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論文題目	The Iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu: with a Special Focus on Sculptures Produced in Northern India during the Ancient Times and the Medieval Period		

（論文内容の要旨）

This study aims to clarify the nature of the deity represented in images conventionally called Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu through an examination of their iconography. It therefore reveals some aspects of the relationship between visual representation and theology in ancient and medieval India. In addition, it provides a case study of Hindu art in response to the general question of how to visualize a God who is thought to be transcendent, that is, a God who is beyond human vision. The intention is to develop a better understanding of Hindu art, which has been less studied than other religious art that grapples with a similar problem (Christian art, Buddhist art, etc.)

In this study, the author focuses on sculptures that employ the iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu the omniform) produced during the ancient and medieval periods. Her analysis focuses on 48 sculptural examples, mainly from India, including the surviving fragments of some sculptures. The production dates range from the fourth to the 15th centuries. The works are distributed over a wide area, from western and eastern India to northern India, mainly in the present-day state of Uttar Pradesh, as well as Nepal. Most examples share iconographic similarities. Notably, they include depictions of several animal heads and figurines located around or behind a central standing figure of Viṣṇu. At an early stage of her study, she had the following hypothesis: the iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu consists of a complex image of Viṣṇu encircled by the heads of animals and small figures; it cannot be identified with any other famous mythological scene of Viṣṇu. Following this hypothesis, she has concluded that there are two broad types of icons of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu, as presented in Chapter 5.

This study is composed of five chapters. Detailed information on the existing sculptural works of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu is provided in the Corpus of Appendix I. The figures are provided in Appendix II.

Chapter 1 serves as the introduction and presents the research object. The images of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu can be roughly classified into three groups: (1) sculptures that were produced during the ancient and medieval periods (hereafter Gro

up 1), (2) miniature paintings that were painted in the early modern period (her eafter Group 2), and (3) illustrations that were made and reproduced in the past two centuries (hereafter Group 3). The study focuses on unraveling the iconogr aphy of examples belonging to Group 1, which will be dealt with in Chapter 3. The author briefly overviews the representatives, explains the methodology of t his thesis, and raises research questions.

Chapter 2 overviews the early iconography of Viṣṇu, which is a prerequisi te for considering the iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu. It also focuses on how t he iconography of Viṣṇu was established. The early iconography of Viṣṇu may have begun by borrowing its iconographic elements from an earlier iconography of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Therefore, the icons of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa are also considered i n this chapter. A proper understanding of this basic iconography is needed for i nterpreting various iconographic elements found in the iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu.

In Chapter 3, sculptural works representing Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu produced in n orthern India during the ancient and medieval periods are discussed in chronolog ical order and broadly by region. The iconographic elements and details are exa mined based on a list of existing sculptural works stemming from fieldwork mai nly in India. Emphasis is placed on the sculptures produced in Mathurā during t he Gupta period, in Śāmalājī, mainly in Kānyakubja during the Gurjara-Pratīhāra period, and in eastern India during the medieval period. Finally, the process of forming such a complex image of the deity is discussed, considering the icono graphic traditions and deviations from it, as well as the ingenuity of the artisans in the sculptural production.

Chapter 4 analyzes the textual sources. It makes an in-depth study of Sans krit texts compiled from the first and second millennium B.C. to the medieval p eriod as far as possible, in terms of how the word *viśvarūpa-* is used in an ico nographic context, especially from the perspective of Vaiṣṇava worship. Specifica lly, it examines the Vedic literature established in the first and second millenniu m B.C., the *Mahābhārata* compiled from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D., and the *Bhagavadgītā* therein, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* composed in the fi fth and sixth centuries, the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the *Agnipurāṇa* compiled after the medieval period. In ad dition, medieval iconographic manuals such as the *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhuvanade va, the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇam,* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* of Sūtradhāramaṇḍana, an d the Pāñcarātra texts by the Vaiṣṇava sect characterized by Tantrism, are also

considered. The chapter concludes with lists of Viṣṇu's manifestations in Sanskrit literature. The historical changes in the lists are instructive to refer to when identifying the iconographic elements of the manifestations of Viṣṇu that appear in the sculptures of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu.

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the artworks and the archaeological and textual materials. It also highlights the problems that emerge when combining all these sources. A comprehensive discussion of the iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu follows, ultimately reaching the following conclusion: there are two broad types of icons of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu.

The first type has the following features: (1) Forms of animals flank the central Viṣṇu, and (2) additional small figures, which are not just attendants or a part of the decoration, are presented behind or beside Viṣṇu. The small figures include the gods of the directions, manifestations of Viṣṇu, various gods such as Rudras and Ādityas, *ṛṣi*s, celestial beings, and in some cases, Śiva and his family members, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, and Kārttikeya. In most works, (3) faces are arranged on a circumference that frames a halo behind Viṣṇu. In some works, (4) small standing male and female figures are placed on a plinth at the feet of Viṣṇu. Some iconographic elements or compositions seem to have been passed on in the iconographic tradition during the image-making process among artisans. The conceptual and theological source for the iconography is presumed to be linked to the omniform (*viśvarūpa-*) manifestation of Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) in Chapter 11 of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The second type is a "four"-faced and/or "20"-armed Viṣṇu whose iconography is defined in iconographic manuals. The characteristics of the figures of Type II match to some extent with the definitions of Viśvarūpa in the iconographic manuals that flourished after the medieval period. Many such images were produced in eastern India during the Pāla period. In the medieval period, the sects of Vaiṣṇavism that emphasized Tantrism flourished, such as the Pāñcarātra. The Pāñcarātra sect considered Viśvarūpa to be one of many forms of Viṣṇu. As he became an object of meditation and worship in a practice-focused religious environment, he was understood more as a subdivided and embodied form of the Supreme God, an emanation rather than the Supreme God himself. In the inscription of a Brahmanical ruler of Gayā dating from 1042 A.D., Viśvarūpa is used as an epithet for a specific deity.

From the fourth to the tenth centuries, a solid iconographic tradition of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa was handed down and shared among artisans in northern India. O

n the other hand, some later works are based on iconographic manuals that were more widespread during the medieval period. Most images can be categorized as belonging to one of these two traditions: Type I includes Corpus 1–39, and Type II includes Corpus 41–46. However, there is one exceptional piece that was probably produced to simultaneously follow both the iconographic tradition and the iconographic manuals: Corpus 40 (Fig. 79). Here, the central Viṣṇu is not surrounded by animal heads but instead displays the ten manifestations (*daśāvatāra*) placed around his nimbus. He has 18 arms and holds various attributes, including a *cakra, gadā,* and *śaṅkha*. There are more small figures on the halo: the nine planets (*navagraha*), Śiva and his family—Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, the seven mothers, the seven *r̥ṣi*s, the 12 Ādityas, and presumably the ten Rudras among others. As such, it is an example that may inherit elements of both types.

The iconography of Type I can be said to have its conceptual sources in Chapter 11 of the *Bhagavadgītā*. A sculptural work closely matching the textual description is the icon enshrined at the Changu Nārāyaṇa temple in Kathmandu, Nepal (Fig. 67, Corpus 27). Details of the iconography have already been mentioned in Chapter 3. The central Viṣṇu has nine heads at least, arranged in what look like three rows and three columns. He has ten arms and holds a *cakra*, a *gadā*, a *śaṅkha*, a sword, and other objects. He is standing on the earth goddess supported by two *nāga*s, below which Viṣṇu is again depicted, this time as *Anantaśayana* (*Anantaśāyin*), lying and sleeping on the great serpent Ananta in the primordial sea. Garuḍa and Arjuna are posed in the worship of Viṣṇu, as are two flying celestial beings. The four gods of the directions are also clearly seen: Indra holding a *vajra* (thunderbolt), Yama holding a staff, Varuṇa holding a noose, and Kubera holding a bag. There are also many *r̥ṣi*s, with Brahmā seated on a lotus at the top. Small figures are depicted as being blown out from the mouth of Viṣṇu in the second and third tiers. Not only is Arjuna seen with his hands together praying to the central Viṣṇu, but there is also a circular outline representing the moon or sun at the top (BhG 11.19, see Table IIA).

However, there is one iconographic element that is not seen in the Changu Nārāyaṇa icon, nor mentioned in the BhG, but that is found in most examples of Type I: Viṣṇu's manifestations (*avatāra*s). This element is carried over to Type II in the form of four faces, namely the four faces that include a boar and a man-lion. In the early examples from Mathurā and Śāmalājī, Narasiṃha, Varāha, and sometimes a horse-headed figure (likely Hayagrīva or Kalkin) were repres

ented around the central Viṣṇu (Corpus 2, 7, 8, 9, 13, etc.). Matsya and Kūrma were gradually added (Corpus 14, 17, 18, etc.). Finally, in the Kānyakubja pieces, the number of manifestations reaches ten: Narasiṃha, Varāha, Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana, the horse-headed figure, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma and Buddha. This change in iconography relates to the development and acceptance of the concept of Viṣṇu's manifestation (See Table IV and Chapter 4). The earliest manifestations of a boar and a man-lion appear in the list around the second or third century. The ten manifestations appear around the eighth century, or possibly earlier, between the sixth and eighth centuries. The date of the Kānyakubja pieces is thought to be around the ninth century, which means that the iconography of the sculptures is consistent with the textual references. The addition of the manifestations to the iconographic elements of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu may reflect a process by which the worship of Viṣṇu as the supreme deity expanded in various regions.

The iconography of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu should be considered as an iconography of the transcendental form of the Supreme God. The form of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu, in which diverse deities and manifestations appear gathered under Viṣṇu, iconographically symbolizes the essence of Hindu art. This henotheist polytheism unites other deities under the Supreme God.

（論文審査の結果の要旨）

　ヒンドゥー教において最も広く崇拝されている二大神の一柱であるヴィシュヌは、歴史的にさまざまな図像で表現されている。本論文は、そうした図像の一つであるヴィシュヴァルーパ、すなわち「多様な姿を持つもの」、あるいは「あらゆる姿を持つもの」という名前で慣用的に知られている図像を取り上げ、美術資料と文献資料を総合的に扱っている。ヴィシュヌの基本的な図像は、四臂で冠をかぶった若き王のような姿であるが、３世紀頃からヴィシュヌが地上にさまざまな姿をとって顕現するという化身思想が発達し、それ以前に遡るヴェーダ期のヴィシュヌや他の神格の神話も包摂して、化身の姿や神話の一場面など、多種多様な図像を展開することになる。その中でも、ヴィシュヴァルーパは、４世紀から８世紀頃の初期の図像では、中心となるヴィシュヌの顔の周りに複数の動物の顔をもち、光背には多くの神々や聖者のような人物像が配置され、光背の外輪に沿って恐ろしい表情をした顔が並べられるなど、非常に複合的である点で特異である。この図像の淵源が、紀元前後に著されたとされる『バガヴァッド・ギーター』第11章における、ヴィシュヌの化身とされるクリシュナの神性顕現の場面にあることは、すでにマックスウェルによって指摘されている。論者もその点には最終的に同意しているが、論者が述べるように、この図像は重要な幾つかの点でその場面に描かれる最高神の姿に対応していない。したがって、この図像は、少なくともその細部については、造形美術の伝統の中で、最高神をどのように視覚化するかという問題意識の元で形成され発展したものであると思われる。

　この図像に関する重要な先行研究は、上述のマックスウェルとスリニヴァサンの研究である。論者は両者の研究成果を引き継ぎつつも、図像を文献に述べられる観念をもとに解釈しすぎていると批判し、美術資料と文献資料をそれぞれ独自の伝統を持つものとして別個に分析し、最後に両者を総合的に考察するという研究方法をとる。論者が自覚的にこの研究方法を採用したことが、本論文を価値あるものとしている。

　本論文は５つの章から構成される。先行研究を含め、研究の目的と方法を扱う第１章に続き、第２章では、クシャーン期からグプタ期（紀元前２世紀から紀元後５世紀）にかけての初期のヴィシュヌ・クリシュナの図像を扱う。この章で扱う図像の特徴は次章の図像研究の基礎となっている。続く第３章と第４章が本論文の中核となる部分であり、第３章ではヴィシュヴァルーパの図像を持つ代表的な作品を地域・時代別に詳細に分析する。第４章は、主としてヴィシュヌ信仰に関わる文脈でヴィシュヴァルーパに言及する文献を扱う。そこでは、ヴェーダ、叙事詩、プラーナ文献中の図像規定の章、ヴィシュヌ信仰の最古の宗派と言われるパーンチャラートラ派の文献、建築・美術の専門書など、古代から中世にかけての多分野にわたる文献が検討されている。最後に第５章の結論では、第３章と第４章で別個に行った作品研究と文献研究の成果を総合的に考察する。さらに付属資料として、論者が見つけ出すことができた限りの、計４８体のヴィシュヴァルーパ像のコーパスと写真を付している。

本論文の功績として、すでに述べた研究方法に加え、以下の３点を挙げることができる。まず、網羅的でかつ詳細な、当該図像作品のコーパスの作成である。コーパスに含まれる４８体のうち、４世紀から８世紀にかけて作られたものについては、ほぼ論者がインドや欧米の博物館で実地に調査したものであり、今後のヴィシュヴァルーパ研究の基礎資料となりうる。特にコロナの防疫態勢のために海外での調査が非常に困難な局面で、これをやり遂げたことは高く評価できる。二つ目は、先行研究では指摘されてこなかった、当該図像作品の２分類である。そのうちタイプＩは上述の初期の図像であり、主として北インドとネパールに分布している。この図像については、『バガヴァッド・ギーター』第 11 章にその発想の淵源を持ち、そこに描写される、基本的にはあらゆる表現を超えた神性を、造形美術の伝統の中で視覚的に表現しようとして形成、発展したものと結論づけている。一方、タイプⅡの作品は主に東インドで１０世紀頃から制作されたものであるが、この図像は本論文の第４章で検討した、ヴィシュヴァルーパの図像規定の記述にほぼ対応し、ヴィシュヌの多種類の図像の一つとして規定に則って造られたと述べる。三つ目は、当該図像において、ヴィシュヌの化身が大きな役割を果たしている点である。猪や人獅子などのヴィシュヌの化身の造形は、グプタ期に非常にポピュラーになるが、上述の『ギーター』の神性顕現の場面ではまったく言及されない。この化身を示す動物の顔が当該図像に含まれるのは、造形美術伝統独自のものである。また、ヴィシュヌ信仰における化身思想の発達と十の化身リストの標準化に伴い、当該図像に表される化身の数も増え、最終的に十の化身となるのは、美術の伝統が思想伝統に敏感に対応していたことを示している。さらにタイプⅡの図像ではヴィシュヌは四面であるが、その四つの顔には猪と獅子が含まれており、明確ではないとはいえ、二つのタイプを結びつける鍵となっている。

　　以上、本論文はヴィシュヴァルーパと呼ばれるヴィシュヌの特異な図像の研究として価値があるのみならず、多神教的一神教であるヒンドゥー教の最高神の造形化を扱った研究という視点からは、インド美術史だけではなく、ヒンドゥー教史や宗教美術史全般に貢献しうると評価できる。しかし、まだ不十分な点はいくつかある。特に、最高神をヴィシュヴァルーパという言葉で描写する場合、そこに何が意図されているのかといった思想的背景は、本論文では扱われていない。もちろんそれだけでも大きなテーマとなってしまうが、この図像を理解するためにはもう少し思想的、神学的な側面の研究は必要であろう。

　　以上、審査したところにより、本論文は博士（文学）の学位論文として価値あるものと認められる。令和６年２月９日、調査委員３名が論文内容とそれに関連した事柄について口頭試問を行った結果、合格と認めた。

　　なお、本論文は、京都大学学位規程第１４条第２項に該当するものと判断し、公表に際しては、当分の間、当該論文の全文に代えてその内容を要約したものとすることを認める。