BODHISATTVA HEADDRESSES AND HAIR STYLES
IN THE BUDDHIST ART OF GANDHĀRA AND RELATED REGIONS OF SWĀT AND AFGHANISTAN

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

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BY

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INTRODUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BUDDHIST SCHOOL IN GANDHĀRA AND RELATED REGIONS

The history of ancient India and its art was significantly influenced by the geographical diversity of the vast South Asian subcontinent. Flourishing during the centuries that surround the turn of the common era, the Buddhist art (and architecture) of the Indic northwest, primarily the Peshāwar Valley in Pakistan and related areas now in modern Afghanistan, holds a unique and distinguished place in this history. From about the beginning of the third century B.C., the ancient kingdoms of Gandhāra (Peshāwar Valley) and Udāiyāna (Swāt Valley) were well connected with other Indic regions as well as with contiguous areas to the west and northwest by trade routes. These routes, more indirectly, extended into Central Asia and beyond to the Mediterranean in the West and to China in the East. There is ample evidence that during this period Gandhāra flourished economically because of the commercial traffic that passed through enroute to great cultural and commercial centers of Asia.

The unique stylistic characteristics of the regional school of Buddhist art reflect not only the location and topography of the northwest and Afghanistan, but also economic advantages advanced by
complex systems for trade and communication, the repercussions of political instability, and the force of foreign political, cultural, and religious incursions. Given the school's dialectical history, no thorough study of early Buddhism and its artistic manifestations in Indic culture is complete without a study of the Buddhist school as a separate tradition.

By the time Buddhism was introduced to the Bactro-Gandhāra regions during the reign of Aśoka Maurya (ca. 272-231 B.C.), the religion had already passed through more than two hundred years of development. Following the establishment of monastery complexes in the Taxila and Swāt areas, some of which were probably founded as early as the Aśoka period, Buddhism continued to flourish uninterruptedly at least through the early decades of the fifth century A.D. Its increased importance was stimulated by religious preceptors who found the northwest a suitable environment for proselytization, by the patronage of kings and others in positions of wealth and power, and by apparent changes in doctrine focused on the Bodhisattva concept, which appear to have made Buddhism more universally attractive to the lay population.

It is difficult to determine when the development of the Buddhist school of art in the northwest actually began due to the ephemeral nature of the more accessible, less costly, and more commonly used mediums, such as cloth and wood. However, there can be little doubt about the florescence of the stone carving tradition during the first several centuries of the Christian era, a time when the economies of
Gandhāra and adjacent regions were greatly stimulated by foreign trade under Kuśāṇa hegemony. This was a period of great philosophical creativity. Burgeoning doctrines of Mahāyāna vigorously manifested themselves in the art of the northwest as didactic vehicles for the expression of the fundamental truths and the highest thoughts and visions which were to form a primary basis of the religion's universalization and continuance. Further, the artistic evidence from Gandhāra and related regions supplements the lacunary written records of the obscure period between the Maurya and Gupta dynasties and hints at the possibility of otherwise lost, early syncretic teachings or doctrines in which foreign deities were equated with corresponding Buddhist types.

Founded on the symbolism and formal sensibilities that had long existed in India, this school of Buddhist art drew additionally from elements in the Greek artistic vocabulary that had been retained through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It further drew from the preferences and symbolic conventions of contemporary society as artists adapted certain non-Indic elements of style and iconography to Buddhist needs. Not only did the style of this school influence Buddhist communities in the Indic heartland, it also served as a foundation for the traditions of Mahāyāna art of East Asia, particularly in China.

This study of the Buddhist school of art in Gandhāra and related regions was undertaken as the result of an abiding interest in the evolution of early Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrines and formal conventions,
and with a desire for increased understanding of both the doctrinal and formal aspects of accomplishment as recorded in the art of the northwest. The results of this study are offered in three major parts: a section on the contextual and historical information, a section of typological studies of Bodhisattva images, and, in support of the typological studies and the resulting conclusions, a third section of appendices that include images of Bodhisattvas and reliefs and stelae primarily from Gandhāra and Swāt, along with other materials.

Part I is intended to provide the contextual and historical information necessary for an understanding of the Buddhist school of art that flourished in the Bactro-Gandhāra region. Given the numerous difficulties that surround scholarly investigation of this Buddhist tradition, it is appropriate to begin by examining some of the more difficult unresolved issues. This requires a discussion of geographical, political, cultural, and religious factors. Accordingly, the first part presents a number of essays that are summaries developed from previous studies. Also of primary importance are: a brief introduction to Buddhist religious systems and the significance of art in Buddhism, problems in scholarship and the dating of images, and the relationship of the Buddhist school in Gandhāra to other Asiatic traditions as well as to the social and religious values of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in western Asia.

It is intended that the background information provide an understanding of the societal dynamics and values of the cosmopolitan social structure that fostered the development of the syncretic style that
set the Buddhist artistic forms of the northwest apart from those of the less diversified communities of India.

The second part of this study presents detailed analyses of stylistic and iconographic developments, traces the origins of the development of Bodhisattva imagery in the northwest, and provides a guideline for understanding the succession of styles relative to chronological evolution. These analyses clearly demonstrate that there was a continuous evolutionary process in which early Mahāyāna doctrines gained force and prominence during the first several centuries A.D., and that stages of that development may be identified by the examination of certain stylistic features of the sculptures.

In the typological studies of Part II, a system for organizing Bodhisattva types by headdress, hair style treatments, and patterns of association with identifying attributes is developed. The ideas and conclusions presented reflect an analysis of more than three hundred Bodhisattva images supplemented for comparative purposes by an additional body of approximately one hundred reliefs and stelae. Supporting examples from other Buddhist schools and cultural traditions are also included. Antecedents for various forms or elements found in the Bactro-Gandhāran school have been identified. In addition, the emergence and development of Bodhisattva images as complementary pairs in a trinitarian relationship with a Buddha are discussed. It is anticipated that these studies will provide the framework for a better understanding of stylistic chronology and subsequent developments in iconography.
Part III consists of catalogues of Bodhisattva images, which represent the total body of examples compiled for this study. There are also two groups of hieratic reliefs, reliefs and stelae that are bilaterally symmetrical and formally ordered. This corpus of sculptures records the development of Bodhisattva imagery from its antecedents to fully developed forms and further attests to the inclusion of the Bodhisattva in paradisiacal scenes in the Bactro-Gandhāran schools.

Additional sets of appendices of images and objects offering support for dating and indicative of prototypical forms, cultural interchange, and syncretism are also included. These have been organized according to cultural context.

The conclusions reached as a result of this research effort are formulated primarily from the study of this body of images. However, related archaeological, literary, epigraphic, and numismatic associations are also considered. Data from recently excavated stratified sites together with stylistic analysis and the determination of iconographic patterns provides support for an outline for the succession of styles within the chronological sequence. The most significant conclusions are summarized as follows:

- Arising initially from the Indic tradition, the Buddhist art of Gandhāra and related regions primarily represents a syncretic blending of early Indic and Western classicistic symbologies.

- Borrowings from western Asiatic stylistic and iconographic models were directly related to international patterns of commerce and communication. Other influences are found in the Hellenistic and Roman period concepts of divine kingship, and soteriological and eschatological doctrines.
• The artistic evidence attests to complicated patterns of cultural interchange but not dependence. While numerous examples from the mature period under the Kuśānas display a significant indebtedness to classicistic forms, direct sources cannot be established.

• Mahāyāna iconography, including that associated with the trikāya system, was well developed by the end of the second or third century A.D.

• The Bodhisattva concept and associated iconographic conventions were developed along two primary lines: as the Buddha of the future Maitreya and as complementary pairs in a tripartite relationship with a Buddha.

• The pre-Buddhist Indian concern for heavenly dwelling is continued and expanded in the art of Gandhāra and related regions. Artistic evidence from the northwest is filled with examples of paradisiacal scenes that include the Tuṣhita paradise of Siddhārtha and Maitreya Bodhisattva, Sukhāvati of Amitābha-Amitāyus and possibly Abhirati of Akṣobhya.

Unfortunately, numerous unresolved issues remain. One of the most difficult problems is the lack of dated sculptures. Recent studies, such as those by Francine Tissot, which focus on attribution to sites based on early reports and photographs, have not yet been completed. In any case, these will require supplementation as a large portion of the sculpture is of unknown provenance. Ultimately, it is anticipated that this study will give more accurate definition to the stylistic and iconographic developments of the Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist school and will allow for a more complete assessment of its contribution in the greater context of other Buddhist traditions in Asia.
PROBLEMS IN SCHOLARSHIP AND APPROACH

Condition and Identity

Bactro-Gandhāra Buddhist sites are found today as badly damaged vestiges of their original state. In addition to the destruction caused by conquerors and the looting of treasure seekers, the inherent fragility of materials, and methods of construction together with the vicissitudes of time and exposure to the elements have all taken their toll. This destruction of the monuments has continued into the twentieth century. Many of the reliefs and individually carved images, now widely dispersed in museums and private collections throughout the world, were removed from their original contexts without record, making their study difficult. Further, early archaeological efforts were essentially treasure hunts and were undertaken without the benefit of modern methodologies with their criteria for thorough and accurate documentation. These digs destroyed what little evidence remained of narrative ordering and the programmatic context of most individual images. Even the use of modern methods in the excavation has not offered a complete picture. Evidence from excavations at Butkara I and Andān Dheri demonstrate that certain monuments were rebuilt over the course of time using combinations of older sculptures intermixed with the new.2

Paucity of Historical Information

Early researchers in the field of Bactro-Gandhāran studies worked with the disadvantage of having little external evidence for
reconstructing the political and cultural history of the region. The absence of an established chronology, for example, has brought on endless reinterpretations of the available evidence. Often approaching the problems with their own cultural biases, scholars sometimes attempted to study the Bactro-Gandhāra regions and its art in terms of the development of other traditions, several of which were equally lacking in hard data regarding provenance and dating.

While the amount of basic data is slowly increasing, many problems remain. In addition to inconclusive archaeological findings and the lack of external historical data, the literary and epigraphic evidence remains incomplete in many ways. It is frequently vague or ambiguous and may even appear contradictory. No integrated historical account of the Bactro-Gandhāra and adjacent regions is to be found in traditional Indian or classical Western sources. Thus, the would-be historians of the Bactro-Gandhāra regions rely on the most minute bits of evidence upon which to build their theses. As a result, even a modest change on a single issue may force the reconstruction of many issues.

The single major source of historical evidence for the region is numismatics. It is primarily from numismatic evidence that the history of various dynasties and states of the region has been established. Even when compared and collated with central Indian epigraphic evidence, the resulting chronologies are imperfect at best.

Much of the early Buddhist literature is missing. No Buddhist texts survive from the Bactro-Gandhāra regions. Although it is recorded that certain texts were transmitted to China from "the west,"
there is no certainty as to which texts were used. Moreover, those texts that are associated with Gandhāra and its related areas had remained open to additions and modifications over long periods of time and even though a relative date for a text, or portions of a text, can be established by hermeneutical analysis, it is not possible to determine the age of an idea. Accordingly, the state of Buddhism in the Bactro-Gandhara region is to be studied principally from surviving artistic evidence.

Issues Related to Dating

Given these limiting factors, one of the most remarkable achievements of modern scholarship is a reconstruction of the political history for the northwest region through the utilization, organization, and collation of data gleaned from every possible source. However, this record is less than satisfactory and subject to much debate in a number of areas as certain types of information have proven to be exceedingly elusive. This is especially true with regard to dating; simply too much information is missing from the record, a problem compounded by the fact that several systems for reckoning time were in use in western Asia and on the subcontinent during the centuries just prior to and following the turn of the Christian era. These systems, typically established with the accession of a ruler, were limited by dynastic period and by geographic region. In the dating of an inscription, the system(s) used was generally not identified, making the interpretation uncertain. While scholars may come to some agreement as to
system, it is frequently impossible to correlate the date with one of the Christian era as many of the accession dates are not precisely known. This difficulty has frequently led to wide variations in interpretation.

Of particular significance to the issues of dating is the reign of the famous Kuṣāṇa monarch, Kaniṣka. That the Buddhist school achieved its highest productive level during the Kaniṣka era is a point on which most scholars of the twentieth century have agreed. However, specialists have yet to come to consensus regarding the date of Kaniṣka's accession. Although there is sufficient evidence to show that the Buddhist school in Gandhāra and related regions reached its highest levels of productivity and technical achievement during the Kaniṣka era, very few pieces bear inscriptions, a fact which adds to the lack of clarity for this issue. Controversy will doubtlessly continue as numerous chronologies centering on the accession date of Kaniṣka have been proposed in recent years. While dates ranging into the third century have been suggested, most archaeologists and art historians place the accession of this monarch somewhere between the years A.D. 78 and A.D. 144. Attempts at carbon-14 dating have been helpful but unfortunately not conclusive. While the margin for error is too great for the time span being considered, the results of recent carbon-14 testing of materials from Pushkalāvatī at Shaikhān Ğherī lend support to arguments for earlier dates.

Until very recently, only five dated images from the northwest were known; a sixth has been recently identified. None of the inscriptions on the five images includes the name of a king or a reference to
the era used. With diverse interpretations of systems and dates used in these inscriptions, there have been significant differences of opinion as to the course of development taken by the Buddhist school of art. However, B. N. Mukherjee has recently completed the translation of the inscription on the sixth dated image. This Kharoshṭī inscription on the back of a seated figure of Maitreya includes two dates, presumably one referring to the year 56 of the Kanishka era and a second referring to the year 4 of the reign of a subordinate or local chief (Fig. 516). Representing an important addition to the body of factual information, this translation documents the concurrent use in the northwest of two dating systems and secures the position of the Bodhisattva image’s stylistic and iconographic features on a relative chronological scale. Further, it provides an additional opportunity to understand the characteristics of the Buddhist school of Gandhāra and related regions in relation to those of Mathura as numerous pieces from the Mathura area are also dated by inscription to Kanishka’s era. In addition to the inscription translated by Professor Mukherjee, other important evidence has been recovered from excavations of stratified sites such as Butkara I and Shaikhān Dheri, where fragments of imported Mathura school sculptures were found. At Shaikhān Dheri, the fragment of a Mathura school relief was found with several images from Gandhāra. These pieces were located in the stratum dated by Dr. A.H. Dani to the reign of Kanishka. Because the dating from inscriptive evidence is inconclusive, the art historian is forced to turn to
stylistic issues to determine the patterns of development in Bactro-Gandhāran sculpture.

Approach

In view of these considerations, this study focuses on Bodhisattva imagery and has been limited to those examples that provide the greatest opportunities for organization. The two major Bodhisattva conventions in the Bactro-Gandhāra region are: 1) images of Maitreya and 2) pairs of Bodhisattvas attending a Buddha. These latter images presumably represent the Buddha's prajñā (Wisdom) and karuṇā (Compassion) as such images do elsewhere in the Buddhist world. The origin and development of stylistic and iconographic conventions for these two themes is studied in detail. Within the enormous body of sculpture, images of Bodhisattvas were sought from as many sources as possible – recent excavations, museums, and private collections. This effort resulted in the location of some three hundred examples, which are believed to be a significant percentage of the surviving images.

Succession of Styles and The Development of a Relative Chronology

With the understanding that at present it is impossible to establish an exact date for any given sculpture, it is feasible to provide the guidelines of a relative chronology. Reasonable stylistic assessments
are of value and this detailed analysis of internal stylistic development will be useful in establishing this chronology. It is significant to note that important stylistic details and iconographic elements are present in sufficient numbers to provide a reasonable statistical foundation for such analysis. From this analysis a relative chronology for the succession styles can be postulated.

No attempt has been made in this study to solve the issues related to the reign of Kanisqa. As an arbitrary basis for developing the relative chronology, the date of circa A.D. 120 for his accession is used. Those who prefer circa A.D. 78 or other dates for the accession of this Kuśāṇa ruler should make the necessary adjustments in light of their own knowledge and preferences.19

As guidelines for dating in the development of a relative chronology, the study has taken into account the more recent summaries and conclusions of prominent researchers in the fields of Buddhist art history and archaeology. For the dating of the early materials, the chronologies of van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Faccenna, and the Huntingtons have been followed.20 Marshall's works continue to be of value given the enormous wealth of data produced by his excavations at Taxila.21 The summaries of more recent excavations at stratified sites have also contributed to understanding the innovations and achievements of the second through fifth centuries A.D. Of particular importance in defining the stylistic characteristics of the mature phase are the summary reports by Dani from the excavation at Shaikhān Ğheri and a number of additional minor sites.22 Further, Sharma's recent publication on
Buddhist art from the Mathurā region has been of benefit in collating the advances of the Mathurā school with those of Gandhāra and related regions.\textsuperscript{23}

Limitations and Purpose

Most of the images examined in this study are of stone due to its inherent durability. While stucco, far more friable, has survived in major images, there are far fewer extant examples. Painting, undoubtedly an important medium in this period, is for all practical purposes nonexistent.\textsuperscript{24}

Major elements of the stylistic, iconographic vocabulary of the Bodhisattva, the headdresses and hairstyles, are among the few consistently present primary features of an image. By examining these headdress and hairstyle features, developmental phases as well as iconographic changes and innovations may be indexed. This study provides a system for analyzing the headdress and hairstyle conventions and for correlating them to the origin and development of the Bodhisattva. The data is then further correlated iconographically to patterns of association with identifying attributes. For the early Bactro-Gandhāran tradition, the study has produced a large body of evidence documenting evolutionary patterns of iconographic innovation and elaboration. While the primary purpose is not an iconographic study, iconographic elements are identified and changing patterns and new additions are traced but without detailed explanation. Iconography
is worthy of a separate detailed study given its importance to later developments, particularly in Mahāyāna.

A final issue that has consumed the energies of scholars over the decades is the source of influence in Bactro-Gandhāran art. The priority of origination and Hellenistic versus Graeco-Roman influences have been discussed but not examined in detail. The related legendary cultural biases in scholarship have also been avoided.

As many of the well known pieces owned by major institutions around the world had been published again and again with reproductions of varying quality, it was initially unclear how many examples of the various types might actually exist or be available for study. To develop the necessary statistical base, extensive travel was undertaken to view and document photographically as many pieces as possible.

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NOTES

1The history of region and the Buddhist school of art is discussed in Chapters I and II.


7Rosenfield makes this point in regard to the Kusāṇa period but it also applies to the earlier era as well. See John Rosenfield, The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 3.


9Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image," The Art Bulletin 9 (1926-1927): 320. Literary, archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence as well as traditions support the view that the era of Kaniska was a highly creative period. See Majumdar, ed., The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2: 146-47.


11Zwalf, Shrines, 4.


15B. N. Mukherjee, "The Sixth Dated Icon of Gandhāra Art" (Paper read in his absence by John Huntington at the 17th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, November, 1988). The dais of the Bodhisattva is flanked by a pair of frontally positioned lions with open mouths and projecting tongues. These stylistic features betray the influence of the school at Mathurā where plinths flanked by the projecting forms of lions are found from the year 22 of the era of Kaniṣṭha. There are two sculptures from the Mathurā region dated to year 22 of the Kaniṣṭha era, one of a Buddha and one of Mahāvīra. See J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Date of Kanishka and Some Recently Published Images," in Papers on the Date of Kaniṣṭha: Submitted to the Conference on the Date of Kaniṣṭha, London, 20-22 April, 1960, edited by A. L. Basham. Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies. Oriental Monograph Series, vol. 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 128, pl. II; Sharma, Buddhist Art, 208, fig. 126 as cited by Mukherjee, "The Sixth Dated Icon of Gandhāra Art," 1. n.1.

16Sharma, Buddhist Art, 27, 171 ff.; Puri, India, 37-54.

17Taddiei, India, 95; Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 38-43.

18The chronology for Shaikhan Dheri is founded on the recovery of 475 coins, distributed and widely dispersed in different layers (Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 17, 24-26).

19See note 10 above and Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 253-58. As little factual information exists, dating becomes increasingly more difficult after the middle of the third century A.D. (Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 5). There seems to be little doubt that Kuṣāṇa power began to decline following the reign of Vāsudeva I. For a discussion of the period following Vāsudeva, see Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2:151-52, 2:159-61.


23 Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 188-207.

24 For an example of mural painting, see Fig. 308; for indications that banner painting was also important, see Fig. 281.
By John C. Huntington From Susan L. Huntington with contributions by John C., *The Art of Ancient India.*

Fig. I. Map of South Asia.
CHAPTER I

THE BUDDHIST ART OF THE NORTHWEST REGION AND RELATED AREAS IN AFGHANISTAN

THE NAME GANDHĀRA

The acceptance of the name Gandhāra as a convenient term to designate the school of Buddhist art and architecture that flourished in Afghanistan and the northwest arose as a result of a misconception. During nineteenth century when sculptural and architectural remains from the lower Kabul Valley and Upper Indus first gained attention, scholars tended to be less than precise about assigning names.¹ The full scope of what is popularly referred to as the Buddhist school of Gandhāra should not be thought of as confined to the core area from which its name was borrowed as the tradition extended far beyond the delimitations of the ancient kingdom. Thus the term Bactro-Gandhāran realm as defined by Huntington is a more accurate designation accounting for the full development and extensions of the school into the Bactria region.² Material evidence which may be classed as belonging to this tradition has been identified from many disparate locations, from a site some thirty miles east of Taxila at Māṇikiāla to the Oxus
region on the Afghanistan border with the U.S.S.R. The development and transferral of the tradition from the ancient kingdoms of Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, and Kapiša to the Oxus Valley at Kundūz in ancient Bactria are reflective of the vitality and assimilative powers of the religion, geographic location, and the complicated political and economic history of Gandhāra and contiguous regions.

The name Gandhāra has been used since the second millennium B.C. where it occurs in the hymns of the *Rg Veda*. It is impossible to be precise about regional boundaries as the term Gandhāra was used variously in antiquity although it is probable that the ancient core area was the lower Kabul Valley, roughly the Peshāwar plains region, now within the confines of the Northwest Frontier Province of modern Pakistan. The Peshāwar plains region, an area of more than two thousand square miles, is situated about eleven hundred feet above sea level. It is surrounded by mountain ranges and systems except to the east where it is bounded by the Indus River.

Ancient Gandhāra was sometimes thought to include part of what is now eastern Afghanistan and the adjoining areas of Swāt (the ancient kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna), Buner, and Bajaur. While early references are generally made to areas west of the Indus, Taxila, located approximately twenty-two miles northwest of modern Rawalpindi between the Indus and the Jhelum rivers, should also be included when addressing issues related to early historic periods. Sometimes this area is referred to as eastern Gandhāra. As the meeting place of three important trade routes, Taxila was the most developed of the region's early
historic capitals and shared the political and cultural fate of the traditional core area.⁶

GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS, TRADE AND COMMUNICATION

Natural boundaries, waterways, and early systems for trade and communication were central to Gandhāra’s cultural and economic development. To the northwest is the some five hundred mile long Hindu Kush mountain system, which buttresses the Pamir plateau at its eastern end and runs southwest into Afghanistan. The Safed Koh range separates the Peshāwar Valley from Afghanistan. To the northeast the Karakorum range extends from Pakistan into Tibet while the great Himalayan range extends from Jammu and Kashmir south along the border of India. Southward, the flat Indus River Valley sprawls some seven hundred miles to the Indian Ocean.

Among the factors that contributed to the unusual history of the region and Gandhāra proper was the uniqueness of location. It was isolated by natural boundaries and yet accessible through waterways and passes to northern India. As new peoples entered and gained control, the region was subjected to continual political upheaval, a dynamic that contributed to the long established cosmopolitan character of its population.⁷ During the first several centuries A.D., there was great prosperity resulting principally from international trade. This prosperity allowed the arts and religion to flourish in an unprecedented manner.
In contrast to the array of mountains surrounding the region, well watered and fertile areas, such as the Peshāwar and Swāt valleys, which are covered with alluvial soils, successfully produced a number of grains, fruits, and flowers as well as sugar cane in ancient times. The region remains known for its orchards. The generally pleasant climate, with little snow and ice, becomes highly diversified according to altitude.

The role of Gandhāra proper as a strategically and commercially important territory was considerably affected by its position astride the southern or Indian branch of the trans-Asian network of trade routes (the Silk Road). This route represents the northern end of what Megasthenes called the "royal highway". The southern artery, known today in Pakistan and India as the Grand Trunk Road, was originally built by Chandragupta Maurya to connect Pātaliputra and leading cities of the Ganges Valley with Taxila, Pushkalāvatī, and Kapiṣa, where it joined the Seleucid road to Bactria. From that point the road was actually made up of caravan tracts passing on from the Levant across Iran, Afghanistan and the Pamirs to Kashgar where it divided and skirted the Takla Makan Desert to join again at Anxi (An-hsi). From there it continued on to the capitals of Changan (Ch'ang-an) and Luoyang (Loyang). It is probable that the nearly five thousand mile long great trans-Asian network of routes, the Silk Road, was the main avenue of communication between China and the West from the second millennium B.C. (the traditional date for the opening is as late as 115 or
Fig. 3. Map of the Kuśāṇa Empire.
Growing increasingly important during the first century A.D., it reached its zenith in circa A.D. 200.\textsuperscript{13}

Invading peoples, merchants and other travelers frequented the most easily negotiated mountain passes through the Hindu Kush and the Safed Koh ranges leading to Gandhāra and the northern plains of India. Alexander used the old trade route across the Nawa Pass which connected eastern Afghanistan with the city of Chakdara and the old capital of Gandhāra, Pushkalāvatī, which is also known as Chārsada.\textsuperscript{14} For centuries, the Khyber Pass west of Kanishkapura (near the modern city of Peshāwar) provided a direct and easily negotiable connection between Gandhāra and Afghanistan and the major trans-Asian trade routes. A more difficult tract through the passes to the north by way of Swāt and Gilgit also connected Gandhāra with eastern stretches of the Silk Road as did a third major route through the Srinagar Valley linking Taxila with Kashmir.\textsuperscript{15} This latter route led on to Leh and north through Wakhan to Yarkand. It is also probable that western connecting branches of the trans-Asian route running along the northern shores of the Caspian Sea or through the Caucasus Mountains provided commercial contact between Gandhāra and the Black Sea region of southern Russia.\textsuperscript{16} Flowing southward, the Indus River gave access to ports on the Indian Ocean and the maritime or spice routes to the West through the Persian Gulf and through the Red Sea. These routes were used to particular advantage in the trading of spices and other goods from India and when the overland traffic was interrupted due to political conflicts on the western borders of Parthia during the Roman period. In
Fig. 4. Map of the Silk Road in Roman-Han Times.
this sphere of cultural diversity and international commerce and communication, Buddhism flourished.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE GANDHĀRA REGION

Although it is likely that Gandhāra had become a unified kingdom sometime during the protohistoric period, circa fifteenth through sixth centuries B.C., the historic period for Gandhāra begins in approximately 519 B.C. with its incorporation into the Achaemenid Empire of Persia as one of twenty-two satrapies.17 Most of what is known of Gandhāra’s earliest eras has been gleaned from myths and traditions and, more recently, from archaeological evidence. The ancient kingdom was continuously cited in Vedic literature beginning with the Rg-Veda (ca. 2000-1000 B.C.).18 Passages in early Buddhist literature based on oral traditions composed from the perspective of political history during the lifetime of Buddha (563-483 B.C.), list Gandhāra, with Taxila as the capital, among the sixteen great nations of the pre-Buddhist period.19

Beginning with the Achaemenid era (ca. 550-330 B.C.), for the first millennium of its historic period (ca. 6th century B.C. - 6th century A.D.), Gandhāra fell to the control of a succession of invading peoples and their ruling dynasts. Of differing ethno-cultural backgrounds, these peoples primarily entered the region from the west and northwest as a result of their own displacement in their homelands or for the purpose of conquest. Within this pattern of cultural and political
flux, only the Maurya dynasty was Indian, representing a brief but important interlude in the early history of Gandhāra.

Following Alexander's campaign to the Indus River region in 329-326 B.C. and the occupation of the region by his garrisons, Gandhāra came under the influence of the Indian dynasty of the Mauryas during which period the boundaries of the Maurya empire were extended to the Hindu Kush. The Mauryas, who reigned for about three generations from circa 344-225 B.C., were probably responsible for the introduction of Gangetic cultural and political elements, and for firmly establishing Buddhism within the northwest region. The third Maurya emperor, Aśoka (273-233 B.C.), is thought to have been responsible for the introduction and establishment of Buddhism in Gandhāra and Swāt. Following the breakup of the Maurya empire, the northwest passed through what is believed to have been a brief period of independence.

Also of long-ranging importance to the cultural and political future of the northwest were the mass movements of peoples during the third century B.C. Various tribes of nomadic peoples moved across the great Scythic zone (grasslands and steppe stretching from the Black Sea to the Ordos regions), onto the Iranian plateau, and into areas north of the Seleucid kingdom of Macedonians and Greeks in Bactria. It was during this period of migrations, about 239 B.C., that the nomadic or semi-nomadic Parni under Arsaces took over the Seleucid satrapy of Parthia displacing the Seleucids westward and subsequently limiting the expansionist desires of rulers of the Roman empire. At about the same time, the descendants of Greeks and Macedonians in Bactria, formerly
under Seleucid hegemony, asserted their independence under Diodotus, satrap of Bactria.24

Having monitored the breakup of the Maurya empire and after mounting a series of raids and campaigns during the first half of the second century B.C., the Bactrian Greeks expanded southward and established their rule as far east as the Pañjab.25 By the first century B.C. only a few petty kings still ruled in the region and Gandhāra was again under the control of another group of invaders, the Śakas.

The Śakas, who held power until sometime around the beginning of the Christian era, probably belonged to a western branch of Scythians from the northern slopes of the Tien Shan and Transoxiana (Sogdiana and Fergana). They advanced first to attack the Arsacid rulers of Iran and then the Greeks in India, gaining control of Gandhāra in circa 90 B.C. and subsequently establishing themselves, by the middle of the century, in a realm that extended as far as Mathurā.26 The Śakas appear to have allied themselves with the Parthian princes (Pahlavas) who were to be their successors.27

The historical record becomes somewhat more defined with the transferral of sovereignty from the Śakas to the Parthians, a line of kings with Iranian names associated with the independent Parthian dynasty of Archosia.28 With the arrival of a steppe people whose princes referred to themselves as the Kušāṇas, the Indo-Parthian empire in the northwest degenerated rapidly.29 While the Parthian period of supremacy was brief, it played an important role in the development of
trading relations which were to stimulate the cosmopolitan culture which the Kušāṇa inherited.\textsuperscript{30}

Events that anticipated the rise of the Kušāṇa empire predate by several centuries their movement into Gandhāra. During the early decades of the second century B.C. there began in Chinese Turkistan an extended migration of a nomadic Scythian peoples known in Chinese dynastic annals as the Yuezhi (Yūeh-chih).\textsuperscript{31} Some settled in the Richtofen Mountain region along the northeastern rim of the Tibetan plateau; the group which moved westward, the great Yuezhi of Chinese sources, are thought to have conquered Bactria in the mid-second century B.C. and to have occupied it sometime after about 135 B.C. bringing to an end Greek rule in that region.\textsuperscript{32} Their history in the Bactrian region is characterized by the progressive adoption of complex modes of commercial and urban civilization previously established by the Hellenized kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks.\textsuperscript{33} Initially their sphere of dominion was divided among five autonomous chiefdoms. Chinese references suggest that consolidation was first achieved by Kujula Kadphises of the Kušāṇas, however probably not before 35 B.C.\textsuperscript{34}

Chinese sources also record that these nomadic people had remained in Bactria for more than a century before moving to take Gandhāra.\textsuperscript{35} They gained control of Gandhāra proper some time during the middle of the first century A.D.\textsuperscript{36} Under their most widely known ruler, Kaniśka, the empire was extended to include areas from Afghanistan and Russian Turkistan, the western half of northern India at least as far as Benares and the southern region perhaps to the
estuary of the Indus River. The period of Kuśāṇa dominion repre-
sents the high point in the early history of Gandhāra. With an expan-
sive realm, the Kuśāṇas controlled vital sections of the overland and
maritime trade routes that connected the emporia of the Mediterranean
and Near Eastern trading centers with China and with India.

Kuśāṇa rule declined with the weakening of the Han in China, the
rise of the Sassanians in Iran, and the development of local powers and
subsequently the Guptas in northern India. With the defeat of
Vāsudeva I by Shapur I, circa A.D. 241, Gandhāra again came under
Iranian influence, with the Kuśāṇas serving as vassals to the Sassanian
dynasty. During the fourth century Gandhāra was conquered by the
Kidara Kuśāṇas who had moved down from Bactria. In about A.D. 465
the region was once again taken over by another group of invaders, the
Hepthalites or White Huns from Central Asia.

With this background of the geographical considerations, early
patterns of trade and communication and political history, the study of
the Buddhist school of Gandhāra and related regions properly begins
with a brief survey of Buddhism and the religious factors which inex-
orably influenced the Buddhist movement and its art.

BUDDHISM: EARLY HISTORY AND COURSES OF DEVELOPMENT

Buddhism is a pan-Asian system of spiritual liberation. Beginning as orders of laity, monks, and nuns directed toward meeting
the needs of a few who sought spiritual advancement in a life apart
from ordinary society, Buddhism developed into a widespread religion
of important international scope. The religion flourished in northeastern India as a result of the efforts of the historical Buddha (Enlightened One) Siddhārtha Gautama (ca. 563 B.C. - 483 B.C.). The title Enlightened One refers to his insight into the fundamental laws of the universe; he is also known by the titles Śākyamuni, "Sage of the Śākyas," and Śākyasimha, "Lion of the Śākyas," in reference to his birth into the Śākya clan of kṣatriyas (members of martial or reigning caste) ruling a small kingdom on the southern borders of Nepal. Following his enlightenment, the Buddha spent his life traveling and teaching in the kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha.41

It is difficult to offer a systematic account of the temporal sequence of events in Buddhist history or an orderly arrangement of its complex ideological developments. However, underlying the complex patterns of development and transmission is an indisputable continuity.42 Over the centuries, Buddhism moved toward a progressively more elaborate and conventionalized iconography with the production of immense bodies of literature and art. Without the philosophical creativity of new movements, assimilative qualities, accommodations to the laity, and the support of kings, emperors and the nobility, the sustained vitality of the religion would not have been possible.43

Although the development of Buddhism is directly related to the central fact of Śāyakamuni's existence, historical circumstances are not separable from the myths and legends that surround his life and work. The teachings of the Buddha were initially passed on by oral tradition and not committed to written form until several hundred years had
passed. The Buddhist literary tradition, portions of which are held to include the original doctrines and sermons of Śākyamuni, is preserved in Sanskrit manuscripts and three very large collections in the languages of Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan. Much of the literature is of unknown authorship and has undergone changes and additions over long periods of time. Over the course of centuries, the original teachings and doctrines of early Buddhism were reinterpreted, reformulated, and elaborated, giving rise to an enormous phantasmagorical body of literature and of art forms.

The ideas propounded by Śākyamuni reflect the intellectual milieu of the period and region in which he lived, some current in Upaniṣadic society, others possibly having their origins in pre-Vedic times. Although Buddhism was considered a heterodox tradition as it rejected the authority of the Vedas and the caste system, the Buddha did not reject a large part of his Indic heritage including cosmology, imagery, symbols and themes; he reinterpreted them from his own personal view. He is generally characterized as an Upaniṣadic thinker in that such Upaniṣadic concepts as *karma* (act, actions, deeds), *samsāra* (cycles of rebirth) and *māyā* (illusionary nature of the phenomenal world) are central to Buddhist beliefs. Accepted by all movements are the basic teachings of the Buddha of Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path from the first sermon at Sārnāth, the "Turning of the Wheel of the Law." The essence of the doctrine attributed to the Buddha was that existence is sorrow (birth, old age, disease and death through endless cycles of rebirth), that sorrow is caused by desire and
that the solution to this universal malady was to be found in the suppression of desire and subsequent release from the endless cycles of rebirth. Accordingly, salvation might be achieved by following the Eightfold Path: the path of right views, resolve, speech, conduct, livelihood, effort, recollection and meditation.48

Throughout the long history of Buddhism, various schools evolved from the development of new doctrines and different methodological approaches to the Buddhist goal of Nirvana, the release from saṃsāra through the realization of one’s own Universal nature.49 Schisms appearing at relatively early points eventually lead to major divisions in Buddhism but, in spite of these difficulties, the religion continued to expand its scope of influence. The tradition is usually described as having developed along three primary courses, each composed of variant forms which were not necessarily regional or necessarily specific to monastery complexes as they seem to have flourished side by side. These three primary courses are referred to as Theravāda Buddhism or the Old Wisdom school, Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle) originally called the Way of the Bodhisattvas, and Vajrayāna (Adamantine Vehicle) which is distinctive but inseparable from Mahāyāna.50 Faith was subordinate to Wisdom in Theravāda Buddhism which offered the hope of salvation to a limited few through the ideal of self-discipline and meditation. Faith ranked equally with Wisdom in Mahāyāna which stressed both self-discipline and meditation as well as the universality of salvation and the altruism of the Bodhisattva (lit. Enlightenment Being: a being capable of Buddhahood) who voluntarily postpones his Buddhahood until all
beings are liberated. In Vajrayāna the instant achievement of a supramundane state takes precedence over the Bodhisattva path with the underlying concepts expressed in terms of sexual symbolism, terms which date to at least the Rg Vedic period.

The period around the beginning of the Christian era was a particularly fertile period in the formulation of proto-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna concepts. Research into Mahāyāna doctrine indicates that the development of the Bodhisattva ideal reflects the growth of two movements of thought in early Buddhism: one emphasizing the compassionate component of enlightenment in accord with the changing conceptions of Buddhahood through the idealization, spiritualization and universalization of Śākyamuni and the other, that of śrāddha ("faith"), the popular expression of love, and devotion. Renewing and enriching the heritage of Buddhism, the new movements resulted in doctrinal elaboration and the increase in soteriological teachings, making the possibility of salvation more widely available to the lay person.

Of these two early movements, the changing conception of Buddhahood was of primary significance. In Mahāyāna doctrine, the evolving visions of Buddhahood ultimately led to the universalization of the Buddha as the source/generator of all creatures and as the Cosmic Law (Vairocana). From the Sanskrit literary tradition, Har Dayal has identified within the evolution of the Buddha concept a process beginning soon after the death of Śākyamuni in which the number of Buddhas was multiplied, spiritualized, universalized. The concept of
multiple Buddhas is very old. Tradition holds that Gautama was not the first Buddha; in the Pāli Canon, Gautama is presented as either the fourth, the seventh or the twenty-fourth in a series of mānuṣi (mortal) Buddhas. As ideas evolved, the earthly appearances of Śākyamuni and other mānuṣi Buddhas were viewed as appearances of existence, rūpakahāya or form body manifestations. By the second or third century A.D., the Buddha was given all the mystical attributes of the Upaniṣadic Prajāpati/Brahman; aspects of his human existence were superseded by his endowment with three modes of being, nirmāṇakahāya (Transformation Body), sambhogakahāya (Bliss Body) and dharmakahāya (Essence or Eternal Law Body). As manifestations of a formless, immutable reality, the dharmakahāya has the ability to multiply and represent itself in innumerable epiphanies. All essentially identical in nature, the number of Buddhas and Buddha-kṣetras (fields or worlds) is infinite. Revelations can be made to men on earth as well as in paradisiacal realms by Śākyamuni, by other Buddhas and by Bodhisattvas which emanate from them. Tuṣita with Maitreya as regent was one of the paradisiacal realms to gain importance at an early date as was the Pure Land paradise, Sukhāvati, of Amitāyus/Amitābha.

The other important movement to influence the development of Mahāyāna was that of śrāddha. In śrāddha, the teachings of Śākyamuni were viewed in light of his greatness and personality as a man. As attested by the Pāli Nikāyas, the concept of saddhā (Skt. śrāddha) or faith as an essential element of spiritual advancement may be traced to the earliest periods of development. Originally, faith and devotion
were concentrated on Śākyamuni as the primary object of supplication and agent of compassion.61 However, Har Dayal has effectively shown through his review of Sanskrit literature that as the historical Buddha became more spiritualized and universalized, faith and votive practices initially focused on Śākyamuni were expanded and redirected toward the Bodhisattvas; as the concept of the Buddha was evolving so too were the desires for and perceptions of more personal and accessible types, eventually leading to the conceptualization of a new class of beings, the Bodhisattvas.

The earliest extant record for the use of the term Bodhisattva is found in the Pāli Nikāyas where it is was used by Śākyamuni when referring to the time before his enlightenment.62 Evidence suggests it was primarily as a result of the importance placed on the ideas of developed insight and of accruing merit through beneficent acts performed by Śākyamuni in his earlier incarnations and as Prince Siddhārtha that the pantheon of Bodhisattvas was initially developed.63 The increasing importance focused on Maitreya Bodhisattva as the next future mānuṣi Buddha seems also to have been a primary factor in the early developmental phases of the Bodhisattva concept.64

Both Theravāda and Mahāyāna recognized the importance of the Bodhisattva but it was Mahāyāna Buddhists who proclaimed the superiority of the Bodhisattva.65 In the Mahāyāna doctrine of universal salvation, the arhat and pratekya-buddha ideals were found lacking in developed compassion and displaced by that of the Bodhisattva, ultimately giving rise to the ascendance of more approachable and
seemingly less remote figures such as Maitreya Bodhisattva and Avalokiteśvara. The Great Bodhisattvas, the Mahāsattva Bodhisattvas in Mahāyāna, as models of benevolence, are presented as heavenly beings endowed with magical powers of expediency (upāya); they are conceived of as active and immanent forces in the affairs of man having the abilities to serve as intercessors and to transfer merit from their own good deeds to others.

Early documented manifestations of Mahāyāna can be found in the literature beginning with the Pāli Canon and continuing in such transitional texts as the Mahāvastu and the approximately first century B.C. sections of the Lotus Sūtra and Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras. In the Lotus Sūtra, with its most recent sections written no later than the middle of the third century A.D., the Buddha is equated with the dharma-makāya. The traditional Mahāyāna view is that such important texts as the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras and the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, while initially taught by Śākyamuni, had proven too difficult to be understood by his contemporaries and thus had been concealed in the palace of the nāgas (serpents) in the nether world until the time when they were brought forth by the great teacher Nāgārjuna (first or second century A.D.).

To briefly summarize: the period from about the second century B.C. through the third or fourth century A.D. was one of profound change in Buddhism. Changes which may be traced in the literature also reveal themselves in the scattered remnants of the art from this time. Of special interest is the artistic evidence from Gandhāra and related regions and the socio-religious factors of the period and region
which seem to have provided a suitable ambient for the developing Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrines. Remaining from as early as the Saka and Parthian periods are images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, apparently sculpted in accordance with already codified iconographic requirements. The Mahāyāna ideal of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva must have spread rapidly during the reign of the Kuśāṇas, perhaps in some degree to accommodate the needs of the cosmopolitan population of the northwest. From no later than the middle of the third century A.D. there also remain an immense body of stone sculptures which record well developed iconographic conventions for Buḍḍha, Bodhisattva, and paradisiacal relief scene imagery.

TRENDS AND INFLUENCES IN BACTRO-GANDHARAN BUDDHIST ART

According to Buddhist doctrine only limited aspects of the Ultimate Truth can be defined by human thought because the totality of Ultimate reality is beyond the grasp of the human intellect. The desire to eliminate the illusion resulting from human limitations and to achieve the ultimate goal or realization of the unity of one's own nature with the ultimate reality stimulated the use of artistic forms. As a codified symbolic language composed of anthropomorphic images and iconographic programs, the art serves as a comprehensible and instructive means to direct and hold the mind of the practitioner. Spiritual advancement and the achievement of intellectual mastery of the transmundane, essential Universal Truth are facilitated by giving a visual
reality to the intricate, complicated and profoundly important sets of ideas which are by definition formless.\textsuperscript{73}

The artistic vocabulary was developed as a result of the traditional manner in which religious ideas were expressed. Of great importance are the early Indic symbols of spiritual authority or access to that authority, and divine or sacral sovereignty. While relying upon the human form to convey its message, the art does not record the physical world. Instead, the images represent the personifications of qualities, levels of achievement or specific sets of ideas as well as complex doctrines, giving actuality in visual form to the power and eminence of the dharma which is also revealed in the literature.\textsuperscript{74} Reflective of the capacity of the devotee or practitioner, the individual images and iconographic programs may be interpreted at several levels. Some relate to devotionalism in the offering of faith and love in a reverential manner to Śākyamuni or other Buddhas or Bodhisattvas while others relate to monastic practices used as support for meditation and visualization.

As part of its Indic heritage, Buddhism had incorporated into its literature and artistic vocabulary the traditional symbols of spiritual authority, divine or sacral kingship and secular symbols of wealth and position. To distinguish individual deities and types, and to indicate levels of spiritual advancement, a number of means are used, such as hierarchical scaling, hieratic presentation, posture, attributes, headdresses and hair fashions, and jewelry. The spiritual authority of the Buddha is asserted in the earliest literature. The concept of the Buddha as the religious cakravartin or universal king is also stressed,
probably becoming important during the reign of Aśoka in the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{75} The achievement of the Buddhist goal expressed in military terms as victory over undesirable qualities also has a long history in Buddhism; someone who has achieved the desired state and the type who personifies that state is described as a \textit{jina} (victor or conqueror).\textsuperscript{76} Indebtedness to secular symbols of wealth and position is to be found in the lavish jewelry and headdresses which adorn the Buddhist images. Devotional and hopeful sentiments and practices of lay patrons and practitioners also have a place as secular elements in the form of donor portraits.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUDDHIST ARTISTIC TRADITION IN GANDHĀRA AND RELATED REGIONS

Buddhism appears to have flourished uninterruptedly from the time of its introduction to Gandhāra and adjacent areas in Swāt and eastern Afghanistan, probably during the middle of the third century B.C., at least into the fifth century A.D. Initially inspired by the richness and fervency of traditional Indic thought and symbolism, development was fostered by the vitalization of the region and assimilative powers of Buddhism during a period when doctrinal modifications of Mahāyāna were to radically change its orientation. Its monastic centers once sent forth learned masters to, and received pilgrims from, locations throughout Asia. Remarkable indeed are the far-reaching influences of this long-lived tradition.
During this period, Buddhism was the primary religion in the northwest that produced major monuments and cult images in large numbers. Increased material prosperity and patronage and the continued influx of influences from India, the West, and northwest led to the sculpting of reliefs and individually carved images in a syncretic blending of styles. The importance and grandeur of this early Buddhist school is evidenced today by literary references, its endowment to later advancements and by the still impressive ruins and remnants of its monuments and sculpture which hint at the magnificences of its period of florescence.

While significantly influenced by philosophical creativity and changes within the religion, the development and productive capabilities of the Bactro-Gandhāran school of Buddhist art were impacted by other factors as well. When Buddhism spread to the Bactro-Gandhāra area, the primary elements of Indic style and iconography were of great importance. However, transmission to a new region with an international, cosmopolitan culture led to the development of new cults which produced thereby modifications in style and iconography. This ongoing process of adjustment, apparent throughout Buddhism's homeland of India, was strikingly international in scope, particularly in Gandhāra and Swāt where overlays of influences emanating from the Hellenic world, Iran and Bactria were brought together with local traditions.

The early Indic artistic vocabulary was synthesized with non-Indic elements leading to the creation of art forms characterized by distinctive styles and iconographic innovations unique to the Buddhist
school in Gandhāra and related regions. Of particular importance were elements from the symbologies of traditional Greek art that had been retained during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Contemporary Iranian and Scythian forms and ornamental preferences also impacted Buddhist artistic developments in the northwest and greater Kuśāṇa empire well into the third century A.D.

While little is known of the artists and craftsmen who created the works of art, their backgrounds and training seem likewise to have had some bearing on stylistic and iconographic development. Although their nationalities and their schooling remain subject to speculation, an indexing of stylistic and iconographic characteristics indicates that some were trained within the region while others were trained in Indic, Hellenistic, western Asiatic and Graeco-Roman traditions. In addition to these considerations, a number of additional factors specific to Buddhism’s artistic development also require review, most especially those related to the influences and processes that fostered its secure establishment and continued vitality.

KINGS, PATRONAGE, AND ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT

In examining Buddhism’s artistic development, it is useful to review specifically the efforts and influence of rulers in the region. According to tradition, it was as a result of the zealous efforts of the illustrious King Aśoka that Buddhism was first introduced to Gandhāra and Swāt. Buddhist literature records Aśoka Maurya as one of the greatest promoters of the religion; the scope was increased at Aśoka’s
behest throughout his empire through state patronage and the creation of new centers for devotion and pilgrimage by the redivision, redistribution and rededication of the relics of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{78} Aśoka is also credited with convening the third Buddhist council which sent missionaries throughout his empire and abroad in about 247 B.C.\textsuperscript{79}

Inscriptions and literary references support this theory of expansion. Aśoka's missionaries may have journeyed as far as Bactria, Sogdiana and the Central Asian kingdom of Khotan.\textsuperscript{80} According to the pilgrimage report by Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang), Buddhism was introduced to Khotan by an arhat from Kashmir during the reign of Aśoka.\textsuperscript{81} He also attributes the building of stūpas in Gandhāra, Swāt and Afghanistan to Aśoka.\textsuperscript{82} In the northwest, archaeological evidence from excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission supports third century B.C. dates for the earliest stūpas constructed at Butkara.\textsuperscript{83} Further, Marshall believed there could be little doubt that the great Dharmarājikā stūpa at Taxila was originally built under orders from Aśoka to house relics of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{84} In spite of competition with or perhaps persecutions by the brāhmans during the reign of the Indian king Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (r. ca. 185-151 B.C.), once Buddhism became firmly established in the Bactro-Gandhāra, Indic northwest, it appears to have flourished uninterruptedly under succeeding Greek, Saka, Parthian and Kuśāṇa kings.

The literary, numismatic and archaeological evidence also suggests continued support during the Indo-Greek period. Buddhism may have appealed to the Greek intellect: the text of the *Milinda-pañha*
records a dialogue between the famous King Menander and the learned sage Nāgasena in which the monarch is converted. While this story may be apocryphal, it is probable that a king named Menander adopted the faith and offered his official support to the religion. Coins of perhaps two kings, both named Menander (ca. 165-145 B.C.), display on their reverse sides the dharmacakra, wheel-of-the-law, a familiar Indic symbol of kingship and authority that had been adopted by the Buddhists. Further, archaeological associations substantiate the erecting or refurbishing of stūpas in Swāt and perhaps at Taxila during the period of Greek rule.

Dedications, inscriptions, and the numismatic evidence along with sculptural and architectural remains attest to the growing significance of Buddhism and to the probability that image making had become important in Gandhāra and related regions during the Śaka and Parthian periods. Epigraphic and stylistic analyses and associated archaeological evidence suggest that the reliquary from Bimarān and some of the relief images from Butkara I date to the eras of the Śakas and Parthians, indicating that these rulers may have been patrons of Buddhism. Further, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in her article "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image" has presented an interesting group of relief sculptures which she dates on the basis of stylistic analysis and findings of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swāt to the late first century B.C. or first half of the first century A.D.
From the era of the Kuṣāṇas, epigraphic evidence, large quantities of coins, and other archaeological associations make it virtually certain that Buddhism flourished throughout the Kuṣāṇa's extended realm. The central authority of the dynasty over such vast regions laid a foundation for peace and created the necessary environment for trade and freedom of communication.⁹¹ The wealth achieved through international commerce doubtlessly served as a stimulant to artistic development, especially in the two major spheres of Gandhāra and related regions and Mathurā. The most famous of the Kuṣāṇas, King Kaniṣka, was a patron of legendary importance; the very large stūpa at Kaniṣkapura, outside of Peshāwar, and the fourth Buddhist council held in Kashmir are attributed to the period of his reign.⁹²

The large numbers of individually carved stone images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, closely related by style and iconography, suggest that the artistic tradition in this medium achieved its highest level of quality and productivity during the Kaniṣka era. This view is supported through the findings of recently excavated sites such as Shaikhān Ďheri as well as through comparative analyses of examples from Gandhāra and related regions with examples from Mathurā which bear inscriptions referring to the Kaniṣka era.⁹³ Among these images are numerous examples which reflect the advanced level of Mahāyāna canonical development by the late second or third century A.D.⁹⁴ In their journals, the Chinese pilgrims describe the richness and grandeur of the numerous monasteries of Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Kapiṣa and Bactria, which must have been heavily patronized during the Kuṣāṇa
period. Although the numbers may not be literally true, Xuanzang recorded that there had once been thousands of flourishing monasteries in Gandhāra and in Swāt alone.95

As it seems unlikely that Sākyamuni visited Gandhāra, no important historical locations where he had actually lived and taught, such as were known in eastern India, could be maintained as sites of pilgrimage and votive practices.96 Therefore, the missionary efforts of Aśoka and patronage by others must have played important roles in the early development of Buddhism in Gandhāra and related regions; the possible building of stūpas to contain portions of the relics of Sākyamuni by Aśoka, Uttarāsenā and Kaniṣka would have been of equally great significance, increasing the prestige and influence of the religion and vivifying the essence of Sākyamuni's life and teachings.97 At the same time, as attested by the art and architecture and pilgrim reports, it seems clear that the attraction, prestige and influence of Buddhism was increased in an additional important way, through the association of myths and legends from the traditional history of the ancient kingdoms in the northwest and eastern Afghanistan with episodes from the biography of Sākyamuni.

Apocryphal traditions developed around a number of Bactro-Gandhāra sites that had come to be identified as locations that Sākyamuni visited during his final earthly incarnation.98 Said to have flown to the region from northern India by means of his great spiritual power, he is credited with having accomplished a number of important tasks including the conversion of three evil local deities, the wicked
nāgas Gopāla and Apalāla and the Mother of demons.99 While visiting Peshāwar, he is also said to have predicted that Kaniśka would raise a stūpa to contain a portion of his relics.100 Several monasteries are recorded as having owned his hair and nail clippings, his saṅghātī, or implements that he had used such as his alms bowl and staff.101

The Chinese pilgrims reported that Śākyamuni was not the only Buddha whose importance was recorded in the art of Bactro-Gandhāra. The prediction of Śākyamuni's enlightenment by Dipamkara, the twenty-fourth former earthly Buddha, is said to have occurred at Nagarāhāra during his incarnation as the young ascetic Sumati.102 A stūpa in Kapiśa was said to have been constructed during the era of Kaśyapa Buddha while former Buddhas, as well as other sages, were thought to have descended spiritually for the benefit of all creatures.103 Xuanzang mentions four Buddha images positioned beneath a pīpal tree in commemoration of its use by Śākyamuni and three earlier Buddhas.104

In Gandhāra and the related regions of Swāt and eastern Afghanistan, myths were developed around Śākyamuni's former incarnations as compassionate kings during the period when he was gaining merit as a Bodhisattva. The Chinese pilgrims recorded the importance of four stūpas built by Aśoka to commemorate the charitable and compassionate deeds performed by him in four previous lives.105 Both Songyun (Sung-yun) and Xuanzang mentioned Śākyamuni's former life as the compassionate Śivika-rāja.106 According to Xuanzang, Śākyamuni also ruled as King Maitribāla and Sarvadata-rāja and was
excellently born a thousand times as king of Pushkalavati while perfecting himself as a Bodhisattva.  

The association of the Bodhisattva path with kingship seems likewise to have been important. It is unclear how early the tradition of associating the righteous rule of kings with Bodhisattvahood came into being or the manner in which this association may have altered artistic development. However, the records of the Chinese pilgrims, Tibetan texts, and the images themselves lend support to such associations and interpretations at a relatively early period. For example, Tibetan texts cited by Thomas indicate that at least two early kings of Khotan, Vijayasambhava (ca. late first century B.C.) and Vijayavīrya (ca. fourth century A.D.), were considered incarnations of the Bodhisattva Maitreya.  

The view that a king might also be thought of as an incarnation of a Bodhisattva or that an image of a Bodhisattva might also be interpreted as an image of a king has not been substantiated through literary references or inscriptions on images from the northwest and Afghanistan during this early period. However, in Rowland's opinion, the numerous images of Bodhisattvas do suggest strong personal identification in the Bactro-Gandhāra sphere with the new class of deity, a view with which Rosenfield seems to agree. Since concepts of divinity have been expressed in terms of kingship from pre-Buddhist times in India, it is not surprising to find that kingly figures and Bodhisattvas are nearly identical in the Bactro-Gandhāran school. For example, many of the jewelry modes which adorn the Bodhisattvas
replicate the sumptuous examples derived from Indic kingly types. Further, royal jewelry fashions found in Scythian and Hellenistic conventions are also used on Bodhisattvas. Examples of Hellenistic jewelry found at Taxila have their prototypes in examples recovered from temple treasures and royal burials of the Mediterranean, South Russia and Bactria.110

PATRONAGE AND FAITH

As the Buddhist community may have been dependent on the generosity of the laity, other teachings and traditions developed in Mahāyāna would have been helpful in the acquisition of necessary wealth and significant financial backing required to build the richly ornamented stūpas and monastery complexes and sculpt the numerous images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Proselytizing efforts, the possible rededication of portions of the relics of Sākyamuni, and the creation of new myths and traditions would have vivified the teachings of the historical Buddha and increased the prestige of the faith. Developments within Buddhism would also have been influential in broadening the scope and fostering patronage, particularly among those of position and wealth. Of primary importance were the soteriological doctrines which surrounded the development of paradise cults, the concept of upāya (expedient means) in which the grace of the Bodhisattva is extended to the lay person, and the ability to gain and transfer merit (punya) not only through good deeds but through dedications and the making of images without necessarily having to
join a monastic order.\textsuperscript{111} Literary, artistic and epigraphic evidence suggests that these ideas were fairly well developed by the second or third century A.D.

Popular hopes and sentiments of both the \textit{samgha} and the laity were expressed in the imagery and in dedications. Images of donor couples appear in paradisiacal displays such as those in a scene of the Tuṣita paradise of Maitreya Bodhisattva and the paradisiacal stele, possibly that of the Pure Land of Sukhāvati, now in the Lahore Museum (Figs. 281).\textsuperscript{112} Hopes for the acquisition and transferral of merit through the sculpting and dedicating of images must also have been important factors in the minds of donors and patrons.\textsuperscript{113} The dedications indicate that the sculptures were offered for the benefit and happiness of all beings, in honor of family members and a learned teacher, and for the protection of children. \textsuperscript{114}

In addition to the sentiments and hopes which developed around paradise cult Buddhism and the new methods of gaining merit, there is also literary evidence of the importance of the concept of \textit{upāya} whereby the \textit{dharma} is made accessible to all beings. In the twenty-fourth chapter of the \textit{Lotus Sūtra}, committed to writing before circa A.D. 250, it is stated that the great Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara can, through his great spiritual abilities and compassionate desires, appear anywhere, at any time, in any guise, including that of Indra or Brahmā, a \textit{cakravartin} or a lesser level being, to offer his protection and to teach.\textsuperscript{115} The extension of advanced capabilities to include incarnations as laymen is also evidenced by another relatively early Mahāyāna
text. In the Vimalakīrti Nirdēśa, ca. A.D. 150-200, a great Bodhisattva descends from the realm of the Buddha Akṣobhya as the householder Vimalakīrti. Spiritually advanced to the level of Mañjuśrī, but living as a wealthy lay individual (upāsaka), Vimalakīrti uses his position and means for the benefit of other individuals.116

In the process of increasing the influence of the religion, one of the true gifts of the Buddhists seems to have been their ability to accept elements from the symbolic vocabularies of other traditions by transforming them to meet Buddhist needs. To attract the layman and the non-Buddhist, and to make the teachings more comprehensible, this pattern of adaptation and assimilation was established at the very beginnings of Buddhism with the acceptance of certain concepts, conventions and symbologies from the Indic religious complex.117 The changing styles and modifications which have accompanied its transference to societies outside of India attest to the continued Buddhist pattern of adapting to its own purposes the artistic conventions and symbolic vocabularies important in these new societies to which it was exposed.

During the period under review, a time frame when important doctrinal changes were also taking place in Buddhism, the need for effective tools of communication was no less important in Gandhāra and related areas than elsewhere. The desires for expanded influence and patronage would have remained basically the same but the process would have been more complex and difficult than in more homogeneous societies such as those of India, China and Japan. The Buddhists were
faced with constant political unrest and the need to appeal to the various groups in the mixed cultural milieu that was a meeting place of Mediterranean, western and Central Asiatic, and Indic religious ideas and traditions. The variety of languages and customs would also have been a significant factor.

To the conventions that had long been taken for granted in Indic society, the Buddhists of Gandhāra and related regions adapted a number of foreign deity types, stylistic elements, symbols, themes and concepts that seem to have run parallel to those internally generated in Indic religious thought. Certain external similarities and connotative values allowed for the development of a natural affinity between the Buddhists and more established non-Indic elements of society as well as the newcomers. The art itself suggests that the Buddhist faith was, to a degree, comprehended in light of foreign concepts and themes, and modified in this process of adaptation, particularly in the area of cult development.118

There appear to have been no sanctions within Buddhism which would have prevented the acceptance and use of foreign elements. Further, there does not appear to be any proof of the assimilation, by name, of any foreign deity in the literary or epigraphic evidence as was the case with such deities as Indra and Brahmā.

The relationship of political and religious movements to the development of artistic traditions was extremely complex. Greek symbolism and deity types had become widely known throughout western Asia during the Hellenistic period, often functioning as western equivalents
of local forms and deity types. Semitic and Iranian Asiatics had gradually accepted Greek divine names and figures syncretically as western equivalents of their own gods.\textsuperscript{119} As Zoroastrianism spread, popular deities such as Mithra, Anahita and Verethragna were accepted into the pantheon.\textsuperscript{120} In Gandhāra and the related regions, Farro and Ardokhsho may have been equated with Pāncika and Hāriti; Demeter, the mother of Bacchus, may have been equated with Hāriti.\textsuperscript{121} Nike and erotelike deities appear in thematic friezes, probably of Dionysian origin (Figs. 790, 791). Found both in the Mediterranean world and in the northwest, the laureate Hellenistic fertility-goddess type, with small breasts and broad hips, was synthesized with the śālabhañjikā to create Māyā and Hāriti (Figs. 761). The city goddess or Tyche of Pushkalāvatī (Fig. 764) can be easily traced to the Greek traditions, as can Hercules.\textsuperscript{122} Also of importance were the Greek archetypes of youthful male divinity, Apollo and the youthful form of Dionysos, which seem to have altered the stylistic development of the Bodhisattva types. The Greek laurel wreath of victory and the supplicants festival garland were widely used symbols in a variety of political and religious contexts during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and were of particular importance in Mahāyāna Buddhist art during the second and third centuries A.D.

In summary, while much of the needed information related to the political history and history of Buddhism is lacking, there can be no doubt that the Buddhists of Gandhāra and the greater Bactro-Gandhāra sphere were able to firmly establish the faith and thereafter increase
its sphere of influence. Findings of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swāt, excavations by the University of Peshāwar at Shaikhān Dheri and in the environs of Chakdara as well as the information provided by Faxian (Fa-hsien) indicate that the tradition flourished into the fifth century A.D. Faxian, who visited the area in early fifth century A.D., reported none of the ruination and abandonment described by Xuanzang, who visited the area in the seventh century A.D.\textsuperscript{123}

The establishment and growth of Buddhism was achieved in a number of significant ways, some were internally generated while others were reflective of political unrest and the needs of a complex, cosmopolitan society. These internal and external patterns of flux contributed to the challenge of the process, fostering the creativity and reorientation that permanently altered its direction. Certainly the development of new mythologies, adaptive and assimilative abilities, and concerns for the lay devotee all contributed to the vitality sustained for more than a millennium.

PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

Given the political history of the region and the ahistorical nature of Buddhist literature and other written notations, such as inscriptions and traveler's accounts, which are of limited value, reconstruction of the history of Buddhism's artistic manifestations is necessarily quite dependent on the indexing of stylistic and iconographic changes and advances in association with factual archaeological determinants. What evidence remains suggests that the school progressed along an
uninterrupted course of development with local styles predominating during the periods of early development and of decline. Thus, the Buddhist school of Bactro-Gandhāra, while displaying characteristics that are unique, cannot be considered a homogeneous whole. In addition to sites in Afghanistan, there were three major spheres of population and production in the northwest: the Swāt Valley known in ancient times as the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna; those west of the Indus River in the vicinity of the ancient capitals of Pushkalāvatī and Kaniṣkapura outside modern Peshāwar; and those east of the Indus in the Taxila area.

In relationship to developmental phase and to location, the artistic evidence displays definable variations in stone, quality of carving, style and iconography, all of which contributed to the distinctive appearance of the objects produced. It is probable that numerous groups of ateliers with different traditions and unique characteristics were in operation throughout the region; however, other characteristics such as consistencies in subject matter, iconographic development and ornamentation do indicate, even in the early phases of development, a certain level of interaction and cohesiveness. It can be demonstrated that crudely articulated images from one location are sometimes similar in iconographic and ornamental detailing to finely and skillfully carved images from other locations suggesting that certain conventions had become important and widely known throughout the region. It should also be noted that a few figures apparently recovered from different monastery complexes appear to be the work of a single individual. These characteristics suggest that sculptors moved among the
Buddhist ateliers and/or that the ateliers exported their work. However, it is not until approximately the end of the first century or the early decades of the second century A.D. when a generally high level of quality and certain clearly defined stylistic, ornamental and iconographic consistencies were achieved that the tradition can be considered regional. This regional cohesiveness probably continued through the third century A.D.

A REVIEW OF THE PHASES OF BACTRO-GANDHĀRAN SCULPTURE

Three types of stone sculpture predominated: relief panels, individually carved images, and stelae. The relief panels, used to face the walls of stūpas, chapels and monasteries, were generally sculpted with subjects selected from the biography of Śākyamuni and presented in a serial manner. The individually carved images, designed to be placed against a wall and viewed en face, are, for the most part, representations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas although Pāñcika and Hāritī were also important. During the mature period numerous stelae with scenes of paradises were also sculpted.

In order to more easily review and fully comprehend the complexities of stylistic and iconographic development, the material evidence may be viewed as a progression of four developmental phases designated as Phases I through IV. Reflective of an uninterrupted process of evolution, these phases of development are without clear lines of demarcation; some elements were retained as others were given up and new ones added. However, Phase I relates primarily to achievements of
the Śaka and Parthian eras, Phase II to the Parthian and early Kuśāṇa eras, Phase III to the apex and full flowering of the tradition during the reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsudeva I and perhaps others, with Phase IV relating to the period of decline under later Kuśāṇa rule. 125

Phase I

The currently held view among a number of prominent scholars is that the tradition of sculpture in stone began to gain momentum at the end of the pre-Christian era. Although original portions of some structures date from the Aśokan period, it is difficult to determine when many of early sculptural examples from Gandhāra and related regions were crafted. The greater number of extant works are of stone and appear to have been created toward the end of the first century B.C. or later. Sculptures belonging to Phase I, which seem to reflect Śaka and Parthian period developments, include Buddha images that are among the earliest extant in any medium. It is probable that images of the historical Buddha had achieved some importance in eastern Afghanistan, Gandhāra and Swāt during the rule of the Śakas leading to the burgeoning of the stone tradition during the first century A.D.

Examples belonging to the Phase I category are primarily of the symmetrically ordered, hieratic relief type which display at the center of the composition an image of a Buddha seated on a plinth either in abhaya or dhyāna mudrā (Figs. 253-72). He is attended on his right and left sides by Brahmā and Indra. So important to later Mahāyāna iconographic programming, the trinitarian relationship between the
Buddha and the complementary paired attendant figures appears to have been conventionalized by this time. Although typically more elaborate during later phases of development, these early reliefs establish the convention for scenes of teaching and meditation. While they are associated with the usual biographical cycles, they represent a theme that is more emblematic than narrative and appear to have been incorporated into Śākyamuni's biography to assert his supremacy, and symbolically illustrate his eminency and his power.\textsuperscript{126} These early works lack distinguishing characteristics that might identify them as products of the Mahāyāna movement.

Of particular importance to the understanding of this early phase of development are Faccenna's reports on excavations at Butkara I and the reliefs and figures described by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in her article "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image".\textsuperscript{127} Among the twenty-two cited sculptures are seventeen belonging to Faccenna's first grouping from Butkara I. These have been dated by archaeological evidence to the late first century B.C. or the early first century A.D.\textsuperscript{128} To this group van Louhizen-de Leeuw added five others from Gandhāra and eastern Afghanistan. Early dates, suggested by stylistic analysis, archaeological associations, and epigraphic evidence, are offered for the Bimarān reliquary and the relief from Varia along with other pieces from Swāt (Figs. 914, 275).\textsuperscript{129} A relief image from Gumbat also exhibits a number of stylistic characteristics that dictate its inclusion in this closely related group (Fig. 271).
In discussing these images, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw appropriately lists the primary and secondary stylistic characteristics which support the early dating of the reliefs.\textsuperscript{130} Heavily indebted to early Indic formal conventions, the list of characteristics include the following:

- The similarities in the hair styles used for Buddha images in Bactro-Gandhāra and for Buddha and Jina images in the Mathurā region (cf. Figs. 257, 811).
- The eyes have a wide open, staring appearance (Fig. 259).
- The legs and feet are articulated in a manner that gives them an awkward appearance (Fig. 259).
- The turbans are relatively simple and held in place by unornamented restraining bands [or wrapped in a self-restraining manner] reflective of early Indic conventions (Fig. 265).
- The drapery is finely pleated (Fig. 258).
- Attendant figures wear dhotīs that display billowing hemlines, a characteristic derived from early yakṣa images (cf. Figs. 259, 799).

To this list of characteristics should be added the looping of the drapery over the left shoulder of attendant figures in a manner reminiscent of that used for early Indic yakṣa images (Fig. 799, 800).\textsuperscript{131}

Several other minor but important features also offer support for the early dating of these examples. While van Lohuizen-de Leeuw used the ornamental patterns found on borders, and on dais cloths or carpets to identify similarities within her grouping, these details also offer support for dating.\textsuperscript{132} In examples from Gandhāra and eastern Afghanistan (Figs. 253, 254), the overlapping rosettes used as border patterns are similar in articulation to the overlapping rosette patterns
found on the wheel or the law in a relief from Bhārhut and on a necklace worn by a yakṣa from Patnā (Figs. 803, 800). A second floral pattern that was to retain its importance in Buddhist school in Gandhāra and related regions through at least the second century A.D. is a repeat pattern in which the face of a fully opened flower is used alternately with addorsed profile views of half-open flowers (Fig. 264). Similar design patterns appear on Indic examples, such as the necklace worn by a circa early first century B.C. cauri bearer from Mathurā (Fig. 806). Not only do these designs suggest influences from early Indic traditions they also suggest the probability of an early date for the reliefs from Bactro-Gandhāra.133

Phase II

Identifiable by changes and innovations of the late Parthian and early Kuśāṇa eras, Phase II is characterized by the popularity of works that are essentially of the narrative type. In addition to the formal, symmetrical arrangements of the hieratic reliefs and stelae, the repertoire of subject matter is increased during this phase to include the informal narratives scenes of the major events from the biography of Śākyamuni as well as scenes from everyday life (Figs. 777, 780). Subjects selected from Śākyamuni’s previous incarnations as a king or as Sumati were also important (Figs. 779, 781). It is difficult to determine precisely when craftsmen in the northwest began sculpting large, free standing figures; however, stylistic analysis strongly suggests tendencies in this direction during the early decades of Kuśāṇa
hegemony. Due to its rich visual content, the corpus of works created during this second phase of development provide a wealth of information related to stylistic and iconographic development.

It is difficult to observe distinctions between works produced by Theravāda and Mahāyāna movements in these sculptures from the second half of the first or early second century A.D. although there are indications that the Bodhisattva concept had become important in the Bactro-Gandhāra region. Derived from conventions already established for Śākyamuni, hieratic relief images of Bodhisattvas, presumably of Siddhārtha and Maitreya, are introduced. In these early examples, the turbaned Bodhisattva, possibly Siddhārtha, is shown standing with his right hand raised in abhaya mudrā while the jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva, possibly Maitreya, is shown seated in abhaya mudrā (Figs. 323, 324, 464).

Of importance to an understanding of the material culture during the Parthian and early Kuśāṇa period are excavation reports and studies by Marshall, Dani, Faccenna, Sharma, Michalowski, and Bachhoffer.134

Notable advancements of this phase are:

- A high-rising rounded topknot was conventionalized for images of Śākyamuni (Fig. 739).
- A hair line which descends to a peak in the middle of the forehead was introduced and conventionalized for Buddha images (Fig.739).
- For some Buddha images, the topknot was secured with a Hellenistic hair band that displays either a square knot or some type of set jewel at the center front (cf. Figs. 740, 742, 883, 876).
• A double-looped *jaṭāmukūṭa* was used for images that may represent Maitreya Bodhisattva (Fig. 464).

• The eyes are typically wide open and frequently articulated with irises (Figs. 738, 739).

• Ornamental elements were introduced to turban restraining bands (Figs. 348, 353).

• Open-faced rosettes were used at the center of the garlands and wreaths which adorn architectural elements and the heads of female deities suggesting a new wave of Hellenistic influences, probably from Palmyra (cf. Figs. 784, 772, 907, 910).

Phase III

The Phase III examples relate to achievements of the middle Kuśāṇa period, the approximately one hundred years under Kaniṣka and his successors, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva I and perhaps one or two others. This phase represents the apex and full flowering of the tradition in stone; the school attained its highest productive level and certain representative examples are among finest created in the north-west. This high level of achievement was reached through the prosperity resulting from political stability and from overland and maritime commerce, if not through direct patronage.

The regional cohesiveness of the material evidence from this period clearly indicates that numerous sculptures of fine quality and advanced iconographic development were crafted in one location and shipped to other Buddhist complexes in the region and/or that itinerant sculptors moved among the various Buddhist ateliers. This interchange is illustrated by the similarities found in the images of a Bodhisattva from Mekhasanda and a Bodhisattva from Taxila (Figs. 621, 618).
The scope of suitable subjects and types was again expanded during this phase. Mahāyāna characteristics become more clearly identifiable. This is particularly true of numerous, large individually carved images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas some of which are almost identical in detail to figures that are found in the paradisiacal reliefs and stelae (cf. Figs. 752, 675, 275). It is evident from the number of pieces closely associated by style and iconography that individually carved figures were a primary focus during this period. As the majority of images were removed from their original contexts without adequate documentation and must be dealt with in isolation, their original programmatic contexts cannot be easily reconstructed. Iconographic advances indicate the trikāya system was well developed by this time.  

The body of works from this phase also includes a significant number of formally ordered, hieratic relief and stelae carvings. They are frequently representations of paradisiacal scenes which focus on an image of a Buddha seated in padmāsana and displaying dharmacakra mudrā (Figs. 275, 305). In complex carvings, numerous figures of other heavenly beings along with sub-scenes of themes and subjects of related importance were often incorporated (Figs. 280, 281, 313, 314). According to the Mahāyāna trikāya system, the figures in these scenes would be classed as sambhogakāya level images. Characteristic of these paradisiacal scenes is the trinitarian relationship between the Buddha and a complementary pair of Bodhisattvas attendants, clearly illustrating the displacement of Indra and Brahmā by the Bodhisattvas (Figs. 275, 276, 277). These reliefs are of particular importance as
they confirm the developed importance of paradise cults during this period. Additionally, they provide insight for the possible reconstruction of larger scale programs composed of individually carved figures.

Also of importance to the understanding of this period are the results of the excavation of the second city of Pushkalāvati at the Shaikhān Dheri mound. A chronology for the stratified site of Shaikhan Dheri was determined by the presence of 475 widely distributed recognizable coins. On the basis of this evidence, Dr. Dani and a team of archaeologists were able to put forth a fairly reliable set of characteristics for each stratum beginning with the Greeks who built the city and terminating with the reign of Vāsudeva I when the area became unsuitable for habitation probably due to flooding caused by the shifting course of the river Zinđe, a branch of the Swāt River.

From the Kaniśka level, the recovery of a fragment of a relief imported from the Mathurā region along with well preserved images of a seated Buddha and Hāritī allow for the collating of achievements between the northwest and Mathurā during the period of Kaniśka's rule (Figs. 744, 786, 833). Recovered from the strata from Huviśka to Vāsudeva I, were the head of a Buddha, an image of Bodhisattva adorned with a square-knot jaṭāmukuta and an attendant figure with folds of his garment articulated with incised pairs of parallel lines (Figs. 745, 715, 794). The stylistic and iconographic characteristic of these images as well as others from the Shaikhān Dheri excavation are of great value in that they establish the currency of certain stylistic and iconographic elements during the middle Kuśāṇa period.
Important changes occurring during this phase include:

- For Buddha images, the size of the chignon has been reduced (Fig. 745).
- The images exhibit a preference for wavy or curly hair (Figs. 745, 746).
- The snail-curl fashion was accepted as a suitable hair style for Buddha images (Fig. 749).
- The eyes tend to be more "lotus" shaped (Figs. 675, 676).
- Ornamentation with strands of beads was widely accepted (Figs. 469, 470).
- Beaded tassel, jeweled hoop, and lion earrings were preferred.
- Bodhisattva turbans were heavily ornamented. Most frequently found are drilled, cut and set jewels, tassels, and elaborate restraining band finials in the form of repousee or cast plaques. Emblems in the forms of a jewel on a lotus dais, seated Buddhas, Graeco-Bactrian or Scythian lions and a garuda with a nāga were used for Bodhisattva images (see Figs. 417-59).
- A square-knot, single-loop jatāmukuta was conventionalized for images of Brahmā and the jatāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna (Figs. 275, 276).
- Images of Amitābha and Padmapāni/Avalokiteśvara have been identified by inscription (Fig. 296). The sraj- or wreath-bearing Bodhisattva is identifiable by a wreath of leaves or jewels which he carries (Figs. 385, 387).
- Incised parallel lines were used in the articulation of drapery on smaller images (Figs. 278, 279).

Phase IV

The sculptures belonging to the Phase IV grouping are of the later Kuṣāṇa period when the tradition seems to have lost its vitality. The phase is marked by diminishing levels of creative innovation and a decline in quality of the works produced (Figs. 555, 571, 708). The
individually sculpted images and reliefs are generally less well articulated although it is possible that a few new iconographic elements were incorporated such as the pralambapādāsana for Buddha images. Evidence from stratified excavations indicates that these changes were underway from about the end of the third through fifth centuries A.D. With the decline of Kuṣāṇa order, it is probable that patronage and interaction also declined. As Buddhist communities became more isolated and the cohesive cultural characteristics of the second and third centuries began to deteriorate, the lack of a centralized government, strong international contacts and a flourishing economy seemingly resulted in the reduction of patronage and ability to support skilled artists.\textsuperscript{142}

This later phase of development requires an understanding of the excavations at Begram, Butkara I, Chatpat, Bambolai, Damkot and Ramorā, the results of which are reviewed and illustrated in Faccenna's "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) in Pakistan: Some Problems in Gandharan Art and Architecture," and Dobbin's "Gandhāran Art from Stratified Excavations."\textsuperscript{143}

The formulation of this chronological system incorporates current levels of understanding supported by stylistic analysis, epigraphic and archaeological information including that gathered from recently excavated stratified sites. While new or unpublished information may alter this chronology to a degree, the succession of styles is not likely to be greatly affected. This system, which must necessarily be understood in the very general sense as the lines of demarcation between phases
are loosely defined, will facilitate a more complete understanding of the factual information gathered from the typological studies of Bodhisattva images which represent the original research foci of this work.

NOTES

1Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 109; Zwalf, The Shrines, 1.

2Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 109-10. The Huntingtons suggest the more accurate term Bactro-Gandhāra, implying the lands between, surrounding, and including Bactria and Gandhāra.

3Zwalf, The Shrines, 1-2. See map, Fig.2.

4For background information, see Rapson, Cambridge History of India, 1:319-321; Stanislaw J. Czuma, Kushan Sculpture; Images from Early India (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), 19; Basham, The Wonder, 30. The Rig Veda is a very old collection of Aryan hymns that were amassed and arranged during the early part of the first millennium B.C. (Basham, The Wonder, 60). For references to various passages in the texts, consult Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, 1:218-219 as cited by Rapson, Cambridge History of India, 1:321 n. 2.

5Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, 1-2; Henri Deydier, Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1950) 1-5; Xuanzang as cited by Ingholt. For the view of Greek and Roman writers, see Rapson, Cambridge History of India, 1:58-59.

6Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, 13; Marshall, Taxila, vol. 1, ch. 1.


9It is remarkable that what was observed by Xuanzang in the seventh century is not so different from what one might observe today. See Beal, Si-yu-ki, 11:98.

10Marshall, Taxila, 1:1.


According to Marshall, while major portions of Indo-Parthian imports were of Greco-Roman manufacture, there are a few pieces of gold jewelry and other minor antiquities that show striking affinities with the contemporary art of South Russia (Marshall, *Taxila*, 1:66). The route by way of the Oxus River formed a link in an important chain along which Indian goods were carried to the West by way of the Caspian and Black Sea by the early third century B.C. (Strabo XI, 509 as cited by Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, 43).

Information concerning the early historic period is found in the works of Greek historians and cuneiform inscriptions of Darius (Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, 1:51). For information concerning the northwest from the prehistoric period to the time of Alexander, see Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, 1:319-41.

Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, 1:319ff. Presumably, at some point, the myths and traditions will be better understood in terms of the contributions made by Bronze and Iron Age cultures of the northwest which have recently been brought to light through archaeological investigation. See F. A. Khan, *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan: Prehistoric, Protohistoric, Buddhist and Hindu Periods* (Karachi: Elite Publishers Limited, 1969), 13-68 and Dani, "Timargarha and Gandhara Grave Culture," 3-9.

Aṅguttara I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260 and Mahāvastu II, 2, line 15 as cited by Rapson in *Cambridge History of India*, 1:172, n. 3.

Under Chandragupta large portions of India were either politically and administratively unified or within his sphere of influence. He successfully defeated Seleucus who was moving toward India to recapture Alexander’s lost provinces. The Maurya Empire was extended to the Hindu Kush by 305 B.C. (Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 2:xxvi; Zwalf, *The Shrines*, 3).


26 Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2:120-35; Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, 1:568-580; Basham, The Wonder, 60.

27 The Sakas and the Pahlavas or Indo-Parthians are often referred to in Sanskrit literature. The Pahlavas were a line of kings with Iranian names. Basham, The Wonder, 60; Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 126; Narain, The Indo-Greeks, 134.


29 Malcolm A. R. Colledge, Parthian Art (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 16-17; D. W. MacDowall, "The Dynasty of the Later Indo-Parthians," Numismatic Chronicle, 7th ser., 5:137-48; Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 1, 3f., 136-37; Ghirshman, Iran, 260f.; Marshall, Taxila, 1:64. Kuśāna is probably the name of a tribe or family which became the designation for the empire they created. The name appears regularly on the coins as a suffix to the name of an individual king, such as SHĀNONSHAO KANESHKI KOSHANO (King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushan) (Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 7).


31 Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 7-9, n. 12. What is known of the Kuśānas before their entry into the subcontinent is based almost entirely upon Chinese sources and archaeological associations from recently excavated sites. For a summary of the most important sources of the Chinese records, see Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 281 and Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2:122, 2:136, n. 1.

32 Ch'ien Han-shu 96a, 114b as cited by Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 8-10; Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2:136-37.

33 For information concerning specific problems and the results of more recent research, see Grégoire Frumkin, Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia (Leiden and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1970); Central Asia in the Kushan Period -- Proceedings of the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period, Dushanbe, Sept. 27 - Oct. 6, 1968 (Moscow: Committee on the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia of the Commission of the USSR for UNESCO under contract with UNESCO, 1974-1975); Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 11.

34 Hou Han-shu 118.9a as cited by Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 11; Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2:137; Rapson, Cambridge History of India, 1:583

35 Hou Han-shu 118.9a as cited by Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 11.

36 Marshall, Taxila, 1:64, 66ff.; Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, 2:139-141.

37 Basham, The Wonder, 60. For a systematic review of the physical evidence, see Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 41-54. A wealth of additional information is also to be

38 Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, 25. It appears that the Kuśāna rulers, like the Arscacids who acquired great wealth by taxing the caravan trade, levied taxes on articles of commerce and as well as on their subjects (B. N. Mukherjee, The Rise and Fall of the Kusana Empire [Calcutta: Firma KLM, Private Limited, 1988], 352, n. 193a citing the S. A. Cook and others, eds., The Cambridge Ancient History, 8:598, 1:221f; 353, n. 197 with reference to Epigraphia Indica 8:44 and U. N. Gosh, Hindu Revenue System [2nd ed., 392, 404, 421].


40 Richard Frye, The Heritage of Persia (London: New American Library, 1962), 232; Zawf, The Shrines, 5; Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, 16. While scholars have suggested that the Hephthalites carried ruin and destruction wherever they went, this does not appear to have been the case in the Bactro-Gandhāra region. The Buddhist communities in the northwest were still very active when the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun (Sung-Yün) visited the region in early sixth century A.D. See Beal, Sh-yu-ki, ix-xliv.


43 Conze, Buddhism, 87.

44 Conze, Buddhism, 31. Although focused on early Buddhist developments in relationship to the Mathurā region, Sharma presents a very useful account of early events and traditions in the third chapter of his book Buddhist Art of Mathura.

45 Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 29.

46 This view is widely accepted and many authors have written about it. For example, see Eliaide, History of Religious Ideas, 2:215; Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932; reprint, Delhi, Patna and Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), 29; Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 32.

47 Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 32. For the doctrine of karma, see the Brhad-Araṇyaka-Upaniṣad as cited by Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 29, n. 12, 30. Also see Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Outlines of Buddhism, (London, 1934), ch. iii.

48 The Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path are the primary components of the doctrine (Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 143); Lamotte, History of Indian

Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 32.

In this text, the terms Hinayana (Lesser Vehicle), the Arhat Vehicle, Sravakayana and Pali Buddhism have been subsumed under the term Theravada Buddhism. Eliade, History of Religious Ideas, 2:218.


Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 17, 30ff.


Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 32, 114-15. For references in the oldest Pali tradition, see Mahāpadāna-sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya I, 21f. as cited by Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 24. Dayal also refers to section 6 of the Dharma-saṅgraha, the Lalita-vistara, and the Mahā-vyutpatti.

Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 26-27; Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 114.

Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 29; Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 232-33, 238, n. 109; "From the Dharma should one see the Buddhhas, from the Dharma bodies comes their guidance. Yet Dharma's true nature cannot be discerned, and no one can be conscious of it as an object," as cited by Rosenfield from the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, 26b, trans. E. Conze, Buddhist Wisdom Books, 63 (Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 313, n. 109). For issues of dating, see Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 193-94, 212-214.

Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 24-29, 34.


Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 32-33.

Faith in the Buddha was viewed as essential for the spiritual development of both monk and the lay practitioner (Majjhima-Nikāya, Dhammapada and other texts as cited by Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 32, n.10, 33). Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 244.
62 The Mahāpatī-sutta (Dīgha-Nikāya ii, 13) and the Acchariy-abbhuta-
dhamma-sutta (Majjhima-Nikāya i, 7; 6; 1, 114-24; i, 163,9; iii, 119) as cited by Dayal, 
Bodhisattva Doctrine, 43, n. 57. For the jātakas of Mahāyāna Buddhism, see J. S. 
Speyer, trans., The Jātakamāla: or Garland of Birth-Stories of Aryaśūra (London, 

63 See Chapter III in this work.

64 See Chapter III, pp. 122-29 below; Conze, Buddhism, 116-17; Lee, “The 
Maitreya Cult,” 158, 169, 196-98, 209, 226f., 309; Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 36.

65 The Dharmaguptakas as well as Āśvaghosha and the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra 
are discussed by Rosenfield. See Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 230, 242-43. Also see 

66 Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 35; Conze, Buddhism, 123. Along with 
the qualities of Śākyamuni’s compassion, the primary qualities of the early Bodhisattva 
Mahāsattva ideal in the abstract are at some point attributed to Avalokiteśvara 
(Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 243; Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 23-24, 46-49).

67 Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 35-36; Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 231; Dayal, 
Bodhisattva Doctrine, 35-36, 43, 48-49; Conze, Buddhism, 31, 125-128; Kern, 
Saddharma-Pundarika, 399-405, 413-18.

68 Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 28; Eliaze, History of Religious Ideas, 2:218. 
Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 149ff.

69 Kern, Saddharma-Pundarika, xxii. Nakamura feels that the original of the 
Lotus Sūtra in twenty-seven chapters was already in existence by A.D. 150 
(Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 186).

70 It is asserted in the texts themselves that even these later sūtras record 
the teachings of the Buddha. See Conze, Buddhism, 29. The philosophical basis of later 
Buddhist thought is found in Mahāyāna literature that deals with the “Perfection of 
Wisdom” (Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 149-150, 159ff.). Avatamsaka-sūtra, according 
to tradition was first taught by Vairocana; however, in the oldest sections the Buddha is 
Śākyamuni not Vairocana; see Nakamura, Indian Buddhism 195-96, 319.

71 Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 122; Lohuizen-de Leeuw, “New Evidence.” 
384-388.

72 Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 228.

73 Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 27; Huntington, Art of Ancient India, xxvi; Dale 
Saunders, Mūdra: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture 

74 Huntington, Art of Ancient India, xxvi.

75 The Saddharma-pundarika, the Mahā-yuddhā, the Divy-āvadāna and others 
as cited by Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 24, n.93; Basham, The Wonder, 83, 257; 
Coomaraswamy, “The Origin of the Buddha Image.” 305, 315; Ananda K. 
Coomaraswamy, “The Buddha's cuḍā, Hair, uṣṇīsa, and Crown,” Journal of the Royal 

76 Jina is an old epithet of the Buddha originally referring to Śākyamuni’s 
victory over passion (Conze, Buddhism, 189). Huntington, Art of Ancient India, xxvii.

77 Iconographic conventions from Greek mythology, religion, and ritual were 
assimilated to the iconography of divine kingship; see Chapter II, pp. 86-98 passim.
The epigraphic and archaeological evidence is not at variance with the Buddhist traditions. See notes 83 and 84 below. Also see Rapson, Cambridge History of India, 497-99; Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 50-51; Zwalf, The Shrines, 6.


Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:92, 109, 112-13, 125, 127.


Marshall, Taxila, 1:5.

The achievement of transcendental wisdom became a motivating force in the philosophical speculations of other societies including that of Greece. There are very few records of the interchange of ideas between Indian and Greek communities. The primary Indian text is the Milinda-panha. Coomaraswamy identifies some parallels between passages found in Indian texts and passages in the works of the Greek philosophers such as Plato (Coomaraswamy, Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power, 76ff.). Also see Eliade, History of Religious Ideas, 2:201.

Marshall, Taxila, 1:33.

The research of William Spengler suggests the possibility of two kings by the name of Menander. See William F. Spengler, "Numismatic Evidence of a Second Menander," (Paper presented at the 17th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, November, 1988).


93For a general overview, see Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 23-25, 38-45; Sharma, Buddhist Art, 171-236. Also see Czuma, Kushan Sculpture, 227-32 ("Chart III. Major Dated/Dateable Images of the Mathurā and Gandhāra Schools.").

94Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 17-214; see Chapter IV, pp. 192-93, 196-99 below.

95Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:98, 120.


97Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:99, 132.

98According to tradition, he left his shadow and footprint as indications of his presence (Fa-hsien, The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, re-trans. H. A. Giles [Cambridge: University Press, 1923; reprint, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981] 11, 18); Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:cvii, 93, 94.

99Fa-hsien, Travels of Fa-hsien, 11; Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:93-94, 110-11, n. 96, 122-23. According to I-tsiing the Mother of demons was Ḥārīti. However, she is associated with Rājagir rather than Pushkalavatī. At the same time, Ḥārīti was clearly important in the Bactro-Gandhāra region as many of the surviving early images identified as Ḥārīti are from this area.

100Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:99-100; While earlier versions of his biography do not mention visits to the Bactro-Gandhāra region, later biographies do include tales of Sākyamuni's visits to the northwest (Zwalf, The Shrines, 21.).

101Fa-hsien, Travels of Fa-hsien, 15, 17-18; Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:cvii, 45, 48, 95-96.

102Fa-hsien, Travels of Fa-hsien, 17; Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:92-93.

103Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:48, 109-10.

104Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:99.

105Fa-hsien, Travels of Fa-hsien, 13; Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:92, 110, 125, 127.

106Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:cvii, 125.

107Ts'z'-li or Maitribhāja according to M. Julien (Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1:110, 125, 127, n. 26).

108Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan, 2:75, 2:305-06 as cited by Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 229, n. 54. For the dates given here, see Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 234-477.

109Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, xv, 228. With the development of the Mahāyāna pantheon, Buddhist kings received some of the reflected glory. However, most of the direct evidence of this is from later periods. See Conze, Buddhism, 75; Benjamin


Khandelava, "Five Dated Gandhāra School Sculptures," 61-71. The inscription on an image of Hariti, now in the Chandigarh Museum, expresses the hope that "in heaven may she carry the tenth" and asks for protection of the children (p. 65). The inscription on a stele in the Claude Marteau Collection states that the sculpture was a "pious gift of Buddhānanda, learned in the three pitakas: may it be for the honoring of his deceased father and mother," (Zuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, 198, pl. 109). The inscription on the frequently published circa second century A.D. Buddha image from Katra, Māvarā was dedicated "for the welfare and happiness of all beings," (Huntington, *Art of Ancient India*, 152, n. 31, fig. 8.31).

Kern, *Saddharmā-Pundarīka*, 411. Chapter 23 of the *Saddharmā-Pundarīka* is devoted to the glorification of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadjadavara who must have been important at the time the text was written. As with Avalokiteśvara, Gadjadavara has the ability to assume any form in order to teach. See Kern, *Saddharmā-Pundarīka*, 400-03. For a discussion of the dating of this text, see Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 166-167.


Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 196, 228-29, 244, 246-47.

Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 6. Colledge cites Hercules, for example, who could represent Semitic Nergal or Iranian Verethraghna, or Apollo Nebû or Mithras.


See Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāra Art*, 21. While scholars have suggested that Zaraoastrianism was practiced by non-Indian religious communities in the northwest and may have had some influence on the development of Buddhism, these influences require greater definition.


Cf. Figs. 518, 519. It may be assumed that important examples such as these were recovered from different sites as it seems unlikely that identical images were created for the same monastery complex.


These hieratic reliefs should be viewed as the antecedents of the later similarly ordered reliefs representing the miraculous paradisiacal scenes which prevail in Mahāyāna literature. Evidence of this is found in the first twenty-two chapters of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* which were completed before A.D. 100. According to Nakamura, the original of this text was already in existence by A.D. 150. Scholars suggest that it may have been completed in Gandhāra or somewhere in the neighborhood of Kapisa (Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 186-187). For a discussion of the Mahāyāna reliefs from which these were derived, see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 236-38.


Interestingly, a similar design also occurs on a necklace from Ryzhanovka. It was probably manufactured in Panticapaeum, north of the Black Sea, at the end of the second century B.C. See, Ellis Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 2 vols. (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965), 1:177-79, fig. 74. A necklace ornamented with the same motif is worn by a dwarf yakṣa on the western torana of the great Stūpa at Sāñcī. See Taddei, *India*, pl. 38.


The majority of Bodhisattva images in the typological studies of this research project are very closely related in the type of stone used, in style, and in iconography. For a discussion of the characteristics of images recovered from stratified sites, see Dobbins, "Gandharan Art," 294. Mizuno dates the earliest images and opening of the site at Mekhasanda to the period of the Great Kuṣāṇas (ca. A.D. 150-250) although it remained active into the middle of the fifth century A.D. See,


139 This shifting occurred some time around the middle of the third century A.D., depending on the dates used for the reign of Vasudeva I (Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 21, 23-24).

140 Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 41-42.

141 The use of incised pairs of parallel lines is generally thought to be characteristic of the time after Vasudeva I. See Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," 40-41.


CHAPTER II

WESTERN INFLUENCES

THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN ARTISTIC CONVENTIONS

The degree to which Mediterranean Hellenic artistic conventions influenced the development of Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist art, especially in deity forms and elements derived from the Greek iconographic vocabulary of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, has been a point of scholarly contention since the beginning of this century. Over the course of the decades, this issue has been especially clouded by the Eurocentric and Indocentric predispositions of early scholars. It is hoped that, removed from those prejudicial attitudes, the objects, which relate to this work, can be reviewed morphologically with objectivity. Indeed, using recent analyses together with information gathered for this study, the relevant issues can now be more clearly focused, more accurately evaluated, and precisely defined.

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Due to the syncretic stylistic and iconographic profile of the art, questions of origin and development of the Buddhist school have been

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subject to considerable controversy from the time when it was first explained in a systematic way by Foucher as a "progressive deterioration of a style originally based on imported Greek elements."¹ In fact, the history of scholarship is marked by tendencies to either over or under emphasize the influences of Greek art in relationship to its Indic religious and artistic heritage. These inappropriately emphasized influences notwithstanding, the basic relationship of the Buddhist art of Bactro-Gandhāra realm to that of active Buddhist centers in India and the continuous nature of cultural interchange between the northwest and northern and central India seems to be well recognized within the scholarly community today. This is primarily a result of the early efforts of Coomaraswamy, the continued re-evaluative efforts of van Louhizen-de Leeuw, and more recent contributions of such scholars as R. C. Agrawala, N. P. Joshi, R. C. Sharma, John Huntington and others.² At the same time, for the purposes of this study and for a more complete understanding of the development of Buddhist art in the northwest and Afghanistan, it is useful to examine a number of the more important aspects of Greek influence and, in the broader historical perspective, Western cultural diffusion.

The sources for the persistent classicistic elements in the Buddhist art of Bactro-Gandhāra and the time frames for their acceptance have presented numerous challenges. Working during the first several decades of this century, early eminent scholars such as Foucher and Bachhofer sought prototypes for the Greek features in lingering Greco-Bactrian influences.³ Marshall attributed the importance
of classicistic features to a revival of Hellenistic traditions under the Parthians whom he characterized as philhellenes, admirers of Greek institutions and Greek culture. In his view, this disposition reflected the continued vitality of Hellenistic culture in western Asia and the close commercial contacts that the Parthians maintained with the Mediterranean coasts. Morphological similarities between elements found in the art of the Parthians and the Kusāṇas inspired scholars such as Ingholt, Schlumberger, Ghirshman, Colledge and others to successfully examine the art of Parthia and trade route cities such as Palmyra for antecedents of certain Bactro-Gandhāran classicizing elements. Others, such as Smith, Buchthal, Soper, Rowland, and Wheeler have clearly demonstrated a relationship between certain substyles of Bactro-Gandhāran art and the art of Rome.

Notwithstanding these and other considerable scholarly efforts of the past, knowledge of Greco-Bactrian art continues to remain incomplete. To date, it has been difficult to identify cults of Hellenic religious origin in western Asia, cults with associated art forms of sufficient importance for their imagery to serve as a direct antecedent of the Buddhist idiom in Bactro-Gandhāran art. However, recent archaeological efforts of the Uzbekistan Expedition of the Institute of Art History, Tashkent and the Afghan-Soviet Expedition at Tillya-tepe have significantly increased our knowledge about the artistic trends of ancient Bactria and clarified one of the most enigmatic periods in the history of Bactrian culture, that from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.
The results of these excavations and other studies suggest that, while Hellenic influences from the period of Greek rule in Bactria were retained into the Kuşâna period, a regional aesthetic had already developed by the end of the Hellenistic era, about the first century B.C. By that time, themes and modes ultimately based on Hellenistic Greek conventions had become synthesized with Greco-Iranian and Scythian conventions. At the same time, given what is presently known from the few remnants of sculpture recovered at Aī Khanum, and from Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe, it is not possible to argue that Hellenistic male deity forms arrived in Gandhāra from Hellenistic Asia with the Kuşânas. Nevertheless, influences emanating from Hellenistic Asia may be found in architectural elements, Hellenic Greek themes and modes, small luxury items, and in the titles and iconography of divinely sanctioned kingship and apotheosis. All of these elements contributed greatly to the Buddhist art of Gandhāra and its related regions.

Conversely, influences of the Greco-Iranian cultural tradition of the Parthians are easily supported. These elements of influence are also found primarily in the form of architectural elements, synthesized Greco-Iranian hair fashions and clothing preferences, in small portable luxury items such as jewelry, and in ritual and household artifacts of bronze. Further, as with the evidence from the Bactrian region, the nomenclature and iconographic vocabulary of ruler cults and of apotheosis is important as well.¹⁰

Thus, in the complicated process of identifying antecedents, it is clear that many of the characteristics that may ultimately be traced to
the classical Greek tradition resulted from the general Hellenistic milieu that stretched across western Asia beginning in about the third century B.C. through the first century A.D. While the Greek artistic tradition had a very significant impact on the development of the Buddhist school, the process of assimilation was very complex. Some of the Greek elements relate to a Western inheritance following the establishment of Indo-Greek society in the region, some are reflective of infusions from the previously synthesized Greco-Iranian cultural sphere that included Bactrian and Scythian traditions, others were the result of successive waves of Greek influence from both the Western Hellenistic and Greco-Roman worlds.

DEFINING HELLENISTIC INFLUENCES

By the fourth century B.C. in Greece, a tradition of rich and finely crafted images had developed to give artistic form to subjects selected from mythology, legends, religious festivals, and ritual practices. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a number of these forms and elements gradually took on new meaning and purpose. These changes were accomplished in accord with a developing ethical consciousness and concerns for man's personal relationship with god and immortality.

In addition to these dynamics, there were other changes which also fostered the preservation, dissemination and adaptation of originally eastern Mediterranean and Hellenic ideas and art forms. Of primary significance are those related to the expansionist desires of
numerous ruling dynasts beginning with Alexander and the Diodochi, the prestige and influence of the advanced state of Greek society, and the development of strong commercial and communicative systems over vast territories. Other influential dynamics were tendencies toward religious syncretism, the widespread importance of hero and ruler cults, and the developing relevancy of concerns for personal immortality within many non-Hellenic religious systems. Traditional Greek forms, originally developed as symbols of renewal, of divinity, and of victorious achievement, were adapted and assimilated as metaphors for apotheosis and endless life.

While it is clear that the dissemination and adaptation of deity forms and other elements, ultimately traceable to the classicistic tradition in Hellenistic and Roman art, contributed a great deal to the stylistic and iconographic development of Buddhist art, at the same time, it remains difficult to evaluate the importance of Greek mythology, legend, and religion in Gandhāra. Cults of Greek deities and the associated elements of style and iconography were introduced at various times, under different circumstances, and with varying degrees of importance and appeal. Further, syncretism has two aspects, one apparent in the positive identification between deities and the other in the tendency to mix cults.

On the whole, classicistic forms seem to have supplemented artistic and didactic needs rather than visibly alter the doctrines of the Buddhists. The list of Greek deities and architectural, ornamental, and emblematic motifs that had some influence on the development of the
Buddhist school in Bactro-Gandhāra is quite extensive. Clearly, some influences were of greater and more long lasting importance than others. Among them and of special interest to the Mahāyāna focus of this effort are two significant aspects of Western influence. One aspect is specifically related to the formal vocabulary developed for male deities, especially Apollo and the youthful Dionysos, while the other is more generally related to what many be called a visual language of triumph. This visual language of triumph, a continuous and fluid artistic thread, is composed of an interchangeable body of subjects and deities including the supplicants bough or garland swag, the wreath of laurel, Nike, and Eros. These subjects and deities were embodied with commonly understood connotative values, values that became denotative in the context of their application in Buddhism as well as in other non-Hellenic socio-religious and religious systems. The artistic traditions that developed from Greek religion and, more specifically, practices surrounding the two deities, Apollo and Dionysos, along with the development of a visual language of triumph are of a complex and interrelated nature.

WESTERN INFLUENCES ON BUDDHIST ART IN GANDHĀRA AND RELATED REGIONS

As indicated, the influence of Greek deity forms on the Buddhist school of art has long been recognized. Although these deity forms were known in Gandhāra and its related regions in Swāt and Afghanistan from the advent of the Indo-Greeks, their influence seems
not to have made a significant impact on Buddhist imagery until some time after the first half of the first century A.D. While few Greek gods were portrayed in their proper Western form, it is extremely unlikely that their influence was inspired by aesthetic or decorative purposes alone.15

While many unresolved issues related to Western influences remain, there seems to be little controversy over the stylistic influence of the idealized, youthful, divine male type in the development of Buddha and Bodhisattva imagery. In a number of examples, the musculature of Bodhisattva images and the relaxed stance of both Buddha and Bodhisattva figures may ultimately be traced to the classical Greek forms and contrapposto attitude (Figs. 675, 746, 859, 873, 886).16

Contrasting greatly with the diaphanous drapery treatment of Indic tradition, the monastic sanghāti (robe worn over other garments) of the Buddha is articulated with heavy, three-dimensional folds in a manner reminiscent of classical Greek woolen himation or Roman toga.17 The defined and contemplative facial features of a number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images are reminiscent of the facial features and expressions of Apollo and of the youthful form of Dionysos (Fig. 880).18

Further, hair fashions and chignon styles conventionalized for images of Apollo and Dionysos are suggestive of hair styles and the jaṭāmukūṭa conventions used for two of three important groups of Bodhisattva images (cf. Figs. 885, 886, 889, 890, 618-20, 675, 732).

In addition to comparisons made between the adolescent features of such figures as the Apollo Belvedere and the image of a
Buddha formerly in the Guide's Mess Hoti-Mardān (Figs. 885, 746), the typological studies of this research indicate that two of the three primary jaṭāmukuta conventions used for Bodhisattvas may have been derived from the repertoire of Greek deity chignon styles. Knowledge of these fashions was widely dispersed throughout the Mediterranean and western Asia. In association with Greek male deities, the double-looped style is most familiarly known as a fashion widely used for the unbearded, youthful adult Dionysos while the second convention, the single-looped style secured by a square knot, is most familiarly known as a fashion for Apollo.

With the evolution and expansion of the Bodhisattva pantheon, which had a long history of development in Buddhism, there would have arisen an increased need for youthful divine types with distinguishing characteristics and attributes. While it cannot be proven that the double-looped chignon was not an internally developed mode, if it does represent a borrowing, it is probable that it was borrowed from the imagery of Dionysos. During the first through the fourth centuries A.D., in Italy, in Hatra, and possibly in Gandhāra, double-looped chignons, similar to those adorning jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattvas, were used for images of the youthful, adult Dionysos (Figs. 890, 900, 770). The single-looped chignon was perhaps the second type to be borrowed, its distinctive characteristics leaving little doubt of antecedents in Apollonian imagery. As with images of Dionysos, representative examples may be identified from southern Italy to the northwest (Figs. 881, 885, 771). Further, in a number of relief stelae from the period of
florescence under the Kuşāṇas, the image of the jaṭāmukūṭa-type Bodhisattva is adorned with the single-looped chignon almost identical in detail to one which adorns the head of Brahmā, documenting the borrowing of this Apollonian fashion for Brahmā as well (Figs. 275, 276, 797).

In addition to Buddhist school adaptations of characteristics such as posture, costume and possibly chignon styles from the Greek archetypes of idealized, youthful male divinity, the adaptation of themes, emblems and ornamental elements borrowed from the triumphal language also made a significant impact on the development of Mahāyāna Buddhist imagery, particularly during the second and third centuries A.D. This was especially true of the suppliant bough and the wreath of laurel.

The suppliant bough or continuous garland swag of laurel, frequently shouldered by erotelike figures, was used repeatedly in Bactro-Gandharān Buddhist art. The garland motif is found on the Kanishka reliquary, numerous stūpa drums, and reliefs and stelae (Figs. 792, 791, 294). In reliefs of this type, as in examples from the Mediterranean and from Bactria, the garland was the common element in a body of ever changing combinations of deities, symbols and emblems (Figs. 889, 919, 920). While reflective of their Western antecedents, in Bactro-Gandhāran examples, many of the forms are synthesized with more indigenous types. Some figures, such as the Nike and Eros types, are of Greek origin, others, such as the solar and lunar deities of the Kanishka reliquary, appear to be of western Asiatic origin while the three
images of seated Buddhas, also on the Kaniṣka reliquary, are specifically Indic (Fig. 792). In these Buddhist contexts, the garland, which according to John Huntington, separates the mundane from the transmundane realms, was used as a symbol of apotheosis and immortality, probably in relationship to the developing paradise cult Buddhism and the trikāya system in Mahāyāna. A stele from Loriyān Tangai illustrates this quite clearly (Fig. 294).²¹

In the Buddhist art of Gandhāra and its related regions, there are many examples which show garlands composed of leaves very much like the laurel in appearance; others are composed of a number of different materials including various types of twisted bands of jewels, presumably of Indic origin. Some swags are clearly sectioned into individual garlands with each separated by or ending with stylized ribbons (Fig. 791). This articulation indicates that the garland, in theory, can be separated into units and subsequently tied into individual floral or jewel crowns. The forms of these individual, untied garlands duplicate those carried by numerous turbaned Bodhisattvas as well as the chaplets suspended above the head of a number of teaching Buddha images (Figs. 279, 280, 413, 414, 427).

Of even greater iconographic import is the Hellenistic-style laurel wreath. Wreaths of laurel and other materials, similar in articulation to those which make up the long garland swags, are found in a variety of contexts. These wreaths may be seen positioned behind or above the head of a Buddha, sometimes suspended by half-beings generated by jewel bearing flowers of the kalpavṛkṣas, the trees of paradise which
grant wishes, or by a pair of *vidyādharas*, "bearers of wisdom" that may be compared to the Greek Eros (Figs. 279, 281, 284). Wreaths of this type are also held in the left hand of a relatively large number of turbaned Bodhisattvas (Figs. 358, 385, 397). They are worn by Bodhisattva figures in scenes of paradise, by Māyā and her attendants, by Hāriti, and by śālabhaṅgikā-type female figures (Figs. 281, 797, 796). Wreaths are also held by amorous couples, mithuna, or by single female figures and shown suspended from wall hooks in various scenes from the biographical cycles of Śākyamuni (Fig. 785).

In Bactro-Gandhāra, the garland and wreath were clearly influenced by Western formulations. However, it is important to note that the connotative values of these motifs may be cited as parallels to the values of Indic kalpalatā, creeper or garland which grants all wishes, and the vanamālā or sraž, the forest garland or wreath.22 In Buddhism, a traditional way of paying homage to a Buddha or to a stūpa, which represents a Buddha, was to make a series of offerings including floral garlands.23 In the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, the devotee is instructed to pay obeisance by offerings of perfumed wreaths or garlands, while in literary and visual imagery, flowers, especially those of the lotus, were used to represent the teachings of the Buddha, subjects for meditation, and virtues, which lead to enlightenment, as well as the throne of enlightenment.24 Metaphorically, in the words of the Upasika Chihmann, "The Buddha's great and wide teaching leading to the attainment of Buddhahood by noble action is a collection of many flowers brought to fruition."25 Further, the stringing together of flowers to
form a garland was used as a simile for the aquisition of knowledge or achievements which mark the path to enlightenment as in the following quote from the *Milinda-panha*: 26

"... a clever garland maker will, from one heap of all kinds of flowers, both following the instruction of his teacher, and also using his own individuality as a man, make many variegated and beautiful bouquets, just so, O king, that Blessed One is, as it were, an infinite, immeasurable, heap of variegated flowers of virtue. And I now, a garland maker, as it were in the church of the Conqueror, stringing those flowers together, both following the path of our teachers of old, and also using such power of wisdom as in me is, could show forth by inference the power of the Buddha in innumerable similes."27

Also reflecting adaptive processes in Mahāyāna imagery is the use of the square knot, familiarly known to Western scholars as the knot of Hercules, as an emblematic headdress element for images of Śākyamuni and Siddhārtha (Figs. 742, 333, 461). The fashioning of a turban crest emblem with the images of a *garuda* bearing aloft an anthropomorphized *nāga*, reminiscent of Zeus in the form of an eagle bearing aloft Ganymede, similarly reflects adaptation (Figs. 376, 441, 861).28 The influence of Greek forms of the Hellenistic period is likewise apparent in the treatment of finials found on the long necklaces worn by Bodhisattvas. While a horned-lion head was the most commonly used motif, other motifs of fantastic beings, similar in form to centaurs and erotelike figures, also appear (Figs. 420, 481, 599).

Other important examples of influence offer support for dating appear to link the Hellenistic sculptural tradition of trade route cities, such as the Syrian oasis city of Palmyra, with the Buddhist tradition in
the Bactro-Gandhāra region. An arch built at the end of the first or early second century A.D., which is part of the Great Colonnade at Palmyra, is banded with a garland formed by densely spaced laurel leaves ornamented with a six petaled, open-faced flower roundel at the center front (Figs. 906, 907). This Hellenistic garland motif is strikingly like a garland motif that was introduced to the Buddhist tradition in Gandhāra around the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D. (cf. Figs. 907, 784). Also of interest is a votive relief recovered from Dura showing the Gad of Palmyra being crowned by Nike (Fig. 910). The attending priest Malku is articulated wearing a laurel wreath over his polos. The wreath, with its centrally positioned open-faced flower is almost identical to the wreath worn by Māyādevī in a number of birth scenes from the biography of Śākyamuni and by Hāriti (Fig. 772). The Dura relief, dated to A.D. 159, establishes the currency of this style of wreath in trade route communities during the middle decades of the second century A.D.

It also seems likely that the use of Buddhist images on the faces of Corinthian pilasters reflects the influence and adaptation of the commemorative sculptural tradition that began to develop in Palmyra during the second half of the first century B.C. From this early period, the Palmyrenes set up free-standing statues on bases and on honorific columns and attached commemorative reliefs to both columns and walls. Used to honor religious and political leaders and rulers, from the early first century A.D., they placed statues on stone brackets that projected out from about halfway up the columns. Evidence of these
commemorative processes is found in religious sanctuaries as well as along the Transverse Colonnade (cf. Figs. 788, 908). 30

The opportunities for influence from Mediterranean and Near Eastern centers must have remained ever present. An additional wave of influence, possibly from Rome, is also suggested. Figures such as a standing Buddha from the Mardān area and a Bodhisattva in the Clark Collection (Figs. 746, 675), along with an Apollo appearing head on terra-cotta relief recovered from Chārsada that recall such Greco-Roman images as the Apollo Belvedere and the image of Dionysos from the Palace of Domitian (Figs. 771, 885, 889). In examples such as these, the suggestions of influence may occur in attitude, hair styles, and facial features. A significant number of jaṭāmukūṭa-type Bodhisattva figures display a single-looped jaṭāmukūṭa fashion that must have been derived from Apollo chignon fashions. 31

While the details of this morphological transfer remain unknown, even the most conservative Indo-culturalist must be persuaded that there is an overwhelming series of examples of parallel morphology. The true artistic heritage of Bactro-Gandhāra is, of course, inter-cultural.

THE HELLENISTIC CONCEPT OF DEIFIED KINGSHIP

In addition to the considerations described above, among the most important and remarkable aspects of the Hellenistic age was the development and dissemination of the concept of deified kingship. Through its acceptance, elements of cultural unity were established
across vast and culturally varied regions from Italy and north Africa in the Mediterranean to the Indus River and western Central Asia. This conceptual evolution represented the combining of ideas borrowed from Greek hero cults, and Egyptian and Oriental sacral kingship traditions with the institution of political deification.32 The evidence which remains attests to both the dynamics and persistence of this concept.

Deified kingship was an extremely useful political tool. Ruler cults tended to develop and flourish in cosmopolitan communities for political rather than religious reasons as one means by which a ruler achieved and retained power. The idea that the king was an earthly divinity promoted unity and cohesion by demonstrating the elevated status of the ruler and thereby legitimatizing his position though divine right. The deifications of Alexander, the Diadochi and their early successors appear to have had strongly political rather than profoundly religious overtones.33

Coinage was one of the common means used to propagate and perpetuate the concept of divine kingship. Considerable evidence of the concept of divine kingship can be found in the coinage issued in western Asia and Gandhāra. In addition to the numerous images of important Greek deities such as Zeus, Apollo, Dionysos, Nike, Tyche and Hercules that appear repeatedly on the coins of the Greek or Macedonian rulers of Bactria, the ruler Antimachos (ca. 171-168/60 B.C.), on various coins issued from Bactria to Gandhāra, used the titles Theos (God), Bacileus Theos (God King) and the epithet Nikephoros (Victory in Hand, generally associated with Zeus).34
Toward the end of the Hellenistic period, the Arsacids of Parthia, likewise, were influenced by these tendencies. The coin images of two Parthian rulers, Orodes I (c. 89/80-76/75? B.C.) and Phraates IV (c. 38/37-2 B.C.), for example, show them enthroned and attended in the manner of Zeus. Orodes I holds Nike in hand and receives a diadem from Tyche.35

In the Bactro-Gandhāra regions, the Śakas, Maues (ca. 97/90-77/57? B.C.) and Azes I (ca. 57-35 ? B.C.), used Zeus enthroned and Nike with wreath and palm on their coinage; Azes II (ca. 35 B.C.-A.D. 5) used Pallas Athena and Zeus Nikephoros.36 The title *Soter Megas* was used by a well known Śaka prince of the eastern Punjab, the Mahāsatrap Rājūvula (r. shortly after 75 - 25 B.C. or later).37 Nike appears on the coins of all five of the Indo-Parthian rulers.38 The Indo-Parthian Gondophares (ca. A.D. 20-46/55), also used images of a king enthroned and crowned by Nike and Nike with a wreath and palm along with the title *Soter Megas*. Although borrowed by Hellenistic monarchs, terms such as *Soter Megas* had been reserved in pre-Hellenistic times for deities and divine heroes.39

Additionally, Heraos (Miaos) (ca. 5 B.C./A.D. 5-45 or later), tentatively considered the father of Kujula, used, on the obverses of his coins issued from the Bāmiyān Valley, images of Nike flying to crown the equestrian victor indicating that Greek emblems of divinely sanctioned sovereignty had been assimilated by the Kuśāṇas prior to their florescence in India.40 Kujula (fl. early-mid-first century A. D.) used Hercules and Nike, based on Śaka-Parthian prototypes, as did the unidentified
ruler who is known only by the title *Soter Megas* (ca. A.D. 55-105). 41 For Vima Kadphises (ca. first or early second century A.D.), his lion throne at Mat, the effulgence rising from his shoulders on coin images, and the use of the Greek title *Soter* as well as the Sanskrit *Maheśvara* (Great Lord), which suggests that he was an incarnation of Śiva, are all part of a pattern designed to equate a king with a deity. 42

The Kuśāṇas were also given the Sanskrit title *devaputra* (Son of God) and its equivalent at Surkh Kotal in their own language, *bagopouro* (Son of God), as well as *bagoshao* (God King). 43 The first part of an inscription positioned beside the main entry stairway to the Kuśāṇa shrine at Surkh Kotal has been translated as "This acropolis, the Kanishka-Nikator [Kaneshko Oanindo] sanctuary [bagolaggo] to which the lord, King Kanishka gave his name" (Kaniṣka, accession ca. A.D. 78-158?). 44 The name, Oanindo, is probably a derivation of the Avestic Vanainti, a star and goddess associated with the Lord of Victory, Verethraghna. 45 On coins of Huviška (ca. A.D. 158-195?), the name Oanindo is again used while the image type thus identified is iconographically derived from Nike, the Greek goddess of victory.

It was primarily through the influence of Mediterranean and Near Eastern ruler cults, spread and reinforced by strong systems of commerce and communication, that the use of Hellenistic and Near Eastern imagery, titles, and themes of deification became incorporated into the iconographic repertoire and nomenclature of western Asiatic dynasties. 46 The dissemination of the concept of deified kingship was one of the important dynamics which helped to spread and sustain interest
in and knowledge of Greek myths, legends, ceremonial practices and artistic traditions.

CONCLUSIONS

In the aftermath of Alexander's conquests, there seems never to have been a period when the advances of Greek culture went unappreciated and did not hold some level of importance in the arts and governmental administrative systems of Bactro-Gandhāra. Between approximately 300 B.C. and A.D. 300, virtually every succeeding dynasty which came to power can be shown to have assimilated certain elements derived from the Greek systems of civic administration and culture. As Greek accounting, business methods, and culture advances were important to the development of the ancient kingdom of Bactria, they were also important to the Śakas and Parthians who had assimilated the culture of the Greeks. This was also true for the Kuṣāṇas who had progressively adopted the complex modes of commercial and urban civilization which had been established by the Hellenic kingdoms of the Indo-Greeks.

The widespread acceptance of Greek deity types and the dissemination of many elements from the visual language of triumph attest to the commonality of these forms and themes, not only among the Greeks and Macedonians but among many non-Hellenic groups. The prestige and importance of the Greek language and of Greek art were used as vehicles for fostering tolerance and communication in conjunction with the expansionist desires of various ruling dynasts and in
building strong systems of trade and communication. The artistic language of victory seems to have played important roles in the communication, dissemination and tolerance of ideas, functioning as an artistic lingua franca for transmission and expression of complex socio-religious and religious values in a manner similar to the koine dialechtoi.

With the expanded systems of trade and communication and the religious climate of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the stylistic and iconographic vocabulary of Greek religions had become generally well understood in many urban centers throughout the Mediterranean and western Asiatic worlds. It is likely that, as a result of widely recognized connotative values, certain deity types, emblems and ornamental elements from the Hellenic vocabulary were accepted and adapted into the Buddhist idiom. While there is no direct evidence which clearly reveals the symbolic values and means through which these influences entered the Buddhist tradition, what evidence there is suggests a general disposition toward the acceptance of Western stylistic and iconographic features from the beginnings of the tradition, a disposition that was further enhanced during the second and the third centuries A.D. It is also probable that this acceptance was fostered by values which paralleled those of similar forms with long histories of development in Indic religious thought and art.

In the Buddhist tradition of the northwest, the material evidence suggests that these widely used, persistent Greek elements were rapidly reinterpreted to assume new denotative Buddhist values and
synthesized with early Indic and contemporary western Asiatic artistic preferences. Their assimilation does not seem to have altered the fundamental conceptual development of Buddhism as the incorporated features served secondary roles in the art, functioning as supplementary and complementary didactic elements which gave greater clarity or definition to the ideas represented. That there may have been a direct association of deities remains subject to speculation. The factual information which remains indicates that the general thrust in western Asia and the northwest region was one of syncretism. Buddhist tendencies seem to have been directed more toward the general borrowing and mixing of cults and modes, perhaps congenial with the taste and understanding of those in positions of wealth and power and the training of those responsible for their creation.

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NOTES


5 Marshall, Buddhist Art, 6, 26ff.


10 Ritual objects such as the circa first century A.D. incense burner from Luristan is strikingly like a circa first century A.D. censer recovered by Marshall from Taxila (Ghirshman, Persian Art, pl. 111; Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, fig. 493). Coin inscriptions attest to the use of epithets that had been reserved for deities during pre-Hellenistic periods. Imagery on coins and in relief sculpture shows figures of rulers or warriors holding, being crowned by or attended by a personification (or personifications) of Victory. For examples of epithets and deities on coins, see pages 96-98 in this chapter; for examples in sculpture and painting, among others see Ghirshman, Persian Art, pl. 91; Michael I. Hostovetzef, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 1:pl. Li, 2 (bas-relief from Dura-Europus) and Colledge, Parthian Art, pl. 23a, (a relief from shrine V at Hatra, shows a king reclining between personified Victories); Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, pl. VIII, 2. Frequently articulated with a rosette at the center front, laurel wreaths were widely used in the funerary art of Palmyra; some examples are almost identical in articulation to wreaths carried by turban-wearing Bodhisattvas in Bactro-Gandhāra. For examples, see Harald Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs from Palmyra," Berytus, II (ed.
Excavations at Ai Khanum on the Oxus River in northern Afghanistan near Qanduz (Kunduz) confirm the presence of an authentic Hellenistic city as early as the first half of the third century B.C.; Susan L. Huntington, with contributions by John C., *The Art of Ancient India* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985), 110.


This concept has been explained particularly well in relationship to funerary imagery of the Roman period by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, and Erling C. Olsen (*Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* [Baltimore: The Institute of Fine Arts, New York University and Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1942], see especially pages 32f. and 471f.). I am indebted to them for a detailed explanation of the Dionysian and other classicistic imagery in funerary art; also see Edward Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1953), especially vols. 7 and 8.


Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, ix.


To the well recognized importance of Apollonian imagery, I have added the youthful form of Dionysos. In Greek art Apollo represented the archetype of youthful male divinity but many images of Dionysos are very similar to those of Apollo depending on the period and school. These images are distinguishable by hair styles, chaplets and attributes. While I believe there is some formal indebtedness to the classicistic ideal type, it is not appropriate to generalize. This type of generalization, which began during the early part of this century with the issues related to priority of origin, requires re-evaluation and precise definition. In my opinion, only a few examples can bear careful analysis. For information concerning these early assessments, see Foucher, *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra*, 2:283-84; P. Masson-Dursel and others, *Ancient India*, 1934 and A. H. Longhurst, *Illustrated London News* (March 9, 1929): 394 as cited by William W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1951; reprint, Cambridge: University Press, 1966), 405. Hallade was precise in attributing certain chignon styles used for Bodhisattvas to fashions used for Apollo and Aphrodite (Madeleine Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia*, translated by Diana Imber (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968) 89-90. Formal influences and borrowed features were quickly assimilated and only marginally reflect the sources from which they were borrowed. Further, the Buddhist school of the Bactro-Gandhâra realm cannot be classed as stylistically cohesive. As will be shown in Part II of this work, in the Buddhist art of Gandhâra and its related regions the type of chignon worn by Apollo and Aphrodite does not appear until well into the second century A.D. and represents only one of three commonly used styles.

For a discussion of the stylistic similarities between Apollo and Hiti-Mardâ image of a Buddha, see Rowland, *Art and Architecture*, 78.

Bodhisattvas are said to become a *kumâra* "twenty years old" (*Karunâ-pundarika* as cited by Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932; reprint, Delhi, Patna and Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978], 46 with references to texts in which this title is used).
Dayal feels that the title kumāra is probably a complementary epithet for the Bodhisattvas who are regarded as ever youthful and princes of the Buddha's realm (Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 47).

21 Iconographic analysis of this motif on the Kaniṣka reliquary indicates that the garland separates the mundane from transmundane realm (Huntington, The Art of Ancient India, 134-35).


29 Although built between A.D. 83 and 128, it would have been maintained until ca. 273 (Colledge, Art of Palmyra, 60-61).

30 Colledge, The Art of Palmyra, 89, 90.

31 Recognition of stylistic similarities between images of Apollo and certain images of Buddhas goes back to the early part of this century. For early history, see William W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India (Cambridge: Univeristy Press, 1951; reprint, Cambridge: University Press, 1966), 405; Rowland, Art and Architecture, 78. Also see note 18 above.


33 There seems to be no evidence that the royal cults held a profound religious content for Alexander, Early Seleucids or Augustus; apparently few really believed that they were gods (Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 207); Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History, 1:267-69, 1:431f.

35 Coinage functioned as a vehicle for royal propaganda and expression of the ideology of the ruling house (Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 70). Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 188; the dates are from Collodge, *Parthian Art*, app. iii, 163.


37 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 134, 203.


39 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 203.

40 See Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values*, 388, nos. 2836-2839. The tentative identification is Rosenfield's. For image types employed by Gondophares, see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 17.


43 These titles were used extensively by the Kušāṇas and the kings of Khotan. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 202.

44 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 158, n. 8.

45 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 91.

46 The Kušāṇa cult of kings was highly developed. While Levi suggested the possibility of Chinese influence, the material evidence for royal apotheosis reveals an association with late Hellenistic and Roman imperial forms (Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 202ff.).


48 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 11; Greek style was still very influential during the period of Kušāṇa domination (Collodge, *Parthian Art*, 88-89).
CHAPTER III

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BODHISATTVA CONCEPT AS EVIDENCED IN THE ART OF GANDHĀRA AND THE RELATED REGIONS OF SWAT AND EASTERN AFGHANISTAN

INTRODUCTION

As discussed above in Part I of this study, since the late nineteenth century when interest in the Buddhist tradition in the northwest and eastern Afghanistan first developed, the interpretation of artistic evidence has posed a number of significant challenges. In attempting to understand the development of the Bodhisattva concept and its manifestations in Buddhist imagery of Bactro-Gandhāra, the art historian is forced to deal with badly damaged images removed from their original contexts. Notwithstanding the difficulties posed by these circumstances, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that by the second century A.D. two distinct and well developed types predominated in Bodhisattva imagery. One type is adorned with a turban headdress while the other type is adorned with hair styles composed of shoulder length locks and ḭāṭāmukuta. As demonstrated by more than three hundred examples of Bodhisattva images examined in this study, distinctive turbans and varying shoulder-length hair fashions and
jaṭāmukuta are among the few consistently present, primary features through which developmental phases and iconographic changes and innovations may be indexed.

As the vast majority of these Bodhisattva figures are not identified by inscriptions and identifying attributes are frequently lacking, the names of most of the figures remain problematical. Given these identification problems, for the purposes of this study, Bodhisattva figures adorned with turbans have been classed as turbaned-type Bodhisattvas and those adorned with shoulder-length fashions and jaṭāmukuta as jaṭāmukuta-type Bodhisattvas. The decision to use these designations appropriately reflects the traditional way in which Bodhisattva imagery, in relationship to enlightenment, was expressed in Buddhism, and shall be further discussed below.

A Bodhisattva, an "Enlightenment Being," is a Buddha-elect or Buddha-designate, one whose essence is perfect knowledge. In theory, each Bodhisattva possesses equally both Wisdom (prajñā) and Compassion (karuṇā) developed through benevolent views and deeds. In early Mahāyāna, emphasis was placed both on the development of merit through compassionate views and practices within the sphere of social living and, conversely, on the development of wisdom through a life of ascetic retirement. Combined, the two compose the complementary aspects of bodhi (enlightenment) the attainment of which make the Bodhisattva capable of Buddhahood. In the visual arts, depending on his genealogy and the aspect of his nature and functional capacity being emphasized, a Bodhisattva was presented as either a kṣatriya
(kingly figure) or *brāhmaṇa* (a member of the priestly caste, learned in the sacred law) although adorned with the jewelry of an aristocratic individual.

In the art of Bactro-Gandhāra, both turbaned and *jaṭāmukuta*-wearing Bodhisattvas are most frequently shown with princely accoutrements and garments (*bodhisattvābharana* or *kumārabharana*). This distinguishes them from images of Buddhas, who are generally articulated in the manner consistent with the Indian convention for ascetic sage or *muni* types, wearing only the three vestments of a Buddhist monk (*tricīvara*) without ornaments. The jewelry worn by both turbaned- and *jaṭāmukuta*-type Bodhisattvas is identical in detail. However, headdresses, hair fashions, and other identifying attributes distinguish the two types, emphasizing lineage and referring to and emphasizing aspects of their essential nature and the associated functional capacities and prerogatives.

**PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT FOR BODHISATTVA IMAGERY**

The artistic evidence for the evolution of Bodhisattva imagery, as supported by this research, falls into four broad phases of development. The first phase of Bodhisattva imagery is related to achievements of the Šaka and Parthian periods (circa first century B.C. through the first half of the first century A.D.), the second phase to innovations and changes of the late Parthian or early Kuśāṇa period (circa middle of the first century A.D. through the first quarter of the second century A.D.) while the third is related to the apex and full flowering of the tradition
from no later than the reign of Kaniśka through that of Vāsudeva I (circa second quarter of the second century A.D. to the middle of the third century A.D.). The fourth phase, the period of decline, most likely began some time after the Sassanian incursion of the middle of the third century A.D., perhaps during the fourth century A.D.

Formal or morphological influences emanating from late pre-Christian era India are very apparent during the first phase of artistic production. Throughout the entire development of the tradition in stone, the presence of a number of important features in both the Bactro-Gandhāran and Mathurān schools attest to a sustained relationship among the Buddhist communities in the Bactro-Gandhāra and the Mathurā regions. At the same time, there is considerable evidence which demonstrates the influence of Scythic and Hellenistic jewelry preferences and interests in Hellenistic and Roman period emblems of apotheosis and immortality. Contemporary symbolic usages of western Asiatic society, identifiable in many motifs and modes of embellishment, were likewise important in the development of the mature formulations. The general conclusions have been reached through the establishment of developmental, typological profiles from the research body of artistic evidence, which were used in conjunction with factual information provided by recently excavated sites in Gandhāra and Swāt, and the collation of characteristics of contemporary works from active Buddhist complexes in north-central India.
COMPLEMENTARY PAIRS OF BODHISATTVAS 
ATTENDING A BUDDHA

The earliest evidence of prototypes for conventions leading to the development of Bodhisattva imagery in Gandhāra and its related regions is found in the complementary pairing of attendant figures in a threefold relationship with a Buddha. Belonging fundamentally to the trikāya system in Mahāyāna, numerous examples of paradisiacal relief scenes, such as that now owned by the Horiuchi gallery in Tokyo, establish the importance of the pairing of complementary types in Bodhisattva imagery (Fig. 278). The Horiuchi gallery stele belongs to a relatively large class of later reliefs sculpted with varying degrees of complexity, which characteristically display at the center of a hierarchically ordered scene the image of a Buddha seated in a teaching position on a lotus dais (padmāsana dharmacakra mudrā). He is attended at his immediate left and right sides by paired Bodhisattvas distinguished by their headdress and hair fashions. In some examples, the Bodhisattva figures are also distinguished by attributes. When bearing a lotus, as is the case in the Horiuchi gallery stele, the turbaned-type Bodhisattva has been identified epiphetically as Padmapāṇi. This type has also been identified as Avalokiteśvara by an inscription that appears below a similarly articulated, seated image on a stele in the Lehner Collection (Fig. 296). When wearing a turban with a crest emblem in the form of a meditating Buddha, this type of figure has also been identified by scholars as Avalokiteśvara. The Bodhisattva type adorned with a shoulder length hair fashion and jaṭāmukuṭa has been consistently identified as Maitreya by the presence of the flask held in
his left hand. Although it is generally accepted that the majority of the *jaṭāmukūṭa*-type figures were intended to represent Maitreya, some were probably intended to represent other Bodhisattvas, such as Mahāsthāmaprāpta. The stylistic and iconographic profiles of these images clearly indicate that they are the diminutive counterparts of large individually carved, sometimes life-size Bodhisattvas, which generally survive long removed from their original contexts without programmatic records.

The threefold group, composed of a Buddha image and a complementary pair of attendant figures, was conventionalized at an early point in the imagery of the northwest and eastern Afghanistan, probably no later than the second half or the first century B.C. As illustrated by an early relief now in the Peshāwar Museum, the convention initially occurs in a grouping of the historical Buddha with Indra and Brahmā (Fig. 257). Reliefs of this type may be classed as the early, narrative hieratic type. While fundamentally associated with the biographical cycles, these reliefs represent a more specific version of a theme incorporated into the biography of Śākyamuni to illustrate and assert his supremacy and his functional capacities.

Another early example is found in the Sherrier Collection, London (Fig. 259). In reliefs of this type, Brahmā is depicted as a bearded, wizened ascetic; his hair is wrapped *kapardin*-like on the top of his head in a *jaṭāmukūṭa* or crown of matted locks. Through the course of development, his early appearance as a wizened sage is, for the most part, given up for one of a youthful, beardless figure similar to the
jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva type but without jewelry. Indra, who is always depicted as a kingly type, is adorned with a turban and jewelry in the early reliefs; at some point, his turban was replaced by a jeweled crown, presumably to distinguish him from turbaned-type Bodhisattvas. In an example from the Swāt region, probably sculpted during the Parthian period, Brahmā, still wizened and bearded, is shown with a high rounded topknot similar to that of Śākyamuni (Fig. 272). In a later relief of the same type from a German collection, Brahmā has lost his sagely appearance (Fig. 274).

Relief carvings from the period of florescence, the second and third centuries A.D., demonstrate clearly the close association between figures of Brahmā and the jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva as well as the displacement of Indra and Brahmā by the great Bodhisattvas in Mahāyāna. In a paradisiacal relief in the Marteau Collection, a number of changes are evident in the developmental process (Fig. 276). Brahmā and Indra have been superseded by a complementary pair of richly adorned Bodhisattvas. The jaṭāmukuta-type Bodhisattva wears a diadem of beads with a single-looped or square-knot jaṭāmukuta on the top of his head. The obvious similarities of this hair fashion to that worn by Brahmā attests to the close association of these two deities. Additionally, the replacement of Indra's turban with a jeweled crown distinguishes him from the turbaned-type Bodhisattva who is shown with a turban and the necklaces and bracelets befitting Indian royalty.
THE IMPORTANCE OF ŚRĀDDHA AND THE COMPASSION COMPONENT OF ENLIGHTENMENT

In addition to the threefold or trinitarian line of development, research also indicates that the Bodhisattva concept was influenced by the growth of two movements of thought in early Buddhism: that of śrāddha (faith) and that emphasizing the compassionate component of enlightenment (merit through deeds performed) in accord with the changing conceptions of Buddhahood in Mahāyāna through the idealization, spiritualization and universalization of Śākyamuni. ⁷

In śrāddha, the teachings of Śākyamuni were viewed in light of his personality as a man. ⁸ As attested by the Pāli Nikāyas, the concept of sādha (Skt. śrāddha) or faith, as an essential element of spiritual advancement, may be traced to the earliest periods of development. The still important Brahmanical devas, Indra and Brahmā, were reduced to subordinate positions in relation to Śākyamuni, and devotion and faith were concentrated on the historical Buddha as the primary object of supplication and agent of compassion. ⁹ Further, Har Dayal has effectively shown through his review of Sanskrit literature that as the historical Buddha became more spiritualized and universalized, faith and votive practices, initially focused on Śākyamuni, were expanded and redirected toward the Bodhisattvas. Ultimately, this reorientation gave rise to the ascendance of more approachable and seemingly less remote figures of prominence such as Maitreya Bodhisattva and Avalokiteśvara who were conceived of as active and immanent forces in the affairs of man. ¹⁰
The earliest extant record for the use of the term Bodhisattva is also found in the *Nikāyas* where it was used by Sākyamuni when referring to the time before his enlightenment.\(^{11}\) Of primary significance to the early developmental phases of the Bodhisattva doctrine are Bodhisattvas that may be viewed as transitional types: those belonging to the periods in the life of Sākyamuni when he was technically a Bodhisattva and Maitreya Bodhisattva as the next future earthly Buddha who currently reigned as prince regent of Tuṣita devaloka in the mānuṣi system.

The tradition of the *brāhman* youth Sumati, who was converted and whose future enlightenment as the Buddha Sākyamuni was predicted by Dipamkara Buddha, the twenty-fourth predecessor of the historical Buddha, as well as the traditions of Sākyamuni's incarnations as compassionate rulers of Udāliyāna and Pushkalavati were of particular importance in the northwest and in eastern Afghanistan. These were areas which lacked sites in which the historical Buddha had actually lived and taught, and, therefore, may have contributed to the development in the early literature of the ideal, unnamed Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who vowed instruction and salvation for others.\(^{12}\)

While it is clear that the biography of Maitreya is in essence based on that of the historical Buddha, the dynamics of the development of his genealogy and associated cult practices are not easily reconstructed. However, two important aspects have been identified: the need to demonstrate the Buddhist's claim to the spiritual authority of the *brāhmans* and to extend their sphere of influence through an appeal
for support focused on Maitreya as a youthful brāhman type and as a symbol of hope for the future. According to the literature, Śākyamuni predicted Maitreya's enlightenment and stated that, after dwelling as regent of Tuṣita, he would be born into a family of a Mahābrāhman unlike the historical Buddha who was born into a kṣatriya family.13 Further, Rosenfield has shown that Maitreya's association with devotion to Śākyamuni was one effective way in which his cult was developed in Bactro-Gandhāra as deeds of homage to Śākyamuni rewarded the individual with opportunities for instruction from Maitreya through rebirth in Tuṣita and in Ketumati at the time of Maitreya's descent to earth.14

This general outline of early developments gathered from the literature is reflected in the artistic traditions of Bactro-Gandhāra; the articulation of the transitional Bodhisattvas is consistent with the profiles that have been constructed in the texts. With the exception of Sumati, those from the biography of Śākyamuni are regularly shown with elaborate sets of jewelry and a turban in keeping with his kṣatriya origins while Maitreya appears as a youthful bejewelled brāhman with shoulder length hair and jaṭāmukūṭa or crown of matted locks in keeping with the genealogy that was developed for him. From the early formulations conceptualized for the transitional Bodhisattvas, the uninterrupted development of Bodhisattva imagery may be traced through the periods of florescence and decline.
THE EARLY PANTHEON IN LITERATURE AND IN ART

The names of numerous Bodhisattvas are given in early treatises and while their eminency is always suggested, the functions, powers and prerogatives of very few are meaningfully developed. While many of the Bodhisattva images that appear in the art of Bactro-Gandhāra cannot be identified, the list of prominent figures from contemporary texts includes Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, in addition to Maitreya.

TURBANED-TYPE BODHISATTVAS

Siddhārtha and Turban-Wearing Bodhisattvas

The tracing of the emergence and development of the turbaned-type Bodhisattvas from early formulations used initially for Indra and other royal personages is a relatively straightforward process. In what seems to be the second phase of development during the Parthian and early Kushan periods, the major events from the narratives and biography of Śākyamuni, showing activities of the historical Buddha prior to his enlightenment, were among the popular subjects selected for the seri ed relief panels. These panels provide numerous opportunities to examine the depictions of Siddhārtha Bodhisattva and Śākyamuni in his previous incarnations. Until about the second century A.D., the future Buddha is not distinguished by headdress or jewelry from other turbaned figures. In relief scenes showing him as regent of Tuṣita before descending to earth, such as that from the Sikri Stūpa, or as an
earthly prince in scenes of the Great Departure, such as the example owned by the University of Missouri, the future Buddha is consistently adorned with various types of turbans that are also found on numerous other royally habilimented figures (Figs. 356, 348).

Mañjuśrī

Early Mahāyāna texts appear to attach equal significance to Wisdom and Compassion or possibly even to have placed more emphasis on Wisdom.\(^\text{15}\) According to literary references, following Śākyamuni in his former incarnations or as Prince Siddhārtha, one of the next named Bodhisattvas to rise to prominence was Mañjuśrī. The name Mañjuśrī has been translated in various ways; among them are Gentle Glory, Sweet or Pleasing Splendor, and Smooth Glory.\(^\text{16}\) Although superseded by Avalokiteśvara, as a god of learning, Mañjuśrī remains a prominent deity in Mahāyāna Buddhism.\(^\text{17}\)

Documenting his entry into the pantheon before the end of the first century A.D., Mañjuśrī is invoked in the opening verses of several texts and glorified in the Lotus Sūtra.\(^\text{18}\) As a guide or authority, his position as the master of wisdom and knowledge is clearly attested by passages such as those from the eleventh chapter of the Lotus Sūtra which follow:

"The Bodhisattva Prajñākūta then addressed to Mañjuśrī, the royal prince, the following question: Mañjuśrī, how many beings hast thou educated during thy stay in the sea? Mañjuśrī answered: Many, innumerable, incalculable beings have I educated, so innumerable that words cannot express it, nor thought conceive it.... No sooner had Mañjuśrī, the royal prince, spoken these words than
instantaneously many thousands of lotuses rose from the bosom of the sea up to the sky, and on those lotuses were seated many thousands of Bodhisattvas.... All had been educated by Mañjuśrī, the prince royal, to supreme, perfect enlightenment.\textsuperscript{19}

In the artistic traditions of later periods, Mañjuśrī is frequently shown with a manuscript of a \textit{Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra}.\textsuperscript{20} Although Mañjuśrī is clearly important in the early literature, he remains to be identified in the art of Bactro-Gandhāra with the possible exception of a seated Bodhisattva holding a book in a relief from the Peshāwar area (Fig. 282).

While it is now apparent from epigraphic evidence discussed below that the lotus-bearing, turbaned-type Bodhisattvas may be identified with assurance as Avalokiteśvara, the identity of the turbaned-type images bearing a \textit{srajang} or wreath, remains problematical. It is possible that these wreath-bearing figures, such as the standing image of a Bodhisattva now in the Los Angeles County Museum, also represent Avalokiteśvara (Fig. 385).\textsuperscript{21} As suggested by the literary descriptions and the artistic traditions of Gandhara, other primary possibilities include Siddhartha, perhaps as the ideal, unnamed Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, and Mañjuśrī.\textsuperscript{22} The lack of identifiable images as well as textual developments of the first several centuries A.D. suggest that Mañjuśrī's early position of prominence was quickly over shadowed by the more universal appeal of Avalokiteśvara whose dramatic ascendance is attested by his inclusion in the expanded version of the \textit{Lotus Sūtra} and in the Sukhāvatī texts. In subsequent developments, Avalokiteśvara, as the premier Bodhisattva, was attributed with all the
virtues, powers, functional capabilities, and prerogatives of the other Bodhisattvas; ultimately he is bestowed with the attributes of Brahman and Īśvara.23

Avalokiteśvara

While Avalokiteśvara has remained one of the most important Bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna pantheon, the history of his development and the interpretation of his name has presented numerous difficulties for modern scholars.24 The evidence tends to support Giuseppe Tucci’s opinion that Avalokiteśvara originated from the deification or hypostatization of a moment in the biography of Sākyamuni.25 Tucci has suggested the divinization is of the avalokita or avalokana, the inspection made while in Tuṣita heaven to see where he would descend to earth. In the early literature from around the turn of the Christian era, this term avalokita was used in a general way to refer to the time in the life of Sākyamuni when he was fully capable of enlightenment insight (overcoming Māra and becoming a Buddha).26 It is Zimmer’s view that avalokita is a synonym of bodhi (“illumination”) in the Mahāvastu; thus, the name Avalokiteśvara should be interpreted as enlightenment insight (avalokita) and the being who is capable (īśvara).27 Zimmer’s assessment seems to be based on the two sūtras of the Mahāvastu which deal primarily with the ability to defeat Māra, “The first Avalokita-Sūtra” and “The second Avalokita-Sūtra”.28 Ideas leading to this conclusion are expressed in passages such as that from the beginning of the second sūtra:
"Let the Exalted One disclose what he saw when, as a Bodhisattva, he had come to the bodhi tree and stood on the bodhi throne and, for the benefit and welfare of the whole world, made his survey...").

While Zimmer has stressed the compassionate aspect of bodhi, Dayal suggests that avalokita, as it is used in the Mahāvastu, may mean "Wisdom," denoting the essence of enlightenment; thus, the name Avalokiteśvara would mean "Lord of Wisdom". Dayal's suggestion is supported by artistic and epigraphic evidence from Bactro-Gandhāra which seems to indicate that in the northwest and Afghanistan, it was probably the Wisdom aspect of Avalokiteśvara's nature that was emphasized.

In an article in the 1982 issue of Indologica Taurinensia, John Brough published a photograph of an inscribed sculpture now in the private collection of Dr. and Mrs. George Lehner (Fig. 296). The photograph shows a fragment of a sculpture which was originally composed of three figures, a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas. The figure on the proper right of the Buddha together with a portion of the inscription below are missing. The remaining portion of the relief shows the image of a Buddha seated on a large lotus dais displaying dharmacakra mudrā. To the proper left of the Buddha is an image of a turbaned-type Bodhisattva seated in a pensive mode and holding a lotus in his left hand. Given the numerous other examples of relief carvings of this type, which are by convention bilaterally symmetrical, there can be little doubt that the missing figure was a similarly positioned Bodhisattva of the jaṭāmukuta-type.
The unique importance of this piece lies in the fact that the inscription across the bottom of the relief appears to show the names of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. Brough has concluded that the most probable rendering of the inscription seems to be: "The Avalokeśvara of Buddhamitra, a sacred gift, the Amitābha of Buddhamitra....". The primary Bodhisattvas of the Amitābha triad in Sukhāvatī literature are Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. When the artistic and epigraphic evidence from the Lehner sculpture is considered along with passages in the Sukhāvatī texts, it may be assumed that the missing Bodhisattva was intended to represent Mahāsthāmaprāpta.

Further, Brough also suggests that the writing used in this inscription is probably of the second century A.D. While Dr. Dani has asserted a fourth century A.D. or later date for the pensive mode, in Brough's opinion, by the fourth century the script used would have been Gupta Brāhmi. The typological studies of this effort, which provide a profile for the succession of styles for both Buddha and Bodhisattva hair styles and headdress fashions, support a second or third century date for this piece.

Thus, it may be concluded that the artistic, epigraphic and literary evidence strongly suggests that by the second or third century A.D., the Bactro-Gandhāran repertoire of turbaned-type Bodhisattvas would have included images of Śākyamuni as a Bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara and possibly Mañjuśrī. This body of factual information also documents the probability of a flourishing cult of Amitābha Buddha in the northwest.
JAṬĀMUKUTA-TYPE BODHISATTVAS

Unlike the development of the turbaned-type Bodhisattva, outlining a relative chronology of developmental phases for the jaṭāmukuta-type, generally identified as Maitreya, represents a more difficult challenge. There are several reasons. Both the Theravāda and Mahāyāna traditions shared a number of beliefs, including those focused on Maitreya. While there can be no doubt that the cult of Maitreya Bodhisattva was well established in Gandhāra and its related regions, no seried narratives of his birth and earthly life have been identified. Without the life scenes such as we have for Sākyamuni, the outlining of the succession of styles and position in the relative chronology is far more difficult. Not only are the conventions developed for the jaṭāmukuta-wearing type more complex, the number of examples is significantly greater than for the turbaned-type. Further, beyond the references found in the Chinese pilgrim’s reports, there are no literary accounts that specifically associate the beliefs and practices related to Maitreya with the northwest.

Maitreya

Although it now seems clear that some Bodhisattvas from Bactro-Gandhāra represent Mahāsthāmaprāpta while others may represent Samantabhadra, jaṭāmukuta-type Bodhisattvas have generally been identified as Maitreya. Maitreya was the second bridge or transitional Bodhisattva to be developed. The source of the name Maitreya (the
Benevolent) is the Sanskrit root word *maitri* (friendliness or benevolence) with the property of *maitri* rendering the possessor invulnerable. He is also called Ajita (Unsubdued or Unconquerable). Maitreya is among the few Bactro-Gandhāran and early Indian school examples to be identified by inscription. In addition to the early Indian image from Ahicchattra, which is identified by inscription, Dr. B. N. Mukherjee has recently completed the translation of a Kharoshthi inscription on the halo of a standing image from Bactro-Gandhāra (Fig. 692). According to Dr. Mukherjee the inscription can be read and translated as follows:

"In the [year] hundred (and) ten... at the end of [the year] ten [and] hundred (i.e. at the end of the one hundred and tenth year). Here in Takshaśila at that thought of (i.e. pre-determined) time by applying [the reckoning] of the Great King, King of Kings Aja of anterior time the gift [of the image] of the image of Maitreya [is given]."

Although technical examination has not yet been accomplished, should this inscription be accepted as authentic, it will represent the seventh known dated image of the Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist school and one of two bearing an inscription in which the name of the deity (or deities depicted) is given. Mukherjee believes that it is possible that the year 110 refers to the era of Azes I, identifiable with the era of 58 B.C. Hence, the date might correspond to approximately A.D. 52-53. However, the inscription is problematical for three reasons: its placement on the halo of an image is extremely unusual; stylistically, the image exhibits a number of characteristics that suggest a second or third century A.D. date for this figure if ca. A.D. 120 is used for the
accession of Kaniṣka, and, at this point, there is no additional factual
information that substantiates the carving of large, free-standing,
stone images of Bodhisattvas by the middle of the first century A.D.\textsuperscript{41}

However, from the period of florescence under the Kushans, nu-
merous life-size stone images that have been accepted by scholars as
images of Maitreya attest to the probable vitality of his cult and sug-
gest that, in Bactro-Gandhāra, Maitreya held a position of importance
second only to that of Śākyamuni. Iconographically associated with
Śākyamuni and Brahmā, Maitreya is presented in both the literature and
in the art as a youthful brāhman. He wears a jaṭāmukuta and carries a
flask, a kamaṇḍalū, the identifying attribute of a brāhman.\textsuperscript{42} At the
same time he is royally adorned with earrings and necklaces, and a
jeweled hair band, net or diadem.

While many aspects of his conception remain obscure, the pri-
mary factors that seem to have influenced the manner in which
Maitreya’s genealogy and cult were developed include his position as
the next future earthly Buddha in the mānuṣī system and his rise in im-
portance in the pre-Christian period at a time when Brahmā was con-
sidered the highest god in Brahmanism and when changes in the Indo-
Āryan social structure allowed the brāhmans to achieve a position of
class superiority.

Both Śākyamuni and Maitreya were important as Buddhas in the
mānuṣī system.\textsuperscript{43} As emphasis was shifting with the growing force of
the śrāddha movement and with changing conceptions of the historical
Buddha and Buddhahood, traditions and myths of the former lives of
Sākyamuni, while perfecting himself as a Bodhisattva, and Maitreya Bodhisattva as the next earthly Buddha, came to the fore. The developing ideology of Maitreya Bodhisattva seems to have co-evolved with changing conceptions of Sākyamuni and interest in his earlier incarnations.

Maitreya Buddha

Central to Maitreya’s rise to prominence was the concept of multiple Buddhas of the mānuṣī (earthly) Buddha system. Early Buddhist cosmology and logic dictated that just as there were earthly Buddhas of the past so too would there be Buddhas of the future. The importance of Maitreya Buddha, beginning as a natural step in the development of the mānuṣī system, became apparent in about 200 B.C., seemingly as the result of shifting concerns directed toward the successor of Sākyamuni as the preeminent hope for the future.

According to the Dīgha-Nikāya, Mahāpadāna-sutta of the Pāli Canon, there were six Buddhas who preceded Sākyamuni. Maitreya is presented as the next future Buddha to come to Jambudvīpa (“Rose-apple Island,” the name of the Indian subcontinent according to ancient Indian world conceptions) to teach the law just as Sākyamuni had done. References in the Mahāvamsa (ca. second century B.C.) and Mahāvastu (beginning of the second century B.C.) also indicate importance attached to the meditational practices focused on Maitreya Buddha and his worldly paradise, Ketumati, no later than the second half of the second century B.C.
Although not substantiated by the artistic or archaeological evidence, early literary references suggest that the cult of Maitreya was already developed by the Maurya period (323-185 B.C.). As the result of Chinese translations of Aśoka's biography (trans. A.D. 250 and later), Professor Kitagawa has associated Maitreya with Aśoka (272-231 B.C.) as a part of Aśoka's religiously inspired efforts to articulate social and political principles of justice and morality. Evidence rests with Aśoka's gifts to monks at the "temple Ketumati." The name Ketumati is also used for the earthly paradise of Maitreya. Unfortunately, no history has been preserved of the temple. Thus, in the opinion of Lee, it is very tenuous to postulate an established Maitreya cult at this time.

Maitreya Bodhisattva

Early textual references to Maitreya prior to his enlightenment are found in the oldest portions of the Pāli Canon, the Sutta Nipāta, thought to have been compiled some time after the reign of Aśoka. Ajita and Tiṣya-Maitreya (Tissa-Metteyya) are two of sixteen disciples of a brāhmaṇ ascetic named Bāvari who were converted by Sākyamuni. Ajita is another name used for Maitreya in later Buddhism. This early reference in the Pāli Canon lacks the altruistic dimension associated with the Bodhisattva concept in Mahāyāna and suggest an earlier and separate evolution, independent of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva ideal in Mahāyāna.

As with Siddhārtha, belief in Maitreya flourished in both Theravāda and Mahāyāna circles and his development represented an
important transitional step between the two doctrines. Basham believes that by the beginning of the Christian era, there can be little doubt, that a cult of the next future Buddha, Maitreya, was widespread among all Buddhist sects. The Theravādin mānuṣi Buddha concept, not of great importance originally, was elaborated by Sarvāstivādins and assumed great importance in Mahāyāna. In conjunction with the developing Bodhisattva doctrine focused on beneficent acts performed by Śākyamuni in his earlier incarnations, the mānuṣi system seems to have provided a suitable framework through which new mythologies could be constructed for the next future Buddha as the direct repository of the dharma and active ruler of Tuṣita.

In one of the early Mahāyāna texts which presents a romantic narrative of the biography of the historical Buddha, the Lalitavistara (circa A.D. 69-70), Maitreya is consecrated as regent of Tuṣita paradise and designated the imminent source of the dharma by Śākyamuni just prior to the historical Buddha’s descent to earth. Several Maitreya texts from the early centuries A.D., which have been preserved through translation into Chinese, attest to a well developed biography for Maitreya and practices related to the importance placed on rebirth in Tuṣita for both the lay and monk communities by this period.

The Maitreya-vyākaraṇa-sūtra, composed in the third century A.D., records the genealogy constructed for Maitreya. With the exception of his being born into a brāhman family rather than a kṣatriya family, the biography of Maitreya is identical to that of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. In this sūtra, Śākyamuni predicts Maitreya’s
enlightenment, his regency in Tuṣita and his birth into a the family of a *brāhmaṇa purohitā*. His father will be Subrahmana (very pious *brāhmaṇa*), learned in the four Vedas, sacred formulas, etymology and grammatical analysis.62 Just as Śākyamuni was described as having all the superior qualities of the ideal caste member into which he was born, so too was Maitreya described as having all the superior qualities of an ideal *brāhmaṇa* (*brahmansvaro*).63

In the *Maitreya-paripṛcchā*, translated into Chinese by Dharmanarākṣa (A.D. 231-310), Śākyamuni explains the practices associated with Maitreya.64 Further, the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* texts postulate that, as a result of homage to Śākyamuni, gifts to the *saṃgha* and refuge in the Three Jewels, the individual is rewarded with Maitreya's instruction in Tuṣita *devaloka* which leads to salvation.65 Attractive to both the laity and monks, numerous myths developed around individuals, who through their great spiritual powers (*saṃādhi*) were able to ascend to Tuṣita to consult Maitreya.66

The reasons for Maitreya's birth into a *brāhmaṇa* family do not seem to have been stated explicitly in the literature. However, during the time that the genealogy for Maitreya was developing, significant importance must have been attached to his being born into a *brāhmaṇa* family. It is likely that when Śākyamuni was born, the *kṣatriyas* were considered the highest class. By the end of the Maurya period, the period when the traditions related to Maitreya may have begun to evolve, the superior, theoretical position of the *brāhmans* was well established throughout most of India.67 An important aspect of Maitreya's
development was probably related to the desires of the Buddhist community to demonstrate the spiritual authority of Śākyamuni and his successor during a period when Brahmā was considered the highest god in Brahmanism and when Buddhism was being challenged by the renewal of orthodox Brahmanical traditions and the newly generated creative forces in Hinduism. While the Buddha was thought to be supreme, he was favorably compared to Brahmā and the concepts personified by the brāhmaṇ ideal in the early literature.68

Maitreya's earthly father is presented as the personification of orthodox wisdom in Brahmanism, representing absolute purity and the ideal of supreme social service from whom the classical code of religious practices was derived.69 For the lay practitioners and the saṅgha as well, Maitreya's role as the next future earthly Buddha and as an embodiment of the dharma through whom myriads of the faithful would be led to enlightenment may have been viewed as the parallel function of supreme social service in Buddhism.

Mahāsthāmaprāpta

While it is likely that the majority of the jaṭāmukuta-type Bodhisattva images were intended to represent Maitreya, it is also probable that some were intended to represent Mahāsthāmaprāpta (having great strength) whose name seems to have been borrowed from a descriptive title of Brahmā, "mahā-bala-sthāma-prāpta".70 Mahāsthāmaprāpta derives his importance from his position in the Amitābha/Amitāyus triad and, with the Lehner relief inscription, there is now sufficient
evidence to suggest that a Sukhāvatī cult was established in Mathurā and the northwest by at least the mid-second century A.D.\textsuperscript{71}

The artistic evidence assembled and organized for this study documents the repeated use of several hair styles and jaṭāmukūṭa conventions in jaṭāmukūṭa-type Bodhisattva imagery by the second century A.D. It is probable that these were evolved for reasons beyond preferences in style. Some have a particular association with images of Brahmā and programmatic conventions that are specifically Mahāyāna. However, the development of the jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattva type presents a number of additional difficult challenges which may be more clearly understood in the context of their relationship to the history of ascetic practices and associated values, and to the early formulations used for ascetic individuals, for Śākyamuni and for Brahmā in the Indic and Bactro-Gandhāra spheres.

NOTES


\textsuperscript{2}See Susan L. Huntington, with contributions by John C., \textit{The Art of Ancient India} (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985) 720-21. Dayal uses the terms Knowledge (enlightenment wisdom of jñāna-samḥāra) and Merit (punyā-samḥāra). See Bodhisattva-bhūmi, after 100b. 2; Sāntideva’s Śīkṣā-samuccaya, 7.17; Daśabhūmika-sūtra, 21.15 as cited by Dayal, \textit{Bodhisattva Doctrine}, 441, n. 61.

\textsuperscript{3}Some Buddha images are shown with a crown and princely ornaments (mukutāchārīn); the term mukutin is often used to refer to a jīna Buddha whose image (bimba) is found on the crown of figure (Liebert, \textit{Iconographic Dictionary}, 184).

5 Based on literary evidence found in the nineteenth chapter of the *Amitāyus Dhyāni Sūtra*, historians have tended to identify this type of image as Avalokiteśvara. See John C. Huntington, "Mathurā Evidence for the Early Teachings of Mahāyāna," in *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan (Columbia, Missouri: South Asia Books, 1989), 86-87. Also see Yu-Min Lee, "The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China" (Ph. D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1983), 168. The presentation of a Buddha image in the crown cannot necessarily be viewed as a reliable element for the identification of early images as the early development of this convention remains obscure. This was pointed out by Bhattacharji as early as 1929 in a discussion of crown images of "Dhyāni" Buddhas. See Nalini Kanta Bhattacharji, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca: Dacca Museum Committee, 1929; reprint, Delhi and Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1972), 18-19.


9 Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 33. The importance of Brahmā and Śakra in early Buddhist traditions substantiates the date for the development of certain conventions during the period prior to the rise in importance of Viṣṇu and Śiva. See also John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 232, n.69.

10 According to Dayal, the Bodhisattva doctrine may be said to have been the inevitable outcome of the tendency toward bhakti (śrāddha in Buddhism) and the new conception of Buddhahood in which Gautama Buddha had become remote and metaphysical. The measureless immensity and sublimity of the dharmaśakti did not satisfy the mundane needs of the individual. The pantheon of Bodhisattvas seems to have been developed primarily through the personification of virtues and attributes of the historical Buddha's personality (Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 34-36, 44, 48-49). Also see Rosenfield, *Dy nastic Arts*, 231.


(Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1958) 1:777-778; also see Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 158, 196-198, 209, 228, 309.


15 Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 44.


21 The possibility that the wreath-bearing Bodhisattva may represent Avalokiteśvara is suggested by the fact that there appear to be no independently carved, standing images shown with a lotus attribute. At the same time there are numerous seated images of Wisdom-type Bodhisattvas shown with either the lotus or the wreath attribute.

22 For Siddhārtha and Bodhisattva Mahāsattva ideal, see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 238-43. Also see Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 44-47.


The photograph was taken by Charles Kieffer in 1961 (Brough, "Amitabha and Avalokiteśvara," 65-70).


Brough, "Amitabha and Avalokiteśvara," 70.

For an overview of the cult of Maitreya in Gandhāra and its related regions, see Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 187-230.


The earliest known image of Maitreya Bodhisattva identified by inscription appears to be the image from Ahicchatra in the National Museum of India, New Delhi. See Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 231, fig. 54. Also see Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 243, n. 139, reference to the term Bodhisattva in relation to the Bala Bodhisattvas; Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 168.

Although the inscription is effaced, a legible part reads "The image of Maitreya installed for the benefit and happiness of all beings," (Debala Mitra, "Three Kushan Sculptures from Ahicchatra," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, XXXI (1955): 63 as cited by Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 231). For the image from Ahicchatra, see Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 155, fig. 8.34 and Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, fig. 54.


Personal correspondence with Dr. Mukherjee, February, 1989. The inscription has also been read as: "The donation for removing severe trouble is deposited. The rajan [rulers] protecting against disease is constantly worshipped. Protection against disease, Deliverance by consecration," See Christie, Manson and Woods, Important Islamic, Indian, and South-east Asian Manuscripts, 120.

Inscribed images are very unusual in the northwest. Should this inscription be authentic in spite of its placement and a mid-first century A.D. date be correct, the chronology for the development of the Gandharan school will require adjustment. As many images are of unknown provenance, this inscription may also provide an opportunity to collate style with location. However, within the research body of Bodhisattva images, this figure and a smaller but similar piece, also recently sold on the antiquities market, are the only figures displaying an inscription on the aura. Further, no additional images of other types with inscribed auras have been found. Therefore, the placement of this inscription must be considered very unusual.


According to Dayal, the idea of multiple Buddhas in the mānusī Buddha system has an ascetic orientation as the existence of multiple Buddhas seems originally to have developed from the Indian concept of the seven rṣis associated with the seven planets known to the ancient world. Dwelling in their own paradises, the
multiple Buddhas were given celestial bodies (Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 27). Also see Rosenfield, Dynamic Arts, 233.


45 The writers continued to multiply the numbers. According to such early texts as the Lalita-vistara and the Saddharma-pundarīka there are kośis (tens of millions) of Buddhas (Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 24-25). Also see Conze, Buddhism, 116-17, 153-54.

46 Conze, Buddhism, 116-17, 153-54; Rosenfield, Dynamic Arts, 231.

47 Mahāpādāna-sutta of Dīgha-Nikāya II, 2ff. The set of six was important in Gandhāra. There are numerous reliefs from Gandhāra showing the six Buddhas of the past. Sākyamuni and Maitreya Bodhisattva. An excellent example occurs in the Miami University relief scene based on the Lotus Sūtra (Fig. 305). Some sources list four, others six, twenty-four and so on. For further references, see Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 24.

48 According to Buddhist cosmological cycles or kalpas, Maitreya is the Buddha of the next Kalpa. See the Dīgha-Nikāya iii, 66-77; Rosenfield, Dynamic Arts, 175, n. 8, 233, n. 80; A. L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India (New York: Grove Press, 1977), 272; Conze, Buddhism, 116-17, 153-54. For Jambudīpī, see Liebert, Iconographic Dictionary, 111.


52 Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 32-33.

53 Sutta Nipāta 5.1 ff. (197, 235-273 in Chalmers trans. as cited by Rosenfield, Dynamic Arts, 312, n. 72); Pārāśara, (Sutta Nipāta, ch. 5, vv. 976-1149) as cited by Lamotte, History of Indian Buddhism, 699.

54 Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 180. For textual references and discussions of use of the name Ajita, see Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 12-14; Lamotte, History of Indian Buddhism, 699-710 passim. Also see Takao Kagawa in Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū (Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies) 12:156-161; Hajime Sakurabe, Bukkyōgaku Seminar, 2 (Oct. 1965): 34-44 as cited by Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 180 n. 44.

55 Probably intended to represent Maitreya, two inscribed images from Mathurā created during the second century A.D. are associated with the Dharmaguptakas. The Dharmaguptakas are commonly mentioned as an offshoot of the Mahāsākyas and closely related to the Sarvāstivādins, who flourished in the Kushanshahr; they were supporters of the cult of the Bodhisattvas and added a Bodhisattvavipāta to their Tripitaka (Rosenfield, Dynamic Arts, 229-230, n. 58). For the development of Bodhisattva doctrines in Theravāda sources, see Lamotte, Histoire, 1:777-778.

56 Basham, The Wonder, 274.

57 Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 178; Conze, Buddhism, 116; Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 25.


Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 233-34. The idea of rebirth in heaven as reward for faith in and love for Śākyamuni is found as early as the Majjhima-Nikāya 1.142.8 (Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 32, n. 10 citing the Majjhima Nikāya and other texts, 33-35). With the gradual appearance of the ideas of karma and samsāra, salvation and soteriological doctrines became a conspicuous part of Indian beliefs (Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962], 27).

Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 146ff; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 235. For additional references see Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 109, 266.


The Varnahavana stotra by Mātriceta is an example cited by Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 232-33. Also see Y. Krishan, "The Hair on the Buddha's Head and Uśnīṣa," *East and West*, n.s. 16 nos. 3-4 (1966): 282-83. Comparisons such as this appear to reflect a didactic tradition in which other Indian practices and deities, when correctly utilized, were thought be of benefit to the Buddhists in understanding and achieving an advanced spiritual state (Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* [Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1969], 12-15). Viṣṇu and Śiva are not regarded with the same importance as Brahmā and Indra in the early texts and are helpful in establishing the relative age of certain concepts (Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 33, 36ff.).


CHAPTER IV

BODHISATTVA IMAGES ADORNED WITH TURBANS

INTRODUCTION: THE TURBAN AND ITS FORM

Among the most stylistically and iconographically enriching accomplishments of the Buddhist school in Bactro-Gandhāra was the development of imagery for turban-wearing Bodhisattvas who are distinguished by the presence of this type of headdress (Figs. 320-462). This section of the study focuses primarily on Bodhisattva turban styles and the wrapping and restraining band conventions used to secure them. It presents a system for organizing the material evidence through attention to the detailing of headdress treatments and to patterns of association with other important characteristics. By means of this system, an uninterrupted course of development can be traced. Conventions introduced and assimilated during the early phases of development provided the foundations from which later turban treatments were formulated. During the course of development, it is clear that the tradition moved toward increased elaboration and codification.

From extant evidence, it may be assumed that the turban, clearly a royal headdress of Indian derivation, was accepted at the beginning of the
Buddhist school in the northwest and continued in use throughout the period of decline. During the period of florencence, the symmetrically wrapped and positioned turban, some displaying images of seated Buddhhas, became one of the most important distinguishing iconographic features of an idealized convention conceived to represent the advanced stages of knowledge associated with the authority and functional capacities leading to enlightenment (Figs. 450, 453).

Turbaned images from the early phases of Buddhist art in India and in the northwest are in stylistic and iconographic continuity with older Indic traditions. Recorded in literature as far back as the Vedic age, the use of the term uṣṇiṣa, probably meaning a knot of hair around which the turban was wrapped, represents the continuation of a tradition in which this type of headdress was used both as an insignia of honor or royalty, and to mark a change in status or authority.¹ In Vedic usage, this type of headdress was worn by the king at vājapeya and rājasūya investiture ceremonies.² Investiture with the turban also marked the successful completion of Vedic studies by brāhman students as well as the transferral of authority from a deceased religious leader to his successor.³

In Buddhist literary references that deal with the biography of Sākyamuni and the myths which developed around his earthly life, it is stated that the divine young prince has a turbaned head (Deva-kumāra unhīsosīso).⁴ Emphasis is focused on the final wrapping of his turban as a prince at the behest of Indra, king of the devas.⁵ Further, the historical appropriateness of considering the Buddha as the devatideva (God of gods) adorned with some type of jewel headdress is attested by passages in the Milinda-pañha where it is implied that the Buddha may wear a crown
of jewels representing the seven-fold wisdom of enlightenment. The concept of the Buddha as the dharma cakravartin (Universal Emperor of the Law) must have developed at an early date as well as it lies at the essence of Mahāyāna theory.

Given the literary tradition, it may be assumed that from the initial stages of development, the turban was used to connote the underlying nature, status and functions of the image it enhanced. As the school progressed, the iconographic importance of turban emblems increased, becoming evermore specific and complex. The turban, in conjunction with other elements, was often used to evoke a particular deity or an episode from the jātakas, the biography of the earthly life or legends of Śākyamuni, and possibly Maitreya as well (Figs. 331-34, 397). Presumably, through the use of emblems, turbans served to identify more precisely the deities or deity types, were used to represent specific levels of spiritual advancement, and, in certain instances, were suggestive of specific oral or textual traditions.

Seemingly in association with royal authority and function in both Theravāda and Mahāyāna, the turban was indicative of the proclamation of the dharma, righteous rule, victory over evil, and specifically for Śākyamuni (and, in Mahāyāna, probably for certain Bodhisattvas), the ability to bestow the gift of supreme deliverance from sorrow (deliverance from samsāra). With this extended history in Indic culture and in consideration of traditional ceremonial practices, it may be that in the Bactro-Gandhāra sphere, turbans, like the crowns used in Buddhist societies to the present time, were used in ritual as an integral part of religious ceremonies and in
initiations to mark spiritual advancement, function and authority.\textsuperscript{10} It is also probable that the turban headdress held an important place in meditational cycles such as those recorded in the \textit{Amitāyar-dhyāna-sūtra} where it is stated that:

\begin{quote}
Whosoever will meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara should first meditate on the turban of his head, and then on his heavenly crown.\textsuperscript{11}
\end{quote}

For the Buddhist school of Bactro-Gandhāra, the turban became one of the most significant distinguishing iconographic elements of the principal personages of the early Mahāyāna pantheon. The antecedents of characteristics that became specifically associated with title, position and function in later traditions were introduced during the mature phase of development. These features mark in extant material form at an early date the advanced state of Mahāyāna development. Those emblems sculpted in the forms of meditating or teaching Buddhas of the \textit{trikāya} system denoted stages of spiritual advancement leading to enlightenment and the order of the cosmos in mandalic form (Fig. 453).\textsuperscript{12}

Given the use of Indian royal garb in the Buddhist art of Bactro-Gandhāra, it is not surprising to find great similarities among royal and divine types, including Bodhisattvas.\textsuperscript{13} In early Indian art, the turban was accepted as a distinguishing part of the habiliments adorning a limited number of types in which yakṣas, kings and cakravartins figured prominently.\textsuperscript{14} Reflecting its Indic heritage, symmetrically wrapped and positioned turbans were used for attendant figures, such as yakṣas and kings, for Indra and for other heavenly beings such as gandharvas (semi-divine beings living in the sky) as well as for the Buddha-to-be, Śvetaketu,
when he was Prince Regent of Tuṣita and as Siddhārtha, the earthly prince prior to his enlightenment. However, the Buddhist school in Bactro-Gandhāra developed a number of unique stylistic and iconographic features. Turban elements which are clearly similar to and evolved from those of the early Indic tradition took on very different appearances. While the Buddhists of Bactro-Gandhāra remained receptive to influences from, and exchanges with India, it appears that, by the closing decades of the first century or early second century A.D., turban styles in the region had begun to display a number of local characteristics as well as some elements suggestive of influence from cultures beyond the subcontinent. The greatest changes occurred in the use of ornamentation and of emblems.

For these Bactro-Gandhāran images, the fabric of the turban appears to have been wrapped in a manner that creates a tripartite, symmetrical appearance with the outer (of perhaps ten) layers of wrapping criss-crossing at the front of the head just above the hairline. It has been suggested that the procedure was to leave the hair beneath the turban long and bind it up with the fabric. In some examples, however, the hair, in long locks, falls to shoulder level behind the ears at the sides and back of the head. These turbans were secured either by the manner of wrapping or more typically by the addition of three restraining bands.

Beginning with the early phase of development, Gandhāran turbans are characterized by a high, symmetrically positioned, frontal unit, usually composed of pleated fabric, in front of which is shown some type of fabric roll, loop or possibly an ornate emblem device. As the tradition developed, the ornamentation of the restraining bands, the side portions and the crest increased with the addition of a hairline jewel and restraining band
receptacles, the application of cut and set stones, bead tassels and of plaques in the forms of fantastic animals, devas and seated Buddhas. Because of this ongoing development, turban types are very useful in tracing stylistic influence and for outlining relative chronological development. Further, by the end of the developmental sequence, several iconographically significant types that seem to be precedents for later conventions had come into existence. Examples include a pañca jina crown (characteristic of tantric devayoga practice) seen on a Bodhisattva from Taxila of the second or third century A.D. (Fig. 453) and a number of brhad' mukuta (large crowns), such as those worn by both Maitreya and Avaloketiśvara on which the image of a meditating Buddha is used. 17

In order that the complexity of the turban treatments may be more fully comprehended and related to the course of development, conventions leading to, and those conceptualized specifically for the Wisdom-type Bodhisattvas have been organized into seven categories based on securing and restraining methods, and modes of ornamentation. These categories are designated as:

Style I: Secured with Restraining Bands (see p. 143)
Style II: Unbanded Self-Sustaining (see p. 157)
Style III: Restraining Bands with Jewels (see p. 163)
Style IV: Flower Receptacles with Cut Jewels (see p. 169)
Style V: A Jewel and Small Lotus-Flower Receptacles (see p. 174)
Style VI: Plain Weave with Ornamental Plaques (see p. 182)
Style VII: Jewel and Plaque Ornamented (see p. 188)

While tentative, Style I and II have been assigned primarily to the Śaka and Parthian eras, Styles III and IV to the late Parthian or early Kuṣāṇa eras and
Styles V, VI, and VII to the middle Kuṣāṇa eras. This seems appropriate as these assessments can be supported by comparative stylistic analyses and by archaeological associations from recently excavated sites.
THE PRIMARY TURBAN STYLES

TURBAN STYLE I: SECURED WITH RESTRAINING BANDS

A turban fashion in which the fabric body was secured by unornamented bands was the most widely used style during the early developmental phases of the tradition in stone, a period from about the middle of the first century B.C. through the beginning of the second century A.D. In most examples, the wrapped fabric of the turban was secured by three bands that crossed over the upper, middle and lower sections of the headdress, as illustrated by a relief image of a Bodhisattva from Dharmarājīkā (Figs. 5, 325). At the center front, the bands were crisscrossed or occasionally knotted just above the hairline. Similar to a number of examples from early Indian schools, the looped ends of the fabric matrix can be seen at the sides tucked up and secured beneath the middle restraining band. Above the main body of the turban, over the upper front of the head, rests a separately fashioned cockade or frontal crest. As the Gandhāran school developed, the handling of this frontal portion gained importance and may be used to mark changes specific to time and region.

This convention gave rise to later banded conventions which were distinguished from it by the addition of representations of a set or drilled and faceted stone at the hairline level, center front, and by pairs of receptacles through which the bands pass or from which the bands originate (Figs. 379-462). In its earliest phases, the unornamented banded style co-existed with the non-restraining band style and seems not to have held a
position of importance much beyond the early decades of the second century A.D. as independently carved images of Bodhisattvas are typically adorned with elaborately ornamented turbans.

The general similarities of the early turban styles of the northwest to those of the early Indian schools, particularly in banding and securing, and in the various treatments of the frontal or crest portion, indicate that the Buddhist schools in these areas shared a common heritage, and that interaction between Bactro-Gandhāra and the schools in India inspired the development of the banded headdress conventions of the Buddhist school in the northwest (Figs. 6-14). For these schools, the Indic antecedents are found in extant examples dating back to the Śuṅga era (Figs. 6-8). Specifically, with regard to the unornamented banded style, it is reasonable to suggested that connections with the Indic heartland were maintained from the time the Bactro-Gandharān stone tradition began to develop. However, this style lost importance as new elements were introduced in conjunction with the changing role of the Bodhisattva.¹⁸

Turbaned figures were not only intended to represent Bodhisattvas, some are clearly to be identified variously as images of Indra, kings or cakravartins, yakṣas, and other deva devotees. A number of images show Prince Siddhārtha as an earthly being prior to his enlightenment (Fig. 348). One image type in particular suggests the transition between Prince and Bodhisattva (Figs. 323-325). Perhaps others were intended to represent him as the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva of the early literature. It is also possible that a turbaned image might represent Tuṣita Maitreya as his presentation could be much the same as that of Tuṣita Śvetaketu.¹⁹
Among the earliest examples from both the Indian and Bactro-Gandhāran schools are those which display a frontal or crest element that appears to represent a large roll of fabric or cone-shaped object (Figs. 9-14). At some point, a fantail of pleated fabric was incorporated as a standard part of this frontal element and once accepted, this pleated fabric fantail was retained (Figs. 15-20). The fabric roll or cone-like object was given up for other treatments such as a more vase-like emblem or an ornamental ring through which a loop of fabric was pulled (Figs. 17, 43); subsequently, an additional crest emblem in the form of lion protome with a bead garland was introduced (Figs. 31, 337).

A fragmentary relief of a caurī-bearer from Mathurā carved toward the end of the second century or early decades of the first century B.C. illustrates clearly the type of fabric and the conventional method of wrapping and securing of headdresses as do the Śrīga period (approximately 100-80 B.C.) male heads on Prasenajit's pillar and on a vedikā roundel from Bhārhat (Figs. 6, 7, 8, 806, 804, 805). As seen in the early Indian images, fabrics of a patterned-weave or perhaps embellished with embroidery were preferred (Fig. 6). These turbans were secured with restraining bands and displayed a bail or conical roll of wrapped fabric over the front of the head. The band or bands that helped secure the turban are frequently shown to criss-cross in front of and encircle, once or several times, the base of an ornamental ball or roll of fabric.

In a first century B.C. marble relief carving of the
Cakravartin Mandhata from the Jaggayyapeta Stūpa, Āndhra region, the king's head is adorned with a similar headdress (Figs. 9, 807). A fabric end is tucked up beneath a restraining band at the side. The base of the frontal element (apparently a fabric roll) has been wrapped several times with a restraining band or bands. The fabric roll is enhanced with vertical rows of ornamentation. A second example, that of a royal figure from the same region and approximate period, displays a similarly configured headdress (Figs. 10, 808). Again, the restraining bands pass over the sides of the turban while the crest appears to have been formed from a roll of fabric. Further, the fabric roll impresses the viewer as having been secured and supported at the base by a series of four vertical layers of wrapping.

In north-central India, a related style dating from approximately A.D. 10-30 was used for images of male attendants who serve as guardian devotees on the gates of Stūpa I at Sāñci. An image of an attendant from the eastern gate, northern stambha (pillar), is adorned with a banded turban displaying a similarly configured role of fabric over the center front of the headdress (Figs. 11, 813).²¹

Among the earliest Gandhāran reliefs to display turban treatments similar to these early Indian examples is a fragment of a relief carving in greenish schist from Butkara I in Swāt. While this carving would originally have displayed a full figure of a Buddha seated and displaying dhyāna mudrā, the head of the Buddha figure and most of the relief to the viewer's right have been lost; the left side is more complete (Fig. 265). In the
section remaining, the heads of the male devotees are of sufficient condition to indicate the symmetrical wrapping and banding of their headdresses (Figs. 12, 13, 14). In these relatively well preserved examples, the headdresses are secured by three crisscrossed cords or bands. The articulation suggests that the crest portion was intended to depict a rolled material.

Several other reliefs are of equal importance in tracing stylistic changes and for dating. Among the numerous narratives depicting episodes from the life of Sākyamuni are four relief scenes of homage offered to Siddhārtha's turban in Trāyastriṃśa heaven (Figs. 331-34). In that these turbans are of the unornamented, three-banded style and display a pleated support for a crest element in the form of either a gourd-shaped fabric roll or vase-like object, it is probable that they were created during the first or early second century A.D. (Figs. 15-18). In the first and fourth reliefs, the crest ornaments are enhanced with a vertical band of jewels, a treatment popular in the northwest and reminiscent of the turban worn by the Cakravartin Mandhata (Fig. 9). The crest emblems on Siddhārtha's turbans were not specifically associated with him as other royal and divine types are shown with headdresses that bear similar treatments. However, it may be that restraining bands tied with a square knot (or knots), as in the relief in the collection of the Lahore Museum, were used solely on the turbans of Siddhārtha and other Bodhisattvas (Fig. 17). This knot was used for Siddhārtha in a relief image of The First Meditation
and again on the head from a Bodhisattva image now in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. (Figs. 460, 450). 22

The turban characteristics recorded in Figure 16 are of additional importance in determining the evolution of style in that the relief on which this headdress is found is in relatively good condition (Fig. 332). The hair of an attendant musician, seen on the viewer's left, is fashioned with tightly ordered ringlets of the type which adorns a circa A.D. 30 - 60 stucco head recovered by Marshall from the apsidal chapel area at Sirkap (Fig. 463). This stucco head is one of the more securely dated pieces within the body of images from Gandhāra suggesting that the headdress fashion articulated in this relief was in vogue during the middle decades of the first century A.D.

Accepted in Bactro-Gandhāra no later than the final decades of the pre-Christian era, there can be little doubt that the unornamented, banded style developed out of Indic prototypes such as those surviving at Bhārhat, Mathurā, Sānci and in the Āndhra area. However, along with the treatments discussed above, innovations of the first century A.D. offer additional support for dating and suggest the continuance of a close relationship between the northwest and Mathurā in particular. Of significance are the conventionalization of a pleated fantail of fabric behind the crest emblem and the use of
restraining bands that characteristically crisscross at points to either side of center. In this banding convention, which seems to have developed during the first century A.D., two restraining bands or sections of a band are positioned horizontally in a parallel manner across the head at hairline level. The parallel positioning of the restraining bands in this manner along with the incorporation of a pleated fantail of fabric behind the crest are found in a fragment of a relief from Butkara I. The subject of the carving is a male image, probably of Siddhārtha (Figs. 19, 324). The Bodhisattva is shown standing and displaying abhaya mudrā. The headdress treatment suggests first century A.D. developments of the Mathurā school that had also become popular in the northwest. Several other examples of this banding configuration have been identified. For example, this treatment was used for King Suddhodana's turban in a circa second half of first or second century A.D. relief from the Swāt region that has been identified as the interpretation of Māyā's dream (Figs. 20, 330).

The restraining bands in these examples from Swāt are treated in the manner associated with a Mathurān mode that gained importance in the early decades of the first century A.D. and continued to be used into the first half of the second century A.D. As with the examples from Swāt, in
those from Mathurā the bands are positioned horizontally in a parallel manner across the head at hairline level and crossing at points to either side of center. This binding style is illustrated by several Mathurā school figures (Figs. 21, 22, 23, 24, 821, 818, 820, 829). These early examples offer further evidence of ties between the northwest, particularly Swāt, and the Mathurā region. They also attest to the borrowing and assimilation of stylistic elements associated with the early Indic tradition from the end of the first century B.C. through the first or early second century of the Christian era.

While the binding method that crossed at either side of center was important, also of significance was the acceptance of changes in the treatment of the crest portion of the headdress. Toward the end of the first century B.C. or early decades of the following century, at about the time parallel banding was introduced, the Mathurā school also developed a preference for an ordered, symmetrically wrapped treatment with a high-rising pleated fabric crest and a roll or ornamental disc through which a fabric ball or loop might be secured. An early example, with what appears to show the fantail, ring and ball, adorns the head of a fragment of a male image now in the Avery Brundage Collection of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (Figs. 25, 817). Apparent in this example are the crisscrossed bands, the wrapped base, and the pleated fabric crest with some type of disc ornament.

Illustrative of a continuing Mathurān influence, following the introduction of a small pleated cockade element, a dramatic change, similar to one that occurred in Mathurā, took place. The size and prominence of this
element increased dramatically.

The Mathurā prototype may be seen in a relief fragment dating from circa the first half of the first century A.D. (Figs. 26, 823). This relief is thought to represent a conversation between the Buddha and his father Suddhodana. The crest of Suddhodana's banded turban is composed of a very high rising, pleated fantail of fabric ornamented by a fabric ring and, apparently, originally, a fabric ball or loop (Fig. 26). The Buddha is presented bare chested and retains the corpulence of earlier yakṣa statues. Interestingly, his hair is wrapped in the kapardin style and may represent one of the earliest examples of what was to become, in the words of van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the classical hair fashion for Buddha images. Other Mathurā examples have, in addition to fabric rings, knots through which a ball or loop of fabric was secured. Others are enhanced with some type of jewel or lotus-petal ring. An example of the open-faced lotus roundel with a fabric loop adorns the cockade of the headdress worn by a figure of a nobleman on a railing post from Govindnagar (Figs. 27, 824).

Ornamental lotus-petal roundels or jewel discs, which seem to date to the latter decades of the first century or early second century A.D., are found in a number of images from Gandhāra and related regions. Among the numerous examples, one of the finest from the Swāt region is that found on the head of the upper most attendant in a relief carving recovered from Butkara I by the Italian mission (Figs. 28, 327). The style of the attendant's turban, with its prominent cockade, lotus petal ring and fabric loop
as well as the image's facial features and mustache, compare well with those of a second example from Gandhāra, that of the turbaned head of Siddhārtha on a wall relief of phyllite from Chapel L at Dharmarājikā, Taxila, sculpted some time after circa A.D. 80 (Figs. 29, 325). Unfortunately, the front portion of the crest of the figure's (possibly Siddhārtha's) headdress is no longer present. This damage notwithstanding, in accord with the assessments of Sharma and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, these two examples recall Mathurā region crest treatments which seem to have evolved during the pre-Kaṇiṣṭha phase (Figs. 823, 824). The general use of three restraining bands, the wrapping of the cockade base, the high-rising pleated fabric crest ornamented with a circular disc through which a fabric loop has been pulled, all mark important developmental characteristics of the first century A.D. in Mathurā and the late first or first half of the second century A.D. in Taxila and Swāt.

The Dharmarājikā relief image of Siddhārtha is important for other reasons as well. In addition to the kaṇṭhi (collar necklace), which was used for images of Indra and other royal and divine types from the beginnings of the stone tradition, the future Buddha is shown wearing a long, heavy, Hellenistic style loop-in-loop chain necklace with a cut jewel positioned between a pair of horned-lion-head terminals. As demonstrated by this relief, at some point during the late first or early second century A.D., heavy, loop-in-loop chain necklaces became conventionalized in Bodhisattva imagery.
There seems to be little doubt that necklaces of this style with horned-lion-head terminals were worn in Gandhāra during the Saka or Parthian period as a plain collared, finely crafted, loop-in-loop chain necklace of this type was found at Sirkap as were a repousse image of a horned lion's head and the dies and tools used to fashion terminals for earrings, necklaces and bangles (Fig. 757, 758). The Bodhisattva image from Taxila suggests that the loop-in-loop chain necklace was first introduced for images of Siddhārtha, seemingly during the period prior to that in which jewel ornamented restraining bands became the preferred fashion.

It appears probable that by about the second half of the first century A.D., as indicated by the changes in the cult of the turban reliefs and the introduction of the Hellenistic loop-in-loop chain necklace, the Buddhist school in Bactro-Gandhāra entered a period of independent, localized development. These unique changes seem to have coincided with a time when various turban elements began to take on increased iconographic importance. Bands which crisscross at the center front remained the most commonly selected treatment for a range of royal and divine types. Less frequently occurring, other examples show bands which are tied using a square knot or knots such as that illustrated by the head of a male image (Figs. 30, 336). Crest emblems, such as the more vase-like object on the cockade of this example, also represent a change in style that may likewise reflect an increasing interest in emblematic values. As new motifs were introduced and certain elements became associated with particular types or personages, a pattern of internal, 

Fig. 30.
independent regional development becomes clearly recognizable.

A preference for the continued use of three crisscrossed bands without the hairline jewel and receptacles in Gandhāra into the second century A.D. is attested by the head of a Bodhisattva image from Swāt (Figs. 31, 337). The unique restraining bands of this headdress, ornamented with set and applied jewels, seem to have lost their flexible appearance and give the impression of sitting above the turban body. Backed by a roundel of pleated fabric, the crest of this example displays a fully opened lotus-flower and lion-protome. The lion with garland motif seen here was extremely popular in the north-west and related regions. It was used repeatedly on the earrings and turbans of individually carved, life-size Bodhisattva images of the mature tradition.

Summary

With the Saka period, the related efforts of active Buddhist communities throughout Bactro-Gandhāra seem to have begun an unbroken continuum of artistic creativity in stone. Works from the heartland of India are of great significance in understanding this continuum as they provide evidence of the foundations of the Buddhist tradition in Gandhāra and related regions that would otherwise be unknown. The Indian-derived method of securing turban headdresses with unornamented restraining bands remained the primary mode for more than a century, from the end of the first
millennium B.C. into perhaps the second century A.D., with the most notable developmental changes occurring in the handling and prominence given the cockade, and the addition of new crest treatments and emblems all within a rather limited range.

Emerging from the early traditions conceived to represent various royal and divine types, the first identifiable images of turbaned Bodhisattvas may be images of Siddhārtha. The most meaningful examples are three reliefs in which a turbaned figure, presumably a Bodhisattva, is presented in a frontal, hieratic manner (Figs. 323, 324, 325). Each figure is shown standing with his right hand in abhaya mudrā and his left hand placed on his hip. Also of significance in understanding the development of Bodhisattva imagery are three relatively early (circa second century A.D.) examples of individually carved reliefs of turbaned Bodhisattvas seated in dhyāna mudrā (Figs. 320-322). Further, the relief, thought to be the interpretation of Māya's dream in which Suddhodana is seated in the crossed ankles variant of bhadrāsana, indicates that this kingly posture, so important in later iconographic traditions, was probably in use in Gandhāra by the end of the first or early second century A.D. (Fig. 330).
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For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 814
- .02 - Fig. 817
- .03 - Fig. 821
- .04 - Fig. 818
- .05 - Fig. 819
- .06 - Fig. 823
- .07 - Fig. 820
- .08 - Fig. 824
- .09 - Fig. 819
- .10 - Fig. 804
- .11 - Fig. 806
- .12 - Fig. 815
- .13 - Fig. 807
- .14 - Fig. 808
- .15 - Fig. 331
- .16 - Fig. 332
- .17 - Fig. 333
- .18 - Fig. 334
- .19 - Fig. 265
- .20 - Fig. 266
- .21 - Fig. 265
- .22 - Fig. 265
- .23 - Fig. 265
- .24 - Fig. 265
- .25 - Fig. 265
- .26 - Fig. 265
- .27 - Fig. 331
TURBAN STYLE II: UNBANDED SELF-SUSTAINING

In the self-sustaining convention, the fabric is bound around the head in a manner which creates a tripartite (or greater), bilaterally symmetrical appearance with the successive wrappings crossed over the center front of the head just above the hair line (Figs. 33, 342). There is no evidence of restraining bands. In the traditional Indian manner, the ends of the fabric are tucked up and looped through the middle roll of fabric at the sides while on the top of the head a fantail crest formed from pleated fabric supports a gourd- or conical-shaped ornament.

Turbans secured without restraining bands appear to belong to the early phases of development during the Saka and Parthian eras. Most examples of this type are found on relief carvings from, or thought to be from, the Swát region. However, examples of this same general type also occur on images from other locations as well.\textsuperscript{31} The similarities, particularly in the handling of the pleated fabric and crest emblems, are indicative of early productivity and an exchange of ideas among active communities in Swát, Buner and Taxila even though the sculptures are dramatically different in appearance due to medium or skill in sculpting.\textsuperscript{32} As far as can be determined, greenish chloritized schist and stucco were the primary materials used for examples belonging to this group. In Gandhāra and related regions, non-banded turbans are worn by bracket figures, Indra and other royally adorned attendants, and possibly by Siddhārtha.\textsuperscript{33} The sides of the turbans are unornamented with no indications of the elaborate jewel encrustation that was to become the hallmark of the headdresses.
worn by the Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas of the developed Mahāyāna tradition.

One of the earliest examples of this non-banded fashion is found on the head of Indra in a relief of the Adoration of the Meditating Buddha by Brahmā and Indra (Figs. 34, 259). The fabric of Indra’s turban is wrapped symmetrically and ornamented with a relatively small fan-tail crest in front of which is seen a cone-shaped ornament (Fig. 34). As the hair of the Buddha figure has been fashioned into a rather low bun consistent with the fashion for Buddha images that occur on reliefs held to be among the earliest extant from both Mathurā and the northwest, this relief probably dates from the late first century B.C. or the early decades of the first century A.D.  

From Gumbat and Varia in Swāt, two somewhat later reliefs of the same type illustrate the continued importance of the unbanded turban style for images of Indra (Figs. 35, 36, 272, 271). In comparing the first relief (Fig. 259) with these examples, which also show Brahmā and Indra attending a seated Buddha, a significant change may be noted, not in the headdresses used for Indra but in the hair styles used for the Buddha figures. The low, flat bun of the earlier example has been transformed into a full, high banded rondeur generally associated with the Parthian or early Kuśāna periods. The turban treatments remain essentially unchanged with a slight difference occurring with the presence of a base and/or vertical ridges just below the crest emblem (Figs. 34-36).

Additional examples of the unbanded turban style adorn the heads of other heavenly beings such as a lyre playing gandharva and his dancing
companion on a relief recovered from Butkara I (Figs. 37, 38, 340). As with the other turban examples, the binding methods shown here lack restraining bands (Figs. 37, 38). At the same time, the crest portions with their vertical bands of jewels bring to mind the cockade treatments of examples from the Style I grouping further suggesting the popularity of the gourd-shaped ornament with vertical jewel bands during the first century A.D.

While these examples are useful in dating and establishing a relative chronology, of greater importance are two additional examples from Sirkap. The written descriptions of Cunningham and the recovery by Marshall of numerous fragments of sculpture in stucco from the apsidal temple complex at Sirkap, built between circa A.D. 30 and 60, indicate that stucco was the preferred medium for exterior imagery at this site.35 From the area in front of apsidal temple where two small stūpas once stood two, very similar turbaned heads were recovered (Figs. 39, 40, 342, 343). Although more skillfully rendered than many of the small examples in schist, the turban fashions found on these heads are of the same generic type as those found on the more complete relief sculptures. Characteristically, no restraining bands or cords are apparent, they lack jewel ornamentation and the fantail crests support emblems that are conical in shape.

The first example from Sirkap is of a head from what was once part of a colossal image. As this fragment is more than 34 cm. (13.5 in) in height,
the full figure must have been approximately 213 cm. (seven feet) (Fig. 39). While this example seems to be the only extant early fragment of such a scale, when considered together with the information in Cunningham's report of burnt clay fragments of colossal images of Buddhas nine or ten feet in height, there can be little doubt that life-size or greater than life-size images were being sculpted in materials other than stone by the middle of the first century A.D. Of a reduced scale (12 cm.), the second head from the same findspot is very similar to the first (Fig. 40). Marshall recorded that the difference in size reflects the relative scale of the probable monuments for which they were sculpted, the smaller for one of the small stūpas in the court and the larger one for a statue that may have stood in the nave in front of the chapel. Unfortunately, there is no way to establish the identity of these images.

Summary

As evidenced by its prevalence, the unbanded self-sustaining turban convention was an important mode during the early phases of development. Given Cunningham's report and the presence of the stucco head from an image of monumental scale, it seems apparent that life-size or greater than life-size images were being sculpted at Taxila no later than the middle decades of the first century A.D., although probably not in stone. Further, the three hieratic relief carvings from the Style I grouping,
each of which displays an image of turbaned figure (possibly Siddhārtha) standing with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* (Figs. 323-325), together with the oversized head from the apsidal temple complex at Sirkap lend support to the view that the Bodhisattva doctrine was developed out of attention focused on moments and episodes from the biography of Śākyamuni and the traditions associated with his former incarna-
tions as discussed in chapter three of this work.
TURBAN STYLE II: UNBANDED SELF-SUSTAINING
Summary of Detailed Evidence for Use of Style II Turbans

| 150 B.C. | | A.D. 100 |
|----------|-----------------|
| Gandhāra, Unknown |
| .01 |
| Swāt |
| .02 | .03 | .04 | .05 |
| Gandhāra, Taxila |
| .06 | .07 |

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

.01 - Fig. 259  .04 - Fig. 340  .07 - Fig. 343
.02 - Fig. 272  .05 - Fig. 340
.03 - Fig. 271  .06 - Fig. 342

Fig. 41. Turban Style II: Unbanded Self-Sustaining.
TURBAN STYLE III: RESTRAINING BANDS WITH JEWELS

The wrapped fabric of the third turban convention is held in place by three restraining bands positioned bilaterally across the upper, middle and lower sections of the headdress (Figs. 42, 43, 348). The fabric ends are looped up and held in place beneath the middle restraining band. The bands themselves appear to pass behind or originate from some type of set stone or to pass through or originate from the ends of some form of drilled and faceted jewel without the ornamental terminals or receptacles. This became the preferred mode in later phases. The arrangement is generally completed by a frontal element composed of a pleated crest and jewel ornamented gourd-like object (Fig. 42) or disc and fabric loop (Fig. 43).

The introduction of a restraining band jewel, depicted as either set or drilled and faceted, appears to represent a natural step in the development of turban elaboration leading to the heavily ornamented style. The use of jewels without receptacles appears frequently on the headdresses selected for Siddhārtha and his attendants in small relief carvings. Beyond these numerous relief examples, only a few additional figures displaying this type of turban have been found. While important, they are difficult to date and are stylistically inconsistent.

Among the reliefs, two carvings of subjects from the biography of Śākya-muni are useful in tracing stylistic development. In the first example, the turbans worn by an attendant figure and by Siddhārtha in a relief scene of the Great Departure (mahābhīnīśkramaṇa) are in stylistic
continuity with the characteristics of Style I turbans (cf. Figs. 348, 331-34). The notable difference between similar examples in the Style I grouping and those from the departure scene appears in the addition of a set jewel at the hairline level.

A turban of the same basic style as that worn by the future Buddha in the departure scene was also used on a pedestal that once supported a standing figure of a Bodhisattva (Figs. 44, 349). The presence of jeweled sandals on the feet that remain on top of this fragmented piece clearly demonstrate the existence of a Bodhisattva image (Fig. 349). The relief image itself is of Siddhartha’s turban in Trāyastriṃśa. The context of this relief clearly indicates its currency at a time when large individually carved standing figures were being created.

While this turban treatment was important in the Bactro-Gandhāra region, a similar fashion was also used at Mathurā. Given the established pattern of continued interaction between the northwest and Mathurā, it is not surprising to find a headdress of a similar type on a cult of the turban relief from Govindnagar (Figs. 45, 825). The Govindnagar example is found on the upper section of a stambha which Sharma has dated to the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. (using A. D. 78 for the accession of Kaniṣka).37 In addition to the importance of the set jewel, the pleated ridges of fabric that pass across the
sides of the turban are worthy of notice. While this pleated ridging is not found in the relief examples from Gandhāra and related regions, a less tightly ordered ridge of fabric passing across the upper part of the head-dress is characteristic of most of the turbans which adorn the heads of major individually carved images of Bodhisattvas created during the period of florescence (Figs. 426, 448).

As with the cult of the turban relief, a princely head from a wall relief also suggests ties with Mathurā (Figs. 46, 347). The head-dress in this example incorporates two important elements that are characteristic of examples from Mathurā, a rectangular hairline jewel and narrow ridges of pleated fabric which arise from the hairline and cross over the sides just above the upper restraining bands. Given the damaged condition it is difficult to determine the original appearance of the fragment from Dharmarājikā. However, the high rising crest seems to have incorporated a pair of rings through which a fabric loop would have been pulled. With its high rising cockade, its overall appearance is reminiscent of the turbans worn by the previously described image of Siddhārtha, also from Dharmarājikā, and the image of the attendant figure from Butkara (Figs. 28, 327). At the same time, the use of the narrowly pleated ridging of fabric together with a rather rectangular appearing hairline jewel and high cockade suggest Mathurā school advances of the first and second centuries A.D. A circa second century A.D. example from the Mathurā region is now owned by the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figs. 47, 841). This over
life-size head presents an excellent example of the use of pleated ridging in conjunction with a rectangular hairline ornament and a complicated, high rising cockade that is composed of a sophisticated arrangement of ornamental discs, pleated fabric and a series of rolled fabric rings through which a loop of fabric has been pulled.

The only individually sculpted figure included in this grouping appears to be a relatively early example (ca. early second century A.D.) of a seated Bodhisattva displaying dhyāna mudrā (Figs. 48, 344). The turban worn by this figure is distinguished from Style I examples by the addition of a faceted and ridged barrel shaped jewel through which the restraining bands appears to pass. Unfortunately, only the lower portions of the wrapped cockade base remain. This image bears similarities to several circa first century A.D. relief images from the Swāt region, particularly in angularity of the facial features and the treatment of the forehead with its continuous brow line. This is especially true for images of the Buddha and Indra in relief carvings from Gumbat and Varia (Figs. 271, 272). These characteristics along with the awkward articulation of the arms and hands and the simplicity of his jewelry, seem to indicate that this figure is a relatively early example of an individually carved, seated Bodhisattva. 39

Summary

Considering the examples in the Style III grouping in relation to those of Style I, there can be little doubt that the addition of a set or drilled
jewel restraining band ornament represented a natural step in the evolution of the turban treatments. As it seems unlikely that both the early schools at Mathurā and in the northwest independently introduced a set hairline jewel for turbans worn by Siddhārtha, continued interaction between Mathurā and the northwest during the second half of the first and early second centuries A.D. seems apparent. Characteristics such as the ridged pleating and high rising cockade found on some examples from the northwest may also reflect influences from the school at Mathurā.

While it remains difficult to establish precisely when large individually carved images of Bodhisattvas were first produced in stone, the presence of a Style III turban on a base that once supported a standing image of a Bodhisattva clearly indicates that free standing images of Bodhisattvas were being sculpted during a period when a set jewel without restraining band terminals held some importance.
# TURBAN STYLE III: RESTRAINING BANDS WITH JEWELS

Summary of Detailed Evidence for Use of Style III Turbans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>25 B.C.</th>
<th>A.D. 200</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>.02</td>
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<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swāt</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhāra, Jamāi-Gārhi</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhāra, Taxila</td>
<td>.07</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 825
- .02 - Fig. 841
- .03 - Fig. 344
- .04 - Fig. 348
- .05 - Fig. 348
- .06 - Fig. 349
- .07 - Fig. 347
TURBAN STYLE IV: FLOWER RECEPTACLES WITH CUT JEWELS

The fabric of turbans in Style IV is held in place by three restraining bands that appear to originate from or pass behind a pair of open-faced flowers positioned to either side of a faceted jewel (Figs. 50, 355). It seems probable that these flower terminals or receptacles are intended to represent the flowers of heaven, the mandāravas and mahāmandāravas that are mentioned repeatedly in the Lotus Sūtra and other texts.\textsuperscript{40} In addition to the flower terminals, this type of headdress is further complemented by a pleated cockade with a crest ornament in the form of a fabric loop or element that is conical in shape similar to those found on examples belonging to the Styles I through III groupings. With the exception of a relief from Sikri, the sculptures are of unknown provenance.

The addition of flower terminals appears to represent a primary step in a developmental process that led to the fully ornamented convention that characterizes the headdresses of the Bodhisattvas of the mature tradition. Turbans in this group are distinguished from later examples by their lack of set and applied gem stones. The images themselves are less skillfully rendered than those associated with the subsequent period of florescence during the second and third centuries A.D. Further, the use of ornamental terminals seems to mark a departure from the influences of early Indic banding modes. Following the introduction and acceptance of ornamental restraining band terminals, the similarities between the headdress treatments of the Buddhist school in Bactro-Gandhāra and the
school at Mathurā occur primarily in crest emblems.

The first example in this group, occurs on the head of a fragmented figure. It displays a turban that has been ornamented with a hair-line jewel positioned between a pair of open-faced, half-flower receptacles (Figs. 51, 353). The cockade of pleated fabric is enhanced with a boss covered base and ring from which a jewel embellished loop originates. The image is further adorned with a pair of lion earrings of the stud type seemingly related to the Indian simhakuṇḍala (ear-ornament in the shape of a lion head). Stud earrings, similar to those in this example are generally found on images that appear to have been sculpted during the early Kushan period and are useful in dating. More elaborate lion earrings of similar types were repeated throughout the period of maturity, especially those showing lions with bead wreaths and garlands falling from their mouths and paws (Figs. 380, 389, 470). There are also numerous examples of winged-lion earrings that seem to reflect Graeco-Iranian influences (Figs. 531, 864).

A second example displaying this banding treatment is found on the head of a more complete figure, perhaps intended to represent Siddhārtha. This Bodhisattva is seated on a lion throne (simhāsana) and displays dhyāna mudrā (Figs. 52, 350). The figure is shown with lion earrings, a gorget and relatively simple long necklaces. The hairline jewel and flower terminals are less damaged than the crest portion.

Although the head and sections of the aura are all that remain of the third figure, the headdress is intact (Figs. 53, 354). In this example, the
crest ornament has the appearance of a gourd-shaped object enhanced with a vertical row of beads recalling examples from the Styles I through III groupings. An additional fragment displays a crest that has been treated in a similar manner (Figs. 54, 355).

Because the figure is of a known subject and from a known provenance, the most important example occurs on a relief image of Śvetaketu in Tuṣita as part of a series of scenes from the life of Śākyamuni that encircle the drum of stūpa from Sikri (Figs. 55, 356). In this relief, Śvetaketu, regent of Tuṣita, is seated on the pericarp of a fully opened, lotus-flower dais displaying dhyāna mudrā. The headdress of the future Buddha is secured by restraining bands ornamented with a jewel positioned between a pair of open-faced flower terminals while the cockade portion is complemented by a cone-shaped emblem. On the basis of stylistic analysis, Marshall dated the Sikri reliefs to a transitional period between adolescence and maturity, circa A.D. 60-110, and suggested that it is likely they were produced in a workshop in the Shāhbāz-Garhi area.42

Summary

As this banding style, with its open-faced flower receptacles, was of a type used for Tuṣita Siddhārtha at Sikri, it is evident that this was one
of the conventions used for images of the future Buddha. That these images were sculpted during the second half of the first or early second century A.D., is a view that is supported by patterns of association and stylistic similarities found in the crest ornaments and jewelry which are also found in examples from the Styles I through III groupings.
### TURBAN STYLE IV: FLOWER RECEPTACLES WITH JEWELS

**Summary of Detailed Evidence for Use of Style IV Turbans**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D. 50</th>
<th>A.D. 150</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Gandhāra, Unknown</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhāra, Sikri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.05</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 353
- .02 - Fig. 350
- .03 - Fig. 354
- .04 - Fig. 355
- .05 - Fig. 356

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**Fig. 56. Turban Style IV: Flower Receptacles with Cut Jewels.**
TURBAN STYLE V: A JEWEL AND SMALL LOTUS-FLOWER RECEPTACLES

The unornamented fabric of turbans in the Style V grouping is held in place by restraining bands, frequently of a twisted appearing material, with the ends of the fabric body tucked up beneath and secured by the middle restraining band (Figs. 57, 363). In most examples, these bands appear to originate from or pass through a cut jewel suspended between a pair of relatively small lotus-cup receptacles of the type that is probably of Indic origin. On the top of the head, a section of pleated fabric is used to form a large fantail-shaped cockade. Typically supported by a fabric wrapped base or by a lotus base, this frontal element is adorned with a crest ornament or emblem in the form of a tassel, fluted or faceted jewel or aśīmha-mukha. If embellished, the sides of the headdress display a pair of open-faced flower ornaments, probably intended to represent the heavenly mandaśravas which were used as restraining band terminals on Style IV turbans.

Many of the images adorned with this type of headdress appear to have been created during the period of florescence (ca. second half of the second century through third century A.D.) although their turbans lack the heavy jewel encrustation typical of the large standing images of Bodhisattvas sculpted during advanced phases of development. In a number of examples, the quality of the craftsmanship gives validity to their physiognomy while the dais types, attributes, and jewelry styles are consistent with creations of the mature period.

Thought to be from the Peshāwar area, the first example of this type
and seemingly the earliest is an image of a seated Bodhisattva displaying dhyāna mudrā (Figs. 58, 361). His turban is secured by restraining bands that have been ornamented by a faceted jewel suspended between a pair of small lotus-cup receptacles. At the front of the prominent cockade is an ornamental ring with a bead tassel. This Bodhisattva image is further adorned with lion earrings similar to those worn by images in the Style IV group. In addition to a kaṇṭhī (torque or collar necklace) and loop-in-loop chain, he wears a multiple-stranded bead necklace draped across his right shoulder of the type that appears to have become conventionalized for Bodhisattvas at some point around the end of the first or early second century A.D.

This type of necklace is of Indic origin. A variety of bead necklaces are found on male images dating back to the Maurya period as is attested by such figures as the male image from Pātaliputra (Fig. 799). Displaying even greater similarity to the type worn by Bodhisattva images is the necklace worn by a guardian figure from Mathurā of approximately the early first century A.D. (Fig. 821). In this example the bead necklace is draped as a shoulder necklace in a manner not unlike that used for Bodhisattvas in Gandhāra and related regions. At some point, probably during the early Kushan phase, the kaṇṭhī and the bead shoulder necklace along with the Hellenistic, loop-in-loop chain necklace, the amulet strap, armbands, and, occasionally, rings and bracelets were accepted as elements in the standardized set of jewel ornaments for Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattvas in the Style V grouping are adorned with many of these pieces of jewelry.
Of a somewhat later date than the first example is an image from Swāt. Among those in the research body, this image is perhaps the earliest identifiable image of Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi) (Figs. 59, 362). In this example, Avalokiteśvara is shown seated and displaying abhaya mudrā with his right hand while holding in his left hand the stem of a partially opened lotus. His turban appears to be of a lozenge weave with a crest emblem sculpted in the form of a tapered, fluted jewel. He wears the conventionalized set of chest necklaces. His earrings are of the large hoop type ornamented with cut jewels. Along with the lion and garland earring, this type of jeweled hoop was very much in fashion for Bodhisattva images during the mature period.

The third example, an image from Loriyān Tangai, is quite similar to and perhaps from the same atelier as the previous figure (Figs. 60, 363). This sculpture is of a seated Bodhisattva with his hands positioned dhyāna mudrā. His headdress, similar to that worn by the image of Avalokiteśvara from Swāt, is of what appears to be a lozenge weave secured by three twisted restraining bands which originate from small lotus-cup terminals. Apparently attached to the middle band at the sides are open-faced flower roundels. Above a wrapped base, a large, round cockade of pleated fabric is ornamented with a lotus roundel and simha-mukha emblem from the mouth of which fall multiple strands of beads. Consistent with developments of the mature phase of the Buddhist tradition in the northwest, the Bodhisattva's earrings are of the lion type that suspends jewel garlands between their paws.45

Fig. 59.

Fig. 60.
Also from Loriyān Tangai, the fourth image is of Avalokiteśvara (Figs. 61, 368). Although the right arm is lost, the tilt of his head and the position of his legs are indicative of the pensive position that occurs frequently in the art of Gandhāra and the related regions. His left hand, which is also badly damaged, would have held the stem of the lotus flower which remains just to the side of the figure's left knee. Although the hairline ornaments and crest emblem of his turban are broken away, open-faced flower roundels remain at the sides. His earrings are of the jewel-hoop type. This image as well as the image on the Lēhner relief and an image of Avalokiteśvara now owned by the Matsuoka Museum of art in Tokyo, clearly illustrate that a pensive attitude was an important āsana for images of the lotus-bearing Bodhisattva in the northwest (Figs. 296, 369). Seated in the pensive attitude of rājaliṣṭhāna, these figures from the northwest are closely related to a similar, latter half of the second or early third century A.D., convention that occurs at Mathurā and to a somewhat later East Asian conventions. The importance of this type of image is attested by a number of examples from those regions.46

Four additional figures of Avalokiteśvara, show him seated and displaying dhyāna mudrā with a lotus flower suspended between his index and middle fingers (Figs. 62-65, 364-367). On the basis of stylistic considerations and patterns of association it appears that images of Avalokiteśvara holding a partially opened lotus were created somewhat earlier than those holding a lotus with a fully exposed pericarp. This is suggested by changes in the dais types, ornamental details and technical skill. A review of the images suggests that the lotus dais and crest emblem
in the form of a garland draped, jewel on a lotus throne are relatively late developments (Figs. 365, 366). Further, for images in stone there was a gradual decline in technical skill, probably beginning during the late third or fourth century A.D. Thus, less finely carved but iconographically advanced images were probably sculpted during the period of decline as suggested by the articulation of facial features in what appears to be the latest example of Avalokiteśvara seated in a posture of meditation (Fig. 367).

Of additional importance to this grouping is a fragment of an image from Taxila (Figs. 66, 374). The turban on this image is similar to those on images of Avalokiteśvara from Swāt and Loriyān Tangai indicating that this style headdress was not a localized convention. Also occurring within this grouping is the single standing image of a sraj- or wreath-bearing Bodhisattva (Figs. 67, 358-60). At this point the wreath-bearing Bodhisattva can only be identified epithetically by the attribute he carries (Fig. 360). This example is the only image in this grouping shown in a standing position and the only figure bearing the wreath attribute. Wreath-bearing Bodhisattvas are typically adorned with the jewel embellished turbans of Style VII rather than the open-faced flower ornamented turban of this somewhat unusual sculpture (Fig. 67). The shorter and stockier build of this Bodhisattva along with the lotus petal ornamentation occurring on the aura suggest a relatively
late date for this image.

Summary

At some point, apparently around the beginning of the second century A.D., characteristics associated with the mature period began to appear. Subsequently, new headdress ornaments and emblems, and new jewelry types and elements were introduced as were the pensive rājaliśaṇa and the padma and sraļ attributes for Bodhisattvas. While the Style V turban fashion may have been developed somewhat earlier than the jewel ornamented fashion, there can be little doubt that most of the images in this grouping were sculpted at a time when jewel ornamentation had become the primary turban treatment for large individually carved images of Bodhisattvas indicating the coexistence of the Style V tradition with the more ornate Style VII tradition. The richly, jewel-ornamented turbans of Style VII show open-faced lotus flowers rather than the heavenly mandāravas that are characteristic of Style V.48

As the six images of Avalokiteśvara clearly demonstrate, a seated position and the display of abhaya mudrā, and dhyāna mudrā as well as the pensive rājaliśaṇa were used for Avalokiteśvara in the northwest. While the wreath-bearer is characteristic shown standing and displaying abhaya mudrā, no individually carved, standing figures of Padmapāṇi are found.

This is the only Bodhisattva grouping that includes identifiable images of Avalokiteśvara. Clearly, by the middle of the second or early
third century A.D., Avalokiteśvara and the wreath-bearing Bodhisattva had emerged as identifiable types. The six images of Avalokiteśvara in the Style V grouping confirm the opinions of scholars that this Bodhisattva was among the popular figures in the northwest. One image is from Swāt. Three other images are from Loriyān Tangai. It seems probable that there was a cult of Avalokiteśvara at Loriyān Tangai and perhaps elsewhere although there is no way of determining additional locations as many of the images are of unknown provenance.
## TURBAN STYLE V: JEWEL & SMALL LOTUS FLOWER RECEPTACLES

Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Development of Style V Turbans

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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Swāt</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gandhāra, Loriwān Tengai</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gandhāra, Peshawar</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gandhāra, Sikri</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- 01 - Fig. 264
- 02 - Fig. 645
- 03 - Fig. 646
- 04 - Fig. 647
- 05 - Fig. 362
- 06 - Fig. 363
- 07 - Fig. 368
- 08 - Fig. 361
- 09 - Fig. 352
- 10 - Fig. 374
TURBAN STYLE VI: PLAIN WEAVE WITH ORNAMENTAL PLAQUES

Although sculpted during the period of maturity, the two image in this grouping are unusual in that what appears to be the finely woven fabric of their headdresses lacks the elaborate jewel ornamentation that frequently occurs on the sides of Bodhisattva turbans associated with this period (Figs. 69, 70, 375). At the same time, other characteristics are consistent with the fully developed styles and technical sophistication of the northwest. The turban ends are looped and secured at the sides either beneath a matrix wrapping or a broad, flat restraining band. Ridges of serpentine-like folds cross up and over the top of the turbans to either side of a pleated cockade. Of the two sculptures that fall into this category, one is very fragmented. The other figure, which is relatively undamaged, displays a pair of ornaments, apparently intended to represent plaques of an unknown material, possibly metal, positioned to either side of a cut jewel above which rises a high cockade (Fig. 69).49

While the unornamented sides of the headdresses in the Style VI grouping are unusual, the figures in this grouping belong to a larger set of Bodhisattva images, both turbaned and non-turbaned, which are distinguished by a pair of crossed breast chains of the loop-in-loop Hellenistic type,50 by a kañṭhī ornamented with bezel-set gem stones in a quadrifoil pattern at center front;51 and a long necklace with finial figures that
include an expanded repertoire of heavenly and fantastic creatures in addition to the typical horned, lion-head motif.52 These similarities suggest that the images in the larger set are close in date and may have come from the same atelier (See Figs. 391, 430, 482, 595, 598, 602, etc.).

Of the two turbaned images in the Style VI grouping, the well known 'Foucher Bodhisattva' of the Musée Guimet remains in reasonable condition although its original sharpness has been somewhat softened by the ravages of the elements and time (Figs. 69, 375-77). This image, from Mekhasanda in the Shāhbāz-Garhi area, is apparently unique. The figure is unusual in that it is shown with webbed fingers and thumbs, webbing being one of the lakṣaṇa (auspicious marks) of a Buddha.53 Further, as found thus far, it is the only example adorned with pairs of vīdyādharas (bears of wisdom)54 or erote-like figures shown suspending a jewel between them. This turban motif was also used to enhance the terminals of the long necklace.

As is typical of the detailed sculptural articulation of the turbans worn by the larger individually carved figures from the mature phase of stone production, the fabric is wrapped in such a manner as to create a ridged pattern of folds crossing over the top of the head to the right and left sides of the cockade (Fig. 70). Further, as with a number of other examples, also from the mature phase, pairs of ribbons float across the aura giving the impression that the restraining bands and their ornaments comprise a separate unit that was positioned on the turban body after the binding was completed and that this separate unit was tied and held in place at the back by the ribbons. The turban of this image is further embellished by a cockade base fashioned in the form of a square knot and a crest emblem
in the form of a *garuda* with his wings outstretched and clutching with his talons a draped figure of a *nāga*. The figure's rich headdress and necklaces are complemented by a pair of winged-lion earrings.

Unfortunately, the second example, also from the Mardān District, is in such poor condition that it is difficult to determine the characteristics of its ornamental and emblematic elements (Figs. 71, 378). However, three features, the unornamented sides of the turban, the winged-lion earrings, and the crossed loop-in-loop breast chains, also characteristic of the Musée Guimet example, suggest that these two images are relatively close in date. Given the sharpness and refinement of the carving and validity of the physiognomy, even in its broken state, the second example remains one of the finest pieces created during the period of florescence under Kuśāṇa rule.55

The ornaments of the headdress worn by the Bodhisattva from Mekhasanda as well as his long necklace and earrings reflect the influence of Hellenistic jewelry preferences (Fig. 70). While the subjects that inspired the use of these emblematic motives were Buddhist, the style and associated manufacturing techniques were clearly influenced by late-surviving Hellenistic techniques and preferences. The stylistic influence of motifs, such as the eagle carrying aloft Ganymede on the Indic *garuda* and *nāga* motif, has been recognized since the late nineteenth century.56 Although lion earrings were introduced into the Bodhisattva jewelry repertoire during the late first or early second century A.D., the winged-lion earrings of circa the second half of the second and third century A.D. recall the "leaping-animal"
types of the late Hellenistic period (Figs. 864, 873). Likewise, the use of vidyādharas and the square knot appear to be reflective of the Hellenistic and Roman period use of and interest in these types of ornamental and emblematic motifs. Divine and fantastic classicistic forms were frequently selected for appliques, brooches, hair pins, necklaces, earrings and ornamental terminals such as the gold repousse brooch (probably of Nike) from Sirkap and the erote terminal in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figs. 760, 863,). The influences attested by the Musée Guimet figure suggest an adaptation and synthesis of late-surviving classicistic motifs, probably as emblems of transcendence and immortality, in the Bacro-Gandhāra sphere where numerous excavation findings of such jewelry items as well as the dies and tools used in manufacturing have been recovered.

At the same time, the use of the Indic garuda with nāga motif also suggests a continuance of the ongoing relationship with Buddhist communities in the Mathurā region. The importance of the garuda with nāga motif at Mathurā is attested by the head of a fragmented image from Kankāli mound, now in the State Museum, Lucknow (Fig. 72, 843).

Summary

It is probable that the images in the Style VI grouping were sculpted some time during the second half of the second or third century A.D. This is suggested by the quality of the carving and the impression that the site
of Mekhasanda, 1.5 km. northeast of Shahbaz-Garhi in Mardān, became active about A.D. 150. While there are only two images in this set, the iconographic and ornamental detailing of the Musée Guimet figure as well as the technical quality of the Mardān fragment suggest that these were important images. For turbaned Bodhisattvas created during the period of florescence, only four types of crest emblems have been found. They include the lion protome or mask, a fluted or faceted jewel, a seated Buddha displaying either dhyāna or dharmacakra mudrā, and a garuda with nāga or nāgas motif such as that occurring on the image from Mekhasanda. It is one of the important iconographic features that clearly demonstrates the continued relationship that must have been maintained between the Buddhist communities of the northwest and those of Mathurā.
### TURBAN STYLE VI: PLAIN WEAVE WITH ORNAMENTAL PLAQUES

Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Use of Style VI turbans

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<th>A.D. 100</th>
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| .01 
Methurā, Kankāli _TILE |  |
|  |  |
| .02 
Gandhēra, Mardān |  |
| .03  |  |

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

.01 - Fig. 843  
.02 - Fig. 375  
.03 - Fig. 378

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Fig. 73. Turban Style VI: Plain Weave with Ornamental Plaques.
TURBAN STYLE VII: JEWEL AND PLAQUE ORNAMENTED

As attested by the monumental scale of some figures, by stylistic and iconographic advances, and conventionalized ornamental and emblematic detailing, the sculptures that exhibit the Style VII turban are mainly Bodhisattva images that were created during the period of florescence, probably the second and third centuries A.D. It was during this period that the Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist school achieved its highest productive and technical levels. The turbans worn by the images in this group are adorned with elaborate jewel and plaque ornaments and emblems. The fabric matrix is wrapped in the conventional symmetrical manner with the ends of the headdress looped and apparently secured at the sides beneath the middle restraining band. The majority of turbans are further characterized by a wrapping style that creates a serpentine pattern running from front to back across the top of the headdress at either side of a cockade. In a number of examples the cockade is bound at the base by a wrapping of fabric, on others the wrapping is replaced by a lotus dais which supports either a faceted, tapering jewel or an image of a seated Buddha. Indeed, when it survives, the cockade invariably supports a crest emblem. The only crest emblems associated with this turban style are those sculpted with some type of garuda with a nāga or nāgas motif, a jewel on a lotus dais or a seated Buddha on a lotus dais. Unfortunately, a high percentage of the crests have been lost and cannot be used as a primary method for indexing either stylistic or iconographic development. This problem notwithstanding, during the second and early third century A.D., a number of new decorative and emblematic elements were introduced. Among the
noticeable changes was the increased importance and attention given to the restraining bands.

The headdresses in this large grouping are characterized by a jewel positioned between a pair of ornaments formed as lotus-flower terminals and open-mouthed-lion-head terminals reminiscent of the repousse, cast plaque or the appliqué-like emblems discussed in conjunction with Style VI turbans (Fig. 74 a. and b.). Simple jewel-banded terminals also occur (Fig. 74 c.). In addition to these forms of embellishment, the sides are richly enhanced with cut and set stones, and bosses that are further complemented by the application of additional repousse or cast plaques and beaded tassels. In several examples the presence of the tucked-up turban ends, found in conjunction with ribbons that appear to flutter across the aura, suggest that the restraining bands were a separate unit positioned and secured at the back of the head by a ribbon or a pair of ribbons after the turban wrapping had been completed (Figs. 417, 420).

The articulation of the headdresses in this grouping frequently gives the impression that both the restraining bands and the matrix body originated from within the receptacle recalling traditional Indic formulations. While the majority of examples are of unknown provenance, some are identified as having been recovered from Sahri-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, Ranigat, Taxila, and probably Loriyan Tangai indicating the widespread acceptance of Mahayana doctrines during the Kusana period. Of related importance are the paradisiacal reliefs showing Bodhisattvas adorned with
headdresses of Style VII, clearly representing small-scale versions of the large individually carved figures. As these smaller relief images remain within their original programmatic contexts, they provide a possible interpretation of the larger Bodhisattvas. The images within this grouping may be separated into three sub-sections based on the restraining band receptacle motifs.

Lotus-Flower Receptacles

The lotus-flower receptacles characteristic of the first sub-grouping represent a retention and enlargement of an Indic influenced receptacle type that was introduced during an earlier phase of development, probably the second half of the first or early second century A.D. As is characteristic of this type of headdress, those adorned with lotus-flower receptacles display a cut gem at hairline level while the sides of the turban are heavily embellished with jewel ornaments (Figs. 397, 398). In most of examples, the frontal portion of the crest originally attached by the mortise and tenon method has been lost. In addition to the crest emblem and the set jewel embellishments, the sides are frequently further enriched with appliques or plaques in the form of prancing winged lions and other lion motifs as illustrated by two images now in the Peshāwar Museum (Figs. 75, 76, 382, 384; 77, 78, 388, 389).

Winged-lion plaques are found only on the turbans of images within the heavily jeweled grouping. This motif appears to be of Kuśāna origin. It is associated with a complex of Scythian related animal forms of the type found on artifacts from Sarmatian burials. The arching of the spine and
the flowing lines of the torso and hip of the winged-lion forms on the turban plaques exhibit features reminiscent of the feline forms seen on a number of artifacts of Scythian manufacture, such as those on a gold Scythian bracelet found in the Peshawar area (Fig. 923). The positioning of the hind legs, the curve of the spine and the fluid lines of the torso are sufficiently similar to justify their association and relationship.

As indicated above, in addition to the prancing lion plaques, these turbans may also be adorned with other lion motifs that include a lion with strings of beads, bead tassels or bead garlands issuing from the mouth or suspended from the paws of the animal. Lions in repose holding bead garlands or bead wreaths were popular subjects for earrings just as the roundels with lion heads and lions protomes were important ornaments or emblems for the sides and crests of the turban.

The lion-with-bead-chains is a motif that has been associated with the reign of Huviska (ca. second half of the 2nd century A.D.), the son and successor of Kaniska (ca. A.D. 120 - 150). The association is evidenced by a fragment thought to be part of his portrait statue from the royal Kuşāna shrine at Māţ. This important find displays the forepart of a winged lion with strings of beads or pearls falling from the animal's mouth and paws.
(Figs. 842). Additionally, the garment of Kaniška and the hat on the fragment of an image, perhaps the head of Huviška, both from the same site, are similarly decorated with rows of beads or pearls indicating that beading and lions with bead chains or garlands were important decorative, and most likely symbolic, motifs during the second century A.D.\textsuperscript{69}

A third example in the lotus-cup receptacle group is that of a Bodhisattva who holds in his right hand a \textit{sraj} or diadem of leaves similar to the type carried by Nike in images in the Hellenistic tradition (Figs. 79, 394).\textsuperscript{70} While less skillfully carved than many of the ten wreath-bearing Bodhisattvas, this image is adorned with tassel earrings and a turban that has retained its crest emblem, a garland draped, faceted jewel on a lotus dais.\textsuperscript{71}

An additional image of importance, one with a stockier build, is that of a wreath-bearing Bodhisattva now in the Peshāwar Museum collection (Figs. 80, 397). This figure, which has also retained its cockade, displays a Buddha seated with his hands held in \textit{dharmacakra mudrā}.\textsuperscript{72} When comparing this image with the previous figure, not only does it illustrate an advanced stage of Mahāyāna iconographic development during the Kuśāna period, but, by comparison, it suggests that a faceted, tapering jewel may have been used to represent a Buddha. Found solely among turbaned images, the wreath attribute and the diminutive image of a Buddha on the crest are two of the most important distinguishing iconographic elements used for
turbaned Bodhisattvas. The sraj or diadem of leaves, along with the lotus are the only known attributes associated with major images of the turbaned type, the sraj alone appearing among the large-scale standing figures. How and why this pattern developed has not been determined.

No evidence was found to indicate that a floral diadem was carried as an attribute by Mathurā school Bodhisattva images; some attendant figures, however, carry garlands (Fig. 824), and similar types of wreaths adorn the heads of two second century A.D. Bodhisattva images from the Mathurā area (Figs. 81, 843, 92, 844). The crest emblem in the form of a Buddha found on the headress of an image of Maitreya now in the State Museum, Lucknow, is perhaps the earliest known example of this usage from the Mathurā region (Figs. 82, 845). This type of emblem is also found on a fragment of a Bodhisattva image now in the Mathurā Museum and on the Kronos Collections Bodhisattva seated in the pensive form of rājalilāsana (Figs. 83, 84, 846, 847). Although the schools in the northwest and the Mathurā regions proceeded along independent courses of development, the common use of these two very important iconographic elements, the similarly articulated floral diadems and the Buddha crest emblems, document to continued interaction among the various Buddhist communities in these areas.
Lion-Head Receptacles

Lion-head receptacles appear to belong to the larger complex of lion motifs introduced during the period of maturity. The style of the lion heads suggests a relationship to other lion head motifs that appear so frequently on the jewelry and ornaments of the period. At the same time, the open mouth and profile view recall the mythological *makara* and related subjects in early Indian reliefs such as those from Bhārhat where lotus vines or other wish fulfilling garlands issue forth a fantastic display of riches (Fig. 802). The importance of the *makara* type during the period of Kuśāṇa rule is demonstrated by a frieze from an architectural fragment from Mathurā displaying the profile image of a lion *makara* (Fig. 830).

The lion-head receptacle group is distinguished from the lotus-cup receptacle group by the presence of a number of advanced emblematic forms and iconographic programs not found on the headdresses of the figures in the previous group. At the same time, as with those adorned with lotus-cup receptacles, the sides of the turbans are richly ornamented with gems, bosses and lion motifs as exemplified by a Bodhisattva image from Mohammed Nari (Figs. 85, 417).

The Mohammed Nari figure, probably that of wreath-bearing Bodhisattva, illustrates the use of lion protomes with bead garlands and may be compared with the first image from the lotus-flower receptacle set (Figs. 75, 76). That prancing winged lions were also appropriate is attested by the turban that adorns the head of a Bodhisattva figure from
Sahri-Bahlol seated in bhadrāsana and displaying dhar-
macakra mudrā as well as the head of a Bodhisattva
from Taxila (Figs. 86, 87, 438-39, 88, 455).

This use of the same set of emblems and attributes for both the lotus-cup and lion-head receptacle
groups, in conjunction with a number of stylistic consider-
erations related to physiognomy of the images and the
handling of the drapery, justifies the conclusion that the
two receptacle conventions were in use at the same
time. However, as the more iconographically signifi-
cant crest emblems are frequently missing, significance
beyond aesthetic preferences cannot be demonstrated
by the selection of these motifs. Further, figures of the
distinctive wreath-bearing Bodhisattva are found among
the images in both categories. In addition to those
images in which the wreath attribute and turban ele-
ments duplicate those used for the lotus receptacle
group, other examples with distinguishing iconographic
features and advances also occur.

An interesting and apparently unique example is
that of a Bodhi-sattva head in the Lahore Museum (Figs.
89, 441). The two sides of the turban are ornamented symmetrically with
fragmented pairs of tritons and centaurs while the crest displays the dam-
aged image of a great eagle appearing to bear aloft a mithuna (loving)
couple. No passage has been found in the early literature that might be
specifically related to this set of turban elements or type of iconographic
program. However, nāgas and garuḍas, and a variety of fantastic creatures are frequently listed among the attendants of the Buddha in the early literature and a number of examples occur in the artistic traditions of both the northwest and Mathurā beginning no later than the first century.74

Of additional interest are figures such as that of a Bodhisattva in the Peshāwar Museum adorned with a turban displaying a simplified version of a complex iconographic program similar to those suggested by the paradisiacal stelae and reliefs of the mature phase of development (Figs. 90, 91, 433-35). In this example the symmetrically ordered sides of the turban display a pair of garland-bearing heavenly figures seated on lotus thrones and a pair of homage paying, heavenly beings kneeling and displaying añjali mudrā, also on lotus thrones. These figures are reminiscent of the attendants at the base of the lotus on a relief recovered from the Peshāwar district and of the standing attendants adjacent to the Buddha image on the Lahore Museum stele from Mohammed Nari (Figs. 282, 281). Although the crest emblem is missing from this headdress, there can be no doubt that these diminutive figures are part of an iconographic program that would have included an image of a Buddha seated on a lotus dais as the central figure. Presumably this headdress program conceptually parallels that of
the Mohammed Nari stele where an image of a teaching Buddha is attended at his immediate right and left sides by a pair of garland-bearing Bodhisattvas.

The use of complex iconographic programs on headdresses also occurred at Mathurā. A fragment of a head of a Bodhisattva in the Mathurā Museum collection is adorned with two diadems, a flat flower ornamented band positioned below a floral wreath (Figs. 92, 844). Above the diadem is an image of a Buddha seated and displaying abhaya mudrā. Attending him is a pair of figures standing with their hands held in añjali mudrā. While the headdress conventions used in Gandhāra and related regions are stylistically very different from those of Mathurā, adorning headdresses with an image of a Buddha and a pair or pairs of attendants is an iconographic characteristic that offers additional evidence of continued interaction between northwest and Mathurā region.

A more complete example of this type of headdress from Gandhāra, that on a Bodhisattva head now owned by the Field Museum in Chicago, displays a finely sculpted crest image in the form of a nimbate meditating Buddha (Figs. 93, 450-52). He is seated on a lotus and surrounded by a full body aura which appears to have been ringed with a circle of pearl bosses. A square knot has been used at hairline level rather than the more typical faceted jewel. The sides of the turban are symmetrically embellished with a pair of meditating Buddhas seated on lotus daises together with a pair of tapering faceted gems also positioned on lotus daises. This turban program may represent one of the earliest extant examples of the pañca jina
(Five Victorious Buddhas or Tathagatas) *maṇḍala*.

A final example, which clearly represents the *pañca jina* maṇḍala, occurs on the head of an image from Taxila now in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Figs. 94, 453, 454). Symmetrically positioned pairs of meditating Buddhas adorn the sides of this turban. Sculpted at the center front of the crest is the fifth image of a seated Buddha displaying *dhyāna mudrā*. All five images are on lotus thrones. They are not distinguished by *mudrā* as frequently occurs on later imagery. Thus, an emblematic image of a seated Buddha with his hands in *dhyāna mudrā* may not have been intended to represent Amitābha although he became specifically associated with this *āsana* in later emblematic and programatic traditions. Given the extended influences of Mahāyāna advancements in Gandhāra and related regions, it is probable that headdresses of later periods, which bear similar emblems, ultimately may be traced back to these examples from the northwest which are the earliest extant.

More well known examples of the *pañca jina mukuta* include two Nepalese ritual headdresses, a painted panel crown of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century in the Kronos Collections, and a gilt copper helmet dated to 1677 in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Kronos crown is composed of five panels each displaying an image of one of the five Jina Buddhas (Fig. 927). The headdress in the Victoria and Albert Museum,
adorned with a detachable diadem enhanced with medallions, also shows images of the five Jina Buddhas (Fig. 928). At the back, below an engraved knotted band is a dated inscription invoking Vajrasattva.76

Examples of iconographic importance from the northwest, such as the Field Museum and National Museum of Pakistan images, are carved in the style associated with the period of florescence, probably the period from the reign of Kanishka through that of Vasudeva I or slightly later. Thus, there can be no question of the advanced state of Mahāyāna development by the end of the second century or third century A.D.

Jewel Banded Receptacles

An additional example in the Style VII grouping displays the jewel banded receptacles. They occur on the head of Siddhārtha in a well known relief of the future Buddha's first meditation in the Peshāwar Museum (Figs. 95, 460). At hairline level, center front, the more typical cut gem has been replaced with a square knot. The restraining band receptacles are cup shaped and set with an encircling band of bosses or jewels while the sides display rich jewel enhancement. The cockade is fashioned with a high, wrapped base, and pleated roundel of fabric. The emblem, a fluted tapering jewel, is draped with chain of beads.
Summary

Arising from within a tradition of stone sculpture that had progressed along a continuous line of development dating back to the first century B.C., the images in the Style VII grouping, many seemingly created during the second and third centuries of Kuśāṇa hegemony, mark the full flowering of the Buddhist schools in Gandhāra and related regions. The artistic evidence attests not only to the vitality of Mahāyāna Buddhism but to the vitality of the society as a whole, which, through its wealth and patronage, must have contributed greatly to the achievement of the high level of productivity and fine quality of the craftsmanship characteristic of the Style VII images.
### TURBAN STYLE VII: JEWEL AND PLAQUE ORNAMENTED

**Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Development of Style VII Turbans**

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<th>A.D. 120</th>
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For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

| .01 - Fig. 843 | .06 - Fig. 382 | .11 - Fig. 438 | .16 - Fig. 453 |
| .02 - Fig. 844 | .07 - Fig. 383 | .12 - Fig. 455 | .17 - Fig. 480 |
| .03 - Fig. 845 | .08 - Fig. 394 | .13 - Fig. 441 |  |
| .04 - Fig. 846 | .09 - Fig. 397 | .14 - Fig. 433 |  |
| .05 - Fig. 847 | .10 - Fig. 417 | .15 - Fig. 453 |  |

Fig. 96. Turban Style VII: Jewel and Plaque Ornamented.
CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE TURBAN

For the Buddhist school of Gandhāra, careful analysis of turban conventions with their extraordinary modes of embellishment and the identification of patterns of association with other important characteristics may be used to advantage in the formulation of a relative chronology for phases of development. In this study, those images which belong together stylistically and typologically have been grouped and traced from their initial introduction through to their final forms. Probable periods for the acceptance of new stylistic and iconographic elements from contiguous and more distant cultures have been identified. Further, the system presented offers a means for dating, more reliably, a number of heretofore problematical images.

These considerations give added support and credence to the view that the period of florescence under the Kuśāṇas was one characterized by a tradition of consummate skill and a sense of spirituality and dignity which created a legacy of long lasting influence and importance. Images of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas are meaningful reflections of the development of the Buddhist doctrine, the Indian genius for religious and philosophical speculation and the Mahāyānist expansion of ideas, significantly advancing our knowledge of the society that created them.

Saka and Parthian Periods

The majority of images belonging to the Style I and II turban categories were probably created during the Saka and Parthian periods. The
turbans which adorn the figures are generally unornamented with the only embellishing features appearing on the frontal or cockade portion of the headdress. Crest ornaments are most frequently found in the forms of a fabric roll, gourd- or vase-shaped ornament and a jeweled fabric loop. In addition to the many narrative relief images of various royal and divine types, there are several important images, probably of Siddhārtha, either standing in abhaya mudrā or seated in dhyāna mudrā. There are no indications that large, individually carved stone images of Bodhisattvas were being created at this time although life size or greater than life size images may have been sculpted in stucco during the first half of the first century A.D. Based on early Indic preferences, the images of this period were adorned with sets of jewelry that included the kaṇṭhī, long necklaces of beads sometimes enhanced with a large gem at center front, bracelets and karṇika (earrings of the stud and spiral-tube types).

Early Kuśāṇa Phase

The greater portion of images that have been placed in the Style III and IV turban categories appear to have been created during the early Kuśāṇa era, a phase of transition and of experimentation. The earliest examples of turban embellishment with restraining band, hairline jewels and pairs of ornamental receptacles appear during this period although the rather limited repertoire of cockade treatments and ornamentation is retained from the earlier Saka and Parthian periods. Evidence indicates that individually carved images of both standing and seated Bodhisattvas were being sculpted in stone during this developmental phase. Certain
changes in jewelry preferences are also indicated. Stud earrings in the form of lions became important. Amulet straps and the Hellenistic loop-in-loop chain necklace with lion-head terminals were conventionalized while the beaded necklace was used as a shoulder necklace draped across the upper right arm or shoulder.

Middle and Later Kuṣāṇa Periods

The figures exhibiting turbans in categories V, VI and VII appear to have been carved during the middle period of Kuṣāṇa rule although some are of a later date. The second and third centuries were, without doubt, a highly productive period as demonstrated by the large number of extant, life-size images closely related by style and iconography. During this phase of development, turban embellishment became increasingly rich with the introduction of repousse or cast plaques and the application of cut and set jewels. Lion motifs were extremely popular in turban and jewelry ornamentation. Numerous life-size, individually carved Bodhisattva images were sculpted in stone. Their graceful, idealized forms, carved with great precision and skill, compare favorably with fine examples from other sculptural traditions both in the East and in the West. These figures are shown standing in abhaya mudrā and seated in abhaya mudrā, dhyāna mudrā and dharmacakra mudrā. In addition to Siddhārtha, two important Bodhisattva types were developed. Padmapāṇi/Avalokiteśvara is identifiable by his lotus attribute as is the sraj- or wreath-bearing Bodhisattva by the floral diadem. Avalokiteśvara has also been identified in the inscription on the Lehner Collection relief (Fig. 296). While the lotus and garland
attributes reflect Indic traditions, the articulation of the wreath attests to the influence of Hellenistic styles and interest in Hellenistic and Roman period emblems of apotheosis and immortality as do a number of jewelry modes, turban ornaments and emblems that were used during the middle and later Kušāṇa periods. Other features, such as the ornamental plaques, bear an association with Scythic preferences.

In addition to the rich jewel ornamentation reflective of Indic, Hellenistic and Scythic preferences, a number of specifically Buddhist elements, indicative of internal developments or advances, perhaps from Mathurā, can also be recognized. Emblems in the forms of diminutive meditating and teaching Buddhas were introduced as headdress elements as were iconographic programs in which a centrally positioned Buddha was attended by devotees, Bodhisattvas or other Buddhas.

One may see in the art of this period, the genesis of a number of ideas and forms that were so richly expanded and elaborated in the later artistic traditions of East, South and South East Asia. Clearly this artistic tradition of religious intensity left an important legacy across the centuries.

NOTES

1The term usṇīṣa has caused difficulties for scholars as its was used variously without definition in the early literature. During the Vedic period it meant turban. See Atharvaveda Samhita, ed. by Sripada Damodar Satavalekar (Bombay, 1940), xv. 2. 5 as cited by A. L. Srivastava, Life in Sanchi Sculpture (New Jersey: Humanities Press Inc., 1983) 13 n. 15. In relationship to the period of concern to this effort, the term may have been used to mean a knot of hair, probably a turban knot, atop the head of a male figure and indicative of a princely heritage as suggested by Huntington (Susan L. Huntington with contributions by John C. The Art of Ancient India [New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985], 729). At some point, in the Buddhist tradition the term usṇīṣa came to be used to designate a hemispherical form on the top of the head of

2Coomaraswamy, "Buddha's ākāśā," 818, 830.


5Nidānakathā Jātaka (Jātaka, trans. by Fausboll), 1. 60 as cited by Coomaraswamy, "Buddha's ākāśā," 819.

6In Book V of *The Questions of King Milinda*, the skills, knowledge, and insignia attributed to a righteous king that he might build and rule a great city are used allegorically to describe the wisdom, knowledge, and functional capacities of Sākyamuni. The following quotations are from the parable of the architect in Book V:

...there is one diadem that is the chief of all.... this O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's Jewel of emanicipation."

"All the people in the house look up To their Lord when he wears his crown of gems ...."

This, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of the sevenfold wisdom."


7The turban was unquestionably of great importance in Indic culture. For an excellent example of one of the ways the turban was used to evoke an episode from the biography of the historical Buddha, see Figs. 331-334 in this work, which are scenes of homage offered to Siddhārtha's turban in Trayastrimśa, and Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," *South Asian Archaeology* 1 (1979): 391, fig. 20, for a Mathurā school relief of the Descent from Trayastrimśa.


9In the opinion of Rhys Davids there can be little doubt about the meaning of the words "all sorrow as found in the following quote which identifies one of the functions associated with the *kṣatriya* nature of the Buddha as presented by
Nagasena:

And the Blessed One, O king, when pleased with any one who has been strenuous in word or deed or thought, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, as a selected gift, the supreme deliverance from all sorrow, — farther beyond all material gifts (Rhys Davids, Questions of King Milinda, 36:29).


12 Until very recently, there does not seem to have been a developed interest in the Mahāyāna motifs of the Buddhist school in the northwest. However, Coomaraswamy noted the use of crest emblems consisting of Buddha images as early as 1926 (Coomaraswamy, “Origin of the Buddha Image.” 306, 309; also see Coomaraswamy, “Buddha’s cūḍā,” 836).

13 In many of the early pieces, turbaned figures lack distinguishing characteristics.


15 For a description of the final wrapping of Siddhārtha’s turban, see Nidānakathā Jātaka, i, 60, 64 in Fausboll translation as cited by Coomaraswamy, “Buddha’s cūḍā,” 823.

16 In numerous early Indic examples the hair is visible below the edge of the turban. This is generally characteristic of Bactro-Gandharān Bodhisattva images. For an overview of textual traditions in relationship to contemporary fashions, see Coomaraswamy, “Buddha’s cūḍā,” 819-820, 822-23, 826.


19. Literary evidence is found in the Lalitavistara. It occurs in the actions and statements of Siddhartha as he presents his headdress to Maitreya and prepares to descend from Tusita into the land of Jambu where he will become a perfect and completely enlightened Buddha:

"The Bodhisattva Maitreya will teach you the Dharma." He [Siddhartha] placed the diadem from his own head upon the head of the Bodhisattva Maitreya and said, "Noble Being, after me you will become the perfect and completely enlightened Buddha." (Gwendolyn Bays, trans., The Voice of the Buddha: The Beauty of Compassion [Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1983], 1:71).

For a discussion of the iconographic aspects, see Yu-Min Lee, "The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China" (Ph. D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1983), 161-69, 171, 175, 183-86, 203-4, 208-9. None of the images included in this research project show a turbaned figure with a kamandalu although turbaned figures holding a vase are found at Mathurā. Also see Sharma, Buddhist Art, 234, figs. 159-160; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1927: reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1985), 63, 233, fig. 78.

20. This element seems to have been introduced in Mathurā at some point around the beginning of the Christian era. It is probable that the sculptors in the northwest borrowed this feature from the school at Mathurā as the tradition in Bactro-Gandhāra was strongly influenced by early Indic conventions at this time.

21. It is difficult to determine if attendant figures such as this represent a padmapañi yaksā or some other royal or divine type with an offering of lotus flowers. For a discussion of the problems of identification and their significance, see Huntington, The Art of Ancient India, 96-97. The term yaksā was used for both Indra and for the Buddha, and the image type could equally well represent a padmapañi yaksā or Padmapañi Bodhisattva (Coomaraswamy, "Origin of the Buddha Image," 298-300 citing the Majjhima Nikāya).

22. For examples of the square knot or knots used as restraining band emblems, see Figs. 333, 336, 338, 339, 450, 460. This knot was also used at the base of the turban cockade; see Figs. 375, 376, 407.

23. Marshall suggests that this relief was created not long after the advent of the Kūṣāṇās in approximately A.D. 64 (Marshall, Buddhist Art, xv, 40-43).

24. Sharma has placed this relief in his pre-Kaṇiska phase using A.D. 78 as the accession date for Kaṇiska (Sharma, Buddhist Art, 78, 175-75). Lohuizen-de Leeuw cited it along with three others as products of the first phase of the "iconic period" at Mathurā (Lohuizen-de Leeuw, New Evidence, 391). Czuma, who also prefers the date A.D. 78 for the accession of Kaṇiska, suggests the early Kūṣāṇa period of the first century A.D. for this relief (Stanislav J. Czuma, Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India [Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985], 37, fig. 18).


26. A relief of a dancer and musician from Butkara I and a scene of the great departure, perhaps from Butkara as well, document the use of gourd- and vase-like emblems, and the jewel-ornamented ring and fabric loop during the same period (Figs. 340, 348).

27. On the basis of the small diaper masonry that was in vogue during the early Kūṣāṇa period, Marshall dated chapel L at Dharmarājikā Stūpa to circa 80 A.D. and concluded that the sculptures from this chapel are subsequent to that date. Given
that this is a narrative relief image rather than an individually carved figure, the style of Siddhārtha's turban, and relatively open appearance of his eyes, this image seems to reflect late first or early second century A.D. developments. It may be, as Marshall was first inclined to assume, that this sculpture was contemporary with the structure and one of the most valuable examples by which the history of the school might be traced (Marshall, Taxila, 2:695).


29Marshall recovered a four, double-plaited, loop-in-loop chain necklace with a terminal collar, and hook and ring fastener from Sirkap, Saka-Parthian Stratum II. (Marshall, Taxila, 2:686, pl. 192 no. 68). The manufacturing techniques used to fashion the loop-in-loop chain necklaces, both the heavy long necklace, and the more narrow crossed, breast chains worn by some Bodhisattvas, are well illustrated by Jack Ogden, Jewellery of the Ancient World (London: Trefail Books, 1982), 57-58, cf. Fig.757 in this work. Horned-lion-head terminals were produced during the Saka-Parthian period, apparently by the repousse method from sheet gold and silver on less precious metal dies such as those recovered by Marshall from Sirkap. After the image had been imprinted, the sheet was cut and fashioned into lion-head terminals for earrings, necklaces and bangles. For dies and others tools, see Marshall, Taxila, 1:189, 195, 2:582-84, 2:617-18. Four gold bangles or armlets with lion-head terminals of the early second century B.C. were found at Bhir Mound (Marshall, Taxila, 2:634, pl. 195, nos. 133-36).

30This treatment appears to be unique. Jewels were generally applied to the fabric matrix and not to the restraining bands as seen in this example. Surely the lion protome with bead garland motif is related to the lion-faced or lion-headed (simhamukha) attribute which also appears on Indian images of the Gupta period. See Gosta Liebert, Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions: Hinduism-Buddhism-Jainism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 270; Marshall, Taxila, 2:583. For Gupta examples of this motif, see Joanna G. Williams, The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), figs. 38, 111 and others.

31The eighteen early relief carvings from Gandhāra which Lohuizen-de Leeuw presents provide not only a relative chronology for the development of the Buddha image but also a wealth of additional details concerning the development of ascetic and royal image types (Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence," 377-400); for examples that seem to belong to the non-restraining band category, see Figs. 257, 259, etc.

32As with examples of the unornamented three-banded style, the dates suggested are reflective of conclusions reached by Sir John Marshall, D. Faccenna, the Drs. Huntington, J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and R.C. Sharma. See Marshall, Taxila, and Marshall, Buddhist Art; Faccenna, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission," 161-76; Huntington, Art of Ancient India, ch. 7; Lohuizen-de Leeuw, New Evidence, 377-400; Sharma, Buddhist Art, 171-75.

33It is frequently impossible to distinguish Bodhisattva types from other royal and divine types during the early phases of production. For information related to early literary traditions, and the development of the Bodhisattva concept, see Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, 11, 34-36, 43-44; John M. Rosenfield, The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 238. Also see nn. 1, 7 and 8 above.


As previously stated, Sharma prefers the date A.D. 78 for the accession of Kaniska (Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 101, 171).

For information concerning the findspot of this image, see Marshall, *Taxila*, 1:237, 267, 2:725.

A similarly ornamented torque or collar necklace is also seen on an image of Tushita Siddhattha in a relief panel from the Sikri Stupa (Fig. 357).

Flowers of this type occur quite frequently in the relief carvings, often showered on the Buddha by nimbed attendants paralleling the descriptions in the *Lotus Sutra*. For an example of this type, see F.A. Khan, *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan* (Karachi: Elite Publishers Limited, 1969) pl. on page 73. The *mandārava* is a term that is constantly used in Buddhist literature, both Pali and Sanskrit; there are many references to heavenly flowers in the *Lotus Sutra* which Kern discusses in his translation (H. Kern, trans., *Saddharma-Pundarika or the Lotus of the True Law*, vol. 21 of *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Muller [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963], 6, 69, 218, 228, 232, 308, n. 2, 326, 342, 345. For bags of heavenly flowers, see 162). Additional information is also found in the Kato, Tamura and Miyasaka translation (Bunno Kato, Yoshio Tamura, and Kojiro Miyasaka, trans., *The Threefold Lotus Sutra* [New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1975], 371-78).


Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, 55-56. In this volume Marshall has organized the development of Gandhāra sculpture into five phases:

- The Beginnings of Gandhāra Art: The Śaka Period, Circa 50 B.C.- A.D. 25
- The Renaissance of Hellenistic Art Under the Parthians and the Childhood of Gandhāra Art: First century, Circa A.D. 26-60
- The Adolescent Period: Circa A.D. 60-100/110
- Early Maturity, Phase I: Circa A.D. 100-140
- Later Maturity, Phase II: Circa A.D. 140-225

The prominent crest with its beaded tassel ornament and the stud-type lion earrings of the first example in this grouping suggest that lotus-cup receptacles were introduced during the same approximate period as the open-face flower receptacles (Fig. 361). A larger and more ornate version of the lotus-cup receptacle is a part of one of the two major banding conventions used for large individually carved images of Bodhisattvas of the mature Kushan phase of development. They seem to have been derived from Indian cup-shaped terminals used as functional and ornamental elements on multiple-stranded bead necklaces such as that worn by the guardian figure from Mathura (Fig. 821).

See note 40 above. For headdress ornamentation, it appears that *mandāravas* were first introduced as banding receptacles. Apparently, this motif was subsequently given up in favor of the lotus motif with the *mandāravas* retained as emblems or ornaments at the sides.

During the mature phase of development under the Kusāns, several different types of lion earrings were used. Lions were sculpted both with and without wings and frequently suspend from or between their paws a bead garland or beaded tassels. In terms of construction, it appears that some are of the stud type while others are of the Hellenistic (Greco-Iranian) hoop or hook type. Cf. Figs. 638, 865.

Figures resting in the pensive attitude from the northwest are typically shown with the elbow of a raised arm resting on a raised knee, and positioned so as to allow the fingers of the hand to gently touch the cheek. The ankle of the leg on which the elbow rests is positioned behind the calf or ankle of the opposite leg. For discussions of the *mahrājali-lāsana* and the pensive attitude, see Dale Saunders.
Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), 128-131; Czuma, Kushan Sculpture, 77-79; and Martin Lerner, The Flame and the Lotus (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), 30-35. The Kronos Collection example from Mathurā and an impressive number of examples of this type from China, Korea and Japan were recently displayed as a part of an exhibition of Bodhisattva images held by the Nara National Museum (Nara National Museum, Bodhisattva [Nara, 1987], pls. 35-48). Scholars generally accept the view that this type was developed in Gandhāra (Czuma, Kushan Sculpture, 22, n. 2).

47 For a more finely carved example of this motif, see Fig. 455.

48 The exception to this pattern of association is an image of a wreath-bearing Bodhisattva (Fig. 358). It is notable that, in addition to the images of Padmapānī/Avalokiteśvara seated in the pensive rājaliśāsana, the only other images shown in this āsana are images of wreath-bearing Bodhisattvas (Figs. 413, 414).

49 No metal plaques of repoussé or cast metal displaying motifs such as those that occur on the Bodhisattva headdresses have been found. However, numerous examples displaying other subjects have been recovered excavated sites in Gandhāra and Bactria. Their basic similarity to known jewelry types suggests that they were either repoussé or cast metal. For information concerning style and manufacturing of brooches recovered by Marshall from various strata at Sirkap, see Marshall, Taxila, 1:168-89, 2:166-18, 2:322-33. For Hellenistic appliques, see Herbert Hoffmann and Patricia F. Davidson, Greek Gold: Jewelry From the Age of Alexander (Mainz and Rhein: von Zabern, 1968), 281-82. For Bactrian examples, see Victor Sarianidi, The Golden Hoard of Bactria from the Tillya-tepe Excavations in Northern Afghanistan (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1985). Among the artifacts from the Oxus treasure is a small gold figure of lion-griffin which is thought to be a hood or cap ornament. At the back are two pins for securing it (Karl Jettmar, Art of the Steppes [New York: Crown Publishers, 1967], 174-75, pl. 32).

50 See n. 29 above.

51 Whether the collar-type necklaces worn by Bodhisattvas should be referred to as a gorget or as a torque is not easily determined without knowing how the original it represents was constructed. Collar necklaces that require twisting in order to place them around neck are called torques. Seemingly, a torque might also be called a gorget. While many appear to be ornamented with repoussé or cast designs, those in this grouping appear to be enhanced with bezel-set gems.

52 Cf. Figs. 863, 391, 430, 482, etc.

53 Liebert, Iconographic Dictionary, 149. Among the Bodhisattvas included in this study, the only additional image of the turbanned type articulated with webbed hands is the relief image of Siddhartha from Dharmarājīkā (Fig. 325).

54 Although their characters are not well defined, Vidyādhāras (bearers of wisdom) are diminutive heavenly beings in human form, sometimes with wings, who have the power to confer benefits. According to Liebert, they are found in all Indian religions. They are attendants of Indra and belong to the realm of air-space (kha). The king of the vidyādhāras is named Varāhāsiddha (one who has accomplished all aims). Vidhādhārā attributes are the rata and the vanamāla.

The term vidyā (knowledge or wisdom; sometimes magical knowledge or power) has long history in Indic culture. In the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, vidyā probably meant scientific knowledge. In the Maitri Upaniṣad the study of the knowledge (vidyā) of the Veda is listed along with the practice of austerity and meditation as one of the three necessary disciplines through which Brahmans are apprehended. In the Vaiṣeṣika Sūtra, ca. third century B.C., cognition free from imperfection is called vidyā or scientific knowledge. Vidyā, in esoteric Buddhism, is almost the equivalent of sakti or comparable to prajñā. Vidyādhāras are associated with divine rule and investiture in art of the northwest. Several paradisiacal reliefs and stele from Gandhāra and its related regions display pairs of vidyādhāras suspending a wreath of leaves or jewels above the head of a Buddha seated in padmāsana with his hands held in dharmacakra mudrā.
(Figs. 279, 280, 281, 283). In an additional example, a pair of vidyādharas are shown placing a diadem of jewels directly on the head of a Buddha (Fig. 298).


The monastery complex on Mt. Mekhasanda was active from approximately A.D. 150 to A.D. 450. This assessment reflects the types of coins found at the site and the use of circa A.D. 150 for the accession of Kaniska. The majority of stone sculptures that were recovered by the team from Kyoto University and Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan appear to be from the fully mature phase of development. According to Mizuno, other sculptures in stucco are relatively late in date. See Seiichi Mizuno, Mekhasanda: Buddhist Monastery in Pakistan, (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1969), 91-96.


The square knot, also known as the knot of Hercules (nodus Hercules) was used in many ways on clasps, diadems, earrings, necklaces, and thigh and arm bands. For items from Sirkap ornamented with this knot, see Marshall, Taxila, 2:563, 2:624-25, pl. 172 nos. 98, 114, pl. 181 no. 194, pl. 190 nos. 9-11. For Hellenistic examples, see Hoffmann and Davidson, Greek Gold, 51-59, 121-23, 209-21; Figs. 759, 876, 877.

See Hoffmann and Davidson, Greek Gold, 140-41, figs. 50b, 50c.


Marshall, Buddhist Art, 102-3; Seiichi Mizuno, Mekhasanda: Buddhist Monastery in Pakistan, (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1969), 95-96.

Early Indian examples such as the lotus rhizome motif on the cross beams of the vedika from the Bherat Stupa are richly decorated with flowers bearing a wealth of jewel ornaments including necklaces or garlands and kankha; see Ludwig Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture (London: Pegasus Press, 1939; reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharial Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1973), pls. 25-27. For examples of the mythological makara performing a similar function, see Czuma, Kushan Sculpture, 57-58, 62-63, pls. 7, 10-11.

Reliefs and stelae of the paradisiacal type have been recovered from Lorigyan Tangal, Mohammed Nari, Peshawar, Sahri-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi and possibly Taxila. A visual statement of this type was also created at Hadda in which mural painting was used with stucco sculpture. See fig. 308. Also see Mario Bussagli, L'arte del Gandhara (Turino: Unione Tipografico-Editorice Torinese, 1984), 42-43. In the paradisiacal reliefs and stelae, a turbaned-type Bodhisattva with jewel on a lotus or seated Buddha crest emblem is paired with a jaṭāmukuta-type Bodhisattva whose
hair is secured with a square-knot chignon (Figs. 276, 277 and others). In most instances, if attributes are present, the jatāmukuta type carries a kamandalu and the turbaned type carries a sraj as in the Caro Collection example (Fig. 293). Exception to this are seen in reliefs, such as that in Seattle Art Museum where a Bodhisattva of the turban type carries a padma (cf. Figs. 292, 295, 296, 299, 305). In several examples both types hold jewel garlands (Figs. 280, 281, 283, 297).

64A seated image of a Bodhisattva from the Peshāwar district appears to be the earliest example (Fig. 361).


67A similar articulation of the torso and hip areas also appears in images of the fantastic winged creatures, half reline, half human on a tympanum frieze from Mathurā dating from the early Kushan period; see Czuma, Kusban Sculpture, 56, 58, pl. 7.

68Coomaraswamy preferred circa A.D. 120 for the accession of Kaniska (Coomaraswamy, "Buddha's Cūca, " 815). As indicated above, given that the factual information available is inconclusive, the Huntington use circa A.D. 120 date for the accession of Kaniska; see Huntington, Art of Ancient India. 128-30. Mitchiner uses the dates circa A.D. 130-158 for Kaniska and circa A.D. 158-195 for Huviska (Michael Mitchiner, Oriental Coins and Their Values: The Ancient and Classical World, 600 B.C.-A.D. 650 [London: Hawkins Publications, 1978], 410[f.]). Czuma and Sharma prefer A.D. 76 for the accession date of Kaniska; see Czuma, Kushan Sculpture, 42-43, 198; Sharma, Buddhist Art, 171.

69For more information concerning the monument and the imagery, see Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 126-30.

70With the exception of the image in the Style V grouping (Fig. 358), the remaining wreath-bearing Bodhisattvas belong to the Style VII grouping. Some Bodhisattvas carry a wreath composed of jewels. In Hinduism, Viṣṇu carries a garland attribute, the vīryayanāmāla, a kind of garland prognosticating victory; it is composed of gems (Liebert, Iconographic Dictionary, 318).

71Tassel earrings were very popular for images of Bodhisattvas during the period of maturily. Earrings similar to those worn by the Bodhisattvas occur on the image of Hārīti recovered from the Kaniška level at Shakhān Dheri establishing the use and importance of this type of ornament by no later than the middle decades of the second century A.D. This type of earring was also used for the Wisdom-type in the Marteau Collection (Fig. 275). For a discussion of this work and issues related to dating, see Czuma, Kushan Sculpture, 198, pl. 109.

72In the art of the northwest, numerous images of a Buddha seated and displaying dharmacakra mudrā may unquestionably be identified as Sākyamuni. See Figs. 287, 305. This gesture is also used by Amitābha in the Lehmer Collection relief (Fig. 296). A number of Bodhisattvas also display this gesture, such as Figs. 408, 409, 411, 412, 436, 438, etc. For a discussion of the history and symbolism of dharmacakra mudrā, see Saunders, Mudrā, 94-101.

73Ingholt suggests that this image may have held a wreath in his left hand (Islay Lyons and Harald Ingholt, Gandhāra Art in Pakistan [New York: Pantheon Books, 1957], 140, fig. 314).

74 The list of those who attend Tathagatas includes gods, nāgas, goblins, gandharves, demons, garudas, kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human; see Kern, Saddharma-Pundarika, 162. Chthonic creatures similar to the tritons fill the four corners of an early Kushan period Jain votive tablet (āyagapāṭa) (Czyma, Kushan Sculpture, pl. 3). Fantastic hybrid beings with winged lion bodies and human torsos offer homage to the Buddha’s begging bowl and to the bodhi tree on an early Kushan period tympanum from Mathurā (Fig.826). For other examples from Gandhāra, see Lyons and Ingholt, Gandhāra Art, pls. 381-395.

75 For a color photograph and information concerning iconography of this piece, see Lerner, Flame and the Lotus, 92-93, pl. 32.

CHAPTER V

BODHISATTVA IMAGES ADORNED WITH SHOULDER LENGTH HAIR STYLES AND JAṬĀMUṢUṬA

METHODOLOGY, SOCIO-RELIGIOUS HERITAGE AND DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Among the stunning achievements of the Buddhist school of Gandhāra and the related regions of Swāt and eastern Afghanistan are images of Bodhisattvas depicted as youthful brāhman types (see Figs. 463-735). Bodhisattvas of this category are represented as brāhman youths adorned with shoulder length hair fashions and some type of jaṭāmuṣuṭa, a representation that is directly related to the Indic artistic vocabulary for ascetic brāhmans. With the addition of jewelry and a headdress composed of strings of beads, the ascetic type is converted to an aristocratic figure. In the art of Bactro-Gandhāra images of jaṭāmuṣuṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas appear to have held a position of priority second only to images of Buddhas.

Traditional Indic hair arrangements, introduced during the early phase of development for images of Śākyamuni, Brahmā, and other ascetic types, appear to have provided the foundations from which jaṭāmuṣuṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas evolved. Other, previously noted, stylistic and
iconographic characteristics attest to an ongoing relationship among the Buddhist communities in the Bactro-Gandhāra region and central India. It is also apparent that this image type was influenced by regional, western Asiatic preferences, particularly during the second and third centuries A.D. As with turban-type Bodhisattvas, both Indic and Hellenistic jewelry fashions were important in the development of the mature formulations.

A stylistic comparison demonstrates that late first century B.C. or first century A.D. relief images of Śākyamuni seated and displaying abhaya mudrā were concurrent with what appears to be one of the earliest extant images of Maitreya Bodhisattva (cf. Figs. 271, 464). Stylistic comparisons also suggests that by the time the tradition in stone reached its apogee during the second and third centuries A.D., individually carved standing figures were being created in large numbers. While it is probable that the majority of these images were intended to represent Maitreya, it is also probable that some were intended to attend large images of seated Buddhas, a position parallel to that in iconographic programs found in a large number of relief carvings of paradisiacal scenes that include images of this type.1

Hair Styles, Jaṭāmukūṭa Fashions and Phases of Development

The development of the jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattva was extremely complex.2 While turbaned-wearing Bodhisattvas are consistently shown with headdresses of Indic derivation, jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing images are adorned with hair fashions that reflect the influences of both the Indic and Hellenic vocabularies that had persisted in Greek influenced societies
through the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Mediterranean and in western Asia.

Images of Śākyamuni and Brahmā are the earliest sculptures in the region to exhibit the jatāmukuta-type headdress. Their iconographic conventions arise from the ongoing tradition of Brahmanical asceticism in India. It is useful, therefore, in order to understand the sources of the convention and the complexity of this development, to briefly discuss the history of ascetic fashions in Indic culture.
THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE HAIR STYLES AND JĀṬĀMUKUṬA FASHIONS IN INDIC CULTURE

Brahmanical/ Ascetic Hair Fashions in Indic Culture

Fig. 97.

In Indic society, the attainment of higher stations of consciousness and perceptions of the ultimate truth have a long relationship with disciplined meditation, with ascetic practices of sages and seers, and with the brāhman or sacerdotal class. Wrapped or knotted hair fashions were associated with individuals who adhered to these lifestyles. The carelessly piled hair, presumably uncut and unwashed for decades, was a symbol of the attainment of a transcendent state of mind, a state beyond the material concerns of earthly life. Typical examples may be seen in the hair styles of the Kaśyapas who represent orthodox Brahmanical wisdom (Figs. 97, 789).

In J. M. Banerjea’s view, the wearing of long hair in different modes was a common custom among Indo-Aryan males, especially those of wealth and position, and it was as a reflection of this custom that they endowed their gods with these same characteristics. Literary references to such fashions date to the Vedic period. Coomaraswamy, Agrawala and Banerji-Shastri have been disposed to connect the luxuriant topknots and coiled fashions of various deities depicted in early Indic art with the Vedic age kaparda and opaśā. Kapardin is the term used to designate an ascetic coiffeur in which long matted tresses are wrapped layer upon layer over the head. In the Vedas, kapardin is an epithet of Rudra, Pūsan and clan Tṛtṣus or Vasiṣṭhas while in the early literature, a yakṣa and Śiva are also
called *kapardin*. Images of ascetics from Sāñci and of Buddhas from Mathurā are shown with forms of this fashion. Although a *kapardin* style was conventionalized for images of Śākyamuni in the Mathurā region during the first century A.D. this style did not achieve importance for images of Buddhas or images of Bodhisattvas in Bactro-Gandhāran art. However, the style frequently occurs on images of Brahmā and other ascetic types.

The Vedic term *opāsa*, possibly meaning plait, may have been used for high chignon fashions worn by both men and women. From about the third century B.C., the artistic evidence records the use of various knotted or wrapped chignons for images of yakṣas, and somewhat later for deities of the Brahmaṇical, Jain and Buddhist pantheons. Among the most impressive of the early figures from Mathurā adorned with a prominent top-knot is a colossal image of a yakṣa (Fig. 798). Further, the sālabhaṇḍijā on the eastern gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñci wears a high fanshaped topknot formed by a lock of hair tied with a ribbon at the top of the head (Fig. 812). Also of historical and artistic merit, although smaller in scale, are early figures in terra-cotta that include an image of Vaiśravaṇa Yakṣa adorned with an elaborately wrapped chignon from Kankāli Tīlā (Fig. 822).

Other terms such as *jaṭā* (matted locks) and *jaṭāmukūṭa* (*jaṭā*crown), used to designate the hair styles of ascetic types, have been important since at least the second century B.C. Patañjali, a grammarian living during this period, classified ascetic individuals into three categories: 1) *Jaṭī*, having long matted hair, 2) *Sikhi*, keeping a tusk or lock of hair on the crown of the head, and 3) *Munjī*, shaven headed person.
*Lalitavistara*, Chandaka describes ascetics using the general term *jaṭāmukutā*, wearing a *jaṭā* crown or matted hair.\(^{14}\) In the Hindu tradition, a *jaṭāmukutā* is considered an attribute of both Brahmā and Śiva.\(^{15}\)

**Early Images of Ascetics**

In addition to the hairstyles occurring in the sculptures mentioned above, relief carvings at Sānci provide a wealth of examples of ascetic individuals who are depicted with long matted hair, *jaṭīs*, wrapped layer upon layer over the head in a *kapardīn* style (Figs. 98, 814). Also depicted are more youthful figures articulated with their hair falling carelessly loose (Figs. 99, 814).\(^{16}\) Some reliefs show individuals with a full head of hair pulled up on the crown of the head and fashioned into a full bun suggesting that the similar fashion, used in the northwest for images of Brahmā and Śākyamuni as well as for *jaṭāmukutā* wearing Bodhisattvas, was directly influenced by current modes among ascetic individuals (Figs. 100, 814). Along with images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and Brahmā, other individuals are also depicted with various wrapped and knotted high-rising coiffures including the Kaśyapas (Figs. 101, 102, 816).\(^{17}\)

In Bactro-Gandhāran art, distinctions are made among ascetic individuals by maturity. The novices or
acolytes (brahmaçārins) have a youthful appearance. They are beardless and adorned with long, free flowing hair, typically complemented by some type of a topknot (Figs. 103, 104, 775, 782). The more senior individuals are generally shown as anchorites with beards and mustaches (smaśru). They have a wizened appearance and wear their hair bound or wrapped up on top of their heads in a large bun or layered coil (Figs. 105, 106, 777, 795).\textsuperscript{18} Brāhmaṇ novices and older brāhmaṇas (members of the priestly class) are distinguished by their lack of jewelry. They are shown wearing a loin cloth or dhōti-like garment and frequently carry the kamanḍalu. Identifiable by his vajra, Vajrapāṇi is also shown as an ascetic (Figs. 107, 777).

Literary references and the incorporation of numerous images of yakṣas, yakṣīṇis, ascetic individuals, and Brahmanical deities into the iconographic programs of early Buddhist monuments, including those in the northwest, indicate that contemporary non-Buddhist religious currents prevalent in the Indic sphere tended to be adapted and assimilated rather than renounced by the Buddhists. The incorporation of these conventions demonstrates that Buddhist imagery initially arose from a well developed set of ancient traditional forms characteristic of the early schools of art in India.\textsuperscript{19}
## ASCETIC HAIR STYLES

Summary of Detailed Evidence for Ascetic Hair Styles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Gandhāra</th>
<th>Swat</th>
<th>Shotorak</th>
<th>Sānci</th>
<th>Sānci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50 B.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Circa A.D. 250</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 775
- .02 - Fig. 775
- .03 - Fig. 775
- .04 - Fig. 774
- .05 - Fig. 774
- .06 - Fig. 774

- .07 - Fig. 782
- .08 - Fig. 782
- .09 - Fig. 782
- .10 - Fig. 782

- .11 - Fig. 799
- .12 - Fig. 799
- .13 - Fig. 799
- .14 - Fig. 799

- .15 - Fig. 814
- .16 - Fig. 814
- .17 - Fig. 814
- .18 - Fig. 814

- .19 - Fig. 816
- .20 - Fig. 816
BUDDHA HAIR STYLES

Sculptures of Śākyamuni are generally considered to be the most prevalent Buddha images in Bactro-Gandhāra art. However, there is sufficient evidence to show that not all sculptures of Buddhas were intended to represent Śākyamuni. Further, many other images cannot be identified. There are depictions of Dipamkara and other Buddhas of the past as well as Maitreya Buddha and Amitābha/Amitāyus. Regardless of which Buddha is being depicted, the hair style tradition follows the basic pattern of a bun (uṣṇīṣa) on the top of the head with the rest of the hair either pulled up into it or arranged in iconographically determined conventions, such as snail-shell curls. The basic Bactro-Gandhāran convention may be seen in Figure 109.

The results of this study parallel, in general, the conclusions of Lohuizen-de Leeuw as to the manner in which hair styles evolved for Buddha images in the northwestern and eastern Afghanistan regions. Hair styles used for images of Śākyamuni and other Buddhas fall into four major phases of development. In the initial phase, the full head of hair is drawn up into a low flat bun or jaṭāmukuta. Over time, this fashion developed into a high rising bulbous topknot. Subsequently, preferences developed for a less prominent chignon fashioned from a full head of wavy hair. The less prominent bun (or uṣṇīṣa) of wavy hair remained the primary mode throughout the periods of florescence and decline although the snail-curl fashion, introduced from Mathurā probably no later than the reign of Huviṣka, was also used for images of the Buddha during these periods.
In what appear to be the earliest examples from Gandhāra and related regions (Figs. 110, 111, 259, 257, 112, 736), the Buddha is shown with a rather low flat bun reminiscent of those found on two early Buddha figures from Mathurā (Figs. 113, 114, 810, 811). The size and shape of the bun and the curvilinear treatment of the hairline, receding somewhat at the sides, seems to confirm the close relationship between the images from the northwest and Buddha and Jina images from the Mathurā region. For Buddha images of the Mathurā school, at some point probably during the first century A.D., this simple fashion was superseded by the kapardin style jaṭāmukuta or usṇiṣa, a style which subsequently became the primary conventionalized mode (Figs. 115, 116, 828, 833). For the northwest, a separate course of regional development, beginning no later than the first century A.D., is indicated as there is no evidence of the kapardin fashion having been used for images of the Buddha.23

In Bactro-Gandhāra, and especially in Swāt, the low flat topknot seems gradually to have given way to one that was more high rising and bulbous. This high bulbous jaṭāmukuta is frequently secured by a band that displays a set jewel (Figs. 117, 118, 272, 738) or square knot (Figs. 119, 741, 742) at center front suggesting influences specifically associated with Hellenistic jewelry styles and perhaps high chignon fashions worn by the Sakas and
Parthians. These hair bands are reminiscent of the types worn in Greece, Asia Minor and South Russia during the Hellenistic period (Figs. 863, 876, 877). At the same time, similar, unbanded hair fashions are found adorning the heads of ascetic individuals such as the Kasyapas in a relief scene on the eastern gate of the Great Stupa at Sānci and in a relief from Shotorak, Afghanistan, indicating that this was a very familiar jaṭāmukuta fashion in Indic culture (Figs. 816, 789). The Buddha is also shown with a similar, high rounded fashion on the Birmān reliquary found in association with four mint-condition coins of Azes II (circa 35 B.C.-A.D.5) (Figs. 120, 914, 915). This find, incased in an inscribed steatite casket, adds archaeological and paleographic evidence in support of the view that this fashion was important in eastern Afghanistan during the Saka and Parthian periods.

As the tradition progressed into the period of florescence, a somewhat reduced in size, rounded bun, generally referred to as a usnīsa, became the conventionalized mode. The excavations at Shaikhān Đheri have proven exceedingly helpful in determining the evolution of style for images of Buddhas. From the recovery of four hundred and seventy-five coins widely distributed throughout the six strata, Dani and the team of archaeologists from the University of Peshawar were able to build a chronology for the site. An image of a seated Buddha with his right hand
raised in abhaya mudrā was recovered from the Kanishka level (Figs. 121, 744). The hair in this example does not have the wavy appearance associated with many examples from the mature period although the uṣṇīṣa is reduced in size (Fig. 121). Additionally, the eyes do not have the wide-open and staring appearance of examples thought to have been created during the Saka, Parthian and early Kuśāna periods. A fragment of a Buddha image that had been imported from the Mathurā region was also recovered from this level, providing information for the collating of stylistic characteristics of the Buddhist school in the northwest with those of the school in the Mathurā region for the reign of Kanishka (Figs. 116, 833).

Understanding of stylistic change is further amplified by the recovery of a head from a Buddha image from the Huviška through Vāsudeva stratum at Shaikhān Dhēri (Figs. 122, 745). In this example, the hair is wavy, the uṣṇīṣa is reduced, and the eyes are half closed. Comparative stylistic analyses of this example with other individually carved images of Buddhas along with the numerous images found in reliefs and stelae suggest that those exhibiting similar characteristics were sculpted during the second half of the second or third century A.D. These examples as well as others, such as that of a head of a Buddha image from Swāt (Figs. 123, 748), indicate that the characteristics exhibited by the head from Shaikhān Dhēri do not
represent the features of a localized tradition (Figs. 122, 745). While sculpted with less technical skill, the example from Swät is also articulated with wavy hair, a reduced uṣṇiṣa and half-closed eyes. Similar characteristics occur on images from other locations such as that of a image of a Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhi (Figs. 124, 750).

The "snail curls" hair style, probably introduced from Mathurā during the reign of Huviška, frequently occurs as a coexistent style for Buddha images of the middle and later phases of development.29 The currency of the short cropped "snail curls" style during the second half of the second and third centuries A.D. is suggested by the similarities between the articulation of the drapery occurring on the image from Takht-i-Bāhi and on an image from Sahri-Bahlol (Figs. 125, 749). Figures that are thought to be later in date continue to display wavy hair similar to the example form Shaikhān Ďherī although there is an increasing tendency toward fuller, fleshy and somewhat flattened facial features, such as those seen in an additional example from Takht-i-Bāhi (Figs. 126, 754).30 A more crudely carved standing image of a Buddha, probably not sculpted before A.D. 300, displays the fuller flatten features of images that appear to have been created during or after the fourth century A.D. (Figs. 127, 755).31 The hair style of this example from Chatpat was probably influenced by the later ringlets styles used for images of Compassion-type Bodhisattvas.32 Also characteristic of late images are auras banded with a geometric or
repeat lotus-leaf pattern, as in this example evidencing the assimilation of features from the Buddhist school at Mathurā.
### BUDDHA IMAGES

**Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Development of Buddha Images**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circa 50 B.C.</th>
<th>A.D. 500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimarân, Afghanistan</td>
<td>.01 .02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhâra, Unknown</td>
<td>.03 .04 .05 .06 .07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swât</td>
<td>.08 .09 .10 .11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatpat</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BRAHMĀ HAIR STYLES

An additional important group of images adorned with ascetic fashions is a group made up of images of Brahmā (Figs. 129, 778). In Buddhist art, Brahmā, as an attending deity, is found in relief carvings that depict events in the life of Śākyamuni. He is also found in this capacity in some paradisiacal displays. Brahmā’s hair styles change during the period in question and, because they are inherently archetypical of the jaṭāmukuta type, demonstrate types of change to be found in jaṭāmukuta conventions.

Brahmā is represented as an ascetic type. He is shown with a jaṭāmukuta and dressed in a dhoti or loin cloth. He frequently carries a flask. Several phases of development can be identified in the hair styles used in depictions this deity. Hair conventions used at an early date were retained and used along with other subsequently introduced modes. In what appears to be the earliest phase, Brahmā is adorned with the kapardin type jaṭāmukuta. Introduced somewhat later was a full, high rounded topknot, very similar to the type used for ascetic figures at Sānci and for images of the Buddha sculpted in the northwest during the Saka, Parthian, and early Kuśāṇa periods. This jaṭāmukuta type was fashioned in two manners: from the full head of hair or from the hair on top of the head with the remaining portions allowed to fall freely to shoulder level. There are also other changes. For example, over the course of development, Brahmā is transformed from a wizened sage into a youthful brāhman type. Later examples show Brahmā with free flowing locks both with and without a smaller bun. During the mature period, a single-looped jaṭāmukuta, a
fashion probably derived from images of the Greek deity Apollo and also used for Compassion-type Bodhisattva images, became an acceptable fashion for Brahmā.

In the early relief sculptures from Gandhāra, Brahmā is clearly distinguished from the Buddha by his flask, his wizened and bearded appearance and by his long locks which have been wrapped kapardin-like on the top of his head (Figs. 130, 268). As the kapardin was used for Brahmā in reliefs where the Buddha is adorned with the low flat topknot, it appears probable that this mode is the earliest for which evidence is extant. Variations of the kapardin fashion were widely used throughout the development of the Buddhist school in the northwest for images of Brahmā and other ascetic types and occasionally for jaṭāmukuta wearing Bodhisattvas but apparently not for images of Buddhas.

Also during the early period, a second type of hair treatment became important for Brahmā. This fashion is marked by its similarity to the full bulbous jaṭāmukuta used for the Buddhas in the early reliefs and on the Bimarān reliquary (Figs. 131, 272). As shown above, this style occurs on ascetic individuals at Sāñci. That this high rounded fashion was also used in conjunction with shoulder length tresses is attested by an image of Brahmā in the relief from Swāt which offers the earliest evidence of the use of some type of topknot with an otherwise free flowing fashion (Figs. 132, 270). Three additional examples of Brahmā, all of unknown provenance and probably dating to the end of
the first or early second century A.D., attest to his transformation from an elderly wizened sage to a more youthful beardless type (Figs. 133, 134, 135, 273, 779, 780). While it appears that the kapardin and rondure jaṭāmukuta fashions continued to be used for Brahmā throughout the development of the stone tradition in the northwest, from about the second half of the second century A.D., Brahmā, like some Compassion-type Bodhisattvas, is also shown with the single-loop jaṭāmukuta attesting to the close association of these types (Figs. 136, 275, 793, 797).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair Style</th>
<th>50 B.C.</th>
<th>A.D. 300</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gandhara, Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suvā</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorīyān Tangai</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sahri-Bahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peshawar</td>
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</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

.01 - Fig. 273  .04 - Fig. 797  .07 - Fig. 270  .10 - Fig. 778
.02 - Fig. 279  .05 - Fig. 288  .08 - Fig. 293
.03 - Fig. 280  .06 - Fig. 272  .09 - Fig. 276
THE JAṬĀMUKUṬA AND ITS FORMS

The artistic tradition of the northwest was greatly enriched by the development of jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva imagery. Among the important distinguishing iconographic and stylistic features are the three major hair styles and jaṭāmukuta fashions worn by this type of Bodhisattva image. It is reasonable to assume that the fashions for shoulder length hair and some type of jaṭāmukuta are related to the brahmacārin tradition. Thus, these fashions reflect the natural hair arrangements of ascetics and, as such, were viewed as a mark of detachment from the social order and from the mundane concerns of daily life.

Three basic, concurrently used styles for arranging the hair around the forehead were preferred for jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva images. These fashions can be analyzed in the following manner. The hair either frames the face or is pulled back from the face in one of three techniques:

Hair Style I: The Ringlet Style in which shorter tresses in the form of ringlets were combed forward to enframe the face (see p. 239)

Hair Style II: The Rolled-Back Style in which the hair on the sides was pulled back and rolled into curls engaging the lower strands of a beaded headdress (see p. 256)

Hair Style III: The Combed-Back Style in which the long tresses from the front of the head were simply combed back from the face (see p. 264)

In all three styles, most of the hair is pulled back behind the ears from
where it falls in long locks to the shoulders and/or cascades down the back.

Rising above the basic hair style treatment over the forehead is seen the separate element of the *jaṭāmukūṭa*. Several *jaṭāmukūṭa* styles were used. However, for each of these modes the hair on the crown of the head was drawn up and secured in one of the following *jaṭāmukūṭa* conventions:

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention I: The Rondure Style, in which the hair was fashioned into a rounded, bun-like topknot similar to the *uṇīśa* worn by Śākyamuni (see p. 270)

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention II: The Double-Looped Style in which the topknot was formed by a pair of stress loopsed and symmetrically positioned to either side of center (see p. 276)

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention III: The Single-Looped Style in which the chignon was formed by a single-loop of hair secured with a square-knot (see p. 282)

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention IV: The Kapardin Style in which the hair was coiled in layers (see p. 289)

Analyses of these hair styles and *jaṭāmukūṭa* conventions and their patterns of association as well as the identification of probable antecedent forms comprise this portion of the research. While the concepts represented are Buddhist, the artistic vocabulary used for *jaṭāmukūṭa*-wearing Bodhisattvas in Bactro-Gandhāran art appears to represent a synthesis of elements from the Indic, classicistic and contemporary western Asiatic traditions. Over the centuries, political changes and the development of sophisticated systems for trade and communication provided new
opportunities for stylistic influences from societies beyond the subcontinent. The assimilation of non-Indic features seems to reflect a lack of well developed artistic forms for this type of image as well as the training and taste of the individuals responsible for their creation. In the process of identifying probable antecedents for the fashions that adorn jatāmukūta-wearing Bodhisattvas, the systematic review of the artistic evidence has not proven to be conclusive, particularly for the Ringlet Style. With regard to the Rolled Back and Combed Back Styles, the evidence suggests that these fashions represent first or second century A.D. developments in which hair fashions with long histories in Western classical and classicistic traditions were adapted to the previously established formal vocabulary of the Buddhist school in the northwest.

As to jatāmukūta fashions, the association of the bun-style jatāmukūta (Convention I) with Indic conventions is obvious although during the course of development this fashion may also have been influenced by Scythian or Iranian royal iconography. The tight ordering of chignon curls during the second and third centuries A.D. is perhaps a reflection of Iranian types. Circa first century A.D. images of ascetic or brāhman types suggest that the double-loop jatāmukūta (Convention II) represents either an internally developed fashion for these types or a borrowing from images of Dionysos. The single-loop (Convention III) has a long and well documented history as a fashion used for Apollo and other Greek deities. The single-looped jatāmukūta, used for Bodhisattvas and for Brahmā, seems to have been introduced at a relatively late date (second century A.D.). It was the preferred jatāmukūta convention for paradisiacal relief images of jatāmukūta-wearing Bodhisattvas. The kapardin-style
jaṭāmukūṭa (Convention IV) is Indic and of little importance in the development of Bodhisattva imagery as only a few examples occur.

It is improbable that the use of three hair styles with the four jaṭāmukūṭa conventions evolve for purely aesthetic reasons. Although the traditions, which inspired the use and integration of the several hair styles and jaṭāmukūṭa conventions, may never be precisely known, certain definable patterns of association are apparent and will be discussed in the conclusions to this section (see pp. 290-95).

In addition to these meticulously arranged fashions, jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas from the period of florescence are typically adorned with headdresses composed of multiple strands of beads inset with pierced and faceted gems. The headdresses are of two types: one is made up of strands attached to each other in such a way as to form an beaded hair net and the other made up of three or four parallel strands tied together to form a diadem (see Figs. 524, 676).

Clearly of Indic derivation, some sense of the appearance and symbolic importance of the jeweled nets (manīvākarā or manīvakkalā) and diadems (row or rope, ekāvalikā) of beads to the compassionate functions of a Bodhisattva is offered by passages in the early literature such as those describing the events from Śākyamuni's former life as King Kuśa in the "Kuśa Jātaka" of the Mahāvastu.35 At the conclusion of the metaphorical story, King Kuśa is invested by Śakra (Indra) with a diadem composed of a string of pearls inset with the celestial gem called the jyotirasa (literally, light flavor) which, in this instance, is a magic gem with the power of transformation.36
[In observing King Kuśa from Trāyastriṃśa,]... Śakra thought. This King Kuśa is in the way of becoming a Bodhisattva who will confer welfare and happiness on all beings. But he intends to kill himself because he is ugly and hideous, and then he will be of no use to the world.

And Śakra.... bringing with him the celestial gem called jyotirasa which was in the centre of the celestial single rope of red pearls, appeared in the sky and spoke to King Kuśa, saying Your majesty, do not lay violent hands on yourself. But fasten on your head this single rope of pearls with the jyotirasa gem in it. When you have this tied on you there will be in the whole of Jambudvīpa none equal to you in complexion and form.

.... And so king Kuśa [having placed the diadem on his head] retained this complexion and form, and went on his way like a deva.37

As indicated above, the examples which compose this typological study of jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva images are organized by hair style and by jaṭāmukuta. This system is intended to demonstrate the successions of styles and their relative chronological position in the overall scheme of the stylistic and iconographic development of the tradition.
HAIR STYLE I: THE RINGLET STYLE

From about the first century A.D. through the period of decline during the fourth or fifth century A.D., variations of an ordered ringlet fashion in which the hair at the front is combed forward to enframe the face remained one of the major modes in jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva imagery. The ringlet fashion passed through several stylistic phases of development. The earliest extant examples of this style are rendered with ordered rows of tightly curled ringlets. At some point during the late first or early second century A.D., the very formal style was superseded by a more naturalistic, loosely curled treatment with a fringe of wispy, s-shaped curl ends framing the face at hairline level. This more naturalistic ringlet style was the most frequently used fashion in jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva imagery during the second and third centuries A.D. Over the course of development, as the sculptural tradition in stone became less naturalistic, the use of wispy curl ends was given up. In some of the later examples, the ringlets are very hard edged and have a half-rounded geometric appearance.

The Formal Ringlet Style

In the earliest examples which seem to date the Parthian or early Kuśāna periods, the ringlet fashion has the appearance of having been carefully set in ordered rows of curls that fall forward over the hairline in the front, down over the ears at the sides of the head, and to shoulder
level at the back. Setting this arrangement apart from later versions of the
ringlet fashion, there is no clear visual difference other than curl length
between the setting of the locks at the front and those at the sides and
back of the head.

The currency of this style in the northwest can be dated rather
securely to about the middle of the first century A.D. by its appearance on
a stucco head, perhaps that of a Bodhisattva, recovered by Marshall from
the apsidal chapel area at Sirkap (Figs. 138, 463). 38 A fragment of an
image from Swāt is adorned with a ringlet fashion similar to that worn by
the first example (Figs. 139, 466). As the image from Swāt is rendered
with wide-open eyes, a characteristic associated with late
first century B.C. or first century A.D. images, it seems to
be a relatively early sculpture. Also from Swāt and of
greater interest is a similar but more complete relief of a
Bodhisattva. This figure from Butkara I is shown in a
seated position displaying abhaya mudrā (Figs. 140, 464).
This example appears, on the basis of style, to belong to
the same period as the previous figure. The eyes of this
image are wide open and show drilled irises, while both
images from Swāt are adorned with ringlet fashions and a
high double-looped jaṭāmukūṭa. When the two images from
Swāt are compared with early images of Śākyamuni, especially those in
which he is shown with a high banded topknot and eyes that have a wide-
open appearance, sometimes with drilled irises, (Figs. 271, 739), several
conclusions may be reached. These comparisons suggest that seated
images may have been the first to be developed for Maitreya Bodhisattva

Fig. 139.

Fig. 140.
and that they were derived from similar, early, symmetrically ordered relief images of Śākyamuni which show him seated and displaying abhaya mudrā with attendants and devotees positioned at his right and left sides. It appears likely that the relief of the Bodhisattva from Butkara I was intended to represent Maitreya. Unfortunately, the left hand that might have held a flask has been broken away.

The direct source for the ringlet fashion is not known. However, to give greater definition to broadly based trends, it is useful to examine some of the early Indic and northwestern conventions as well as hair styles related to the development of deity and kingly fashions in the Mediterranean. Near Eastern and western Asiatic cultures that may have been introduced to the region during the Parthian and early Kuśāṇa periods as a result of cultural diffusion and/or trading relationships.

In India, a gāṇa image recovered from Cave 3 at Pitalkhora indicates that ringlet styles were being used as early as the first century B.C. suggesting the possibility of an Indic antecedent (Figs. 141, 801). The stucco head from Sirkap with its looped back chignon is also suggestive of Indic types (Fig. 138). Although artistic evidence for documenting the hair styles that were in fashion among the male population in the northwest is not extensive, a stair-riser relief, probably from Buner, is sculpted with an image of a Scythian warrior adorned with a combed-forward ringlet coiffeur presenting the possibility that contemporary fashions may have been influential in the development of a ringlet style for Bodhisattva images (Figs. 142, 769). At the same time, it is evident that similar ringlet
fashions were extremely popular during the middle and late Hellenistic periods in the Mediterranean world. Various formally ordered fashions were used for images of deities as well as for idealized portraits of ruling monarchs. These fashions retained their popularity into the Roman period. As it is evident from archaeological evidence that the ringlet style was in use from India to the Hellenic world, it is, therefore, necessary to seek earlier sources for the ringlet style.

In the centuries prior to the turn of the Christian era, along with the classical Greek forms, it was common practice to copy earlier Greek forms that had been current during the first half of the fifth century B.C. Among those copied are images of Zeus and Apollo adorned with combed forward fashions articulated with a single row or double rows of ringlets. Dating to the time of transition between the archaic and classical periods is an image of Apollo from the temple of Zeus, Olympus, (Figs. 143, 852). It recalls archaic treatments that had become prevalent in Attica and elsewhere during the early part of the fifth century B.C. The front portion of the hair style gives the impression of meticulously set, vertical rows positioned above the forehead and at the sides; the remaining masses are looped up and secured by a fillet. The copying of figures in the archaic, transitional and classical Greek modes was a common practice throughout the Mediterranean world in the first several centuries B.C. This established practice is attested by a number of examples including a figure of Apollo, which has, on its interior, a lead tablet naming the sculptors who created it in the first century B.C. (Figs. 144,
The head of this image is rendered with a combed forward ringlet fashion. However, unlike that on the former example, the hair at the back has not been bound up. From the Hellenistic period, a fashion very similar to that used for the image from Sirkap has been identified by Rostovtzeff as a Ptolemaic coiffure. It is found in the idealized portraiture tradition of Alexandria where preferences of the late Ptolemaic period fostered the development of a formally ordered ringlet style which spread from Alexandria to Rome and to trading centers in southern Arabia, Iraq and Syria where it remained popular through at least the first century A.D. A late Hellenistic period bronze head recovered in southern Arabia is adorned with a Ptolemaic fashion in which the ringlets are treated in the fuller and rounder manner associated with images of Cleopatra Thea (second half of second century B.C.). (Figs. 145, 893). To either side of center of the forehead, the tapering curl ends turn in opposite directions creating a bilaterally symmetrical style. This style is also documented in coin portraiture. Similar to the bronze head are the portraits of Cleopatra Thea on coins issued in Syria between 125 and 121 B.C. showing her hair fashioned in a series of ordered ringlets (Figs. 146, 901).

Further evidence of the dissemination of this coiffure occurs in portraits on coins issued by the rulers of such trading communities as Petra (in Nabataea, now modern southern Arabia) and Charaxus (in
Characene, now modern southern Iraq). The rulers in these communities had a great deal of influence over movements of individuals and goods between Rome, Alexandria and India. Coins issued from approximately the middle of the first century B.C. through about the middle of the first century A.D. indicate that versions of the ringlet style had become well established as a royal fashion (Figs. 147, 148, 894, 895, 149-52, 896-99).

An additional example attesting to the wide spread popularity of formal ringlet coiffures occurs on a fragment of a limestone image recovered from the garden of the Temple of Bel, Palmyra which has been dated by stylistic analysis to the first half of the first century A.D. (Figs.153, 902). The eyes of this image have a wide-open and staring appearance while the hair across the top of the head has been rendered with carefully set, ordered rows of curls.

Summary for the Formal Ringlet Fashion

In the Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist school, the surviving images from Sirkap and Butkara suggests that a formal ringlet fashion was one of the early fashions used for images of jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas. The
evidence also seems to indicate that seated figures of Bodhisattvas were the first of the jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas to be developed and that they were derived from similar, symmetrically ordered relief images of Śākyamuni seated and displaying abhaya mudrā. Attempts to determine a prototype for the formally ordered ringlet fashion were less than conclusive although the possible sources among the various cultural spheres bearing some relationship to the northwest were broadly reviewed. While the image from Sirkap suggests an Indic source the evidence is inadequate. Ringlet fashions were probably in vogue throughout the Hellenistic world. At the same time, it is very clear that a similar, late-surviving Ptolemaic royal fashion was extremely popular and widely accepted among the trade route communities in contact with the northwest around the turn of the Christian era.
HAIR STYLE I: RINGLET STYLE (FORMAL)
Summary of Detailed Evidence for Formal Ringlet Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<th>A.D. 200</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
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<td>.07 .08</td>
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<td>Syria</td>
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<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibyl and Buner</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.13 .14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taxila</td>
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<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisaikhora</td>
<td></td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

.01 - Fig. 652  .05 - Fig. 896  .09 - Fig. 899  .13 - Fig. 464
.02 - Fig. 866  .06 - Fig. 896  .10 - Fig. 901  .14 - Fig. 789
.03 - Fig. 893  .07 - Fig. 897  .11 - Fig. 502  .15 - Fig. 663
.04 - Fig. 894  .08 - Fig. 898  .12 - Fig. 466  .16 - Fig. 801
The Informal Ringlet Style

During the mature phases of development under the Kuśāṇas, a less formal, more naturalistic appearing ringlet style became the most frequently used fashion for jatamukuta-wearing Bodhisattvas (Figs. 155, 504). In images displaying this treatment the hair falls forward to frame the face above the ears and across the forehead in soft, loosely fashioned, somewhat flattened spiral curls. The tapered ends of six or eight tresses terminate just below the hairline in wispy, graceful s-shaped curves. This articulation is continued in the temple areas, while toward the back longer locks fall to the shoulders. An examination of the artistic evidence indicates that, not only was this hair style extremely popular, the skill with which the images were carved varied greatly betraying the work of highly skilled masters as well as the efforts of those less accomplished. While a high percentage of the images are of unknown provenance, others adorned with this fashion have been recovered from a long list of monastery complexes from the Swat Valley to Taxila region. There appears to be no reliable method for defining development within this grouping as comparative stylistic analyses of the physiognomy, drapery, jewelry, and emblematic features have been only marginally successful. However, these analyses do suggest that many of the images must have been sculpted during the second and third centuries A.D.

One of the examples that appears to demonstrate the relatively early use of the informal ringlet fashion is found on the fragment of an image from the Peshāwar region. While the hair is sculpted in the
conventionalized manner of this fashion, the eyes are relatively wide open and show the outlines of the iris (Figs. 156, 523). There is a gradual change toward half-closed eyes and the addition of headdress emblems as is demonstrated by a standing image of a Bodhisattva in the Lahore Museum collection (Figs. 157, 485). An emblem in the form of a crescent moon has been added to a bead circlet at the base of the chignon.

Possibly of a somewhat later date is a head in the Eilenberg Collection (Figs. 158, 524). As with the previous example, the headdress displays one of the few emblems occurring on images of jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas, a three pronged ornament of the type most commonly seen as a support for the triratna. The consummate skill with which this head was carved as well as the style of the winged-lion earrings compare well with the Musée Guimet image of the turbaned Bodhisattva from Mekhasanda (Fig. 375). As the site of Mekhasanda did not become active until about the middle of the second century A.D., comparative analysis suggests the probability that this was created after circa A.D. 150. In this example the eyes have a half closed appearance, a stylistic advance which can be securely dated to the period of Huviṣka through Vāsudeva I based on the recovery of a head from a Buddha image from the Huviṣka through Vāsudeva I level at Shaikhān Dhēri (Fig. 745). A less well sculpted additional example is adorned with a hair net that displays a faceted jewel on a lotus base, the third type of emblem appearing on jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattva headdresses (Figs.
As indicated above, a faceted jewel is an emblematic characteristic of the turbans worn by a number of Bodhisattvas also sculpted during the mature phase of development.

While it might seem that the informal ringlet fashion was derived from the formal fashion established in the first century of the Christian era, the style actually had a separate existence in the Hellenistic world. The informal hair style used for Bodhisattva images in the Bactro-Gandhāra region is similar to Greek examples that are ultimately traceable to the end of the sixth or first half of the fifth centuries B.C. During this transitional period from the Archaic to Classical eras, a variety of hair fashions were continued from or developed out of the earlier archaic modes. Along with the dramatic changes in the sculptural styles of the succeeding centuries, archaic and transitional hair fashions continued to serve as the inspiration for an extended series of developments in the sculptural traditions of Hellenistic and Roman periods.

From the transitional period are images adorned with fashions in which the front portion of the hair is combed forward from the crown to enframe the face with a row of ringlets. The fashion adorning the head from a colossal image of Apollo now in the Central Museum, Athens, is illustrative of a mode that bears some similarity to that worn by Bodhisattvas in Gandhāra (Fig. 160, 854). The side locks that once completed the hair style were planed away at some point although the long
tresses behind the shoulders remain. The somewhat later bronze figure of Zeus (or Poseidon), recovered from the sea off cape Artemisium, is articulated with a similar but less formal, loosely styled version of this forward fashioning (Figs. 161, 855-56).

Resulting from the syncretic tendencies of the Hellenistic period in Egypt, classical Greek forms were synthesized with Egyptian forms to give rise to a Graeco-Egyptian convention for Serapis. The hair style found on a copy of an image of Serapis by Bryaxis the younger, a Greek artist in service to the Ptolemies, displays the same informal forward fashioning familiar from the Greek examples (Figs. 162, 892). That this style was known, at least in the Kapiša area, is attested by the recovery of the Hercules-Serapis bronze image as a part of the Begram treasure (Figs. 163, 918). The continued use of this ringlet fashion in the Mediterranean is evidenced by the idealized portrait of Septimius Severus from the late second century A.D. (Figs. 164, 891). This Roman emperor, born in the Roman city of Leptis Magna which is now part of modern Libya, reigned from A.D. 193 to 211. As with others who had preceded him, Septimius Severus had himself styled after an image of a deity, in this case Serapis, his patron.

Informal ringlet fashions were occasionally used for images of dwarf gaṇas and yakṣas in early Indic art. Evidence for the use of a tightly curled
ringlet or corkscrew fashion dates to at least the beginning of the first century B.C. As indicated above, an example of this treatment is found on the corpulent figure of a gāṇa carved by the goldsmith Kaṇhadāsa during the first century B.C. (Figs. 165, 801). In this example, the hair is fashioned into two rows of tightly set curls. A closely related treatment is found on a second century A.D. image of Kubera from Ahicchatrā (Figs. 166, 831). The results of this study suggest the possibility that the type was influenced by the Bactro-Gandhāran style, demonstrating a crosscurrent of dissemination.

Summary for the Informal Ringlet Fashion

From this review of possible antecedents for the informal ringlet fashions that adorn the heads of Bodhisattva images from the northwest, it may be concluded that it is probable that this Bodhisattva fashion was derived from the Hellenic world. In the Mediterranean, many examples attest to the wide spread use of hair styles that incorporate some type of ringlet fashion beginning with the archaic and early classical art of Greece and continuing through the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Archaic and transitional period images of Greek gods contributed significantly to the syncretic formulations characteristic of the Hellenistic period and provided prototypes for the copyists of later eras. For Hellenistic developments in idealized portraiture, Greek originals also served as a source of inspiration.
HAIR STYLE I: RINGLET STYLE (INFORMAL)
Summary of Detailed Evidence for the informal Ringlet Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>500 B.C.</th>
<th>A.D. 300</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece, Egypt and Italy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gandhāra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pitalkhora and Ahicchatrā</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 854
- .02 - Fig. 855
- .03 - Fig. 892
- .04 - Fig. 891
- .05 - Fig. 485
- .06 - Fig. 918
- .07 - Fig. 916
- .08 - Fig. 523
- .09 - Fig. 523
- .10 - Fig. 524
- .11 - Fig. 524
- .12 - Fig. 431

Fig. 167. Hair Style I: Ringlet Style (Informal).
Later Ringlet Fashion

Although frequently displaying characteristics of advanced iconographic development, the images adorned with later versions of the ringlet fashion tend to be less naturalistic and sculpted with less skill. It appears that at some point, perhaps during the third century A.D., the fringe of wispy, curl ends, characteristic of the numerous images adorned with the more naturalistic versions of the ringlet fashion, lost favor. This change in articulation is illustrated by a fragment of an image now in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Figs. 168, 568). The image fragment, doubtlessly from a sculpture of a seated Bodhisattva, displays the hands positioned in dharmacakrā mudrā. The use of the teaching gesture for Bodhisattvas is a relatively late feature perhaps introduced at the end of the second or third century A.D. A second example, probably representing Maitreya, is also carved with this later version of the ringlet fashion (Figs. 169, 581). The Bodhisattva is seated on a lotus pericarp in padmāsana. His right hand is positioned on the top of his left hand in dhyāna mudrā while a kamandalu, shown hanging below, is secured by the fingers of his left hand. Tendencies toward a more sharp edged, precise and geometric treatment also occur among examples adorned with later versions of the ringlet style as illustrated by a standing image of a Bodhisattva from Takht-i-Bāhī (Figs. 170, 574). In addition to advanced iconographic characteristics and tendencies toward deterioration in the quality of carving,
the probability that images adorned with these later versions of the ringlet fashion were created during the third or fourth centuries A.D. is also indicated by a comparison with images of a Bodhisattva and Buddha from Chatpat (Figs. 171, 172, 566, 755). Both figures, displaying adaptations of this hair style, belong to the Period III grouping from Chatpat, which, in Dani’s opinion, were sculpted no earlier than fourth century A.D.\textsuperscript{50}

Summary for Later Ringlet Fashions

Variations of the ringlet hair style continued in use for \textit{jaṭāmukūṭa}-wearing Bodhisattvas from about the first century A.D. through the fourth or fifth century A.D. Due to the fact that the ringlet style passed through three phases of development and that some images displaying ringlet fashions were recovered from stratified sites, the stylistic characteristics of this mode are very useful in understanding the development of the tradition as a whole and in the relative dating of individually sculpted images and reliefs.
### HAIR STYLE I: RINGLET STYLE (LATER VERSIONS)

Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Use of Later Ringlet Styles

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<td></td>
<td>Chatpat,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bodhisattva</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and Buddha</td>
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<td>Takht-i-Bāhi</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.04</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Taxila</td>
<td></td>
<td>.05</td>
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</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 568
- .02 - Fig. 566
- .03 - Fig. 555
- .04 - Fig. 574
- .05 - Fig. 581

Fig. 173. Hair Style I: Ringlet Style (Later Versions).
HAIR STYLE II: THE ROLLED-BACK STYLE

For *jaṭāmukūṭa*-wearing Bodhisattvas, the wavy hair of the rolled-back convention is parted down the middle and combed to the right and left sides of the head in a bilaterally symmetrical manner. Conveying a sense of meticulous grooming, the locks above the ears end in formally ordered sets of rather tight curls that spiral in an upward and inward manner. Some of the curls encircle a lower strand of beads comprising part of a hair net or a beaded diadem securing both the hair ornaments and the ringlets. At the sides, behind the ears, and toward the back, wavy, curling tresses fall to shoulder level.

This hair style seems to represent a circa second century A.D. development in Bodhisattva imagery as is suggested by both the jewelry styles and the consummate carving skill exhibited by many of the images in this grouping. Perhaps one of the earlier examples adorned with the rolled-back hair style is an image of a standing Bodhisattva now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figs. 174, 595). While finely sculpted, the eyes in this example do not have the half-closed appearance of many examples from the period of florescence. At the same time, the long necklace terminating in *vidyādhara* or erotelike finials and the winged-lion earrings compare well with the long necklace and earrings adorning the Musée Guimet image from Mekhasanda. This comparison seems to confirm a second half of the second or early third century A.D. date for this image.51 A second example, also of a standing image adorned with the
rolled-back fashion, was recovered from Mohrā Morādu (Figs. 175-76, 618-20). The image from Mohrā Morādu is similar to an additional, although badly damaged, figure from Mekhasanda (Fig. 621). Notwithstanding the damage, notable similarities between the two images occur in the draping of the shawl and dhotī and the jewelry. Both images display crossed breast chains and long necklaces with vidyādhara or erotelike finials, once again indicating a second half of the second or third century date for this carving. A third example, now in the Lahore Museum collection, displays the more tightly set side curls characteristic of a second version of the rolled-back hair style (Figs. 177, 643). This example is adorned with earrings sculpted in the form of lions suspending jewel garlands, a type of earring that frequently occurs on Bodhisattvas wearing heavily ornamented turbans of the mature Kuśāṇa phase, for example, the standing image from Mohammed Nari, now in the Lahore Museum (Fig. 417).

A broad survey for possible antecedents for the the rolled-back style indicates that this fashion may also reflect the adaptation of a mode ultimately traceable to conventions which evolved in Greece during the early classical period, circa 470-450 B.C. Through the persistence of Greek traditions, sculptures of various gods or personifications of qualities adorned with versions of this hair style continued to be created in Greece and subsequently in Rome through
at least the second century A.D. Further, as attested by numerous examples from Iran, Bactria, and Gandhāra, this originally Greek style was introduced to western Asia and Bactro-Gandhāra during the Hellenistic period.

In the Mediterranean, the early Greek method of securing the locks by wrapping them over a plait of hair is evidenced by a fragment of a plaster cast from a bronze original of about 470-450 B.C. (Figs. 178, 857). The eclectic usage of the rolled-back style and direct copying of images adorned with this style are illustrated by several first century B.C. sculptures. From the neo-Attic school in Rome, chiefly known from the efforts of Pasiteles and his pupils, is a sculpture of Orestes and Electra in which Electra is shown with the rolled-back fashion (Figs. 179, 887). Examples such as this demonstrate eclectic approach of the artists of the neo-Attic school.

Further, early classical figures of Apollo with hair arranged in this manner were also being copied in Greece and transported to Rome as evidenced by the occurrence of the rolled-back fashion on the carefully copied bronze figure of Apollo recovered from Pompeii dating to approximately 30 B.C. (Figs. 180, 886).

Two later examples, thought to have been created during the second century A.D., confirm the continued use of this fashion for images of Olympians. From approximately A.D. 150, a head believed to be of Dionysos displays the eclectic characteristics of
Roman creations rendered in the spirit of the fifth century B.C. (Figs. 181, 869). The second image, a copy of a figure of Athena, is also adorned with a similar hair fashion (Figs. 182, 870). While nothing remains of the original 438 B.C chryselephantine cult statue by Phidias, many copies of the figure were created in succeeding centuries. This second century A.D. copy of the Parthenos displays to each side of the forehead three tresses rolled up and over the edge of an elaborate helmet while snail curls ornament the sides of the head and longer locks fall to shoulder level behind the ears. This treatment recalls the tightly curled fashion that occurs on several Bodhisattvas figures, such as that of the standing image in the Lahore Museum collection (Figs. 177, 643).

Architectural and sculptural traditions at Palmyra, which were strongly influenced by the Greek artistic vocabulary, illustrate the diffusion of influences from the Mediterranean during the first and early second centuries A.D. While statues and relief images were created most abundantly in India and in the Mediterranean world, a great deal of work was also produced in this Syrian desert city. Deity types were frequently distinguished in Palmyrene sculpture by exclusive headdresses as indicated by a fragment of a circa A.D. 100 sculpture of Tyche or Gad of Palmyra adorned with the turreted city-wall crown of Greek derivation (Figs. 183, 904). Below the crown, the hair is arranged with a rolled-back coiffure that incorporates shoulder length curls falling to the right and left
sides of the neck. An additional example of this fashion occurs on a funerary plaque dated to A.D. 125/126 (Figs. 184, 905). The relief displays a floral wreath bound with an encircling ribbon and secured by a square knot from which rises the bust of a young woman named Hadā. Hadā’s head is draped with a shawl in the Greek manner while her hair is fashioned with rolled-back curls secured at the sides by a fillet.

Two images of city goddesses clearly demonstrate that these classicistic forms reached as far as the Swāt and Peshāwar valleys. The earlier example, probably from around the turn of the Christian era, was recovered from Butkara I (Figs. 185, 763). It is of green schist from the Swāt region. Also of schist, the second example, seemingly of the late first or early second century A.D. was found at Chārsada (Figs. 186, 764). Both are adorned with turreted city-wall crowns and rolled-back coiffures.

Also of importance are the recent Soviet excavations at Khalchayan. These excavations uncovered evidence that offers new definition to the artistic traditions of ancient Bactria around the turn of the Christian era. One feature of these Bactrian traditions, which appears in the Buddhist art of the northwest is the continuous garland motive. Among the many fragments recovered from the palace at Khalchayan were pieces of a continuous garland relief that included the heads of female figures (Figs. 187, 188, 921, 922). Two of these heads are adorned with rolled-back hair
arrangements. For both, the head of a girl garland-bearer (Fig. 187) and the head of a female lute-player (Fig. 188), the hair has been rolled back from the hairline and over a securing diadem visible across the center front portion of the head.

The full facial features, hair arrangement, and a fairly wide diadem also appear in first century A.D. examples from the northwest as evidenced by a gold brooch bearing the image of a female, possibly of Nike, from the Parthian level at Sirkap (Figs. 189, 760). At the sides, the tresses are combed back from the face and secured by a diadem that is visible over the top of the head. The face is full and the hair on the top of the head is wrapped in a bun also reminiscent of the heads from Bactria. Numerous additional examples, attesting to the use of the rolled-back fashion for images of Greek types, appear in Buddhist reliefs from Gandhāra. From one section of a stair-riser relief now in the Cleveland Museum collection, an image of Nike displays a laurel wreath overlaying a rolled-back hair arrangement (Figs. 190, 765). Subjects of Dionysian derivation, such as that in seen in the Cleveland Museum relief, may have been carved during the latter decades of the first century or early decades of the second century A.D. This is suggested by sculptures of the same type recovered from level I at Andān Ḍheri which have been dated by archaeological associations with the coins of Wima Kadphises and Soter Megas to circa A.D. 75-125 (Figs. 767, 768).
Summary

Clearly, rolled-back hair fashions have a long and diversified history in the Mediterranean world and in western Asia. In each instance where they occur, the distinguishing features notwithstanding, the theme, motive, or general appearance is related to Greek influences that persisted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This survey demonstrates the fact that opportunities for influence were manifold in the northwest and that, while the circumstances that inspired the apparent adaptation of this classicistic appearing hair style for Bodhisattva images is not known, it is obvious that various arrangements of this fashion were popular from the Roman West to Gandhāra. The lack of examples that appear to be of an early date along with the consummate skill required to sculpt many of the Bodhisattva images adorned with this fashion suggest that the rolled-back hair style represents circa second century A. D. development in a tradition of Bodhisattva imagery.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>500 B.C.</th>
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<td>Gandhāra</td>
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For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 867
- .02 - Fig. 868
- .03 - Fig. 869
- .04 - Fig. 870
- .05 - Fig. 871
- .06 - Fig. 904
- .07 - Fig. 905
- .08 - Fig. 924
- .09 - Fig. 925
- .10 - Fig. 760
- .11 - Fig. 761
- .12 - Fig. 762
- .13 - Fig. 763
- .14 - Fig. 764
- .15 - Fig. 765
- .16 - Fig. 618
HAIR STYLE III: THE COMBED-BACK STYLE

From a peak in the center of the forehead, the unperted, slightly wavy hair characteristic of Hair Style III gives the appearance of having been combed away from the face (Figs. 192, 732). Long slightly wavy tresses fall from the chignon area to the shoulders behind the ears and at the back of the head. The combed-back arrangement occurs on Bodhisattva images that appear to belong to the middle and later phases of production. While the quality of carving varies many of the examples are finely sculpted in the conventional idealized manner associated with of the period of florescence. Most are shown with their eyes half closed, also a characteristic of the mature phases of development. They are adorned with the standard set of necklaces and earrings.

Although the possibility remains that the combed-back hair style was an internally developed arrangement, this fashion is reminiscent of the most popular fashion found in Greek and Greek influenced schools of sculpture and probably represents an adaptation of that fashion. However, while having a classicistic appearance, the Bodhisattva fashion is distinguished from Greek arrangements by the lack of a center part. Unlike the rolled back coiffeur, which was widely used throughout western Asia, there is little evidence of its importance in western Asia or the northwest prior to its development or acceptance into the repertoire of fashions used for Bodhisattvas. In the majority of examples, the combed-back fashion was used with a bun-shaped jaṭāmukuta or a single-looped jaṭāmukuta. The bun-shaped jaṭāmukuta is clearly of Indic derivation while
the single-looped *jaṭāmukūṭa* is similar to a single-looped chignon fashion that has a long and well developed history in Hellenic culture. As the combed-back fashion most frequently occurs with the single-looped *jaṭāmukūṭa*, it is possible the fashion was also assimilated at the time when the single-looped *jaṭāmukūṭa* was borrowed from the classicistic Western vocabulary.

Probably created during the second half of the second or third century A.D., one of the finest examples of the combed-back hair style is found on the head of a standing image of a Bodhisattva now in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Figs. 193, 647). The half-closed appearance of the eyes as well as the reduced scale and wavy tresses of the bun-shape *jaṭāmukūṭa* recall characteristics of Buddhas created during the mature phases of development, such as the fragment from an image of a Buddha recovered from the Huviška through Vāsudeva level at Shaikhān Dheri (Fig. 745). In addition to the use of the combed-back hair style with the bun-shaped *jaṭāmukūṭa*, in other examples, in fact, in a large percentage of the examples, the combed-back fashion was used with the single-loop *jaṭāmukūṭa*. Figures displaying this combination were extremely popular and have been recovered from many of the major sites located throughout the northwest evidencing the widespread acceptance of this type of hair style. One of the most impressive images adorned with a combed-back fashion is a standing image recovered from Sahri-Bahlol (Figs. 194-95, 698-701). Also recovered from Sahri-Bahlol is a second image, seemingly of the same Bodhisattva. It is very similar to the first with the exception that the
Bodhisattva is shown seated with his hands held in dharmacakra mudrā (Figs. 196, 720). From the Mardān area, a third example displays the suggestion of a bun-shaped top-knot below the single-looped chignon (Figs. 197, 686). This use of the bun in combination with the single-loop chignon appears to be characteristic of later images indicating that Bodhisattvas displaying this feature were sculpted somewhat later than those without it. This view is supported by the occurrence of this feature on the image of a Bodhisattva recovered from Level III at Chatpat, which indicates that this figure was probably sculpted after A.D. 300 (Figs. 198, 708).62

Based on a broad survey of possible antecedents, it appears that the combed-back fashion represents the assimilation of an originally Greek style that had persisted in Greece and Greek influenced societies through the Roman period. Reflecting natural hair arrangements, the combed-back Greek fashion seems to have originated as part of the classical tradition perfected by Phidias and his contemporaries while engaged in work on the Parthenon (ca. 440-430 B.C.).63 Variations of this coiffure continued to be widely used and, as with other Greek hair arrangements, this style is recorded in copies sculpted in Greece and subsequently in Rome beginning as early as the Republican period.64 In the Greek tradition, the combed-back arrangements were used for both Olympians and the personifications of qualities,
such as peace and victory. In numerous sculptures of Apollo and of the youthful forms of Dionysos, this arrangement is used with longer tresses and complemented by a chignon or diadem of appropriate floral materials such as laurel, ivy or grape vine.

An early example of this arrangement is found on the head of an image in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge, England. The image, that of a youthful male figure, probably Apollo, is rendered in the early Peloponnesian style of ca. 480-460 B.C. (Figs. 199, 859). The hair, which has been combed to the sides, is banded with the distinguishing wreath of laurel.\(^6\) Side locks fall across the shoulder area. Another example of a similar combed-back fashion of the fifth century B.C. is illustrated by the copy of a head of a female, thought to be Nike (Figs. 200, 860). Also illustrative of this style is the fashion worn by a figure of Demeter of circa 340-330 B.C. from the island of Cnidus, Greece (Figs. 201, 872).\(^6\) To the front of the shawl, this finely sculpted head displays a combed-back coiffure.

A figure of Apollo Kitharoids (the lyre-playing Apollo) demonstrates the continued use of similar hair fashions during the Hellenistic period (Figs. 202, 881). To the standard dressing of the hair was added a korymbos (Gr. locks on top of the head) probably secured with a square knot (nodus Herculeus).\(^6\) During this same period, similar combed-back hair styles were also being used for images of Dionysos (Figs. 203, 880). A Roman copy of Eirene
(Peace) in the style of Kephisodotos, a precursor of Praxiteles, also illustrates continued interest in the classical modes as does a statue of Dionysos from approximately A.D. 81-96 (Figs. 204, 205, 883, 889). In the figure of Dionysos careful attention has been given to the detailing of the hair. The sculptor has combined classical idealized features with a preference for wavier locks of the baroque manner typical of images sculpted during the period of Flavian (Flavian dynasty, r. A.D. 69-96).68

Summary

As with the previously described rolled-back hair style, the various forms of combed-back hair arrangements have a long history of wide acceptance in Greek and in Greek influenced cultures from the classical through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. While it seems probable that in the northwest the combed-back arrangement represents a borrowing from the Western classicistic vocabulary, the circumstances that inspired such a borrowing are difficult to define. As conventions for Bodhisattva imagery were already well established, the use of this apparently Greek influenced arrangement by the sculptors of the Buddhist tradition appears to be related to a new wave of Western influence, which probably originated during the second century A.D., a period when opportunities for cultural exchange reached their highest level as a result of the wealth and power of the Kuśāṇas.
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For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 853
- .02 - Fig. 860
- .03 - Fig. 873
- .04 - Fig. 880
- .05 - Fig. 861
- .06 - Fig. 860
- .07 - Fig. 873
- .08 - Fig. 880
- .09 - Fig. 647
- .10 - Fig. 898
- .11 - Fig. 883
- .12 - Fig. 889
- .13 - Fig. 898
- .14 - Fig. 702
JAṬĀMUKUṬA CONVENTION I: RONDURE STYLE

The rondure-style or bun-like jaṭāmukuta is composed of hair secured on the crown of the head in such manner as to create a chignon that has the appearance of a somewhat flattened, spherical form (Figs. 207, 504). While the types of hair vary from wavy to very curly, the fashions for setting range from informal to carefully ordered rows of arched curls. The less formal rondure fashion, composed of wavy tresses which appear as serpentine patterns that begin at the base of the jaṭāmukuta and flow up and over from front to back (Fig. 207), seems to have developed somewhat earlier than the more formal coiffure in which the jaṭāmukuta is formed by a mound of tightly spaced, layered, semicircular curls (Figs. 215). The more formal fashion offers a rather consistent appearance from all sides and, in some examples, the tightly spaced curls are carved in precise, formally ordered rows. It is probable that the rondure jaṭāmukuta was developed from the high bulbous style preferred for images of Śākyamuni and Brahmā during the Śaka and Parthian periods. It became one of the most important styles for Bodhisattvas and was often enriched by lavish jeweled headdresses possibly to set the images of Bodhisattvas apart from images of Buddhas and Brahmā. These headdresses were configured as elaborate, open-work nets of beads, sometimes used in conjunction with a diadem, which was often composed of beads in three or four strands. The evidence suggests that Bodhisattva images displaying the rondure style jaṭāmukuta were first created in stone during the second half of the first or early second century A.D.
The Bimarān reliquary demonstrates the use of the large, full, bulbous arrangement for images of Buddhas, Brahmā and probably for Bodhisattvas at a relatively early date. This reliquary, which may date to the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D., is ornamented with an encircling frieze composed of two three-part arrangements, each of which displays a Buddha attended by images of Brahmā and Indra. Between these two groups on opposite sides of the casket are princely figures, each adorned with a high, round chignon and shoulder-length locks (Figs. 208, 916). The princely figures on the reliquary, probably Bodhisattvas, are distinguished from the images of Brahmā by the lack of a beard and jewelry (arm bands and kāṇṭhi). They wear shawls looped over the left shoulder reflective of early images of the Buddha and Brahmā and Indra from Lōriyān Tangai and Swāt and may offer one of the earliest extant indications of the jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva idiom (Figs. 253, 254 258).

As discussed above, an additional indication of Bodhisattva image making by about the first half of the first century A.D. is offered by a stucco head recovered from the apsidal temple area at Sirkap (Figs. 209, 263). The ringlet hair style and the looped-back jaṭāmukuta, evident in this example, are quite similar to fashions that appear somewhat later on images sculpted in stone.
The Informal Style

One of the earlier examples in stone adorned with the rondure style *jaṭāmukūṭa* is a head from Palatu Dheri in the Peshāwar area (Figs. 210, 523). Secured by a beaded hair net, the rather full chignon of this image is composed of wavy tresses of hair that flow up and over the topknot from front to back. The eyes display the outlines of irises. This fashion also occurs on one of the most impressive Bodhisattva images from the Indic northwest, presumably of Maitreya, from Sahri-Bahlol (Figs. 211, 469, 470). It is now in the Lahore Museum collection. In addition to a crescent moon, the beaded hair net is enhanced with a tapering faceted jewel similar to those used as crest emblems on the turbans of Bodhisattva images. The earrings are sculpted in the form of lions suspending jewel garlands, a popular type also occurring on turban-wearing Bodhisattvas.

Of iconographic interest is an image in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (Figs. 212, 507-10). Adorning the high bulbous fashion of this unique Bodhisattva is a beaded headdress which displays a small image of a heavenly being arising from the open face of a flower (Figs. 212, 510). The similarities between the figure in the headdress and figures emerging from the open faces of flowers which compose the canopies of paradisiacal relief scenes indicate that this was probably created at about the same time as the relief scenes which display similar
motifs, seemingly during the second half of the second or third century A.D. (cf. Figs. 278, 281). Other examples from the mature period of development, such as those adorning the heads of images from the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Figs. 213, 517) and the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, show a reduction in size and a less rounded profile for this type of jatāmukuta (Figs. 214, 647). These characteristics appear to reflect the size and shape of the uṣṇīṣas used for images of Buddhas during the mature period in the northwest (Figs. 745, 750).

The Formal Style

Also from the mature phase of the second half of the second or third century A.D. is a small group of figures which display a chignon fashion composed of tightly set, ordered rows of curls. This formal style appears to have coexisted with the less formal fashion. Among the finest examples displaying the more ordered rendering is the head of a Bodhisattva in the Eilenberg Collection (Figs. 215, 524). The similarity of this jatāmukuta to chignon fashions used for Parthian or Sassanian royalty suggest that Iranian influences may have played some role in the development of the more formally configured examples of this type. During the later Parthian period in Iran (after the end of the first century B.C.), a high bun arrangement became a central feature of kingly hair fashions. The treatment of the Iranian korymbos (topknot) appears to bear some similarity to that of
certain Bodhisattva jaṭāmukūṭaś perhaps influencing the development of the more ordered fashions such as that displayed by the Eilenberg head. The use of a high, round korymbos, so familiar from images of Sassanian kings, must have become an accepted kingly fashion by the end of the first century A.D. or the early part of the second century A.D. as indicated by the coin image of Osres (A.D. 106/107-130) (Figs. 216, 912). The crown of his head is adorned with the high, tightly curled, Iranian chignon, a fashion which was continued and exaggerated by the Sassanians.

Summary

Although influenced by preferences for wavier hair and perhaps to some degree by Iranian kingly fashions, there can be little doubt that the rondure-style jaṭāmukūṭa was developed from the early fashions used for images of Buddha, Brahmā and ascetics as evidenced by the frequent occurrence of such fashions in first century B.C. and first century A.D. relief carvings. The rondure-style jaṭāmukūṭa remained one of the preferred conventions for jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas throughout the full course of development.
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For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

.01 - Fig. 812  .06 - Fig. 744  .11 - Fig. 273  .16 - Fig. 524  .21 - Fig. 489
.02 - Fig. 916  .07 - Fig. 245  .12 - Fig. 779  .17 - Fig. 647  .22 - Fig. 263
.03 - Fig. 735  .08 - Fig. 752  .13 - Fig. 773  .18 - Fig. 507  .23 - Fig. 814
.04 - Fig. 915  .09 - Fig. 270  .14 - Fig. 777  .19 - Fig. 517  .24 - Fig. 816
.05 - Fig. 738  .10 - Fig. 272  .15 - Fig. 760  .20 - Fig. 823  .25 - Fig. 815
JAṬĀMUKUṬA CONVENTION II: DOUBLE-LOOVED STYLE

The double-looped jaṭāmukuta is a bilaterally symmetrical fashion in which the hair on the crown of the head is separated from front to back into two equally sized tresses. In an early example from Swāt, the tresses are pulled up into two loops and secured by a Hellenistic hair band (Figs. 218, 466). In examples from the mature period, each large tress of the hair is looped respectively to the right and to the left with the terminal ends of the locks positioned across the tops of the loops and secured by a single strand or double strands of beads which compose part of the headdress (Figs. 224, 535).

The double loop appears to be one of the early jaṭāmukuta modes used for the hair arrangements of Bodhisattvas. Images of attendant figures exhibiting this fashion in circa first century A.D. relief carvings and the occurrence of the double loop on an image of a Bodhisattva from the Swāt region suggest a close association of the arrangement with ascetic individuals such as Brahmā and the ascetic Vajrapāṇi. However, a broad survey of western Asiatic traditions attests to a probable Western origin for the style. From perhaps as early as late fourth century B.C. through the third or fourth century A.D., double-looped chignons were a part of the classicistic repertoire of fashions for images of Greek deities including Dionysos.

In the northwest, what appears to be one of the earliest examples of the double-looped jaṭāmukuta occurs on a circa first century A.D. relief fragment showing a row of five ascetics (Fig. 775). In this carving from
Sirkap, the head of the ascetic individual on the left is adorned with a fashion that displays a double-looped jaṭāmukūṭa worn with shoulder length hair (Figs. 219, 775). In a second relief, that of a cāitya arch, a Buddha is attended by a number of individuals including two figures that appear to be adorned with more crudely rendered knots of this type (Figs. 220, 221, 774). The double-looped chignon was also used for Vajrapāṇi as indicated by a third relief showing four ascetics positioned hierarchically behind a row of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Figs. 222, 776).

In the earliest example in which the image can be identified as Bodhisattva, the double-looped jaṭāmukūṭa was used with a formal ringlet fashion. As discussed above, this combination occurs on an image from Swāt, probably intended to represent Maitreya Bodhisattva (Figs. 223, 464). The high rising configuration of the loops as well as the wide open staring appearance of the eyes suggest that this is a relatively early carving, probably of the first century A.D.

In addition to the few early examples, there are numerous images of jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas that appear to have been created during the apogee of the stone tradition in the northwest. An in-depth review of the individually sculpted figures and reliefs produced no evidence to show an evolutionary change in the articulation...
of the two loops. In the later examples, rather than being pulled up, looped to the sides, and secured with a hair band, the two tresses are looped respectively to the right and to the left with the terminal ends positioned across the tops of the loops and secured by a single strand (or double strands) of beads which compose part of the headdress. Although many of examples are of unknown provenance, others have been recovered from the Buner, Peshāwar and Taxila regions attesting to the widespread acceptance of this fashion.

While a few examples, such as the image owned by the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (Figs. 224, 535), show the double-loop jātāmukuta worn with a ringlet hair style, in the majority of images this chignon occurs with the rolled-back mode. This preferred combination is found on an image of a standing Bodhisattva now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figs. 225, 595). Other excellent examples are also found in the Lahore Museum (Figs. 226, 618) and Chandigarh Museum (Figs. 227, 629) collections. For some images, the jātāmukuta was given increased prominence as evidenced by the fragment of an image from Buner, perhaps one of the most beautifully sculpted examples of its type (Figs. 228, 638). As is characteristic of many of the later images, the eyes are half closed. In images such as this, the structure of the facial features, detailing of the eyes and mustache, and treatment of the headdress offer opportunities to identify local
variations in style and perhaps even the craftsmanship of a single individual. For example, the headdress of this image from Buner displays a faceted jewel positioned between a pair of lotus-cup terminals similar in articulation to those that occur on the headdresses of turban-wearing Bodhisattvas (Figs. 382-84). Other examples, such as the image in the Chandigarh Museum, show open-faced flower ornaments on the sides of their headdresses, a motif that also occurs on some turban-wearing Bodhisattva images (Figs. 363, 368).

While the double-loop jaṭāmukūṭa was one of early modes in Bactro-Gandharan art, the form probably had its origins the Greek artistic vocabulary. In the Mediterranean, the history of double-looped arrangements for images of Greek deities begins in about the fourth century B.C. and continues through the Roman period. Of the masterpieces adorned with a double-looped or bow arrangement, the image of Aphrodite in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is one of the finest (Fig. 229, 862). A second example, the head of an Etruscan Hellenistic image owned by the Vatican Museum, Rome, also shows a chignon with a distinctive looping to the right and left sides (Fig. 230, 879). During the Roman period, the use of a double-looped chignon with shoulder locks for an image of Dionysos is recorded in a circa A.D. 200-400 Italian mosaic (Fig. 231,
890). Further east, a circa A.D. 100-241 bronze mask of Dionysos showing him with a double-looped fashion was recovered from the Sun sanctuary at Hatra, Iraq (Fig. 232, 900). From Gandhāra, the upper portion of a circa second half of the first or early second century A.D. toilet tray recovered at Sirkap is ornamented with a drinking scene in which the male figure, possibly Dionysos, is shown with a double-loop chignon (Fig. 233, 770). This latter figure demonstrates a direct Hellenistic connection in Gandhāra.

Summary

For the Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist school, the double-looped jaṭāmukuta was one of the earliest and most widely used modes. While the artistic evidence offers the possibility of Western influences, perhaps in association with Dionysian imagery, it seems equally probable that the double-looped jaṭāmukuta was an internally developed arrangement for images of ascetic figures which may have included Brahmā and Vajrapāṇi and, at a relatively early date, images of Bodhisattvas.
### JAṬĀMUKUTA CONVENTION II: DOUBLE-LOOPED STYLE

**Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Double-Looped Jaṭāmukuta**

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For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 452
- .02 - Fig. 879
- .03 - Fig. 990
- .04 - Fig. 900
- .05 - Fig. 775
- .06 - Fig. 879
- .07 - Fig. 535
- .08 - Fig. 618
- .09 - Fig. 774
- .10 - Fig. 774
- .11 - Fig. 464
- .12 - Fig. 634
- .13 - Fig. 629
- .14 - Fig. 775
- .15 - Fig. 770
JAṬĀMUＫUTA CONVENTION III: SINGLE-LOOPED STYLE

The single-looped jaṭāṃukuta is characterized by an asymmetrical knotted arrangement in which the looped and terminal ends of the chignon fall respectively to either the right or the left side of the head. The long heavy tresses are secured by a square knot (also called a reef knot). Bodhisattva images which display the single-looped jaṭāṃukuta are generally adorned with diadems composed of three or four strands of beads interspersed at intervals, generally at center front and sides, with some type of cut and pierced gem. Occasionally, a circlet will be shown at the base of the topknot.

Although this arrangement was a very important distinguishing convention in jaṭāṃukuta-wearing Bodhisattva imagery, the stylistic evidence suggests that it represented a late addition to the repertoire of jaṭāṃukuta styles. Unlike the rondure and double-looped modes, the single-looped jaṭāṃukuta has not been identified among the early arrangements selected for representations of Brahmā or other ascetic types. While no examples that seem to be of an early date have been found, the currency of this arrangement during the periods of Huviṣka through Vāsudeva I is attested by excavations at Shaikhān Dheri. Among the images recovered from the Huviṣka through Vāsudeva I level is an effaced, standing image of a Bodhisattva adorned with the single-looped jaṭāṃukuta (Figs. 235, 715-16). The prevalence of this chignon convention during the mature period of development is further demonstrated by the paradisiacal reliefs and steleae, which indicate not only that the single-looped jaṭāṃukuta was
important during the periods when these reliefs and stelae were being carved, but that it was also a Mahāyāna mode of primary importance for images of Bodhisattvas (Figs. 275-278).

Over the years, historians have attributed the heavy, three-dimensional drapery, contrapposto stance, and the facial features of some Buddha images to Western conventions associated with Apollonian forms.77 The use of the single-looped chignon secured by a square knot has also been identified as a borrowing from the Greek traditions developed for Apollo and Aphrodite.78 When considering male deity types, a systematic review of possible antecedents seems to confirm the borrowing of the single-looped arrangement from Apollonian imagery of the late Hellenistic or Roman periods.

While many Bodhisattva images adorned with this arrangement are of unknown provenance, numerous other have been recovered from many of the major monastery complexes throughout the Indic northwest indicating that the single-looped jaṭāmukūṭa was not a localized tradition. One of the most clearly articulated examples of this jaṭāmukūṭa is found on the head from an image of a Bodhisattva, now in the Peshāwar Museum (Figs. 236, 731). As with many examples of this type, the securing, square knot is easily recognized at the center of the arrangement. The loop and terminal ends tend to span the full distance across the head.79 In the relatively early examples, the single-looped jaṭāmukūṭa is positioned directly on the top of the head as in the Peshāwar Museum example and the superbly carved image in the Clark Collection (Figs. 237, 675). In somewhat later examples, such as
that of the Bodhisattva from the Mardān area, the single-looped \textit{jaṭāmukuta} is positioned above a bun or \textit{uṣṇiṣa}-like arrangement (Figs. 238, 686).\textsuperscript{80} For the majority of examples the single-looped \textit{jaṭāmukuta} is shown with a combed-back arrangement, however, other examples evidence its use with rolled-back and ringlet hair styles. An image of a Bodhisattva in the Lahore Museum is adorned with a tightly curled, rolled-back fashion used with single-looped \textit{jaṭāmukuta} (Figs. 239, 643). The upper portion of an image in the San Diego Museum of Art offers an excellent example of the use of the single-looped \textit{jaṭāmukuta} with the informal ringlet hair style (Figs. 240, 561).

That this fashion was accepted as a suitable arrangement for both \textit{jaṭāmukuta}-wearing Bodhisattvas and for Brahmā is attested by a number of carvings including reliefs showing the birth of Śākyamuni (Figs. 241, 797). Brahmā is also adorned with the single-looped \textit{jaṭāmukuta} in paradisiacal scenes such as that of the Marteau Collection stele and a Peshāwar Museum stele from Sahri-Bahlol (Figs. 276, 275).

In Greek art, looped and knotted fashions are worn by others in addition to Apollo, such as Aphrodite, Nike and Eros. The history of the square knot (the \textit{nodus Herculeus} or knot of Hercules) can be traced to the beginning of the archaic period in which long plaided tresses were bound around the head and secured using this knot at center front
for images of Zeus and Apollo. From its original modest dimensions, square-knot fashions evolved into luxuriantly full modes which continued to be used throughout the Roman period.

By the first half of the fifth century B.C., the square knot had developed into a more prominent visual element. One of the earliest examples of this form is found on the "Chatsworth" head of Apollo from the transitional or early classical period (Figs. 242, 858). However, the Apollo Belvedere is most frequently compared with Bodhisattva images in discussions centered on the formal similarities between Buddhist art of the northwest and Greek influenced conventions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The fuller arrangement on this image is widely known, possibly due to the fame of Apollo Belvedere, which is thought to be a Roman copy of a fourth century B.C. image (Figs. 243, 885). Along with the chignon fashion known from images of Apollo are high knotted fashions found on other Roman copies of Greek deities, such as the Captoline Aphrodite sculpted by the followers of Praxiteles between circa 320 and 280 B.C. (Figs. 244, 884). Eros is also sometimes shown with a square knot fashion as in a circa 50 B.C. copy of an original in the 360 B.C. style of Praxiteles (Figs. 245, 867-68). Additional examples from the period immediately followed the turn of the Christian era are rendered in the style associated with Asia Minor, such as the head of Aphrodite now in the Toledo Museum which displays a
large, wavy version of the arrangement spanning the full
distance across the top of the head (Fig. 246, 875).

As this brief review illustrates, in the Mediterra-
nean world, square-knot chignons were extremely popular
and considered appropriate for both male and female Greek
deities from classical through Roman times. Given the
developed systems for trade and communication, the promi-
nent position of Apollo in Greek culture and the general
popularity of looped fashions secured by a square-knot, it
is not surprising that versions of this fashion should have
reached the Indic northwest, or that a Roman period sculp-
ture showing this fashion should have been recovered in Gandhāra, as is the case with a terra-cotta relief image from Chārseda that appears to represent Apollo (Figs. 247, 771).

While most of the evidence associated with
Bodhisattva imagery suggests that the incorporation
of this style represents a new wave of influence from
the Mediterranean, there are also indications of a Bac-
trian association. In an unusual relief sculpture from
Gandhāra, square-knot chignons were used to adorn
the heads of the two women attending an infant (Figs.
248, 787). This relief is probably intended to represent the infant prince Siddhārtha cared for by his mother Queen Mahāmāyā and his aunt Mahāprajāpati. The rendering of the knotted arrangements, with their center partings and undulating tresses, recalls the fashions used for images such as the Captoline Aphrodite. At the same time, other
characteristics suggest the possibility of ties with the northern Bactrian region. In this relief, the female figures are shown wearing trumpet ended torques of the type recovered from the Greek, Saka and Parthian strata at Sirkap, and from a circa first century A.D. stratum at Dalverzine-tepe, an area that is now part of the modern state of Uzbekistan.82

Summary

As indicated by the examples selected from Greek and Greek influenced traditions in the West, a loop secured with the square knot was not restricted to images of Apollo but was widely used for many centuries to adorn the heads of various deities or personifications of qualities. In the Buddhist school in the northwest, a similar fashion was primarily employed as a jaṭāmukūṭa arrangement for Bodhisattvas. However, it was also used for images of Brahmā and occasionally for images of female deities derived from the Aphrodite type. While the single-looped jaṭāmukūṭa appears not to have been utilized during the first century A.D., it had become a very important distinguishing element by the mature period of production under the Kuśāṇas. The currency of this arrangement during the periods of Huviška through Vāsudeva I is firmly established by excavations at Shaikhān Ğherī. As this convention frequently occurs on images of Compassion-type Bodhisattvas in the paradisiacal reliefs and stelae, it may be considered a Mahāyāna mode. Further, it is probable that the independently carved images were sculpted at about the same time as the reliefs and stelae which incorporate similar figures. Thus, images adorned with this fashion offer support for dating.
### JAṬĀMUKUTA CONVENTION III: SINGLE-LOOPED STYLE

#### Summary of Detailed Evidence for the Single-Looped Jaṭāmukuta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>500 B.C.</th>
<th>Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant</th>
<th>Rome</th>
<th>Gandhāra, Unknown</th>
<th>Lariān Tangai</th>
<th>Chārsada/Shaikhān Dheri</th>
<th>Mardān</th>
<th>Sahri-Bahlol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.01</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the relief or image from which the tracing was made, see:

- .01 - Fig. 656
- .02 - Fig. 666
- .03 - Fig. 675
- .04 - Fig. 684
- .05 - Fig. 684
- .06 - Fig. 787
- .07 - Fig. 797
- .08 - Fig. 807
- .09 - Fig. 817
- .10 - Fig. 561
- .11 - Fig. 643
- .12 - Fig. 654
- .13 - Fig. 664
- .14 - Fig. 674
- .15 - Fig. 684
JĀṬĀMUKUṬA CONVENTION IV: KAPARDIN STYLE

The *kapardin jaṭāmukuta* is composed of long straight tresses that have been twisted and wrapped layer upon layer on the crown of the head. Of Indic derivation, the *kapardin* fashion was one of the earliest styles preferred for images of Brahmā (Fig. 259). In the more developed phases it is frequently found adorning the heads of ascetics in narrative reliefs which illustrate subjects selected from the *jātakas* and earthly life of Śākyamuni. However, it did not become an important fashion for images of Bodhisattvas. Only a few Bodhisattva images are adorned with a *kapardin jaṭāmukuta* and they all appear to have been sculpted during the second or third century A.D. Examples of Compassion-type Bodhisattvas adorned with this fashion are found in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Figs. 250, 734), and the Chandigarh Museum (Figs. 251, 735). Among these Bodhisattva images the only embellishing headdress element is the single strand of beads that encircles the base of the *jaṭāmukuta* on the image in the Chandigarh Museum.
### HAIR STYLES AND JAṬĀMUKUṬA CONVENTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HAIR STYLE</th>
<th>JAṬĀMUKUṬA I</th>
<th>JAṬĀMUKUṬA II</th>
<th>JAṬĀMUKUṬA III</th>
<th>JAṬĀMUKUṬA IV</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RONDURE</td>
<td>DOUBLE LOOP</td>
<td>SINGLE LOOP</td>
<td>KAPARDIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAIR STYLE I:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORMAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>INFORMAL</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATER STYLES</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAIR STYLE II:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLLED-BACK</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAIR STYLE III:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMBED-BACK</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Images with unusual characteristics are not included.

Fig. 252. Hair Styles and Jaṭāmukuta Conventions.
CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE JAṬĀMUḌAṬA

For the purposes of this study, jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva images have been organized into three major groups based on their distinguishing hair styles (Figs. 463-735). As the images of Bodhisattvas illustrate, the use of these three styles was integrated with four jaṭāmukuta fashions. Thus, each of the three hairstyle groups has been further organized into subgroups by jaṭāmukuta. Although this system facilitates the identification, examination and evaluation of stylistic and iconographic differences, there is little factual data available to explain the specific symbolic importance or the evolution of such distinctions.

The results of this section of the study, summarized in chart above (Fig. 252), illustrate that certain jaṭāmukuta fashions appear more frequently with some hair styles than with others. Defined by patterns of association within the greater context of the tradition, some of these characteristics are indicators of stylistic development and innovation while others suggest changes in ideology and doctrine. The charting of these stylistic patterns reveals both the rising importance of Maitreya Bodhisattva as a cult deity as well as the burgeoning of Mahāyāna imagery and systems during second and third centuries A.D. Further, the findings of this study allow for the following observations for each hair style and jaṭāmukuta convention.

Changes in the treatment of the ringlet style, Hair Style I, from a formally set, ordered fashion to a more naturalistic, loosely articulated style and, subsequently, to a more geometric hard-edged fashion, parallel the course of development for the tradition as a whole and, as such,
provides support for dating. Beginning no later than the first half of the first century A.D., the ringlet fashion was most frequently combined with the rondure jaṭāmukūṭa (Convention I) although it was also used with the double-looped jaṭāmukūṭa and single-looped jaṭāmukūṭa (Conventions II and III). As with the bun chignon, the double-looped jaṭāmukūṭa appears to have been employed from the first century A.D. while the single-looped jaṭāmukūṭa was added to the repertoire at some point during the second century A.D.

There are no examples of jaṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattvas adorned with the rolled-back style (Hair Style II) that can be securely dated to the Śaka, Parthian or early Kuśāṇa periods indicating that this fashion was added at the end of the first or during the second century A.D. Some of the finest images of the type are adorned with this rolled-back hair style, a style used primarily with the double-looped jaṭāmukūṭa although there are a few examples in which it was combined with the single-looped topknot as well as an isolated, late example of its occurrence with a rondure chignon.

Bodhisattva images that are adorned with the combed-back style (Hair Style III) seem to date to the mature period of production during the second half of the second or third century A.D. While some images are shown with rondure and double-looped jaṭāmukūṭas, the majority are articulated with the square-knot fashion. As many of the Bodhisattvas, positioned to the immediate right or left side of the central Buddha in the paradisiacal reliefs, seem to be adorned with a combed-back fashion and square-knot jaṭāmukūṭa, it is reasonable to suggest that this combination was evolved within the Mahāyāna tradition.
Other than complex distinctions in the treatment of the hair, the imagery is very conventionalized both stylistically and iconographically. With few exceptions, when the left hand is not broken away, jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattvas are shown carrying a kamaṇḍalu, which is usually taken to indicate that the image is Maitreya. Figures of jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattvas are generally shown standing or seated displaying abhaya mudrā and seated displaying abhaya, dhyāna and dharma-cakra mudrās. Isolated examples display namaskāra mudrā (Fig.571). A few are positioned on a lotus pericarp in padmāsana (Figs. 541, 568, 645) or seated on a throne in bhadrāsana (Figs.672).

The jewelry worn by jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattvas duplicates in detail the modes described for turbaned Bodhisattvas. The adorning hair nets and diadems, composed of strands of beads, presumably representing pearls, display a very limited repertoire of embellishing elements and emblems. Paralleling the ornamentation of turbans, some bead nets are enhanced with open-faced flowers, possibly the mandāravas, while others are ornamented with lotus-flower terminals. Some examples from the period of florescence display a faceted, tapering jewel, sometimes on a lotus dais, at the front of the chignon. At the same time, these headresses are noticeably lacking in the emblematic and programmatic plaque arrangements that characterize the turbans worn by Bodhisattvas of the mature Mahāyāna tradition. In addition to those ornaments and emblems mentioned above, only two others are commonly seen on jaṭāmukuta-wearing Bodhisattva headdresses, the lunar crescent and a three-pronged ornament of the type most commonly seen as a support for the triratna. A unique exception displays the upper body of a female emerging from the
center of a blossom. She holds in each hand a string of beads which
composes a section of the jewel net adorning the head of the Bodhisattva
(Figs. 507-11).

In what appears to be the earliest image of Maitreya, the Bodhisattva
is shown seated and displaying abhaya mudrā. The prototype for this
presentation is found in the hieratic relief images of similarly positioned
Buddhas from the late first century B.C. or first century A.D. It seems
probable that Maitreya’s imagery was developed in this way as a reflec-
tion of his position as regent of Tuṣṭita and the importance of his ascend-
ing cult in the northwest.83

Even though the information concerning the contexts for which the
individually carved figures were created remains abstracted, some in-
sight into iconographic programing and the utilization of individually carved
images as cult figures is provided by the monuments with their rows of
niches designed to hold images. Information is also provided by relief
scenes and stele, such as the relief from Shotorak articulated with a
frieze, probably representing a scene of Maitreya in Tuṣṭita, above the
primary scene of Śākyamuni attended by the Kaśyapas (Fig. 789). Of equal
interest is the hierarchically ordered carving, atypically focused on the
image of a Bodhisattva rather than that of a Buddha in the Matsuoka
Museum of Art. Again, this sculpture suggests the importance of the
Maitreya cult in the Indic northwest (Figs. 569-70).

Conventionalized by the second half of the second century A.D.,
paradisiacal relief scenes typically focus on an image of a Buddha seated
in padmāsana and displaying dharmacakra mudrā (Figs. 275-305). He is
attended at his immediate left and right sides by a turbaned Bodhisattva
and a *jaṭāmukuta*-wearing Bodhisattva. The fact that the larger figures duplicate, in considerable detail, both the stylistic and iconographic characteristics of the paradisiacal relief Bodhisattvas suggests the high probability that some of the larger, individually carved Bodhisattva images were actually sculpted as attendants of a Buddha. Iconographically, these scenes would have paralleled the paradisiacal scenes. It may be that a study of details for pairs of turbaned and *jaṭāmukuta*-wearing Bodhisattvas will reveal information for the reuniting of dispersed images.

Reliefs carvings and subscenes in paradisiacal reliefs and stelae, such as those owned by the Peshāwar Museum and the Naprstek Museum, showing *jaṭāmukuta*-wearing Bodhisattvas emanating non-Buddhist deities or Buddhas offers insight into possible Mahāyāna iconographies of the second or third century A.D. (Figs. 313, 314).

*Jaṭāmukuta*-wearing Bodhisattvas were clearly of primary significance to the Buddhists of Gandhāra and related regions, presumably holding a position second only to that of Śākyamuni. While the ascending cult of Maitreya Bodhisattva had achieved a prominent position in the northwest and many images were sculpted as representations of this deity, it is probable that other specific Bodhisattvas wearing *jaṭāmukutas* were represented as well. The images offer an important body of evidence for a more complete understanding of the development of Bodhisattva doctrines and the advanced state of Mahāyāna iconography by about the third century A.D.

This study of *jaṭāmukuta* conventions and their patterns of association with additional stylistic and iconographic characteristics provides
evidence for the identification of antecedents and for stylistic and iconographic evolution. It is apparent that the sculpting of āṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattva images progressed along an uninterrupted but complex course of development. Traditional Indic modes introduced and assimilated during the early phases of development for images of Śākyamuni, Brahmā and other ascetic types must have provided the basic conception from which this type of imagery evolved.

While formal and iconographic characteristics attest to a sustained relationship among the Buddhist communities in Bactro-Gandhāra and north-central India, it is apparent that western Asiatic styles were introduced into the artistic tradition of Bactro-Gandhāra at an early date. Ultimately, it is clear that the āṭāmukūṭa convention had a complex internal development in the Bactro-Gandhāran region.

NOTES

1 See Ch. III, pp. 109-111 above. It is not known if such prominent Bodhisattvas as Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara were consistently shown as turban-wearing or āṭāmukūṭa-wearing types. The Lehner relief evidences the articulation of Avalokiteśvara as a turbaned figure (Fig. 296). However, several relief carvings from the northwest show an image of a āṭāmukūṭa-wearing Bodhisattva emanating either non-Buddhist deities or Buddhas suggesting that Avalokiteśvara may have also been shown as āṭāmukūṭa-type Bodhisattva (Figs. 313, 314). Taddei has compared the details of the relief carvings to passages in the Lotus Sūtra which describe the abilities of Avalokiteśvara and Gadhadāsvara to reveal themselves in infinite forms (Maurizio Taddei, "Non-Buddhist Deities in Gandharan Art - Some New Evidence," In Investigating Indian Art. Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986, Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst, vol. 8, edited by Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo [Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1987], 349-354, figs. 1, 4, and 5.

3 From a very early period, the extra-social realm was the realm of esoteric knowledge (J. C. Hesterman, The Conundrum of the King’s Authority, in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, 2d ed., edited by J. F. Richards [Madison: University of Wisconsin Publication No. 3, 1981], 17, nn. 100, 101). References to asceticism are found in the *Rg Veda* but not as a dominate focus (Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, eds., *A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; reprint, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973], 27. Perhaps the earliest reference to the supernormal powers attained by ascetic practices is found in the hymn to *kṣins* (wears of long loose hair) in the *Rg Veda* (*Rg Veda*, x, 136, Griffith trans., as quoted by Radhakrishnan and Moore, *A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy*, 30, nn. 1-2).

As old traditions based on tribal organization were breaking up to give rise to new political divisions based on geography during the *Rg Vedic* period, an unsettled pessimistic outlook developed giving rise to an age of intellectual and spiritual ferment and the growth of asceticism. In the *Maitri Upaniṣad*, the apprehension of Brahman and union with the Atman is achieved through knowledge (vidyā), austerity (tapas), and meditation (cintā). See *Maitri Upaniṣad*, iv. 1, 3-4 as quoted by Radhakrishnan and Moore, *A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy*, 95. Further, chapter six of the *Bhagavad-gītā* focuses on phases of self development and union with the Supreme through yogic practices (*Bhagavad-gītā* ch. 6 as quoted by Radhakrishnan and Moore, *A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy*, 122-126.

Asceticism, clearly very important during the life of the Buddha, has continued to hold a position of importance in Buddhism. The devaluation of the temporal and the material was viewed as a means of salvation. To destroy the fetters of desire, hatred, lust and illusion, and thereby attain liberation from the suffering that the world imposes some measure of self-imposed asceticism was necessary.


8 In the *Mahābhārata*, Sīva is called kapardin several times; reference is made to Yakṣa Kapardin in Prabandha-cintāmanī (Tawney, trans., p. 20) as cited by Coomaraswamy, "Buddha’s cūḍā, 828-29.

9 Agrawala, *Pre-Kushāṇa Art*, 7f, fig. 1-3.

10 This fashion is identified by Agrawala with the opāsa of the *Rg Veda*, *Srivastava, Life in Sanchi Sculpture*, 29, n. 39, citing Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Indian Art: A History of Indian Art from the Earliest Times to the Third Century A.D.* (Varanasi, 1965), 1:24 according to the *Vedic Index*, l:124.


22. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence," 400. Also see Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, pls. 113, 117, 122 and compare the lions on the base of Sharma's pl. 117 with the dated image of a Bodhisattva from the northwest (Fig.516) and note 29 below.

24 Compare the hair bands occurring on Buddha images with Hellenistic hair bands (Figs. 863, 876, 877). The square knot motif was apparently popular at Sirkap as indicated by the pair of gold earrings recovered by Marshall (Figs. 759). Marshall also recovered the dies used for manufacturing jewelry and ornaments with this motif. See Sir John Marshall, *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila Under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934* (Reprint, Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), 2:582-584, 3:pl. 181, no. 194. A band with a square knot also occurs on the gilt bronze head of a Buddha from Khotan now in the National Museum, Tokyo (Fig. 925).

25 See Herbert Hoffmann and Patricia F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry From the Age of Alexander* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1965), Fig. 1-5. Worn with some type of high chignon, the diadems vary in length from about 38 to 45 cm.


29 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence," 400; see R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathūrā* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1984) pls. 113, 117, 122. Cf. the lions on the base of Sharma's pl. 117 with the dated image of the Gandhāran Bodhisattva discussed above on page 12 in this work.

30 The seat of this image is flanked by two lions, the heads of which project above the cushion on which the Buddha figure is seated. Mukherjee has noted that lions standing to the front can be found in the art from Mathūrā from the time of the sculpting of an image of a Buddha and one of Mahāvīra, both dated to the year 22 of the Kaniṣka era ( B. N. Mukherjee, "The Sixth Dated Icon of Gandhāra Art," paper read in his absence by John Huntington at the 17th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin (November, 1968) 1. Mukherjee refers to examples published in J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Date of Kaniska and Some Recently Published Images," in Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka: Submitted to the Conference on the Date of Kaniṣka, London, 20-22 April, 1960, edited by A. L. Basham, Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies, Oriental Monograph Series, vol. 4. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968) 128, pl. 2; Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 208, fig. 126.

31 This date is suggested by the comparison of findings from excavations at Damkot and Andān Dheri with those from Chatpat. See Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat," 65-102.

32 Cf. Figs. 755, 569, 574-75).
The single-looped jatāmukuta was used for images of Bodhisattvas by the periods of Vaisiku through Vāsudeva I. An image of a Bodhisattva with this type of chignon was recovered from the Vaisiku through Vāsudeva I level at Shaikhān Īberi (Fig. 715). See Jatāmukuta Convention III on pages 281-87 in this work.

During the Hellenistic period, various shaver length hair styles and high chignon fashions were popular in the Mediterranean, the Near East, Parthian Iran, the Scythic zones, and eastern Afghanistan as well as the northwest. They retained their popularity in Asia Minor and Syria until A.D. 150-180 and through the Sassanian period in Iran. See Malcolm A. R. Colledge, The Art of Palmyra (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 143, n. 531, and app. II. The coins of Pakore from ca. A.D. 100 show a high chignon on top of his head. For examples, see Michael Mitchiner, Oriental Coins and Their Values: The Ancient and Classical World, 600 B.C.-A.D. 650 (London: Hawkins Publications, 1978), 356. According to Colledge, it was during the first century B.C. that the Parthians developed a tripartite appearing fashion with a full mass of curls encircling the head at the sides and back. This fashion, complete with a rondure on the top of the head, was continued by the Sassanians (Colledge, The Art of Palmyra, 141).

For the manivākarā or manivakkalā, see J. J. Jones, trans., The Mahāvastu (London: Luzac and Company, Ltd., 1949, 1952), 2:420, n. 2. For diadem or rope (ekāvalikā), see Jones, Mahāvastu, 2:438, n. 1.

Jones, Mahāvastu, 2:437, n.3.

Jones, Mahāvastu, 2:437-40.

For information concerning the apsidal chapel complex at Sirkap, see Marshall, Taxila, 1:137, 150-55.


Ingholt has divided the sculture of Palmyra into three primary groups. For a discussion of the characteristics and dates for these groups, which are supported by inscriptions, see Harald Ingholt, Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1954), introduction.


Davison, Glory of Greece, 162.

Farnell, Cults, 4:338, n. a.

Donald Strong, Roman Art (Middlesex, New York, Victoria, Markham and Auckland: Penguin Books, 1976), 229, fig. 165.

As indicated above, Mizuno, who excavated the site during the years 1962 through 1967, concluded that Mekhasanda became active during the period of the Great Kusānas, probably around the middle of the second century A.D. (Seiichi Mizuno, *Mekhasanda: Buddhist Monastery in Pakistan Surveyed in 1962-1967* [Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1969] 89-96).


Many examples can be found on silver bowls, rhyta, coins issued in Bactria and Gandhāra, and emblematic pottery and brooches recovered from Taxila and elsewhere in Gandhāra.


Henig, *Roman Art*, 70.

The high quality of the bronze technique and modeling give the impression that the work is an original created by a Greek master. However, the base on which it stands marks it as an admirable copy (Farnell, *Cults*, 4:338).


Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*, 110, 203.

Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra*, 139.

Her right hand is held in the gesture of benediction, while in her left hand she holds a palm leaf of Victory. For information concerning this gesture, see Martha L. Carter, "Trifunctional Pharros" (Paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1985), 10. This gesture is identical to the Christian *benedictio latina*. In Gandhāra, it is the gesture of royal good fortune. See Martha L. Carter, "A Gandharan Blessing," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 1 (1987): 45-63.


This fashion was continued by such masters as Praxiteles and Skopas and other sculptors of the Hellenistic age as well as by later copyists.

Farnell, *Cults*, 4:342.

This image is said to be articulated in the spirit of Skopas. Bieber suggests that it may even be one of the latest works by Skopas (Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1961], 29, fig. 70). It is also attributed to Leochares (Davison, *Glory of Greece*, 155).

Farnell, *Cults*, 4:350. In its original state the hair style for this figure of Apollo appears to have combined a combed-back fashion and shoulder locks with a *korymbos*, probably secured with a square knot. This work is attributed to Timarchides of the neo-Attic school in Rome and is apparently based on an original by Praxiteles.

69 For a discussion of issues related to dating the reliquary from Bimarān, see Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 113-15, 629, n. 2, 630, n. 3-6.

70 Their hair arrangements and the draping of their shawls in this manner suggests the dissemination of early Indu-Gandhāran artistic conventions in a westerly direction during the Saka-Parthian period. John Huntington has repeatedly pointed out the importance of this early stylistic element. That this treatment is characteristic of relatively early examples is confirmed by archaeological excavations at Butkara I. The looped drapery on the left shoulder and flaring hemline of the dhoti, which are characteristic of some other early relief images from the northwest, also occur on the yakṣa figure from Patna (Fig. 799). See Lohuizen-de Leeuw, New Evidence, 397, fig. 4.

71 According to Colledge, the Parthians developed a high rondure style from the first century B.C. (Colledge, Art of Palmyra, 141). However, a number of relatively early images or fragments of images as well as engraved portraits on early coins show kingly and princely individuals without a prominent bun arrangement. In images of this type, the heads are diademmed and bear no indication of the Iranian topknot. At the same time, royal figures of the early Parthian period were frequently depicted wearing a high, bead-incrusted cap without any indication as to how the hair was secured.

72 Cf. the hair bands of Figs. 466, 740, 742, 863, 876, 877.

73 In small reliefs, which are less detailed, it is often difficult to be sure what style of knot was intended.

74 Prior to its recent sale at auction, this piece had been part of the Manheim collection that was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum in New York from 1968 through 1985. In the northwest Vajrapāni is generally shown wearing the short tunic of a eunuch or attendant to a Greek warrior.

75 For the early development of the korymbos, see Farnell, Cults, 4:349-50.

76 Thought to have been created at the end of the fourth century B.C., the face and hair of this image are suggestive of the work of Praxiteles and of a period when sculptors focused their concerns toward the capturing of expressions of reflectiveness and intellect. See Cornelius C. Vermeule and Mary B. Comstock, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art: The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1972), 138; Farnell, Cults, 4:349-50.


78 In attributing certain chignon styles used for Bodhisattva images to fashions used for Apollo and Aphrodite, Hallade was more precise than many of the earlier researchers (Madeleine Hallade, Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia, translated by Diane Imber (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968) 89-90.

79 Although there is not enough evidence to allow for the identification of the direct source of the single-looped fashion, the spanning of the full distance across the head is reminiscent of the Roman period examples sculpted in the style of Asia Minor.
80 For evidence that suggests this treatment represents a relatively late development, see above pages 281-82 in this chapter, and Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat," 65-102, esp. 74-91.


83 For a discussion of the cult of Maitreya in the northwest, see Yu-Min Lee, "The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China" (Ph. D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1983), 187-229; Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 230-235.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The Buddhist stupas and monasteries, finding no champion in the land of their origin, are denuded of their treasures and today they stand naked with little to throw light on the evolution of the Gandhara art. The craze for the Gandhara sculptures [which began in late 19th century] has not abated yet, and this over-enthusiasm on the part of scholars has robbed the real basis for the proper study of this art.

—Ahmad Hasan Dani
"Timargarha and Gandhara Grave Culture"

Over the years, historians, archaeologists, and religious scholars have written prolifically on the origins and development of Bactro-Gandhāran Buddhist art. While understandable, it is unfortunate that the views presented have been based largely on the study of isolated reliefs and sculptures or a reworking of old ideas and familiar arguments. Although much has been learned from recent scientific excavations undertaken by institutions, such as the University of Peshāwar and the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO), there remains an enormous body of sculptures removed from their original locations by early archaeologists and treasure seekers for which there are only incomplete records or no records at all. Problems caused by this lack of information together with the dispersal of the art to museums and private collections throughout the world have greatly hampered the efforts of
those working with this material. Although studied for more than a century, increased definition is still required in order to fully understand and appreciate the artistic merits of the school and the complex interchange of influences from which the art and beliefs evolved.

Relying heavily on detailed analyses of the sculptures, this work is primarily devoted to two foci: the first deals with the stylistic and iconographic development of Bodhisattva headdresses and hair styles while the second focuses on the vexing questions related to chronology. For Bodhisattva images, headdress and hair styles are the primary distinguishing iconographic features. Not only do the finely detailed, ornate features offer opportunities to chart iconographic elaboration and codification, they also provide, through their consistent presence, one of the few possible means for indexing the succession of styles.

This research and the resulting conclusions, in addition to demonstrating these general tendencies in the evolution of image types, give significant new definition to the school's foundations in Indic culture and the assimilation of characteristics emanating from the Mediterranean and western Asiatic cultural spheres. Further, the artistic evidence, organized and presented in this study, provides overwhelming support for a continuous, relative chronological pattern of development for the tradition in stone, a tradition which began to gather force during the second half of the first century B.C., reached its apogee during the second and third centuries A.D., and continued through the fourth or fifth centuries A.D. The findings of this study
also reveal the advanced state of the Mahāyāna iconographic vocabulary in these regions by the second or third century A.D.

While any understanding of the history of the Buddhist school in Bactro-Gandhāra is limited by the issues related to dating and to the fact that there are so few literary, epigraphic, and programmatic references, there is sufficient evidence provided by this work through detailed, stylistic analyses of imagery, iconographic advancements, and archaeological associations to structure a general outline of the evolutionary phases of the tradition in stone. This study demonstrates that there is a stylistic continuum into which Bodhisattva images may be placed through careful analysis of their headdresses, hair styles, and the related elaboration of these elements. This stylistic continuum, an unbroken line of development, is supported through archaeological associations such as the distribution of coins, changes in construction methods and in the type of stone used, and recent recoveries from excavations of stratified sites, all of which have provided a wealth of supporting information for defining the succession of styles and the associated iconographic innovations.

A high percentage of the known major images of Bodhisattvas and hieratic reliefs, which include images of Bodhisattvas, are represented in the photographic appendices to this dissertation. This expansive body of images and reliefs holds answers not only to a greater understanding of the history of Buddhism in Bactro-Gandhāra but also offers new insight into some of the difficult problems of antecedent forms and the force of influences emanating from societies beyond the
Indic cultural sphere. The publishing of the photographic collection is, in itself, a significant contribution to this discipline, opening up a wide range of new prospects for research and comprehension.

While the specific circumstances of the creation of these Bodhisattva images and their use will remain unknown with many related issues unresolved, these magnificent sculptures reflect not only an internal creative force but a complex interchange of influences from which the Buddhist artistic tradition in the Indic northwest evolved. These images provide a lasting record of a period when changes in Buddhism were to permanently alter the course of the religion through the emergence of Mahāyāna doctrines, doctrines which laid the foundations of Buddhism as a world religion and provided a legacy that has lasted to the present. The information recorded in the stone sculptures from the Indic northwest is of inestimable value, offering clear evidence of the development of Paradise Cult Buddhism and the devayoga system by no later than the third century A.D. Further, the images provide a wealth of opportunities for reflection on the religious achievements of the Buddhist communities, their devout faith, the power of the saṃgha, and the artistic vision of those responsible for the creation of these sculptures together with an understanding of the broadly based and highly structured organizations that must have incorporated large lay communities. The underlying concepts to which these Buddhist sculptures refer, the highly sophisticated, idealized style as well as superb technical qualities exhibited by some examples, place a number of
these images among the most important and impressive of man's creative efforts leaving an enduring legacy across the centuries.
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BÖDHISATTVA HEADDRESSES AND HAIR STYLES
IN THE BUDDHIST ART OF GANDHÄRA AND RELATED REGIONS OF SWÄT
AND AFGHANISTAN

IN THREE VOLUMES

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ISMOI Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente

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APPENDIX A

EARLY RELIEF CARVINGS FROM BACTRO-GANDHĀRA
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APPENDIX B

PARADISIACAL RELIEF CARVINGS FROM BACTRO-GANDHĀRA
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APPENDIX C

BODHISATTVA IMAGES ADORNED WITH TURBANS
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TURBAN STYLE VII: JEWEL AND PLAQUE ORNAMENTED

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APPENDIX D

BODHISATTVA IMAGES ADORNED WITH SHOULDER LENGTH HAIR STYLES AND JAṬĀMUḤṬA
HAIR STYLE I: THE RINGLET STYLE

The Formal Ringlet Style
HAIR STYLE I: THE RINGLET STYLE

The Formal Ringlet Style with Looped-Back Jaṭāmukuta
HAIR STYLE i: THE RINGLET STYLE

The Formal Ringlet Style with Double-Looped Jatāmukuta
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HAIR STYLE 1: THE RINGLET STYLE

The Informal Ringlet Style
HAIR STYLE 1: THE RINGLET STYLE

The Informal Ringlet Style with Rondure Jaṭāmukuṭa
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HAIR STYLE I: THE RINGLET STYLE

The Informal Ringlet Style with Double-Looped Jatāmukūṭa
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HAIR STYLE 1: THE RINGLET STYLE

The informal Ringlet Style with Single-Looped Jaṭāmukūṭa
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HAIR STYLE I: THE RINGLET STYLE

Later Ringlet Fashion
HAIR STYLE I: THE RINGLET STYLE

Later Ringlet Fashion with Rondure Jaṭāmukūṭa
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BODHISATTVA IMAGERY IN THE BUDDHIST ART OF GANDHĀRA
AND RELATED REGIONS OF SWĀT AND AFGHANISTAN
IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME III

DISSERTATION

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HAIR STYLE III: THE COMBED-BACK STYLE
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HAIR STYLE III: THE COMBED-BACK STYLE

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Fig. 863. S. VIII:010. Diadem. Eastern Greek. Fourth or third century B.C. Gold, garnet, and enamel. L: 38.6 cm.; central oval L: 2.3 cm. German private collection. Photo: Manias from Hoffmann and Davidson, Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander, fig. 4.
Fig. 864. S. VIII:011. Necklace closure statuette in the form of Eros on an openwork base. Erotes Tomb, Eretria. Late third or second century B.C. Gold. H: 1.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 98.794. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston from Hoffmann and Davidson, Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander, fig. 50c.
Fig. 867. S. VIII:014. Figure of Eros with hair fashioned into a square knot. Sculpted in the 360 B.C. style of Praxiteles. Effaced. Levant. Copy, after circa 50 B.C. Greek island marble. H: 63 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photo: Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, fig. 36.
Fig. 868. S. VIII:014. Detail of image in Fig. 867. Photo: Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, fig. 36.
Fig. 871. S. VIII:016. Detail, after Fig. 870.
Fig. 874. S. VIII:019. Earring with foreparts of a Lynx. Asia Minor. Circa second century B.C. Gold, emerald and oxyx. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Photo: Ogden from Ogden, Jewellery of the Ancient World, color pl. 29, top left.
Fig. 875. S. VIII:020. Head of Aphrodite or Venus articulated with the knot of Hercules style chignon. Asia Minor. Roman period. Marble. H: 41.6 cm. Toledo Museum, Ohio, no. 76.21. Photo: Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, fig. 286.
SOUTHERN RUSSIA
Fig. 876. S. VIII:021. Diadem. Artjukhov's Barrow, Tomb I, Taman, South Russia. Circa third or second century B.C. Gold, enamel, and carnelians. L: approx. 42 cm. Hermitage, no. Art I. Photo: Hermitage from Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, fig.1f.
Fig. 877. S. VIII:022. Diadem, Figural elements added by Hellenized Scythian goldsmith. Kerch, South Russia. First half of third century B.C. Gold and garnet. L: 44 cm. Antikensammlungen, Munich, no. SL 589. Photo: Krüger-Moessner from Hoffmann and Davidson, Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander, fig. 1a.
Fig. 878. S. VIII:023. Section of a collar necklace. Ryzhanovka, probably manufactured in Panticapaeum north of the Black Sea in South Russia. Gold. Circa end of second century B.C. Photo: imperial Archaeological Commission after Bobrinskoj from Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 74.
ITALY
Fig. 891. S. VIII:036. Head of Septimius Severus from a figure based on the Serapis portrait type. Circa 200-210 A.D. Bronze. Musées Royaux, Brussels. Photo: Strong, Roman Art, fig. 165.
EGYPT
ARABIA
IRAQ
Fig. 899. S. VIII:044. Coin of Attambelos III with his image on the obverse. Wears hair in ringlets, the formal Characene style, and a diadem. Characene. Fl. circa 53-72 A.D. Billon. Tetradrachm (ca. 15 gm.). Michael Mitchner collection. Photo: Mitchiner from Mitchiner, The Ancient & Classical World, fig. 729.
SYRIA
Fig. 901. S. VIII:046. Coin with images of Cleopatra Thea and her son Antiochus VIII Grypus. Syria. Circa 125-121 B.C. Photo: Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. 1, pl. 9, 5.
Fig. 904. S. VIII:049. Head of relief image assumed to be Tyche or Gad, the guardian spirit of Palmyra. Palmyra. Circa 100 A.D. Stone. H: 37 cm. Palmyra Museum. Photo: Institut français d'archéologie, Beirut from Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra*, fig. 8.
Fig. 906. S. VIII:051. Palmyra. Square facing the theatre with view of the Great Colonade. View from the south. Second century A.D. Photo: Michalowski, Palmyra, fig. 33.
Fig. 907. S. VIII:051. Detail, after Fig. 906.
Fig. 908. S. VIII:052. Temple of Baalshamin, Palmyra. The Pillars of the pronaos of the temple bear consoles on which statues were set up. Built by Male, son of Jarhai in 130 A.D. Photo: Klengel, *The Art of Ancient Syria*, p. 140, top right.
Fig. 910. S. VIII:054. Votive relief showing the Gad or patron goddess of Palmyra crowned by Victory. Dedicated by the priest Malku. Dura. 159 A.D. Stone. H: 48.26 cm. Yale University Art Gallery. Photo: Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture*, fig. 17.
IRAN
Fig. 911. S. VIII:055. Three rhyta with protomes of winged lions and torso and head of female divinity, perhaps Aphrodite. Square hall, Nisa. Circa second century B.C. Ivory. H: ca. 50.8 cm. Museum of Tashkent, Moscow or Leningrad. Photo: Union Soviéétique, December 1954 from Ghirshman, Persian Art, fig. 41.
AFGHANISTAN
Fig. 915. S. VIII:058. Detail, after Fig. 914.

Fig. 916. S. VIII:058. Detail of reliquary in Fig. 914. Photo: Khan, Inception of Gandhāra Sculpture, fig. 4.
Fig. 918. S. VIII:060. Figure of Hercules-Serapis. Third century B.C. style of Alexandria. Bagram. Late Hellenistic, before 150 A.D. Bronze. H: 24.5 cm. Kabul Museum, no. 57.34. Photo: Rowland, *The Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, pl. 7.
Fig. 919. S. VIII:061. Section of architectural frieze with garland carried by an Erotes. Surkh Kotal. Second century A.D. Limestone. H: ca. 1 m. Kabul Museum. Photo: Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, Colledge, The Parthian Period, pl. 42, b.
UZBEKISTAN
Fig. 920. S. VIII:062. Hellenistic influenced garland-motive frieze. Central niche, palace at Khalchayan near present day Denau, Uzbekistan. Circa first century B.C. Yellowish clay with mineral dyes. Photo: Pugachenkova, Skulptura Kalchaiana, p. 158, fig. 45 no.4.
Fig. 922. S. VIII:064 Bust of a female lute-player; wears a rolled-back coiffeur. Palace at Khalchayan, central niche. Circa first century B.C. Compact yellow clay over reed armature; top layer moulded and stained with mineral dyes. Photo: Pugachenkova, Iskusstvo Baktrii: Epokhi Kushan, fig. 142.
CENTRAL ASIA
NEPAL