was the form always used at the capital, Bādāmi, or possibly it was the form preferred during the last ten years of Pulakeśi II's life, but no evidence is available with which to test these speculations.

A.2. Abhinavāditya (mid seventh century)

It is assumed that Ādityavarma reigned only briefly and lost his life in the course of the Pallava invasion, and that the succession was then claimed by his son Abhinavāditya. The latter is known solely from his undated Nelkunda plates (Abl), which gave land to a brāhmaṇa who knew veda and vedāṅga and performed the six duties of a brāhmaṇa. Abhinavāditya (the new Āditya) was probably named after his father. His plates, like his father's, feature a boar seal, and their prāñasti differ only with respect to the eulogies of early kings of the family. The invocation of the Nelkunda grant honors the new-sun-like foot of Hari, risen to measure the earth and remove the darkness of the gods'
enemy/enemies. This invocation, like that of Pk2, evidently refers to Viṣṇu's Trivikrama avatāra, and it associates Abhinavāditya with this god by a punning use of his name. Thus it seems that Abhinavāditya, like his grandfather, was a devotee of Viṣṇu in his Trivikrama avatāra.

A.3. Vikramāditya I (654/5 – 681 A.D.)

It would appear that Abhinavāditya was a puppet ruler, supported by three (South Indian?) kings (avanipati-tritaya, Vk2-5,7,9,10) and dethroned when they were eventually defeated by his uncle, a son of Pulakesi II who officially took the Calukya throne as Vikramāditya I in 654/5 A.D. Vikramāditya seems to have been assisted in his bid for power by his elder brother, who had the name Candraditya (B9,10;Vk6,12) and the epithet Nāgavardhana (Vk6;B13,17) or Nāgavarma (B12). Candraditya possibly was the eldest of Pulakesi II's sons, since Ādityavarman did not claim this honor (Ad1), and Vikramāditya's relationship toward him is suggested by Gujarat Calukya inscriptions which declare that Vikramāditya meditated on Śrī-Nāgavardhana's feet (B17) or meditated on the feet of his mother and father and Śrī-Nāgavardhana/varma (B12,13). After his accession, Vikramāditya seems to have rewarded Candraditya for his support by giving him virtual autonomy in all or part of Karnataka. During Vikramāditya's reign, Candraditya had the royal titles Mahārāja (B9), Mahārājādhirāja (B10), and Bhaṭṭāraka (Vk6,12), as well as the right to issue copper plate grants with a seal bearing his own name.

It is probable that an undated set of copper plates found in Kurnool district (Vk1) represents the earliest surviving grant from Vikramāditya I's reign. These plates are full of errors in language and also their text is inscribed improperly; the introductory section and the
first half of the praśasti are placed near the end, just before the closing imprecations. J.F. Fleet has suggested that these plates were careless copies made to replace genuine plates which had suffered damage soon after their issue. The plates bear a boar seal, and their praśasti follows the tradition of Pulakeśi II's Hyderabad plates (Pk8), differing from that of Ādityavarma's plates (Ad1) not at all in the section dealing with the family as a whole, and only slightly in the section dealing individually with the early kings. The invocation is incomprehensible, due to errors, but apparently honors Kṛṣṇa as ādi-purusa (first man).

In this grant, the eulogy of Vikramāditya claims that he defeated hostile kings in every quarter, reacquired the fortune of his ancestors, and conquered all dāyādās (kinsmen/rivals). Probably the hostile kings referred to included the Pallavas and their South Indian allies who had invaded Calukya territory; Vikramāditya's dāyādās probably included his nephew Abhinavāditya.

A second grant found in Kurnool district, dated in Vikramāditya's third regnal year (Vk2), has for its donee the same brāhmaṇa as the undated Kurnool grant. The former was issued at the time of saṃgama-mahāyāṭrā (the great pilgrimage to Saṃgama), which was probably a pilgrimage honoring the same Saṃganeśvara mentioned in Pulakeśi II's Tummeyanūru plates (Pk7). Vikramāditya's undated Kurnool plates (Vk1) seem also to mention Saṃganeśvara, but their faulty language makes this difficult to determine. Probably Vk1 and Vk2 were issued within a few years of each other, and it seems most likely that the grant of regnal year three was the later of the two.
The portion of the year three grant's prāṇastī which eulogistically describes the kings Pulakeśi I, Kīrttivarma I, and Pulakeśi II, while very close to the corresponding portions of the undated plates (Vk1), Ādityavarma's plates (Ad1), and Pulakeśi II's Hyderabad plates (Pk3), shows small differences from these, while it is the same as the corresponding portions of all of Vikramāditya's other known plates and those of his successors. The invocation used in the grant of year three is the same verse praising Viṣṇu Varāha which was previously used in Ādityavarma's plates (Ad1). This is the first known example among the Calukya grants of repetition of an invocation. It seems to indicate that Vikramāditya wished to be considered the legitimate successor of Ādityavarma. This same invocation was used in all of Vikramāditya's subsequent grants, and in all grants of his successors. Thus it seems that, by the third year of Vikramāditya I's reign, the introductory format for copper plate grants had been standardized.

The eulogy of Vikramāditya used in the Kurnool plates of his third year differs from that of his undated plates (Vk1), and was used in all but one of his other known plates (Vk3-5,7,9,10). This eulogy reiterates the claim in the undated plates that Vikramāditya defeated hostile kings in every quarter and reacquired the fortune of his ancestors. It further states that he made his own the glory of his father which had been obscured by three kings (avanipati-tritaya). The eulogy makes no mention of dāyādas, but claims that Vikramāditya made the whole kingdom subject to himself alone. Possibly by the third year of his reign Vikramāditya was in so secure a position that he wished to forget intrafamily rivalries of the past and to stress continuity and family unity. Such an explanation is also appropriate to his selection
of an invocation previously used by Adityavarma. The eulogy of the third year plates additionally compares Vikramāditya to the serpent who sustains the earth (i.e., Śeṣa), and states that, for the sake of dharma and fame, he restored divine (temple) property and gifts to brāhmaṇas which had become defunct during the rājya-traya (rule of the three kings) preceding the establishment of Vikramāditya’s rule. This standard version of Vikramāditya’s eulogy was expanded in two sets of plates issued in his twentieth regnal year (Vk9,10). These plates include additional lines commemorating Vikramāditya’s conquest of the Pallava capital, Kāñcī, and his defeat of three Pallava kings, Narasiṃhavarma I, Mahendravarman II, and Paramesvaravarma I. Literally, it is stated that Vikramāditya crushed the glory of Nṛsiṁha, destroyed the valor of Mahendra, and subduedĪśvara with his very eyes. This verse compares Vikramāditya to three of the most famous warrior deities, Viṣṇu’s Nṛsiṁha avatāra, Indra, and Śiva.

Vikramāditya’s Āmudālapādu plates (Vk4), issued in his fifth year, granted land to Sudarśanācārya as guru-daksīṇa (fee for the preceptor) on the occasion of a Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā, presumably a ceremony of Śaiva initiation performed for the king. The Talamanchi plates (Vk5), issued in Vikramāditya’s sixth year, granted land to the king’s guru Śrī Meghaśārya, a brāhmaṇa who knew āṅga, upāṅga, veda. This grant closes with a wish for the welfare of cows and brāhmaṇas. The eight other known sets of copper plates issued by Vikramāditya all granted land to brāhmaṇas. These gifts were, in most cases, made by the king at the request of another individual; the requestors include Amgipodi (Vk10); Prthivipatirāja (Vk8); a rāja of the Sendraka family (Vk3); Śrī Nādhava of the Gaṅga family and his queen, a daughter of Vikramāditya’s elder
brother Rañjarāgavarma (Vk7); Gaṅga Mahādevi (Vk9) (possibly Vikramāditya's niece or one of his queens) and Nāgavardhava-Candrāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka, presumably the king's brother (Vk6). The brāhmaṇa donees were variously said to know the Rg Veda, veda, vedāṅga, itihāsa, purāṇa, and/or dharma-śāstra (Vkl-3,6,7,10). They performed the six duties of a brāhmaṇa (Vk3) and sacrifices such as the āgnistoma (Vk3,7). The Dharwar grant (Vk6) of the king's fifteenth year was made on the occasion of the worship of Viṣṇu. Of two grants issued on the same date in Vikramāditya's twentieth year, one closes with the expression "hail to the omniscient One" (Vk9) and the other with "hail to Nārāyaṇa" (Vk10). Additionally, an inscription (Vkl1) on the temple at Ālampur now named Arka Brahma seems to indicate that, on the occasion of the consecration of that temple's liṅga, Vikramāditya's queen made a gift of land to a brāhmaṇa.

The eulogies of Vikramāditya I in copper plates of his successors of the main Calukya line refer chiefly to his military prowess. They compare him to Indra, whose thunderbolt rent the mountains which were his enemies. However, the eulogies of Vinayāditya in these same plates, which compare Vinayāditya to Kārttikeya, explicitly compare his father Vikramāditya I to Kārttikeya's father Bālenduṣeṣkhara (Siva). The Sanjān grant (B14), of uncertain authenticity but professing to have been issued during Vikramāditya's reign by his uncle Buddhavarasā, describes Vikramāditya as meditating on the feet of Pulakesi II and as victorious like Arjuna. Both the Hudgapadra plates of 668/9 (B12) and Nausārī plates of 669/70 (B13), issued during Vikramāditya I's reign by his nephew Śryāśraya Śilāditya, describe Vikramāditya as a paramamāheśvara.
Also the Manor grant of 691/2 (B17), issued by Jayārāya Mahāgalarasa, a second nephew of Vikramāditya, and the Nausārī plates of 736/9 (B26), issued by Avanijārāya Pulakeśī, a third nephew of Vikramāditya, state that Vikramāditya was a paramamahēśvara.

From the available evidence, it would appear that Vikramāditya I was most interested in the worship of Śiva. This seems indicated by his Śaiva initiation ceremony (Vk4), his grant on the occasion of samgama-mahāyāstrā (Vk2), his designation, in inscriptions of his Gujarat relatives (B12,13,17,26), as a great devotee of Maheśvara, and his comparison, in grants of his son and successors, to Śiva Bālendusēkhara. Additionally, the Arka Brahma temple inscription (Vk11) seems to indicate that Vikramāditya's queen was a Śaiva.

While it is true that Vikramāditya's grants almost invariably feature an invocation praising Viṣṇu Varāha, this verse was not original. It was copied from the plates of Ādityavarma (Ad1) and probably was considered by Vikramāditya and his successors to be a part of their family tradition, related to the boar crest and seal, rather than an expression of personal religious preference. The portions of Vikramāditya's grants' praśasti dealing with the gift of the boar crest by Nārāyaṇa and with Kārttikeya and the seven Mothers consist only of phrases which had been standardized before his reign. Nevertheless, there is still the evidence of the invocation praising Kṛṣṇa in Vikramāditya's undated Kurnool grant (Vk1), the grant on the occasion of the worship of Viṣṇu in his fifteenth year (Vk6), and the phrase "hail to Nārāyaṇa" at the end of one grant of his twentieth year (Vk10), to show that this king did honor Viṣṇu, the god of his father, to some extent.
The evidence of epigraphy suggests the following rough chronology for Vikramāditya's reign. Most of the first years after 654/5 were probably spent in Andhra Pradesh. All Vikramāditya's known inscriptions datable before 669/70 have been found there, while Candrāditya had authority to grant land in Karnataka in 659 (B9). It is suggested that Vikramāditya's de facto capital was in or near Ālampur. The undated Arka Brahma temple inscription (Vk11) records his wife's dedication gift to this Ālampur temple; the Kurnool copper plate inscription dated in his third regnal year (Vk2) suggests that he participated in a pilgrimage to the Saṅgāmeśvara temple at Küḍavelli, ten miles from Ālampur; and the Āmudālapādu copper plate inscription dated in his fifth regnal year (Vk4) was issued while he was stationed seven to nine miles from Ālampur. At some time during this period, Vikramāditya's son may have been sent west to join his uncle Candrāditya in governing Karnataka, for Prince Vinayāditya and Candrāditya are named together in an undated inscription found at Kuknūr in Karnataka's Raichur District (Vk12). Vikramāditya's important, but as yet not fully published Dharwar grant (Vk6), dated in his fifteenth regnal year, 5. 591 (669/70 A.D.), gives land in Karnataka at the request of Candrāditya. This suggests that, by c.670, Vikramāditya had personally assumed sovereignty over all of Karnataka as well as western Andhra Pradesh. Perhaps Candrāditya, though still an honored individual at this date, was too old and infirm to actively govern. I would speculate that from c.670 to 681 Vikramāditya centered his rule in Karnataka, and that Vinayāditya acted as his deputy in Andhra Pradesh after c. 675.
Soon after the date of the Dharwar grant, Vikramaditya led a military expedition into South India. The Honnur plates of his sixteenth year (Vk7) were issued from an encampment west of the Pallava capital Kānci in 670/71 A.D., and the Nausārī plates (B13), of approximately the same date, record his victory over the Pallavas. Following this, Vikramaditya probably returned home, but if so he did not stay there long, for the Gadvāl and Savṇūr plates (Vk9,10) of his twentieth year were issued in 674/5 A.D. from another encampment, even further south, in Coḷika-viṣaya on the south bank of the Kāverī River. These two grants boast that Vikramaditya (either just then or four years previously) had seized Kānci and defeated three Pallava kings, including Īsvara (King Parameśvaravarman I). The copper plate grants of Vijayāditya and his successors, which all claim that Vijayāditya knew the use of weapons even in childhood and that he uprooted enemies while his grandfather (Vikramaditya I) undertook to conquer the South, suggest that Vijayāditya played a significant military role in the period 670–675. Possibly Vinayāditya accompanied his father, while Vijayāditya was left to defend the home territories during their absence.

The expedition of 674/5 does not seem to have been the end of Vikramaditya's conflicts with the Pallavas. The boast in Pallava Parameśvaravarman I's Kūram plates, that he defeated Vikramaditya in battle and made him flee, probably refers to an engagement during the southern campaigns of the period 670–675, but the claim in the inscription of Parameśvaravarman's son Rājasimha (Narasimhavarman II) at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānci, that Parameśvaravarman was the destroyer or oppressor of the city of Raṇarasika evidently refers to a Pallava raid into Calukya territory. Raṇarasika is identical with Vikramaditya I, for
he used this epithet in VI:9 and VI:10, and his city is usually assumed to have been Vatapi/Badami. However, it is notable that Pallava inscriptions typically refer to Vatapi by its name, and that Vikramaditya has no known epigraphical associations with Badami, but several with the Alamur region. For these reasons, it is speculated that the city of Ragarasika attacked by Parameśvarararva was, in fact, Alamur. That Parameśvarararva's invasion of Calukya territory occurred near the very end of Vikramaditya's reign, rather than near 674/5, may be inferred from the use in Vinayaditya's copper plate grants of two different regnal eras. Perhaps the earlier initial date, 678/9, commemorates Vinayaditya's repelling of Parameśvarararva's invasion and practical assumption of the Calukya kingdom's rule. The copper plates of Vinayaditya and his successors consistently state that, at the command of his father (Vikramaditya), he arrested the power of the Pallavas, and that he gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of quiet. The later and most frequently used date for the beginning of Vinayaditya's rule, 681, probably refers to the actual death of Vikramaditya I and the formal accession of Vinayaditya to the Calukya throne.

A.4. Vinayaditya (681 - 696 A.D.)

Vinayaditya's copper plate grants employ the boar seal where any seal survives and the same invocation as the later grants of his father (Vk2, etc.), and their prasastiś differ only with respect to the eulogies of Vikramaditya and Vinayaditya himself. Vinayaditya is always described as being like Senāni (the general, Kārttikeya), son of Bālenduśekhara (One who has the young moon for a crest, Śiva), who at his father's
command arrested the power of the Daityas (demons). Vinayāditya is also compared to Yudhiṣṭhira and Bharata, to Viṣṇudeva, through being the beloved of Śrī, and to Parasurāma, through being an elephant goad of kings. Several of Vinayāditya's grants (Vn2,10,11) add to this standard eulogy a list of the countries he boasted to have conquered, and the Dharwar plates of his thirteenth regnal year (Vn10) add a number of unique additional descriptive phrases. The most significant of these is a verse with double meaning which compares Vinayāditya to Candramauli (One who has the moon crest, Śiva), asylum of the moon and bearer of the Gaṅgā.

All of the copper plates surviving from Vinayāditya's reign grant land to brāhmaṇas, some of whom were said to know all śāstras, the Ṛg Veda, veda, vedāṅga, and/or the six āṅgas (Vn1,3,5,6,9,11). Some also seem to have performed prājapatyā rites (Vn9). Most of these grants were made by the king at the request of other persons, including Naradakārī (Vn5), Kaliṅgeti (possibly Kaliṅgapati) (Vn10), Svāsivarāja (possibly Svāmikarāja or Svānī Śivarāja) (Vn1), Bhammaṇarāja (Vn2), Śrīmad Ālūvarāja (Vn11), and Śrī Citravāha Mahārāja son of Guṇasāgara Ālupendra (Vn5). Also one (Vn4) was made at the request of Mahādevī (probably Vinayāditya's queen), possibly for the sake of her daughter, and one (Vn9) was made at the request of Śrī Vijayāditya Yuvarāja, the crown prince who was Vinayāditya's son. One of Vinayāditya's grants was issued from Pampā tīrtha, a site famous in the Rāmāyaṇa and identified with the modern Hampi (Vn3), and another from Mahākoṭa tīrtha, probably the same as Mahākōṭa near Bādāmi (Vn6). This last mentioned grant ends with a phrase hailing some deity or person whose name, unfortunately, is lost.
A Later Western Cālukya inscription from Nimbarga (Cl) states that a bṛāhmaṇa who knew veda and śāstra, an ancestor of the inscription’s twelfth century donor, was given a village at the time of a solar eclipse by Vinayāditya-Satyaśraya, the Calukya cakrāyudhapati (lord whose weapon is the cakra), i.e. King Vinayāditya. Also two of Vinayāditya’s surviving copper plates (Vn5,8) were issued on the occasion of the summer solstice, and the former refers to the sun (Bhāskara) as Bhagavat, a divine title.

A stone inscription (Vnl4) in Kannada language on the Svarga Brahma Śiva temple at Ālampur states that this temple (devakula) was made in honor of the Nāhādevī (queen) of Vinayāditya by Lokāditya Elā-arasa. An inscription on the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi (Vkl3), dated three years after the end of Vinayāditya’s reign, states that Vinayavati, who was the widow of Vinayāditya and mother of his successor Vijayāditya, installed Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara at that place and made some grants. The central/main shrine of this three-shrined temple seems to be the one dedicated to Śiva, but it is not certain that Vinayavati was identical with the Nāhādevī mentioned in the Svarga Brahma temple inscription. A Later Western Cālukya stone inscription of the eleventh century from Pañcaliṅgāla near Ālampur (C2) registers the renewal of a land grant previously made by Vinaya-Satyaśrayadeva, by means of a copper plate, to Pañcaliṅgadeva (a form of Śiva). As in the case of Cl, the donor may be identified with the Calukya King Vinayāditya.

A stone inscription at Lakshmesvar (B15), in script of the tenth century, records in copper plate format a grant purportedly made in Ś. 603 by Vinayāditya. The grant was made for repairs and offerings at the Śrī Śaṅkhadeva tāpāvana, a Jain shrine or monastery, and for
maintaining a dānaśālā (hall of almsgiving). It was entrusted to, or made at the request of, a Jain ācārya (teacher), and was given at Raktapura (Pattadakal). Whether or not this grant was genuine is uncertain. Its text contains much of the standard Calukya praśasti and eulogies, but Vikramāditya I is almost entirely omitted. Also the eulogy of Vinayāditya himself is not identical with that appearing in Vinayāditya's own grants, but with a portion of the eulogy of Vinayāditya appearing in grants of his son Vijayāditya. It seems likely that this portion of the inscription was copied from a similar inscription purporting to belong to Vijayāditya's thirty-fourth year, which appears immediately above it on the same stone (B22). This may indicate that the Vinayāditya inscription is a forgery; however its questionable features could have been the result of simple carelessness on the part of a copyist who was transcribing a set of genuine copper plates of Vinayāditya's reign, and briefly confused their text with that of those he had just finished transcribing.

The copper plate grants of Calukya kings of the main line who succeeded Vinayāditya (Vj1, etc.) continued to compare him to the son of Bālenduśekhara who fought the Daityas, but in these grants this son was given the name Tārakārāti (enemy of Tāraka, a Daitya chief) rather than Senāṇi. These grants omit the comparisons of Vinayāditya to Yudhiṣṭhira, Vāsudeva, Bharata, and Parasurāma. Among the known grants of the Gujarat Calukyas, only one mentions Vinayāditya. The Surat plates of 691/2 (B19), issued by Śṛyāśraya Śilāditya, contain a verse comparing Vinayāditya's heroism to that of Nṛsiṁha. The Later Western Cālukya eleventh century family genealogy (CG) simply compares Vinayāditya to Yama in battle.
To summarize, it would seem that Vinayāditya was devoted to varying degrees to Śiva, Kārttikeya, Viṣṇu, and the sun god. Evidence of his devotion to Śiva is his comparison to Candramauli in the Dharwar plates (Vnl10) and the record of his gift to Pañcaliṅgadeva (C2). The Svarga Brahma temple inscription (Vnl14) shows that one of his queens was also a Śaiva devotee, and the Jambuliṅga temple inscription at Bādāmi (Vkl3) shows that this or another queen honored the Trimūrti of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The comparisons of Vinayāditya to Senāṇī (Vnl-12) and Tārakārāti (Vjl, etc.) probably indicate that he honored Kārttikeya, while the comparisons of Vinayāditya to Vāsudeva, Paraśurāma, (Vnl-12) and Nṛsiṁha (B19) probably indicate that he honored Viṣṇu. His grants on solar astronomical occasions and his reference to the sun as Bhagavat suggest his devotion to the sun god (Vn5, 8; C1). The Lakshmesvar inscription (B15) seems to demonstrate that he supported the Jain religion as well.

On the basis of the available inscriptions, a hypothetical chronological sketch of Vinayāditya's reign may be proposed. It seems likely that the king was in Karnataka from the time of his formal accession to the Calukya throne, which was probably celebrated in the Bādāmi region, until his second regnal year, 682, when he visited the Alampur region and made a grant (Vnl). Possibly he placed his son Vijayāditya, who had been old enough to take governing responsibilities even in Vikramāditya's reign, in charge of the Andhra Pradesh territories when he returned to Karnataka. This probably occurred well before 686/7, when Vinayāditya was purported to be in residence at Pattadakal (B15); it is speculated that the king spent most of his reign in his western provinces. During his eleventh regnal year, Vinayāditya is known to have
visited Andhra Pradesh again (Vn5), and by this date Vijāyāditya held the rank of Yuvarāja (Vn9).

Within two years after his last published copper plate, the Harihar grant of 616 (694/5 A.D.) (Vn11), which does not refer to it, Vināyāditya led a military expedition toward North India. In its course he may have made his Nimbarga grant (C1), which was issued from an encampment on the bank of the Godāvarī River that was probably not within the confines of the Calukya kingdom proper. This campaign, in which Vijāyāditya played a major role, is mentioned in all of Vijāyāditya's published copper plates, beginning in his first regnal year (Vj1). Vijāyāditya claims that Vināyāditya defeated the lord of all North India, and that Vijāyāditya presented Vināyāditya with the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and other insignia of sovereignty, but then Vijāyāditya was taken prisoner by his enemies. Perhaps Vināyāditya was killed more or less simultaneously, for after the reference to his own captivity, Vijāyāditya's grants describe his unaided quelling of anarchy (kinglessness) in the Calukya kingdom. Vijayāditya's accession to the Calukya throne is datable to 696 A.D.
B. Temples

B.1. Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūṭa

Among the temples in Karnataka which seem to belong to the period after Pulakeśi II’s death, the Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūṭa (Figs. 221-222), dedicated to Śiva, may be the earliest. Probably the temple’s patron was a non-royal individual or group, and its model was the Apsidal Śiva temple of Pulakeśi II’s reign at Aihole (Figs. 198-199). The Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūṭa is located west of a tank, about one and one quarter miles southeast of the older Mahākūṭa temple site. The base projection by its entrance suggests that it originally had a porch, now destroyed, and its mandapa side aisles curve at their west ends to form a narrow pradaksīṇāpatha around the apsidal garbhagrha, which enshrines a linga on a circular pīṭha. Though the mandapa’s east end is damaged, it is likely that the easternmost central bay’s ceiling, as well as the side aisle and pradaksīṇāpatha ceilings, sloped, as do their counterparts in the rectangular format Cikki and Gauḍa temples and the later apsidal Durga temple at Aihole. Probably only the two central mandapa bays had level ceilings; the one which survives is decorated with a small lotus.

The garbhagrha wall has three narrow niches. The standing figure of Kārttikeya (Fig. 223) presently located loose in the mandapa presumably is the original image from the west niche. He holds śakti or triśūla in his right hand and rests his left hand on his hip; a peacock stands by his left side. The peacock, seen in numerous earlier Calukya seated Kārttikeya representations (Figs. 25, 40, 79, 97, 98, 203), but absent from the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave image (Fig. 47), the Kittur museum image (Fig. 100), and the proposed original Īḍakūṭeśvaranātha west
niche image (Fig. 99) of standing Kārttikeya, appeared in a comparable position by the standing, cock-bearing Kārttikeya at Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 26). Probably the peacock was also present in the supposed west garbha grha niche standing Kārttikeya images of the Cikki temple at Aihole, much influenced by Ellora, and the adjacent Apsidal Śiva temple at Aihole, which was the Cikka Mahākūṭa temple's model. A worn Gaṇeśa figure seen at Cikka Mahākūṭa by Tartakov and a Mahiṣamardini fragment (Fig. 739) which Bolon discovered buried in the north pradaksināpatha of the Apsidal temple are assumed to have been, respectively, its south and north garbha grha niche images.

The Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūṭa has two niches on its north and two on its south mandapa walls, as did its Aihole counterpart, and these probably contained similar icons at both sites. Additionally, the Cikka Mahākūṭa temple has two niches on its facade. It may be suggested that these held a pair of guardian figures, as did the facade niches at the later Mahākūṭeśvara and Mallikārjuna temples at Mahākūṭa. A Kittur Museum image (Fig. 224), attributable to a lost temple in the Mahākūṭa region, suggests the form of such dvārapālas. The Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūṭa, like the Apsidal Śiva temple at Aihole, probably had some sort of appropriately shaped Northern style śikhara, of stone or other materials, over its garbha grha. The unfinished decoration of its garbha grha overdoor (Fig. 225) includes a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba and seems based on Aihole models with nāsikas and āmalakas, such as those at the Cikki and Gaṇḍa temples of Pulakesi II's reign (Figs. 205, 216).
B.2. Calukya temple at Siddhanakolla

The Calukya temple at Siddhanakolla (Figs. 226-227), like the temples at Mahakuta and Cikka Mahakuta, is not situated in a village or town. It is located west of a small spring near the top of a range of hills about two and three quarter miles south of Aihole. It is presently in worship. The Siddhanakolla temple consists of a porch, a mandapa, and a nirandhara garbha grha without antarala. Though it is nirandhara, its mandapa's front as well as its side aisle roofs are sloped, suggesting influence of the sândhara temple type seen previously in Karnataka at the Cikki and Gauda temples at Aihole, and probably at the Apsidal Siva temples at Aihole and Cikka Mahakuta also. Over the garbha grha is the earliest surviving Northern style sikhara in Karnataka, three stages tall, as at the Kumara Brahma temple at Alampur (Figs. 160-161) and most later Calukya examples in Karnataka, but not in Andhra Pradesh. This sikhara has a flat śukanāsa panel on the east side (Figs. 227-228), a feature lacking at the Kumara Brahma temple of Pulakesi II's reign, which also lacks an antarala, but present in true projecting form at the Bāla Brahma temple at Alampur (Fig. 238) of Vikramāditya's reign and most later Calukya temples with Northern style sikharas in Andhra Pradesh, where it is the superstructure element corresponding to an antarala in front of the garbha grha. Most later Calukya temples with Northern style sikharas in Karnataka, like the Siddhanakolla temple, feature a flat panel śukanāsa without antarala, and therefore it is probable that the Northern style sikhara first reached Karnataka before the time of the Bāla Brahma temple. It is possible that the Siddhanakolla temple's sikhara and śukanāsa had prototypes at the Apsidal Siva temple at Aihole and/or Cikka Mahakuta.
The Siddhanakolla temple's śukanāsa was not in situ in 1977/73, but was earlier. It contains a worn figure (Fig. 228), probably of standing Lakulīśa or another two-armed form of Śiva, with four attendants. The god has long loose hair with a mass of curls (?) at the top, and his lost hands probably held club (left) and held rosary or made a mudrā (right). No niches for images appear anywhere on the Siddhanakolla temple, and the two level ceiling panels before the garbha grha entrance are undecorated. The garbha grha doorway is sparingly decorated, and has no lalāta-bimba; it is most similar in form to that of the Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūta (Fig. 225). The linga presently in the garbha grha lacks a pitha, but there is no reason to doubt the temple's original dedication to Śiva.

To the southeast of the Calukya temple at Siddhanakolla now are two adjoining roughly constructed north-facing subshrines (Fig. 229), which may be either contemporary with the main temple or additions made later in the seventh century. One contains a well carved Calukya panel with seated Saptamātrikās (Figs. 230-231); an image of seated Śiva-Viṅadhara with attendant Gaṇeśa (Fig. 232), now loose at the site, probably belongs with them. Flanking this subshrine's entrance are two crude images of ram- or goat-headed, staff-bearing male guardians. Similarly headed figures, whose function was probably similar, are found out of their original context at Ālampur (Figs. 259-260), and others were seen earlier in Kālacuri art as attendants to Kārttikeya (Jogeswari, Cave 21 at Ellora (Fig. 26)). Perhaps they came to be associated with the Mātrikās in Calukya art because of the ancient association of Kārttikeya, preceding that of Śiva, with the Mothers. No seventh century subshrines comparable to the southeast pair at Siddhanakolla survive in
Karnataka. The probably original southeast subshrine at the Sahagamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 182), however, would provide a partial precedent. The Kūḍavelli temple is assumed to originally have had one subshrine at the southeast and one at the northeast, and surviving bases indicate that this was the case at most or all subsequent Alampur temples with Northern style sikharas. Perhaps the atypical juxtaposition of two subshrines at the southeast at Siddhanakolla was due to the presence of a somewhat older, rock cut Lajjā-Gaurī image (Fig. 233) toward the northeast.

The original contents of the non-Nāṭrāka subshrine at Siddhanakolla and of both subshrines elsewhere are unknown. The example of Siddhanakolla suggests that one subshrine in each case enshrined a Saptamāṭrka group; also one complete and at least three partial sets of large Calukya Nāṭrākas survive at Alampur (Figs. 247-253, 255-258). At Siddhanakolla, the two subshrines are approximately equal in size. At Alampur, the bases of the northeast (proper left) and southeast (proper right) subshrines are equal in length (Bāla Brahma and Vīra Brahma temples), or the southeast is longer (Śvarga Brahma and Viśva Brahma temples). Probably, therefore, it was the southeast shrines there, as well as at nearby Kūḍavelli, which typically held the Nāṭrāka groups, consisting of seven to nine figures. This supposition is supported by the placement of the Bāla Brahma temple's Calukya Saptamāṭrka set near the southeast, rather than the northeast, corner of the modern temple. The content of the other subshrine in each pair is more speculative, but is suggested to have been a Trimūrti featuring representations of Brahmā, central Śiva or Śiva and Pārvatī, and Viṣṇu. The concept of the Brahmanical Trinity was established in Calukya art before this time; it
appeared over the garbha grha doorway of the Cikki temple of Pulakesi II's reign (Fig. 205). Also it was used frequently in late seventh and eighth century Calukya temples in Karnataka, over doorways and on mandapa ceilings, but surprisingly never on surviving portions of Alampur temples. Perhaps this striking lack at Alampur is only apparent, and these deities appeared there consistently in northeast subshrines. We note that the northeast subshrine, probably a post-Calukya replacement structure, at the Bāla Brahma temple at Alampur contains medieval images of Brahmā, Nyāsiṁha, and Śiva, and that the rock cut eighth century images of the Saptamātrkās at B.N. Jālihāl, the only intact large scale Calukya Mātrkā set in Karnataka besides that at Siddhanakōḷḷa, are flanked by images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva with Pārvatī and Nandi on their proper left and Gaṅeśa on their proper right. It is likely that the form of Viṣṇu appearing in some of the early supposed Trimūrti subshrines would have been Ādimūrti. This god appears in a Trimūrti grouping of the late seventh century on the south basement of the mandapa of the Hallikārjuna temple at Nāhākūṭa (Fig. 373), and in the eighth century Trimūrti ceiling group at the Huccappayya Naṭha at Aihole (Fig. 604). Also, this god's presence in Calukya Alampur is suggested by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa gateway ceilings (c. 780) which feature a Trinity of Brahmā, Śiva Andhakāsuravadhamūrti, and Viṣṇu standing in front of Ananta.

Due to the use of subshrines and the prominence of the Mātrkā images at Siddhanakōḷḷa, it is suggested that the patron of the Siddhanakōḷḷa temple belonged to the Calukya royal family and was familiar with Calukya temples in Andhra. Perhaps the temple may be attributed to the patronage of Prince Vinayāditya in the period c. 655-675.
B.3. Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur, south of the Kumāra Brahma temple of Pulakesi II's reign, is the only one of the nine Calukya temples surviving at the site presently in worship. Dedicated to Śiva, it probably was patronized by King Vikramāditya I in the period 660-670, after his Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā (V4). It has undergone various additions and alterations, and has surrounding it a number of later structures and shrines connected with wall sections, forming an irregular enclosure which also encompasses the Garuḍa Brahma temple to the south. Entrance to this compound is possible from the northwest or the north, and there is an access to the Tuṅgabhadṛā River to the southeast (Fig. 235). The Bāla Brahma temple has the unique element of a low decorated enclosing wall surrounding it (Fig. 236). The path of this wall (Fig. 234) is purely rectangular at the west end, but it turns a corner to move about a foot outward on both north and south, fifteen feet from the northeastern (Fig. 237) and southeastern corners, presumably to incorporate corner subshrines. East of the temple the wall seems to have turned eastward just north and south of center, to permit entrance to the temple in some fashion, but the eastward extentions have been lost. Perhaps the Saṅgamaśvara temple at Kūḍavelli once had a low wall like that at the Bāla Brahma temple, intended to protect the former, low lying temple from flooding; if so, the late seventh century prakāra has hidden all traces of it. The post-Bāla Brahma Calukya temples at Ālampur seem all to have lacked walls. However their surviving platforms have projections at the northeast, southeast, and east, recalling the layout of the Bāla Brahma temple's wall.
The Bāla Brahma temple's low surrounding wall was topped with pillars (Fig. 236) in the post-Calukya period, and the area between it and the original Calukya temple was roofed. The eastern portion of this area has been completely enclosed and subdivided with even more modern walls, and an open pillared hall has been attached. The basic arrangement of parts of the mid seventh century temple (Fig. 234) probably was derived from the Kumāra Brahma temple (Fig. 159). Added were an antarāla, an extra stage on the Northern style sikhara, and four pillars inside the garbha grha, as at Kūdavelli, plus a projecting sukhanāsa, now empty (Fig. 233), and ten niches for images on the exterior: two each on the east and west, three each on the north and south. The Bāla Brahma temple's mandapa entrance area has been entirely altered, and so this may not be compared, but important similarities with the Kumāra Brahma temple include the sāndhāra rectangular plan, the presence of three garbha grha niches, the three large window grille areas in the exterior southwest, west, and northwest walls, and the provision of two level central mandapa ceiling bays contrasting with sloping peripheral and pradaksināpatha ceilings. While the Kumāra Brahma temple's two level ceilings were sculpted only with single lotus rosettes, the comparable Bāla Brahma temple ceiling panels are filled with low relief designs, centering on lotuses but also including floral motifs and foliate figures and creatures. Perhaps similar elements were painted on the Kumāra Brahma temple ceilings.

The Bāla Brahma temple garbha grha entrance doorway (Fig. 239) has no lalāta-bimba figure, and the bases of its jambs are hidden. The outer jamb on each side seems to have been decorated with intermittent ganaśas and foliate motifs; the overdoor area features five miniature shrine
forms without āmalakas (śāla, kuta, śāla, kuta, śāla), elaborating the arrangement at Kūdavelli (Fig. 190). The central shrine form holds a liṅga. The south garbha grha niche contains an image of Gaṇeśa, and the north one contains an image of Devī standing on two lions (Fig. 735). A standing Kārttikeya image (Fig. 240) which probably was once installed in the west niche is now located inside an added room east of the original temple. The god bears a sakti with side flanges like the Kārttikeya image from Kūdavelli (Fig. 191), but has his left hand on his hip and a broken fowl (probably a peacock) at his side like the image of Kārttikeya at Cikka Mahākūṭa (Fig. 223).

The Bāla Brahma temple's ten exterior niches seem to have been designed to hold the eight dikpālas plus the sun and moon, thus emphasizing the subordination of the earth and time to Śiva, enshrined in the garbha grha. Vikramāditya may also have associated the directional deities with his own successful reconquest of his father's kingdom; all his published copper plate inscriptions state that he defeated hostile kings in every quarter (diśi diśi). Wall niche dikpālas were not seen previously in Calukya art, but the Kumāra Brahma temple does have small images of Yama on the south and Kubera on the north near the top of its śikhara. The south niche of the Bāla Brahma temple's east wall contains an image of Indra (Fig. 241), the dikpāla of the east, seated frontally astride Airāvata and holding vajra on the right, and fruit or flower on the left. We note that the copper plates of Vikramāditya's successors all compare him to the thunderbolt-bearing Indra. The north niche on the Bāla Brahma temple's facade probably was designed to hold Sūrya. The original image is missing, but a later Sūrya has been inserted, and the comparable niche of the Svarga Brahma temple holds an original Calukya
Sūrya. The easternmost niche of the Bāla Brahma temple's south wall features standing Agni (Fig. 242), dīkpāla of the southeast, surrounded by flames and holding rosary on the right, and vase on the left. A dhvaja (standard) with streamer stands behind him. The fact that he is standing, rather than riding a vāhana, suggests a different iconographic tradition than that followed in Calukya art in Karnataka. The Bāla Brahma temple representations of Varuṇa, Vāyu, and Kubera similarly lack vāhanas. The central niche of the south wall contains a figure of Yama (Fig. 243), dīkpāla of the south, bearing a danda (staff) and riding his buffalo toward proper left (east), as in the Kumāra Brahma temple's image of Yama. A figure of Citragupta holding a pen stands before him. The image in the westernmost south niche is absent, but standard dīkpāla iconography and the example of the Svarga Brahma temple suggest that it would have represented Nīrṇīti. The deity featured at the south end of the west side is a standing Varuṇa (Fig. 244), dīkpāla of the west, bearing noose on the right, and śaṅkha on the left. It is interesting that the śaṅkha is held down at the hip. Since this is how it is held in North Indian, rather than South Indian or Calukya images of Viṣṇu, it is likely that the Bāla Brahma temple's dīkpāla iconography was based on a North Indian source. The north niche on the temple's west wall holds a figure of standing Vāyu, dīkpāla of the northwest, bearing an upward floating cloth or scarf in his right hand and a flag in his left. The westernmost niche of the north side contains an image of seated Kubera, with a ādī(?) in the right hand and left hand on the thigh. The central north niche is empty; the comparable Svarga Brahma temple niche holds an image of Candra. The easternmost north side niche presently contains a four-armed standing male figure (Fig. 245) who is somewhat smaller than
the others and so perhaps not original. He holds a long-shafted attribute in his rear right hand, and perhaps his rear left hand holds a rosary. A pot is placed at his lower left. The appropriate dikpāla for the northeast, found in situ at the Svarga Brahma temple, is Īśāna/Siva.

A Saptamātrkā set is now housed at the Bāla Brahma temple in a modern room south of the original mandapa's east end. Probably this set was originally located in a subshrine further east, in the area marked by the outward turn in the temple's low enclosing wall; Jogulāṁba, a form of Devī, is now enshrined there. The Nātrkā set includes individual seated images of Śiva-Viśnūdāra (Fig. 246) and Gaṇeśa (Fig. 254) as well as the standard seven Mothers (Figs. 247-253). Cāmundā seems especially crude, and may be a replacement. An image of a standing goat-headed male (Fig. 259), now in a modern room east of the original temple, probably served as one of a guardian pair for the Nātrkās, as at Siddhanakolla. A Lajja-Gaurī image (Fig. 261), now worshipped in a small shrine surrounded by the late pillared hall attached at the east of the temple, is probably, as Bolon suggested, an addition of Vinayāditya's reign.

B.4. Arka Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Arka Brahma temple, located north of the Kumāra Brahma temple at Ālampur, has been greatly damaged, but its surviving original portions (Fig. 262) suggest that it was once close in basic form to the Bāla Brahma temple (Fig. 234). While the Bāla Brahma temple's entrance area today shows no evidence of its original state, the Arka Brahma temple clearly had no porch. Its mandapa overdoor (Fig. 263) is of the kītalaka and nāsika type, related to that at the Kumāra Brahma temple's garbha
grha, and there are traces of what probably were a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba figure and jamb base river goddesses. Also there were formerly dvārapālas of half door height flanking the door frame. One decorative feature present at the Arka Brahma temple, but definitely lacking at the Bāla Brahma temple, is the carving of gem garlands and flying figures on the exterior upper wall.

Like the Bāla Brahma temple, the Arka Brahma temple was provided with ten exterior niches for images. These are now all empty, but it is assumed that the subjects filling them were identical in the two temples. The Arka Brahma temple has also lost its superstructure and its central mandapa ceilings, and nothing remains of its original garbha grha structure except four fluted pillars with pot and foliage capitals, more elaborate than the usual type, which formerly probably supported the garbha grha ceiling (Fig. 264). Surviving fragments of the Arka Brahma temple's two central mandapa ceilings may include one small remnant showing foliage, now installed upside down near the garbha grha entrance, and another with a large coiled nāga, now on the ground behind the Kumāra Brahma temple. Perhaps the idea for the latter came from Karnataka. A comparable nāga fills the central verandah ceiling at the Śaiva cave (Cave 1) at Bādāmi, and the same motif might conceivably have been found on the lost porch ceilings of subsequent Śaiva structures in Karnataka, such as the Apsidal Śiva temples at Aihole and Cikka Mahākūṭa. Nāga ceilings are seen frequently after the date of the Arka Brahma temple in Calukya temples in both Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In Andhra Pradesh they are invariably within mandapas.
The Arka Brahma temple has on one of its mandapa pillars an inscription (Vkl!) recording a gift made to a brāhmaṇa by Vikramāditya's queen at the time of the dedication of the temple's linga. Perhaps this queen and her husband almost simultaneously built Śiva temples on opposite sides of the Kumāra Brahma temple built by Vikramāditya's father. Probably the king's temple would have had priority and would have been begun and brought to completion first. The queen's temple shows some features lacking in the Bāla Brahma temple, such as the exterior upper wall decoration and the supposed nāga ceiling, which were popular later at the site. A date of c. 665-675 seems appropriate for the Arka Brahma temple.

B.5. Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Tāraka Brahma temple (Figs. 265-266) is the only surviving Calukya temple at Ālampur without a Northern style superstructure, a mandapa, and an enclosed pradaksīṇāpatha. It consists of a garbha grha with a lotus ceiling relief, four interior pillars, and three empty exterior niches, an antarāla-like space before the garbha grha doorway, and a porch, and seems to have been raised on a simple rectangular platform. Its damaged sikhara is of the Southern type with a projecting śukanāsa on the east, a combination not seen previously. The Tāraka Brahma temple is not in the front line of Ālampur temples, but placed west of them, well behind the Kumāra Brahma temple. (See Figure 158.) Its dedication seems to have been to a Śaiva form of Devī, like the Gauḍa temple at Aihole. The śukanāsa has an image of Naṭeṣa (Fig. 267), but the lalāṭa-bimba image of the garbha grha doorway (Fig. 268) is Gaja-Lakṣmī, and its one surviving base box contains a female dancer with...
surrounding musicians. Perhaps this was the temple of Durgā-bhāṭāraki which is referred to in an inscription on the nearby Rāṭrakūṭa gateway structure, dated to the first year of Dhārāvarṣa, c. 780. An image of Mahiṣamardinī in the Ālampur site museum (#45) (Fig. 721) may belong to one of the Tāraka Brahma temple's exterior niches.

Bolon has assigned the Tāraka Brahma temple to c. 635, but this seems too early. Though the garbha grha doorway jambs filled with ganas in registers and the jamb pilasters with a standing male at the base recall the Saṅgamsēvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 190), the projecting ūkānāsa implies a date after the known temples of Pulakesi's reign. Also the presence of a non-Garuda lalāta-bimba image would seem to place this temple near the Vīra Brahma temple at Ālampur and the Mahākūṭēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa in date, toward the end of Vikramāditya's reign.

The Tāraka Brahma temple has one particularly striking iconographic feature: on its ūkānāsa, Śiva (Fig. 267) is shown dancing atop the prostrate body of a dwarf-like figure. In fact, the temple probably derived its modern name from this icon, for Śiva danced on a malignant creature in the Pine (Sanskrit Dāruka, Tamil Tāruka) Forest. The Naṭeśa relief at the Tāraka Brahma temple is greatly damaged, but the god seems to have eight arms and to be accompanied by gandharvas and ganas. The god's legs are in the same position as in Naṭeśa reliefs at Cave 14 at Ellora (Fig. 171), the Saṅgamsēvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 192), the Cikki temple at Aihole (Fig. 289), and Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 304), but neither front arm crosses his chest in gaja-hasta mudra. No attributes are identifiable except a trisūla held in one right hand.
Śiva's dance upon a dwarf-like being is a characteristically South Indian iconographic type, but the date and locale of its origin are unclear. A. Lippe has asserted that the earliest known example in Tamil Nadu is a mid eighth century Pallava relief on the Muktesvara temple at Kāṇcī. The image in question appears to be a formal (right/left reversed) derivation of earlier Pallava images of Śiva as Kālārimūrti, known since the Dharmarāja Ratha at Mahābalipuram of the mid to late seventh century. This suggests that no separate Naṭeṣa on dwarf type was used in seventh century Pallava art which could have served as a model for the Tāraka Brahma temple relief. Further negative evidence is the fact that the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇcī (c. 700–728), though featuring many images of Naṭeṣa, has none surviving showing him dancing on a dwarf.

Perhaps approximately contemporary with the Muktesvara temple example, or a few decades earlier, is the rock-cut Naṭeṣa on dwarf at Mogulrājapuram in Krishna District in eastern Andhra Pradesh. Though often assigned to Viṣṇukundin patronage in the period before Pulakeśī II's invasion of Andhra, it seems closely related to eighth century Pattadakal examples, and may be attributed to the Eastern Calukya dynasty.

It is here speculated that a dwarf was incorporated into the Naṭeṣa composition at the Tāraka Brahma temple in imitation of lost early non-Pallava South Indian images representing Śiva's great dance which was first displayed in the Pine Forest, images perhaps located near Cidambaram in Coḷa territory, where the Naṭarāja cult is known later to have been important. We note that Vinayāditya's copper plates claim that Vikramāditya defeated the Coḷa, Paṇḍya, and Kerala, as well as the
Pallava kings, and the issue sites of Vikramāditya's own copper plates (Vk9,10) prove that he entered Coḷa territory as well as Pallava territory (Vk7). Perhaps the Tāraka Brahma temple was erected in honor of Devī as goddess of victory, in commemoration of Vikramāditya's southern victories of 670-75, and hence a Southern śikhara style and a South Indian influenced icon type were symbolically selected. The temple's basic forms, however, are rooted in Calukya tradition. Probably no imported South Indian craftsmen were involved.

An icon of Śiva standing on a dwarf (Fig. 296), created in Mahākūṭa at about the same time as the Naṭeśa image at the Tāraka Brahma temple, probably had a similar South Indian source. However this standing Śiva type seems to have been chosen for its iconographic rather than its symbolic value, and consequently to have played a greater role in Calukya art. It was closely copied at Mahākūṭa and inspired variants at Aihole and Pattadakal, while the Tāraka Brahma temple's image of Naṭeśa on dwarf seems never to have been directly copied.

B.6. Vīra Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Vīra Brahma temple at Ālampur (Figs. 270-271) seems to have followed in form and date the Arka Brahma temple immediately south of it. It has the same number of exterior niches, now all empty, and a surviving base platform with northeast, southeast, and east projections. It differs from the Arka Brahma temple in having no garbha grha interior pillars, and in having an extra pair of central mandapa pillars. As at the Tāraka Brahma temple, the garbha grha ceiling features a lotus. The level central mandapa ceiling area (Fig. 272) is three bays rather than
two bays long, but it is not differentiated into sections by cross beams, and has only two sculptured reliefs, featuring a coiled nāga toward the east and a lotus toward the west, perhaps copying the Arka Brahma temple in this respect. The liṅga on pītha in the ġarbha grha is probably original. The three ġarbha grha niches are now empty.

The temple's entrance area has been reworked, so its original form is unknown. The ġarbha grha door frame has river goddesses and two-armed mace-leaning dvārapālas with crossed legs (Fig. 273) at its base. The probable Pallava prototypes for these dvārapālas are typified by those at Mahendravarma's Tiruchirāppalli cave. As at the Mahākūṭēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa, nāgas are present near the bases of the inner jambs of the Vīra Brahma temple's ġarbha grha door frame, even though Gaṇuḍa is not present above to hold their tails. The overdoor decoration (Fig. 274) recalls that of the Kumāra Brahma temple's ġarbha grha doorway (Fig. 163) in featuring āmalaka-topped side forms. In the lalāta-bimba area, between miniature pilasters, is an image of seated trident-bearing four-armed Śiva with Pārvatī, Nandi, and a small attendant figure. Above this, between miniature pilasters and flanked by male dancers, is a bust of a long haired male, with one hand visible holding a rosary. This figure may be supposed to represent Śiva, or perhaps a human Śaiva guru. Above this is a representation of two flying gaṇḍharvases upholding an object which has been described as a liṅga, but actually is a crown or makuta (Fig. 275). Probably this refers to Śiva as Makuṭeśvaranātha, and indicates the particular interest in this form of the deity which seems to have motivated a contemporaneous reconstruction of his sixth century temple at Mahākūṭa. The presence of this motif suggests that the Vīra Brahma temple's patron was a member of the Calukya royal family.
The Vīra Brahma temple's Northern style śikhara features a projecting śukanāsa displaying an image of Naṭeśa (Fig. 276) with a drummer at the proper right and a large figure of Pārvatī at the proper left. His eight hands all gesture, except for one right hand holding a nāga and one left hand which touches Pārvatī. The positions of the god's legs and the gaja-hasta arm are opposite from those of Naṭeśa images at Cave 14 at Ellora (Fig. 171), the Saṅgamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 192), and the Cikki temple at Aihole (Fig. 209), of Pulakeśi's reign, and Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 304) of Vikramāditya's reign, as well as examples which seem to belong to Vinayāditya's reign (Figs. 381, 387, 417, 418, 439), while resembling those of two much earlier temples (Cave 1 at Bāḍāmi (Fig. 27) and the Kumāra Brahma temple at Alampur (Fig. 164)) and most examples of Vijayāditya's reign and later. For this reason, it is tempting to suppose that the Vīra Brahma temple's śukanāsa Naṭeśa was not carved in Vikramāditya's reign. In fact, B.R. Prasad, in his purely architectural analysis of Calukya temples with Northern style śikharas at Alampur, suggested that the Vīra Brahma temple had two construction phases, with the superstructure added in the second phase. He related the Vīra Brahma temple's śikhara and śukanāsa forms to those of the Viśva Brahma temple, whose somewhat later date seems more appropriate for the iconography of the Naṭeśa image of the Vīra Brahma temple's śukanāsa.

It may be speculated that the Vīra Brahma temple, and possibly also the Tāraka Brahma temple, had the patronage of Prince Vinayāditya, who, it has been suggested above, was ruling in Andhra Pradesh during the latter part of Vikramāditya's reign, and that its superstructure's construction was interrupted by Pallava Parameśvaravarma's raid on
Alampur, which Vinayāditya repelled. Possibly also the exterior niches were left unfilled due to this interruption. Soon after the Pallava raid, Vinayāditya may have assumed royal authority and transferred his attention and patronage to Karnataka. The Vīra Brahma temple's sikhara may finally have been constructed about ten years later, just before work began on the Viśva Brahma temple.

B.7. Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple at Pañcaliṅgāla

The Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple at Pañcaliṅgāla (Fig. 277) is situated in Andhra Pradesh, seven and a half miles west of Alampur, up the Tuṅgabhadā River, on the same bank. It may have been a private foundation, built near the end of Vikramāditya's reign, c. 670-679/81, but endowed by Vinayāditya (C2), perhaps in about 682 when he is known to have been in the region (Vnl). The temple was re-endowed in 1068 A.D. (C2), for purposes of upkeep and offerings, and may have been entirely reconstructed; the interior pillars are not Calukya in type. Nevertheless, the sāndhāra garbha grha is still located inside the west end of the maṇḍapa, as in the Alampur temples with Northern style sikharas. Among the possibly Calukya sculptures now found loose at this temple are images of Lajjā-Gaurī (Fig. 278), and Mahīṣamardini (Fig. 725), three fragments displaying six crude seated Mātṛkās (Figs. 279-281), and a fragment of Śiva seated on Nandi which probably accompanied them. Kaumārī, Vārāhī, and Aindrī are two-armed; Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, and Vaṭṣavā are four-armed. The enshrining of five liṅgas is often attributed to the Pāṇḍava brothers, and we recall in this connection the possible analogy between Vikramāditya and his brothers and Arjuna and his brothers.
B.8. Calukya temple at Pânyam (Pānem)

The Calukya temple at Pânyam (Fig. 282), in Kurnool District, about thirty miles southeast of Ālampur, is located at the southwest within the compound of the Pānikaśvara temple. It has lost most of its mandapa, but seems to have been of the predominant sāndhāra form seen at Ālampur: the garbha grha with Northern style śikhara is enclosed by a westward extension of the mandapa walls. The mandapa probably had at least two level ceilings, and one panel with a coiled nāga relief survives. The garbha grha has four interior pillars and a small līṅga on a low pītha which seems to be a late addition.

The Pânyam temple lacks an antarāla and śukanāsa. No niches for images are found on the garbha grha (Fig. 283) or on the surviving western portions of the exterior walls. These walls seem to have turned and extended outward on the north, west (Fig. 284), and south sides opposite the garbha grha, presumably to form false porches open at the outer ends for windows and/or images. Since Ālampur false porches in comparable positions, first appearing at the Svarga Brahma temple, are all open sided, it is possible that the Pânyam temple's false porches were not derived from Ālampur, but actually inspired the creation of those at the Svarga Brahma temple. The flying gandharvas on the Pânyam temple's upper exterior and garbha grha walls may have been influenced by similar figures on the exterior walls of the Arka Brahma or Vīra Brahma temple at Ālampur. The Svarga Brahma temple has flying mithunas, rather than single gandharvas, on both the garbha grha and exterior walls.

The Pânyam temple's garbha grha doorway has a Garuda lalāta-bimba, unlike Śiva temples at Ālampur. Its overdoor (Fig. 285) has side nāsikas and āmalakas, and a sālā roof atop the center, presumably indicating
influence of both the Kumāra Brahma temple (Fig. 163) and the Küḍavelli/Bāla Brahma temple (Figs. 190, 239) types of garbha grha overdoor decoration. Standing male figures located near the bases of the jamb pilasters are similar to those seen at the Saṅgameśvara temple at Küḍavelli and the Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur, and perhaps hidden at the Bāla Brahma temple. As at the Tāraka Brahma temple, the base boxes feature female dancers, with attendants and musicians. A small staff-bearing male dvārapāla figure, like that at Küḍavelli, survives on the north side base (Fig. 286).

The presence of female dancers, rather than river goddesses, flanking the Pānyam temple's garbha grha entrance suggests that it, like the Tāraka Brahma temple, may have been originally dedicated to a form of Devī. The lack of a goddess above the doorway, however, leaves the matter uncertain. Legend states that the Pānikeśvara temple was constructed by a king named Viṣṇuvardhana. This name, not unusual among Hindu kings, was borne by three rulers of the Eastern Calukya dynasty. The second of these, grandson of Pulakesi II's brother Viṣṇuvardhana, reigned in the period 673–82. Considering the Pānyam temple's relationships to other Calukya temples of Andhra Pradesh, it seems indeed to belong to this period. Whether or not it might have been patronized by Eastern Calukya King Viṣṇuvardhana II is unknown.

B.9. Mahānandīśvara temple at Mahānandi

The Mahānandīśvara temple at Mahānandi is located east of a spring-fed tank in a forested area about forty-five miles southeast of Ālampur, in Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. This temple faces toward the west. Since there is no evident physical reason why it could not have
been built to the west of the tank, facing east, another reason must be proposed for its orientation. It is speculated that this temple was built early in the reign of Vinayāditya specifically to enshrine a liṅga installed in commemoration of his deceased Śaiva father, Vikramāditya I.

M.S. Mate and S. Gokhale, noting later practices in Malwa and Rajasthan and the Mathura Pāśupata pillar inscription of 380 A.D. (which records the erection in a guru-āyatana (guru shrine) of memorial liṅgas named Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara by a Śaiva teacher who was the disciple of Upamita and the disciple's disciple of Kapila), have hypothesized that most of the small liṅga shrines found at Aihole and Pattadakal were erected as memorial monuments to commemorate deceased individuals. While all these small Aihole and Pattadakal shrines might conceivably be post-Calukya in date, an issue not addressed by Mate and Gokhale, it seems unlikely, and in any event the parallel practice of erecting vīragal memorial stones for dead warriors certainly was known in Calukya times. One at least in Andhra Pradesh is shown by its inscription to have been erected in Vikramāditya I's reign. Since, furthermore, we have epigraphical evidence of the Calukya practice of kings and queens building large Śiva temples and naming them after themselves (K5, the Vijayesvara and Lokesvara temples at Pattadakal; these Śiva temples are presently known as the Saṅgamaśvara and Virūpākṣa temples), and of making land grants whose merit was shared by themselves, their mothers, and their certainly deceased royal fathers (Pk2,8; B2,6; Ad1; Vl2-5,7,8), it appears quite probable that memorial temples would have been built in honor of deceased Śaiva Calukya kings. If so, one would wonder how to identify them. Mate
and Gokhale noted that medieval memorial temples in Malwa and Rajasthan were indistinguishable from ordinary contemporaneous Śiva temples, except for their location in groups outside town precincts within large enclosures, and that the Aihole and Pattadakal small memorial shrines were found grouped around larger regular Śiva temples with "no system or plan" to their layout. This suggests that royal Calukya memorial temples probably would not be found inside towns, but as these memorial temples themselves presumably would have been large in size and few in number, it seems unlikely that they would have been grouped in any fashion. It is therefore speculated here that, since in the absence of environmental predispositions Calukya Śiva temples face east, those few significant Śiva temples which, like the Mahānandīśvara temple, face the opposite direction, should be considered as possible memorial monuments.

The Mahānandīśvara temple (Figs. 287, 291) is still in worship, and, like the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur, has undergone reconstruction and supplementation. Its Northern style śikhara has four stages, as at Kūḍavelli and the Bāla Brahma temple, and like the latter it has an empty Śukanāsa. A loose, post-Calukya Naṭesā image at the site (Fig. 288) might be a copy of the original Śukanāsa image. The Mahānandīśvara temple garbha grha door frame features small guards and females at the bases and a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba. This is surprising, since Śiva temples at Ālampur do not feature Garuḍa over the garbha grha entrance. Perhaps the creators of the Mahānandīśvara temple imitated the Calukya temple at Pānyam, less than twenty miles away, in this respect, or perhaps the Mahānandīśvara temple never had a mandapa exterior doorway, and so its craftsmen freely combined Ālampur mandapa and garbha grha doorway features on its single doorway. The Mahānandīśvara temple garbha
The garbhagriha overdoor has amalaka-topped forms at the ends, intermediate standing figures, and a central sāla roofed form containing a seated deity, presumably a form of Śiva. This combination of overdoor forms seems related to that at Pānyam, as well as to that at the roughly contemporaneous Svarga Brahma temple at Ālampur. The pilaster to the proper left (south) of the doorway has a small image of seated Gapeśa among its decorative elements. The garbhagriha enshrines a linga between four structural pillars, and has an antarāla.

The north, south, and east sides of the garbhagriha have niches for images. The original ones are not in situ, but standing Kārttikeya (Fig. 289) and Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 716) images found loose at the site probably belonged on the east and south, and the north shrine probably originally had a Ganeśa image (modern subshrines to north and south in the garbhagriha area are dedicated to Ganeśa and Devī respectively). The Kārttikeya image at the site is two-armed, with right hand holding śakti and left on the hip. He is accompanied by a peacock, as at Cikka Mahākūṭa (Fig. 223) and the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur (Fig. 240).

Whether or not the Mahānandīśvara temple originally had a porch, open mandapa, and/or a pradaksināpatha structure cannot be determined. Bolon believed it originally resembled the open sāndhāra form of the Gaṇḍa temple at Aihole. This is now the case, but the pillars, except perhaps the pair immediately before the doorway, are not of Calukya type. It is preferable to assume that the temple originally consisted only of a nirandhāra garbhagriha with antarāla and porch. Presently the temple is surrounded by numerous additional later structures which, with the tank, are enclosed by high prākāra walls with prominent gopuras (gates).
number of votive shrines (Fig. 720) in the compound, however, and at least one (Fig. 290) of a group of four small shrines (Fig. 291) in a row east of (behind) the main temple seem to be close to it in date.

B.10. Saṅgameśvara temple (Temple 3) at Mahākūṭa

The Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 292) is located north of the site's tank and south of the present Mahākūṭeśvara temple. It is a small temple, including only a porch and a liṅga-enshrining garbha-grha with a Northern style sikhara; a platform east of the temple bears a Nandi. The exterior walls of the garbha-grha each feature a central image niche and two decorative nāśika motifs on the upper wall. Kakṣāsanas (benches) with their backs sculpted with figures at the porch's sides may be later additions. The simple garbha-grha doorway has its jamb base figures worn off; it has no lalāṭa-bimba or overdoor architectural forms. Formerly this temple had a flat śukanāsa panel on the lower east side of its sikhara, without antarāla below, as at Siddhanakolla. A piece of this panel is now used in roofing the porch. The apparent śukanāsa image, featuring seated, four-armed, axe-bearing Śiva with Pārvatī, Nandi, and attendants in a circular format (Fig. 293), loose by the tank in 1963, was found by Bolon at the Kittur Museum.

The temple's north niche features an image of four-armed Harihara (Fig. 294), bearing axe and nāga on the right and śāṅkha on the left. Unlike earlier Calukya examples, the god does not stand samabhanga, but tribhanga, with emphatic hip on the left side, suggesting a feminine nature for Viṣṇu. The western niche contains an Ardhanārīśvara image (Fig. 295), two-armed as in Figures 53 and 54. The deity's left hand touches a lock of hair. The right hand is lowered to hip level and
appears to hold a disk-like object, probably a mirror. The mirror attribute for Ardhanārīśvara is found elsewhere on the female side, for example, at Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 77). It is unusual for one of Śiva's own attributes, such as axe or trident, not to be shown on the male side. Perhaps the mirror is used here to suggest the illusory nature of Śiva's disguised appearance with his spouse in the Pine Forest. The pose of the right half of the body of Ardhanārīśvara may indicate that the god once leaned on something now absent. An apparent small copy of this image, on the Mahākūṭaśvara temple's basement at the west end of the south side (Fig. 326), shows a makara-like form positioned beneath the leaning right hand. Later, at the site's Mallikārjuna temple (Fig. 369), a female dwarf appears in a comparable position.

The Saṅgaseśvara temple's southern niche contains a two-armed form of Śiva (Fig. 296). He stands samabhanga on a recumbent dwarf and is nude and ithyphallic, wearing only jewelry, sacred thread, and a tiger skin tucked into a waistband. His loose hairstyle with a topknot of curls recalls the Siddhanakoḷla temple's śukanāsa figure (Fig. 228). The Śiva image at the Saṅgaseśvara temple holds paraśu in his left hand and makes varada (boon giving) mudrā with his right; a nāga curls by his right shoulder. This novel nude form evidently was influenced by Lakulīśa iconography, but also seems to have been associated with South Indian tradition, as the axe attribute might suggest. The famous early two-armed Śiva image at Gudimallam in Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh, just north of Tamil Nadu, is not nude or ithyphallic, but does stand samabhanga against a large liṅga and atop a dwarf/monster, and he bears a paraśu at his left as well as a pot, left, and a ram or deer, right. In later, mature South Indian mythology, presumably developed,
in part, to account for the appearance of such early images, the nude Śiva tramples a dwarf in the Pine Forest (Dārukā vana).

The story of Śiva's visit to the Pine Forest has many literary variants. In the Sanskrit purāṇas, it involves Śiva in the guise of a nude mendicant (Bhikṣāṭana) adored by the wives of the Pine Forest ṛṣis, the ṛṣis' attempts to castrate Śiva, and, ultimately, the inauguration or advocation of liṅga worship. In a few instances, Pāśupata practices are also specifically advocated. These purānic versions make no mention of Śiva's dwarf, tiger skin, axe, or nāga attributes, but the latter appear in most South Indian accounts of the Pine Forest events. These South Indian versions include similar descriptions of the fascination of the ṛṣis' wives with Bhikṣāṭana, but they differ as to the ṛṣis' primary response: they assail the unrecognized god magically, by means of a tiger, snakes, a deer, an axe, a skull, a dwarf/monster, etc. These assailants are all thwarted by the god and become his attributes: the dwarf, trampled underfoot, becomes his footstool; the skull, his head ornament; the axe, his weapon; the deer, his ear or hand adornment; the snakes, his ornaments; the tiger's skin, his garment, etc. One South Indian iconographic text, in fact, specifically uses this story to explain the origin of the attributes of Śiva as they appear in art. In some Southern versions of the Pine Forest myth, which are otherwise similar, the liṅga cult theme is deemphasized and Śiva's dance is his ultimate manifestation. This variation probably originated at the site of Cidambaram in South Arcot District, in Coḷa territory, where Śiva's Naṭarāja form in the Naṭana-Sabhā receives the highest honor.
I would suggest that the Saṅgameśvara temple Śiva image at Mahākūṭa was intended to represent the god manifested in the Pine Forest, as he appeared after having confounded the rsis who magically attacked him, according to the Southern versions of the myth. He is the same beggar who originally enchanted the rsis wives, but now stands samabhaṅga in token of his apotheosis. The formerly hostile dwarf, tiger, snake, and axe, a few of the many assailants specified in the different texts, have been incorporated into his image. His right hand shows varada mudrā in token of the grace he offers to the rsis and all devotees who have realized the importance of liṅga worship, and possibly also of Pāṇḍupata practices. It seems likely that the appearance of this form of Śiva was related to Vikramāditya's expeditions to South India in the period 670–75, and was contemporaneous with the representation of Naṭeṣa on dwarf (Fig. 267) at the Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur. Whether the Saṅgameśvara temple Śiva was close in detail to a particular South Indian Śiva type extant in the seventh century, but now lost, or was largely an original invention derived from South Indian legend is unknown.

The interpretation suggested here for the Saṅgameśvara temple's two-armed Śiva image also suits the appearance of Ardhanārīśvara and Harihara in this temple's other niches. In several Sanskrit purānic versions of the Pine Forest story, and most of the South Indian versions, Śiva is accompanied by his wife when he enters the forest. In some cases she is his usual spouse, Pārvatī, but in the greater number, including all South Indian versions, she is Viṣṇu's female form, Mohini. The union of Śiva and this wife in illusory human guise may be represented by the two-armed Ardhanārīśvara image on the Saṅgameśvara temple's west exterior. The true divine nature of the couple in the Pine Forest may be
represented by the four-armed Harihara image on the north exterior; the Viṣṇu side's unusual feminine hip would in that case clearly indicate his Pine Forest role as Mohini, beloved of Śiva.

The Saṅgameru temple's śukanāsa image of four-armed Śiva with Pārvatī (Fig. 293) in this context seems to represent the god in his eternal divine form, as he appeared before, during, and after the Pine Forest episode. It might also refer specifically to one of several texts which describe Śiva's visit to the Pine Forest as occurring as a result of a request or challenge made by Pārvatī.

Bolon has labelled the Saṅgameru temple's south niche image as "Śiva Pāśupata", without any explanation. In fact it is likely that the Pāśupata cult was a prevalent type of Śaivism in the Deccan during the Calukya and pre-Calukya period. While naked, ash-covered, mendicant asceticism as a way of life may not have been extremely widespread, some of the sect's practices and doctrines, such as the symbolic wearing of ashes and the belief in the paśu nature of the human soul, may have been more generally accepted. Both Kalacuri and Kadamba inscriptions are known using the term Paśupati to designate Śiva, and Hiuen Tsang seems to describe Pāśupata practitioners in Pulakesi II's kingdom of Maharashtra. The Pine Forest Śiva of the Southern legends may have been envisioned in this Pāśupata context as an equivalent predecessor of Lakulīśa. Both were human, and thus two-armed, teachers and exemplars of similar doctrines.

The frequency of the appearance of Harihara images on Calukya Śiva temples in general may be due to Pāśupata teachings about the undifferentiability of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Pāśupata-influenced Kūrma Purāṇa (II; chapter 5, especially vs. 17-20) describes a combined
Siva-Visnu form of Siva with Visnu on the left side, and often states the identity of Visnu and Siva and the danger of Siva worshippers slandering Visnu. Also the Vamana Purana (chapter 41, vs. 15-16 and 20-57) refers to a combined Siva-Visnu form of Siva in a section which praises the Mahapashupata gana, who combine attributes of Visnu and Siva, over all other Siva gana. This same section includes an exposition of the doctrine that Visnu and Siva are identical, and that Siva worshippers should not slander Visnu.

B.11. Temple 5 at Mahakaṭa

Temple 5 at Mahakaṭa (Fig. 297) has been referred to as Airikesvara by Tartakov and Mahaliṅga by Michell, but it was locally called Kalkakeshvar when I visited the site in 1977-78. This temple is located directly west of the center of the Visnu Puṣkariṇi tank, but not quite on a line with the tank's pavillion. Like the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahakaṭa, which it probably emulated, it is small in size, with a porch and a Northern style superstructure over its garbha grha. Temple 5's exterior walls feature an elaboration of the Saṅgameśvara temple's wall decoration. Central sculpture niches topped by gana garland bearers are flanked by shallow indented panels surmounted by nāsika motifs. The bench backs at the sides of the porch are sculpted with figures, including a standing Śiva with Pārvatī and Nandi (Fig. 298), but these bench backs are probably later additions.

Temple 5's exterior niches feature images of Varāha, south, standing Viṣṇu, west, and Ugra-Nṛsiṁha, north. These Vaiṣṇava subjects suit the orientation of Temple 5, like that of Temple 9, facing the tank associated with Viṣṇu. The Varāha (Fig. 299) recalls the Rāvaṇa Phadi
cave example (Fig. 50) in the placement of Bhū Devī on Varāha's left arm. Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 300) typically disembowels Hiranyakāsīpū; an unusual rṣi figure above him is not explained. Temple 5 probably originally enshrined some Viṣṇu form, rather than the present liṅga, but Viṣṇu here was clearly intended to be viewed as a deity subordinate to Śiva. We note that the west nāsika wall decoration of the garbha grha's north exterior is surmounted by a representation of two rṣis performing pūjā (worship) to a liṅga (Fig. 303), and that the sikhara's east base has a projection bearing a worn image of Naṭeṣā on its lower front (Fig. 304). Also, the west exterior image of Viṣṇu (Fig. 305) is not of the ordinary iconic type. He bears typical cakra and saflkha, but is flanked by ganas and stands in an atypical tribhaṅga pose with accentuated left hip, referring presumably to his nature as Mohini, Śiva's wife in the Pine Forest, as displayed in the Saṅgameśvara temple Harihara image (Fig. 294). Viṣṇu's lower left hand rests on his hip, but the lower right holds a nāga, a Śaiva attribute.

Bolon assumed that the sikhara's east base projecting structure was a later addition, but Michell's architectural analysis treats it as an integral part of the temple. It is not a flat sukanāsa panel, as typical in Karnataka, as at the Siddhanakoḷḷa temple or Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa, but projects like the true sukanāsas which surmount antarālas in Calukya temples of Andhra Pradesh, which probably inspired it. While its lost upper portion might have featured an image within a typical semicircular frame, the lower portion resembles a niche with pilasters. Iconographically, the Naṭeṣā image in this niche (Fig. 304) seems to belong to the same date as the temple. His leg positions and front right hand in gaja-hasta recall the Naṭeṣā image at the Cikki
temple at Aihole (Fig. 209) of Pulakeśi II's reign, as do the positions of his four right arms. Probably he held damaru and trisūla or dvaja on the right, and one upper left hand may have held a nāga. At his lower right side is a drummer, and at his lower left a flute player(?). The worn figure between Naṭeca's legs may be Bhṛṅgī.

The garbha grha entrance (Fig. 306) at Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa is more elaborate than that of the Saṅgameśvara temple at the site. It has miniature shrine forms on the lintel, recalling the garbha grha doorway of Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 62) and the Mēgūṭi temple outer doorway as well as the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 190) and Bāla Brahma temple at Alampur (Fig. 239) garbha grha doorways, and it has no lalāṭa-bimba. The base boxes below the jambs are incompletely carved with dvārapālas and mithunas. These were probably later additions, as Tartakov suggested.

It may be hypothesized that the Saṅgameśvara temple and Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa were constructed, in that order, in the last decade of Vikramāditya's reign, when he was personally ruling in Karnataka. Perhaps the former temple was begun after his first visit to South India. The high quality of the sculpture of both these temples' niche images, despite the temples' small size, suggests royal or royal family patronage. Their size might have been due to a desire not to rival the venerable Mahuṭeśvaranātha temple at the site. While Vikramāditya seems to have been a devotee of Śiva, there is no reason to doubt that he might have patronized a temple of Viṣṇu as a subordinate deity. We note that in 669/70 (Vk6) he made a grant in Karnataka on the occasion of the worship of Viṣṇu, at the request of Candrāditya.
B.12. Temples 4, 6, and 11 at Mahâküṭa

Temples 4 and 6 at Mahâküṭa flank Temple 5 to the north and south respectively, but copy the iconography of the Saṅgameśvara temple's niches. Their śikharas are not of the Northern style used on the Saṅgameśvara temple and Temple 5, but a simplified variant of it which I will term "kapota-layered" (Fig. 307). Neither temple has a śukanāsa, carved decoration on its doorframe, or porch benches. Since Temple 4's garbha grha niche images, two in situ plus one loose by the tank, are very similar to those of the Saṅgameśvara temple, though cruder (Fig. 308), this temple probably was a fairly early copy. It may be assigned to some non-royal patron late in Vinayāditya's reign.

The three niche icons of Temple 6, while basically the same as those of the Saṅgameśvara temple and Temple 4 (Compare Figures 294, 308, 309), are cruder even than the latter, and unfinished. Also there are small iconographic changes. Some, such as Harihara's axe blade facing out rather than in and his snake hanging down rather than crawling up, seem insignificant, but others suggest that the patron and/or sculptors of this temple were only superficially imitating the mūrtis of, and not inspired by the particular mythology which underlay the creation of the Saṅgameśvara temple: the Ardhanārīśvara figure holds a snake on the Śiva side, a more ordinary attribute than the Saṅgameśvara temple's mirror; the Harihara figure (Fig. 309) has its accentuated hip on the Śiva side, rather than the Viṣṇu/Mohini side, an apparently meaningless formal variation. This temple may be dated to the start of the eighth century.
Another Mahākūta temple iconographically related to the previous two and also featuring a kapota-layered śikhara is Temple 11 (Fig. 310), located to the southeast of the site's tank and facing west. It seems likely that this temple was built after all choice east-facing sites west of the tank were occupied, hence after Temples 4, 6, and 7, and probably also after Temple 12, to its north. The carving of Temple 11, unlike that of Temple 6, is finished, and it probably had a wealthier patron, since it is provided with more sculpted decoration than either Temple 4 or 6.

The rear/east side of Temple 11, where one would expect an image of Ardhanārīśvara, is completely hidden by a modern wall. Another wall covers the south side, but built into this wall is an image between pilasters which seems to be the original south niche deity. This is a two-armed Śiva (Fig. 311), now headless. He is basically of the Saṅgameśvara temple Siva type (Fig. 296), but is not ithyphallic, and thus is iconographically closer to standard Bhikṣātana images. The north side Harihara image (Fig. 312) departs from the Saṅgameśvara temple model (Fig. 294) in including a Nandi, and in having the front right hand raised to gesture rather than lowered to hold a nāga, but the left side's accentuated hip and ankle-length garment maintain the Saṅgameśvara temple's conception of Viṣṇu's female nature.

Temple 11's garbha grha doorway (Fig. 313) has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba and small door base dvārapālas of a typical eighth century four-armed Śaiva type, with river goddesses. The temple has sculpted porch bench backs, with mithuna and gana motifs plus one scene of a monkey(?) worshipping a liṅga. Perhaps these were original parts of this temple, and were contemporaneously added to the Saṅgameśvara temple and Temple 5.
Temple 5's door base figures might also have been carved at this time.

One unusual aspect of Temple 11 is its proper right/proper left reversed iconography. Although there are few west-facing Calukya temples with original sculpture in situ for comparison, the example of the garbha grha overdoor Trimūrti grouping at the Huccimallī temple at Aihole suggests that, at the time it was built, the practice was to decorate these structures without regard for the alteration in directionality. Thus, subjects typically shown on the proper left (north) on an east-facing temple would be shown on the proper left (south) on a west-facing temple. If this practice had been followed at Temple 11 at Mahāküta, the image of Śiva would have been placed on the north and Harihara on the south, whereas the opposite is the case. Perhaps the desire was to keep the garbha grha niche Śiva always facing south, like Dakṣiṇāmūrti, but the reversal was extended even to the river goddesses: Gaṅgā is shown on the proper right side of the doorway, which is atypical in Calukya art.

Temple 11 may be dated to the eighth century, in the middle of Vijayāditya's reign.

Two damaged but well carved images now at the Aihole site museum may have belonged to a lost Aihole temple which, like Temples 4, 6, and 11 at Mahāküta, imitated the niche iconography of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahāküta. One image is a two-armed Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 316) with right hand lowered but broken and left at the shoulder in a pose close to that of the Saṅgameśvara temple prototype (Fig. 295). The Aihole Śiva (Fig. 317) differs from its prototype (Fig. 296), and resembles some Bhikṣāṭanamūrti images, in not standing samabhaṅga, but otherwise seems to have all features similar. Since the image is lost below the knees, it cannot be determined whether or not a dwarf was originally present.
B.13. Mahâkütesvara temple (Temple 1) at Mahâküta

In the last decade of Vikramâditya's reign, probably even before the Saṅgâmesvara temple and Temple 5 were finished, a decision seems to have been made to reconstruct the Makuṭesvara temple, built a century previously by Vikramâditya's Śaiva great-grandfather Pulakeśi I and possibly dilapidated or damaged. Work may be supposed to have extended from c. 675 to c. 690, well into Vinayâditya's reign, and the resulting temple, still in worship, is known as Mahâkütesvara (Fig. 318). It has a separate Nandi mandapa to the east, and consists of a porch (with a modern extension), a mandapa, and a sândhâra garbha grha with Southern style superstructure, the latter portion of the temple narrower than the mandapa. To what extent the original temple's form was repeated and original images reused in the reconstructed temple is unknown, but some conjectures can be made. First, it is supposed that the original temple, like the present temple, had a Southern style śikhara, since the surviving early structural temples in nearby Bâdâmi (Upper Śivalaya (Fig. 103), Lower Śivalaya (Figs. 119-120), and Mâlegitti Śivalaya (Fig. 137)) have such śikhara. Second, since the Mahâkütesvara temple's mandapa has its major beams running crosswise (north-south rather than east-west), a feature surviving elsewhere in Calukya temples only at Cave 1 at Bâdâmi (Fig. 10), it is suggested that this element was imitated from the mid sixth century Makuṭesvaranâtha temple. Third, the Mahâkütesvara temple's sândhâra form with image niches on the exterior walls but not inside the pradaksinâpatha, unknown on Calukya temples.
earlier in the seventh century, would appear to have been based on that of the original temple, which may have resembled the Upper Śivālaya (Fig. 102) in this respect.

The Mahākūṭėśvara temple's exterior has seven niches with images, three outside the garbha grha, two on the mandapa's east wall, and one each on the mandapa's north and south walls. It has been suggested above that the present garbha grha exterior images of trident-spear-bearing Kārttikeya(?), west (Fig. 99), and Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 54), north, were reused from the Makuṭėśvaranātha temple, where they once were accompanied by a now lost Harihara image. The matched pair of two-armed Śaiva figures (śūudhapuruṣas?), bearing axe (Fig. 319) and trident or trident-spear (Fig. 320) respectively, located in niches on the north mandapa and south garbha grha walls, are assumed to date from the late seventh century. The southern image probably was formerly situated on the south mandapa wall, opposite its counterpart, but was later used to replace the south garbha grha image, presumably when the latter was damaged. One or both of the two-armed dvārapālas on the east facade probably was contemporary with the north mandapa/ south garbha grha image pair. The trident- or trident-spear-bearing dvārapāla on the north (Fig. 322) is particularly close to this pair in ornament and form. The south dvārapāla (Fig. 321), whose long-shafted attribute with spear point base has an unidentified/damaged top, is somewhat different in ornament. This may simply be due to the hand of another sculptor, but possibly this image was reused from the sixth century temple. The two-armed male figure presently in the south mandapa niche (Fig. 323) seems the latest on the temple. His crossed legs point to a date not before Vijayarāditya's reign, and his ornament and apparent lack of finish do not relate to the
temple's other images.

The Mahâkûṭesvāra temple's basement is carved with a frieze containing iconic and narrative subjects. As at the Upper Śivālaya, the content is not consistent; some portions feature decorative standing male or female figures, mithunas, or foliage, and many sections are uncut. Excluding these, the subjects may be listed as follows, starting from the entrance, in the direction of pradaksīna: mandapa east wall, south of entrance, four-armed standing Balarāma bearing hala and cup, with female companion; (under dvārapāla) four-armed non-samabhanga standing Viṣṇu, with females and Garuḍa (Fig. 324); four-armed standing trident-bearing Śiva with Pārvatī; mandapa south wall, worn battle scene, including a damaged eight-armed Garuḍa-riding Viṣṇu bearing cakra and sword and drawing an arrow from a quiver, a six-armed Garuḍa-riding Viṣṇu shooting his bow and bearing sword, shield, cakra, and śaṅkha(?), and a four-armed cakra- and śaṅkha-bearing standing Viṣṇu leaning on winged Garuḍa (Fig. 325); seated couples including a four-armed male wearing a yogapatta; west-facing portion of mandapa south wall, courtly scene of dance and music; garbha grha south wall, a multiheaded male (Brahmā?) and others addressing standing Śiva and Pārvatī; a male figure addressing standing nāga- and dvaja(?)-bearing Śiva with Pārvatī and Nandi; seated multiheaded Rāvaṇa cutting off one of his heads and making an offering received by Pārvatī, who sits with nāga- and dvaja(?)-bearing Śiva on Nandi; a male figure (possibly Rāvaṇa, shown single-headed) uplifting a garland and standing on one leg performing asceticism among fires, next to Mount Kailāsa where sit Śiva and Pārvatī; Rāvaṇānugrahasmūrti with Śiva shown bearing nāga and dvaja(?); two-armed Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 326); garbha grha west wall, battle scene including a multiarmed figure in a
chariot; multiarmed seated figure; sorrowful seated female; cane bow- and arrow-bearing Kāma with females and small attendant; garbha grha north wall, battle scene including a reclining male figure; (under Ardhanārīśvara) devotee, female deity standing samabhāṅga under chattrā, female deity seated under chattrā among lotuses and between chaupī-bearing attendants (Fig. 327); battle scene including a multiarmed archer; mandapa north wall, (under niche figure) worn non-samabhāṅga standing four-armed deity (probably Viṣṇu) with females; courtly scene of dance and music.

Among the basement narrative subjects, only those on the south garbha grha featuring Rāvaṇa are easily recognizable. It is likely that one or more of the battle scenes was drawn from the Mahābhārata, and Bolon has supposed that some west exterior scenes relate to the Rāmāyaṇa. While the latter is possible, particularly in the case of the sorrow of Sītā, it is notable that no surviving figure is identifiable as Rāma. The figure of Ardhanārīśvara at the southwest corner (Fig. 326) seems based on that of the Saṅgamaśvara temple (Fig. 295), rather than on the north niche image of the Mahākūṭaśvara temple itself (Fig. 54). The two apparent representations of standing Viṣṇu with females (Fig. 324), which show him in tribhaṅga rather than his usual iconic samabhāṅga stance, seem influenced by the west niche Viṣṇu image at Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 305).

Another notable element of the Mahākūṭaśvara temple's exterior is its eight grilled windows, which have varying architectural superstructures. Some feature miniature shrine motifs, and others are of the nāsika and āmalaka type. These superstructures seem intended to imitate overdoor decorations in at least two cases, where Garuḍa appears
as "lalāṭa-bimba" ornament. Also one window on the north garbha grha has a small image of Gaṇeśa within the central shrine form of its superstructure (Fig. 328). The tall pilasters flanking the south garbha grha niche feature tiny images of deities on their brackets, club-bearing Yama on buffalo (Fig. 329) on the east and Gaṇeśa on the west. Similar brackets elsewhere on the temple are undecorated, and it seems likely that the appearance of these two deities here was due to influence from the Andhra Pradesh region. At the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur, for example, large images of Yama (exterior wall niche) and Gaṇeśa (garbha grha niche) are found in comparable positions on the temple’s south side.

The Mahākūṭēśvara temple’s mandapa entrance doorway has no visible figure carving, but does have miniature shrine forms on the lintel. Both the porch and mandapa ceilings have carved lotuses. The garbha grha door frame (Fig. 330) has much obscured base river goddesses and dvārapālas. Only the north side dvārapāla is visible, and he seems to be two-armed. As at the Vīra Brahma temple and later Śiva temples at Ālampur, hooded nāga heads are carved at the upper base corners, despite the fact that Garuḍa is not present above in the lalāṭa-bimba position to hold their tails. The doorframe’s side pilasters have small standing figures near their lower ends, as at the Saṅgīamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli, Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur, and Pānyām temple. Inside these pilasters, as at the Tāraka Brahma temple (Fig. 268), are jambs with continuous figures in registers which extend onto the lintel above. At the Mahākūṭēśvara temple, the vertical figures are not gaṇas, as in earlier examples, but standing mithunas. The overdoor decoration is obscured by paint and a modern archway. Though no āmalakas are visible, pāsiṇkas are present, as well as miniature roofs(?). The lalāṭa-bimba carving, much overpainted,
represents two kneeling devotees facing a central object which may be a mukhaliṅga on a pīṭha. We note that Cave 1 at Bādāmi, close in date to the original Makuṭeśvaranātha temple, has a scene of liṅga worship appearing above its central mandapa entranceway. The Māhākūṭeśvara temple's present liṅga is placed at floor level, rather than on a pīṭha, and may not be the temple's original liṅga.

B.14. Temple 22 at Māhākūṭa

Māhākūṭa Temple 22 (Fig. 332), north of the Māhākūṭeśvara temple, has lost its walls and much of its roofing. What now survives of the original temple are the isolated garbha grha doorway (Fig. 333), four garbha grha interior pillars (now walled together), and the šikhara, built into a modern roofed corridor. The šikhara is of the kapota-layered type, but with only two layers, the least number known on a Calukya temple, and so it may be one of the earliest of this type. It would appear that this superstructure was supported by the four surviving garbha grha interior pillars, and that sloping roof slabs covered a narrow pradaksināpatha with exterior walls only. Temple 16 at Māhākūṭa (Fig. 335), south of the Māhākūṭeśvara temple, may suggest the original form of Temple 22.

Temple 22's garbha grha doorway is more elaborate than that of any other small temple at the site. The five miniature shrines on its lintel, arranged sālā, kuta, sālā, kuta, sālā, recall those at the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur (Fig. 239) more than any other, though the Temple 22 miniature shrines have more complex basements. The use of intermittent figures and foliage on the outermost door jambs also recalls the Bāla Brahma temple. The Temple 22 doorway has no lalāta-bimba, and
the bases of its jambs are worn/hidden. One iconic image, a small detail on the south side's pilaster jamb (Fig. 334), is a Varāha image of the type seen at Caves 2 and 3 at Bādāmi (Figs. 35, 65), in which standing Bhū Devī is supported by Varāha's hand under her feet. This is the last known Calukya use of this Varāha type. The garbha grha interior pillars are fluted and had pot and foliage capitals. Though several surviving Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh have garbha grha pillars, none but those of the Arka Brahma temple (Fig. 264) are similar in form. These resemblances between the Bāla Brahma and Arka Brahma temples at Ālampur, presumably patronized by Vikramāditya I and his queen, and Temple 22 at Mahākūṭa, as well as the latter's representation of Varāha, suggest for it a royal family patron and a date late in Vikramāditya's reign. Probably this small structure was begun at about the same time as the Mahākūṭēśvara temple, but was finished more rapidly. The original dedication of Temple 22 is unknown, but it is speculated that it formerly enshrined an image of Mahiṣamardinī (Fig. 740) now loose at the site, and served as a subshrine for the Mahākūṭēśvara temple.

B.15. Konta Southeast temple at Aihole

The Konta Southeast temple (Fig. 336) is located inside and toward the south of the town of Aihole. It may be dated within the period 675-85. This temple faces toward the north, and shows several formal similarities with the Gauḍa temple (Fig. 215), located toward the north in the town. Like the Gauḍa temple, it probably never had a śikhara. While the Gauḍa temple has an open colonnade on all sides, the Konta Southeast temple is open only on its facade. However the pillars with brackets incorporated in the wall at its east side's north end
indicate that the original intention was to have additional open colonnaded exterior areas. The Gauḍa temple is sāndhāra, with slanting roofing around its perimeter and two level ceilings in front of its flat roofed, triple niche ṣarbha ṣrha. The Konta Southeast temple also has slanting roofing all around its perimeter, and originally had one level ceiling (now lost) in front of its ṣarbha ṣrha entrance; however this temple is nirandhāra, with the nicheless ṣarbha ṣrha placed centrally at the rear, under a sloping roof. It is probable that the plan of this temple was altered during the course of its construction. Like the original Gauḍa temple, the Konta Southeast temple was provided with double side entrance stairs in the center of its facade. The Gauḍa temple's stairs of this type had to be replaced with a single frontal stairway when the ground level rose after a flood, which S.R. Rao dates just preceding the beginning of construction of the Lad Khan temple.

The four facade pillars of the Konta Southeast temple are decorated on their exterior shafts with large, high relief images of mithunas, perhaps the first major usage of mithunas since the facade pillar brackets at Cave 3 at Bādāmi. As at Cave 3, one couple represents Śiva supporting the drunken Pārvatī. The two ṛmāṇḍapa interior pillars have small unfinished reliefs of eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī (Figs. 742-743), which probably are additions dating to the early eighth century. The ṣrha ṣrha doorway (Fig. 337) has a Gauḍa ṭalāṭa-ṭīṭa, small jamb pilaster bracket nidhis, and base boxes featuring dvārapālas leaning on staffs, similar to those at Kūḍavelli and Pānyam (Fig. 286), river goddesses, and mithunas. The overdoor area displays three incomplete and uninhabited miniature shrines.
The Konta Southeast temple has a pitha morticed for image insertion, rather than a liṅga, at the rear of its garbha grha. The two Mahiṣamardini reliefs on its interior pillars probably imply a dedication to Devī. The structural associations noted above seem to link this temple to the Gauḍa temple, and suggest that both temples enshrined similar deities. Perhaps the Konta Southeast temple was oriented toward the north in order to face the Gauḍa temple.

B.16. Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole

The Mallikārjuna temple (Fig. 338), located outside the Aihole town walls on the east, may be dated to the period after the completion of the Konta Southeast and Lad Khan temples and before the commencement of work on the Huccimalli temple. It consists of a porch, a mandapa with a full nave, the first known nave at Aihole, and a nirandhāra garbha grha with a kapota-layered śikhara. There are no exterior niches. Michell has theorized that the present garbha grha structure is a replacement, probably for a damaged original. Even the supposed original garbha grha, however, might have had no exterior niches, for this apparently was a common feature at about the time of the temple’s construction. The Konta Southeast temple, Lad Khan temple main floor, and Huccimalli temple at Aihole, the Nāganātha temple at Nāgarahāl, and probably the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi all lack niches intended for images. Possibly the Siddhanakollā temple was influential in this respect.

The sukanāsa slab fronting the Mallikārjuna temple’s śikhara has a representation of seated Śiva and Pārvatī barely sketched out (Fig. 339). If not the temple’s original sukanāsa, it may repeat the iconography of the original. That Naṭesā was not the invariable sukanāsa image in
seventh century Karnataka is demonstrated by the examples of the Siddhanakollā temple and the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa. The Mallikārjuna temple’s mandapa and garbha grha doorway Garuḍa lalāta-bimbas and base box figure groups closely resemble those of the Konta Southeast temple, as does the garbha grha overdoor decoration of miniature shrines. The central miniature shrine (Fig. 340) contains a seated female figure, possibly not a deity but an auspicious motif, and the side shrines contain seated nidhi-like males. Similar but uninhabited shrine forms appear on the architraves of the nave, as at the Mālegitti Śivālaya and at the Pārvatī temple at Saṇḍūr. The only undoubted deity represented in the Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole is a small, seated, pacific yogapatta-wearing Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 341) on a mandapa pillar. The god is two-armed and does not hold attributes, but cakra and śaṅkha float above his shoulders on the appropriate sides. The Mallikārjuna temple now has a liṅga on a pītha in its garbha grha.

B.17. Lad Khan temple (Temple 2) at Aihole

The Lad Khan temple (Figs. 342-344) is one of the most frequently discussed of all Calukya monuments. It is located near the center of Aihole, northwest of the earlier Gauḍa temple and behind the site of the lost temple contemporaneous with the latter. S.R. Rao’s excavations of the Lad Khan-Gauḍa temple area led him to the conclusion that the Lad Khan was the later of these two temples, and was built shortly after a flood destroyed the temple north of the Gauḍa temple. It is here hypothesized that Vikramaditya I began the construction of the Lad Khan temple specifically with the intention of replacing the lost temple. Possibly several features of the former were based on those
of the latter. Perhaps the original intention was to enshrine a deity or deities in and/or above the center of a large square pillared structure with a three bay entrance and triple grilled windows on the north, west, and south sides. It seems, however, that when Vinayāditya came to the throne, the overall intention was altered. A nicheless liṅga-enshrining garbha grha was built against the central rear wall, whose presumed original three large window grilles were replaced with masonry and small side circular windows, Nandi was installed at the center of the interior, and a multipillared porch with large sculptures on its exterior pillars was added on the east. The latter feature was almost certainly inspired by the Konta Southeast temple's facade, which probably just preceded it in date. It is unclear which temple first had a garbha grha placed under a sloping roof at its rear, but it is suggested that the Lad Khan temple's garbha grha was built first. King Vinayāditya's recruitment of sculptors for the Lad Khan temple may have been responsible for a slowdown of work at the Konta Southeast temple, and the decision to build simple masonry walls, rather than an open colonnade, at its sides and rear. The Konta Southeast temple's nirandhāra garbha grha placement may have been due less to a positive desire to emulate the Lad Khan temple's example, than to the lack of sufficient craftsmen for creating a more elongated sāndhāra structure comparable in plan to the Gauḍa temple, as probably originally intended. It is unclear to which construction phase the Lad Khan temple's roof shrine belongs. Its lack of physical association with the liṅga shrine on the main floor and its unfinished sculpture suggest a date in the first phase, at the end of Vikramāditya's reign. The assumption that a rear garbha grha dedicated to Śiva was not envisioned in the Lad Khan structure's original
design would explain the lack, possibly unique among major Calukya Siva temples, of a śikhara over the garbha grha.

The narrow mandapa doorframe with a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba and small dvārapālas now in place at the Lad Khan temple (Fig. 345) probably does not date to Vinayāditya's reign, since its attached pilasters do not match the porch pillars. Perhaps the original entry created late in Vikramāditya's reign, presumably with three wide bays, was maintained in Vinayāditya's reign, but altered later to its present double framed form. The mandapa entrance of the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi of 699 A.D. (Fig. 390) may be a narrowed version of the original Lad Khan temple mandapa entrance.

The Lad Khan temple's garbha grha doorframe has a worn Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba and is flanked by two-armed dvārapālas, of more than half door height, leaning on maces (Fig. 346). Mace--leaning dvārapālas probably were first used in Calukya art in Andhra Pradesh, due to influences from Pallava tradition; the earliest surviving examples appear on the Vīra Brahma temple's garbha grha doorframe (Fig. 273). In the Lad Khan temple garbha grha doorframe base boxes are greatly damaged females, who may or may not be river goddesses, and nidhis. Nidhis appeared previously on the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave facade (Fig. 42), near the garbha grhas of Caves 1 and 2 at Bādāmi and the Konta Southeast temple at Aihole, and in some location(s) on the Saṅgamasvara temple at Kūḍavelli. The use of nidhis on the garbha grha doorframe of the Pārvatī temple at Saṇḍūr parallels that of the Lad Khan temple.

The central Lad Khan temple interior ceiling features a coiled nāga, a ceiling motif known at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (verandah) and also in Vikramāditya's reign in Andhra Pradesh (mandapa). The central porch
ceiling probably originally had a pattern of twelve alternating lotus and 
gandharva motifs; six of these survive. The outer porch pillars have 
eight large representations of mithunas, including a male (not 
necessarily Śiva here) supporting a drunken female, and a male with a 
horse-headed female. The corner pillars have on their east sides, 
instead of mithunas, paired images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Fig. 347), whose 
large size recalls the one surviving example on the facade of the 
Śaṅgamaśvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 185). Other carving on the 
porch pillars includes Gaja-Lakṣmī, Nandi, and two groups of 
auspicious/royal symbols: crossed chaurīs with a chhattra (Fig. 348), and 
theriomorphic varāha with conch, cakra in the form of a cross within a 
circle, and mirror (Fig. 349). There is also a representation of a 
śamabhāṅga standing four-armed male (Fig. 353) who bears Brahmā- or rśi-
like attributes: flower(?), upper right, rosary(?), upper left, and 
kamandalu, upper left. Two seated nude females attempt to entice the 
god. Although he does not look at them, one touches his erect phallus, 
which is pointed toward her. Perhaps this was meant to be a portrayal of 
Śiva with the wives of the Pine Forest rśis. The god's erect phallus 
suggests a different emphasis than in the Bhikṣātana scene at the Svarga 
Brahma temple at Alampur (Fig. 421), and probably was related to the 
standing Śiva type at the Śaṅgamaśvara temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 296).

The Lad Khan temple's roof shrine contains an empty image pīṭha on 
the floor, placed over another image pīṭha, and so probably was not 
dedicated to Śiva. The shrine's south exterior niche holds an image of 
standing Viṣṇu with typical attributes (Fig. 354). His attendants, as at 
the Mālegitti Śivālaya (Fig. 141), are gada-devī and Garuḍa, the latter 
leaning on a mace. The west exterior image is of Śūrya (Fig. 355),
riding among the clouds in his seven horse chariot. The north exterior image is an unfinished figure (Fig. 356), probably of a two-armed Ardhanārīśvara of the type seen at the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūta (Fig. 295) of Vikramāditya's reign. The identity of the deity enshrined is difficult even to guess. Sūrya has been suggested elsewhere, but other possibilities include Brahmā, Kārttikeya, or an avatāra of Viṣṇu.

B.18. Pārvatī temple at Saṇḍūr

The so-called Pārvatī temple (Fig. 357), located at a mountain site sacred to Kumārasvāmi (Kārttikeya) about seven miles from the town of Saṇḍūr in Karnataka's Bellary District and about eighty miles southeast of Badami, is a unique Calukya temple which has undergone some alteration from its original form. It presently consists of a mandapa with a barrel vaulted (śālā) superstructure and a wider nirandhāra garbha grha with an atypically somewhat abbreviated superstructure of Southern style whose curved profile recalls that of Northern style sikhāras. The mandapa with its superstructure may be conceived of as an enlargement of the Tāraka Brahma temple's antarāla-like space before the garbha grha doorway and the projecting sukanāsa over it (Fig. 266). However the mandapa interior resembles that at the Mālegitti Śivālaya, a more typical seventh century Southern style Calukya temple. The Pārvatī temple has a nave, and there probably were narrow side aisles which now are walled off. The north–south running cross beams which divide the nave into bays are supported by projecting brackets decorated with makaras, and the nave architraves are surmounted by rows of miniature shrine forms. One dissimilarity is the absence of any mandapa ceiling.
deity images at Saṇḍūr. This recalls the tradition of Andhra Pradesh rather than Karnataka, and Bolon has noted the similarity of the Saṇḍūr temple's sole ceiling relief, a circular foliate hamsa, to one at the Svarga Brahma temple at Ālampur.

As also suggested by Bolon, the Pārvatī temple probably originally had a three bay mandapa entrance and a porch from whose front pillars projected the two images now installed flanking the entrance and identified as Agastya and Tṛṇavindu (Fig. 358). An incomplete copy of this same pair is found on the front porch pillars of the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa, and a related narrative relief is found below a mandapa niche on the Svarga Brahma temple at Ālampur. All three of these temples probably belong to Vinayāditya's reign. The combination of a three bay mandapa entrance with a Southern style superstructure is not known elsewhere in Calukya temples, but perhaps was inspired by the Tāraka Brahma temple, which might have once had entrance "bays" created by four pillars at the front of its porch.

It is quite probable that the Pārvatī temple, which like the Mahākūṭeśvara temple at Mahākūṭa continues in active worship, has had more than two of its original sculptures repositioned or replaced. The two images now located at opposite ends of the facade do not seem to form a pair. The north figure's saluting gesture with right hand near the forehead (Fig. 359) recalls some Pallava dvārapālas. It may have had a now lost, similar but opposite facade counterpart. The south figure (Fig. 360), bearing a trident-spear(?) and with small flanking attendants, is somewhat similar to the four-armed image of Śiva on the south mandapa of the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 367), and probably was not originally placed on the facade. The Pārvatī
temple's mandapa has two possible image locations, indentations on its north center and south center walls, which are now empty/blank. They may have originally held either images or window grilles. The garbha grha's three similar indentations are filled with images. The south garbha grha figure (Fig. 361) is a four-armed Śiva standing samabhanga with small male attendants, one horn-bearing and one bull(?)-headed. The god's attributes are paraśu, upper right, nāga, upper left, and lotus, lower right; his lower left hand rests on his thigh. A similar Śiva image, though holding rosary rather than lotus and with attendant females, is found on the west exterior of the garbha grha of the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 370). The Pārvatī temple's northern and western garbha grha images (Figs. 362-363) are heavily plastered two-armed males with broken long-shafted attributes. Like the Mahākūṭesvara temple's north mandapa and south garbha grha images (Figs. 319-320), these two male figures have similar and symmetrically opposite poses, which would favor an assumption they were originally paired opposite each other, but this is not certain since their dress and ornamentation are not the same, and only the west figure has an attendant.

The Pārvatī temple's garbha grha doorway has a Garuḍa lalata-bimba and uninhabited miniature shrine forms in the overdoor area. The base boxes display seated nidhis. The garbha grha interior is atypically large in size. It has pillars and pilasters and east-west running architraves like those in the mandapa. A post-Calukya image of Pārvatī is now installed on a central pīṭha, but there is no indication of dedication to Devī in the temple's surviving original sculpture. Whether the original deity enshrined was a Śiva-liṅga, or an image of
Pārvatī, or perhaps their son Kārttikeya, who is now worshipped in an
eleventh century temple just north of the Pārvatī temple, is not known.
I would suggest that the Pārvatī temple was the original temple dedicated
to Kārttikeya at the site, and that it was built by Vinayāditya, who
compared himself to Kārttikeya in inscriptions, to commemorate his own
prowess at a site identified in legend as the place where Kārttikeya
killed Tārakāsura. The relationships noted above suggest that the
Pārvatī temple was built after the Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur, and
roughly contemporaneous with the Mahākūṭeśvara and Mallikārjuna temples
at Mahākūṭa.

B.19. Mallikārjuna temple (Temple 2) at Mahākūṭa

The Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 364) is located southwest
of Temple 9 and of the Viṣṇu Puṣkariṇi tank at Mahākūṭa, at the other end
of the modern compound from the Mahākūṭeśvara temple. The Mallikārjuna
temple seems to have been designed both to rival and to complement the
royal Mahākūṭeśvara temple, probably by King Vinayāditya, because it is
remarkably close to the latter in size and exterior form. Both
temples consist of a sāndhāra garbha grha with Southern Śikhara, a wider
mandapa, and a porch. Both have lotus carvings on their porch ceilings,
basement reliefs, ornamented windows, and seven exterior wall niche
images; the Mallikārjuna temple has two additional images on its front
porch pillars. Probably the most notable differences between the two
temples are in the mandapa interiors. The Mallikārjuna temple's main
pillar-supported beams run east-west, as in most other Calukya temples,
rather than north-south, and there are four of them, creating an unusual
total of five mandapa aisles. Also the Mallikārjuna temple's interior
has more ornamentation. In the nave, the architraves display rows of inhabited miniature shrines, and the three level ceilings are completely sculpted. These ceiling sculptures are rectangular rather than circular in format, suggesting influence from Aihole rather than Badami temples.

The Mallikârjuna temple's front porch pillars feature one unfinished, damaged image and another showing a heavy set balding man with a staff (Fig. 365), identified by Bolon as Agastya. This Śaiva saint, associated in legend with the defeat of the demon Vatapi, may have had special significance in Vinayaditya's time for the Calukya kings, whose capital was at Vatapi (Badami). Certainly the relationship between the town's name and the demon was noted in Calukya times; several Pallava inscriptions specifically compare Narasimhâvarma Mamallâ's conquest of the Calukya capital with Agastya's deed. It seems likely that the Mallikârjuna temple's image was carved slightly later than the similar one at Sanḍur (Fig. 358), since his counterpart/companion is finished at the latter temple.

The Mallikârjuna temple's facade niches bear dvârapâlas, influenced by those of the Mahâkûtesvara temple, but more symmetrical. The north figure bears a trident in his right hand; the south figure (Fig. 366) bears a spear in his left hand. The mandapa's south niche contains a damaged figure of Śiva (Fig. 367) who uplifts a nāga in his upper left hand and may also have held axe in his upper right, and trident-spear in his lower right hand. His stance is non-samabhânga and his lower left hand seems to have rested on his thigh. This image of Śiva may be compared with Figure 122, an unfinished image which probably belonged to the Lower Śivalaya at Badami. The mandapa's north niche bears an image of samabhânga standing Viṣṇu (Fig. 368) which is identical in iconography to
The Mallikārjuna temple's three 

garbha grha exterior 

niches contain images of Ardhanārīśvara on the north, Śiva on the west, and a figure related to Brahmā on the south. The north figure (Fig. 369) recalls the Ardhanārīśvara image of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 295) in the downward extension of the front right hand, which here rests on a female dwarf, and in the front left hand, which touches a hair curl or earring. However the Mallikārjuna temple deity is four-armed, matching the other deities on the temple. The additional left hand touches a sash and the additional right hand holds an axe, which is held in the same positon in the Śiva images on the south mandapa (Fig. 367) and west garbha grha (Fig. 370). Ardhanārīśvara's placement on the north/proper left side of the temple, here and on the Mahākūṭeśvara temple, is typical in Calukya art; the Saṅgameśvara temple's west side placement was unusual.

The Mallikārjuna temple's west garbha grha image of Śiva (Fig. 370) is samabhanga and has two female attendants. The god holds axe, upper right, nāga, upper left, and rosary, lower right; his front left hand rests on his thigh. The south garbha grha image (Fig. 371) also is samabhanga and has two female attendants. The god holds rosary, upper left, kamandalu, lower left, and unfinished flower(?), upper right; he makes vyākhyāna (expounding) mudrā with his front right hand. Possibly, as at Mahābalipuram's Trimūrti Maṇḍapa, this Brahmā–like single-headed figure was meant to portray Kārttikeya as Brahmaśāstā. While he may thus be related to the supposed Kārttikeya image in the west side niche of the
Mahākūṭēśvara temple, he is weaponless, and his function is not that of war god but, as at Mahābalipuram, that of Brahmā, the *veda* teacher, in the divine Trinity. The same deity seems to be grouped directly with Śiva and Viṣṇu in smaller images on the Mallikārjuna temple's basement (Fig. 374) and over the *garbha grha* doorway (Fig. 377).

The Mallikārjuna temple's basement reliefs are much worn and include uncut areas, foliage, and *mithunas*, as well as deities and narratives. Identifiably significant subjects may be listed as follows, starting from the entrance, in the direction of pradaksīna: *mandapa* east wall, south end, north-moving procession of warriors with the four dikpālas (Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera), all bearing clubs and riding their vāhanas, and Garuḍa-riding Viṣṇu bearing typical attributes; *mandapa* south wall, Bali's gift to Vāmana and the latter's manifestation as Trivikrama (Fig. 372); unclear scene with standing deity and attendants; (under niche Śiva) seated axe- and nāga-bearing Śiva with Pārvatī and attendants; Ādimūrti Viṣṇu with typical attributes, accompanied by Garuḍa(?) and others (Fig. 373); seated axe-, trident-, and nāga(?)-bearing Śiva, with other uncertain figures; worn seated male (Brahmaśāstantā?) with attendants and devotees; worn battle scene; west-facing portion of *mandapa* south wall, north-moving procession of warriors with club-bearing Yama, club- and noose-bearing Varuṇa, and club-bearing Kubera on their vāhanas; *garbha grha* south wall, continuation of procession of warriors with Indra on Airāvata and worn seated deity (possibly Viṣṇu); worn standing deity (probably axe-bearing Śiva) with attendants; worn figures possibly including a seated deity; (under niche Brahmaśāstantā?) Śiva-Vinādhara bearing axe and nāga(?), with attendants; seated deity (probably Viṣṇu with typical attributes) with attendants;
(probably including Garuḍa); garbha grha north wall, seated deity; (under Ardhanārīśvara) seated deity with attendants; standing deity with attendants; west-facing portion of mandapa north wall, samabhanga standing Viṣṇu with lower left hand on hip, lower right holding fruit, upper left atypically holding cakra, and upper right atypically holding śāṅkha, with attendants; mandapa north wall, battle scene with four-armed Nṛsiṁha, probably cakra- and śāṅkha-bearing, disembowelling Hiraṇyakaśipu; seated four-armed pacific Nṛsiṁha, probably cakra- and śāṅkha-bearing, with attendants; worn deity and battle scene; mandapa east wall, north end, standing Viṣṇu with typical attributes, standing axe- and nāga-bearing Śiva with Nandi, and vase-bearing two-armed male (presumably Brahmaśāstā) seated on lotus, all with attendants (Fig. 374).

The selection of images appearing on the Mallikārjuna temple's exterior seems to indicate that Śiva was the most important god, Viṣṇu was revered as a powerful secondary deity, and a third deity (here Brahmā's substitute, Brahmaśāstā) was also important. Bolon's suggestion that this temple's garbha grha originally enshrined not the present liṅga, but an image of the Trimūrti, probably the one now loose behind the Mahākūṭaśvara temple (Fig. 375), seems quite likely. This image has Śiva as the central, tallest figure, with multi-headed Brahmā on the proper right and Viṣṇu on the proper left. All three deities here are four-armed and stand samabhanga. Their front left hands rest on their hips, and their front right hands make variants of vyākhyāna mudra. Brahmā bears a kamandalu vase; Śiva bears axe and trident, and Viṣṇu bears typical cakra and śāṅkha.
The nave ceilings of the Mallikārjuna temple's interior portray Śiva and Pārvatī riding Nandi in the western bay (Fig. 376), multiheaded Brahmā seated on a lotus and surrounded by four lotuses and four dikpāla groups in the center bay, and a design with gandharvas and central and corner lotuses in the eastern bay. Śiva is shown bearing axe and nāga, and Nandi moves to the proper left as at the Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 92) and Gauḍa temple at Aihole (Fig. 218) comparable ceilings. Brahmā is shown holding rosary, upper right, a worn object, upper left, and kamandalu, lower left. Each of the four dikpālas around him appears in his proper cardinal direction, bears a club, rides his respective vāhana, and is surrounded by warriors. The dikpālas here and on the exterior basement are the first known groups in Karnataka since Cave 3 at Bādāmi, over a century earlier. Their number, their placement on a ceiling around Brahmā (as in two of the three Cave 3 representations), and the presence of Varuṇa's and Kubera's vehicles suggests a continuous local tradition, rather than influence from Andhra Pradsh. It is notable that the Mallikārjuna temple's easternmost nave ceiling panel does not feature an image of Viṣṇu to complete a ceiling Trinity. The nearly contemporaneous Nāgarahāl temple and Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi do have nave ceiling Trinities; it is probable that the concept was developed just after the completion of the Mallikārjuna temple's ceilings. Perhaps the Mallikārjuna temple's two westernmost ceilings were inspired by those of the Gauḍa temple at Aihole (Figs. 218-219); the eastern ceiling's decoration may have been created by the same sculptor who did the Lad Khan temple's porch ceiling.
The Mallikārjuna temple's mandapa and garbha grha doorways both feature Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimbas, and have base boxes with two-armed dvārapālas bearing lotuses and leaning on maces. Female figures are present, evidently inspired by the river goddesses, but no vāhanas are now visible beneath them. The garbha grha doorway has an overdoor decoration (Fig. 377) featuring miniature shrines. These hold standing figures, apparently meant to represent the three deities of the Trimurti, positioned as on the Cikki temple garbha grha overdoor (Fig. 205): Brahmaśāstā/Brahma to the south, Śiva in the center, Viṣṇu to the north. All three figures are single-headed and four-armed, with attributes difficult to distinguish, and they stand samabhāṅga. The southernmost figure holds a kamandalu in his lower left hand. Śiva is shown holding a fruit in his lower right hand and rests lower left on his hip; his upper hands might hold rosary and nāga. Viṣṇu's lower hands are similar to Śiva's, while his upper hands probably hold typical cakra and śaṅkha. Between the deities are attendants bearing long-shafted attributes.

The miniature decorative shrines found above the nave architraves, like those of the garbha grha overdoor, are inhabited. Mostly they contain non-iconic forms such as mithunas and warriors, but one on the westernmost bay's south side has an image of Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 737). A group with a male erotically caressing two standing females, on the easternmost bay's north side, would seem to be an ordinary mithuna, except that the male seems to possess two erect phalli. A similar relief appears in the porch of the slightly later Jambuliṅga temple at Bāḍāmi (Fig. 393), but there the male figure has four arms, and so is probably identifiable as lustful Śiva in the Pine Forest, an aspect of the god opposite to the chaste Bhikṣāṭana shown at the Svarga Brahma.
temple at Alampur (Fig. 421). The image of Śiva on a Lad Khan temple porch pillar (Fig. 353) is a likely precedent for the representation at the Mallikārjuna temple; both may have influenced the Jambulinga temple relief.

The Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa may be approximately dated 681-92. The proposed terminal date is that of Vinayāditya's Māyalūr copper plate inscription (Vn6), which records a grant made to a brāhmaṇa by the king when the royal residence/camp was at Mahākoṭa tīrtha.

B.20. Nāganātha temple at Nāgarahāl

The Nāganātha temple (Fig. 378), four miles southeast from Bādāmi at an isolated valley site nearest the village of Nāgarahāl, may be dated to the period c. 692-700, just after the end of construction at the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa. In form and decoration the Nāganātha temple resembles the latter, chiefly differing in porch decoration and in having no niches for images and only one mandapa aisle flanking the nave on each side. The lack of image niches recalls the Siddhanakolla temple, the Konta Southeast and Mallikārjuna temples at Aihole, and the lower portion of the Lad Khan temple. Additionally the Lad Khan temple seems to have influenced the Nāganātha temple's porch pillars bearing large mithuna reliefs. The Nāganātha temple porch's coiled nāga ceiling might have been influenced by local tradition, as at Cave 1 at Bādāmi, or by the Lad Khan temple's mandapa ceiling.

Though the Nāganātha temple has no niches for images on the exterior, it does have a number of small, apparently fairly arbitrarily placed, representations of deities. Kārttikeya riding his peacock appears on a pilaster bracket, and the miniature architectural
decorations over the windows contain an image of Mahiṣamardinī (Fig. 741), a scene of liṅga worship, a scene with seated Viṣṇu surrounded by devotees, two representations of Gaṇeśa, and some unidentifiable figures. Gaṇeśa is also seen in a nāśika on the first story eaves of the superstructure. A few other images appear on the walls and basement of the superstructure's first story. These include Śiva and Pārvatī with Nandi, a possible standing Viṣṇu, and two representations of devotees flanking a standing two-armed male holding a sticklike attribute in the left hand. These superstructure images are crude and/or worn, and may postdate the temple.

The first known complete Calukya ceiling Trinities appear at approximately the same time in the mandapas of the Nāganātha temple and the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi. The Nāgarahāl example is closer to the partial precedent at the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa, and so may be slightly earlier in date. In the west bay, axe- and nāga-bearing Śiva and Pārvatī ride Nandi (Fig. 382), as at the Mallikārjuna temple (Fig. 376). The framing area here contains, among devotees and gaṇas, figures of Gaṇeśa and an eight-armed Nāṭeśa (Fig. 381). The latter's pose with front right arm in gaja-hasta is typical for the mid to late seventh century. His attributes include axe and drum, right, and nāga(?), left, and he has a small figure (Bhrṛṅgī?) between his legs. In the central ceiling bay (Fig. 383), multiheaded Brahmā sits on a lotus, holds rosary, lotus, and kamandalu, and has the same four dikpālas on vāhanas around him as at the Mallikārjuna temple; however the corners of the panel at Nāgarahāl are filled with gandharvas rather than lotuses. In the easternmost bay (Fig. 384), the central figure is Viṣṇu with typical attributes, seated on a cushion(?). Surrounding him are Garuḍa
and three **āyudhapurusas** bearing, respectively, bow and arrow, sword, and mace. Some of the miniature shrines on the nave architrave are inhabited. Notable subjects include: Gaṇeśa; a standing, nude, **chaurī**-bearing male (Fig. 385), a possible chaste Bhiksāṇamurti of the Alampur type, with a female beside him; a male with a horse-headed female, recalling a Lad Khan temple porch pillar motif; seated multiheaded Brahmā with rosary and **kamandalu**; a child, presumably Kṛṣṇa, stealing butter; a theriomorphic **varāha**.

Though no figurative decoration is cut on the Nāganātha temple's **mandapa** doorframe or the jambs of the **garbha grha** entrance, the latter has a Garuḍa **lalāta-bimba**, and its overdoor area (Fig. 386) has numerous figures. The **kapota** at the base of the overdoor area has three **nāsikas** containing seated male figures. The central one has four arms and is probable Viṣṇu with typical attributes. Above the **kapota** are inhabited miniature shrines. The main story contains a drummer, south, a flutist, north, and a central eight-armed Naṭeśa (Fig. 387). The god has front right arm in **gaja-hasta**, like his ceiling counterpart, and his attributes include drum on right and **nāga** and bell(?) on left. A small figure, perhaps Bhṛṅgī, is between his legs. The upper story contains female figures above the musicians and a seated multiheaded Brahmā(?) above Naṭeśa. Thus, the overdoor decoration displays a Trinity centered on Śiva, but it is vertical, rather than horizontal as at the Mallikārjuna temple.

The dedication of the Nāganātha temple is unknown. The **liṅga** presently in the **garbha grha** is not raised on a **pītha** and may not be original. Since it is assumed that the Mallikārjuna temple was dedicated to the Trimūrti by Vinayāditya, and known from an inscription (Vk13) that
the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi was dedicated to the Trimūrti by Vinayāditya's queen/widow, it seems most likely that the Nāganātha temple, which was contemporaneous with them and has Trimūrti ceilings and a Trimūrti over the garbha grha entrance, had the same dedication and perhaps a patron belonging to the Calukya royal family. Where all three gods appear to have been enshrined within the same garbha grha, at Mahākūṭa and Nāgarahāl, Śiva's primacy is shown by his central position over the garbha grha doorway and his location on the ceiling panel closest to it.

B.21. Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi

The Jambuliṅga temple (Figs. 388-389), located within the town of Bādāmi, is known from an inscription (Vkl3) on one of its porch pillars to have been dedicated to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara by Vinayavati, the widowed mother of King Vijayāditya, in the latter's third regnal year, Ś. 621 (699 A.D.). This temple consists of a large pillared porch and a wider mandapa with nirandhāra shrines on its north, west, and south sides. The north and south shrine deities are missing, but the west shrine presently contains a liṅga on pīṭha (Fig. 397). No original superstructure survives, but it is likely that at least the Śiva shrine originally had some sort of śikhara.

The Jambuliṅga temple's large porch and the porch's eastern carved ceiling, featuring twelve squares with alternating lotus and gandharva designs, clearly indicate influence of the Lad Khan temple at Aihole. The Jambuliṅga temple porch's western coiled nāga ceiling and its three bay mandapa entrance (Fig. 390) may have been influenced either by the Lad Khan temple or, as Divakaran suggested, the nearby Bādāmi caves.
The mandapa entrance's visible south side frame has a nidhi at the exterior base; the north side is hidden by modern construction. The mandapa interior is divided by east-west-running beams into five parallel aisles, as at the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa. The architraves surrounding the nave and the level ceilings of the porch are surmounted by a row of miniature shrines; those on the porch, in particular, are inhabited, and this feature, as well as the presence of several gana brackets on the cross beams, relates to the mandapas of the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa and the Nāgarahāl temple. Probably, after the Lad Khan and Mallikārjuna temples were completed, their craftsmen worked at both Nāgarahāl and Bādāmi. As at Nāgarahāl, the mandapa nave ceilings feature images of Viṣṇu, east, Brahmā, center, and Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandi, west. The arrangement of deities in the Trimūrti groupings above the Jambulilinga temple's mandapa entrance (Fig. 391) and on the garbha grha overdoors of the Cikki temple at Aihole and the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa (Figs. 205, 377), the present installation of a liṅga in only the Jambulilinga temple's west shrine, and the westernmost location of its Śiva ceiling suggest that the Jambuliṅga temple's Viṣṇu shrine was originally the north one, the Brahmā shrine the south one, and the Śiva (Maheśvara) shrine the central or west one.

The Jambuliṅga temple's exterior walls, now partly hidden, seem to have been decorated with pilastered niches which were not intended to contain sculpted images. Nāsikas over some of the niches contain figures. Images of Maḥiṣamardini (Fig. 745) and Viṣṇu (Fig. 392), of the Mālegitti Śivālaya north mandapa type (Fig. 141) with gagā-devī and winged Garuḍa, are present, as well as a male dancer and a scene of a monkey tugging at a woman's dress, the latter seen previously on a Lad
Khan temple porch pillar. One very worn nāsika on the eaves at the southeast contains a representation of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa.

Significant subjects portrayed in the miniature shrines on the porch architraves include: north, Mahiṣa-mardini (Fig. 744); east, Śiva and the wives of the Pine Forest rṣis (Fig. 393) and Kāma with Aśvamukha and females; south, standing Viṣṇu with typical attributes, Gaja-Lakṣmī, and Saṅkha nīdhi; west, padma nīdhi and a Trimūrti grouping including standing multiheaded kāmāndalu-bearing Brahmā attended by rṣis, Nāṭeśa, and standing Viṣṇu with typical attributes attended by Garuḍa and Laksāṇī (Fig. 391). The four-armed Nāṭeśa figure has Bhrūgī(?) between his legs and bears nāga, upper right, and axe, upper left. Gaja-hasta gesture is made by his front left arm, rather than his front right arm as was typical in Kalacuri and mid to late seventh century Calukya representations, and his leg positions are also reversed. Perhaps the prominent Nāṭeśa image at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 27) was the source of these elements. In any event, the Jambulinga temple's Nāṭeśa image is one of the first of its type seen in Karnataka since Cave 1. In Andhra Pradesh, the same type was used once on a small image on the Kumāra Brahma temple sikhara (Fig. 164), but was not known again until the Vīra Brahma temple's sikhara Sukanāsā (Fig. 276). The latter image, or lost similar Ālampur examples, probably influenced the Sukanāsā of the Jambuliṅga (Fig. 478), Pāpanātha (Fig. 480), and other temples at Pattadakal. Its type became the dominant Calukya mode in the eighth century. Why this type replaced its opposite then cannot be explained at present.
The representations of Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandi (Fig. 394) in the westernmost nave ceiling of the Jambulīṅga temple at Bādāmi resemble their Nāgarahāl counterparts except that Śiva bears nāgaras in both his upper hands. In the panel's framing area with ganas are figures of Gaṇeśā and dancing Bṛṛgī. The other nave ceilings are less close to those at Nāgarahāl. The central ceiling's multiheaded Brahmā seated on lotus (Fig. 395) holds a manuscript(?) lotus(?) kamandalu, and sacrificial implement. He is not surrounded by dikpālas, who appear elsewhere in the temple (Fig. 398). The east ceiling figure of seated Viṣṇu (Fig. 396) holds typical attributes and has a small Garuḍa below his right leg. Ceiling representations of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa, though not particularly similar in detail, were seen previously in Bādāmi at Cave 2 (Fig. 36) and the Mālegitti Śīvālaya (Fig. 148).

The Jambulīṅga temple's west/Śiva garbhāṅga doorway (Fig. 397) has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba and overdoor miniature shrines inhabited chiefly by ganas. Its bases contain trident-bearing dvārapālas with worn attendants. The two side shrines have no overdoor architecture. The north/Viṣṇu shrine doorway has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba, and river goddesses and dvārapālas leaning on maces at its bases. The bay before this shrine has images of Gaja-Lakṣmī, west, and Garuḍa, south, on its architraves. Its ceiling is decorated with a matsya-cakra (Fig. 398), recalling a similar example in the verandah of Cave 2 at Bādāmi. The Jambulīṅga temple ceiling has dikpālas on their vāhanas at its corners: club-bearing Yama, southeast, club- and shield-bearing Kubera, southwest, Indra, northeast, and noose-bearing Varuṇa, northwest. It is interesting that their placement is erroneous; for their orientation to be correct, Varuṇa and Kubera would have to exchange places. The south/Brahmā shrine
doorway also has a Garuda lalāta-bimba. Its bases have nidhis and dvārapālas; the east dvārapāla bears a spear, the west one a long danda or sword. The ceiling bay before this shrine has a pattern of svastikas and gandharva couples, recalling a similar example in the verandah of Cave 2 at Bādāmi.

B.22. Svarga Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Ālampur Svarga Brahma temple (Figs. 399-401) has a Kannada inscription at its mandapa entrance (Vnl4) which records this temple's erection in honor of Vinayāditya's queen by Lokāditya Elā-arasa, possibly the prince later called Vijayāditya. It probably was the first construction of Vinayāditya's reign at Ālampur, and may be associated with the period 682-90. It is located well west of (behind) and slightly south of the Bāla Brahma temple. The choice of this site, rather than one more directly south of the Bāla Brahma temple, suggests that a temple of some sort was already occupying the latter position. In basic form and śikhara type, the Svarga Brahma temple resembles the group of earlier 222 Calukya sāndhāra temples at Ālampur. In particular, the Svarga Brahma temple resembles the Kumāra Brahma temple, and also the Southern style śikhara-bearing Tāraka Brahma temple, in having a porch; it resembles the Bāla Brahma, Arka Brahma, and Tāraka Brahma temples in having four pillars inside the garbha grha; and it resembles the Vīra Brahma temple in having four pairs of pillars separating the central mandapa from the aisles. Two additional pillars added between the pair at the mandapa's east end appear designed to create a parallel with the four front pillars of the porch. The Svarga Brahma temple has two more exterior niches than its sāndhāra predecessors of Vikramāditya's reign, but its most
significant structural innovations were pillared false porches located on its exterior walls at the garbha grha's north, west, and south. These sheltered large deity sculptures between smaller window grilles.

The Svarga Brahma temple's twelve exterior wall niches contain images of the sun, moon, and eight dikpālas, presumably the same deities as in the ten niches of the Bāla Brahma, Arka Brahma, and Vīra Brahma temples, plus Harihara on the south mandapa between Yama and Agni, and Ardhanārīśvara on the north mandapa between Ṣaṇā and Candra. In addition, the north sculpture porch contains an image of Naṭesā, and the west sculpture porch contains an image of Trivikrama. Four forms of Śiva are carved on the Svarga Brahma temple's facade walls, flanking the niche images of Indra and Sūrya: Gaṅgādharamūrti, Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, Liṅgodbhavamūrti, and Tripurāntakamūrti. Of these, only Gaṅgādharamūrti is known in an earlier Calukya example, at the Rāvana Phadi cave at Aihole (Fig. 51), and the two are not similar. Probably all four subjects were introduced from the South Indian iconographic repertoire in the 670's, when Calukya Vikramadītya invaded South India at least as far as the Kāverī River (Vkl10,11), Pallava Paramēśvaravarman invaded Andhra Calukya territory, and presumably non-military contacts were frequent as well. Surviving seventh century South Indian structural temples with images are unknown, and rock-cut examples of these four iconic types which predate Vinayadītya's reign are rare or lacking. However, Gaṅgādharamūrti, Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, Liṅgodbhavamūrti, and Tripurāntakamūrti, while not very common in North Indian art, are mentioned in the devotional songs of the Tamil Nāyanārs, represented at the Kailāsathā temple at Kānci of c. 700–28, and seen often in later South Indian art. It seems more logical to assume that the Svarga Brahma
temple's representations of these icon types were inspired by preexisting South Indian artistic tradition, than to assume that the Svarga Brahma temple's artists independently and simultaneously invented all four of them.

The Svarga Brahma temple's exterior walls also are ornamented with twenty-one images of mithunas, including a male supporting a drunken female, of size equal to the niche deities. This use of large standing mithunas is perhaps traceable to the appearance of similar mithunas on the facade pillars of the Konta Southeast temple at Aihole just after 675 A.D. The idea was copied in Aihole almost immediately at the Lad Khan temple, and may have spread to Andhra Pradesh nearly as rapidly. In Karnataka, at the Konta Southeast, Lad Khan, Nāganātha, Durga, Huccappayya Maṭha, and Huccappayya temples, the mithunas consistently appear on pillars. At the Svarga Brahma temple they are carved, instead, directly on the exterior walls. At the later Viśva Brahma temple at Ālampur, some mithunas are found similarly carved on the walls, while others appear on narrow projecting wall sections, and so may be related to the Karnataka pillar mithunas.

The Svarga Brahma temple's mandapa doorframe has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba and river goddesses at the base. Large dvārapālas are carved on the porch pilasters flanking the doorframe. Their poses, cross-legged and leaning on maces, are identical to the presumably Pallava inspired examples at the Viśva Brahma temple's garbha grha doorway bases (Fig. 273), but the Svarga Brahma temple dvārapālas, at the entrance and elsewhere, are four-armed and bushy haired, the first such dvārapālas known on any Calukya temple. The south dvārapāla's (Fig. 402) additional hands rest on his hip and hold a nāga. Issuing from behind his makuta
are the three prongs of a trisūla, suggesting his identity as trisūla-purusa. The north dvārapāla's additional hands hold nāga and a lost attribute. It is above him that the temple's dedication inscription is carved.

Other four-armed dvārapālas appear on the temple's exterior walls, flanking the sculpture porches, their positioning perhaps inspired by that of the guardian figures of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Küḍavelli. Probably the first carved was the one on the north side of the west sculpture porch (Fig. 403), since the comparable position on the porch's south side is occupied by a mithuna. This west porch dvārapāla holds nāga and trident on the right, and axe and mace on the left. One of the south sculpture porch dvārapālas is completely destroyed and the other is damaged, though his legs and mace survive. The north sculpture porch pair bear nāga, trident with a short shaft, and mace.

The garbha grha doorframe (Fig. 404) has two gandharvas holding a makuta in the lalāta-bimba, although nāgas still appear at the base above the river goddesses. The architectural decoration over the doorway is topped by āmalakas at the sides and a central śālā, recalling the Mahānandi and Pānyam garbha grhas, but it is exceptionally tall and is uninhabited. The garbha grha liṅga and pītha are probably original. The engaged mandapa pillars nearest the garbha grha are carved with a pair of large four-armed dvārapālas, leaning on maces and with four lost upper attributes. They are somewhat folkish in style, compared to the mandapa entrance pair, but their pilaster positioning, not seen elsewhere at Alampur, is imitated in several Pattadakal temples as well as at Aihole. The two central pillars at the east end of the mandapa interior both have figures of gandharvas holding a makuta on their east side.
brackets. These, like the shrine door ṭāṭā-bimba, probably refer to Śiva as Makūṭa-varanātha. The Svarga Brahma temple's central mandapa level ceiling area (Fig. 405) is divided into three bays by north–south running cross beams, as are the full naves of several late seventh century Karnataka temples (Saṇḍūr, Mallikārjuna at Mahākūṭa, Nāgarahāl, and Jambulinga at Bādāmi temples). This design was not repeated at Ālampur and, as typical for the site, there are no deities sculpted. The three bays have circular lotus, nāga, and damaged foliate haṃsa designs; the latter, as Bolon noted, is found elsewhere on a Calukya temple ceiling only at Saṇḍūr.

The Svarga Brahma temple's west garbha grha niche is the first at the site to retain its original image, of Kārttikeya (Fig. 406), in situ. The god is standing and bears sakti, right, and fruit, left. His peacock appears by him, recalling the earlier Cikka Mahākūṭa (Fig. 223) and Bāla Brahma temple (Fig. 240) Kārttikeyas, and the nearly contemporaneous example at Mahānandi (Fig. 289). The loose image of Gaṇeśa now placed inside the Svarga Brahma temple's mandapa by the south wall is probably the original south garbha grha niche deity. An image of Mahiṣamardinī (#56) in the site museum (Fig. 724) may be the original north niche deity.

Among the Svarga Brahma temple's exterior niche figures, Agni (Fig. 407), Yama (Fig. 408), and Varuṇa are quite close to their counterparts (Figs. 242–244) at the Bāla Brahma temple. Indra (Fig. 409) is similar except for standing by his vāhana rather than riding it (Fig. 241); Vāyu is similar except that he holds his flag in the opposite hand; and Kubera (Fig. 410) is similar except that he additionally grasps the neck of a sack of treasure. Among the figures probably once present
at the Bāla Brahma temple, but now lost there, Nirṛti (Fig. 411) holds a
sword or club in his right hand and rides a skeletal vehicle; standing
Candra (Fig. 412), whose halo bears the moon's crescent, holds rosary and
pot; and standing Sūrya (Fig. 413) holds two lotuses. Sūrya's feet seem
to have boots/shoes, a North Indian convention, traceable in Calukya
Karnataka as well. The standing Ṛṣāna (Fig. 414) at the northeast
holds trident, upper right, and rosary, upper left; the attribute in his
lower right hand is broken.

Two niche figures probably not ever present at earlier Alampur
temples, but paired to north and south respectively, as at the
Saṅgamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli, are Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 415) and
Harihara (Fig. 416). As also at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 194), Ardhanārīśvara is
represented standing in front of Nandi, holding trisūla in the upper
right hand, and with the front two hands at rest. The upper left hand
holds lotus at Kūḍavelli, mirror at the Svarga Brahma temple. The Svarga
Brahma temple image of Harihara holds trident in the upper right hand,
but has lost his other attributes. It is notable that this image has
no very obvious differences in costume between the right and left sides,
except on the head. The same is true for the Harihara figure at
Kūḍavelli (Fig. 195), whose heavy plastering makes the differences even
more difficult to discern. All these similarities suggest that it was
the example of the Saṅgamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli which inspired the
addition at the Svarga Brahma temple of Ardhanārīśvara and Harihara to
the iconographic program established at the Bāla Brahma temple.

The Svarga Brahma temple's śukanāśa contains an eight-armed image of
Naṭeśa (Fig. 417). His front right arm is in gaja-hasta. One other
right hand bears nāga, while two left hands bear axe and bowl, and the
others gesture. Probably this figure was based on examples at earlier temples with Northern type śikharas at Álampur. It is not similar to that of the Tāraka Brahma temple (Fig. 267), which has a Southern style śikhara. The Svarga Brahma temple's north sculpture porch Naṭeṣa figure (Fig. 418) has sixteen arms, the large number immediately suggesting influence of the Naṭeṣa image on the north exterior of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 192). The front right arm typically is in gaja-hasta; all attributes are lost. As at Kūḍavelli, Bhṛṅgi and Gaṇeṣa are present. In addition, we find Pārvatī and Nandi. Nandi, not favored in Kalacuri Naṭeṣas and the Calukya examples they inspired, was seen previously with Naṭeṣa in the relief at Cave 1 at Bāḍāmi (Fig. 27), which also has a large number (18) of arms.

The Svarga Brahma temple's image of Trivikrama in the west sculpture porch (Fig. 419) differs from most Calukya representations of Trivikrama in standing on his left leg rather than his right, and stepping to the proper right rather than the proper left. Such a pose is seen in surviving earlier Calukya art only at the Mālegitti Śivālaya (Fig. 118), but is authorized by the śilparatna and seen in an earlier rock-cut example at Patharghata in Bihar. The Svarga Brahma temple image of Trivikrama had eight arms. The surviving right hands bear sword and mace and draw an arrow from a quiver; the fourth probably pointed to the head of Rāhu at the upper right corner. The surviving left hands bear shield, bow, and śaṅkha. The śaṅkha is held down at the hip by the front hand, its standard North Indian position, which suggests that the fourth left hand upheld cakra, an invariable attribute of Trivikrama otherwise unaccounted for, in its standard North Indian position also. While
direct North Indian influence is possible, a closer source can also be suggested, the Saṅganeśvara temple at Kūḍavelli. Though the latter presently has no image of Trivikrama, it may originally have had one, and its Harihara image (Fig. 195) does bear cakra in standard North Indian position. Recalling the similarities noted previously between Kūḍavelli and Svarga Brahma temple iconography, it is speculated that the latter temple's sculpture porch images were based on the former's wall niche images in comparable positions. If so, the Svarga Brahma temple's south sculpture porch would be supposed to have originally displayed an image of Andhakāsuravadhamūrti.

The Svarga Brahma temple Trivikrama image has, below the god's upraised leg, the figure of Jāmbavān with drum and representations of Vāmana's request and Bali's gift. Here, contrary to the Bādāmi cave examples (Figs. 68–69) but suiting the relevant texts, it is Bali who pours water from a pot. Śukra, uncrowned, is at the king's side, but it is not clear whether or not he approves of the gift. Behind Trivikrama's left leg is a representation of, probably, Garuḍa belaboring or about to bind Bali, a theme appearing in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Such a scene of chastising, not known in any earlier examples in India, is seen later in Calukya, North Indian (Harihara temples at Osian, Cave 15 at Ellora, etc.), and South Indian (Kailāsanātha temple at Kānci, Lakṣmī-Narasīhā temple at Nāmakkal) representations of Trivikrama.

To the south of the mandapa entrance is represented Gaṅgādharamūrti (Fig. 420), a subject seen previously at Elephanta (Fig. 52) and the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave (Fig. 51), as well as in Pallava art. As in Pallava examples, the river is shown descending at the god's side, rather than directly over his head in tripartite form. Śiva himself steps on top
of a dwarf or gana-like figure with his right foot, an element unexplained textually but probably based on Pallava tradition as exemplified in the relief at Mahendravarma Pallava's cave at Tiruchirappalli (first quarter of the seventh century). The example at the Dharmarāja Ratha at Mahābalipuram (mid to late seventh century) also has the god's right foot raised, but its support is uncut. Gaṅgā there appears at Śiva's upper left, as at the Svarga Brahma temple. Though the image of Gaṅgādharamūrti at the Ādi Varāha Maṇḍapa (late seventh century) has no raised foot, the several examples at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇṭī all have a raised left foot, placed either on a pedestal-like form or a gana/dwarf.

Among the figures at the base of the Svarga Brahma temple relief of Gaṅgādharamūrti is a dog, whose presence may represent the cremation ground where the ashes of Bhagiratha's ancestors awaited purification. The source of this element probably was South Indian; a previously unidentified animal in the Tiruchirāppalli relief seems also to have been a dog, and an unmistakable dog is seen later at the Kailāsanātha temple. Other figures in the Svarga Brahma temple relief are Bhagiratha performing asceticism, seated Pārvatī, Nandi, and dancing Bhrāgī. C. Sivaramamurti has noted the uniquely dance-like nature of this Gaṅgādharamūrti; Śiva's sixteen arms, unprecedented in a Gaṅgādharamūrti, as well as the presence of Nandi and dancing Bhrāgī, suggest strong influence of the Svarga Brahma temple's own north sculpture porch Naṭeśa image (Fig. 418).

The Svarga Brahma temple facade's southernmost image is four-armed Bhikṣāṭanamūrti (Fig. 421), Śiva as a chaste ascetic who excited desire in the wives of the Pine Forest rsis and antagonism in their husbands.
The god stands in a relaxed pose and has long loose hair. He is nude but not ithyphallic. In his upper left hand he bears a feather chaurl, and he apparently receives alms in his damaged lower left hand. It is possible that he also originally bore a trident or staff with bones in a broken right side hand; two small post-Calukya pillar reliefs in the Alampur Museum (Fig. 422) seem to show this configuration.

At the sides of the figure of Bhiksātanamūrti at the Svarga Brahma temple are three women and two of their rsir husbands. The latter raise their hands to hit and/or curse the god. Near the top of the relief at Śiva's upper left is an elephant, and at his upper right is a woman with a child riding a bull. Probably the woman is Śiva's wife/sakti, who appears also in an upper corner position in the Svarga Brahma temple Liṅgodbhavamūrti relief (Fig. 423). A wife accompanying Bhiksātana into the Pine Forest is found in several texts, but the goddess here is not actually accompanying the god; rather her isolated position seems to suit the role of an instigator or observer, found in other texts. The presence of the elephant may be explained specifically by reference to the Vāmana Purāna's account of the Pine Forest story in S.M., chapters 22-23. According to this version, Śiva in the form of an elephant aided the gods and rsis in the final installation of his liṅga for worship. The presence of Kārttikeya(?) and Nandi with Pārvatī is not explained, though the child Skanda is frequently represented with seated Śiva and Pārvatī in Pallava art, in a form known as Somāskandamūrti, particularly in the reign of Parameśvaravarman.

The Svarga Brahma temple's northernmost facade image is Liṅgodbhavamūrti (Fig. 423), a subject whose theme of the humiliation and subordination of Brahmā and Viṣṇu to Śiva is not consistent with the high
regard shown for Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* in earlier Calukya art in Karnataka, the approximately contemporaneous popularity in Karnataka of Trimūrti representations with Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu of parallel size and status, though not position, or the presence of an image of Trivikrama in a prominent position of the Svarga Brahma temple itself. Though no earlier Calukya Vaiṣṇava images are known in Andhra Pradesh, we find among the brāhmaṇas who received land on the occasion of Vikramaditya's Śiva- maṇḍala-dīkṣā there (Vk4) the Vaiṣṇava names Vāmanasvāmin, Kesavavāmin, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, and Dāmodaravāmin. Thus, it would seem, as suggested above, that this image type was not a native invention, but was inspired by South Indian tradition. It appears again in eighth century Calukya Pattadakal at the Virūpākṣa temple, though without figures of adoring Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

At the Svarga Brahma temple, four-armed Śiva is shown apotheosized in the center of the fiery *liṅga*, standing *samabhāṅga* and bearing axe, right, and trident, left, in his upper hands. Use of these paired attributes in the rear hands, as well as of the short-shafted trident, in Calukya representations of Śiva seems to have become common only after the date of the Svarga Brahma temple. To Śiva's proper right, at the top, multiheaded four-armed Brahmā is shown moving upward to search for the *liṅga*’s summit and bearing manuscript(?) and rosary. At the center, a Brahmā figure stands with aṅjali (reverence) *mudrā* and bears kamandalū. To Śiva’s proper left at the center is a figure of standing Viṣṇu with aṅjali *mudrā*, holding cakra and śāṅkha in typical Calukya/South Indian positions. The cakra resembles a cross within a circle, a form which seems first to have been used in Calukya art in Vinayāditya's reign. Besides this instance in Andhra Pradesh, it appears on a Lad Khan temple
porch pillar (Fig. 349), on the Iṭaṅgi toraṇa (Fig. 350), and as an attribute of Viṣṇu in a garbha grha niche at the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal. Below the standing Viṣṇu is a representation of Varāha, with a boar's head and a human body, descending toward the earth to search for the liṅga's base.

Besides these easily identifiable elements, the Svarga Brahma temple Liṅgodbharamūrti relief also has, below the standing Brahmā figure, an unusual representation of seated Brahmā wearing a yogapatta and hanging his head, and, above the standing Viṣṇu, a figure of a standing four-armed female, who, like the liṅga, emanates low relief flames. This female bears sword and bell on the right and has her left hands worn. Probably she is Śiva's wife/sakti, who holds trident, sword, bell, and fruit at the Bāla Brahma temple (Fig. 735), and plays a minor role in some versions of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti and Brahmaśirasćchedakamūrti myths. We note that the Liṅgodbhavamūrti myth in several texts is very closely related to the myth of Brahmā's beheading by Śiva/Bhairava, and the pose of seated Brahmā in the Svarga Brahma temple Liṅgodbhavamūrti relief suggests that his special humiliation, more than that of Viṣṇu, was referred to here as a subtheme. In the Beheading myth, the chastizing of Brahmā is invariably followed by the wandering of Śiva/Bhairava as a skull-bearing beggar. Since the latter form is equivalent to that of Śiva entering the Pine Forest in some texts, it is possible that the Svarga Brahma temple Liṅgodbhavamūrti relief was meant to be understood as immediately preceding the Bhikṣāṭanamūrti relief at the opposite end of the facade. On the other hand, in two different texts, the events of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti myth occur immediately after the castration of Bhikṣāṭana in the Pine
Forest, suggesting a reversed chronology. Thus, through their intended relative order is not certain, it seems that the northernmost and southernmost reliefs on the Svarga Brahma temple's facade were closely linked mythologically.

To the north of the mandapa entrance is represented Tripurāntakamūrti (Fig. 424). The god probably formerly had eight arms. One right hand draws an arrow from a quiver and the front one pulls back the bowstring. Two surviving left hands hold nāga and trisūla; the front one must have held the drawn bow. The god stands in his chariot, whose driver is multiheaded two-armed Brahmā. The Tripuras, represented in later Calukya versions, are not seen here. Perhaps they originally were carved on a portion of the stone slab which was cut off when the image was built into the temple wall; several of the Svarga Brahma temple's niches and niche images evidently were slightly mutilated in this way to facilitate installation.

Three representations of Tripurāntakamūrti survive from Calukya Pattadakal, suggesting that this new iconic type quickly became popular, perhaps because of the Pāṣupata associations of its myth. It is notable that all the Calukya representations, as well as their Rāstrakūta counterparts at Ellora, are basically similar in showing Śiva in the act of drawing his bow; the earliest surviving South Indian examples, at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī, do not represent this moment. Thus, it appears that the sculptor of the Tripurāntakamūrti image at the Svarga Brahma temple, while inspired by South Indian tradition, introduced his own interpretation of it. This seems to have been the case with the other facade Śiva mūrtis as well.
If the four Śiva mūrtis on the Svarga Brahma temple's facade are examined with respect to the meaning inherent in their choice and relative placement, a hypothetical explanation may be offered. The Gaṅgādharamūrti image, first in the order of pradaksīna, may represent the initial purification of the worshipper by Śiva's grace. The Bhikṣāṭanamūrti image may represent the teaching of Śīla worship and possibly Pāśupata rites, and their superiority to traditional Brahmanical practices. The Liṅgodbhamūrti image appears to demonstrate the supremacy of Śiva and his cult to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and their cults. The Tripurāntakamūrti image, last in the order of pradaksīna, displays Śiva's destruction of the enemies of his devotees. It also represents Śiva as master of the entire creation, which constitutes his chariot, and as Paśupati, lord of all the devas who on this occasion took on the nature of paśus (beasts), and who had to perform Pāśupata vrata (ordinance) to regain their original natures. The theme here would seem to be the paśu-hood of all human souls, who need to obtain liberation from spiritual ignorance and rebirth by similar means.

A few other notable subjects are carved on the blocks below the Svarga Brahma temple's exterior niches. Bolon has identified four scenes beneath the niche containing the image of Agni as relating to Agastya, and four others, beneath the images of Sūrya, Īsāna, and Candra, appear to belong to Kṛṣṇacaritra. These are seemingly arranged in counter-pradaksīna order. Below the niche containing the image of Sūrya are represented the transfer of Kṛṣṇa to Gokula and the exchange of babies. Below the niche containing the image of Īsāna are two nonspecific scenes, Kṛṣṇa eating butter, and Kṛṣṇa suckling Pūtanā. Below the niche containing the image of Ardhanārīśvara, Kṛṣṇa is found running between
personified Yamalārjuna trees, kicking the cart demon, fighting Ariṣṭa, and fighting Keśi (Fig. 425). We note the nearly contemporaneous appearance of a scene of Kṛṣṇa stealing butter at Nāgarahāl.

B.23. Later work at Kūḍavelli

The Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli, which seems to have significantly influenced the Svarga Brahma temple, may have undergone repairs at some time in Vinayāditya's reign, with the addition of a prākāra wall, as noted in Chapter II above, possibly for both ornamental and flood protection purposes. The prākāra wall's external figurative decoration is comprised of elephant busts, ganaś, and a few deities, including a Varāha who atypically leaps or flies to proper right, as in Figures 453 and 458.

It is likely that another temple was built near the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli at the end of the seventh century. Though no trace of such a structure has been discovered, several extent sculptures may be attributed to it. These include standing ithyphallic Śiva (Fig. 426) and Yama (Fig. 427) images, now situated in Saṅgameśvara temple niches, as well as an Ālampur Musuem #21, a Śaiva dvārapāla (Fig. 428) from the site, which is associated with them on the basis of hair style. The figure of Yama at Kūḍavelli rides his buffalo to the proper right, the opposite direction from the Yama figures of the Kumāra Brahma, Bāla Brahma (Fig. 243), and Svarga Brahma (Fig. 408) temples at Ālampur, and probably should be dated after them, close to the Viśva Brahma temple, whose Yama also rides to the proper right (Fig. 465). With these three images may be grouped Ālampur Museum # 42, an apparent image of Kubera (Fig. 429), whose nidhi-like pot belly is closer to that of his
counterpart on the Viśva Brahma temple (Fig. 466) than to the Bāla Brahma or Svarga Brahma (Fig. 410) temple Kubera images, and Ālampur Museum #20, a Kalacuri type dvārapāla, both from Kūḍavelli. Also probably from Kūḍavelli, and tentatively attributable to the supposed lost late seventh century temple there, are uncatalogued nidhi (Fig. 430) and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (Fig. 431) images in the Ālampur Museum. The Kalacuri type dvārapāla, nidhi, and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti images all seem to have been based on Saṅgameśvara temple prototypes (Figs. 183, 184, 188-190, 193). Such dvārapālas and nidhis are not known at any Calukya temples in Ālampur itself, and the use of ten arms, an unusual number, for Andhakāsuravadhamūrti particularly points to Kūḍavelli. The latter image shows the god bearing the śūla piercing Andhaka with his front two hands. Nāga is also held on his right, and shield and bowl on his left. He steps onto a dwarf or asura, and a figure of a seated Devi is seen at his lower left. Possibly a similar figure was once discernible in the Saṅgameśvara temple Andhakāsuravadhamūrti relief; she was present in the Cave 14 at Ellora (Fig. 172) and Cikki temple (Fig. 210) representations of this mūrti. Figure 431 does not seem finished. Possibly the Kūḍavelli temple in question and its sculptures were left incomplete at Vinayāditya's death, or early in Vijayāditya's reign when craftsmen were seemingly recruited from the Ālampur region for work at Pattadakal.

B.24. Rāmalīṅgeśvara, Bhīmaliṅgeśvara, and minor temples at Satyavolu

The Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple (Fig. 432) at Satyavolu, located about sixty-five miles southeast of Ālampur near the eastern border of Kurnool District, has an interior pillar inscription (Vnl5) which mentions a battle-stone(?) and refers to Vijayāditya Dugarāju, probably
Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya who is known to have held office of Yuvarāja during the reign of his father (Vn9). Though no reference is made to a temple in the inscription, the implication is that the structure on which it was inscribed was completed before Vijayāditya became king in 696 A.D. The Rāmaliṅgesvara and its neighboring temples are the easternmost surviving monuments which may be associated with Calukya rule.

The Calukya period Rāmaliṅgesvara temple included a nirandhāra garbha grha with antarāla adjoining a wider mandapa. This plan is unique among Calukya temples, and it seems likely that the decision to add a mandapa was made after the garbha grha and antarāla were essentially complete. Perhaps the original structural model was the Mahānandīsvara temple, the geographically closest pre-existing Calukya temple, which probably had no mandapa in Calukya times. The Rāmaliṅgesvara temple garbha grha has three niches for images, four interior pillars, and a Northern style śikhara; its small liṅga without pitha may be a later replacement. A particularly deep śukanāsa appears above the antarāla. The mandapa has one niche-like grilled central window on each of its north and south sides, and eight niches for images. Its roofing includes two central level bays, and sloping ceilings on the east, north, and south, a configuration usually associated with sāndhāra temples, though also appearing in the nirandhāra Siddhanakoḷḷa temple and Huccappayya Maṭha at Aihole. The doorway to the antarāla and garbha grha has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba, and on the pilasters flanking it are large two-armed dvārapālas (Fig. 433). Both lean on maces, and the north one bears a nāga. The south one has "horns", which were probably intended, with the makuta's central peak, to form a trīśūla. Evidently the
inspiration for these dvārapālas was Pallava.

The iconography of the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple's garbha grha niche images probably also was South Indian in origin. The surviving south image is bushy haired Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Fig. 434), a form of Śiva not seen previously in Calukya art, but common on eighth century Pallava temples and prefigured on the seventh century Dharmarāja Ratha at Mahābalipuram. The god has four arms with uncertain attributes, and wears a yogapatta on his left leg. The Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple's western and northern garbha grha niches are empty, but the adjacent Bhīmaliṅgeśvara temple features on its west and north sides crude images of Liṅgodbhavamūrti and standing Devī with lion and deer (Fig. 752), subjects of South Indian origin which were probably copied, like the Bhīmaliṅgeśvara temple's south side image of Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Fig. 435), from corresponding original Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple images. It is notable that the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple's niche images are not carved in the usual Calukya red sandstone, of which the temple itself is constructed, but of a smoother, more gray-green stone. This fact, combined with the presumed choice of garbha grha mūrtis and the geographic location of Satyavolu near the frontier of Calukya territory, suggests that the chief sculptor of the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple's niche images was an immigrant, trained in the Southern Indian tradition. The fact that the images have been severely trimmed for installation into their niches does not prove that they were taken from another temple; several Alampur temple images are similarly mutilated.
The Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple's mandapa niche images, though stylistically similar to the image of Daksināmūrti, are iconographically closer to Calukya tradition. The presence of eight niches might appear to imply images of the eight dikpālas, but probably actually the front eight deities of the group of ten deities (dikpālas plus Sūrya and Candra) which first appeared on Ālampur temples in Vikramāditya I's reign were represented. This apparent misplanning suits the hypothesis that a mandapa was not part of the temple's original design. The south niche on the east facade contains a damaged image of Indra, standing before Airāvata as at the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 409), but with added female attendants. The almost completely effaced north facade niche relief appears to have featured a North Indian type Sūrya on his chariot with attendants (Fig. 436), a more complex composition than at the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 413), and closely similar in form to Ālampur Museum #7 (Fig. 449). The eastern niche on the south wall contains a standing male figure (Fig. 437) who appears to be Agni. His aura of flames and his vase attribute relate to surviving images of Agni at Ālampur (Figs. 242, 407), but his bow and arrow attributes are unusual and of unknown source. The westernmost south wall niche contains a figure of Yama (Fig. 438), riding his buffalo to the proper right, with one surviving female attendant. This image's directionality suggests a late seventh century Ālampur area model for the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple's mandapa, for the Viśva Brahma temple (Fig. 465) and Kūḍavelli (Fig. 427) Yama figures similarly ride to the right, while the Svarga Brahma temple and earlier Ālampur Yama figures ride to the left (Figs. 243, 408). The two west mandapa wall niches and the westernmost north mandapa wall niche at the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple are empty. The easternmost north wall niche
has an effaced image of a standing figure with probably four attendants. This would have been Īśāna, if the Ālampur niche iconography initiated in Vikramāditya's reign was consistently followed.

The Rāmaliṅgaśvara temple's śukanāsa image (Fig. 439) is carved in sandstone and fully within Calukya tradition. It depicts an eight-armed Naṭeśa, bearing axe, drum, and bowl on the left, nāga and dhvaja with cloth streamer on the right. This god's form is similar to the Naṭeśa image in the Svarga Brahma temple śukanāsa (Fig. 417), and his attributes are identical to those of a loose post-Calukya Naṭeśa image at Mahānandi (Fig. 288), which may have copied the now lost Mahānandīśvara temple śukanāsa's Naṭeśa image.

The Rāmaliṅgaśvara temple is difficult to date because it probably involved two different construction phases. Its Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti and supposed Devī garbha grha niche images, South Indian in type, appear to have influenced Viśva Brahma temple iconography, while its mandapa niche images appear to have been influenced by Ālampur area iconography of about the same date. Probably the Viśva Brahma temple and the Rāmaliṅgaśvara temple were nearly contemporaneous. The latter may be dated c. 687-95, with the garbha grha and antarāla belonging to the earlier and the mandapa belonging to the later years of that period. The deep śukanāsa of the Rāmaliṅgaśvara temple may have influenced that of the subsequent Garuḍa Brahma temple at Ālampur. Perhaps the Rāmaliṅgaśvara temple's patron was the Calukya feudatory ruler in the region around Satyavolu.

The Bhīmaliṅgaśvara temple (Fig. 440), located north of the Rāmaliṅgaśvara temple (Fig. 444), relates to the latter in form, but has a shorter śikhara and lacks a mandapa and garbha grha interior pillars.
It was less skillfully built, but its basement design concept with animal figures is unusually elaborate. Its Šukanāsa Naṭeṣa image (Fig. 441) is identical in iconographic detail to that of the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple (Fig. 439), and of nearly comparable quality. The Bhīmalīṅgeśvara temple niche images (Fig. 752), cut in situ on the garbha grha wall surfaces, are crude and seem to have been made in imitation of its neighbor's at a much later period.

The Bhīmalīṅgeśvara temple's doorway jamb carving is not Calukya in style, but the crude lalāta-bimba image (Fig. 442), representing a two-armed male riding another male, might possibly be an original feature intended as Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. Decorating the center east base of the Šukanāsa is a crude representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī. It may be speculated that this temple was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, with the Šukanāsa Naṭeṣa image implying Viṣṇu's subordination to Śiva enshrined in the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple. This would suit the theme of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti image presumably once found on the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple's west niche. A worn standing figure (Fig. 443), now inside the small shrine to the southwest of the Bhīmalīṅgeśvara temple, may be the latter temple's original garbha grha Viṣṇu image. Possibly other deities also had shrines, simpler and slightly later in date, within the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple complex. If so, the north-facing apsidal shrine south of the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple (Fig. 432) probably would have been dedicated to Gaṇeṣa, and the south-facing shrine with kapota-layered śikhara north of the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple (Fig. 444) to Devī. Perhaps two other small shrines at the site, now without superstructures, located to far south of the Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple and to the southwest of the Bhīmalīṅgeśvara temple, were dedicated to Brahmā and Sūrya respectively. It is likely
that the Bhīmaliṅgeśvara temple was close to the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple in date, c. 696-700. The other, smaller shrines at the site may have been added later in Vijayāditya's reign.

B.25. Viśva Brahma temple at Ālampur

When the Svarga Brahma temple, built for Vinayāditya's queen, was finished, the next project to be undertaken at Ālampur probably was the completion of the superstructure of the Vīra Brahma temple. I would theorize that Vinayāditya, visiting the area in about his eleventh regnal year, after this was accomplished, charged his son and presumed regional governor, then officially known as Yuvarāja Vijayāditya (Vn9), with the construction of a totally new temple to the north of the Vīra Brahma temple. This temple, now called Viśva Brahma (Figs. 445-446), is the northernmost and the most elaborate Calukya temple at the site, and probably was finished in the early years of Vijayāditya's own reign. It may be dated c. 691-700.

It was suggested in Chapter II that the Viśva Brahma temple originally enshrined Sūrya (arka). The garbha grha (Fig. 447) presently contains a liṅga on a square pītha, but this pītha is placed atop a slightly raised ovoid polygonal section in the center of the floor, and the broken image pītha of similar shape which probably originally was situated there is now found used as a stepping stone at the entry to the temple (Fig. 448). I would suggest that the image which once was inserted into this pītha and enshrined in the garbha grha is Ālampur Museum #7 (Fig. 449), a relief of standing Sūrya with attendants (Ūṣā, Pratyūṣā, Aruṇa, and either Daṇḍa or Piṅgaḷa) and a horse-drawn chariot. This image was listed in 1963 as coming from the Viśva Brahma temple,
but is too large to fit into any of its exterior wall niches.

Possibly King Vinayāditya, at this time when his Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa, dedicated to the Trimūrti, was nearing completion, decided to create a grander Trinity, utilizing separate temples, at Ālampur. Temples dedicated to Śiva (the Bāla Brahma, Arka Brahma, and Viśra Brahma temples) were already extant centrally at the site, and it will be suggested below that the Garuḍa Brahma temple, subsequently built south of the Bāla Brahma temple, was dedicated to Brahmā. For the creation of a typical Trinity, a Viṣṇu temple on the north/proper left of the Śiva temples would be required, but Vinayāditya's interest in the sun god at this time may have suggested to him that Viṣṇu, a deity with ancient solar aspects, could be replaced by Śūrya. Royal interest in the sun god in the last decade of the seventh century is shown by Vinayāditya's gifts to brahmānas at the time of the summer solstice in 691-93 (Vn5,8) and a solar eclipse in c. 695-96 (C1). That these were more than just astrologically auspicious occasions is indicated by the Sorab grant (Vn5), which refers to the sun by the divine title "Bhagavat". Also, in 691/2, Vinayāditya's cousin, feudatory, and namesake, Vinayāditya-Piṭhivīvallabha-Yuddhamalla-Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa, made a grant to a temple of the Bhagavat sun god located within his feudal domain in Maharashtra (B17).

The Viśva Brahma temple's sukanāsa has lost its image, but it seems probable that it formerly displayed a figure of Naṭęṣa, because Śiva's status as supreme deity was unquestioned at Ālampur, and the Viśva Brahma temple seems to have been conceived from its origin as an adjunct to the site's older Śiva temples. Surviving evidence for the dominance of the Śiva cult at the Viśva Brahma temple itself includes the mandapa entrance
dvārapālas; though these are damaged, the north one (Fig. 450) clearly had three eyes, a trident, and a nāga. Also the garbha grha overdoor miniature shrine architecture (Fig. 447) is inhabited by a dancing gana and a four-armed image of nāga-bearing Naṭeṣa, flanking the empty central shrine form, and a platform in front of the temple supports a large Nandi (Fig. 451). Evidence relating to the non-Śaiva nature of the deity enshrined in the garbha grha includes the equal Viṣṇu and Śiva iconography of the upper mandapa wall icons, the presence of a Garuḍa garbha grha lalāta-bimba, absent at the Ālampur temples dedicated to Śiva, and the lack of garbha grha Śaiva dvārapālas such as were present at the Svarga Brahma temple.

In form, the Viśva Brahma temple differs most significantly from the Svarga Brahma temple in lacking a porch, in adding ten exterior wall niches and two antarāla niches, in possessing a different arrangement of mandapa pillars and beams, and in its increased amount of decoration. Still in situ are three figures in exterior wall niches, an image of Gaṅgādharamūrti in the west sculpture porch, and a figure of standing Śiva in the south antarāla niche. Deity images carved directly on the upper surfaces of the north and south mandapa walls, near the east end, are Śiva as beggar and Varāha, north, and Yoga-Dakṣināmūrti and Ugra-Nṛsiṁha, south. Two other deities appear sculpted between façade niches: Gajendramokṣa on the south and Trivikrama on the north.

The façade Trivikrama relief (Fig. 452) shows the god striding to the proper left, the usual direction, rather than to the proper right as at the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 419). He seems to have had eight arms, but only a shield on his left and traces of a sword on his right remain. The lack of a down-bending arm on the left, however, suggests that śahkha
was not here held in the North Indian position. Accessory narrative elements from the Vāmana-Trivikrama myth include Jāmbavān, a request scene, a gift scene, and a chastizing scene. Here it appears that Śukra opposes Bali's gift, and Śukra rather than Bali seems to be the figure chastized by Garuḍa. This suits the description in the South Indian text Vaikhānasāgama, and, with the elements noted above, suggests the use of a different model than that which inspired the Svarga Brahma temple mūrti. The Viśva Brahma temple facade's Trivikrama image, like several other Ālampur images, seems to have been incautiously trimmed at the time of its original insertion into the structure.

Another representation of the Vāmana-Trivikrama story (Fig. 453) occurs at the Viśva Brahma temple on six block faces beneath an empty west wall niche. This Trivikrama, though also striding left, is four-armed and bears only Viṣṇu's basic attributes, cakra, and śāhka, in their typical Calukya/South Indian positions. Śukra's attitude toward Bali's gift here is ambiguous, and Bali seems to be the figure bound by Garuḍa. The animal-headed southernmost figure of this group seems to be not Jāmbavān, but mace-bearing Varāha, leaping or flying to proper right. The god's front hands are clasped on his chest, holding an uncertain object (śāhka?); his rear left hand is lost. Other deities found on the blocks below empty niches on the Viśva Brahma temple exterior include four-armed Kṛṣṇa(?) in a narrative fight sequence, perhaps from the Mahābhārata, and seated and dancing figures of Gaṇeśa.

The southern Viśva Brahma temple facade wall image is of Gajendramokṣa or Karivarada (Fig. 454), a form of Viṣṇu who rides Garuḍa to the aid of an elephant devotee harassed by a water creature, here a turtle, in a lake. The god was eight-armed, but a bow is his only
surviving attribute. The form of Garuḍa here is very similar to that of the mandapa doorway lalāṭa-bimba and the Garuḍa in the Trivikrama relief to the north. The Gajendramokṣa iconic type, not known previously in Calukya art, was a popular South Indian form of Viṣṇu, mentioned in the Tamil hymns of theĀlvārs. Though occurring earlier at Deogarh in North India, it probably reached Ālampur from the South, which seems to have been the source of much new Calukya iconography near the end of the seventh century. The Gajendramokṣa type probably reached Karnataka from Ālampur, and was used several times at Pattadakal.

The Viśva Brahma temple north mandapa upper wall image of Śiva as a beggar (Fig. 455) is two-armed and non-īthyphallic, and bears a feather chaurī and a full alms bowl. He is not close in form to the Svarga Brahma temple Bhiksātanāmūrti, suggesting a separate source. Most significantly, he has no attendant female figures. His head is damaged, but appears to have had a raised jata rather than flowing locks of hair. His anklets are adorned with bells, the purpose being to alert upper caste citizens to the approach of an outcaste. The south mandapa upper wall figure of Yoga-Daksināmūrti (Fig. 456) had four arms, now broken, and sits under a tree wearing yogapatta and attended by four disciples. Probably this image was inspired by the one at the Satyavolu Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple (Fig. 434), or a similar Pallava image. The south upper mandapa wall representations of Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 457) disembowels Hiraṇyakaśipu, who lies across his lap. The god bears śaṅkha and a cakra of the cross-in-circle form.

The north upper mandapa wall four-armed Varāha figure (Fig. 458) leaps or flies to the proper right onto a nāga. His directionality and stance are like those of the Varāha images on the temple's west exterior
(Fig. 453) and the prākāra of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli. The same atypical directionality, though not the stance, was seen in early Pallava art at the Varāha Maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram; related North Indian examples occur at Mahua and Nāchnā. The hands of the Varāha image on the Viśva Brahma temple north wall are lost except for the rear right one. As in Figure 453, this hand holds a mace; the front two hands were placed so as to touch or nearly touch each other in front of his chest, and the rear left hand was upraised. Since the mace is not a usual attribute for Varāha, it is uncertain what his other attributes here would have been. Possibly a North Indian configuration was the model, and cakra was held in the rear left hand and śaṅkha in the front left or both front hands. Among surviving later Calukya images of Varāha, three have similar joined front hands (Figs. 482, 558, 662), two similarly face the proper right (Figs. 558, 662), and one has a similar leaping/flying pose (Fig. 633), but none seem to bear mace or have other than typical attributes, cakra in rear right and śaṅkha in rear left hand.

On the Viśva Brahma temple's garbha grha, the three empty niches probably held images of the deities assumed typical at the site: Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and Mahiṣamardinī. A two-armed Kārttikeya image (Fig. 459), showing the god seated frontally astride his peacock, now stored loose inside the Arka Brahma temple, may have belonged in the west niche. A Mahiṣamardinī image of Pallava type, Ālampur Museum #6 (Fig. 751), showing Devī standing triumphantly on the severed head of the buffalo demon, was possibly inspired by the Satyavolu Rāmalingesvara temple's lost north garbha grha image and may have filled the Viśva Brahma temple's corresponding north interior garbha grha niche. The Viśva Brahma temple's north antarāla niche is empty, but the south one contains
a representation of standing four-armed Śiva (Fig. 460) bearing trident and axe. The lost north antarāla niche figure may have been Ālampur Museum #13 (Fig. 461), a standing figure of four-armed Viṣṇu bearing cakra of cross-in-circle type, śaṅkha, mace, and fruit, in standard Calukya positions. We recall in this context the similar opposition of Śiva (south) and Viṣṇu (north) on the mandapa of the Mālegitti Śivālaya Śūrya temple at Bādāmi, and note the possibly related and approximately contemporaneous garbha grha niche deity image arrangement of Śiva (south), Viṣṇu (north), and Śūrya (west) at the Pāpanātha and Jambuliṅga temples at Pattadakal. Most of the Viśva Brahma temple's interior pillars are decorated with non-iconic carving, but there are also representations of Gaja-Lakṣmī, single-headed Rāvaṇa battling with Jaṭāyu, Sītā carried off in Rāvaṇa's chariot, and pacific seated two-armed attributeless Nṛsiṁha, or possibly Hanumān.

The west sculpture porch image of Gāṅgādharamūrti (Fig. 462) at the Viśva Brahma temple, sixteen-armed and featuring Śiva's right foot placed atop a recumbent dwarf/gana, was clearly based on its Svarga Brahma temple predecessor (Fig. 420). One right hand once held a nāga, and the only surviving left hand probably held out a lock of hair. A stream of water with fish is seen at the lower left side of the relief, representing the descending Gāṅgā. Figures of Bhagīratha, Bhṛṅgī, and a dog are present, but the Nandi and Pārvatī of the Svarga Brahma temple relief have been replaced by similarly placed ganas. This is surprising, since Pārvatī is included in all other known Calukya representations of Gāṅgādharamūrti; however she is absent in surviving seventh century Pallava representations. To the north of this sculpture porch, Mahiṣamardini is represented on a pilaster, riding a lion and firing her
bow at bull-headed, human-bodied Mahiṣa. This iconography was not seen previously in Calukya art, and probably was influenced by Pallava precedents, such as the Mahiṣamardini Maṇḍapa relief at Mahābalipuram.

It is uncertain what mūrtis were originally contained in the empty north and south sculpture porches of the Viṣva Brahma temple. Below both these porches are mithunas and badly damaged representations of Naṭeṣa. The south porch base Naṭeṣa figure (Fig. 463) is eight-armed, with front right hand in gaja-hasta like the four-armed garbha grha overdoor Naṭeṣa. The north porch base Naṭeṣa figure (Fig. 464) is also four-armed but, like the Vīra Brahma temple sukanāsa Naṭeṣa figure (Fig. 276), features front left arm in gaja-hasta. Probably the Viṣva Brahma temple's presumed sukanāsa Naṭeṣa image was also of this soon-to-be-dominant mode. The existence of three known Naṭeṣa images and at least one other presumed Naṭeṣa image on a single Calukya temple is unprecedented, and foretells the situation in eighth century Pattadakal, where Naṭeṣa was the most frequently represented form of Śiva, appearing over two dozen times within the Virūpākṣa temple complex alone.

The niche figures surviving in situ on the Viṣva Brahma temple exterior represent Yama, Candra, and Kubera. With the increase in the number of niches, the former two mūrtis were given slightly different locations. Yama (Fig. 465) is distinguished from his Ālampur precedents (Figs. 243, 408) by riding to the proper right. He holds danda(?) atypically in his left hand, and faces Citragupta, who bears a manuscript. The Viṣva Brahma temple figure of Kubera (Fig. 466) is more obese than his Svarga Brahma (Fig. 410) or Bāla Brahma temple counterparts, but is otherwise similar. The Viṣva Brahma temple figure of Candra has his left hand resting on his hip, rather than holding a
pot, but his broken right hand may have held rosary, as at the Svarga Brahma temple. An uncatalogued Śiva figure in the Ālampur Museum (Fig. 467) may have been the original Viśva Brahma temple northeast dikpāla, Īśana. His surviving attributes are triśūla, right, and rosary and nāga(?), left. A pot is placed at his lower left, as in Figure 245. Two dikpāla figures now stored loose inside the Arka Brahma temple probably also came from the Viśva Brahma temple. The Nīrūti figure (Fig. 468) is quite close to his Svarga Brahma temple counterpart (Fig. 411), while Indra (Fig. 469) differs in riding his elephant to proper right. Images of Ardhanārīśvara and Brahmā now installed flanking the Bāla Brahma temple mandapa entrance may also have come from the Viśva Brahma temple's exterior. The former deity (Fig. 470), though clearly related to the Svarga Brahma temple image of Ardhanārīśvara with Nandi (Fig. 415), holds nāga as well as trident on the right, and flowers rather than a mirror on the left. Brahmā (Fig. 471) is shown multiheaded and four-armed, but his attributes are uncertain.

It is assumed that eleven of the Viśva Brahma temple's twenty-two exterior niches were filled by images of the eight dikpālas, Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, and Candra, as at the Svarga Brahma temple. It is uncertain whether or not Sūrya appeared in a niche. Of the other original images, only Brahmā (Fig. 471) seems to have survived. The identity of some of the remaining subjects may be hypothesized on the basis of eighth century Calukya iconography in Karnataka, especially at the Pāpanātha temple, post-Calukya Ālampur iconography, and Pallava iconography as represented on the early eighth century Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇcī. Since the Mālegitti Śivālaya Sūrya temple had a mixture of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva mūrtis on its cornice kapota, it is probable that
the Viṣṇa Brahma temple niches also held a mixture. Likely subjects include Tripurāntakaṁūrti, the battle between Nṛsiṁha and Hiranyaḥaśīpu, Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes, Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti, Rāvanānugrahamūrti, Rāmāyana scenes, and Kirāṭarjunīya.

B.26. Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal: Initial phase

A stone inscription (B15) at Lakshmeswar in Karnataka's Dharwar District purports to record a Jain grant made by King Vinayāditya when he was at Pattadakal in Ś. 608 (686/7 A.D.). S.R. Rao's excavations at the Rāstrakūṭa period stone Jain temple located west of the modern Pattadakal village, nine miles northeast of Bādāmi, have revealed a brick temple lying beneath the stone structure. It is probable that the former monument was standing in Calukya times, and it may have been the ceremonial site of Vinayāditya's Jain gift. Excavations in Pattadakal village itself, which lies on the west bank of the Malaprabha River, have revealed a portion of the brick foundation of a temple underlying the stone Saṅgameśvara/Vijayeśvara Śiva temple built by Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya. The construction date of this former temple, presumably also dedicated to Śiva, is unknown, but it seems to have been standing in Vinayāditya's reign, and probably received worship from the royal family then, if not earlier. I would speculate that, in c. 690, some unknown patrons decided to construct new shrines, modest in size, but made of stone, to the northwest of and several hundred yards to the south of the pre-Saṅgameśvara temple. The northwest one is now called the Jambuliṅga temple, the other formed the core of the present Pāpanātha temple, located at the southeast of the modern village.
The original Pāpanātha temple (Fig. 472), intended perhaps to consist only of a nirandhāra garbha grha with a small mandapa in front, like the Jambulinga temple (Fig. 476), was never finished as intended. The garbha grha doorframe (Fig. 473) is only completed on the south side. It has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba, and its outermost jamb features mithunas in registers. In the overdoor area is a central representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī surmounted by a chattra. Directly above the chattra is a pair of crossed chaurls, recalling the similar auspicious/royal motif seen at the Lad Khan temple (Fig. 348) and on the Itagi torana (Fig. 352). Flanking the chaurls is a line of figures who may personify some or all of the other symbols grouped together at Itagi. The two peripheral haloed males stand samabhaṅga and uphold flowers; presumably they represent the sun and moon. The other eight figures are seated and resemble nidhis; they bear identifying dhvajas topped by elephant, bull, and other uncertain motifs.

The deity on the south (Fig. 474) is the only one of the temple's three garbha grha niche images which is completed. This is a nude two-armed form of Śiva with hair raised in a jata. His right hand bears rosary, and his left rests on his thigh. He is ithyphallic and wears a bell hanging from a cord around his hips. The west garbha grha deity image is a standing Sūrya without chariot or attendants. The north garbha grha deity image is standing four-armed Viṣṇu, bearing cross-in-circle cakra and śaṅkha in typical positions, and leaning on a mace on his right side. Previous authors have suggested, on the basis of the lalāta-bimba and the niche images, that the original Pāpanātha temple was Vaiṣṇava and/or dedicated to Śūrya. However another possibility, considering the central overdoor Gaja-Lakṣmī image, is dedication to
Devi. A fine loose Gaja-Lakṣmī image (Fig. 475) from Pattadakal, now in the National Museum in New Delhi (#L.55.24), may have formerly been enshrined here instead of the present liṅga. This first phase of the Pāpanātha temple's construction may be assigned to the period c. 690–92.

B.27. Jambuliṅga temple at Pattadakal

The Jambuliṅga temple (Fig. 476), located behind the north side of the much larger Galaganātha temple (Fig. 553) at Pattadakal, is difficult to date. Since it is quite close to but not aligned with the Galaganātha temple, it probably preexisted it, and I would assign it to the period c. 690–700. The Jambuliṅga temple consists of a nirandhāra garbha grha with Northern style śikhara and a slightly narrower mandapa. It has a wide base attached at the east whose function is unclear. The three damaged deity images of the garbha grha exterior niches are of standing Viṣṇu with typical cakra and śaṅkha, north, Sūrya without chariot or attendants, west, and Śiva, south, a grouping seen also on the contemporaneous original Pāpanātha temple, whose structure probably was planned along similar lines. The Jambuliṅga temple's Śiva image (Fig. 477) appears based on the Śiva image of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 296). He stands on a dwarf, is nude with tiger skin draped hips, and bears axe with nāga in his left hand. Yet he seems not to be ithyphallic, unlike the Mahākūṭa precedent, perhaps due to influence of the Svarga Brahma temple type Bhikṣātana concept (Fig. 421). Also his hair is not long and loose, but raised in a jatā-makuta, with a halo behind.
The śukanāśa slab (Fig. 478) in front of the Jambulinga temple's śikhara displays Nāṭeśa with Pārvatī and Nandi. The adjacent dhālī nāgas were first seen on the Svarga Brahma temple's śukanāśa. The role of Pārvatī here recalls the Vīra Brahma temple's śukanāśa (Fig. 276). Also, Śiva's pose with front left hand in pāja-hasta is like that of the Vīra Brahma temple Nāṭeśa image; this is one of the first representations in Karnataka of this Nāṭeśa mode.

The Jambulinga temple's garbha-grha entrance overdoor decoration is completely uninhabited. The unmatched figures at the base are probably not original. The mandapa entrance has small worn base box dvārapālas who might be original. Its overdoor decoration includes a row of haṃsas, relating it to the garbha-grha doorframes of several Karnataka temples of the period c. 680–700, and five miniature liṅga shrines. These imply that the temple was dedicated to Śiva or a Śaiva deity.

The garbha-grha now contains a liṅga on a pitha.

B.28. Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal: Phase II

Perhaps soon after Vinayāditya's return from his visit to Andhra Pradesh in regnal year eleven (Vn5), a decision was made to enhance the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal, then under construction, by enclosing it within a mandapa in Ālampur style. Possibly the temple's patron was a member of the royal entourage who had accompanied Vinayāditya to Andhra Pradesh. The westernmost portion of the Pāpanātha temple standing today (Fig. 479) seems to have been created at this time. It may be dated to the period c. 692–700, for it has pillared garbha-grha axis false porches, not seen before the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 399), and yet
was designed to have only ten or twelve exterior niches, rather than twenty-two as found on the Viṣva Brahma (Fig. 445) and later Alampur Calukya temples.

In Phase II, the original Pāpanātha temple garbha grha entranceway was provided with two large four-armed dvārapālas on flanking pilasters (Fig. 473). These are of the developed Svarga Brahma temple Śaiva type (Fig. 402), perhaps the first examples in Karnataka. Both dvārapālas have bushy hair, lean on maces, and bear nāgas. The south one has crossed legs, bears a triśūla, and also has a horn/triśūla headdress. The north one bears an axe and has a novel pose, lifting his right foot to half mace height. The temple's new exterior walls were built quite close to the original garbha grha walls on the north, west, and south, making interior pradaksina difficult. Whether or not the images now present in the false porches were included at this time is uncertain, but probably they were not. Their iconography suggests a later date, and the Phase II intention may have been simply to provide illumination for the pradaksinapatha.

The Pāpanātha temple's Northern style śikhara with śukanāsa was probably built in Phase II. There is no antarāla below, but the śukanāsa is more than a flat panel; it imitates Andhra Pradesh examples in projecting slightly forward from the śikhara. The hāra (necklace) of sālās and kutas now extending around the entire Pāpanātha temple at the level of the eaves probably was not present in the Phase II design, but was added in the temple's final phase, in imitation of those of Pattadakal's Southern style temples. The front of the śukanāsa displays an eight-armed Naṭesā image (Fig. 480). As at the Jambulinga temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 478), the god's front left hand is in gaja-hasta, the
most common Calukya mode in the eighth century. His surviving other hands bear drum, dhvaja with streamer, cloth, and nāga. Śiva's cloth attribute, first known in Calukya art here, has been interpreted as the veil of māyā (illusion). It appears several times in later Calukya Naṭeṣa images, including two at the Pāpanātha temple itself, and in the eight-armed Vṛṣavāhanamūrti image at the Durga temple at Aihole (Fig. 578).

The Phase II Pāpanātha temple's exterior niches, though related in form and probably similar in number, were not filled with the same deities as at the Svarga Brahma or earlier sāndhāra temples at Ālampur. The eight Ālampur dikpālas, some represented standing and some seated, were discarded in favor of the four dikpālas on vāhanas popular in Karnataka, seen most contemporaneously on ceilings at Nāgarahāl (Fig. 383) and Bādāmi (Fig. 398): Indra on Airāvata (Fig. 481; compare Fig. 469), Varuṇa on makara, Kubera on ram/goat, and Yama on buffalo. As was the case with the Svarga Brahma temple's images of Gaṅgādharamūrti, Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, Liṅgodbhavamūrti, and Tripurāntakamūrti, these were not placed in niches, but directly on the temple walls. They flank the false porches, and, as at the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi, are not situated in their proper directions. Yama appears correctly on the south and Kubera on the north, but Indra is on the west and Varuṇa on the north. Also carved on the walls by the false porches are images of seated Brahmā, south, whose rear right hand attribute in the form of a figure eight was not seen previously, and Varāha (Fig. 482), west. The latter deity's stance and directionality recall earlier Karnataka examples, but his front arm positions seem derived from the then current Andhra mode (Figs. 453, 458).
The Phase II Pāpanātha temple exterior niche images on the north side represent Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 761), east, and Gaṇeśa, west. These deities were typically placed opposite each other (north and south) in the garbha grha niches of Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh. The end of Phase II construction on the north exterior wall is clearly visible just east of the Mahiṣamardini image. On the west exterior, the niche mūrtis are worn Harihara, south, and Nṛsiṁha battling Hiraṇyakaśipu (Fig. 483), north. The former deity, seen also in Figure 416, is here accompanied by Pārvatī, Nandi, and Garuḍa(?). This mūrti is not previously known on the rear of a Calukya temple. The subject of Nṛsiṁha's struggle with Hiraṇyakaśipu is not known previously at all, but probably reached Pattadakal from Andhra Pradesh, for it appears on a post-Calukya pillar (Fig. 484) in the Alampur Museum and also on the Kailāsanātha temple at Kaṇṭi. Pāpanātha temple Phase II niches on the south exterior contain images of a four-armed Nāṭeśa, east, and an ugra form of Śiva accompanied by Nandi, west.

A particularly novel aspect of the Phase II Pāpanātha temple is the appearance of large deity carvings on the six pillars of its three false porches. Perhaps the desire was to include on the temple as many different Śiva and Viṣṇu mūrtis as possible, and presumably most of these were ones contemporaneously popular at Alampur, whence originated the Phase II temple's structural format. All of the carvings are worn, some very badly, but it is evident that, on each pillar, one aspect of Śiva and one of Viṣṇu was depicted. This absolute equality would tend to support a dedication of the Phase II temple to neither Śiva nor Viṣṇu, but since presumably fully half of the intended niche mūrtis, as well as the mandapa entrance area, are not available for consideration, no
definite conclusion may be drawn. Perhaps Devī was still enshrined, but the *garbha grha dvārapālas* and the *śukanāsa* Naṭesā image suggest that Śiva was considered the supreme deity.

The false porch pillars have their Viṣṇu *mūrtis* facing outward on the temple's north side, which is the side of the temple's Viṣṇu *garbha grha* niche image. The east pillar here features images of Tripurāntakamūrti (Fig. 485) and Gajendramokṣa (Fig. 486). The west pillar features images of Trivikrama and Kaṅkālamūrti. We note that representations of Gajendramokṣa and Trivikrama appear on the Viśva Brahma temple's facade, while representations of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti (closely associated with Kaṅkālamūrti) and Tripurāntakamūrti appear on the Svarga Brahma temple's facade. All four deities are four-armed at the Pāpanātha temple. Gajendramokṣa and Tripurāntakamūrti are comparable icons to the extent that both involve a god acting at his devotee's (devotees') request to defeat a foe (foes), and flying through the air on some conveyance. Śiva flies upward on the chariot consisting of the universe, while Viṣṇu flies downward on Garuḍa. Tripurāntakamūrti's only attribute is his drawn bow. In this relief, the aspect of Viṣṇu in bull form supporting Śiva's chariot, known in several texts, seems to be portrayed. Gajendramokṣa's attributes, probably typical *cakra* and *śaṅkha*, are worn. The flying figure to his proper left is seen in all later Calukya versions of this icon. Trivikrama and Kaṅkālamūrti are comparable icons to the extent that both involve begging on the part of the god. The Trivikrama relief includes small scenes of Bali as giver and Garuḍa as chastizer, as at Ālampur (Figs. 419, 452, 453). The attributes in Viṣṇu's hands are worn, but a *śaṅkha* seems carved in low relief above his left shoulder. The representation of Kaṅkālamūrti
includes no subordinate figures. The god holds an apparent trident with bones, but his other attributes are unclear. He is nude, with a snake draping his hips, non-samabhanga, and non-ithyphallic.

The pillars of the false porch on the west (Fig. 487), the side of the garbha grha niche Surya image, have one Vaishnava and one Saiva subject facing outward. The north pillar's north side represents Krṣṇa Govardhanadhāraṇa, bearing cross-in-circle cakra. The cattle he saves from Indra's rainstorm are shown below his raised and bent left leg. Indra, whom Krṣṇa bested in this myth, is shown on the west wall of the temple, though nearer the south than the north pillar. The north pillar's west side displays an unidentified form of Śiva bearing trident and nāga and standing with his left leg raised high and bent. A seated devotee making aṇjali mudrā appears at his lower left. This relief's base at lower left seems decorated with a water motif, while that at lower right is architectural. The south pillar of the west porch has representations of Kāliyadamana, with Krṣṇa bearing cloth, Kāliya's tail, and sāṅkha, and probably Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti (Fig. 488), with Śiva upholding the hide of the defeated elephant demon. Both these latter subjects involve the defeat of an animal antagonist, and both are associated with a god's dance.

The pillars of the false porch on the south, where an image of Śiva is within the garbha grha niche, both have their Śiva mūrtis facing outward. The west pillar appears to represent the struggle of Vāli and Sugrīva, observed by tiny figures of Rāma and Laksmana or Hanumān, and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti. The position of the latter subject on the temple structure probably relates to the now lost Andhakāsuravadhamūrti image presumed installed within the Svarga Brahma temple's south porch. Its
thematic relationship to the adjacent Rāmāyana subject is unknown; the piercing of Vāli with Rāma's arrow would be a comparable subject, but this episode does not appear to be shown. The east pillar of the south porch bears a representation of samabhanga standing Viṣṇu bearing cakra, śaṅkha, and mace, and an active worn figure, presumably Śiva, with an upraised weapon (Fig. 489). It is hypothesized that the latter relief portrays the decapitation of Brahmā. An image of Brahmā appears on the wall on the south side of the temple here, as does an image of Yama, god of death; however Kaňkālamūrti is shown on the temple's north side. The thematic link between the supposed Brahmasiraścchedakamūrti and the adjacent image of Viṣṇu is unclear, but Viṣṇu was the preeminent god who gave alms to Brahmasiraścchedakamūrti, and in some texts was the one who directed him to Vārāṇasī. The icons of Brahmasiraścchedakamūrti and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti may be associated on the premise that in the latter myth Śiva acted to punish his son, and in the former to punish his father.
C. Notes

1. See Chapter II, note 33.

2. The fact that Ādityavarman’s invocation to Varāha seems original, not copied from any of those known to have been used by his father, suggests that his devotion to Viṣṇu-Varāha was personal, not merely traditional.

3. Four later Calukya kings had āditya as part of their official names, but in each case it was only a suffix: Vikramāditya (I and II), sun of prowess; Vinayāditya, sun of discipline/propriety; Vijayāditya, sun of victory.

4. The compatibility of sun god worship and Vaiṣṇavism seems illustrated at the Malegitti Śivālaya at Badami, attributed to Ādityavarman’s father, Pulakeśi II. In the standard Later Western Calukya eleventh century genealogy (C6), Ādityavarman is said to be comparable to Āditya. This statement was probably based on the king’s name alone, for the eulogy of Vikramāditya I, next in the genealogy, deals chiefly with his prowess (vikrama). The hypothesis that the writer of this genealogy did not have much data relating to these two kings is supported by the fact that the genealogy assumes Ādityavarman to have been the father, rather than the brother, of Vikramāditya I. The tenth century poem Gadāyuddha also assumes that Ādityavarman was the father of Vikramāditya I (Narasimhachar (1911)).

5. See Chapter I, page 43 and note 89.

6. Similarly, in B16, Vikramāditya’s own younger brother, Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman, is said to have meditated on the feet of his mother and father and Śrimaṭ-Śīnavarita, the latter being an epithet of Vikramāditya I in all of his known copper plates.

7. B9 and B10 are copper plates recording gifts made to brāhmaṇas by Candrāditya’s queen. They have no invocatory verses and feature a family prasasti virtually identical to that of Vikramāditya I’s copper plates. B9, dated in (Vikramāditya’s) fifth regnal year, has a boar seal, rather than Candrāditya’s name seal; whether it was issued earlier or later than the undated B10 is unknown.

While Candrāditya seems to have ruled in the Calukya heartland during his lifetime only, Vikramāditya appears to have given his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarma hereditary authority in outlying South Gujarat and adjacent territories, much as Pulakeśi II gave eastern Andhra to his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana. Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha and his sons issued grants with their own name seals, but took no imperial titles until the eighth century.
Possibly this invocation was selected, at least in part, because Vikramāditya wished to compare himself to the epic warrior hero Arjuna. Vikramāditya might have been the third brother among five (Candraditya being perhaps the eldest and Adityavarma second eldest, while Dharāśrava Jayasiśhavarma was certainly younger; another younger brother is not known), as was Arjuna among the Pāṇḍavas. Also, the period between the Pallava incursion and Vikramāditya's first official regnal year seems to have been about twelve years long, as was the Pāṇḍavas' period of exile. We note that B14, supposedly issued in Vikramāditya's reign, does compare him to Arjuna.

This implies that Vikramāditya acknowledged the right of Adityavarma to rule, probably indicating that Adityavarma was Pulakeśi's chosen successor, and possibly also that he was older than Vikramāditya. It seems further to imply that Vikramāditya did not acknowledge the rule of Abhinavāditya as legitimate. That the praśasti of Vikramāditya and his seventh and eighth century successors do not name Adityavarma and Abhinavāditya does not itself deny the fact of their rule; the chief purpose of such praśasti was to give the direct ancestry of the issuing king. It may be noted that the eleventh century Later Western Calukya praśasti (C6) does include Adityavarma and one Naḍamari (who was probably based on the real Abhinavāditya) but does not know their proper relationship to each other or to the rest of the family. Naḍamari is listed as the son of Pulakeśi II, Adityavarma as the son of Naḍamari, and Vikramāditya as the son of Adityavarma. Evidently, by the eleventh century, this period in the family's history was not remembered accurately. The Calukya genealogy in the tenth century poem Gadāvuddha makes Adityavarma the son of Pulakeśi II and Vikramāditya the son of Adityavarma; no intervening ruler is included (Narasimhachar 1911).

The exception is the Kolhapur grant (Vk8). This grant uses an eulogy of Vikramāditya essentially identical to that in the undated Kurnool plates (Vk1). The Kolhapur grant has a date which is literally meaningless, but which has been "corrected" to year seventeen. This seems an unlikely date, due to the standardization of the eulogy which otherwise prevailed in Vikramāditya's grants after year three. Secondly, all Vikramāditya's published grants from year ten on were written by Jayasena, but the Kolhapur grant names no writer. Thirdly, Vikramāditya's other grants from his sixteenth year on have dates in the Śaka era, but the Kolhapur grant does not. The invocation and the portion of the praśasti not dealing with Vikramāditya, however, link Vk8 to Vk2 and later plates, rather than to the undated Kurnool plates (Vk1). If the supposed year seventeen date could be discarded, a date for Vk8 between Vk1 and Vk2 would seem appropriate. If the Kolhapur plates are indeed of year seventeen, it must be concluded that the Vikramāditya eulogy format they share was more common than surviving plates indicate. In support of the latter assumption, it may be noted that one short
phrase used in Vkl and Vk8, but not in the standard format seen in Vk2-5, appears as an addition to the standard eulogy in Vk7 and Vk9 (Vkl0 is defective in the relevant portion).

12 Whether Raçaṅgavarma was identical to Ādityavarman or Candrāditya, or a third person entirely, is unknown; perhaps the first assumption is preferable.

13 The identification of the Vikramāditya named in Vk11 with the first Calukya king of that name is based on the inclusion of the epithet Anivarita, which was used for Vikramāditya I in all his copper plates. Though this epithet was also used for Vikramāditya II in K5, there seems little doubt of the identification when the temple itself is considered.

14 The Sanjān grant does not follow the introductory format used in Vikramāditya's plates. It has a unique invocation honoring Vaṛāha, and non-traditional phrases mentioning the Seven Mothers, Mahāsaṇa and Kārttikeya, and the boar crest given to the Calukya family by Hari. Thus, its format is similar to the type used by Pulakeśi II, the elder brother of its purported issuer, Buddhavarasa. Since the seal of the Sanjān plates bears a lion, not a boar, and since Buddhavarasa is called in them a paramaṁheśvara, it seems unlikely that he would have originated this particular invocation and praśasti. Probably, therefore, these were copied from some lost grant of Pulakeśi II, who presumably first appointed Buddhavarasa to a position of authority.

15 The Muddapadra grant, like all published grants of the Gujāra Calukya branch, features the Varāha invocation standard in the plates of Vikramāditya I and his successors of the main Calukya line. However, in its description of the Calukya family, it resembles some grants of Pulakeśi II's reign, mentioning the assemblage of Mothers and Śvāmī Mahāsaṇa. Later grants of the Gujāra branch, including those of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya himself, conform to standard main line practice in this respect. Not one of the Gujāra Calukya grants bears a boar seal; all the surviving seals feature the name of the donor prince or his father, and B26 additionally bears two unidentified figures.

16 The eleventh century Later Western Cālukya genealogy (C6) provides no important information about Vikramāditya. It does, however, state that Naḍamari carried Mṛda (Śiva) in his heart. Since Ādityavarman and Abhinavāditya seem to have been Vaishnavas, it is conceivable that this statement was true of Vikramāditya instead. This is, however, only speculation.

17 For this date see F. Kielhorn, "Postscript," Epigraphia Indica, 9 (1907-08), 102.
For the location of the granted land, in "Kuhundi-vishaya," see Nandimath (1957: 215).

Hultzsch, ed., South Indian Inscriptions 1, 154. Perhaps this engagement was at Peruvalanallur, where the eighth century Udayendaram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (Hultzsch et al., ed., South Indian Inscriptions 2, 370-371) state that Paramesvararvarma defeated the army of Vallabha. This site is in Trichinopoly District in Tamil Nadu (Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 224)).


See, for example, Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 223-224); Sircar (1954: 244).


See discussion by Panchamukhi (1933-34: 25-26).

Vinayāditya was also known by the epithet Yuddhamalla (war-wrestler) (Vn13, B17, C6).

The two latter readings were suggested by Sircar (1957-58: 175) and Sreenivasaschar and Desai (1961: 40).

Pampā lake, near which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa met Sugrīva and Hanumān, is described in the Kiśkindha section of the Rāmāvana. The identification of the Pampā-tīrtha in Vn3 with Hampi was suggested by J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 29," Indian Antiquary, 6 (1877), 85. The identification of Mahākoṭa-tīrtha in Vn6 with Mahākūṭa was suggested by M. Somasekhara Sarma (1936: 31).

Elā-arasa has been translated as "junior king" (P.V.P. Sastry (1975a: 130-131)). Perhaps Lokāditya was the personal name of Vinayāditya's son who, by S. 613 (691/2 A.D.), was Yuvarāja Vijayāditya (Vn9); alternately he may have been another prince.
The identification of Raktapura with Pattadakal and Kisuvolal (a name used also in Calukya inscriptions) was suggested by Gai (1957-58: 318) because the latter name is the Kannada equivalent of the Sanskrit Raktapura, both meaning red or ruby city. The identification of Kisuvolal with Pattadakal was suggested by J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 99," Indian Antiquary, 10 (1881), 162, on the basis of C4.

Pattadakal village was given as an income-producing entity to the Makuteśvaranātha temple in 602 A.D. (M4). Because of this affiliation with the Calukya dynastic cult Śiva temple, and Pattadakal's auspicious location on the bank of the Malaprabha River, the site seems to have grown in religious importance in the seventh century. Probably it was never a military capital, for it has no known fortification remains.

Since three of Vijayāditya's surviving copper plate grants (Vj7,9,12), as well as the purported Lakšmesvar grants (B21, 22), were issued from Pattadakal, and Vijayāditya is known to have patronized the construction of the stone Vijayēśvara/Saṅgmeśvara Śiva temple there (K5, C4), it is likely that the site was already fairly important in the reign of his father Vinayāditya, whether or not B15 itself is reliable.

Eleventh century Later Western Calukya tradition held that Pattadakal was the coronation site for Calukya kings (ARSIE for 1928-29, Appendix E, #173; Krishnamacharlu et al., ed., South Indian Inscriptions 11/1, #110). Probably Mahākūṭa was the original site for this ceremony, but it may be suggested that Vijayāditya (the last reigning pre-Rāṣṭrakūta direct ancestor of the Later Western Calukya kings) transferred his chief spiritual allegiance to Pattadakal, and that Vikramāditya II and Kṛttivarmane II were later crowned there.

No faith should be placed in a misdated Later Western Calukya stone inscription at Aminbhāvi which refers to Pattadakal as the capital of Pulakesi II (Fleet (1896: 358)), or in two (or more) misdated and spurious copper plates of about the same period which state that Pattadakal was the capital of Vinayāditya (ARSIE for 1933-34, #A2; ARSIE for 1939-40 to 1942-43, #A8 of 1939-40).

A short phrase which is part of the eulogy of Vikramāditya in Vk2-5, 7, 9, 10 appears, but the king's name is absent. A similar phrase, though with slightly different wording, was a part of the eulogy of Vikramāditya in grants of Vijayāditya and his successors. Vinayāditya's genuine grants do not contain this phrase in either form.

Several Calukya copper plates which are accepted as genuine feature omissions of one or more phrases, including king names, from the standard text. These omissions are typically attributed (by the editors of these inscriptions) to carelessness. For example, Vn5 omits Pulakesi II.

The epithet cakrāyudhapati, applied to Vinayāditya in Cl, could be assigned to Viśnu, but probably should be taken as equivalent to cakravartin, a secular designation for an emperor.
This is assumed since Bādāmi was the original dynastic capital and Mahākūṭa (and possibly later Pattadakal, see note 28 above) the dynastic Śiva cult center. A spurious copper plate (ARSIE for 1939-40 to 1942-43, #A8 of 1939-40) claims to have been issued after the king's sacred bath at Mahākūṭa, when he had gone to Kuranda(?) from his permanent residence at the capital Raktapura (Pattadakal), in connection with the celebration of his coronation ceremony. Pattadakal was probably not Vinayāditya's capital (see note 28 above), but perhaps late seventh and/or eighth century Calukya coronation rites did involve both Mahākūṭa and Pattadakal.

The issue site of Vn9, found in Kurnool District, is unidentified. The issue site of Vn5, dated Ś. 614, year eleven, has been identified in Gooty Taluk in Andhra's Anantapur District (ARSIE for 1920-21, 87), about sixty miles from Alampur.

This was assumed by Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 186); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 125).

Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 186); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 125, fig. 194).

Bolon, personal communication, August 1980. This figure may be compared to Figure 142, the Mālegitti Śivālaya's south, presumably Śaiva, façade dvārapāla.

The existence of a Northern type superstructure with central side projections was assumed by Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 185-186); Gupte (1963-64: 60) assumed a 'pyramidal' superstructure with an āmalaka top. Lippe (1970-71: 82) assumed a non-apsidal superstructure. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 123) assumed that the temple had no śikhara. I follow Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 185-186) in dating the Cikka Mahākūṭa temple after the Cikki temple. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 126) assumed that the Cikka Mahākūṭa temple dated c. 600-620 and influenced, rather than imitated, the Apsidal Śiva temple at Aihole. The date of Gupte (1963-64: 61) for the Cikka Mahākūṭa temple, in the fourth quarter of the fifth or early sixth century, may be rejected.

Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 187) and Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 304-308) have referred to this temple as the Lakuliśa temple. Michell (1975a: 25, 41) refers to it as the Saṅgameśvara temple, as does the label of Archaeological Survey of India photograph 1960-404 (Fig. 227). Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 308, 568) dated this temple c. 690-696, contemporaneous with the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 187, 351) dated the Siddhanakollā temple, as I do, before any other known temple with a Northern śikhara in Karnatakā, though his
absolute date (690-700) is, as usual, later than mine.

38

The first known Karnataka Calukya flat panel śukanāsas feature Lakulīśa (Siddhanakolla) and Śiva with Pārvatī (Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa), while all known Andhra Calukya projecting śukanāsas feature Naṭesā. This suggests that the former form was developed completely separately from the latter, or that they diverged before the latter had become a standardized type. By the end of the reign of Vikramaditya I, however, the Andhra form of projecting śukanāsa with Naṭesā was influential in Karnataka at Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa (Figs. 297, 304).

39

It appears in situ in Archaeological Survey of India photograph 1960-404 (Fig. 227), and was also seen there by Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 187).

40

Compare Figure 426 and see Chapter II, note 92, and note 127 below.

41

See Chapter II, page 113, and note 58 below.

42

Schastok (1980: 149 and passim).

43

The rock-cut medium here might suggest that this was the earliest Calukya image of Lajjā-Gaurī. However the concept was pre-Calukya in date in both the eastern and western Deccan, and early images in both areas are not rock-cut. See, for example, a Nagārjunakonḍa example with an Ikṣvāku inscription (Anand, Settar, Michell, et al. (1978: 19) and Divakaran (1981: Fig. 112)) and Bhokardan examples (Soundara Rajan (1980: 50-51, pl. 2)).

44

See Chapter II, note 87.

45

For other opinions about the date of the Bāla Brahma temple, see note 61 below.

46

Whether or not the Bāla Brahma temple had a base platform, not now traceable, is unknown.

47

See pages 182-183, 188, and note 57 below.
That the sides of these platforms are not, in fact, half buried walls is shown by the occasional surviving drainage spouts at their top edges. There is no trace surviving of any original wall or platform around the Garuḍa Brahma temple. The platform of the Tāraka Brahma temple, which differs from the others in plan and superstructure, is an exception in lacking any evident projections.

Probably it formerly contained a Naṭeśa image, as did the Kumāra Brahma temple's upper śikhara trefoil. It is hypothesized that all śikharas of known Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh featured Naṭeśas.

Probably the original number of mandapa interior pillars was also identical in the two temples, as assumed in Figure 234. That extra intervening ones were added to the Bāla Brahma temple at a later date seems indicated by the fact that these have no corresponding pilasters on the north and south interior side walls.

See also Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: figs. 319-320).

At the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kuḍavelli, the garbha ġṛha entrance outer door jambs display ganas in continuous registers.

Influences from Kuḍavelli at the Bāla Brahma temple seem especially likely in view of Vikramaditya's presumed pilgrimage there in his third regnal year (Vk2).

As at Kuḍavelli, the present liṅga inside the garbha ġṛha has no pīṭha and is probably a replacement. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 193) suggested that a mukhaliṅga now installed in a compound wall niche west of the Bāla Brahma temple was its original garbha ġṛha liṅga.

Michell (1973b) has discussed the Svarga Brahma temple dikpālas, but most of his remarks apply equally well to the Bāla Brahma temple set.

This coincides with the finding of Michell (1973b: 84-85) that the Brhatasmhitā and Asni Purāṇa descriptions of dikpālas are fairly close to the Svarga Brahma temple images, which were probably imitated from those of the Bāla Brahma temple.
Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 194) theorized that this śâlā-roofed subshrine was original. However it is not enclosed by the temple's enclosure wall, but rather incorporates the latter. At the northeast corner, the outward turn of the wall (Fig. 237) does enclose one subshrine (containing medieval images of Brahmā, Nṛsiṁha, and Śiva-Viśnū) with a kapota-layered śikhara (see page 210). Probably even this shrine is not original, however, for it occupies only the eastern part of the space made available by the enclosure wall's turns; a structure similar to the present southeast subshrine (though much smaller), and built over the wall, fills the area just west of it. It is presumed that the original northeast and southeast shrines filled the entire length of the spaces made available by the enclosure wall's turns.

The Bāla Brahma temple Saptamātrkā group images (B) are compared, with respect to vāhanas and attributes, to their Siddhanakolla counterparts (S) below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mūrti</th>
<th>rear</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>rear</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>vāhana</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>right</td>
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<td>S/B</td>
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<td>S/B</td>
<td>S/B</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>S/B</td>
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Vīṇādhara \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \textit{vīṇā} \)/\(\textit{Śrīśūla} \textit{vīṇā} \) with \(\textit{vāhana} \) (Gaṅeśa)/Nandi

Brahmāni \(-/\textit{rosary} \)/\(-/\textit{curved} \) implement \(\textit{kamāṇḍalu} \)/\(\textit{haṁsa} \)

Māheśvarī \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \)/\(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{vāsa} \)/\(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \)

Kaumāri — flower? \(/-/\textit{trīśūla} \)/\(/-/\textit{vāsa} \)/\(/-/\textit{Śrīśūla} \)

Vaiṣṇavī \textit{cakra} flower \(\textit{Śaṅkha} \)/\(\textit{Śaṅkha} \) fruit \(\textit{Śaṅkha} \) Garuḍa

Vārāhī \(-/\textit{fruit} \)/\(-/\textit{vāsa} \)/\(-/\textit{Śrīśūla} \)

Aindrī — \(\textit{Śrāva} \)/\(\textit{Śrāva} \)/\(\textit{Śrāva} \)

Cāmundā \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \)

Gaṅeśa rosary root \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \)/\(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \) \(\textit{Śrīśūla} \)

(B)
None of the figures has any children. Both Brahmanīs are multiheaded, and both Vārāhīs are boar-headed.

There are several other loose Calukya Mātrkās at Alampur whose temple of origin is unknown. A Vārāhī image (Fig. 255) now installed in a niche west of the Bāla Brahma temple and one stored inside the Arka Brahma temple (Fig. 256) both seem similar in iconography to Figure 251. The Aindrī adjoining the Vārāhī in Figure 255 has only a single left hand, at rest, surviving. Another relief stored in the Arka Brahma temple (Fig. 257) features adjoining representations of Cāmuṇḍā and Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa resembles his counterpart in Figure 254. Cāmuṇḍā bears triśūla (rear right), sword (front right), dhvaja (?) (rear left), and bowl (?) (front left). None of these images has a vāhana. Figure 258, an image of Vaishnavī also stored in the Arka Brahma temple, does have a Garuḍa vāhana. Only two of her hands survive, and these resemble those of Figure 250.

59

Another goat-headed male is found in the Alampur Museum (#1), and a fragment of a third is stored in the Arka Brahma temple (Fig. 260).

60

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 203-206). Bolon's supposition that the image of Lajjā-Gaurī was originally installed in the northeast subshrine seems wrong. While Lajjā-Gaurī is worshipped at the northeast of the Siddhanakolla temple, this site has two additional shrines which probably were counterparts of the Bāla Brahma temple's northeast and southeast shrines. Also, Bolon's supposition that the Mātrkā images were Vinayāditya reign additions seems wrong; she has herself noted stylistic similarities between them and the main temple's north garbha grha niche image of Devī.

61

The Arka Brahma temple's base platform, surviving only at the north and west, shows a projection, presumably for a subshrine, at the northeast. Prasad (1972-73: 58-61); (1980: 101) dated the Arka Brahma temple and the Vīra Brahma temple (except its sikhara) before the Bāla Brahma temple, placing all three in the period 660-688. He dated the Mahānandīśvara temple after the Bāla Brahma temple, in Vinayāditya's reign. Divakaran (1971: 73) dated the Bāla Brahma temple to the middle of the seventh century or a little later, and the Arka Brahma and Vīra Brahma temples, following it, to the period 665-675. She placed the Mahānandīśvara temple five years after the Bāla Brahma temple. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 190-191, 202, 251, 567-568) dated the Bāla Brahma temple (except subshrine images) as I do, in relationship to Vīra, with the Arka Brahma temple slightly later. She placed the Mahānandīśvara temple contemporaneous with the Bāla Brahma temple, and the Vīra Brahma temple early in Vinayāditya's reign, contemporaneous with the Garuḍa Brahma and Padma Brahma temples. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 356), like Divakaran, assumed that the Arka Brahma and Vīra Brahma temples were built contemporaneously, just after the Bāla Brahma temple.
The Arka Brahma temple served for a time as a mosque (Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. Annual Report for 1926–27, 11), and all its original figural sculptures have been defaced or removed.


Perhaps the Bāla Brahma Śiva temple originally had a porch with a coiled nāga ceiling, recalling Cave 1 at Bādāmi. The Arka Brahma Śiva temple may have featured this motif on a mandapa interior ceiling because it lacked a porch. See also note 229 below. Later Ālampur temples seem to have followed the latter practice, even when they had porches.

A true Calukya antarāla is a space between the garbha grha entrance doorframe and the garbha grha itself.

It is uncertain whether the porch originally had two or four front pillars.

The doorframe is undecorated above this level.

Sreenivasachar and Desai (1961: #99); ARIE for 1959–60, #B143; Sampath (1979).


The gaoa jambs at Kūḍavelli were outside the jamb pilasters; at the Tāraka Brahma temple they are inside, and they continue horizontally on the lintel.

This seems to have been noticed only by Prasad (1970–71: 64).

See page 204 and notes 114–116 below.
Siva is usually described as nude in the Pine Forest, which he entered as a beggar, but the Naṭesā image at the Tāraka Brahma temple and typical later representations of Naṭesā on dwarf are clothed. Apparently such representations were not of the god's original dance in the Pine Forest, but its repetition at Cidambaram and/or its eternal display. See A.K. Coomaraswamy, quoted in Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, 234–236 and ff.).

Lippe (1975: 177, fig. 1).

The image in the south cloister's tenth subshrine from the east displays dancing Siva striding over one gāna and placing his forward foot on another. This pose suggests battle (as in the Kalacuri/Calukya Andhākāsura-vadhamūrti iconic type) rather than already accomplished victory or eternal līlā, and no single dwarf figure is danced upon. See Rea (1909: pl. XXXII4).

Prasad (1980: 64–67, pl. 12); Sivaramamurti (1974: 177, fig.15).

Rama Rao (1960: 445) supported a date for the Mogulrājapuram caves of late seventh or early eighth century, under Eastern Calukya patronage.

Such hypothetical early Coḷa Naṭesā on dwarf images (perhaps with personified Gaṅgā in the god's hair, as in medieval bronzes) might have inspired the Pallava Gaṅgādhara type showing the god standing with one foot on a dwarf, an example of which was created for Mahendravarma Pallava (c. 600–630) at Tiruchirāppalli in Coḷa territory (see K.R. Srinivasan (1964: 85–86, pl. XX)). Perhaps Naṭesā on dwarf images did not appear in Pallava art before about the mid eighth century, not because this Naṭesā type was unknown, but because it was too specifically associated with the Coḷas.

The Tāraka Brahma temple's south side niche frame has two small, much worn, bushy haired dvārapāla-like figures at its base. The apparent crossed leg stance of one (Fig. 269) resembles that of some dvārapālas at Pallava Rājasiṃha's Shore temple at Mahābalipuram and Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇci, and on some mid eighth century Calukya temples in Karnataka, rather than any in known seventh century Pallava or Calukya art. Possibly these Tāraka Brahma temple figures were eighth century additions to the temple, or possibly they were direct copies of a seventh century Coḷa dvārapāla style which became popular in Pallava territory in Rājasiṃha's reign and entered eighth century Calukya art in Karnataka from that source.
The two pillars placed between the eastern pair seem to be later additions, and so are not shown in Figure 270.


Prasad (1972-73: 60, 67). For other datings of the Vīra Brahma temple, see note 61 above.

If so, Vinayaditya may have built his Śiva temple (Vīra Brahma temple) next to the Śiva temple (Arka Brahma temple) erected by his own mother.

C2 does not mention the temple's patron, but does provide fairly early evidence of the god's name Pañcaliṅgadeva, close to the modern form, Pañcaliṅgeśvara. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 175-176) tentatively dated this temple c. 660. Prasad (1972: 211) grouped it with Rāṣṭrakūṭa monuments.

This image resembles Ālampur Museum #53, a Lajjā-Gaurī image from Kūdavelli. Both probably date to the same period, late in Vikramaditya's reign or early in Vinayaditya's reign. Neither is as fine as the example at the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur.

The identifiable attributes are Brahmāṇi's lotus (right) and kamandalu (left); Māheśvarī's trisūla (right); Kaumārī's sākta (right); Vaiṣṇavī's cakra (right) and sāṅkha (left); Vārāhī's sword (right); and Aindrī's vajra (right). These Mothers have no vāhanas or children. Brahmāṇī is multiheaded and Vārāhī is boar-headed.

See note 9 above. Vinayaditya is compared to Yudhiṣṭhira in all his own copper plate inscriptions, but this simile is not unique: Maṅgalesā was compared to Yudhiṣṭhira in M4 and Pulakeśi was compared to Yudhiṣṭhira in B13.

See Prasad (1980: 100); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 176-178, 512, notes 41-42); P.V.P. Sastry (1975b). Prasad dated this temple to Vinayaditya's reign; Bolon dated it to the end of Vikramaditya I's reign.
The lack of an antarāla and śukanāsa, rare in Andhra after the date of the Bāla Brahma temple, seems to occur also at Kaḍamalakāla, 90.

The Gaṇuḍa lalāṭa-bimba could be taken as imitating that of the Saṅgamaśvara Śiva temple at Kuḍayelli, and so might not tell against a dedication of the Pānyam temple to Śiva. 91


The chronology followed here is that of Nilakanta Sastri (1976: 201). 93

For other datings of the Mahānandīśvara temple, see note 61 above.

Mate and Gokhale (1971).

Bhandarkar (1931-32). Panigrahi (1960: 639) states that the practice of erecting memorial liṅga temples for dead gurus was known in his day and presumed ancient in Bhubaneswar, Orissa. We note also that the Sanskrit term guru, meaning either "spiritual preceptor" or "father," is used to mean father (Pulakesi I) in Vikramāditya I's copper plates Vk2-5, 7, 9, 10 and to mean father (Vinayāditya) in all of Vijayāditya's published copper plates.

ARSIE for 1933-34, #B183.

Mate and Gokhale (1971: 501, 503). 98

The Rāvaṇa Phadi Śiva cave temple is outside the Aihole town walls and faces west, and so might be considered a memorial shrine built for the Śaiva king Pulakesi I by order of his Śaiva son Kṛttivarman I. However it is possible that no suitable east-facing rock was available in the vicinity of the town, and that this was an ordinary, non-memorial Śiva temple.

Divakaran (1971: 69) identified the females as river goddesses and noted the presence of birds with them, a feature seen previously at the Gaṇuḍa temple at Aihole.

The liṅga is not on a pītha, and may be a replacement.
This particular shrine has an āmalaka-śālā-āmalaka overdoor and bears on its lalāta-bimba an image of gandharvas holding a makuta, a motif seen at the roughly contemporaneous Vīra Brahma and Svarga Brahma temples at Ālampur. Its kapota-layered śikhara may be compared to that at the Pañcaliṅgēśvara temple, although Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 175-176) asserted that the latter is not original.


Lippe (1972: 278) suggested that Viṣṇu was conceived as Mohini here.

A begging bowl would be an appropriate attribute here. Perhaps the presence of a mirror was due to misunderstanding of a model with a begging bowl.

This was observed by Lippe (1975: 173). Though standing Śiva rests one foot on a jana/dwarf on one verandah pillar bracket at Cave 3 at Bādāmi, he is royally dressed there and joined by Pārvatī; thus the concept is totally different.

See Coomaraswamy (1965: fig. 66). Lippe (1972: 278) noted this resemblance.

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa I–2; chapter 27 (excerpted by O'Flaherty (1973: 141-149)); Kūrma Purāṇa II; chapters 38-39. Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 6, advocates Pāñcápata and three other sects honoring Śiva; it appears that the Pāñcapata sect is here particularly associated with the ksatriya caste.

Kānci-māhātya, chapter 40 (Dessigane et al. (1964: 50-51)); a legend recorded by Sonnerat in the eighteenth century (O'Flaherty (1973: 180) and Kulke (1970: 75)); Tirunelveli-sthalapurāgam (discussed by Shulman (1980: 311-312)), Palani-sthalapurāgam (discussed by Shulman (1980: 312-313)). Not all versions specify all the assailants/attributes.


Cidambaram-māhātya, chapters 11-13 (written for this particular Cola site, in Sanskrit, possibly in the eleventh century, according to Shulman (1980: 361); discussed by Kulke (1970: 87-88)); Koyil Purāṇa (a Tamil adaptation of the Cidambaram-māhātya, according to Shulman (1980: 32); discussed by Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, 235-236)); Dakṣa-Kāṇḍa of Śiva Rahasya Khandā, chapters 13-14 (written in Sanskrit and supposedly belonging to the Skanda Purāṇa, but probably composed in Kānci, according to Shulman (1980: 30); discussed by Kulke (1970: 85-86)); Kanda (Skanda) Purāṇa VI; chapter 13 (written in Tamil in Kānci, probably using the Śiva Rahasya Khandā as its prototype, according to Shulman (1980: 30-31); see Dessigane and Pattabiramin (1967: 191-193)); Aṣṭāṭalilaiyenum- tevi parakkiraman (discussed in Shulman (1980: 310-311)).


The dance is not referred to here.

The Saṅgāmeśvara temple image's itherphallism may be related to its formal (and probably thematic, see page 206, note 127) association with Lakulīśa and his images (of North Indian origin) as well as to the primacy of liṅga-worship in most versions of the Pine Forest myth. The
god's ithyphallism early in the story is specific in the Śiva Purāṇa Dharmasaṅhitā version, and probably in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa version of the myth. However typical representations of Śiva (Bhikṣuṭanamūrti) as he entered the Pine Forest and met the rsis and their wives do not show him as ithyphallic (Kramrisch (1981b: 155)).

120 For example, Śiva Purāṇa Dharmasaṅhitā and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. In Śiva Purāṇa and Śiva Purāṇa Jñānaśaṅhitā, no wife accompanies Śiva, but after his castration the rsis must propitiate Pārvatī to become a yoni for Śiva's linga. In Śiva Purāṇa Dharmasaṅhitā (and see Kulke (1970: 69) for a Mahābhārata commentary's related reference) the fallen linga lands in Satī's yoni. In Vāmana Purāṇa S.M., Pārvatī, though not said to become a yoni, aids in another way the installation of Śiva's linga. In Skanda Purāṇa VI, chapter 1, Śiva longs for Satī and requires the promise of Pārvatī's birth before he will take back his linga.

121 Saura Purāṇa, all references in note 114 above except Kānci-māhātya, and all references in note 116 above. In the Kūrma Purāṇa, Mohini initially enters the Pine Forest with Śiva, but he is accompanied by Pārvatī at his return.

122 Ardhanārīśvara is typically placed on the proper left side of Calukya Śiva temples (the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave is a notable exception), often opposite Harihara on the proper right. The variation in position of these icons at the Saṅgameravarā temple at Mahākūṭa would in itself appear to indicate some external source of influence.

123 For example, Vāmana Purāṇa, S.M.; Skanda Purāṇa V, chapter 38; Saura Purāṇa. Also O'Flaherty (1973: 200, note 100) cites the Haracarita and Darpaladana.


125 See Chapter I, page 31 and notes 56, 57.

126 He describes followers of the heretics who worshipped the devas and covered themselves with ashes (Beal (1911: 147)). In a play attributed to Pallava Mahendravarman (c. 600-630), a Pāṣupata mendicant character at Kāñcī is represented in a mocking fashion (Barnett (1928-30)).

127 See note 113 above. The two-armed standing Śiva (Fig. 426) now in a north mandapa niche of the Saṅgameravarā temple at Kūdavelli may, in fact, be an amalgam of Lakuśīśa and Bhikṣuṭana when he was assailed by the Pine Forest rsis. The two small figures flanking him look less
like attentive disciples of Lakulîśa than amazed or angry rṣis, often represented with Bhikṣūṭāna. The figures flanking the standing two-armed Siddhanakolla temple Īukanāśa Śiva (Fig. 228) are extremely worn, but also do not look like attentive disciples.

Another image from the area of the Saṅgamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli (M. Radhakrishna Sarma (1972: 53)) (Fig. 428), now in the Alampur Museum (#21), may be a Śiva dvārapāla influenced by the standing Śiva type at the Saṅgamesvara temple at Mahākūṭa. He is not ithyphallic or samabhāṅga in stance like this Śiva type or Lakulîśa, but does wear tiger skin and bear paraśu in his left hand. His unusual hair style is identical to that of Śiva in Figure 426 and to that of Yama's attendant in Figure 427, suggesting a contemporaneous date. Perhaps all three images originally belonged to a lost temple which was under construction at the site near the end of the seventh century. See pages 257-258
See also the adjacent axe- and club-bearing Śivas at the Virūpākṣa temple, Figures 659, 660.

128
A loose Harihara (two fragments) was also found at the Kalacuri Jogeswari cave temple, a presumed Pāśupata monument. It is now in the Prince of Wales Museum (#75.11 (1 and 2)).

129
This influence is discussed by Tagare (1981-82: Introduction, xxxii-xxxvi). See particularly the advocation of Pāśupata practices in its account of the Pine Forest myth in II; chapters 38-39.

130

131
Other forms mixing Viṣṇu's and Śiva's characteristics equivalently are described in Vāmanapa, chapter 36, vs. 27-31 and chapter 55, vs. 23-30.

132

133

134
The site plan in Cousens (1926: pl. XXXVII) indicates that in his time this temple had in front of it a pillared pavilion containing a Nandi; this may date from the same time as the garbha-grha's liṅga.

135
Such a cross legged pose for a standing deity is not seen at another Calukya site before Vijayāditya's reign. The cross legged two-armed figure in the south maṇḍapa niche of the Mahākūṭesvara temple (Fig. 323) probably is no earlier in date. See Chapter IV, notes 96, 130.
Possibly the original deity was the broken Viṣṇu image of Figure 301, or the broken Nṛsiṁha of Figure 302. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 165-166) suggested the latter.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 161). Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 235) asserted that the projection's Naṭeśa, at least, was a later addition.


Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 235); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 163) assumed these were original.

Temple 4 was known to Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 238) as Trailokesvara. It was locally called Virupaksheshwar in 1977-78. Temple 6 was known to Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 239) as Chandrakesvara. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 212-214, 322-323) dated Temples 4, 6, and 11 at Mahākūṭa in the same order as I do, but earlier: Temple 4, 678-685; Temple 6, 680-690; Temple 11, 690-700. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 354) dated these three temples and Temple 19 contemporaneously, after the period of Temples 5, 9, 13, 14, and 15.

Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 204-205, 237, etc.) termed this the kapota śikhara style, in preference to the earlier designation "Kadamba style." Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 111-112, 214, etc.) termed this the "Bhūmiprāsāda" type.


A similar bend is seen in the Harihara image on the north exterior of the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal; in this case, however, the adjacent image of Ardhanārīśvara has a parallel, not an opposite bend. See Figures 670, 671.

Temple 11 was known to Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 239a) as Mahesvara. In 1977-78 it was locally called Pinakapani. See note 140 above for dating hypotheses.

Another possibility here is Sūrya.
Though the Kalacuri caves in Maharashtra (and Cave 14 at Ellora) and most temples in North India (Williams (1982: 50)) feature Gaṅgā on the proper right, in Calukya temples the reverse is true. The only Calukya example of Gaṅgā on the proper right in Karnataka besides Temple 11 at Mahākūṭa (many examples, however, have both vāhanas destroyed) is the miniature, west-facing Temple 14 (Fig. 314), southeast of the Mahākūṭaśvara temple at the same site. See Figure 151. Temple 14 originated had a porch, but now has only a garbhā grha with a kapota-layered Śikhara. Its doorframe has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba and, next to the river goddesses, dvārapālas which imitate those of its neighbor, Temple 13. Temple 14 features Sūrya in its east (rear) niche, a two-armed male with a long-shafted attribute on the south (proper left), and a samabhāṅga female on the north (proper right). Since Devī is usually placed on the proper left of a Śiva temple, Temple 14 may have totally right/left reversed iconography, like Temple 11. The same may be true for nearby west-facing Temple 19 (Fig. 315), which has no river goddesses, but has Sūrya on the east/rear, Lakulīṣa on the south/proper left, and an unfinished figure on the north/proper right. Temples 11, 14, and 19 may be approximately contemporaneous. For Temple 19, see also notes 209 and 300 below.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 209-211) has attributed these images to the Cakra temple at Aihole (Temple 24), but their dimensions seem somewhat too small for its niches. The Cakra temple has undergone reconstruction of its eastern portion, and the dating of its garbhā grha structure is uncertain. Bolon placed it in the reign of Vikramāditya I, but it probably belongs to the eighth century; Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 199-200, 351) placed it in the mid eighth century, last among the temples with Northern style Śikharaś at Aihole. A damaged, unpublished inscription found at the Cakra temple site on a loose beam supposedly belonging just in front of the temple's garbhā grha has been read as referring to Yuvarāja Vikramāditya. Though K.V. Ramesh (in a conversation with S.V. Padigar, cited in a letter from the latter dated 11/21/80) and M.S. Nagarajra Rao (personal communication 10/10/80) have supposed this individual to be the identical with the son of Pulakesi II who became Vikramāditya I, we note that Viṣṇuvardhana was Yuvarāja in Pulakesi's reign as late as 631 A.D. (Pk9), and it is likely that, if any son of Pulakesi was named Yuvarāja near the end of his reign, it would have been Ādityavarman, who succeeded him, not Vikramāditya. On the other hand, a stone inscription from Lakshmesvar in Karnataka's Dharwar District (Vj20) refers to a Yuvarāja Vikramāditya who is unanimously identified with the future Vikramāditya II. Probably the Cakra temple inscription recorded this temple's construction, repair, or endowment by this Yuvarāja Vikramāditya or one of his subordinates, during the reign of Viṣṇujī or Viṣṇudeva. Though the inscription does not, in fact, date the temple, it may be tentatively placed in the period between the Tarappa temple and the Huccappaya temple at Aihole. Its original dedication is uncertain. See Figures 595, 599. See also Chapter IV, note 141.
The date of the Mahâküteśvara temple is controversial. Some early scholars, such as Cousens (1926: 51), and recently Divakaran (1981: 63) have identified it with the temple endowed in 602 A.D. by Maṅgaleśa (M4); cf. (de) Lippe (1978: 147, note 24). However I follow Michell (1975b); and Bolon (1979), Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 290) in dating it and the neighboring Mallikārjuna temple in the late seventh century. Divakaran (1981: 66) and Lippe (1967: 8) also dated the Mallikārjuna temple in the late seventh century. However Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 99ff), Tartakov (1981a: 180) dated both the Mahâküteśvara and Mallikārjuna temples in Vijayāditya's reign.

Bolon (1979: 258).

The doorway of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahâküta has no lalāta-bimba, but has uncut lower inner jamb areas probably intended for nāgas.

Possibly the original Makuṭeśvaranātha temple liṅga was a mukha-liṅga. We note the early sixth century mukha-liṅga adorning the center overdoor of the Jogeswari cave temple's south mandapa entrance (Fig. 331), and the post-Calukya catur-mukha-liṅga now installed in the Mahâküta tank shrine (Temple 15) (Fig. 154).

The exterior walls shown in Cousens (1926: pl. XXVII) do not survive.

This was suggested by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 111-112) although her date for the temple, c. 590-605, is far too early.

The temple's modern name was noted by Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 241) as Bhadravalinga.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 213) suggested that Figure 740 was the image enshrined at Temple 4, which she dated to the time period in which I would place Temple 22. A dedication of Temple 22 to Viṣṇu, though possible, is unlikely due to the temple's location away from the Viṣṇu Puṣkarini tank. A dedication to Maḥiṣamardini is suggested by parallelism with Calukya iconography in Andhra Pradesh, where images of Maḥiṣamardini (or another Devī form) seem typically to have been placed on the north, Kārttikeya on the west, and Gaṇeṣa on the south of Śaiva temples. I hypothesize that, soon after the construction of the Mahâküteśvara temple began, it was decided to enhance its "ancient" iconography according to the then current fashion in Andhra Pradesh. Since an image of Kārttikeya was already found in the west niche (Fig. 99), no addition or alteration was necessary on the west, but the north and south garbhagṛha deities were different, and so a separate
Mahishamardini shrine (Temple 22) was added at the north. Perhaps the intention was to erect a similar Ganesa shrine at the south, but this was not carried out by the royal family due to Vikramaditya's death. Perhaps late in Vinayaditya's reign a private patron constructed Temple 16 (Fig. 335) for this purpose. Though it now enshrines a late image of Virabhadra, it may originally have enshrined the large Ganesa icon now placed at the east side of the Mahakutesvara temple's Nandi pavilion. This Ganesa image was described by Balasubrahmanyam (1962: 56, fig. 2) as one of the earliest Calukya works in the Mahakuta area. Temple 16 seems similar in plan to what survives of Temple 22, but is much less decorated. Its porch has been enlarged in modern times.

For the origin of the name Konta, originally referring to the post-Calukya Northeast temple of the four-temple Konta group, see Cousens, ASIAR for 1907-08, 192; see J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 71," Indian Antiquary, 9 (1881), 96-97, for an alternate explanation, relating to the Northeast temple's supposed dedication to Devi Kunti. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 248, 318-322, 344, 369) dated the Konta Southeast temple in the reign of Vinayaditya, c. 695, after the Lad Khan temple. She dated the Huccimalli temple to c. 690-705, about the same as Tartakov and I do, and the Mallikarjuna temple at Aihole to the period 700-715. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 175-176, 208-210, 218, 351-352) placed the Mallikarjuna and Konta Southeast temples after the Huccimalli temple (c. 700-708/9) and before the Lad Khan temple (c. 715-720). Michell (1978: 307) dated the Konta Southeast temple generally to the end of the seventh or the early eighth century. Both Bolon and Tartakov noted the similarities of doorway carving in the Konta Southeast, Mallikarjuna, and Huccimalli temples.

See page 223. However the east structure of Temple 21 might have provided a precedent for the placement of a sanctum under a sloping rear roof. The interior wall and doorway now dividing "porch" from "mandapa" appear to be later additions; these are not shown in Figure 336.


The Konta Southeast temple's figures of river goddesses seem each to have one small frontal bird behind them. Perhaps this was a local adaptation of the North Indian bird pair motif, seen, for example, at the Gauda temple (Fig. 217).

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 321) called the Konta Southeast temple a "fertility temple."

Michell (1975a: 34).

163 The absence of crossbeams supporting the nave ceiling is unusual; a related lack of crossbeams in the central mandapa (though a true nave is lacking) occurs in the Vīra Brahma temple at Alampur.

164 This temple received its name from a modern period resident (Cousens, ASIAR for 1907-08, 192). For various published theories on the dating of the Lad Khan temple and its parts, see Michell (1975a: 30-31, 43, notes 45, 47, 48). Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 123) dated the Lad Khan temple 715-720. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 237f) dated it 681-685, and presumed that the present entrance and garbha grha forms were the result of alterations soon after the temple's completion.


166 See note 175 below.

167 The present circular facade windows may have been added even later, when the entry was narrowed, to match these.

168 The roof shrine is presently reached by a stone ladder and a hole in the porch roof. It is likely that no permanent means of access was available in the temple as completed in Vināyāditya's reign, though perhaps one was intended in the design of Vikramāditya's reign.

169 Also the combination of large garbha grha dvārapālas with small mandapa entrance dvārapālas is unknown elsewhere in Calukya temples, suggesting that the latter were not part of the same conception as the former.

170 The altered mandapa doorframe was associated by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 238, 519, note 131) with the Mālegitti Śivālaya's added proto-antarāla, but possibly was even later. Temple 17 at Aihole seems to have been built with a three bay mandapa entrance in the middle of Vijayāditya's reign (see Chapter IV, page382); however it was probably not dedicated to Śiva and so may not be relevant in this respect.
Perhaps the Lad Khan temple dvārapālas imitated lost non-crossed leg examples at the Bāla Brahma or Arka Brahma temple at Alampur.

Two large loose images of nidhis are found in the Lad Khan-Gauḍa temple area. One is now built into the nearby tank’s wall; the other, placed in the Gauḍa temple, came to light in S.R. Rao’s excavations (S.R. Rao (1972: fig. 9)). These nidhis may have belonged to the Gauḍa temple, but more probably to the lost temple and/or to the Lad Khan temple’s original maṇḍapa entrance. The Jambuliaṅga temple at Bāḍāmi, which probably was influenced in some respects by the Lad Khan temple, is provided with nidhis at its three bay maṇḍapa entrance and at one garbha grha entrance.

The absence of deity images on the Lad Khan temple’s ceilings, as well as the nāga’s placement, may suggest affinity with Andhra Pradesh tradition.

The Saṅgemesvara temple at Kūḍavelli had both facade and garbha grha doorframe river goddesses. As suggested on page 134, the more unusual facade river goddesses at the Lad Khan temple might have imitated examples on the facade of the destroyed temple north of the Gauḍa temple, perhaps including Figure 187.

As suggested by Balasubrahmanyam (1961: 43–44), the varāha probably indicates an association of the Lad Khan temple with the Calukya royal family. An isolated torana (Figs. 350-352) at Iṭagī in Karnataka’s Raichur District, about thirty miles southeast of Bāḍāmi, bears an inscription (Vnl3) of the reign of Calukya Yuddhamalla, i.e. Vinayāditya (G6), and has its lintel decorated with much worn similar royal/auspicious symbols. It has been published by Nagaraja Rao (1978b: 31, 32-33); (1978c: 308-311). Probably the symbols were about the same on both sides of the lintel. From proper right to proper left, they appear to be: nidhi; vase; lion; lost; cross-in-circle cakra and śaṅkha flanking a mirror (north) or flanking an unidentified symbol (south); sun; lion; moon; central Gaja-Lakṣmi; lost; elephant (north) or boar (south); drum; crossed chaurīs flanking a chattrā; paired fish; Nandi; vase?; nidhi. It seems that the Calukya dynamic varāha symbol was replaced on one side by an elephant; perhaps this was the family symbol of the local feudatory dynasty. An elephant appears atop an inscription of a Sendraka feudatory of Vinayāditya in Karnataka’s Shimoga District (J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 186," Indian Antiquary, 19 (1890), 142-146)). For another, roughly contemporaneous, use of grouped royal/auspicious symbols, see page 274.


If the dedication was to an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, it is suggested that the enshrined god was the same one previously enshrined in the destroyed temple north of the Gauḍa temple. See Chapter II, note 107. Since Viṣṇu does not typically appear on the south side of a temple not dedicated to Viṣṇu, perhaps the upper shrine's south image, and possibly its west image, were imitated from this temple.

Bolon (1980). She dated this temple c. 670-680, before both the Mahākūṭesa and Mallikārjuna temples at Mahākūta. She attributed the Pārvatī temple to Vikramāditya I, whereas I believe that it was patronized by his son, King Vinayāditya.

The images on the front of the superstructure seem to be post-Calukya in date.

As suggested by Bolon (1980: 303). The Tāraka Brahma temple may have been patronized by Vinayāditya when he was a prince, the Saṇḍūr temple when he was king.

See Bolon (1980: 314, figs. 18, 20). Here they spit mounted *vyālas*; at the Mālegitti Śivālaya they spit *ganas*.


Whether it possibly appeared on temples now lost or damaged, like the Lower Śivālaya at Bādāmi, cannot be determined.

For example, K.R. Srinivasan (1964: pls. VIIIB, C; XVC, D; XXVIII).

It is possible that this figure was formerly four-armed.
The Mahākūteśvara and Mallikārjuna temples at Mahākūta have images in this position, but they have windows elsewhere, which the Pārvatī temple does not.

Bolon (1980: figs. 20, 21).

The Cliff temple west of Mahākūta (published by Sundara (1977), cited in Karnatak University Department of Ancient History and Epigraphy (1978: 97); Tartakov (1980: 94-95, figs. 78-82); and, under the name Hire Makuṭeśvaranātha, by Bolon (1979: 255, figs. 5-10)) lacks a mandapa, but like the Pārvatī temple has a garbha grha with four interior pillars supporting east-west running beams, and probably also formerly had a porch. The natural cliff overhanging it serves instead of a śikhara. The temple's doorframe is without lalāta-bimba and has undecorated base boxes. A broken image of Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 736) now loose inside the temple may have been the original object of worship. The parallel between the Cliff temple's interior form and that of the Pārvatī temple's garbha grha might suggest that one influenced the other and/or that both were similarly dedicated, but the disparity in size and decoration is great, and the Pārvatī temple garbha grha's similarity to mandapas such as the Mālegitti Sīvalaya's and its own makes an additional formal source unnecessary. The Cliff temple's form possibly was developed under the influence of Temple 9 at Mahākūta, which seems to have once had interior pillars and beams, though the latter probably were crosswise rather than longitudinal. The Cliff temple may be supposed to have been the work of a local patron prior to Temple 22 at Mahākūta, whose more sophisticated, Ālampur inspired garbha grha plan with pillars supporting a central square of beams is not imitated. The Cliff temple was dated 565-602 by Bolon. It was dated to the century preceding the reign of Vikramāditya I by Tartakov.

See pages 172-173; Mysore State Gazetteer – Bellary District, 700.

For other theories of the dating of these temples, see note 148 above.


For example, Kūram grant of Paramēśvararwāra (Hultzsch, ed., South Indian Inscriptions 1, 152); Kāśākuḍi and Udayendiram grants of Nandivar ṇa Pallaṇamaḷa (Hultzsch et al., ed., South Indian Inscriptions 2, 356, 370).

See K.R. Srinivasan (1964: 159 and footnote).
The same deity seems to appear, in two-armed form, with Sūrya and a liṅga on the lintel of the Rāvana Phadi cave's added garbhagṛha doorframe (Fig. 58), and in four-armed form with Śiva(?) and Devī on the Huccappayya Maṭha's garbhagṛha overdoor (Fig. 601).

This image seems based on the examples at Caves 2 and 3 at Bādāmi (Figs. 68, 69). Bali's queen stands behind Bali who stands behind the water pourer. Trivikrama is eight-armed, and Rāhu and a falling asura are visible to his left.

This image probably was inspired by the image of Ādimūrti at Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 64).

These three adjacent sections seem to display the Trimūrti, with Brahmaśāstä in the Brahmā role.

Despite an apparent iconic context, Viṣṇu is not samabhaṅga here; perhaps this was due to influence of the west niche image of Viṣṇu (Fig. 305) of Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa.

This section again seems to display the Trimūrti, with Brahmaśāstä in the Brahmā role.


Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 293) has suggested that the lotus in the eastern nave ceiling bay refers to Śrī, spouse of Viṣṇu. Perhaps, instead, it refers to that lotus which arose from Viṣṇu's navel to support Brahmā, as shown in Figure 208.

The Gauḍa temple ceilings, in turn, were probably inspired by those of Cave 3 at Bādāmi. The Gauḍa temple ceilings appear to feature Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandi, and Kārttikeya on peacock, not Brahmā on haṃsa, but Brahmā is related to Kārttikeya in his Brahmaśāstä aspect. Also, of course, the Kārttikeya ceiling may have been damaged very early (perhaps in the flood which resulted in the replacement of the Gauḍa temple's front steps) and may have subsequently been misinterpreted as Brahmā.

Another small representation of this goddess (Fig. 738) appears on the bracket of the northernmost of the two pilasters flanking the facade's north dvārapāla.
His upraised attributes are uncertain.


An image of Lajjā-Gaurī (Fig. 379) now in the Bādāmi site museum is said to have been found on the no longer visible base of a destroyed subshrine structure located southeast of the Nāganātha temple (Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 297), citing A. Sundara). A very similar image, attributed by Bolon to the same sculptor, is found loose and broken by Temple 14 at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 314). Fleet saw this image "in one of a row of three shrines" towards the north end of the compound (J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 94," Indian Antiquary, 10 (1881), 103), and it is likely that it was originally installed inside Mahākūṭa Temple 13, located southeast of the Mahākūṭesvara temple. See Figure 151. Temple 13 (Fig. 380) faces west and consists of a garbha grha with a kapota-layered śikhara and a porch. It has weaponless two-armed large dvārapālas, a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba, and lotus ceilings in the porch and garbha grha. While Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 284-285) supposed that Temple 13 was an original subshrine of the Mahākūṭesvara temple, coeval with it, I would date it more generally, 681-700. Bolon's related suggestion, that Temple 19 at Mahākūṭa was an original subshrine of the Mahākūṭesvara temple, coeval with it and Temple 13, may be rejected. Temple 19 is not particularly similar in form or iconography to Temple 13, and probably postdated it. See note 146 above and note 300 below.

The Nāganātha temple now has a loose Nandi in its porch; it may once have had a separate Nandi pavilion, like that of the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa.


It is unknown whether there once was a Nandi pavilion, now lost.

Divakaran (1970: 18, 26).

Aiyar, ASIAR for 1913-14, 279, quotes the Uttarakāmikāgama to the effect that the gods of the Trimūrti may be placed in separate shrines, with a liṅga in the middle one, Brahmā to the proper right of it, and Viṣṇu to the proper left of it.
Divakaran (1970: 21). Several contemporaneous Aihole temples, as well as the Siddhanakoṭa temple and the Nāganātha temple, also lack image niches.

The miniature shrines on the architraves at the sides of the nave contain only one deity, Gaja-Lakṣmī.

See pages 235-236.

This resembles a curved stick and appears also in the representations of Brahmā on Cave 3 ceilings at Bādāmi, eg. Figures 84, 95.

The Jambuliṅga temple has Garuḍa as lalāṭa-bimba on all three garbha grha doorways, and hence provides an indisputable example of the use of Garuḍa as lalāṭa-bimba for the garbha grha doorway of a Śiva shrine; other presumed late seventh century examples include the Mahānandīśvara and Lad Khan temples. See Chapter I, note 134.

The implied association of dikpālas here with Viṣṇu, rather than with Brahmā, as at Cave 3, or with Śiva, the central and primary god, is surprising. Perhaps this ceiling was imitated from one at the Upper Sivalaya or the hypothetical Bādāmi temple of Pulakeśi II's reign (see Chapter 2, note 102), which might have been dedicated to Viṣṇu.

There seems to be no particular association of river goddesses with Viṣṇu or nidhis with Brahmā. See Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 96-97).

Its base platform has surviving projections at southeast and northeast, presumably for subshrines.

See pages 171-172.

For Śiva as beggar and for Liṅgodbhava, see Kingsbury and Phillips (1921: 17, 29). For Śiva as Gaṅgādhara, beggar, Liṅgodbhava, and Tripurāntaka, see Pope (1900: 192; 140, 166, 197; 30-31, 161, 188, 245, 251; 89, 131, 137, 165, 170, 178-179).

Lippe (1975: 173-175); Adiceam (1976); (1965); Filliozat (1961); Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, 105f., 164f., 295f.).
Divakaran (1971: 65). The source of the Svarga Brahma temple façade dvārapāla's triśūla headdress is uncertain. Some small attendant triśūla-puruṣas in North Indian art as early as the sixth century had triśūla headdresses (Harle (1974: pl. 59, 97)), but these figures did not bear maces. The most probable source is in Pallava art, where surviving seventh century cave temples often feature pairs of large mace-bearing dvārapālas, some with crossed legs, some with bushy hair, and some with headdresses bearing curved side prongs, which K.R. Srinivasan (1964: 93) has interpreted as the horns of Śiva's attendant Śṛṅgi or Nandi.

The inspiration for the extra arms of all the Svarga Brahma temple dvārapālas is unknown. Surviving Pallava dvārapālas before the eighth century are all two-armed, so perhaps the credit for the innovation belongs to Ālampur craftsmen.

Similar nāgas appear without a jalāta-bimba Garuḍa at Ālampur at the Viśra Brahma and Padma Brahma temples.

The earliest example is the Phase II Pāpanātha temple. The Rāmalīṅgeśvara temple at Satyavolu has two-armed dvārapālas in a similar location, but perhaps these were carved before the temple's mandapa was added, and so were originally intended to appear on the façade.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 270). Perhaps both were based on a lost Arka Brahma temple ceiling, a piece of whose edge still survives installed upside down in that temple's mandapa.

Sivaramamurti (1950: 29). However Sūrya's chariot and attendants, also associated by Sivaramamurti with North Indian tradition, are absent here. Possibly this was due to Southern influence, so evident elsewhere on the façade, and possibly also there was a desire to avoid visual duplication, since a chariot is seen in the adjacent Tripurāntakāmūrti relief.

The garbha grha doorway lintel (Fig. 58) added to the Rāvapa Phadi cave has a Sūrya who seems to be booted.

The upper left hand might have held cakra, as suggested by Michell (1973b: 84), and as is the case at Kūḍavelli and in North India.

Huntington photograph R135/1. The Patharghata reliefs may be dated to the late fifth or the sixth century (Asher (1980: pls. 33-35)). The Patharghata Trivikrama holds śaṅkha in his lowered front left hand, as at the Śvarga Brahma temple. A right-facing Trivikrama on the doorframe of the southeast shrine of the Rajivalocana temple at Rajim in Madhya Pradesh is geographically closer to the Śvarga Brahma temple, but probably is slightly later in date, and holds cakra and śaṅkha in typically South Indian positions (AIIS photograph #A40.42). The right-facing Nāmakkal examples are also later and have cakra and śaṅkha in South Indian positions (P.R. Srinivasan (1961: Fig. 4); Pattabiraman (1971-1975: II, pl. XLV)).

See Chapter II, note 91.

This was also suggested by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 268). That Andhakāsurasuravadhamūrti was a significant icon at Calukya Alampur is suggested by its appearance on the ceiling of the 780 A.D. Rāṣṭrakūṭa gateway at the site, as well as on a pillar now in the site museum.

The hair styles suggest that the figure chastized by Garuḍa is not Śukra, but Bali.

See Chapter I, note 97.

Mankodi (1973).


Rea (1909: pl. XLIV2; LVII; LIX; CXXXII). The period of the Kailāsānātha temple at Kāśī may have been roughly that of the codification of South Indian iconography in the āgamas cited by Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, 315-317), for these state that the left leg of Gaṅgādharamūrti should be shown as slightly bent, as it is in all these examples.


Rea (1909: pl. LXI) illustrates a Kailāsanātha temple Bhikṣātanāmūrtī with a chaurī of some sort, and Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, Appendix, 154-157) cites texts which require a peacock feather attribute for this deity.

See above, notes 120, 121.

See above, note 123.

In texts of the Liṅgodbhava story where Viṣṇu becomes a boar, Brahmā becomes a hāma (Kanda Purāṇa VI; chapter 21; Liṅga Purāṇa I; chapter 17; Siva Purāṇa I; chapters 5–8; II–1; chapters 7–10; VII–2; chapters 34–36). In Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 6, Viṣṇu is said to ride on Garuḍa and Brahmā on a lotus vimāna to investigate the liṅga. In Kūrma Purāṇa I; chapter 26, Brahmā's and Viṣṇu's forms are not specified. The Śvarga Brahma temple's combination of boar-headed Viṣṇu and anthropomorphic Brahmā is, however, duplicated at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇcī (Rea (1909: pls. XLIVI, LX)), and may have been of Pallava origin.

In Kanda Purāṇa VI; chapter 21, after Brahmā and Viṣṇu return from their fruitless searches and worship the liṅga/column of flame, Śiva and his spouse appear before them, and later the divine pair return into the flames. In the same text's account of Brahmā's beheading (VI; chapter 13), the quarrel of Brahmā and Viṣṇu ends at the appearance of Śiva and Umā, surrounded by flames, in the air. In Siva Purāṇa II–1; chapters 7–10, Śiva appears alone in the fiery liṅga, but subsequently he appears with Pārvatī. In both Siva Purāṇa II–1; chapters 7–10, and VII–2; chapters 34–36, the goddess is identified with the yoni-pedestal for Śiva's liṅga, as in this same text's account (IV; chapter 12) of the Pine Forest myth. In the Liṅgodbhava account in Siva Purāṇa I; chapters 5–8, the goddess and other deities accompany Śiva to the site of Brahmā and Viṣṇu's quarrel, and the story ends with Brahmā and Viṣṇu installing and worshipping, not a liṅga, but Śiva and his family.

The beginnings of the accounts of Brahmā's beheading in Kanda Purāṇa VI; chapter 13, Siva Purāṇa III; chapters 8–9, and Kūrma Purāṇa II; chapter 31, which feature Brahmā and Viṣṇu's quarrel ending at the sudden appearance of a brilliant or fiery iconic form of Śiva (or Śiva and his spouse, in Kanda Purāṇa), are quite close to the Liṅgodbhava myth's beginning. In the latter myth, the fiery god is initially aniconic and only subsequently revealed in iconic form. The Liṅgodbhava account in Siva Purāṇa I; chapters 5–8, on the other hand, specifically refers to the Brahmaśiraschedakamūrti myth; Brahmā is threatened with beheading by Bhairava for his (Brahmā's) prideful misdeeds, which are worse than those of Viṣṇu.
Siva is described as entering the Pine Forest bearing a skull (not an ordinary begging bowl) in Skanda Purāṇa VI; chapter 1 (Shulman 1980: 117-118) and Siva Purāṇa Dharmasamhitā (Kulke 1970: 70); bearing a skull and a trident in Dakṣa-Kānda (Kulke 1970: 85-86); as a Kāpālika in Palani-sthalapurāṇam (Shulman 1980: 312-313); and as a Kāpālika bearing Brahmā's skull in Skanda Purāṇa V; chapter 38 (Kulke 1970: 60). Also in the Kūrma Purāṇa story of the wandering of Bhairava/Brahmaśirasvedakamūrti (II; chapter 31), he is said to have been followed by hosts of admiring women. In the South Indian āgamas cited by Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, 303-307, and Appendix, 149-157) the nudity of Bhikṣātānamūrti is the chief element distinguishing him from Kānkālamūrti. Both bear drums and some sort of feathered attribute, and are associated with amorous females. Additionally, Bhikṣātānamūrti bears a skull, while Kānkālamūrti bears a bone-danda. Thus the two mūrtis appear to represent two different periods in the wanderings of Brahmaśirasvedakamūrti.

Skanda Purāṇa I; chapter 6 (Kulke 1970: 66), and Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 6. In the latter text, the account of the beheading of Brahmā is not related to the Liṅgodbhava myth.

The myth is linked to Pāṣupata Saivism in Lidga Purāṇa I; chapters 71-72 (especially 72, vs. 34-50) and Śiva Purāṇa II-5, chapters 1-12 (especially 9, vs. 13–24). The pāśu nature of the gods and Śiva's nature as Pāśupati are absent in Matsya Purāṇa, chapters 129-140 and 187-188, and in Harivaṃśa (II, 501-506), but are anticipated in the Mahābhārata (Karna Parva, chapters 33-34).

See Rea (1909: pls. XXXIII6; XXXVII1(?); LIII; LV1(?)).

See above, note 253.


Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 310, fig. 625). For the prākāra itself, see Thapar, ed., Indian Archaeology 1978-79 – A Review, pls. VB, LIXB.

M. Radhakrishna Sarma (1972: 53).

Both are described as from Kūḍavelli on the labels of AIIS photographs, #169.24 and #A17.74. Also Prasad (1978: 20) has assumed that the Anḍakakāsuravadhamūrti image in question is from Kūḍavelli.

This was supposed by Divakaran (1971: 73), and Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 261), both of whom date the temple to Vinayāditya's reign. Prasad (1980: 101-103) dated the Rāmaliṅgēśvara and Bhīmaliṅgēśvara temples to the early eighth century.

A second, open mandapa was appended on the east much later. Whether a porch and/or dvārapālas were originally present at the entrance is unknown.

Probably this element was imitated from the Mahānandiśvara temple. It is not common at Pallava temples.

See notes 226, 228. The Rāmaliṅgēśvara temple dvārapālas are closer to the Pallava type than are the Svarga Brahma temple facade dvārapālas.

See pages 244, 252-253; K.R. Srinivasan (1964: pls. XLIII, LIVB).

This was theorized by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 263).

It is possible that the Rāmaliṅgēśvara temple's mandapa window niches were modelled on the sculpture porches of the Svarga Brahma and/or Viśva Brahma temples, and once held images as well as window grilles, but their positioning with respect to the extant images does not suit the completion of the ten-deity set of dikpālas plus Sūrya and Candra; rather they might have held Harihara (south) and Ardhanārīśvara (north), thus providing the mandapa with the front ten deities of the twelve-deity group appearing on the Svarga Brahma temple.

See note 230 above. This image probably was the original garbha grha deity of the Viśva Brahma temple at Alampur, see page 264. It is possible that similarly elaborate Sūrya compositions once existed in the north end facade niches of the Bāla Brahma, Arka Brahma, and/or Viśa Brahma temples, and that the surviving simple Svarga Brahma temple facade Sūrya was atypical.

It is possible that these were inspired by the elephants of the prākāra wall of the Saṅgamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli.
Compare the Sahadeva Ratha at Mahābalipuram. None of the Satyavolu shrines is of the rectangular form presumed for Alampur temple northeast and southeast subshrines.

See Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 282–284, fig. 267) for a site sketch plan and for the modern names of the minor shrines.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 273f) and Divakaran (1971: 73) both dated the Viśva Brahma temple in Vinayāditya's reign. Bolon, as well as Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 356) believed that the Viśva Brahma temple was the latest Calukya temple at the site, begun after the Svarga Brahma, Padma Brahma, and Garuḍa Brahma temples. Divakaran believed that the Viśva Brahma temple was followed by the Garuḍa Brahma temple (immediately) and Padma Brahma temple. Prasad (1972–73: 65–68) believed that the Svarga Brahma temple was followed by the Garuḍa Brahma temple in c. 713, the Viśva Brahma temple in c. 725, and the Padma Brahma temple near the end of the reign of Vikramāditya II.

Sreenivasachar (1963: 16).


The Sūrya temple at Bāḍāmi (the Mālegitti Śivālaya) is situated north of the town, as is Temple 21 at Aihole.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 274) has asserted that the Nandi is Calukya, but it might have been moved into its present position when the liṅga was enshrined in the garbha grha.

Its base projections suggest that the temple had northeast and southeast subshrines, see Figure 451.

Compared to the Svarga Brahma temple, Gaṅgādharamūrti and Trivikrama seem to have exchanged places.


Gopinatha Rao (1968: II, 304) cited an āgama prescribing bells on the kaṅkāla-daṇḍa of Kahkālamūrti, and (1968: II, 309) noted that later South Indian images of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti and Kahkālamūrti typically feature a bell tied on a string below the right knee. Banerjea (1974: 483) explained the reason for this practice.

K.R. Srinivasan (1964: pl. XLI); Williams (1982: pls. 158, 249), Mahua smaller Śiva temple and Kumrā Maṭh south doorway at Nāchnā. See also a pillar in the Vaiṣṇava Sarvatobhadrika at Nāchnā (AIIS photographs #388.28-388.31).

This was also suggested by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 278).


It is likely that this presumed Naṭeṣa image, or another prominent one on the temple, danced atop a dwarf. This combination is seen not long afterwards at Kaḍamalakālava and at Pattadakal. Perhaps the use of the dwarf was inspired, if not by the Tāraka Brahma temple's ṣukanāśa or some unknown external model, by the Sverga Brahma temple's façade image of Gaṅgādhamūrti, which has Naṭeṣa-like elements as well as a dwarf under one foot.

See note 28 above.


Michell (1972b: 47-48).

See pages 275-276 for the Jambuliṅga temple. For various theories on the date of the Pāpanātha temple, see Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 538, note 12. The hypothesis that the present Pāpanātha temple is the result of more than one construction phase has frequently been expressed. Cousens (1926: 69) assumed a change in dedication, but not necessarily in Calukya times; Lippe (1969-70: 21-22) assumed two Calukya construction phases (c. 700 and c. 740-745) and a change in dedication; Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 293f.) assumed more than one Calukya construction phase during the latter part of Vijayāditya's and Vikramāditya II's reign, but only hinted at a change in iconographic emphasis; Michell (1973a) supposed two briefly separated mid eighth century Calukya construction phases and a
change in dedication; Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 410ff.) suggested three Calukya construction phases in the period 720–750, and left open the possibility of a change in dedication. Bolon's conception of three phases of construction seems the most nearly correct, and is the basis for the present analysis.

292 See page 225 and note 175 above.

293 See page 268 and note 282 above for the bell attribute.

294 Though this rear niche position for Sūrya relates to the earlier Lad Khan temple's roof shrine, the god is shown at the Pāpanātha temple without a chariot, as at the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 413) and in South India in general. See note 230 above.

295 See Cousens (1926: 69); Lippe (1969–70: 21–22); Michell (1973a).

296 Although Nandi was not present there, he did appear in the Svarga Brahma temple's north sculpture porch Nāṭeśa composition (Fig. 418).

297 Radcliffe/Bolon (1969a: 339) theorized that most of this doorframe's decoration was post-Calukya.

298 Konta Southeast temple and Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole, Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi, Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa, Nāganātha temple. Only a few later Calukya temples display this feature. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 334f) has dated both the Kādśiddheśvara and Jambuliṅga temples at Pattadakal to the period 695–720.

299 Since the niche iconography gives Śiva no special priority, it is conceivable that an affiliated deity, such as a Saiva Devī or Kārttikeya, was originally enshrined here.

300 The niche iconographic program of the Jambuliṅga temple at Pattadakal and original Pāpanātha temple may have inspired that of the first story of the Śikhara of the Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal. Here the central west niche figure is Sūrya, the central north figure is lost, and the central south figure, lying loose on the superstructure near its original position, is an unfinished, two-armed samabhāṅga deity with upraised attribute on the left, presumably Lakulīṣa or a related form of Śiva. Also we may note in this connection Temple 19 at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 315), a west-facing shrine consisting of a garbha-grha and a porch,
northeast of the Mahâkütesvara temple. See notes 146 and 209 above. It features images of Sûrya on the rear, Lakulîśa with club in his right hand on the south, and a barely roughed out two-armed image with right side hip accentuated, possibly a Devî, Ardhanârîśvara, or Viṣṇu-Mohini, on the north. The garbha grha doorway of this temple has no figural decoration, and the original deity enshrined is unknown.

301

Basement lion and elephant figures on these false porches probably influenced later examples at Pattadakal and at the Huccappayya temple at Aihole. Related but simpler forms appear on the base of the Bhîmâlîgâsvara temple at Satyavolu.

302

None of the other supposed Calukya Devî temples has two sets of axial garbha grha images, and some have no niches on the garbha grha.

303

Sivaramamurti (1974: 30 and passim).

304

It seems not to be a rosary, for a similar object appears later in the Virûpâkṣa temple's south mandapa porch ceiling Brahmâ relief (Fig. 682), in addition to a rosary.

305

It is assumed that construction of the Phase II Pâpanâtha temple was halted when King Vijayâditya enticed or conscripted local craftsmen to work on the Galaganâtha temple. As suggested by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 413), an inscription near the north exterior Mahîśamardinî image may record the lament of the Pâpanâtha temple's patron for his incomplete work (Annigeri and Joshi (1961: #70-71(7) of 1941-42, #32 of 1942-43); J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 115, Indian Antiquary, 10 (1881), 171).

306

Rea (1909: pl. XXXIII2).

307

In the Mahâbhârata (Karna Parva, chapter 34) and Harivaṃśa (II, 504-505), the bull is effective in supporting the chariot. In Siva Purâṇa (II-5; chapter 9) and Liṅga Purâṇa (I; chapter 72) the bull is unsuccessful.

308


309

The water locale implied here is not illustrated.
No Calukya representation of Gajasurasamhâramûrti survives at Alampur, but a post-Calukya example is found on a pillar now in the Alampur Museum (Fig. 484), and the subject appears at the Kailâsanâtha temple at Kâncî (Rea (1909: pls. LVII; CXXIII)).

Râma is the only non-four-armed divine mûrti among the twelve on the pillars here. The struggle of Vâli and Sugrîva is seen in a post-Calukya frieze (#101) in the Alampur Museum, and also later at Pattadakal (Figs. 667. 698).

Compare Rea (1909: pl. XXXIV).

Vâmanâ Purâna, chapters 2-3; Kûrma Purâna II; chapters 30-31. Vârânasî's sanctity in the Calukya realm is shown by the imprecations of various inscriptions from the reigns of Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, and Vikramâditya II, for example, Vk15, 16, 18, 19.

Kûrma Purâna I; chapter 16, vs. 96; Sîva Purâna II-5; chapter 42; Sîva Purâna Dharmasaûhitâ, chapter 4 (excerpted in O'Flaherty (1978: 169-171)).

In Matsya Purâna, chapter 183; Kûrma Purâna II; chapter 31; and Sîva Purâna III; chapter 8, Brahmâ is decapitated precisely because he views himself as father of Siva. While most texts describe the decapitation of Brahmâ accomplished by means of Siva/Bhairava's fingernail, Kûrma Purâna refers to a battle. The Kailâsanâtha temple representation (Rea (1909: pl. XXXIV)) shows Siva/Bhairava upholding an axe.
CHAPTER IV
THE EIGHTH CENTURY:
THE REIGNS OF VIJAYĀDITYA TO KĪRTTIVARMA II

A. Epigraphy

A.1. Vijayāditya (696-733/4 A.D.)

Vijayāditya's known copper plate grants follow the format used by his father and grandfather, and surviving seals feature a boar. All his grants, and all the grants of his descendants also, employ the same eulogy of Vijayāditya. This stresses his military prowess, comparing him to the legendary king Vatsarāja. Most of Vijayāditya's copper plates record grants to brāhmaṇas (Vj1-6,8,10-12), some of whom knew the Rg Veda, veda, the six aṅgas, vedāṅga, and/or all śāstras (Vj1,2,6,8,12). One such grant was made in connection with the construction of a tank (Vj12), and another for kindling the sacred fire (agni) (Vj2). Some of the grants were made by the king at the request of others, including: Nandereya (Vj3), Narendrāditya (Vj1), Śrīmad Upendra (Vj6), Kuḥkumadevi (probably the king's sister) (Vj8), and Vikramāditya (probably the king's son) (Vj10).

Two of Vijayāditya's surviving copper plates, however, show support of the Jain religion. The Kundal plates of his tenth year (Vj7) state that he, in company with Sinda Viṣṇurāja, gave land to the ācārya of a Jain temple at Kuṇḍili. The Shiggaon plates of his eleventh year (Vj9)
state that, at the request of Citravähana Narendra, who was an Ālupa
king, Vijayāditya gave land at Guḍḍiğere village for the purposes of
worship, repairs, and a dānasaḷā (hall of almsgiving) for the Jina
bhavāna (Jain shrine or monastery) at Purīɡere (Lakshmesvar). This Jina
bhavāna was said to have been made by Kuṃkumadevi, who had been purified
by Hiranyagarbha (gift) rites after making many gifts such as elephants
and chariots. It is notable the Citravähana had requested a grant for a
brahmana during the reign of Vinayāditya (Vn5), and Kuṃkumadevi herself
had requested a grant for a brahmana in Vijayāditya's tenth year (Vj8).
It is thus possible either that Citravähana and Kuṃkumadevi converted to
Jainism before Vijayāditya's eleventh year, or that they supported both
the Brahmanical and Jain religions.

Two inscriptions at Lakshmesvar, on the same stone as and in the
same tenth century script as the inscription of Vinayāditya previously
discussed (B15), purport to record grants from Vijayāditya's reign. One
of these inscriptions, dated in the king's twenty-eighth year (B21),
seems to state that Vijayāditya granted a village, on account of a Jain
ācārya and at the request of an individual named Vijaya of the Bhūṭāgaṇa
family, for repairs to the dānasaḷa of the Śrī Jina-bhaṭṭāraka shrine
which was made inside the Śrī Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Purikara (Lakshmesvar)
by Bikkarāṇaka. This inscription follows exactly the copper plate format
used in Vijayāditya's reign, and it may be assumed to be a copy of some
genuine copper plate grant, whose original plates are now lost. The
other inscription (B22), appearing on the same stone as but well below
the last, purports to date from Vijayāditya's thirty-fourth year. This
inscription has the same atypical treatment of Vikramāditya I and
Vijayāditya as does the Lakshmesvar inscription purporting to be of
Vinayāditya's reign (B15). Whether the inscription of Vijayāditya's thirty-fourth year is itself a forgery, based perhaps on the genuine grant of this king's twenty-eighth year, cannot be determined. Its anomalies may simply result from carelessness on the part of a copyist transcribing a genuine grant. The inscription (B22) states that Vijayāditya gave a village for the worship of Śrī Śāmkha Jinendra at Purikara (Lakshmesvar) and for maintaining its dānasāla, and that the gift was entrusted to or made at the request of Śrī Niravadyapāṇḍita. This pandita (scholar, teacher) was described as either the priest of Vijayāditya's own father (guru) or the priest who was Vijayāditya's own spiritual preceptor (guru). The latter interpretation is probably correct, since "Niravadya" (blameless) was used as a descriptive adjective for Vijayāditya in all his own and his son's and grandson's copperplates. It is notable that Pattadakal was the issue site of Vijayāditya's surviving copper plate grants supporting the Jain religion (Vj7,9) and also of these two Lakhsmesvar stone inscribed Jain grants, despite the fact that the recipient Jain establishments were located elsewhere. Probably Pattadakal was the ceremonial center of the Calukya realm in the eighth century. Identifiable significant sites of Vijayāditya's grants to brāhmanas include Pattadakal (Vj12), Ellāpura (Ellora) (Vj5), and Hatampura (Ālampur) (Vj11).

Several other relevant stone inscriptions belong to the eighth century itself. One, located on the Huccimalli temple at Aihole (Vj14), is dated in Vijayāditya's thirteenth year and seems to indicate that the king sanctioned an individual's gift or a privately instigated levy for the benefit of the bhatāra (venerable One), the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. Another inscription, dated in Vijayāditya's reign and
located on the temple of Śiva Mahākūṭēśvara at Mahākūṭa (Vj15), states that Vijayāditya's heart's darling, the courtesan (śūle) Vināpoṭi, having at that place bestowed the Hiraṇyagarbha gift, made some gifts to the deva. An inscription on a slab fixed into the fort wall at Ālampur (Vj13), containing an abbreviated version of the Calukya family prāśasti, states that at Vijayāditya's command, in his eighteenth year, Bhagavat-Īśanācārya-svāmi made (completed) a prākāra which was designated "Niravadya," presumably in reference to the king. The name/title of the individual in charge of the construction seems to indicate that he was a religious official serving the god Īśana (Śiva), rather than a secular officer. Probably, therefore, the enclosure was built to surround and protect the Śaiva temple(s) at Ālampur with which he was associated. This inscription ends with a phrase wishing Śiva (welfare) to cows, brāhmaṇas, the king, and his subjects.

An inscription engraved on a pillar at Pattadakal during the reign of Vijayāditya's grandson Kīrttivarman II (K5) compares Vijayāditya to the legendary heroes Vṛkodara (Bhīma), the son of Sūrya (Kārṇa), and Raghu, and states that he had erected the great stone prāśada (temple) of (the god) Śrī Vijayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, evidently named after the king. It is known from this inscription that the Vijayeśvara temple was located north of the pillar. The incomplete Śiva temple at Pattadakal presently named Saṅgameśvara, which satisfies this directional requirement, has on three of its interior pillars inscriptions (Vj16-18) which seem to refer to the temple or its god as Śrī Bijeśvara or Bhiyāsvara. Thus, the Saṅgameśvara temple may be identified as Vijayāditya's Vijayeśvara temple.
The inscriptive evidence seems to indicate that Vijayāditya was a devotee of Śiva and an active patron of his cult. Apparently the king was also a supporter of the Jain religion, and had a Jain guru who advised him. Possibly several of Vijayāditya's feudatory chiefs and many wealthy and influential men in the kingdom were Jains, so that gifts to Jain establishments were politically advantageous. It may also be suggested that royal support for Jain centers was partly motivated by a concept of public service, since most of the grants in question (Vj9, B21,22) included specific provisions for halls of almsgiving.

Vijayāditya had the longest reign of any Calukya king. Surviving epigraphs suggest that he most often resided in the western portion of his realm, in Karnataka and Maharashtra, though probably in his eighteenth year (Vj13) and almost certainly in his twenty-second year (Vj11) he visited Ālampur. In his tenth (Vj7), eleventh (Vj9), twenty-eighth (B21), thirty-fourth (B22), and thirty-sixth (Vj12) regnal years, Vijayāditya is said to have been residing at Pattadakal, and no other site is known to have been used by him as a royal residence after his twenty-second year.

A.2. Vikramāditya II (733/4 – 744 or 747 A.D.)

Vijayāditya's son and successor Vikramāditya served as Yuvarāja under his father (Vj20), and in Vijayāditya's thirty-fifth regnal year undertook a military expedition to Kāñcī and received tribute from the Pallava king, Parameśvararvarma II (Vj21). Later, in his own reign, Vikramāditya returned to Kāñcī and defeated Parameśvararvarma's successor Nandivarman. This latter victory is recorded in Vikramāditya II's only known copper plate inscription, the Narwan grant of his eighth regnal
year (Vkl4). This grant bears a boar seal and follows the traditional Calukya dynastic format. It lists various spoils taken from the Pallavas, including the khatvahga-dhvaja (ensign of the skull club, one of Śiva's attributes), but it also states that Vikramāditya did not destroy the Pallava capital, Kāncī; rather he made gifts to the twice-born, poor, and helpless persons, and gained high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasimhesvara (the Śiva temple at Kāncī presently named Kailasanātha) and the stone temples of other gods built by the Pallava king Narasiṃhapotavarma (Narasimhavarman II, Rājasiṃha). The Narwan grant was made to brāhmans knowing veda and vedāṅga at the request of Govindarāja Rāstrakūta, Vikramāditya's son-in-law, who was a son of Śivarāja and probably not closely related to the later Imperial Rāstrakūta line. A stone inscription located on the Kailasanātha temple at Kāncī (Vk20) confirms the deed mentioned in the Narwan plates. It states that, having conquered Kāncī and inspected the riches of Rājasimhesvara, Vikramāditya gave them again to the god. The grants of Vikramāditya's son Kīrttivarman II (K2-4), his successor and the last Calukya ruler of his line, have essentially the same eulogy of Vikramāditya II as do the Narwan plates.

Several other stone inscriptions are important for Vikramāditya's reign. A number of these are found at Pattadakal on the Śiva temple presently named Virūpākṣa. They reveal that this temple was originally named Lokesvara, and that it had been built by Vikramāditya's queen, Lokamahādevī (Vkl7,18). A grant of land or land income to this temple (Vkl8), the titles of its chief architect (Vkl6,17), and a concession made by the queen to its singers (Vkl9) are recorded in these
inscriptions. The Pattadakal pillar inscription of the time of Kīrttivarma II (K5) confirms this account of the Śrī Lokesvara-bhaṭṭāraka temple's foundation, and its text compares Lokamahādevī to Umā-bhagavatī, the loka-mātṛ (mother of the world). Additionally this inscription reveals that Lokamahādevī's younger sister Trailokyamahādevī, also a royal wife of Vikramāditya and the mother of Kīrttivarma II, had erected a stone temple named Śrī Trailokyāvesvara-bhaṭṭāraka close by. The identification of this Trailokyāvesvara temple with the Śiva temple at Pattadakal presently named Mallikārjuna was first made by Henry Cousens.

An inscribed stone slab found in the fields to the west of Pattadakal (Vkl5) records a gift made by Vikramāditya II, and possibly Vijayāditya also, to a temple of Śrī Lokapāleśvara. The fact that a bull, Śiva's vehicle, is carved at the top of the slab implies that Lokapāleśvara was a form of Śiva. An inscription (Vk21) found on the gateway structure south of the Durga temple at Aihole, dated in the reign of a Calukya Vikramāditya who was probably Vikramāditya II, seems to indicate that royal sanction was given to an individual's grant to Komarasinga's temple of Āditya-bhatara, presumably the Durga temple itself.

A stone inscription from Lakshmesvar (B25), engraved in tenth century script, purports to record a grant made by Vikramāditya II in his second regnal year. It contains a very abbreviated version of the standard Calukya family prāśasti, and its eulogy of Vikramāditya does not resemble that in the Narwan plates (Vkl4). This may indicate that the inscription is a forgery rather than a copy of a genuine grant, but possibly its brevity is due to condensations made by the copyist, and
possibly Vikramāditya II's official eulogy was revised after his second and before his eighth year, because his greatest conquest of Kāncī occurred between those dates. In any event, the inscription states that Vikramāditya, at Raktapura (Pattadakal), made a grant of land to a Jain ācārya at the request of a merchant named Bāhubali, for the purposes of worship of the Jina, repairs, and maintenance of a dānaśālā. The inscription seems also to state that Vikramāditya had embellished the Śāmkhatīrtha-vasati of Pulikara (Lakshmesvar) and repaired its White Jīnālaya. The inscription as it presently stands ends with a phrase praising the teaching or command of the Jina; this might have been added by the tenth century copyist.

The surviving evidence, particularly that relating to Vikramāditya's generous treatment of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāncī (Vkl4,20; K2-4), dedicated to Śiva by an enemy of his family, shows that he greatly honored Śiva. It appears that he did not emulate his father by building a great Śiva temple named after himself at Pattadakal, but instead permitted/encouraged two of his queens to build great temples there. Each of these temples was dedicated to the iśvara (lord) of the queen who built it: Lokamahādevī's temple (the Virūpākṣa temple) was dedicated to Lokesvara, and Trailokyamahādevī's temple (the Mallikārjuna temple) was dedicated to Trailokyēsvāra. Each such name could apply as well to a queen's husband as to her god, and Vikramāditya probably envisioned these temples as manifestations of his own power and glory. The elder and chief of his queens, whose temple (the Virūpākṣa/Lokesvara) is the more elaborate of the two, was in fact compared to Śiva's chief wife Umā in the Pattadakal pillar inscription (K5). Additionally, it seems that Vikramāditya sanctioned a small grant
to a temple of the sun god at Aihole (Vk21) and, if the Lakshmesvar
inscription (B25) is not a forgery, that he supported the Jain
establishments at that place. Whether he personally honored the Jain
faith or was moved to support it by political or other non-religious
considerations cannot be determined at present.

A.3. Kīrttivarma II (744 or 747 – c. 755 A.D.)

Vikramāditya's son Kīrttivarma II followed his father on the
Calukya throne at some date in the period 744-47 A.D. and ruled for at
least eleven years (K4), but he probably exercised little authority
during the later years of his reign. He was defeated by Dantidurga
Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the latter's successor, Kṛṣṇa I. Three sets of copper
plates (K2-4) are known from Kīrttivarma's reign, one of them (K3) issued
from Pattadakal. Their surviving seals feature a boar. They follow the
standard Calukya format, and they have similar, though not quite
identical, eulogies of Kīrttivarma, commemorating an expedition he led
against the Pallavas while still a prince, during his father's reign.
All three sets of plates register grants to brāhmaṇes, one of whom knew
veda and vedāṅga (K3). The grants were made at the request of Śrī
Nāgāśakti of the Sendraka family (K2), Śrī Dosirāja (K4), and Śrī
Mahādevī (K3), who was probably Kīrttivarma's queen.

A copper plate grant of the early ninth century (C5) states that
when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III was camping on the bank of the
Tuṅgabhadrā River and was hunting boars near Rāmeśvara-tīrtha, he admired
the tīrtha and gave to a priest named Śivadhāri the land grant formerly
made by Kīrttivarma Paramesvara. Probably this means that Govinda III
renewed a grant which Calukya King Kīrttivarma II had made to the god of
Rāmeśvara-ṭīrtha, but which had lapsed when Calukya rule ended. The name of the site's priest would seem to indicate that its god was a form of Śiva.

It may also be mentioned that a stone inscription of Kirttivarman's reign from ĀDIR (K6) seems to indicate that some individuals there gave land for a Jain shrine or monastery, after obtaining permission from Kirttivarman and from the local subordinate ruler.

On the basis of the meager surviving evidence, it is difficult to determine Kirttivarman II's religious preferences. He tolerated the Jain religion (K6), and the reference to his grant in the plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (C5) would seem to demonstrate that he was a devotee of Śiva, but this is far from certain.
B. Temples

B.1. Huccimalli temple (Temple 14) at Aihole

The Aihole temple now called Huccimalli (Fig. 490) is located well north of the town walls, facing west toward a tank. This orientation, as in the case of the Mahānandīśvara temple at Mahānandi, suggests that the structure was not just an ordinary temple, but a royal memorial temple. It is here speculated that it was built by Vijayāditya at the beginning of his reign, c. 696-706, to enshrine a linga erected in honor of his deceased father Vinayāditya. The temple was certainly completed by Vijayāditya's thirteenth regnal year, when a private donation to it, which received royal sanction, was recorded on its facade (Vjl4).

Iconography and epigraphy combine to support the dedication hypothesis offered here. The Huccimalli temple's porch ceiling is carved with a representation of two-armed Kārttikeya, bearing sakti and lotus, riding his peacock, and trampling an armed asura while surrounding rṣis and gandharvas rejoice (Fig. 491). The episode portrayed seems to be Kārttikeya's defeat of Tārakāsura, which is not seen elsewhere in Calukya art. Since no porch ceilings of earlier Calukya structural temples are known to bear deity images, this representation is particularly striking. We recall that all of Vinayāditya's own copper plate inscriptions compare him to Śiva's son Senāṇī (the general), while all those of Vijayāditya and his successors refer to Vinayāditya as Tārakārāti (the enemy of Tāraka). This suggests that the Huccimalli temple porch ceiling relief was specifically designed to refer both to Śiva's son Kārttikeya and to the recently deceased Calukya king, Vinayāditya.
The Huccimalli temple is sāndhāra with closed pradaksināpatha continuous with the side aisles of its mandapa, like most Calukya temples at Alampur and like the Cikki temple at Aihole (Fig. 200). The latter, dedicated probably to Kārttikeya and located not far away, was also an important source for the interior decoration of the Huccimalli temple. However the Huccimalli temple does not have a three bay mandapa entrance, niches for images, or large grilled windows on the garbha grha axes like the Cikki temple. Also its front central mandapa ceiling does not slope like the side aisle and pradaksināpatha ceilings; instead the Huccimalli temple has a full mandapa length nave, as at the Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole, which is similarly nicheless. The Huccimalli temple has a Northern style śikhara, which several scholars have identified as a later addition. The flat sukanāsa fronting it has an image of Naṭeśā which does seem later in date, but the śikhara base's arrangement of small images of standing Sūrya (east), multiheaded Brahmā (north/proper right), and Viṣṇu(?) (south/proper left) appears to suit the iconography of the original temple. The only deity appearing on the exterior of the body of the temple is a tiny image of Gaṇeśa in a nāsika on the eaves of the west facade.

The basic form and Trīṇmūrti theme of the Huccimalli temple’s garbha grha overdoor decoration (Fig. 492) seem patterned after those of the Cikki temple (Fig. 205). Its three large nāsika motifs contain figures of Brahmā (north/proper right), Viṣṇu (south/proper left), and central Śiva. Śiva here is not Vṛṣavāhanamūrti, but Naṭeśā. His front right arm is in gaja-hasta, as in the Cikki temple's Naṭeśā ceiling panel (Fig. 209), but other details are obscured by plaster. The standing Brahmā and Viṣṇu figures are more abbreviated than those on the Cikki
temple, clearly having two arms rather than four. Brahmā holds kamandalu in his right hand. Viṣṇu's hands gesture and rest on hip rather than hold attributes.

The lalāṭa-bimba Garuḍa of the garbha grha doorway (Fig. 493) is less close in detail to that at the Cikki temple than to those at the Konta Southeast and Mallikārjuna temples at Aihole. Similarly, the Huccimalli temple garbha grha door base box river goddesses and mithunas resemble those of the latter two temples. Carved separately behind the river goddess figure groups on each side of the doorway is an elephant, and above it on the outer jambs on each side of the frame are mithunas in 27 registers, which seem to unbalance the total decorative scheme. Apparently these peripheral elements were added to the Cikki temple format in an attempt to enrich or update it. The Huccimalli temple mandapa doorframe base boxes have not only river goddesses and mithunas, but also staff-bearing dvārapālas like those at the Konta Southeast and Mallikārjuna temples.

The Huccimalli temple's nave displays a single central lotus in each of its easternmost and westernmost ceiling bays. The central nave bay (Fig. 494) also has a central lotus, but the area surrounding it is subdivided and sculpted with deities as at the Cikki temple (Figs. 201-202). The actual outer pattern of four corner lotuses and four intermediate vāhana-riding deities with attendants relates most closely to the central nave ceiling centered on Brahmā at the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa. As in the latter ceiling, Indra on Airāvata is shown in the eastern quarter of which he is dikpāla, but Varuṇa, Yama, and Kubera are absent. Instead, figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu appear respectively on the north and south, just as they do on the garbha grha overdoor and the
Ekhara. Brahma is shown multiheaded and seated astride his hamsa, which is atop a lotus. He is four-armed with kamandalu in his lower left hand. Vishnu with typical attributes is shown astride Garuda. The western panel of this ceiling holds Siva, who is thus positioned between Brahma and Vishnu, as on the garbha grha overdoor, and also is closest to his son Karttikeya on the porch ceiling. Siva rides with Parvatī on Nandi toward proper right (Fig. 495), the opposite direction from earlier Calukya representations of this murti. His only visible attribute, in a right hand, is probably an axe. Though the Huccimalli temple's present garbha grha linga without pitha is not original, there is little reason to doubt that a linga was originally enshrined.

B.2. Sivanandiśvara temple at Kadāmalakālava

The Sivanandiśvara temple at Kadāmalakālava (Fig. 496) is located in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, about thirty-five miles southeast of Alampur, fifteen miles east of Pānyam, and five miles northwest of Mahanandi. It is presently associated with the Mahanandiśvara temple. The Sivanandiśvara temple is sāndhāra with a pillared mandapa and a garbha grha with three empty niches, four interior pillars, and a Northern style sikhara, but its plan is unlike the sāndhāra one repeated at Alampur in Calukya times in that the mandapa walls are not continuous with the outer pradaksināpatha walls; the mandapa is distinctly narrower than the western portion of the structure, as at the Parvatī temple at Sandür. The three garbha grha exterior walls and the mandapa's north and south walls each have two empty niches and a central simple grilled window; the garbha grha axes are not specially emphasized. The facade has two empty niches flanking the temple's
reconstructed entrance. Perhaps the three garbha grha and twelve exterior niches once contained the same murtis as at the Svarga Brahma temple at Alampur. The Śivanandīśvara temple's small sukanāsa, like other structures presently on the mandapa roof, probably was not part of the original design. The original Naṭeśa image appears, instead, in a rectangular area on the upper center of the sikhara itself. The amalaka surmounting the sikhara is atypically broad and low, resembling, for example, those of Orissan temples.

The Śivanandīśvara temple's mandapa interior roofing may have been reconstructed, but it appears to have originally featured a central nave running from entrance to garbha grha, without crossbeam divisions, a form not seen at Alampur. The temple was built without an antarāla, though one was later constructed; perhaps originally the narrowed mandapa functionally replaced it. The garbha grha entrance has an overdoor of uninhabited miniature shrines, and no lalāta-bimba. The base boxes contain river goddess groups, but Gaṅgā wears a breast band and is at proper right, as in no other known Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh.

These latter elements, as well as the amalaka type, suggest influence from a non-Calukya artistic tradition, probably North Indian. Among Andhra Pradesh Calukya temples, the Śivanandīśvara temple seems formally closest to the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple at Satyavolu (Fig. 432), with respect to the separateness of its garbha grha from its mandapa and the latter's central side windows. Also the relative crudity of the Kaḍamalakālava temple's construction and decoration, despite its large size, recalls the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple, and suggests a similar class of patron. The unfinished Śivanandīśvara temple upper sikhara front Naṭeśa figure (Fig. 497) is eight-armed with front left hand in gaja-hasta,
suggesting a date not before the late seventh century. The god dances atop a dwarf, a feature not known in Andhra Pradesh in Calukya times except at the Tāraka Brahma temple (Fig. 267), but hypothesized at the Viśva Brahma temple. Also the use of Rāmāyana subjects on two mandapa pillars may be related to the Viśva Brahma temple. Probably the Śivanandīśvara temple was constructed in the period c. 695-710.

In the area around the Śivanandīśvara temple are numerous miniature votive shrines and six small functional temples. Of the latter, one at the southeast (Fig. 498) faces north and has a Northern style śikhara similar to that of the main temple, and five in an east-west row at the northeast (Fig. 499) face south and have kapota-layered śikharas. Most of the small temples have śukanāsa-like motifs above their entrances. All these involve doubled nāsikas, the lower one compressed, a combination not seen on Calukya temples elsewhere, but common on Northern style śikharas in North India itself. The southeast shrine and three of the northern ones have empty niches on their exterior walls. The southeast shrine now contains an image of Ganeśa.

B.3. Garuḍa Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Garuḍa Brahma temple (Figs. 500-501) is located south of the Bāla Brahma temple at Ālampur. It resembles the Svarga Brahma temple in having a porch, but otherwise is closest in form to the Viśva Brahma temple (Figs. 445-446), and probably it followed immediately the construction of the latter. It may be dated c. 700-710. That it followed rather than preceded the Viśva Brahma temple is suggested by the garbha grha doorway lalāṭa-bimba Garuḍas of these two temples. Garuḍa's pose, with extremely bent neck, is identical at the two temples
(Figs. 447, 502), but is purposeful only at the Viśva Brahma temple, where there is an overhanging molding immediately above. The Garuḍa Brahma temple lacks exterior wall mithunas, and the false porches on its garbha grha axes do not contain images, as at the Svarga Brahma and Viśva Brahma temples, but merely have window grilles. Also there are no iconic subjects located on any of the exterior wall surfaces between niches. The Śukanāsa is empty, and only one of the temple's twenty-two exterior niches has an image, an apparent pot- and rosary-bearing Candra on the north. The garbha grha and antarāla niches of the interior are also empty. It may be suggested that many Ālampur craftsmen left the site early in Vijayāditya's reign to work at Pattadakal, and that a large number of the Garuḍa Brahma temple's niches were never filled with sculptures.

The temple's mandapa entrance (Fig. 503) is flanked by four-armed Śaiva dvārapālas who uniquely have large oval haloes. They lean on maces and bear tridents and nāgas, but the doorway lalāta-bimba has a representation of Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa. Apparently these entrance area elements were meant to refer to two of the three deities, Śiva and Viṣṇu, of the Brahmanical Trimūrti. The temple itself would seem to have been dedicated to the third Trimūrti member, Brahmā, who prominently inhabits the central miniature shrine form above the garbha grha doorway (Fig. 502). The god here is seated, multiheaded, and pot-bellied. He has two visible arms and bears rosary, right, and kamandalu, left. Presently lingas on pīthas are found inside both the Garuḍa Brahma temple's antarāla and its garbha grha, but neither is centered, and they are certainly not original.
Probably the present stone Garuḍa Brahma temple was constructed in Vijayāditya's reign according to a Trimūrti site design devised by Vinayāditya. It may, however, have been built on the site of an earlier temple enshrining Brahmā. The copper plate inscription of Ādityavarma found in Kurnool District (Adl), which refers to the festival of Hiraṇyagarbha-Paitāmahī, would seem to indicate that some temple or shrine dedicated to Brahmā existed in the region in the mid seventh century. Such a shrine's existence south of the Bāla Brahma temple would explain why that site was not selected for the Svarga Brahma temple, which was instead placed behind the Bāla Brahma temple in a less desirable location, further from the river. Such a shrine's existence south of the site's Śiva temples also would help explain the origin of Vinayāditya's conception of using a trio of separate Ālampur temples to enshrine the Trimūrti.

An image of Brahmā (Fig. 504), now kept in the modern structure adjoining the Bāla Brahma temple on the east, may be the original Garuḍa Brahma temple garbha grha image, perhaps even the one extant in the mid seventh century, for Bolon has associated its style with that of the Kumāra Brahma temple's sculptural decoration. This image represents Brahmā as four-armed, multiheaded, pot-bellied, and seated on a lotus. His rear right hand bears rosary and his rear left a broken lotus stem or sacrificial implement. The front right hand makes varada mudrā and the front left, damaged, might have held a small kamandalu or fruit.
B.4. Calukya temple at Banditandrapādu

The Calukya temple at Banditandrapādu (Fig. 505) in Kurnool District is about ten miles southwest of Ālampur. Its Calukya portions include a nirandhāra garbha grha with kapota-layered ūśikīhara (the upper portion may be restored) and an antarāla with empty sukanāsa above. The garbha grha doorway lalāta-bimba figure is Garuḍa. The mandapa on the east is a later addition, and possibly replaced an original porch. The garbha grha contains a liṅga with pītha and four pillars. This is the only Calukya temple known with all three of the standard garbha grha niche deities assumed typical in Calukya Śaiva temples in Andhra Pradesh, Gaṇeṣa on the south, Karottikēya on the west, and Mahīṣamardini on the north, still in situ. The Karottikēya image (Fig. 506) is particularly interesting. The god is shown frontally astride his peacock as in Figure 459, but uniquely is six-armed. He does not hold his typical sakti or a cock, but touches the peacock with two hands, gestures, and rests a hand on his thigh. His only attributes appear to be a trident with banner(?) on the right and pendant fruits(?) on the left. The latter attribute is similar to what is held by a gaṇa or child Karottikēya shown attending Śiva and Pārvatī on the ceiling of the Konta Northwest temple at Aihole (Fig. 619).

Though Tartokov compared the Banditandrapādu temple’s prominent garbha grha niche structures to those of the Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur, and Bolon dated it close to the latter temple, Divakaran has noted the similarity of its basement to that of the Rāmaśaṅkara temple at Satyavolu. Also its simple garbha grha and antarāla form and its deep sukanāsa recall the Bhīmaśaṅkara temple at Satyavolu (Fig. 440), and its use of Garuḍa in the garbha grha doorway lalāta-bimba dissociates...
it from Alampur tradition. Probably the Banditandrapādu temple should be
dated in the period c. 700–710, after the Satyavolu temples and
approximately contemporaneous with the Garuḍa Brahma temple at Ālampur.
It is likely that the Banditandrapādu temple, like those at
Pañcaliṅgāla, Satyavolu, and Kaḍamalakālava, was not a royal foundation.

B.5. Padma Brahma temple at Ālampur

The Ālampur pṛākāra whose completion is recorded in an inscription
of 713 A.D. (Vj13) probably was identical with or the predecessor of the
massive stone wall whose fragments are now found surrounding the site of
the nine Calukya temples at Ālampur. Portions of it might have been
begun as early as Vinayāditya's reign, and it would seem to have had its
southern perimeter located directly south of the Garuḍa Brahma temple
site, for the last surviving Calukya temple built at Ālampur, the Padma
Brahma temple, is not aligned with the Viśva Brahma, Vīra Brahma, Arka
Brahma, Kumāra Brahma, Bāla Brahma, and Garuḍa Brahma temples, but is
located behind/west of the Svarga Brahma temple. (See Figure 158).

The Padma Brahma temple (Figs. 507-508) resembles the Garuḍa Brahma
temple in exterior form, having twenty-two niches and northwest, west,
and southwest false porches sheltering grilled windows without deity
images, and in mandapa interior pillar distribution. However, it has a
lotus, rather than a coiled nāga, carved in the ceiling bay before the
garbha grha doorway, lacks an entrance porch, and resembles the Vīra
Brahma temple in the garbha grha area. As in the latter temple, the
garbha grha lacks antarāla niches and interior pillars, and enshrines a
probably original liṅga under a lotus ceiling. Presumably the Vīra
Brahma temple, rather than the Garuḍa Brahma temple, was chosen as a
model for these aspects because it was similarly dedicated to Śiva. Why the nearby Svarga Brahma Śiva temple was not selected as a model is unknown; possibly the queen of Vinayāditya for whom the Svarga Brahma temple was built was not the mother of Vijayāditya. As usual at Ālampur, the Padma Brahma temple was built upon a raised platform; traces of its southwest projection remain, but the northeast section is lost. The temple has no mithunas or exterior upper wall gandharvas, and none of its exterior niches are filled with images. Also the major portion of its śikhara does not survive, and may never have been completed in stone. The Padma Brahma temple probably was begun immediately after the completion of the Garuḍa Brahma temple. Perhaps work on it ceased soon after Vijayāditya's visit to the site in his twenty-second regnal year (Vjll).

The Padma Brahma temple's mandapa entrance (Fig. 509), blocked off in modern times, has a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba and river goddesses at its bases. The large dvārapālas flanking the doorframe, as at the Viśva Brahma temple (Fig. 448), are four-armed, cross legged, and lean on maces. The south one has a trisūla headdress, as at the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 402). The north one probably bore nāga and paraśu. The garbha grha doorframe (Fig. 510) has small guardians with the river goddesses at its bases. The two bases, and also the jambs on the two sides of the doorframe, seem to have had different sculptors and do not form matching pairs. The south base dvārapāla is two-armed, cross legged, and leans on a mace. The north guardian, also two-armed, but quite different in dress, clutches a trisūla with a long shaft. Recalling the Tāraka Brahma temple to the north (Fig. 268), jambs on both sides of the Padma Brahma temple garbha grha entrance feature ganaśas in
registers, and figures continue on the lintel above.

The *garbha grha* overdoor decoration closely resembles that of the Vīra Brahma temple (Fig. 274) in form, though the content is different. The *lalāṭa-bimba* features a representation of seated, two-armed Lakulīśa with four disciples. The god is not noticeably ithyphallic. He has short curled hair of the type frequently seen in Buddha images, wears a *yogapatta* on both legs, makes a two hand mudrā in front of his chest, and has an upright club at his left side. Related Lakulīśas are not known in Calukya art, but are seen in North Indian art. Above the Lakulīśa composition, a *mukhaliṅga* (Fig. 511) appears on a lotus(?) *pīṭha*, flanked by male dancers. Above this, two *gandharvas* are portrayed holding a *makuta* between them, a subject found also at Alampur at the Vīra Brahma and Svarga Brahma temples. The Padma Brahma temple's *garbha grha liṅga* is aniconic and mounted on a standard square *pīṭha*; possibly its overdoor decoration commemorated some earlier important Calukya mukha-liṅga, such as the original Makuṭeśvaranātha at Mahākūṭa and/or the (Bāla) Brahmeśvara at Alampur.

The Padma Brahma temple's southern and western *garbha grha* niches contain images of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya respectively. Kārttikeya (Fig. 512) is represented standing, with his peacock behind him, and four-armed. Unlike earlier Calukya standing images of Kārttikeya, his stance is *tribhāṅga* rather than *samabhāṅga*; also he has a third eye like Śiva's on his forehead. The Padma Brahma temple Kārttikeya figure bears *sakti*, rear right, rosary, rear left, and cock, front left. His front right attribute is uncertain. This is the last known Calukya niche image of Kārttikeya. After this date he typically appears only in compositions with Śiva and Pārvatī. A Mahiṣamardinī image (Fig. 723) now installed
behind the Bāla Brahma temple may be the original Padma Brahma temple
goīrba grha niche image. The only other Padma Brahma temple deity
image surviving is a small four-armed Națesă (Fig. 513) carved in one of
the box-form moldings beneath a north exterior wall niche. The god's
pose is similar to that of the Sukanășa Națesă (Fig. 524) at the
Kādsiddheśvara temple at Pattadakal, except that the right leg is not
raised as high.

B.6. Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal

It seems that, at about the time of the completion of the Vișva
Brahma temple at Ālampur, King Vijayāditya decided to build a large
temple dedicated to Śiva at Pattadakal in an identical style. For this
monument, which surpassed in elaboration even the Mahākūṭeśvara temple at
Mahākūṭa, and established Pattadakal as a major temple site, if not the
dynasty's new religious center, he probably recruited many of the
artisans who had created the Vișva Brahma temple, as well as some who had
been working on other projects in Karnataka, such as the Phase II
Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal itself. The resulting temple, built just
north of the old temple with a brick foundation at the site, is now
called the Galaganātha temple, but may have originally had the name
Lokapāleśvara. This name would seem quite suitable if the temple, like
its Ālampur precedents, bore exterior niche representations of the eight
lokapālas/dikpālas, and that Lokapāleśvara was indeed the name of a Śiva
temple in the Pattadakal region, extant at least in the reign of
Vikramāditya II, is shown by Pattadakal inscription Vkl5. Perhaps the
Galaganātha temple was completed in about 708 A.D.; Vijayāditya's visits
to Pattadakal in his tenth and eleventh regnal years (Vj7,9) may have
been related to his interest in this temple's construction.

Though only portions of its western end are now intact (Figs. 514, 553), the Galaganātha temple can be seen to have emulated the Svarga Brahma and Viśva Brahma temples at Ālampur and the Phase II Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal in possessing a Northern style sikhara, an enclosed pradaksināpatha continuous with the mandapa side aisles, and three niches and three false porches on the garbha grha axes. Unlike the Phase II Pāpanātha temple (Fig. 479), it was provided with an antarāla, perhaps the first in Karnataka, a true projecting sukanāsa, and images in its false porches. It also had an Ālampur style base platform, whose surviving portion reveals a projection at the southeast. The long pedestal located within this projection contains seven adjacent blocked out areas, suggesting that individual images of the Saptamātrkās were installed in a row in a subshrine there, probably with images of Gaṇeśa and Śiva placed forward at the ends. This evidence tends strongly to support the assumption, made previously, that the Saṅgasevara temple at Kūḍavelli and sāndhāra temples at Ālampur had southeast subshrines for the Mātrkās. Figure 515, now loose at Pattadakal, may have been one of the Galaganātha temple subshrine's Mātrkās. Unlike early Ālampur temples or the Phase II Pāpanātha temple, but precisely like the Viśva Brahma temple, the Galaganātha temple seems to have been designed with twenty-two exterior niches.

The Galaganātha temple's sukanāsa has been destroyed, but probably once displayed an image of Naṭesā. The garbha grha doorway lalāta-bimba (Fig. 516) is a four-armed Naṭesā figure with front left hand in gaja-hasta. The god seems to have borne trident, right, and dhvaja with
The present liṅga without pīṭha in the garbha grha may be a replacement for the supposed original liṅga. The images once contained in the empty garbha grha niches are assumed to have been the standard Śaiva group (Gānesa (south), Kārttikeya (west), and Mahiṣamardini (north)) seen in Calukya temples of Andhra Pradesh. Of the three sculpture porches, only the south one retains its original image, Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (Fig. 517), presumed to have been featured in the same position at the Svarga Brahma Śiva temple at Alampur. At the Galaganātha temple, the god is eight-armed, bearing trisula in his front two hands and also sword on right and shield on left. At the relief's base are three worn figures, including one asura underfoot. In a nāsika atop the pilaster west of this porch is a small representation of a two-armed ithyphallic standing Śiva (Fig. 518), with club(?) in his left hand and right hand worn, but perhaps once bearing rosary as in Figure 426. Two male figures, seemingly disciples, sit at his sides, and he is probably identifiable as Lakulīśa.

The identity of the images once found in, and possibly between, the Galaganātha temple's twenty-two exterior wall niches, and in its northern and western sculpture porches is unknown. However its Alampur based structure suggests that Alampur iconography would have predominated, and probably the eight dīkpālas, Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Sūrya, Candra, Gaṅgādharamūrti, Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, Liṅgodbhavamūrti, and Tripurāntakamūrti, seen on the Svarga Brahma Śiva temple, would have been featured. Perhaps the north sculpture porch once contained an image of Naṭesā, as at the Svarga Brahma temple. Since the Galaganātha temple is presumed to have been a monument created by the finest sculptors in the Calukya kingdom, its sculpture is assumed to have included a number of
original deity forms and/or forms not used previously in Karnataka. In particular, it is likely that some prominent Nâtesā image on the temple, perhaps the north sculpture porch image or the āukanāsa image, was represented dancing atop a dwarf, for this element is first seen in Karnataka soon after the date of the Galaganātha temple.

B.7. Northeast temple at Mahākūṭa

After the completion of the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal, it may be speculated that its craftsmen were dispersed to other projects in Karnataka, such as the Durga and Tarappa temples at Aihole. Some such craftsmen may have been responsible for the construction of a temple located to the northeast of the present compound walls at Mahākūṭa. This temple does not survive today, but a portion of it existed as recently as 1961. A photograph (Fig. 760) taken at that time by the Archaeological Survey of India appears to show the temple's north āgarbha āgrha exterior, which included an image of Mahiṣamardinī which is still extant at the site (Fig. 759). Probably the temple resembled not only the Pattadakal Galaganātha temple, but also the nearby Apsidal temple at Cikka Mahākūṭa, in having images of Mahiṣamardinī on the north, Kārttikeya on the west, and Gaṇeśa on the south of its āgarbha āgrha. The exterior upper wall decoration of the lost Northeast temple at Mahākūṭa is shown by Figure 760 to have consisted of a frieze of ganas bearing a garland, perhaps inspired by similar decoration appearing above the niches of Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa (Figs. 299, 300). Possibly the construction of the lost Northeast temple at Mahākūṭa was roughly contemporaneous with the donation made at the site by Vināpoṭi, a female favorite of Vijayāditya (Vj15). Before the end of Vijayāditya's reign, Pattadakal had probably
replaced Mahâküta as the royal Calukya religious and ceremonial center, and significant patronage at the latter site had probably ended.

B.8. Kâdsiddhesvara temple at Pattadakal

The Kâdsiddhesvara temple (Fig. 519), the northernmost temple surviving at Pattadakal, resembles the Jambuliṅga temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 476) in form and the Phase II Pâpanâtha temple in the multiple nāsika decorations over its niches, but probably was later in date. It may have been constructed by craftsmen who had previously worked at the Galaganâtha temple and then at the lost Northeast temple at Mahâküta, for it features an exterior upper wall garland borne by ganas and also niche frames of the type seen on the latter temple. The Kâdsiddhesvara temple's niche iconography also relates to Mahâküta, in particular to the Saṅgameśvara temple and its copies, in featuring images of a samabhaṅga standing long haired deity, Harihara, and Ardhanârîśvara. There are significant differences, however. Although the Kâdsiddhesvara temple's south niche deity (Fig. 520) is very badly worn and has lost its arms and attributes, it clearly never stood upon a dwarf. Perhaps it represented Lakulīśa, who seems to have been shown on the Galaganâtha temple (Fig. 518) and who, not long afterwards, was integrated with the Mahâküta Śiva type of Figure 296 on the south exterior of the Mallikârjuna temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 538). Additionally, the Kâdsiddhesvara temple's images of Ardhanârîśvara and Harihara are not in the same positions as their counterparts on the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahâküta. Ardhanârîśvara (Fig. 521) is on the north/proper left, this deity's most usual side, and Harihara is on the west, as at the Phase II Pâpanâtha temple. Ardhanârîśvara is two-armed, as at Mahâküta, but has Nandi at
his side, as was the fashion in Andhra Pradesh. The god bears flower
in the left hand and rests the right on Nandi, while standing in a unique
crossed leg pose. Though the Kâdsiddhâvara temple image of Harihara
is unlike the Mahâküta type in standing samabhânga, he has the same
upraised attributes, parasu and śaṅkha, which were found there and
typical in the Calukya period in Karnataka in general.

The Kâdsiddhâvara temple has damaged and possibly unfinished large
dvârapâlas on either side of the mandapa entrance. It is assumed that
both had maces, though that on the north does not survive. Though these
dvârapâlas have only two arms, like early examples in Karnataka, their
bushy hair styles recall the Svarga Brahma temple façade dvârapâlas and
those at the Pâpanâtha temple garbha grha entrance. The north
Kâdsiddhâvara temple dvârapâla has crossed legs and the south one does
not; the Pâpanâtha temple garbha grha pair was also unmatched in this
respect. The figures carved on the Kâdsiddhâvara temple mandapa
doorframe's lalâta-bimba and base boxes are too worn for identification.

On the garbha grha doorframe (Fig. 522), the unfinished base boxes
contain river goddesses as usual; a small dvârapâla cut near the latter
on the north side may be a later addition. The inner jambs feature nāgas
despite the absence of Garuḍa above; the lalâta-bimba (Fig. 523) contains
a representation of seated Śiva and Pârvatî. The Śiva figure is four­
armed, bears nāga and trident, and rests his left elbow on Pârvatî. He
sits above a small Nandi and the goddess rests one foot on an uncertain
form. Near the doorway’s upper corners are images of seated four­armed
Brahmā (south) and Viṣṇu (north), completing a Trimûrti. Though the
relative positions of the three gods are typical for Śaiva overdoor
Trimūrtis in Calukya art, their representations are not, as usual, independent. Both the peripheral gods pointedly salute Śiva, and thus his superiority is emphasized more than usual. Several other representations of Brahmā's and Viṣṇu's subordination to Śiva appear later at Pattadakal (Figs. 549, 676, 701-702), and we recall the earlier Svarga Brahma temple image of Liṅgodbhavamūrti (Fig. 423). The Kādsiddhesvara temple's Viṣṇu figure upholds a mace in his rear right hand, and cakra and śaṅkha seem to have been held on his left in typical North Indian positions. Brahmā is shown multiheaded, with uncertain attributes.

The Kādsiddhesvara temple's damaged sukanāsa (Fig. 524) contains a representation of eight-armed Naṭeṣa. The god has typical front left hand in gaja-hasta, but instead of having the right foot firmly on the ground and the left foot slightly raised with toes on the ground, the left foot is on the ground and the right knee and foot are raised high in a stance termed ūrdhvajānu by C. Sivararamamurti and not seen previously in Calukya art. Also the god dances atop a dwarf, the first such surviving representation in Karnataka Calukya art. We note a similar ūrdhvajānu Naṭeṣa figure on dwarf, with opposite leg raised, possibly of about the same date, at Mogulrājapuram. To the god's left at the Kādsiddhesvara temple is a drummer and to his right is a standing female. If she is to be identified as Pārvatī, her position is unusual, for Pārvatī is typically portrayed on Śiva's proper left side, except in images of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti. Possibly related in iconography are several images at the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal, for example, Figure 672.
The Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal (Figs. 525-526, 531-532), known from the Pattadakal pillar inscription of Kṛttivarma II's reign (K5) to have been originally named Trailokyaśvara and patronized by Trailokyaṃhādevī, wife of Vijayāditya's son Vikramaḍitya, is usually assumed by art historians to have been begun well after the Saṅgameśvara/Vijayeśvara temple northeast of it, patronized by Vijayāditya, and to have been contemporaneous with or later than the Virūpākṣa/Lokesvara temple southeast of it, patronized by Lokamahādevī, older sister of Trailokyaṃhādevī (K5). However, S.R. Rao's report of excavations in the Saṅgameśvara temple area contains the statement, "Although convincing stratigraphical evidence is not yet available for fixing precisely the date of construction of the temples in the Virūpākṣa group it may be noted here that the Mallikārjuna temple and its paved courtyard and nandīmandapa are all earlier in date than the Saṅgameśvara and Virūpākṣa temples."

It is also evident to an observer that the prākāra with subshrines built around the Mallikārjuna temple is interrupted at its southeast corner by the continuous prākāra with subshrines built around the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 526). It appears probable that, had the Mallikārjuna temple been the later of the two built, it would have been carefully placed sufficiently far away from its neighbor to avoid interruption. On the contrary, it seems that the Mallikārjuna temple was built first, and then subsequently the Virūpākṣa temple was placed where its patron saw fit, and took precedence when it came to the matter of prākāras. In light of this, the dating of all three of the Southern style Calukya temples at Pattadakal requires reexamination.
It is here hypothesized that the Mallikārjuna temple was the first of the three to be begun, with work commencing in the middle of Vijayāditya's reign, after the completion of the Kādsiddhesvara temple. While the Galaganātha temple had been built north of the old temple underlying the present Saṅgameśvara temple, the Mallikārjuna temple was placed south of it, but considerably to the west, possibly due to the lesser status of its patron, a royal daughter-in-law. (See Figure 527.) Perhaps, at this time, Trailokyamahādevī was the favorite wife of Prince Vikramāditya, for the latter's son Kīrttivarma, who became a royal military commander during Vikramāditya's reign (K2-4) and later succeeded him on the throne, was her son (K5). It may be speculated that work on the Mallikārjuna temple, innovative in form and scale, continued for about fourteen years and then ceased, possibly due to Trailokyamahādevī's death. While its structure probably was completed during this period, its decoration was not. Craftsmen who had been working on Mallikārjuna temple sculptures appear to have been transferred directly to a new project, a stone version of the old temple south of the Galaganātha temple. This project was sponsored by the king, who seems to have been inspired by his daughter-in-law's temple, and the resulting temple, now called Saṅgameśvara, was originally named Vijayesvara after him. Probably some craftsmen from other sites, particularly Aihole, were simultaneously brought to work on this royal temple, but apparently only its westernmost portion, including the garbha grha, pradaksināpatha, and śikhara, was structurally complete at the time of Vijayāditya's death in 733/4 A.D. At this date, Lokamahādevī, chief queen of Vijayāditya's successor Vikramāditya II, seems to have been the royal favorite, and during his reign the Lokesvara/Virūpākṣa temple she patronized seems to
have dominated other construction projects. After the completion of the Virūpākṣa temple and/or Vikramāditya II's death, his son Kīrttivarma may have recommenced the decoration of his mother's temple (the Trailokyēśvara/Mallikārjuna), and work on the Vijayeśvara/Saṅgāmeśvara temple may have been taken up anew, but the chief construction project at Pattadakal after the Virūpākṣa temple appears to have been the Pāpanātha temple. When Kīrttivarma II and the Calukya dynasty fell, the Saṅgāmeśvara and Mallikārjuna temples, particularly the former, were still unfinished.

Tending to confirm this proposed chronology is the fact that the Mallikārjuna temple is closer than the basically similar Saṅgāmeśvara and Virūpākṣa temples to the Galaganātha and Phase II Pāpanātha temples in a few specific structural aspects. The roof of its uppermost śikhara story is round rather than four-sided, recalling the form of the Āmalakas which originally surmounted the latter temples' Northern śikharaś. The walls around its pradaksīnāpatha project outward at their centers on the north, west, and south, suggesting influence of the Pāpanātha/Galaganātha temple garbha grha false porches, which were never actually used on Southern style temples. Also the true north, east, and south porches of the Mallikārjuna temple's mandapa are simple two-pillared copies, with added stairs, of the Pāpanātha/Galaganātha temple garbha grha false porches, while the Saṅgāmeśvara and Virūpākṣa temple mandapa porches have additional partial side walls. Furthermore, the Mallikārjuna temple mandapa's exterior width is fairly close to that of its garbha grha area, recalling the plan of typical sāndhāra temples at Alampur and the Galaganātha and Phase II Pāpanātha temples, while the Saṅgāmeśvara and Virūpākṣa temples have considerably wider mandapas than garbha grhas.
recalling the plans of, for example, the Mahâkûtesvara and Mallikârjuna temples at Mahâkûta.

The Mallikârjuna temple at Pattadakal was designed to consist of a śāndhāra garbha grha with Southern style superstructure, an antarāla with śukanāsā, undoubtedly imitated from the Galaganātha temple, a pillared maṇḍapa with three entry porches and without a nave, a Nandi pavilion, and a prākāra with gates, many interior image niches, and probably a dozen attached interior subshrines. The temple has twenty-seven niches for sculpture on its ground floor exterior walls and several sculpted porch pillars. Inside there are eighteen pillars and pilasters with some decoration, four ceiling reliefs, two empty subshrines at the maṇḍapa's western end, and six empty niches in the pradaksina-patha, three outward-facing on the interior/garbha grha walls and three inward-facing on the outer walls. An attempt to deal exhaustively with all the major images, as well as minor ones on the hāra and other locations, will not be made; however their most significant aspects will be noted.

Perhaps the most intriguing question is the original dedication of the Mallikârjuna temple. Its east and south maṇḍapa entrance doorways display Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa (Fig. 528) in the lalita-bimba. The north maṇḍapa entrance doorway and the garbha grha doorway have Garuḍa alone. The south pillar of the east porch was carved with a large representation of Gajendramokṣa on its outer/east side, now defaced (Fig. 529), and a mithuna on the north. The north pillar of the east porch has attributeless eight-armed Nṛsiṁha battling Hiraṇyakaśipu on its south side (Fig. 530), and seems to have once had Ugra-Nṛsiṁha disembowelling Hiraṇyakaśipu on the east, now defaced. This evidence would strongly suggest a dedication to Viṣṇu, but the temple's dvārapālas and its
inserted and low relief sculpture, including the *garbha grha* overdoor decoration (Fig. 548), suits the *liṅga* now present inside the *garbha grha* and a dedication to Śiva. Also, though the inscription (K5) which refers in passing to Trailokyēśvara does not define this god's nature, the inscription's Śaiva content leads to the inference that, at least at the time it was engraved, in the reign of Kīrttivarma II, the temple was dedicated to Śiva. Probably a change in dedication from Vaiśṇava to Śaiva, if it ever occurred, occurred fairly early in the course of the temple's construction/decoration.

Two of the Mallikārjuna temple's three main exterior niches and nineteen of the twenty-four others are now filled with images. (See Figures 531-532.) It appears that all but one, the main south niche figure (Fig. 540), of the southeast, south, and west side niche figures are finished or nearly finished, while four on the north are clearly unfinished. Probably all of these unfinished figures were not part of the temple conception in Vijayaḍitya's reign, but were added after the Virūpākṣa temple was complete; figures of a non-śamabhāṅga Harihara (Fig. 533) and Vṛṣavāhanamūrti (Fig. 534) on the north seem inspired by completed Virūpākṣa temple icons (Figs. 671, 665) in similar positions. Recognizable niche mūrtis which are probably original include: one śamabhāṅga image of Harihara bearing śaṅkha and uncertain Śaiva attributes on the north side; an eight-armed image of Naṭeṣa (Fig. 536) bearing trident, drum, and nāga (the main niche figure) and a four-armed image of trident- and mirror-bearing Ardhanārīśvara on the west side; and figures of Harihara with trident and North Indian cakra and śaṅkha (Fig. 535), Andhakāsuraṇavadbhamūrti (Fig. 537), standing Śiva with Pārvatī, and a two-armed ūrdhvaliṅga śamabhāṅga standing Śiva (Fig. 538)
on the south side. The latter seems a composite of the Mahākūta Śiva type of Figure 296 (dwarf underfoot) and Lakulīśa (club in hand), with the addition of a hip-band bell as seen in Figure 474 at the Pāpanātha temple. One two-armed figure on the Mallikārjuna temple's north side, though not samabhaṅga, might tentatively be designated as Candra, on the basis of the halo which he alone wears; possibly his counterpart Sūrya formerly appeared, as at Ālampur, in one of the Mallikārjuna temple's two now empty northeast exterior niches. Seven of the other presumed original Mallikārjuna temple niche images appear to represent four-armed forms of Śiva, standing in relaxed poses and holding such typical attributes as trident, axe, and nāga. Short-shafted, decorative forms of trident and axe are several times paired in the upper hands of these figures. Such a repetition of related non-specific Śiva forms (Fig. 539) is not known on earlier temples, but recurs on the Virūpākṣa temple. Possibly it first occurred on the Galaganātha temple, a Śiva temple with a similarly large number of exterior niches.

A couple of the Mallikārjuna temple niche mūrtis are of particular interest. The main niche on the temple's south side displays an unfinished image (Fig. 540) of Ugra-Śiva upholding something (snake, garland, elephant skin ?) in two hands and striding over two small figures. This image, probably a post-Virūpākṣa temple insertion or replacement, has been variously interpreted, most recently as Gajāsurasamhāramūrti. The god's stance, with hips turned and front leg in a striding or stepping pose to the side, recalls that of some figures at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāncī (minor dvārapālas, Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, Hiraṇyakaśipu). Similar stances are visible in several major images in eighth century Karnataka: a garbha grha dvārapāla at the Huccappayya
temple at Aihole, Hiraṇyakāśipu at the Saṅgamaśvara temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 555), dvārapālas, wrestlers, and Vāli or Sugrīva (Fig. 667) at the Virūpākṣa temple, Mahiśamardini (Fig. 764) inside the Pāpanātha temple's east mandapa and various Rāmāvana figures on its south exterior (Fig. 698). The same stance is used for a figure of Gajāsurasamhāramūrti on the upper bracket of Mallikārjuna temple mandapa interior pillar 17N (Fig. 541), but there the elephant demon's head, rather than dwarfs or ganaśas, is stepped upon.

A Śiva image with a more completely twisting body (Fig. 542) is found two niches east of the Mallikārjuna temple's main south wall niche. This particular mūrti, probably part of the temple's original conception, was repeated, with minor variations, in niche images on the south sides of the Saṅgamaśvara (Fig. 562) and Virūpākṣa (Fig. 658) temples at Pattadakal. Closely related Śiva images appear on the Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa temple hāras, and on the latter temple's sikhara and west prākāra gate, and even at Cave 16 at Ellora, attributed to the Rāstrakūtas. This Śiva mūrti has been identified as a dancing mūrti by C. Sivaramamurti. Bolon equated it with Bhiksātanamūrti as represented on the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇcī, while M. Heston associated it with Gajāsurasamhāramūrti as represented, for example, in mid eighth century Pallava temples and in Cola art. As neither the Calukya nor Rāstrakūta images in question bear recognizable attributes typical of Bhiksātanamūrti or Gajāsurasamhāramūrti, a general identification as "Ugra-nṛtya" Śiva seems most suitable. The god's tarjanī mudrā, especially clear in the Mallikārjuna temple example, indicates a warning to asuras or other evildoers.
Four fine images found loose at Pattadakal and now in the Bādāmi site museum may have originally belonged within the Mallikārjuna temple's pradaksinapātha. The Tripurāntakamūrti (Fig. 543) and Kālārimūrti (Fig. 544) images are similar in carving style and format, and probably belong together, while the Harihara (Fig. 545) and seated Śiva (Fig. 546) images have different formats, but are similar in style and their slightly grayish stone, and so probably belong together. It is hypothesized, considering dimensions, that Kālārimūrti was once placed in the south-facing north outer wall niche and Tripurāntakamūrti in the east-facing west outer wall niche, with an unknown mūrti in the north-facing south outer wall niche. The seated Śiva is assumed to have belonged in the south garbha grha wall niche, with Harihara in the west garbha grha wall niche, opposite Tripurāntaka, and an unknown mūrti, perhaps Ardhanārīśvara as at the Kāḍsiddhesvara temple, in the north garbha grha wall niche opposite Kālārimūrti.

The eight-armed figure of Tripurāntakamūrti (Fig. 543) shoots an arrow from his bow and bears sword, shield, axe, and nāga. Pārvatī is a passenger in his chariot. Kālārimūrti is a subject known from Pallava art at the Dharmaśāja Ratha at Mahābalipuram and the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇcī, but the version in Figure 544 is unlike these in format. Śiva's devotee is shown as a tiny figure worshipping the liṅga on whose pāṭha the god stands. Yama/Kāla receives a blow from Śiva's foot as well as a thrust with the handle end of his trident. This or a similar lost Calukya representation, rather than the Pallava type, seems to have inspired the images of Kālārimūrti at Caves 15 and 16 at Ellora, attributed to the Rāstrakūtas. Harihara (Fig. 545) is shown flanked by Nandi and Garuḍa, as on the Mallikārjuna temple's own south exterior
(Fig. 535), the Phase II Pāpanātha temple, and subsequently the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 671). The attribute on Śiva's side is a trident; on Viṣṇu's side a fruit and flaming śāṅkha are both held. This particular arrangement of attributes may have been original, as it does not match other known Calukya or early Pallava types. The seated Śiva (Fig. 546) is shown holding rosary and drum and makes varada mudrā; his rear right hand is lost. A small animal at his left may be Nandi. This mūrti probably is related to Pallava Dakṣināmūrtis, despite the fact that the god has an ornate makūṭa rather than bushy hair. A pillar relief (Fig. 547) in the post-Calukya Kāsīvīśvanātha temple, just north of the Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal, showing seated Śiva with a similar makūṭa and additional elements (yogapatta, overhead tree leaves, flanking wild animals, andṛsi) which identify him as Yoga-Dakṣināmūrti, suggests this association. The Mallikārjuna temple image probably represents Jñāna-Dakṣināmūrti or Vyākhyāna-Dakṣināmūrti. A south-facing position, as hypothesized above, thus would be iconographically correct.

The Mallikārjuna temple mandapa interior features large mithunas on its peripheral pilasters and an upper wall decorative frieze of ganaśs bearing a garland, probably related to that on the exterior upper wall of the Kādsiddhesvara temple. The doorway to the garbha grha, as noted previously, has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba. This feature is not seen in other Śiva temples at Pattadakal or Alampur, but is seen in late seventh and eighth century Śiva temples at Aihole. The door jambs have ganaśs, mithunas, and other figures in registers; the base boxes have the usual river goddesses. In the overdoor decoration (Fig. 548), Śiva is represented sitting next to Pārvatī. They do not embrace, and he makes vyākhyāna mudrā and appears to be instructing her. His hair is wound in
a jata which recalls, but is less fine than that of Figure 539. On the seat below the couple are Nandi and paired, or two-headed, hamsas. This representation of seated Šiva and Pārvatī may be compared to the Kāśīdheśvara temple's garbha grha lalāṭa-bimba composition (Fig. 523). Four-armed dvārapālas appear on the pilasters flanking the doorframe, as at the Pāpanātha temple. They are cross legged, lean on maces, and bear nāgas, trident, and combined trident-axe. The dvārapālas at the temple's three mandapa entrances have varying poses, but all are four-armed and fairly similar. The east dvārapāla at the north porch doorway has one leg raised to half mace height, a pose seen previously at the Pāpanātha temple's garbha grha. A trisūla headdress is not seen on any Mallikārjuna temple dvārapāla, but this might be due to damage.

The worn Naṭeṣa image adorning the Mallikārjuna temple's sukanāsa, that in its main west exterior niche (Fig. 536), and a small example on the south exterior upper wall are unremarkable examples of the standard eighth century Naṭeṣa type with front left arm in gaja-hasta. Urdhvajānu Naṭeṣa, similar to but not identical with the Kāśīdheśvara temple sukanāsa example (Fig. 524), is also represented. A dwarf figure does not appear beneath Šiva in any of these representations, but one does appear in the large Naṭeṣa relief (Fig. 549) on the easternmost level central mandapa ceiling. The main figures in this composition are Šiva, Pārvatī, and Nandi, as in the sukanāsa (Fig. 478) of the Jambulinga temple at Pattadakal, where, however, the dwarf is absent. On the Mallikārjuna temple ceiling, Šiva is shown eight-armed and in the same standard pose as on the temple's west exterior (Fig. 536). He seems to hold trident, nāga, and perhaps a short axe on the right, and a long-shafted attribute and book(?) on the left. Pārvatī is not caressed by
Śiva; she makes vyākhyāna mudrā. Besides musicians, small figures of probably Brahmā, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, and the traditional four dikpālas on vāhanas seen in earlier temples in Karnataka appear at the sides of the divine couple. Brahmā and Viṣṇu do not appear to be on their usual sides. The subordination of Brahmā and Viṣṇu to Śiva here is strikingly different from the Trimūrti concept popular in Vinayāditya’s reign, and may have been the result of external influences. An identical theme is seen in the comparable Virūpākṣa temple mandapa ceiling (Fig. 676), which portrays the Pallava icon Somāskanda with attendant Brahmā and Viṣṇu figures. The emphasis on Śiva’s superiority at the expense of Brahmā and Viṣṇu seems to have been a feature of eighth century Calukya art only at Pattadakal, and was not even demonstrated very frequently there.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine during which time period the Mallikārjuna temple’s minor exterior and mandapa interior pillar and pilaster decorations were carved. Probably the mandapa interior pillar upper bracket (32S) with an image of lion-riding Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 754) resembling a Pallava type was carved after Vikramāditya’s military expeditions to Kāñcī. A bracket with an image of Gajāsurasāhāramūrti (17N) (Fig. 541), the only other upper mandapa bracket with an iconic subject, probably was contemporaneous. A couple of small representations of Śiva-Liṅga, showing Śiva lifting an arm to touch the top of a large liṅga positioned on his back or shoulder or behind him, if original, would be the earliest Calukya examples known, but possibly were post-Virūpākṣa temple additions. Other subjects of note, presumed original, include: yogācittā-wearing Śiva seated by Nandi and Pārvatī (three examples on the upper exterior walls); Śiva
seated by Nandi and instructing Pārvatī (28N) (Fig. 551), related to the 
garbha grha overdoor relief (Fig. 548); Śiva playing the vīnā (11W); 
Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, wearing a nāga on his hips and bearing trident with 
streamer, with rṣi wives in the Pine Forest (21S); liṅga worship (21N); 
Kāmāntakamūrti (21W); Kalyāṇasundaramūrti (21E); ārdhvajāṇu
Nāṭeśa (33N); Trivikrama with gift and chastizing scenes (32W); 
attributeless Nṛsiṁha battling Hiraṇyakaśipu (33W) (Fig. 551), as shown 
on an east porch pillar (Fig. 530); Kṛṣṇacaritra (28); Samudramathana 
(32S); adventures of Garuḍa (10S, 32N); Rāmāyana (9S, 23); and 
Mahābhārata, including Kirātārjunīya (16,17). Many mandapa interior 
pillars and pilasters have uncut or unfinished decorative sections; this 
is also the case at the Virūpākṣa temple.

B.10. Saṅgameśvara temple at Pattadakal

The Saṅgameśvara temple at Pattadakal (Figs. 522-524), as noted 
previously, was patronized by King Vijayāditya, who reigned from 696 to 
733/4, and originally named after him (K5; Vj16-18), and was built to 
replace an older temple with brick foundations. Probably its 
inspiration was the Mallikārjunā temple, and it seems to have been 
intended as a Southern style complement to Vijayāditya’s earlier, 
Northern style Galaganātha temple, located just to the north. An initial 
date for the Saṅgameśvara temple in Vijayāditya’s final regnal years, 
rather than early in his reign, would explain its surviving unfinished 
state, and we note in this connection the king’s presence at Pattadakal 
in his twenty-eighth, thirty-fourth, and thirty-sixth regnal years (Vj12; 
B21,22). With Vijayāditya’s death and the accession to the throne of 
Vikramāditya II, royal patronage of the Saṅgameśvara temple seems to have
The Saṅgamesvara temple's garbha grha is sāndhāra, with three niches inside the pradaksināpatha and four niches on each side of the exterior, none of them central. This exterior niche plan is unlike that of the Mallikārjuna or Virūpākṣa temple, and recalls the Meguṭī Jain temple at Aihole, a century older. Perhaps the form of the Saṅgamesvara temple's garbha grha area was based on that of the earlier temple on the same site. This seems especially likely because the Saṅgamesvara temple's garbha grha area is notably less ornate than that of the Mallikārjuna temple. The completed portion of the Saṅgamesvara temple's mandapa, which has no images surviving, resembles that of the Virūpākṣa temple in plan. Michell has noted that the roofing junctions between the pradaksināpatha area and the adjoining mandapa interior subshrines are confused, and it may be hypothesized that the mandapa, including subshrines, was a post-Virūpākṣa temple addition to the garbha grha and pradaksināpatha built at the end of Vijayāditya's reign. The contrast in window grille styles noted between the garbha grha and mandapa would tend to support this hypothesis.

The Saṅgamesvara temple's three garbha grha wall niches display unfinished images of Nṛsiṁha battling Hiraṇyakaśipu (Fig. 555), south, Naṭeśa (Fig. 556), west, and Śiva with Pārvatī (Fig. 557), north. The Nṛsiṁha image may have been inspired by that of the Mallikārjuna temple's east porch (Fig. 530); it may also be compared to an example in the south cloister of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇṭī, where Hiraṇyakaśipu has a similar stance. The Naṭeśa figure is unexceptional; it conforms to the standard eighth century type seen, for example, in the Mallikārjuna temple's central west exterior niche (Fig. 536). The garbha grha's north
side image of Śiva and Pārvatī also includes Nandi and a male figure at the right. The god steps with one foot onto what was probably a dwarf or gana. The garbha grha doorframe has no lalāta-bimba figure, and its decoration is uncarved except for incomplete base box river goddess compositions. The large dvārapālas on adjoining pilasters, also unfinished, are cross legged, four-armed, and leaning on maces. The south figure does not have a trisūla headdress, but the pilaster decoration behind his makuta resembles trisūla prongs. The garbha grha interior linga on pītha is probably original.

The temple's exterior images, like its interior images, are incompletely carved. The north side features, from east to west, representations of Varāha, standing Viṣṇu, standing Śiva, and one empty niche. Varāha (Fig. 558) faces the proper right and clasps his front two hands together on his chest, aspects which had precedents in Andhra Pradesh (Figs. 453, 458). The Viṣṇu is only roughed out, and his attributes are uncertain. The Śiva steps onto a dwarf with one foot, as in the north image on the garbha grha itself. This stance, seen in two Mallikārjuna temple images on the north exterior, was more popular at the Virūpākṣa temple.

The Saṅgameśvara temple's west exterior features, from north to south, images of Śiva with Bhṛṅgī, Śiva(?), Ardhanārīśvara, and a barely begun samabhāṅga figure. The Śiva with Bhṛṅgī (Fig. 559) is the most nearly complete niche image on the temple, but only the rear right hand's nāga attribute is unmistakable. The rear left hand holds a long-shafted attribute with uncarved top; such a long-shafted attribute is characteristic of several other Śiva images on this temple. While Bhṛṅgī
is frequently found among Śiva’s attendants in Calukya sculpture, he is rare at Pattadakal, and his prominent role in this image is unique. Śiva’s legs, here and in the adjacent niche image, are crossed, as were those of some seventh century dvārapālas and mithuna figures, but no standing deities datable before Vijayāditya’s reign. The Saṅgameśvara temple Ardhanārīśvara figure (Fig. 560) is accompanied by Nandi, as in Andhra Pradesh examples (Figs. 194, 415, 470). An unusual feature is the god’s accentuated hip on the right, opposite from the usual side. This same hip configuration is seen at the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 670) and other late temples (Fig. 642), including Cave 16 at Ellora, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa excavation. Though the Saṅgameśvara temple example is the earliest known, its very unfinished state suggests that it was not the prototype for the others; the true lost prototype probably was not much earlier in date, and perhaps was located at Aihole or at the Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal. The southernmost image on the Saṅgameśvara temple’s west exterior might have been intended to represent the same form of Śiva as in the westernmost niche on the Mallikārjuna temple’s south exterior. It is uncertain whether the Saṅgameśvara temple image was intended to have a dwarf below it; its base area, like those of other niche images on the temple, is uncut.

The Saṅgameśvara temple’s south exterior features four active forms of Śiva. The iconography of the westernmost, unidentified, figure clearly relates to a later image on the west exterior of the Virūpākṣa temple. The next Saṅgameśvara temple niche contains a form of Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti (Fig. 561). The god upholds the elephant skin with two hands, stands on his left foot, and raises his right foot to step onto the elephant demon’s head. The two easternmost images are "Ugra-
nrtya" Śiva (Fig. 562) and Andhakāsuravādhamūrti, related to their Mallikārjuna temple south exterior counterparts (Figs. 542, 537).

Less than half of the niche images on the first story of the 100 Saṅgamesvara temple's śikhara survive. The two end figures on the north side are both standing Viṣṇus, one incomplete and the other damaged. The attributes in their upper hands may have been similar, but the eastern figure (Fig. 563) bears fruit and has a mace on his lower right side, while his front left hand is at rest, whereas the western figure bears fruit on his lower left side and has his front right hand at rest. The iconographic import of this variation, if any, is unknown.

The easternmost figure on the south side of this story is a two-armed, nude, non-ithyphallic male (Fig. 564) bearing club in his right hand. His elaborate coiled hair style resembles, and probably imitates, that of the four-armed Śiva (Fig. 539) who is the easternmost figure on the south side of the Mallikārjuna temple's ground story. Possibly the Saṅgameśvara temple śikhara figure was intended to represent a human teacher or devotee, rather than Śiva himself. The central south side figure represents four-armed Śiva dancing with the elephant demon's skin (Fig. 565). Its base is worn. This image is very similar in form to two examples seen at Aihole (Figs. 627-628), and possibly was carved by a sculptor who had previously worked at Aihole. The westernmost south side first story śikhara figure is a barely roughed out samabhāṅga standing four-armed male. This stance is most typical of Viṣṇu, and the figure has been identified as such, but Viṣṇu is rarely shown on the south side of a Śiva temple, and so this figure may be tentatively identified as a form of Śiva.
The Saṅgameśvara temple Śikhara's second story has three of its four deity images surviving. The eastern image represents seated Śiva with unfinished Pārvatī. The god bears nāga and trident with streamer. The north image is seated Śiva with similar attributes. The south image (Fig. 566) is another seated Śiva, bearing nāga and rosary and wearing a yogapatta. Despite his lack of bushy hair, he, like Figure 546, probably should be considered a form of Daksināmūrti. Among the minor Śiva figures on the Saṅgameśvara temple, one on the hāra above the center window on the south side wears yogapatta and combines the god's Viḍādhara and Liṅgīn aspects.

B.11. Durga Temple (Temple 3) at Aihole

The most outstanding Aihole temple of the first portion of Vijayaditya's long reign is the Durga (fort) temple (Figs. 567-569). It is the largest surviving Calukya temple at the site, has the most surviving sculpture, and seems to have employed craftsmen familiar with Bādāmi, Mahākūṭa, earlier Aihole, and also some Andhra Pradesh traditions. Andhra Pradesh influence was probably provided by artisans who originally came to Karnataka from the Alampur region to work on the Galaganātha temple. Located just inside Aihole's north fort wall, the Durga temple has on its south (the town side) a substantial gateway structure (Fig. 570) which probably originally provided access into a temple enclosure, though now no prākāra walls are associated with it. It is likely that this temple was dedicated to the sun god, as argued by S. Padigar. He cites a Kannada inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya II (Vk21) incised on the gateway, which appears to record a gift made to the temple of Āditya-bhaṭāra. It would ordinarily be
assumed that such a grand temple as the Durga temple was a royal foundation, but the inscription in question seems to call it the temple of Komarasiṅga. Perhaps Kumārasimha (lion boy/prince) was the personal name of a royal prince, but he may have been a wealthy private individual.

The Durga temple is the last sāndhāra Calukya temple known to have been constructed at Aihole. Though, as Tartakov noted, its Northern style sikhara is of the Andhra Pradesh type with interconnected bhūmis (levels), its basic structure is rooted in Karnataka tradition. It is an apsidal elaboration of the Apsidal Śiva temples at Cikka Mahākūṭa and Aihole, with additional niches on the "exterior" wall, though none on the wall of the garbha grha itself, and with an additional peripheral open pillared pradaksināpatha around the temple's entire exterior. The Durga temple's side-facing paired entrance stairs recall the Konta Southeast temple (Fig. 336). Its front end pillars with large scale mithunas, including horse-headed and drunken females and a probable Kāma and Rāti, recall both the Konta Southeast and Lad Khan (Fig. 342) temples, but particularly the latter. A pair of small porch interior pillar reliefs featuring drunken females are also similar at the Lad Khan and Durga temples.

The Durga temple has five non-mithuna large scale pillar sculptures. The north pillar flanking the outer porch entrance displays a two-armed dvārapāla leaning on a mace (Fig. 571), and the south one displays a male with a hybrid horse-female (Fig. 572), a subject which has been identified as relating to Śūrya and his wives, and which was copied at the Mālegitti Śivālaya Śūrya temple at Bādāmi (Fig. 149) not long afterwards. Carved on the two pillars of the Durga temple's
inner porch entrance are figures of Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 573), north, and Ugra-Nṛsiṁha (Fig. 574), south. The latter is four-armed and disembowels Hiraṇyakaśipu on his lap in typical fashion. Nṛsiṁha's śaṅkha has been broken off, but his cakra survives. Ardhanārīśvara is also four-armed. His front two hands resemble those of the Figure 295 Ardhanārīśvara type, while his bent right leg recalls the image of Ardhanārīśvara in the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave at Aihole (Fig. 53). His rear hands hold axe and rest on a small attendant figure.

The east-facing side of the Durga temple's outer southeast pradaksināpatha pillar also has a large scale non-mithuna sculpture. This is a four-armed, nude, ithyphallic Śiva (Fig. 575), standing samabhaṅga upon a recumbent club-bearing male whose two adherents are also fighting the god. This icon seems to be related to the Pine Forest Śiva type found in the south niche of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 296), a closer copy of which appears in small scale on the Durga temple's north basement (Fig. 576). The pillar mūrti appears to represent a moment in time before the god's enemies were entirely vanquished, rather than Śiva's subsequent gift of grace. Śiva's hair, arranged in a makuta, is unlike that of Figure 296, but the tiger skin draped on his hips is similar. His front right hand holds the hair of his main opponent, while his front left hand holds nāga. The rear right hand probably upheld an axe, but the upper left attribute is damaged beyond recognition.

The Durga temple has eleven niches for images in its outer, open pradaksināpatha, of which six are now filled. The subjects are about equally divided between Vaiṣṇava and Śiva themes, and these are interspersed. The niche figures show the hands of three different
sculptors, and also reveal the practice, seen already at Alampur and Satyavolu, of trimming both the precarved images and their niches to facilitate installation. The niche images of Figures 748, 577, and 578 appear to have been created by the same master, and the latter two were probably intended as a pair, to be viewed comparatively.

The figure of Viṣṇu is four-armed and shown bending gracefully while stepping onto his vāhana, rather than in his usual iconic samabhaṅga stance. Gadā-devī stands at Viṣṇu's right (Fig. 577), as at the Mālegitti Śivālaya, Jambulinga temple at Bādāmi, and Lad Khan temple, and cakra and sahkha were held in his upper hands. Śiva, leaning equally gracefully on Nandi (Fig. 578), is shown with eight arms, perhaps with the intention of expressing a potency superior to Viṣṇu's. Only one other saumya Calukya Śiva, on the Virūpākṣa temple facade, is known with more than four arms. The Durga temple Śiva bears cloth, drum(?), rosary, and knobby fruit on his right, and a nāga and probably a lost trident or axe on his left. A fourth image seemingly by the same master was found by Burgess pressing rods near the Durga temple, and seems to have once been contained in this temple's now empty center west niche. Presently kept in the Aihole site museum, it represents Śiva (Fig. 579) nude but not ithyphallic, standing samabhaṅga and flanked by two amorous females. The god has long loose hair curls as well as a small jatā atop his head. His four arms are destroyed, but one right hand once bore an attribute which seems to have consisted in part of a staff made of bones. The basic iconography of this Bhikṣāṭana/Kaṅkālamūrti image probably reached Aihole from South India via Andhra Pradesh and Pattadakal, but the samabhaṅga stance is not seen in surviving Andhra Pradesh examples.

Probably this stance was borrowed from the tradition of the Figure 296
A different sculptor, less imaginative and inspired only by local traditions, seems to have created the Durga temple's standing Nṛsiṁha and Varāha niche images. Varāha (Fig. 580) is four-armed with cakra and śaṅkha, and his pose and the positions of his śaṅkha and of Bhū Devī suggest influence of the nearby Rāvaṇa Phadi cave Varāha image (Fig. 50). The god's head is overly large, and a similar disproportion is found in the standing pacific or Kevala Nṛsiṁha figure (Fig. 581), which was evidently modelled on the verandah image at Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 74). Nṛsiṁha's śaṅkha survives, but his cakra and mace have been broken.

A third sculptor probably was responsible for the Durga temple's image of Harihara (Fig. 582), the only known eight-armed Calukya representation of this deity. The god's attributes on the right are all lost. On the left he bears cakra, śaṅkha, and bow, and rests a hand on gadā-devī. The śaṅkha is held down in the standard North Indian position, also seen occasionally at Ālampur (Figs. 244, 419), rather than up in the usual Calukya fashion. A Naṭeśa image in the Aihole site museum (Fig. 583) seems to have been carved by the same artist, and to be closely related to the Naṭeśa image on the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli (Fig. 192). Not only are the gods' poses quite similar, but both appear to have had the highly unusual number of fourteen arms, and are accompanied by four-armed drummers. The Aihole image includes figures of Bhṛṅgī and Gaṇeśa, as at Kūḍavelli, and also features a small male dancer (Kārttikeya?), seated Pārvatī, and scarf-bearing gandharvas, the latter recalling the major figures on four of the Durga temple's ceilings as well as some minor figures in the Harihara relief. Probably the Naṭeśa was meant to be placed in a Durga temple niche, but was found to
be too wide to fit, even with trimming, and was never installed. Another small Naṭeṣa figure is found carved on a pillar inside the Durga temple's mandapa. He is eight-armed, featuring front right hand in gaja-hasta like Figure 583, and bears a drum. Pārvatī stands at his side and Bhṛṅgī is present between his legs, as in, for example, Figures 381 and 387.

The Durga temple has surviving ornamented ceilings only at its eastern end. Perhaps deities were once carved on one or more of its original mandapa ceiling panels, but these have all been lost. The temple's inner porch ceilings have matsya-cakra and coiled nāga designs, motifs seen previously at the Jambulīṅga temple at Bādāmi as well as the much earlier Bādāmi caves. The Durga temple's outer porch ceiling panels were carved with scarf-bearing gandharva mithunās. Two of these panels have been placed in the National Museum in New Delhi, and two others are still in situ.

The basement of the Durga temple's inner porch is carved with scenes from the Rāmāyana. An initial attempt was made to carve narratives on the exterior basement as well, as at the Mahākūṭeśvara and Mallikārjunā temples at Mahākūṭa, but little progress was made. One battle scene on the northwest side includes a representation of a reclining/dying warrior, a subject seen previously at both the Upper Śivālaya at Bādāmi and the Mahākūṭeśvara temple. At the western end of the Durga temple, five vertical stone slabs are found standing between the peripheral pillars which support the roofing of the outer pradaksināpatha. Two of these slabs have some unfinished carving on their exterior sides, probably done at the very end of the temple's decoration. Unlike the pillar carvings at the temple's front end, these images do not project beyond the surface of the slab. The central rear
slab (Fig. 584), which seems to have been a work of the sculptor of the niche image of Harihara, is the more complete. It portrays a four-armed male god in tribhanga stance with two female attendants and assorted smaller figures, including scarf-bearing gandharvas. The identity of this subject is unknown, but probably was Śaiva.

The Durga temple's garbha grha contains an empty circular pīṭha morticed for an image rather than a liṅga. Its entrance overdoor has multilevel miniature architecture, but no lalāṭa-bimba or other figurative carving. The mandapa entrance doorway, on the contrary, is lavishly decorated. The door jambs include female figures in registers, and the base boxes contain mithunas, females, river goddesses, and staff-bearing dvārapālas like those seen previously at the Konta Southeast, Mallikārjuna, and Huccimalli temples at Aihole. The lalāṭa-bimba figure is Garuda, and the overdoor architecture (Fig. 585) seems an elaboration of that at the Mallikārjuna temple garbha grha at Aihole (Fig. 340). The miniature overdoor shrines contain a seated nidhi/gana at the south, a standing figure of two-armed, kamandalu-bearing, multiheaded Brahmā in the center, a standing two-armed male at the north, and intermediate females. The nāśikas in the "roof" portions of these miniature shrines contain an uninhabited architectural motif on the south, a figure of standing Śūrya in the center (above Brahmā), and a liṅga shrine on the north. The central presence of Brahmā led A. Sundara to postulate that the Durga temple was dedicated to Brahmā, but Padigar has theorized that the presence of Śūrya above Brahmā, and again in the center of the architrave at the east of the inner porch (Fig. 586) (facing west at the same height as the overdoor decoration), shows Śūrya's predominance and confirms the epigraphic evidence. Padigar has
further suggested that a worn relief of Sūrya seated (Fig. 587), probably in a chariot, found loose near the temple earlier in the century, was once the central part of the temple's shallow sukānāsa.

B.12. Tarappa temple (Temple 12) at Aihole

The Tarappa temple (Fig. 588) is located well north of Aihole town and of the Huccimalli temple. It consists of a niraṁdha pāra garba grha with three empty niches and a Northern type śikhara, an adjoining wider mandapa with a three bay nave, and a porch. This basic format was repeated at Aihole at the Huccappayya temple (Fig. 624) and possibly also at the Cakra temple. The Tarappa temple's śikhara is essentially similar to that of the Huccimalli temple (Fig. 490) and Siddhanakoḷḷa temple (Fig. 226), but its garba grha is set slightly back from the mandapa, suggesting influence of the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal or other monuments with antaraḷaś. The presence of niches on the garba grha exterior is a deviation from contemporaneous local practice. Perhaps images of Gaṅeśa, Kārttikeya, and Mahiśamardini were once present in them, as supposed at the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal as well as the much older but closer Cikki temple and Apsidal Śiva temple at Aihole. The basement boxes below the niches particularly suggest Galaganātha temple influence. The Tarappa temple garba grha liṅga is not on an original pītha, though the temple probably was originally dedicated to Śiva.

The garba grha overdoor decoration of the Tarappa temple (Fig. 589) is unfinished, but closely imitates that of the Huccimalli temple (Fig. 492) in form and Trimūrti content. Multiheaded two-armed standing Brahmā is represented at south/proper right, four-armed Nāṭeśa
with drummer and flutist and front right arm in *gaja-hasta* is at the center, and a two-armed male, presumably Viṣṇu, stands at north/proper left. Garuḍa appears in the *lalāṭa-bimba* both here and on the *mandapa* doorway; the base boxes and jamb decorations are not cut on either of the temple's doorways. The cross nave beams have *gana* brackets like those of the Huccimalli temple, but the ceiling panels between them are uncarved. The temple's one finished iconic element is its *śukanāsa* slab (Fig. 590). This features a representation of eight-armed *nāga*-bearing Śiva accompanied by Bhṛṅgī, between his legs, and standing Pārvatī. Though the latter elements relate this Naṭeṣa image to the Durga temple *mandapa* interior pillar example, the Tarappa temple *śukanāsa* Naṭeṣa's front left arm, rather than his front right, is in *gaja-hasta*, suggesting influence from Pattadakal. The god's outstretched left arm, in particular, recalls that of the Pāpanātha temple's *śukanāsa* Naṭeṣa image (Fig. 480). Probably the Tarappa temple's construction was begun just after the Huccimalli temple was completed. Why its interior decoration was left unfinished is uncertain, but perhaps work on other projects, such as the Sūlibhāvi gateway and the Cakra temple at Aihole took precedence.

B.13. Gateway at Sūlibhāvi

A gateway structure (Figs. 591-592) giving access to a tank located at the village of Sūlibhāvi, four and a half miles northeast of Aihole, has clear associations with both the Durga and Huccimalli temples at Aihole. In basic structure and north-south orientation it resembles the gateway south of the Durga temple (Fig. 570), but with the addition of a porch on the south side. Its interior pillars relate to those of the Huccimalli temple. Its south entrance overdoor miniature shrine
architecture (Fig. 593), with figures extending into the roof level, recalls that over some Durga temple image niches. This south doorframe has *mithunas* on its inner jambs, a Garuḍa *lalāṭa-bimba* and, in the five overdoor shrines, females, male guardians/attendants, and a central standing Sūrya recalling Figure 586. Its bases are worn. The north doorframe (Fig. 594), whose overdoor architecture is uninhabited, also has a Garuḍa *lalāṭa-bimba* and inner *mithuna* jambs. River goddesses appear at the bases without the large number of figures usually found accompanying them on eighth century Calukya temple doorframes. A pair of birds is carved adjoining the river goddess on the east.

The interior of the Sūlibhāvi gateway structure has its level central ceilings (Fig. 596) decorated with representations of Varāha (south), Brahmā (center), and Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (north). Except for the central one, these images are very badly damaged. The north and south panels have *gandharvas* in the east and west portions flanking the deities. The south panel standing Varāha figure unusually does not appear to step onto any *nāgas*, recalling the Rāvapa Phadi cave Varāha image (Fig. 50). He has a large number of *nāgas* and *nāgis* surrounding him. The north panel image of Andhakāsuravadhamūrti is unusual in striding and thrusting his *śūla* to the proper left, rather than to the proper right. This directionality is not known earlier, and perhaps was selected so that both Śiva and Varāha would face west. It is repeated at the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 669). Andhakāsuravadhamūrti does not appear to step on top of an *asura*, but, like Varāha, on the ground. He seems to be accompanied by Kārttikeya riding his peacock, as in the Cikki temple ceiling version of this subject (Fig. 210). The Sūlibhāvi gateway's central ceiling bay, considerably larger than the
others, features reis at east and west and multiheaded Brahmā framed by a central circle within a square, as at the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi (Fig. 395). Brahmā is shown riding frontally on his haṁsa, which stands atop a lotus as at the Huccimalli temple and the Huccappayya Maṭha at Aihole (Fig. 602). The god holds lotus in front right, kamandalu in front left, rosary(?) in rear right, and sticklike sacrificial implement in rear right hand.

In the clerestory area over the doorway on the north exterior of the gateway (Fig. 594) are adjacent panels representing Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu riding their vāhanas. In no other Calukya Trinity grouping do all three deities ride, though all three plus Indra ride on the four-part Huccimalli temple central mandapa ceiling (Fig. 494), which probably inspired the representations at Sūlibhāvi. The Viṣṇu figure at the proper left/west rides frontally on Garuḍa. Besides typical cakra and śaṅkha, he upholds a mace in his front right hand. The central multiheaded Brahmā figure rides frontally on his haṁsa. He bears the same four attributes as in the interior. The Śiva figure at the proper right/east (Fig. 597) seems to bear an axe and rides to the proper right with Pārvaṭī on Nandi. This directionality is seen on the corresponding Huccimalli temple ceiling relief (Fig. 495), but not elsewhere in Calukya art except at the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 684). The divine couple is shown accompanied by Kārttikeya on peacock and Gaṇeśa. It is notable that the central god of both the gateway's interior and north exterior Trimūrti groupings is Brahmā, recalling his importance on the Durga temple's mandapa overdoor.
The patron of the Sûlibhāvi gateway and its tank (bhāvi), after which the town is now named, is said to have been a courtesan (sûle). It may be speculated that she was Vināpoṭi, who is called a sûle and the "heart's darling" of Vijayāditya in inscription Vj15 at Mahākūṭa. This inscription records her various rich donations and her performance of the Hiraṇyagarbha gift rite, which might suggest an interest in Brahmā corresponding to this god's importance on the Sûlibhāvi gateway. The Sûlibhāvi gateway may be dated just after the Durga temple.

B.14. Huccappayya Maṭha (Temple 7) at Aihole

The so-called Huccappayya Maṭha (Fig. 598), actually originally a temple and not a maṭha, is located a short distance north of the south fort wall at Aihole, at the opposite end of the town from the Durga temple. It probably closely followed the latter in date, c. 712-720. The Huccappayya Maṭha's structure is unique; like the Tarappa temple it has a nirandhāra garbha grha with three empty niches, but it has no śikhara and its maṇḍapa is entirely different. The north and south maṇḍapa exterior walls are not entirely plain, but are decorated with a few inhabited nāsikas, as are the garbha grha walls flanking the niches. Similar nāsika forms are seen, approximately contemporaneously, on the garbha grhas of Temple 17 and the Cakra temple at Aihole (Fig. 599), and they may have been inspired by those of the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādami (Fig. 388). The Huccappayya Maṭha maṇḍapa has central level ceilings, but has sloping ceilings at south, east, and north, rather than a nave from entrance to garbha grha. Though this maṇḍapa ceiling arrangement was most typical of sândhāra temples, such as the Durga temple, it is found also at the nirandhāra Siddhanakoḷḷa temple which, however, lacks
niches. The Huccappayya Maṭha mandapa's level ceilings bays are three in number and are carved with images of the Trimūrti, as were the naves at the Nāgarahāl temple and the Jambulīṅga temple at Bādāmi. This is the first known ceiling Trimūrti set at Aihole.

The Huccappayya Maṭha's facade has pillars with large figure sculptures and formerly was open like that of the Konta Southeast temple; it was closed with stone slabs and a doorframe in post-Calukya times. Furthermore, it seems likely that this temple was first designed to have a small central projecting porch, and that pillars were carved accordingly, but then plans were changed during construction and the pillars were distributed elsewhere in the structure. The pair of pillars now flanking the mandapa entrance seems to have been intended for positioning with a ninety degree turn at the east of this porch. Thus the large female figures would have been on the east sides, like the Lad Khan temple porch's river goddesses, and the mithuna with horse-headed female would have been facing south on the southeast porch pillar, like its precedents on both the Lad Khan and Durga temple porches. The pair of figured pillars now flanking the Huccappayya Maṭha garbha grha entrance (Fig. 600), whose inappropriate position has been noted by Bolon, probably were originally designed for installation at the west of the porch. Their dvārapālas, as now, would have faced each other, but near the mandapa entrance, as at the Durga temple, rather than near the garbha grha entrance.

The Huccappayya Maṭha's garbha grha entrance lalāṭa-bimba Garuḍa with nāgas is a close copy of that of the mandapa entrance at the Durga temple (Fig. 585). The overdoor architecture is similar, but taller (Fig. 601). The door jambs are unfigured and the base box carving is far
cruder than that at the Durga temple. Females, couples, and river goddesses are presently visible, and the worn innermost portions probably formerly held small staff-bearing dvārapālas, as at the Durga and other Aihole temples. The mandapa's Brahmā ceiling (Fig. 602) is at the west end, adjacent to the garbha grha. It features the multiheaded, four-armed god seated frontally astride his hamsa, who stands atop a lotus pedestal as in the Huccimalli temple and Śūlibhāvi gateway (Fig. 596) ceilings. Brahmā is shown bearing rosary, kamandalu, and two flowers(?) or one flower and an uncertain object, perhaps the same combination of attributes as at the Huccimalli temple, and is attended by rṣis and devotees. The central carved ceiling shows Śiva (Fig. 603), holding two nāgas, and Pārvatī riding on Nandi to the proper left. Bṛṛṅgī dances among the attendant figures. Of all similar murtis, this is closest to that at the Jambuliṅga Trimūrti temple at Bāḍāmi (Fig. 394). An image of Nandi now lies below this ceiling in the center of the mandapa floor. The eastern carved mandapa ceiling displays seated Viṣṇu (Fig. 604), not on a cushion as at Nāgarahāl or on Garuḍa as at the Jambuliṅga temple at Bāḍāmi (Figs. 384, 396), but on Ananta, as Ādīmūrti. He holds cross-in-circle cakra and śaṅkha.

It is hypothesized that the Huccappayya Maṭha originally did not enshrine the liṅga now present on its garbha grha pīṭha, for no Calukya structural temples known to have been originally designed for dedication to Śiva lack śikharas or have open mandapa walls. Perhaps a representation of Brahmaśāstā or of Brahmā, such as Figure 607, now in the site museum, was originally enshrined. Such a dedication is suggested by the presence of Brahmā, rather than Śiva, on the westernmost mandapa ceiling, a distinct change from earlier practice, and by the
garbha grha overdoor decoration (Fig. 601). The figures within the three main miniature shrines there are a four-armed male deity (Śiva?) on the south, a four-armed Devī on the north, and a four-armed kamandalu-bearing single-headed male in the center. This latter figure recalls the one in Brahmā's position in the garbha grha overdoor Trinity of the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 377). The standing figures in the intermediate overdoor shrines are probably attendants or worshippers. In the architectural level immediately above the central figure is a liṅga, suggesting Śiva's ultimate supremacy. This is corroborated by the third eyes of the large two-armed mace-bearing pillar dvārapālas, the southern of whom (Fig. 608) is accompanied by Gaṇeśa, and by the apparent Śaiva nature of two or three small worn figures accompanied by bulls found within the temple's exterior wall nāsikas and among its basement decorative motifs.

It would seem that this Brahmā/Brahmaśaṅkṣi temple was built by a Śaiva devotee with the intention of creating/completing an Aihole site three-temple Trimūrti, centered on Śiva and including Āditya as the northern deity. The Huccappayya Maṭha's placement at the south end of the site, opposite the Durga (Āditya) temple, and its similar garbha grha doorframe decoration, mandapa ceiling configuration, and proposed pillared east end would seem to have been purposeful. Probably the Lad Khan Śiva temple, but possibly some other lost Śiva temple in the center of town, was the focus of this patron's devotion. Though temples dedicated to the Trimūrti had been built previously not far away, at Mahākūṭa, Nāgarahāl, and Bādāmi, these seem to have enshrined Viṣṇu, rather than Āditya, at the north. The most obvious model site for the Aihole three-temple Trimūrti with Āditya was Ālampur, where the Āditya...
The Śiva temple at Aihole was a significant structure, showcasing the architectural prowess of the period. The temple's design and layout emphasize the importance of Śiva in the region's religious landscape. The temple's alignment and the use of specific architectural features reflect the cultural and religious practices of the time. The temple's importance was further solidified by its location near other important structures, such as the Gopura and the Cakara temple, which served as focal points for the community. The temple's structure, with its multiple stories and vaulted ceilings, was not only a place of worship but also a symbol of the technological and artistic advancements of the period. The temple's location at the center of the town likely contributed to its significance, as it served as a hub for religious and social activities. The temple's preservation and ongoing studies are crucial for understanding the historical and cultural context of the period.
Temple 17's *garbha grha* doorway (Fig. 611) decorative format seems based loosely on that of the Cikki temple (Fig. 205), which more directly inspired the Huccimalli temple's *garbha grha* doorway (Fig. 493). However, its keyhole-shaped base areas containing single figures are closer to the Cikki temple model than are the multifigured base boxes at the Huccimalli temple. At Temple 17, these contain damaged male dvārapālas rather than females. The north one holds a danda and a pot or fruit; the south one seems to have leaned on some lost object. Possibly these were intended to represent Sūrya's attendants Danda and Piṅgala. The *lalāta-bimba* figure is Garuḍa, and in a trefoil above him is a male figure seated in padmāsana and upholding two flowers(?). This figure probably is not Sūrya, since that god is not commonly shown seated without his chariot. He may be described as a decorative or auspicious Sūrya-like figure. The *garbha grha* now enshrines a post-Calukya image of standing Sūrya.

Only two carved ceiling fragments survive in Temple 17's nave, but probably there were originally three carved ceilings there, centered on lotuses as were the compositions in the Cikki and Huccimalli temple *mandapas*. The fragment now at the nave's west end suggests a composition which would have had deities among cloud forms on the four cardinal sides of its lotus. The fragment now at the nave's east end suggests a composition without peripheral figures. The former fragment has an almost destroyed figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī on the north, and one of Śiva (Fig. 612) seated in padmāsana on the west, closest to the *garbha grha*. The god is ithyphallic but not nude, as his upper legs are clearly clothed. He holds trident in rear right, flower in rear left, rosary in front right, and fruit or kamandalu in front left hand. A nāga appears at his left shoulder. This mūrti is unique in Calukya iconography, where
only nude Śivas are typically shown as ithyphallic, and Tartakov has noted that Temple 17's floral carving is unlike that of any other Calukya temple. It may be speculated that Temple 17's patron was inspired by the Durga temple, but preferred a variant sun god cult. Probably he imported some sculptors from outside Calukya territory to supplement the local workshop, which would seem to have been quite busy at about the time of Temple 17's construction, assumed to have been in the period 712-722.

B.16 Konta Northwest temple (Temple 5) at Aihole

The northwest temple of the Konta group at Aihole (Figs. 613-614), in the south part of the town, probably was begun just after the completion of the Huccappayya Maṭha. It faces east and is wider than it is long, but like the Konta Southeast temple it is open on the facade, is nirandhāra, and has its garbha grha under a sloping ceiling at the rear. It may, like the Konta Southeast temple and the Gauḍa temple, have been dedicated to Devī. Its garbha grha is now empty, but the north side pranāla (exit spout for ablutions) adjoins the rear wall, suggesting that the interior deity was an image on a pedestal placed at the rear of the sanctum, rather than a centrally placed liṅga. Also, a representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī appears centrally above the uninhabited architectural forms over the garbha grha doorway, which has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba (Fig. 615). A stone slab discovered buried near the Northwest temple, bearing a representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī atop an inscription recording a gift, may be related to this temple.
Figures of Śiva and Viśṇu appear in the niches on the side walls of the garbha grha, balanced with Viśṇu to the proper left and Śiva to the proper right. Viśṇu bears typical cakra and śaṅkha and seems to have been flanked by gada-devī and Garuḍa. Śiva is represented as eight-armed Naṭeśa (Fig. 616) with front left hand in gaja-hasta, as usual in the eighth century. He bears trident, drum, and bell on the right, nāga and bowl on the left. The god is joined by Pārvatī and Nandi and, as often at Aihole, Bhṛgū. It seems probable that a dwarf was once visible in the now worn area under Śiva's feet. If so, this would be the earliest known representation of Naṭeśa on a dwarf at Aihole. Probably it was inspired by some model at Pattadakal, where Nandi was more common than at Aihole.

The Konta Northwest temple's level mandapa ceilings follow the Huccappayya Maṭha in presenting a Trinity, but, corresponding with the temple's greater width than length, they are arranged crosswise rather than along the entrance-garbha grha axis, and are composed in vertical rather than horizontal formats. The Śiva image is central, nearest to the garbha grha, and this, with the Śaiva dvārapālas on pillars before the shrine, suggests his primacy among male gods in this temple's cult, as at the Gauḍa temple. Brahmā (Fig. 617), toward the south, is shown seated between ṛṣis on a lotus pedestal, but traces of his hāṁsa appear at lower right. The god bears noose (rear right), rosary (front right), and kamandalu (rear left), and makes varada mudrā with his front left hand. These attributes recall those of Brahmā image on the Phase II Pāpanāṭha temple. Viśṇu is shown, at the north, as Anantaśayin (Fig. 618), rather than seated on Ananta as at the Huccappayya Maṭha (Fig. 604). His four hands are empty; his attributes sword, club, cross-
in-circle cakra, and śaṅkha are floating near Ananta's hoods. Garuḍa kneels at the god's lower right, and Madhu and Kaitabha seem to have appeared at lower left. Surrounding figures include Viṣṇu's wife or wives or devotees. The Anantaśayin ceiling image at the Cikki temple (Fig. 208) may have inspired that at the Konta Northwest temple, but the latter has no active āyudha-purūṣas and, perhaps because Brahmā has a panel all to himself, he is not shown on a lotus emerging from Viṣṇu's navel. The figure of Śiva in the central Konta Northwest temple ceiling (Fig. 619) does not ride Nandi, but is portrayed seated on a throne, embracing Pārvatī. Both of them place their feet on dwarfas/ganas, a feature not noted previously, but probably related to Naṭeṣa on dwarf iconography. Nandi's head seems to be present at the right, and rsis attend on both sides. Bhṛṅgī sits below wearing yoga-patta. Worn figures near the lower corners of the composition probably include Gaṇeśa and a gana or child Kārttikeya, as at the Huccappayya temple. Śiva's attributes are nāgas in the front right and rear left hands, and a trident with streamer in the rear right hand.

The decision to present Śiva as enthroned rather than riding Nandi suggests a somewhat more hieratic conception than, and separates this Trinity from, the earlier Calukya ceiling Trinities at Nāgarahāl, Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi, and the Huccappayya Maṭha. The three ceilings of the Konta Northwest temple are extremely close in iconography to those of the Huccappayya Śiva temple, and the former have been dated later than the latter on stylistic grounds. However the fact that Śiva is represented as Liṅgin at the Huccappayya temple suggests a date for the latter somewhat closer to two inscribed temples of the reign of Vikramāditya II: the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal, where Śiva-Liṅgin is
represented over the *garbha grha* entrance and in several minor locations, and one B.N. Jâlihâl temple, where he is represented over the *mandapa* entrance. The two *nâga* attributes held by the Konta Northwest temple Śiva, on the other hand, relate to those of the earlier Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi and Huccappayya Matha reliefs. Also the depiction of reclining Viśṇu in both temples, surrounded by passive rather than active attributes, suggests his subjection to the sleep of Mahāmāyā, a form of Devī described in *Devi-Māhātmya*, chapter 1. This subject would be particularly suitable for a Devī temple, and so probably the Konta Northwest temple's version was the original and the Huccappayya temple's version the copy.

The Konta Northwest temple's *dvārapālas*, on *mandapa* interior pillars adjacent to the *garbha grha*, are large and of the four-armed, cross-legged Pattadakal Śaiva type, bearing maces, *nāgas*, axe, and trident. The large images on the facade pillars include both deities and mithunas. It seems likely that the pillars at the north end, which portray mithunas probably inspired by those at the Konta Southeast temple, were carved first. The center and south end pillars, which feature deities, were probably carved last and were probably inspired by those at the Phase II Pāpanātha temple, assumed also to have been a Devī temple, as well as those at the Durga temple. The facade pillar just north of the entrance is extremely worn, but seems to have portrayed an eight-armed Trivikrama. The pillar south of the entrance is a modern replacement. The next pillar portrays four-armed Ugra-Nṛsiṁha with Hiranyakasipu across his lap, as on a Durga temple pillar (Fig. 574). The southeast pillar's east side appears to have shown Gajendramokṣa (Fig. 621), while its south side has four-armed *nāga* and flower-bearing
Ardhanārīśvara with Nandi (Fig. 622). Gajendramokṣa is a subject which almost certainly reached Aihole from Pattadakal, where it is seen on pillars at the Phase II Pāpanātha (Fig. 486), Mallikārjuna, and Virūpākṣa temples. Ardhanārīśvara is known previously on a pillar at the Durga temple (Fig. 573), but the god's form at the Konta Northwest temple probably was based on Pattadakal examples; a related two-armed flower-bearing Ardhanārīśvara figure with Nandi is seen at the Pattadakal Kādsiddheśvara temple (Fig. 521). The last pillar on the south at the Konta Northwest temple seems to have a representation of six-armed Gajāsuraśāhāramūrti (Fig. 623), recalling the one at the Phase II Pāpanātha temple (Fig. 488).

B.17. Huccappayya temple (Temple 9) at Aihole

The Huccappayya temple (Fig. 624), located southwest of the town of Aihole, is the last large Calukya temple surviving at the site. Like the Durga temple and, especially, the Konta Northwest temple, it displays a mixture of local and Andhra Pradesh/Pattadakal-inspired features. It resembles the Tarappa temple in basic form, but is more richly decorated. Additions include two niches on the facade, large figures on the porch pilars, large dvārapālas and two small interior niches near the garbha grha entrance, and ceiling panels and architraves sculpted with deities. Perhaps it was created in the period c. 722–730, just slightly later than the Konta Northwest temple. The Huccappayya temple has on its porch an inscription naming and praising its architect, Narasobba. This may be compared to later inscriptions on the eastern gateway of the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (Vk16,17).
The base of the Huccappayya temple's porch is decorated with figures of lions and elephants, and the entry staircase is flanked by nidhis (Fig. 625). The latter probably relate to local Aihole tradition, the former to Pattadakal. The porch pillars follow Aihole tradition in featuring six large mithunas, including two east-facing horse-headed females. Equally large dvārapālas, flanking the mandapa entrance, are of Pattadakal type, as at the Konta Northwest temple. They are four-armed, bearing nāgas, trident, and axe, and leaning on bulbous maces. The mandapa doorframe has a Garuḍa lalātabimba and uncut base boxes. The east facade niches are empty, as is the south garbha grha exterior niche. The west garbha grha niche contains a representation of Ugra-Nṛsiṃha (Fig. 626), like those on Konta Northwest and Durga temple pillars. The god bears typical cakra and śahkha and disembowels Hiraṇyakaśipu on his lap. The north garbha grha niche contains six-armed Śiva Gajā-surasaṁhāramūrti (Fig. 627), upholding the elephant demon's skin and dancing on a dwarf, probably an eighth century Aihole iconographic invention. Although the Konta Northwest temple's Gajā-surasaṁhāramūrti image (Fig. 623) seems not to have included a dwarf, another Aihole image, now at the site museum (Fig. 628), does. This image shows the god four-armed, but otherwise similar to its Huccappayya temple counterpart. Probably the museum image was formerly part of a temple not far in date from the Huccappayya temple. A Varāha image (Fig. 629) also at the site museum seems to have belonged to the same temple as Figure 628, and leads to the assumption that the Huccappayya temple might once have had a niche image of Varāha.
The Huccappayya temple's Northern style śikhara resembles that of
the Tarappa and Čakra temples. It has lost at least part of its original
śukanāśa; the loose Naṭesā relief (Fig. 630) now placed before the
śikhara is not necessarily, but probably, the original main śukanāśa
image. It shows the god ten-armed, as at the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave
(Fig. 47), uplifting a garland, cloth, or nāga with two hands. Triśūla
and possibly a drum are held on the right, and one left hand is extended
to touch a small image of Pārvatī. It is not clear whether or not a
dwarf was once present under the god's feet. The śikhara has a
representation of Varuṇa on makara at its west peak, but has lost the
corresponding portions of its other sides. Small images of Gaṇeṣa are
among the decorative motifs on the east and north śikhara sides.

The Huccappayya temple's porch ceiling features a representation of
Naṭeṣa atop a dwarf (Fig. 632) far more elaborate than the wall relief at
the Konta Northwest temple (Fig. 616). The god is eight-armed and bears
cloth, one or more nāgas, and a damaged short-shafted attribute with a
streamer. None of his arms makes gaja-hasta. To the god's right are
shown Nandi, a drummer, Gaṇeṣa and seated Bhṛṅgī; to his left is Pārvatī,
standing on a lotus, holding baby Kārttikeya on her hip and resting one
hand on a female dwarf. A gana sits at the lower left corner; the upper
right corner is damaged.

The Huccappayya temple's nave Trimūrti ceiling panels were removed
from the temple before the late nineteenth century and are now in the
Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay (#82, 83, 89). They are closely
similar to the ceilings of the Konta Northwest temple in iconography,
though, as more usual, they are horizontal in format. The Viṣṇu-
Anāṁtaśayin ceiling must have belonged in the east nave bay, but it is
uncertain whether the Brahmā or the Śiva and Pārvatī ceiling was central. A central Brahmā image would follow the example of the Nāgarahal Trimūrti temple, in both position in the Trimūrti and association with dikpālas, and serve as a precedent for a post-Calukya Konta Northeast temple ceiling featuring Brahmā with eight dikpālas. A central Śiva would follow the example of the Huccappayya Maṭha in positioning, and serve as a precedent for Śiva and Pārvatī with dikpāla ceilings in a Jyotirliṅga temple group shrine at Aihole (Fig. 646) and in the post-Calukya Kāśīvīśvanātha temple at Pattadakal. The crosswise positioning of the deities in the Konta Northwest temple, with Śiva central but also nearest the garbha grha, could be seen as a precedent for either possible arrangement. All things considered, the most likely possibility is that Brahmā was central and Śiva nearest the garbha grha. The Viṣṇu ceiling is identical in all significant features to its Konta Northwest temple counterpart. The Brahmā ceiling differs in the god’s rear right hand attribute, a noose at the Konta Northwest temple and a ladle at the Huccappayya temple. The Śiva and Pārvatī ceiling differs with respect to the god’s rear left hand, which holds a nāga at the Konta Northwest temple but supports a large liṅga at the Huccappayya temple.

The lower architraves of the nave’s north and south sides contain gana. The upper architraves and crossbeams framing the eastern and central nave ceiling bays feature deity images. These are not within miniature shrine forms as, for example, at the Nāganātha temple, but within rectangular frames or split nāsikas. The Huccappayya temple’s east bay, which presumably formerly contained the ceiling image of Anantasayin, has figures of Gaja-Lakṣmi on its east, Varāha on its south, Nṛsiṁha on its north, and Trivikrama on its west side. Varāha (Fig. 633)
follows the standard mode except for his rear foot, which is uplifted in
a pose of flying or leaping, as seen previously in Figures 453 and 458,
and perhaps a lost Pattadakal example. ṇṛṣimha (Fig. 634) is
attributeless and is shown battling Hiraṇyakaśipu, a subject known
otherwise in Calukya art only at Pattadakal (Figs. 483, 530, 555, 668).
The Trivikrama relief is very full for its small size. It includes gift
and chastizing scenes, as at Ālampur (Figs. 419, 452, 453) and Pattadakal
172 (Fig. 663). The god holds mace, sword, arrow(?), and cakra(?) on the
right, śāṅkha, bow, and shield on the left. He points his fourth left
arm at Rāhu, and Jāmbavān seems to be represented at the proper upper
right.

Around the central nave ceiling, which may formerly have contained
either Śiva and Pārvatī or Brahmā, six of a set of eight dikpālas
survive. The idea of using eight dikpālas was probably derived from
Andhra Pradesh via the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal, but their
consistent vāhana-riding poses and their positioning near the ceiling
seems based on Karnataka tradition. Each Huccappayya temple dikpāla is
shown with his consort, riding to the proper left. On the east, Indra
rides on double-tusked Airāvata and holds vajra. On the south, Yama
rides buffalo and holds a danda (Fig. 635). On the north, mace-bearing
Kubera rides ram/goat. The west and southwest figures are lost. The
northwest figure is deer-riding Vāyu, holding a dhvaja with streamer.
The northeast figure is four-armed, bull-ridingĪsāna, probably bearing a
nāga. The southeast figure, riding a horse and possibly holding a
rosary, is assumed to be Agni.
The garbha grha entrance doorframe has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba and uncarved base boxes. The overdoor architecture decoration contains no deity figures, but several liṅgas. Though the temple was almost certainly originally dedicated to Śiva, the liṅga without pītha now inside the garbha grha is modern. The dvārapālas flanking the garbha grha entrance face east, rather than each other as at the Huccappayya Maṭha. They are four-armed and lean on maces. The south one bears flowers and probably a nāga; his mace has an attached axe-like blade. The north dvārapāla bears trident and nāga. These guardians, and those at the mandapa entrance, are less conservative in their poses than the Konta Northwest temple examples, suggesting a slightly later date. As at the Tarappa temple, the Huccappayya temple garbha grha doorframe is recessed slightly from the mandapa. The intermediate space thus formed is decorated with reliefs of Mahīṣamardini (Fig. 749) on the north and Gaṇeśa on the south. Probably this configuration was borrowed from the Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal, which has subshrines, presumably for the same deities, in comparable positions before its garbha grha doorway.

B.18. Viśṇu-Trimūrti temple in the Galaganātha temple (Temple 55) group, and shrines in the Jyotirliṅga temple (Temple 42) group at Aihole

The north-facing Calukya temple which I will term the Viśṇu-Trimūrti temple (Fig. 636) is located in the Galaganātha temple group well to the southwest of the Huccappayya temple at Aihole. It originally had an open facade, although the spaces between the facade pillars are now filled with stone slabs, as at the Huccappayya Maṭha. The Viśṇu-Trimūrti temple seems a compressed version of the Konta Northwest temple,
with only one level decorated mandapa ceiling, but with three adjoining nirandhāra garbha grahas filling the space below the sloping roof at its rear. While the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple does not directly imitate the Konta Northwest temple in having large images on its facade pillars, it formerly had in front of it an open pavilion with four figured pillars, three of which now lie on the ground just east of the temple (Fig. 637). This pavilion was seen standing and enshrining a liṅga, but unroofed, by J.F. Fleet "in the middle of the courtyard," and an inscription on one of its north pillars was read by him as equivalent to "made by Vāṁśika-Viṣṇu." Apparently the same pavilion is also partly visible in an uncatalogued photograph labelled "H.C." (Henry Cousens?) now in the possession of the Archaeological Survey of India regional headquarters in Bangalore. While the precise alignment of this pavilion with respect to the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple is not certain, no other Calukya monument survives nearby. Therefore, it will be assumed that the pavilion stood directly in front of the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple entrance; probably it originally served as a Garuḍa mandapa.

On the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple's sole level ceiling, in the bay before the central garbha grha, is a relief of cakra- and saṅkha-bearing Viṣṇu, riding Garuḍa and surrounded by worshippers (Fig. 638). While the east and west garbha grha doorframes are undecorated, the central doorway has a Garuḍa lalāṭa-bimba. This sanctum has a morticed pedestal inside at its rear, presumably for a Vaiṣṇava icon. The west shrine has a similar pedestal, presumably for a Brahmā image; the east shrine has an unmorticed pedestal, perhaps for a liṅga with its own separate pīṭha.
The original arrangement of the surviving pillars of the temple's pavilion can almost certainly be determined. The inscription Fleet saw on the north is above an image of Trivikrama. The adjacent side of this same pillar has Ugra-Ṛṣiṃha, the only deity visible in the "H.C." photograph, appearing on the east side of the northeast pillar. Thus, the two sources of information confirm each other. The other surviving pillars display a dvārapāla and standing Brahmā, and a dvārapāla and Varāha. It appears most likely that these dvārapālas would both have faced toward the temple, and this seems confirmed by reference to a four-pillared pavilion (Figs. 639-642) which is still standing in the Jyotirliṅga temple group, northeast of the Aihole town walls. This latter pavilion, the southern of two there which presently contain large Nandis, is placed directly in front of a set of steps which once must have led to a small east-facing temple, now destroyed. The four pillars of this pavilion include three with the same mūrtis as the surviving Galaganātha temple group pillars. Ēṛṣiṃha and Trivikrama appear in the far proper right corner, just as deduced with respect to the latter pavilion, so the remaining deities probably had the same arrangement at both sites: the dvārapālas on the side toward the temple, Varāha on the temple's proper right, and Brahmā on the temple's proper left. The fourth pillar of the Jyotirliṅga temple group pavilion is unfortunately effaced on one side; its other side, facing away from the temple, features an image of Ardhanārīśvara. The lost mūrti, which would have faced the proper left, probably was a form of Śiva. If so, a worshipper circumambulating either of the pavilions, starting from the dvārapālas, would have seen, in turn, representations of Brahmā, two aspects of Śiva, and the three most popular Calukya avatāras of Viṣṇu, ending with the
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dynastic emblem, Varāha. This seems quite suitable for the Galaganātha
temple group Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple.

The specific iconography of the deities of the two pavilions under
consideration is identical. A significant difference occurs only in the
case of the dvārapālas. Though all lean on maces and probably have four
arms, those of the Galaganātha temple group (Fig. 643) atypically lean
away from the center and have their maces on the outer sides. In both
pillar sets, all deities seem to have had four arms. The Brahmā figure
(Fig. 640) is multiheaded and bears kamandalu in his front left hand.
The Varāha image (Fig. 641) seems to follow Karnataka tradition, though
his cakra is held unusually high. The Nṛsiṁha image recalls examples at
the Durga (Fig. 574), Konta Northwest, and Huccappayya (Fig. 626)
temples. Trivikrama (Fig. 642) is shown holding a narrow mace or sword
at his right, and holds his śāhka unusually high. He is accompanied by
a gift scene, but no chastising scene, possibly due to lack of space.
The figure of Ardhanārīśvara seems to have held trident and flower. This
deity's most significant quality is the outward thrust of his right,
males, hip, a feature first seen at Pattadakal at the Saṅgamaśvara temple
(Fig. 560) and probably invented not much earlier. The dedication of the
lost south Jyotirliṅga temple group shrine is unknown, but, since it does
not face the same direction as the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple and has probably
Śaiva dvārapālas, it may have enshrined some different deity or deity
group. It cannot be determined whether its pavilion or that of the
Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple was constructed first.

Immediately to the north of the site of the lost south Jyotirliṅga
temple group shrine there once stood another small, east-facing Calukya
temple, whose porch (Fig. 644) and Nandi pavilion (Fig. 645) only are
extant. Many of its elements seem to have been inspired by the Huccappayya temple. Its Nandi pavilion resembles the latter's porch in having six mithunas, rather than deities, on its pillars, and both have nidhis by their entrance stairs. Also the Jyotirliṅga temple group shrine has on its porch ceiling (Fig. 646) a composition almost certainly inspired by Huccappayya temple iconography. Enthroned rosary- and trident-bearing Śiva-Līṅgin is shown embracing Pārvatī and is flanked by ṛṣis, Nandi, and small figures of Gaṅeśa and Kṛttikeya on peacock. Gandharvas and vāhana-riding Indra, Kubera, and Yama appear with their consorts in side panels, and the corresponding Varuṇa is loose nearby. This temple is assumed to have been dedicated, like the Huccappayya temple, to Śiva.

The small shrine (Fig. 647) located to the north of the two previously discussed temples, and just south of the post-Calukya Jyotirliṅga temple itself, has lost its porch and has no surviving associated pavilion. It has sometimes been attributed to the sixth or seventh century, but the upper wall garland with ganas on its exterior sides suggests a period not before the reign of Vijayāditya. The upper wall relief on its rear (Fig. 648) represents Śiva and Pārvatī gaming, with attendant Bhṛṅgī and Gaṅeśa and Nandi teased by ganas. Both Bhṛṅgī and Śiva wear yoga-pattas, another indication of eighth century date. All three of the Jyotirliṅga temple group Calukya monuments and the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple probably should be placed in the period after the end of construction of the Konta Northwest and Huccappayya temples. Their small size would suit a period when most artisans were occupied with royal monuments elsewhere, and we may also note a stone inscription in the Jyotirliṅga temple group which cites the reign of a Vikramāditya,
presumed to be Vikramāditya II (Vk23).


The Bādāmi Śiva temple now known as Bhūtanātha (Fig. 649) was known as Bhūtesvara as early as the ninth or tenth century, and this might have been its original name. It is a Southern style temple, as are all other Calukya structural temples at Bādāmi, but it is located away from the town, facing west at the east end of the site's tank. This orientation suggests that it may have been a memorial temple, built by Vikramāditya II in honor of Vijayāditya soon after the latter's death, contemporaneously with the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal. The Bhūtanātha temple consists of a porch, now surrounded by post-Calukya additions, a mandapa with nave, a true antara, and a nirandhāra garbha grha. Its level ceilings bear lotuses rather than deities. Despite the presence of an antara, which incidently securely places it after the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal in date, the Bhūtanātha temple has no śukanāsa, perhaps in imitation of the śikha of the Vijayeśvara/Saṅgāmesvara temple (Fig. 552) or older temples at Bādāmi itself (Figs. 103, 120, 137). The garbha grha has three empty exterior niches. The mandapa's central south/proper left niche is empty, but its central north/proper right niche contains an image of Viṣṇu (Fig. 650) which has become a focus of independent worship; it has an added pītha and is sheltered inside a shrine room opening from the north. This Viṣṇu bears typical cakra and śaṅkha, plus fruit in front right hand. Garuḍa sits at his lower right. Though Viṣṇu usually appears on the proper left side of Calukya temples not dedicated to Viṣṇu, we note his presence on the proper right, opposite Mahiṣaśamardinī, in a Jambuliṅga temple exterior
nāsika at Bādāmi (Fig. 392).

The Bhūtanātha temple once had large dvārapālas flanking both its garbha grha and mandapa doorways. These have been completely effaced, but were evidently of the developed Pattadakal type, with elaborate and bushy hair styles and, at the proper left of the mandapa entrance, a trisūla headdress. The north garbha grha dvārapāla bore axe; the south one bore trident. Neither of the temple's doorframes has a lalāṭa-bimba. The garbha grha doorway has river goddesses in both base boxes, while the mandapa doorway has only one base box, displaying a nidhi, carved. Some decorative motifs on the temple exterior are similarly unfinished, and it is likely, as Bolon suggested, that many of the blank exterior wall panels were originally intended to receive carving. Possibly also some of the temple's four niches which are presently empty were never filled. A barely blocked out Naṭeśa image now loose near the temple (Fig. 651) may have been meant for one such niche. This image features a stance seen in only one other surviving Calukya image of Naṭeśa, a detail on the Virūpākṣa temple's south exterior (Fig. 678), and so it is datable to Vikramaḍitya II's reign. Final work on the Bhūtanātha temple may have been neglected in the latter half of Vikramaḍitya's reign in an effort to insure the completion of the Virūpākṣa temple.

B.20. Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal

The Virūpākṣa temple (Figs. 526, 652-654) at Pattadakal, located southeast of the Mallikārjuna temple and roughly in line with the royal Galaganātha and Vijayeśvara/Śaṅgaweśvara temples (Fig. 527), is the largest surviving Calukya monument. As noted previously, it is known from inscriptions to have been patronized by the chief queen of
Vikramāditya II, Lokamahādevī, and to have been originally named Lokesvara after her. Probably it was begun near the start of Vikramāditya's reign and received exceptional financial support, so that, despite its size and complexity, it was finished within a decade, before the end of this reign. It is likely that no other major temples were built in the Bādāmi–Aihole–Mahākūṭa–Pattadakal region during this period, except for the royally founded Bhūtanātha temple at Bādāmi, because so many craftsmen were needed for work on the Virūpākṣa temple.

Nevertheless, small temples seem to have been constructed concurrently at Aihole and B.N. Jālihāl. Though an inscription on the Virūpākṣa temple's eastern porch (Vkl7) refers to Vikramāditya's three conquests of Kāncī, and one on the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāncī itself (Vk20) records his largesse there, Pallava influence is not overwhelmingly evident at the Virūpākṣa temple. A few individual icons do seem to imitate known earlier Pallava types, but the form of the temple appears derived chiefly from the Mallikārjuna/Trailokyesvara temple (Fig. 525) at Pattadakal, patronized by Lokamahādevī's co-wife and younger sister Trailokyamahādevī. It would seem that Lokamahādevī wished to demonstrate, by equalling and then surpassing the Mallikārjuna temple in size and elaboration, as well as by infringing on its courtyard, an importance surpassing that of her sister.

The Virūpākṣa temple, like the Mallikārjuna temple, consists of a sāndhāra garbha grha with Southern style superstructure, an antarāla with śukanāsa, an eighteen pillared mandapa with two west end shrines and three entry porches, a Nandi pavilion, and a prākāra enclosure with gates, image niches, and shrines. Though the Virūpākṣa temple has only three pradaksināpatha interior niches, rather than six as at the
Mallikārjuna temple, it has eight more exterior wall niches, three carved porch ceilings, and twelve additional niches on its lengthened *mandapa* entry porches. The three *garbha grha* wall niches are empty, but forty-six of the forty-seven exterior niches are filled with images. All of these cannot be discussed in detail, but their subjects, and those of other major sculptures on the main temple, are summarized in Figures 653 and 654.

A number of Śiva *mūrtis* known from other late Calukya temples are surprisingly not found in niches on the Virūpākṣa temple itself. These were probably all originally present somewhere on its *prākāra* structures. Gajāsurasāhāramūrti (Fig. 655), stepping on the elephant demon's head, survives in a west gateway niche, and a six-armed Tripurāntakamūrti (Fig. 656) from Pattadakal now in the National Museum in New Delhi (#L.55.17) probably was once placed in a similar location, in a subshrine, or in one of the niches on the interior of the *prākāra* wall itself. Of the probably thirty original subshrines, less than half are still standing, and the dedication of just one, the north-facing subshrine directly south of the *mandapa*’s center, can be identified with any degree of certainty. This subshrine, the only extant one with windows, is a narrow rectangle in plan, contains an unmorticed *pītha* all along its rear wall, and probably enshrined a frieze of Saptamātrakās. The opposite shrine north of the temple has only its base surviving, but does not seem to have been rectangular. Two notably rectangular subshrines are extant elsewhere, directly north and south of the *garbha grha*’s center; unmorticed elongated *pīthas* are now found in both, but the north shrine’s *pītha* runs the entire length of its rear wall, as in the presumed Mātrakā shrine. Perhaps this north subshrine originally
contained a group of male deities. Fragments displaying two, three, and six adjoining identical two-armed seated males (Fig. 657) have been found at Pattadakal.

As in the case of the Mallikārjuna temple, many exterior niches on the Virūpākṣa temple contain images of non-specific forms of Śiva, often bearing paired decorative trident and axe. A few specific mūrtis in Virūpākṣa temple niches also appear to imitate Mallikārjuna temple images in form and placement, particularly the south side figures of "Ugra-nṛtṛya" Śiva (Fig. 658) and Lakulīśa on dwarf. The latter (Fig. 659) is adjoined at the Virūpākṣa temple by a two-armed nude samabhaṅga axe-bearing Śiva (Fig. 660), their parallel placement here emphasizing the thematic similarity noted previously. Also the Virūpākṣa temple's antarāla ceiling representation of Nāteśa on dwarf with Pārvatī and Nandi (Fig. 661) may have been based on the Mallikārjuna temple's main mandapa ceiling representation of the same subject (Fig. 549), and the two temples have equivalent Gaja-Lakṣmī and coiled nāga mandapa ceilings.

Several other major Virūpākṣa temple images are basically similar to those on earlier temples. Gajendramokṣa is represented on the northeast north porch pillar, as at the Pāpanātha temple (Fig. 486), and is close to this precedent in form. Varāha (Fig. 662) is represented on the north exterior, faces the proper right, and brings his hands together on his chest as at the Sahgameśvara temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 558). Trivikrama (Fig. 663) is represented, unusually six-armed, on the north end of the east facade, as at the Viśva Brahma temple (Figl. 452), and is accompanied by both giving and chastizing scenes. Liṅgodbhavanmūrti (Fig. 664) is on the facade, as at the Svarga Brahma temple (Fig. 423), but is on the south rather than the north end, and has
only two small peripheral figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu or Varāha. Perhaps similar versions of these latter three mūrtis once existed in comparable niches, now empty, on the Mallikārjuna temple, or were originally planned for niches there which were filled in the post-Virūpākṣa temple period with other images.

Some Virūpākṣa temple niche images display notable variations from standard form. Andhakāsura-vadhamūrti (Fig. 669), though in a south exterior niche as at the Mallikārjuna (Fig. 537) and Saṅgameśvara temples at Pattadakal, strides to the proper right, a directionality seen previously only on a Sūlibhāvi gateway ceiling (Fig. 596). The figure of trident- and mirror-bearing Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 670) on the north exterior has accented hip on the male side, a feature seen previously at the Saṅgameśvara temple at Pattadakal (Fig. 560), but is adjacent to a figure of Harihara (Fig. 671) who unusually imitates this stance. Except for this stance, and the addition of a floating cross-in-circle cakra, Figure 671 is similar in iconography to Figure 545. Another Ardhanārīśvara image, at the east porch, uniquely bears only a nāga on the Śiva side. A representation of Śiva with a goddess (Fig. 672) in a south exterior niche recalls a related Mallikārjuna temple image, but Śiva's position on the proper left side is unusual. Perhaps the goddess here is Gaṅgā rather than Pārvatī, for Śiva prominently upholds the crescent moon which, like Gaṅgā, was an ornament of his jatā. The south exterior image on the garbha grha axis represents a Śiva (Fig. 673) who, though stepping on a dwarf/gana rather than sitting, because of his loose bushy hair style resembles Daksināmūrti, a standard icon for the south exterior of Pallava temples, seen also at the Rāmaliṅgeśvara (Fig. 434) and Viśva Brahma (Fig. 456) Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh. This
image, like several others on the Virūpākṣa temple, is inscribed with the name of its sculptor. The north exterior image on the garbha grha axis is of eight-armed standing Viṣṇu (Fig. 674), a mūrti seen previously in Calukya art only in Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 63), and linked by some scholars to Pallava tradition. The god has double quivers and a flaming cakra and śahkha, the latter recalling Figure 545.

Several Virūpākṣa temple mūrtis have no known precedents in Calukya art, and were probably either invented at this time or, in most cases, borrowed from other traditions, particularly Pallava. One north porch pillar portrays two-armed sandal-wearing Śiva/Bhairava who, having cut off Brahmā's fifth head, begs alms from Viṣṇu (Fig. 675). The main mandapa interior ceiling, very badly damaged, represents a Pallava style Somāskanda flanked by Brahmā and Viṣṇu (Fig. 676). A small Mahiṣamardinī image (Fig. 750) on the north exterior features specifically Pallava type vāhanas and attendants. Naṭeśa is shown twice in a particular flying/leaping stance (Fig. 677) which was used previously several times on the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāncī. This stance has been called by C. Sivaramamurti ālidhanṛtta.

Naṭeśa is the most frequently represented form of Śiva in the Virūpākṣa temple complex, appearing over two dozen times, half a dozen of these atop a dwarf. While he is often shown in the standard eighth century Calukya stance (Fig. 661), poses such as ārdhva-jānu, "Ugra-nṛtya," ālidhanṛtta, and others (Figs. 679, 658, 677, 678) are also seen. The worn front image of the śukanāsa, despite its positioning on the facade of a small decorative shrine motif, rather than within a nāsika frame, probably represented, as usual, a form of Naṭeśa.
At the Virūpākṣa temple, the west gate and the three mandapa entrances have large mace-bearing dvārapālas in varying poses, all but those on the north porch being two-armed. Trisūla/horn headdresses (Fig. 680) are found on the proper left figure in the south and east pairs, as at the Bhūtanātha temple at Bādāmi and the Jyotirlinga temple group Śiva shrine at Aihole (Fig. 645). The east entrance (Fig. 681) overdoor area features five miniature shrines containing, from south to north, representations of standing Sūrya, Naṭeṣa, seated Śiva and Pārvatī, a seated male wearing a yoga-patta, and standing Viṣṇu(?). Large images of nidhis flanking the entrance recall those of the Huccappayya temple at Aihole (Fig. 625). The north and south mandapa entrance overdoors have no iconic figures, though the north doorway does have a Garuḍa lalāta-bimba. This latter element seems to correspond to the presence of Viṣṇu mūrtis on the north porch pillars, and a Brahmā ceiling (Fig. 682) on the south porch. The garbha grha entrance doorway (Fig. 683) is flanked by typical eighth century four-armed Śaiva dvārapālas. The north/proper left one has a trisūla headdress. The overdoor features central Śiva and Pārvatī riding Nandi to the proper right within a circular frame (Fig. 684), and a larger image of Śiva-Liṅgin (Fig. 685) above, its prominence recalling the Śiva-Liṅgin ceiling at the Huccappayya temple. Over half a dozen small representations of Śiva-Liṅgin appear elsewhere in the Virūpākṣa temple complex. The two subshrines at the west end of the mandapa interior seem to have been intended to enshrine images of Gaṇeṣa (south shrine facing north) and Mahiṣaṃardinī (north shrine facing south), deities carved in corresponding positions on walls at the Huccappayya temple. The Mahiṣaṃardinī icon (Fig. 763) is still in situ at the Virūpākṣa temple,
and the dedication of the other subshrine there to Gaṇeśa seems confirmed by the presence of a small Gaṇeśa relief on the temple's exterior wall directly to the west, between exterior niches 13 and 14. The original contents of the three pradaksināpatha niches are unknown.

The small representations of deities placed intermittently on the Virūpākṣa temple's exterior upper walls and main hāra, and on the superstructure elements of the prākāra wall and subshrines, chiefly are of seated Śiva and of Naṭeśa, occasionally accompanied by Pārvatī and/or Nandi. Seated Śiva sometimes wears a yogapatta and/or bears a liṅga, and Naṭeśa sometimes upholds the skin of Gajāsura. There are also images of Gaja-Lakṣāṇī, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa, Ugra-Nṛsiṁha, and Kṛṣṇa stealing butter, suckling Pūtaṇā, and fighting Baka and Kāliya. Additionally a representation of Govardhanadārāṇa appears on the Nandi pavilion, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya on peacock on the east gate, and pacific seated Nṛsiṁha on the north side of the second story of the temple's superstructure. The mandapa interior pillars and pilasters display more figures of Naṭeśa and seated Śiva, but have a wide range of additional subjects. Those also occurring at the Mallikärjuna temple include: Rāmāyana scenes (22N, 27), Mahābhārata scenes including Kirāṭārjunīya (15, 21, 28), Kṛṣṇacaritra (11, 165), Samudramathana (34N), Kalyāṇasundaramūrti (SW), and adventures of Garuḍa (15). The game of Śiva and Pārvatī, seen inside the Mallikärjuna temple's mandapa, is represented on an east porch pillar at the Virūpākṣa temple. The double haṃsa seen below Pārvatī on the Mallikärjuna temple's garbha grha overdoor (Fig. 548) appears near Pārvatī in a Virūpākṣa temple Naṭeśa composition on pillar 10W. Subjects portrayed on mandapa pillars and pilasters at the Virūpākṣa temple but not seen there at the Mallikärjuna
temple include: Sūrya in his chariot, Somaharaṇa, and the story of Gaṅgā (17), Śiva saving a devotee from Yama(?) (23E), a traditional Trimūrti group (16N), the burning of Sati at Dakṣa's sacrifice (9W), Brahmā and Viṣṇu flanking an enthroned male (10S), and an unidentified narrative showing ṛṣis, Brahmā, Indra, and Viṣṇu on Garuḍa fighting an enemy (10E). Among the large mandapa interior mithunas, arranged on the peripheral pilasters, as at the Mallikārjuna temple, is a representation of Kāma and Rati (135).

B.21. Calukya temples at Bhadranaikan (B.N.) Jālihāl

A brief inscription (Vk22) on the facade (Fig. 686) of the largest of the small structural temples in a secluded valley near the village of Bhadranaikan Jālihāl, usually referred to as B.N. Jālihāl, about three miles northwest of Pattadakal, refers to a work of dharma by one Benemma son of Devāri and to Vikramāditya (II), presumably to his reign. This simple, roughly constructed temple faces east and consists of a nirandhāra garbha grha, now lacking a sikhara, and a wider mandapa. Its exterior has no niches, but does have an upper wall decoration of gem garlands. The mandapa entrance is flanked by large, two-armed bushy haired dvārapālas like those at the Virūpākṣa temple's east mandapa doorway (Fig. 680), though without any trisūla headdress. The base boxes of the mandapa doorframe feature nidhis, recalling both the Virūpākṣa and Bhūtanātha temple entrances. Its lalita-bimba portrays seated Śiva-Liṅgin with Pārvatī and Nandi, a subject which suits a date near the Virūpākṣa temple in the reign of Vikramāditya II. The mandapa interior ceiling has one lotus motif, and its rear wall has worn images of devotees and Gaṇeṣa, south, and Mahiṣamardinī, north, which may be either
crude originals or later additions. The garbha grha entrance doorframe seems to have had river goddesses in its base boxes, but lacks a lalat-bimba. The sanctum's liṅga on pītha may be original.

Other remains in the B.N. Jālihāl valley probably also are datable to the last decades of Calukya rule. One temple, on the valley floor near the inscribed temple, resembles the latter in its exterior gem garland and lack of a sikhara, but seems to have had a porch rather than a mandapa. Another temple, not far away, consists of a porch and a garbha grha with a kapota-layered sikhara. Near the cliff at the upper end of the valley are several temples of the latter type (Fig. 687), some of which now have no porches; at least three on the west side of the valley face east toward its central stream, and three on the east face west. One of the latter contains a Calukya style image of nāga- and drum-bearing four-armed Śiva with Pārvatī and Nandi on a rectangular footed slab (Fig. 688) placed atop a pītha. This image might originally have belonged elsewhere, as it resembles niche images in format. Among the site's loose Calukya images are Gaṇeśa and a three-dimensional hooded half-human nāga (Fig. 689) which probably once was installed inside a garbha grha. He is four-armed and bears cakra and saṅkha like Viṣṇu, and so may be identified as Ādi-Śeṣa.

At the upper end of the valley, a row of recently painted images is carved into the cliff rock (Figs. 690-692). Though they recall in format some images on a huge boulder near the Bhūtanātha temple east of the tank at Bādmāi, their style seems significantly earlier and their content links them to Calukya art. From west to east, the images are: seated Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva-Liṅgin with Pārvatī and Nandi, four-armed Saptamātrkās, and two-armed Gaṇeśa. Compared to standard sets of
Mātṛkās, Vaiṣṇavī is in Aindrī's place and Kaumārī's place is taken by an unidentified Devī, probably Durga, with a lion vāhana. Many details are unclear, but it appears that Brahmānī is multiheaded and has hamsa(?) vāhana; Māhesvarī bears trident and has bull vāhana; Aindrī has elephant vāhana; Vārāhi is boar-headed, bears mace, and has buffalo vāhana; Vaiṣṇavī bears cakra and śankha and has Garuḍa vahana; and Cāmundā has a fierce face, bears rosary, nāga(?), and bowl, and has a dog vāhana. The presence of Śiva-Liṅgin in this group suggests a date contemporaneous with the inscribed temple on the valley floor. It is probable that the presence of large Mātṛkā images indicates that the patron of the rock-cut work was associated with the royal family, and/or that the tīrtha was a site of royal worship, however no extant temple at the site may be associated with the rock-cut images in scale or quality. The hypothesis offered by M.S. Nagaraja Rao and K.V. Ramesh, that the inscribed temple was a royal memorial shrine for Vikramāditya II, seems unlikely due to its small size, crude construction, and orientation toward the east.

B.22. Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal: Final phase

The Final phase of the Pāpanātha temple's construction (Figs. 693-695) seems to have begun after the completion of the Virūpākṣa temple, near the end of the reign of Vikramāditya II or early in the reign of Kīrttivarman II. As other scholars have noted, this temple's eastern mandapa entrance doorframe (Fig. 696) resembles the Virūpākṣa temple's garbhagṛha doorframe (Fig. 683), and two sculptors are found named in inscriptions on both temples. In the final construction period, the mandapa begun in Phase II was brought to completion and provided with images in its false porches, an eastern mandapa and entrance porch were
added, and the entire structure was provided with a hāra of sālās and
kutās like that of the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 652). The scale and
complexity of the work involved suggests that its patron was an important
person, probably not the same individual responsible for the previous
construction phases, more than forty years previously, and perhaps
Kīrttivarma himself.

It is here hypothesized that the west mandapa's western ceiling,
featuring a coiled nāga, belonged to the Pāpanātha temple's second phase
in design, if not in execution as well, since nāgas were common mandapa
ceiling motifs at Alampur. However, the eastern west mandapa ceiling
representation of four-armed Naṭeśa (Fig. 697), showing him atop a dwarf,
bearing nāga and trident with streamer, and accompanied by Pārvatī and
Nandi, probably dates from the temple's Final phase; it corresponds
fairly closely in both position and iconography to the Virūpākṣa temple's
antarāla Naṭeśa ceiling (Fig. 661). Also, it features Pārvatī standing
atop a lotus, a detail seen elsewhere only in the Pāpanātha temple's east
porch Naṭeśa ceiling (Fig. 707) and the Huccappayya temple's east porch
Naṭeśa ceiling (Fig. 632). The Pāpanātha temple's west mandapa interior
peripheral pilasters feature mithunas, as in the Mallikārjuna and
Virūpākṣa temple mandapas. The doorway leading to the west mandapa from
the east mandapa features a Garuḍa laṭā-bimba, base box river
goddesses, and flanking four-armed Śaiva dvārapālas. As at the garbha
gṛha entrance, the south dvārapāla has a trisūla/horn headdress.

The portions of the west mandapa's exterior walls dating from the
final construction phase include four niches on each side, where probably
the Phase II design would have placed only one or two. On the south,
both the niches and the wall areas between them are ornamented with
scenes from the Rāmāyana; the narrative continues all along the east hall (Fig. 698) and up onto the east porch. Though traceable in Calukya art as early as the Upper Śivālaya's basement, this choice of subject probably had its immediate inspiration in the three south mandapa exterior Rāmāyana niche mūrtis on the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 667).

The west mandapa's north side is damaged at its eastern end. The two surviving niches from the Final phase, located just east of the Phase II Mahiṣamardini image (Fig. 761), contain four-armed Bhiksāṭanamūrti (Fig. 699) and a four-armed samabhaṅga standing deity with damaged attributes who is probably Śiva. Bhiksāṭanamūrti has long loose hair and wears a bell on a string tied across his hips. He is flanked by a rsi and a female, and his only surviving attribute is a nāga. The samabhaṅga deity is attended by paired dvārapāla-like figures, and by Nandi on his right side. On the wall section between these niches is a mithuna. The figures on the wall at the phase break line are unidentified. The central hāra motif on the west mandapa's north side is a large nāsika containing an image of eight-armed Naṭeṣa. The corresponding south side central hāra motif is no longer in situ.

The damaged image now in the Pāpanātha temple's west sculpture porch seems to have been Gajāsurasamhâramūrti (Fig. 700). The deity is flanked by narrow windows and females, and the whole under-porch area is surmounted by a frieze of ganas bearing a garland, a motif known since the mid seventh century Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa, but used elsewhere at the Pāpanātha temple only correspondingly in the north sculpture porch, and inside the eastern mandapa. The north sculpture porch's deity (Fig. 701) is a ten-armed Naṭeṣa atop a dwarf. The god is accompanied by Bhrūṅgī, an unusual element at Pattadakal, and bears dhvaja(?) with streamer, cloth,
nāga, and drum. He is flanked by windows and by images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu (Fig. 702). These deities both turn toward him to admire the dance, and Viṣṇu makes añjali mudrā. Brahmā bears kamandalu and a worn attribute. Viṣṇu holds no attributes, but a flaming cross-in-circle cakra and śāhāka float near his shoulders. The subordination of Brahmā and Viṣṇu to Śiva here recalls their roles in the Svarga Brahma temple Līṅgodbhavamūrti relief (Fig. 423), and at Pattadakal in the Mallikārjuna temple ceiling Naṭesā (Fig. 549) and Virūpākṣa temple ceiling Somāskanda reliefs (Fig. 676), and on the Kādsiddheśvara temple's garbha grha overdoor (Fig. 522). The Pāpanātha temple's south sculpture porch contains a central eight-armed Naṭesā image (Fig. 703). The god's front right hand in gaja-hasta recalls seventh century images of Naṭesā, but his urdhva-jānu stance is an eighth century characteristic. The god and his flanking windows and females are surmounted, not by ganas bearing a garland, but by gandharvas and an unusual central motif (Fig. 704) of a pair of Śaiva rsis attending a lotus (a female symbol?).

The east mandapa's north side has one niche facing west, seven facing north, and two facing east. The figures on the wall areas between the north-facing niches are decorative, rather than part of the narrative as on the south exterior, in all but one case. The west-facing niche has an unidentified active Śiva mūrti. The five western north-facing niches, from west to east, contain images of: Ardhanārīśvara (Fig. 705) with traditional accentuated left hip, accompanied by Nandi and Bhṛṅgī; Kāma and Rati; standing Viṣṇu bearing mace and probably flaming cakra and śāhāka of the type seen on the north garbha grha porch (Fig. 702); Gaṅgādharamūrti (Fig. 706), probably shown standing on a dwarf as at Ālampur (Figs. 420, 462), accompanied by Pārvatī, Bhagīratha, and others;
and Rāvaṇaṇugrahamūrti. The two easternmost north-facing niches contain Śiva-Kirāta and Arjuna drawing their bows to shoot at the boar who must once have been visible carved on the wall between them. The temple's northeast corner pilaster has a scene of wrestlers, presumably Kirāta and Arjuna, and the northern east-facing niche displays the end of the contest and Arjuna's receipt of the Pāsūpata weapon from Śiva, who is shown riding Nandi with Pārvatī and baby Kārttikeya. The other northeast facade and north side entrance porch pillar mūrtis, which feature warriors, chariots, and battle, probably relate to the Mahābhārata, as the corresponding mūrtis on the southeast (and south) of the temple relate to the Rāmāyaṇa. The east maṇḍapa's north and south sides both have eight-armed Naṭeṣa images in large nāsikas at the center of their hāras. Another probably once was present at the center of the hāra over the east porch. At the Final phase Pāpanātha temple, like the Virūpākṣa temple, Naṭeṣa was the most frequently represented form of Śiva.

The Pāpanātha temple's entrance porch has four pillar mithunas, including one with a horse-headed female positioned as on the Huccappayya temple. The porch ceiling composition (Fig. 707) may also be related to that at the Huccappayya temple (Fig. 632): both feature eight-armed Naṭeṣa without gaja-hasta and atop a dwarf, accompanied by Pārvatī on a lotus. However the Pāpanātha temple representation lacks Gaṇeṣa, Bhr̥ṅgī, and baby Kārttikeya, and instead has peripheral gandharvas. It is notable that this ceiling Naṭeṣa image, like the south false porch image of Naṭeṣa (Fig. 703) and the east porch's south dvārapāla, has a cloth sash which curls upward as it flutters away from his leg. All three of these images are inscribed with the name of the sculptor Baladeva. The west porch figure of Gajāsurasāmāhāramūrti (Fig. 700), which has a
very similar sash, may have been carved by the same individual or a pupil. The south entrance porch dvārapāla figure is completely lost. Its northern counterpart is of the standard four-armed eighth century Śaiva type.

The east mandapa entrance doorway (Fig. 696), as noted above, resembles that of the Virūpākṣa temple's garbha grha with respect to decorative format. The Pāpanātha temple doorway has a central lintel representation of a seated female figure upholding foliage in both hands; a representation of seated Śiva and Pārvatī with Nandi, recalling that at the Virūpākṣa temple's entrance (Fig. 681), appears centrally in the overdoor above. This might be an indication that Devī, though still honored, had been displaced in the garbha grha by a Śiva-liṅga. The east mandapa interior has mithunas on its pilasters and a frieze of ganas with a garland on its peripheral upper walls, as in the Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa temple mandapas. As at the Virūpākṣa temple, one of the mithunas is identifiable as Kāma and Rati. The eight central pillars have images of seven females and one mithuna on their shafts. The main interior eastern and southern ceiling support beams have narrative carvings on their outer sides. The scenes on the south beam clearly relate to the Mahābhārata, for they include two representations of four-armed cakra- and Gaṅkha-bearing Kṛṣṇa attending a fight. Toward the center of the east beam is a portrayal of a royal court and of seated Śiva with Pārvatī and Nandi; north of this only gandharvas appear.

The east mandapa has three level sculpted ceilings. At the west end, Gaja-Lakṣmī and coiled nāga appear, as in the Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa temple mandapas. The ceiling at the center of the mandapa is a nine sectioned rectangle containing an image of two-armed Anantaśayin
surrounded by dikpālas (Fig. 708). The figures carved immediately adjacent to Viṣṇu are difficult to distinguish, but a floating cross-in-circle cakra is identifiable. The Pāpanātha temple's Anantaśayin ceiling panel could have been inspired by that at the Huccappayya temple, similarly the easternmost deity ceiling in the interior after a porch ceiling Naṭesā, but its format is vertical as at the Konta Northwest temple (Fig. 618), rather than horizontal as at the Huccappayya temple. At the Pāpanātha temple, Anantaśayin is not part of a Viṣṇu-Brahmā-Śiva ceiling Trinity, and his portrayal with only two arms, rather than four as in earlier ceilings, would seem to indicate decreased importance, corresponding to Viṣṇu's aṁjali mudrā in the temple's north sculpture porch (Fig. 702). Perhaps the sākta theme of the power of Mahāmāyā's yogic slumber, inherent at the Konta Northwest temple, was seen here as predominant. A small central representation of Naṭesā on the beam closest to the head of Anantaśayin contrasts distinctly with the latter's passivity. The Pāpanātha temple dikpālas, eight in number, occupying their proper directions, and riding vāhanas like their Huccappayya temple precedents (Fig. 635), differ from the latter in the use of a ram/goat vāhana for Agni and in the absence of consorts. Perhaps dikpālas were placed around Viṣṇu at the Pāpanātha temple because no Brahmā ceiling was present, and Viṣṇu's navel, source of Brahmā, was conceived as the center of the created cosmos.

The central sections of the north and south interior walls of the east mandapa consist of niches containing images of Mahīṣamardini (Fig. 764), north, and Gaṇesā, south. These same deities were carved adjacent to the Huccappayya temple's garbha grha entrance, and are presumed to have been enshrined in subshrines at the west end of the
Mallikârjuna, Virûpâkṣa, and Saṅgâmesvara temple mandapa interiors at Pattadakal. Their placement in the Pâpanâtha temple’s eastern rather than in its western mandapa, along with the Anantaśayin and Gaja-Lakṣmî ceilings, may suggest a desire to consecrate the eastern mandapa to Devî, who had been displaced from the garbha grâha.

B.23. Calukya temple at Bâchinagudda

A ruined temple (Fig. 709) near the Malaprabhâ River bank, south of the Bâchinagudda hill and about a mile upriver from Pattadakal, may be placed at the very end of the Calukya period, c. 750-755. As in the case of the Calukya monuments in the Jyotirliṅga temple group at Aihole, at B.N. Jalihâl, and in the Galaganâtha temple group at Aihole, its small size and relatively crude workmanship suit a period when temple construction at Pattadakal monopolized craftsmen and resources. The Bâchinagudda temple’s porch and garbha grâha have fallen, and only a portion of its mandapa, slightly wider than the garbha grâha, remains standing. That the garbha grâha of this temple or another lost one nearby once had a śikhara is supposed on the basis of a loose sukanâsa panel at the site, which portrays a Naṭeṣa with probably eight arms. It is likely that the surviving temple once enshrined an image of Mahîṣâmardini, a fragment of which (Fig. 765) is now found loose in the mandapa along with a post-Calukya Mahîṣâmardini image still in worship. A loose three-dimensional figure of a lion (Fig. 710), vâhana of Durgâ/Mahîṣâmardini, now stands near the temple, and the mandapa’s facade features large female chaurî bearers instead of dvârapâlas.
One carved ceiling slab representing Anantasayin (Fig. 711), much obscured by whitewash, remains in the mandapa. Though positioned horizontally, its composition is mostly vertical in format and is subdivided in a way reminiscent of the Pāpanātha temple's Anantasayin ceiling (Fig. 708). Ananta's five hoods and Viṣṇu's two arms also provide formal links to the Pāpanātha temple relief. The Bāchinagudda relief does not include dikpālas, and the identity of its peripheral figures, except for one undoubted demon, is unclear. Cakra, śāhkha, and mace are, however, discernable floating near Viṣṇu. Though B.V. Shetti assumed that originally the mandapa had additional Brahmā and Śiva ceiling panels, it may well have had only this one, thematically associated with the mythology of Devī.
C. Notes

1 See below, note 4.

2 One undated copper plate grant to a brāhmaṇa (B24) seems to have been issued by Vijayaditya and Vikramaditya II jointly. It is difficult to tell whether this is a forgery or a genuine grant issued either at the very end of Vijayaditya's reign or the very start of Vikramaditya's reign.

3 The text of this grant has not been published.

4 One or two late eleventh century stone inscriptions found at Guḍīgere (C3) seem to refer to the same facts. They state that land at Guḍīgere had been given, by means of a copper plate, to the Anesejjeya-basadi Jain temple which Kuṅkumā (mahī)devī, a younger sister of the Kalukya cakravartin Vijayadityavallabha, had caused to be built at Purigere. This is the basis for the identification of Kuṅkumadevī as Vijayaditya's sister; she is not described as such in Vj8 or Vj9.

5 See Chapter III, note 28, for the identification of Raktapura and Kisuvoḷal with Pattadakal.

6 The copper plate grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga found at Ellora, probably datable to 741/2 A.D. (S.K. Dikshit (1939-40)), was originally made at Elāpura. While Cave 15 at Ellora is usually assigned to Dantidurga's patronage, no Brahmanical excavation at the site has been assigned to the period of Vj5. See Chatham (1977: 221); Czuma (1968: 241-247).

7 For the identity of Hatampura and Ālampur, see Sreenivasachar and Desai (1961: 38).

8 Nilakanta Sastri (1960: 239).

9 See Padigar (1977a: 60-61) for the use of bhaṭāra for deities.

10 An inscription on the wall by the garbha grha doorway of the Pattadakal Saṅgameśvara temple (Vj19) may also name Viśeśvara-bhaṭār, but the reading of this inscription has been disputed. An inscribed stone slab found standing in the Saṅgameśvara temple in the nineteenth century registers a twelfth century gift to Śrī Viṣayesvaradeva (C4).
11. Probably this invasion occurred between the king's second and eighth regnal years.

12. This relationship to Vikramāditya is not explicit in Vkl4, but is inferred from the Salem plates of a Gaṅga king, Śrīpuruṣa. See Gai (1947–48).

13. This expression suggests that Umā was one of the Saptamātrkās mentioned in the Calukya family prāṣasti, presumably the same as Māheśvarī, but possibly a separate deity. The B.N. Jālhāl Mātrkā set (Figs. 691–692) has one atypical goddess.


15. This inscription (Vkl5) has received varying interpretations.


17. Two of this Ācārya's teachers or preceptors seem to have been mentioned in the Lakshmesvar inscription claiming to date from Vijayāditya's twenty-eighth year (B21). This would seem to support the authenticity of B25.

18. This, presumably, was the third of the three conquests of Kāṇḍī attributed to Vikramāditya II in Virūpākṣa temple inscription Vkl7.

19. Calukya Kīrttivarma I did not have the title Paramēśvara. This title was used by Pulakeśi II and all succeeding Calukya kings.

20. The location of this Rāmesvara-tīrtha is uncertain, and several suggestions have been made. Gai (1959–60a: 332) proposed that its location was about a mile north of Ālampur, near which town Govinda III had camped about six months previously. It may be noted that a Later Western Calukya king, Someśvara II, while camping at Berkkemokṣa north of the Krishṇā River (possibly identical to Bekkem, about twelve miles north of Ālampur), bathed at Rāmesvara-tīrtha and renewed Vinayāditya's grant to Pañcaliṅgadeva (located in Pañcaliṅgāla, about seven and a half miles west of Ālampur) (C2). This would seem to corroborate Gai's suggestion that Rāmesvara-tīrtha was in the Ālampur region, and my suggestion that it was a Saiva tīrtha.
This temple received its present name from a modern period inhabitant (Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 175)). I accept the recent assignment of this temple to the period just prior to Vj14. See Chapter III, note 156, and Michell (1979: 144). Previously, this temple was dated earlier in the seventh century. See Soundara Rajan (1969: 7); Lippe (1969-70: 18); Prasad (1972-73: 55).


The formal inspiration for this mūrti may have been a now destroyed image of peacock-riding Kārttikeya aiding Śiva in the battle against Andhaka on a Cikki temple ceiling (Fig. 210). The Cikki temple is the only known earlier Calukya temple whose ceilings feature active deities.

Unlike that of the Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole, the nave of the Huccimalli temple is divided into three bays by crossbeams. These beams have gāpa brackets like those at the Cikki temple, Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa, Nāgarahāl temple, and Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi.


For this Naṭėśa, see below, note 170, and Figure 631. Cousens, ASIAR for 1907-08, 196-197; Lippe (1969-70: 18); and others have noted that the śukanāśa seems later than the sikhara.

This is their location also in the Pāpanātha temple’s Initial phase.

In the ceilings of Cave 3 at Bādāmi, Brahmā appears twice on a hamsa and once on a lotus. At the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa, Nāgarahāl temple, and Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi, he sits on a lotus.

Cousens (1926: 41).

See Prasad (1975-76b) for a technical description of the temple. He has dated it to the reign of Vikramāditya I. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 328-332) has dated it more appropriately to the period c. 690-720.

P.V.P. Sastry (1975b).
Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 328) asserted that the base of the Nandi pavilion east of the temple was original.

Suggested by Prasad (1975-76b: 29).

One nave ceiling slab features a coiled nāga, a common Alampur motif.

See Chapter III, note 286.

For details, see Prasad (1975-76b: 29).

Other mandapa pillar subjects are Gapeśa and Nandi.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 329) suggested that either this Gapeśa image or one now loose inside the main temple was once installed in the main temple's south garbha grha niche.

The Garuḍa Brahma and Viśva Brahma temples have a slightly different arrangement of mandapa interior pillars and beams. Also there are no clear traces of a base platform around the Garuḍa Brahma temple, but this is not conclusive since other temples at the site have lost portions of their platforms.

For other theories about the date of the Garuḍa Brahma temple, see Chapter III, notes 61,73. The completion of the Viśva Brahma temple and/or the commencement of work on the Garuḍa Brahma temple might be associated with Vijayāditya's presence in Andhra Pradesh in his fourth regnal year (Vj2), though there is no proof that he visited the Alampur region during this tour.

The legend about Brahmā formerly worshipping Śiva at Alampur might conceivably be based on remembrances of an ancient Brahmā shrine at the site. See Chapter II, page 116 and note 59.


This choice of attribute, like the tribhāṅga stance and third eye of Figure 512, seems to signal the end of Kārttikeya's importance as an independent focus of worship. In most eighth century Calukya temples, Kārttikeya has no significant role except as child of Śiva and Pārvatī;
he most often appears in compositions with them, rather than separately.


47 Gai (1963-64: 122).

48 For other theories about the date of the Padma Brahma temple, see Chapter III, notes 61, 273.


50 See Chapter III, notes 54 and 151.

51 The similarity of the Galaganātha temple's twenty-two niche plan to that of the Viśva Brahma and Garuḍa Brahma temples at Alampur suggests a date for the former not before the earlier of these two temples. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 279-283) dated it roughly contemporaneous with these two temples, as did Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 306-308, 355-356). See also Michell (1975a: 60-61, notes 16-18).

52 This configuration is illustrated by Gopinatha Rao (1968: I, pl. CXX).

53 Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 334-337) noted the similarities between the Northeast temple at Mahākūṭa and the Kāḍsiddheśvara temple, and dated them contemporaneously, in c. 695-720. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 241-242, 354-355) mistakenly identified the Northeast temple with Temple 22 at Mahākūṭa, but also dated it/them contemporaneous with the Kāḍsiddheśvara temple.

54 Probably the Galaganātha temple had a north exterior four-armed Ardhanārīśvara with Nandi, of the type seen in Andhra Pradesh.

55 See below, note 96.
Probably lost Galaganātha temple dvārapālas were a more direct source of influence.

Sivaramamurti (1974: 177, 183, etc.).

See Chapter III, page 192 and notes 76 and 77.


It is likely that an earlier Calukya temple prākāra existed in connection with one or more gateways at the Durga temple at Aihole. No other temples in Karnataka datable before the Mallikārjuna temple and possessing gateways and/or prākāras are known.

These subshrines probably were created to honor Gaṇeśa and Mahiṣamardini, the two most important of the three garbha grha niche deities presumed frequent in Andhra and also at the Galaganātha temple at Pattadakal, who here lost their former positions. Kārttikeya seems to have been entirely eliminated as a focus of worship from this time on. It is suggested that the north subshrine once contained Figure 762.

The east mandapa entrance overdoor decoration features five miniature shrines, with a liṅga in the southernmost, a male figure in the next, and the other three uncut. It is possible that Viṣṇu was intended originally to be carved in the center shrine, but perhaps instead liṅgas were intended in the center and on both ends. Thus, no conclusion may be drawn with certainty.

The composition is more complex than in Figure 483 on the Phase II Pāpanātha temple. Another version probably once existed at the Galaganātha temple.

The outer south porch pillar faces, which might also originally have been carved with Viṣṇu mūrtis, are damaged beyond recognition. One north porch pillar's outer side is either totally effaced or was never provided with a large image. The other north porch pillar bears a replacement Gajendramokṣa image, carved at an unknown

Inscription B20 of c. 710 records gifts to a god who is clearly Viṣṇu, but is named Bhogesvara, presumably after the donor, Pṛthivīcandra Bhogaśakti, a Calukya feudatory. Thus, the suffix iśvara was not necessarily a Śaiva one in Calukya times.

This Ardhanārīśvara's position on the west of the garbha grha recalls the Saṅgamedēvara temple at Mahākūṭa and its copies, as does the presence of urdhvalinga Śiva on a dwarf on the south and probably one original Harihara on the north of the temple. The individual forms and attributes of the respective deities, however, are not particularly close to their counterparts at the Saṅgamedēvara temple at Mahākūṭa.

This god's position on the temple conforms to the Svarga Brahma temple, though the presence of (presumed) Nandi and Garuḍa seems to have been a Karnataka variation. Whether an image of Harihara's counterpart, Ardhanārīśvara, was originally intended to be placed in the comparable north exterior niche, as at Álampur, is unknown. This niche presently contains an unfinished male figure, presumed to be post-Virūpākṣa temple in date.

Sūrya appears on the east porch ceiling of the Virūpākṣa temple.

The absence of Vaiṣṇava images in the Mallikārjuna temple's exterior niches is notable and contrasts with the situation at the Saṅgamedēvara and Virūpākṣa temples. Probably a few of the north and northeast Mallikārjuna temple niches, now empty or filled after the Virūpākṣa temple's completion, were originally designed to hold Vaiṣṇava mūrtis. The mandapa interior pillars include a significant minority of Vaiṣṇava subjects, see page 362.


Śiva striding over small figures, but with a different stance, is seen in a Kailāsanātha temple south cloister image at Kāṭcī (Rea (1909: pl. XXXIII4)).

The Virūpākṣa temple south porch Rāvaṇanugrahamūrti relief (Fig. 666) employs an even more completely twisted pose for Rāvaṇa.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 457); Rea (1909: pls. XLVII; LXI).


S.R. Rao (1973: 28) stated that the images of Tripurāntakamūrti and Kālārīmūrti were found while clearing debris "of the subsidiary shrine in the Virupaksha enclosure." Mankodi (1966: 107, 298) saw the Harihara image to the right of the first cell to the right of the shrine of the Virūpākṣa temple in December 1963, and saw the seated Śiva image in worship at the right of the Virūpākṣa temple shrine door in January 1964. The dimensions of these images do not suit the Virūpākṣa temple's garbha grha niches. It is, of course, possible that these images did not belong to either the Mallikārjuna or Virūpākṣa temple itself, but to a prākāra subshrine, gate, or wall niche location.

The repetition of Harihara, and presumably also Ardhanārīśvara, images on this temple is notable.

Nandi and Garuḍa also appeared previously in the Harihara relief (Fig. 15) at Cave 1 at Bāḍāmi.

Flames were visible previously atop the cakra and śaṅkha of the Mahiśamardini image (Fig. 759) from the Northeast temple at Mahākūṭa.

Images of Ūrdhva-jñānu Nāṭeṣa are found in a south prākāra wall niche and on mandapa interior pillar 33N. The latter is illustrated by Sivaramamurti (1974: Fig. 23).

In the central verandah ceiling of Cave 3 at Bāḍāmi (Fig. 86), a comparable subordination of Brahma, Śiva, dīkṣālas, etc. to Viṣṇu was represented. The Trimūrti concept in Calukya art seems to have begun in early seventh century Aihole, to have been embraced especially by Vinayāditya and his court, and then to have continued, primarily in Aihole, primarily outside of royal patronage in the eighth century.

See note 82 above. The rock-cut Trimūrti (Fig. 690) at B.N. Jālihāl seems also eighth century in date.
See Sengupta (1962: pl. II) for an illustration of Śiva-Liṅga and Pārvati gaming on Mallikārjuna temple mandapa interior pilaster 5W.

Several small Mallikārjuna temple Śiva figures wear yogapatta; apparently this was an accepted part of Śiva's iconography in Karnataka by the middle of Vijayāditya's reign. See below, note 131. Though possibly seen in the seventh century on the Mahāküṭēśvara temple's basement, this element seems strongly linked to the Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti iconic type, introduced to Karnataka via Alampur in the eighth century.

See note 81 above. The lack of a very large number of Nāṭeśa representations at the Mallikārjuna temple reinforces a date for it before the Virūpākṣa temple and the Pāpanātha temple's Final phase.

See Padigar (1978c).


S.R. Rao (1972: 17); (1973: 27-28); (1978: 272-273); Michell (1972b: especially figs. on pp. 54,55). The date of the older temple's construction is not certain (Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 345)). Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 133, 137) placed the stone Saṅgāmeśvara temple late in Vijayāditya's reign. The dating of Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 344-345, 567) for this temple is confused, but c.700 is emphasized.

Michell (1972b: 49).

See Michell (1975a: 49). The pre-Saṅgāmeśvara/Vijayēśvara temple may have been left intact during the construction of the present stone garbha grha, probably situated just behind it. The original garbha grha probably was demolished only when the replacement stone garbha grha was nearly complete. When work on the present Virūpākṣa temple style stone mandapa began, presumably at about the time of the completion of the Virūpākṣa temple, the original mandapa may have been left intact. As Michell (1972b: 48) suggested, this combination might have inspired the form of the Pāpanātha temple in its Final phase, which included two adjoining mandapas. As work on the stone mandapa progressed, the original mandapa also must have been demolished.

The stone mandapa's construction probably was funded by private individuals. Inscriptions on its pillars (Vj16-18) record gifts of pillars and gold by various persons. Though funds apparently proved insufficient to complete the exterior of the mandapa with stone walls, it probably was enclosed with ephemeral materials. Certainly the temple was used for worship in post-Calukya times. One inscription (C4) recording a
twelfth century grant for the temple and its priests even refers to Vijayasvaradeva as the representative of Visvesvaradeva in Pattadakal, which was like Varanasi, thus suggesting the Vijayesvara temple's primacy at the site then.


93 Rea (1909: pl. XXXIII2).

94 It is possible that this image was intended to represent Gaṅgādharamūrti. Compare Figure 420; Rea (1909: pls. XLIV2, LVII, LIX, CXXIII2).

95 It is speculated that the Galaganātha temple had a north exterior image of Varāha with similar characteristics.

96 Datable to Vijayaditya's reign are the Kādsiddhesvara temple Ardhanārīśvara, Tarappa temple garbha grha overdoor Naṭesā, and these two Saṅgameśvara temple Śivas, plus one Śiva added to Temple 5 at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 298) and one Saiva figure added to the Mahākūṭeśvara temple (Fig. 323). Perhaps a now lost Galaganātha temple image, most probably a Naṭesā, was the inspiration for all of these. See below, note 130.

97 The Nandi may have been imitated from a now lost Galaganātha temple north exterior Ardhanārīśvara image, the west exterior position from some temple in the tradition of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa.

98 Perhaps a similar image was once in the now empty similarly located niche on the Mallikārjuna temple's west exterior.

99 It is speculated that both the Galaganātha and Mallikārjuna temples once had Gaṇāsurasamhāramūrti images, but their form is unknown. Probably the Mallikārjuna temple image was in its now empty south exterior niche. The form used in Figure 561 was later employed on the Virūpākṣa temple's west gateway (left/right reversed) (Fig. 655) and in the Pāpanātha temple's west sculpture porch (Fig. 700). This form, whose temple of origin is unknown, seems a combination of the trident-thrusting Pallava type (Rea (1909: pls. LVII, CXXXIII)) and the relatively more placid standing or dancing type, which was most common in Calukya art (Figs. 488, 623, 627, 628, 565; see also Fig. 484).
Ascent to this level is now made by climbing the stair-like crest of the damaged adjoining mandapā wall. It is likely that no permanent means of ascent for worship originally existed for this or any other Calukya śikhara.

The mace’s ribbed cylindrical end relates to that of the Virūpākṣa temple’s north exterior wall niche Viṣṇu image (Fig. 674).


Sengupta (1962: pl. IA).


Padigar (1977a). A dedication to Sūrya seems to have been first suggested by H. Cousens, The Architectural Antiquities of Western India, London, 1926, 19. The carving now placed atop the gateway’s south facade is not, as was supposed by Lippe (1969-70: 17), Sūrya, and probably was not originally placed there (Michell (1975a: 34)).

Also an inscription on the temple itself seems to refer to Komāraśīṅga. See Padigar (1977a: 61) and P.B. Desai, South Indian Inscriptions 15, #469.


It has been suggested by Divakaran (1971: 71-712) and Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 359-360) that the arrangement of alternating ornamented niches and windows found on the Durga temple was related to that on the exterior of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Kūḍavelli, but perhaps it was developed as a variation of the arrangement at the Mallikārjuna and Mahākūṭesvara temples at Mahākūṭa.

His cross legged stance suggests influence of Ālāmpur/Pattadakal dvārapālas, but no other elements do.

Padigar (1977b: 64).
111
See pages 112-113.

112
While the Phase II Pāpanātha temple has a dozen large figures of deities on pillars, none are the same as those appearing on Durga temple pillars; the latter probably were essentially independent creations.

113
Such was probably the case also at the Viśva Brahma temple at Alampur.

114
I follow Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 360) in rejecting the suggestion of Lippe (1969-70: 15-17) that some of the niche images are later replacements.

115
Burgess (1874: 42, pl. LIV).

116
Trivikrama, found next to the standing Nrṣiṁha image at Cave 3 at Bādāmi, is a very likely Durga temple niche image subject. The other Durga temple niches are speculated to have been filled with images of Andhakāsuravadhāmūrti and Gajāsurāsāmāhāramūrti.

117
A coiled nāga panel is central in the verandah of Śaiva Cave 1, and is found in other Śaiva temples. A mātsya-cakra is central in the verandah of Vaishnava/Sākta Cave 2 and is found in front of the supposed Viṣṇu shrine at the Jambuliṅga temple. Probably these subjects had cult associations. The possible link to ceilings at the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi suggests that the Durga temple's mandapa might have originally had the deities of the Trimūrti represented on its level ceilings.

118

119

120
The Apsidal Śīva temples at Cikka Mahākūṭa and Aihole enshrined liṅgas on circular pīṭhas.

121
The placement of a liṅga, but no image of Viṣṇu, in the overdoor probably indicates that Śīva was honored somewhat more than Viṣṇu by the Durga temple's patron. The single Śīva mūrti (Fig. 575) included among the pillar mithunas also suggests this.
Brahma's independent importance in Vijayaditya's reign, perhaps as the epitome of Brahmanical knowledge and tradition, is suggested by epigraphy as well as sculpture; the Hiranyagarbha (gift) rites performed by Vināpoṭi and Kuśkumadevi (VJ9,15).


Padigar (1977a).

This image appears near the temple in Cousens, ASIAR for 1907–08, pl. LXXIIIa.

The temple has also been called Tarabasappa (Gupte (1967: 81)). It is generally agreed to date after the Huccimallī temple. See note 21 above; Michell (1975a: 44, note 81); Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 192); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 386).

The mandapa's pair of small windows recall those of the Huccimallī temple.

The Tarappa, Huccappayya and Cakra temples all have garbha grha interior corner pilasters, not seen previously at Aihole. For the Cakra temple, see Chapter III, note 147, and Figures 595, 599.

An image of Gaṇeṣa cut into the south wall of the recessed area before the Tarappa temple's garbha grha seems to postdate the temple.

This arm position relates to the Huccimallī temple and to seventh century practice, but the god's crossed legs are a late feature, seen in only two other surviving Calukya images of Naṭeṣa, on the Virūpākṣa temple's mandapa interior pillar 22N (Sivaramamurti (1974: fig. 21)) and on the Pāpanātha temple's Final phase porch ceiling (Fig. 707). Perhaps the source for this stance was a lost Galaganātha temple Naṭeṣa image, imitating some lost Alampur image(s). One image of Naṭeṣa at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānci has crossed legs, as does one at Bhavānāsi Saṅgamaśvara's Rāṣṭrakūṭa temple called Rūpāla Saṅgamaśvara (sixteen miles from Alampur).

A small image of a seated four-armed male, probably Śiva, wearing a yoga-pattā, is found loose by this temple. It may have originally belonged atop the extant portion of the Śukanāsa.
One small theriomorphic boar is found among apparently purely decorative motifs on the Tarappa temple's nave architrave; two similar boars are found similarly used on a garbha grha wall molding at the Huccimalli temple. Whether these boars, like their more significantly positioned counterparts at the Lad Khan temple, Itagi torana, and Nagarahl temple, might imply dynastic affiliation is unknown. Probably they do in the case of the Huccimalli temple; the Tarappa temple example could be simply a formal copy.

This gateway has been discussed only by Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 375-378, 567). She dates it to 705 or 710.

These are not divided by straight lines, but by curves, as at the Cakra temple (outer jambs) (Fig. 595). The Cakra temple's river goddess compositions are similar to those of the Sulibhavi gateway's north doorframe.

Probably he also has a vanamala like the Ravana Phadi cave image of Varaha.

Other examples of this directionality occur in a Prince of Wales Museum figure (#73) and on the inner side of the front courtyard wall at Ellora Cave 16. Perhaps one or more Andhakasuravadhamurtis similar to the Sulibhavi example, but more prominently placed, once existed in eighth century Aihole (perhaps at the Durga temple and/or Huccappayya temple) to serve as a more likely precedent for the Virupaksha temple image. See notes 116, 169.

Possibly Ganesa was once also visible.

However the head of reclining Nandi is frequently found on the proper right side of seated enthroned Siva and Parvati, and such representations could have directly inspired riding compositions with this directionality.

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 375) records this local legend.

The name Huccappayya is that of a modern period owner of this temple (Temple 7) and Temple 9. The post-Calukya garbha grha-less Aihole monument numbered 8 by Cousens and also owned by Huccappayya may have originally been a matha. Temple 7 seems to have been called a matha due to confusion with this nearby "temple." See Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Progress Report for 1909, 7-8, 10; J.F. Fleet "SOCI No. 65, 66," Indian Antiquary, 9 (1880), 96. Though I date the

The ultimate source probably was the Saṅgameśvara temple at Mahākūṭa. Perhaps the images of Figures 316 and 317 were originally installed on an Aihole temple resembling the Saṅgameśvara temple and built in the period before Aihole Temples 7, 17, and 24.

However the Durga temple's lost level maṇḍapa ceiling panels might have originally displayed the Trimūrti.

The horizontal stonework presently flanking the entrance stairs probably was originally intended to form the sides of this porch's base. Typically at Aihole, single flights of stairs were flanked by curved bannisters, not horizontal walls. Temple 17, which probably was roughly contemporaneous with the Huccappayya Matha, has an intermediate configuration probably inspired by it.


The Huccappayya Matha Ādimūrti ceiling, or possibly a lost Durga temple predecessor, seems to have inspired two others at Aihole, located on porch ceilings like the Huccimalli temple Kārttikeya. One (Fig. 605) is found in situ at the small temple immediately north of the entrance to the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave. Another (Fig. 606) is presently in the National Museum in New Delhi (#L.66–7). Lippe (1967: 5) probably correctly suggested that it came from the porch of the small temple immediately south of the entrance to the cave temple. The north temple Ādimūrti is iconographically identical to that of the Figure 609. The other bears a garland in his front two hands, as do ceiling nāgas at the Jambulinga temple at Bādāmi and some late Pattadakal temples. The implication seems to be that the Ādimūrti of Figure 606 had himself come to do worship. This, plus the south temple's orientation facing north i.e. toward the entrance of the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, implies its role as a subshrine of the latter. Perhaps it was intended to complement the original south-facing Māṭkā subshrine inside the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave, following the model of Ālampur/Galaganātha temple subshrine iconography. The north temple near the Rāvaṇa Phadi cave faces west, away from the cave temple, and may have been an independent, Vaiṣṇava shrine. These two small temples, and perhaps others in the area (two bases survive) may be dated approximately contemporaneously with the cave temple's added structural garbha grha doorframe, in the early eighth century. See note 146 below.

146

The completed conception seems to have been commemorated on the Rāvapa Phadi cave's added garbha grha doorway, which is correspondingly dated c. 720-725. Its overdoor (Fig. 58) has representations of standing Sūrya (north), linga worship (center), and a single-headed two-armed male bearing rosary and kamandalu (south) (Fig. 58). Its surviving jamb has a keyhole-shaped base area containing a single dvārapāla, and in this respect may be related to the garbha grha doorframe of Temple 17 (Fig. 61). See Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 48, 186), and Figure 57.

147

It has been called the Nārāyaṇa or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa temple (Gupte (1967: 82)).

148

Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 183-186)

149

The excavation led by S.R. Rao (1972) revealed that Temple 17 was definitely later than the Lad Khan temple, but did not compare it with the Durga temple. Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 183-186, 209-211), suspecting that Rao had misinterpreted the excavation evidence, dated both Temple 17 and the Cakra temple to the mid seventh century, before the Lad Khan temple. Prasad (1972-73: 55) dated Temple 17, like the Huccimalli temple, in the first half of the seventh century.

150


151

The present four garbha grha interior pillars, an apparent Andhra element, may not be original (Michell (1975a: 32)).

152


153


154

Konta group, see Michell (1975a: 42-43, notes 30, 31).

155
See Chapter III, note 156, for the possible dedication of the post-Calukya Konta Northeast temple to Devī also.

156
See S.R. Rao (1972: 15, line drawing V); ARIE for 1969-70, #B240; Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 321). Some of the donor organizations are the same as those of the Gauḍa temple inscription.

157
His enthronement recalls that of Viṣṇu in the central verandah ceiling of Cave 3 at Bādāmi (Fig. 86).

158

159
An image from Aihole now in the Prince of Wales Museum (#84) (Fig. 620) would seem, both iconographically and stylistically, to fall between the Huccappayya Maṭha and Konta Northwest temple representations of Śiva and Pārvatī. The god and his spouse are no longer represented riding on Nandi, but do not yet sit upon a visible throne. The god holds axe and trident in his upper hands, but nāgas appear behind both. Pārvatī is not yet embraced, as at the Konta Northwest and Huccappayya temples. Gaṇeśa is at lower right and Bhṛṅgī may be one of two skeletal figures at upper right.

160
Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 216) has compared the style of pillar used inside the Konta Northwest temple to that used in the Virūpākṣa temple, but it also appears earlier at Pattadakal in the false porches of the Phase II Pāpanātha temple.

161
See above, note 140, for this temple's name; see above, note 154, for other theories about its date.

162
Perhaps it was patronized by Prince Vikramāditya, whose wife was probably patronizing the Trailokyēśvara/Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal in this same period.

163
J.F. Fleet, "SOCI No. 61," Indian Antiquary, 9 (1880), 74.

164
The presumed much earlier Mālegitti Śivalaya temple inscription gives only the architect’s name (J.F. Fleet "SOCI No. 88," Indian Antiquary, 10 (1881), 63-64; ARSIE for 1928-29, Appendix E, #133).
The Phase II Pâpanâtha temple's false porches had lion and elephant bases, as did the Mallikârjuna temple's three mandapa porches and Nandi pavilion.

Nrsîśîha's position on the west exterior may be related to the Phase II Pâpanâtha temple's west niche image of Nrsîśîha battling Hirâyakaśîpu. A representation of Ugra-Nrsîśîha disembowelling Hirâyakaśîpu, more similar to the Huccappayya temple image, appears in the west niche of the post-Calukya (Râstrakûta?) temple atop Bâchinagudda hill just west of Pattadakal. Here the south niche is empty and the north niche contains standing Brahmā.

Perhaps at the Durga temple. See note 116 above. The Pattadakal Saṅgâmeśvara temple has a similar Gajâsurasamâhâramûrti (Fig. 565), though possibly without a dwarf, in the center south niche of its sikhara's first story. The other central niches on this story are now empty.

Perhaps Varāha appeared in one facade niche and Andhakâsuravadvamûrti in the other. These two icons were contrasted (south and north) on Sûlibhâvi gateway ceilings, and also are directly opposite each other (north and south) in niches on the exterior of the Saṅgâmeśvara temple at Pattadakal.

The Huccimalli temple's Sukanāsa Naṭeśa on dwarf panel image probably was created after all the site's known Calukya Naṭeśa images. The eight-armed god, bearing trident on the right and dancing on a dwarf, is well proportioned, but the relief's accessory figures are crudely positioned. A diagonal Pârvatî appears at the lower left, and the right side is crowded with, apparently, a drummer, conch player, dancer (Bhrâgî?), and Gaṇeśa (Fig. 631).

Cousens, ASIAR for 1907-08, 199. These are illustrated in M. Chandra (1974: pls. 125-127).

Similar scenes could have once been present in the Konta Northwest temple version.

Cousens, ASIAR for 1907-08, 200-201.
The protruding west garba grha is probably a later addition. It may have formerly enshrined a Kârttikeya image (Fig. 204) which has been removed from the temple to the site museum (S. Rajasekhara, personal communication, 1977).

The center facade pillars have small representations of Gañesâ; one or both of these may be post-Calukya.


Garuḍa's fangs are an unusual feature.

Perhaps the sculptors of these dvārapālas wished to dissociate them from Saiva models. The attributes of the Galaganâtha temple group dvārapālas are unclear; those of the Jyotirliṅga temple group dvārapālas seem to have been Śaiva.

See note 179. It is not certain if its Nandi was original.

There are also two dvārapālas. The south (proper left) one has a trident headdress, a feature not known elsewhere in Calukya Aihole, but seen at the Virūpâkṣa temple at Pattadakal and the Bhūtanâtha temple at Bādâmi.

Such nidhis might have originally been present also at other Aihole temples.

This is the first indisputable Calukya ceiling representation of Śiva surrounded by dikpālas formally positioned in their directional domains. The Kâśiviśvanâtha temple at Pattadakal provides a later example.

Soundara Rajan (1969: 3, 51); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 159-160). Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 408-409, 384-385) dated the Jyotirliṅga temple group south pavilion and north pavilion with shrine porch to c. 735. She observed the similarity of the Galaganâtha temple group pillars to the Jyotirliṅga temple group south pavilion pillars, but did not link them to the Viṣṇu-Trimûrti temple, which she dated c. 710 or earlier. Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 222, 225-226, 352) did not comment on the Galaganâtha temple group pillars. He dated the Viṣṇu-Trimûrti temple to 730-735 and the three Calukya monuments in the Jyotirliṅga temple group to the reign of Vikramâditya II.
See also Padigiar (1977a: 60).


This was suggested by Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 166). The comparable subshrine at the Mallikārjuna temple, which probably had only twelve subshrines, is south and slightly west of the mandapa's center.

At the Kailāsānātha temple at Kāncī, three groups of eleven or twelve unidentified seated male deities appear in rectangular prākāra subshrines, once directly opposite (north-south) each other and once opposite/north of the Mātrkās. The Pattadakal fragments have been identified as Navagrahas (Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 166); Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 428)), but their number is uncertain. See also Chapter II, note 70.

See Sivaramamurti (1981: pl. LXXVIa). The Mallikārjuna temple's undamaged Gajendramokṣa image is on the northwest north porch pillar, and is of uncertain date.

Soundara Rajan (1958-60); Lippe (1969-70: 6).

Sivaramamurti (1974: 25, 198, etc.).

See also Sivaramamurti (1974: figs. 21, 22).

Surprisingly the east gate's entrance overdoor has a central small representation of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. It is conceivable that this portion of the gateway structure was reused from its Mallikārjuna temple counterpart, torn down because its position conflicted with the Virūpākṣa temple prākāra. See Figure 526.
Brahmā is seen on the south exterior of the Phase II Pāpanātha temple, and he or Brahmasāstā is the south/proper right figure wherever Viṣṇu is the north/proper left figure in Calukya Śaiva Trimūrti groupings elsewhere. However no other major icons of Brahmā occur on the Virūpākṣa temple, whereas three standing Viṣṇu images (as well as Trivikrama and Varāha) appear in niches on this temple's north half. A similar association of major exterior Vaiṣṇava images, apart from Trimūrti groupings, with the proper left/north of Calukya temples is known previously at the Mālegitti Śivālaya and the Jambuliṅga, Initial phase Pāpanātha, and Saṅgamasvāra temples at Pattadakal.

At least two other similar mūrtis appear at the Virūpākṣa temple, on the exterior upper wall (south) and on mandapa interior pillar 32E.

One is illustrated by Sengupta (1962: pl. IB).


See note 84 above.

Sivaramamurti (1974: fig. 22).

Sivaramamurti (1957c).


Nagaraja Rao and Ramesh (1981). Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 470-472) also believed that the inscription merely dated the temple to the reign of Vikramāditya II. She apparently assumed that the site was important before this reign, for although she did not propose dates for any of its other temples, she dated Figure 689 to c. 700 and Figure 688 to c. 720.


Annigeri (1961: 45-46).
Bṛṇgī is seen previously with Ardhanārīśvara only at Cave 1 at Bādāmi (Fig. 14) where Nandi is also present. Bṛṇgī's presence suits the Ardhanārīśvara myth in the Tamil text Śivaparakkraman (Pattabiraman (1959: 13-16)).


Panchamukhi (1947-48b: 69); Nagaraja Rao (1973); Rajasekhara (1975: 47-49); ARSIE for 1928-29, Appendix E, #167. No such sashes are apparent on the mandapa interior Anantasayin ceiling and south exterior worn Rāmāyana niche scene also associated with this sculptor by inscriptions.


The presence of a similar lion near the Durga temple at Aihole (Burgess (1874: 42)) is unexplained.

The chronological arrangement of Calukya temples proposed in the preceding four chapters and summarized in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5 successfully integrates epigraphic, major architectural, and iconographic considerations, permitting a coherent view of the origin, transmission, and development of many of these temples' most notable features.

Architecturally, we find the Calukya rock-cut temple phase, inspired by Vākāṭaka-Kalacuri precedents and confined in Karnataka to the sixth century, paralleled and finally superseded by the construction of stone temples. At the capital, Bādāmi, and presumably also at Mahāküṭa, these early structural temples had pilastered walls and Southern style śikharas, and probably were patronized, like the Brahmanical caves at Bādāmi, by the royal family. Possibly their form was based on that of earlier royal Kadamba temples, built in ephemeral materials and now lost. The cosmopolitan town of Aihole, provided with the royal Rāvana Phadi cave in the sixth century, seems to have featured equally early or earlier privately patronized temples, including Jain and Buddhist caves.

A local Aihole style for stone structural temples, featuring blank walls without niches or pilasters and some open pillared exterior sides, and perhaps lacking śikharas, at least in stone, is presumed to have developed there in the sixth century, independent of structural architecture at Bādāmi. The first surviving monument of this type is the...
early seventh century Temple 21.

The expansion of Calukya control east into Andhra Pradesh in the early seventh century seems to have been associated with the first Calukya use of Northern style Sīkharas, both for the earliest known Calukya temples in Andhra Pradesh, and, probably fairly soon afterwards, for temples in Karnataka. A particularly Calukya addition to the Northern Sīkhar form seems to have been the Sukanāsa, which developed as a projecting element surmounting an antarāla, ever increasing in size and decorated typically with an image of Nāṭeśa, in Andhra Pradesh, but was a flat, decorative form featuring varying icons in seventh century Karnataka.

The town of Ālampur, assumed to have been the governing center for the dynasty's eastern territory, displays a closely integrated Calukya temple group. Its cluster of eight large monuments, dating from the time of the Calukya conquest in the first half of the seventh century to the first quarter of the eighth century, are theorized to all have had royal family patronage. They are characterized by Northern style Sīkharas, a consistent sāndhāra rectangle plan, and increasingly elaborate exterior decoration. Iconographically, they appear to have consistently displayed Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and Devī/Mahiṣamardinī in garbha grha niches, and the majority probably had contemporaneous paired southeast shrines containing the Saptamāṭkās, patron deities of the Calukyas, and northeast shrines, containing perhaps the Trimūrti. Most of the other scattered Calukya temples known in the Andhra Pradesh region have similar Northern style Sīkharas, but they vary to a greater or lesser degree in plan and, except in the case of Kūḍavelli and Mahānandi, which presumably were royally patronized, do not equal contemporaneous Ālampur temples in
In seventh century Karnataka, the Mālegitti Śivālaya continued the royal architectural tradition at Bādāmi, while on the hill above Aihole the Meguṭi Jain temple, whose patron was a private individual associated with the court, represented this style's sole extension into Aihole. After Pulakeśi II conquered Maharashtra, Cave 14 at Ellora was probably excavated under Calukya royal auspices, but in Kalacuri style. It did not inspire any further Calukya rock-cut architecture, but Kalacuri iconographic influence in the Calukya domains further south seems to have increased substantially after the conquest. At Aihole, the Cikki temple, which in many respects imitates the form of the Kumāra Brahma temple at Ālampur, probably was a royal monument, as was the Gauḍa temple, whose style seems to have been more locally inspired. It is presumed that the Northern Śikhara type was first used in Aihole in the early seventh century, as was the apsidal temple plan.

In the second half of the seventh century, a group of important temples was built at Mahākūṭa, a site especially sacred to the kings of the dynasty since its inception. The large, royal Southern style Mahākūṭesvara and Mallikārjunā temples influenced the Nāganātha temple at Nāgarahāl and Jambulinga temple at Bādāmi, and probably the Pārvatī temple at Saṅḍūr as well. Two small royal nirandhāra temples with Northern style śikharas, the Saṅgamēśvara temple and Temple 5, seem to have inspired others at Mahākūṭa, with kapota-layered śikharas, constructed by private patrons through the first quarter of the eighth century.
At Aihole in the second half of the seventh century, the Konta Southeast and Mallikārjuna temples and the presumed royal Lad Khan and Huccimalli temples, though not immune from influences from contemporaneous Mahākūṭa, seem to have chiefly imitated various aspects of earlier temples at the site, with the notable addition in two cases of exterior pillar mithunas. In the eighth century, stronger influences from other Calukya sites, including Pattadakal, were felt at Aihole, and rich patronage, probably chiefly private, seems to have been available. The result was a large number of temples and a varied elaboration of earlier forms. The Durga temple was apparently based chiefly on the Apsidal Śiva temple and the Konta Southeast temple; the Tarappa temple on the Huccimalli temple; the Huccappayya Maṭha on the Durga temple and the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi; the Konta Northwest temple on the Konta Southeast temple; the Huccappayya temple on the Tarappa temple and the Huccappayya Maṭha; and the Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple on the Konta Northwest temple.

By the beginning of the eighth century, royal patronage in Karnataka seems to have been transferred from Mahākūṭa to Pattadakal. Whereas Alampur ideas had inspired the Phase II Pāpanātha temple there at the end of the seventh century, Alampur craftsmen probably were imported for the construction of the Alampur style Galaganātha temple. Some of this temple's new architectural and iconographic elements were rapidly assimilated and dispersed in Karnataka, but the traditional royal Southern style soon reasserted itself in the largest and most elaborate Calukya monuments ever built, the Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa temples at Pattadakal, whose relative dating in this order is one of the most novel features of my chronology. The commencement of
construction of these temples seems to have coincided with the end of royal patronage at Álampur, and the financial and artistic effort necessary to complete them seems to have resulted in the impoverishment of temple building elsewhere in Karnataka.

The history of Calukya iconography is far more complex and speculative than that of Calukya architecture, and less capable of being reduced to general statements. Nevertheless, a few summary comments may be made. Though the foundations of Calukya art were probably in indigenous Kadamba art, assumed to have included elements of both North Indian (Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya's peacock) and South Indian (Śiva's paraśu and the arrangement of Viṣṇu's cakra and śaṅkha) tradition, it seems that Northern iconographic tradition was predominant until the end of the third quarter of the seventh century. Exposure to Pallava and South Indian art in the reign of Vikramāditya I, however, appears to have led to an influx of new iconographic forms unaccompanied by new architectural forms. These iconographic forms first reached Andhra Pradesh, especially Satyavolu and Álampur, and then Pattadakal, from which some spread to eighth century Aihole. Apart from this influx, the most popular Calukya sixth and seventh century iconic mūrtis seem to have been: standing, seated, or vāhana-riding Śiva, with or without Pārvatī; Ardhanārīśvara, often associated with Harihara; Naṭeṣa; Andhakāśuravadhamūrti; Lakulīśa; standing or vāhana-riding Viṣṇu; Ādimūrti; Anantaśayin; the royal avatāras Varāha, Trivikrama, and pacific or Ugra-Nṛsiṁha; seated Brahmā, usually with dikpālas or as part of a Trimūrti; Gaṇeśa; Kārttikeya; Mahiśamardinī; Gaja-Lakṣmī; and Kāma and Rati. A set of four dikpālas seems to have been standard in Karnataka, a set of eight in Andhra Pradesh. Ceiling deity images seem to have been fairly common in
Karnataka, non-existent in Andhra Pradesh. Iconographic forms which entered Calukya art from the South in the second half of the seventh century probably included: mace-bearing dvārapālas with crossed legs, Liṅgodbhavatarī, Dakṣināmurti or vārapattā-wearing Śiva, Tripurāntakamūrti, Bhikṣāṭanamurti, Gajāsurasamhāramurti, Gajādharamurti with non-tripartite Gaṅgā, cakra- and śaṅkha-bearing lion-riding archer Mahiṣamardinī, Gajendramokṣa, and the battle of Nṛsiṁha and Hiraṇyakaśipu. Some of these mūrtis were significantly modified by Calukya sculptors, for example, Tripurāntakamūrti was showing shooting the arrow, but their external inspiration seems clear.

A few notable iconographic innovations seem to have been made by the Calukyas. In the seventh century, these include: the standing Viṣṇu type bearing cakra and śaṅkha in South Indian positions but accompanied by gada-devī and Garuḍa; the Mahiṣamardinī format showing Devī bending back the theriomorphic buffalo demon's head; the Mahākūṭa non-samabhahga Harihara type; the Mahākūṭa standing Śiva type characterized by ithyphallism, an axe attribute, and a dwarf underfoot; the four-armed mace- and Śaiva attribute-bearing Svarga Brahma temple dvārapāla type; and the scene of Garuḍa chastizing Bali or Śukra after the triumph of Trivikrama. The Tāraka Brahma temple's Naṭeśa on dwarf composition, of uncertain though perhaps South Indian inspiration, is one of the earliest if not the earliest surviving example of this mūrti in India; also the subsequent representations of Naṭeśa on dwarf in eighth century Calukya Karnataka constitute the largest known early group of such images. Calukya innovations in the eighth century appear to have included Śiva-Liṅgin, Ugranṛtya Śiva, Śiva begging alms from Viṣṇu, Kālārimūrti kicking Kāla, and human-headed Mahiṣa.
Some significant developments in iconography may also be noted: the rise in popularity of the Trimūrti in royally patronized monuments of the late seventh century, and its subsequent continuation in privately patronized monuments; the decline in Kārttikeya's importance early in the eighth century and the replacement of the Gaṇeśa-Kārttikeya-Mahiṣamardinī garbha grhā niche configuration by paired mandapa interior Gaṇeśa and Mahiṣamardinī subshrines; the invention, abandonment, and partial reacceptance of Garuḍa garbha grhā doorway lalāṭa-bimbas; the late seventh century change in Naṭesā's predominant pose from right hand gaja-hasta and left weight-bearing foot, to left hand gaja-hasta and right weight-bearing foot; and the alteration in Ardhanārīśvara's stance from left hip accentuated to right hip accentuated in the middle of Vijayāditya's reign.

Two significant hypotheses introduced in the course of this study may here be reiterated. First, it is theorized that those west-facing Calukya Śiva temples whose orientation does not seem to have been determined by the physical features of their sites were created as royal memorial temples. These include the Mahānandīśvara temple, assumed to have been built by Vinayāditya in honor of his father Vikramāditya I, the Huccimalli temple, assumed to have been built by Vijayāditya in honor of his father Vinayāditya, and the Bhūtanātha temple, assumed to have been built by Vikramāditya II in honor of his father Vijayāditya.

Second, it is theorized that the dedication of many Calukya temples was different than previously supposed. Those assumed not to have been dedicated to Śiva may be listed. The Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa and Nāganātha temple at Nāgarahāl, as well as the inscribed Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi, seem to have enshrined a Brahmā-Śiva-Viṣṇu Trimūrti, while the
Aihole Viṣṇu-Trimūrti temple probably enshrined a Śiva-Viṣṇu-Brahma Trimūrti. In addition, two multi-temple sets of Brahma-Śiva-Sun god Trimūrtis are postulated. At Ālampur, the Viśva Brahma temple probably enshrined Śūrya and was designed from its conception to be the northern member of a Trimūrti site plan, centered on the preexisting Bāla Brahma, Arka Brahma, and Vīra Brahma Śiva temples and completed on the south by the Garuḍa Brahma temple dedicated to Brahma. At Aihole, the inscribed Durga temple dedicated to Āditya at the north of the town may have been built to stand alone, but later, after the construction of the Huccappayya Maṭha, a Śaiva-affiliated temple enshrining Brahma or Brahmaśastā, it probably was accepted as part of a Trimūrti site plan centered on the older Lad Khan Śiva temple in the midst of the town. Other Śūrya temples include Temple 17 at Aihole, probably affiliated with the Śaiva cult, the Mālegitti Śivālaya at Badami, probably affiliated with the Vaiṣṇava cult, and perhaps Temple 21 at Aihole, whose affiliation is unknown.

Śaiva Devī temples seem to have included Cave 14 at Ellora, the Tāraka Brahma temple at Ālampur, the inscribed Gauḍa temple and the Konta Southeast and Northwest temples at Aihole, the Cliff temple near Mahākūṭa, the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal (earlier phases), the Bāchinagudda temple, and possibly the Pānyam temple. Temples presumed to have been dedicated to Kārttīkeya, probably all patronized by kings, include the Lower Śivālaya at Bādāmi, Kumāra Brahma temple at Ālampur, Cikki temple at Aihole, and Pārvatī temple at Saṅgūr. Cave 2 at Bādāmi, begun as a Viṣṇu temple, seems to have been completed to enshrine Devī. True Viṣṇu temples include the Upper Śivālaya and the inscribed Cave 3 at Bādāmi. Temple 5 and perhaps Temple 9 at Mahākūṭa may have enshrined
Viṣṇu as a subordinate deity to Śiva, and the Rāmaliṅgeśvara Śiva temple at Satyavolu appears to have had as many as five affiliated shrines for other deities. This evidence suggests a general climate of toleration in religious matters in the Calukya kingdom, and a catholicism of worship which coincides remarkably with the eclecticism seen in the architectural forms of the Calukya temples.
1 Harle (1971a).

2 The royal Siddhanakolla temple may be grouped with these monuments.

3 The Sûlibhâvi gateway may be grouped with the Tarappa temple.

With the exception of the inscribed temples, the previous non-Śiva dedication hypotheses I accept are those relating to: Mâlegitti Śivâlaya (Padigar (1977b)); Temples 17 and 21 at Aihole (Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 213-214, 226-227)); Upper Śivâlaya (Tarr/Tartakov (1969a: 85)); Târaka Brahma temple (Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 140-144)); Cave 14 at Ellora (Fergusson and Burgess (1969: 435)); Bâchinagudda temple (Shetti (1981)); Mallikârjuna temple at Mahâkûta (Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: 290-296)).
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CALUKYA TEMPLES:
HISTORY AND ICONOGRAPHY
VOLUME II
DISSERTATION

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By
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*****

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Figure 13. Bādāmi, Cave 1, interior, south-facing entablature relief in westernmost bay of verandah, east end
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Figure 15. Badami, Cave 1, interior, Harihara at east end of verandah
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Figure 17. Bādāmi, Cave 1, Ādimūrti on facade pillar bracket
Figure 18. Bādāmi, Cave 1, dvārapāla at east end of facade
Figure 19. Jogeswari cave, sketch plan of east entrance area with arrangement of deity images, based on Burgess (1970: pl. XLIV1)

Jogeswari cave

Murtis over doorways

1. Ravananaugrahamurti
2. seated Mothers (and possibly others)
3. Mahisasamardini
4. Ganesa
5. Karttikeya
6. Natesa
7. Kalyanasundaramurti
8. Lakulisa
9. Siva and Parvati gaming

Wall murtis

Figure 20. Jogeswari cave, key to sketch plan of east entrance area with arrangement of deity images (Figure 19)
Figure 21. Elephanta, Main cave, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, based on Fergusson and Burgess (1969: pl. LXXXV)
Main cave at Elephanta

Wall murtis

1. Śiva-Yogesvara
2. Naṭesa
3. Rāvanānugrahamūrti
4. Andhakāsurasuravadhamūrti
5. Śiva and Pārvatī gaming
6. Kalyānasundaramūrti
7. Ardhanārīśvara
8. Maheśamūrti
9. Gaṅgēdharamūrti
10. Gaṇeśa
11. Kārttikeya
12. standing Mothers, two flanking figures, Gaṇeśa

Figure 22. Elephanta, Main cave, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 21)
Figure 23. Ellora, Cave 21, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, based on Fergusson and Burgess (1969: pl. LXXVII)

Cave 21 at Ellora

Wall mūrtis
1. Gaṅgā
2. Yamunā
4. Kārttikeya
5. uncertain scene with Brahmā, wedding of Śiva and Pārvaṭī, testing of Pārvaṭī
6. Mahiṣamardinī
7. Kāla and attendants
8. Śiva-Viṅgādhara, seated Mothers, Gapesa
9. Naṭesā
10. Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti
11. Śiva and Pārvaṭī gaming

Entablature mūrti
3. Lakūlīśā

Figure 24. Ellora, Cave 21, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 23)
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Figure 26. Ellora, Cave 21, interior, Kārttikeya
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Figure 28. Ellora, Cave 21, interior, Naṭeṣa
Figure 29. Elephanta, Main cave, interior, Nāṭeśa

Figure 30. Conjectural pose of Nāṭeśa in Main cave at Elephanta, based on other Kalacuri Nāṭeśas
Figure 31. Mandapeswar cave, interior, Naṭeśa

Figure 32. Bādāmi, Cave 2, facade, mid sixth century
Figure 33. Bādāmi, Cave 2, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, based on Burgess (1970: pl. XLI2), mid sixth century
Cave 2 at Bādāmi

Wall mūrtis

1. dvârapāla
2. dvârapāla
3. Varāha under Viṣṇu on Garuḍa
4. Trivikrama under Naṭesā

Verandah pillar bracket mūrtis

5. Kāma and Rati
6. Gaja-Lakṣmī
7. Ādimūrti

Ceiling mūrti

8. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa

Entablature mūrtis

9. Krṣṇacaritra
10. Krṣṇacaritra
11. Krṣṇacaritra
12. Viṣṇu with consorts and Viṣṇu on Garuḍa
13. battle over amṛta
14. Samudramathana
15. Gaja-Lakṣmī and Mahiṣamardinī
16. deva honor Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa(?)
17. Anantaâayin

Mandapa pillar bracket mūrtis

18. Kārttikeya
19. Viṣṇu and consorts
20. Lakṣmī
21. Gaṇeśa
22. Lakulīśa over Kārttikeya
23. Brahmā
24. Śiva(?) and consort over Viṣṇu and consort
25. Śiva and consort
26. padma nidhi
27. saṅkha nidhi

Figure 34. Bādāmi, Cave 2, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 33)
Figure 35. Bādāmi, Cave 2, interior, Varāha at east end of verandah
Figure 36. Bādāmi, Cave 2, interior, Viṣṇu ceiling at west end of verandah
Figure 37. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, Viśṇu ceiling at south end of forechamber to garbha grha.
Figure 38. Bādāmi, Cave 2, interior, north-facing entablature relief in westernmost bay of verandah, detail, Anantassayin
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Figure 40. Badami, Cave 2, interior, Lakulīśa and Karttikeya on mandapa pillar
Figure 41. Aihole, site plan, based on Michell (1975a: drawing #13) and numbering system of Cousens (1926: pl. II)
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Figure 43. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, based on Gupte (1967: ground plan 17)
Rāvana Phadi cave at Aihole

Wall mūrtis

1. nidhi
2. nidhi
3. dvārapāla
4. dvārapāla
5. Ardhanārīśvara
6. Gaṅgādharamūrti
7. Naṭeśa, Pārvatī, Mothers, Bhrūgī, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa
8. dvārapāla
9. dvārapāla
10. Harihara
11. Varāha
12. Mahiṣamardinī

Ceiling mūrtis

13. Indra
14. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa

Figure 44. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 43)
Figure 45. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, west wall of subshrine with Mātrakās
Figure 46. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, north wall of subshrine with Mātrikās, west end
Figure 47. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, north wall of subshrine with Mātrkās, center Naṭēṣā
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Figure 50. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, Varāha on north wall of forechamber to garbha grha
Figure 51. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, Gaṅgādharamūrti south of entrance to maṇḍapa
Figure 52. Elephanta, Main cave, interior, Gaṅgādharamūrti
Figure 53. Aihole, Rāvapa Phadi cave, interior, Ardhanārīśvara north of entrance to mandapa
Figure 54. Mahâkûta, Mahâkûtesvara temple, Ardhanârisvara on north exterior of garbha grha
Figure 55. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, dvarapāla north of entrance to forechamber to garbha grha
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Figure 57. Aihole, Râvana Phadi cave, interior, loose door jamb in *garbha grha*
Figure 58. Aihole, Rāvana Phadi cave, interior, loose lintel in garbha grha
Figure 59. Bādāmi, Cave 3, facade, 578 A.D.
Figure 60. Bādāmi, Cave 3, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, 578 A.D.
Cave 3 at Bādāmi

Wall mūrtis
1. eight-armed Viṣṇu with bust of Nṛsiṁha above
2. Trivikrama
3. Âdimūrti
4. Nṛsiṁha
5. Varāha
6. Harihara

Mandapa ceiling mūrtis
34. Kubera
35. Indra
36. Brahmā
37. Varuṇa
38. Kārttikeya

Verandah pillar bracket mūrtis
7. Śiva and drunken Pārvatī
8. Ardhanāriśvara
9. Kāma and Rati
10. Śiva and Pārvatī with Kārttikeya
11. Śiva and Pārvatī
12. Adimūrti
13. Kāma

Mandapa pillar bracket mūrtis
39. deity(?) and consort
40. Viṣṇu and consort
41. Viṣṇu and consorts
42. Viṣṇu and consorts
43. Viṣṇu and consort

Verandah pillar shaft mūrtis
14. Kārttikeya
15. Varuṇa

Garba grha overdoor
44. Viṣṇu on Garuda

Verandah ceiling mūrtis
15. deified Pulakeśi I(?)
16. Indra
17. Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandi surrounded by Gaṇeṣa and gaṇas
18. Viṣṇu surrounded by dikpālas and deities
19. Brahmā surrounded by dikpālas and rṣis
20. Varuṇa

Mūrti under eaves
21. Garuḍa

Entablature mūrtis
3. Kṛṣṇa fights Bāṇa, Gaja-Lakṣmī, Nṛsiṁha
4. Anantasayin
5. Pārijātaḥaraṇa
22–28. Kṛṣṇacaritra
29. devas battle asuras
30, 31. Garuḍa steals amṛta
32, 33, 6. Samudramathana

Figure 61. Bādāmi, Cave 3, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 60)
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Figure 65. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, Varāha facing north in easternmost verandah bay
Figure 66. Caturmukha Viṣṇu type, based on B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, third ed., Baltimore, 1970, fig. 169
Figure 67. Deogarh, Daśavatarā temple, garbha grha doorway lalāṭa- bimba, based on K. Desai (1973: fig. 19)
Figure 68. Bādāmi, Cave 3, Trivikrama at west end of facade
Figure 69. Badami, Cave 2, interior, Trivikrama at west end of verandah
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Figure 73. Common North Indian Viṣṇu type, based on Pal (1978: Fig. 3)
Figure 74. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, Nṛsiṁha at west end of verandah
Figure 75. Badami, Cave 3, interior, Nrsimha on west-facing entablature in easternmost bay of verandah
Figure 76. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, Harihara facing north in westernmost verandah bay
Figure 77. Bâdâmi, Cave 3, Ardhanârîśvara on facade pillar bracket
Figure 78. Bādāmi, Cave 3, Śiva and Pārvatī with Karttikeya on facade pillar bracket
Figure 79. Bādāmi, Cave 3, Kārttikeya on facade pillar bracket, detail of Figure 78
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Figure 83. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, ceiling centered on Varuṇa in next to westernmost verandah bay
Figure 84. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, ceiling centered on Brahmā in verandah bay west of center
Figure 85. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, north dikpāla in ceiling centered on Brahmā in verandah bay west of center, detail of Figure 84

Figure 86. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, ceiling centered on Viṣṇu in center bay of verandah
Figure 87. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, north dikpāla in ceiling centered on Viṣṇu in center bay of verandah, detail of Figure 86
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Figure 91. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, south-facing entablature relief in next to easternmost bay of verandah, detail, dikpālas
Figure 92. Bādāmi, Cave 3, interior, central Śiva and Pārvatī in verandah ceiling bay east of center
Figure 93. Badami, Cave 3, interior, easternmost verandah ceiling

Figure 94. Badami, Cave 3, interior, central detail of easternmost verandah ceiling (Figure 93)
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Figure 103. Bādāmi, Upper Śivālaya, elevation, from Michell (1975a: drawing #3), late sixth century
Figure 104. Badami, Upper Sivalaya, Nṛsiṁha on north exterior
Figure 105. Bādāmi, Upper Śivālaya, Nṛsiṁha on eaves of south exterior
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Figure 109. Bādāmi, Upper Sīvalaya, south exterior basement, west end detail
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Figure 111. Bādāmi, Upper Śivālaya, north exterior, detail of lower wall at west end
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Figure 114. Bādāmi, Upper Śivālaya, west exterior basement, Kṛṣṇacaritra detail south of center
Figure 115. Bādāmi, Upper Śivālaya, west exterior basement, Kṛṣṇacaritra detail near south end

Figure 116. Bādāmi, Upper Śivālaya, west exterior basement, Kṛṣṇacaritra detail at south end
Figure 117. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Śivālaya, Varāha on eaves of south side of garbha grha

Figure 118. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Śivālaya, Trivikrama and Bali's gift on eaves of north side of garbha grha
Figure 119. Bādāmi, Lower Śivālaya, view from northeast, early seventh century
Figure 120. Bādāmi, Lower Śivālaya, plan and elevation, from Michell (1975a: drawing #4), early seventh century.
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Figure 122. Bādāmi, image built into north fort gateway
Figure 123. Bādāmi Museum, fragment with Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes

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Figure 127. Badami Museum, relief with Krṣṇacaritra scenes

Figure 128. Badami Museum, relief with Krṣṇacaritra scenes
Figure 129. Bādāmi Museum, long relief with Kṛṣṇacaritra scenes, left end

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Figure 131. Bādāmi Museum, Viṣṇu
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Figure 134. Bādāmi, Two Story temple, east pavilion, courtesy C.R. Bolon
Figure 135. Bādāmi, Two Story temple, west pavilion, courtesy C.R. Bolon
Figure 136. Bijapur, Archaeological Museum, inscribed pillar from Mahākūṭa, dated 602 A.D.
Figure 137. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Śivālaya, plan and elevation, from Michell (1975a: drawing #5), early seventh century
Figure 138. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Śivālaya, Sūrya on eaves of facade

Figure 139. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Śivālaya, interior, central Sūrya of garbha grha overdoor
Figure 140. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Sivālaya, Śiva on south mandapa wall.
Figure 141. Badami, Malegitti Sивälaya, Viśn̄u on north mandapa wall
Figure 142. Bādāmi, Mālegittī Śivālaya, figure in facade niche south of entrance
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Figure 145. Bādāmi, Mālegitti Śivalaya, yogic Nṛsiṁha on eaves of west side of garbha grha
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Figure 152. Mahâkûța, Temple 9, view from northwest, mid seventh century
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Figure 162. Alampur, Kumāra temple, entrance to mandapa
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Figure 164. Alampur, Kumāra Brahma temple, Naṭeśa on upper east side of śikhara

Figure 165. Ellora, Cave 14, facade, early to mid seventh century
Figure 166. Ellora, Cave 14, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, based on Fergusson and Burgess (1969: pl. LXX2), early to mid seventh century
Cave 14 at Ellora

Wall mūrtis

1. Mahiṣamārdinī
2. Śiva and Pārvatī gaming
3. Naṭeṣa
4. Rāvaṇanugrahamūrti
5. Andhakāsuravadhamūrti
6. from east to west: Śiva, Saptamātrkās, Gaṇeṣa, Kāla and attendants
7. Viṣṇu and consort
8. Viṣṇu and consorts
9. Varāha
10. Gaja-Lakṣmī
11. Devī with lion

Entablature mūrti

12. Mahiṣamārdinī

Figure 167. Ellora, Cave 14, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 166)
Figure 168. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, Varāha on central north side of mandapa
Figure 169. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, Visnu and consort on north side of mandapa, east of center
Figure 170. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, Śiva and Pārvatī gaming on south side of mandapa, west of center
Figure 171. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, Naṭeṣa on central south side of mandapa
Figure 172. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, Andhakāsurasuravadhamūrti on south side of mandapa, east end.
Figure 173. Elephanta, Main cave, interior, Andhakaśuravadhamūrti
Figure 174. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, Saptamātrkās with Śiva and Ganeśa on south side of pradaksināpatha, from Fergusson and Burgess (1969: pl. LXXII)
Figure 175. Ellora, Cave 21, interior, Saptamātrīkās with Śiva and Ganesa, from Burgess (1970: pl. XXXIV1)
Figure 176. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, view of *garbha grha* entrance
Figure 177. Ellora, Cave 14, interior, figures north of garbha grha entrance

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Figure 179. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgamaśvara temple, sketch plan with arrangement of deity images, based on Radcliffe/Bolon (1981: text fig. 8), mid seventh century
Sangamesvara temple at Kūḍavelli

Wall mūrtis

1. empty
2. Yama
3. nāga-hooded male figure
4. Andhakāsurasuravadhamūrti
5-9. male figures
10. Naṭesā
11. male figure
12. Lakulīśa(?)
13. empty
14. Ardhanārīśvara
15. padma nidhi
16. Śaṅkha nīdhi
17. Harihara
18. Yamunā
19. padma nīdhi
20. nīdhi

Figure 180. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgasevara temple, key to sketch plan with arrangement of deity images (Figure 179), mid seventh century
Figure 181. Kūḍaveli, Saṅgamaśvara temple, view from south
Figure 182. Kudavelli, Saṅgameśvara temple, southeast subshrine
Figure 183. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgameśvara temple, south end of facade
Figure 184. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgameśvara temple, north end of facade
Figure 185. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgaṃesvara temple, Yamunā installed in window area on south end of facade
Figure 186. Bādāmi, Yamuna built into modern wall
Figure 187. Aihole Museum, fragment of female figure
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Figure 190. Kûḍavelli, Saṅgameśvara temple, interior, garbha grha doorway, courtesy of AIIS (#170-32)
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Figure 193. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgameśvara temple, south exterior, Andhakāsuravadhamūrti in next to westmost niche
Figure 194. Kūdavelli, Saṅgameśvara temple, Ardhanārīśvara in north facade niche
Figure 195. Kūḍavelli, Saṅgamaśvara temple, Harihara in south facade niche
Figure 196. Aihole, Temple 21, elevation, from Michell (1975a: drawing #27), early seventh century
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Figure 198. Aihole, Apsidal Śiva temple, sketch plan, mid seventh century

Figure 199. Aihole, Apsidal Śiva temple, view from southwest, courtesy B.V. Shetti, mid seventh century
Figure 200. Aihole, Cikki temple, plan and elevation, based on Michell (1975a: drawing #28), mid seventh century
Figure 201. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, east central ceiling in mandapa

Figure 202. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, west central ceiling in mandapa
Figure 203. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, Kārttikeya, detail of west central mandapa ceiling (Figure 202)
Figure 204. Aihole Museum, Karttikeya
Figure 205. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, *garbha grha* doorway
Figure 206. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, central element of garbha grha overdoor, detail of Figure 205
Figure 207. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, Trivikrama on south side of east central ceiling in mandapa, detail of Figure 201
Figure 208. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, Anantasayin on north side of east central ceiling in mandapa, detail of Figure 201
Figure 209. Aihole, Cikki temple, interior, Naṭeṣa on south side of west central ceiling in mandapa, detail of Figure 202
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CALUKYA TEMPLES:
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1. empty
2. Śiva
3. Śiva
4. Harihara
5. Andhakāsuravadamūrti
6. empty
7. "Ugranṛtya" Śiva
8. Śiva and Pārvatī
9. unidentified Śiva mūrti (late addition ?)
10. Śiva
11. Lakulīśa
12. Śiva
13. empty
14. Naṭeṣa
15. Ardhanārīśvara
16. Śiva
17. Śiva
18. Śiva
19. empty
20. Harihara (?) (late addition?)
21. Vṛṣavāhanamūrti (late addition?)
22. two-armed mūrti
23. Harihara
24. unfinished Śiva (?) (late addition ?)
25. unfinished Śiva (?) (late addition ?)
26. empty
27. empty

Ceiling and exterior pillar mūrtis

A. Gajendramokṣa
B. worn (Nṛsiṁha ?)
C. Nṛsiṁha
D. Gajendramokṣa
E. Naṭeṣa
F. nāga
G. Gaja-Lakṣmi
H. mithuna and gandharvas

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Saṅgameśvara temple at Pattadakal

Wall niche mūrtis

1. Nṛsiṁha
2. Nāteśa
3. Śiva and Pārvatī
4. Varāha
5. Viṣṇu
6. Śiva
7. empty
8. Śiva with Bhṛṅgī
9. Śiva (?)
10. Ardhanārīśvara
11. Lakulīśa (?)
12. unidentified Śiva mūrti
13. Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti
14. "Ugranṛtya" Śiva
15. Andhakasuravadhamūrti

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2. Sūrya chastizing his wife
3. Ardhanārīśvara
4. Nṛsiṁha
5. Śiva
6. Harihara
7. Mahiśamardinī
8. Varāha
9. Viṣṇavāhanamūrti
10. Nṛsiṁha
11. Viṣṇu
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2. Viṣṇu
3. Trivikrama
4. Nrṣimha
5. Gajendramokṣa (?)
6. Ardhanārīśvara
7. Gajasurasamhāramūrti
8. dvārapāla
9. dvārapāla

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A. Brahma
B. Śiva and Pārvatī
C. Anantaśayin

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Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal

Exterior wall niche and
porch wall niche mūrtis

1. padma nidhi
2. mithuna
3. Lingodbhavamūrti
4. Śiva with eight arms
5. Nāteśa
6. Śiva and devī
7. above: Śiva and Pārvatī
   below: chariot scene
8. Nāteśa
9. Nṛsiṁha
10. above: Nāteśa
    below: Nṛsiṁha
11. Vāli and Sugrīva
12. Rāvaṇa and Jatayu
13. Rāma or Lakṣmana and Sītā
14. "Ugranṛtya" Śiva
15. Śiva
16. Śiva
17. Śiva
18. Andhakāsuraṇavadhāmūrti
19. Śiva
20. Ṛkulīśa
21. two-armed Śiva with axe
22. Śiva
23. unidentified Śiva mūrti
24. Śiva
25. Śiva
26. Śiva
27. two-armed Śaiva mūrti
28. Śiva
29. Śiva
30. Śiva
31. Viṣṇu with eight arms
32. Varāha
33. two-armed Śaiva mūrti
34. Śiva

Exterior wall niche and
porch wall niche mūrtis

35. Vṛṣavāhanamūrti
36. Harihara
37. Ardhanārīśvara
38. above: liṅga worship
    below: Rāvaṇa (?)
39. empty
40. Nāteśa
41. above: yogic Śiva (?)
    below: ṛgis
42. Nāteśa
43. Śiva and Pārvatī
44. Viṣṇu
45. Trivikrama
46. Ardhanārīśvara
47. śaṅkha nidhi

Ceiling, exterior pillar,
and shrine mūrtis

A. Sūrya
B. Brahmā
C. above: Śiva
    below: Śiva
D. Somāskanda
E. nāga
F. Gaja-Lakṣmī
G. Nāteśa
H. Śiva begging from Viṣṇu
I. Gajendramokṣa
J. Rāvaṇaḥugrahamūrti
K. unidentified fighters
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