

BULLETIN
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MADRAS GOVERNMENT

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CATALOGUE OF THE
SOUTH INDIAN HINDU METAL IMAGES IN
MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

F. H. GRAVELY, D. Sc.
AND
T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M. A.
Goverment Museum Museum

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MADRAS
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SOUTH INDIAN HINDU MENTAL IMAGES IN THE
MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

BY C. J. V. IYER, D.Sc.

L. N. RAMA SASTRI, M.A.

ERRATA.

	Line	For	Read
...	13	... <i>Śrīnivāsa</i> ...	... <i>Śrīnivāsa</i>
...	22	... <i>Māhīni</i> ...	... <i>Māhīni</i>
...	6	... <i>Bhūtat-Ājvar</i> ...	... <i>Bhūtat-Ājvar</i>
...	29	... <i>āchdryas</i> ...	... <i>āchdryas</i>
...	1	... sanyasis ...	... sanyasins
...	34	... <i>Chandrasekhra</i> ...	... <i>Chandrasekhara</i>
... footnote 1 }	1 }	... before the full moon.	... { before the new and
... line 2 }	2 }		... { full moons.
... footnote 2 }	2 }	... priest	... priest
... line 3 }	3 }		
... footnote 3 }	3 }	... <i>Nīlakantha</i> ...	... <i>Nīlakantha</i>
... line 2 }	2 }		
...	9	... vertebral ...	... vertebral
...	39	... <i>Rājardjesvī</i> ...	... <i>Rājardjesvī</i>
...	1	... <i>Saptanātrikā</i> ...	... <i>Saptanātrikā</i>
...	18	... <i>śila</i> ...	... <i>śila</i>
...	2	... Pollonaruwa ...	... Polonnaruwa
...	1	... are ...	... is
...	17	... persuing ...	... pursuing
...	34	... Laksmi Lakshmi
...	6	... recieved received
...	19	... Such as Such an
... footnote 2	2	... snort short
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...	5	... bu- but
...	33	... Kulasekara Kulasekhara
...	35	... CHANDRASEKARA CHANDRASEKHARA
...	35	... (=A.D. 1510) (=A.D. 1511)
...	35	... pendent ...	... pendant
...	Last line	... <i>ganefutta</i> ...	... <i>ganefutta</i>
...	1	... pendent ...	... pendant
... footnote 2	2	... "Elemen's "Elements
... line 33	33	... flattened flattened
...	14	... 115 cm 11'5 cm.
...	4	... Naikkuppam Naikuppan

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CATALOGUE OF THE SOUTH INDIAN HINDU METAL IMAGES IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM.

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The position occupied by the Madras Museum has enabled it to gather together a particularly fine collection of South Indian metal images, mostly Hindu and mostly acquired by Government from treasure trove finds. Some were thus acquired as long ago as 1872, but most have been obtained during the last thirty years.

All such images, as has often been pointed out, are religious in purpose. With few exceptions they are designed to remind worshippers of the Divine, conceived by Hindu philosophy as the Impersonal Absolute and by Hindu bhakti (devotion) as the Lord and Divine Lover of believers. In the best images something of both these aspects finds expression, often rendering them difficult of appreciation by those unfamiliar with Hindu feelings. In addition to this, every image must conform to the pattern laid down for it by tradition. These patterns are prescribed in such detail in the *silpa-sastras* or craftsmen's handbook—which is regarded as a sacred canon of divine origin—that doubts have been expressed as to whether such rigid rules can leave any scope for the expression of art that is really great in the sense of being universal; and only half a century ago Hindu images were generally regarded in the West as having little or no artistic significance. The general opinion is now, however, very different and in some quarters seems to have swung to an almost equally uncritical extreme in the opposite direction. The answer of the Madras Museum collection to this question of the artistic value of Hindu images can best, we think, be indicated by drawing attention to the well known Nataraja image from Tiruvelangadu (Natesa No. 5, pl. xviii, fig. 2) and to Vishnu No. 1 (pl. i, fig. 1), Rama No. 1 (pl. vii), Hanuman No. 1 (pl. vi, fig. 2) and Narasimha No. 5 (Yoganarasimha, pl. v) on the one hand as compared with Srinivasa (= Vishnu) No. 4 (pl. iv, fig. 1), Rama No. 2 (pl. viii, fig. 2), Hanuman No. 4 (pl. vi, fig. 3) and Narasimha No. 2 (pl. vi, fig. 1) on the other. But it must not be forgotten that to the Hindu worshipper the latter four afford all that is required, and may even seem preferable to the former four by reason of their sharper and more detailed finish, emphasizing traditional form with all its symbolism.

Hanuman No. 1 and Narasimha No. 5 provide an answer to another criticism that has been levelled against Hindu art—that it cannot be really good because much of its subject-matter is grotesque or even positively ugly. For they well illustrate the way in which Hindu artists have succeeded in giving expression to true artistic feeling even through such apparently unpromising traditional forms. Unfortunately our figures do not do full justice to the originals.

Hindu sculptors form a special caste, which has sometimes been likened to one of the masons' guilds of mediaeval Europe, and investigators have pointed out that the nearest European parallels to the generalized type of facial expression characteristic of Indian art are to be found among the imaginative stone figures carved by members of these guilds for Gothic cathedrals. It was when Rodin was preparing a volume of essays on the sculpture of France that he was attracted to Indian art through the analogies he perceived. To any in Europe who still find Indian art too remote for comprehension this suggests a possible mode of approach.

In the following account of the Hindu section of the Madras Museum collection of Indian metal images we have aimed at bringing to public notice the whole contents of the collection rather than at exhaustive treatment of any of the specimens.¹ We hope the attention thus drawn to them will encourage qualified artists to treat others of the same type as Rodin has already treated two of the Natarajas (see below, p. 4).

The catalogue was commenced by the late Mr Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar several years ago. But pressure of other archaeological and numismatic work made progress slow, and when he had later to devote his whole time to numismatics he handed over his manuscript to the present authors, who are also indebted to his intimate knowledge of Vaishnavite tradition for help in identifying some of the images of Vaishnavite saints, both monks and acharyas, the iconography of which presents problems of special difficulty. We are also indebted to Pandit E. R. Krishnamachar of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library for further help in this connection.

Diacritical marks have been inserted in all names or terms italicized in the summaries of iconography, costume, etc., but have been avoided elsewhere except in the case of names which do not occur in these summaries.

Many of the images in the collection have long been in need of chemical restoration. A post of archaeological chemist in the Museum was therefore established in 1930, filled by Mr S. Paramasivan. Without his help many of the images described would not have been satisfactorily dealt with, their details being more or less completely obscured by corrosion. This work, especially since the installation of the apparatus for electrolytic treatment, has been invaluable to us.

We have also to thank Mr R. F. Stoney, late of Madras Public Works Department, and executors of the late Mr C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S., for permission to describe and photograph certain images of special interest in their possession, and Prof. Jouveaureuil and the authorities of the Musée Guimet in Paris for enabling us to describe and re-chandrasekhara No. 1 with its inscription.

¹ Present financial conditions have unfortunately compelled us to reduce to a minimum the series of plates originally planned, which are practically confined to what is needed to illustrate the points discussed in the archaeological part of the introduction (pp. 20-47) and the analysis of treasure trove finds (pp. 47-61). We hope that it may be possible at a later date to issue plates of other images, with more special reference to iconography.

PREVIOUS WORK ON METAL IMAGES FROM SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON.

The earliest modern account of South Indian metal images appears to be that of "Some Buddhist Bronzes, and Relics of Buddha" published by Robert Sewell in 1895,¹ though a brief reference to the same find was made in a report submitted to Government by the Collector of Bezvada in 1870 and published in the *Indian Antiquary*² more than twenty years earlier. Not for another ten years, however, did the importance of South Indian metal images begin to receive any kind of general recognition, a recognition that came largely as a result of the work of Haveli³ and Coomaraswamy. The latter author published an illustrated paper on some "Mahayana Buddhist Images from Ceylon and Java" in 1909⁴ and in 1910 his "Selected Examples of Indian Art", among which are included several metal images from Ceylon and South India. In 1910 there also appeared Arunachalam's "Ancient Bronzes in the Colombo Museum".⁵

Vincent Smith's "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon", first published in 1917 and extensively revised by Codrington in 1930, which has done much to show the relation of Indian art to Indian history, devotes several pages to metal images from South India and Ceylon. Such images are dealt with from another point of view in Coomaraswamy's "Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon" published in 1913 in the *World of Art* series. And drawings of several images belonging to the Madras Museum Collection are included among the "Illustrations of Metal Works in Brass and Copper, mostly South Indian" by Thurston, Velayuda Asari and Hadaway, printed in 1913 at the Madras Government Press, "not for sale".

In 1914 the Colombo Museum published in its *Memoirs* Coomaraswamy's "Bronzes from Ceylon, chiefly in the Colombo Museum", the only extensive work devoted exclusively to Ceylon metal images. The same author's "Visvakarma", published in the same year, contains illustrations of metal images from both India and Ceylon. In the following year (1915) the Indian Society of Oriental Art published O. C. Gangoly's "South Indian Bronzes", the fullest treatment of the subject that has yet appeared. In 1916 H. Krishna Sastri's "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses" was published at the Madras Government Press.

The existence of South Indian portrait statues in metal first became generally known in 1915, when several were figured in Gangoly's "South Indian Bronzes" and H. Krishna Sastri described and figured some from a temple in Tirupati⁶. Special attention has

¹ *J. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1895, pp. 617-637, 5 pl.

² Vol. I, 1872, p. 133.

³ e.g. "Indian Sculpture and Painting" (1908, with a revised and largely rewritten edition in 1928) and "The Ideals of Indian Art" (1911). In the latter the Tiruvalluvar Nataraja was figured for the first time.

⁴ *J. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1909, pp. 283-297, 3 pl.

⁵ *Spolia Zeylanica*, VI, pp. 57-74, 15 pl., 6 text figs.

⁶ *Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, p. 189, pl. lxxvi.

recently been paid to them by T. G. Aravamuthan in his "South Indian Portraits in Stone and Metal"¹ and "Portrait Sculpture in South India".²

Rodin's memoir on "La Danse de Civa" with twelve magnificent illustrations of two metal images from the Madras Museum (Natesa Nos. 3 and 5) appeared in *Ars Asiatica* in 1921 and is much the most detailed study of any South Indian images that has yet been made.

In 1922 Coomaraswamy published a short account of some Saivite images, including a number of metal ones from South India that had been acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts³; and in 1923 he published his "Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston" and his "Portfolio of Indian Art", in both of which South Indian metal images find a place. Mention may also be made here of his "Bibliographies of Indian Art" which appeared in 1925. His "History of Indian and Indonesian Art", published in 1927 contains only a very brief reference to South Indian metal images, with a few illustrations, and adds nothing new concerning them.

A paper on "Indian Bronzes" by K. N. Sitaram appeared in the *Connaissance* for June 1924⁴, in which a number of images are figured, chiefly from the Victoria and Albert, and Leyden Museums⁵.

"Southern Indian Bronzes" form the subject of Vol. I of O. C. Gangoly's *Little Books on Asiatic Art*. This book which was published in 1927, provides a useful and well illustrated brief introduction to the subject. It must not be confused with his earlier and much more extensive treatise "South Indian Bronzes" to which reference has already been made. Several noteworthy papers on South Indian metal images have been contributed to *Rupam*, his "illustrated quarterly journal of oriental art, chiefly Indian":—

1921. A Statuette of a Saiva Devotee, by the Editor.

1922. Notes on the Composition of Line in Nataraja Images, by W. S. Hadaway.

Note on a Dated Nataraja from Belur, by W. S. Hadaway.

1924. Notes on two Jaina Metal Images, by W. S. Hadaway.

¹ Larar & Co., London, 1930.

² Indian Society, London, 1931.

³ *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston* XX, pp. 15—24, 10 figs.

⁴ Pages 65, 72, 78 text figs. 3 pl. We are indebted to Mr. Cudrington for calling our attention to this paper.

⁵ The broken bust from the Victoria and Albert Museum shown in Sitaram's last plate as "Siva (?) Ancient Pallava bronze figure" is of special interest on account of its apparent antiquity. Nothing is said in the text as to the reasons for the identification and period given. Having only a single pair of arms, and a lotus but none of Siva's special emblems in the hair, Chandikesvara seems to us a more probable identification, and this receives confirmation from the fact that the left hand is in the *kalaka* pose as if to hold something in exactly the position of the arm of Chandikesvara No. 1 of the Madras Museum collection. The right arm is unfortunately broken off above the elbow. If, however, our identification is correct, the image is unlikely to be a Pallava one. For, though Chandikesvara is the one Saivite saint of whom Pallava images are known, in these images he always stands before Siva with hands in *anjali* pose and holding neither axe nor flower, independent images with axe or flowers having apparently come into use only in Chola times.

1927. A Bronze Vishnu in the Trivandrum Museum, by the Editor.

Indian Sculpture at the Asiatic exhibition at Cologne, 1926, by A. Salmony.

1930. A new South Indian Bronze, by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

An early South Indian "Bronze", by Stella Kramrisch.

Such information as is available concerning the history, method of casting, postures, symbolism, etc., of South Indian metal images has been brought together by Gangoly in the introduction to his "South Indian Bronzes" (1925) and is briefly summarised in his "Southern Indian Bronzes" (1927), to which reference has already been made.

ICONOGRAPHY.

Hindu iconography is a large and complex subject, and it would be out of place to attempt any extensive account of it here.¹ The following brief summary of the chief characteristics of the principal figures, especially such as are represented among South Indian Hindu metal images, must however be given in explanation of the subject-matter of this catalogue. The terms used in describing the conventional poses and their symbolism will be found explained on pp. 17-18 and those used in describing articles of dress and adornment on pp. 18-20. Some emblems, especially the bow, arrow, mace, spear, vina and flowers, that are prescribed as being held in the hands, are often inserted separately, the images being cast simply with the hand or hands that should hold them in the *kataka* or holding pose. Most images have more than one pair of arms, arranged more or less in a line from above or behind to below or in front. It is usually convenient to refer to these pairs as upper or lower, but in some cases, especially where these terms are not strictly accurate and might even mislead, they are referred to as first, second, third, etc., always counting from above or behind to below or in front.

The three principal Hindu gods, together known as the *Trimūrti*, are *Brahmā* the creator, *Vishnu* the preserver and *Śiva* the destroyer. *Brahma* has no separate temples, but his images may be found in niches in the temples of other gods. *Vishnu* and *Śiva* are each regarded by their respective followers as supreme over all others.

Brahmā has four faces and two pairs of hands, of which the upper right hand holds a rosary and the upper left a vessel with a spout (*kamandala*). The *hamsa* or sacred swan is the *rāhana* or "vehicle" both of himself and of his consort *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of

¹ For further information the following works may be consulted: Mon's "Hindu Pantheon" (Madras, 1844); Jouveau-Dubreuil's "Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde, II, Iconographie" (Paris, 1914); Gopinatha Rao's "Elements of Hindu Iconography" (Madras, 1 1914, II 1916); Krishna Sastri's "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses" (Madras, 1916); Macdonell's "History of Hindu Iconography" (*Rupam*, 1920, No. 4, pp. 11-15); Bhatnagar's "Varieties of the Vishnu Image" (*Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 2, 1920, pp. 23-31, pl. vii-viii); Bhatnagar's "Indian Images, Pt. I, the Brahmanic Iconography" (Calcutta, 1921); the Hindu mythology and iconography sections on pp. 11-22 and 31-36 respectively of Coomaraswamy's "Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston" (Boston, 1923); Bhatnagar's "Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum" (Dacca, 1929).

learning. She has two pairs of hands, of which the upper right and lower left hold respectively a rosary and a book, the other two holding a *vinā*. *Savitri*, the tutelary deity of an important *mantra*, is also associated with Brahma, being regarded as a second consort.

Vishnu (pl. i) wears a *kirita-makuta* and carries a discus on his right and a conch on his left, usually in the upper of two pairs of hands. His consorts are *Sri Devi* (*Lakshmi*) and *Bhu Devi* (below, pp. 6-7) and his *vahana* *Garuda* (below, p. 8).

In certain places he is specially worshipped in some form in which he is believed to have become manifest there. The chief of these forms are—

Varadaḍṇa of *Conjeevaram* (pl. ii, figs. 3 and 4), with the right hand of the lower pair in the *varada* pose and the left either resting on a mace (as in his principal image at *Conjeevaram*) or in the *katyavalambita-hasta*.

Śrīnivāsa of *Tirupati* (pl. iii), with the right hand of the lower pair in the *abhaya* pose and the left placed against his thigh to show that the ocean of mundane activities (*samsāra*) is only thigh-deep to his devotees.

Ranganātha of *Srirangam*, reclining on a serpent bed.

Pāduranga of *Pandharpur*, with only one pair of hands. They rest on or hang beside his hips, the left one in the latter case holding a conch.

Other important special forms of *Vishnu* are—

Vaṅkṁthanātha, sitting on a serpent couch.

Dharmavartari, the tutelary deity of *Hindu medicine*, holding a vessel of medicine in one or both of his two hands, and seated in front of a disc bearing his discus and conch. Though represented by two small images in the *Madras Museum* collection this form is of much less importance than *Vaṅkṁthanātha* and *Lakshminarayana*.

Lakshminarayana, with his consort *Lakshmi* on his left knee, supported by his left arm.

Vishnu's consorts, *Śrī Devi* (*Lakshmi*), the goddess of well-being¹ and *Bhū Devi* the earth goddess (pl. i, etc.), have their places on his right and left respectively. The former holds a lotus, usually fully open with seed-vessel exposed, in her left hand and the latter a blue waterlily, usually in bud, in her right.² The former but not the latter should have a band across her breasts. See also below, pp. 72-74.

As *Lakshmi* *Sri Devi* may be worshipped independently of *Vishnu*, when she may be shown with some of the characteristics properly belonging to *Bhū Devi*, and should hold a lotus in her right hand and a bael fruit in her left. As *Mahalakshmi*³ and *Gajalakshmi* she has two pairs of hands and is always seated with the lower right hand in the

¹ Often worshipped also as the goddess of material wealth and prosperity, though *Kubera* (the guardian of the north) is the Hindu god of riches.

² Very rarely the flowers are held in the opposite hands, as in the consorts of *Srinivasa* No. 1.

³ Not to be confused with the *Sakta* goddess *Malalakshmi* of *Kolhapur* (see below, p. 13).

abhaya and the lower left in the varada pose. *Mahalakshmi* holds a mace in her upper right hand and a bael fruit in her upper left. *Gajalakshmi* holds a lotus in each of these hands and should be attended by a pair of elephants, one on each side.

Vishnu is believed to become incarnate to punish the wicked, and to support the weak and helpless, whenever vice predominates and virtue wanes. His ten principal *avatars* or incarnations are the following—

Matsya, the fish that recovered the Vedas from the ocean, where they had been hidden by a demon.

Kūrma, the tortoise that supported the mountain used for churning the ocean of milk.

Varāha, the boar that rescued the earth from the ocean in which a demon had submerged it.

Narasimha (pl. v, pl. vi, fig. 1 and pl. ix, fig. 2), half lion, half man, that killed a demon king who had condemned his own son to death for his devotion to worship.

Vāmana, the dwarf who retrieved the universe by covering it in three strides. He is almost always represented with an umbrella. He carries a copy of the Vedas in his right hand and usually a spouted vessel (*kamandalu*) in his left. When taking his three strides he is known as *Trivikrama*.

Parasurama, who exterminated the Kshatriya or warrior caste with his axe.

Rāma (pl. vii), who saved the world by slaying *Ravana*, the demon king of Ceylon. His posture is that of a man holding an arrow in his right hand and the top of a bow (the other end of which rests on the ground) in his left.¹ He is usually accompanied by his brother *Lakshmana* in the same posture but somewhat smaller and his consort *Sita*,² an incarnation of *Lakshmi*, with a lotus in the hand nearest *Rama*.

Krishna, who destroyed a number of demons. He is worshipped under the following forms—

Vatapatrasāya, as a baby lying on a banyan leaf and holding his toe in his mouth.

Santānugopāla, the same but without the leaf.

Yasodakrishna (pl. xiii, fig. 16), as a child on the hip or lap of his mother *Yasoda*.

Bālakrishna, as a child crawling or dancing.

Navanitakrishna, as a child holding a ball of butter, usually dancing.

Kālikakrishna (pl. ix, fig. 3), as a five-year old boy subduing the serpent king *Kaliya*.

Vēṅugopāla (pl. x and xi), as a youth playing the flute.

¹ The bow and arrow are almost always missing but the posture is characteristic. *Arjuna*, who was also famed as an archer, can be distinguished from *Rama* by his not having a sacred thread and wearing ear-rings in the form of *patra-kundalas* instead of *makara-kundalas* (see below, p. 16).

² In sets in which *Sita* stands on *Rama*'s right she is individually indistinguishable from *Sri Devi* or *Rukmalī*, and in sets in which she stands on his left from *Bhū Devi*, *Satyabhama*, *Parvati*, etc. (see below, pp. 72-73).

Krishna, as a man, his right hand holding a shepherd's crook (usually missing) and his left elbow projecting to rest on his consort's shoulder.¹

Parthasarathi, as the teacher of Arjuna, the capacity in which he propounded the Bhagavad Gita.

Krishna is sometimes accompanied by a single consort, *Rukmini*, an incarnation of Lakshmi, who then stands on his left, and sometimes by two consorts when Rukmini stands on his right and his second consort *Satyabhama* on his left. They may either be identical in form with Sri Devi and Bhū Devi respectively or may differ in having their hair tied in a knot.

Buddha, sometimes replaced by *Jagannātha* (Vishnu as Lord of the World, the form in which he is specially worshipped in Puri on the Orissa coast). This incarnation is sometimes omitted from the list, *Balarāma*, Krishna's elder brother, being inserted instead between Rama and Krishna, with a plough as his emblem.

Kalki, who is to overcome the evil of the *Kali Yuga* and usher in a period of virtue and prosperity. He should ride on a white horse and be armed with sword and shield but is usually shown as a man with a horse's head.

For certain purposes Vishnu assumed forms known as minor avatars. Chief among them are—

Dattātrēya, a combined incarnation of the Trimurti, with three heads; attended by four dogs representing the four vedas.

Hayagrīva, a standing figure with horse's head and Vishnu's discus and conch.

Mohini, the beautiful woman who, after the churning of the ocean of milk, enticed the demons away from the immortalising drink so that only the gods should partake of it. In images she should be represented as letting fall her cloth to tempt those who see her.

Vishnu's attendants are—

Ananta, a snake with one or five heads, who serves as his couch.

Gurda (pl. viii, figs. 3 and 4), half-kite, half man, who serves as his vahana or "vehicle".

Vishvaksēna, his chamberlain, seated with right leg hanging down, a discus and conch in his upper pair of hands, lower right hand in tarjini pose or holding a cane, lower left hand resting on knee holding a mace.

Hanuman (pl. vi, figs. 2 and 3), the monkey chief who assisted Rama. He was the son of a monkey mother by *Vāyu*, god of the winds.

The Vaishnavite deified saints or *āchāryas*, of whom there are twelve (pl. xi, fig. 2), are represented each with a single pair of hands. When treated as disciples, subordinate

¹ The posture of Manmatha (see below, p. 16) is very similar, but Krishna (as a man, but not as a boy) should have *pankam-kundalas* as ear rings, while Manmatha should have *patra-kundalas*. Krishna has his right forearm and hand slightly lowered and Manmatha slightly raised. Krishna's consort Rukmini should have a band across her breasts and a lotus in her hand. Manmatha's consort Rati should have no such band and may hold a mirror or a lotus.

to some other figure, and sometimes even as isolated figures, any of them may be seated, with hands in the anjali pose, losing their individual characteristics. In traditional chronological order¹ they are—

Poygai Alvar, with knot of hair behind, sacred thread present, standing with hands in anjali pose.

Bhūtat-Ālvār (*Bhūtan*), indistinguishable from Poygai Alvar.

Pēy Alvar, indistinguishable from Poygai Alvar.

Tirumalāi Alvar, with knot of hair in front, sacred thread absent,² standing with hands in anjali pose and with eyes half closed.

Madhvakavi Alvar, with knot of hair in front, sacred thread present, standing with a pair of cymbals one in each hand.

Nammalvar, without sacred thread, seated on a lotus throne with the right hand in either the jnana or the upadesa pose and with a palm-leaf manuscript (usually missing) on the up-turned palm of the left hand.³

Kulaśekhara Alvar, with royal headdress to indicate his kingly rank; standing with hands in the anjali pose.

Perriyālvār, with only a small knot of hair in front, sacred thread present, standing with a bell in each hand.

Laddā, a woman, standing decorated as a bride, the right hand holding a flower (usually a lotus), the left hand hanging down.

Tondaradippadi Alvar, with only a small knot of hair in front, sacred thread present, standing with a flower basket hanging from his forearm or (more rarely) from a staff carried against his shoulder.

Tiruppāva Alvar, with knot of hair in centre of head, sacred thread absent, standing with hands in anjali pose, a tambura (a stringed instrument) resting against his left shoulder.⁴

Tirumaligai Alvar, with knot of hair in centre of head, sacred thread absent, standing with sword in right hand and shield in left.

Of the line of Vaishnavite teachers or *ācāryas*, beginning with Vishnu, Lakshmi and Vishvakṣena, only the next seven and Vedānta Desika (who comes much later in the list) need be referred to here. The first of these is Nannamalvar (see above under *alvars*). The rest are Brahmins and wear the sacred thread. They are represented associated with their

¹ Tradition places the *alvars* in the third and fourth millenniums B.C., but it is now evident that some and probably all of them really lived in the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. For further information regarding them see Hooper's "Hymns of the Alvars" (*Journal of Indian Studies*, Association Press, 1929) and the works enumerated in his bibliography (p. 30), especially Gopinatha Rao's "History of the Sri Vaishnavas" (*Madras Govt. Press*, 1923).

² Though of Brahmin birth he was brought up by a Sudra and considered himself as such.

³ Nothing seems to be prescribed as regards the knot of hair, but in all three images in the Madras Museum collection it is more or less at the back of the head, hanging definitely to the right side in the two best. In the Tadikkombu image figured in Gopinatha Rao's "Elements of Hindu Iconography" II, pl. xxxvii it leans a little to the left.

⁴ In the Tadikkombu image figured by Gopinatha Rao he has a pair of cymbals instead, one in each hand.

hands in the anjali pose, Alavandar and Ramanuja, being sanyasis, carrying a cloth for straining water attached like a flag to the end of a triple staff (*tridanda*). Vedanta Desika may carry the summary of the Vedas from which he taught. Tradition places these eight in the following order:—¹

<i>Nammālvār.</i>	|	<i>Alavandar.</i>
<i>Nāthamūti.</i>	|	<i>Periya Nambi.</i>
<i>Uvakkundār.</i>	|	<i>Rāmānuja.</i>
<i>Munakkāl Nambī.</i>	|	<i>Vēdānta Deśika.</i>

Vishnu's principal emblems, borne in his hands and carried separately in his processions, are two

Śankha or *Conch*, the sacred shell, his trumpet.

Chakra or *Discus*, his weapon, in the form of a wheel with six or more radii. It is sometimes personified as *Sadaśaya*, when the obverse bears a fierce 4 or many armed figure wearing a kirita-makuta surrounded by flames and carrying Vishnu's emblems, the reverse often bearing a figure of Narasimha usually in the yoga pose.

Representations of Vishnu's feet (*Śrī Pāda*) or sandals (*Pādūkā*) mounted on a lotus pedestal are placed on the heads of Vaishnavites at the close of their worship. The former image is often supposed to represent the spirit of Nammalvar and is then called *Śathūri*.

Śiva, the third member of the Trimurti, is generally worshipped as a phallus or *liṅga* in the central shrines of his temples. Images of him are, however, also worshipped as well as being taken round in procession during festivals. His matted hair is tied up on the top of his head to form a jata-makuta, which is usually decorated with a jewel, skull, snake, crescent moon, and flowers.² In South India his most usual emblems are the axe and the antelope; further north the trident is more often seen. His other emblems are the drum (*damru*), skull-cup and various weapons of war.³ He should have three eyes, and in most forms should wear a makara-kundala in his right ear and a patra-kundala in his left. His consort is Parvati (below, pp. 12-13) and his vahana or "vehicle" is the bull Nandi (below, p. 14). He has two aspects, the benign and the terrible. Both aspects have a number of forms, each of which was assumed for some particular purpose.

Benign forms were assumed for the blessing of devotees. The most important of them are—

Sukhāsana, unmarried, sitting at ease.

Chandrasekhra (pl. i, figs. 1 and 2), standing erect with axe in upper right hand and antelope in upper left; unaccompanied. The crescent moon should be conspicuous in his headdress.

¹ Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika alone are historical. The former lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. and the latter about two centuries later.

² The flowers specially associated with Śiva are dardhura (*Dardura*, the thorn-apple), aragvata (*Cassia fistula*, the Indian laburnum), arka (*Calotropis gigantea*), nagapatra (*Artemisia vulgaris*, fleabane or Indian wormwood), and rudra samikha (*Cleistanthus ternata*, the crow-pea), as well as the usual lotus.

³ The conch and discus are sometimes included among his weapons.

*Pradoshamurti*¹ (Chandrasekhara) standing leaning towards and with his left arm round his consort Parvati who holds a blue water-lily instead of her usual lotus.

*Umanabhesvara*² seated with Parvati (Uma) on his left knee. Siva's emblems as in Chandrasekhara. Parvati with lotus.

Umasahita (pl. xiv fig. 2) standing erect or seated with Parvati beside him. Emblems as in Umanabhesvara.

Somasakanda (pl. xv) as in seated figures of Umachitru but with their son Subrahmanya (Skanda) between Siva and Parvati.

Kalyanasundara when marrying *Umalakshi* (Puvai) is the daughter of a Pandy in King of Madura and sister of Vishnu. Their right hands are held together so that Vishnu who is usually included in the group may pour water over them from a spouted vessel in his right hand in token of giving the bride away. Siva's upper part of hands hold the axe and antelope. Vishnu's the discus and conch. Vishnu's lower left hand should be in the kirtimukha (face) pose.

Gangadhara standing holding a trident obliquely across his back the form in which to prevent a flood he entangled the Ganges in his hair during its descent to earth. The goddess Ganga should be seen in his hair.

*Lishapaharana*³ (pl. xiii fig. 5) with axe and antelope in upper part of hands and in lower right hand a vessel containing the poison produced by churning the ocean of milk.

Dakshinamurti the form in which he taught philosophy to certain rishis. Upper right hand with snake, left with fire, lower right hand in upadesa pose, copy of Vedis in lower left.

Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (pl. xiv fig. 1), holding in his lower hands the vina on which he taught music to certain rishis. Upper hands with axe and antelope.

Natesa or *Nataraja* (pl. xvi xviii) dancing to quell the pride of Kali. Upper right hand with drum, left in urdhvachandra pose bearing flame. Lower right in abhaya pose, left in gajabasti pose pointing to upadesa, left foot as refuge for his devotees. Right foot crushing the demon *Malyagaj*. Hair with feathers as well as usual crescent etc. His longer locks flung outwards by whirl of dance. Sometimes associated with Parvati who is then known as *Syakamasundari*.

¹ The name *Pradoshamurti* is derived from the practice of taking such images in procession with the temple on *pradosha* days, i.e. two hours before the full moon.

² In all other forms of imagery relating Siva and Parvati are together and form a very significant though simpler. In *Umanabhesvara* alone among Siva images, as in *Sikkinganayaka* among other local images, the figures have equal significance. *Umanabhesvara* can only be worshipped by himself while the other is the officiating priest must be accompanied by his wife who shares whatever he receives.

³ After drinking the poison his neck became blue as Parvati prevented it from being swallowed. He is then known as *Nelakumbha*, a more popular form than *Vaidapaharna* but less suitable as the subject of a metal image.

Terrible forms of Siva always stand. They usually have a pair of tusks protruding from the upper jaw, except in cases such as the first two of the following list which are represented as having already done their deeds of terror (for which they may even be atoning), not as still engaged upon them. The chief terrible forms are—

Bhikṣhātana, naked as a beggar to expiate the sin of cutting off Brahma's head. Right hand of first pair with drum, left with trident adorned with peacock's feathers; right hand of second pair stretched downwards towards antelope, left holding Brahma's skull. Sandals on feet. Sometimes attended by demon *Kumbhāra* holding a basin.

Kaikkālamūrti, using the vertebral columns of Vishvakṣena and others as a staff held in the left hand of the first pair. Not naked. Right hand of this pair stretched downwards towards antelope (not always shown); right and left hands of second pair with drumstick and drum respectively. Sandals on feet.

Bhūruṇa (pl. xx, fig. 3), as protector of the universe. Naked. Represented in sixty-four different forms, of which the commonest is accompanied by a dog and has at least two pairs of hands of which the first pair holds a drum and a noose on right and left respectively.

Virābhadrā, with a linga in his headdress, and carrying sword and shield. Usually with other weapons of war in additional pairs of hands. He wears sandals and either carries the head of a goat or, more usually, is accompanied by his father-in-law, Dakṣa, shown as a human figure with a goat's head, being identified with his sacrifice which is said to have transformed itself into a goat when Virābhadrā came to destroy it.

Kālāmūrti, protecting his devotee *Mārkaṇḍeya* by piercing *Yama*, the god of death, with his trident. *Markandeya* usually clings to a linga, while *Yama* is accompanied by his vahana, the buffalo.

As *Harī-Hara* Siva is combined with Vishnu, the right hand of the upper pair carrying Siva's axe and the left Vishnu's conch, the lower right being in the abhaya and the lower left in the varada pose. Another combination of Siva on the right and Vishnu on the left is known as *Saṅkara-Nandayana*, differing from *Harī-Hara* in having a moustache and any of the respective emblems of Siva and Vishnu, no particular ones being specified.

Siva is also combined with his consort or sakti, Parvatī. This combination, right half male and left half female, is named *Ardhamārisvāra* (pl. xx, fig. 2). Some believe that Siva can only function when combined with sakti, the female principle.

Pārvatī or *Amṛikā* (pl. xiv and xv; also pl. xxi, fig. 1), when represented merely as Siva's consort, has a single pair of hands of which the right holds a lotus (usually in bud) while the left hangs at her side in standing images and is either in the varada or kataka pose or resting on the seat in seated ones.¹ When represented alone she is always seated and has two pairs of hands, of which the upper hold the axe and noose and the lower are in the abhaya and varada poses on right and left respectively. In her special form known as *Rājardīśvārī*, instead of being in these poses, the lower right holds a quiver containing five

¹ Such images are often more or less completely identical with images of Bhū Devi, etc. See below, pp. 72-73.

flowers and the lower left a sugarcane. As one of the "Seven mothers" (*Sapt mātṛikās*) who during a battle between the gods and demons, prevented the blood of the demon *Audhaka* from falling to the earth and there generating other demons, Parvati is known as *Māhēśvari* and carries the axe and antelope, each of the Seven Mothers carrying the emblems of her consort.

The Sakta sect regard the female principle, whom they call *Devī*, as the supreme deity. As the Saktas are a Saivite sect they commonly identify her with the consort of Siva. She has three main forms, *Durgā* the fighter, the angry *Kālī* and *Mahālakṣmī* of *Kōḥapuri*.

As *Durgā* she should always hold in her upper pair of hands the Vaiṣṇavite emblems conch and discus, their relative positions being sometimes reversed. *Durgā*'s chief forms are—

Durgā, with kirita-makuta, breast-band and two pairs of arms.

Chāmundā and *Mahāśāsurāṇḍanā*, each with more than two pairs of arms. As the former she trampled to death the demons *Chanda* and *Munda*, while as the latter she killed with her trident the demon king *Mahāśāsura* who was ravaging the world in the form of a buffalo.

As *Kālī* she carries any of Siva's emblems except the antelope. Some of the possible combinations characterise forms that have received distinctive names associated with special acts. All forms, however, come under one or other of two generalized forms.

Kālī (pl. xiv, fig. 1), with two pairs of arms.

Bhadrakālī, with four or more pairs of arms, the additional pairs bearing weapons of war or additional emblems.

As *Mahālakṣmī* of *Kōḥapuri* she should be seated and bear a *mūga* on her head. She should carry a mace and shield in her upper pair of hands and a vessel and baṭī fruit in her lower pair, on right and left respectively in each case.

Ganeśa or *Ganapati* (pl. xvii) is Siva's eldest son. His vahana is the musk-rat. He has the head of an elephant and ordinarily has two pairs of arms, the upper carrying a goad and a noose and the lower his broken tusk and a rice-cake on right and left respectively. When additional arms are present they carry various Saivite emblems. As *Mahāganapati* he has at least five pairs of arms. He is usually considered to be unmarried, but in his *Mahaganapati* form he is sometimes represented as seated with his consort on his left knee, the combined image being known as *Saktiganapati*. By some he is regarded as the supreme being.

Subrahmanya, Siva's second son, is represented with one pair of arms as a child or when seated without his vahana the peacock, two pairs when standing and three, four or six pairs when seated on his peacock. He has two wives, *Vaṭī* and *Dhṛuṣṇā*, indistinguishable from *Sri Devī* and *Bhū Devī* except by their association with *Subrahmanya* instead

of with Vishnu. He usually carries a weapon known as *śakti*¹ and a thunder-bolt (*vajra*). He is known as *Rājasubrahmanya* as a child, either standing with lotuses or a lotus and a fruit in his hands, or dancing; as *Shannukha* when represented with six heads; and as *Devikashubrahmanya* when teaching his father the significance of the syllable *ōm*, seated on his peacock in an attitude suggestive of teaching with his *sakti* held in two of his hands. When standing with a staff in his right hand and his left hand on his thigh, wearing nothing but a strip of cloth between his legs, he is known as *Paṇi-Aṇḍi*, this being the form in which he is worshipped at Palni.

Ayamū (pl. xxi. fig. 10), is the son of Siva and Mohini, a female form assumed by Vishnu (see above, p. 8). His hair is almost always spread out in the manner usual among Saivite deities in their terrible aspect; and he should hold either an elephant goad, a whip or a crook. He is often represented as riding either an elephant or a horse. He is specially worshipped as the guardian deity of villages (see below, pp. 16-17).

Siva's attendants are -

Nandi, his *vahana* or "vehicle" the bull, represented either in natural form or in human form with bull's head.

Dvāpālaka, his door-keeper, with two pairs of hands² holding either Siva's emblems or weapons of war.

Parvati's attendants are-

Simha, her *vahana* the lion.

Dvāpālaka, her door-keeper, a female counterpart of *Dvāpālaka*, with two pairs of hands, holding either Parvati's emblems or weapons of war.

The Saivite deified saints include, in addition to the four well-known hymnologists, many of somewhat uncertain position, of whom *Chandikesvara* alone is of importance. He is regarded as the custodian of the property of every Saivite temple and as such must be visited by every worshipper last thing before leaving. He is the only Saivite saint of whom sculptures of Pallava age are known. If all these saints of uncertain position were included in the list given of his 62 predecessors by *Sundaramurti*, the last of the line, some of them must have been known to him by names no longer recognizable as applying to them. All Saivite saints are usually represented as standing. Each has a single pair of arms. The following alone need concern us—

Chandikesvara (pl. xix, fig. 2 and pl. xxi, fig. 3), the custodian of Saivite temple property. He has long hair secured in either a *jata-makuta*, *jata-bandha* or *kesa-bandha*. He usually carries an axe. His hands are usually in the *anjali* pose, sometimes with a flower garland between them.

Kṛṣṇappa Nāyṇār (pl. xix, figs. 3 and 4), the hunter who gave his eyes to Siva. He wears clothing suited to his business, with leather sandals, and carries a bow and arrow. His hands are in the *anjali* pose.

¹ Sometimes represented by a spear, for which the Tamil word is *vēl*. On account of this *Subrahmanya* is often known as *Vēlāyudha*.

² In Pallava sculptures the doorkeepers have only a single pair of hands—as indication that they must anticipate the *śilpa* murti. No Pallava images seem, however, yet to be known in metal.

Mānikkavāchakar, author of the *Tiruvāchagam* collection of hymns. He worked for Saivism against the Buddhists, probably in about the sixth century A.D., though possibly somewhat later. His right hand is in the upadesa pose and in his left he holds a leaf of manuscript.

Appar, author of the greater part of the *Tēvāram* collection of hymns. He lived in the seventh century A.D. He carries a spud and has his hands in the anjali pose.

Tirujñāna Sambandha, who as a child was nourished by Parvati on her own milk. He composed the *Tiruppāttu* collection of hymns. He seems to have lived in the early part of the ninth century A.D. As a child his right hand is either in the *vismaya* pose or pointing upwards to Siva, while in his left he holds a cup for Parvati's milk. As a man he holds a pair of cymbals, one in each hand. We know of nothing by which images of the latter type can be distinguished from those of Madhurakavi Alvar, except when they happen to bear rudraksha beads or to have Saivite associations. They are however rare, images of him as a child being much more popular.

Saundamūrti, who added to the *Tēvāram*. He was the last of the Saivite saints and appears to have been more or less contemporary with Tirujñāna Sambandha. He is shown as singing in ecstasy.

The only emblem of Siva carried separately in processions is the *sula* or trident. Sometimes it bears a small figure of Siva in front. A *sula* to be carried in Kali processions always bears in front a figure of *Pidāri*, one of Kali's most terrible forms, and is therefore known as *Śūlapidāri*.

Subrahmanya's weapon the *śakti*, in the form of a spear (Tamil, *vel*), is carried separately in his processions.

The *Dikpālas* or guardian deities of the eight directions or points of the compass are as follows:—

Indra, with thunderbolt; on elephant. God of rain. East.

Agni, with two heads. God of fire. South-east.

Yama, on buffalo. God of death. South.

Nirṛiti, on man. South-west.

Vaṇṇa, on makara or crocodile. God of the sea. West.

Vāyu, with fan; on deer. God of wind. North-west.

Kubera, on horse. God of riches. North.

Īśāna, one of the many forms of Siva; with his usual emblems. North-east.

The following are the *Navagrahas* or nine planets—

Sūrya, the sun, with a lotus flower in each hand of one (usually his only) pair. Often with a halo round his head. His chariot is drawn by seven horses and has only a single wheel.

Chandra, the moon, with a water-lily in each hand of one (usually his only) pair. Often with a halo round his head. His chariot is drawn by ten horses and has two wheels.

Aṅgaraka, Mars, with a club and a three-pronged mace.

Indra, Mercury, on a lion.

Brhaspati, Jupiter, with book and a rosary.

Sakra, Venus, with a treasure chest.

Śani, Saturn, with trident, bow and arrow.

Rāhu one of the two eclipse-demons, with sword and shield.

Ketu, the other eclipse-demon, with club.

The only other orthodox Hindu god that need be included in this list is *Maṃmatha* with his consort *Rati*. He is the Hindu equivalent of Cupid, but is always regarded as an adult, not as a child. In his right hand he holds a five-flowered arrow in such a way as to imbibe its full fragrance; his left arm either rests on or bears a sugar-cane bow¹. *Rati*, who should be of ravishing beauty, holds either a mirror or a lotus in one hand, the other hanging down. She has no breast-band.

Of *semi-divine heroes* the only one that need be mentioned is *Arjuna*, one of the five Pandava brothers of the Mahābhārata epic. He has no sacred thread. Being a worshipper of Siva his hair has the form of a jata-makuta, but being a king he has royal clothing; having lived for some years in disguise as a eunuch, he is usually shown wearing patra-kundalas; being an archer he is usually shown standing in much the same attitude as Rama. But when listening to Krishna propounding the precepts afterwards recorded as the Bhagavad Gita he is shown as a king, half-kneeling, with quiver on one shoulder and bow on the other, his hands in the añjali pose.

Rishis or seers are shown as old men with their hair tied in a jata-bandha and with long pointed beards. They may be either standing doing penance, seated practising yoga, or seated preaching with the right hand in the upadesa pose. The most important of them is *Agastya*, who is believed to have introduced Aryan culture to South India and to have carried it thence eastwards to islands across the sea. He is shown as a short fat man standing with a spouted vessel (*kamandalu*) in one hand. He is specially worshipped by seamen.

Figures of *worshippers*, etc., especially kings and other religious benefactors, must also be mentioned. They usually stand with hands in the añjali pose (pl. xxiii, figs. 4 and 8).

Village deities or *grāma-devatās*, not recognized by orthodox Hindus, are extensively worshipped by others, especially *Muniśvara* and deities of a cult centering round *Aiyandar*. *Muniśvara*² is represented by a block of stone or a tree,

¹ These emblems are rarely present and have to be inferred from the postures of the arms, which are very like those characteristic of Krishna as a man except that the right forearm and hand are slightly raised, whereas in Krishna they are slightly lowered. As a man, moreover, Krishna should wear mukhara-kundalas whereas Maṃmatha cannot aspire to more than patra-kundalas.

² Both Muniśvara and Madurai-Viṇa are worshipped by villagers generally. The latter seems to be semi-historical as a general under the Nayaks of Madurai. (*South Arcot District Gaz.* I., p. 101.)

Apart from *Aiyandir* himself, who is also regarded as orthodox (see above, p. 14) the chief deities of his cult are—

*Madurai-Viran*¹ (pl. xxiii, fig. 13), his general, standing with sword and shield.

*Karuppanmaswami*², his attendant worshipped in four principal forms, in all of which he is represented as standing—

Karuppanmaswami (pl. xxiii, fig. 14), with bill-hook.

Kuṭṭu-Karuppan, also with bill-hook but of short stature.

Chappadi-Karuppan (pl. xxiii, fig. 15), lame and leaning on a staff.

Saṅgili-Karuppan (pl. xxiii, fig. 12), with a chain in one hand and a vessel in the other.

There are various other local village deities; and village heroes who lose their lives may be deified as *piras* and images representing them may be made. Images may also be made as *votive offerings*.

The *mudras* or poses of the hands and fingers, which form an important part of the symbolism of Indian images, and often impart to them a peculiar air of delicacy and grace, are described and illustrated on pp. 265-267, pl. i-iv of Krishna Sastri's "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses," from pp. 42-45 of Gangoly's "South Indian Bronzes" and from pp. 14-16 of his "Southern Indian Bronzes." In the last mentioned of these books the author points out that "In the movements of the arms and fingers the Indian artist has devised a 'highly formalized and cultivated gesture language' which has been the means of interpreting the feelings and the motives of the mind and has been very skilfully utilized by the Southern *sthapatis* [image makers], as effectively as the gestures of the body (*bhāngas*), in conveying by values of movements, ecstatic raptures and spiritual moods. They have been devised as exquisite artifices for suggesting, as it were, a refinement of external action corresponding to a refinement of feeling. Some of these gestures, apart from their significance and symbolism, are wonderfully articulate with a grace and tenderness which is truly spiritual and non-human. These movements of the hands and 'finger plays' (*mudras*) have been characteristically called by Sukracharya as 'divya-kriya' or divine actions, being distinguished in their conventions from the movement and gesture of the ordinary human being. Of these 'actions' of the hands and 'finger plays' there are some typical poses common to all the schools of Indian sculpture, borrowed from the language of dance-gestures³ laid down in the *natya-sastra* of Bharata, while some appear to have been devised by Southern Indian sculptors."

The most important of these *mudras* for this catalogue are the following—

Abhaya, suggesting protection (pl. ii, figs. 1 and 2, front right hand).

Varada, suggesting bestowal (pl. ii, figs. 3 and 4, front right hand).

¹ See footnote 1, p. 16. Tirumangai Alvar holds same emblems as Madurai-Viran.

² Karuppanmaswami is worshipped chiefly by the *hālars*.

³ See Coomaraswamy's "Mirror of Gesture" (Harvard, 1917). Recent investigations by Mr. Stan Harding suggest that they are based on a complete gesture language still understood in rural areas.

Āhaya-varaṇḍā, suggesting beckoning to come and receive (pl. xv, fig. 2, Siva's lower left hand).

Vyākhyāna or *upadēśa* (with palm of hand facing outwards), suggesting exposition.

Jñāna and *chra* (with palm of hand facing inwards), the former suggesting knowledge and the latter realization of the absolute.

Yōga, suggesting meditation.

Tarjini, suggesting threatening.

Sūchi, suggesting pointing.

Vismaya, suggesting wonder or ecstasy.

Kataka, usually suggesting holding but sometimes without any special meaning (pl. xxi, fig. 1, right hand).

Ardha-chandra, resembling a half-moon (pl. xviii, back left hand).

Añjali-hasta, suggesting supplication¹ (pl. xxi, fig. 3).

Katyavambhita-hasta, or hand on or beside hip (pl. iii, Srinivasa's front left hand).

Lāla-hasta, or arm loosely extended.

Lambita-hasta, or arm loosely hanging (pl. xxi, fig. 1, left arm).

Danda-hasta, or arm straight like a stick.

Gajā-hasta, or elephant trunk arm (pl. xviii, front left arm).

The clothes and articles of adornment shown in the images must now be briefly described in explanation of the terms used in connection with them.

The head is usually surmounted by a headdress which may be either a *makuta*, the tall headdress characteristic of royalty, or a *bandha* which is simply a knot of hair. Vishnu wears a *kirtita-makuta* (lit. conical crown). Siva, on the other hand, has his matted locks themselves plaited so as to form a structure of more or less similar shape known as a *jata-makuta*. Goddesses ordinarily wear a *karanda-makuta*, so-called from its resemblance to a pile of inverted pots. This form of headdress is also worn by Ganesa, and sometimes by Balasubrahmanya, Hanuman, etc. A *bandha* may be composed, according to the character of the figure portrayed, either of hair carefully combed or plaited, when it is known as a *kēśa-bandha*, or of matted locks when it is known as a *jata-bandha*. In Krishna, especially as a child, and in his consorts, the hair is often wrapped round a circular ring of rushes such as is commonly used as a stand for a water pot. This form of *kesa-bandha* is known as *kundā*. In terrible forms of both gods and goddesses the hair usually spreads out, often in more or less flame-like form, at the sides of the head.

The back of the head, especially in the case of gods and goddesses, usually bears a projecting wheel-like structure to support the garlands with which the images are loaded during processions.

¹ The *ahaya-varaṇḍā* pose is not always distinguishable from the *kataka*. In case of doubt the apparent intention of the artist has to be taken into consideration. Thus in several Umamahā images (e.g., Umamahā Nos. 4 and 5 and Somamahā Nos. 1, 2 and 3), Siva's front left hand and Parvati's right hand are practically identical; but this pose must be interpreted in the former as the *ahaya-varaṇḍā* and in the latter as the *kataka* (for holding a lotus).

² See also below, p. 132.

Almost all images have earrings or *kundalas*. Ordinarily these are either *makara-kundalas*, in the form of a *makara* or dragon not unlike a crocodile with an elephant's trunk, or *patra-kundalas*, the cylindrical form of which is based on that of a curled leaf. Sometimes the hole in the middle of the latter type of earring is closed, when they are known as *tôlas*. *Makara-kundalas* should be worn by gods of the *sātvika* (sublime) and *patra-kundalas* by those of the *rājasa* (middle) type, gods of intermediate type often having one of each, the former on the right and the latter on the left side. Gods of the *rājasika* (sensual and destroying) type may have any kind of earring except *makara-kundalas*, that of the right ear not infrequently having human form. Valour is sometimes indicated by *simha-kundalas* or earrings in the form of a lion's head. Lotus buds are often worn behind the ear-lobe, and festoons usually hang from the ears on to the shoulders.

On the upper part of the arm there are usually armlets or *keyūras* and on the wrist wristlets or *valayas*. Sometimes they have the form of a snake when they are known as *nāgābhūtas*. In some Siva images actual living snakes may be represented in their place.

Female figures wear the *tālī*, symbol of the marriage tie, round the neck. This has the form of a thread, usually with a small knot or ornamental fastening in front.

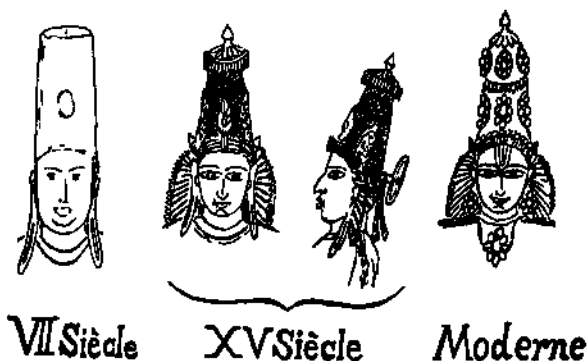
Necklaces, usually about three in number, are present in almost all images. They vary considerably in detail but usually hang from behind the neck over the upper part of the chest on which their main decorations are displayed. Sometimes one of them, usually the uppermost hanging across the others, is long and slender extending further downwards between the breasts. Sometimes these necklaces are so tied as to leave loose ends hanging down over the shoulders, where they may be developed into somewhat elaborate ornaments. It is often impossible to be sure whether such ornaments on the shoulders belong to the ear ornamentation or to the necklaces.

Images not only of gods and brahmin-saints but also often of goddesses wear the sacred thread or *yajñōpavīta*. This should consist of 3×3 strands hanging from the left shoulder and passing round the right hip, but the full number of strands is rarely shown. For the sake of decorative effect one strand (or one set of three strands where all nine are indicated) is usually carried round the right of the body above the waist, and often a corresponding strand (or set of strands) is similarly separated off on the left side, extending more or less directly downwards in front of the body and disappearing into the girdle. An ornamental knot is often shown uniting all the strands together above the left breast.

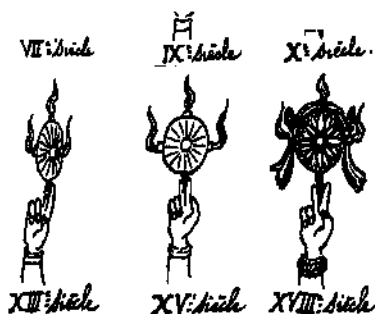
Images of Sri Devi and of infant deities such as Balakrishna and Balasubrahmanya almost always, of Parvati sometimes, and of other deities rarely, have another type of thread decoration instead of the *yajñōpavīta* or, very rarely, in addition to it. This falls between the breasts from the middle of the lowest necklace, and divides into three parts, of which the centre one hangs free and the other two extend outwards across the waist or hips, one on either side of the body, to join a similar thread attached to the middle of the same necklace behind, the end of which thread hangs free between them just as in front.

found in Jouveau-Dubreuil's "Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde, II, Iconographie". The conclusions there arrived at may be summarised as follows:—

The insignia of both Siva and Vishnu have undergone definite development in form as indicated in the figures here reproduced by kind permission of the author (pp. 6-7, 20, 60 and 63-65). Vishnu is never shown with a namam before the Vijayanagar period (p. 62.,



Text-fig. 1 Vishnu's head-dress.



Text-fig. 2. Evolution of Vishnu's discus.

Animal vahanas ("vehicles") for the different gods seem to have been introduced from North India in the twelfth century, Kali's lion alone of them having been known in the south before that time (p. 46).

It is suggested that the elephant and lion vahanas of Subrahmanya's two wives in modern iconography have been transferred to them from Indra and his wife, and Subrahmanya's insignia from Indra (p. 49). Arunukam (Subrahmanya with six faces) is exclusively modern (p. 50).

Images of Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman are not to be found in temples earlier than the 10th century (p. 8), Rama being regarded before that as a hero and not as an incarnation (p. 91 and footnote pp. 91-92). The cult of Rama seems to have spread in South India during the period of the Vijayanagar Empire, perhaps under the influence of its royal princes, whose capital still claims Hanuman as its special protector (p. 92).

As regards Krishna only two episodes, the subjugation of the serpent Kaliya and the raising of mount Govardhana, are represented in temples of the Pallava period. Representations of his earlier life, such as Balakrishna, Venu-gopala, Krishna with the gopis and Krishna with his two wives are entirely absent before the 12th century (pp. 105-107).

Neither Kalki nor Mohini are represented except in modern temples (p. 108).

In ancient representations of Lakshmi with elephants she is seated, in simple attire, in the middle of a pool and herself receives the water showered down by the elephants. In modern ones she is magnificently dressed and decorated with jewels, while the elephants pour water, not on her shoulders but on the flowers which she holds in her hands. The motive can be traced back in Buddhist sculpture to the second century B.C. (p. 109).

In Pallava temples Brahma is generally alone. When his wife is shown with him she does not carry a vina, and there is nothing to show that she had at this epoch been identified with the river goddess Sarasvati (p. 115).

Indra is represented in a sculpture of the later Chola period mounted on an elephant but with insignia which are now considered to be those of Subrahmanya (p. 119; also pl. xl, fig. A).

Friezes of Gandharvas were used as late as the later Chola period, but were replaced by friezes of animals in the Vijayanagar period. Gandharvas of the 6th-8th centuries are characterised by curly hair which falls on their shoulders like a wig (p. 121).

Dvarapalakas have a comparatively simple, human, form in Pallava temples; they are given a more terrible form in temples of the Chola period and become still more fearful-looking in modern ones (pp. 121-122, pl. xli).

From such evidence the author concludes that most of the Saivite legends scarcely differed in days before the 10th century from those of the present time, but that the

Vaishnavite legends have undergone considerable development. Before the 10th century he finds no representation of Rama or of anything pertaining to his story, nor of most of the stories of Krishna that are now most popular, nor of some of the other incarnations of Vishnu, such as Matsya, Parasurama, Balarama, Kalki and Mohini. It seems to him that towards the 14th century the success of the doctrines of certain Vaishnavite teachers such as Ramanuja, and doubtless also the protection of the Vijayanagar princes, produced a renaissance of the Vaishnavite cult, and that at this period the new religious ideas inspired a new iconography (pp 136-137).

This is not the place to discuss evidence for or against these conclusions as regards stone images. We are only concerned to ascertain whether, supposing them to be true for stone images, they can be shown to be applicable, with or without modification, to metal images also. If they can, the probability of their being true for stone images will thereby be strengthened; if they cannot, they require no further consideration here.

Most of them relate to the different periods of introduction of the images of different gods. And in the case of Gajalakshmi and of the Ilvarapalakas, though it is shown that development has taken place, there is nothing to show whether any particular stages in this development can be recognized as characteristic of any particular period. In the case of Vishnu, however, a more definite chronological significance is ascribed to the changes observed in the conch and discus. In the Pallava period, from about 600-800 A.D., these are held between the thumb and forefinger of the closed hand and are without flames or other decorations. During the 9th century they come to be held between the raised first and second fingers, but are still undecorated. In the 10th century flames first appear. Up to this time the discus is held with one of its flat faces turned towards Vishnu, but by the 13th century it is held obliquely and by the 15th with its edge towards Vishnu. In the latter century too, the namam first appears on the foreheads of Vishnu images. In more modern times decorative bows are added to both conch and discus.

EVIDENCE FROM THE MADRAS MUSEUM COLLECTION AND FROM INSCRIBED IMAGES ELSEWHERE.

As the conch and discus bear flames in all Vishnu images in the Madras Museum collection we must conclude that, if the above hypothesis is applicable, none are of Pallava age. This is only to be expected, for metal images are associated with processions and it was under the Chola kings that this side of temple activities was specially developed, which no doubt accounts for the fact that no Hindu metal image is known that can definitely be proved to be Pallava.

The discus has the 10th century position in Vishnus Nos. 2, 3 and 4 and somewhat less definitely in Srinivasa No. 1, the conch facing forwards in all of them (pl. ii & iii). In Vishnus Nos. 7 and 10 and somewhat less definitely in Srinivasa No. 5 the discus is in the 13th century position, the conch being similarly held facing obliquely inwards (pl. i & xiii). In all the rest both emblems face forwards as, according to Jouveau Dufréuil, is

the case in images from the 15th century onwards. The emblems bear decorative bows only in a very few small images of such crude workmanship that, except in the case of Vishnu No. 13, it is impossible to be sure whether they are really present with the flames or not. The namam, reduced to a single median streak or "tilaka" as it is then called, is present in Vishnu No. 13 and in several other more or less small crude images, and also in the ornate Varadaraja No. 7 and in the consorts of the larger Vishnu No. 9 though not in himself. A complete namam is found only in Srinivasa No. 4 and is so faint as to be recognizable only with difficulty in the somewhat rough patina covering the image. It is of the Varagatai form.

So far these observations seem to confirm those of Jouveau-Dubreuil, for in no case is the namam present, or are the emblems decorated with bows, in images in which the discus faces either directly or obliquely inwards, but only in such as may well be comparatively modern. But other characteristics of images in which the discus faces inwards must now be considered.

Taking first the series of four in which it faces directly inwards, there are several more or less distinctive features which they possess in common, especially in the treatment of the girdle and of the lace, both of which show a distinctly greater degree of realism and less formal convention than is usual, though this is naturally less clear in Vishnus Nos. 3 and 4, which are very small, than in the two larger ones¹. The lowest band of the girdle, instead of forming the usual conventional and almost rectangular median loop is more simply and naturally curved, hanging very slightly in the two small images and to a much greater extent in the two larger ones. In Vishnu No. 2 the series of slender moniliform festoons hanging from the upper part of the girdle, indicated in all but the smallest figure, include a median member which is encircled by this deep loop of the lowest band. It may also be pointed out that Vishnus Nos. 2, 3 and 4 hold a lotus bud in the front right hand which is absent in all the images of Srinivasa. In Vishnu No. 2 this has the natural form with a large stalk extending right across the hand. In the two smaller images the same natural form is indicated but necessarily on too small a scale to be clear. Lotuses are held by several other Vishnu images, but that none of them are so realistic as that held by Vishnu No. 2 may not be without its significance. To sum up.—The treatment of these images suggests that they may have been made prior to the full development of the more conventional style found in the great majority of images. This goes to confirm the date tentatively assigned to them in accordance with the results of Jouveau-Dubreuil's studies of the position of the discus in stone sculptures, namely, about the 10th century A.D., i.e., during the Early Chola period. Srinivasa No. 1 comes from the Tirutturai-pundi Taluk of the Tanjore District, the taluk next richest after Nogaipattam in what appear to us to be early images. It is greatly to be regretted that no record can now be traced as to the history of the other three images.

¹ In these two small images the girdle is, indeed, practically indistinguishable from that found in Vishnu No. 9 — a warning against attaching excessive significance to any one feature taken by itself, especially in the case of small images.

On comparing these images with the remaining Vishnu images in the collection only two—Vishnu No. 1 (pl. i) and Srinivasa No. 2 (pl. iii)—can be found that fully share their special characteristics. In the former the discus is held obliquely (the 13th century position according to Jouveau-Dubreuil) but in the latter it is in the more modern position facing directly forwards. The other two images—Vishnu No. 10 (pl. xiii) and Srinivasa No. 5—in which the discus is held obliquely are both of them fully conventionalised. In the latter the obliquity is not very marked, scarcely more so than in Srinivasa No. 4 (pl. iv) which must certainly be classed as conforming to the modern position. Evidently the position varies somewhat in accordance with the taste of the designer, and Srinivasa No. 5 may be therefore classed with No. 4 in the more advanced group. But if the oblique position of the discus has any connexion with chronology at all it cannot be thus easily disposed of in the case of Vishnu No. 10, which can, however, best be discussed after Vishnu No. 1 and Srinivasa No. 2 have been considered.

These two images (pl. i & iii) though differing not only from each other but also from the four already tentatively ascribed to the Early Chola Period in a number of details, including the position of the discus, are so closely related that no probability of any difference in age can be suggested on grounds of treatment alone. In view, however, of the significance that apparently attaches to the position of the discus, it must be pointed out that the lowest band of the girdle of the devas associated with Vishnu No. 1 and to a somewhat less extent in those of Srinivasa No. 2 has the usual somewhat rectangular median loop though that of the central figure in each group closely resembles that of Srinivasa No. 1. Unfortunately Vishnus Nos. 2, 3 and 4 have no devas; and as no such loop is present at all in the devas associated with Srinivasa No. 1, there is no evidence as to whether this distinction between devas and devas is likely to be an indication of somewhat later age than that ascribed to the last mentioned image or not. In other respects the devas afford independent confirmation of the close relationship that exists between the three sets of images possessing them (pl. i & iii); for they agree with each other and differ from all other pairs of devas in the collection in the detail of their *karanda-makutas*. In all other pairs of devas the makutas of the two are alike, but in these three pairs they differ from each other in certain minor but constant features, the repetition of which can hardly be accidental. Of the devas belonging to Vishnu No. 1, Sri Devi has the lower part of the makuta—the part fitting on to the head—projecting forwards a little over the forehead and, so far as can now be seen, without ornamentation. In the Bhu Devi of this set there is no such projection and the front is ornamented with tassels and the sides with festoons. The ornamentation of the lower part of the cone differs greatly in detail in the two images; and there are only three lightly constricted bands above in Sri Devi though in Bhu Devi there are four. In the headdresses of the devas belonging to Srinivasa No. 2 also, that of Sri Devi alone has a projecting brim, in this case clearly decorated; and the constricted bands on the cone are again unusually light and in Sri Devi one less than in Bhu Devi—in each of them one less than in the corresponding devi of Vishnu No. 1. But the marked difference in the decoration of the conical upper parts of the headdresses of the two devas

that was noted in the devis of Vishnu No. 1 are not found in those of Srinivasa No. 2. A careful examination of the devis of Srinivasa No. 1 reveals similar differences in the form of the respective makutas; but the images of this set are smaller and less well finished; and, whether for this reason or because of the earlier date to which they should probably be assigned, the differences are scarcely noticeable and acquire significance only by reason of their resemblance, so far as they go, to those found between the devis of Vishnu No. 1 and Srinivasa No. 2.

In one other character, trivial in appearance but apparently of considerable significance, these three sets of devis resemble each other and differ from all other images of Vishnu's consorts in the collection. This is a small ornament projecting from the outer side of each arm and arising from an encircling thread (sometimes beaded or otherwise slightly ornamented) at or immediately above the elbow. So far we have confined attention to images of Vishnu and his consorts, but as will be seen later there are in the collection a number of other images, especially in the Saivite section, that must be classed with the Vishnu sets just described; and the importance of this projecting elbow ornament lies in the fact that it appears to be confined to images of this group, though by no means universal among them. Before pursuing this subject, however, the discussion of the Vishnu images must be completed by the comparison of Vishnu No. 10 with Srinivasa No. 2. It will be taken up again when considering Rama No. 1 (p. 29).

Vishnu No. 10 (pl. xiii) has the discus in the position that Jouveau-Dubreuil considers to be characteristic of the 13th century but is fully conventionalised¹; Srinivasa No. 2 (pl. iii) is in the same style as the images tentatively ascribed above to the Chola period, but has its discus in the usual modern position. Is the position of the discus in different periods less constant than Jouveau-Dubreuil seems to suppose? Or did the fully conventionalised style arise in the Chola period and the less conventionalised persist into the Vijayanagar? We are inclined to think that both questions should probably be answered in the affirmative, but have no conclusive evidence to offer. They could no doubt be answered by an exhaustive study of such stone sculptures as can be dated in various temples—though even here difficulties are likely to arise since sculptures are not necessarily contemporaneous with the niches they occupy and rarely if ever themselves bear written evidence of their date. But this would require for its completion far more attention than we can give and is in any case outside the scope of the present paper.

Another interesting feature of Vishnu No. 10 is the representation of a triangular crosslegged seated figure of Laksmi (Sri) in place of the usual simple triangular mole. This is doubtless connected with the term *Sri Vatsa* or mark of Sri, by which this mole is generally known, and illustrates the well-known idea that Vishnu carries Sri on his breast².

¹ This is also the case in Varaha No. 1.

See below, pp. 36-38.

² A similar figure seems to be represented in Vishnu No. 17, and probably also in Vishnu No. 7, Varadaha No. 1 and Visukhanatha No. 1.

The only other Vaishnavite images that can be classed with the incompletely conventionalised group are Srinivasa No. 3 and Rama set No. 1 (including Hanuman No. 1)¹. In the former the lowest band of the girdle has its median loop in the conventional form with parallel sides, as in the devis of Vishnu No. 1 and to a less extent in those of Srinivasa No. 2; and discus is in the modern position. But the general treatment of face and draperies suggests at least a close affinity to the incompletely conventionalised group. In the Rama set (pl. vii) the absence of any deeply drooping band and projecting bows from the girdle makes the figures somewhat difficult to compare with any of the images hitherto considered, apart from the devis belonging to Srinivasa No. 1, the draperies and other ornamentation of which (except the head-dress), are very like those of the Sita in this set. But the whole treatment of these figures, in its dignified simplicity, is that of the incompletely conventionalised Vishnus and not at all that of fully conventionalised images; while the grouping of the set with the former receives confirmation from the presence on both arms of Rama and Sita, and on the right arm of Lakshmana, of the peculiar projecting elbow ornament borne by the devis of the former, though they are absent from Lakshmana's left arm and also from Hanuman (pl. vi).

It is thus evident both that such ornaments are not invariably present in two-armed images of this type, and that they are not distinctive of devis only, but may be found in male figures also, their absence from all the Vishnu images being presumably due to the difficulty of showing them on an elbow from which two fore-arms spring. That they are occasionally present even in four-armed gods is clearly shown by the male figure of Umasahita No. 1. (pl. xiv). But they seem also to be present in Mahesvari No. 1 and (judging from the figure) in the Siva from Polonnaruwa in Ceylon figured in pl. v, fig. 8 of Coomaraswamy's catalogue both of which are four-armed. Among the Saivite images in the Madras Museum collection they are present in Pradoshamurti No. 1 (devi only), Umasahita No. 1 (both figures), Parvati No. 1 (pl. xxi), Mahesvari No. 1, Ayyanar No. 4, Chandikesvara No. 1 (pl. xix) and on the right arm only of Kannappa Nayanar No. 2 (pl. xix), though a similar ornament is present near the top of the bow which he carries slung over his left arm. All these images are of the incompletely conventionalised type, except the last mentioned. This image is extremely puzzling. It is beautifully executed in a realistic style that is in marked contrast to that of ordinary modern images, yet its face is in equally great contrast to those of all other images in which this particular ornament occurs. It formed part of a treasure trove find from Tiruvolangadu in Chittoor District, one of the most remarkable finds of images ever made, in which connexion it will be considered later (pp. 58-59). Among figured images not belonging to the Madras

¹ Possibly also some of the small Vishnu images Nos. 5-8, of which No. 8 was found together with Srinivasa No. 1. But the characters on which this classification is based are apt to be less clear in small images than in big ones, and are less clear in these images than in the still smaller Vishnus Nos. 3 and 4 which have, moreover, the discus parallel to the sagittal plane of the body.

² Some indication of them was perhaps intended in Srinivasa No. 2, but this is far from clear.

Museum collection these ornaments are distinguishable not only in the Siva from Polonnaruwa already mentioned but also in the Polonnaruwa Parvati figured in pl. x. fig. 23 of Coomaraswamy's catalogue, in the Kalahasti image of Sola-ma-devi (see below, p. 31) and in the image of Parvati (Gouri) from the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeeveram (Gangoly's "South Indian Bronzes", pl. xxxi). They usually have the form of a low half-oval, flattened before and behind, but devoid of detail, as are also the threads by which they are attached. In Parvati No. 1, however, each has the form of a piece of cloth spread fanwise from its point of attachment and the thread is clearly beaded. They are similarly, but much less clearly, shown in the Sri Devi of Srinivasa No. 1, and this form is probably intended in almost all cases. But the Sita of Rama No. 1 and (less clearly) Aiyana No. 4 suggest that both the thread and the ornament itself are sometimes of more floral design. Though not used as an article of human adornment, and never apparently now cast as an integral part of a South Indian metal image, such ornaments are still used in decorating images for processions, a string of beads or other ornaments encircling the arm at the elbow, the ends of which string are tied together and spread like a fan, though not necessarily on the outer side of the arm. This form of ornament is known as *bāñi-bandh*. It must not be confused with the rosary of rudraksha beads such as is worn on the right arm of Manikkavachakar No. 3 drawn tight by twisting the slack into a small loop on the outer side.

In the list of treasure trove finds given below (pp. 47-56) images definitely belonging to the incompletely conventionalised type that we have been discussing are marked with an asterisk (*), more doubtful ones being marked with a cross(+); and reference to this list will show that such images are much more numerous in the Saivite than in the Vaishnavite part of the collection. Though it is unnecessary to prolong the discussion by detailed reference to most of them there are four images of this type, two of them Saivite and two portrait-images, which have special importance since their dates can be approximately fixed by means of the palaeography of inscriptions on their pedestals. One of these is Kali No. 6 of the Madras Museum collection (pl. xiv), two are images in the temple at Kalahasti¹ and the fourth is an image of Chandrasekhara purchased in India some years ago by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil and presented by him to the Musée Guimet in Paris, but not previously published. By kind permission of that Museum we are able to include it in this catalogue, in which it appears as Chandrasekhara No. 1 (pl. xii). For our information regarding it we are indebted to the archaeological enthusiasm of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil himself. On hearing that this catalogue was in preparation, he not only informed us of its existence, but sent us with this information photographs which he had obtained for us from Paris with permission to reproduce them.

Kali No. 6 is a seated figure, which makes it somewhat difficult to compare with the Vaishnavite images of incompletely conventionalised type described above, all of which

¹ Venkata Rao, *Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Mus.* 1921-2, p. 3, pl. 1, fig. 3; Anantashan "Portrait Sculpture in S. India," pp. 37 and 41, figs. 12 and 16.

are standing. But the treatment of the girdle (including its projecting bows which fortunately are present) and other articles of decoration is well as the treatment of the face. There is no room for doubt that it must be classed with them. Its inscription is only partially legible even after chemical restoration, but enough remains to prove that it is in Tamil character of the Early Chola period (see below, pp. 122-123).

The two Kāthiasti images are standing figures of the same type for which however these features are somewhat unusually strong. In the female figure the girdle and cloth are very like those of the Sitala Rūpa No. 1 and the deity of Śaivism No. 2, though the folds of the cloth are much closer to those of Parvati No. 1 shown in plate xvi. Chāndikesvara No. 5 and worshipper No. 13. But the ornamentation on the upper part of each arm is of a most unusual type, having the form of a full-blown lotus flower. In the male figure the girdle bears on the right side a very high relief in incomplete sheath for the curious sinuous dagger held in the right hand, and the necklace is slightly unusual. Venkataraya says that in two early votive bronze images with inscriptions of about the 11th century A.D. were found by me in the store-room of the temple. They refer to the time of Rajendra Chola and Kulottunga Chola (III). Aravamudan accepts this period for the male figure, saying (p. 31) "The first part of an inscription in the pedestal of the Kulottunga Soli deity" and the second part is a record of the dedication of the image to that temple by one Udaya Nambir. If we may rely on palaeography and technique, and if we are justified in believing that the statue portrays a youth we may not be wrong in supposing that it represents Kulottunga Chola (III) who ascended the throne in 1178 A.D. when he was sixteen or seventeen years of age. But the female figure (p. 32) he refers to the Early Chola period, several centuries before. For he speaks of the inscription stating that it is a likeness of Solimadevi and was cast under the orders of Rajendra Soli deva. Evidently this Solimadevi is one of the queens of the great Rajaraja I, and her statue was set up under the orders of her step-son Rajarajendra I. No reasons for the earlier date are given. One of us has therefore visited Kāthiasti to study the palaeography of this inscription, which confirms Aravamudan's dating.

The Musée Guimet Chāndikesvara is an excellent example of an image of the incompletely conventionalized type. Its inscription is in Tamil character of the later Chola period.

We must now briefly refer to the 24 small Buddhist images found at Nēgapattinam in 1926 and distributed to various museums, whence those bearing inscriptions (of which there are over 60) have been sent to Madras for study and report by one of the authors of this catalogue.

Most of the images of this find are Buddhist of the usual conventional type, and it is on these that all but one of the inscriptions occur, one of them mentioning the Buddhist temple at Nēgapattinam named after the Chola king Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.). But

It is hoped that this report will appear in the Madras Museum Journal as very long.

over a dozen are distinguishable from typical Hindu images only by reason of their iconography. Though differing in detail these images agree so closely with one another in general treatment as to point to the probability of all belonging to a single period, presumably the Later Chola like the inscribed Buddhas found with them; and this supposition receives confirmation from the fact that one of them—an image of Avalokitesvara (pl. xii)—also bears on its pedestal an inscription in the Tamil character of that period. It is not easy to express their distinctive characteristics in words; but the chief seem to be the broad, flat series of necklaces, all more or less circular, none hanging down between the breasts, and one at least bearing a series of pendants which extends right across the chest; the treatment of the draperies, especially the bows on either side of the girdle when these are present; and a marked roundness in the treatment of the face; in all of which characteristics they resemble Hindu images of the incompletely conventionalised type. Four standing figures of Avalokitesvara differ from the other images of Hindu appearance in their larger size and in the more or less distinctly coarser treatment of the face which is very like that of most modern images, and it is perhaps significant that the inscription already referred to, which is on the pedestal of one of these, is in the character of the very end of the period. Some of the inscriptions on the Buddhas have the same type of character, while others appear to be somewhat earlier.

All available palaeographic evidence is thus seen to connect images of this type with the Chola periods, both Early and Later.

Except for a few small Vishnu images, the histories of which are lost, all the images of this type are from treasure trove finds, in the list of which (below, pp 47-56) they have as already mentioned been marked with an asterisk (*), more doubtful specimens that seem to be allied to them being marked with a cross (†). Many of the unmarked images are not available here for study, either not having been acquired or having gone to other museums. These can be distinguished in the list by the absence of any catalogue number after them. Omitting them from consideration it will be seen that with two exceptions—one from Kandarakottai, South Arcot District, and one from Belur, Salem District—images of the type under consideration are all from the Tanjore District, the headquarters of the Chola kingdom. Kandarakottai at least appears to have had Chola associations, for there is a local tradition that the temple was built by a Chola king and that the single image that we were able to acquire from the find is of him (see below, pp. 49 & 138). One of us saw and photographed the other images of this find, some but not all of which appear to be of the same type. A copper conch found with them bears an inscription in Tamil script of the Later Chola period.

From Tanjore District the finds richest in images of this type are from the Naganpatnam Taluk. As the headquarters of this part of the district was the principal port for the whole of the country surrounding the capital it may be presumed to have been a wealthy area in Chola times, in which case its temples are likely to have been richly endowed and to have been particularly well supplied with images. And if the Polonnaruwa images of this type were made in India it is not unlikely that they may have been

despatched by sea from Negapatam. That none of the images of this type are from the Tanjore Taluk suggests that practically all the images dedicated there were placed in the great Brihadisvara temple which must have been the main centre of devotion ever since it was built by the most famous of Early Chola kings, Rajaraja I. That images of this type are still to be found in this temple is indicated by the Siva figured by Gangoly on plate i of both his books on South Indian metal images.

A considerable number of images more or less definitely of this type come from Tirutturaippundi Taluk on the opposite side of Tanjore from Negapatam, and at least three definitely belonging to it from Panangattangudi in Nannilam Taluk, a place noted for the number of lingas to be found buried in its fields, showing that it must at some early time have been an important centre of Saivite worship. As none of the other images from the Panangattangudi find show any special characteristics of later periods it is likely that all may date from Chola times.

It is also noteworthy that most of the images of the type under discussion belong to the Saivite section of the Hindu pantheon, *i.e.*, to the section held in greatest regard by the Chola dynasty.

It is thus clear that the type of image we have been discussing has definite Chola associations, palaeographical, geographical and sectarian. And so far as we know no images of this type have any association with any other period. We cannot, however, therefore assume either that all of them necessarily date from that period, or that no others do so—as has already been pointed out above (p. 28) in connexion with Vishnu No. 10 and Srinivasa No. 2. It is even possible that some of them may be much more recent, the mind of their sculptor having been dominated by the form of some early image which he particularly admired; though in view of the way in which images are loaded with garlands when exhibited for worship this is perhaps less likely than might otherwise be supposed. It is, moreover, unlikely that the images we have been able to recognize as being of this type include all the images of Chola date that we have seen. For one of the chief features by which they are distinguished is the simplicity of treatment of their decorative detail and especially of their necklaces (see below, pp. 34-40). And the form of necklace in use when they were made, like the simple corbels characteristic of early Chola temples, has continued in use to the present day and its significance can only be recognized when supported by other features characteristic of the same period and when all later features are absent. Thus, though there is nothing in the style of decoration of the inscribed Avalokitesvara from Negapatam to prevent its being assigned to the Chola period and much to suggest this, the sharpness of its features might have prevented us from recognizing it as belonging to that period had the palaeography of its inscription not conclusively proved it.

We therefore feel that to refer to these images simply as Chola would be apt to mislead, both by implying more than can be proved regarding them and as appearing to exclude others of Chola origin but less distinctively of this type. Instead, we propose

to distinguish them as *images of Chola type*, a phrase which we think accurately describes them; for even if, as seems possible (see below, p. 61), other types also existed in Chola times which have since disappeared, none of them can possibly be regarded as characteristic of the period. We think, however, that most if not all images of this type do almost certainly date from the Chola period.

Three images in the Madras Museum collection bear inscriptions in modern Tamil character. These are Balakrishna No. 11, Alvar No. 9 and Natesa No. 2. The first two present no unusual features, but the last is very important as it is the only South Indian Hindu metal image yet known that bears an inscription recording its date. It has already been described and figured by Hadaway¹. The base, on which the inscription is situated, is not in one piece with the image, but they fit each other closely and there is every reason to believe that they belong together and are contemporaneous. The date, Kali 4611, corresponds to A.D. 1511, a little after the middle of the Vijayanagar architectural period as defined by Jouveau-Dubreuil, the period in which elaborate carving of the stone pillars of temple mandapas reached its climax. This image, though less clearly related to the Chola type discussed above than in Natesa No. 1 shows little if anything by which it can definitely be separated from it.

NECKLACES.

In the foregoing discussion of the images which we designate as of Chola type attention has been largely concentrated on the characters of face and girdle, very little being said about necklaces. Actually, however, the character of the necklace has often proved an even more useful clue than that of the girdle when this lacks projecting bows. For, as already pointed out (p. 27 above), the median loop of the girdle may be fully conventionalized in *devīs* associated and evidently contemporary with Vishnus in which it is not. And this is more or less the case with the girdles of many other images, other characters of which show them to be of this type, including the inscribed Chandrasekhara from the Musée Guimet and the inscribed Avalokitesvara and other Buddhist images from the Negapatam find.

All South Indian metal images known to us bearing conclusive evidence of Chola origin have a broad, flat series of necklaces, all more or less circular, none hanging down between the breasts, and one at least almost always bearing a series of pendants which extends right across the chest. And such necklaces are present in all the images we have classed as of Chola type.

The first to attract our attention were those of Vishnu images and their associated *devīs*, which may be described as typical examples. Vishnu No. 1 (pl. i) has three necklaces, each with some special ornamentation in the middle in front. The lowest one, which alone shows below the elegant ringlets in which the hair falls behind the shoulders, is fastened behind with an ornamental knot, the ends of which form an ornament

¹ *Rajam*, 1922, pp. 59-61, 2 pl.

hanging down the middle of the upper part of the back; and a small tassel hangs from the central ornament in front. The second necklace is much the broadest of the three and bears mango-shaped pendants all along its lower border. The devis' necklaces are of the same general pattern, but the ends of the lowest one form a still larger ornament at the back in Sri Devi, and only a small plain flap in Bhu Devi. On comparing these necklaces with those of Vishnu images Nos. 2, 4, and Srinivasa images Nos. 1 and 2 which, as already noted, seem to be in the same style, we find in Vishnu No. 2, which is a much smaller image than No. 1, a narrow upper necklace without special ornament; a broad middle necklace with both borders beaded, apart from which it is plain; and a lower necklace very like that of Vishnu No. 1 but with a flower ornament in the middle in front—all three necklaces are hidden by the hair behind, with one petal projecting upwards and one downwards, the latter replacing the tassel. Vishnu No. 3 is a very small image with two necklaces, both of them beaded, of which the lower has pendants along its middle region. No. 4 is still smaller and has only one necklace, beaded but otherwise plain. Srinivasa No. 1 and its devi have each three necklaces closely resembling those of Vishnu No. 1, even to the mango-shaped pendants of the broad middle one, though the tassel ornament of the lowest one is indistinct or absent. Srinivasa No. 2 is much smaller and has two necklaces of the same pattern as the upper two of Vishnu No. 1 and Srinivasa No. 1. Of its devi, Bhu Devi has two necklaces much like Srinivasa's while Sri Devi appears to have three, somewhat imperfectly finished but apparently designed on the same plan as those of Vishnu No. 1 and Srinivasa No. 2, though the row of mango pendants could also be interpreted as a separate necklace. It is thus clear that all these images agree closely in the form of their necklaces, the greatest modifications being simplifications to suit the smaller sizes of the images in which they are found. Similar necklaces may also be found in other images not showing the features which first led us to group these four Vishnus and two Srinivasas together, but among them other styles of necklace are more usual.

Are such necklaces an invariable feature of images dating from the Chola period? Other forms of necklace, including long ones that hang down between the breasts, are present in several of images found at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon to which, as pointed out below (pp. 46-47), it is difficult on historical grounds to assign any date later than the Chola period. Can such images be assigned to the Chola period, or must they be considered to prove that the decline of Polonnaruwa was much slower and more prolonged than seems probable from such historical evidence as is available? It is unlikely that a complete answer to this question can be given till a careful chronological study of the sculptures of the various Chola temples of South India has been made. But we have attempted to get some indication of the answer by examining the sculptures on the walls of the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore as examples of Early Chola work, and those on the walls of the temple at Chidambaram and in the mandapa of the Varadaraja temple at Conjeevaram as examples of later work.

The Tanjore sculptures mostly conform to the Chola type in all respects, and where they do not there is usually evidence indicating that the departure was not present in the image as originally carved in stone but has been introduced later, being confined to the plaster and paint with which these images have been so freely coated. Among the images of deities on the walls of the main temple there is not more than one that seems at all likely to have had a long necklace as originally carved. This one is on the western face of the temple in the row of Tripurantaka¹ figures and is at such a high level that it is impossible even with field-glasses to make sure whether the long necklace formed part of the original figure or not.

The male attendant of Ardhanarisvara on the northern face looks as if it might have had a long necklace, but the stone is so weathered that it is impossible to be sure. The images of Chandikesvara on the western and northern faces of his temple (to the north of the great vimana) have long necklaces, but are somewhat crude images that may have been inserted in their niches after the temple was built. The corresponding image on the eastern face has a round necklace.

The colossal doorkeeper on the southern side of the eastern face of the gateway of the inner gopura undoubtedly has a necklace long enough to hang across the shorter one beside it and to have a markedly asymmetrical form corresponding to the swing of the body which is in a posture indicating great activity.

Long necklaces hanging between the breasts are, however, common in the much more elaborate and modern, though exquisitely finished, Subrahmanya temple in the north-western corner of the enclosure.

We may further note in passing that the distinctively Chola elbow ornaments mentioned above (pp. 28 & 29) do not seem to be distinguishable in any of the images, most of which have, however, four arms.

Neither on the stone bases of the gopuras at Chidambaram nor in the mandapa of the Varadaraja temple at Conjeevaram are the images coated with paint or plaster; but in the case of the former a still more serious difficulty is met with, namely doubt as to whether the images are contemporaneous with the niches that they occupy and for which many of them are much too broad, while a few are too narrow to fit them properly.

The niches are in typical Later Chola style in all four gopuras, and there can, we think, be no reasonable doubt that the bases of all four gopuras were constructed during the Later Chola period, and that only the superstructures of brick and plaster were erected by the later donors referred to in their inscriptions, the effigies of whom must be, and in some cases clearly are, later insertions. In this connexion we may point out

¹ Siva as the destroyer of three demons who had taken the form of cities.

that the superstructure of the north gopura, erected by the Vijayanagar king Krishna-deva-raya in A.D. 1516,¹ is in the same style as the gopuras erected by him in Conjeevaram and elsewhere; and that the east gopura, extensively restored during the nineteenth century by the Hindu philanthropist Pachchayyappa, is in the same style. The other two, one at least of which is commonly regarded as being much older, are loaded with brick-and-plaster statuary in modern style and must surely have received their present form subsequent to the Vijayanagar period, even if they were not actually erected then.

The images in the lower row of niches of the bases of all four gopuras are smaller than those in the upper row and have in general necklaces of simpler form—little if any different as a rule from those of images of Chola type. Almost, if not quite,* all the images of the upper row have a dark bluish and more or less polished surface, whereas many in the lower row differ little if at all in surface from the stonework surrounding them. This suggests that the lower row of images is probably older than the upper row, those resembling the surrounding stonework being presumably the oldest of all. But it is in this row that the images seem to fit their niches worst of all, hollows having in many cases had to be scooped in the stones on either side of them to accommodate their hands and insignia. In some cases the side stones have presumably had to be removed while the image was being put in position and replaced afterwards. Such an extensive series of mishits could most easily be explained by supposing that after the gopura base with its niches had been constructed images were taken from some other building for insertion.

A temple must have existed on this site at least from Early Chola times. For built at ground level into the western face of the base of one of its newest shrines, the recently constructed Navalanga temple, we found an inscription in the character of that period dated during the reign of Rajendra Chola I whose name is preceded by his distinctive title "Parakesari"; and a much longer and evidently different inscription by the same king is recorded in *South Indian Inscriptions*³ as being in the Temple at Chidambaram. We do not know exactly where the latter inscription is situated⁴; but the former is not far from the entrance portico of the Amman shrine or from the Durga shrine which adjoins it. Both the walls of this portico and the Durga shrine are in Early Chola style, of which there are further traces in the north-east corner of the Amman shrine enclosure. But the portico has evidently undergone considerable alteration in later times, a supposition confirmed by its stone door frame, evidently a later addition, which

¹ Sika 1438. See S. R. Balasubrahmanyam *South Indian Hist. Soc.* IV (1), 1931, pp. 45-46, with plate facing p. 46.

* This account has had to be prepared in Madras from notes taken for the purpose during a short visit. Consequently we are unable to check points such as this on which neither our notes nor our memories prove to be quite sufficiently detailed.

³ IV, pp. 29-30, No. 223.

⁴ It is recorded as "Outside first prakara north" in *Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Exped.*, 1887-8, p. 4, No. 118.

bears an inscription recording its being placed there under the orders of Kopperunjinga (A.D. 1243-1273).¹ The plinth and walls of the kalyanamandapa are also in Early Chola style, though the plan of its superstructure as it now stands, as well as its many pillars are evidently much later. The shrines in the inner court of the temple were originally presumably the oldest, especially the Vaishnavite Govindaraja shrine which faces east, the Air Linga and Nataraja shrines facing south. But the buildings in this court have been so completely renovated that no early work is now to be seen there.

There is thus no inherent impossibility in the images being older than the gopura bases, and *a priori* this would seem to be the most probable hypothesis. From their style, however, we suspect that they may be later. Only two of the lower row of niches on the southern side of the inner face of the eastern gopura are at present occupied by images, so further additions are possible even now. It is thus clear that these images afford no reliable clue to the style in use in the Later Chola period.

The images of the upper row fit their niches better—though not always perfectly—and have probably been made for them. The rounded features and graceful form of some of them at first sight suggest close affinity to images of Chola type; but this could also be said of the Natesa image dated A.D. 1511 described below (p. 112); and the statue in the north gopura said, no doubt correctly, to represent the Vijayanagar King Krishna-deva-raya* (1500-1530) is equally graceful and may well be a portrait by the same sculptor or school of sculptors. Its somewhat delicate features are indeed comparable to those of the better known metal statue of the same king in the Srinivasa-Perumal temple at Tirumalai, on which his name is inscribed.² As, moreover, a large proportion of the images in the upper row have necklaces of exceptionally elaborate design for any period it seems unlikely that they are examples of early workmanship and much more likely that they are a particularly fine series from the Vijayanagar period, or even later. In any case the fact that many of them, including a high proportion of the dvārapalakas, have long single or double strings of rudraksha beads round their necks, cannot be taken as proof that long necklaces were a frequent feature of images in the Later Chola period. Whether it is more than a coincidence that only the undoubted Early Chola image we have seen with a necklace of the long type is a dvārapalaka we do not know.

The small figures illustrative of different dance postures, which are found inside the gateways in the four gopuras do, however, clearly date from the Later Chola period, at least in the east and west gopuras, where many of them are accompanied by inscriptions all in the form of grantha characteristic of that period. With some exceptions in the east gopura all are dressed and decorated alike, as is naturally to be expected in such a series;

¹ The Linga shrine bears an inscription by the same king.

² This statue has no inscription connected with it; but immediately below it, and evidently inserted at the same time, are smaller figures of sculptors with inscriptions over them, and evidently referring to them, which are in Tamil character of modern post-Chola form.

³ Compare figs. 21 and 22 of Aravamathan's "Portrait Sculpture in South India".

and long necklaces do not appear. These necklaces are, however, clearly present in the exceptions just noted. As some of these figures in other gopuras have been carved in rather soft stone that has weathered badly, it may be suggested that the figures showing these necklaces had their surfaces recarved during the restoration of this gopura by Pachchaiyappa in the nineteenth century. That this was not the case seems, however, to be proved by the fact that the depth of their relief is no less than that of the other figures, and that one of them occupies one half of a block of stone the other half of which is occupied by a perfectly clear and unweathered inscription in Later Chola script. Why these figures should be differently decorated from the rest it is difficult to understand if they are contemporaneous with them, as they apparently are. But they seem to prove that long necklaces were not unknown in the Later Chola period. And, as dancing girls would hardly wear rudraksha rosaries, they can in these figures be interpreted only as a form of decoration.

The figures in the mandapa of the Varadaraja temple at Conjeevaram are as a whole stiffer and more conventional than those in the niches of the gopura bases at Chidambaram, in this respect resembling rather the smaller dancing figures just dealt with. But they form one piece with the monolithic pillars on which they are carved and can therefore safely be attributed to the Vijayanagar period, during which this mandapa was constructed. Among them long necklaces are rare, especially on images of gods, being chiefly found on those of saints. Among modern images they are much commoner, even as decorations of Vaishnavite gods and goddesses where they cannot be supposed to represent rosaries of rudraksha beads.

Much more exhaustive investigations are obviously needed to determine how far long necklaces can be regarded as incompatible with Chola date in Hindu images. But from the evidence before us we tentatively conclude that they probably originated during the Chola period as necklaces on images of *divarapalakas* and saints and more rarely on those of Siva, on which they seem to have become more frequent during the Vijayanagar period. The series of dance postures at Chidambaram includes a few figures which seem to indicate the occasional use of long necklaces purely as articles of adornment as early as the Later Chola period, but these necklaces do not seem to have come into general use for this purpose till the end of the Vijayanagar period. It is therefore probably significant that of the Polonnaruwa images in which they are present only one, the *devi* figured in pl. vii of Coomaraswamy's catalogue, is neither a saint nor a form of Siva, and that this image shows distinct traces of non-Indian influence and must therefore presumably be regarded as one of the latest of the series. This is, moreover, the only long necklace in an image from Polonnaruwa that does not appear to be composed of rudraksha beads.

In Aravamathan's "Portrait Sculpture in South India" three sculptures are figured and referred to the Chola period, in which long necklaces occur. Two of these (figs. 14

* See Ganguly, "South Indian Bronzes," pp. 66-68.

and 15) are from the Kesava temple at Belur, Mysore State, one being of stone and the other of metal. No proof is given that the dates assigned are correct; but in the case of the stone image at least this presumably is the case unless, as seems to be indicated at Chidambaram, it is not contemporaneous with the niche that it occupies. If the dates are correct, these images suggest that such necklaces may have been adopted at an earlier date in Mysore than further south. The third of these sculptures (fig. 13) is from Kalahasti, which is also far to the north of the Tanjore district whence most of the metal images come. But in spite of the way in which this image may seem to agree with an inscription on the wall, the headdress and mode of wearing the cloth are so definitely unlike anything we know in Chola images and so very like those of Nayak statues that we think it very improbable that this image can represent a Chola captain's servant and are inclined to assign it to a much later date.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

From the above discussion it will be clear that the grounds on which to base any hypotheses as to the different characteristics of Hindu metal images of different periods are extremely scanty. Often we seem to be clutching at mere straws. But straws can show the direction of the wind and, though our conclusions are necessarily tentative, we feel that some evolution in style is certainly recognizable. It is not sufficiently definite to enable all images of one period to be clearly distinguished from all those of another, but in many cases it can afford a useful clue.

We took as the starting point for our discussion results arrived at by Jouveau-Dubreuil in 1914, which may conveniently be compressed into tabular form as follows:—

It will be seen that the only image in which Jouveau-Dubreuil recognizes any definite series of evolutionary changes, extending over a long period, is that of Vishnu. Consequently it is in this image only that our investigations actually touch his. His conclusions regarding the position of the discus in images of different periods afforded us a helpful starting point, and in the main our observations tend to support them in general, though we have found reason to think that perhaps they cannot always be rigidly applied (p. 28). They indicate the Early Chola period as that of Vishnus Nos. 1, 2 and 3 and somewhat less definitely of Srinivasa No. 1, and the Later Chola period as that of Vishnu No. 1; and there seems to be every reason to believe that these indications are correct. But they suggest the Later Chola period for Vishnu No. 10 and some more recent time than this for Srinivasa No. 2, whereas the style of these images seems to indicate the reverse.

The following images bear inscriptions which show them to belong to particular periods:—

Early Chola: Kali No. 6; Sola-ma-devi in the temple at Kalahasti.

Later Chola: Chandrasekhara No. 1 (Musée Guimet); Kulottunga III in the temple at Kalahasti; a number of small Buddhist images from Negapatam, including one of Avalokitesvara which can be distinguished from Hindu images only by the emblems which it bears.

Vijayanagar: Natesa No. 2.

Vijayanagar or Modern: Balakrishna No. 11 and Alvar No. 9.

Of the abovementioned images those from the Chola period, whether Early or Later, are all in a simpler and less conventionalised style than that usually found in modern images; and among the uninscribed images, though there are many which cannot be definitely placed in either class, there are also many which can. The change seems to have taken place at about the time of the change from Later Chola to Vijayanagar architectural style, and would probably be a gradual one. Though the evidence at present available does not prove that all the less conventionalised images date from the Chola period, and may even be considered to indicate that some very possibly do not, it is clear that this style of image was at least specially characteristic of that period, and may therefore conveniently be referred to as being of Chola type.

The difference between an image of Chola type and an ordinary modern image is one of general effect produced by the combination of a number of differences in detail, and is therefore difficult to express in words. We may, however, mention as specially noteworthy a kind of smooth roundness in the treatment of the face; a comparative simplicity in decoration; necklaces in a broad flat series, all of them more or less circular and none (if ever) hanging down between the breasts or bent into more ornate shape, one at least bearing a fringe of pendants; a distinctive ornament which is sometimes present projecting from the outer side of the arm at or immediately above the elbow; and the

treatment of the girdle, often unusually realistic, but specially characterised by the elegance of its projecting bows when these are present. In images with *karanda-makuta* its constrictions are apt to be less pronounced in those of Chola type than in others, and in the former alone certain differences, apparently constant, have been noticed between the *makutas* of Vishnu's two consorts. The treatment of the cloth, too, is often particularly realistic in images of Chola type, especially when it is short and the girdle very simple. The cloth is, moreover, more often than in other images, decorated with a floral, or wheel design, the latter being the commoner and often including a pair of specially conspicuous wheels, one on each buttock.

HINDU METAL IMAGES FROM POLONNARUWA.

The conclusions arrived at above must now be considered in relation to the Hindu metal images found in Polonnaruwa in Ceylon and preserved in the Colombo Museum, which history suggests must date from somewhere about the Chola period. As already noted they were catalogued by Coomaraswamy in 1914 together with other metal images in the Colombo Museum Collection.¹

All of them are Saivite, with one possible exception which has been identified as "Dancing Balakrishna" (pl. xi, fig. 25 of Coomaraswamy's catalogue). Iconographically, however, it may just as well represent Balasubrahmanya as Balakrishna, and since the latter would be most unlikely to find a place among such a definitely Saivite set of images, it may safely be concluded that the former is the correct identification. Dr. Pearson, the Director of the Colombo Museum, has kindly sent us the following information as to the historical facts. "Polonnaruwa was the headquarters of the Cholas, who held the greater part of the island from about 1017 to 1073 A.D. The Hindu temples at Polonnaruwa date from this period, as proved by the Tamil inscription on Siva Dewale No. 2. Even after the expulsion of the Cholas in 1073 A.D. there was a considerable element of South Indian population at Polonnaruwa and they may have continued to endow Saiva shrines. The period between 1213 and 1234 A.D. was also one of foreign domination at Polonnaruwa. It is probable that the bronzes date from the period of Chola occupation, though the point cannot be definitely proved."

The Polonnaruwa images were first described and figured by Arunachalam², then by Bell³ and lastly by Coomaraswamy⁴. Coomaraswamy's illustrations are much the best but on comparing his records of the finds with those given by Bell in his Annual Reports two discrepancies appear; and as Coomaraswamy's information must ultimately have been derived from Bell as Archaeological Commissioner at the time of the excavations Bell's records must be taken as authentic.

¹ *Mem. Colombo Mus.* A. 1, 1914, 31 pp. 38 pl.

² *Sylvia Zeylanica* VI, 1910.

³ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon* for 1907 and 1908 published in 1911 and 1913 respectively.

⁴ *Mem. Colombo Mus.* A. 1, 1914.

A single image of Parvati (Coomaraswamy, pl. xi, fig. 26; Arunachalam, pl. vii c and viii a) was found in Siva Devale No. 3. Three images (Bell, 1908, pl. xxvi) were found in Siva Devale No. 6, of which one was of Natesa (Coomaraswamy, pl. xi, fig. 24) and two of Parvati (Coomaraswamy, pl. xii, fig. 28 and pl. xxiii, fig. 129). All the rest were found in either Siva Devale No. 1 or Siva Devale No. 5 as shown below, "C" indicating Coomaraswamy, "B" Bell (1907 report in the case of Siva Devale No. 1 and 1908 in the case of Siva Devale No. 5) and "A" Arunachalam. Roman numerals indicate plates and Arabic indicate figures. Where the figures are not numbered, the letter a, b, c, etc., are used to indicate their position on the plate, reading from left to right.

Image	Siva Devale No.	Siva Devale No. 5.
Siva, standing	.....	C v 8, B xix b, A vii b and viii b.
Natesa ...	C i i and iii 4, B xxi b, A i and ii.	C ii 2 and iii 5, B xvii c A iii b.
		C iv, B xvii a, A iii a.
Pradoshamurti ...	C vi 10, A vi.	
Umasahita ...	C ii 3, B xxi a, A iv and v.	
Parvati, standing ...	C xii 29, B xxi c, A ix a, x a.	C x 23, B xix a.
	C xii, A vii a and viii c.	C xii 27, B xvii b, A ix b and x b.
Parvati, seated ...		C vii 12 and 13.
Balasubrahmanya ¹ ...		C xi 25.
Nandi ² ...		C xxii 109, B xix c, A xiv a.
Chandikesvara ...		C ix 18, B xviii c, A xiv b.
Manikkavachakar ...	C ix 19, A xii c and xiii b.	
Appar ³ ...	C x 22, A xi c.	C x 23, B xviii d, A xi d.
Tirujnanu Sambandha		C ix 20, B xviii a, A xi a.
Sundaramurti ...		C viii 15 and 16, B xviii b, A xii b and xii c.
		C viii 17, B xviii e, A xii a and xiii a.
Surya ...		C vii 14, B xix d, A xi b.

Siva Devale No. 2⁴, which bears inscriptions dating from the reigns of Rajendra Chola I (A.D. 1012-1044) and Adhirajendra (A.D. 1070-1073), is built in the style of the

¹ Concerning the identification of this image see above, p. 43. Coomaraswamy records it as found in Siva Devale No. 1, but it is not included in Bell's list of images from there. As Arunachalam (p. 69) speaks of it as being in three pieces it is doubtless the "Male figure (in three pieces): height 1 ft. 6 in." recorded by Bell from Siva Devale No. 5, which otherwise remains unaccounted for.

² A gold bull figurine, one and one-eighth inches long was also found in Siva Devale No. 5 (Bell, *Ann. Rep.* for 1908, p. 18, pl. A).

³ According to Coomaraswamy both these images were found in Siva Devale No. 1.

⁴ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, 1906, pl. xlv-xxi; *Ceylon Journ. Sci.* G, 1, 1924-1928, pl. xl.

Early Chola period to which it belongs, though the mouldings of its plinth seem to indicate their development direct from Pallava models rather than from the somewhat more elaborate mouldings already adopted by Rajaraja I, the father of Rajendra Chola I, in the great temple at Tanjore on which subsequent styles in India are based.

Of the temples in which the images were found Siva Devale No. 3^a appears to resemble No. 2 while No. 5^a, though very similar, seems to have the mouldings of its plinth more like those of Tanjore as also of the Later Chola style, suggesting the probability of a somewhat later date; No. 1^a is in full Later Chola style; while No. 6^a is so fragmentary that the illustration gives no clue to its style. The styles of the temples already mentioned clearly prove, however, that they were being built during both the Early and Later Chola Periods, from which we may conclude that the images and other objects found in them are likely to have been dedicated in one or both of these periods and perhaps somewhat later also.

None of the images appear to bear any inscription throwing light on their date; but one of the two bells found in Siva Devale No. 6 bears an inscription in Tamil characters^a, an estampage of which the Director of the Colombo Museum has been kind enough to send us.^b These characters have the form characteristic of the Later Chola period, from which it may not unreasonably be inferred that some at least of the images found in this temple and in neighbouring temples are likely to date from the same period.

The largest series of images was found in Siva Devales Nos. 1 and 5 of which, as already noted, the former appears to date from the Later Chola period and the latter from

^a We are indebted to the Director of the Colombo Museum for photographic prints showing details somewhat more clearly than do the reproduction in the Report.

^b *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, 1908, pl. vii xv.

^c *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, 1908, pl. xii.

^d *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, 1909, pl. xvi-xix; *Ceylon Jour. S. & G.*, 1, 1924-1928, pl. xli.

^e *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, 1908, pl. xiv.

^f *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, 1908, pp. 16 and 18.

^g The reading of this inscription given on p. 16 of the *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv., Ceylon*, 1909, seems to require slight correction. In place of -

"1 வாய்ந்தி புதி ஆண்டினைப் பெருமாசை 1. Siva sti hēt Appillai Perumajina Ton . . .
தொண்ட . . .

2. து விட்ட தம்மம் 2. tu viṭṭa tamman.
Hail ! Prosperity ! The gift made by Appillai Perumai alias Ton . . .

we would read -

1. வாய்ந்தி புதி ஆண்டினைப் பெருமாசை 1. Siva sti hēt Appillai Perumajina Tondal . . .
தொண்ட . . .

2. து திட்ட தம்மம் 2. tu diṭṭa tamman ra.
Hail ! prosperity ! The gift made after worshipping (praising) by Appillai perumai alias Toplal . . .
or

Hail ! prosperity ! The renowned (praised) gift (made by) Appillai perumai alias Toplai . . . "

the immediately preceding Early Chola period. Both series contain images, such as the Natesa shown in Coomaraswamy's pl. i and the Umasahita of his pl. ii, fig. 3,¹ comparable with stone sculptures in Indian temples of the Vijayanagar (and subsequent) periods, and images such as the Natesa of his pl. ii, fig. 2 and the Parvati of his pl. vii, fig. 12 showing evidence of Cingalese influence²; but only the series from Siva Devale No. 5 contains any that we feel can be classed as being of Chola type, these being the Surya shown in Coomaraswamy's pl. vii, the Parvati shown in his pl. x, fig. 23, probably also the Chandikesvara shown in his pl. ix and the Natesa³ shown in his pl. iv, and possibly the Siva shown in his pl. v, fig. 8, and the two Sundaramurtis shown in his pl. viii.

Whether any of the images are even approximately contemporaneous with their temples is open to considerable doubt. Siva Devale No. 5 is in Early Chola style, but only two known South Indian Hindu metal images⁴ can yet be dated with certainty earlier than the Later Chola Period, to which period belong all the other definitely datable images of Chola type.⁵ Siva Devale No. 1 is in Later Chola style, yet none of its images are distinctively Chola at all; and among the images from both these temples there are as already mentioned a number that are more comparable to those of the subsequent Vijayanagar period. This suggests that the builders of these temples put all their available resources into the building and that in each case a considerable interval may have elapsed before any metal images were installed in them. Such images might naturally continue to be added from time to time throughout the period of the temples' prosperity. Those showing Cingalese influence are presumably to be reckoned among the later specimens.

Polonnaruwa ceased to be the capital in the first half of the thirteenth century, but evidently remained a place of some importance at least till the beginning of the next century, when a Cingalese king again lived there.⁶ There is reason to believe that the Tamil King of Jaffna dominated a large part of the island as late as the second half of the fourteenth century.⁷ And there seems to be nothing to show precisely when the Tamil colony of Polonnaruwa declined. There is, however, one strong argument against the probability of any of the Polonnaruwa images dating from as late as the Vijayanagar period of South India (A.D. 1350-1600). Codrington⁸ sums up thus the period of the Dambadeniya and Gampola Cingalese kings (A.D. 1215-1417)—"The whole period is one of slow decline. The Lankatilla and Gadaladeniya temples are the only buildings of note, and Dambadeniya, Kurunegala, and Gampola are in marked contrast to Polonnaruwa

¹ There is such a close resemblance between these two images, both in face and ornamentation, as to make probable their being the work of the same craftsman.

² See Ganguly, "South Indian Bronzes," pp. 66-69 and above, p. 35.

³ Concerning this image see below, pp. 109 and 112.

⁴ See above p. 42.

⁵ Codrington, "A Short History of Ceylon", p. 80.

⁶ Codrington, *loc. cit.*, p. 81.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

in the absence of structural remains. Even the Tooth Relic temple erected by Parakrama Bahu II in his early years had to be rebuilt before the end of the reign. An incontrovertible sign of national poverty is the fact, attested by a contemporary work, that by the time of Parakrama Bahu IV the 'gold massa' had become a copper coin." Several South Indian rulers of the Vijayanagar period have left inscriptions in which they are referred to as conquerors of Ceylon. But there is nothing to show that they interested themselves in any Hindu community or temples either in Polonnaruwa or elsewhere in the island, even if the conquests are genuine.

No conclusive evidence as to the latest possible date for the latest of the Polonnaruwa images seems, however, to be available.

CHARACTER AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TREASURE TROVE FINDS FROM SOUTH INDIA.

All available details of treasure trove finds in the Madras Presidency for each year are now carefully recorded in appendices to the Annual Administration Report of the Government Museum; but unfortunately only finds of coins were recorded in detail prior to the report for 1927-28. From then onwards, however, all images, etc., have been recorded as well.

In the following list will be found details of all South Indian treasure trove finds of Hindu metal images, so far as these can be traced in the registers of the Madras Museum. The reference numbers quoted are those used in the following catalogue. Images to which no number is added are not in the Museum collection. Images which we consider to be of Chola type are marked with an asterisk (*), more doubtful specimens that seem to be allied to them being marked with a cross (†). Articles other than images are not included. Concerning them reference may be made to the Madras Museum Annual Reports in the case of finds noted as having been recorded in them.

EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT.

Bhadrachalam Taluk.

Kapugumfali, 1927-Ann. Rep. 1927-28, p. 9.

Chandrasekhara 6.

GUNTUR DISTRICT.

Ongole Taluk.

Chimakurti, 1929-Ann. Rep. 1929-30.

Vishnu 11 and 18 (latter with Lakshmi).	Lakshmiwaraha 4. Narasimha 3 and 4.
Lakshminarayana 1 and 2.	Rama and Sita 8.
Sri Devi and Bhu Devi 6 13.	Balakrishna 5*.

* See above, pp. 32-33, where the distribution of finds containing such images is also discussed.

† Also a representation of Balakrishna among the branches of a tree which, not being an image for worship has not been included in the catalogue. It probably formed part of a prabha.

GUNTUR DISTRICT—

Ongole Taluk—cont.

Chimakurti, 1929—cont.

Navanitakrishna 8-10.	Alvar 3.
Kaliyakrishna 3.	Nammalvar 7.
Venugopala 4-12 (most with R mini and Satyabhama).	Conch 1.
Rukmini 7.	Discus 2.
Garuda 3 4.	

NELLORE DISTRICT

Kovur Taluk.

Unkur, 1912.

Satyabhama 3.

Nellore Taluk.

Nellore Town, 1913—Gangoly (1) pl. xxix¹.

Somaskanda 2.	Balasubrahmanya
Parvati 9.	Chandikamasa 2
Ganesa 4.	

Pottampalem, 1930—Ann. Rep. 1930-31, p. 6

Unidentified 2.

Rapur Taluk.

Alurti, 1920.

Dvarapalaka	Chandikamasa 1
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Tiruvolangudi, 1907.

Chandrasekara 5.	Virabhadra 1.
Somaskanda 4.	Ardhanarisvara 1.
Natesa 4-5.	Ganesa 3.
Bhairava 4 (Svarnakarshana raval).	

¹ A metal bell, 7 metal lamps (broken), copper conch, 8 metal horns and pipes, metal Govatschi, broken pieces of metal harati plates, 3 shell conches and a stone trident were found with these images.

NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

Cheyyar Taluk.

Ramakrishnapuram, 1927—Ann. Rep. 1927-28, p. 9.

Kali 8; also another specimen.

Vellore Taluk.

Vellore, 1913.

Rama, Sita and Lakshmana 2. | Discus 5.

SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

Cuddalore Taluk.

Kandarakottai, 1927—Ann. Rep. 1927-28, pp. 10-11.

This find, which included a number of articles used in temple worship as well as the following images, was made within the precincts of a ruined Siva temple which, according to local tradition, was built by a Chola king named *Madhurantaka*, whom we have not been able to identify, and destroyed during a Mohammadan raid. The image of a worshipping king, presumably Madhurantaka, is the only one the Museum was able to acquire, the rest being retained by the village for worship. A copper conch bearing the inscription *Kundannattu nāttān mudaiyān* in the Tamil script of the Later Chola period was among the articles found.

Somaskanda.

Appar.

Parvati (two images).

Tirujnana Sambandha.

Balasubrahmanya.

* Worshipping (king) 1.

Chandikesvara.

Site not specified, 1886.

Somaskanda 3.

SALEM DISTRICT.

Attur Taluk.

Belur, 1916.

The following images were found, together with various temple articles, close to the walls of the Tandonisvara (Siva) temple, to which those not acquired were restored. It is presumed that they were hidden at the time of a Mohammadan invasion:—

Satyabhama 4¹.

Parvati 4, also two others.

Pradoshamurti.

Ganesa, two images.

Somaskanda.

Balasubrahmanya.

Vinadhara Dakshinamurti 4.

* Chandikesvara 1.

Natesa 2.

Sula.

¹ The identification of this image as Satyabhama rather than as Parvati, which is based on the manner of securing the hair, is rendered somewhat doubtful by the rest of the images of the find being exclusively Saivite.

TANJORE DISTRICT.

*Arantangi Taluk.**Seyyannam*, 1906.

Vinadhara Dakshinamurti 3.

*Kilazetti Taluk.**Panchanadikulam*, 1910.

Somaskanda.

Dakshinamurti.

Natesa.

Parvati 7.

Sivakamasundari.

Ganesa.

*Kumbakonam Taluk.**Harischandrapuram*, 1926—Ann. Rep. 1926-27, p. 5.

† Surya 1.

Mullangudi, 1917.

Vamana 1.

Natesa 6.

Parvati.

Subrahmanya 4.

Sula.

Sayanapuram, 1910.

Sulapidari 1.

*Mannargudi Taluk.**Tirukkatar*, 1921—Ann. Rep. 1920-21, p. 3.

Vishnu.

† Kankulamurti 1.

Parvati 2.

Goddess not identified.

*Mayyavaram Taluk.**Komal*, 1896.

Vishnu 10 and 17, latter with Devis.

} Two goddesses not identified.

Kurichi, 1926—Ann. Rep. 1926-27, p. 5.

Parvati 8.

Manikkavachakar 1.

} Tirujnana Sambandha 4.

Nidur, 1931—Ann. Rep. 1930-31, p. 9.

Umasahita 2.

Somaskanda 1.

} † Chandikesvara 4.

*Nannulam Taluk.**Abhivridhivaram*, 1907.

Pradoshamurti 3.

Somaskanda.

Tirujnana Sambandha.

TANJORE DISTRICT—cont.

Naunilam Taluk—cont.

Kunkoduttavanitham, 1929—Ann. Rep. 1928-29, p. 6.

Garuda 1.

Parvati 3.

Natesa 7.

Kiluppudalur, 1919.

Vishanaharana 1.

Manikkavachakar 3.

Manjakkudi, 1921—Ann. Rep. 1921-22, p. 3.

Yoganarasimha 5 with Lakshmi.

Muhandanur, 1930—Ann. Rep. 1929-30, p. 7.

Tirujnana Sambandha 3.

Panangattangudi, 1924—Ann. Rep. 1923-24, p. 3.

* Chandrasekhara 4.

Parvati, two specimens.*

* Pradoshamurti 1.

Balasubrahmanya 4.

* Umasahita 4.

Chandikesvara 5.

Natesa.*

Manmatha 1 with Rati.

Parittiyur, 1925—Ann. Rep. 1925-26, p. 5.

Balakrishna 11.

Polagam, 1920.

Vishnu 6 and 15, former with Devis.

Garuda 2

Vaikunthanatha 1, with Devis.

Hanuman 3.

Varaha 2.

Arjuna 1.

Balakrishna 13.

Goddess not identified.

Sikkil, 1909.

The following images were found within the precincts of the Siva temple during repairs, together with a conch, lamp and plates :-

Umasahita 5.

Subrahmanya.

Parvati.

Sula 2.

Negapatam Taluk.

Eraviyankudi, 1919—Ann. Rep. 1919-20, p. 3.

Parvati.

Ganesa.

Kali 3.

Balasubrahmanya 2.

Karappidagai, 1920.

Yasoda-Krishna 4.

Worshippers 3 and 4.

Chandrasekhara 7.

Gramadevata Pujari (?) 9.

Kali 4.

Male figures 10-11.

Alyanar 2.

Female figures 12-16.

* Now in the collection of the Madras School of Arts.

* One of them passed from the Museum collection to that of the late Mr C. W. L. Cotton, I.C.S., by whom it was bequeathed to Eton College. A well executed figure, but of no particular interest.

TANJORE DISTRICT—cont.

Negapatam Taluk—cont.

Nilappadi, 1919.

Vishnu.

Krishna 2.

Kaliyakrishna 1.

Two goddesses not identified.

Okkur, 1919.

† Chandrasekhara 3.

* Parvati 1, also another.

Pradoshamurti.

† Chandikesvara 3.

Natesa 9.

Tirupundi, 1925—Ann. Rep. 1925-26, p. 5.

* Chandrasekhara 2.

Velankanni, 1872.

Natesa 3.

† Ganesa 1.

* Mahesvari 1.

* Chandikesvara 2.

Vadakkuppanaiyur, 1915.

Vishnu.

* Rama 1, with Sita and Lakshmana.

* Srinivasa 2, with Devis.

* Hanuman 1.

Vadakkuppoyyur, 1923—Ann. Rep. 1923-24, p. 3.

Chandrasekhara 8.

Chandikesvara 6.

Chandrasekhara, another image.

Manikkavachakar 2.

Somaskanda, two images.

Appar.

Natesa.

Tirujnana Sambandha 1.

Parvati 12, also two others.

Sula.

Valli.

Worshipper 2.

Papanasam Taluk.

Pandaravadai, 1924—Ann. Rep. 1924-25, p. 6.

Vishnu 7; also two other specimens

Balakrishna 10.

with Devis.

Kaliyakrishna 2.

Partukkottai Taluk.

Adaikattevan, 1920—Ann. Rep. 1920-21, p. 3.

Natesa 8.

Sivakamasundari.

Adanakkottai, 1923—Ann. Rep. 1923-24, p. 3.

The following images were found in a broken bronze pot, the mouth of which was closed by a brass harati plate:—

Santanagopala 3.

Balakrishna 2-4.

Senniyanvidudi, 1920—Ann. Rep. 1920-21, p. 3.

* Kali 6.

Sula 1.

Vallur, 1929—Ann. Rep. 1929-30, p. 7.

Srinivasa 5, with Devis.

TANJORE DISTRICT—cont.

Shiyali Taluk.

Peruntottam, 1916.

* Vishnu 1, with Devis.

Peruntottam, 1918.

Rama 3, with Sita and Lakshmana.

Venugopala 14.

Rukmini and Satyabhama 1.

Hanuman 2.

Paduka 2.

Punganur, 1914.

Pradoshamurti.

Somaskanda.

† Natesa 1.

Parvati.

Valli.

Devasena.

Tanjore Taluk.

Thogur, 1925—Ann. Rep. 1925-26, p. 5.

Yasoda-Krishna 6.

Balakrishna 6 and 15.

Alvar 8 (Periyalvar).

Alvar 10 (Tondaradippodi).

Bhairava 2.

Parvati 5.

Ganesa 5 and 9.

Aiyandar 5, 7 and 8.

Rati 1.

Tirutturaippundi Taluk.

Jambavanolai, 1916.

Parvati 11.

Koyilpatti, 1909.

Kaliyakraishna.

Rukmini 2.

Parvati 16.

Other images not identified.

Rayanallur, 1921—Ann. Rep. 1921-22, p. 3.

Vishnu, two specimens with Devis. | † Durga 1.

Settipalam, 1923.

Pradoshamurti.

Somaskanda.

Natesa.

Parvati, two specimens.

Balasubrahmanya 5; also another.

Ganesa.

Manikkavachakar 4.

Settipalam, 1927—Ann. Rep. 1927-28, pp. 11-12.

The following images were found in the village, together with a number of articles for use in temple worship:—

Chandrasekhara 9.

* Umasahita 1.

Vishvapabarana 2.

Parvati, two specimens.

† Ganesa 2.

Balasubrahmanya.

Manikkavachakar.

TANJORE DISTRICT—cont.

Tirutturaiipundi Taluk—cont.

Sirupanayur, 1929—Ann. Rep. 1928-29, pp. 5-6.

Vishnu 8.

| * Srinivasa 1, with Devis.

Turaiikkadu, 1917.

† Kali 1.

† Mahishasuramardani 1.

Kali 2.

Vadakkadu, 1929—Ann. Rep. 1929-30, p. 7.

† Srinivasa 3.

Sites not specified—

1907; Sukhasana 1.

1916; Parvati 6, 13, 14 and 17.

1911; Umasahita 3.

* 1916; Aiyandar 4.

1911; Vinadhara Dakshinamurti 2.

1916; Tirujnana Sambandha 2.

1916; Bhairava 1.

TRICHINOPOLY DISTRICT.

Musiri Taluk.

Srinivasanallur, 1914.

Vishnu, two images.

Hanuman 6.

Srinivasa 4.

Alvar 11 (Tirumangai).

Sri Devi and Bhu Devi.

Chakra.

Balakrishna 16.

Other images, etc.

Uppiliyupnam, 1929—Ann. Rep. 1928-29, p. 6.

Yasoda-Krishna 1.

Perambalur Taluk.

Vembayur, 1927—Ann. Rep. 1927-28, p. 9.

Chandrasekhara, two specimens.

Balasubrahmanya 3.

Pradoshamurti 2, 4 and one other.

Appar 1.

Parvati, two specimens.

Trichinopoly Taluk.

Mallachipuram (near Kambarasampettai), 1893.

Balakrishna 8.

Sirugamani, 1915.

Unidentified 1.

Srirangam, 1912.

Vishnu.

Navanitakrishna 3-5.

Sri Devi and Bhu Devi 4 and 5.

Krishna.

Yoganarasimha 6.

Rukmini and Satyabhama 5 and 6.

Balakrishna 17.

TRICHINOPOLY DISTRICT—*cont.**Trichinopoly Taluk*—*cont.**Tiruvarambur*, 1908.

Balakrishna 14; also two other specimens.

Ulundangudi, 1908.

Vishnu.

Krishna.

Dhanvantari 2.

Ganesa.

Sri Devi.

Mahaganapati 11.

Bhu Devi 1.

Aiyunar 10, 11, 13 and another.

Lakshmi-varaha.

Saptamatrikas.

Balakrishna 1 and 9.

Two goddesses not identified.

Venugopala 13.

Hunter (presumably Kannappa Nayanar).

MADURA DISTRICT

*Madura Taluk.**Tennur*, 1923.

Varadaraja 4.

| Nandi 1.

Navanitakrishna 14.

|

*Periyakulam Taluk.**Ammappati*, 1925—Ann. Rep. 1924-25, p. 6.

Sri Devi and Bhu Devi 14.

*Sivagunga Taluk.**Tiruppuvanam*, 1905.

Varadaraja 1, with Devis.

Tiruppuvanam, 1910.

The following were found in an underground chamber in the temple:—

Vishnu 9 and 14, former with Devis.

Alvar 1.

Sri Devi 2; also another.

Alvar 4 (Tirumalisai)

Balakrishna.

Alvar 9 (Tondaradippodi).

Navanitakrishna 1.

RAMNAD DISTRICT.

*Tirupattur Taluk.**Nakappam*, 1928—Ann. Rep. 1928-29, pp. 4-5.

Vishnu 12.

Madurai-Viran 1.

Yasoda-Krishna 2 and 3.

Karuppannaswami 2 5.

Satyabhama 8-9.

Kulla-Karuppan 6.

Durga 4 and 5.

Chappani-Karuppan 7.

Ganesa 7.

Sangili-Karuppan 8.

Aiyunar 6, 9 and 14.

RAMNAD DISTRICT—cont.

Time-temperature Taint—cont.

Pattarakkedi, 1911.

The following images were found in a plain by the side of the Vishnu temple in the village :—

Dhanvantari 1.	Rukmini.
Rama.	Satyabhama.
Santanagopala.	Three goddesses not identified.
Kaliyakrishna.	Andal.
Venugopala 2 and 3.	

Srivilliputhur Taluk.

Sakkannakannur, 1915.

Standing male and female figures combined back to back (worshippers, etc., 5).

TINNEVELLY DISTRICT.

Ambasamudram Taluk.

Shermalevi.—Ann. Rep. Arch. Dept., Southern Circle, 1911-12, paragraph 41, p. 6.

The following images, purchased by the Madras Museum in 1931, belong to the find above noted:—

Vishnu 19. | Krishna I, with Rukmini and Satyabhama.

From the above list it will be seen that almost all the images whose history is known come from an area extending from the Ramnad District in the south to the Chittoor and North Arcot districts in the north, *i.e.*, from within the confines of the ancient Pandya and Chola kingdoms.

From north of this region only three finds have been received. From Nellore town come five large images, all in the usual South Indian style. From Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, comes a find containing several very remarkable images; and from Kapugompalli, East Godavari, a single figure of Chandrasekhara which is rather crude and somewhat suggestive of a village god.

The *Chinakurti* images are all of them small, all are Vaishnavite and four (Lakshminarayana, Rama and the two Garudas) bear the Vadagalai namam. More than half are of Venugopala and his two consorts. Most of these conform to the usual type, but five sets show unusual features, three of them differing completely from all other images with which we are acquainted. In one of these (No. 10, pl. x) the loin-cloth of all three figures is fastened in front with a most elaborate knot and is carried straight across behind from one leg to the other without being tucked up between them; Venugopala wears a coronet

though his consorts have no headdress; all three have their hair fastened in a knot of curious shape at the back of the head; and Venugopala wears a dagger on his right side. In another (No. 11, pl. viii and xi) Venugopala also wears a coronet though his consorts do not, but his hair is differently tied from theirs and even in him it is less elaborate than in the set already described; he has no dagger, but has a huntsman's horn slung over his left shoulder; and the loin-cloth is drawn up between the legs behind as well as in front. The third set (No. 12) is of the same general type as these, but Venugopala has neither coronet, horn nor dagger, and all three figures are of much cruder workmanship. In another set (No. 9, pl. xi), all three figures are without headdress; and the manner of tying the hair, though less unusual than in the foregoing three sets, suggests affinity with them. Neither horn nor dagger appear. In the last of these five sets (No. 8) Venugopala's coronet and the manner in which his hair is tied also suggest a possible affinity with the first three. The headdresses of his consorts, though evidently designed so as to be in keeping with his coronet, are not otherwise unusual; and there is nothing else specially distinctive about any of the three figures.

A dagger is also found, but this time on the left side, in the single figure of Kaliya-krishna from this find. This figure is not otherwise remarkable except that instead of having the form of a naked child it has an ample loin-cloth.

There are two figures of Narasimha (Nos. 3 and 4, pl. ix) almost identical except as regards size and the presence of a *prabha* in the larger one only, but very different from any other South Indian Narasimha known to us.

Of the remaining figures, Rama and Sita (No. 8) and seated Vishnu and Lakshmi¹ (No. 18) show evident traces of *grama devata* (village god) influence, and the single standing Vishnu (No. 11, pl. ix) suggests possible slight affinity to the remarkable Venugopala sets already described. The canonical positions of the chank and the discus are reversed in this last figure. The two figures of Garuda, one seated and the other standing (Nos. 3 and 4, pl. viii), agree with each other in having large semi-circular ornaments behind the ears and in a treatment of the wings that differs somewhat from that of other Garudas in the Madras Museum collection; but we doubt if any special significance can be attached to this. None of the other figures show any noteworthy peculiarity except, perhaps, the short hair of the Navanitakrishnas.

The Chimakurti find thus contains figures of two Vishnu incarnations, Narasimha and Venugopala, completely different in treatment from any other known South Indian images. The former can probably be attributed to northern influence, the face closely resembling that of a stone Narasimha from Bundelkhand in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghosh of Calcutta of which we have seen a photograph, and the flattened knob on the top of the head closely resembling the lotus seen in this position in the stone figure of Narasimha at

¹ The stand and *prabha* which appeared to belong to these images when the account of the find was drawn up for the Annual Report of the Museum (1929-30, p. 8) prove on cleaning not to fit the devi image at all. There is therefore no occasion to regard her as *Bhu Devi* rather than as Lakshmi, and the latter identification fits best.

Badami shown in pl. xliii of Vol. I, pt. i of Gopinatha Rao's "Elements of Hindu Iconography." Both these northern sculptures show Narasimha standing in a manner quite unfamiliar in the south, and the Badami one stands very much as in the two images now under consideration, except that the bend of the body is in the opposite direction. The Chimakurti images have only a single pair of arms each, whereas the Badami figure has two pairs, and the one from Bundelkhand still more.

The peculiarities of the Venugopala sets do not seem to admit of any such simple explanation, though as our knowledge of images other than South Indian is very limited we must not be too certain. The unexpected appearance in some of these figures of a huntsman's horn or a dagger suggests the possibility that they may possibly be connected with some hunting tribe,¹ a suggestion that would receive confirmation if such a tribe, tying their dhoties in the manner shown in pl. x, should prove to inhabit the district where the images were found. This, however, is a matter which we have not been able to investigate.

With two exceptions all finds from within the confines of the ancient Chola kingdom consist, at least mainly, of images in characteristic South Indian style. The exceptions are the finds from *Karappidugai*, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District (1920) and from *Naikuppam*, Ramnad District (1928). All images from the former of these finds, and all but one of those from the latter, are more or less crude, many of them extremely so (see pl. xxiii); and their physiognomy, especially in the latter find, is suggestive of that characteristic of primitive village gods rather than of the more cultured style of image with which this catalogue chiefly deals. That the Naikuppam find at least was connected with a grama devata shrine is further indicated by the fact that about half the images in it represent Aiyanar's attendants. The only figure of Aiyanar himself from this find (Aiyanar No. 14) is the only one which is really well executed, and this in spite of the fact that it is also the smallest.

The find from *Tiruvelangadu*, Chittoor District, in the extreme north of the Chola kingdom, presents a number of points of special interest. All the images from it are in the Madras Museum collection. Bhairava No. 4 (pl. xx) and Ardhanarisvara No. 1 (pl. xx), resemble images of Chola type but are so crude in finish as to make satisfactory comparison impossible.

Kannappa Nayanar images are difficult to compare on account of their special costume; and though the simple and realistic treatment of No. 1 (pl. xix), including the loin-cloth as seen under his leather apron behind, suggests Chola affinities, the long necklace and the bold relief of the dagger², etc., may perhaps point to a later date. Kannappa Nayanar No. 2 (pl. xix) is a larger image of more delicate workmanship, suggestive of a

¹ It must, however, be remembered that a dagger is often present in Balakrishna images.

² This may, however, be compared with that of the image of Kulottunga III in the temple at Kalahasti (see above, p. 31), which is situated not very far from Tiruvelangadu.

more recent date, but the right arm of this image, and the upper part of the bow carried on the left arm, each bear an ornament remarkably like the projecting elbow ornament that we have come to regard as peculiar to images of Chola type. There is, however, the possibility that in this image, as the ornament is present on the right arm but not on the left, it may represent the *kakkana* which is regularly worn by Hindus even to-day when under a vow; for as a symbol of determination this would be very suitable for Kannappa Nayanar. It is perhaps significant that, unlike the special elbow ornament of the Chola type of image, it is not borne on the string immediately above the elbow, but on a second string immediately above this. The Lakshmana associated with Rama No. 1 (pl. vii) also has such an ornament on the right arm only, though the Rama and Sita of the set have it on both arms; but it is on a string close to the elbow. The associated Hanuman (No. 1) does not show it at all.

Chandrasekhara No. 5 (pl. xvi), Virabhadra No. 1 and Ganesa No. 3 (pl. xviii), especially the two former, are large and well executed figures of ordinary type. Somaskanda No. 4 (pl. xv), is a small image, unusually suggestive of life and vigour and with many of its decorative features cast in unusually bold relief, particularly in the head-dresses. Concerning Natesas Nos. 4 and 5 (pl. xviii) see below, pp. 110-111, where it is pointed out that their agreements are such as to suggest that the maker of No. 5, which is much the larger and more elaborate of the two, must have been acquainted either with No. 4, or possibly with some earlier image which influenced both. A similar hypothesis may be suggested in regard to the two images of Kannappa Nayanar; but in them the similarities are less definite and, as we know of no other images of this saint with which to make comparison, their significance must for the present remain very uncertain.

The Tiruvelangadu find as a whole is remarkable for the grace and vigour of many of its images and for the bold relief in which their detail is often treated. But all its images are not alike in this, and the heavy stiffness of the otherwise well executed image of Virabhadra forms a striking contrast to the gracefulness of the cruckly finished image of Ardhanarisvara. In other respects, too, the images vary so greatly among themselves that we can only conclude that they are the work of a number of different people. Though situated near the far northern border of the ancient Chola kingdom, Tiruvelangadu is known to have Chola associations; for in 1905 a copper-plate grant made to the temple there by Rajendra Chola I, dated A.D. 1016-17, now in the Madras Museum collection, was found in an underground chamber in the temple. It is not unlikely, therefore, that some of its images may be Chola. The two Natesas cannot, however, we think belong to this period, for in addition to their long necklaces both show on the right a loop in the waist band which is present neither in Natesa No. 1 nor in any of the three Natesas from Polonnaruwa, as well as traces of flowing ends to this band on the left which are found in only one of these images and that one which we are inclined to ascribe (for reasons already given above, p. 46) to the close of the Polonnaruwa period, whenever that may have been. We say traces, as unfortunately they are broken short in No. 5 and are represented in No. 4 only by a scar, having evidently been somewhat imperfectly

attached in the casting and having at some time come off and been lost. The hair is unfortunately missing in both images, together with about half the *prabha* of No. 4 and practically the whole of that of No. 5. The moulding of the emblems of the headdress in the round in No. 5 suggests a later date for this image than for No. 4. But how far this is really significant requires further consideration.

It has been usual to treat in the round from very early times all emblems held in the hands, whether of Siva, Vishnu or any other deity; and in at least one image of Chola type from the Tanjore District - Umasahita No. 1 (pl. xiv)—there is a tendency to treat the emblems found in Siva's headdress similarly, particularly the cobra. A similar tendency as regards the emblems of the headdress of Ardhanarisvara No. 1, in this case most marked in the crescent, does not therefore necessarily imply that this image cannot be of Chola age. Images, the detail of which is treated in unusually bold relief, have already been noted as forming a considerable proportion of the find under consideration; and reasons have been given for supposing that the images of this find are not all of the same age. This suggests that in this find we have examples, apparently the only ones yet known, of a local school of sculptors, showing in much of their work a style distinct from and often superior to that in more general use in South India, especially Tanjore. The images form a series commencing with simple forms that might well date from Chola times, and ending in more highly developed forms, culminating in Natesa No. 5. The treatment of this image is more comparable with the best work of the Vijayanagar period or even later, than with any which can be proved to belong to the Chola period. But this may be at least partly due to the tendency to bold relief noted even in some of the simplest images of the find. If this school lasted for any very long time it is surprising that no other images belonging to it have come to light; and as neither the earliest nor the latest dates suggested for it above can be regarded as more than probabilities, based solely on style, it is not unlikely that it lasted for a shorter period than these dates seem to imply.

Umasahita No. 3 (pl. xiv), the image to which reference has been made as one of Chola type in which the emblems in the headdress are shown in particularly bold relief, comes from *Settipalam* in the Tirutturaippundi Taluk of Tanjore District. Two finds have been made here, one in 1923 and the other in 1927. From the former only two images are available for reference, Balasubrahmanya No. 5 which is somewhat crude, and Manikkavachakar No. 4 which is particularly well executed. From the latter find Umasahita No. 1, which has already been noticed, is much the best; but in addition to this there are three others in the collection, all of them of special interest. Ganesa No. 2 (pl. xxii), is a somewhat crude image, the conical headdress especially of which suggests a possible affinity to the unusual image of Parvati, now in the collection of Mr. B. N. Treasurywala of Bombay, described and figured on pp. 16—18 of *Rupam* for April—October, 1930, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, who assigns to it Pallava affinities, unfortunately without detailed proof. Chandrasekhara No. 9 and Vishapaharana No. 2 (pl. xiii), differ

greatly from images in characteristic South Indian style, but closely resemble both each other and the somewhat better executed Chandrasekhara No. 8 (pl. xiii), from *Vadakkupoyyur*, as well as—though much less closely—Durga No. 4 from *Naikuppam*, Ramnad District, and Chandrasekhara No. 3 (pl. xiii), from *Olkur*. Through Durga No. 4 these images seem to be related to crude images leading on to the grama devata type; but through Chandrasekhara No. 3 they seem to be related to images of Chola type, one of which as already noted was found with them. It thus seems likely that the whole find may be an early one, in which case they are of interest as showing that styles other than the more prevalent ones already described have also existed. Chandrasekhara No. 8 is more elaborate and better executed than either of the other two images with which we have grouped it, and the images with which it was found suggest that it is likely to be of later date.

The find from *Belur*, Salem District, included, as already noticed, the only South Indian Hindu metal image on which a date has been found, this date corresponding to A.D. 1511. Of the images found with it four are in the Madras Museum collection. Chandikesvara No. 1 (pl. xix) has all the characteristics of the Chola type of image, including even the projecting elbow ornaments; Dakshinamurti No. 4 (pl. xix) is in the same general style, the treatment of the short lion-cloth being particularly characteristic, but the necklaces are comparatively slender and without any fringe of pendants; Satyabhama No. 4 and Parvati No. 4 show nothing that can be regarded as particularly distinctive of any phase of development, as does also Natesa No. 2 (pl. xvi), apart from its dated inscription. It seems likely that all these images, except Chandikesvara No. 1 which is probably older, may date from the same, i.e., the Vijayanagar period.

The *Tirakkadu* find is unusual inasmuch as all the three images of which it consists are Sakta Devi images which seem to be more or less closely allied to the Chola type, especially Mahishasuramardini No. 1 and Kali No. 1.

THE MADRAS MUSEUM COLLECTION—MATERIAL AND METHODS EMPLOYED IN CATALOGUING.

Most of the images in the Madras Museum collection which have already been figured are shown either in Gopinatha Rao's "Elements of Hindu Iconography" (Vol. I, pts. 1 and 2, Madras, 1914; Vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Madras, 1916) or in Gangoly's "South Indian Bronzes" (Calcutta, 1915) or in the latter author's "Southern Indian Bronzes" (Calcutta, 1927). It will be convenient to refer to these works simply by their author's names adding the Nos. 1 and 2 to indicate, in the former case the volume and in the latter the earlier and later work respectively. A few additional images have been figured in Krishna Sastri's "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses" (Madras, 1916), Hürlimann's "Picturesque India" (Bombay, 1928) and Hooper's "Hymns of the Alvars" (Calcutta, London, etc., 1929). With the exception of Rodin's detailed study of two of the Nataraja images (*Ars Asiatica*, III, 1921, pp. 7—13, pl. i—xii), and of

Hadaway's account of the dated Nataraja from Belur (*Rupam*, No. X, 1922, pp. 59—61, 2 pl.) illustrations in other books are practically repetitions of some of these and no attempt has been made to record them.

The image of Kaliyakrishna illustrated in pl. lxiv of Gopinatha Rao's first volume, fig. 26 of Krishna Sastri's book, and pl. lxvi of Gangoly's earlier and pl. xi of his later work, was returned in 1923 under Government Orders dated 1912, to the village of Kattu Rdayar, South Arcot District, for worship in the temple that had been specially constructed for it. Figured images of Lakshmi-Narasimha (Gopinatha Rao, I, pl. xli, fig. 1) and Valliramayī (Gangoly, I, pl. xxxix), are now in the collection of the art section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The latter image was probably, we think, intended for Sri Devi rather than for Valli. We have been unable to trace any reference here to the Kalyanasundara figured by Gangoly (I, pl. xxi).

For the sake of brevity the insignia and postures of the hands are listed on a uniform plan commencing with the uppermost (or hindermost) and ending with the lowest (or foremost), the right hand always being mentioned before the left. Thus in the first series of Vishnu images "discus, conch; abhaya, resting on mace" means that the upper right and left hands hold the discus and conch respectively, the lower right hand being in the abhaya mudra, while the lower left rests on a mace.

For images mounted on pedestals two approximate¹ measurements of height are given, the first being the height of the image alone and the second the total height of image and pedestal together. Unless otherwise stated the latter includes the height of the stand, if any, to which the pedestal is fitted. In seated images the former measurement is always taken from the top of the pedestal and no allowance is made for anything that may hang below this.

Unless otherwise stated all images are made of copper, as a rule not greatly alloyed. Most of those without any history were purchased in Madras. All images in the collection at the end of March, 1931, are included.

IMAGES SPECIALLY ASSOCIATED WITH BRAHMA.

As Brahma has no special sect of followers in South India, images belonging to this group are not commonly met with and only one has yet been secured for the Madras Museum collection.

BRAHMA.

1. BRAHMA. (Gopinatha Rao II, pl. cxlii.) Seated. Height 29, 40, with prabha 56 cm. Rosary, kamandalu; abhaya, varada. Purchased locally, 1906.

¹ Generally speaking the approximation is to the nearest centimetre in large images and to the nearest half centimetre in small ones.

The four faces are united at the ears, of which there are likewise four, each bearing a large pyriform pendant. They are surmounted by four kirita-makutas combined into one. There are two slender beaded necklaces. The sacred thread divides into four parts, of which the two outermost are short, beaded and incomplete; the inner two parts, which are simple, reach down to the loin-cloth on either side of the body, that on the right passing round and up across the back to the left shoulder in the usual way. The prabha is double-arched with flame ornaments on its outer edge. It arises from a pair of short and strongly curved makaras, and is surmounted by a yali head carrying a flame ornament.

VAISNAVITE IMAGES.

VISHNU.

The first ten images of Vishnu are all standing, the insignia and postures of their hands being discus, conch; abhaya (with or without lotus), resting on nace. The triangular mole between the breast and shoulder of the right side is present in most of them.

1. VISHNU WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. (Pl. i, figs. 1 and 2; also, but without devis, Hurliman, pl. 1.) Height of Vishnu 65.83 cm.; of devis 51.64 cm. Conch sinistral. Sri Devi without breast band. Treasure trove, Prantottam, Shiyali Taluk, Tanjore District. 1916.

The simple dignified treatment and light draperies of these images suggest the possibility that they may date from an unusually early period. The conch resembles that which Jouveau-Dubreuil finds to be characteristic of stone images of the later Chola and Vijayanagar periods though its basal flame is rendered particularly conspicuous by being bent over and extended. The discus has the oblique position which he considers characteristic of the former, and the ornamentation which he considers characteristic of the latter, of these two periods. Vishnu's headdress also has the form characteristic of these periods, but with greater affinity to the simpler Pallava than to the more elaborate modern form.

Other noteworthy features are the realistic, though much flattened, full blown lotus flower borne on Vishnu's right lower hand, as though held by its stalk between the first two fingers, the elegant looped knot of the sacred threads of Vishnu and Bhu Devi, the headdresses and elbow ornaments of the two devis (see above, pp. 27-28) and the necklaces of all three figures.

2. VISHNU. (Pl. ii, fig. 1.) Height 25 cm. Conch sinistral. No pedestal. No history.

The discus is held approximately parallel to the sagittal plane of the body with one flame issuing on either side from its centre and one from its upper edge as in stone images of the early Chola period; but the conch lacks the ventral flame shown in Jouveau-Dubreuil's illustration of its characteristic early Chola form, resembling that of Vishnu No. 1. That these two images must be classed together has already been pointed out

above (pp. 25-26). The unusually broad median loop of the girdle is even less conventionalised in this image than in that, and the lion-face ornament is absent. The lower right hand holds a lotus bud between the thumb and first finger, the stalk of which extends right across the palm of the hand to the wrist.

3. VISHNU. (Pl. ii, fig. 3.) Height 8'5, 11'5 cm. Conch dextral. No history.

Careful moulding and exquisite finish combine with decorative detail to make this little image one of the gems of the collection. The conch has the central flame that was noted as absent in Vishnu No. 2, and the discus, though it has the early Chola position and flames, has in addition the two flames issuing from the sides, which in stone images are believed not to appear till the two central flames disappear and the discus comes to be held at right angles to the sagittal plane of the body in the Vijayanagar period. Evidently, therefore, the flames in metal images at least are somewhat variable, in which case it is not surprising to find the maximum possible number in so finely worked an image as this even though the position of the discus, the light draperies, the necklaces and the lotus bud in the lower right hand combine to suggest an early date. The headdress is of typical Chola-Vijayanagar form. The necklaces are two in number; the lower one is somewhat broader than the upper, and its middle three or four links bear a row of small pendants. The triangular mole is present. The lower part of the girdle, instead of forming the conventional median loop, extends as in Vishnu Nos. 1 and 2 right across both thighs and does not even hang very low as in those images; and the long ends of the girdle hang less stiffly. There is no lion-face ornament. The form of the limbs shows delicately through the lower cloth. The mace bears on its outer side at its place of greatest thickness a minute crescentic process, attached by the middle of its convex side, suggesting a possible affinity with a crescentic-bladed battle-axe.

4. VISHNU. Height 6'5, 8'5 cm. Conch dextral. No history.

The image is practically a smaller edition of the last, but of somewhat coarser workmanship. It resembles it even in such details as the simple form of the girdle and the small crescentic process of the mace as well as in the lotus bud in the lower right hand and the position of the discus. Both the conch and the discus lack, however, the central flames, each having three peripheral ones. And there is only one necklace, beaded but without pendants.

5. VISHNU. Height 14, 18 cm. Conch dextral. No history.

The discus with the fingers holding it are broken and missing. The basal flame of the conch is bent inwards as in Vishnu No. 1. The mace is also missing. The lower right hand holds a lotus bud. The necklaces are entirely plain. The mole is strongly emphasized. The draperies are more definitely conventionalised than in any of the preceding except, perhaps, the last. The girdle has its conventional median loop but no lion-face ornament.

6. VISHNU WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. Height of Vishnu 20, 25 cm.; of devis 17'5, 21'5 cm. Conch dextral. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

The discus is held at right angles to the sagittal plane of the body and has a small central flame in front but not behind, as well as the three marginal ones. The flower garland is present, falling well below the knees. Sri Devi leans towards Vishnu much more strongly than does Bhū Devi. The draperies are conventional. The constrictions of the devis' headdresses are not very marked, and again Sri Devi appears to have one less than Bhū Devi.

7. VISHNU. Height 26, 33 cm. Conch sinistral. Pear-shaped prabha arising from makara heads as three hands with lotus flowers between the first and second, triangles between the second and third and flames on the outer side of the third. Treasure trove, Pandaravadaī, Papanasam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

Except for size, and for the absence of the central flame from the front of the discus, of the lotus from the lower right hand, of the lion-face ornament, and of the flower garland there is no great difference between this image and the last. The mole was perhaps intended to have the form of Lakshmi as in Vishnu No. 10. The mace is missing.

8. VISHNU. Height 23.5, 31.5 cm. Conch dextral. Treasure trove, Sirupanayur, Tirutaraippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929.

This image differs from No. 6 chiefly in its larger size, in the presence of a small central flame issuing from the front of the conch instead of the discus, and in the absence of the lotus from the lower left hand.

9. VISHNU WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. (Gopinatha Rao I, pl. xxii; Hooper, pl. opposite p. 75.) Height of Vishnu 51.5, 66 cm., of devis 43.55 cm. Conch dextral. Treasure trove, Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madurai District, 1910.

All three images have girdles somewhat resembling that of Vishnu Nos. 3 and 4. In other respects they resemble rather No. 8, but are cruder and of heavier form than this or indeed any of the preceding. Each has only two rather plain necklaces. There is a central flame on the front side only of both conch and discus, and the basal flame of the conch turns inwards. There is no lotus bud in Vishnu's lower right hand. Sri Devi has a sacred thread like that of Bhū Devi. Though somewhat differently decorated the headdresses of the two devis are alike in form, each having four deeply constricted bands. The end of Sri Devi's cloth projects simply above the grille behind, but that of Bhū Devi, like that of Vishnu, is spread out in the form of a fan.

10. VISHNU. (Pl. viii, fig. 2; also Gopinatha Rao I, pl. xviii.) Height 60, 77 cm. Conch dextral. Treasure trove, Konnal, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1896.

Though a better executed image than the last, it is almost as formal. Yet the discus is held obliquely, a position which is generally associated with a less conventionalised type of image (see above, p. 28). There is, however, no lotus in the lower right hand. The presence of the maximum ordinary number of flames (four marginal and two central) on both conch and discus is in keeping with the elaborate decoration of the whole image. The *śrivatsa* or raised triangular mole above the right breast has the form of a cross-legged

seated figure of Lakshmi (Sri). A small circle is incised above the left breast. There are three necklaces, the uppermost narrow in front, hidden beneath the hair behind; the middle one enlarged and specially ornamented in the middle in front but not behind; and the third one broad throughout, highly decorated in front, less so behind. The girdle bears the conventional median loop and lion-face ornament.

11. VISHNU. (Pl. ix, fig. 1.) Standing. Height 17, 24 cm. Insignia, etc., as in the ten preceding images except that the positions of the discus and conch are reversed. Conch sinistral. Prabha present. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The discus and conch are unduly large in proportion to the figure. The lotus bud, which is held by its stem between the thumb and first finger of the right hand, is also much larger than is usual. The mace is missing. It evidently fitted into a deep socket that projects from the palm of the left hand and rested in a small cavity on the pedestal. The headdress, though resembling the ordinary makuta of Vishnu in shape, appears to have been formed from his hair as in Krishna, in view of which it is perhaps noteworthy that figures of Krishna and his wives formed the greater part of this find. The base of the headdress bears a pair of backwardly and outwardly projecting wing-like processes. The single three-stranded necklace has a three-stranded loop, with an ornament in the middle below, hanging from it between the breasts. The draperies, though conventional, are not strongly emphasized. The girdle itself is remarkably plain, but has the conventional median loop and other hangings below.

12. VISHNU. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 9.) Standing. Height 22 cm. Conch (conventionalized), discus; abhaya, varada. No pedestal. Treasure trove, Naiknppam, Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

A very crude image of grama devata type, with conch and discus interchanged from their correct positions as in the preceding figure. A V-shaped namam is present on the forehead.

13. VISHNU WITH SRI DEVI. Standing. Height of Vishnu 13'5, 16'5 cm.; of Sri Devi 13, 15'5 cm. Discus, conch (dextral); abhaya, varada. No history.

A pair of well finished but otherwise crude images, presumably quite modern.

14. VISHNU. Seated. Height 20, 30 cm. Discus, conch (sinistral); abhaya, ahuya-varada. Treasure trove, Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1910.

The draperies and ornaments are none of them highly elaborated. The two necklaces are very broad in front, especially the lower and larger one. The former is hidden by the hair behind. The latter is slender behind, where it has two additional beaded strings below it. The pedestal is rectangular, with lotus base.

15. VISHNU. Seated. Height 6, 8'5 cm. Discus, conch (dextral); abhaya, lotus. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

A much smaller and somewhat more fully decorated image than the last, but with the folds of the clothing very lightly and unobtrusively indicated, though the necklace sacred thread, etc., are shown in the usual strong relief. Compare Varadaraja No. 6.

16. VISHNU. Seated. Height 10, 16 cm. Conch (sinistral), discus; lotus, mace. No history.

Both the presence of all six flames on the conch and discus, and the treatment of the draperies, suggest that this has been an elaborately decorated figure. But it is so corroded that nothing remains of the detail. Its chief interest lies in the small mace held horizontally in the lower left hand, and the small lotus flower, corroded almost beyond recognition, that rests flat on the up-turned palm of the lower right hand.

17. VISHNU WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. (For Bhudevi only, wrongly identified as Gouri, see Gangoly I, pl. xl.) Seated. Height of Vishnu 23, 32 cm.; of Sri Devi 15, 25 cm.; of Bhudevi 15, 23 cm. Abhaya with discus, varada with conch (dextral). Vishnu with prabha decorated with successive rows of lotus petals, open flowers, alternating squares and circles, lotus petals and flames respectively, reading from within outwards. Treasure trove, Komal, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1806.

These images resemble Vishnus Nos. 6-8 in the treatment of detail, but besides being seated Vishnu bears only miniature emblems attached to the palms of his single pair of hands, of which the right (bearing the discus) is in the abhaya and the left (bearing the conch) is in the varada position. The mole seems to have had the form of a seated image of Lakshmi as in Vishnu No. 10. Vishnu wears the long flower garland as in No. 6. The folds of his lower cloth are most elaborately represented. This cloth is differently shown in each of the three images. In Bhudevi only it is decorated all over with a somewhat crudely executed pattern. The devis themselves are of about equal size, but Sri Devi's pedestal is much higher than Bhudevi's.

18. VISHNU WITH LAKSHMI. Height of Vishnu 12, 15; of Lakshmi 7, 10 cm. Each with a single pair of hands. Vishnu's hands *jnana*, resting on knee; Lakshmi's holding full-blown lotus and bael fruit in right and left respectively. Vadagalai namam present in both images. Treasure trove, Chinakurthi, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Crude figures of grama devata type. Vishnu is identified as such by his kirita-ta and his association with Lakshmi, in spite of the absence of his usual emblems. Macks of his hands are tattooed. Lakshmi has patra-kundalas and no breast bands.

19. VISHNU. Seated. Height 35, 50 cm. Discus, conch (sinistral); abhaya, ahuya. Purchased from the Ramaswami Temple, Sermadevi, Ambasamudram Taluk, Tiruvelly District, 1931.

The general treatment in low relief of the decorative detail of this image suggests it with Vishnus Nos. 6, 7 and 8. The flames on discus and conch are not very large. Central flame is missing on the front of the conch, but present on the back. The tail is rectangular.

VISHNU AS VARADARAJA.

Varadaraja is distinguished from other forms of Vishnu by the hands having the following combination of characters: discus, conch; Varada, resting on mace or katya-valambita-hasta. In his principal image, in the Varadaraja temple at Conjeevaram, the lower left hand is in the former position. But it is in the latter in all the Madras Museum specimens.

His images are always standing.

1. VARADARAJA WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. Height of Varadaraja 73, 114 cm.; of devis 58, 95 cm. Conch dextral. The lotus pedestals of all three images rest on a massive stand, which also supports the encircling prabha. Treasure trove, Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1905.

The ornamentation of this set of images is very elaborate. The basal flame of both conch and discus is divided into two parts, which bend in opposite directions, so that each appears to have five marginal flames. The latter but not the former has a central flame in front, but not behind. Sri Devi wears solid totus in her ears in place of the usual pierced patra-kundalas. Varadaraja wears three and the devis, in addition to the tali, two necklaces, of which the lowest is very broad and highly ornamented and supports a row of mango-shaped pendants. Varadaraja's mole is not of the usual simple triangular shape. It probably had the form of Lakshmi somewhat as in Vishnu No. 10, but backed by a prabha. All details of the figure have, however, now disappeared. All three figures wear anklets, and each has its own type of drapery, differing somewhat from that of the others.

2. VARADARAJA WITH SRI DEVI, BHU DEVI, ATTENDANTS AND INCARNATIONS. (Gopinatha Rao, I, pl. xxiii.) Height (without stand) of Varadaraja 11, 13.5 cm., of devis 9, 11 cm. Total height of stand and prabha 40 cm. The three principal images are of copper, everything else being of brass. No history.

The three principal images with Jaya and Vijaya, the door-keepers of *Vaikuntha* (Vishnu's heaven) on either side of them, rest in sockets on an elaborate stand supported by Garuda with lions on either side of him. Above them is a prabha with a makara (on which a figure is seated) on each side at the base of the arched upper portion, a five-headed cobra (*Sesha*) forming a canopy over Varadaraja; above this cobra are the ten major incarnations of Vishnu, the whole prabha being surmounted by the head of a yali.

The three principal images are rather crude, and the only special interest attaching to the set lies in their elaborate and somewhat better executed setting. The door-keepers' front inner hands rest on clubs, their outer ones being in the abhaya pose. Their back hands hold the discus and conch, the usual order being reversed in the case of Vijaya for the sake of symmetry. Each of the chief eight figures is detachable from the stand, which is in two pieces, the prabha being in two more. Vishnu's conch is dextral, but those of both door-keepers are sinistral.

3. VARADARAJA SUPPORTED BY GARUDA. Varadaraja 6'5, 7 cm.; total height of stand and prabha 15 cm. Varadaraja and prabha of copper; Garuda with stand, of which he forms a part, of brass. No history.

This is an inferior representation of Garuda and Varadaraja with snake and yali prabha such as formed the middle row of the preceding set. The conch and discus are much worn.

4. VARADARAJA AND BHU DEVI. Heights 8'5, 9'5 and 8, 9 cm. respectively. Treasure trove, Tennur, Madura Taluk and District, 1923.

These images are of the crudest workmanship. Conch conventionalised.

5. VARADARAJA. 5'5, 7'5 cm. No history.

A somewhat better finished image than any of the preceding Varadarajas except No. 1. Conch conventionalised.

6. VARADARAJA. (Pl. ii, fig. 3; also Gangoly, 1 pl. lxiii.) Height 14, 18 cm. Conch dextral. No history.

This image is finished in the unusually delicate style of Vishnu No. 15, not even the sacred thread, etc., being shown in strong relief. One strand of this thread passes to the back round the right side of the body. The lotus ornaments above the ears are unusually prominent.

7. VARADARAJA. (Pl. ii, fig. 4.) Height 20, 33 cm. Conch sinistral. No history.

The casting of this image with an unstable vacuolated core has led to the whole of its breast having disappeared so that it has had to be remodelled in the Museum. The breast ornaments, consequently, are missing. As will be seen from the illustration, in spite of its poor metal, it has been cast in style suggestive of the most ornate style of temple architecture of the modern period. The armlets are in the form of five-headed snakes, and the sash and other ornaments are decorated with lotus flowers in strong relief.

VISHNU AS SRINIVASA.

Vishnu as Srinivasa, i.e., the abode of Lakshmi (Sri), is specially associated with Tirupan and may be recognised by the hands having the following combination of characters: discus, conch; abhaya, placed against thigh. By this position of the lower left hand he indicates to his devotees that the ocean of mundane preoccupations (*samsara*) is for them only thigh-deep.

Images of Srinivasa are always standing.

1. SRINIVASA WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. (Pl. iii, fig. 1.) Height of Srinivasa 39, 44 cm.; of devis 31, 35 cm. Conch sinistral. Treasure trove, Sirupanayur, Tirutturaiippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929.

These images, as has already been pointed out (pp. 25-28), belong to the same class as Vishnu No. 1. The discus, which has flames issuing from the centre on both sides,

is held almost parallel to the sagittal plane of the body. The conch has only a single marginal pair of flames. There is no lotus in the lower right hand. In the devīs the arms next to Srinivasa hang down, the outer ones being in the *kataka* pose, thus reversing the canonical arrangement. Their elbow hands bear a projecting ornament on the outer side which is particularly conspicuous; and it is interesting to note that the only other images of these devīs in the collection in which this is found are those associated with Vishnu No. 1 and Srinivasa No. 2; and that it also occurs in a number of other images, all of which are of Chola type (see above, pp. 28--30). The lobes of the ears of both devīs are pierced and enlarged, hanging so as to touch the shoulder ornaments, but there is no clear indication of earrings. The *patra-kundalas* usually worn by Sri Devī are certainly absent.

2. SRINIVASA WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. (Pl. iii, fig. 2.) Height of Srinivasa 63.81 cm.; of devīs 49.64 cm. Conch sinistral. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppanaiyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1915.

Another set of images of Chola type, but with the discus held at right-angles to the sagittal plane of the body. Both discus and conch have the usual marginal flames but no central ones. The ornaments that hang from the front of Sri Devī's lowest necklace, instead of uniting as usual with the ornament that hangs from it behind, cross one another a little below this ornament and extend on to the shoulders of the opposite side from their origin.

3. SRINIVASA. Height 47.63 cm. Conch sinistral. Treasure trove, Vadakadu, Tirattoraippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929.

This image closely resembles Srinivasa No. 1 except that the draperies, including the median loop of the girdle, are treated somewhat more conventionally, and that the flames on the discus (which is at right angles to the sagittal plane of the body) and conch are very small.

4. SRINIVASA WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. (Pl. iii, fig. 1.) Height of Srinivasa 61.76 cm., of devīs 48.62 cm. Conch dextral. Treasure trove, Srinivasanallur, Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1914.

The treatment is more formal in these images than in the three already described, with greater emphasis on decorative detail. The flames on the discus and conch are somewhat large, but the central ones, though present in front, are absent behind. *Vadagalai namam* present.

5. SRINIVASA WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. Height of Srinivasa 59.74 cm., of devīs 50.65 cm. Conch dextral. Treasure trove, Vallur, Pattukkottai Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929.

This set resembles the last but is distinctly inferior, being almost more formal in treatment with less decorative detail. Neither discus nor conch have any central flame and their marginal ones are large and clumsy. There are only two necklaces on each figure, neither of them with pendants.

VISHNU AS RANGANATHA.

The single image by which this form of Vishnu, specially associated with Srirangam, is represented in the collection is about 4 cm. high on a rectangular base of 10 × 5.5 cm., the reclining figure being about 8 cm. long. Its history is not known.

On the rectangular base is a tortoise of similar dimensions, *i.e.*, scarcely half as long as broad. On this is a low lotus throne, on which rest three coils of a snake, the head of which is missing and presumably arose from one of two sockets which are present at the back. Ranganatha reclines on these coils with a bolster under his head and a smaller one placed lengthwise to support his left hip. His navel is represented by a square socket, presumably intended to support a lotus, probably with Brahma seated upon it.

VISHNU AS PANDURANGA.

Vishnu is said to have appeared in this form to a Brahman at Pandharpur in the Bombay Presidency to reward him for his intense devotion to his parents.

1. PANDURANGA. Height 14 cm. Hands on hips. Lotus pedestal. No history.
2. PANDURANGA. Height about 7 cm. Varada, conch. Plain pedestal. Brass. No history.

VISHNU AS VAIKUNTHANATHA.

1. VAIKUNTHANATHA WITH SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI. Height of Vaikunthanatha 16, 22 cm., of devis 11, 16 cm. Vishnu's left hand resting on serpent throne, his right forearm resting on his knee. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nanniam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

The treatment of these images is much the same as that of Srinivasa No. 4. The mole probably represents Lakshmi seated as in Vishnu No. 10. Both the devis wear *patra-kundalas*.

VISHNU AS DHANVANTARI.

1. DHANVANTARI. Height about 3.5 cm., with disc 5.5 cm. Treasure trove, Pattarakkudi, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1911.

The left hand holds a flask of medicine, the right a rounded object, presumably a ball of medicine or possibly a bowl into which to pour the medicine from the flask. Girdle apparently without decorative ends.

2. DHANVANTARI. Height 3, 4.5 cm., with disc slightly more. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

This image does not materially differ from the last, except that the ends of the girdle extend downwards across the sides of the pedestal.

VISHNU AS LAKSHMINARAYANA.

The right hand is in the abhaya position in all the Madras Museum images. In all but one of them (No 4) there is an additional pair of arms behind these, bearing the discus and conch.

1. LAKSHMINARAYANA. Height 8, 10 cm., with prabha 21 cm. Prabha with seven-headed cobra over head of Vishnu, discus, makaras, yali, conch and foliage. Treasure trove, Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The discus and fingers of the back right hand are broken and missing. The Vadagalai namam is present on Vishnu's forehead. Concerning the special features of the Chima-kurti find of images see above, pp. 56--58.

2. LAKSHMINARAYANA. Height 3'5, 5 cm. Treasure trove, Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

A smaller edition of the preceding image without prabha. Much corroded; front right forearm missing.

3. LAKSHMINARAYANA. Height 5, 9 cm., with prabha 13 cm. No history. Very crude.

4. LAKSHMINARAYANA. Height 5, 7 cm. Only one pair of arms. Lotus pedestal with square base from which arises the stem of a lotus supporting Lakshmi's feet. No history.

Though the treatment of this image is quite simple, its workmanship has none of the extreme crudity of No. 3. Unlike the three preceding images the Vishnu of this one has only a single pair of arms and consequently bears neither the discus nor the conch but may be tentatively identified by means of his makara-kundalas. The right hand is raised as in the abhaya mudra, but has the first finger turned down beside the thumb. The identity of the image seems to be placed beyond doubt by the lotus on which the feet of the devi rest and by the breast band which she wears.

SRI DEVI (LAKSHMI) AND BHU DEVI.

(See also above under Vishnu and his special forms, and below under his incarnations)

Lakshmi is worshipped individually, either seated or standing, with the same attributes as she has in the form of Sri Devi but always erect, instead of leaning to her left, and with an additional pair of arms.

Apart from this Sri Devi and Bhū Devi are only worshipped in association with Vishnu or one of his incarnations. In the latter case they appear under other names as incarnations of themselves: for instance, as the wives of Krishna they are known as Rukmini and Satyabhama respectively. In such cases, as their characteristics remain the same, the names to be applied to them can only be determined by reference to the form of their husband, except that Rukmini and Satyabhama sometimes resemble Krishna

in wearing their hair in kesa-bandhas instead of having karanda-makutas. As a rule, therefore sets from which the deva is missing cannot have their precise identity established and can only be classified as Sri Devi and Bhu Devi. Thus Sri Devi and Bhu Devi Nos. 4-13 formed parts of two finds in each of which Krishna images predominated over all others. It is quite likely therefore that these devas were really intended to represent his wives.

In the absence of the deva Vaishnavite devas especially Bhu Devi are often difficult to distinguish from Siva's consort Parvati.¹ We have therefore drawn up the following synoptic table of their principal attributes —

	Sri Devi	Bhu Devi	Parvati
Headdress	karanda-makuta*	Same*	Same or jatibandha
Earrings	Patrakundalis	Makara-kundalas*	Either or neither, usually makara-kundalas
Beard and	Present	Absent	Absent
Threads on trunk	Coarse round both sides of body	Squared thread	Either
Bend of body	To her left	To her right	Either usually to her left
Girdle and cloth	Usually projecting at sides	Usually projecting at sides	Rarely projecting at sides
Right arm	Hanging down	Kataka mudra with emblem	Kataka mudra with emblem
Left arm	Kataka mudra with emblem	Hanging down	Hanging down
Emblem (often missing)	Lotus (sacred vessel usually exposed)	Blue water-lily (usually in bud)	Lotus (usually in bud)

The emblems are often missing and in uncoloured images the lotus and blue water-lily are apt to be indistinguishable even when present especially as buds, and consequently to be useless as indications of identity. Sri Devi and Bhu Devi can always be distinguished

* Sri Devi and Bhu Devi wear the same kesa-bandha like the Srishakunja wives Vallabhi and Devavendra apart from rare cases in which the former wears the karanda-makuta. It is just possible that some of the images listed Bhu Devi and Sri Devi may therefore represent the one pair particularly No. 14. Similarly Rati, the sort of Manmatha worship is only a half from Sri Devi, Parvati when she carries a mirror.

As Rukmini and Suvadhani the wives of Krishna, the karanda-makuta may be replaced by a kesa-bandha or mada. The former is apt to be indistinguishable from the jatibandha sometimes found in images of Parvati.

* Several Satyabhama images from the Chittakurti find have patra-kundalas. But as no other images of Satyabhama or any other form of Bhu Devi in the collection have them this is probably to be regarded as one of the various local features of this find (see above pp. 56-57).

from each other by the bend of the body, and usually also by the posture of the arms, the presence or absence of the breast-band and the form of the earrings and threads on trunk; and, though the rules laid down on the last four points are not invariably kept, we have never seen more than one or two of them broken in any one image. Should this occur the resulting images would still be distinguishable as Sri Devi and Bhu Devi respectively by the bend of the body. In the case of Sri Devi omission of the breast-band would have to be combined with reversal of the posture of the arms to render the image indistinguishable from that of Parvati, whose body may bend to either side; and reversal of the posture of the arms is so rare that it is most unlikely that this combination ever occurs. There should thus be no difficulty in distinguishing Sri Devi from Parvati. Correct images of Bhu Devi, on the other hand, are quite indistinguishable from certain equally correct images of Parvati, and their identity can only be inferred from their associations. When these are unknown (as in Satyabhama No. 4 of this catalogue) all that can safely be said is that probabilities are against their being Parvati as, judging from the Madras Museum collection, not more than one in four of her images bend to the right.

Parvati No. 5 from Thogur is particularly puzzling. This image was found associated with Yasoda-Krishna, crawling Krishna, Balakrishna (or Balasubrahmanya, iconographically indistinguishable), Periyalvar, Tondaradippodi Alvar, Bhairava, two Ganesas, Rati and three Aiyans (see above, p. 53). Associations thus yield no clue. The headdress may be taken either as a kesa-bandha or a jata-bandha. If Vaishnavite, therefore, the image must be Satyabhama; and we should have identified it as such had not the earrings been patra-kundalas. It seems doubtful whether this type of earring is ever found in images of Bhu Devi or her incarnations of truly South Indian type¹; and we therefore feel that the probability in this case is that Parvati was intended. But the balance is very nearly even, especially as patra-kundalas are exceptional even in images of Parvati; and, apart from Chimakurti find, there are very few images in the collection that can be identified as Satyabhama with any degree of certainty. Bhu Devi No. 1 from Ulundangudi (see above, p. 55) is another such image without its deva. In this case the probability of the image being intended for Bhu Devi is somewhat strengthened by its association with a number of orthodox Vaishnavite images while of the Saivite images associated with it most are of Aiyana who belongs almost more to the grama devata than to the orthodox Hindu pantheon. In the case of Bhu Devi No. 3 no history is known. And lastly the isolated images of this type (Bhu Devis Nos. 6, 7, 11, 12 and 13) from the Chimakurti find (see above, p. 47) were found with many Vaishnavite images and only a single Saivite one.

1. BHU DEVI. Standing. Height 58.73 cm. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

¹ They are, however, found in several images of Satyabhama from the Chimakurti find (see above, p. 73, footnote 3).

Very like the *devi* of Srinivasa No. 4, but with decorative detail even more elaborate, especially the laterally projecting ends of the girdle, though the usual median loop is absent.

2 SRI DEVI Standing Height 30.45 cm. Treasure trove Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1910.

Another variant of the same style. The narrow lower band of the girdle is widely separated from the broad upper one but passes straight across from one leg to the other without forming a pendulous loop. A sacred thread is present not the more elaborate thread usually found in images of Sri Devi.

3 BHU DEVI Standing Height 18.235 cm. No history.

Somewhat simpler in detail than the first two. Girdle with median loop.

4 SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI Seated Height 4.7 cm. Treasure trove, Srirangam, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1912.

An exquisite little pair of images, well designed and well finished. Concerning the identity of these and the following *devi*s from Srirangam and Chinnakurti, see above p. 74.

5 SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI Standing Height 5.5-7.5 cm. Treasure trove, Srirangam, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1912.

Nice, executed but not nearly so good as No. 4.

6-13 SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI two pairs. SRI DEVI three figures, BHU DEVI three figures. All standing. Height (without pedestal) 4.5-13 cm. Treasure trove Chinnakurti, Oncole Taluk, Coimbatore District, 1929.

Coarsely made images, some of them almost of gramicola type. Nos. 6, 9, 10, 12 and 13 with *Vaidika* nimanam. In one Sri Devi the breast-band is absent and one Bhudevi has *patri-kundalis*.

14 SRI DEVI AND BHU DEVI Standing Height 48.59 cm. Treasure trove, Ammapatti, Periyakulam Taluk, Madura District, 1925.

The threads on the trunks of these curiously ornate images are developed into broad ribbons. In Sri Devi, who has breast-bands and a lotus flower, they pass round both sides of the body. In Bhudevi, who has *makara-kundalis*, no breast-band and a water lily bud, they take the form of a broad but undivided three-stranded sacred thread.

15 GAJA-LAKSHMI Height 9.10 cm. No history. The headdress suggests *gama-kvata* affinities, in view of which it is not surprising to find that the right hand is in the *varada* and the left in the *abhaya* posture instead of vice versa. The hair is in three knots, one hanging down the middle of the back and one over each shoulder. The attendant elephants are missing.

THE WIVES OF VASUDEVA¹.

1. SANTI, KIRTI, PUSHTI, TUSHTI, PRITI AND ANOTHER. Standing three on either side of a blank space from which Vasudeva is missing. Height of devis 4'5 cm. Lotus pedestal 2 cm. high, 18'5 long, and 3'5 broad. Pose of three on proper right as in Sri Devi, of the other three as in Bhu Devi. Crude workmanship. No history. In all six devis the breast-band is absent and the sacred thread is arranged as is usual in Bhu Devi.

These six figures presumably represent six of Vasudeva's eight consorts, Sri Devi and Bhu Devi being omitted as being universal.

VARAHA.

Two forms are represented: *Varāha* in which he is standing with Lakshmi on his raised left knee, and *Lakshmi-varāha* in which he is seated with Lakshmi on his left knee. In *Bhūvarāha* he bears Bhu Devi, the earth goddess, on his left knee, representing the earth which he came to rescue. In all three forms he has two pairs of hands, of which the hinder pair hold the discus and conch.

1. VARAHA. (Gopinatha Rao I, pl. xl.) Height 42, 56 cm. No history.

A formal and somewhat crude image in which the deva's raised left foot rests on the head of a cobra. The discus is held parallel to the sagittal plane of the body, but everything else suggests a late rather than an early date. The front right hand is in the abhaya pose. Lakshmi's left hand holds a much conventionalised lotus with seed vessel exposed.

2. VARAHA. Height 8, 11 cm. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

A smaller but better image than the last. Varaha's front right hand rests on Lakshmi's knees. Lakshmi's hands are in the anjali pose.

3. LAKSHMIVARAH. Height 5'5, 8 cm. No history.

An image of inferior workmanship. An open lotus flower rests on the up-turned right hand of Varaha, while Lakshmi holds a similar flower by its stalk in her left.

¹ Vishnu as Vasudeva is the chief deity of a tantric cult too complicated to be dealt with here. The name is one of Vishnu's thousand names, and is included among the twenty-four of these that are repeated daily by all Vaishnava Brahmins. Images of the twenty-four *mūrtis*, to which these names are applied, are to be found carved on certain Hoysala temples, all standing erect, with two pairs of arms, the hands of which hold the conch, discus, mace and lotus, different *mūrtis* being distinguished from one another only by the twenty-four different ways in which these emblems can be distributed among the four hands (see Gopinatha Rao I, pp. 229-230). Devotees of Vasudeva regard him as having two aspects, the human as Krishna and the divine as the Supreme Being, in whom all the twenty-four *mūrtis* are united. In his latter aspect he has, in addition to Vishnu's two consorts *Sri Dēvi* and *Rāj Dēvi*, who are regarded as universal, six other consorts personifying the six special energies (*śaktis*) through which his protective energies work—peace, fame, strength, pleasure, love and either learning or fruition, their respective names being *Śānti*, *Kṛti*, *Prasāda*, *Īśānti*, *Prīti*, and either *Sarasvatī* (meaning, not to be confused with the consort of Brahma) or *Siddhi* (fruition). Of the twenty-four *mūrtis*, fourteen have one or other of the above eight *śaktis* specially associated with them. The other ten have no *śakti*.

4. LAKSHMIVARAHA. Height 3'5, 6 cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

A small image with decorative detail somewhat elaborate, but scarcely delicate enough for its size. Varaha's front right hand is in the abhaya pose. Lakshmi's hands are in the anjali pose. A Vadagalai namam is clearly marked on Varaha's forehead, and a tilaka on Lakshmi's.

NARASIMHA.

As Narasimha (sometimes specially distinguished as *Ugranarasimha*) he may be either seated or standing. In southern images this terrible form is always shown in the act of either fighting or tearing out the entrails of the demon *Hiranyakasipu* (the father of his devotee *Prahlada*), whom he came to destroy; but in images from the north where Narasimha is less popular he may apparently stand alone (see above, pp. 57-58). As *Yoganarasimha* he is seated in meditation with a band round one or both legs and with one or both hands directed downwards. In this posture he practised yoga to regain control of his fury after the destruction of the demon. As *Lakshminarasimha* he is seated with Lakshmi on his left knee.

1. NARASIMHA WITH LAKSHMI AND PRAHLADA. Height of Narasimha 20, 21'5 cm., of other two figures 13, 14 cm. Lotus pedestals (Lakshmi's unfinished) on rectangular base 29 cm. long by 6'5 wide by 5 high. Narasimha with eight pairs of hands: entrails, entrails; noose, axe; arrow, bow; discus, conch; tearing stomach, tearing stomach; club, ?; sword, shield; holding demon's legs, holding demon's head. Lakshmi with two pairs of hands, the upper ones each holding a lotus so completely and crudely conventionalised as to have practically the form of a discus with flames above, the lower ones in the abhaya and varada poses respectively. Prahlada with one pair of hands in the anjali pose. No history.

These images are very crude, but form a group not commonly met with. Each wears a kirita-makuta. The Lakshmi image appears to be made of brass, and each of its ear-rings bears a mango-shaped pendant. Prahlada, in addition to the usual clothing and ornaments, wears an angavastram over his shoulders, though in the presence of a god this is considered most disrespectful. Narasimha and Prahlada have the Tengalai namam, Lakshmi the tilaka.

2. NARASIMHA. (Pl. vi, fig. 1; also Gopinatha Rao I, pl. xlvii.) Height 28, 40 cm., with prabha 58 cm. Four pairs of arms: discus, conch; entrails, entrails; holding leg of demon, holding head of demon; tearing stomach, tearing stomach. Prabha arising from makaras below, yali head in middle above, flames on outer ridge. No history.

A somewhat formal image of moderate workmanship, with kirita-makuta and Tengalai namam.

3. NARASIMHA. (Pl. ix, fig. 2.) Height 7'5, 9'5 cm., with prabha 13'5 cm. One pair of arms: right hand resting on the fare of a goblin, standing on a short pillar, with

small wings arising from its elbows (? Garuda); left hand resting between his hip and a post the significance of which we do not understand. This post is much thinner than it is wide, rounded above, with a hole near the top. Plain pedestal with lotus petal ornament below. Prabha 5-arched, with a nakara head on either side below and a yali head above, surmounted by a pair of parrots and a discus. Treasure trove, Chimakurti Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The peculiar features of this not unattractive little image have been dealt with above (pp. 57-58). The tail extends upwards and to the left, its bushy tip appearing above the left shoulder. The little finger of each hand bears a large signet ring.

4. NARASIMHA. Height 6, 7.5 cm. A replica of No. 3, but somewhat smaller and without prabha. Same find as No. 3.

5. YOGANARASIMHA AND LAKSHMI. (Pl. v, figs. 1 and 2.) Height of Narasimha about 40, 65 cm., of Lakshmi about 32, 53 cm. Narasimha with four arms, of which the two posterior hold the discus and conch, the other two resting on his knees. Lakshmi with two arms, her left hand holding a lotus with seed vessel exposed. Treasure trove, Manjakkudi, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1921. Returned to the villagers under orders of Government issued in December 1922.

The combination of power, restraint and grim determination expressed in this Narasimha image is very striking and a great contrast to the comparative lifelessness of No. 2. The image of Lakshmi does not seem to call for special comment. Unfortunately neither image is now available to us for detailed study.

6. YOGANARASIMHA. Height 4, 5.5 cm. Four arms as in No. 5. Treasure trove, Srirangam, Trichinopoly Taluk and District. 1912.

A small image resembling the preceding one in general form.

7. YOGANARASIMHA. Height 16.5 cm., pedestal missing. Four arms: discus, conch, abhaya, resting on knee. No history.

This figure differs in posture from the last two, the hand leaving the right leg free. This leg hangs below the top of the pedestal from the knee downwards and the front right hand is raised in the abhaya pose.

8. LAKSHMINARASIMHA. Height 7, 10 cm. Discus, conch; abhaya, supporting Lakshmi who holds a lotus in her left hand with seed vessel exposed. Lotus pedestal with small Garuda in front. Prabha missing. No history.

VAMANA.

1. VAMANA. Height 12 cm. Vedas, water vessel. No umbrella. No pedestal. Treasure trove, Mullangudi, Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1917.

On the top of the head is a forwardly directed tuft of hair. The only clothing is a narrow strip of cloth between the legs, attached at either end to a string round the waist; but all the usual ornaments are present. The Vedas are in the form of a cudgeon manuscript, the bundle of leaves being secured by two hands.

RAMA, SITA AND LAKSHMANA

For means of distinguishing images of Rama from those of Manmatha and Arjuna see above, footnotes to pp. 7 and 16 respectively.

1. RAMA, SITA AND LAKSHMANA. (Pl. iv, fig. 2 & Pl. vii.) Heights 103, 112 cm., 75, 82 cm. and 88, cm. 95 respectively. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppanaiyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1915.

These three images, and a Hanuman that was associated with them (No. 1, p. 95), are among the finest in the collection. Their simple dignified style suggests that they belong to the same class as Vishnu No. 1, and this is confirmed by various details noted below. The air of self-possessed abstraction characteristic of the best Hindu images, is admirably combined with an unusual delicacy in the moulding of face and limbs, especially in the two male images. The care devoted to the portrayal of the human aspect of these figures suggests that the maker regarded them as heroes rather than as divinities, which adds to the probability of their being of early date (see above, p. 24). All other images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in the collection have, moreover, girdles with long decorative ends which are absent in these. Such decorations are found in every image of Vishnu as a deity (except possibly in one of the two small seated images of Dhanvantari) but are absent from the image of Vamana, from several Krishnas and from about half the images of Vaishnavite saints, suggesting that in Vaishnavite images they are perhaps to be regarded as an indication of divinity. As, however, they are absent in many images of Siva their importance, if any, can be hardly great. There has been little attempt to introduce symmetry into the set by approximating the size and appearance of Lakshmana and Sita. Lakshmana, though considerably smaller than Rama, is taller than Sita and in addition wears a taller headdress unlike that of either.

Sita stands on Rama's right, and Lakshmana on his left. Sita's left hand has been broken off at the wrist and is unfortunately missing.

The Rama of this set is the only male Vaishnavite figure in the collection wearing the *karanda-makuta* type of headdress, otherwise confined to devis and to the sons of Siva. That it has the lightly constricted form characteristic of the devis of Vishnu No. 1 and still more those of Srinivasas Nos. 1 and 2 affords further evidence for the association of this group of images with those. Lakshmana has his hair fastened in a *kesa-bandha* on top of his head. Sita has hers in a bun-like *kesa-bandha* at the back of her head, secured behind by a broad band across the middle and decorated with a wreath of flowers in front. Short curls fall on to her forehead.

Rama wears *makara-kundalas* but Sita and Lakshmana are without earrings, though the lobes of their ears are pierced and enlarged. Armlets and wristlets are present in all three images, including the projecting elbow ornament that seems to be confined to images of Chola type (see above, pp. 29-30). In Lakshmana, however, it is confined to the right elbow. Anklets are only worn by Sita, but all three have *padasaras*, those of Sita bearing a row of pendants (2 bells).

The necklaces and Sita's tali are very like those of Vishnu No. 1 and his deivis except for the absence of the lowest necklace in Rama and Lakshmana. Rama (who has no trace of Vishnu's triangular mole) and Lakshmana each wear a triple sacred thread passing round the body across the right hip. Both lack the single strands on either side of this that are found in Vishnu No. 1 and other Vishnus of the same class; but both are provided with an elegant looped knot on the left breast which seems to be usual in such images though not confined to them. In Lakshmana the loop and free ends of this knot have become so worn as only to be recognizable on close examination. He (but not Rama) wears in addition two other threads, one passing over the right shoulder and left hip, the other over the left shoulder and right hip, the two being united where they cross in the middle both back and front. Sita's thread has the form characteristic of Sri Devi, but she has no breast-band. Rama and Lakshmana each have a waist-band, that of the former having a large decorative clasp in front.

The girdle is represented by a simple belt, in Rama and Lakshmana with a lion-face clasp, in Sita with a floral one. Only in Sita is it decorated with tassels and festoons, one of the latter falling between the legs in the position of the usual median loop but without being in any way emphasized. Sita's lower cloth reaches to her ankles while those of Rama and Lakshmana are extremely short, covering only the tops of the thighs. That of Lakshmana has a double border of floral decoration, but the other two are plain. One end of Sita's cloth protrudes in ornamental fashion above her belt behind and the other on her left side in front. The cloths of all three images are treated in simple and realistic style.

2. RAMA, SITA AND LAKSHMANA. (Pl. viii, fig. 1.) Height 58, 72 cm., 42, 55 cm. and 45, 57 cm. respectively. Treasure trove, Vellore, North Arcot District, 1913.

This set of images forms a striking contrast to the last. For, though considerable care has been bestowed upon decorative detail, they are almost grotesque in form and proportion if not positively ugly. Rama wears a kirita-makuta, a lotus bud above each ear, makara-kundalas, two circular necklaces and one which hangs low between the breasts, a divided sacred thread, a waist-band, a festooned and richly decorated girdle with long ends falling to his ankles, an undecorated lower cloth, a band crossing the two legs in front about half way between knee and ankle, armlets, wristlets, anklets, and padasaras. Sita stands on Rama's left and Lakshmana on his right. Sita wears a karanda-makuta so modified in form as not to appear asymmetrical with Lakshmana's kirita-makuta. Lakshmana's ears bear tassels of the same general shape as Rama's makara-kundalas. Sita has patra-kundalas with similar tassels attached. Lakshmana wears one circular necklace and Sita her tali from which hangs a large locket, both having two heavy necklaces hanging low between the breasts and a sacred thread passing over the right hip. Lakshmana, like Rama, wears a waist-band rather high above the waist. Both wear girdles very like Rama's. Lakshmana's cloth is short like Rama's but is decorated; Sita's is decorated and long. Lakshmana like Rama has a band crossing the two legs in front

between knee and ankle. Both Sita and Lakshman wear the same bracelets etc. as does Rama. Sita holds a water-lily in her right hand.

3. RAMA, SITA AND LAKSHMANA. Heights 19.5, 22.5 cm, 16, 19 cm and 17, 20 cm respectively. Treasure trove Perumottam Shivali Taluk, Tanjore District 1924.

Sita stands on Rama's right and Lakshman on his left. The bows, though separate pieces of metal, are present but the arrows missing. Sita holds a lotus with seed pod exposed in her left hand. All three figures are richly but somewhat coarsely decorated.

The two male figures wear *kirita mukuta*s, *mukara kundika*s and circular necklaces. They have their sacred threads fastened with a bow on the left breast and divided into three, the middle piece being three stranded. Rama bears Vishnu's triangular mole above the right breast. Lakshman wears a dagger in a richly ornamented sheath on his right side. Rama is unarmed except for his bow. Sita wears a *kirita mukuta* and has the breast band and type of body thread characteristic of Sri Devi.

4. RAMA. Height 20.25 cm. No history.

Very similar to the last but less richly decorated and better executed. The him is tied in a *kasa bandha* on top of the head.

5. RAMA, SITA AND LAKSHMANA. Heights 8.55 cm, slightly under 7.8 cm and slightly over 7.8 cm respectively. Mounted on a common rectangular stand 2 cm high, 14 cm long and 5 cm wide on which is a prithvi rising 17 cm above its base. Prithvi with palm tree, central five headed cobra, *mukuta* heads and 5th head. Sita stands on Rama's left with a full blown lotus in her right hand. No history.

Not unlike No. 2 but much smaller and correspondingly less richly decorated and with the cloth of all three figures long. Sita's hair is tied in a *kasa bandha* almost indistinguishable from the *kirita mukuta* worn by the two male figures. She has a breast band as in No. 3 instead of the long lower necklace of No. 2. All the three figures wear loose bangles apparently of gold. Rama has one on each arm, each of the other two one on the outer arm only.

6. RAMA. Height 13.5, 16 cm. Brass. Lotus pedestal with cavity for base of bow. No history.

Very like No. 5 in treatment but much larger and with cloth short and a dagger on the right hip.

7. RAMA. Height 9.5, 9.5 cm. Copper except head dress, ear and shoulder ornaments, long lower necklace, girdle, armlets, wristlets and anklets, all of which are of brass. No history.

Apart from its composition of two metals and less curved lower necklace, this image also resembles No. 5.

8. RAMA AND SITA. Heights 17, 22 cm and 15, 19 cm respectively. Sita standing on Rama's right with a full-blown lotus in her left hand. Treasure trove, Chimakurri, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District 1929.

The peculiar features of the Chimakurti images have already been considered above (pp. 56-58). This is the only image of Rama that we have seen in which the bow and arrow are permanent fixtures. Rama's forehead is marked with the Vadagalai namam; Sita's with the tilaka. Sita is provided with a breast-band and also wears a curious bracelet-like ornament on the back of her right hand.

KRISHNA AS VATAPATRASAYI.

1. VATAPATRASAYI. Leaf with stalk 8½ cm. long. Brass. No history.

An inferior image in European rather than Indian style, in which it forms a marked contrast to all others in the collection.

KRISHNA AS SANTANAGOPALA.

1. SANTANAGOPALA. Total length about 30 cm. No history.
2. SANTANAGOPALA. Total length about 9 cm. No history.

This image differs from the last chiefly in its much smaller size, different decoration and more delicate moulding. A sacred thread is present. The hair is tied up in an unusually decorative kondai as in Navanitakrishna No. 13, which is in much the same style.

3. SANTANAGOPALA. Left leg broken; total length when complete probably about 12 cm. Treasure trove, Adanakkottai, Pattukkottai Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

Cruder than either of the two preceding, and with the right foot much further from the mouth. A sacred thread is present.

4. SANTANAGOPALA. Total length about 10 cm. Treasure trove, Chimaku Ongole Taluk, Gunter District, 1929.

Differs from the other three in that the left foot is raised towards the mouth instead of the right.

YASODAKRISHNA.

1. YASODAKRISHNA. Standing. Height 10½, 14 cm. Full-blown lotus in Yasoda's right hand, Krishna on her left hip. Treasure trove, Uppiliyapuram, Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1929.

Yasoda's hair is parted in the middle, with ornaments representing the sun on the right and the moon on the left of the parting in front. It is tied at the back of her head into a kesa-bandha slightly drawn out into a sort of terminal point below. Krishna's hair is tied into a somewhat elongated kondai on the top of his head.

2. YASODAKRISHNA. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 16.) Standing. Height 20 cm. Full-blown lotus in Yasoda's right hand, Krishna on her left hip. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

Concerning this find of images see above, p. 58. Extremely crude. Krishna's hair tied in a typical round kondai, flat above.

3. YASODAKRISHNA. Standing. Height 13, 14 cm. Even cruder than No. 2. Krishna on right hip and with karanda-makuta instead of kondai, which renders identification somewhat uncertain (see under No. 4). Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

4. YASODAKRISHNA. Standing. Height 7, 7½ cm. Even cruder than No. 2. Krishna on left hip. He wears a karanda-makuta instead of a kondai, which renders the identification more uncertain and it is possible that this image may really be no more than a votive offering made by a mother after being blessed with a child. Treasure trove, Karappidagai, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

5. YASODAKRISHNA. Seated. Height 5½, 9 cm. Yasoda with full-blown lotus in right hand and Krishna on her left knee. Krishna with smaller full-blown lotus in left hand. No history.

Yasoda's hair is tied in a kesa-bandha on top of her head, and Krishna's in a kondai which is slightly conical above.

6. YASODAKRISHNA. Seated. Height 8, 12½ cm. Yasoda's left hand resting on the four-legged rectangular pedestal, Krishna on her right knee. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

Yasoda's hair is tied into seven knots on her forehead, the central one being large and ornamental, and into a kondai behind with a wreath of flowers resting on its narrow basal part. Krishna's hair is not tied. Yasoda wears patra-kundalas and Krishna tudus. In spite of the rather crude treatment of this image the mother's face is unusually pleasing. Yasoda leans against a long cylindrical bolster, folded on itself on her right.

7. YASODAKRISHNA. Seated. Height 7, 10 cm. Yasoda's right hand rests on Krishna's right foot, Krishna being seated on her left knee. A female attendant stands with a long handled fan on the left of the rectangular four-legged pedestal. No history.

Except for the presence of the attendant this is practically a somewhat cruder edition of the last but in reversed position, Krishna being on Yasoda's left and the head of the bolster on her right. Krishna's hair is tied in a kondai, that of the attendant in a spiral knot. Yasoda's has practically the form of a kondai and is secured behind with two bands, crossing in the middle, one of them vertical and the other horizontal. Yasoda alone has a wreath of flowers on her hair.

BALAKRISHNA.

In the first seven images he is crawling, in the other ten he is dancing. When crawling his hair is fastened in a kondai and he holds a mango in his right hand. When dancing his hands are empty, the right in the abhaya, tarjini or other pose, and the left arm extended outwards, and his hair is fastened in a more or less cylindrical kesa-bandha.

Navanitakrishna (see below, p. 86) has the same alternative postures and is distinguished from Balakrishna only by the ball of butter which he holds in his right hand or,

rarely, in both hands. Dancing figures of Balasubrahmanya, the Saivite counterpart of Balakrishna, are iconographically indistinguishable from dancing figures of Balakrishna and can only be identified by their Saivite associations. When associations give no clue the probability is that Balakrishna was intended, his being far the more popular cult of the two. All doubtful images, therefore, are here classed as Balakrishna.

In both crawling and dancing images the front hair is elegantly curled. The ear-rings may be patra-kundalas, makara-kundalas or (in small images) simple pendants. The pendants possibly represent up-turned makara-kundalas such as are found in Navanita-krishna No. 2. The upper part of the body is adorned with ornamental bands which follow the same course as Sri Devi's body threads (see above, p. 19) and often bear a large ornament in front, especially in dancing figures. In dancing figures they bear much the same relation to the necklaces as they do in Sri Devi, but in crawling figures they are superimposed on them, the front ornament hanging forwards below the body. Both forms of image have a narrow girdle but no cloth. In all the crawling images the girdle is tied on the left side and a bell of ordinary "bell" shape is attached on the same side a little further back, while a small dagger (or possibly a knife) in a sheath is tucked in on the opposite side. In dancing images the girdle is decorated with tassels, and only in one (No. 8) is any definite fastening shown. The dagger is only present in this same image and the bell not at all. Bells of a lighter type, more or less spherical with a slit below, are, however, sometimes found hanging in a row all round the lower margin of the girdle. Arms and legs have the usual adornments in both forms of image.

Navanitakrishna images are similarly adorned but the headdress is more variable, the girdle is often hung with a row of bells instead of with tassels. The single crawling figure in the collection has this row of bells and no dagger which is, however, present in several of the dancing figures. One dancing figure (No. 7) wears a cloth.

Of the five figures which we feel can confidently be identified as Balasubrahmanya one (No. 2) shows a definite fastening to the girdle and one (No. 1) a bell, both being on the right instead of on the left side, with a pair of tassels, one on each leg, a little further forwards. In another (No. 3) there is a bell on the left. None of them bear a dagger.

1. BALAKRISHNA. Crawling. Brass. Total length (from top of head to toes of extended left leg) 15 cm. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

This is the only crawling Balakrishna in the collection in which the ear-rings are patra-kundalas.

2, 3 and 4. BALAKRISHNA. Crawling. Total length 12, 10½ and 9½ cm. respectively. No. 2 of brass, Nos. 3 and 4 of copper. Treasure trove, Adanakkottai, Pattakkottai Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

The ears bear pendants.

5. BALAKRISHNA. Crawling. Total length 10½ cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The ears bear pendants.

6. BALAKRISHNA. Crawling. Total length 11 cm. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

The ears bear pendants.

7. BALAKRISHNA. Crawling. Total length 11 cm. Brass. No history.

This image has been figured in "Illustrations of Metal Work in Brass and Copper, mostly South Indian, from examples selected by Edgar Thurston, Velayuda Asari and W. S. Hadaway". (Madras, Government Press, 1913. Not for sale) The ears bear pendants.

8. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 49, 52½ cm. Right hand abhaya. Treasure trove, Mallachipuram, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1893.

In this, as in all the following images except Nos 9 and 15, he is poised on his left leg, the right one being raised. There are lotus buds behind the ears and patra-kundalas on the ear-lobes. There is no waist band, but a string is tied round the stomach, from which a single tassel extends along the front of the right leg and a pair along the front of the left. The girdle rests on the upper part of the thighs, on top of the tassels. It is tied in an ornamental knot on the left side at the back, a dagger being attached in a corresponding position on the right side.

9. BALAKRISHNA. (Gangoly (1), pl. lxxv.) Dancing. Height 40, 52½ cm. Right hand abhaya. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

The usual positions of the legs are reversed. The ears bear lotus. A waist band is present. There is no string above the girdle, which is of the usual conventional type without fastening, dagger or bell, and has two tassels on each side.

10. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height, 35, 44½ cm. Right hand abhaya. Treasure trove, Pandaravadai, Papanasam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

Makara-kundalas adorn the ears.

11. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 37, 49 cm. Right hand abhaya. The pedestal bears an inscription in modern Tamil characters with the following meaning. "The god that gave the leg. The gift of Tittar Navakar for the merit of Kayilappa Mudaliyar." Treasure trove, Parittiyur, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1925.

1. கால்குட்ட நாயின

Kalkuṭṭa Nayina

2. கயிலப்ப முதலியார்

Kayilappa Mudaliyār

3. புண்ணியம் அக தீதநர்நாயகர்

Puṇṇiyam āga Tittar Nāyakar

4. தருமம்

Taruman

Makara-kundalas. Neither waist-band nor string round the stomach present above the girdle.

12. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 9, 12½ cm. Right hand abhaya. No history.

13. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 5'5, 7'5 cm. Right hand abhaya. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

14. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 36, 48 cm. Right hand tarjini. Treasure trove, Tiruvarambur, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

Without any ornaments to the ears beyond a small lotus bud above each.

15. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 8, 10'5 cm. Right hand tarjini. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

The usual positions of the legs are reversed as in No. 9. The string and girdle are distinct, the latter hanging very low as in No. 8, with an ornamental bow on each side behind and a single short tassel (? or bell) on each side in front.

16. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 41, 51 cm. Right hand extended forwards as in most images of Navanitakrishna. Treasure trove, Srinivasanallur, Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1914.

Makara-kundalas.

17. BALAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 7, 10 cm. Arms as in No. 16. Treasure trove, Srirangam, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1912.

Patra-kundalas.

NAVANITAKRISHNA.

Distinguished from Balakrishna only by the ball of butter held in the right hand. Usually dancing, rarely standing or crawling. Hair in a kesa-bandha (Nos. 1-7) or in a kondai (Nos. 11-14), or short (Nos. 8-10).

1. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 38, 52 cm. Treasure trove, Tirupavanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1910.

Patra-kundalas in ears. The string round the stomach is tied on the left side in front, and the girdle, which is reduced to a string of 7 bells, on the right side in front.

2. NAVANITAKRISHNA. (Krishna Sastri, fig. 25; Gopinatha Rao, I pl. lx 1.) Dancing. Height 35, 48 cm. No History.

The arrangement of the ear and shoulder ornaments is shown with unusual clearness. On each side a small lotus bud fills the space between the upper part of the ear and the head, and behind this a long festoon hangs down on to the shoulder and across the front of the upper arm, while the lobes bear makara-kundalas.

In addition to the usual body ornaments a sacred thread is shown in front but not behind. The girdle has a floral clasp in the middle in front and bells at equal intervals all round, except above and in front of the raised leg where there is only one. These bells are of two kinds which alternate with one another—the usual bell-shaped kind and the lighter more or less spherical kind with a slit across the bottom and extending upwards on either side. The raised right foot rests on a full-blown lotus, the stem of which arises from the pedestal.

3, 4 and 5. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 7'5, 10 cm., 6, 7'5 cm. and 5'5, 7 cm. respectively. Treasure trove, Srirangam, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1912.

Very similar to No. 1, and also to Balakrishna No. 17, which latter image was found with them, but differing from both in having pendants in the ears. No. 3 is a particularly well executed little image, the best of this form in the collection.

6. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 6, 9 cm. No history.

Very similar to the last three, but with *patra-kundalas* in the ears and ornamental ends to the girdle on both sides behind as in Balakrishna No. 15.

7. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 7'5 cm. No history.

This is a most unusual figure in which Navanitakrishna is represented as a man with sacred thread, waist band and a cloth which reaches nearly to the knees. It is soldered to a base shaped like an inverted hemispherical bowl; but this does not seem really to belong to it.

8, 9 and 10. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Dancing. Height 6'5 cm., 5'5, 9 cm. and 4'5, 6 cm. respectively. No. 8 without pedestal, 9 and 10 with lotus pedestals. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

These three images differ from all the others in having the hair cut short at the back. All have the girdle fastened in front of the left leg with a bell on the left and a dagger on the right behind.

11. NAVANITAKRISHNA. (Ganguly, I, pl. lx-lxi.) Dancing. Height 9'5, 13'5 cm. No history.

The group in which this image was figured by Ganguly was a composite one and was dispersed when the collection was rearranged some years ago. The images of Rukmini and Satyabhama showed them as adults, old enough to be the mother of the dancing child between them, from which they also differed in colour of the metal used and in being of very crude workmanship. Nor did the stand fit the images properly, having obviously not been designed for them. The five-headed cobra formed part of the *prabha* and is incorrectly shown in Ganguly's pl. lxi as Krishna's headdress, which is a simple *kondai*.

This image, though not highly decorated, is carefully moulded and finished somewhat in the style of Santanagopala No. 2 and is an unusually successful representation of Krishna as an exceedingly fat and chubby child. As in Nos. 2 and 12 the up-raised right foot is supported on a lotus, the stem of which arises from the pedestal.

12. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Dancing. Brass. Height 1, 16'5 cm. No history.

An image in the same style as No. 11, but more highly decorated and less successful. Both hands are raised towards the head with a ball of butter in each. A sacred thread crosses the back but not the chest. A pair of strips, decorated behind, extend from either side of the head obliquely downwards and outwards across the backs of the upper arms, but their significance is not clear.

13. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Standing. Height 11, 13'5 cm. No history.

Style somewhat as in Nos. 11 and 12. The left hand hangs down and the kondai is unusually elaborate, resembling that of Santanagopala No. 2.

14. NAVANITAKRISHNA. Crawling. Total length 5½ cm. Treasure trove, Tennur, Madura Taluk and District, 1923.

The right foot and left leg rest on the body and the left hand on the up-raised head of a once-coiled cobra. Somewhat crude.

KALIYAKRISHNA.

These images differ from those of dancing figures of Balakrishna and Navanitakrishna only in that the dance takes place on the hood of the five-headed serpent king Kaliya, whose tail is held in the out-stretched left hand. Three measurements are given, the first being of Krishna alone, the second including Kaliya's hood and the third the pedestal also.

1. KALIYAKRISHNA. Height 46, 60, 75 cm. Treasure trove, Nilappadi, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

Krishna has makara-kundalas in his ears and a small ornamental loop on each side of his girdle. His right hand is in the abhaya pose. Kaliya has a human bust with hands in the anjali pose beneath the cobra hood.

2. KALIYAKRISHNA. Height 35, 44, 52 cm. Treasure trove, Pandaravadai, Papanasam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

A less successful figure than the last, with Kaliya's human bust, and to a much less extent his hood and heads, turned to Krishna's right. Krishna has patra-kundalas in his ears and no loops to his girdle.

3. KALIYAKRISHNA. (Pl. ix, fig. 3.) Height 10½, 15, 19 cm. Treasure trove. Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Krishna's right hand faces upwards. The ornaments behind his ears are very large. A sacred thread and waist band are present. The girdle is very broad and has exceptionally wide ornamental bows on each side; it supports a large dagger on the left side in front and a cloth which hangs to the knees. Kaliya is without any human features. The lotus pedestal bears a fish, tortoise, crocodile and makara at the four corners and a pair of worshipping naginis in front. The fish and makara are on Krishna's right, the other two animals being on his left; the fish and tortoise are in front, the other two behind. The naginis have human trunks which arise from the backs of the hoods of single-headed cobras.

KRISHNA AS VENUGOPALA.

Out of the 15 images listed here 9 (Nos. 4-12, including all of those with consorts) belong to the Chinakurti treasure trove find, the peculiar features of which have already been dealt with (pp. 56-58). Nos. 1-6 have four hands, the additional pair holding the

discus and conch. The rest have only the two hands which would hold the flute were this not invariably missing. The namam is more or less distinctly visible in No. 1 and in all the Chimakurti images except Nos. 8 and 10. Images Nos. 1 and 2 wear kirita-makutas; in the rest the hair is tied in a kesa-bandha. Usually this forms a more or less cone-shaped mass on the top of the head, but in some of the Chimakurti images it has other forms. In No. 8, Rukmini and Satyabhama (who always hold the emblems of Sri and Bhu Devi respectively in their hand-) wear karanda-makutas; in all other sets their hair is treated in the same manner as Venugopala's. Their earrings are almost always in the same style as his in the images before us, but this is unlikely to prove to be a general rule as it does not hold good either in the pair of images associated with Krishna (below, p. 92) or in those of which the association has been lost (below, pp. 93-94).

1. VENUGOPALA. Height 29, 39 cm. Treasure trove, South India.

Almost as florid in style as Varadaraja No. 7. Makara-kundalas. No triangular mole. Outer necklace hanging low between breasts. Undivided sacred thread. Waist-band close to girdle.

2 and 3. VENUGOPALA. Height 24, 29 cm. and 7, 10½ cm. respectively. Treasure trove, Pattarakkudi, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1911.

These images resemble the last and the next three in being four-armed; they differ from the last and resemble all the rest in not being unusually ornate or having any but circular necklaces. No. 3 is small and much corroded, but appears otherwise to differ from No. 2 only in having a kesa-bandha instead of a kirita-makuta and patra-kundalas instead of makara-kundalas. No. 2 has a waist-band in the usual position, a divided sacred thread and Vishnu's triangular mole above the right breast.

4. VENUGOPALA. Height 10 cm. No pedestal. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

A crude and much corroded image. The earrings are probably makara-kundalas - certainly not patra-kundalas. The waist band is present and sacred thread undivided.

5 and 6. VENUGOPALA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height of Venugopala 11, 15 and 10, 13½ cm., of Rukmini 8½, 12½ and 9, 12 cm. and of Satyabhama 9½, 12½ and 10 cm. respectively. Lotus pedestals, except Satyabhama No. 6 in which it is missing. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Very similar to No. 4 except for the addition of the female figures, both of which wear patra-kundalas in No. 5, those of No. 6 wearing respectively these and makara-kundalas after the manner of Sri Devi and Bhu Devi. In both sets Rukmini wears a breast-band which is missing in Satyabhama.

7. VENUGOPALA. Height 9, 13 cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Differs from the last three chiefly in the absence of the posterior pair of hands with the conch and discus and in the presence of patra-kundalas in the ears.

8. VENUGOPALA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height of Venugopala 11'5, 17 cm., of consorts 10'5, 14'5 cm. Treasure trove, Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

An elaborately designed and beautifully finished set. Venugopala's hair is tied in an almost spherical kesa-bandha, secured by a band that extends over it from one side to the other, and decorated with flowers below. Neither of his consorts have a breast-band; both wear karanda-makutas and a long necklace that hangs between the breasts. All three figures have patra-kundalas in their ears.

9. VENUGOPALA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA, ATTENDANTS AND SAINTE. (Pl. xi, fig. 2.) Height (without stand) of Venugopala 5, 7'5 cm., of consorts 3'5, 6 cm. Lotus pedestals. Total height with stand 18 cm. Prabha missing. Treasure trove, Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The three principal images fit into sockets on the top of a stand representing *Vaikuntha*, Vishnu's heaven, as is shown by the door-keepers, Jaya and Vijaya, standing on either side near the base with discus conch, and conch discus, respectively in their hinder hands, the outer front ones being in the tarjini pose while the inner front ones rest on a mace. The stand consists of five tiers and is supported on four short legs. On the top-most tier are the three principal images. On the next, immediately below Venugopala, is Garuda. On the third, which is only a little lower, are four figures with hands in the anjali pose, presumably representing the four alvars traditionally assigned to the Dvapara Yuga—Poygai Alvar, Bhutat-Alvar, Peyalvar and Tirumalisai Alvar—though the small tuft on the top of the head which distinguishes the last of the figures from the other three is suggestive rather of Periyalvar. On the fourth tier are six more figures, presumably six of the eight alvars of the Kali Yuga. The standing figures at the two ends apparently represent Tirumangai Alvar with a sword and shield, and Tondaradippodi Alvar with a staff for supporting a flower basket. Among the Madras Museum collection of stone images is a series of alvars from Tadpatri in which Tondaradippodi Alvar is represented in exactly the same way, his flower basket being clearly shown attached to the top of the staff. Next to Tirumangai Alvar is seated a figure in a kirita-makuta with his right hand in the upadesa pose. This must be the royal Kulasekhara Alvar. And next to Tondaradippodi Alvar is a similar figure but with the usual large knot of hair in place of the royal headdress: he no doubt represents Nammalvar. Between them are two figures with hands in the anjali pose. The one next to Kulasekhara Alvar, having a well defined sacred thread, may be identified as Periyalvar, though there is nothing distinctive about his hair. The remaining figure has the usual knot of hair divided in the middle, the significance of which we do not understand. If this represents Tiruppana Alvar all twelve alvars are included except two who are in a sense represented, Madhurakavi by his master Nammalvar and Andal by her father Periyalvar. The late Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar, who helped us with these identifications, informed us that Vedanta Desika gives in his *Guruparampara-sāra* a list of the alvars from which the names of Madhurakavi and Andal are omitted, stating that it was by means of the works of those

mentioned in the list he had been enabled to understand certain abstruse passages in the Vedas. The lowest tier bears the two door-keepers, one on each side, and eight lions—three in front, three behind and one at each end—the heads of which support the upper tiers; and in front, on a pair of projections from its base, two cows stand gazing upwards at Venugopala.

Venugopala's knot of hair is on the left side of his head, those of both his consorts on their right. Rukmini wears *patra-kundalas*, the other two figures *makara-kundalas*. Venugopala has a divided sacred thread, both his consorts simple ones. Rukmini has a breast-band and Satyabhama has not. All three images are beautifully finished though not very well proportioned.

10. VENUGOPALA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. (Pl. x, figs. 1 & 2.) Height of Venugopala (including coronet) 18'5, 22'5 cm., of consorts 14'5, 18'5 cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The main peculiarities of this set of unusual looking images have been dealt with above (pp. 50-57). All three figures wear *patra-kundalas*. The two consorts each have a long necklace hanging between their breasts and no breast-band or sacred thread. Their anklets each consist of two rings joined by a short bar in front and behind. Venugopala's sacred thread divides into three pieces. He has a waist-band in the usual place.

These images are simpler and better proportioned than the last, and are very neatly executed.

11. VENUGOPALA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. (Pl. viii, fig. 2 & Pl. xi, fig. 1.) Height of Venugopala 16 cm., of consorts 13 cm. No pedestals. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

These images above (see p. 57), combine certain features of the preceding set with those of images in the usual style. All three have *patra-kundalas*, a long necklace hanging between the breasts and no breast- or waist-band. Venugopala's sacred thread is undivided and so long as to hang below the girdle. A narrow ornamental band hangs from the two sides of the girdle across the front of the legs, bearing a large and curious ornament in the middle, hooked on by its two ends.

12. VENUGOPALA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height of Venugopala 22 cm., of consorts 19 cm. No pedestals. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Very crude; of the same general type as the last.

13. VENUGOPALA. Height 16, 20'5 cm. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

Very like No 2 but for the absence of the two posterior arms with their insignia and for the *patra-kundalas* in the ears.

14. VENUGOPALA. Height 15, 17'5 cm. Treasure trove, Peruntottam, Shiyali Taluk, Tanjore District, 1918.

Patra-kundalas. Sacred thread of the special form usually associated with Sri Devi. Girdle with a small lion-face ornament above a 5-looped bow in place of the usual median loop. Otherwise much as in No. 13.

15. VENUGOPALA. Height 8'5, 11 cm. Treasure trove, South India.
Very like No. 13 but without median loop to girdle.

KRISHNA.

Krishna as such is represented as a man of mature years wearing makara-kundalas in his ears and with his right arm extended downwards and a little forwards, its hand in the kataka pose exactly as in figures of Rama, and the left elbow projecting outwards as if to rest on something, the forearm directed inwards and its hand hanging downwards; or the left hand may hold a conch, when its arm is usually raised. A stone sculpture from Chidambaram in the Madras Museum collection shows him standing in the former posture with Rukmini on his left, Satyabhama being absent. His right hand holds a shepherd's crook, and his left arm rests on Rukmini's shoulder. Occasionally, as in Venugopala, there may be an additional pair of arms behind the others to hold Vishnu's discus and conch. But such images are very rare. For means of distinguishing between images of Krishna and Manmatha, see below, p. 137. Clothing and ornamentation resemble those of Venugopala.

1. KRISHNA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height of Krishna 71, 88 cm., of devis 53, 68 cm. and 53, 67 cm. respectively. Krishna with kesa-bandha on top of head, devis' kesa-bandhas behind to left side. Makara-kundalas. Broad necklaces. Krishna with broad sacred thread giving off a single strand on each side below breasts. Devis with the usual flower bud in the hand nearest Krishna; breast-band absent in both; threads on trunk falling from each shoulder to unite between breasts and along back, then separating to pass round waist on either side. Purchased from the Rupaswami Temple, Sermadevi, Ambasamudram Taluk, Tinnevely District, 1931.

The decoration of these images is well carried out in considerable detail in low relief.

2. KRISHNA. Height 73, 89 cm. Prabha missing. Treasure trove, Nilappadi, Nega-patam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

A large figure moderately well executed.

3. KRISHNA WITH RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height of Krishna 14, 20 cm., of consorts 11, 16 cm. No history.

Except that their hair is fastened like Krishna's in a kesa-bandha, Rukmini and Satyabhama show in every detail the attributes of Sri Devi and Bhu Devi respectively.

4. (?) KRISHNA. Height 8'5, 9'5 cm. Sword, conch. Treasure trove, South India.

A crude image of unusual form. The sword held in the right hand suggests Krishna's half-brother *Satyaki* rather than Krishna himself, but the conch seems to render the

former identification impossible. The conch is held low as in *Punduranga*, but this mild form of *Vishnu* could not be represented with a sword.

RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA.

1 (See also above under *Sri Devi* and *Bhu Devi* as well as under *Venugopala* and *Krishna*.)

Rukmini and *Satyabhama* should have the same attributes as *Sri Devi* and *Bhu Devi* (above, pp. 72-74), of whom they are regarded as incarnations. They can, however, usually be distinguished from them by their hair which is often tied in a knot like *Krishna*'s—a more or less conical knot on the top of the head is the commonest form—instead of being in a *karanda-makuta*.

1. RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height 10.5, 12 cm. and 11, 12.5 cm. respectively. *Kesa-bandha* tall. Treasure trove, Peruntottam, Shiyali Taluk, Tanjore District, 1918.

Not a perfect pair as regards either metal or design. Attributes exactly as in *Sri Devi* and *Bhu Devi* respectively, but images of slenderer form and cruder workmanship than the consorts of *Krishna* No. 3.

2. RUKMINI. Height 13, 17 cm. *Kesa-bandha* tall. Treasure trove, Koyilpatti, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1909.

The only other figure in this find was an image of *Parvati* (No. 16). *Saivite* and *Vaishnavite* images are sometimes found together, but it is possible that this image was really intended for *Valli*.

Not unlike the last but somewhat less slender and better executed.

3. SATYABHAMA. Height 13, 17 cm. *Kesa-bandha* tall. Treasure trove, Utukur, Kovur Taluk, Nellore District, 1912.

This image makes such a perfect pair with the last, even to details of the stand, that we cannot help wondering if there may not have been some confusion as to their history. It is, however, made of slightly different metal.

4. SATYABHAMA. Height 37, 48 cm. *Kesa-bandha* short, somewhat as in the deities of *Krishna* No. 1. Treasure trove, Belur, Attur Taluk, Salem District, 1916.

Very poor workmanship. All the other images of this find were *Saivite*, which makes our identification somewhat dubious. *Rati* has been suggested as perhaps more likely; but she should not have *nakara-kundalas*. The only image of her consort *Manmatha* in the collection has, however, his hair fastened in exactly the same way, though this is not the case in the image of *Rati* found associated with it.

5 and 6. RUKMINI AND SATYABHAMA. Height of former pair 5, 6.5 cm. and of latter pair 4.5, 6 cm. Treasure trove, Srirangam, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1912.

The hair is fastened in a *konda*. The sacred thread of *Rukmini* resembles that of *Satyabhama*.

7. RUKMINI. Height 4, 5.5 cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Much as in the Rukmini of the two preceding sets except that the sacred thread has the form characteristic of Sri Devi.

8 and 9 SATYABHAMA. Height 14, 18 cm. and 13, 14½ cm. respectively. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

Both images are of crude workmanship and stand erect without the usual bend, which renders identification a little doubtful, especially as the find to which they belong was evidently connected with a grama devata cult (see above, p. 58). No. 8 wears a kirita-makuta as do the Satyabhama images associated with Venugopala Nos. 5 and 6. No. 9 has her hair in a kesa-bandha as in the Satyabhama image associated with Venugopala No. 9, but on the left instead of on the right side. Both hold a water-lily in the right hand, the left hand hanging down.

GARUDA.

1. GARUDA. Standing on a platform with a socket beneath to fit on the top of a pole. Height of Garuda 20 cm. Treasure trove, Kankoduttavanitham, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929. The other two images of this find were Saivite.

In his right hand he holds the tail of a 5-headed cobra, on the neck of which his right foot is placed. His left hand rests against his hip. A pair of outwardly curved tusks protrude from his upper jaw as in terrible forms of Siva. There are patra-kundalas in his ears. The drum and two pipes on the ground at his feet are for heralding the approach of Vishnu.

2. GARUDA. Standing. Height 8½, 11½ cm. Anjali pose. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

A single-headed cobra adorns the front of the karanda-makuta headdress. A pair of outwardly curved tusks protrude from the upper jaw. Patra-kundalas. Vadagalai namam.

3. GARUDA. (Pl. viii, fig. 4.) Standing. Height 8½, 10½ cm. Anjali pose. Treasure trove, Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Makara-kundalas; Vadagalai namam.

4. GARUDA. (Pl. viii, fig. 3.) Seated. Height 6½, 10 cm. Anjali pose. Treasure trove, Chinakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

Makara-kundalas. Vadagalai namam.

5. GARUDA. Half kneeling with the palms of the hands raised to support the feet of Vishnu. Height 21½, 24 cm. No history.

A very crude figure with a single-headed cobra hood in the front of the kirita-makuta headdress, on the outer side of the todus in the ears and on the lowest necklace above the left breast. Behind the head is a small stand for Vishnu. The right knee is on the ground, the left one raised.

6. GARUDA CARRYING VISHNU AND BHU DEVI. Attitude as in No. 5. Height of Garuda 7 cm. No history.

Behind the head and shoulders is a rectangular pedestal into grooves on the top of which fit small images of Vishnu as Varadaraja and Bhū Devi. The groove for Sri Devi is empty, its image having evidently been lost.

7. GARUDA. Attitude as in Nos. 5 and 6 but with positions of legs reversed. Height 8 cm. Copper except wings, clothing and ornaments which are of brass. No history.

HANUMAN.

Hanuman may be shown either as submissive before Rama, his leader and hero, or as active in the doing of his duties. There are two submissive poses, one (pl. vi, fig. 2) as a servant, the other (pl. vi, fig. 3) as a pious devotee with hands in the *anjali* pose. Of the several active poses he seems only to be shown in metal either as Rama's *vahana* or as threatening his enemies.

1. HANUMAN. (Pl. vi, fig. 2.) Standing as a servant. Height 50.58 cm. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppanaiyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1915.

The devotion to man of his animal servant-friends is wonderfully depicted in this simple but expressive image, belonging to the fine Rama set No. 1, with which it is identical in style. There is a chaplet of leaves on the head, pendants adorn the ears, the sacred thread is broad and undivided, a waist-band is present and the loin cloth is decorated with a pattern suggesting Vishnu's discs.

2. HANUMAN. Standing as a servant. Height 14.16 cm. Treasure trove, Peruntotam, Shiyali Taluk, Tanjore District, 1918.

Posture much as in No. 1. Differing chiefly in its much smaller size and more conventional moulding, and in having a sacred thread of the pattern characteristic of Sri Devi, no waist-band, the usual median loop to the girdle and a much creased but undecorated loin cloth.

3. HANUMAN. Standing as a servant. Height 10.13 cm. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nanniam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

Very like No. 2 but wearing a *karanda-makuta* and with ornamental ends to the girdle on both sides, but no median loop.

4. HANUMAN. (Pl. vi, fig. 3.) Standing as a devotee. Height 35.46 cm. Treasure trove, South India.

A much more ornate and conventional image than any of the preceding. The hair is tied in a *kesa-bandha* on top of the head, the sacred thread divides into two and the waist-band is present. The forehead is marked with a *namam* of the Vadagalai form.

5. HANUMAN. Half kneeling as a devotee. Height 4.5 cm. No history.

6. HANUMAN. Standing with a tray or pedestal on his head and holding a fruit to his lips. Height about 19.28 cm. Treasure trove, Srinivasanallur, Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1914.

The significance of this image is not understood.

7. HANUMAN. Standing with his right hand raised as if to strike a blow. Height 10, 12 cm. No history.

Very crude.

8. HANUMAN. Half kneeling with the right forearm and hand raised and facing outwards, the left hand holding a dagger. Height 7, 8 cm. Brass. No history.

Profusely but very crudely decorated, with a kirita-makuta headdress. The left knee rests on the ground, the right one being raised. Tungalai namam present.

9. HANUMAN. Standing with Rama seated on his right arm and Lakshmana on his left. Height of Hanuman 9 cm. Total height from top of Rama's head to ground 11 cm. No history.

Somewhat crude. The arms of Rama and Lakshmana are in their characteristic position.

10. HANUMAN. Half kneeling with the palms of the hands raised to support the feet of Rama. Height 35, 45 cm. No history.

A stand for Rama, with sockets for a prabha, is attached behind the head.

ALVARS.

(See also under *Vengopal* No. 9.)

A list of the twelve alvars, with their individual characteristics so far as any are prescribed for them, has been given in the introduction to this catalogue (above, p. 9). This has been based on information obtained from the late Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar, from Pandit E. R. Krishnamachar and from the *Nalayir a-divya-prabandham*, often referred to as the "Tamil Veda". But even when their characteristics are fully shown, which is by no means always, they are obviously not in every case adequate for complete identification, and there is nothing by which the first three in the list can be distinguished either from one another or from the acharyas, nor can the others always be distinguished from these. The cymbals and bells are not always shown in Madhurakavi Alvar and Periyalvar respectively, when these two become indistinguishable unless the tuft is very clearly shown or unless the latter is seated—in which case he would be indistinguishable without the bells (apart from his tuft) from the first three. It even happens, apparently frequently, that Periyalvar is given cymbals like Madhurakavi Alvar, in place of his bells.¹ Tondaradippodi Alvar's basket seems to be more constantly shown. Without it he too would be indistinguishable from Madhurakavi Alvar and Periyalvar.

1. ALVAR. Height 18, 31 cm. Treasure trove, Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1910.

¹ This is a compilation of hymns sung by the twelve Alvars. It was printed by the Sriniketan Press, Madras, in 1896, having been edited by U. V. Srinivasa Tatcharya Swamikal.

² Concerning the difficulty of distinguishing such images from those of Trujnana Sambandha as a man see above, p. 15.

May represent any of the first three Alvars, or perhaps even one of the others with sacred thread.

2. ALVAR. Seated. Height 6½, 9 cm. No history.

3. ALVAR. Seated. Height 4½, 6½ cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

4. TIRUMALISAI ALVAR. Standing. Height 37, 49 cm. Treasure trove, Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1910.

The eyes are fully open and the hair is fastened in a knot on the top of the head. But Tirumalaisai is the only alvar that can be represented as standing with his hands in the anjali pose.

5. NAMMALVAR WITH RAMANUJA. (Hooper, opposite p. 28.) Seated. Height 7, 10 cm. Lotus pedestal fitting into a rectangular stand about 3 cm. high, 12 long and 6 wide, surmounted by a prabha about 19 cm. high. No history.

In the figure of Nammalvar the hair is secured in a knot on the top of the head but leaning over a little towards the right; there are lotus buds and other ornaments behind the ears; and the necklace, as well as completely encircling the neck, has long free ends which hang down in front of the body. The left hand faces upwards but its manuscript is missing. The hands are quite out of proportion to the rest of the figure.

The figure of Ramanuja is much smaller, correct in form but distinctly crude in finish.

In both figures the forehead bears the Vadagalai namam.

The arch of the prabha arises from the usual pair of makara heads. Above them are the discus and chank on the outer side and a pair of long tailed birds on the inner. Above is a figure of Ranganatha on his serpent couch, the whole being surmounted by the usual yali head.

6. NAMMALVAR WITH RAMANUJA AND MADHURAKAVI. Seated. Height 6½, 9 cm. No history.

Very similar to No. 5, even to the Vadagalai namam and the free ends of the neck-lace, but better executed. Nammalvar's hair is in a spiral knot pushed well back and to the right. Ramanuja and Madhurakavi are shown in miniature at the base of the pedestal, seated as usual with hands in the anjali pose, the former (on the right) carrying his characteristic staff with a cloth at the top.

Madhurakavi, being born just before the end of the Dvapara Yuga, comes in the traditional list before his master Nammalvar who was born just after the beginning of the Kali Yuga. Nammalvar stands at the head of the line of acharyas, of whom Ramanuja was the greatest.

7. NAMMALVAR. Seated. Height 4, 6½ cm. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

A cruder and less correct image than either of the others, without disciples. The ornaments appear to be composed mainly of rudraksha beads, a Saivite form of decoration. The second instead of the first finger of the right hand touches the tip of the thumb. And the left hand is not in the usual position for holding a manuscript.

8. PERIYALVAR. Standing. Height 17, 20 cm. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

The hands are in the anjali pose instead of holding bells or cymbals respectively according to whether Madhurakavi or Periyalvar was intended. The small tuft of hair seems, however, to indicate the latter.

9. TONDARADIPPODI ALVAR. Standing. (Hooper, opposite p. 15.) Height 37, 47 cm. Treasure trove, Tiruppuvanam, Sivaganga Taluk, Madura District, 1910.

The basket hangs on the left arm. A Vadagalai namam is present. The name *Tondaradippodi Alvar* is inscribed on the pedestal in modern Tamil characters.

10. TONDARADIPPODI ALVAR. Standing. Height 11, 12 cm. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

Rather a crude image with the basket on the right arm.

11. TIRUMANGAI ALVAR. Standing. Height 56, 75 cm. Treasure trove, Srinivasanallur, Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1914.

A particularly well executed image. The knot of hair, which is portrayed in the finest detail, is situated rather behind the centre of the head; but the image is identified by the kataka pose of the two hands for the reception of sword and shield which are missing. There are small lotus buds behind the ears and pendants (? small makara-kundalas) hang from the lobes.

ACHARYAS.

(See also under *Nammalvar*.)

1. NATHANUNI WITH UYYAKKONDAR, MANAKKAL NAMBI AND ALAVANDAR. Height 3'5, 6'5 cm. Lotus pedestal, with the three subsidiary figures below. No history.

Of the three small figures below the centre, one holds a cloth on a stick, distinguishing him as either Alavandar or Ramanuja. If Ramanuja was intended the principal figure should be Nammalvar; but this is impossible as a sacred thread is present in addition to the pose not being that prescribed for him. If Alavandar was intended the principal figure must be Nathanuni, and the smaller subsidiary figures Manakkal Nambi and Uyyakkondar, identifications to which no objection appears. The probability of their being correct receives confirmation from the fact that these particular four acharyas have to be named by all Sri Vaishnavas every day in their morning, noon and evening prayers.

2. RAMANUJA. Height 5'5, 9'5 cm. No history.

This somewhat crude image may represent either Alavandar or Ramanuja; but images of the former are not commonly made.

EMBLEMS OF VISHNU.

Only Nos. 3 and 4 of the following list are finished on both sides.

1. CONCH. Height 17½, 22 cm. Dextral and much conventionalised. Lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

2. DISCUS. Height (including flames) 18, 22 cm. Crossed equilateral triangles in centre, numerous rays, 4 marginal flames. Lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

3. DISCUS. Height 40, 61 cm. Central flames on both sides, 8 rays, 4 marginal flames, 2 small supporting lions. No history.

4. DISCUS. Height 22, 34 cm. Yali face in centre on one side, 8-petalled lotus on other, 16 rays, 3 marginal flames, 1 basal lotus, 2 small supporting lions. Mounted on socket for a pole. No history.

5. DISCUS. Height 30, 43 cm. Yali face in centre in front, nothing behind, 12 rays, 4 marginal flames, 2 small supporting lions. Treasure trove, Vellore, North Arcot District, 1913.

6. DISCUS. Height 10, 16 cm. Rays forming an 8-petalled lotus in front, absent behind; 4 marginal flames and a pair of streamers, 8 marginal semicircular projections, one at base of each flame and one in each interspace. No history.

7. SUDARSANA. (Hooper, frontispiece.) Height 24 cm. Crossed equilateral triangles in centre with 6-armed figure in front: discus, conch; arrow, bow; lotus, mace. A marginal garland above and at sides, 4 flames, 2 streamers. No history.

8. SUDARSANA. Height 6, 7 cm. Crossed equilateral triangles in centre with 8-armed figure in front: discus, conch; sword, shield; mace, lotus; abhaya, varada. Streamers small, 3 marginal flames, lotus support, lotus pedestal. Presented by the Superintendent; no further history.

9. SUDARSANA.¹ Height about 15, 20 cm. Disc bearing crossed equilateral triangles in front, single one (pointing upwards) behind; supported by pair of yalis; flames all round, of which one at top and one on each side are slightly enlarged. Front figure with eight pairs of arms: discus, conch; axe, plough; javelin, noose; bow, arrow; goad, some broken object; flame, pestle; sword, ? mace; kataka (for flower), trident. On back, Narasimha with four pairs of arms: raised to beat, conch; discus, bow and arrow; sword, mace; tearing demon's stomach (loath). Demon with sword in one hand, shield in other. Prahlada standing below in anjali pose. Lotus pedestal with two five-headed cobras on each side of square base. No history.

The petals of the lotus pedestal bear in modern Grantha characters the sacred *ashṭakṣari* mantra *ॐ नमो नारायणाय*, *Om! Namō Nārāyaṇāya*, "Om! Salutation to

¹ In the collection of Mr. R. F. Stoney.

Narayana." Letters known as *bijaksharas* or seed-letters are present on the front of the disc. Each represents a particular idea, but its significance is revealed to initiates only.

VISHNU'S FEET AND SANDALS.

1. PADUKA. Base of pedestal 6 cm. square. No history.

2. PADUKA. Base of pedestal 4 cm. in diameter. Treasure trove, Peruntottam, Shiyali Taluk, Tanjore District, 1918. Somewhat crude.

3 and 4. PADUKA. Bases of pedestals 5 cm. square and 3½ cm. in diameter respectively. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

In the former the base is square, in the latter it is round.

5. PADUKA. A pair of sandals 19 cm. long without any attached pedestal. Treasure trove, Chimakurti, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, 1929.

The peg for the toes to grip in each has an umbrella-like top, in the centre of which is set a white stone in that of the right foot, the cavity alone being now found in that of the left foot. The part between the heel (5 cm. across) and the ball of the foot (8 cm. across) is extremely narrow—barely 2 cm. across. These sandals have originally been covered with gold leaf with designs upon it, of which traces still remain.

6. SATHARI. Base of pedestal 4½ cm. in diameter. No history. Gilded.

SAIVITE IMAGES.

SIVA AS SUKHASANA.

1. SUKHASANA. Height 39 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Pedestal missing¹. Treasure trove, Tanjore District.

Snake and crescent very small and inconspicuous on right and left respectively of upper part of headdress. Makara-kundala in right ear, patra-kundala in left. Necklace and waist-band with large and finely finished ornaments in middle in front. Sacred thread divided into two below small ornamental knot above left breast. Antelope spotted, its breast and back of head towards Siva, its feet resting on tips of his fingers.

In the absence of the pedestal it is impossible to be sure that this figure did not really form part of an Umamahita or Somaskanda group.

SIVA AS CHANDRASEKHARA.

1. CHANDRASEKHARA.² (Pl. xii, figs. 1 and 2 and Pl. xiii, fig. 1.) Axe, antelope; abhaya, katyavalambita. Stand inscribed.

We are indebted to Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry for our information regarding this important image. Its special interest, which led him to draw our attention

¹ The pedestal on which it is now placed formed part of a treasure trove find from Tiruvallur, Chittoor District, 1907.

² From photographs kindly obtained for us, with permission to reproduce them, by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, from the Musée Guimet, Paris, to which he had presented the image which he had purchased in South India.

to it, lies in the fact that it is inscribed in a manner which enables us approximately to date it, and with it probably most if not all other images of its type of face, necklaces and draperies.

The inscription (pl. xiii, fig. 1) reads as follows:—

Line 1. ஸுஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ அருமஜி தேவபுரம் *Suasti Sri Arumaji tēu purai*

Line 2. கப்பலபுரம் யிசுவர மடையார் *kappalapuṇi yisvara maṭayār*

Line 3. கோயிலை ஸ்ரீ பரமேஸ்வர சுவாமியை *kōyilāi Śrīpārāmaśvaram dē*

Line 4. வந்தவர்களை கரவார் *var hastā) chālai Nū ya nār*

It may be translated thus—"Hail! Prosperity! The god of Hastichalai, i.e., Hastisalai (? elephant-stable) [who is] carried in Śrī-bali (procession) in the local temple of Phalabhartāvara (Siva) in the village of Arumajidēvapura."

The formation of the letters in the above inscription (see pl. xiii) shows that it must be assigned to Later Chola times. It is not possible to assign it to the time of Rajaraja I (985-1014 A.D.) for in all his inscriptions the letters are of more archaic type—a development of the script from the time of the Pallava Vijaya Nandivikramavarman (8th century). Comparison with an inscription of Rajaraja I published (with plate) in *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, pl. iv, No. 17, shows that while the inscription of Chandrasekhara No. 1 has a tendency towards flatness in treatment—a characteristic feature of later Tamil—and includes the majority of Tamil letters, that of Rajaraja I tends towards the Pallava-Grantha alphabet and ornateness in treatment, making it less easy to read by the ordinary Tamil people than the former. Curves and terminal endings to mark vowels are in a decorative and symmetrical style in the inscription of Rajaraja I, while on the Chandrasekhara image they are irregular, the scribe having paid no heed to symmetry. The mark for long i (ī) is a regular semicircle in Rajaraja's inscription, while it is a flat semi-oval on the image and differs in that the loop indicating the length of the vowel is on the left of the semi-circle and not on the right.

2. CHANDRASEKHARA. Height 28, 38 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, kalyāṇambhita. Treasure trove, Tirupundi, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1925.

Very like No. 1, but greatly worn and without any ornament between the legs or any anklet. The face and breast of the antelope are towards Siva as they are in No. 1 also, instead of the head being turned so as to face along the back as is more usual. The median loop of the girdle is deep and somewhat narrow.

3. CHANDRASEKHARA. (Pl. xiii, fig. 4.) Height 23, 30, with prabha 38 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Treasure trove, Okkur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

A much corroded image of the same type as Nos. 1 and 2. A large tassel is present between the legs but there is no anklet. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva.

4. CHANDRASEKHARA. Height 31, 42, with prabha 55 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, varada. Treasure trove, Panagattangudi, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

An image of Chola type. The median loop of the girdle is broad and shallow as in Vishnu No. 1. The antelope's head is not twisted, but the whole animal faces away from Siva instead of towards him as in Chandrasekharas Nos. 1 and 2. Anklets are present on both legs. The crescent moon is clearly shown on the left half of the headdress a little above the middle.

5. CHANDRASEKHARA. (Pl. xx, fig. 1.) Height 50, 65 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, varada. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

A nicely finished image of more ordinary type. The headdress bears a skull in the middle line near the base and a cobra and crescent to right and left respectively above. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva.

6. CHANDRASEKHARA. Height 24, 40 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, varada. Treasure trove, Kapugompalli, Bhadrachalam Taluk, East Godavari District, 1927.

A very crude figure wearing a low kirita-makuta, from the right side of which appear the head and shoulders of the goddess Ganga, while the left bears the crescent. There are makara-kundalas in both ears. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva.

7. CHANDRASEKHARA. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 5.) Height 11, 13.5 cm.; with prabha 17 cm. Axe, antelope; noose, elephant goad. Treasure trove, Karappidagai, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920 (see p. 58).

One of a find of crude and more or less uncanonical images. The head bears a karanda-makuta and patra-kundalas hang from both ears. The axe faces inwards instead of outwards, as does also the antelope, the head of which is not twisted round over its back. The legs are covered to the ankles by the cloth, but the genitalia are visible. This nudity, though incomplete, combines with the emblems of the lower hands to suggest the possibility that the image may have been intended to represent Bhairava and not Chandrasekhara, though his dog is missing.

8. CHANDRASEKHARA. (Pl. xlii, fig. 3.) Height 23.5, 28 cm. Axe, antelope; varada, abhaya. Lotus pedestal with tips of petals strongly raised on wide square base. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppayyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

A most unusual type of image with half-prabha attached to the back of the headdress and upper arms. The crescent is conspicuous across the middle of the upper part of the headdress. A snake coils round the upper part of the arms on each side. The lower draperies are conventionalised and much ornamented, but not altogether on the usual plan. Between the prabha and the head is a small halo. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva. See above, p. 61.

9. CHANDRASEKHARA. Height 20, 27 cm. Axe, antelope; varada, abhaya. Lotus pedestal on wide square base. Treasure trove, Settipulam, Tirutturaipundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1927.

An image in somewhat the same curious style as the last but cruder and much less elaborate. A snake is coiled round the headdress, above the jewel that decorates the

middle of its base in front and below the crescent. A face looks out from the left side of the headdress above the snake and a similar one from the right earring. A snake is coiled round each wrist, hanging down over the hand. The sacred thread is twisted once round the waist band, the sides of which are joined by a pair of bands to a pendant hanging between the breasts from the lower necklace. Another short band joins the upper end of the right hand one of these bands with the middle of the waist-band where the sacred thread twists round it. The tail and face of the antelope are towards Siva.

CHANDRASEKHARA (SIVA) WITH PARVATI AS PRADOSHAMURTI.

In all these images Siva and Parvati are mounted on a single lotus pedestal of oval form.

1. PRADOSHAMURTI. Height of Siva 26, 33 cm., of Parvati 21, 29 cm., of whole with prabha 43 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, round Parvati's shoulders. Parvati: kataka, hanging. Treasure trove, Panangattangudi, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

An image of Chola type. There is a double *Datura* flower in Siva's headdress to the right of the jewel, and a snake and crescent to right and left respectively above. The tail and right cheek of the antelope are towards Siva, who has no median loop to his girdle and no anklets. Parvati bears the projecting elbow ornaments often found in this class of image.

2. PRADOSHAMURTI. Height of Siva 27, 35 cm., of Parvati 21, 29 cm., of whole with prabha 46 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, round Parvati's shoulders. Parvati: water-lily, hanging. Treasure trove, Vembavur, Perambalur Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1927.

If the necklaces were shown in less strong relief they might suggest an affinity to the preceding image; but there any possible similarity of style ends, the style of Srinivasa No. 4 being the nearest, though that is a better proportioned and better finished image than this. The axe faces forwards instead of outwards. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva.

3. PRADOSHAMURTI. Height of Siva 30, 39 cm., of Parvati 24, 38 cm., of whole with prabha 47 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, round Parvati's shoulders. Parvati: kataka, hanging. Treasure trove, Abhivridhisvaram, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1907.

A better proportioned and better finished image than the last, with slender necklaces devoid of pendants. Siva like Parvati has makara-kundalas in both ears. He wears a single anklet rather high up on the right leg. The breast and the back of the head of the antelope are towards him.

4. PRADOSHAMURTI. Height of Siva 33, 43 cm., of Parvati 26, 36 cm., prabha missing. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, round Parvati's shoulders. Parvati: kataka, hanging. Treasure trove, Vembavur, Perambalur Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1927.

Not unlike No. 3, but of less minutely detailed finish. The earrings are normal as in Nos. 1 and 2. The necklaces are even simpler than in No. 3. The sacred thread differs

from that of all three in not dividing into two and in having no knot. Siva wears a single anklet rather high up on the right leg. The face and tail of the antelope are towards him.

SIVA AND PARVATI AS UMAMAHESVARA.

1. UMAMAHESVARA WITH SONS AND ATTENDANTS. Height of Siva 8 cm., of whole with pedestal and *prabha* 18 cm. Siva: trident, cobra; *abhaya*, round Parvati's waist. Parvati: on Siva's waist, lotus bud. Seated on lotus pedestal with Subrahmanya on peacock to right, bull in front, Ganesa on musk-rat to left, a peacock between Ganesa and bull. Each side of base of *prabha* with rearing *yali* supported on elephant; above, foliage in front of which sit nine figures in *anjali* pose, representing the *ganas* or attendants of Siva. No history.

The body of the cobra extends behind Siva's hair and its tail curves round behind the trident. Parvati's hair is tied in a knot.

2. UMAMAHESVARA. An inferior image very like the central pair of No. 1, except that Siva's upper hands hold the usual axe and antelope respectively and that Parvati wears the usual *karanda-makuta*. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva. No history.

SIVA WITH PARVATI AS UMASAHITA.

In all these images Siva and Parvati have separate pedestals, often united to a single rectangular stand.

1. UMASAHITA. (Pl. xiv, fig. 2.) Standing. Height 35, 43 cm., of Parvati 29, 38 cm. Siva's upper hands face outwards; their emblems have been broken off; front hands *abhaya*, *ahuyavarada*. Parvati with lotus bud in right hand. Treasure trove, Settipulam, Tirutturaiyppundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1927.

The treatment of this image, especially of the ends of Siva's girdle, and the presence of projecting elbow ornaments not only in Parvati but even in the fork between the two elbows of each side of the 4-armed Siva, clearly place this image in the same class as Vishnu No. 1 in spite of several marked differences in detail of necklaces, sacred thread and girdle. Siva's headdress bears a jewel in front. Above this it bears a cobra on the right and a crescent moon on the left. A double *Datura* flower is represented below the cobra to the right of the jewel. All these emblems are in particularly high relief. Parvati wears a *karanda-makuta* closely resembling those of the Bhū Devi images associated with Vishnu No. 1 and Srinivasa No. 1. Siva's right ear and both Parvati's ears bear *makara-kundalas*; Siva's left ear bears a *patra-kundala*. In both images the median loop of the girdle has the conventional parallel-sided form. In the Siva image there is above it a particularly large lion-face ornament with large and widely opened mouth, and the ends of the girdle project most elegantly at the sides. In the Parvati image there are neither lion-face ornament nor projecting ends to the girdle, but the pleated end of the cloth projects backwards from the inner side of the left leg, which is covered to the

ankle, the right one being covered only to the knee. Siva's legs, as in Chandrasekhara No. 1 also, are bare almost to the top, except that the left one bears an anklet at the level to which the ends of the girdle fall.

2. *UMASAHITA*. Standing. Height 31.5, 39 cm., of Parvati 25, 31 cm. Siva's upper hands face forwards; the emblem of the right has been broken off, the left holds an antelope; front hands abhaya, varada. Treasure trove, Nidur, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1931.

The girdle and necklaces are quite unlike those of Vishnu No. 1. Siva's headdress bears a jewel (? or skull) in the centre below with a *Datura* flower on its right and a lotus on its left. Above the *Datura* is a cobra and above the lotus a crescent. Earrings are as in Umashahita No. 1. The antelope's face and tail are towards Siva. Parvati's legs are both covered to the ankle.

3. *UMASAHITA*. Seated. Height of Siva 31, 46 cm., of Parvati 25, 39 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, varada. Parvati: lotus bud, varada. Low lotus pedestals forming part of large plain rectangular stand. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1911.

The girdle and cloth, though somewhat crudely worked, are fully decorated; but as is usual in seated figures, they cannot well be compared with those of standing figures. That this image is of Chola type is, however, indicated by the general form of the necklaces (poor though these are in finish), by Parvati's projecting elbow ornaments (though these are by no means distinct), and by the treatment of the face.

A skull is represented in Siva's headdress below the jewel, above which are two rather obscure objects, that on the right probably representing either a flower or a seated figure of Ganga, and that on the left probably a lotus or *Datura* flower. The crescent moon above the latter is clearly shown but not the cobra usually found on the right.

Earrings are as in Umashahita No. 1. Siva's sacred thread is knotted in front to a thinner and shorter thread passing from the right shoulder round the left side of the body and crossing the sacred thread behind. Parvati's body threads are of the Sri Devi type. The breast and the back of the head of the antelope are towards Siva.

4. *UMASAHITA*. Seated. Height of Siva 35, 41 cm., of Parvati 27, 32 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, abhaya-varada. Parvati: kataka, resting on seat. Lotus pedestals but no stand. Treasure trove, Panangattangudi, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

This image evidently belongs to the same class as the last but is in some ways less typical. The projecting elbow ornament is distinct on Parvati's left arm but cannot be distinguished at all on her right. Siva's hair is remarkable for the unusual emphasis placed by the artist upon it rather than upon the emblems which it carries. His face is not well moulded, and appears to have been damaged and worked over by way of repair, the nose having been reduced to an altogether disproportionately slender form. His sacred thread divides into two a little below the breasts, the upper part passing as usual round the right side of the body. Parvati's sacred thread is undivided. The back of her left hand is tattooed.

5. UMASAHITA. (Gangoly, I, pl. xxviii, as Sukhasinamurti.) Seated. Height of Siva 37, 48 cm., of Parvati 27, 37 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Parvati: kataka, resting on seat. Separate lotus pedestals. Treasure trove, Sikkil, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1909.

A better finished pair of images than any of the preceding, but of ordinary type. Both images have makara-kundalas in both ears. On either side of the jewel in Siva's headdress is a flower, that on the right apparently a double *Datura* and that on the left a lotus with the usual cobra and crescent above them. The antelope's tail and face are towards Siva. Each figure wears two slender necklaces of simple pattern.

SIVA WITH PARVATI AND SKANDIA (SUBRAHMANYA) AS SOMASKANDA.

All three figures in these images have separate lotus pedestals or are fixed direct on their rectangular stand.

1. SOMASKANDA. Height of Siva 33, 50 cm., of Parvati 27, 44 cm., of Subrahmanya 15½, 29 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Parvati: kataka, varada. Subrahmanya: kataka, fruit. Treasure trove, Nidur, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1931.

The treatment of this image, especially the necklaces and faces, clearly mark it as of Chola type, in spite of the absence of the projecting elbow ornaments. The usual snake and a flower are present on right and left respectively of the jewel in Siva's headdress, which lacks the usual crescent. The flower is probably a *Datura*. The face and tail of the antelope are towards Siva. Subrahmanya is shown as standing erect and wears a karanda-makuta and patra-kundalas.

2. SOMASKANDA. (Gangoly I, pl. xxix.) Height of Siva 47, 75 cm., of Parvati 38, 66 cm., of Subrahmanya 20, 46 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Parvati: kataka, varada. Subrahmanya: lotus bud, lotus bud. Lotus pedestals arising from large rectangular base. Treasure trove, Nellore town, 1913.

A well executed image of normal type. The necklaces are broad, heavily embossed and unusually numerous. Siva's headdress bears the snake and crescent on either side above the jewel, with a flower, probably a *Datura*, between the jewel and the snake. The breast and the back of the head of the antelope are towards Siva. Subrahmanya wears a karanda-makuta and patra-kundalas. His knees bend somewhat outwards.

3. SOMASKANDA. (Pl. xv, fig. 2.) Height of Siva 37, 56 cm., of Parvati 26, 44 cm., of Subrahmanya 15, 30 cm. Siva: axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Parvati: kataka, varada. Subrahmanya: lotus bud, lotus bud. Lotus pedestals arising from large rectangular stand. Treasure trove, South Arcot District, 1886.

Both skull and jewel are clearly shown in Siva's headdress, the latter above the former, something probably intended for a flower being present a little above the jewel, with the snake and crescent on either side of and a little above it. The tail and face of the antelope are towards Siva. Subrahmanya has his hair tied in a kesabandha and

wears *todus* in his ears. Both his feet rest on the ground, but his legs are bent in a manner suggestive of dancing.

4. SOMASKANDA. (Pl. xv, fig. 1; also Hürliman, pl. 43.) Height of Siva, 19, 28 cm., of Parvati 14, 23 cm. Subrahmanya missing. Siva: axe, antelope; skull-bowl, trident. Parvati: lotus bud, *abhaya-varada*. Rectangular stand. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

This unusual and rather striking image is much the smallest Somaskanda in the collection. Siva's headdress bears on the right side the crescent at the top and the skull at the bottom with snakes between, and on the left side snakes with a large *Datura* flower near the bottom, all shown in the round. Siva wears a makara-kundala in his right ear and a deeply cylindrical patra-kundala in his left. Parvati has patra-kundalas of normal form in both ears. The right hind leg of the antelope is held between the first two fingers of Siva's left hand. Its face and tail are towards him. The armlets of both figures are somewhat cobra-like in form. A large ornament hangs down the middle of Siva's back with three locks of long hair on either side of it, curled round at their ends as if to suggest the tails of snakes. Parvati's hair falls in seven ringlets, of which the two outermost on each side are twisted into the shoulder ornaments. The girdles of both figures have ornamental bows on both sides. At the front of the stand between the two figures are two circular depressions evidently intended to receive Subrahmanya's feet, but the figure is missing. But for this piece of evidence the figure would have had to be regarded as Umasahita.

SIVA, WITH MINAKSHI (PARVATI) AND VISHNU, AS KALYANASUNDARA.

1. KALYANASUNDARA. Height of Vishnu and Siva 17, 19 cm., of Minakshi 13.5, 15.5 cm. Lotus pedestals fitting into slots on rectangular stand, surmounted by *prabha*. Height from top of *prabha* to bottom of stand 34 cm. Vishnu: discus, conch; vessel with spout for pouring water in token of giving Minakshi away, *katyavalambita*. Minakshi: ready to be grasped by Siva, blue water-lily. Siva: axe, antelope; stretched out to grasp Minakshi's hand, lotus bud. Purchased from a family in Madura, who had been using it for worship.

Vishnu and Siva are practically alike except for their positions, emblems and headdresses, the *Vadagalai namam* of the former and the third eye of the latter. Minakshi has the sun and moon ornaments commonly worn by brides, a small *kondai* on the top of her head and her back hair in a long plait.

SIVA AS GANGADHARA.

1. GANGADHARA. Height 19, 21 cm. Trident (both back hands); *abhaya*, *varada*. No history.

A crude image with makara-kundalas in both ears. Ganga is not shown.

SIVA AS VISHAPAHARANA.

1. VISHAPAHARANA. Seated. Height 43, 62 cm. Axe, antelope; poison, cobra. Treasure trove, Kilappudanur, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

The treatment of this image, especially the high relief of the details of the headdress, seems to indicate affinity with Somaskanda No. 4. The headdress bears a *Datura* flower, moulded in the round as in that image and certain Natesa images, on its left side and an imperfect crescent, apparently also designed in the round, on the right near the top. There are makara-kundalas in both ears. The inner of the two necklaces is very broad and plain. The outer one appears to have been designed with an ornamental centre-piece, but its surface is now quite smooth. The sacred thread is divided into three, its broad central portion being looped over the right forearm. The face and breast of the antelope are towards Siva.

2. VISHAPAHARANA. (Pl. xiii, fig. 5.) Height 17'5, 21 cm., whole with prabha 25'5 cm. Axe, antelope; poison, abhaya. Treasure trove, Settipulam, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1927.

A crude image in much the same style as Chandrasekhara No. 9, but with complete prabha, removable from the base which is of more normal dimensions. Earrings as in that image, but with yali head in much stronger relief. The top of the jata-makuta bears a *Datura* flower on the right and a crescent on the left. Lower down is a human face in low relief in the centre with a yali head in the round on either side of it, and still lower down a jewel.

SIVA AS DAKSHINAMURTI.

1. DAKSHINAMURTI WITH RISHIS AND ANIMALS. Height 5, 9'5 cm. Snake (?), flaming torch; upadesa, manuscript. Seated on Mount Kailasa with right foot upon the demon *Apasmara*, bull on his right, two rishis on either side in front, and various men and animals (antelope, elephant and monkeys) each in its own cave at the back. No history.

The hair is tied in a jata-bandha with a minute snake on the right and a crescent on the left.

2. VINADHARA DAKSHINAMURTI. (Gangoly 2, pl. v.) Standing. Height 53, 66 cm. Axe, antelope; kataka, kataka (for holding the vina). Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1911.

The simple treatment of this image suggests affinity with those of Chola type but the somewhat high relief of the ornamentation, especially the necklaces and the lion-face clasp of the girdle, seem to preclude this. The snake and the crescent are inconspicuously shown on the right and left respectively of the top of the headdress. The loin-cloth is decorated with a single row of rather widely spaced wheels, with an additional pair, slightly larger and more conspicuous, at a higher level on the most prominent part of the buttocks. The breast and the back of the head of the antelope are towards Siva.

3. VINADHARA DAKSHINAMURTI. (Gopinatha Rao II, pl. lxxx; Gangoly I, pl. xv, as Chandrasekhara.) Standing. Height 35.86 cm. Axe, antelope; kataka, kataka. Treasure trove, Seyyanam, Arantangi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1906.

More elaborately decorated than the last. A cobra is indicated towards the top of the headdress on the right, and the crescent is conspicuous a little lower down on the opposite side. There is a cobra on either side of the skull, with tails intertwined below it. To their right is a flower, probably a single *Datura*, and to their left a double *Datura*. The right cheek and the breast of the antelope are towards Siva.

4. VINADHARA DAKSHINAMURTI. (Pl. xix, fig. 1.) Standing. Height 67.89 cm. Axe, antelope; kataka, kataka. Treasure trove, Belur, Attur Taluk, Salem District, 1916.

This slender and gracefully poised image is unfortunately most heavily corroded. The treatment of the face and the folds of the loin-cloth is simple and effective, but the high relief and wide separation of the two necklaces, especially of the central ornament of the lower one, as well as the strong moulding of the headdress, prevent us from regarding it as definitely of Chola type. The breast and the back of the head of the antelope are towards Siva. The lotus pedestal is particularly good.

SIVA AS NATESA.

Natesa images, or Natarajas as they are commonly called by the craftsmen who make them, form a group which cannot readily be compared with other images on account of the completely different pose that is given to them as part of their expression of great activity. As their number is naturally very much smaller than that of all other images considered together, the evidence available as to any evolution of style that may have taken place among them is inevitably much more scanty. Such as it is it must now be considered.

Of the Natesa images known to us, No. 1 of the following list and the Polonnaruwa Natesa figured in pl. iv of Coomaraswamy's catalogue (also in first figure in pl. x of Gangoly's "South Indian Bronzes") show the greatest resemblance to the images of Chola type already described, especially as regards the face. In Natesa No. 1 the significance of this resemblance is enhanced by the ornamentation of the loin-cloth, which bears a striking resemblance to those of the Lakshmana associated with Rama No. 1, Hanuman No. 1 and Chandikesvara Nos. 2 and 3, though such ornamentation is not confined to images of this type. The two images resemble each other in holding the drum in a manner that we have not seen elsewhere, and in the simple form of the waist-band, which lacks the usual loop on the right and long flowing ends on the left. These are, however, also absent in Natesa No. 8. The elbow ornaments which, when present, seem definitely to indicate that an image is of Chola type, are absent, though the elbows of both arms on the left side are perfectly free. Unfortunately none of the images found with Natesa No. 1 are now available for study, so it is impossible to determine whether the find as a whole presented any early features or not.

Natesa No. 2 is less clearly related to the Chola type, but does not possess any character by which it can be definitely distinguished therefrom. Its waist-band is, however, more elaborate than those of Natesa No. 1 and the Polonnaruwa Natesa which we have associated with it, for though it is without the usual loop on the right there is a single long flowing end on the left. As already noted above (p. 34) it bears the date 1511 A.D. and is the only definitely dated South Indian Hindu metal image known. Of the images found with it one at least is of Chola type (see above, p. 61).

Natesa No. 3, which is considerably larger than Nos. 1 and 2, differs from them chiefly in having a long necklace of rudraksha beads and a headdress of makuta form, in the greater elaboration of the lotuses in its hair and in the presence of the usual loop on the right and pair of long flowing ends on the left in the waist-band. In the form of its headdress it resembles the Natesa from Polonnaruwa figured in pl. iv of Coomaraswamy's catalogue which, as already indicated, seems likely to date from the Chola period. In the presence of a long necklace it resembles the much less graceful and more modern-looking Polonnaruwa Natesa figured in pl. i and pl. iii, fig. 4 of Coomaraswamy's catalogue (also in pl. ix of Ganguly's "South Indian Bronzes"), which the upper half of its *prabha* further resembles in having the same arrangement of alternating circles and stars on its inner band, the stars being, however, omitted in its lower half. But the two images are not otherwise much alike and this pattern of circles and stars is also found on the *prabhas* of Natesas Nos. 2 and 8. Of the three images found with Natesa No. 3 two at least are of Chola type (see p. 52), and the same could probably be said of the remaining one but that it happens to be a Ganesa and so not easily comparable. The very imperfect evidence at our disposal indicates that long necklaces are usually an indication of post-Chola date, but that they seem not to be entirely unknown in Chola times, especially in images of Siva and of saints, and perhaps also in those intended to convey a sense of great activity such as *dvarapalakas* (see above, pp. 34-40). In view of the images of Chola type with which alone Natesa No. 3 was found, and of the difficulty of assigning even an early post-Chola date to any Polonnaruwa images, the probability seems to be that both Natesa No. 3 and the Polonnaruwa Natesa of Coomaraswamy's pl. i belong to a comparatively early period, either late Chola or early Vijayanagar, though on grounds of style alone we should have been inclined to consider them as more rather than less recent than Natesa No. 2.

Natesas Nos. 4 and 5, of which the latter especially seems to be closely allied to the one from the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore figured by Ganguly in pl. iii both of his "South Indian Bronzes" and "Southern Indian Bronzes", both come from one of the most remarkable collection of images ever found in South India, the treasure trove find made at Tiruvelangadu (Chittoor District) in 1907, concerning which see above, pp. 58-60. Natesa No. 4 is a much smaller image than Natesa No. 5, but closely resembles it in general treatment and even in some details such as the two slender ornamented threads that fall forwards over the right shoulder. The two images differ considerably, however, in other details, especially the treatment of the emblems in the headdress which are

shown in ordinary low relief in the smaller image, whereas in the larger one they are shown in the round. Though it is thus unlikely that one would have served as a preliminary study for the other, their similarities are such as to suggest that the maker of the larger and more elaborate one was acquainted with the smaller, or possibly with some earlier image which influenced both.¹ The presence of long necklaces suggests a Vijayanagar or later date for these images, and in the case of No. 5 this suggestion is reinforced by the treatment in the round of the emblems of the headdress. In these images particularly, however, such evidence is by no means conclusive (see above, pp. 59-60).

Natesas Nos. 6, 7 and 8 do not present any points of special interest, nor is there any reason for believing any of them to be of early date, though it is not impossible that they may belong to the Vijayanagar period, especially as they come nearer than any others in the Madras Museum collection to the Natesa from Polonnaruwa figured in pl. i, Coomaraswamy's catalogue. They resemble each other and differ from the rest of the collection in having circular instead of oval prabhas, and in being without the loop on the right side of the waist-band, No. 8 lacking in addition the pair of long flowing ends from the left side. This image is, however, so closely related to No. 7, in which not only these ends but also highly developed necklaces are present, that we must regard their absence as a part of the general inferiority of its design and not as indicating any affinity with Natesa No. 1. Natesa No. 8 bears a very close resemblance to the Natesa from the Musée Guimet collection figured by Gangoly in pl. vii of his "South Indian Bronzes".

Natesa No. 9 differs greatly from all the others in the shape of its prabha, which somewhat resembles that of the eight-armed image from Nallur figured by Gangoly in pl. viii of his "South Indian Bronzes", the form of its waist-band which has the loop in front instead of at the side and one short and one long flowing end, and other details, as well as in its crude finish. Its necklaces are very unlike those of images of Chola type, and the crescent and *Datura* flower in the headdress are shown in the round. Of the four images found with it, however, the three which are in the Madras Museum Collection all either belong or show close affinity to this type, so the probability is that it is an early image.

The heights given for Natesa images are from the sole of Siva's foot to the top of his headdress. All nine have lotus pedestals.

1. NATESA. (Pl. xvi, fig. 1; also Hürliman, pl. 304.) Height 64 cm. Treasure trove, Punganur, Shiyali taluk, Tanjore district, 1914.

The treatment of this image suggests close affinity to the group we have distinguished as of Chola type, in which it seems not improbable that it should actually be placed. As, however, with the possible exception of the almost indefinable character of the face and

¹ We may here point out that Natesa No. 4 differs from all other Natesas known to us in having the flame held in the left hand parallel instead of at right-angles to the sagittal plane of the body. In Vishnu images the holding of the discus thus appears to indicate a very early date (see above, pp. 25-28). But there is nothing to suggest that this is so here.

of the simplicity of the waist-band, without either loop on the right or flowing ends on the left, all the various characters that go to produce this impression are more or less closely paralleled in one or more of the other Natesa images, which clearly do not belong to this group¹, we feel that on the evidence at present available no definite conclusion can be drawn.

Among other Natesa images known to us only one from Polonnaruwa (Coomaraswamy's catalogue, pl. iv; Gangoly I, pl. x, fig. on left) shows a similar affinity to this group. Perhaps, therefore, it is no mere coincidence that these two figures differ from all others known to us in having the drum attached by a band to the back of the first finger instead of being held either in the hand or between the fingers.

A skull appears in the middle of the lower part of the headdress, a snake on the right above among the feathers and a crescent on the left of them. There are small lotus flowers among the whirling locks, above which rests a full-length human figure of Ganga on the right, balanced by a group of lotuses on the left. There are anklets on both legs.

The demon, a delightfully quaint figure, is well executed. His head is very like that in the Polonnaruwa figure already referred to, but is evidently better finished and shows clearly the pair of tusks protruding from his upper jaw. He has a band across his head from ear to ear, where the hair meets the forehead.

2. NATESA. (Pl. xvi, fig. 2; also Hadaway, pls. opposite pp. 59 and 60.) Height 67 cm. Treasure trove, Belur, Attur Taluk, Salem District, 1916.

Heavily corroded. The headdress is much more elongated. The crescent projects conspicuously on the right of the feathers and the snake is absent. Flowers such as are scarcely noticeable in No. 1 project conspicuously from behind the ears. That on the right perhaps represents *Chlorea* and that on the right *Datura*. The outermost line of lotuses in the whirling locks are somewhat large and Ganga appears as a bust, not in full. The necklaces are much corroded but appear to have been not unlike those of No. 1, but more heavily embossed. The girdle is without the usual loop on the right, and has only a single long flowing end on the left. It is decorated, though not very elaborately; but the loin-cloth is not. The drum is held between the two middle fingers and the thumb. In other respects this image closely resembles the last, though the treatment of the demon is distinctly less effective. The demon has an ornament, presumably a lotus, in the middle line just above the forehead.

The lotus pedestal is held in place on its square stand by a low ridge, the two having evidently been designed to fit each other. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that they belong together, and that the date on the stand Kali 4611 (= A.D. 1530), applies equally to both.

3. NATESA. (Pl. xvii, fig. 1; also Rodin, pls. i-vi; and Gangoly, I, pl. iv and 2, pl. ii.) Height 84 cm. Treasure trove, Velankanni, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1872.

¹ Even the simple waist-band is found in No. 8.

The feather headdress is compressed into makuta form. The cobra and crescent are clearly shown on its surface to right and left respectively, but are neither large nor in strikingly high relief. Below them are flowers, that on the left probably intended for the double *Datura* or possibly for a lotus, and the very different flower on the right perhaps for the pendulous *Cassia fistula*. The skull is not very distinct and it is quite possible that a jewel was intended instead. The lotuses in the whirling locks are much larger and more decorative than in either of the two preceding images. Ganga is absent. There are three heavily embossed necklaces, the uppermost plain, the next broad with pendants throughout and ornamented centre. The third hangs from beneath them to a little above the waist-band. The girdle seems to consist of four separate bands rather than of a single band with lines of decoration such as is found in the two preceding images. The second band from the top bears a few rather heavily embossed flower ornaments, alternately large and small. The loin-cloth is without decoration. Anklets are absent. The drum is held between the second finger and thumb. The demon's hair lies close to his head instead of being raised as in the two preceding images.

4. NATESA. (Pl. xviii, fig. 1.) Height 38 cm. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

The skull is conspicuous in the centre of the headdress below the feathers, with a much less conspicuous lotus above it and snake on either side of it and two flowers, probably a lotus and a spray of *Artemisia*, further to the left, balanced by two plumes on the right, the details for the most part exquisitely finished. The whirling locks are missing. The flame is held in a plane at right angles to that of the arm which bears it. There are only two necklaces, the upper one with broad decorated centre, the lower one hanging between the breasts. There is a slot in the front right arm from which the snake has evidently been broken. The girdle appears to be in one piece, with flower decoration and with festoons along the bottom. The loin cloth is plain. The exposed inner side of the right thigh bears a lotus stalk and flower embossed upon it as though hanging from the cloth. Only the right leg bears an anklet. The drum is held between the second finger and the thumb. The demon is not well finished.

5. NATESA. (Pl. xviii, fig. 2; also Rodin, pl. vii-xii; Gopinatha Rao II, pl. lvi and Gangoly, i, pl. v.) Height 97 cm. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

The poise of this Natesa is particularly good, though some of the others, particularly No. 1 come very near it in this and even surpass it in some other respects. The vanes of the feathers of the headdress are not indicated as they are in all the other Natesa images in the collection; but the usual emblems are shown in the round (as in Somaskanda No. 4 and Vishapaharana No. 1) instead of only in relief as in most of the others. On the extreme right is presumably the flower of *Clitorea* and then the double *Datura* and then, in the middle, the skull. On the left of the skull is the cobra, then a little further to the left and below comes the crescent and finally behind the ear, another flower, apparently a very ornate lotus not, however, shown in the round. The whirling locks are

missing. There are three necklaces, the uppermost as usual the smallest. All three have more or less decorative centres, that of the middle one being much the largest and having a large pendant attached to its right hand end, while that of the much longer lowest one is little or no more than the point of attachment of a slender sickle-shaped pendant. The tail of the snake on the right forearm forms one piece with this arm, but the greater part was evidently cast separately and is now represented only by the hole for its attachment. The girdle is reduced to a series of ornamented threads bearing two horizontal rows of embossed lotuses; and a longer thread, each with an ornament in the middle, hangs down over it in a wide loop on each side. There are no anklets. The drum is held between the two middle fingers and the thumb. The demon is much as in No. 3, but has a button-like ornament, presumably representing a lotus, in the middle line where the hair meets the forehead.

6. NATESA. Height 13 cm. Treasure trove, Mullangudi, Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1917.

In this little image the crescent is shown in the round on the left side of the front of the headdress; the feathers, the vanes of which are as usual carefully shown, are set far back with a lotus on the left and another flower, probably a double *Datura*, on the right, the skull in the centre being encircled by the snake, all shown as fully in the round as size permits. All the locks of hair droop considerably and only two on each side appear above the shoulders, those on the right bearing a full-length figure of Ganga with the lower part of the body in naga form. On the opposite side this figure is balanced by a cobra rising from the hind shoulder. There are two necklaces, the lower one hidden on the left side by the front arm but bearing a couple of pendants above the right breast, the upper one somewhat crescentic, the lower one smaller and rounded. The girdle appears to be in one piece. A festoon with a tassel on either side hangs from its lower border across the surface of the up-raised left thigh. The right leg is encircled a little above the middle by the support for a small bell. The first, second and fourth fingers are above the drum, the thumb and third finger below it. The demon's hair is treated as in Natesa No. 1.

7. NATESA. (Pl. xvii, fig. 2.) Height 86 cm. Treasure trove, Kankoduttavanitham, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929.

With the exception of the skull, all the emblems in the headdress are shown in the round, the snake above and the flower below on the right and two flowers on the left with the crescent on their inner side. The flower on the right is clearly *Calotropis*, and those on the left *Datura*, double above and single below. There are lotuses (not in the round) behind the ears. The whirling locks are united by two transverse rows of small lotus flowers and end in large blossoms and buds alternately. In those of the right Ganga is shown, again as in the last image with the lower part of the body in naga form. The feathers are surmounted by a lotus in low relief, the whole being supported behind by a rod, spirally ornamented, ending above in a yali head on the back of the prabha. There are two necklaces, the front middle part of the lower one falling away from the

upper one, though not very far, and bearing a large central ornament and pendant, a small crescent or sickle-shaped ornament being attached further to the right. The girdle consists of five separate ornamental bands, of which the middle one is the broadest and the bottom one bears bells along its lower border. Each leg bears an anklet with a bell in front. The drum is held between the first finger above and the thumb and next two fingers below, the little finger not touching it. The demon wears a band where his hair, which lies flat, meets the forehead, with a lotus in the middle of it and another at either end.

8. NATESA. Height 60 cm. Treasure trove, Adaikkattavan, Pattukkottai Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

Very similar to No. 7 but not nearly so well executed. The girdle has neither loop nor flowing ends. The feathers of the headdress are in very strong relief and are united to the circular *prabha* by a poorly worked lotus, but the snake, skull and crescent are poorly defined. The whirling locks are united by intervening lotuses into a solid mass, entirely plain behind. Only the bust of Ganga is shown. The drum is held between the first and fourth fingers behind and the second and third fingers in front, the thumb standing free.

9. NATESA. (Pl. xvi, fig. 2.) Height about 47 cm. Treasure trove, Okkur, Nega-patam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

A somewhat different type of image from any of the others. The headdress is very poorly worked, but the crescent and the *Datura* flower are both shown in the round, the latter with only four petals. The drum is held between the first three fingers and the thumb.

SIVA AS KANKALAMURTI.

1. KANKALAMURTI. Height 33 cm. No pedestal. Treasure trove, Tirukkalar, Mannargudi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1921.

The general treatment, especially of the necklaces and ornamented loin cloth, suggests affinity with images of Chola type. On the other hand the emblems borne in the hair, though small, are in very high relief for their size, and the immense floral fastening of the sash is very unusual. There are no projecting elbow ornaments, though all four arms are separate almost from the shoulders. The back right hand is offering something to the antelope which has risen on its hind legs to reach it. The back left hand is missing.

SIVA AS BHAIRAVA.

1. BHAIRAVA. Height 11, 14 cm. Five pairs of hands: drum, cobra; gad, noose; sword, bell; trident, skull-cup; abhaya, varada. Accompanied by dog. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

A cobra, skull and crescent are present in his hair, which extends upwards and backwards on either side of a lanceolate posterior-medium support, then bending outwards

on either side and falling almost to the shoulders. His right ear bears the usual makara-kundala and the left the patra-kundala. A cobra is coiled round his sacred thread and another round the string above his hips. A long garland hangs from his left shoulder, passing round his right ankle.

2. BHAIKAVA. Height 8, 11'5 cm. Two pairs of hands: drum, noose; ahuyavarada, skull-cup. Accompanied by dog. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

Heavily corroded. The ear-rings are not clear. A long garland hangs from the left shoulder, passing round the right ankle.

3. BHAIKAVA. Height 7'5, 9 cm. Two pairs of hands: drum, noose; trident, skull-cup. Accompanied by dog. No history.

Very much worn. The headdress has the form of a karanda-makuta with flames on either side. There are patra-kundalas in both ears. A long necklace with large central ornament hangs from within a short circular one down between the breasts. A cobra is tied round the hips, and from it hang on either side the two ends of a garland which crosses in front of the legs a little above the ankles.

4. SVARNAKARSHANA BHAIKAVA. (Pl. xx, fig. 3.) Height 49 cm. Pedestal modern. Four hands: tomara (club), chamara (fly-whisk); abhaya, skull-cup. No dog. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907. A crude and much corroded figure with patra-kundalas in both ears.

SIVA AS VIRABHADRA.

1. VIRABHADRA. (Gopinatha Rao, I, pl. xlv.) Height about 72, 95 cm. Four pairs of hands, all more or less broken, of which the second right evidently held a snake. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

There are patra-kundalas in both ears. A long garland of skulls hangs from the left shoulder across the legs, ending on the right side in the girdle.

2. VIRABHADRA. Height 20, 13'5 cm. Two pairs of arms: arrow, bow; sword, resting on shield. Accompanied by Daksha whose hands are in the anjali pose. No history.

A well finished image with kirita-makuta in place of the usual jata-makuta, and patra-kundalas in both ears. A long necklace with large circular central ornament hangs between the breasts below the usual short one, which has a large square central ornament. A long garland hangs from the shoulders to the knees.

SIVA AND PARVATI COMBINED AS ARDHANARISVARA.

1. ARDHANARISVARA. (Pl. xx, fig. 2; also Gopinatha Rao, II, pl. xcvi.) Height, 41 cm. Pedestal modern. Two pairs of arms: axe, water-lily; kataka (with a small

hollow cylinder), parrot. Treasure trove, Tiruvejagadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

The finish of this image is very coarse.

PARVATI.

(See also under *Pradoshamurti, Umamahesvara, Umamahita, Somaskanda and Kalyanasundara*.)

Images of Parvati, when not associated with Siva, are sometimes practically indistinguishable from those of Bhū Devi, Satvabhama, etc. Their respective characters have been discussed above on pp. 73-74.

All images in the following list bend to their left unless otherwise stated.

1. PARVATI. (Pl. xvi, fig. 1.) Standing. Height 51.64 cm. Hands: *kataka*, hanging. *Kesa-bandha*. *Makara-kundalas*. Threads on trunk extending round both sides as in Sri Devi but with the two parts crossed behind instead of united. Girdle and cloth not projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Okkur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

This is clearly an image of Chola type and shows the projecting elbow ornaments particularly well. In the treatment of necklaces, trunk threads, etc., it closely resembles the Sita associated with Rama No. 1, another member of the same group.

2. PARVATI. Standing. Height 35.38 cm. Hands: *kataka*, *varada*. *Kesa-bandha*. *Todus*. Threads on trunk passing round both sides. Girdle not and cloth scarcely projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Tirukkalar, Mannargudi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1921.

3. PARVATI. Standing. Height 46.53 cm. Hands: *kataka*, hanging. *Kesa-bandha*. *Makara-kundalas*. Undivided sacred thread. Girdle and cloth not projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Kankoduttavanitham, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1929.

An image allied in treatment to both No. 2 and No. 4. The cloth is decorated with horizontal bands of an undulating foliage design.

4. PARVATI. Standing. Height 46.71 cm. Hands: lotus bud, hanging. *Karanda-makuta*. *Makara-kundalas*. Undivided sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting very slightly at sides. Treasure trove, Belur, Attur Taluk, Salem District, 1916.

Decorative detail poor. Cloth with oblique bands of undulating foliage design in front and close horizontal lines behind.

5. PARVATI. Standing, leaning to the right. Height 26 cm. No pedestal. Hands: *kataka*, hanging. *Kesa-bandha*. *Patra-kundalas*. Threads on trunk extending round both sides. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

It is impossible to be certain that this image represents Parvati and not Satyabhama¹. The girdle consists of a series of separate threads as in some of the Natesa images.

¹ See above p. 74.

6. PARVATI. Standing. Height 11'5, 15'5 cm. Hands: kataka, hanging. Karanda-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

7. PARVATI. Standing leaning to the right. Height 5'5, 8, with prabha 9'5 cm. Hands: kataka, katyavalambita. Karanda-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Panchanadikulam, Kilasetti Taluk, Tanjore District, 1910.

But for its prabha, this image might just as well be Bhu Devi. But Bhu Devi cannot be so far separated from Vishnu as to have its own prabha.

8. PARVATI. Standing. Height 45, 55 cm. Hands: kataka, hanging. Karanda-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread with three strands. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Kurichi, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1926.

The folds of the cloth are shown in relief, instead of in line as in all the preceding Parvati images.

9. PARVATI. (Ganguly, I, pl. xxix.) Standing. Height 55, 73 cm. Hands: kataka, hanging. Karanda-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Threads on trunk passing round both sides. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Nellore Town, 1913.

All the ornamentation, including the folds of the cloth, are in exceptionally heavy relief. Other images of the same find are similarly treated.

10. PARVATI. (Ganguly, I, pl. xxxviii.) Standing. Height 49, 63 cm. Hands: kataka, hanging. Karanda-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread more or less distinctly three-stranded. Girdle not, and cloth scarcely, projecting at sides. Treasure trove, South India.

A neatly finished image differing from all the preceding in general appearance and in having a single and very slender necklace with long central ornament.

11. PARVATI. Standing. Height 84, 93 cm. Hands: kataka, hanging. Kesa-bandha. No ear-rings. Undivided sacred thread of three strands. Girdle not, and cloth scarcely, projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Jambavanodai, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1916.

Very like No. 10 in general appearance but much larger and differing in many details. There are two necklaces, both very slender, the lower one with central ornament.

12. PARVATI. Seated. Height 44, 63 cm. Hands: kataka, resting on seat. Karanda-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread, more or less distinctly three-stranded. Girdle not, and cloth scarcely, projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppoyyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

In this, as in the other three seated figures of Parvati with a single pair of arms, the right knee rests against a bolster and the left leg hangs downwards.

13. PARVATI. Seated. Height 4'5, 6 cm. Hands: lotus, resting on seat. Kesabandha. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

14. PARVATI. Seated. Height 5'5, 7 cm. Hands: kataka, resting on seat. Kesabandha. Makara-kundalas. Undivided three-stranded sacred thread. Girdle and cloth scarcely projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

15. PARVATI. (Gangoly, I, pl. xxxv.) Seated. Height 19 cm. Pedestal missing. Hands: lotus bud, resting on thigh. Karanda-makuta. Ear-rings probably intended for makara-kundalas. Undivided three-stranded sacred thread. Girdle not, and cloth slightly, projecting at sides. No history.

16. PARVATI. (Gangoly, I, pl. xli as *Ādhāra Sakti*.) Seated. Height 10, 13 cm. Two pairs of hands: goad, noose; abhaya, varada. Jata-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Threads on trunk passing round both sides, but sacred thread in addition on top of them. Girdle but not cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Koyilpatti, Tirutturaiippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1909.

This image differs from the preceding and resembles the next in having two pairs of arms and in sitting cross-legged in the yoga position, with the soles of the feet turned upwards. It is the only image in the collection in which the sacred thread is worn on top of the threads round the two sides of the trunk. The only other image in which both are present is Kali No. 2; but in this they are combined, not separate. The details of the headdress are much worn, but the crescent is present on the left and the snake clearly absent. The third eye is present.

17. PARVATI. Seated. Height 9'5, 12'5 cm. Two pairs of hands: goad, noose (broken); abhaya, varada (broken). Jata-makuta. Makara-kundalas. Undivided sacred thread of two strands. Girdle but not cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

The snake, crescent and skull are all present in the headdress. The third eye is present. There is only a single slender necklace.

PARVATI AS RAJARAJESVARI.

1. RAJARAJESVARI. Height 9, 14 cm. Kirita-makuta. Tola and makara-kundala together in each ear. Undivided sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. No history.

A crescent is shown in the round projecting from the right side of the headdress. The third eye is present. The lowest necklace has a large central ornament hanging low between the breasts; the one next above it has a circular pendent.

PARVATI AS MAHESVARI.

1. MAHESVARI. (Gangoly, I, pl. xlix and 2, pl. ix, as *Dakshinamurti of Devi*.) Height 34, 50 cm. Axe, antelope; abhaya, ahuya-varada. Hair arranged to resemble a

flame with the crescent moon on the left and other emblems, less distinct, on the right. Makara-kundala in right ear, patra-kundala in left. Undivided sacred thread of three strands. Girdle and cloth not projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Velankanni, Nega-patam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1872.

This image is of Chola type. Although the two arms of each side separate at the elbow the characteristic elbow ornament is indicated in the fork, though not prominent as in Umasahita No. 1. A breast-band is present, but instead of crossing in front of the breasts as in Sri Devi it passes above them. The breast and the back of the head of the antelope are towards Parvati.

DEVI AS DURGA.

1. DURGA. Standing. Height 39, 51, with prabha 62 cm. Discus, dextral conch; missing, kalyavalambita. Makara-kundalas. Threads passing round both sides of trunk. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Rayanallur, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1921.

The small size of the flames on the discus and conch, as well as the treatment of the projecting parts of the girdle and cloth, suggest close affinity with images of Chola type; and the general treatment of decorative detail supports this except that the necklaces and breast-band are somewhat coarse. The workmanship of the prabha forms a striking contrast to this, being particularly good.

2. DURGA. Standing. Height 13 cm. No pedestal. Discus, dextral conch; abhaya, kalyavalambita. Makara-kundalas. Threads passing round both sides of trunk. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. No history.

A well executed little image not very different from No. 1.

3. DURGA. Standing. Height 22, 30.5 cm. Discus, sinistral conch; abhaya, kalyavalambita. Makara-kundalas. Threads passing round both sides of trunk. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. No history.

An image of rather coarse workmanship.

4. DURGA. Standing. Height 17, 22, with prabha 24 cm. Discus, sinistral conch; abhaya, varada. Patra-kundalas. Sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Lotus pedestal with head of buffalo in front. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

This image and the next belong to a find composed almost exclusively of extremely crude images (see above, p. 58).

5. DURGA. (Pl. xlii, fig. 11.) Standing. Height 22.5 cm. No pedestal. Conch (conventionalised), discus; abhaya, varada. Snake ear-rings. No thread below necklaces. Cloth but not girdle projecting slightly at sides. Naikuppam, Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

DEVI AS MAHISHASURAMARDANI.

1. MAHISHASURAMARDANI. Seated. Height 39.59, with prabha 75 cm. Hair flame-like, with crescent on right and pair of snakes one on either side of skull. Kataka (for trident), cobra; broken (doubtless sword), shield; bow (broken), bell; dagger, skull-cup. Third eye present. The right earring has human form; the left is a patra-kundala with some object in the centre that we cannot identify. Snake round body above breasts, and waist-band below, with sacred thread in addition. Girdle but not cloth projecting. Plain pedestal with Mahishasura below in front. Treasure trove, Turaikkadu, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1917.

An image portraying considerable vigour. Probably belonging or closely allied to the group of images of Chola type.

2. MAHISHASURAMARDANI. Standing. Height 9'5, 12 cm. Kirita-makuta. Discus, dextral conch; sword, shield; arrow, bow; kataka (for trident), Mahishasura's hair. Patra-kundalas. Breast-band and sacred thread. Projecting ends of girdle hanging to ground. Lotus pedestal with Mahishasura in front above, yali on right side below, and buffalo head on left side below. No history.

This figure lacks the vigour expressed in No. 1. Mahishasura has the form of a buffalo, the neck of which forms the right leg of a man with sword and shield, the severed head of the buffalo lying below.

DEVI AS KALI.

The first of the following images agrees with the definition of *Bhuvanēśvārī*, or Kali as Mistress of the World. The third agrees with the definition of Kali, in the most restricted sense of the name.

1. KALI. Standing. Height 57.70 cm. Hair flame-like with skull in centre, flower on right, crescent on left. Goad, snake held as a noose; abhaya, varada. Third eye present. Right earring in human form, left patra-kundala. Snakes round body above breasts; undivided sacred thread, apparently composed of skulls. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Turaikkadu, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1917.

This image is probably of Chola type. Some of the details are a little obscured by corrosion.

2. KALI. Standing. Height 67.81 cm. Hair flame-like, with jewel, skull, snakes and crescent. Trident, goad; abhaya, varada. Third eye present. Right earring in human form, left a patra-kundala. Snakes round body above breasts; undivided sacred thread composed of skulls and united behind and in front to a pair of threads passing one round each side of body (compare Parvati No. 16). Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Turaikkadu, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1917.

In somewhat better condition than No. 1, to which it seems to be allied; probably also allied to Mahishasuramardani No. 1 from the same find, but relief stronger and features coarser than in either of them.

3. KALI. Standing. Height 51, 63 cm. Hair flame-like, with skull, crescent, snakes and flowers. Goad, trident; abhaya, skull-cup. Right earring in human form, left patra-kundala. A snake above each breast; sacred thread divided into two. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Erayankudi, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

The general design closely follows that of the two preceding images but the relief is stronger and the hair much coarser.

4. KALI. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 6.) Standing. Height 14, 16 cm. Hair flame-like with coronet in front. Sword (broken), drum; trident, skull-cup. Todus in ears. Lowest necklace falling away from others to breasts; no sacred thread. Cloth but not girdle projecting at sides. Oval pedestal. Treasure trove, Karappidagai, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

Extremely crude, as are also the other images of this find.

5. KALI. Dancing. Height 24, 32 cm. Kirita-makuta. Trident, drum; sword (broken), skull-cup. Patra-kundalas each formed like a flower with bell-shaped pendant. Two necklaces each provided with pendants in middle, lower one hanging between breasts; stiff angular breast-band with flower in front; no sacred thread. Girdle and cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, South India.

An image entirely conventional in design and execution. The right foot is raised in dancing but rests on a human head.

6. KALI. (Pl. xiv, fig. 1.) Seated. Height 29, 44 cm. Hair flame-like with crow-pea and *Datura* flower on right, skull in centre with a snake on either side of it, crescent and *Datura* flower on left. Trident, snake held as a noose; abhaya, skull-cup. Earrings much as in Mahishasuramardini No. 1. A snake round each breast. Undivided sacred thread composed of skulls. Girdle but not cloth projecting at sides. Inscribed rectangular pedestal. Treasure trove, Senniyanvidudi, Pattukkottai Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

The general treatment of this image, especially of the bows of the girdle, seems to indicate that it is of Chola type. The inscription, most of which is unfortunately illegible even after electrolytic treatment, is in Tamil character of the early Chola period.

It reads as follows so far as the few letters that remain can be made out;—

line 1. [ஸ்ரீ]	சு	வ	1. [Svasti Śrī]—Ka	la	ū
2. கை (ஸ)	ய	2. rai (sa)	va		
3. வர-வ	ய	3. vana	va	ya	le
4. எழுந்தரு		4.	chutaru		
5. (ஸ்) ம்	தச்சமன	5. (m)	tanchumana	i	
இ	சதர ட?		sadā De		
6. (ஸ)	தச்சன்-த திருவடி	6. (vi)	rachchay	r	tiruvadi
நீர்			niraiṇṭa		
மய-மகேசுவர		7. . .	icai	ganadatta	

Translation.

- Line 7. . . These are the writings of . . .
 " 6. . . endowed fully with (the grace of) the *Taravadi* (i.e., sacred feet) of . . .
 " 5. Devi always . . .
 " 4. . . . going out (i.e., carried out in procession) . . .
 " 3. }
 " 2. } . . .
 " 1. . . . (Hail! Prosperity!)

7. KALI. Seated. Height 29, 43 cm., with prabha 64 cm. Hair flame-like with skull above, flowers and snake by ears. Drum, noose; trident, skull-cup. Patra-kundalas. Necklaces and sacred thread much as in Bhadrakali No. 1. Girdle but not cloth projecting at sides. No history.

A conventional image closely resembling Bhadrakali No. 1, and doubtless by the same maker, the two having been purchased together in 1906

8. KALI. Seated. Height 20, 28 cm. Karanda-makuta with small flames at sides, cobra in front and larger cobra (broken) above, the body and tail of which extend down the back. Drum, trident; sword (broken), skull-cup. Patra-kundalas. One long and one short necklace, each with pendant in middle. No sacred thread. Girdle but not cloth projecting at sides. Treasure trove, Ramakrishnapuram, Cheyyar Taluk, North Arcot District, 1927.

A cobra rises from each shoulder behind the ears and another rises from each thigh to support the corresponding lower hand. The hanging right foot rests on a lotus.

9. KALI. Seated. Height 8, 12 cm. Karanda-makuta with flames. Drum, trident; sword, skull-cup. Patra-kundalas. Necklaces much as in No. 8. Sacred thread divided in two below breasts, one half passing to the girdle symmetrically on each side of the body, but only the one on the right crossing the back, which it does in the usual manner. Girdle and cloth scarcely projecting at sides. No history.

A small image of poor workmanship.

DEVI AS BHADRAKALI.

1. BHADRAKALI. (Gopinatha Rao I, pl. cvii, as Mahakali.) Height 30, 43, with prabha 55 cm. Scarcely differing from Kali No. 7 except in the additional arms characteristic of Bhadrakali. The hands hold the following emblems: discus, conch; drum, noose; sword, shield; trident, skull-cup. No history.

The prabha of Kali No. 7 arises from the usual pair of makaras, which are very neatly executed. These are not present in the prabha of this figure.

DEVI AS MAHALAKSHMI OF KOLHAPUR.

1. MAHALAKSHMI OF KOLHAPUR¹. Seated. Height 6.5, 8 cm. Karanda-makuta surmounted by linga in yoni, sheltered by hood of cobra. Patra-kundalas. Upper

¹ In the collection of Mr. R. E. Stoney.

necklace short, with circular pendent, lower one hanging between breasts. Undivided sacred thread. A demon, with sword in upraised right hand and shield in left, stands in front of the pedestal. Another image, also belonging to Mr. Stoney, wears a kirita-makuta with the linga in front and has a breast-band but no sacred thread. In this latter image the demon is absent.

GANESA.

1. GANESA. (Pl. xxii, fig. 1.) Standing. Height 39, 52 cm. Karanda-makuta. Sacred thread divided in two, both parts passing towards the right, but the upper one not reaching the waist-band, only the other continued round the body. Treasure trove, Velankanni, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1872.

The makuta, necklaces and general style of this image suggest that it should not improbably be considered as of Chola type, though the bows of the girdle are slightly unusual. The upper right hand holds an axe instead of the usual goad, and the upper left holds a rosary instead of the usual noose.

2. GANESA. (Pl. xxii, fig. 2.) Standing. Height 28, 36.5 cm. Karanda-makuta. Sacred thread with bow above right breast, divided in two below, both parts complete. Treasure trove, Settippulam, Tirutturaiyppundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1927.

Not widely dissimilar from the preceding, but less well executed and with necklaces in higher but cruder relief. The upper hands hold the usual goad and noose, the latter broken. The rice cake is replaced by a fruit, shaped like a mango though no doubt intended for the wood-apple. See also above, p. 60.

3. GANESA. (Pl. xxii, fig. 3.) Standing. Height 27, 34.5 cm. Karanda-makuta. Sacred thread divided in two below breasts and again close above waist-band, which is incomplete behind; left fork of latter division passing beneath waist-band to end under girdle; right fork passing over waist-band and round below stomach to unite with right hand end of waist-band and then as usual with uppermost branch of sacred thread and so to left shoulder. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

Distinctly inferior to the two preceding images, though the face is carefully moulded.

4. GANESA. (Gangoly, I, pl. xxix.) Standing. Height 39, 52 cm. Karanda-makuta. Sacred thread divided in two, the left hand portion ending in the girdle. Waist-band also double in front, the upper portion in the usual place and the lower supporting the protruding stomach. Treasure trove, Nellore Town, 1913.

A well finished image in the same rather heavy style as the other figures found with it, but somewhat less ornate. The rice cake is replaced by a fruit, shaped like a mango as in No. 2.

5. GANESA. Standing. Height 8, 10, with prabha 11 cm. Karanda-makuta. Undivided sacred thread. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

Very rough.

6. GANESA. Dancing. Height about 48 cm. (excluding missing portion of left leg). Karanda-makuta. Sacred thread divided in three, the middle portion tied below the waist band, one end having the form of a small cobra head and the other of a corresponding tail. Treasure trove, South India. The rice cake is replaced by a fruit, shaped like a mango as in No. 2.

7. GANESA. Seated. Height 13.16 cm. Karanda-makuta. Undivided sacred thread. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

A crude image like the rest of the find (see p. 58).

8. GANESA. Seated. Height 5'5.8 cm. Karanda-makuta. Wood-apple in trunk and rice cake in hand. Sacred thread divided in three, middle portion with small cobra head as in No. 6. No history.

9. GANESA. Seated. Height 5.6 cm. Jata-bandha. Trunk holding pot of rubies. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

Very crude. Sacred thread not clear.

10. SAKTI-GANAPATI. Height 8'5.11 cm. Karanda-makuta. Trunk holding wood-apple. Sacred thread divided in two. No history.

11. MAHAGANAPATI. Height 8.10 cm. Karanda-makuta. Five pairs of hands: discus, lotus; goat, noose; bow (of sugar-cane), water-lily bud; mace, ear of paddy (broken); tusk, supporting devi, who holds a lotus in her right hand, her left being in the varada pose. Trunk with pot of rubies. Sacred thread divided in two. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

The pot of rubies is somewhat small and obscure. The headdress bears a crescent on its left side, and another small object, probably a flower, on its right.

12. MAHAGANAPATI. Height 7'5. 12'5 cm., with prabha 16'5 cm. Karanda-makuta. Five pairs of hands: discus, conch; goat, noose; 2, bow (of sugar-cane); mace, ear of paddy; tusk, supporting devi, whose right hand rests on his side, the left being in the kataka pose (for lotus). Trunk with pot of rubies. Sacred thread divided in two. No history.

SUBRAHMANYA AS BALASUBRAHMANYA.

Dancing figures of Balasubrahmanya are iconographically indistinguishable from those of his more popular Vaishnavite counterpart Balakrishna (see above, p. 84). In all the dancing images listed here the hair is tied in a kesa-bandha and the right hand is in the tarjini pose.

1. BALASUBRAHMANYA. (Gangoly, I, pl. xxix.) Height 47.60 cm. Makara-kundalas. Dancing with right foot on lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Nellore Town, 1913.

The girdle bears a couple of bells attached by long strings close together in front of each leg and on the right side a single additional bell closely attached a little further back.

2. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Height 38, 50 cm. Todus. Dancing with right foot on lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Erayankudi, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

The upper border of the kesa-bandha has the form of a projecting semi-circular crest. The girdle is tied in front of the right leg. On the inner side of this is a bell attached by a long string and a corresponding bell on the opposite leg.

3. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Height 15, 19½ cm. Todus. Dancing with right foot on lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Vembavur, Perambalur Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1927.

The girdle is tied on both sides and bears a closely attached bell a little behind the knot on the left.

4. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Height 29, 35 cm. Todus. Dancing with left leg on lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Panangattangudi, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

The girdle is tied on both sides and is decorated in front with festoons, tassels and a closely attached row of bells of the spherical type.

5. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Height 24, 33 cm. Patra-kundalas. Dancing with left leg on lotus pedestal. Treasure trove, Settipulam, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

A waist-band is present immediately below the usual ornamental threads on the trunk. The girdle is without bows but is decorated with festoons in front, with a long tassel or bell on the left leg; but the details are not carefully finished.

6. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Standing. Height 16½, 24 cm. Lotus, mango. Kesa-bandha. Patra-kundalas. No history.

The girdle has a bell of the spherical type attached by a long string in front of both legs, and a bow on each side.

7. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Standing. Height 15½, 39 cm. Kesa-bandha. Lotus in each hand. Todus in ears. No history.

The girdle has a bow on each side and a tassel in front of each leg.

8. BALASUBRAHMANYA. Standing. Height 13½, 16½ cm. Karanda-makuta. Lotus in right hand, left hanging down. Todus. No history.

A crude image resembling No. 5 in the ornamentation of the body.

SUBRAHMANYA.

1. SUBRAHMANYA. Standing. Height 10½, 14½ cm. Kirita-makuta. Sakti, vajra; abhaya, varacla. Makara-kundalas. Sacred thread divided in two. No history.

2. SUBRAHMANYA. Standing. Height 30, 37 cm. Kirita-makuta. Sakti, kataka (for weapon); kataka (for weapon or shield), vajra. Makara-kundalas. Sacred thread divided in two. No history.

There are sandals on the feet.

3. SUBRAHMANYA WITH VALLI AND DEVASENA. Standing. Height of Subrahmanya 11, 13 cm., of devis 9, 10½ cm., lotus pedestals fitted to stand 3 cm. high. Subrahmanya.—Kirta-makuta. Sakti, vajra; abhaya, varada. Makara-kundalas. Three-stranded sacred thread. Accompanied by peacock with cobra in beak. Devis.—Karanda-makuta. Patra-kundalas. Breast-bands present. Valli with right hand hanging down, lotus in left. Devasena with blue water-lily in right hand, left hanging down. No history.

All three figures have the lowest necklace hanging low between the breasts.

4. SUBRAHMANYA. Seated on peacock. Height of Subrahmanya from seat 8, of Subrahmanya and peacock 12, of whole image 16 cm. Karanda-makuta. Sakti, vajra; abhaya, ahuya-varada. No earrings; left ear broken. Three-stranded sacred thread. Treasure trove, Mullangudi, Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1917.

SUBRAHMANYA AS PALANI-ANDI.

1. PALANI-ANDI. Height 10, 14 cm. Three-stranded sacred thread divided in two. No history.

The rudraksha beads of the necklace are disproportionately large. A chaplet of similar beads adorns the head. The ears bear makara-kundalas. There is a small crude female figure on each side of the base of the pedestal.

AIYANAR.

In images in which Aiyandar is shown as riding, he is sometimes detached from his mount. This is the case in Nos. 7 and 13 of the following list.

1. AIYANAR. Standing. Height 18, 23 cm. Karanda-makuta with spreading hair below. Ears: makara-kundala, patra-kundala. Hands: kataka, kataka. Undivided two-stranded sacred thread. No history.

2. AIYANAR. Standing. Height 11, 12 cm. Spreading hair. Todus in ears. Hands: kataka, kataka. Three threads falling from middle of lowest necklace in front, middle one free, others passing one on each side of waist, united as a single thread behind. Oval base. Treasure trove, Karappidagai, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

Very crude like the rest of this find. There is a curious V-shaped object attached to the back of the base and the ankles, possibly representing a pair of horns. We fail to understand its significance. A similar object is present in worshipper No. 4 from the same find, suggesting that it has been inserted to add strength to the ankles, though there is no apparent need for this.

3. AIYANAR. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 3; also Gangoly, I, pl. xx, and p. 58.) Standing. Height 8½ cm. Karanda-makuta with spreading hair below. Patra-kundalas oval, not circular. Both hands in the kataka pose. Sacred thread divided in two. No history.

We cannot agree with Gangoly that the somewhat crude form of this image necessarily implies great antiquity.

There is an almost identical, though slightly larger, image in the collection of Mr. R. F. Stoney with a makara-kundala in the right ear and a patra-kundala, practically round in shape, in the left.

4. AIYANAR. (Gangoly, 2, pl. vi, as Dakshinamurti.) Seated. Height 29.45 cm. Spreading hair secured by a band of flowers. Patra-kundalas in both ears. Hands: axe, ahuya-varada. Undivided sacred thread of three strands with knot above left breast. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

This image has all the characteristics of an image of Chola type, including the projecting elbow ornaments.

5. AIYANAR. Seated with left knee raised to support left elbow much as in No. 7. Height 75.9 cm. Hair much as in No. 7, but without any emblems except the crescent. Both ears bear patra-kundalas. The right hand holds the handle of something, but its blade is broken; the left hand hangs down. Undivided sacred thread. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

6. AIYANAR. Seated with yoga band round waist and left knee, right foot pressed against left ankle. Height 14.19 cm., with prabha about 23 cm. Hair crudely flame-like with ornament in middle. Earrings not clear. Trident, whip; abhaya, dagger. Undivided sacred thread. Small plain oval pedestal resting on square stand which supports prabha. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

One of a find of very crude images (see p. 58).

7. AIYANAR. Seated on elephant with left knee raised to support left arm. Height of Aiyandar from seat 19 cm., of whole image about 57 cm. Spreading hair with ornament bearing skull in centre above, a cobra on the right and crescent on the left and two flowers (? *Datura*) less widely separated below. Patra-kundala in left ear only. Hands: kataka, hanging down. Uppermost necklace long, extending over others to hang between breasts. Undivided sacred thread. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

A small attendant sits behind Aiyandar. His hair is tied in a kesa-bandha, and he is brandishing a short thick stick which he holds in his right hand.

The elephant as usual is caparisoned and carries a lotus in its trunk.

8. AIYANAR. Seated on elephant as in No. 7. Height of Aiyandar from seat 6 cm., of whole image 20 cm. Smaller and cruder than No. 7, without emblems in hair and with the right hand holding a short thick stick and the left arm broken from the elbow. No attendant behind. Otherwise as in No. 7, with which it was found.

9. AIYANAR. Seated on elephant as in No. 7. Height of Aiyandar from seat 4 cm., of whole image 9 cm. Smaller and cruder than No. 8, otherwise very like it. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

10. AIYANAR. Seated on elephant with one leg hanging down behind each ear. Height of Aiyandar from seat 13 cm., of whole image 33 cm. Karanda-makuta with spreading hair at sides bearing cobra on right and crescent on left. Patra-kundalas with red stone in centre of each. Hands: *kataka*, *abhaya*. All necklaces of short type; threads on trunk as in *Sri Devi*. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

Except for the differences implied in the above description, for the raised right knee and backwardly directed left leg of the attendant, and for the less detailed elaboration of ornament, this image is very like No. 7.

11. AIYANAR. Seated on elephant as in No. 10. Height of Aiyandar from seat 9 cm., of whole image 22 cm. Kesa-bandha. Ears: makara-kundala, patra-kundala. Hands: *goad*, *abhaya*. Sacred thread dividing in two. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

There is an attendant behind in the same posture as in No. 7.

12. AIYANAR. Seated with yoga band round waist and left knee on elephant below which is a rectangular pedestal. Height of Aiyandar from seat 5 cm., of whole image 10 cm. Crude karanda-makuta with hair spreading at sides, a large lotus bud behind each ear. Patra-kundalas. Right hand with crook, left forearm resting on knee with hand hanging. Sacred thread dividing in three. No history.

13. AIYANAR. Seated on horse. Height of Aiyandar from seat 10, of whole image 24 cm. Karanda-makuta with spreading hair at sides bearing crescent on left. Patra-kundalas. Hands: *kataka* (for whip), loop (representing reins). Sacred thread dividing in two. Treasure trove, Ulundangudi, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1908.

The horse is caparisoned and its saddle greatly elevated in front of and behind the seat.

14. AIYANAR. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 10.) Standing on horse. Height of Aiyandar 4½, 8 cm. Hair spreading. Makara-kundalas. Right hand with arrow, left with bow. Undivided sacred thread. Lotus pedestal below horse. Treasure trove, Naikuppam, Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad District, 1928.

A beautifully finished little image, especially remarkable for Aiyandar. The only good image in a very crude find.

NANDI.

1. NANDI AS A BULL. Height 5½, 7 cm. Treasure trove, Tennur, Madura Taluk and District, 1923.

2. NANDI AS A MAN WITH BULL'S HEAD. Half kneeling. Height 17½ cm. Jata-makuta with crescent on right side and something unrecognizable on left. Two pairs of arms: axe, antelope; palms of both hands up-turned to bear Siva's feet. No history.

DVARAPALAKA.

1. DVARAPALAKA. Height 24, 34 cm. Jata-makuta with linga in front. Makara-kundala, patra-kundala. Arrow, bow; sword, resting on shield. Sacred thread dividing into three. Dagger in girdle on right. Garland of skulls hanging from bows of girdle across front of shins. Treasure trove, Alturti, Rapur Taluk, Nellore District, 1920.

DVARAPALIKA.

1. DVARAPALIKA. Height 22, 31 cm. Karanda-makuta with linga in front. Patra-kundalas. Drum, trident; sword, resting on shield. Threads on trunk as in Sri Devi. No dagger or garland of skulls. Treasure trove, Alturti, Rapur Taluk, Nellore District, 1920.

CHANDIKESVARA.

1. CHANDIKESVARA. (pl. xix, fig. 2.) Height 47, 63 cm. No earrings. Ardha-anjali, axe. Treasure trove, Belur, Attur Taluk, Salem District, 1926.

A very simple image with slightly projecting elbow ornaments which clearly mark it as an image of Chola type.

2. CHANDIKESVARA. Height 57, 66 cm. No earrings. Hands in anjali pose. Treasure trove, Velankanni, Negapalam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1872.

A particularly beautiful image resembling No. 1 in its slightly projecting elbow ornaments, though with somewhat heavier necklaces, much more elaborate girdle and richly ornamented lower cloth, the border of which has much the same wheel pattern as in Hanuman No. 1 and Natesa No. 1. Below the jata-makuta the hair is spread sideways in a very unusual manner and tied by a ribbon behind with a single bow, the loop being above and the two free ends below. The decorative ends of the girdle shown in low relief on the inner sides of the legs approximate closely in design to the similar but bolder decoration found in Natesa No. 4. There are distinct traces of projecting elbow ornaments.

3. CHANDIKESVARA. (Pl. xxi, fig. 3.) Height 39, 44 cm. Elaborate kesa-bandha in place of the commoner jata-makuta. No earrings. Hands in anjali pose, axe resting against right arm. Treasure trove, Okkur, Negapattam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

This image is clearly allied to the last, but the necklaces depart much more definitely from the form characteristic of images of Chola type and there is no trace of projecting elbow ornaments. The headdress is very peculiar, especially its ornamental ribbon with flower ornament in front and behind and elaborate bows at the sides.

4. CHANDIKESVARA. Height 43, 53 cm. Makara-kundalas. Hands in anjali pose. Groove on upper part of left arm in which axe should evidently fit in same way as No. 7. Treasure trove, Nidur, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1931.

Chandikesvara No. 4 differs from the first three and resembles the rest in having earrings. The general treatment, including that of the necklaces, suggests that it should

perhaps be regarded as of Chola type, though there is no trace of projecting elbow ornaments.

5. CHANDIKESVARA. Height 40·5, 51 cm. Makara-kundalas. Hands in anjali pose with rosary of rudraksha beads between them. Treasure trove, Panangattangudi, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

Though the design closely follows that of No. 4, except for the absence of ornamental ends to the girdle and cloth, it does not appear to belong to the same group, the face especially being more of the ordinary type.

6. CHANDIKESVARA. Height 39, 51 cm. Makara-kundalas. Hands in anjali pose with rudraksha rosary between them, axe resting against right shoulder. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppoyyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

The design of the necklaces seems to be a further development away from that characteristic of images of Chola type in the direction already seen in Chandikesvara No. 2. The treatment of the folds of the cloth recalls that of Rama No. 1 and Mr. Cotton's Chandikesvara (No. 8 below), but is much more formal. A wheel ornament is conspicuous on each buttock as in Natesa No. 1, but there are no other such ornaments to harmonise with them.

7. CHANDIKESVARA. (Gangoly 1, pl. xvix.) Height 55, 70 cm. Makara-kundalas. Hands in anjali pose, axe resting against left arm. Treasure trove, Nellore town, 1913.

An image in the well-exercised but rather heavily ornate style characteristic of the images of this find. The necklaces closely resemble those of No. 2 but are in much stronger relief, a distinction that we think cannot be entirely due to the somewhat worn condition of No. 2.

8. CHANDIKESVARA. (Gangoly 2, pl. xiv xv, also *Rupam* 1921, 2 pl.). Height 47, 59 cm. No axe or earrings, hands in anjali pose. Present pedestal apparently a modern addition, though quite in keeping with figure. Purchased in Madras by the late Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S., and bequeathed by him to Eton College. We are indebted to his executors for permission to bring this image to the Museum for comparison with those in the Museum collection.

This beautiful image, best known as that of "a Saiva Devotee", has been doubtfully identified by Gangoly as probably either Chandikesvara, Vyaghrapada or Tirujnana Sambandha. There can, however, be no doubt that Chandikesvara was intended, and it closely resembles the Chandikesvara images in the Museum collection in all points indicating its identity. Tirujnana Sambandha has no head-dress and his hands are not shown in the anjali pose. Vyaghrapada is a saint of very minor importance—not even one of the main 63—associated only with Chidambaram, where he is shown in a stone sculpture as a bearded rishi with the feet of a tiger carrying a hook and a garland of flowers¹. As there is no occasion on which his image is carried in procession it

¹ See Krishna Sastri, "South Indian Gods and Goddesses", pp. 82 and 84, fig. 52.

is unlikely that any metal image of him exists. Gangoly's tentative identification of Mr. Cotton's image with this saint appears to have been based on Coomaraswami's earlier identification of an image from Polonnaruwa as "Saiva saint—Candesvara, or perhaps, Vyaghrapada—offering flowers"¹, and there can be no doubt that Chandikesvara is the correct identification of that image also. The youthful appearance of these images is quite in keeping with this identification, for it was as a youth that Chandikesvara took charge of the cattle of his village in order to get milk for bathing the linga towards which his devotions were directed; and it was then that, with the axe that has become his chief emblem, he cut off the legs of his father for his impiety in kicking this linga in anger at what seemed to him a waste of milk. A flower garland between the hands is one of the recognized emblems of Chandikesvara images; but, even if it were not, its introduction could readily be explained, for the *anjali mudra* is traditionally defined as a posture of the hands suitable "for holding a bunch of flowers so carefully that the bees hovering over them are not disturbed". The anklets to which attention is drawn by Gangoly as present in Mr. Cotton's image, but absent in the one from Polonnaruwa, are *padasuras*. They are present in all the Madras Museum images of Chandikesvara except No. 1, in which they are replaced by *nupuras* or true anklets. Neither can be regarded as an indication of youth.

Chandikesvara was popular even in Pallava times, being indeed the only Saivite saint of whom sculptures from that period are known. In these sculptures he is shown in the presence of Siva with hands in the *anjali* pose, without either axe or flowers. He has had his own shrine in every complete Saivite temple at least from Chola times. So it is natural that his images should be commoner than those of other Saivite saints. According to Gopinatha Rao he was particularly popular in Ceylon where he was worshipped under several different forms². The inscription on the base of the Polonnaruwa image³ is so largely undecipherable that it is impossible to tell whether it relates to the subject of the image or to its donor. In the latter case the fragment "-pati" may indicate that he was of high rank or may be a part of his name. In the former case it may refer to Chandikesvara as the leader of the *Bhūta-ganas*⁴.

The treatment of this image, especially its face, places it among those of Chola type; and this position is to some extent confirmed, as in the case of worshipper No. 1 (? Chola king) by the treatment of the loin-cloth, which closely resembles that seen in Rama No. 1 and Parvati No. 1. As in Chandikesvara No. 2 the hair is fastened behind with a ribbon in a single bow, but the loop is on the left with the two ends on the right. In Chandikesvara No. 3 this bow is greatly elaborated. It is not present in any of the other images, and it is perhaps therefore noteworthy that all of these seem to be more or less definitely of Chola type, though they all lack the distinctive elbow ornaments which

¹ *Mem. Colombo Mus.* A. 1, p. 16, pl. ix, fig. 18.

² *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 467.

³ Wickremasinghe, *Sri Lanka Zeylanica* 1, p. 74.

⁴ Compare Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 463.

among the Chandikesvara images are found only in No. 1, an image which lacks the bows.

The special artistic merits of this image have been discussed by Gangoly (*loc. cit.*).

KANNAPPA NAYANAR.

Concerning these two images see also above, pp. 58-59.

1. KANNAPPA NAYANAR. (Pl. xix, fig. 3; also Gangoly 2, pl. xvi, as ? Appar-Swami.) Height 41, 50 cm. Hair tied in a kesa-bandha and decorated with peacock's feathers. Patra-kundalas. Single long necklace. Large dagger hanging from belt on right. Short apron (? of hide) open behind revealing a closely wrapped cloth below. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

The treatment of the loin-cloth with its close series of wrinkles is identical with that found in Parvati No. 1 and the image described below as probably representing a Chola king (worshipper No. 1). The treatment of the face also suggests a possible affinity with the Chola type of image. But the relief is very bold, the dagger with its large hilt being, indeed, shown practically in the round, and the necklace is long.

2. KANNAPPA NAYANAR. (Pl. xix, fig. 4; also Gopinatha Rao II, pl. cxxxiv.) Height 65, 78 cm. Hair tied in a kesa-bandha with a band over it in the middle and a wheel ornament on either side in front. No earrings. All necklaces short and uniform, lowest one with circular pendant. Quiver full of arrows on left shoulder, attached to hand passing round left side of waist, *i.e.*, very like sacred thread but crossing body in opposite direction; bow hanging from left shoulder; dagger in belt on pleated kilt in front of right leg. Cloth showing below kilt and reaching nearly to knees. Same find as No. 1.

MANIKKAVACHAKAR.

1. MANIKKAVACHAKAR. Height 32, 42 cm. Hair close to head except for very small knot towards front. No necklace. Short cloth round loins. Treasure trove, Kurichi, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1926.

There is a rudraksha rosary on the right forearm.

2. MANIKKAVACHAKAR. Height 36, 47 cm. Hair somewhat as in Nos. 3 and 4. Otherwise as in No. 1. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppooyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

3. MANIKKAVACHAKAR. Height 39, 52 cm. Broad circular kesa-bandha at back of head, flattened behind. Two necklaces of rudraksha beads and a waist-band present, the lower necklace hanging low between the breasts. Cloth between legs, not round them; supported by hand tied on left side. Treasure trove, Kilappudanur, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1919.

There is a bracelet on each wrist and a band immediately above each elbow with a small pendant tag on the outer side. The rosary is twisted round the right arm just above

this, with a knot on the outer side to reduce its diameter to that of the arm and thus hold it tight.

4. MANIKKAVACHAKAR. Height 45, 59 cm. Broad, circular kesa-bandha at back of head, flattened behind. Two necklaces but no waist-band, the lower necklace only being of rudraksha beads and hanging low between the breasts. Cloth between legs, not round them, string tied in front of right leg. Treasure trove, Settipulam, Tirutturaippundi Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

The details are shown with peculiar delicacy. The usual broad sacred thread is accompanied by another single and more undulating strand. Arms as in No. 3 but without rosary. The band supporting the cloth is accompanied by a thread tied in front of the left leg.

APPAR.

1. APPAR. Height 48, 57 cm. Hair close to head. Hands in anjali pose, spud leaning against right shoulder. Upper necklace and wristlets each a simple band with large clasp; lower necklace hanging between breasts, composed of rudraksha beads as are also the chaplet on the head and a string round the upper part of each arm. Short cloth round loins. Treasure trove, Vembavur, Perambalur Taluk, Trichinopoly District, 1927.

TIRUJNANA SAMBANDHA.

In the first four images he is represented as a child with two slender girdles. In the fifth he is represented as a man with a short cloth round his loins.

1. TIRUJNANA SAMBANDHA. Height 36, 51 cm. Hair with knot on top of head. Right hand with forefinger pointing upwards, left with cup. Two short necklaces, the upper one very slender, the lower one broad and supporting, back and front, the two ends of each of a pair of threads, one passing round each side of the body, with a central tassel between them; two slender girdles, the lower one fringed with bells of the spherical type, tied in a small looped knot on either side, one end each of which knots bears a larger bell of the same type, as does also a similar tassel in front of each leg; otherwise naked except for armlets, etc. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppoyyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

2. TIRUJNANA SAMBANDHA. Height 5.6 cm. A miniature edition of No. 1 but without the trunk threads, girdle bows and other such details. Treasure trove, Tanjore District, 1916.

3. TIRUJNANA SAMBANDHA. Height 36, 52 cm., with prabha 66 cm. Hair with knot extending from front right down back of head. Right hand vismaya, left with cup. Single necklace somewhat elaborately curved and decorated in front with same type of pendant as in No. 4. Girdles both without bells, with combined knot on left leg; lower one with two tassels a little further forwards on right leg. Treasure trove, Muhandanur, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1930.

4. TIRUJNANA SAMBANDHA. Height 42, 56 cm. Hair and hands much as in No. 3. Two round necklaces, the lower one with pendant. Lower girdle with fringe of bells; ends hanging in front of right leg. Treasure trove, Kurichi, Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, 1926.

5. TIRUJNANA SAMBANDHA. Height 39, 54 cm. Hair shown almost like a cap, with tuft hanging down behind. Rings hanging from lobes of ears. Cymbals in hands. Single plain necklace and sacred thread present. Short cloth round loins, supported by broad plain girdle. No history.

SUNDARAMURTI.

1. SUNDARAMURTI. Seated, pedestal missing. Vertical height from seat about 32 cm.; total height of image from headdress to toes about 53 cm. Hair tied in an ornamented kesa-bandha. Rings hanging from lobes of ears. Right hand raised to mark the pitch of his song, left beating time. Three necklaces, the innermost of rudraksha beads hanging low between breasts, crossing over the middle one and under the outermost, both of which have large central ornaments. Three-stranded undivided sacred thread. Girdle with two broad alternating with three narrower bands, the upper broad band decorated with alternate wheels and diamonds. Treasure trove, Tiruvelangadu, Tiruttani Taluk, Chittoor District, 1907.

SULA.

1. SULA. Height 31, 43 cm. Outer branches arising from makara heads, and with lotus design embossed about half way up. Central branch with a somewhat different lotus design above and below, latter with small semicircular projection on either side, about halfway up a somewhat larger pair of semicircular projections. Plain behind. Treasure trove, Senniyanvidudi, Pattukkottai Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

2. SULA. Height 35, 45 cm. Outer branches arising from foliage. Central branch with two angular projections on each side, one pair a little above middle with an embossed lotus design between them and one pair a little above base behind figure of Siva leaning against bull and holding axe and antelope. Plain behind. Treasure trove, Sikkil, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1909.

SULAPIDARI.

1. SULAPIDARI. (Gangoly I, pl. lxxxii.) Height 30, 47 cm. Outer branches with engraved foliage design. Pidari standing in front of central branch with flame-like hair, human earring in right ear, patra-kundala in left, upper hands with trident and noose respectively, lower right broken, lower left varada (thumb broken). Plain behind. Treasure trove, Sayanapuram, Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1910.

VEL.

1. VEL. Total length 39 cm. A crude figure of Palani-Andi stands in front of the blade. The back of the blade bears two engraved stars (the upper one very faint) each consisting of two interlocked equilateral triangles. No history.

IMAGES NOT SPECIALLY ASSOCIATED WITH BRAHMA,
VISHNU OR SIVA.

SURYA.

1. SURYA. Standing. Height 50, 56 cm. Karanda-makuta with halo behind this and head. Makara-kundalas. One pair of hands with lotus in each. Necklaces, draperies, etc., much as in images of Chola type. Sacred thread undivided. Treasure trove, Harischandrapuram, Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1926.

The folds of the short cloth are treated much as in the image of Kannappa Nayanar No. 1 and others mentioned in connection with it.

2. SURYA. Standing. Height 105, 115 cm. This image differs from the last chiefly in having two pairs of hands, the upper ones each holding a lotus flower, the lower in the abhaya and varada poses respectively. The ears bear patra-kundalas. The sacred thread is divided into two. The treatment is more formal than in No. 1. No history.

3. SURYA IN CAR WITH ATTENDANTS. (Gopinatha Rao I, pl. lxxxviii.) Height of Surya from seat about 6 cm., of whole image 155 cm. The halo forms a circular prabha behind Surya surmounted by the head of a yali with a triple umbrella behind it, a discus on its right and a conch on its left. Surya wears a kirita-makuta. Makara-kundalas with rings in addition hang from the lobes of his ears. There are two necklaces, of which the shorter has a large central ornament, and the longer hangs low with a smaller ornament. The three-stranded sacred thread is undivided. On either side of Surya stand, on lotus-shaped pedestals arising from the supports of the chariot wheel, a pair of female attendants, possibly his two wives, in similar attire but with patra-kundalas in the form of lotus flowers in their ears. The one on his right, who is without any breast-band, bears a standard from which hangs a row of bells; the one on his left, who wears a breast-band, bears a fly-whisk. Below Surya is seated *Araya*, his charioteer, driving the seven horses. A yali supports each end of the axle of the large single wheel, the axle being fixed and the wheel free to rotate. No history.

The presence of the discus and conch is curious and brings in a suggestion of the combined form *Sūryanārāyaṇa*, the sun as a manifestation of Vishnu.

4. ? SURYA. Height 4, 9 cm. This little figure standing in front of a disc has only one pair of arms, so can hardly be Sudarsana. But the emblems held in the hands, though mounted on long stalks like lotuses, have the form of Vishnu's discus and conch. Possibly the Suryanarayana association may afford the explanation of this

image also, though Suryanarayana images are not supposed to be made and if made should be seated with Vishnu's emblem in the upper of two pairs of hands. No history.

MANMATHA.

Manmatha may easily be confused with (1) Krishna, the posture being much the same in both with the left elbow projecting to rest in the former on the sugar cane bow and in the latter on Rukmini's shoulder; or (2) Rama, holding the bow. He can be distinguished from both by his patra-kundalas and by his left hand being held at a higher level to enable him to enjoy the scent of his five-flowered arrow. He has one consort, Rati, who differs from Rukmini in having no breast-band and in sometimes holding a mirror instead of a lotus.

1. MANMATHA WITH RATI. Height of Manmatha 43, 52 cm., of Rati 36 cm. Rati's pedestal missing. Manmatha with hair secured in kesa-bandha by band of flowers; a series of necklaces, all of short type; sacred thread divided into three portions; right hand in kataka pose (for arrow), left as if resting on bow. Rati with circular kesa-bandha, flattened behind and secured by six bands crossing in middle where they bear a large flower ornament; threads passing round either side of trunk as in Sri Devi, but uniting separately with necklace behind; right hand in kataka pose (for lotus or mirror), left hanging down. Treasure trove, Panangattangudi, Nanniam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1924.

RATI.

(See also under Manmatha.)

1. RATI. Height 11, 13½ cm. Smaller and cruder than the figure of Rati in the preceding set, otherwise not unlike it except that a mirror is held in the right hand. Treasure trove, Thogur, Tanjore Taluk and District, 1925.

UNIDENTIFIED DEITIES.

1. UNIDENTIFIED. Standing goddess. Height 52, 62 cm. Karanda-makuta. No earrings. Single necklace with central ornament set off by plain piece on either side of it. Sacred thread with small knot in front of left shoulder. Body inclined to left, right hand in kataka pose, left resting on head of woman carrying casket, whose head only reaches to about half way between goddess's knees and hips. Treasure trove, Sirugamani, Trichinopoly Taluk and District, 1915.

A particularly beautiful image.

2. UNIDENTIFIED. Standing goddess. Height 25, 34 cm. Kirita-makuta. Patra-kundalas. Single short necklace with round central pendant, and a second which hangs between the breasts, below which it extends round the body across the back; a flower immediately below it in front. Body inclined to right, right hand holding bud of lotus or water-lily, left holding a bow, broken below. Treasure trove, Pottempalem, Nellore Taluk and District, 1930.

If another pair of hands had been present this rather crude image would have represented Rajarajesvari.

3. UNIDENTIFIED. Height 12, 13 cm. Figure with bust of man in kirita-makuta playing on a tamburu, the body and legs of a horse and the tail of a cow, acting as vahana for a seated image in jata-makuta with right hand in abhaya and left in varada pose. No history.

ATTENDANTS.

1. MALE ATTENDANT. Height 9, 11 cm. Both hands appear to have held movable fly-whisks, but that of the left hand is missing. No history.

SEMI-DIVINE HEROES.

1. ARJUNA. Height 11½ cm. The right hand is raised and the left lowered, which is in keeping with various well known episodes in his life when he is said to have shot his arrows downwards. Treasure trove, Polagam, Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

RISHIS.

1. RISHI. Height 6, 9 cm. The hair is fastened on top of the head in the form of a snake with up-raised head and with one coil of the body on either side below. A book is held under the left arm, the hand of which is in the varada pose. The right hand is in the upadesa pose. No history.

WORSHIPPERS, Etc.

1. KING. (Aravamuthan's "Portrait Sculpture in South India", fig. 19.) Height 52, 64 cm. Kirita-makuta (indicating kingly rank). No earrings. Hands in anjali pose with rosary between them. Simple necklaces with pendant fringe. Undivided three-stranded sacred thread. Very short and closely wrinkled loin-cloth treated as in Parvati No. 1, Chandikesvara No. 8, etc. A wristlet on each arm, and an anklet on the left leg only. Treasure trove, Kandarakottai, Cuddalore Taluk, South Arcot District, 1927.

Presumably the Chola King Madhurantaka, who is said by local tradition to have built the temple where it was found (see above, p. 49).

2. WORSHIPPER. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 4.) Height 13, 16 cm. Kesa-bandha much as in Sundaramurti No. 1 but undecorated. No earrings. Hands in anjali pose. No necklaces or sacred thread. Cloth crudely designed, reaching to ankles. Treasure trove, Vadakkuppoyyur, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1923.

3 and 4. WORSHIPPERS. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 8.) Heights 9½, 10½ cm., and 8½, 9½ cm. respectively. Crude figures like the rest of the find to which they belong. Both wear karanda-makuta and hold their hands in the anjali pose. Treasure trove, Karappidagai, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, 1920.

In No. 4, there is a curious object on the back of the pedestal and ankles, something like a pair of horns. A similar but shorter and more widely V-shaped object is found in Aiyana No. 2 of the same find (see above p. 127).

5. **STANDING MALE AND FEMALE FIGURES COMBINED BACK TO BACK.** Height 45 cm. Kesa-bandha leaning towards right side of male head, left of female. No earrings, necklaces or sacred thread. Male right arm with raised sword (end broken) combined with female left hanging at side; male left arm with hand in *ahuya-varada* pose, combined with female right holding water-lily. Girdle in three decorated strips; cloth short on both sides. Treasure trove, Sakkannathanputtur, Srivilliputtur Taluk, Ramanad District, 1915.

It has been suggested that this figure probably represents a raja who was killed in battle inseparably combined with his wife after she committed sati.

GRAMA DEVATAS (VILLAGE DEITIES), ETC.

The grama devata cult centres round Aiyana, the son of Vishnu in female form (Mohini) and Siva. As he also finds a place in the orthodox Hindu pantheon, especially in Malabar where he is generally known as *Sista* or *Harihara Putra*, his images have already been dealt with above (pp. 127-129) though several of them doubtless belonged to grama devata shrines, and Nos. 2 and 14 are from the same finds as the images now to be considered. Other orthodox deities such as, for instance, *Mari Amman*, the goddess of small-pox, usually represented by a vessel containing water, margosa leaves, tender coconut, etc., and often wrongly regarded as a form of Kali, are also worshipped in connexion with grama devata shrines, and Vishnu No. 12, Yasodakrishna Nos. 2, 3 and 4, Satyabhama Nos. 8 and 9, Durga Nos. 4 and 5, and Kali No. 4 were all found with and closely resemble grama devata images. In Yasodakrishna No. 2 the child's kondai seems sufficient indication of his identity, but Yasodakrishna Nos. 3 and 4 may perhaps only be votive offerings made by women who had been blessed with children.

All the following images are from two treasure trove finds, one made at Naikuppam, Tirupattur Taluk, Ramanad District, in 1928, and the other at Karappidagai, Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, in 1920.

1. **MADURAI-VIRAN.** (Pl. xxii, fig. 13.) Height 10'5, 11'5 cm. Conical cap hanging over on right side. Treasure trove, Naikuppam find.

A similar headdress is found in some of the Nayak statues in the Pudu-Mandapam at Madura. According to tradition Madurai-Viran was a general under the Nayaks of Madura and a valiant defender of the cult of Aiyana.

2. **KARUPPANNASWAMI.** (Pl. xxiii, fig. 14.) Height 23 cm. Hair secured on top of head by a band. Bill-hook in right hand; left hand resting on stick. Naikuppam find.

3 and 4. **KARUPPANNASWAMI.** Height of No. 3, 20 cm.; No. 24 same size but feet broken and missing. Hair in rounded knot on left side of head. Bill-hook in right hand; left hand resting on hip. Naikuppam find.

No. 3 wears a sacred thread, but it crosses the body in the wrong direction.

5. KARUPPANNASWAMI. Height 14, 15 cm. Hair tied on top of head with band, the two ends of which stand up as a decoration behind. Right hand with sword, left with blade of bill-hook. Naikuppam find.

6. KULLA-KARUPPAN. Height 13, 15 cm. Band securing hair with short ends hanging downwards behind; an upwardly projecting ornament in middle line where hair and forehead meet. Right hand in kataka pose (for bill-hook), left on hip. Naikuppam find.

7. CITAPPANI-KARUPPAN. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 15.) Height 12, 13 cm. Short erect conical cap with knot at top. Staff in right hand, water vessel with spout in left. Naikuppam find.

Sacred thread present but incorrectly worn as in No. 3.

8. SANGILI-KARUPPAN. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 12.) Height 17 cm. Hair in tall decorated knot on top of head. Right hand holding end of chain which rests on right shoulder, left holding vessel without spout. Naikuppam find.

9. ? PUJARI. Height 8, 9 cm. - Right hand holding a rattle such as is used by grama devata pujaris, left holding something that has broken. Karappidagai find.

10 and 11. Male figures. (Pl. xxiii, fig. 1.) Height 10, 11 and 6'5, 7 cm., respectively. Hair in kesa-bandha. Lotus bud in right hand, left hand hanging at side. Karappidagai find.

12-16. FEMALE FIGURES. (Pl. xxiii, figs. 2 and 7.) Heights 13, 14 cm., 10, 11 cm., 9, 10 cm., 9, 10 cm., and 7, 8 cm., respectively. No. 16 with karanda-makuta, rest with kesa-bandha. Lotus bud in right hand, left hanging at side. Karappidagai find.

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The localities of treasure trove finds of images can readily be traced with the aid of the list on pp. 47-56. No references to them are therefore given here, except where they have received special discussion. It would also inconveniently load the index with references of no particular importance to give every reference to the different mudras or to different articles of clothing, etc. The place where each is specially described is therefore alone included. Many minor references to the frequently recurring names Vishnu, Siva, Parvati, etc., are omitted for the same reason.

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PLATE I.

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2. The same from behind.

