met with in the Sāmavidsāna Brāhmaṇa (I.4.18) of the sixth or fifth century B.C. Of his several names as known from subsequent lists, he seems to have been alluded to also in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VII. 26.2) where Sanatkumāra, the counsel of Nārada, has been identified with Skanda. Skanda and Viśākha find separate mention in Patañjali’s Mahābhāshya, the names apparently representing two different aspects of the same god. A study of different legends about the origin of Skanda-Kāṛttrikeya seems to indicate that a single god emerged out of the fusion of concepts of different gods or godlings of an allied character, mostly belonging to the primitive and tribal world. And with such an unorthodox background Skanda-Kārttikeya also entered the Buddhist and the Jain mythologies and pantheons.

The earliest plastic representation of the god is found on the reverse of a few gold coins of Huvishka with names of Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha (Vīzago); while one coin of the same king bear three figures within a frame with the inscription Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahaśena, on others a figure of a two-armed deity carrying a sword and a peacock-standard in its hands, is described as Mahaśena. It therefore stands to reason that Skanda-Kāṛttrikeya is a composite god and in the early part of the second century A.D., or earlier, his different aspects or constituents being in worship in Northern India. To more or less of the same period belong some copper coins found at Ayodhya bearing the motif of a cock-crested column, and a red sandstone cock carved in the round discovered at Lala Bhagat (Kanpur Dt., U.P.). While these antiquities corroborate the literary evidence relating to the connection between the cock and Kāṛttrikeya, it is to be noted that cock or peacock is one of the main cognizances of the god and in later sculptures he is usually found as seated on a peacock. Another special attribute of Kāṛttrikeya is his spear (śakti). Thus his effigies with spear and

148 Percy Gardner, CCBM (GSK), pl. XXVIII, 22; Whitehead, CCPM, p. 207. D. R. Bhandarkar’s remark that there were four figures corresponding to four different deities (Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 22-3) does not bear scrutiny. J. N. Banerjea has rightly pointed out that ‘if these coins prove anything, they prove that there were three gods—or rather three aspects of the same god—viz., Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahaśena.’ Op. cit., p. 146.

149 Smith, CCIM, p. 151, nos. 29, 31, 32; Allan, CCBM, pl. XVII, 22.

150 For details, see P. K. Agrawala, Skanda-Kāṛttrikeya (Varanasi, 1967), pp. 45-46, pls. III-VI. The column with a cock-capital bears on it, among others, the figure of the Sun-god riding on a quadriga, thus emphasising the solar association of Skanda. According to the Mahābhārata story (Vanaprava) Skanda came out of the solar orb and was born with the sun-like effulgence.

151 For a discussion on Skanda-Kārttrikeya’s association with cock and peacock, see Dasgupta, THAI, pp. 220-21.
peacock are found on some coins issued by the Yaudheyas and Kumāragupta I. On the specie of this Gupta monarch the god is seated on his mount. But iconographically most interesting representation of Kārttikeya is seen in his six-headed figure appearing on a series of coins of the Yaudheyas, a tribe traditionally known as votaries of the god. The legend on those coins has been read as Bhagavato svāmino Brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya, '(coin of) Brahmanyadeva Kumāra, the worshipful lord.' The six heads of Kārttikeya as found on these coins, as well as in a few sculptures answer to the description of the god with six heads as found in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere. As to the other sculptures depicting Kārttikeya, with six heads, mention may be made of a post-Gupta bronze statue, now in the National Museum; in it five heads have been arranged along the borderline of the halo of the central head, all the heads having matted locks. Images of Kārttikeya with one head, either standing or seated, are abundant. Of the standing type, reference may be made to a tenth-century image originally belonging to a Puri temple. This beautiful sculpture shows the god standing in a slightly bent graceful pose; his left hand is placed on a cock (partly broken) which is held upwards by the female attendants on the god's left side, his broken right hand possibly holding a spear; the peacock has turned his head back striding to left. Though normally Kārttikeya is found with two hands, his four-armed figures are also not unknown. An example is furnished by a relief at Ellora which is specially interesting on account of the presence of two animal-headed human figures as the god's attendants—the one on the right being goat-headed standing for the Chhāgavaktra aspect of the god, the other on his left possibly bearing the head of a donkey being a Skunda-Parishhada. As regards the consort of Kārttikeya, Devasena or Shashthi is also represented on the coins of the Yaudheyas with six heads like her husband. The one-headed female deity appearing on the Yaudheya coins may also be regarded as the consort of Kārttikeya.

Dikpālas: Next comes a group of deities known as the Dikpālas or Lokapālas ('guardians of the quarters of the world'). Originally their number appears to be four but later on the number was raised

152 For details about these coins, see THAI, pp. 202ff, 216ff, 219ff.
153 East and West, XVIII, nos. 3-4, 1968, p. 319, fig. 1.
154 DIII, pl. XVII, 1.
155 Ibid., p. 367.
156 For the illustration of the six-headed Devasena, see THAI, pp. 203-04, CN 112-18; and for a discussion on her identity, ibid., pp. 221-22.
to eight. These Dikpālas are: Indra, the lord of the east; Agni, of the south-east; Niṛīti, of the south-west; Varuṇa, of the west; Vāyu, of the north-west; Kubera, of the north and Iśāna, of the north east. Kubera and Iśāna, apparently alluded to in the Mahābhārata under the names Vaśravāna and Siva and described as laukika devatās (folk gods) therein, may be regarded as deities who came to limelight towards the close of the second century B.C. Barring them the rest find mention in the Vedic literature and of them again Indra, Agni and Vāyu constituted the Trinity in the Rigveda. In the Buddhist and Jain traditions too there is a place for the Dikpālas, the number varying in different texts of the respective sects.

As in the case of other divinities, the number of hands and the attributes of the eight Dikpālas (eshtadikpālas) vary in different texts. Though mostly the animal-mounts were assigned to them in a late period, each of them has, however, his own special mount. From the textual evidence the Dikpālas are found to have had their respective attributes, mounts and mudrās. Indra has the elephant as his vāhana, thunderbolt, goad and kuṇḍi as attributes, and abhaya and varada as mudrās; Agni's vāhana is the ram, and his attributes are śakti, lotus and kamandalu and his mudrā is varada; Yama rides on the buffalo and his attributes are pen, manuscript, cock, staff and noose; Niṛīti's vāhana is the monkey and he carries khadga, khetaka, katri etc.; Varuna rides on the crocodile and has noose, lotus and kamandalu as attributes and varada as mudrā; Vāyu's vāhana is the antelope and he holds a flag; Kubera has the elephant as his vāhana and gadā, nidhi, bijapura and kamandalu as his attributes; and lastly, Iśāna, riding on bull, holds gadā, triśūla, serpent and bijapuram.

One of the earliest representations of Indra has been recognised on a railing at Bhaṭā where the deity seated on his mount wears a turban. A similar turbaned figure is also depicted in the art of Sanchi. In the arts of Gandhara and Mathurā Indra appears along with Brahman as an acolyte of Buddha. The trend to illustrate the scene of Indra’s visit to Buddha in the Indraśālaghā and thereby to associate him with Buddha in these arts may also be mentioned in this connection. Indra along with a few other Dikpālas make their appearance on the basement wall of the monument at Paharpur where he is seen standing before his elephant-mount, and is exhibiting vara in his right hand and an indistinct object (citrus?) in the left; he is endowed with his characteristic third eye placed hori-

158 A/A, fig. 42.
159 K. N. Dikshit, Excavation at Paharpur (MASI, 55), pl. XXVII d. It is to be noted that at Paharpur the Dikpālas are not always seen in their respective canonical
zontally on the forehead. Agni, whose earliest representation is figured on the coins of the Pañchāla ruler named Agnimitra of the first century B.C.160, appears at Paharpur with an aksha-
sūtra and a kundikā in his hands and with flames surrounding his body; like Indra he is also standing, but his vāhana is absent.161 In a medallion from the Bhumara temple Yama appears with his 
danda, though his vāhana is absent.162 Another figure on the Paharpur basement wall, usually identified with Varuna, is actually a re-
presentation of Vāyu, since what is regarded as the pāsa is the char-
acteristic bellowing scarf of Vāyu, the ends of which he is holding in his two hands.163 Incidentally, the manner in which the deity holds the ends of his bellowing scarf is reminiscent of that of the 
Zoroastrian wind-god, Vāta (OĀDO), who is figured on the coins of 
Kanishka and Huvishka.164 In Orissa the Dikpālas first appear on the 
jagamohana of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubneshwar, each in an independent panel, though not in their respective positions.165 They are sculptured in their appropriate positions and with their characteristic attributes and vāhanas in later temples, such as the Rājarājī and the Brahmaśvara (see Vol. IV).

The Navagrahas, who are still venerated in different parts of 
India, are Sūrya (Sun), Soma (Moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Budha 
(Mercury), Brahmaśpati (Jupiter), Sukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu and Ketu. In some texts166 they have been assigned chariots and/or 
animal-mounds. Their attributes and other characteristics also vary in 
different texts. One of them prescribes the following attributes in 
positions. The image of Indra has thus been put on the basement of the south-eastern 
side. At Bhumara the deity appears in his appropriate position. For a noteworthy 
seated specimen of Indra, see MLA, pl. 242.

160 Comp. History of India, II, pl. VII, fig. 3; CCBM, AI, pl. XXVIII, 8, 13, 14, etc; CCIM, pl. XXII I. Mme. Bazin Foucher interprets this figure as Bhūmiṣṭha and recognizes him also on the coins of Bhūmintra of Pañchāla. Études d'Orientalisme, Musée Guimet, I, p. 145.

161 Dikshit, K. N., op. cit., pl. XXXII b. Here Agni appears on the south-eastern 
wall in keeping with the textual prescription. The mutilated figure to his right may 
be identified with his consort Svāhā.

162 Banerjee, R. D., Siva Temple at Bhumara (MASI, 16), pl. XII c.

163 K. N. Dikshit, op. cit., pl. XXXII a. Dikshit identified this figure with Yama 
and S. K. Saraswati (Early Sculpture of Bengal, Calcutta, 1962, p. 72) with Varuna. 
The Vishvudharmottaram (III, 58, 1-2) passage on which our identification is based 
runs as follows: Vāyuva-pūrītavastraścha devidhī bhu pānī samyutah kārīyo 
ghita-vastraśatbh karūbhyaṃ pavamo diya.

164 CCBM, GSĀ, pl. XXVII, 6; CCPM, pls. XVIII, 83, 91, X-XX, 155.

165 ARB, pp. 70-71.

166 Cf. the Matsya- and Vishvudharmottara -purāṇas and the Aparajīta-prichchhā and 
Silparaśana.
the hands of the Planets: \(^{167}\) padma and khaḍga of Ravi, kuṇḍikā and jāpamālā of Soma, sakti and akṣhamālā of Maṅgala, chāpa and akṣha of Budha, kuṇḍelī and akṣhamālā of Bṛhaspati and Śukra, kiṅkiṇī and sūtra of Sani, ardhaḥchandra of Rāhu, and khaḍga and dīpa of Ketu. Representations of Navagrahas are usually encountered on the lintels or architraves above the doorways of the temples. A fragmentary panel from Sarnath, now in the Indian Museum, is perhaps the earliest representation of these Grahas. Assignable to the Gupta period, it now contains the figures of Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Sani and Rāhu, all being two-armed; the first three of them are seen gracefully standing, each having a halo behind his head and an akṣhamālā in his right hand; the left hands of Bṛhaspati and Śukra carry in each case a water-vessel, while that of Sani, being broken, makes it impossible to determine the emblem held in his relevant hand; the awe-inspiring Rāhu has been shown only up to the breast and his hands are disposed in the tarpana- or anįjali- mudrā; the relief ends with Rāhu and hence it is presumable that Ketu lately appeared in the group, at least icono-plastically.\(^{168}\) That the representation of Navagrahas in art is later than the Āṣṭāgraahas seems to be borne out, inter alia, by the Orissan examples, the earlier of which omit Ketu. The slabs of the Sāṭrūgheśvara and Paraśurāmēśvara temples carrying the effigies of eight Planets which antedate the Navagraha panels of the eleventh century Līṅgarāja temple, for instance, will substantiate the point.\(^{169}\) Another interesting fact is that in some mediaeval illustrations the Navagrahas are preceded by Gaṇapati (e.g., the relief found at Kankaradighi, 24 Parganas, now in the Asutosh Museum, cf. Vol. IV). As regards their stance, the Planets are usually shown as standing, though specimens depicting them as seated are not altogether rare.\(^{170}\) Similarly, panels showing the Planets with mounts, which are later than those without vāhanas, are also known.

Mention be made of a few other groups of deities like the Āṣṭa- Vasus, Īlaṅgā Rudras and Dvādaśādityas. The earliest representation of all these three groups are met with in the famous Varāhāvatāra relief at Udāva-giri. All of them have been recognised among the figures arranged in three registers on Varāha-Viṣṇu’s left. The top register consists of twenty-two figures, of which the first two are Brahmā and Śiva, while the twelve reliefs immediately follow-

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\(^{167}\) Agnipurāṇa (Vangavasi edition), ch. 51.

\(^{168}\) DHI, pl. XXXI, fig. 1.

\(^{169}\) ARB, pp. 26-28. Ashṭagraha slab of the Sāṭrūgheśvara temple is now in the Orissa State Museum.

\(^{170}\) Cf. the aforesaid Ashṭagraha slab of the Sāṭrūgheśvara where the deities have been shown as seated.
ing them and showing circular halos with a row of radiating lines near the edge signify sun’s rays and thus represent Dvādaśādityas; while the remaining eight figures of this first register may be identified with Ashtā-Vasus, the first eleven figures in the second row, all ithyphallic and distinguished from the remaining nine of the line, collectively stand for Ēkādaśa Rudras.\textsuperscript{171} Aja-Ekapāda, one of these Rudras, appears not unoften in the mediaeval art. One of his earliest representations is supplied by a rare terracotta relief recovered from Rangmahal (Rajasthan), now on display in the Bikaner Museum; in this early Gupta relief the deity is shown as one-legged and goat-headed and as carrying a basket of flowers in his left hand and raising his right hand upwards.\textsuperscript{172} Separate images of Ādityas are rare, but examples showing eleven Ādityas together with Sūrya, also an Āditya, thus making up the requisite number, have been reported from different parts of India.

Before we pass on to the semi-divine beings like Yakshas, Nāgas, Gaurdarvas, Kinnaras etc., mention may be made of two deities of lesser note. Images of Revanta, the son of Sūrya and Saṅjñā, and also the king of the Guhyakas (hosts), are encountered in different parts of India. A fifth-century headless image of the god from Nagari (Rajasthan) shows him on a horse-back with his left hand pulling the bridle and the right bearing a cup of wine; he is accompanied by his attendants (one of them is holding an umbrella over him) and a dog is seen near his right foot.\textsuperscript{173} Another example of about the seventh century, found at Tumain, depicts, in addition to the usual features, flying celestials, Ganeśa, Sūrya and other divinities on either side of Revanta.\textsuperscript{174} Kāmadeva, the god of love, perhaps appeared for the first time in a terracotta plaque (now in the Mathura Museum) of the first century A.D., in it he is seen standing in a flowery field with a sheaf of arrows in the right hand and a long sugarcane bow in the left;\textsuperscript{175} later he usually appeared with his consorts, Rati and Trishnā, as instanced by a Patna Museum specimen (exhibit no. 6046) of about the tenth century, where these ladies are depicted as dancing with their hands locked above their heads.

\textsuperscript{171} JAS, V, 1963, pp. 100 ff.
\textsuperscript{172} Lalitkāla, 8, pl. 24, fig. 15. Also Bharatiya Vidya, XX-XXI. 1960-61, pp. 306-07 pl. VIII.
\textsuperscript{173} D. R. Bhandarkar, Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari (MASI, IV), 1920, pp. 125-26. pl. XV b. The absence of any figure in Rao’s book may be explained by the extreme paucity of images of Revanta in South India.
\textsuperscript{175} For this terracotta figure, see V. S. Agrawala, Indian Art, p. 316, fig. 241. Kāmadeva appears with his consorts, for instance, on the walls of the Siśirśvara and Uttareśvara temples at Bhuvaneswar.
The Hindus have also reserved their veneration for the Nāgas and demi-gods (*devayoni*) like the Yakshas, Vidyādharas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Apsaras. They even respect Rākshasas and imps and evil spirits like Kabandhas and Kumbhanḍas, all of whom figure not infrequently in early Indian literature and can be collectively described as Vyantara Devatās (intermediate divinities), to borrow an expression from the Jaina canonical literature. The worship of such Vyantara Devatās was widespread before the systematisation of the Brahmanical pantheon and the Buddhists and Jainas also held them in esteem. Of them the Yakshas and Nāgas appear to have constituted the most important group. A typical Yaksha is pot-bellied (*tuncila*) and wears long waist and chest-bands and broad breast-chain (*graiveyaka*), among others; and as illustrations mention may be made of statues discovered at Parkham (near Mathura), Patna and Pawaya (near Gwalior); carved in the round, these massive and noteworthy sculptures belong to the Maurya-Śunga period. Yakshas also appear in early Buddhist art of India as represented by the relics of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati and the accompanying identificatory labels give their names, such as Virūdhaka, Kubera, Gāṅgeya, Supravāsa, Sūchiloma and Chandramukha. Yakshiṇīs, like their consorts, were also depicted in early Indian art, representative examples being the free-standing sculptures discovered at Besnagar and Didarganj (near Patna); datable to the Śunga period, they express charmingly the female beauty and feminine qualities, and of them the Didarganj statue, which is much better preserved, shows the Yakshiṇī with a *chouri* in her left hand. Many terracotta figurines of the Maurya-Śunga period unearthed at various sites also portray the Yakshiṇīs, one of the best hailing from Tamluk (West Bengal).

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176 The Vyantara Devatās of the Jaina texts are Piśāchas, Bhūtas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Kimpuruhśas, Mahoragas (Nāgas) and Gandharvas. The Buddhist works (e.g., the *Nudesa*) also refer to most of them, in addition to Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Agui, Chandha, Śūrya etc. In the *mautra* which the Hindus recite in the *tarpunā* and *grāddha* homa, homage is paid to most of these semi-divine beings.

177 Figures of these Yakshas are reproduced in many books on Indian art. For Parkham Yaksha, *Comp. History of Indiā*, II, pl. XXXVII, Patna Yaksha, *ibid.*; Pawaya Yaksha, *ibid.*, pl. XL. Reference may be made to a Trimukha Yaksha found at Rajghat and now on display at Bharat Kala Bhavan, cf. *Chhavi* (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Museum), p. 342, figs. 491-94. For a few other Yaksha figures see Agrawala, *SIA*, pp. 133-36.

178 Like the above-noted Yaksha sculptures the present Yakshiṇī figures are also reproduced in many works on Indian art. However, for Besnagar Yakshini see *Comp. History of Indiā*, II, pl. XXXVIII, and Didarganj Yakshini, *ibid.*, pl. XLI. There is a Śālabhājīśikā type of Yakshiṇī sculpture in the National Museum, found at Meharauli, this is contemporaneous with the Besnagar and Didarganj Yakshiṇīs.
now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.\textsuperscript{179} As in the case of Yakshas, the art of Bharhut and cognate repertories has supplied us with names of several Yakshiṇīs, such as Chandra, Sudarśanā, Kshudrakokā, Mahākokā and Srīmā (the prototype of Srī-Lakṣmi \textit{ante}, p. 890); each of them has distinctive traits, as for instance, Chandra stands on a horse-faced \textit{makara} and Sudarśanā on a \textit{makara} with a rhinoceros-tace.

The earliest evidence of the age-old Nāga cult is perhaps furnished by two seals unearthed at Mohenjo-daro. Both of them bear figures of a deity seated in the \textit{yoga} posture flanked by two kneeling figures with serpentine features, though it is not clear whether the snake-body is attached to their back.\textsuperscript{180} Some of the early representations of the Nāgas of the historic period include the figures mentioned as Elāpatra and Chakravāka in the accompanying inscriptions on the Bharhut railings; both of them are all human, except the five snakehoods attached behind their heads and they have been shown in the \textit{namaskāra mudrā} in honour of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{181} Of the several Nāga images, hailing mostly from the Mathurā region and datable to the Kushāṇa period, that from Chhargaon is justly famous; in it the seven hoods of the serpent form a part of a complete serpent whose coils can be seen at the front and at the back of the sculpture; the dual nature of the serpent-deity is manifest in the human figure standing in front of a polypecephalous serpent.\textsuperscript{182} Nāginīs are seen not unoftent with the Nāgas and as illustrations mention may be made of the queen and daughter of Elāpatra depicted in the aforesaid Bharhut relief; like Elāpatra they are all human, but each with only one hood. That the Nāga cult lately dwindled in importance is apparent from the fact that in the Gupta and later periods the Nāgas and Nāginīs appeared in the role of accessories to the higher cult-gods, specially Vishnu. Sesha, the chief of the Nāgas, and/or his consort are portrayed in the Varāhāvatāra representations, each with his and/or her upper part as that of a human being and the lower that of a serpent.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{179} J\textit{ISOA}, X, 1942, pp. 94-102, pl. IX, Saraswati, \textit{ESB}; pp. 98 ff; 110 ff; fig. 38.
\textsuperscript{180} Marshall, \textit{MIC}, III, pls. CXVI, fig. 29 and CXVIII, fig. 11.
\textsuperscript{181} Barua, \textit{Bharhut}, III, pl. LXI, fig. 69. Also \textit{Comp. History of India}, II, pl. X, middle register of the first slab.
\textsuperscript{182} J. Ph. Vogel, \textit{Archaeological Museum at Mathura}, pp. 88-89; also Vogel, \textit{Indian Serpent Lore}, p. 42, pl. V a-b. The sculpture was carved in the 40th year of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka. For a similar Nāga image found at Nagaria near Mathura, see Agawala, \textit{SIA}, p. 173. It may be noted that Mathurā was a very important centre of the Nāga cult, which was widespread in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era.
\textsuperscript{183} Cf. the Udayagiri Varāhāvatāra relief, \textit{AIA}, pl. 109.
The Vidyādharas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras constitute a group, as it were. Generally the Vidyādharas are human in appearance, whereas the Gandharvas are hybrid; the upper half of the Gandharvas are human with wings attached to their shoulders and the lower half bird-like. They appear as attendants of the central cult-deity (or his emblem) either with garlands in their hands or in the act of throwing flowers on him. They are encountered in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati of the second-first century B.C., as well as in the Mathurā repertory of the early centuries of the Christian era. In the Mathurā art of the Kushāna age the Vidyādharas have been sought to be distinguished from the Gandharvas, as exemplified by the figuration of the Vidyādharas on the top portion of the prabhāvali of the Katra Buddha.\textsuperscript{184} The same practice was followed in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, when, however, an advancement was noticed in the simultaneous depiction of the male and female Vidyādharas, the male ones occasionally carrying swords in their hands.\textsuperscript{185} The artists of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods portrayed the Gandharvas as well; instead of showing them in the flying pose they depicted the hybrid Gandharvas as playing on musical instruments just above the makara motif on either side of the principal figure. Such male and female Gandharvas are often seen in the art of the times, as for instance in the frescoes of Ajanta. Mythologically, the Kinnaras are, like the Gandharvas, divine musicians and they have either a horse’s head with a human body or a human bust with a horse’s body. And with Gandharvas and other demi-gods they figure in early Indian art of Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-gaya etc.\textsuperscript{186} A noteworthy specimen of a Kinnara couple is furnished by a medallion from the Deogarh temple in which each of them is human, except the bird-like feet and the wings attached to the upper part of the human body; besides they have interesting voggle eyes.\textsuperscript{187} The Apsarās have no distinctive characteristics and they are sought to be depicted as exquisite damsels in Indian art from early times. Names of some of these Apsarās have come down to us from the inscriptions which accompany their dancing figures in the art of Bharhut, as for instance, Miśrakeśī, Alambushā, Subhadrā and Padmāvatī. Inspish spirits like the Kabandhas and Kumbhāndas (Kushmāṇḍas?) are also met with in early Indian art, as for instance, in the arts of Amarāvati, Gandhāra and Mathurā. Kabandhas are endowed with an additional head on their belly, while the Kumbhāndas have testicles like pitchers (kumbha-mushka). The latter are found in

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., pl. 71.
\textsuperscript{185} Cf. a ceiling medallion at Badami datable to the 6th-7th century, AIA, pl. 135.
\textsuperscript{186} Agrawala, V. S., Indian Art, figs. 27 b-d. 187 DIII, pl. XVI, fig. 1.
the Mathurā art in particular. Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, may also be assigned to the class of the demi-gods, but for his esteemed position on account of his close association with a major Hindu god, he has been discussed along with Vishṇu (supra, p. 872).

The practice of worshipping village godlings is seemingly of a remote antiquity. It is as old as the Indus civilization, as far as can be reasonably conjectured. Numerous images of such village deities are encountered even now and one of these deities, once widely worshipped in the South, was Jyeshṭhā and in respect of popularity she came close to other divinities of the orthodox pantheon (ante, p. 892). As the efigies of these village godlings are mostly late, they need not be discussed here. Images of a few other semi-divine beings includes the figures of the Dvārapālas (under the names such as Chaṇḍa, Pra-chaṇḍa, Jaya, Vijaya etc.) and Dvārapālikās, carved on the walls of the entrances into the shrines of the male and female deities respectively; they display the characteristics of the respective principal divinities, whose temples they guard. Apart from saints and sages, such as Agastya, Nārada, Bhrigu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra (the last-named one is distinctively figured on some coins of the Audumbara tribe of the first century A.D.), who mostly appear as attendants of the central deities like Vishṇu and Śiva, cult-icons of eminent religious reformers like Saṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya, Mādhavācārya and Śrī-Chaitanya, who are also available.

SYNCRETISTIC DEITIES

The present discussion on Brahmanical iconography would be incomplete without a reference to the group of composite and syncretistic icons illustrating the rapprochement among different Brahmanical sects themselves as well as between Brahmanical creeds and Buddhism or Jainism. Thus in spite of occasional rivalry and jealousy among the Brahmanical cults or among the Brahmanical and Buddhist sects, which finds expression in some Brahmanical and Buddhist icons such as Nrisīṁhāvatāra. Śarabhesha, Ekapāda, Trimūrti and Hari-Hari-Hari-vāhanodbhava Lokeśvara, followers of diverse sects maintained in general cordial relations among themselves.¹⁸⁸ This spirit of reconciliation was but natural in the thought-life of a people which was permeated by an underlying monotheism going back to the age of the Rigveda (cf. the observation ekaṁ sat vīpṛḥ bahudhā vadanti, 1. 164. 46; that is, the sages call him—the sun-god in the present context—under different names). The elemental cult-syncretism manifest in the system of worship known as Paṅchāyatana pūjā

¹⁸⁸ For discussion on Sarabhēṣa, Trimūrti and Hari-Hari-Hari-Vāhanodbhava, see Volume IV.
which was evolved by the Śmārta Hindus in the early centuries of the Christian era received an impetus from the early immigrants into India, such as the Sakas, Pahlavas, Kushāṇas and Huṇas, all of whom had an eclectic bent of mind. In fact, some of the earliest examples illustrating this syncretistic tendency belong to them. In this connection mention may be made of a gold coin of Huvishtaka which bears on its obverse the figure of the three-headed and ithyphallic Śiva with the chakra of Vishnū held in one of its hands and thus it may be justly described as the prototype of the composite Hari-Hara icons of later days.  

A noteworthy representation of Hari-Hara of about five centuries later has been met with at Badami; in it the composite god carries a battle-axe with a snake entwined round it and a conch-shell (the respective lāṭchhanas of Śiva and Vishnū) in his rear hands and places his front left hand on hip (the front right hand is damaged); the Hari (left) and Hara (right) halves appear to have been clearly demarcated by the jatā-and kirtā mukūtas as well as the sarpa- and makara- kundalas respectively and this demarcation is further accentuated by the presence of the bull-faced Nandi and Pārvatī on the right and Garuḍa and Lakṣmi on the left. One of the earliest effigies of Ardhanārīśvara, now in the Mathurā Museum, illustrative of the combination of the Śiva and Pārvatī (i.e., of Śaivism and Sāktism), shows the composite divinity holding a round mirror in the left hand and exhibiting the abhayamudrā in the right, the Pārvatī or the female half having been expressed in the swollen bosom. The Ardhanārīśvara figures at the caves of Badami and Ellora are four-armed, carrying attributes like paraśu, kamala, darpana etc. It may be noted incidentally that in examples obtained from Northern and Eastern India the composite deity is characterised by the ūrdhva-liṅga (penis erect) feature; one of the earliest of them is carved on the north wall of the Śiśuṇātha temple at Baramba (Cuttack, Orissa). Iconographically the most notable Ardhanārīśvara type is perhaps represented by the so-called Trimūrti icons, of which the most eminent is encountered at the Elephanta; this eighth-century example portrays the placid and terrific aspects (the front and right faces respectively) of Śiva as well as the face of Pārvatī (the left one); the composite god holds serpent rosary, mātruśuṅga and a lotus in the

189 CCBM, GSK, pl. XXVIII, 16.
190 DIII, p. 546, pl. XLVI, fig. 3.
191 Ardhanārīśvara seems to have been alluded to in the Vishnu-dharma-tīṣṭram (III. 55-58) as Gauriśvara. South Indian images like those of the Mahabalipuram and Kanchipuram do not show the ūrdhva-liṅga feature. In some later specimens (e.g., one at Kumbhakonam) the composite deity in endowed with three instead of four or more than four hands. An interesting dancing Ardhanārīśvara image can be seen at the base of the Jagamohanā of the Pāraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneswar.
four out of his six hands, the objects held in his other two hands being indistinct. A similar image, but smaller in dimension, is encountered in a niche on the eastern wall of the Mukhalingeśvara temple at Mukhalingam (Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh); this also belongs to the eighth century. The positions of the ghora face of Śiva and the face of Pārvatī are reversed in some instances, one of which has been found at Dandan-uiliq (Khotan); the Khotanese piece represents the painted version of the Ardhanārīśvara theme. Images illustrating the combination of Śiva and Sūrya are also available, though they are not as prolific as the Hari-Iśvara and Ardhanārīśvara figures. Usually known as Mārtanda-Bhairava, the composite god is represented by a few such examples, most of which, being late, are reserved for discussion in the next volume. Similarly, icons illustrating the syncretism between Sūrya and Viśnu and Sūrya and Brahmā are also available and they will also be discussed in the succeeding volume.

Before closing this section, mention may be made of the specimens exemplifying the syncretism between the cults associated with more than two divinities. In some of them Hari-Iśvara and Pitāmaha (i.e., Brahmā) are portrayed together, while in others either four or all the five deities of the Brahmanical pentad are represented. Dattātreya, the other name of the combined form of Hari-Iśvara and Pitāmaha, figures in the elaborate list of the Avatāras of Viśnu and is represented, inter alia, by two sculptures. Of them the first, obtained from Katara (Rajasthan) and now on display in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, shows Brahmā, Viśnu and Śiva with his consort Pārvatī in one line, all being seated: the three-faced Brahmā (his back face is invisible in the relief) is carrying a manuscript and a vessel in his left hands while his right hands are broken and below his seat is a couple of swans; the central figure is of Viśnu who is being seen uplifted by his mount, Garuḍa, and of his four hands the only surviving upper left holds a chakra; the remaining left portion of the slab is occupied by Śiva along with his consort sitting on his left thigh and the divine couple is seated on the bull-mount, the upper left hand

192 AIA, pls. 253-55. Rao described this image as Sadāśiva-mūrti (op. cit., II, pp. 882-83). For its correct description credit goes to J. N. Banerjea (Arts Asiatiques, II, 2, 1955, pp. 120-26; Sundaram, a now-defunct Bengali art journal, 1957-58, special number, pp. 163-68). For a slightly earlier image of similar nature at Ellora, see Burgess, Cave Temples of India, pl. LXXV, fig. 2.

193 Aurel Stein, Innermost Asia, I, p. 129; HILA, fig. 285. Now in the British Museum, this painted panel shows the four-armed composite deity as ithyphallic and as seated on a cushion which rests on a couple of bulls; the central face of the god which is moustached is blue, the right face white and the left face yellow.
of Śiva going round the neck of his spouse (his other hands are damaged); the bottom register of this composition of the ninth-tenth century contains six figures of which Gaṇeśa and Bhringi are recognisable. The second slab hailing from Jageswar (in the Kumaon district, U.P.), more or less contemporaneous with the preceding relief, depicts the deities in the standing posture with their respective characteristics, all of them being four-armed. A syncretistic icon of the tenth or perhaps of the eleventh century on the wall of a small shrine near the Lakshmana temple at Khajuraho shows an eight-armed composite deity combining Sūrya, Vishnu, Siva and Brahmā; the emblems and the mudrā displayed by different hands are the twain lotuses (distinctive of Sūrya), akhasutra, sarpa, k- maṇḍalu, saṅkha and varamudrā, one of the hands being broken. No less interesting are the phallic emblems which bear on them the effigies of different divinities. One of them, now in the Indian Museum, has on it the figures of Gaṇapati, Vishnu, Pārvatī and Sūrya and thus it symbolises the syncretism of all the five major Brahmanical deities, the Sivalinga itself standing for the central god, Śiva. A similar phallic emblem, now in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, carries on it three-faced Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva and Sūrya; unlike the previous one it has the figures of Brahmā and Śiva in places of Gaṇapati and Pārvatī, the appearance of Śiva in his human form thus endowing the object with the character of the Mukhaliṅga as well.

Syncretism took place also between Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, and images illustrating the phenomenon are not uncommon. In the statues styled Vishnu-Lokeśvara, Śiva-Lokeśvara and Śūrya-Lokeśvara a small effigy of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the top of the crown of the Brahmanical deity in each case is met

194 CGRMA, p. 23, pl. V. Rao who also noticed this relief describes it as a ‘remarkable piece of sculpture’, op. cit., I, p. 254. If this sculpture is described as Dattātreya, an incarnatory form of Vishnu (note that the principal figure is of Vishnu), the attendant figures are to be regarded as his Brahmā and Śiva aspects. There is another specimen in the same museum in which the three god-concepts seem to have been fused into one; the figure carries in its hands the śūla, the chakra, the kmaṇḍalu and the akshamāla (?) and on its pedestal are carved the padma, the Garuḍa and the bull, the respective emblems of Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva.

195 K. P. Nautiyal, Archaeology of Kumaon, Varanasi, 1969, fig. 67.

196 Urmila Agarwal, Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance, Delhi, 1964, fig. 67.

197 CGRMA, p. 16, pl. II. The topmost part of this Śivalinga bears four busts with matted hair on four sides, the figures of Brahmā, Vishnu, etc. are just beneath these busts. Like the Indian Museum specimen this also belongs to the late Gupta period.
with. All such statues, being mostly late, are reserved for discussion in the next Volume. As Jainism is more affiliated to Hinduism than Buddhism, many of the subsidiary members of the Jaina pantheon are direct borrowals or the Jaina versions of the Brahmanical divinities. The Dikpālas, the Yaksha and Yakṣiṇī attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the Śrūta- or Vidvā- Devīs as well as the deities like Harinegarmeshi, Ambikā and Kusumāndini articulate the syncretism between Hinduism and Jainism.

BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāṇa in or around 486 B.C. But a few more centuries were required for the emergence of a regular cult and a system of iconography centering round him. The tradition that Buddha allowed to make his image from his shadow fallen on a piece of cloth to the painters employed by Bimbisāra is late, but it anticipates the need for a cult object to represent the living figure of the Master. The first datable image of the Buddha belongs to the reign of the great Kushāna emperor, Kanishka (78-102) and it is reasonable to believe that the devotees of the Master, who looked on him as a transcendental being, did not like his representation in human form. Whenever they wanted to portray him, they did it by some symbol, e.g., the wheel, the tri-ratna, the throne, the Bodhi tree, the stūpa and the footprints. This is clearly attested by the remains of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgāvā and Amaravati of the second-first century B.C. Anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha does not seem to have emerged in Indian art much before the middle of the first century A.D.

Buddhist iconography was perhaps first articulated in the art of Aśoka. The free-standing pillars with animal-capitals at places to Basarh, Samkissa, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Rampurva, Sarnath etc., as well as the elephant-sculpture at Dhauli and the drawing of an

198 A similar tradition has it that a sandalwood statue of the Buddha was carved during his life-time. This image has been attributed by Fa-hien to Prasenajit of Sravasti (Legge’s translation, p. 56) and by Hucn-tsang to Udayana of Kaśānī, whose example was imitated by Prasenajit (Julien’s translation, I, pp. 283, 296; Beal’s Records I, pp. xlv and 235; II, p. 4).

199 Coomaraswamy has discussed the part played by symbolism in early Buddhist art in his Elements of Buddhist Iconography. It is to be noted here that in the Jātaka illustrations, Bodhisattva appears as a human being, when the story relates to his human form in some of his previous births. This may be exemplified by a fragment of a railcopying of Bharhut depicting the Vessantara Jātaka (HIIA, fig. 47). Symbolism persisted even in the iconic phase of Buddhist art in later days.
elephant on the north face of a rock at Kalsi, are confined to the
depiction of four animals, viz., lion, bull, elephant and horse, all
of which are mythologically connected with the Buddha. As
regards the wheel, another characteristic element of Asokan art, it
may be suggested that the wheels, each with 24 spokes, on the abacus
of the Sarnath capital stands for dharmachakras which the Bud-
dha set rolling to four quarters. Again, a big wheel originally crown-
ing the lion capital at Sarnath consisting of 32 spokes may be regarded
as symbolising the Master himself, the very embodiment of his
dharmaśarira endowed with 32 chief signs of the Supreman (mahā-
purushalakṣaṇas). This explanation of the character of Asokan art
seems to get further support from the art of Śrī-laṅkā, origins of which
are linked with Buddhism; while in Śrī-laṅkā the same animals are
found carved on some early moon-stones as well as on some pillars
discovered at old sites like Aṇurādhapura, bronze figures of these quar-
drupeds have been recovered at the cubical cells of the eighth-cen-
tury Vijayārāma monastery. This will appear to be a natural pheno-
menon if viewed against the background of the religious faith of Aśoka
which was undeniably Buddhism. Moreover, in consideration of the
prevailing psychological climate which enjoined the presence of the
Buddha in plastic activities only through symbols, the art of Aśoka
characterised mainly by the said animal figures and marked conspicu-
ously by the absence of the human figure of the Master, seems to
have been the legitimate predecessor of Buddhist art of Bharhut-
Sanchi-Bodhgaya-Amarāvatī.200

The subject-matter of the carvings on the railings and gateways
of the stūpas at Bharhut, Sanchi etc., includes, inter alia, scenes
from the Jātakas and from the life of the Blessed One as well as the
symbolic representations of the Māṇushi Buddhas who flourished be-
fore Gautama Buddha. The stories of the Jātakas dwelling on the
numerous previous births of Gautama either as a man or as a lower
animal appear to have been popular with the common masses, as
evidenced by their depiction in the art of Bharhut-Sanchi-Bodhgaya-
Amarāvatī. Some of these Jātakas, as for example, the Vessantara
Jātaka, earned popularity even outside India. The tone of the Jātakas
is edifying: Gautama in each of his previous births as Bodhisattva
(one who possesses the essence of Buddha and is in process of ob-

200 See the author’s article, ‘Asokan Art—why and how far Buddhist’, PIHC,
XXX, 1969, pp. 56-60. Evidence of Buddhist art of pre-Asokan days is untraceable,
presumably because plastic efforts in those days were made in perishable media like
wood, clay, cloth etc. During the reign of Aśoka, too, such impermanent materials
were in use, particularly among the masses.
taining Buddhahood), whether in the form of a man or of a bird or of a beast, spared no pains to qualify himself for the attainment of Buddhahood by performing noble deeds, sometimes even at the cost of his life. Thus in the Mahākapi Jātaka\textsuperscript{201} the Bodhisattva, is portrayed as making a great sacrifice by forming with the help of his body a bridge over the Gaṅgā for the escape of his fellow monkeys, when they were attacked by the king of Vārānasī and his retinue; as the story goes, the monkeys safely landed on the other bank, but the last one (his rival Devadatta in previous birth), out of animosity, violently jumped on his back and thus killed him. As a six-tusked elephant, in the Cīhaddanta Jātaka\textsuperscript{202} Bodhisattva gave his life out of compassion for the royal hunter by allowing the latter to saw off his own tusks. In the Vessantara Jātaka\textsuperscript{203} the Bodhisattva appears as a generous prince of the Sibi kingdom, who not only gave away the rain-producing elephant to the drought-stricken people of Kalinga, but also went to the extent of sacrificing his wife and children to the supplicants. All such popular Jātakas are depicted in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi etc., with varying degrees of details. The Jātakas, in the Sanchi art, for instance, are treated in some detail and not summarily as in the representations at Bharhut. The Sanchi and Bodhgaya reliefs are mostly without any identificatory labels, while the majority of the Bharhut representations are accompanied by such labels. In the art of Amarāvatī some of the Jātaka scenes, are condensed, some are detailed. Quantitatively, the representations of the Jātakas at Bharhut are more prolific than at Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Amarāvatī. The Jātakas are also found as forming an important subject-matter of the art of later period, as exemplified by the Gandhāra sculptures and the paintings at Ajanta and more, they are not of uncommon occurrence in the Buddhist art of countries outside India.\textsuperscript{204}

\textsuperscript{201} AIA, pl. 31b and N. G. Majumdar, \textit{Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum}, pl. 1 (Delhi: 1937) pl. Xa; for the Bharhut relief; Debala Mitra, \textit{Sanchi}, New Delhi, 1957, pl. IVa for the Sanchi relief; C. Sivaramamurti, \textit{Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum}, pl. LXXXIII, 122, for the representation at Amaravati, etc., etc.

\textsuperscript{202} For the representation of the Cīhaddanta Jātaka at Bharhut, see Majumdar, \textit{Guide}, pl. IX a; at Amaravati, see Siva-rāmamurti, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. LXXVII, 128; at Gandhāra, see Harold Ingholt, \textit{Gandharan Art in Pakistan}, pl. I, fig. 1, etc; etc.

\textsuperscript{203} See Coomaraswamy, IIIIA, fig. 47 (for the fragmentary relief of Bharhut), Siva-rāmamurti, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. LXIII, fig. 5; at Goli in Andhra Pradesh, see Debala Mitra, \textit{Buddhist Monuments} (henceforth BM), photo 127; at Gandhāra, IIIIA, fig. 93.

\textsuperscript{204} As for example, the representation of the Cīhaddanta Jātaka in the painting of Ajanta, see A. Foucher, \textit{The Beginnings of Buddhist Art}, London, 1914, pl. XXX;
Like the Jātakas events of the life of Gautama Buddha find depiction in the repertory of the above-noted places and obviously in these life-scenes the Master is never seen in his human form. His presence is invariably indicated by means of symbols, as for instance, a throne under a tree (the bodhi-druma, i.e., the aśvattha tree under which Gautama attained enlightenment) and a stūpa symbolise respectively his sambodhi and parinirvāna. Traditionally, the main incidents of the life of the Buddha are known as Eight Great Miracles (āsīṭa-mahā-prātiḥārya) and the places where they occurred are called Eight Great Places (āsīṭa-mahā-sthānāni). These eight sites, all located in Majjhimaṇḍa, the Buddhist land par excellence, not only divided the relics of the Blessed One, but also his legends, among themselves. The Master was born at Lumbini (Rummindei, 2 miles north of Bhargampur in the Nepalese taksil of that name), attained his Enlightenment at Gayā (Bodhgaya in the Gayā district, Bihar), delivered his First Sermon at Mārgadāva (Rishipattana or modern Sarnath, near Benares) and passed away at Kuśinagara (Kasia in the Deoria district of U.P.). To this list of four major sites was subsequently added four more: at Sravasti (Saheth-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Baharaich districts of U.P.) Gautama performed a series of miracles (e.g., fire and water coming out alternately from the upper and lower parts of his body, multiplication of his own image etc.) in order to confound the six heretical teachers. at Saṅkāśya (Sankissa in the Farrukhabad district of U.P.) he descended from the Trayastīrimā heaven to earth in company of Sakra and Brahmā by means of a staircase of beryl provided by Sakra, at Rājagriha (Rajgir in Bihar) he tamed the mad elephant named Nālagiri which was let loose by Devadatta for killing him and at Vaiśāli (Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar) he received a bowl of honey from a monkey. Apart from these eight miracles, other episodes of the life of the Buddha were also chosen by the artists of the period under review. These incidents include, inter alia, the Dream of Māyādevī, the Great Departure of Gautama (mahābhūthinīkramaṇa) from the palace, the offer of boiled and swee-

205 The relative importance of, Lumbini, Bodhgaya, Sarnath and Kuśinagara, is apparent from the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (V. 16-22) which recommends them to be places of pilgrimage. The square bases of the little stūpas of Gāndhāra as well as the stelae of Amaravati bear representations of the miracles associated with them. The Nativity scene is substituted by the Great Departure (mahābhūtinīkramaṇa) scene in the Amaravati stelae.
tended milk-rice to him by Sujātā, the royal visits of Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit and the offering of homage by the Nāga king Erāpatra.

From the second century B.C. onwards all such events of the life of Gautama Buddha came to be depicted in art and, as said above, in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi etc. the presence of the Master in every instance was indicated by means of one or more symbols. Witness on a Bharhut rail-pillar the depiction of the Enlightenment scene; a throne, surmounted by two triratna symbols placed under a bodhi tree and flanked by two worshippers and viewed by two deities above who are whistling with joy and waving their upper garments, symbolises the great incident; the panel contains the identificatory label. Similarly, the descent at Sañkāśya by a triple ladder has been symbolised by a footprint marked on the topmost step and another on the lowermost one (the central ladder for the Buddha and the side ones for Sakra and Brahmā). In the Vaiśāli miracle represented at Sanchi the presence of Tathāgata is indicated by a vacant seat below his bodhi tree, a monkey with a honey-bowl approaching that seat. With the overcoming of injunction regarding the depiction of the Master in human form in the first century A.D. there appeared a tendency to portray the miracles in a group. A sandstone relief found at Mathura (now in the Mathura Museum) and assignable to the second century A.D., depicts among others, the five scenes from the life of the Blessed One; from left to right (from viewer’s point) they include parinirvāṇa, First Sermon, descent from Trayāṣṭiśāra heaven, Māraddharsa (assault of Māra who attacked him) and Nativity; understandably in all these scenes Gautama is represented in human form. A sculptured panel of about the fifth century, now in the Sarnath Museum, bears the representations of the major Miracles, viz., Birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon and Demise. Another panel of the collection of the same museum and of the same time portrays all the Eight Miracles. Though stereotyped stelae compositions portraying the Miracles tended to be popular in the Gupta and early mediaeval periods, single-incident examples

206 Majumdar, Guide, pl. VIII b. For this scene at Sanchi, see Fouche, op. cit., pl. II B.
207 Barua, Bharhut, III. pl. XLVIII, fig. 48; AIA, pl. 32, fig. b (below). In the representation of the scene at Sanchi (Mitra, Sanchi, pl. IV B) the footprint is substituted by a bodhi tree. For a Gandhāra specimen, see Ingholt, op. cit., fig. 116.
208 BM, photo 15. For a Gandhāra instance, Ingholt op. cit., fig. 115.
209 HIIA, fig. 104. For another contemporaneous relief from Gandhāra, ibid, fig. 91.
210 Dayaram Sahni, Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum, pl. XIX, fig. a.
211 Ibid., pl. XIX, fig. b.
were also not unknown. Miracles of Srāvasti and Saṅkāśya, for instance, appear to be the favourite themes of the artists of the period. 212

Gautama Buddha was preceded by six Buddhas, viz., Vipaśyī, Sikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa and the prevalence of their worship among the Buddhists is confirmed by their representations in Buddhist art. Further support to this contention is provided by the Nigali Sagar edict of Aśoka which refers to the enlargement of a stūpa erected in honour of Kanakamuni by the Mauryan monarch. Five of these past Buddhas, except Sikhi, are represented in the art of Bharhut, understandably by means of their characteristic tree-symbols along with identificatory labels. 213 In the art of later days some times all the seven Buddhas, including Gautama, are found represented, evidently in anthropomorphic form (infra, p. 931). 214

Conceptually and icono-plastically, Gautama Buddha, the Buddha of the present age, is an ideal great man who possesses as many as thirty-two auspicious physical marks (dvātṛiṇīsa mahāpurushalakṣaṇāni). 215 These signs of greatness include a top-knot on the head (ushṇīsa), a tuft of fine hair between the eye-brows (ūrṇā), long arms reaching up to the knees (ājānu-bāhū) and webbed fingers of hands and feet (jālāṅguli-pāni-pada). Artists of Gandhāra and Mathurā who first carved the anthropomorphic representation of the Master, appear to have conformed to this ideal of great man. Conceptual and stylistic reorientations of subsequent days discarded, however, some of these marks of greatness, such as the tuft of hair and the webbed fingers.

From the point of view of stance, the Buddha images are divisible into three classes: standing (sthānaka), seated (āsana) and recumbent (sāyana). The Blessed One, while standing, usually dis-

212 For the Srāvasti Miracle Scene, see BM, photo 14 (also the Way of the Buddha, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, section III, fig. 30); the Sankāśya Miracle scene, The Way of the Buddha, section III, fig 33 (it is a relief of the ninth-tenth century and is now in the Patna Museum).

213 For the Bharhut medallion of Viśvabhū, for example, see AIA, pl. 32, fig. b. (above).

214 For a specimen of about the ninth century, now in the Indian Museum, see The Way of the Buddha, section V, fig. 72.

215 The ‘Mahāpādaśā’ and ‘Lakkhānasuttantas’ of the Dīghanikāya enumerate these thirty-two major signs (dvātṛiṇīsa Mahāpurushalakṣaṇas), later eighty smaller signs (anuvyājanāna lakṣaṇas) were added to the list. For a list of all these lakṣaṇas, see Albert Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India (London, 1901), pp. 161-62. Not a few of these signs are also extolled in Brahmanical works. A late text like the Sambuddha-bhūṣita-pratimā-lakṣaṇa mention all these signs as well as anatomical measurements of the ideal figure of Gautama Buddha.
plays the *abhaya* in the right hand, holding the folds of the robe in the left; and occasionally shows both the *abhaya-* and *varada- mudrās*. In his seated representation the Tathāgata may exhibit in addition to the *abhaya* and *varada* three more *mudrās*, viz., *bhūsparśa*, *samādhi* and *dharma*chakra. In both the standing and seated images an upper garment (originally a *shawl*-like piece) is generally draped over the left shoulder, leaving the right bare and sometime this robe is found to cover both shoulders; the drapery clings closely to the body. In the reclining form the Great Teacher is shown as passing away, lying sideways on a couch between two *śāla* trees with attendants like Ananda, Kāśyapa and Vajrapāṇi; in later times these accessory figures were either curtained or totally omitted (e.g., in the Miracle compositions).

Portrait statues of the Master emerged simultaneously in Gandhāra and Mathurā, presumably in response to the popular impulse which demanded the creation of a tangible form of the Buddha. Not only the common masses, but the Sarvāstivādins Buddhists as well who were in prominence both in Gandhāra and Mathurā, postulated the necessity of the Buddha image. The demand was seemingly supported by Kanishka the Great, since the first unmistakable and datable image of the Master appears on his coins with the identifying legend in the Greek characters *Boddo*. Though the problem of the relative priority of the Gandhāra and Mathurā Buddha figures has not yet been decided by resolved, earliest specimens of the respective ateliers have proved beyond doubt that they were created independently. The stylistic differences between the Gandhāra and Mathurā types are indeed obvious. Thus the halo in the Gandhāra figures is plain while it is scalloped at the edge in the Mathurā specimens. The Gandhāra Buddha is occasionally moustached, while the Master never appears with moustache in the Mathurā art. The seat of the Great Teacher in Gandhāra is a lotus, whereas it is a lion-throne (*śīhāsana*) in Mathurā. In other words, the first images of the Buddha were fashioned by the artists of Mathurā independent of the Gandhāra tradition.

Yet these palpable icono-plastic differences between the Buddha figures of Gandhāra and Mathurā were missed or ignored by earlier scholars like Foucher and Grünwedel who laid claim for the Gandhāra artists to have turned out the first image of the Buddha.217

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216 *HIIA*, pl. XXX, fig. 123, Gardner, *CCBM*, GSK, pl. XVII, 2, for the seated Buddha figure on the coins of Kanishka, see Whitehead, *CCPM*, pl. XX, viii.

They based their theory on the Apollo-like figures of the Blessed One and the general Hellenistic tenor of the cognate productions of the early phase of the Gandhāra School. Challenging this Western origin theory Coomaraswamy maintained that the characteristic iconographic features such as the posture, the nimbus and the mudrās of the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures (the Mathurā people hesitantly called the Buddha images as the Bodhisattvas)217a are traceable in early Indian art before the emergence of the Buddha image in the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā.218 According to him, the standing Buddha is derived from the standing Yaksha primitives of the type of Parkham, Patna and Deoriya of a date earlier than the Buddha statues of Gandhāra and Mathurā, whereas the seated image of the Master has its prototype in yogi-like figures in some Bharhut reliefs as well as similar effigies found on a few specimen of Maues and Kadphises I and also on some early Ujjayinī coins.219 Though Coomaraswamy did not form any theory as to the priority of either school in the absence of any precise evidence, he was inclined to presume on general grounds a priority for Mathurā.220

Early examples of Buddha or Buddha-Bodhisattva having a significant bearing on the question of the time and place of the origin of the Buddha image include, inter alia, Friar Bala’s Bodhisattva at Sarnath dated in the third year of Kanishka (i.e., A.D. 80-81),221 the Katra222 and Anyor Buddha-Bodhisattva223 with inscriptions palaeographically close to that of Friar Bala’s specimen, the representation on the coins of Kanishka already noted, a few Buddha figures recently recovered from the stratified site of Saikhan Dheri near Charsada in Pakistan,224 the reliquary found at Bimaran in Afghanistan225

217a Iconographically, the Buddha is shown in monastic gown, while the Bodhisattva in secular royal costume. In later times the Buddha also occasionally came to be portrayed in royal crown and ornaments (cf. BM, photo 32).


219 For the reproduction of the relevant coins of Maues and Kadphises and the Ujjayinī specie, ibid., figs. 6, 8, 9. The figure on these coins cannot be definitely said to be that of the Buddha.


221 HIIA, fig. 88.

222 Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, p. 46, pl. VII.

223 Ibid., p. 48, pl. VIII.

224 For the report of the excavation at Shaikhan Dheri by A. H. Dani, see Ancient Pakistan, II (1965-66). For reproduction of some of the Buddha figures from Shaikhan Dheri see K. Walton Dobbins, The Stūpa and Vihāra of Kanishka I, Calcutta, 1971, pls. V. figs. 11-12, figs. 14-16.

225 HIIA, pl. XXIV, fig. 88.
and the inscribed relic casket of the time of Kanishka discovered at Shah-ji-ki Dheri.\textsuperscript{226} To this list of finds may be added a beautiful figure of the Master recently recovered from Kunduz in Afghanistan, which also belongs to the reign of Kanishka (of the regnal year 5, i.e., a.d. 82-83).\textsuperscript{227} Apart from Friar Bala’s Bodhisattva, the representation on Kanishka’s coins, the seated figure of the Buddha with his right hand raised in abhayamudrā borne by the lid of the Shah-ji-ki Dheri relic casket and the Kunduz example, all of which indisputably belong to the reign of Kanishka, the couple of statues of the Tathāgata encountered in the stratum II at Saikhan Dheri is also assignable to the period of the great Kushāna monarch. In other words, the full-fledged iconic type of the Buddha was in worship in the reign of Kanishka in the Gandhāra region, though in Mathurā and the Gangetic valley the followers of the Master still hesitantly described his images as Bodhisattva obviously due to the age-old injunctions forbidding the anthropomorphic representation of the Master.

If the reign of Kanishka witnessed the prevalence of the Buddha images in numbers (many Gandhāra images stylistically belong to his reign), the conventions of the anthropomorphic representation of the Blessed One were fixed prior to the accession of the Kushāna monarch. The Bimaran reliquary bearing the standing figure of the Buddha flanked by Indra and Brahmā (the Shah-ji-ki Dheri image is also flanked by Indra and Brahmā), found in association with the coins of Azes II, is stylistically a product of the pre-Kanishka period; it may be placed some time in the middle of the first century a.d.

Should we then give the Gandhāra artists the credit of turning out the first image of the Buddha? The answer is by no means certain. The combined testimony of the Bimaran reliquary and the datable image of Friar Bala makes out a \textit{prima facie} case for Gandhāra, but the assumption that Friar Bala’s figure or any of the extant figures carved in Mathurā was the first of its kind ever made does not seem to be valid. It is equally inconceivable that an image exported to Sarnath or Saikhan Dheri fashioned in Mathurā is one of the first Buddha images ever made. ‘However quickly the fashion developed, however great the prestige of the Mathurā ateliers may already have been, some time must have elapsed between the first acceptance of the type in Mathurā and the development of a general demand for Mathurā Buddha images at other and distant sites throughout the Ganges valley.’ It is reasonable to believe that the Buddha images were made in Mathurā in or soon after the mid-

\textsuperscript{226} \textit{Ibid.}, fig. 89. Also Foucher, \textit{BBA}, pl. XV.
\textsuperscript{227} \textit{BEFEO}, LXI (1974), pp. 54 ff., pl. XXXI.
dle of the first century A.D. And to this period also belongs the Bimaran reliquary, at least there is no definite evidence to prove an earlier date for it. The situation was indeed correctly assessed by Coomaraswamy when he pronounced that 'the earliest Buddha types in each area are in the local style'. Icono-plastically, there is hardly any difference between the early Buddha and Bodhisattva figures, whether fashioned in Gandhāra or in Mathurā. If the artists of Mathurā or their clientele described their Buddha images as the Bodhisattvas, it was due to the hangover of the old injunction forbidding the representation of the Master in human form. Relatively the artists and the followers of the Buddha were unfettered by such injunction and hence the appearance of the Buddha figure with the identificatory legend Boddha on the coins of Kanishka. In other words, earliest Buddha images appeared simultaneously in the ateliers of Gandhāra and Mathurā and the extant evidence is too imprecise to phrase a conclusion as to the priority of either school.

Though in respect of the Buddha image in particular and art style in general, the Gandhāra and Mathurā schools developed independently, they came in contact with each other with resultant mutual influences with the passage of time. The phenomenon was on view as early as the reign of Kanishka. Of the two Shaikhan Dheri images, as noted above, one is an import from Mathurā228 while the other,229 though a product of the Gandhāra, demonstrates Indian elements like the cross-legged seance and the meditative eyes. Besides the iconographic formulae (e.g., abhayamudrā of the Buddha and the aṅjalimudrā of Indra and Brahmā), Indian motifs like the dress of the Indian deities, the ducks in the lower relief frieze, and the top-knot in the hair-style of some of the Erotes and other figures, are also visible in the well-known Kanishka reliquary. That the Indian influence was on the increase is apparent in later examples like the Buddha figure from Mamané Dheri (near Charsada) of the year 89 (equivalent to A.D. 167, if referred to in the Kanishka era),230 the standing Buddha figures from Loriyan Tangai and Hashtnagar (the dates recorded in the inscriptions on their pedestals are respectively 318 and 384 of an unspecified era, and if they are referred to in the Old Saka Era of c. 170 b.c.,231 the corresponding dates would be A.D. 148 and A.D. 214) and a standing Buddha image

228 Dobbins, op. cit., pl. V, fig. 12.
229 Ibid., pl. V, fig. 11.
230 John Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra (henceforth BAG); pl. 85; fig. 120. The relief is now in the Peshawar Museum.
231 K. Walton Dobbins first suggested it in his Saka-Pahlava Coinage (Varanasi, 1970) pp. 130 ff and also in the Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, VII,
from Jamal-Garhi of a date not far removed from that of the Hashtnagar statue. The Mathurā school was also not absolutely unaffected by the Gandhāra idiom, as exemplified by some products of the second-third centuries A.D. Besides an actual Gandhāra piece found in Mathurā and another showing an imitation of a Gandhāra prototype also recovered from the same region, we have, among others, two reliefs portraying the Master in different positions (standing, seated and reclining). In a few other specimens the Gandhāra influence is discernible in the use of the mantle covering both shoulders of the Tathāgata. This mutual influence notwithstanding, the outstanding character of the development is one of stylistic Indianization in Gandhāra, and one of adherence to the Mathurā type in the Ganges valley, subject to the normal stylistic evolution which marks the transition from Kushāṇa to Gupta types.

The rich repertory of the Buddha images of all the three varieties (i.e., standing, seated and recumbent) of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods is a clear testimony to the increasing popularity of the icon worship which constitutes a characteristic feature of the Maḥāvīra Buddhism. Stylistic differences between the products of the pre-Gupta and the Gupta and post-Gupta periods are not far to seek. Aesthetically the seated Aichicchhatra Buddha (now in the National Museum) exhibiting the abhayanudrā belonging to the early Kushāṇa period is more earth-bound than the Sarnath Buddha (in the Sarnath Museum) in the attitude of preaching his First Sermon assignable to the Gupta age; while the former gives little evidence of spiritual experience, the latter transcends the physical frame as a result of inner strength and vision. Icono-plastically, in the Aichicchhatra example the top-knot of hair is arranged in a distinctive snail-shell (kapardā), while the hair of the Sarnath Buddha is broken up

1970, pp. 29-30, that the Old Saka Era refers to 171-70 B.C., plus or minus 10 years. Later B. N. Mukherjee has tried to pinpoint the initial year of this era to 170 B.C. on the basis of the Tochi records, see Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Saka Era (Varanasi, 1973). For the Loriyan Tangai image, see Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II, pl. XXI, no. 1; BSOAS, XXXIII, 1970, pl. 1. For the Hashtnagar sculpture see Konow, op. cit., pl. XXII, no. 10.

232 GAP, fig. 202.
233 Now in the Mathura Museum, this was reproduced by Burgess in his Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India (London, 1897), pl. 50-57.
234 ASI, AR, 1906-7, p. 15.
236 Ibid., figs. 51, 52, 62, 63.
238 BM, photo 23.
239 Ibid., photo 9; also HIIA, pl. XLII, fig. 161 and AIA, pl. 103.
into rows of short peppercorn curls along the horizontal gores; and further, unlike the former the latter image is characterised by the transparent drapery. It may be noted here that these stylistic conventions regarding hair and drapery as seen in the Sarnath Buddha earned popularity not only in different art centres of India proper, but also in Gandhāra and abroad. The exceptions to these conventions are not rare altogether, as exemplified by the smooth head of the Mankuwar Buddha of A.D 448-49.240 Of the countless elegant sculptures of the Master of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods mention may be made of the life-size bronze Buddha from Sultanganj in Bihar (now in the Birmingham Art Gallery),241 the above-noted Sarnath Buddha and the colossal recumbent figure of Kasia dedicated by Dinna of Mathurā, all belonging to the Gupta period. Some of the prolific centres of the post-Gupta and early mediaeval periods that have yielded images of the Buddha and several other icons of Buddhist divinities in different media like stone, metal, stucco and terracotta include Kauśāmbi, Srāvastī and Sarnath in U.P., Nālandā, and Kurkihar in Bihar, Jhewari in Bangladesh, Ratnagiri in Orissa, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, Naganattinam in Tamilnādu, Devnimori in Gujarat, Mirpur Khas in Sindh (Pakistan), Taxila, Jamalgāhi and Manikyala near Rawalpindi (Pakistan).

With the Buddha is intimately associated the Bodhisattva, the Master himself being a Bodhisattva in his countless previous births as well as in the present birth till his attainment of the Enlightenment. In the early Indian art of Sanchi-Bharhut-Amarāvatī the presence of Gautama as Bodhisattva is also indicated by means of symbols. As for instance, in the scene of Great Renunciation in an Amarāvatī panel a caparisoned horse without a rider but with a parasol held above and the bodhi tree beneath it stand for the Bodhisattva.242 In the iconic phase of Indian art as exemplified by the Gandhāra and Mathurā objects there is hardly any distinction between the figures of Gautama as the Buddha and Bodhisattva. Artists of both the schools of Gandhāra and Mathurā appear to have focussed their attention on three Bodhisattvas: Vajrapāni Padmapāni and Maitreya. Of them the first two are in reality the prototypes of the Bodhisattvas of the same names in the developed Mahāyāna-Vairāyana pantheon. The distinguishing features of Vajrapāni and Padmapāni, as indicated by their names, include a vajra and padma respectively. In the Buddhist belief Maitreya is the future Buddha and in early examples he

240 HIIA, pl. XLIII, fig. 162.
241 Ibid., pl. XLI, fig. 160; also AIA, pl. 103.
242 AIA, pl. 89.
is usually shown with a nectar-flask (*amṛta-bhāṇḍa*). While two of these three appear not unoften as acolytes of Gautama Buddha in the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā, their independent representations are also not unknown. A standing image of Maitreya, hailing from Aihichchhatra (now in the National Museum) of about the third century, showing him with his right hand disposed in the abhayamudrā and the left hand holding a nectar flask may be cited as a relevant instance. 243 Another Bodhisattva, who occasionally appears in the later examples of Gandhāra and of elsewhere, is Mañjuśrī. In the developed Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī occupy a prominent position (see below).

Before we pass on to the elaborate hierarchy of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna deities reference may be made to a favourite theme of the artists of Gandhāra which was subsequently taken up by the artists of interior India. Pāñchika, the genius of riches and his consort, Hāritī, the goddess of Fertility, were portrayed by the Gandhāra sculptors abundantly. One of the earliest representations of this divine pair hails from Sahri-i-Bahlol and now in the Peshawar Museum; stylistically assignable to the second century A.D., the composition shows the corpulent, well-built and richly bejewelled Pāñchika seated by the side of his spouse, the latter carrying a baby in her lap (the iconic type of Mātrikā of the Brahmical pantheon seems to have been inspired by the Hāritī-with-baby motif); a few more children are seen in the sculpture, thereby indicating the intimate relation of Pāñchika with the goddess of Fertility. 244 Separate representations of Pāñchika and Hāritī are also known, as exemplified by a seated image of the former from Takhal near Peshawar (now in the Lahore Museum) 245 and a standing figure of the latter from Takht-i-Pahi (now in the Peshawar Museum). 246 The divine pair is not unoften encountered in the art of the Gupta and post-Gupta period, as for instance, in the repertories of Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad.

Apart from the figures of Gautama Buddha, numerous representations of the Bodhisattvas like Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya were fashioned in the Gupta period. Avalokiteśvara, who refused Nirvāṇa till the liberation of all beings, was the most popular

243 WB, Section V, fig. 23.
244 *BAG*, pl. 105, fig. 144; also II. Hargreaves, *Handbook to Sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, pl. 7.
245 Ibid., pl. 104, fig. 143.
246 Ibid., pl. 77, fig. 112. Foucher has described the cult of Hāritī in details. See *AGBC*, II, pp. 130-42, figs. 374-78, also *BBA*; pp. 271-91; pls. X.IV.; XLVII-XLIX. It may be noted that Hāritī is eschewed in all Buddhist countries. In Japan she is known as Ki-si-mo-jin.
of them, and was figured in the caves of Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad and Kanheri; one of the famous paintings showing him as compassion incarnate is seen at Cave I of Ajanta.247 With the emergence of the Female Principle as an invariable concomitant of the Male Principle, probably owing to the grafting of the Yoga system on the Mahāvāna School by Aśāiga sometime in the fourth-fifth century A.D., a goddess named Tārā appeared as a significant member of the Buddhist pantheon. As great as Dūrgā of the Hindus, Tārā came to be regarded as the consort of Avalokiteśvara.248 As such she appears with her spouse in the well-known caves like Ajanta and Ellora, one of the representative examples being in the Cave II at Ellora.249 And like her consort she is placid in appearance and holds a padma, the characteristic cognisance of Avalokiteśvara. In most of the early examples she is two-armed and seated and apart from the lotus-emblem held in the left hand, she displays the varadamudrā; her garments and ornaments are those of her consort and her hair is abundant and wavy.

Certain iconographic characteristics appeared in respect of Maitreya and Mañjuśrī during this period and with the passage of time both Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, two very important Bodhisattvas, were conceived to have been endowed with numerous forms, most of which find detailed descriptions in the Buddhist texts like the Sūdhanāmālā (a compendium of 812 sūdhanās or texts of invocations of deities), the Gūhyasamājatantra and Nīṣṭhāpanayogāvalī, as well as several unpublished manuscripts, preserved in different libraries and museums such as the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Cambridge University. Not only these Bodhisattvas in their multifarious forms, but also their consorts figure in such published and unpublished texts. They will be mentioned in some detail along with several other deities of the elaborate pantheon of the early mediaeval period in the succeeding Volume. As regards Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, it may be

247 For some good specimens of Avalokiteśvara, see AIA, pls. 151 (the famous Ajanta painting), 157 (the Ellora sculpture), BM, photo 106 (at Kanheri, one of the attendant female figures is Tārā).

248 The etymological affiliations between Hindu ‘Dūrgā’ and Buddhist ‘Tārā’ is noteworthy: Dūrgā means ‘the deity who removes dangers’, while Tārā ‘makes (her devotees) cross the sea (of troubles)’. The ‘Dūrgā-stutras’ of the Mahābhārata (IV. 6 and VI. 23) speak of her as capable of delivering her devotees from a variety of terrors, such as captivity, drowning, harrassment by robbers etc. Likewise, Tārā is a saviour of her worshippers from as many as eight types of perils, like those of lion, elephant, conflagration, drowning and robbery. See K. K. Dasgupta, ‘The Cult of Tārā’ in The Sakti Cult and Tārā (ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1967), pp. 111-27.

249 J. Burgess, The Caves at Ellora. Pl. XIII, fig. 1. This is a standing image. The seated variety will be found at Cave XII.
noted here that the former is represented from now on with the Nāgakeśara flower in his right hand instead of amrita-bhānda and usually with a small chaitya on his crown. The other Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī, in the extant samples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods is normally seen as carrying a sword in the right hand and a manuscript (of the Prajñāpāramitā) in the left; sometimes these two cognisances are placed on lotuses. Apart from Maitreya, images of Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāni (the Bodhisattva of Akshobhya, see below) are encountered at Ellora and other places.

With the transformation of Mahāyāna into Vajrayāna (also known as Northern Buddhism) in the seventh-eighth century, emerged a wide pantheon which was further elaborated in the tenth century. At the apex of the hierarchy of these gods and goddesses stands the divine pair of Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā, the Universal Parents of Buddhism, from whom originate Five Dhyānī Buddhas. These Dhyānī Buddhas represent the material elements of which the world is made, such as Air, Water, Ether, Fire and Earth and they also stand for the cosmic elements (skandhas) like Rūpa (form), Vedanā (sensation), Saṃātana (name), Saṃskāra (conformation) and Vijñāna (consciousness). A sixth Dhyānī Buddha named Vajrasattva has also been conceived of in some quarters where he is supposed to be an embodiment of the collection of all the five material and cosmic elements.

250 Ct. the examples at the Caves VI and XII of Ellora. Though the figure of a chaitya on his crown, is the distinguishing feature of Maitreya, exception to it is found when Sukhāvati Lokeśvara and Ushnīshavijaya Lokeśvara, two forms of Avalokiteśvara, are said to have borne it on the top of the crown and on the crown itself of these Lokeśvaras respectively in the Dharmakosha-saṅgraha, preserved in the Asiatic Society (Ms. G. 8035). This unpublished manuscript, though written by a Nepalese Pandit as late as 1896, is valuable for the study of Buddhist iconography, since it contains many an earlier tradition.

251 Mañjuśrī has a variety of forms like Mañjuvāra, Siddhaikavīra, Arapachana etc. For details see the next Volume. At the Caves X and XII effigies of Mañjuśrī are met with. As regards Vajrapāni, he is also portrayed at both these Caves at Ellora.

252 The cult of Ādi Buddha supposedly originated at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra in the tenth century. See JASB, II, 1833, pp. 57 ff.

Edward Conze is reluctant to use the term ‘Dhyānī Buddha’ chiefly on the ground of its absence in canonical literature (Buddhism, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1953, p. 189). But the application of this expression to Vairochana and his colleagues in the above-noted Dharmakosha saṅgraha (cf. fn. 250), based on earlier traditions, seems to prove the validity of its usage.

Two epigraphs of the time of Huvishka, one of the regnal year 26 and the other of 48, contain references to the images of Amitābha and Sambhava (Ratnasambhava?). Thus these records indicate the emergence of the concepts of Dhyānī Buddhas, at least of one. JAIH, XI, pp. 82 ff.
and a priest of the Five Dhyānī Buddhases. The Dhyānī Buddhas take no part in the act of creation, which task they relegate to their corresponding Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattvas are further supposed to have been working through the Mānuphi Buddhases (Mortal Buddhases) like Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni and Gautama, but this idea is extra-Indian. With the increasing preponderance of the Female principle each of the Dhyānī Buddhases and Bodhisattvas was given a consort. The consorts of the Bodhisattvas are as much emanations of the Dhyānī Buddhas as their spouses are. Further, each of these Dhyānī Buddhases came to be looked upon as a Kuleśa (lord of families) of several gods and goddesses. Evidently with the introduction of new entrants of deities the Vajrayāna priests and authors began to tag them to one or more of these Dhyānī Buddhases.

The Ādi Buddha in his human form is known as Vajradhara with vajra as his characteristic emblem. He is represented in two forms, single and yab-yum. In both forms Ādi Buddha as well as his consort are richly bedecked with ornaments. Representations of Vajradhara and his consort (shown only in the yab-yum form) are few and mostly late. Dhyānī Buddhas rarely find individual depiction and they are figured either on the crown of their emanations or round their heads in groups of five. They are invariably seen as sitting on full-blown lotuses and in the meditative pose with legs crossed. Each of them has a cognisance symbol which is displayed by his Sakti and Bodhisattva as well. The lotus symbol, for instance, is common to the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha, his spouse Pāndarā and his Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Each Dhyānī Buddha has again his distinctive mudrā and colour. Thus Akshobhya is characterised by the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā and the blue complexion. Following are the tables show-

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253 Images of Vajrasattva are rare. He is also sculptured at Cave XII of Ellora. In Nepal and Tibet, however, he is popular (cf. Alice Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 6 and W. E. Clark, Two Lamaistic Pantheons, II, pp. 7, 9, 59, 143, 195). The concepts of Vajradhara, the tangible form of Ādi Buddha, and Vajrasattva are intricably mixed up.
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<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Pañḍarā</td>
<td>Padmapāni Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akshobhya</td>
<td>Māmakī</td>
<td>Vajrapāni</td>
<td>Kanakamuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairochana</td>
<td>Lochanā</td>
<td>Samantabhadra</td>
<td>Krakuchhanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Vajradhātviśvarī</td>
<td>Ratnapāni</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Tārā</td>
<td>Viśvapāni</td>
<td>Maitrīya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names of the Dhyāṇī Buddhās, their iconographic and other features as well as their corresponding Bodhisattvas and spouses.

Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyāṇī Buddha, has been omitted in the above tables in view of the supposition that he is more a Bodhisattva than a Dhyāṇī Buddha proper and this seems to be supported by the royal costume of Vajrasatta in art quite in keeping with the sartorial style of a Bodhisattva. Vajrasattva has, however, his respective consort and Bodhisattva named Vajrasattvātmiśa and Chaṇṭāpāni respectively. As regards the Mānushi Buddhās, their number went up to thirty-two, though it eventually came to be stereotyped as seven. They are named as Vipāśī, Śikhī, Viśvalhū, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Gautama and each of them is supposed to have had his own distinguishing bodhi tree (ante, p. 920). But the idea that they are a sort of agents of the Divine Bodhisattvas (Table II) is, as noted above, unknown to the Indian tradition. Icono-plastically, they appear all alike: they usually sit in the vajraparyantkāsa and display the bhūmisparśa mudrā and in paintings they are seen with a yellow or golden complexion. Hence the only possible means of identifying them is when they are found in a group of seven. A well-known example of their group representation can be seen in Cave 12 of Ellora. Another good specimen of about the ninth century, now in the Indian Museum, however, shows these Buddhās in the sthānaka posture, each under his respective bodhi tree (ante, p. 920, fn. 214). En passant the cult of the Past Buddhās dwindled in popularity in the Gupta and early mediaeval period.

Like the multiple forms of the Bodhisattvas, such as Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, the offsprings of the Five Dhyāṇī Buddhās are numerous. The main clue of identifying them lies in the recognition of the effigies of their spiritual sires which they normally bear on their crowns. Besides, they have their respective iconographic features which have been detailed in the texts like the Sādhanaṁl, Nīshpannayogāvalī and Advayavājrasamgraha, not to speak of the several un-

254 AIA, pls. 200-201.
published manuscripts. Listed below are the names of some of the important emanations of the Five Dhyānī Buddhas.

From Amitābha emanate deities like Mahābala and Saptasatika Hayagrīva and goddesses like Kurukullā, Bhṛikūṭi and Mahāsitavatī; Heruka, Hevajra, Sambara, Jambhala and Yamāri are the male offsprings of Akshobhya, while Jāṅguli, Ekajātā, Vasudhārā and Nairātmā are some notable female divinities who originate from the said Dhyānī Buddha; Nāmasaṅgīti is the only male deity who takes rise from Varrochana, whereas Mārīchī and Chundā are two distinguished goddesses who emanate from this Dhyānī Buddha; the god Jambhala and the goddess Vasudhārā find mention in the list of offsprings of Ratnasambhava, though they recur in the list of Akshobhya as well, and other female emanations of Ratnasambhava include Mahapratisarā and Aparajītī; the only male divinity who owes his origin to Amoghaśiddhi is Vaijāmṛita, and Mahāmāyūrī and Parnaśavārī are two well-known goddesses who emanate from this Dhyānī Buddha. Representations of some of them, such as Jambhala, Jāṅguli, Chundā, Vasudhārā and Mahāmāyūrī, have been met with at Ellora. A discussion on the iconography of the noteworthy emanations of the Dhyānī Buddhas is reserved for the next Volume.

IĀNA ICONOGRAPHY

The practice of worshipping images of Tīrthankaras seems to be old, though at the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to trace its antiquity exactly. Ancient works like the Āvasyaka Chūrṇī, the Niśitha Chūrṇī and the Vasudevahīndī record the tradition relating to the worship of images of Jīvantaśvāmī (i.e., Mahāvīra). And this tradition has been supported by a bronze image of Jīvantaśvāmī from Akota of the sixth century A.D. It has also been suggested that the practice of worshipping Jina images was in vogue in the second century B.C. as is attested by the highly polished naked male torso of an image in a Kāyotsarga-like posture from Lohanipur near Patna.255 It is not, however, certain whether this image represents any Tīrthankara.

While the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela is suggestive of the prevalence of Jainism in Kalinga (Orissa and the cis-Godavari region) in the fourth century B.C., sculptures affiliated to Jainism in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvaneswar speak of a thriving Jaina art in that region for centuries. Of them some are quite early and bear close affinity with a few figures and symbols of the Brahmanical and Buddhist art. Such figures and symbols, it may be noted, form a part of the common stock of art-motifs in Indian beliefs.

255 SJA, fig. 2.
Thus the figure of a female deity on the torana-facade of a Ranigumpha cell at Udayagiri holding a pair of lotuses in hands and bathed by two elephants, interpreted as Padma-Sri or Abhisheka-Lakshmi on the authority of the Jain texts like the Kalpasūtra, seems to be similar in nature and concept to Gajalakshmi and Sirimā-devatā of the Brahmaical and Buddhist art respectively. Among the common symbols mention may be made of the railed chaitya tree, the surmounting triratna, svastika, śrīvatsa etc. Again, each doorway of the Ananta cave (Udayagiri) bears the motif of a pair of three-hooded snake on its arch, thus reminding one of the association of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha with a cobra as well as the said Jina’s association with Kālīgha. The facades of the cells of the Ranigumpha are adorned with some friezes which appear to portray incidents from the life of Pārśvanātha. Of more or less the same age is a bronze image (now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum) of Pārśvanātha, standing in the kāyotsarga pose, with the right hand and a part of its snake-hoods overhead being mutilated.

The next noted Jaina art-centre is Mathurā from where have been recovered a considerable number of objects ranging from the first to the eleventh century A.D. Broadly, these may be divided into three classes: āyāgapātas (‘tablets of homage’) independent statues of the Tīrthaṅkaras and chaumukhas (quadruples), and panels with stories from the life of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Partaking of the character of dedicatory slabs an āyāgapāta bears on it some auspicious symbols, the usual number being eight (ashtamaṅgalas) as well as the figure of a seated Jina at the centre. While the Mathurā āyāgapāta attests to the continuity of the symbol worship in Indian art, they also represent a transitional stage from the worship of the symbols to that of the individual images of Tīrthaṅkaras. The āyāgapātas are of three kinds: chakrapāṭṭa, svastikapāṭṭa and chaityapāṭṭa. A chakrapāṭṭa, now in the Lucknow Museum (J. 248), depicts a sixteen-spoked wheel (chakra) in the centre surrounded by three bands, the first one at the centre showing sixteen triratna symbols, the second one eight maidens of space (ashtadikkumārīkā) floating in the air and offering garlands and lotuses, and the last one showing a coiled garland. In a svastikapāṭṭa a prominent wavy armed svastika motif is found to occur round the figure of a Jina seated under an umbrella at the centre, being encircled by four triratna symbols; inside the four arms of the svastika again are auspicious symbols, viz., a pair of fish, victory standard...

257 SIA, fig. 3.
257a These eight auspicious signs are: a svastika, a darpana, an urn, a cane seat, two fish (yugma-mīna), a flower garland and a pustaka.
(vaigayanti), a svastika and śrivatsa; in the outer circular band have
been shown a bodhi tree in railing, a stūpa, a motif now obscure, and
a Jina being adored by sixteen Vidyādhara couples; while at the
four corners are again seen Mahoraga figures, on one side of the
outer frame is found a row of eight auspicious symbols like a svastika,
fish, śrivatsa etc. Of the two chaityapaṭṭhas found at Mathurā, one
(No. J 255 in the Lucknow Museum) bears the motif of a stūpa or
chaityya with gateways, flight of steps, rails and flanking pillars; the
other (Q. 2 in the Mathurā Museum) also depicts a stupa with the
usual concomitants together with two flying nude figures, two supar-
nas and two śālabhaṇḍikās on each side of the stūpa. A fine āyagapāṭa
of the first century A.D., not falling under the three classes mentioned
above, set up by one Śihaṇḍika, is now preserved in the National
Museum. It shows the seated Jina figure at the centre of the medal-
lion enclosed by four triratna and eight auspicious symbols in two
rows—a pair of fish, heavenly palace (divyajāya), śrivatsa and re-
ceptacle of jewels (rātanaḥīde) above, and triratna, the lotus, vai-
jayanti and vessel (pūrṇakaḷasa) below; on its two sides there are two
motifs of miniature pillars with Achaemenian features—one surmount-
ted by a wheel (chakra), the other by an elephant, the surmounting
members being placed on the top of lion capitals consisting of four
addorsed winged lions.

The independent images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, recovered at Ma-
thurā, may be divided into four classes according to the attitude
they show: standing images in Kāyotsarga posture, seated images,
quadriples i.e., four-fold images in standing posture and the same
in seated posture. Of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras only a few are represent-
ed in the Mathurā statuary. More, their efigies except those of Ādi-
nātha or Rishabhanātha and Pārśvanātha are generally recognisable
by the identificatory inscriptions accompanying them; and cogni-
sances in the form of animals peculiar to each of the Tīrthaṅkara as
noticed in later art and literature, had not yet made their appear-
ance. The iconographic features of Ādinātha and Pārśvanātha of
this period consist of loose locks of hair falling on the shoulders and
a canopy of serpent hoods respectively. The Tīrthaṅkara images bear
on their pedestals the figures of lions, a Dharmachakra in front and
sometimes figures of devotees. A special kind of statuary of the Tīr-
thaṅkaras consists of images of four Jinas carved on a broad obelisk.
Known as chaumukhas and sarvatobhadra-pratimās ('auspicious
from all sides'), these quadruples generally consist of the images of
Ādinātha, the first; Supārśva, the seventh; Pārśvanātha, the twenty-
third and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, though there
is no clear prescription regarding the selection of the particular pontiffs.

The third category of art-objects consists of panels illustrating stories from the lives of the Tīrthāṅkaras. Thus Naigamesha or Harinaigamesha, who figures in the Jaina mythology as being responsible for the transference of the foetus of Brahmaṇī Devanandā to that of the Kshatriya Trīśāla, is met with in such panels with a goat’s head. One of its earliest representations is now an exhibit in the Lucknow Museum; this first-century relief shows the goat-headed deity ‘seated in an easy attitude on a low seat, turning his head to the proper right as if addressing another personage whose image has been lost’; to his left are three standing females and by his left knee stands a male infant.258 It may be noted incidentally that the goat-headed Naigamesha of the Jainas is akin to Naigameya of the Brahmanical mythology who combines in himself the aspects of Devesanāpati Kārātikeya and Daksha-Prajāpati (supra, p. 903). A bas-relief depicting Āryāvatī in the company of females holding a fly-whisk and an umbrella of the year 42 (or 72) of Soḍāsa has been discovered at Mathurā.259 Among a few other stray Jaina sculptures mention may be made of a figure of Sarasvatī (dated Samvat 54, i.e., A.D. 132); she carries a manuscript in her left hand, the right hand being lost.260 The Jaina antiquities of the pre-Gupta period discovered elsewhere include, inter alia, a few Jaina bronzes from Chausa near Buxar (Bihar), now in the Patna Museum.

While in the Kusāna age the Jaina iconography began to evolve, in the Gupta period it was systematised with the formation of the hierarchy of the Jaina pantheon. Further elaborations were, however, made in the early mediaeval period, but the characteristic features of most of the Tīrthāṅkaras, the principal members of the pantheon, made their appearance during the Gupta culture-epoch. This will be borne out by many an example. Before we refer to images of some of them, it is necessary to enlist the means of their identification. Each of the twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras has respective cognisance, colour, tree, and attendant Yakshas and Yakshinīs (Sāsana-devatās). In the following table the names of the Tīrthāṅkaras and their attendants as well as other identificatory marks and emblems are listed.

258 Vincent A. Smith, The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities from Mathurā, pl. XVIII.
259 Ibid., pl. XIV.
260 Ibid., pl. XCIX.
This table, chiefly based on a twelfth-century lexicon *Abhidhāna-chintāmani* by Hemachandra, relates to the iconography of the Śvetāmbara Jains. Besides some overlappings and repetitions in the nomenclature of the individual Yakshas (cf. nos. 7 and 24, 11 and 18; in one case the name of a Yakshiṇī appears as that of a Yaksha, cf. 8 and 21), there are also variations in respect of the colours or the cognizances of the Yakshas, which were due to the traditions of the Digambara order. In other words, though the preceding table presents the Jaina iconography relating to the Śvetāmbaras as well as
the Digambaras by and large, differences in iconographic tradi-
tions are also not difficult to discern. For instance, the colour
of Supārśvanātha, according to the Digambaras, is green, and not
gold, as the Svetāmarbas believe. Similarly, they designate the
Yaksha of this Tīrthāṅkara as Varanandi. Again, fish appears as the
emblem of Aranātha, the eighteenth Jina, in the Digambara tradi-
tion. In any case, the respective cognizances of the Tīrthāṅkaras, as
listed above, are the main clues for identifying the figures of the
Tīrthāṅkaras, some of whom appeared with them in the Gupta art.
It may be noted in passing that the Abhidhāna-chintāmanī describes
the Tīrthāṅkaras as Devādevas and other deities like the Yakshas
and Yakṣinīs as Devas or ordinary gods. Being borrowals from the
non-Jaina sources, these Devas were naturally given a position sub-
servient to that of the Tīrthāṅkaras.

As in the preceding age, in the Gupta and early mediaeval periods
the Tīrthāṅkaras were depicted like ascetics, draped (in the Svetām-
bara tradition) or naked (in the Digambara repertory) and in the
dhārā or padmāsana postures. Independent images of the Tīr-
thāṅkaras as well as Chaumukha sculptures of the period under
review have been recovered from different parts of India. The ear-
liest Jina image bearing the characteristic cognisance has been en-
countered in a dilapidated temple on the Vaibhāra hill at Rajgir;
assignable to the age of Chandragupta II on the basis of an accom-
panying inscription, the sculpture shows Neminātha seated in the
padmāsana and with hands disposed in the samādhimudrā; what is
interesting is the presence of two conch-shells on either side of an
elaborate chakra, the latter serving as a sort of halo, as it were,
of the standing figure of a prince. More or less of the same time
is an image of Ajitenātha, now an exhibit in the Bharat Kala Bhavan.
Mention may also be made of a bronze statue of Ādinātha found
at Akota, near Baroda, showing the first Tīrthāṅkara with a face
beaming with spiritual experience; despite its damaged condition, the
image (now in the Baroda Museum) amply demonstrates the best of
the Gupta idiom. The Ellora repertoûre includes a standing figure
of Pārśvanātha with a seven-hooded snake behind him (his cognis-
ance) and a seated statue of Mahāvīra in the dhyāna-mudrā in the
Cave XXXI; they are assignable to the ninth-tenth century. One of
the representative samples of a Chaumukha sculpture comes from
the Sonbhandar Cave, Rajgir; it is datable to the eighth century.

With the appearance of the Yakshas and Yakṣinīs as attendants

261 ASI, AR, 1925-26, pp. 125 ff; SJA, fig. 18.
262 SJA, fig. 19.
263 Ibid., fig. 28.
of the Tīrthaṅkaras sometime in the eighth century the iconography of the Jainas practically assumed the full-fledged form. Apparently like the Buddhists the Jainas also converted these age-old Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, who were originally protective deities, to their faith. However, a four-armed goddess seated in lalitāsana with a snake- hood-canopy behind her perhaps represents Padmāvatī, the Yakshiṇī of Pārśvanātha; of about the ninth or tenth century, the sculpture has been unearthed at Nālandā.  

Mātāṅga and Siddhāvikā, respectively the Yaksha and Yakshiṇī of Mahāvīra, appear on their respective Vāhanas viz., elephant and lion, in Cave XXXII of Ellora; these sculptures are datable to the tenth century. In Cave XXX of Ellora is carved a figure of twelve-handed Chakreśvārī, the Yakshiṇī of Ādinātha.

Reference is to be made of Bāhubalī Gommatesvāra who occupies a prominent position in the Digambara Jaina pantheon. He was the son of Rīshabhaḥāṇātha. Though only an Arhat, Bāhubalī obtained the rank of the Tīrthaṅkara by dint of his austerity of penance and the resultant Supreme Knowledge (kevala jñāna). He is ubiquitously present in the art of Ellora, one of his representative images being in Cave XXXII; in this specimen Bāhubalī is seen with his sisters Brāhmī and Sundarī, who as the story goes, were sent by Rīshabhaḥāṇātha to ask their brother to give up his pride and on listening to their advice Bāhubalī eventually obtained his goal of kevala jñāna. The colossal statue of Bāhubalī at Śravaṇa Belgola in Karnātaka is a remarkable sculpture of early mediaeval India; fifty-seven feet high, this is one of the largest free-standing images in the world.

The full-fledged Jaina pantheon is not limited to the Tīrthaṅkaras and their tutelary Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, but it comprises a large number of divine and semi-divine beings, and quite a good number of them have been taken from the Hindu, Buddhist and folk and tribal sources. They include, among others, Nārāyaṇas, Baladevas, Manus, Rudras, Kāmadevas, Vyantara-devas, Vaimānika-devas, Vidyā-devīs, Sāsana-devatās, Mātriḳās (seven or eight) Dikpālas and semi-divine beings like Siddhas, Arhats, Āchāryas and Chakravartins. The Mātriḳā group is exemplified by a row of seven

264 Ibid., fig. 41. The identification is not absolutely certain.
265 R. S. Gupte and B. D. Mahajan, Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves, pls. CXXXVIII, CXL.
266 Ibid., pl. CXXXIV.
267 Ibid., pl. CXL; also AIA. pl: 254.
268 For details of these divine and semi-divine beings, see B. C. Bhattacharyya, Jaina Iconography, pp. 22-26.
female figures below the row of the Tirthaṅkaras in the northernmost cave of the Khaṇḍagiri in Bhuvaneswar (the first five are affiliated to the Brahmānical Matrīkās like Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī etc., the sixth and seventh are Padmāvatī and Ambikā of the regular Jaina pantheon). Perhaps the most famous of all these deities is Bāhubali Gommatesvara of the Arhat class (see above) and the sixteen Vidyādevīs (goddesses of learning). All these Vidyādevīs are headed by Sarasvatī or Śruti-devī, the goddess of learning par excellence. The Vidyādevīs, who constitute a special group of Yakshi-ṇīs, are known by the following names: Rohini, Prajñāpti, Vajraśriṅkhalā, Kuliśāṅkuśā, Chakreśvari, Naradattā, Kāli, Mahākāli, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Sarvāstrahamahājvalā, Mānavī, Vairotyā, Achchhuptā, Mānasī, Mahāmānasikā and Sarasvatī. While some of them are apparently borrowed from the Brahmānical pantheon (e.g., Kāli, Mahākāli, Gaurī etc.), a few others also occur in the list of the attendant Yakshi-ṇīs of the Tirthaṅkaras (e.g., Chakreśvari and Naradattā. As their iconic representations belong to a late date, they will be discussed in the next Volume.

Glossary

**Abhaya, Abhaya-mudrā**

Never-fear hand-pose showing fingers, raised upwards with the palm turned to front.

**Abhichārika**

Malevolent. A form of Viṣṇu.

**Akṣhamālā, Akṣhasūtra**

A string of beads or rosary. Same as *pupamala*.

**Āṇḍhāsana**

The posture of standing in which the right leg is outstretched while the left is slightly bent and placed behind. The proper expression is Āṇḍha.

**Āṇjali-mudrā**

The gesture in which two hands are clasped against the chest, palm to palm, both of which are extended upwards with all fingers erect or slightly bent.

**Anugraha**

Grace, Boom.

**Apasmāra-purusha**

Malformed dwarf who is seen in South Indian Naṭarāja bronzes.

**Ardhachandra**

Crescent moon.

**Ardhaparyāṅkāsana**

A mode of sitting in which a portion (*ardha*) of the lower part of the body rests on the seat or pedestal (*paryanka*). See *laṭāśāna* and *mahārājaśāna*.

**Āsana**

A seat or a particular mode of sitting, e.g., *laṭāśāna*.

**Ashṭamaṅgala**

Eight auspicious objects or motifs of Jaina art and literature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aśva</td>
<td>Horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acutāra</td>
<td>Incarnation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āyūgapata</td>
<td>A tablet of homage associated with Jainism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāṇa</td>
<td>An arrow. Same as śara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrśana</td>
<td>Sitting posture in European style.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoga</td>
<td>Material enjoyment. A form of Vishnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmisparśa-mudrā</td>
<td>The hand-pose in which the hand with the palm turned inward and the fingers extended downward touches the earth. Same as bhūsparśa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapūraka</td>
<td>Citron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakra</td>
<td>Discus, wheel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāpa</td>
<td>Bow. Same as dhānu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chowry</td>
<td>Fly-whisk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ďamaru</td>
<td>Kettle-drum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darpana</td>
<td>Mirror.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhānu</td>
<td>Bow. Same as chāpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmachakra pravarto-</td>
<td>The gesture of hands in which the left hand is turned inward and the right is turned outward, the thumb of the right is held by that of the left. This mudrā was displayed by the Buddha at the time of the preaching of his first sermon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana mudrā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhotti</td>
<td>Loin cloth used by a male as a lower garment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhyāna mudrā</td>
<td>See samādhi-mudrā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolahasta</td>
<td>The pose in which the arm is thrown forward. Sometimes across the body, appearing like a straight staff or the lolling trunk of an elephant. Same as gaijahasta and dandahasta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīpa</td>
<td>Lamp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadā</td>
<td>Mace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaijahasta</td>
<td>See dolahasta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaqtā</td>
<td>Bell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghora</td>
<td>Fierce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godhā</td>
<td>Iguana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graiveyaka</td>
<td>Necklace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hala</td>
<td>Ploughshare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāra</td>
<td>Necklace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasti</td>
<td>Elephant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japamālā</td>
<td>The string of beads or rosary which is intended for counting by sages or pious persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jatābhāra</td>
<td>Matted hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāhāna</td>
<td>Knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamanḍalu</td>
<td>Water-pot. Same as kunḍikā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṅkāla-danḍa</td>
<td>A staff or standard made of skull.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapāla</td>
<td>Skull-cup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanḍa</td>
<td>A conical basket-like crown with the narrow ends shown upwards, generally seen as Śiva's head-gear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartri</td>
<td>Chopper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṭaka</td>
<td>The pose in which the tips of the fingers are loosely applied to the thumb so as to form a ring or so as to resemble a lion's ear. Same as Siṁhakarna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṭihasta, Kaṭyavalameśṭa</td>
<td>The pose in which the hand (usually the left) is placed on the hip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāyotsarga</td>
<td>The pose in which hands hang straight down the side of the body without the least bend in any of the limbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaḍga</td>
<td>Sword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaṭvāṅga</td>
<td>A club made up of the bone of the forearm or the leg, to the end of which a human skull is attached through its foramen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khetaka</td>
<td>Shield.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiṅkint</td>
<td>Tiny bell, anklet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriṭa</td>
<td>A basket-like crown usually worn by Viṣṇu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kripāna</td>
<td>Sword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbha-mushka</td>
<td>Pitcher-like testicles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunḍi, Kunḍikā</td>
<td>See kamāṇḍalu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrma</td>
<td>Tortoise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lalitāsana</td>
<td>The pose in which one of the legs dangles down the seat, the other being placed on the seat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāṅchchhana</td>
<td>Cognisance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahārāja-Pilāsāṇa</td>
<td>The pose in which one of the legs is placed on the seat and the knee of the other is raised from the seat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makara</td>
<td>A mythical crocodile-like animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makāra</td>
<td>Powerful enjoyment, the usual number of ma-s being five, e.g., wine, meat, fish, sexual intercourse etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mani</td>
<td>Jewel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātulūṅga</td>
<td>Citron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushala</td>
<td>Pestle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namaskāra-mudrā</td>
<td>In this gesture the hand, slightly bent, is raised above in a line with the shoulder with the fingers outstretched or slightly bent with the palm turned upwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidhi</td>
<td>Jewel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padrāsa</td>
<td>See Vajraparyaṅkāsana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṇapātra</td>
<td>Wine-cup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṇigrahana</td>
<td>The acceptance of the hand of the bride by the bridegroom by his hand, symbolising the finalisation of marriage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Padma      Lotus.
Paraśu      Axe.
Pāśa         Noose.
Piṭhikā      Pedestal.
Prabhū, Prabhāvalī  Aureole.
Pretakunḍala  A type of ear-ornament from which the figure of a corpse is suspended.
Pustaka      Book, manuscript.
Rishi        Sage.
Sakti        Consort of a deity. It also denotes spear usually held by Kārttikeya.
Samāḍhī-mudrā  The gesture in which the hands with palm upwards lie upon the other on the lap. Also known as dhyāna-mudrā.
Samapadadvānaka  The stance in which the feet are firmly and squarely planted.
Saṅkha       Conchshell.
Sarpa        Serpent.
Saumya       Benign, pacific.
Sayana       Recumbent.
Sṛivatsa     A kind of auspicious mark seen on the chest of Vishnu and Jīna.
Sthānaka     Standing.
Tarjanī-mudrā  The pose in which the index finger is raised, while the other fingers are locked up in the fist.
Tarpaṇa-mudrā  A gesture in which an arm is bent and is raised upward in a line with the shoulder. The palm of the hand is turned inward with fingers slightly bent and pointed towards the shoulder.
Triratna     Triple projections.
Triratna     Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha of the Buddhist faith and the art motif symbolising it.
Trisūla      Trident.
Tundila      Pot-bellied.
Ordhovalīga  Penis erect, suggesting control of senses, particularly associated with Śiva as a yogī.
Vāhana       Vehicle.
Vajra         Thunderbolt.
Vajraparyaṅkāsana  The mode of sitting in which the legs are firmly locked with the soles visible. Also known as padmāsana.
Vanamālā      A kind of elaborate garland made of different flowers, usually worn by Vishnu.
Vāra, Varada-mudrā  The hand- pose showing the hand with its palm outward suggesting bestowal of boon.
Vīścavajra
Vyākhyāna-mudrā

The double vajra or thunderbolt.
The hand-Pose showing the combination of the tips of the thumb and index finger of the right hand and even occasionally of the left, while the other fingers remain erect.

Meditation.

Yoga
Yoga-mudrā

Same as saṃādhī-mudrā or dhyāna-mudrā.

Yab-Yum

A Tibetan word consisting of two particles yab and yum, yab meaning 'honorable father' and yum meaning 'honorable mother'. The combined word hence signifies the father in the company of the mother, or in her embrace. Deities in embrace are found in Vajrayāna pantheon.

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