CHAPTER - SEVEN
In the history of religious thoughts of Orissa, the epoch of the Bhauma-Karas, is a significant landmark. The Sailodbhavas who were champions of the Brāhmanical form of Hinduism fell from political power in the 8th century A.D. and they were followed by the Bhauma-Karas who in the beginning of their history were patrons of Buddhism. But in course of time they were influenced by Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śāktism and even Jainism. In the Bhauma charters it has been recorded that Unmatta Kesārī Gayāda and others richly contributed to the construction of monasteries, viharas, temples and the Śākta shrines in their territories. However, in all those religious systems of the 8th century A.D. in Orissa one underlying current was Tantricism. The Āgamas which were compiled in South India between the 5th and 8th centuries A.D. deeply influenced the religious thoughts of Orissa during the Bhauma rule. We learn from the Hindol plates that Subhākara III

had understood the esoteric meaning of various tantric rites and rituals as recorded in Agamic texts. We further learn from the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana Mahādevi that when there was drought in Utkala, a tantric teacher named Devadhara with mystic powers who hailed from South India was honoured in the Bhauma territories for the performance of Vṛṣṭikāma Yajña. It is further known from the same inscription that Tribhuvana Mahādevi, the daughter of Rājamala of South India occupied the throne like Kātyāyanī. According to Bhārat Nanda Kisorā Purāṇa Kātyāyanī is one of the Yogiṇīs. It is striking to note that during the Bhauma rule Orissa was a stronghold of Tantricism. Virāja and Purusottama were considered to be two great Saktapithas of Orissa. A good number of tantric texts bear testimony to the greatness of Virāja and Purusottama Puri as celebrated Sakti shrines. In fact, in the tantric text Pitha Nirnaya Jagannatha is described as Bhairava and Vimalā as Bhairavī. The cult of Bhairava seems to have emerged in Orissa during the Bhauma epoch under the influence of the Āmarakṣa School of Saivism.

and the Kaula Kāpālikas School as propounded by Matsyendranātha. The terrific image of Bhairava as depicted in the temple of Kapālinī or Vaitāla at Bhubaneswara very well indicates that the cult of Bhairava was closely associated with the cult of Kāpālikas, in which Chāmundra also known as Kātyāyani or Kapālinī occupied the central position. Chāmundra or Kapālini was one of the eight Mātrkās who according to Varāha Purāṇa\(^8\) represented eight mental qualities which constituted the base desires of human beings. Usually, Mātrkās are considered to be seven in number, but we understand from Varāha Purāṇa that Siva created out of the flames, that was issuing out of his mouth, a Saktī called Yogesvari. The other Saktis created by Brahmā, Mahesvara, Kumāra, Indra, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Yama were Brahmanī, Māhesvarī, Kaumārī, Indrāṇī, Vaishnavī, Vārāhi and Chāmundra. Thus according to Varāha Purāṇa\(^9\) the Mātrkās are eight in number and Yogesvari representing Kāma or desires includes among them. It is understood from Tāntric texts as well as from icons that like the eight Mātrkās there were eight Bhairavas such as Asitarīga, Ruru, Chanda, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapāla, Vīṣṇa and Saumāra. N.N. Bhattacharya\(^10\) seems to be correct in suggesting that the eight Bhairavas

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8. Varāha Purāṇa, Ch. 27, Vrs. 34-37.
9. Ibid.
gradually multiplied into 64 Bhairavas and the eight Mātrkās multiplied into 64 Bhairavīs or Yoganīs. The Bhairava cult of Saivism and the Yoganī cult of Saktism thus seem to be intimately connected. The Kaula Kāpālikas who migrated from Kāmarupa seem to be responsible for the evolution of Yoganī cult in Orissa.

V.W. Karambelkar who has done pioneering researches in the Yoganī cult has observed that the founder of the Yoganī Kaula was Matsyendranātha who was at first the founder of the cult of Yogic Saivism. But subsequently, the same teacher, during his stay at Kāmarupa, where every women is recognised as a Yoganī, became the Chief exponent of Yoganī cult. He explained the Chief tenets of the Yoganī Kaula mārga in his Kaulajñāna Nirṇaya. According to Karambelkar "Kaula is an ancient word perhaps in the Buddhist Tāntric work which means Sakti". In his Akaulaviratantra "Matsyendranātha has propounded a kind of monism where Kula is ultimately identified Akula(Siva)". Thus, it is understood from the above references that Matsyendranātha expounded the Yoganī cult in Kāmarupa in 8th century A.D. It is known to us from the Talcher plate of Subhākara-deva that the Bhauamas claimed their descent from Bhagadatta. It is further known from the Nepalese inscription of Jayadeva that his Queen

12. E.I., Vol. XII, p. 7; B. Mishra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 36.
Rajyamati, daughter of Sri Harṣadeva of Kamarupa also claims her descent from the Bhagadatta lineage. Thus, these evidences indicate that the Bhauma-Karas of Utkala who linked Sri Harṣadeva claimed their descent from Bhagadatta hailed from Kamarupa. They ousted the Sailodbhavas from Kongodamandal and established their capital Viraja which had attained celebrity as the Sakti Pitha at least from the Gupta period. It is natural that the socio-religious system of Kamarupa deeply influenced the religious development of Utkala in the 8th century A.D., when the Bhauma-Karas migrated from Assam to Orissa. Obviously, they carried with them the concept of Yogini cult as propounded by Matsyendranātha from Kamarupa to Utkala.

When the Bhaumas occupied Utkala in 736 A.D., that part of Orissa was a stronghold of Buddhism. Rathagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri of the Asiana Range of hills in the Cuttack district were the great centres of Tantric Buddhism. It is known from the Chinese sources that Parjna, a Buddhist scholar from Kapisa who seems to have studied Tantric Buddhism in these centres carried with him the Gaṇḍaviha from Subhākara-deva, the Buddhist king of Orissa to the court of Tesaṅg in 795 A.D. It is further known from the Khadipadā image inscriptions that in Tantric Buddhism in Utkala there was a

Mahāmandala which was headed by an Āchārya. The Buddhist remains of Banpur also indicate that Tantric Buddhism was also popular in Kohgoda during the Bhauma rule. It is also striking to note in the charyā songs of Baudhāgāna and Dohā that the Yojinis like Dombi and Savari were identified as the manifestations of Sākti in Tantric Buddhism. The Bhauma-Karas who carried with them the concept of Yogini cult from Kāmarupa were now deeply influenced by the Tantric Buddhism which had gained popularity in Utkala under the inspiring leadership of several Mahāmandalāchāryas. It may be pointed out in this context that according to Purāṇas the Yojinis who are heavenly bodies began to dance in a circle when they sucked the blood of Raktavijā. The concept of circle also reminds us of the well known Śrīchakra of Tantricism. Thus, it is evident that in Tantric form of Buddhism, Śaivism and Sāktism there was the concept of a mandala or a circle in which the spiritual practitioners were supposed to be engaged in Śādhana. It is striking to note that although the early Bhauma Kings are Buddhists, their queens were inclined towards Śaivism and Sāktism. Mādhavīdevi is known to have built the temple of Mādhavesvara and Vastādevi who was in all probability


17. Markandeya Purāṇa - Ch.88.
a Bhauma Queen was a devout worshipper of Chāmunda or Kapālinī who happened to be one of the Saktis or Yoginis.

As we have discussed in the previous chapter the cult of the Mātrkās in Orissa at first found its expression on the walls of the temples of Parasurāmesvara and Simhanātha both belonging to the early part of the 8th century A.D., on the temple of Vaitāla which was essentially a monument of the Kaula Kapālika School we have noticed the depiction of eight Mātrkās which gradually multiplied into sixty-four Yoginis. The followers of Matsyendranātha obviously contributed to the evolution of the Yogini cult in Orissa during the epoch of the Bhauma-Karas. They were also deeply influenced by the system of Jainism in Orissa which enjoined the worship of the female counterparts like Ajitādevī, Duritārī and Gamdhārī of the Jaina Sāsanadevatas, portrayed in the sculptures of Khandagiri.

It is deeply significant to note that during the epoch of the Bhauma-Karas when the cult of the seven or eight Mothers and the Yogini cult emerged triumphantly in the socio-religious life of Orissa, the cult of Bhairava simultaneously made its headway particularly under the

The Bhanjas of Khijjiṅgakotta refer to Virabhadra, an terrific aspect of Siva associated with the cult of Mothers as the progenitor of the dynasty. The Bhanjas, who were devout Śaṅvites, worshipped the Sāṁhāra Mūntī of Siva namely Virabhadra who emerged during the sacrifice of Dakṣa. Virabhadra, associated with the origin of Bhanjas, is also depicted with the Sapta-Mātrkās of Parasurāmesvāra and Śīmhanātha of the 8th century A.D. Like Virabhadra, Bhairava is also another terrific aspect of Siva whose grace, the Bhanjas of Khinjalimandal invoked in the Baud-Sonepur region. For the first time in Orissan epigraphs Bhairava has been adored in the invocatory verse of the Bhanjas of Khinjalimandal. In his Sonepur grant Ranabhanja invoked the grace of Bhairava in the following verse:

Saṁhāra kālahūtmūgwikarāla ghora
Saṁbhārāntakiṅkara krānta nitānta bhinnām/
Bhinṇāndhakāsura Mahāgahanāta patram
Tat bhiravāṁ Haravapuh bhavataḥ prapatu //

An excellent image of Ajaikapāda Bhairava from Koisari very well illustrates the existence of the cult

in the territory of the Bhanjas of Khijjirigakota. Here Bhairava is shown standing on one foot. The image is four-armed. The attendants holds Trisūla on their hands. A conical tiara and tripholiate halo adorned the head of Bhairava. It is interesting and significant to note that a figure of a Dhyānibuddha is represented on the tiara of the image. The representation undoubtedly indicates the impact of Buddhism on the *tantras* of Saivism in the territories of the Bhanjas.

The Bhairava cult seems to be associated with two streams of religious thoughts pertaining to Saivism and Śaktism. Rudrasiva of the Āmardaka School who was an exponent of the Saiva Siddhānta system belonged to the line of Kadambaguhāvāsī and he is known to have contributed to the expansion of the Tāntric form of Saivism in Orissa.

The place called Amarda in the border of Balesore and Mayurbhanja districts seems to be reminiscent of the popularity of the Āmardaka School of Saivism in that locality. We further learn from the Senakpat Inscription that Sadāśivāchārya 22 who belonged to the Āmardaka school played a very important role in the expansion of tāntric Saivism in South-Kosala. Gaganasivāchārya 23 whose inscription has been noticed

in a temple very close to the circular temple of the 64 Yoginis at Ranipur-Jharial, had also greatly contributed to the development of tantric Saivism in which Bhairava occupied an important place. According to a tradition preserved in Brahmayāmala, Siva communicated the knowledge of tantric Sadhana to one Srikantha who imparted the tantric lore to a person called Bhairava who dispersed the knowledge to other Bhairavas. The last Bhairava gave it to a Brāhmaṇa named Devadutta who belonged to the Uḍḍra country. These references make it clear that the tantric Saivism was propounded by the teachers of the line of Kadambaguhāvāsi. Human beings of great spiritual attainment in Tantra were recognised as Bhairavas (i.e., they were considered to be identical with Siva Himself) and they performed Sadhana with their female counterparts by their sides, as in Śrīchakra and Śrī Vidyā Chakresvara and Chakresvari have been enjoined to perform Sadhana side by side. As we have hinted earlier in this chapter the Bhairavas were eight in number and gradually they multiplied into 64 Bhairavas. The 64 Bhairavas as mentioned in the Agamic texts are:— (1) Asitāṅga (2) Viśālākṣa (3) Mārtanda (4) Modakapriya (5) Svachchanda (6) Vighnasantuṣṭa

25. Ibid.
26. Gupta, R.S.—Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, p. 76.
It may be pointed out in the context that in the hypaethral Yogini temple at Hirapur there are four images of Bhairavas which have been identified with Ajaikapada Bhairava and Svachchanda Bhairava.

Like the Bhairavas who multiplied from eight to sixty-four the Divine Mothers who were originally eight in number were ultimately multiplied to sixty-four. We are aware

of quite a good number of temples and images of Asta-Mātrkās in early mediaeval period during 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A.D. However, the earliest representation of Asta-Sakti is noticed in the Udayagiri caves of M.P. of the Gupta period. In conch temple about 18 miles from Gaya there are sculptural representation of Asta-Sakti. These eight Mothers, as J.N. Banerjea observes, were multiplied into 16 Mātrkās with Gouri in the beginning as indicated in the subsequent ritual literature of the Hindus (Gouryādi Sodasa Mātrkā) . Thus in course of time the Sodasa Mātrkās which evolved out of eight Mātrkās developed into sixty-four. Among the sixty-four Yoginīs of Bheraghat Cunningham has identified eight Yogini figures as original Asta-Saktis or the eight Mothers. The traditional and archaeological evidences are also well supported by Agni Purāṇa which records that the original number of Divine Mothers was eight among whom Chāmundā was the root. It further

32. Banerjea, J.N., Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 504. The view is also well supported by Prānatosini Tantra (vide The Saktapithas by D.C. Sircar, Delhi, 1973, p. 28).
33. ASIR (Cunningham), Vol. IX, p. 63.
reveals that the eight original Mothers belonging to the line of Chāmunda were multiplied by eight (Astāstaka) and thus they are emerged to 64 aspects of Chāmunda who are worshipped in Mandalas. There is no doubt that as Bhairava, the terrific aspect of Siva multiplied into sixty-four, Chāmunda, the terrific aspect of Sakti also multiplied into sixty-four Yoginis. That Yogini was a female counterpart of Bhairava is significantly hinted in the Jayadratha Yāmala, a part of Brahma Yāmala, which gives among various Tantric goddesses the name Bhairava-Dākini. That Dākini was one of the Yoginis is well known from the Bheraghat image inscription. The association of Bhairava with Dākini one of the tantric goddesses as narrated in Jayadratha Yāmala, makes it clear that the Yogini cult was closely associated with the Bhairava cult. One of the names of Kāla-Bhairava is Amardaka. Therefore, Bhairava cult seems to be a contribution of the Amardaka School followed by the Mattamayūra School in the line of Kadambaguhāvāsi in a considerable part of India including Orissa. Thus, we conclude that one school of thought that contributed to the evolution of the Yogini cult

35. Agni Purana, Ch.146,Yr.20, "Chāmunda-Kula-Saṁbhūtā Mandale Pujiṭā Jaye".
in Orissa was the Amardaka School which was later on followed by Mattamayūra School of the Saiva Siddhānta system.

The second stream of religious thought as we have hinted earlier which very forcefully contributed to the growth of Yogini cult in Orissa was Kaula Kāpālikā School propounded by Matsyendranātha in Kāmarupa in Assam. He expounded the tenets of the Yogini cult in the Kaulajñāna Nirñaya and Akulavīra tantra. The Kaulajñāna Nirñaya is an authoritative text of the Yogini cult in which there are injunctions for the rousing of Sakti through mantras and various rituals, for the attainment of Siddhis like Mārana, Vasikarana, Jarapaharana, Anekarupadharana, Yoginimelana. In Chapter VIII of Kaulajñāna, Nirñaya, it is stated that there are eight special Sadhanas, the first of which was to associate with the Circle of Yoginis. According to the said work the Yoginis are Sahajā, Kulajā, Antvajā, Ksetrajā, Pithajā, Yogajā and Mantrajā. However, the significant point is that among the Yoginis we notice the Mātrakās who are seven or eight in number with their specific characteristics. So it seems that Matsyendranātha who propounded the Yogini cult in Kāmarupa was obviously influenced by the cult of the Mātrakās, who were the various aspects of the Divine Mother and who multiplied into a number of Yoginis with specific powers of...
their own. In the 8th century A.D. Yoginis flourished in Kāmarupa under the Sāla stambha dynasty which like the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa traces its descent from Bhagadutta. An inscription of Harjavarman describes the rulers of the Sālastambha family as the sons of the Earth and Mlechchas. The Bhauma, who are literally the sons of the Earth, migrated from Kāmarupa in the 8th century A.D. when Kāmarupa was mainly predominated by the Mlechchas, according to an anecdote of Kālikā Purāṇa. The anecdote indicates that as Ugratārā expelled all the Brāhmaṇas from Kāmarupa Vasistha who was then practising penances at Sandhyāchala pronounced a curse on her according to which she was to be worshipped only by the Mlechchas according to Vāmāchāra rituals. It seems that the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa and the Sālastambhas of Kāmarupa were described as the Mlechchas of Kālikā Purāṇa which records Uddra and Kāmarupa as two important seats of Tantricism. In view of traditions as recorded in literature we are inclined to believe that the Bhaumas who migrated from Kāmarupa to Utkala carried with them the concept of Yogini cult in the Vāmāchāra practices which were developed in Orissa in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Although

the early Bhauma-Kara kings were the Buddhists, their queens were devoted to Saivism, Sāktism and Vaisnavism. A Chāmundā image inscription from Jajpur indicates that Vastādevī, probably a Bhauma queen was a devout worshipper of Chāmundā, the principal deity in tāntric Saktism. It was under the patronage of Bhauma-Karas that the great tāntric temple of Vaitāla or Kapālinī was built in the 8th century A.D. and it became a stronghold of tāntric Saktism. The representations of Bhairavas, Āsta-Mātrkās on the walls of the Vaitāla temple indicate that tāntric Saktism was forging ahead and it was accepted by many kings of Orissa as a dynamic religious faith. The concept that Kālī has sixty-four maid servants called Yoginīs who performed all the duties of the residence of Kālī, protected by the Bhairavas, had already been accepted in tāntric literature. This concept of sixty-four Yoganīś, attendants of Kālī as we have described earlier emerged out of the cult of Āsta-Mātrkās or Āsta-Saktis and it was mainly postulated by Matsyendranātha in Kāmarupa. When the Bhaumas migrated from Kāmarupa to Utkala they patronised the cause of the Yoginī cult in which non-Brāhmaṇas of various castes had the privilege to undergo mysterious tāntric ritual and practices. At a distance of only 5 K.M. (as the crow flies) from the temple of Vaitāla or Kapālinī there emerged a


45. Mahābhāgavata 59.63; 28-33
Ibid 59.11-13; Kumar, Puspendra, Sakti Cult in Ancient India, p.144.
significant center of the Yogini cult at Hirapur. The name Hirapur also indicates that in all probability the hypaethral shrine of the Yogini cult was built under the patronage of Hira Mahadevi, daughter of Simhamana and queen of Lonabhara alias Santikaradeva. It may be pointed out in this context that in the Buddhist order, too, the system of Tantra deeply influenced various cults in eastern India. We learn from the Charya songs that Yogini Bombi and Savari were some of the tantric deities who were worshipped by the Buddhists order of Sahajayana. We also notice the references to such goddesses in the Jain pantheon in the 9th century A.D. The Sataghara cave at Bhubaneswar, the northern most of the Khandagiri group containing two rows of carving represent seven Tirthankaras and seven female figures. These seven female figures are supposed to be the Jain version of Sapta Matrikas of the Brahmanical form of Saktism. Among the Jain Sasanadevatas of the Sataghara cave in Orissa there are certain female figures identified by B.C. Bhattacharya as Ajitadevi and Ambika. It is striking and interesting to note that among the names of the sixty-four Yoginis inscribed at Bheraghat

46. Vide Talcher plate of Subhakara III; Mishra, B.-Orissa Under the Bhauma kings, pp. 32-39.
we find the name of Ajita (No. 38 of the Bheraghat list) 49. Another Jaina Sasanadevata namely Gandhari is represented as a Yogini at Bheraghat (No. 62 of the list) 50. Similarly, Ambika, another female deity of the Jaina, represented at Sātaghāra cave also finds mention as a Yogini in the Chaunṣaṭh Yogini Nāmāvalī 51. These instances reveal that the popularity of the Yogini cult in the vicinity of Bhubaneswar influenced even the Jain pantheon which was then developing around Khandagiri.

In fact, the epoch of the Bhauma-Karas provided ample opportunity for the growth of Tantra in Orissa in early medieval period. Under their patronage in all probability during the time of Hīrā Mahādevī, Hirapur near Bhubaneswar became a stronghold of Yogini cult. Credit goes to Late Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra for the discovery of the hypaethral temple of sixty-four Yoginis at Hirapur in 1953. It is situated at a distance of 5 K.M. (as a crow flies) from the town of Bhubaneswar. Obviously the temple of Kapālinī or Vaitāla was not congenial to the spiritual practitioners who


50. Ibid., pp. 47 and 131.

followed the Tantric rituals of the Vāmāchāra Paddhati in the mid-night. Therefore, it seems, to be chosen a relatively secluded place where they could invoke the grace of the Yoginis for the fulfilment of their desires or attainment of psychic powers. Thus there evolved the open air temple of sixty-four Yoginis at a place slightly distant from the temple of Kapālinī. Charles Louis Fabri following Sasi Bhusan Dasgupta52 and N.K.Sahu53 thinks that in the Yogini cult the Yoginis grew out of local Yaksīs or female godlins54 and that it centred round a course of sexo-yogic practices55. In support of its contention he cites a passage from Chapter VIII of the Kaulajñāna Nirṇaya which indicates that all the eight ways of attaining Vidya comes from associating with Yoginis. The statement of Kaulajñāna Nirṇaya can not be dismissed so lightly and again the term Yogini-Melana of Kaulajñāna Nirṇaya can not be considered to be the union or copulation with the Yoginis in any carnal sense of the term. In fact, Yogini-Melana is considered to be a great psychic power like Jarāpaharaṇa, Anekarupāchāraṇa etc56. The eight Vidyās which according to the presumption of C.L. Fabri, comes

53. Sahu, N.K.-Buddhism in Orissa, pp.139-140.
55. Ibid., p.201.
from the physical association with the Yoginis are; in fact, so many Mantras to propitiate the Yoginis for the attainment of Siddhis or psychic power.

In Markandeya Purana the Matrganas are known to have danced probably in a circle having sucked the blood of Raktavija. In the same text the manifestations of the Divine Mothers refer to a Yogini. In Rajatarangini the Yoginis are called the divinities of the lower order (Madhyama devatās). Whatever the case may be, it is clear from the inscriptions on the images of the Yogini at Bheraghat that among them there were representations of Chandikā, Brahmani, Māhesvāri, Īsvarī, Stānvi, Vaiṣṇavi, Vārāhi, Indrāni, Pārvatī who cannot be associated with the local Yaksīs by any stretch of imagination. The mention of these Mātrkās or Matrganas in the Bheraghat list very well indicates that the cult of the Yoginis obviously emerged out of the cult of the seven or eight Mothers who according to Markandeya Purana are the direct manifestations of the supreme Divine Mother. It might be that the seven or eight Mothers were regarded as the divinities of higher order whereas others might have been of lower order.

57. Śrī Durgā Saptasati, Gita Press Ed. (V.S.2025) Gorakhpur, Canto. 8, Vr. 63.
58. Ibid., Vr. 38, p. 26.
59. "Rase ṫupe cha Gandhe cha Sate Sparṣe cha Yogini"
60. Markandeya Purana, Ch. 88.
At Hirapur the images of sixty-four Yoginis, nine Kātyāyanīs and Bhairavas have been enshrined in their respective places. The Yoginis at Hirapur as indicated by their vehicles seem to have been associated with eight groups of Divine Mothers although it is not possible at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain the Yoginis of exact group. Prof. Joanna Williams\(^61\) rightly suggests: "One key to identifying the uninscribed Yoginis of Orissa may lie in recognising groups of goddesses such as the familiar Saptamātṛkās". Some of the Vāhanas or vehicles associated with some images of Yoginis at Hirapur very well indicate that the cult of Yoginis had very close connection with the cult of Saptamātṛkās. In fact, we are of opinion that the Yogini cult is an upshoot of the cult of Divine Mothers. As we go round the hypasthral temple at Hirapur we come across certain vehicles or vahanas associated with certain Yoginis who can be identified with certain Mātṛkās. For example the first two images of the Yoginis in clock-wise direction at Hirapur are associated with dead bodies as their vehicles. According to Durgāsaptā-Satī the Vāhana of Chāmunḍā is corpse\(^62\) (Chāmunḍā Sava Vāhana) and Gopinath Rao\(^63\) also

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mentions that the corpse is the Vāhana of Chāmundā. Hence the first two Yoginis at Hirapur may be grouped under Chāmundā. Moreover No. 15 stands on a human figure. Yoginī No. 17 stands on a severed human head. These two images also appear to be associated with the Divine Mother Chāmundā. Image No. 56 in the Hirapur list showing the skeleton in detail having drooping breasts, a contracted abdomen, sunken eyes also seems to be a Yoginī of the Chāmundā group.

Images No. 3 and No. 8 have elephants as their Vāhanas which indicates that they are associated with the Divine Mother Aindri. Yoginī No. 38 of the Hirapur list is represented with the face of an elephant which leads one to identify it with Mātandī. However, it can also be bracketed with the group of Aindri who is linked with the elephant.

Yoginī No. 9 is represented as standing on the back of a buffalo which indicates that she has close resemblance with Divine Mother Vārāhī. Again, No. 16 is associated with fish as vehicle which leads us to presume that she is in the group of Vārāhī who is also associated with fish. The graceful figure standing on a boar being No. 13 in the serial list may be grouped with No. 9 and No. 16 belonging to the Vārāhī group. Yoginī No. 12 is associated with Garuda which indicates that it is a representation of Vaishnavī.

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There are a number of images of Yoginis at Hirapur who are associated with serpents. No. 10 stands on the hood of a ferocious serpent. No. 5 is ornamented by an armlet of Nāga. No. 22 stands on the back of a big serpent. No. 29 wears a garland of snakes. No. 34 resembles a snake. These figures associated with the snakes as their ornaments indicate that they belong to the group of Śivādūṭī65.

There are some images of the Yoginis at Hirapur which are associated with lion. No. 20 is standing on a lion. No. 26 has the face of a lion. No. 44 stands on the back of a lion. These Yoginis are likely to be associated with Nārasiṁhā of the Purāṇas or Simhasimha66 of the Bheraghat list.

We notice an image of Māhesvarī one of the Divine Mothers in the Hirapur list. It is No. 41 which stands on the back of a bull. No. 30 is a graceful figure on the back of a peacock. It is represented as Kaumārī. Fig. No. 31 of the Hirapur list being popularly worshipped as Mahāmāyā at Hirapur has been identified by K.N. Mahapatra with Mahāmāyā as described in the Kālikā Purāṇa67. But it seems to be identical with

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Yogeśvarī, one of the Mātrākṣas having ten arms. No. 59 at Hirapur is yet another graceful figure stands on a duck. The association of duck also indicates that the image has something do with the group of Brāhmaṇī.

A study of the iconographic features of a good number of Yogini images at Hirapur very well indicates that the Yoginis worshipped at Hirapur were closely connected with the circle of the Divine Mothers who according to Markandeya Purāṇa began to dance by sucking the blood of Raktavijā. In all probability the Yoginis were regarded as minor manifestations of the Divine Mothers and they seem to be the attendants of the Divine Mothers having specific minor powers of granting Siddhis to their worshippers.

In fact No. 31 at Hirapur whom we have identified with Yogeśvarī, one of the Divine Mothers, occupies the central position in the circular shrine of Hirapur. We, therefore, differ from Charles L. Fabri who thinks that the Yoginis emerged out of the local Yakṣis. We repeat our view that the Yogini cult is a product of the interaction of two streams of spiritual thoughts contributed by Matsyendranātha of the Kaula Kapālika School and the teachers of the Śaiva Siddhānta system of the Amardaka School.

In the light of the above discussion we are presenting below an account of the detailed iconographic features of the sixty-four Yoginis who are closely associated
with the circle of the Divine Mothers. It is based on the description given by Late K.N. Mahapatra, H.C. Das and our own personal observations. Hirapur is a small village situated on the bank of the river Bhargavi at a distance of 15 K.M. from the State capital of Orissa, Bhubaneswar by road towards east. At the one end of the village the hypaethral Yogini temple is situated near a tank. The Hirapur Yogini temple (Fig.50) is circular in structure and there is only one passage leading inside to its east. The height of the circular Yogini temple from the level of the ground around the monument is nearly 2.55 meters and the length of the outer circumference is nearly 27.35 meters. The diameter of the circular space inside is nearly 7.60 meters. The passage measures 2.44 meters in length and 76 cm in breadth. The circular structure is built by a kind of sandstone which is available in plenty in the neighbourhood. In the middle of the circular structure there is a rectangular Mandapa called Devi-Mandapa, measuring 2.90 meters in length and 2.44 meters in breadth. It has four doors facing east, south, west and north and it stands to a height of 2.75 meters. There are all total sixty niches in the circular wall round the


enclosed space where sixty Yogini images are placed. These Yoginis are in standing posture and carved in black chlorite stone. The following is the clockwise description of the Yogini images from the south-west corner of the passage to its north-east corner.

1. A beautiful four-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 51) is standing on a corpse. All hands of the deity are broken. She is beautifully ornamented with anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets and chāpa. Her decorated braid of hair is over her head. The corpse in the pedestal is lying in a very peculiar posture with side face.

2. The second Yogini figure (Fig. 52) is two armed and beautiful to look at. One of the legs and both the hands of the deity are broken. She is standing also on a corpse like Yogini No. 1. She is beautifully decorated with anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets and chāpa. Her braid of hair is beautifully exposed to the left side of her hand.

3. In the third niche of the circular cloister there is a graceful two armed Yogini figure (Fig. 53). The right hand of the deity is broken and she is holding a skull-cup near her mouth in her left hand. A garland of skulls is prominent on her neck. She is adorned with beautiful ornaments like anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets and
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The decorated braid of hair is to the right side of her head. She is standing on an elephant and hence is associated with the Divine Mother Āindrī.

4. The fourth niche is occupied by a four-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 54) standing on a tortoise. The deity is holding a skull-cup in her right upper hand while her other three hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments like anklets, armlets, girdle, necklace, chāpa etc. She has raised curling hair over her head. K.N. Mahapatra has identified the Yogini with Yamuna.

5. The fifth Yogini figure (Fig. 55) is beautiful and is of two-armed. Both the hands of the deity are broken. She is standing on a full-blown lotus, with leaves on both sides. She is wearing ornaments like armlets, girdle, anklets, necklace and chāpa in her ears. Besides, she is wearing Nāga-Keyūra (armlet of Nāga). The decorated braid of her hair is over her head. C.L. Fabri has identified the deity with Manadā, No. 4 of the Kārambelkar list.

6. The sixth niche is occupied by a two-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 56). Both the arms of the deity are broken. She


is ornamented with anklets, girdle, armlets, necklace and chāpa. She is standing on a line of waves or Tarāṅga-Malā. Her braid of hair is to the left of her head. H.C. Das has identified the Yoginī with the river goddess Narmada.72

7. The seventh niche is decorated with a four armed graceful Yoginī figure (Fig. 57). Her all hands are broken. She is standing upon the back of an alligator. She is wearing ornaments like armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle and ear-ornaments. The beautiful braid of hair is over her head. H.C. Das has identified this deity with Gouri.73

8. The eighth figure (Fig. 58) of the Hirapur list is an elegant Yoginī figure. It is two armed and both the hands are broken. Both the legs are also broken. She is adorned with ornaments like armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle and chāpa. The decorated beautiful braid of hair is over her head. K.N. Mahapatra has identified the Yoginī with Indrani as an elephant is in the pedestal.74

73. Ibid, pl. 9.
9. In the ninth niche there is a four-armed, boar-faced Yogini figure (Fig.59). The deity holds a skull-cup in her upper left hand and a chāpa(bow) in her lower left hand, while her two right hands are broken. She is wearing Mukuta and Kīrita over her head. She is ornamented with anklets, armlets, necklace, girdle and ear-ornaments. She is standing on the back of a buffalo. She has been identified by K.N. Mahapatra with Varāhi.  

10. The 10th Yogini figure (Fig.60) is fierce in look. She is standing on the hood and body of a fearful serpent. She wears a garland of skulls and Alaka (an ornament of the head). Her arms, waist, ears are decorated with ornaments. The braid of her hair is over her head. She is two armed and holds a Khadga (sword) in her right hand, while her left hand is broken. This image has close similarities with Ranajirā of Bheraghat list.

11. The eleventh niche of Hirapur temple is a monkey faced, four-armed figure (Fig.61). All her hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments like armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle, ear-ornaments. The braid of her hair


is over her head. She is standing on a camel. She may be identified as Sri Thākīṇī of Bheraghat whose vehicle is a camel.

12. The twelfth Yogini figure (Fig.62) of Hirapur is an elegant two-armed figure with a smiling face. Her hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments on her arms, legs, waist, and ears. She had decorated curling hair over her head. She is standing on the back of a Garuda for which she is identified with Vaiṣṇavī by K.N. Mahapatra.

13. The thirteenth Yogini (Fig.63) of the list is a two-armed graceful figure. Her hands are broken. She is decorated with many beautiful ornaments of arms, legs, waist, neck and ears. She has a beautiful braid of hair over her head. The pedestal is occupied by a boar. H.C. Das identify it with one of the Pānchā Vārāhīś. Charles Fabri identifies it with Vārāhī, one of the Mātrkās and Yoginī No.39 of the Kāmabhelkar list.

77. Ibid, pp.47 and 157, pl.101.
14. It is a Yogini figure (Fig. 64) of two arms. Both the arms are broken. She is beautifully adorned with various ornaments over her body. The braid of her hair is over her head and she is standing on a drum. We are not in a position to identify the image.

15. The fifteenth niche of the Hirapur circular temple is occupied by a two armed Yogini figure (Fig. 65). Both the hands are broken. She is beautifully ornamented over her body. She is standing on a male figure. The male figure has beautiful curling hair over his head and holds the stem of a lotus in his right hand. H.C. Das has identified this Yogini with Charchika on the basis of the descriptions given in the Chandi Purana of Sarala Das.

16. The sixteenth figure (Fig. 66) is a Yogini of four arms. All her hands are broken. She wears a garland of skulls and ornaments on arms, legs, waist, neck and chest. She is standing upon the back of a fish. She has her braid of hair over her head. We have grouped the deity with Varahi.

17. The seventeenth Yogini figure (Fig. 67) of the list of Hirapur is four-armed. She holds a bow in her lower left hand, while other hands are broken. She is ornamented with armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle and ear-rings. The braid of her hair is over her head. She is standing on a severed human head (Ghinna-Mastaka). The figure has been placed by us in the group of Chāmunda.

18. The eighteenth niche of the circular Hirapur Yogini temple is occupied by a terrific, buffalo-faced Yogini figure (Fig. 68). She is two-armed and both of her hands are broken. She has dishevelled hair over her head. She is standing on a cave with a door in the middle. She has been identified as Vīndhyāvasini by H. C. Das. 82

19. The nineteenth Yogini figure (Fig. 69) in the list is two armed with broken hands. She wears beautiful ornaments like armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle, ear-rings etc. Her beautiful braid of hair is to the right of her head. She is standing on a big frog. It is not being possible to identify the image.

19. The nineteenth Yogini figure (Fig. 69) in the list is two armed with broken hands. She wears beautiful ornaments like armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle, ear-rings etc. Her beautiful braid of hair is to the right of her head. She is standing on a big frog. It is not being possible to identify the image.

20. The twentieth niche of the temple of Hirapur is occupied by a two-armed terrific Yogini figure (Fig. 70). She is profusely ornamented on arms, legs, waist, neck and ears. She lifts an elephant in her two hands over her head. She has raised hair over her head. She is standing on a lion. The iconographic features resembles to Ghatābara of Chandi Purāṇa and Nandini of the Bheraghat list.

21. The twenty-first niche of the Hirapur circular temple is occupied by a two-armed graceful Yogini figure (Fig. 71). She is standing upon the back of a dog. She is ornamented like other Yoginis of the temple. Her right foot held tightly by both of her hands is placed over her left thigh. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head.


H.C. Das identifies with Kakarala.66

22. The twenty-second niche of the temple is occupied by a four-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 72). She is standing upon the back of a big serpent. She is profusely ornamented. She has the braid of hair over her head. She has long moustache, which is being trimmed by her upper left hand. Her other hands are broken. On her left shoulder lies a Tumuru (a strung musical instrument), the lower portion of which is seen on her right thigh. The figure is not identified.

23. The twenty-third niche of the Hirapur Yogini temple is occupied by a beautiful Yogini figure (Fig. 73) with two hands. Both her hands are broken. She is decently ornamented with anklets, girdles, armlets, necklace etc. The braid of hair is over her head. She is standing on a line of waves (Tarañgamalas). H.C. Das identifies the Yogini as a river goddess, Saraswati.87

24. The twenty-fourth Yogini figure (Fig. 74) of the Hirapur Yogini temple is two-armed figure with broken hands. She is beautifully decorated with ornaments like anklets, armlets, necklace, bejewelled girdle and other ornaments.

87. Ibid., p. 43, pl. 25.
Mukuta and Kirita are over her head. The beautiful braid of hair is seen depicted to the right of her head. She is standing on a row of seven Ratna-Kalasas. K.N. Mahapatra identifies it with Kauveri on the basis of the association of Ratna-Kalasas.

25. The twenty-fifth image of the Hirapur circular temple is a two-armed Yogini figure (Fig.75). She holds a Damaru in her right hand, while her left hand is broken. She is decorated decently with various ornaments. Her face resembles that with bear and stands on a lotus creeper (Pedmalata). She has raised hair on her head. H.C. Das identifies with Bhalluka.

26. The twenty-sixth figure of the Hirapur temple is a four-armed Yogini figure (Fig.76). She holds a pot like thing in her lower two hands, while the other two are broken. She is lion-faced with raised curling hairs, like the mane of a lion over her head. On the pedestal are found five flowers with leaves. Actually, she looks terrific in appearance. H.C. Das has identified it with Narasimhi.


90. Ibid., p.43, pl.28.
27. The twenty-seventh Yogini of the Hirapur temple is a two-armed graceful figure (Fig. 77). Both her hands are broken. She is adorned with various ornaments on her body. The beautiful braid of hair is to the right of her head. She stands on a lotus together with leaves on both sides. The figure remains unidentified.

28. The twenty-eighth Yogini of the Hirapur list is a two-armed terrific figure (Fig. 78). Both her hands are broken. She has parrot like face with protruding lips and curling matted hair over her head. She is also decorated with various ornaments. The pedestal is broken. We are not in a position to identify it.

29. A two-armed graceful standing figure (Fig. 79) has occupied the twenty-ninth niche of the Yogini temple at Hirapur. She holds a Vajra (thunder-bolt) in her right hand and a shield in her left. She wears a garland of snakes and other decorated ornaments on her body. The beautiful braid of hair is over her head. She stands on a full-blown lotus. She may be grouped with Sivadūttī.

30. A two-armed graceful figure (Fig. 80) is standing in the thirtieth niche of the Hirapur temple. Both her hands are broken. But the broken shield held in her left hand is visible. She wears Aksamāla on her right arm and other ornaments like necklace, girdle and anklets. She
stands on the back of a peacock. K.N. Mahapatra has identified it with Keumari 91.

31. The thirty-first niche of the Hirapur temple is occupied by a ten-armed graceful figure (Fig.81). This is the only ten-armed figure of Hirapur. All her hands are broken. This is slightly bigger than other 59 figures of the circle. Her head is decorated with Mukuta and Kirita and she is adorned with a beautiful necklace, a bejewelled girdle, anklets, and armlets. She stands on a full blown lotus under which is seen a square pedestal with a projection to the north. This is the presiding deity of the temple. Locally she is called Mahamaya and after her name this monument is also called the Mahamaya temple. On the basis of the description of the deity in Kalika Purana, K.N. Mahapatra rightly identifies it with Mahamaya 92. This Yogini has resemblances with Yogeshvari, a Matrika, having ten arms.

32. The thirty-second niche of the Hirapur circular Yogini temple is occupied by a two-armed figure (Fig.82) with broken hands. She is boar-faced and fearful to look at with raised curling hair over her head. One of her

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92. Ibid.
legs is broken. She is in dancing pose. In the pedestal is seen the figure of an archer kneeling on the ground and fighting with a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right hand, while the quiver is seen hanging on his right shoulder. It is not possible to identify the image.

33. The thirty-third niche of the Hirapur Yogini temple is occupied by a two-armed graceful Yogini figure (Fig. 83). Both her hands are broken. She is adorned with beautiful ornaments like armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle and ear-rings. The braid of her hair is to the left of her head. The pedestal is occupied by a crab. Identification of the figure is a matter of further investigation.

34. The thirty-fourth Yogini figure (Fig. 84) of the Hirapur temple is a four-armed snake-faced figure. All her hands are broken. She is profusely ornamented. The pedestal is broken. She may be identified with Yogini No. 28 of Ranipur in the light of Skanda Purana as Sarpasya.

35. The thirty-fifth Yogini figure (Fig. 85) of the Hirapur list is a two-armed Yogini. Both of her hands are broken. She wears Mukuta and Kirita, armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle etc on her body. She stands on a cot with four legs. We are not in a position to identify the image.
36. The thirty-sixth figure (Fig. 86) of the Hirapur temple is a two-armed Yogini figure. Both her hands are broken. She is fearful to look at having raised hair over her head. She is standing upon the back of a horned animal resembling a buffalo. The image resembles Uttala of the Bheraghat list.

37. The thirty-seventh niche of the circular Hirapur temple is occupied by a two-armed standing figure (Fig. 87). She holds a sword in her right hand, while her left hand is broken. The braid of her hair is over her head. Her body is beautifully decorated with various ornaments. She is standing upon the back of a crow. H.C. Das has identified the Vāhana as a parrot and on that basis he has identified the image with Rudra Kāli. But Charles L. Fabri identified this image as Abheravadini No. 50 of the Karambelkar list.

38. The thirty-eight Yogini figure (Fig. 88) is an elephant-faced, two-armed figure. The deity looks like the feminine counterpart of Ganesa. She has Jata-Juta (lust of matted hair) over her head. Both the hands are broken. She stands on the back of an ass. H.C. Das


has identified the image with Mātāngī due to its association with ass. He has suggested that the figure may be identified with Hastimukhā in the light of Chandī Purāṇa or with Jyeṣṭha in the background of South Indian traditions and Sītā in North Indian traditions. We are inclined to group the image with Sandini of Bheraghat list and No. 44 of the Karambelkar list, where she is associated with donkey.

39. The thirty-ninth niche of this temple is occupied by a two-armed graceful figure (Fig. 89). She holds a bow in her left hand and the bow-string in the right. Her beautiful braid of hair is seen to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments like armlets, anklets, girdle, ear-rings, necklace etc. The pedestal is occupied by a rat. The deity is identified with Vīra Kumārī or Vīra Kaumārī by Charles L. Fabri.

97. Das, Sāralā- Chandī Purāṇa.
99. Ibid.
102. Ibid., pp. 79 and 90, pl. LXVII.
40. The fortieth figure (Fig. 90) of the Hirapur circular temple is a four-armed graceful yogini figure. Her lower two hands are broken and she raises her upper two hands. She wears kirtīta over her head and she has a conical hair style. Her body is decorated with various ornaments. One of her legs is broken. She is standing upon the back of a scorpion. H.C. Das has identified it with Abhaya.

41. The 41st yogini figure (Fig. 91) of the Hirapur temple is a two-armed figure. Both the hands are broken. One of her legs is broken. She is profusely ornamented with various ornaments on her body. The braid of her hair is to the right of her head. She is standing on the back of a bull. Das has identified it with Mahesvari.

42. The forty-second yogini figure (Fig. 92) of the Hirapur list is a four-armed figure. In her upper right hand she holds a damaru, while the upper left hand is broken. Her two lower hands lean against both the knee-joints. Right leg of the deity is broken. She is profusely ornamented. She stands on two ornamented wheels below which is seen a mongoose. The beautifully decorated braid of hair is in the right of her head. The figure remains be identified.


104. Ibid.
43. The forty-third niche of the Hirapur circular Yogini temple is occupied by a two armed Yogini (Fig. 93). Both her hands are broken. She is decorated with armlets, girdle, anklets, necklace like ornaments on her body. The beautiful braid of her hair is to the right of her head. She stands on the back of a cock. It is also not identified.

44. The forty-four Yogini image of Hirapur temple is a two armed female figure (Fig. 94). Both her hands are broken. She is profusely ornamented on her body with ornaments like anklets, armlets, necklaces, girdle etc. Her head is decorated with beautiful curling hair. She stands on the back of a lion. H.C. Das thinks like figure No. 20 it may be grouped with Ghatābari.

45. The forty-fifth Yogini figure (Fig. 95) of the Hirapur circular cloister is a four armed female deity. Unfortunately all her hands are broken. She wears a Mukuta on her head and her body is profusely decorated with ornaments like anklets, girdle, armlets, necklace etc. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head which is further decorated with a flower garland. She stands on a wooden pot meant for containing turmeric-paste. To the south of this pot is seen a flower vase.

These features do not correspond to any known figure of Yogini.

46. The forty-sixth niche of the circular Hirapur cloister is occupied by a two-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 96). In her right hand she holds a trident (Trisula) while her left hand is broken. She is ornamented with various ornaments on her body. She stands on a male figure with two hands in lying posture. The male figure wears a Mukuta and Kirita over his head and there is a third eye over the fore head of the deity. The male figure has been identified with Siva and the female with Kali by K.N. Mahapatra.

47. The forty-seventh figure (Fig. 97) of the Hirapur list is a four-armed Yogini figure. The right two arms of the Yogini are broken. She holds a Naga pāse in her upper left hand while her lower left hand is in Abhaya Mudrā. Her head is decorated with Mukuta and Kirita and her body is profusely decorated with ornaments like anklets, armlets, necklace, girdle etc. The pedestal is occupied by three big and some small full-blown flowers and on the middle of the big flower the deity stands. We are not in a position to identify the figure.

48. The forty-eighth niche of the circular Hirapur cloister is occupied by a two armed graceful Yogiñi figure (Fig. 98). She holds a sword in her right hand and places her left hand upon a wine vessel, kept on the pedestal. Her body is profusely ornamented with decent ornaments like armlets, anklets, girdle, necklace etc. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head over which there is a beautiful tiara. The pedestal is occupied by an earthen pot with a conical lid on it.

49. The forty-ninth Yogini figure (Fig. 99) of the Hirapur circular temple is two armed. Both of her hands are broken. She is decorated with ornaments like anklets, armlets, girdles, necklace and ear ornaments. The beautiful braid of hair is to the left of her head. A tiara is decently tied on the braid of her hair. She is standing on a conch shell which has two legs. No literary evidence is available to identify the figure.

50. The fiftieth niche of the Hirapur Yogini temple is occupied by an elegant four armed Yogini figure (Fig. 100). She has three faces. Her head is decorated with Mukuta and Kirita and she is decorated with sacred thread and other ornaments on her body. The pedestal is broken but a decorative lion is seen at a corner with a garland of beads in its mouth. The deity seems to represent some aspects of Brahmaṇi.

51. The fifty-first niche occupied by a typical, two-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 101). Both her arms are broken. She is terrible to look at. She has two long raised ears and knotted hair hanging on both sides of her head. Her face resembles that of a boar. She stands on a wooden pedestal having eight legs. H.C. Das has identified the figure with Jvalamukhi.

52. The fifty-second niche of the Yogini temple is occupied by a two-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 102). She holds a sword in her right hand while her left hand is broken. She wears various ornaments on her arms, legs, waist, neck, ears etc. She stands on a Ram. The flames of fire are seen rising in the background and hence Mahapatra and Das identify it with Agneyi.

53. In fifty-third niche there is a figure (Fig. 103) of two-armed Yogini. She holds an indistinct object in her left hand, while her right hand is broken. The braid of her hair is over her head. She is profusely ornamented with armlets, anklets, necklace, girdle, ear-ornaments etc. She stands on the back of a parrot. The association of parrot reminds us of her association with Agni. This has


led H.C. Das to identify the image with Agnihotri\textsuperscript{110}.

54. The fifty-fourth Yogini figure (Fig. 104) of the Hirapur circular temple is a two-armed, graceful deity. Both her hands are broken. She is beautifully ornamented with various ornaments on her body. The beautiful braid of her hair is to the right of her head. She stands on a four-legged wooden pedestal.

55. The fifty-fifth niche of the Hirapur Yogini temple is occupied by a two-armed graceful figure (Fig. 105). Her hands are broken and the major part of her face is also broken. Her body is decorated by various ornaments. A beautiful braid of hair is over her head. Her hair-do looks like the hood of a snake. The pedestal is occupied by a Chamari cow as her cognizance. We are inclined to group this image with Enuri\textsuperscript{111} No. 43 of the Karambelkar's list.

56. The fifty-sixth Yogini figure (Fig. 106) of the Hirapur list is a four armed terrific female deity. She holds a fierce lion over her head in her upper two hands, while she holds a sword in her lower right hand and a severed human head (Chhinna Mastaka) in her lower left hand.


\textsuperscript{111} Fabri, C.L. - History of the Art of Orissa, Orient Longman Ltd. (1974), New Delhi, p. 203.
She is grim in appearance, reduced to a mere skeleton, with pendulous breasts, a contracted abdomen and sunken eyes. She has matted hair over her head tied with a snake and she is wearing a garland of skulls. She stands on the back of a muskdeer. We are inclined to associate the deity with the Chāmundā group.

57. The fifty-seventh Yogini of the Hirapur list is a two armed female figure (Fig. 107) with broken hands. She is adorned with various ornaments like armlets, anklets, girdle, necklace etc on her body. The braid of her hair is over her head. She stands on the back of a horned deer. She has been identified with Maruti\textsuperscript{112} by H.C. Das.

58. The fifty-eighth figure (Fig. 108) of the Hirapur Yogini temple is a four-armed Yogini. Her lower right hand and upper left hand are broken, she holds a full blown lotus in her upper right hand and a Nāgapāśa in her lower left hand. The beautiful braid of her hair is over her head. She is adorned with various ornaments on her body. She stands upon the back of a Makara. She has been identified with Gāṅgā\textsuperscript{113} by K.N. Mahapatra.


59. The fifty-ninth niche is occupied by a graceful two-armed Yogini figure (Fig. 109). The beautiful braid of her hair is over her head. She holds a winnowing-fan in both of her hands. The pedestal is occupied by a duck as her cognizance. H.C. Das has identified it with Tarini.114 We are inclined to associate the deity with the group of Brahmani.

60. The Sixtieth Yogini figure (Fig. 110) of the Hirapur Yogini temple is a graceful, two-armed figure. Both of her hands are broken. The braid of her hair is to the left of her head. She is decorated with various ornaments on her body. She stands on the back of a horse. She is associated with a Kadamba tree in the background. We are inclined to equate it with Gamdhari115 of the Bheraghat list.

The Chandi Mandapa situated in the middle of the circular cloister contains seven images out of which three are images of Yoginis.

61. There is a vacant niche in the southwest corner of the Chandi Mandapa. It is presumed that there was a Yogini image, but it is lost now. K.N. Mahapatra points out that the Yogini image of the vacant niche had been taken away to a place called Yamankuda.116


The sixty-second Yogini figure (Fig. 111) of the Hirapur list is in the northwestern niche of the Western wall of the Chandi Mandapa. She is four armed and all her arms are broken. She is profusely decorated with various ornaments on her body. She has got a beautiful braid of hair over her head resembling a lotus bent downwards. She stands on the back of a female deer.

The sixty-third Yogini figure (Fig. 112) of the Hirapur circular encloser is in the northeastern niche of the northern wall of the Chandi Mandapa. It is four armed. She wears a Kirita over her head. She is decorated with various ornaments on her body. Her two right hands are broken. She holds a shield in her upper left hand and a bow in her lower left hand. She holds also a quiver. She stands on a galloping horse. On the basis of her association with a galloping horse, H.C. Das has identified the image with Suryaputri.

The sixty-fourth of the last Yogini figure (Fig. 113) is in the northeastern niche of the northern wall of the Chandi Mandapa of the Hirapur circular cloister. She is a two-armed female deity in dancing posture. She places her left hand on her waist and raises the righthand.

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upwards. She is decorated with various ornaments on her body. A beautiful braid of hair is to the right of her head. The pedestal is occupied by a male deer on both sides of which are two vases, from each of which a flower plant rises upwards. C.L. Fabri has identified it with Vāyuvena\(^{118}\), No. 49 of the Karambelkar list.

**YOGINI CULT AT RANIPUR-JHARIAL**

While the Yogini cult under the influence of the school of Matsyendranātha developed in the coastal tract of Utkala in the vicinity of Bhubaneswar, under the benign patronage of the Bhauma-Karas, South-Kosala also became a stronghold of the Yogini cult under the influence of Sadasiva-chārya\(^{119}\) of the Āmardaka School and Gaganasivāchārya\(^{120}\) of the Mattamayūra School during the rule of the Paṇḍuvāmsis. As we have noticed earlier the term Āmardaka means Kāla-Bhairava\(^{121}\), the teachers of the Āmardaka School are considered to be identical with Bhairavas, a terrific aspect of Śiva closely connected with

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the Yogini cult. We learn from Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa¹²² that Kāli has sixty-four maid servants called Yoginis and that her palace is well protected by the Bhairavas. This reference indicates the significant place of the Bhairavas in the Yogini cult. It is known from the Kālikā Purāṇa (Ch.61-84) that eight Nāyaikās or Yoginis are to be worshipped along with the form of the Mother Goddess called Kausiki Chandikā¹²³. This reference indicates that the Asta-Mātrikās are also known as Yoginis who like the Bhairavas evolved from eight to sixty-four. The Bhairavas who protected the palace of Kāli attended by sixty-four Yoginis were originally supposed to be eight in number¹²⁴. We have noticed above that the eight Mothers who were also known as Yoginis gradually developed to sixteen Mothers¹²⁵, and ultimately the sixteen Mothers multiplied into sixty-four. There is one definite clue to suggest that the Bhairava cult and the Yogini cult were upshoots of one system and that the Yoginis were the Saktis of Bhairavas. A specific example may be cited here: One of the Bhairavas is called Bhisana¹²⁶ is mentioned in

¹²². Mahābhāgavata 59.53; 28-33
Ibid 59. 11-13; Kumar, Puspendra - Sakti Cult in Ancient India, p.144.

¹²³. Kālikā Purāṇa, Ch:61-84.


¹²⁶. Tantrasāra, p.332.
Tantrasāra. It is definitely known from the Bheraghat image inscription that the Yogini No. 75 in that shrine was enshrined as Bhīṣanī. That Bhīṣanī Yogini is the feminine aspect of Bhīṣana Bhairava is a matter of common sense. We have also indicated earlier that in the Yāmala text one of the Yoginis called Dākini has been named as Bhairava-Dākini. In the Bheraghat list there appears a Yogini called Teramvā who seems to be associated with the Tantric teacher Teramvāpāla of the Mattamayūra School. Kapālinī, the presiding deity of the temple of Vaitāla of the Yogini Kaula cult, was obviously the female counterpart of Kapali, one of the eight Bhairavas. These evidences very well indicate that the Yogini cult which emerged at Ranipur-Jharial in South Kosala was an integral part of the Bhairava cult, which developed under the influence of the Saiva Siddhānta teachers of the line of Kadambaguhāvāsi.

Ranipur-Jharial, situated at a distance of 34 K.M.

from the Titilagarh railway station had emerged as a great center


131. Tantrasāra, p. 332.
of Tantric Saivism and Saktism under the influence of great ascetics like Saḍaśivāchārya and Gaganasivāchārya. We learn from the Lodhia copper plate grant of Mahāsūryagupta Bāḷārjuna that Pramathāchārya, a disciple of Bhagavāna Śūlāpani migrated from Daitavana near Kuruksetra and richly contributed to the development of Tantric Saivism and Saktism. These teachers exerted very great influence over the Kalachuris of Tripuri and other royal houses of that time. Thus, it appears under their influence several shrines of the Yogini cult in Madhya Bhārata emerged. The sixty-four Yogini temples are found scattered at Khajuraho, Bheraghat, Mitauli, near Padhaur and Shahdol in Madhya Pradesh. Recently such, Yogini temples have also been found at Dudhai in U.P. and Coimbatore in Tamilnad. A temple of the Yoginis has been

133. Roy, H.C.- The Dynastic History of Northern India, p.738.
137. Dikshit, S.K.- A Guide to State Museum Dhubela(1955)- The Yogini images of Shahdol were transferred and preserved in the Dhubela Museum in Chhatrapur district of M.P.
discovered recently by Prof. K.D. Bajpai\textsuperscript{140} at Lokhari in the Banda district of U.P. In Orissa there are two Yogini temples at Hirapur\textsuperscript{141} in the Puri District and at Ranipur-Jharial\textsuperscript{142} in the Bolangir district. Cunningham\textsuperscript{143} has drawn the attention of the scholars to a Yogini temple at Suruda in the district of Kalahandi of Orissa. Major General John Campbell\textsuperscript{144} also reported in 1864 about a number of Pagodas at Soorada; V.W. Karambelkar also in his paper- "Matsyendranātha" and his Yogini cult\textsuperscript{145} has discussed about a Yogini temple at Suruda in Orissa. According to his description at Suruda also there is a central mandapa on which is carved a sitting figure resting on a bullock and an elephant. The figure has three faces, in the right hand there is a trident, in the left hand a lotus etc. As far as we know there is no place called Suruda in Kalahandi district. There is a place called Suruda in the Ganjam district where a tribal goddess called Kandhupidevi is being worshipped.


\textsuperscript{141} Mahapatra, K.N.- \textit{A Note on the Hypaethral Sixty-Four Yogini temple at Hirapur}, OHRJ, Vol.II, part-2(1953), pp.23-44.

\textsuperscript{142} Beglar, J.D.- \textit{Archaeological Survey of Indian Report}, Vol.XIII, pp.128-36.

\textsuperscript{143} Cunningham, A.- \textit{Archaeological Survey of India Report}, Vol.IX, p.74.

\textsuperscript{144} Dash, M.P.- \textit{A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts}, Vol.V, p.X.

An account of these Yogini temples in U.P., M.P., Tamilnad and Orissa reveals that the Tantric form of Saivism and Saktism became widely popular in the early mediaeval period in different parts of India. During the period under review Ranipur-Jharial was a great center of a tantric Saktism. In the Bilhari and the Ranod inscriptions this great tantra pitha has been referred to as Ranipadra. Although in a later tradition, the temples of Ranipur-Jharial were attributed to a Rani (queen), there is no doubt that Ranipadraka which has been highly eulogised by the tantric teachers is no other then Ranipur where we notice among other shrines the temple of Somesvara built by Gaganasivacharya and the circular temple of sixty-four Yoginis.

It is striking to note that the Yogini temples of Hirapur and Ranipur are based on somewhat different esthetic concepts and ideologies. The Yogini images of Hirapur are charming figures with great esthetic significance; where as the Yogini images of Ranipur are somewhat crude, disproportionate and ugly. Most of the Yogini images of Hirapur are representation

of human beings while most of the Yoginis of Ranipur are
c charact erised by the heads of the animals. Beglar who noticed
 the Yogini images in the Archaeological Survey Report of Central
 India merely presented a note about them. Charles Fabri who
 also made a study of the Yogini cult has not been able to
 identify the Yogini images of Ranipur-Jharial. But he has
 quoted the Skanda Purana list of the Yoginis which was earlier
 cited by Dasaratha Sarna. We have for the first time made
 a through study of the Skanda Purana list and we have come
 to the conclusion that most of the Yoginis of the Skanda
 Purana list have been meticulously represented by the artist
 at Ranipur-Jharial. The Yogini images of Ranipur seem to be
 based on the Pratimālaksana of the Yoginis of the Skanda Purana
 quoted below:

Gajānana1, Simhamukhi2, Gryhrasya3, Kakatundika4, Ushtrakrīva5, Hayagrīva6, Varahai7, Sarabhanana8, Ulūkika9, Sivaravā10, Mayūri11, Vikatapanā12, Ashutavaktra13, Kotarākshi14, Kubjā15, Vikatalochna16, 34
Sushkodari17, Lalajjhiva18, Svadanshtrā19, Vānaraḥana20, Rkshākki21, and Kekarākshi22, Bhattunga23, Surāpriya24, 25
Kapālahasta25, Raktākshi26, Sukī27, Syeni28, Kapotika29, Paśahasta30, Daṇḍahasta31, Prachandā32, Chandavikrema33, 34, 35
Siṣughni34, and Papanantri35, Kali36, Rudhirapāyini37, Vasādhaya38, Garbhābhaksha39, Savahasta40, Antramalini41, 38
Sthulakesī42, Bhṛtakukshī43, Sarpāṣya44, Pretavaḥana45, Daṇḍasukakara46, Kraunḍi47, Mrghaśirha48, Vṛshana49, 39
Vyāṭaṣya50, Dhumanihīvāsa51, Vyomaika52, Charanordhyadak53, Tāpani54, Soshaniḍaṁśiḥ55, Koṭari56, Sthulanasi57, 40
Vidyutprasāha58, Bālākṣya59, Mājari60, Kapatapana61, Attahasa62, Kāmakshi63, Mrghakshi64, Mrghalochna65. 41

The last two Yoginis of the lists are Mrgākṣhi and Mrgalochana may be translated as "Doe-eyed" and "Doe-look" are same and one. Hence, the numbers of the Yoginis are not 65 but 64.

Ranipur is a small village, situated at a distance of 34 K.M. from Titilagarh in Bolangir district. At the eastern side of the village there is a big tank and on the eastern side of the tank there is a very big flat stone resembling the back of a whale, perhaps a part of a small hillock. On that hill a number of ancient monuments are standing. There are many temples, small as well as big in size. All of them are in dilapidated condition except three. They are (1) the Somesvara temple just near the bank of the pond, is recently repaired; a stone temple; (2) Indralāt - a brick temple and (3) the temple of 64 Yoginis(Fig. 114A).

The Yogini temple is situated at the top of the hill in between Somesvara and Indralāt. The description of the Yogini images are given below on the basis of the notes given by J.D. Beglar, H.C. Das and our own personal observations in the light of the Skanda Purāṇa list. In our personal observations we notice here that while the Yogini figures at Hirapur are decorated

with garlands of skulls, those of Ranipur are depicted with sacred threads on their bodies. The images of Ranipur-Jharial are given below from left to right as follows:

1. It is a three-faced, two-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 114). Her right hand, right breast and right leg are broken. She has conical matted hair. She is holding a trident. She is wearing necklace, armlets, girdle and anklets. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. She cannot be identified with any one of the Skanda Purana list. However, she is an aspect of Māhesvari as she has three faces and a trident.


4. It is a two armed dancing female figure (Fig. 115). Her right hand is broken from the elbow. She has matted hair. Her face and breasts are mutilated. She is wearing necklace, armlets, girdle and anklets. Her left hand is on her belly. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. It cannot be identified with present state of our knowledge.

5. The fifth niche of the circular temple of Ranipur is occupied by a two-armed dancing figure (Fig. 116). She has conical matted hairs on her head. Her face is mutilated.
She is wearing necklace, girdle, anklets, etc. as ornaments. She is holding a sword in her right hand and a vase in her left hand. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. She has unusually a long nose. H.C. Das\textsuperscript{153} records that this image is a lion-headed and that she holds a trident and a cup. Hence, he has identified this image with \textit{Narasi}mi. But in our personal observations we have noticed that the weapon associated with the Yogini is not a trident, but a sword. Again, her face is so much mutilated that we cannot ascertain whether it is lion-faced or not. Hence, in our present state of knowledge we cannot identify this image.

6. The sixth Yogini of the Ranipur circular temple is a two-armed, stout, flabby dancing female figure (Fig. 117). She is holding a dagger in her right and a \textit{pasa} in her left hand. Her breasts are hanging down. She is decorated with a braid of hair over her head and wearing necklace, girdle, anklets, ear-ornaments etc. H.C. Das has identified it with \textit{Yami}.\textsuperscript{154}

7. The seventh image (Fig. 118) of the circular cloister of Ranipur is a four-armed dancing female figure. The legs of the figure are completely mutilated and the hands are


\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.
also broken. Only two weapons associated with the Yogini namely a dagger and a sword are visible. She has conical matted hair style. She is decorated with beautiful ear-ornaments, necklace, armlets, girdle etc and a sacred thread on her body. We are not in a position to identify the image.

8. Missing.


10. Missing.

11. The eleventh niche of the Yogini temple of Ranipur is occupied by a two-armed dancing Yogini figure (Fig. 119). Her right hand and right leg are broken. She is placing her left palm on her left knee. She is wearing ear-ornaments, necklace, armlets, girdle, anklets as ornaments. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. She has conical hair style. The most remarkable feature of the image is that she has a squint eye, and hence we identify with Kekarāksi, (i.e. one with squint eye) No. 22 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

12. The twelfth Yogini image (Fig. 12) of Ranipur circular Yogini temple is a three faced four-armed dancing female figure. Both her upper hands are broken. H.C. Das is of
opinion that the Yogini is holding a trident, a rosary and an hour-glass. But in our personal observations we have seen that she is holding a Viṣṇupakṣa in her lower right hand and a japamāla in her upper left hand. There is no mirror or hour-glass at all in the image. She has conical hair style. She is profusely ornamented with armlets, anklets, girdle, necklace, ear-ornaments etc. The sacred thread is on her body. However, she is identified with Siṃhadi by Dr. Das.155

13. The thirteenth niche of the Ranipur Yogini temple is occupied by a two-armed, skeleton like dancing female figure (Fig.121). The image is partially mutilated. She has conical hair style. She is wearing necklace, armlets, girdle, anklets and ear-ornaments. She is keeping the little finger of her left hand on her left cheek. Observing the image minutely we derive the conclusion that her sunken eyes look like holes. Hence, we have identified the image with Kottarakṣi, No.14 of the Skanda Purāṇalist.

14. The fourteenth Yogini figure (Fig.122) of the Ranipur Yogini temple is perhaps the biggest of all. But unfortunately, the upper portion of the figure up to waist is completely broken. Any how, from the remaining lower

portion we observe that she is dancing on a corpse. She is wearing anklets and girdle. A knife is visible on her right side. The association of the corpse or Preta leads us to identify the image with Preta-Vahana No.45 of the Skanda Purana list.

15. Missing.

16. The sixteenth Yogini image (Fig.123) is a very interesting dancing female figure to look at. It is a cat-faced, four-armed Yogini figure. Her right leg is broken. She is holding a sword-like object in her lower left hand and a vase in her upper left hand. She is holding a lamp in her lower right hand. She is depicted in the posture of eating a rat. Her head is decorated with a beautiful braid of hair. She is wearing necklace, armlets, bangles, girdle and anklets. H.C.Das has described the image as lion-headed, but from our personal observations we have found that the face of the deity definitely resembles with a cat and our observation is also supported by the fact that the animal that is being swallowed by the deity.

156. H.C.Das has described it as a six-armed figure, with one pair of hands engaged in pulling wide her mouth, with the remaining unbroken hands she is holding an hour-drum, a sword and a cup. But these features are not found now, as the upper portion of the image is completely damaged. Das,H.C.-Tantricism-A Study of the Yogini Cult,Sterling Publishers Pvt.Ltd.,New Delhi,(1981),p.47.

157. Ibid.
is not a frog as surmised by Das but definitely a mouse whose tail is conspicuous in the figure. We have for the first time identified this Yogini with Marjari, No. 60 of the Skanda Purana list.

17. The image (Fig. 124) No. 17 is a four-armed jackal-faced dancing female figure. The deity is represented as holding an axe, a club, an hour-glass and a rosary. She is ornamented with necklace, armlets, girdle and anklets. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. H.C. Das\textsuperscript{158} describes this Yogini as horse-headed. But we are unable to agree to the description given by H.C. Das. The face of the deity definitely resembles that of a jackal (Siva)\textsuperscript{158A}. Therefore, we identified the figure with Sivarava, No. 10 of the Skanda Purana list.

18. The eighteenth niche of the Ranipur Yogini temple is an owl-faced, four-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 125). Both her right hands and the upper left hand are broken. She has decorated conical matted hair. In her lower left hand she is holding a Gada. She is wearing necklace, armlets, girdle, and anklets. Sacred thread is on her


\textsuperscript{158A} The Dictionary meaning of Siva is Jackal.
body. H.C. Das is of opinion that she is a goat-headed dancing female figure holding in her hands a mace and a trident. But we differ from him. The face of the deity definitely resembles that of an owl and accordingly we have identified the image with Ullu-śīkā, Yogini No.9 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

19. The nineteenth niche of the Yoginī temple of Ranipur is occupied by a four-armed, horse-headed dancing Yoginī image (Fig.126). Her upper left hand and right leg are broken. She is shown holding a sword in her upper right hand, a bow in her lower left hand and an arrow in her lower right. She has conical hair style. She is ornamented with necklace, armlets, girdle and anklets. The sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. We have identified the deity with Havaārīvā, No.6 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

20. The twentieth niche of the sixty-four Yoginī temple of Ranipur is occupied by a partially mutilated, four-armed, lion faced female dancing figure (Fig.127). Her both lower hands are broken. Both of her upper hands are placed in between her breasts in folding position. Her both legs are completely damaged. She is wearing necklace, armlets, and girdle. The sacred thread is

there on her body. It seems to be identical with Simhamukhī, No. 2 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

21. Image No. 21 has been described by H.C. Das as a goat-headed, eight-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 128). But in course of our personal observations we have found that it may be anything else, but not a goat-headed figure. It seems to be a peculiar face of an animal which may be identical with the head of a mythical animal—Sarabha. The deity is six-armed and not eight-armed as mentioned by H.C. Das. The upper right-hand of the image is completely broken. She is shown holding a long sword, a rosary, a mace and a vajra, while her upper left hand is placed on her vagina. She is ornamented with necklace, armlets, anklets, girdle and a sacred thread over her body. In that case she may be identified with Saravāhana No. 8 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

22. An elephant-headed, four-armed yogini figure (Fig. 129) has occupied the twenty-second niche of the circular yogini temple of Ranipur. The deity has beautiful conical hair style. Her trunk, breasts and upper hands are broken. In her lower right hand she is holding an

axe. She is ornamented with necklace, armlets, bangles, girdle and anklets. She has a sacred thread on her body. We identified the image with Gajahana\textsuperscript{161}, No. 1 of the Skanda Purana list.

23. The twenty-third niche of the Yogini temple is occupied by a monkey-headed, four-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 130). Her left leg is completely broken. She has conical hair style. Both of her joined upper palms are placed below her breasts. In lower right hand she is holding a club and a rosary in her lower left. She is wearing necklace, armlets, girdle and anklets which are of simple style. A sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. H.C. Das\textsuperscript{162} describes the figure as a boar-headed one and as such he has identified the figure with Erudi of Bheraghat. We differ from H.C. Das in the identification. The face of the deity resembles that of a monkey and not of a boar. Therefore, we have identified the image with Vanaranana, No. 20 of the Skanda Purana list.

24. A cow or Bull-headed, four-armed, mutilated dancing female figure (Fig. 131) is in the twenty-fourth niche of the Yogini temple at Ranipur. Her upper hands and

\begin{itemize}
\item It is interesting to note that elephant is associated with the Yogini called Dhadhari, No. 34 of the Karambelkar list, where the elephant is represented as the Vehicle of the goddess and she is also elephant-headed. Fabri, C.L. - The History of the Art of Orissa, Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi (1974), pp. 99 and 202.
\end{itemize}
legs are completely broken. In her two lower hands she is holding indistinct objects which cannot be identified. She is wearing armlets, anklets, girdle and a sacred thread is over her body. V.W.Karambelkar thinks that Eruri or Erudri of Bheraghat is a cow-headed deity, but we have mentioned above Erudi of Bheraghat is a boar-headed image. The present image with the head of a cow or bull, may be identified with Vṛṣāṇana, Yogini No. 49 of the Skanda Purana list.

25. The twenty-fifth niche is occupied by a four-armed beautiful dancing female figure (Fig. 132). Her upper arms are broken. In her right lower arm she is holding a daggar, in lower left hand she is holding a vase. She has a beautiful conical hair style. She is wearing beautiful Kundalas, necklace, armlets, girdle, anklets and a sacred thread is over her body. The lusture of her face leads us to indicate that she may be taken to be a representation of Vidyutprabha, No. 58 of the Skanda Purana list.

26. The twenty-sixth Yogini is a four-armed beautiful dancing figure (Fig. 133) with smiling face. Two of her hands are


engaged in wearing her anklets. In other two hands she is holding a rosary and an unidentified object. She has beautiful conical hair style. She is ornamented with Keyūra, Makara Kundala, necklace, girdle and armlets. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. It is difficult to identify the image for want of any specific character. However, on the basis of the expression on the countenance, she may be identified with Kamaksi (lady with passionate look), No. 63 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

27. A bear-headed, four-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 134) is occupying the twenty-seventh niche of the Ranipur Yogini temple. Her upper hands are completely broken, whereas she is holding a rosary and a lotus in her other two hands. She has decorated conical hair style. She is wearing necklace, amlets, girdle and anklets. Sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. Karambelkar165 is of opinion that bear is the symbol of the Yogini called Taramvā, but the Bheraghat Taramvā166 is 18-armed Mahiṣamardini Durgā. We are not in a position to identify the image in the present state of our knowledge.

28. The twenty-eighth Yogiṇī figure (Fig. 135) of Ranipur-Jharial Yogiṇī temple is a four-armed, serpent-headed dancing female figure. She put one of her hands on her knee and another at her breasts, while she is holding a cup and a trident in the rest of her two hands. She is decorated with ornaments like necklace, armlets, anklets and girdle. Sacred thread is over her body. We identify the figure with Sarpāṣāṇa, No. 44 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

29. The twenty-ninth Yogiṇī of Ranipur list is a two-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 136) with open-eyes and close-lips. The left leg and both of her hands are broken. She has beautiful conical hair style. Her face is completely blurred. She is wearing ornaments like Mukūta, Kundalas, necklace, anklets, armlets and girdle. Sacred thread is conspicuous by its presence. We do not get any clue to identify the image.

30. The thirtieth niche is occupied by a two-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 137). She is holding a trident and a raktapāṭra. She is decorated with various ornaments like other Yogiṇī images of the temple. She may be identified with Rudhirapāṭāṇa, No. 37 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.
31. In the thirty-first niche there is a two-armed, beautiful dancing female figure (Fig. 138). Both of her hands are broken. She is wearing Kiriti Mukutā, she is decorated with ear-ornaments, necklace, armlets, anklets and girdle. She has also possessed a sacred thread on her body. As her face resembles that of a young boy, we propose to identify the figure with Bālakāśyā, No. 59 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

32. Missing.

Images bearing serial Nos. 33 (Fig. 139), 34 (Fig. 140), 35 (Fig. 141), 36 (Fig. 142) and 37 (Fig. 143) are more or less similar in Pratima Laksana. A trident and a cup are associated with each of them. We are not in a position to identify those images.

38. The thirty-eighth Yogini image (Fig. 144) is a four-armed dancing female figure. Her upper right hand is broken. She is holding a trident in lower right hand, a dagger in upper left hand and a vase in lower left hand. She has curling conical hair style. She is ornamented with anklets, armlets, girdle, necklace and ear-ornaments. There are flames of the image fire on her head. Her mouth is unusually big, hence we have identified with Vṛhattunda, No. 23 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.
39. The thirty-ninth niche is occupied by a beautiful two-armed female figure (Fig. 145). Her right hand is in Varada and left is in Abhaya pose. She has conical hair style. She is ornamented with ornaments like the Yogini No. 38. H. C. Das mentions that the image is holding a rosary and a hour-glass. But in our personal observation we are sure that these two objects are absent in the image. In view of the Abhaya and Varada poses, we are inclined to identify this Yogini with Pabahantri No. 35 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

No. 40 and No. 41 images of the shrine are missing.

42. The forty-second Yogini image (Fig. 146) of Ranipur is a two-armed graceful dancing female figure. She is holding a trident in her right hand and the left is broken. She has conical hair style. She is decorated with ornaments like Yogini No. 38. She has an unusually big and long nose and as such we identify the image with Sthulanāsika, No. 57 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

43. The forty-third Yogini image (Fig. 147) of the circular Yogini temple of Ranipur-Jharial is a two-armed, fierce-faced dancing female figure. She is holding a daggar.

in her right hand and a baby on her lap. She holds the baby by her left hand. She has conical hair style and is ornamented with various ornaments on her neck, arms, waist, feet and ears. H. C. Das has identified this Yogini as a Mother Goddess as she is holding a baby on her lap. But his view is not tenable, because except this figure there is no other Yogini image of Ranipur holding a baby. Again, the iconographic features of Mātrkās are not depicted in the image. In view of her terrific look and association of a dagger in one hand and a baby on the other, we are inclined to identify the icon with Sisughni (killer of Baby) No. 34 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

44. The forty-fourth Yogini image (Fig. 148) of the Ranipur Yogini temple is a horse-headed, four-armed dancing female figure. She is holding a trident and a paśa in two of her hands, while the objects in other two hands are unidentified. She is wearing armlets, anklets, girdle and a sacred thread is conspicuous on her body. We are not able to identify the image.

45. The forty-fifth niche of the circular cloister of Ranipur is occupied by a two-armed buffalo-headed dancing female figure (Fig. 149). She is holding a trident in her right hand and a baby on her lap. She holds the baby by her left hand. She has conical hair style and is ornamented with various ornaments on her neck, arms, waist, feet and ears. H. C. Das has identified this Yogini as a Mother Goddess as she is holding a baby on her lap. But his view is not tenable, because except this figure there is no other Yogini image of Ranipur holding a baby. Again, the iconographic features of Mātrkās are not depicted in the image. In view of her terrific look and association of a dagger in one hand and a baby on the other, we are inclined to identify the icon with Sisughni (killer of Baby) No. 34 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

while a noose in her left. She is ornamented like Yogini No. 38 of Ranipur. As she is holding a noose, she may be identified as Pāsahastā, No. 30 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

46. The forty-sixth Yogini (Fig. 150) of Ranipur is a four-armed beautiful female figure. She has kept both of her upper palms in joined condition on her belly and has placed the joined palms of the lower hands on her head. Both the legs of the image are broken. She is decorated with ornaments like Yogini No. 38. We are not in a position to identify this image in the present state of our knowledge.

47. The forty-seventh Yogini image (Fig. 151) of the Ranipur list is a two-armed, deer-headed dancing female figure. She is holding a daggar in her right hand, while the left is broken. Ornaments are invisible. We identify the image with Mrgaṣaṅga, No. 64 of the Skanda Purāṇa list, as the head of the deity is represented as that of a deer.

48. The next Yogini figure (Fig. 152) of the Ranipur Yogini temple is a two-armed deity holding a Danda in her right hand while the left is broken. Her legs are damaged. She is decorated with ornaments like Yogini No. 38. She may be identified with Dandahastā, No. 31 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.
49. The forty-ninth Yogini image (Fig. 153) is a two-armed dancing female figure. Her right hand is in Abhaya pose while the other with an indistinct object. She is wearing ear-rings. Other ornaments are invisible. She has an untie beautiful bunch of hairs on her head. Hence, she may be identified with Sthulakesī, No. 42 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

50. Missing.

51. Yogini No. 51 is a two-armed dancing female figure (Fig. 154) with a terrific look. Here the Yogini is represented with the pose of rubbing her teeth with one of his fingers of the right hand and holding a cup in the other. She has conical hair style and is decorated with ornaments like Yogini No. 38. She may be identified with Svadānstrā, No. 19 of the Skanda Purāṇa list.

52. Image No. 52 is a two-armed figure (Fig. 155) with a graceful look. The right hand of the image is in Abhaya pose and the left hand is associated with a daggar. She has semi-conical hair style. She is also decorated with ornaments like Yogini No. 38. We cannot identify the Yogini in the present state of our knowledge.
53. The niche for the image No. 53 is missing. H.C. Das observes that there is a two-armed female holding a sword and a cup in her hands. As the image is now missing we are not in a position to offer any suggestion for the identification basing on the observation of H.C. Das.

54. Image No. 54 is a four-armed graceful figure (Fig. 156) with upper right hand in Abhaya pose. In the lower right hand the deity holds an indistinct object. The upper left hand is broken. She is holding a dagger in the lower left hand. There is the representation of a Ram in the pedestal of the image. She may be identified with Sri Gahani No. 53 of the Bheraghat list and No. 38 of the Karambelkar list where the Yogini is associated with a Ram.

55. Image No. 55 is a four-armed, dancing female figure (Fig. 157). The upper right hand of the image is broken. In the lower right hand of the deity there is an arrow. She is holding a bunch of flowers in her upper left hand and a bow in her lower left hand. An elephant is depicted below the pedestal. The image does not correspond


to any of the Yogini described in the Skanda Purāṇa list. However, the depiction of the elephant on the pedestal leads us to think that it is a representation of Indrāṇī, one of the seven Mothers.

56. Image No. 56 is a two-armed female figure (Fig. 158) holding a pair of pincers in her left hand. The right hand of the image is broken. Below the pedestal of the image there is a figure of a peacock which is very much blurred. So we are of opinion that it is a representation of Kaumārī, one of the seven Mothers.

57. Image No. 57 is a two-armed female figure (Fig. 159) holding a noose of a snake her hands. The left hand is broken. Below the pedestal of the image there is representation of an animal which is indistinct. It is not possible to identify the image.

58. Missing.

59. Image No. 59 is a two-armed female figure (Fig. 160) holding a daggar in the right hand and a cup in the left. There is a representation of horse below the pedestal of the image. We proposed to identify the image with Śrī Tapīṇī, Yogīnī No. 45 of the Chaunsath-Yogīnī temple of Bheraghat, where the deity is

seated on a caprisioned horse. Accordingly we are also inclined to identify the figure with Tapani, No. 9 of the Skanda Puraṇa list.

Image No. 60 is a two-armed female figure (Fig. 161) in the pose of touching the forehead by the middle finger of the right hand, probably to affix the vermillion mark. In the other hand she is holding a mirror. The figure is exceedingly beautiful and is profusely ornamented with ear-rings, necklace, armlets, bangles, girdles and anklets. We do not get any clue to identify the image.

Image No. 61 is a two-armed female figure (Fig. 162) holding a Musala on the right hand and a gada in the left. The Musala in the right hand is branded over her head. She had decorated conical hair style and she is ornamented with ear-rings, necklace, anklets, girdle and armlets. It is not possible to identify the image.

The aforesaid study of the Yoginī cult of the early mediaeval Orissa reveals that from the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era tantricism gained a stronghold in different

parts of India. The teachers of the Mattamayūra School who hailed from Tapovana near Daitavana played a great role in popularising the Tāntric lore in Kosala, Kaliṅga and Utkala. With the rise of the Bhauma-Karas in Tosala the philosophy of Matsyendranātha which had gained ground in Kāmarupa also penetrated to the coastal tract of Utkala. In the Kaula Kapālika School as well as in the Matta Mayūra School - both of which contributed to the development of Tāntric arts and thoughts in Orissa, Bhairava, a terrific form of Śiva was worshipped. The Bhañjas of Khiṅjalimandala who flourished during this period had accepted Bhairava as their tutelary deity and they were also the worshippers of the Mother Goddess, Stambhesvari. Our contention is that the school of Matsyendranātha as well as Matta Mayūra School made their own contributions to the growth and development of Tāntric Saivism and Sāktism in which the Yoginis as the attendents of Uma-Mahēśvara in a circle were worshipped by the Sāktas for the achievement of different psychic powers or Siddhis. The temple of Vaitāla was a tantric centre in the city of Ekāmra. An inscription in the said temple gives us a tāntric formulae "Śrī Chandra Udāḥ" which obviously indicates that it was accepted by the tāntric practitioners for the attainment of certain power. When Tantra became very

175. Arts Asiatique Paris, TOME IV Fascicule 4, 1957, p. 292, Fig. 21.
popular, the circular temple of the Yoginis was built at Hirapur where among the 64 Yoginis we also notice figures of Ajaikapāda Bhairava, Svachchanda Bhairava and ten-armed Bhairava. The tantric teachers of the line of Kadambaguhāvāsi as well as the Kaula Kāpālikā School of Matsyendranātha were worshippers of Kāla-Bhairava or Ānandaka. It is no wonder, therefore, that at Hirapur the Yoginis were worshipped along with Bhairavas. The multiplication of the Bhairavas and the Yoginis from eight to sixty-four and the worship of Bhairavas in the Yogini temple very well indicate that the Yogini cult was either an upshoot of the Bhairava cult or closely associated with it. It seems that it was enjoined to the worshippers of the Yoginis that they should also worship Bhairava along with the Yoginis. The Kaula Kāpālikas who seems to have popularised the Yogini cult in the coastal tract of Orissa possibly carried the idea from Kāmarupa to Utkala where Jagannātha was also worshipped as Bhairava. In the Tantric lore Vimalā was worshipped as Bhairavi and Jagannātha was worshipped as Bhairava during that period.

The Hypaetheral Yogini temple at Hirapur is the vital expression of the Tantric art in Orissa of the epoch of the Bhauma-Karas. In this shrine some of the figures of the Yoginis are depicted with their faces resembling those of monkey, lion, snake, bear and elephant while some others are

176: Vide Pītha Nirnaya or Mahāpītha-Nirupanam; Yr. 13; JRASB; Vol. XIV, No. 1; Sircar, D.C.-The Sāktapithas, p. 45.
super in beauty majesty and dignity. There are also two-
armed standing male figures who seem to be the representation
of Tāntric āchāryas. There are also figures of nine
Kātyāyaniś who are usually associated with the Yōginīś. It
is striking to note that Tribhuvana Mahādevī compares herself
with Kātyāyanī in her Dhenkanal plates. The same
inscription further reveals that an ascetic with very great
psychic power was invited to Tosala for Brstikāma Jajñā.
This reference indicates that during the reign of the
Bhauma-Karas Tāntricism gained wide popularity in Orissa.
The Bhauma-Karas who migrated from Assam seemed to have been
greatly influenced by the school of Matsyendranātha which
popularised Tantra for the attainment of such powers as
Māraṇa, Vāsikāraṇa, Jārapahāraṇa, Anekarupa-dhāraṇa,
Yōginī Meλana etc. as vividly described in Kaulajñāna Nirṇaya
of Matsyendranātha. The cult of the seven or eight Mothers
was already popular in Orissa from the 7th century A.D. As
the seven or eight divine Mothers as well as the Yōginīś
together associated as the fighting deities emerging in
the contest of Raktavīja in Devī Mahātmya, it is no wonder
that among the sixty-four Yōginīś also we find the representa-
tion of the Divine Mothers.

177. JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 419-427; Mishra, B., Orissa Under the
Bhauma Kings, p. 25.

178. Märkandeya Purāṇa - Ch. 88.
At first the Matta Mayūra School had popularised the cult of Bhairava in Orissa before the rise of the Yoginī cult. Then the School of Matsyendranātha incorporated some basic features of the Bhairava cult and the Yoginī cult of Orissa. The teachers of the Matta Mayūra School like Sadasivāchārya, Pramathāchārya and Gaganasivāchārya deeply influenced the Somvamsis Kings and attracted them to the fold of Saivism at Ranipur-Jharial. We notice an Inscription (Fig.163) of the Saivate teacher Gaganasivāchārya very close to the Yoginī temple. Here also in the centre of the Yoginī temple there is a image of three faced Mahesa Murty (Fig.164) in Ananda Tāndava pose. These evidences also very well indicate that there was interaction of the two religious orders - Matta Mayūra School of Saivism and Matsyendranātha School of Sāktism. These two powerful streams of religious thoughts brought the construction of the two Yoginī shrines in Orissa in early mediaeval period.

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