



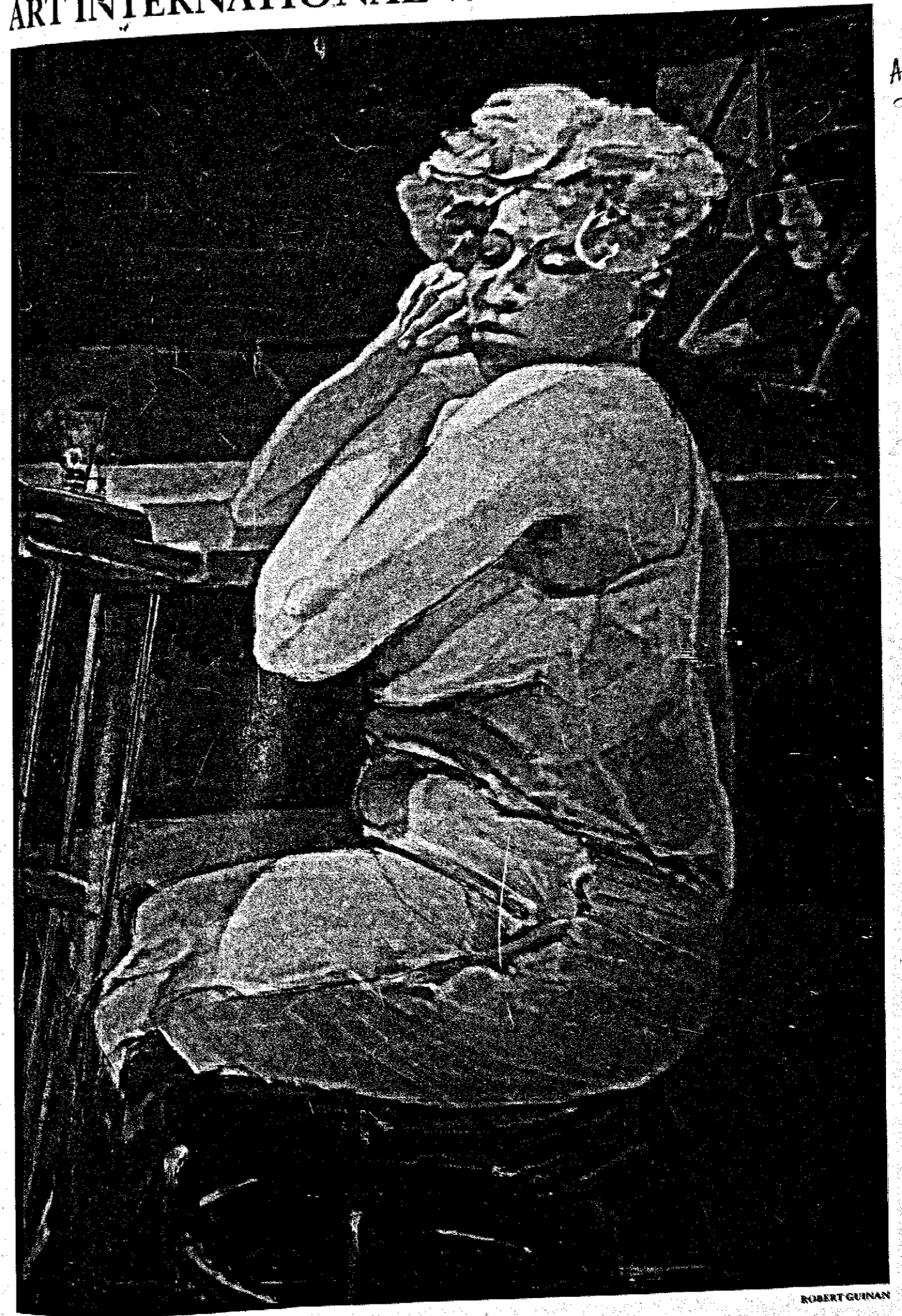
ROCK GARDEN (THE NATION) 1981, oil on canvas, 122 x 122 cm.

R. B. KITAJ

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ROBERT GUINAN

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COVER: ROBERT GUINAN's painting *The Ampulee* (1981, acrylic on masonite, 136x97 cm) was recently exhibited by the Galerie Albert Loeb, Paris (see also René Micha's "Letter" from that City).

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INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS CALENDAR

Inclusion in the Calendar is free to museums and galleries which subscribe to Art International. Those wishing to be listed must, of course, remember to send us their exhibition schedules regularly, and as far in advance as possible.

AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY
Gallery A, 21 Gipps Street, Paddington, NSW 2021 (T. 81 9720). Wendy Stavrianos, recent paintings, till 20 March. Virginia Cuppaidge, recent paintings, 27 March till 12 April. Ann Thompson, recent works, 24 April till 15 May.
Aboriginal Art Centre, Walker Lane, Paddington, NSW 2021. Museum quality Australian aboriginal bark paintings, carvings and other antique artefacts from Arnhem Land, N. Australia.
Robin Gibson, 278 Liverpool Street, Darlinghurst, NSW 2021 (T. 531 2649). One-man exhibitions, changing every three weeks.
Budy Komon, 124 Jersey Road, Woollahra, NSW 2025 (T. 82 2533). Michael Farrell, paintings, prints and drawings, till 10 March. Jock Clutterbuck, sculptures and gouaches, 13 March till 14 April. Peter Powditch, paintings, 17 April till 12 May. Macquarie, 204 Clarence Street, NSW 2000 (new address).

AUSTRIA

VIENNA
Museum Moderner Kunst / Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts. Schweizersgarten, A-1030 Vienna. Kokoschka, about 130 works including 40 oil paintings, of the years 1907-1975. Till 18 April.

CANADA

MONTRÉAL
Museum of Fine Arts, 3400 Avenue du Musée, Montréal, Québec H3G 1K3 (T. 285-1600). Bredin (1822-1885), 50 prints. Calligraphy as iconography in Islamic Art, till 2 May. Robert Racine, writing as a 3-dimensional plastic element, till 18 April. Ancient Greek and Roman coins, till 18 April. Fernand Léger, a major exhibition of 75 works prepared by the Albright-Knox Gallery of Buffalo, N.Y., till 9 May.

OTTAWA

National Gallery of Canada. F.H. Varley Retrospective, till 4 April. Modernism in Québec, 1916-1946, 23 April till 13 June. Bill Brandt, photographs, 1 May till 27 June. The Costakis Collection of 20th Century Constructivist and Russian art (organized by the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York), 8 July till 6 September.

TORONTO

Art Gallery of Ontario, 317 Dundas Street West, Toronto M5T 1G4. The Arts of Italy from 15th-18th Century, till 15 February. Gershon Iskowitz Retrospective, till 7 March. Contemporary International exhibition, till 5 April. English miniatures from the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), till 16 May. Greg Curnoe retrospective, 20 March till 3 May.
Marianne Friedland, 122 Scollard Street, Toronto M5R 1G2. Hans Hofmann, drawings, March. Toulouse-Lautrec, posters, April. Manuel Robb, aquatints, May. Carmen Lamanna, 840 Yonge Street, Toronto M4W 2H1 (T. 922-0410). Ron Martin, till 1 April. Vincent Tancredi, 3-29 April. R. Reizenstein, 1-27 May.

FRANCE

CANNES
Herbage, 17 rue des Etats-Unis (T. 39-19-15). Henry Moore, his graphic work of the 70s. Permanently: works by Calder, Matisse, Nicholson, Hepworth, Miró, Picasso, Ernst, a.o.
Grey, 19 rue Notre-Dame (T. 48-38-21). Michel Four, 19 March till 30 April.

LA ROCHELLE

Inauguration of the new Musée du Nouveau Monde, marking the tricentenary of the discovery of the Mississippi delta and the founding of Louisiana, on 14 May.

MARSEILLE

Musée Cantini, 19 rue Grignon (T. 54-77-75). Contemporary Hungarian Art.

GRENOBLE

Musée de Peinture, Place de Verdun. Bonnard, drawings from the Alfred Ayrton Collection; Fred Deux, drawings, till 22 March.

NICE

Musées de Nice - Galerie d'Art Contemporain, 59 Quai des Etats-Unis. "L'Air du temps" - Free figuration in France, till 11 April.

PARIS

Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, F-75191 Paris, Cedex 04 (T. 277-12-33). Man Ray, till 2 May. Jackson Pollock, retrospective, till 10 May. Hans Hartung, photographs, till 25 May. Toyen, Styrsky and Heisler, graphic work, till 31 May.
Grand Palais, Avenue Winston Churchill (T. 261-54-10). 17th Century. French painting in American collections, till 26 April. Treasures of Georgia, 17 April till 26 July. The Birth of Writing in Western Asia and Egypt, 8 May till 8 August.
Musée du Louvre, Quai du Louvre (T. 260-39-26). Florentine Art of the 16th Century, 3 March till 6 September. 17th & 18th Century pastels, gouaches, miniatures and enamels, 5 March till 7 June.

Musée d'Art Moderne, 11 Avenue du Président Wilson (T. 723-61-27). "Aléa(s)" (works by Sara Holt, Kepes, Kowalski, Latham, Monory, Oppenheim, Pommerulle, Rinke, Shannon, Siler, Takis), till 26 April. Five modern Chinese painters, 19 March till 9 May.
Petit Palais, Avenue Winston Churchill (T. 265-12-73). The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, till 28 March.

Musée Rodin, 77 rue de Varenne (T. 705-01-34). Robert Wlrick (1882-1944), 100 sculptures and 50 drawings, 31 March till 28 June.
Galerie d'Art Internationale, 12 rue Jean-Ferrandi (T. 548-84-28). Adevor, recent work, 2-24 March. Cavaliere, 29 March till 25 April.
Baudouin-Lebon, 36 rue des Archives (T. 272-09-10). Barbro Ostlin and Jean-Marc Buissonne, March.

Beaubourg, 23 rue du Renard (T. 271-20-50). Pignon, recent paintings, till 10 April, and Arman.
Bellechasse, 10 rue de Bellechasse (T. 555-83-69). Sergio de Camargo, recent sculpture, till 28 March.
Claude Bernard, 5-7-9 rue des Beaux-Arts (T. 326-97-07). Varlin, till 27 March.
Jean Briance, 23-25 rue Guénégaud (T. 326-85-51). Roman Cieleswicz, April. Karel Dierckx, May.
Jeanne Bucher, 53 rue de Seine (T. 326-22-32). Vieira da Silva, drawings, 19 March till end of April.
Berggruen, 70 rue de l'Université (T. 222-02-12). Jacques Hartmann, paintings and drawings, till 30 April.
Farideh Cadot, 77 rue des Archives (T. 278-08-36). Mac Adams.
Louis Carré, 10 Avenue de Messine (T. 562-57-07). Geer van Velde, 22 April till 30 June.

Carmen Casse, 10 rue Malher (T. 278-43-14). Charles-Louis Lasalle, lithographs.
Jeanne Castel, 3 rue du Cirque (T. 359-71-24). Abstract and Surrealist painting. The gallery is currently engaged in preparing the catalogue raisonné of Jean Fautrier.
Darial, 22 rue de Beaune (T. 261-20-63). Ehanno, paintings, till 27 March.
Eric Fabre, 6 rue du Pont de Lodi (T. 325-42-63). Keith Sonnier, till 20 March.
Facchetti, 20 Avenue de Friedland (T. 563-80-26). Modern masters and new talents. By appointment.
Flinker, 25 rue de Tournon (T. 75006). Peng Wan Ts, till 31 March.
Galerie de France, 52 rue de la Verrerie (T. 274-38-00). Tadeusz Kantor, "Metamorphoses", till 7 May.

Liliane François, 15 rue de Seine (T. 326-94-32). Dufour, paintings, till 27 March.
Gallery group, 28 March till 13 April. Ritter, paintings, 14 April till 5 May.
Gillespie-Laage-Salomon, 24 rue Beaubourg (T. 278-11-71). A.R. Penck, till 20 March.
Pierre Dunoyer, 25 March till 24 April.
Guigné, 89 Faubourg Saint-Honoré (T. 266-66-88). Janerand, 16 March till 3 April.
Marwan Hoss, 12 rue d'Alger (T. 296-37-96). Important modern and contemporary works, including Bonnard, Braque, Cézanne, Corot, Léger, Matisse, Mondrian, Picasso, Toulouse-Lautrec, a.o.
Jean-Pierre Joubert, 38 Avenue Matignon (T. 562-07-15). Marzelle, ca. 40 paintings, till 30 April.

Louise Leiris, 47 rue de Monceau (T. 563-28-85). Modern masters: Braque, Gris, Léger, Masson, Picasso, a.o.
Albert Loeb, 10-11 rue des Beaux-Arts (T. 633-06-87). Varlin, paintings, till 27 March.
Maeght, 13-14 rue de Téhéran (T. 563-13-19). Ubac, recent sculptures and drawings, and Camacho, "Histoire des Oiseaux", till 9 April.
Malingue, 26 Avenue Matignon (T. 266-60-53). Bonnard, Chagall, Fautrier, Kandinsky, Matisse, Picasso, Pissarro, Renoir, and other modern masters.
Parvis Saint-Merri, 84 rue Saint-Martin (T. 271-93-05). "Oneric Reality", till 17 April.
Daniel Templon, 30 rue Beaubourg (T. 272-14-10). Klossowski, till 5 March.
Francisco Clemente, 6 March till 1 April.
Carthéa Speyer, 6 rue Jacques Callot (T. 354-78-41). Viswanadhan, till 23 March.
Zabriskie, 17 rue Quincampoix (new address). Inaugural exhibition: Retrospective of 5 Years of Photography.

SAINT-QUENTIN

Musée Antoine Lécuyer, 28 rue Lécuyer (T. 62-39-71). "The Organs of l'Aisne" (a region of France), till 12 April.

TOURS

Jacques Davidson, 17 rue des Césisiers (T. 61-23-18). Far Eastern Masters of the Miniature, till 4 April.

GERMANY

BERLIN

Berlinische Galerie, Jebenstrasse 2 (T. 313-60-91). New trends in drawing, presented by Philip Morris, till 14 March; Fritz Brill, photographs, 2 April till 9 May.
Berlin Museum, Lindenstrasse 14 (T. 251-40-15). 1981 Acquisitions and donations. Binhold, Kurfürstendamm 186 (T. 881-15-76). David Hockney, April.
Dibbert, Joachim-Friedrich-Strasse 37/38 (T. 891-31-64). Winfried Gaul, retrospective, 9 March till 17 April.
Staatliche Kunsthalle, Budapeststrasse 46 (T. 261-70-67). Larry Rivers, March/April.
Majakowski, Kurfürstendamm 72 (T. 323-30-76). Rodchenko, photographs and montages, 19 March till 7 May.

National Gallery, Potsdamer Strasse 50 (T. 266-26-62). Emmett Williams, drawings and prints, till 28 February. Beuys, Rauschenberg, Twombly and Warhol, from the collection of Dr. Erich Marx, till 4 April. Guenther Uecker, March/April.
Nierendorf, Hardenbergstrasse 19 (T. 785-60-60). Otto Dix, graphic works, till 11 May.
Poll, Lützowplatz 7 (T. 261-70-91). Bettina von Arnim, new work.
Schüler, Kurfürstendamm 51 (T. 881-63-61). Klaus Fussmann, till mid-April.
Folker Skulima, Niebührstrasse 2 (T. 381-82-80). Georges Hugnet, surrealist collages from the 30s.
Springer, Fasanenstrasse 13 (T. 313-90-88). Hans Richter, late work, till 7 March.
Penck, from 12 March.

BOCHUM

Museum, in the Wasserburg Haus Kemnade. Woldegar Winkler, paintings, objects and drawings, on the artist's 80th birthday, till 12 April.

BONN

Hennemann, Kaiserstrasse 12 (T. 22-37-69). K.F. Dahmen, memorial exhibition of late drawings, till 31 March.

COLOGNE

Museum Ludwig, An der Rechtschule. International art trends of the 70s, till 5 April.

(continued on page 29)

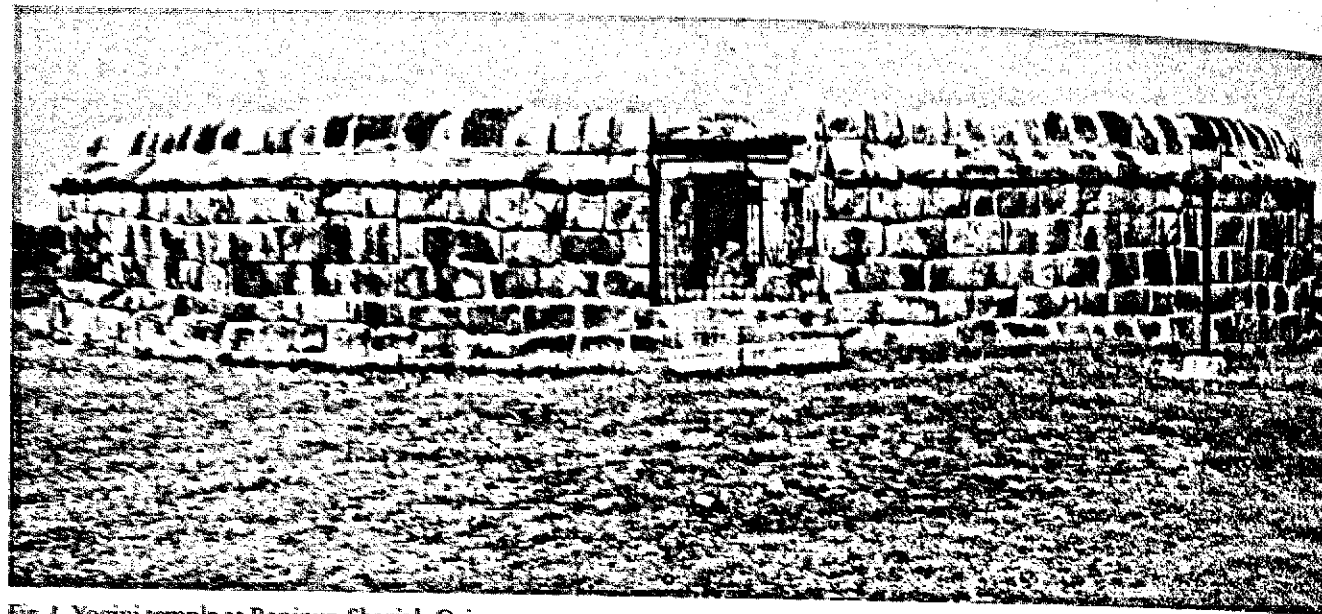


Fig. 1. Yogini temple at Ranipur-Sharial, Orissa.

VIDYA DEHEJIA

THE YOGINĪ TEMPLES OF INDIA

A Preliminary Investigation

Introduction

Indian temples generally evoke images of shrines with tall towers and impressive gateways covered with an abundance of figural and decorative sculpture. We are aware of dimly lit interiors with a series of halls at the end of which is the mysterious *garbha griha* or womb-chamber with the image of the deity visible only by the flickering light of oil lamps. But the Yoginī temples of India present a total contrast to such a picture. They are simple circular enclosures without a towering superstructure and in fact, with no roof at all. There is no dark, hidden sanctum; instead the temple remains completely open to the sky, permitting the bright Indian sunlight to pour into its exposed arena (Fig. 1). The walls of the circular enclosure, built of plain undecorated blocks of stone, stand between six and eight feet in height. These walls are generally left completely bare, apparently the work of a competent stone mason unaided by the sculptor. The entrance into these Yoginī temples is in the nature of an interruption in the circular wall, resulting in an open undecorated doorway. Within the enclosure and placed in niches in its circular walls are a series of female images of Yoginīs, generally sixtyfour in number, while at the centre of the circle is an open pavilion housing an image of the god Śiva (Fig. 2). A Yoginī temple consists then of an open circle of Yoginīs surrounding a central image of Śiva, the entire group being exposed to the vagaries of climatic changes.

The Yoginīs, placed along the inner walls of these temples, are usually depicted as beautiful-bodied women with high rounded breasts, slender waist and broad hips, wearing a skirt held in position by a jewelled girdle placed low on the hips (Fig. 3). Their bare torsoes are decorated with several necklaces and garlands and they are further adorned with armbands, bangles, anklets, earrings and elaborate headdresses. These sensuous figures present us however with widely varying countenances, some of which are clearly non-human. One Yoginī has the face of a horse

Fig. 3. Yogini from Hirapur temple, Orissa.



but the animal head scarcely detracts from her sensuality and nobility (Fig. 4). A second Yoginī has a well-formed body but in place of her face is a large snake hood that makes her a bizarre and arresting figure (Fig. 5). A third Yoginī has the gentle face of a rabbit with the ears sticking out prominently (Fig. 6). A fourth is of fearsome mien with a skeletal body that reveals her ribcage and prominent tendons, her sunken stomach and elongated sagging breasts. Wearing a garland of skulls, she holds a severed human head in one hand, a curved knife in another, and with two more hands she holds aloft above her head the carcass of a tiger (Fig. 7).

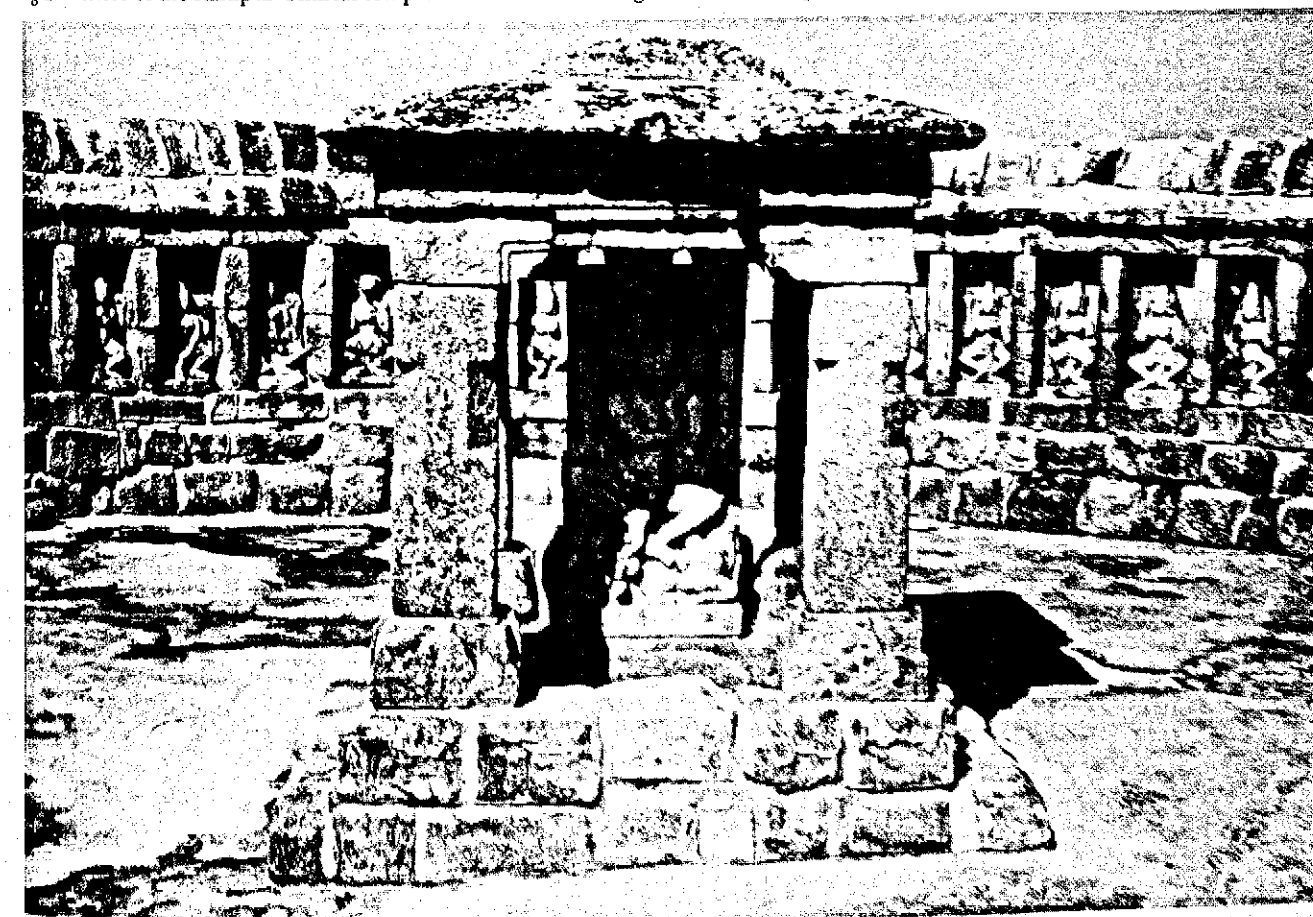
Concept of Yoginīs

Who are these mysterious Yoginīs and what position do they occupy within the vast Hindu pantheon? So far there has been no answer to this question. One reason for the total neglect of the Yoginīs lies possibly in the fact that the term *yoginī* allows of a number of different interpretations, each being entirely at variance with the next and yet quite correct in its own context. The simplest explanation and the most common usage of the term is that a *yoginī* is the female counterpart of a *yogi*. She is a woman who follows the path of yoga as a bodily and spiritual discipline and becomes a master in the science, acquiring certain powers in the process. In both Mughal and Rajput miniatures, these human *yoginīs* are frequently portrayed either as ascetic mendicants or seated in shrines where they are visited by both male and female devotees. Another definition of the term *yoginī* is that she is a sorceress or witch, and ancient Sanskrit semi-historical literature and romances contain several stories of such *yoginīs*. These sorceresses were greatly feared because they possessed the power to



Fig. 4. Horse-headed Yogini from Shahdol.

Fig. 2. Interior of the Ranipur-Sharial temple with its circle of Yoginīs surrounding the central image of Śiva.



transform human beings into animals and birds with the aid of a magical thread.¹ Any man for whom a yoginī acquired a passion was in great trouble if he did not readily comply with her desires. By tying a charmed thread around his neck, she could convert him into a parrot or any other creature and thus keep him in captivity. Whenever she wished to enjoy the pleasures of love, she temporarily removed the thread and the man regained his human form! Several other stories about such yoginīs indicate that they had the power to fly through the air, that they usually travelled in groups and met in cemeteries in a circular formation where they worshipped their god Śiva in his fearsome aspect of Bhairava. Such stories indicate that a human victim, often a corpse, was offered to Śiva. However, the Yoginī of our Yoginī temples, while in certain ways allied to these other categories of yoginīs, is definitely a goddess.

Yoginīs and their temples seem to inspire in the average person a deep sense of awe born of fear. Generally people refer to them in hushed tones if at all they mention them. To such an extent is this secrecy carried that the very existence of the Yoginī temple at Hirapur in Orissa became public knowledge as recently as the year 1953. It is extraordinary that this well-preserved shrine, barely ten miles from the major temple centre of Bhubanesvar, should have remained unknown all these years. There is a widespread fear that one may be cursed by the Yoginīs for a whole host of reasons and it is believed that even approaching their temples may lead to disaster. This deep-seated fear makes the average villager or town-dweller steer clear of the Yoginī temple; he would rather not talk to you about Yoginīs, much less lead you to one of their shrines. This fear of the Yoginīs seems to have been prevalent from ancient times. Several texts, including the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* and the *Jñānāmāya Tantra*, warn that he who imparts secret knowledge to a non-initiate will be cursed by the Yoginīs or will be devoured by them.² Possibly it is this type of reasoning and consequent fear that have resulted in the secrets of the Yoginī cult remaining locked away these many centuries.

These intriguing Yoginī temples with their enigmatic images are scattered over the northern part of India and located in sites that are remote and difficult of access. Now deserted and badly damaged, the temples were rediscovered in the middle of the 19th century and proved to be a total mystery both to their British discoverers and to the local populace. An amusing legend associated with one of these isolated temples still survives in parts of central India. We are told that once a group of local belles were chased by British soldiers. Fleeing to the top of a nearby hill, the girls prayed to their goddess to come to their rescue, and in her compassion, she turned them to stone rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the soldiers.

For some reason, the cult of the Yoginīs and the temples built for them have not been studied by modern scholars. To historians of architecture, the simple hypaethral shrines of the Yoginīs may have appeared insignificant in the context of the history of the Indian temple. But it is more difficult to understand why the exquisitely sculpted images of the Yoginīs in some of the temples have not attracted devotees of Indian sculpture. Surprising too is the fact that even historians of Indian religion have paid little or no attention to a cult that was of notable consequence during the medieval period, judging from the considerable number of Yoginī temples that still exist and others that have been destroyed.

The Cult and the Circle

The Yoginī temple takes for its form the circle, that purest and simplest of symbols, yet one of the most powerful and widely used. The circle represents the sun, the seeing eye, the zodiac, time and eternity; it is Nothing and yet it is All. It is the shape that expresses most effectively the complementary concepts of completeness and separateness; a circle is complete in itself and separated from everything outside of it. The circle is also a symbol of the Self, of a self-contained psychic whole. "It expresses the totality of the psyche in all its aspects, including the relationship between man and the whole of nature" and "always points to the single most vital aspect of life - its ultimate wholeness".³ In certain schools of thought such as Zen, the circle symbolizes human perfection and hence Enlightenment.

Since ancient times, circles have been used all over the world to mark the boundaries of sacred areas, to set these apart from mundane usage and to protect them from external harmful influence. The circular walls of the Yoginī temple formed an enclosed and sacred space which yet remained open to the sky. Within this sanctified area were enacted the rites of the Yoginī cult in order to appease and placate the Yoginīs who could be cruel and wrathful if displeased but who would grant the devotee all manner of powers if appropriately adored. Existing temples of the Yoginīs confirm that the circular ground plan was customary and the most prevalent but reveal also a few instances of the less familiar rectangular form.⁴ Mandalas, *yantras* and *chakras* (both circular and square) were frequently drawn on birch bark or cloth, on the ground with powdered colours, or incised on metal sheets. Such mandalas were of great importance in the worship of the Yoginīs, and it seems likely that this was the earlier manner of their worship, the stone temples to house their images being a later development.

It will not be possible here to discuss the origins of the Yoginīs but there is little doubt that the cult was originally esoteric. Even after it was brought within the fold of tantric Hinduism, it remained a secret cult and was never a popular religious phenomenon. Tantric texts indicate that broadly the Yoginī cult formed an important part of the Kaula sect of Śivaism. Followers of the Kaula path worship the Goddess as Kula and Śiva as Akula. The union of these two deities is regarded as the highest state of bliss, which, the Kaulas believe, can be achieved on earth by enacting the rite of *chakra-pūjā* or worship in a circle.

This *chakra-pūjā* must be performed in great secrecy and by the initiated only. Both male and female initiates gather periodically, are paired impersonally and sit in a circle. During the performance of the rite each man is considered an embodiment of Śiva, and each woman of the Goddess.⁵ Within such a circle the entire ritual of ecstasy is enacted, the following five elements being essential: fish (*matsya*), meat (*māṃsa*), parched grain (*mudra*), liquor (*madya*) and sexual intercourse (*maithuna*). Because each of these Sanskrit words begins with the letter *ma*, the series of ritual practices is popularly referred to as the five "m's". The culmination of the rite comes when the female, the earthly equivalent of the goddess, receives in sexual union the male as the earthly representative of Śiva. These Kaula worshippers appear to have regarded the Yoginīs as their special deities who protected them from all possible harm, blessed their ventures and gave them all their desires.

However, a sub-sect of the Kaulas, known as Yoginī Kaula, were exclusive devotees of the Yoginīs only, and it would appear that temples of the Yoginīs were built by fol-



Fig. 5. Snake-faced Yogini from Lokhari.

Fig. 6. Rabbit-faced Yogini from Lokhari.



Fig. 7. Emaciated Yogini from Hirapur temple, Orissa.





Fig. 8. Yogini ("The Lustrous One") from Shahdol holding a severed head in one hand.

lowers of this branch of Kaula worship. Moreover, for them the Yoginī cult was devoted entirely to a pursuit of the occult, and the goal in the worship of circles of Yoginis was to obtain a wide variety of magical powers. The word *moksha* meaning salvation has no place in any textual discussions on Yoginis. Rather, the basic aim is the acquisition of magical power that enables the initiate to control and influence others. Frequently it is the lesser variety of magical power, such as the ability to fly in the air, that is the sole aim.⁶

Eight great *siddhis* or magical powers accrue to worshippers of circles of Yoginis. These are *animan* or the ability to become microscopic in size; *mahiman* or the power to become gigantic; *laghiman* or the ability to assume lightness at will; *gariman* or the assumption of excessive weightiness; *prākāmya* or an irresistible will that compels others to do ones wishes; *īsitva* or control over mind and body of all beings; *vaśitva* or control over the natural elements; and *kāmavasāyilā* or the fulfilment of all ones desires. It is repeatedly stated that these eight great powers are the automatic consequence of the worship of circles of Yoginis.⁷

Apart from these eight *siddhis*, tantric texts tell us of other powerful abilities, mostly in the category of black magic, which the Yoginis (when appropriately invoked in their temples) confer on their favoured devotees. These include the ability to cause excessive provocation to an enemy; to force him to abandon his home; to induce speechlessness, paralysis and unconsciousness in him; and finally to cause his death. There is also the power of irresis-

tible attraction; of subjugation through such attraction; the infatuating power to seduce any woman and the acquisition of immortality. Other abilities include many varieties of alchemic powers; the ability to stop fire and water and the power of seeing and hearing at a great distance.⁸

Temples of the Yoginis were usually built a little distance away from townships and the reason for such a location seems to lie in the nature of their cult practices. Tantric manuscripts clearly indicate that it was necessary to propitiate the Yoginis by the repetition of mantras, by generous libations of wine, ritual oblations of the flesh and blood of animals and offerings of *ruṇḍas* (headless bodies) and *mūṇḍas* (severed heads).

Scattered through Yoginī texts are descriptions of these goddesses as swaying gently through the pleasure of wine, as delighting in wine and as having eyes rolling through the intoxicating effect of wine.⁹ One text gives us a recipe for the favourite drink of the Yoginis, which involved brewing together for twelve days a mixture of dry ginger, lemon bark, peppercorns, blossoms, honey, unrefined brown sugar and water.¹⁰ The names of some of the Yoginis that indicate their partiality for wine include "Lover of wine" (*Surāpriyā*) and "She who is greedy for pressed wine" (*Piṣitāvalolupā*). Their liking for the flesh and blood of animals too is clearly indicated in these tantric manuscripts, one of which describes the Yoginis as dancing while drinking blood and wine.¹¹ "Drinker of blood" (*Rudhirapāyini*) and "Lover of flesh" (*Māmsapriyā*) are the names of two of the Yoginis.

It appears also that the various tantric rites connected with corpses and known as *śavasādhana* were part of the Yoginī ritual. A scrutiny of the figures carved along the pedestals of the images reveals the association of the Yoginis

Fig. 9. Attendants of Bhanavi. One female holds a severed head; another gnaws a human hand.



with skull-cups, corpses, severed human heads and curved knives. A Yoginī from Shahdol named "The Lustrous One" (*Bhānavi*) herself holds a severed head in one hand (Fig. 8). She is surrounded by attendants who hold severed heads by the hair or swing them casually with one hand while brandishing a knife with the other; and one female actually gnaws at a detached human hand (Fig. 9). Tantric texts indicate that it was corpse ritual, commencing with an already dead human being, and not human sacrifice, that was part of the Yoginī cult.¹² Apparently the consumption of flesh off a corpse was also part of the esoteric rites. Obviously the nature of the rites necessitated a somewhat remote location for a Yoginī temple. Severed human heads and skull-cups filled with blood could scarcely be offered in the heart of a town where it would cause revulsion and perhaps invite local wrath. When *maithuna* or ritual copulation is added to such practices, it hardly needs emphasis that a high degree of privacy and secrecy was essential for the Yoginī cult.

Emergence of the Cult

Exactly when the tantric cult of the Yoginis emerged in its full-fledged form is difficult to determine. We shall see that the earliest existing temple was complete by the year AD 900, but the cult must have been known for a considerable period before this. By the 9th century, the Yoginis had been incorporated into the orthodox Hindu tradition, for the *Agni Purāṇa* (which was compiled in its present form sometime in the 9th century) names and briefly describes the 64 Yoginis.¹³ However, it must be remembered that the acceptance of the Yoginis within the orthodox religion did not mean that the rites associated with the Kaula sect were condoned or were practiced by the Hindus in general. This is evident not only from the texts but also from the isolated locations of the temples.

Sanskrit texts incorporating these goddesses into the fringes of the orthodox tradition associated them in one manner or another with *Devī*, the Supreme Goddess of the Śāktas. The assimilation was achieved simply by suggesting that the Yoginis were either aspects of the Great Goddess or that they were deities attendant upon her. In certain purānic traditions the Yoginis are clearly regarded as varying aspects of the Great Goddess who, through these Yoginis, manifests the totality of her presence. In this tradition, the names of the Yoginis include several well known epithets of the Goddess including *Durgā*, *Gaurī*, *Kātyāyanī*, *Bhagavatī* and the like.¹⁴ Such lists also normally include those important goddesses, known as the *Matrikās* or Mothers (*Brāhmī*, *Māheśvarī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Kaumārī*, *Aindrī*, *Vārāhī* and *Chāmuṇḍā*) among the 64 Yoginis. A graphic presentation of the idea that the Yoginis are aspects of the Goddess may be seen in a painting on cloth from Rajasthan (Fig. 10). With her twenty arms holding various weapons, *Devī* stands upon a prostrate male figure. Superimposed against her is a large circle with 64 spokes, each consisting of the figure of a standing Yoginī. The Yoginis are numbered from 1 to 64 and each has her name inscribed against her limbs. The idea presented so vividly in this painting is that the 64 Yoginis in some manner emerge from *Devī*, that they are associated with her and that they represent aspects of her power and glory. The painting probably belongs to the end of the 19th century and it is amusing to note the revolver included as one of *Devī*'s weapons.

In other orthodox texts the Yoginis are described either as companions of the Goddess or as deities attendant

upon her.¹⁵ After all, *Devī*'s consort *Śiva* has a host of semi-divine *ganas* as attendants, many of them with the heads of animals and birds. If *Śiva* has his host of *ganas*, it is only natural that *Devī* should have a group of semi-divine beings as her attendants. Not only is this role assigned to the Yoginis in several texts, but frequently in sculpture and painting they are depicted with bird and animal heads as the *ganas* of *Śiva* are. However, the artistic evidence also indicates the superior and divine status of the Yoginis. Unlike the *ganas*, they are represented with multiple arms and haloes; mounts are assigned to them as is done only with deities; and flying celestials and worshippers surround them. Thus, though companions of *Devī*, clearly the Yoginis enjoyed a more elevated status and much greater power than the *ganas* of *Śiva*.

There exist in both purānic and tantric texts a large number of name-lists of Yoginis and one finds that the names in the various lists seldom correspond one with the other. Even more frustrating is the fact that the names given in these textual lists are quite different from those that occur on the one or two sets of inscribed Yoginī images. It becomes apparent that no single textual tradition may be relied upon in identifying the Yoginis of any one temple unless we have evidence to indicate that a particular text was being followed in the area, and are convinced that the sculptors had been instructed to model their figures on those specific textual prescriptions. Since such a situation does not arise, the entire process of identifying the individual Yoginis in the temples becomes a somewhat meaningless enterprise. Each Yoginī temple reflects a different and localised tradition, and it would be fruitless to seek the specific names and detailed rituals associated with each temple.

Orissan Temples

Typical of the Yoginī temples are two shrines in Orissa dedicated to the 64 Yoginis, one in the coastal strip near Bhubanesvar and the other deep in the hilly interior. Lying in the midst of paddy fields ten miles from Bhubanesvar is Hirapur, the smallest of the Yoginī temples (Fig. 11). Built of coarse sandstone blocks, the enclosure measures only 30 feet in diameter, with walls just over six feet high. The images of the Yoginis, each about two feet in height, are carved on slabs of fine-grained chlorite that have been fitted into prepared niches. The circle houses 60 Yoginis with the remaining four carved against the walls of the central *Śiva* shrine which today is bereft of its image. The atmosphere that exists within this miniature circle is awe-inspiring. The temple conveys an impression of overwhelming power and seems to transmit the dynamic and vital potency of its 64 divine figures.

What is most striking about the Hirapur Yoginis is the simple elegance of the figures. Most of the Yoginis have two arms (sixteen have four and one has eight), and none is provided with a halo or attendant figures. Each goddess is carved against a plain slab of stone with her mount at her feet. Sometimes the goddess stands on the mount and at others on a lotus or a plain pedestal. The deeply cut figures attain a clear outline and provide us with an undisturbed view of their well-formed bodies with wide hips, smooth, rounded thighs and exquisitely carved faces. As they stand gracefully they strike an astonishing variety of postures, which, together with their smiling faces, make the sculptures remarkably animated. There is also great variety in the hairstyles, the most unusual though favorite mode being the stylish bouffant placed on the side of the head.

Fig. 10. Rajasthan painting on cloth. Superimposed on the figure of Devi, the Great Goddess, is a circle of 64 Yoginis.



Sculpturally, the Hirapur Yoginis offer us some of the finest realizations of the female form in Orissa. But for their animal mounts or their occasional animal heads, they appear to be the very embodiment of feminine charm and sensuality, and one wonders how they could have been so feared. Certainly their presence must have added to the atmosphere of ecstasy that prevailed in the temple during the performance of the Kaula rites. The Yoginis are shown engaged in various, mundane activities and are strikingly provocative, as one drinks from a cup (Fig. 12) and another appears to be adjusting her anklet (Fig. 13). Another beautiful Yogini (Fig. 14) stands gracefully on a boar and is busy shooting arrows. Her supple, sensuous body is shown to full advantage and by giving her a smiling face, the sculptor perhaps wanted us to believe that she is a huntress of love rather than of animals. Even when they have animal heads (Figs. 15, 16), the Hirapur Yoginis are truly captivating figures and are as attractive as the finest yakshis and apsarases that make the surface of the Hindu temple pulsate with life.

There are no inscriptions in this temple, nor are there any textual references to Hirapur in local Oriya or Sanskrit literature. Our best means of establishing the date of this temple is by comparison with the wealth of sculptures at the nearby centre of Bhubanesvar. Because of the nearness of the site, it is not far-fetched to assume that the same workshops that produced the temples at Bhubanesvar were also responsible for the Hirapur temple. Stylistically the Hirapur sculptures display the closest affinity with the beautiful carvings adorning the Muktesvar temple at Bhubanesvar. This shrine is generally assigned to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. The sculptures at both Hirapur and Muktesvar exhibit a similarly soft and sensitive modelling of the female form which is characterised by a sense of restrained animation and quiet elegance. The details of jewellery and ornamentation form a striking contrast to the smooth rounded planes of the almost bare body. The carvings in the Hirapur and Muktesvar temples are more refined and rich than those in



Fig. 12. Hirapur Yogini drinking from a skull-cup.

Fig. 11. Hirapur Yogini temple, Orissa.

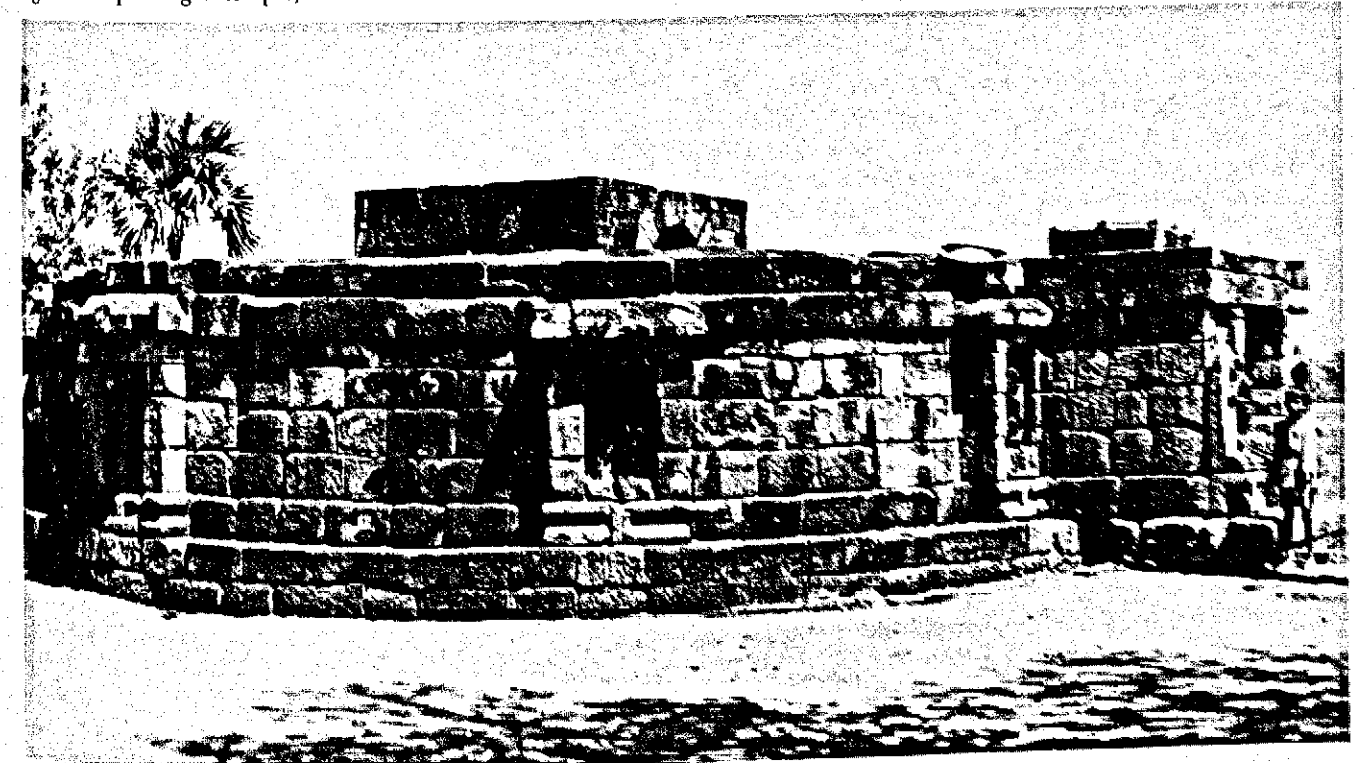




Fig. 13. Hirasapur Yogini adjusting an anklet.

the Parasurāmeśvar and Vaiṭāl temples of the 8th century. On the other hand, the exaggerated figure proportions of a later date are not yet evident. We are thus inclined to suggest that the Hirasapur Yogini temple was completed by AD 900 and this makes it our earliest extant shrine of the Yoginīs.

Hirasapur is the only Yoginī temple to have sculptures on its outer walls. Altogether there are nine niches each containing a sandstone female figure standing upon a large severed human head while holding a curved knife or a javelin in one hand and a skull-cup in the other. Possibly they represent the nine Durgās of the fierce variety and their function here may be that of guardian deities. Four figures of Śaiva gods (Bhairavas) are also seen carved against the walls of the central shrine. It is not clear why these additional sculptures are found only on this particular Yoginī temple; perhaps Hirasapur was in some manner a special shrine. In all other Yoginī temples we find only the essential elements of the circle of Yoginīs around a central shrine for Śiva.

Ranipur-Jhariāl

Orissa's other Yoginī temple of the 64 Yoginīs stands on a rocky outcrop between the small villages of Ranipur and Jhariāl, almost on the border of Madhya Pradesh. Several small stone temples survive on the slopes of the hill, while crowning the rocky mound is a circular temple of the dancing Yoginīs (Fig. 1). At the foot of the hill is a large natural tank which, a thousand years ago, appears to have been a significant pilgrimage spot.¹⁶ With a diameter of approximately fifty feet, Ranipur-Jhariāl is more than twice the size of Hirasapur. The images are larger and all the Yoginīs are shown dancing, each striking an identical pose. The positioning of the legs is basic to all forms of classical dance in India and is a stance assumed at the start of each set of movements. Thus, the Yoginīs are poised as if ready to commence their dance (Fig. 17). There are 64 Yoginī niches in the circle and at its centre, still surviving relatively intact, is the original small roofed pavilion containing an image of dancing Śiva (Fig. 2). It is only appropriate that the Lord of dance should be surrounded by a circle of dancing Yoginīs.

At least fourteen of the surviving Yoginīs at Ranipur-Jhariāl have animal heads. Thus, the proportion of animal-headed Yoginīs at this site is much higher than that

Fig. 14. Huntress-Yogini, Hirasapur.



Fig. 15. Horse-headed Yogini, Hirasapur.



at Hirasapur. There can be little doubt that the Kaulas who worshipped at this temple followed a different iconographical tradition than that which was followed at Hirasapur. This is also evident from the fact that the goddesses are here shown as dancing. Among the various animal heads that are clearly recognizable are the cat, the leopard, the mare, the sow, the buffalo and the antelope (Fig. 18). The elephant-headed Yoginī (Fig. 17) appears to be a female counterpart of the more popular Hindu god known as Gaṇeśa.

Ranipur-Jhariāl's Yoginīs are all carved from the same coarse-grained sandstone used to construct the walls of the temple. This inferior stone has weathered badly and the quality of the sculptures has been greatly affected. Only in a few instances can one discern the finesse and original charm of the figures. Occasionally we get an indication of the once finely delineated features of their handsome faces (Fig. 19), or the expressive carving of the grotesque-faced Yoginīs with sunken eyes and flaming hair crowned by a tiara of skulls. The sculptures here do not have the same aesthetic impact as those at Hirasapur, but it appears that the reason lies in the unfortunate choice of the material rather than in uninspired workmanship. It is not easy to arrive at a specific date for this uninscribed Yoginī temple. Judgements on the basis of sculptural style would



Fig. 16. Animal-headed Yogini, Hirasapur.

be invalid; apart from the badly worn condition of the stone, there is little sculptural material in interior Orissa, and comparison with the work of sculptors in the distant centre of Bhubanesvar would scarcely be correct. However, the simple carving of the Yoginī slabs devoid of the attendant figures that we shall encounter at later temples, as well as the absence of haloes which seem to become a standard later feature, lead us to suggest that this temple of the dancing Yoginīs may have been constructed soon after AD 900.

Central Indian Temples

Judging from extant remains, the Yoginī cult appears to have reached a peak of popularity during the 10th and 11th centuries when a large number of shrines were constructed, mostly in the region of central India. We shall confine ourselves here to only four of these temples¹⁷: Lokhari because of the curious nature of its Yoginīs; Bheraghat because it is a temple of 81 Yoginīs rather than of the customary group of 64; Khajuraho because it has a rectangular floor plan; and Shahdol because of the exquisite carving of its images. Of these four sites, Lokhari and



Fig. 17. Elephant-headed Yogini, Ranipur-Sharial.



Fig. 18. Antelope-headed Yogini, Ranipur-Sharial.

Shahdol consist of collections of images without a temple and Khajuraho's rectangular shrine is a temple bereft of all images; Bheraghat alone is relatively well preserved.

Lokhari

On top of an isolated hill in the Banda district of Uttar Pradesh are a set of twenty images of Yoginis together with masses of stone blocks that once formed the walls of the Lokhari temple. Each Yogini, about five feet in height, is carved on a slab of coarse sandstone with a rounded top. As in the Orissan temples we considered, only the figure of the Yogini and her mount are carved against the plain slab of stone. This feature, together with the absence of haloes, indicates a similarity with the Orissan shrines and we would suggest that Lokhari belongs to the first half of the 10th century. The Lokhari Yoginis (Fig. 20) do not possess the artistic beauty and finesse we have seen at Hirapur. The modelling of the figures is minimal and some features such as the feet are rendered in almost a clumsy manner. With rounded stomachs and large prominent breasts, the Yoginis usually sit with one leg folded against a seat or a mount and the other resting on the ground. Despite the lack of artistic elegance, the Lokhari Yoginis have a special fascination which lies in the fact that most of them have

animal heads, with the human face being a rare occurrence.

A unique image not found in other Yogini groups is a rabbit-faced goddess, with small rabbits peeping out from each end of her seat (Fig. 6). Holding a strand of her hair in one hand and a water vessel in the other, this Yogini sits with a meditation band (*yogapatta*) around her knees, which is unusual. The snake-faced Yogini is another unique image (Fig. 5). In other Yogini temples, the snake-headed Yogini has a large snake hood behind a human face. Here, however, the snake hood takes the place of her head and makes her a strikingly bizarre figure. She sits gracefully with one leg on her elephant mount and with a snake at the other end of the slab. A horse-faced Yogini, resting upon a creature that looks like a hyaena, is an imposing figure with large melon-like breasts (Fig. 21). In one hand she holds a fish and in the other a long thin object which she appears to be eating. Another horse-headed Yogini gazes heavenwards, supporting a horse-headed child on one knee. She sits on a human corpse and holds a skull-cup in one hand. The goat-headed Yogini rests her feet on an elongated goat and holds a rosary and water vessel (Fig. 22). Similarly, the same animal is used both for the head and for the mount of many other Yoginis. Thus a cow-headed Yogini has the cow as a mount, a bear-headed



Fig. 19. (above). Yogini, Ranipur-Sharial.

Fig. 20. (above right). Animal-headed Yogini from Lokhari.

Fig. 21. (lower right). Horse-headed Yogini, Lokhari.



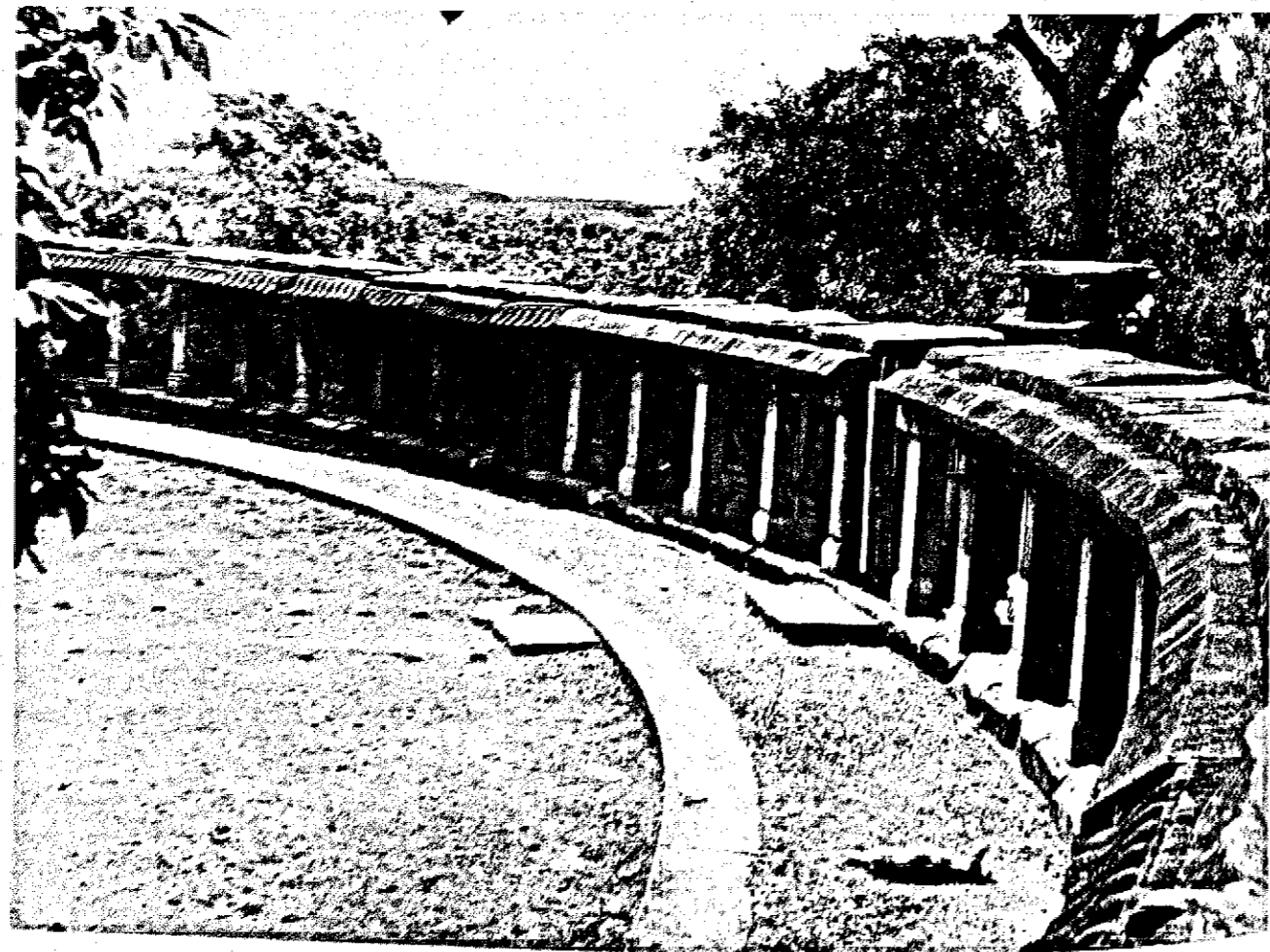
goddess, the bear and so on. Other animal-headed Yoginis include the elephant, the sambhar deer, the buffalo, the lion and the monkey.

This predominance of animal-headed Yoginis reminds us of a statement contained in a tantric text to the effect that the Yoginis, when they wander on earth, assume the forms of the various earthly creatures.¹⁸ Specifically mentioned among animals are the jackal, goat, ox, cat, tiger, elephant, horse, snake and frog, while among birds are the dove, vulture, swan, owl, crane, peacock and cock. Reflecting a similar tradition is a list of Yoginis contained in the *Skanda Purāna*, of whom nearly half have bird or animal heads.¹⁹ The Lokhari temple with its predominantly animal-headed goddesses must, when intact, have presented an unusual and bizarre sight.



Fig. 22. Goat-faced Yogini, Lokhari.

Fig. 23. Interior of the temple of 81 Yoginis at Bheraghat.



Bheraghat

Located on top of a hill at Bheraghat near Jabulpur and overlooking the river Narmada is a large circular Yogini Temple containing 81 niches for as many images. This variation in the number of Yoginis (81 as opposed to the more usual 64) has not particularly disturbed scholars who continue to refer to Bheraghat as a Causat Yogini or Sixtyfour Yogini temple.²⁰ However, the hitherto unknown *Sri Matottare Tantra* introduces us to a grouping of 81 Yoginis and clearly indicates that the worship of the 81 Yoginis is specially intended for royalty.²¹ This in turn suggests that the temple of 81 Yoginis at Bheraghat is probably a royal foundation.

Bheraghat is the largest of the Yogini temples with a diameter of 125 feet (Fig. 23). Within is a circular pillared collonade with a flat eave that covers a cloistered walk and also protects the images of the Yoginis from the elements. The original central shrine no longer stands, its place having been taken centuries ago by a traditional style temple with shrine tower and hall dedicated to Śiva. This temple, known as Gauri-Śankar, appears to have been built roughly two centuries after the Yogini temple. The Bheraghat circle has suffered greatly at the hands of vandals. Few of the Yoginis remain in their original position in the circle and the majority are extensively damaged. Several are intact only from the waist downwards and even the better preserved figures usually have mutilated faces. Only 24 of the 81 faces survive to the extent of determining whether they are human or animal; of these only horse-faced Eruḍi is in almost pristine condition, all others being partially or totally disfigured.

Fig. 24. The voluptuous, statuesque Bheraghat Yoginis.

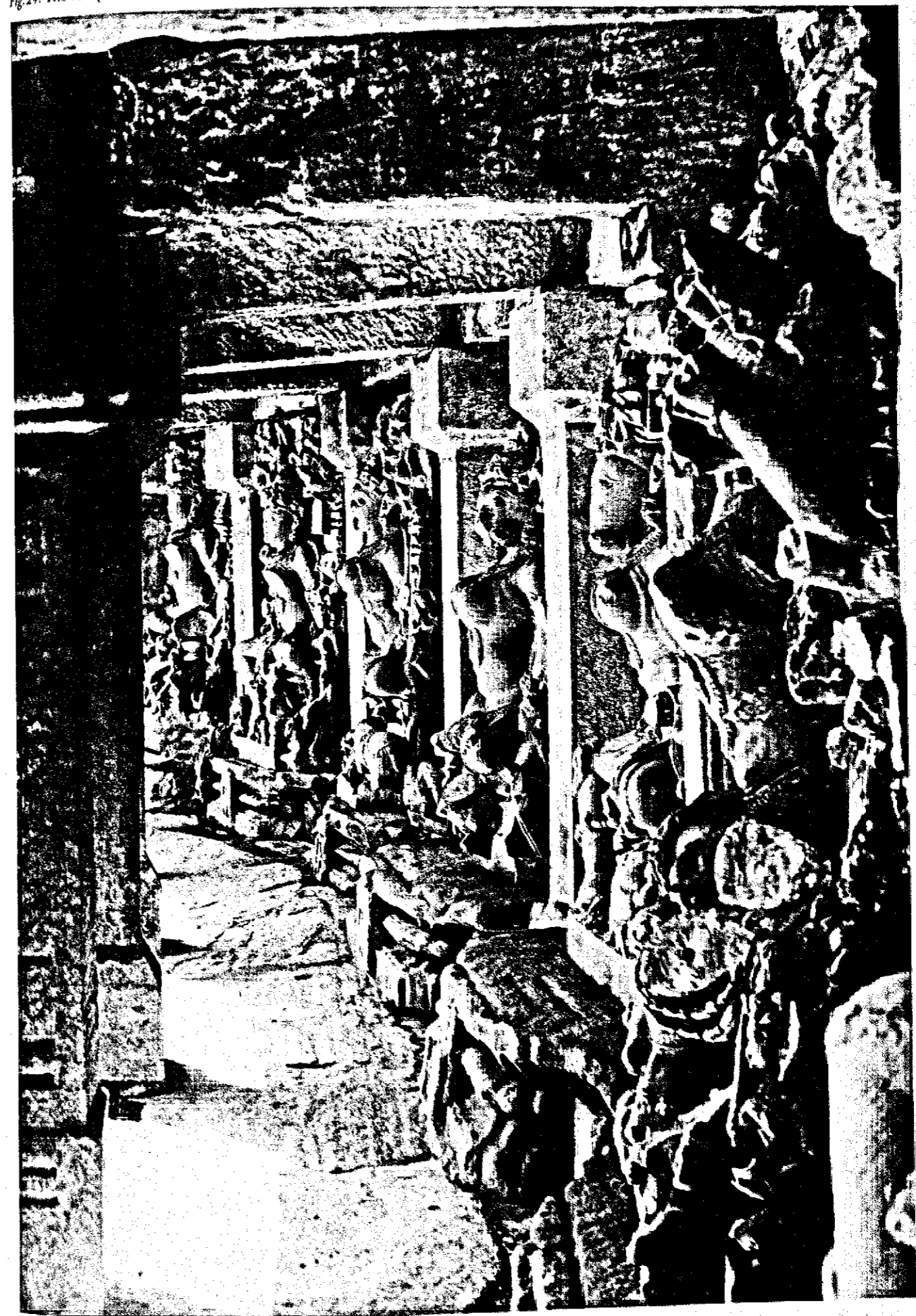




Fig. 25. Horse-headed Erudi, Bheraghat.

Slightly over life-size in dimension, the Bheraghat Yoginis are all seated figures (Fig. 24). These are no slender girlish damsels like those we saw at Hirapur. Mature and maternal figures, generously endowed with broad hips and ample bosoms, the Bheraghat figures seem to emphasize the more ancient fertility aspect of the goddesses. Their unusually large size and their sombre, unsmiling countenances make them a formidable and awesome group of Yoginis.

Bereft of an upper garment, the Yoginis are ornamented with multiple strands of necklaces and garlands and they wear a variety of armlets, bracelets and earrings (Fig. 25). Slung low on their hips is a jewelled girdle from which is suspended a transparent skirt that reaches down to their ankles. At times the skirt is indicated merely by a line above jewelled anklets, while at other times the designs of the fabric or its folds are articulated. Each Yogini has a halo indicating her divinity (a feature absent in the Yoginis so far considered) and all have multiple arms (four to sixteen) that reinforce their divine status. Unlike the Yoginis so far examined, the Bheraghat slabs are elaborately carved with a series of attendant figures at the base, a decorated throne against the central background and groups of flying figures at the top. There is an inscribed label along the base and the entire slab is placed upon a moulded pedestal that raises the image well above the ground.

The commanding presence of the Bheraghat Yoginis suggests that these deities are highly placed acolytes of Devi or that they are aspects of the Great Goddess herself. One of the Bheraghat Yoginis is named Kāmadā (Giver of Love) and below her lotus seat is a very explicit scene of *yoni-pūjā* or worship of the female vulva (Fig. 26). Kāmadā is a name given to the Great Goddess in the *Kālikā Purāna*, where *kāma* is identified with sexual love and it is speci-

Fig. 26. Scene of *Yoni-pūjā* on pedestal of Yogini Kamada (Giver of Love), Bheraghat.



Fig. 27. Yogini Sarvatomukhi (She who faces in all directions), Bheraghat.



Fig. 28. Yogini Antakari (The Destroyer), Bheraghat.



cally stated that Kāmadā removes frigidity.²² The Yoginī Kāmadā must indeed be the Yoginī who gives sexual enjoyment. Bheraghat's Sarvatomukhī (She who faces all directions) is reminiscent of Viśvatomukhī (She who faces all directions) which is one of the names of Devī in the *Lalitā Sahasranāma*.²³ Sarvatomukhī is depicted with three faces of which the central one displays extraordinarily large teeth in an open mouth, while the face to the left reveals fangs (Fig. 27). A tiara and a long garland of skulls with a massive skull pendant, together with hair standing up around her head in fearsome disarray, adds to her awesome aspect. Her female attendants hold a severed human head, a sword, a skullcup and a curved knife. Carved below Sarvatomukhī is the *chakra* for her special worship, consisting of the mantra *HRĪM* inscribed within a star, circled first by an eight-petalled and then by a sixteen-petalled lotus. Mantras, syllables arranged in a particular set pattern, express the essence of a deity; a *bīja* (seed) mantra such as *HRĪM* is the essence of a mantra, almost the mantra in shorthand. It is repeatedly emphasized in the tantras that a mantra must not be uttered except for specific purposes and then only by those who understand its power and significance, as the repetition is said to bring about automatic results. Although only the sound of a mantra is potent, writing it down, as is done on this sculpture, or muttering it silently as the reader may do, are both permissible.

Sri Antakari (She who destroys) has an exquisitely formed body that contrasts with her fearsome face (Fig. 28). With her open mouth, protruding circular eye-balls and a tiara of skulls placed upon a headdress of snakes, she is awe-inspiring. Horse-faced Yoginī Erudī is one of the masterpieces at Bheraghat, and here, as at Hirapur, the animal head scarcely detracts from the sensuality and nobility of the figure (Fig. 25). The elephant-headed Yoginī, seen also at Hirapur, Ranipur-Jhari and Lolkhari, is here named Aingini and she has an elephant-headed male as mount (Fig. 29). Sri Phandendri (Lady of the serpents) has snake hoods behind her human head and a reclining male as her mount. In view of the fact that Yoginis grant magical powers to their devotees, it is interesting to note that Bheraghat has a Yoginī named Sri Indrajālī (She who is adept at magic). With an elephant as her mount, she is attended by skeletal figures holding skull-bowls and knives, while one attendant carries a gigantic bell. The river goddesses who do not form part of a grouping of 64 Yoginis are included among the 81, with Gangā shown with her *makara* and Yamunā with her tortoise.

There are two standing Yoginis in the Bheraghat circle of otherwise seated figures. Sri Teramvā, an 18-armed Yoginī, stands with one foot planted firmly on the ground and the other placed on the back of a decapitated buffalo whose head lies on the ground below (Fig. 30). Teramvā is clearly the local name for the Brahmanical Mahishamardini who is included as a Yoginī in several Yogini temples. Sri Chandikā, the other standing Yoginī, has her feet placed upon a reclining male figure and is adorned with a garland of skulls and a crown of skulls with a snake as centre-piece. With a gaping mouth, sunken eyeballs, prominent tendons, drooping breasts and hollow stomach, she is fearsome to behold. With two hands Chandikā holds aloft an elephant skin and she is surrounded by a host of skeletal males one of whom holds a severed human head.

Several Bheraghat Yoginis indicate an association with severed human heads, skull-cups, knives and corpses, and we have seen earlier that the rituals associated with corpses appear to have formed part of the Yoginī cult. Among the attendants of the Yoginī Sūhasinhā (No. 2) we



Fig. 29. Elephant-headed Aingini, Bheraghat.

Fig. 30. Yogini Teramvā, a version of the Brahmanical Mahishamardini, the goddess who killed the buffalo-demon.



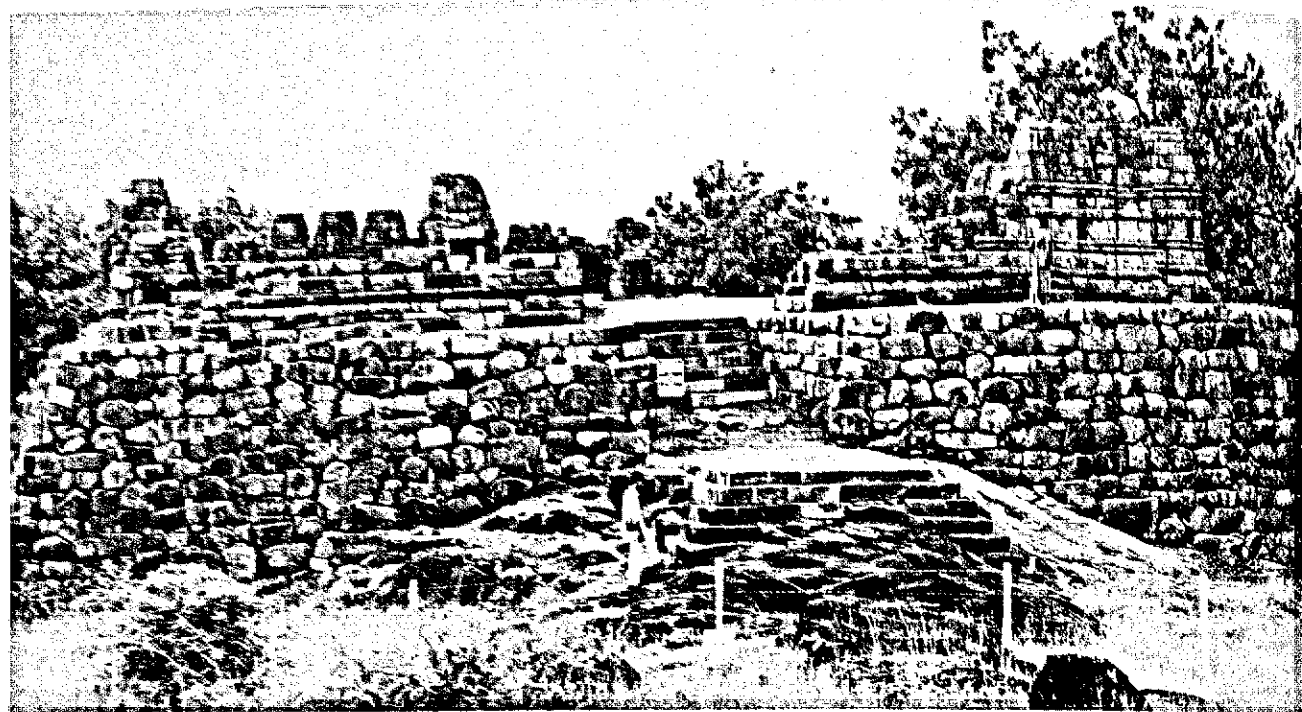


Fig. 31. Ruins of the rectangular Yogini temple at Khajuraho.

see a standing skeletal male eating a human hand and another devouring a human leg. The suggestion here is that the consumption of human flesh also formed part of these rites. Skeletal males are occasionally shown at Bheraghat with prominently erect phalluses, as among the figures surrounding Sri Vibhatsā (Dreadful One; No. 10) or Sri Bhishani (Terrifying One). Perhaps this is to be seen as an indication that *maithuna* or ritual copulation was also part of the practices of the Yoginī cult.

Since all known textual tradition associates the number 64 with the Yoginīs, it was particularly rewarding to discover in the Nepal manuscripts of the *Sri Matottare Tantra* a description of a grouping of 81 Yoginīs known as the Mūla Chakra. This group of Yoginīs centres around a concept of nine Mothers as opposed to the more usual seven or eight. Each Mātrikā, together with eight other goddesses, forms a group of nine Yoginīs, and nine such groupings results in 81 Yoginīs. Worship of the entire group of 81 Yoginīs in one circle will give the devotee all his desires, untold wealth and the eight great magical powers. However, each group of nine Yoginīs may be worshipped independently. Brahmī in the east is worshipped by those who desire a male heir, while Maheśī in the south confers the eight major magical abilities. Kaumārī in the west is worshipped for destroying enemies, while Vaishṇavī in the north fulfils all desires for a kingdom. Vārāhī in the south-east is importuned for the success of the army; Aindrī in the south-west is in special command of securing the gain of another's kingdom; while Chāmūṇḍā in the north-west is to be adored in order to banish all one's fears when the clan or country is being destroyed. Chandīkā in the north-east is worshipped for victory in battle when attacked by other kingdoms, while Lakshmi at the centre is propitiated by those who have lost their kingdom and wealth and are being oppressed by enemies. The benefits that accrue from the worship of the independent groups of nine Yoginīs indicate that the Mūla Chakra of 81 Yoginīs was intended primarily for royalty. One may assume therefore that a temple of the 81 Yoginīs would have been constructed by royalty and that worship of the group would on the whole

be restricted to the royal family and nobility. Bheraghat with its 81 Yoginīs must then be a temple constructed by one of the Kalachuri rulers wishing to establish and ensure his political position and strength.

How do we date the Bheraghat temple? The labels inscribed along the pedestals of the Yoginīs lend themselves to palaeographic dating and an analysis suggests that they belong to the last quarter of the 10th century. The stylistic evidence too supports such a date since the sculptures reveal characteristics that one encounters in the figures on the Khajuraho temples which were constructed mostly between 950 and 1050. The sculptors at both sites revelled in the depiction of the full and statuesque female form, and at both Bheraghat and Khajuraho there is an assured elegance in the treatment of these voluptuous figures. If indeed the suggested date is correct, then the Kalachuri monarch responsible for the construction of the Bheraghat temple may have been Yuvarāja II who ruled in the last quarter of the 10th century.²⁴ Since the Kalachuri capital of Tripuri (present day Tewar) is barely four miles away, the Yoginī temple may have been in the nature of a royal chapel. Realising that his political position was insecure, Yuvarāja II may have decided to propitiate the 81 Yoginīs, beseeching their assistance in defending his territories and securing victory in battle. If indeed it was Yuvarāja II who built this temple, the Yoginīs did not respond to his plea, for he lost his throne in a major battle against the neighbouring Paramāra kingdom!

Khajuraho

Not far from the main group of Chandella temples at the famous site of Khajuraho, standing somewhat apart on a mound of slight eminence, is a rectangular Yoginī temple built of granite blocks (Fig. 31). Sixty-five individual shrines, each planned as a miniature structural temple with a pyramidal tower and distinct base mouldings, are placed side by side to form a rectangular hypaethral enclosure. Thirty-two cells of equal size are placed on either side of a much larger central cell, which may have served as the

house of Śiva. There is no evidence of a separate central pavilion as we have seen in other temples.

It is not clear why Khajuraho adopted a rectangular plan when most other Yoginī temples are circular. The suggestion that the mound on which the temple is built could not have accommodated a circle is totally unfounded.²⁵ More pertinent is the fact that a series of individual rectangular shrines do not lend themselves to a circular placement. However, Khajuraho's choice of such individual shrines and their arrangement in a rectangular formation is undoubtedly a deliberate and planned action. There appear to be two other rectangular Yoginī temples in central India, at Rikhiyan and Badoh²⁶, and hence, there was a less prevalent but nevertheless known tradition of rectangular Yoginī temples, at least in this region.

Today every cell of Khajuraho's Yoginī temple is empty and none of the images is traceable. We must thus remain content with photographs of three images taken in 1955. These show the goddesses Māheśvari, Brāhmī and the now familiar Mahishamardini (Fig. 32). However, here she is called Hinglāj, while at Bheraghat we encountered her as Teramvā, and at Shahdol we shall meet her as Krishna-Bhagavati. Thus it is clear that the most popular image of the Great Goddess was identified with local deities in different areas. It may also be pointed out that one of the most famous shrines of the Goddess in Sind (now Pakistan) is known as Hinglāj.

It has been suggested largely on the basis of the use of

Fig. 32. Khajuraho's Yogini Hinglaj (another version of Mahishamardini).



Fig. 33. Seated Yogini Krishna-Bhagavati from Shahdol.

granite that Khajuraho's Yoginī temple belongs to the 9th century. However, the Yoginīs have a plain oval halo and the carving of the slabs with attendant figures at the base, throne decoration along the centre and seated deities at the top – all of which suggest rather the 10th century. Probably Khajuraho's Yoginīs belong to a date just prior to Bheraghat and thus around the middle of the 10th century. In view of the brevity of the inscriptions it is hardly feasible to attempt any dating on the basis of palaeography. Nevertheless, there seems little reason to doubt that the temple was built during the period of Chandella rule which is when many other temples at Khajuraho were constructed.

Shahdol

The last of the Yoginī sites we are here considering is in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh which appears to have housed two temples of the Yoginīs. It is possible to divide the collection of images from this region into two groups, one being a set of seated Yoginīs and the other a series of standing images (Figs. 33, 34). Since the two types of figures are not combined in the same temple (with the exception of a standing Mahishamardini Yoginī in a shrine of the seated goddesses), we may assume that the Yoginīs come from two independent temples. Further evidence for two shrines comes from the fact that the collection contains, in fact, two Mahishamardini Yoginīs, one standing and the other seated. Both varieties of images have inscribed labels and belong palaeographically and stylistically together, suggesting that the two temples were of contemporaneous construction. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the exact location of either temple.



Fig. 34. Standing Yogini Badari from Shahdol.

The Shahdol Yoginis are today dispersed in three different locations - in the Dhubela Museum not far from Khajuraho, in the Indian Museum at Calcutta where they are labelled as belonging to Sarna, and in the two Shahdol villages of Antara and Panchgaon. Several factors indicate that the images in these three locations belong together. The Yoginis are all carved from what appears to be the same variety of sandstone and all are roughly three feet in height. All have labels that are palaeographically akin and, further strengthening the suggestion of their common authorship is a signature mark that resembles the *nāgarī* numeral four (though not in itself a numeral) found on all three sets of images. Elaborate haloes are placed behind their heads with lotus petals enclosed by a ring of alternating circular and triangular motifs. This identical treatment of haloes is seen on the Yoginis in all three locations, further confirming their common origin. Groups of flying figures flank the halo while the central background is occupied by a rearing leonine motif that acts as a bracket support for the thrones. The base of each slab is stepped backwards with the inscribed label on the broad front portion of the slab. All the Yoginis are closely akin in terms of their proportions, modelling, apparel and ornaments. Each seated Yogini sits on a lotus seat and her mount and a whole host of attendants and devotees are carved along the pedestal. Standing Yoginis generally have both feet placed firmly on the ground. The Shahdol goddesses usually have eight or more arms, most of them unfortunately being broken and the objects once held unrecognisable.

A few of the more striking of the Shahdol Yoginis merit individual description. One such outstanding image is named Sri Taralā (Fickle or Glittering One), an exquisi-

tely carved figure with aristocratic features and a majestic bearing (Fig. 35). In contrast to other Shahdol Yoginis who present us with a directly frontal view, Taralā, with her matted hair piled high on her head, reveals to us her profile. She has garuḍa as her mount, and her attendants include a standing male holding a severed head by its hair. Another magnificent Yoginī is Sri Itaralā, a beautiful-bodied, horse-headed figure with a lion mount (Fig. 36). The name Itaralā, which is clearly written and allows of no other reading, is puzzling unless it is a scribe's error for Itarā (Vulgar One). While at first glance such a name may sound unlikely for a goddess, we may point out that the texts list a Yoginī by the name of Lampatā (Lustful One), a derogatory term. Mahishamardini, the goddess who kills the buffalo demon, is present here with the local name of Krishnā Bhagavatī (Dark-hued goddess). She sits calmly on her lotus seat with her rearing lion to one side; below her is the buffalo with its severed head lying before it and the demon in human form emerging from its body (Fig. 33). With one of her twelve arms, Krishnā Bhagavatī holds the demon by his hair, other hands hold a shield, a bell and a flower, while two hands in the gestures of *varada* (boon-granting) and *abhaya* (fear-dispelling) indicate her compassion. More than one Shahdol Yoginī holds a severed human head in her hand including Sri Bhānavī (Glorious One) whom we have considered earlier (Fig. 8). The worshippers surrounding her all suggest their involvement in the rites connected with corpses; as we saw, a standing male holds a severed head and a curved knife and a standing female does likewise, while another female is shown eating a human hand (Fig. 9).

Only ten standing Yoginis from Shahdol have been traced. Among the better preserved figures is Sri Badari, an elegantly poised Yoginī in a dancing pose, wearing a long garland of human skulls and surrounded by musi-

Fig. 35. Yogini Tarala, Shahdol.



Fig. 36. Horse-headed Yogini Itarala, Shahdol.

cians and attendants (Fig. 34). The Mahishamardini Yoginī of this group stands with one leg placed on the ground and the other pressing down upon the vanquished buffalo; no human demon is apparent in this version. This twelve-armed Yoginī holds a severed human head and a shield, with her lion standing beside her. It is unfortunate that the inscription is defaced, thus depriving us of the opportunity to learn yet another local name for this important goddess. In the context of these goddesses granting black magical powers to their favoured devotees, it is interesting to note a Yoginī named Sri Thabhā. The name lends itself to the interpretation "She who paralyzes" (from *Stambha* which means the suppression of any force by magical power).

Dating of the Shahdol Yoginis is possible both on the basis of palaeographic evidence and on stylistic considerations. The lettering of the labels is more advanced, more angular and more stylised than those on the Bheraghat images. The carving is precise and the engraving was obviously in the hands of a competent scribe. It would appear that a date somewhere in the last quarter of the 11th century is likely for this writing. Stylistically too, the Shahdol Yoginis appear to be later than those at Bheraghat. While they are of a smaller size, the carving is more sophisticated and displays greater finesse. We would suggest that the two Shahdol temples of the Yoginis were constructed around the middle of the 11th century or in its last quarter, and this would make Shahdol among the latest of the known Yoginī temples.

Royalty and the Yoginī Cult

Although the Yoginī temples do not contain inscriptions directly relating to their construction, it is possible and in-

teresting to try and reconstruct a picture of the ambience in which these shrines were created. The connection of royalty with the cult of the Yoginis is emphasized in tantric texts relating to worship of these goddesses. We have already seen in the instance of Bheraghat that worship of the group of 81 Yoginis was almost exclusively a royal prerogative, and that the 81 Yoginis promised their royal devotees success in all their military enterprises. It appears, however, that the group of 64 Yoginis too conferred special boons on their royal worshippers. One tantra tells us that a king worshipping the 64 Yoginis may rest assured that his fame will reach the shores of the four oceans.²⁷ Elsewhere we are told that the Yoginis will make a man into the foremost of monarchs²⁸, while a purāna assures the royal worshippers of the 64 Yoginis that he will receive untold wealth and victory in all disputes.²⁹ One may surmise from such statements that the construction of stone temples of the Yoginis, which undoubtedly involved considerable expenditure, may have been the result of royal patronage. It appears probable that the original and earlier mode of worship was entirely through mandalas, *yantras* and *chakras*, until royal interest in the Yoginī cult led to the erection of stone shrines.

Eight and perhaps ten Yoginī temples are located in territories directly or indirectly (through vassals) under the control of the Chandella dynasty of central India. This ruling family came into power at the beginning of the 9th century and survived amid fluctuating fortunes into the 13th century. Muslim invasions of Chandella territory were frequent and one can therefore imagine the constantly threatened monarchs paying particular attention to the cult of the Yoginis. Although there is no direct evidence to connect the Chandellas with any of the Yoginī temples in their kingdom, we cannot ignore the fact that one of these shrines is located at Khajuraho which was their early capital. Khajuraho also provides evidence for the Kaula and Kāpālīka sects with which the Yoginī cult appears to have had connections. Among the famed erotic carvings on the temple walls of the many Khajuraho temples, portrayals of ascetics of the Kaula and Kāpālīka sects have been identified.³⁰ The blatant carving of such figures on the temple walls suggests that the Chandella monarchs who built these temples were themselves patrons of these orders. We have seen earlier that the Yoginī cult was a branch of the Kaula sect and was probably known as Yoginī Kaula. It is thus probable that the Chandellas were also patrons of the Yoginī cult and that certain of the monarchs themselves or members of the royal family may have been responsible for building some of the Yoginī temples within their kingdom. Thus, Chandella patronage may have been a factor of significance in encouraging and supporting the cult of the Yoginis and in giving added impetus to its spread and popularity.

From the 9th to the 12th centuries, Yoginī temples were built in several parts of the country. Jain texts tell us of four specially important Yoginī temples - at Broach, Ajmer, Ujjain and Yoginipur (modern Delhi) - none of which has survived.³¹ Later dated inscriptions added to certain Yoginī temples indicate that these shrines remained in worship and retained their followers into the 16th century.³² At some stage thereafter worship in the temples ceased, the Yoginī circles were abandoned and the magnificent images of the Yoginis, once so deeply venerated and feared, were neglected and allowed to deteriorate. The once powerful Yoginī cult faded into an almost total mist of oblivion, so that when the ruined temples were rediscovered in the late 19th century, few clues remained



Fig. 37. Rajasthan folk painting of Kapali (She of the skull-cup).

as to the significance of the Yoginis or the reasons for their worship. And yet, paintings and paper *chakras* made in Rajasthan at the turn of the present century indicate that at least token homage was still being paid to the 64 Yoginis (Figs. 37, 38). These folk-style works of art testify to an innate reluctance to abandon a cult with ancient roots, combined with a fear of the possible ill consequences of such an inauspicious and unnecessary rejection.

NOTES

1. *Kāthāsaritsāgara*, ed. K. S. Sarasvath, Patna, 1961, Book VII, Ch. 3 contains two such stories.
2. *Lalitā Sahasranāma* [which is a section of the *Brahmānda Purāna*], ed. Anantkrishna Sastry, Adyar, 1951, Ch. 3, v. 83. Also *Jñānānava Tantra*, Ch. 13.
3. Carl G. Jung ed. *Man and his symbols*, London, 1964, Part 4, Aniela Jaffe, "Symbolism in the visual arts", p. 240.
4. *Agni Purāna*, ed. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Varanasi, 1966, Ch. 104, v. 17, 18 list a series of circular temple types. Bhoja's architectural text *Samarāngana Sūtradhāra*, ed. Ganapati Sastri, Baroda, 1966, Ch. 49, v. 13-15 contains a similar list.
5. Several Kaula texts give details of such *chakrapūjā*. See *Kulārṇava Tantra*, ed. Arthur Avalon, Madras, 1965 ed., Ch. 5.
6. The *Sri Matottare Tantra* is an unpublished manuscript in the Nepal National Archives. However, a later copy of this manuscript has been published as the *Goraksha Samhitā*, ed. Janardhan Pandeya, Varanasi, 1973. Although this version is incomplete, it follows the *Sri Matottare Tantra* closely and may be referred to in the absence of a published version of the original text. In Ch. 20, p. 235 Devi asks Śiva to explain to her the details of the Yoginī Chakra, the knowledge of which gives one the ability to fly in the air.
7. *ibid.* Chs. 19, 20, 24, 27, all of which state that there is no doubt (*na samśaya*) that these *siddhīs* will appertain to him who worships the Yoginis.
8. *ibid.*, Chs. 7 & 24 for details of these powers. See also *Skanda Purāna [Kāśī Khanda]*, ed. K. D. Vedavyas, Calcutta, 1965, Ch. 45.
9. See *Goraksha Samhitā*, Ch. 20 for these and similar descriptions of the Yoginis.



Fig. 38. Rajasthan folk painting of Ragatabhashi (The Drinker of blood).

10. *Kulārṇava Tantra*, Ch. 5, v. 21-23.
11. *Bṛhadharma Purāna*, ed. Haraprasad Sastri, Varanasi, 1974, Ch. 23, v. 17.
12. *Goraksha Samhitā*, Ch. 4 contains details on the selection of the corpse telling us for instance that it should be a recent one that is still sweetsmelling, not defaced or mutilated in any way etc. Such instructions clearly rule out human sacrifice.
13. *Agni Purāna*, Chs. 52 & 146 discuss the Yoginis and refer to the *pratimā* or images of the goddesses.
14. For instance see *Skanda Purāna [Prabhāsa Khanda]*, 7, 119.
15. *Mahābhāgavata Purāna*, Ch. 59 refers to the Yoginī as the servants of the Goddess.
16. An inscription in a Śiva temple at the foot of the hill informs us that by bathing in this tank known as Somatīrtha, all one's sins will be washed away.
17. In addition to the six temples discussed in this paper, the following additional Yoginī sites are known: Hinglajadh, Rikhiyan, Dudahi, Badoh, Naresar and Mitauli. Also, it appears that south India housed a Yoginī temple in the vicinity of Kaveripakkam. All these are discussed in my forthcoming book, *The Yoginī Cult and its Temples*.
18. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and other minor texts of the school of Matsyendranath*, ed. P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1934, Ch. 23.
19. *Skanda Purāna [Kāśī Khanda]*, Ch. 45 entitled "Arrival of the 64 Yoginis" contains this list.
20. See for instance the recent book of R. K. Sharma, *The Temple of Chausatha-Yoginī at Bheraghat*, 1978, Delhi, which does not even acknowledge the problem of 81 as opposed to 64 Yoginis.
21. *Goraksha Samhitā*, Ch. 27.
22. *Kālikā Purāna*, ed. Biswanarayan Sastri, Varanasi, 1972, Ch. 61, v. 98.
23. *Lalitā Sahasranāma*, v. 149, title No. 780, p. 298.
24. For historical synchronisms see the very useful chart appended to Eliky Zannas & Jeannine Auboyer, *Khajuraho*, The Hague, 1960.
25. L. K. Tripathi, "Causatha Yoginī Temple, Khajuraho", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, 6, 1974-75, pp. 37ff.
26. The Rikhiyan Yoginis are carved in groups of four on rectangular slabs which have no curvature and it seems clear that they were intended for rectangular placement. Badoh is a rectangular shrine of 42 Yoginis. Details are in my forthcoming book. (Notes continued on page 97)

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS CALENDAR

Wallraf-Richartz Museum, An der Rechtschule, William Blake, graphic works from the Neuberger Collection, till 28 March.

Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Ubierring 45. "Festival of Colours" - Costumes and textiles from the Guatemala highlands, till 9 May.

Rolf Riecke, Drususgasse 7-11 (T. 23-77-33). Don Quixote illustrated by Eberhard Schlöter, till 24 April.

Dreitel, Richmondstrasse 25. Victor Bauer, oils and watercolours, till 10 March.

Gmazyńska, Obermarsforsten 21. The Classic Moderns.

Jollenbeck, Lindenstrasse 18. Karel Appel, work of the 50s and 60s, through March.

Karsen Greve, Wallrafplatz 3. Lucio Fontana, paintings.

Rolf Riecke, Volksgartenstrasse 10 (T. 31-57-12). Abraham David Christian, through March.

Wilde, Auf dem Berlich 6. 10th anniversary exhibition, with Hockney, Duane Michals, Sander, a.o.

DÜSSELDORF

Kunsthalle, Grabbeplatz 4. R. B. Kitaj retrospective, and Erwin Blumenfeld, Dada collages, till 21 March. Jörg Immendorff, paintings and sculptures, 26 March till 9 May.

Stadtmuseum, Bäckerstrasse 7-9. Düsseldorf art of the 50s, 31 March till 2 May.

Schoeller, Poststrasse 2 (T. 32-65-32). Walter Dexel (1890-1973), oils and gouaches, till 17 April.

FRANKFURT/MAIN

Säidische Galerie. Christo, City Projects of 1961-1981, till 12 April.

HAMBURG

Brockstedt, Magdalenenstrasse 11 (T. 410-40-91). Pascin, watercolours, drawings and prints, March/April.

Kunsthalle. From Michelangelo to Gericault, master drawings from the collections of the Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 12 March till 2 May.

HANNOVER

Kesner-Gesellschaft, Warmbüchenstrasse 16. Artists' photographs, till 18 April.

Kunstverein, Sophienstrasse 2. Franz Radziwill, retrospective, till 12 April.

HEIDELBERG

Rothe, Werderplatz 17 (T. 4-17-13). Edgar Augustin, sculpture and drawings, through April.

KREFELD

Kunstmuseum, Wilhelmshofallee 97. Erwin Heerich, space and surface diagrams, till 25 April.

MUNICH

Haus der Kunst, Four Centuries of Spanish Painting from El Greco to Goya, till 25 April.

Kunstverein, Galeriestrasse 4 (T. 22-11-52). "The Erotic in Art Today", and photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe, till 19 March.

Säidische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Luisenstrasse 33 (T. 52-10-41). American draughtsmen of the 70s, till 11 April. Gerd Dengler, recent paintings, from 16 March.

Galerie am Promenadeplatz, Promenadeplatz 12 (T. 29-77-29). Kurt Benning, till 20 March.

Art in Progress, Maximilianstrasse 25. Louis Cane, new paintings, till 1 April.

Dany Keller, Buttermelcherstrasse 11 (T. 22-61-32). Ingeborg Lüscher, new paintings, till 20 March.

Produzentengalerie, Adelgundenstrasse 6 (T. 53-76-31). Gregor Schmid, Colour Xerographs, till 20 March.

Schellmann & Klüser, Maximilianstrasse 12 (T. 22-28-95). Kounellis, March.

Rühiger Schütte, Mariusstrasse 7 (T. 33-36-86). Mario Merz, Nicola de Maria, Claudio Parmiggioni, March.

Thomas, Maximilianstrasse 25 (T. 22-27-41). Young artists, March. Ernst Barlach, April.

Van de Loo, Maximilianstrasse 27 (T. 22-62-70). Franz Hitzler, till 26 March.

Von Braunbehrens, Ainnmillerstrasse 2a (T. 39-03-39). Erwin Bechtold, paintings, collages, drawings, till 23 March.

ROTTWEIL

Forum Kunst, Friedrichsplatz. Kippenberger, till 28 March; Ottmar Mark, 3 April till 2 May.

NUREMBERG

Stadtmuseum, Burgstrasse 15, and Galerie am Peter, Stephanstrasse 14. Heinrich Retner, watercolours and prints, March.

STUTTGART

Württembergischer Kunstverein, Am Schlossplatz. Rudolf Holleher, paintings and drawings, till 11 April. Gerhard Rühm, visual poems, conceptual works, photo-montages, automatic drawings, till 28 March.

SCHWÄBISCH-GMUND

Edith Wahlandt, Uferstrasse 30 (T. 6-46-45). Christian Megert, Mirror Objects, till 7 March.

GREAT BRITAIN

BRISTOL

Amolfini, 16 Narrow Quay. Exhibitions of contemporary visual art, jewellery, music and dance performances. Ger van Elk, 3 April till 15 May.

EDINBURGH

National Gallery, The Mound. Poussin's "Sacraments" lent by the Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, till 21 March; David Allan (1744-1796), drawings and watercolours of Rome, till 31 March.

Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Royal Botanic Garden. "The Subjective Eye", 9 April till 9 May.

New 37 Gallery. "Marcel Duchamp's Travelling Box", April.

LEICESTER

Leicestershire Museum, New Walk (T. 554-100). Royal Academy Diploma works 1921-1981, with over 90 paintings, sculptures, drawings and prints, 24 April till 27 June.

LONDON

The British Museum, Great Russel Street (T. 636-1555). From Village to City in Ancient India, 21 April till September.

The Tate Gallery, Millbank (T. 821-1313). Modern Indian Artists, chosen by Howard Hodgkin, 7 April till 23 May.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, Exhibition Road (T. 539-6371). The Indian Heritage: Court Life and the Arts under Mughal Rule, 21 April till 15 August.

The Hayward, South Bank. "In the Image of Man": the Indian Perception of the Universe illustrated in 500 works spanning 2000 Years of Painting and Sculpture, 25 March till 13 June.

The Serpentine, Kensington Gardens. Six contemporary Australian Artists, 13 March till 25 April; Living Arts of India (10 master craftsmen at work in the Gallery), 8-31 May.

The Royal Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly. Harold Gilman, 1876-1919, till 4 April; Contemporary Art from India, about 35 contemporary painters, September/October.

The Crafts Council Gallery, 12 Waterloo Place (T. 930-4811). Martin Smith, ceramics, and Californian artists' ceramics, 7 April till 30 May.

Anne Berthoud, 1 Langley Court (T. 836-7357). Tapestries by Caulfield, Davie, Heron and Phillips, 17 March till 17 April; Portraits/Self-Portraits by contemporary British artists, 21 April till 29 May.

Anthony d'Offay, 9 and 23 Dering Street, by New Bond Street (T. 499-4695). Gwen John, March/April; Jan Dibbets, till 13 March; Nicholas Pope, 17 March till 17 April.

Fischer Fine Art, 30 King Street, St. James's (T. 839-3942). William Butterfield (19th century architect), designs and objects, 17 March till 16 April; Rodrigo Moynihan and Lucy Mackenzie, recent paintings, 21 April till 14 May.

Lisson, 66-68 Bell Street (T. 262-1539). Bob Law, sculpture, 24 March till 17 April.

J. S. Maas, 15a Clifford Street, by New Bond Street (T. 734-2302). Victorian paintings, drawings and watercolours.

Mayor, 22A Cork Street. Samaras, pastels and bronzes, till 7 April.

Marlborough Fine Art, 6 Albemarle Street (T. 629-5161). Tamayo, till 6 March.

Alex Reid-Lefevre, 30 Burton Street (T. 629-2250). Edward Burra (1905-1976), late paintings, April.

Waddington, 2-4 and 34 Cork Street. Ben Nicholson, March; Mimmo Paladino, April; Hamish Fulton, May.

Whitechapel, Whitechapel High Street (T. 377-0107). Annual Open Exhibition of local artists, till 7 March; Anselm Kiefer, paintings and books, Frida Kahlo and Tina Modotti, paintings and photographs, 26 March till 2 May.

OXFORD

The Ashmolean Museum (T. 575-22). Drawings and Prints of the Romantic Period (1790-1840), till 28 March; 20th Century Chinese Painting, March; Oscar Nemon, sculpture, 14 April till 23 May.

HOLLAND

AMSTERDAM

Stedelijk Museum, Paulus Potterstraat 13 (T. 73-21-66). Julian Schnabel, paintings, drawings, till 14 March; Jan Commandeur, recent paintings, till 28 March; "60-80: Attitudes/Concepts, Images", more than 500 works in various media by about 175 artists, 9 April till 11 July.

Asselijn, Lange Leidsedwarsstraat 198-200. Hans Landsaat, paintings, March.

Jurka, Vijzelstraat 80 (T. 26-71-41). Monika Malewicz, paintings, till 19 March; Walter Nobbe, paintings, drawings, 20 March till 9 April; Sjoerd Bakker, watercolours, colour etchings, 10-30 April; Douglas James Johnson, paintings, drawings, 1-21 May.

EINDHOVEN

Van Abbe Museum, Bilderdijklaan 10 (T. 44-85-55). Emilio Vedova, Lothar Baumgarten, till 28 March.

GRONINGEN

Groninger Museum, Praediniussingel 59 (T. 17-29-29). François Morellet, till 4 April.

ITALY

BOLOGNA

Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Piazza Costituzione 3 (T. 50-22-64). "Liberamente", a selection of paintings of the past 20 years reflecting radically different approaches to the art, made by five of the "New Critics", March.

Forni, Via Farini 26 (T. 27-07-60). Grose, from 13 March; Saetti, from 3 April, followed by exhibitions of Barellicer, Franco Francese, Giorgio Scalco.

BOLZANO

Spatio, Via Argenteria 24 (T. 97-18-16). Carla Accardi, till 20 April.

MILAN

Palazzo della Permanente, Via Turati 34 (T. 639-303). Emilio Longoni (1859-1932), till 4 April.

Studio Canavaliello, Piazza Beccaria 10 (T. 83-76-368). A. R. Penck, to 20 March.

Cenobio Visualità, Via Pontaccio 5 (T. 869-0082). Giuseppe di Napoli, Gianni Robusti, Michele Silva, Aldo Spinelli.

Lyda Levi, Via Durini 24 (T. 78-04-14). Carmi, tapestries, till 31 March.

Zarathustra, Piazza San Marco 1 (T. 65-71-770). Ferdinand Kulmer, recent paintings, March.

ROME

Pinacoteca Capitolina, Campidoglio. 32 works by modern European and American masters from the Peggy Guggenheim Collection (Venice) and 28 from the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (New York), till 28 May.

Villa Medici, 1 Viale Trinità dei Monti (T. 67-97-142). Jean Jacques Dourmon, pastels, 10 May till 6 June.

Il Gabbiano, Via della Frezza 51 (T. 67-97-776). "Homage to the 1800s".

TURIN

Paolo Tonin, Via S. Maria 2 (T. 333-187). James Collins, "Women of the World", pastels.

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the composition, already makes them virtually indistinguishable from buildings. The idea of "garden" becomes a mere compositional framework of landscape elements that are embodied into the overall and total architecture of the Villon cosmos. In this group in particular the pervasiveness of the geometric structure recalls Feininger's abstract processing of the elements of townscape and landscape.

The architectural embodiment of landscape forms into an organic compositional whole was continued in the Park series, which spans the decade 1948-1958. Recalling *Les Fenêtres* of 1932-33, there is a further subdivision of the picture space into three main, vertical planes in *Le Long du parc* and *Parc*, both of 1955. This further reduction of natural forms to convert them to abstract, architectural, compositional elements, was developed and is most clearly expressed in the *pigeonnier* series of 1952-54. Of this series, *La Ferme normande* and *Rythme campagnard*, both of 1953, are outstanding in their powerful simplicity of colour, form and geometry. Altogether, this series reveals Villon as a most original painter.

A parallel development in both composition and colouration took place between 1951 and 1960 which, whilst following the process of simplification found in *La Ferme normande* (1953) also recalls the spirit and complexity of Villon's work from the period 1914 to 1923: it also incorporated the greater freedom and looseness of form that characterised his portraits of 1934-35.

La femme assise (1914) was based upon Raymond's bronze sculpture of this subject. This image was further developed in another painting of 1919. In *Memoriam* of the same year is clearly dedicated to Raymond, who had died of typhoid the previous year. It still recalls the sculptor's *La femme assise*, but Jacques' treatment of the lower half of the painting, the pelvis and legs of his cubist figure which is now in the standing position, reveals knowledge of Archipenko's *Woman combing her hair* (1915). In *Memoriam* thus makes a return to the curvilinear geometry that had characterised Villon's portraits of 1912-1914, beginning with *Filette au piano* (1912) and being phased out through his etching and watercolour drawing of the actor Felix Barré executed in 1913-1914. The *Portrait de Femme* (1914) mixes the curvilinear and rectilinear geometries on an oval canvas, and this mixture recurs in *Jeu* (1919). But by 1912 *Papiers*, although working against the rectilinear frame does so by using rectilinear elements, literally a stack of papers in disarray. Beginning with *La Petite mendicante* (1934), through the etching *Le grand dessinateur* (1935) to the *Jeune fille assise* (1936), Villon reviewed both his graphic techniques and compositional geometry. During these experiments he achieved his greatest freedom of form and colour in *Homme dessinant* (1935), which has an almost satirical whimsicality in its gentle balance of image and pigment.

This subtle blending of complexity both in form and colour, that has an underlying freedom within the geometrical organization, reaches a peak in Villon's portrait of his brother Marcel Duchamp (1951). The same qualities are to be found in *Intérieur* (1954). Whilst *Les Grues de Rouen* (1960) recalls the disciplined economy of *La Ferme normande* (1953), the fluid interchange of colour and geometry of the *Marcel Duchamp* portrait and the looser, more painterly areas of *Homme dessinant* (1935), combining these all together in a final burst of clear, bold forms that is reminiscent of Villon's early poster work. Particularly in its return to the strong diagonal, *Les Grues de Rouen* recalls *La Boudeuse* of 1900.

Villon began his career as a graphic artist. His interest in line technique and its relationship to bold planes of colour was the consistent discipline of his highly inventive contribution to abstract painting. The 1975 retrospective exhibition confirmed this contribution beyond doubt.

This volume sets out the evidence with precision, clarity and admirable attention to detail. There are incisive analytical texts by Jonathan Fineberg, Susan Grace, Jane Hancock, Alvin Martin, David Rubin and Marianna Simpson. The quality of these texts, and of the layout and illustrations make this an indispensable document in the history of twentieth century art.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, £ 35.

REVIEWED BY ROGER STALLEY

"The completest beauty of its kind anywhere to be seen." This 18th century judgement on the great tower at Canterbury is one that has been echoed many times since. Popularly known as "Bell Harry" tower, it has a dramatic, almost unstoppable, vertical élan, a sense of energy that can be sensed far outside the cathedral close. It is one of the last and one of the finest Perpendicular towers in England, designed by John Wastell and built only a few decades before monastic life at Canterbury was abruptly ended by Henry VIII. Bell Harry tower was the final project in what had been an almost unending series of medieval building campaigns. It is commonly said that the whole of English architecture exists in microcosm at Canterbury, outstanding works from every stylistic phase. This is valid enough, except for the absence of anything in the Decorated style. Norman Romanesque was implanted here by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1070, to be followed by the more ornate Romanesque of his successor Anselm. The choir of 1174-84 was the first coherent Gothic building in England and the reconstructed nave of 1377-1405 is one of the most majestic of Perpendicular interiors. The fabric of the cathedral thus represents that typically English compendium of styles, stretching from the late 11th century to the Reformation, a monument full of contrasts and surprises, the very antithesis of those smooth, logical and homogeneous designs which characterise Gothic building in France.

In terms of function, Canterbury was more than a normal English cathedral. It was the primatial see, the site chosen by St Augustine in 597, when he embarked on his mission to convert the heathen Anglo-Saxons. It was also a monastic church, serving a large body of Benedictine monks; finally, it was a pilgrimage church, the goal of thousands who traversed across England like Chaucer's pilgrims to worship at its famous shrines. Long before 1170, visitors had flocked to the city to venerate the relics of the ancient archbishops, but the murder of Becket swiftly transformed the cathedral into one of the major pilgrimage centres of Europe. Few pilgrims could have been as exotic as the patriarch of Antioch, who appeared at the cathedral in 1466, accompanied by four dromedaries and two camels. The immense riches that accumulated around Becket's tomb are notorious - "The most worthless thing there was gold, every part glowed, sparkled and flashed with rare and large gems, some of which were bigger than a goose egg" (Erasmus).

Despite the central role that Canterbury enjoys in the history of English architecture, no serious monograph on the building has appeared since that by the Reverend Robert Willis in 1845. Willis was the most intelligent and formidable English architectural historian of the 19th century and few writers since have rivalled his clarity of exposition or the logic of his arguments. To escape the shadow of Willis is an unenviable task, but not one that has daunted Francis Woodman, who has now produced an excellent modern account of the cathedral. He has had the confidence - some might say the affrontery - to borrow Willis' title, but this is not without justification for he has plenty new to say. Woodman's study is more extensive and it includes both the monastic buildings and the archbishop's palace, which were largely ignored by Willis. He also gives more weight to building activities after 1184, a period that Willis skipped over in a mere three pages.

Before reaching the secure ground of the extant fabric, one encounters the intractable problems posed by the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, veritable quicksands for the architectural historian. There are no material remains and our knowledge depends on comments by the 12th century monk, Eadmer, many of them decidedly ambiguous. Since Willis there have been at least nine different interpretations of the evidence and Woodman has furnished a tenth. He opts for an aisled basilica, rather than the "hor-

plus porticus" theory favoured by some recent scholars and his proposed solution does not differ radically from that put forward in 1881 by G. G. Scott the Younger. His analysis is inevitably brief and it is a pity that he does not discuss the possibility of a reverse orientation to the cathedral, as suggested by the location of the archbishop's throne to the west and the chapel of St John (baptistry?) to the east. Barring a spectacular archaeological discovery (which is unlikely), the form of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral will remain a matter for speculation. It is a curious and regrettable anomaly that more scholarly energy has been expended in recent times on this non-existent building than on the surviving fabric of the cathedral.

Hidden within the building are numerous fragments of the church erected by Lanfranc between 1070 and 1077. Many were known to Willis, who believed that the early Norman cathedral was modelled on the church of St Etienne, Caen, where Lanfranc had previously been abbot. Like any young revisionist, Woodman is keen to challenge this view by pinpointing distinctions between the two monuments. Yet some of Woodman's own discoveries, especially about dimensions, seem to enhance the traditional interpretation and Willis' analogy with Caen remains basically sound. The thoroughness with which Woodman has searched out the remnants of Lanfranc's work is impressive and there is no doubt that he has enlarged our understanding of what was one of the first and most important Norman buildings in England.

The most original part of the book concerns the "glorious" choir added to the cathedral between 1096 and 1110, the architecture of which William of Malmesbury eulogised a few years later: "Nothing like it could be seen in England, either for the brilliancy of its glass windows, the beauty of its marble pavements, or the many coloured pictures which led the wandering eye to the very summit of the ceiling." Woodman provides a new reconstruction of this much vaunted design. Some details of his argument are not wholly convincing, but he is surely right to reject Willis' view of a low squat building, only 60 feet high, in favour of one with more elevated proportions. Much of the argument is based on measurement of the cathedral's stair turrets, the doorways and exits from which provide clues about the various levels of the original elevation.

Anselm's choir survived only a few decades before the catastrophic fire of 1174 and the early Gothic choir which replaced it is the most famous part of the existing cathedral. Not only does it remain intact, complete with much of its original stained glass, but we also have Gervase's eye witness account of how it was built. There is less room for argument here, but controversial issues still remain: Where in France did William of Sens, the master mason appointed in 1174, receive his training? What design did he envisage for the Trinity chapel before his near fatal fall from the high vaults in 1178? Why was his successor, William the Englishman, paradoxically so well informed about recent French developments? Woodman offers a plausible, though hypothetical, plan for William of Sens' original design, but on the other issues he has less fundamental things to say. He does however point out that William changed the design as work progressed and he stresses that some of the apparently novel features (marble

columns and dog-tooth ornament) were already present at Canterbury before 1174.

Turning to the Perpendicular nave, Woodman expresses understandable scepticism about the involvement of Henry Yevele, the royal mason that John Harvey wanted to see as an English "architectural supremo," a sort of medieval incarnation of Christopher Wren. Instead, the design is attributed, more soberly, to the local master mason, Thomas of Hoo. Finally we reach Bell Harry tower, the genesis and construction of which Woodman intricately pieces together through documents and close scrutiny of the fabric. It will surprise many who have gazed at that majestic tower to read how much of it was built of brick.

The type of study undertaken by Woodman - a complete architectural history of a single cathedral - has not been fashionable among English scholars in recent years. Such monuments as Lincoln, Wells and Salisbury still await their historian, a neglect which is perhaps an indictment of modern scholarship with its emphasis on individual styles and periods. In view of this it would be churlish to be over critical of Woodman's book. His approach is both refreshing and provocative, without, however, being definitive. Little is said about the influence of Canterbury and one is left with a rather isolated impression of its role in English architecture. The early 12th century choir had enormous windows, filled with fine glass, giving a prominence to void and light forty years before the more celebrated achievements of Abbot Suger at St Denis. Even when comparisons are made, they are not supported by illustrations. One of the quirks of the book is the absence of comparative photographs, which renders discussion of such themes as the sculptural roots of the 1174-84 capitals almost meaningless. There is also a lack of good measured drawings, both elevations and sections, which reflect a fundamental weakness in the book, namely the reluctance to confront geometrical and structural issues. Although the lierne vault of the nave is one of the most pleasing in England, there is no analysis of its structural form, not even a diagram of its rib patterns. There are few insights into the design methods of the later master masons and in Woodman's descriptions base mouldings figure more prominently than proportions. Some of the author's judgements seem casual, almost flippant. It is for example difficult to believe that the design of the nave elevation was governed by a need "to slot into the existing network of passage and access points." Medieval masons were more versatile than that. Although much of the text is written with verve and panache, lapsing on occasions into self conscious eloquence, there are long passages of dense, rather opaque architectural description. This is of course in the nature of such exercises, but it underlines the need for more drawings and photographs. Even when illustrations do appear, they are sometimes too "muddy" to reveal the critical point. For those not familiar with the cathedral, much of the text will be confusing and difficult to follow, but anyone who can afford the £ 35 needed to purchase it can presumably afford a trip to Canterbury to clarify the issues.

Notwithstanding these limitations, Woodman has produced a most commendable study - and will now join Willis as one of the foremost authorities on the architecture of Canterbury. That alone is praise enough.

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VIDYA DEHEJIA, NOTES:

- 28. *Yogini Sādhana* contained in *Bṛhatpurāṣāryānava*, ed. Dhana Shamsher, Kathmandu, 1974, Vol. 4, p. 342.
- 29. *Skanda Purāṇa [Kāśī Khaṇḍa]*, Ch. 45.
- 30. Pramod Chandra, "The Kaula-Kapalika Cults at Khajuraho", *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 98-107.
- 31. *Bhārava-Padmavan-Katpa*, ed. M. B. Jhavery, Ahmedabad, 1944, p. 284.
- 32. The latest inscription is one dated AD 1503 added to the Mitauli temple near Gwalior. See *Gwalior Archaeological Report*, 1942-46, p. 66f.