

THE MYSTIC GATEWAYS INTO PAMPAKSHETRA: BASED ON THE PAMPAMAHATMYAM AND INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE

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“Therefore, all the Bhairavas are the protective deities of the main gateway; the Goddesses (who) are the givers of (supernatural) powers to men, are the protective deities of the intermediate gateways” (*Pampamahatmyam*, Chapter 16, Verse 7).

Seven centuries before there was a city called Vijayanagara, Pampakshetra, the area sacred to the Goddess Pampa, was already known as a place of pilgrimage.¹ Five centuries later, but still before the foundation of the city, the sacred area was further enhanced by the belief that at least part of it was Kishkindha, the kingdom of the monkey chiefs Vali and Sugriva, and the site at which Rama and his brother Lakshmana first met Hanuman, Sugriva’s minister (Sundara 1977 and Krishna Sastri 1922: 4).² This report details eight mystic entrances into the sacred area, said to be located in the cardinal and intermediate directions (Parabrahma Sastry 1985: 27 ff and see also Sitapati 1981: 2).³ The *Sthala Purana* for the site, known as the *Pampamahatmyam*, *The Glory of Pampa*, which relates the spiritual importance of Pampakshetra, devotes seven chapters to these gateways (*dvara*); five (Chapters 9-13) describe the main gateways in the cardinal directions and two (Chapters 16-17) describe subordinate gateways in the intermediate directions. Six of the eight sites can be located and are indicated on the map (Figures 1-2).

Sthala Puranas are known to exist for many sacred places, both large and small, of all-India or local importance, and generally make free use of the large corpus of myths in the Indian tradition beginning with the Vedas (Shulman 1980: 4, 15). In the case of the gateways, myths

from the two epics the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* concerning the hero Jambavan, the sage Gautama and the latter’s wife Ahalya are highlighted in the descriptions of the southern and western gateways respectively, while mention is made of Vali in the description of the northeast subordinate gateway.

The earliest source of the *Pampamahatmyam* is a paper manuscript written in Devanagari characters that was collected in the Hampi area by Col. MacKenzie in 1799; it is now deposited in the India Office Library, London (*Hemakutakhanda* 252 ff). A photocopy of this manuscript was procured in 1988 and a summary of its contents was prepared the following year. Subsequently, a paper manuscript in Telugu characters was located in the Mysore Research Institute, while another paper manuscript in Devanagari characters was turned over to Shri Vishnu Thirtha, the Sanskrit editor.⁴ These three manuscripts contain the middle and later portions of the Sanskrit text. A complete text consisting of the early, middle and later portions had been published in Telugu characters in 1933 (Venkateshvara Sastri 1933). Vishnu Thirtha undertook collating and editing a critical text from the above sources and I began translating his manuscript into English in 1990. An edited Sanskrit text and translation of 22 chapters was thus prepared by 1991. Preparation of a Devanagari transcript of the book published in Telugu characters was underwritten by Shri Rangan Goud of Hospet in the same year, after which Vishnu Thirtha became ill and discontinued editing. Therefore, leaving aside the manuscript written in Telugu characters, which Vishnu Thirtha had declared of little independent value and which was un-

reasonably difficult for me to decipher, I continued the editing of the text from the manuscripts in Devanagari characters and the book in Telugu characters, and the preparation of an English translation from the edited text. The chapter numbers indicated in this article are based on my edition of the text.

The details about the gateways given in *Pampamahatmyam* have little to do with architecture or archaeology for these are “gateways” in the sense that they are places fit for engaging in spiritual practices that lead to devotion, thus qualifying one to enter the sacred area. In particular, practices performed in these holy places afford proximity to Shiva, called Virupaksha, the divinity who established himself in Pampakshetra by his marriage with the local goddess Pampa. These places thus represent a spiritual attitude toward the sacred area expressed through a concrete term: gateway.

The distance to each of the eight gateways is measured from a tank located to the north of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi. This tank is called the Brahmakunda in the text although it is known locally as either Manmukha or Manmatha tank (Wagoner 1991: 147).⁵ It is connected with the burning of Manmatha, the god of love who “churns or agitates the mind”, by Virupaksha.⁶ Many sacred places are found to have a “Brahmakunda” which may refer to Brahma, the deity associated with material creation, or Brahman, the absolute, undifferentiated aspect of God-head;⁷ thus, this tank naturally represents the central point.

While it is tempting to think of this structure – four gateways at the cardinal points, four more at the intermediate points, arrayed around a central point – as a description of Pampakshetra as a *mandala*, actually little is made of this supposed symmetry. This does not negate the possibility that a concept such as a cosmic *mandala* was expected to be invoked in the reader or hearer’s mind, but, nothing more elaborate is spelled out in the *Pampamahatmyam* itself. This structure is used as a means to establish the order in which the gateways are mentioned. East being the principal direction, the description begins with its gateway; however, each gateway is said to be “best”.⁸

Although the sites now associated with these gateways do not actually mark the cardinal points, they are conceptually located in a particular direction with reference to the Brahmakunda at Hampi, as will be seen from a glance at the map.⁹

It is unlikely that the sites now associated with the main gateways were ever physical ways of entering Pampakshetra. Excluding the temple of Somesha, which could have been on a main or at least strategic route, as it is situated in a fortress, they do not seem to be on main routes;¹⁰ in fact, they are generally in rather inaccessible areas. This again suggests that they are means to enter the sacred area through purification. They are located at out-of-the-way places fit for performing austerities or such spiritual practices as meditation on a *mantra*, in order to create the proper frame of mind to comprehend the dignity of Pampakshetra and its spiritual essence. One so prepared may then enter the spiritual Pampakshetra and attain proximity to Shiva.

This is specifically stated in the text and is revealed within the stories told about the gateways. For example, in the twelfth Chapter, Shiva himself is made to say (Verse 11): “I am able to enter the western gateway having (first) procured Bhairava’s assent by the methods mentioned as prescribed for the practice of devotion.” Bhairava is the gateway guardian. Each of the gateways is furnished with three deities: a Bhairava (a manifestation of Shiva’s violent aspect), a Goddess (Shakti, a manifestation of Durga) and a Ganesha, the deity to be propitiated before performing any spiritual act, or any action at all for that matter, in order to remove obstacles. Some of the gateway deities are mentioned as granting “proximity” to Shiva, another indication that these are gateways in a purely spiritual sense. The Bhairavas are considered the guardians of the gateways of the cardinal directions and the Goddesses protect the subsidiary gateways in intermediate directions.

What are “the methods mentioned as prescribed for the practice of devotion?” This is explained in Chapter eleven (Verses 17-22), describing the birth of Jambavata and his practice of austerities in order to enter Pampakshetra. In Verse 17 we are informed that “the form of Rudra (i.e. Shiva) named

Jambavan suddenly arose from out of Brahma's navel." He roamed about "many desirable regions" until he reached the "southern part of Hemakuta:" thus we learn that in this mystic interpretation of the sacred space, Hemakuta, the name of the sacred hill at Hampi, may also be considered an area synonymous with Pampakshetra (Wagoner 1991: 142-43). There, obtaining permission of "the powerful Chandabhairava", guardian of the southern gateway, to "purify his nature (while) situated in that very place", he performed a great penance to propitiate Shiva. Verse 22 informs us that "although incapable of entering the sacred area", he performed his vows and did a circumambulation of the area "five *yojanas* (64 km) in extent" daily.¹¹

Circumambulation is, therefore, an integral part of the concept of the directional gateways. Walking clockwise around a venerated object, such as a temple or even a person, is a well established practice among contemporary Hindus and Buddhists.¹² In Chapter 23 of the *Pampamahatmyam*, there is mention of king Harishchandra performing a circumambulation and worshipping the deities at the various gateways of Pampakshetra. The practice of circumambulation and worshipping at the directional gateway-temples before visiting the main temple is also documented at Srisailam (Rama Rao 1966: 41).

Eastern Gateway

(*Pampamahatmyam*: Chapters 9-10)

In Sanskrit, the word for east also means "forward, front" and it is the leading direction. The *Pampamahatmyam* accordingly begins its description of the gateways with the eastern door, called Kinnarashvara, after Shiva as the Lord (Ishvara) of the Kinnaras. Kinnaras (Sanskrit, *kim-nara*: what sort of men) are celestial musicians, half man and half beast. Cynthia Talbot has pinpointed the twelfth to fourteenth centuries as the time when establishing a Shaiva deity named after a person to be commemorated (i.e. name + *ishvara*) became a popular practice in nearby Andhra Pradesh; this may afford an indication of the age of the shrines we are dealing with at the gateways.¹³

There are generally three deities associated with each gateway. The guardian deity of Kinnarashvara is known as Asitanga (black-limbed). But, the text continues: "The giver of *perfection* appears (manifests) as Gharghari (gurgling, purring, rattling, creaking) Bhairava by name." Are we to interpret the "guardian deity" as different from Bhairava? One would initially think so, as a *kshetrapala* is a local divinity associated with protecting a village or the fields.¹⁴ However, we have already noted that the guardian deities of the major gateways are the Bhairavas; therefore, it appears that these are two names of a single deity, as will be the case at some of the other gateways.

There are two other deities associated with the gateway: Gajanana ('elephant-headed') is the name by which Ganesha, the leader of Shiva's squadrons or *ganas*, is known here. He removes hindrances in the path of spiritual practitioners at the gateway. The Goddess, characterized as a giver of all enjoyments, is known as Arya (noble). It is said that she remains in that place along with the gods, worshipping (Shiva) for her own perfection; she is also called Durga (difficult to reach), the destroyer of difficulties, and is said to be pleased by various offerings. Thus, the boons offered by two of the trio of deities installed at this gateway tend to aid those embarking on the spiritual path to reach their goal, while the third deity, the Goddess, is characterized as engaging in practices leading to her own spiritual advancement.

According to the text, there is a stone at this gate that has the power to confer boons on those who reside in the area. One who practices a penance at this place for three years will "obtain the body and mind of Tamburu and Narada". These are two celestial musicians; Narada is especially important in the devotional (*bhakti*) tradition not only as a musician but one who is constantly singing the names and deeds of God. If one persists in practising austerities there for five years, "the science of music (Gandharvaveda) with (all) its parts manifests" in one's mind. However, such power places are not without their pitfalls. There are female Kinnaras, too, who are known to tempt those practising austerities in this area. "Provided he conquers the winsome (one) ...

the Kinnaras proclaim, his indestructible perfection." One particular quality possessed by this gateway is that although "Hemakuta cannot be entered by anyone, in this place ... there will be easy access for all ... who sing the hymn arranged by you," explains Shiva to the Kinnaras (Verses 9-10).

Another person associated with music mentioned in Chapter 10 is a sage known from the *Ramayana*, whose hermitage is connected with the hill of the same name close by Hampi. Here, he is characterized as a great *yogi* who is said to have become the father of Sarasvati, patron goddess of music and art, by serving Kinnareshvara. The story being alluded to is subsequently related in the *Pampamahatmyam*. It seems that because an ancient commentator on musical texts is called Matanga, the two have been confounded. Local tradition at Hampi associates Matanga's daughter with Pampa, assuming her to be a form of Parvati who serves Virupaksha in order to win him as her husband.¹⁵

The temple known nowadays as Kinnareshvara is located not far from the village called Bukkasagara. The dirt road that leads to it turns north off of the metalled road between Bukkasagara and Ramasagara about 2 km from the former but is not noticed on the Survey of India map. Mention in Chapter 10 of the Kinnara rock or stone would lead one to believe that a particularly notable rock would be in the vicinity, although I am tempted to interpret this "rock" as a *svayambhu* (self-manifest) *lingam*, the very one which the Kinnaras worship as Kinnareshvara. Furthermore, the last line of the Chapter describes the place where god Kinnareshvara is like "the hill, not artificially created, that is Sambhu". However, there is no hill as such at the site called Kinnareshvara nowadays.¹⁶

There is an old temple at Kinnareshvara that faces east onto a newer porch. The old temple is constructed of large stone blocks with three motifs (a star, a *hamsa* and a figure seated cross-legged) carved on one of the blocks of the northern wall, reminiscent of scattered decoration carved on a Vijayanagara period temple at Penukonda. The temple was locked on the evening of our visit, although we were told a *pujari* comes in the morning to worship the *lingam* in the central shrine that was visible

through the bars of the door. Another room, to the north, held other pieces, but they were hard to see from the door. To the south, in a separate but contiguous shrine, is a slab (perhaps modern) with a carving that seemed to be of Goddess Bhairavi. (She was identified as Parvati by a local man.) Another slab, to the south and west of Bhairavi-Parvati's shrine, is carved with Ganesha; this is not in any shelter at all and may also be a modern piece. There is a *mela* (fair) held here on the last Monday in Shravana (July-August).

If the vicinity is extended to an area not absolutely proximate to the present-day temple, a very impressive rock, indeed, is to be seen near the river. Another local person at the temple offered to show us an inscription carved on a stone.¹⁷ It turned out to be quite close to an extremely massive boulder balanced on its smallest end, and that end itself worn away, so that it was actually standing on a very tiny fraction of the total bottom area. It seemed the rock would topple with the merest pressure.

Southern Gateway

(*Pampamahatmyam*: Chapter 11)

This gateway is dedicated to Jambavateshvara and is also known as Jambukeshvara. The reward of remaining at this site and doing penance is proximity; that is, at the time of liberation, one will attain a state of nearness to Shiva. This underscores that it is indeed a gateway in the spiritual sense. As it is specifically mentioned that those who repeat *mantras* there attain the same reward, it seems that the *Pampamahatmyam* is of a time when the discipline of Shaiva *bhakti* (devotion) had gained popularity.¹⁸ It is said to be in a place four *krosas* (13 km) from the Brahmakunda. The guardian of the gateway is Chanda (fiery, passionate) Bhairava; he is also characterized as Gadapani (holding a mace). Vira (heroic) is the name by which Ganesha is known there; he is said to bear an elephant goad and noose and to be pleased with offerings of cooked rice, cakes of milk and rice, and sweets (*ladduka*, made of *guda*, a sort of molasses). Durga, the supreme power (*parashakti*), is named Bhadra (auspicious, prosperous) and is "dark as a cloud".¹⁹ She is connected with

yoginis, both celestial and earthly, who serve her;²⁰ virgin musicians also serve her. Again, celestial women are said to be pleased to entertain those practicing asceticism at this place.²¹

The story mentioned in connection with this gateway, explaining its meaning and importance, connects it with the story of Rama. Ravana, the villain of the *Ramayana*, was a great devotee of Shiva, from whom he received his powers after performing rigorous penance. In order to re-establish order in the world (i.e. to help vanquish the invincible Ravana), Shiva took birth as Jambavat, as mentioned above. His reward, after practising austerities for thousands of years, was proximity to Shiva and a role in the various exploits of Vishnu as Rama and Krishna. Thus, as king of the bears, he takes part in the fight against Ravana in the *Ramayana*, and also appears as a bear in the *Mahabharata* where he becomes father-in-law to Krishna. The connection of Pampakshetra with the *Ramayana* is clarified in the discussion of intermediate gateways below.

The temple which marks this site is built at the east end of a flat hollow on a hillside about 3 km south of Hospet, off a secondary road; at the west end of the same hollow is a small unadorned shrine housing a Nandi. There is an article describing the temple of Jambavateshvara (Balasubramanya 1991: 168-78), but nothing in Chapter 11 of the *Pampamahatmyam* gives us any information to compare with the temple as it presently exists – not even that it is situated on a hill – except in Verse 6, which explains: “A man, bathing at that *tirtha*, worshipping Chandabhairava, does not fear any ghost or spirit whatsoever.” *Tirtha*, in this case, must refer to the well of reddish but very sweet water that is considered medicinal nowadays within the temple premises;²² it is the only source of water in the area. Aside from Shiva-Jambavateshvara,²³ the other deity now worshipped at this site is Virabhadra. That Bhairava is not worshipped here and Virabhadra is, may be indicative of the cult changes that the Pampakshetra has gone through since the composition of the *Pampamahatmyam*, probably in the sixteenth century.²⁴ A *yatra* (chariot festival) is celebrated at Jambukeshvara temple on the day before the full moon of Chaitra (March-April)

one day prior to the pulling of the chariot at Hampi.

Western Gateway

(*Pampamahatmyam*: Chapter 12)

Soma is the name of the form of Shiva worshipped at this gateway, called Someshvara, and there is a constant play on this name, which may refer to Shiva along with his wife (sa Uma), to the moon, or to the mystic Vedic intoxicant. The hill itself – and there is, indeed, a steep hill to climb before reaching this site – is said to be “another Hemakuta” and, therefore, equal to Kailasa, Shiva’s home in the Himalayas (Verse 5). The site is mentioned as “10 miles” from the Brahmakunda.

Bhairava here is known as Unmatta (drunk, intoxicated, furious), without whose permission, as we have seen, no one, man or God, may enter into the sacred area. He is also called Ghrini (the glowing, passionate) and is said to be kind to devotees once he has determined they are serious. Ganesha, “who guards that place”, is called Varada (giver of boons), described as having four arms, three eyes, an expansive belly and crowned with the moon. The Goddess, characterized as “Durga, worshipped by Garga”, an ancient sage, is known as Subhaga (very fortunate). Verses 17-18 explain that she is compassionate and gives “good fortune, a bewitching form (and) pastimes (that) delight all” for which reason “she is worshipped by celestial women [. . .] coming again and again with gifts as prescribed in order to attain (their) passionate desires.”

There is said to be a particularly holy lake here, known as Somatirtha or Somakunda. Bathing in it on the full moon of Vaishakha (April-May), during the festival called a *yatrotsava*, is highly praised (Verses 20 ff), especially for realizing the power inherent in *mantra*-recitation. *Yatra* is the name now applied to the chariot festival held at Hampi, culminating on Chaitra (March-April) full moon, and *utsava* is the name generally applied to a procession of the god-images outside the confines of the temple. Therefore, this sort of festival was once held at Someshvara on the full moon following the Hampi festival, which is datable to the Vijayanagara period.²⁵

The tale told about this site incorporates this

great fair, emphasizing the importance of the tank at the site (i.e. the *tirtha*). It says that sage Gautama decided to attend the *yatrotsava*, taking along his two young sons, whom he carried on his shoulders, and his older daughter, who walked along with her father. As it was the hot month of Vaishakha, the girl suffered from the heat and dust, especially while climbing the steep hill. When they reached the top, she bitterly complained to her father that he had carried two boys sired by another, whom he considered his sons, while she, his legitimate daughter, had to walk. Shocked, he scolded her, but she remained adamant and suggested that the tank called Somatirtha, noted for its purity, could resolve his doubts: if the children bathed in it, those who were illegitimate would change form. The sage put his sons into the water and the girl, too, took a dip: although she came out as before, the boys were transformed into monkeys. The story continues to explain why these monkeys were named Vali and Sugriva, and the curse put upon the sage's wife, Ahalya, who was to be liberated by the touch of Rama's foot. This tale thus connects Pampakshetra with Kishkindha, the kingdom of Vali and Sugriva, described in the *Ramayana*; we have noted that the area had been known as Kishkindha even prior to the Vijayanagara period.

The western gateway is located off the road from Hospet to Gangavati, near the village of Shivapura: within a seventeenth-century fort atop a steep hill is the small dark cave-temple of Someshvara, surmounted by a spire (*shikhara*) built above the hill.²⁶ To reach it, one crosses between cultivated fields; after finding a way up the very steep lower hillside, there are shallow steps cut into the sheet-rock that lead from the gateway of the lower fort enclosure to a cleft in the rocks. On the rock to the west, one sees a well-carved image of Nandi with a short label inscription below, in Kannada letters, not entirely legible (one can make out "svami"). A stone slab with a damaged Ganesha leans against the rock to the east, facing towards Nandi. Inside, the cleft is strewn with rubble. Straight ahead, a large, free-standing headless Nandi now has its back turned to the entrance of a chamber on the left (west) that probably housed the *lingam*

known as Somesha. One can still make out in the darkness a very large *yonis*, the *pitha* or base for the *lingam*. Continuing straight ahead, before the rubble-strewn passage turns toward the west, another *lingam* in a *yonis* is set up. There seems to be no other adornment within the passages of the cleft in the rock. Above this, atop the hill, a spire has been constructed. A tank is still visible, either a natural depression in the rock or hollowed out for the purpose of storing water, east of the cave-shrine. Two other *tirthas*, or bathing places, are named in the text but are unidentifiable.

From the entrance into the cleft there is a grand panorama of dry rocky hills. To the east it stretches to Hampi, and beyond. One recognizes the towering form of the east *gopura* of the Pampati Virupaksha temple, taller than many of the hills and dwarfing the north (Kanakagiri) *gopura*. Matanga Hill is clearly visible with its hilltop shrine, as well as one of the gateway structures on Hemakuta Hill.

Northern Gateway

(*Pampamahatmyam*: Chapter 13)

This gateway, called Manibhadreshvara, is described as four *krosas* (13 km) from Brahmakunda. It has been mentioned that each gate is characterized as "best", but, without giving any particular reason, Verse 3 declares, "yet, this northern gateway (has) superior power and majesty among all the gateways;" it may have to do with the importance inherent in the northerly direction (where Shiva resides in the Himalayas; see Fritz 1991: 125, 131). The Bhairava associated with the gateway is named Bhishana, the terrifying, "terrifying to (those who) see (merely) the exterior". He is "the protector of the gateway, the destroyer of difficulties", and is further characterized as "(having) the same colour as the blue cloud (and) dressed in blue garb". Moreover, his *mantra* is cited.²⁷ Ganesha is known here by the name Hastimukha (elephant-faced). Although other names bear no similar correlation, it may be mentioned that this gateway is close by the ancient city of Anegondi, whose name in inscriptions is sometimes Sanskritized to Hastinavati, "city of elephants". Hastimukha, whose proper function it is, and also this Bhairava are said to

“always counteract the many difficulties of (i.e. experienced by) the self-controlled ones”. The Goddess, “(Shiva’s) primal power (Shakti), Haimavati by name”, is the colour of melted gold; she has blue-black curly hair, wears red clothing, an ornament of red flowers and holds divine weapons.

It is also mentioned that the sacred water (*tirtha*) makes one completely pure. In the notes to the Chapter,²⁸ Vishnu Thirtha mentions, “some hollows made in the rocks [...] found in front of the temple.” There are inscriptions in Telugu script visible in the rock (giving) the names Amritatirtha (and) Papanasanatirtha, “at the lip of some of the depressions”. Although they are completely dry nowadays, they may have once provided holy water (*tirtha*).²⁹ The text, however, names Agastyatirtha and Dhanustirtha, stipulating that drinking from the latter and bathing in its water “immediately (results in) destruction of sins”; Papanasana, indeed, means “destruction of sins”.

This temple, locally known as Manibhadreshvara, is easily found by simply following the Left Bank Canal (on the north bank of the Tungabhadra River) to where it enters the Papiiah tunnel. The shrine is located atop the hill over the canal at this point, nearby the village called Mallapura, not far from Anegondi. There is an easy track leading up to the temple and some bicycles were there when we visited the site. The actual *lingam* of Manibhadreshvara is in a cave or rock-shelter in the hillside, over which has been built a shrine. The temple of large stone slabs seems to be a Vijayanagara structure, opening off a newer construction.

Southeast and Southwest Intermediate Gateways

(*Pampamahatmyam*: Chapter 16)

The southeast gateway is known as Draupadikshetra. There is no distance from the Brahmakunda mentioned. In fact, the second verse reads: “In the auspicious southeast (Vahni) quarter (direction) of Brahmakunda itself there is the sacred area named Draupadi (kshetra).” The main protector of this sacred area is the Bhairava known as Ruru,³⁰ the Vighnesha or Ganesha, “remover of obstacles

for the virtuous”, also known as Vinayaka.³¹ The protective (tutelary) deity of the gateway is known as Mahamaya “(who) amplifies the splendour of devoted followers”. We have noted at the beginning of this article that Verse 7 informs us that the Bhairavas are the presiding (tutelary) deities of the main gateways and the Goddesses are the presiding (tutelary) deities of the intermediate gateways, although nothing mere is made of this distinction. Three tales are told about this site.

The first tale describes a place called Ramatirtha. Rama, desirous of conquering Ravana, “the ten-headed enemy of the gods”, was staying, at this gateway, performing penances to attain his purpose. Along with his brother Lakshmana, he meditated on Virupaksha, “the protective deity, of Hemakuta”. When he had obtained the desired powers, he established the *lingam* named Rameshvara “and following that, the sacred *tirtha* (that) destroys all evil (became known) by that name”.³²

The second tale moves into the following (Dvapara) era, and mentions the Pandavas, especially Draupadi, “the (woman) beloved of the Pandavas (who) obtained good fortune worshipping the goddess (Shakti) Mahamaya”. Worshipping that supreme Goddess with presents as prescribed for the purpose, she requested the Goddess: “May that (sacred) area be known by my name.” The supreme Goddess, the boon-giver, Mahamaya herself, pleased by her devotion, said, “That (sacred) area should be (called) Draupadikshetra.”

Thus, the first tale simply mentions a *tirtha* within the area of the gateway, and the second attempts to give a reason for the gateway’s name. The third tale informs that: “Formerly, desiring to chastise the sun for going above Hemakuta, Ruru Bhairava angrily seized (the sun’s) jewelled earrings. The shining (sun), whose brilliance was conquered by him, unable to move, bowing, went around (Hemakuta) by circumambulation (*pradakshina*) with Bhairava’s permission. Bhairava seized the jewelled earrings (and) placing them down, in that place there came to be the best *tirtha*, named Manikundala.”

This last tale amplifies the importance of circumambulation. In his notes to the Chapter, Vishnu Thirtha opines that because there

occurs a connection between the Ramatirtha and Rama, and Rama passed time residing at Malyavanta Hill during the four months rest,³³ “as described in this book and elsewhere”, one may assume that this intermediate gateway is someplace close to the present day Malyavanta Hill. However, the text itself refers this gateway to the central tank. Moreover, the third story, specifying that Hemakuta Hill is within the environs, agrees with the conjecture that this intermediate gateway is synonymous with, or at least adjacent to, Brahmakunda.³⁴ Among the three temples on Hemakuta in which worship is still carried on, there is one now known as Gayatri Pitha in which the central shrine houses a *lingam* now known as Ramalingeshvara; this temple, however, is not one of the older shrines on the hill.³⁵ There is a semi-annual, ritual circumambulation of the hill at Hampi by the priests and deities of the Virupaksha temple on the dates associated with the solstices. This rite may have a connection with the story about the sun. The sun was “unable to move, and, indeed, at the solstice the sun stops, changes its course, retreating, so to speak, in the direction from which it had come”. Finally, Hampi is known as Bhaskarakshetra, a place sacred to the sun, although that is not mentioned in this tale in the *Pampamahatmyam*.³⁶

The *Pampamahatmyam* indicates that this subsidiary gateway is in the southeast of the central tank itself. This tank lies at a very low level, with a small paved surface at the water level on the east and west sides;³⁷ the north side has a landing which does not exhibit any pavement, while the south side abuts the temple compound wall. It is surrounded on three sides by roads that run around the top of the high parapet wall. There is a single temple, called Nagareshvara, located to the east of the tank at the water level, which is below the level of the oldest temples to the west of the tank; these later shrines are at the level of the approach to the north *gopura* that runs above the tank.³⁸ Moreover, to the east of the tank there is a line of *mandapas* at the same level as the temples on the west bank; they border the eastern side of the road going to the Tungabhadra River from the bazaar that passes above the eastern bank of the tank.³⁹ These *mandapas* are now used as residences; I

believe there is also a temple among these dwellings. How they relate to the other old structures at Hampi is uncertain; it is not impossible that they represent the remains of a group of structures, possibly including the Nagareshvara temple that was once known as Draupadikshetra beside the tank. There is a stone protruding out of the road that skirts the eastern wall of the Virupaksha temple and the eastern bank of the tank immediately south of this group of *mandapas*. It is considered a *kshetrapala*, is worshipped daily, and is always worshipped during the *utsava* of the temple deities whenever they are taken in procession outside the temple compound.⁴⁰ It is thus located on the higher level in the contemporary road to the southeast of the central tank.

The southwest gateway is known as Samkareshvara “that destroys the triple suffering (inflicted by gods, fate and other beings)” and is specified as being in the southwest quarter of the Brahmakunda. This gateway is protected by the guardian deity (*kshetrapala*) known as Krodha (angry) and its Vighnesha is called Sura (strong), “a giver of strength to heroes”. The goddess is mentioned as “a giver of bliss whose vehicle is a tiger, a giver of limitless prosperity, who provides all bliss to the gods”, and is known as Kali “the terrible, (whose) illusion is difficult (to penetrate).”

The tale told about the area, explaining its name, mentions Shanmukha (the six-headed; i.e. Skanda), son of Shiva and Parvati, called Guha (hidden). It describes that as a child he sometimes passed time playing in the waves of the Tungabhadra River. His father, Shankara, along with his wife, looked on affectionately. Skanda worshipped a *lingam* named Shankarashvara at a place called Rudrapada, “the feet,” or, by extension, “the place (associated) with Rudra (i.e. Shiva)”, which is characterized as a place for offering rice balls to the ancestors. “The ancestors (in return) give [...] auspicious long-lived sons.”

This intermediate gateway is unusual in that no Bhairava has been specified although *kshetrapala* (Krodha) is mentioned; however, it has been seen above that a guardian deity may be a form of Bhairava. It is said, rather, that, here one enters Hemakuta “by the permission [...] of Skanda (who is) approach-

able by devotion". Furthermore, "those who are full of devotion feed the Brahmins daily in that place; Lakshmi, (who thus becomes) constant, causes them (i.e. those who perform this rite) to prosper day after day". The feeding of Brahmins is part of the Shraddha ceremony of offering *pinda* (rice balls) to deceased ancestors. Vishnu Thirtha, in his notes to the Chapter, feels that because of the connection with the Tungabhadra River, "the place of the Nairritya intermediate gateway must be in the place where nowadays the Tungabhadra dam is built and (where) the reservoir is found".

However, this is clearly an area closely identified with the central tank itself. As one leaves the Virupaksha temple through the north (Kanakagiri) *gopura*, one passes (on the east, within the *gopura*) the shrine of Ratnagarbha Ganesha. Facing him (on the west within the *gopura*) is the shrine of Camundeshvari Devi. One exits the *gopura* and is standing on the southwest end of the Manmatha tank, that is, the Brahmakunda. The first shrine on the east is that of Kala Bhairava Svami. On the west side are two small shrines: the first is that of "Chandra Svami", who, although defaced, is seen to be holding two lotuses and would, therefore, rather be an image of Surya, the Sun; the next shrine to the north is the shrine of a Goddess slaying an animal, holding it by the head and sticking her trident into its neck. The name is difficult to decipher but "Varaha" can be made out; perhaps "Varaha-mardini", slaying a boar.⁴¹ Next among the early stone temples on the western bank of the tank is one dedicated to Shankareshvara; thus, according to the contemporary nomenclature, the identification of the southwest corner of the tank with Shankareshvara is confirmed. If this is actually the southwest intermediate gateway, it is the only gateway to have a complete configuration of gods and goddesses, although the names given to them today do not match those given in the text. In connection with the story of Skanda, it should be noted that this is an area quite close to the river. When the deities go out for the *avirbhrita*, a bath in the river after the completion of their vows at the finale of the Kalyanotsava (the chariot festival, or *yatra*, which marks their annual marriage), although they go to the river through the main

eastern gateway of the temple, they return from the riverside that night to the Manmatha tank for the Tepotsava (floating festival) through the ceremonial gateway just north of Shankareshvara shrine, at the northwest corner of the tank.

Northwest and Northeast Intermediate Gateways

(*Pampamahatmyam*: Chapter 17)

The northwest gateway is simply said to be situated in the "northwest quarter of the Brahmakunda" and is called the area (*kshetra*) sacred to Mahakala. It is considered to be conducive to the perfection of *mantra* (*siddhi*), that is to say, acquiring the power of a *mantra*. Its Bhairava is called Kapali, and the Goddess (Shakti) is "Shiva's spouse, the great Goddess of the Tantras celebrated as Mahakali". He is said to protect the area by his power and she discloses her own power to those who are surrendered (*prapanna*, suppliants). Moreover, she is credited with giving perfection to practitioners of *tantra*, *yantra* and *mantra*; that is, those who practice rituals, make use of diagrams and repeat mystic formulae. Ganesha, "clothed with streams of rutting fluid" (an exudation flowing from his temples), is here called Lambodara (expansive-bellied). He is said to be "facing any direction", which perhaps means that he is not enclosed within a shrine (i.e. open to any or all directions).

A story is told about "some leader of a troop (*gana*, of Shiva's followers), called Mahakala", who had to go to Mandara mountain to make obeisance to Virupaksha. "Wherever (he went) he was hindered by (his) unavoidable brilliance." Performing penance, he pleased God, who became visible before him. "(Shiva) became visible like a raised heap," so that the place "is well known as Taticchila, the *tatit* (raised) stone, purifying everything [...] from then on, that (sacred) area is remembered by the name Mahakala, in which place (there is) Mahakaleshvara, worshipped by Mahakala". It seems, therefore, the self-manifest Taticchila was a *svayambhu lingam* worshipped by and called after Mahakala, the one to whom the epiphany was granted. Further on it is stated that, "those men who take a bath in the *tirtha* by the name of Mahakala (become) free from

sin (and) attain the supreme place”, while lastly we are informed about the deep caves there in which various perfected beings abide “to win their desired (rewards)”.

Although we are given a variety of “features” – the name of a particular mountain, sacred stone, bathing place and inhabited caves – we are stranded in a vague space, since none of the places named is known at present. Here is another reference to the practice of naming Shiva *lingams* after a person by suffixing *ishvara* to the person’s name, and there is an attested twelfth-century example of this at the north-west corner of the Manmatha tank (Talbot n.d.). The notion of Shiva becoming visible as the raised stone seems to refer to a self-manifest (*svayambhu*) *lingam*, such as that of the Virupaksha temple. We have discussed a temple on the Hemakuta Hill called Mula-Virupaksha, the “original” Virupaksha that is considered to mark where the deity sat in meditation while he was served by Pampa (Wagoner 1991). It is close to a number of natural boulders and caves or rock-shelters, while in front (east) of it is a pond. However, the present *lingam* does not appear to be *svayambhu* as does the Virupaksha *lingam*, and to identify this shrine with the northwest gateway would put the latter south of the area we have just identified with the southwest gate and is, therefore untenable.

There are a number of ancient shrines preserved to the north of the Brahmakunda. The pre-Vijayanagara north-west corner shrines have been described in some architectural detail (Patil 1991a: 113-42). Thus we have a temple of a goddess, nowadays known as the Durga temple from the image enshrined therein; however, the architectural detail noted is a figure of Mahishamardini flanked by lions over the entrance to the *antarala* (Devaraj and Patil 1991: 117). In this temple is found the inscription of 1199 from which we know that at that time there was a temple of “Bhairavadeva” in the vicinity (Talbot n.d.). South of the Durga temple is one mentioned as Naganandishvara (Devaraj and Patil 1991: 117).⁴² To the north of the goddess’s temple is another pre-Vijayanagara structure referred to as the Mallikarjuna temple (Devaraj and Patil 1991: 121). Also to the north of the goddess shrine is the Immadi Racha-

mалleshvara temple, already referred to, and finally another Shiva temple above the north bank of the tank (Devaraj and Patil 1991: 124-25, 127). Thus, it is not impossible that this complex of ancient shrines was the so-called Mahakalakshetra and that one of these temples was that of Mahakaleshvara, another that of the Bhairava known as Kapali, etc. There are even several empty niches in the parapet wall above the tank that may have housed specific deities at one time. As for the bathing *tirtha*, it may have simply been a portion of the central tank, a small sub-*tirtha* within the larger *tirtha* or Brahmakunda. If it may be accepted that just as a sacred area (*kshetra*) could be subdivided into many sub-*tirthas*, one single (bathing) *tirtha* could be subdivided to a variety of gods and goddesses.⁴³ However, what hill could be identified as the Mandara is not known, and, as will now be seen from the following example, there is no compelling reason to think that these auxiliary gateways need be proximate to the tank, unless (as in the case of south-east sub-gateway) it is specifically mentioned as being near the Brahmakunda.

There is no difficulty in identifying the northeast intermediate gateway, said to be “in the northeast of the Brahmakunda,” and called Devakhata.⁴⁴ The protector of that gateway (termed a “sacred area”) is called Samhara (the destroyer) Bhairava and the Goddess Durga, who “resides in that place”, is called Mahabhairavi. To obtain her protection one is advised to say: “Oh Mahabhairavi Protect me.” We are informed pronouncing “Bhairavi” is equivalent to the *mantra*: “Namah Padam Dadesha.”⁴⁵ Here, Ganesha is called Bhakshya-priya (fond of food).

Regarding this place, the following story is related. There was a demon called Dundubhi, “a thorn (in the side of) the gods”. In order to conquer him all the mortals performed repetition of this *mantra*. They were certain that by pleasing Shiva, “the lord of Hemakuta”, with penances they could conquer the demon. After they performed penances on the bank of the river, Shiva was pleased and said: “I understand your feelings. You are conquered by Dundubhi. You have come near to me because you are desirous of vanquishing him. The great Lord named Vali, having more strength than the gods and demons, will be

(found) in a (difficult to reach) cave in Kishkindha. The sovereign lord of the forest dwellers (monkeys, i.e. Vali) shall slay Dundubhi (and) the entire three worlds will become inundated with peace.⁴⁶ Situated in that place, he has been worshipping me, Shankara, with supreme devotion." He gave them a boon, that they would become "free of fear and sorrow". Not only the gods but also "the sages, the ancestors and others, reciters of the glory of the *tirtha*"⁴⁷ stayed there, but never went to the Devabrad (lake, or Devakhata)⁴⁸ for bathing. Although they were "living on the border of Kishkindha in various places", they remained "hidden (because they were) fearful of Dundubhi".

Finally, they propitiated Bhakshyapriya, the lord of obstacles, and made this request: "We are afraid of Dundubhi; keep a lookout for as much time as it takes for us to bathe." Bhakshyapriya remained standing on the side of a mountain in order to know of Dundubhi's approach; meanwhile, the gods, the ancestors and the sages assembled "in Tungabhadrapura" to bathe.⁴⁹ At that moment, learning where the gods were, the enormous Dundubhi, mad for war, set out with his followers. The fearful demon set out with great speed taking a frightful noise, like the fire at the end of the world. Bhakshyapriya, watching from the peak of the mountain, hearing the noise and seeing the demon setting out, said: "That enemy of yours, Dundubhi by name, is setting out right now." The gods, ancestors, sages and great souls, already in the water, at a loss as to what to do, plunged into the Tungabhadra, abandoning their garments. By the time Dundubhi arrived at the place, he could not see the gods so he went back smiling. "The place in which the gods submerged, then, is remembered as Devakhata; the place in which the seers submerged is said to be Rishikhata; the place in which the ancestors plunged is remembered as Pitrikhata." Sometime later, "the king named Vali, the lord of Kishkindha", slew Dundubhi and the gods became free from distress.

The allusion to Vali as stronger than the gods and demons is a reference to a specifically southern Indian tale related in part in the Tamil *Ramayana* of Kambar,⁵⁰ and given more fully in the Sanskrit *Kanchimahatmya* and the

Tamil *Kancippuranam*. After the gods and demons had made several vain attempts to chain the ocean for *amrita*, the elixir of immortality, the gods requested Vali for help. He agreed and placed both gods and demons at the head of the snake Vasuki, who was serving as the rope, while he himself took the tail. He was too strong and the Mandara mountain, serving as the churning past, bent towards him. Vishnu, in the form of Kurma, the tortoise, serving as the base, consolidated the mountain. Then Vali grasped both ends of the snake and chained alone, apparently successfully. Discussing the depiction of the story in the twelfth-century stone reliefs of Angkor Vat, Filliozat mentions that the tale was already current in south India in the twelfth century when the inscription was carved (Filliozat 1983: 202).

The chapter concludes with the mention of two specific *lingams*. "Soma, having heard the glory of this sacred area came, and the clever one caused to be set up a Shiva (*lingam*) called Somanatha after his own name;" and "In the Treta era, Rama, the conqueror of the enemy's city, having slain Ravana, set up a Shambhu (*lingam*) for the purpose of removing (the sin of) slaying a Brahmin." It well may be that there were such shrines; the story about Dundubhi and Vali seems to be a resume of Kishkindha's religious history.

There is a pre-Vijayanagara inscription at this site, now known as Devighat, mentioning that this area is Kishkindha.⁵¹ Thus, both sides of the Tungabhadra at Pampakshetra were particularly sacred to local deities centuries before the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara.⁵² Vali's sad demise at the hands of Rama probably marks the end of the indigenous cult and the substitution of divinities who concur with a wider Indian outlook, like the hero Hanuman who is ready to serve Rama.⁵³ The former is very much in evidence at nearby Anegondi and, like Vali, is particularly noted for strength under the epithet Mahabali.⁵⁴

To reach Devighat one turns left (south) onto the dirt track running alongside the Jhantakal canal, the first canal that intersects the road from Gangavati to Anegondi. Near the Tungabhadra River, where the river meanders west to east through a wide flat bed

strewn with rocks, shallow pools and grasses, one reaches a group of pre-Vijayanagara shrines. At places a retaining wall of long narrow stone slabs is visible, securing the main cluster of shrines above the canal. The group now consists of the main Shiva shrine and, to its north, an empty south-facing shrine, both whitewashed; above and to the south are two dilapidated stone *mandapas* and there are two more *mandapas* above and to the north as well. A rocky hill rises behind the entire cluster of shrines. To the north at a short distance but on the other (east) side of the canal, where the road runs, is a separate shrine.

The Shiva temple, still in worship, faces east and consists of an open porch, east of and wider than the main shrine, which consists of two narrow chambers connected to a doorway. There is no doorway between the porch and the first chamber, but a pair of four-armed Shaiva *dvarapalas* wearing *kundala* (large circular earrings) are seen on the lower jambs of the doorway into the *garbhagriha*; a Gajalakshmi figure (the elephants have heavy elongated legs) sitting cross-legged on the lintel holds lotuses in each of her two hands. The *garbhagriha*, containing a *lingam*, is plain inside except for the back wall on which is a plaster figure (visible only in part), probably a four-headed Shiva (three faces are showing), perhaps four-handed: the two upraised hands are still visible but what they hold (*trishula*?) is not easily recognized. The walls are of plaster over brick raised on a stone foundation whose plain moulded upper courses are partly exposed to the north, where it seems someone was recently digging.

In the centre of the open porch is a raised platform having four elaborate pillars, surmounted by plain brackets: under the brackets are a circular section, bands (divided into sixteen and then eight faces), below them a square, then a sixteen-faced band, a series of plain bands, a sixteen-faced band and a rectangle, under which is a base with a raised square in the middle of each side. The floor of the chamber between the porch and *garbhagriha* is of four long stone slabs with curious indentations, perhaps purposely made (as if by rotating a heavy stone wheel to form them); those in the middle run parallel to the front wall of the *garbhagriha* (i.e. north-south),

while on the north and south sides of the second and fourth slabs are smaller indentations (the slabs being much longer than wide), perpendicular to the others. To the east, a single similar stone flooring slab begins the floor of the porch, with similar indentations, perpendicular to the *garbhagriha* wall on the south but parallel to it on the north, while between them there seems to be a longer indentation, parallel to the same wall (i.e. running north to south). Inside the porch, two *nagakkals*, or snake-stones, lean against the north wall (the northwest corner of the open porch is enclosed by a wall built on the western side of the northern extension of the porch past the first chamber, running north to south, and a short northern wall extending from the western wall toward the east); a stone slab with an image of two-armed Shiva holding *trishulas*, beneath which are smaller human figures, leans against the porch's northwest wall. Above the *garbhagriha* rises a small *shikhara*, but the other shrines at the site are all flat-roofed with no trace of towers.

The pre-Vijayanagara inscription noticed above is embedded in the wall built above the south extension of the porch beyond the walls of the (original?) two chambers. Above the inscription, on the same slab, in a semi-circle, are shown a man worshipping a *lingam*, behind him (south) a deer below a representation of the sun; above the *jaladhara*, which points north, is the moon, under which Nandi sits facing the *lingam*.

Separate from the group of temples is a shrine now dedicated to Virabhadra to the north and lower (i.e. east, on the other side of the canal). It also faces east and has a small open porch whose roof is raised on columns consisting of three squares: the two upper squares generally have floral decorations and the lower squares are carved with figures (except the extreme northern column, having a Ganesha on the middle square facing west, and the extreme southern pillar, with two bulls on the two lower squares facing south). Currently in worship is a slab, perhaps modern, carved with Virabhadra; it is propped up with stones between it and the back (western) wall of the *garbhagriha*. The *garbhagriha* is plain but has a narrow shelf running along the northern wall; its ceiling, of rotated squares (very shallow,

does not form a tower), is capped by a stone carved with a pleasing floral design around a central boss.

The empty south-facing shrine next to the Shiva temple has Gajalakshmi carved on the lintel of the door into the plain *garbhagriha* from the small porch open only on the south. Its pillars are carved with an attractive hourglass-like design. On the outside, leaning up against the eastern wall of this shrine, is a broken figure of Ganesha.

The site seems to be popular as a local picnic site; cooking was going on in the tower of the two upper northern *mandapas* and a group was eating in the lower southern *mandapa*, whose pillars also have an interesting design. Card playing and beer drinking are also socially acceptable at the site, as evidenced by a group of young men who arrived on bicycles. Some of the women and children who were eating had come in a bicycle rickshaw. A *mela* is said to be held here in Sravana or Bhadrapada.

Discussion

An important inscription is found at Huligi (Munirabad, where there is a very popular temple of Goddess Huligeyamma), near Shivapura and the site of the Someshvara temple at the western gateway. We learn from an article on this inscription by H. Krishna Sastri (1922: 1) that this village was known by the former name in 1088, as it is today, and in Sanskrit the name was Vyaghrograma. The Brahmin Somanatha (Soma or Someshvara-Bhatt, p. 3) constructed the Shiva temple called Somanatha (also called Someshvara-deva, pp. 4, 8 (Verse 43 and 12), in which the inscription is still to be seen on the bank of the river Tungabhadra. The name of the sacred spot was Gautamasrama on the spring called Chitrasele, which was flowing northward from the Shrikuta Hill; unfortunately, this stream seems to have dried up and thus we are not able to identify this hill. One may surmise the northward flow of the stream accounted for this area's sanctity, just as Chakratirtha and Anegondi are considered particularly holy due to the Tungabhadra flowing northward at these places. It was further defined as being surrounded on the east by the Rishyamukha Hill, on the south by Gandhamadana Hill, on

the west by Shrikutata Hill and on the north by Kishkindha (Hill?) (p. 4). The learned editor reports (p. 5) that the first-mentioned hill is at Hampi, "the Epic Pampa", and that local people were unable to identify the other hills named therein, but he supposes Kishkindha to be "some peak in the range of hills surrounding Anegondi". He adds that the spot where the temple stands is now identified as Jamadagni-tirtha "and in evidence thereof there is near it a temple of Parasurama (Jamadagni)", and he concludes, "Gautamashrama ... should be indentified [*sic*] with this Jamadagni-tirtha although the reasons for the change in the name are not apparent".

When we consult the maps we can see that if one proceeds due north from Huligi, one reaches Shivarupa and passes slightly to the west of the hill of the western gateway itself, which is a high (601 m) outcrop marking the southwestern border of the hills that continue east and north up to Anegondi and past it to Devighata which is itself the southeastern edge of these hills.⁵⁵ Thus, in the eleventh century, the area between the two inscriptions, one at Devighata the other at Huligi, was known as Kishkindha.

We have, therefore, two options in identifying the north-east gateway. We may assume that the Somanatha *lingam* and the Shambhu *lingam* set up by Rama mentioned in the *Pampamahatmyam* tale of the northeast subsidiary gateway were in two of the shrines at present-day Devighata. Or we may identify the Soma(natha) mentioned in the *Pampamahatmyam*, viz., "Soma, having heard the glory of this sacred area, came; the clever one caused to be set up a Shiva (*lingam*) called Somanatha after his own name," with the Brahmin who constructed the shrine with an inscription at Huligi ("the highly wise Somanatha" (Verse 6); "so praised and so distinguished, who constructed this house of Rudra" (Verse 7, p. 10). The wording of the *Pampamahatmyam* suggests its author was aware of this eleventh-century inscription.⁵⁶

In the latter case, the entire area between the two inscriptions is both Kishkindha and the northeast subsidiary gateway. As if to corroborate this supposition, Vasundhara Filliozat has published a photo of the stone "bridge" (which leads towards the ford in the river

where one crosses over to Hampi in a *harigolu*, or basket-boat) off the Hospet-Anegondi road, but 5 km west of the latter village, as "Fig. 11. Bridge at Anegondi".⁵⁷ Thus, even today, the area between the two inscriptions may be known by a single name, in this case, "Anegondi", adding weight to the supposition that the Devighata subsidiary gateway extended the length of Kishkindha along the riverbank.

Thus, this area could also function as a veritable gateway to the sacred areas at Hampi and Kishkindha, via the ferries that crossed the river at several places between Anegondi and Hampi as well as right at Huligi: line 29 of the inscription mentions, "the narrow path leading to the Paragula-pole (stream) on the north". Krishna Sastri identifies the ferry crossing mentioned in the inscription (*parugula pole*) with Harigola-hole, "that part of the Tungabhadra where the paragollu-ferry is even now used to cross the river" (p. 5), but it is not clear to me if he means it is a toponym, a proper place name, or a generic name for any of the ferry-crossings.⁵⁸

Verses 4 and 5 of this inscription mention that the temple-founder's father had created a canal and subsidiary waterworks to irrigate the village lands and that he subsequently turned over the village he had received and improved to learned Brahmins, so that we know hydrotechnology as well as social service was part of the local pre-Vijayanagara Brahmanical heritage. That the Brahmin mentioned in the inscription built a temple named after both Shiva and himself in the eleventh century casts some doubt upon using the information in Talbot's article for establishing dates, although the Rachamalleshvara temple on the west bank of Manmatha tank does conform precisely to the dates she mentions. What we are able to say about the date of the *Pampamahatmyam* is that in general the text typically incorporates traditional stories from the earliest Indian literature, but it specifically includes local information beginning with the eleventh century and continuing up to the concluding decades of the Vijayanagara empire (mid sixteenth century).

Krishna Sastri apparently did not know that two of the four hills mentioned in the Someshvara inscription are now identified with hills around Hampi: he has noted that Rishyamukha

is at Hampi, but nowadays Gandhamadana is identified as a small hillock somewhat east of Chakratirtha.⁵⁹ This hill was pointed out by the man, now deceased, who kept the shrine of Banni-Kali, a Goddess who resides in a tree growing where the path to Chakratirtha turns off from the east end of Hampi bazaar street. Her worshipper supported himself by taking groups of pilgrims around to the sites and seemed well-versed in the local lore. There is a *lingam* in a cave-shrine on the Gandhamadana Hill that was mentioned to me by Anila Verghese; I was taken to see it by a local shepherd boy, but there is nothing in the shrine to identify it or the hill by name.

In 1989 I visited Huligamma shrine on my way to see the inscription and temple of Somanatha and found that there was a shrine to Parashurama within the compound containing the Goddess's shrine. I could not identify another such temple in the small group that contains the Somanatha temple. Gautama was identified with this area in the eleventh century and was remembered when the *Pampamahatmyam* was composed. The main Soma temple, then, was situated on the hilltop now within a fort (assuming the *dvara* to be more important than the *upadvara*) but the wording of the *Pampamahatmyam*, noticed above, suggests that the shrine at the riverside was also known.

We must, therefore, notice the importance of cave or rock-shelter temples located on hillsides. At least one other temple of the gateway series, Manibhadreshvara, is a hilltop cave or rock-shelter temple, but it is difficult to ascertain its age. A hillside cave or rock-shelter shrine over which an old temple stands seems to be preserved by the Karesiddeshvara Matha, vying with the site of the Kinnareshvara temple, as in the case at Hampi where Brahmins and Lingayats maintain respectively the Virupaksha and Mula Virupaksha temples. The Kinnareshvara temple is not on a hill and its construction exhibits a large stone in one wall with typical Vijayanagara style. Although the latter temple is not a cave or rock-shelter shrine, at Hampi we do have the example of such a shrine on Gandhamadana Hill, and there is yet another example near Anegondi, about 1 km west of the town on the road to Pampasarovara, the Gavi-Ranganatha – i.e.

Ranganatha of/in the cave – or the cave of the reclining God Vishnu who now resides in what appears to be an old shrine in the town (Eck 1991: 60). Thus, these seem to be more “original” in the Hampi-Anegondi area and we may suppose that to be the reason that they are, generally, the main gateways while other, constructed temples mark the intermediate gateways and may be of more recent date and (therefore?) less sacred.

Based on the foregoing discussion we may conclude that while the area on both sides of the river Tungabhadra that came to be identified with the medieval city of Vijayanagara had been a sacred area and a place of pilgrimage for centuries prior to the foundation of the city, the sacred sites within that area, and the spiritual luminaries with whom they were identified, have not remained static. Thus, it is hardly surprising that a number of sites, even places of importance such as the mystic gateways and subsidiary entrances to the sacred area, have changed position or name, or that the sacred features (such as tanks) they contained have been forgotten or renamed. This underscores the importance of looking into a number of sources for such material and certainly not neglecting any extent oral tradition. For example, the modern Lingayat *matha*, mentioned above with regard to the eastern gateway, may have preserved a valid tradition regarding the Kinnareshvara *lingam*: that it was on a hillside and within a cave or rock-shelter conforms to the situation of two of the other major gateway *lingams*, while the present gateway temple of that name does not conform at all to the information about it in the *Pampamahatmyam*, itself now known to preserve some traditions from at least the eleventh century.

One further subject deserves mention. Early on we mentioned that the main gateways, save perhaps the western gateway located in a strategic fort, seemed not to function as physical entrances into the Pampakshetra. On the other hand, there is some evidence that the subsidiary gateways did act as entrances. Let us consider the two that have been identified, Shankareshvara on the southwest of the Brahmakunda and Devighata in the northeast. Simply put, the former is at the actual entrance to the Pampa-Virupaksha

temple. If we may conjecture that it is more ancient than the temple wall (palpably younger than the shrines on the west bank of the Manmatha tank, as one of them, today known as Gunja-Madhava, lies buried underneath that wall), it would have stood almost at the entrance to Hemakuta Hill itself, marked by the double-storey gateway to the south of the newer temple wall.⁶⁰ Regarding the second auxiliary gateway, the inscriptional reference is, unfortunately, still incomplete, but it seems to have marked the boundary of Kishkindha (or Kishkindham) and, being on the riverside, could have marked a ferry crossing, an actual entrance into the sacred area. Nowadays the river is at some distance and the site is rather isolated, so we may only conjecture its function in the eleventh century when it was important enough to merit a group of temples and a long inscription. Conjecture is also to be utilized to understand the function of the western gateway and the possibility of the riverside Someshvara temple being a part of a subsidiary gateway into Kishkindha. The mention of the path to the ferry in the inscription underscores the fact that this place functioned as an actual gateway.

Notes

1. See the copper-plate charters of Vinayaditya-Satyashraya of Shaka 612 (AD 691) mentioning his camp on the banks of Pampa, i.e. the river Tungabhadra, at Pampatirtha (Fleet 1877: 85-88). This is followed by an inscription of Satyashraya (son of Taila II) dated Shaka 910 (AD 988), mentioning he was camped at Pampa (Shama Sastry 1917: 285 in Sugandha n.d.: 29-30), and another of Udayaditya in Shaka 940 (AD 1018), mentioning a visit to the *tirtha* of Pampapura (Filliozat 1978: 54, from *SI*, IX, No. 80).
2. This inscription at Devighata is dated 1089. In the Munirabad stone inscription the date seems to be 26 January 1088.
3. A series of main and subsidiary gateways may be dated to the eighth-ninth century at the pilgrimage site at Srisailem in Andhra Pradesh.
4. Shiva Bhatta, uncle of Vedamurti Brahma Shri Matturu Dattam Bhatta of Cintamani Matha, Hospet, kindly presented the manuscript to Shri Vishnu Thirtha.
5. The text that Wagoner refers to is called *Shree Pampaa Mahaathme: Pampa Kshetra Purana* written by Shree Guru Om Siddhalingeshwara Swamiji, Shree

Vrushabhashrama, Siddhalingeshwara Betta, Holagundi Tal: Huvina Hudagali, Dist. Bellary, Karnataka, written in Roman characters on the reverse of the Kannada title page, and dated 1933. It contains 848 pages and is not exactly a translation of the *Pampamahatmyam*; it is a translation plus material the author, a noted Lingayat saint, thought was "omitted" from *Pampamahatmyam* (see his "Author's Note", pp. 7-8 in the translation by Kalburgi). For example, the author mentions that he has added references to Goddess Pampambika, "now being worshipped on the western banks of the Lake Pampa". This is a reference to Vijaya Lakshmi, the Goddess enshrined at Pampasarovara, as testified to by members of the temple committee and others, with photographs to prove her identity by iconographic detail, as the Lingayat has made a case to wrest control of her temple from the Vaishnava *sadhus* now engaged in her worship. Thus, the fact that the tank's distance from the Virupaksha *lingam*, never mentioned in *Pampamahatmyam*, is given as a distance that fits the distance from the Mula Virupaksha *lingam* to that temple's tank must be looked upon as the Lingayat interpretation congruent with the fact that Lingayats patronize the Mula Virupaksha temple, as Wagoner himself has mentioned on the same page. It should, however, be borne in mind that the latter temple is one of the older structures at Hampi (see 6, Mulavirupaksha temple, in Patil 1991a: 123-24), and might indeed be more "original" than the Virupaksha shrine, the earliest date of which has not yet been established.

6. This act may account for his name, as one may construe Virupaksha as (one who has) eyes that deform or disembodify, which is exactly what his third eye of wisdom does to Kamadeva, god of love.

7. For example, there is a defunct tank of the same name at Vrindaban and another is described by Bakker (1986). The Vedic tradition referred its holy places to water. They were called *tirtha* (fording places) and understood symbolically as places to cross "to the other side". Variations on the use of the word *tirtha* are explained in this article. "Though the terms *tirtha*, *sthana*, *kshetra* [...] all connote a Holy Place, a Pilgrimage Place, their denotations bring together the ideas of a body of water, a passage, a dwelling place for God and His devotees, a demarcated space [...] and also a holy man" (Young 1978: 5).

8. In this context it is good to recall what Ramabhata, the author of *Shalagramapariksha*, has to say about praise: praise of one God does not imply censure of another. See Shapiro (1986: 548-50) for a translation of this work.

9. Fritz (1991: 131) notes that while the main gate of the city is not positioned in the cardinal direction, it

does occur in a space that is conceived as being "east".

10. I say "seem" because what the pre-Vijayanagara "main routes" to Pampakshetra were, or even the main routes during the Vijayanagara period, are not clear to me. Sugandha feels that Anegondi was on a feeder route of the ancient Dakshinapatha, citing Moti Chandra, but her assertion that the river is forded "only at Anegondi in the vicinity of Vijayanagara" is palpably false and will be discussed below (Sugandha n.d.: notes 2, 10 and 32).

11. One *kroshta* equals a *kos*, "an Indian league," which equals 1/4 *yojana*, according to Monier Williams (1976).

12. Tibetan Buddhists doing *khora*, walking clockwise around the great *stupas* of Kathmandu while turning their prayer-wheels are a striking example, as is the *parikrama* or circumambulation of the sacred Govardhana hill near Mathura on "*mudiya*" or *guru purnima*, the full moon of Jyeshtha (June-July). Also see Young (1978: note 11).

13. The Immadi Rachamalleshvara temple on the west bank of Manmatha tank, mentioned in the Durga temple inscription dated 1199, accords well with the dating by Talbot (n.d.). See *SI*, IV, No. 260 and Patil 1991: 117.

14. "A tutelary deity", declares Monier Williams (1976), is a deity "serving as a guardian, protective".

15. Matanga and especially Matangi have a special importance in the *Ramayana* which is relevant to Pampakshetra in its connection with Kishkindha (Hiltebeitel 1980: 187-211). Hardy (1991: 141, 144) notices two untouchables called *matangas* who purify Brahmins in the *Prapannamrita*. Wagoner (1991: 147) notices the local legend as well.

16. During a previous visit to Bukkasagara, after crossing the canal in the village, I visited the Virashaiva Karesiddheshvara Matha where I was shown a Shiva *lingam* in a shallow cave or rock-shelter within an old temple on the hillside above the *matha*, and was led to believe that it was the Kinnareshvara *lingam*. However, on this subsequent visit, villagers explained to the auto rickshaw driver that Kinnareshvara was out of the town and therefore we reached the temple described above.

17. This Kannada-script inscription had not been read before, but as it was late we were unable to take an estampage at that time. The inscription was half-buried in the sandy soil but Siddaiah, who takes estampages for the Karnataka Department of Archaeology and Museums, was able to expose the bottom of one corner. It was well-preserved and, he concluded, would make a good estampage.

18. I am assuming that the phrase "repeat *mantras*" refers specifically to chanting; or repeating *mantra* as a spiritual practice in its own right, for the pleasure or

propitiation of Shiva, not in association with other practices when the repeating of *mantras* would be necessary, but ancillary.

19. i.e. the dark, rain-filled cloud of the monsoon; Krishna is also said to be this colour.

20. Apte (1957-59) says this is the name of a class (usually said to be eight) of female attendants on Shiva or Durga; these would be the celestial *yoginis*. The earthly variety might be female practitioners of yoga or meditation or female aspirants in general.

21. Bharati (1963: 145-46) describes the *phalashruti*, the description of the rewards to be expected from visiting tirthas generally found in the *Sihala Puranas*, as "archaic advertisements" and notes that they are almost always secular as well as religious in nature. Young (1978: 36) feels that the desire associated with visiting holy places, reflected in the exuberant *phalashrutis*, keeps such actions "relatively low in the *sadhanas*, or spiritual practices, though certainly a popular religious phenomenon with the populace." Thus, one may imagine these titillating asides are meant to attract the mere worldly, although here we are dealing with a reward for those "practising asceticism at the gateway!"

22. See, for example, inscription No. 27 in Devaraj and Patil (1991: 33) mentioning the construction of Vinayaka Asvaththa-bavi, a well: "The place is called a *Tirtha*."

23. Balasubramanya (1991: 168) notes two inscriptions in which the deity is known as Jambunatha (*ARSIE*, 1944-45, No. 80) and the hill as Jambukeshvara (*ARSIE*, 1922, No. 682; *SI*, IX, II, No. 637); Jambavateshvara is another variant.

24. Although I have noted at certain places that such-and-such a thing may indicate the date of the text, none of these indications in itself or even in conjunction with the others is proof of a specific date; they are only pointers. There are some indications in the chapters that deal with the Harishchandra story, especially Chapter 23, that lead me to believe the references are to the Vijayanagara period through kings such as Krishnadevaraya and his successor, Achyutadevaraya. These kings were Vaishnavas although the former significantly adorned the Virupaksha temple at Hampi on the occasion of his coronation. The prevalence of Virashaivas in the area accounts for the importance of Virabhadra rather than Bhairava image the Shaiva community: see Verghese 1989: 82, 77-86 and Sarojini Devi 1987.

25. Raghavan 1940: 17-18. Nowadays, the season begins on the full moon of Phalguna (February-March) when it is said more than one hundred such *yatra* festivals are celebrated in the villages around Hampi; it continues after the Hampi chariot festival with the chariot festival at Anegondi, one week after the chariot is pulled at Hampi.

26. I am indebted to Phillip Wagoner who took me to this fort.

27. *Aum namab padarn Bhishanabhairava* (Aum, obeisance to (your) feet, Bhishanabhairava!), Verse 13.

28. Vishnu Thirtha, who collated the Sanskrit manuscript up to Chapter 22, provided useful notes at the beginning of some chapters.

29. For example, inscription No.109 notes that *tirtha* may simply mean "holy water" (Devaraj and Patil 1991: 50).

30. Ruru is a type of deer or antelope and is noted as a name of Bhairava in Monier Williams (1976).

31. Vinayaka simply means "remover (of obstacles)" (Monier Williams 1976), and is commonly used as a name or epithet of Ganesha.

32. We have already noted the alleged popularity of *lingams* dedicated in the names of the donors during the twelfth-fourteenth centuries (see Talbot n.d.).

33. Chaturmasya, the four months of the rainy season, during which *sannyasins* and other religious practitioners do not travel.

34. One may wonder if the story about Manikundala (jewel-earrings)-*tirtha* is not supposed to represent an etymology for Mana(matha)-*kunda*? The author of the Kannada *Pampamahatmyam* writes in his "Authors Note" (English translation, p. 7) that the burning of Kamadeva (Manamatha) is not included in the *Pampamahatmyam* (Telugu script) and he has, therefore, added it as the 90th chapter of his own work "from proper sources". See note 9.

35. The complex was refurbished in 1991 and a new image installed of Gayatri-devi, tutelary goddess of the Devanga community. It is mentioned by Wagoner (1991: 147).

36. For Bhaskarakshetra see, for example, the mention of Achyutadevaraya having performed the gift of Anandanidhi at the Vitthala temple "on the bank of the Tungabhadra at Bhaskara-kshetra (i.e. Hampi)" in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV: 288, No. 41, "Shrirangam inscription of Achyutaraya: Saka 1461." However, according to Monier Williams (1976), Bhaskara is also a name of Shiva.

37. For a description of this tank and its surrounding structures see Michell and Wagoner 2001: 139-51. [Editors]

38. The article mentioned in note 39 does not attempt to deal with the problems presented by this temple, here called Nagareshvara, although no reason for giving it this name is indicated. By "the architectural features and the pillar forms", a fifteenth-century temple at a level considered original, but well below the level occupied by the group of temples, is known to have existed before 1199 by the inscription in the Durga temple (Talbot n.d.) on the opposite bank of the same tank. In fact, the article mentions that after

clearance, "the paved exterior around the Nagarshvara temple itself, was found to be at a higher level, which has now been relaid at the original working level. The pavement was found to be at a higher level than original base level of the temple. This indicated that the pavement was tampered (with) at some stage in the past" (p. 34). One would think that the fifteenth-century temple may have replaced an even earlier shrine.

39. See Nagaraja Rao (1983: 33-34) where it is mentioned that the present road level is more than 2 m above the pavement of the temple.

40. I have noticed a similar stone protruding from the road within the entrance portal to Anegondi from the Hospet-Gangavati road.

41. All these shrines have painted labels by which I have identified them. Wagoner (1991) has also described them, but a plan giving the numbering he used was not included.

42. No diacritical marks are given for this problematic name.

43. With regard to sub-division of bathing places, see the description of the bathing places of the gods, seers, and ancestors in the last sub-gateway, described below.

44. The same Devakhata is described in the Earlier Portion (in the 45th chapter of the printed book) under the name Devikunda. Nowadays it is called Devikunda (Kannada: Devikola, Devikolla) situated close to Gangavati (Vishnu Thirtha's note to the chapter).

45. "Oh lord one should offer obeisance to thy feet".

46. This story is subsequently related, but it lies beyond the point to which I have edited the *Pampamahatmyam*.

47. The last, the reciters, must refer to what we now term a *katha*, a person who recites and expounds a scripture; the manuscript given to Vishnu Thirtha (see note 7) was written by such a reciter of sacred texts.

48. i.e. "dug by the gods," hollow by nature, a natural pond, reservoir, cave or cavern.

49. Tungabhadrapura, "the town of Tungabhadra", probably means the river bank; see "Pampapura" of Udayaditya, note 2.

50. *Kitkindhakandam* 3rd *patalam*, stanza 38, and *Sundarakandam*, 5th *patalam*, stanza 30 or 31, according to different citations (Filliozat 1983: 202).

51. See note 3. On p. 9, the author states: "As early as 11th (century) A.D., Anegondi was traditionally believed to be Kishkindha [...] celebrated in the *Ramayana*. (The) Kannada inscription dated 1069 A.D. from Devighat about 10 km away from Anegondi states: '*Tungabhadra tatada badaga Kiskindami-parvatam*' (line 11)." We note the inscription quoted does not identify Anegondi with Kishkindha(m) Hill but only the area along the river, of which Anegondi

nowadays is a part, 10 km away from the inscription site; whether the latter existed in the eleventh century is not certain. However, C.S. Patil (1991b: 195) deems it was "an important town during the 12th and 13th centuries". In the winter of 1991-92 I took Shri Siddaiah to make an estampage of the same inscription.

52. However, I disagree with the hypothesis of Sugandha that the north bank was sacred to the Goddess Pampa, while the south bank was the sacred place of Shiva. She has given no references for her citations mentioning north and south banks, so I am unable to confirm them. From the Vijayanagara period is a citation for Pampasarovara on the south bank of the river, almost directly across from the northern bank Pampasarovara, although it becomes known as Sitasarovara in a sixteenth-century inscription. Interestingly, although Anegondi is supposed to be the older site, Sugandha (n.d.: 28-29, 31-32) mentions that there are a couple of inscriptions at Hampi of the Rashtrakutas but none at Anegondi until Shaka 1274 and 1288 (i.e. AD 1353 and 1367 respectively), and these are Jaina. Therefore, we may more safely say that Anegondi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra across from present-day Hampi was the site of Kishkindha, and the goddess was associated with the river banks, probably on both sides of the river.

53. We may posit the same fate for Pampa, who becomes espoused to Shiva; and, if we allow Sugandha's suggestion (n.d.: 21-22), we may say the same for "Viranna-Biroba", the hypothetical predecessor of Virupaksha.

54. See note 3 above.

55. Karnataka Maps No. 57 A/7 and A/11 (1:50,000), respectively, published by the Surveyor General of India, first edition, 1975.

56. Vasundhara Filliozat (1978: 54) states that the *Pampamahatmyam* was "probably composed" in the eleventh century, although no proof is given.

57. Vasundhara Filliozat is originally from this part of Karnataka and correctly identifies the structure's whereabouts in the text; so this is probably neither a mistake nor a typo (Filliozat 1978: 63).

58. Sugandha (n.d.: 10) erroneously states that "even today the river is forded only at Anegondi in the vicinity of Vijayanagara", trying to prove that this village was on a feeder route of the Dakshinapatha. Filliozat (1978: 63) writes that during the Vijayanagara period "there were two bridges and the river was crossed by boats in no less than eight places. [...] According to the inscription (*SII*, IV, No. 277) the river could be crossed in five places west of Vitthala and in two places east of Vitthala." By "boats" she is referring to the *paragolu* ferries mentioned in the Huligi inscription and by Sastri.

59. Map series NG.

60. Wagoner (1991:143-45) emphasizes the importance of this particular axis as ceremonial route.

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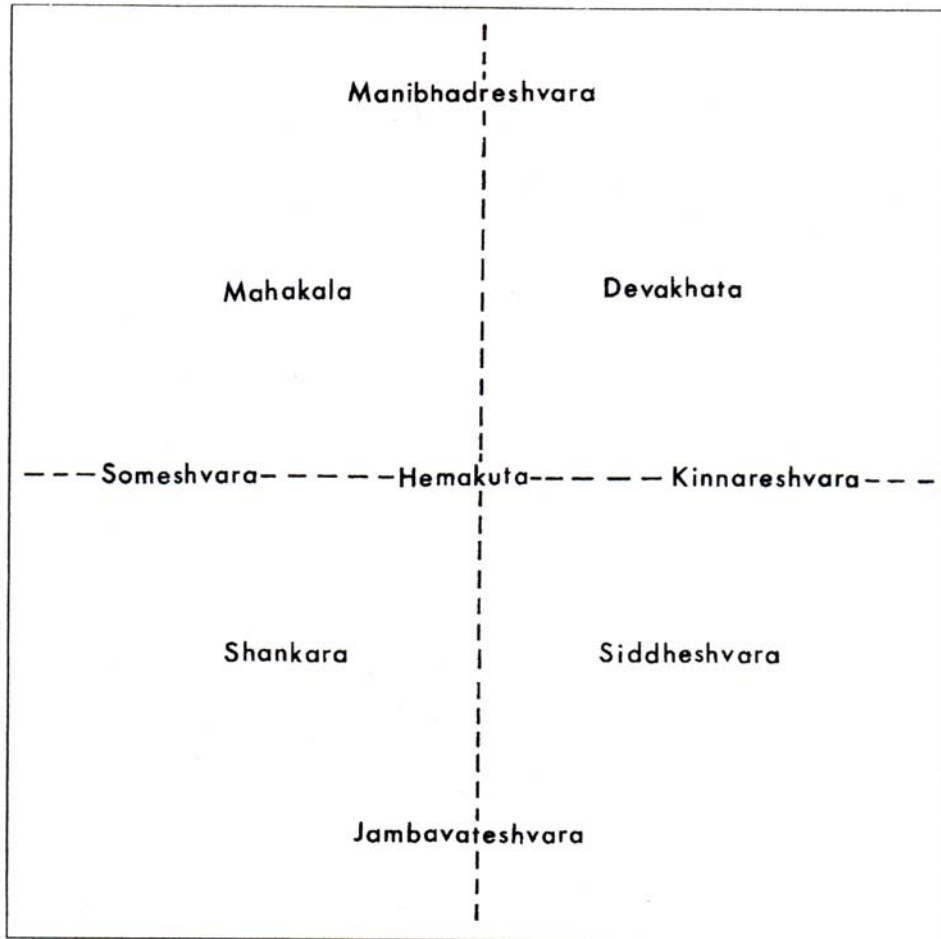


Figure 2. Ideal spatial diagram of the gateways.