### Studia Orientalia Electronica

# SEMPITERNAL "PATTINI": ARCHAIC GODDESS OF THE VĒNKAI TREE TO AVANT-GARDE ACAŅĀMPIKAI

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A seal of the Indic culture represents a goddess standing close to a tree and receiving sacrifices. Seven more goddesses, hypothetically the Elukannimar or Sapta Matrka, are linked with the Tree Goddess. The ancient Tamil Cankam literature, the Narrinai and Cilappatikāram (c.450 CE), mention a goddess of the vēnkai tree, the Vēnkaik-kaṭavuļ. In Tiṭṭakuṭi in south Ārkkāṭu district is located a temple dedicated to Vaidhyanāthasvāmi, the goddess called Acanāmpikai or Vēnkaivananāyaki (cf. Dārukavana or Vaisnava divyadeśa-Naimisāranya). The presiding goddess of Tittakuti, according to the sthalapurāṇam, based on oral tradition (twelfth to eighteenth centuries), is the "Mistress of the vēnkai forest". Alternatively, in Cankiliyānpārai (Tintukkal district) located in the foothills of Cirumalai, the Sañjīvi-parvata ('hill of medicinal herbs and trees') associated with Hanūmān of Rāmāyaṇa fame is a centre of folk worship. Recently, scholars claim to have discovered some pictographic inscriptions there resembling the Indic heritage. Several hypaethral temples to Cankili-Karuppan ('The Black One Bound with an Iron Chain'), the Elukannimar ('Seven Virgins'), and the [Ārya]-Śāsta (equated with Ayyappan of Śabarimalā) receive worship. On certain occasions, people from the nearby villages congregate to worship the gods and goddesses and undertake periodical and annual festivals. It seems that a "sacred thread" links the archaic traditions of the Indic culture (c.2500 BCE) with the contemporary faiths (see Eliade 1960; Brockington 1998; Shulman & Stroumsa 2002) of Tittakuti and Cankiliyānpārai. This article examines the story of the Tree Goddess, the neo-divinity (vampat-teyvam) or numen (cf. Vedic devamātr-Aditi), with references to the Cankam lore, datable to the third century BCE (cf. "Chōḍa Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo" in Aśoka's Girnar Edict; cf. Mookerji 1972: 223), Vēnkaikkatavul, Acanāmpikai of Tiţṭakuṭi, and the Caṅkiliyānpārai vestiges.

The front cover plate of Asko Parpola's (2000) *Deciphering the Indus Script* illustrates an *iḷaṅkiḷai* ('tender creeper') denoting a lively woman eroded due to rust, that has been standing below a tree for the past 4,500 years (Priyanka 2003: Fig. 30a; see Figs. 1, 1a; cf. 1b). I presume the notation is after a proto-historical locution. At the bottom of the same Indic tablet (*c*.2500 BCE), seven *sthānaka* (female) divinities appear as though attending the Goddess Superior (cf. "Cilampu" 20.34–38;

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Rajarajan 2016a: 347, 23). The *hepta* divinities are likely to be the *protos*-Ēlukannimār or Sapta Mātṛkā (Panikkar 1997: pl. 1; Maha Devi 2019: Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

neţuvēl-kunrattērip / pūtta-vēnkaipponkar / kīl-ōr-tīntolilāttiyēn [...]

I mounted the tall hill of Vēlan/Murukan (cf. Vaṭapatraśāyī on top of the *āl* tree, *Ficus benghalensis*; see Cuneo 2017: Fig. 4; Desai 2017) / stood below the flowering *vēnkai*<sup>2</sup> (Kino tree); / I am a miserable creature [...] ("Cilampu" 23.190–192)

Elsewhere, the maiden goddess is Cāmuṇḍā (cf. *vampap-perun-teyvam* 'Neo-goddess, the Great'; "Cilampu" 19.24; Rajarajan 2016a: 63), last in the train of the Sapta Mātṛkā (see note 1).

Is the "Tree Goddess" (Figs. 1–1a, 3–4, 12–13) Vēnkaik-kaṭavuļ (i.e. the *vṛkṣadevatā* Pattiṇi) referenced by Iḷaṅkō in the "Cilampu"? The "Kaṭṭuraikkātai" of the *Cilappatikāram* (cited above) at the far end of the canto says, "the Goddess-morphed Kaṇṇaki is the bejewelled ornament of a woman, and bliss for the gods" (*peṇ* 'woman', *peṇmai* 'modesty [femininity]'; Subramonian 1962: 477, citing *Puṛaṇānūṛu* 337; see Rajarajan 2000: Fig. 1). The "Aḷaṛpaṭukātai" in the concluding *veṇpā* (Rajarajan 2016a: 354, 49–50; cf. *Devīmāhātmyam*, invocatory verses of *pratamacaritram* on *mahā*-Kālīkā, *madhyamacaritram* on *mahā*-Lakṣmī, and *uttamacaritram* on *mahā*-Sarasvatī) adds:

māmakalūm nāmakalūm māmayitar cerrukanta / kōmakaļum tāmpaṭaitta korrattāļ—nāma/mutirāmulai kuraittāļ munnarē vantāļ/ maturāpati yēnnumātu

Mistress of auspiciousness (Tiru/Śrī), Mistress of the tongue (Vācdevī), annihilator of the great buffalo-demon (Mahiṣamardinī), / Mistress of sovereignty (Korravai/Durgā), possessor of qualities (of the three) / the guardian of Maturai (*nagaradevatā*-Maturāpati) appeared before her who amputated her immature breast, Pattini.

This is to suggest that  $mah\bar{a}$ -Kālī, -Lakṣmī, -Sarasvatī, and Maturāpati attend the Virāṭ Pattiṇi (Rajarajan 2016a: pl. 118). Logically, if the seven are the  $m\bar{a}trk\bar{a}$ s, the Tree Goddess maratteyvam (maram 'tree', maram 'valour, bravery, wrath', korram>Korravai) is Vīra-Pattiṇi;  $v\bar{e}nkai$  also denotes 'panther', referring to the Tigress Goddess (see Priyanka 2003: Fig. 34b). One may refer here to the Koṭuṅkallūr temple enshrining Pattiṇi-Bhagavatī (ilankilai, valli>valli[alvar<alvelorialvar]; Zvelebil 1970; Palaniappan 2005; Parthiban 2019c: 241–256) in the garbhagrha and an adjoining oblong chamber to the left that accommodates the seven  $m\bar{a}trkas$  or kannis (Gentes 1992; Rajarajan 2016a: 115–125, pls. 45–53), and a small chamber for Śiva (= Kōvalan). The manimekalai (26.1–5) says the  $bhikṣun\bar{\imath}$ -Maṇimekalai, daughter of Kōvalan and Mātavi, visits Vañci (modern Koṭuṅkallūr) to have a  $marimal}$  of mother-Kaṇṇaki and father-Kōvalan in the  $marimal}$  'temple', where their sacred images ( $marimal}$ ),  $marimal}$   $marimal}$ ,  $marimal}$ 0 (see note 14).

<sup>1</sup> The Sapta Mātṛkā are the "Seven Mothers", and the Ēlukannimār are seven *kannis* (literally seven 'girls', or virgins). In the case when there are six, the *aruvark-kilaiya-nankai* (cf. "Cilampu" 20.37) could be "junior among the six" or "junior following the six, i.e. seventh". The Sapta Mātṛkā in North India frequently appear with their children, but in the south they are not with children (Orr 2005: 24).

<sup>2</sup> Literally, *vēnkai* means 'tiger' (Felis tigris), an East Indian kino, a tall tree equated with sandal (*cantanam*), *vēnkai-verpu* 'a hill' (*Puranānūru* 336), Vēnkaināṭu/Vengi (Eastern Calukya country), and *īnkai* 'gold' (TL VI, 3820).



Figure 1 Indic seal (M-1186). <flickr.com/photos/28433765@ N07/3231801046/>.

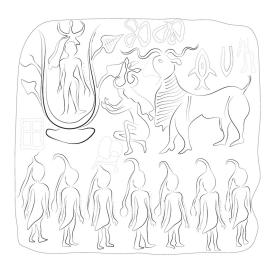


Figure 1a Drawing of Indic seal (for photo, see Parpola 1994: 260, Fig. 14.35).

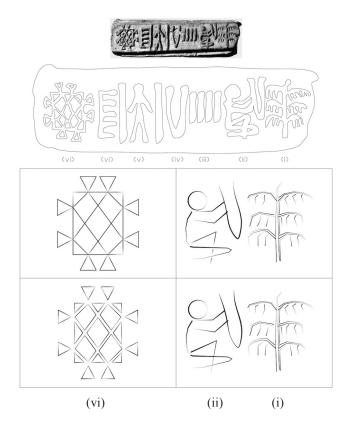


Figure 1b Indic seal M-478 (Parpola 1994: 109; 2015: 254; Priyanka 2003: Fig. 4).

Inference: right to left (i) tree and (ii) seated man? (adorer in  $v\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}sana$  oblation with bali tusk; cf.  $venk\bar{o}tu$  in "Cilampu" 12.24–25), (iii) temple?, (iv) tusk (hunter/hunting)?, (v) goddess in |cella|?, (vi) book or scripture?, and (vi) mankalam-k $\bar{o}lam$ ? (sketch by R.K. Parthiban).

<sup>3</sup> Dr Jeyapriya-Rajarajan says the *kōlam* resembles the Navagraha-*kōlam*, the astral factor.



Figure 2 Cirumalai, Cempatti to Gāndhigrām bypass (courtesy R.K.K. Rajarajan)

Pattiṇi, a virtuous woman of exceptional deeds,<sup>4</sup> was a divinity through the ages (see the "Kuṇrakkuravai" in the "Cilampu"), although her original myth and iconography were hidden or forgotten due to Śaiva *bhakti* in the sixth to ninth centuries CE (Kalidos 1993). Perhaps the *vṛkṣadevatā*'s journey starts from the Indic tablet to Koṭuṅkallūr via the *Cilappatikāram*. The Goddess continues to live in one form or another, which the folk call Bhagavatī, Kālī, or Māri,<sup>5</sup> and she is the Sempiternal Pattiṇi brought into the Buddhist pantheon in Śrī Laṅkā (Obeyesekere 1984; Rajarajan 2000) and Southeast Asia (Rajarajan 2016a: Fig. 128). To the southeast of Tiṇṭukkal (see Fig. 2a), Caṅkiliyāṇpārai is one of the living examples of hypaethral tree temples for Ēlukaṇṇimār, Caṅkili-Karuppaṇ (Kalidos 1989: 201, 381; cf. Māl-Viṣṇu in Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017c: pl. 115, and Śāsta in Kalidos 1989: 201). Scholars claim to have discovered there some pictographic writing (*c*.1000 BCE), white and red-ochre paintings of prehistoric human beings, and men fighting with animals on the hills of Aruvimalai. The rock engraving is reported to resemble the Indic script (see Irācēntiraṇ, Vētācalam & Cāntaliṅkam 2007: 62–63).

#### PATTINI, THE VIRTUOUS WIFE IN MYTH AND LITERATURE

Kaṇṇaki, an aristocratic lady-of-rank of the Cōla country, took the hand of Kōvalan, an affluent merchant. After he fell in love with a courtesan, Mātavi, and lost his wealth, he migrated to the Pāṇḍya country with Kaṇṇaki to earn his living. Caught up in the conspiracy of a wicked gold-smith (Rajarajan 2016b: Figs. 1–2), Kōvalan was beheaded due to the erroneous judgment of

<sup>4</sup> Pattini (*satī*) literally is a married woman. In another Tamil epic (Zvelebil 1974: 130), Kunṭalakēci is *dharma*-Pattini, even if she disowned her king-bandit husband, Nīlakēci, and Vaļaiyāpati; the chastity ideology of *pattini* is reserved. What matters for deification is a virtuous heroic deed (Kaṇṇaki resorting to "violence"; cf. Monius 2005). Probably the Jain Ilankō's Hindu "hero" Kaṇṇaki (Berkson 1987; 1997; Rajarajan 2016a: pl. 143) faced such a patriarchal spell-curse. Mahiṣamardinī and Taṭātakai are equals in the Tirupparankunɪam sculptural art, being *tristana* (Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: pls. 105–107).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the "Marys" in the "New Testament" of the Semitic legends. Mary and Māri may vaguely suggest an Indic-Jordan link leading to the seventeenth century Vēlānkaṇṇi- $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  ('Virgin Mother') emporium-junction under the Portuguese. I will leave this idiom, which needs more time and space to elaborate a thesis. Recently, however, I came across a village called Mariyāyi-patti (Mary +  $\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}$ ,  $ay\bar{\imath}$ ; LSN-427 'Mother') on the Cempatti-Vattalakkuṇtu highway, close to Cirumalai (Fig. 2), which is interesting in terms of Hindu-Christian dialogue (Kalidos 2019; Parthiban 2019a).

the Pāṇḍya king. In a legal debate, Kaṇṇaki proved her husband was blameless, burnt down the Pāṇḍyan metropolis of Maturai ('Violence'; see Monius 2005), moved to the hills in the west and stood below a *vēṇkai* tree (*Pterocarpus marsupium*). The *kuṇṛak-kuravar* (tribal residents of the hills) deified the damsel (cf. Figs. 1, 1a, 1b), who is called Vēṇkaik-kaṭavul ('Divinity of the *vēṇkai* tree'; *Naṛriṇai* 216) and Vēṇkai-naṇṇilar-kīlōr-teyvam ('Divinity below the *vēṇkai* tree'; "Cilampu" 24.14–15; ['pipal tree', aracu Ficus religiosa]; cf. Basham 1971: pl. 5d; Parpola 2000; Sarkar 2002; Priyanka 2003: Figs. 4 ["sacred tree"], 30a ["fig deity" atti Ficus glomerata; cf. the Atti-Varatar of Kāñcīpuram, ātti Bauhinia racemosa] Figs. 1a–b). The *iḷaṅkiḷai* standing below the tree was first sighted by the hill-folk and deified (24 Kuṇrakkuravai, "Cilampu"). She had burnt down Maturai, moved to the western hills, and stood below a *vēṇkai* tree (see note 33). Presumably, Kaṇṇaki, Pattiṇi, and the Tree Goddess are identical.

What missile did Kaṇṇaki employ to set the city on fire? The answer is in purāṇic style. The Chaste One, Pattiṇi "plucked her left breast, *mulaimukam* or *mulai* (*stana* 'mammalian gland',<sup>7</sup> 'woman's breast, breast's dug'; cf. TL VI, 3281), walked round (*pradakṣiṇa*) the city thrice, and threw it" to conflagrate the *mānakar*-Maturai (see a modern image in Rajarajan 2016a: pl. 39). The "Cilampu" (21.42–45) adds:

iţamulai kaiyāltiruki Maturai / valamurai mummurai vārāalamantu/ maţţārmarukin manimulaiyai vaţţittu / viţţāļ erintāļ viļankiļaiyāļ [...]

remove the left breast by hand, come round Maturai thrice (*pradakṣiṇa*), the gem-breast was thrown on the celebrated city, (by) the young celebrity [...]

The *mulai/stana* analogically is *aṇaṅku* (Akam. 177; Zvelebil 1979; Rajam 1986: 268; Rajarajan 2016a: 62–65), *vāraṇaṅku* 'breasts tied by bands' (*Periya Tirumoli* 2.10.10; Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017a: 79–80), the "Vārkoṇṭa-mulai-yammai" presiding goddess of Śiva-*sthala mēlai*-Kāṭṭuppalli "upper forest-temple" in Cōlanāṭu (*Tēvāram* 3.287.1–11, 5.198.1–10), away from Vallam to the south of Tañcāvūr (see Appendix). "Kaṇṇaki" could also

<sup>6</sup> See the images from the Indic artefacts (Figs. 1, 1a, 1b) cited above (Parpola 2000; 2015). Fig trees of all major species (Parpola 2000: 258) are assimilated into contemporary Hindu Temple culture. The neem ( $v\bar{e}mpu$ ,  $Azadirachta\ indica$ ) is the most popular in the folk religion associated with Amman ('Mother').  $V\bar{e}nkai$  trees are relatively unpopular, and experts in flora studies say that the  $v\bar{e}nkai$  is an endangered species. The murukan is associated with the katampu (Anthocephalous cadamba) tree (Subrahmanian 1990: 196–197) and so-called Katampan or Katampamar-celvan (Paripatal 8.126; "Cilampu" 24.61; Manimekalai 4.49). The gods associated with trees are Ālamarkaṭavul (Puranannula 198) or Ālamarcelvan (al; see Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017c: pl. 89; Parthiban 2019c: ch. 3), "Śiva-Dakṣiṇāmūrti" and Ālilaimēvumāyan ( $Periya\ Tirumoli 5.4.2$ ), Ālilaippālakan ( $Perumali\ Tirumoli\ 8.7$ ), et alia (Kalidos 2006: I, 15; Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017a: 52–53; 2017c: pl. 74; cf. Cuneo 2017: Fig. 4; Desai 2017). Vaṭapatraśāyī is rooted in the kuladevata of the local tribes, linked with the worship of the al/vata tree (Parthiban 2019). Kōṭai, Āṇṭāl was a virgin Goddess, worshipped by brahmana and navaka communities (Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2009: 55). Besides, the Hindu temples are associated with sthalavrkṣa, for example, stalatalavrea Maturai, stalatalavrea (Portia River, Triwia nudiflora) Kāncīpuram, stalatalavala (Syzigium jambolanum) in Ānaikkā, and India is Jambudvīpa, "Nāvalantīvu" (Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2019).

<sup>7</sup> The Cilappatikāram coins several names of the one-breasted Goddess, with 'breast' denoting mulai, koňkai, folk pācci ('mother's milk'; TL V, 2583). See the following citations: "orumulai-kuraitta-tirumā-Pattinii" ("Cilampu" 23.14, 27.129), "koňkai-kuratta-korra-nańkai" (22.107), "orumulai-yilanta-nańkai" (24.21), "mutirā-mulai-kuraittāļ" with mutirā 'immature' (22, veṇpā), "mulai-mukam-tiruki" ("pluck the face/nipple of the breast"; 21.36), Pattini (Vīra-pattini 22.105; Mā-pattini 23.177; Pattinik-kaṭavul 25.114; poruvaṛu-Pattini 26.258), "Maṅkala-maṭantai" (15.131), and so on (Rajarajan 2016a: 62–64). Orumulai 'one-breast' is almost a catchword. "Orumulai-arutta-tirumā-vuṇṇi" earlier appears in the Narrinai (216) with uṇṇi 'venerable object'; she is the Vēṅkaik-kaṭavul (PCA III, 496). See the threatening Ishtar (Hutchinson's n.d.: I, top right figure, p. 229), with her cheeks: masculine bhuja[bala] and ūru 'thigh(s)' earmarked.

mean "[maiden] graced with fire-like eyes" (aki 'snake, fire, a tree' (PCA I, 46), or female of Kaṇṇaṇ? Kaṇṇaḷ is aṇaṅku (Akam. 366), or Mīnākṣī (mīṇ-akṣa); cf. the vana-devatā (kāṇuṛai-teyvam in "Cilampu" 11.171) and nagara-devatā are at a crossroads because the forest divinity is different from the city goddess (e.g. Vindhyavāsinī- or Vanadurgā and Campāpati of Pukār and Maturāpati). Casually, I may recall an image of Ishtar in which she is pressing her stanas (Hutchinson n.d.: I, figure p. 229, right top) into the Euphrates-Tigris valley (Hutchinson n.d., figure p. 259). I wonder whether stana of Ishtar is compatible with the mulai of Pattiṇi; see also the sacrifices offered to the Hittite Mother Goddess (Hutchinson n.d., figure p. 263; cf. the "Cilampu", "Vēṭṭuvavari" ll. 21–44 ritual offerings (includes [ēṇattu]-veṇkōṭu "danta" (Fig. 1b) to tolkuṭik-Kumari 'archaic spinster', renamed Koṅkac-celvi, Kuṭamalaiyāṭṭi, teṇ-Tamilp-pāvai; "Vēṭṭuvavari" ll. 47–48, "Kollit-teyvam" in Naṛriṇai 201, "Kolliyam-pāvai" in Periya Tirumoḷi 2.7.1; Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017a: 616). However, the present argument could only be conjectural with due consideration to time and space.



Figure 2a Hilly environ of hypaethral tree temples for village gods and goddesses, Cankiliyāṇpāṛai (Tiṇṭukkal)



Figure 3 Hypaethral temples for village gods and goddesses, Caṅkiliyāṇpārai



Figure 4 Elukannimār (Seven Virgins), folk images (contemporary), Cankiliyānpārai

#### HEADING TOWARDS REALITY

The classical God in Hindu lore is Brahman (WNDT 1995: 548), Puruṣa (*Puruṣasūktam* 1.1), or Puruṣikā (*Saundaryalaharī*, v. 7; Kalidos 2017: 90): the Male, Female, and peṇ-āṇ-ali-yeṇumpeṛriyaṇ 'neither one', peṇ-āṇ-ali-yeṇumpeṛriyaṇ (Māṇikkavācakar's Tiruvaṇṭappakuti. 57). See also Tirumalicai Ālvār Tiruccantaviruttam 26: āṇiṇōṭu-peṇṇumāki-yallavōṭunallavāy, "Thou are a man, a woman, and the androgyny, all others" (Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017a: I, 192–193). The pēy could be either male or female. Nevertheless, the human pēy 'ghoul' could be the legendary "Ammai" of Kāraikkāl (Pechilis 2006; 2008; Rajarajan 2014; 2018b: 74, pl. VII.2). The Hindu peoples' deities are of anthropomorphic origin (e.g. Hanūmān), whereas tribal peoples make genderless gods based on their heroic deeds (e.g. the "hero-stones" all over South Asia).

During the early phase of South Indian Śakta-Śaiva interaction, Ardhanārī was an "image" fitted with a mulai/stana on the right side. In this regard, several images have been reported (Sastri 1916: Fig. 80; Kalidos 1993: Figs. 5-8; Rajarajan 2012: Figs. 2-4, 6-8; Goldberg 2002: pl. III, p. 123).8 Gopinatha Rao (1999) has not commented on these images. Conjecturally, (rightbreasted) Ardhanārī merged with (left-breasted) Ardhanārīśvara in male-female conflict, perhaps reflecting an effort to subordinate the feminine principle to the masculine. Otherwise, the aim could have been to accord equal status to Puruşa and Prakṛti, in which case the right breast need not be the left. The changing breast from right to left is a symbolic transfer of power because the Hindus consider right (valankai) to be the superior and left (itankai) inferior (Kalidos 1993). However, the Ardhanārī-Pattini cult survived in South and Southeast Asia (Rajarajan 2016a: pl. 128). In Kēraļa (e.g. Koṭuṅkallūr), the Goddess was familiar as Bhagavatī. A dilapidated temple (Rajarajan 2016a: pl. 62) on the peak of the western hill, close to Kampam (cf. ē-Kampam mono-pillar = tree [cf. Fig. 1b]; *Tēvāram* 1.133.1-10), is known after Mangalādevī or Mankala-maṭantai (see Appendix), where a festival associated with the Caitra star (Tamil Cittirai-paurnami) is celebrated every year with no blood sacrifice (see Gentes 1992). Mangalādevī was the venerable Goddess Pattini, who had been absorbed into the Buddhist pantheon (Obeyesekere 1972–1973; 1984). Several village goddesses in Tamilnāḍu (Whitehead 1976; see, e.g., Turkkai 'Durga' and Pakavati 'Bhagavatī'), popular with certain castes and tribes, are likely to be the transformed Pattini. Kanni ('virgin'), Kumari ('maiden'), Pāvai/Bommi ('idol' or statue), Kōtai (literally 'flower garland', presumably denoting "Kannaki" in "Cilampu" 2.82, 87), Valli<sup>10</sup> (valli/valli 'creeper'; TL VI, 3529, 3551; "Cilampu" 24.3), and Mankai (a girl between 12–13 years old; TL V, 3002) equated with Alarmelmankai or [Alamēlu-]Mangammā<sup>11</sup> are heroic spinsters based on their epic deeds (Parthiban 2019c: ch. 4). Close to the Bhagavatī and Sapta Mātṛkā chambers in Koṭuṅkallūr is found a separate

<sup>8</sup> Krishna Sastri (1916: 125) notes a right-breasted "unusual form" from "Tiruvadi" but does not explain the "unusual" element. The hand-drawn image is actually Vṛṣabhārūḍa-Ardhanārī (cf. *Tēvāram* 3.266.1; Rajarajan 2012: 253).

<sup>9</sup> The Tiruvālankātu myth narrating the dance competition between Śiva and Kālī, resulting in *ūrdhvatānḍavam*, is another example of the male-female contest for supremacy (Kalidos 1996b; Rajarajan 2014: Figs. 3, 5).

<sup>10</sup> The word Valli, which when used in isolation refers to one of the consorts of Murukan, originally 'tuber', and 'philanthropist'-vallal (Rajam 1986: 267, citing Puranānūru 109.6 and Patirruppattu 54.1).

<sup>11</sup> She is the presiding Goddess of Mangāpuram in lower Tirupati. Some *nāyakkar* (erstwhile Nāyakas) communities worship Alamēlu-Mangammā as their *kuladevatā* (Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2009: 54–57).

shrine for Śiva, presumably Kōvalan, the scapegoat-husband of Kaṇṇaki. <sup>12</sup> Men are elevated to the status of a god or god-man due to the virtue of their wives and vice versa, as is common in global mythologies: for example, Anasūyā-Atri (Rajarajan 2018a: Fig. 6), [Gāyatrī-]Sāvitrī-Satyavān (Parpola 2000: 241, Fig. 14.1), Maturaivīran-Bommi<sup>13</sup> (temple and images in Figs. 9–11), and so on. <sup>14</sup> Ilankō, the author of the *Cilappatikāram*, affirms *uraicāl-pattinik-kuyartōr-ēttalum* as "the exalted chaste (maidens) are extolled by the elite" (see, e.g., Kuṇṭalakēci, supra note 3. When the lion-man is a prodigal, the doe-woman is the scapegoat. Interestingly, a doe stands behind the Goddess in some rare sculptural samples, called "Kalaiyamarcelvi" (*kalai* 'doe'; "Cilampu" 12.16, 23.125; Rajarajan 2015a: Fig. 7; 2015b: pl. IIIa; Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017c: pl. 29; Maha Devi 2017; 2018: Fig. 1).

Even if the Ardhanārī cult merged with Ardhanārī śvara, 15 the name of the Goddess in the *sthala*s listed in the *Tēvāram* hymns retain names suffixed with *mulai*, *kōtai*, *maṅkalam* (*kōlam* in Fig. 1b), *aram* 16/dharma, or *pattini*. 17 The names of the presiding goddesses in the *Tēvāram- sthala*s are noteworthy: Maṅkala-nāyaki ('Auspicious mistress'), Ardhanārī śvarī (Ardhanārī, mother of half-*mulai*), 18 Āvuṭai-nāyaki ('Mistress *āvuṭai*' = 'yoni-[nilayā]'; LSN 895), Kāviyaṅkaṇṇi ('Epic virgin'), and so on (see Appendix). The presiding goddesses, called Amman or Tāyār ('Mother'), in several Śiva (see Āṭaṇai in Appendix) and Viṣṇu temples, take the name-suffix 'valli' <> 'valli' (Parthiban 2019c: ch. 3): for example, Kamalavalli Nācciyār of Kōli (Uraiyūr), Pūrṇavalli of Karampaṇūr, 19 and so on. All are rooted in the Pattiṇi-*naṅkai-nallāl*, "Nallataṅkāl"

<sup>12</sup> Maṇimēkalai pays her respects to the sacred images of Mother-Kaṇṇaki and Father-Kōvalan after her return from Cāvakam/Jāvā (*Maṇimēkalai* 26.1–5).

<sup>13</sup> Maturaivīran is the virtuous partner deified with his consorts; Bommi/Pommi (fair on the right) and Vellaiyammāl (black on the left) in folk culture (Figs. 9–11); cf. Devasenā and Valli in case of Murukan (Zvelebil 1979; 1980; cf. Shulman 1979).

<sup>14</sup> The *Ciriya Tirumaṭal* and *Periya Tirumaṭal* of Tirumaṅkai Ālvār (Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017a: IV, 2232–2286) describes the frantic love of Vāsavadattā, Ratī, Vegavatī, Uṣā (daughter of Bāṇāsura), *nāginī*-Ulūpī, Umā as *tapasvinī*, and so on. They were the tigresses to contest the "lion" for love (Priyanka 2003: Fig. 34b).

<sup>15</sup> The presiding God of Tiruccenkōṭu in the Konkunāṭu sector of western Tamilnāḍu is Ardhanārīśvara (cf. Sastri 1916: Fig. 78). See *Tēvāram* (Kalakam ed. Campantar *patikam* 205, Appar *patikam* 195). Similarly, *ten*-Paraṅkunram, close to Maturai, houses an image of Ardhanārīśvara in the rock-cut chamber (Kalidos 2006: II, pl. XCIX.2), as noted in *Tēvāram* (Campantar *patikam* 100, Cuntarar *patikam* 2). Ardhanārī[śvara] is clear in these hymns (see Rajarajan 2012: 249–260): see, for example, *penṇamar-mēṇiyinān* (*Tēvāram* 2.205.1) as dancer Naṭarāja-Naṭeśvarī (1.100.6–7, LSN-734; Rajarajan 2020: 41), united with Gaṅgā (*Tēvāram* 7.2.7), and so on. The Lord as Ardhanārī-Naṭarāja (Rajarajan 2012: Fig. 8) is important because images of Naṭarāja appear in the northern (*caturatāṇḍavam*) and southern (*āṇandatāṇḍavam*) cave temples in Paraṅkunram (Kalidos 1991: pl. IIa; 2006: II, pl. CI.1; Rajarajan 1991). The Śaiva-*sthala*, Koṭimāṭac-ceṅkunrūr (Ñāṇacampantar *patikam* 107; see below) provides for Ardhananārīśvarā and Ardhanārīśvara. However, the hymns note Ardhanārīśvara: "malaimakaļkūruṭaiyāṇ" (1.107.2) and "Kaṅkai" Gaṅgā[dhara] (1.107.6). With the coming of Śiva-Ardhanārīśvara (leftbreast), Ardhanārī (right-breast) disappears, which is to emphasize the dominance of the masculine principle.

<sup>16</sup> The *Patikam* (55–57) in the *Cilappatikāram* (for Romanization of the epic, see Rajarajan 2016a: 263–398) declares the tri-fold aim of the epic: 1) *aram/dharma* is the Kūrru (God of Death) for those that err in justice, 2) the Pattinis are exalted by the learned, and 3) ūlvinai (adharma 'evil deeds') committed in the past are punished at any time.

<sup>17</sup> The names are collected from the Kalakam edition of the  $T\bar{e}v\bar{a}ram$ , annexed at the end of each patikam. These names may not appear in the cited hymns. It is not clear when the names were given to the goddesses in the concerned temples; based on oral traditions, it may be 200 years ago.

<sup>18</sup> Note the epithets Īśvara (Śivasahasranāma 369; Viṣṇusahasranāma 36, 74), Īśvarī (LSN 271), Puruṣa (Puruṣasūktam 1.1), and Puruṣikā (Saundaryalaharī, cited in Kalidos 2017: 90).

<sup>19</sup> See *Tiruvāymoli* (4.2.1, 8.2.6; for concordances, see Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017b: 1537). I am obliged to Dr R.K. Parthiban (2019b) for working with me. He has contributed the drawings and hints from his doctoral thesis. Dr Jeyapriya-Rajarajan suggested some useful interpretations, but the trouble with my wife is when the Goddess descends on her she may pronounce an oracle threatening me: "nāntān Pattinik-kaṭavul vantirukkēn".

(Shulman 1980: 256–258). R.K. Parthiban has identified such a temple (Figs. 21i, 21ii) at Vatrāyiruppu, away from Kṛṣṇaṇkōyil in Śrīvilliputtūr.

#### THE REALITY

Titṭakuṭi is a small township in Vṛddhācalam/Viruttācalam (*virutti*, *vṛddha*) 'Increasing hill', south Ārkkāṭu district (Figs. 5–8, 13–15). Tiṭṭai means a mound, or maybe a temple, on an elevated surface in-between two rivers, (cf. *raṅkam* 'stage'; see Śrīraṅgam mentioned in Gail 2016). Two temples for Śiva, called Vaidhyanātha and Raṅganātha, have been located (Kalidos 1989: 262; Parpola 2000: 262; Ragunath 2014: 56–58, 81–84, Plan 4, pls. 28–29, 155–158).<sup>20</sup> A scholar of Aṇṇāmalai University is working on the Vaidhyanātha-svāmi temple (Thenmozhi 2019).



Figure 5 Titṭakuṭi in-between the Maṇimuttāru and Veḷḷāru Rivers (Google Maps)



Figure 6 Vēnkaivananāyaki temple, northern bank of Vellāru River (plan by R.K. Parthiban)

<sup>20</sup> For images of the Ūrdhvatāṇḍavam, see Kalidos (1996b: Fig. 9).



Figure 7 Tiţţakuţi on the bank of the Vellaru River (Google Maps)

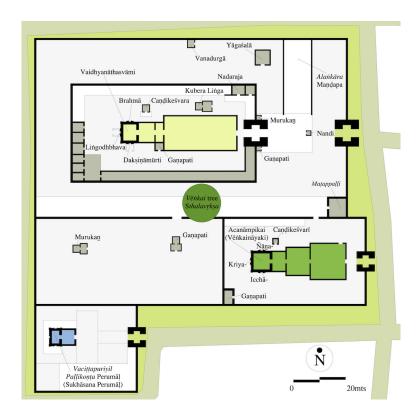


Figure 8 Plan of the temples, Tittakuţi (diagram by R.K. Parthiban)

The *talapurāṇam* (*Tiruvatiṭṭakuṭi*-Śivasthalapurāṇam; see Rajarajan 2019b: 49, note 27; Shulman 1980: 432–434)<sup>21</sup> is important in the context of the myth discussed above. The temple is for

<sup>21</sup> The *talapurāṇam* written by *Yajūrvedi* Śrīnivāsa Ayyar was published in 1951 (reprinted 1998). The exact date of the original composition is not known, but may be located in the 18th or 19th century. The *purāṇam* is in seventeen *carukkam* (chapters) consisting of 548 poems. Vasiṣṭha, Arundhatī, Viśvāmitra, Kāmadhenu, and Kālī, including British soldiers and others (Rajarajan 2019b: 49), are linked with the temple's annals.

Acanāmpikai-samēta<sup>22</sup> Vaittiyanāta-cuvāmi. Vaittiyanātan is Vaidhyanātha,<sup>23</sup> Śivasahasranāma epithet 956 Vaidhyāya (in the commentary sarvavidya 'expert in the arts'; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: 212). Acanāmpikai gives the meaning 'Mother of the acanam or venkai forest or tree'. Several names of the Goddess are found after vēnkai: Vēnkai-valli ('Creeper spreading on the vēnkai tree'), Vēnkai-vanam-valli ('Goddess of the vēnkai forest'), Venkaivanam-valar-valli ('Magnifying creeper of the vēnkai forest'), and Vēnkai-vana-nāyaki<sup>24</sup> ('Mistress of the vēnkai forest'), equated with Aruntati/Arundhatī, the pinnacle of chastity.

Arundhatī was the wife of *mahaṛṣi*-Vasiṣṭha (see Parpola 2000: Fig. 12.13), the son of Brahmā and founder of the temple, according to the *talapurāṇam*. When he took the hand of Arundhatī, by virtue of her conjugal excellence she was elevated to the status of morning star (Rajarajan 2016a: pl. 12). The legendary Pattini-Kaṇṇaki<sup>25</sup> was the purāṇic Arundhatī, or *vaṭamīṇ* 'pole star' ("Cilampu" 1.27).

Tiṭṭakuṭi²6 is known as Vēṅkaivaṇam, Brahma-kṣetra, Vaciṭṭapuri or Vaciṭṭapuram (Vasiṣṭhapura), Ñāṇanakar²7 ('City of wisdom'), Curapantam ('Assembly of gods'; cf. divyadeśa-Kōṭṭiyūr or Goṣṭiyūr), Bhāskara[Sūrya]-kṣetra (cf. ē-Kampam, the axis mundi Mount Meru, and Mount Olympus in Grossato 1997: Fig. 3), and Śarabha-kṣetra.²8

The *Tiruvatiṭṭakuṭi-talapurāṇam* is prefixed with a *patikam*<sup>29</sup> in praise of the Goddess, Acaṇāmpikai (Asanāṃbikā; cf. *asanaḥ* 'name of a tree', *pītasāla*; Apte 1990: 190). The *patikam* is an introduction prefixed to the *purāṇam*, emphasizing the pivotal status of the Goddess in the Tamil temple tradition (e.g. Maturai and Śrīvilliputtūr).<sup>30</sup> It consists here of forty-eight stanzas, but conventionally it is treated as ten. The poems rhetorically exalt the Goddess following the *Saundaryalaharī* (*cavuntariya*, v. 2), dealing with the *pādādikeśa* (feet to hairdo) excellences of the

<sup>22</sup> The Tamil form is *uṭanurai* 'the two united, or living together'.

<sup>23 &</sup>quot;Lord of Physicians" (Dowson 1998: 331) comprises one of the twelve great Lingas in Deogarh, Bengal.

<sup>24</sup> See *Cilappatikāram* (23.191–192, 24.3, 24.14, 25.57): *pūtta-vēnkai* (flowering kino), *naruñcinai-vēnkai* (well-impregnated kino), *malai-vēnkai vaļļi* (hill kino), *vēnkaik kārikai* (kino); *vēnkai* (see WDST 1988: 498).

<sup>25</sup> The *Cilappatikāram* (23, *veṇpā*) says *teyvamāy-maṇṇaka-mātark-kaṇiyāya-Kaṇṇaki* ("the Goddess-morphed Kaṇṇaki is the gem of a woman on earth").

<sup>26</sup> Titṭai, close to Tañcāvūr, is the venue of a Cola temple (Mahalingam 1992: 690–691). In folk usage, *tiṭṭai* (*kuraṭu*) means an elevated bit of land or island (doab) in-between two rivers. The *Tamil Lexicon* (III, 1870) gives the meaning of 'raised floor' or *tīkṣṇa*, Tamil *vellerukku* 'white madar', auspicious for Śiva (*Tēvāram* 5.193.1). The *Akaṇānūru* (35) notes an image consecrated on a mound, *patukkaik-kaṭavul* (*patukkai = tiṭṭai*) on the bank of Peṇṇai at Kōval (*divyadeśa*-Kōvalūr). Tiṭṭakuṭi appears in later Cola inscriptions since the time of Rājarāja II (1146–1173 cE); see ARE (1904, no. 16; Mahalingam 1989: 513–518). The *sthala* falls in-between the Vellāru [= Yamunā] and Maṇimuttāru ('River of gems') or Svetanadī-[= Gaṅgā] Rivers. The Vellāru and Svetanadī are "River White", comparable to the Svetāraṇya/Veṇkāṭu, a Śaiva *sthala* on the east coast (*Tēvāram* 2.184, 2.197; Suthantiran 1982).

<sup>27</sup> Inscriptions (Vijayanagara period, 15th century) note the name Vidyāraṇyapura (ARE 1904, no. 8). Vidyāraṇya was the sage Mādhva (Dodamani 2008: 7).

<sup>28</sup> This name may have something to do with the mythology of the temple. No image of Śarabhamūrti is traceable in the present temple, conspicuous in Later Cōla temples at Tārācuram (Sivaramamurti 1984: 32; Kalidos 1980: 213–218; Rajarajan 2006: pl. 294; Narasimhan 2006: pl. 41) and Tiripuvanam.

<sup>29 &</sup>quot;Poem in praise of a deity consisting generally of ten stanzas," with "preface, introduction, forward, *pāyiram*" (TL IV, 2473).

<sup>30</sup> The shrine of Śivakāmi in the Naṭarāja temple complex, Citamparam (Tillai), is to the left if Naṭarāja could be fixed to look eastward. Naṭarāja faces the south, which means Devī is located behind the Lord. Those standing behind do command a lower status. When Pattini was walking after burning Maturai, the consternated *nagaradeavatā*-Maturāpati appeared behind. Pattini interrogated her, *yārai-nī-en-pin-varuvōy* ("who are you coming behind me?"; "Cilampu" 23.19). Normally shrines for Devī are located to the left of Śiva (Santhana-Lakshmi 2019: 73–74), such as, for example, the Cola Rajarājeśvarams. In the case of Viṣṇu, Śrī and Bhū or Āṇṭāl appear to the right and left. Śrīvilliputtūr Vaṭapatraśāyī is to the left of Āṇṭāl, and in all temple rituals and *utsava*s, the Mother gets the priority (Parthiban 2019c: ch. 2).

Devī (Kalidos 2017). The epithet Vēnkaivanam-vaļar-valli ('Increasing creeper of the *vēnkai* forest') is redundant. The glory of the feminine is the main theme. Being Mīnāksī/Mīnāk[t]ci, mīn-kulavuvili-valli (whose 'eyes are fishes'; Brown 1947), she could challenge Śiva (TVP Episode 5; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: 23). Following the *Cilappatikāram* tradition (cf. "Vēṭṭuvavari") the bhujabala ('strength of arms') attributed to Siva or Viṣṇu are the woman's prototypal deeds (Bake 1955; Berkson 1987; 1997; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: 2). It was she who kicked Yama on the chest to favour Mārkkantan/Mārkandeya (v. 6). She cut off the head of Takkan/Dakşa (v. 6), and she slaughtered Makitan/Mahisa (Shulman 1980: Fig. IV; Berkson 1987; 1997) to dance on his head in nrtva-Mahisamardinī (see Stietencron 1983). She is the Tiripuravalli/Tripurāntakī (v. 10; Tripurāmbikā LSN-976; Tripureśī LSN-787; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: 68-69). She hails from the family of mīṇavan ('fishermen'). As Mīnākṣī (v. 8; cf. TVP Episode 57; Rajarajan & Jevapriya-Rajarajan 2013: 39), she is Tēviyapirāmavalli ('the Creeper'; Devī Abhirāmī of Kaṭavūr, v. 10), Āticuntaravalli ('Primeval beauty'), Rūpavalli ('Lady of rank'), Kirupāvalli ('Mother mercy'; Kirupā is a popular name with Tamil Christians), or Karunaivalli (v. 10) Karunai-malai Mēri-mātā (see 'Rain of Mercy, Mary' in a popular movie song). She is the kulateyvam 'ancestral Goddess' (v. 7). The designation as a clan-goddess is a significant turn, because the tribes of the hills<sup>31</sup> were the first to accept Pattini as their family divinity, or *illurai-teyvam* 'domestic goddess' (TCA II, 530, "Cilampu" 24; "Kunrakkuravai" in the "Vañcikkāntam"); see kulateyavam in Periyālvār Tirumoļi 5.4.3 and Periya Tirumoli 2.6.4 (Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017a: 653). The brāhmanical folk in Śrīvilliputtūr consider Ānṭāl their kuladevatā and assert she "talks to them" (ava-pēcuvā). Optimistically, the origin of the Goddess (Cūţikotutta Nācciyār; cf. the spinning Penelope in Greek lore) is traced to the Villiputtūr folk tradition (Parthiban 2019c).







Figure 9 Folk temple for Maturaivīran, Tēvatānappaṭṭi (Vattalakuṇṭu-Periyakulam highway)

Figure 10 Maturaivīran cult image and pūcāri "folk priest", Tēvatānappaţţi

Figure 11 Maturaivīran, Bommi, and Veļļaiyammāļ, contemporary painting

<sup>31</sup> nań-kulakkōr-irunteyvam cirukuṭiyīrē-cirukuṭiyīrē / teyvań-koḷḷumin ("let us adopt the maiden as our family Goddess, ye of the little tradition, catch hold of our Goddess, She is ours"; "Cilampu" 24. 10–12; Rajarajan 2016a: 25–26, 51).



Figure 12 Goddess of the *vēmpu* (neem) tree, housed in thatched temple, Kailācapaṭṭi (from Kailācapaṭṭi to Kampam [ruined temple] is about 60–70 km)

#### TIŢŢAKUŢI EXEMPLAR

The architectural material and iconographic design in the Titṭakuṭi temple complex is of an analogous pattern with the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara of Maturai and the Vaṭapatraśāyī of Villiputtūr; Amman/Tāyār is to the right and Svāmi/Perumāl to the left (Parthiban 2019c: 5.4.5),<sup>32</sup> whereas normally Devī is on the left and Svāmi on the right (Santhana-Lakshmi 2019: 32–34). The goddesses consign the male to *vāmācāra* status (see Kalidos 1994), representing the Ardhanārī to Ardhanārīśvara transformation.

The Acanāmpikai temple is on the northern bank of the Vellaru River, while Mīnākṣī is on the southern bank of the Vaiyai.<sup>33</sup> For temples of stone (*karrali*), the temple tree (*sthalavṛkṣa*)

<sup>32</sup> See Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan (2013: Annexure IV). In the Tamil folk and elite traditions, the Mother is the superior one in Maturai (cf. Queen Victoria) and the Lord in Citamparam (cf. Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch). Naṭarāja enacts the ānandatānḍavam in the ponnampalam or kanakasabhā and lalāṭatilakam in the etirampalam (Mevissen 1996) in a dancing competition with Kālī "to tame the shrew, Nīli; cf. Ālankāṭu 'āl forest' (Rajarajan 2014). Certain citations and historical exemplar from European history are given here to point out the unity of thought. They say great men think alike (e.g. Mātā Gangā and Padre Po).

<sup>33</sup> The popular Mīnākṣī temple is on the southern bank of the Vaiyai/Vaikai today. Celebrated in the *Paripāṭal* (Poems 6–7, 10–12, 20, 22, *tiraṭṭu* 2–5), it seems the river flowed in-between Maturai and Paraṅkungam in those times; the Kirutamāl River is now almost a ditch to the north of the Mīnākṣī temple. North or south depends on the city plan where the temple is located, and most rivers in the south flow from the west to east; naturally the temple is to the south or north of a river. South is the direction of Yama (god of death) and north of Kubera (god of wealth) in Hindu lore.

is *vēnkai* or *acaṇam* (Fig. 13).<sup>34</sup> Vēnkaivaṇanāyaki is "Mistress of the *sthala*", the *vēnkai* wood. Presumably, she was the first to occupy the venue; later, Śiva as Vaidhyanātha arrived to overtake the Goddess by means of matrimonial alliance.<sup>35</sup> The Vaidhyanātha temple is much more elaborate then Acaṇāmpikai, emphasizing the male-superior ideology (Figs. 5–8). The Brahmasthāna is the *garbhagṛha* fitted with a number of *maṇḍapa*s and sub-shrines (e.g. Vanadurgā; Fig. 6). The *drāviḍa-ṣaṭaṅga-vimāna* is devoid of *taṭas*, being an *alpha-vimāna*. It accommodates the *ṣaṭ* "six" *aṅgas*, such as *upapīṭha*, *bhiṭṭi* or *pāḍa*, *prastara*, *grīva*, *śikhara*, and *kalaśa*. The *śikhara* is circular (see note 38), technically a *veśara*, being symbolic of a crematorium or prehistoric megalithic burial chambers (Kalidos 1989: ch. II; Hardy 2012: figures). The *devakoṣṭhas* at the *bhiṭṭi* part provide for Dakṣiṇāmūrti (south), Liṅgodbhavamūrti (west),<sup>36</sup> and Brahmā (north), in addition to the *antarāṭa* section accommodating Gaṇapati (south) cutting his own tusk (cf. Fig. 1b) and the heroic Koṛravai standing on a buffalo head (north). The *garbhagṛha* houses the *mahā-liṅga*, consecrated by the sage Vasiṣṭha, according to the *talapurāṇam*. The *vimāna* is subjoined with a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, and elaborate *agṛamaṇḍapa*.

The *vimāna* for Acaṇāmpikai is akin to Vaidhyanātha in design, with the images appearing on the *śikhara* and the *devakoṣṭhas* being feminine. The temple is separate from Vaidhyanātha. It is graced with a separate eastern *gopura* (Fig. 14). The Mother in the *garbhagṛha* is fourarmed (*caturbhuja*), attended by a female *dvārapāla* (Fig. 15).<sup>37</sup> The Mother takes the *pāśa-aṅkuśa* 'noose-elephant goad' in *parahastas* 'unprecedented (godly) hands'; the *pūrvahastas* 'original (human) hands' are in *abhaya*- and *varada-mudrā*, like the *atti*-Varadarāja (the erstwhile *mūlabera* made of *atti* 'fig' wood) of Kāñci, which was so popular a short span of time during July–August 2019 (Rajarajan 2019a). The figure is feminine, graced with two breasts, akin to Mīnākṣī (Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: pls. 6, 33, 37, 41), and is neither *oṛramulaicci/ekastana* 'she with one-breast' (Kalidos 1993: Figs. 5–7) nor *mummulaicci/tristana* 'she with triple-breasts' (e.g. Taṭātakai; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: pl. 73, 75–76). The three *devakoṣṭhas* vertically fitted into the *bhiṭṭi* provide for Icchā- (Fig. 16), Kriya- (Fig. 17) and Jñāna-Śaktis (Fig. 18); *icchā* 'desire/love' (Umāsahitamūrti; see Rajarajan 2016a: II, pl. 260) leads to *kriya* ('creation'; i.e. Skanda, Somāskanda, or Vigneśvaraprasannamūrti;

<sup>34</sup> Maturai was *katampavaṇam* (*kaṭampu*, Indian seaside oak, Anthrocephalus cadamba). A petrified *katampam* tree is present on the northern cloister of the Sundareśvara shrine; cf. the *puli* (Averrhoa bilimbi) tree in Kurukūr. A Tamil legend (Fig. 15) calls the Mother by the name Malaiyattuvacaṇ-perra-vālvē ('Thou, the Great Soul born to Malayadvaja Pāṇḍya'). The daughter of Malayattuvacaṇ/Malayadvaja (= Himavān) was Taṭātakai (graced with three breasts; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: pls. 105–107) took the hand of Śiva by undertaking an expedition to the Himālayas (TVP Episodes 4–5; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: 23). Acaṇāmpikai and Mīnākṣī are equals. 35 The mythology gets closer to Maturai-*talavaralāru* in the *Tiruvilaiyāṭar Purāṇam* Episodes 4 "Taṭātakai-avatāram" and 5 "Tirumaṇam" (Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2013: 23; Holt 2007: ch. 2). The Tillai forest was originally the habitat of Tillai-Kālī, which Śiva conquers. Poṇṇampalam is in Tillai and Velliyampalam in Maturai. Tillai-Kālī today occupies a temple on the outskirts of the city, having been driven from her original habitat. Śivakāmi of Tillai was a later addition.

<sup>36</sup> Some Cōla temples provide for *sthānaka*-Viṣṇu in place of Lingodbhava; see, for example, Naṅkāvaram, Tiruvalañculi (Narasimhan 2006: 38, 45). The three main styles of Indian architecture are theoretically Brahmā-nāgara (square), Śiva-veśara (circular), and Viṣṇu-drāviḍa (octagonal). Śiva's abode is the kāṭu ('wild forest') or piṇakkāṭu ('burial ground, crematorium') amply portrayed in the Tēvāram hymns (Kalidos 1996a: 27–29); cf. the Bṛndāvana or Vaikuṇṭha of Viṣṇu (Kalidos 1999: 236).

<sup>37</sup> Normally two *dvārapālas* 'doorkeepers' (male for Svāmi and female for Devī; see Fig. 14) do appear. Male and female doorkeepers are reported in a contemporary temple (Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: Fig. 5). One *dvārapāla* is strange. Feminine and masculine *dvārapālas* are in the Koṭikkāl-*maṇḍapa* and Dharmarāja-*maṇḍapa* in Māmallapuram respectively (Srinivasan 1964: pls. XXXI b–c, XXXV).

see Rajarajan 2006: II, pls. 288, 69), maturing in *jñāna/ñānam* 'wisdom' (Dakṣiṇāmūrti). As *devakoṣṭha*s, the Śaktis are the equals of their masculine counterparts:

Iccha-Śakti pāśa-aṅkuśa Śiva tāmasa-saṃhāra[tattva]

Kriya-Śakti padma/nilotpala Viṣṇu sattva-sthiti Jñāna-Śakti akṣamālā-kamaṇḍalu Brahmā rājasa-sṛṣṭi







Figure 13 Vēnkai tree, sthalavṛkṣa, Titṭakuṭi

Figure 14 Amman gopura, Acanāmpikai temple, Tiṭṭakuṭi

Figure 15 Vēnkaivananāyaki mūlabera in garbhagrha & dvārapālīkā, Tiṭṭakuṭi



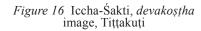




Figure 17 Kriya-Śakti, devakostha image, Tittakuti



Figure 18 Jñāna-Śakti, devakoṣṭha image, Tiṭṭakuṭi

From *deśi* (simply 'folk') to *mārga* (canonized 'śāstraic'), the Sanskritized Śaktis symbolize the Cosmic Principle, the Virāṭ Puruṣikā (*Saundaryalaharī*, v. 7; Rajarajan 2016a: pls. 117–118; Kalidos 2017: 90). "She" is the Pañcakṛṭyaparāyaṇā (LSN-274; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: 46) and Pañcabrahmasvarūpinī (LSN-250; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: 45; Rajarajan 1997: Fig. 2; 2006: II, pl. 61).

What was originally a hypaethral tree temple<sup>38</sup> for the Goddess Pattini, later (pre-twelfth century) called Acanāmpikai, posted below the *vēnkai* was merged with the cult of Śiva by about the Cola period (twelfth century CE). Note the shrine for Vanadurgā (Fig. 8); the *vēnkai* appears as the *sthalavṛkṣa* within the temple complex (Fig. 13). The location of the tree and the Amman shrine nearby may suggest that originally the Goddess was standing below the *vēnkai* tree as the Vēnkaik-kaṭavul. Most *kōyil*s to begin with were an "ordinary village (temple)", such as Śrīraṅgam (Fergusson 1972: 368), through the ages acquiring a macro-format.

The programme of Devīs in *devakoṣṭhas* (Iccha-, Kriya- and Jñāna-Śaktis) and sub-shrines (e.g. Caṇḍikeśvarī: Figs. 19–20) in place of their masculine equals is oriented towards Śāktism, in which Devī is superior to Śiva. They say that Śiva devoid of Śakti is a *śava* ('corpse'; Rawson 1984: pl. 16; Rajarajan 2016a: pls. 32–33). The *Devīmāhātmyam* and the names of *yoginī*s feminize several of the virile manifestations of Śiva into Śivā (e.g. Vīrabhadra-Vīrabhadrā,<sup>39</sup> rooted in *vīrakkal* 'hero stone'?). All this evidence leads to the conclusion that Tiṭṭakuṭi, to begin with, was the location of a classical Goddess, the proto-Pattini, who was originally human and then elevated to divine status for her virtuous deed. During the age of Śivaism under the *bhakti* cult of the Nāyanmārs, beginning with the female Kāraikkālammaiyār (Pechilis 2006; 2008: 1–11), the temple was converted to a Śiva temple. However, the name of the *sthala*, Vēnkaivanam, and the Mother Acanāmpikai persist to this day as archaic testimonies of the

<sup>38</sup> Hypaethral temples, located below a tree (āl, aracu or vēmpu; Figs. 3, 12) are popular all over South Asia (Gottet 2016: figures passim). Cankiliyānpārai in Cirumalai accommodates several temples for Cankili-Karuppu, Ēlukannimār, and Śāstra (Figs. 2-4, also 22). I have selected Cankiliyān-pārai (pārai 'rock, boulder'; see rocks in Fig. 3) for two reasons: 1) an unreported temple, and 2) the Tintukkal region is neglected in historical research (Kalidos 2019), although it claims antiquity since the Cankam Age. Cirumalai (Fig. 2) in local myths is the Sañjīvi-parvata that Hanūmān threw from Lankā to its original location in Bhārata. Cirumalai is a chip that dropped on the way. It is a malaittotar ('chain-hill'; cf. anankutai-netuvarai 'the chain-hill is divinity' in Akam. 22; Kalidos 2015) that runs from Tintukkal-Nattam to Māliruñcōlai, the Vaiṣṇava divyadeśa, celebrated in Paripāṭal (Poem 15), Cilappatikāram (11.91-115), and the Ālvārs, such as Tirumankai (Periya Tirumoli 9.8.1-10; Rajarajan, Parthiban & Kalidos 2017b: 727-728). Closeby is Palamutircōlai (Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2019), an ancient centre of the Murukan cult. It may be further mentioned that Cilappatikāram 11.85 notes the tennavan-Cirumalai "Small Hill of the southerner, Pāṇḍya", and Celiyan malaivilaiyāṭumvalankelu Cirumalai "perpetually drizzling fertile Small Hills of Celiyan-Pāṇdya"; Akam. 47). The Cirupāṇārruppaṭai (11. 84–87) lists the minor kings called Kaṭaiēluvallal ('Āy' identified with 'Aioi' of Ptolemy), who include Pēkaṇ (Subrahmanian 1990: 604), the Perunkal-nāṭaṇ ('Lord of the great stone hill') Palaṇi hills, Potiṇi in Akam. 1. The aruntiral-ananku 'divinity of miracles' (Cirupānārruppatai, l. 86) of the poem seems to be a virtuous goddess, perhaps Pattini of Narrinai? Recently, some scholars (Irācēntiran, Vētācalam & Cāntalinkam 2007) have claimed that Kannaki reached Cirumalai after burning Maturai. Cirumalai is "Vatamalai" and ē-Kampam "Kutamalai", while Kotunkallur is far away in the heart of Kerala.

<sup>39</sup> The *Devīkavacam* (part of the *Devīmāhātmyam*, *c*.550; O'Flaherty 1994: 18) sums up the feminized *nāmas*: for example, Guhyeśvarī in v. 32 (Guhyeśvara), Kāmākṣī in v. 28 (Kāmeśvara), Mahādevī in v. 31 (protector of *stanas*), Maheśvarī in vv. 10, 20 (Maheśvara), Mukuteśvara of Mahākūṭa; Kalidos 1992), Nīlagrīva in v. 29 (Nīlakaṇṭha), Pātāļavāsinī in v. 34 (Pātāleśvara in Pune; Soundara Rajan 1981: 232–241, pls. CXIII, CXLIV; "Pātālīccaram" *Tēvāram* 1.108), Sthalavāsinī in v. 32 (resident Devī in Śakti-*pīṭhas*, of which 108 are listed in Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: 383–384), Śūladhāriṇī in vv. 20, 31 or Śūleśvarī in v. 30 ([Tri] Śūladhara), Trinetrā in v. 24 (Tamil "Mukkaṇmūrtti" *Tēvāram* 2.213.3), Yogīśvarī in v. 35 (Yogīśvara), and so on (see Dehejia 1986: 194–200). We may further investigate whether these are cases of "appropriation" (Bake 1955) or "sharing and influence" (Tartakov & Dehejia 1984; Rajarajan & Jeyapriya-Rajarajan 2018: xi).

superior feminine ideology. This generalization as well applies to Ālaṅkāṭṭu-Nīli (Rajarajan 2014: 199–204; 2018b: 73–76), Tillai-Kālī (Rajarajan 2014: Fig. 2), and Maturai-Taṭātakai. If Śiva is Liṅgeśvara, Devī is Āvuṭaināyaki. Only if Puruṣa and Prakṛṭi unite is sṛṣṭi 'creation' possible (cf. the Liṅga's tripartite vertical segmentation in basement square-Brahmāṃśam, middle octagonal-Viṣṇuvāṃśam and top circular-Śivāṃśam fitted with Āvuṭai). The two ( $\mathcal{P}$ - $\mathcal{S}$ ) are equals. The best examples are Ardhanārīśvarī-Ardhanārīśvara of the Śiva-sthalas, Koṭimāṭac-ceṅkuṇrūr, and Āvuṭaiyanāyaki-Murukāvuṭaiyār of Murukaṇ-Pūṇṭi (see Appendix).





Figure 19 Caṇḍikeśvara (in separate chapel), Vaidhyanātha temple, Tiṭṭakuṭi

Figure 20 Caṇḍikeśvarī (in separate chapel), Acaṇāmpikai temple, Tiṭṭakuṭi

#### **CONCLUDING NOTES**

The matriarchal divinity, the Mother Pattini (Karpincelvi 'Maiden of Chastity' from *karpu* 'chastity'; Puram. 3, 122; Subramoniam 1962: 227), is rooted in the prehistoric pictographic legends of Eurasian civilization. Whether on the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, or the Indus, an archaic idiom seems to have been transmitted through the ages, leading to the male-female conflict that is inevitable when the feminine is humiliated or subjected to torture (e.g. Kaṇṇaki > Pattini). The *Puranāṇuru* 143–147 makes a note of another Kaṇṇaki as *kuravar*, *cilampu*, *kaṇṇir* 'tears' (see Rajarajan 2016a), finally resulting in the restoration of peace (śānti), ugramūrti returned anugrahamūrti. The Goddess is the universal spirit. Standing beyond territorial boundaries, Kaṇṇaki in the "Valttukkātai" ("Cilampu" 29.13–14) describes the southerner, ruling king as *teṇṇavaṇ-tītilaṇ* ('harmless, innocent' Pāṇḍya), and that she is the daughter of the Pāṇḍya (*Pāṇṭiyaṇtaṇmakal*; cf. Megasthenes' "Heracles and Pandaia"; Maha Devi 2019: 84). Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ, who built the Kaṇṇakik-kōṭṭam ("Cilampu" 29.3, 13) or Pattinik-kōṭṭam ("Cilampu" 28.225) in Vañci, is hailed as *ulaka-maṇṇavaṇ* ('world king'; "Cilampu" 26.83, 28.7). Maturai, the Kuṭamalai (western hill), [ē-]Kampam, Cirumalai, and Tiṭṭakuṭi are geographically set apart in the north and south. The archaic worship of the Pattini Goddess in these regions would suggest that the cult was widely

prevalent during the historic past, down to circa 600 CE, reverberating in the names of goddesses in *Tēvāram-sthalas* (see Appendix). The taproot lies low in the Indic layer and the Jordan Valley, with the Roman-Egyptian Isis appearing midway (Fynes 1993; Katonis 2011). Let us not anxiously fish in troubled waters, raising the questions of Drāvida and Ārya (Lal 2003; see Parthiban 2019c: ch. 5). These two racial elements had inextricably mixed in the east and west since c.1500-500 BCE (see Zoller 2016). The substrate of tree worship in India is potentially archaic (Gottet 2016). Religion in the Cankam and bhakti Tamil literature records the experience of bygone ages, vibrantly living in contemporary faiths. However, the Sanskritization of the Tittakuți temple by about the later Cola period is indisputable. The Tree Goddess (Fig. 22) survives in hypaethral temples all over South Asia, with Cirumalai as an eyewitness focused towards Tittakuti and the ruined [e-]Kampam being a dreamland. The *vēnkai* may be endangered (e.g. the withered *katampa* in Maturai temple), but the katavul lives in one form or another. The grassroots are spread over the excavated Indic sites, and the ancient and medieval literature comes down to surviving archaic relics. A popular saying in the Indian tradition is Enrumpattini ('Pattini always'), which denotes 'an eternal chaste woman'; 'Sempiternal Modesty' (= nityasumangalī) stands as an example since the immortal past. The Indic seals of the Tree Goddess are signets to declare "Open Sesame!" to the mysteries behind the guha ('mind-cave') of Indian matriarchal culture. The Kopperuntevi, Peruntevi, or Mahādevī of divyadeśa-Attikiri, Kāñci, is Guhyeśvarī (see note 39), and it is far beyond our faculties to capture the icon with whom we continue to work.

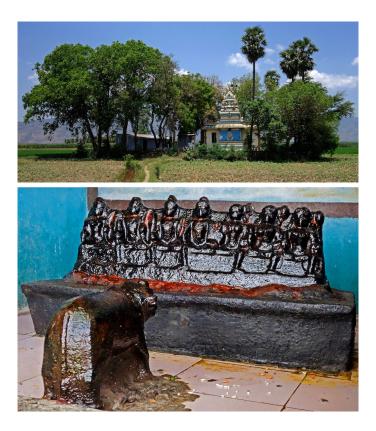


Figure 21 (i) Temple for Nallatankāļ, Vatrāyiruppu; (ii) detail of images (note vāhana) within the temple (cf. Fig. 4)



Figure 22 Folk temple for Karuppu (with arrow marking Ēlukannimār), Vattalakkuntu-Tintukkal highway, Cittaiyankōṭṭai (although hypaethral to begin with, a wall and tin shed were added some thirty years ago; Mariyāyipaṭṭi [see note 6] is about six km away)

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#### APPENDIX: NAMES OF THE PRESIDING GODDESSES IN *TĒVĀRAM-STHALA*S

KEY C = Cuntarar  $NC = \tilde{N} \bar{a} \underline{n} a campantar$ 

 $CN = C\bar{o}$ lanātu NN = Natunātu KN = Koṅkunātu PN = Pāṇṭinātu N = Nāvukkaracar (alias Appar) TN = Toṇṭaināṭi

Site. No.	Author	Town	Devī	Svāmi
1	C, N, NC	Aiyāru (CN)	Aramvaļarttanāyaki ('Mistress who nurtures <i>dharma</i> ')	Cemporcōti ('Light of molten gold')
2	NC	Akattiyānpaļļi (CN)	Pākampiriyāļ ('She never separates from the body', i.e. Ardhanārī)	Akattīcuvarar/Agasyeśvara
3	C, N, NC	Āṇaikkā (CN)	Akilānṭanāyaki ('Cosmic mistress')	Campukēcuvarar/ Jambukeśvara
4	N, NC	Aṇṇāmalai (NN)	Uṇṇāmulai (uṇṇā 'not suckled')	Aruṇācalēccuvarar/ Aruṇācaleśvara (cf. Aruṇācala 'Sun hill'; cf. Olympus)
5	C, N, NC	Ārūr (CN)	Alliyankōtai (decorated with garlands of <i>alli</i> 'water lily', Nymphaea pubescens)	Vanmīkanātar
6	NC	Ārūr-Pacupatīccaram (CN)	Mańkalanāyaki/Maṅganāyikā	Pacupaticcuvarar/ Paśupatīśvara (Lord Paśupati; cf. the Indic seal; Basham 1971: pl. 5f; Dhyansky 1987)
7	NC	Āṭaṇai (PN)	Ampāyiravalli	Ātirattinēccuvarar/ Ādiratneśvara
8	C, N, NC	Āvaṭuturai (CN)	Oppilāmulaiyammai ('Mother of the matchless breasts') Ammai 'Mother'	Mācilāmaṇiyīcar ('Lord, the immaculate gem')
9	NC	Ci <u>r</u> ukuți (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Maṅkaḷanātar
10	NC	Kalikkāmūr (CN)	Alakuvana-mulaiyammai ('Mother whose breasts are beautiful')	Cuntarēcar/Sundareśa
11	C, N, NC	Ka <u>l</u> ukku <u>nr</u> am (TN)	Peṇṇiṇallāļ ('Righteous among women')	Vētakirīcuvarar/Vedagirīśvara ('Īśvara of the <i>veda</i> hill')
12	C, NC	Kāṇappēr (PN)	Makamāyi <sup>40</sup> /Mahāmāyī (cf. Bhagavatī)	Kāļaiyappar <sup>41</sup> /Vṛṣabhamūrti (cf. the Bull in Figs. 1, 1a)
13	N, NC	Kaṇṭiyūr-vīraṭṭam (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Vīraṭṭanēcuvarar
14	N	Kaṭamppaturai (CN)	Mu <u>rr</u> āmulaiyāļ ('She of immature breasts')	Kaṭampavaṇanātar ('Lord of kadamba-vana'; see note 6)
15	N, NC	Kāṭṭuppaḷḷi-mēlai 'upper' (CN)	Vārkoṇṭamulaiyammai ('Mother tucked with breast- band'; Rajarajan 2006: II, pls. 65–69)	Tīyāṭiyappar ('Lord presenting the fire dance')

<sup>40</sup> Māmāyi ('Great Mother'),  $\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{a}yi$  (cf. 'Ayī' LSN-427), and  $\bar{a}tt\bar{a}$  'mother' ( $att\bar{a}$  'father') are folk Tamil words. 41 Identified with Kāļaiyārkōyil (Subrahmanian 1990: 271, citing  $Pu\underline{r}an\bar{a}\underline{n}\bar{u}\underline{r}u$  21, 367) to the east of Maturai; it is a Śaiva-sthala (Rajarajan 2006: I, 54–56). Here  $k\bar{a}lai$  'bull' denotes Kṛṣṇa ( $N\bar{a}cciy\bar{a}r$   $Tirumo\underline{l}i$  6.2), a popular motif in Indic seals (Figs. 1, 1a).

Site. No.	Author	Town	Devī	Svāmi
16	N	Kī <u>l</u> -Vēlūr <i>kī<u>l</u></i> 'lower' (CN)	Vanamulaināyaki ('Mistress graced with beautiful breasts')	Ātcayanāyakar 'Immaculate lord' (aṭcayam 'faultless'; Perucollakarāti I, 105–106)
17	NC	Koţimāţac-cenkunrūr (KN)	Artanārī[ē]cuvari/Ardhanārī[e] śvarī	Artanārīcuvarar/ Ardhanārīśvara
18	N	Korakkukkā (CN)	Kuntalanāyaki42	Kuntaḷanātar
19	N	Kuṭamūkku (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Kumpēcar/Kumbheśvara
20	N, NC	Maṅkalakkuṭi (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Purāṇavaratēccuvarar
21	NC	Mullaivāyil-ten 'south' (CN)	Kōtaiyammai ('Mother Kōtai'; cf. Godā/Āṇṭāḷ)	Mullaivananātar ('Lord of the jasmine forest')
22	С	Muruka <u>n</u> -Pūṇṭi (KN)	Āvuṭaiyanāyaki ('Mistress of the <i>yoni</i> ')	Murukāvuṭaiyār ('Lord accommodating the charming yoni')
23	C, N, NC	Nākēccaram (CN)	Kunramulaināyaki ('Mistress of breasts resembling hills')	Campakāraņiyēccuvarar/ Campakāranyeśvara
24	N, NC	Nallam (CN)	Mankalanāyaki ('Mistress of auspiciousness')	Umāmakēcar/Umāmaheśa
25	C, N, NC	Naḷḷāru (CN)	Pōkamārttapūṇmulaiyammai ('Whose breasts brim with love')	Tarpāranyēcuvarar/ Darbhāraṇyeśvara
26	NC	Nellikkā (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Nellivananātar <sup>43</sup>
27	NC	Ōttūr (TN)	Ilamulaināyaki ('Mistress of the young breasts')	Vētanātar ( <i>ōttu</i> Veda, 'Lord of the <i>Vedas</i> ')
28	C, NC	Parańku <u>nr</u> am (PN)	Āvuṭaināyaki	Parankirinātar ('Lord of the eternal hill')
29	NC	Peruvēļūr (CN)	Ēlavārku <u>l</u> ali	Piriyātanātar ('Inseparable from Devī', Ardhanārīśvara)
30	NC	Pātiriniyamam (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Pātiriyappar ( <i>pātiri</i> 'fragrant yellow trumpet-flower', Stercospermumchelonoides; TL V, 2608)
31	N	Paya <u>rr</u> ūr (NN)	Kāviyankanni (Epic Maiden)	Paya <u>rr</u> ūrnātar
32	N	Peru-Vēļūr (CN)	Ēlavārku <u>l</u> aliyammai	Piriyātanātar ('Lord never separated [from Devī]', Ardhanārīśvara)
33	N, NC	Puḷḷirukkuvēḷūr (CN)	Taiyalnāyaki (Graceful Mistress)	Vaittiyanātar/Vaidhyanātha (cf. presiding God of Tiţṭakuṭi)
34	NC	Vellaţai, prefixed Kurukāvūr (CN)	Kāviyaṅkaṇṇi (Classical Maiden)	Veḷḷaṭainātar
35	N, NC	Vētikuţi <sup>44</sup> (CN)	Mankaiyarkkaraci ('Queen among women')	Vētapurinātar ('Lord of Vedapura')
36	C, N, NC	Viţaimarutūr (CN)	Nanmulaināyaki ('Mistress of the charming breasts')	Marutappar ('Lord of the <i>arjuna</i> [tree]')
37	NC	Viţumpāvanam (CN)	Maṅkaḷanāyaki	Carkuṇanātar/Satguṇanātha

<sup>42</sup> Kuntaladeśa is the Calukya country, from *kuntalam* 'locks of hair', *keśa* (also 'plough' in Sanskrit; Apte 1990: 369). Kannaki was graced with rich locks of hair (see Rajarajan 2016a: pls. 38, 110, 130 & front cover plate).

<sup>43</sup> Forest of gooseberry (Phyllanthus emblica); cf. *āmalakam* Embolic myrobalan (*Tēvāram* 5.186.2), the crowning member of the Orissan and Central Indian temples (Mitter 2001: Figs. 41–45).

<sup>44</sup> Away from Kantiyūr, deep in the interior region, this temple accommodates an image of Ardhanārī with her breast on the right side in the western *devakoṣṭha* (Kalidos 1993: Fig. 6; Rajarajan 2000: Fig. 1). She is behind Śiva (see note 32).