PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM BULLETIN
No. 12

Editor
MOTI CHANDRA

1973
PRICE:

(a) In India: Rs. 30 Postage and packing extra.

(b) Foreign: £2.50 in U.K.; $7 in U.S.A. Postage and packing free.
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Studies in the Cult of the Mother Goddess in Ancient India

Moti Chandra

I

The mother-principle is the earliest belief which received recognition by the human mind in its very primitive stage. The palaeolithic man recognized in the motherhood the inherent power to procreate which was the root cause for the racial development and regeneration. This principle of motherhood was not confined only to human beings but was extended to cattle, plants and all kinds of life. This act of fertility soon became associated with the waters, the source of all life. The mother-principle was not only confined to the terrestrial sphere, but also came to be recognized as a cosmic force. This principle, at first an abstraction creating an image in the sub-conscious, in the course of the development of civilization projected itself as a visual image emphasizing fertility. At a much later stage this original Mother goddess assumed multiple forms, through maintaining their basic function of fertility. However, the very concept of fertility gave rise to the idea of death, fear and dissolution, and therefore, some of the Mother goddesses assumed their awesome and destructive roles.

With the firm establishment and wide acceptance of the mother-principle there arose the language of symbols which utilized not only the sexual parts of the body, but also some forces of nature and animate and inanimate objects which were connected with the phenomenon of fertility. Thus the waters, the earth, the vegetation, the crops and the cattle became closely related with fertility cult and formed appropriate symbols to express the functions inherent in the great Mother goddess.

The study of the Mother goddess cult in India is fraught with many difficulties, not the least being the lack of archaeological material in the Stone Age cultures. Unlike the archaeological finds in the palaeolithic Europe which throw considerable light on the Mother goddess cult, the Indian palaeolithic sites have so far yielded no material which could enlighten us about the Mother goddess cult and practices in India. In the Chalcolithic Age of Indian history, however, the worship of the Mother goddess was widely practised as proved by the terracotta finds from Baluchistan where small agricultural communities existed even before the existence of the Harappan culture. Nothing could be said about the identification of the Mother goddess as the Harappan script has not yet been deciphered, though there is ample evidence available from the seals and terracottas that the goddess was associated with trees and animals and the fertility aspect of her role is em-
phased by her nudity. All this shows the concept of the Mother goddess in this period was almost the same as the concept of the Mother goddess in Vedic and historical times. However, one thing must be borne in mind that the cult of the Mother goddess was not common to all the sites where the Harappan culture flourished. For instance at Lothal in Gujarat and Kalibangan in Rajasthan, the absence of the terracotta figurines of the Mother goddess shows that her cult did not receive recognition in those parts of the country. Why it so happened it is difficult to surmise, but there is always a possibility that the Harappan culture had a very liberal approach so far as religion was concerned, and in the course of its expansion through cultural and commercial relations, it left the religious beliefs of the people with whom it came in contact severely alone.

What happened to the Mother goddess cult after the decline and disappearance of the Harappan culture is not known, though from painted potsherds at Navadatoli near Maheshwar in Madhya Pradesh there seems to have existed a goddess in her terrible form who was perhaps associated with death. The recent find of a headless goddess associated with a bull kept in a terracotta casket from Inamgaon near Poona, datable to c. 1300 B.C. shows that the cult of this goddess prevalent at Catal Hüyük in Anatolia datable between c. 6500 and 5700 B.C. had penetrated the Deccan plateau and survived there at a much later period.

The predominance of any particular goddess in early Vedic literature is disputed by many scholars. They are of the opinion that the goddesses found their rightful place in Vedic pantheon when the Vedic Aryans came in closer contact with the indigenous culture of the land. The others argue that while the gods hold sway in early Vedic texts, the presence of at least some of the important goddesses such as the Great mother Aditi, Prithivi Sinivali, Sarasvati, etc. could not be ignored. The solution of the problem posed by these conflicting opinions lies somewhere midway. In early Vedic literature the important role played by some of the goddesses must be recognized, but in most cases the goddesses are mere abstractions, changing their roles and distinguishing attributes between one another. In the Ṛ V, and also in the ṚVV, the abstract images of the goddesses are in a nebulous and floating state, and it is open to question whether any of these goddesses, apart from their liturgical value and symbolical significance, projected her image in visual art.

In the later Vedic literature, however, the position of the Mother goddesses definitely improves. They partially shed off their hazy character and take definite shapes. For instance Śrī indicating merely abstract virtues in the Vedas, in the ŚB, assumes the role of a full-fledged goddess. It is also significant to note that in certain later Vedic texts and particularly the MB, it is pointed out that Śrī in the beginning lived with the Asuras and later on when they deflected from the path of virtue that she deserted them. This legend could only mean that Śrī was at first the Mother goddess popular with the non-
Aryans and at a much later date probably in c. 800 B.C. when the ŚB. was composed she was received within the Aryan fold. When she was actually represented in art is not known, but in the Mauryan period her cult seems to have been widely patronized. She became associated with various symbols drawn from vegetation, animals both domestic and wild and the waters which directly or indirectly emphasize the role as a goddess of fertility, rain and riches. It may, however, be pointed here that the symbols associated with Śri are not exclusively devoted to her; other gods and goddesses more or less with similar functions equally share these with her. Her identification sometimes in early Indian art is also fraught with difficulties. When she is associated with the lotus and elephant it is easy to recognize her. But when nude female figures are associated with the palm and pipal trees and animals the identification becomes doubtful. Moreover, she shares her attributes with some Yakshis, river goddesses and Pīthīvī and in their exchange of attributes and symbols make the identification very confounded.

Oldenberg and more recently Gonda have thoroughly discussed the idea expressed by the word Śri and its derivatives in early Vedic literature and Coomaraswamy has studied at length the iconography of Śri-Lakshmī and certain symbols associated with her. However, since the days of Coomaraswamy the archaeological material about Śri-Lakshmī or the Mother goddess, whatever we may choose to call her, has grown considerably and therefore, we have made in the following pages a reappraisal of the problem, supplementing the archaeological material with literary evidences, mostly collected from the later Vedic literature, the epics, the Purāṇas and technical texts on iconography. It is not possible to pronounce the final verdict, but it is hoped that the study may enthuse some scholars to study the problems connected with the Mother goddess in greater detail.

II

The personality of Śri in ancient India is a complex one. She not only represents the ancient Mother goddess of proto-historic times, but also identifies herself as a Yakshi, Pīthīvī, Umā-Durgā and various other goddesses of corn and fertility. She is not only exclusively devoted to Vishnu as in Paurānic literature but Indra, Kubera and the Asuras found favour with her. Śri in early Buddhist sculpture is identified by M. Foucher with Māyā, the mother of Gautama Buddha, and perhaps he is right as Māyā, at least in the early centuries of the Christian era, had assumed the role of the universal Mother as in the Saundarāṇanda ii, 47 the Buddha’s mother is called Māyeva divi devatā. Prof. Johnston1 locates this goddess Māyā referred by Avaghosha from an unexpected source the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 1280 dated to the third century A.D. which contains an invocation to Isis, in the course of which she is equated with all the Mother goddesses known to the Greek world,

Cybele, Atargatis, Astarte, Nanaia and many others among whom is included Maia in India. Johnston identifies Maia with Māyā of the Saundarananda, though the word may as well stand for Mātā, the mother. Later on the Papyruses defective at this point, informs us what part of India she was worshipped. The translation of lines 221-231 runs: "Thou lady of the land, bringest the flood of rivers, . . . and in Egypt the Nile, in Tripolis the Eleutherus, in India the Ganges; owing to whom the whole and the . . . exists through all rain every spring, all dew and snow, and all things for ever." It is evident from this reference that in the Gangetic valley Māyā who could perhaps be equated with Śri-Lakshmi was closely associated with the waters and hence vegetation and fertility. As we will see later on that the makara, one of the symbols of Śri-Lakshmi, is also the vehicle of the river goddess Gaṅgā. As a matter of fact in the MB.I. 92.26 the Gaṅgā's resplendent body is compared with that of Śri (Jājjvalyamānānvapushā sākṣhātpadmāmivaśriyam).

That Śri as Mother goddess belonged to pre-Aryan India and later on assimilated by the Aryans is supported by literary evidences. It is mentioned in the JB. I. 1.4.4, that because of a false step in performing a sacrifice the Aryans lost their Śri. It is mentioned in the MB. XIII. 81.6 that abandoned by her the Dāityas were destroyed. This statement is further corroborated by a dialogue between Śri and the Dāitya king Prahrāda (MB. XII. 124.54-60). It is mentioned that Indra having assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa approached the Asura Prahrāda and asked him that if he was gratified with him to part with Śri who resided within him. As soon as Prahrāda agreed to the Brāhmaṇa's request the resplendent goddess Śri came out from his body. On being questioned by the demon chief where she was going she said "I am Śri cast off by you, I am leaving you." He also wanted to know from her the identity of the Brāhmaṇa. Prahrāda also addressed her as the goddess of the people (lokasya paramesivart). She revealed the identity of the Brāhmaṇa as Indra and that he had managed to rob Prahrāda of all worldly prosperity. She further informed him that Prahrāda by his right conduct had conquered all the world, and knowing that Indra had robbed him of his right conduct, religion, wealth and power as Śri herself was at the root of the right conduct. She appeared with a lotus in each hand on Asura Kubera's car in the form of Gajalakshmi (Rām. V. 7.14).

Śri's contact with the Asuras is further emphasized by her association with Kubera the lord of the Asuras. In Kubera's sahā Śri was always present. It is also said that Lakshmi proceeded to the gods and Alakshmi to the Asuras (MB. III. 92-9), Alakshmi and Kālī destroyed the Asuras (MB. III. 92.10-12), a sort of sectarian approach applauding the Devas and denigrating the Asuras. While the Asuras were being destroyed, the Devas goaded by Śri-Lakshmi visited the oceans, rivers, lakes and holy places. They performed penance and yajñas and after doing acts of piety visited the tirthaś. Yudhishṭhira was ad-

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* E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology (Reprint), Delhi, 1968, p. 146.
vised that after taking a holy dip in the *tirtha* Lakshmi was bound to visit him (*MB*. III. 92.13-16). The virtue accruing from bathing in Śri-*tirtha* is emphasized (*MB*. III. 81.37). Thus the later Paurānic character of Śri-Lakshmi with emphasis on the places of pilgrimage and acts of piety, which, except for her association with the waters had nothing to do with her original character.

Lakshmi is also one of the wives of Dharma (*MB*. I. 63.13) and sister of Dhatā and Vidhātā and her mind-born sons are flying horses (*turaga vyoma-chārinah MB*. I. 60.50) which is an early reference to her association with horses as exemplified in early carved discs of the Maurya-Śunga period. Śri is also associated with the Suparṇas. They are endowed with Śri and also marked with Śri-Vatsa (*MB*. V. 99.5). Perhaps here there is a correct reference to the flying character of Śri as evidenced by certain terracottas and a carved disc to be discussed later on. She is also associated with Varuṇa (*Rām*. VII. 56.2). She is also Daksha’s daughter (*Mār. P*. L. 20-21) from her was born Darpa (*Mār. P*. L. 25).

After leaving the Asuras Śri apparently became very intimate with Indra. It is mentioned in the *MB*. II. 7.4, that in Indra’s *sabbha* both Śri and Lakshmi were present. A dialogue between Indra and Śri brings out vividly their relationship into prominence. Questioned by Yudhishṭhira about the state of a man in rising or declining fortune Bhishma referred to the dialogue between Indra and Śri which took place on the bank of the Gaṅgā. After taking a dip in the river where Indra and Nārada were offering water to the sun, there appeared Śri in all her effulgence. Preceded by the Apsaras she wore a *nakshatramālā* (a kind of necklace) and a garland, holding a lotus she stood on a lotus pericarp (*padmatalasamsthitam*). After worshipping her Indra enquired from her about the mission which had brought her there, and her final destination. She gave him certain information about herself and her mission. For the prosperity of the mankind she was addressed as Padmāśri, Padmāśini, Lakshmi, Bhūti, Śri, Śraddhā, Medhā, Sannati, Vijiti, Sthitī, Dhriti, Siddhi, Svāhā, Svadhā, Samstuti, Niyati and Kirti. She dwelt in the standards of the victorious kings and the residences of right-minded men. She formerly lived with the Asuras who were then virtuous but she left them when they departed from the path of virtue and had decided to live with Indra (*MB*. XII. 221.1-94). The excerpt proves that Śri’s association with the Asuras had finally snapped and by her acceptance of relationship with Vedic god Indra she was fully admitted within the field of Hindu pantheon.

The *Padma Purāṇa*, I. 9. 117-132, gives some further information about Śri-Lakshmi which shows her all-pervading nature. She is said to be born of lotus, lotus-eyed, living in the lotuses (*padmālayā*), lotus-headed, lotus-faced and she is the mother of all living beings (*lokānām jnanam*). She is Siddhi, Svadhā, Svāhā, Sudhā, Sandhyā, Rātri, Prabhā, Bhūti, Śraddhā, Sarasvatī, Yajñavidyā, Mahāvidyā, Gnihavidyā, Ātmavidyā and the patron
goddess of all success. She is also called amṛita. She bestows on her devotees wives, sons, houses, friends, corn, wealth, good health, property, cattle, etc.

Śrī-Lakshmi’s identification with Mahāvidyā and Guhyavidyā shows her association with magical and esoteric rites and fully supports the view of the Milindapañha (p. 101) that her cult was esoteric and therefore the Brahmajāla Sūtra (Dīgha Nikāya, I. 17.1) prescribes her worship.

Umā-Ambā-Durgā is also equated with Śrī-Lakshmi and credited with almost all her functions. It is mentioned in the Nārada Purāṇa, II. 3-6, that the Māyā of Mahāvishnu is named as creator of the world. That Māyā has various synonyms as Durgā, Bhadrakāli, Chaṇḍī, Māheśvari, Lakshmi, Vārāhi, Vaishnavi, etc. (Liṅga Purāṇa, II. 3-13). The Devī-Māhāmya (Mār. P. XVIII. 39, 40, 47), asserts that the Devi has three manifestations, namely Lakshmi, Mahākāli and Sarasvati.

The emphasis on the concept of Śrī and Durgā is on their generative and preservative aspects which became clearly formulated in a corn-goddess. Later on the concept expanded to the whole vegetation world. In the Mār. P. XCI. 43-44 the Devi says: “I shall support the whole world with the life-sustaining vegetables, which shall grow out of my own body, during a period of heavy rain. I shall gain fame on the earth then as Śākambhari (herb-bearing) …”. This reminds us how in the JB. I. 1.4.4 Śrī is equated with corn (anna).

As Śrī is conceived in the form of the earth so is Durgā.

“Thou alone hast become the support of the world, because thou dost subsist in the form of the earth. By thee, who existest in the form of water…” (Mār. P. XCI. 3).

That the iconographic concept of Ambā and Śrī were interchangeable is exemplified by some ancient coins. Dr. Mukherjee has carefully examined the figure of the goddess on Huviṣka coins identified as Nanā—Ishtar—Anāhitā. The cult of Artemis also seem to have played some part in the evolution of the figure. The goddess on the famous Pushkalavati coin holding a lotus in her right hand, who had something to do with Tyche or the Goddess of Fortune and identified as Śrī by Coomaraswamy is identified by Mukherjee on the basis of the Kharoshthi inscription on the coin as Ambā the consort of Śiva, as his theriomorphic representation as a bull appears on the reverse. On the Kushāna coins the goddess holding a lotus standing by the side of Oesho is described as Ommo or Umā. In some cases Umā is replaced by Nanā. As rightly remarked by Mukherjee* “It appears that the concept of divine maturity common to Ambā, Umā and Nanā, led to the identification of each with the

others. The process of the syncretism might have begun even before the time of Huvishka". He has described other coins with the figure of other goddesses with a lotus whom he identifies with Ambā. It seems that by the second century B.C. Ambā had also assumed the role of a goddess bestowing fortune.

That the syncretism of Umā-Śrī with some foreign goddesses is not merely a hypothetical conjecture based on the evidence of certain Kushāna coins but also on certain literary references. In the Ṛgavijjā Prakṛtāka, a Prakrit text on prognostication, which seems to have been compiled in the early centuries of the Christian era the list of the goddesses besides the names of Śrī, Lachchhi, Devī, Bhagavatī and Sitā appear foreign goddesses Achal (Var. pa.) lā, Anādītā, Airāni, Ttīmisakesī, Tidhiṇī and Sālīmāliṇī.

Among the foreign goddesses mentioned above Apalā may be identified with the Greek goddess Pallas Athene; Anādītā is the Avestan goddess Anāhīta whose cult was later on mixed with the cult of Nanā or Nanaia. Airāni may be the Roman goddess Irene, Ttīmisakesī may be the nymph Themis from whom her son Evander learned his letters, or more probably the Greek goddess Artemis. Tidhiṇī cannot be identified. Sālīmāliṇī may be identified with the Moon goddess Selene. From what source this information about the goddesses of Greek and Iran came in the Ṛgavijjā is not known, but it must be in fairly early times when the Śaka and Greek influence from North-Western India and Mathura had not been lost.

Anāhīta, the ancient goddess of the Asianic people of Iran was worshipped under several names. "Under the name of Nanaia her cult continued down to the Parthian period, and we found many terracotta figurines representing her in the Parthian cemetery at the important site [Susa]. The question arises whether this ancient mother-goddess, symbol of fertility and procreation, had not already by syncretism become the goddess Anāhīta, and whether it is not she who is to be recognized in certain of these representations. Support is lent to this hypothesis by the borders of some of the votive disks which are decorated with fish and pomegranates, two symbols of this divinity of water and fertility .... "

That this fish was one of the symbols of Anāhīta as all proved by its occurrence on an ossuary from Bishapur on which is carved the figure of Anāhīta, identified by the vase she holds and the fish by her side.

As we shall see later on the terracotta figurines of a goddess holding a pair of fish are frequently found from Mathura and Kauśāmbī identified as Vasudhārā seem to be the Indianised version of Anāhīta who was perhaps introduced in India in the first century B.C., if not earlier.

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The lotus flowers and birds especially doves were favourite of Anāhita or Anaitis. As noted by Dalton, "It is probable that in Persia, as in contemporary Greece, the flower had more general symbolical meaning not connected with the worship of any particular deity . . . ."

"In the later centuries of its existence the symbol seems to have had chiefly a ceremonial significance. On certain Indo-Scythian coins of Kanerki and other kings it is held in the hand by a female figure which appears to be Nana-Anat or Nanaia by some regarded as a later form of Anaitis; and its use upon the silver dish (no. 208), though perhaps merely convivial, may yet mark a ceremonial festivity with which religious ideas were associated."  

As we will see later on the lotus played a very significant part in Indian art and literature. It was a flower not only as a means of decoration and a symbol of beauty but was closely associated with Śri-Lakshmi symbolizing her intimate contact with the waters. It seems that in the early centuries of the Christian era at least there was a syncretism of Anāhita and Śri-Lakshmi, both closely associated with the waters, fertility and procreation. Coomaraswamy has rightly observed "Thus Ahur Mazda corresponds to Varuna; Anāhita and Ashi, his daughters, present a close analogy to Śri-Lakshmi" (Yakṣas, II. p. 17).

Anāhita in common with Śri-Lakshmi in the Yashts, "As the goddess of the waters let down from heaven to fructify the earth and bring increase to flocks and herds and mankind, easy labour to women and abundant milk, she was endowed with the form of Ishtar, . . . As such she was worshipped as 'the Great Goddess whose name is Lady', the 'all-powerful immaculate one', purifying 'the seed of males and the womb and the milk of females.' Like most fertility goddesses, she was also regarded as engaged in warfare, riding in a chariot drawn by four white horses in which are wind, rain, cloud and hail."

Another Iranian goddess with whom the symbolism of fish and horse is connected is Ashi, in the Yasht the symbol of the goddess is fish (R. Ghirshman, Persia from the Origins to Alexander the Great, London, 1964, p. 48). The representation of a horse in the Oxus treasure may probably be associated with a prayer to the goddess of plants and birds. Perhaps the goddess Ashi, of whom in Avesta (Yasht, 17, 12) says: 'Those with whom you go . . . . have fearsome horses, swiftly moving in free space'. (Ibid., p. 94). It will be seen later on that Śri was also connected ultimately with the horse, though this fact alone may not prove her connection with Ashi.

Artemis with whom we have suggested the identification of Ttimissakesi of the Aṅgavijja is also mentioned in the Bhaisajyavastu of the Gilgit text;  

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It is mentioned that the Buddha on his visit to Mathura managed to discipline the Yakshiṇī Timisikā with four hundred members of her family. Perhaps this Timisikā was the same as Titimissakesī and represented the Greek goddess Artemis, though what form she adopted in India is not known.

Artemis originally was an Earth-mother and Mistress of the Beasts in the forests and hills in which she roamed, hunted and danced before she became a city-divinity. She also protected young animals, as a goddess of fertility she assisted females of all species to bring forth their young and helped women in the pain of child birth.

In keeping with the common function of the Mother goddesses Artemis and Śrī have certain common interest such as love for animals and fertility. But she is nearer to the Vedic goddess Aranyāni than Śrī. “The forest as a whole appears as a deity under the name of Aranyāni, the jungle goddess, who is invoked in RV. 10. 146. Here she is called the mother of beasts, abounding in food without tillage; and various uncanny sounds heard in her dark solitudes are weirdly described.”

Śrī also bore an intimate relationship with Prithivi. As a matter of fact in later iconography Vishnu’s two consorts are Bhūdevi and Śridevi. The HV. III. 12.4 equates Śrī-Lakšmi (Padmāsanādevī) with Prithivi. Śrī and Prithivi share many common traits which show close association between the two goddesses. The Earth goddess Prithivi is the same as Aditi the Universal Goddess (Viśvarūpī) (TB. I. 7.6.7). The ŚB. II. 2.1.19 asserts ‘Verily the Earth is Aditi. Elsewhere the ŚB. VII. 4.3.7 observes that ‘Aditi is this Earth, the container and supporter of the whole world’. The AB. VIII. 5 is explicit in identifying Śrī with Prithivi, ‘The Earth is Śrī (iyam Prithivī vai Śrīh).

The Earth as a goddess of fertility is referred to in the ŚB. XII. 4.7. The (Earth) is the womb! (yonirvā iyam Prithivī).’ The fertility aspect of the Earth is further stressed in the ŚB. III. 5.2.12 where she is compared as a lioness winning abundant offsprings and wealth.

The maternal aspect of the Earth has been stressed several times. In the AV. XII. 1.12 it is proclaimed: ‘She is the mother I am her son’ (maśā putro aham prithivyāh). The TB. II. 8.9.1 says ‘The Earth the mother’ (iyam prithivi vai mātā). In TB. II. 4.6.8 she is ‘Earth the great mother’. In the ŚB. V. 3.1.4 it is said that the Earth like a mother nourished the people.

Prithivi is not only the mother of human beings but also of plants and corn which she nourishes. She is addressed in the AV. XII. 1.4 as ‘She who is Lady of the earth’s four regions, in whom our food and corn-lands (krishṭayah)
had there being.' She is particularly mentioned as the protectress of trees
and plants (AV. XII. 1.57). She is verily the house of birds, and kine and horses
(gavāmaśvānāṁ vayasascha vishthāḥ), this Prithivi vouchsafed luck (AV. XII.
1.5). Prithivi is also the source of all treasures. She is called the nourisher of
the world (vīvambarā), store-house of all treasures (vasudhānti) and gold-
breasted (hiranyavakshā) (AV. XII. 1.6). This idea of Prithivi as the source
of all treasures is further expanded in a hymn in the AV. XII. 1.44:

"May Earth the Goddess, she who bears her treasure stored up in many
a place, gold, gems, and riches,

Giver of opulence, grant great possession to us bestowing them with love
and favour."

Prithivi, like the goddess Artemis also associated with fierce wild beasts
from whose depredations she protects the people. The AV. XII. 49 observes:

"All sylvan beasts of thine that love the woodlands, man-eaters, forest-
haunting, lions, tigers,

Hyena, wolf, Misfortune, evil spirit, drive from us, chase the demons
to a distance."

The poet is in love with Prithivi and extols her fragrance which permeates
plants and the waters. To quote the AV. XII. 1.23:

"Scent that hath risen from thee, O Earth, the fragrance which growing
herbs and plants and waters carry,

Shared by Apsarases, shared by Gandharvas, there-with make thou me
sweet: let no man hate me."

The earth's fragrance also entered the lotus (vaste gandhah pushkarama-
viveśa). AV. XII. 1.24 thereby establishing a close contact with the lotus
Prithivi and Śrī.

Prithivi as a goddess appears in RV. V. 84. 1-3 where she is called the
bearer of the tool that rends the hills thereby meaning that she wields the vajra
or thunder bolt. She is said to be rich in torrents that fertilize the earth which
is designated as bhūmi as opposed to the Earth goddess designated as
Prithivi. Her association with the clouds is emphasized and she is regarded
as the mistress of the woods. When the lightning strikes her clouds the
rain descends.

Prithivi also seems to have been associated with the funeral rites. In his
excavations at Lauriya T.B. Bloch found from the mounds M and N along
a small deposit of human bone-mixed up with charcoal two small gold leaves with the naked female figures who are shown in a strictly frontal and hieratic pose, the legs close together and the feet pointing in opposite directions. The hips are steatopygous and the hands are lowered at the sides and the vulva is prominently rendered.12

Bloch is of the opinion and probably he is right that the mounds at Lauriya are funerary mounds. He identifies the goddess as Prithivi quoting RV. X. 18.10 which says that Prithivi is the saviour of the body from Nirrti, the goddess of death and decay.

It is significant to note here that the nude goddess on the Lauriya gold leaves is iconographically almost identical with the figure of the Mother goddess prominently identified as Sri depicted on Mauryan carved discs. This feature also should support the view that the iconography of Sri and Prithivi was very much mixed up.

As we have pointed out above the concept of Sri contains many elements which project her visual image. We are not concerned here with the abstract concept of Sri and Lakshmi in the Vedas, as the subject has been amply dealt by Oldenberg,13 Coomaraswamy14 and Gonda.15 Here we are concerned only with that phase in her development when she actually assumed the role of a goddess. Sri and Lakshmi appear together as two heavenly deities in the VS. XXXI. However, interesting information about Sri in the form of a goddess is obtained from the SB. XI. 4.3.6-20. The myth points out that Prajapati heated in the act of creation created Sri who, 'stood resplendent, shining and trembling.'

Seeing her form the gods were attracted towards her. Spared by Prajapati from the envy of the gods who wanted to kill her, Agni received from her food, Varuna his universal sovereignty, Mitra his noble rank, Bjaspati his holy lustre, Savitri his domain, Pushan his wealth, Saraswati her prosperity and Tvaśtri his beautiful form. According to the SB. X. 2.1.49 Sri is immortal and effulgent. The sacrifice of the Aśvamedha is compared with Sri (SB. X. 1.4.14). At the time of the Rajasūya sacrifice the lion-skin on which the king sat is called Sri (SB. X. 1.4.14).

It is thus evident that Sri assuming the role of a goddess was distinguished by her resplendent figure and she became the dispenser of food, universal sovereignty, noble rank, domain and beautiful form. All these virtues as-

15 J. Gonda, Aspects of Early Vaisnavism, Utrecht, 1954.
associated with her find full expression in the development of Śrī as expounded in the Śrī-Śūkta, a Khila of the RV. and in the MB.

The central point of the Śūkta is that it stresses the absolute identity of Śrī with Lakshmi. She is golden hued (hīranyavārṇām), she wears a gold and silver necklace (svavargarajatasrajām), she is moon-faced, radiant as the sun, fawn-eyed (hāriyām), and the bestower of gold, cattle and horses. She rides a chariot yoked with horses and delights in the trumpeting of elephants (hastinādarāmād忍m). She wears a golden chādar (hīranyā prāvarām) she is moist (ārdrām), resplendent (jvalantim), satisfied and satisfier (tiptām tarpayantim). She is haloed like moon (chandrām prabhāsām) and effulgent with glory (yākasājvalantim). She stands on a lotus (padmavatīm); she is lotus hued (padmavārṇām), she holds a lotus flower (padmaneṇīm), and she wears a lotus garland (padmamālām). Her favourite is bilva tree and fruit which are supposed to drive away misfortune from within and without. She is associated with Kubera (devasakhāh) and Manibhadra (Maṇīnā sāha). She is prayed for fame and prosperity (vriddhitam) and removal of hunger, thirst, Jyeshṭhā-Alakshmi (misfortune), poverty and adversity. She is perceptible through odour (gandhadvārām), well supplied (nityapushṭam),17 abounding in dung (kariṣṭhām) and the Mistress of all Beings (śvarīm sarvabhūtānām). She is associated with cattle and food. Her excellent progeny is said to be mud (kardama) which created life. She is associated with oozing slime (chiklīta). She is said to live in lotus pond. She holds the stick decorated with golden necklace (yashtim svavarṇām hemanālām).

It is evident from the Śrī-Śūkta that Śrī is pictured here as the guardian deity of farmers. The commentary on the TĀ. X. 1.43 calls her mṛītikābhīmā-nīndevatā, the goddess proud of the soil. The Ṛgvedhāna18 describes a series of rites requiring bilva fruits and lotus flowers intended to invoke the goddess to come into a lotus or into gold.19 Her designation as ‘moist’ (ārdrā) also implies fresh green as a plant, living. Her association with the waters is indicated by the lotus and the mud and slime from which it grew. Her odour reminds the fragrance of the earth which entered the lotus. AV. XII. 1.24.

It is evident from the Śrī-Śūkta that Lakshmi was only a synonym of Śrī. Lakshmi perhaps originally stands for a separate divinity representing the signs, evidences and prognostication of luck and prosperity is later on conceived as the goddess of gold and wealth. But as a corn goddess her functions are similar to that of Śrī with whom she is equated. She is sometimes associated with a basket of unhusked rice at the time of her festival. She is said to manifest

17 The Commentary explains—nityām nirantara sahyadibhiḥ pushām samṛiddhām, meaning ever prosperous by vegetation etc.
18 The Ṛgvedhāna, tr. by J. Gonda, Utrecht, 1951, 2.17.6.
19 Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇulism, p. 214.
herself in the shape of seedlings grown in a winnowing basket. According to the MB. XIII. 11.14 she lives in maidens, in ornaments, in the rain clouds, in lakes filled with lotus flowers, elephants and kings on the throne.\textsuperscript{20}

Sitā as furrow or cultivated earth appears as a fertility goddess, in RV. IV. 57.6-7. She was worshipped with milk to obtain prosperity. In the rites relating to the furrow (Sitāyajña, Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra, 2.17.91) its sacrifices are held in the rice or barley field and Sitā is invoked with Śri. According to the Jain Brihat Kalpasūtra Bhāṣya (3647) in this Yajña (Sitā janno) the plough was worshipped.

The Purāṇas mention several legends about the origin of Śrī-Lakshmi. One legend (MB. XII. 59. 133-134) establishes her association with Vishnu and Dharma. It says that from Vishnu’s forehead sprang a golden lotus from which was born Śrī who was united to Dharma. From this union was born wealth (artha). In the Paurāṇic literature, however, Śrī-Lakshmi is treated as the wife of Vishnu. The wife of Vishnu (Vishnupati) mentioned in the AV. VII. 46.3 is not Lakshmi. She is perhaps the same as Sinivali who is said to be possessed of beautiful limbs and steatopygous (AV. VII. 46.2). Sinivali at one place in AV. is also called the wife of Vishnu.\textsuperscript{21} Ganda is of the opinion that Sinivali could be equated with Pṛithivi and as Pṛithivi and Śrī are also equated Śrī’s association with Vishnu could be of a fairly early date.

In the Paurāṇic literature Śrīvatsa became Vishnu’s favourite symbol. His various synonyms are Śrīvāhavaksha, Śrīvāsa, Śrīpati, Śrīmatāmvara, Śrīṣa, Śrīnivāsa, Śrīnudhi, Śrīvibhāvana, Śrīdhara, Śrīkara and Śrimān (MB. XIII. 135. 77-78).

The legend of the churning of the ocean is of late origin but it throws light on Śrī’s close association with the waters and other objects. The MB. 1.16.34, simply observes that she emerged from the ocean dressed in white and thereafter was followed by Surādevī and the white horse. The Vishnu P. l. 9. 100-105, however, gives a full version of the legend. It is said that in the course of the churning the ocean at first appeared Dhanvantari followed by the resplendent Śrī standing on an expanded lotus and also holding a lotus. The saints assembled there worshipped her by reciting the Śrī-Sūkta. There was dancing and music by Gandharvas and Apsarasas. The Ganga and other rivers presented themselves for the lustration and the Diggajas (presiding elephants of the directions) poured water over her from golden pitchers. The milky ocean presented her with a lotus garland and Viśvakarman, the heavenly architect, decorated her person with ornaments. Thus decorated she took her place on the chest of Vishnu. Indra in his prayer to her brings out the outstanding features of her character. (Vishnu P. I. 9. 117-133). The prayer begins “I bow

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{21} Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 25.
to you, Lady of the Lotus, your eyes are like expanded lotuses. Your stay on Vishnu's chest your abode is in the lotus (padmālayam). You hold lotus... you are peaceful and terrible, you are the bestower of wife, sons, house, wealth, grain and friends. You are destroyer of the enemy".

It is mentioned in the Liṅga Purāṇa that at the time of churning the ocean at first appeared Alakshmi followed by Lakshmi, the former called Jyeshṭhā or Elder. The reference finds an echo of Jyeshṭhā-Alakshmi of the Śrī-Sūkta (8).

The Vishvudharmottara Purāṇa I. 41. 33-36 gives a different version about the origin of Lakshmi. It is said that in Svāyambhuva Manvantara she appeared as Bṛigu's daughter, in Svārochishita Manvantara she was born as the daughter of Agni, in Tāmasa Manvantara she appeared as the daughter of Prithivi, in Raivata Manvantara she was born of bīva, in Chākshusa Manvantara she sprang from a blossoming lotus and in Vaivasvata Manvantara she appeared from the churning of the ocean.

Thus in a nutshell the Vishvudharmottara establishes the relationship of Śrī with Bṛigu, Agni, Prithivi, bīva, lotus and the ocean.

The iconography of Śrī Lakshmi as described in the Purāṇas also conforms to her original concept in the Śrī-Sūkta. In the Matsya P. CCLX. 40:47 she is represented as youthful, firm breasted and red lipped. Her tresses are decorated with the lotus, Svastika and conches and she wears a long tunic, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and the zone. She holds a lotus in the left hand and bīva in the right. On her either side stands a chaṇḍer-bearer standing on lotus. She is lustrated by an elephant on either side. The Lokēśas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Siddhas, Asuras, Nāgas, Piśāchas, etc. offer prayer to her.

The Vishvudharmottara Purāṇa III. 82. 1-6 ordains that Lakshmi should be two-handed seated on simhāsana on which is placed an expanded lotus. She also holds a lotus. In the four-handed type in the natural right hand she holds a lotus with its stalk touching the armlet, the other hands hold a pūrṇaghaṭa and śaṅkha. Behind her stand two elephants pouring water over her from pitchers. A lotus shades her head. The text further describes the symbolism of the lotus, the pūrṇaghaṭa, the conch-shell and bīva. The conch-shell represents goodluck, bīva the whole world, pūrṇaghaṭa the essence of the waters (apām saromritam) and the lotus wealth and prosperity. The two elephants represent the nidhis, śaṅkha and padma. Lakshmi's forms are further expanded into Rājaśrī, Svargalakshmi, Brāhma and Jayalakshmi.

It may also be noted that though the equation of Śrī and Prithivi is fairly evident, in their iconographical details as well they are fairly close together. The Vishvudharmottara III. 61. 1-4 prescribes that Prithivi should be of very

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fair colour and bejewelled and wear white garments. In her four hands she holds a jewel bowl (ratnapātra), a grain bowl (sasyapātra), a bowl full of vegetation (ohshahhipātra) and a lotus. In the background appeared the four Diggajas. The goddess is regarded as the source of vegetation. Her white garment symbolizes Dharma and the lotus the treasures.

As has already pointed out that Śrī in the beginning was the goddess of farmers and fertility and the ādrā 'moist', karishṇiū, 'abounding in dung', kardama 'mud', chiklita 'slime' seem to be words adopted from a farmer's vocabulary. Śrī's intimate relation with the cow-dung is peculiarly enough stressed in the MB, XIII. 81. Yudhishthira asked Bhishma how contact was established between Śrī and the cow-dung. He related the dialogue which ensued between Śrī and the cows. It is said that Śrī assuming a beautiful form (vapah kāntam), entered the cows who were wonderstruck at her resplendent beauty (rūpasya sampadam). There at she informed them that she was Śrī the popular goddess (lokakāntā). Indra, Vivasvat, Soma, Vishṇu, Agni, the rishis and gods gained prosperity through her and that she also wanted to offer a gift to them as well. But the cows instead of being grateful for the offer called her fickle-minded and asked her to leave them alone as they were all healthy. Śrī wondered at their attitude as the gods, the Asuras and Nāgas all sought her protection. Being refused several times by the cows Śrī asked them at least to point out some part of their body where she could reside. Moved by the insignificant request they agreed that she should reside in their dung and urine. Thus her ancient function as abounding in the dung, a necessary aid to agricultural operations is fully supported by the MB.

Śrī also seems to have been included among Yakshiṇīs. The Śrī-Sūktā mentions her relationship with Kubera and Yaksha Manibhadra. Coomaraswamy has rightly pointed out that the general character of the Yaksha type includes universal deities like Kubera, Kāmadeva and Śrī. In keeping with the character of other Yakshas Śrī is also associated with the waters. At Bharhat Śrīmā devatā appears in the company of Yakshiṇīs. A Devatā holding a bundle of lotus flowers has been identified by Coomaraswamy as Śrī. Another Devatā at Bharhat holding a lamp and standing on a full blown lotus is identified by Coomaraswamy as the prototype of Sarasvatī of late Brahmanical iconography. It is significant to note in this connection that in literature often Śrī and Sarasvatī are equated.

The commentary on the Śrī-Sūktā on verse 7 (Hall, loc. cit., p. 127) gives some interesting details of Śrī's connection with Kubera and others. It says: Devasakhaḥ devo Mahādevastasya sakāh Kuberaḥ. Kṛitiṣṭaṁ kṛtyabhimāṇini Dakshakanyā devatāḥ; Kuberakośalā, Sā vācha maṇīṁaṁ chintāmaṇīṁa Maṇi-

23 A. K. Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharhat, Paris, 1956, p. 61, Pl. XVI, fig. 40.
24 Ibid., p. 63, Pl. XVIII, fig. 45.
bhadréva koshādhyakṣheva saha sārdhamupaitu upagechchhatu. “Devasakha is Mahādeva’s friend, Kirtī proud of her form is the daughter of Daksha or Kubera’s treasury is Kirtī. She with the wishing jewel, Chintāmanī, may hold treasurer Maṇibhadra.”

It may be noted here that certain symbols such as the makara, etc., to be discussed later on, Śrī shares with the river goddesses because these symbols are associated with the waters. As observed by Coomaraswamy, “Iconographically the differentiated form of the river goddesses (in northern India only) is directly derived from the Yakṣī-dryad, and this implies that the latter, despite the vegetal and apparently terrestrial habitat, was still primarily a spirit of the waters.”

The bilva tree and fruit were favourite of Śrī as mentioned in the Śrī-Sūkta and other sources. It is mentioned in the AB II. 1.6 ff. that those desirous of Śrī were enjoined to raise up the yūpa of bilva tree with the branches. In the Manusmṛti V. 120 bilva is called Śṛipāla. It is mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa XXXVII. 9.15 that to the east of Śrīsara was situated an extensive forest of bilva (bilva-vana) which yielded sweet golden fruits. It was known as Śrīvana inhabited by Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Nāgas, and Siddhas who assembled there to eat the bilva fruit, Śrī resided there. It is mentioned in the Kādanbhi that in the courtyard of the temple of Chandi there grew bilva trees along with the date and other palm-trees.

The bilva tree and fruit are also sacred to Śiva and Ambā. It is difficult to say as to why it is so, but the possibility is that the bilva fruit because of its mass of seed came to be regarded as a fruit symbolizing fertility. A parallel may be drawn to the pomegranate which perhaps because of its seeds became a symbol of the Iranian goddess Anāhita.

Another feature of Śrī on which Śrī-Sūkta lays stress is her resplendent beauty, a fact supported by Paurānic and iconographical sources. Her golden complexion, the fawn-like eyes and the moon face are all praised. The MB, often refers to Śrī’s beauty as a point of comparison. Thus Girīka’s great beauty is compared with that of Śrī (MB I. 57. 38; ativa rūpasampamāṃ sākhāch-chhriyamivaparāṃ). Śakuntalā is said to be as beautiful as Śrī (MB I. 65.3).

According to the Śrī-Sūkta I, Śrī wore a necklace made of gold and silver beads (suvarnarajatasrajām), though sraja as suggested by Govind Chandra might have been an ornament attached to the forehead. It is remarkable that even today women while worshipping Lakshmi on the eighth of the black

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*66* Coomaraswamy, Yakti, Part II, p. 55.
*68* The Commentary on verse (Hall, loc. cit., p. 125), says that the word harinim may mean green-coloured or doe-shaped. According to the Devi Purāṇa Śrī assuming the form of a doe roamed in a forest. The relation of Śrī and the doe will be discussed later on.
half of Āsvina, an ornament made up of barley-shaped silver and gold beads known as jūtyā is put on their heads.\footnote{Govind Chandra, op. cit., p. 23.}

Another characteristic feature of Śrī is that she was connected with a golden pillar (yashṭi) decorated with a golden necklace (swarṇām hemamālinīm). Whatever may be the explanation of the swarṇa yashṭinīm, it is evident as in the second century B.C., at least pillars were raised in honour of Śrī.\footnote{V. S. Agrawala, \textit{Indian Art}, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 158-159.} V. S. Agrawala sees in the representation of ornamented pillars on the outside of the left pillar of the Northern Gateway of Stūpa I at Sanchi the vestige of Śrī Yashṭi. According to him it represents the Suvarṇa-Yashṭi with eight pegs for hanging golden necklaces (hemamālā), a visible symbol of Śrī Lakṣmī, who resplendent as the sun takes the form of a golden pillar loaded with golden necklaces.

In two necklaces on a pillar in the Northern Gateway, Sanchi appear some symbols which seem to be connected with the cult of Śrī-Lakṣmī. In one necklace appear eleven symbols and in the second thirteen symbols. Among the symbols may be mentioned the sun, wheel, lotus pond, goat, Indra’s banner (vaijayantī), the lotus, a pair of fish (mina-yugala), battle axe (parashu) mirror (darpāṇa), kalpavrīkṣa, and garlands (mālyadāna) and īrṇvatsa. Later on the number became fixed in Jain Āyāgapattas and this new set of symbols was denoted as \textit{Ashta Marigalakamālā} which included \textit{mina mithuna}, devamānagriha, īrṇvatsa, vardhamāna, triratna, pushpadāma, vaijayantī and pūrgaghata.

Śrī-Lakṣmī as a goddess of wealth is well known. The 68th chapter of the Mār. P.\footnote{V. S. Agrawala, \textit{“Padmini Vidyā of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa,” Purāṇa}, Vol. 1, No. 2, Feb. 1960, pp. 188-197.} describes the \textit{Padmini Vidyā} with its Eight Nidhis which brought gems, garlands, garments, ornaments, unguent, pots and pans, furnished beds and proficiency in music. As a matter of fact \textit{Padmini Vidyā} is defined as a Māyā (vidyā) which brought to the devotee all desired objects (Mār. P. LXVI. 7). Lakṣmī is named as the presiding deity of \textit{Padmini Vidyā} (Padminī nāmā yā vidyā Lakshmīṣasyādhidevatā, Mār. P. LXVII. 2). According to the Mār. P. LXVIII. 5 the nidhis are namely, \textit{Padma}, Mahūparma, Makara, Kachchhapā, Mukunda, Nandaka, Nila and Śāṅkha. Curiously, each nidhi is associated with some lucrative profession. The following are the nidhis:

1. \textit{Padma}: It indicates the wealth in term of gold, silver and other merchandise. Their dealers were typical shroffs who enjoyed hereditary wealth. They performed Yajñas, distributed \textit{dakshinā} and built temples and mansions.

2. \textit{Mahūparma}: Its possessor dealt in precious stones, pearls and coral.
Apparently they were jewellers by profession. Their profession was also hereditary.

3. **Makara**: The *nidhi* was associated with a class of merchants who dealt in weapons such as arrows, swords, bows, shields and horses. Their wealth lasted only for one generation. They were friendly to kings and soldiers.

4. **Kachchhapa**: The owner of this *nidhi* was an extremely miserly and self-conceited fellow.

5. **Mukunda**: The *nidhi* was associated with hereditarily rich persons fond of music, dancing, drama and poetry. They gave money to artists for their performances.

6. **Nandaka** or **Nandyāvarta**: This *nidhi* was associated with landlords, feudal chiefs, etc. They supported their own families, kept big harems and possessed precious stones.

7. **Nila**: It was associated with that class of merchants who dealt with merchandise and building stores such as textile, cotton, grain, fruit, flowers, pearl, coral, shell, timber, etc. They built ponds, tanks, gardens, dykes across the rivers and planted trees. Their fortune lasted for three generations.

8. **Śaṅkha**: The eighth *nidhi* was associated with tight-fisted persons who enjoyed good food and clothing of their own making, made their families miserable and made no gift to their friends and relatives.

It is difficult to say on what basis the above classification of the *nidhis* was made and each *nidhi* assigned to different social groups. It is, however, evident that the majority of the symbols are associated with the water cosmology. The *Paścma, Mahāpaścma, Makara, Kachchhapa* and *Śaṅkha* are definitely associated with the waters. It is possible that at some early time the *makara* in a secondary sense stood as a symbol of maritime commerce i.e. prosperity, then it became the vehicle of Varuna and lastly the vehicle of Gaṅgā. The *Śaṅkha* in the *AV. IV. 10. 1-4* is said to be gold-born, source of the pearl, born from the sea. As a symbol of Śrī-Lakshmī it not only appears in the *Vishnu Upanishad, Pur. III. 82.7*, but also on the Besnagar Pillar capital, with which we will deal later on.

The Jainas, both Śvetāmbara and Digambara have eight auspicious symbols. Some of which are common to both Hindu and Jain. It is, however, difficult to say what exact relation the Jain symbols bore to Śrī-Lakshmī cult. The traditional auspicious symbols are *svastika, ērvata, nandyāvarta, vardhamānaka* (water-flask), *bhadraśana* (throne), *kalaśa* (the full pitcher), *darpaṇa* (mirror) and *matsya-yugala* (a pair of
fish).

It may, however, be conceded that the royal seat, the wishing bowl, the full pitcher and the pair of fish are all connected with the complex ideological and iconographical concepts of Śrī.

The Jain auspicious symbols served as a decorative element for architraves, Chaitiya tree platforms, bāli-pattas and the āyāgapattas of the Kushāṇa period. However, in this period some more symbols as ratnarāśi (heap of precious stones), triratna, etc. also appear. It is therefore, evident that in the Kushāṇa period the set of the Eight Auspicious symbols had not been finally settled.

The true significance of the Jain symbols remain unexplained, though the Achārāradinakara, a late Jain text tries to interpret them with a religious bias. Thus the kalasa according to the text, represents the Jina as the very ‘full-vessel’ to his family. The mirror stands for seeing the reflection of one’s true self; the bhadrāsana signifies the seat by the Jina and the vardhamānaka symbolizes the increase of wealth, fame, merit, etc. by the grace of the Lord.

“It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina, in the form of śrvasta-mark on his chest. Svastika, according to the text, signifies svasti, that is, sānti or peace, nandyāvarta (diagram) with its nine points stands for the nine nīdhis (treasures). The pair of fish is the symbol of Cupid’s banners come to worship the Jina after the defeat of the god of Love.”

Another set of fourteen symbols appearing in the dreams of Triśalā and Devānandā are closely associated with Śrī as we will see later on. The symbols are:

1. An elephant (gaja),
2. a bull (vasaha),
3. a lion (siha),
4. the anointing (abhisiya) of Śrī-Lakshmi,
5. a garland (dāma),
6. the moon (sasti),
7. the sun (dinayaram),
8. a flag (jhayam),
9. a vase (kumbham),
10. a lotus lake (padmasara),
11. the ocean (sāgara),
12. a celestial abode (vimānabhavana),
13. a heap of jewels (rayamuchchaya) and
14. a flame (sihim).

Dr. U. P. Shah basing his information on some commentary of the Kalpa-sūtra has given some details about the dream symbols. Thus the elephant is white, the bull is encircled by an aura of light, the lion is white and playful, the four-handed Śrī carries lotuses and the moon is full, the sun is red the banner is tied to a golden staff tipped with a lion, the full vase is filled with water and lotus flowers, the abode of Fortune and the lake are swarming with bees and aquatic birds. The ocean is the Milky Ocean with agitated water and filled with marine creatures and the celestial palace is provided with columns, garlands and sculptures. In the list of dream symbols the Digam-

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bara tradition include a pair of fish, the aerial car and Nāgendra Bhavana (the abode of the Nāga king).\textsuperscript{35}

We have already referred to Śrī’s yāshī or staff and the explanation offered by Dr. Agrawala, though it is another matter to accept or reject his view. However, it is possible that at some remote time wooden yāpas might have been raised in honour of Śrī. This surmise is supported by the existence of at least two stone pillars dedicated to Śrī, one of which comes from Vidisha. Cunningham\textsuperscript{36} recognized in the Besnagar pillar capital Kalpadruma represented by a banyan tree with long pendent roots from which square pieces of money are falling and overflowing the vessels placed below. The upper part of the tree nearly spherical in shape is covered with large leaves and small berries of Ficus Indica. Below is the cylindrical neck shooting from which are stems and roots forming eight compartments, “In these are placed alternatively, four vessels full of money and four-skins of wine (?). These last may perhaps be intended for bags of money as each is fastened with a band round the neck. The open vessels are all different. One is a large shell standing on its end; a second is a full-blown lotus flower; a third is a ‘loṭā’, or a common water-vessel” (Cunningham). The conchshell and the lotus flower exuding coins are correctly identified as the two nidhis of Kubera. According to Banerjea,\textsuperscript{37} the eight objects coming down from the banyan tree are four bags and four open vessels all containing money and the earliest representations of eight nidhis of Kubera (Vāyu P. XLVII, 9-10). However, these nidhis did not exclusively belong to Kubera and as shown earlier they were also intimately associated with the cult of Śrī.

The banyan capital at Besnagar (3rd—2nd century B.C.) was probably placed, according to Coomaraswamy on the top of a column standing in front of a shrine of Kubera-Vaiśravana whose special cognizance is a bag or a vase full of coins. However, Banerjea suggests, perhaps rightly, that the column as well might have faced a shrine of Śrī, the Goddess of Fortune, whose association with Kubera as well as his Eight Treasures is well known.\textsuperscript{38}

To strengthen his view further Banerjea identifies the colossal female statue which was found very near to the banyan capital by Cunningham as none other than Śrī herself.

Śirimā of Bharhut and Besnagar both have a similarity of concept. “Both these figures conform to the early Indian concept about female beauty, characterised by a prominent bust and protuberant hips indicative of motherhood

\textsuperscript{35} U. P. Shah, op. cit., p. 106.
\textsuperscript{37} Banerjea, J.I.S.O.A., 1941, p. 142.
\textsuperscript{38} Coomaraswamy, Yokaar, II.
and fecundity. This is known in comparatively late texts as ‘nyagrodhaparimapdala’ type, in which the breasts are firm and prominent, the buttocks spacious and the middle part comparatively narrow. This emphasis on productivity is quite apposite in the case of the goddess Śrī (Sīrimā) who is the presiding deity of Pdamini-vidyā which brings forth earthly enjoyment (bhogopa-pādikā).\(^{36}\)

The physical charm of Śrī as pointed out by Banerjea and the epics, Purāṇas and iconographical literature is not only evident from early representations of Śrī in stone, but as we will see later on also in carved stone discs and terracotta figurines as well. As a matter of fact this standard of female beauty was laid down as early as the ŚB.\(^{40}\) The steatopyga of a woman and her slender waist are praised:

\[
evaniva hi yoshäm praśaṁsant prithuśrōṭh, vimśiśṭādhārāmsā madhye samgrāhyeti. ŚB. 1. 2.5.16.
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While describing the shape of altar the ŚB. III. 5.1.11 says that “it should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: 'broad about the hips, somewhat narrow between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist).’”

The fact that pillars were being raised in honour of Śrī is further supported by the Lalabhagat pillar.\(^{41}\) Lalabhagat, a small village in Dehrapur Tehsil of Kanpur District has a broken red sandstone pillar. On one of the octagonal portion relief connected with the Śrī cult appears. At the top are represented a couple of flying geese carrying a box-like object suspended to a pole. The box may indicate a jewel-casket. A little below appears the Sun god seated in his chariot drawn by four horses. A female figure on the right holds an umbrella over his head and the female figure on the left carries a chaurt. The horses are trampling over the head of a demon, who according to Vats symbolizes the spirit of darkness. The three female figures representing Ushā, Pratyūṣā and Chhāyā, the three wives of Sūrya stand on a double row of thirteen dwarfish figures identified by Sivaramamurti as Bālakhilya Rishis. Below the dwarfs is represented a dancing peacock with its tail spread fanwise. Below the peacock appears one elephant facing to the left, The lowermost scene represents Śrī-Lakshimi receiving her lustration from an elephant standing on either side pouring water over her head from upturned pitchers. To her proper right appears a Yaksha carrying on his head the bowl of plenty and a pillar crowned by a cock. It is obvious from this pillar that the large figure of a cock carved in the round found from the site must have served as the crowning feature of the Lalabhagat pillar.

\(^{36}\) J.J.S.O.A., 1941, p. 144-145.
\(^{40}\) V. S. Agrawala, J.U.P.H.S., Vol. IX, 1, July 1936, p. 16.
\(^{41}\) Lalabhagat, A. S. I., Annual Report, 1929-30, pp. 132-133, Pl. XXXI, d-g.
It is evident from the scenes represented on the Lalabhatag pillar that they are intimately associated with the cult of Śrī-Lakṣmi. The pair of geese, the peacock, the cock, the lotus and the elephant are as we will see later on depicted on the carved stone discs depicting Śrī-Lakṣmi. These symbols on the pillar are, however, somewhat elaborated. For instance, the sun depicted on the carved stone discs is merely a rayonnant circle, but here he is treated with full iconographical details. Śrī-Lakṣmi here is accompanied by a Yakṣa, but on the carved stone discs she appears singly. The Lalabhatag pillar is dated to the first century B.C.

III

THE LOTUS.

The lotus symbolizing the water cosmology has a unique place in Indian art and literature. It is associated closely with Śrī. She is addressed as seated on a lotus (padmaśthitām), holding a lotus (padmanemīm), dwelling in a lotus lake (puṣkaraṁstām) and wearing a lotus garland (padmamālīnīm). The lotus rosette associated with elephants, or a pūrṇaghatā with lotus over which is seated a divinity often accompanied by an elephant on either side each mounted on a lotus sprinkling water from the vases are favourite motifs of Indian art. M. Foucher considered this motif as the symbol of the Nativity of Buddha. According to him the goddess on the lotus represents Māyā, and the elephants the lustration ceremony. This identification has been rightly challenged by Coomaraswamy on the basis that the goddess appears on non-Buddhist tribal coins as well. The lotus was not only the symbol of Śrī, the goddess Pṛithivi is also connected with it and it was also the cognizance of Ambā and Umā in early times. The lotus rhizomes are closely associated with Yakṣas and the makara who are shown blowing them and rosettes also form an important decorative element in early Indian art. As a matter of fact according to the Vishnuharmottara Purāṇa III. 45. 1-9 the lotus symbolizes the whole world. A deity who is to be invoked should first be established in a lotus and then worshipped without mixing him with some other deity. The gods to be invoked are Brahmā, Hari, Rudra, Śakra, Sūrya and Śaśin. The goddess Śrī was also invoked through the medium of lotus. This lotus apparently in Yantra form was made of gold, silver, copper and brass.

The ŚB. V. 4. 5. 14, mentions that in the symbolism of lotus the leaves symbolize the sky and stars, its seed-stalks represent air and its suckers the earth. The ŚB. VII. 4.1.8 mentions that “the lotus means the waters, and the earth is a leaf thereof; even as the lotus leaf here lies spread the waters”. The lotus leaf also symbolizes the womb (ŚB. VII. 4. 1.7), the source of fertility. In the TS. 5.1.4.2 the lotus leaf is called the waters. The idea of creation from the waters is evident from the myth which speaks that from the primeval waters appeared Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf. From the myth probably originated the idea that Brahmā created a Brahmā on a lotus-leaf (GB. I. 1.16).

Though associated with many gods and goddesses lotus flower and lotus lakes are favourite resorts of Śrī-Lakṣmi. According to the Vāyu P. XXXVII.
1-8, between the Sitāvana and Kumuda there exists a huge lake filled with crystal clear water, aquatic birds and fragrant lotus flowers inhabited by Nāgas, Devas, Dānavas and Gandharvas. Amidst the clusters of lotus flowers there is a Great Lotus (mahāpadma) in which resided Śrī-Lakshmi.

We have already pointed out the close resemblance between the iconographical and functional concepts of Prithivi and Śrī. In the Matsya P. it however, Prithivi is conceived as a gigantic golden lotus symbolizing the cosmos. It is emphasized that from this golden lotus created by Nārāyaṇa from the depth of the ocean was born Brahmā and that the lotus and the earth are synonymous. “Padmā (‘born of lotus’, Śrī-Lakshmi) is the same as Rasā or Prithivi and the large pericarp of the lotus stands for mountains”.

It is evident from the ancient texts that the “lotus was primarily understood to represent the Waters; secondarily also, in a much as the flower and still more obviously the leaf rest on the waters, the earth—for the earth is conceived of as resting on the back of the waters, and supported by the waters, which extend on either side of it.”

Coomaraswamy further explains that the lotus as the symbol of the waters and therefore, life primarily expresses the generative principle of the waters, the lotus standing for purity is a much later development. “These meanings and values do not at all exclude that of the implication of birth in the Waters, conspicuous in the case of Śrī-Lakṣmi, who is the earliest divinity to be constantly represented with padma-pitha or padmāsana, though in the case of other deities not so directly born from the waters, the idea of support seems to be indicated rather than that of “divine birth,” which has hitherto been the usual interpretation; on the other hand, the more edifying symbolism of purity, drawn from the fact that the lotus leaf is not wetted by the water that it rests on, nor is the flower soiled by the mud from which it sprouts, belong to a later cycle of ideas, and only come in with the sectarian, Buddhist and devotional developments.”

Bosch has analysed further the cosmogonic significance of the lotus with which is intimately connected the Tree of Life. To quote him, “In the later cosmogonic legends the germ of life has three aspects: the grain of seed from which springs the tree of life; a being belonging to the animal kingdom (a cosmic egg, a tortoise); and the navel of a deity. Frequently a combination of these three motifs is to be found.”

The nature of the plant rising from the germ at the beginning of the creation is not known from the early Vedic sources. But according to the Purāṇas it is a lotus growing from the navel of Vishnu which gave birth to Brahmā.

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43 Coomaraswamy, Yaksas, Part II, pp. 56-57.
44 Ibid, p. 57.
Bosch has quoted several Buddhist legends of cosmic nature in which lotus appears as the Tree of Life.\textsuperscript{46}

Bosch sums up his views on the lotus as the symbol of life thus “If to the results thus obtained we assign their proper place in the Indian conception of the world, conceived as a lotus with cosmic dimensions, in other words if in our imagination we reconstruct the image of these things as it was conceived by the Indian and expressed in his art, then Hiranyakartha, the germ and womb of all that lives, assumes the shape of the root of the cosmic lotus the padmamala, and it is filled with the golden elixir of life that unites the essence of the two primordial principles Agni and Soma.”

“From this root the sap is sent forth in all directions, it rises through the central stem, spreads through the side-shoots, flows out through the nodes, penetrates into the plant’s branches, leaves, flowers and fruits and wherever it appears it engenders Life, the Life that animates animals and men, demons and gods, that makes the fields fertile and the cattle thrive, pours riches and wealth over the earth, just as we see it so vividly pictured on the Bharhut and Sanchi reliefs.”\textsuperscript{47}

\textit{THE PALM, PIPAL AND BANYAN TREES}

Besides the lotus and \textit{bel} trees, \textit{Sri}, as evinced by some carved stone discs was also associated with the palm, \textit{pipal} and banyan trees and the honey-suckle. In a carved stone disc from Taxila, there appears “a tree with three prongs for branches each one of which is crowned by a blossom below which are shown three drooping leaves, an arrangement suggestive of \textit{asoka} flower.”\textsuperscript{48}

The \textit{pipal} and banyan trees from very early time were regarded as the abode of Yakshas and Yakshinis and a host of spirits. In the \textit{RV.} I. 164.20 the tree on which two birds sat eating the \textit{pipal} berries are identified as Soma and Agni; the same also represent the nocturnal sky and the two birds the lunar phases and the stars. The \textit{AY}, mentions it as the seat of the gods, in the sky in the company of Soma, the plant of immortality and its equivalent \textit{kushtha}. The \textit{asvattha} is also connected with the \textit{Asvins}, the Maruts, Indra, Gandharvas and \textit{Suparnas}. The \textit{asvattha} and \textit{nyagrodha} are particularly associated with the life of Buddha. There is hardly any doubt that these two trees held in veneration by the people were accepted in Buddhism as a matter of compromise and syncretism.\textsuperscript{49}

The most important tree associated with \textit{Sri} on the carved discs is the palm tree, though it is remarkable that in ancient literature \textit{bilva} and not the palm is \textit{Sri}'s favourite tree. How in the carved discs the \textit{bilva} was replaced

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., pp. 55-57.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., pp. 63-64.
by the palm is not known but the possibility of the Western Asiatic influence could not be ruled out. That the palm motif must have entered India at a fairly early period is supported by the fact that the palmate became a recognized motif in early Indian art.

Some interesting information is available from literature about the palm tree. The Vāyu P. XXXVII. 23-25, mentions that in northern regions there existed a palm tree forest (tālavana) inhabited by Indra’s elephant Airāvata. This Airāvata according to the MB. V. 97.7 for the welfare of mankind draws water, releases it on the clouds and after that Indra causes rain. In other words Airāvata symbolizes the rain clouds and the palm-forest the sky. If this explanation is accepted then the presence of the palm tree and also the elephant only signify rains, a symbol of fertility with which Śrī is so closely associated.

In the Gupta period, however, the palm tree seems to have become a recognized symbol or cognizance. Thus according to the Vishnudharmottara III. 54. 8-9, the tāla represents Achyuta, Yama and the Sun.

In early Indian art the palm is represented in a realistic and decorative manner. For at Bharhut palm trees appear within the compound of a pillared structure with a man and woman looking out of the Chaitya windows. It is difficult to say whether the structure served the purpose of a temple or not. We will see later on that the palm tree is more or less realistically treated on the carved discs of the Mauryan period.

In the Gupta art, however, the palmate is treated decoratively and becomes a part of the decorative scheme of the door-way of the Gupta temple architecture. In this connection one is reminded of the following dictum laid down by the Brāhat Samhitā, LVI. 15, for the decoration the temple door-way in at least the sixth century A.D.

Śesham māṅgalya-vihagaiḥ Śrī-vrikṣaḥaiḥ svastikairghataiḥ mithunaiḥ, 
patravallibhiḥ pramathaischopakobhayet.

The śloka may be translated as follows:

"The rest (of the door-way) is decorated with auspicious birds (māṅgalya-
vihagaiḥ), palm trees (Śrīvrikṣaṭaiḥ), svastikas, pūrṇaghaṭas, couples (mithunaiḥ), 
creepers, and Pramathas (Śiva’s gaṇas)..."

In this couplet Śrīvrikṣa has been translated by some as the bilva tree following Śrī’s association with the bilva as pointed out earlier, but on the evidence of the Gupta architectural motif employed in temple doorways,

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48 B. M. Barua, Bharhut, Book III, Calcutta, 1931, Pl. XLIII, 40.
it is certain that by the Śṛṭṛṭṛṣikṣa of the Brihat Samhitā only the palm tree is meant.

For instance the outer frame of the doorway of the early sixth century Vishnu temple at Deogarh is decorated with a series of highly stylized piled up palmates with rosettes and clusters representing flowers or fruits. By no stretch of imagination they could be dhatūrā leaves as suggested by Vats. The pūrṇāghata, the mithunas, the creepers also appear there as mentioned by the Brihat Samhitā.

The Deogarh temple doorway is not the solitary example in which the palmate has been used as a decorative motif. The outer side of a door joint from Bhumara (5th century) consists of palmates clasped by a floral plaque. There is a fragment of a surround from Nagod (5th century A.D.) in the Allahabad Museum which shows how Śṛṭṛṭṛṣikṣa is connected with a Nadi Devatā. “In the cross-set formed by a molding, consisting of superimposed palmates interspersed with aśoka blossoms, is a Viṅka-devatā standing on the back of a marine creature with a floriated tail. He raises his torso as though to support the weight of the Goddess above. Her right hand is raised to touch the branch of an aśoka tree. Iconographically the image belongs to a stage when the river Goddesses—generally depicted on the top portion of a doorway, are indistinguishable from the woman-and-tree motif. They are most often shown standing on a makara or turtle, the representation of a half human figure being most unusual.”

It seems that like the Besnagar pillar capital depicting the eight nūḍhis raised in honour of Śrī or Kubera the palm-leaf pillar capitals were also raised possibly in honour of Śrī who was associated with the palm-tree. Two palm-leaf pillar capitals, one from Vidisha and the other from Padmāvati have been found—the Vidisha capital being the earlier of the two. Dvivedi following K.P. Jayaswal takes the palm-capitals as the symbol of the Nāgas, but there is every likelihood they represented Śrī vṛṣikṣa and perhaps formed a part of the pillars raised in front of the temples of Śrī-Lakshmi. It may, however, also be noted that Balarāma’s standard was known as tālādhvaja.

IV

THE MAKARA

The appearance of gharial or crocodile in Indian art is of very ancient origin. It appears frequently on the amulets of the Indus Valley Culture. Here it is represented with a fish between its jaws and as observed by Mackay “may have been regarded as an emblem of a river-god. As this reptile is associated

41 M. S. Vats, The Gupta Temple at Deogarh, MASI, No. 70, 1952, Pls. VIII-IX.
42 Ibid., p. 12.
43 Pramod Chandra, Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, Bombay, 1971, Pl. LII, fig. 123.
44 Ibid., Pl. LXXI, fig. 207, p. 92.
with the sacred animals, it is safe to assume that it, too, was considered sacred, but the deity with whom it may have been associated was perhaps not regarded with special awe. In the historical period, however, as we shall see later on, the makara or crocodile becomes the symbol of the waters and the symbol of the river goddess Gaṅgā, certain Yakshas, Śrī-Lakshmi and Varuṇa who are all associated with the waters.

The Water Cosmology has produced a number of symbols associated with the waters. The most important being the lotus and the makara which have played an important part in the evolution of Indian art. As observed by Bosch, "waters for a long time retain their original character of a primeval element, obscure, chaotic, unimaginable as a definite shape or person. "Primitive man", Rönnow rightly observes, "does not visualize a constant personification of water. This is sacred and filled with mama, in its own right. Occasionally, now one now another kind of animal or suchlike may appear as representing the innate power of the waters and so by and by a symbol appears that gains in permanence. As a rule it is the aquatic animals like fishes, dolphins, crocodiles, water snakes and so on which incorporate and represent these primitive water demons."

Ocean, the abode of Varuṇa, is supposed to be the habitat of the makara, (sāgare makarolaya, MB. IX. 46.8) and naturally, therefore, it stood as a symbol of the waters. The Vishṇulharmottara, III. 54.9 equates the makara with Varuṇa and the ocean. According to the MB. V. 97.8 the ocean was inhabited by aquatic animals of various shapes which lived drinking the moonlight (soma-prabhā) which is supposed to be endowed with the life-giving property. We have already referred to the relation of the makara with Kubera and Śrī as one of the eight nidhis. In the MB. III. 281.7, however, Śrī is represented as holding the makara in her hand. It is the symbol of Kāmadeva and Rukmiṇī being the mother of Kāmadeva in Dwāpara also bore this symbol. According to the Vishṇulharmottara, III, 54.8, the makara is a symbol of Pradyumna. In the Gupta period according to the Pādatālāśātanam there was a temple of Kāmadeva (Kāmadevāyatanam) at Ujjayini, which had a pillar with the makara capital (makara-yasti) which was circumambulated by courtesans when they visited the temple for worship.

Pradyumna-Kāmadeva who is identified with Varuṇa is Makaradhvaja. This equation of the Kāmadeva with the makara is appropriate as the makara represents the essence of the waters (rasa its various equivalents, sap, semen, Water of Life, etc.) and virility (vīrya). Therefore, the association of the makara with Kāmadeva or any other deity of fertility is quite appropriate.

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26 Coomaraswamy, Yaksas, Part II, p. 55.
That such makara-yashāti existed much earlier than the Gupta period is proved by two makara capitals, one from Vidišā (Besnagar) and another from Kauśāmbī (Allahabad Museum) both datable to the second century B.C. It is suggested that the makara probably crowned a votive column before a temple or site sacred to Pradyumna one of the Pañchavīśhniś. But the makara was not only the cognizance of Pradyumna-Kāmadeva and Varuṇa. In some ancient carved discs datable to the Maurya period depicting the Mother goddess probably Śrī, the makara or crocodile appears. The fragment of a carved disc in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan the goddess is associated with two monkey-like animals with a crocodile or lizard-like creature between them. In another fragment from Kosam in the same Museum in one band appear crocodiles and in the second band the repeat figure of the Mother goddess between the three pronged trees.

According to Banerjea the association of crocodiles or alligators we prefer to call them with the Mother goddess remind us of the developed Śaktī cult in India in which the goddess is associated with a lizard (godhā) perhaps confused with the makara.

The makara in early Indian sculpture is also associated with Yakshis whose close association with Śrī-Lakṣmi is obvious, and the river goddesses. The Yakshi Sudassanā represented at Bharhut proves that the type presages the Gaṅgā of the later iconography. She is supported by the makara. Besides her association with the makara, the name Sudassana or 'Beautiful' also recalls to mind Śrī-Lakṣmi whose resplendent beauty is extolled in literature. The representation at Amaravati of a goddess extracting a pearl from the open mouth of the makara may be Śrī-Lakṣmi as the makara was one of her nidhis. As remarked by Coomaraswamy, "From Bhartrihari's Nītīāstaka, 4, it is evident that there existed some legendary makara with pearls and that to extract pearls from a makara's jaw was considered a proverbial example of courage."

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Mother goddesses Śrī and Pjithivī are closely associated with animals and birds. As a matter of fact a large number of birds and animals are represented on the carved discs found from Murtaziganj, a locality in Patna

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62 J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 171.
63 A. K. Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharhut, Paris, 1956, p. 63, Pl. XVIII, fig. 46.
64 Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, Part II, Pl. 12, fig. 4.
65 Ibid., pp. 49-50.
city. The following animals are represented: the lion, winged lion, elephant, horse, antelope, stag, deer, ram, rhinoceros, bull, boar, dog, goat and cat. Among the birds the following appear: the goose, peacock, parrot, crane, heron, cock and owl. Of the animals many such as the lion, horse, bull and elephant have symbolic significance and these have been used as common symbols both in Buddhist and Hindu religions and have been apparently borrowed from the common stock of Indian symbols. The other animals like the goat, the deer and rhinoceros had also totemic and sacerdotal values. Some birds also find place in Indian symbology. For instance the goose is associated with the waters and the peacock with Skanda. Apparently these animals and birds in some remote past of which history has no record became primarily associated with the power of nature and secondarily, with the deities who symbolized those powers of nature. Thus was born the language of symbols, which through the media of outward semblances expressed the higher meanings attached to those concepts.

It is notable that the four animals, namely, the elephant, the horse, the bull and the lion carved on the Mother goddess discs also appear on the Asokan pillar capital at Sarnath. The animals here have been interpreted specifically as Buddhist symbols; the elephant standing for his conception, the bull standing for the Zodiacal sign Taurus under which he was born, the horse for the Great Departure and the lion for Śākya Sinha, an epithet of the Buddha. But on close examination it is evident that there is nothing specifically Buddhist about them. They belong to the common stock of Indian symbols from which the Hindus, Jains and Buddhists drew interpreting them in their own way. For instance, at the time of Rāma’s coronation (Rām. II. 14. 26-30) the elephant exuding ichor (mattavāraṇa), white humped bull (kakudhāṇīpāvīśturavrīsha), the four-fanged lion (chaturdamsūrā kesari) and the powerful horse of superior breed (mahābala hari-treṣṭhā) appear as auspicious animals, though the lion is omitted from the critical edition of the Rām. In the Jātaka No. 427, Hastipura in the east, Ayapura in the south and Sinhapura in the west are mentioned. In Buddhist literature the auspiciousness of the four animals is emphasized. The Divyavadāna (ed. by Cowell, p. 451) mentions that the four auspicious animals, namely, the gaja, vrishabha, aśva and śiśa appeared in procession before the Buddha. These animals were associated with some rivers as well. Yuan Chwang mentions a tradition about the Mount Meru from whose eastern side flows the Gaṅgā from the silver mouth; from the south through the elephant mouth flows the Sindhū; from the west through the horse mouth flows the Oxus, and from the north side through the crystal mouth flows the Sītā. It is also a well known fact that the Gaṅgā is supposed to flow from Gomukha (bull or cow mouth) in the Gangotri glaciers.

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In the ancient bas-reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi as well as the elephant, the horse, the bull and the lion as a part of the architectural ensemble are used symbolically. On the fragment of a torana architrave from Kausāmbi in the Allahabad Museum datable to the first century B.C. appears Gaja-Lakshmi, her nudity emphasized, though she wears a diaphanous lower garment. To the right of the figure was an elephant of which only the forehead and trunk now survive; and to the left is a bull with lyre-shaped horns. It is thus apparent that even in the first century B.C. at least two animal symbols, namely, the elephant and the bull were associated with Śrī-Lakṣmi and therefore, there is nothing to support the view that these animals have anything specifically Buddhist about them.

**THE ELEPHANT**

The elephant appears on the amulets and seals in the Indus Valley Culture. It is one of the animals surrounding the so-called Pasupati. It is not known whether any special symbolic significance attached to it at such early times though it is possible that it was equated as a sacred animal.

Elephant, the animal par excellence of India, was useful in many ways in ancient times. It was not only a favourite animal of the royalty who used it for riding and royal processions but it also served as a terrific war machine whose presence struck terror into the heart of the enemy. It also provided ivory which was an important article of commerce. But in spite of its utilitarian value the elephant, in very early time had assumed certain symbolical significance. In the RV. IV. 16.14, Indra assimilated to the sun, is compared to an elephant (and lion) and the AV. III. 22.1, speaks of the elephant glory that came out of Aditi’s body. As a matter of fact, as observed by Coomaraswamy, “In all the systems, the Four Great Kings have space elephants (ḍiggaṣas) as their vehicles, and possibly these elephants themselves were the original guardians of the quarters; in any case, they are the source of the winds, which they blow through their trunks, and in the abhiṣeka of Śrī-Lakṣmi two or four of them pour down the rains from the inverted cask or jar of the clouds, which vessel in RV., V, 85, 3, 4, is specifically Varuṇa’s.”

The conception of Airāvata as a vehicle of Indra is of later origin, though in the MB. V. 97.7 it is already mentioned that Airāvata is synonymous with the rain clouds. As observed by Coomaraswamy it is quite possible that the elephant like the horse was an ancient symbolic element in the Water Cosmology as we find cloud-elephant and water-elephant associated with Śrī-Lakṣmi, with Yakshas and Yakshis as vehicles and associated in the plant style with lotus vegetation.

68 Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 58, fig. 77.
Zimmer has discussed at some length the symbolical significance of the elephant. Discussing the etymology of Airāvata he derives the name from the female Irāvati which is also the name of the river Ravi. Irā, furthermore, means water, any drinkable fluid, milk, refreshment, the liquid contained in the cosmic Milky Ocean. 71 Thus Irāvati would stand as an element of the Water Cosmology. She is the daughter of Daksha, partially related to Brahmā and she is also related to Kaśyapa the Old Tortoise Man and as such she is the mother of all vegetable life. Airāvata is also related as pointed out by Zimmer to the life-fluid of the cosmos. Thus it is evident that Airāvata designates the rainbow and a certain type of lightning, the two conspicuous luminous manifestations of thunderstorm and rain.

Abhramū, the consort of Airāvata, indicates the magical power of producing clouds, as mu means "to fashion" and abhra means "cloud" and that has been interpreted by Zimmer as beneficent monsoon. The elephant generally stood as a symbol for royalty, but he is of the opinion that elephants were kept by the king to attract its celestial relative, the clouds, the heavenly elephants.

Zimmer has quoted a ceremony from the Hastyāyurveda, IV. 22 which stresses the fertility aspect of a white elephant often associated with Śrī-Lakṣmi. On that festival day men dressed as women and exchanging bawdy jokes followed the elephant painted white. This female attire symbolized the female principle and the licentious language that dominated sexual energy. Calamity was bound to overtake their people and their king who did not worship the elephant. “Contrariwise, if due worship is paid to the elephant, they will thrive and prosper together with their wives and sons, the country, the army, and the elephants. Crops will sprout in due time; Indra, the rain god, will send rain in due time; there will be no plague, no drought.” 72

Zimmer summarizes the result about elephant symbolism as follows: 73 “Thus the worship of the white elephant, as a divinity not to be disregarded, bestows on man all those earthly blessings which the goddess Lotus, Śrī-Lakṣmi, Fortune and Prosperity, the Mother Earth, fertile and abundant with water and riches, has in store. The symbolic character and significance of the animal is clearly announced in the two apppellations that are used to designate it when it is being honored as a divinity; it is called Śrī-gaja, "The Elephant of Śrī," and Megha, "Cloud". The elephant, that is to say, is a rain cloud walking on the earth. By its magic presence it conjures the winged fellow clouds of the atmosphere to approach. When the earthly elephant cloud is duly worshipped, its celestial relatives feel gratified and are moved to show forth their gratitude by favouring the country with abundant rain.”

72 Zimmer, op. cit., p. 108.
73 Ibid., pp. 108-09.
THE HORSE

The horse is a favourite animal of the Indo-Aryans. The use of the horse not only speeded up the means of transportation, the cavalry began to play an important part in warfare. The aśvamedha or Horse Sacrifice symbolized universal sovereignty and the horse became a symbol of power and fertility. The horse is also connected with Vedic gods specially Vishnu. It is on the one hand connected with vegetation and the nether world and on the other hand related or identified with the sun symbolizing fecundity and also fire. In Vedic mythology besides the celestial horses which drew the chariot of the gods, various individual names of the horses occur in the Vedas. They are noted for their swiftness and were considered as victorious.74

In the Śrī-Sākta, as we have pointed out, the horse is associated with Śrī. In the MB. I. 60.50 the sky-roving horses are said to be the mind-born sons of Lakšmi (tasyāstum mānasā putrāsturagaḥ vyottomachārināḥ). It is also significant to note that the horse is also connected with the Water Cosmology as from the Churning of the Ocean there appeared the white horse Uchchāśravas (MB. I. 57.38). This connection of the horse with the waters is not confined to the MB. only as the ŚB. V. 1. 4.6 addresses the horses to wax by means of the ambrosia within the waters. It was also sacrificed for Varuna the lord of the waters (ŚB. VI. 2. 1. 5). It is also designated as a thunderbolt, thus indicating its association with the clouds. The ŚB. X. 6. 4. 1 is emphatic about the origin of the horse from the sea "The sea induced its kindred, the sea its birth-place."

THE BULL

Worship of the bull goes back to very great antiquity. The bull appears in Egyptian, Babylonian, Iranian civilizations as a sacred animal whose sacrifice pleased the gods. In the Indus Valley civilization the bull is engraved on the seals and a large number of terracotta figurines of the bull have been found. There is hardly any doubt that the bull was a sacred animal in the Indus Valley culture. "Two amulets made in the same mould show that the...urus,—bull—was carried in a religious procession, for on these amulets a man is seen quite clearly to be carrying the figure of this animal on a stand. Another man behind the first bears the cult object always associated with the beast, while a third carries another stand and object of some kind, perhaps a penton".75

"Another amulet from the same city [Harappa] shows the cult object invariably associated with the urus—bull, with beside it a figure which may be that of a woman dancing; if this interpretation be correct, the dance must certainly be a ritual one."76

75 Mackay, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
76 Ibid., pp. 72-73.
The bull in Vedic and post-Vedic periods and even earlier was extensively, used as a favourite symbol. In the Vedas it symbolized Indra (ŚB. II, 5. 3.18), Agni and Rudra. In later literature it became the vehicle of Śiva or the bull itself being his theriomorphic representation. The bull in ancient literature symbolized strength and virility. Closely connected with it, it also symbolized the rain clouds. As a matter of fact in medieval Kalpasūtra paintings the sky-bulls are shedding rain from their horns to bathe Mahāvīra held in Indra’s lap. As we have shown above it appears as one of the animals on Asoka’s pillar capital at Sarnath. Its association with Śri-Lakṣhmi again emphasizes its character as a symbol of fertility and of the cattle with which Śri was intimately associated. The symbolism of the bull is not specifically Vedic and the appearance of the terracotta bull figurines from many a chalcolithic sites where they seem to have had some relationship with the Mother goddess cult.

THE LION

The lion has played a conspicuous part in Indian art and literature. The śīnu or lion appears in the Rig Veda and later on. He wanders and lives in the hills and in clearly the ‘dread wild beast that slays,’ to which Rudra is compared. Agni who has entered the waters is compared to a lion. It is said to have flowed from Indra’s nose produced by Soma (ŚB. V. 5. 4.10). Symbolically speaking the lion stands for power and royalty. It is also the vehicle of Ambikā, Umā-Pārvatī and Durgā and perhaps symbolizes the origin of these goddesses in mountainous regions inhabited by lions; it also emphasizes the ferocious aspect of the goddess. Its appearance in a stylized form in early bas-reliefs is decorative. The leogryph, the fish-tailed lion and winged lion appear in early Indian art. It may be noted that the Rāmāyaṇa. IV. 42.6 actually mentions winged lions (śīnuḥ pakṣhagamāḥ) Its comparison with the submarine fire shows its association with the waters, a fact supported by the fish-tailed lion in early Indian art.

THE RHINOCEROS

As we have pointed out above the rhinoceros is one of the animals accompanying the Mother goddess on one of the Murtazganj carved stone discs already referred to. A galloping rhinoceros appears on a seal from Bhītā in the Allahabad Museum datable to the third century B.C.78

The rhinoceros under the name khadga appears in the Mait. S. and the VS. In the ŚŚŚ a rhinoceros hide is mentioned as the covering of a chariot.79 The animal seems to have been sacred to the manes. It is mentioned in the Vishṇu P. III. 16.3, that the rhinoceros flesh along with the kālaśāka and

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78 Pramod Chandra, STONE SCULPTURE in the Allahabad Museum, p. 36, Pl. II. 3.
79 Vedic Index, I, p. 213.
honey gave satisfaction to the manes. The Manu S. III. 272, enjoins that the flesh of the rhinoceros is lawful flesh which could be partaken even by the manis. According to the PGS. (śrāddha, Sū. VIII) rhinoceros flesh was to be eaten at the time of the śrāddha. According to the GGS. VII. 2, the rhinoceros flesh gave perfect satisfaction. It is also worthy to note that till recently on a śrāddha day, a Hindu who could afford a cup carved out from a rhinoceros horn, poured the libation of water and milk to please the manes.

Besides the use of its flesh for śrāddha, the rhinoceros horn also served as cornucopia which was used for lustering a king at some special ceremony. It is said in the MB. VIII. 6. 37, that Duryodhana while appointing Karna to the titles of the Commander-in-Chief lustrated him with the sacred water filled in the hollowed tusk of an elephant, and the horn of a rhinoceros and a bull. Here the elephant tusk and bull horn filled with water perhaps symbolize the purifying and strength-giving property of the waters. Some such significance also seem to have been attached to the rhinoceros horn.

What connection the animal had with Śrī-Lakshmi it is difficult to say, but it is possible that in pre-Vedic times it had gained its sacred and symbolic character. The famous seal from Mohenjodaro depicting Paśupati, one of the animals surrounding him is a rhinoceros, the other being two deer, or antelopes, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo.67 It was one of the animals probably worshipped.68 The rhinoceros was also a favourite subject of the Harappan modeller.69

In the Gupta period the rhinoceros appears on the unique Rhinoceros-slayer type of a gold coin of Kumāragupta I (c. 414-455 A.D.). In this type the king is shown hunting the animal from horseback. The Sanskrit legend reads: “Bhartā khālgaṭrātā Kumāragupta jayatyāntiṣam”, ‘Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is protector by the sword (khālgaṭrātā) as well as protector from rhinoceroses (khālgebhyaṭrātā)’. On the reverse the river goddess Gāṇgā holding a lotus is standing on a crocodile. Behind the goddess is standing a female chhatra-bearer. The reverse legend reads ‘Śṛt Mahendrakhaḷgab’, ‘The rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra’.80 It is, however, difficult to say whether the representation of the river goddess Gāṇgā whose consanguinity with Śrī-Lakshmi is well known was in some way related symbolically with the rhinoceros.

THE DEER OR ANTELOPE

The deer or antelope had its symbolic significance going much earlier

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67 E. Mackay, Early Indus Civilizations, London, 1948, p. 56.
68 Ibid., p. 62.
69 Ibid., p. 28.
than the Vedic period. It appears on the so-called Paśupati seal from Mohenjo-
daro, copper amulets, and thin heads forming the ends of bronze combs and it also appears as a decorative pattern on a jar. The horn of Sambur deer was probably powdered up and used as a medicine. The medicinal value of antelope horn is emphasized in the AV. Amulets were also made from the antelope horn and it was also a symbol of fertility. The antelope skin represented day and night and holy power. It is said that its union with Yajña yielded a good harvest. In some ancient past the antelope horn was used as a hoe for tillage.

The sacred character of the antelope is further emphasized in a legend in the ŚB. I. 1.4.1. It is said that once upon a time the Sacrifice escaping the gods assumed the form of a black buck and roamed alone. The gods having found it stripped it of its skin and brought it away with them. Taking into consideration the sacred nature of the antelope in Vedic literature soon it became a symbol of Āryāvarta. Manu, II. 22-23, observes: “That which lies between these two mountains (the Himālaya and the Vindhyā), from the western ocean, the wise know as Āryāvarta (the land of the Āryas), where the black antelope naturally roams about, that should be known as the land suitable for sacrifice; what beyond is the country of the Mlechchhas”.

THE GOAT

The goat and its horns are considered as a symbol of fertility. In the Harappan culture the gods wear the horns of a goat or a bull. A seal amulet represents a goddess with the horns of a goat.

At Harappa the funerary significance of the goat is specially marked. In one of the jars decorated with horned peacocks and bulls appears a goat of enormous proportion, his horns marked by eight trident-like devices. Vats suggests that the goat was a sort of ‘path-finder’ and a deified intermediary for leading the soul to the ‘Abode of Bliss’ after it had passed through the intermediate Hades. The connection of the goat with funeral customs is further supported by the fact that in one of the graves a small sheep or goat was intentionally sacrificed and its body cut to pieces.

In Vedic and later literature the goat is called as basta, chhāga and aja.

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84 Mackay, op. cit., p. 63.
85 Ibid., p. 70.
86 Ibid., p. 90.
87 Ibid., p. 111.
88 Ibid., p. 145.
91 Ibid., p. 221.
The goat as a representative of Pūshana plays an important part in the ritual of burial. The fertility aspect of the goat and sheep is emphasized in the ŚB. II. 5.3.18 where it says that the goat and sheep are Prajāpati-like as during the year they give birth to two or three young ones thrice. The goat because of its fertility is closely associated with the Mother goddess. The Brihat Samhitā, LXV. 9, mentions that the goats Kuṭṭaka, Kuṭila, Jātīla and Vāmana are the sons of Śrī, they do not live with Misfortune (Alakshmi). The association of the goat with Śrī is naturally due to the fertility of the former. The sacrifice of goat to Durgā and Kāli and other goddesses is a very ancient practice. The idea behind this is not only to propitiate the goddess by an animal dear to her but increase the fertility of the land, the people and cattle by a sort of sympathetic magic as the goat symbolized fertility.

THE GOOSE

The goose or haṁsa often wrongly translated as the swan is perhaps the most popular bird of Indian literature and art. Among the domestic birds and animals kept at the court of Indian kings the goose took a prominent place. Indian literature endows the haṁsa with the moral virtues of the highest order. In Vedic literature the geese are associated with the Aśvins. In one of the hymns of the AV. VIII. 7.24, the geese are supposed to have a special knowledge of healing herbs. The haṁsa is credited with the power of separating Soma from water (later on milk from water) in the Yajurveda. It is mentioned as one of the victims at the Aśvamedha. It is not a sacred bird but is closely associated with the gods and the Mother goddesses. In the HV. Indra addresses the geese as divine birds and scions of Kaśyapa. Brahmā is sometimes associated with the goose; it is also the vehicle of the goddess Sarasvatī. It is mentioned in the MB. III. 83.29 that one who had taken his bath worshipped the god and offered water to the manes on the bank of the river Veṇūnā was after death destined to be borne to heaven on an aerial car flown to heaven by a goose and a peacock.

Gaṅgā, the divine mother of Bhishma, learning the fate of her son deputed to him ṛishi in the form of geese. It is remarkable to note in this connection that in the ruined Gupta temple at Dah Parbatīya near Tezpur in Assam at the foot of the left door jamb stands Yamunā and at the foot of the right door jamb stands Gaṅgā. As remarked by Vogel an unusual feature in the representations of the river goddesses is that there appear a couple of flying geese beside their haloed heads. The appearance of geese on a typical Gupta temple door-jamb reminds us of the dictum of the Brihat Samhitā, LVI. 15, which lays down that the door-jamb, besides other decorative patterns, should

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83 Vedic Index, II, 498.
86 Vogel, op. cit., p. 79.
be decorated with auspicious birds (māngalyavihagaḥ) which no doubt stand for the geese.

In early Indian sculpture the geese appear on the cylindrical abaci of three Asokan pillars. In the Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar abacus the geese are shown in the act of picking their food. In the Sanchi pillar the abacus is adorned with four honeysuckle designs separated from the others by pairs of geese. The other pillar capital from Rampurwa has its abacus decorated with a row of geese twelve in number. The geese also appear on the Vajrāsana at Bodh Gaya. Here the sides are decorated with the figures of geese alternating with palmettes. At Bharhut and Sanchi the geese are closely connected with the Plant Style. The lotus lakes are shown invariably associated with the geese. In the Bagram ivories the geese appear both as a domestic bird and also in a wild state serving as a decorative ornament.

It is evident both from literary and art sources that geese were intimately associated with the waters. They separated the Soma from water; their divinity was acknowledged by Indra and they were connected with the river goddesses Sarasvati, Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Their association with the healing herbs is recognized and therefore, their relation with the Plant Style is not to be wondered at.

**THE PEACOCK**

The peacock is a sacred bird regarded as the vehicle of Skanda. In historical period the Yaudheyas in eastern Panjab had a special regard for it. As a matter of fact at first Skanda-Karttikeya is called holding a peacock standard (barhitketu, Brī. Sam. LVII. 41) and in this form it appears on the coins of Huvishka representing Mahāsena, Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha. In the Gupta period the peacock becomes Skanda's recognized vehicle. The MB, IX. 45.46, however, observes that a cock and a peacock were presented to Karttikeya by Garuḍa. It is also significant to note that besides the peacock and cock which became his symbols, Lakshmi also got herself attached to Mahāsena by heading his army (MB, IX. 45-57).

The peacock appears in Indian art both as a decorative and a symbolical motif. From Harappa comes a pot which is decorated at the shoulder with three flying peacocks alternating with stars (Vats, op. cit., Pl. LXII, 2). “Placed horizontally in the body of each peacock is a theriomorphic figure probably representing the sūksmāśartra or the ethereal body of the dead being carried to heaven. From this and also from the frequency of the peacock motif often with horns on other burial pots it is evident that the peacock was regarded with peculiar sanctity in connection with the cult of the deads.”

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87 Vogel, op. cit., pp. 55-57.
88 J. Hackin, Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bagram, Paris, 1954, Figs. 22, 32, 208, etc.
89 M. S. Vats, op. cit., p. 207.
The peacock, as pointed out earlier appears on the carved discs of the Mauryan period as one of the birds associated with the Mother goddess. It appears frequently at Sanchi and on the Lalabhat pillar already referred to where it appears in the context of Śrī-Lakṣmī. It may be noted here that in this interesting sculpture the cock also appears along side the peacock both being the symbols of Skanda-Kārttikeya. How they also became associated with Śrī-Lakṣmī is not known, but by the early centuries of the Christian era when iconographical and symbolical concepts had not been formulated the symbols used in the contexts of many gods and goddesses were interchangeable.

V

Literary evidences interpreting the symbolism of various plants, animals and birds connected with the Mother goddess cult could be further supplemented by carved stone discs depicting the Mother goddess found from Murtaziganj, Kauśāmbi, Varanasi and other sites, terracotta figurines and plaques and some copper objects. One of the chief interest of some of the carved discs is that they throw some light on the cult aspect of the Mother goddess which literature fails to enlighten. In this respect the fragment of a stone disc in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, the fragment of a disc from Rupar and a disc from Murtaziganj are of great importance.

Pramod Chandra makes some interesting observations about the fragment of a disc in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan. To quote him “Here a makara or a godhā moving in a counter clockwise direction is preceded and followed by two recumbent figures, both of whom wear kilt-like garments and shown in profile. The person behind the makara or godhā holds a flower and is apparently prostrating himself, face to the ground, while the person ahead of the animal is shown lying to his side, facing the sky and holding what appears to be a ear of grain or a bud on a long stalk.” Pramod Chandra has also drawn our attention to the characteristic features of the priests with their sloping foreheads and large noses. He has also noted that while one of the goddesses is nude, the other is clearly clothed and has also pointed out the resemblance between the figures of the priests on the Rajghat disc fragment and the priests on the Rupar fragment and the Murtaziganj discs.

The disc fragment from Rupar excavated by Sharma from Rupar II

Pramod Chandra, Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, Pl. VI, 15.


See the fragment of a disc in the Allahabad Museum, the nude Mother goddesses are shown standing between the palm trees with the hand on the top carved with a row of makara or godhā. Pramod Chandra, Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum, Pl. V., 13.

level dating between c. 600-200 B.C. is an important antiquity of the Mauryan period giving some important additional information about the Mother goddess cult (Fig. 1). The central point of the composition is a horse-shoe hut made of leaves thatched on a bamboo frame. It is shaded by a *pipal* tree. Outside the hut, on the left, is seated a priest on a low stool clad in a kilt-like garment, his hair tied with a broad ribbon. He is offering a ball-like object which may be a *bel* fruit, which, as we have seen earlier was a favourite fruit of Śrī, offered to a female devotee desirous of a progeny who had come to worship the goddess. Her hair is plaited, the *sārt* is pleated and she wears bracelets. Her features are rather coarse. It is remarkable that the priest and his dress are exactly the same as that of the priest and his dress on a Murtaziganj disc to be described later on. On the right appears the nude Mother goddess her hands hanging straight lower down and her feet splayed. Her hair is arranged in a wig-like manner with schematic curls and she wears thick peg-like earrings, a zone and bracelets. Facing her appears a man, perhaps a foreigner as he wears a striped and pleated tunic, trousers and full boots. Her right hand is upraised and the left lowered down. Just below the coved arch, appears broken figure of the Mother goddess flanked by lotus plants.

Among the seventy-one carved stone discs found from Murtaziganj within the limit of the Patna City Municipality103 one disc is very important as like the Allahabad Museum and Rupar disc fragments it portrays the priest of the Mother goddess and also possibly his consort (Fig. 2). The entire surface of the disc is divided into two parts by introducing a palm tree on dividing points. In the right hand sector central figure of the nude Mother goddess is standing, her hands hanging down straight and her feet splayed. She has coarse features and wears a wig-like hairdress, peg-shaped earrings, the zone, bracelets and amulets. To her right stands a priest wearing a kilt-like garment with crenellated border, his hair tied with a broad ribbon, holding what looks like a lighted torch, in the left hand. Behind him is represented a galloping stag proceeding to the right and a peacock proceeding to the left, pecking at the palm tree as it were. To the left of the goddess appears a goose followed by a nude male figure with a strange animal-like face who could either be a devotee or the consort of the goddess. Following him appears a galloping horse and a cock. Then follows a palm tree. In the second sector appears a galloping elephant to the right with a goose below. The priest holding a goose in his left palm is facing the nude Mother goddess. Then follows the nude devotee or her consort followed by a galloping deer and a peacock facing to the right.

The entire background of the disc is plain, in the centre is a circle with rayonnant decoration which may either indicate a full blown lotus or the sun.

The most striking point about the Rupar and Murtaziganj discs is the

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103 S. A. Shere, "Stone discs found at Murtaziganj", *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 178-190, Pl. V. fig. 3.
steatopygous nude Mother goddess. Ancient literature hardly make any reference to her nudity. However, in the Bhaisajyaguru Sūtra\textsuperscript{104} it is mentioned that the presiding deity of Mathura, who was no doubt a Mother goddess, fearing that the Buddha who had entered the city to put some obstacle in her way appeared naked before him. The Buddha, however, rebuked her for this behaviour as it did not behave a woman to do so. Here the nudity of the Mother goddess is clearly emphasized.

Though generally on the discs the nudity of the Mother goddess is emphasized there are instances when she is shown draped. In this category may be placed a carved disc from Vaiśālī.\textsuperscript{105} In this votive disc two points may be noted. Firstly, the Mother goddess is associated with the pipal tree and not with the palm tree as usual, and secondly, the Mother goddess is represented in a unique way. In one case "she is draped in a heavy skirt, while her head is encircled by a double row of pellets indicating an elaborate headdress. In the other case she has raised curls with delineated flat face and wears patra-kundalas and a heavy feathery skirt with a curious projection resembling a bird’s wing. In both cases the figures face front with the upper body slim and bare and one of the hands raised." It is notable that in the Śuṅga terracottas the Mother goddess appears mostly draped perhaps indicating that a sense of propriety had crept in contemporary beliefs.

Before we discuss the problem of the priest and the nude devotees or consorts appearing on the carved discs attention may be drawn to a rectangular steatite plaque of the Mauryan period (Fig. 3).\textsuperscript{106} The vertical plaque is divided into three rectangular compartments enclosed by double denticulated borders. In the top compartment a dance is in progress. On the right a male musician, his hair combed back, wearing a heavily pleated dhoti hanging up to the heels which he has secured to the waist with a belt is strumming the harp. On the right a danseuse is performing with her right hand upraised and the left hand lowered down. She wears a pleated sūrti reaching the ankles and big circular earrings. Her hair is arranged in schematic curls. The figures are carved crudely.

In the middle compartment, on the left, a male devotee of the Mother goddess, dressed exactly like the harpist in the top compartment, is holding a tall ringed wine cup which he is apparently offering to a woman devotee standing on the right, who as the attitude of her hands shows, is proceeding to receive the cup. Her chignon is arranged in two plaits with a knot at the end. She wears a sūrti and bracelets. She has coarse features with a prominent nose, thick lips and almond-shaped eyes. In between the devotees, lying on the floor, is a wine jar.

\textsuperscript{105} Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, Vaiśali Excavations: 1950, Vaiśali (Bihar), 1961, p. 63, Pl. XXIII A, fig. 22.
\textsuperscript{106} Indian Archaeology—\textit{a Review}, 1962-63, pp. 5-6, Pl. XII (b).
In the bottom compartment on the left appears a nude male holding a cup in his left hand apparently stepping forward to offer it to the nude Mother goddess on the right. She stands with her hands lowered down, the feet splayed and the hair arranged in schematic curls. She wears circular earrings, a torque and a zone.

A circular terracotta plaque from Avara\textsuperscript{107} in Madhya Pradesh (Figs. 4-a & 4-b) throws further light on the erotic aspect of the Mother goddess cult. The plaque which is datable to the first century B.C. has a hole on a semicircular projection at the top which indicates that it was meant to be hung in some place of worship. Here the Mother goddess stands on a lotus pod with a stalk springing on either side tipped with an open flower. Flanking the stalks are plants tipped by what appear to be wheat or barley ears. In the background appears a palm tree with its fronds clearly marked. The goddess has her legs slightly flexed, She holds an end of her garment with the left hand and touching the earring with the right hand. She wears a tall triangular headdress with a recurved horn on either end, a necklace hanging between the breasts, armlets, bracelets, anklets and the zone holding in place the transparent sārī which reveals her sex. There is hardly any doubt that the goddess could be identified with Śrī.\textsuperscript{108}

The most important part of the composition, however, is a couple or Mithuna on either side of the goddess fondling the women held in their laps as a preparatory stage for sexual union. In the foreground appears a pitcher on either hand which either contained wine, or as the lotus vegetation around them shows are pūrṇaghāta symbolizing the waters, the source of all life.

The reverse of the plaque is decorated with three concentric circles; the first is decorated with diagonally assorted lozenges; the second with cable pattern and the third with an expanding lotus.

We have seen that in a carved disc from Murtaziganj and the plaque from Raigir nude male figures appear. The question which poses itself is the identification of these nude male figures and whether they represented the consort of the Mother goddess or they were connected in some way with her cult. That the nude Mother goddess had her consort is proved by the fragment of a plaque from Kausāmbi in the Allahabad Museum datable to the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{109} The male consort stands to the left in the same posture as the Mother goddess with his hands lowered down and the feet splayed. His phallus is clearly marked. In this connection attention may be drawn to one bronze and two copper figures of the nude god in the Prince of Wales


\textsuperscript{108} Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, No. 6, 1957-59, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{109} Pramod Chandra, Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, Pl. III, 7.
Museum all datable to the third century B.C. The nude bronze figure (Ht. 3.8 cm.) (Fig. 5) has an oval face with a big pinched up nose and crenellated beard; both hands are broken; slender torso; the astride legs are also partly broken; a dagger attached to the waist-band. The most important part in the anatomy of the figure is the hanging phallus and the testicles, The second nude copper figure from Kauśāmbi (Ht. 3.3 cm.) (Fig. 6) has a tall ovaloid head, pinched up nose and slit lips giving the face a bird-like appearance. The hands are hanging down the sides; the torso is narrow and the hips broad. The widely separated legs are slightly bowed and the phallus is indicated by a pallet. The third nude figure (Ht. 5.3 cm.) is elongated (Fig. 7). The head is tall and strangely bird-like, the slightly bent hands are hanging at the sides; the torso is long; a hole indicates the navel; the widely separated legs are stumpy; and a lump indicates the phallus. There is hardly any doubt that all these figures, in spite of slight differences represent the same god.

Who was that god there is no clue to suggest, but the figures recall to mind Śiva as Lakulīśa with erect phallus whose iconographic form is well known. As a matter of fact in the MB. XIII. 17 Śiva is addressed as Ürdhvaretas (45), Meḍhrajā (58), Vṛishṇa (80) and Mahāmedhra (83)—all signifying the nudity of the god. As the Mother goddess had no fixed form in ancient literature exchanging her role with other goddesses it is possible that when appearing with a nude male figure she may be representing Umā-Ambikā whose role as the consort of Śiva is well known.

The priests appearing on the carved discs seem to be Babylonian both in physiognomy and dress. How these foreigners got attached to the Indian Mother goddess is still a mystery, but the possibility is that in the third century B.C. or even before there was an intrusion of the Mother goddess cult from Western Asia in this country which though syncretized with the indigenous cult, continued to maintain some of the original features of the cult. The typical kilt-like under-garment worn by the priests is the Babylonian kaunikēs made of wool. It might have been so made in India, but gont, the equivalent of kaunikēs, which appears in ancient Buddhist literature, might have been the sack-cloth, as gont made of hemp is known today.

In Babylonia kaunikēs is the symbol of luxuriant vegetation, fecundity and prosperity, and in India as well the garment seems to have carried the same symbolical meaning.

The Mother goddess Śrī and others are closely related with the plant life specially the lotus, a symbol of the waters. However, in the carved discs her contact with the palm-tree is emphasized. The ancient literature has little to say about the symbolism of the palm-tree; apparently either it was borrowed

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from Western Asia or from some indigenous folk religion about which our knowledge is limited. The goddess is also related with the *pipal* tree. In the Avara plaque she is related with the corn, thus justifying one of her designations as Śākambhari “the nourisher of corn”.

The Rupar fragmentary disc throws some interesting light on the cult of the Mother goddess. It is evident from it that the Mother goddess had some sort of sanctuary, howsoever primitive it might have been, dedicated to her worship. This structure was visited by the devotees among whom women must have preponderated and the priest offered them *prasōda* as is customary in the temples of the gods and goddesses today. It seems that in the second century B.C. the temples of the Mother goddess became somewhat more elaborate. We have already referred to the temple of Śrī at Vidiśā which must have existed in the second century B.C. In one of the medallions of Stūpa 2 of Sanchi a woman who could be identified with Śrī, as she is holding a lotus, stands framed in the vaulted doorway with the balustrade in front.111 This doorway indicates that the structure perhaps represented a modest temple of Śrī.

The Rajgir plaque and the Avara terracotta disc also throw important light on the esoteric rites of the Mother goddess cult. In common with the later Śaktism dancing, music, drinking and sexual revelry formed a part of the cult. Not only the devotees drank, wine was offered to the goddess. It is because of these practices that early Buddhism proscribed the Śrī cult.

In the Avara disc the *pūrṇaghaṭa* probably appears as an auspicious symbol closely associated with Śrī-Lakṣmi who is shown as standing on a lotus and the *pūrṇaghaṭa* is also associated with the mass of lotus flowers and leaves. “The three types are apparently equal and synonymous symbols of abundance, and it may be that the vase alone should be regarded as an aniconic symbol of and equivalent to the goddess herself.”112

“The vase of plenty described above is clearly a life symbol, and the formal offering of such a vase can only be the expression of a wish that the recipient, or in general all those present, may enjoy health, wealth, and long life. The representation in art implies similarly a desired instigation by suggestion of all the vegetative energies involved in the current conception of well-being; as a symbol it clearly belongs to the order of ideas characteristic of the ancient life cults of fertility and fruitfulness”.113

It is remarkable that the symbolism of the vase of plenty had already crystallized in the Vedic period. For instance, the *RV*. IX. 62.9 speaks of the overflowing vase. The *soma* entering the vase induced all kind of beauty and

113 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
prosperity (śīrṇah śīrṇah) in it. The pūɾṇa-kalāśa is invoked as a witness to enjoyment and blessing (RV. X. 32.9). According to the AV. XIX. 53.31, the pūɾṇa-kumbha symbolizes the substratum of time. The YV. XIX. 87 significantly points out that it symbolizes life emanating from the womb. Neumann rightly observes that in the great vessel of the female body the principal symbolic elements are the mouth, the breast and the womb. Thus the womb, a part of the body-vessel or the vessel itself in Vedic terminology is the source of all life. To quote Neumann, “The lowest level of this belly zone in the underworld that is contained in the ‘belly’ or ‘womb’ of the earth. To this world belong not only the subterranean darkness as hell and night but also such symbols as clasm, cave, abyss, valley, depths, which in innumerable rites and myths play the part of the earth womb that demands to be fructified.”

We have already discussed the symbolism of the makara and its association with some Yakshis, Śri-Lakshmi, Gaṅgā, Kāma and Varuṇa and how closely it was associated with fertility, wealth and the waters. Attention may, however, be drawn to two following objects which provide interesting information about the association of the Mother goddess with the makara.

The first is a makara-shaped copper ritual implement measuring 5.5 cm. lengthwise (Fig. 8-a-b). Unfortunately it is badly corroded. It is recurved in shape and perhaps served as the handle for a ritual staff. The surface of the handle is decorated with a series of nude Mother goddesses with dotted haloes and rosettes indicating the lotus. It has a ring to which is attached the figure of a bird—perhaps a peacock. A question may be posed whether it is a part of the miniature Śri-Yaśāti referred to in the Śrī-Sūkta.

The second object, a circular terracotta plaque in the collection of the State Museum, Lucknow, is of greater importance for the association of the Mother goddess with the fertility aspect of the makara (Fig. 9). Unfortunately its provenance is not known but on stylistic ground it could be dated to the first century B.C. On either side of the disc is represented a makara with upraised tail and open snout. The Mother goddess is emanating from their snouts with one leg embedded in the snout of each makara. The upper part of the snouts are curled round the arms of the goddess who has raised her lower garment exposing her pudenda. She wears no ornament except a necklet. Her face is round and the mouth and eyes are incised. Her hair locks are horn-shaped.

It is difficult to identify this goddess, as so far my knowledge goes this goddess does not appear in early Indian stone sculpture or terracottas. But it is evident that she is a goddess of fertility, possibly a river goddess or may be one of the forms of the Great Mother who appears on the carved discs.

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For other references see V. S. Agrawala, Studies in Indian Art, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 43-46.
One of the forms of the Mother goddess who may be Śrī-Lakshmi in which she is endowed with wings is rather unusual. A winged\(^{115}\) terracotta figure of the Mother goddess has been found from Basarh (Vaisālī). The goddess is standing on a lotus with her hands on the hips. She is scantily clad but wears huge earrings and is distinguished by the wings of unusual type in which the Iranian influence is clearly recognizable. The terracotta is datable to the second century B.C. Zimmer has also drawn our attention to this figurine and he has rightly pointed out that except for the winged Garuḍa, winged figures in ancient Indian art are absent though in ancient Mesopotamian art winged divinities or genii are the rule. "This Indian figure betrays connection with that tradition. That is the sphere from which are derived the wings of our divinities of the West, the Greek victory-goddesses as well as the Christian angels."\(^{116}\)

The author has in his collection a fragment of a carved stone disc from Kauśāṃbī measuring 5 x 2.5 cm. representing the same winged Śrī-Lakshmi as depicted on the Basarh terracotta. The steatopygous Mother goddess had perhaps splayed feet which hidden by the lotus are not visible and her nudity is prominently emphasized (Fig. 10). The waist is narrow, the breasts are round and well formed and the outstretched hands bent at the elbows, each holding a lotus-stalk springing from a rosette. The face is round; the long slanting eyes remind us the appliqué technique of early Indian terracottas from Mathura; the mouth is large and narrow and the nose thick and rather snub. The hair is arranged in schematic curls and the earrings are peg-shaped and she wears bracelets. A series of solid circles encircle the body from the breasts downwards, perhaps indicating some kind of a halo. The wings on the shoulders are fan-shaped. On the left there appear two fronds of a palm-tree indicating the association of the goddess with it.

While studying certain aspects of the Mother goddess cult and symbolical elements attached to it based mostly on the carved stone discs of the Maurya-Śunga period, we felt that it will not be out of place to refer to some terracotta figurines of the Mother goddess which throw light on the popular attitude towards the cult. Such terracotta figures have been found from almost all important archaeological sites from northern India and their number shows that the Mother goddess was held in great veneration by the people from the third to the first century B.C.

Mathura was an important centre of the cult of the Mother goddess though it is difficult to be positive about her identification. A figure of the Mother goddess from Mathura in the Prince of Wales Museum 21.5 cm. in height is made of unbaked clay in which only the face is moulded but the rest of the body is hand-modelled (Fig. 11). The face with its sloping forehead,


\(^{116}\) Zimmer, op. cit., p. 93.
large but somewhat slanting eyes, snub nose and well-modelled lips, bears a morose expression. The hands are broken, the round breasts are close together and the navel represented by a fairly big depression. The legs are also broken but the steatopygia of the figure is stressed. The chief interest of the figure, however, is in its heavy decoration. She wears heavy circular earrings and her fan-like headdress is decorated with rosettes and leaves in appliqué. The necklace hanging down the navel is made up of a series of round and oblong plaques in appliqué. The zone is made up of two rows of rosettes.

It is interesting to note that the figure of the Mother goddess bears close resemblance with the figure of the winged Śri-Lakṣmī cited above and that only means that in the 3rd to 2nd century B.C. one iconographic type of the Mother goddess had evolved itself. There is, however, one difference. While in the fragmentary disc the Mother goddess wears only the earrings and bracelets the figure under discussion wears elaborate ornaments which may be due to the popular taste which prefers elaboration to simplicity.

An interesting terracotta plaque (size 12 x 8.8 cm.) of the Śūṅga period from Kauśāmbī in the Prince of Wales Museum depicts, Gaja Lakṣmī (Fig. 12) standing in sanubhaṅga pose. She has narrow waist and broad hips. She wears an elaborate headdress decorated with rosettes, large earrings, a necklace and heavily folded sārī, one end of which passes over her left arm. Her Mother goddess aspect is very clear from the child she is holding with her right hand and resting on her waist. The association of a child with Gaja Lakṣmī is unusual. An elephant on her either side standing on a lotus with long stalk was perhaps holding a water-pot in its upraised trunk, in the act of lustrating the goddess. The trunks of the elephants are damaged. The background behind the head of Gaja Lakṣmī is decorated with palm fronds and the foreground with rosettes. The feet of the goddess are missing. At the bottom right corner the head of an aquatic bird has survived.

We have already pointed out that the Mother goddess holding a pair of fish depicted on a large terracotta plaque from Mathura and Kauśāmbī is not Vasudhārā as contended by Dr. Agravala, but a variation of the Iranian goddess Anāhita whose symbol was the fish. A moulded terracotta plaque from Mathura in the Allahabad Museum datable to the first century B.C. depicts the Mother goddess holding a pair of fish (Fig. 13). She is standing with her feet joined together and her hands hanging down at her sides. Her face with long eyes, the snub nose and well formed lips conforms to the general facial type of the Mother goddesses of the period. She is fully draped wearing a full-sleeved tunic and transparent sārī reaching up to the ankles. Her hair is parted in the middle and decorated with pearl strands and rosettes. An ornament made of rosette plaques stretches down her right side; perhaps it was meant to represent the halo. She wears a circular and a roller-shaped earrings, a necklet, a two-stranded necklace hanging between the breasts, armlets, bracelets and a four-stranded zone. The radiating projections behind her hair
probably represent the stylized version of the top of a palm-tree, with which, as we have already pointed out, the Mother goddesses are closely associated. In her right hand she holds a pair of fish.

There is another type of the same Mother goddess with a pair of fish from Kausāmbi (Ht.4.13 cm.) datable to the first century B.C. in the Prince of Wales Museum (Fig. 14). Here the standing Mother goddess wears a bicornate headdress decorated with rosettes, heavy spiralled earrings, necklets and a necklace hanging down between the breasts. She is encircled with the halo made of rosettes, traces of which have only survived. In her slightly bent right hand she holds a pair of fish and with the left hand she is touching the girdle. Her legs are partially broken. There is no palm-tree behind her.

As in the case of the carved stone discs of the Maurya-Śrūga period depicting the Mother goddess associated with the palm-tree, in the terracottas as well she appears in association with the palm-tree. There are two terracotta plaques from Kausāmbi both in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan datable to c. 100 B.C. which show the association of the Mother goddess, probably, Śrī with the palm-tree (Fig. 15). Here the standing goddess is more delicately modelled, which constrasts with the heavy robustness of the Mother goddess holding a pair of fish. She wears an elaborate jewelled headdress, peg-shaped earrings, necklace, armlets and bracelets and a three-stranded zone. In her right hand, bent at the elbow, she holds a full blown lotus; the left is holding a lotus stalk or is resting on the waist. In the background are represented curling fronds of a stylized palm-tree. The legs below the knees are broken.

In the second plaque (Fig. 16) the Mother goddess wears a headdress which is decorated with a series of rosettes. She wears heavy earrings, a necklet and a necklace. Her hands are hanging by her sides. The interspace between the figure and the plaque is filled with rosettes. In the background is represented the top of a palm-tree with fronds. The lower part of the plaque is broken.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa; AV. Atharva Veda; Brī. Saṁh. Bṛhat Saṁhitā; GB. Gopātha Brāhmaṇa; GGS. Gobhila Ghṛhya Śūtra; HV. Harivaniṣa; JB. Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa; MB. Mahābhārata; Māli. S. Maitrīyaṇi Saṁhitā; Manu. S. Manu Smṛiti; Mār. P. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa; Matsya P. Matsya Purāṇa; PGS. Pāraskara Ghṛhya Śūtra; Rām. Rāmāyaṇa; RV. Rūg. Veda; SB. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa; SSS. Śāṅkhāyana Śrāuta Śūtra; TĀ. Taittīrya Āranyaka; TB. Taittīrya Brāhmaṇa; TS. Taittīrya Saṁhitā; VS. Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā; Vāyu P. Vāyu Purāṇa; Vishnū P. Vishnū Purāṇa; YV. Yajur Veda.
SOME INTERESTING OBJECTS IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

S. C. Kula

The Allahabad Museum contains a number of rare and interesting objects acquired from certain ancient sites of the Allahabad District. Since all of them are surface finds their dating is uncertain. However, a tentative date on stylistic grounds is being offered in the case of the objects described below:

   1st-2nd century A.D. Ht. 7 cm. (Figs. 17a and 17b).

   The lion-headed goddess is seated on a low stool the seat of which rests on semi circular bars. Her legs are lowered and set apart. Her right hand is lifted and is possibly in abhyamudrā. The left hand is lowered and holds a feline creature with a long tail. Her head is slightly tilted and her mouth is open. Probably she is shown in the act of roaring. Around her head there is a twisted ornament with a high knob in front and one on each side of the head. She wears an ornamental torque, bracelets, heavy anklets made of twisted bands, a waistband, sārī and a patkā hanging in between her legs. Her breasts are unusually heavy with prominent nipples. The waist is slender but the hips well developed. The animal held by the goddess is looking towards her face. A collar around the neck indicates that the animal was a pet one.

   The heavy features of the figure and its mode of sitting suggest it to be the product of the Kushāna age. This well executed bronze figure is unique but its identification poses a problem.

   In the recently conducted excavations at the site of Sonkh near Mathura, Dr. Hartel discovered a copper frame which holds a male and an animal-headed female figure. The female also holds a child in her left arm¹. Due to corrosion the animal head cannot be correctly identified. In the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, there is a stone slab showing a lion-headed, seated female figure attended by devotees². Her left hand is probably in abhyamudrā but she does not hold a child or an animal.

   In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a stone image of a lion-headed

¹ Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P., December 1969, fig. 5.
² Ibid., June 1969, p. 71, figs. 2 and 3.
deity from Satna in Madhya Pradesh. The goddess is seated on a lion in the līlāsana posture. On the pedestal of the image, which is datable to the tenth century A.D., there is an inscription which reads—Śrī Nārsatā (Nārasiṁha). It proves that during the medieval period there existed a goddess named ‘Nārasiṁha’. The bronze lion headed figure from Kuśāmbi may represent an earlier form of this deity.

2. Male bust. Copper. Lachchhāgir (Allahabad District). 1st-2nd century A.D. Ht. 8 cm. (Fig. 18).

The man has big eyes, open mouth and long moustaches twisted downwards. His left hand rests on the waist; the right hand is missing. He wears a low pugree knotted in a raised projection in front, a chain around his neck, a strap or yajñopavitta across his body and bangles. The boldly executed figure perhaps represents a foreigner. The lower part of the figure is missing.

3. Rectangular piece. Copper. Kuśāmbi. 3rd-2nd century B.C. Ht. 3.2 cm.

On this highly corroded piece is depicted a nude standing female figure. She wears big round earrings. Both of her hands are lowered and rest on the hips. She has prominent breasts, thin waist and short legs. In style the figure is very much similar to the gold figurine discovered at Lauriyā Nandangarh and probably represents the Mother goddess Śrī.

4. Female figure. Copper. Kuśāmbi. 3rd-2nd century B.C.
Ht. 2 cm.

The female stands erect with hands lowered to the sides. She has thin waist and an sārī and heavy earrings. The headdress though corroded appears to be elaborate. The details of the jewellery and dress are not visible due to same reason. She may also represent Śrī.

Ht. 3.5 cm. (Fig. 19).

The hands of the figure are lowered and stretched to sides. The legs made of twisted metal strips have been attached to the body separately. There is a hole on the head. There are no details of the face, hands and legs of the figure are highly stylized. The phallus indicates that he represents the male partner of the Mother goddess.

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*a Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26, Calcutta, 1928, p. 152, Pl. LIX, fig. d.
*A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927, Pl. XXX, fig. 105.*
6. Nude standing male figure. Copper. Kausāmbī. Uncertain date. Ht. 3.5 cm. (Fig. 20).

The hands of the male are lowered and rest on the hips. The lower part is made of a twisted metal strip. The head is suggested by a straight solid tube without any facial features. The legs which do not have feet are curved inwards.

Since there occurs a hole in the head of the above type of figurines I presume these were amulets and hung on the neck by the people having faith in charms and magic.

7. Standing male figure. Copper. Kausāmbī. Uncertain date. Ht. 2.7 cm. (Fig. 21).

The head and neck are shown by one single solid tube devoid of any features and broken at the top. The hands, one of which is completely broken, were stretched to the sides. The middle part of the body is unusually long. Around the hip there is a thick band. The phallus is indicated. Right leg of the figure is partly broken. See Fig. 5.

8. Standing nude male figure. Copper. Kausāmbī. 2nd-1st century B.C. Ht. 2.3 cm. (Fig. 22).

The big head of the figure is slightly tilted upwards. The eyes, mouth and ears have not been indicated but the thick nose is noticeable. The hands and legs, all broken, were probably stretched to the sides. The figure is thickly coated with rust.

The two miniature figures described above represented some male deity. These must have been kept by the people in their person for warding off evils or for worship.

9. Fish on a stand. Copper. Kausāmbī. 1st century B.C. Length 2 cm. (Fig. 23).

The fish on a stand resting on a round pedestal which was originally fixed to some object. The scales of the fish have been carefully rendered and are reminiscent of the tin fish-pendants from Taxila⁸.

10. Bird (Peacock?). Copper. Kausāmbī. 1st century A.D. Ht. 5 cm. (Fig. 24).

The bird is made of solid metal. It has a raised frill on its head. The

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⁸ Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1936-37, Pl. XVI. figs. 7 & 8.
feathers have been indicated by incised lines. The tail end of the bird has a projecting feather on either side.

11. Hollow top part of an unidentified object. Copper. Kausāmbī. 2nd century B.C. Ht. 15 cm. (Figs. 25a and 25b).

The object is circular at the top and has a neck. On its obverse side is depicted a standing female figure. Both of her hands are lowered to the sides and rest on the hips in the same fashion as noticeable on a number of Śuṅga terracotta figurines. She puts on an elaborate headdress, made of two high rolls bulging on the sides. A long fillet or braid issuing from each head-roll hangs on either side. She wears a torque, a necklace and a close fitting sūrti. There is a rider on a galloping horse rushing towards the goddess on either side. The swift movement of the galloping horses is rendered well.

On the left side appears a nāga symbol (two nāgas with raised hoods facing one another) and on the right appears a taurine. Both these symbols occur on early tribal coins.  

The reverse side of the object shows, a fish placed on a standard encircled by a square railing. The square type of railing is seen in a number of tribal coins. On the right side of the standard is a symbol, called Jayadhvaja by Princep. This symbol with different variations is found on early Indian cast and tribal coins. Below the dhvaja symbol on the left appears a male figure holding a bow in the left and arrows in his right bent hand. The man wears a dhoti and a peculiar headdress, consisting of upsidedown long, twisted horns and a ring over them. The same type of Bowman was also depicted on the left side. Near the head of the fish at the top left corner there is a ladder slightly different from that on the coins of king Brahaspatimitra of Kausāmbī.

It may also be pointed out that fish on the standard occurs on a coin from Taxila and another from Kausāmbī.

The curved hollow top part of the object is divided into several compartments. Each one of them contains a nāga-mudrā, four petals, taurine and some other symbols which are not very clear. Most of these symbols occur on the early cast coins.

The broken nails on the lower part of the object indicate that they were meant for fixing the ivory or wooden stick which was inserted inside the object.

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* Ibid., p. 229.
This object containing so many interesting symbols and motifs is indeed unique in Indian archaeology. It was probably the part of a standard or object of worship. The tall standing female figure with broad hips, thin waist and prominent breasts undoubtedly represents the Mother goddess Śrī. The fish on pole was also an object of veneration. In the terracotta medium, fish is associated with the goddess Vasudhārā. Even in the Middle East fish had a great sanctity. The fish was associated with fertility cult in Mesopotamia. One of the female deities found in Jordan and datable to the 1st century A.D. has two fishes facing each other on her headdress. All these examples indicate the position held by fish in the mythology of India and the Middle East.

12. Ivory plaque. Jhusi. 1st Century A.D.
   Ht. 12.2 cm. Weatherworn. (Figs. 26a and 26b).

   The ivory plaque is carved on both the faces. On the obverse there appears to be a couple. The male stands on the right and the woman on the left side. The latter has a round face recalling, the Kushāṇa female type from Mathura. She has a round jewel (chāṇḍāmaṇi) on her forehead and wears a thick torque, a necklace hanging in between breasts, a sārt and a girdle tied by a strap just below the navel. Her right hand is bent and rests on the hip. The lower part of the male and female bodies are broken.

   On the reverse there appears a female figure in profile. Her left hand is bent and is probably holding an earring. She wears an ornamental bracelet in her lifted hand. She wears a waist-band, one end of which hangs on her hips recalling the pattern of the waist-band on a ivory figure from Ter. Due to the bad condition of the plaque no specific observations could be made about its workmanship, but there is no doubt that it must have been a very beautiful piece. It may also be noted that this is the first ivory plaque found in U.P.

   Ht. 10.5 cm. (Figs. 27a and 27b).

   On the obverse, there is carved a standing female figure. Her head and left hand are missing. Her right hand is bent and rests on the abdomen. She wears a torque, necklace, bracelets, girdle, sārt and patkā hanging in front. On the right side there is a dwarf attendant.

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15 Douglas Barrett, Ter, Bombay, 1960, Pls. 10 and 11.
On the reverse side there stands a female figure. Her right hand is lifted towards the head, which is unfortunately missing. She wears a sūrt, a girdle and a patkā hanging in front. The top and bottom part of the plaque are missing.\(^{16}\)

\(^{16}\) I am thankful to the American Academy of Varanasi for photographing the objects described in this article.
TERRACOTTA HEADS FROM AKHNUR

Moti Chandra

Recently Mrs. Alma Latifi, presented nine terracotta heads from Akhnur, collected by her late husband Dr. Alma Latifi, to the Prince of Wales Museum. The terracotta heads from Akhnur now dispersed in many collections, both private and public, are well known for their technical perfection and individuality of expression, but so far they did not draw the attention of the art critics as they should have.

The townlet of Akhnur is a tahsil of the district of Jammu situated at a distance of twenty miles on a somewhat raised ground, on the right bank of the river Chenab. There is a deserted fort whose one of the main gates open in Pambarvan and the southern gate opens at Kaladab.

Akhnur is a very old town and there are many legends prevalent about it. Some are associated with the Pāṇḍavas and there are many stories about a stupid ruler of the city who is supposed to have done many acts of indiscretion.

According to people of Akhnur about sixty or sixty-five years ago one Ramchandra, a dealer in Pahari painting, and an inhabitant of Akhnur brought some terracotta heads which he had found from Pambarvan. These fine terracotta heads attracted many art dealers who began digging at the site for such heads which in course of time found their way to many museums and private collections.

However, the first serious study of Akhnur terracottas was done by Dr. Charles Fabri. He found a large number of terracotta heads from Akhnur lying in a corner of the Lahore museum and attracted by their aesthetic qualities he decided to make further enquiries about their findspot. In the course of his researches he paid a personal visit to Akhnur and found that though the old site at Pambarvan had totally disappeared yet he found fragments, which in his opinion are comparable to the terracottas from Ushkur, which he dates to between 700 and 730 A.D. He carried on personal researches at Ushkur and dated the site to the period of Lalitāditya Muktaπīḍa (700-730 A.D.). He contradicts the date of the site by D. R. Sahni and Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, who thought it belonged to the Kushāna period. Dr. Fabri is of the view that the terracottas, though lacking the definite characteristics of Gandhāra sculptures, are in some way influenced by it. He is of the opinion that the

Gandhāra sculptors from Taxila who had almost lost all patronage, hearing the rise of Lalitādiya sought shelter in Kashmir where Buddhism flourished, to secure employment. He further supports his view by pointing out the stylistic development of Gandhāran sculpture. To quote him, “the stucco ousts stone carving almost completely by the end of the 6th century”, followed by terracotta figurines. According to him “With the use of this softer material went hand in hand the development of a softer and more delicate mannerism: in other words, the end of the classical period, 4th and 5th centuries A.D., brought not only a more emotional, more romantic style, it also brought with it a more delicately workable material.”

The existence of Buddhist sculptors at Takshaśilā as late as 700 A.D. does not hold ground as the hoards of the Ephthalites or White Huns sweeping over Gandhāra and the Panjab in the third quarter of the fifth century had completely destroyed Takshaśilā and its monasteries. This event took place at about 460 A.D. as the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun writing in about 530 A.D. says that Gandhāra had been devastated by the White Huns two generations before his time. Marshall supports this view in his Taxila, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1951, p. 76.

However, one may rightly question his date of the terracottas which do not betray any characteristic of the 8th century Kashmir sculpture. As a matter of fact even in the material which he obtained from Pambavan, he found three late Gupta copper coins which he dates to the Gupta period i.e. 500 A.D., but in order to stick to his dating the site to the Lalitādiya’s period he explains away the finding of such coins and says that they might have remained in circulation for a long time. The bricks in situ are also of the size that were used in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

The recent war between India and Pakistan has yielded further evidences about the antiquity of Akhnur. While the Indian army dug some trenches in the area some sculptures and inscriptions were found and a part of an inscription is reproduced in his article “Akhnurkā Purātattava” by Samsarchandra Sharma (“Dharmayug”, 31st December, 1972, pages 28-29). This inscription appears to be in Gupta characters.

There is hardly any doubt that the stūpa at Akhnur belongs to the Gupta complex. It is well known that the Guptas were fond of architecture in brick decorated with moulded terracottas. The Gupta terracottas are distinguished for their realism tempered by a restrained dignity, an outstanding feature of the Gupta art.

These characteristics of Gupta terracottas are not confined to any particular site but to all sites extending from Bengal to Mirpurkhas in Sind and

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*Ibid., p. 60.*
also to Devnimori in Gujarat and Bikaner area in Rajasthan. The Guptas had apparently inherited the rich tradition of the terracotta art from the Kushan. The barbaric features of the Kushana terracotta art was, however, moulded into a fresh dignity by the Guptas. It is quite possible that by the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century this terracotta art travelled from the Gangetic valley to other parts of the country and penetrated as far as Akhnur.

It is evident from the terracotta heads presented by Mrs. Latifi that though there are faint traces of Gandhara influence in their treatment and expression they are Indian. For instance, while the nose in Gandhara sculptures and stucco has almost no bridge, in the terracottas under study most of them have well defined bridge. The aquiline nose of the Gandhara sculptures except in one or two cases is replaced by a broad nose. Similarly the lips in the terracottas are thick, the lips found commonly in Gupta sculptures and in the treatment of hair and moustaches some Gandhara influence has survived. Perhaps the Akhnur sculptures were also indebted to Gandhara influence in delineating the baser instincts of life such as anger and danger, though in the contemporary Gupta paintings and sculpture as well these emotions are caught and rendered with surety.

The heads are, however, marked by the individuality of expression which defy canonical precepts. The sculptors apparently believed in individual mode of expression and did not think it wise to accept Sastriic injunctions which to a certain extent tried to restrain the technique and expression. Though Akhnur site was Buddhist, the heads found from that site represent layman and devotees. The heads were apparently fired separately and then added to objects made of clay.

It is difficult to analyse fully the stylistic features of terracotta head from Akhnur in this note. It is suggested that all material lying in different collections should be photographed and then alone it will be possible to give more or less a complete stylistic analysis.

**DESCRIPTIONS**

72.2
Male head.  
Height: 17.3 cm.

The head represents a robust person with full cheeks; moustaches with thin ends; smiling thin lips; rather thin nose; open eyes; arched eyebrows; curled hair tied at the top in bow-shaped knot. On the forehead hair line appears a decorative band; floral earring on the left side (Fig. 28).

72.3
Male head.  
Height: 17.3 cm.

The head again represents a strong healthy person with long flaring moustache; thick lips; broadish nose; open eyes and sloping forehead. His
hair is curled with a top-knot held in place by a band at the hair line (Fig. 29).

72.4
Male head. Height: 16 cm.

It is a very expressive head. The feeling of disgust or anger is expressed by deep wrinkles, knitted eyebrows and inflated eyes. The moustaches are thin and there is dimple in the chin. The hair is arranged in a skein. There is a broad band on the temple with a rosette on either end and tied in a knot on the left side; rosette earring in the left ear (Fig. 30).

72.5
Male head. Height: 12 cm.

Thin small mouth with twirled moustaches; deeply arched eyebrows. The temple is marked with three carved lines, apparently indicating *tripunda*, a Śāiva symbol. The hair is curled and decorated with ornaments. In the right ear he wears a circular earring (Fig. 31).

72.6
Female head. Height: 17.3 cm.

The head wears noble expression and is marked with a slight smile. The face is full; the eyes open; the nose is straight and the temple receding. Her hair is arranged in ringlets; wears a very elaborate ornament on the head with a *makara* figure on either end holding a very large bead and topped with a triangular ornament held by a rope like pattern. (Fig. 32).

72.7
Male head. Height: 10.6 cm.

Roundish face with thin tightly held lips and moustache; open eyes; broad nose; sloping temple with a decorative band (Fig. 33).

72.8
Male head. Height: 14.8 cm.

Oval face with slanting lips and flaring out moustaches; open eyes; thin eyebrows; broad temple. He wears an elaborate head-dress in which a rosette band and arched flap on either side are conspicuous (Fig. 34).

72.9
Male head. Height: 13 cm.

Oval face with twitching lips; broad chin; open eyes; arched eyebrows; sloping temples and shaved head with a triangular projection on either end. The twitching apparently expresses some kind of shock or surprise (Fig. 35).

72.10
Male head. Height: 16 cm.

Broad face with thin moustache and smiling face; well developed chins open eyes; aquiline nose; thin sloping temple and the hair is arranged in curls; (Fig. 36).
AN EARLY RAGAMALA FROM THE KANKROLI COLLECTION

Shridhar Andhare

The old temple collection of the Maharaj of Kankroli has many splendid Rāgamālā sets, and other paintings, portraits of Rajasthani chiefs, etc. with dated inscriptions and place names hitherto unknown. The collection there provides important material for the study of Rajasthani painting, but little has been published so far. From this choicest collection of miniatures comes an important set of the so-called Popular Mughal painting, which, due to its unusual style and colouring, deserves a detailed study.

Unfortunately, the total number of illustrations available is thirty-five, the last being lost, therefore the possibility of the colophon which is generally at the end, is ruled out. It was also informed by the owners that this page had a seal at the back. Therefore, the date and provenance will have to be determined by comparison with other similar documents and evidence available from published material.

Painted in a vertical format of 17.8 × 22.8 cm. size, these illustrations have no text matter on the top margin but the names of Rāgas appear on the facing page in Persian characters and also above the painting; it is apparent on careful observation that the set was previously bound in a volume which must have been split up into loose folios. There is, however, little relevance between the captions and the Rāga illustrations but by and large the set fits into the table of Rāgamālās by the school of Hanumāna whose classification is followed by Dāmodara, Harivallava and other authors with minor variations in northern Indian or the Hindustani system of classical music.

The entire set is painted in extremeley perfunctory manner within the traditional framework and feeling of the Mughal painting of the late Akbar period except for the colour scheme which appears altogether new in com-

1 Kānkrolī, a small estate in Rajasthan, and primarily the seat of the Dwārkādhish, one of the seven forms of Krishua, is situated forty miles from Udaipur and six miles from the famous Nāthdwarā. The Gosain of Kankroli is the descendant of the third son of Bīthal Nāthji Mahārāj, the eldest son of Vallabhāchārya who lived in the 16th century. This place of the Vaishnavas had close relationship with the rulers of Amber since 17th century and later with Jaipur in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is quite likely that fresh material from this collection will yield some important data for the study of miniature paintings especially that of Amber and Jaipur. I am thankful to Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaj of Kankroli for allowing me to publish this set. Photo credits to Dr. Pramod Chandra, Professor of Indian Art, Chicago University, U.S.A.

parison with the known groups of so called Popular Mughal paintings of late Akbar and early Jahangir periods.

The compositions are repetitive. In most pictures open landscapes, the rocky foregrounds and large trees with big circuir leaves painted partly yellow and blue green occupy the major space of the composition (Fig. 40) leaving the the figure in the open inconspicuously. The architecture is confined to hexagonal or square open pavilions with very slender pillars, patterned enclosure walls, tiled domes and floorings, etc. In certain cases triple domed tiled pavilions (Fig. 44) are also found. The open spaces are interspersed with large floral and leafy sprays (Fig. 42). Only two or three tree types are used, the more usual ones have roundish leaves which at times give a faint idea of a pipal tree; at places the Mughal mannerism of showing the roots is also attempted (Figs. 40 and 41). In many illustrations the foreground is left plain or is intended to represent a garden or open courtyard with a gate, etc. (Fig. 41). There appears a curious feature in using a flower vase or an ewer in the composition (Fig. 42). These vases painted in black or in white sometimes recall their Kashmir origin when compared with enamelled ewers from that area. Whether these vases are a deliberate space filling device is not known. However, it is interesting to note that such types of vases do not occur in any known sets of Popular Mughal painting.

The male figures are somewhat short; they usually wear half dhottī with a fan-like pleated protrusion in front and a short aṭpatī (?) turban. A long and narrow patterned dupatā is worn over the neck, the ends going under the armpits. There also appears a second type of turban which by and large could be assigned to the late Akbar period (detail of Fig. 37). It is surprising to note again in this set that there is not a single instance where we see a male figure wearing a jāmā or a chūrlīdār paijāmā.²

An added emphasis seems to have been to the female figures. They are generally clad in a ghāghrā, chōlī and a transparent odhni with fluttering ends. The body is unduly elongated with a small head, narrow waist and developed hips. A long and thin single plait follows the contour of the body at the back and black pompons are seen attached to its ends. Exceptionally large and round pompons are attached to the waist, and the fan-like pleated protrusion is also seen in front of the ghāghrā. Pearl ornaments decorate the head, neck and arms.

A distinguishing feature of the set is the use of small sprays, invariably

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³ In this illustration of Rūga Vasūnt, we see a strange type of half jāmā which resembles to a type of short skirt. It is held by a thin kamarband, the ends of which almost touch the ground.
in olive green and yellow interspersed throughout. The indiscriminate use of this motif disturbs the composition. This early Mughal element is observed in many Mughal manuscript illustrations of the Akbar Nāma,⁶ the Bābur Nāma⁶ and others. The colour scheme of this set is also unusual. The colour scheme is very cool and pleasant. Strange shades of greys, blues and orange with mixtures of olive-green, lemon yellow and whites are largely used. In no illustration do we come across the warm and bright hues of the early Mughal palette. This to me indicates to their unmistakable origin of some Rajasthani provenance, perhaps Amber or elsewhere. In the illustrations of some Rāgās we see the rain suggested by tiny white lines. Usually in Rāgamalā sets we see the depiction of rain in the Rāga Megha-Malhār, or Megh, but in this set the painter has used this device in Rāga Megha-Malhār, Rāga Vasant, Rāga Hindol and Kedār. The landscape, which is cleverly minimised to few rocky areas in the background and the foreground, a tree or two in the middle plain where the ground is usually studded with leafy sprays, serves as an appropriate stage for the artist to express the spirit of the Rāga. The sky is always cloudy with strokes of grey, black and white lines representing movement. Perspective is almost elementary. There is little attempt to show distance by reducing the size of objects at a distance and the temples, houses and other structures are suggested in a very amateurish way.

The overall execution of the Rāgamalā, the colouring and style, sets one thinking on its stylistic affinities. On the one hand it is perfunctory and folkish work with unusual colouring and on the other it shows early Mughal features in male and female types, landscape, and other details of an unknown provincial centre of painting of a very early period, at least between c. 1590-1600 if not earlier.

Although it is true that Akbar's imperial atelier set standards for the superior quality of a state-patronized painting, less important works were being produced by some of the painters employed by noblemen in the late Akbar and early Jahangir period. This so called Popular Mughal Art⁷ was being practised at Ajmer, Agra, Lahore, or other prominent centres of Mughal culture. However, it has recently been observed that the so called "Popular Mughal" painting was being produced well within the later Akbar period and that private establishments of painters were already at work. About the Hindu patronage to painting during the Akbar period, history is not clear except for some historical facts and some notable discoveries of dated and

inscribed MSS. and other material from Amber and Jaipur region which throw some light on the art of painting, which had remained unattended so far. With the help of this material now it is apparent that Amber, the capital of the Kachhawāhās since the rule of Bihārī Mall—Bahār Mall—Bhār Mall—(1548-1575) whose daughter was married to Akbar in 1587, Bhagvantāsa, (1575-1592) and later on during the reign of Mān Singh (1556-1614) had a rich cultural heritage with strong Hindu character which must have patronized painting during Akbar period (1556-1605). The discoveries of the murals on the chhatris of Bhār Mall\(^8\) and the murals on the Jahangīr’s garden pavilion at Bairāt\(^9\) as well as the recent discoveries of wall paintings at Bhavpurā\(^10\) and Mozmābād\(^11\) near Jaipur, and a Digambara Jain MS. of Adipurāṇa\(^12\) painted at Mozmābād in A.D. 1606, give adequate proof of the Hindu and Jain patronage to painting which, stylistically speaking, falls within the framework of Rajasthani version of the provincial Mughal art which was being practised in the Kachhawāhā region at Amber and Jaipur at least from the period of Rājā Mān Singh (1556-1614).

There are yet some more historical facts and documents which lend support to the theory of the existence of the late Akbari school of painting in Western India, Gujarat and Rajasthan. According to Moti Chandrā\(^\) “Painters in Gujarat played an important part in the Mughal atelier of Akbar. Soon the pupils of these painters spread out in search of their livelihood to Gujarat and Rajasthan and this laid the foundation of the Popular Mughal style. This is a style in which though the figure drawing and costumes and to a very limited extent the landscape are indebted to the Mughal style yet the older traditions both in colour and landscape persist”. In this Popular Mughal style, the Mughal style is simplified in a folk style which was used very extensively for satisfying the popular demand.

It is true that all the Mughal artists were not attached to the atelier of Akbar but some of the Mughal grandees also had well equipped atelier, in which talented artists painted illustrated MSS. Among such grandees was the famous Khān-i-Khānān\(^14\) (Abd-al-Rahim-Khān-i-Khānān) (1556-1617) the

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\(^6\) H. Goetz, The Early Rajput Murals of Bairāt (Ca. A.D. 1587), *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. I, 1954, p. 117. (Since Bhār Mall died in 1584, and Bhagvantāsa in A.D. 1589 and the chhatris generally were erected soon after the death of a ruler, the dates of their paintings cannot be much later which though fragmentary now, show clear Akbari character).

\(^9\) Ibid., pp. 113-118.


\(^11\) Ibid.

\(^12\) Sarayu Doshi has recently discovered a number of dated Digambara Jain MSS. which she has incorporated in her Ph.D. thesis *Illustrated Manuscripts from Digambara Jain Bhavgarhas*, Bombay, 1971 (Unpublished).


great general of Akbar and the son of the famous Bayrām Khān, who had gathered around him a galaxy of some talented artists of this period.

Usually Khān Khānān appears in the role of a great commander and a capable administrator, but he was equally great as a poet, linguist and a connoisseur. "He was a generous patron of savants, poets, painters and penmen." He was twice the Governor of Gujarat from (1575-78) and from (1584-89). During his tenure in Gujarat or even when he was at Multan and Bhakkar it is quite likely that local talents might have been attracted towards him and were employed on painting commissions of the less important MSS. of local interest such as the Rāgamālas and the secular subjects like the Mādhavānala Kāmakandālā Chaupāī etc. Fortunately, it has been possible here to study two colophons of the above mentioned manuscripts. The Mādhavānala Kāmakandālā Chaupāī as per colophon (Fig. 47) was written in V.S. 1616/1559 A.D. at Jaisalmer by Kuśalalābhā and the present copy was written (perhaps painted also) in V.S. 1660/A.D. 1603. In the same colophon, Chaupāī No. 42 indicates a valuable clue to support that the MS. may have been copied and perhaps painted also in Jaisalmer.

It mentions "Rāula Mālasu paṭṭa dhara, kuśvara Śrī Harirāj, viracit ae āringāra rasa.................etc." i.e Rāwal Śrī Hari Rāj, possessor of the paṭṭā of Mālasu (Village) composed this MS.

Apparently Mālasu appears to be the name of a village in Jaisalmer state and the Bhātīs are the descendants of Rao Māldeo and are styled as paṭṭāyats from Bāru who had eighteen small villages under them.

Rāwal Māldeo who came to the throne in V.S. 1607/A.D. 1550 had seven sons; Harirāj, Bhawānidās, Khetsi, Nārāyandās, Sāhasmall, Netsi and Purānmall. After the death of Rāwal Māldeo in V.S. 1618/A.D. 1561 his son Rāwal Hari Rāj came to the throne. He was awarded titles at the court of Emperor Akbar and he extended his territories to a great extent. Rāwal

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18 Shyam Manohar Pandeya, Madhyayugin Premākhyaṇa (Hindi). Allahabad, 1967, p. 105. The Story of Mādhavānala Kāmakandālā was very famous in the middle ages, Gaṅgāpati, composed his first essay on Mādhavānala Kāmakandālā in V.S. 1534/A.D. 1527. Subsequently Mādhava Sharma wrote his Mādhavānala Kāmakandālā rasa vilās in Braja bhāṣā in V.S. 1600/A.D. 1543 of which one complete version is in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayāg, and with this story as a base, poet Kuśalalābhā wrote the Chaupāī of Mādhavānala Kāmakandālā in Jaisalmer in V.S. 1616/A.D. 1559 (see Fig. 47) which according to the last lines of the colophon was completed in V.S. 1660/A.D. 1603 and the last lines are missing. Nine folios including the colophon are in the Berlin Museum in Germany.
19 Mahākaviśrāma Śyāmāldāsa, Vīr Vīnoda, Pr. II (Hindi), Chapters 14-20, p. 1762.
Bhim⁰⁰ was the successor of Hari Rāj who occupied the gaudī of Jaisalmer in V.S. 1634/A.D. 1578. Thus, it is apparent that Rāwal Hari Rāj composed this chaupāi somewhere between A.D. 1561 to 1578 during his reign. Unfortunately the colophon in red is incomplete which might have yielded the place of its production, but on the basis of the above details of the colophon it can be surmised that the paintings were also done at Jaisalmer which has always been an important centre of painting since earlier times. The colophon of Rāgamālā⁰¹ set is reproduced in colour in the Berlin Museum Catalogue bearing the date as V.S. 1662/A.D. 1605 has a strong Rajasthani character. Pinder-Wilson⁰² has published an illustrated MS. of the Anwār-i-Suhayl, the Persian translation of the Kalilā-wā-Dīmmā dated A.H. 1009/A.D. 1600-1601 painted at Ahmedabad from the British Museum (OR. 6371). The delicacy of line, the colour scheme and the general trend of this MS. is identical to that of the Gīta Govinda⁰³ folio from the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay, which was attributed by Khandalavala to Popular Mughal school of A.D. 1595-1600 (Figs. 48 and 49). These could now be ascribed to a Rajasthani or Gujarati provenance as a number of dated and inscribed Digambara Jain and Hindu MSS. have been recently discovered from Rajasthan and Gujarat.⁰⁴ They are from Jaisalmer, Patan, Khambat, Katch, Vadnagar, Idar, Sirohi, Amber, Jaipur, etc. which include some early ones in the Popular Mughal style. It is, therefore, evident that the Popular Mughal painting is not an isolated phenomenon of northern India but it is applicable to all the Akbari paintings produced in Rajasthan.

In the case of an unusual fragmentary Rāgamālā⁰⁵ from the Khajanchi Collection, Khandalavala and others have attributed this set to Agra or to some other centre of Mughal painting. These paintings have a somewhat folkish character and according to Moti Chandra they fall within the second category of the Popular Mughal painting which have only a partial resemblance to Mughal painting. They appear to be early examples of Rajasthani painting. It is also surprising to note that these paintings have certain similarities with the Laul Rāgamālā.⁰⁶ The comparison of Figs. 48 and 49 with Laul Rāgamālā plates VII, IX, XVI, XVIII shows striking similarities in the tree types, certain architectural details, especially on chhajās and lintels of the pavilions which are invariably decorated with grape-vine meanders, and the fort like parapets at the base of the dome; the pillars and capitals as well as the pink chhajās have identical colouring and technique. The colour scheme of these two

⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 1763.
⁰³ Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, Miniatures and Sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bārū, Bombay, 1965, Colour Pl. D. and fig. 16.
⁰⁵ Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, op. cit., Frontispiece—Rāgini Gauri and fig. 22.
sets are surprisingly similar. The female figures are also identically decorated with large pompons and tassels. The sky and landscape also appear to have been painted in the same manner. A similar picture representing a "Procession with elephants and horses" has been published which has the pale colour scheme with abundance of mauve and pale yellow as the background which could be ascribed to a Rajasthani provenance of Amber or elsewhere. The Manley Rāgamālā on careful observation also falls within this category and therefore could be attributed to a Rajasthani provenance.

On the basis of the bold Devanāgarī script which occurs on the top margin or at the back of the paintings of this style, it is also possible to suggest about their Rajasthani provenance. The two colophons referred above and the script that appears on both sides of the Cowasji Gītā Govinda folio is predominantly Jain type Rajasthani script in vogue in Western India, Gujarat and Rajasthan all along but is nearly absent in the northern Indian examples of the Popular Mughal MSS. or paintings that we know of.

Therefore, taking notice of all the dated and stylistically similar material in its historical context it is reasonable to attribute the folkish versions of the late Akbari style paintings to Rajasthani or Gujarati provenances. Probably Amber or Jaisalmer could be the centre of their origin.29

28 Leigh Ashton (Ed.), Art of India and Pakistan, London, 1949, Pl. 88, fig. 401.
29 I am obliged to Dr. Moti Chandra for his valuable guidance in preparing this article.
NEWLY ACQUIRED SCULPTURES

B. V. Shetti

Stealing of art objects and unauthorizedly exporting them outside India is going on on a large scale in the recent years. Of all the states in India, Madhya Pradesh has suffered the loss the most. This state being dacoit-infested, such vandalism was attributed to the outlaws there acting in co-operation with some art dealers.

In September 1968 the police from the Matunga Police Station, Bombay, raided a local godown and recovered seven stone sculptures which were about to be unauthorizedly exported outside India. In this connection the police arrested the driver and his assistant of a motor truck involved in this case. However, the culprits jumped their bails and could not be traced later on. After long months of investigation the police were unable to locate the place to which these sculptures originally belonged. The sculptures were lying at the Matunga Police Station for several months and subsequently with the kind co-operation of Shri P. L. Mokashi, Inspector of Police (now Assistant Commissioner of Police), these were transferred to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in February 1970, for safe custody as desired by the Presidency Magistrate, 12th Court, Bandra, Bombay.

It is not known whether these sculptures were recently removed from some temple site or whether they were in someone’s possession. From the type of reddish sandstone used for carving these sculptures as well as the stylistic features, such as, elongated eyes, hair style, drapery and ornaments, they belong to Madhya Pradesh and are assignable to medieval period.

There are few states in India which can claim so rich and varied remains of the glorious past as does Madhya Pradesh. Many sculptures are still lying scattered in the country side and forest areas. In the early medieval period (c. 700-1200 A.D.) the art of sculpture in Madhya Pradesh seems to have considerably on the increase due to the rapid development in the temple building activity. The production of iconographic texts gave further impetus to sculptors. Consequently the figure sculptures and decorative motifs, grew enormously in number and variety. During this period historical and cultural activities were moving around the capital cities of Ujjain and Dhar in Malwa and Gwalior, Narwar and Chanderi in the north.

The period between the eighth and tenth centuries saw a great cultural renaissance under the patronage of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The close of the
tenth century A.D. witnessed the decline of the Pratihāras in the north and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south. This resulted in the rise of the Paramāras and the Kachhavahs dividing the territories of the Madhya Pradesh into two kingdoms of Malwa and Gwalior respectively.

The seven sculptures under study include a dancing Vaishnavi (Fig. 50), a seated Ambikā (Fig. 51), a standing Vishnu (Fig. 52), a female figure (Fig. 56), and three river-goddesses (Figs. 53-55). On stylistic grounds the dancing Vaishnavi may be dated to the late seventh or early eighth century A.D. whereas the remaining sculptures may be dated to 10th-11th century A.D.

Mātrikās, seven or eight in a group, are often carved in relief with the figures of Virabhadra and Ganesa on either side. Occasionally we come across sculptures with only three Mātrikās usually Brahmāṇi, Kaumārī and Vaishnavi. Individual reliefs of Mātrikās are also common. Most often they are seated but sometimes we do come across standing Mātrikās as at Elephanta. Dancing Mātrikās are not so common. One of the earliest panel of dancing Mātrikās is in the Rāvalphaṭi cave at Aihole datable to the late sixth century A.D.¹

The Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, has a four-armed dancing Vaishnavi² in their collection datable to the 10th century A.D. Another interesting dancing Vaishnavi³, which was formerly in the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection is now in the Los Angeles County Museum. This four-armed image accompanied by Bālakrishnā and Lakshmi is from Madhya Pradesh and dated to the ninth century A.D. The position of the legs of this image is very similar to that of our dancing Vaishnavi. For further comparison attention may be invited to the image of dancing Indrāni dated to seventh-eighth century A.D. found at Kota in Sivapuri District and now deposited in the Central Museum at Gwalior⁴.

The goddess Ambikā is common to Hinduism as well as Jainism. In the latter she is the Śāsanadevatā of Neminātha. In the former she appears first as Rudra's sister in the Vījaśaneyī Sanhkitā (III. 57) and the Tattīrīya Brāhmaṇa (I. 6. 10, 4-5) and then as his consort in the Tattīrīya Āraṇyaka (X. 18).⁵ Ambikā is seated upon a lion and has three eyes and four arms.⁶ As a Jain Yakshi, Ambikā rides a lion and holds a child and a bunch of mangoes. The Śvetāmbara

³ The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Hiramanek Collection, Boston, 1966, p. 47, fig. 35.
image is four-armed whereas the Digambara Yakṣī has only two arms. Our seated female figure with a child on her lap has no lion but has a third eye on her forehead and a bunch of mangoes shown in the background on the right side of her head. This clearly indicates that the image is of Ambikā and perhaps represents a Jaina Yakṣī.

Chaturbhuja sitānakanāṁrīs of Viṣṇu are so commonly enshrined in the early and late medieval Viṣṇu temples of different parts of India, especially in those of northern and eastern India. These images can usually be classed under one or other of the Vyūhas. But unfortunately both the right hands of the Viṣṇu image under study are broken, and hence his exact form cannot be determined. But it is interesting to note that in this sculpture Viṣṇu’s āyudha purushas, Brahmā, Śiva, Yogāsanamārī of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmi or Prithivi are shown.

The river goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, are frequently shown on the temple doors of the Gupta and the early medieval periods. In the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period these figures were carved on temple doorways at a higher level whereas in later period the goddesses were depicted at a lower level. Their graceful standing figures as architectural decorations are afterwards endowed with the hieratic form of cult deities or exceedingly beautiful women of a voluptuous type.

It is interesting to observe the presence of Śiva in the two Gaṅgā panels indicating his attachment to her. In the panel showing the river goddess Yamunā the presence of Vārāhi is noteworthy and perhaps indicates that the sculpture belonged to a Viṣṇuvaite temple.

The Gaṅgā panels may be compared with the image of Gaṅgā from Barwasgar8 (Jhansi District, Madhya Pradesh) to which they closely link in hair-style, drapery, ornaments and the stance.

DESCRIPTIONS

1. Dancing Viṣṇuva
Reddish sandstone.
Madhya Pradesh.
Late 7th or early 8th century A.D.
74 × 29.5 cm. (Fig. 50).

The four-armed nimbate dancing Viṣṇuva is standing with legs flexed. Her upper hands are broken; the natural right hand is in abhayamudrā and the left holds the conch. The broken mace in the upper right hand

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and the broken chakra in the upper left are seen. She wears a cylindrical crown, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, earrings and vanamūla hanging below the knees, a girdle is round her waist and the sārī is touching the ankles.

2. Ambikā  
Reddish sandstone.  
Madhya Pradesh.  
11th century A.D.  
62.5 × 59 cm. (Fig. 51).

Two armed Ambikā seated in lalitāsana on a bolster between two pilasters. Her right hand rests on her lap and with left hand she holds a male child who is touching her breast. She wears circular earrings, necklaces—one of which passes below her breasts with a loose end hanging between the breasts, anklets and pādasara. Her hair is tied in a large bun on her right side. Third eye is shown on the forehead. A bunch of mangoes, seen in the background in the upper left corner.

3. Gaṅgā  
Reddish sandstone.  
Madhya Pradesh.  
10th century A.D.  
56 × 41.5 (Fig. 52).

Fragment of a door jamb with the figure of Gaṅgā and attendants. The slightly flexed goddess stands on a lotus platform ending with a makara. Her raised right hand holds a pūrṇaghaṭa and her left hand rests on her waist. The hair is tied in a bun. One of the beaded necklaces hangs between her breasts. A female attendant stands on her left with a garland in her hands. Śiva stands on the right with a triśūla in his left hand. His face and right hand damaged. Nandi stands behind Śiva with upturned head. Two small size standing female attendants are seen one on the left of Gaṅgā and another on the left of Śiva.

4. Gaṅgā  
Reddish sandstone.  
Madhya Pradesh.  
10th century A.D.  
48.5 × 41.3 cm. (Fig. 53).

Fragmentary door jamb panel similar as above. Here Gaṅgā stands on the stylized makara. The female attendant on her left holds a vīṇa. Śiva stands on the right with a trident in his left hand. A female attendant is on his right.
5. Yamunā  
Reddish sandstone.  
Madhya Pradesh.  
10th century A.D.  
55 × 42 cm. (Fig. 54).

Fragmentary door jamb showing Yamunā standing on the tortoise; her head is missing. On her right stand two female figures with a garland in their hands. On the left stands a female with a cup-like object in her right hand and a staff (perhaps part of an umbrella) in her left hand. Her hair is tied in a big bun and she wears a vanamālā hanging up to her knees. On the extreme left stands Vārāhī holding an indistinct object in her raised left hand.

6. Vishnu  
Reddish sandstone.  
Madhya Pradesh.  
11th century A.D.  
99 × 43.5 cm. (Fig. 55).

Four armed Vishnu standing on a lotus in samabhāṅga pose holds chakra in his upper left hand and śāṅkha in his lower left. Both the right hands and his kirtī are broken. The vanamālā hangs below his knees. Gadādevī and Śankhapurusha stand on his right. Chakrapurusha and Padmapurusha stand on his left. Below the lotus pedestal is seated Lakshmi or Prithivi flanked by a donor couple with folded hands.

At the top is a four-armed Yogāsana Vishnu flanked by Vidyādharas couples. Seated below is Brahmā on the left and Śiva on the right.

The sculpture is slightly worn out.

7. Female figure  
Red sandstone.  
Madhya Pradesh.  
11th century A.D.  
42 × 28 cm. (Fig. 56).

Standing female figure with her right hand placed on her head and the left hand supporting her breast. She wears earrings, a torque and a sārī fastened with a girdle with one end of its fold hanging between her legs. Her feet are missing.

A decorated pilaster is on her left.
AN INSCRIBED IMAGE OF HAYAGRIVA—rTa mgrin—FROM TIBET IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

Sadashiv Gorakshkar

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired by purchase a bronze image of Hayagriva in his Yab-yum form. The image could be considered unique for two reasons. Firstly, it manifests an iconographic form which was not accounted for even by Van Gulik in his exhaustive study of this deity, and secondly, it bears an inscription in the Tibetan script referring to the monastery where it was consecrated. (Figs. 57a and 57b).

Hayagriva—rTa mgrin to the Tibetans—as a Buddhist deity is referred to in the Sādhana-mālā either as an emanation of Amitābha in which case he serves as an attendant to some form of Avalokitesvara such as Khasarpana Padmanarttāsvara etc., or, as an emanation of Akṣobhya he is worshipped independently. In the attendant form he is mostly represented with one head and two arms, bedecked with serpent ornaments. The best example of this form comes from the famous hoard of Buddhist metal images from Kurkihar now preserved in the Patna Museum. In his independent form, which gained popularity in Tibet, he belongs to the class of wrathful deities who are invoked in their angry form. Naturally, therefore, he is represented with either one or more faces, multi-armed holding various weapons and trampling over demons symbolizing malevolent forces.

Hayagriva, literally the horse-necked, is considered to neigh like a horse to drive away the evil forces and hence is the protecting deity of horse traders in Tibet. Nonetheless, he is also invoked in the beginning of certain rituals to ensure peace and protection.

The image under discussion represents the deity as having three faces, six arms and four legs standing in the latíšākapadāndāyaśa or the ālālīśākapada attitude with his four legs firmly planted over two prostrate Nāgas in half human half-serpent forms each having a canopy of five serpent hoods. He embraces his Šakti with two hands of which the right hand holds a vajra (Phur-bu) or thunderbolt and the left a kapāla or skull-cup.

Of the other two right hands the lower holds a khādga (sword) and the upper, what looks like, a padma (lotus).

1 Acc. No. 73.3. Ht. 14.5 cm.
4 P. L. Gupta, Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, Patna, 1965, pl. XXXIII.
Of his two left hands the lower one holds a šara (arrow) but the emblem in the upper hand is missing. Iconographically this hand should have held a pāśa (noose) made of human gut.

He holds the Yum, c'en Pad ma gar dbaṅ, in close embrace. In the left hand she holds a kapāla while the emblem held by her in her right is difficult of proper identification, though it looks like a karttykā (cleaver). The iconography ordains that she should hold a blood-dripping heart.

Both the figures are decked with armlets, bracelets, etc. which must have been studded with stones such as turquoise.

Iconographically his hair should be dishevelled. The image, however, wears well arranged matted hair tied by a tiara of five skulls on each of his three heads. In keeping with the iconographic requirements a horse head issues over each face of the god. Furthermore, he draws over him a tiger skin, seen distinctly at the back, and wears a garland of human skulls which clearly appears below his apron.

The remarkable part of the bronze is the human bone-apron tied around the waist of the deity. Its latticed pattern and an attempt at detail are an achievement of metal casting.

In fact the bronze itself indicates an understanding of metal casting technique in as much as the entire piece, including the pedestal, is cast-a-jour i.e. in one piece, and the stays or casting-channels have been cleverly modelled as a skull-garland. Only the bust of the Yum has been separately cast and riveted to the body. The design of the lotus pedestal too is of unusual type and indicates an early feature of about the twelfth-thirteenth century to which period we are inclined to assign our image. The bronze is sealed at the bottom with a metal plate—a regular feature—after the bronze was consecrated.

Not only the faces of the god have been painted in gold indicating his wrathful nature—for he cannot be invoked unless he is angered—but even the three horse-heads have been painted dark-green, another iconographic requirement.

The second important aspect of this bronze is the inscription appearing on the back of the pedestal. It could be freely transcribed as follows:—

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{"This yuganaddha image of the tutelary deity (इष्टदेव) Dhyangriva (Hayagriva) for the prosperity of the donor and his family and also for the}\\
\text{The inscription was got read by the Professor of Tibetology at Banaras Sanskrit University through the good office of Shri Shrikant Bhat of Bharat Kabir Bhavan.}\\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{\tiny \&} \]
attainment of the riches and Bodhihood, was caused to be made by Punyavardhana at Phigian (Dphigan?).

It establishes that our image belongs to the class of tutelary deity, Yi-dām, and not to that of Dharmapāla. In this aspect he is the emanation of Akṣobhya.

The name of the monastery also requires consideration. It must be admitted that the problem of phonetics in Tibetan language has to be accounted for in deducing the correctness of our monastery. Incidentally, we know of two monasteries that have images of Hayagriva at the entrance, the Depung, and the Jiwong. We, however, cannot with certainty identify the monastery referred to in our inscription.

The closest parallel provided for comparison with our image is Tanka Nos. 164-166 illustrated by Tucci and as Tucci has pointed out, this iconographic version was not discussed by Van Galik. Such an image as ours is described as “K’ro boi rgyal po rta mgrim” and a formula adopted by Tibetans for meditation as given by the Pan C’en lama is:

“rTa mgrim yan gsaṅ k’ros pai sgrib t’abs dahn yan gsaṅ gi smon agrel”.

The Yab-yum form of this god has three faces and six arms and the faces are white (right side), red (central) and green (left side), and the emblems held by the god include lotus, hook, club, skull-cap, guts and sword which, with a little variation, are held by our image.

Basically derived from the Hindu pantheon, Hayagriva never achieved the status it did outside India. He was accepted into Buddhism both as a Dharmapāla and as a Yi-dām or tutelary deity, and was highly venerated in Tibet, Nepal and China and Japan as well.

* L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, Cambridge, 1939, pp. 268-269.
* G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Pl. 198.
* In Pl. X illustrated by Tucci, the face on right is green and the left is white.
THREE PAHARI DRAWINGS

Karl Khandalavala

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired three coloured Pahari drawings of considerable interest.

(1) A Lady seated on top of a circular ornamental structure, (16.5 x 12.4 cm). It is not easy to make out what the structure is intended to be or why the lady should be sitting on top of it. A small red bird is perched on her left hand and she is looking down at it. The figure is elegantly costumed and has adopted a fascinatingly graceful attitude with her oghni (wimple) draped around her. Near the embroidered hem of her wimple is a flask precariously balanced on the rounded surface of the canopy-like structure. At the base of the structure are two monster heads somewhat resembling those we see jutting out of the base of pavilions in the Basohli Rasmajari sets including that painted by Devidasa for Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli in A.D. 1694. The sketch is in a modified Basohli idiom but whether it was done in Basohli or Nurpur it is not possible to be certain particularly as the figure is seated. One of these two states is the likely provenance of the sketch. There is a suggestion in the curved limbs that the figure is a very elongated one and if that surmise be correct then the Nurpur provenance is more probable. Such elongated figures, however, also come from Chamba, which may accordingly be a possible provenance. Anyway it is one of the most exquisite little drawings in a Basohli idiom that I have ever seen. All the three drawings referred to in the present article were formerly in the family collection of Shri Harish Chandra of Chamba, as per the information kindly supplied to me by Shri Vishvas Chandra Ohri, Curator of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. The date of the drawing is about the mid 18th century. The entire drawing is in crimson with occasional touches of pale orange and dark green; black outlines. (Fig. 58).

(2) Portrait of Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur (A.D. 1619-1646) (15.5 x 10 cm.). Apart from the inscription which mentions Jagat Singh as “Jargat Singh” there is no mistaking the personage portrayed. A portrait of him at his pujja is in the Chandigarh Museum. Though it is not a contemporary portrait it is a fairly early painting and can be ascribed to the late 17th or early 18th century. There also Jagat Singh wears a somewhat similar type of turban to that seen in Fig. 59. This type of turban belongs to the late Jahangir and early Shih Jahan period and was obviously adopted by Jagat Singh from a style

1 Karl Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Painting. Bombay, 1958, figs. 1, 6 and 8 (Study Supplement).
of turban at the Mughal court. There can be no doubt there were portraits of Jagat Singh done by Mughal artists when he was at the Mughal court and the four known portraits of this prince in Pahāri idiom are almost certainly based on one or more of these. A third bust-portrait of Jagat Singh, which is the earliest of the Pahāri portraits of this Rājā, is in a private collection and evidences marked Mughal influence. It may even be a contemporary study. He wears therein the same type of turban as in Fig. 59. The fourth is a 19th century copy in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. The portrait Fig. 59, can be ascribed to the early 18th century. Its competent draughtsmanship and decorative effects make it a particularly nice example of Pahāri portraiture in the medium of tinted drawings. It is also an important sketch since early portraits of this famous prince of Nurpur are rare. Early in his career Jagat Singh entered Mughal service and was granted a mansab by the Emperor Jahāngir. He had a stormy career throughout but always obtained pardon from the Mughal court for his rebellious conduct. The King having dark complexion wearing a red and yellow plumed turban and white jāma is seated leaning against an olive green and red bolster. (Fig. 59).

(3) Portrait of Jai Chand (?) (21.7 × 13.5 cm.). Though the inscription reads “Jai Chand Sukhetar”, this identification seems to be incorrect. The person portrayed appears to be Jai Singh of Chamba brother of Rājā Chattar Singh of Chamba. I have reproduced a portrait of Jai Singh of Chamba from the National Museum, New Delhi in my Pahāri Miniature Painting, Study Supplement, Fig. 46. The name of the person seated in front of him has not been deciphered. Both portraits are excellently drawn and are fine characterizations. Jai Singh acted as the Vazir of his brother Chattar Singh (A.D. 1664-1690). The figure on the right wears an orange and yellow floral turban and white jāma whereas the one on the left is seated clad in a red plumed turban and a yellow chandanchula smelling a flower. (Fig. 60).

The charm of Pahāri drawings, be they portraits or other subjects, have always been a source of delight to me.

Inscription on Fig. 60.
Fig. 1. Fragmentary carved stone disc. Rupar, Punjab. c. 600-200 B.C. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 2. Carved stone disc with Mother goddess. Murtaziganj, Patna. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Patna Museum.
Fig. 3. Carved steatite plaque. Rajgir. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 4a. Terracotta plaque. Avara, Madhya Pradesh. 100 B.C.-300 A.D.

Fig. 4b. Reverse of fig. 4a.
Fig. 5. 14. Nude male figure. Bronze. Kausambi. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 6. 66.33. Nude male figure. Copper. Kausambi. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig 7. 66.32. Nude male figure. Copper. Kausambi. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Fig. 8a. Ritual implement. Copper, Kausâmbi. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Dr. Moti Chandra Collection.

Fig. 8b. Line-drawing of fig. 8a.
Fig. 9. Mother goddess. Terracotta plaque. c. 1st cent. B.C. State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 10. Sri-Lakshmi on carved stone disc. Kausambi. 3rd cent. B.C. Dr. Moti Chandra Collection.

Fig. 11. 67.1. Mother goddess. Unbaked clay. Mathura. c. 2nd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Fig. 12. Gaja Lakshmi. Terracotta. Kauśāmbi. 2nd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 13. Mother goddess. Terracotta. Mathura 1st cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.
Fig. 15. Mother goddess. Terracotta. Kauśāmbo. c. 100 B.C. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi.


Fig. 16. Mother goddess. Terracotta. Kauśāmbo. c. 100 B.C. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi.
Fig. 17a. A Lion-headed female figure. Bronze. Kauśāmbi. 1-2nd cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 17b. Back-view of fig. 17a.
Fig. 18. Male bust. Copper. Lachchhagir, Allahabad District, 1st-2nd cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 19. Nude male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbi. Uncertain date. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 20. Nude male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbi. Uncertain date. Allahabad Museum.
Fig. 21. Male figure. Copper. Kaušāmbi. Uncertain date. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 22. Nude male figure. Copper. Kaušāmbi. 2nd-1st cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 23. Fish on stand. Copper. Kaušāmbi. 1st cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 24. Bird (Peacock ?). Copper. Kaušāmbi. 1st cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.
Fig. 25a. Hollow top part of an unidentified object. Copper. Kausàmbi, 2nd cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 25b. Another view of fig. 25a.
Fig. 26a. Ivory plaque. Jushi, Uttar Pradesh. 1st cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 26b. Reverse of fig. 26a.
Fig. 27a. Bone plaque, Jushi, Uttar Pradesh. 1st cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 27b. Reverse of fig. 27a.
Fig. 28. 72.2. Male head. Terracotta. Akhnur, Jammu District, 6th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 29. 72.3. Male head. Same as fig. 28.

Fig. 30. 72.4. Male head. Same as fig. 28.
Fig. 31. 72.5. Male head. Terracotta. Akhnur, Jammu District. 6th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 32. 72.6. Female head. Same as fig. 31.

Fig. 33. 72.7. Male head. Same as fig. 31.
Fig. 34. 72.8. Male head. Terracotta. Akhnur, Jammu District. 6th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 35. 72.9. Male head. Same as fig. 34.

Fig. 36. 72.10. Male head. Same as fig. 34.
Fig. 37a. Rāga Bibhāsa. Early Rajasthani c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Vrajbhusanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.

Fig. 38a. Rāgini Todi. Same MS. as fig. 37a.

Fig. 37b. Detail of fig. 37a.

Fig. 38b. Detail of fig. 38a.
Fig. 39. Rāga Hindol. Early Rajasthani. c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Sajbhushani Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.

Fig. 40. Rāginī Kakubha. Same MS. as fig. 39.
Fig. 41. Rāga Vasant. Early Rajasthani. c. 1590-1600 A.D.
Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.

Fig. 42. Rāgini Paṭamaṇjari. Same MS. as fig. 41.
Fig. 43. Rāga Devagāndhāra. Early Rajasthani. c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.

Fig. 44. Rāga Lalit. Same MS. as fig. 43.
Fig. 45. Rāgini Bhairavi. Early Rajasthani. c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli

Fig. 46. Rāga Megha-Malhār. Same MS. as fig. 45.
Fig. 50 Dancing Vaishnavi. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. Late 7th or early 8th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Fig. 51. Ambikā. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 11th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 52. Gaṅgā. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 10th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Fig. 53. Gaṅgā. Red sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 10th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 55. Vishnu. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 11th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 56. Female figure. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 11th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Fig. 57a. 73.3 Hayagriva (rTa mgrin). Tibet. 12th-13th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. 57b. Another view of Fig. 57a.
Fig. 60. 73-11 Portrait of Jai Singh of Chamba. The inscription incorrectly states Jai Chand Sukhetar. Pahāri, Basohli idiom. Early 18th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
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