Curiosities of the Raj: Fanny Parkes' Collection of Indian Treasures

Nidhi Sobrun
Lycoming College

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Between 1757 and 1858, British colonial influence expanded under the East India Company, culminating in the direct rule of the British Crown, also known as the British Raj (1858–1947) in India. This period was marked not only by political dominance but also by the appropriation and reinterpretation of Indian art and cultural artifacts. Among the many British residents in colonial India was Fanny Parkes (1794–1875), a travel writer and collector whose works and acquisitions offer a window into the dynamics of colonial power, cultural representation, and the commodification of Indian heritage. Hence, this study examines the objects collected by Parkes, analyzing how her collections mirror the dynamics of colonial power. I also address how Parkes' collection raises ethical questions about these objects' ownership, their misrepresentation, and misunderstandings of Indian cultural heritage. By analyzing the history of Parkes' acquisitions, I explore the trading of Indian objects, as well as, whether Hindu deity figures faced treatment as commodities in Parkes' cabinets of curiosities. Ultimately, I explore whether Parkes' collection and subsequent display of Indian artifacts contributed to broader "orientalist tendencies" in nineteenth-century Britain.

In 1822, Fanny Parkes, a British woman, traveled to India with her husband, Charles Crawford Parkes, an employee of the East India Company who was stationed as a collector of customs in the Calcutta region in eastern India. While Charles was occupied with his work, Parkes immersed herself in Indian life, learning Hindi, horseback riding, and interacting with Indian women in the *zenana*. [1]

As her husband's postings moved the couple across India, Parkes often found herself in uninspiring environments, as expressed in her writing, such as Kanpur, located in the state of Uttar Pradesh (Northeastern India), prompting her to embark on independent travels and explore the country.[2] In turn, her early experiences sparked a deep and complex fascination with Indian culture.

From 1822 to 1846, Parkes documented her journeys in *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (1850), a travelogue chronicling Indian festivals, religious practices, architecture, and her collection of artifacts (Figure 1).[3] She also wrote about the different people she encountered and depicted them in hand-drawn illustrations in her book. In "Female collecting and curiosity in India and Britain," Joanna Goldsworthy examines Parkes' acquisitions and how they ended up in her cabinet of curiosities, which Parkes referred to as her "museum." Goldsworthy argues that Parkes' approach to collecting these curiosities was driven by inquisitiveness rather than a focus on creating a coherent representation of Indian culture. One of the examples included Parkes attending a fair called the *Bura Mela*, where she purchased curious objects such as Indian ornaments, bows and arrows, and some pearls. Interestingly, some of Parkes' collections ended up at the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[4]

The frontispiece in Parkes' travelogue reproduces an illustration that offers valuable insight into the curiosities within her collection (Figure 2). Appearing at the top of the frontispiece, written in Hindi is *SRI GŬNÉSHŬ*, which can be written as *Shree Ganesh*, and translates to Lord Ganesh in English. Parkes used Lord Ganesh in her illustration to demonstrate how Indian culture began their writings with symbols or words that invoked blessings or prosperity.[5] Below this text, she includes details of a rare and fascinating pair of magnificent cow-tails of the yāk or cow of Thibet, gifted to her by a friend. She had the cow-tails made into *chaunris* (fly-flappers) by attaching them to silver-embossed handles and decorating them with Himalayan deer horns. In the image, they appear to be mounted to the wall above an altar piece. The yak hair remained on the original bone and was pure white, which was considered the most valuable. The tails were brought by hill-men from Bhutan, while the deer horns came from Landour in the Himalayas. Importantly, however, in Hinduism the cow is revered as a sacred animal and a symbol of non-

violence, abundance, and motherhood. The prohibition against killing cows or separating their tails extends from the belief in cows' divine nature, a belief linked to various deities like Lord Krishna and Lord Shiva. In Hindu culture, it is believed that harming a cow disrupts spiritual harmony, which is why cows are treated with utmost respect.[6] In "Connecting the Local and the Global: The Imbrication of Histories, Theories, and Literatures in Post-Colonial Studies," historian Debjani Banerjee examines the dual nature of colonial women's narratives, which mix genuine interest in local cultures with imperialist perspectives. Parkes, while appreciating Indian traditions, viewed them through a colonial lens that cast her as both an admirer and a participant in cultural domination. Her writings and artifacts reveal a complex relationship: an appreciation for Indian culture tempered by cultural appropriation, echoing Banerjee's critique of colonial narratives.[7] Using a cow's tail for decorative purposes further underscores this tension as it contradicts the spiritual respect given to cows in Hindu society and can be seen as culturally insensitive. This act illustrates how Parkes' interactions with Indian culture sometimes overlooked its deeper symbolic meanings, prioritizing exotic appeal over cultural reverence.

Prominently displayed on the altar in the center, Parkes recounts how she acquired a large white marble image of Ganesh, featured in the frontispiece. A collection of fine marble sculptures had been brought from Jaipur (*Jeypore* used in the book) to be sold at a major fair. To purchase one, she sent a Rajput intermediary to negotiate with the seller. After lengthy bargaining, she successfully obtained the Ganesh statue. The seller hesitated to sell the idol directly to Parkes due to religious scruples but had no issue selling it to the Rajput, possibly because they were sacred religious symbols, and there was concern that outsiders, especially colonizers, would not treat them with the same respect as Hindus would. Selling them to Rajputs or other Hindus ensured that the deities were properly revered, while also preserving cultural and religious identity during British rule. To the left of the Ganesh statue, stands Lord Ram, the deified hero, holding his powerful bow. This white marble statue, adorned with paint and gilt, measures twenty-one inches in height, with its story detailed in a *Ram Leela* festival chapter that Parkes referenced in her book.[8] On the right of the Ganesh statue is Lord Krishna, a carved black marble figure measuring sixteen inches tall,

and according to Parkes, this figure plays a pipe. However, the "pipe" is more specifically a flute, and her generalization highlights a subtle misunderstanding of the specificity of objects associated with this Indian deity, thus demonstrating the ethical concerns of ownership, misrepresentation, and misunderstandings of Indian cultural heritage when interpreted by a colonial gaze. Specifically, the incorrect identification of Lord Krishna's flute as a "pipe" shows how Parkes, and possibly other colonial collectors, misinterpreted and thereby inadvertently distorted the actual cultural and religious significance of the objects they collected even in other ways not yet understood.

On the second step of the altar, situated to the right of the figure of Ganesh is a brass statue of a woman holding a *pancharty*—a five-wicked lamp used in *pooja* rituals.[9] The lamp, which features a handle, has small, mystically shaped receptacles designed to hold oil or ghee for lighting. Next to this brass figure, Parkes notes two small *chiraghs* (lamps) with lighted cotton wicks. These brass lamps were commonly burned before shrines and were prominently used during the *Diwali* festival, when temples and *ghats* were illuminated with thousands of similar lamps made from red pottery.[10] Beside the lamps is a small *lota*, a vessel used to carry Ganges water for bathing an idol. Close to these were two bells, essential tools for rituals (*pooja*). Parkes highlights the importance of bells (*gant'ha*) in Hindu rituals, noting their role in scaring away evil spirits during sacred ceremonies. She observes that bells were widely used in Hindu temples but were prohibited in Islamic traditions by the Prophet Muhammad, who considered them as superstitious relics. Indeed, the auditory element from the bells or conch shells enhance the spiritual atmosphere, signaling the commencement of rituals and reinforcing the connection between the physical and the divine realms, significant to the Hindu community.[11] The bells she describes were made of brass, with intricate handles: one featured two back-to-back images of Hanuman, another depicted Hanuman and Garuda, and a third was topped with a reclining holy cow. Parkes observes that the design of these bells varied depending on the deity being worshiped, and a possible example of what she may be referring to can be seen in Figure 3. Additionally, she describes a brass spouted vessel (*jari*) next to the bells, used to hold lustral water for rituals, and besides the *jari* were three more lamps. Through my visual analysis, I emphasize that Parkes' arrangement of these objects reflects her personal fascination

with Indian art and culture, which is made evident through her writing showing deep interest in the aesthetic and spiritual qualities of the objects. She does not record or provide specific details about the exact arrangement of the objects, but as a collector, she may have curated them in a way to express her appreciation for the intricate craftsmanship of Indian art, hence blending them to likely create visual harmony. Essentially, through the presentation on the altar of several cultural objects she collected, she portrays a view of Indian culture as rich, exotic, and highly diverse.

Alongside the lamps, Parkes describes a *Nāga Linga Nandi* sculpture carved from black marble on the altar, which is also displayed in the South Asia Gallery of the British Museum (Figure 4). As visible in this sculpture, the *Nāga*, or serpent, coils around the *Linga*, a phallic representation of Lord Shiva, symbolizing the primal forces of creation and renewal. Usually positioned in front, *Nandi*, the sacred bull, signifies loyalty and devotion, and serves as a protector of the divine presence of Lord Shiva. Together, these elements embody the concept of Shiva as the ultimate reality, with the *Nāga* representing cosmic energy and *Nandi* acting as the faithful devotee.[12] The figure in Parkes' illustration depicts *Nandi*, the sacred bull, kneeling and supporting a *Linga* on his back. At the center of the *Linga*, five heads of Lord Shiva emerge, with four heads supporting the fifth, and the head of a snake protruding above them. The sculpture features a beaded exterior, with another snake coiled within it, its tail extending nearly to the end of the figure. The scale is too small for clear depiction. Importantly, the *Nāga Linga Nandi* is a powerful symbolic triad in Hindu culture, representing a deep connection between cosmic energy, divine protection, and devotion. These figures are central in the rituals and temple art of regions like Orissa, now known as Odisha (Eastern India) where they enhance the spiritual atmosphere of Shiva worship, reflecting the balance of creation, destruction, and devotion. However, in this marble sculpture, the inclusion of five faces signifies different aspects of Lord Shiva. The five faces correspond to five key forms or attributes of Shiva, as described in various texts. These are *Sadyojata* (the Revealer), *Vamadeva* (the Concealer), *Aghora* (the Destroyer), *Tatpurusha* (the Cosmic Being), and *Ishana* (the Lord), which collectively embody the complete cosmic and transformative power of Shiva. The four faces typically represent the cardinal directions, with each face embodying

one of the classical elements (earth, fire, water, air), symbolizing Shiva's omnipresence and his role in the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe. And, the fifth face is considered the formless, upward-facing form of Shiva, representing his transcendent, infinite nature.[13]

On the first step of the altar at the feet of the black marble statue of Krishna, Parkes describes the sacred bull-mouthed shell. This shell is considered holy and is often used alongside flowers to decorate shrines. She references the white conch shell (*sankh*), in detail earlier in her writing, as one of the fourteen legendary treasures obtained during the churning of the ocean, believed to grant victory to anyone who sounds it. Parkes also notes the cultural significance of shell ornaments, such as bangles worn by women, as prescribed by the *Shastras*.[14]

Indeed, shell ornaments, such as conch shell bangles, are highly significant in Hindu traditions, symbolizing purity, protection, and auspiciousness, especially in bridal adornment. These items, often prescribed by the *Shastras*, are believed to have spiritual power, enhancing both physical and spiritual well-being while also signifying adherence to religious and cultural customs.[15]

Parkes also describes a polished, engraved brass *lota*, placed next to the conch shell. She mentions that the vessel was used to hold Ganges water, oil, or ghee, and water specifically used for bathing the idol during rituals. Nearby is depicted a brass image of *Devi*, a goddess often associated with Durga, though Parkes is unsure of her specific identity. In her right hand, the goddess is said to hold a mirror, and in her left, a small lamp of a mystic shape, similar to the boat-like *argha*. In the Hindu culture, *argha* is a variant spelling for *arghya*, and in Sanskrit it translates to "that which is worthy of being honored." The *argha patra* is a ritual vessel made from hammered sheet copper, with visible marks from the maker's hammer. One example has a small hole at the end of the pouring channel. The design is inspired by the *yoni*, a symbol of the female, and the vessel is used in *pooja* ceremonies. It is filled with water and held to pour over a deity's sculpture as an act of worship (Figure 5).[16] The goddess stood upon a tortoise, which was designed to hold Ganges water; the tortoise's head could be unscrewed to pour the liquid inside. The *Devi* was adorned with necklaces, bracelets, and large, thick earrings. However,

in Hindu culture, the Hindu River goddess Yamuna is the one often depicted riding a tortoise.[17]

At the edge of a step, next to the goddess, leans a small, circular copper plate with scalloped edges. In front of it is another small brass plate, engraved on the inside. Parkes also mentions lustral spoons, known as *sruva* and *druva* in Sanskrit, and called *pulahi* and *atchwan* by the Mahrattas and other Hindus. These spoons come in different forms, depending on the rituals or deities being honored. One spoon depicts the holy serpent, *Nāga*, covering Ganesh, another shows *Nāga* enveloping an unknown deity, and a third depicts the snake's hood covering Hanuman. However, these spoons can be crafted from either wood or metal, with copper being particularly favored in Sanatan Dharma due to its purity. In Hindu rituals, a *sruk* is a larger, spoon-shaped tool used to pour ghee into the sacrificial fire during a *yajna* (ritual offering) or Havan ceremony.[18] In contrast, a *sruva* is a smaller spoon used to collect and transfer the ghee into the *sruk* before it is poured into the fire. Essentially, the *sruk* serves as the primary vessel for pouring the ghee, while the *sruva* functions as a smaller utensil for gathering and moving the ghee into the *sruk* (Figure 6).[19] Further, besides the spoon is another large *argha.*

Parkes illustrates a rare and valuable brazen image of Ganga, or the goddess of the Ganges, the deified river, at the center of the shrine. She mentions that this idol represents the goddess Ganga seated on a crocodile, with one hand raised in charity, another in a gesture to dispel fear, a third holding a waterlily, and the fourth grasping a lota. She is considered the daughter of Mount Himavŭt (Mount Everest). Interestingly, the goddess Ganga is often depicted sitting on a "*Makara*" a mythical creature with a crocodile's head and a dolphin's body, symbolizing the dual aspects of the river as both destructive and life-giving. This representation connects Ganga to water's transformative power and its role in purification, with the Makara acting as a symbol of auspiciousness and fertility.[20]

Additionally, Parkes depicts a pair of small cymbals used by the priest during rituals. She writes that these cymbals were played in sync with the priest's chanted prayers, creating an auditory accompaniment to the sacred ceremonies. Moreover, Parkes illustrates a large, ornate brass dish containing a drinking cup, filled with either oil or holy water. She states that the cup is intricately carved, and alongside it is a small brass plate filled with rice, which

was placed on the idol's head as part of the offerings. The dish also holds sacred flowers, which are used to adorn the idol. Parkes mentions that devotees often carry these circular brass dishes filled with offerings to the shrine, especially in the early morning. Interestingly, in India, a "prayer thali" or "puja thali" is a decorative tray used in Hindu worship rituals. It typically contains a variety of items such as flowers, incense sticks, small oil lamps, a bell, turmeric powder, rice grains, and sometimes a bowl of water. These elements hold specific symbolic significance and are used to show devotion and respect to the deity being honored during the prayer. The arrangement and presence of these items play a crucial role in creating a sacred and reverent atmosphere for the worship ritual.[21]

Adjacent to the prayer thali, the next image Parkes describes is that of Hŭnoomān (Lord Hanuman), the monkey god, depicted carrying the figures of Lord Ram and Goddess Seeta on his shoulders in a commemorative act of their safe return from their long exile. Lastly, Parkes concludes by describing another pair of shells—a conch and a bull-mouthed shell—which are positioned in her shrine as part of the offerings to the statue of Ganesh. Based on my analysis of this frontispiece, the objects collected and displayed by Parkes were likely not arranged according to any specific Hindu custom or rituals. Instead, the curated composition emphasizes her personal interpretation and admiration of the Hindu culture rather than an adherence to religious or cultural traditions. Typically, Hindu altars and ritual spaces as such, follow precise rules about object placement, including deities, offerings, and incense. Her writings suggest that she admired the objects for their beauty and for what they symbolized in terms of the exotic allure of India to a British observer like herself, but not always from the perspective of understanding their deep cultural or religious meaning.

Notably, the British Museum's collection currently contains two carved black stone pieces once owned by Parkes, previously donated to the India Museum upon her death, and now part of the British Museum's collection (Figure 7). Interestingly, Parkes' descriptions of the artifacts provide little concrete detail about the objects themselves; however, her accounts of acquiring them, and her reflections on the people and culture she encountered, offer valuable insight on her collecting practices. These narratives highlight how colonial material culture shaped and mediated interactions between

colonizers and the colonized. For instance, Parkes showed her will to acquire the objects when she sent a Rajput intermediary to buy the statue of Lord Ganesh, knowing that the seller was hesitant to sell it to her. This practice bridges colonial power structures and individual interest driven by a passion to possess material culture of India at that time, showcasing how colonial women like Parkes navigated the complex intersections of gender, imperialism, and cultural exchange. While her written accounts offer valuable insights into Indian traditions, they also reveal the power dynamics inherent in the colonial enterprise, where admiration is often intertwined with appropriation and control. This layered complexity, as Banerjee suggests, is key to understanding Parkes' role as both an admirer of Indian culture and a participant in its colonial commodification.[22]

Moreover, upon further research on the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London, I located a necklace that belonged to Parkes, which is now part of the museum's South Asia Gallery collection (Figure 8). The necklace features ten tiger claws, each engraved with gold and linked by chains, suspended from a snake chain. It was made in India for the European market, rather than for traditional use, serving as an "exotic souvenir" for the British, as noted on the museum's website. The necklace was purchased by the V&A at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, where it was labeled as "modern work." While tiger claws in India were used as amulets believed to protect against evil, Parkes acknowledged in the second volume of *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (1850) that she had observed and adopted this local custom.[23] In her essay, "The Field Collector, Ethnographer, and Scholarly Networker: Annie Marion Rivett-Carnac and Her Collection of Indian Jewellery," museum manager at Hackney Museum in London, Niti Archarya highlights that the collecting practices of another female collector, Annie Marion Rivett-Carnac as well as Fanny Parkes reflect the broader role of women in bridging British and Indian cultures during the colonial era. Both women focused on everyday Indian life, collecting artifacts like jewelry and body ornaments that represented the lived experiences of local communities rather than elite or royal symbols. Rivett-Carnac's ethnographic approach involved documenting cultural and social contexts of Indian jewelry, positioning her as a pioneering female ethnographer whose work influenced European museum practices.[24] Similarly, Parkes'

collections, including items like the tiger claw necklace, offers a glimpse into her fascination with Indian customs. The tiger claw necklace, crafted for European markets but inspired by Indian amuletic traditions, exemplifies how British collectors like Parkes adopted and reinterpreted Indian objects for their own purposes.

Essentially, collections including Fanny Parkes' are examples of broader "orientalist tendencies" during nineteenth-century Britain, where objects of Indian material culture were exoticized and commodified as souvenirs of colonial encounters. The tiger claw necklace, for instance, was described as "modern work" at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, yet this designation distances it from its original cultural significance as a charm to ward off evil. This reframing reveals how colonial collectors adapted Indian artifacts to suit Western tastes, often stripping them of their cultural depth. Parkes, while a pioneering cross-cultural collector in her time, thus played into colonial power structures that commodified Indian culture for European consumption. Her approach to collecting and curating her cabinet of curiosities highlights the tension between genuine curiosity and the imperialist gaze, raising questions about how such collections were displayed and interpreted within the context of colonialism. Fanny Parkes' observations as she recorded them in *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* suggest that she admired Indian culture, but her admiration was often tinged with a sense of ownership and appropriation. She expressed wonder at the skill and craftsmanship of Indian artisans, and there was a genuine respect for the objects themselves. However, her admiration was often filtered through a colonial lens—one that positioned Indian culture as something to be admired, collected, and even "domesticated" by Europeans. The act of collecting and especially displaying these items in a foreign country like England contributed to the objectification of Indian culture, detaching the objects from their original context and making them part of an exoticized narrative. Her writings reveal a sense of cultural fascination, but this admiration was accompanied by a lack of understanding of the objects' significance to those within Hindu culture as well as the objects' deeper meanings within their own religious or cultural frameworks. Hence, by analyzing these collections, it becomes evident how Fanny Parkes, as a case study for women collectors in her time, both documented and perpetuated the exoticization of Indian culture in Victorian Britain.

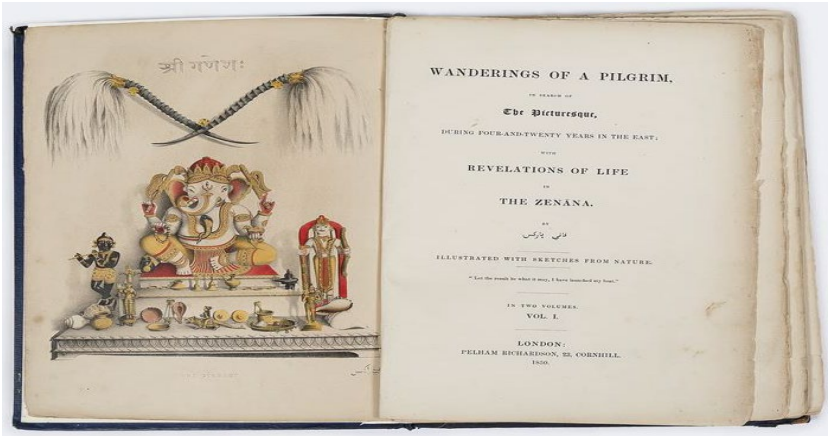

Figure 1. Image of Book frontispiece *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, *In search of the picturesque, during four-and-twenty years in the East; with revelations of life in the Zenna*, London: Pelham Richardson, 1850.

Figure 2. Fanny Parkes, Frontispiece Illustration *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, Volume 1 (of 2). 2024. Book Frontispiece.

Figure 3. Garuda and Hanuman Handheld Bell (Double-Sided Statue) in Brass. 6 inches. India. 2024. https://www.walmart.com

Figure 4. Linga. Pañcamukha with Nandi, 19th century, stone, 6.10 x 7.60 cm, The British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org

Figure 5. A pair of 19th c. Indian *Argha Patra*– (Water Pouring Vessels). 2024. https://www.wjmantiques.com

Figure 6. Image of the *sruk* on the right, *sruva* on the left. Facebook Marketplace.

Figure 7. Lower sections of an image-frame of Visnu in two parts showing attendant figures. Carved in dark grey sandstone, 12th century, 18.50 x 42 cm, https://www.britishmuseum.org

Figure 8. Tiger claw necklace, 43.5cm, India. 1865. (594-1868). https://collections.vam.ac.uk

Notes

[1] Zenana is the part of the house in which the women and girls of a family are secluded.
[2] "Fanny Parkes: Wandering Pilgrim in 19th-Century India."
[3] Parlby, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim*, 263-266.
[4] Finn and Smith, "*6 Fanny Parkes (1794–1875)*," 131-152.
[5] Shreenivas, *Spiritual Heritage and Cultural Symbols of India.*
[6] Pal, "The Sacred Cow in India: A Reappraisal," 53–62.
[7] Banerjee, "Connecting the Local and the Global," 55–61.
[8] *Ram Leela* translates to "Rama's play," which is a performance of the Ramayana epic in a series of scenes that include song, narration, recital and dialogue. Ramleela was of significance as it reflects the core values of Hinduism. It teaches the triumph of good over evil and light over darkness. Lord Ram's life comes as an example for us to follow. He teaches obedience and respect, loyalty, and duty.
[9] *Pooja* means the act of worship.
[10] *Diwali* is the festival of lights that symbolizes the victory of good over evil, light over darkness, and knowledge over ignorance. *Ghat* is a term used in the Indian subcontinent to refer to the series of steps leading down to a body of water.
[11] Shivhare, Niharika, Imam, and Gour, "Sound Effect of Bells."
[12] Chaturvedi and Dwivedi, *Linga Purana.*
[13] Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa.*
[14] *Shastras* are Hindu scriptures that are a collection of spiritual laws passed down by Hindu sages and saints. The term "*shastra*" can refer to any book, treatise, or teaching instrument on any subject, including religious ones. An example could be the *Ramayana.*
[15] Athira, "Bridal Ornamentation and Gender Performances in India," 139–53.
[16] Singh, *Hindu rites and rituals.*
[17] Bhadula, et al., "Cross Cultural Views on Nature with Special Reference to Indian Culture," 141.
[18] Singh, *Hindu Rites and Rituals.*
[19] The *Havan* ceremony is a sacred fire ritual performed to invoke divine blessings. It typically involves offerings such as ghee, herbs, and grains poured into a fire while chanting mantras. The fire is considered a purifier, and the ceremony aims to establish a connection with deities and the cosmos. During the ritual, participants make offerings, ask for prosperity, and seek protection from negative influences. The ceremony also holds

significant spiritual meaning, symbolizing the transformation of offerings into spiritual energy through the sacred fire. *Sanatan Dharma* refers to the eternal or timeless law that governs life and existence in Hinduism. It is often understood as the philosophical foundation of Hinduism, encompassing the core principles that guide human life towards righteousness, ethical conduct, and spiritual growth. These principles are universal and not bound by time or place, offering a path that aligns with the cosmic order. *Sanatan Dharma* is rooted in texts like the Vedas and the Upanishads, and it promotes values such as truth, non-violence, compassion, and respect for all living beings. Unlike free thinker practices or temporal laws, *Sanatan Dharma* emphasizes the eternal laws that govern the soul's journey through different lifetimes, aiming at liberation (*moksha*) from the cycle of birth and rebirth.

[20] Warrier, *Kamandalu*.

[21] Sashital, *Worship Essentials for Puja*.

[22] Banerjee, "Connecting the Local and the Global," 55-61.

[23] Parlby, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim,* 385.

[24] Acharya, "The Field Collector, Ethnographer, and Scholarly Networker," 506–520.

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