THE ICONOGRAPHY OF BUDDHIST SCULPTURES OF THE
PĀLĀ AND SENA PERIODS FROM BODHGAYĀ
VOLUME I
DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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By

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* * * *

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### ABBREVIATIONS

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>ASR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India. Reports.</td>
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<td>BEFEO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.</td>
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<td>EI</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica.</td>
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<td>HJAS</td>
<td>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.</td>
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<td>HR</td>
<td>History of Religions.</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary.</td>
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<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly.</td>
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<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique.</td>
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<td>JAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society [Bengal].</td>
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<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
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JRAS    Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
MASI    Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
RHR     Revue de l'histoire des religions.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Bodhgayā

There are many important Buddhist sites located in Magadha, the ancient homeland of Buddhism which is now contained in the Indian state of Bihar (Figure 1). But among all of them, the site now known as Bodhgayā has received particular attention over the centuries as the place where Gautama Siddhārtha attained enlightenment and became the Buddha Śākyamuni. The Chinese pilgrim Faxian, who visited India in the fourth century A.D., described Bodhgayā as the place where all past Buddhas obtained perfect wisdom and where all future Buddhas must go in order to obtain perfect wisdom. Xuanzang, the famous seventh century Chinese pilgrim, emphasized the special sanctity of Bodhgayā, explaining that it was the place of the vajrāsana, where the thousand Buddhas of this bhadrakalpa sat and had entered into vajra samādhi. He noted that the vajrāsana, located beneath the bodhi tree, is also called the bodhimanda.
Buddhist texts frequently mention the unique nature of the site. For example, in the *Buddhacarita*, Aśvaghosa describes Bodhgayā as the navel of the earth, the only spot that could bear the profound meditations of enlightenment. Other sources such as the *Kālinga-bodhi Jātaka*, reveal a similar viewpoint. This *jātaka* describes the miraculous planting of a seed from the *bodhi* tree of Bodhgayā at another site, but when the Buddha was asked to repeat the meditations he performed at Bodhgayā, he replied that it was impossible because no other site could support such meditations.

Of major importance at Bodhgaya is the *pīppala* or aśvattha (*ficus religiosa*) tree. Each Buddha is believed to have obtained enlightenment beneath a particular species of tree, and Śākyamuni's *bodhi* tree is the *pīppala*. The present tree at Bodhgayā (Figure 2) dates from the late nineteenth century, but it is believed to be a descendent of the one beneath which Śākyamuni sat. At this spot he met the challenge of Māra, the god of death and desire, who tried to prevent his enlightenment. The attack of Māra and Śākyamuni's victory over Māra, extensively described in many textual versions of the life of the Buddha,
are important aspects of the meaning of the site. After he had conquered Māra, Sākyamuni spent the night beneath the bodhi tree, passing through various stages of meditation. At dawn he achieved enlightenment and became a Buddha.\textsuperscript{12}

The bodhi tree and the spot beneath it, the bodhimanda, the seat of enlightenment, may have been a significant center of worship by the third century B.C. This is suggested by the fact that Aśoka, the great Buddhist king of the Maurya dynasty, recorded his pilgrimage to Bodhgāyā at that time.\textsuperscript{13} Aśoka is traditionally credited with erecting a temple to enclose the tree, a tale recounted in a number of sources.\textsuperscript{14} The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta states that the Buddha himself encouraged pilgrimage to Bodhgāyā and other sacred sites associated with his life and also encouraged the donation of objects at such sites.\textsuperscript{15} Some surviving early Buddhist images depict the worship of pippala trees which might represent such practice at Bodhgāyā. A famous example is the inscribed early first century B.C. relief from Bharhut which presents a building encircling a pippala tree (Figure 3), and there are reliefs at Bodhgāyā dating from about the same time which depict this theme but
in a less elaborate manner (Figure 4).¹⁶

Exhortation to pay homage at the sacred sites of Buddhism did not go unheeded. Structural remains and many Buddhist images, which date from different periods, document a long history of such religious activity at Bodhgaya. By the time of Xuanzang's visit to Bodhgaya in the seventh century, it had become a flourishing center of Buddhism, which he described in the following manner:

Here there are stūpas, in another place vihāras. The kings, the princes, and other great personages throughout all Jambudvīpa who have accepted the bequeathed teachings as handed down to them, have erected these monuments as memorials.¹⁷

Today, Bodhgaya is dominated by the Mahābodhi temple located within a large compound (Figure 5). The bodhi tree is located behind the temple, on the west side. Xuanzang described the presence of a temple at Bodhgaya which was very similar to this one, and it is generally thought that the basic form of the present Mahābodhi temple existed by the time of Xuanzang's visit in the seventh century.¹⁸ Many other structures also once stood at the site, some of which are indicated on a map drawn in the nineteenth century (Figure 6).¹⁹ And even today, despite nineteenth century restorations and more recent renovations,
traces of many old structures as well as numerous sculptures can still be found in the compound and the surrounding area. Some of these remains may have marked other special spots at Bodhgaya including the places where Sākyamuni reputedly spent either four or seven weeks after his enlightenment.20

Purpose of This Study

This study examines the iconography of the Buddhist sculptures from Bodhgaya made during the period of the Pāla and Sena dynasties which ruled much of eastern South Asia from the eighth through the twelfth centuries. The area ruled by the Pāla and Sena dynasties is now contained in the Indian states of Bihar and West Bengal and the nation of Bangladesh, but eastern India will be used in my study to designate the region.

Since the nineteenth century, most scholarly work on the art of Bodhgaya has concentrated either on tracing the development of the Mahābodhi temple or on the early remains—artifacts dating from the Gupta period or earlier.21 This early material includes
only a small number of sculptures in addition to architectural fragments.\textsuperscript{22} The bulk of the sculptural material surviving from Bodhgaya, however, is actually post-Gupta in date and mostly belongs to the period of the Pāla and Sena dynasties.

While the art of the Pāla and Sena periods, including the works from Bodhgaya, has been examined recently from the stylistic point of view by Susan Huntington,\textsuperscript{23} the iconography of these sculptures has not been thoroughly studied. Although some of the Pāla-Sena period material includes architectural fragments, the majority of surviving works are sculptural images of Buddhas and other Buddhist deities as well as Brahmanical deities, votive stūpas and small votive plaques and are thus highly suitable for a thorough iconographic investigation.

Since Buddhist images are created in the context of particular practices, the detailed study of art from specific centers active during the Pāla and Sena periods can help to clarify the history of Buddhism at this time, which is only partially documented by other surviving evidence. Since this was the last major era of Buddhist practice in eastern India,\textsuperscript{24} a study of the iconography of late images from Bodhgaya will thus
help to shed some light on an important period of Buddhist practice.

The approach taken in this study differs somewhat from other iconographical studies of the art from eastern India by its focus on the art of a single site. Iconographical studies of eastern Indian Buddhist art have often dealt with determining the identities of the deities depicted and uncovering the meaning of different forms, but generally have not focused on the development of iconography at specific Buddhist centers. Useful iconographical studies which include investigations of eastern Indian Buddhist art may be seen in the publications of Alfred Foucher and Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. An example of a work which does consider the development of a deity's form is Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann's illuminating study of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Her work, however, does not focus on one region in India, but traces the general development of this bodhisattva throughout India. Mireille Bénisti has examined the iconography of the votive stūpas from Bodhgaya, but did not consider the other sculptural works surviving from the site. While such studies contain valuable information concerning the iconography of Buddhist art
from eastern India, more specific analysis of the development of various forms at different sites still remains to be done.

The approach taken in this study of Buddhist iconography of the Pāla and Sena periods at Bodhgyāā develops from the work of Susan Huntington, who has demonstrated that the stylistic evolution of eastern Indian sculpture can be traced in terms of both region and chronology. Huntington's examination of regional idioms against the broader confines of eastern Indian stylistic developments reveals many local distinctions in the images. The existence of such local idioms in styles suggests that consideration of regional distinctions in iconographical developments would also be fruitful. In order to ascertain the connections and the distinctions in the images found at various sites in eastern India, a detailed analysis of the remains at each site must be made. Thus, this examination of the iconography of Pāla-Sena period sculptures from Bodhgayā is one step towards a more precise understanding of the art of the different Buddhist centers in eastern India.
My decision to concentrate on the art of Bodhgaya is based on the site's importance as a pilgrimage center in addition to the ample remains which indicate that it was an active artistic center in the Pāla and Sena periods. While there were other sites of Buddhist pilgrimage in India, it may be argued that Bodhgaya enjoyed particular importance as it was regarded as the center or source of Buddhahood.29 Certainly, the view that it was the only place which could bear the profound meditations of enlightenment is an important indication of the special nature assigned to the site.

Although there are myriad reasons given for their fame, places of pilgrimage in India may be generally regarded as points of contact between the earthly realm and the divine realm.30 Works of art created for such places may be intended to serve as the visible connectors between the mundane and supermundane realms, giving concrete form and focus to a sacred area. Marking the sanctity of the place, the images also become invested with greater sanctity by their location. The significance of Bodhgaya as a pilgrimage site must have affected the creation of the images to be used there.31 Thus, the sculptures from
Bodhgaya merit attention as records of the visual expressions appropriate for this important place.

The conceptual significance of particular sacred sites could also influence images produced elsewhere. And indeed, Bodhgaya or the concept of Bodhgaya was of major importance for the Buddhist art of the Pāla and Sena periods. For example, the image of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, the gesture which designates the triumph over Mara and the elimination of all obstacles to enlightenment, became the most common form for a Buddha image in this period. 32 While it is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for the increased popularity of this form and the exact place and period of its origination, a study of such sculptures at Bodhgaya is one step towards understanding the phenomenon.

Methodology

My investigation of Bodhgaya imagery is based upon the large corpus of works preserved at the site and those known to be from Bodhgaya but now in various museums. The known material from Bodhgaya dating from the Pala and Sena periods includes more than two
hundred sculptures of Buddhas and other Buddhist deities. In terms of quantity, this material is comparable to that found at other major sites in eastern India, such as Nālandā, a site famous as a center of Buddhist teaching. And, based on the observations of Alexander Cunningham in the nineteenth century, it seems likely that even more images have survived from Bodhgaya than are presently known.

I have studied the Bodhgaya sculptures on both a first-hand basis and by utilizing a large archive of photographs compiled and edited by Susan Huntington, for which I served as archivist. This archive presents a near comprehensive treatment of the known sculptures from major centers as well as from many smaller sites in eastern India. The archive contains photographs of images still in situ and those now in museum collections in India as well as in Europe and the United States. Thus, it was a valuable resource and particularly important for providing comparative material from other sites in eastern India.

The Bodhgaya images of the Pāla-Sena period constitute the primary material of my study and are thus given priority. While few bear dates they can be placed into a chronological framework and assigned at
least approximate dates on the basis of stylistic comparison to securely dated works identified by Susan Huntington. In addition to the sculptures, other data are utilized, such as surviving inscriptions, pilgrim records, information in Buddhist texts, and reports from nineteenth-century explorations and renovations of the site, all of which prove especially useful in shedding some light on the religious practices responsible for the meaning of the imagery found at Bodhgaya. A brief overview of the surviving evidence of patronage and religious activity at the site prior to and during the Pāla and Sena periods will be given before commencing the discussion of the Pāla-Sena period sculptures in order to establish the general context at Bodhgaya in which sculptures were created and used.

This study discusses the sculptures in groups according to broad types, that is Buddha images, other male images, and female images. The various forms and their developments are examined in order to define the general patterns of artistic expression of the Buddhist concepts which are manifested in the surviving works. Although not every known sculpture will be discussed, both frequent forms and unusual ones are considered.
The first group examined is Buddha images. By their size and quantity, sculptures of Buddhas are clearly the most important found at the site. However, other forms—Bodhisattvas and other male deities, and female deities—are not uncommon and are thus essential works to consider. Iconographical developments among these groups can be ascertained once the images are placed into a chronological framework.

Several factors, however, impede iconographical investigation of the sculptures from Bodhgaya and prevent a total understanding of the art at this site. The lack of major excavation at Bodhgaya is a serious drawback. Only limited archaeological investigation—primarily done in the nineteenth century—has occurred. Undoubtedly, much remains to be uncovered at the site. Most likely, the known material does not represent all aspects of artistic production at Bodhgaya. In this context, it is particularly interesting that, so far, no metal images have been identified from the site. Based on the popularity of metal images during the Pāla and Sena periods, it may be inferred that metal works were probably in use at Bodhgaya. Xuanzang, in the seventh century, reported seeing several large metal images there.
addition, an inscription on the coping of the railing around the temple, dating from the sixth or seventh century on the basis of paleography, provides, among other things, for lamps of ghee to be burned before the brass image of the Lord Buddha in the vihāra. The absence of surviving metal imagery at Bodhgaya contrasts with what is known about metal imagery at other important Buddhist sites such as Nālandā, which, however, has been more thoroughly and scientifically excavated.

A study of Bodhgaya images is also hampered by recent renovations. Often, Indian sculptures are not substantially altered after the time of their creation. But the recent renovation work at Bodhgaya, largely undertaken by the Tibetans in the 1970s, has altered the original form of many works. Fragments of votive stūpas or images have been cemented together to produce new creations, such as that illustrated in Figure 7. Other works have been refurbished with new parts, a number of which (such as halos and throne backs) have been mass produced and then integrated with older, original fragments. These practices limit the ability to discern some of the original characteristics of the extant images.
Issues concerning iconographical programs for the separate sculptures also cannot be fully addressed due to the lack of knowledge about the original location of most works. Those images still at the site are likely to have been moved during nineteenth-century exploration and restoration activity or the more recent reconstructions made in the 1970s, as well as, perhaps, in ancient times. Further, those images now in museum collections generally did not have their exact findspots recorded. And, since it seems that a number of sculptures removed from the site may not have had any record of their provenance retained, a complete survey of the images from Bodhgaya is virtually impossible.

Although the accuracy of the provenance of the pieces discussed in this study has been considered, in every case it cannot be determined whether a sculpture was originally located at Bodhgaya or moved there from another location. Thus, the evidence presented by works even still at the site cannot be taken as conclusive.

Despite the difficulties created by incomplete excavation of the site, disruptive and misleading renovation work and fragmentary historical
documentation, certain aspects emerge to mark the images found at Bodhgayā. While these sculptures share features of content with art works from other sites, some elements, which seem unique, may testify to distinctions in Buddhist practice there. In particular, as others have noted, the site is dominated by sculptures of Buddhas which may be seen to align themselves with the meaning of the site as the place where one obtains Buddhahood. Other characteristics, such as the existence of a number of large-sized sculptures, particularly Buddha images, seem to distinguish the art of Bodhgayā, although any conclusions drawn from the phenomenon of the accidental survival of images must be considered tentative.

It is also interesting that relatively few really small sculptures have so far been identified as being from Bodhgayā; the majority of known images from the site are eighty centimeters or more in height. Small images certainly had different functions, but more likely served as objects for personal practice than as main images inside temple shrines. Larger stone sculptures may have been placed in a variety of locations to embellish religious structures, record
pious offerings and serve as central images inside temples, but were less likely used for private, personal practice. The function of imagery, in part indicated by size, may have had some influence on content. Such factors are considered in this analysis of art from Bodhgaya in order to yield a more complete picture of the iconographical concerns at the site.

The patterns of iconographical development uncovered in this study help to define the course of artistic production at Bodhgaya and clarify the significance of the site during the Pāla and Sena periods. These results permit a fuller understanding of the position of Bodhgaya in relation to other Buddhist centers during this important time in eastern India.45
FOOTNOTES

1The region of Magadha is defined as the area south of the Ganges River in Bihar, now contained in the districts of Patna, Nalanda, Gaya, Nawada, Aurangabad, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. See D.R. Patil, The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1963) for a listing of the many Buddhist locations in this region.

2For a recent history of the site, see Dipak K. Barua, Buddha Gayā Temple—Its History (Buddha Gayā Temple Management Committee, 1975). John C. Huntington ("Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part I," Orientations [November 1985], 46-48, 54-61) discusses the importance of Bodhgayā as a pilgrimage site. For discussion of the other names used for the site, including Mahābodhi and Vajrāsana, see Patil, Antiquarian Remains in Bihar, 59-60.


5Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 114, 116. Xuanzang also notes that the Buddha was directed to the site while he was at Pragbodhi mountain by a deva who said: "This is not the place for a Tathāgata to perfect supreme wisdom. From this southwest 14 or 15 li, not far from the place of penance, there is a pīppala tree under which is a vajrāsana. All the past Buddhas seated on this throne have obtained true enlightenment, and so will those yet to come. Pray, then, proceed to that spot."


Ibid. 4:144.


Patil, The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar, 60. Cunningham (Mahābodhi, 30) notes that the tree was almost dead when he first visited the site in 1862; and on his visit in 1876 to the site, a young sapling had replaced the older tree.


For an example of an account of the events of this night, see Cowell, The Buddhacarita, 148-152. And for an account within tantric schools of thought, see F.D. Lessing and A. Wayman, Introduction to the Buddhist...

13 For discussion of Asoka's visit to Bodhgaya mentioned in his eighth rock inscription, see Romila Thapar, Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 166. Thapar notes that this inscription indicates that this visit began a series of dhammayāta tours for furthering the dharma by Asoka.

14 See, for example, Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 18. For a general discussion of Asoka's activities, see John S. Strong, The Legend of King Asoka: A Study and Translation of the Asokavadana (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1933).


16 Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, (La Sculpture de Bharhut, Annales du Musee Guimet Bibliothèque, n.s. VI [Paris: Vancost, 1956], 43, plate VIII) discusses the Bharhut relief which is inscribed: "Bhāgavato Sāka Munino Bodhi." There are other reliefs from Bhārhat which are inscribed with the names of other Buddhas and depict other bodhi trees. For discussion of the early reliefs from Bodhgaya, see Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bodhgaya, Ars Asiatica, vol. XVIII (Paris: Editions d'art et d'histoire, 1935).

17 Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 115.


19 The map is taken from Cunningham (Mahābodhi, plate XVIII), who outlines the finds made during the nineteenth century restoration activities. For valuable descriptions and drawings of images and the environs of the temple before restoration work began in 1880 by J.D. Beglar, see Rajendra-lala Mitra, "On the Ruins of Buddha Gayā, JASB, XXXIII (1864), 173-187, and Rajendra-lala

20Barua (Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, 1: 126-128) discusses the sites in the immediate vicinity listed by various Buddhist texts as places where Sākyamuni spent either four or seven weeks after his enlightenment. He notes that the Nidānakathā and the Lalitavistara list seven sites for seven weeks, while other texts, such as the Mahāvagga, list only four. Huntington ("Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, Part I," 55,59) also discusses these sites. For descriptions by Faxian and Xuanzang of other places where Sākyamuni spent time after his enlightenment and other sacred spots in the surrounding area, see Legge, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, 67-90, and Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, 2:114-131. The location of some of these are known. For instance, Bakraur, less than a mile northeast of Bodhgaya, has been recently identified as the spot where Sujātā offered food to the Buddha before his enlightenment. For discussion of this place, see K.M. Srivastava, "The Place of Buddha's Sujātā Discovered," Journal of the Bihar Puravid Parishad, 1 (January-December, 1977), 133-137.

21Examples of authors who concentrate on the early material include Benimadhat Barua (Gayā and Buddha-Gayā) and Ananda Coomaraswamy (La Sculpture de Bodhgaya). A number of articles also discuss the inscriptions and art works from the early periods while only a few address material of a later date. For a listing of these works, see the bibliography at the end of this study.

22Frederick M. Asher, (The Art of Eastern India, 300-800 [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980], 27-29, 42-45, 75-79) and Susan L. Huntington (The Origin and Development of Stone and Bronze Sculpture in Bihar and Bengal, ca. 8th-12th Centuries [Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972; Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, DS-72-25, 783, 1972], 23-27) have recently discussed some of these early sculptures.

24 Although factors, such as the Muslim incursions in the area, are often cited as the causes for the decline of Buddhism in eastern India, an exact understanding of its decline has not yet been chieved. For a discussion of this issue, see R.C. Mitra, "The Decline of Buddhism in India," Visva-Bharati Annals, VI (1954). Other discussions of the causes of Buddhist decline in eastern India include: Prabodh Bagchi, "Decline of Buddhism in India and Its Causes," Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, vol. 3 (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1921-27), 405-421; Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar, "A Revaluation of Buddhism in Bihar and the Uttar Pradesh (c. 635-1197 A.D.)," JBORS, Special Issue (1956), 173-185; Mohan Shrimali, "Buddhism Under the Pālas--A Study Based on Tārānātha," Indian Historical Congress, 27th Session (Allahabad, 1975), 187-195. Trevor Ling (Buddhist Revival in India [NY: St. Martin's Press, 1980], 24-46) presents a useful overview of the problems.


27 Mireille Bénisti, Contributions à l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gayā et de Ratnagiri, Publications de l'école française d'Extrême-

28 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 5-6.

29 John Huntington, "Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, Part I," 59. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (Elements of Buddhist Iconography, 41-42) also discusses the special nature of the place of the bodhimanda.

30 For discussion of Bodhgaya as the pitha (seat) par excellence for pilgrimage, see Huntington, "Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, Part I," 54-61. For a discussion of tīrtha (crossing place) in relation to pilgrimage and its relationship to Buddhist literature, see Dianna L. Eck, "India's Tīrthas: Crossings in Sacred Geography," History of Religions, 20, 4 (May 1981), 323, 333. Agehananda Bharati ("Pilgrimage in the Indian Tradition," History of Religions, 3, 1 [Summer 1963], 154) quotes from the Buddhacarita: "tīrthas are ladders to heaven and those who bathe and offer worship in the sacred river and revere the caitya become bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas, and reach nirvāṇa."


32 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 96. Another indication of the importance of the site is evident in the reproductions made of the Mahābodhi temple in both small and large-scaled copies. One particularly interesting example was erected in Thailand in the fifteenth century. The king responsible for the creation of this monument supposedly sent a mission to Bodhgaya to obtain a cutting of the sacred bodhi tree and make plans of the seven sacred places at the site where the Buddha spent seven weeks after his enlightenment. The history of this monument and its
significance are discussed by A.B. Griswold (Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam [Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1957], 35-44). A detailed description of the monument and textual chronicles of its history is given by E.W. Hutchinson. ("The Seven Spires, A Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiengmai," Journal of the Siam Society, 39, 1 (June 1957), 1-50).

33The numbers of stone sculptures of Buddhas, male deities and female deities from Bodhgaya that I have been able to identify and locate are one hundred and twenty, fifty-one and forty-five, respectively. This does not include votive stūpas, terracotta works or very fragmentary remains. In addition, there are a number of works that John Anderson (Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, 33-59) identified as being from Bodhgaya but were then in the Indian Museum that I was unable to locate there.


35Cunningham (Mahābodhi, 46-47) noted that there were thousands of votive stūpas at the site; unfortunately he did not indicate the number of other sculptures that he saw. But the fact that there are far fewer votive stupas now known to be from Bodhgaya suggests that even if Cunningham was wrong in his accounting, it is likely that a number of sculptures which did survive from Bodhgaya are among the many works in museum collections that today do not have a known provenance.


37Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 27-80.

38Although Cunningham (Mahābodhi, 43-44) discusses the discovery of the remains of a monastery to the north of the Mahābodhi temple compound, he does not seem to have found any images there in his excavations except for a drainspout sculpted as a makara. Subsequent investigation of this area does not seem to have
occurred. This is especially unfortunate in light of the fact that the monastery area can be expected to yield important images. For example, most of the images found at Nalanda during archaeological investigation were discovered in the monastic areas.

39 Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 123. Xuanzang states that west of the bodhi tree was a large vihara with a figure of the Buddha which was made of brass and ornamented with rare jewels.


41 Huntington ("Pala-Sena" Schools, 95) notes that, most likely, circumstances have simply prevented their discovery. It is interesting that at Nalanda the surviving metal images seem to outnumber the known lithic remains.

42 Benisti (Contributions à l'étude du stupa Bouddhique indien, 81-89) discusses the reconstituted nature of some of the stupas still at Bodhgaya.

43 See, for example, Asher, The Art of Eastern India, 75.

44 Although the lack of excavation at Bodhgaya makes it impossible to conclude anything definitive, there are many more small images of stone and metal from Nalanda which measure less than twenty-five centimeters in height.

45 Future studies may be able to determine the exact connection between Bodhgaya and other sites, such as those in the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts in Bihar, where Susan Huntington ("Pala-Sena" Schools, 127) has identified stylistic relationships with the art from Bodhgaya.
CHAPTER 2

THE SURVIVING EVIDENCE OF PATRONAGE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AT BODHGAYA

Numerous sculptures, many of which bear donative inscriptions, along with the remains of various monuments and other historical and inscriptive information testify to extensive religious practice at Bodhgaya in the Pala and Sena periods. The extant materials indicate that Bodhgaya remained an active site through the Pala and Sena periods and into the thirteenth century and was patronized by international visitors as well as Indians. Although less complete, evidence of such practice at Bodhgaya also survives from both before and after this time. A brief discussion of the character of patronage and religious practice as revealed by surviving evidence provides a useful framework for an analysis of artistic production at Bodhgaya.¹

PRE-PALA PERIOD

Before the Pala period, artistic and inscriptive evidence concerning Bodhgaya is quite fragmentary. The
clearest evidence emerges from the early traces of artistic production at the site which have been discussed by a number of scholars.\textsuperscript{2} The earliest material includes an altar, bases of pillars and a sandstone paving, which were unearthed by Cunningham inside the Mahābodhi temple, and the carved slab (Figure 2), which he found inside buttresses on the exterior west side of the Mahābodhi temple.\textsuperscript{3} These remains present a very incomplete picture, but they do document an early date for the inception of artistic activity at Bodhgaya. Except for the carved slab, which may be from the Maurya period, these early remains have been dated to the second century B.C.\textsuperscript{4} Other early remains include the famous pillars, some of which today form part of the railing around the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 8), while the majority are at the Bodhgaya Site Museum. Usually dated to the Śuṅga period in the first century B.C.,\textsuperscript{5} they share similarities in form and the content of their imagery to pillars found at other early Buddhist sites. The donative inscriptions that appear on some of the Bodhgaya pillars provide important evidence of patronage at the site.\textsuperscript{6}
An interesting aspect about the railing is that the early pillars were later supplemented by pillars of Gupta-period date, circa fifth century A.D. These later pillars, although made of different stone, reveal a concern to follow the format of decoration appearing on the earlier pillars. It is generally believed that the newer pillars were made because either the construction or enlargement of the Mahābodhi temple necessitated enlarging the railing, although it has recently been suggested that the new pillars were repairs, not additions to the group. The later pillars and Xuanzang's seventh century description of a temple at Bodhgayā that corresponds closely to the present Mahābodhi temple are the major reasons for assigning a Gupta-period date to the temple's present form.

Other architectural fragments of sixth and seventh-century date, such as a doorframe now in the Indian Museum (Figure 9), suggest that there was a spate of building activity at Bodhgayā at this time. In addition, some surviving stone sculptures further document artistic production at Bodhgayā during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. These works have been extensively discussed by Susan Huntington and
Frederick Asher. While the surviving Gupta-period images depict Buddha figures, the extant sculptures from the seventh and eighth centuries are more diverse in content. In both style and iconography, these later sculptures partially reveal the foundations of Pala-period imagery at Bodhgaya. Since this material proves directly relevant to the examination of Pala-Sena period traditions, the important Gupta and post-Gupta-period sculptures will be discussed in the chapters below.

PĀLA AND SENA PERIODS

The diverse evidence of religious practices and patronage at Bodhgaya surviving from the Pala and Sena periods indicates that the situation there was complex. Royal inscriptions known from the site which date from this time are donations by kings from dynasties other than the Pala family. These show that the site of Bodhgaya enjoyed wide-ranging patronage. But the history of this activity remains unclear and the role of royal Pala patronage at the site is quite obscure. Only three inscriptions so far known to be
from Bodhgaya mention the Pāla kings, and none of these are imperial dedications. A fourth inscription with a Pāla regnal date was mentioned by Cunningham in his discussion of inscriptions from Bodhgaya, but he provided no details of its contents or whereabouts. While specific Pāla kings are tied to the patronage of other Buddhist sites in eastern India, no such evidence for Bodhgaya is known. Recently, however, inscriptions found on plaques at the nearby village of Bakraur, which has been identified as the site of Sujātā’s offering to the Buddha, suggest patronage in the immediate vicinity of Bodhgaya by Devapāla, the third Pāla ruler.

The earliest of the known Pāla-period inscriptions from Bodhgaya is interesting, for it carries with it depictions of Brahmanical, not Buddhist, figures (Figure 10). This inscription is dated in the reign of the second Pāla king, Dharmapāla. Specifically, the sculpture depicts Sūrya, Lakulīśa and Viṣṇu, and the inscription records the installation of a four-faced image of Mahādeva (Śiva) for the benefit of the inhabitants of Mahābodhi. Thus, the work, dating from the late eighth century, suggests the presence of Hindu
practice at an early date in the reign of the Pālas at this important Buddhist site.\textsuperscript{19}

No exact sites have yet been identified within the confines of the Mahābodhi temple compound or even in the general area of Bodhgaya as the location of Hindu shrines, although the nearby site of Gayā was and still is an important \textit{tīrtha} for Hindu worship, especially for the performance of the \textit{sākāra} ceremony.\textsuperscript{20} As has been pointed out, Bodhgaya is specifically mentioned in Brahmanical texts as one of the places to visit during the performance of this ceremony.\textsuperscript{21} Even today, Bodhgaya receives Hindu pilgrims as well as Buddhist ones. A relationship between the two sites may have already existed by the inception of Pāla rule in Bihar. The works of art found at Bodhgaya depicting Hindu subjects seem to offer evidence that Hindu religious practice emerged in the area at an early date and was maintained during the Pāla and Sena periods.

It is interesting that there is one known inscription from Bodhgaya dated in the reign of Dharmapāla, for Tāranātha, the seventeenth-century Tibetan who wrote a history of Buddhism in India, mentions the visit of this king to Bodhgaya.\textsuperscript{22} He
further states that Dharmapāla was converted there to Tantric Buddhism by Buddhajñānapāda, who then became the King's preceptor. However, there is no other known record of Dharmapala's visit or patronage of the site even though it is clear that he did patronize other establishments and supposedly built large complexes such as the Vikramaśīla monastery.

The other two inscriptions known from Bodhgaya which mention Pāla kings include one found on a pedestal of a broken image now located in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and another on a sculpture depicting a seated Buddha in bhūmisparśā mudrā which is still enshrined at the site. The inscription on the Indian Museum pedestal mentions that it was dedicated during the reign of Gopāla; Susan Huntington has argued that this Gopāla was the Pāla king Gopāla II, who reigned during the middle part of the tenth century. The inscription on the image of the Buddha in bhūmisparśā mudrā (see Figure 31) is dated in the tenth or eleventh year of the King Mahīpāla. Susan Huntington has argued that this image can be placed into the reign of Mahīpāla I, who ruled in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.
No inscriptions from Bodhgaya that mention Pāla kings are known to date after the reign of Mahāpāla I. This may be significant since there are inscriptions from Bodhgaya dating later than the early eleventh century (the end of Mahāpāla I's reign) which mention kings other than the Pālas. Perhaps in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the Bodhgaya area was not under direct control of Pāla rulers, but was ruled through their feudatories or rivals.

Some surviving evidence does suggest that Bodhgaya was under the control of local kings. In an inscription's list of feudatories of Rāmapāla, the Pāla king who ruled at the end of the eleventh century, there occurs the name of one Bhimayaśas, who is called there the king of Pīṭhī and lord of Magadha.²⁷ Pīṭhī is identified by D.C. Sircar as the region around Bodhgaya, explaining the title as literally "lord of the seat," the vajrāsana on which the Buddha sat when he became enlightened.²⁸ D.C. Sircar identifies Bhimayaśas as the successor to Devaraksita, a member of the Chikkora-Sindha family of Kannada origin.²⁹ Devaraksita is mentioned in the twelfth century Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī, a queen of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindachandra, who was
the daughter of Devarakṣīta. The inscription states that Devarakṣīta was conquered by the uncle of Ramapāla, Mathana, but then Devarakṣīta married Mathana’s daughter, and later they became the parents of Kumārādevī. In Kumārādevī’s inscription, Devarakṣīta is called the Pithīpati, lord of Pithī.

Evidence from the twelfth century indicates that the situation around Bodhgayā may have been an uneasy one. Sometime before 1146, the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra, whose capital was in Kāśī (Varanasi), supposedly conquered all territories up to the region of Monghyr in western Bihar. The Pāla king then ruling was Madanapāla, and he was able to regain only control of the Monghyr area. An inscription of Madanapāla dating from circa 1143-1161 mentions as a feudatory the Pithīpati Ācaryā Devasena.

Between 1183 and 1192, the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayacandra was able to extend the eastern boundary of his kingdom into the Bodhgayā area. He was apparently stopped there by the king Lakṣmānasena of the Sena dynasty, the family which took over large parts of the Pāla territories in the twelfth century. Inscriptions of Lakṣmānasena refer to his victory over the King of Kāśī, who was probably Jayacandra.
An inscription from the twelfth century found at Bodhgaya may confirm the penetration of Jayacandra's rule into the Bodhgaya area. The inscription records the excavation of a cave by a Buddhist adept named Śrīmitra, who is called a siddha in the inscription. It states that Jayacandradeva, the king of Kāśī, was a disciple of Śrīmitra and received initiation from him. Specifically, the inscription states:

Of that emancipated being the illustrious Jayacandradeva, the attainment of whose sovereignty was proclaimed all over the expanse of the Earth, who was of clear understanding and who was served by a hundred kings, became, out of reverence, himself the disciple with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering.

The next lines go on to describe Śrīmitra:

The pilot of the Faith and the initiating preceptor of the king of Kāśī, he restored the discipline and recovered the numerous collection of lost scriptures and others of the same kind, belonging to the illustrious site of the Mahābodhi.

The inscription of Śrīmitra suggests that Bodhgaya suffered some destruction and disruption before the end of the twelfth century (the date of the inscription). Perhaps the disruption alluded to in Śrīmitra's inscription was caused by an early Muslim raid, or alternatively, it may have been the result of conflicts among the various Indian rulers active in
the area.

Although incomplete, other sources provide further information about patronage and practice at the site during the later part of the Pāla period. In his account of the history of Buddhism in India, Tāranātha gives little information about the political situation at Bodhgaya. But he does state that in the eleventh century, during the reign of Ramapāla, the famous ācārya Abhayākara-gupta was invited to act as upādhyaya of Vajrāsana. After many years, this teacher, who is the famous author of such tantric works as the Nispannayogāvalī, was also appointed to be the upādhyaya of Vikramaśīla and Nālandā. Abhayākara-gupta’s presence at Bodhgaya suggests a greater tolerance of tantric practices at Bodhgaya than indicated elsewhere in Tāranātha’s account of activities at Bodhgaya. Tāranātha states that, in the eleventh century, there were forty Mahāyānists and two hundred Śrāvakas bhikṣus maintained by the king as permanent residents at Bodhgaya. He contrasts this to the one hundred and sixty pandits and one thousand monks who were permanent residents at Vikramaśīla and one thousand monks belonging to both the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools who resided at Odantapurī. When
Tāranātha discusses the activities of Buddhists during the reigns of the four Sena kings (circa twelfth century), he states that, in this period, though the Mahāyānist adherents did not have any special role at Vajrāsana, some yogis and Mahāyānists always continued to preach there.\(^{42}\)

In the thirteenth century, Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan pilgrim who visited Bodhgaya, mentions that a disparaging Sinhalese monk urged him to throw away his Mahāyāna texts and cease worshipping figures such as Khasarpanā.\(^{43}\) Dharmasvāmin did not hurry away from the site; he remained at Bodhgaya through the first rainy season of his visit to India. In fact, Dharmasvāmin vowed at the outset of his trip to India not to return to Tibet until he had seen the Indian vajrāsana.\(^{44}\) A major goal of his trip to India was to see this site of enlightenment.

The precarious nature of the situation at Bodhgaya in the thirteenth century is clearly testified to by Dharmasvāmin. He states that, when he visited Bodhgaya, the king and his entourage had to seek shelter elsewhere because of the threat of Muslim attacks.\(^{45}\) Yet Dharmasvāmin also notes that they returned and, thus, it may be assumed that the
imminent danger had passed. While Tāranātha mentions the destruction of Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla, which had been fortified by the king before Muslim attacks, he is silent about any similar destruction of Bodhgayā.\textsuperscript{46} In fact, Muslim control of and attention to places such as Bodhgayā seems somewhat nominal and certainly was not totally devastating, for religious donations at Bodhgayā continued. Some of the thirteenth century inscriptions which reveal that religious practice continued at Bodhgayā mention kings other than the Pīṭhāpati, indicating that the concern for Bodhgayā continued to consist of more than just local patronage.\textsuperscript{47}

The records of Buddhhasena and his son Jayasena as well as those of Aśokavalla belong with Dharmasvāmin's account as evidence of continued patronage at Bodhgayā in the thirteenth century. Jayasena and Buddhhasena are both called Pīṭhāpatis and Ācaryās in their inscriptions. D.C. Sircar believed they were preceded at Bodhgayā by Devasena, who also bore these titles and was mentioned as a feudatory of Madanapāla in the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{48} Aśokavalla, who patronized the site of Bodhgayā, was a king from the Sapadalakṣa Hills, which D.C. Sircar believed were located in the
Kumaun-Garhwal region.\textsuperscript{49}

Although these inscriptions offer important evidence, they have been a subject of controversy because some of them are dated in the years of the "Lakṣmaṇasāya atītarājye," the expired reign of Lakṣmaṇasena. The use of the term atītarājye and the confusion surrounding the beginning date of the Lakṣmaṇasena era are the factors causing difficulty in determining the dates of these inscriptions. Evidence indicates that none of these rulers could be placed into the twelfth century, contradicting the assumption that the dates mentioning the Lakṣmaṇasena atītarājye should be reckoned from circa 1119-1120 A.D.\textsuperscript{50}

Evidence including Dharmasvāmin's statement that Buddhasena was ruling when he visited Bodhgayā in 1234 indicates that Jayasena, Buddhasena's son, ruled in the later part of the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{51} An undated inscription of Jayasena which was found at Jānībighā, a village six miles east of Bodhgayā, records the donation of a village for the Vajrāsana.\textsuperscript{52} The gift was made to maintain the residence of the monastery attached to the Vajrāsana and was given into the trust of the Bhikṣu Maṅgala Svāmin from Sri Lanka, called a master of the
The inscription, which gives the name of the village as Koṭṭhala, appears below a depiction of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, seated on a throne marked with a vajra (Figure 11).

While surviving evidence indicates that Bodhgaya suffered some vicissitudes during the Pāla and Sena periods, religious practice was maintained there until a late date. The seemingly diverse and persistent nature of Indian patronage at Bodhgaya may document a special regard accorded then to the site which also seems to be corroborated by the extensive international patronage of Bodhgaya during this time.

INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE AT BODHGAYA

The history of foreign visits to Bodhgaya is only partially documented by surviving materials, but enough remains to show that Bodhgaya had a special status, although other sites in eastern India were also frequently visited by foreign pilgrims. A brief summary of the extant documents of such visits and the donations made by foreign visitors demonstrates the veneration of Bodhgaya. The record of Bodhgaya’s
reign as a place of international importance commences in the fourth century A.D. with Faxian's description of his visit,\textsuperscript{54} and may be traced through the thirteenth century with the account of the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin.\textsuperscript{55} The record continues into later times with intermittent notices of pilgrim visits.\textsuperscript{56} The most eventful period of international activity at Bodhgayā, however, occurred immediately before and during the reign of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. During this time, Sinhalese, Chinese, Korean, Tibetan and Burmese travellers are known to have made visits to Bodhgayā.

The Sinhalese at Bodhgayā

The history of the Sinhalese at Bodhgayā, only partially revealed by surviving records, seems unique, and was clearly more than a series of pious pilgrim visits. Surviving inscriptions which record donations and visits of Sinhalese individuals reveal a continued presence at Bodhgayā.\textsuperscript{57} Some inscriptions mention donations made by monks. For example, a sixth-century inscription records the dedication of a mansion of the Buddha by the Sākyabhikṣu Sthavīra Mahānāman from Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{58} A second inscription by the same donor
records the gift of an image of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{59} Other inscriptions, such as one from the eighth century which mentions a monk who was a member of the royal house of Sri Lanka,\textsuperscript{60} and an inscription from the eleventh century which mentions a Sinhalese layman named Udayaśrī, document the continuation of Sinhalese visits to Bodhgaya.\textsuperscript{61}

In addition to such records of pilgrim visits and donations, there is other evidence suggesting sustained Sinhalese presence. Xuanzang relates a lengthy tale about the building of the Mahābodhi 

\textit{sāṅgharāma} for the benefit of Sinhalese monks by the king of Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{62} Indication that Sinhalese may have been more than simply pilgrims at the site includes an elaborate inscription, which seems to have been first noticed by Cunningham. It records the dedication of a, "Lofty \textit{gandhakuti} which is like unto a flight of steps to heaven."\textsuperscript{63} The inscription, now in the Indian Museum, contains extensive praises of the donor king, who was named Tuṅga and called a Rāstrakūṭa in the inscription, but who has not been further identified.\textsuperscript{64} The inscription may be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century on the basis of its paleography. Its importance to a discussion of the
Sinhalese presence at Bodhgaya is that its composer is stated in the record to be a Śrī Jana Bhikṣu, called Pāṇḍitaratna, born in the island of the Sinhalese. The inscriptions from the thirteenth century recording donations at Bodhgaya by Indians also provide evidence of strong Sinhalese presence at the site. An inscription of Buddhhasena grants the revenues of land for the Mahābodhi to the Bhikṣu Pāṇḍita Dharmaraksita who was to arrange for the rehabilitation of monks then in Sri Lanka and still at Bodhgaya, and the inscription also states that property at Bodhgaya belonging to the Sri Lankan monks should remain in their hands. The inscription of Jayasena, discussed above, placed the donation to the Vajrāsana in the care of the Sinhalese. Another inscription records the donation of an image and the subsidizing of offerings to be made by the leaders of the Sri Lankan assembly at Mahābodhi. This donation was made by the Indian king Aśokavalla who is called in the inscription a great upāsaka and an adherent of the excellent Mahāyāna.

The important presence of the Sinhalese as suggested by these thirteenth-century inscriptions is further corroborated by the account of the Tibetan
pilgrim Dharmasvāmin, who visited Bodhgayā in the thirteenth century. He states that none but the members of the Śrāvaka school, who were natives of Sri Lanka, slept inside the gates, and that they comprised the largest group at Bodhgayā.69

Tāranātha, the seventeenth-century Tibetan historian, also presents useful and interesting views about the Sinhalese at Bodhgayā. In his discussion of the activities during the reign of the second Pāla king, Dharmapāla, whom he rightly called a contemporary of the eighth-century Tibetan king Khri-sron-lbe-bstan, but wrongly placed as ruling after Devapāla, he states that:

[there was then at the temple of the Vajrāsana] a large silver image of Heruka and many treatises on Tantra. Some of the Śrāvaka Senghavas of Singha Island (Sri Lanka) and other places said that these were composed by Māra. So they burnt these and smashed the image into pieces and used the pieces as ordinary money.70

This information agrees with the negative attitude that the Sinhalese were supposed to have had for tantric elements of Buddhist practice, but Tāranātha himself states that the Sinhalese were only some of the Śrāvakas involved. The passage may be more accurately viewed as revealing a general and not just
Sinhalese friction between conservative practitioners and followers of the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna. Such friction was actually occurring in Sri Lanka itself at this time.71

Unfortunately, the images dedicated by the Sinhalese do not survive. If they did, they might shed some light on the type of religious practice of the visitors from Sri Lanka. Some inscriptions seem to indicate by their wording that the image lost was a Buddha figure.72 The inscriptions do not reveal anything unusual or different from Indian inscriptions on images of similar date.73 Some of the Sinhalese inscriptions include mention of the donation of any merit gained to the good of all sentient beings, a phrase that may be interpreted as being Mahāyāna in nature especially when it titles its monk-donors as sākyabhikṣus and its lay-donors as upāsakas.74 These terms are used in the Sinhalese inscriptions at Bodhgaya. Moreover, the inscription of Asokavalla discussed above, which indicated support of the Sri Lankan monks at Mahābodhi, also calls the king a Mahāyāna practitioner. Thus, whatever differences they were between the Sri Lankan Buddhists and others at Bodhgaya, the situation there seems not to have
been totally factional.

The Chinese at Bodhgaya

Chinese pilgrims also frequently visited Bodhgaya throughout the centuries. Xuanzang's description of the site in the seventh century stands as the most complete early record of the place. And some Chinese pilgrims seem to have spent long periods of time at Bodhgaya.⁷⁵ Yijing, who visited India in the seventh century, slightly later than Xuanzang, left an account of his experiences and information about his contemporaries who also visited India.⁷⁶ It is interesting to find him describe a Chinese monk appointed as the head of the Mahābodhi saṅghārāma,⁷⁷ although this statement is difficult to interpret. While Xuanzang relates that the Sinhalese had built a monastery at Bodhgaya, he does not specifically state it was under their control at the time of his visit. This led Thomas Watters, in his discussion of Xuanzang's records, to assume that the monastery was under local control in the seventh century,⁷⁸ making Yijing's information about a Chinese monk assuming an important place in the monastery more plausible.
Alternatively, Yijing may have been referring to a monastery at Bodhgaya other than the Sinhalese one.

There are no known records of Chinese visits to Bodhgaya in the ninth century, but Chinese pilgrim travel records and donative inscriptions left at the site do survive from the tenth and eleventh centuries. The most elaborate donative inscription is a large stele containing a lengthy eulogy and decorated at its summit by a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā flanked by two figures of Māricī (Figures 12). The inscription was found in 1880 north of the Mahābodhi temple and has been discussed by several authors. The text is a long hymn which was the inspiration of the Chinese monk Yunshu who visited the site in 1021 A.D. and was moved to dedicate this work at Bodhgaya. The eulogy praises the three bodies of the Buddha: the nirmāṇakāya, the sambhogakāya and the dharmakāya, and praises the three thrones of these bodies. The throne of the nirmāṇakāya is described as:

There are wonderous footprints in the Five Heavens Produced within the limits of the six cardinal points... Sometimes the armies of Maitreya and Māra fight Until the latter are quelled by the roar of the lion.
The sight of footprints of the Buddha, buddhapāda, is mentioned by other pilgrims who visited Bodhgayā, and, at least in the late nineteenth century, a shrine housing buddhapāda stood to the east of the Mahābodhi temple. Certainly, the region where armies fought and were quelled by the Buddha's lion roar may generally refer to the realm of the earth. But it seems here that it might specifically refer to the site of Bodhgayā where Buddhas conquer Māra, the god of death and desire. In other words, Yunshu's praise seems directed at the site of Bodhgayā, which was the source of his inspiration and the place where he erected the stone containing this eulogy.

Yunshu maintains this emphasis on Bodhgayā when he next goes on in his eulogy to praise the shrine of the sambhogakāya for he states:

This shrine towers above the limits of the trilokāya; Its shapely summit rests above the sky, The kalpa of fire exercises no influence over it; On earth how should we seek to model its like? The reputation of King Aśoka extends afar: He rested in wonderful perception of the doctrine. A jewel among the grains of sand, Immortal, he will permeate the Great Void.

The mention of the early Buddhist king Aśoka in conjunction with the query of how to represent the sambhogakāya on earth is significant. Aśoka had a
great reputation as an early patron of Buddhism, and he is supposed to have erected many religious structures throughout India during his reign in the third century B.C. But, specifically, as mentioned earlier, there was a strong tradition which a number of pilgrims recounted crediting Asoka with raising a temple at Bodhgayā. Sources as disparate as Xuanzang's record from the seventh century and the account of the thirteenth-century Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin mention this legend. Thus, as he did in his praise of the shrine of the nirmāṇakāya, Yunshu's praise of the sambhogakāya stems from what is manifested at Bodhgayā, declaring the shrines there to be models of the sambhogakāya. Yunshu's inscription illustrates the deep regard given the site by its pilgrims. Furthermore, his praise of the three bodies of the Buddha as well as his mention that this hymn was dedicated to the ten thousand Buddhas and that the three vehicles lead the way to wisdom indicate that he was a Mahāyāna practitioner.

Other Chinese inscriptions from this period record in various ways the homage of their donors and the gifts of robes, votive stūpas and images for the spiritual benefit of all beings. One of the
inscriptions occurs on the base of a stele which depicts the seven past Buddhas and the Buddha of the future, Maitreya (Figure 13). The inscription identifies the donor as the Chinese priest Jiyi who came to gaze on the vajrāsana and other sacred vestiges. The image does not seem to be particularly distinct from other Pāla-Sena period images in style, but the theme of the sculpture, while found in another work at Bodhgaya as well as in some from other sites in eastern India, is fairly rare for this period.

In his study of Buddhist relations between India and Song period China (ca. 10th through 13th centuries), Jan Yun-hua concentrates more on the events in China, but he does provide information about the travels of Chinese to India. In addition to stating that eighty-three Indians went to China during the tenth and eleventh centuries, he notes that one hundred and eighty-three Chinese monks are known to have travelled to India during the same period. Despite the active exchange that such numbers reflect, this period saw the end of contact between China and India. Jan Yun-hua suggests that its conclusion occurred in the middle of the eleventh century and was
probably caused by factors in both China and India.\textsuperscript{92}

The \textit{vajrāsana} is cited in these Chinese records as a place frequently visited. An interesting account which mentions \textit{vajrāsana} is a memorial brought back from India by a Chinese monk named Guangyuan who returned to China in 982 A.D.\textsuperscript{93} The memorial was written by an Indian king whose name is given as Muoshinang, and it was translated for the Chinese emperor by an Indian monk named Danapala. The text states:

\begin{quote}
..Monk Kuan-yüan came from a far distance, and I am grateful that you kindly offered a robe to the holy statue of Śākyamuni Buddha enshrined at Vajrāsana-srī-abhāya (of Mahābodhi monastery in Central India). It has been placed on the statue accordingly. My humble wish is that the Emperor of China enjoy perfect blessedness, wisdom and long life, thus to guide all living beings and to save all those who are sinking in the ocean of mortality. Now I request monk Kuang-yüan to forward a relic of Śākyamuni to His Majesty.\textsuperscript{94}
\end{quote}

Perhaps the Indian king who sent this missive and leaves of the \textit{bodhi} tree to the emperor of China was one of the Pāla rulers; either Vigrahapāla II or Mahīpāla I could have been reigning during the visit of Guangyuan. Besides the interesting issues of Buddhist patronage by Indian kings at Bodhgayā that this record raises, it also provides evidence concerning the nature and status of the \textit{vajrāsana}
during the tenth century.\textsuperscript{95} The statue at the \textit{vajrāsana} is specifically called the holy statue of Śākyamuni Buddha, and it was important enough for the Chinese emperor to send a robe to clothe it. Thus, Chinese sources in various ways define the \textit{vajrāsana} as a major place to visit during the Pāla and Sena periods.\textsuperscript{96}

The Tibetans at Bodhgaya

Tibetan histories also describe travel undertaken by a number of Tibetans to Bihar during the Pāla and Sena periods. Tibetan records mention names of numerous Buddhists who went to India to study and translate texts, and they also record visits made by Indians to Tibet, but relatively little other information about Bihar, specifically about Bodhgaya is given. Dharmasvamin's account is the most extensive source known of information about one such individual's trip to Bodhgaya.\textsuperscript{97} Yet Tāranātha's account, which makes extensive use of Tibetan records and is specifically meant to recount the history of Buddhism in India, indicates that there are as yet unknown or unpublished accounts of Tibetans who travelled to India in search of teachings and texts.
It is interesting to note that in the most recent phase of Bodhgayā's history, that of the last two decades, the Tibetans have assumed a central role in refurbishing the site and maintaining religious practices at it.

The Burmese at Bodhgayā

The only known sources of information from Bodhgayā about the presence of the Burmese there during the Pāla and Sena periods are two inscriptions, one on a metal umbrella and the other on a stone slab. The stone inscription is particularly lengthy, setting down the history of the Mahābodhi temple and the reason for the epigraph, which was to record a mission of the Burmese for purposes of repairing the temple. The second inscription records another similar mission. This is the same purpose that brought the Burmese to India in the nineteenth century, when missions were sent to renovate the temple.

Two Burmese kings supposedly sent missions to Bodhgayā for such purposes during the Pāla and Sena periods and it is perhaps these kings who are referred
to in the Burmese inscriptions found at Bodhgayā. One of the kings is Kyanzitthu, who stated in one of his inscriptions that he had delegated a mission to Bodhgayā for renovation of the temple.\textsuperscript{99} The other king is Alaungsithu, who asked the regent of Arakan to send the mission to Bodhgayā.\textsuperscript{100} This request was supposedly made in 1118 A.D., while Kyanzitthu's inscription records activities occurring between 1086 and 1112 A.D., so there is little difference in time separating these two missions. Tāranātha mentions that a fire partially destroyed the Mahābodhi temple in the eleventh century which necessitated a restoration of its paintings and the renovation of its wooden structures.\textsuperscript{101} The damage caused by such a fire might have prompted the missions dispatched by these Burmese kings.

No other substantive inscriptions of the Burmese found at Bodhgayā date from the Pāla and Sena periods, although there are some very cursory declarations recording later visits by Burmese pilgrims. Mitra notes, for example, that a Burmese inscription dated equivalent to 1823 A.D. was inscribed on a votive stūpa from the Pāla period; it simply states, "Shimepu resident place Kwun-tshwai wrote this stone-
writing. No Burmese dedications of images from the Pāla and Sena periods, however, have yet been identified at Bodhgayā.

The regard given to Bodhgayā by the Burmese is more clearly reflected in the form and organization of their own temples and sculptures which replicate aspects of Bodhgayā imagery rather than in any records or images to be found at Bodhgayā itself. Gordon Luce's encyclopedic work on Pagan-period art provides extensive material for further study of the connections between the art of Burma and eastern India during the time of the Pāla and Sena kings. Burmese art of the Pagan period from the eleventh and twelfth centuries shows a marked affinity to Indian forms, ranging from styles of images to architectural constructions. An inscription of King Kyanzittha, who ruled in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and who, as noted above, sent a mission to Bodhgayā, states that he built the Shwezigon pagoda, which he called the Nirbbānamula-bajraparyamahāceti, on the site called Jayabhūmi, land of victory. Luce translates this title of the pagoda as "Great Caitya, Circle of the Adamant, Nirvāṇa's root." This may be a reference to the vajrāsana at Bodhgayā. In the
thirteenth century, the Burmese king Zeyathuntika built an actual copy of the Mahābodhi temple in Burma.\textsuperscript{106}

CONCLUSION

The evidence noted in this chapter provides only a partial picture of religious practices at Bodhgaya and the regard which was given the site by Buddhists from India and other parts of Asia. Replicas of the Mahābodhi temple erected in other countries and the small models of the Mahābodhi temple that have been found in India and elsewhere, such as two works which were found in Tibet (Figures 14 and 15), are further reflections of the regard given to the site by the international Buddhist community.\textsuperscript{107}

The sanctity of that which was located at the site is also revealed by sculptures which seem to be specific references to the site. One such example is an elaborate sculpture from eastern India which depicts a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā within a temple which looks like the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 16).\textsuperscript{108} Numerous votive plaques (Figure 17) found at Bodhgaya and other sites also depict a temple and the image of
a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā that presumably replicate the temple and the image actually enshrined there at Bodhgaya.¹⁰⁹

The efforts to maintain religious practice at Bodhgaya certainly contributed to the development of extensive artistic production there during the Pāla and Sena periods. The evidence from the thirteenth century especially reveals the long duration of attention to the site. Although it is presently impossible to determine the extent of such regard before the Pāla period, it is clear that the reverence given to Bodhgaya by Buddhists from India and elsewhere during the reign of the Pāla and Sena dynasties was particularly intense. Indeed, it may have been at this time that Bodhgaya enjoyed its greatest renown.
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The history of the site in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will not be discussed here. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1817-1812*, ed. by John F.W. James, 2 vols. [Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1934], 2:139) gives an account of the site's abandoned appearance in the early nineteenth century. Dipak K. Barua, *(Buddha Gayā Temple: Its History, 30-40)* describes the events that occurred from that time until the present, a period when the site received renewed attention. He notes that the Sri Lankan monk Angarika Dharmapāla was particularly active in developing support for Buddhist practice at the site in the nineteenth century. Angarika Dharmapāla founded the Maha Bodhi Society in 1891 with this express purpose in mind. John Huntington (*Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part I,* 61) notes the current vitality of the site.


Myer, "The Great Temple at Bodh-Gayā," 281, 286, 291. She notes that the slab was probably originally placed within the temple as a cover-slab for the altar/platform. She feels that an effaced inscription of the Kuśāna period found on its edge may indicate that the slab was rededicated when it moved outside to be beneath the tree and was at a later time encased in this location within buttresses.

Barua Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, 2:17; Coomaraswamy (La Sculpture de Bodhgayā, 26-56) discusses the decoration of these pillars.
6 Barua, Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, 2: 66-67, 69; Bloch, "Notes on Bodh Gayā," 147-148. These authors note that the inscriptions indicate that some of the pillars were donations by queens of the kings Indraghniśita and Brahmagatita who are either contemporaries of or belonged to the dynasty of Śāṅga kings.

7 Asher, Art of Eastern India, 27.


9 See Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, 2: 118-119 for Xuanzang's description of the temple. Alexander Cunningham, ASR, III, 82-92, compares Xuanzang's description to the temple at Bodhgaya. The temple was, however, continually renovated after the time of its initial construction. For a survey of the information surviving on the history of building activity at Bodhgaya, see Myer, "The Great Temple at Bodh-Gayā," 277-298.

10 Asher, Art of Eastern India, 75-77.


12 For discussion of pre-Pāla Brahmanical sculptures from Bodhgaya, see Asher, Art of Eastern India, 75-80.

13 Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 39, 55, 57-58) discusses the three inscriptions and the images on which they appear. In her Appendix, she provides the various recensions of the inscriptions which have been published, and she discusses the problems of ascertaining the existence of direct imperial patronage.

14 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 65. Patil (Antiquarian Remains in Bihar, 65) notes that Cunningham does not seem to specify its findspot as Bodhgaya.

15 Susan Buchanan ("A Study of Pāla Patronage," M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1975) demonstrates that issues of imperial Pāla patronage are not simple
problems. For example, while Dharmapāla and Devapāla, early Pāla kings, were primarily patrons of Buddhism and may have directly participated in supporting Buddhism in the ninth century, Buchanan has shown that these monarchs also supported, at least officially, Hindu religious activities. Thus, as Susan Huntington first suggested (The Origin and Development of Sculpture in Bihar and Bengal, ca. 8th through 12th centuries, 18), the rise of Buddhist activity and its resulting increase in artistic production in eastern India cannot be seen as a phenomenon brought about only by imperial action.

16 K.M. Srivastava, ("The Place of Buddha’s Sujātā Discovered," 136-137) discusses the plaques that have been discovered at Bakraur, near Bodhgaya, which depict a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā and are inscribed "Devapālarājasya Sujatagṛīha."

17 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 35, 205-206.

18 Ibid.; Asher Art of Eastern India, 75, 79. Huntington and Asher discuss the importance of the inscription and the importance of the image in revealing the nature of artistic activity in the eighth century at Bodhgaya.

19 Asher, Art of Eastern India, 43, 75.

20 Bloch, "Notes on Bodh Gayā" 151. The importance of Gayā as a tīrtha is noted by Asher (Art of Eastern India, 78). See also Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, 2:239-245; Mahamahopadhyaya Pandurang Vaman Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Medieval Religions and Civil Law in India), vol. IV (Poona: Bhandarkar Research Institute, 1976), 643-679.


22 Tāranātha, History of Buddhism in India, translated by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (Simla: Indian Institute for Advanced Study, 1970), 278.

23 B. Datta, Mystic Tales of Lama Tāranātha (Calcutta, 1944), 40-41; Tāranātha, History of Buddhism in India, 278.
24 Frederick Asher, "Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra," Bangladesh Lalit Kala, 1, 2 (July 1975), 108.


26 Ibid., 57-58.


28 Sircar, "Bodhgaya Inscription of Pithāpati Acarya Buddhhasena," 255.

29 Ibid., 256.

30 Sten Konow, "Sārnāth Inscription of Kumāradevī," EI, IX (1907-1908), 326.


32 Sinha, Dynastic History of Magadha, 221. Also see, Banerji, The Pālas of Bengal, 68.


34 Sinha, Dynastic History of Magadha, 229, 231. An inscription of this king found at Sivhar in the Patna district is dated to 1175 A.D.

35 Ibid., 233-234.


37 Ibid., 26.
38 Ibid.

39 Tāranātha, *A History of Buddhism in India*, 313. Tāranātha states that by this time the older traditions of other centers (i.e. Nālandā and Vikramāśīla) had changed. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on what he meant by this.

40 Ibid., 315. Also, the record of a Tibetan pilgrim, rGa lo [tsa ba], who visited India, mentions that he studied under Abhayākaragupta at Bodhgaya. See Bireshwar Prasad Singh, "A Tibetan Account of Abhayākaragupta," *JBR*, LIV (1968), 182.

41 Tāranātha, *A History of Buddhism in India*, 313.

42 Ibid., 318.


44 Ibid., 52.

45 Ibid.


47 Sircar ("Bodhgaya Inscription of Pīthīpati Ācarya Buddhasesa," 256), however, suggests that Aśokavallā and Puroshottama may no longer have been ruling at the time of their donations, but were living at Bodhgaya perhaps in retirement (either by necessity or choice).

48 Sircar, "Bodhgaya Inscription of Pīthīpati Ācarya Buddhasesa," 255. D.C. Sircar ("Bhaishuki Inscription in the Indian Museum," EI, 35 [1960], 79-83) discusses two inscriptions mentioning Jayasena which suggest that his kingdom included a larger part of Magadha than just the area around Bodhgaya. However, Sircar notes that this Jayasena may or may not be the same one mentioned in the Jānībhīgha inscription and called there a Pīthīpati. Sircar discusses the various possible political situations which may have existed in Magadha in the thirteenth century, but concludes that the evidence is too fragmentary to determine the course of all events. Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha ("Fresh Light on the Lākṣmāṇesena Era and Connected Problems," *JBR*, 42, 1 [1956], 81) also discusses the limits of
the kingdom of Buddhasena and Jayasena. He contends the area comprised only the region around Bodhgaya.

49 Sircar, "Bodhgaya Inscription of Pîthîpati Ācaryā Buddhasena," 256. Also see Sinha, Dynastic History of Magadha, 235. Another inscription mentioning Aśokavallā records a donation by the treasurer of Aśokavallā's younger brother. It is dated in the year 74. See Mitra, Buddha-Gayā, 198–201; Bhagwanlal Indraji, "An Inscription at Gayā Dated in the Year 1813 of the Buddha's Nirvana and Two Others of the Same Period," 346–347.

50 R.D. Banerji ("Lakṣmanasena," JPASE, IX [July 1913], 271–290) discusses the inscriptions dated in this era. The difficulties of coordinating the inscriptions of Jayasena and Aśokavallā with other inscriptions which are dated in the Lakṣmaṇa era led R.C. Majumdar and D.C. Sircar to propose two alternatives to reckoning these Bodhgaya inscriptions from 1119–1120 A.D. Sircar takes the beginning date of the Lakṣmaṇasena era used in the Bodhgaya inscriptions as beginning from the actual reign of Lakṣmaṇasena as king, circa 1174 A.D., while Majumdar places the beginning of this era as commencing from the end of this king's reign, terminated by Muslim invaders around 1200 A.D. Majumdar's solution is a particularly attractive one since his slightly later dating of the inception of this era makes the years 51 and 74 of the era mentioned in Aśokavallā's inscriptions dovetail neatly with 1270 A.D., a known date for Aśokavallā. Sircar's dating would put Aśokavallā ruling by the time of Dharmasvāmin's visit to Bihar. This is not impossible, but it makes him a very long-lived ruler, since the nirvāṇa era inscription has him ruling forty years later in 1270 A.D. Both Majumdar and Sircar base their alternative systems for dating the beginning of the Lakṣmaṇa era on the belief that the era was first reckoned from a different time than the one now currently used in north Bihar inscriptions which definitely use 1119–1120 A.D. as the starting point of the era. Thus, these dates in the southern Bihar inscriptions of Aśokavallā and Jayasena, which are, incidentally, the earliest instances of use of the era, are reckoned from some other date than when later in north Bihar the era began to be used which reckoned dates from the supposed birthdate of Lakṣmaṇasena. See Sircar, Indian
Epigraphy, 276; Majumdar, History of Ancient Bengal, 243-245. Also Sinha ("Fresh Light on the Laksmana Sena Era and Connected Problems," 79-80) believes that the dates may be counted from the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign. He notes other inscriptions use the same term for other kings. For example, manuscript colophons mentioning Govindapāla also use atītarājye and so must be viewed as dated in years after the end of Govindapāla's reign. Sinha believes this practice allowed Buddhists to avoid dating works in an era of an unfriendly ruler.

Radhakrishna Choudhary ("A Critical Estimate of the Laksmanasamvat, Based on An Examination of the Old and New Facts, Literary and Epigraphic," JBRS, 47 [January-December, 1961], 113) does not agree with either Majumdar or Sircar. But his rejection is based on his continuing to believe that the beginning of the Laksmaṇasena Samvat is reckoned from the same starting point in all inscriptions. He also discounts the importance of the use of atītarājye in inscriptions. Thus, he does not present any fresh evidence to support his own position or discount the hypotheses of others. Cunningham (Mahābodhi, 78-79) and Vinod Vihari Vidyavindho ("Two Inscriptions from Bodh-Gayā," EI, 12 [1913-14], 30-34) discuss the inscription of Aśokavalla dated in the year 51 of Laksmaṇasenasya atītarājye. A translation is given by Bhadwanlal Indraji ("An Inscription of King Aśokavalla," Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI [1883-85], 357-360). For the 1270 A.D. inscription mentioning Aśokavalla, see Bhagwanlal Indraji, "An Inscription at Gayā Dated in the 1813 of the Buddha's Nirvana with Two Others of the Same Period," 341-347.

51 Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, xiv-xviii, 64-65. Various authors seem to agree that Buddhāsena and Jayasena were not connected to the Sena dynasty of Bengal. See also Sinha, Dynastic History of Magadha, 234-237; Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 78. Cunningham and Sinha believe that Aśokavalla and Jayasena were contemporaries, citing the 1270 A.D. inscription translated by Indraji ("An Inscription at Gayā Dated in the 1813 of the Buddha's Nirvana with Two Others of the Same Period, 341-344"). The inscription offers some other interesting information. It begins with, "Obeisance to the Buddha— the pure, to the Dharma— the bliss, to the Samgha— the lion." It recounts that one Puroshottama constructed a
gandhakuti. Puroshottama is styled as a subsidiary to Aśokavalla, who is called illustrious in the inscription and who is besought by Puroshottama to effect a restoration since the religion of the Muni had become decayed. Finally, worship is mentioned which is to be performed three times each day and which includes instrumental music with "Rambha-like Bhavanīs and Chetīs dancing around."


54 Legge, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms.

55 Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin.

56 Mitra, Buddhist Monuments, 66.


58 For a translation of the inscription, see John Faithful Fleet, CII, 274-278. See Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 60-61, for an account of the discovery and possible location of the temple at Bodhgaya mentioned in the inscription.

59 Fleet, CII, 278-279.

60 H. Panday, ("The Bodh-Gayā Inscriptions of Prakhyāta-Kirtti," JBORS, 4 [1919], 405-411) discusses the inscription by the monk who is called a descendant of the royal house of the island of Lanka. Barua (Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, 2:55) has also identified an inscription recording the dedication of an image as a Sinhalese record. The inscription mentions the names of two donors who are Sākyabhikṣus and states that they were from Tisṭhyāmatīrtha. The inscription occurs on the pedestal of a broken image. Barua believed that
Tisyāmratīrtha is a site in Sri Lanka. If so, this would be another record of Sinhalese presence at Bodhgayā of about the sixth century, the date given to the inscription on the basis of its paleography. For a translation of the inscription, see Fleet, CII, 281-282. Banerji (EISMS, plate XXIV,a) illustrates the pedestal which contains the inscription. For further discussion of the imagery on this pedestal, see below pp. 111-112.


63 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 66. He notes that it was discovered in 1861. Mitra (Buddha-Gayā, 194-197) gives a full transcription and translation.

64 Mitra, Buddha-Gayā, 194. Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha, (Dynastic History of Magadha, circa 450-1200 A.D. [New Delhi: Abhinav, 1977], 195) mentions that the Pala king Rājayāpāla married a Haṭṭrakuta princess named Bhāgyadevi, daughter of Tuṅga, who may be the same Tuṅga mentioned in this inscription. Rājayāpāla ruled in the tenth century, which accords with the date given to the Bodhgayā inscription of Tuṅga.

65 Ibid., 197.

66 D.C. Sircar, ("Three East Indian Inscriptions of the Early Mediaeval Period," Journal of Ancient Indian History 6 [1972-73], 50-53) discusses this inscription of Buddhasesa which is not, however, dated. The inscription seems to indicate that the pandit Dharmarākṣita was the chief spiritual advisor of Aśokavalla.
67 See above, footnote 53.
69 Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 73.
70 Tāranātha, History of Buddhism in India, 279.
71 Heinz Bechert ("Mahāyāna Literature in Sri Lanka: The Early Phase," in Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze, ed. Lewis R. Lancaster [Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1977], 361-367) discusses Mahāyāna texts and inscriptions found in Sri Lanka, which include material dating from the Pāla period. See also Nandasena Mundiyanse, Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon (Columbo: M.D. Gunasena, 1967), 8-11, 114-115; Heinz Bechert, "Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna," in German Scholars on India (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1973), 13-14. Xuanzang makes a similar statement regarding the monks of the Mahābodhi saṅghārāma. Calling them monks, he says that they study the Great Vehicle and belong to the Sthavīrā school; see Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, 2:133. Rahula Sankṛtyāyana ("Les Origines du Mahāyāna," Journal Asiatique, 225 [October-December 1934], 214-276) provides additional evidence about Mahāyāna practice in Sri Lanka which is mentioned in a historical Sinhalese text of the fourteenth century called the Nikaya-Saṃgraha. It states that during the reign of King Matvalase (846-866), a monk professing tantric practices had great influence over the king. Sankṛtyāyana believes that Vajrayāna beliefs dominated much religious practice in Sri Lanka during the ninth and tenth centuries. He notes that Ratnakarasanti, one of the eighty-four Indian Mahāsiddhis, was especially invited by the king to Sri Lanka, and he remained there for seven years.
72 For example, see N.G. Majumdar, "Inscription of Udayaśrī," JBORS, 5 (1919), 143-144. The inscription states: "this image of the lord was caused to be made by the Sinhalese Udayaśrī wishing to deliver the world which is submerged in a sea of woe."
Sylvain Lévi ("L'inscription de Mahānāman a Bodh-Gaya, Essai d'exégèse appliquée à l'épigraphie bouddhique," *Indian Studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929], 35-47) discusses the content of Mahānāman's inscription and notes a number of correspondences and references to Buddhist doctrine as contained in Vasubandhu's *Abidharmakośa*. He states on page 47: "Il y a la toutefois un indice de plus pour nous empêcher de ranger sommairement Mahānāman parmi les Theravādin, Ceylan, nous le savons par plus d'un témoignage était loin d'être le domaine de cette école exclusivement dans les premiers siècles de l'ère."

This has been clearly demonstrated by Gregory Schopen ("Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 21, 1 [January 1979], 1-19). The author examines a group of inscriptions ranging in date from the fourth through the thirteenth centuries and finds a correlation between the formulaic phrase expressing the transfer of merit of the donation (yad attra punyam...) and the entitling of the donor of the inscription as either a sākyabhikṣu or upāsaka. A number of these inscriptions specifically state the Mahāyāna affiliation of its donor. Both the Mahānāman inscription and the inscription of Dharmagupta and Dhamstrasena contain the phrase transferring the merit and call the donors sākyabhikṣus.

Sukumar Dutt (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India [London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962], 294-297) discusses the frequent travels undertaken by the Chinese. He estimates that half the total number of pilgrims recorded the events of their journeys, but only three complete records have survived, namely those of Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing. He further notes that Dr. Chia Luen Lo found mention in various Chinese literary documents of one hundred and eighty names of Chinese pilgrims who journeyed to India during the third through eighth centuries. See Chia Luen Lo, "Chinese Sources for Indian History," *The Indian Archives*, III (January-December, 1949), 81-87. For discussion of the contacts between India and China during the Northern Song Period (960-1127 A.D.), see Jan Yun-hua, "Buddhist Relations Between India and Sung China," *History of Religions*, 6, 1 (August 1966) 24-42; and ______., "Buddhist Relations Between India and Sung China, part II," *History of Religions*
6, 2 (November 1965), 135-168. Although pilgrims note Chinese monasteries in other locations in eastern India, there is no mention of one at Bodhgāya. See, for example, the record of tenth century pilgrim Giye in M. Édouard Huber, "L'itinéraire du pèlerin Ki Ye dans l'Inde," BEFEO, 2 (1902), 256-9.

76 Yijing's record of his own experiences has been translated by Junjiro Takakusa (A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago A.D. 671-695; by I-Tsing [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896]).

77 Dutt (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries, 296) notes that Yijing also wrote an account of other Chinese who visited India. The work is titled in Chinese: Ta Tang-shi-ku-fa-sung-chuan. It was translated into French by Édouard Chavannes, Memoire composé à l'époque de la Grande Dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les Pays d'Occident par I-Tsing (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894). Samuel Beal ("Two Chinese-Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha-Gaya," JRAS, n.s. 13 [1881], 558-572) provides some translation of the work, and so does Dutt (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries, 311-316).

78 Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D., 137-138. He notes that Chinese officials were lodged at this monastery and so believes that Indian officials must have had some control over it.

79 Perhaps the absence of evidence of Chinese presence at Bodhgāya in the ninth century is related to Chinese persecutions of Buddhists in China in 845 A.D. which might have made it more difficult to receive support to travel to India. See Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, "The Role of Buddhist Monasteries in T'ang Society," History of Religions, 15, 3 (February 1971) 209-230.


81 The work is on display in the inscription gallery of the Indian Museum. It is numbered B.G. 122 and measures 83 cm. by 43.5 cm. For a discussion of the
imagery, see below, pp. 311-13.


83 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 70.

84 Mitra (Buddha Gayā, 65, 100) notes that a buddhapāda shrine existed in front of the Mahābodhi temple until 1877. Dharmasvāmin (Roerich, trans., Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 71-72) notes the important presence of buddhapada at Bodhgaya.

85 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 70-71.

86 Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 119; Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 77-79.

87 Giuseppe Tucci (Tibetan Painted Scrolls, 3 vols. [Roma: La Libreria Della Stato, 1949], I:30) discusses the vajrasana as the sambhogakāya and a symbol of the dharmakāya.

88 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 72-74; Chavannes, "Inscriptions Chinoise de Bodh Gayā," 21-27.

89 Samuel Beal, "Two Chinese-Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha-Gayā," 553-554. Cunningham refers to the inscriptions which he dates to the eleventh century, but does not illustrate the image (Mahābodhi, 73-74). Banerji (EISMS, plate XXI, b) does illustrate it. Apparently, it is now in the Indian Museum collection and numbered B.G. 133.

90 Beal, "Two Chinese-Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha-Gayā," 553-554; Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 74.

91 Jan Yun-hua, "Buddhist Relations Between India and Sung China, Part II," 138.

92 Ibid., 139-144.
93Ibid., 147-148.
94Ibid., 148.
95Ibid., 151, 153, for examples of other notices of monks coming from India and Sri Lanka who brought to China relics or bodhi leaves. In one case, a monk from Central India is stated to have brought back a drawing depicting the Buddha at the vajrāsana in addition to Sanskrit texts and bodhi leaves. This same monk was sent back to India with a gold-designed casket to offer to the statue of the Buddha enshrined at the vajrāsana.
96A preoccupation with the enlightenment of Buddhas of the past and future may have been further intensified at Bodhgaya by the supposed nearby location of the stūpa of Mahākāśyapa where Maitreya, on descending from heaven, was to go in order to receive the garments of a Buddha entrusted to Mahākāśyapa by Sākyamuni. Xuanzang relates this legend and states that Mahākāśyapa, as a foremost disciple of Sākyamuni, had been entrusted by the Buddha as a guardian of the Buddhist doctrine. See Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, 2:142-144. Xuanzang states that the location where Mahākāśyapa awaits Maitreya is Kukkuṭapadagiri, which some have identified with the site of Kurkihār. The inscription of the Sinhalese monk Mahānāma mentions both Maitreya and Mahākāśyapa. See Fleet, CII, 277.
97For a summary of known Tibetan works, see Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries, 241-244. Also useful is Helmut Hoffman, Tibet: A Handbook (Bloomington, Indiana: Asian Studies Research Institute, 1975), 129-137.
98Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 75-77; Mitra, Buddha-Gayā, 206-214. These authors place the dates of the inscriptions in the eleventh century. John Faithful Fleet ("The Dates in the Burmese Inscriptions at Bodh Gayā, JRAS [April 1913], 378-384) believes the dates should be ascribed to the end of the thirteenth century. Also see, Taw Sein Ko, "Burmese Inscription at Bodh-Gayā," EI, XI(1911), 118-120.
99George Coedes, trans., Susan B. Cowing, The Indianized States of Southeast Asia (Honolulu: East

10 Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, 2:42.

101 Tāranātha, *A History of Buddhism in India*, 302. In an account of the life of Atiśa, Atiśa is described as effecting a reconciliation between Nāyāpāla ruling in the eleventh century and the king of Kārṇa who made war on Bodhgayā. Damage occurred to the site but it was supposedly restored. Perhaps this is the same event mentioned by Tāranātha. See, Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, 37.

102 Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, 227. He also notes another example of Burmese "grafitti" was found on an image of Umā-Mahesvara of Pāla-period date.


105 Ibid.

106 Ibid., 1:62.

The sculpture was found at Sibbati, a site now in Bangladesh. See Banerji, EISMS, plate XIX,c. It probably dates from the twelfth century.

For examples of such plaques from Bodhgaya, see W. Zwalf, ed., Buddhism, Art and Faith (London: British Museum, 1985), 109; Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, 60-64. For a similar one found outside of India, see Pratapaditya Pal, ed., Light of Asia, Buddha Sakyamuni in Asian Art (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984), 233. Luce (Old Burma-Early Pagan) provides many examples of Burmese plaques that show variations on this general theme.
CHAPTER 3
IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA IN BHŪMISPARŚA MUDRĀ

Susan Huntington has noted that the importance of Bodhgayā in the Pāla and Sena periods may be inferred from the fact that the most common depiction of the Buddha in eastern India during this period shows him in the bhūmisparśa mudrā.¹ This form can be seen as both a reference to the event of the māra-vijaya (the victory over Māra) and to Bodhgayā itself, where the event took place.² In response to Māra's contesting his right to Buddhahood, Śākyamuni, while seated on the vajrāsana at Bodhgayā, called upon the earth to act as his witness, symbolized by the gesture of bhūmisparśa. Approximately thirty single images of the Buddha in the bhūmisparśa mudrā are known from Bodhgayā, some of which are the largest sculptures showing seated figures found at the site.³ The reasons for the greater popularity of images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudra in Pāla and Sena times are not completely clear, nor is it known if the image
type was invented at Bodhgaya or another site. A seeming rise in the production of imagery in eastern India, the increased popularity of Bodhgaya as a site to visit, and changes in doctrine and practice may have been some of the contributing factors for the popularity of the form. The change of focus witnessed by this newly popular image type must have emerged from ideas first developed earlier. Certainly, many aspects of the imagery of Pāla and Sena periods are based upon ideas and visual traditions previously established.  

Because depictions of the māravijaya reveal important aspects about the meaning of Bodhgaya and the precedents for Pāla-period images of the Buddha in bhūmisparsā mudrā, this chapter will first examine the early depictions related to this event. Following this discussion, the various modes for presenting the Buddha in bhūmisparsā mudrā as found in single sculptures from Bodhgaya will be treated.
Images of the Buddha in Bhūmisparsa Mudrā Before the Pāla and Sena Periods: Textual and Visual Sources

The textual basis for the depictions of the māravijaya in the many accounts of the Buddha's life and other Buddhist texts describing this event has been investigated by a number of scholars. The surviving Buddhist texts furnish useful information for identifying various elements in works that illustrate the māravijaya. But few texts can be linked specifically to individual images. Different texts contain details not found in art works and at the same time may not mention some elements present in the works of art.

This lack of correspondence partly results from the incomplete survival of texts, the emendations of texts, the loss of oral traditions which accompanied the texts, as well as the probability that artists worked independently of literary traditions. There is as yet no complete understanding of the evolution of the texts which present the biography of the Buddha. The rather well-known versions in Indic texts such as the Mahāvastu, the Buddhacarita, the Nidānakanthā, and
the Lalitavistara are only a portion of the relevant textual materials that survive. Biographies are also preserved in other languages, and as well, Vinaya texts contain many details of the Buddha's biography. Distinguishing the strands of development of the Buddha's biography present in the various texts is an enormous task that scholars have yet to complete. The problems attached to these texts preclude a complete understanding of how they were used in the formulation of art works.

The difficulty, however, in pinpointing the specific source for each rendering of the event is not entirely due to the limited knowledge of the textual traditions. Texts were obviously not the only source used by artists for the creation of an image. Other images, belonging to a local school or from outside regions, could supercede the power of written or oral accounts of the subject for the creation of a particular work. It seems probable that texts were more important when there was locally no previous visual tradition for the representation of certain forms. Once such precedents existed, artists were likely to rely upon established models for the formulation of their works. And, of course, even
within the confines of a religious art tradition, artists had some freedom to conceive of new features to incorporate into their works.\textsuperscript{10} Simply identifying a text as the source of inspiration for particular details in different works does not address the questions of why certain elements were chosen for depiction and others not. While information contained in texts can help in reading the individual parts, the meaning of an image is more than the sum of those parts.

Texts, however, can help to elucidate the underlying focus of the visual works which led to their specific formulation. In this context, it seems significant that the \textit{Buddhacarita} and other texts clearly focus upon the importance of Māra's nature as both the god of death and the god of desire.\textsuperscript{11} An examination of mārarvijaya scenes surviving from before the Pala period particularly reveals different approaches to explicating Māra's nature.

What follows is a general examination, the purpose of which is to clarify some of the distinctions found in images which refer to the mārarvijaya. Many issues of the chronology and context of these works are beyond the scope of this
examination but would prove fruitful avenues for further study. Although texts will be used to explain the meaning of visual forms, a complete analysis of textual materials will not be undertaken, since an exhaustive treatment of the relevant texts would necessitate, among other things, a facility with many languages. The line of inquiry taken here is meant to uncover connections between the different modes of presenting the theme of Māra's attack which led to the formulations found in Pāla and Sena-period works.

In addition to early images of the bodhi tree, there also survive some early reliefs that depict Māra and the army of Māra. Significantly, on the Bharhut pillar bearing the relief discussed above (Figure 3) of a bodhi tree and an inscription referring to Sākyamuni, there appears below another relief that seems to depict Māra with other gods (Figure 18). It shows twenty figures which are divided into four groups by trees. Three surviving inscriptions on this relief give the names of beings in the eastern, northern and southern realms. A fourth inscription may have appeared on the damaged area of the relief designating the beings of the western realm. Ananda Coomaraswamy has explained this
relief as a depiction of the divine beings who come to the bodhi tree to pay homage to Śākyamuni after he has defeated Māra. The figure on the far left side who sits on a rocky form and holds a stick is identified by him as Māra. Both the *Nidānakathā* and the *Mahāvastu* describe Māra as writing on the ground with a stick after he has been defeated. The *Buddhacarita* and the *Lalitavistara* also describe Māra, when beholding the lack of effect of his arrows, as slowly sinking down in thought. If this interpretation is accurate, it is an early example portaying Māra as defeated and discouraged, which is reinforced by the contrasting gestures of homage displayed by the other figures in the relief.

Indian examples of a Buddha in bhūmisparśā mudrā appear in the period when Buddha images begin frequently to survive, which was during the rule of the Kuṣāṇas in the first centuries of the Christian era. This gesture is used in depictions of the māravijaya in small-scaled relief works that were meant to be put into groups with other reliefs illustrating narrative scenes. Although a number of large-scaled Buddha images survive in the Mathurā and Gandhāra schools of the Kuṣāṇa period, few if any
employ the bhūmisparśa mudrā.21

A famous and somewhat typical Kuśāna period example of a māravijaya scene from Gandhara is a work now in the collection of the Freer Gallery (Figure 18).22 The Buddha, seated beneath a bodhi tree and in bhūmisparśa mudrā, is surrounded by figures who represent the myriad forces of Māra. Because of the specific forms of Māra's army, Geri Malandra links the Buddhacarita to this relief.23 Although the Buddhacarita's description of Māra's army corresponds closely to the relief, this text does not mention the earth-touching gesture for the Buddha.24 In this text, Māra and his army are routed from their attempts to overcome Sākyamuni by an unseen voice stating that their efforts were fruitless. The earth is not specifically called upon by Sākyamuni in the Buddhacarita to stand as his witness. Thus, even when a text can be correlated with certain aspects of a particular image, other elements may not match. Perhaps it is more useful to consider the lengthy descriptions of Māra's army given by such texts as the Buddhacarita as clues to the meaning of the event rather than as clues for its exact appearance in works of art. In this context, the differences between the
texts can be helpful.

Although it calls Māra's army "the mailed and bannered host who fights with recluses and brahmans," the Mahāvastu does not detail the battle with Sakyamuni, but instead focuses upon the nature of the various armies of Māra.25 According to this text:

the first is called desire, and the second discontent, the third is called hunger and thirst, and the fourth craving. The fifth is called sloth and torpor, and the sixth fear; the seventh is doubt, and the eighth is pride. Then there are greed, and falsely won praise, esteem and renown.26

That Māra's forces are the weaknesses of existence is also suggested by one of his alternative names, Pāpimā, which means the "evil one."27

The long description of the assault of Māra's army in the Buddhacarita simultaneously emphasizes the power of these forces which arise from desire and the strength of the one who can render them meaningless. Some texts, such as the Buddhacarita, stress the notion that desire is primordial—attachments are the energy for rebirth and more of a hindrance than death alone.28 It is not only the biographies of the Buddha that discuss this notion. For instance, a beginning section of the Dhammapāda states: "He who knows that this body is like froth and has learnt that it is as
unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Māra, and never see the king of death."²⁹

During the Kuśāṇa period, representations of the māravijaya were also made in Mathurā, but they depict the scene somewhat differently than Gandhāra works. While the reliefs from Gandhāra visually express the immense difficulty of the task of escaping from the realm of desire by focusing upon battle and the seemingly overwhelming forces of Māra's army, Mathurā reliefs reveal a tendency to portray the strength of Māra in terms of Māra himself and his daughters. An example of such treatment is found in a work from Rajghāt, Mathurā, of approximately second century date which shows a group of life scenes together on one slab (Figure 20).³⁰ Five scenes are shown; the māravijaya is second from the right. There the Buddha sits with his right hand in bhūmisparśa mudrā beneath the bodhi tree. A female stands beside him and below him appear Māra and a dwarf. The female may represent one of Māra's daughters who are mentioned in various Buddhhist texts and named Craving, Discontent and Passion.³¹ The Buddhacarita states that Māra placed his sons and daughters in front of him before he
discharged his arrows; after the attack and Śākyamuni's enlightenment, Māra's daughters try to tempt Śākyamuni.\(^{32}\)

This Māthurā work seems more pointedly focused than Gandhāra examples upon stressing the powers of desire as impediments to enlightenment. In this relief, Māra is shooting an arrow from his bow, the weapon of Kāmadeva, the god of desire. Other scholars have noted that the Buddhacarita calls Māra by the name of Kāmadeva and specifies that Māra's weapon is also the bow and the flower-tipped arrow.\(^{33}\) The Buddhacarita does describe more fully than some other texts Māra's attempts to overcome Śākyamuni with the use of his arrows, but this is not, as some have claimed, the only place where Māra is so named or described.\(^{34}\) The Mahāvastu also specifies that Māra carries a dazzling bow; other texts mention his arrows.\(^{35}\)

James Boyd, in a discussion of Māra, points out that, etymologically, the name Māra is related to the Sanskrit mṛtyu (death), but specifically is close to the causative form mūrayati so that Māra is one who kills or causes death.\(^{36}\) Boyd also notes that one who conquers Māra is one who really reaches the end of
birth, for death is not just the termination of an individual life but the first preliminary step towards continued existence.\textsuperscript{37} Māra's association with Kāmadeva seems to identify the death-dealing activities of Māra as the symbols of the shackles of samsāra. Thus, Sākyamuni's victory over Māra can be viewed as a potent expression of overcoming attachments since death can be regarded as the prerequisite for (further) life.\textsuperscript{38}

Another Mathurā work of the same period shows a slightly different presentation. It is one of eight panels decorating what was probably the drum of a votive stūpa (Figure 21).\textsuperscript{39} The Buddha is in bhūmisparśā mudrā and the daughters of Māra appear on his left. The seated figure on his right must be Māra, behind whom stands a figure holding a makara standard, which is an attribute of Kāmadeva.\textsuperscript{40} Māra is not shown attacking but sits, cupping his cheek with his hand. The pose suggests the thoughtful and inactive form described by the passages from the Mahāvastu, Buddhacarita and Nīdānakathā where Māra contemplates his inability to overcome Sākyamuni. The pose of Māra in this Mathurā relief, which is the same manner in which Māra was portrayed in the earlier
Bharhut relief, emphasizes the futility of Māra's attempts rather than his strength.

Roughly contemporary to the works from Mathurā and Gandhāra are māravijaya depictions from Āndhra Pradesh in South India,\(^1\) such as one work from approximately the second century A.D. (Figure 22). Although the reliefs from Āndhra Pradesh present aspects found in the reliefs from Gandhāra and Mathurā, they do not completely relate to those contemporary visual traditions. In particular, the Āndhra Pradesh reliefs do not use the bhūmisparśā mudrā for the Buddha in the scenes of the māravijaya. Instead, he is shown in abhaya mudrā. Like some other examples from this region, the army of Māra is rather elaborately portrayed, as was true for Gandhāra reliefs. But Māra's daughters are also prominent. In some works like this one, Māra rides an elephant; several texts such as the Nidānakanthā mention the elephant as his mount.\(^2\)

Another relief from Āndhra Pradesh relates more to Mathurā works (Figure 23). Although small dwarfs beneath the Buddha's seat and other figures continue to signify the attack of Māra's forces, this relief visually emphasizes Māra's daughters and Māra,
who only stands and holds the weapons of Kāmadeva, the bow and the flower-tipped arrow.

A work from Ramnagar, Mathurā (Figure 24), considered to be transitional to or early Gupta in date (circa fourth century), continues the treatment seen in earlier Mathurā reliefs of the Kuśāṇa period, for the battle is not emphasized. The three daughters of Māra and a male figure with a bow and arrow (perhaps Māra) simply stand next to the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā. A female carrying a staff topped by a makara signifies the kāma nature of Māra, since the makara is an emblem of Kāmadeva. On the far left sits a male who must be Māra. The acknowledgement of his defeat is expressed by the same seated pose with his chin cupped in his hand which was seen in the earlier Kuśāṇa period relief from Mathurā.

A new element in this work which further underscores the futility of Māra’s efforts is the small female who crouches by the right hand of the Buddha. It is possible, considering her position by the side of his hand making the earth-touching gesture and her aṅjali mudrā (a gesture of respect), that she represents the earth goddess that Śākyamuni calls upon (with the bhūmisparśa mudrā) to witness his right to
enlightenment. Figures of the earth goddess are found in some Gandhāra reliefs but the configuration found in this later Mathurā relief seems absent from Gandhāra and Mathurā works of the Kuśāna period and also absent from the Āndhra Pradesh works.44 This Mathurā relief may document the growing importance of the earth's role in representations of the Buddha's enlightenment. While an integral concept (as the receiver of the Buddha's gesture) in earlier reliefs which used the bhūmisparśa mudrā, her actual presence may signify a greater regard for her participation.

Esteem for the power of the earth, however, is not new in the third century A.D.45 In many texts, the importance of the earth is made evident. For instance, the earth's shaking in the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta is a signal of the significant events in the life of a Buddha.46 In the Mahāvastu, when challenged by Māra, the Buddha strikes the earth which then shakes.47 He is empowered and thus supported by being able to cause the earth to react. In the Buddhacarita, which does not mention the Buddha making the bhūmisparśa mudra, Māra's attack is interrupted by an invisible voice stating that nothing can swerve the
saint who is on that spot—the navel of the earth—where earlier Buddhas achieved enlightenment. Implicitly, the earth is the source of the Buddha's strength and the defense against the efforts of Mara. In the Nidanakantha, the Buddha makes the gesture of bhūmisparśa and the earth responds vocally, acknowledging the donations made by Sākyamuni during his life as Vessantara. But she is not specifically described in this text as appearing.

The Lalitavistara seems to be one of the few narrative texts that describes the earth goddess' form and actually states that she appeared to act as witness for Sākyamuni. According to that text, the earth cleaved and the earth spirit, known as Sthavirā (nāma mahāprīthī-devatā), emerged halfway out of the ground with her hands in añjali mudrā when Sākyamuni made the bhūmisparśa mudrā. The Lalitavistara and the Nidanakantha are most often assigned a fourth century date for their present form. It is interesting that the role of the earth goddess, which is more completely delineated in these texts, may be paralleled by images of a similar date such as this Mathurā work (Figure 24).
A number of Gupta-period sculptures from Sārnāth relate to the slightly earlier Mathurā image. These Gupta works—mostly fifth century in date—also group a number of life scenes together on one stele (Figure 25). Joanna Williams notes that the steles continue some features found in earlier works. Typically, the Buddha is in bhūmisparśa mudrā and seated beneath a bodhi tree. A few ferocious demons appear above the tree to represent the army of Māra, while one of Māra's daughters and Māra with a bow and arrow stand beside Sākyamuni. Sometimes, an attendant with a makara standard is also present. And, often, a seated figure appears below the seat of the Buddha which may be the thoughtful and defeated form of Māra. In this particular work, two females who may be Māra's daughters kneel in front of him. Additional elements, which were not seen in the earlier Mathurā work, include two females beneath the rocky seat on which the Buddha sits. The two females are only partially emerging from the ground. One holds a water pot in her hands the other appears to be whistling. The one with the water pot is usually identified as the earth goddess. The identity of the second female will be discussed below. The water pot is not mentioned
in narrative accounts of the māravijaya, but earlier scholars have identified it as a symbol of the accumulated gifts made by Śākyamuni in his former lifetimes, particularly in his previous life as Prince Vessantara. The custom of pouring water in order to ratify a donation is a long established practice in India.

It has also been noted that some Southeast Asian images dating after the twelfth century show the earth goddess wringing her hair; a text entitled the Pathamasambodhi, popular in Thailand and Cambodia, describes this action. The deluge that she produces is the water accumulated from Śākyamuni's past gifts, and it is literally enough to wash away Māra's horde (as some works actually illustrate). She is, as the receptacle of the official evidence of his past gifts, a personal record of his achievements. Boyd also notes that another name of Māra is Namuci which is derived from Vedic myths concerning a drought demon so named. Namuci withheld the waters (and thus killed), but was eventually smitten by Indra's thunderbolt, which released the waters. It seems that at least part of this myth may have been retained in the concept of Śākyamuni's victory over Māra.
Images that feature the role of the earth goddess appear to underscore the religious pursuits most possible for laymen—namely the practice of gaining merit through good actions and donations. This orientation stresses the notions of compassion and generosity as supreme weapons to overcome Māra. Indeed, at one point, the *Buddhacarita* states that everything is achieved by meritorious works and therefore one should work to acquire merit.58

An interesting variation on the treatment of the *māravijaya* encountered in Gupta-period Sārnāth steles is found at the site of Ajañṭā in a particularly detailed relief (Figure 26). Also dating from the fifth century A.D., it contains features present in the contemporary Sārnāth works. Māra is shown more than once. On the left side he stands with his bow and arrow, on the right side he sits with his daughters in front of him. He may also be depicted on the elephants which appear twice in the upper region of the relief. The earth goddess appears below the Buddha, emerging halfway from the ground and holding a waterpot with both hands. The character of Māra's forces, the two elephants which seem to portray the attack and the flight from the scene, and the presence
of musicians with Māra's daughters may also relate to treatments found in earlier depictions from Āndhra Pradesh. And, as in those works, Sākyamuni does not make the bhūmisparśa mudrā. However, instead of the abhaya mudrā used in the Āndhra Pradesh works, here he makes the varada mudrā. Ratan Parimoo has explained the use of this gesture of giving as a symbol of Sākyamuni's past gifts. Possibly the gesture was used to underscore the necessity of charity and compassion for overcoming Māra. This relief thus seemingly combines visual traditions established earlier with contemporary features. Even though the assault is more detailed, like Sārnāth works, the visual stress in the Ajañṭā relief is upon the figures in the foreground which illustrate the kāma nature of Māra.

While a number of Sārnāth works from the Gupta period use the māravijaya in a group of life scenes, single representations of the event or large-sized images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā are rare, and these seem to date from the end, if not actually after, the Gupta period. Presently in the British Museum is an example of such a work from the sixth century (Figure 27). Possibly from Sārnāth, it
relates closely to depictions of the māra-vijaya found in the earlier fifth-century Sārnāth steles, although the individual elements have been somewhat reduced. In fact, the most noteworthy aspect of this image is that it is a separate presentation of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā. Only two monsters hovering by the bodhi leaves remain to represent Māra's army, while Māra with his bow and a single female, probably one of his daughters, stand next to the Buddha. Unfortunately the bottom section of the sculpture is badly damaged, but its rocky form, from which emerge figures, also relates to the earlier Sārnāth treatments and likely included the earth goddess. The figure on the far left side seems to be a male who remains unidentified.

Another Sārnāth work, from the eighth century or perhaps even later, reveals a further reduction of the ancillary elements of the māra-vijaya for single images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā. This image (Figure 28) does not compare as closely to the fifth century Sārnāth works as did the previous sculpture. The mudrā, the bodhi leaves above the head of the Buddha, and the rocky pedestal with two females remain, but other details of the assault are missing.
Viewing such later images as simply abbreviations of earlier, fuller treatments of the māravijaya partially obscures the change in focus attached to these images. They should not be compared only to earlier reliefs which were combined in groups, but should be also compared to single images of the Buddha, which most frequently are substantially larger than the stone reliefs depicting the māravijaya. From this perspective, the unique element is not the lack of narrative detail but the frequent appearance of the bhūmisparśa mudrā for such single images of the Buddha only after the sixth century.

The idea of narrative illustration is not lost, for narrative treatments of the māravijaya endured into later periods, particularly in other media. But sometime around the sixth century, a greater focus on the single image of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā emerged in sculpture, seemingly accompanied by the choice to deemphasize the attack of Māra in that context. In relation to this, it is interesting that Xuanzang's seventh-century description of the image in the Mahābodhi temple does not dwell upon the attack of Māra's army, but instead centers upon explaining the gesture of bhūmisparśa.
Paintings and relief sculptures were made after the sixth century which do present detailed versions of the māravijaya. Two good examples from outside of India document the continued interest in narrative treatments in contexts other than single Buddha images. One is a seventh century painting from the site of Kutsha in eastern Turkestan (Figure 29). The other, dating from the eighth century, is a relief from the walls of Borobudur in Java (Figure 30). In both works, the earth goddess appears with other details emphasizing Māra's army and the attack.

The painting shows a figure holding a banner which illustrates four events in the life of the Buddha. The representation of the māravijaya depicts the army of Māra in some detail. It seems to be derived from Gandhāra treatments, and this would make sense, considering the geographic proximity of Gandhāra to Central Asia where Kutsha is located. But the earth goddess appears below the Buddha's gesture of bhūmisparśa, half-emerging from the ground with her hands in añjali mudrā. Although this is how she is described by the Lalitavistara, I do not know of any Gandhāra images which could have served as precedents for this treatment of the earth goddess. It seems
that an older form was combined with newer elements to
make up the presentation of the mārvijaya in this
work. Possibly, visual and textual sources were
collated to produce the form found in this work.

At Borobudur, the detailed treatment of the
enlightenment cycle does not seem to have a parallel
in stone works from India. Several reliefs show the
Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā within a series of scenes
illustrating the life of the Buddha, which Krom has
demonstrated are inspired by the Lalitavistara. One
scene depicts the attack of Māra's army, and a
separate one depicts the temptation by Māra's
daughters. In the attack, Māra rides his elephant and
shoots arrows at the Buddha; other demons are also
attacking. Immediately to the proper right of the
Buddha's hand in bhūmisparśa mudrā appears the earth
goddess. She is emerging only halfway from the ground
and holds a vase with both hands in the manner seen in
Sārnāth works. The earth goddess does not appear in
the scene depicting the temptation of Māra's daughters
or in other scenes at Borobudur which use a Buddha in
bhūmisparśa mudrā.

Visually, the depiction of the Buddha in
bhūmisparśa mudrā with Māra's army delineates both the
power of hindrances that can prevent enlightenment and the strength that is necessary to overcome them.

Details that emphasize Māra's kāma nature highlight the role of desire in preventing enlightenment. But most frequently, it seems that in single images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā dating after the Gupta period, only the figures of an inactive Māra and the earth goddess continue to be included. Certainly, this reflects an abbreviated treatment of the event of the māravijaya. But the use of these figures as clues to the story suggests that an important aspect of interpreting such images was situated in understanding the inevitable success over Māra by those who have maintained proper practice. The format established for single images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā is an important indication of the expressive potential for such images, since form does not merely transmit content but in itself expresses content. The depiction of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā with the defeated Māra and the earth goddess who acts as witness thus seems to emphasize the idea of the possibility of enlightenment.
Pre-Pāla Period Images of the Buddha in Bhūmisparśa Mudrā from Eastern India

Neither reliefs depicting the māravijaya nor images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā seem to survive from Bodhgayā or elsewhere in eastern India before the sixth century. The extant Buddha images of an earlier date show the abbaya, dharma-cakra or dhyāna mudrās. However, images of Buddhas in bhūmisparśa mudrā are found at some sites in this region of India by the seventh century. One from Tetrāwān (Figure 31), a site in the Patna district of Bihar, and one from Bodhgayā (Figure 32), which is now in the Narada Museum, are examples of such seventh-century works. The sculpture in the Narada Museum presents the Buddha seated on a plain pedestal with a simply decorated throneback and an unornamented halo. The simplicity of the format, the plain base, and the treatment of the figure have been cited as the features which indicate that it was made in the seventh century. The Narada Museum work is thus an important example of the earlier traditions at Bodhgayā from which Pāla-period Bodhgayā images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā evolved.
Unfortunately, the pedestals of these two eastern Indian Buddha images are missing, but one (Figure 33) from a now lost image indicates that the depiction of two female figures on pedestals, as seen in Sārnāth works, also occurred in eastern India. The pedestal is from Bodhgayā and dates from the sixth or seventh century.72 Thus, the general form and date of these early works indicate that this mode of presenting a single Buddha image appeared in eastern India at least at the same time as it did elsewhere in India.

Another pre-Pāla period image of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā from Bodhgayā which is missing its head (Figure 34) has been overlooked by scholars with the exception of Susan Huntington, who discussed the style of the image and suggested that it was made in the seventh century.73 The sculpture is now in the Indian Museum, where its provenance is listed as unknown. The inscription on its base (Figure 35) was published by Rajendralala Mitra (Figure 36).74 Mitra mentions that the facsimile that he publishes of the inscription (without publishing the image itself) was taken when he visited Bodhgayā in 1863. He states that the inscription belonged to a Buddha image approximately life-sized which was well-preserved
except for its missing head. Mitra also mentions that the image was uncovered by Major Mead during excavation of a small shrine east of the Mahābodhi temple. When Mitra returned to the site in 1877, he found that it was no longer there. Cunningham, in his publication on the Mahābodhi temple, also refers to the sculpture and its inscription, but did not publish a photograph of the image.

The sculpture, measuring 1.22 meters in height and dating no later than the seventh century, is an important work. With its provenance re-established, it becomes the largest seated pre-Pāla Buddha image known from the site of Bodhgaya. The sculpture also seems to be among the largest surviving pre-Pāla Buddha images from eastern India. Its iconography and inscription are thus valuable evidence of the precedents for Pāla-period sculptures. The inscription reveals that, by the seventh century, the aspect of the Buddha as the conqueror of Māra and the source of the destruction of passions was of central importance. The inscription records the dedication of the image:

for the lord who is merciful to all created beings who is the destroyer of all the nine worldly passions, and is victorious over Māra, this most beautifully executed statue is dedicated
by the pure-minded yati and follower of the Buddha's road, who is renowned as Bodhisena, an inhabitant of Dattagallah for the emancipation from worldly trammels of his parents and relations, as also of his teachers, inhabitants of Ahavagra.77

The significance of images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā at Bodhgaya in the seventh century is documented by Xuanzang, for his record elaborately describes a sculpture of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā enshrined in the central spot of the Mahābodhi temple.78 This information and the size and date of the sculpture in the Indian Museum indicate that the use of the bhūmisparśa mudrā for Buddha images was important at Bodhgaya before the Pāla period.

Images of the Buddha in Bhūmisparśa Mudrā from the Pāla and Sena Period

The earliest surviving example of a Pāla-period Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā from Bodhgaya is still located in the Mahābodhi temple compound (Figure 37). This image is later than the works in the Narada Museum and the Indian Museum, perhaps dating from the late eighth century.79 Unfortunately damaged, it is still a significant work to consider. It presents a
Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā again seated on a plain pedestal, but here the Buddha is attended by two Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattvas are too damaged to permit conclusive identification, but both hold flowers and caurīs. The Bodhisattva on the left appears to be holding a nāgakesara flower, while the Bodhisattva on the right holds a lotus. Therefore, it is likely that the Bodhisattvas are Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, respectively. In front of the Buddha appear two females. They are similar to those found in Sārnāth reliefs. One kneels and holds an upturned vase with both hands. The other strides to her left as if leaping, with her right hand raised in a gesture which may be identified as capeta mudrā, a gesture of slapping.80

Another early Pāla-period treatment of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā can be seen in sculpture which likely dates from the early ninth century (Figure 38). It is presently located in the Mahant's compound, the residence of the local Saivite group which has controlled Bodhgāya since the seventeenth century. Many sculptures can be found in this compound, which is only a few hundred yards from the precinct of the Mahābodhi temple. The sculpture
presents a Buddha without Bodhisattvas, seated on a double lotus with a throneback composed of simple uprights and a unornamented crossbar surmounted by a plain halo.\textsuperscript{81} Rampant leogryphs appear below the crossbar, a common feature in Pāla-period works.\textsuperscript{82} Bodhi leaves appear at the top of the halo; their somewhat unusual treatment bears some affinity to motifs found in metal images from the Pāla period.\textsuperscript{83}

Three compartments are arranged across the front of the sculpture's base. Each compartment holds a figure, with a fourth figure, a devotee (possibly the donor), appearing on the far left side. The left compartment contains a female emerging halfway from the ground and holding a vase aloft. The central figure is a female who makes the capeta mudrā, the gesture of slapping, also made by a female in the previous sculpture. The right figure is a seated male who holds an arrow in his two hands.

This male can be identified as a representation of Māra, whose arrow is an attribute of Kāmadeva.\textsuperscript{84} Although Māra is most often shown with a bow rather than just an arrow in Gupta-period representations, the image from Bodhgayā seems to continue the earlier visual tradition which emphasized Māra as a god of
desire. The absence of the bow in this work, however, particularly brings to mind a verse from Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* where the author described Māra's connection to Kāmadeva and indicated that Māra's efforts were futile ones. In the passage, Māra laments:

He does not even notice that arrow by which the god Sambhu (Siva) was pierced with love for the daughter of the mountain and shaken in his vow; can he be destitute of all feeling? is not this that very arrow?

Māra's pensive mood and downward gaze, which suggests that he is examining the arrow, convey a sense of conquest. He is not engaged in battle nor even standing next to the Buddha as often found in Gupta period representations. Instead, he is only shown below the Buddha, contemplating this unsuccessful arrow which had worked before in extreme circumstances. The placement of Māra and the general inactivity of his pose can be seen as an early example of what becomes the common treatment for Māra in Pāla period works, although later depictions do not include Māra's weapons. While this treatment may have developed from Gupta works, they, however, usually showed Māra twice—once standing and once seated (see Figure 25). The artist of this Bodhgayā sculpture has
thus portrayed Māra in a unique manner, bridging those characteristics more commonly found in the Gupta and Pala-periods depictions of Māra.

The two female figures depicted on the base of this sculpture are also somewhat unusual. The female shown as half-emerging from the ground (a feature found in earlier works, such as Figure 33) can be identified as the earth goddess, but here she holds the vase with only one hand. Although the other female is somewhat similar to the one seen in the previous sculpture, she cannot be related as easily to other females found in earlier images.

Mention of a second female does not occur in known narrative accounts of the mārvajāya, and therefore, on first consideration, she is a puzzling figure. A Pāla-period sculpture from the site of Kurkihār, not far from Bodhgaya and dating from the early tenth century (Figure 39), however, presents a female in a similar pose who is not ambiguous in identity. In this image, we can identify the second female as the goddess Aparājītā due to the figure of Gaṇeśa that she tramples beneath her feet and the capēṭa mudrā, the slapping gesture which is associated with Aparājītā (Figure 40). Separate images of
Aparajita also survive from eastern India, such as the eighth century sculpture from Pachar Hill, a site in the Gayā district (Figure 41).

Aparājitā's presence in images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā is not explained by the surviving textual versions of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni. However, iconographic descriptions of the goddess contained in sādhana texts mention that Aparājitā, whose name means unconquered, tramples Gaṇeśa and is the destroyer of all wicked beings called māras.\(^9\) Generally, she is not shown trampling figures other than the elephant god Gaṇeśa.\(^9\) But the fact that sādhanas indicate that she not only tramples Gaṇeśa but also conquers māras suggests that Gaṇeśa is not just a reference to the god Gaṇeśa of the Brahmanical faith.

Some writers have interpreted Aparājitā's trampling of Gaṇeśa as signalling the supremacy of Buddhism over Hinduism and reflecting an actual struggle between the two religions for devotees.\(^9\) Certainlly, some antipathy towards Brahmanical practices is conveyed by the subjugated Gaṇeśa. But it seems that Aparājitā's victory may be taken in a broader sense to symbolize the notions of afflictions
which must be overcome before enlightenment can be obtained. Wrong religious practices could be viewed as part of Māra's deluding bag of tricks that keep one from enlightenment.

Alex Wayman, in his study of Māra, discusses the four kinds of māras described in some Buddhist texts and actually mentioned in one sādhana of the well-known Sādhanamālā. The four māras are: skandha, klesa, mṛtyu and devaputra. Wayman translates a description of the four māras given in the Śrāvaka-bhūmi text as:

Among those, the four Maras are the skandha-māra, the klesa-māra, the mārana-māra, and the devaputra-māra. The skandha-māra is the five grasping personality aggregates (skandha). The klesa-māra is the corruptions (klesa) that range in the three worlds. The mārana-māra is what fixes the time of various sentient beings for death (mārana) from the various classes of sentient beings. [As to the devaputra-māra:] When someone is applied to the virtuous side for the purpose of transcending the personality aggregates (skandha), corruptions (klesa), and death (mṛtyu), a "Son of the Gods" (devaputra) born in the world of desire (kāma-dhātu) who has attained lordship brings about an "interruption," so as to swerve that person. This is called devaputra-māra.

Wayman has shown that, in some texts, three are particularly specified as having been overcome at the vajrāsana: skandha, klesa and devaputra. Although Aparājītā is not a participant in the narrative
accounts of the māravijaya, her presence in images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā might be understood as a symbol of the task of overcoming māras, a reiteration of the message of the Buddha's gesture of bhūmisparśa.⁹⁷

The sixth-century Bodhgayā pedestal presumably from an image of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā (Figure 33), however, demands further consideration of these female figures.⁹⁸ There, two females are shown emerging halfway out of the ground. One holds a vase in her hands, while the second female raises one hand in a capeta-like gesture and has her other hand positioned near her mouth as if to whistle. The female with the vase can be identified as the earth goddess, and the second female might be identified as Aparājītā. But the fact that she is also emerging from the ground (as well as the possibility that the whistle was for a warning) may indicate another identification. Because both females emerge from the ground, it is possible that the second female also represents an earth spirit.

Although I have not found a similar account in any narrative versions of the māravijaya, Xuanzang, in his explanation of why the Mahābodhi temple image is
shown in bhūmisparśa mudrā, provides some interesting information which may reflect lost traditions. He states:

His right hand hangs down in token that when he was about to reach the fruit of the Buddha, and the enticing Māra came to fascinate him, then the earth-spirits came to tell him thereof. The first who came forth advanced to help the Buddha resist Māra, to whom the Buddha said, "Fear not! By the power of patience he must be subdued!" Māra-rāja said, "Who will bear witness for you?" The Tathāgata dropped his hand and pointed to the ground, saying, "Here is my witness." On this, a second earth-spirit leapt forward to bear witness (to testify). Therefore the present figure is so drawn, in imitation of the old posture of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{99}

A second female shown emerging halfway from the ground also appeared in Gupta and post-Gupta works like the one illustrated in Figure 25, a fifth century stele from Sārnāth. Joanna Williams noted the presence of a second female whose identity is problematic in works of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā found at Sārnāth and other sites.\textsuperscript{100} Xuanzang's account, however, gives reason to view the additional female as an earth goddess, the first one who came running forth to help Śākyamuni.

This possible explanation for the identity of the second female raises the question of which was meant in the ninth-century sculpture in the Mahant's
compound and in the eighth-century sculpture depicting the Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas (Figure 37). Since the eighth-century work is damaged where a figure of Gaṇeśa might have appeared, rendering the figure of the female an image of Aparājītā, the question cannot be conclusively settled for that sculpture. However, in some images of the Buddha in bhūmisparsā mudrā, such as the ninth-century Mahant's compound image, the ambiguous nature of the second female is not due to damage sustained by the work. These images show the female in a non-specific manner.

Another example of such treatment can be seen in Figure 28, the eighth-century image from Sārnāth. In this work, the female appears in the general pose of Aparājītā, but Gaṇeśa is absent. However, she is also not emerging from the earth. Thus, it is difficult to determine her exact identity. Such non-specific treatments suggest a connection between the second earth spirit described by Xuanzang, seemingly depicted in some images such as Figure 25, and the form of Aparājītā, clearly depicted in some images such as Figure 39.

It is quite possible that the form and concept of the goddess Aparājītā, who does not seem to appear in
art until the eighth century, evolved from the concept of the earth goddess who came to aid Sakyamuni. Aparājitā may be understood as a representation of the active energy with which to overcome māras—perhaps especially the devaputra māras who will disrupt practice. (The incident at the bodhi tree represents the most famous example of such disruptive attempts.) Wayman equates the moment that the Buddha touches the earth with the moment that the devaputra māra is overcome, supposedly conquered by the love and compassion of the Buddha. In this light, one could view Aparājitā as, in part, assuming the role of the earth goddess described by Xuanzang, who states that she came running to warn the Buddha and help him against Māra.

Like the presence of Aparājitā in images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, the actual form of the earth goddess is more emblematic than narrative. In no surviving versions of the Buddha’s life is she described as she commonly appears in Gupta-period and Pāla-period works. As mentioned above, not all texts describe her presence, and those that do fail to mention the vase that she invariably holds in these images; rather, they describe her with her hands in
Another, lesser known, collection of sādhanas, however, contains a description which equates the goddess Vasudhārā with this earth goddess. This collection of sādhanas, known as the Vajrāvalī-ānāmāndalopāyikā, was compiled by Abhayākaragupta, who lived in eastern India during the eleventh century. The description of Vasudhārā exactly fits the form of the female appearing in Pāla-period images. She is described in the text as holding a bhadraghāta, a vase, in her left hand and making the abhaya mudrā with her right. Further, this sādhanā states that Vasudhārā stood witness for the Sākyasimha against Māra.

The differences in the forms of these figures from narrative text descriptions may offer important evidence of the manner in which the depiction of deities evolved in later periods of Indian art. And the fact that these two females and the defeated form of Māra are the only elements that frequently appear in Pāla-period images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā seems to indicate that such works were primarily intended to express the success of practice and its resulting enlightenment.
An example of another manner in which such images developed in the Pāla period can be found in a Bodhgayā sculpture now located in the Patna Museum (Figure 42). It depicts a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā attended by Maitreya on his right and Avalokiteśvara on his left. The Buddha sits on a vajra-marked lotus seat and the top of his halo is crowned by a cluster of bodhi leaves. The bottom part of the base is now missing, but otherwise the sculpture is in good condition. It was apparently the subject of a drawing made by the Daniells in the late eighteenth century during their visit to Bodhgayā, which shows that the base of the image depicted lions alternating with elephants (Figure 43). Susan Huntington suggested that the work was made in the late ninth century or early tenth century due to its close comparison to dated images from the reign of Mahendrapāla, the Pratihāra, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century.

The image in the Patna Museum is an early example of Pāla-period Bodhgayā works showing the combination of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā with Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya which conforms to the Vajrāsana sādhanas found in the Sādhanamālā, the
collection of sādhanas which are often useful for identifying forms depicted in art works. While there are several such images from the sites of Nālandā and Kurkihār that may date from the eighth or ninth century, the Vajrāsana form does not appear commonly in art until the early tenth century. The eighth century Buddha with Bodhisattvas from Bodhgayā (Figure 37) may also be an early example of an image conforming to the descriptions given in the Vajrāsana sādhanas. Although its damaged state prevents a conclusive identification, it is at least one of the earliest surviving images from eastern India which shows a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā attended by Bodhisattvas.

Three sadhanas describe a vision of a Buddha who is named Vajrāsana Tathāgata; one of these sādhanas also mentions the name Sākyamuni. Each of the three sādhanas describes a figure of a Buddha with his right hand in bhūmisparśa mudrā who is yellow in color, dressed in robes of red and sitting in vajraparyāṅkāsana on a lotus marked by vajra. He is attended by a gold-colored Maitreya to his right and a white-colored Lokesvara to his left. One sādhana adds the information that his lotus is above a lion seat
which is supported by the four māras: Skandha, Kleśa, Mṛtyu and Devaputra.\textsuperscript{114}

Tāranātha, in his discussion of Atīśa's teacher, Jñānaśrīmitra, who must have lived in the tenth and eleventh centuries,\textsuperscript{115} seems to provide a record of the practice of the Vajrāsana sādhana. Tāranātha states that Jñānaśrīmitra, who studied the works of Nagarjuna and Asaṅga and knew the Guhyasamāja, always meditated on the bodhicitta and had repeated visions of the three, namely Bhagavan Śākyarāja, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara.\textsuperscript{116} This trio is the triad mentioned in the Vajrāsana sādhana, and the activity of having visions corresponds to an intended goal of sādhana practice.

In this context, the Vajrāsana image is not solely a narrative depiction, although its basic elements are derived from the event in the life of Śākyamuni. The presence of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya in the sādhana descriptions suggest this, for these two Bodhisattvas are not specifically mentioned in the various surviving narrative accounts of the māravijaya. However, the account of the māravijaya in the Lalitavistara presents a concept related to this triad.\textsuperscript{117} The text states that Śākyamuni was suffused
by maitrī (friendliness) and karunā (compassion) towards Māra and the Māra-assembly before he touched the ground and called the earth to witness his right to enlightenment. Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara are well known to symbolize the concepts of maitrī and karunā, respectively. Thus, their presence in such images may have evolved in a manner similar to that of the earth goddesses, as personifications of the actions of the māravijaya event.

In addition to sculptures surviving from different sites in eastern India which conform closely to these sādhana descriptions, extant paintings from the period also depict the Vajrāsana type. And sculptures and paintings from areas outside of India are further indications of its popularity. Bodhgayā sculptures such as that illustrated in Figure 42 reveal that the Vajrāsana image appeared early in the Pala period at that site. In this work, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara are depicted on the opposite sides from which they are described in the sādhanas, but each Bodhisattva is easily identifiable. Maitreya has a stūpa emblem in his headdress and carries the nāgakesara flower, and Avalokiteśvara has a figure of Amitābha in his headdress and holds a full-blown
lotus.

Another sculpture, perhaps from the late tenth or early eleventh century (Figure 44), reveals the continued production of images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā without Bodhisattvas at Bodhgayā. The sculpture is presently located in a small shrine east of the Mahābodhi temple. The Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā is here supported by a lion base. The base is divided so as to emphasize the central portion from which a cloth hangs pendant, fronted by two female figures and a vajra (Figure 45). One of the figures is the earth goddess. Here she kneels on a small platform, holds her vase with one hand and makes the abhaya mudrā with the other. The second female could be identified as Aparājita, for her pose corresponds to Pāla-period depictions of this goddess, except that Ganeśa is absent. Other similar images from Bodhgayā indicate that this remained a common form at Bodhgayā throughout the Pāla and Sena periods.

The Vajrāsana form showing a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā with Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya also continued to be depicted at Bodhgayā. An image presently located in a niche on the Mahābodhi
temple is a later example from the site (Figure 46). The same basic components seen in the earlier Bodhgaya example of this form are present in this sculpture, which may be dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century on the basis of its similarities to dated works from the reign of Mahipala I. The only differences are the treatment of the throneback, the substitution ofvidyadhārās for stūpas and the switching of sides for the Bodhisattvas. (Avalokiteśvara here appears on the right side of the Buddha and Maitreya appears on his left, agreeing with the sādhana descriptions of their placement.) The base shows two lions at the outer sections and two small figures in the center section. One is the earth goddess presented in a form similar to that depicted in the previous image (Figure 44). Aparājītā is absent here. The second figure is a male who reclines with his chin resting on his hand. It must be Māra, corresponding somewhat to the form found in the early ninth-century Pāla work from Bodhgaya (Figure 38), although here he holds no weapons. This is the manner and location in which Māra is most frequently portrayed in Pāla-period works, the resigned manner of his posture and the lack of weapons
clearly expressing an acknowledgement of his defeat.

A sculpture now in the Asutosh Museum (Figure 47), which lacks a recorded provenance, is quite similar iconographically and stylistically to this image still at Bodhgaya. Their close resemblance indicates that the Asutosh Museum image may have come from Bodhgaya. This is but one example of the works now without a known provenance that remain to be identified as originally from Bodhgaya.

The elements comprising the form of the Vajrāsana image seemingly changed little over time. Diversity is found in the variety of detail. An image from the eleventh century, which is still at the site, further documents the relatively fixed nature of the form and its continued use at Bodhgaya (Figure 48). The actual iconographic treatment shows no real development from the first Vajrāsana image examined here (Figure 42), dating from the late ninth century.126

The images related to the Vajrāsana sādhanas discussed thus far presented the three figures mentioned in the sādhanas in a single sculpture. While the vision of the three was conceived in the sādhanas as forming a single visual image, another mode of presenting these figures as sculptures was
also utilized—grouping separate sculptures of the three together. Because of the devastation and disruption that most Buddhist sites in Bihar have suffered since the decline of Buddhism in the area, and because of the lack of extensive excavation of most sites, little information is available about the iconographic programs into which single sculptures may have been assembled. But instances demonstrating the practice survive, some of which present a program identical to the content of the Vajrāsana sādhanas. Perhaps the most famous example of this practice in eastern India is the trio of figures unearthed at Hasra Kol, some twenty miles from Bodhgaya.\(^{127}\) The three sculptures, dating from the tenth century,\(^ {128}\) were first moved to Viṣṇupur and then transferred to the Patna Museum where they remain today.

The trio from Hasra Kol not only documents an example of the Vajrāsana form, grouping an image of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, but also reveals that even individual images were composed of separate pieces. Today the figures do not have pedestals or backslabs, but a picture taken of them while still located at Viṣṇupur by A.W. Keith does show a throneback and a
pedestal with the Buddha image. Although the throneback is also now in the collection of the Patna Museum, its relationship to the three figures from Hasra Kol is not always recognized. Most likely, Buddhist shrines were composed not only of groupings of separate images but had various pieces forming an ensemble for just a single image. Indeed, our viewing today of the sculptures from the Pāla period as separate entities is a somewhat faulty notion; their present isolation sometimes may be just the accident of survival. Some of the fragmentary images of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā surviving from Bodhgayā and other sites may have originally been combined with other figures, perhaps sometimes forming groups depicting the vision described by the Vajrāsana sādhana.

Consideration of the original contexts of sculptures of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā may be particularly important with regard to the image housed inside the main shrine of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 49). Today, it comprises a single figure of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā and a pedestal placed on a base. The base was excavated in the nineteenth century, and it was discovered that the present front was but one
of several facings.¹³² Prudence Myer described its appearance and noted that although this facing contains no internal evidence for its date, its simple decoration indicates an early date.¹³³ Indeed, it closely corresponds to the delineation of the pedestal of the previously discussed seventh century headless Buddha image in the Indian Museum (Figure 34).¹³⁴

The sculpture now located on this plinth or base was not in the main cell of the temple when Buchanan-Hamilton visited the site in the early nineteenth century, for he described a very crude image in that place.¹³⁵ During his first visit to Bodhgayā, Rajendralal Mitra noted that the image was located in the Mahant's compound.¹³⁶ Mitra speculated that it had been originally enshrined in the Mahābodhi temple, but he seems to have no firm knowledge of this fact. Later in the century, apparently at the request of Beglar and Cunningham, it was moved from the Mahant's compound to its present location. Cunningham also identified the work as formerly being in the Mahant's collection and stated that it was the largest Buddha image at Bodhgayā.¹³⁷ He gave its height as five and half feet, which is not the largest of images; possibly he was referring only to seated Buddhas where
it is among the largest.\footnote{138} There is no specific evidence which confirms that this sculpture was originally placed inside the main cell of the Mahābodhi temple. However, as Susan Huntington has pointed out, if this assumption is correct, it must have exerted influence on Buddha images made elsewhere.\footnote{139} Indeed, she noted that the patterned cushion which replaces the lotus seat in this sculpture is found in other sculptures of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā at Bodhgaya and at other sites.\footnote{140}

In this context, it is interesting to note that pilgrim accounts, such as those of Xuanzang and Dharmasvamin, mention the power and importance of images in the Mahābodhi temple.\footnote{141} Dharmasvāmin particularly reveals something of the unusual esteem attached to the image of the vajrāsana when he described his own encounter with the image:

one is never satiated to behold such an image, and has no desire to go and behold another. 

\ldots even people of little faith when standing in front of the image felt it impossible not to shed tears.\footnote{142}

It is important to consider whether or not the pedestal (not the throne facing) immediately below the Buddha is original because this pedestal contains an
inscription on its front edge. Mitra's illustration of the image, made while the work was still at the Mahant's compound, shows the two together. The carving of the pedestal—elephants alternating with lions with the figure of the earth goddess in the center—is similar to other works from the tenth century, the date which has been assigned to the image. Thus, it does seem likely that the two belong together.

Mitra was the first to notice the inscription on the pedestal, but he was unable to translate it fully. He did note that it was written in kutila characters of a date he placed as comparable to an image dated in the reign of Mahīpāla I, circa late tenth century. Mitra also noted that the contents included the Buddhist creed and an account of the donor, Purnabhadra, who remains unidentified. Cunningham mentioned the inscription in his work on the Mahābodhi temple, and he cited a fuller translation. The inscription is broken and worn so that a complete reading seems impossible. However, the inscription does state that the donor, Purnabhadra, "made this gandhakuti with three images; may the merit of it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge for the whole
world.\textsuperscript{145} Whether "this gandhakutī" might refer to the Mahābodhi temple where a renovation and not an actual construction might be meant, or whether the images were housed in another temple altogether cannot be ascertained due to the incomplete evidence of this Buddha image's history.

The mention of three images suggests an analogy to the form described in the Vajrāsana sādhanas with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara serving as attendants to the Buddha. If these Bodhisattvas were the other two images dedicated with the large Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, it would be further evidence of the importance of the Vajrāsana form at Bodhgaya in the late tenth century. Unfortunately, none of the known images of Bodhisattvas from Bodhgaya clearly indicate that they might have served in such a triad with this Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā. Two fragments of a large throneback preserved at the Mahant's compound, however, might have formed an ensemble that included the Mahābodhi temple Buddha (Figure 50). Its height would work with the height of this Buddha image.\textsuperscript{146} The size of this image at least documents the continued importance of the form of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā with the earth goddess at Bodhgaya
in the late tenth century.

Another late tenth or early eleventh-century sculpture from Bodhgaya (Figures 51 and 52) presents a treatment for the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā different from those discussed so far. An impressive work, it is dated in the tenth or eleventh year of the reign of Mahipāla (I). It seems to be the earliest example surviving from Bodhgaya of this form which presents a the figure of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā surrounded by smaller figures representing scenes from the life of the Buddha.

Grouping Buddha life scenes together has already been seen in Gupta-period steles, which in turn corresponded to earlier formats found in Kuśāna period works. The previously discussed Mathurā work from the second century (Figure 21) is one early example where eight scenes are grouped together on a drum of a stūpa. The use of equally-sized scenes is also found on numerous Pāla-period votive stūpas. A well-known early Pāla-period example is a metal stūpa from Nālandā (Figure 53). This work, which has been dated to the ninth century, shows eight scenes depicted around the drum of the stūpa; its pedestal depicts eight Bodhisattvas. The use of such scenes in
eastern Indian sculptures to surround a central and larger Buddha figure, however, does not seem to be popular until the tenth century, for I have been unable to identify many examples which can be dated before this time.

After the late tenth century, numerous examples of the format survive. In particular, such works appear at Nālandā and Antichak but they are also encountered at other sites in eastern India, such as Bodhgayā. These surviving from Nālandā are mostly very small stone sculptures, except for one sculpture at Jagdishpur, Nālandā, which, due to its great size and complete detail, is without parallel among the surviving eastern Indian examples (Figure 54). It seems possible that this remarkable sculpture served as a catalyst in the growing popularity of the format; at least the smaller Nālandā examples relate particularly closely to this larger work. Its date, roughly corresponding to that of the sculpture from Bodhgayā dated in the reign of Mahīpāla (I), is the time when this form was seemingly becoming popular. Both works and other similar eastern Indian sculptures depict the same eight scenes, indicating some specific
intention for their choice. While there are not many such works surviving from Bodhgaya, the grouping of scenes does appear in other contexts at Bodhgaya and, thus, it is important to consider the form here in some detail.¹⁵³

The choice and popularity of the eight scenes found in the groupings of the Pāla-period images may, in part, reflect a growing interest in the cult of the eight sacred spots.¹⁵⁴ Their importance arose from being places of major events in the Buddha’s life. Early in the Buddhist tradition, they were regarded as important places to venerate, and if one could, to visit. The often quoted passage from the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta documents the early significance of four of these sites. There the Buddha himself advised the worship of:

the place where the Tathāgata was born, the place where the Tathāgata achieved supreme and perfect insight, where the kingdom of righteousness was set on foot by the Tathāgata and the place where the Tathāgata passed away in that utter passing which leaves whatever to remain behind.¹⁵⁵

These four sites are Lumbinī (the birth), Bodhgaya (the enlightenment), Sārnāth (the first preaching), and Kuśinagara (the parinirvāṇa). Various sources indicate that the sites were associated with important events in the life of the Buddha because of their own
inherent special nature. For instance, Faxian, the fourth century Chinese pilgrim, stated that they were fixed spots, visited by every Tathāgata.\textsuperscript{156} Other pilgrims reiterate this theme in descriptions of the sites that mix their own experiences with an accounting of the events which supposedly occurred there.\textsuperscript{157}

In Pāla-period art, the four sites mentioned above are combined with four more to produce a group of eight which are the most popular, although not the only scenes represented. The remaining four in this group are: Śrāvastī (where the Buddha performed miracles to confound and convert heretics), Sānkāśya (where he descended from Trāyastriṃśa heaven after preaching there), Rājgir (where he tamed a wild elephant set loose by his cousin Devadatta), and Vaiśāli (where he decided to pass on to nirvāṇa and was offered honey by a monkey).\textsuperscript{158} The record of Huichao, a monk from the Silla kingdom in Korea who visited India in the eighth century, may shed some light on the transition from a group of four holy spots to eight.\textsuperscript{159} Sarkar suggests that this record shows an intermediate phase in the development of the cult of eight great caityas.\textsuperscript{160} An increase in the
popularity of the cult may have inspired the depiction of eight scenes in Pāla-period steles.

A useful source for understanding the popularity of the group of eight scenes is found in several versions of texts concerned with the worship of the eight great caityas. The texts were translated into Tibetan and Chinese, in which forms they survive today. The caityas mentioned in these texts are not the eight erected over the eight portions of the Buddha’s ashes, but the eight which mark the sites of important events in the Buddha’s life. Translation into Chinese was first done by a monk from Nālandā, who travelled to China and lived there from 973 A.D. until his death in 1001 A.D. The fact that the text was significant enough to be translated into Chinese suggests that the material had currency and importance for Buddhist practice in eastern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Indeed, this is the time when sculptures of the eight scenes begin to appear commonly in eastern Indian art.

One version entitled Aṣṭā Mahāsthana Caitya Stotra praises the eight caityas commemorating the life of Śākyamuni and closes with the exhortation that:
If a Brahmin or a good man or woman builds caityas like the eight caityas with great faith at heart and worship them, he or she may attain great merit, high virtue and peace. By listening to these names of vast and deep significance and by worshipping these eight caityas in pure faith all Arhats, Bhiksus, good men and women are born in the world of gods after death.\textsuperscript{164}

Such texts and the records of pilgrims who travelled to India indicate that it was meritorious to set up images, caityas and other markers at the sites they visited. It seems logical to assume that the eight scenes commonly grouped together in Pāla-period sculptures partially reflect the notion of the eight sites. As references to the sites, these scenes should not be interpreted as only narrative in nature. This orientation is is perhaps reflected in a manuscript illustration (Figure 55), that combines a depiction of the offering of the monkey, which occurred at the site of Vaiśālī, with a depiction of Tāra. The painting is simply inscribed "Tārā of Vaiśālī,"\textsuperscript{165} so it seems that the Buddha life scene was used in the painting as a symbol for the location of this enshrined Tārā image.\textsuperscript{166}

While the Pāla-period examples most commonly group eight scenes together in one stele, the number of scenes depicted in Gupta period Sārnāth steles
varies more and is not usually eight scenes. Further, the actual scenes grouped together in Sārnāth steles are different from those usually found in Pāla-period works; this was also true for Kuśāṇa-period works from Mathurā and Gandhāra. In fact, I know of only one Sārnāth stele which presents the same eight scenes grouped together in Pāla-period works (Figure 56). Joanna Williams noted that it was the only work from Sārnāth which depicts all the scenes commonly encountered in Pāla-period sculptures. Because of this and because of certain stylistic features, Williams dates this stele later than most other scholars, placing it conservatively into the seventh or eighth century, but perhaps it could be dated even later.

As evident in the diagrams below, this Sārnāth stele compares closely to the content of the Mahāpāla (I) period image. However, as in typical Sārnāth steles from the Gupta period, this later work from Sārnāth gives equal space to each of the eight scenes, while the Pāla-period work emphasizes one scene by making it larger and placing it in the center.
Sārnāth image (see Figure 56)  
Bodhgaya image (see Figure 51)

1. Birth of Buddha at Lumbinī  
2. Māravijaya at Bodhgaya  
3. First Preaching at Sārnāth  
4. Miracle at Śrāvastī  
5. Descent from heavens at Sāṅkāśya  
6. Taming of the Elephant at Rājgir  
7. Offering of the Monkey at Vaisālī  
8. Parinirvāṇa at Kuśinagara

The Mahāpāla (I) period image (Figure 51), dating from the late tenth century, is a fairly typical example of the treatment of this form in Pāla period works. The configuration of seven scenes surrounding a larger figure weakens the narrative quality. Below the central figure of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā are figures of the earth goddess and Mara, common elements in Pāla-period images showing only a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudra. A devotee holding a garland appears to the left of the earth goddess. The birth of the Buddha appears on the lower left and shows Māyā with a child springing from her right hip.
The first sermon at Sārnāth is above, represented by a Buddha in dharmacakra mudra and pralambapadāsana with two small deer and a cakra at his feet. The miracle at Śrāvastī occurs on the opposite side of the stele at the same level. The Śrāvastī scene is typically represented by a Buddha also in dharmacakra mudrā but without the deer and cakra. The standing Buddha on the left represents the descent from Trāyastriṃśa heaven at Sāṅkāśya. The Buddha is attended here by Indra who holds an umbrella over the Buddha’s head and a small figure kneeling in front probably representing the nun who was the first to greet the Buddha on his return. The corresponding standing Buddha on the right side of the stele represents the taming of elephant Nālāgiri at Rājgir, which is identified by the small elephant at the Buddha’s feet. The seated Buddha on the bottom left side represents the scene of the monkey’s offering at Vaiśālī. The monkey is depicted below the pralambapadāsana Buddha twice, first holding the bowl of honey and then plunging into a well.

The sculpture presents a brief rendering of the separate scenes; sometimes, in other sculptures from eastern India, additional elements appear. For instance, in the Śrāvastī scene, a small fat figure
who represents Purāṇa Kāśyapa, the leader of the defeated heretics is often shown at the feet of the Buddha (see, for example, Figure 62). Likewise, the scene of the Buddha’s descent often includes Brahmā as an additional attendant, and, in the taming of Nālāgiri, Ānanda sometimes appears behind the Buddha and holding a staff.

The Asta Mahāstham Caitya Stotra parallels the sculpture’s brief visual treatment of scenes in that it does not elaborately narrate the causes for the fame of the sites. There seems to be no direct literary sources from canonical works for the descriptions of the sites found in texts, such as the Asta Mahāstham Caitya Stotra. Pāla-period images which depict Buddha life scenes also do not totally correspond to known textual narrative traditions in the formation of their scenes. None of the surviving biographies of the Buddha can completely account for even the few details which do appear in these images. Even the Asta Mahāstham Caitya Stotra does not mention all the elements which appear in the Pāla period images. Although a Chinese version of the Buddhacarita and a Pali text describe the episode of the Buddha taming the elephant at Rājgir, it is
Xuanzang's records which describe an element often found in Pāla-period depictions of this scene.\textsuperscript{172} This detail is the presence of lions emerging from the fingers of the Buddha (see Figure for an example). Xuanzang, in his description of Rājgir, states:

There is a spot where Devadatta and Ajātaśatru, having agreed together as friends, literated the drunken elephant for the purpose of killing the Tathāgata. But the Tathāgata miraculously caused five lions to proceed from his finger-ends; on this the drunken elephant was subdued and stood still before him.\textsuperscript{173}

The fact that such details present in Pāla period works neither conform to one text nor can even be accounted for in some cases by any known text suggests the possibility of lost oral traditions or lost or as yet unknown textual versions of the Buddha's life. The correlation between the information provided by Xuanzang about the Rājgir incident and depictions of the incident from the Pāla period supports the possibility of now unknown oral or written traditions which he may have heard or seen at the time of his visit and then recorded.

The choice of the eight scenes, which seem at least related to the then popular concept of eight sites, involves some intriguing issues. Certainly the selection of the scenes of the birth for Lumbinī, the
māravijaya at the vajrāsana for Bodhgaya, the first sermon for Sārnāth and the parinirvāna for Kuśinagara present no difficulty. By the Pāla period, there was an established tradition identifying these scenes as the images and events of the respective sites. This is also true for the performance of miracles for Śrāvastī and the descent from heaven for Sāṅkāśya. But the taming of the elephant for Rājgir and the offering of the monkey for Vaiśālī were not so popularly represented in earlier groups of Buddha life scenes. Why, then, were they chosen to illustrate and represent the sites of Rājgir and Vaiśālī, which were both important places where a number of events had occurred?

The presence of these two scenes differentiates the post-Gupta period Sārnāth image from other Sārnāth images depicting Buddha life scenes, for the two seem totally absent from Sārnāth stelae, with the exception of this work (Figure 56). Moreover, it is these two scenes which make the post-Gupta period Sārnāth image similar to Pāla-period groupings. Not only did these scenes not appear frequently in earlier art traditions, they were also not popularly recounted in the known narrative versions of the Buddha's life.
Even in the *Aṣṭa Mahāsthana Caitya Stotra*, the short descriptions given to the sites of Rājgir and Vaśāḷī do not always relate to the two scenes. However, the versions of this text do provide a good starting point for investigating the meaning of these two scenes. One version of the text describes the sites in verse:

The capital city of King Suddhdodana (was) Kapilavastu. The Garden of Lumbinī is the place where the Buddha was born. On the shore of the Naiρaṇjanā river in Magadha, under the Bodhi tree he accomplished Enlightenment. In the city of Bārāṇāsī in the country of Kāśi he turned the Great Dharmacakra in twelve forms. In the Jetavana of the great city of Śrāvasti he displayed miracles, pervading the three dhātus. In the city of Kānyakubja in the country of Sāmkāśya he descended from the palace (bhavana) of the Trāyastriṃśah. In the great city of Rājagrha, when the schism of the Order (sanghabheda) took place, the Tathāgata gave guidance adequately and practised compassion. In a stupa of the great city of Vaiśāḷī he pondered on the length of his life (ayuhpramāṇa). The Kuśinagarī is the place of the ones endowed with vigorous power (Malla). He entered Nirvāṇa between the twin sāla trees. These are the Eight Great Spiritual Stūpas. If a Brahmin or a kulaputra or a kuladuhitṛ and so on rouses a great faith and establishes stūpas and caityas and observe services, this person will attain great benefit, obtain great fruitful results, and will be praised greatly. His or her fame will spread all over. The result will be very profound and wide. So, bhiksus should learn this.

Here Vaiśāḷī is described as the place where the Buddha pondered on the length of his remaining life.
Another version states that "at Vaiśālī, he abandoned the residues of life, displayed supernatural power, and he, the emancipated one, displayed miracles at Vaiśālī." Only one version specifically refers to the monkey incident, stating that at Vaiśālī was the caitya of the origination of compassion where the Buddha had meditated on his life and Hanumant had offered honey.

The meditation that the Buddha engaged in at Vaiśālī is mentioned by some sources as the one in which he decided to pass on to nirvāṇa and bypass the possibility of extending his life further than three more months. This information is given in some narrative versions of the Buddha's life, while other texts, such as Vasubandhu's Ārya Aksayamatinirdesātīka, explain the import of this decision as signalling the complete conquest of māras. For although three māras are conquered when the Buddha sits beneath the bodhi tree, the fourth, mṛtyu-māra, is not completely conquered until the Buddha demonstrates at Vaiśālī his power over controlling the limits of his life (and thus his power over death). This is significant with respect to the depictions of the Buddha being offered honey, for one frequent
element of the scene shows the monkey jumping or stumbling into a well, where he dies after he has offered the honey. John Huntington has noted that this element expresses the benefit to be gained by paying homage to the Buddha, for after the monkey dies, he is born as a deva in Trāyastrīṃśa heaven. But this element might also be seen as prefiguring the Buddha's own parinirvāṇa which the Buddha had decided would take place three months from the time of his decision at Vaiśālī. Perhaps this is why the scene of the offering of honey was selected over other possible events which occurred at Vaiśālī to represent the site. Its choice for presentation in Pāla-period art may indicate that Vaiśālī was especially important at this time because there the Buddha conquered the final māra.

The Asta Mahāsthana Caitya Stotra describes Rājgir as the place where a schism occurred and where the Buddha, by the power of his compassion and his delivered teaching, brought all into accord. The reference to a schism might refer to either the attempts of Devadatta to usurp the following of the Buddha or to the first Buddhist council held after the time of the Buddha. Both were important events, but
neither offered particularly dramatic visual features to the artist. The event of the Buddha taming the wild elephant, part of Devadatta's schemes, however, was a dramatic scene, one which emphasized both the Buddha's power and his compassion, for supposedly, he overcame the elephant by his compassion, and the practice of compassion is mentioned in the description of Rājgir in some versions of the Aṣṭa Mahāsthana Caitya Stotra.\textsuperscript{182} The scene is also an instance of the Buddha effecting a reconciliation. By thwarting Devadatta's attempts to destroy him, which symbolize dissension, the Buddha prevented a schism.\textsuperscript{183} Rājgir was an important place of Buddhist teaching and practice. It was the location of the first Buddhist council where the Buddhist canon was further defined, and the preaching of texts such as the Lotus Sutra and the Prajñāpāramitā supposedly took place on the nearby Vulture Peak at Grdhṛakuṭi hill.\textsuperscript{184} The only attempt to create a schism in the Buddhist community during the lifetime of Śākyamuni was made by Devadatta at Rājgir. Since the scene of the taming of the elephant depicts one aspect of this attempt, its role as a reference to the site might be viewed as a reiteration of both the power of the Buddha's teachings and
practice of compassion.\textsuperscript{185} The taming of Nālāgiri, however, is not only a symbol of the ability to overcome outward obstacles but serves also as a symbol of the all-encompassing power of compassion to overcome inner impediments obstructing the practitioner's success.\textsuperscript{186}

The four sites (Vaiśālī, Śrāvasti, Sānkāśya and Rājgir), added to the original sacred group of four (Lumbini, Bodhgaya, Sārnāth and Kuśinagara), may be, in part, conflations of the notion of Buddha's teaching and power, originally symbolized simply by Sārnāth.\textsuperscript{187} At Śrāvasti, he confounded heretics who challenged his authority by displaying miraculous powers; at Sānkāśya, he was attended by Indra and Brahmā and thus is shown superior to them; at Rājgir, he overcame irascible members of his own order whose challenge is symbolized by the wild elephant; and, at Vaiśālī, he finally and completely overcame mṛtyu-māra, a symbol of the central obstacle to be overcome. These four scenes thus seem to speak to the importance of the Buddha's power and his teaching in the spread of the Buddhist dharma, which is brought about either by conversion or by conquering, and the benefits to be gained by paying homage to him. The
scenes also speak about inner obstacles every devotee must face in his own road to Buddhahood. The organization of the scenes in Pāla-period works seems to emphasize such multiple levels of meaning, since the format suppresses a sense of narrative structure. 188

Although Joanna Williams has stated that there is no pattern in the placement of the scenes of the post-Gupta-period Sārnāth stèle (Figure 55), this does not seem completely true. 189 As in the Gupta-period works, there is a general left to right (what Williams terms horizontal) as well as a vertical movement to the scenes in the post-Gupta image. This is maintained if one first looks at the four scenes of the birth, the māరavijaya, the first preaching and the parinirvāṇa. These four scenes, which are sometimes depicted as a unit without other scenes, in some Gupta period works, 190 occur at the four corners of the post-Gupta period work in a left to right, bottom to top sequencing. The four other events, which one can suppose were more secondary in nature, occur in the inner compartments of the work. This arrangement may offer further support for viewing the addition of the four scenes as partly due to the conflation of the
activity of the Buddha, which literally took place between the first preaching and the parinirvāna. Besides these possible concerns, the artist may have also sought an arrangement alternating standing and seated figures which works horizontally and vertically. This sets up a sense of visual play that is both regular (symmetrical) and varied.

The Pāla-period groupings, as exemplified by the Mahīpāla (I) period piece (Figure 51), both continue and change this method of organization. Like Gupta and post-Gupta period works from Sārnāth, Pāla-period images display a general bottom to top sequencing. The birth is always shown on either the bottom right or left and the parinirvāna always appears at the top. A horizontal orientation is somewhat suppressed by the enlargement of one scene, most often the māravijaya, which breaks both the visual and chronological sequencing. But, usually, six scenes are paired in horizontal tiers. The scene of Vaisālī, which may be viewed as the last to occur before the parinirvāna, is frequently placed opposite the birth. Usually the Sārnāth scene is horizontally paired with the Srāvastī scene and the Sāṅkāśya scene is paired with the Rajgir scene. Thus, seated Buddhas occur together and
standing Buddhas occur together, producing a more balanced arrangement than found in the Sārnāth compositions.

Pairing the earliest event (the birth) with the next-to-last event (the monkey’s offering at Vaiśālī) instead of the Śrāvastī or Sārnāth scene, which are also both seated images, suggests that the visual movement was also circular. The scenes take on a somewhat mandalic appearance which accords with viewing the Buddha’s life as both a paradigmatic path and a definition of the goal.\textsuperscript{191} The sites made sacred by the events that occurred there may serve as symbols which incorporate the worship of the Buddha as a historical personage with more abstract meanings of bodhi nature.\textsuperscript{192}

The Mahāpāla (I) example is one of only two known large images using the grouping of life scenes with the central figure as a Buddha in bhūmisparsā mudrā that I know of from Bodhgayā although smaller works and fragmentary ones also survive from the site.\textsuperscript{193} The other large sculpture is a virtual twin of the Mahāpāla (I) work. Now located in the Mahant’s compound, it has suffered from exposure (Figures 57 and 58). Its base is missing, but otherwise it
presents the same elements and the same configuration seen in the Mahāpāla (I) work. The placement and the contents of the subsidiary scenes are identical, as are the stylistic elements, such as the halo decoration, lotus petals, thronebacks, and the unusual treatment of the borders of the Buddhas' robes (Figures 52 and 58). The content of the single line of inscription which appears on the bottom of the Mahant's compound image is simply the Buddhist creed and does not include a date in the regnal years of a Pāla king.

Conclusion

The surviving single sculptures of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudra from Bodhgayā indicate that the type, which seems to have already become a significant one by the seventh century, remained important throughout the Pāla period at the site. Although, certain elements changed, as has been discussed, the general form developed out of pre-Pāla treatments that used few narrative details. The configuration described by the Vajrāsana sādhanas is one of the few
new developments to be found in these Pāla-period images. In the known sculptures from Bodhgayā, if a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā is accompanied by Bodhisattvas, they are Maitreyā and Avalokiteśvara, the two named in the Vajrāsana sādhana.

The other new treatment found in the Bodhgaya sculptures of a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā is the one that combines smaller-scaled life scenes with a larger figure of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā. This treatment is also found in other types of Bodhgayā Buddha images from the eleventh century, which will be discussed below in the following chapter. Also, crowned images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, which appear in some eleventh-century sculptures, will be discussed below with other types of crowned Buddha images.
FOOTNOTES

1 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 96.


3 For illustration of many of these sculptures, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.


5 Two examples of studies which consider the textual sources for specific representations of the mārvijaya are Joanna Williams, "Sārnāth Supta Steles of the Buddha's Life," Ars Orientalis, 10 (1975), 179-81; and Geri Malandra, "Image and Text in Early Indian Art," East and West, n.s. 31 (December 1981), 121-30. Differences in some textual versions of the mārvijaya were analyzed by E. Windisch ("Māra und Buddha," Sachische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, 15, 4 [1895], 304-15).

6 This is often the case for Indian images, as various scholars have noted. See, for example, the comments of Joanna Williams ("Siva and the Cult of Jagannātha: Iconography and Ambiguity," in Discourses on Siva, ed. Michael W. Meister [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984], 306-309). Also Parimoo (Life of the Buddha, 3-5) notes that the differences between text and images provide important clues to understanding the formulation of visual works.

in dealing with biographical texts. In addition, other textual traditions like dramas also use the biography of the Buddha and, thus, could have influenced visual depictions. Biswanath Bhattacharyya (Aśvaghoṣa-A Critical Study [Santiniketan: Santiniketan Press, 1976], 29) mentions such dramas in relation to Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita.


9Parimoo, Life of Buddha, 4.

10Ibid. And it is also possible that images influenced the changes made in texts.


12Parimoo, Life of the Buddha, 14-24; Mary Cummings, The Lives of the Buddha in the Art and Literature of Asia, Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, no. 20 (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1982), 169-70.
13 Malandra ("Image and Text," 122) discusses reliefs from Sāñcī which date from the first century A.D.


15 Ibid. See also Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharhut, 44-45.


18 E.B. Cowell, trans., The Buddhacarita (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894), 139. It is after Māra discharges his arrows and they have no effect that Māra called upon his army to attack Sākyamuni. In The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, A Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara, translated by Nicholas Pope, Studies on Asia, 16 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), 162, Māra is described as sad, with his chin leaning on his hand after his army had fled. This text is a Mongolian version of a now lost Tibetan abbreviation of the Lalitavistara.


20 Parimoo, Life of Buddha, 1-2.

21 Most frequently, Kuśāna period images of the Buddha, which are not narrative reliefs, depict either
the abhaya or dhyāna mudrās. For example, there are no such images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā illustrated in Gandhāra, Microfiche Archive of the American Committee for South Asian Art, eds. Susan L. Huntington and Janice L. Dunson (Leiden: Inter Documentation Co., n.d. [1979]). It has also been suggested that some Kuśāna period images of Buddha in abhaya mudrā are images of the Buddha's enlightenment. See Stanislaw Czuma with Rekha Morris, Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), 71.

22 The relief is the subject of an article by Geri Malandra ("Image and Text in Early Indian Art," 121-130). The Gandhāra school of art produced more narrative imagery than most other schools in India. Comparative analysis of works within one school would be valuable, but it is beyond the scope of the present study. Works chosen here for illustration are meant to reflect general trends of each school and important innovations, but are not meant to be viewed as complete examples of the different traditions for depicting the māravijaya.

23 Ibid., 128. On p. 121, she notes that the Buddhacarita, written by Aśvaghoṣa, was most likely composed in the late first or early second century A.D. It was thus roughly contemporary to the date of the creation of the Freer relief.

24 Cowell, trans., The Buddhacarita, 145-147.


26 Ibid., II: 227.

27 Boyd (Satan and Māra, 73) states that Pāpimā is the most commonly used name for Māra in texts.

28 Cowell, trans., The Buddhacarita, 137-147; Barua, "Māra," 201; Cummings, The Lives of the Buddha in the Art and Literature of Asia, 167-169. Further demonstration of the richness inherent in the imagery of the enlightenment is the overtone of conflict between the Buddha and Māra for sovereignty. Such overtones have been discussed by Nancy C. Falk ("Wilderness and Kingship in Ancient South Asia," History of Religions, 13, 1 [August 1973], 1-17) and


33Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," 180; Barua, "Māra," 198. The Buddhacarita states (Cowell, trans., *Buddhacarita*, 137): "He whom they call in the world Kāmadeva, the owner of various weapons, the flower-arrowed lord of the course of desire,—it is he whom they also style Māra, the enemy of liberation." Boyd (*Satan and Māra*, 111-122) discusses the aspects of Māra's kāma nature.

34Williams (*"Sārnāth Gupta Steles,"* 180) surmises that the depiction of Māra as Kāma must mean that the Buddhacarita was influential at Sārnāth.

35Jones, trans., *The Mahāvastu*, II: 364-65; Barua (*"Māra,"* 208) notes that the *Dhammapāda* also mentions Māra's flower-pointed arrows.

36Boyd, *Satan and Māra*, 73, 97.

37Boyd, *Satan and Māra*, 98.

38In this context, it is interesting to note that the śrāddha ceremonies performed at the nearby tīrtha of Gayā are ceremonies dealing with death. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandurang Vaman Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra [Ancient and Medieval Religions and Civil Law in India]*, IV [Poona: Bhandarkär Research Institute, 1976], 643-679) details Gayā's role for performing śrāddha for the ancestors (*pitrs*). Gayā and Bodhgayā may have influenced each other in their development as sites which deal with death. For a
discussion of the general connections between death and pilgrimage, see Victor Turner, "Death and the Dead in the Pilgrimage Process," in Religious Encounters with Death, eds. Frank Reynolds and Earle Waugh (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State Press, 1977), 24-39. Herman Oldenberg (Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order [London: Luzac, 1928], 53-59) made the very interesting observation that the story of the Buddha's encounter with Mara strongly resembles a tale in the Katha Upanisad. The story relates that a youth named Naciketas, when offered transient pleasures and riches by the god of death, bypasses them for the secret of what is beyond death.


41 Parimoo, Life of Buddha, 18.

42 Ibid.; and see, for example, V. Fausboll, trans., The Sutta-nipāta, The Sacred Books of the East, X, pt. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1881), 69, which also mentions that Mara rides an elephant in the assault.

43 Parimoo, Life of Buddha, 20. Williams, ("Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," 181, figure 13), however, places it into the third century A. D.

44 For Gandhāra examples, see Parimoo, Life of Buddha, figure 30; Alfred Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Publications de l'école française d'extrême-orient, vol. V (Paris: Leroux, 1905), 397, figure 200,b.


46 O.C. Ganguly, "The Earth Goddess in Buddhist Art," The Indian Historical Quarterly, XIX (March 1943), 1.
Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, II: 366. In fact, the reverberations of the earth after having been struck caused Māra's army to disperse and fall into the river Naiṣāṇḍa.

Cowell, *The Buddhacarita*, 146-147. In addition, the Buddhacarita states that after Sākyamuni has achieved enlightenment, the earth shook in six different ways like an overjoyed woman (p. 156).


See below, pp. 111-12.


Ganguly, "The Earth Goddess in Buddhist Art," 4, quotes from the Pali text *Pathamasambodhi*. There, the earth goddess states: "Respected Superman, I know of the magnitude of thy (spiritual) riches, the tresses of my hair are saturated with the ritual water of your gifts, let me wring out the water now." M. Charles Duroiselle ("Wathundaye, The Earth Goddess of Burma," ASIAR [1921], 144-146) also discusses this text. Also see, Theodor Bowie, ed., *The Sculpture of Thailand, (New York: The Asia Society, 1972), 131*. A twelfth century image from Cambodia that depicts the earth goddess wringing her hair is illustrated in Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Light of Asia* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1984), 102-103, figure 45.
Boyd, Satan and Māra, 74.

Cowell, The Buddhacarita, 155. It is after achieving enlightenment that the Buddha supposedly says: "listen ye to the words of me who have now attained perfect knowledge; everything is achieved by meritorious works, therefore as long as existence lasts, acquire merit."

Parimoo, Life of Buddha, 22-23.


Such larger works may, however, also originally have been combined in groups.

This seems especially true for painting traditions. See, for examples, Pal, ed., Light of Asia, figures 15, 47, 48.

Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 120-121. The fourth century account of Faxian (Legge, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, 88), however, does not mention the gesture of bhūmisparsa in the description of the Bodhgaya events. This text states: "Then king Māra sent three beautiful young ladies, who came from the north to tempt him, while he himself came from the south to do the same. The Bodhisattva put his toes on the ground, and the demon soldiers retired and dispersed, and the three young ladies were changed into old (grand-)mothers."

Islay Lyons and Harold Ingholt, Gandhāran Art in Pakistan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), figure XXIV. The painting is now in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin.


Huntington ("The Origin of the Buddha Image," 41-42) discusses the subject of such paintings which are illustrations of how the news of the Buddha's parinirvāna was broken to King Ajātaśatru.

68 The pre-Pāla art traditions of eastern India have been thoroughly studied by Frederick Asher (The Art of Eastern India). See Huntington, *Origin and Development*, 17-57, for further discussion of the early Bihar sculptures.

69 Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, 51, 75-77, plates 78, 137. Huntington ('Pāla-Sena' Schools, 16, 20, figures 8 and 15) also discusses these sculptures.

70 Huntington ('Pāla-Sena' Schools, 16) places the work into the seventh century. Asher (Art of Eastern India, 76) dates it to the eighth century, but mentions that it has strong connections to fourth century styles.

71 Asher, *Art of Eastern India*, 75.

72 Ibid., 28, footnote 138. For a description of the pedestal, see Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections of the Indian Museum*, 54.

73 Huntington, 'Pāla-Sena' Schools, 20, figure 16.

74 Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, 132, 192-193 and plate LI.

75 Ibid., 130. He describes what he terms dhyāna mudrā as when "the saint cross-legged, with left palm resting vector uppermost in his lap, the right hand extended on the right leg or knee." On page 133, he states, "the next most common attitude is ecstasy or samādhi. It differs from the last in having both hands resting on the lap." Thus, the first mudrā described by Mitra is really bhūmisparśa and the second dhyāna. He labels the mudrā of the Buddha as dhyāna, but dhyāna mudrā is used by him to designate bhūmisparśa mudrā, while he labels dhyāna mudrā ecstatic meditation.

76 Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 37. He did locate the shrine where the image was exhumed on his map of the Mahābodhi temple compound and noted that it had been moved to Major Mead's old house at Sherghati. See plate XVIII where it is marked as "R."


79 This work seems not to have been noticed or at least published. It is presently located in a shrine inside the Mahābodhi compound to the north of the Mahābodhi temple.


81 This image compares closely to the style of dated ninth-century works. See Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*, 40-51, for a discussion of ninth-century styles.

82 Ibid., 42. She notes that this was a feature of some Gupta works. For a discussion of the symbolism of the various elements which occur in throne constructions, see Jeannine Auboyer, "The Symbolism of Sovereignty in India According to Iconography (Parasols-Thrones)," *Indian Arts and Letters*, 12 (1938), 31-33.

83 For example, see Huntington, *Origin and Development*, figure 240.

84 See above, footnote 33.

85 For another example of Māra in Sārnāth Gupta sculpture, see Williams, *Art of Gupta India*, plate 95.

86 Cowell, trans., *Buddhacarita*, 137-147.

87 Ibid., 139.

88 See above, footnote 50.

89 A. C. Banerji ("A Buddhist Image from Kurkihār," *JASB*, III [1937], 53-54) gives the provenance of the piece as Kurkihār.

For Pala-period illustrations of Aparājītā, see Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, Figures 184–187. Also see below, footnote 102.


Wayman, “Studies in Yama and Māra,” 112–113. The various māras and additional information on the times they are conquered are discussed by James Boyd (Satan and Māra, 122–123).


Ibid., 116–117. Wayman states that the devaputra māra may be the first to be overcome since it visits the practitioner when he is engaged in practice designed to overcome the other three māras. Boyd (Satan and Māra, 77–99) describes the total activities of Māra: "Māra revels, inclines toward the senses; attacks; blinds and perplexes; obstructs and interrupts; possesses and holds in bondage; and kills and destroys." On pp. 84–85, Boyd discusses how Māra attempts to get Śākyamuni to practice in more established manners. Ultimately, as an impediment to Śākyamuni, Māra promotes not only traditional religious ideals but also social ones, always questioning the nature of the Buddha's more radical ways.

Ganesa can serve as a symbol of the māra concept for one of his meanings in Buddhism is as Vighnarāja, the king of obstacles who gets in the way of the sādhaka practitioner. See Liebert, Iconographic Dictionary, 337. In the Hindu tradition and also sometimes in the Buddhist tradition, however, Ganesa is seen as Vighnāntaka, the remover of obstacles. See J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974), 275.
Asher (Art of Eastern India, 28, 138) discusses the work and its inscription. See also, Fleet, CII, 281-282; Banerji, EISMS, 54.

Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 121.

Williams, The Art of Gupta India, 150. Parimoo (Life of the Buddha, 65) identifies these figures as daughters of Māra dancing to tempt Sākyamuni. But this would not explain why they are sometimes seen as emerging from the ground. Geri Malandra ("Ellora: The Archaeology of a Mandala," Ars Orientalis, XV [1985], 72-73) discusses the appearance at Ellora of eighth-century figures which may be Aparājitā.

I do not know of any eastern Indian images of Aparājitā dating before the eighth century.

In the quarter of Sākyamuni in the Garbhahātu mandala, Aparājitā (also known as Prajñāntaka—wisdom's end) appears below Sākyamuni paired with his spouse Aparājitavidyārajaḥ. They are described as symbolizing the victory of Sākyamuni over the four māras at the moment of his enlightenment. See Ryujun Tajima, Les Deux Grands Mandalas et la doctrine de l'ésoterisme shingon, Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, n. s. VI (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), 99-102.


See Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles," Figures 2 and 10, for a similar treatment in images from the Gupta period.

Foucaux, trans., Le Lalita Vistara, 272. As previously discussed, the earth goddess is described as rising up from the ground to show only half her body and has her hands in aṅjali mudrā. In other texts like the Nidārkantha, she doesn't appear at all, but is described as replying to the Buddha with a loud voice and a movement of the earth to indicate her support. For further discussion of the earth goddess, see Gangoly, "The Earth Goddess in Buddhist Art," 1-11.


109 The drawing was done by Thomas Daniell who visited Bodhgaya in 1790. It was published in Light of Asia, ed. Pratapaditya Pal, figure 128.

110 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 98.

111 See Bhattacharya, Śādhana-mālā, for śādhanas numbered 3, 4, and 5. Foucher (Étude sur l'iconographie, 2: 15) notes that these are among the relatively few śādhanas in this collection which describe Sākyamuni Buddha. For one discussion of the method of śādhana practice, see E. Dale Saunders, "Some Tantric Techniques," in Studies in Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism (Koyasan: Koyasan University Press, 1965), 169-170.

112 See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for examples from Mālandā and Kurkihār.


114 Bhattacharya, Śādhana-mālā, no. 3; Mallmann, Introduction tantrîsme bouddhique, 418.

115 Atīśa is known to have lived in the tenth and eleventh centuries. He left for Tibet in 1040 A.D. and died there in 1055 A.D. See Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Atīśa and Tibet, Indian Studies Past and Present
(Calcutta: Chattopadyay, 1967).

116 Tāranātha, A History of Buddhism in India, 302.

117 Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," 117. The possibility that the Vajrāsana sādhanaś were not only conceptually site-specific, but were also manifested visually at the central area of Bodhgaya is indicated by Xuanzang's description (Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 119) that flanking the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā in the central shrine were: "to the right and left of the outside gate are niche-like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalokiteśvara, and in the right a figure of Maitreya."

118 See above, footnote 103. It interesting that a pedestal (the image is now lost) surviving from Bodhgaya and dated in the reign of Gopāla (II), circa mid-tenth century, states that the Buddha conquered Cupid (Kāma?) by making friendliness (maitrī?) his armor and compassion (karunā?) his sword. Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 219-220) lists the various translations that have been made of this inscription, which do not include transliterations of the text. Nonetheless, the translations seem to indicate that this inscription is another instance where the concepts of karunā and maitrī are described as the weapons with which Sākyamuni overcame Māra.

119 Another possible meaning of this triad may relate to the symbol of all time, a concept frequently mentioned in sādhanas and other Buddhist texts. For the concept of time, see Alex Wayman, "No Time, Great Time, and Profane Time," Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Charles H. Long (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 47-62.


121 Numerous plaques from Burma present a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. The combination is also found in Tibetan
and Nepalese images. For examples, see Pal, ed., Light of Asia, figures 9, 10 and 11. These works present the triad in combination with other life scenes.

122 See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 134 for an image with similar stylistic characteristics.

123 See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art, for other examples from Bodhgaya.

124 This is also true for other sites in eastern India.

125 See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 52-54.

126 See above, pp. 116-17.

127 Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 107) discusses the fact that these three sculptures form a group and are thus important evidence of a practice not yet well documented by surviving works. An excellent reconstruction of the main iconographic program of a destroyed shrine at Sāncī in Madhya Pradesh dating from the tenth century, which also presents a triad of figures identical to that mentioned in the Vajrāsana sādhana, was made by John C. Irwin ("The Sāncī Torso," Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook, III [1972], 7-28).


129 A. W. Keith, "Notes on Buddhist Remains in Magadha," Bengal: Past and Present, VI, (July-September, 1910), figure 3.

130 Huntington (Origin and Development, 198) discusses this thronelback and notes the possibility that it belonged to the grouping with the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreyā also in the Patna Museum.

131 See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for examples from Bodhgaya.

132 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 4, plate VI.

See above, pp. 102-04. This could be seen as evidence for the possibility that the seventh-century image was at one time inside the main shrine of the Mahābodhi temple.

Buchanan-Hamilton, Bihar-Patna, 2: 154. Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 99) discusses the nineteenth-century activity at the site concerning this image now in the main shrine room of the Mahābodhi temple.

Mitra (Buddha-Gayā, 84, 132, plate XI) discusses an image that was removed from the sanctum to the Mahant's compound and publishes a drawing of the work made while still at the Mahant's compound.

Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 54.

Ibid., Mitra (Buddha-Gayā, 132) gives a list of measurements of the figure. It seems the 5 1/2 foot height does not include the pedestal, so that the total height of the work is over 7 feet.

Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 99-100.

Ibid.

Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 119-122; Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 67-70. They also relate tales about the miraculous creation of the images.

Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 67.

Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 100) dates it to the tenth century.

Mitra, Buddha-Gayā, 198. He notes there were two lines, each six feet in length.

Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 64-65.

If the throneback fragments belong to this image, then it would be another example of combining separate pieces of sculpture in order to form one single visual group.
Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 57, figure 54) discusses its date and style. The work is currently located in a small shrine at the site.

Ibid.; also see Buchanan-Hamilton, Bihar-Patna, 2: 152. His drawing of the image was published by Montgomery Martin in Eastern India, vol. I, plate X, figure 6. Also see Mitrā, Buddha-Gayā, 197-199, plate XX, Figure 3; Cunningham, ASR, vol. III, plate 37, Figure 5 and Mahābodhi, 65.

Vogel ("Études de sculpture bouddhique," 493-497) identifies the eight panels. They represent (in a counterclockwise direction) the birth and bath (in one panel), the māravijaya, the first sermon, the parinirvāna, the Buddha at Jetavana, the descent from Trāyastriṃśa, the offering of the four bowls, and the Buddha at the Indrasaila cave.

Asher, Art of Eastern India, 84. The eight scenes are the common ones found in Pāla period works. For discussion of the votive stūpas at Bodhgayā, see Mireille Bénisti, Contribution à l'étude du stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gayā et de Ratnagiri, Publications de l'école française d'extreme-orient, CXXV (Paris: Ecole française d'extrême-orient, 1981), 41-51.

See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for examples from Antichak and Nālandā. These works seem to date either from the late tenth or eleventh century.

Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 113) dates this work to the late tenth or early eleventh century, noting a similarity to the date of the Bodhgayā image dated in the reign of Mahāpāla (I).

See below, Chapter 4.

Huntington (Origin and Development, 272) noted this possibility. Also see Paul Mus, "Le Buddha paré, son origine, Indienne, Sākyamuni dans le Mahāyānisme moyen," BEFEO, 28 (1928), 163. For an extensive discussion of the eight sites, see John C. Huntington, "Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism," Part I, Orientations, 16, 12 (November 1985), 46-61; Part II, Orientations,
17, 2 (February 1986), 28-43; Part III, Orientations, 17, 3 (March 1986), 32-46; Part IV, Orientations, 17, 7 (July 1986), 28-40; Part V, Orientations, 17, 8 (August 1986), 46-58.


156 Legge, trans., A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, 68.

157 See below, Footnote 160.

158 Parimoo (Life of Buddha, 44-57) discusses this second group of events.

159 Kalyan Kumar Sarkar, "A Note on Hui Ch'ao's Account of the Eight Great Caityas," Indian Historical Congress, 30th Session (Bhagalpur: 1968), 141-143. Huichao was a disciple of Vajrabodhi.


163 Another possible indication of the importance of the eight as a group by the time of Mahīpāla I occurs in an inscription from Sārnāth on a pedestal of a Buddha image dated to 1026 A.D. The inscription records that two brothers, Sthirāpāla and Vasantāpāla, were entrusted with the construction of religious structures. It mentions that they made an "Ashtamahāsthana-sālā-grandhakutīm," possibly a shrine of the eight places. See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 223-226, for the various translations made of this inscription. Pilgrim records indicate
that the eight as a group was a concept popular before the tenth century. For one example of possible Japanese use, see Christine Kanda, "Early Perceptions of Vimalakírti in Japanese Art," in Indianisme and Bouddhisme, Melanges offers "a mgr. Etienne Lamotte (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1980), 131. She notes that there used to be a sequence of figures illustrating the eight events in the Yakushi-ji, which was constructed in 730 A.D.

164 Bagchi, "The Eight Great Caityas and Their Cult," 231.

165 Poucher, Étude sur l'iconographie, 1: 134. The painting is from a manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. Poucher notes that Xuanzang reported seeing a shrine of Tārā at Vaiśāli. Dharmavāmin also mentions a shrine of Tārā at that site.

166 At various points in his account, Xuanzang describes particular images at the sites he visited, which include these eight depicted in the Pāla period steles. At Vaiśāli, he also mentions seeing a figure of a monkey. It seems possible that the Pāla-period configurations for the eight emerged from images specifically located at each site. See Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 68. Perhaps another indication that these scenes as a group function as something more than simply illustrations of narratives comes from their common appearance as illustrations in manuscripts of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā which are not narrative texts of the Buddha's life. Appearing there with images of other deities like the Jina Buddhas and Prajñāpāramitā, these scenes may function in a similar manner as images of concepts. For a discussion of their use in these manuscript illustrations, see S. K. Saraswati, "East Indian Painting," in Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume (Banaras: Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1971), 255-256.

167 See above, footnote 149, for one example of a different group of eight scenes used in a Mathurā work from the Kuśāna period.

168 Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles," 190-191; Huntington (Art of Ancient India, 459) places it into the eighth century.
Although the scene most frequently emphasized in this manner in eastern Indian sculptures depicts the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, works with Buddhas in other mudrās in this central position can also be found. For such examples from Bodhgaya, see below, pp. 203-09.

This is also true for some pilgrim accounts. For example, the records of Ou Kong, who travelled in the west from 752 to 790 A.D., mention the eight stupas and pradaksina of them but only briefly describes the sites. See Sylvain Lévi and Édouard Chavannes, "L'itinéraire d'Cù-k'ong (757-790)," Journal Asiatique, CXLVII (1875), 341-384. On pages 357-358 appears a list of the sites: Kapilavastu—birth of the Buddha; Mahābodhi—where he attained bodhi on the bodhimanda and passed the summer; Benares—where turned the wheel of the law; Grdhra kuța (i.e. Rājgir)—where he preached the Saddharma Pundarîka; Vaiśāli— where he announced his inconceivable decision to die; Devavatara (Sāṅkāśya)—where he descended from heaven; Śrāvasti—where he preached the Mahāprajñāpāramitā; and Kuśinagara—where he entered into nirvāṇa.


Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II:150.

Ibid. Xuanzang's account of this detail seems to predate known images which present the lions coming from the Buddha's fingertips by about two centuries.

Śrāvasti and Sāṅkāśya are represented in the groups of life scenes in the Sārnāth Gupta steles. See Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles," figures 2, 5, 6, 8, and 10.

For discussion of the many events which occurred at each site, see D. N. Sen, "Sites in Rajgir
177 Ibid.
182 Nakamura, "The Aśṭamahāsthāna-caityastotra," 265; Bagchi, "The Eight Great Caityas and Their Cult," 231. This text mentions that the "necessity of the practice of compassion on the division of the samgha" in the description of Rājgir.
183 In this context, it is interesting that one chapter in the Lotus Sutra is devoted to Devadatta, where the prediction is made that even Devadatta in the future will become a Buddha, indicating that all beings, no matter how seemingly evil, have the potential for Buddhahood. See Bunno Yato, Yoshiro Tamura and Kojiro Miyasaka, trans., The Three Fold Lotus Sutra (New York: Weatherhill, 1975), 207-214, for chapter twelve entitled "Devadatta."
185 Ibid., 33.
186 Ibid.
187 Leroy Davidson (Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 31-32) notes that scenes of the life of the Buddha are shown on Chinese steles also depicting the Lotus Sutra in order to integrate the teaching of the Lotus Sutra into the earlier life cycle. Davidson suggests that this
combination was meant to show the life as upāya, skillful means, which is part of but subordinate to the teaching of the Buddha in the Lotus Sutra. For a discussion of upāya and prajñā as components of Buddha nature, see Wayman, "Female Energy and Symbolism in Buddhist Tantras," 78-79.

For an interesting discussion of the use of Buddha life events in the systems of texts such as the Mahāvastu, Prajñāpāramitā, and Avatamsaka to symbolize the ten bhumis, see Hisao Inagaki, "The Adoption of the Buddha's Life Pattern in the Ten-Bhumis Systems," Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū (Journal of the Indian and Buddhist Studies), 11, 2 (1963), 80-85. Sākyamuni's life is standardized and taken as a type, characteristic of the stages that all must pass through. V. S. Pathak ("The Crowned Buddha and the Adamantine Throne," JAS 3 [1961], 82) notes that after the knowledge coronation, the practitioner is to "meditate on the form of the Buddha through the various events in the course of his life—the Great Renunciation, the Defeat of Māra, the Descent from Heaven, the Great Departure, etc., and doing so he would be able to attain the highest truth." The fact that the eight popular scenes of Pāla stele groupings do not tally completely with the various events listed suggests, however, that additional meanings, such as pilgrimage notions, were also sometimes present in the use of these eight scenes in Pāla period art.


Ibid., figure 4, for an example of a stele composed of just the four scenes.

See Paul Mus, "Un cinema solide," Arts Asiatiques, X (1964), 21-34, for a discussion of the intersection of time and space in art. Mus also considers the possible relationships in art to circumambulation and mandala forms. See below, pp. 206-07, for further discussion of the use of these scenes as a single visual unit.

The parinirvāṇa functions in this context almost like a crown—the result of the achievement of bodhi. Mus ("Le buddha paré, Son origine indienne, Sākyamuni dans la Mahāyānisme moyen" 163) notes the possibility that such groupings represent images enshrined at each
of the sacred spots. Mus seems to be the first to note one possible explanation for the condensation of the earlier events of the Buddha's life (from birth to his leaving the palace). They had been more fully depicted in earlier periods but in the Pāla period, because all the events took place in the same place (roughly in the neighborhood of Kapilavastu), it may have been possible to represent them with a single scene (especially if what was being emphasized was the place and not the events).

193 The size of the Mahīpāla (I)image is 165 cm. See Huntington, Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for illustration of the other surviving examples.
CHAPTER 4
OTHER BUDDHA IMAGES FROM BODHGAYĀ

In addition to sculptures of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, a number of other types of Buddha images survive from Bodhgayā. These extant works are further evidence of the importance of the image of the Buddha at the site. Seated figures are shown in either the dharmačakra or dhyāna mudrā, while standing figures display either the varada or abhaya mudrā. There are also a number of images that show crowned Buddhas. The known Bodhgayā seated Buddha images can be related to scenes already encountered in the grouping of life scenes discussed above. While some of the standing figures of Buddhas also relate to life scenes, a larger number are more ambiguous in identity. This chapter will first examine the different seated images of the Buddha and then discuss standing images and crowned forms.

Somewhat surprisingly, unlike the images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, none of these other
Buddha images seem to date before the tenth century. And unlike the situation for the form of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, none of the known pre-Pāla period Buddha images from Bodhgayā can be viewed as direct precedents for these otherforms.¹ The limited excavation at the site may account for this seeming lack of connection. It is also interesting that scenes which specifically relate to the site are not found in these surviving Pāla-period images. For instance, the nāga Mucalinda sheltering the Buddha, an event that occurred in the area of Bodhgayā after his enlightenment, is not represented in Pāla-period Bodhgayā images. There are, however, Bodhgayā sculptures which seem to depict this scene dating from before the Pāla period.² One seventh-century example is now located at the Mahant's compound (Figure 59). It shows the Buddha in dhyāna mudrā and seated on a nāga. This is not, however, a common form for single sculptures at any site in eastern India.³

SEATED BUDDHAS

Approximately twenty-nine Bodhgayā sculptures show a seated Buddha in mudrās other than the
bhūmisparśa mudrā. Twenty-two of these seem to be
depictions of the first preaching at Sārnāth. Four
works are depictions of the miracle at Śrāvastī, and
three sculptures survive which show the offering of
honey at Vaiśālī.

The majority of the images that relate to the
first preaching at Sārnāth are presently installed in
exterior niches of the Mahābodhi temple. They all seem
to date from the tenth century. Generally, the
configuration of these works presents little variation
(Figures 60 and 61). However, because most of these
sculptures have been extensively restored, they now
reveal only a basic impression of their original
forms. The Buddhas appear without attendants and sit
on lotus pedestals before which are two small deer and
a cakra. Except for the dharmacakra mudrā and the
delineation of the robe which covers both shoulders,
other details of the figure and setting cannot be securely discerned due to the heavy restoration.

The motif of the deer flanking the cakra seems
to indicate that these sculptures refer to the first
sermon preached by the Buddha in the deerpark at
Sārnāth. Their configuration compares closely with
the depictions of Śākyamuni's first preaching found in the Pāla-period groupings of life scenes. One example of this treatment is seen in the sculpture dated in the reign of Mahīpāla (I), which was discussed above (Figure 51).

In this work, the scene of the first preaching at Sārnāth is represented by a Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā with two deer and a cakra at his feet. The deer and cakra emblem are the only elements distinguishing this Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā from the second Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā present in the work. The second figure of a Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā, as was discussed earlier, represents the Śrāvastī scene. Other examples of groupings of life scenes similarly present both scenes in terms of a Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā, the usual difference being the appearance of the deer and cakra motif in front of the one intended to depict the sermon at Sarnath.

The depiction of the Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā with two deer and the cakra emblem is well-known and frequently encountered in the single Buddha images of the Gupta period. In fact, it could be considered the preeminent form for a Buddha image in the Gupta period. The major distinction of the Bodhgaya
sculptures is the absence of the Buddha's first converts, the audience for the first sermon, who were often depicted in Gupta-period representations. But there are Gupta-period sculptures which also do not include depictions of these listeners.

While the lack of the audience for the first sermon might suggest that these images represent other Buddhas who also appear in dharmacakra mudrā, such as Vairocana and Maitreya, their correspondence to the Sārnāth scene as depicted in the grouping of life scenes makes this unlikely. The large number of single images of the Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā of Pāla-period date from Bodhgaya indicates that the form retained its popularity from the earlier period.

There are only four known sculptures from Bodhgaya which show the Buddha in the dharmacakra mudrā without the motif of the deer and cakra. These works, which also seem to date from the tenth century, are depictions of the Buddha preaching at Śrāvastī, a scene that was also found in the common grouping of life scenes.

One example is a work still at the site in a shrine north of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 62). The sculpture shows a seated Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā
who is flanked by two smaller Buddhas also in dharmacakra mudrā. These smaller Buddhas are direct references to the Śrāvastī incident, for one of the powers that the Buddha displayed there was the ability to duplicate himself while he preached the dharma.16 The two flanking Buddhas sit on lotuses whose stalks emerge from the central Buddha's lotus, revealing him as the source of the other two. This configuration is also used in two other Bodhgayā works. One is now located in the Mahant's compound (Figure 63) and the other, a relatively small sculpture (Figure 64), is housed in the Bodhgayā Site Museum.17

In all three sculptures, two small figures appear in front of the pedestal. One kneels and is particularly well-dressed; he probably represents King Prasenajit.18 The other figure, who is fat and naked, can be identified as Puruṣa Kāśyapa, the leader of the heretics who challenged Śākyamuni and were the cause of his display of miraculous powers at Śrāvastī.19 The upper section of the work still in the Mahābodhi temple compound has been restored, but like the example in the Mahant's compound, it may have shown branches of a mango tree above the head of the central Buddha. Such branches identify the scene further, for
the incident occurred in a mango grove at Śrāvastī.\textsuperscript{20} These works thus present more detail in the delineation of the event than the single sculptures which seem to depict the first preaching at Sārnāth.

The remaining images of a seated Buddha can be identified as representations of the scene at Vaiśāli where the monkey offers honey to the Buddha. The most complete example from Bodhgayā is one presently housed in the Patna Museum (Figure 65), which may be dated to the late tenth century.\textsuperscript{21} As seems typical for this form, the Buddha is dressed in a robe covering both shoulders. He holds a pot in his hands which rest in dhyāna mudrā on his lap. The dhyāna mudrā, the gesture of meditation, is perhaps more than just a convenient way of showing the Buddha holding the pot of honey. As discussed above, this scene at Vaiśāli may be related to the meditation that the Buddha performed there, which resulted in his decision to end his life, signalling the final victory over Māra.\textsuperscript{22} The monkey is shown in this sculpture standing to the Buddha's right side. There is a broken figure at the top of the stele, which seems to be flying upwards and away from the Buddha. Although vīdyadhārās are commonly depicted in a similar position at the top of
Pāla-period sculptures, the fact that this figure is moving away from the Buddha may indicate that this is a representation of the monkey after he dies and becomes a deva. Such flying figures are found in some Pāla-period paintings of the Vaiśālī scene.

A very similar sculpture depicting the Vaiśālī scene is now in the Indian Museum (Figure 66). Although its provenance is unknown, this work is extremely close in treatment to the Patna Museum sculpture. The figures of the Buddha, the general composition of the steles and the treatment of the pedestals and border motifs differ only slightly. Thus, it is quite possible that the image in the Indian Museum was made at Bodhgaya, perhaps even by the same artist who sculpted the Patna Museum work.

Less schematic renderings of the scene may be found in another work in the Indian Museum known to be from Bodhgaya (Figure 67) and in a small fragment still at the site (Figure 68). This Indian Museum sculpture shows the monkey twice: making his offering and stumbling/jumping into the well where he then dies. The fragment still at Bodhgaya was probably part of a base for an image depicting the Vaiśālī scene as it presents three monkeys who serve as
continuous illustration of the story. The monkey is first shown offering the honey, then gamboling in joy and then stumbling/jumping into a well. Interestingly, on the left side of this base appears Jambhala, the god of wealth who can be identified by the mongoose vomiting gems which he holds in his left hand. The exact relationship of Jambhala to this scene is not known.

STANDING BUDDHAS

An intriguing aspect of Bodhgaya art from the Pāla period is presented by a number of standing Buddha images still at the site. The numerous examples of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā can be easily understood as associated with the site itself, and the many images of the Buddha in dharmaçaakra mudrā might be understood as simply a continuation of an already-popular form. But an explanation is not so obvious or explicit with respect to the most frequent type of standing image from Bodhgaya, which presents a Buddha attended by two Bodhisattvas. Seventeen sculptures depicting this form are known. The
remaining six Bodhgaya images of a standing Buddha depict either life scenes or a Buddha attended by Buddhas.

Standing Buddhas can be found among the known pre-Pala period sculptures from Bodhgaya. While these precedents shed some light on the general evolution of the form, which is frequently found in earlier periods, they fail to explain the popularity at Bodhgaya of stone sculptures of a standing Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas. The prevalence of this form at Bodhgaya does not seem paralleled elsewhere in Bihar or Bengal during the Pala and Sena periods. Among the known works from other eastern Indian sites, sculptures of standing Buddhas are found primarily in smaller-scaled metal images. But large stone images of standing Buddhas are not commonly encountered, and these most often portray either the Buddha's descent from Trayastrimsa heaven or the Buddha's taming of the elephant Nalagiri. Although depictions of these scenes are also found in single sculptures from Bodhgaya, only a few examples are presently known.

The common treatment found at Bodhgaya for sculptures of standing Buddhas shows a Buddha in
varada mudrā and attended by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. A work still located at the site (Figure 69) is an example of this form. The sculptures depicting this form are all quite similar, and they may be generally dated to the tenth century.

Usually, in these Bodhgaya sculptures, the Buddha is depicted frontally with his robe covering both shoulders; the folds of drapery may or may not be indicated. He stands on a lotus and often has a small chattrā placed above his head. The Bodhisattvas do not vary. They are two-armed and always bear the same attributes. Avalokiteśvara carries the lotus and has a small figure of Amitābha in his headdress, while Maitreya carries the nāgakesara flower and has a small emblem of a stūpa in his headdress.

The Bodhisattvas are always much smaller in height than the Buddha figure, and they are separated from the backslab by U-shaped segments. Since the backslabs are often very simple with little or no indication of any halo or prabhāmanda, the U-shaped segments define the Bodhisattvas' own individual auras and, at the same time, separate them from the plain backslab which serves as the Buddha's aura. Such
demarcation between Bodhisattva and Buddha figures is not found in known works from Bodhgayā depicting a seated Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas (see, for example, Figure 31). The treatment found in the standing Buddha images further emphasizes the overwhelming quality of the Buddha figure, who literally towers over his Bodhisattva attendants.

A work, perhaps dating from the late tenth century, is slightly different from most Bodhgayā examples of this type and is much larger in size (Figure 70). It seems to be the only one to survive from the site which shows the figure of the Buddha in a more relaxed posture, instead of standing frontally and stiffly. Other differences in this image include the two small stūpas appearing beside the Buddha's head, the greater number of inscriptions found on the backslab and the two diminutive figures of monks depicted on the base.

In addition to repetitions of the Buddhist creed carved on the image in various places, the inscription appearing on the base is translated by Bloch:

gift of senior monk Vīryendra, a knower of the Vinaya and an inmate of the mahāvihāra of Somapura, an inhabitant of the Samatata country
and a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna system. Whatever merit there is in this (gift) let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom in the first place by (his) teachers, preceptors and parents, and of the whole multitude of sentient beings.\textsuperscript{35}

This inscription provides some interesting information, for it documents an instance of contact between Bengal and Magadhan Buddhists. Viryendra, a monk from Somapura—present-day Pāhārpur in Bangladesh—may have journeyed to Bodhgayā. Unfortunately, the exact nature of this possible trip, whether it was a pilgrimage or for more extended study, is not revealed. Although Viryendra is called a knower of the Vinaya, a characteristic sometimes too narrowly applied only to Hīnayāna adherents, he is also labelled a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna. The inscription thus offers further evidence of the importance of Bodhgayā for Mahāyāna followers.

The image dedicated by Viryendra is over eight feet in height, making it one of the largest surviving sculptures from Bodhgayā. Its size suggests, as Susan Huntington noted, that the sculpture was an important work at the time of its creation.\textsuperscript{36}

These sculptures of a Buddha attended by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya cannot be identified as a life scene nor are there known sādhanas which describe
the form. However, the same Bodhisattvas are the ones mentioned in the Vajrāsana sādhanaś, so it is possible that the standing images may relate in some fashion to the ideas symbolized by those sādhanaś.³⁷ In other words, these works may be viewed as emphasizing the power of maitriś and karuṇā, symbolized by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara respectively, as components of Buddha nature. It is interesting that there do not seem to be any Bodhgaya examples of this form which could be dated later than the early eleventh century, although there are Bodhgaya standing Buddha images which date from the eleventh or twelfth centuries. These works, however, depict forms different from that just discussed.

One sculpture of a standing Buddha is unique among the surviving Bodhgaya images. It is now located to the left of the entrance into the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 71). This work, dated to the eleventh century by Susan Huntington,³⁸ presents a more complete detailing of the backslab than seen in the earlier images from Bodhgaya of standing Buddhas. There is an elaborate border motif, as well as a head halo, and two small Buddha figures appear on the upper part of the back slab.
The most distinctive aspect of the image, however, is the fact that the Buddha is not attended by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. Instead, Avalokiteśvara is paired with the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who appears on the Buddha's right side. Mañjuśrī can be clearly identified by his distinctive hair treatment and the attributes that he holds, a blue lotus atop of which is a book. Although images of Mañjuśrī are found among the works from Bodhgayā,\textsuperscript{39} this is the only example that I know of from the site which presents him as part of triad in a single work. This is also the only known sculpture from Bodhgayā which shows a Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas other than Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, the pair described in the Vajrāsana sādhanas as the attendants of the Buddha.

From the eleventh century, two images also survive in which a standing Buddha is not attended by Bodhisattvas but by smaller-sized Buddha figures. One example, which illustrates the form is a work now at the Mahant’s compound (Figure 72). In this image, the Buddha stands frontally with his right hand in abhaya mudrā. Otherwise, it is similar to the sculpture of the Buddha attended by Avalokiteśvara and
Mañjuṣrī (Figure 70) in terms of the delineation of the backslab, the treatment of the lotus base, and other stylistic details.

The Buddha on the proper left side of the main Buddha figure has a small elephant at his feet, which suggests the scene of the taming of the elephant Nālāgiri. The attendant Buddha on the proper right side of the main figure shows no such ancillary details to indicate that he might also represent one of the Buddha life scenes. In the common grouping of life scenes, only two standing Buddhas appear: one for the Nālāgiri scene and one for the descent from Trāyastrimśa heaven. Usually varada mudrā is used by the Buddha figure in representations of the Trāyastrimśa event, and this mudrā is made by the attendant Buddha on the right side of this stele. Thus, this attendant Buddha may represent the Trāyastrimśa scene. The main Buddha figure, however, cannot be explained in terms of any of the scenes usually encountered in the groupings of Buddha life events. Further, I do not know of any narrative depiction which could account for the central Buddha's gesture of abhaya. In some paintings of Buddhas in abhaya mudrā, labels identify them as representations.
of Buddha Dīpaṅkara, but in those examples the Buddhas are not attended by other Buddha figures.\(^1\)

The meaning of such works remains unresolved. But these images reveal that other combinations of life scenes besides the more common grouping of eight scenes were used. Such a broader use of life scenes is also found in another eleventh-century Bodhgaya sculpture and in some images of crowned Buddhas, which will be discussed below.\(^2\)

Four remaining Bodhgaya sculptures of standing Buddhas, which date from the eleventh or twelfth centuries, can be identified as depictions of life scenes. One eleventh-century example is presently installed in the northwest corner shrine on the second story of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 73).\(^3\) The large figure is a Buddha representing the taming of Nālāgiri. He stands with his right hand extended downward,\(^4\) and is attended by a monk, presumably Ānanda, the only member of the Buddha's entourage who did not flee at the sight of the wild elephant.\(^5\) The elephant, diminutive in scale, appears below the Buddha's right hand.

The appearance of the lions emerging from the lowered right hand of the Buddha (Figure 74) recalls
Xuanzang's description that the Buddha tamed the wild elephant by emitting five golden lions from his finger-ends. As previously noted, this detail is not described by the known narrative accounts of the Buddha's life; only Xuanzang seems to mention it. It is, however, a somewhat frequent element in Pāla-period representations of this scene, both in sculptures and in paintings.

In addition to presenting a depiction of the taming of the elephant at Rājgir, this eleventh century sculpture also includes six other Buddha figures. At the top of the work is the parinirvāṇa. Below this appear two Buddhas in dharmacakra mudrā. The one on the right side represents the scene at Sravasti because a small figure—the ascetic Purāṇa Kāśyapa—appears in front of this Buddha. The corresponding Buddha on the left side represents the first teaching at Sārnāth; the deer and cakra have been partially effaced. Below these Buddhas appear two standing Buddhas who cannot be clearly identified as representing specific scenes from the life of the Buddha. The one on the left side makes the abhaya mudrā and the one on the right side, which is damaged, appears to make the varada mudrā. While the figure
on the right may represent the descent at Trāyastriṃśa, since the varada mudrā is usually shown in depictions of this scene, the Buddha in abhaya mudrā remains unidentified. As encountered in the previous work (Figure 72), there are more figures of standing Buddhas than can be explained by the common group of life scenes, which normally shows only two standing Buddha figures. The final Buddha figure in this work is placed on the lower left side of the stele and depicts a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā.

These smaller-scaled Buddha figures encircle the main figure in a manner that is similar to the general treatment for groups of life scenes depicted in Pāla period works, but they present a different number and group. And their placement here is less structured than encountered in many other works (e.g. Figure 51). Separated from the other five smaller Buddha figures who appear at the top of the stele, it is tempting to see the positioning of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā between the hand of the main Buddha emitting lions and the elephant as a visual indication of the power of Buddha nature which overcame the elephant.

The only other single image of the Nālāgiri scene that I know of from the site is a late work
(Figure 75). The elongation of the figure and the extremely pointed top of the stele make it comparable with sculptures dating from the twelfth century.

Two elements not found in the previous example of the Nālāgiri scene include another monk in addition to Ānanda and the double depiction of the elephant. The elephant is figured in two postures in order to represent the time before and the time after the Buddha calmed him. These additional elements relate this twelfth-century Bodhgayā sculpture to details found in eleventh and twelfth-century painted representations (Figure 76). But these details, however, are not frequently found in other known eastern Indian single sculptures of this scene.

The other late sculptures from Bodhgayā of a standing Buddha can be identified as depictions of the Buddha's descent from Trāyastriṃśa heaven at Sānkāśya. Paralleling the relative paucity of Bodhgayā images of the Nālāgiri event, the depiction of the Buddha's descent does not appear as a common single image among the known corpus of works from Bodhgayā. Only two eleventh-century works, still at the site, provide positive examples of such images, although several works now in museum collections may have originally
come from Bodhgaya. The scene is also not frequently found elsewhere in single images from eastern India.  

One of the examples is now in the Mahant's compound (Figure 77). The style of the sculpture compares closely to that of eleventh-century standing Buddha images previously discussed (e.g. Figure 72 and 73). This work has unfortunately sustained damaged in its upper region. The figure of the Buddha and his two attendants, Brahmā and Indra, however, are still intact. Brahmā with two arms and four heads holds a caurī and a waterpot, and Indra holds an umbrella (the top is now broken off) over the head of the Buddha. The two are the common attendants for the Buddha in depictions of this scene and figure in Xuanzang's description of the event.  

Except for a ladder which is sometimes also shown, they are the only elements which usually appear to identify the scene in Pāla-period works.  

Although depictions of the Buddha's descent exist in the Gupta-period steles which present a group of life scenes, they show the Buddha in abhaya mudrā. Pāla-period representations, as witnessed by the Bodhgaya example and images from other sites in Bihār, show the Buddha in varada mudrā.  

This is the
manner in which the scene is portrayed when it is part of a grouping of life scenes, although sometimes Indra and Brahmā are omitted.

Some remaining works to be discussed comprise a distinct category from the sculptures already examined. Although they depict standing Buddhas, they differ in that they are sculpted on four sides. One example is in the Bodhgaya Site Museum (Figure 78). Another is now in the Indian Museum (Figure 79). A third example, also in Indian Museum, was the subject of an article by Mireille Bénisti. The remaining known example is now in the Mahant's compound. I know of no such Buddhist sculptures from other sites in eastern India. These Bodhgaya sculptures are awkwardly carved, making it difficult to determine the exact date of their creation in the Pāla period.

These unusual works might be compared to Pāla-period votive stūpas, which often have four figures of Buddhas carved in niches. And indeed, in the work in the Bodhgaya Site Museum, the Buddha figures are framed by niches that are somewhat similar to those found in votive stūpas. But the configuration of these sculptures is actually closer to a type of Jain image known as sarvatobhadra, "auspicious on all
sides," which is similar to some Nepalese and Burmese Buddhist works. The form presents four figures projecting from a central pillar, rather than contained inside niches. Although the exact purpose of the Bodhgaya works cannot be ascertained, their visual form clearly conveys the idea of the omnipresent and universal Buddha nature. The figures of the Buddhas project in different directions but are at the same time a single image.

CROWNED BUDDHAS

Xuanzang's seventh-century description of the statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the Mahābodhi temple states that it was adorned with a necklace and a crown. The use of ornaments, crowns and non-ascetic dress for Buddha figures is perhaps most popularly known in depictions of the Jina Buddhas and other non-mortal Buddhas, rather than for the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. But such practices were also appropriate for images of Śākyamuni. Although figures of Śākyamuni are most often shown dressed in monks' robes and devoid of jewelry, images of a
crowned Śākyamuni appear in the art of eastern India and elsewhere in the Buddhist world. As Susan Huntington noted, crowned Buddha images become a common phenomenon in the art of Bodhgaya in the eleventh century. Among the known Bodhgaya images depicting a crowned Buddha, only three can be identified as representations of Jina Buddhas, while the rest relate more directly to Śākyamuni.

These sculptures found at Bodhgaya depict the Buddha with a crown and a necklace, but otherwise present forms that are similar to previously discussed sculptures of Buddhas. Eight images survive which depict a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā; two show a Buddha in dharmačakra mudrā. And eight known examples show the Buddha standing.

These sculptures are likely meant to be representations of Śākyamuni that incorporate various levels of meaning, combining notions of the sambhogakāya (body of bliss) with the nirmāṇakāya (transformation body). The use of ornamentation on such figures, which present or refer to Śākyamuni, indicate the connections rather than the distinctions between Śākyamuni with his historical context and the celestial Buddhas who are ahistorical and reside at
all times in various paradises throughout the universe.70

Images of Śākyamuni adorned with jewels reveal in a concrete fashion his divine and kingly nature.71 And they can represent, as Tucci stated, "Śākyamuni not as the revealer of the Lesser Vehicle on this earth but the Preacher of the Great Vehicle and the Tantras."72 David Snellgrove notes an addition sometimes made to the event of the enlightenment of Śākyamuni which fits into a broader concept of enlightenment and Buddhahood.73 That is in some texts, Śākyamuni's fourth and last stage of meditation results in Buddhahood when the Buddhas of the ten directions take him up to heaven and bestow various consecrations upon him.74 These consecrations involve coronation with water, a crown, a vajra, a bell and a name.75 These are also the same consecrations which are to be performed by the devotee in his initiation into the attainment of bodhi.76

The Bodhgayā sculptures of the crowned Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā are quite similar to uncrowned images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā found at Bodhgayā. Several are single figures sculpted almost in the round and are now without attached backslabs.77
Others, such as that illustrated in Figure 80, appear more complete. The form of the Buddha's heavy torque-type necklace and large, pointed crown found in such sculptures from Bodhgaya is similar to that encountered in works from other sites in eastern India. None of the extant images from Bodhgaya show a crowned Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas. The reasons for this are unknown, although it is possible that these sculptures were originally combined with separate images of Bodhisattvas. When attendants are present, they are Buddhas. A work now preserved in the Bodhgaya Site Museum, which may be dated to the eleventh century, is an example of a crowned Buddha in bhūmisparśā mudrā attended by Buddhas (Figure 81).

The crowned form was also used in sculptures in conjunction with a grouping of life scenes. Two Bodhgaya sculptures survive which show a crowned Buddha in bhūmisparśā mudrā surrounded by a group of life scenes. One image (Figure 82), now in the British Museum, perhaps dates from the eleventh century. The other image (Figure 83), now in the collection of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in Calcutta, belongs among the latest images produced at Bodhgaya. It probably dates from the twelfth century,
as revealed by its stylistic details: a very pointed top for the stele, greater elaboration of dress and lotus petals, and the greater attenuation of the figures. In neither sculpture are the Buddhas in the life scenes crowned. This distinction also occurs in some other images to be discussed below. It certainly further separates the central, larger, figure from those that surround it.

The earlier image presents an anomaly in its group of life scenes as there is an extra standing Buddha. This figure takes the place of the Vaiśāli scene which should occur in the lower right side of the stele, opposite the scene of the birth. The Buddha in this place seems to depict the taming of the elephant, which is one of the usual eight scenes. The standing Buddha at the top left side of the stele represents the other commonly depicted scene in the group which uses a standing Buddha—the descent from Trāyastriṃśa. The Buddha on the opposite side of the stele, however, remains unexplained within the context of the usual grouping of scenes. This Buddha is in abhaya mudrā. As was previously noted, such a figure, which can not be specifically identified, is found in some other works at Bodhgayā. Thus, this work
presents another example of a grouping of life scenes which differs from the more common grouping.

The later image of a crowned Buddha with life scenes (Figure 83), on the other hand, shows the usual scenes in a detailed manner. The birth and the Vaiśālī scene are placed at the bottom of the stele. The scenes of Sārnāth and Sānkāśya appear above them, represented by Buddhas in dharmacakra mudrā. The two standing Buddhas above these scenes depict, on the right, the descent, and on the left, the taming of the elephant. Crowning the summit of the stele, the parinirvāṇa appears above the central figure of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā.

The scenes with standing Buddhas in this twelfth century work are interesting, for they present a fair amount of detail. The scene of the taming of the elephant shows two elephants and a monk attending the Buddha. As was noted in the twelfth-century single depiction of the Nālāgiri incident (Figure 73),81 the two elephants, which are elements of continuous narration, are not frequently encountered in sculpted representations of the scene from the Pāla and Sena periods. The scene of the descent shows the Buddha in varada mudrā attended by Indra and a figure who kneels
in front. This second figure is the nun Utpalavarnā, who was supposedly the first to see the Buddha on his return from heaven.\textsuperscript{82} This twelfth-century image thus offers evidence for at least a continued (if not renewed) interest in narrative details.

While there are several smaller-sized standing images of crowned Buddhas from Bodhgayā,\textsuperscript{83} the most interesting sculptures are four works which share one major characteristic, great size (Figures 84-87). These images were not found together, although they are similar in date and do have similar iconographic details. They are all two meters or more in height. Such large-sized standing Buddha images find no parallel in the remains at other sites in Magadha.\textsuperscript{84} Three of the works are still at the site, the fourth is now in the British Museum.

The first to be discussed is presently located in the south stairwell landing of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 84). The image has been dated to the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{85} The main figure is a crowned Buddha who displays the \textit{abhaya mudrā} and stands against a throneback. He is attended by two much smaller figures of crowned Buddhas. These attendant figures function in the same manner seen above for images of
unornamented standing Buddhas who were attended by Buddhas. Indeed, the attendant Buddha on the right side has a small elephant at his feet, as seen earlier with other such attendant Buddhas (e.g. Figure 36). The left Buddha also corresponds to the previously discussed images, as he displays the varada mudrā, but with no ancillary details that specifically identify the scene.

A second large standing Buddha image is similar in some ways to the image in the stairwell of the Mahābodhi temple. This work is now located in the Mahant's compound (Figure 85). It depicts an ornamented Buddha in abhaya mudrā. This was the same mudrā used in the previous sculpture for the main figure, and it likewise dates from the late eleventh century. In addition to Buddhas standing at each side of the central Buddha, five more figures arranged around the edge of the stele form a group of life scenes. The parinirvāṇa occurs at the top; below that appear a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā on one side and a Buddha in dhyāna mudrā representing the Vaisālī scene on the other. Below these figures appears a standing Buddha on the left side representing the taming of the elephant, and on the right appears the birth scene.
Because of their larger size, the two standing Buddhas on the bottom tier do not seem to belong to the group of life scenes which occurs above them. They bear closer analogy to the two attendant Buddhas seen in the previous work, (Figure 84). However, neither presents the Nālāgiri scene; instead one displays the \textit{varada mudrā} and the other displays the \textit{abhaya mudrā}.

The possibility that there are actually two groupings here in the Mahant's compound sculpture—two Buddhas as attendants and five figures as a group of life scenes—and not just one group of subsidiary figures surrounding the larger, central figure, is further substantiated by a third large-sized image of a standing crowned Buddha (Figure 86). This late eleventh-century work is presently located in the second floor shrine room at the Mahābodhi temple. The central figure in this sculpture is a crowned Buddha who displays the \textit{varada} rather than the \textit{abhaya mudrā}. The Buddha is surrounded by nine figures which clearly break up into two groups.

The two standing Buddhas at the bottom of the stele flanking the central Buddha figure form one grouping. They display the same \textit{mudrās} as the similarly placed Buddhas in the previous sculpture.
They are differentiated by size, by the presence of crowns and by the delineation of drapery lines in their robes (also present in the central image) from the other Buddha figures appearing above on the stela. These two Buddhas function as attendants to the central figure and render it, in one respect, a triad.

The other seven figures comprise the second grouping and represent life scenes. The parinirvāna again occurs at the summit, immediately below which two Buddhas in dharmacakra mudrā represent the scenes of Śrāvastī and Sārnāth. Two standing Buddhas appear next, only one of which can be identified as a life scene. Depicted with the Buddha on the left is a monk and an elephant, rendering the scene the taming of the elephant, while the Buddha on the right is simply in the abhaya mudrā. Finally, a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā and a Buddha in dhyāna mudrā appear, representing the māraviyā and Vaiśālī scenes. The birth is missing; apparently the Buddha in abhaya mudrā has replaced this scene.

The configuration of crowned Buddhas as attendants with a combination of life scenes, which show uncrowned Buddhas, may further clarify the role of the life scenes. These groupings in the crowned
images seem to relate to the function of the life scenes also found in the eleventh-century image depicting the taming of Nālāgiri (Figure 73). The combination of life scenes serves as almost one attendant—a single group whose parts might still be read separately, but, ultimately, their individual nature is subsidiary to their role as a group. Such groups are more popularly found in works from eastern India which present the central image as a Buddha in bhūmisparsa mudrā. But the use of life scenes in these late Bodhgaya images, even though they present a different number or group of scenes, seem similarly oriented towards rendering these images more complete.

The presence of a group of life scenes might visually function to present the all-inclusive nature of the central figure, which is subsequently elevated to the level of a visual demonstration of both the nature and the path of bodhi.

A further aspect to be noted about the work in the Mahant's compound (Figure 85) is the treatment of the head, which is not crowned but encircled by what Susan Huntington has termed a diadem. She rightly noted that this unusual feature, taking the place of the more typical crown, was not used for stylistic
reasons; the other Buddhas depicted in this stele do wear crowns of the usual type. 91 It seems that the band, which encircles the main Buddha's head, represents the lower section of the crown found on other images (e.g. Figures 84 and 86). In these other examples and, indeed, in those of the smaller Buddhas who appear in this stele, the crown is composed of triangular sections anchored onto a base which encircles the head. The diadem encircling the main Buddha's head in Figure 85 is strikingly similar to these crown bases. Thus, it seems possible that part of the crown for the main figure of this image was made of another substance, perhaps metal. This might then be an example of the practice described by some sources of dressing the images in jewels or other precious materials. 92

The fourth large sculpture of a standing crowned Buddha, which is in the British Museum (Figure 87), 93 closely relates to the work in the second floor shrine of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 86). The general configuration of the two works, as well as details, such as the rendering of the halos, are similar, and both display the varada mudrā. The British Museum work also has two groups of attendants: one is the pair of
Buddhas flanking the main figure and the other is a group of seven small life scenes.

An interesting aspect of both works is the presence of the kneeling figures at the feet of the main Buddhas. In the British Museum sculpture, one figure appears on the left kneeling with his head touching the ground (Figure 88). Two figures are so positioned in the image still in the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 86). These figures may represent a new manner of representing worshipers, but I have not found such figures at the feet of other single images of standing Buddhas. A figure in this pose is sometimes found in images of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, but he is usually portrayed in abhaya mudrā.34

A somewhat similar figure sometimes appear in one scene in groupings of life scenes—the scene of the descent of the Buddha. I have not found these kneeling figures in other single sculptures from eastern Indian representing this event, but only when it forms part of a grouping of life scenes. For instance, this figure is present in the descent scene in the twelfth-century image now in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Figure 83). The kneeling figure was identified as the nun Utpalavarna, who transformed
herself into a cakravartin in order to be the first to see the Buddha upon his return from heaven.\textsuperscript{95} It is interesting that there are some Burmese sculptures depicting the descent which do show this figure.\textsuperscript{96}

Other details, such as the figures of Brahmā and Indra, who often appear in depictions of the descent, are missing in these two Bodhgaya sculptures. But the main Buddha figures display the varada mudrā, which is the usual gesture made the Buddha in representations of the descent.

The main figures in these two sculptures are not explicit presentations of the Buddha's descent, but some connection to the descent theme may be indicated by their mudrā and the appearance of kneeling devotees. In this context, it is interesting that neither of the two groupings of life scenes in these works show the descent scene. In the British Museum sculpture, the taming of Nālāgiri is presented twice (Figures 89 and 90). In the work still at the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 86), although two standing Buddhas appear in the grouping of the scenes surrounding the central Buddha, only one can be identified as one of the typical scenes. This figure, on the left middle tier, represents the taming of the
elephant. The other standing Buddha is not in varada mudrā, the gesture usually used by Buddhas in the depictions of the descent, but is in abhaya mudrā. Again, no other details appear with this Buddha to identify it further.

It is possible that the meaning of these images may have evolved from the theme of the descent where the Buddha appears again on earth. But, by not being specifically connected to the event at Sāṅkṣeya, these works may have been meant to serve as more general symbols of the importance of the Buddha's appearance before devotees.

Jina Buddhas

Three sculptures from Bodhgaya of crowned Buddhas do not relate to those just discussed. Instead, they can be identified as depictions of Jina Buddhas. The three images may date from a slightly earlier time than the crowned Buddhas discussed above. On the basis of stylistic considerations, the images may date from the early eleventh century.97

Two of the works depict Vajrasattva, who is sometimes identified as a sixth Jina Buddha or the
practitioner form of Vajradhara. As seen in one of these images (Figure 91), the figure is not dressed as a regular Buddha but looks more like a Bodhisattva. He wears not just a crown and necklace over a monk's robe, but has armlets, bracelets and anklets and wears a lower garment while his chest remains bare. Both images found at Bodhgaya conform to sādhana descriptions of the deity, which specify that he carry a vajra in his right hand with the palm turned towards his chest and a ghantā (bell) in his left hand, resting on his left thigh. The vajra is the essential emblem of this deity whose name means the essence of vajra, which is also a sign of the seat at Bodhgaya, the place where one can become a Buddha.

The Vajrasattva image illustrated in Figure 91 has elephants appearing on the base of his throne. The elephant is the Jina Buddha Akṣobhya's particular animal. In some but not all texts, Vajrasattva is connected to Akṣobhya and is seen as an emanation of this latter deity. Akṣobhya, whose name means imperturbable, can also be associated with the nature of Bodhgaya. His regular gesture is the bhūmisparśā mudrā, the gesture which emphasizes the overcoming of māras and the achievement of
Buddhahood, and his sign is also the vajra. The nature of both Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva, who is sometimes related to Akṣobhya, can, in some ways, be connected to the concepts symbolized by the Buddha in the Vajrāsana sādhanas, although neither Buddha has a historical foundation as did Śākyamuni.

The Vajrasattva illustrated in Figure 91 is presently installed in a niche of the Mahābodhi temple. Its recent refurbishment unfortunately rendered the inscription on its base illegible and obscured some of the details of its appearance, particularly the backslab. One element not totally concealed is the small figure located at the center of the base. This seated figure, holding a ghantā and a censer, sits on a lotus. While the figure may represent a devotee or the donor of the work, he is dressed neither like the monks nor laypeople usually depicted in eastern Indian sculptures. Instead, the crown or hat worn by this figure bears some comparison to figures of ācāryas (teachers), who are sometimes portrayed in Buddhist sculptures, although they are not frequently found in sculptures from sites in Bihar.
The existence of only two images of Vajrasattva from Bodhgaya suggests that the form was not a popular part of Buddhist practice at the site. But he is also not commonly depicted in sculptures from at other sites in eastern India, which may be due to the esoteric nature associated with such deities. For instance, only a few known images from Nalanda feature this deity.¹⁰⁹

Among the surviving works from Bodhgaya, I have located only one other crowned Buddha image that does not show Sakyamuni. The sculpture, which is now in the Bodhgaya Site Museum (Figure 92), is a small work, measuring only 35 cm in height.¹¹⁰ Its small size may mean that it could have been brought to the site from somewhere else, although the style of the work can be related to some other Bodhgaya sculptures.

The sculpture shows a seated male figure who is dressed like a Buddha in a monk's robe, but he has a necklace and armlet and an elaborate crown, which are similar in form to those worn by Bodhisattvas. It seems especially significant that the crown of this figure is not related to those worn in the previously discussed sculptures of crowned Buddhas (see, for example, Figure 87). While this figure could be a
Bodhisattva, the lack of attributes held in either hand and the monk's robe seem to make such an identification unlikely. Instead, the abhaya mudrā made by this figure and the presence of the small human-bird figures beneath the lotus seat indicate that the image represents the Jina Buddha Amoghasiddhi. Amoghasiddhi, whose name means unfailing power, is most often identified by the abhaya mudrā and his vehicle Garuḍa, the man-bird.111 Interestingly, there seem to be few single sculptures from eastern India which can be identified as depictions of Amoghasiddhi.

CONCLUSION

Although Bodhgaya sculptures of seated Buddhas examined in this chapter present some unique details, they seem to depict scenes from the Buddha's life and are similar to works found at other sites in eastern India. But the majority of forms presented by the standing Buddha images are not depictions of life scenes and are also less commonly encountered elsewhere in eastern India. Nonetheless, they seem to
relate to Śākyamuni in that they are most frequently accompanied by the Bodhisattvas named in the Vajrāsana śādhanas.

While the small sculpture of Amoghasiddhi and the two which depict Vajrasattva might be important evidence of the existence of Jina Buddhas within the imagery of Bodhgayā, their presence occupies only a small place in the art of the site. It is possible that other images of Jina Buddhas, whose provenances are now unknown, may have come from Bodhgayā. But at Bodhgayā, as indicated by both their size and number, the transcendental nature of the Buddha was more significantly manifested in sculptures by an elaboration of the forms that relate to Śākyamuni rather than by the presentation of specific Jina Buddhas. These works thus appear as emphatic statements of the all-inclusiveness of Buddha nature.

The most popular type of standing Buddha image, which depicts a Buddha with the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesāvara and Maitreya, the unusual four-sided sculptures, and the different combinations of life scenes used in some of the standing Buddha sculptures, further suggest some distinctive aspects in the production of images of the Buddha at Bodhgayā.
FOOTNOTES

1 For reference to discussions of the pre-Pāla images, see Chapter 3, footnote 62.

2 For discussion of the two Bodhgaya sculptures which depict this scene, see Asher, Art of Eastern India, 44-45, plates 60, 62.

3 The two Bodhgaya works are, in fact, the only examples that I know of in eastern Indian art. The scene does occur as part of a grouping of life scenes in several eleventh-century Nālandā sculptures and also appears in some manuscript paintings. For an illustration of one of the Nālandā works, see Parimoo, Life of Buddha, figure 96. For an example of an eastern Indian manuscript painting depicting the form, see Zwalf, Buddhism: Art and Faith, figure 49.

4 See Huntington, Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for illustration of most of these images. Their form compares to works that have been dated to the tenth century. See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena Schools, figures 117 and 118 for examples of works from the tenth century.

5 See above, pp. 136-8, for discussion of this image which dates from the late tenth or early eleventh century.

6 See above, p. 137.

7 Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 96) discusses this fact and the change in the Pāla period where the Buddha in the bhūmisparśa mudrā becomes the most popular form. It is interesting that Geri Malandra ("Ellora: The Archaeology of a Mandala," 71) also notes a shift from the depiction of the Buddha in dharmacakra mudra to the bhūmisparśa mudrā at Ellora in the eighth century.

8 For examples, see Williams, The Art of Gupta India, plates 93 and 94.

9 For discussion and illustration of the two pre-Pāla period Bodhgaya images which show the Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā and pralambapadāsana but without the
deer and cakra emblem or the audience for the first sermon, see Asher, Art of Eastern India, 75, plates 139 and 140; Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 15-16, figure 7.


11 M. C. Bourda ("Quelques réflexions sur la pose assise à l'européenne dans l'art bouddhique," Artibus Asiae, 12 [1949], 302-313) discusses the appearance of Maitreya in pralambapadāsana and dharmacakra mudrā. See also Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 21-23. John Huntington ("Cave Six at Aurangabad," in Kalādarśana, ed. Joanna Williams [New Delhi: Oxford and IBH, 1981], 55) discusses connections between Maitreya and Vairocana. Although pralambapadāsana continued to be used in the Pāla period for some Buddha images found at other sites in eastern India, the only known Bodhgayā examples are the two pre-Pāla sculptures dating from the fifth century.


13 Such images are also found at other sites in eastern India, the majority of which are metal sculptures rather than stone images.

14 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 49, 54, show some similar features.

15 Robert L. Brown, "The Srāvastī Miracles in the Art of India and Dvaravatī," Archives of Asian Art, XXXVII


17 Most of the other images of a seated Buddha, which are discussed in this chapter, measure around 70 cm. in height, but this work in the Bodhgaya Site Museum is only 25 cm. in height.

18 Williams, "Sarnāth Gupta Steles," 183.

19 Ibid.


21 See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 53 and 54, for examples that show some comparative stylistic features.

22 See above, pp. 142-43. As the bow-string of Kāma (and thus also Māra) is described as a row of madhukaras (bees or honey-makers), the monkey’s relinquishing/giving honey to the Buddha, which is then followed by the monkey’s death, might symbolize the need to reject the snares of Māra which are attachments to life. The Buddha’s own meditation at Vaśālī leads to the ultimate relinquishment—the desire for life. For madhukaras, see Liebert, Iconographic Dictionary, 155.

23 John Huntington ("Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, Part IV," 31) notes this feature in the post-Gupta period Sarnath stele of the eight scenes.

24 The image is numbered N. S. 2074 in the Indian Museum. Banerji (EISMS, 69, plate XXVII, a) discusses it briefly.
This work in the Indian Museum is illustrated and discussed by Banerji (EISMS, 69, plate XXVII, a). Also see Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook of the Indian Museum, 43-45; its museum number is B. G. 53.

Asher, Art of Eastern India, plate 141; Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 6 and 17. These are also standing Buddha images from other eastern Indian sites which pre-date the Pāla period.

For discussion and examples of standing Buddhas from the Gupta period, see Williams, Art of Gupta India, 76-78.

For examples of such works, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 173, 186.

For example, there are no large stone images depicting a standing Buddha among the known Pāla period works from Nālandā.

For illustration of most of these sculptures, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.

For the date of these works, see Huntington, Origin and Development, 168-169, figure 119.

Ibid., 170-171, for the dating of the image to the tenth century.

The dating of this work on the basis of its stylistic elements agrees with Theodor Bloch's dating of its paleography. Although he did not illustrate the work, the contents of its inscriptions and the description of its location--on the landing inside the northern staircase of the Mahābodhi temple where it still stands--confirms its identity as the subject of Bloch's discussion. See Bloch, "Notes on Bodh Gayā," 157.

Ibid., 158.

Ibid.

Huntington, Origin and Development, 170.

See above, pp.
38 For the stylistic elements which place this work into the eleventh century, see Huntington, *Origin and Development*, 175–176.

39 See below, pp. 257–60, for discussion of Mañjuśrī and images of Mañjuśrī from Bodhgaya.

40 There also do not seem to be any known sādhanas which describe a form corresponding to these images. Single images of the Buddha in abhaya mudrā are commonly found in Pāla-period metal sculptures. For some eleventh-century examples, see Huntington "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 69, 70, and 71. Such works, however, do not show the Buddha attended by other Buddhas.

41 See Saraswati, ed., *Tantrayāna Art Album*, plates 223, 224, and 226. The first two are actually called Dīpankara, while the third image is called Mahāsamudre Rāhukṛita Abhayapāṇi. Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie*, I:77–81, felt the latter painting also represents Dīpankara. He noted that abhayahastu is mentioned in connection with the first two images specifically called Dīpankara so this third image, called Abhayapāṇi, is also likely to be a Dīpankara image. Since these manuscript illustrations do not show the Buddha attended by Buddhas, the abhaya mudrā alone seems insufficient for the identification of the Bodhgaya sculptures as depictions of Dīpankara.

42 See below, pp.

43 Huntington (*Origin and Development*, 176, figure 126) discusses this work and dates it to the eleventh century.

44 Saunders (*Mudrā*, 58–60) describes the gesture used by the Buddha in depictions of this scene as abhaya mudrā. While it was used in some pre-Pāla images and can be found in paintings from the Pāla period, it does not seem to be used in Pāla-period sculptures. An eleventh-century Nepalese painting illustrated in Figure 8 in *Pal, Light of Asia* shows the Nālāgiri event with a Buddha in abhaya mudrā in front of the elephant; lions appear over the elephant's head. The gesture in Pāla-period sculptures however, may be read as a lowered abhaya mudrā, which could be interpreted as a visual demonstration of the Buddha's power which
subdued/overcame the elephant. (The lowered abhaya mudrā might thus represent the activation of fearlessness.)


46 Ibid., 34.

47 Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 150.

48 For examples in paintings, see Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, plates 212, 225, and for an example in sculpture, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 35.

49 The image is apparently in the collection of the Indian Museum. It was published by Banerji in EISMS, plate XXVI, and is numbered B. G. 99. However, I was unable to locate the work during my visit to the museum. Anderson (Catalogue and Hand-book of the Indian Museum, 52) describes it and states that its height is 3'4".

50 See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 74 for a twelfth-century work with some similar details in the treatment of the figure and stele.

51 For other depictions of this scene in manuscript illustrations, see Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, plates 212, 225, and 262.

52 However, I do not know of any other late eleventh or twelfth-century eastern Indian images depicting this scene. Most known examples date from either the ninth or tenth century.

53 For other examples from Nālandā and Kurkihār, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art. Only one or two such images are usually found at individual sites in eastern India, the exception being the site of Kurkihār. I know of eight Kurkihār sculptures depicting this scene.

54 Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, I: 203. Xuanzang’s description states:

Tathāgata, rising from the Saddharma hall, accompanied by a multitude of devas, descended by
the middle ladder. Mahā-Brahmā-rāja holding a white chaṭamāra, came down by the white ladder on the right, whilst Sakra, king of Devas holding a precious canopy, descended by the crystal ladder on the left.

Xuanzang's account of Śāṅkāśya presents a story which tallies with actual works representing the scene and records one example of the existence of images at the site which correspond to the event that made the site famous. See Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, I: 203, where he states:

Some centuries ago the ladders still existed in their original position, but now they have sunk into the earth and disappeared. The neighboring princes, grieved at not having seen them, built up of bricks and chased stones ornamented with jewels, on the ancient foundations (three ladders) resembling the old ones. They are about 70 feet high. Above them they built a vihāra in which is a stone Buddha, and on either side of this figure is a ladder with the figures of Brahṇā and Sakra, just as they appeared when first rising to accompany the Buddha in his descent.

Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles," 184-185, figures 2, 3, 10.

See, for examples, Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 34 and 114.

Mireille Bénesti, "Une sculpture insolite de l'Indian Museum de Calcutta," Artibus Asiae, 43, 3 (1982), 2-16. This work is the only one of this type which depicts figures that can be related to life scenes.

For discussion of the form and imagery of Pāla-period votive stūpas, see Bénesti, Contribution à l'étude du Stūpa.

Pratapaditya Pal, Indian Sculpture (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art with the University of California Press, 1986), 258; Vincent A. Smith, The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. XX (Allahabad: Superintendent, Government Press, 1907), 46, figures 1, 2 and 3. They also bear some
comparison to what Mary Slusser (Nepal Mandala [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982], figures 273, 276) has identified as as sarvatobhadra-type caitya found in Nepal and supposedly dating from the eighth century. They show four standing figures, sometimes contained within niches, sometimes not.

61Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 120-121. Xuanzang relates that the Mahābodhi image was supposedly by made the Bodhisattva Maitreya. When the monks realized this as a sacred miracle, they supposedly adorned the image with a necklace of precious stones and jewels and placed a diadem on the head. Mus ("Le Buddha paré," 186-201) discussed this account and other evidence, such as inscriptions that record the offering of Kāśāyana to Buddha images, as documents of the practice of dressing and adorning figures of the Buddha. Perhaps additional support for the presence of a crowned Buddha image at Bodhgaya by the seventh century is given by an eighth century Dunhuang painting which depicts an ornamented Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā and bears the inscription, "light-emitting auspicious image in the country of Magadha." For discussion of this painting, see Alexander C. Soper, "Representations of Famous Images at Tun-Huang," Artibus Asiae, 27 (1964-65), 349.

62For a recent discussion of the five Jina Buddhas, see David Snellgrove's essay, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas—Seventh to Thirteenth Centuries," 72-75, in The Silk Route and the Diamond Path, ed. Deborah Klimburg Salter (Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council, 1982), 72-75.


64For examples of stone sculptures of a crowned Buddha from eastern India, see Banerji, EISMS, plates XXI and XXII. See also, Bénisti, Contribution à l'étude du Stūpa, 74-79, for discussion of crowned forms in the art of Bodhgaya and Nālandā.

65Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 100.

66See below, pp.
67 For illustration of these sculptures from Bodhgaya, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.

68 Ibid. Some of these include very fragmentary works.


70 Tucci (Tibetan Painted Scrolls, I: 223) discusses the five Jinas as derived from concepts related to Sākyamuni's attainment of supreme enlightenment. Snellgrove also discusses this topic (Buddhist Himalaya [Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1957], 64-75).


72 Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, I:307. Mus ("Le Buddha pare," 185-187) notes that in a chapter of the Lotus Sutra, Bodhisattvas pay homage to Sākyamuni by offering him a pearl necklace. One major topic of concern in this text (and in many others as well) is the ekayāna theory, which shows Sākyamuni as the source of all revelations, his teachings differ dependent upon the needs of the listeners.

73 Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas—Seventh to Thirteenth Centuries," 74-75.

74 Ibid., 75.

75 Ibid., 75-76.

76 Ibid. See also Pathak, "The Crowned Buddha and the Adamantine Throne," 82.
Most of these works are of substantial size, measuring more than one meter in height. For illustrations, see Huntington, ed., *Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art*.

Ibid., for examples of such images from Antichak.

For an example of a twelfth-century work, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 77.

See, for example, figure

See above, pp. 189-90.

Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, I: 204-205. Xuanzang describes the legend of Bhikṣunī Utpalavarnā who made herself into a cakravartin in order to be the first to greet Sākyamuni. However, Sākyamuni supposedly rebuked her by revealing that she had not been the first, for Subhuti, engaged in meditation, had seen the spiritual body of the Buddha first.

See, for example, Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 109.

While there are relatively few large stone images of crowned Buddhas known from eastern India, a greater number of smaller metal sculptures of that subject exist. For eleventh-century metal sculptures from Kurkihar, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 69, 70 and 71.

Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 100.

See above, pp.

Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 100.

See above, pp.

Pathak ("The Crowned Buddha and the Adamantine Throne," 82) mentions that the life scenes of Buddha are meditated on by a devotee after practices for obtaining bodhi, which includes a crown initiation. This seems analogous to the presentation of life scenes as a group on the steles of crowned Buddha images.
Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 100.

Ibid.

Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 121; Mus, "Le Buddha paré," 270. There is an additional possibility beyond that of the crown being made simply of some other substance. Removeable crowns may have been made in order to parallel coronation initiations where crowns are placed on the initiate's head at a specific moment within the ceremony.

British Museum records indicate that the piece might be from Bodhgayā, and indeed, both Buchanan-Hamilton and Mitra provide illustrations of the sculpture. See Martin, Eastern India, I, plate X; Mitra, Buddha-Gayā, plate XXXII.

See above, Footnote 41.

Some Pāla-period paintings also depict this figure. See, for example, Saraswati, ed. Tantrayāna Art Album, plate 214. This painting shows the kneeling nun and Brahmā, Indra and Viṣṇu, as well as a standing Buddha in varada mudrā.

See, for example Luce, Old Burma-Early Pagan, plate 319,b.

See, for comparison Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 171.

Bhattacharyya, IBI, 74-75; Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 419-421. Snellgrove ("The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism," 217) notes a passage from the Guhyasamāja Tantra that links Vajrasattva and Vairocanā. For discussion of Vajrasattva as the form of Vajradhara as the chief practitioner as given in the Vajramālā, an explanatory tantra of the Guhyasamāja, see Alex Wayman, The Buddhist Tantras (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973), 98. He also notes on pp. 46-47 that Vajrasattva sometimes heads a sixth Tathāgata family in addition to those headed by Vairocanā, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi.

For an example of a manuscript painting of Vajrasattva, see Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album,
LXXX, plate 218. The painting is inscribed "Sumero Vajrasatvah."

100 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 74-75.

101 Ibid.

102 Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 93.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid., 92.

105 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 52.

106 Ibid.

107 See above, pp. 116-17.

108 See, for example, Jane Anne Casey, ed., Medieval Sculpture from Eastern India: Selections from the Nalin Collection (Livingston, New Jersey: Nalini Publications, 1985), plate 33, which depicts more common forms of devotees as well as one ācāryā figure on the base of a Bangladesh sculpture of Manjuvara. Pratapaditya Pal (Art of Nepal [Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art with University of California Press, 1985], 107) discusses a twelfth-century Nepalese ritual crown which is somewhat similar to that figured in these eastern Indian sculptures.

109 Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for examples from Nālandā. The style of some eastern Indian images of Vajrasattva, which are without a recorded provenance, indicate that they might be from Bodhgaya. One is illustrated in Banerji EISMS, plate XV. Further, Mitra (Buddha-Gayā, plate XXIII) illustrated a drawing of a Vajrasattva sculpture from Bodhgaya which does not seem to be either of the works that I have found still at the site.

110 The style of this work is somewhat odd; it appears to be of a late tenth-century date.

111 Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 99-100; Bhattacharyya, IBI, 55-56.
CHAPTER 5
BODHISATTVA IMAGES FROM BODHGAYĀ

Bodhisattvas, as personifications of important Buddhist concepts,¹ are a significant part of Pāla and Sena-period imagery. Although not nearly as numerous as Buddha images, some fifty-one sculptures of Bodhisattvas survive from Bodhgayā.² A number of different Bodhisattvas and their roles are described in Buddhist texts,³ but only a limited number commonly appear in eastern Indian sculptures. And, at Bodhgayā, only three Bodhisattvas—Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī—appear with any frequency. Avalokiteśvara is the most commonly depicted Bodhisattva in eastern Indian art, and this is true for Bodhgayā. Furthermore, he is the only Bodhisattva who is portrayed in a variety of forms in Bodhgayā sculptures. This chapter will first examine the different forms presented in sculptures of Avalokiteśvara and then discuss the sculptures that depict Maitreya and Mañjuśrī.
Avalokiteśvara

As the personification of karunā (compassion), Avalokiteśvara was immensely popular throughout the Buddhist world.4 While Xuanzang mentions seeing different Bodhisattva images at Bodhgayā, he particularly notes the presence of Avalokiteśvara images.5 One was a large silver image paired with an image of Maitreya flanking the entrance to the temple. Two more were located behind the temple, buried halfway in the earth; Xuanzang states that their disappearance into the earth was believed to be an omen of the decline of the Buddhist religion in India.

Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann has studied the various texts in which Avalokiteśvara is prominent.6 She found that the texts emphasize in different ways the compassion of Avalokiteśvara. For example, the Kāraṇḍavyūha, a sūtra extolling the merits gained by Avalokiteśvara, begins with the Bodhisattva Sarvanirvāṇaviśkambhin asking the reason for the appearance of an intense ray of light.7 The Buddha explains that it was generated by Avalokiteśvara who had entered Avīci hell and Preta-loka (the world of
ghosts) in order to teach the doctrine and pacify and purify the suffering. And the twenty-fifth chapter of the Lotus Sūtra is devoted to explaining why Avalokiteśvara is named Regarder of the Cries of the World. There the Buddha explains:

If there be countless hundred myriad kotīs of living beings suffering from pain and distress who hear of this Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, and with all their mind call upon his name, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World will instantly regard their cries and all of them will be delivered.⁸

Coupled with his compassion for suffering beings is his ability to deliver all beings from their misery no matter what the circumstances. Avalokiteśvara's aid comes in infinite ways and for infinite ills. The twenty-fifth chapter in the Lotus Sūtra, for example, enumerates a long list of the various calamities which Avalokiteśvara Mahāsattva overcomes.⁹ His aid sometimes appears as favors; at others it comes as hindrances which aid by furnishing obstacles to be fought.¹⁰ The variety of aid that Avalokiteśvara provides and the endless nature of his compassion gave rise to the profusion of forms for the Bodhisattva which are described in sādhanas and other texts.¹¹ Some of these different forms are depicted in the surviving sculptures from eastern India, including
Bodhgaya.

A work now located in an exterior niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 93) is among the earliest, if not the earliest, surviving single sculpture of Avalokiteśvara from Bodhgaya. The Bodhisattva stands with his right hand in varada mudrā, the gesture of bestowal, and holds a fullblown lotus with his left hand. The image is unfortunately coated with gold paint and has been restored, preventing a full appraisal of its details. Nonetheless, the simple treatment and the stocky figural proportions suggest an early date, placing the work at the beginning of Pāla rule in the eighth century.¹²

The form of this Bodhgaya image is commonly found in other early eastern Indian Avalokiteśvara images (for example, Figure 94).¹³ Such figures have often been identified as Lokanātha, a form listed in sādhanaś in the Sādhanamālā.¹⁴ Lokanātha is described there as two-armed, making the varada mudrā and holding a lotus; in one sādhana he is attended by Tārā and Hayagrīva.¹⁵ In the Bodhgaya sculpture, the figure who kneels in a posture of devotion and holds a lotus is probably Tārā. But two characteristics differing from the sādhana descriptions include his
standing posture and the lack of a figure of Vajradharma in his hair.\textsuperscript{16}

Whether or not one uses the name Lokanātha for such images, they probably relate to the nature of Lokanātha. The name Lokanātha appears in inscriptions on manuscript paintings which depict forms of Avalokiteśvara that also do not conform to the sādhana descriptions, suggesting a generalized use of the name.\textsuperscript{17} Lokanātha, which means Protector of the World, is identified in the sādhana as the destroyer of all diseases (one assumes this includes spiritual as well as physical maladies).\textsuperscript{18}

A fragmentary Bodhgaya sculpture, also dating from the eighth century (Figure 95), is perhaps another example which depicts this form of Avalokiteśvara. Although damaged, the figure of Amitābha in the Bodhisattva's headdress identifies the image as Avalokiteśvara.\textsuperscript{19} The treatment of the figure is still simple with little ornamentation, but the Bodhisattva wears a crown instead of the jatāmukuta seen in the previous image.

A four-armed image (Figure 96), however, probably dating from the late ninth century,\textsuperscript{20} demonstrates that different forms of the
Avalokiteśvara appeared at Bodhgayā in the early Pāla period. It represents a form found in at least six images still at the site. Another example of a similar date is presently enshrined in the Mahant's compound (Figure 97). While these two works differ in details of execution, they present essentially the same iconographic information. Each Bodhisattva holds an aksamālā (rosary), lotus, kamandalu (vase) and makes the varada mudrā. Both wear crowns with figures of Amitābha and jewelry: bracelets, armlets, anklets as well as elaborate necklaces. Both Bodhisattvas are accompanied by two females. Tārā, who is two-armed and holds a blue lotus (utpāla), stands on the proper right side of Avalokiteśvara, while Bhūkuti, who is four-armed, stands on the proper left side.

Tārā and Bhūkuti are frequent attendants of Avalokiteśvara in eastern Indian sculptures. Mallar Ghosh has argued that while Tārā represents Avalokiteśvara's compassion, Bhūkuti reflects the practice of wisdom, the spiritual rather than the active side of the Bodhisattva's nature.

A number of ninth-century images from other sites, such as a work from Nālandā (Figure 98), correspond to the Bodhgayā sculptures in terms of
attributes and attendants and differ only in style. Although commonly represented in ninth-century sculptures, this four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara cannot be specifically identified. It is neither described nor named by known Indian sādhanas.²⁵

The objects held and the mudrā made by this form are symbols of compassion and practice, suggesting that such images are primarily expressions of the compassionate nature of Avalokiteśvara.²⁶ Some manuscript paintings with identifying inscriptions also depict such four-armed figures of Avalokiteśvara. While none of the paintings correspond to the Lokanātha sādhanas, their inscriptions include "Lokanātha" in their titles.²⁷ The inscriptions suggest that even though this form differs from that described by known Lokanātha sādhanas, it relates to the essential nature of Lokanātha, the Protector of the World. Four-armed figures of Avalokiteśvara seem to appear most frequently in eastern Indian art in the ninth and tenth centuries.²⁸ The latest known example from Bodhgayā dates from the tenth century (Figure 99).²⁹

Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann observed that, in the ninth century, single sculptures depicting a two-armed
Avalokiteśvara did not seem as popular as four-armed images of Avalokiteśvara in eastern India, and this may be true at Bodhgaya. There is only one other known Bodhgaya sculpture from the late ninth century whose main subject depicts a two-armed Avalokiteśvara (Figure 100). This impressive sculpture can be dated to the late ninth century on the basis of its stylistic correspondence to the late ninth-century four-armed images (Figures 97 and 98). In particular, it bears a marked stylistic resemblance to the Nālandā four-armed Avalokiteśvara (Figure 98), which may indicate that the artist of the large work at Bodhgaya was from Nālandā, or alternatively, the image may have been brought to the site.

The two-armed Avalokiteśvara stands in a pose of greater ease than seen in the extant four-armed images. The variation in stance may reflect a difference in function. It is possible that the two-armed image served as an attendant figure in a role analogous to one that the same form served in sculptures depicting a triad of figures, namely a Buddha attended by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya (see, for example, Figure 42). No such triads survive which show the Buddha attended by multiple-armed
Bodhisattvas. The seeming scarcity of single sculptures from Bodhgaya whose main subject depicts a two-armed Avalokiteśvara in the ninth century may perhaps result from the more common practice of depicting this form as part of a group in a single sculpture. The absence of multiple-armed figures in such groupings may reveal that there was a different function for such multiple-armed figures, whose primary role at least was not as an attendant to a Buddha.

An interesting feature shared by the Bodhgaya two-armed Avalokiteśvara and the slightly later four-armed image from Bodhgaya (Figure 99), as well as the Nālandā image (Figure 98), is the presence in each of a small figure kneeling with his hands raised upwards in a gesture of supplication to the Bodhisattva who towers above him. The figure, as has been identified by others, is a preta, a hungry ghost, who is described in certain sādhanas of Avalokiteśvara and called Sūcīmukha. Sūcīmukha, a name which means needle-mouth, refers to the condition of these creatures who are constantly hungry and thirsty. In sādhanas which mention Sūcīmukha, Avalokiteśvara is identified as Khasarpaṇā and described:
exhibiting the varada pose in his right hand, and holds the lotus with a stem in the left. He is expert in distributing the stream of nectar that flows from his hand, and Śūcīmukha, who stands below with an upturned face, a protruding belly and a very pale appearance receives the same.\textsuperscript{32}

It seems no accident that the Bodhisattva's right hand in these images is directly above this creature. The gesture of giving (varada mudrā) over Śūcīmukha suggests that the wishes and needs of the suffering are fulfilled by the Bodhisattva. Thus, important aspects of Avalokiteśvara—his overwhelming compassion for all creatures and his ability to help all—are conveyed by the particularized presentation of alleviating the suffering of the hungry ghost.

Pretas appear as early as the Gupta period on the bases of sculptures of Avalokiteśvara, but it cannot be determined whether they specifically represent Śūcīmukha.\textsuperscript{33} The Khasarpaṇā sādhana is the only sādhana that I know which specifically mentions the preta and his name, but pretas are mentioned in other texts and appear in images depicting forms of Avalokiteśvara that cannot be specifically identified as Khasarpaṇā because they lack the other attendants mentioned for this form.\textsuperscript{34} At first, the preta may have been a generic figure who could appear as an
element of Avalokiteśvara imagery. Only later, perhaps to emphasize further this aspect of Avalokiteśvara, was he specifically mentioned in sādhanā descriptions of the Khasarpanā form of Avalokiteśvara.

This possibility is strengthened by the fact that pretas are described in texts that are not particularly associated with Avalokiteśvara. For example, the Buddhacarita mentions pretas in the account of Sākyamuni's vision of the world during the night of his enlightenment. The text states:

And so those, who are obsessed by stinginess, are reborn in dark world of the Pretas and reap their reward in wretchedness. With mouths small as the eye of a needle and bellies vast as mountains, their lot is suffering and they are tortured with the sufferings of hunger and thirst. For reaching the limit of longing, yet kept in existence by their own deeds, they do not succeed in swallowing even the filth thrown away by others. If man knew that such was the fruit of avarice, he would give away even the limbs of his own body, as Sibi did.35

This text, which is earlier than the Khasarpanā sādhanas, provides a description of the pretas and an explanation of their condition that agrees with the later images and texts. And this passage from the Buddhacarita also offers a justification for the importance of the Bodhisattva's acts of compassion. Giving instead of craving can help to prevent so
terrible an existence as that of a preta.

Richard Gombrich has discussed how pretas may be linked to the notion of pitrs, deceased ancestors, so that in theory, a preta might be one's own dead relation. Gombrich notes that the act of pouring water, which is done to seal an action of donation or agreement, also recalls the libation poured to the pitrs. Such acts bring to mind the stream of nectar that Avalokitesvara provides for the pretas, a link between the imagery of sons who perform rites for their ancestors and the acts of Avalokitesvara who provides release for the suffering.

In addition to the previously discussed Avalokitesvara images from Bodhgaya, several sculptures depicting six-armed figures also survive from Bodhgaya. These can be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century on the basis of their style. Two can be identified as depicting a form of Avalokitesvara known as Amoghapāsa, the Bodhisattva with the unfailing pāśa (noose).

Amoghapāsa images appear frequently in countries outside of India where they are usually eight-armed. In eastern Indian art, however, Amoghapāsa is rarely depicted and appears only as either six-armed or
twelve-armed. A work now located in a niche on the Mahābodhi temple, is an example of the seated six-armed form of Amoghapāśa with Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī depicted below his seat (Figure 101). It is unusual that there are more attributes than arms on the Bodhisattva's his left side; there are few such images from eastern India with this characteristic. On the proper left side are the kamandalu, padma, pustaka (book) and pāśa. The pāśa is used by Avalokiteśvara to rope and thus lead beings to enlightenment. His noose is one that none can escape, and so, in this form, he is quite literally the savior of all. The Amoghapāśa form of Avalokiteśvara is another manifestation of the unbounded compassion that Avalokiteśvara has for all sentient beings, echoing the first section of the Kārandavyūha where Avalokiteśvara descends into the Avīci hells to redeem the suffering.

Another standing six-armed figure depicted in a sculpture probably dating from the early tenth century, which is now located in a niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 102), does not carry a pāśa and, thus, cannot be identified as Amoghapāśa although it is clearly an image of Avalokiteśvara. The work
does not correspond exactly to any known Indian sadhanas although it does share some features with a form known as Pretasantarpa, "Comforting the Pretas."\(^4^4\) Sādhanae prescribe six hands for this form. Avalokiteśvara holds the cintāmaṇi (jewel), pustaka (book), tridandī, (staff with three branches) and aksāmālā (rosary); two hands make the varada mudrā.\(^4^5\) The Bodhgayā image carries the tridandī on his right and the pustaka on the left, two of the unusual elements of this form, but the cintāmaṇi is absent. The similarities to the Pretasantarpa form, however, may indicate that the meaning of this six-armed image of Avalokiteśvara was related to that of the Pretasantarpa and Amoghapāśa forms, which emphasize Avalokiteśvara's compassion for the suffering.

A sculpture now located in a niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 103) provides evidence of the continued treatment in the tenth century of Avalokiteśvara as a two-armed figure.\(^4^6\) The Bodhisattva holds the lotus and makes the varada mudrā; Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are depicted beneath his seat. Another example of a tenth-century image that can be identified as from Bodhgayā also shows the Bodhisattva
with two arms, holding the lotus and making the varada
mudrā, and attended by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī (Figure 104).

This image, which is now in the British Museum, has no recorded provenance. But a drawing made by Buchanan-Hamilton of a sculpture of Avalokiteśvara at Bodhgaya in the nineteenth century corresponds closely to the British Museum sculpture (Figure 105). The drawing shows a standing two-armed Avalokiteśvara attended by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. Not only are the poses and details of the figures in the drawing similar to this sculpture, but the elaborate treatments of the backslabs are close. I know of no other image even remotely similar to the British Museum work, strengthening the probability that this sculpture was the subject of Buchanan-Hamilton’s drawing.

While there seem to be no surviving Bodhgaya sculptures from the later part of the Pāla period which depict multiple-armed figures of Avalokiteśvara, Bodhgaya images dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, clearly demonstrate continued artistic production of two-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara.

Evidence of later Bodhgaya images of Avalokitesvara is offered by a fragmentary work still
at the site (Figures 106). This sculpture can be dated to the eleventh century by comparison to other images whose dates are well-established. Only the lower portion of the image survives, but it can be identified as Avalokiteśvara on the basis of the attendant figures: Tārā and Sudhanakumāra on the main figure's right side and Bhūkuṭī and Hayagrīva on his left side. Across from Hayagrīva kneels a preta, much reduced in size from earlier treatments found in Figures 97 and 98. These attendants are ones prescribed in sādhanas to appear with Avalokiteśvara in his form as Khasarpaṇā, who makes the varada mudrā and holds the lotus. The Khasarpaṇā sādhanas are also the ones which mention the presence of Sūcīmukha receiving nectar from the Bodhisattva.

Another fragmentary image of Avalokiteśvara is now located in an exterior niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 107). What survives is the lower half of a seated figure who might also be identified as Khasarpaṇā on the basis of the attendant figures—Hayagrīva and Sūcīmukha—who appear below the lotus pedestal. The sculpture is probably somewhat later in date than the previous example as the body is stiffer and more elongated and the lotus pedestal more
elaborate. Such features correspond to elements found in images dating from the late eleventh century or early twelfth century.\textsuperscript{52}

Another, more complete, example of a Khasarpaṇā image from Bodhgaya is work now in the Indian Museum (Figure 108).\textsuperscript{53} It depicts Avalokiteśvara standing in varada mudrā and holding the lotus. The attendants prescribed for Khasarpaṇā are present. On the basis of its style, the sculpture also seems to date from the late eleventh century.

Further evidence of the presence of Khasarpaṇā images at Bodhgaya is offered by another image in the Indian Museum (Figure 109). It depicts a seated Avalokiteśvara and is recorded as having been found at Bodhgaya; Colonel Mackenzie made a drawing of the work when he visited Bodhgaya in 1814.\textsuperscript{54} The provenance of this piece raises interesting questions about the history of the site. It is made of beige sandstone rather than the more usual grey or black stone of eastern Indian sculpture and has little in common with eastern Indian art traditions, resembling instead, works found at sites further west of about twelfth-century date.\textsuperscript{55} It is possible that this image of Avalokiteśvara was brought to Bodhgaya as a
result of the influence of the Gāhaḍavālas who came from such western sites and were known to be active at Bodhgayā in the late eleventh century. This image demonstrates that all the works found at Bodhgayā may not have been created at the site. Nonetheless, its presence at Bodhgayā can be seen as evidence of the worship of Avalokiteśvara. And such images may have had some influence on sculptures actually created there.

A work still at the Mahābodhi temple, dating from the eleventh century presents an interesting feature not found in other surviving images from the site (Figure 110). The sculpture depicts Khasarpaṇā Avalokiteśvara. He makes the varada mudrā and presumably, held a the lotus, although that section of the sculpture is lost. Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī flank him, and Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Sūcīmukha appear below the lotus pedestal.

The interesting aspect of this eleventh-century sculpture is the remnant of rocky terrain depicted in the upper left portion of the stele. This motif of rocky land appears infrequently in works from this period. Another example where this motif occurs is in an image of Avalokiteśvara from the site of Kurkihār,
which dates from the tenth century (Figure 111). This sculpture provides a better idea of the rocky land which only minimally survives in the Bodhgaya image. The Kurkihār work shows Avalokiteśvara attended only by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. Instead of making the varada mudrā, in this image he makes the dharmacakra mudrā. Thus, the Kurkihār image is apparently not a representation of Avalokiteśvara in his Khasarpaṇā form, but no other sādhanaś correspond to this image. However, a painting from an eleventh-century Nepalese manuscript illustrates a form corresponding to the Kurkihār image and has an inscription which labels the figure as "Śrī-Potalake Lokanātha" (Figure 112). In the painting, Avalokiteśvara is seated and in dharmacakra mudrā and attended by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. The depiction of rocky land in the two sculptures and this painting seem to symbolize the place of Potala mentioned in many Buddhist texts.

Giuseppe Tucci cites a pertinent description of Potala:

In a park with many trees and fruits, birds of various kinds, there is a pond with lotuses; mounting on the ladder the travellers will climb the rock of Potala where there are perfect men (siddhas) and vidyadhārās and kimpurusā
worshipping the holy mountain... Then inside a pavilion on top of Potalaka they will see Avalokiteśvara. Complete reverence: turn to the right, then sit in front of god. The god should praise their zeal and endeavor and will send them back to the world in order to benefit people. They will then get samādhi, mystic powers and become Bodhisattva who do not return back (aviniyartaniya). They can stay as long as they wish.60

Tucci notes that visiting Potala, related to themes of travel to heaven, occurs only after a lengthy journey, sometimes aided by deities such as Tārā, Bhrūkti and Hayagrīva.61 The last portion of the journey is represented by climbing a ladder over the steep rocks upon which the palace of Avalokiteśvara is built.62 Reference to journeys to Potala occur fairly early, but perhaps the most famous journey to Potala is the one described in the text of the Gandhavyuha made by Sudhana, who travelled from place to place in search of teaching about enlightenment.63 Potala was one of his stops.

The differences between the Bodhgaya image and the Kurkihār image may relate to the differences noted by Mallmann between the painting of Potala Lokanātha (Figure 112) and another painting also labelled Potala Lokanātha but slightly later in date.64 This second painting depicts Avalokiteśvara in varada mudrā and holding a lotus, corresponding to the form depicted in
the Bodhgaya sculpture. Mallmann suggests that the differences in the two paintings are due to the influence of Khasarpaṅga form on the later painting, since the Khasarpaṅga form seems to have come into vogue in art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Taranātha states that the Khasarpaṅga image was first made by a devotee on his way to see Potala. So it is possible that the two forms could share similar elements. And indeed, one sādhanā for Khasarpaṅga states that Khasarpaṅga dwells in a cave in Potala. This element of setting, however, is not commonly depicted in images of Khasarpaṅga. Thus, the explicit presentation of the Potala setting in the Bodhgaya sculpture seems noteworthy.

Another form of Avalokiteśvara depicted in three late Bodhgaya sculptures can be identified as Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of the lion's roar, which is described by sādhana. One of these works was noticed by Foucher at the beginning of this century in the Mahant's compound where it still remains (Figures 113 and 114). Foucher identified it as a representation of Mañjuśrī. In fact, Simhanāda is an epithet which can also be used for Mañjuśrī and Sākyamuni, as well as Avalokiteśvara,
leading some writers like Alice Getty to suggest that this form seeks to unite Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara. Four sādhanas, however, in the Sādhanamālā associate the form specifically with Avalokiteśvara. The Simhanāda sādhanas state that the Bodhisattva should be without ornaments, have three eyes and a tall jatāmukuta and sit upon a lion. To his right should be a white trident entwined by a white snake and on his left a lotus bowl full of flowers. His left hand should hold a lotus topped by a flaming sword. These elements are found in the Bodhgayā work except for the bowl of flowers, a characteristic lacking in other known sculptures of Simhanāda, but present in at least one twelfth-century painting of this form (Figure 115).

Alice Getty relates a story that the first converts made among the Mongols by Northern Buddhists resulted from the cure of leprosy by means of the Simhanāda sādhanas. The Simhanāda sādhanas do describe this form as the healer of all diseases, and the recitation of the dharāṇī associated with the form is supposed to cure diseases, dispell sins and insure rebirth in Sukhāvati heaven after death. One text states that the Buddha recited the Simhanāda dharāṇī
because the people of Magadha were suffering from leprosy. Supposedly, the Buddha remembered that this dharāṇī had been effective in the past when Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara-Siṃhanāda were working in the world.

Evidence of the early association of Avalokiteśvara with the cure of diseases (both spiritual and physical) can be found in a number of sources; one which is particularly relevant is a poem written by Vajradatta, who lived in eastern India during the reign of Devapāla in the ninth century. Because Vajradatta had leprosy, he composed a stanza each day imploring Avalokiteśvara's intervention and praising Avalokiteśvara as Lokesvara, the lord of the world. At the end of three months, he had a vision of the Bodhisattva and was cured of his disease. The poem is entitled "Lokeśvarasatakastotra."

In addition to the image first noticed by Foucher (Figure 113), I know of two other Siṃhanāda images from Bodhgayā, one still at the site and the other now in the Indian Museum (Figure 116). Simhanada does not appear frequently in the art of India. I do not know of any images from Nālandā, although there are some from other sites. A famous
example from Sultāngānj in eastern Bihar is now in the Birmingham Museum. Another was found at a site in the Gayā district not far from Bodhgaya (Figure 117), and the form is also depicted in an image from Mahoba, in the modern state of Uttar Pradesh (Figure 118), made under the Candella dynasty.83

The Bodhgaya images of Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara may be dated to the late eleventh century because of stylistic features such as attenuated figural forms and sharply pointed stele top.84 Because known examples of Simhanāda are late in date, it possible that the inception for representing Simhanāda in stone sculptures may not have occurred much before the beginning of the eleventh century.

A previously discussed twelfth-century inscription from Bodhgaya,85 which mentions the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Jayachandra, also mentions Simhanāda. The relevant passage occurs near the end of the inscription and states:

It is this accomplished, all-knowing and illustrious friend of the world, free from impurities, that made this large cave here in the auspicious Jayapura, with Simhanāda in front...86

This twelfth-century inscription thus provides additional evidence for the importance of Simhanāda at
Bodhgaya during the later Pāla and Sena times.\textsuperscript{87}

The Śimhanāda image now in the Mahant’s compound (Figure 113) contains an interesting element which has so far been absent in the imagery of Bodhgāya. At the top of the stele are five flying figures who can be identified as five Buddhas, specifically the five Jina Buddhas (Figure 114).\textsuperscript{88} The Buddha at the summit of the stele is in dhyāna mudrā, repeating the figure of Amitābha in the jatāmukuta of the Bodhisattva. The other four Buddhas display (from left to right): dharmacakra, varada, bhūmisparśa and abhaya mudrās. Thus, it is possible to identify them as the other four Jina Buddhas: Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddhi. Although the Jina Buddhas are often found depicted as a group on the top of eastern Indian sculptures,\textsuperscript{89} they do not appear in earlier images at Bodhgāya. Further, the Buddhas here are shown in unusual attitudes of flight, as if moving away from the Bodhisattva. This possibly defines the Bodhisattva as their common source, and at least one sādhanā of Śimhanāda actually specifies that Śimhanāda emanates the five Tathāgatas (Jinas).\textsuperscript{90} The Jina Buddhas can be related to the meaning of Śimhanāda, the power of the lion's roar, which signifies the
power of the Buddhist doctrine. In this form and especially in this particular image from Bodhgaya, Avalokitesvara is pictured as the source of the dharma from which it spreads in all directions (for all beings).

The presence in the Bodhgaya sculpture of four little elephants who carry on their backs the feet of the lion, who in turn carries Avalokitesvara may also be another characteristic of the all-powerful nature suggested by the Simhanada form. Mallmann viewed this feature as a further demonstration of the kingly nature of Simhanada, since these two animals are associated with kingly imagery. While similar elephants appear in the second Simhanada image still at Bodhgaya, it is interesting that it is not a detail found in other Simhanada images.

Conclusions about Images of Avalokitesvara

Although forms of Avalokitesvara encountered in later Bodhgaya sculptures from the Pala and Sena periods differ from those of ninth and tenth-century date, the basic nature of Avalokitesvara does not change significantly. The compassionate and active nature of the Bodhisattva remains a factor in the
different forms portrayed by the images (and described by the sādhanas).

It is sometimes thought that various deities grew more complex in form as time passed, but most multiple-armed images of Avalokiteśvara from eastern India seem to belong to the earlier part of the Pāla and Sena periods. This is true not only at Bodhgayā but at sites elsewhere in eastern India. The later eastern Indian images, including those from Bodhgayā, depict the transcendent nature of the Bodhisattva more in terms of additional attendants or surrounding details than by multiplication of limbs.93

Maitreya

Figures of Maitreya as a Bodhisattva have already been discussed as appearing in the imagery from Bodhgayā. Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara form the pair of Bodhisattvas popularly represented as attendants to the Vajrāsana Buddha.94 But, as Mallmann and Bhattacharyya note, Maitreya has other roles besides attending the Vajrāsana Buddha.95 Sādhanas describe Maitreya as part of a group of either eight or sixteen Bodhisattvas.96 And perhaps Maitreya's most famous
role is as the Bodhisattva in Tuṣita heaven awaiting the time when he will descend to the earth and become a Buddha. Images of Maitreya in Tuṣita heaven seem to be absent, however, from the known imagery of Bodhgaya. A manuscript painting has an inscription specifically identifying the form as Maitreya in Tuṣita heaven (Figure 119). The painting depicts Maitreya in the dharmacakra gesture, a mudrā frequently associated with Maitreya but absent in the known depictions of Maitreya from Bodhgaya.

Except for a few fragments which may have depicted Maitreya, the only surviving single image of Maitreya from Bodhgaya is a large sculpture now located in the Mahant's compound (Figure 120). The Bodhisattva stands with his right hand in varada mudrā. The nāgakesara flower which he holds in his left hand and the stūpa in his headdress identify him as Maitreya. A small figure—perhaps a counterpart to Hayagrīva, who usually accompanies Avalokiteśvara—attends Maitreya. The form of Maitreya depicted in this image is the same form pictured in the ninth and tenth-century steles of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara accompanying a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā and described in the Vajrāsana sādhana. The same form is
also described in one sadhana dedicated solely to Maitreya.\textsuperscript{100} The Maitreya image in the Mahant's compound may be dated to the ninth century on the basis of its stylistic similarity to other ninth century works.\textsuperscript{101}

The ninth-century date and the size of this Maitreya image relate the work to the large single image of two-armed Avalokiteśvara from the ninth century at Bodhgaya (see Figure 100).\textsuperscript{102} This Avalokiteśvara image also depicted the form found accompanying the Vajrāsana Buddha. In this context, it is intriguing to find that these two single Bodhisattva images share similar stylistic features.

Their close resemblance and size could suggest a connection beyond a common provenance and date. It does not seem likely that they could have formed a pair of separate images that flanked a sculpture of a Buddha because of the different treatment of their backslabs. But it is likely that they functioned in the same manner as their counterparts in steles from Bodhgaya which show a Buddha with Bodhisattva attendants.\textsuperscript{103}
Mañjuśrī

The other Bodhisattva who significantly appears as the main subject in the known sculptures from Bodhgayā is Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of insight or prajñā. Mañjuśrī can serve various roles, which include being an attendant to a Buddha, one in a group of Bodhisattvas and lord of a mandala. A number of the different forms for this Bodhisattva are described in surviving sādhanas. The most common and perhaps simplest form presents the Bodhisattva with only two hands: one makes the varada mudrā and the other holds the utpāla, (blue lotus). This is the only form found in five sculptures and some additional fragmentary works from Bodhgayā.

Two of the images of Mañjuśrī document the early presence of this Bodhisattva at Bodhgayā. One sculpture (Figure 121), on the basis of its style, seems to pre-date the Pāla period, while the second sculpture (Figure 122) may date from the early part of Pāla rule, perhaps the ninth century. The earlier image (Figure 121) is similar iconographically and stylistically to a stucco image of Mañjuśrī found at
Nālandā, which dates from the seventh century.107

The second image (Figure 122) shows an elaboration of ornaments and elongation of the figure, making it comparable to ninth-tenth century images.108 The Bodhisattva is not attended in either work and holds only the utpāla, his most common attribute. Both sculptures show a necklace and hairstyle distinctive of Mañjuśrī, which is also found in other early images.109 The later sculpture depicts the Bodhisattva seated on a lion, which is his vehicle as described in several sādhanas.110

These two images of Mañjuśrī are followed in the known corpus of Bodhgaya sculptures by two more sculptures, slightly later in date but similar in iconography.111 One is now in the collection of the Patna Museum (Figure 123), and the second image is housed in a shrine in the compound of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 124). In these sculptures, the two Bodhisattvas hold the utpāla in their left hands and make the varada mudrā with their right hands. In both cases, the utpāla is surmounted by a book representing the Prajñāpāramitā, the quintessential exposition and essence of insight.112 Their hair treatment and necklaces are similar to those seen in the two earlier
sculptures of Mañjuśrī. The standing images differ from each other by the addition of a small lion in the image still at the site. Both of these sculptures—similar in style and content—are also similar in size, each measuring approximately 1.50 meters in height.

Besides very fragmentary images of Mañjuśrī, I know of only one other Mañjuśrī image from Bodhgaya, which is now in the collection of the Indian Museum (Figure 125). Measuring about 35 cm. in height, the sculpture shows Mañjuśrī seated and holding the utpāla. Presenting the same form of Mañjuśrī as the previous Bodhgaya images, this sculpture also probably dates from the same time, late ninth or early tenth century.

The lack of many images of Mañjuśrī and the virtual absence of such images after the tenth century at Bodhgaya is puzzling. The only figure of Mañjuśrī that I know of in the art of Bodhgaya after the tenth century is one appearing in a group of three figures in a single sculpture (see Figure 71)—Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara attending a standing Buddha—which dates from the eleventh century. As mentioned previously, this triad is not repeated in the
surviving Bodhgaya works. Although the seated Mañjuśrī images and the two standing images indicate that the concept of Mañjuśrī had a place at Bodhgaya, it seems different from the one accorded to Avalokiteśvara, who is represented by many more images depicting different forms. And the absence of known single images of Mañjuśrī, which date after the tenth century, contrasts greatly with the continued presence of Avalokiteśvara in sculptures from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although Mañjuśrī appeared in art from Bodhgaya at an early date, his presence was not maintained or ever equal to the one occupied by Avalokiteśvara in images from Bodhgaya.

Figures Related to Mañjuśrī

An indication that concepts related to Mañjuśrī were important at Bodhgaya is perhaps presented by the survival of two large-sized images depicting angry (krodha) male deities. Both sculptures are now located in the Mahant's compound; one (Figure 126) represents Yamāntaka (or Yamārī) and the other represents Trailokavijaya (Figures 127, 128 and 129). The latter sculpture has been dated to the tenth
century by Susan Huntington on the basis of its stylistic features.\textsuperscript{118} The image of Yamāntaka/Yamāri seems to be of comparable date. Both works document the presence at Bodhgaya of complex iconographic forms which relate to Mañjuśrī.

Yamāntaka is a deity described in a number of surviving Indian sādhanas.\textsuperscript{119} Yamāntaka, the destroyer of death, is also called Yamāri, the enemy of death.\textsuperscript{120} S.K. Sarasvati notes that although the sādhanas differ in terms of details of color and attributes for this deity, they agree on the basic nature and appearance of Yamāntaka/Yamāri.\textsuperscript{121} The image at Bodhgaya, which is six-armed, six-legged and six-headed, corresponds most closely to a form called Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri, which is described in several sādhanas. Yamāri is meant to be angry in countenance, corpulent and striding in alidha on his buffalo.\textsuperscript{122} His right hands hold the vajra, sword and staff and his left hands hold the pāśa, pestle and make the tarjanī mudrā. The Bodhgaya image does hold (top to bottom) in his right hands the sword, staff and vajra, and although two left hands are lost, the remaining one does make the tarjanī mudrā. And he wears a skull garland, ornaments of skulls and snakes and a tiger
skin on his hips, also prescribed by the sadhanas.

The Bodhgayā Yamārī differs from most sadhana descriptions by having six heads and six legs. However, one sadhana states that although Yamārī is usually three-headed and six-armed, he can also have six heads and six legs.\textsuperscript{123} This may suggest that at an earlier time (or in a different place) than when the sadhana was composed a six-legged, six-headed form was known but had become less common. I know of no other images from eastern India depicting this six-headed and six-legged form. In fact, images of Yamārī are rare in the art of Bihar and Bengal. For example, only one such image survives among the known works from Nālandā, and it is a small work (Figure 130).\textsuperscript{124} The Nālandā figure has only three heads and six arms, but it seems to be from approximately the same date—circa tenth century—as the Bodhgayā Yamārī.

Giuseppe Tucci provides a description from the Manjuśrīmulakalpa which states that beneath the central divinity of Sākyamuni should appear the god of wrath, Krodharāja Yamāntaka, whose office it is to remove obstacles and avoid perils.\textsuperscript{125} Saraswati explains Yamāntaka as a form assumed by Manjuśrī in order to conquer death; this connection to Manjuśrī
may explain the presence of eulogies on Mañjuśrī which are interspersed through the śādhanas on Yamāntaka/Yamāri.\textsuperscript{126} The śādhanas also mention the presence of Akṣobhya in the headdress of Yamāntaka/Yamāri, indicating that the form belongs to the same Jina family as Mañjuśrī.\textsuperscript{127} This feature occurs in the Bodhgaya image.

The most telling indication of Yamāntaka/Yamāri's meaning may come from a text translated by Alex Wayman in his study of Māra and Yama. In a description of the three executioners of the three Yamas, Wayman notes that at least some Buddhist traditions merge the concepts of Yama and Māra.\textsuperscript{128} He translates a section of the Kṛṣṇayamāri-kalpa which states the Teacher (Buddha), when demonstrating on the Vajrāsana the taming of Māra at dusk, caused Yamāntaka and retinue to manifest for purposes of taming Māra and Yama.\textsuperscript{129} Thus, the presence of this large image of Yamāri at the site where Sākyamuni overcame Māra may be tied to the central concept of Bodhgaya.

It could be argued, since only a single example of Yamāri was found at Bodhgaya, that he was not a popular deity at the site and that the sculpture might have been moved there from another site. But no other
sites seem to have such Yamāri images. The absence of comparable images and the size of the sculpture, which measures approximately 170 cm., support viewing the work as originally located at Bodhgaya. While the lack of complete excavations prevents definite conclusions, the scarcity of such images might indicate some importance for the Bodhgaya image. The work suggests that some aspects of imagery from Bodhgaya included complicated forms of deities which paralleled the complexity of forms found at other sites such as Nālandā, even though the content of Bodhgaya imagery was not as diverse, due perhaps to dominance of the theme of enlightenment at Bodhgaya.

The second krodha image in the Mahant's compound at Bodhgaya represents Trailokavijaya, the conqueror of the three worlds who is a vidyarāja and belongs to the same Jina family as Mañjuśrī (Figure 127). Mallmann notes that he is also called Vajrahūmkāra—meaning he is the angry personification of the bija (seed-syllable) and is thus represented making the vajrahūmkāra mudrā. Trailokavijaya has a number of different forms described by surviving sādhanas; one sādhana basically agrees with the form represented in
the Bodhgaya image, which has four faces and eight arms. One pair of hands make the vajraḫūṃkāra mudrā, while the other right hands hold the khatvāṅga (club), aṅkuśa (elephant goad) and umbrella and the other left hands hold the bow, the pāśa (noose) and a discus. As specified in the sādhana, he tramples upon figures of Śiva and Umā. The sādhana also prescribes a garland of Buddhas, a detail present in the Bodhgaya image. In this image there also appear five small Buddhas in his headdress, representing the Jina Buddhas (see Figures 128 and 129).

Sculptures of Trailokavijaya are rare in the art of eastern India. Several survive from Nālandā, but only one is comparable to the scale of the Bodhīgayā image, which measures approximately 190 cm. in height. The Nālandā sculpture (Figure 131) preserves only the bottom portion of the figure, but enough remains—especially the garland of Buddhas—to identify the form as Trailokavijaya. The other Nālandā sculptures of Trailokavijaya are small works, measuring approximately twenty centimeters or less.

These two images at Bodhgaya depicting Yamāri and Trailokavijaya are the only such works known from the site. Their singular appearance might indicate a
minor role for these deities in the religious practice at Bodhgayā. But large works are economically and physically more impressive, and the status of these two images becomes noteworthy with the recognition that large figures of Yamāri/Yamāntaka and Trailokavijaya seldom appear anywhere in the surviving art of eastern India. And Trailokavijaya's nature, like Yamāri's, may relate to the concept of the site in emphasizing the victory to be achieved through overcoming obstacles.138

The lack of other krodha images at Bodhgayā may be due to incomplete knowledge about the art from Bodhgayā. Unlike the majority of such images known from Nālandā, which are small in scale, most known works from Bodhgayā are larger.139 A small work, approximately 20 cm. in height, surviving from Bodhgayā (Figure 132), however, may indicate that Bodhgayā imagery included more diverse iconographic forms than currently presented by the known sculptures. This work has been dated by Susan Huntington to the twelfth century.140 It shows a male and female in yuganaddha, a pose which signifies sexual union. As Susan Huntington noted, such figures appear very rarely in the art of eastern India, even
at a late date in the Pāla and Sena periods. The survival of this work at Bodhgayā raises the possibility of the presence of esoteric practice at the site. Until more such evidence is uncovered or determined to be really missing from the site, however, the exact extent of such religious practices at Bodhgayā remains unknown.

Conclusion

The variety and popularity of Avalokiteśvara images at Bodhgayā and the duration of their appearance—from the beginning of the Pāla period to the twelfth century—is remarkable when contrasted to the situation presented by the known Bodhgayā single sculptures depicting other Bodhisattvas. This group is one with far fewer images and represents a much more limited period of production. Almost all the other known Bodhisattva images from Bodhgayā belong to the early part of the Pāla period; only a few fragments might possibly date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
FOOTNOTES


2 This number includes some very fragmentary works. For illustrations of many of these sculptures, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.

3 See for example, the list provided by Mallmann in Introduction à l'iconographie, 124-127.


5 Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II:116, 119.

6 Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvara, 21-56.


9 Ibid., 316-319; Dayal (The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, 48-49) also lists aid given in Kāraṇḍavyūha Sutra by Avalokiteśvara.

Bhattacharyya (IBI, 124) notes that thirty-eight sādhanas in the Sādhanamālā identify fifteen different forms of Avalokiteśvara, but many more than these exist in other literature. See also Tay, "Kuan-Yin: The Cult of Half Asia," 157. Hurvitz, (Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma, 314-315) lists the different forms Avalokiteśvara may assume as expedient devices for preaching the dharma.

Asher, Art of Eastern India, plate 161, for an example of a Nalanda sculpture of similar date.

Mallmann (Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara, 156) notes that the combination of the lotus with varada mudrā is particularly common for eastern Indian images, while abhaya mudrā was used more often in other parts of India such as Maharashtra for images of Avalokiteśvara.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara, 176-177.

Bhattacharyya, IBI, 130.

Ibid.

Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, LXXXV, plates 239 and 240.


Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara, 123-126.

Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 97-98, for the date of this sculpture.

For illustration of the other examples, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for sites such as Nalanda and Kurkihār. Frederick Asher (Art of Eastern India, 76, plate 142) suggests that an image now in the Bodhgyā site Museum is a four-armed
image of Avalokitesvara dating from the eighth century. But this fragmentary sculpture relates more closely to Viṣṇu images. The vanamāla (garland) draped across the upper torso is an attribute of Viṣṇu and not Avalokitesvara. Moreover, lines can be seen radiating on the backslab from the shoulders of the figure. Comparison to complete images suggests that these lines probably formed a nāga hood (serpent canopy), indicating that the image depicts Balarama, a specific form of Viṣṇu who has a nāga hood.

22 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 129, 152. Bhārkuṭī's attributes, however, do not conform to surviving textual descriptions. Usually she is described as holding an aksamāla, kamandalu, tridandī (three-pronged staff) and making the abhaya mudrā. In these images and others from eastern India, she holds only the kamandalu and aksamāla, while her two remaining hands are clasped in a gesture of devotion. These differences may indicate that the known sādhanas describe another variation or a later development of her form than found in these ninth century sculptures.

23 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 155. Stephen Beyer (The Cult of Tārā, Magic and Ritual in Tibet [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978], 10) notes that Tārā and Bhārkuṭī are mentioned as Avalokitesvara's attendants in a number of texts, including the Mañjughrimalakalpa and the Mahāvairocana-sutra.

24 For examples, see Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, XXIX, plates 63-70.

25 Saraswati (Tantrayāna Art Album, XXIX) noted that one of the one hundred and eight painted images of Avalokitesvara at the Machchandar Vahal in Kathmandu corresponds to the Bihar four-armed images of Avalokitesvara. The representations in Kathmandu bear inscriptions identifying the forms depicted. Although much later in date, the painting may preserve an earlier tradition. The name in the inscription, Jaṭāmukuta Lokesvara, which means Lokesvara with jaṭāmukuta, a crown of matted hair, unfortunately gives little insight into the specific meaning of four-armed Avalokitesvara images. See Bhattacharyya, IBI, 403, figure 12 for a drawing of the Nepalese image.
26 L.A. Waddell ("The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his Consort, Tārā, the Savioress," JRAS [1894], 55) identified the four-armed form as Mahakaruna, great compassion, but apparently he had no textual source for his identification.

27 Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, LXXXII, LXXXV-LXXXVI, for discussion of paintings illustrated in plates 227, 239 and 243, which are all labeled Lokarātha.

28 See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for illustration of works at sites in the Nalanda and Gaya districts. These works seem to date either from the ninth or tenth centuries.

29 It compares stylistically to tenth-century works. See Huntington, "Pala-Sena Schools, figure 49, for an example.

30 Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvara, 163. She also noted that images from this time did not correspond to known sādhana s.

31 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 128-129; Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvara, 194-197.

32 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 129.

33 Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvara, plate VIIb for an example of a Gupta period image of Avalokitesvara with a preta figure.

34 For example, F. D. Lessing and A. Wayman (Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems, translated from Mka'gs-Grub Rje's Rgyud sde rnam par gzig pa rgyas par brjod 2nd. ed. [Delhi: Motilal Barnasidass, 1978], 121-123) describe the Amṛtabhava-nāma-dhāraṇī tantra, which is concerned with offerings to pretas who have a number of names. See also Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," 50.

35 Johnston, trans., The Buddhacarita, 206.

36 Richard Gombrich, "Merit Transference in Sinhalese Buddhism: A Case Study of the Interaction Between
Doctrine and Practice," History of Religions, II (1971), 208-211.

37Ibid.

38See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for examples of six-armed images from sites in the Gayā and Nawadā districts such as Amethi and Kurkihār. There seem fewer such images surviving from Mālandā and other sites near Nālandā.


41Ibid., 132.

42Saunders, Mudra, 172-173.


44Bhattacharyya, IBI, 141; Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 110.

45Bhattacharyya, IBI, 141.

46Huntington, ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 98) dates this image to the tenth century.

47The British Museum sculpture was published by Ramaprasad Chandra (Medieval Indian Sculpture [Delhi: Indological Book House, 1972], 56, plate XV). He notes that the inscription calls the donor a lay practitioner of the Mahāyāna.

48Buchanan-Hamilton's drawing was published by Montgomery Martin (Eastern India, vol. I, plate IX, 3).

49Very few multiple-armed images of Avalokitesvara illustrated in Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art seem to date after the tenth century. Also, they seem to appear more frequently at sites
surrounding Bodhgayā and Nālandā, such as Kukihar, Amethi, Gaya, Telhara and Ghosrawān, than at sites further east in eastern Bihar or Bengal.

50See, for example, Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 74.

51Bhattacharyya, IBI, 129. This form seems to be overwhelmingly the most popular for representations of Avalokitesvara in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in eastern India. For discussion of this form, see Jogendra Ghosh, "Khasarapanā," IH2 XV, 4 (1939), 607-8. He notes that five sādhanaś include ones by Atīśa and Abhayākaragupta. He also discusses the name which is usually held to mean "sky-gliding."

52See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 115 for a discussion of two Khasarapanā images dating from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.


54The image is published by Banerji (EISMS, plate XXXIII,b). Anderson (Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, part II, 44) describes it and notes that it is included in Mackenzie's volume of drawings made during his travels in 1814 where it is listed as from Bodhgayā. The sculpture is approximately one meter in height and numbered B.G. 54.

55See, for examples, Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 480-483, Figures 20.37 and 20.41.

56See above, pp. 33-35.

57Huntington, Origin and Development, 190-191, figure 147.

58Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, XXXIV, plate 234; Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvāra, 191-194 for discussion of the form.

59See, for example, Lessing and Wayman, Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems, 125-127; Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvāra, 191-194.

Ibid., 194.

Ibid.

Jan Fontein, The Pilgrimage of Sudhana (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1967). Lokesh Chandra ("Origins of the Avalokitesvara of Potala," Kailash, 7 (1971), 5-25) notes that the continued importance of Potala after the Pāla-Sena period is reflected in its use as the name for the residence of the Dalai Lamas of Tibet, who are seen as incarnations of Avalokiteśvara.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara, 192-94.

Potala Avalokiteśvara images also do not seem common. The earlier painting discussed by Mallmann and the Kurkihār image represent rare appearances of the form which is not influenced by Khasarpanā imagery.

Tāranātha, History of Buddhism in India, 192-94.

Bhattacharyya, IBI, 129.

Another work from eastern India with this motif is described by Anderson (Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections of the Indian Museum, 47) He notes that its provenance is unknown, but that it may have come from Bodhgaya.

Bhattacharyya, IBI, 127-128; Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara, 186-91.

Foucher, Étude sur l'iconographie, 1: 116-117, fig. 16.

Foucher, Étude sur l'iconographie, 2: 31-32.


74 Zwalf, Buddhism, Art and Faith, 59, no. 62.

75 Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 60. Lessing and Wayman, (Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems, 127) mention that there are two Siṃhanāda dhāranis, one pronounced at Vajrāsana by the Buddha and one pronounced at Potala by the Buddha, in order to cure leprosy.


77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.


80 Karpelles, "Lokeśvarasataka," 359.

81 For the work still at Bodhgaya, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art. It has been very heavily restored.

82 See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 129, figure 155.

83 For discussion of the Mahoba image, see Huntington, Art of Ancient India, 480. Huntington (Origin and Development, 199-200) also discussed the Gaya district image. Foucher, (Étude sur l'iconographie, pt. 2, figure 2) illustrates another example from the Gaya region.

84 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 129, for a discussion of late stylistic features as found in the Sultānganj image.

85 See above, p. 35.

Bhattacharyya (IBI, 127) notes that Simhanāda was a popular deity in Nepal and Tibet, but this seems to have been after the time of the Pāla and Sena periods.

For discussion of these five Buddhas, see Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas--Seventh to Thirteenth Centuries," 70-72.

See, for examples, Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 137 and 138.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitēśvara, 189. The same poses for the Buddha figures can also be seen in the Sultāngahā Simhanāda.

Ibid.

Ibid. See also Paul Mus, "Thousand-Armed Kannon: A Mystery or a Problem?" Indogaku bukkoryokaku kenkyu, 12 (1960) 468.

See above, footnote 51.

See above, p. 116-18.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 244-248; Bhattacharyya, IBI, 80, 93-94, 131.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 245-6.

Ibid., 244.

This work is published in Foucher, Étude sur l'iconographie, 1: 190, plate 6, figure 1. The inscription Foucher translates as "Tuṣitabhāvane Maitreyacyātīya-āriṣasthāna. Saraswati." (Tantrayāna Art Album, XVII) also discusses the image.

For discussion of the stūpa emblem, see G. Bhattacharyya, "Stūpa as Maitreyā's Emblem," in The Stūpa, Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance, ed. A.L. Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden: Verlag, 1980), 100. Bhattacharyya notes that the stūpa is not mentioned in iconographical texts, although it is a usual element found in the hair of Maitreyā in late images.

Bhattacharyya, IBI, 94.
For example, Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 40.

For a discussion of this image, see above p. 235.

Har Dayal makes a distinction between maitrī and karunā which is interesting in connection to the roles of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara when they attend a Buddha as the personifications of maitrī and karunā, respectively. Dayal (The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, 227-228) identifies maitrī—translated as friendliness or love—as the feeling directed towards those happy in life, and he distinguishes karunā as that shown to those unhappy and afflicted with various miseries.

Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, 45.


Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 252.

Asher (Art of Eastern India, 48, plate 71) discusses this image and dates it to the seventh century.

See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 115.

For a discussion of the hair type and necklace worn by Manjusrī, see Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "A propos d'une sculpture du British Museum, un bodhisattva pāla, identifie avec Manjusrī Kumāra," Oriental Art, n.s. II, 2 (1956), 65.

Mallman, Introduction à l'iconographie, 253.

See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 102 and 104 for works with similar stylistic features.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 251.
Banerji (EISMS, 32, plate XIV) discusses the work.

For examples of images with some similar stylistic features, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 112 and 115.

See above, pp. 187-88 for discussion of this image.

Har Dayal (The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, 44) has stated that Mañjuśrī may have been more important at an earlier time in the development of Mahāyāna thought, but the growing importance of Avalokiteśvara reduced his prominence in later times. This theory requires further study with respect to textual and artistic evidence, but the fact that most Mañjuśrī images at Bodhgaya seem to date from the early part of the Pāla period may reflect such developments.

The lack of different forms of Mañjuśrī in images from Bodhgaya contrasts with Nālandā where a greater variety of forms of Mañjuśrī are represented. The majority of the Nālandā images are metal images, not stone.

Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 101, figure 110.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'Iconographie, 465-469.

Ibid., 465. See pp. 463-64 for discussion of females related to concepts of Yama and Yamāri.

Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, LXII-LXIII.


Bhattacharyya, IBI, 177.

The image is about 20 cm. in height. See C.S. Upasak, Nalanda: Past and Present (Nalanda, Bihar: Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, 1977), 109. See also Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art where this small image is the single work representing Yamāri in the art of Nālandā. For a discussion of a late Yamāri image from Bengal, see Nirad Chand Sanyal, "A three-headed statue of Yamāri from the District of Dacca," IHQ, V, no. 4 (1929), 641-645. It is a three-
headed and six-armed image with only two legs.


126 Saraswati, *Tantrayâna Art Album*, LXII.

127 Ibid.


129 Ibid.

130 Buchanan-Hamilton made drawings of the the Yamârî and Trailokavijaya at the Mahant's compound in the early nineteenth century when he visited the site, so at least the images were not moved there during nineteenth or twentieth century renovations at Bodhgaya. The drawings were published by Montgomery Martin (*Eastern India*, vol. I, plate IX).

131 For other angry figures in the art of Nâlandâ not found in the art of Bodhgaya, see Huntington, ed. *Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art*. It may be appropriate to see Bodhgaya as a site which is dominated by a major concept related to the event which took place there. Thus, imagery and practice at Bodhgaya may be more focused because of the circumstances surrounding the identity of the site. See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 96, for further discussion of this Idea.


133 Mallmann, *Introduction à l'iconographie*, 381.

134 Ibid., 382.

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid.

137 See Huntington, ed., *Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art* for illustration of these images from Nâlandâ.
Ideas which relate to the overcoming of obstacles figure prominently in the meanings of Yamāntaka and Trailokavijaya. Lessing and Wayman (Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems, 316) mention Trailokavijaya as a wrathful deity—a transformation of Vajrasattva's nature in order to overcome obstructing demons. Edward Conze ("The Iconography of the Prajñāpāramitā," in Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies, Selected Essays by Edward Conze [Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1967], 260) describes Yamāntaka as a symbol of the virtue of removing all hindrances and Trailokavijaya as a symbol of the virtue of the conquest of conquering the triple world (greed, hate and delusion) in the garbhadrātā mandala with two other vidhyarājas who collectively represent the power of subduing and surround a figure of Prajñāpāramitā.

See discussion above in Introduction, p. 16.

Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 101, figure 111) notes that this work lacks the particularizing details which allow it to be securely dated, and thus places it into the twelfth century on the basis of its advanced iconography. It is possible that it may date from earlier than this time.

Ibid.
CHAPTER 6
IMAGES OF FEMALE DEITIES FROM BODHGAYĀ

As symbols of many important aspects of Buddhist doctrine, especially notions of praśāda (insight), Buddhist female deities are a significant aspect of the late Buddhist art of India. After the sixth century, they are often encountered in sculptures from eastern India as both attendants and main figures. While a number of different female deities are represented, the majority depict the goddess Tārā, who is generally regarded as the most important and popular female deity of the Buddhist pantheon. Among the images of female deities surviving from Bodhgaya, depictions of Tārā are the most numerous. However, other female deities do appear in images from Bodhgayā. This chapter will first examine the sculptures depicting the various forms of Tārā and then discuss those which present other female deities.

281
Tārā

Tārā is especially venerated as one who aids the devotee in the overcoming of difficulties. As Mallar Ghosh has noted, Tārā can mean star, and, as the causitive of the root tr (tārinī is also used as her name), can mean ferrying across. One sādhana makes her role clear by stating: "The eminent sages of the world call me Tārā because, o Lord, I take my worshippers across the ocean of various dangers."

In many of her various forms, Tārā is associated with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and she is often depicted in images as his attendant. Her ability to provide salvation arises from her being a personification of the karunā (compassion) of Avalokiteśvara. Two stanzas from the popular hymn to the twenty-one Tārās, which is known to have been brought to Tibet from eastern India in the eleventh century, reveal her role as savioress and her connection to Avalokiteśvara:

Arya Tārā! Hail to thee!
Our Deliveress sublime
Avalokita's messenger
Rich in power and pity's store

Hail O Tārā quick to Save!
Lotus-born of pitying tear
Shed down by the Three-World-Lord
Grieving sad for sunken souls.
Various sources besides the numerous surviving images from eastern India indicate a veneration of Tārā in the region. For instance, in the seventh century, Xuanzang notes there were shrines in eastern India that were devoted to Tārā. And a passage from the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, which probably dates from about the eighth century states that the kshetra (region) of Tārā is eastern India, even though by multiplying herself into various forms, she also wanders elsewhere in the world.

The possibility that the worship of Tārā might have been especially important in eastern India during the Pāla and Sena periods is revealed by a recently discovered copper-plate inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Govinda II, whom D.C. Sircar believes ruled from 794-814 A.D. Govinda II seems to have ruled contemporaneously with the second Pāla king, Dharmapāla. The copper-plate inscription states that Govinda II defeated certain contemporary rulers including Dharmapāla and snatched away their banners or standards (dhvaja). The standards taken are listed in the inscription as:

the fish from the Pandyan king, the bull from the Pallava ruler, the tiger from the Chola, the elephant from the Ganga, the bow from the Kerala,
the boar from the Āndhra, Calûkya and Maura, the names from the kings of Kosala, Avanti and Simhala and Bhagavatī Tārā from Dharmapāla, the king of Vangāla.  

While the official records of the Pālas use the dharmacakra flanked by two deer as the emblem for their seal, the emblem for their banner was the image of Tārā, according to the Kesari plates of Govinda II. This may reveal a special regard for Tārā by the early Pāla rulers, because, as D.C. Sircar notes, usually (although not always) the emblem on the banner was the same as that used on the seals of each royal family. Sircar points out that the seal used by the Pālas may have been appropriated from one used by earlier rulers in the area of their homeland in Bengal. Thus, the use of different images for their banner and their seals seems deliberate. The use of the Tārā motif may demonstrate something more than official attachment to the goddess.

Other evidence suggests that Tārā was also highly regarded in the later part of the Pāla and Sena periods. Atīśa, who came from eastern India, took the tradition of Tārā worship with him when he travelled to Tibet in the eleventh century. As one of his own personal deities, Tārā was a significant aspect of his transmission of Buddhist teachings,
laying the foundations for the development of her popularity in Tibet. Dharmasvāmin, the Tibetan pilgrim who travelled to India in the early thirteenth century, mentions the presence of Tārā worship at Bodhgayā. He counts a Tārā vihāra among the "many wonders and numerous holy objects to be found at Vajrāsana," which also included the bodhi tree and the image of Mahābodhi. And he describes in great detail the miraculous nature of three images of Tārā contained in the Tārā vihāra.

In the late nineteenth century, Rajendralala Mitra pointed out that the revenue records of the Indian government reckoned Bodhgayā under two names: Buddha Gayā and Mastipur Taradih (also known by the name of Taradi Buzurg). Thus, two villages lying side by side actually made up the area of Bodhgayā. Mitra suggested that the name Taradih may have originated from the particular circumstances of the area where there might have been a major Tārā temple in former times. It may be that the name Taradih preserves the memory of an earlier tradition of religious practice, which is also suggested by Dharmasvāmin's record.
Surviving images of Tārā document the early presence of this deity in the art from Bodhgaya. Some of these sculptures date before the Pāla period (Figure 133), perhaps from the seventh century. They are comparable to works from Nālandā—such as the stucco image of Tārā found at site 3 (Figure 134)—which are usually dated to the sixth or seventh centuries. These early works show Tārā in the most common form found in eastern India, holding an utpāla (blue lotus) and making the varada mudrā. A number of different sādhanas describe some version of this form, which continued to be popular in later centuries.

A dated image of Tārā from Hilsa, a site near Nālandā, serves as an example of an early Pāla-period treatment of Tārā which depicts the same form. The Hilsa image (Figure 135) is usually dated to the middle of the ninth century because its inscription mentions the 25th or 35th year of Devapāla, the third Pāla king. The image shows Tārā seated, holding an utpāla, making the varada mudrā. She has a male and female attendant, and a male worshiper kneels at the base of the stele.

Early Pāla-period Tārā images from Bodhgaya also present a form similar to the Hilsa image. One
sculpture, unfortunately now damaged (Figure 136),
depicts a standing female holding an ūtpāla and making
the varada mudrā.\textsuperscript{28} The mudrā and flower permit the
figure to be identified as Ţārā even though the work
is fragmentary. The style of the sculpture suggests
that it may date from the early ninth century.\textsuperscript{29} The
details of dress and jewelry are simpler but still
similar to that found in the Hilsa Ţārā.

A sculpture more directly comparable to the Hilsa
image is located in the Mahant's compound (figure
137). It shows a female seated in the same manner as
the Hilsa Ţārā, making the varada mudra and holding
the ūtpāla. This Bodhgayā image also has a figure
kneeling at the base of the stele--here he is clearly
a monk holding flower and censer. A section of a Ţārā
sādhana describes the usual activity of such
worshipers. It states:

\ldots Leading her forth (anīya), and establishing
her on the background of space (ākāśadesa api
avasthāpya), he is to make an offering at that
Blessed Lady's feet, with scented water and
fragrant flowers, incense, scents, garlands,
powders, cloths, umbrella, bells, banner, and so
forth, and should worship (pūjayet) her in all
manner of the wise.\textsuperscript{30}

Absent from this Bodhgayā sculpture are the two
attendants present in the Hilsa image. Otherwise, the
images are quite similar, and surviving works from
other sites in this region of eastern India indicate that Tārā, with two arms holding the utpāla and making the varada mudrā, was popular in the ninth century.\textsuperscript{31}

Two more Bodhgayā sculptures further indicate the early popularity of Tārā at the site. Both works are now located in the Mahant's compound. They are very similar and large in height; one (Figure 138) measures approximately 153 cm., and the other (Figure 139) measures approximately 122 cm. Both probably date from the late ninth century, as may be inferred from their close correspondence to an image of Tārā dated in the reign of Mahendrapāla, the Pratihāra, who ruled in the late ninth century (Figure 140).\textsuperscript{32} This sculpture is from the site of Itkhauri, which is near but not in the Gayā district. The Bodhgayā image illustrated in Figure 138 is especially close to the Itkhauri image in treatment of details. It is possible that the Itkhauri image may have been made at Bodhgayā, or at least by the same artist responsible for the Bodhgayā sculptures.\textsuperscript{33}

The three sculptures show Tārā standing, holding the utpāla and making the varada mudrā. In each work, Tārā is attended by two females, one is fat and four-armed and the other is only two-armed. These
attendants are somewhat analogous to those named in a sādhana for the Khadiravaṇī form of Tārā who makes the varada mudrā and holds the utpāla. The attendants are identified as Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajatā. The former usually holds an Aśoka flower and a vajra, while the latter is described as angry in mien with a protruding belly and holding a kartrī (chopper) and kapāla (skull-cup). The well-known eleventh century image of Tārā from Tetrawāṅ depicts this form of Tara whose attendants conform to the sādhana descriptions (Figure 141).

The attendants depicted in the images from Bodhgaya and Itkhauri, however, differ somewhat from sādhana descriptions. The portly figure is four-armed and holds an elephant skin with the additional two arms. The other attendant holds a pāsā (noose) instead of a vajra. Despite the discrepancies, however, it seems likely that the attendant figures in the Bodhgaya images are Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajatā, since their forms generally agree with the descriptions for these deities.

The differences may reflect another iconographic tradition than that described in the known sādhanas, or perhaps the attendants found in these Bodhgaya
sculptures represent an earlier stage in their development than described in sādhana for Khadiravanī Tārā. And, indeed, known sculptures from eastern India which completely correspond to descriptions given in these sādhana, such as the Tetrāwān image, seem to have been made after the tenth century. Thus, it seems possible that these particular sādhana may have become popular or were actually written at that later time. 

Sculptures showing the form of Tārā with the utpāla and making the varāda mudrā continued to be produced in the tenth century at Bodhgaya. One sculpture still at the site has been discussed by Susan Huntington (Figure 142). It depicts Tārā without attendants. Otherwise, except for the elongation of the figure, it is similar to the earlier Bodhgaya images.

Two more sculptures from perhaps the late tenth century, however, present greater differences in style and content. One is presently located in an exterior niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 143), and the other is in the Bodhgaya Site Museum (Figure 144). Both images are approximately 70 cm. in height and quite close in execution, although the sculpture in
the Bodhgaya Site Museum seems to be unfinished. In each work, Tārā has two attendants: an angry, portly female and an angry male. Figures 145 and 146 illustrate the attendants in the Bodhgaya Site Museum sculpture. The female is four-armed; her upper hands hold aloft the elephant skin and the lower hands hold the kartrī and kapāla. She is similar to the angry and portly attendant seen in the previous images and thus may be identified as Ekajaṭā. The male attendant is similar to the one depicted in the Hilsa image. He leans on an axe and raises one hand in salute to Tārā. Male attendants are not mentioned in the sādhana descriptions of Tārā, but the axe may indicate that he is some type of protective deity, paralleling Ekajaṭā's role of removing obstacles.39 Such male attendants are more frequently depicted in Tārā images from other sites than those from Bodhgaya.40

The stylistic correspondence between these two late tenth-century sculptures of Tārā (Figures 143 and 144) is interesting. Although they are similar to the previous tenth century image (Figure 142) in terms of the elaboration of form and basic delineation of certain details, their unusual style41 seems to document the diversity of artistic practice at the
Six surviving Bodhgaya sculptures of Tārā date from the later part of the Pāla period. One presents a type not encountered before, while two correspond to descriptions of Khadiravana Tārā mentioned in sādhanaś. The others are unfortunately too damaged to determine exact identifications. One of the more complete images is now located in an exterior niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 147). Tārā is seated holding the utpāla and making the varada mudrā. She is attended on her left by a fat and angry female who is only two-armed and can thus be identified as Ekajaṭā. The other attendant can be identified Asokakānta Mārīcā. A figure of Amoghasiddhi appears in the headdress of Tārā; he is identifiable by the abhaya mudrā, which is his usual gesture. The form of the attendants and Tārā, with the figure of Amoghasiddhi in her headdress, specifically agree with the sādhana descriptions for Khadiravana Tārā.

This sculpture appears to be the earliest surviving example from Bodhgaya which agrees with the sādhana descriptions. The style of the image corresponds to works which date from the eleventh century. The slightly pointed stele top and the form
of the utpāla are two features that indicate an eleventh-century date.\textsuperscript{42} The presence of the small Buddha figures—unfortunately broken off on the left side but likely representing the five Jina Buddhas—are also not usually found in Bodhgaya works before the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{43} The details of the hair and headdress, and the treatment of the ornaments, especially the necklace which hangs between and encircles the breasts, are elements found in other fragmentary Bodhgaya images that also seem to depict Tārā (Figures 148 and 149).

A much smaller but more intact sculpture than the three previous images securely demonstrates the continued use of the form of Khadiravaṇī Tārā in later Bodhgaya works. The image (Figure 150), now in the British Museum, may be dated to the early twelfth century on the basis of Tārā's accented pose, the very pointed stele top and the fact that the stele is completely pierced around the torso of Tārā, a feature usually encountered in only very late images from eastern India.\textsuperscript{44} Ekajaṭā and Aśokakāṇṭhā Māricī flank Tārā, a devotee kneels at her feet, and Amoghasiddhi appears on a lotus above her head. These elements again exactly correspond to the description of
Khadiravaṇī Tārā. Another late Bodhgaya sculpture of Tārā depicts a form not previously encountered in the surviving images from the site. The sculpture, now in the Bodhgaya Site Museum (Figure 151), is damaged; only its upper portion survives. Nonetheless, enough remains to permit a specific identification of the work. The small figures encircling the central image indicate that it is a depiction of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā, Saviress from the Eight Great Perils.

A sādhana in the Sadhanamālā states that in addition to making the varada mudrā and holding the utpāla, this form of Tārā is to be surrounded by eight white goddesses. The sādhana does not specify the perils that Tārā prevents, but Mallar Ghosh points out that these are sometimes enumerated in inscriptions and are also listed in the eighth century hymn, the Sragdharā-stotra written by Sarvajñāmitra. This text lists the eight perils as: shipwreck, fire, enraged elephant, brigand, pouncing lion, serpent, prison and demon. A Western Cālukyan inscription dated to the eleventh century lists the same perils and also states:
May that Tara always bless you, who allays the misery of the afflictions of existence; who sprang from the churning of the ocean of knowledge; who is called Prajñā; who is the giver of power (vibhūti) of Buddha; who is the supreme form of perfect wisdom in the three worlds; and who dwells in the heart of the Tathāgata, just as the full digit of the moon dwells in the sky. 49

Although this eleventh-century inscription is not from eastern India, it may reflect ideas that were generally current. Calling her Prajñā, it indicates that Tārā's ability to save is linked to her nature as prajñā. And her ability to save by empowering those who call upon her to overcome disaster seems to be emphasized in various sources from eastern India. For instance, an eleventh century inscription from Nālandā records the building of a Tārā vihāra at Somapura (Pāhārpur) in Bengal in order to dispel the "Eight Great Fears". 50 Dharmasvāmin, in the thirteenth century, recounts the tale of a Śrāvaka about to drown near Bodhgaya who called upon Tārā and was saved. 51 And Tāranātha recounts a tale of a traveler who was aided in his journey to Potalaka by Tārā, who took him across the water. 52 An inscription from Śrāvastī dating from the early twelfth century echoes this theme as it invokes Tārā by: "To cross the the ocean of worldly existence, I adore Tārā, I adore Tārā..." 53
While the stotra praising Tārā as the Saviouress from the eight great perils was composed in the eighth century, most surviving images which clearly represent this form seem to date much later, from the late tenth century or afterwards. A damaged sculpture from Nālandā (Figure 152)\textsuperscript{54} is another example of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā dating from the late eleventh or early twelfth century. And further indication of the late popularity of this form of Tārā is found in an eleventh-century Nepalese manuscript in the Cambridge University Library. This manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, which contains many miniatures with labels identifying them as images at specific places, has one painting inscribed "Candravīpe Bhagavatī Tārā" (Figure 153).\textsuperscript{55} D.C. Sircar identifies this as the image enshrined at Backergunge in Bangladesh, and he links the site to Candragomin who supposedly lived in the sixth century and wrote a stotra in praise of Tārā.\textsuperscript{56}

The painting's label does not mention that this Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā even though it seems to represent that form. The painting shows Tārā seated, holding the utpāla and making the varada mudrā. She is surrounded by eight small goddesses who do not face
Tārā, but turn towards tiny figures on the outer edges of the painting. These small goddesses make the abhaya mudrā rather than repeat Tārā's varada mudrā. The same treatment is also found for the small figures in the Bodhgaya sculpture of Aśṭamahābhaya Tārā.

Although variation occurs in the details of the surviving Bodhgaya sculptures of Tārā, the basic form of Tārā—holding the utpāla and making the varada mudrā—remained a constant mode. Even though different forms of Tārā are enumerated in texts, the visual manifestations of Tārā at Bodhgaya seem to focus on her nature as Savioress in a two-armed form. Some other types which are depicted in eastern Indian sculptures, such as Mahāśrī Tārā and Vajra Tārā, are not encountered in the sculptures surviving from Bodhgaya. However, such images are not common. Although the extant images from Bodhgaya of Tārā do not present all the aspects of this deity depicted in eastern Indian art, they do document a sustained interest in the worship of Tārā at Bodhgaya. Such popularity is not shared by other female deities in the surviving art from Bodhgaya, which seems to have also been true at other sites in eastern India.
Prajñāpāramitā and Cundā

Although female Buddhist deities express various concepts, perhaps their primary function is to symbolize prajñā (insight). As prajñā, they serve as the counterpart to upāya (means), which is manifested visually by Bodhisattvas. Atisa, the eleventh-century teacher from eastern India who journeyed to Tibet, wrote in one of his important works that bondage results from insight (prajñā) being divorced from means (upāya). Prajñā, one of the perfections, is explained as knowing the emptiness of intrinsic nature (sūnyatā).

Among the goddesses representing prajñā, Prajñāpāramitā, the embodiment of the perfection of insight is especially important. Various Buddhist texts mention her importance. For instance, Ryūjun Tajima, in a discussion of the mahākarunā-garbha mandala, notes that prajñā is described there as the conqueror of the four māras. But images of Prajñāpāramita are sometimes confused with the goddess Cundā, who can also be associated with ideas of prajñā.
In fact, notions of *prajñā* are identified with other female deities. And Prajñāpāramitā also relates to the concepts linked to Tārā. A nineteenth century text called the *Dharmakosa Samgraha*, which is sometimes useful for understanding Pāla-Sena period imagery, states: "Thus, Prajñāpāramitā means one who has crossed the ocean of knowledge, that means one who possesses total knowledge." As the personification of wisdom that has gone beyond, Prajñāpāramitā is like Tārā who ferries the suffering across the realms of misery.

Tāranātha, in his history of Buddhism in India, indicates that worship of Prajñāpāramitā was widespread in eastern India during the Pāla and Sena periods. And there are many surviving Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts from the Pāla and Sena periods which include illustrations of the goddess. They usually show her as two-armed and making the dharmacakra mudrā, the gesture most often associated with Prajñāpāramitā. Although most surviving illustrated manuscripts from the Pāla and Sena periods are Prajñāpāramitā texts—an indication of their importance—relatively few sculptures from eastern India depicting Prajñāpāramitā are known.
At Bodhgayā, evidence of only one image, which may be identified as Prajñāpāramitā, survives. It was the subject of Buchanan-Hamilton's drawing of a sculpture at Bodhgayā (Figure 154). It depicts a two-armed female making the dharmacakra mudrā and holding two lotuses, who can thus be identified as Prajñāpāramitā. I did not find the sculpture at the site, but a work without a known provenance, now in the Avery Brundage collection of the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, may be the one illustrated by Buchanan-Hamilton (Figure 155). Although the drawing does not show all the details present in the sculpture, I have not found any other sculpture at all close to the drawing, and there are similar discrepancies between Buchanan-Hamilton's drawings and the works which can be securely identified as the subjects of his drawings.

The only other Bodhgayā sculpture which may relate to Prajñāpāramitā is presently in the Mahant's compound (Figure 156). Its identification as Prajñāpāramitā is problematic, for it also shares features with the goddess Cundā. It depicts a seated, four-armed female. The combination of the dhyāna

mudrā and two lotuses that are topped by pustakas is unusual in eastern Indian art. I know of only one other similar sculpture, although perhaps others did exist. This second image (Figure 157) is now in the storage collection of the Indian Museum. There is no record of its provenance, but its style indicates that it is from eastern India and may date from the ninth century, which is approximately the same date that can be assigned to the image in the Mahant’s compound. On the basis of its style, the image in the Indian Museum might even be from Bodhgaya. The two sculptures differ slightly in details of dress and ornaments, while the treatments of their lotuses and pustakas are more distinct. In the Indian Museum work, the lotuses are depicted frontally rather than in profile, and the pustakas are simply etched onto the backslab rather than actually carved in relief.

The two images relate somewhat to works depicting a two-armed form of Prajñāpāramitā such as the Brundage sculpture (Figure 155). But the dhyāna mudrā made by the females in Bodhgaya image and the image in the Indian Museum also relates these works to Cunda, who is depicted in a number of Pāla-period sculptures.
The goddess Cunda personifies concepts also associated with Prajñāparamita and Tara. Like them, she is called the mother of Buddhas, and she is supposed to be the embodiment of a dhāraṇī. Some sādhanas describe her with four hands: two holding a bowl in her lap, the other right hand in varada mudrā and the other left hand holding a lotus. Another description specifies that she has two hands and carries an aksamālā. Manuscript paintings, (Figure 158) show her holding the bowl but instead of varada mudrā, as prescribed by the sādhanas for a four-armed form, she holds an aksamālā (rosary). Some metal images, which are usually identified as Cunda, such as the work from Kurkihār (Figure 159), show a four-armed form making the varada mudrā, holding the bowl, an aksamālā and a lotus which supports a pustaka. The discrepancies between forms in the images and the descriptions contained in known sādhanas suggest that other sādhanas may be unknown today.

It can be difficult to distinguish Cunda images from those depicting Prajñāpāramitā, because both can hold a book (pustaka). Some authors feel that the
dharmacakra mudrā is the distinguishing characteristic of Prajñāpāramitā. Although the images in the Mahant's compound and the Indian Museum differ from the known forms of Cundā, since they do not hold bowls, the absence of the dharmacakra mudrā might preclude their identification as Prajñāparamita. Despite the inability to ascertain an exact identity for these images, it seems more likely that they represent an unusual formulation for the depiction of Cundā. Certainly, the presence of the pustakas indicates an emphasis upon their prajñā nature.

While there seem to be no other surviving sculptures of Prajñāpāramitā from Bodhgaya, two eighteen-armed Cundā images are still present at the site. One is presently installed in an exterior niche of the Mahābodhi temple (Figures 160). And the other is located in the Mahant's compound (Figures 161 and 162). Although damaged, the objects held by the female in the image at the Mahābodhi temple seem to be the same as those found in the image located in the Mahant's compound.

The sculpture in the Mahant's compound has been mentioned by various authors but has not been published, although Foucher did publish a drawing of
the image in the early twentieth century. In an article on Cunda images with more than eight hands, Johanna van Louhuizen-de Leeuw discussed the sculpture in relation to other eighteen-armed images of Cunda. She analyzed the form, which is not described in known sadhanas. She published a list of the mudras and objects held by the Mahant compound image, which corrected Foucher's description. Below, I reproduce her list of the attributes and mudras of this image where she indicated corrections of Foucher's description by underlining:

**Eighteen-armed Cunda of Bodh Gaya**
(Wrong Attributes and Mudras shown within Brackets: New Identifications [by van Louhuizen-de Leeuw] underlined)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left Side</th>
<th>Hand</th>
<th>Right Side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(khatvanga) vajra</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(-) pot?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ankusa)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vajra)khatvanga or axe?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>chakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jewels?)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(noose) ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sword</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>flask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varamudra with fruit?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(club) dhvaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-) abhayamudra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-) lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharmachakramudra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>dharmachakramudra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, an earlier drawing made by Buchanan-Hamilton (Figure 162) shows the image with less damage than found in its present state or as represented in the drawing published in Foucher's work. Thus, van
Louhuizen-de Leeuw's list can be amended to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vajra</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pustaka</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit?</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sword</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varada mudra</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhaya mudra</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharmacakra mudra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

broken  
cakra  
pasa  
flask  
lotus  
club  
broken  
dharmacakra mudra

Eighteen-armed Cundā images seem rare. One metal image (Figure 163) and possibly a stone image are the only such works known from Nālandā, while a stone sculpture of the goddess is located at Kurkihār, near Bodhgayā (Figure 164), and another survives from Niyamatpur, a site in present-day Bangladesh.82

The Kurkihār and Nālandā works seem slightly earlier in date than the Cundā images from Bodhgayā. Susan Huntington has dated the metal Nālandā image to the late ninth century,83 and the Kurkihār sculpture may be from approximately the same date. On the basis of their style, the Bodhgayā images should probably be assigned to the tenth century.84

Despite the interesting presence of two sculptures of an eighteen-armed Cundā, there do not seem to be many images that emphasize concepts of prajñā at Bodhgayā. The apparent dearth of such
imagery at Bodhgaya might be due to the accident of survival, since sculptures of Prajñāpāramitā and Cundaya found at other sites in eastern India are most often metal images.

Mārīcī

Another important and popular Buddhist female deity in Pala and Sena period art is Mārīcī. There are a number of images of Mārīcī which survive from Bodhgaya. Her name has been translated as shining, and various authors have discussed her connections to solar symbolism and to the Hindu sun god Sūrya. Like Sūrya, she is especially invoked at sunrise and rides a chariot. The importance and meaning of Mārīcī may have emerged from the event of the Buddha's enlightenment which, as Alex Wayman has pointed out, employs symbolic elements of time. Texts specifically mention the symbol of the sun and its rising in relation to Śākyamuni's victory. For instance, the Mahāvastu states that:

When the sun rose Māra's creatures melted away. And on that occasion the exalted One made this solemn utterance: When these things become manifest to a zealous and contemplative brahmin, the host of Māra is shattered, as the sky is irradiated by the sun.
The link between Śākyamuni's achievement of Buddhahood and the power of the sun may be partly symbolized by Marici's solar nature.89

The fact that there are sixteen sādhanas in the Sadhanamālā which describe Māricī with two, eight, ten or twelve arms is an indication of her importance in late Buddhist practice.90 The two-armed form is most often encountered as an attendant figure in images of Tārā (see, for example, Figure 150).91 Of the many single images of Māricī from eastern India, most show her in an eight-armed form with three faces, which agrees closely but not completely with the descriptions preserved in the Sadhanamālā.

A tenth-century sculpture from Nālandā (Figure 165), is an example of this common treatment of Māricī in eastern Indian images.92 She has three faces, her left one is sow-like. She stands in alidha, holds the sword, vajra, arrow and needle in her right hands and the bow, Asoka flower, aṅkuśa (elephant goad) and pāśa (noose) in her left hands. Two small figures of Vairocana are found at the summit of the stele and in her headdress. Four attendant goddesses appear on the backslab, while seven pigs who draw her chariot appear at the base with the charioteer positioned above them.
Below the pigs appears the bodiless Rāhu who devours the sun and moon.93 D.C. Bhattacharyya has noted that sometimes in eastern Indian images, seven horses are depicted instead of pigs.94 He suggests that this was done in order to emphasize further Māricī's solar nature (by using the solar symbolism of the Brahmanical god Sūrya whose chariot is always drawn by seven horses). One sādhana specifically explains the purposes of Māricī's attributes:

she sews up the eyes and the mouths of the wicked with the needle and secures them with string. She strikes their hearts with the aṅkuṣa, draws them by the neck with the noose, pierces them with the bow and arrow, and shatters their hearts to pieces with the Vajra, and sprinkles water with the leaves of Aśoka...95

None of the known sādhanas mention the sword which is present in many eight-armed images of Māricī, especially those from Nālandā.96 The sādhanas do mention the three faces—one of which is sow-like, the four attendants, the pigs and Rāhu. They also state that a figure of Vairocana appears on her crest and that she resides within a caitya.97 (Indeed, many sculptures seem to show her inside some structure.)

The surviving Māricī images at Bodhgayā include two whose details cannot be fully discussed; one is quite fragmentary (Figure 166), and the other (Figure
167) is currently kept veiled because it is in worship at the Mahant's compound. The latter image, however, seems to have been the subject of a drawing made by Buchanan-Hamilton at Bodhgaya (Figure 168). It shows Māricī as three-headed and six-armed.

Six-armed forms are not described by any sādhanas contained in the Sādhanamālā, but, as S.K. Saraswati has pointed out, this form is mentioned in the Dharmakoṣa-Sāmgraha (a nineteenth-century compilation of manuals of worship) and the late eleventh or early twelfth-century text, the Nīspannayogāvalī by Abhayākaragupta, describes a three-faced and six-armed form as the principal deity of the Māricī-mandala.

Another sculpture of Māricī surviving at Bodhgaya also depicts the deity as six-armed (Figure 169). This image shows horses instead of pigs on the base of the pedestal. Buchanan-Hamilton made another drawing of a Bodhgaya image of Māricī with horses instead of pigs (Figure 170), but this drawing does not seem to correspond to the sculpture illustrated in Figure 169. Possibly, the drawing represents yet another such image of Māricī once at Bodhgaya.
A plaque (Figure 171), which is now in the Indian Museum, offers additional evidence of the popularity of the six-armed form of Mārīcī at Bodhgayā. The work is small, only twenty cm. in height, and fragmentary, but the deity is shown three-headed (the left head is sow-like) and she holds the same objects held by the other Bodhgayā images of Mārīcī, that is, they hold a vajra, arrow and needle in their right hands and a flower, bow and pāsā in their left hands. The Bodhgayā examples basically correspond to descriptions for eight-armed forms of Mārīcī except for fewer arms and attributes.

The known images of Mārīcī from Bodhgayā are somewhat difficult to date, but none seem to be early works. In fact, in eastern Indian art, few if any images of Mārīcī seem to date from before the tenth century. For example, most Nālandā images of Mārīcī, such as the one illustrated in Figure 165, correspond stylistically to sculptures from the mid or late tenth century. And the tenth century also seems to be the approximate date for the known Bodhgayā sculptures of Mārīcī. Unlike some other female deities, especially Tārā, single images of Mārīcī do not appear early in the art of eastern
India. Although the numerous sculptures from eastern India which depict Māricī testify to her popularity, this popularity seems to belong to the later part of the Pāla and Sena periods.

An inscribed slab from Bodhgaya with a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā flanked by two figures of Māricī may be evidence of the special connection between the concept of enlightenment and Māricī. This work, which was discussed earlier, records a long hymn of the Chinese pilgrim Yunshu, who visited Bodhgaya in the early eleventh century (Figure 12). The hymn praises the three bodies of the Buddha and the three shrines/seats of those bodies: the nirmāṇakāya, the sambhogakāya and the dharmakāya. The figures of Māricī in this work are quite similar to the surviving single images of Māricī from Bodhgaya (Figure 172). They are six-armed and three-headed and seem to hold the vajra, arrow and needle in their right hands, and the Asoka flower, bow and (possibly) the pāśa in their left hands. They stand in alidha, and beneath their feet are rows of pigs with the head of Rahu in the center.

Combining figures of Māricī with the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā explicitly connects the concept of
Marici to the concept of enlightenment and to the site of the vajrasana, which is also emphasized by the hymn that appears below on this slab. The unusual presence of two figures of Mārīcī is interesting. A concern for symmetry may be the cause for this dual depiction. However, the two figures might be seen as not only flanking the Buddha but emerging from him. The position of the two figures of Mārīcī may be related to Sūrya images which often depict two females similarly posed near the feet of Sūrya. And possibly, a specific source for the configuration in this work occurs in one of the reliefs on the northwest corner pillar of the railing surrounding the Mahābodhi temple (Figure 173). The relief, which depicts Sūrya (Figure 174), appears beneath a depiction of a bodhighara. Sūrya is shown in his chariot, flanked by two females shooting arrows. They represent the coming of light, shooting arrows to dispell the darkness.

Texts, such as the Buddhacarita and Mahāvastu, describe Śākyamuni's enlightenment as destroying darkness and producing light. And since the element that dissipates illusion is sometimes specified as prajñā, Mārīcī images might thus serve
to represent the activity of praJñā which burns away illusion as the sun burns away darkness.110 Such symbolic connections between Māricī and the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā may have been partly responsible for the popularity of Māricī images in eastern India where images the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā were also prominent.

Nairātmā

A final late image of a female deity to be discussed here offers some intriguing information about religious practices at Bodhgaya (Figure 175). Unfortunately, less than half of the work survives today. What does remain shows an angry female with bulging eyes, grimacing mouth and flaming hair. She holds a skull cup (kapāla) and chopper (kartrī) with her hands and cradles a club in one arm. Flames are etched on the back of the stele and a figure of Aksobhya (identifiable by his gesture of bhūmisparśa) appears in her hair. These elements allow the female to be identified as the goddess Nairātmā ("no self"),111 who is a consort of the god Heruka.112 Heruka is called the male personification of sūnyāta.
(emptiness) and Nairātmā is the female personification. Although important deities, they appear rarely in the surviving art from eastern India. The damaged condition of the Bodhgayā sculpture of Nairātmā makes dating the work difficult, but it seems to share some features with works dating from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. This image, which now measures thirty cm. in height, and the much smaller yuganaddha image (Figure 132), discussed above in the previous chapter, suggest that at least some practice at Bodhgayā may have paralleled late Buddhist practices at other, more clearly esoteric, centers of teaching and practice.

Conclusion

Despite the various forms of female deities found in the known works from Bodhgayā, Tārā images are the only ones which survive in any quantity and span the period of the Pāla and Sena dynasties, circa eighth through twelfth centuries. Tārā is clearly the most popular female deity in eastern India; thus her prominence in Bodhgayā imagery is not surprising. The existence of such works as the large eighteen-
armed image of Cundā in the Mahant's compound and the fragmentary image of Nairātma reveal that certain other aspects of female imagery were not ignored at Bodhgayā. But some female deities depicted in works from other sites in eastern India are not found at Bodhgayā. Further detailed study of female images from different sites should help to clarify the development of certain types in the art of eastern India and the significance of their apparent absence at Bodhgayā.
FOOTNOTES

1 The general importance of female deities for late Buddhist practice is mentioned by Wayman ("Female Energy and Symbolism in Buddhist Tantras," 78-79) and Snellgrove (Buddhist Himalaya, 83-88). Diana Paul (Women in Buddhism, Images of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition, 2nd ed. [Berkeley, CA, 1985], xxiv-xxxvi) also discusses some of the general roles of females.

2 Ghosh (Development of Buddhist Iconography) presents a study of the depictions Tara and other female deities.


5 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 7-8. Diana Eck ("India's Tirthas: Sacred Crossings in Sacred Geography," History of Religions, 20,4 [May 1981], 333) notes that the general usage in Buddhist texts of tara/tarati as verbs of passage, primarily spiritual crossings (from ignorance to knowledge. She also notes that this parallels their usage in the Upanishads.

6 Dasgupta, "Iconography of Tara," 115.


9 Waddell, "The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his Consort Tārā," 71.


11 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 12; R.C. Majumdar, The Age of Imperial Kanauj, History and Culture of the Indian People, IV (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955), 262.


13 Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 39-40) notes the Dharmapāla ruled in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.

14 Sircar, "The Tārā of Candrabhāgī," 130.

15 Buchanan ("A Study of Pāla Patronage," 93) notes the official nature of the use of the dharmacakra emblem in Pāla-period records.

16 Sircar, "The Tārā of Candrabhāgī," 130.

17 Ibid.

18 For instance, Ghosh (Development of Buddhist Iconography, 49) notes that the Pāla king Rāmapāla, who ruled in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, supposedly installed an image of Tārā in the Jagaddala monastery which was near his capital city, Rāmapathī.


20 Ibid., 13.

21 Godefroy de Blonay (Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la deesse buddhique Tārā [Paris:
Librairie Émile Boullon, 1895], 58) notes that the text known as the Hymns Praising the Twenty-One Tārās was considered an important work when it was brought from India to Tibet by a Tibetan in the eleventh century.

22 Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 73.

23 Ibid., 74-76.

24 Mitra, Buddha-Gayā, 2 and plate 1 for locations of the two areas on the map.

25 See Asher, Art from Eastern India, 47-48, for discussion of the date of the Nālandā stucco reliefs.

26 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 307-308.

27 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 43-44.

28 There are several other such early images of Tārā at Bodhgayā. For illustrations, see Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.

29 For discussion of the elements of the ninth century style in the Hilsa image, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 44.


31 For one example see, Huntington, "Origin and Development," figure 241. Other examples from sites near Bodhgayā, including Amethī and Kurkihār, are illustrated in Huntington, ed. Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.

32 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 49, figure 40.

33 Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 49) notes the possibility of the Itkhauri sculpture being transported from Bodhgayā. Because there are two images at Bodhgayā which are similar, it definitely seems more likely that the Itkhauri image may have been made at Bodhgayā and then moved rather than the reverse. And Itkhauri is not a noted artistic center.
34 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 64.

35 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena Schools, 68, for the dating of the Tetrāwan image of Tārā.

36 Bhattacharyya (IBI, 193-4) notes sādhana for Ekajatā state that she overcomes obstacles and grants good fortune to those that worship her.

37 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 74. The lack of correspondence between ninth and tenth century images and sādhana for Avalokiteśvara was noted above. Eleventh-century images of Avalokiteśvara did correspond more often to known sādhana.


39 For vidyarājas and dhamapālas, see Liebert, Iconographical Dictionary of the Indian Religions, 75, 336.

40 Huntington, ed. Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art, for examples from Amethi and Kurkihar of Tārā images with a male attendant.

41 Huntington ("Pāla-Sena" Schools, 6, 100) discusses the distinctive styles manifested in some works at Bodhgaya.

42 Ibid., 68.

43 See above, pp. 252.

44 Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 137, 138, which are eleventh-century works from Nālandā.

45 Surviving images from other sites indicate that this was a popular form of Tārā in the late Pāla and Sena periods. See Huntington, ed. Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for examples from other sites.

46 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 38-47; Debala Mitra, "Ashtamahābhaya-Tārā," JAS, XXIII, 1 (1957), 19-22. The form seems to have been derived from earlier traditions which portrayed Avalokiteśvara in the role of savior from perils.

47Bhattacharyya, IBI, 308; Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 39.

48Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Iconography, 40. Karmay (Early Sino-Tibetan Art, 104) lists the internal meanings for each of the eight external dangers.


51Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 75-76. Dharmasvāmin also describes another Image which supposedly represents Tārā who saved someone from demons at Bodhgaya.

52Taranātha, History of Buddhism in India, 192-94.

53Ghosh (Development of Buddhist Iconography, 10) notes that the inscription is dated in the reign of the Gāhaḍavāla king Madanapāla, circa 1119 A.D.

54Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art, XXXVI-XXXVII, plates 102 and 103 for other examples.

55Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art, LXXXIX, plate 256; Sircar, "The Tārā of Candravipa," 128.


57Ghosh (Development of Buddhist Iconography, 35-90) discusses the many forms of Tārā known from various sources. Waddell ("The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his Consort Tārā," 194) also
provides a list.

58 For examples of such other forms of Tārā, which are usually metal works, see works from Nālandā and Fatehpur, illustrated in Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art.

59 Wayman, "Female Imagery and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras," 75.


61 Ibid.


63 Tajima, Les Deux Grands Mandalas, 82, 84-85. In this maṇḍala, Prajñāpāramitā appears in the quarter of the Vidyadhārās (wisdom-bearers) along with Yamāntaka and Trailokavijaya, and she is supposed to symbolize the victory of knowledge over passion, the cakra of the dharma.

64 See below, footnote 72.

65 See above, p. 295.


67 See above, p. 282.

68 Tāranātha, History of Buddhism in India, 274. Ruegg ("The gotra, ekayana and tathāgatagarbha," 283-284) notes that Abhayākaragupta, an important teacher
in eastern India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, emphasized prajñāpāramitā in his teachings and is considered to be an important commentator on Prajñāpāramitā literature.

For manuscript paintings depicting Prajñāpāramitā, see Saraswati, Tantryāna Art Album, plates 251 and 270.

Martin, Eastern India, vol. I, plate IX, 6. The caption on the drawing states that the image was in the Mahant's compound.

For two examples of metal images from Nālandā which depict a two-armed female making the dharma-cakra mudrā and holding lotuses topped by books, see Saraswati, Tantryāna Art Album, plates 141 and 142.


Bhattacharyya, IBI, 221.


Saraswati (Tantryāna Art, LXXXVIII) notes that the inscription identifies it as Cundā.

Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography, 61.

Saraswati, Tantryāna Art, L; Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography, 52.
Foucher, Étude sur l'Iconographie, 2: 145; Bhattacharyya, IBI, 224; Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art, XLIX. This image is quite large, measuring 2.5 meters in height. The work at the Mahābodhi temple is a little less than one meter in height, but it is fragmentary.


Ibid. She based her discussion of the image on Foucher's drawing.


van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Pattikera Chundā," 123.

Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 139.

For an example of a work from the tenth century, see Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 49. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in book review of Buddha Gayā, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni (Calcutta: Gov. of Bengal, 1878), in Indian Antiquary, (1880), 113-116, notes there is a donative inscription on the base of the Cunda image in the Mahant's compound which does not seem to have been noted by other writers. He dates the paleography of the inscription to the tenth century. He also states that he was informed that this image was brought to the Mahant's compound from the ruins of the monastery north of the Mahābodhi temple.

Bhattacharyya, IBI, 207; Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography, 18-19; Bhagwant Sahai, Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities, (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1975), 243-252.

Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography, 20-21. He also notes some similarities to the solar nature of the Hindu goddess Cāndī.

Alex Wayman, "Climatic Times in Indian Mythology and Religion," History of Religion, 4, 2 (Winter 1965), 297-8. He notes that Māra's hosts are
conquered at dusk and after passing through three stages of the night in meditation, Sākyamuni was enlightened at the flush of dawn.

88 Jones, trans., The Mahāvastu, II:369. The Buddhacarita (Beal, trans., Buddhacarita, 157) also makes the analogy of the Buddha's victory over Māra as "A sun that destroys the darkness of delusion."

89 See Wayman, "Climatic Times in Indian Mythology and Religion," 310, 313, 314, for further discussion of the connection of Sākyamuni's enlightenment with symbolic times of day.

90 Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art, XLI.

91 Ibid.; Bhattacharyya, IBI, 209.

92 Other eight-armed examples of Mārīcī images are illustrated by Saraswati (Tantrayāna Art, plates 116-128).

93 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 211.

94 Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography, 21.

95 Bhattacharyya, IBI, 210-211.

96 Saraswati (Tantrayāna Art, XLI) notes this discrepancy.

97 Ibid.


99 Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art, XLI.


101 Anderson (Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum 60) discusses this object which is numbered B.G. 137.

102 See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for illustration of examples from Nālandā and other sites.
Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figure 49, which is dated to the reign of Gopāla II, circa mid tenth century, is similar to this Nālandā image.

See above, Chapter 2, pp. 47-49.

The complete text of his hymn is published in Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, 246-249. A similar work possibly from Bodhgaya with a Chinese inscription also depicts a Buddha in bhūmisparsā mudrā flanked by one figure of Māricī; the other side of the work, where a second figure of Marici might have appeared, is broken. See Huntington, ed., Archive of Art from Eastern India, for illustration of the work.

It was noted above, p. 49, that Yun Shu's hymn seem directed at the site of Bodhgaya in its praise of the three bodies of the Buddha and their three thrones. Yun Shu states in the description of the Dharmakaya:

To witness the source and wander over the sphere of the law
It was well to travel through dust and desert,
Bright, bright, without beginning or end;
Dark, dark, breaking the chain of nidāna;
Dwelling on earth without becoming earthy
Abiding in heaven without undergoing change;
In this eulogium I utter the deepest words of my heart,
For I have at length met with the Immaculate Body.

For one early eleventh-century example of a Sūrya image with these two females, see Huntington "Pāla-Sena" Sculpture, figure 66. The females usually appear as very small figures flanking the feet of Sūrya.

Coomaraswamy (Le sculpture de Bodhgaya, 22-23) noted the possibility that the damaged relief at the top of the pillar depicted a bodhīghara. It is possible that the combination of this relief with the Sūrya relief below may have symbolized the idea of enlightenment.
See above, footnote 88.

For discussion of the activity of prajñā, see Wayman, "Climatic Times in Indian Mythology and Religion," 297. Dale Saunders ("A Note on Śakti and Dhyani-Buddha," History of Religion 1, 2 [Winter 1962], 304) also notes that the element which dissipates illusion is prajñā.

Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, 271-272; Bhattacharyya, IBI, 203-204.

Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art, LVIV. Saraswati discusses the significance of Heruka and notes that the important text, the Heruka Tantra, is devoted to the procedures for his worship.

David Ruegg ("The gotra, ekayāna and tathāgatagarbha," 211) notes that Abhayākaragupta discussed the philosophical links between tathāgatagarbha theory and notions of nairātmya and śūnyatā.

See Saraswati, Tantrayāna Art Album, plate 173, for another example of Nairātmya. See Huntington, ed., Archive of Bihar and Bengal Art for illustrations of the few known images of Heruka. They are from Nalanda and Dacca.

See Huntington, "Pāla-Sena" Schools, figures 150 and 155 for works which present some similar stylistic traits.

See above, p. 266.

The prominence of Tārā at Bodhgaya is similar to the situation found for Avalokiteśvara. It may be meaningful that these deities are connected and are important, in part, for their relation to karunā (compassion). For some discussion of their connections, see Edward Conze, "Buddhist Saviors," in The Savior God: Comparative Studies in the Concept of Salvation Presented to Edwin Oliver James, ed. S.G.F. Brandon (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1963), 68-69.
For example, images of Mahāmāyūrī and Uṣṇisavijaya, which are found at Nalanda, are missing from the art of Bodhgaya. Parṇaśambhari who appears in manuscript paintings and some Bengal sculptures, is also absent.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUDING REMARKS

This examination has established the general parameters for the subjects commonly encountered in the surviving Buddhist sculptures from Bodhgaya of Pāla-Sena periods date. The diversity of forms found in these sculptures documents the continued vitality of the site, which is reflected in other surviving evidence such as pilgrim records and inscriptions.

On the basis of the surviving sculptures, Buddha images were overwhelmingly the most popular at Bodhgaya, which likely reflects the fact that site was dominated by the concepts related to the event of the Buddha Śākyamuni's enlightenment. But the number of other deities portrayed in the Bodhgaya sculptures demonstrates that the art of the site was not separate from the increasing complexities occurring elsewhere in eastern India during the Pāla and Sena periods. However, among the possible Buddhist subjects besides Buddhas, only Avalokiteśvara and Tārā commonly appear in Bodhgaya sculptures.

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While collectively these sculptures from Bodhgayā merit attention as reflections of the importance of this Buddhist site in the Pāla and Sena periods, as individual works, they are also important documents of the artistic and religious expressions of late Buddhist practices in eastern India. From both perspectives, the study of the evolution of images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā is particularly valuable. The popularity of this form throughout eastern India during the Pāla and Sena periods demonstrates that the concept of Bodhgayā was significant for Buddhist practitioners at this time. And although it remains unclear as to why it emerged as the preeminent type of a Buddha image in the Pāla and Sena periods, this examination of the evolution of the form and its meaning is one step towards understanding its general development in eastern India.

The purpose of concentrating on the images at Bodhgayā was to establish the range of deities represented there and their general relationship to the forms found in the art at other sites in eastern India. This is, however, only one step towards unravelling the distinctions between regional and more
specific developments in the iconography of images found at different sites in eastern India. Ultimately, further study of the character of imagery at different sites needs to be done, after which a better understanding of the relationship between general or widely held concepts and more specific developments may be possible. And further site-specific studies may eventually allow a more thorough understanding of the dialogue between iconographic developments and stylistic ones.

The discussion of individual sculptures from Bodhgaya demonstrated that many of their elements relate to images found elsewhere in eastern India. But some details in individual works and some forms are not found in the art surviving at other sites in eastern India. For instance, the strong, but somewhat short-lived popularity of sculptures presenting the triad of a standing Buddha attended by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya is a phenomenon not seemingly paralleled elsewhere in eastern India, if one can judge from the surviving evidence. Works depicting this group for the most part, seem to have been made only in the ninth and tenth centuries. During that time, though,
they dominated the manner of presenting a standing Buddha at Bodhgaya. The variety found in the portrayal of the grouping of Buddha life scenes in Bodhgaya sculptures is also interesting, and additional examination of similar works from other sites may reveal whether this is a particularly distinctive aspect in the art from Bodhgaya. Another issue which could be pursued concerns the seeming lack of correspondence between Bodhgaya images from the ninth and tenth centuries and known sadhanas. Only in eleventh and twelfth-century images, do the forms of Bodhisattvas and female deities more generally agree with known sadhana descriptions. It is also interesting that, except for the Vajrasana sadhanas for images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, sadhana texts shed little light on the forms found in the Buddha sculptures from Bodhgaya, which proved the hardest to analyze.

With a better understanding of the imagery from Bodhgaya, its relationship and influence on other regions can be further explored. This includes not only the issues of Bodhgaya's relationship to other sites in eastern India and its influence on the art of countries such as Burma and Tibet, but also its
possible relationship to other areas of India. For instance, a comparison of the art from Bodhgaya with that found at sites ruled by the Gāhaḍavālas would be interesting, since surviving evidence indicates some contact between these areas.
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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF BUDDHIST SCULPTURES OF THE
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for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

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