

THE Viśvarūpa(Visvarupa) ICONOGRAPHIC TRADITION

North Indian Images of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu

5th - 13th Centuries CE

The Archaeological Reports of Professor T. S. Maxwell

A scientific collaboration between

CIL (Cultural Informatics Laboratory, IGNCA, New Delhi, India

and

SOK (Department of Oriental Art History), University of Bonn, Germany

Sponsorship

DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft / German Research Council)

UNDP (United Nations Development Project, India.)

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation)

Fieldwork, written and photographic content

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORTS

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT

Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa Vol. I: (First Surveys (1990) - Central Western India.

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FELDFORSCHUNGSPROJEKT 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

BERICHT

UBER DIE IKONOGRAPHIE, CHRONOLOGIE UND INTERPRETATION

DES ARCHAOLOGISCHEN MATERIALS

T S Maxwell

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EINLEITUNG ZUM BERICHT

Das vorliegende Feldforschungsprojekt und seine Fortsetzung ist auf eine ausführliche Dokumentation des für die Entstehung, Entwicklung und Ausbreitung der Vaikuṅṭha- und Viśvarūpa- Kunsttraditionen relevanten archaologischen Materials in Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat und Madhya Pradesh angelegt.

Abschlussziel der Arbeit ist die Darstellung einer Gesamtheorie für die Analyse und Interpretation dieser komplexesten kosmologischen Ikonographie Nordindiens des 5.-12. Jahrhunderts und deren Integration in den existierenden Wissenschaftskörper der Disziplin Orientalische Kunstgeschichte, wobei die chinesische und eventuell die sudostasiatische und japanische Ikonographie in Betracht gezogen werden konnte.

Die Auswertung der Dokumentation wird an der Universität Bonn durchgeführt. Zum Teil wird dieses Forschungsvorhaben als Erweiterung der von Willibald Kirfel, dem ehemaligen Ordinarius für Indologie an der Universität Bonn unternommenen Arbeit (Die dreiköpfige Gottheit, Ferd. Dummlers Verlag/Bonn 1948) betrachtet, zum Teil als Fortsetzung der an der Universität Oxford begonnenen verwandten Arbeit des Verfassers selbst (Thomas S. Maxwell, Viśvarūpa, Oxford University Press/New Delhi 1988).

Die Feldforschungsarbeit wird zeitlich und geographisch in mehrere Forschungsgebiete aufgeteilt, wobei Region 1 aus Rajasthan und dem nördlichen Teil Gujarats und Region 2 aus dem südwestlichen Uttar Pradesh und dem nordwestlichen Madhya Pradesh besteht.

Weitere Forschungen zur Untersuchung des Themas sind für die als Region 3 (Himachal Pradesh), Region 4 (Kashmir), Region 5 (Zentral-Gujarat), Region 6 (Zentral-Madhya Pradesh), und Region 7 (östliches Uttar Pradesh) bezeichneten Gebiete geplant.

Die erste Stufe des Projektes, Untersuchung des archaologischen Materials in den Regionen 1 und 2 einschließlich einer Auswahl der dort befindlichen hinduistischen Tempel, wurde 1989 mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft durchgeführt. Für diese Gelegenheit, die beiden Themen Viśvarūpa und Vaikuṅṭha weiterzuerforschen und die theoretische Basis dieser Untersuchungen zu verstärken, bin ich der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft sehr dankbar. Der Rektor Magnificus der Universität Bonn hat mir zu diesem Zweck ein Forschungsfreisemester (das Wintersemester 1989/90) genehmigt.

Die Anordnung des Bildmaterials ist im Februar 1990 in Bonn begonnen worden: diese Arbeit konnte noch nicht abgeschlossen werden. Die Schreibearbeit wurde im Verlauf des Sommersemesters 1990 unternommen. Mit Ausnahme des Sonderberichtes über Suhania wurde der nachstehende Bericht in den Monaten März bis Juni 1990 in Bonn aus den ikonographischen Feldforschungsergebnissen und einem Teil des Bildmaterials vorbereitet. Der Haupttext bleibt in englischer Sprache für eventuelle Publikationszwecke; Schlussfolgerungen sind, soweit dies mir in dem vorhandenen Zeitraum und ohne Mitarbeiter möglich war, auf Deutsch aufgezeigt.

T. S. Maxwell

Bonn, den 30. Juni 1990

FORSCHUNGSBERICHT: EINSEITIGE KURZFASSUNG DER HAUPTERGEBNISSE

(vgl. englische Zusammenfassung mit zusätzlichen Schlussfolgerungen)

1. Die literarische Basis für die Entstehung in Mathura sowie in Samalaji des Viśvarūpa- Bildwerks ist das Mahābhārata; im Bhagavadgītā wird diese kosmische Offenbarung Kṛṣṇas von drei Personae des Epos fünfmal beschrieben.
 - 1.1 Im 10.Jh. wird die Identität der Hauptfigur der Viśvarūpa-Ikonographie, nämlich Kṛṣṇa, durch andere Erseheinungsformen Viṣṇus, z.B. Rama, ersetzt.
2. Die ästhetische Basis des Hauptcharakteristikums des Viśvarūpa-Bildwerks, d.h. der Vereinigung seiner ikonographisch unterschiedlichen Kompositionselemente, besteht aus Weiterentwicklungen der Emanationsikonographie des kusanazeitlichen Mathuras.
 - 2.1 Diese ästhetische Basis hat als Grundlage aller Viśvarūpa-Bildwerke in Regionen 1 und 2 bis in das 10.Jh. überdauert.
 - 2.2 Im 10. Jh. ist eine andere, architektonische Vereinigungsstruktur in die Viśvarūpa-Ikonographie in Region 2 südlich des Ganges eingeführt worden; im 11.Jh. ist diese Struktur in Region 1 übertragen worden.
 - 2.3 Bis zur Einmhrung der architektonischen Vereinigungsstruktur gelten Viśvarūpa-Bildwerke auf Grund ihrer alleinigen Fortsetzung der kusanazeitlichen Emanations-struktur als eine besondere Nebenschule in der Geschichte der hinduistischen Plastik.
3. Erst nach der Entwicklung der architektonischen Vereinigungsstruktur können Viśvarūpa- Bildwerke als Elemente von ikonographischen Programmen an Tempelwänden betrachtet werden, und zwar erst ab dem 11.Jh. in Region 1.
 - 3.1 Im 5.-10.Jh. sind alle Viśvarūpa- Bildwerke als alleinstehende Kultbildnisse für Einrichtung in eigenen Sanktuarien zu verstehen, und zwar auf Grund ihrer Form, ihrer komplizierten und in sich eingeschlossenen Symbolik, und des ausdrücklich kosmischen Charakters des symbolisierten Themas.
4. Die Entwicklung der Viśvarūpa- Ikonographie weist im 8.-10.Jh. zwei verschiedene Evolutionsrichtungen auf (in diesem Bericht als Evolutionen A und B gekennzeichnet).

- 4.1 Diese beiden Evolutionsrichtungen entstehen nicht zeitgenössisch mit der Entstehung der beiden ursprünglichen Versionen des Viśvarūpa-Bildwerktypus im 5. und 6.Jh. in Mathura und Samalaji, sondern im 8.Jh. in Region 2. als die ikonographischen Einflüsse der letztgenannten beiden Frühversionen schon vereinigt gewesen waren; es handelt sich um eine zweite Verzweigung der Tradition.
5. Das dreiköpfige, auf Garuḍa thronende Vaikuṅṭha-Bildnis mit acht Händen entsteht im 9.Jh. in Region 1.
6. Im 10.Jh. in Region 1 entsteht eine sitzende, halbmeditierende Vaikuṅṭhaform als Entwicklung des Yoganārāyaṇathemas.
7. Im 11.Jh. in Region 1 entstehen 8 weitere Vaikuṅṭhaformen, die in diesem Bericht dokumentiert werden.
8. Die Vaikuṅṭhaform wird im 11.Jh. in einer Gegend von Region 1 als Kultbild des Śāktakultes weiterentwickelt.

ENGLISCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG MIT ZUSÄTZLICHEN SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN ENGLISH SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Viśvarūpa is a violent cosmic vision of the Hindu god incarnate Kṛṣṇa, which Kṛṣṇa himself reveals to the warrior Arjuna on the eve of the final battle in the war of the Mahābhārata. This vision is described in the Bhagavadgītā. The tenth and eleventh books of the Gītā contain five descriptions of Viśvarūpa of which two are spoken in the first person by Kṛṣṇa, another is given in the third person when Sañjaya describes Arjuna's vision to the blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and the other two are in the second person, being spoken by Arjuna to Kṛṣṇa as he experiences the vision. Several hundred years after the composition of these descriptions, sculptors at the artistic centres of Mathura and Samalaji began the attempt to depict Viśvarūpa in sculpture as a cult icon.

There were obvious aesthetic and compositional problems involved, and at the same

time fairly fixed iconographic rules had to be obeyed. At Mathura, an existing image of Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu, having the extra heads of two of Viṣṇu's animal incarnations, as a man-lion and as a boar, was used as the central figure. This tricephalous image was later developed in Kashmir and the western half of North India, to represent a different cult form of Viṣṇu known by the abbreviated title of Vaikuṅṭha. Both types of image - Viśvarūpa and Vaikuṅṭha - continued to be made and worshipped in northern India at least until the 11th century. This research project is the beginning of an attempt to understand these various iconographic forms, their development, and their influence during the approximately 800 years of their existence.

At the basis of the earliest Viśvarūpa iconographies (5th century in Mathura, 6th century in Samalaji) are the Kuṣāṅga-period emanation iconographies of Mathura sculpture (ca. 3rd century). These provide the aesthetic framework for the iconographic depiction of the main characteristic of the Viśvarūpa concept, namely its unification of multiple forms in a single image (see Part 2 of this Report, Origin and Evolution, Sections A, B, E). The development of these Kuṣāṅga-period Mathuran iconographies at Samalaji is explained by the exportation of early sculptures having emanatory forms from Mathura southwestwards along the edge of the Thar Desert, by way of Bairat and Pushkar, into the northern part of modern Gujarat.

The outstanding piece of evidence for this migration of symbols is the Kuṣāṅga-period populated column at Nand near Pushkar. Although the outskirts of Nand village are today being pushed westward by the erection of new temples, the column appears originally to have been erected at the boundary between cultivated land and desert, only a few hundred yards from the periodic course of the Luni River in Rajasthan. The date of its erection at Nand is unknown (it is regarded locally as having been born from the earth at an indeterminate date in the recent past, and was not remarked by Tod when he passed the very spot in 1819); the reason for its establishment there may be connected with the importance of Pushkar as a tirtha and with the related significance of surrounding villages as stations on the pilgrimage route which defines the Puṣkara-kṣetra. Further research is required to discover more evidence of the exportation of

Kuṣāṇa-period sculpture from Mathura along this route.

The Viśvarūpa fragments at Mathura and the series of Viśvarūpa images and fragments from Samalaji, in their present condition indicate that the emanation iconographies were first developed further, not at Mathura itself, but at Samalaji after a time lapse between the 3rd and 6th centuries. The time lapse requires further investigation to account for this dormant period in the activity of the migrating symbols. The Mathura - Samalaji connexion is demonstrated by the vertical and branching emanatory forms comprising the nimbus of the Samalaji Viśvarūpas. Such interconnected forms are scarcely detectable in the Mathura Viśvarūpa fragments, which from fragmentary evidence appear to have concentrated on representing the innumerable devouring faces of Viśvarūpa by a peripheral chain of Śiva-Bhairava heads around the nimbus, plus rows of ascetics upon its enlarged surface, depicting the hosts of sages and saints who disappear into the universal fire. The literary basis for both Viśvarūpa types was the series of five descriptions of Kṛṣṇa as Viśvarūpa contained in the 10th and 11th adhyāyas of the Bhagavadgītā as it now exists (see Part 2 of this Report, Origin and Evolution, Section E. Gītā Index-1 and -2, and Sections F and G).

The design of the Samalaji Viśvarūpa series, as local interpretations of the Bhagavadgītā or an allied text, was clearly based on an equally localised re-employment of Kuṣāṇa-period emanation motifs. The Samalaji Viśvarūpas are not logical developments of Gupta-period iconographical constructs, from which they were apparently isolated. Gupta elements relate to style, not structure. This shows that individual sculptures of Gupta style were influential in northern Gujarat, not iconographical combinations such as the proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' form in which the heads of Varāha and Nṛsiṃha were added to define the Viṣṇu image.

The Samalaji sculptures depict the multiple heads ('mouths') of Viśvarūpa, not by means of Bhairava masks as at Mathura, but by a conversion of caturmukha Brahmā imagery, in effect using a triple-crowned Brahmā, with three heads in human form, to represent the central figure of the Viśvarūpa image. A possible relationship between this

redployment of Kuṣāṇa Brahmā iconography (complete with the vertically emanating form reinterpreted as Hayagrīva) and the Pra-Pitāmaha concept of the Bhagavadgītā is marginally noted. The seated posture of this figure at Samalaji has female precedents in the Kuṣāṇa Mathura iconography and a terracotta proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' of Gupta date is also known, showing perhaps a parallel development in Vaiṣṇava iconography at both sites, which was taken up chiefly at Samalaji. The main themes of the nimbus are an evolutionary cosmogony (the Vaiṣṇava axis) and the generation of gods and heroes. The base of Nāgas, perpetuated as an important element of later Viśvarūpa images across North India, seems to have been a Samalaji innovation.

The combined influence of the Samalaji Viśvarūpa series and that represented by the Mathura fragments, is seen in the iconography of later Viśvarūpa sculptures farther east in Region 2 between the 6th and 9th centuries. In Region 1, only the dying echo of Samalaji is definitely known for this period, in the damaged Viśvarūpa sculpture at Kathlal, although this Report shows some evidence of later forms of Viṣṇu having three human heads. Western Indian Viśvarūpa sculptures (i.e. in Region 1) dating from the 7th and 8th centuries therefore must exist, and research to find them and to chart their iconographical evolution is required. The development of Viśvarūpa iconography in Region 2 during this period, and beyond, is better known and has been traced through two evolutionary processes in Part 2 of this Report (see Evolutions A and B). This shows a definite trend toward increasingly architectural structures, which appeared in the 10th and 11th centuries south of the Ganges, as the Kuṣāṇa emanation-aesthetic was forgotten and finally superseded.

Between the 5th and 9th centuries, the Viśvarūpa sculptural tradition represents a persistent minor theme within the major stylistic traditions of Northern and Western India. Because an unusual aesthetic structure (basically consisting of the populated nimbus) was required to compress many miniature images together in a single icon, the relatively rare representations of this theme almost amount to a sculptural sub-school. It was not until the rise of the architectural structure for these icons in the 10th century that Viśvarūpa iconography was finally integrated with the main North Indian traditions.

The architectural frame of these later Viśvarūpa icons closely resembles a temple doorframe, so that only from the 10th century onward does it become possible to consider Viśvarūpa images as panels for the bhadra-niches of temples.

No Viśvarūpa image dating from before the 10th century has been found within the iconographic programme of a temple, and only the very latest of the 9th-century images (Bhuili: see T. S. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, Oxford/New Delhi 1988, p.269 and P1.70) is sculpted on a rectangular slab suitable for placement in a bhadra-niche. The possibility therefore arises that in the first 500 years of their production, Viśvarūpa images were not intended for installation on temple walls, but were independent cult icons which may have been set up in separate small shrines of their own. This would reflect not only the negative or potentially destructive character of the theme, but also the self-contained imagery of the icons, which makes them unsuitable as units in an extended iconographic programme. This was not true of Vaikuṅṭha icons, which were definitely designed, from the beginning of their appearance in the 9th century, for placement in temple niches (see Sculptures 15 and 16 in this Report, Part 1).

The architectural construct evolved for the later Viśvarūpa images re-entered Region 1 in the 11th and 12th centuries, when it also became involved with later Vaikuṅṭha iconography (compare the shape of the stele of the 10th-century Suhania Viśvarūpa with that of a 12th-century three-headed Viṣṇu published by Pal, *Indian Sculpture 2*, Los Angeles/Berkeley 1988, p.56, no.56).

The development of Vaikuṅṭha iconography in Region 1 and its various cult contexts has been traced in Part 1 of this Report. Discounting the images of Viṣṇu with the side-heads of lion and boar (Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha') created at Mathura in the 5th century, the archaeological evidence examined shows the following major evolutionary stages.

Stylistically, the earliest three-headed and eight-armed Vaikuṅṭha image that was found in Region 1 is datable to the 9th century (Sculpture 16, from the region of Jhalavadh in eastern Rajasthan, also published by K. Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi 1973, p.44 and Fig.39), which probably follows closely on the adoption of this deity as the

royal god of Avantivarman at his first temple, the Avantisvamin at Avantipura in Kashmir circa 850 AD. The Avantisvamin bronze is a standing figure, while the Jhalavadh sculpture shows three-headed Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa.

The texts relating to these icons and meditational images are discussed in K. K. Dasgupta, "The Pāñcarāta Tradition and Brahmanical Iconography" (Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts, edited by A. L. Dallapiccola, Stuttgart 1989, 71-91), and in T. S. Maxwell, 'Vaikuṅṭha' (Festschrift for Debala Mitra, pp.1-29 and Sanskrit Appendix, in press since 1988). This basic difference in the iconographical depiction of Vaikuṅṭha in separate regions at the same historical moment suggests two spontaneous reactions to a single religious impetus. The precise nature of the connexions, and differences, between Vaikuṅṭha iconography in Kashmir and Rajasthan in the 9th century requires explanation through careful re-search in Kashmir itself, where a number of such images have been found.

The partial integration of Yoganārāyana iconography with that of Vaikuṅṭha occurs in the 10th century, to produce a Vaikuṅṭha image seated in a near-meditation posture, but with the front hands still holding two attributes loosely in front of the folded legs. This form is evidenced at two sites, Nilakantha and Candravati, indicating a fairly widespread phenomenon. The Nilakantha material is removed from its original context and has almost perished due to erosion; the slightly later Candravati image appears on the north bhadra-niche of a small tantric Vaiṣṇava temple.

In the 11th century at least eight new types appear. Three of these occur on a single temple, the sās̄bāhu at Nagda. Of these, two occur within architectural frames at the base of the main doorway śākhās; they are both standing images which hold the standard eight Vaiṣṇava attributes, though in differing order, and they are associated with different avatāras and gods, namely: Nṛsiṃha. Vāmana/Trivikrama, and Śiva on the one hand; and Varāha, Viṣṇu Gajendramokṣa, and Viṣṇu on the other. Specific interpretations of the avatāra-heads seem to be implied, but this requires further research. On the south wall of the same temple, a version of Garuḍa-mounted

Vaikuṅṭha appears which holds the attributes of Yama and Brahmā in addition to those of Viṣṇu.

On the 'Mira' temple at Eklingji a self-contained iconographic programme on the north, east, and south walls of the sanctum exterior show forms of Vaikuṅṭha with eight, twelve, and sixteen hands respectively, which may correspond to the three icon types described in the Aparājitapṛcchā as Vaikuṅṭha, Ananta, and Trailokyamohana.

The other two 11th-century developments stem from the Undesvara temple at Bijoliam. More obviously than the Candravati image, these might appear to relate to a Tantric or Yogini cult; on the basis of the iconographic programme of the Undesvara temple, I have suggested in fact that they were taken over by a Śākta cult to represent aspects of Pārvatī and Śiva - a total cult reversal of the original icon. Their most striking feature is the replacement of the central face of Viṣṇu with that of a horse. One of these images is male, the other female, and it is the iconography of the goddess which is the more elaborate. These images are discussed, with their iconographic context, in an attached Special Report. Another, severely damaged version of horse-headed Vaikuṅṭha, seen in Cittaurgadh, has the position of the avatāra heads reversed and appears to have been seated (the legs are broken) like the Nilakantha and Candravati images. This was first reported by R. C. Agrawala (Note 3 in the attached Special Report) but not interpreted. It appears to represent the same god as that now affixed to the Mahakala temple at Bijoliam, in a different posture. All three sculptures stem from the stretch between Cittaaur and Kota, and none of the same type were found outside this predominantly Śaiva region.

In conclusion, certain iconographical tendencies are worth a brief notice. All the Vaikuṅṭha images datable to the 10th century and later are represented without a nimbus. Three of the images have the usual position of the animal heads reversed, the lion appearing on the left and the boar on the right; in these examples all the hands are destroyed, making the analysis of any further iconographical variations impossible. But they are of variable date (9th/10th, 10th/11th, and 11th centuries) and posture (seated

on Garuḍa, standing, seated on a throne), suggesting no consistent variant form of Vaikuṅṭha. The disappearance of the nimbus from Vaikuṅṭha images approximates in date (10th century) to the disappearance of the populated nimbus from Viśvarūpa images and the introduction of an architectural framework for the support of the many minor figures. At the same time, a growing tendency is noticeable in succeeding centuries to identify the main figure, in images of both the Vaikuṅṭha and Viśvarūpa types, with forms of Viṣṇu other than Kṛṣṇa notably with Hayagrīva or Rāma, and even a coalescence with Śākta imagery was discovered in one area.

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TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

Bericht über die Ikonographic, Chronologie und Interpretation
des archaologischen Materials

TEIL I

SKULPTUREN DES Vaikuṅṭha - UND Viśvarūpa-

TYPUS IN REGION 1

(RAJASTHAN MIT ANGRENZENDEN GEBIETEN IN GUJARAT)

-

-

T. S. Maxwell

MAP OF

REGION 1 (RAJASTHAN AND N. GVJARAT):

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

KEY:

- 1./2. ARTHUNA
Temple site
3. DUNGARPUR
State Museum
4. AHAR
State Museum
- 5./6./7. EKALINGJI
Mira temple
- 8./9./10. NAGDA
Sāsbāhu temple
- 11./12. CITTAURGADH
State Museum
- 13./14. BIJOLIYAM
Mahākāla and Uṇḍeśvara temples
15. KOTA
State Museum
16. JHALAVADH
State Museum
17. CANDRAVATI
Southern Viṣṇu shrine
- 18./19. AJMER
State (Rajputana) Museum
- 20./21./22. NILKAṆṬH

- Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple
23. NAND
 Dev Nārāyaṇ temple
24. JATGARH
 Fort temple
25. BHARATPUR
 State Museum
26. SAMALAJI (Gujarat)
 Kalasi chokra ni Ma temple
27. KATHLAL (Gujarat)
 Hochschule, Kathlal
- ^ = Architecture/iconographic programme 400-1200

SKULPTUREN DES Vaikuṇṭha- / Viśvarūpa -TYPUS IN REGION

1. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: 87,63 x 50,80

urspr. 20 Hande

In situ, Arthuna; ASI-Nr.63

1.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-beaded Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa. The side-heads are those of Śiva Bhairava (r.) and Brahmā (1.). The Garuḍa figure is anthropomorphic with a snake around the neck. The Viṣṇu figure was originally 20-armed; the only remaining attribute is śaṅkha (damaged) in the front left hand. The uppermost hands on either side hold miniature images of Brahmā (r.) and Śiva (1.). Quiver of arrows behind right shoulder. Ear-overlap

used.

1.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

Viṣṇu augmented by the addition of the faces and images of ŚIVA and BRAHMĀ (commonly Hariharapitāmaha or Dattātreya, but with far more than the iconographically required 6 arms); this sculpture seems to be conceptually related to the 20-armed Viśvarūpa concept in its multiple identity and originally large number of attributes, but without the avatāra faces.

Nr. 1: Arthuna

ASI-63

2. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: 91,45 x 58,42

urspr. 12 Hande

In situ, Arthuna; ASI-Nr.39

2.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on anthropomorphic Garuḍa. The Viṣṇu figure has siṃha (r.) and varāha (1.) side-heads; originally 12-armed; the only remaining attribute is cakra in uppermost left hand. Small figure of Brahmā above the cakra. Ear-overlap used.

2.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

an augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha, akin to ANANTA

(Aparājitaṛcchā 219.33-37).

3. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṢU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: 71,12 x 40,64

urspr. 20 Hande

aus Pith, Dungarpur-Distrikt

Government Museum, Dungarpur

3.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed ViṣṢu seated on anthropomorphic GaruḌa. The ViṣṢu figure has side-heads which are theriomorphic but too narrowly depicted for visual identification; originally 20-armed; 4 attributes remain, viz. Kheṭaka top left, hand drawing arrow from quiver top right, akṣamālā on varada-mudrā bottom right, śaṅkha (broken) bottom left. Ear-overlap used.

3.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

an augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha, probably Viśvarūpa. (Aparājitapṛcchā 219.26-32, cp. Rūpamaṅḍana 3.55-57, cp. Agnipurāṇa 49.21-23).

4. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṢU

>

Stein: 74.93 x 47,00

urspr. 14 Hande

aus Gangodbheda Kund, Ahar

State Museum, Ahar; Inv.-Nr.1/4

4.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu with siṃha (r.) and varāha (1.) side-heads; 14 hands:-

śaṅkuśa	kheṭaka
cakra	gadā
śdanta/śṅgī	śaṅkha
bāṇa	-?-
khaḍga	bījapūraka
varadamudrā	kamaṇḍalu
jñāna -/	1.h. supports r.h.
vyākhyānamudrā	

Independent āyudhapuruṣas on plinth: Śaṅkhapuruṣa (r.), Cakrapuruṣa (1.). The side-heads of Viṣṇu are siṃha (r.) and varāha (1.). rendered in flat relief and partly concealed by cakra and gadā; the snouts of the avatāra-heads touch the back of the cakra and kheṭaka. The double-handed teaching mudrā (?yogamudrā, APRP 219.40) in front of the body is of interest; the concept of three-headed teaching Viṣṇu as guru/communicator of vaiṣṇavī vidyā probably originated in Pāṇcarātra images in Kashmir, and it is perpetuated into the 12th century or later in the Rajasthan/Gujarat area (cf. Pal, Indian Sculpture 2, Los Angeles/Berkeley 1988: p.56, no.56, "A Cosmic Form of Vishnu"). All heads crowned. Polished marble.

4.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

an augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha, between ANANTA and TRAILOKYAMOHAṆA (cf. Aparājitapṛcchā 219.33-41).

Nr. 4: Ahar (Museum)

aus Gangodbheda Kund
Ahar-1/4

5. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

stein: ---- x ----

8 Hande

In situ, 'Mira'-Tempel, Eklingji: Nordbhadra

5.1 DESCRIPTION:

Measurement and photography prohibited. Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on flying anthropomorphic Garuḍa. Viṣṇu with śiṃha (r.) and varāha (l.)

side-heads. Tall kirīṭmukunta. 8 arms:--

khadga	kheṭaka
gadā	śaṅkha
2xbāṇa	----
vajra	----

5.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

a form of Vaikuṅṭha (cp. Aparājitapṛcchā 219.24-27).

6.DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: ---- x ----12

12 Hande

In situ, 'Mira'-Tempel, Eklingji: Ostbhadra

6.1DESCRIPTION:

Measurement and photography prohibited. Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on flying anthropomorphic Garuḍa. Tall kirīṭa. 12 arms:--

khadga	khetaka
gadā	śankha
vajra	daṇḍa
padma(?)	pāśa
cakra	padma (?)
varadamudrā	kamaṇḍalu

6.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

An augmented form of Vaikuṇṭha, akin to ANANTA

(Aparājitapṛchhā 219.33-37).

7.DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: ---- x ----

urspr. 16 Hande

In situ, 'Mira'-Tempel, Eklingji: Siidbhadra

7.1DESCRIPTION:

Measurement and photography prohibited. Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on

flying anthropomorphic Garuḍa. Tall kirīṭa 16 arms:--

cakra sarpa/pāśa(?)

gadā padma(?)

pustaka(?) śaṅkha

2xbāṇa dhanus

vajra sruk(?)

---- ----

varadamudrā

w.(?)daṇḍa kamaṇḍalu

vitarkamudrā resting on l.h. palm.

7.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

an augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha, akin to TRAILOKYAMOHANA

(cp. Aparājitapṛchhā 219.38-41).

7.3REMARK:

These 3 images (#5, #6, #7) as a group appear to correspond to the three icon-types described in Aparājjitapṛchhā 219.28-41, viz. Vaikuṅṭha. ANANTA, and TRAILOKYAMOHAṆA (the latter two being augmented forms of Vaikuṅṭha).

8.DREIKBPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 55,88 x 35,56

urspr. 10 Hande

In situ, sās̄bāhu-Tempel, Nagda: Anataralawand, Sudeite, Mitte

8.1DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on anthropomorphic Garuḍa under a karimakara-toraṇa between pilasters flanked by elephants and vyālas. Garuḍa appears in flying posture facing left, left leg broken; a diminutive figure appears to each side on the base. Viṣṇu has tall kirīṭa and downward sloping side-faces, lion on the right, boar on the left, overlapped by swordblade and noose. One right hand is missing. 10 arms:--

bana	cakra
snile	dhams
musala	pāśa
gadā	kamaṇḍal
khaḍga	śaṅkha

8.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

An augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha, attributed with symbols of Balarāma, Brahmā, Yama.

Nr. 8: Nagda

Sasbahu-Tempel, S

9.DREIKBPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 22,37 x 14,23

8 Hande

In situ, sāsāhu-Tempel, Nagda: Garbhagrhaeingang, Hauptsakha, rechts.

9.1DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu, standing. Side-heads are theriomorphic but indistinguishable from each other. 8 arms:---

---	kheṭaka
abhayamudrā	cakra
khaḍga	dhanus
gadā	śaṅkha

Iconographical context on right sanctum doorframe śākhā, from base upward: 1. female dancer w. 2 musicians / 2. Cakrapuruṣa w. cakra in r.h., leans on gadā / 3. Vaikuṅṭha-form / 4. Narasiṃha, standing, in battle w. Hiraṇyakaśipu / 5. Trivikrama w. Vāmana / 6. Śiva w. Pārvatī, standing.

9.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Vaikuṅṭha associated with the disk, destruction and conquest.

Nr. 9: Nagda

Sabahu-Tempel

Hauptsakha, R.

10.DREIKBPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 24,40 x 14,25

8 Hande

In situ, sās̄bāhu-Tempel, Nagda: Garbhgrhaeingang, Hauptsakha, links

10.1DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu standing. Side-heads are theriomorphic but almost indistinguishable from each other. 8 arms:--

gadā	kheṭaka
khaḍga	----
bāṇa	dhanus
varadamudrā	śaṅkha

Iconographical context on left sanctum doorframe śākhā, from base upward: 1. three dancers / 2. Śaṅkhapuruṣa w. śaṅkha in l.h., leaning on gadā / 3. Vaikuṅṭha-form / 4. Varāha / 5. Gajendramokṣa / Viṣṇu w. Lakṣmī, standing.

10.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Vaikuṅṭha associated with the conch, preservation and stability.

Nr.10: Nagda

Sasbahu-Tempel

Hauptsakha, L.

11.DREIKOPFIGE ASVAYUKHA-GOTTHEIT

Stein: 38 x 3 8

4 Hande (?-beschädigt)

State Museum, Cittautgadh; Inv.-Nr.236,213,313

11.1DESCRIPTION:

In the ASI collection. Relief between round inner and square outer pilasters on a square bhadra-niche slab. Three-headed Viṣṇu, seated as for meditation on a high narrow throne (the "posture debout", and the position of the side-heads, is wrong in the description of R. C. Agrawala, Notes Iconographiques, Arts Asiatiques. 1971: 136).

Large diamond-shaped śrīvatsa in centre of chest. The central face, damaged, was that of a horse, with pointed ears below the crown rim; the siṃha (l.) and varāha (r.) side-heads are in the reverse position from the usual arrangement, as in #15. All three heads are crowned. Only 2 attributes remaining: gadā (l.) and cakra (r.). As originally in #15, the arms overlap the inner pilasters. The original number of arms appears to have been 4; the front two, now broken, were probably lowered over the legs, as in #17 at Candravati, #20 and #21 at Nilakantha (also seated images), and probably held the śaṅkha and kamaṇḍalu in a loose grip.

11.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A seated Vaikuṅṭha type with central horse head.

Nr. 11: Cittaurghadh (Museum)

ASI-236

12.DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 89,54 x 43,81

beschadigt

State Museum, Cittaurgadh

12.1DESCRIPTION:

Severely damaged piece. Three-headed Viṣṇu with siṃha (1.) and varāha

(r.) side-heads, which is the reverse of the usual arrangement. Quiver appears behind right shoulder, adjacent to the snout of the varāha-head. Only 1 attribute remaining: kheṭaka (1.). The front hands were apparently lowered to rest on the heads of the āyudhapuruṣas which flank the main figure. The remains suggest that the image originally had 6 or 8 arms, of which one on the right held the khaḍga (top of blade preserved in front of vidyādhara), and one on the left may have held the dhanus or other stick-like object. At the extremities of the plinth stand a male figure (1.) and a female figure (r.). The image is sculpted on a rectangular slab with originally a vidyādhara in each upper corner.

12.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Vaikuṅṭha.

Nr. 12: Cittaurgadh (Museum)

13.DREIKOPFIGER ASVAMUKHA-GOTT

Stein: ---- x ----

urspr. 4 oder 6 Hande

Mahakala-Tempel, Bijoliam: Sūdwand des Maṇḍapa

13.1DESCRIPTION:

This sculpture is almost certainly not in its original position; it has been recently cemented into the wall, and is situated too high up to be measured. Three-headed god with three animal faces: *aśva* (centre), *siṃha*

(r.), *varāha* (l.). The side-heads appear to have no separate crowns, but to share side-facts of the crown on the central horse head. All attributes and most of left leg lost. On the plinth (r.) stands a small male figure hands joined in *namaskāramudrā*.

13.2PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

An *aśvamukha* form of Śiva³, iconographically (but not in terms of cult) related to the *Vaikunṭha* type.

13.3REPORT:

T. S. Maxwell, the Tricephalous *Vaḍavāmukhi* at Bijoliam, 1.1-2, S.1-4, 10-11, Abb.1-3.

Nr. 12: Bijoliam

Mahakala-Tempel, S.

14.DREIKOPFIGE ASVAMUKHI-GOTTIN

Stein: 66,04 x 40,64

8 Hande

Undesvara-Tempel, Bijolijam: Nordwand des Antarala

14.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed goddess with three animal faces: *aśva* (centre), *siṃha* (r.). *varāha* (1.). The side-heads have separate low crowns. Most attributes lost or damaged; the r. front hand picks a morsel from a *kapāla* held in the 1. front. A flat broken surface above the r. shoulder may have been the prongs of a *trisūla*. On the plinth stand a lion or dog (r.) and a fire (1.). Clearly this figure originally stood in a cult relationship to #13 on the Mahakala temple. A single-headed *aśvamukhī* goddess appears in the southernmost panel on the front roof-level frieze of the *maṇḍapa* of the Mahakala temple, adjacent to the *Mātrkā Vaiṣṇavī*.

14.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

An *aśvamukhī YOGINĪ* such as *TARALĀ* (Shahdol, Dhubela Museum) or *HAYĀNANĀ* (Lokhari), augmented by *Vaiṣṇava* forms; in part iconographically (but not in terms of cult) derived from the *Vaikunṭha* type.

14.3 REPORT

T. S. Maxwell, the Tricephalous *Vaḍavāmukhi* at Bijolijam, 2-3, S.4-13, Abb.4-9.

Nr.14: Bijolijam

Undesvara-Tempel, N.

15. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: 60,96 x 57,15

urspr. 12 oder 14 Hande
aus Shahabad
State Museum. Kota: Inv.-Nr.8/11

15.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa. The position of the side-heads of Viṣṇu, varāha (r.) and siṃha (1.), is a reversal of the usual arrangement. The reversed animal heads are far larger and more strongly characterised than in any comparable sculpture, being represented on a scale greater than that of the central Viṣṇu face in human form. Backslab retains pilaster elements at the sides (the sculpture is a fragment of an entire bhadrā-niche); the arms originally overlapped the framing pilasters. Lower portion of stele is pierced around torso of Viṣṇu (as also #16). Large nimbus with lotus design and enclosed in twisted pearlstring garland. Anthropomorphic Garuḍa lost below chest. Badly damaged, all attributes lost; original number of arms probably 12.

15.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

An augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha.

Nr.15: Kota (Museum)
aus Shahabad
Kota-8/11

16. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: 91,44 x 55,85
8 Hande
State Museum. Jhalawadh; Inv.-Nr.8

16.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on anthropomorphic Garuḍa. R. hand of Garuḍa holds r. foot of Viṣṇu, 1. palm supports Viṣṇu's 1. calf. The side-heads Viṣṇu are those of siṃha (r.) and varāha (1); ear-overlap not used; the figure has 8 arms:--

3xbāṇa	kheṭka
khaḍga	dhanus
gadā	cakra
[abhaya - or jñānamudrā]	śaṅkha.

On plinth (r.) Śaṅkhapuruṣa seated on cushion, (1.) Cakrapuruṣa similarly seated. Top r. and l. corners of stele have 2 vidyādhara (garland bearers) flying inward. This sculpture should be compared with #15, of which is an immediate predecessor.

16.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Vaikuṅṭha.

Nr. 16: Jhalavadh (Museum)

Jhalavadh-8

17. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 38,74 x 33,02

8 Hande

In situ, Candravati bei Jhalrapatan: Nordbhadra des südlichen Nebentempels.

17.1 DESCRIPTION:

The sculpture is damaged (2nd r.h. broken off) and the stone is corroded by fungal growth. Three-headed Viṣṇu seated as for meditation upon a lotus. Viṣṇu has siṃha (r.) and varāha (l.) side-heads. 8 arms:--

gadā	cakra
padma(?)	----
----	dhanus
varadamudrā	śaṅkha
w. akṣamālā	
+ (?)bijapūraka	

Front hands rest near knees. Tasselled cakra appears edge-on. The attribute tentatively identified as dhanus is stick-like but has a cluster of objects, now unidentifiable, at the top. Top of gadā encroaches on siṃha-face, snout of varāha-face is merged with inside edge of cakra. It must be emphasised that the iconography of this image is probably related to the late-Pāśupata / Kālāmukha conversion of the adjacent 7th-century Śītaleśvara temple to a tantric form of Śaivism in the 10th/11th century; this small side-temple represents the rise of a complementary tantric form of Vaiṣṇavism at approximately the same period.

17.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A tantric form of Vaikuṅṭha.

Nr.17: Candravati

S. Nebentempel, N.

18. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU AUF GARUḌA

Stein: 100,33 x 76,00

urspr. 14 Hande

aus Arthuna

State Museum (Rajputana Museum). Ajmer: Inv.-Nr.50

18.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu seated on anthropomorphic crowned Garuḍa with snake around neck. Viṣṇu has śiṃha (r.) and varāha (l.) crowned side-heads, in flat relief. The figure had 14 arms, of which most are broken, so that it is impossible accurately to reconstruct the sequence of the remaining attributes, which are:--

Gadā	cakra
----	----
----	----
----	----
----	kheṭaka
varadamudrā	mudrā [damaged]
w. akṣamālā	
----	dhyānamudrā (supports
	r.h.).

Above the gadā appears the diminutive figure of Brahmā, seated; there is a damaged figure above the cakra. In style and iconography, this figure should be compared with No.1 (also Arthuna).

18.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

An augmented form of Vaikuṅṭha, between ANANTA and TRAILOKYAMOHANA (cf. Aparājitapṛcchā 219.33-41).

Nr.18: Ajmer (Museum)

aus arthuna

Ajmer-50

19. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 82,56 x 53,34

urspr. 20 Hande

aus Tilwada

State Museum (Rajputana Museum), Ajmer; Inv.-Nr.444

19.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed standing Viṣṇu, severely damaged. All 3 heads are human in appearance, and crowned; in this respect, the image may be compared to the Samalaji series in the later phase, though without the populated nimbus (see no.27 at Kathlal). All the hands are lost, as are the legs. There are 20 broken arms. Brahmā remains at top r. corner of stele.

19.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A late version of Viśvarūpa.

Nr.19: ajmer (Museum)

aus Tilwada

Ajmer-444

20. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 94 x 94

8 Hande

In situ, vor dem Nilakantha-Mahadeva-Tempel. Nilkanth; ASI-Nr.508

20.1 DESCRIPTION:

An iconographically very important, but severely eroded and damaged loose sculpture. Three-headed Viṣṇu seated in meditation posture. The side-faces are those of siṃha (r.) and varāha (l.); ear-overlap not used, animal ears distinctly represented. The figure has 8 arms:

Khaḍga	kheṭaka
Padma(?)	gadā
----	----
śaṅkha	cakra.

The śaṅkha and cakra are held very loosely. The siṃha-head is partly obscured by the padma(?); the varāha-head is clear of the gadā. Viṣṇu wears elaborate keyūras, beaded bracelets and a necklace of pendants, a long narrow triple hāra and the yajñopavīta.

The carving below Viṣṇu's feet appears to represent the edge of the lower garment, not a lotus. Beneath this, however, between the lowered śaṅkha and cakra, in the centre of the plinth, is what seems to be a stylised lotus-bud; this is flanked on either side by a kneeling figure upon a small lotus, facing inward; the figure on the left has hands in namaskāramudrā, that on right rests r.h. on its lotus-pedestal and raises the l.h. There

are two more kneeling figures further out from the centre, presumably the Śaṅkha- and Cakrapuruṣas since they merge with these attributes; the probable Śaṅkhapuruṣa (r.) has r.h. on thigh and an indistinct object in raised l.h.; the probable Cakrapuruṣa (l.) holds a long object (?cāmsra) over l. shoulder and raises the r.h. in salute.

Behind probable Śaṅkhapuruṣa, on the stele, is carved what seems to be a snake; there is no corresponding carving on the l. side. The stele behind the main composition is plain and flanked by ringed pilasters; on either side, outside the pilasters, the image is flanked by a rampant leogryph on the forequarters of an elephant. The stone, now superficially grey, is a pink sandstone. The sculpture should be compared to the Viśvarūpa made for the Viṣṇu (now Mātā) temple at Suhania (Simhapaniya), a mile from the Kakan-madh temple, M.P.

20.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Vaiṣṇava in meditation.

Nr.20: Nilakantha
Mahadeva-Tempel
ASI-508

21. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 75,67 x 59,00

8 Hande

In situ, vor dem Nilakantha-Mahadeva-Tempel, Nilkanth: ASI-Nr.693

21.1 DESCRIPTION:

This important sculpture, which should be compared to #20, is severely damaged and

eroded. Three-headed Viṣṇu seated in mediation posture. Viṣṇu has the side-heads of siṃha (r.) and varāha (l.). The tabs of the central, very low kirīṭa extend above the side-heads, which wear minimal crowns. Viṣṇu has 8 arms:--

Khaḍga	kheṭaka
----	gadā
----	dhanus

front hands hang in front of legs, attributes broken.

Viṣṇu wears 3 necklaces (beaded, w. pen-dants, and long triple-strand); ornate keyūras. plain bracelets and anklets. Beneath the legs of Viṣṇu appears the edge of the lower garment and probably the bottom of the vanamālā. Beneath the right knee appears a small figure (broken) holding a stick or cāmara; beneath the left knee, a small figure in flying posture holding a snake in l.h. and raising the r.h. in salute. The snout of the varāha-head runs into the top of the mace; the siṃha-head is complete. The ears of the animal heads are not in evidence.

21.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Vaikuṅṭha in meditation.

Nr.21: Nilakantha
Mahadeva-Tempel
ASI-693

22. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein : 57,16 x 38,00

8 Hande

In situ, vor dem Nilakantha-Mahadeva-Tempel. Nilkanth; ASI-Nr.1427

22.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed Viṣṇu, standing. The animal side-heads, those of *siṃha* (r.) and *varāha* (l.), appear below the tabs of the central *kirīṭa*. Viṣṇu has *trirekha* on the throat, 2 *hāras* (w. pendants and single), and *vanamālā*.

The figure has 8 arms:--

<i>khaḍga</i>	<i>kheṭaka</i>
<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>
<i>3xbāṇa</i>	<i>dhanus</i>
<i>varadamudrā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i> .

w. *akṣamālā*

On the plinth stand *Śaṅkhapuruṣa* (r., below *varadamudrā*) and *Cakrapuruṣa* (l., below *śaṅkha*).

22.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

Basic form of *Vaikunṭha*.

Nr.22: Nilakantha

Mahadeva-Tempel

ASI-1427

23. KULTSAULE

Stein: Hohe 150

16 reliefierte Figuren, 4 an jeder Site

In situ. vor dem Dev Narayan-Tempel, Nand

23.1 DESCRIPTION:

Measurements:

Total exposed height:	150
Circumference at base:	99
Circumference at ledge:	117
Height. base to ledge:	110
Height. ledge to apex:	40
Height, base figure, south:	48
Height, 2nd figure, south:	33
Height, 3rd figure, south:	27
Height. 4th figure. south:	33

A mottled, dark red sandstone pillar with Kuṣāṇa-style reliefs standing in a square earth base faced with stones and called Bhabhūti (Vibhūti) Mātā, consort of Bhaironjī (Śiva-Bhairava) who is represented by three standing stones on an adjacent altar (the goddess Bhabhūti, as Śiva-Śakti, is said to cure diseases of the skin by direct contact between sunset and sunrise.)

According to information given by local people and observations made during the 1989 visits to Nand, the buried section of the pillar consists of a square base, followed by a length of plain round(?) shaft, on the upper part of which appear the visible reliefs.

These represent 4 isolated vertical rows of 3 emanating figures, each row terminating in a separate figure squatting on a ledge at the top. The groups of 3 are to be seen as one type of series, which is vertical; the group of 4 around the ledge are to be seen as another type of series, which is horizontal.

The vertical, emanating groups represent gods (one group is nimbate. And all seem to have held identificatory emblems or to have displayed a mudra with at least one hand). The horizontal group of separate figures has neither hand-held attributes, distinctive mudras, nimbus, nor turban, and so cannot be identified as devas; their one definite feature, deliberately displayed by their squatting posture, is ithyphallicism, while it is precisely that part of the anatomy which is concealed by the method of representing emanation in the case of the gods. There is no point of direct contact between the circle of four squatting figures at the top and the 3 figures below each of them, which overlap each other. There is no lateral connexion between any of the figures. The two groups are quite distinct. The apparent implication of their relative placement and their appearance is that the vertically emanating figures are identified with the vertical shaft, whereas the ithyphallic figures squatting prominently on the ledge are independent of it.

The pillar, an important document of one stage in the development of Hindu multiple iconography, has been described by five authors, most recently by Kreisel (*Die Śiva-Bildwerke der Mathurā-Kunst*, hrsg. van Herbert Hartel, Stuttgart 1986: 207-209, with bibliography and Abb.63a-h) and Maxwell (*Viśvarūpa*, Oxford/New Delhi 1988: 3-16, 33-35, Pls.3-9), who Offer similar interpretations but suggest differing identifications.

The unexplained broken-ended projections noted by Kreisel (1986: 209) appear to be supporting elements beneath emblems held in the hands of the figures adjacent to them; they have no sculpture on their sides, being iconographically of no significance.

The probable chief face of the pillar, having three nimbate figures and usually described as the southern side, is in fact directed roughly southeast (160' from North). As the pillar was erected by the local inhabitants, who make no individual identifications of the gods on the sides, its present orientation is of no significance for determining its original

purpose.

The local people, including the pujari responsible for the pillar and who took part in its discovery and reinstallation, insisted that there are no further sculptures on the portion of the shaft now underground. Close observation of the base, where the level of the earth has receded somewhat, tends to confirm this: the lowest figures do not emanate from other figures lower down, but are represented as incomplete figures, below which the shaft narrows. The remainder of the shaft, according to the villagers who saw it, is about 1 metre in length (making the total height about 250 cm) and plain, with a thickened square portion at the base, on which it could stand without support on level ground; they say that they interred this portion to lend the pillar stability.

23.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

Either a populated ŚIVALIṄGA, as proposed by all writers but one; or a Vaiṣṇava meditational image of the kind described in Pāñcarātra texts as the VIŚĀKHAYŪPA, as proposed by Maxwell.

For a less speculative approach to the identification of the Nand pillar, more comparable archaeological material from Mathura is required.

24. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Marmor: ca. 125 x 60 (wegen Zeremonien nicht vermessen)

4 Hande

Hoftempel, Jaigarh

24.1 DESCRIPTION:

This sculpture is important partly because of its excellent state of preservation, and also because of an iconographical peculiarity, noted first in 1983 and referred to below. It

represents a four-armed, three-headed figure of Viṣṇu standing in ābhaṅga posture, the weight on the right foot with the hip thrown out in an exaggerated manner and the left foot slightly advanced. The rear arms are held away from the body and diagonally downward while the front right hands are lowered to a level with the upper thighs. The rear hands hold, against the two sides of the stele, a bow on the left and a sheaf of arrows, points upward, on the right. A large śaṅkha, not inverted, is held in the lower left hand, point tilted toward the hip. The corresponding right arm is bent outward while the hand is turned inward, palm down, to rest on the grip of the inverted gadā.

The Pace of Viṣṇu is like that of the adjacent Harihara, but both ears have makarakuṇḍalas. From the back of the head, projecting downward parallel to the slope of the shoulders, emerge the profile faces of Varāha on the left and of roaring Narasiṃha on the right. The manner in which these three heads are conjoined is essentially the same as that seen in the 11th-century Solanki marble head of Viṣṇu with Laksmī in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, but the style is decidedly later in the treatment of the faces and crowns.

Below the śaṅkha in the god's lower left hand, on the first step of the plinth, stands the Cakrapuruṣa. On the opposite side stands the Śaṅkhapuruṣa balancing a small conch upright on his left palm at waist level. On the lotus-brackets between the central salient and first steps of the plinth sit two miniature worshipping figures, male on the right and female on the left; their exact identities are not clear at present. The two goddesses on the second steps to left and right may be presumed to represent Śrī Lakṣmī and Puṣṭi or Bhūdevī, the two consorts of the god. At the outer extremities of the plinth, on the third steps, stand Balarāma / Saṅkarṣaṇa on the right side, with a canopy of six cobra heads over his crown, and probably Kṛṣṇa on the left. Immediately above the heads of the goddess and Kṛṣṇa on this side, carved in relief upon the stele, is the unsupported cakra of Viṣṇu, bisected by the bow which is held in front of it; this relief depiction of the disk was apparently necessary because, in a four-armed image holding the bow and arrows, one of the main Vaiṣṇava emblems was bound to be displaced. The Sudarśana cakra being credited with independence of action may account for its being selected as

the detached āyudha. Above the disk, behind the bow and arrows on either side, two bhaktas kneel upon lotuses and pay homage to the god. At the top on either side sit Brahmā on the right and, on the left, Śiva cross-legged on a lotus and holding the trīśūla in his raised right hands, a rearing cobra opposite, with the kamaṇḍalu in the lowered left hand and the right in varadamudrā. The reason why the bow and arrows were represented in the hands of the god in preference to -- rather than in addition to -- the disk and lotus in this four-armed icon is not immediately clear: the same identification of multiheaded Viṣṇu with Rāms was noticed in the iconography of the 10th-century Suhania Viśvarūpa at Gwalior (see Sonderbericht 2.1. (2.) -Gwalior/Suhania, \$6). In this connexion it was observed that the local people refer to this image as "Rām-Hari". The stylistic influence of 10th-century Candella / Kacchavaha sculpture is also evident in the architectural derivation of the structure of the stele.

24.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A late, reduced form of Vaikuṅṭha, deprived of the cakra in favour of the bow and arrows; Rāma as 4-armed Viṣṇu Vaikuṅṭha.

25. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 110 x 70

urspr. 8 Hande

aus Bhusawar

State Museum, Bharatpur; Inv.-Nr. 179/61

25.1 DESCRIPTION:

Three-headed, eight-armed Viṣṇu standing in an exaggerated ābhaṅga posture within a populated architectural framework based on the design of a temple doorframe. The stele is pierced around the body of the main figure and in the nimbus. Viṣṇu has the lion-face on the right and the boar-face on the left. All the hand-held attributes, and the

central face, are lost. The figures on the framework are: 3 nāgas on the central plinth salient, flanked by Śaṅkhapuruṣa and Cakrapuruṣa (r. and l.), Balarāma and Lakṣmī, and Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. The door jambs display a daśātara series, 5 to a side, in left-to-right alternating sequence. Across the architraves are the goat-headed Aṣṭanidhis below the Navagrahas. Brahmā and Śiva are shown seated at the top of the inner śākhās of the doorframe. See Sonderbericht 1.1. (25.)-Bharatpur.

25.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A late form of Viśvarūpa.

26. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 101,50 x 52,90

urspr. 8 Hande

Kalasi chokra ni Ma-Tempel, Visramaghat. Samalaji (Gojarat)

26.1 DESCRIPTION:

Viṣṇu with three crowned human heads, seated on a bedstead above a pair of nāgas flanked by anthropomorphic Garuḍa and Vijaya (r.), and Lakṣmī and Jaya (l.).

Vidyādhara issue from the mouths of the side-heads. Above them and the crowns of Viṣṇu rise four vertical rows of three figures each, consisting of emanations and avatāras. ṛṣis, heroes and edic gods. The sculpture is executed on a slab with a heavy base and a rounded top. Both this image and another from Samalaji (originally in the collection of Nirbhai Desai, Ahmedabad, now in the National Museum, New Delhi) are recently treated in detail by Sara Schastok (*The Śamalāji Sculptures and 6th Century Art in Western India*, Leiden 1985: 18-22) and T. S. Maxwell (*Viśvarūpa*. Oxford/New Delhi 1988: 144-185). [The icon is known to the pujari as Mother of Sixteen Children,

Daughter of Brahma.]

26.2 IDENTIFICATION:

In the absence of any known cult-designation, described by the late Umakant Premanand Shah as Mahā-Viṣṇu. Typologically and in terms of the Bhagavadgītā descriptions, however, this is a form of Viśvarūpa. The image is derived in part, art-historically and conceptually, from images of Brahmā (caturmukha) as demiurge.

27. DREIKOPFIGER VIṢṆU

Stein: 104 x 83,82

urspr. 8 Hande

M. R. Seth High School, Kathlal (Gujarat)

27.1 DESCRIPTION:

Viṣṇu with three crowned human heads, seated (legs broken off at upper thighs); the arms and all attributes are damaged or lost. Only the conch can be distinguished, held in the 2nd left hand. A large semicircular nimbus behind the heads is populated with miniature figures above the level of the shoulders. These consist of a central vertical register of three overlapping figures (all indistinguishable due to damage) on a raised wedge-shaped backing piece; to either side of this originally 4 vertically overlapping pairs were shown in low relief, arranged radially, all of which are too damaged for identification. The proper left side of the nimbus has at some time been cut down and smoothed on a level with the tops of the lower figures. The iconographical conception is that of the Samalaji Viśvarūpas, but the style is considerably later, as can be seen particularly in the treatment of the hair beneath the crown rim and the jewellery.

Dimensions:

Greatest width:	83,82
Greatest height:	104,41
Total depth of sculpture:	33
Thickness of stele:	5 - 6,35 (variable)
Width of central register:	14
Depth of central register:	11,43

27.2 PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION:

A form of Viśvarūpa or MAHĀ-VIṢṆU, based on the Samalaji series.

Nr.27: Kathlal

M.R. Seth High School

**BERICHT UBER SKULPTUREN DES Vaikuṅṭha- UND Viśvarūpa-TYPUS
IN REGION 1 (RAJASTHAN UND ANGRENZENDE GEBIETE IN GUJARAT)**

Chronologische Entwicklung

Aus stilistischen Gründen lassen sich diese 27 Skulpturen chronologisch

folgendermassen anordnen:

2./3.Jh:	23
6./7.Jh.:	26
7./8.Jh.:	27
9.Jh.:	16
9./10. Jh.:	15
10.Jh.:	04 05 06 07 20 21 22
10./11.Jh.:	01 02 12 17 19
11.Jh.:	03 08 09 10 11 13 14 25
11./12.Jh.:	18
12./13.Jh.:	24

Dime ersten chronologischen Ergebnisse lassen, die ikonographische Entwicklung des Viśvarūpa- und des Vaikuṅṭhatypus betreffend, folgende Schlubfolgerungen zu:

#1.

Auf Grund der Steinart und Stils kann festgestellt werden, dab Nr.23 (Kultsäule, Nand)

in der Kuṣāṇazeit in Mathura (Region 2) hergestellt wurde; sie ist höchstwahrscheinlich über die alte Handelsroute entlang der Wüste Thar von Mathura aus über Vairata (Bairat) nach Puskara und Nand am Luni-Fluss in Region 1 exportiert worden.

Die Säule stellt das einzige, in Region 1 noch erhaltene Vorbild für die Darstellungsweise der 7 vertikalen Reihen von jeweils 3 Emanationen am Nimbus des Samalaji-Viśvarūpa (Nr.26) (und der Emanationen des Śiva-Viśvarūpa aus Parel) des 6.Jhs. dar. Als solche ist diese Kultsäule ein wichtiger Beweis für die sehr frühe Entwicklung des Emanationsmotivs, das *sine qua non* der Bildung aller Viśvarūpa-Bildwerke des 6.-9.Jhs., als Schöpfung der Mathura-Werkstätte (Region 2) des 2./3.Jhs., die ihren frühesten Einfluss auf die klassische hinduistische Ikonographie nicht in der Mathura-Umgebung selbst sondern im Süden der Region 1 hatte (#2).

#2.

Im 6.Jh wurde in einem kurzen Zeitraum eine Reihe von Viśvarūpa-Bildwerken in Samalaji am Mesvo-Fluss im nördlichen Gujarat hergestellt⁴. Diese Skulpturen zeigen die früheste noch erhaltene Darstellung der Emanations-symbolik (#1.) in der Gestaltung von Viśvarūpa-Ikonen; darüberhinaus wird die Gesamtkomposition zum ersten Mal hier als eine vertikale, auf Nāgas ruhende Kontinuität repräsentiert. Diese beiden ikonographischen Elemente wurden in späteren Viśvarūpa-Entwicklungen Nordindiens (Region 2) fortgesetzt, wie von der Viśvarūpa-Skulptur aus Deogarh⁵ (Region 2, 7./8.Jh.) gezeigt wird, wobei das in Nordindien auftauchende Emanationsmotiv nicht direkt aus Mathura stammte, sondern über Region 1 (Nand und Samalaji, sowie Mandasor und Parel) übermittelt wurde.

#3.

Zwischen dem 6. und 9. Jahrhundert ist eine einzige Weiterentwicklung des Viśvarūpa-Typus in Region 1 durch eine in Kathlal (Nörd-Gujarat) entdeckte Skulptur⁶ archäologisch nachgewiesen. Es handelt sich um die stark beschädigte Skulptur Nr.27 des 7./8.Jhs., die eine radiale Gestaltung von kleineren Emanationen

zeigt. Bei dieser Version werden die drei Köpfe der Hauptfigur des Viṣṇu immer noch anthropomorph dargestellt. Weitere Fortsetzung des Viśvarūpa-Typus, die der Samalaji-Formullerung verfolgt, ist in Region 1 sowie in Region 2 unbekannt.

#4.

Eine Vaikuṅṭhaform, die mit dem Garuḍavāhana, mit 8 Attributen und als Relief mit 3 der für den Vaikuṅṭhatyp erforderlichen 4 Köpfe versehen ist, scheint sich erst im 9. Jh. in Region 1 (Rajasthan) zu entwickeln. d.h. etwa zeitgenössisch mit der ursprünglichen Entwicklung des königlichen Vaikuṅṭhatypus in Kashmir⁷; guptazeitliche oder nachguptazeitliche Entwicklungen des Vaikuṅṭhatypus des 5.-8. Jhs., die durch Kontakt mit Mathura zu erwarten waren, sind bisher in Region 1 archäologisch nicht nachgewiesen. Ursprung dieses Typus in Region 1 ist daher höchstwahrscheinlich Kashmir selbst.

#5.

Im 9. und 10. Jh. wurden dann die mit mehr als 8 Attributen versehenen Variationen des Vaikuṅṭhatypus entwickelt, d.h. die Formen mit 12 bis 16 Händen; teilweise wird diese Entwicklung im ikonographischen Programm an den drei Wänden eines gut erhaltenen Tempels deutlich dargestellt, nämlich in den drei Hauptbhūdras des 'Mira'-Tempels in Eklingji.

#6.

Eine meditative Form des Vaikuṅṭhatypus mit 8 Attributen ist im 10. Jh. von dem auf Garuḍa thronenden Typus des 9. Jhs. (#4) entwickelt worden.

#7.

Im 10./11. Jh. erscheint eine sitzende, heute wegen Erosion ikonographisch kaum analysierbare Form des dreiköpfigen Viṣṇu als pārsvadevatā an einem tantrisch-

viṣṇuitischen Tempel im Zusammenhang mit der ikonographischen Konversion zum tantrischen Śivaismus eines älteren, nebenstehenden Śiva-tempels.

#8.

Im 10. Jh. entwickeln sich zwei 8-armige, stehende Formen des Vaikuṅṭha-typus als Darstellungen der zerstörerischen und erhaltenden Aspekte des Gottes Viṣṇu; bei alleinstehenden Bildwerken liegt die Differenzierung zwischen den beiden Formen hauptsächlich in der Anordnung der Attribute, aber auch in der Assoziation der Bildwerke an gegenübergestellten Śākhās von Tempelurrahmen mit spezifischen Avatāras und mit den friedlichen Formen der Gottern Śiva oder Viṣṇu.

#9.

Das 11. Jh. sah eine weitere Entwicklung, nämlich die Gestaltung, von männlichen sowie weiblichen Bildwerken des stehenden Vainkuṅṭhtypus mit zentralem Pferdekopf; in den vorhandenen Exemplaren ist die Göttin dieses Typus mit mehr Attributen als die männliche Gottheit versehen, und zwar mit tantrischen Symbolen, die zusammen mit dem Tierkopf eine ikonographische Übertragung aus dem Kontext der Yoginī-Kulte nahelegen konnte. Eine sitzende Vaikuṅṭhaform mit zentralem Pferdekopf als Kultentwicklung der meditierenden Formen des 10./11. Jhs. (#6, #7) ist auch im 11. Jh. entstanden.

#10.

Eines der spätesten Exemplare der Viśvarūpaform, das sich immer noch als Entwicklung des dreiköpfigen Vaikuṅṭhatypus zeigt und das, wie das Exemplar des 10. Jhs. aus Suhania in Madhya Pradesh (Region 2) in einem architektonischen Rahmen dargestellt wird, wurde im 10. Jh. in Khajuraho (Lakṣmaṇ-Tempel, Region 2) und im 11. Jh. in Bhusawar (Region 1) hergestellt.

#11.

Im 11.-12.Jh. erscheint die 20-armige Variation, die mit der Beschreibung des Viśvarūpa im Aparājitapṛcchā (219.28-32) verglichen werden kann und die die spateste Vaikuṅṭhaformentwicklung der mittelalterlichen Plastik dieser rajasthanischen Region darzustellen scheint.

TEIL I.1

REGION 1

SONDERBERICHTE (EINZELBERICHTE)

D:alphasitereports-2/Region1.VK

TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-1

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

Bericht über die Ikonographie, Chronologie und Interpretation
des archaologischen Materials

TEIL I.1

SONDERBERICHTE

ZUR ANALYSE VON IKONOGRAPHIESPEZIFISCHEN
ENTWICKLUNGSPROBLEMEN

T. S. Maxwell

D:alphasitereports-2/Bhu

TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-1

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha- Viśvarūpa

Sonderbericht 1.1.(25)-Bharatpur

THE Viśvarūpa SCULPTURE FROM BHUSAWAR AT BHARATPUR

1. General description

The sculpture (Plate 1) is in the Rajasthan State Government Museum at Bharatpur (179/61: Vaikuṅṭha). The central figure is badly damaged, all the hands, along with most of the hand-held symbols being broken, and the face of the central head having been cut off; figures on the plinth and at the top of the composition have suffered similarly. The entire sculpture stands 110cm high and measures 70cm across the base. The image is sculpted from a single block of dark stone 45cm thick. It was reportedly brought to the Museum from **Bhusawar**, Rajasthan.

2. The central figure

The dominant figure¹ in the icon is male (**A** in **Diagram 1**), standing in an exaggerated ābhaṅga posture with the weight on the left leg. It was originally six- or eight-armed. The body is adorned with a long vanamālā curving around the left upper arms and reaching to below the knees, a short necklace of elongated pendant beads and a long five-strand necklace which curves into the centre of the chest and loops above the abdomen. The yajñopavīta follows the curve of the larger necklace and continues down the torso to disappear beneath the girdle on the left side; the keyūras on the upper arms, like the girdle and its pendant chains which hang down nearly to knee level, are heavy and

ornate. The waistband of the lower garment is indicated by a double line around the hips above the girdle, its hem by a single line incised across the knees.

From the left side of the central face projects the head of the Varāha (B), from the right that of Narasiṃha (C), both damaged. Despite the shape of the remains of the central face² it does not, on close inspection, fully justify a conclusion that it was originally that of a horse, although other evidence (Bijoliyam³) proves that such images existed. The impression may be gained from photographs that the profile of the broken head was equine, since the lower part appears to project in a manner incompatible with human physiognomy. This is a trick of the light. When studied at first hand, the neck -- bearing the *trirekha* -- and the broken profile including the jawline are seen to be quite in keeping with the expected shape of a human head which has been cut away vertically across the chin and mouth, and then at a sloping upward angle to the back of the skull.

Moreover, there are remains of lobes and pendant ear-ornaments beside the back of the jaw on either side (Pls. 3, 4), where the ears of a horse could not conceivably appear; comparison with the horse-headed figures at Bijoliyam indicates that no ear-pendant is, or could be, represented in this position on contemporary sculptures of figures having equine faces. The technique used at Bijollyam to represent a horse head on a human frame was to show the horse's jaw lowered on to the upper chest, thereby completely covering the throat; in the Bharatpur Viśvarūpa, the throat is unmarked, and was clearly never covered by an overhanging equine jaw. The base of a pierced human earlobe can, in fact, clearly be seen on the right side of the jaw of the Bharatpur figure. I therefore conclude that the main figure originally possessed the three faces typical of many icons of the so-called 'Vaikuṅṭha' type⁴, namely Nṛsiṃha-Viṣṇu-Varāha.

3. The structure of the framework

The design of the framework (Diagram 2) within which the central deity is presented has points of similarity with the structure surrounding the Gwalior Viśvarūpa⁵ and the Mandi Viśvarūpa⁶.

The plinth⁷ consists of a salient centre panel with three receding angle⁸, like three steps of a stairway turned on its side, to left and right. The central salient⁹ supports the main figure; the first angles on either side support the two āyudhapuruṣas; the second angles form the bases of two other plinth figure and of two false pillars which flank the main figure; and the third angles support a further two plinth figures in addition to two carved vertical panels which engage with the pillars on the outside, forming the margins of the whole composition.

The projecting centrepiece serves to make the central figure stand out from its background. The first angles ensure that the weapon-personifications stand beside the main image, at its feet. The two square pilaster¹⁰ based on the second angles are divided into three by two horizontal bands¹¹, the lowest of which are vertically incised, creating the impression that they are meant to represent cords; the upper two bands are damaged. The square capitals of these pilasters are incised with upward-radiating lines, perhaps in imitation of fan-palm leaves. The top third of the left-hand pilaster and its capital are noticeably out of true, a defect which may originally have been concealed by the large object held in one of the upper left hands of the god, the ruined stump of which remains where it was carved out of the backslab between the top third of the pillar and the nimbus. A seated deity is represented on a rectangular slab at the top of each pilaster.

The area around the main image, from the surface of the plinth up to the god's shoulders¹² and outward from his sides to the inner edge of pilasters, is pierced, as are the interstices between the circle surrounding the lotus-halo and the tips of its petals, and between the serrations of the second circle of the nimbus¹³. This latter feature was probably intended to create the impression of rays emanating from the lotus-halo as part of the effulgence of the god (*prabhāmaṇḍala*). Outside the pierced serrated ring is a plain circular band, and the outermost rim of the nimbus is carved with a repeated leaf design. Running parallel to pilasters on their inner side, and touching the circumference of the halo, are two plain vertical surfaces; these were the surfaces from which multiple arms and hand-held symbols of the god were sculpted, and the plain background areas

were left as anchor-blocks to bear the forward of this articulated mass, behind which they would have been largely concealed.

Between the capitals of the two pilasters is a plain horizontal band, touching the penultimate ring of the halo and overlapping its foliate rim. This band forms the base of the lower of the two horizontal friezes¹⁴ containing minor figures. In the two angles formed by this band, the inner edges of the two plain vertical surfaces just described and the curve of the halo, are two tilted, lion-like gargoyle faces of the type generally known in temple architecture as *kīrttimukha*.

A marginal vertical surface projects from the outer edge of each of the two pillars; upon each surface are carved, one above the other, five small figures or scenes¹⁵, each supported upon a lotus with a triple stalk. The lotuses are made to appear as if growing from the surface of the outer śākhā of the doorframe.

3.1 Iconographic structure as architecture

The theme of the frame is thus a consistently architectural one¹⁶, showing the deity enshrined upon a heavy plinth, between pillars with a double architrave. As at Suhania, in the design of the Viśvarūpa image now in the Gwalior Museum, the intention here was to represent the god standing in a temple doorway. The form of this doorway, consisting of a plain jamb or śākhā flanked by a stambhasākhā and a rūpaśākhā, is reconstructed in Diagram 2. Although the design of the image was thus clearly conceived and organised, the abruptness of the flat top tends to compress an already crowded and heavy composition; there is no evidence of breakage or jointing to suggest that there was originally a curved or sloping finial to the stele, which was therefore designed for insertion into a rectangular wall niche.

4. Figures on the plinth / threshold

4.1 Figures of the doorstep

The top half of the central salient of the plinth (that is, the doorstep before the threshold, to follow the doorframe analogy) is carved with a seated group of three semi-anthropomorphic nāgas¹⁷, the middle figure facing forward and the two on either side facing the centre (H). All three have multiple cobra-hoods behind their heads. The central figure does not, as in several other groups of three placed beneath the feet of Viśvarūpa icons, represent the Earth-goddess; a group of three nāgas already occurs on the centre of the plinth of the Viśvarūpa at Banaras Hindu University¹⁸. Between them rise stalks which support the abbreviated, flat-topped lotus¹⁹ upon which the god stands, a little elevated above the level of the plinth.

4.2 Base-figures of the plain śākhā

On the first "step" of the plinth to the immediate left of the main image stands a male figure²⁰ with the cakra -- evidently the only weapon remaining of the hand-held attributes of the god -- resting upon its head; and the same figure also holds a cakra in the crook of his right arm (I). The left arm of this Cakrapuruṣa is broken off, but it may originally have rested upon the figure (J) kneeling in front of him on a lotus, in an attitude similar to that in front of the disk-personification in the Gwalior Viśvarūpa²¹. In the corresponding position to the right of the god stands another male figure²² -- where one would expect to find the mace-goddess, Gadādevī -- holding a śaṅkha in the left hand, the right hand being lost (K). A kneeling figure (L) also appears upon a lotus in front of this Śaṅkhapuruṣa²³. One presumes from this evidence that the two foremost arms of the god were lowered, the hands resting upon the heads of these two standing āyudhapuruṣas and holding the disk and conch in the left and right hands respectively.

Although the two kneeling figures associated with the weapon- personifications are badly damaged, that on the right (L) appears to have held a long object at a near-vertical slope against its left shoulder; this and the posture of the figure suggest that it may have represented a vīṇā-player. It is thus possible that the kneeling figures on the

plinth of this icon of the Gwalior Viśvarūpa represented musicians. But the degree of damage sustained by these figures in both sculptures makes identification uncertain.

4.3 Base-figures of the stambhaśākhā

Upon the second step of the plinth, at the base of the stambhaśākhā on the left, stands a female figure (M) of which the face, hands and front of the left leg are missing. It probably represents Lakṣmī, chief consort of Viṣṇu, in the conventional location to the left of the god. A male figure (N) stands in the corresponding space on the right, his right arm raised aloft and what appears to be a damaged cluster of snake-heads above his own head; this would identify him as Saṅkarṣaṇa / Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, but again damage makes this uncertain.

4.4 Base-figures of the rūpaśākhā

The last plinth figure on the left (O) is a standing male, crowned, with a lotus held at chest level in his right hand and the left resting against his thigh. His counterpart on the far right (P) is another male figure, the top of the head broken but the remains elongated, suggesting the original presence of a crown. He wears what appears to be a breastplate, undecorated, and carries in his two hands a spear or arrow, or possibly the kṛīḍā-yaṣṭi of Kṛṣṇa, point downward, transversely across his body.

4.5

There are eleven minor figures at the foot of the sculpture (H to P). Eight of these (I to P) are conceived as threshold-figures, each associated with the base of a jamb of the door; the central three, a group of nāgas (H), are to be seen as doorstep-figures, providing the aquatic base for the doorstep-lotus which is a feature of actual temple doorways.

5. Figures of the vertical registers / śākhās

5.1 Figures on the stambhaśākhā

Seated on the capital of the proper right-hand pilaster is a pot-bellied figure with three human heads (G). Although the hand-held symbols are lost, there can be no doubt that this represents Brahmā. On the opposite capital is another damaged figure (F), seated and originally four-armed; the shape of the object held vertically in the right hand, although broken, appears from its outline to have been the trident of Śiva. These two gods, here as in many mediaeval sculptures of similar intention, complement the central figure of Viṣṇu and complete the leading triad of the male pantheon.

They are represented upon rectangular blocks erected on the capitals of the pilasters, Śiva above Lakṣmī (M) and Brahmā above Balarāma (N), in upward continuation of the stambhaśākhā; it is therefore problematical as to whether they were conceived primarily as deities of the door-jambs or of the architrave, since in their elevated position they flank the group gods of the lintel. The answer seems to be that in terms of design-structure they belong to the śākhās, like the avatāra-series (5.2); while in terms of iconographical placement they are gods of the lintel (6.1-2). Placed at on abacus-like blocks at points of transition between the vertical series of direct incarnations and horizontal registers of semi-autonomous group deities, the intention might have been to depict them as sharing the burden of creation with the central Viṣṇu.

5.2 Figures on the rūpaśākhā

The outer margins of the stele (the rūpaśākhā of the doorframe design) contain two vertical sets of five figures each; these appear to represent a conventional decade of Vaiṣṇava avatāras, which has to be read simultaneously in ascending order and from left to right of the observer. The figures are listed here as they occur from the base upward, first on the proper right margin (observer's left) and then on the proper left, with their place in the intentional sequence given in parentheses.

5.2.1 Figures of the proper right śākhā

R1.(1) Matsya, depicted entirely as fish; above its head appears a human face with the hair drawn straight back, probably representing the ṛṣi Manu, survivor of the Deluge, being rescued by the fish he fostered.

R2.(3) Varāha, represented in characteristic form and posture, animal-headed, striding upward with the rescued Earth-goddess seated upon his raised left elbow (karpūra-sthā).

R3.(5) Vāmana, with the right arm broken off, is nevertheless identifiable by the unmistakable squat, rotund figure and a parasol (damaged) held up in his left hand. It may be noted that his opposite number, Paraśurāma, is also depicted as rather plump individual.

R4.(7) Rāma, holding a bow in his left hand and a raised sword in his right.

R5.(9) Hayagrīva, standing, horse-headed, with a human body.

5.2.2 Figures of the proper left śākhā

L1.(2) Kūrma, in the form of a representational scene showing the churning of the ocean: two male figures, representatives of the devas and asuras, stand facing each other, pulling on the rope (the serpent Vasuki) wound around the churning-stick (Mandara) which is inserted into a pot (the milk-ocean) which rests upon a small image of the turtle incarnation.

L2.(4) Narasiṃha, depicted in his conventional seated, animal-headed form, disembowelling Hiranyakaśipu stretched across his knees.

L3.(6) Paraśurāma, who appears as a standing, dwarfish figure, holding the long-hafted axe in his right hand.

L4.(8) Balarāma (Saṅkarśaṇa), whose identification is quite certain here by virtue of the plough.

L5.(10) The figure at the top of this margin appears to have been Kalkin on the horse²⁴.

6. Figures within the double architrave

6.1 Figures of the lower lintel

There is a row of eight apparently identical figures (D), seated on cushions or stools, and with what appears to be a pot under the left knee, in the lower of the two friezes which are based on the top of the two pillar capitals supporting Brahmā and Śiva. Each of these figures holds a pot in the left hand, resting upon the left knee, and raises its right hand in the *abhayamudrā*. Their bodies are anthropomorphic and male, while the heads are those of bulls or goats, with horns pointing straight up and ears extended in line horizontally, the tips touching those of the figures adjacent on either side²⁵. In view of their number and attributes, it may be suggested that these represent the Eight Treasures (*aṣṭa-nidhis*)

6.2 Figures of the upper lintel

A plain band separates this frieze from the one above, which contains a group of nine. Their individual features are indistinct due to the damage sustained by the top of the stele in general, but Sūrya can be distinguished as the first figure at the right-hand end, standing with a lotus in each hand. At the opposite end, the massive head of Rahu appears, and the diminutive ninth figure is carved in the space above this disembodied head. The definite identifications of the Sun-god and the Eclipser in an ennead make a Navagraha identification of this dominant frieze certain. The Grahas and the Nidhis between them determine mortal destiny, and this must contribute to any full interpretation of the sculpture.

7. Iconographical schema

On the basis of this analysis, the following total schema can be tentatively drawn up

Hayagrīva		Navagrahas				Kalkin
	Brahmā		Śiva			
Rāma		Aṣṭanidhis				Balarāma
Vāmana	siṃha- mukha		V A I K U N T H A	varaha-mukha		Paraśurāma
varāha						Nṛsiṃha
Matsya						Kūrma
kṛṣṇa	Balarāma	Śaṅkhapuruṣa kneeling figure	padma 3 Nāgas	Cakrapuruṣa kneeling figure	Lakṣmī	Rāma

8. Interpretation and Chronology

The sculpture represents Viṣṇu as Viśvarūpa. The iconographical method employed, in part a numerical progression, is to surround seven figures representing Visnu (a central figure of the 'Vaikuṅṭha' type flanked by six threshold-figures) with the eight treasures(?), the nine planets, and the ten incarnations, on an architecturally conceived structure modelled on a temple doorframe. The result is a depiction of the god standing in the doorway of his temple. This in turn may indicate an architectural conception of the universe as founded in n3gas (doorstep figures as aquatic symbols of pralaya), protected by emanations of Viṣṇu (threshold deities as dvārapālas), maintained jointly with Viṣṇu by Brahms and Śiva- (supporting stambhaśākhā figures at the lintel ends), regulated by periodic incarnations of Viṣṇu (his involvement with humanity through a padmavallī of avatāras in the bāhyaśākhā enframing the doorway), and governed by the planets and treasures (Viṣṇu's involvement with individuals through the gods of destiny and fortune on the lintel). The

sight of the god (darśana) through the doorway of his temple or sanctum is thus regarded as the revelation of Viṣṇu at the heart of the functioning universe.

Duplication of the Man-Lion and Boar incarnations, and seemingly of Rāma and Balarāma also, suggests a late phase in the development of the iconographic type. A further stylistic indicator of this is the posture of the main figure, which is an exaggerated version of the abhaṅga stance of the Viśvarūpa from Suhania at Gwalior, where the god is also conceived as standing in the doorway of his temple.

The stylistic evidence, in addition to the iconographic and structural similarities to the Viśvarūpa from Suhania at Gwalior (10th century), makes a date in the 11th century virtually conclusive. The iconographic formula for this type of square-topped, architecturally framed Viśvarūpa icon appears to have spread westwards from northern Madhya Pradesh during the tenth century. Whether the prolific Suhania workshops were the point of origin of this type, as seems likely at the moment, can be decided definitely only after the full developmental connexion between the Kannauj and Suhania Viśvarūpas has been brought to light. The present state of research suggests there was a chain of iconographic development, lasting some 400 years, which began with the introduction of a plain horizontal dividing bar in the upper friezes of sculptures of the Kannauj type in the eighth century²⁶, as at Tumain²⁷, and which ended further west in the eleventh, as at Bhusawar.

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Disk: alphasttereporta-1/Bi

TSM 1989/90

DFG-Az.: Ma 1069/3-1

Kennwort: VAIKUNTH-VISVARUPA

Sonderbericht 1.1.(13./14.)-Bijoliam

THE TRICEPHALOUS VAḌAVĀMUKHĪ AT BIJOLIYAM:

a combined Yoginī and Śakti form of Pārvatī-Durgā

T. S. Maxwell

Introduction

On the external wall surfaces of two adjacent temples at Bijoliam, Rajasthan, are two images which have not yet been interpreted. The central head in each case is that of a horse. This is flanked by the profile heads of the Vaiṣṇava avatāras Nṛsiṃha and Varāha, as they appear in images of the Vaikuṅṭha type. One image, affixed to the Mahākāla temple, represents a male deity; the other, on the Uṅḍeśvara temple, depicts a goddess. Both sculptures stand approximately 66cm high on plinths 40cm wide. In previous discussions, they have been treated as separate images, without regard to the context of the iconographic programmes in which they occur. Neither the history of their form nor their religious significance- has been explained. Preliminary descriptions have been published by Banerji¹, Desai² and Agrawala³.

1. The Mahākāla temple sculpture

1.1 Iconographical description

The sculpture, a high relief on a rectangular slab, is cemented into the south wall of the Mahākāla temple porch (Plate 1). This is clearly not its original position, and the Mahākāla, dateable to the 11th/12th century AD, is certainly not its original temple. The central and proper left heads of the image are badly damaged. Nevertheless, there is sufficient detail remaining to enable one to identify the central head as having been that of a horse: the pricked ears are placed well forward and there is some fine carving at the top of the head and on the brow, representing the mane. The features of the left side-head (Plate 3) are obliterated, but clearly depicted the Varāha, the top being smooth and curved downward, as in the better preserved boar-head of the Uṇḍeśvara temple image. Protruding from the proper right side is the head of a lion, its fangs bared (Plate 2).

The three-headed god stands in an ābhaṅga posture with the weight on the right foot (Plate 1). The clothing and body ornaments are almost identical to those of the Uṇḍeśvara temple goddess. The image appears to have had four arms; all the hands and attributes are broken off. To the proper right of this image, a diminutive male figure stands upon the base, its hands in namaskāramudrā. There is no counterpart on the left.

1.2 Iconographic sources

In its damaged state, the only iconographically treatable feature of the image is the unusual combination of heads. This particular combination of Vaiṣṇava forms has a known iconographical source in the late 6th or early 7th century Viśvarūpa sculptures from Samalaji in northern Gujarat. These images represent seated Viṣṇu having three human heads and projecting multiple aspects of himself upward to form a large populated prabhāmaṇḍala. The best preserved is installed in a small shrine on the bank of the Mesvo River at Samalaji, where it is worshipped today as the daughter of Brahmā, called Kalasi Chokra ni Ma. Among the many figures clustered above the heads of Viṣṇu, the first to emerge from the central head of the god, rising vertically

from his crown, is Hayagrīva. From the left shoulder of this horse-headed emanation rises, at an angle of forty-five degrees, the Varāha incarnation, while from the corresponding point on his right side rises Narasiṃha. The Boar and Man-Lion thus appear as second projections from Visnu, their immediate source being Hayagsva, the first emanation. The further emanatory forms appear above and around this primary triad.

The art historical process by which these svatāra-projections became abbreviated to appear as mere heads on either side of the central face, as in the Mahākāla temple sculpture at Bijolijam, is not recorded in the known archaeological remains of Western India. In the Mathura region, however, just such a process had taken place during the Kuṣāṇa period, perhaps 350 years before the Samalaji sculpture and as much as 700 years earlier than the Mahākāla temple image. The Kuṣāṇa precedent consisted of what were almost certainly early Pāñcarātra sculptures representing the evolutionary axis or Viśākhayūpa taking the form of a populated column (Nand), ramifying figures very like the Samalaji primary triad but representing the Caturvyūha and its hexadic Śakti counterpart (Mathura), followed by the first three-headed sculptures of such gods as Brahmā (Mathura) and Śiva (Rang Mahal)⁴. As two of the sculptures in this process were discovered in what is now Rajasthan, one has to assume that both the emanatory or ramifying forms (Samalaji) and the abbreviated forms (Bijolijam) were created in Western India, without local intermediate phases of development, on the basis of these Kuṣāṇa and late- Kuṣāṇa precedents. Elsewhere in India, Hayagrīva is not depicted as the primary projection of Viśvarūpa, although he often appears among the figures in the vertical register above the central head of Viṣṇu. In the Kannauj sculptures, he is the apical figure, replacing Śiva in the Samalaji icon; the Viśvarūpa image at Deogarh represents him as the second in the vertical chain of emanations. Only in Western India at Samalaji does he appear' as the first to spring from Viṣṇu and as source of the two incarnations, Man-Lion and Boar.

The art historical source of this 11th-century image at Bijolijam, original cult context, are thus known, but the identity of the god is not clear. It could be interpreted, in accordance

with the art historical evidence, as a primary emanation of Viṣṇu which projects the Narasiṃha and Varāha incarnations as secondary forms, but this is not compatible with the exclusively Śaiva character of the Bijoliam temple complex. However, the female image on the neighbouring Uṇḍeśvara temple brings the mythological and religious background into sharper focus.

2. The Uṇḍeśvara temple sculpture

2.1 Iconographical description

Discussions of the identity of this goddess (Plate 4) have centred exclusively on the heads, with the result that one of the most important aspects of the image has been overlooked, namely that it is syncretistic. If the long vanamālā and the combination of heads are clearly Vaiṣṇava symbols, the rest of the iconography which remains undamaged is, equally clearly, Śaiva.

The goddess stands in a slight ābhaṅga posture with the weight on the left foot, the right knee being slightly bent. The three heads are very similar to those originally appearing on the male image on the Mahākāla temple (compare Plates 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). An object was originally held on either side of the three heads; these are now damaged, but the broken surface above the rear right hand seems to have been a triśūla. Upon the palm of her left front hand she holds a shallow kapāla from which she is depicted in the act of picking something with the fingers of the right. The gesture clearly shows that she is eating something from the skull-bowl. Below, to the right of her feet, stands a lion, its back to her and its left forepaw raised, but turning its head back to look up at the goddess with a bulging eye, its fangs bared, as if attracted by its mistress's business with the bowl and expecting a morsel from it. The second right hand of the goddess, over which is looped an akṣamālā, is extended downward toward the animal, in the boon-granting gesture (varadamudrā) which appears to promise the animal its share from the bowl. On the opposite side of the plinth a fire is shown in the conventional form of tongues of flame rising from a brazier. All these details are very clearly represented.

2.2 The triple identity of the goddess

2.2.1 The two lions

There is a marked similarity between the face of the lion at the feet of the goddess and that of her lion side-head. This, appearing in conjunction with the boar side-head which is its counterpart on the left, must represent the female form of the Narasiṃha avatāra of Viṣṇu; the heads of these two animals appear on either side of the central Vāsudeva face as the emanating incarnations -- Narasiṃha and Varāha -- of Viṣṇu in the icon-type known generally as 'Vaikuṅṭha'. The lion on the base of the stele, however, is fully theriomorphic and so by definition can have no connexion with the Narasiṃha side-head. Standing at her feet, the animal must be the vāhana of the goddess. The lion is the conveyance and fighting ally of one of the earliest syncretistic Hindu icons, namely the goddess Durgā as Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī, Destroyer of the Buffalo Demon. The lion was given to Durgā by Himavān when she was created out of the wrath of all the gods for the destruction of the demon, as recounted in the Devīmāhātmya (2.10-31). The text, in which the avenging goddess is known by names that are mainly Vaiṣṇava (Viṣṇuśakti, Nārāyaṇī etc.), yields further information.

2.2.2 The lion and the boar

Vārahī and Nārasīṃhī are among the Śaktis who issue from the bodies of the gods to assist the goddess in the battle against the asura army of Śumbha and Niśumbha in the third myth contained in the Devīmāhātmya. The sequence of the emanation of three of the Śaktis is in this passage (8.12-21) seems to point to their source being the three-headed Viṣṇu -concept represented in the 5th-century sculpture of Mathura:

The *Śaktis* of Brahmā, Īśa (Śiva), Viṣṇu and Indra, issuing from their bodies, in their forms went to Caṇḍikā (the form of the Goddess in this particular myth) ... Vaiṣṇavī arrived, then ... the Śakti of Hari (Viṣṇu) in his Yajña-Varāha form also arrived there, having a Varāha body ... Nārasīṃhī reached there, having the form of Nṛsiṃha . . .

(8.18-20)

The Devīmāhātmya, which has been dated to about 550 AD⁵, thus yields some valuable mythological concepts with regard to the identity of the Unḍeśvara temple goddess. Firstly, the Vaiṣṇava-Śaiva syncretism evident in the icon finds a mythological precedent in the syncretistic, but independent, Goddess of the text. Secondly, the female counterparts or Śaktis of the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha avatāras are given a textual basis (and the siṃha-mukha of the image, being identified as the Śakti Nārasimhī, is clearly differentiated from the siṃha-vāhana). Thirdly, the physical conjunction of the Avatāra-Śaktis with the single body of a goddess is explained:

The Goddess said: "I am alone in the world here; who is there other than I? See -- these [Śaktis] are my own powers (vibhūtayaḥ), entering me." Then all those goddesses, Brahmāṇī and so forth, went into the body of the Goddess; Ambikā [one of the many names of the one Goddess] was then one alone. The goddess said: "I stood here, by means of my power (vibhutyā), in many forms; those I have drawn in; I stand alone".

(10.4-8)

There are several points in the text, moreover, at which the Goddess either is an emanation of another figure, or herself projects aspects of her nature; anatomical multiplicity in the iconography is merely a partial correspondence to the dynamics of myth. Finally, after the slaying of the arch-demon, Śumbha, in the third myth of the Devīmāhātmya, the Goddess is praised by the gods who are led by Agni (Vahni as the sacred fire, at 11.2); in their praises, they address her with many epithets, among them Varāha-rūpinī; and in the next stanza speak of her "Man-Lion form" (nṛsiṃha-rūpa).

2.2.3 The fire

It is particularly important to notice that the Goddess in this myth arose from the "body-sheath" (śarīra-kośa) of Pārvatī (it is for this reason that the emanatory Goddess is also

known as Kauśikī. "She-Out-Of-The-Sheath": 5.85,87), daughter of Himavān who added the lion to the weaponry of her transformation. The fire to the left of the Uṇḍeśvara temple goddess is one of the five fires of the pañcāgnitapas of Pārvatī, thus identifying this multiheaded image with three of the independent Śaktis whose corporate identity, through Durgā, is with Pārvatī herself.

2.2.4 The horse

The text of the Devīmāhātmya does not include a horse faced Śakti among the forms of the Goddess. The source of this iconography lies in the identities of the Yoginīs. Certainly there were circular Yoginī temples in western Central India, such as those at Mitauli and Dudhai, both in northern Madhya Pradesh⁶ far closer to Bijoliyam, on the border with Rajasthan, the site of Hinglajgad has yielded many Yoginī sculptures⁷ dateable to the 10th century.

Among the sets of such images from other sites which are inscribed. One from Shahdol in the area of the more famous Bheraghat, with a horse head and seated on a lion, bears an inscription reading "Itarālā"; the name seems to be without classical significance, and the inscriptions themselves are unreliable. A horse headed Yoginī image from the Bheraghat temple itself is named "Erudi"⁸ another at Hirapur⁹, near Bhubanesvar, is not inscribed.

The Agnipurāṇa (52.1-g and 146.18-28) lists sixty-four and sixty-three names, the twentieth and twenty-second being Vaḍavāmukhī ("Mare-faced")¹⁰; Monier-Williams cites the Caturvargacintāmani of Hemādri (late 13th - early 14th century) as giving Vaḍabāmukhī ("Mare-faced") as the name of a Yoginī¹¹; the form Vaḍavāmukhī apparently occurs in the outer 64 compartments of a khecaṛīcakra described in an undated manuscript on Yoginīs entitled Śrī Matottaratantra¹². Both the Kālikāpurāṇa (54.43-44 and 63.37-43) and the Bengali Brhadnandikeśvarapurāṇa give Nārasimhī and Vārāhī¹³ without mentioning a horse faced form. Hayagrīvā, Siṃhamukhī (not Nārasimhī) and Vārāhī all occur in the same list of 64 names in the Skandapurāṇa (45.34-41)¹⁴, suggesting that all three faces of the Bijoliyam goddess

could have represented Yoginīs. The appellation Hayānanā ("Horse-Faced") occurs in the second Agnipurāṇa list in thirty-third position¹⁵, denoting a Yoginī in the company of Vaiṣṇavī, and as a Yoginī-name in Hemādri¹⁶.

The western projection of the maṇḍapa of the Uṇḍeśvara temple has a frieze compartmented figures along the top, above the chādyā (Plate 8). The image at the extreme southern end, adjacent to seated Vaiṣṇavī in conformity with the Agnipurāṇa grouping, represents single-headed Hayagrīvā or Hayānarā (Plate 9); the horse-faced goddess is seated with the gadā in the upper right hand and the cakra in the upper left.

The existing early mediaeval Yoginī statuary from eastern, central, and western North India shows a predilection for animal-headed forms; indeed, at certain sites, such as Lokhari in Uttar Pradesh, they are in the majority¹⁷. An 11th-century iconographical form which incorporates the ancient combination of lion and boar side-heads (begun at Mathura, in a completely different cult context, in the 5th century), with another animal headed figure from the Yoginī context is therefore art-historically unsurprising. In religious terms, the rise of the yoginī iconographies in stone sculpture represents a coalescence of unorthodox (tantric) forms with orthodox (brahmanical) imagery, and insofar as these can ever be separated the Uṇḍeśvara temple goddess is symptomatic of the same tendency in reverse. The reason, for this coalescence at Bijoliyam is suggested below.

3. Identifications and reconstruction

The Bijoliyam goddess is most clearly to be identified as the Śaktis Nārsimhī and Vārāhi emdodied in the mare-faced (hayānanā, vaḍavāmukhī) Yoginī known in inscriptions as Erudi or Itarālā. She is definitely not the mere consort of the unidentified god having the same three heads on the Mahākāla temple; he is, rather, the subordinate male reflex

(Hayagrīva integrated with Nṛsiṃha and Varāha, all issuing from one source in Viṣṇu, and deriving as a group from 6th-century Viśvarūpa iconography) of this triple Śakti.

As to the original placement of this sculpture in an iconographical programme, this question is complicated, as in all similar situations, by the factors of natural decay, wilful destruction, and unrecorded local renovation. The navabhūmi Mahākāla temple, in its architectural style, is certainly younger than the Uṇḍeśvara, belonging to the 12th or 13th century AD. The sculpture of the tricephalous god has been fairly recently cemented into the maṇḍapa wall of the Mahākāla, where it is stylistically out of place. Being a product of the 11th century, and clearly the iconographical counterpart of the goddess on the Uṇḍeśvara temple, it may be suggested that he belongs to one of the two now empty niches opposite each other on the Uṇḍeśvara maṇḍapa (numbers 03 and 23 in the listing of the iconographical programme¹⁸). The stele would most appropriately be restored to niche 03 on the north side, between kevala Narasiṃha and the group of two dikpālas (Yama and Vāyu); the goddess would then be immediately flanked by Śiva Gajāsurasamhāra and an aspect of Brahmā on the west, and by the two mixed forms of Śiva (Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara) on the east. The transformation from male to female deities, begun with Ardhanārīśvara, is continued beyond Kubera and Candraśekhara to the east, with the images of her sisters Cāmuṇḍa and Vaiṣṇavī on the north wall of the antarāla and in the north bhadra of the sanctum.

The wider context for this goddess is provided by the corresponding image in the main bhadra (niche 23) on the south side of the maṇḍapa. This severely damaged sculpture represents the three-headed (intentional catur-mukhi) Śakti Brahmāṇī. She is depicted with the haṃsa-vāhana of Brahmā and, like the horse-faced goddess opposite, with one of the five fires of Pārvaṭī. Brahmāṇī is thus also identified with the Daughter of the Mountain, and hence with her emanation Durgā, the immediate source of all the Śaktis, of whom this Brahmāṇī is one. The empty niche (27) on the south wall of the maṇḍapa would have housed her male counterpart, catur-mukha Brahmā; this specific Brahmā image is lost.

The religious purpose of this complicated iconography on the Uṇḍeśvara temple was to show the transforming power of Devī, that is, of Pārvatī, the Śakti of Śiva to whom the temple is consecrated. The male figure with the horse-head flanked by those of the Man-Lion and the Boar, which I suggest be restored to the niche (03) adjacent to Narasiṃha (02) on the north side, must therefore ultimately be identified with Śiva himself, as the form in which he appears to complement the more powerful transformation of his Śakti whose image (08) is installed in the principal niche.

APPENDIX:

ICONOGRAPHICAL PROGRAMME OF THE UNDESVARA TEMPLE

BIJOLIYAM

(major images at the level of the jaṅghā)

Maṇḍapa, north wall, west to east

01. KĀRTTIKEYA
mayūravāhana
02. NARASIṂHA
03. (blank)
04. YAMA
pāśa, kamaṇḍalu
05. VĀYU
06. GAJĀSURASAMHĀRA
nṛttamūrti, ḍamaru
07. BRAHMĀ
sthānakamūrti, Ekamūkhī, haṃsavāhana

08. // HAKANANA-NARASI@i-VziRABi //
sthānakamūrti, siṃhavarāhaturāṅgāsyā. Kapāla. siṃha, vahni
09. HARIHARA
sthānakamūrti, trisūla. śaṅkha
10. ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA
sthānakamūrti, vṛṣabhavāhana, vahni, trisūla. Padma
11. KUBERA
gadā, gajavāhana
12. CANDRAŚEKHARA
sthānakamūrti, trisūla, sarpa, varadamudrā, kamaṇḍalu

Antarāla, north wall

13. CĀMUṆḌĀ

Vimāna, north bhadra

14. VAIṢṆAVĪ
āsīna, śaṅkha, padma, padma, cakra

Vimāna, east bhadra

15. BRAHMĀ
āsīna

Vimāna, south bhadra

16. VIṢṆU
āsīna, cakra, gadā

Antarāla, south wall

17. CĀMUṆḌĀ
āsīna

Maṇḍapa, south wall, east to west

18. INDRA
Vajra
19. BRAHMĀ
Sruk, padma
20. VIṢṆU
21. VĀMANA
pustaka, chatra
22. // BRAHMĀṆĪ //
haṃsavāhana, vahni
23. (blank)
24. SŪRYA
Kavaca, padma, padma
25. KUMĀRA(?)
kukkuṭa, kamaṇḍalu, varadamudrā
26. BHAIRAVA
Sthānakamūrti, ḍamaru, kheṭaka, khaḍga
27. (blank)
28. BHAIRAVA
nṛttamūrti, kapāla, ḍamaru, khaḍga, mastaka
29. GANAPATI
nṛttamūrti

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DFG-Az.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

Bericht über die Ikonographie, Chronologie und Interpretation
des archaologischen Materials

TEIL II

SKULPTUREN DES Vaikuṅṭha- UND Viśvarūpa-TYPUS

IN REGION 2

(NORWESTLICHES MADHYA PRADESH

MITNGRENZENDEN GEBIETEN IN UTTAR PRADESH)

T. S. Maxwell

MAP OF

**REGION 2 (MADHYA PRADESH WITH NEIGHBOURING PARTS OF UTTAR
PRADESH):**

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

KEY:

28. MATHURA (Uttar Pradesh)
Government Museum
29. SUHANIA (Madhya Pradesh)
Kakanvatū-matha, Mātā kā mandir, Śiva/Hanumān mandir
30. GWALIOR (Madhya Pradesh)
State Museum, Gujari Mahal
31. DEOGARH (Uttar Pradesh)
Varāha temple, Archaeological Survey Site Museum
32. TUMAIN (Madhya Pradesh)
Temple site
33. MANWADI (Uttar Pradesh)
Findspot of Viśvarūpa sculpture now in State Museum, Lucknow
- ^ = Architecture / iconographical programme 400-1200

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TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION

OF THE ELEMENTS

OF Viśvarūpa ICONOGRAPHY

(3rd - 6th CENTURIES):

THE EVIDENCE OF

MATHURA (REGION)

IN RELATION TO NAND AND SAMALAJI (REGION 1)

A. MATHURA and NAND

The following observations were made during a reexamination, in September and October 1989, of the Kuṣāṅga archaeological material at Mathura and Nand which represents multiple figures.

This work was undertaken to establish to what precise degree, aesthetically and iconographically, these sculptures were of significance to the historical development of Viśvarūpa iconography (Antrag an die DFG vom 24.4.1989, 5.5 #2.2.2) through a study of the nature of emanation in early Hindu statuary.

The following 'Rules' are statements of these observations, along with deductions and

interpretations. They are based on the available archaeological evidence, which constitutes a fairly small and damaged corpus of sculpture. The Rules are intended to be flexible and open to modification as new material is discovered.

1. In a Kuṣāṇa-period Hindu image consisting of multiple figures, the component deities are connected to each other as emanations from a single shared source. In the representation of emanation in Kuṣāṇa statuary the following rules can be observed to operate.

-
- 1.1 Emanations always proceed from a single anthropomorphic source figure.
- 1.2 The emanations emerge as anthropomorphic figures from the region of the head and shoulders of the source figure.
- 1.3 The emanating figures are visible only from the region of the thighs, hips, or chest upward.
- 1.4 Whether emerging vertically or obliquely, the emanating figures always proceed upwards.
- 1.5 The emanating figures are either 1, 2, 3, or 5 in number.
- 1.6 One figure always emerges vertically from the source figure; in a composition without lateral emanations, this is the primary emanation.
- 1.7 A secondary emanation can only emerge above the primary emanation, forming a vertical sequence consisting of a maximum of 3 figures in total.
- 1.8 If there are 3 emanations, the primary and secondary emanations emerge from the source figure itself, at an angle to the vertical, and the vertical emanation becomes the tertiary emanation.
- 1.9 If there are 5 emanations, the vertical emanation may continue to be regarded as the tertiary emanation, and the fourth and fifth emanations will emerge

beside it, at an angle to the vertical, from the source figure.

- 1.10 The fourth and fifth emanations may be regarded as lateral emanations of the tertiary emanation.
- 1.11 The emergence of more than 6 emanations from a single source figure is not known.
- 1.12 When an image of emanatory iconography is sculpted on a stele, all the figures appear on the front of the stele.
- 1.13 When an image of emanatory iconography is sculpted on a pillar, only one vertical series of 3 figures may appear on each of the 4 sides.
- 1.14 When an image of emanatory iconography is a free-standing statue, only a single emanation may appear above the head of the main figure, and the lateral emanations are contracted to appear as faces in profile on either side of the head of the source figure, which thus acquires a 'three-headed' appearance.
- 1.15 In terms of Rule 1.8, the profile heads of such a 'three-headed' figure are to be regarded as representing the primary and secondary emanations from the source figure, while the single vertical emanation remains the tertiary emanation.
- 1.16 No anatomical connexion is shown to exist between the several figures or heads of an image of emanatory iconography.
- 1.17 Emanatory figures are not represented emerging directly from the body of the source figure (as in Gandharan reliefs of the birth of the Buddha from the side of Maya); they emerge on a plane located behind the head and/or shoulders of the main figure.
- 1.18 The unifying factor in images of emanatory iconography is therefore not anatomical multiplicity but a geometrical symmetry of form.
- 1.19 The unifying symmetry is achieved by disposing the emanatory figures at an

angle to the vertical with the base near the axis (in images having 3 emanations), or in rising curves (in images having 3 or 5 emanations), or both (in images having 5 emanations).

- 1.20 These radial or curving dispositions of the emanatory figures presuppose the conception of one or more imaginary circles behind the head and shoulders of the source figure, of which the dispositions of the emanating figures are radii or arcs.
- 1.21 The iconographical design element to which the imaginary circles, the radial and circular organisation of the emanatory figures, and their positioning behind the source figure at the level of the head and shoulders, conforms, is the nimbus, which in other types of image is represented as a disk behind the head (śiraś-cakra).
- 1.22 The emanatory figures are therefore conceived as appearing within, or as constituting elements of, the nimbus of the source figure.
- 1.23 The emanatory figures are therefore intended to be seen as personifications of elements of the divine light or effulgence (prabhā) believed to be radiated, or emanated, by deities, and conceived as a circle (maṇḍala).
- 1.24 Compositionally, the emanatory figures are components of a cakra or maṇḍala.
- 1.25 Conceptually, though an individual emanatory figure may not be provided with a nimbus, it is a divinity, consisting of light.
- 1.26 Iconographically, the emanatory figures are manifested aspects of the source figure (although cult-historically they may represent distinct and separate deities integrated with the source figure).
- 1.27 The source figure shows no sign of being physically involved in, or of being depleted by, the generation of the emanatory figures; the nimbus is an innate attribute of the divine nature of the source figure, and the emanatory figures are likewise the innate attributes of its divine nature.
- 1.28 Hand-held attributes are specific emblems pertaining to the individual identity of

each figure and they cannot be multiplied without altering the primary identity of the figure concerned; but emanations, as secondary attributes of the source figure, may be multiplied.

- 1.29 Emanatory figures represent extensions of the divine nature of the source figure beyond that which can be symbolised by its basic iconographic form.

B. MATHURA (3rd - 4th centuries)

2. The emanatory iconography created in the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura was developed into images of mixed iconography, having both emanatory figures and multiple heads; this metamorphosis implies no metathesis.

- 2.1 Concurrently with the production of icons of exclusively emanatory iconography, evolutionary forms appear in which (a) the vertical emanation is retained behind the head of the source figure, and (b) the flanking pair of emanatory figures is contracted to appear as profile faces on either side of the head of the source figure, either angled at 45 degrees or right-angles to it, but in both cases still on a plane behind the central head (Rule 1.17).
- 2.2 Icons of mixed emanatory and 'multi-headed' iconography appear both in relief on steles and as free-standing statues; free-standing statues of multiple iconography can appear only in this mixed form (Rule 1.14).
- 2.3 In icons of mixed emanatory and 'multi-headed' iconography, the depiction of the plain circular nimbus is reserved for the vertically emanating tertiary figure.
- 2.4 In icons of mixed emanatory and 'multi-headed' iconography, the profile faces continue to represent the primary and secondary emanations of the source figure (Rule 1.15) but these are now regarded as part of the essential form, or even of the anatomy, of the source figure, as in Kuṣāṇa-period images of caturmukha Brahmā.

- 2.5 The identity of the retained vertical emanatory figure in Kuṣāṇa-period images of Brahmā is uncertain (theory: Maxwell, Viśvarūpa, Oxford/New Delhi 1988:88); in Brahmā iconography of the subsequent Gupta period it was to be eliminated; it was to be retained, with various identities, only in Viśvarūpa iconography, as the primary emanation from a multiheaded source figure.

C. MATHURA (5th century)

3. Images of Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' represent the only development of the ancient Kuṣāṇa multiheaded iconography into post-Kuṣāṇa Hindu sculpture at Mathura; the Proto-Viśvarūpa of Mathura is essentially a post-Kuṣāṇa creation, not a classical metamorphosis of Kuṣāṇa emanation iconography.
- 3.1 The Kuṣāṇa-period icons of mixed emanatory and 'multi-headed' iconography, with the vertical emanation eliminated, provide the compositional and aesthetic source of the '3-headed' images of Viṣṇu with the side-heads of lion and boar (Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha') in the Gupta period at Mathura; the heads of the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha avatāras replace the profile faces of Brahmā Caturmukha and Śiva Maheśa in certain Viṣṇu icons by direct metamorphosis; this is a simple combination of classical iconographic types, namely the standing Nṛsiṃha with forward Pacing head and the upward facing Bhū-Varāha, with the standing Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu. The combined icon is therefore not a classical aesthetic creation, but a metamorphosis within a perpetuated Kuṣāṇa aesthetic.
- 3.2 The avatāra side-faces of Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha', like those of the Kuṣāṇa images, emerge from behind the head and shoulders of Viṣṇu (Rule 1.17), without anatomical connexion (Rule 1.16), and appear upon the surface of the nimbus of Viṣṇu (Rule 1.22); these Gupta-period animal avatāras are therefore regarded as emanations (secondary attributes: Rules 1.26-27) of Viṣṇu manifested as elements of his nimbus.

- 3.3 The image of Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' is expanded by enlargement of the nimbus to incorporate a large number of further figures to create the earliest known icon of Viśvarūpa.
- 3.4 The appearance of multiple figures located in, or constituting, the nimbus of Viśvarūpa means that they, like the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha, are regarded as emanations (Rules 1.22-24) of Viṣṇu.
- 3.5 The aesthetic conformation of these figures to the radial and circular components of the nimbus, created in Kuṣāṇa sculpture to yield a unifying symmetry (Rule 1.18), is however not obeyed in Gupta Viśvarūpa statuary.
- 3.6 The larger Mathura Viśvarūpa fragment has three emanations issuing in a rising curve from behind the left shoulder (Rule 1.19) of Viṣṇu, beneath the face of Varāha; their number, grouping and diminutive size indicates however that they are only distantly related to the Kuṣāṇa aesthetic of emanation.
- 3.7 Both Mathura Viśvarūpa fragments show a linear horizontal ranking of the majority of the miniature figures in the nimbus; they are emanations by virtue of their placement in the nimbus, not by virtue of conformity to the elements of the śiraś-cakra as in Kuṣāṇa iconography.
- 3.8 Both Mathura Viśvarūpa fragments have a series of heads (and in one case a 2-armed bust) forming the periphery of the nimbus; this could be seen as a development of the vertical sequence of emanations (Nand) applied to a curved surface, with abbreviation of the emanating figures to appear as a chain of heads; but not enough of the sculpture has survived to confirm this possible adaptation.

D. SAMALAJI (6th century)

4. The rules of both emanatory and mixed emanatory and 'multi-headed'

iconography, developed in the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura. Were perpetuated and further developed into the 6th century, when they were applied for the last time to a Sculptural programme to create a second type of Viśvarūpa icon at Samalaji.

- 4.1 The Samalaji Viśvarūpa sculptures are the direct inheritors of Kuṣāṇa emanatory and mixed iconography; the export of Kuṣāṇa sculptures of this type southward from Mathura along the edge of the Thar Desert is indicated by the Mathuran pillar at Nand near Pushkar.
- 4.2 The seated source figure of Viṣṇu has two profile faces, set well back from the central face and at right angles to it (Rule 2.1), as in Mathura Kuṣāṇa icons of Brahmā (Rules 2.4-5); the classical metamorphosis into animal avatāra faces (Rule 3.1) does not occur at Samalaji, where multi-headed Viṣṇu derives directly from multi-headed Brahmā.
- 4.3 In the Samalaji Viśvarūpas, a vertical series of 3 emanations (Rules 1.6-7, in extension of Rule 1.8) rises from behind the central crown of Viṣṇu, with the lowest, Hayagrīva (R̥gveda), as primary emanation (Rules 2.4-5) from Viṣṇu and the two emanations emerging from behind the side-faces of Viṣṇu as the lateral emanations of Hayagrīva (Yajurveda, Sāmaveda), evolving concurrently with him; the two subsequent emanations are Brahmā and Śiva. This series of emanations (Hayagrīva and his lateral emanations, followed by Brahmā and Śiva) bisects the nimbus.
- 4.4 In the Samalaji Viśvarūpas, Nṛsiṃha and Varāha, which in the Mathura Gupta Proto-'Vaikuṅṭhas' appear as primary emanations, are shown as secondary emanations of Viṣṇu, rising obliquely from Hayagrīva, the primary emanation, in the central vertical series; this is not a development of Mathura Gupta Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' or Viśvarūpa iconography, but a direct development of Mathura Kuṣāṇa emanatory iconography, applying Rule 1.8 to Hayagrīva as secondary source figure, with Brahmā as tertiary emanation.
- 4.5 The same rule (1.81) is applied to Brahmā, resulting in Sūrya and Candra as

primary and secondary emanations, and Śiva as tertiary emanation.

- 4.6** In the Samalaji Viśvarūpas, the primary emanations of Viṣṇu (Hayagrīva and two flanking figures) arise from behind the heads of Viṣṇu, and are visible from the thighs upward, as in Kuṣāṇa emanatory iconography (Rule 1.3); the emanation of the remaining figures from the primary emanations is shown in two ways, neither of which derives from Kuṣāṇa iconography: as seated figures behind the head of the source figure, or as figures striding obliquely upward with the rear foot behind the shoulder of the source figure.
- 4.7** The remaining figures in the nimbus of the Samalaji Viśvarūpas are derived neither from Kuṣāṇa nor Gupta iconography, but are grouped in a pyramidal formation with ascending levels of 3, 2, and 1; like the ranked figures in the nimbus of the Mathura Gupta Viśvarūpas, they are emanations only by virtue of their appearing within the nimbus of Viṣṇu.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ELEMENTS

OF Viśvarūpa ICONOGRAPHY

(5th AND 6th CENTURIES):

THE EVIDENCE OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

E. The Gītā text

1. The Bhagavadgītā contains five consecutive descriptions of the revelation of Kṛṣṇa's cosmic form, addressed by Arjuna at 11.16, in his first description, as Viśvarūpa Viśveśvara.

2. These descriptions are not mutually exclusive, but supplement each other: although intended to convey an overwhelming vision which could be seen by Arjuna alone and after receiving special sight, the elements of the descriptions are sufficient to form the basis of an iconographic representation.
3. The Bhagavadgītā descriptions were not applied to the field of sculpture in the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura; but it is clear that they were known and applied in Mathura and Samalaji to create two basic iconographies for a Viśvarūpa image, in the 5th and 6th centuries respectively.
4. At both Mathura and Samalaji, the Viśvarūpa image was achieved largely by expressing parts of the *Bhagavadgītā* descriptions through the plastic conceptions of emanation and multi-headedness created earlier in Kuṣāṇa sculpture at Mathura.
5. The elements of the Bhagavadgītā descriptions which could be expressed iconographically can be extracted from the text and categorised; this is done in the following Alphabetical Index and Thematic Index.

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DFG-Az.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: VAIKUṆṬA-Viśvarūpa

Index 1

INDEX TO ELEMENTS OF THE Viśvarūpa DESCRIPTIONS IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

1. Alphabetical index

There are six descriptions of Viśvarūpa in the Gītā:

1. the 1st description by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna before the revelation (K1)
2. the 2nd description by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna before the revelation (K2)
3. the description by Sañjaya to Dhṛtarāṣṭra 6)
4. the 1st description by Arjuna addressing Kṛṣṇa (A1)
5. the 3rd description by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna before the revelation (K3)
6. the 2nd description by Arjuna addressing Kṛṣṇa (A2).

These are contained in Adhyāyas 10 and 11:

10.1-42 (K1); 11.6-8 (K2); 11.9-14 6); 11.15-31 (A1); 11.32-34(K3) 11.36-46 (A2)

"A" 10.33 (akāra) (K1)

Ādityas 10.21 (K1), 11.6 (K2), 11.22 (A1)

Agni 10.23 (Pāvaka) (K1). 11.19 (hutāśa: mouths as blazing fires) (A1), 11.39 (A2)

Airāvata 10.27 (K1)

Ananta	10.29 (K1)
Anatomy	see Viśvarūpa
Arjuna	10.31 (Dhanamjaya) (K1)
aryaman	10.29 (K1)
asuras	11.22 (A1)
aśvattha	10.26 (K1)
Aśvins	11.26 (K2), 11.22 (A1)
Bhīṣma	11.26-27 (A1)
Bhr̥gu	10.25 (K1)
Bāja	10.3 (K1)
Brahmā	10.33 (Dhātr̥) (K1) 11.15 (A1), 11.37 (A2)
Bṛhaspati	10.24 (K1)
Bṛhatsāman	10.35 (K1)
Cicatms	10.32 (sargas) (K1)
Cetanā	10.32 (K1)
Citraratha	10.26 (K1)
Coretellation	10.21 (nakṛation) (K1)
daityas	10.30 (K1)
death	10.34 (kṛtyu)
devarṣiṣ	10.26 (K1)
devas	10.2 (K1), 10.22 (K1), 11.15 (A1) 11.21 (suras) (A1)
Droṇa	11.26-27 (A1)
Draṃdra	10.33 (K1)
Elephants	10.27 (K1)

Forms	11.5 (K2)
Gandharvas	10.26 (K1)
Horses	10.27 (Uccaiḥśravas) (K1)
Indra	10.22 (Vāsava) (K1)
Kapila	10.26 (K1)
Karṇa	11.26-27 (Sutaputra) (A1)
Kavis	10.37 (K1)
Kings	10.27 (K1), 11.26-27 (A1)
Kīrti	10.34 (K1)
Kubera	10.23 (Vittesa) (K1)
Maharṣis	10.2 (K1), 10.6 (K1), 10.25 (K1), 11.21 (A1)
Makara	10.31 (K1)
Manus	10.6 (K1)
Marīci	10.21 (K1)
Maruts	10.21 (K1), 11.6 (K2), 11.22 (A1)
Manus (mind)	10.6 (K1)
Men	10.27 (K1), 11.26-27 (kings and warriors) (A1)
Moon	10.21 (Sasin) (K1), 11.19 (Śāsin: eyes as sun and moon) (A1), 11.39 (Śāśāṅka) (A2)
Munis	10.37 (K1)
Nāgas	10.29 (K1), 11.15 (uraga) (A1)
Nakṣatras	10.21 (K1)
Pāṇḍavas	10.37 (K1)

Prahlāda	10.30 (K1)
Prajāpati	11.39 (A2)
Pra-pitāmaha	11.39 (A2)
Purṃa	11.18 (A1), 11.38 (A2)
Rākṣasas	10.23 (K1), 11.36 (rakṣas) (A2)
Rāma	10.31 (K1)
Rudras	10.23 (K1), 11.6 (K2), 11.22 (A1)
rṣis	11.15, 11.21
sādhyas	11.22 (A1)
sāgara	10.24 (K1)
Sāmaveda	10.22 (K1)
Śaṅkara (Śiva)	10.23 (K1)
sattra	10.36 (K1)
seasams	10.35 (kusumkara, sping) (K1)
Siddhas	10.26 (K1), 11.21 (A1), 11.22 (A1), 11.36 (A2)
Śiva	10.23 (Śaṅkara) (K1)
Skanda	10.24 (K1)
Smṛti	10.34 (K1)
Snakes	10.28 (K1), 11.15 (A1)
Sun	10.21 (Ravi) (K1), 11.17 (A1), 11.19 (Sūrya: eyes as sun and moon) (A1)
Tejas	10.36 (K1), 10.41 (K1), 11.17 (A1), 11.19 (A1), 11.30 (A1)
Universe	11.7 (in body) (K2)

Uśanas	10.37 (K1)
Varuṇa	10.29 (K1), 11.39 (A2)
Vāsudeva	10.37 (K1)
Vasuki	10.28 (K1)
Vasus	10.24 (K1), 11.6 (K2), 11.22 (A1)
Vāyu	10.31 (Pāvana) (K1), 11.39 (A2)
Vedas	10.22 (K1)
Vibhūti	(power of transformation) 10.7, 10.16, 10.18, 10.19, 10.40, 10.41 (K1)
Viṣṇu	10.21 (K1), 11.24 (A1) and passim (voc.)
Viśvarūpa	11.16 (A1) (voc., with Viśveśvara); cp. Viśvamūrti 11.46 (A2), Anantarūpa 11.38 (A2), Jagannivāsa 11.25 (A1), 11.37 (A2) &c.
Viśve (Devāḥ)	11.22 (A1)
Vṛṣṇis	10.37 (K1)
Weapon	(āyudha) 10.28 (K1), 11.10 (S)
Vyāsa	10.37 (K1)
Vyavasāya	(determination) 10.36 (K1)
Yakṣas	10.23 (K1), 11.22 (A1)
Yama	10.29 (K1), 11.39 (A2)
Yoga	10.7, 10.10, 10.18 (K1); 11.8 (K2)
Yogeśvara	11.9 (S)

Index-2

INDEX TO ELEMENTS OF THE Viśvarūpa DESCRIPTIONS IN THE

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

2. Thematic index

The figures mentioned in the descriptions of Viśvarūpa in the Bhagavadgītā can be subdivided into nine subject categories for relating the content of the text to iconographical themes represented in Viśvarūpa sculptures.

Theme 1. The 'anatomy' of Viśvarūpa

1. mouths 11.10; 11.16; 11.19; 11.23; 11.24; 11.25; 11.27; 11.28; 11.29; 11.30
2. fangs 11.23; 11.25; 11.27
3. multiple faces/ 10.33, 11.10, 11.11, 11.16, 11.23 - viśvatomukha heads
4. eyes 11.10; 11.16; 11.19; 11.23; 11.24
5. arms 11.19; 11.19; 11.23; 11.46 - sahasra-bāhu
6. bellies 11.16; 11.23
7. thighs 11.23
8. feet 11.23
9. body (containing the universe) 11.7, 11.13, 11.15
10. light/fire/colours 11.5; 11.12; 11.17; 11.19; 11.24; 11.25; 11.29; 11.30
11. multiplicity 11.5 - rūpāṅl śataso tha sahasraśah, 11.13 - pravibhaktam anekadhā)

Theme 2. Prime deities and avatāras

1. Agni 10.23 (K1); 11.19 (A1); 11.39 (A2)

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------------------|
| 2. | Brahmā | 11.15 (A1); 11.37 (A2) |
| 3. | Indra | 10.22 (K1) |
| 4. | Kṛṣṇa | = Vāsudeva |
| 5. | Kubera | 10.23 (K1) |
| 6. | Prajāpati | 11.39 (A2); |
| 7. | Pra-Pitāmaha | 11.39 (A2) |
| 8. | Rāma | 10.31 (K1) |
| 9. | Śiva | 10.23 (K1) |
| 10. | Skanda | 10.24 (K1) |
| 11. | Varuṇa | 10.29 (K1); 11.39 (A2) |
| 12. | Vāsudeva | 10.37 (K1) |
| 13. | Vāyu | 11.39 (A2) |
| 14. | Viṣṇu | <i>(voc.) psssim</i> |
| 15. | Yama | 10.29 (K1); 11.39 (A2) |

Theme 3. Group deities

- | | | |
|----|---------------|---|
| 1. | Ādityas | 10.21 (K1); 11.6 (K2); 11.22 (A1) |
| 2. | Aśvins | 11.6 (K2); 11.22 (A1) |
| 3. | devas | (general) 10.2 (K1); 10.22 (K1); 11.15 (A1); 11.21 (A1) |
| 4. | Maruts | 0.21 (K1); 11.6 (K2); 11.22 (A1) |
| 5. | Rudras | 10.23 (K1); 11.6 (K2); 11.22 (A1) |
| 6. | Vasus | 10.23 (K1); 11.6 (K2); 11.22 (A1) |
| 7. | Viśve (Devāḥ) | 11.22 (A1) |

Theme 4. Prime intermediate individuals

1. Aryaman 10.29 (K1)
2. Bhr̥gu 10.25 (K1)
3. Bṛhaspati 10.24 (K1)
4. Citraratha 10.26 (K1)
5. Kapila 10.26 (K1)
6. Uśanas 10.37 (K1)

Theme 5. Intermediate groups

1. devar̥ṣis 10.26 (K1)
2. mahsr̥ṣis 10.2 (K1); 10.6 (K1); 10.25 (K1); 11.21 (K1)
3. Manus 10.6 (K1)
4. munis 10.37 (K1)
5. ṛ̥ṣis 11.15 (A1)
6. sādhyas 11.22 (A1)
7. siddhas 10.26 (K1); 11.21 (A1); 11.22 (A1)

Theme 6. Group demons

1. asuras 11.22 (A1)
2. daityas 10.30 (K1)
3. rākṣasas 10.23 (K1)
4. yakṣas 10.23 (K1); 11.22 (A1)

Theme 7. Mortal individuals and groups

1. Arjuna 10.37 (K1)
2. Bhīṣma 11.26-27 (A1)
3. Droṇa 11.26-27 (A1)
4. Karṇa 11.26-27 (A1)
5. kings 11.26-27 (saha avanipākasnjaiḥ ...)
6. men 10.27 (K1); 11.26-27 (A1)
7. Pāṇḍavas 10.37 (K1)
8. Prahlāda 10.30 (K1)
9. Vṛṣṇis 10.37 (K1)
10. Vyāsa 10.37 (K1)

Theme 8. Celestial phenomena

1. sun 10.21 (K1); 11.19 (A1)
2. moon 10.21 (K1); 11.19 (A1); 11.39 (A2)
3. nakṣatras 10.21 (K1)

Theme 9. Animals, plants, archetypes

1. Airāvata 10.27 (K1)
2. Ananta 10.29 (K1)
3. aśvattha 10.26 (K1)
4. creatures (general) 11.15 (A1)

5. elephants 10.27 (K1)
6. horses 10.27 (K1)
7. Uccaiṣravas 10.27 (K1)
8. nāgas 10.29 (K1); 11.15 (A1)
9. snakes 10.28 (K1)
10. Vasuki 10.28 (K1)

F. The Gītā and the Mathura Viśvarūpa fragments

At Mathura, the sources of Viśvarūpa iconography are essentially two: (A) the descriptions of the vision of cosmic Kṛṣṇa contained in Bhagavadgītā 10 and 11, and (B) the sculptural techniques of representing multiple and multiheaded figures in Kuṣāṇa-period Hindu statuary. Both of the surviving fragments from Mathura are explicable as plastic expressions of the main features of A through a development of the techniques evolved by B. Mathura appears to have developed the Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' image and the Viśvarūpa image virtually at the same moment; it has to be assumed however that the Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' icon marginally preceded the Viśvarūpa image, because the former is not a logical development from the latter, but rather an iconographical definition of Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu, which was then used as the central figure of the Viśvarūpa image. The primary iconographical element which was created to define Viśvarūpa was the populated nimbus¹. A comparison of the archaeological fragments from Mathura with the themes of the Bhagavadgītā descriptions shows the nature of the interconnection between text and sculpture.

1. The central figure of View

One of the Mathura Viśvarūpa fragments has the upper part of an image of Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' as the central figure, having the heads of Nṛsiṃha and Varāha to the proper right and left respectively of the middle and anatomically only natural head. If the image expresses the Bhagavadgītā text, this figure must represent Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu (Thematic Index, Theme 2.14). The animal heads represent avatāras as emanations within the nimbus (A.1.21-23, 26-291, and the source of these emanatory descents can only be Viṣṇu in his creative phase, theologically (Para-)Vāsudeva². The Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' image therefore appropriately stands for Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu, source of the universe, as he is described in the Bhagavadgītā. In this form, clearly defined by the avatāra heads as Viṣṇu, the image was considered appropriate as the central figure of the Viśvarūpa icon at Mathura. The multiplicity of heads in itself was not the basis of Viśvarūpa iconography: the two emanating avatāras do not in any sense express the universal manifestation of faces (sarvatomukha) which Arjuna saw in his vision of Viśvarūpa, and of course the text makes no mention whatever of Nṛsiṃha and Varāha.

2. The periphery of heads

The series of heads forming the periphery of the nimbus in the Mathura Viśvarūpa s (C.3.8) is in terms of its conception explicable as a curved adaptation of the Kuṣāṇa vertical emanation series (A. 1.7).

In terms of iconography they are aspects of Śiva-Bhairava with gaping mouths, fangs and bulging eyes.

Their positioning, at the edge of the nimbus, facing outward, indicates that they represent one of the dominant themes of the physical description of Viśvarūpa contained in the Bhagavadgītā the many surrounding faces (Thematic Index: Theme 1.3: viśvato-mukha), with their gaping fiery mouths (Thematic Index, Theme 1.1:10 references, including dīptahutāśavakra, vaktrāṅy abhijvalanti, vadanair

jvaladbhiḥ, vyattānana), cruel fangs (Thematic Index, Theme 1.2: 3 references, including *damṣṭrakarāla*), and large burning eyes (Thematic Index, Theme 1.4: 5 references, including *śaśsrūryanetra*, *dīptaviśānetra*). These are the most prominent features both of the Bhagavadgītā descriptions and of the Mathura sculptures.

These peripheral Bhairava Śiva-faces in the sculpture (not the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha faces) therefore represent the faces turned in all directions (*sarvatomukha*) of Kṛṣṇa Viśvarūpa himself, at the edge of his nimbus of fire and light (Thematic Index, Theme 1.9: *bhāsa*, *tejorāśi*, *svatejas*).

Their connexion with the head of the central figure of Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu is made by means of the nimbus, which is a Gupta-period employment of Kuṣāṇa emanation iconography: like the heads of the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha avatāras, which identify Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu (Thematic Index, Theme 2.14), these Bhairava heads are conceived as emanating from him, not as anatomically joined to him (A.1.16- 29).

The juxtaposition of peaceful forms on the surface of the nimbus with these wrathful forms around the curve of its periphery, a juxtaposition which is seen in both the Mathura Viśvarūpa fragments as a primary compositional feature, is explained and prefigured in the first stanza of Arjuna's second description (11.36c-d):

Rakṣāṃsi bhītāni diśo dravanti, same namasyanti ca siddhasmighāḥ, "the terrified Rākṣasas rush in all directions, the hosts of Siddhas all pay you homage" (where, in planning an icon, the *rākṣasa* element would have been assimilated to the bhairava nature of Śiva, and the siddha element [mentioned by name three times in the text: Thematic Index, Theme 5.7] to the hosts of ṛṣis and devas). The separation of demonic and divine elements evident here was further developed in later Viśvarūpa iconography.

The creation of the curved and outward facing periphery of heads in the Viśvarūpa

iconography created at Mathura, and their 'negative' character in contrast to the 'positive' character of the straight lines of figures within the nimbus, therefore both have their literary source in the Bhagavadgītā descriptions.

The principal conclusion to be noted from this is that, in Viśvarūpa iconography of Mathura, the heads of Nṛsiṃha and Varāh define Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu, while the heads of Śiva Bhairava define Viṣṇu as Viśvarūpa. The spheres of emanation are twofold, and the hosts of ṛṣis and devas are incorporated (in the graphic terms of the text, they have been eaten: 11.27) between them.

3. The linear groups in the nimbus

Both Viśvarūpa fragments from Mathura, which represent the left and right sides of the nimbus of separate Viśvarūpa images, contain figures which, at least in part, are clearly intended to depict ṛṣis with jaṭās and, in the less complete piece, kamaṇḍalus; most also hold the right hand in the abhayamudrā. In both fragments, these figures are arranged in formal linear groupings horizontally and vertically (with no implication of emanation from each other). The groups mentioned in the Gītā text are Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Siddhas (twice), Suras (twice), Maharṣis, Manus, and bhūtas (Thematic Index, Themes 3, 5, 6): the word used for 'group' is sangha (and, once, gaṇa). The iconography of the Mathura figures shows that from these groups, it was the maharṣis, and possibly the siddhas with them (mentioned together at 11.21, maharṣisiddhasaṅghāḥ), that were chiefly represented in sculptures of Viśvarūpa. as far as the archaeo-logical evidence allows one to judge. Their organisation into ranks, one above the other, was clearly intended to express the conception of their grouping into saṅghas in the textual descriptions.

The figure included in the lower rank on the larger Mathura fragment, near the periphery of the nimbus, appears to represent Yama with the yamaṇḍa, the

oblique figure with a halo is Agni, and the pair of heads below him may stand for the Aśvins. These Vedic deities are all mentioned in the Gītā text (Thematic Index, Themes 2, 3).

The inclusion of Agni as a large figure in the nimbus of the more complete fragment at Mathura suggests the blazing, fiery nature of the vision of Viśvarūpa (Thematic Index, Theme 1.10), while his positioning suggests that he has risen from the shoulder of Viṣṇu as a personification of the shoulder-flames known in northwestern Buddhist iconography.

Although the damaged nature of the evidence makes this inconclusive, it therefore appears that the earliest Viśvarūpa iconography, created at Mathura in the 5th century, concentrated mainly on the representation of group-figures from the Gītā descriptions, and from among them, upon the maharṣi-siddha groups, with the inclusion of individual Vedic gods. These seem to have appeared on both sides of the nimbus, without the division into opposed or complementary groups which appears in all subsequent Viśvarūpa iconography.

These figures were extended upon the surface of the nimbus and between the two spheres of emanation represented by the avatāra heads and the bhairava heads, as if 'eaten' (daśāntareṣu, lelihyase grasamānaḥ, 11.27,30) by the bhairava heads and 'entering' (viśanti, 11.21,28,29) the substance of transfigured Kṛṣṇa, as in the Gītā text. The Kuṣāṇa multiple-emanation iconography has been given a reverse sense for these group-figures, who are seen being not radiated, but incorporated.

G. The Gita and the Samalaji Viśvarūpa sculptures

At Samalaji, the sources of Viśvarūpa iconography are the same as those of the fragmentarily preserved Mathura Viśvarūpa images (the Bhagavadgītā descriptions and the emanation and multiheaded iconographies of Kuṣāṇa-period Mathura), but

differently interpreted. There is no trace at Samalaji of the Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha' image created at Mathura, although this development occurred in the 5th century, perhaps a hundred years earlier than the appearance of the Viśvarūpa image at Samalaji. *The concept of the Vaiṣṇava axis flanked by the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha avatāras* does, however, reoccur in the nimbus of Samalaji Viśvarūpas, suggesting a doctrinal parallelism between Mathura and Samalaji, though without iconographical contact. The Samalaji Viśvarūpas are independent regional creations; they are not logical developments of Gupta-period iconographical constructs. The (Post-) Gupta elements in the Samalaji sculptures relate to style, not structure. The axial and ramifying constructs of Samalaji Viśvarūpa iconography derive directly from Mathuran emanation iconography in the Kuṣāṇa period.

1. The migration of symbols

The stages by which this early emanation iconography was developed between the 3rd century in Mathura and the 6th century in Samalaji are unknown, and more research is required to establish the transitional phases. The route by which the Kuṣāṇa forms were transmitted from Mathura into northern Gujarat was almost certainly the trade route which followed the eastern edge of the Thar desert southwestwards through Bairat and Pushkar; the Kuṣāṇa-period column with vertical emanation iconography on its four sides at Nand near Pushkar (Sculpture #23) is the obvious testimony to this migration of symbols.

2. The central figure of Viṣṇu

The central figure of the Samalaji Viśvarūpa series is a seated god with three faces which are all represented in human form. This is clearly evolved from the iconography of Brahmā, not that of Proto-'Vaikuṅṭha'. Early Brahmā images created at Mathura in the Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa-Gupta periods show three faces of

the mythologically four-headed god, plus an emanatory figure emerging from the back of the central head. This is clearly the source of the Samalaji Viśvarūpa, the conversion being marked by the triple crown of Viṣṇu and the characterisation of the emanating figure as Hayagrīva. This iconographical vision of Viṣṇu as derived from Brahmā has curious parallels in the Bhagavadgītā in which Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is referred to by Arjuna as Pra-Pitāmaha (Thematic Index, Theme 2.7), and as "You the Prime Creator, more to be praised than Brahman" (garīyase brahmaṇo 'py ādikartre, words also spoken by Arjuna, at 11.37). He is also Prajāpati (Theme 2.6). The concept of Viṣṇu as the primordial creator, of whom Brahmā is but a secondary form (as he appears in the Samalaji sculptures, above Hayagrīva), is present both in the Bhagavadgītā and in the Samalaji Viśvarūpas; given the stylistic and iconographical sophistication of these latter sculptures, it is entirely think-able that the unusual (indeed, unique) form of the main image results in part from a close reading of the Gītā text.

3. The couch and the Nāgas

The fact that this image is seated on a bedstead (khaṭvā, paryaṅka, śayyā) above a Nāga group derives from the Puruṣa Śeṣaśāyīn concept of Viṣṇu "whose resting place is water, whose couch is the four oceans" (catuḥsamudraparyaṅkatoyanidrālaye), which had been well known since the early 5th century as far south as Mandasor, as the inscription of Satya (Haraprasad Shastri, Epigraphia Indica 12, 1913-1914, Inscription 35, pp.320- 321) clearly shows. The two Nāgas at the foot of the paryaṅka in the Samalaji sculptures can refer to the passages in the Bhagavadgītā (Thematic Index, Themes 9.2 and 9.8-10) where Kṛṣṇa specifically identifies himself with the two major serpents, Vasuki and Ananta, as the archetypes or supreme exemplars of sarpa and nāga; in the vertical chain of evolution depicted in the iconography of the sculptures, they represent the aquatic origins or boundless oceans of the creation.

4. The figures in the nimbus

The identities of the many figures in the nimbus of the Samalaji sculptures (T. S. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, Oxford/New Delhi 1988: pp.148, 151-155, 172-174) are drawn from the gods and heroes mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā*; they include Brahmā, Śiva, the sun and moon gods, Varuṇa, Agni, Arjuna, Rāma (Thematic Index, Themes 2 and 4).

None of these individual elements of the Samalaji sculptures derive from Kuṣāṇa-period iconography at Mathura; the latter provides the framework or iconographical structure, upon which the 29 elements of the *Bhagavadgītā* vision are hung. The Samalaji *Viśvarūpas* are the product of the elements of the *Gītā*, the Kuṣāṇa Mathuran emanation frameworks, and the style of Gupta Mathura.

D:Alphasitereports-2/Tu:2

TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṇṭha-Viśvarūpa

THE LATER EVOLUTION OF

Viśvarūpa ICONOGRAPHY SOUTH OF THE GANGES

(REGION 2, 8TH - 11TH CENTURIES)

#1.

Chronology and evolution

In terms of iconography and style, the Tumain fragment¹ represents a development later than the Deogarh Viśvarūpa (8th century) and earlier than the Kannauj Viśvarūpas (9th century). On the basis of the archaeological documentation now available through this research project, including the Suhania (Region 2) and Bhusawar (Region 1) Viśvarūpas, the key place of the Tumain fragment in the evolution of Viśvarūpa iconography in the 8th to 10th centuries can be demonstrated as follows.

#2.

Region 1: 8th century

The Deogarh Viśvarūpa (8th century) has the side-heads of the same four animal avatāras, but has a double row of heads encircling the nimbus, the right half representing the jaṭā-bearing Rudras, the left half the crowned Ādityas; the vertical axis above the crown of Viṣṇu consists of three figures, representing Brahmā, Hayagrīva, and Śiva at the apex; Vedic gods appear at the top of the stele, primarily Indra and Agni on opposite sides, but there is no dividing ridge. The spatial organisation of the groups of miniature figures on either side of the stele is informal, as in the Mathura prototype (5th century); and the identity and placement of the figures of the vertical axis and of the periphery indicate greater planning and intellectual content than the corresponding figures of the Tumain fragment.

#3.

Region 2: 8th century: Evolution A

The earliest archaeologically recorded post-Deogarh development is partly represented

by a damaged Viśvarāpa stele from Manwadi (Sitapur District, Uttar Pradesh), to the northeast of Kannauj and well north of the Gaṅges. Two Nāgas flanking the Earth goddess are represented at the base, as at Deogarh, and a miniature image of Arjuna in a kneeling and praying attitude beside his bow at the proper right extremity of the plinth indicates that the sculpture represents the Viśveśvara Viśvarūpa of the Bhagavadgītā. The edges of the stele are straight, unlike the Deogarh image which is elliptical in form. The lowermost member of a group of Ādityas originally shown in the proper left side of the nimbus appears between the disk and shield of Viṣṇu, and the remains of a probable trident-bearing Rudra occurs above the profile head of the Fish avatāra on the proper right side, indicating that the Rudra/Āditya opposition was introduced into Viśvarūpa iconography during the 8th century. The remainder of the nimbus is lost. Small mounted figures beside the arms of Viṣṇu were probably intended to represent avatāras.

#4.

Region 2: 8th/9th century: Evolution A

The remainder of the development from the Deogarh nimbus structure is represented by a fragment of the upper right quadrant of a Viśvarūpa nimbus, formerly in the possession of John Eskenazi. The style and iconography indicate an origin in Region 2, probably to the north of Deogarh in Madhya Pradesh. In this piece, the minor figures are organised into linear ranks, and the organisation of the Vedic gods into a procession (Indra leading Yama) at the top of the stele is already seen; though these Vedic deities are not separated by a ridge from the figures below, there is what appears to be the remains of such a ridge under the feet of the fourth and fifth Rudras from the observer's left in the lower group.

#5.

Region 2: 9th century: Evolution A

This development was taken up at Kannauj in the 9th century, resulting in the well known sculptures originating there (Kannauj 1, 2, 3); these images retain the Vedic gods at the top, though greatly reduced in size, and without a dividing ridge. The iconographically decadent further development of this branch of Viśvarūpa evolution north of the Ganges is represented by the Bhuii sculpture, now at Varanasi.

#6.

Region 2: 8th/9th century: Evolution B

A development from the Viśvarūpa type separate from that represented by the Tumain fragment is seen in another fragment, in the Russek collection in Zurich, so similar in concept as to suggest an origin in the vicinity of Tumain, in which the figures of Hayagrīva(?) and Brahmā continue to constitute the vertical axis and the dividing ridge is retained and straightened, with Rāma Dāśarathi standing on the right side along with Śiva and Pārvaṭī, and with the smaller figures on the face of the stele now organised in ranks.

#7.

Region 2: 10th century: Evolution B

The first development from the Tumain and Russek fragments appears in the Suhania Viśvarūpa at Gwalior. Here, in the 10th century, the formalisation of the organising structure has evolved further, resulting in a semi-architectural framework for the Viṣṇu figure, with the dividing ridge triplicated to serve as bases for three levels of group-gods. The curved top of the nimbus is here preserved by rounding the corners of a rectangular stele and dislocating the outer ends of the two upper ridges in order to conform to the shape of this vestigial nimbus and continue the topmost horizontal series down the

margins (as on the proper left margin of the Tumain fragment).

There were clearly intermediate evolutionary stages between the Tumain fragment and the Suhania sculpture, which have yet to be discovered; images representing this phase should be sought between Guna and Morena Districts in northern Madhya Pradesh.

#8.

Region 1: 11th century: Evolution B

The later evolution of form and iconography from Tumain and Suhania (Region 2) is confirmed by the sculptures from Khajuraho (Laksman temple, Region 2) and Bhusawar sculpture (Region 1), in both of which the architectural framework of the Viśvarūpa image is fully developed, at Bhusawar taking the form of a temple door, on which the triple ridge has become a double architrave for the depiction of two series of group-gods, while the jambs are used for the representation of a daśāvatāra series².

#9.

Evolution of Viśvaūpa iconography

Starting from Deogarh in the 8th century, two distinct lines of Viśvarūpa evolution can thus be traced:

-- **Evolution A** took place chiefly within Region 2, on or north of the Ganges, with its chief manifestation at Kannauj in the 9th century; this evolution appears to have seen no further creative development into the 10th century.

-- **Evolution B** occurred mainly in Region 2, south of the Ganges, with an as yet

unknown point of efflorescence, which was followed by a migration of the still developing formula to the north, east and finally west, marked by sculptures from Suhania (Region 2), Khajuraho (Region 2, Laksmana temple) and Bhusawar (Region 1).

#10.

Conclusion

The temple of the Tumain fragment

In the evolution of Viśvarūpa iconography

The fragment from Tumain thus represents a vital document in tracing the development of Viśvarūpa iconography beyond the relatively well known forms north of the Ganges (Evolution A). It proves that there was a second, and more persistent, evolution south of the Ganges (Evolution B), beginning in the 8th century with the experimental image executed at Deogarh and progressing through increasingly more formal structures until, in the 11th century at Kahjuraho in Region 2 and Bhusawar in Region 1, a fully architectural formula was developed. Both these lines of evolution (A and B) show the association of Viśvarūpa with Rāma Dāśarathi, but only the second impetus (Evolution B), which appears to have commenced at Tumain, led to the iconographical identification of Viśvarūpa with Rāma³.

These conclusions are summarised in the following two charts.

THE EVOLUTION OF Viśvarūpa ICONOGRAPHY

in Regions 1 and 2

EVOLUTION A

Century AD

5	6	7	8	9	10	11
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MATHURA²

SAMALAJI¹

DEOGARH²

ESKENAZI*²

MANWADI²

KANNAUJ²

BHUILI²

Superscript^{1/2} indicates Region 1 or 2.

ESKENAZI* marks the divergence of Evolutions A and B.

THE EVOLUTION OF Viśvarūpa ICONOGRAPHY

in Regions 1 and 2

EVOLUTION B

Century AD

5	6	7	8	9	10	11
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MATHURA²

SAMALAJI¹

DEOGARH²

ESKENAZI*²

TUMAIN²

RUSSEK²

SUHANIA²

KHAJURAH²

BHUSAWAR¹

Superscript^{1/2} indicates Region 1 or 2.

ESKENAZI* marks the divergence of Evolutions A and B.

TEIL II.1

REGION 2

SONDERBERICHTE (EINZELBERICHTE)

D:Alphasitereports-2/Ma

TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

Sonderbericht 2.1(1)-Manwadi/Lkno

THE Viśvarūpa SCULPTURE FROM MANWADI AT LUCKNOW

T. S. Maxwell

1. General description

The sculpture (P1.I) is in the Lucknow Museum. It was discovered at Manwadi in Sitapur District, Uttar Pradesh, to the north of Lucknow. The top of the sculpture is broken off, and the upper portion of the remainder is damaged on the left; in its present condition, the piece is 38.78cm in height. In a different context, it has been published by Professor Parimoo¹. The piece consists of a stele with a narrow base having three figures upon it, above which at the centre rises a standing figure of Viṣṇu with four avatāra faces; the margins of the stele, both on the base and above, are densely populated with minor

figures.

2. The central figure

The main figure of Viṣṇu, slightly ābhaṅga with the weight on the right foot, was originally eight-armed. In the left hands are held the cakra (edge on), kheṭaka, dhanus (the top section broken off, the bowstring turned to the front, and personified by a figure holding a small flower in the raised right hand), and śaṅkha; on the right, one hand is missing, while the remaining three held gadā (its presence implied by the position of the raised left arm), bāṇa (personified, as pointed out by Parimoo, in the form of a diminutive figure holding a cone-shaped quiver containing three or four arrows), and khaḍga (the blade of which is broken).

The jewellery consists of ear ornaments (damaged), a double necklace of pearls with central jewel, a long double-beaded yajñopavīta, triple-wound keyūras, and plain bracelets, a decorated girdle, and the vanamālā. The clothing consists of an adhoṃśuka pleated on the left thigh.

The avatāra heads are those of the Matsya above Nṛsiṃha on the right, and of Kūrma above Varāha on the left (P1.2); the snout of the Varāha is concealed behind the cakra. The central face of Viṣṇu and the crown are entirely broken off.

3. The figures on the base

From the centre of the base arises Bhūdevī, the point of her emergence from the surface of the plinth being concealed by the looped serpent-body of a Nāga. The upper body of the Earth Goddess is naked but for a single-strand pearl necklace and bracelets; the top of a lower garment appears below the navel. Her head rises between the feet of Viṣṇu, which she supports on the palms of her out-turned hands.

Bhūdevī is flanked by two Nāgas, their human torsos larger than hers and their heads backed by five cobra hoods. The looped snake-body which conceals the lower body of

Bhūdevī cannot logically belong to either of them, but is merely an artistic device. Their tails descend in undulating lines to the face of the plinth, where they are laterally intertwined and terminate in a curl. Their hands are extended and support the hands of Bhūdevī in holding up the figure of Viṣṇu.

A seated figure appears at each extremity of the plinth. That on the left represents a fat yakṣa-like figure holding a small shallow dish in the raised right hand. On the right kneels Arjuna wearing a high crown, necklace and bracelets, his hands joined in namaskāmudrā. In front of him, behind the body of the right-hand Nāga, stands his discarded bow.

4. The figures on the stele

Two figures stand on pedestals on either side of the Viṣṇu figure, and smaller figures appear above them on the margins of the stele. To the immediate left of Viṣṇu stands Lakṣmī, her body bent to the left and her right hand raised to her breast; she holds no attributes. In the corresponding position on the right stands Garuḍa in fully anthropomorphic shape, a snake held in his right hand and his left raised on top of his head in salute. Beside Lakṣmī, on the left margin of the stele, stands a male figure in atibhaṅga posture, with the left hand on his thigh and the right raised to shoulder level holding a flower; the lower part of the bow held in the front left hand of Viṣṇu stands behind him and he is to be seen as the personification of this weapon, Dhanuspuruṣa. In the same position on the right edge stands the male figure holding the conical quiver beneath Viṣṇu's lowest right hand and representing Bāṇapuruṣa.

The remaining miniature figures on the higher margins of the stele are difficult to distinguish. Of those immediately above the bow and arrow hands of Viṣṇu, that on the left raises the right hand in abhyamudrā, while that on the right holds an indistinct object on the right shoulder. The two above these are mounted figures; that on the left sits on a horse and may represent one of the Aśvins, and the corresponding figure on the right, riding an elephant, would be Indra. A single crowned figure appearing above the rim of

Viṣṇu's shield and seeming to hold up a lotus in each hand is probably one of a group representing the twelve Ādityas. A damaged figure in the same position on the right, above the Matsya head of Viṣṇu, has the right hand raised in abhayamudrā; this may have been a small image of one of the avatāras, or one of the group of eleven Rudras.

5. Preliminary identification and chronology

Viṣṇu with-four avatāra heads and flanked by small figures of Vedic gods is supported by both the Earth Goddess and Nāgas, and, in a clear reference to Bhagavadgītā XI, is worshipped by Arjuna. The image clearly represents Viṣṇu as Viśvarūpa.

The sculpture belongs to the Viśvarūpa tradition which flourished north of the Ganges, chiefly represented by the Kannauj series, to which it is anterior. A date in the 7th century has been suggested, but in the evolution of Viśvarūpa iconography the image is pre-Kannauj, and it is more properly datable to the 8th century.

D:Alphasitereports-2/Tu

Souderbericht

TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

THE Viśvarūpa FRAGMENT FROM TUMAIN

1. General description

The sculpture, discovered at Tumain, Madhya Pradesh, and formerly in the University Museum, Sagar, is now in the National Museum, New Delhi (no.78.998). It consists of

part of a sandstone stele, 56cm high by 60cm wide, with straight sides and a slightly curved top; it has been broken off and roughly squared at the base. The stele is completely covered in relief sculpture. In the lower portion, the sculpture consists of the outline of a figure of Viṣṇu (A) having a tall, tapering, crown and the profile heads of the avatāras Varāha above Kūrma on the proper left, and Nṛsiṃha above Matsya on the proper right. Below the heads are the remains of the shoulders of the god, encircled by the Vaijayantī garland, and of four arms holding the mace and what appears to have been a lotus on the right, and shield and disk on the left. Because of damage, this figure can be seen largely in outline only. The edges of the stele have four outward facing heads carved on each side, On the front surface of the stele numerous figures are sculpted in low relief which is in a fair state of preservation (Diagram 1).

1.1 Dimensions

Maximum height	56
Maximum width	60
Thickness of stele	06.5
Thickness of sculpture	10.5
Brahma	11.5 x 08
Typical figure, Group R	07 x 04
Typical figure, Group T	07 x 05
Height, edge face	07

2. Structure and content of the stele

The figures on the surface of the stele are organised into six identifiable groups. These are the following. Two figures (B, C) form a vertical axis above the crown of Viṣṇu.

These are separated from each other by an uneven, horizontal plain ridge (Y - Z) which runs across the greater part of the upper section. Above the proper right-hand side of the ridge appear three cities (E, F, G), with a fourth member of this group (H) placed at the end of and partly below the ridge, On the proper left, the space above the ridge is occupied by three figures (D, I, J), after which the ridge, already shown as a declining line, disappears, but the series of figures in this group appears to continue down the left-hand margin of the front of the stele (K, placed as counterpart to H opposite, followed below by L, M, N). Below the ridge on the proper right are two groups of identical figures, the upper (R) consisting of eight figures, and the lower (S), which surrounds the Nṛsimha-profile and right-hand attributes of mace and lotus, of ten. A single group of twelve figures (T) is located on the left side of the stele, with a further cluster of figures (P) below it. It is apparent that more figures were originally represented on the stele further down.

3. Identification of the groups

3.1 The vertical series

The vertical series of figures consists of Viṣṇu himself (A), from whose crown rises, half revealed, the two-armed horse-headed figure of Hayagrīva (B). Above him, after the intervention of the ridge, rises the nimbate four-headed figure of Brahmā (C, 11.5 cm x 8 cm), who forms the central figure upon the ridge.

3.2 The horizontal series

The horizontal series placed upon the ridge are divided into two by the central figure of Brahmā. Those to the right of Brahmā consist of Paraśurāma (E), standing, holding the axe against his left shoulder and saluting, on his right, Śiva seated with Pārvatī on his left knee (F), beside whom sits Gaṇeśa (G); below him, riding on the peacock and with the spear resting on his right shoulder, appears Skanda (H).

Those to the left of Brahmā represent Rāma Dāśarathi (D) holding the bow in his left

hand and facing Brahmā, followed by Indra (I) holding the vajra in his right hand and riding on the elephant Airāvata, Agni (J) holding a waterpot in his left hand and riding the goat, and Yama (K) holding the yamaḍaḍa and another object, riding the water buffalo; below Yama, the remaining three figures (L, M, N), also mounted, cannot be identified due to erosion, but can be presumed to be Vedic deities like those above them.

The members of the upper group on the right, below the ridge, starting from the figure of Skanda, have piled jaṭā hairstyles and hold a waterpot in the left hand while raising the right in the abhayamudrā; this group (R) appears to represent the Ṛṣis (7 cm x 4 cm). Below them, the second right-hand group consists of ten figures, also appearing to have jaṭās to hold the right hand in abhayamudrā, and hold a trident against the left shoulder; these are ten of the eleven Rudras (S). On the left, the twelve figures of the third group of identical deities, crowned and holding a lotus in both hands (7 cm x 5 cm), represent the twelve Ādityas (T).

The figures around the cakra (P) cannot now be identified, but one of them could well be the Cakrapuruṣa represented as a flying figure.

3.3 The peripheral heads

Around the edges of the nimbus are ranged eight mask-like faces (7cm x 6.5 cm), four on each side, with jaṭās and ear-ornaments. These are placed around the upper portion of the nimbus, above the level of the ridge. They no doubt represent the Aṣṭa-Bhairavas. They are divided into two groups of four by marking the faces on the right with deeply carved lines, apparently intended to indicate extreme asceticism; the four on the left are not so marked.

4. Preliminary identification and chronology

This is an image representing Viṣṇu with an enlarged nimbus populated by at least 47 figures: the emanation Hayagrīva emerging vertically from the crown; above him

Brahmā, who is flanked by the two Rāmas (Jamadagni and Dāśarathi), the family of 6iva, and a procession of mounted Vedic gods led by Indra; beneath the ridge on which these stand and clustered about the heads and weapons of Viṣṇu, appear the Ṛṣis, the Rudras, and the Ādityas. The present state of research allows only one identification of such a multiple deity, namely Viṣṇu as Viśvarūpa.

Iconographically the sculpture is post-Deogarh and pre-Eskenazi, placing it in the late 8th century, which is in accordance with the National Museum dating.

Tumain Madhya Pradesh
Region 2 : 8th cent. A.D.

Viśvarūpa FRAGMENT NM -78.998

Key Diagram

A	Viṣṇu	I	Indra
B	Hayagrīva	J	Agni
C	Brahmā	K	Yama
D	Rāma	L	Vedic god
E	Paraśurāma	M	Vedic god
F	Śiva + Pārvatī	N	Vedic god
G	Gaṇeśa	P	unidentified figures
H	Skanda		
	Y - Z		dividing ridge
R	Ṛṣis	S	Rudras
		T	Ādityas

D:Alphasiterreports-2/SuhanVR.Gwl

TSM 1989/90

DFG-AZ.: Ma 1069/3-I

Kennwort: Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa

Sonderbericht 2.1(2)-Gwalior/Suhania

THE Viśvarūpa SCULPTURE FROM SUHANJA AT GWALIOR

T. S. Maxwell

1. General Description

The sculpture (P1.1) is in the Madhya Pradesh State Museum, Gwalior (No. 26/12). It is sculpted from a single block of grey stone 87cm high, 57cm wide, and 16cm thick at the base. Four of the right arms of the main figure are broken off. Damage is widespread, notably to the face, two of the objects held in the left hands and parts of the minor figures on the base. Erosion has affected particularly the miniature figures in the three friezes at the top. According to the notes, still preserved in the Museum archives, made by M. B. Garde, the first curator of the permanent museum in the Gujari Mahal, the sculpture was brought to Gwalior from Suhania, Madhya Pradesh. On this subject more will be said below (pp.ISff., #7).

Although the iconography of the composition is formally set out, it is of some complexity in content, consisting of 49 separate figures of which 37 are group gods. Several of its features are unique among complex Vaiṣṇava icons. It is not inscribed.

2. The central figure

The main figure (A), carved in high relief¹ against a backslab (P1.2), is well proportioned (almost exactly a nine-tāla image²) and has considerable aesthetic impact. It represents Viṣṇu³ standing in a fluently executed ābhaṅga posture⁴, the right hip and left knee flexed, and the face being turned well to the right. The throat is conventionally marked with the trirekha. A long vanamālā appears in a bold sweep around the shoulders and upper arms and hangs through the crook of the elbows, the loop below the knees, framing most of the body in graceful curves which emphasise the god's movement. The centre of this figure is the navel, which is represented at the intentional centrepoint of the stele, determined by the intersection of diagonals from the square 'shoulders' of the slab near the top to the opposite corners on the surface of the plinth⁵.

The yajñopavīta is clearly represented as a triple-stand beaded cord, passing over the left shoulder, down the torso and across the abdomen. The deity wears two short necklaces, keyūras with triangular foliate motifs and studded bracelets and anklets. The ear-ornaments differ: that on the left is a large circular (vṛtta-) kuṇḍala in the form of a spiral, not concentric rings, while that on the right is an elongated (makara-) kuṇḍala.

The lower hem of the adomśuka is marked by two parallel lines incised around the legs above the knees; the top of the garment is indicated by a double line carved around the hips, a small drape on the upper right thigh and a fold of cloth between the legs. A girdle below the cloth waistband and a thickly rolled piece of material across the upper thighs are both entwined by ornate cords ending in tassel-like ornaments which hang down to the top of the knees.

The crown⁶ is a tall, tapering kirīṭa, fitting tightly down over the head as far as the ears with the hairline of the head incised just below the rim (see P1.3). The base of the crown has three peaks, on the front and on the both sides, with small tabs projecting from behind it above the ears. The upper part of the crown is hung with pendants, which issue from the mouths of lion-masks, two of which encircle a central rosette, and is

backed by a small, circular nimbus-like ornament containing a flower pattern.

From behind the ears and the base of the crown, two avatāra-heads project on either side: on the right, those of the Kūrma (B) above the Narasiṃha (C); and on the left, that of the Matsya (D) above the Varāha (E). These four side-heads are small and unobtrusively incorporated with the main figure. As in all previous Vaiṣṇava depictions of a multiheaded deity, no attempt at a naturalistic anatomical connexion between these heads and the main figure has been attempted. The junctions between them and the neck of the god are concealed by the tabs of the crown, the ears and kuṇḍalas.

The god was originally ten-armed. On the left, the rearmost raised hand holds the pole of a parasol (emblem of the dwarf avatāra Vāmana prefiguring his transformation, Trivikrama Virāṭarūpa), some parts of which remain at the top (see P1.5). The next hand from the back holds a small round shield (symbol of ignorance in the shadow of which the creation evolves), reversed, on a level with the heads, the palm of the hand facing outward under the cords of the grip over which the fingers curl, the inside of the shield being incised with cross-hatching. The next hand holds in a natural grip a beautifully rendered bow (representing Sāṅkhya, the basis of the arrow of Yoga, also the weapon of Pradyumna's erotic aspect, and additionally of the avatāra Rāma). It is decorated on the front with cross-hatching and flowers, and along its edge with studs or gems. The bowstring is shown as a double line incised down the back of the bow, crossing to the front at the top; although one of the right hands draws an arrow from the quiver, the bow is not strung for action. The lower half of the bow is unfortunately lost, but one notices that the upper curve follows the rim of the shield behind it in a fluent continuity of line, while the main curve reflects that of the garland around the left shoulder. The fourth left hand from the rear rests casually on the densely spoked Vaiṣṇava cakṛa (the solar sign of Puruṣa associated with Vāsudeva), the thumb resting upon its broad cutting-rim, allowing it to lean forward at an angle, supported by the head of the Cakrapuruṣa (P1.7). The fifth and foremost hand on this side cradles, at hip level, the inverted conch (aperture upward, point downward).

The rearmost right arm is lost, but the head of the axe (weapon of Paraśurāma, also the sign of detachment from the world, the axe to fell the tree of saṃsāra) which it wielded remains, poised to strike with blade turned away from the god (P1.4). The next hand is bent back, palm upward, two fingers extended and originally (these fingers are broken at the joints) crooked to draw the Yoga-arrow from the quiver carved behind the god's right shoulder, The remaining three arms on this side are broken off, but to judge from the corresponding objects on the left, the three missing hands most probably held the sword of Viṣṇu (Nandaka, representing asceticism, the joy of yogins, and also called Asi, Sword of Dharma), balancing the shield on the left, and two other standard Vaiṣṇava emblems, the lotus and mace (complementing the conch and disk on the other side).

The naturalism of the hands, the careful organisation of the five arms and attributes on the left side, and touches of inventiveness -- the ābhaṅga posture with the marked turn of the head, the contrasting ear-ornaments, the partly drawn arrow, the tilted disk -- make of this sculpture an intelligently and sensitively designed image. In the organisation of sculptural space it contrasts strongly with the awkwardness of the eight- and ten-armed central figure in the Viśvarūpa sculptures designed at Kannauj two centuries earlier, though these have received high praise.

3. The design of the frame

In certain features, the frame which surrounds the central deity here appears to be prototypical of later developments occurring up to the thirteenth century and indicated by the "Vaikuṅṭha-Viśvarūpa" in the Trilokanātha temple at Mandi⁷. There are four points of similarity: (1) one or more mininutive figures in low relief on the face of the plinth beneath the god's feet; (2) the piercing of the stone around the body of the god; (3) the resulting illusion of pillars based upon the plinth on either side of the deity and the joining of this architectural construct to the modified concept of a populated prabhāmaṇḍala in the upper part of the composition; (4) the hipped outline of the stele at the junction of the vertical sides and the curving top of the backslab. There are, on

the other hand, no heads around the periphery of the top section of the stele in the Gwalior Suhania icon.

The top of the composition is flat: only the corners are rounded, and special adjustments to the positioning of the minor figures in two of the three horizontal registers near the top have been made to allow for this loss of corner-space (Pl. 3), suggesting that the compositional plan involved the modification of a square-topped stele, such as that which backs the Bhuswar Viśvarūpa at Bharatpur. The otherwise strictly linear arrangement of the figures on the backslab suggests, moreover, a connection with the formal design of the Viśvarūpa sculpture at Bajaura in Himachal⁸.

4. The figure on the plinth

On the face of the plinth, beneath the feet of the main central figure, are carved two Nāgas (F, G) with human torsos and heads, their hands joined in the namaskāra-mudrā (P1.8). Both figures have serpentine bodies incised with rings, and the multiple cobra-hoods behind their heads, though partly broken, are clearly identifiable as such.

The Nāgas rise obliquely from beneath a seated female figure (H), representing the Earth Goddess, with her hands joined in the same mudrā. The Nāgas direct their homage to the Earth Goddess between them. She herself appears to be meditating in a reverential attitude. From behind the shoulders of the goddess, at first sight resembling wings, grow four stalks, two on each side, which support the large lotus with drooping petals upon which the main figure stands.

On the plinth to the immediate left of Viṣṇu stands the Cakrapuruṣa⁹ (I) with the tilted disk resting on his head (Pl.7). He stands in a relaxed, ābhaṅga attitude flexed to the right like the main figure. His right hand holds a lotus at shoulder level, while his left forearm rests casually upon a kneeling figure (J), now destroyed from head to waist. Gadādevī (K), in the corresponding position to the right of the god, is in a similar, if somewhat stiffer posture (Pl. 6). She holds a lotus in her left hand, her right arm being extended downward with the hand resting casually upon her thigh. A kneeling figure (L)

beside her, like that upon which Cakrapuruṣa rests, is now mostly destroyed.

The identity of these two kneeling figures, and of the two in the Bhusawar Viśvarūpa at Bharatpur which are in the same locations in the composition, is as yet unknown to me. Simply to call them musicians (one holds a vīnā in the Bharatpur image) is unsatisfactory. Gadādevī is identified both by the ornate, broken projection above her head which is a supporting bracket carved with foliage typically used to strengthen the mace originally held in one of the main figure's now missing right hands, and by her positioning relative to Cakrapuruṣa, it being conventional to represent the āyudhapuruṣas, when they appear, opposite each other on either side of the god¹⁰.

Standing in ābhaṅga on the outer left extremity of the plinth is a male figure (M) facing forward, with a lotus held in his left hand and the right resting upon his thigh (Pl.7). This is one of the conventional dvārapālas of Viṣṇu, either Jaya or Vijaya.

In the corresponding position on the right stands a male figure (N), also facing forward and in a relaxed posture (ābhaṅga to the right): he is crowned, has a vṛtta-kunḍala in his left ear, and holds a pointed stick transversely across his bod (Pl. 6). This can only represent the avatāra Dāśarathi Rāma holding the krīḍā-yaṣṭi or arrow.

On the face of the pilaster above and behind M (the dvārapāla) on a small pedestal, is a crouching figure¹¹ (O) facing to the right with its hands joined in the namaskāramudrā; the outline of a tail around the lower curvature of the back, and a hirsute appearance to the body, indicate that this squat devotee is Hanumān (Pl. 9).

There is no image in the corresponding position on the right-hand pilaster, but the end of some now broken object, apparently the end of a staff (Pl. 6, left), appears on this pilaster behind the right shoulder of the small Rāma figure (N). It is angled toward the centre in such a way as to suggest that it was the object held in the second or third right hand of the main figure, whose right shoulder bears a broken figment of the top of this long implement. It would seem to have been the plough of Saṅkarṣaṇa Halāyudha.

At the top of this same right-hand pilaster, beneath the head of the axe, is a small image of seated Gaṇeśda¹² (P), the left-hand side of his body behind the shaft (Pl. 10). This juxtaposition would allude to the mythological episode in which the elephant-headed son of Śiva lost his tusk when protecting his father from the axe hurled by Paraśurāma, with whom the axe in part thus identifies the main figure. Gaṇeśa may also be present to accompany figures in the middle top register (Section 5). Four-armed, Gaṇeśa holds his broken tusk in his upper left hand and some indistinct, bulky object in his upper right, while the two lower hands seem to rest upon upon his thighs. This figure from the Śaiva pantheon appears to be more fully integrated with the Vaiṣṇava iconography of this stele (diagonal counterpart of the monkey ally (0) of Rāma in the lower left corner of the backslab) than in the case of the Kannauj Viśvarūpas, where his figure is clearly, though less boldly, represented¹³. The continuation of Gaṇeśa's presence beside Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa at Kannauj, here in the image from Suhania and further west at Bhusawar in the Bharatpur Viśvarūpa, indicates a strong minor tradition which persisted for at least two hundred years in a large area of western North India, and which deserves detailed investigation. Elsewhere and at other periods up to the thirteenth century, there is no such clear association between Viśvarūpa and Gaṇeśa in Vaiṣṇava iconography.

There is no corresponding figure on the upper portion of the left-hand pilaster, behind the parasol.

5. The horizontal registers at the top of the composition.

There are three friezes of miniature figures, one above the other, completely filling the upper portion of the stele (Pl. 3). These are based upon a plain horizontal ridge¹⁴, or 'architrave', traversing the backslab on a level with the rim of Viṣṇu's crown. The face of Viṣṇu and his two upper side-heads (those of Kūrma and Matsya) -- together with the parasol, shield, arrow hand, and axe -- are superimposed upon this ridge. The god thus appears to be standing in front of a decorated gateway. Only the slight curvature at the corners of the stele suggests that the upper portion with its friezes might in part be

derived from the enlarged and populated nimbus of Viśvarūpa invented at Mathura in the fifth century¹⁵; even the Kannauj Viśvarūpa inheritance is merely a distant echo in the curiously architectural design of this image at Gwalior. Its more immediate source would appear to lie in the rectangular design of temple doorways.

The top of the lowest frieze is level with the "hip" in the outline of the stele (see Pl.3). It is overlapped by the top of the axe and by the remains of the parasol on the right and left respectively, and bisected by the crown of the god. The small lotus-disk which backs the crown exactly fills the centre section of this register.

To the left of the lotus is a row of eight standing male figures (Q) with human bodies and the heads of goats (these also appear in the lower lintel of the Bhusawar Viśvarūpa at Bharatpur). They hold spears sloped upon their left shoulders, their right hands are raised in the abhayamudrā (Pl. 12). This octad of armed Goat-heads appears to represent the eight Vasus as reflexes of their leader, Naigameya Agni (chāgavaktra)¹⁶.

To the right of the lotus are eight other figures (R), among them six anthropomorphs which seem to be identical, standing in an ābhaṅga posture, facing forward, with their right hands in abhaya-mudrā and their left hands lowered to rest upon indistinct objects. In the latter alone must lie their iconographical difference, but the objects themselves cannot now be distinguished. These six are all male, with long hair drawn upward and twisted in a coil. The remaining two figures, nearest the lotus, are: a head-and-shoulders bust which is represented on a scale much larger than the other seven, and, lastly, a standing female with a jaṭā hairstyle, her right hand raised palm upward as if supporting the band above and her left holding what appears to be a waterpot. Although these figures number eight, they may constitute a Navagraha series if the large bust represents Rāhu. Conceivably the lotus-disk behind Viṣṇu's crown, which is firmly within this register and at its centre, is to be seen as Sūrya identified with Viṣṇu, making up the ninth member of the ennead (and relating also to the goat-faced Vasus opposite as gods of light).

In the middle register¹⁷, the farthestmost figure on the left side (S) is seated, cross-

legged, facing forward, but all details are eroded. The corresponding figure on the right (T) is missing due to breakage. In the centre of this register is a single figure (U), standing in an ābhaṅga posture, facing forward, its left hand lowered and right hand raised as if holding a vīṇā, all other features being eroded.

Between this central figure and the seated figures at the two extremities, there appear on each side four figures (V, W) sitting on various animal vāhanas and facing the centre (Pls. 11 and 13). The last of each of these groups of four is lower than the remainder by the thickness of the base-band, as are the figures immediately above them in the third register: a device which allows for the curvature of the corners of the stele while retaining the required number of figures in the upper two friezes. All eight mounted figures and their mounts are indistinct due to their small size and erosion. Only the first on the left is to some extent clear. It has an elephant mount and is thus either Indra on Airāvata if these figures are gods, or Indrāṇī if they are the Aṣṭamatṛkās. If, as seems more likely, they are the Mother Goddesses, the central figure would be Śiva (Vīrabhadra Vīṇādhara), unusually not leading the Mothers but at their centre, as in Yoginī grouping¹⁸.

The top register¹⁹ consists of eight figures (X), all apparently identical, which sit facing forward with both hands raised to shoulder level holding indistinct objects (P1.13). Two additional figures (Y, Z) at the extremities are depressed to allow for the narrowing caused by the curve of the stele. The degree of erosion is worse in this than in the other registers and so no iconographical distinctions can be seen. In view of the raised position of their hands, however, it may be that the ten figures in this top register were intended to be counted with the two at the extremities of the middle register in a curve to represent the (dvādaś) Āditya²⁰ (SYXZT).

In brief, the grouping of figures in the three registers is as follows. The lowest level contains two groups of eight; the middle, two groups of four separated by a single figure in the centre and flanked by a single figure at each end; and the top level has a single group of ten and two flanking figures lower down which may be counted together as a

group of twelve.

	R	L
I	1 (Z)-----8(X)-----1 (Y)	ten of 12 Ādityas
II	1 (T)---4(W)---1(U)---4(V)---1(S)	Aṣṭamātrkās with Śiva-and two Ādityas
III	-----8(R) ----- o ----- -S (Q)-----	Nava-grahas and Aṣṭa-Vasus

The lower left group of eight and the upper group of ten are groups of identical or near-identical figures; the lower right group of eight and the two groups of four in the middle level contain more individual figures.

6. Interpretation

As is the case with the majority of Viṣṇu images of the kind which I term Viśvarūpa, the textual source is not the eleventh Adhyāya of the Bhagavadgītā, which applies clearly only to the fifth-century Mathura fragments and to the ninth-century²¹ Nepalese version at Changu-Narayan. Neither are there any known śāstra texts which prescribe the icon in this form. A direct correspondence between iconographical content and a literary structure, such as exists between the Western Indian Viśvarūpas from Samalaji and the pañcalakṣaṇas of a Purāṇa text is not in evidence here. Interpretation must therefore depend on internal and comparative evidence, in the sculpture itself and in other related pieces, with reference to well known scriptures which can be considered to have existed at the time this icon was produced, probably in the tenth century.

On internal evidence alone, it is apparent that the main figure was intended to represent Viṣṇu incorporating all or most of the avatāras. Four are seen as profile heads emerging from behind the face of Viṣṇu: Matsya and Kūrma above Narasiṃha and Varāha, a combination which first occurs in Viśvarūpa iconography at Deogarh in the eighth

century.

Vāmana and Bhārgava (Paraśu-) Rāma are then represented by the parasol and axe held in the uppermost left and right hands. The bow and arrow, which appear next along with the (sword and) shield, refer to Dāśarathi Rāma, whose independent crowned form is placed on the right extremity of the plinth. The plough that was in the third right hand from the top would have identified the Viṣṇu figure with Balarāma Sarikarṣaṇa. Despite the loss of three arms on the right, this remaining assemblage of attributes, signifying the incorporation of eight incarnations, is sufficient to indicate the intention behind the iconography of the main figure.

In the Western Indian iconography of seventh-century Samalaji, the incarnations were manifested laterally like branches from Viśvarūpa. From the eighth century in the North, the main Viśvarūpa iconographic tradition at first had not shown the well known incarnations apart from the first four animal forms, as at Deogarh; and then had represented them separately clustered about the axis of gods rising from Viṣṇu, as at Kannauj and subsequently throughout the North. Here at Suhania in the tenth century, possible in continuation of this centripetal tendency, the god is made to embody them.

Viṣṇu stands on the enlarged pericarp area (karṇikā) of a blossoming eight-petal lotus, which is symbolically Meru, the place of Brahman, centre and axis of the universe.

The other lotus, of six petals, placed behind his crown, is contextualised by the eight anthropomorphic Navagrahas, making it a representation of the sun and further identifying Viṣṇu as Sūrya-Narāyaṇa. As supporter of the Grahas, Viṣṇu is moreover the pole-star Dhruva, and as Lord of the Vasus he is also Indra as Vāsava. Being the axial source of Śiva as Vīṇādhara Vīrabhadra, Viṣṇu is then at the centre of the Mātrikās and commands their escort, Śiva's son Gaṇeśa who withstood the anger of Viṣṇu as Bhārgava Rāma, as well as Hanumān. ally of the second Rāma. Finally, in conjunction with the figures of the uppermost frieze, Viṣṇu is the chief Āditya.

The Suhania sculpture (with its approximate contemporary from Bhusawar at Bharatpur)

is of particular interest because it represents one of the very last versions of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa²² to be made before the full sculptural tradition died out²³. Flanked by the symbols of Vāmana and Balarāma, the fifth and sixth incarnations; worshipped by Hanuman; accompanied by Rāma and Gaṇeśa; and displaying in his most prominent hands the bow and arrow and the axe and shield, the central devotional identity of incarnate Viṣṇu in this cosmic form is not only Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, who is here identical with the infinite Viṣṇu, but the kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa Rāmas, Dāśarathi Rāma and Bhārgava Rāma²⁴, the sixth and seventh avatāras. In This emphasis on the incarnatory nature of the god and on the integration of the two dominant varṇas, the Suhania icon perpetuates, in the person of the god, the meaning of the external rakṣāvlī of heads enclosing the divided nimbus of the eight-century Deogarh Viśvarūpa²⁵, in which the six-armed central figure is identified with Kṛṣṇa alone and the universe with his Goloka.

The capacity of Viśvarūpa to reconcile oppositional powers was one of the essential elements in his character in the Vedic Saṃhitās (where he paid for it with his life), in the Mahābhārata (where it is the cause of his triumph), and in the Purāṇas (where both versions are recorded)²⁶, and it is to be seen in the iconography of his sculptures. In this, the Suhania icon is no exception, but the iconographical method of depicting it shows a continuously developing creativity, in response to religious pressures, even in the final phase²⁷ of the sculptural tradition. What these religious pressures may have been, will be suggested below.

7. Place of origin

One of the besetting problems in Viśvarūpa research is the difficulty of tracing the original temples for whose iconographical programmes the sculpture were designed. No such sculptural context has so far been discovered for any known Viśvarūpa image with the exception of the Vaikuṅṭha at Khajuraho, which is the main sanctum icon of the Lakṣmaṇa temple.

As noted above (Section 1) the Gwalior sculpture was reported by M. B. Garde to have

been brought to the Gujari Mahal from Suhania, which is modern Sihoniyam, ancient Siṃhapāṇīya in the former Tonwarghar District, now included in Morena District, Madhya Pradesh. The well known Suhania temple²⁸, which is protected by the Archaeological Survey of India with a Monument Attendant in residence at the site, is still a place of active worship. It is a Śiva temple with a liṅga in the sanctum and a pronounced Śākta influence in the Iconography, particularly at the western end of the plinth beneath the vimāna. Though many are damaged and some missing, the sculptures that remain are of excellent artistic quality, leaving one in no doubt as to the religious affiliation of the temple, and there is no reason for supposing that the Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa now in Gwalior was part of its iconography.

On an artificial mound at the outskirts of the village, however, stands a walled enclosure containing temples for the Mother Goddess (Mātājī) and Hanumān. Inside the gateway²⁹ (made of stray architectural members) stands a square temple, now crowned by a domed superstructure, facing west; this is the Mātā kā mandir. Also within the enclosure and equally bereft of a śikhara, there stands adjacent to it on the south a second square temple of similar size, facing east, with a Hanumān shrine built into its south wall.

The ground plans of the two adjacent temples appear to have been greatly enlarged by reinforcement from the original, the vimāna walls and roofs in both cases having been almost totally rebuilt or built-over. The rear (east) wall of the Mātā temple seems to have been only partly retained, as is a short section of the north wall which is preserved in a pillared recess in the depths of the later construction. These no doubt original walls consist of massive monolithic slabs shallowly carved with architectural shrines in groups of three, interrupted by square pilasters with foliate patterning on the shaft between stylised pot-and-foilage bases and capitals. Above them runs a heavy square cornice carved with square-pointed lotus designs, defined by excised squares against a running set of horizontally stepped parallel lines, developed from the varaṇḍikā mouldings of Gupta-period temples. The high base mouldings are made of long plain slabs with occasional rectangular frames containing a diamond shaped lotus design and

triangular half-lotuses.

Within the small relief shrines on the older north wall section are carved Such figures as Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadhara; whereas on the east wall, which I take to be partly reconstructed from sections of a somewhat later Sūrya temple (the broken lintel lies abandoned behind the Viṣṇu shrine), the sun god occupies the central shrine in both groups of three, flanked apparently by aspects of Śiva, now with apsaras in the intervening spaces.

The confusion is partly resolved by the doorway of this shrine, which has a large Viṣṇu on Garuḍa at the centre of the lintel; this and the great preponderance of Vaiṣṇava fragments both within and outside the compound suggest that a Viṣṇu or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa cult has always been dominant on the mound and that the earlier north wall sections of the Mata ka mandir probably represent one of the original shrines.

Surprisingly little evidence of fallen āmalaka stones was found at the site, and none large enough to have crowned a high tower, which further suggests that the temple may have belonged to the flat-roofed class of shrine which existed side by side with northern śikhara types throughout the region. Such small shrines were built largely of upright slabs and clearly either fell or were dismantled with ease, which could in part explain the architectural muddle of the Mātā temple. Stylistically the sculpture on the preserved stretches of wall appears to be regional work several centuries earlier than the Kakanvatī-maṭha, which represents early eleventh-century architecture dictated by the taste of a Candella-contemporary dynasty ruling from Gwalior.

At the extremities of the lintel on the doorframe of the Viṣṇu shrine, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are carved. They are nimbate and seated on pedestals which form plain capitals for the jambs. Between these corner figures and the central Viṣṇu on Garuḍa runs a Navagraha frieze consisting of eight standing figures and the Rāhu bust. Above this, a higher frieze represents a group of flying crown-bearers and musicians. The jambs are divided vertically and horizontally into three, the centre and outer panels containing mithunas; at the base appear Nāgas and the river goddesses with attendants. A lotus is

represented at the middle of the threshold, flanked by fighting elephants and lions.

The Śiva shrine doorway, slightly later in conception and style, has Śiva on the bull at the centre of the lintel beneath two flying garland and crown bearers (similar to those which previously appeared above Viṣṇu On the earlier doorframe), with Brahmā and Viṣṇu at the ends seated within miniature temples having low śikharas and large āmalakas. The Navagrahas again form a connecting frieze (in a different sequence, possibly related to the date of building) but above them, between the crown bearers and the temple towers, sit the eight goat-headed Vasus. Single dancing figures appear in the three panels on each jamb, flanked by leogryphs. At the base, each river goddess stands between pillars in her own shrine with Nāgas beside the entrance and attendants to either side. The centre of the threshold is again by a lotus flanked on both sides by a lion-and-elephant combat.

Insofar as it possible to reconstruct an original layout, the most recent configuration on the Suhania mound seems therefore to have consisted of an east-facing Śiva Sharine -- possibly built over the site of a Sūrya temple in the tenth century and clearly representing the introduction of Śaivism, which was to culminate in the erection of the Kakanvaṭī-maṭha -- beside an earlier west-facing Viṣṇu one. Though it cannot be proved, it is tempting to think that the Gwalior Viśvarūpa was made for the older, west-facing Viṣṇu shrine.

A combination of features from both doorways could have provided the model for the remarkable populated framework of that image. Indeed, there is scarcely another credible source for it. Though differently conceived, the model for the surround of the Candella Viśvarūpa in the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho is also architectural, and indirect influence is to be expected, the Kacchavāhas being mainly feudatory to the Candella.

The modifications to the Suhania doorways in the framework of the Kacchavāha Viśvarūpa now at Gwalior are chiefly two, consisting firstly of the depopulation of the jambs, which basically become supports for the arms and hand-held attributes of the

multiple god, but also the place of his secondary devotees Hanumān and Gaṇeśa, as identificatory doorway figures; and secondly the curvature at the top, resulting in an arching representation of the twelve Adityas and the displacement of the lower figures at the extremities. Even the threshold lotus has been preserved on the base, rooted in the Earth Goddess and flanked by aquatic Nāgas, as the support of Viṣṇu. The river goddesses and dvārapālas are transformed into Rāma, Sītā and the āyudhapuruṣaṣ. Viṣṇu seems to fold the temple redefining it.

In brief, this Viśvarūpa image appears to have been created by the builders of the Śiva shrine, itself a forerunner of the much greater Kakanvati-matha later erected two miles away, to honour the older Viṣṇu cult which originally dominated the mound. In combining in its design elements from the doorways both of the already existing Viṣṇu shrine and of the Śiva shrine which they erected beside it, and by integrating Gaṇeśa with the iconography of Viṣṇu, the sculptors perhaps sought to reconcile the two cults in this image of Viśvarūpa, whose mythological ambivalence and ability to combine opposed powers would have been well known.

In its conception and design, the Gwalior Viśvarūpa, contemporary with the 10th-century Śiva shrine on the Suhania mound but created for the older Viṣṇu sanctuary belonging to the place, uniquely epitomises the intimacy of the relationship between iconography and architecture in the Indian tradition.

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LIST OF PLATES AND CAPTIONS

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Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh State Museum. From Suhania, M.P. Stone, 87cm x 59cm x 16cm. 10th century. General view.

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Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Side view of stele.

Plate 3:

Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Upper part of stele.

Plate 4:

Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Upper right attributes.

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Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Upper left attributes.

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Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Right plinth figures.

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Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Top of stele, left.

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Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. Gwalior. Top of stele, centre.

(All photographs by the author)