Indian Images - The Brahmanic Iconography based on generic, comparative, and synthetic principles

by

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A professor of a Calcutta College once remarked in the author's hearing upon the extraordinary notion held by a very large number of people that any old image discovered in India, which they might see, must necessarily be a Buddhist image. The experience of the author has gone far to confirm this statement. It is not that the layman who holds this view has any special penchant for things Buddhist, spiritual or physical; it is simply that he is unable to distinguish a Hindu image from a Buddhist image; and vague ideas at the back of his mind about centuries of Buddhist supremacy lead him to imagine anything old to be Buddhist, and blur his memory of anything he may have heard of an earlier Hindu supremacy, and of the subsequent, and now centuries-old, Brahmanic revival. The author in the following pages has attempted a systematic and critical study of those images which, on fundamental grounds, cannot be designated otherwise than as purely Hindu or Brahmanic. A subsequent volume will deal with the iconography of the other two great iconodulic religions of India, Buddhism and Jainism, whereby the division between the iconography of Hinduism and that of these other two religions will be clearly marked.

The author has set forth in his 'Prolegomena' the aims, principles, and methods of his treatment of the subject. To study the material of his work in detail he has travelled extensively in Northern India, has visited sites of antiquarian interest and fame, and has explored, in some cases, new sites and new images. He regrets that he has not had those advantages and facilities which would have been his, had he been an officer of the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India, and would have, perhaps, enabled him to study much of what he may have missed. He has visited various archaeological museums of Northern India and has therein worked at a comparative study of their exhibits. To enable him to compare and to verify the detail presented by the large variety of Brahmanic images, he has tried to exhaust all
available references early Sanskrit works, Vedic, Exegetical, Paurānic and Tantric, bearing upon the descriptions and explanations of Divine Representations.

The author has attempted, in his treatment of the allegorical aspect of gods and images, not to draw merely on his imagination and then to record his surmises, but to weigh the evidence to be found in the various texts touching on the subject: where, however, as in some cases, the texts, though not wholly silent, are merely suggestive, the author has felt justified in theorizing, basing his theories upon the hints to be gathered from early Indian authorities, nor does he believe that he has elaborated his theories beyond the reasonable limits of conjecture. Throughout he has tried to employ the comparative method of study, having especially devoted his attention to possible points of contact between India and other countries, where Indian images have presented similarities to those of such other countries.

The author has no intention of trying to supplant, in the interest of those who study Iconography and Archaeology, or even to supplement, such books on South Indian images as Gopinath Rao's "Hindu Iconography," O. C. Ganguli's "South Indian Bronzes" and Krishna Sastri's "South Indian Gods and Goddesses." The Author's field of research has been different to those of these authors.

Our knowledge of Indian Iconography is still immature; the study is progressive, and will continue to remain progressive. Absolute accuracy on all points is, therefore, out of the question. It is the author's hope that this present work of his, and his subsequent volume, however incomplete, based as they are on a study, at first hand, of a mass of original material and of original sources of information, may not only be of interest to the layman, but may be of definite value to the student of the subject and of comparative religion, especially as all these cognate subjects are increasingly being given a place in the higher studies of Universities.

The author, having tried to cater both for the layman and
the scholar, has arranged his subject matter accordingly. On certain points the reader may find that there has been some repetition; if this appears to any to be a defect in the method of treatment, the author prays the indulgence of such, hoping that it will be remembered that repetition may be the best form of emphasis of points of especial importance in the minds of those who may be unacquainted with essentially Indian facts and points of view.

The author desires to acknowledge his obligations to Raja Gopal Lal Ray of Tajhat, Rani Brindarani of Dimla, and Babu Nalini Mohan Rai Chaudhuri, B.A. of Tepa, Rangpur, for their benevolent encouragement and ready sympathy. He desires also to record his thanks to the Members of the Rangpur District Board for giving him a grant that is set apart for literary publications. Grateful recognition is also due to Messrs. F. H. Skrine, I.C.S., now retired, and Bertram Keightley, M.A., Bar-at-Law, to Pandit G. N. Kaviraj, M.A., of the Saraswatibhavan Library, Benares, Pandit Harihar Sastri, of the Hindu University, Benares, for the revisions of the proofs of this book together with some useful suggestions, and to Mr. D. S. Fraser, I.C.S. for other useful suggestions. He has also to express his indebtedness to Sir John Marshall Kt., C.I.E., Litt.D., the Director-General, to Mr. D. B. Spooner, Ph.D., the Deputy Director-General, and to Rai Pandit Dayaram Sahni Bahadur, M.A., the Superintendent, Northern Circle, of the Archaeological Survey of India, for the supply of certain photographs of images, and to Mr. D. Dewar, I.C.S., the Secretary of the United Provinces Historical Society, for the loan of some half-tone blocks for illustration purposes.

Benares,
1st June, 1921.

B. C. B.
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PROLEGOMENA.

I.

Copious as the materials are, a book dealing with Indian Iconography in general ought to have been written long ago; and indeed this has always been considered a great desideratum in the field of ancient Indian research. The late Dr. Fergusson, having keenly felt the absence of such a book, remarked upon the facilities for the working out of such a book, and upon the importance which it would have for a scholar as follows: "By the aid of photography, any one now attempting the task would be able to select perfectly authentic examples from Hindu temples of the best age. If this were done judiciously and the examples carefully reproduced, it would not only afford a more satisfactory illustration of the mythology of the Hindus than has yet been given to the public, but it might also be made a history of the art of sculpture in India, in all the ages in which it is known to us."¹ Since the publication of this sound remark on the part of one who was one of the great pioneers in the study of ancient Indian art, no book, worth the name, purposing to treat of this subject as a whole or at least of the outlines of this study upon the valuable sculptures of India, has yet been published. It has been understood that the Archaeological department would undertake this useful task. And nothing would have been more satisfactory and no body of archaeologists would have had better opportunities for the work than the department just mentioned. But yet time waits for none and no delay or uncertainty is more keenly felt than in the present case. Consequently, partly owing to the encouragement of my late professor Dr. Venis and partly to the accumulation of materials in my hands, growing daily more abundant, I venture to take the subject in hand, with the hope of presenting at least a book that may fill the gap in this much neglected branch of oriental studies. Should it prove to be of any practical use to scholars, my efforts would have taken the proper course and they could be in no better way rewarded.

II.

At the outset, it is well to shew the scope of our subject and the limitations by which it is naturally bounded. We shall in our discussion limit ourselves mainly to the consideration of North Indian images—mostly stone images as they are very numerous. Our treatment will be wholly based upon examples of the plastic art, the so-called statues in the round or statues half shewn in the round. We shall, of course, dwell upon some examples of the statues of the alto-relievo type. We shall leave out of our consideration ancient paintings and decorative art as exhibited in ancient architecture. Our main purpose will be, then, to offer a systematic treatment of ancient Indian images, their purposes and their development. As its necessary concomitant, such a survey would include a discussion of the religion of India and the various minor faiths to which it has given birth. A discussion of the mythology and the allegory and symbolism connected therewith will also come within our scope. In our treatment of images we shall be frankly eclectic: choosing such examples as are most prominent and most characteristic and leaving out the examples of minor importance. Considering it as interesting and instructive, we shall introduce, where possible, a comparative study of images of different countries. Our topic must necessarily concern itself to some extent with art criticism, but as the present writer has little authority and special knowledge in this field, technicalities will be avoided as far as possible.

III.

Hindu religion may be in one way distinguished from all other religions by the importance it has attached to image-worship. A Mandir, or devagryha or a temple equivalent to a church of the Christian, a Masjid of the Mussalman invariably signifies to a Hindu mind that it must contain some image of a deity. Every city, every village, every locality in India possesses its temple, its place for worship. The religious-sentiment of the Hindus finds a natural outlet in the temples, where they go to visit the image, to make offerings of various kinds sanctioned by the scriptures, observe the rites dictated by the Brahman priests and also make a Pradaksina round the sacred shrine, being in a devotional mood. It would be rather a misconception to hold that Hindu religion knew no public worship. The Tirthas or places of pilgrimages are, of course, the best instances of Hindu public worship. People of all castes, of all grades of social order, women as well as men, regardless of their purdahs congregate together in the same manner in which...
their forefathers did in the ancient ages and obtain the uniform advantage of worshipping the deities with all their holy ceremonials. No wonder, therefore, that a religious country like India should surpass all other countries in the numerical strength of her temples and images. Thus temples in a sacred city in India are almost beyond reckoning. In Sherring's time, Benares alone had 1,454 temples. This calculation presumably excludes the minor temples, many of which have been unearthed in the city from time to time. Nasik, Puri, Mathura and Kanchi have a similar multitude of temples. Every spot of India is religious and the possibility is never lacking of discovering temples and images even in its densest jungles. Perhaps, no branch of antiquities has supplied the Indian Archeological Department with more valuable and more fascinating and ampler materials than Indian sculpture. This is by far the most productive field of archaeological exploration. My private efforts in this direction have been unexpectedly more than repaid.

IV.

The actual cause is unknown, but it may be said that the disappearance of the best monuments of North Indian architecture was due partly to the iconoclastic tendencies of some of the Mahomedan conquerors and partly to the ravages of years. Extreme southern India, where now stand the greatest architectural achievements of the Dravidians, was entirely saved from the Mahomedan raids; but in that country, the temples and pagodas are comparatively not so ancient.\(^1\) Northern India, on the other hand, though not rich in buildings, can excel southern India in the antiquity and richness of its sculptures. Buddhist images are almost unknown in Southern India. Northern India possesses not only Buddhist images of different ages but a great variety of Hindu and Jaina images of various types. No part of India can, therefore, offer a better and more promising field for the study of Iconography than Northern India.

V.

Truly has said Sir (now Lord) James Meston, in his inaugural address delivered to the U.P. Historical society,\(^2\) that "If, in any part of India, thoughtful men may fitly combine for the

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\(^1\) "Though image worship prevails widely in South India, it must be comparatively late in its present term because all the Malayalam terms for images are of Sanskrit origin."—Hasting's Ency. of Rel. and Ethics, Vol. 7, p. 142 ff.; W. Logan, Malabar, Madras—1827, i-184.

study of History, it is surely in these provinces, for it is here that great Chapters of History have been made. To substantiate our claim, we can call thousands of years to witness. We can go back to the ages of the gods, when it was at Benares that Siva found deliverance from sin, at Mathura that Visnu became incarnate in Krisna the herdsman, and at Ajodhya that the greatest of all the incarnations came to Rama in the palace of his royal father. Or we can appeal to our epic splendours. Was not Hastinapur the cradle of the Kuras; and were not Kampil where the fair Draupadi was born and Ahichchatra the twin capitals of the great Panchala kingdom or turning from myth and legend, we can invoke historic memories of unequalled richness? In our province lies Kanauj, in itself an epitome of India's past. Ptolemy knew of it in the first century A.D., the Chinese pilgrims described its glory in the 7th century, Mahmud of Ghazni plundered it, the Rathsors held it, Akbar made it a provincial capital, the Mahrattas overran it: it shews like a geological section every stratum of history in the last 2,000 years. But Kanauj is only one of our many ancient cities and storied towns. Take down the volume of the Imperial Gazetteer which contains Mr. Burn's brilliant summary of the history of the United Provinces and you will find a focus of historical interest in almost every district. At another place, in his stirring speech, he says: "From days when Rome was young, these provinces have been the theatre of great events in the lives and minds of men: and no single area could more aptly be chosen as a unit of historical research. There is history in its diwas, those shapeless mounds which dot its plains; in the mysterious ruins which lurk among its forests, in its countless shrines and crumbling tombs; in its dust." The same statement may apply with equal appropriateness to the provinces of the Punjab, N.W.P., Bihar and Bengal, in fact to the whole of Northern India. The antiquarian places throughout this area have afforded from time to time a rich harvest of archaeological materials principally consisting of statues and images. The great abundance of these finds necessitated the building of many museums and already, in Northern India, we have the Imperial Museum at Calcutta, the Dacca Museum, the Sahitya Parishad Museum, the Rajshahi Varendra Research Museum and the Rangpur Perishad Museum, all in Bengal; 1 in Bihar, we have the Patna Museum; in the U.P., the Lucknow Museum, the Murtra Museum, the Burising Museum at Chamba; in the Panjab, the Delhi and the Lahore Museums: in N.W.P. the Peshawar Museum: in C.P. the Nagpur Museum: in Rajputana,

the Ajmere Museum. A close study of all these collections systematically arranged besides stray finds discovered here and there is sufficient to lay a complete basis for the study of Indian Iconography. This study must necessarily be supplemented by a wide familiarity with the Indian literature dealing specially with religion and mythology. Every scholar, in this respect, ought to abide by the most instructive and apt remark of Mr. P. Gardner: "As Museum work apart from exploration tends to dilettantism and pedantry so exploration by itself does not produce reasoned knowledge. When a new building, a great original statue, a series of vases is discovered, these have to be fitted in to the existing frame of our knowledge and it is by such fitting in that the edifice of knowledge is enlarged."

VI.

As the study of Iconography is almost entirely conditioned by a study of religion, so the study of religion cannot proceed to any extent without a study of Iconography, particularly in India, where image worship forms the very pivot of the popular religion. It is, indeed, a very puzzling problem to give an idea of Hinduism in a few sentences. Yet, for our purposes, it would not be utterly impossible to try to get at the essentials of the Hindu religion. "Hinduism" is a very vague term, as vague as the caste system of India. Its vagueness has been further developed by the missionary writers, who have only touched the fringe of the Religion of India. Many have described the Hindu Religion as "Paganism," "Fetishism," "Idolatry,"; others have called it "Brahmanism," "Animism," "Polytheism" and so forth. It may be doubted if the religion of the Hindus can bear any of these terms despite the philosophical air which all of them carry. The true nature of Hinduism (we retain the term for the sake of convenience) has hardly been described by any of these names. While we reject the nomenclature thus given, we should only try to catch certain fundamental features of this Religion. This Religion or Dharma has no parallel all the world over. It is outwardly polytheistic and idolatrous but, in essence, it is henotheistic and pantheistic. Every Hindu, while sitting for worship either before an image or a phallic symbol, utters the words "Sokhaïn," i.e. "He is myself," There is a Säsrik injunction for a worshipper "Śiva bhūtav Śivam Yajeta" meaning "becoming a Siva, one should worship Siva." All these are highly idealistic and pantheistic. Image worship is a practical thing and is a grand solu-

1 Than the term "Hinduism" the word "Arya Dharma" seems to be more appropriate.
tion of the difficulty of conceiving a limitless Absolute. A reconcile-
ciliation of Vedant or idealistic philosophy with image-worship re-
representing polytheism, symbolism, etc., has been strikingly effected
in the Religion of the Hindus. A spirit of toleration and friendli-
ness has been again and again enjoined in the Hindu Religion.
Asoka, at first, a follower of the orthodox Hindu creed, afterwards,
a convert to Buddhism urged on the importance of religious tolera-
tion and called it Samavâya. Hinduism represents a variety of
doctrines but in spite of this diversity, there are some unitary
principles underlying it. Provincial differences relating to reli-
gious observances, ritualistic and household duties, appear on the
surface of this religion but at bottom lie the great teachings of the
Veda. Every householder tries to keep a Vîgraha of God which
means 'the embodiment' of the highest being. The majority of
people in the Hindu community including the Vedantists or philo-
sophers worship God in a personal form. The popular religion of
the Hindus is largely based upon the Purânas which aim at
glorifying the Semi-divine and humanistic deeds of the Avatârs or
incarnations, the sanctity of temples, Tirthas or sacred places,
sacred rivers, Brahmans and cows.¹ These doctrines of the
Purânas do not stand in opposition to the Vedic doctrines. Proba-
bly, the germs of these tenets are to be traced to the religion of
the Vedas. The Hindu religion is only an evolution underlying
changes in its outward form and remaining in essence much the
same as it was in the Vedic times.² The fundamental elements,
external or Sanâtan as they are, transcend the limitations of cir-
cumstances. Another important phase of the Hindu religion is
Tântrikism. The Tantras have supplied certain practical rules
and sacred formulæ for the guidance of the worshippers. Many
have become strict adherents of this cult although essentially
they follow the fundamental creed of Hinduism as sanctioned by
the Vedas. It is in the practical method of worship that we find
a wide variety in the religious tendencies of the people. Free-
dom of choice has been given to the people in respect of worship
of different deities but toleration is never forgotten even in this
case. In essence, all Hindus profess and follow certain uniform

¹ The short description given by Mr. R. Burn of "Hinduism" is
free from prejudice or any preconceived notion and may be considered
as a true estimate gathered from personal experience. See I.G., Vol. I,
United Provinces, pp. 45-46.
² "The continuity of religious life is seen in its sacred places.
Their sanctity has come down from a time probably antecedent to the
rise of the historical religions, and each creed in succession has con-
secrated some holy site to the needs of its culture." Imperial Gazet-
teer, p. 430.
creeds. Now we may briefly consider the connection between Hinduism and the Iconography of India. As pointed out before, popular Hinduism inclines to a belief in the divine glories of the Avatars and in the sanctity of Tirthas, rivers, etc. Thus as the Avatars received worship from the people, they, after their disappearances from the world, were represented in sculpture. The Tirthas have formed the nucleus of the religious activities of the people, where they go to observe religious duties, where, those who can afford, instal images, build temples and other religious structures. Thus, the Tirthas have become living museums of images and statues. It is there that a study of Iconography along with a study of religion can be profitably started and finished. The history of Hindu religion is, therefore, found to be connected with the gradual evolution of Indian Iconography. This evolution we shall deal with in another chapter. It is enough to state that the Dhyānas and Śādhans as well as the installation of images are all matters of religion and an intimate knowledge of the essential factors of Hindu religion in this connection, at any rate, cannot be dispensed with.

VII.

From one great religion have evolved the minor faiths, which are, as it were, the branches of one great tree. There is really no discord in the whole organism. The Buddhism, Vaishnavism, Saivism, Jainism, the Sākta, S'aura, Gānapatya cults are not strictly separate religious units but belong to one homogeneous whole, i.e. Hinduism. It is a curious thing that the Buddhists, the Jainas, always call themselves Hindus. Intermarriage prevails among Jainas and the orthodox Hindus, specially the Vaisnavas. Like castes, so many Upadharmanas or minor faiths might have originated in India. It is a psychological fact that all people do not have the same mental inclination nor are they qualified for the same type or degree of impressions or of religious training. There are grades and varieties in religious activities. The early Indians thus allowed a discrete choice to people possessing different mental fields. Hence was felt the Adhikāriḥbhaḍa in the matter of Upāsana or prayā. But in reality there was no difference in spirit.⁴ In the most famous

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¹ "At the great places of pilgrimage, he (the Brahman) will worship the sectarian gods as he meets their images in his tour round the holy site; he will attend the popular celebration in honour of either god... Imp. Gaz., Vol. I, p. 430.

⁴ "All shades of opinion and practice were tolerated: the broachers of new theories, and the introducers of new rites did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old Vedic system of
lines from *Mahimna Stotra*, this tolerant attitude has been emphatically inculcated:—

हृशीला वैविज्ञानकृतज्ञानाणापद, 

वहामेरको गम्भीरमाल्ययुक्तसामर्ग इति।

These minor faiths may be compared to the various forms of the European Church, all embraced in Christianity. Individually each has, of course, its special doctrines, philosophy, observances, mythology and sculptured images. These minor faiths owe their origin to the teachings of Buddha, Mahābhir, Krishna, Rama and others, the Representative Men, each representing a sectarian consciousness in religion. A gradual development may be traced for each of their cults, which grew and thrived partly independently, partly as dependent upon the neighbouring or older creeds. We shall deal with them, so far as they concern our subject, show their relation and hint at the process of borrowing and assimilating which went on between the earlier and the later creeds. Iconographically, the importance of these creeds lies in the fact that each has lent its share in building the superb edifice—a work of ages—which may be called the Indian Pantheon. Again, it would not be true to say that the branching off of the Hindu religion was limited to the formation of minor faiths such as Buddhism, Jainism, Vaisnavism, etc. It went still further. The religious tendencies of people created further sub-classes. For example, Buddhism itself was divided into the southern school called the Hinayāna and the northern school, called the Mahāyāna. This division had its basis in the changing religious inclination of the people. Similarly, Jainism was sub-divided into the Svetāmbara sect and the Digambara sect. Vaisnavism also had so many schools of religious thought and practice. All these varieties in the religious life of India correspondingly increased the varieties of sculptural representations handed down to us. Thus, each sculpture of an ancient date, has a religious history behind it without a general knowledge of which, its true import can never be adequately realised.

VIII.

The classification of old images of India is beset with difficulties of a practical nature. If classification of things is meant to elucidate their precise elemental worship looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self-denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of heresy and schism.” Kalpa Sutra, Translator’s preface, by J. Stevenson, pp. XVI, XVII.
and essential nature we must, in the present case, use as much caution as possible. That, in classifying images properly, every archaeologist or Museum Superintendent has felt some bewilderment is only too apparent. In a country like India, where so many diverse cults arose and influenced each other, drawing inspiration from the common stock from which all of them originated, it is indeed a hard task to classify, with sufficient scientific accuracy, the images representing their religious tendencies. But nevertheless many capricious classifications having no regard to historical and scientific sense have been already advanced. Images of ancient India may be classified into different orders. But before we make any such classification, we must give sufficient thought to the stand-point to be taken for each. We can classify sculptures from the point of view of centres of art: this classification will include Gandhar sculptures, Magadha sculptures, Nepalese sculptures, Tibetan sculptures, Dravidian sculpture, and so on. But these divisions, besides overlapping each other, do not claim sufficient exclusiveness even from the point of view of art. Interchange of artistic styles has for all ages obtained among the ancient artists. It may be shown that Tibetan style of sculpture and the Dravidian style influenced each other and are identical in several ways. Similarly the style of the Mathura artists was deeply affected by the Gandhar style. It was pointed out by the late Mr. Vincent Smith that the artist who fashioned the Dhamekh Stupa at Sarnath had much connection with the Ceylonese artists. Thus, this classification does not tend to much elucidation referring to the different schools of thought that exercised a strong influence upon the religious life of the ancient Indians. We can make the classification of Vedic images or in other words, images based upon the conceptions of the Vedas, the Puranic images, i.e. based upon conceptions derived from the Puranas, the Tantrik images, i.e. images belonging to Tantrik conceptions, and so on. But this classification, too, can hardly be relied upon because we have Buddhist and Jaina images which should not be mixed up with orthodox Hindu images. It is admitted that the Buddhists, too, had their Puranas or mythologies and Tantras, but their images were never worshipped by the strictly orthodox class of the Hindus, so those images cannot be placed in the category of the orthodox Hindu deities. Nor is it possible to depend wholly upon the classification of images as Saiva, Vaisnava, Saura inasmuch as it is not broad and only refers to minor faiths or sections of a principal cult. We propose three broad divisions of Indian images, namely: orthodox Hindu or Brahmanic images, Buddhist images and Jaina images. This classification can clearly mark out the multitude of images found in India with facilities for our understanding. It is, moreover, based upon a
historical background. The images which were worshipped in a Buddhist temple were never transferred to a Jaina temple and vice versa. They were, for practical purposes, separately situated and separately adored. Our classification should follow this ancient rule. We can, however, for our convenience, add certain qualifications to these divisions. We may introduce such divisions as Hindu Pauranic images, Buddhist Pauranic images, Hindu Tantric images, Buddhist Tantric images, and so on. This might not be found possible in all cases but wherever possible, we shall try to adhere to this principle. In fact, in our treatment of images, we should proceed from the broader divisions to gradually narrower characterisations. For our book is not a catalogue of images, but aims at dealing with the characteristic types of images and their gradual development.

IX.

While describing certain typical images we shall try to look at them in the light of certain necessary considerations. First of all the image is to be described as it is. Its probable origin is to be traced. The metaphysical and symbolical meanings, if any, which it bears are to be made clear. The mythology upon which the image evidently bears will have to be explained. Next we shall touch on the probable time and provenance of the sculpture under consideration. The artistic side will also be dealt with as simply as possible. And last of all the comparative study of an image where possible will have to be offered though not comprehensively.

X.

The Hindus do not take the word 'Pratimā' in the sense in which the word 'Idol' has been used in the English language. The latter word is often used in a bad sense signifying 'False God,' etc. We are not prepared to use the word 'Idol' in the sense of Pratimā which has a history of thought behind it. The word 'image' is a near approximation to the sense of Pratimā and must necessarily be used. Connected with image worship, two conceptions of image used to be held in ancient times in Europe. First, an image was regarded as a photograph. Thus, in the Latin Church, sacred pictures and statues were a feature for the illiterate classes as they were interested in the history of Jesus and of the Saints. Secondly, it meant a 'doll' or 'animated' being as tenement and vehicle of the god and fraught with divine influence. With the latter conception, the Hindu idea of an image has some resemblance. [In Sanskrit, Pratimā means Tulyatā or resemblance,
or rūpa or form, or Prativinba or shadow. All these words collectively carry the significance of thought underlying the word Pratimā. The Hindus have believed from remote ages that Pratimā is a shadow or a resemblance or a form of the Supreme Being. According to the highest philosophy of the Hindus, God is Nīrguṇa or Being without attributes, the unqualified Brahma. But that aspect of God, true as it is, is the ultimate stage of realisation and not fit for ordinary worship. Therefore they conceived of God as Saguna or Being with attributes, in which stage He is the Maker of the Universe, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Cosmos. This stage is equally true in the Indian Metaphysics and it represented God in a personal form. Pratimā is a shrine of God or a reflection of God. Thus, the Hindus try their best to invoke the Great Spirit to come and dwell in a particular statue meant for Him. There are Scriptural injunctions for such invocation. They perform the ceremony of Prāṇa Pratisthā or infusion of Life or Soul and the ceremony of Adhiṣṭāna or Adhivāsa or inhabitation. Similarly Augustus relates how according to Hermes, the Spirits entered by imitation so that the images became bodies of the gods (Corpora deorum). Curiously, we find an echo of this idea of image or shadow in the most splendid lines of Byron:

Oh glorious Mirror, where Almighty's form
Glasses itself.

XI.

All the awe inspiring objects of nature, even the world itself, have been conceived by the great thinkers of India as images or reflections of God.1 But for the purposes of prayer, neither macrocosm nor microcosm suited their needs although they felt that the Supreme Being is चाकोर्कोमन्न सहस्र महीयान्. Thus they found a solution of this problem in worshipping an image which they knew to be image and nothing more.2 The philosophical idea behind it is that the human soul once united with the Supreme Being got separated and gradually became forgetful of its identity with Him. The forgetfulness, often called Māyā by some philosophers, proves a wide gulf between the human soul and the universal soul. Pratimā or the shadow of God tends to bridge this gulf: bringing the worshipper near the worshipped. The theme of

1 महर्षि-पारमहाथ्यायन यथा यम सबी तुविरित च — Gitā.
2 Just as ordinary people unable to look directly at the Sun while observing the Solar Eclipse, prepare a small steady sheet of water in a flat pot and there catch sight of the Sun, so the devotees unable to gauge the immeasurable magnitude of the Almighty's form, just take a partial image of it for adoration and worship.
Paradise Lost may be cited as a parallel, Satan representing the forgetfulness of the human soul. Psychologically the ideational image has been described as the primary memory image. Imagination is nothing but the act of recalling a previous experience. Image making also requires imagination which plays the central part in all productions of art. Thus image is primarily a reminder, a great aid to realise the divine. Of course, to a devotee, practically as a result of ardent faith, the image appears as a Supreme Being and probably there the purpose is rightly served. The difference between an image and the fetish, charm, phylactery is this that either in the flat or the round it resembles the energy or the divine aspect adored; it has a prototype capable of being brought before the eye and visualized. The image worship marks the iconic stage in India. There is another process of adoring the great Being known as प्रतीकोपन्नम् advocated in abstract philosophy like the Vedanta. The believers in this theory hold that the whole cosmos is Brahma and so any part of it is only His part and fit for worship. Thus, the Hindus have selected the sun, the earth, the planets, the rivers as प्रतीक 's of God and paid their reverence to them. They proceeded further and worshipped the stocks, stones, the phallic symbols as parts of the Supreme Being animated with His all-pervading spirit. The Yajna itself was nothing but a Pratika. This is what we should call the aniconic stage in India. But there are reasons to believe that the two stages went on side by side, no stage, in no period of time, superseded the other. Just as, philologically, the monosyllabic root language, often called the earliest stage in the evolution of languages, was common with the "Sentenced" stage side by side in India, the symbolical sounds, such as Om, etc., found in the Vedas being the representation of the former, so the aniconic stage in India has run up to the present day in a parallel line with iconic stage. Nor should we consider this true of India alone. "What we are accustomed to call higher religions attach greater sanctity to ancient gods than to iconic ones and that from no artistic incapacity the Greeks of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. although Pheidias and other artists were embodying their gods and goddesses in the most perfect of images, nevertheless continued to cherish the rude aniconic stocks and stones of their ancestors."

XII.

It is admitted that Art and Iconography are correlated subjects. In fact, Iconography may be regarded as forming a part of cultural art. We propose here to give a genesis of Indian

Art with special reference to Iconology. Indian Art is not a thing by itself. It is one of the many manifestations which represent, in all the consummation, the spiritual life of the Indians. To appreciate the true nature of Indian Art presupposes always a sound comprehension of the origin of all true art and that of Indian Art in particular. The human mind takes an inward delight in reflecting itself upon nature and its processes and it is the idealised forms of the issues of such a mental working that have given rise to all productions of Art. Man, an observer of nature, has discovered certain unities or similarities between himself and the outer world, but not being content with a mere shadow of resemblances he succeeded in finding out his own similarities magnified in scale in nature. He proceeded still further, and from a consideration that all vibration signified a true sign of life, he believed that throughout in nature there was no want of life and nature as a whole was living more or less. So he regarded nature as a great store house of life and energy from which have radiated the particular so-called 'living beings' and consequently was justified in calling nature the true mother or father. This was the origin of personification of nature or, in other words, seeing nature in a personal form. When, thus, the relation between nature and man was once established and understood, all the qualities as well as the functions of man began to be seen through Nature though in an idealistic form. There was another process at work, namely, abstraction or generalisation which gradually created a world in itself. Abstraction of qualities from objects resulted in certain universal phases of nature. Any comprehension of one of them was practically impossible without recollection or representation of the object in which it was found to inhere. Thus the need of objectifying the human as well as the natural phase was felt, and immediately we find Artists were born to meet this purpose. Artists of all ages perceived in nature and man certain universal types or phases to which they gave faithful representation, whether in poetry, in painting or in sculpture. All ideas, it may be maintained, are abstractions either of qualities or of forms. And ideas have been found to be the guiding factors of all arts. Let us just take an example of what we have so far essayed to maintain. It is well known that with the Greek Artists the idea of the Beautiful was practically everything. And, thus, they eminently succeeded in bringing out that idea in their sculptures. Similarly, the idea of fierceness, mildness, beauty, magnificence played a great part in the minds of the Indian artists. In this connection, it would not be irrelevant to say that there existed a fundamental distinction between the Greek life and the Indian life. The bodily culture and the improvement of its form engaged the sole attention of the Greeks; whereas the Indian life,
ancient and probably modern, has been singularly characterised by a contemplative side of the human mind. Thus it is only too natural to discern in the works of the Indian artists a faithful representation of their ideals of the mind.

It is not infrequently maintained that the sculptors of ancient India were fettered to so great a degree as to enjoy little latitude, or free movement in their art and thus the productions which they have left utterly lacked that free play of art—that unrestrained air of life and harmony which is always the guarantee of success to be looked for by all connoisseurs of art. We, however, naively dissent from such a view. We are rather disposed to hold that the Indian literature, particularly the religious, bears clear proof to show that not only were the artists directed to express in art certain symbolical representations of the nature of a particular god or goddess but to show, through their chisel-work, extremely subtle poses of the image, to show unmistakably the various moods, either grim or mild or meditative or grave or some other kind, in which the deities were to appear before the worshipper. This presumably led to the psychological foundation of Indian art.

The Indian artists must, of necessity have studied the general conduct of the human mind, the outward expressions—the subtler bodily changes, either sustained, retarded or temporary, being the results of the strong dictates of the mind in action and particularly laying bare the remotest corners of the Indian mind as they were called upon by their art to perform that solemn yet most fascinating duty of life. It may be questioned, however, legitimately to the triumph of the Indian artist, whether a greater number of expressive postures not only of the face but of the whole body throughout could have been possible for any artist to exhibit in any region of the world. Apart from the multiplicity of hands and heads in the case of Indian deities often sarcastically styled by some superficial European critics as "Monstrous! Outgrowths fit for amputation," without for a moment allowing their prejudiced mind to go deep into the intended significance of this unusualness, the lasting appeal which the Indian sculptures make to the minds of the greatest critics can never be overestimated beyond all chances of misconception. Just an attentive look at an Indian image of old is sufficient to impress upon the mind of the observer that a distinct, perfect, clearly set out mood was intended by the artist for the image to carry through its physical outline, "waves" and other artistic schemes and devices.

There is still a deeper meaning conveyed by the productions of the Indian artists—a meaning which they so eagerly made it their aim to express in the works of their art. Once more it may be said that the Indian images used to be wrought and fashioned
for the purposes of worship. And in order that the worshipper might, without much effort, meditate upon them, might think that his dearest, his saviour, his master, his object of reverence has come before his eyes, might forget his own individual identity and identify his own self with the image of god, the artists of India have tried their fullest to render the images as impressive and imposing as could be possible in a sculptural art. They believed with the devotee that 'God comes near the worshipper if the images were made fine'.

—Hayakṣara-paṇca-rātra.

Another consideration of no less momentousness was in the minds of the Indian artists as it was in the minds of the Ṛgvis. In nearly all the phases of Indian art the Rasa (or 'impassioned feeling') has played a very prominent rôle. The Indian belief is that the supreme being is Rasa-svarūpa or as on other occasion has been said—Rasa vai saḥ ('He himself is the impassioned feeling'). Thus, the merit of a piece of Indian art should, doubtless, be judged by the degree of Rasa (or impassioned feeling) it evokes in the mind of a spectator or a worshipper. The minds and inclinations of all people are not the same nor are the states of temperament fixed all the time. They ever vary with individuals and with times and circumstances. Hence we find a number of different Rasas which the artists endeavoured to dwell upon in their dry stones and metals. These Rasas were the essentials by which they exerted a psychological influence upon the mind of the devotee. The Rasas, being the very core of a poem or a drama as well, have been thus enumerated as nine in number:

प्रत्येक शास्त्रकार रौप्यसाधनाका।
वैभवसाहित्य संधी वेददर्शी नागदे रसाण थूतां॥

"Love, laughter, pain (sorrow), rage, animation, fear, repugnance, wonder—these are nine feelings enumerated in a drama."

The images were so wrought by the Indian artist as to manifest one or more of these Rasas by their pose and appearance. The artists believed that when the mind, feeling and temperament of a devotee would come in an identical line with those of the worshipped, the realisation of one's prayer could only then be expected. Thus, they furnished various images expressing not one but a variety of Rasas just according to the needs of the worshipper. Nor should we carelessly err in assuming that an image conveys one single feeling in its pose. As in a man, so in an image may be discernable a mixed feeling—the result of an interaction of multiple feelings, either of similar type or even of opposing
types. As an illustration the expression of love and sublimity is regularly to be noticed in the images of Hara-Gauri or Lakšmi-Nārāyana, more particularly in the Ananta-sayyā group. The feeling of laughter but without repugnance or sarcasm may easily be excited in us as we look at the pot-bellied image of Gaṇesa dancing with his elephant nose or of Kubera, the god of wealth, whose prototype is the modern corpulent Bāniyā of our bazar. The mood of anger together with the sympathetic protection (Varābhaya) has been emphatically expressed in most of the Tantrik images which, as a rule, represent the energetic principles of the universe. In them, more vividly than in others, may be witnessed a mingled feeling of fear, wrath, repugnance, wonder and sportiveness. Indeed, it ought to be plainly said that without a trained eye in this direction, it is as impossible to appreciate the remarkable success attained by the Indian artists in the composition of those images as it may be to estimate rightly all the standing monuments of Ancient Indian culture.

We shall trace now, in a general way, what early conception gave birth to the making of images, the purpose of such a conception and the evolution of stages in the representation of images. We have found, through our enquiry, that the early conception of image was simple and monotheistic in character, which gradually became, in course of time, more and more complex, until it reached a stage when everything appears to be much too differentiated to admit of any coherence and unitary principle. The origin of images, it may be conceded, lay in the imagery of the ancient Seers or Rishis of India. They found by experience, more truly as a result of their life-long meditation, that prayer directed to an objectless unfathomable void was as absurd in practice as it was ineffectual in its result, yet true probably as an initial attempt to realise the absolute or the ultimate Being. They, thus, eventually found out an easier path, for purposes of prayer, by making varieties of conception of the divine. These conceptions took the form of Mantras or sermons, in the Vedas principally having the object of being uttered in praise of various gods and goddesses. Thus, the primary conceptions of God in a personal form dawned upon the mind of the Vedic Rishi. The representation of the gods and the goddesses as conceived in the Rigveda have assumed such a definite, well marked and solid form that for their permanence, they immediately needed the help of the sculptor to translate them into stones and metals. It is, indeed, inconceivable that such definite pictures of the divinities clearly drawn in three dimensions as found in the Rigveda, could have long existed in the minds of the Rishis. Hence the forms, which the Rishis and poets conceived in abstraction, were expressed in the works of the sculptor. Thus, we see the seeds of Iconography are to be found
in the semi-philosophical hymns of the Rishis—the Dhyānas, Stuti, Sādhanas, Mantra, etc.

XIII.

As has already been shewn that for the purpose of the easiest and the most attractive method of performing a prayer in the Hindu sense an image is an absolute condition. What is known as प्रतीकार्योपासना sanctions its use. Even the greatest Yogis never dispense with images but hold fast to them as a great means of attaining concentration of the mind. Even there were heretics against the Vedas. The Vedas could not wholly escape denunciation in India itself. But no ancient system of philosophy in India is known to have ever pronounced the Iconolatry as unphilosophical. Rather we find it is the philosophers among the co-religionists of India, who strongly advocated the system. The Mahāyānists, who in some sense introduced philosophy into the Buddhist religion, greatly encourage image-worship. Sañkarāchārya, the greatest monist that India has ever seen, was an image-worshipper himself. Upāsanā, or the practical side of the Hindu religion, has necessitated this form of worship from time immemorial. The Nīrguṇa Brahmaṇ, the Absolute being, beyond all subject and object, cannot easily be an object of worship. The difficulty of such kind of worship has been realised in many places of the scripture, particularly in the Gita, as follows:—

“Greater is the difficulty of those, whose minds are set on the unmanifested, for the path of the unmanifested is hard for the embodied to reach.” Thus sprang Upāsanā which has been defined as “mental operation concerning Brahma with attributes” (“समुग्नश्रव्द्विषयकार्यवनस्तिकाद् सहराथः उपासनम्”) ! These attributes of Brahma make up for Him a personal form so useful for the worshippers. These lines from Ramapinbashad set forth the idea:

चिन्मयमयाहिीयस्य निश्चलस्यार्थोदरितिः
उपासानाम् कायांध अस्पदो रूपकालयः

“It is to the purpose of the worshipper that is due the representation of Brahma who is intelligent, one, indivisible and disembodied.” Worship or Upāsanā is of many kinds,—Saṃpadupaśanā, Pratikopāsanā and Saṃvargopāsanā as dealt with in the Vedanta philosophy. It may be said that images were found to supply the readiest means of fulfilling all the needs of Upāsanā.

1 उपासानसिद्धिगुरुर्गुर्गुर्वगुरूः चतुर्वात्
प्रायवित्तपि मतिपथेषु श्रव्दित्वमिव गिताः, xii. 1-7.
Cf. हम्मारान्यं अप: कथं आध्यात्मतम रामायण।
Prayer, in the Hindu sense, chiefly means meditation on the divine. The steps leading to it, as systematically treated in the practical side of the Yoga philosophy, may be shewn to co-ordinate with the stages of Iconolatry. From all directions, the Hindus have tried to render a meditative prayer to God. They have selected the best places of the country, magnificently circumstanced with grandeur of nature—either seaside, confluence of two rivers, banks of mighty streams or woodlands, valleys or even snow-clad peaks of hills and there built temples with the sole object of being able, with their external opportunities, to attain prayer with the greatest amount of attention. To add to their attention—being the very heart of prayer—they have tried to have such images made as would most appeal to their religious sentiments and sympathies and would evoke various emotions to enable them to perform the sacred journey towards the supreme being. In most cases the images have been represented in a meditative posture. The idea seems to be that by repeated glances at them the worshipper would also obtain such a meditative turn of mind. It is a psychological fact that there must be an interesting object for holding long one’s attention. Interest, immediate or remote, being the primary condition of attention is identical to Śraddhā of the Hindus. That which excites Śraddhā should be the best means of maintaining attention. [No divine symbol or abstract theory of the Absolute has such an attraction in prayer as the image wrought in the highest artistic style has, at least, for the Hindu worshippers.]

**XIV.**

While, in other countries, images generally used to be made for show for filling the art-gallery or for the decoration of public places in India, on the other hand, they have been, with some exceptional cases of divinities as such have been worshipped by the people. The exceptional cases being remarkably small, only relate to statues of kings and princes. Little importance was attached to images for secular purposes. This is the reason why, despite the artistic activities of the ancient Indians, we do not find easily the representations of the historical kings, such as Chandra Gupta, Asoka, Samudra Gupta and others. The images of gods were never meant for a museum or for house decorations like the present-day practice in India. Rather there is an injunction contrary to the collection of images in one temple.

Thus each image had a temple built for it by the wor-

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1 Pratimānātaka by Bhāsa gives testimony to the existence of a Museum of statues of royal princes.
shippers though the images of consort or attendant deities were allowed to remain in it. The original books dealing with पुजार्थियों, पञ्चायतियों or installation give clear rules for making an image fit for worship. All the Sanskrit books on Iconography, such as Silpa-Saṁhitā, Silparatna, etc., refer only to images meant for worship. In cases where there was no temple for an image, it used to be placed at the foot of a sacred tree. And there it would receive puja from worshippers as a part of their religious duties. Further, if any image by some accident should undergo a damage of any kind, there is a prohibitive injunction in the religious books to the effect that it would be thrown into the Ganges. Indeed, how many partially broken images would have been saved if the early Indians had the same idea or respect for archaeology and museums as we have to-day! After all they were so emphatically opposed to all secular things. In Bengal, where owing to the scarcity of stone materials images are made of clay, husk, etc., it is a common practice, probably a development of the early practice above-mentioned, that as soon as the puja is completed, the image, however expensive it may be, is drowned into a river or a tank with a ceremony called Visarjana.

XV.

One is led naturally to suspect in view of the fact that other ancient countries, such as Greece, had images in the 800 B.C. and Egypt had, of course, at a still older date, whether India has, if not greater, similar claims to antiquity of her images, being universally pronounced as an idolatrous country. We believe with other scholars who have made some investigation into the subject that image making was known in India in the Vedic times. Various evidences may be advanced to confirm this statement. We shall, later on, give concrete proofs dealing with this subject. Certain facts may, meanwhile, be taken up and discussed here. It seems to be a general rule with the Indian artists that whenever they had to make images of gods they made them in strict accordance with the Dhyānas and Sadhānas as given in the literature. Their iconic art was almost wholly guided by the descriptive writings of the sages. No image in India whatever may be its age, even of the Buddhistic age, say the image of the goddess of Śri in Śānti, may be

1 "श्रीब्रह्मेऽपि दर्शनं वास्तवमयं स। " एदित्यवर्णम् हि प्राचिनः विलोक्तम्।" Āditya Purāṇa—quoted in Nīrraya Sindhu, also "श्रीदित्यावर्णम्- etc., " in ज्ञानविज्ञान सर्वसमाजः।"
shewn to have been sculptured independently of any scriptural description and in no case, however, was a sculpturing not preceded by an older iconographical guide. If this were a rule, it follows, as a consequence, that images were certainly not unknown in the Vedic age inasmuch as we find clear descriptions of them in the Vedas for the sculptors to follow in often minutest details. In fact the Vedic representations of gods were really the parents of the Pauranic representation of gods. The name of an artist has been mentioned in the Vedas. Tvāṣṭrā was the divine artist. Did he not make images like the ancient Greek artist Hephaistus? Further, in any ancient country, it is found that the art of image-making is contemporaneous with the art of poetry. For instance, in Greece, the origin and development of the art of sculpture saw also the origin and progress of poetry by its side. It is unusual, therefore, in the course of things to suppose that India should prove quite an exception to this rule. That the whole of the Vedic period with its civilised condition of society and developed state of arts wanted only in the art of sculpture, another aspect of “fine arts” is probably as unfounded a fact as it is inconceivable. In the early period of studies on Indian iconography, scholars used to believe, now proved wrong, that “the art of ancient India owes its rise to Buddhism.”  

M. Foucher said, “The ancient Indian sculpture did not know the detached statues.” Now, the state of opinions is completely reversed. Even the greatest art-critics and archaeologists have begun to doubt the relatively small antiquity of Indian art. Prof. Gardner observes thus: “There can be no doubt that Indian art had an earlier history. The art of Asoka is a mature art: in some respects more than the Greek art of the time.” If this relative superiority of Indian art can be maintained to have existed in earlier ages, we have to assume a very remote antiquity for its initial stage. Dr. Sten Konow, controverting the theories of those whose opinion it was that the Indian art began after the Buddhist age, touched the problem and remarked, “It would, however, be unwise to infer that the Indian learnt to worship images from the Greeks or that the practice of adoring images of the Buddha was inaugurated by the semi-Greek population of the Panjab as maintained by Fergusson and Cunningham.  

My intention is only to remind of a few facts which show that the Indians had been making images before the rise of the Buddhist art of the Gandhara school.” We shall deal, at length, with the literary and other evidences which go to prove the existence of Indian images and their worship at a much older time than is commonly supposed. It is sufficient to say at present that

1 Grünwedel’s “Buddhist Art in India,” Introduction.
that time would coincide with the time of the personification of
gods by the Vedic Ṛṣis.

XVI.

The most ancient religions of the world had image-worship
as forming their principal creed. In Egypt,
China, Assyria, Babylonia and Greece,
images were used in the most ancient periods
of which we have evidential records. As late as the period of
the 5th dynasty in Egypt, the image of the Sun-god Ra was
made and worshipped as has been proved by the exploration
of the Sun-temples at Abusir. "Somewhere about the time of
the 2nd dynasty, the Egyptians began systematically to repre-
sent their gods by images of a human form." 1 The Polytheistic
conception of God by itself suggests in any religion the prevalence
of image worship. The ancient world religions are, as a rule,
polytheistic in character, though, of course, the higher conception
of Monotheism was not only known but grew side by side. The
religion of Assyria attaching sanctity and belief to many gods
knew of their images and temples of which we have creditable
records. "We are now able to read with certainty except for a
few obscure expressions, in inscriptions which possibly date back
to B.C. 6000. The earliest inscriptions hitherto recovered have
been from temple-archives, and naturally relate to offerings to
the gods or gifts to the temples." 2 Babylon was no less ancient a
country than Assyria. "Idolatry and image-worship form a very
striking feature of the Babylonian religious system, and already
meet us in an advanced stage of development in the earliest
cultural period of which material remains have been preserved.
The earliest inhabitants of the country of whose existence we
have obtained evidence by excavation were the Sumerians, and
they were immigrants who brought with them an extraneous
civilisation from some mountainous region of Central Asia. Their
gods were already anthropomorphic and their cult-images undoubt-
edly combined the character of portrait with that of fetish." 3 It
may be noted here that the culture and religion of Assyria were
essentially Babylonian, except for the predominance of the national
god, Ashur. Thus the Babylonian images date back from an
earlier period than the Assyrian images. "Later, in the 15th
century B.C., we know that an image of the goddess Ishtar was
carried with great pomp and ceremony from Mesopotamia to
Egypt, and in one of the letters found at Tell-el-Amarna the
statue and the goddess herself are absolutely identified." 4 Coming

1 Hastings' Enzy. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 7, p. 132.
2 Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible."—See under "Assyria and
Babylonia."
3 Hastings" "Enc. of Religion and Ethics," p. 117.
4 Ibid., p. 118.
down to the time of the Israelites in the land of ancient Palestine, we can furnish proofs of image-worship among them. "Did Moses tolerate images of Jahweh? On the one hand, it seems certain that the Decalogue in some form or other comes from Moses: *** there is a very general opinion that the making of images of Jahweh was thought unobjectionable up to the 8th century B.C."¹ About 15 words in the Old Testament are used specifically for images. The earliest point to the process of manufacture of graven, sculptured, molten images.² An extremely ancient country like China has an antiquity of images which refers back to about 1200 years B.C. "The Emperor Wu Yik (1198-1194 B.C.) is credited with having made the first images or idols. The objects of worship then were heaven and earth, the spirits of mountains and streams, etc."³ Lastly we turn to Greece where the art of sculpture reached wonderful perfection in its application to religion. The Mycenaeans of the Ægean civilisation, who early dwelt in the islands of Greece are now proved to have been clearly image-worshippers. "We now know that the Ægeans made idols and venerated them as did every other people of their time. Whether D.G. Hogarth is right or not in claiming (ERE. 143a, 147a EB r. i247a) that the Ægeans worshipped only two deities, the mother Rhea and the son Zeus, or whether we should rather say that there were two primary objects of worship, it is at least probable that "Dual Monotheism" which he postulates was accompanied by the veneration of spirits of wood and water, sky, sea, and land, as in every country of the world."⁴ Then, after the destruction of the Mycenaean or Ægean civilisation of the invasion of tribes from the north about 900 B.C. when the Hellenic Greeks started and developed their culture in Greece, their art and religion being close to each other, laid the foundation of an extensive worship of images. "It was about the 6th century that the genius of the Greeks, almost suddenly as it seems to us, emancipated itself from the thralldom of tradition, and passed beyond the limits with which the nations of the east and west had hitherto been content in a free and bold effort towards the ideal. Thus the 6th century marks the style in art in which it may be said to have become definitely Hellenic."⁵ A review of the foregoing statements leads us to suppose that there was, in fact, an age of image-worship throughout the world. It was never restricted to one or two small areas; and images were in vogue all the world over. That is what the comparative study of images, its correspond-

² Ibid., See under "Idolatry."
³ Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics, p. 130. ⁴ Ibid., p. 116.
ing art and importation of images might have resulted in. But what was the centre of this iconic practice? Whence first came the images? It has been proved in all cases of ancient countries—Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, etc., save India alone—that the practice of image-making was not an indigenous growth.
XVII.

EVIDENCES OF IMAGES IN THE EARLY INDIAN LITERATURE.

Scholars used to think half a century ago that images were never known in ancient India; and, in fact, the practice of their worship came into vogue not in the early part of the Aryan religious life, but quite after the birth of the Mahāyāna or later Buddhism. But now that opinion is among the scholars unanimously modified. The most critical and historical scholars now do not hesitate to believe that books avowedly proved to date from the pre-Buddhist times such as the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the Brāhmaṇas of the different Vedas, etc., make distinct references to images of gods which, of course, had a history and growth from times much earlier than the times of the works just mentioned. We shall show here that earlier books composing what is known as the Sutra literature make such unmistakable mention of images as the ingenuity of scholastic criticism can never find an easy means of interpreting otherwise.

This definitely brings the age of iconology in India close to the time of the Vedas. We shall next show that the Vedas consisting of the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas give sufficient evidences for the knowledge and the use of images in that age. Descriptions of the Vedic gods and goddesses as having hands, feet, armours, dress, chariots, vehicles are no mere poetic imageries, but are based upon the material images of the divinities who had regular temples and Vedicis built for them. They are, in reality, the progenitors of the descriptions of images such as we find in the early Purāṇas and the Śilpaśāstras. It is admitted also that, in later ages, the images of gods were multiplied with variations in their conceptions, but yet a long evolution of images appears to run through the different ages of Indian religious life, which, as a whole, admits them as forming an integral part of Upāsanā or prayer.

Now, we begin with details discussing them in a regressive order.  

1 The probable chronology of the books used here:—
   (i) Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya—2nd cent. B.C.
   (ii) Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra:—
       C. 320 B.C.—Prof. Jolly, Z.D.M.G., Vol. 67, pp. 49-96; also
       pp. 95-96. Prof. Hillebrandt shares the same view.
   (iii) Pāṇini’s Grammar:—
Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya:— (2nd cent. B.C.)

Sufficiently current things are, as a rule, used as examples for the elucidation of any principle. Patañjali, the great commentator of Pāṇini Sūtras, in connexion with an aphorism, gives as examples Vāsudeva, Śiva, Skanda, Visuṣu and Aditya which words are here used in the sense of images (Archā) of those gods.¹

As illustration of another aphorism, the images of Kāśyapa have been mentioned.² The same old scholium informs us of the beating and the sounding of the Mṛdanga, Śankha, the existence of a sect of Sivabhāgavatitas holding an iron lance in their hands.³ Thus the representations of the principal gods of the Indian Pantheon were no less common in those days than they are now. In another passage of the Mahābhāṣya, the author in explanation of the aphorism of Pāṇini iv. 1, 64, gives examples of an image having a large nose or a high nose.⁴

(iv) The Great Epics:—

(v) Manu and the Śmaśāna works:—
Gautama—5th or 6th Cent. B.C.—Jolly’s ‘Recht und Sitte, pp. 3-7.
Baudhāyana 4th or 5th cent. B.C. Ibid.
Apastamba

(vi) The Sūtra Period.—Pre-Pāṇinian. The date of Manu as given by the scholars is not convincing. He certainly preceded the other law givers in date. As the last redaction made was not later than 200 B.C. (Bühler), the original Sūtras may be reasonably assigned to this period.

(vii) The Vedic Litt.—(last phase)—C. 1500 B.C.—2000 B.C. (Whitney, Haug and Macdonell); 4500 B.C. (Jacobi, Tilak).

¹ आचार्यां चाचाच (४. ५३.) || चाचाच दृष्ट्वा ततेव न च स्थापित ||
मिथिक्षितां चाचाच ||
विश्रामः ||
करणः ||
वैधिकविधिचिन्होऽविविधिचि: || प्रकटितः ||
भवावलुके न भास्तुः ||
यत्ततोऽपि: ||
मनोनिराशिदृष्टिरुण: ||
स्कृतिः शाश्वास्तरः ||
प्रकटितिः ||

² गोचरोऽजमचः ||
...........
कामानाशिरसः ||
कामादिदृष्टिः ||
Ibid., p. 241.

³ The point was specially emphasised by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his presidential address at the first oriental conference (Poona), 1919.

⁴ चांद्रम दृष्टिः ||
स्माः प्राणिविषाकारः ||
तत्तुः तत्तद्गति हि तत्तद्गतिः प्रकटिति ||
महासादम (Keilhorn), Vol. II, p. 222.
Kautūlya's Arthaśāstra:—

The common worship of images in Ancient India is attested by passages from the Arthaśāstra, now a favourite study among the archeologists, which too makes mention of the principal deities. "In the centre of the city the apartments of gods such as अर्थार्थित; अर्थतित्तत; जयम; वैष्णव; गौर; वैसव; अर्थित (divine physicians) and the honourable liquor-house? (अर्थार्थित मगन) shall be situated. In the corners the guardian deities of the ground shall be appropriately set up. Likewise the principal gates such as Brāhma, Aindra, Yāmya and Saināpatya shall be constructed, and at a distance of 100 bows . . . . places of worship and pilgrimage-groves and buildings shall be constructed. Guardian deities of all quarters shall also be set up in quarters appropriate to them."!

The aphorisms of Pāṇini:—

Apart from the references given in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya, the Sutras themselves contain a passage which pertains to the subject of an image. According to the aphorism the affix कृ means a "likeness" when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed. Thus कृष्ण इत्ययमत्र प्रतिज्ञति: अनुब: an imitation of a horse in wood or clay, etc.³

The Great Epics:—

The Mahābharata is well stocked with references to images. Several whole chapters (Adhyāyas) are devoted to topics of pilgrimages to holy places.³ The images of Mahākāla, Saṃkharākñēśwara, Bhimā, Triśulapāṇi, Kāmākhyā, Vāmana, Aditya, Saraswati, Dhūmāvatī, Bhadrā-karnēswara, Kālikā, Chandra, and others

Edited by Pandit Shamsastri (Govt. Oriental Library Series). The translation of the honourable liquor house for श्रीमदरामस्त्र seems to be incorrect and inappropriate here. It should be translated as a house for Saraswati with Laksmtī (श्रीमत सारस्वती). Īḍā means both Saraswati and Prithivi.

1 अर्थार्थित प्रतिज्ञा बृहव प्रज्ञान कृत प्रमूल्य कपाल: निम्नेक्षथायिनी श्रीमदरामस्त्र च पुरांतत्त्र। कृतकार्यं यथोमोदं बाहुदीयत: सापवेतु। बाहुदीयता बहुपाला महाराजी वक्ते। परिसरातः धनुवत्ततानुसाराम वृहतालम्बनमेवत्तमाः कायची। यथादिं श दित्स्त्रतदाः। कृतित्वीय अयंविषाणु

² रवि परिज्ञाती। पानितिस आस्टाठ्याय, V, 3, 96.

³ प्रेति तत: ज्ञा: यत्विषयस्य प्रमूल्य। श्रीमदरामस्त्र यथास्त्र च प्रमूल्य प्राप्तारं तति वे। महाकालं ततो ग्रस्तेऽन्ति निधि निष्काल्यम्। कृतित्वीयंपुप्पणं श्रीमदरामस्त्रं चमेतु।

Mbh. Vana Parva, 82 Adhyāya. Verses 48-49.
have been mentioned.1 The locales of these, as mentioned in the Great Epic, seem to be so ancient that it is not now at all easy to identify them. In another chapter we meet with incidental references to images.2 The readers of the Mahābhārata are well aware of the portrait statues of Bhīma (made of iron) and of Dronāchārya as adored by his silent devotee Ekalavya.3 Similarly, the Rāmāyaṇa also mentions images of which many references here seem rather redundant.4

Manu and other Smārta books:—

In the laws of Manu may be found several references to images. One of the duties of a Brahmachārī was to worship an image of God.5 Mention has been made of a Devalaka or a Brahmīn of inferior order who subsists upon the offerings made to the images which he attends.6 Manu contains rules about circumambulating an image, stepping on its shadow and refers to the taking of oaths in its presence.7 He also gives ordinances to be observed in dealing with a conquered land and one of these refers to the worship of images.8 In Manu’s time, among other things, a temple of a god was used to mark a boundary line between two lands.9 Similarly, in that time, iconoclasm was regarded as a

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1 The Mahābhārata, Vana P., 82-84 Adhyāyas.
2 देवसमितििम सक्तं व्रजसि च।

तमनि नरिविपायः विद्वाुििि सपतनिषिििि।

Bhīṣma Parva, Adhyaya, 2, 26 verse.

also प्रतिमाया विशेषविनयमा वमसा: काश्योदिता।

प्रासोनविविधविवििििििि मिश्रवहस्थापिष्य।

Ibid., Adhyaya 3, 29 verse.

3 भीमसेन्विन्या पाविभा वरदी भीमसेन्विन्य।

Ibid., Stri Parva, 12 Adhyaya, 14-19.

4 द्रत्वाच दृश्यमनवीव सविद्धाधिष्ठित।

The Rāmāyaṇa, 2, 4, 29.

प्रतिमाया सक्तं।

Ibid., 6, 11, 28.

5 द्रत्वाकनविवीव सविद्धाधिष्ठित।

Manu, II, 176. Household gods have been mentioned, cf. Ibid., III, 117

6 विकिन्त्वकालौ द्रत्वाकनविविधिविषष्ठाय।

Ibid., III, 152.

7 द्रत्वाकनव संपत्त। . . . प्रविषिकी वुिूििि प्रविषिकी वमसिीसि।

IV, 39.

8 द्रत्वाकनव सुरितकालौ वानसहससूििि।

IV, 130.

9 द्रत्वाकनवपालयमाया सवधायं सवधायं विद्वान।

VIII, 87.

10 प्रविषिकी वसयस्माया वानसििििििििि सबिषाहिषि।

VII, 201.

11 नवानुसहससूिििििििििििििि।

VIII, 248.
penal offence.1 The Gautama-Dharma Sūtra, a smārta book of
great authority, has some passages bearing on images. For
example, "Looking towards...... images of gods, etc., one must
not commit nuisance."2 "One should circumambulate a temple of
gods, etc."3 "One who bears on his body sandal and saffron
touched by a Sālagrama attains salvation."4 In a holy place, in a
Tīrtha, in the presence of a god, etc."5 Then, entering a house of
god............ Household gods have also been spoken of in the
same religious code.6 Āpastamba-Dharma Sutra, another book
on Smṛti furnishes similar evidences of image-worship. Such evi-
dences may be clearly seen in passages, where the author distin-
guishes the merit of worship from the merit of meditation, etc.,
in which prohibition against a nuisance committed by one facing
a god has been enjoined,7 and where one is forbidden to spread
one’s feet in the direction of Agni, Brahmī, God, etc.8

The Sūtra Literature:— (.toList)

Both the Grhya Sutras and the Śrauta Sutras make clear
reference to the existence of images of gods. The installation of
an image, a temple of an image has been mentioned, go to prove
that image worship was sufficiently common in those times.9

A number of references to an image may be gathered from
Bodhāyana’s Grhya Sūtra which presents a variety of gods as
worshipped during the author’s time. He deals at length with
the rituals of bath, purification, daily worship, etc., connected
with the installation of an image. In these connections, the
images of Viṣṇu, Mahāpuruṣa, Vināyaka or Gaṇesha, Yama have

1 समस्मधुग्रहिताः ग्रहणाम् भवेक। IX, 285.
2 "मो......देवता माय गुणमाया दुर्भुधीयामिनि व्यम्भोत।"
Gautama—Dharma Shastra. (Govt. Oriental
3 "प्रजापतिमभविवेर्दन्तिघन्तुष्याधिदीनो प्रदेशस्थापयो।" Ibid., p. 154.
4 "मायप्रजापतिवेषस्य कुक्तम चतुर्व रां ऋष्ट्रि धारिये च सुमी मयो।"
Ibid., p. 465.
5 "देवतांभविवेर्दन्तिघन्तुष्याधिदीनो प्रदेशस्थापयो।" The same book, p. 467.
6 "सभी देवस्थानम् गुणा—पुराणिधारी।" p. 469.
7 "रक्षनस्यायं प्रविश्य।" p. 95.
8 "समाधीविवेर्दन्तिघन्तुष्याधिसाम्य वश्चिक्रियः।"
9 "साम्प्रदायवा देवस्थानाभिमुखो दुर्भुधीयामिनि कर्मभवेक।" Ibid., p. 199.
10 "साम्प्रदायो देवस्थानां देवता......भाष्मार्जयति।" Ibid., p. 200.
11 देवस्थानम्...... a temple, Śāmkhyāyana Grhya Sutra.
been referred to in the book. The author always refers to gold images as were presumably prevalent in his time. The village-gods have also been mentioned in the book. The Kauśika-Sūtra of the Atharva-veda repeatedly refers to the fact that the gods were dancing, falling, laughing, and singing. Traces of the belief of houses, villages, towns, fields and temples of gods being haunted, are to be found in this ancient work, and their remedial measures are also given. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra furnishes, in like manner, unequivocal evidences of image-worship. The household and guardian deities have been specifically mentioned. In the Gṛhya-Pariṣīṣṭa of the same book may be found topics relative to images of the planets, the materials to be used for their construction, and so on.

The Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas:

Informations with respect to the prevalence of images are sufficiently contained in this branch of the Vedic literature. In the Saḍviṇśa Brāhmaṇa, we read “the temples of gods tremble, the images of gods laugh, cry, dance, break, etc.” The expression,
Devamalimluc meaning ’a robber of the gods’ being the epithet of Rahasya as used in the Paśca-viniśa Brāhmaṇa shows clear indication of images in the context of that Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa gives directions for making a gold image of a Purusā placed on the image of the sun with rays all made of gold which again has been placed upon the petals of a lotus. In the same Brāhmaṇa references have been made to the images of Rātrī (‘the goddess of night’), Kāladeva (‘the god of time’) and others to be engraved on bricks. Similarly, such passages as “to sleep by a god in a Gārhapatyāgārā,” “then the gods being adorned with a holy thread,” “Siva with pināka attired in a tiger’s skin,” “She sacrifices sitting in front of the gods,” allude to images by the meaning of the word Deva, etc., having very little need of a commentary. The Śāmkhayana Brāhmaṇa of the Rig Veda contains many stray references to images. The passages, for instance, “he addresses and cleans Ilā,” “the arms of the sun-god being broken, they gave two golden arms” and so on are significant enough. Several passages connected with images occur in the Taîtiyīya-Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda, some of which are discussed here: “The udgātā having laid in front of the gods;” “Agni

1 Paśca-viniśa-Brāhmaṇa, xxiii, 18, 1. The same expression occurs in the same meaning in Tāndya-Brāhmaṇa xiv, 4. The word rukma in the sense of image occurs in the Aitareyī-Brāhmaṇa ru.

5 देव पुष्करपश्चुपद्यति……..देव रुक्मापद्यति। ब्राह्मी नाभादित्य एव रुक्मा यथा देवी। प्रवा वादित रोचके रोची है समु रुक्मा द्वारावर्ते पराऽरणी प्रारवपक्षाः। द्वाया अनुमतेवंदनपद्यति, स विराजयो भवति परिमुखस्त्रकविभासैभिस्वेतं विनाशोगत्यो वन्यस्मा। विनाशपद्यति, रुक्मायो ना स्थलै विनाशा। अध्यात्म रुक्माय। ……… देव पुष्करपद्यति। अ जातपि: योधगी स जातमाः। विराजयो भवति जातिभवन्ते। अनिनिन्द्यत कहतमू हरिलय वाहतययित: पुन: भवति पुन: भवति जातपि:। तथा गुर्द पद्यति: जाँदित्य एव शक्तिः एव रुक्माय सात्वकी युगाः। तत्य सममें पुष्करपद्यति। …….. एतहाः

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Adhya., Pra. 4, 8-18; cf. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Bibliotheca Ind.), vol. xii, p. 322-33.

7 सत्यः परिमते राजीलोकाः राजीश्च शान्ति जिः सत्य राजीयमाः प्रतिनिदीते। पर्याय चीर्यि गामयि च भवनि …….. !” Ibid., X, 3, 13-19, 220.


9 जातियाः पुष्कराः पुष्कराः।” (p. 11), “पाँची प्रतिपूजन भवन्ति सपिराज्ययी प्रतिद्वद्वा-कहिं सत्याः प्रतिनिदानाः।” (p. 21).

(p. 64)—Śāmkhayana-Brāhmaṇa (Āndāśārama Sanskrit series).

is on the chariot;" 1 "Those gods are in the chariot;" 2 "Let the hotā worship the two images of Uṣa;" 3 "The three images of Saraswati, Idā and Bhratā;" 4 "The two images of the presiding deities of day and night;" 5 "The three goddesses made of gold;" 6 "Tvastra, the sculptor of various images;" 7 "All these devatās are for the merit of the Yojamāna put on the chariot." 8 The Vedic Āranyakas are no less replete with allusions to images. The Aitareya-Āranyaka contains a few of these, such as—"I have constructed the body of the god Indra." 9 Clearer evidences of images may be seen in the Taittiriya-Āranyaka, some of which are touched here. The clothes of deities used to be dyed yellow; 10 the Rudras had their white clothes; 11 the seven suns represented in the art of Kaśyapa. 12 "Let Visvākarma provide you with sun-images," 13 "let Tvastra provide you with images," 14 "the learned Tvastra, the maker of images," 15 "Thou art an image." 15 In Vedic sacrifices, certain bricks formed a chief material, and there is good ground for believing that the sacrificial bricks used to bear reliefs of figures like sacrificial posts. The Taittiriya-Āranyaka contains some topics concerning these bricks.

The Vedic Samhitās:—

That the Vedas should contain sculptural directions and devices would be rather too illogical to expect as those early

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1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18

Ibid., p. 133.

Ibid., p. 635.

3 Ibid., p. 641.

p. 654.

p. 681.

p. 1194.

p. 1249.

Aitareya-Āranyaka (Anandaśrāma Skt. series), pp. 142-143.


Ibid., p. 22.

Ibid., p. 126. It is also worthy of remark that Visvākarma and Tvastra were two divine artists.

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hymns of mankind were not meant specifically to represent a 
Śilpa-Śāstra or a science of art. So far as images or sculptures are 
concerned, our legitimate expectation ought to be to find 
anthropomorphic descriptions of gods and goddesses with details 
of limbs, dress, arms, armour, vehicles, and so on. And this we 
find there in plenty. The Vedas are further not a strictly 
practical code of Dharma and thus we can scarcely get there such 
things as consecration or installation of sacred objects. For 
these we may look for books specially devoted to them. And 
the books of the Vedic age of this branch of literature give 
abundant references to image and image-worship, some of which 
have been already noticed. In the Vedas themselves, we may 
come across here and there hints for an image or passages, which 
convey, as a whole, the sure indication of an image. And probably 
that may be practically enough for a historic and inferential 
scrutiny. We touch some of these passages with contexts and 
explanations.

The Vājasaneyī-Śamhitā of the white Yajurveda has a number 
of references to the subject of images, which cannot be construed 
on wise. In one passage, the sun-god has been called Hiranya- 
pāṇi or 'one whose hands are made of gold.' This also alludes to 
the fact that the hands of the sun-god (no doubt, of his image), 
once broken by the iconolasm of the demons, were replaced by a 
pair of golden arms by the gods.1 There are other passages in the 
same Śamhitā which clearly indicate the existence of images in the 
Vedic age. As for example, 'the body of Agni made of iron or of 
silver, or of gold,'2 'Agni being carried by the bearers,'3 'the 
presiding deities of night and dawn having fine sculptures,'4 'the 
wood-engraver who makes image, etc.'5 The Taittiriya Śamhitā 
or the 'Veda of the Black Yajuj-School' gives evidence to the 
use of image in sacrifice in a passage, such as, "He puts down a

1 देवो व: सिद्धिः हिरण्यापाणिः प्रतिमास्मातां निधिं देवाः। १ च.० १५।
Vājasaneyī-Śamhitā.

The commentator Mahīdhara explains:—किमुं मर्यादिः मर्यादिः
'हिरण्यापाणिः' हिरण्यापाणिः मर्यादिः' प्रतिमास्मातां निधिं देवाः। यद्य देवो प्रतिमाः 
प्रधान विविध साधनः प्रतिमाः देवो निधिः प्रतिमाः। Ibbid., 1 च.० २४।

2 यात्रा प्रतिमा मया सुन्दरमिः।। लाभः। Ibbid., 1 च.० २४।
Commentary.

3 यात्रा प्रतिमा मया सुन्दरमिः।। लाभः। Ibbid., 1 च.० २४।
Commentary.

4 यात्रा प्रतिमा मया सुन्दरमिः।। लाभः। Ibbid., 1 च.० २४।
Commentary.

5 यात्रा प्रतिमा मया सुन्दरमिः।। लाभः। Ibbid., 1 च.० २४।
Commentary.

Mahīdhara Bhāṣaya.
golden man, to support the world of the sacrifice." 1 "This is the temple of gods, etc." 2 Similarly, the word Devala meaning 'one who earns by dealing with images' has been mentioned as a Rśi in the Kāthaka Saṃhitā. 3 The Atharvaveda Saṃhitā refers to the setting up of a sanctuary. 4 The Śāma Veda has this passage for an image, which is plain enough—"We approach the foe destroying, ancient incarnate Agni, who shone forth most illustriously in the form of Śrutavāna, the son of Arksha." 5

The hymns of the Rig-Veda convey, in like manner, some important testimonies to the practice of image-worship in Ancient India. It is hard to see why those who believe that image-worship is a relic of antique barbarism would be surprised to find traces of such practice in the Rig-Veda which embody, in their opinions, the customs of "Semi-barbarian" primitive people! However, such are partially motivated views and we would guard ourselves from attaching to them as little value as possible. Some European scholars now believe that images were known in Vedic times and support their statements by some references. 6 But others declare an authoritative opposition to any such fact. They sympathise, however, with the chārvāka philosophers and would not trouble to tread beyond the easy path of mere perception. Few scholars can deny that the language of the Vedas is not always straight-forward and that the meaning has to be

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1 Keith's Veda of the Black Yajur School, Vol. II, p. 411. Agni in p. 320, Ibid., we find a note by Prof. Dr. B. Keith worthy of consideration—"with ε a golden man is put on that again, he rubs the figure with / and addresses it with 9-1, footnote 6.

2 "सन्ते िश्वाचितम् काल्याधिको िश्वसं परि.…िश्वम् चलोरुत्तरमशस्थिति किं िश्व वेषो अवथायसिनुपपिष्कुषो वास्मायो िश्वति वर्णिति"। नेतिमेले श्रिवद्धा।

(Published by Tukārām, Bombay), p. 53.

3 Macdonell and Keith's "Vedic Index."

4 The Atharva Veda II, ii. 2; iv. 40. 1; viii. 5, 1, 4.

5 Śāma Veda, prop., i, 9, 5; 7, 9.

6 The existence of images in Vedic times has been proved by Dr. Bollersen in the cases of a painted image of Rudra (सङ्ग्राधि) etc., of Varuna, with a golden coat of mail (विषयामयी निर्धारणस्य वक्ष्ण हर्ष), in the distinction drawn between the Maruts and their images (वुढ्मधात वर्षु वस्मात) of gods 'having the form of men' (वर्ण्रेत). He writes, "From the common appellation of the gods as diva-naras……we may conclude that the Indians did not merely in imagination assign human forms to their gods but also represented them in a sensible manner…….Besides the common expression vapis, tanu, rūpa [body, 'and form'] there is in the oldest language one which, properly denotes an image of the gods, viz. 'Sandriś,' vide and compare Muir Skt. Text, V, p. 453-54; are Z.D.M.G. X, viii, p. 546, xxii-587, Ludwig Nachrichten."
derived by means of inference rather than by a philological rule. Should this fact be kept in view, the passages that refer to images become at once clear and convincing to the most sceptical mind. The passages we quote below should be discussed relatively so that we may understand by their comparative and co-relative implications whether the Vedic Indians were familiar with the use of images.

Such extracts are:

"Varuna, wearing golden mail, hath clad him in a shining robe: His spies are seated about." 1 "Of many forms, mighty, of tawny colour, he is painted with limbs solid, bright and golden. From Rudra the great lord of this world may power never be taken away." 2 "May [the gods] waited upon by the hymn come to the seven works of the invoker, and delight the world with the holy water. May the numerous doors of human form, born in the sacrifices, come to this sacrifice." 3 "The two kings, that never do evil, sit in the highest place [that is] firm [and is] supported on a thousand pillars." 4

[He bid a small price for a thing of value].

I was content, returning, still unpurchased
He heightened not this insufficient offer
Simple and clever,both milk out the udders." 5

"O caster of the stone I would not sell thee for a mighty price.
Not for a thousand, Thunderer? nor ten thousand nor a hundred."

Lord of countless wealth! 6

Kaegi gives the following translation:—

"Who offers me ten cows for this Indra of mine? When he

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1 विदर्भिञ्च दिरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
2 विदर्भिञ्च दिरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
3 रिग्वेदम् विदर्भिञ्च दरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
4 रिग्वेदम् विदर्भिञ्च दरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
5 रिग्वेदम् विदर्भिञ्च दरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
6 रिग्वेदम् विदर्भिञ्च दरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
7 रिग्वेदम् विदर्भिञ्च दरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
8 रिग्वेदम् विदर्भिञ्च दरणाय दरणो वसुमित्रित्वमः।
has overcome the enemy he will return him to me . . . . recalling. Not even for a high price would I exchange thee, thou that art armed with sling-stones; not for thousands, not for myriads (of cows), not for a hundred-fold price, thou with hundred-
fold riches.”

XVIII.

Places of Pilgrimage.—In a country where nearly three hundred and sixty days of the year are spent in religious ceremonies, it should be nowise hyperbolic to remark that every locality in India has some holy place celebrated for pilgrimage. Tīrthas or sacred places are crowded with temples and temples are again crowded with images. A temple, in India, without an image, is inconceivable. Genetically considered, images were first set up in a place, where the cult connected with them was prevalent. Temples, great and small, were built in course of time. Then, gradually, the place grew into importance as a sacred place for pilgrimage. The very names of the places, if analysed and traced, unfold a mysterious history associated with iconic cults. Hundreds of places in Indian provinces are called after the name of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, such as, Viṣṇupur, Viṣṇupada, Viṣṇu-prayāga, Viṣṇu Kāņī, Nārāyaṇapur, Nārāyaṇārama. Similarly, many places have been named after Cakra, a symbol of Viṣṇu, viz., Cakra-

1 “. . . . is hardly conceivable without an image or some symbol of the gods.” Kaegi.—Rig Veda note 79a. Next he adheres to a line of fallacious argument so common among some of the modern oriental scholars. The following may be illustrative of the kind of illogical process employed by them:—Suppose there arises a problem—How old is image-worship in India? One cites a passage from the Rig-Veda and asks his opponent to examine it. The opponent examines it and finds that it can not be interpreted without admitting the reference to an image contained therein. The opponent, then, tries to defend his position thus, “Well, the passage cannot be very old though it forms a part of the eighth Mandala of the Rig-Veda because image-worship was certainly unknown in the Vedic times.” Would not the logicians with a smile call it an argument in a circle or Petito Principii, every way invalid?

Cf. संस्काराण्यं सौधम् । समस्याः । परिवर्तनं देशम् । The Yajur-veda, II. 18.

2 In Bankurā District, Bengal.

3 In the Upper Punjāb.

4 At the confluence of the Alakāndā and the Dauli (Dudh-Gangā).

5 Conjeevaram, in the Madras Presidency.

6 य छात्र स पूर्वः भारायथपुर ब्रजेषु । Padma Purāṇa; see Imp. Gazetteer, Index Vol.

7 विशेषवाढनक कांबु भारायथपुराओऽसु । Brāhma Purāṇa.
tīrtha, Cakradharpur; 1 after Padma, another symbol of Viṣṇu, for instance, Padmapur, 5 Padmāvati, etc. 3
Innumerable place-names are connected by origin with Śiva names, such as, Rudra prayāg, Śiva-kānci, Isāna-tīrtha, 4 Vaidya-
nath (Deoghar, Deo=Deva=Śiva commonly), 5 Kedarnath, 6 Som-
nath, 7 Ramesvara. 8 Places named after Brahmā are also com-
mon in India. For instance, Brahmāvarta. 9
Similarly, there are places named after Śūrya and Chandra,
such as, Bhāskara-kṣetra (or Arka-kṣetra), 10 Soma-tīrtha. 11 Place-
names also originated from the names of Skanda (or Kārttikeya),
Ganēśa, Kāma, Indra (or Śakra), Agni (or Hūtāsana), and so on.
Such names are respectively—Skandāsrāma, 12 Vaināyaka-tīrtha,
Kāmarūpa (modern Gauhati, Assam), Śakra-tīrtha (also, Indra-
prastha, near Delhi), Hūtāsana tīrtha. 13 In like manner, the
names of Devis or goddesses were used to denominate several holy
places in India. Thus, we may refer to Kālikā-śrama, 14 Virajā-
ḵṣetra, 16 Śrī-tīrtha, 16 Gaurī-tīrtha, 17 Śrīnagar, 18 Bhavānīpur, 19 and

1 On the B. N. Ry.
2 Near Chanda in Nagpur District.
3 Moreover, there are places known after the names of the incar-
nations. As for example, Mātasya-desa (Jaipur), Kūrma-sthāna
(Kumāon) Varāha or Śūkarna-Kṣetra (Sorón, 27 miles N.E. of Etah,
U.P.), Narasingpur (many modern places), Sāmana-tīrtha (Siddhā-
śrama, in District Buxar). Places named after Rāma and Kriṣṇa are
extremely numerous in India, such as, Rāmpur, Rāngar, Rāmnagar,
etc., also Kishenghar, Vāsudevapur, Kṛṣṇapur, etc.
4 दशमलोक त्रेता पापिण्य पापकिर्भवि। ब्रह्मपुराण। Also Bhuba-
neswar in Orissa is called 'Hara-Kṣetra.'
5 In Santal Parganas, Bihar.
6 In the Himalayas, a famous place for pilgrimage.
7 In Guzerat.
8 In South Madras.
9 ब्रह्मपुराण।
The country between Saraswati and Drīśadvati (Manu)
10 The modern Kanāraka, 19 miles from Puri in Orissa.
11 भोज्यो मोहतीय श्रीमाता शाकुरहड़क तथा। ब्रह्मपुराण।
On the south of Guzerat.
12 भोज्यो तुषकुर श्रीमाता जनवासलय। ब्रह्मपुराण। Cf. Kārttikeykapur
(District Almora).
13 जनवासात्य जनवासात्य श्रीमाता जनवासात्य परम। Ibid.
14 सर्वान्त श्रीवर्धन कालिकापूर्वम च। ब्रह्मपुराण।
15 Modern Yajpur in Orissa.
16 Puri.
17 भगवान भगवान भगवान भगवान भगवान। Padma P. 18 In Kashmir.
19 The southern part of Calcutta. There is another Bhavānīpur
in Bogra District, where ancient images may be found in abundance.
the fifty-one Pūñas or places, where the relics of the body of Sati, the first wife of Śiva, had been preserved to make the Tīrthas for pilgrims. Besides, the tīrthas named after the Brāhmaṇic deities, there are places, connected with the lives of the various incarnations, which grew into importance, attaining a religious celebrity. Such places are—Benares, the greatest place for the worship of Śiva, Mathurā for Viṣṇu as Vāsudeva, Ayodhyā for Viṣṇu as Rāma, Kalinga (Konārak) for Śūrja, Puṣkara for Brahmā, Vindhyāchala for Durgā and so forth. We give here no detailed discussion relating to the identification of the places, which is, in some cases, a matter of divergent opinions among scholars.

The idea of a Tīrtha is not of a late period, of the so-called "Paurānic" period, although, of course, in that period, it received a striking development at the hands of the divine personalities, who actually made many sacred places, and at the hands of the pious kings and princes, who enriched the Tīrthas with best sculptures and magnificent buildings. The true origin of the Tīrtha is to be traced to the Vedic period, as the Vedic books make clear reference to Tīrthas or sacred places. For instance, we find, reference has been made to Tīrthas in the Rig-veda, Atharva-veda, Tāttvārthīya Brāhmaṇa, Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, Pañca-Viṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, Śaṭ-Viṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, Śāṅkhāyana-Srāuta-sūtra and so on,—books of undoubted antiquity.

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1 Near Ajjmer. It is also called "Brahma-Tīrtha."
2 Durgā is said to have killed Śumbha and Niśumbha at Vindhyāchala. It is in Mirzapur District on the E. I, Ry. Jaipur or Pārvatiksetra is no less important as a centre of the Śakti cult.
3 For the geography and identification of ancient place-names, see, The Geographical Dictionary by Nundo Lal Dey; English-Sanskrit Dictionary by A. Barooah; Mārkandeya Purāṇa, edited by Mr. Pargiter. The subject is yet wanting in full treatment.

4 नीळ विम्बनाम् R.V. I, 48, VIII, 61, 7; नीळविम्बनिः श्वसतो मक्षी: A.V. XVIII, 4, 7; चन्द्र चं दूर नीळ तपतिः T. Br. II, 1, 8, 3; नीळ चालिः Ts. VI, 1, 1, 2; Pañcav. Br. 9, 4; चन्द्र देवान्त नीळविः, Saḍvīṁ Bra. 3, 1; Sāmkhy. Sr. 5, 14, 2.
CHAPTER I.

THE BRĀHMANIC IMAGES

The deities worshipped by the orthodox community of Hinduism have derived their growth from the development of the Paurānic and the Tāntrik literatures, and their becoming as distinct entities from the Vedic literature which embodies the origin of both the Paurānic and Tāntrik elements of thought. Nothing can be said with much definiteness, but it can hardly be denied that the Gupta period of Indian History marks a developed stage of orthodox Purāṇas and Tantras and the same epoch also furnishes us with examples of an equal development in art, Paurānic and Tāntrik in character. The works of the artists who sculptured for the Brahmanical temples bear the veritable stamp of the iconographical conceptions largely to be found in the Purāṇas and Tantras. The examples of ancient sculpture so far discovered, relating to orthodox Hinduism, range in date from the Mauryan times to the end of the Pāla reigns.¹ The divinities to whom importance and sanctity have been attached in the Purāṇas and Tantras were represented in sculpture, and they vary in types and artistic details.² The Hindu Trimūrti or Trinity

¹ The Yaksha statues of Kubera, Manibhadra, etc., yet discovered are proved to be of the Mauryan period. The goddess Śrī or Gaja Lakshmi represented on the Sāṇchi Torana belongs to the pre-Kushan period. The image of the sun-god belonging to the Kushan period has been preserved in the Mathura Museum. An earlier representation of Sūrya may be seen on the Asoka railing of Bodh Gaya.

² The Brāmanic gods and goddesses have been regarded as forming a Pantheon or a family of gods known in Sanskrit as Deva-Purva. The relation, which the individual gods bear to each other, may be determined from their membership to that family. Amongst the gods, Viśnu, Śiva and Brahmā occupy the most prominent positions. The Ashta-dikpālas as such are only subordinate deities more or less attached to the three main gods. The main deities, again, have their separate families which consist of a number of gods and goddesses. Thus Viśnu’s wives were Laksni and Sarasvatī and Pradumnā or Kāma was his son. Śiva and Pārvatī have Kārttikeya and Ganeśa as their sons. Brahmā’s wives were Śavitri and Gāyatri. The sun-
has several iconographical representations. The Trinity dispersed, i.e. Brahmac, Viṣṇu, Śiva, have different types for each in sculpture. The nine planets always found in a group have not been separately represented in large figures except the Moon and the Sun which have several bold images with some differences in type and style. Some of the Daśa-Dik-pālas or Guardians of the ten quarters, such as Kubera, Varuṇa, Agni and Indra, have been notably represented in sculpture. Gaṇeśa, Mahāsena or Kārtikeya belonging to Śiva’s family and Kāmadeva, the God of love, have their characteristic representations. Among the Devis, whose conceptions and worship form the main theme of the Tantras, the principal ones, of whom images have been common, are the Mātrikās, Kālī, Tārā, Chāmunda, Śivadāti, Vārāhi, Chandi, Gauri, Mahiṣa-Mardini, Sarva-Maṅgalā, Manasā, Katyāyani. Besides these strictly Tantrik goddesses the female deities of whom we have iconographical representations of importance are Śrī, Gange, Yamuna and Sarasvatī or Vāgīśvari. Prominence and distinction have been attached to the worship as well as the representations of these divinities by the various Sampradāyas or sects tolerant to each other but devoted more particularly to their individual lines of religious thought and performances. Thus the Vaiṣṇavas, Saivites, Sauras, Gānapatyas, and Sāktas had their favourite deities variably sculptured for worship and adoration.

We have literary evidence to show that it was the religious injunction of the Hindus that particular deities were to be worshipped by particular sections of the whole community. Thus Viṣṇu was the god of the kings, and so was Indra; Śiva, Śūrya, Brahmac and Śiva were the gods to be particularly worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas.

god has, likewise, a distinct family to which belong Revanta, Aruṇa and others. The planets have as their presiding deities, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmac and others. Each god or goddess had different forms assumed by them on different occasions. And all this led to a great variety of representations in sculptural art.

1 या यज्ञाभिषेक दुः: जा वि सन्तर देवता।
किला कार्यविशेष पोखरा वेरहा व्यासः। Kūrma Purāṇa.
2 विष्णु देवको विष्णवाणि व पुरस्तः।
विष्णुमायुराणिन्द्र रश्ना वैथ पिनाकायकः। Ibidem.
Again, Viṣṇu was the god among the Devas and Rudra among the Brahmaṇas. The moon or Soma was the deity of the Yakṣhas as well as the Gandharvas. The object of worship among the Vidyadharas was Sarasvati and among the Sudhyas was the god Hari. Parvati was the goddess to be worshipped by the Kinnaras. Brahmadeva was to be worshipped by the Rsis and so was Mahadeva. The sun, Viṣṇu and Uma were to be adored by the Manus. Brahmadeva was the god of the Brahmachārins. Ambikā was the deity among the Vaikhānas or those who observe Vānapraśthāśrama, and so was Śiva among the Yatis or Sannyāsins. Gaṇeśa was to be adored as god by the Kuśmāṇḍas or a community of Gaṇas. Brahmadeva was the god of all and all the gods were deities of the householders.

All these facts are important as determining the iconographical types of representations of particular gods. Thus it is natural to expect that the god of the kings ought to partake of the nature of the king in features and dress. All the images of Viṣṇu, of whatever variety they may be, strikingly satisfy this condition. We shall work out these points in detail while dealing with particular deities in reference to their ancient dated images. Historically, the fact is worthy of note that as the development of various cults was dependent upon the royal patronage, a great many images themselves were made to be installed by kings or their chief officers. These images evidently shadow the mental tendencies of the kings. In most cases, we find, the Viṣṇu images were invariably set up under the direct royal commands. The Gupta emperors, the Pāla kings were all worshippers of Viṣṇu. The rulers of Mathura were also devoted to the faith of Viṣṇu. The reigning princes of Orissa, too, paid their reverence to the God Viṣṇu. Hence the significant fact that Mathura, Magadha, Gauda and Orissa were the centres for the sculpture of

\[\text{Ibid.}\]

\[\text{Cf.}— \text{"The majority of high caste Hindus in N. India worship all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, each man, according to his fancy, paying special respect to Śiva or to one of his consorts, or to Viṣṇu in one or other of his many incarnations." Imp. Gaz., Vol. I, p. 430. A curious coincidence, indeed!}\]
Viṣṇu is after all explainable. Similarly, the fact that Kāśi or Benares and the Deccan became the centres of Siva and Rudra cultus and their images, can also be explained in view of the above-mentioned evidences. We shall now observe the general characteristics of the gods and goddesses of these different sects and those of their sculptural representations, noting the relation which some deities bear to others and the differences of forms present in the representation of a particular god and his family.

**Trimūrti or Trinity.**—We may refer to important examples of Trinity,¹ (I) the Trimūrti image in the Peshawar Museum and (II) the four headed lingam in the Indian Museum. The former has three heads representing Brahmadeva, Viṣṇu and Śiva with their typical emblems and is an ancient work belonging to the 3rd century A.D. The latter has four faces representing Viṣṇu, Brahmadeva, Śūrya and Śiva. It has been suggested by a scholar² that this blending of the four principal gods of the Hindu pantheon is a sort of compromise of the sectarian beliefs of the people. Another suggestion informs us that “this conception of the Hindu triad does not seem to have come into vogue until the advent of the Paurānic period, for in the time of Yāska, the deities who were generally grouped together as the triad are not Brahmadeva, Viṣṇu and Śiva, but Agni, Vāyu or Indra and Śūrya.”³ Both these suggestions cannot be accepted without some necessary modifications. The idea of Trinity, in our opinion, is as ancient as the time of the Vedas. The Vedic triad Agni, Vāyu or Indra and Śūrya, in fact, takes the place of Brahmadeva, Śiva and Viṣṇu (as Śūrya), the last being met with in the Trinity sculpture of the Indian Museum. It is possible to establish the following equation on the evidence of the similar forms:

- Agni—Brahmadeva.
- Vāyu—Śiva (Rudra).
- Śūrya—Viṣṇu.

¹ The Archaeological Annual, 1913-14, plate LXXII, a, b, c, d, e.
² Read also the article by Mr. Natesh Ayar contributed to the same.
⁴ Pandit Benode Bihari Vidyavinod of the Indian Museum.
⁵ Mr. Natesh Ayar, *Ibid*.
⁶ Agni and Brahmadeva are described as being of red colour and holding a Kamandalu. See Matsy P. Chaps. 232-235.
The allegorical meaning of the Trimūrti has been in many cases only touched but not clearly worked out. The three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who form the triad, represent in fact one Mūrti taking three forms in the act of creating, preserving and destroying. Similarly, these forms also refer to three fundamental stages of life, childhood, youth and old age. The idea of the Trimūrti sculpture must have been drawn from the three main periods of the Aryan life—namely, those of the Brahmachāri, Grhasṭha and Sannyāsī or Yati. This seems to be the psychological basis of the idea of the Trimūrti representation. Brahmā’s features are exactly those of a Brahmachāri. He holds a Kamandalu, puts on Kaśaya cloth, carries the Vedas, all of which are requisites of a young Brahmachāri. The appearance of the Viṣṇu image is the ideal representation of a householder, enjoying, working and flourishing in the world. His dress, ornaments, attendants all speak of his life of the world. Thus he has been the ideal god to be worshipped by the kings. The image of Śiva, in like manner, represents the life of an Indian Sannyāsī. He wears like the Hindu ascetic, tiger’s skin, bears a trident, has Jetra or clotted hair—the true sign of old age and indifference. Like a Yogi he is half naked and devoted to spiritual contemplation. Metaphysically, the triad represents the three great principles of the universe, namely, Rajas, Sattva, and Tamas—activity, intelligence and inertia. Further, the three main divisions of the day, namely, morning, noon and evening have been symbolised by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Mythologically, Brahmā created the world, “the golden egg.” Viṣṇu preserved the creation throughout by maintaining the life

Vāyu is young in appearance, so is Rudra to be represented as of 16 years of age. A deer is a symbol of both. Ibid.

1 Mr. Havell in his "Ideals of Indian Art," p. 68, interprets the allegory as "the apparent movement of the sun round the earth of which the Cosmic cross was the symbol in the ancient Aryan world. The four points of the cross indicated the position of the Sun at midnight, sunrise, noon and at sunset respectively." It is all confusing in the extreme!

2 एक्कुरुकर्दर नियोगछिय्य या अस्मासकोपथरतम !

Quoted by Gāngesa in his Šabdatattvochināmani.

3 This seems to be the physical explanation of the Trimūrti.
principle and by removing the destructive elements in his various incarnations. Pralaya or dissolution of the world was brought about by Śiva or Rudra who danced wildly in his Naṭārāja Mūrti.

Ananta-Śāyi Nārāyaṇa.—It is a composite image. In it, Viṣṇu is sleeping on the coils of the snake Ananta or Śeṣa whose seven hooded heads form a canopy over him. According to Mūrti-Lakṣaṇa\(^1\) he should be attended by Lakṣmī at whose lap should be one of his legs. One of his hands must rest on his left thigh, another should support his head. On the lotus springing from his navel will be seated Pitāmaha. Attached to the lotus stalk should be two demons, Madhu and Kaṭabha. The discus, club, conch, etc., should be placed beside him. We have some best examples of the sculpture representing this figure discovered at different places.\(^2\) With differences in details, they all agree with the description above quoted.

This figure like others admits of three explanations.

\(^1\) See Hemādri, Vratakhaṇḍa, p. 122 (Bibliotheca Indica), called "Jalāśāyi-Nārāyaṇa."

\(^2\) The panel from the south façade of a temple at Deogarh, Jhānsi district, shows the Ananta Śāyi Viṣṇu. Cf. the picture in V. A. Smith’s "A history of fine art in India and Ceylon." A statue of the same figure of colossal size, being 12 feet long, has been described in Cunningham’s Arch. Sur. Reports, Vol. X, p. 52. Another example of the same figure was referred to by Cunningham, ibid., p. 107. See also ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 41, for a colossal figure of Viṣṇu on Ananta. There is a terra cotta representation of the same image discovered by Cunningham in Bhītargaom in Cawnpoore district. According to him it belongs to the 7th century A.D. Ibid., XXI, 40-46. Some images of this figure can be seen in the courtyard of the Viṣṇu Pada temple at Gaya. Cf. also Fig. A. 12, Nagpur Museum.
One refers to the *Adhyātmika* or metaphysical, another to *Adhibhautika* or physical, and the other to *Adhidaivika* or mythological worlds. According to the first, the Ananta Śayya group represents the creation, *Ananta*, or Śeṣa being Primary Nature; Viṣṇu being intelligence and Brahmā standing for Purusa or Jīva. In the language of the Śaṅkhya philosophy Ananta is *Prakṛti*, Viṣṇu is *Mahattāvya* and Brahmā is *Āhāṁkāra*. At first, there was eternal Space full of darkness (*Tamomaya*) from which sprang up intelligence or light (*Chinmaya*) whence was born the world including man. Physically the creation may be explained as the gradual evolution, from Proto-atomic Matter, of the sun, which has in its turn created the Solar system. Now this Proto-atomic Matter is represented by Ananta, the Sun by Viṣṇu and the world by the Padma including Brahmā.

Mythologically, Nārāyaṇa, residing in water is said to have slept on the serpent Ananta in the Primordial time. From his navel came forth a large lotus—the earth with its seven islands, forests and seas. In the midst of its petals was born Brahmā. The meaning and purpose of his emblems are clearly given in the Varāha Purāṇa. The conch was meant for the destruction of *Avidyā* or illusive knowledge, the sword was for the killing of ignorance. The discus was the symbol of the circle of Time. The club was for the destruction of an impious king. It is also stated in the Purāṇas that just after creation, Brahmā

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1 *Ananta, Bīma, Viṣṇupada* and *Ākāśa* are all synonyms. See Amarakoṣa, Sargavarga. *Viṣṇupada* means the place of Viṣṇu, i.e. the sky, which is called the hair of Siva in the compound, *Viṣṇomakṣa*. The sky or *Ākāśa* is one of the eight forms of Siva, who is Aṣṭamūrti.

"The remarkable Hindu conception of Viṣṇu reclining on Śeṣa, the one-thousand headed snake representing eternity, finds a striking parallel in the Mithraic image of Kronos, infinite time, a winged figure encircled by the coils of a great snake."


2 The word Nārāyaṇa has been explained as :

"नारायणविषय समी परात्न्यूति विषयवः।
साखेत्यवेन ययु तेन मारात्र्य चुलः।"
Mahabh.

"शायो मारा रत्न वोजा शायो वे नर्वकरमवः।
सा यदेखसायव ययु तेन मारात्र्य चुलः।"
Manu.

was threatened by an attack of two demons, Madhu and Kaiśtaba, but was rescued by Viṣṇu who destroyed them and thus received the name of Madhu-Sūdana. Viṣṇu’s function was to preserve order and stability by removing the cause of disturbance. Viṣṇu in his incarnations on earth saved the world from time to time by killing various demons, and the demon Madhu seems to be the first one destroyed by him in his primeval form. The fact that all the creation proceeded from Viṣṇu, in meditation, lying on the sea is also indicated in the Mahābhārata.

**Visnu in general.**—We have records and images of two types of Viṣṇu without any qualification. One type represents him as having four faces—one of mild and beautiful form, another of Kapila with clotted hair and moustaches, the third one of a boar, and the fourth of a man-lion. He has the usual emblems of Viṣṇu in his hands. I discovered a figure of Viṣṇu of this description at Benares and published its account with two illustrations. The figure stands unique of its type among the entire range of Viṣṇu images discovered in India. The description exactly corresponds to that of Viṣṇu given in the Viṣṇu Dharmottara quoted by Hemadri in his Chaturvarya-Chintamani. The second type of Viṣṇu is a one-headed smiling figure with either two or four arms. In the case of four arms according to Varahamihira, the right ones should hold a club and the posture of Śanti and the left ones a conch and a discus. The two armed figure should have a conch and the posture of Śanti.

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1. वें चौकार्यां लखता देव्यां चकार्य देवता: म च रघुमन्नविष्णुं चमुदे सप्तां सम:। M.Bh. 13, 312.
2. कर्तव्य: कपिलो देवी जाताधवमस्विन्त:।
   ... ...
3. स्त्राज्ञांभवरी राज्यवर्त्त्योपवयान्वय। Hemādri.

3. See Modern Review, 1919, June. Just on my discovery, I published the description without any correct identification. Now I am sure of the identification of this figure with the figure of Viṣṇu.

4. विकाम: देवरेवं वरस विमणे कारणीकानधितस्म।
   नुशानि भास्य स्वारित।... ... \... ... \.. ... Hemādri.
either case, there should be the symbol of Śrivatsa on
the chest and the Mitre called Kīrti on the head. 1 The
Śrivatsa symbol, the discus and the conch form then the
sure cognizances of Viṣṇu.

In the figures of Viṣṇu, as described above, the lotus 2
and the attendant figures are absent. The addition of so
many attendant figures seems to me of a later date. 3 The
simple two-handed Viṣṇu image has been called Lokapāla
Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇu-Dharmottara. 4

Viṣṇu as Vāsudeva—Nārāyaṇa is the eternal and
primeval form of Viṣṇu whose one form, the human form,
is known as Vāsudeva. 5 Although in form he is human but
in essence he is divine and this nature has been to some
extent expressed in sculpture in his having four arms and
being attended by the gods Īśa, Brahmā and others. The
characteristics of Vasudeva are briefly these: he has
four arms; on the right side the upper arm holds a disc,
the lower one a lotus; on the left side, the upper hand
bears a conch, the lower one a club. 6 He is attended by

1 वीरबाहुलिनक्षाको कौशमनवमुनिसौरस्कः।
... ...
प्रस्तावम्।
कुकतकीर्तिभारी...
अष्ट च सत्वमृगस्मिष्टिलिङ्गादिनरकजातावधानः।
दृष्टिसारायी चापी वामेन मधुचा चरणः॥

Bṛhat Saṁhita Adhyāya 58
(Vizianagram Series.)

2 Pandit Venode Bihari Vidyavinode considers the addition of
Padma to the attributes of Viṣṇu as of comparatively late period. See
his विश्वमन्तिरिनिषपत्र, p. 30, Cunningham's Numismatic Chronicle, 1893,

3 The case of Garuda, the Divine Bird, is exceptional. He like a
lotus forms the seat of Viṣṇu. See Agni. P., Chap. 306.

4 एकता हीरनाक्षार मदानधारिया श्रम्।
quoted in Hemādri, pp. 110-111.

5 श्रद्धा नारायणाय नाम देवतेन समातनः
सावरो मानुष्यवामीन्द्रकृतः प्रतस्थवाम।
M. Bh. 1. 2785.

6 दिनेश्व तु कर समस्माहारं पशुकर्तनेन च।
वामेन श्रमशृद्धादात्रेदेवायासवाम॥
Agni P. Adhyāya 44.

There is no hard-and-fast rule for these positions of emblems.
The representation of these positions is practically optional.

क्रांत्यात्मारे तु मदानधारियो श्रमस्वते
मदानधारियो मधुच्छत्रम्परापदाते प्रकाशयतु॥
his two wives, sometimes called Rukminī and Satyabhāma; sometimes called Śrī and Puṣṭi; and at other times called Śri, Saraswatī or Indirā and Vasumāti. He wears a high mitre called Kīrīṭa and a long garland called Vanamāla reaching down to his knees. He has other attendants, such as Isā and Brahmā by his sides, the earth goddess Prithivi below his feet and Garuda and other worshippers. The personified Gada devī and Cakra deva are also his followers. These attendants are more or less present in all the sculptural representations of Vāsudeva. They, however, vary with variant descriptions of the Purāṇas and other books. Vāsudeva images may be seen in almost all the museums of Northern India, viz. at Mathura, Nagpur, Calcutta, Rajshahi and Rangpur. At the last named three places, they are many in number and at the last two, they form the principal and major portion of the collection. The finest specimens of Vāsudeva image with most details are these three: I. A Benares image of Viṣṇu; II. A Gorakhpur image; III. An image at Nagpore. A seated image of Vāsudeva may be seen at Garhwa. This type is undoubtedly rare.

Metaphysically, Vāsudeva represents the unqualified, intelligent being. The word Vāsudeva has been metaphysically interpreted as an all pervading being in the

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1 सचिकारिकुरुपृष्टिनिविशिष्टनिरात्मकसमूह | Gautamiya Tantra.
2 नीरुपक चारण करणे पपुलीशास्त्राच्य | Agni P. Adhya 44.
3 कालिकापुराण, अध्यया 82.
4 शारदी तिलाक.
5 अषोकी पारंपरिक निवास बासुदेवपिका पूर्वकृतिः | Agni P. Adhy. 49.
Also, वा हुः भी काही चतुर्विंशतिनिविशिष्टा |.
दशमे तु कदाचित तन्मूखा स्वतंत्रवा |.
बासुदेवमस्मात: काहीं लक्ष्मीदर्शिः |

quoted in Hemādi, Vratak, Adhy. I.

6 Discovered by me—at Sañkhadhārī at Benares, see my "Benares Iconographical Notes," in U.P. Historical Soc. Journal.
7 Arch : Annual, 19.
8 Fig. A. 7, "Descriptive list of exhibits in the Arch : Section, Nagpur Museum, pp. 3-4.
9 यक्त्र भगवती शुचिपालिका मित्रामंडळी |
वासुदेवाभिधान भा नृपालीका शुचिपालिका || Kūrma P. Adhya 48.
**Viṣṇu Purāṇa.** The emblems held by the figure of Vāsudeva are symbolic of his transcendental nature. The discus represents the eternal circle of time, the circular paths of the planets, the cycle of existence, anything that has a circular existence. The conch is the symbol of sound (वचनस्वर) which is the attribute of Akṣa, the abode of Viṣṇu. The lotus is the type of his created power. The club is symbolic of the power to destroy the enemies of the world. In sculpture, he is represented as the Supreme God to whom all other deities including Brahmā and Jīva are only subordinates. His image is attractively beautiful, majestic and placid. In mythology, he is found to be the son of Vāsudeva or in other words Krisna of the Mahābhārata. He used to bear the weapons conch, disc, club and lotus usual to Viṣṇu. He has been regarded as the perfect Avatar or incarnation of Viṣṇu. Krisna's two wives, Rukmini and Satyabhāma, are typical of Lākṣmi and Saraswati. Historically, the representation of Vāsudeva figure has been derived from the description of Krisna and his family. The antiquity of the word Vāsudeva has been attested by many evidences.

**Other types of the Viṣṇu image.**—Principally four kinds of Viṣṇu image are known—Vāsudeva, Sāmkarsana, Pradumna and Aniruddha. Of these Vāsudeva image is the earliest. Besides this, the other three images have very little in common with the figure of Vāsudeva and they may be evidently regarded as separate figures. Sānikarsana will be of white colour and will hold a staff and a plough. Sānikarsana is a synonym of Baladeva.

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1. Viṣṇu P. Amsa 1, Adhy. 2.
2. Cf. also Padma P. Uttarākhanda Adhyāya 60.
3. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 5.8.11.23
7. Amarakoṣa op. cit. and Vr. Sam. Adhyāya 58.
or Balarāma and in description they are identical in form. He is regarded as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu. Pradyumna is described as holding a bow and an arrow in his hands.¹ In name and description he seems to be the same as Kāma or Cupid. Aniruddha is described as having a sword and a shield in his hands.² His form is that of a typical prince. According to the Purāṇas all these three belonged to the family of Vāsudeva or Krisna, Balarāma being his step-brother, Pradumnaya his son, and Aniruddha his grandson. Metaphysically, Balarāma represents the destructive power or Kāla and means Śeṣa, the serpent. In sculpture, he is flanked by a serpent having an outspread hood over his head.³ Pradyumna or Kāma (meaning ‘desire’) represents the Sattva Guṇa or illumination and embodies the preservative energy to protect the world. Aniruddha’s form is called Brāhmī and is full of Rajo Guṇa or activity.⁴

Among other images of Visnu, the Trailokya Mohana figure is distinguished by its having eight hands and at the same time, its being attended by Lakṣmī and Saraswati,⁵ the Harisaṁkara figure is distinguished by its having four faces and twenty hands, another characteristic is that it is represented as lying on water like the Ananta-Śayi image. The image of Lakṣmī Nārāyana Viṣṇu is noteworthy. The figure of Lakṣmī is on the left of Nārāyana. Her right hand is laid round the neck of her husband and

¹ Agni. P. Adhyay 49, Hemādri.
² Hemādri, also Agni P. Adhy. 49.
³ Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, Fig. D. 30, p. 102.
⁴ द्वितीया काळप्रकाशा नामवी मेघप्रकाशा
⁵ चक्रवीर्यार्था कलीमाया प्रद्युषेति च मंगलमा
⁶ आग्ने ज्योतिः पद्रे च च विषयप्रज्ञाया।
⁷ चतुर्दशी नाचुरेयस्य कालेश्वरी सुमन्तिकाला।
⁸ राजशी चालिना राजा। Kūrma P. Adhyay 48.
⁹ Agni P. Chap. 49. A twelve-armed figure of Viṣṇu was described by Cunningham in his Arch. Sur. Reports. Vol. XXI, p. 8. This is a near approach to the description of Trailokya Mohona. Cf. Fig. Gd. 1, Indian Museum, Anderson’s Catalogue, Part II, p. 253.
the left one will hold a lotus. The left hand of Nārāyana will embrace the waist of Laksmi. The bird Garuda, the personified Saṁkha and Cakra, Brahmā, Śiva and a Chawri-bearing woman form his attendants. This figure represents the ideal conjugal love; Laksmi is Beauty and Viṣṇu is Intelligence. The image shows the union of both. Images of Laksmi Nārāyana (simply called "Viṣṇu") may be found in many museums of North India.

**The incarnations of Viṣṇu.—** Usually the incarnations of Viṣṇu are as follows:

1. Matsya (fish);
2. Kurma (tortoise);
3. Varāha (boar);
4. Nṛsiṁha (man-lion);
5. Vāmana (dwarf);
6. Parasurāma;
7. Rāma;
8. Balarāma;
9. Buddha;

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the number of incarnation is 22? The eighth incarnation has two variants—Balarāma and Krishna. The Viṣṇu-Dharmottara gives the description of Hamsa, Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nārāsinha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Parasurāma, Krisna Balabhadra, Buddha and Kalki presumably as incarnations. Hamsa is an addition and Krishna is an alternative of Balarāma?. The Agni P. describes particularly Narsimha and Varāha. Detailed descriptions of Mahāvairāha, Nārāsinha, Trivikrama, Matsya and Kurma may be found in the Matsya Purana. The first four incarnations are therianthropic in form. The first one is like that of a Śrīngi fish. He is sometimes described as having the upper portion like that of Viṣṇu with the usual attributes and the lower one like that of a fish. In sculpture he is represented as a fish with some men behind it. The figure

1. Hemādri-Vrata.
5. Hemadri.
6. Hemadri.
7. See the photographs of the figures of the incarnations at Gārhwa, Journ. of the U.P. Hist. Society, Vol. I, Part I, Pl. IV.
of Kūrma incarnation is like a tortoise, and in sculpture it is followed by some human figures churning a rod, probably representing the Mandara mountain, on its back.\(^1\) The Varāha image is described as having the whole body like that of Viṣṇu, only the head being that of a boar. The earth represented as a maiden sits on his left elbow. His right hand is placed on his buttock. One of his legs is placed upon the head of a Nāga king and another on a tortoise.\(^2\) This description fully agrees with those of the boar image at Garhwa and in the Indian Museum.\(^3\) There is a record of another type of Varāha image in which he is represented as killing the demon Hiraṇyākṣa with his disc.\(^4\) The late Babu Purna Chandra Mukerjee described a Varāha figure of this description found at Āksād in East Bihar.\(^5\) A distinction is to be made between a Varāha image and a Nṛ Varāha image. The former is a simple figure of a boar with a tusk raising a patch of earth, the latter is of the above-mentioned description. The examples of the former may be met with in Central India generally.\(^6\) The Narasinha image is described as being in human shape, with four or eight hands and the face of a lion. He should be represented as disembowelling the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu

I have a photograph of the fish incarnation of which I discovered the image at Benares.

\(^1\) Ibid.

\(^2\) तीर्थवंशिकोनालो मीदिनी बाम्बुपरे...

\(^3\) देवीमार्ग कहिलामा करे तथा प्रकल्पयेत्

\(^4\) कुर्शीपरे तथा पादमेकं नामेन्दुर्देषितं। Matsya P.

\(^5\) Cf. सर्जोकिश..यक्षुम् मृणि धरार्द्धारी तव महुकरी भवेत्।

\(^6\) अन्यां तस्मा कराः कायम् पद्माचजमयित्वा। Hemādri.


\(^8\) बिराजाभिषिक्योहैदुष्यकालिदात्राष्ट्र।

\(^9\) बर्तावेरि भ्राष्ट्रायच सयुव्यं स्मारानम् भवेत्।

—Visnudharmottara quoted by Hemādri.

\(^1\) Pravāsi, 2nd year, 6th issue.

with his nails. The images of Narasinha so far discovered fulfil these conditions. The fifth incarnation refers to two images of Vāmana (Dwarf) and Trivikrama (literally, one having three strides). The former is described as a corpulent man with a staff in his hand. The latter should be represented as holding a noose with staff, conch, disc and a mace. A sculpture representing these two figures is preserved in the Indian Museum. To the left part of the slab is the scene of Bali giving to the Dwarf land measuring three steps. The main figure is that of Trivikrama with one foot reaching up to the Brahma-Loka and another placed on the earth. Apart from the separate figures of Varāha and Narasinha there are some images of Viṣṇu with three heads, the side ones being those of a boar and lion. Of the remaining incarnations, the tenth or the last one deserves a special mention. Kalki’s image should be represented as riding a horse with an uplifted sword in his hand. His figure must be distinguished from that of Revanta, son of the Sun, whose figure resembles the former in appearance except that it is followed by dogs, musicians and other attendants. I have discovered one image of Kalki without any dog at Benares.

The philosophical idea of incarnation is contained in

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1 मारुमिच्छव कृष्णा मुखाक्षमणिनिद्र । Matsya P.
Also, विश्वामित्वो वदेशव नैविवासः प्रभावितः ।

2 विश्वामित्वो वदेशव नैविवासः प्रभावितः में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में में
the oft-quoted verse from Gītā "यदा यदा नि घा भगवद्गुरु न्यानि भवति" etc. By Avatāra is meant the descent of a deity, but especially of Viṣṇu undertaken reasonably enough for preserving the world when in pressing emergencies." 1 The first four incarnations are cosmogonic in character. In the beginning of the world, there was nothing but water. 2 Naturally, fish was the first, the representative creature being an aquatic animal. After water, hills came out in the course of creation. The hilly land is called Kurma Sthāna. Tortoise being an amphibious animal represents the stage when there was much water and less elevated land. The churning of the sea is the allegorical representation of the formation of land out of the ocean. The moon is now proved by Astronomy to have originated from the Pacific Ocean. There were some hills at that time, say the Vindhya, etc., yet of course there was no land. The recovery of land from the waters is represented by the Boar incarnation. The place called Bāghera is held to be the actual scene of the Varāha Avatāra. 3 It may be that that land was first recovered from the sea by a natural phenomenon, say by an earthquake. The next stage in the evolution of the world is represented by Narasimha, a semi-bestial creature. In this way, the incarnations may be explained as the representative beings of the world in evolution. The mythological account of these may be found in all the Purāṇas, some of which are named after them. 4

From the comparative point of view, the representations of the fish Avatāra of Viṣṇu are practically identical with divine forms found in Assyria and with all we know about Dagon, the Philistine God. The man-lion of Assyria and Kronos are exceedingly like Narasingha. The sculptured boar-man incarnation of Viṣṇu is very like an Egyptian deity. 5

1 Monier Williams, 'Hinduism,' p. 103.
2 चप एव चचजाटी............. Manu, Chap. I.
3 The place is full of wild boars who are held as sacred animals and are protected beasts. See Cunningham's Arch. Surv. R., Vol. VI, p. 136.
4 Dowson's class, Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, pp. 35-38. Cf. in this connection that one of the earliest symbols of the Savians, the fish was derived from an acrostic of the Gk. word ἤθελος.
Images of the Sun-god Śūrya.—Two types of the Sun image are described in the Sanskrit books; in (i) he is seated on a lotus, has two hands holding lotuses, moving in a car drawn by seven horses;¹ and in (ii) he has either four or two hands holding lotuses, moving in a car drawn by seven horses. The charioteer, the legless Aruṇa is driving the horses. He is attended by two male figures and two female figures. Their names differ according to different Sanskrit books. The two female figures are his queens. On his right side is Niṣkubhā also called Chāyā and on his left side is Rājū, also called Prabhā or Suvarcāsā. In front of these are the male figures. The one on the right is called Pingala or Kundī holding either swords or writing materials and the one on the left is called Danda holding a Śūla (staff). The figure of the Sun wears an armour. There is a corpulent figure of Śūrya belonging to the Kushan period in the Muttra Museum. Its number is D 46. It is seated squatting on a chariot drawn by four horses. Except the number of horses, this figure answers the description of the seated type of the Sun, viz., that given above. The sun statue discovered at Konarak, the sculptures of the Sun No. 3927, 5820, 3925, in the Indian Museum, and the colossal Sun statue at Garhwa more or less follow the lines of the description given about the standing type.²

¹ प्राय: शन: यद्दक: पद्ममेद्धयुक्ति:।
प्रवालविषयविधिजोषिक्षति।Ⅱ Viṣṇu Dharani.
रक्षकं भवनां भवार्ति: संवर्धनम्।
वनायं पञ्चकं कुकुशाक्ष्यवस्म।

... ... ...
निशुभा दत्तीं पद्मो वरे राजो भूक्षिता।
रक्षाहिनीं दत्तीं वर्मो श्रवण लेजीं करारमुम।?
चतुर्वांशिसे या .............
दस्त्रय विलक्षेप्रव दारपात्री च स्त्रिया निशी।

Viṣvākarma Ćilpa MS., pp. 306-31a. quoted in Mayurbhanj Archaeological Survey, p. XVI.

Cf. समोभाळतलक्ष्यो विनयमुणि कुष्ठी तु दत्ती। ...
बलायतामधि भवनां वरे राज्य च मन्त्रम्। Agni P.
Cf. also श्रवण्यवर: का कार्यः विलक्षेपासिधिप्रव। चबन्धवरोदवधाय नवविश्वीये
... राजो समर्थं काया च तथा दत्ती सुबद्धम्। Matsya P.

² Arch. Annual Report (1903-04), p. 438, Plate XXII, Bloch’s Sup-
other type of the Sun image is to be found in the Šaradatilaka. According to this, the image of the Sun should be represented as having four heads and eight hands. No such statue is known to have been discovered as yet.

Iconographically, the representation of the Sun closely resembles that of Vāsudeva in general appearance and in many details. It is noteworthy also that the Sun is one of the forms of Viṣṇu, and probably the image of Sūrya is his Rājasī mūrti or form of activity. The moving car, the military dress including the boots, the shooting rays, all indicate a great spirit of animation. I propose the following points of similarity between the images of Vāsudeva and Sūrya:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sun:</th>
<th>Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prabhā</td>
<td>Saraswati or Satyabhāmā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāyā</td>
<td>Lakṣmī or Rukmini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuṇḍi</td>
<td>Brahmā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daṇḍa</td>
<td>Iṣa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four hands</td>
<td>Four hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotus-seat</td>
<td>Lotus-seat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another point to be noted is that the seven horses here represent physically the seven rays of the Sun: “Vibgyor” (violet, etc). Aruna (literally meaning ‘red colour’), the charioteer, represents the crimson morning rays of the Sun.

The representations of Brahmā.—Brahmā is described in the Purāṇas as having four heads and four hands and either riding a goose or sitting on a lotus-seat. In his left hand will be a Kamaṇḍalu or a pot and a staff and in his right hand will be Sruva and Sruca being the two sacrificial pots. The plate of ghee or clarified butter and the four Vedas will be on his sides. He is attended on his left by Sāvitri and on his right by Saraswati. In another des-

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1 Quoted in Śrī Tattwanidhi, p. 121.

2 The Anantasāyī and Balarāma (Śesa) Mūrti are his Tāmasī (full of Inertia, Sleep) and Vasudeva, his Sāttvikī (full of intelligence) forms.

3 नान्दा कमत्सृशस्य कथा स नान्दासुङ्गः।

चतुष्कोष: नामिन कायः काशिक क्रमांकः: + + +
cription he is represented as having a pot-belly and clotted hair and holding in his right hands a rosary and a Sruba and in his left hands a Kamandalu and a plate for ghee. According to Viṣṇudharmottara, he is riding a chariot drawn by seven geese. The sculptures that are known to be of Brahmā more or less agree with these descriptions. The conjunct image of Brahmā and Saraswati in the Mathura Museum shows a lotus-flower as seat, a pair of geese, in Brahmā’s right hands a staff and a water-pot, in his left hand a MS. of the Veda, in Saraswati’s left hand, a mirror. Sometimes, we find in sculpture Saraswati is seated on his left knee. In all figures, his three faces are visible, the fourth one is supposed to be on the back. The Kamandalu or water-pot is his sure cognizance.

In conception and form, Brahmā is a Vedic student, sacrificer and a creator. Metaphysically, he represents the Rajo Guna or the active power. That is why he has red colour which is supposed to be peculiar to the creative power. He has four heads in reference to the four quarters of his work. His Śakti or female phase is his own daughter Saraswati or Vāc possessing creative powers of imagination and invention. Yajña or sacrifice is full of Kamana or desires and creation: sandhyāsamayat vah vachayo prajñāvīyam—

“He desired, I shall be many.” Mythologically, from his four mouths the four Vedas are said to have issued. Brahmā is said to have performed many sacrifices, e.g. one at Prayāga, another at Daśāśva Medha in Benares.

Cf. प्रक्ष्या कस्मिन्तकरे ति मात्रे ति मात्रे Mātṛkā V. 6. 7, 8. Matsya P.

Fig. D22.

1 Anderson’s ‘Catalogue of the Indian Museum,’ Part II, p. 352, Fig. MS. 3.

2 See the figs. 3902, 3903, 3904, 3905. Brähmanic Sculptures Cabinet 14, Indian Museum.
Different types of the Śiva image.—There are two main aspects of the Śiva figure treated in Hindu literature, one of mild disposition, another of fierce disposition. The former is called Śiva, Mahādeva or Śambhu and the latter is known as Bhairava, a development of the original and essential form of Rudra. Śambhu has been described as wearing a crescent moon on the head, the attributes of a trident, a bow, a horn, etc., in his hands and as having the cognizances of a third eye on the forehead and a bull as his vehicle.  

According to another description, he has serpents as ornaments.  

He has either four or eight or ten or sixteen hands in conformity with different postures. In the posture of meditation, he has four hands or eight hands but when dancing, he is to be represented as having ten hands and when burning the demon Tripura, he has sixteen hands. Hemādri describes Mahādeva as riding a bull, having five faces, all mild except the right one which is grisly. The figure of Vīrabhadra as well as of Vīresvar as described in the Pūranas corresponds much to this description.

Bhairava is described as possessing a grim face with teeth, a pot-belly, a garland of skulls and serpents as ornaments. He has plaited hair and twelve hands.

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1. Śrīmānā: mārṣhīśīnāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. 
2. "... ... " śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh. (Bṛhat Saṁhitā).
3. "... ... " śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh. (Matsya P.).
4. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Bṛhat Saṁhitā).
5. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Matsya P.).
6. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Bṛhat Saṁhitā).
7. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Matsya P.).
8. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Bṛhat Saṁhitā).
9. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Matsya P.).

Cf. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Bṛhat Saṁhitā).
Cf. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Matsya P.).
Cf. śrīmānābhūtāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh śrīkārāh. (Bṛhat Saṁhitā).
The sculptures of Siva preserved to us more or less suit the above descriptions. There are also many images of Bhairava which correspond to the description given above.

The image of dancing Siva is rather rare in Northern India. Some interesting figures were found in Bodh Gaya, and were noticed by Cunningham in his Mahabodhi.

Another aspect of Siva has been represented in the Hara-Gauri or Uma-Mahesvara form, of which there are several types. One type shows him seated with Uma on his left thigh, being embraced by his left hand. He has either four hands or two hands and bears three eyes. In his right hand will be a trident and the palm of his left hand will be placed on the breast of Uma. The left portion of Mahadeva is being touched by his consort.

According to Hemadri Siva has eight heads, his left hand is laid on the shoulder of the Devi, his right being adorned with a lotus. The Devi's right hand is placed on her husband's shoulder and her left hand holds a mirror.

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1. Sculpture A 21, of the Nagpur Museum (Catalogue, Pl. IV, Fig. A), represents Siva, four-armed, a mild figure in meditation. Cf. the Garhwā figure of Siva, Journ. of U.P. Hist. Society, Vol. I, Part I, Pl. III, Fig. II. A Benares image of Siva with a bull discovered by me is an illustration of his standing posture. A ten-armed figure of Siva was noticed by Cunningham in his Arch. R., Vol. XIII, p. 21.

2. Sculptures Nos. A28, A29, of the Arch. Section of Nagpur Museum. Cf. Fig. 3915, Cabinet 13, Indian Museum, Viśvakarmā XXVII.


4. चतुमूखः द्विवाकः ना भाद्रार्द्धविधिः।
   चोकथोमयमुदुखमिकाक्षपामिनमः।
   द्विविषीचाणि छांति याम कुष्ठामर्ग करम्।....
   बामे तु चंतिता देवी नस्तौरी वाण्यूपिता।.....
   बामास्मृतम् देवस्याश्मणौ चिन्वया कावित्। Matsya P.

5. कटवण्तु तु देवमेण कटवश्वक्रविस्मिति।.....नामचापिताम् देवस्य देवः स्वम निबोजनं
   देवपन वरं संगीतोक्तमिव विविधाभिम्। देवास्तु देविष्म प्रायंम क्षे देवस्य कर्मविनं
   नामासी तथा देवा पर्वं दायकचुम्मम्।" Hemadri.

Cf. the description given in Sāradātilaka and Nibandha Tantra quoted in Mayurbhañja Arch. Survey, p. XXIX.
All the images so far discovered in Northern India bear clear evidence of the fidelity with which their sculptors followed the above-mentioned descriptions of Haragauri.1

In sculpture, two types of this figure may be distinguished, namely, a seated type and a standing type. In the former the vehicles of a bull and a lion belonging respectively to Hara and his consort, Gauri, may be noticed in a couchant posture. In the latter, Siva is represented as patting the chin of Parvati.2

A type of Siva and Parvati in amorous posture is known as Ardhanarishvar. Its description is—one-half of Siva has the form of a goddess. The part representing Siva has plaited hair, a crescent, and a trident. The other part representing Uma should have parted hair, a cobra in the right ear, a mirror or a lotus, and thick breast.3

Examples of this composite image are rather rare. A striking figure may be seen in the Brähmanical gallery of the Indian Museum. Another composite form of Siva is called Hari-Hara. In it, the right part of the image has the emblems of Siva, viz. plaited hair, trident, cobras, etc. The left part of the image represents Visnu wearing the crown with two of his four emblems in his hands, viz.

1 See Arch. Annual, 11-1012, Pl. XXV, No. 49 (Gupta period); a Benares image of the same, discovered by me; two Haragauri images of excellent workmanship kept in a temple at Sherpur, Bogra Dist. Images of a Siva and Durga Nos. S, 3855, 3838, 3847, 3850, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3839, Cabinet 18, Indian Museum. Kr. 2, Gupta Gallery, the same Museum, Siva has three heads. A colossal image measuring 13 ft. 1 inch noticed in Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Rep. XIX, pp. 88, 89. The sculpture No. A23 of the Nagpur Museum exactly corresponds to the description of Matsya P.

2 Standing image of Siva-Parvati from Kosam, 139 years of the Gupta period. Arch. Annual, Pl. LXX, 6. Similar figures were discovered by me at Benares.

3 ब्रह्म देवदेवस्य मार्दीपणु प्रेमोऽभिनयः
रैवानां तु अदभारार्काम वल्लरुक्तव्यासः
उमानां तु प्रदाताद्वी सीमान्तकामासी
निमान्त वापि कर्णम् देवदेवस्य द्वासिनः
वासीत स्पृष्टे द्वादशायर्पणः वा विसेषेन
नामदारसानां तु वामे पीतं प्रकल्पयेत्
Matsya P.
Chakra and Sāṅkha. Several statues of Hari-Hara may be seen in the Indian Museum.

Metaphysically, the Śiva form represents Goodness (Śivam) and the state of Guṇātīta or being above the attributes. His bull has been regarded as Dharma. His other form, the Rudra form, may be taken as the destructive power of the Universe. Time destroys everything and Śiva is identified with time whose symbol is a serpent, catching the tail with its mouth and thus making a wheel without a beginning or an end. Rudra is, literally, full of sorrow and his inert nature has been expressed by the cobras and a bull who are notorious for their idleness and torpor.3 His wild dance is the dance of the spheres, the dance of the ultimate dissolution of the world. As already pointed out, one of Śiva’s name is Vyomokesa meaning ‘having the sky as hair.’ Thus he is justified in wearing the crescent on his hair. His trident, the skulls and also his cobras are the very symbols of destruction.

His Umā Mahesvar form is the allegorical representation of the amorous union of Śakti or energetic principle with the saktimān or the Being, with the energy. Similarly, his Arddhānārivara mūrti is the half-evolved form of this union.

Harihara form of Śiva symbolises the ultimate unity of time and space, Śiva representing time (Mahākāla) and Vişṇu representing space. Mythologically, he is said to

1 नामां भाष्यक कुण्डलिक ग्रामाणवधम् । भवेचर ग्रामाणः भाष्यमाणः नृत्यस्।
2 द्वितीयं वादात्मकः सदावत्वोऽवस्थयम् । भाष्यमाण: वद्यर्थवर्णवधारिषयः।
3 मत्स्या प।

Cf. Hemādri’s description of the same which differs in the following line:—

देविणे पराक्ष: नामां विचयराखिनि।

1 See Nos. 3856A, 3856B, 3969, Cabinet 16.
2 “The Bull is the companion of Śiva as it was the representation of the Egyptian Osiris.”—Crown of Hinduism.
3 Śiva holds a trident precisely like Poseidon, the Greek God of the sea. Ibid. In this connexion, Cf. “He is represented dancing on a corpse, with a bowl of blood in his left hand, a drawn sword in his upraised right hand, and a serpent round his neck. . . . . He is, in fact, the God of death, and prayers are addressed to him to arrest death.” Cunningham’s Mahābodhi, p. 55.
have married Satī, daughter of Dakṣa, Gangā and Pārvati or Umā, the representations of the last two often occurring as parts of his image. He was popular among the demons or semi-barbarians thus, still we find that his images, in many mild and fierce forms, have been preserved in Tibet and the Himalayan districts. Consequently, too, his attendants have been described as Bhūta, Pramatha or goblins. Mythologically, he was a great Yogi, his third eye being the Jnāna-netra or the eye of intuition or ‘direct vision’ and is said to have burnt the cupid or desire with a fire of this eye of intelligence.¹

**Ganesa and his forms.**—Vināyaka or Gaṇeṣa under various names has various types of representation. But the whole body of iconographical literature seems to be agreed in giving him an elephant-head, a pot-belly and a dwarfish form, all of which form his undoubtedly cognizable marks. Moreover, the symbols of an axe or a goad and a ‘lotus in two of his hands are also common with nearly all his descriptions. Usually, he has four hands, holding a lotus, his own tusk, a battle-axe and a ball of rice-cake (Laddu), and has three eyes. In some cases, he has eight or more hands as described in the Tantras.⁴

According to the Purāṇas, he has a mouse as his vehicle and a serpent as his holy thread. The Sāradā-tilaka and

¹ See Śiva as an ascetic, Deogarh temple (Photo 752, I.M. List,) Plate XXXIV, V. A. Smith’s "A Hist. of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon."

² विमायकः प्रवणाभिः गण्यान्त निश्चबनः।
नमोदरं चुग्याश्च जायते|जीवीत्वारिवाम्।।
सं द्वमं द्विविषकः द्वमं द्वापरे।
कल्लुकं परावृषभाविष्यते। क्षणं निर्घर्ण कालात परिक्षणः।।
.....स्थला कृष्ण्यस्मीन्तम्। Mataya P.

Cf. विनायको नराकारो वदेन्कुमारेश्वरान्तः।
सुरमनं परम् गाने कल्लुकं वीस्वस्वस् मये। Agni P.

³ विमायकं कन्यानि जायते| अज्भुतस्मि।
वासवकाशिष्यते। नन्दवंशः। नन्दम् विश्वमयोः।
चंद्रमन्याननि—
हरे द्रामनीति मोदकर्दमन् तंके मिरीषाविकासः।
सारां मूद्तरसंकुलं निमित्तकं दीपिर्देशानं भवे। Sāradā-tilaka.
the Meru-tantra give descriptions of ten principal forms of Gaṇeśa.¹

The sculptures of Gaṇeśa hitherto discovered mostly answer to the above descriptions.² Of them, four armed figures are common and thus agree with the Paurāṇic accounts. In sculpture, the figure of Gaṇeśa is represented as either seated or standing or dancing. Examples of the dancing Gaṇeśa may be seen at the Muttra Museum.³ A six-armed Gaṇeśa is preserved in the Indian Museum.⁴ A figure of Gaṇeśa with two hands which is extremely rare in northern India is being worshipped in the Monastery, Tabo.⁵

Ontologically, the image of Vināyaka conveys the idea of kingly auspiciousness, as the elephant-head is an

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES</th>
<th>HANDS</th>
<th>EMBLEMS, ETC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Vighnarāja</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>noose, goad, disc, protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Lākṣmi-Gaṇapati</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>disc, conch, tusk, protection, Lakṣmi on the left thigh, the trunk holding a pot of gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Śakti-Gaṇeśa</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>goad, noose, tusk, Vijorā fruit (Citrus).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Kshitiprasādana Gaṇeśa</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>noose, goad, celestial-creeper, tusk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Vaktra-tunda</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>goad, boon, protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Herambas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vide note 4, p. 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Yellow Gaṇeśa</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>noose, goad, Modaka, tusk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Mahā-Gaṇapati</td>
<td>twelve</td>
<td>Vijorā, club, bow, trident, disc, lotus, noose, līla, rice, tusk, pot of gems, urn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Virūci-Gaṇapati</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>Vijorā, club, bow, disc, garland, lotus, noose, arrow, tusk, pot of gems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Ucchīśṭa-Gaṇapati</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>Two tusks, boon, protection, noose, goad.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


² For examples, see Nos. 982, 571, 1781, 1558, list of photographic negatives in the office of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle (1915).


⁴ Antiquities of Indian Tibet by Francke, Part I, Plate XVII.
emblem of royalty and has connection with victory and success of any kind. In one word, with all his attributes, he typifies the true Indian royalty.\(^1\) Indra, the Celestial King, has Airāvata, the elephant as his emblem and vehicle and it is worthy of note that the head of Gaṇeṣa is the head of that elephant.

In Mythology, he belongs to the family of Śiva, being his eldest son.\(^2\) Legends about the loss of his human head and the origin of his elephant head are narrated in the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa. There is also a legend told regarding the circumstance which led to the loss of his left tusk in his fight with Paraśurāma.

**Mahāsena or Skanda.**—According to all descriptions, he must have a peacock and a śakti, his weapon.\(^3\) He is represented either with one head or with six heads.\(^4\) The number of his hands differs according as he is worshipped in different places. In a rustic town, his image will have twelve hands, in Kārbaṭa, it will have four hands, while in a forest or a village it will have two hands.\(^5\) In some cases, he is described as having six hands.\(^6\) In the case of two arms, the object at the right is a cock and at the left is a Śakti.\(^7\) Similarly in the case of four hands, a cock and a bell are held by the right ones, while the left ones bear a śakti and a flag of victory. A bow and an arrow are also among his various weapons.

All the images of Skanda or Kārtikeya found in Northern India agree with one or the other of these descriptive details. The figure at the Nagpur Museum has six faces and twelve arms bearing various sorts of weapons and a wild cock. His symbol of peacock is also to be seen

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1. राज़ीव कर्णी भूतानी राजा चैत विमानकाः | Mahabh. 12, 3411.
2. He retains some of the symbols of Śiva, e.g. Cobra, the dancing posture, and so on.
3. सङ्क्षेपः कुमारस्यः मरणालीति सर्वमित्रेऽकृष्णम् | Br. Samhitā.
4. Cf. सुमुखी च विद्वालीचिपार्यः खर्ण्यस्ति मयुरम् | Agni P.
5. द्रव्यं स्वानात् कुमारोपन एकरक्षीयस्तिरम् पवस्तिरम् | Ibid.
6. सामीयाप चंडनमरे भुजानार्ध रावरों निर्मौतिः | Matsya P.
7. श्राम्भरश्च कर्मे श्रान्नमस्व स्माट्कुमारोपस्य || Matsya. P.
beside him. An instance of four-armed Kārttikeya is to be found in the Indian Museum, the figure No. Ms. 9. His peacock is prominent at his right side and on his left hand is Kumārī holding up with her right hand a lotus pedestal on which stands a cock, on which the left hand of the god rests. The Orissan images of Subrahmanya or Kārttikeya are Tāntrik in character and holds, according to Śāradātilaka, a lotus, a śakti, a cock and 'protection' in his four hands.

The image of Kārttikeya or Kumāra signifies the idea of youth and spirit as the very name indicates. His vehicle, a peacock, and his attendants of a cock and a Deva-Śenā (literally, an army of Gods) all symbolise energy and strength. Mythologically he is known as the god of war and the general of the heaven. He belongs to the family of Śiva, being born as his son in order to kill the demon Tāraka, who, in several ways, greatly harassed the gods. He is also the presiding deity of the planet Mars, the Greek God of war, with whom he has much in common, as regards conception and representation.

Agni.—Agni or God of fire in image is represented as having either two or four hands holding a rosary, Kamaṇḍalu and śakti among his symbols. His vehicle is a goat. He has a long beard and a halo of flames. According to Hemādri, the image of Agni holds a jwala (flame) and a trident in his right hands and a rosary in one of his left hands. He has Śvāhā, his wife, on his left thigh who bears a pot of gems.

Two sculptures of Agni, one of the Mathurā Museum, another of the Indian Museum, may be taken as answering

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1 Descriptive List of exhibits of the Nagpur Museum, p. 16, Plate V, Fig. 6.
6 For an example, see Vasu's Mayurbhaṅja Arch. Surv., p. XXII.
4 याज्ञवल्क्य दीवं जामकुंडःधरमस्य | कमल्यः सायांकरे द्विजेश्वस्य सौभाग्यसः |
   आलोकितामुद्धरसम्बन्धवस्तुस्त्रत्रक्षरसम् | कुञ्जरो चारिपि कुञ्जरो च युद्धकार्यास्मिष्याखितम् |
   Matsya P. Cf. also बागमीचापिभ्यार्हितमसिन्य। Agni P.
5 वा सोमसंस्कर्तः सायां श्रास्मिष्य प्रचौ प्रवेदत।
र०सान्यरममिण दीवं कष्ट्यार्हितस्यस्य।
   आलोकितामुद्धरसम्बल्कम्य सायां श्रास्मिष्य च नामने। Hemādri.
to the descriptions given above. The image at the Mathura Museum has a halo of flames, two attendants of which the one to the right has a goat's head. The image, at the Indian Museum, is one of a corpulent dwarf with a beard having flames around the body, holding a rosary and a Kamanedalu and riding on a goat.

Metaphysically, Agni represents the Rajo-Guna or active principle and he is the greatest manifestation of energy on earth. The flames all round his body explain his energetic nature. His long beard symbolises the fact that he is the oldest of all gods. As he is the central figure in all Yajñas, he bears a Kamanedalu, and his wife is Svāhā, literally meaning Mantra for libation. A goat is also a symbol of Rajo-Guna and so it is invariably found as a vehicle of Agni in all his representations.

Varuna.—The most characteristic point in connexion with the images of Varuna is his noose (Pāša). The Sanskrit books all agree in this respect while describing the representations of Varuna. As regards the vehicle of the god, descriptions of the books seem to be divided. According to the Brhatasamhitā his vehicle must be a goose, according to Agni-Purāṇa, it is a crocodile, while Matsya-Purāṇa makes it a deer.

Images of Varuna are comparatively rare in Northern India. One seldom meets with a figure of Varuna in any museum of importance in this part of India. An image of Varuna with the vehicle of Makara (Crocodile) was found in a temple of Kāṅgra district.

Varuna being the god of water and ocean, the sym-

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1 See Catalogue of the Arch. Museum at Mathura, p. 99, Fig. No. D24. Dr. Vogel was probably in error as he took the object in the left hand of the figure to be a bag, which, on close examination, I found to be nothing else but a Kamanedalu.

2 Bloch's Supple. Cat., Indian Museum, p. 90, Fig. 3924. What the late Dr. Bloch took to be a ram (mesha) is, in our opinion, the usual vehicle of Agni, namely, a goat.

3 द्वायायांक पाण्डरति: ब्र. साम्हिति।

Cf. मकरे चक्रां गामिषा। अग्नि प।

बायङ्गः प्रवलावधारी पाण्डरति मथावधाराः। मात्याप।

4 समावधारा वर्णः पञ्चावधारं। इबिद.

5 Arch. Annual, 1915-16, Plate XXXIV, a.
bols in his image, directly and indirectly bear proof of his aquatic nature. His vehicle, whether it be a crocodile, or a goose, is evidently an aquatic animal. Why he bears a noose (Pasa) has not been explained anywhere. In our opinion, it is not properly a noose but a net or a rope for a sea-man, a fisherman or a pearl-fisherman. This also points to the fact that Varuṇa being the god of the sea, the most characteristic mark of marine activities is his rope or a net by which, in various ways, wealth can be earned out of and through the sea itself. That is why we find Varuṇa represented as having a necklace of pearls on his neck and holding a conch, a lotus, a rope and a pot of gems, all having connexion with the sea and water.\footnote{1}

\textbf{Kuvera.—}The main points in the description of his image are:—He must have a pot-belly, the vehicle of either a man or a ram, a purse and a club in his hands and a crown on his head.\footnote{2} According to the Matsya-Purana, he is adorned with rich ornaments in his ears, on the arms and on the neck.\footnote{3} According to the Viṣṇudharmottara he is four-handed having a club and a sākoti in them, holding with the remaining hands, his consort called \textit{Vṛddi Devī} on his left thigh.\footnote{4}

All extant sculptures of Kuvera, more or less, agree with these descriptions. There is a fine image of Kubera in the Indian Museum with a purse in his hand.\footnote{5} A Benares image of Kubera is noteworthy for its novel type.\footnote{6}

\footnote{1} सुन्दराचारिवृत्तिः।
पापाणी करे कायं तेषदविचित्रस्यायः।
ब्राह्मचर्यायं व प्राचीनो मयायां कार्येतु।

\footnote{2} नारायण: कुवेरी चाम: करीकोटी चक्षुकृषिः।

\footnote{3} विष्णुहर्मोत्तरः।

\footnote{4} कुवेर च प्रवर्त्त्तिः कुप्पतः श्यामांकसमः।
चारकेतयरलं विनात्समर्थर सदा
गुडङ्ग च कराय वर्द सुकुमारिनामः।

\footnote{5} स्मृतिविवर्त्तिः मयायां वायी कार्येतु।

\footnote{6} मत्स्या प्राणः।

\footnote{7} समानदर्शनं वितोपपथसनविमोचनः।

\footnote{8} वामीन्द्रसमणा कायम द्विदीपी वर्दाः।

\footnote{9} \textit{Vṛddi Devī} evidently takes the form of Hārīti in the Buddhist sculptures of Kubera and Hārīti.

\footnote{1} Indian Museum, Cabinet 13, No. 3912.

\footnote{2} The author's "Benares Iconographical Notes."
The curious combination of Kuvera with Gaṇeṣa may be noticed in an image of the Mathura Museum now kept under a temporary shed attached to it.

Kuvera, literally meaning 'one having an ugly body,' shows in image also many ugly features. He has a pot-belly and two large teeth.¹ His prototype seems to be the modern Bāniyā who has generally a large belly owing to his sedentary habits. His rich ornaments, his palanquin, his purse, his consort being Vṛddhi (meaning 'prosperity') all speak well for his being the god of wealth. His connexion with Gaṇeṣa, as in the figure of Mathura, may be explained as arising from Kailasa, the common abode of both of them where used to dwell the Yakṣas, Gaṇas and other hilly tribes.

The eight Dīkpalas.—Of the remaining Dīkpalas, namely, Indra, Vāyu, Nāirṛita and Yama, we shall discuss their iconic types only briefly, inasmuch as the images of these four are seldom met with in Northern India. The emblem of Indra is Vajra and his vehicle is an elephant. Vāyu rides on a deer and bears a flag. Nāirṛita’s vehicle is an ass and his attribute is a sword. Yama holds a staff riding on a buffalo.²

Kāma.—He is described as having either two hands or eight hands. In the case of two, he bears the symbols of a bow and an arrow made of flowers.³ In the case of eight hands, he holds a conch, a lotus, a bow and an arrow in his four hands, the remaining ones rest on the bodies of his wives. He has two wives called Priti and Rati and a symbol of a Makara.⁴

¹ दे च देने गुणे श्रम करै जेशे, etc., Hemādri.
² दुर्गोष्टिः मोहाइः...
³ यभी दुधी च महिषे नीचसे बहुवाल्करे।
⁴ चर्चेः पुत्रार्थों च बामे प्रजामयं धमुः। Matsya P.
⁵ चार्चेः प्रकाशा च चार्चेः प्रजापद्वाराय:। चार्चवाच्छत्वाचबधा...।
⁶ दहस्ते प्रीतिस्वाभा मक्खी...।
⁷ नर्तक भक्तन् काठ: पंचावल्मण्वाय:। Hemādri.
An image of this description was found in Bihar and is now preserved in the Indian Museum.\(^1\)

Kāma is the god of love, youth and desire and resembles the god Cupid of Europe. Kāma literally means ‘desire’ and his consorts Prīti means ‘pleasure’ and Rāti means ‘enjoyment.’ The images are an allegorical representation of love and its sports. Flowers are things of enjoyment and especially used by lovers. The symbol of Makara in his image justifies his name of Makara-Ketana and Makaraddhaja. Makara is believed to be a symbol of sensual powers.

The Nine Planets.—The image of the Sun, the chief of the planetary system, having been discussed already, the remaining planet-gods, Sc., Chandra (the Moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu and Ketu need some general treatment. Chandra or the Moon is described as having either four or two hands with the attributes of lotus-buds or a club and Varada posture. He is seated in a chariot drawn by ten horses and driven by two charioteers.\(^2\) He has two queens on either side called Kāntī and Śobhā. An image of Chandra answering to the above description is preserved in the Nagpur Museum.\(^3\)

The following are the brief descriptive notes with regard to other planets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hands</th>
<th>Vehicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maṅgala (4 hands)</td>
<td>4 hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sakti, Spear, Club), Varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budha</td>
<td>image like that of Viṣṇu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛhaspati (2 hands)</td>
<td>(a book and a rosary.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śukra (2 hands)</td>
<td>Chariot drawn (Treasure and a book.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by 8 horses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) Indian Museum, Cabinet 15, Fig. No. 3812.

\(^2\) चन्द्रोदयमहाशौचे, सर्वनाथयहृदिणी, कुमुदीच्छिंदिनो कायों भव देवसा दशायो।

\(^3\) दूधादुं प्रह र्ये कायों रिचुं र्ये वर्षार्जो। हेमाद्रि।

Cf. also मद्रायुधिधिनांक र्ये वर्षार्जो मर्द: गम्यो | Viṣṇu Dharmottara.

\(^3\) Descriptive List of Exhibits of the Nagpur Museum, p. 1, Plate 1 (a).
HANDS.  
**Sani**  . . . 2 hands  . . .  Chariot.
(Staff and rosary.)

**Rāhu**  . . . 2 hands  . . .  Chariot.
(Blanket and book.)

Ketu—like the representation of Maṅgala.¹

Separate and detached images of the planets except those of the sun and the moon have not unfortunately come down to us. The images are, in usual, found together in one slab. For example, we have some slabs in the Indian Museum containing representations of the Navagrahas.²

Genetically the images of the planets were developed out of the images of deities, who are supposed to preside over them. Thus we get the following table on the authority of Sanskrit books:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHANDRA</td>
<td>VARUṆA. (a).³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MaṅGALa</td>
<td>KARTTIKEYA. (b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budha</td>
<td>VīṢNU. (c).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrHiASPATI</td>
<td>BRAHMĀ. (d).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukra</td>
<td>ŚAKRA OR INDRA. (e).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SanI</td>
<td>YAMA. (f).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāhu</td>
<td>SERPENT. (g).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketu</td>
<td>MAṅGALa. (h).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ भौतिक—भौतिकात्मकः कारणस्थापने कारणे रथे। Matsya P.

² . . . . . . . कारणस्थापारुषारुषगः। विश्वद्वारणम्।” Visṇu Dharmottara.

³ पुष्पथ—विश्वायुनाान् वधे कारण। . . . . .

 четыре—पुष्पाधि कारणस्त्रावष कारणे। Hemadri.

चतुष्ण—धी कारण कारणी तथा लिपिस्वस्कर्मस्य। Ibid.

शति—द्वितेष्ट्वाथायुष्याः करारिन्युपस्थानः। Ibid.

राजे—कल्वता पुष्पाधि कारण भुजेश्वरस्य पायुष्यम्। Ibid.

करते—भौतिक स्थान रथे कः कारणे विश्वद्वारणा। Ibid.

² Indian Museum, Brahmānic sculptures, Cabinet 20, Nos. 4167, 4168, 4169, Cabinet 17, No. 4182. Also, see Nine Planets, H. 99, Pro-
vincial Museum, Lucknow.

³ (a) “कारणस्पद्धारुषारुषायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायु
(b) “कारणस्पद्धारुषारुषायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायुनायु

The attributes of water lilies, etc., in the case of Chandra as indicating his aquatic nature, those of Śakti, etc., in the case of Mangala indicating his warlike character, those of Viṣṇu, in the case of Budha signifying his nature of intelligence, the symbols of Aksamāla, book, etc., in the case of Bṛhaspati indicating his nature of penance and meditation, those of treasure, etc., in the case of Śukra indicating his kingly nature and those of staff, etc., in the case of Śani indicating his destructive nature, and so on, have a special reference to the iconic development attempted above.

Revanta, belonging to the family of Sūrya, is, according to Sanskrit authorities, a god riding on a horse and his image represents a typical hunting scene.¹

Some four images of Revanta have been preserved in the Indian Museum.² An image of the same deity has been discovered in Benares.³ The images of Revanta are often mistaken for those of Kalki. It is remarkable, however, that the former differ from the latter by the clear representation of attendants, such as dogs, musicians, etc., as for hunting.⁴

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(c) "भारायमादिविष् बिष्णुप्रतिदिवेन्म्
(d) "वणाचापिसदम्
(e) "माकापिवेनम् धारितम्
(f) "यमाचावेनम्
(g) "चपेटपिदिवेनम्
(h) Footnotes op. cit.

¹ रेवनायाब्रह्म ब्रह्माचार्याधिकार भ्रत सांति.
Cf. दस्मक्ष्या मन्यत् कायम् रेवनाय न समंप्रभु हेमढ्री.
² Indian Museum, Brahmanic sculptures, Cabinet 15, Nos. 3621, 3777, 3776 and 3775.
³ See the author’s paper “Benares Iconographical Notes.”
CHAPTER II.

THE ORTHODOX HINDU GODDESSES.

General observations.—The energetic principle of the universe as conceived of differentially led to its various minor aspects, such as the motherhood, the sisterhood and the wifehood, in all of which forms the consorts of the Hindu gods have appeared in their Pantheon. These consorts are called Śaktis or Devis and are attached to each of the principal gods; sometimes, however, each god has more than one Śakti or consort who partakes of the nature of her husband in dress and divine symbols. The vehicles of the goddesses are not always the same as those of their gods. Lakṣmi, the spouse of Viśṇu, has, of course, Garuḍa as her riding animal, but Pārvatī has a lion as her vehicle, being distinct from a bull in the case of her husband. The Aṣṭa-mātrikas share, in a great measure, the symbols, the dress, etc., of their husband-gods. The Mukuta or the head-dress, the ornaments and the lower garment are all strikingly similar to those of the gods. The only clear mark by which the images of the goddesses are to be distinguished from those of the gods is the presence of female signs of breasts. Another point, worthy of remark in this connexion, is that different aspects of one goddess have been, in art, developed under different forms. The so-called ‘fierce-looking’ goddesses had all their origin in Pārvatī or Durgā, the energy of Śiva or Rudra, in the time of her contest with the demons, Durgā, Śambha, Niśumbha, Chaṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Rakatavija and others. The images of goddesses, so far found out, cover the same historical period to which those of the consort gods are usually attributed. The fact has now met with general consent from scholars that the cult of Śakti is coeval with the cult of the Purāṇas, both of which being direct descendants of the Vedic religion. Similarly, it may be said, with some good presumption, that the images of the Hindu female deities belong to as much antiquity as is claimed for those of the male and their locales also were similarly widely distributed.
With these few general remarks, we pass on to the details of our subject.

**Gauri.**—Her image is, generally speaking, the same as described in connexion with Hara-Gauri or Uma-Maheśvara image. But, in cases where she appears independently of her consort, we notice, as her usual symbols, a mirror and a trident in place of a lotus. A variant of the same goddess known as Ambikā has also a lotus and rides on a lion. The form of Gauri, according to Hemādri, is that of a maiden having the symbols of a rosary, protection, lotus and Kamundalu in her four hands.

Gauri, Umā and Pārvatī are different names of the same goddess, the consort of Śiva and consequently, the images, with slight modifications, represent the uniform type of the same goddess. The examples of the Gauri image are to be noticed, with insignificant variance in details, in different museums of Northern India. Thus, sometimes, we find her with a lion-vehicle or with Kārttikeya on her left thigh.

Mythologically Gauri or Pārvatī or Umā was the second wife of Śiva after the demise of his first wife Sati. Both the husband and the wife were the natives of the Himalayas, and thus many characteristics of their nativity in the hills have been retained in their representations. The vehicle of a lion, the white complexion in the case of Gauri, the skin garment, the horn, the Damaru, still used by the Tibetan Lāmās in the case of Śiva, may be instanced in this connexion. In sculpture, as also in literature, three

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1. नारी तु हिमज्जना अथा सुप्रसिद्धि दर्शणानिः। Agni P.
2. उत्तमाः—चक्रस्यं तु समिस्त दुष्पर्यं तु कमलासर्वम्। Hemādri.
3. Our authorities strongly differ from the Kāśyapa-Śūlpa and the Mānasāra, books of evidently later date, in respect to the general form of the Goddess Gauri. See H. Krisnasastri's "South-Indian Gods and Goddesses, p. 190.
4. शिक्षा ज्ञानिकाः अथा भूषण दर्पणाद्वित्तम्। Laksmana-Samuccaya.
5. नारायणरैः पद्म स्मादाध्य कमलाशु। सीताः शिवबधामोऽविष्ठा कल्यः कमलासाधना।
6. Nos. 6270 and 3953, Cabinet 15, Brahmanic Sculptures, Indian Museum, cf. No. 3948, also cf. Fig. A34, Nagaipur Museum, Fig. D25, Mathura Museum. What are called "Ornamental" sculptures—Br. 1, 4, Indian Museum, are in reality two fine representations of Gauri. In one she holds Čārvitkeya in her hands and in another she holds a mirror, a sure mark of Gauri.
stages of Gauri’s life have been depicted. Gauri’s penance shown in her figure standing upon one leg shows her girl-
hood. Her married life is aptly symbolised by the amorous Hara-Gauri image, where Gauri is holding a mirror and a lotus—two pet objects of youthful sports. The image in which Gauri is represented as holding her child Kārttikeya on her lap shows the typical motherhood, probably just like the picture of the Madonna. Evidently the three stages of woman’s life, namely, the girlhood, the married life and the motherhood, have been by the Indian artists sculptured in Gauri images.¹

Durgā or Chandī and her different forms.
—The almost stereotyped form of Durgā in Sāṃskṛt literature is that she has ten or more arms equipped with various weapons, is standing on a lion and is engaged in slaying the buffalo demon Mahiṣāsura. One of her hands is in the posture of hurling a spear against the chest of the demon.² According to Hemādri, the image of Chandikā should have twenty hands.³ The other details are all the same as described in the Matsya and Agni Purāṇas. The Durgā reckoned among the nine Durgās (Nava Durgā) has been described as having eighteen arms.⁴

Several sculptures of Durgā or Chandī with ten arms as well as with eighteen arms have been found in Northern India and they may be seen in different archeological museums.⁵

¹ In poetry the life of Gauri seems to be the real backbone of Kalidasa’s Kumāra-Sambhavam.
² बालव्ययं प्रवत्त्यान्ति सर्वं द्रम्भुजं तथा।
निम्नमण्डितं मन्सराणि महिदासुरसर्वादिनीम्।
सर्वमण्डितं निम्नमण्डितं प्रवत्त्यान्त्
मिरचं त्रिदुरं तद्वाम् रायपरायम्।
मुदंकलेण निम्नमण्डितं निम्नमण्डितविभिषिणम्।
Matsya P.
Cf. शिवदेवी दमोधरा या ्तदानारिनिगिरिकसर्वम्।
द्वे वामे महापारं चाम्भीकृतार्कवर्णम्।
वनां च भवनं च सहिष्ठेण डूरसेन प्रवत्तीपाल।
Agni P.
स्त्रियापि—बलबपूर्वके तु पुष्पाय बालविविलिनम्बतां।
नद्रीसनिष्ठितवर्णवयूहं पत्तिनमस्कृत।
Hemādri.
⁴ नवजुड़ापायं—करारामुखिका तु च पोशाकोषिकाः।
Ibid.
⁵ For ten-armed Durgā, see Mahishamardini, Sn. 2 (Anderson,
The image of Durgā or Chaṇḍi is the image of embodied energy. She is the type of central energy and all her symbols and attributes emphatically signify the true meaning of her representation. All the gods gave their best weapons to her, which she bears and her vehicle the lion, the king of beasts, is another symbol of energy. The fight with the demon in which she is engaged is the fight between the higher force with the lower force, with the resultant subjugation of the latter by the former.

Maṅgala or Sarvamangalā is another form of Durgā in which she has the lion vehicle, has four hands but is not fighting with or slaying any demon. Images of this form of Durgā are common in Northern India.

Lakṣmī.—Two types of her representation may be distinguished, of which we find descriptions in Sanskrit literature. In one form she is Vaiṣṇavi and has the symbols of Saṅkha, lotus, etc., like those of her consort. The female signs of breasts and lotus are her most characteristic cognizances. According to Hemādri, she is to be sculptured with four hands with the symbols of a lotus with a stalk, a Keyura (armlet), a Vīva, and a Saṅkha (conch). There is an Amritaghaṭa by her left side and her lion-vehicle. No image of this description has yet come down to us. The images of Lakṣmī, commonly met with in the museums and elsewhere, have the symbols of Viṣṇu in the four hands.

Cat. II, p. 246), Indian Museum, Fig. A38, Nagpur Museum; for eighteen-armed Durgā, Fig. D12. For eight-armed, or twelve-armed forms of Durgā, see Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XVII, p. 30, Vol. X, p. 50. Mathura Museum.

1 चन्द्राणां: प्रजाएऽविष्कारसंज्ञा येष्मंसद्यं। चन्द्राणां कम च देशे मुतुकुशीभरोपये।

Hemādri.

For an illustration of the goddess, see the author’s ‘Benares Iconographical Notes.’

2 प्रसदं चन्द्राणां कायां देवी विष्कारसंज्ञा मुमभा। विष्कारसंज्ञा द्रामसंज्ञा।

For a list of goddesses, see A17, Nagpur Museum, C. Anderson, Cat. II. p. 333, MS. 2. Vaiṣṇavi image, ‘‘Benares Iconographe Notes.” It is interesting to
Another form of Lakṣmī better known as Śrī has been described as seated on a lotus, holding either two lotuses or a lotus and a Bel fruit (Śrīphala) in her hands. She is bathed by two elephants pouring out water over her. One of the most ancient images of Śrī has been found on the Sānchi gateway. Images of later date have also been found in Northern India.

The image of Lakṣmī or Śrī as the names imply symbolises the universal beauty and prosperity. Her symbol, the lotus, is an excellent emblem of beaux yeux, that delights the human sight, the moral sense and the intellect. The two elephants, showering water over her from either side, is a grand sight of royalty and prosperity. Mythologically, she came out of waters and thus in sculpture, her inherent love for water and aquatic objects, is adequately shown in her showerbath and water lotuses and her conch. She is said to be the prosperity of heaven, the fortune of the kings on earth and the ideal in every house.

Prithivi.—The description, occurring in the Viṣṇu-dharmottara, requires her image to be made as having four hands, which should bear a pot of herbs and a lotus. There should be four elephants standing behind her. Images of Prithivi as a main figure are extremely unavailable in Northern India. The Varāha image of Viṣṇu

note that there is a Vaisnavi, Fig. (No. D6), in the Mathura Museum with ten arms, each holding a wheel (chakra).

1. पद्मासा पद्मचार च मण्डललिविषयं वस्त्राः | Hemādri.
Cf. पद्म पद्मा द्राक्ष वीकः दिविषयेन करे ।... पद्मास्वरविषयाणि पद्मचिंद्रविषयताम्।
करिधां जायतान्य च अश्वाराम चालनकामः।

2. See for example, the Figs. D9, D17 of the Mathura Museum.

3. समर्पय च समर्पकृत्य भद्रमस्यन्द्रकपिल |... पद्मानि च समर्पोऽर्जु राजस्तथिनः राजस्तु |... पद्मविकासते विरिष्ठी च कलामया | ... Brama Vaivarta P., Prakṛiti
Khaṇḍa, Aḍhāya 32, 33.
contains an image of Mahi or Prithivi without any distinct symbol.¹

The image, in question, symbolises the earth and its various products useful to man, of which a pot of gems gives him wealth, a pot of grains nourishment, a pot of herbs health and a lotus a material for the growth of aesthetic sense.

Manasā.—It is curious that the Purānas give no description of the image of this goddess, which had an extensive cult behind it. We have a number of figures representing this goddess in the museums of Northern India and in the Mayurbhanja State.² In most cases, the figure of the Devi holds a child on her lap probably Āstika and is flanked by a canopy formed by seven hoods of cobras. What is known as Nāgāmatā is no other than Manasā (Cactus). The juice of the plant is believed to have a healing effect in cases of a snake-bite.

The Dhyāna of this goddess as given in Vasu’s book has very little correspondence with the actual representations extant. But one point is evident that a canopy behind the goddess of the hoods of many cobras is a true mark of the identification of Manasā.

It is recorded in the Purānas that in ancient times, people were greatly terrified by the prevalence of many snakes and Kāśyapa, at the advice of Brahmā and following the tradition of the Vedas, created many Mantras and the presiding deity Manasā (undoubtedly the Indian Cactus, the word literally meaning ‘Mind-born’).³

It is interesting to note that a species of Manasā called Phani-Manasā has the appearance of a cluster of

¹ A small image of Prithivi in the author’s collection, in a great measure, satisfies the description of the goddess.
² Brahmanic Sculptures, Indian Museum, Table C, Nos. 3950, 3951; Rangpur Parishad Museum contains a fine image of Manasā with an inscription in the Proto-Bengali character; Vasu’s Mayurbhanja Arch. Survey, p. XXXVIII.
³ पुरा नामस्यास्माता स्वयम्भूवीष्या भवि |
बाल व्यास सादिञ्च समाधिते स जीविति भवद् ||
मन्त्राश्च महते भीतः कश्चिप्रकृत्याभिषिक्तः |
देवोऽजुमाध्यं च पीपेर्य्य वद्याः ||
मन्त्रामिद्यालेद्वीष्यमान मनस्या महते ततः | Brahma Vaivarta P.
expanded hoods of cobras. The discovery of this Indian plant so useful in curing snake-bites, seems to be the origin of this goddess and partly her representation.

**Kālī and her different forms.**—She is described as having two hands, one of which bears a skull and the other a branch of a palm tree (*Karnīkā*). The description does not mention any dead body on which the goddess may be seen dancing in a representation.

Another form of Kālī called Kālarātrī has been described as having a *Vinā*, ear-ornaments, thorny ornaments of iron on her left leg. She is riding on an ass, her body is besmeared with oil and her hair is parted uphill. An image of this account has been preserved in the Donriyābir temple at Benares. As the description goes, the image of Kālarātrī might have evolved into the image of Śitālā of modern times.

Still another form of Kālī known as Mahākālī has four arms with the symbols of a knife, a vessel, a skull and a shield. A garland of skulls is thrown round her head.

Images of this description have also been found but without identification.

The allegorical significance of Kālī is one of great moment as it has a bearing upon the Tantrik form of worship. Kālī or Kalarātrī, as the names mean is the goddess of Night, chaos and destruction. Her origin is given at length in the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* which we discussed elsewhere. Her very symbols carry the inner meaning of her nature and symbolise the destructive aspect of nature which interested the Indian artist repre-

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1. Indian Museum, Brahmanic Sculptures, No. 3941.
2. Hemādri.
3. What was described by Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol. XII, p. 75, as a "female divinity" is in fact an example of this goddess.
senting not a part but the whole of her mysteries. The symbols of a skull, a corpse, a cup of blood and a garland of skulls, all show the inevitable last moment of everything, which we call 'death' or dissolution. A branch of a palm tree shows the victory of Time (Kāla or Kālī). Yet she has been called the remover of fear (Bhaya-nāśini) because, according to Hindu Dharma, death is, after all, a gate through which the eternal soul passes from one body to another. Her wild dance, on an inert human figure, probably representing Purusha or Śiva (who has eight forms), symbolises the darkness, which enveloped the universe in the time of creation.\(^1\)

**Krisodari.—** We shall now discuss the skeleton goddesses of which Krisodari is the typical form. The description of her image is as follows. She is devoid of any flesh and full of ribs and bones. Her hair is turned upward and her stomach emaciated. She is dressed in a tiger’s skin. Her four hands bear the symbols of a skull, a certain weapon called *Pattiśa*, a trident and a sword. She is on a corpse and adorned with ornaments of bones.\(^2\)

All the so known Chāmundā figures are, in fact, more in agreement with the description of Krisodari than with that of Chāmundā and should be rightly called Krisodari.\(^3\)

**Chāmundā.—** The mark by which her image is to be distinguished from that of Krisodari, both being skeleton figures, is the emaciated eye.\(^4\) According to Hemādri, she

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1. शाहीदिद्द तस्मापस... Manu.
2. निमीशा चालिसारा वा अश्वेयोजी चामोदरी व्रटिपूथरी नावे कपालं पदिं जरेः।
3. प्रवस बली दर्दिसम्। श्रवणकामिनीधर्मिश्या। Agni P.
4. ग्यायकाराकाव्यसम्म कुमारिचित्र हतोद्रिदम् etc., Matsya P.
5. Indian Museum, Brahmanic sculptures, No. 3943, is not a figure of Chāmundā but that of Krisodari. Similarly, the fig. A30, Nagpur Museum, the best type of Krisodari I have yet seen, is the one now preserved in a temple in Kashipara in Sherpur Sub-division, Bogra District.

See श्रीहर्षयोगाधि कृत्रिक नदिकुरुदीर्घ: दिय नवादिरि।
6. चामुंडा कोटराजी सायत्रमाण्या दु दिक्षिणात्। Agni P.
has ten arms and snakes as her ornaments. The number of hands is not always constant in Indian Sculpture.

The images of Chāmuṇḍā and Kṛiṣṇodari are images of the most conceivable idea of fierceness and grimness. The goddesses seem to be the presiding deities of famine and pestilence. The word Kṛiṣṇodari (literally, meaning one of emaciated stomach) indicates much of the nature of the goddess. Mythologically, as Durgā killed the two demons Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, she received the name of Chāmuṇḍā. The words ‘Chaṇḍa’ and ‘Muṇḍa’ mean the agent of Death and the Serpent (the symbol of death) respectively.

Aṣṭamātrikās.—They form a group of these goddesses—Brāhmī and Aindri, Chāmuṇḍa, Māheswari and Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavi, Chaṇḍikā. The general forms and symbols of these are exactly those of their male counterparts except the female signs. Because these saktis (energies) came into existence from the respective gods to whom they eventually belong during the war between the gods and the demons.

Of these goddesses, the images of Vaiṣṇavi, Vārāhi, Aindri and Chāmuṇḍa and Chaṇḍi, are very commonly met with in Museums and elsewhere in Northern India.

Metaphysically the eight mothers are the ruling deities of the eight passions of the human mind. Thus, desire, anger, greed, vanity, gloom, jealousy, malice, want of

1 चामुंचा प्रेममा रङ्गा विज्ञानार्धचिरस्त्रम ।
   दंडराया चीवेर्दा च मातां भीतिकपिष ।
   दिमाक्ष: चामुंकुणिया ...। Hemādri.

2 See Vasu’s Mayurbhanja Arch. Sur., p. XX, footnote. This book contains some good illustrations of skeleton figures, such as Chāmuṇḍa, Bhīmā, Rudra-Bhairavi, all to be classed as Chāmuṇḍa according to their descriptions. Cf. A37 Nagpur Museum.

3 चामुंकंिति नती लोके खामा देवी भविषयवाद । चक्षु ।

4 चामुंक संहं च चमुंकार्थ मायार्थादि ।
   मार्काश्या च महारथसुरास योकाययो ॥ Mārkaṇḍeya P.

5 See, for an image of Vaiṣṇavi, 3939 Fig. Brahmanic sculpture, Indian Museum; Vārāhi—the Vārāhi temple, Benares, Aindri—3938, Indian Museum. The rest have been treated already.
malice are presided over by Yogiswari, Maheşvari, Vaisnavi respectively.  

From another point of view—the social point of view—these eight goddesses are the motherhood of the family and society. These ladies should be regarded and respected as a mother, the wife of a preceptor, the wife of a king, the wife of a Brahman, one who is a Sati, the wife of a brother, the wife of a son, the wife of a friend, the mother of a friend, the aunt, the mother-in-law, the step-mother, the midwife, and so on.

Saraswati.—She is generally described as having four hands. All descriptions give her a book and a rosary, but according to one of them, she has a Vina or a stringed instrument, according to another, she has a Kamandalu.

The North Indian images of Saraswati, except in special cases, accord with this description.

In sculpture the image of Saraswati is found either as detached and single or in combination with Brahmā, her consort. The example of the former, though not many, has been discovered in Northern India. The example of the latter may be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The vehicle of the goddess seems to be either a swan or a pea-fowl. But as in older descriptions, so in an ancient image, her vehicle appears to be totally absent.

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1 कांमा विष्णुस्नितम् कर्त्तर्वत्मा ब्रह्मुर्वरस्ति तथा ||
लोकमोहस्थस्वाहिनी शिरस्वती राजवानी मद्य एव च ||
मातं सरस्वती जीवितानि मातृबनी वैष्णविक विदुः ||
पाती देशकरं देवी प्रेममण्य प्रमुनेन च ||
चन्दनयान लक्ष्मणाः देवोंता परंकीर्तितं || Varāha Purāna.

2 मातवं माताः—गुरीः परी राजपति विप्रपति च या मली ||
पलो च भावदुर्धयोभिषचयस्य च नगप्रकाश ||
प्रस्थ: भविष्यपोषान्वें पलो च च्या लक्ष्मणकाः ||
 Brahmapa Vaivarta P.

3 पुनाचार्याः च वैष्णवाः परस्तरी ||
Agni P.

Cf. देशोऽस्थोऽस्थास्त्राः कायाः ||
भाषयोऽभाष्यं ज्ञानं जीवितस्य च कस्यवशं || Hemādri.

4 Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Reports, Vol. IX, p. 125. An image of Saraswati under the name of Sāradā is still worshipped on a hill at Mahiyar on the Jubbulpore line.

The image of Saraswati essentially represents her as the presiding deity of learning and devotion. The goddess Saraswati is not only the goddess of knowledge but equally the divine mother who is the spirit of all fine arts. Her book is the symbol of her intimate connexion with learning, so is the lute, a symbol of music and fine arts. She has a rosary (Aksamālā) and a Kamandalu which shew her relation with Brahmā; so probably they prove and imply a great truth of the world that learning cannot flourish without the combination of devotion, meditation (Aksamālā being an instrument of practical meditation) and sacrifice. The image of Saraswati with the vehicle of a pea-fowl has not yet been found. Should such an image at all come to light, the vehicle would mean that the river Saraswati (the modern Sarsuti) teems on its banks with pea-fowls of several descriptions. The connexion of the goddess Saraswati with the river Saraswati is not too obscure to be traced with any definiteness. On the banks of this river, in the land of Brahmagupta, the sages of the Vedas used to represent a truly conspicuous seat of learning. Hence in later times the goddess of learning was called Saraswati or, in other words, one having a sheet of water, meaning thereby her right connexion with the river Saraswati.

The river goddesses Gangā and Yamunā.—Gangā has been described as holding an urn and a lotus and as riding on a crocodile. The vehicle is the most characteristic of her image. Yamunā, another river-goddess, has an urn in her hand and a tortoise as her vehicle. A large number of figures of these goddesses has been found at different places in Northern India. All of them correspond to the descriptions with an insignificant

1 वेदा: मानसापि मनोचित यज्ञीनादिकं च यत्।
न विद्यौऽन्न पर्यं देविं तथा मे मन्न विद्ययं। Matsya P.
2 कुम्भुकपस्य बेसमाय सकरोपरि ब्राह्मणी।
कुशेरा यथतः कुशकर्करा स्माय च पुष्पितं। Agni P.

3 See “River Goddess at Udayagiri,” V. A. Smith’s “A Hist. of fine arts in India and Ceylon.” The late Dr. Smith called the Besanagar image of Gangā the best, whereas a sculpture of Gangā now preserved in the Nagpur Museum, No. A43, has been described in the Catalogue as “an unique example of its kind, etc.”
variance in details. A well-preserved figure of Yamunā may be seen in the Indian Museum. The images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been rather used in sculpture as decorations of the door jamb than as separate and principal images for worship.

The meaning of these images is perhaps more than clear. They represent the two most sacred rivers of Āryāvarta or Northern India. The urn, in each case, is the most common symbol of household pot for fetching water. The two vehicles of a crocodile and a tortoise are extremely appropriate as the Ganges swarms with crocodiles and the Jumna teems with tortoises.

The Yoginis.—They are sixty-eight in number, the description of each of which is given in the Sanskrit work called the Maya-dvipika.

The Purāṇas, so far as I know, do not give such accounts. The Yoginis are attendants of Durgā or Kālī in the same way as the Bhairavas are the attendants of Rudra or Śiva. They, as well as their images, carry, however, only a subordinate importance. Thus we refrain from discussing them to any detailed extent. In Central India the images of the Yoginis, though not occupying the principal position in a shrine, may be seen for details and comparison. There are temples in many parts in Northern India known as "Chounsat Jogini" temples (Skt. Chatuh-śaṣṭi Yogini).

Though, as is apparently seen, the images of the Yoginis signify their general character as the attendants of Durgā, yet there are abstract ideas behind them which their names clearly imply. As, for example, one Yogini is called Kṣemā meaning 'auspicious,' another is called Lālāsā or 'greed,' and so on. As the name Yogini suggests, they ought to betray a meditative nature. But the appearance of most of them is fierce and ugly. Thus, like the Śakti images, in general, they combine both the fierce and meditative aspects expressed in the poses of all their representations.

1 Indian Museum, Brahmanic sculptures, Cabinet 15, No. 3954.
2 Quoted by Hemādri in his Chaturverga-chintāmani.
3 Cunningham, Arch. S. Reports, Vol. IX, p. 65 and p. 70.
CHAPTER III.

THE MUDRĀS, ĀSANAS, SYMBOLS AND DRESS IN BRAHMANIC ART.

The Mudrās.—Mudrās have not been given so much importance in Brahmanic sculpture as they have been in the Buddhist iconic art. Mudrās are certain positions of the hands and fingers assumed by the figures in a sculpture to symbolise certain mythologic facts or some benign action on the part of the divinity. The Bhūmis-parśa-mudrā, for instance, in Buddhist art has a mythological episode behind it. Brahmanic images have only Abhaya and Varada mudrās in common with the Buddhist sculptural figures. The reason why mudrās are less important in orthodox Hindu art may be explained by the presence of their substitutes in a great number of weapons and attributes held by the Brahmanic deities. The Buddha figures are generally devoid of any such weapons and material symbols. Again the mudrās in the Brahmanic literature convey, also, the sense of certain symbolical marks of paint borne by the devotees of different religious sects. These mudrās or marks have names for them according as they refer to the gods concerned. Thus nineteen mudrās are known to be of Viṣṇu. Some of them are, śāmka, cakra, gada, padma, śrivatsa, kaus-tubha, vana-mālā, etc. Śiva has ten mudrās sacred to him, sc., the lingam or the phallic symbol, the trident, the rosary, damaru, etc. Sūrya or the sun has one mudrā, namely, the lotus. Gaṇeśa has seven mudrās, some of which are the tusk, the goad, the axe, the rice-ball, etc. The mudrās for Saraswati are the lute, the book and the rosary. Similarly the mudrā for Agni is seven flames.

[Footnotes]
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Thus it is obvious that in orthodox Hindu literature, the mudrās are the symbolic reproductions of the characteristic emblems of the divinities and not, generally speaking, the peculiar positions of the hands and fingers as those of the Buddhist figures. Such mudrās as of the latter kind are usually assumed by the Hindu devotees and are really more for the worshippers than for the worshipped. The few that may be seen in Brāhmaṇic sculpture are described below. The mudrās in the sense of marks as detailed above have a special importance from the iconographic point of view, inasmuch as they appear to be the key-notes of the characteristic definitions of the particular deities.

The Abhaya-mudrā.—Literally ‘Abhaya’, means ‘no fear’, i.e. protection. In this posture one hand should be raised with the palm outwards. Many multi-handed images of Brāhmaṇism represent this mudrā in one of their hands.

The Varada mudrā.—In the posture of Varada (‘confering a boon’) the hand hangs down with the palm inwards. The images of gods and goddesses mostly show this posture in one of their hands.

Asanas.—The subject of Asanas is likewise not very informative so far as the Brāhmaṇic images are concerned. Asana literally means ‘sitting’ or ‘the object to sit upon,’ but as understood in the Yoga literature, it signifies a variety of modes of sitting partly with the help of which abstract meditation is performed by a devotee. Iconographically, the Asana refers to the particular positions assumed by the deities, male and female, in their sculptural representations. Asanas are, in fact, physical postures of the legs and feet just as mudrās are postures of the hands and fingers. The Brāhmaṇic images are to be seen mainly in four postures—namely, the standing, sitting, riding...
on either a vehicle or an animal, and reclining. Strictly speaking, the Asana ought to have reference to sitting only; but, in point of fact, so far as iconography is concerned, it has come to have an extended meaning and includes the two other postures mentioned above. Thus, the Pratyāḥāsana, though, in fact, a standing posture, is an illustration of this extended meaning.

The reason why the images of the divinities have been represented in Asanas is probably evident enough. The images constitute one of the several ways in which prayer or devotion for the Divine in the Hindu sense is performed. And needless to say also that all forms of Hindu worship are governed by the practical side of the Yoga philosophy. Thus, in the Patañjala philosophy, the Asana has been discussed as an important topic. Some of them, as given in the Yoga philosophy, are—the Padmāsana (lotus), Virāsana (heroic), Bhadrāsana (decent), Svastikāsana (like the mystic sign), Daṇḍāsana (staffs), Sopārayāsana (supported), Paryāṅkasana (bedstead), Samasamsthānāsana (evenly balanced), and so forth. Besides these, we possess accounts of the Jñānāsana (wisdom), Vajrāsana (thunderbolt), Yogāsana (abstract meditation) and Ādiḥāsana (the archer's position). Of these we detail below only those that are commonly to be met with in connexion with the Brāhmaṇic images.

The Padmāsana. It is a kind of squatting posture in which the heels of both the legs are drawn to touch the upper thigh joints. According to some authorities, the toes of the feet should also be held by two hands placed cross-wise at the back. With the exception of the last condition, many figures may be found in this posture.

1 Patañjala Sūtra 46, Sādhana Pāda. Commentary by Vyāsa—प्रायम वीराम भद्राम सनिधिः—रविवादिनी।
2 अमृतां सामसारिक गुणदायिनिः पदमभएप्रायमसे न याति—सामसारिक पदमभएप्रायमसे न याति।
3 Rudra-Yāmala-Tantra, paṭala 23, verse 27.
4 Cf. चतुर्विंशतीयोपक्रमेये चशामयस क्वामयेषु प्रायमसे न याति।
5 चतुर्विंशतीयोपक्रमेये चशामयस क्वामयेषु प्रायमसे न याति।

According to Vaiśīṣṭha—quoted by Vijñān Bhikkhu in his Yoga-vārttika (Benares), p. 173.
THE YOGASANA.—A cross-legged position in which the hands should be laid on the lap. A considerable number of seated figures in Hindu Iconography is to be found in this posture.

THE VIRASANA.—The mode of sitting in which one leg will have to be placed on the knee of another and the other leg will remain on the ground. Images represented in this posture are not rare.

THE SVASTIKASANA.—The erect posture of squatting in which the digits of feet are placed at both the pits of the legs and thighs. Examples of this style of sitting are usually met with in Brahmanic sculpture.

THE PARYANKASANA.—A particular kind of posture to be practised sitting on the hams. According to Vasiṣṭha, it is nearly the same as the Virasana. The word ‘Paryaṅka’ means ‘a couch,’ ‘a palanquin,’ and thus, it appears to be the kind of reclining posture, in which one travels in a palanquin. The figure of the Ananta-sāyi Viṣṇu may be described as having the posture of Paryaṅka. Referring to the meaning of couch and the connexion with Virasana, we may describe the Ardha Paryaṅkāsana as the posture in which one leg is allowed to dangle freely, the other being folded up horizontally. Images represented in this posture are abundant in number.

1 See for illustrations, the seated image of Viṣṇu from Mathura, the seated images of Viṣṇu, Śiva from Gāḍāwāi.

2 Rudra-Yāmala-Tantra.


4 Note, for instance, the seated image of Śiva, Nagpur, M. A. 21.

5 Vasiṣṭha’s Yoga-sūtra.

6 Vide the illustration of the Maheśa-mūrti of Benares explored by the author.

7 Vide illustrations of seated Hara and Gauri images, the image of Saraswati, Kriṣṇodāri and others.
THE VAJRĀSANA.—The kind of posture in which the lower portions of the legs are inversely laid upon both the thighs. The palms of the hands will rest upon the thighs. Examples of images, in this posture, are rather rare in Brāhmanic sculpture.

THE ĀLIDHĀSANA.—A kind of archer’s attitude in which the right knee is advanced and the left is retracted. The statues of Vārāhi, Mahā-Lakṣmi are to be found illustrating this posture. Another variety of this posture, rightly speaking, the opposite of this—is called the Pratyālīdhiḥāsana in the mode of which, the left leg is advanced and the right one is retracted. In this posture may be found represented the images of Mahiṣa-Marddini or Kātyāyanī Durgā.

THE SOPĀSRAYĀSANA.—The kind of sitting posture in which the knees of the erect legs are placed against a wooden bar called the “Yoga-paṭṭaka” (called chaugān in the vernacular). Many images of ancient India may be noticed for this posture in iconic representation.

THE SUKHĀSANA.—There is no technical description for it to be found in the Sanskrit literature. But it means literally ‘sitting at ease.’ Thus, it comes to be nearly the same as what has been called the Ārddha-parśvakāsana (vide ante).

The Symbols.—Symbols stand as the infallible connections between the main ideas and the corresponding

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1 Ṛgveda: पादों समायामन हु ये प्रवंदुभावणी
करी निधापद्याय सवासमन्न प्रसम्
Tantra-sāra.

2 भूनिनि द्विषणनुप्रायाकालाण्डखोलकपास्यामि
Amarakośa.

3 भूनिनि पादसमायानविशेष
सतोदया वामपालप्रणारे द्विषणपालकानी
Amarakośa, commentary by Bharata.

Cp. also, भुवनाचार्य पत्नी क पमा जाय नवदेशामि
विनिमयव्य विनिमय सदास्माय प्राविनिमरण
सर्वेन निपर्यात्त प्रवायोद्ध प्राविनिमरण
Agni Purāṇa.

3 भोगपुष्पकोम्मानु धोपासय
Vācaspati Miśra’s Gloss to Pātañjali Śūtras No. 46.

4 Take, for illustration, the image of Brahmā from Gārhwā, showing clear indication of this mode of sitting.
images, which may be regarded as the outcomes thereof. The distinction, which exists amongst the essentially separate ideas, is carried and retained by means of symbols. Iconographically, the symbols serve as the keynotes of correctly identifying an image and distinguishing it from all the others. The whole idea of a deity appears first to have been conceived in a symbol or two in an abstract form and then was expressed in art in the shape of specific material symbols. The abbreviated mark by which the idea underlying an image becomes at once conspicuous before the mind is what is meant by a symbol in iconography. Thus, for instance, the symbols of an urn and a dolphin in the case of a female deity at once strike the keynote of the idea of the river goddess Ganges. Now, the question arises: How are the symbols expressed in Indian sculpture? In a general way, it may be said that they have been represented as accessories to the main figures by weapons, vehicles and certain peculiar marks (chinas). The symbols stand, in fact, as the 'conductors' between the image and its idea. Thus the observation of the elephant in the image of Indra brings back the whole idea of royalty of which an elephant used to be a fundamental emblem. The bull, in India, is a symbol of Dharma and was, thus, used as the vehicle of Śiva, the great Yogi. The inner meanings of these symbols have been given in the presiding chapters in connexion with the deities concerned. Symbolism was no doubt, in practice in other ancient countries of the world but certainly not to the extent and perfection as was reached by India in her iconic sculpture. That is why the art of India has been called 'the symbolic art' by some of the western thinkers. The symbols of fish, the peacock, the serpent, the bull, etc., were the only ones used in different countries to express certain spiritual meanings. But nowhere, as in India, perhaps, symbolism was developed and worked with such wonderful definiteness in both art and religion. The Śalagram cakka and the Śiva ōṅgām are the examples of pure symbolism. Symbolism in India, presumably unlike other countries, forms a particular sys-

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1 One of the earliest symbols of the saviour was the fish. The symbol of the peacock stood for immortality, that of the dragon or the serpent for Satan.
tem of upāsana or worship called the Pratikopāsana. It is indispensable, therefore, in dealing with our subject, to give below some important symbols of Brāhmānic gods with their technical meanings.

ŚRIVATSA.—It is a symbol of Viṣṇu. It is described as a curl of hair on the breast of Viṣṇu. This mark can be seen on the images of Viṣṇu as Vāsudeva and as Incarnations.

SĀRĪGA.—The bow of Viṣṇu. Probably it was made of horn.

CAKRA (SUDARŚANA).—The discus of Viṣṇu. It is said to be full of lustre and of sharp edges, and is said to have been given by Śiva to Viṣṇu.

SAMKHA (PĀNCAJANYA).—The conch of Viṣṇu as Vāsudeva. It was used by Śrī Kṛṣṇa as a sort of bugle for military and other signals. It is said to have been made from the bones of a whale.

GADĀ (KAUMODAKI).—The club of Viṣṇu. Another name for this mace is Kaumodi.

ŚŪLA (OR TRIŚULA).—The trident of Śiva. It was used by him as a spear with three sharp heads.

KAPĀLA.—It means 'a skull'—a symbol of Śiva as he was called Kapalabhrīt (a bearer of a skull).

PINĀKA.—The bow of Śiva.

KHAṬVĀNGA.—A club or staff with a skull at the top considered as the weapon of Śiva.

JAṬĀ (KAPARDAKA).—The matted hair of Śiva.

KAMANDALU.—A water-pot used by ascetics. It is a symbol of Brahmā.

SRUK.—A symbol of Brahmā. It is a kind of wooden ladle, used for pouring clarified butter on sacrif-

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1 Hemachandra. Also, Śrī Kṛṣṇa rāmāvartī कपोःन्त्तित्रमित्रजश्चेसभागाः Śrī Kṛṣṇa's commentary to Amarkoṣa.

Vāmana Purāṇa, Adhyāya 79.

For the origin of Sudarśana, see the mythological account infra.
ficial fire (usually made of trees like Palāśa or khadira). It measures one yard.¹

SRUBA.—A symbol of Brahmā. It is also a sort of sacrificial ladle. It measures one cubit.²

KUNḍIKĀ.—A bowl-shaped vessel. It is nearly the same as Kamaṇḍalu.

AKŚAMA'LĀ OR SŪTRA.—It is a common symbol used by several deities, more especially by Brahmā, Agni and Durgā. It means 'a string of beads.' It is generally made of Rudrākṣa seeds, corals, crystals, rubies, gems, etc.³

LAḌDUKA.—A symbol of Gaṇeṣa. It is a kind of sweetmeat, being a round ball of sugar, wheat or rice-flour, ghee and spices.

PARAŚU.—A battle-axe. It is one of the symbols of Gaṇeṣa.

ŚAKTI.—A kind of missile, probably a spear. It is a weapon of Skanda or Kārttikeya.

PAṆCA-SAṆA.—A group of five arrows, being the symbol of Kāma.⁴

VAJRA (KULĪṢA).—The thunder-bolt of Indra. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, it is said to have been made by Tvaṣṭā with the help of the Sun's rays. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives the legend of its being made from the bones of the sage Dādhiṣṭi for the purpose of killing the demon Vṛitra.⁵

¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵

The spiritual meaning is—सक्ताराधिकारणाम: अङ्गोऽसत्तत: सन्निषिद्धभाराः।

The five arrows are—समयोऽस्थिति च भृगोऽस्यापनमस्य। साधोऽविभिन्न कामशन पवार:। क्रीति:सत:। पठ इति:वर्णः। श्रेयाः इत्यययः। Bharata quoted in the Śabda-kalpa-drūma.
PĀṢA.—Especially, a symbol of Varuṇa. It is also a weapon of Durgā. It means a noose or a cord.¹

DANDA.—A staff. The sceptre of Yama, the king of Infernal Regions. It is a symbol of authority and punishment.

CARMA.—Literally, ‘skin,’—it means a ‘shield’ which is made of hard skin. It is one of the weapons of Durgā.

KHETĀ.—A shield.

VALLAKI.—The Indian lute. An emblem of Sarasvatī.

PÅṬTIṢA.—A kind of spear with a sharp edge. It is a symbol of Kṛṣodari.²

AMRITA-GHATA.—A vessel containing nectar. It is a symbol of Lakṣmi.

ŚRI-PHALA.—The Bilva fruit. It is, also, a symbol of Lakṣmi.

Dress.—The subject of dress has not been treated anywhere in Sanskrit in any monographical treatise. The materials concerning it lie scattered here and there, in promiscuous contents, especially in books of the kāvya and the dramatic literature. Generally speaking, the varieties of dress were largely dependent upon local influences and in lithic art, they were liberally governed by different centres of Indian art. The types of dress, including ornaments, are to be determined by the class of representative people to whom it should fitly be apportioned.³

¹ स्तवम् श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा।
² वाकसपत्याभिद्याय वाजयांसित्य वाजयांसित्य वाजयांसित्य वाजयांसित्य वाजयांसित्य।
³ प्रदर्शिता श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा।

Bhāgavata P., Skandha 6.

Again, श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा। Vācaspatya-Abhidhāna.

ep. also श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा श्रीमान्यान्तीय यथा। Bharata-Nāṭya-kāstra, 21.
Thus, we find the kings wear the royal costume, the warriors the military dress, the ascetics the hermit’s robe, the ladies have their own dress, especially rich in ornaments and gems. Iconographically, Viṣṇu (whether, as Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa), Indra, Kubera and others, who represent ideal royalty, put on gorgeous royal dress. Śiva, Brahmā, Agni and others, who represent ideal asceticism, put on the requisite robe of a Yogi. Likewise, Sūrya, Skanda and others, who particularly typify martial activities, are dressed in military costume, in arms and armours. Durgā, Lakṣmī or Śrī, Kāli and other female deities are attired, in sculpture, in various ornaments and jewels as fit for ladies of a high social standing. The colours of garments have also been mentioned in Sanskrit books. As this points to the fact that ancient images used to be painted in colours, according to the divinities they referred to, we are also informed that such colours for dress were chosen as would match the particular complexion of a deity. Thus, Viṣṇu, who was of a bluish colour, had, in representation, a yellow garment. Similarly, Sūrya, Brahmā, Lakṣmī, who were of fair complexion, were robed in red clothes. With these few general remarks, we proceed to detail below some technical expressions of dress and ornaments as particularly referring to the Brāhmaṇic images.

**VANAMĀLĀ.—**A long garland of woodland flowers, such as was usually worn by Viṣṇu as Vāsudeva.

**KAUSTUBHA.—**Name of a celebrated gem obtained with thirteen other jewels at the churning of the ocean and worn by Viṣṇu on his breast. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, it is a kind of ruby ‘brilliant as thousand suns.’

**KEYŪRA OR AṆGADA.—**An armlet. It is one of the ornaments worn by the figures of Viṣṇu on the upper arms.

**KUNDALA.—**It is an ear-ring. One of the ornaments of Viṣṇu and other gods.

---

1. वानमालाः संस्कृतमा भगवानय वासुदेवाणि
2. क्ष्युराज्ञे विष्णु कपियोपरिश्रवणम् | Bharata’s Nāṭya-sāstra, chapter 21.
KIRITA.—It is a high diadem or crown as worn by the figures of Viṣṇu. According to ancient Sanskrit texts, it is the same as Mukuta or a crown.\(^1\)

PITAMBARA.—A yellow robe. It also means Viṣṇu, who used to put on yellow clothes.

UDICYA VEṢA.—Literally, ‘the dress of the north.’ It is spoken of in connection with the image of Sūrya, whose cult is said to have come from the north. Thus, the dress of Sūrya is similar to the dress of the people of the Himalayas. The long jacket, the thick covering of the legs and feet all support this conclusion. What are commonly believed to be ‘long boots’ of Sūrya are, in fact, a pair of hose as worn by the Tibetans and other people of the hills to serve as shoes and socks.

COLAKA.—A garment reaching to the feet. The image of Sūrya is to be clothed in a colaka.\(^2\)

KRITIVASA.—A dress made of skin or leather. It is an epithet of Śiva, who, as an ascetic, used to put on the tiger’s skin.\(^3\)

JAṬAMUKUTA.—A crown made up of plaited hair. It is commonly noticeable in the head of a Śiva image.

ŚUKLĀMBARA.—The white dress as worn by Brahmā.\(^4\)

CIRAKA.—A necklace of pearls consisting of four strings. An ornament of Skanda.

KARNAVALI.—A kind of earring, specially applicable to the ear-ornament of Pārvati and other goddesses.

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\(^1\) विरोधः सुभृतः य ती विरोधः संहारः मतः : | Ujjvala Datta.

Vide, also a short paper on the subject by Mr. Ofla in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume. Here, the author takes kiriṣṭa as a special kind of mukuta. But the distinction seems to be arbitrary as these passages may prove: — "नरबिन्दुः कुलदिरि धामः विरोधः संहारः कृष्णः (Vṛhatsam) " कुरौरचः...वरदः सुकुटनिर्मितः " (Matsy P.).

\(^2\) वीराज: समपृप्त: विनाधि... | Vide ante. "Places of pilgrimage."

\(^3\) स नातिकामा ग्रामेः सस्कारः | Kumāra", I. 54.

\(^4\) अतराः सुभृतः मर्यादिनिगिः स भविष्यति | Nāṭya-śāstra, chap. 21.

\(^5\) Similarly, the cloth of Agni is red, that of Vāyu is of variegated colour, that of Kubera is white.
LAMBACA.—Pendants. It forms a part of Gauri's ornaments.

KARNAPURA.—An ornament for ears shaped like a flower. It is mentioned in Sanskrit books in connexion with the representations of Parvati.

KARNIKA.—It means an ear-ring of a round shape. It is to be noticed in the ears of the image of Kali.¹

MANI-KUNDALA.—An ear-ring set with gems. Kundala is spoken of as a full decoration for the ears. The image of Lakshmi has this ornament in her ears.

KUNTLA, LAKA.—The waving hair of the head.

MEKHALA.—A rich belt of jewelry, which covers the loins. Technically, it is composed of eight strings. Mekhalā is one of the ornaments of Śrī or Lakṣmi.² According to Bharata, the jewels composing it are pearls.

KATAKA.—A bracelet of gold. It is an ornament of Lakṣmi.³

KANCUKA.—A jacket. It is a dress fitting close to the upper part of the body. It also means an armour. It is a dress of Lakṣmi but in her case, it is, no doubt, a female bodice.⁴

¹ कणिका कणिकार्यम् तथा स्वारूपकणिका | Nāṭya-sāstra, chap. 21.
² मेक्खळाएवे कण्डकोष्ठी मेक्खळा मस्तहस्तिका | Nāṭya-sāstra, Ibid.
³ मेक्खळाएवे कण्डकोष्ठी मेक्खळा मस्तहस्तिका तथा स्वारूपकणिका | Nāṭya-sāstra, Ibid.
⁴ मेक्खळाएवे कण्डकोष्ठी मेक्खळा मस्तहस्तिका तथा स्वारूपकणिका | Medini.
A Genealogical Table of the Family of Brahmanic Gods and Goddesses.

(m. = married, s. = son, d. = daughter, w. = wife.)

Brahmā m. to Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī

10 sons

Marici (1) Atri (2) Aṅgirā (3) Pulastya (4) Pulaha (5) Kratu (6) Pracetā (7) Vasīṣṭha (8) Bhrigu Nārada (10) Dakṣa

Kaśyapa m. to Aditi,
Soma Bṛhaspati Viṣravas Diti,
Varuṇa Vināṭa, Kadru and 9 others

Lakṣmi (d.) Sati (d.) 60 others
m. to Dharma

Sūrya Viṣṇu (as Vāmana) Indra others Vāyu Demons Garuḍa Aruṇa
# Genealogical Table of the Family of Brahmanic Gods and Goddesses

(m. or + = married, s. = son, d. = daughter, w. = wife.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vasudeva m. to Devaki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balarāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or Sāmkarasana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. to Rovati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣṇu as Vāsudeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. to Lakṣmī as Rukmī, Sarasvati as Satyabhāmā, Prīthivī, Yamunā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāma or Prudyumna + Rati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniruddha + Īṣṭhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

89
A Genealogical Table of the Family of Brāhmanic Gods and Goddesses.

(m. or + = married, s. = son, d. = daughter, w. = wife.)

Śiva m. to Sātī (deceased), Pārvatī (d. of Himavān + Menakā), Gaṅgā (d. of Himavān), Kāli or Yogamāyā (d. of Nanda + Yaśodā)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skanda + Devasena</th>
<th>Gaṇeśa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d. of Prajāpati)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**A Genealogical Table of Brāhmaṇic Gods and Goddesses.**

**The Dikpālas.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agni m. to Svāhā (s. of Brahmā)</th>
<th>Varuṇa + Siddhi or Vārunī</th>
<th>Kubera (s. of Viśravas)</th>
<th>Indra + Śacī</th>
<th>Nairṛta</th>
<th>Yama + Dhumrāṇī (s. of Sūrya)</th>
<th>Vāyu m. to Śivā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bandin</td>
<td>Vaśiṣṭha</td>
<td>Puṣkara</td>
<td>+ Vṛiddhidevi</td>
<td>Jayanta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Planets.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sūrya m. to Chāyā, and to Saṃjñā</th>
<th>Soma + Rohini; others</th>
<th>Maṅgala</th>
<th>Budha</th>
<th>Bṛhaspati</th>
<th>Śukra</th>
<th>Śani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revanta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śani</td>
<td>Sāvarṇi</td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>Yamunā</td>
<td>Nāsatya (d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bhadrā</td>
<td>Budha</td>
<td>Jyotēnā</td>
<td>Kālī (d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A.
SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS ON IMAGES.

Three forms of an image:

शास्त्रीकी राजस्वी देवप्रिया तामसी विचा।
विविधादीर्मां व या यज योग्या पूजाया तु साधनीं

Śukra-nīti-sāra (Jibānanda, Calcutta).

वराहयासमवर्गः वियोज्य शास्त्रीकी
समवाद्याभयानां शोभन्या शास्त्रीकी
वराहयाससाहित्येक सोभन्या शास्त्रीकी
पदार्थासमवर्गः सच्चार्थका रें।
वीराज्याभयानां सच्चा दिया।

Ibid.

Specification of hands for symbols:

अभिं च वरं दद्याद यज सोंनू यदाद्यास्म।
एकं करं ठुक्केरे अल्लं चा तामास्यास्म।
सामं वा दमं धुलं कमलं कवचं लूम।
नवजन्वकं सातसुकं वा नीरण्य माण्यं।

Ibid.

Colouring of images:

दिमासवर्यायणं दिमासवर्यायणं सदा।
शंस्पीलकाशक्यायार्येषु वेदं स्वयं।
प्रतिमां कल्याणेऽपि वचारानां परिहारे: चुंबा।
वेषसं पूजां शास्त्रीकी तु पौराण: रत्ने तु राजसी।
साथीं कामावर्गों तु श्रृंगारकुमारसं वरद।
सीथरीं राजसीं नाभी नित्यिन्तीं वा क्षितिदुपशा
शान्तीं चरस्वरां ना कामावर्गों तु वैसाली।
सा॰्ये विषयाएऽति वेदांत चो।
सौण्डीस्वरां वापी गदोंशिष्ठा पुराणं तुष।

Ibid.

Sadā-Śiva:

प्रकाशकं ऐश्वर्यं प्रतिष्ठस्व निवृत्तमः
कपालस्यां श्रद्धामेष्यं चन्द्रनीर्माणं तदादिम।

Vāyu-Purāṇa.
Gauri:

\text{मैरीं गङ्गाम् कृप्यां गण्यं शिखिनयसुः।}
\text{पवपुष्यामांग्योऽस श्रीपुजुरकल्याणं।}
\text{वर्त्तमानकालवाटं सर्वभावामांकिताम्।}

\text{Devi-Purāṇa.}

Skanda:

\text{कृष्णां स्युऽस्य शिरायक्षिपक्षमुखः।}
\text{श्रीमारतिर्देवीं समुप्तवर्णान।}
\text{कुकुटयस तथा यण्डा तस्म दिश्यक लक्ष्यः।}
\text{सत्याक्षियेस्वरानी शशितेष्यव्रजः न वासवी।}

\text{Quoted in Vāchaspatī's Tūlādāna-paddhati.}

Ganēśa:

\text{मणीनं मन्दिकर ध्यानकांशूदरस्।}
\text{वाचस्मितमम्-पीठामध्यि-पांजाविनम्।}
\text{वत्सलसमयसारसात्मकवाङ्म्।}
\text{परशुरामकालकालस्तवधिः।}

\text{Śukra-niti-sāra.}

Mahā-Lakṣmi:

\text{सर्वस्तंदा सचान्तिकोकितुवा परमेश्वरी।}
\text{मातुरां गद्यं खेंट पांभापांभ मिथली।}
\text{भाग सोनिऐ फूलव निचली नाप। सूर्जिणि।}

\text{Mārkaṇḍeyya-Purāṇa.}

Vāsudeva:

\text{वासुदेव: सिद्ध: शास्त्रं भिन्नभं चतुर्मुखः।}
\text{वैष्णवोंदेशमुखः चुरुस्तापितक्षकः।}
\text{भारसूरां चलन करै वे दृष्टियो गद्यं।}

\text{Nārdīya-Purāṇa.}

Lakṣmi:

\text{पद्यालम्बां कुरूवन्त नियं चैत्यकामानसरस्।}
\text{मीरवशीं चुल्लत्स चतुर्मुखप्रतिमसस्।}
\text{राक्षप्रकारवर्णं गर्दा दृष्टिययं तु॥}

\text{Pañca-rātra.}

Hayagriva:

\text{भृगुमान् ध्यानिष्काशः काद्यं देवो धुष्ठिराधरः।}

\text{Śvetāmbara: काद्यं देवो धुष्ठिराधरः।}
Indra:—
भुद्योऽनि गणे मानः येते ध्येयः सुरंचरः
वामोत्सवस्या कार्यं सम्ब माया श्रीक्षेत्
श्रीभवना सुवालोभा मयोबधानविगः
नवयोयुज्यम् कार्यं चाही द्विचिनमाकारः
वासं श्रीचिरमयं विनायं वम्भु यथस्य
गामे श्रवणः करे ध्येयः चौमयमाळ्यायमारी
द्विचिनं प्रहस्तिस्य देवप्रजाः कार्येऽः

Taladāna-paddhati,

Yama:—
संज्ञाकामुद्यायं कालविकारायं
शिविक्षा न करेऽया मयोधर्ममां यमः
श्रीतृपतिर्मां हृदायी वामोत्सवमें च कार्येत्
धार्या दित्तुऽखः कार्यं यमः कार्यवित्तुऽखः
द्विचिनः अस्थिरे कार्यं यमस्यभावमयः
आसारिव्यन् कस्येऽया चर्यावस्था च वार्यः
वासोपरित् सुवचे नामार्थासिक्षेत्येऽस्य
धार्या द्विचिनो चाही प्रहस्तिस्य भावे
गामे समस्या; करे ध्येयः समुपन्तेऽय यद्यमस्
पार्ष्वोत्सवे द्विचिने सम्ब चित्रमुऽ च कार्येत्
उद्धोर्मेऽया श्रावर्तः दित्तुऽखः श्रीधोर्मेऽस्य
द्विचिनः लौकिकी सम्ब नामे पर्य तु कार्येत्
गामे प्रहस्ते कार्यं कार्यं चाही निक्रद्येऽः

Ibid.

Nirūti:—
विषमाची विविधाः पाणुद्योक्त्रक्लास्यामः
आंकूटं नारायण दित्तुऽखमार्थस्यामः
वामोत्सवस्या प्रहस्ते चाही सम्ब स्यामः
श्रीभवनामुद्यायं चाही स्यामः चाही सम्ब स्यामः
श्रीभवनामुद्यायं प्रहस्ते चाही स्यामः

Ibid.
APPENDIX A.

Vāyu:—

Vaiṣṇavi:—

Ibid.

Lakṣaṇa-saṅgraha quoted by Hemādri.

Garuḍa:—

Viṣṇu-dharmottara.

Sarasvati:—

Vāyu-Purāṇa.

Prajāpati:—

Siddhārtha-Samhitā, quoted in Hemādri-Dāna-khaṇḍa.
APPENDIX B.

BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES.¹

For some time I was examining and exploring the southern part of the city of Benares and came across some ancient images and statues, worthy of attention and full of iconographical interest. They are not in their original sites, some of which could be known from inquiry. A few of the images though mutilated² are casually worshipped, and others are lying uncared for at the foot of trees or on the bank of a sacred tank. The images may be described one by one by the help of illustrations entitled below.

Fig. 1.—Found at a place near the Purāṇā durgābari in Bengali Tola, set against a wall. Its provenance is unknown. A standing statue of a form of Durgā called Sarva-mañgalā. It has four hands, all broken more or less. Only the lower left and the lower right hands are distinctly visible. The left hand holds a fruit presumably Mātulunga phala (citrus medica) from its appearance, and the right one is in the Varada posture. There is a lower garment from the waist down to the feet. A girdle fastens her cloth round the loins. The female signs of breasts are traceable. The deity stands by the side of her vehicle, a lion reclining on its four feet. The figure appears to be very old. The construction of such sculptures due to the Tantrik influence of the Pala kings is generally attributed to the period between 800-1200 A.D. The cognizance of lion and Mātulunga flower as parts of the statue agrees with the Dhyāna of Sarva-mañgalā which I quote in the footnote³ and therefore I may call the figure Sarva-mañgalā.

It measures 3’ × 3’. Made of buff-coloured sand-stone.

Fig. 2.—Found encased in a broken miniature shrine situated in the verandah of a small house, in the Mahālā called Daunriabir, north of Belupur Thānā.⁴ The figure is said to have been recovered from the foot of a fallen Nim tree, where it was originally

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¹ Reprinted from the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, 1921.
² The Hindu Scripture strictly forbids any worship of mutilated images.
³ "प्राचीन ब्राह्मण: मन्दिर: महाबलकः। गदा: प्रसादः।
(Bibliotheca Indica), p. 81.
⁴ निमाया यथा वर च दयायं वासम वसन नीरिदुर्यम्यमाणकः गुनोदयकः चीमकामास्वयम्।"
Śrītattva-nidhi, p. 10 (Venkatesvar Press).
⁵ The figure is now in the author’s collection at Benares.
situated. It is an image of Vaiṣṇavi, the consort of Viṣṇu, seated in the posture called Ardha-parıṣ劫kāsana. The whole body is like that of Viṣṇu with the difference that it has the female sign of two plump breasts. The figure has four hands holding the canonical attributes of Viṣṇu, sc., discus, club, conch-shell and lotus (broken away). The goddess wears a kiriṭa-mukuta and is richly adorned with ornaments. An elaborate Vanamālā hangs round her body. On the waist may be seen several pendants of ornaments. On the back panel of the image are five figures of the same deity carved in relief. Probably they are due to the Kāvyavāyī or miracles of the goddess. The Dhyāna of the image is given in the footnote. The figure may be ascribed to the Gupta period from a comparison of the Vaiṣṇavi figure of the Indian Museum MS. 2 of the Gupta gallery.\textsuperscript{6}

It measures 2\text{"\text{3\text{"}} × 1\text{"\text{3\text{"}}. Buff-coloured sand-stone.

Fig. 3.—The present site of this, as well as the fig. 4, is a small muddy platform, in the same Mahāllā of Daunriabir, on which stands a small temple of modern construction, containing some old broken images. The original locale of these figures are unknown. Fig. No. 3 represents the lower part of Naṭeṣa or Naṭarāja Śiva. The upper part of the sculpture is completely absent. The Śiva seems to be dancing on a recumbent human figure. He stands upon one leg. A hanging garland is noticeable. Two attendants stand on either sides represented as moving towards each other. A detailed description of Naṭarāja Śiva, so common in Southern India, may be found in G. Rao’s Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part II, p. 573.

Fig. 4.—An image of Kubera, god of wealth. It is extremely realistic in form. The photograph seen from a little distance has the possibility of being mistaken for one of an actual human figure. It is a statue in the round, holding a moneybag with his left hand. The figure wears a jatā-mukuta and a stylish necklace round its neck. It has, besides, armlets and bracelets. The upper body is naked, the lower has a trace of garment. The figure has a small pot-belly so characteristic of Kubera images. The style of the sculpture leads us to place it in the Gupta period. It may be compared with figs. of Kubera No. 3908,
3909, 3912 of the Indian Museum. It fits in with the Dhyāna of Kubera as given in the footnote. It measures 3".4" × 1".2".

Fig. 5.—A colossal representation of a Bodhisattva in the courtyard of the Tilbhaṇḍesvar temple. It is a statue cut in the round. The original habitat is unknown. It has lost its two hands and probably the lower part of its body a little of which below the waist is under the ground. What remains of the body measures above 4 ft., and so the whole length of it may be estimated at about 10 ft. There is a broad necklace round the neck and two big earrings hanging from the ears of the figure. Bodhisattva images are not later than the Gupta period and so it very probably belongs to that period.

Fig. 6.—Sculpture in the same locality representing the river goddess Ganges. The figure has two hands, in one of which she holds a lotus with the stalk. Her right hand rests upon the body of a female attendant. There is another attendant on her left side. She seems to stand upon a Makar or crocodile, her vehicle.

It measures 22" × 9".

Fig. 7.—An erect figure of a form of Śiva recognisable by the sign of the Bull Nandi couchant beside its left foot. It has four hands all broken. There is a garland probably of human skulls reaching the feet of the deity. A jaṭa-mukula is faintly visible on the head. The figure strongly resembles the fig. Misc. 3 (Anderson Cat. II, p. 349) of the Calcutta Museum. Consequently, it belongs to the Gupta period.

Locality.—Tilbhaṇḍesvar, on the plinth of a red temple, placed against the wall. It measures 3".11" × 1".4".

"कुबेरश्रु परम्यामिकुबेरश्रुधामाळकस्वतंसु "
शारणपरसिंधितिसामालमधर सदा "
स्वरथक्ष गार्थवृंटी निर्माणादितो "
ṣ " शामार " मार " जालाधवालमन्दिरात् "
मुष्कितक्रियामिकुबेरश्रुधामाळकसः प्रमाणादतसः "

The description states that Kubera should be represented as holding a club. The object held by our figure looks either like a club or a purse of money. I am inclined to take it as the latter.

1 The sculpture as a whole bears some identity to the figure of Gangā, illustration given in G. Rao's "Hindu Iconography," Vol. II, Part II, Plate CLV.

2 Now preserved in the author’s collection at Benares.
Fig. 8.—An image of Sūrya, the sun-god standing on a lotus. The horses and the charioteer are wanting. The main figure has two hands holding lotuses partially damaged. Behind his head is a plain halo, on either side of it are two female figures in "Pratyālīdhā" postures represented as shooting arrows; they are probably representations of the sun’s rays. The figure of Sūrya wears boots (?) a characteristic of Sūrya figures. Between his two feet is a female figure, probably of Ushās, or the Dawn. To the right of the main figure is an erect male figure holding two indistinct objects (a pen and an ink-pot?) To the left, is a bearded male figure with a big staff in his hand. These two figures are known as those of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. By the sides of these figures, are represented two wives of Sūrya, Savarnā and Chhāyā, the former holding a chowrī or a fly-flap, the latter’s hands are broken off.¹

The sculpture appears to be fairly old. It is situated at the foot of a Bo tree just to the south-east of the Bhelapur Thāna.

It measures 2’3” × 1’2”. Made of sand-stone, painted red.

Fig. 9.—An erect figure of Buddha. The figure is devoid of head being completely broken off. The neck shows a decent necklace. Probably a thin garment is worn by the figure as it evidently shows no sign of nudity. The statue is made of red-stone of Muthura as was the material of Buddha images of the Kushan age. The general style of the sculpture leads me to assign it to the early Gupta period. This conclusion of mine was supported by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, now in the Calcutta University, whom I showed a photograph of this image.

Locality.—The sculpture is situated under a tree on the Durgākund Road, to the south of the Vizianagaram House. Its early site is unknown.

Fig. 10.—A standing four armed image of Viṣṇu. This is a most perfect sculpture of Viṣṇu that has ever been seen. Except the four hands so badly damaged, the image is otherwise quite in tact. It is boldly and spiritedly designed and carved. The mild

¹ The Dhyāna of Sūrya.

रणमा कारंपशे गद्धश् तुलिधो | सन्तोषकरमासब रह तथा धर्मस्य ऋषियम् ।

... ... ...

प्रति नावी च कर्णो च वार्तापरिषादियो विशेषो | कर्णो यज्ञशीलो च पारिषादियो पुष्करातिः ।


सम्प्रेक्षकारोदश: कायोऽद्वित: वाणन:।

दुवचे विक्रे भागे कस्मवयातिपित: | ...

राशी सुकं-चक्ष्य-च स पशा दसी सुबिधा ।

भारत, संस्कृत, pp. 148–149.
serenity of expression of the figure endowed with a superhuman stateliness, the placid and meditative gaze of the standing figures, and above all the most successful pose of the kneeling worshippers showing their devout expression render the whole piece of sculpture a real triumph of the Indian artist. Whether we regard the grace of the composition, the exquisite finish of the statue or the delightful atmosphere of poetry and religion which surrounds this sculpture, we are bound to rank it among the masterpieces of the world.

The main figure of Viśṇu is standing upon a lotus, has an ornamental nimbus and Śrīvatsa symbol on his chest and wears a high diadem kiritā-mukuta, ear-pendants, torques, necklaces, armlets and a sacred thread. A girdle adorned with pendants (technically known as Rasana) decorates his waist and a garland (vana-mālā) is thrown round his body reaching down to his knees. Below his lotus seat is the figure of goddess Earth seated cross-legged in front over a coiled serpent. An expanded cobra-hood surmounts her head. She is flanked by two kneeling attendants facing her one from each side, with folded hands. They appear to be nāgīnīs from the shape of the lower part of their body and from the existence of the outspread cobra-hood over their head. To each side of this figure is an image of a goddess riding a crocodile, holding an indistinct object. She looks like the river goddess Ganges. Immediately under the lower right and left hands of the main figure are represented two standing male figure richly attired in ornaments probably of Brahmā and Iśa (Mahādeva), the former having a kamandalu visible near his waist. Behind these figures are standing two female figures, one holding a chouri another a vinā or a lotus, evidently of Śri and Puṣṭi respectively. The kneeling figures on two sides of the main image are two devotees, a male and a female with folded hands in adoration. The former has close-cut hair and a beard and the latter is bedecked with various ornaments.¹

¹ "दक्षिण गद्य पद्म यादुकश्या कार्यम्
वास्ते: श्रीवत्स: स कर्मय: भूतिभिन्नः।
× × × × ×
अष्टादशः पद्मशः कर्मयाः पादमयाः।
दक्षिण प्रक्ष तद्स ग्रामम् लिखितानवं
वास्तसु भवेश्यति: पद्मसः सुमोभणा।" Matsya-Purāṇa.
"अक्षुभो श्रीवत्सी नित्य वाद्वेदयं दुब्रवं।"
Agni Purāṇa, 49th Adhāyā.

"वीरसौधारीकर्मः पद्मशाहीमार्गः।"
Also cf. Hemādri, Vratakhanda, Adhyāya 1, pp. 111-112.
Locality.—On the southern bank of Samkhudharā tank. The image is said to have been recovered from the bank of the Ganges into which it was thrown at an unknown early date.

It measures 5' x 2'. Made of black basaltic stone. The sculpture is evidently a work of the Pāla period and belongs to tenth or eleventh century A.D.

The whole sculpture bears a close resemblance to the sculpture No. A. 7 of the Nagpur Museum.

Fig. 11.—A composite figure of Maheśa-murti showing four busts on four sides. The posture of hands is different in each figure. Otherwise, the seated bust seems to be quite the same on each side. A torque and a necklace are visible on the necks as also the earrings in the ears. The figure is seated cross-legged in a yogāsana posture. Cf. fig. 209, Smith's "History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon."


It measures 2' 7" x 1' 9". The sculpture appears to be old. Its provenance is unknown.

The figures which I identified as worshippers may be Garuḍa and Prithvi respectively.
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*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London), October, 1920:*

"The author of this admirably arranged and well-informed history of Sārnāth... The more reason why we should congratulate Mr. Bhattacharyya on the excellent use to which he has put the example and the guidance of the professors under whom he has studied... His book is not only a thorough and conscientious but a delightful guide to the antiquities, the archaeology, and so much as survives of the history of that famous and ancient Deer Park of Sārnāth where the great Buddhist Sangha or Order came into being. He has not only given a full and intelligent account of the place and its existing remains, but has supplied ample references to his authorities and an adequate index. The Bengali visitor to Benares and Sārnāth is fortunate to have so competent a guide.

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2. Literary References to Isipatana Price 3 annas.
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