

THE ART OF EASTERN INDIA



MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDISCHEN ARCHÄOLOGIE,
KUNST UND PHILOGIE

BAND 12



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KUNST UND PHILOGOLOGIE

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THE ART OF EASTERN INDIA

in the Collection of the
Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin

Stone & Terracotta Sculptures

Inscriptions read by Gouriswar Bhattacharya



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The catalogue which follows presents the stone sculptures and the terracottas from Eastern India which are in the possession of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. The collection is old and was assembled at a time, in the 19th and early 20th c., when the only other large Western institutions to collect art from Eastern India were the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum, and in importance it is to be placed next to the collection of the British Museum. It illustrates specific aspects of the art of eastern India, which are not so commonly collected like votive *caitya.s* or votive slabs, which were found at Bodhi Gayā and are usually disregarded.

A large number of these sculptures have inscriptions, which were read by Dr. Gouriswar Bhattacharya. Besides, two Burmese inscriptions were read by Dr. Tilman Frasch, Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg, whom we thank.

Since it is the collection of this Museum which drew my attention when I was a student, to this Indian school of sculpture which would become the centre of my research, I close somehow a circle with this work. However, its accomplishment would not have been possible, had the former director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, Prof. Dr. Herbert Härtel not entrusted me with the writing of this catalogue and had its actual director, Prof. Dr. Marianne Yaldiz not encouraged me. Her definite help acted in a decisive way for bringing into existence this project. All my gratitude goes to her for her enthusiasm and decision to proceed actively with this publication. Both of them entitled me to study, catalogue and publish this large collection of sculptures, for which I feel much honoured.

It is with pleasure that I thank Mrs Regina Hickmann, dipl.phil. and Dr. Lore Sander for the kindness and help which they provided when I worked in the reserve collection or with the old files of the Museum. More particularly, I am grateful to Mrs Sander for the numerous discussions about various aspects of the history of the collection which she shared with me while doing herself her research on the objects having disappeared at the end of the war.

It is evident that the work presented here could not have been done without the documentation and photographic material assembled in the course of years. I take the opportunity to thank the persons who welcomed me in their institutions. In India: Dr. R. C. Sharma, Director of the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi and former Director of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and Director General of the National Museum, New Delhi; the late Dr Shashi Ashtana, Curator at the National Museum, New Delhi; Dr. Kalpana Desai, Director at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; the Authorities of the Patna Museum and of the Nara-

dah Museum in Nawadah, the Authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India & Dr. K. Sharad Chandra in Lakhi Sarai. In Bangladesh: the late Dr. Mukleshur Rahman, Director of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi; Dr. Enamul Haque, former Director General of the Bangladesh National Museum and Dr. A. K. M. Shamsul Alam, former Director of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Dhaka. In Europe: the late Albert Le Bonheur, Musée Guimet, Paris; Wladimir Zwalf, former curator at the Department of Eastern Art, The British Museum, London; John Guy, curator at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Jeremiah P. Losty, Oriental and India Office Collections (British Library), London; Dr. James C. Harle, former curator at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and Dr. Andrew Topsfield, his successor; the authorities of the Edinburgh Royal Museum & of the Birmingham Museum and Art Galleries. In U.S.A.: Dr. Terese Tse-Bartholomew, curator at the Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; Steve Kossak, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Amy Poster, The Brooklyn Museum; Dr. Vishakha Desai, Director of the Asia Society, New York and formerly at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

I wish also to express my grateful thoughts to Shri Vinod Krishna Kanoria and his family in Patna who helped in many ways our stays and travels in Bihar as well as to Shri A. P. Poddar and Shri S. K. Neotia in Calcutta and to the private collectors of Europe and U.S.A. who allowed me to study the images in their possession. Various points were discussed in course of time with colleagues, first of all Dr. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, but also Ulrich von Schroeder who shared with me some recent developments of his work, in particularly a "precious" Glossary and Giovanni Verardi, University of Napoli for information dealing with the presence of Austine Waddell in Nepal. I am utmost thankful to Eddy Smyth who took the heavy charge of carefully perusing the English typescript of a text which lies miles away from his daily concerns. I cannot fail to express my gratefulness to Dr. Joachim Bautze for his active part in collecting the photographic material and for having sustained me all through the realisation of this project while he was himself engaged abroad upon numerous time-consuming activities.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABSF:	Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco
AM:	Asutosh Museum, University of Calcutta
AM Govt BD:	Archaeology & Museums, Govt. of Bangladesh, Dhaka
AMP:	Archaeological Museum, Patna – also known as the Patna Museum
APR:	Annual Progress Report
AR:	Annual Report
AS:	Archaeological Survey
ASI:	Archaeological Survey of India
ASI-Calcutta:	ASI office in Calcutta
ASI-ND:	Office of the Director-General, New Delhi
BDNM:	Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka
BGM:	Bodh Gayā Museum
BM:	The British Museum, London
BSP:	Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta
IM:	Indian Museum, Calcutta
LACMA:	Los Angeles County Museum of Art
MG:	Musée Guimet, Paris
MIK:	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
MSM:	Mahasthangarh Site Museum
NIM:	Nalanda Museum
NM:	National Museum, New Delhi
OIOC:	Oriental and India Office Collections (British Library), London; previously: IOLR: India Office Library and Records
RSM:	Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
VA:	Victoria & Albert Museum, London
VRM:	Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi

INTRODUCTION

A. History of the collection

The largest part of the collection of stone and terracotta sculptures of the Museum of Indian Art was gathered before the first World War, through large donations or acquisitions. The oldest image in the collection is the stela showing the Jain tutelary couple (cat. 271), acquired or given in 1846. As early as 1857, the then Museum für Völkerkunde, i.e. the Museum of Ethnology, acquired from Hermann Ansorge four decorative terracottas from "the ruins of a Hindu temple which was built 400 years ago by the Raja of Krishnagar in Bolloptor in homage to the god Krishna" and which was in early times a favorite pilgrimage site (cat. 340-341, 343-344).¹

The name of **Rajendra Lal Mitra** (1822-1891)² is well known among Indian art-historians and for his political engagement; he is the author of various works, among which one on the art of Orissa and one on Bodh Gayā, published in 1878; Mitra was also vice-president of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and as such, he acted as a go-between between the authorities of the Berlin Museum, represented by Andreas Jagor and the Government of Bengal, headed at the time by Sir Richard Temple. His name is thus here associated with the acquisition of architectural fragments, glazed tiles and sculptures from Gaur and Pāndua, in the district of Malda and from Bodh Gayā, which entered the collection in 1876 & 1879.

Andreas Fedor Jagor (1816-1900) made a long journey in India and Southeast Asia between October 1873 and March 1876, during which he collected more than five thousand objects.³ Twice, at the beginning of 1874 and of 1875, he passed through Calcutta, where he contacted a number of persons who were willing to collect material for the Royal Museum. Among them, the Captain James Waterhouse (1842-1922), member of the Asiatic Society who offered, among other material, "two sets of a series of photos ... of the sculptures in the Indian Museum: chiefly Buddhist".⁴

When Jagor returned to Calcutta in January 1875 after a long journey upto Peshawar, transactions were made for getting material from Gaur and other sites in the district of Māldā. Permission had to be granted by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple, who "let excavate and collect in Gaur sculpted bricks, glazed tiles and stone sculptures. [The] presents were acquired through Rajendra Lal Mitra, Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, [who] wrote the catalogue." (This "catalogue" is the "Mitra list" included in the Jagor file, see Files p. 137). These objects were essentially decorative architectural

fragments, catalogued in chapter V, or tiles, described in chapter VI; some stelae were added to the lot (chapter III) which entered the Museum in 1876 (see Collections, pp. 121-122). The Government of Bengal collected not only for the Berlin Museum, but essentially for the Indian Museum and the objects were presented to the Asiatic Society in 1876.⁵

At the very same period, transactions started through R. L. Mitra for acquiring "Buddhist sculptures excavated in Bihar". These had been found by Alexander Cunningham at Bodh Gayā, who "has selected for the archaeologist. Surv. a large number of the buddhistic remains found at Behar [meaning Bodh Gayā], but that many duplicates are left, from among which the Govt of India might probably permit a certain number to be selected for the Royal Mus. in Berlin", as P. Howell, who was Officiating Secretary of the Government of India, Home Department, wrote, adding that he "should like therefore to go now to B., and examine thus the remains which [he] only knows from photographs ...".⁶

The sculptures from Bodh Gayā were finally presented in 1879 to the ethnograph **Adolf Bastian** (1826-1905), who was also the head of the ethnographic department and was in Asia in 1878; they entered the collection in 1879 and were given through the transaction of James Waterhouse. These objects had been collected by Rajendra Lal Mitra, as were those which were offered the 27th March to the Asiatic Society by the Government of Bengal; the Royal Museum received sculptural fragments of the *vedikā* of Bodh Gayā, *Buddhapāda.s* and elements of votive *caitya.s*, which Mitra partly published in his work on the site (cat. 178-179 & 273-276).⁷

Another person who had been contacted by Andreas Jagor in order to collect material for the Royal Museum, was **Marion Rivett-Carnac**, which she apparently made a point of doing with enthusiasm. She was the wife of John Henry Rivett-Carnac, Opium Agent at Ghazipur, who was also author of various articles published by the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. In 1883, he donated sealings to the British Museum and similar objects collected by him in India reached Berlin in the same year (cat. 308-309, 311).⁸

Lawrence Austine Waddell (1854-1938) became medical officer in the Indian Government service in 1880. From 1885 to 1895, he was medical officer for the Darjeeling district and from 1896 to 1902, professor at the Calcutta Medical College. While occupying this function, he travelled intensively around Bihar and Nepal in search of Buddhist sites and wrote numerous articles and books on various aspects of Buddhism in India and Tibet. As a doctor, he accompanied the British army during the Burmese war of 1886-87, went to Pe-

king in 1900 and was member of the Tibetan expedition in 1903-1904.⁹

In the course of these journeys, he also assembled a large collection of more than 700 Buddhist art objects which were exhibited at the Crystal Palace of Sydenham in summer and autumn 1905. In november of the same year, Waddell offered to the Berlin Museum his collection at the "sacrificial" price of £ 400 "provided that the collection [was] taken at once" although it had costed him £ 2000 "for purchase and in presents to the native priests".¹⁰ In the absence of Albert Grünwedel, F. W. K. Müller went to London to see the collection which was still on display in the Crystal Palace; he received there the final permission to acquire the collection from the Director General of the Berlin Museum, W. von Bode.¹¹ The money for this acquisition was offered by a business-man of Berlin, Gerson Simon, who was known for his generosity towards the Museums.¹² Some 650 objects entered thus the Museum in spring 1906, which were divided between the different sections since the objects had been collected in various countries, not only India but also Burma, Tibet and China.¹³ Waddell's interest in Buddhism was genuine and his approach was scientific, which explains that the find-spots of most of the objects of his collection are documented.¹⁴ But we should also underline that he could appreciate the beauty of the images, something of which he himself was aware of.¹⁵ He collected nearly 100 art objects in major sites like Sārnāth, Bodh Gayā, Vaiśālī and Lakhi Sarai or the nearby Mount Uren, a place to which he dedicated in 1892 an article where some of the objects illustrated belonged to him and later to the Museum.

Waddell had kept for himself some images, which he ultimately sold to the Museum in 1908.¹⁶ His collection of Tibetan manuscripts entered the National Library in Berlin at that period also and in one of the last letters which he sent to Berlin, he writes: "I am pleased to know that the materials for research which I have collected with great labour are now deposited where I feel confident they will be best appreciated and be utilized in the best perfectible way for the advance of science."¹⁷

In 1907, the Museum bought a large collection of objects assembled by **Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner** (1840-1899)¹⁸ and which originated essentially from Bodh Gayā: most of the votive *caitya.s* of the collection were then acquired. This collection, which includes also numerous low-reliefs from Gandhāra, was initially preserved in the Oriental Institute located at Woking, England, which Leitner had founded.¹⁹ 1907 & 1909 saw the purchase of Jaina images which had been collected in south-eastern Bihar by a missionary named **Paul Wagner** who belonged to the G. E. L.

Gossner's Mission at Purulia in the district of Manbhum (today: district of Purulia).²⁰

A number of objects were "presented to the Imperial Museum at Berlin" by **Raj Kumar Shyama Kumar Tagore** in autumn 1911 at the occasion of the visit of the Crown Prince to India. Beside the sculpture catalogued here (cat. 253), a number of decorative objects and of oil paintings were offered, one of them being "an old view of Calcutta by the celebrated Chinery."²¹

A fifth and last major group entered the collection in 1913 through the help of **J. P. Rawlins**, from Ealing, London. After having disposed of images which he had himself collected when he was in the North-West Frontier in 1904,²² he acted apparently as an intermediary between the Museum and various anonymous friends who had brought sculptures from India, which they were willing to sell.²³ Among these images, a group had been collected in the Monghyr district and brought "to England 25 years ago", i.e. around 1890.²⁴ This acquisition was complementary to the earlier ones since it introduced essentially Hindu images in an already rich collection of Buddhist artefacts.

Between November 1941 and February 1942, some of the most precious objects were preserved in the Flakturm at the Zoo.²⁵ In this context, some of the stelae collected at Lakhi Sarai by Waddell were preserved there from where they were removed, with a large number of other objects belonging to the Indian section, probably by the Russian army in 1945. Some objects were returned to the collection in Dahlem in the recent years, like a fragment of the *vedikā* of Bodh Gayā or the lower part of a door-jamb from the district of Monghyr (cat. 274 & 278) but the remaining images seem to be still kept in Russia.²⁶

In the present catalogue of the collection, these images can be recognized through their inventory number. As a matter of fact, a new numerotation was introduced after the 1st of January 1963 when the Indian section became independant from the Museum für Völkerkunde and became the Museum für Indische Kunst: the old number "I C" was replaced by "I ...", where the "I" stands for the first part of the collection of the Museum, which is the South-Asian Subcontinent ("II" stands for the objects from South-East Asia and "III" for those from Central Asia). On the 7th October 1971, the public exhibition was officially inaugurated.²⁷

Large Hindu images were acquired afterwards from the international art market, which completed the iconographic lacunas of the existing collection on the one hand, and enlarged the geographical area with images from Bengal on the other hand.

B. The sculpture of Bihar and Bengal and the collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst

Basically, the sculptural art of the region is religious. Divine images are depicted and only architectural elements carved in stone could be said to illustrate a non-religious art, although never deprived from its symbolism. Monuments were built in bricks, which is easily understandable when considering the geographical conditions; the Ganges and its affluents make the richness of the soil and still today, bricks are produced all through the southern part of Bihar. Architectural elements, like gargoyles, door-frames or pillars, could be carved in stone and integrated within the structure (chapter V).

Stelae were produced in very large quantities in the course of four centuries, from the 8th to the 12th c. all through Bihar and Bengal which includes the Indian State of West Bengal and Bangladesh. Often, only fragments of them survived; other images were dramatically defaced when Islam became a main religion. The images were either worshipped in sanctuaries or perhaps, as it is nowadays still the case, were collected in some places of the village, or below a tree. Most of the temples have disappeared in the course of time, but one can, nevertheless, get a picture of their outer aspect through the survival till the 19th or early 20th century of monuments at Nālandā, Bodh Gayā or at Rājgir and Aṣṣaḍ where the facades were rhythmized with rectangular niches containing stucco images (chapter VI).

The Buddhist ateliers of Bodh Gayā, Nālandā or other sites of the region, did not only produce images of deities, but also votive objects, such as carved *caityas* (chapter II-A) and tablets (chapter II-B) or seals in terracotta (chapter VI).

The artistic production is not even: some centres were more active than other ones, and on the whole, the production was centralized around some particular places from where images could be transported to distant regions. Similarly, the production did not keep a permanent level during this long period. Some ateliers knew a rather long period of activity, like those of Nālandā or Bodh Gayā, others had a more limited phase of production, like at Kurkihār where the atelier was particularly active in the 8th and 9th c. Similarly, images of this period were found in villages located west of Nālandā whereas images collected at Lakhi Sarai and the region belong either to the post-Gupta period or to the 11th and 12th centuries.

On the whole, the art of south Bihar is well documented, due to the large production of the regional sites but also due to the fact that various major religions were and still are located in the region, be they Jain, Hindu or Buddhist.

The situation differs in the region located north of the Ganges, which constitutes a zone of passage between south Bihar and Nepal, opening the way to Tibet and where the only major religious site at the period is Vaiśālī, a place of pilgrimage whereas Naulagarh appears to have been a political centre where only rare sculptural remains of the Pāla period have been recovered. And scattered around the country, rare Hindu images were found, still worshipped in the local temples.²⁸

The situation does not differ very much in Bengal although the artistic remains have not been recovered in well limited centres. The production in archaeological sites of Bengal, Mahāsthān, Mainamati or Pāhārpur e.g., can essentially be dated in the post-Gupta period and only some rare stone images posterior to the 8th century were recovered therein. Later sites are related to the history of Bengal after the 8th century. Images were found in north Bengal, e.g. in sites like Gaur or Pāṇḍua which were once capitals: however, their discovery remains limited in number or in quality, and does not reflect the political importance of the site since images were found in any village scattered around Gaur, which are very often of a high aesthetic quality. When considering the art in this part of the country, one has really to consider *in toto* images found scattered on a rather large area between Gaur in the south and Dinājpur in the north. Similarly, the region located in the south of Dhaka was a major political centre from the 11th to the 13th century; the epigraphic sources name Vikrampur as the city which once must have stood there. But the images were collected on a very large area which includes various villages and the stylistic idiom which developed in the area spread over a large region towards Myanmar in the districts of Comilla and Chittagong. Moreover, stelae were collected in any part of the Delta.

This situation explains perhaps while, on the whole, the plastic development of the sculpture of south Bihar is better known than the one of Bengal or north and east Bihar.²⁹ As a result, it becomes also easier to relate images of unknown origin, like most of the stelae are, to a particular atelier in Bihar whereas the attribution of images from Bengal can only be made very approximately as one relates the images to a region and not to a site.

Basically, the attribution of images to an atelier and their proposed chronology results from a stylistic analysis of the material. It is, however, clear that another aspect has to be taken into consideration, i.e. the iconography of the images. The iconography can never be a decisive element in relating images to a specific site whereas the style can be more reliable: it is likely that the ateliers were producing Buddhist as well as Hindu images in places like Bodh Gayā, Nālandā or in the region as it

is evident from a pure stylistic approach. Besides, the stylistic study allows to propose a chronology on which the iconographic analysis can rest and makes it then possible to study the development of the images. The methodology used in a stylistic analysis can be also adequately applied to an iconographic study.

As said above, the sculptural production relates to religion; images of gods are represented. It is also possible here to consider the iconography in relation with space and time. But the historical implication are essentially, if not only, based on the stylistic study. Major Buddhist centres were active in Bihar, of which two are well illustrated in the collection, *i.e.* Bodh Gayā from the 9th to the 11th century and Lakhi Sarai in the 11th and 12th centuries (cat. 72-76). Other sculptures can definitely be related to the sculptural art of Nālandā and its region or even Kurkihār.

The sculpture from Bodh Gayā is stylistically less coherent than the production at sites like Nālandā and Kurkihār or, at a later period, Lakhi Sarai. The chronological development is extremely difficult to feature because of the multiplication of influences which penetrated the place. Thus, in the second half of the 9th century, the production at Kurkihār receded but the stylistic idiom of the site spread towards Gayā, Bodh Gayā and Itkhaurī. In the 10th century, the site is open to a clear influence from Nālandā. It remains difficult, if not impossible, to suggest how these influences came to existence, whether some images might have been indeed transported towards Bodh Gayā from the one or the other site or whether craftsmen made their way to Bodh Gayā, bringing with them their own stylistic perceptions – and both solutions could also coexist. In any period, and this still applies to the contemporary Bodh Gayā, the place was frequented by Buddhists from all Asia, which accounts perhaps also for the rather undistinctive stylistic idiom of the place, where elements of Chinese or Burmese presence could be discovered.

Artists were working for patrons regardless of their religious position, this becomes evident in north Bengal where the cities fell in the hands of the Muslim army after the end of the 12th century. Gaur was a capital at an earlier period³⁰ but only fragments of images were recovered at the place. After the 12th century, Islamic monuments were built, like at Pāṇḍua, another site of the region and if sculptures were no more produced, the artists worked for Muslim patrons in carving the facades of the monuments or architectural parts like door-jambes or pillars. The art was evidently no more figurative but on some “intermediary” pieces, it is evident that these are the very same craftsmen who were producing images of deities and are now involved in a non-figurative art.³¹

Various types of materials have been used. It is likely that most of the sanctuaries were built with bricks, which would account for the disappearance of most of them. Their outer facade was adorned with a **stucco** decoration as is still visible on the Siddheśvara temple at Bahulāra in the district of Bankura or on the monument of site 12 at Nālandā.³² Apart from this ornamentation, stucco images of deities or narrative panels could also be introduced within rectangular niches which were regularly distributed, such was the case in Rājgir at the Maniyar Math, at the temple of Aphaṣṭ, at the Bodhi Mandir or at the larger monument, n° 3, of Nālandā.³³ Most of these examples date back to the late Gupta or post-Gupta period, as do those from Bengal where the iconographic program was realised in **terracotta**, a medium which was also used in Bihar.³⁴ In the following period, the stone was used not only for carving the “stelae” but also architectural elements like door-jambes, *e.g.*

The stone had always been the main material used for representing images of gods. Much discussion has arisen in recent years as to which extent, the use of specific stones could be related to the stylistic evolution of the art.³⁵ But if one can generally observe that “late” images, *i.e.* images of the 11th c. and afterwards, were mostly carved with a great taste for intricate and tiny details and that they were cut out of a very **fine-grained chloritoid phyllite**³⁶ which allowed such a carving, it is impossible to decide whether the introduction of the stone preceded this stylistic development or whether the craftsmen searched for a new stone more suitable to their requirements. Discussion also concerns the geographical location of the quarries, two possibilities have been precisely suggested for the phyllite: whereas R. Newman considers that it was extracted in the district of Monghyr and then transported via the Ganges toward Bengal, F.M. Asher thinks that it was rather quarried in the district of Singhbhum and transported via the Damodar to Bengal.³⁷ It is also possible that various areas were concerned since the colour of the stone ranges from grey to dark grey or even to black. Moreover, the bright polish which was favoured in the late period in the region of Nālandā/Lakhi Sarai and in Bengal creates a blacker surface; again, it is difficult to decide whether this finish of the image results from a stylistic choice or from the discovery by the craftsmen of a new possibility caused by the rock itself.

Basically, this fine-grained stone which is used for most of the Hindu images of the collection does not differ from the coarser-grained stones carved in earlier times and which are types of **chlorite schists**, the origin of which could be the Chota Nāgpur region in south Bihar.³⁸ This stone was used till a later period in

the district of Purulia.³⁹ Besides, even though of a more limited use, several other rocks have been worked,⁴⁰ among which **sandstone** which appears to have been carved in south Bihar, particularly around Bodh Gayā. A number of light beige images, eventually reddish or yellowish, have been collected in this site or in the region and they do not particularly belong to an early stylistic phase.⁴¹ It is also interesting to note that sandstone seems to have been reserved for the carving of the “votive tablets” (chapter II-B) whereas the dark stone, be it a schist or a phyllite, was used for the votive *caitya.s* or for a large part of the stelae.

C. Iconographies

Be it in Buddhism, in Hinduism or, to a lesser degree, in Jainism, one is compelled to admit the existence of a rich pantheon where all artistic images are not necessarily canonical. The iconographic history of the art of eastern India is complex but illustrates well the religious richness of the period in this region.

1. Buddhist images

Buddhist images are essentially found in Buddhist sites, be they pilgrimage centres like Bodh Gayā, or be they places where monasteries and sanctuaries were constructed like Nālandā, Antichak which is the old Vikramāśīla on the Gangā or Lakhi Sarai which was the Pāla capital in the 12th century. Moreover, large groups of images have been collected in places which must also have been centres of learning but where, unfortunately, excavations were not carried on, like Kurkihār, Ghosrāvāṇ, Tetrāvāṇ or Telhāra, all villages located around Nālandā where images could be at times discovered per chance, as it was the case for the group of bronzes found at Kurkihār in the early thirties. Buddhist images could also be noticed isolated in villages where Hindu images dominate. Were they carried in the later course of time by villagers, or were they transported at the time of their carving from the atelier which must have been evidently located in another site and then actually worshipped at the place of their discovery will remain an unanswered question.

A study of the material according to the sites of their discovery allows to settle the chronology of the artistic activity of these sites on the one side and to follow the iconographic development which took place in the course of this rather long period on the other side.

Bodh Gayā constitutes a major place where the iconography of the Buddha took various forms which remained unknown outside the place; thus, stelae combined various representations of Śākyamuni in a concept which is not always evident, where specific events of his

life cannot be really identified. On the other side, it appears also that aspects of his biography were perhaps illustrated, like the seven stations which followed the Enlightenment, and which were not depicted elsewhere in the region.⁴² The depictions of Bodhisattva.s or female deities remain on the whole limited to certain simple types, the two-armed Avalokiteśvara, the Tārā or Mārīcī (cat.3-7). The largest part of these images appear also to belong to an early phase and only some rare sculptures can be dated in the 12th century; some rare images of deities like Yamāntaka or the six-armed Aparājita can be ascribed to the place.⁴³

Images at **Kurkihār**, which is located south of the Rājgīr Hills, on the road from Nālandā to Bodh Gayā, belong mainly to an early period, the 9th century and represent essentially the Buddha at his Enlightenment (cat. 12), the Tārā (cat. 62) or Avalokiteśvara, essentially depicted in a six-armed form. Further images of the Buddha in standing position (cat. 24) or of various deities like Mañjuśrī, Maitreya or Mārīcī constituted the core of the production.⁴⁴

Images were produced at **Nālandā**⁴⁵ all through the four centuries and illustrate a manifold religious imagery; depictions of the Buddha's Enlightenment but also of his biography as it was at that period summarized in a sequence of eight "great events" (cat. 27-29) constituted assuredly a major iconographic trend of the site where the largest surviving image of this kind is still standing at Jagdīspur, a hill located south-west of the archaeological site.⁴⁶

Various aspects of Avalokiteśvara are also depicted and further Bodhisattva.s hold a place in the religious imagery, such as Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi or, but more rarely, Maitreya. The study of these various iconographic types puts in evidence the existence of their development in the course of time and allows to relate to them images which were found scattered in isolated sites of Bihar. Some forms are more frequent in the post-Gupta or early Pāla period, such as the twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara, of which images were discovered in other villages of the area;⁴⁷ another rare form illustrates Avalokiteśvara preaching (cat. 49). Similarly, Mañjuśrī appears repeatedly among the pre-Pāla stucco images of the monument of site 3, or is known through bronzes or statues which belong essentially to the 9th and 10th centuries.⁴⁸

The monastery held a central position in the development of the "late Buddhist iconography", i.e. of the artistic transcription of images which existed, at times since already the post-Gupta period, in the literary imagery but which were not aimed at being materially realized in bronze or stone, but at being visualized or painted.⁴⁹ Some of these iconographies remain rare, Vajratārā, Hevajra/Heruka, Nairātmā

e.g.,⁵⁰ and are not exclusively discovered at Nālandā, but in places like Bodh Gayā, Kurkihār (cat. 61) or other places of less importance; they are usually to be identified through the help of texts which were not written for the craftsmen but meant as guides of meditation and visualization for the monks.⁵¹

Sites of various importances are distributed around Nālandā, such as **Rājgīr** in the south, or **Telhāra**, **Biswāk** (cat.32 & 50) in the west. They appear to have been in permanent relation with Nālandā and to have been essentially active in the early period, i.e. from the 8th to the 10th century since only isolated late images of the 11th or 12th centuries could also be collected in these villages.⁵² The two neighbouring villages of **Tetrāvān** and **Ghosrāvān** are situated east of Nālandā; their production is extremely close to the one of this centre in the 9th and 10th centuries, which explains probably why images actually found at Tetrāvān could be given a Nālandā origin.⁵³

In relation with the late phase of Buddhism, the area around **Lakhi Sarai** appears to have held a major position in the 12th century (cat. 72-74), with the realization of large images of Krodha.s or of deities such as Mahākāla, Uṣṇīṣavijayā.⁵⁴

At that period also, a larger number of images are produced in **Bengal**: images of Mārīcī, of Mañjuśrī, more rarely of Avalokiteśvara or other deities, are venerated in north and south-east Bengal.⁵⁵ Also there, the illustration of the biography of Śākyamuni knows a new development which forecasts contemporary or later aspects of this iconography in Tibet or Burma.⁵⁶

2. Jain images

Bihar is also the land of Jainism.⁵⁷ Rājgīr constituted a major site in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods with representations of Jina.s carved on the walls of caves or as free-standing stelae.⁵⁸ It preserved this importance in the following period, when rare images were also venerated all through Bihar and north Bengal, sometimes collected in Buddhist sites, like Basarh, the ancient Vaiśālī (cat. 267-269) or Nālandā.⁵⁹ From the 8th century and onwards, the region which borders simultaneously on Orissa, west Bengal and Bihar, was to all appearances devoted to Jainism. Temples were indeed built at the period in the districts of **Purulia** in eastern Bihar, **Bankura** & **Burdwan** in west Bengal and **Mayurbhanj** in Orissa. Monuments or sculptures can still be seen in villages like Pakbirra, Garh Jaipur or Palma (cat. 265-266).⁶⁰

The Jain iconography includes essentially images of some Jina.s and of couples representing parents of Jina.s.⁶¹ Jina.s in Bihar/Bengal are naked; they sit with supine hands or stand with their elongated arms falling on ei-

ther side of the body. Apart from Rṣabhanātha, they have curled hair. They are usually attended by fly-whisk bearers, can be surrounded by the Graha.s or even by the Dikpāla.s (cat. 265). Besides, Rṣabhanātha can also be accompanied by other Jina.s who are symmetrically distributed around him (cat. 266); the region systematized also the representation of all 24 Jina.s on a single image (cat.266-267).⁶²

First Jina of the series of 24, Ādinātha, also named Rṣabhanātha, is the most often depicted Jina (cat. 266-268); this initial position which he holds, explains most probably the presence of some of the subsequent Jina.s around him. The *jaṭā* and the locks falling on the shoulders differentiate him from the other Jina.s. Similarly, the snake-hood protecting Pārśvanātha allows to recognize the latter (cat. 266-267, 270).⁶³ Like any other Jina, Rṣabhanātha is characterized by a specific tree or *caityavṛkṣa*, in this case the *nyagrodha*, which is depicted above the nimbus and by the *lāñchana* or *cihna*, a symbol which is carved on the pedestal and which is the bull in what concerns this Jina. In the case of the last Jina, who is also the Jina of our era, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the tree is the *śāla* and the *cihna* is the lion (cat. 265).⁶⁴

The back-slab includes motifs which are more particular to Jain iconography, like the triple umbrella hovering above the nimbus and on either side, the divine hands playing their musical instruments, drum and cymbals, a motif which is otherwise noticed on the depictions of the final decease of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

3. Hindu images

The Hindu art of eastern India has already been the object of numerous articles and publications.⁶⁵ Besides, due to the extreme richness of the iconographic forms which are illustrated, examples of this art were often published in relation with studies of a more general scope. As a close study of some of these forms reveals, the iconographic was not for once and ever fixed but underwent transformations in the course of time; starting in Bihar, the movement reached its apex in north Bengal from the 10th century and onwards. The Hindu cult knew in this region a strong impetus which is illustrated either with the high quantitative production of images already existing in Bihar or with the appearance of new types.

In Bihar, Aṣṣaḍ, which was a political capital in the 7th century, constituted a major Vaiṣṇava centre, where the cult of the Sun-God and of his son Revanta (cat. 223) were also present.

From the post-Gupta period and onwards, Sūrya was indeed a major deity in the region, in particularly at Nālandā where his temple still stands; till around the 10th century, his cult might have been related to the one paid to Revanta whose images are discovered around

Nālandā and in sites located east of the site (cat. 222, 249-251). Simultaneously, Viṣṇu and, at a lesser degree, Brahmā were worshipped all through Bihar (cat. 218-220, 241-248; cat. 221 & 240). All three of them, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Brahmā became major gods in north and south-east Bengal.⁶⁶ Similar observations apply to images of Śiva, worshipped under various forms, as a *liṅga*, but also as Bhairava, as the Master of the Dance or in a more peaceful mood, all forms also noticed in Bengal (cat. 233-235, 252-253).⁶⁷ Simultaneously, the cult of the Goddess, as female counterpart to Śiva, spread all over Bihar showing her as wife of the god or as an ascetic.⁶⁸ But this female deity was not exclusively related to Śiva, since she also presents aspects of the pan-Indian Great Goddess of the fertility; this explains how the image was integrated within the various pantheons and showed different forms, like the snake-goddess *e.g.* (cat. 224-232, 237, 254-259).⁶⁹

Images of Hindu deities were recovered in sites considered to be traditionally as Buddhist (Nālandā, Bodh Gayā) but it is not required to call for an “integration process” by Buddhism of Hindu deities to explain this presence as it could be at times done. Some Buddhist centres were major places which attracted Buddhist pilgrims and monks but they were actually also Hindu sites.⁷⁰ “Exclusively” Buddhist sites are rare, like at Kurkihār where the monastery was most probably built during the late post-Gupta period or early Pāla period in an “empty” landscape: only rare Hindu and Jain images were as a matter of fact discovered in villages around the village of Kurkihār.

In the course of the late 10th century, a major change took place which led north Bengal to become a leading Hindu region, a position held till c.1200. Simultaneously, a second centre developed around the political capital of Vikramapura, located south of the actual Dhaka in south-east Bengal. In both regions, large numbers of images have been recovered, illustrating the various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. None the less, small iconographic details help to differentiate the images from both regions, beside the more obvious stylistic features.⁷¹ Both regions can also introduce different icons in their cult, Śiva Natarāja is, for instance, a major one in south-east but appears only extremely rarely in north Bengal, or images of Brahmā are more common in north. Images from both areas are present in the collection.

D. Categories of Objects

The artistic production of the period encompasses three large categories of objects, *i.e.* the stela, the votive *caitya* and the architectural elements. All three are illustrated in the collection. The stela is the iconic image *per excellentia* which is found all over Bihar and Bengal. The votive *caitya*s were carved in Buddhist centres and still stand in sites like Bodh Gayā or Nālandā. The architectural elements carved in stone were introduced in the brick architecture, they are essentially door-frames and gargoyles.

1. The stela

This constitutes the most common artefact produced in the region during four centuries, *i.e.* from the 8th to the 12th c. It shows a very particular structure where specific motifs are introduced. Though most of these motifs have a genuine iconographic bearing, their study can also be approached from a more visual point of view, which allows to study and to follow the development of their forms.

Structure. Three major elements are combined to constitute the image: the **central deity** stands or sits in front of a **back-slab** and above a **pedestal**. Further attending figures can be introduced on either side of the deity, of decreasing size.

Decoration. These three elements are all adorned by various categories of motifs.

1. The central deity and the attendants are dressed with a **shawl** or *uttariya* which falls from the left shoulder and crosses the torso, they wear a **lower garment**, which falls on the ankles of female deities or of Buddhist male deities or which falls on the knee of most of the male images. This garment is held at the waist by one or more **girdles**. A large clasp usually closes the girdles, and a pendant is attached to it, which falls upto the knees. A loop of cloth falls on one of the hips above the girdle(s).

The deities wear pieces of jewellery, such as the **ear-rings**: either small rings or large disks, the **bracelets**: one single bangle or a group of attached bangles, the **armlets** constituted by a triangular ornament fixed on the ring which is attached around the arm or by a ring having the shape of a snake, and **anklets**.

The head-dress varies according to the depicted deity but is generally surrounded by a **diadem** which is adorned by triangular fleurons regularly distributed, *i.e.* usually one on either side and eventually a third one in the centre. The third one can be replaced by a lotus flower. A higher fleuron is usually carved in front of the **round coil of hair** seen on the head of female deities; the same coil can fall on one shoulder after the 10th c. Viṣṇu or Sūrya

wear the **tiara** or *kirīṭamukūṭa*, Śiva or the Bodhisattva.s the **coiled up hair** or *jaṭāmukūṭa*. The head of the Buddha is covered by tiny curls which cover also the cranial bump or *uṣṇīṣa*.

The attendants wear the same ornaments but a careful analysis shows how the hierarchy was here underlined: the ornaments are the same but details such as the loops and garlands at the girdle or the armlets *e.g.* are absent on the smaller images.

The Buddha wears a monastic dress which is peculiar to him, *i.e.* a **long skirt** or under-cloth called *antaravāsaka*, which is often visible at the ankles under the **long robe** called *uttarāsaṅga*. This robe covers both shoulders but when the Buddha displays the gesture of Enlightenment or *bhūmiśparśamudrā*, his right shoulder is naked. The naked shoulder is rarely noticed also when he displays another gesture with the right hand, such as the gesture of protection, *abhayaṃudrā* or of generosity, *varaḍamudrā*. Eventually, a **shawl** can be worn, which is folded like the robe.⁷²

Three ways of wearing the dress are noticed, related to successive chronological phases. In the post-Gupta and early part of the “Pāla” period, the plain dress lies on the right shoulder, covers the back and passes below the right arm; it covers the torso and falls backwards upon the left shoulder. A double edge at the torso and at the wrist could indicate the simultaneous presence of the robe and of the shawl (cat. 12) (drawing 16a). In the second period, one extremity of the robe falls backwards on the left shoulder; the cloth covers the torso, passes below the right arm and covers the back, before falling frontwards on the left shoulder. The line which runs vertically on the left part of the torso and on the left wrist indicates the edge of the dress. This way of carving the dress is encountered from the 9th c. and onwards (drawing 16b). The third way introduces the shawl. The robe is worn as described above in the first or second period but a shawl is folded above it apparently in the fashion illustrated by the robe in the second period. It is indeed difficult to describe precisely how this over garment is worn: either one of its extremities falls backwards on the left shoulder, the shawl crosses the torso and passes below the right arm, its second upper extremity will then fall as a flap on the left shoulder, and only duplicates the upper garment or the flap has to be understood as one of the two extremities of the shawl which falls in the back above the left shoulder like a deacon’s stole and remains thus unseen (drawing 16c) (*e.g.* cat. 14). Early images of the post-Gupta or 8th to 9th c. still wear a plain dress whereas afterwards, folds are indicated through lines which are incised or engraved in low-relief. However, the contemporary use of the two treatments can be no-

ticed, contributing to introduce hierarchy within the image.

2. The back-slab has evidently the practical function of sustaining the images of deities carved in relief in front of it. Its shape changes in course of time. It is initially plainly round and tends progressively to become pointed. The relation with the main image changes also since the slab enlarges itself. *i.e.* the deity gets smaller within the construction. The slab can be plain with only its edge adorned by motifs, such as the **flames** or the **pearled row** or **garland** *e.g.* which indicate thus the **aureole**. The same motifs can be used for depicting the **nimbus** drawn around the head of the deity.

The slab can be divided into three superimposed zones (A, B & C). The upper zone A starts above the shoulders of the deity. It includes the already mentioned nimbus which is surrounded by the converging **flying figures** who offer garlands to the deity and by the diverging **birds**, *haṃsa.s*, or **fantastic figures**, half-bird, half-human who play music. Further motifs can crown the image, the **umbrella**, the **tree** below which sat the Buddha at Bodh Gayā, or the **apotropaic head**, *kīrtimukha*.

The middle zone B coincides with the torso of the deity. It is covered by the architecture of the throne behind the latter and by the fantastic or real animals which adorn the sides of this throne and appear as if arising out of it since they diverge. Thus, the upper bar of the throne is terminated by the pair of **makara.s**, aquatic creatures below which roaring **leogryphs**, called *vyaghra* or *vyāla*, lash out above the **elephants**. These animals symbolize the elements of air (the birds), water (the *makara.s*), fire (the leogryphs) and earth (the elephants) and together they form the "royal throne" which through its position irradiates out of the body of the central deity.⁷³

The lower zone C is usually unadorned, hidden by the attendants.

3. The pedestal supports the image and the back-slab. As such, its front surface can be plain or includes side panels regularly and symmetrically recessed. Their number increases in course of time. The foremost and central panel usually supports the lotus on which stands the deity. This **lotus** initially belongs to the pedestal before being carved above it.

The side panels include various motifs: **human devotees** and offerings, **vehicle** of the main deity, or eventually figures who belong to the iconography of the above-depicted deity (the Preta below Avalokiteśvara *e.g.*). **Plain mouldings** are introduced to underline the upper and lower limits of the pedestal. Below them, the front surface can remain plain behind the motifs mentioned above or be covered by the **scrolls** to which is attached the lotus sustaining the central deity. These scrolls cover in

a first phase the central panel only and progressively spread onto the lateral recesses. Simultaneously, small lotuses will arise from the thick scrolls and support the attending figures.

The distribution of the motifs on the back-slab and the position of the different deities are very strictly delineated. It appears, as a matter of fact, that the image must have been determined by a preliminary sketch on the stone, marking the vertical axis, on either side of which spaces were reserved for the various motifs. This axis is fundamental in the elaboration of the image and of its final visual impact.⁷⁴ However, in some very rare examples, originating from south-east Bengal, it would appear that the craftsman viewed differently his approach of the image to realize, that afterwards he added motifs like the *kīrtimukha*, the flying figures or other small depictions of deities on the upper part of the back-slab. This would explain why these motifs are then distributed around another axis which is not the vertical axis of the image but which is imposed by the position of the head of the central god (cat. 252).

2. The votive caitya.s

Monasteries and sanctuaries were constructed in Buddhist places like Bodh Gayā and Nālandā. And among the ruins of these monuments which still stand today, are the remains of carved *caitya.s* of various sizes. At Nālandā, most of them stand above platforms built in bricks and some were even constructed with bricks. At Bodh Gayā however, they appear to have been exclusively carved in stone. Although they all show the same outline and integrate the same superimposed elements, these *caitya.s* or *stūpa.s* can be classified under different types (chapter II-A).

A large square base sustains them which progressively narrows up to the *caitya* itself. It is constituted of mouldings and doucines. Rows of tiny images of the Buddha can be carved, scenes of the Buddha's life can be distributed in niches which interrupt regularly the four sides, the "seven jewels", *saptaratna*, of the *cakravartin* can be depicted at the lower bottom, triangular fleurons can likewise rhythm the four sides.

The *caitya stricto sensu* stands above the base. The drum, *jaṅghāvedī*, is rather high and can be plain or includes one, four or eight niches where images of the Buddha, of the Buddha.s of the past, of four Tathāgata.s, of Bodhisattva.s or female deities are carved. A special program includes the eight main events of Śākyamuni's life – a thema which was in favour at that period in eastern India.

The upper part of the drum, *aṇḍa*, is rounded below the square *harmikā*, which constitutes the support for the *yaṣṭi* and its spire of superposed umbrellas, *chattrāvalī*. A lotus-bud

tops the composition. This part is often damaged.

3. Related material

The representation and the worship of the foot prints of the Buddha (or of gods like Viṣṇu) is well attested at Bodh Gayā. Two such large prints are preserved in the collection, carved evidently on the lower surface of what is supposed to be the *aṇḍa* of a *caitya* (cat. 178 & 179).

Besides, a large number of "votive" images have been recovered from the site of Bodh Gayā, more rarely elsewhere, which illustrate scenes of worship with human devotees kneeling in front of (their) offerings or in front of a monk (chapter II-B). Similar rectangular panels can illustrate the "seven jewels" or *saptaratna*. These panels, when they bear the representation of kneeling devotees, should be compared to the scenes of worship which have been engraved in the pavement of the Bodhi Temple: all of them illustrate the veneration of the holy site by lay-people and it is possible, although not proven, that the rectangular slabs of the collection were distributed in a brick wall or an architectural structure.

4. Architectural remains

As mentioned above, the stone was not only used in order to carve images, but also elements of the architectural structure, *i.e.* door-frames, gargoyles or pillars which sustained the porch. A systematic survey and a proper study of these elements is still missing. However, door-frames can still be observed in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir or in local temples, for instance at Itkhauri, whereas other ones were removed to museums,⁷⁵ but very often only the lintel (cat. 279-280)⁷⁶ or fragments of the jambs (cat. 277, 278) survived, like those recovered at Nālandā.⁷⁷ The lintel and the jambs are adorned by a sequence of decorative bands of various motifs, which are interrupted on the lintel by a row of niches containing images of deities which are evidently related to the image of the sanctuary.⁷⁸ The jambs also include niches in their lower part where figures such as *yakṣa.s* or the fluvial goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā use to stand.

Many of these architectural pieces are the only remains of the temples on which they were fixed. Since door-frames include images like fluvial goddesses or other deities, one can make use of the aspect of the latter for proposing an approximative date to the architectural pieces. Similarly, the gargoyles which are shaped like *makara.s* (cat. 282) or other fantastic beings (cat. 283), can be studied in comparison with those monsters which occur in the construction of the royal throne on the back-slab behind the deity (see above). Other elements of the architecture, like the pillars sup-

porting eventually the porch could also be carved in stone (cat. 280-281).

Some architectural fragments of the collection were collected at Pāṇḍua, a site located in the district of Māldā in west Bengal, and at Gaur, a site on the border between India and Bangladesh (district of Nawagbanj); they can still belong to the pre-Muslim period, like the gargoyle of cat. 282 or a large female figure (cat. 284), but most of the examples were evidently once part of Muslim monuments, being door-jambs (cat. 290-293), decorative friezes (cat. 294-297), inner (cat. 298-299) and outer parts (cat. 300-301) of niches, or being windows or balustrades (cat. 302). These monuments were adorned with glazed tiles of various colours and adorned with different motifs (cat. 322-327).

E. Epigraphy and Palaeography

by Gouriswar Bhattacharya

As many of the objects in the collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst included in the catalogue, are inscribed, it is quite necessary to devote a chapter on the script and language of the inscriptions. The period between the eighth and the thirteenth century also produced many copper-plates and a few stone inscriptions issued by the rulers of different dynasties of Bihar/Bengal (including modern Bangladesh). The language of the inscriptions of this period and of the area concerned was Sanskrit excepting the language of the *praṭītya-samutpāda-gāthā* (the so-called Buddhist creed) which should be called “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit”. As many of the donative inscriptions were written in corrupt Sanskrit, it is quite natural to assume that the average people and the writers of the texts had very little knowledge of Sanskrit. The texts of the inscriptions on the objects, are generally of two types, viz. the *praṭītya-samutpāda-gāthā* only or, the donative text recording the name of the donor (male or female). In some cases, the name of the ruling monarch together with his regnal year, is also mentioned. This latter type of text is no doubt, very important for the students of art, as well as for the political history of Bihar/Bengal.

The script which was used all over north India including Bihar/Bengal, from the seventh to the tenth century is known as *siddha-mātrkā*. It developed out of the late *brāhmī* or the so-called “Gupta *brāhmī*” script. The inscriptions of the early Pāla rulers, viz. Dharmapāla to Nārāyaṇapāla, were written in the *siddhamātrkā* script. This script was wrongly called by certain scholars as *kuṭila* or “early *nāgarī*”. It was al-Bīrūnī, the Arab traveller of the eleventh century, who informed us about the name of this script which was used in north

India during the period concerned. We would like to mention here that the *nāgarī* or *devanāgarī* script was never used in eastern India during the period of our discussion. This *siddhamātrkā* script was called *siddham* by the Chinese who wrote Buddhist *dhāraṇī.s* in this script. One of the objects of our catalogue, dated in the second regnal year of the Pāla ruler Mahendrapāla, son and successor of Devapāla (9th c.), is written in the *siddhamātrkā* script (cat. 50).

From the last quarter of the tenth century, *siddhamātrkā* script developed into the regional eastern script called *gauḍī* or *gauḍīya* (recorded also by al-Bīrūnī), which was called by Bühler and others *proto-Bengali*, which is not a very accurate nomenclature. This script was used all over Bihar (in north Bihar or Mithila, its derivative is called *maithilī*), Bengal (also Bangladesh), Assam and Orissa, as well as in Nepal and Tibet where it was respectively named *vartula* and *lantscha*. A nice example of this script is illustrated on the pedestal of a Buddha image in the collection (cat. 15). In Nepal also, a script derived from the *siddhamātrkā* and called *rañjā* or *rañjanā*, was used for the Buddhist *dhāraṇī.s*.⁷⁹

The distinction between the *siddha-mātrkā* and the *gauḍīya* scripts is that in the former one the top *mātrā* of several letters is short while in the latter one it is long as to close the opening. Moreover, in the *gauḍīya* script, the two letters *pa* and *ya* are written almost in the same way: the context alone tells how to read them, which might be difficult in case of personal or geographical names. Beside these two scripts, an esoteric one was used by the Buddhist monks in the Pāla period, which has been described by al-Bīrūnī as *bhaikṣukī lipi* or “script of the Buddhist monks”. He named this script as being the script of the Buddha, i.e. the Buddhists, prevalent in Udunpur in the eastern division of India, probably meaning the monastery at Uddanapur at Bihar Sharif. However, inscriptions drawn in this script have been recovered from Uttar Pradesh to Bengal (Bangladesh), which indicates a wider use of it; it is here illustrated by two examples (cat. 40 & 76). It appears that the *bhaikṣukī* script was created artificially from the later *brahmī* script in which letters were furnished with wedges or arrow-heads on top and at the bends on the sides. Unfortunately we have not yet found any examples of the script earlier to these of the Pāla period, datable about the 10th c.

The Indian epigraphists know quite well that it is very often extremely difficult to decipher satisfactorily the inscriptions of the 11th-12th c. written in the *gauḍī* or *gauḍīya* script. Inscriptions written in this script were not always properly drawn as on some votive slabs from Bodh Gayā; eventually, they are

really careless as on the stone plaque from the local ruler of Bodh Gayā, Aśokavalla/Aśokacalla (cat. 305).

A symbol is usually carved at the beginning of the copper-plate and stone inscriptions; it occurs various times on the image from Mahendrapāla's reign in the collection (cat. 50). Earlier epigraphists and even some of today identify this symbol as *om*, but it was the credit of N. K. Bhattasali of having convincingly proved that this symbol stands for *siddham* or *siddhir astu* and not for *om*.⁸⁰ *Om* or *praṇava* was never employed by the Buddhists in the earlier inscriptions and the *praṭītya-samutpāda-gāthā*. “*ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā ...*” always starts with the *siddham* symbol and not with *om* or *praṇava*. *Om* was most probably employed in Bihar/Bengal in the Buddhist *dhāraṇī.s* during the early Pāla period. One can compare for instance the inscription of the Tārā from Hilsā, dated in the 25th regnal year of Devapāla (first half of the 9th c.), and the epigraph of the Avalokiteśvara from Mahendrapāla's regnal year 2 (cat. 50, middle of the 9th c.). It is, none the less, possible that *om* was used for the first time during the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla (first half of the 10th c.) in the region of Gayā (the most recent genealogy of the Pāla rulers is given p. 123).

The *siddham* symbol changed considerably from the eighth century and onward, thus for dating an inscribed sculpture, these symbols are of a great help.

A proper and comparative study of the evolution of the text of the *praṭītya-samutpāda-gāthā* is still missing, but we notice that in the later period, this text is at times so corrupt that it becomes extremely difficult to decipher it. For instance, we notice an interesting philological development in the text, where *mahā-śramaṇa* is written *mahā-śravaṇa* at a later period.

Donative inscriptions include the names of female or/and male donors which are often very difficult to read; those names are indeed mostly in vernacular language and not in Sanskrit and besides, they can in many cases be written corruptly.

An important Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit term, *deya-dharma* or “meritorious gift” (which is often translated as “religious gift”), occurs in the donative inscriptions. This expression appears also as *deva-dharma* later and, in a corrupt form, as *de-dharma*. Although the term is Buddhistic, it occurs also in the donative inscriptions of Hindu images, usually correctly introduced at the beginning of the text but also sometimes wrongly put at the end of it. Another Buddhist technical term, *dāna-pati* or “lord of gift”, is Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit; it stands for the donor and can also apply to the female donor, *dāna-patnī* or, wrongly, *dāna-patini* or “lady of gift”. This

term occurs in late Buddhist and Hindu inscriptions, as here on the pedestal of cat. 242.⁸¹

1 Inv. 2778 to 2781. File 156/1857 (collection Hermann Ansoerge).

2 According to D. K. Mitra 1973, p. 218, R. L. Mitra was born on the 22d February 1822 but according to Buckland 1968, p. 293, his date of birth was the 15th February 1824.

3 Höpfner 1973, p. 313. See also Wolkenhauer 1903. The inventory book of the "Jagor Sammlung" does not precise the date of acquisition by the Museum, but one can surmise that it was after the return from the long journey in 1876.

4 Jagor File Pars I. B. 13a, letter dated 24.2.1874, see also Jagor File Pars I. B.13: ad N° 547 de 77 ("numerous photos of jewels, clothes, sculptures in the (Indian) Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society and books" [from the German]). Waterhouse became later Major-General and spent most of his life in Calcutta where he was acting in various institutions, such as the Indian Museum, the Asiatic Society of Bengal or the Zoological Garden, he was also a member of various photographic societies in Europe and India (*Who was who 1916-1928*, p. 1097). Thomas 1981, pp. 16-17, gives the dates 1842-1921. The same, p. 23, mentions that Waterhouse was one of the photographers (among whom J. H. Ravenshaw, the author of a book on Gaur) who illustrated the book of R. L. Mitra on the art of Orissa. Mitra was also treasurer of the Photographic Society of Bengal, of which Waterhouse was an active member (*ibidem*).

5 Jagor file Pars I.B.13: Jagor's journal, entry dated 15 January 1875. The reply of R. Temple followed on the 4th of February: "I have given order for collection of the specimens for Dr Jagor as requested in your note of the 1st current." (Jagor file Pars I. B. 13a): the "note" was written by E. C. Bayley who, on the 8 February wrote to Jagor that he had approached the Lt Govt "on the subject of the antiquities which he [you] desires to get from the ruins of Gaur & other places in the Maldah district ..." (*idem*). There is no precise information as to when the objects reached the Museum, however the accession number of the Mitra list mentions the year 1876; the letter of thanks is included in the file 514/77 [= 1877]. Anderson 1883, pp. 365-368 lists 23 "Muhammadan Sculptures" in stone collected at Gaur, & pp. 368-377, catalogues the glazed tiles and carved bricks of the Indian Museum, some also offered by the Government of Bengal.

6 Jagor File Pars I. B. 13a, letter dated 3 February 1875. The involvement of R. L. Mitra is mentioned by Jagor in his journal, entry dated 15 January 1875. E. C. Bayley, in his letter to Temple (see previous note), also evokes the sculptures from Bihar. Strangely, the name of Bodh Gayā is not mentioned and Bihar is spelled Behar, which was also the name given to the city of Bihar Sharif, north of Nālandā, where A. M. Broadley had assembled, before 1872, a very large collection of sculptures from all over south Bihar and which was transported in 1891 to Calcutta. It might thus be that Bayley mentions the Broadley collection of Bihar Sharif (and photos of this collection were also sent to Berlin by Jagor, inv. VIII C 451, 477-483 – see Asher 1970 & Bautze-

Picron 1989d who published some of them), specially since he writes that he has seen photos of these sculptures. However, none of these images entered then the Berlin Museum (the only Broadley image was collected by Waddell, see chapter I- note 66 & cat. 32).

7 Hantzsch 1907, p. 153 concerning the journey from 1878 to 1880. Höpfner 1973, p. 314 mentions that Bastian acquired "small collections from collectors still alive". R. L. Mitra records that "most of these stones [*i.e.* the architectural fragments and the foot-prints] have been brought and deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta" (1878/1972, p. 152). The objects intended for Calcutta must have been kept aside, as it was the case for some objects from Gaur (see cat. 282 & 292). See Anderson 1883, p. 34 concerning the images given to the Asiatic Society and preserved in the Indian Museum; the file 538/1879 concerns the role of Waterhouse.

8 Lawson 1982, p. 277. Files 1340/83 & 1788/83, see in chapter 6 (these are small objects, such as cups used for offerings or sealings, found at various Buddhist sites in north India like Sāñkīśa).

9 During the Tibet expedition of 1904, he "superintended the official collections of literature and art", which were afterwards distributed between various English and Indian libraries (Calcutta, London, Oxford, Cambridge); he then constituted his own collection of books and manuscripts which he offered to the libraries, his collection of nearly 200 Tibetan manuscripts was presented to Berlin (Thomas 1949, p. 883). He donated in 1895 a four-armed Avalokiteśvara to the British Museum (inv. 1895.1-17.1, published by Foucher 1900, p. 104 fig. 13, see also Chanda 1936, p. 57).

10 Letter dated 29 January 1906, file 2188/05. His first letter concerning this donation was written to Albert Grünwedel on the 13th of November 1905 where he also mentions that he wishes "to offer it to the [your] museum, at an almost nominal price, very much less than what the collection has cost him [me]." In the same letter, he mentions that Sir Purdon Clark, who had retired from the South Kensington Art Museum (Victoria & Albert Museum) had seen and admired the collection. In a latter correspondence, dated 29.1.1906 and addressed to F. W. K. Müller, he mentions "that the British Museum authorities have not seen the list nor the collection itself" (and the exhibition had opened in June 1905, see reviews in *The Daily Graphic* dated June 24, 1905 & the *Evening Chronicle*, Manchester, dated June 8, 1905 – excerpts kept in the file 2188/05 and probably sent by Waddell, as he provided a "rough-proof" of the guide to the exhibition, entitled "Guide to the Tibetan Court").

11 In a telegram dated 12 February 1906: "Bin mit Erwerbung der Waddellsammlung einverstanden. Bode" (file 2188/05).

12 Letter of W. von Bode to the Minister of Cultural Affairs, dated 31 March 1906.

13 Letter dated 13 November 1905.

14 An exhaustive hand-written list entitled "List of Lieut-Colonel L. A. Waddell's Collection of Ancient Buddhist & Tibetan Specimens temporarily displayed at The Crystal Palace, London" (Waddell 1905/1906) of the objects was joined to his letter of 29 January 1906; the first 99 numbers concern the sculptures from eastern India; the numerotation is continuous but shows lacunas since some objects are not listed. This missing numbers are those of the ob-

jects from which Waddell did not want to part at the time (but ultimately sold in 1908) since they appeared in the small list which he provided of images and objects "not included in the sale of Colonel Waddell collection" (file 2188/05).

15 Thus, he quite rightly writes that "the Indian sculptures from Magadha are especially fine, several of them quite unique, and very much superior to any figured in your *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (sic), and nearly all are inscribed, some of the Inscriptions containing other matter than the creed, and hitherto unpublished ..." (letter to A. Grünwedel, dated 13.11.1905) & that "the exact locality of each of the Ancient Indian sculptures is known to me and these genuine antiquities, most of them inscribed, are as you are aware priceless" (letter to F. W. K. Müller, dated 29.1.1906).

16 Document 1395/08, letter dated 12.6.1908 to F. W. K. Müller where he gives a detailed list of the nine remaining sculptures which he proposes and letter dated 25.6.1908 to the Director of the Museum where he announces that the sculptures have been dispatched on the 20th; and in the meanwhile, the letter dated 16.6.1908 by A. von Lecoq who replied that "we shall be very glad to have the sculptures..."

17 Document 1395/08, letter dated 11.8.1908 to Albert von Lecoq.

18 Documents 289/04 (1904) & 556/07 (1907).

19 *Modern English Biography* 1965, col. 39. "A Short Catalogue" of the collection was published in 1902. It includes, pp. 13-15, under the heading "Ancient Buddhist Carvings, many with Inscriptions, chiefly from Buddha Gaya", nrs. 501 to 577, the sculptures preserved now in Berlin. Further, under nrs. 658 & 659 are listed "Ten black idols" without any further detail. The descriptions are so sketchy that it is generally impossible to relate them to the carvings presently catalogued. Further, a hand-written "Appendix" is added to this catalogue, which is included within the inventory book, it lists objects which are not mentioned in the *Short Catalogue*: they bear numbers which are already given to objects of the *Short catalogue*, enlarged by a small letter (a, b, c...) and by a "A" preceding them (for "appendix").

20 Documents 1605/07 & 903/09.

21 Document 1732/1911: it includes a type-written English list of the objects which were given to the General Consul of Germany after having been valued by a certain Denison Ross, and a German translation of it.

22 Document 2009/10, letter dated 12.11.1910.

23 Document 112/13. Images are only evoked in the various letters included in a number of files (2009/10, 1772/11, 300/12, 741/12, 1407/12 & 112/13); thus, an image of Durgā is mentioned in a letter dated 25.3.1912 (file 300/12), two are evoked in a letter of 21.3.1912 (file 441/12) (probably among cat. 228, 230 & 231), a "stela or a frieze from Monghyr" in the correspondence of 31.8.1912 & in a note by A. Grünwedel dated 17.9.1912 added to a letter of 3.9.1912. Rawlins sent photos to the Museum, which are not included in the file, but are detailed in a lengthy letter by A. von Lecoq, dated 24.10.1912 where various images are mentioned, for instance a "Hara-Gauri" (cat. 233-235), a "Ganesha, with rat" (cat. 236), "a sculpture of kinnara" (cat. 283), a depiction of the deceased Buddha (cat. 26), a "door-lintel" or "a tope" from Bodh Gayā. In his mail, Rawlins refers more than once to Vincent

Smith who had seen the images of his collection. It is also not clear whether the images were collected in the city of Monghyr or in the district of the same name; for that reason, we prefer to preserve the larger geographical reference to the district.

24 Letter dated 20.12.1912 (file 1407/12). In his various letters to the Museum, Rawlins mentions more than one the name of Vincent Smith who had accepted to give his opinion on the sculptures offered by Rawlins, could it be that some of the Monghyr images had been collected by Smith himself?

25 *Sammlungsgeschichte*, p. 7: most of the crates preserved at the Flakturm were transported in summer and autumn 1944 to Grasleben, near Helmstedt. On the Flakturm and the tragic history of the art objects from Berlin museums which were deposited there, see Akinscha/Koslow 1995.

26 The Bodh Gayā carving belonged to a large group of some 55.000 objects which had been returned from Saint-Petersburg to the Völkerkundemuseum in Leipzig in 1985 (*Sammlungsgeschichte*, p. 10).

27 Härtel in his preface to the *MIK Katalog* 1971 (first and second unnumbered pages).

28 See Mishra 1978, pl. VI-XIX & 1979, pl. I-XXII for images preserved in temples of the districts of Madhubani or Dharbanga. Consult the *Archaeological record of Begusarai* 1952 for the archaeological findings at Naulagarh and the close surroundings, see also Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 265 note 28.

29 Huntington 1984 deals in detail with some of the local production in villages of Bihar, and it is possible to collect a more or less abundant material in places like Telhāra, Lakhi Sarai or Kurkihar e.g. (Leoshko 1988c; Bautze-Picron 1991/92; Bautze-Picron 1989g, 1990, 1991b). Monographies of this kind do not exist in relation with the sculpture of Bengal; one still has to deal with the regional art (Huntington 1984, pp. 155-187 or Bautze-Picron 1985c). The geographical divisions proposed here between south, north and east Bihar relate however to some reality: the eastern part of the State of Bihar covers the district of Monghyr and lies east of Lakhi Sarai. Most of the sites are located on the Ganges; they reveal a material which is stylistically intermediary between the art of south Bihar and of north Bengal.

30 Stapleton 1932.

31 This is illustrated by the carving of two doorframes, today preserved in the BDNM in Dhaka, where the niches of the jambs contain flowers; however, these floral motifs still present the outline of divine figures, most probably musicians and dancers who one could indeed expect in this position. See: 1° Sanyal 1930, fig. 1 facing p. 28; Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XLII.102; Haque 1963, cover; 2° Luce 1969, pl. 135bis (lower part of the jambs).

32 Saraswati 1976, pl. XI (decoration of monstrous faces with garlands below the tower as it is also observed on monuments of Pagan) & Meister/Dhaky 1991, pl. 875.

33 Chapter VI, notes 7-9. Large images were apparently also realised in stucco as the remains of a depiction of the Buddha in a small temple at Nālandā suggests one (G. Bhattacharya 1985a).

34 Chapter VI, notes 7 & 9.

35 Susan Huntington in Huntington/Huntington 1990, p. 93 rightly argues that a great deal of the issues related to the use of specific stones "might seem irrelevant to the study of art" and could perhaps be of some bearing on the "further understanding [of] the

schools and subschools of Pāla art and [of] the dynamics of art production". I do not think that it is acceptable to think that "the sculptures were carved in one place, perhaps near the quarry site" but rather that "the unchiselled stone was sent to artists who worked elsewhere..." (Asher 1987, p. 238): how could we otherwise account for the idiomatic polymorphism of style noticed all through eastern India?

36 Newman 1984, pp. 34-35; Newman/Farrell in Casey 1985, p. 98; Asher 1987, pp. 236-240.

37 Newman 1984, p. 35 & Newman/Farrell in Casey 1985, p. 99; Asher 1987, p. 238.

38 Newman/Farrell in Casey 1985, p. 99.

39 Bhattacharya/Mitra/Bhowmick 1986, p. 131.

40 Asher 1987, pp. 239-240 notices the use of various stones at Nālandā e.g.

41 For instance: Bautze-Picron 1992d, fig. 22. Fig. 4, probably from Gayā, in the same article, is also of sandstone as analysed by the Department of Geology of the Royal Scottish Museum (letter of Jennifer M. Scarce, dated 16.11.1983).

42 Leoshko 1987 concerning the Buddhist iconography of the site.

43 For the first one, Leoshko 1987, figs. 126-127 & pp. 260-267, Leoshko 1988b, figs. 9-11 or Bautze-Picron 1995/96, pp. 372-373 & fig. 27. For the second one: Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 374 & fig. 29 (or G. Bhattacharya 1995, fig. 10), B. Bhattacharya 1958, fig. 140. Further "late" Buddhist iconographic types are listed by Leoshko 1987, pp. 264-265 (Trailokyavijaya), 298-306 (Prajñāpāramitā & Cundā) or pp. 313-314 (Nairātmā), Leoshko 1988b, pp. 50-54.

44 Leoshko 1985 concerning the six-armed Avalokiteśvara; Bautze-Picron 1989g, 1990a, 1991b & 1992c concerning the images of the Buddha and the early images of Bodhisattvas and Tārās; 1989f, p. 85 lists the images of Mañjuśrī; 1992a, pp. 20-31 concerns the female depiction of the richness and material welfare, essentially in a Hindu perspective.

45 Paul 1995 and Bautze-Picron 1989h.

46 John C. Huntington 1987; Leoshko 1993/94;

Bautze-Picron 1995/96, pp. 363-369.

47 Leoshko 1985, p. 132.

48 Bautze-Picron 1989f, pp. 84-85 lists the images at the site; besides, see G. Bhattacharya 1991a and Bautze-Picron 1993b.

49 Such is the case of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Lalou 1930) or of *sādhana.s* describing e.g. Gaṇeśa (Wilkinson 1991).

50 D. Mitra 1989 & cat. 61 (Heruka), cat. 65 (Vajratārā): Saraswati 1977, ill. 173 (Nairātmā, found in Bihar and not at Nālandā, see Bloch 1911, p. 64).

51 Two texts are basically the source of identification of the iconography of the period, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* which is a series of descriptions of *maṇḍala.s* written around 1100 by Abhayākara Gupta and the *Sādhanaṁālā* which is a collection of texts of various lengths, all built on a specific scheme depicting the procedure to be followed for visualizing specific deities and which relate to various dates. Some *sādhana.s* were conceived in the post-Gupta period, some are evidently much later and contemporary with the period, the 12th century, where the texts were set down in writing. Besides, *sādhana.s* can also be included in other liturgic or religious texts. On the question: Bautze-Picron 1994 and pp. 192-193 for the bibliographic references.

52 The Buddhist production of Telhāra has been studied by Leoshko 1988c. The image of the Tārā found at Hilsā, in the same region and dedicated dur-

ing the reign of Devapāla, includes for instance the information that the monk Mañjuśrīdeva came from Nālandā (Huntington 1984, pp. 209-210 with detailed references).

53 Bautze-Picron 1989g, p. 263 n° 10; 1989h, p. 197; 1995/96, pp. 358-359 & note 10 for further information.

54 Bautze-Picron 1991/92 & 1996, pp. 125-128

55 On Mañjuśrī in north Bengal, see Bautze-Picron 1993b, p. 151-152 & note 15; on Māricī: [in the press-2], appendice images n° 35-36 (& fig. 18: north Bengal), n° 37-46 (& figs. 19-20: from south-east Bengal).

56 Bautze-Picron 1992a, 1995/96 & 1996, pp. 128-129 & figs. 23-29 which illustrate details of the images analysed in 1992a.

57 On Jainism and Jain art in eastern India: Majumdar 1943/1971, pp. 409-411, 464-465; Ghosh 1974, pp. 152-158; Ghosh 1975, pp. 262-265; M. Bhattacharya 1988; Roy Choudhury 1969 & 1984.

58 Ghosh 1974, pl. 90; Asher 1980, pl. 15-16, 80-81, 182-184; Tiwari/Giri 1989. A further Gupta image of Pārśvanātha, of unknown provenance, is preserved in the Kanoria collection, Patna (Asher 1980, pl. 4-5).

59 *AR of the ASI for the Years 1930-34*, pl. CXXXVIII-d (Nālandā); Chandra 1970, cat. 277 (Rṣabhanātha) pp. 112-113 & pl. XCVII (Gayā). The rare images found in north Bengal are listed by P. Banerjee in Ghosh 1974, pp. 152-153; add to it: Shamsul Alam, figs. 79-80 & pp. 191-194.

60 D. Mitra 1958; P. Banerjee in Ghosh 1974, pp. 153-158; Mukhopadhyay 1977; Roy Choudhury 1984; K. Bhattacharya/P. K. Mitra/A. C. Bhowmick 1986 (who present further bibliographical references on the architecture in their notes 9 p. 131 & 19 p. 133) (Purulia, Bankura, Burdwan); Vasu 1911, pp. xlii-xlvi & fig. 20-23-A; P. Banerjee in Ghosh 1974, pp. 163 & pl. 88; S.K. Saraswati in Ghosh 1975, pp. 274-275 & pl. 161-B (Mayurbhanj).

61 For these, see two stelae from north Bengal in the VRM, inv. A(e)1/327 (Kramrisch 1929, Ghosh 1975, pl. 157-A) & A(e)1/329 (Ghosh 1975, pl. 156-B); K. Bhattacharya/P. K. Mitra/A. C. Bhowmick 1986, pl. 10 & 12.

62 Which would be an innovation of the region (Bruhn 1995, p. 259). The best and most complete example where the complete genealogy of Jina.s is represented is a stela preserved in the VRM, inv. 1472 which was recovered at Surohor in the district of Dinajpur. This image of Rṣabha surrounded by the 23 Jina.s is evidently related to the stylistic idiom of Nālandā and its region from where it was perhaps imported (Bautze-Picron 1988b, pp. 560-561) (Saraswati 1932, pl. 8/fig. 4; Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XIX/fig. 47 (not "49" as written, see list of illustrations on p. XXVIII); *5000 Jahre Kunst in Pakistan* 1962, cat. 352 & 49th unnumbered plate at the end of the volume; Ghosh 1974, pl. 81-A; Das Gupta 1976, fig. 1; Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 61; Bruhn 1995, fig. 17 & p. 266). See also Das Gupta 1976, fig. 2 or Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 79.

63 Further stone images of Jina.s are reproduced in Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XIX/figs. 48-49 (Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha); Ghosh 1974, pl. 83-A (Rṣabhanātha), 84 (Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha), 92-A (Candraprabha); Ghosh 1975, pl. 155 (Rṣabhanātha), 156-A (Rṣabhanātha), 158-B; Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 79 (Rṣabhanātha)-80 (Pārśvanātha).

64 Bruhn 1995, pp. 251-260 differentiates "two

systems", A and B, for identifying the Jina.s: whereas the first one is the "basic system ... of the twenty-four Jina.s" which implies the "24 Jina.s, 24 *cihna.s*, 24 *yakṣa.s*, and 24 *yakṣī.s*" (analysed pp. 256-260) and is a "model of lucidity but at the same time an example of blatant disagreement between images and texts" (pp. 251 & 256), the second one, B, "is the product of iconographic growth" (p. 256; analysed pp. 251-256) and results more evidently from art historical observations, being related to time and space. In contrarily, the system A constitutes a theoretical classification which finds its source in texts and exposes probably an ideal vision of how it should be but not of how it is in the reality. Considering the sculptural material from Bihar-Bengal, it is evident that this general observation applies to most images – but see the Rṣabhanātha from Surohor (= above note 62) where twenty-three small Jina.s, with their respective *cihna.s*, are distributed around the central image; it appears to be an exception since 24 Jina.s and not 23, as one should expect from a theoretical point of view, are normally regularly carved around the central figure (above note 62 & chapter IV, note 9).

65 Haque 1992 for a study of the Hindu art in Bengal.

66 Sharma 1975, Bautze-Picron 1985a.

67 Akhouri 1988, G. Bhattacharya 1987a, Bautze-Picron 1990b, H. Mitra 1933.

68 Picron 1980, G. Bhattacharya 1986c, Maitra 1989.

69 Bautze-Picron 1992a. Also on Manasā: Haque 1975, G. Bhattacharya 1987c & 1990b, Agrawala 1989, pp. 93-94.

70 Asher 1988 for the Hindu remains at Bodh Gayā, a site included within the pilgrims' road in Gayā town and in the surroundings; see also Jacques 1962 concerning this pilgrimage.

71 In the iconography of Viṣṇu for instance, Garuḍa kneels on the front recess of the pedestal or Bhūdevī appears in the lower part of the image in southeast Bengal; small depictions of the Avatāras are also distributed around the central image (Bautze-Picron 1985a, p. 475).

72 On the dress of the monk, and the way of wearing it, see A.B. Griswold 1963, in particular figs. 1-4 & pp. 87-91. Though this study considers the images upto the Gupta period, its observations can be applied to later material. However, we notice a different way of wearing the robe in the eastern context which differs from the one drawn on Griswold's fig. 3.

73 Auboyer 1949 concerning the thema of the royal throne and its development and meaning from the Gupta period and onwards.

74 Bautze-Picron 1992d on the subject.

75 The door-frame of Itkhauri is unpublished. From south Bihar: 1° one was collected at Purṇāha, near Kurkihār (IM inv. A24205; Banerji 1933, pl. XCII-a; Asher 1970, pl. III & p. 107 precisising the find-spot); 2° another one at Daphtu (IM inv. A24207/Ur.60; Banerji 1933, pl. XCII-c; Asher 1970, pl. II & p. 106); 3° the door-frame at Bodh Gayā is pre-Pāla (Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIV-b; Asher 1980, pl. 134-135). From north Bihar: 4° door-frame at Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur (Mishra 1978, pl. XIII.23-25 = Mishra 1979, figs. 28-30). Further, two door-frames from the region of Dinājpur are today preserved in the BDNM: 5° Sanyal 1930, fig. 1 facing p. 28; Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XLII.102;

Haque 1963, cover; 6° lower part reproduced by Luce 1969-1970, pl. 135bis.

76 1° PM (Banerji 1933, pl. XCIV-b; Burgess 1897, pl. 233 – from Nālandā); 2° Banerji 1933, pl. XCII-b (Jessore); 3° Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIX-f (Devikot in the district of Dinājpur); 4° IM Br.62 (Banerji 1933, pl. XC-c; Anderson 1883, pp. 87-88 (from Bihar, without any further information); 5° IM A24183/Gr.18 (Banerji 1933, pl. XC-b; Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XLIV.107; Picron 1984, figs. 8-9; Anderson 1883, pp. 262-263 – from Gaur); 6° VRM inv. 3357 (Sanyal 1930, "Bangarh Antiquities", fig. 8; *Journal of the VRM*, vol. 5, p. 141 – from Bangarh, district of Rājshahi).

77 Parts of the door-jambes of the monument of site n° 12 at Nālandā, which were discovered by Alexander Meyrick Broadley (1872b, pp. 8-9) are preserved in the IM and in the AMP. Some (IM inv. A22386/3959) are illustrated by Burgess 1897, pl. 231 (Asher 1970, pl. IX; *Indian Antiquities*, photo 207 – below, middle); the same parts are reproduced by Huntington 1984, fig. 55 or Banerji 1933, pl. VI-a (but damaged). Other parts (IM inv. A24101/Ur.56, Ur.57 & Ur.58) are shown by Burgess 1897, pl. 232 (Asher 1970, pl. V; *Indian Antiquities*, photo 206), some illustrated by Huntington 1984, fig. 56 and Banerji 1933, pl. XCIV-c or by Bautze-Picron 1989g, pl. 15-16 & p. 264. Another large fragment showing an elephant and the lower part of a leogryph is preserved at the AMP inv. 1587 (Bautze-Picron 1989g, pl. 14 & p. 264; P.L. Gupta 1965, p. 80 n°134; seen on the right side of the photo published by Burgess 1897, pl. 232); this fragment was found by Broadley inside the temple together with the piece seen on Burgess 1897, pl. 229 (see Broadley 1872b, p. 9). The present location of other fragments of Nālandā remains unknown, their photo was published by Burgess 1897, pl. 229 (Asher 1970, pl. III or *Indian Antiquities*, photo 203). Other fragments of door-jambes were recovered at Rewan, in Bihar (AMP inv. 11083, P. L. Gupta 1965, p. 78 n° 124; P. Chandra 1985, cat. 65).

78 Some lintels present only a very limited decoration and are practically exclusively slabs depicting deities such as the *avatāra.s* or the *graha.s*. E.g. 1° IM inv. 4182 (D. Mitra 1965, pl. XIII-fig. 15; Bloch 1911, p. 83), 2° IM inv. A24208/4183 (D. Mitra 1965, pl. XIII-fig. 14; Bloch 1911, p. 83; Asher 1970, pl. IV = *Indian Antiquities*, photo 205).

79 Bühler n.d., pp. 77-79; Sircar 1970-71, pp. 120-121 for the new nomenclature.

80 Bhattasali 1923-24, p. 352.

81 G. Bhattacharya 1986, pp. 202-211.

CATALOGUE

Preliminary remarks

The measurements of each image or object of the collection are given when possible – as a matter of fact, some of the images missing since 1945 had not been measured before this date. Height precedes width and depth (measurements are reduced to centimeter and half-centimeter); for the *caitya*s, the largest diameter has been given since the circle is not always regular.

The missing images have also preserved their old inventory number and were not given a new one, as it has been the case for all objects present in the collection from 1963 and onward.

Each entry introduces the basic identification elements, *i.e.* the inventory number, the measurements, the find-spot. In case the place is unknown, the stylistic analysis can help to suggest a provenance, which is then mentioned if possible. Similarly, a date could be suggested for most of the images. A description of the object is given, accompanied eventually by a commentary where the style and the iconography of the image are considered. Numerous images are inscribed; those inscriptions were read by Dr. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, except the long inscription of Pīṭhipati Ācārya Buddha-sena from Bodh Gayā which was published by D.C. Sircar (cat. 305); the two Burmese inscriptions were read by Dr. Tilman Frasch, Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg (cat. 186 & 197). Publications where the images have been eventually mentioned or analysed are given in case there is any.

Beside their inventory number, the objects of the large collections assembled by Jagor, Bastian, Leitner or Waddell could already have been numbered as separate units when they entered the Museum (Collections, pp. 121-122). These numbers are included after the name of their previous owner. Among them, the Waddell collection had already been listed by the scholar himself; the sculptures of eastern India correspond to the numbers 1 to 99 in a hand-written list of 1905-1906 (“Waddell List”) where, however, some numbers are not mentioned which refer to images which he had wished to preserve for himself, and which are partly listed in a short note (the “small list”) where Waddell labelled them as “not [to be] included in the sale” (24a, 31, 36, 37, 38, 62-79, 90 & 96). However, some of these “not to be sold” images, essentially parts of *caitya*s, appeared in the acquisitions of 1908 and their number in the list was introduced with quotation marks (“...”) in the inventory books.

Three further entries are not included in this catalogue since they refer to a small terracotta

collected at Sārṇāth and to two Tibetan sculptures (1, 44 & 53 in the 1905-1906 List). In the sale of 1908, Waddell proposed to the Museum the images numbered 24a, 31, 36, 38, 90 & 96 (curiously identified as *Sūrya*) which had appeared among those of the “small list” and the *caitya* of cat. 135 is perhaps the number 37 (see however the remark in the entry). However, some images of his collection were not listed by Waddell (cat. 27, 34, 102, 137, 150 & 151); the image of cat. 54 here was not included in the list but was offered by Waddell.

One can also tentatively relate some of these objects to some unattributed numbers of the list: 85 & 87 should be “stone sculpture basements from Bodh Gayā” (like 86 = cat. 202-204), and one of them could correspond to cat. 151. A further problem is introduced with n° 15 of the list, “three fragments of a votive *stūpa*”, which correspond here to cat. 89, 114 & 156, either a *caitya* or parts of it, but which evidently never belonged together as one could surmise from the description by Waddell. Some numbers of the list include more than one item, as is the case for n° 22, which corresponds to cat. 48 & 70 (twice the lower part of an image) & n° 40, which refers to cat. 19 & 20, two images of the Buddha.

On the other side, some images of the Waddell collection do not seem to have entered the museum collection: they have the numbers 67, 69, 70, 72 & 77 to 79 in his list and are “small votive chaityas” or “small votive Buddhas” as mentioned in the small list of images not to be sold (where they appear among the numbers “62-71” and “72-79” respectively: it is, however, possible that four of them would be the cat. 102, 137, 150 & 151 mentioned above). Another small sculpture (94), an image of the Tārā carved in white stone and with a pedestal including the representation of the *saptaratana*s, which was collected at the Mount Uren, apparently never entered the collection.

The *Short List* of the Leitner collection does not include every object of this collection and a hand-written appendix was added to it, which belongs to the inventory books and concerns the “Additions to objects under the heading “Ancient Buddhist Carvings” etc., pp. 13-14” (of the *Short List*). These are the objects which bear a number preceded by a “A” and are often followed by a small letter.

In the numerotation of the images belonging to the Bastian lot, mistakes crept in due to the lack of any precise description in the inventory book where all objects, be they *caitya*s, fragments of *caitya*s or parts of the *vedikā* from Bodh Gayā have been simply mentioned as “carved stones from the ruins of the temple at Bodh Gayā”. As a result, confusion arose: the old inventory number 8799 was attributed to two different objects, here cat. 173 & 273 as we can surmise from the new inventory book

where the first one is catalogued and from publications where the second, now missing, object was reproduced whereas the two numbers 8800 & 8818 were given to one single object (cat. 172 here). To add to the difficulty, a hand-written description by A. Grünwedel and still preserved in the files of the Museum, indicates that the carving of cat. 275 would not bear the number IC 8815 (as mentioned in publications) but well the number IC 8817!¹

Among the sculptures which are no more in Berlin since 1945 and which still bear their old inventory number starting with IC, some had been kept at the Flakturm at the Zoo from where they were probably removed in 1945 by the Russian army. Unfortunately, the information relative to their last known place of conservation in Germany, is missing for a number of images which disappeared also in the turmoil of 1944-1945; moreover, some of these sculptures were apparently never photographed, which prevented us from providing here their description. They are catalogued according to the information given by the inventory book, at the place which would probably be theirs, would more information be available.

The small *caitya* of cat. 110 has only a new inventory number, the old one could not be traced and it is possible that one of the “missing” object of which no photography is available might indeed be the very same monument (cat. 161 or cat. 181).

1. From a general consideration of the objects and their number within the old inventory system, it appears that first were listed the *caitya*s (8793-8794 & 8800-8810), the umbrellas above them (8796-8800), then came the pedestals (8811-8812), then the two Buddha footprints (8813-8814) to end with the architectural fragments (8815-8818). The logic behind the classification is clear and could help to restore the proper numbers to the objects: the new inv. n° 1119 could not have borne the n° 8818 but well the 8800 which is also attributed to it whereas the n° 8799 could only be given to the new inv. n° 1120 since it falls in the group of the *chattrāvalī*s; the fragment of the *vedikā*, which bears also the same number 8799 could not have been possibly numbered this way since the architectural fragments are listed at the end of the group; as a result, it might possibly have been at the origin numbered 8818. Information is also given, in the hand-writing of A. von Lecoq, on cards including a photo of the objects: 8805 & 8802 are considered to be the upper and the lower pieces of a single object, 8808 till 8810 are said to be “parts of a *stūpa*”.

CHAPTER I

BUDDHIST ART: THE STELAE

A. Bodh Gayā

1. The Buddha

Inv. I 586/old IC 38262.
43 x 41 x 14,5 cm. Phyllite.
Rawlins collection, 1912.
Suggested date: 9th c.

Only the upper part of the stela is preserved showing the torso of the Buddha in front of the back-slab. The left shoulder is covered by the *uttarāsaṅga*, whereas the right shoulder is bare, which implies that He was represented displaying the *bhūmisparśa*^o, i.e. touching the earth with the fingers of the right hand. The flap of the cloth falling above the left shoulder corresponds to the extremity of the dress which falls from the left shoulder, covers the torso and passing below the right armpit, covers the back before being thrown frontwards on the left shoulder.¹ The pleates are represented through thick lines carved in relief and the loop on the left shoulder ends in a straight end.

The hair is very strictly structured: the curls are regularly distributed in rows parallel to the line of the front which is perfectly horizontal. The width of the hairdress decreases progressively through clearly indicated recesses which form the *uṣṇīṣa*. The eye-brows form a deep bow, the upper eye-lid is wide with the look cast down. The shoulders are square. All these features show thus a rather geometrical but well equilibrated concept of the Buddha's appearance.

The same well-thought structure is noticed on the back-slab entirely covered by motifs which are clearly separated from each other. The large nimbus drawn behind the Buddha's head includes two concentric motifs, i.e. the inner twisted beaded rows regularly adorned by a square rosette and the outer row of flames. The tree below which Śākyamuni sat at Bodh Gayā appears above the nimbus, forming like an umbrella above his head. On either side of the large nimbus, which is inscribed on the large inner field, two large *caitya.s* are carved. Carved in high relief, they have a flat front surface, which differentiates them from the treatment usually encountered at Bodh Gayā and Nālandā where they are tiny and round (cat. 17, 19, 23), but brings them closer to the shape introduced by the atelier of Kurkihār.

The lower part of the image shows the upper part of the "royal throne" which is carved behind the Buddha. The throne is constituted by two pillars on which lies the upper bar. This bar ends here in two diverging *makara.s* whose open mouths spit prancing leo-

gryphs. These *vyāla.s* hold a thick beaded row which runs down along the edges of the slab. Two larger leogryphs stand on either side of the pillars; only their heads have survived but they show their typical facial features, i.e. a horn arises above the eye-brows (probably two superimposed horns are meant) with its extremity curled on itself. Similarly, the trump of the *makara.s* above show the same twist. The aquatic monsters are depicted with much strength in the movement.

This image belongs to a stylistic trend which is centered at Kurkihār from where it spread towards Bodh Gayā and Itkhauri in the 9th c. The earlier phase of this trend, which started in the 8th c., is here illustrated by the image of cat. 12.² The torso belongs already to a later moment, which could be dated in the early part of the 9th c. before the third phase which can be quite properly established: dates are provided by representations of Avalokiteśvara in the National Museum and of the Tārā at Itkhauri, which bear inscriptions mentioning the reigns of Devapāla and his elder son Mahendrapāla, both images belonging to the mature phase of the stylistic development.

The motif of the flat *caitya.s* carved on either side of the nimbus is one of the decorative landmarks of the Kurkihār atelier where they are carved in low relief³ whereas here the relief is higher. Besides, triangular flower-shaped ornaments are introduced in the angles between the nimbus and the bar of the throne, a motif which is commonly noticed at Bodh Gayā or Nālandā but not at Kurkihār. This image was thus well carved where it was discovered, but it illustrates the introduction at Bodh Gayā of a more strict structure of the stela and of a more geometric stylistic trend which were characteristic of the Kurkihār stylistic idiom.⁴

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya script. Buddhist creed in Hybrid Sanskrit (corrupt):

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetu-prabhāvā
hetuṃ teṣāṃ ntathāgato hy ava teṣāṃ ca yo
niro- (*line 1*) dha emvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ//
(*line 2*)

Corrected reading:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetu-prabhāvā
hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat/ teṣāṃ ca yo
nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ//

Translation:

"Tathāgata (i.e. the Buddha) has revealed the cause of those phenomena which spring from a cause and also (the means of) their cession. So says the Great Monk."

PUBLISHED

Katalog MIK 1971, cat. 119 & 1976, cat. 119
pp. 43-44, 1986, cat. 104 p. 43; Bautze-Picon
1989a, p. 42 n° B-3 & fig. 5 and 1998, fig. 8.

2. Fragment of a Buddha image

Inv. I 646/old IC 34737.
11,5 x 9 x 4,5 cm. Red sandstone.
Leitner collection, 1907.
Suggested date: 8th-9th c.

This small and much damaged image shows the Buddha seated on a double lotus and displaying the *bhūmisparśa*^o. The back-slab was plain, only the edge was underlined by an incised line. Traces of a *caitya* which was carved above the left shoulder of the Buddha can still be found. The pedestal was circular and unadorned. This restraint in the decoration is also noticed in the treatment of the dress of the Buddha of which only the edge is indicated across the breast, at the wrists or at the anklets.

The shoulders are broad and the torso shows its typical trapezoidal shape. From the plasticity of the body, irradiate strength and energy which are still traceable in spite of the bad state of conservation of the sculpture. The plainness of the decoration around the Buddha and this treatment of his figure allow to propose a rather early date, perhaps the 9th c. for this image.

3. Avalokiteśvara

Inv. I 663/old IC 32615. 28 x 29,5 cm.
28 x 29 x 12 cm. Grey fine-grained sandstone.
Leitner collection 52c, 1904.
Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

Though defaced and much destroyed, this torso can be identified with Avalokiteśvara whose emblematic flower, the *padma*, the pink lotus, is held by the left hand and whose head-dress is adorned by a tiny figure of a Buddha seated in a niche and displaying the *dhyāna*^o or *samādhi*^o, both hands lying on each other with the palms turned upwards, who is thus Amitābha. The Bodhisattva was probably standing with the right hand open in the gesture of gift or *varada*^o (palm turned towards the devotee).

Avalokiteśvara wears a necklace composed of elongated gems on either side of a large ornament, a pearled *upavīta* falling above the shawl which covers the torso. The diadem has disappeared but one still notices the fluttering ribbons of the knot hidden behind the head and the pleated rosettes above the ears.⁵ Lotus-shaped clips are fixed at the back of the ears. Heavy curved locks fall from the central line of the *jaṭā* hiding those which fall from the upper part below a lotus.

The back-slab is pointed, the edge is adorned by a large row of flames which run symmetrically and culminate in a central motif. A similar composition is noticed at the nimbus, where large petals slightly curved are also symmetrically carved and where a central petal

crowns the nimbus, unifying two converging ones. Two large pointed scrolls, identical to the flames of the aureola, fill the angles between the nimbus and the throne on which stands the nimbus. The upper bar of the throne is indicated through two superimposed recesses: the upper one has curved edges and lies above the lower one which is terminated by upraised triangles.

The rather heavy lines indicating the hair are observed on other images from Bodh Gayā⁶ or Puṇḍāha, a site located near Kurkihār which was stylistically related to Bodh Gayā in the 11th and 12th c.⁷ Similarly, the nimbus and the aureola being represented at the same time – it is not always the case: artists decided usually to represent the one or the other – occur on images from Bodh Gayā or Puṇḍāha⁸ where one notices also the same necklace and eventually the same treatment of flames on the edge of the slab. These images like some discovered at the Hasra Kol, another site located on the road from Bodh Gayā to Kurkihār,⁹ show also the pointed shaped of the slab. All these images belong to a phase when the Bodh Gayā atelier acted a sensible influence eastwards in the 11th c.

4. Avalokiteśvara

Inv. I 628/old IC 34688.

33 x 19 x 14 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 556, 1907.

Suggested date: 8th-9th c.

The lower part of the image is broken away. The Bodhisattva holds in his left hand the *padma*, which is shown with a row of large petals spread around the central and still closed bud. A large oval nimbus lies above the shoulders, confused with the edge of the back-slab. Large and thick flames are distributed all around, converging towards the top; they have the shape of a question mark, without its dot.

Avalokiteśvara wears simple ornaments. It is difficult to decide what is the nature of the garment which falls from the left shoulder and should have crossed the torso. It is rather thick and goes around the torso before falling again on the left shoulder in a large loop. It might be either the shawl of cloth (*uttarīya*) or the deer-skin (*ajina*). It is indeed possible that the front legs of the deer and his head in-between are depicted on the torso. The hair spreads above the diadem in three large locks, of decreasing height.

The facial features are large: the front is narrow above the large eyes where the lids are well indicated, the lips are thick and show a slight smile.

This image can be probably dated in the late 8th or early 9th c. Some details are observed on an image of Viṣṇu standing in the Mahant's

compound,¹⁰ e.g. the pearled diadem, the same necklace (enlarged at the neck of Viṣṇu), the *upavīta* with the beaded row inwards (and not outwards as is usually the case). Another unpublished early representation of Avalokiteśvara at the Bodhi Mandi holds a similar *padma* which includes only four petals in the outer row – as a matter of fact, the number of petals of the outer row increases in the 9th c.¹¹

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Siddhamātrkā of the 9th century.

Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ//

5. Avalokiteśvara: the Preta

Inv. I 2671/old IC 34695.

44 x 13,5 x 16 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner 575.

Suggested date: 8th c.

Fragment of a large image of Avalokiteśvara. The pot-bellied Preta knelt probably on the proper right side of the Bodhisattva with his face turned toward the later. His face still shows human features, whereas on most of the images from eastern India, he has a pointed face, which justifies his name as *Sucimukha*. The mouth is open, waiting to receive the nectar which drops from the tip of the Bodhisattva's fingers, his eyes are bulging. His emaciated limbs carry a heavy belly, which is a further feature of the iconography of the Preta.

Such a vivid "human" Preta is encountered in the "pre-Pāla" period, at Nālandā e.g.¹²

PUBLISHED

Short Catalogue 1902, p. 15 n° 575.

6. Tārā

Inv. I 577/old IC 33699.

35 x 21,5 x 10 cm. Bluish grey coarse-grained sandstone.

Waddell collection 51, 1906.

Suggested date: 9th c.

The deity stands in a light *ābhaya* position, i.e. the body slightly bent, on a double lotus. This flower has large petals and the edge of its disk is adorned by a row of thick pearls which indicate the stamens. This constitutes the foremost part of the pedestal with plain recesses on either side. This pedestal sustains the round back-slab, the edge of which is adorned by a row of thick pearls within a band of large petal-like flames.

The Tārā holds with the proper left hand the stalk of her emblematic flower, the *nilotpala* or blue lotus which is depicted at the height of her head. The thin and elongated petals spread upwards, forming a diamond-shaped flower. The

stalk develops out of a thicker one which runs along the Tārā and spreads out of a heavy root with scrolls. Her right hand displaying the *varaḍa*^o, lies above a circular disk which is in fact a lotus flower attached to a stalk emerging from a foot symmetrical to the one on the proper left. This motif has evidently no iconographic function but indicates the importance of the symmetry within the composition.

The traditional jewels adorn her, most of them formed by thick pearls, the long *upavīta* has its beads inwards – they are usually outwards (but see also here cat. 4) –, pearled armlets sustaining a tiny triangular fleuron, a diadem adorned by a tiny flower in the centre. This crown surrounds the round but flat coil of hair and above the ears, the small rosettes of its knot are visible. The girdle which holds the long skirt, has a long clasp which shows a typical shape, i.e. an oval gem constitutes the centre of the ornament, and curled flame-like stones irradiate around it. A long tassel ended by a lance-head motif is attached to it and hangs between the legs. The extremity of her lower garment is tucked to her left waist and falls above the girdle.

A shawl falls on her breast, indicated through two parallel lines which are regularly united by cross lines. After having formed a large loop on the left shoulder, also incised, the ornament falls behind the left arm and is visible near the hip.

The forms of the Tārā's body are compact, the lines are round and lissom. However, one cannot fail to remark that the head and the extremities of the members, in particularly the right hand and the feet are disproportionate. The line of the hair is horizontal, the forehead narrow with the eye-brow incised like a bow. The eyes are large, the mouth slightly drawn in a smile.

The cult of the Tārā developed in the first part of the 9th c. when images are found in all the three major sites of Bihar at that period, i.e. beside Bodh Gayā, Nālandā and Kurkihār. Her iconography is everywhere the same, she stands or sits while holding the flower in the left hand and displaying the *varaḍa*^o in the right one. She stands here alone but as seen in cat. 62 & 63, two attending figures are usually positioned on either side.

Stylistically, this image illustrates still an early phase of the production at Bodh Gayā. The limits of the body coincide with the height and the width of the back-slab: the subsequent development shows that the slab is always larger and that the image with its attributes is depicted within the aureole and not overlapping it. A smaller stela found at Nālandā, which illustrates the same iconography, is also stylistically contemporary of the Bodh Gayā image, it shows the same proportional relation between the deity and the back-slab, the same

position of the lotus on which the Tārā stands, *i.e.* as a part of the pedestal, the same attention paid to the intensifying of the vertical symmetry with the introduction not of the stalk of the pseudo-lotus holding the right hand but of the small *caitya* in the upper part as an echo to the *utpala*.¹³

7. Mārīcī

Inv. I 380/old IC 36210.

55 x 26 x 11 cm. Fine-grained grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 96, 1908.

Suggested date: 9th c.

The goddess of the light which emerged at the moment of Enlightenment of the Buddha appears here in a position of victory, *i.e.* the left leg stretched and the right one bent, a position called *pratyāliḍhāsana* as opposed to the *ālīḍhāsana* where the movement of the legs is reversed.¹⁴ She is six-armed and holds left and right attributes which are complementary: the lower pair presents the needle (proper right) and the noose combined to the gesture of threat, *tarjanī*° (proper left), the middle ones hold the arrow and the bow (proper right and left) and the proper right and left upper ones hold the thunderbolt or *vajra* and the flower of *aśoka*.

The three faces of Mārīcī illustrate different moods (see below). She wears a large and high tiara surrounded by a high diadem where two large triangular fleurons are attached to the plain band, a tiny image of the Tathāgata Vairocana displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*° hides the lower part of the tiara. This tiara is composed of superimposed rims of decreasing width and is surmounted by a half-*vajra*.

The goddess is supposed to stand within a *caitya*. As a matter of fact, this monument is illustrated on the back-slab. It is shown open as a niche, which allows us to see Mārīcī. The edge of the slab is reinforced by a plain band in relief which indicates the outline of the *caitya*. The *harmikā* is flattened between this line and the edge of the back-slab. Two branches of the *aśoka* tree spread on either side. Flames are carved in low relief around the goddess.

Mārīcī stands above a deep pedestal, the upper surface of which is adorned by a large range of incised flowers of lotus or abstract motifs, similar to those adorning her long skirt. In the centre of the pedestal, one recognizes the huge face of Rāhu on which is seated the charioteer holding the reins of the horses in the left hand and perhaps a whip in the right hand. Seven horses lash out in two symmetrical groups of four and three animals. Two large wheels are carved on both extremities of the pedestal. Thus is depicted the chariot of the goddess.

The goddess wears the traditional choice of

jewellery; her torso is covered by a blouse which reminds of the coat-of-mail which covers Sūrya's torso.

Mārīcī represents the light which pervaded the universe when Śākyamuni became Buddha. Her image can be with reason considered to be "esoteric" since it was not the result of a popular cult but had to illustrate the decisive moment of Śākyamuni's biography. Philosophical speculations on the "light" of the Enlightenment must have been also related to this elaboration which took place at Bodh Gayā where the first images of the deity were produced.¹⁵ In the early phase of the iconography, attempts were made in various directions, *e.g.* the chariot is here drawn by seven horses whereas the tradition will soon introduce the seven female pigs in this function or the goddess has three human faces whereas most of the depictions include a sow face in place of one of the side human ones. Images at Bodh Gayā usually have six arms – at Nālandā, there will be eight arms.

Her three faces show different expressions, which can be related with indications given by the *sādhana* 144 describing the deity. Indeed, it relates to each face three expressions: the central face would show *karuṇā*, *sānta* and *adbhūta*, the proper left one *vīra*, *śrṅgāra* and *hāsyā* and the proper right one *bībhatsa*, *raudra* and *bhayānaka*.¹⁶

Similarly, the attributes which she carries have very particular functions: "She sews up the eyes and the mouths of the wicked with the needle and secures them with the string. She strikes their hearts with the *Aṅkuṣa*, draws them by the neck with the noose, pierces them with the bow and the arrow, and shatters their hearts to pieces with the *Vajra*, and then sprinkles water with the leaves of *Aśoka* ..." ¹⁷

INSCRIPTION

Siddhamātrkā of the 9th to 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit incised in an arch on the back slab:

siddham (symbol) ye dharmmā hetu-prabhavā
hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avada ṣaṇ ca yo ni-
rodha eva mvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ/

But read:

...avadat teṣāñ...evamvādī

PUBLISHED

The image was initially observed in the winter of 1811-12 by Francis Buchanan-Hamilton at Bodh Gayā. He had a drawing made of the image (below) which was published by Montgomery Martin in 1838, pl. IX-7 and by Mitra 1878/1972, pl. XXXI-2: see Bautze-Picron 1989b, pp. 276 n° 20 & 286; Buchanan 1936, p. 159; Gelpke 1941, p. 24; Behrsing 1943, n° 21 p. 11; *Indische Kunst* 1966, cat. 62, ill. p. 18; Härtel-Auboyer 1971, pl. 76; *Die Meisterwerke* 1980, n° 15; *Tantrische Kunst* 1981, cat.

19 pp. 123-124; *MIK Katalog* 1971, cat. 124 & pl. 17, 1976, cat. 174 p. 44 et 1986, cat. 95 p. 41; Leoshko 1995, fig. 9; Bautze-Picron [in the press-2], fig. 1 & n° 7.



Image at the east gate of the Sanniyasi, at Bodhgaya.

8. Upper part of a back-slab

Inv. I 608/old IC 34742b.

18 x 33 x 5 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.

Leitner collection A 538a, 1907.

Suggested date: 10th c.

This fragment belonged to a depiction of Śākyamuni displaying the *bhūmisparśa*° since the two branches of the *aśvattha* below which the Buddha reached the Bodhi, spread above the nimbus. The branches are thick with very neatly carved leaves, their shape reproduces the outer line of a single leaf. Besides, a large umbrella protects it. A plain band within a row of flames surrounds the inner unadorned field of the nimbus. The flames present the typical question-mark shape found all through Bihar, but more particularly at Nālandā or Bodh Gayā (whereas the edge of the slab remains here unadorned).

On the right side, a badly defaced figure flies above a double cloud, bearing a garland. He wears a long transparent cloth and boots. His jewellery includes a pearled necklace, girdle and long *upavīta* as well as ear-rings. A *vidyādhara* carved in a similar position, *i.e.* arching the torso with the head pulled towards the back (one can compare here with the flying figure on cat. 9 where the face and the torso are in one single direction) and on a similar double cloud is noticed on a stela still *in situ* in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir.¹⁸

INSCRIPTION

The inscription runs above the upper edge. Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Fragmentary Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit: ...[r]mā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy a...

9. Upper part of a back-slab

Inv. 1607/old IC 34742a.

30 x 30,5 x 7 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.

Leitner collection A 538b, 1907.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

The edge of the slab is adorned by two concentric bands, the inner one is the twisted beaded garland and the outer one shows large petal-shaped elements slightly curved. An umbrella, *chattrā*, crowns the slab; the awning is indicated by a zig-zag line (in fact, triangular pieces of cloth are attached to the upper part), a row of petals is spread around the finial.

A male figure flies above a cloud which shows a plain oval shape. He carries a garland, wears boots and is adorned by the normal jewellery, i.e. the pointed head-dress surrounded by a diadem, a necklace and disk-shaped earrings.

The form of the "petals" on the edge of the slab illustrates an early phase in the development of this motif, which could however have survived in the 11th c. when it appears on images related to the Bodh Gayā atelier but not necessarily found there.¹⁹

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit: *siddham (symbol) ye dharmmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ ta... (line 1)*
ñca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśravaṇaḥ (line 2)

10. Fragment of a back-slab

Inv. 1633/old IC 34701b.

18,5 x 9,5 x 5,5 cm. Greenish sandstone.

Leitner collection 527b, 1907.

Suggested date: 10th c.

Upper left corner of a stela. The central deity was probably seated within a niche. This niche was constituted by two fluted pillars on which rests a trefoil. A small *caitya* is carved in the niche, at the height of the deity's head; the extremity of some ribbons attached at the head-dress is still visible on the break of the image.

Only some rare images of the 9th & 10th c. integrated the niche as part of their decoration.²⁰

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit: ...[r]mā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat teṣā...

11. Edge of a back-slab: fragment

Inv. 11113/old IC 34693.

44 x 28,5 x 11 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 521a, 1907.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

This fragment belonged to the left part (for the viewer) of a back-slab. Two bands run along the edge while the first part of the traditional inscription is incised parallel to them. The inner design is the twisted beaded row already noticed above. Rows of thick pearls alternate with flat unadorned ones. At regular intervals, a stylised motif interrupts it which is partly preserved at the bottom of the fragment.

A deep recess isolates this garland from the outer row of flames. Each flame is composed by three tiny scrolls which overlap each other.

The form of the flame does not seem to appear before the 11th c. And the two motifs are noticed together on some more images from Bodh Gayā.²¹

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit: *ye dharmmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat/*

B. South Bihar

The precise find-spot of some stelae is unknown though some are recorded as having been collected in "Magadha", i.e. South Bihar. It is however possible to suggest a more precise provenance for some of them, relating them to the production of ateliers which are better known. Apart from Bodh Gayā, two major other centres were intensively active from the 8th to the 10th century, Nālandā and Kurkihār which are located on either side of the Rājgīr hills. One image is said to have been collected at Kurkihār (cat. 61), but the production of this site is enough known today to be able to ascribe to its atelier some more stelae (cat. 12, 62). Similarly, the monastic university of Nālandā encouraged within its premises an intensive artistic production to which some images of high esthetic quality can be attributed (cat. 22 & 49). In the 9th century, this site exerted a deep influence on the surrounding region, as images found in sites which are located westwards, Telhāra or Biswāk, show it (cat. 32 & 50).

12. Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā*

Inv. 19973/old IC 43660.

49 x 29 x 12 cm. Grey sandstone.

Art market, 1961.

Suggested provenance: Kurkihār. Suggested date: early 9th c.

This stela is rather well preserved although elements of it have been erased on the lower part and on the right side.

The Buddha sits in *padma*° directly on the pedestal, displaying the traditional *bhūmisparśa*° whereas the left hand lies in his lap. The geometrical shape of the body is strongly stressed: the torso is shaped as a trapezium which lies, at the level of the waist, above the lower part of the body which is inscribed into a triangle. Some features appear to be disproportionated, like the small and round head or the very large hands. A translucent robe covers the body, only the edges are indicated. The face is inscribed within an oval, the cheeks are heavy, the forehead is short below the hair which forms like a cask. The front line is not perfectly horizontal and as a result also, the *uṣṇīṣa* is not in the axis. The face is smiling with the eyes almost closed below the very high upper lid.

The back-slab is richly adorned. A large nimbus rests above the throne. Three branches of the pipal tree hang freely above the Buddha's head while two large faces of *makara* are depicted in the outer angles. From their widely open mouth, a leogryph springs. A second, but larger, *vyāla* roars on either side of the back of the throne. The pedestal is damaged, but we still notice the presence of a row of three small windows carved on the upper moulding and the shape of an elephant facing us is still seen in the centre of the composition. Two further animals surrounded him, either elephants or lions; they are either completely erased or strongly defaced. Flat pillars must have separated them from each other, all disappeared today.

The back-slab does not show the traditional unifying outline: the nimbus and the *makaras* impart their shape to the edge of the upper part of the back-slab.

This image is an early carving of the 9th c., produced at Kurkihār most probably as its features testify to it, i.e. irregular edge, falling branches, plain dress, back of the throne adorned with flowers.²² One of the major elements of the stylistic idiom developed in this site is precisely the combination of the frontally carved animals and of the row of windows. Kurkihār is a site located south of the Rājgīr hills on the road from Nālandā to Bodh Gayā. Its atelier was particularly active in the 8th and 9th c., producing essentially images of the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°, of

the Tārā (see here cat. 62) and of Avalokiteśvara.²³

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Siddhamātrkā of c. 9th century. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:
siddham (symbol) ye dharmā hetu-pra... (line 1a) ...[sām] ca yo... (line 1b)
rodha evaṃ vādī ma[hāśra]... (line 2)

PUBLISHED

Hauswedell 27.11.1961, cat. 34; Bautze-Picron 1989a, fig. 7 & p. 42, n° C-2.

13. Buddha displaying the bhūmiśparśamudrā

Inv. IC 33666.

c. 47 cm (18 Zoll). Phyllite.

Waddell collection 14, 1905.

Suggested provenance: area of Nālandā. Suggested date: 9th-10th c.

The Buddha sits in *padmāsana* and displays the traditional *bhūmiśparśa*°. Regularly drawn lines indicate the pleats of his dress. Above his smiling face with pointed chin, the large curls of the hair are all properly indicated. The eyes are small, the eye-brows underlined by an incised line which continues into the straight line of the nose.

The back-slab is circular and very large, having a free, uncarved space on its edge. Below the branches of the pipal tree, which are partly damaged, and which spread symmetrically, a circular nimbus surrounds the Buddha's head; elegantly cut flames run along a circular moulding. Two tiny images of the Buddha are depicted on either side of the nimbus. Both sit on a high and half-circular lotus and in front of an aura, adorned by a row of beads. They display the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and the *abhaya*°. Both show also the facial features displayed by the main figure, but the pleates of the dress are not indicated, sign of a hierarchy which is established within the composition.

The structure of the throne is elaborated: a lintel composed by a reversed cyma rests above the two bulbous columns. A cushion adorned by two gemmed buttons stands behind them while two roaring leogryphs are carved outside the throne. The Buddha sits on a cushion made of a double row of lotus petals which lies on the recessed pedestal. Two profiled lions are depicted on the side recesses, on either side of the central recess where Bhūdevī appears in a "flying position", presenting her jar of plenty to the Buddha and paying her respects to Him with her right hand. The recesses of the pedestal are all limited by short bulbous columns. The animals and the goddess are illustrated with much vividness.

This stela and the following one were most probably produced in an atelier of Nālandā. They share indeed with images actually collected in the site a number of motifs, such as the lotus in half-circle below the Buddha(s) seated on either side of the nimbus,²⁴ or the pearls running along the edge of the nimbus or the aura.²⁵ Moreover, this image presents the particular feature of not having the flap of the monastic robe falling on the left shoulder – an element which is otherwise generalised and appears e.g. on the following image; but this absence is noticed on another stela from Nālandā.²⁶ The particular treatment of the pedestal and of the roaring lions is often encountered on images from this site. The animals are very vivid, ready to jump, the mouth widely open and turned towards the spectator whereas the lower part of the body is profiled with the tail running on the back. The face betrays a wild and threatening expression, its features, like the mane or the tail, are carved with much care – all elements noticed on other images from Nālandā.²⁷

Both images belong also to a phase of intense activity in the site, which can be dated in the course of the 9th c. They reflect the same equilibrium between the figure of the Buddha and the surrounding decoration. The figure is well poised, the shapes are full, the lines harmonious, the volumes are strong. The decoration on the back-slab and on the pedestal is distributed with precision, the composition is very clear and well cut.

14. Buddha displaying the bhūmiśparśamudrā

Inv. I 575/old IC 36207.

41 x 26 x 11,5 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 38, 1908.²⁸

Suggested provenance: area of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 9th c.

The image, which is perfectly preserved, is very similar to the previous one, differing from it only in some details. The nimbus is thus flamed by the flames commonly met with at Nālandā, i.e. they are turned as a question mark without its dot and run symmetrically upwards, the larger part touching the nimbus. The two small Buddha present here the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and the *samādhi*°, a large nimbus rests on their shoulders. A drapery falls below the seat, covering the central step of the pedestal, the pillars carved at the angles of the recesses have a square ground-plan and are shaped like diabolos.²⁹ A devotee is depicted, kneeling at the feet of the Buddha.

INSCRIPTION

Siddhamātrkā of c. 9th century. Donator's name on the pedestal and Buddhist creed in

corrupt Sanskrit at the back of the image: *dāmūkaśya* or "(The image is the gift) of Dāmūka" (on the pedestal)
siddham(symbol) ye dharma hetu-prabhavā he- (line 1)

[tu] hetu taṣā tathagato hy a- (line 2)
vadat teṣāṃ ca yo niredha e- (line 3)
vamvādī maharamaṇa[h] (line 4) (at the back of the image)

PUBLISHED

Gelpke 1941, p. 22; *Museum* 1978, ill. p. 41; *Das Bild des Buddha* 1979, cat. 40 pp. 39-40; Thomsen n. d., cat. 3; Ghose 1998, cat. 25, pp. 179-180.

15. Buddha displaying the bhūmiśparśamudrā

Inv. I 690/old IC 34801.

44,5 x 32 x 16,5 cm. Grey phyllite.

Leitner collection 561a-b, 1907.

Suggested provenance: area of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

This image, which has been broken at the level of the neck, is a rare example of sculpture in the round. Usually, such images were included within a niche or backed by a slab adorned with the motif of the royal throne and are also larger than the image in the collection.³⁰ The Buddha sits in *padma*° and displays the *bhūmiśparśa*° above a pedestal shaped like a half-moon. His loin is translucent and only indicated at the edges; the flap of the robe falls on the left shoulder with tiny wavy folds. The lower part of his skirt is visible at the anklets, adorned with a star-like motif made of small circular dots, some with a short tail, arranged in a circle around a central one. Such motifs are often encountered on the dress of images from Nālandā.³¹ The image shares also with images from or related to Nālandā,³² the treatment of the facial features, such as the round and heavy face, the strongly marked smile, the curls in high relief, the short front.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor's name and Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit on the pedestal:

Siddham (symbol) ye dharmā hetu-prebhavā
hetun teṣā tathāgato hy avadata teṣāṃ nīca yo
nīrodha evaṃ mvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ // śilākuṭa-
vājekasya//
Thus "(the image is the gift) of the stone-mason Vājeka".

PUBLISHED

G. Bhattacharya 1986d, pp. 29-31 & pl. 1-2; Ghose 1998, cat. 26, pp. 181-182.

**16. Buddha displaying the
*bhūmisparśamudrā***

Inv. I 544/old IC 33682.

27,5 x 20 x 7 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 29, 1906.

Suggested provenance: area of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 9th c.

A large part of the back-slab surrounding the Buddha image has been broken away. This slab was evidently adorned with a throne. The lintel and the two uprights were adorned with a creeper, a drapery was attached at both extremities of the lintel. An oval nimbus was carved behind the Buddha's head, showing the flame formed as a question mark. The pedestal includes the depiction of the two profiled lions on either side of the drapery; further steps are cut, their edges underlined by an incised line.

The Buddha is covered by his plain robe, with the flap falling on the left part of the torso; the curls of his hair are all very small; the face is round with incised eye-brows. Similarly, the edge of the dress across the torso is also accentuated by incised lines.

The carving betrays a geometrization through the use of incised lines, which imparts a certain coldness to the image or through the strict structure of the pedestal, where every recess is shown as a flat surface limited by the vertical incised line on the outer edge and where the folded drapery falls within a strict square.

The slenderness of the body, its smooth treatment, the small curls of the hair, the plainness of the dress, the geometrization put aside, through the use of specific motifs, this image can be compared to a group of stelae, datable in the early part of the 9th c., which were recovered at Nālandā. Broad jambs sustain the equally broad lintel and a drapery falls on either side; deeply carved scrolls cover the throne, they are thick and show an intricate and at times elegant movement – contrarily to the image here where a single line runs vertically with short volutes attached on both sides.³³ The slenderness of the body, its smooth treatment, the small curls of the hair, the plainness of the dress occur on later images of the Buddha collected at Nālandā.³⁴

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gauḍīya of the 10th century. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

... h[e]tu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāga[ta]...
(line 1)

... yo nirodha evaṃ vadi mahāśramaṇo... (line 2)

PUBLISHED

Doehring 1925, pl. 15; Thomsen n.d., cat.6.

**17. Buddha displaying the
*bhūmisparśamudrā***

Inv. I 545/old IC 33679.

20 x 13 x 5,5 cm. Bluish grey, coarse-grained sandstone.

Waddell collection 26, 1906.

Suggested provenance: area of Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: first part of the 9th c.

Seated in *padma*°, the Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśa*° above a stepped pedestal where the two lions are profiled on either side of the drapery which is drawn within a strict quadrangular outline, a feature noticed on some images from Bodh Gayā³⁵ and in front of a round back-slab. The edge is adorned by a plain moulding and by a row of simple flames, neatly cut and slightly curved, two motifs which are noticed on 9th century images from Bodh Gayā or Nālandā, where the plain moulding can also eventually be replaced by a row of thick pearls.³⁶ The flat nimbus presents the same decoration. Two small round *caitya*s are carved on either side of the nimbus; as such, they are noticed on images from Bodh Gayā whereas at Nālandā, they have a strongly stepped basis and are flat.

The damaged head bows strongly downwards, the belly is tied by the girdle of the skirt over which it hangs in a heavy fold. No fold is indicated on the dress. The mechanical treatment of the drapery meets the rough carving of the lions. Similarly, the body is rather heavy with a proportionally small head and a short neck.

**18. Buddha displaying the
*bhūmisparśamudrā***

Inv. I 546/old IC 33680.

22,5 x 15 x 7 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 27, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā/Kurkihār.

Suggested date: 9th to 10th c.

The Buddha sits in *padma*° and displays the gesture of evocation of the Earth-goddess. A broad round slab backs him, only adorned by a plain fillet and the row of flames shaped as question-marks. Three small branches of the pipal under which the Buddha sat at Bodh Gayā, covers the higher part of the aura. The stepped pedestal presents the two lions on either side of the drapery which falls from below the lotus-seat; circular lines are regularly incised for indicating the folds of the cloth. Similarly, incised lines show the folds of the Buddha's dress.

This type of image belongs to a group of stylistically similar sculptures depicting the Buddha in various positions.³⁷ All of them are characterized by the broad plain back-slab with the edge adorned by two motifs, flames and a plain band or a row of pearls, by the geometric

treatment of the drapery falling on the front step. All of them show the Buddha with the monastic robe covered by concentric incised lines. In all of them also, the Buddha displays a gentle smile on a rather heavy face; the hair locks are all large.

As noticed below (cat. 24), the large plain back-slab with the aura adorning the edge, is characteristic of the Kurkihār atelier. However, the presence of the flames shaped as question-marks, brings us closer to Nālandā.

INSCRIPTION

On the back-slab. Siddhamāṭṭṛkā of c. 9th century. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit (corrupt):

Siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā
hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo
nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇa//

PUBLISHED

Grünwedel 1900/1920, fig. 85.

**19. Buddha displaying the
*bhūmisparśamudrā***

Inv. I 543/old IC 33676.

24 x 17,5 x 8 cm. Bluish grey, medium/fine-grained chlorite.

Waddell collection 23, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the region. Suggested date: 11th c.

Seated with crossed legs on the lotus, the Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśa*°. Two smaller images of himself are depicted on either side; one presents the *varada*°, the second one the *abhaya*°. The need to preserve the symmetry of the construction explains that the hand of the Buddha on the left side does not show the open palm directed downwards as it should be with the *varada*°, the hand is, as a matter of fact, slightly bent in order to present a symmetrical position to the left hand of the right side Buddha who holds the extremity of his upper dress. Similarly, the right hand of this image is not strictly vertical as the *abhaya*° requires it; it is also bent backwards in order to reflect the position of the Buddha on the left side who also holds in this left hand the dress. Both images are also bent in a perfect symmetrical movement. All three Buddhas wear the dress where no fold is indicated, the standing ones with both shoulders covered.

The back-slab is adorned with the architectural structure of the throne where flat pillars sustain the mouldings of the lintel. A nimbus encircles the Buddha's head, edged by a flat fillet and a row of flames clearly drawn; two triangular fleurons fill the angles between the nimbus and the lintel. The umbrella arises between two large branches of the tree above the nimbus, crowning thus the composition

while two *caitya*s carved in high relief are seen on either side of the nimbus.

The stepped pedestal includes the two roaring lions carved in niches which are limited by short pillars; flat mouldings run along the upper and lower edges.

This type of triad, three images of the Buddha where the two lateral ones cannot be related with certitude to specific moments of Śākyamuni's life and where they are depicted in a perfect symmetry position, is encountered at Bodh Gayā. The umbrella alone or arising out of the tree is also depicted at this site. Similarly, the back-slab where large plain spaces are preserved appears more characteristic of Bodh Gayā than of Nālandā.³⁸

20. Jewelled Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā*

Inv. I 548/old IC 33689.

13 x 9,5 x 2,5 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 40, 1906.

Suggested date: 11th c.

The jewelled Buddha sits in *padma*° and displays the *bhūmisparśa*°. He sits on the lotus-seat which is put above the stepped pedestal where only mouldings are carved and in front of a back-slab, the largest part of which has now disappeared. However, remains of two side pillars are still noticeable: jars resting on mouldings supported bulbous shafts; from the capitals, rows of pearls used to hanging. A flat trefoiled niche rested on these pillars, a fragment of which is still traced at the height of the Buddha's head.

As usual in this iconography, the Buddha was adorned with a tiara, a necklace and earrings which were shaped as flowers. The use of the flat trefoiled niche behind the jewelled Buddha is encountered on some more examples which can be dated in the 11th and 12th centuries.³⁹ This reminds evidently of the real niche in which the Buddha, or a Bodhisattva, usually sat⁴⁰ and more rarely stood.⁴¹

21. Buddha displaying the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*

Inv. I 592/old IC 41627.

29 x 19 x 9 cm. Black phyllite.

Transferred from the Department of Far Eastern art, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā or the region lying westwards of it.

Suggested date: 10th c.

The Buddha sits in the "European attitude", *bhadra*° or *pralambapāda*° while displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*°. As usual with this *mudrā*, his two shoulders are covered by the heavy monastic robe. Behind him, the

back-slab is adorned by the architecture of the throne with a drapery hanging below the extremities of the lintel and a large cushion behind his back. A large nimbus surrounded by two big fleurons lie above the lintel. The throne is sustained by the two profiled lions whereas the feet of the Buddha lie on a lotus in front of which the wheel of the Dharma is depicted, surrounded by the two profiled deers. A devotee is carved in front of a small round back-slab on the lower left part of the pedestal. He kneels offering a flower in the left hand and practising the ritual with an incense burner in the right one.

Through the presence of this tiny slab behind the devotee, we can suggest that the image was carved in the region of Bihar lying west of Nālandā where it can be observed.⁴² As to the iconography, it is illustrated on a number of images from the monastic university⁴³ and illustrates particularly well the central function of the place which was to spread the Buddhist Law.

INSCRIPTION

Siddhamātrkā of c. 10th c. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā
hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat teṣān ca yo
niro- (*line 1*)

dha evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ (*line 2*)

PUBLISHED

MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 126; *Das Bild des Buddha* 1979, cat. 42 pp. 108 & 111.

22. Standing Buddha: Kanakamuni (?)

Inv. I 590/old IC 33668.

57 x 29 x 13 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 16, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā.

Suggested date: second half of the 9th c.

This image of the Buddha is rather outstanding although it might not appear as such at a first glance. The Buddha stands in a slightly indicated *ābhaṅga* position with his weight put on his left leg. As a result, the image is not perfectly symmetrical since the central branch of the topping tree is mostly carved on the right (for the viewer) side of the vertical axis (which passes through the point of the central petal of the pedestal). With elegance, the Buddha holds the extremity of his monastic dress in the left hand whereas the right one bows down in a kind of protective gesture. The hair has the traditional curls, all neatly carved like large snails, the dress bears large incised concentric lines indicating the folds. Short wavy folds mark the extremities of the falling robe below the arms. All details are carved with care and delicacy, see e.g. the fingers of the left hand.

The movement imparted to the body and the gentle smile betrays the deep attention paid by the Buddha to the devotee supposed to be in front of Him.

Standing on the proper left side of the Buddha, a monk shows his veneration and admiration, the hands joined in the gesture of *añjali*°. His torso shows a backward movement, the face is turned towards the central figure, the lower part of the body is depicted in three-quarter profile. Evidently, the artist has succeeded in imparting movement to his two figures, the central one, imposing and moving towards us, the second one, respectful and turned with restraint towards the central one. Both are carved in front of the round back-slab which has a large adorned edge where the beaded garland runs within the row of flames culminating at the top behind the tree. The five-stepped pedestal is carved with two reversed cymas above flat mouldings, the two groups being separated by a deep recess. The front step includes the double lotus on which the Buddha stands.

It is evident that this sculpture is stylistically related to the production of Nālandā in the 9th century. The iconography of the image is however enigmatic: the gesture shown by the right hand is neither the gesture of protection nor of generosity. It reminds of the gesture displayed by Śākyamuni when He tamed Nālāgiri, but it reminds also of the *bhūmisparśa*°. The tree below which walks the Buddha is also not the *ficus religiosa* of Bodh Gayā, which is the tree traditionally related to Śākyamuni.

Among the numerous images recovered at Nālandā, one is particularly relevant here. It illustrates a particular aspect of Maitreya, seen as a Buddha since he wears the monastic robe, but simultaneously perceived as the Bodhisattva who is adorned by a crown, ear-rings, necklace and armlets. Furthermore, it illustrates the very same style shown by the image in the collection – which allows to be definite as to the origin of the Buddha here, very probably produced by the same artist who carved the image of Maitreya.⁴⁴ The future Buddha walks below a bunch of his emblematic flower, the *nāgapuṣpa*. Keeping in mind these various elements, it is possible that both images were part of a single iconographic program, in which case it can be suggested that the image in the collection does not depict Śākyamuni but one of the Buddhas of the past, perhaps Kanakamuni.

The seven Buddhas of the past were not ignored in the late iconography of Bihar and Bengal. They are represented at Nālandā and in the surrounding.⁴⁵ Among them, Kanakamuni occupies the fifth place and has the *ficus glomerata* as emblematic tree. A comparison of the tree depicted here with the tree seen

above this Buddha in the group of the Sopara bronzes shows the similarity allowing this identification.⁴⁶ Furthermore, this Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśa*° in the very same group and on "Pāla" panels of the group, some of the standing Buddhas display precisely the *bhūmisparśa*° the way the Buddha in the collection shows it.⁴⁷

Another image can be ascribed to the same atelier, already responsible for this sculpture and the Maitreya. It is the depiction of the meeting between the Buddha and Aṅgulimālā.⁴⁸ All three images share the same elegance of movement, the sense of the line even though the third image might be slightly later or of another hand. As a matter of fact, it does not include the broad twisted garland at the aura and presents a more nervous treatment of the folds falling at the edges of the monastic dress below the Buddha's arms.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Siddhamāṭṛkā of c. 9th c. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

... vadat teṣāṇ ca yo nirodha evamvādī mahā-
śramaṇaḥ

PUBLISHED

MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 117 & 1976, cat. 117 p. 43; *ibidem* 1986, cat. 102 p. 43; *Meisterwerke* 1980, cat. 5; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 54 pp. 109-110.

23. Buddha

Inv. I 378/old IC 33669.

64 x 30 x 13 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 17, 1906. From South Bihar.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

The Buddha stands above a recessed pedestal where the lotus forms most of the front part. He displays the *varada*° with the right hand while holding the extremity or the "ear"⁴⁹ of his dress with the left one. The back-slab is partly broken off. On it was carved the beaded nimbus around the Buddha's head and a number of *caitya*.s in high relief. Three such large *caitya*.s are preserved on the left side and a smaller one was carved near the nimbus.

The image of the Buddha is well preserved although some damages are noticed at the face or at the right hand. He wears the long skirt with the robe above it covering his two shoulders. Folds are only shown in the lower part, indicated through incised parallel lines. The lines drawing the body are clear and straight. An incised line shows the upper limit of the lower garment at the waist. Further incised circular lines indicate the knees. The whole composition is geometric, but equilibrated and

peaceful through a subtle combination of circular forms, the *caitya*.s or the body, which are interwoven with strict lines, the triangular outer form of the *caitya*.s e.g. or the frontal position of the Buddha.

This image belongs to a particular stylistic trend which developed essentially in the 11th c. at Bodh Gayā where it includes images of the Buddha or of deities (cat. 2 above e.g.). Three stelae, all showing the Buddha, taming Nālāgiri or crowned, were discovered in this site,⁵⁰ another one was recovered at Sāmāth.⁵¹ This trend spread also towards Puṇnāha and Kurkihār.⁵² In these images, the Buddha wears a plain cloth with folds only shown in the lower part of the garment. His body is elongated, *caitya*.s are distributed around Him or in the upper part of the image.

Artists stressed the importance of the central figure and could eventually introduced attendants. But they evidently refrained from covering the back-slab with the royal throne. Rare also is the architectural throne. Only the nimbus adorns the upper part of the slab between two *caitya*.s carved in high relief and these can also be reproduced, as here, on either side of the Buddha. As the comparison with the other Buddha images from Bodh Gayā shows, and this observation applies to most of the Buddha images in India, the artists introduced tension in the very static composition by showing one hand turned downwards and the second one upwards.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā teṣāṇ hetum
tathāgato avada teṣāṇ ca yo nirodha evaṃ

PUBLISHED

Indische Kunst 1966, cat. 60; MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 120, 1976, cat. 120 p. 44

24. Standing Buddha displaying the abhaya mudrā

Inv. IC 33670.

Phyllite (?).

Waddell collection 18, 1905.

Suggested provenance: Kurkihār area.

Suggested date: 10th c.

The stela is rather well preserved, having lost only the lower left corner; the face of the Buddha is also slightly damaged.

The Buddha stands in perfect *samapāda*°, holding the extremity of his dress in the left hand and presenting the gesture of protection or *abhaya*° with the right one. Two Bodhisattvas accompany him, Avalokiteśvara on his proper right and Maitreya on his proper left side. Both are depicted in a similar way, i.e.

standing with a slight bending of the body, presenting their flower attribute in the left hand, the *padma* for the first one, the *nāgakeśara* for the second. Both also displays the *varada*° and offer apparently a fruit-like attribute, more particularly visible in Maitreya's hand.

The back-slab is circular, the edge is adorned by a double motif: the row of plain flames, shaped as broad petals, and a row of pearls. Each Bodhisattva has his own plain back-slab which is carved in low relief above the main slab. Only the Buddha stands above a lotus which lies above the central step of the pedestal. This pedestal is plain and covered by the inscription.

This treatment of the back-slab, circular and adorned with a double motif, is typical of a group of images from Kurkihār or the area.⁵³ Similarly, the juxtaposition of the plain small slabs of the attending figures on the main one is also encountered on those images of Kurkihār.

The Buddha wears a long monastic robe which covers both shoulders and falls above the long skirt. The lower part of the lower garment is covered by parallel horizontal folds whereas the robe is adorned by concentric incised lines. On either side, the cloth of the skirt tends to fall, a feature which, together with the treatment of the two dresses, is also observed on images from the same site.⁵⁴

INSCRIPTION

On the back-slab (1°) and on the pedestal (2°). Gauḍīya of c. 11th c. Buddhist creed in the upper part and inscription of donation in the lower part, both in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit:

(1°) ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā hetum
teṣāṇ tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṇ ca yo
nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ //

(2°) ... para- ... (left) ... [pā]śakyā śrī-mallaka
[-bhavu]ka-patnī-(middle) umadūkāyā yad atra
puṇya[m] (right)(line 1)

... [pū]rvamgamam kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśer
a(middle)nuttara-jñāna-phal-āvāpta- (right) (line 2)

ya iti (right)(line 3),

which means:

"(This is the meritorious gift) of Umadūkā, a devout Buddhist (and) wife of the illustrious Mallakabhavaka (?). Whatever merit there is in this (gift), let that be for the attainment of the result of the supreme knowledge by all sentient beings keeping in front..."

25. Māyā giving birth to Śākyamuni

Inv. IC 33661.

14,4 x 8 x 4 cm. Coarse-grained sandstone.

Waddell collection 9, 1905.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c. (?)

The curved outline of the back-slab corresponds in shape to the bow of the tree under which Māyā stands, giving birth to the future Buddha. The queen shows her traditional attitude, the left hand hanging down while she holds a branch of the tree with the right one. On her proper right, the small child is depicted still in a flying position but not directly at his mother's flank as is normally the case (cat. 27, 30, 31, 86). He occupies the place where he usually stands, above the lotuses which arise below his feet.

The image is rather roughly carved, Māyā has a broad unsmiling face. The facial features of both figures are undistinguishable, only broad lines indicate the presence of the jewellery.

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 231.

26. Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha

Inv. I 605/old IC 38984.

15 x 20 x 6,5 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

The upper part of the image has been broken: as known from better preserved examples of the *Parinirvāṇa* or *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the "final decease" or "great final decease", we know that a *caitya* was carved above the reclining Buddha, surrounded by the two *śāla* trees, that divine hands had to play cymbals and drums on either side of the spire of the *caitya* and that eventually mourning monks could be depicted in the background.⁵⁵

Contrarily to the other known illustrations of the Buddha's decease, only one monk is depicted in the lower part of the image, in front of the bed. He is squatting with his back turned towards the spectator and with both hands placed on his face in an apparent gesture of despair. Traditionally indeed, two or more further monks surround him, turned towards us or profiled and also sunk into their sadness. The gesture of the central figure can also vary since in some examples, he might appear as a kind of atlant, having his arms raised as if sustaining the bed.⁵⁶

Śākyamuni wears the monastic robe letting the left shoulder naked as usual in this iconography, a feature which is shared with the representation of the Illumination. The flap of the dress falls above the left shoulder, carved with a rather rough treatment. Similarly, the locks of the hair are not carved individually by al-

luded through deeply incised lines which cross at regular interval. The eyes of the Buddha are closed and a gentle smile arises from his lips.

The Buddha lies on his right side with the right arm folded under the head and the left arm stretched along the body. A round cushion is carved behind the head, i.e. left of it on the image and likewise another one stands at the feet (which might in some examples be visualized as a lotus) whereas a thick mattress adorned by incised lines forming a grill sustains the Buddha. This grilled decoration is noticed on some images only since usually flowers are incised on the cloth.⁵⁷ The mattress lies above a bed, two feet of which are depicted on either side.

INSCRIPTION

Below the Buddha. Gauḍīyā of c. 11th c. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (symbol) ye dharmmā hetu-prabhavā
hetuṃ teṣā tathāgato hy a- (line 1)

vadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahā-
śramaṇaḥ (line 2)

27. The eight Great Events

Inv. I 381/old IC 36212.

49,5 x 27 x 12 cm. Fine-grained phyllite.

Waddell collection, 1908.⁵⁸

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 10th to 11th c.

This stela reproduces an iconography which combines the illustration of eight scenes of Śākyamuni's life and which knew a particular development in the region of Nālandā from the 9th to the 11th century, culminating with the carving of the nearly three meters high image of Jagdīśpur-Nālandā probably in the second half of the 10th century.⁵⁹ This set of eight events concludes a long development which started in the Gupta period.⁶⁰

The main event of the Buddha's career, which took place at Bodhi Gayā below the tree is central to the image; on either side of the falling drapery below the Buddha, Bhūdevī offers the jar of plenty and greets the Buddha while the defeated Māra faces her. As usual, Śākyamuni sits in *padma*° on a lotus seat and in front of the back of the throne which is adorned by two prancing *vyālas* whereas a nimbus lies above the lintel of the throne; two lotus buds arise on either side.

In the lower left corner, the birth is depicted with Māyā standing under the tree whereas the child comes out of her right side. Below him, disks are piled which represent the seven lotuses symbolizing the first seven steps of the future Buddha. In the lower right corner, it is the gift of the *madhu* by the monkey at Vaiśālī which is illustrated: the Buddha sits in *pralambapāda*° with both hands in the gesture of

meditation holding the bowl whereas the monkey is profiled in the lower left corner.

At the second level, the Buddha is depicted in *samapāda*°: the left image illustrates the descent from the heaven of the 33 Gods or Trāyastriṃśa, the right one the taming of the wild elephant Nālāgiri at Rājgir. In both cases, the Buddha is similarly shown with the left hand holding the hem of his upper garment and with the right hand either displaying the *varada*° (left image) or pacifying the animal (right image). A devotee kneels at the proper right side of the Buddha in the first scene, the elephant is shown at the very same place in the second scene.

The third level includes two depictions of the teaching Buddha, in both cases seated in *padma*°, i.e. at Sārṇāth in the left column (disk and deers), at Śrāvastī in the right one where a tiny male figure, who is the defeated *tīrthika*, is carved below the monk.

To end, the *mahāparinirvāṇa* crowns the composition: the Buddha lies on his right side on a bed with two devotees kneeling and weeping on either side. A *stūpa* is put above the corpse and divine hands are depicted playing cymbals and drums.

This image is peculiar in adding in the lower part of the image a further depiction of the Buddha meditating below the *nāga* Mucilinda. Two Bodhisattva.s, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, sit on either side, symmetrically depicted. Both hold their flower, the *padma* or the *nāgakeśara*, and display either the *vitarka*° or the *varada*°; both sit cross-legged in such a way that their positions are symmetrical.

This type of structure is encountered on other images from Nālandā, apart from the large Jagdīśpur stela where eight Bodhisattva.s, and no Buddha images, are depicted below the eight events.⁶¹

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīyā of c. 11th c. Donative inscription: thapati-devarāja-putra-vayasya deva-dharmmoyah/ (line 1), (correctly: sthapati-devarāja-putra-vayasya deva-dharmmoyam)

which means:

"This (image) is the meritorious gift of Vaya, son of the architect, Devarāja.",

and Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

ye dharmmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ te (line 2)

[sām] tathāgato [hy avadat teṣāṃ] ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇo (line 3)

PUBLISHED

MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 118, 1976, cat. 118 p. 43, 1986, cat. 103 p. 43 & ill. p. 202; *Indische Kunst* 1966, cat. 61; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 55 pp. 110-113; Franz 1990, p. 263; Gadebusch *et alii* 1998, cat. 27.

28. The eight Great Events

Inv. I 589/old IC 33681.

40 x 28 x 8,5 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 28, 1906.

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 10th to 11th c.

This fragmentary image illustrates the same iconography as the previous image. Around the central image sitting in *padma*° and displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°, tiny images were distributed all around. Those preserved illustrate rather undistinctive iconographies: apart from the seated Buddha in the lower right corner who holds the pot and is worshipped by the monkey and apart from the one who, in the left column, teaches at Sārnāth (deers and wheel are reproduced), the standing Buddha images display the *varada*° and the *abhaya*° without any further detail.

Behind the central Buddha's head, a large nimbus was drawn with a single row of beads whereas two flower buds are incised on either side, similar to those noticed on the previous image. As on this image also, the Buddha wears a plain dress without any indication of the folds. However, the proportions of the body differ completely: the waist is extremely narrow below the broad shoulders, and the lower triangular part with the legs is proportionally too high. The decoration is poor, only beads mark the nimbus of the central image while the secondary images are backed by an aura indicated through two incised lines. The large lotus on which the Buddha sits, presents large flat petals bearing an incised line which prolongates the returned tip of the petal, but which does not correspond to any feature of the petals; it is beside lying above a plain plinth with rounded extremities.

This rather poor stage of the treatment combined with the simplified iconography leads to suggest that this image was produced in an atelier not directly localised in one of the main centres and/or that it illustrates a late development of an iconographic type more particularly illustrated at Nālandā (see cat. 27).

INSCRIPTION

On the plinth. Gauḍīya of c. 11th c. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā tesāṃ hetuṃ tathāgato avada tesāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādi mahāśra- (line 1)
ma[ṇa]ḥ (line 2)

29. Fragment: two Buddha images

Inv. IC 33671.

25 x 15 x 5,5 cm. Sandstone (?).

Waddell collection 19, 1906. Bihar.

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 10th to 11th c.

Upper left part of a slab similar to the previous one. It shows a standing Buddha, with broken hand, displaying the *varada*° above the remaining torso of a second one presenting the *dharmacakrapravartana*°. A row of pearls runs along the small auras behind them. A part of the beaded nimbus is still visible on the right part with a lotus bud in the lower corner.

30. Scenes from Buddha's life

Inv. I 547/old IC 38954.

25 x 17 x 7 cm. Bluish grey sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the region (?). Suggested date: 10th c. (?).

Sitting in *padma*° and displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°, the Buddha is surrounded by a depiction of his mother giving birth and by a second view of himself, standing and showing the gesture of protection. The queen Māyā holds the tree with the right hand while standing with crossed legs. The child flies away from her right side, welcomed by Indra who stands below him with both hands folded in the gesture of veneration.

Māyā and the Buddha on the right side stand on lotus which are attached to a stalk related to the main lotus on which sits the central image; this treatment is clearly related to the depiction of the Śrāvastī miracle where all Buddha images are related through a net of lotus stalks.

The lotus-seat lies above a stepped pedestal limited by two large rows of flat mouldings, partly hidden by the small drapery falling on the centre. A similar rendering of the pedestal, with an even smaller drapery, is noticed below a bejewelled Buddha, unfortunately of unknown origin.⁶² Moreover, the lotus-seat is identical to this one, with the petals of the lower row practically cut in two by a deep incised line and by a short incised forked line on the petals of the upper row. Similar also is the use of the single dotted line for indicating the nimbus. Both images share also similar facial features with elongated eyes.

It is rather difficult to suggest an exact provenance for this image, but the fact that events of Śākyamuni's life have been selected without any apparent logic or the fact that the standing Buddha image is deprived from any specific element which would allow a definite identification of the moment probably represented, would point to a Bodh Gayā location

where images were constructed in a very individual manner, perhaps at the request of the donor.⁶³

31. The birth, the first of the eight Great Events.

Inv. IC 33660.

16 cm. Phyllite (?).

Waddell collection 8, 1905.

Suggested provenance: South Bihar.

Suggested date: 11th century.

This fragment most probably used to be-
longing to a large stela where various events of Śākyamuni's life were depicted; the edge of the back-slab was simply adorned by a plain band still visible on the vertical left side of the image. The queen Māyā is depicted as she usually is, i.e. the body is strongly bent with the legs crossed whereas her left hand lies on the hip and the right one seizes a branch of the *aśoka* under which she stood when the child was born in a magic way, out of her right side. Two gods usually attended this event, Brahmā and Śakra/Indra who is probably seen here at the feet of the queen, presenting perhaps the shawl with which he received the newly born.

Gautama is depicted as if flying out of his mother with both hands clasped in the *namaskāra*°. The queen wears only some pieces of jewellery but her hair forms a bun which rolls on her left shoulder, this helps to suggest a date in the 11th century.

32. Head of a Buddha image

Inv. IC 33664.

32 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 12, 1906.

Found at Telhāra (see below).

Suggested date: 10th c.

Only the head and the upper part of the Buddha have survived, revealing a workmanship of high precision. The right shoulder is bare, indicating that the Buddha was shown displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°; the dress is translucent but the lap of the monastic robe falls in regularly drawn folds on the left shoulder. Each curl of the hair is carefully carved like a snail. Half-closed, the petal-shaped eyes are softly drawn; a narrow swelling indicates the lower lids. The incised superciliary arches form two large bows which protect the eyes and include them within large almonds. The nose, now damaged, had clearly carved nostrils. The upper lip is as narrow as a line whereas the lower one is much larger. The face is full, the features strong.

An oval nimbus rests on the shoulders, and on either side, a fleuron shaped like a rhombus belongs to the back of the throne in front of which the Buddha is depicted. A flat niche was

carved around the Buddha with *haṃsa.s* standing above the pillars and holding in the beak a string of pearls. Scrolls from their tail crept along the outer edge of the trefoil. Remains of a small Buddha figure is still seen above the bird; he displays the *varada*° while holding the almsbowl in the left hand.

The tiny image of the Buddha on the back-slab might have belonged to a group of five Tathāgata.s, he occupies, as a matter of fact, the position usually held by Ratnasambhava whose *mudrā* is the gesture of generosity.

This image was collected by Alexander M. Broadley at Telhāra, a site which is located some 35 km. north-west-west from Nālandā.⁶⁴ It appears on a photograph taken by the British collector (below)⁶⁵ who described in these words the discovery⁶⁶:

"I... came on a splendid figure of Buddha, unfortunately broken in three pieces, about four feet from the surface. The black basalt in which it was carved, is of the finest quality, and the features quite perfect. It has been photographed."

Only the upper part of the body has been illustrated by Broadley and it seems also to have been the only part which survived in a collection.

The village of Telhāra has been visited by various scholars and images from the site are distributed in the collections of the Patna Museum, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and of the Rietberg Museum, Zürich. Others, often reduced to the state of fragments are still scat-

tered around the place.⁶⁷ Their number underlines, however, the importance of the site after the Gupta period, which the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang in the seventh century sustains. Images discovered there can be dated till the 9th c. or the early 10th c.

PUBLISHED

Broadley 1872a, p. 252; Burgess n. d., pl. 231; Asher 1970, pl. IX (= Bloch 1900, neg. n° 207); Bautze-Picron 1989d, pl. 32.12 & p. 263 n° 12.

33. Buddha's head

Inv. I 574/old IC 34765.

27 x 29 x 13 cm. Red sandstone.

Leitner collection 563, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā/Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: 8th c.

The head of the Buddha is carved in front of an elongated nimbus, partly destroyed, which is adorned by large lotus petals and edged by a row of flat pearls. The back-slab was apparently deprived of any further decoration. The curls of the hair are thick and the large *uṣṇīṣa* is slightly out of axis. The facial features are broad, the forehead is narrow, the bulging eyes are wide open and shaped as oval petals, the lids are strongly marked, the eye-brow is soft, the lips are thick and show a shy smile.

The pink sandstone is rarely used in the region; it is however noticed at Nālandā.⁶⁸ The

stylistic features displayed by this image are also rarely encountered, but the wide open eyes are likewise noticed on a pre-Pāla nāga image from Nālandā or on a fragmentary sculpture carved in the round showing various Buddha images and Maitreya, which was preserved in the Mahant's compound of Bodh Gayā, and which can dated in the 9th c.⁶⁹

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 11th c. Buddhist creed ? in corrupt Sanskrit.

34. Damaged head of the Buddha

Inv. I 667/old IC 33736.

16,5 x 20 x 9 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā.

Suggested date: 9th c.

This upper left part of a stela shows the much defaced head of the Buddha, surrounded by the nimbus and protected by the branches of the *aśvattha*; two *caitya.s* were carved on either side of the nimbus, of which one only survived. The nimbus shows the plain moulding and the flames shaped as a question-mark whereas the *aṇḍa* of the *caitya* rests on a quadrangular base. These two features but also the care brought to the treatment of the tree, the detailed carving of the locks of the hair, each sculpted in depth, the oval face of the Buddha, all are features noticed on 9th century images from Nālandā.

This attribution is confirmed by the mention of the site in the inscription as seen below.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 10th-11th centuries. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit and donor's name:

(1°) śrī-nālanda-śrī-dharmabhaṭṭa-śrī-malhana (line 1),

which means:

"(The image is the gift of) the illustrious Nālanda, the illustrious Dharmabhaṭṭa and the illustrious Malhana."

(2°) ye dharmā hetu-pa... (line 2)

tathāgato hy avadat teṣā ca yo ... (line 3)

35. Head of the Buddha

Inv. I 639/old IC 33678.

9 x 12 x 7 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 25, 1906.

Very little remains from this image, only the head of the Buddha carved in high relief in front of the small circular nimbus which is half-destroyed, a plain circular moulding runs along the edge of the curved back-slab, indicating the aura, the edge *stricto sensu* is plain



and bears the inscription, a rather rare feature.

The carving is not very detailed as a comparison with the previous catalogue entry testifies to it. The snails of the hair are all carved like rough knobs, no motif adorns the nimbus or the aura.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

... evamva vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ // (design)

36. Upper part of a stela

Inv. I 640/old IC 33683.

8 x 13 x 4 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 30, 1906.

Suggested provenance: area of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 9th c.

In this upper part of a stela, the face of the Buddha has been preserved, carved in front of a very large nimbus adorned by a plain moulding and the flames shaped as a question mark which shows here a long and nervous tail. Branches of the tree spread above it, although they are now partly destroyed. On either side of the nimbus, two high *caitya*s fill completely the space of the back-slab, standing above the lintel of the throne which is shaped like a reversed cyma.

The face is plainly circular, its smile is still discernible, the hair is thick and the cranial protuberance is large and round, a feature noticed on 9th c. image from the area of Nālandā.

37. Head of the bejewelled Buddha

Inv. IC 33688.

"1/2 Lebensgröße", i.e. half human size.

Phyllite (?).

Waddell collection 39, 1905.

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 10th to 11th c.

The full-fleshed face of the Buddha is broader at the level of the front. The chin is slightly pointed above some folds. The mouth is small with a thick lower lip; a narrow recess runs along the edge of the lower lip, which accentuates the thickness. Two short lines are incised at both extremities of the lips, going slightly upwards: they indicate the smile. The nose is chipped off but its line evidently prolonged the incised eye-brows. The *ūrṇā* is carved in high relief on the front. The eyes are almost closed with the incised pupil half hidden by the upper eye-lid.

An ornamented tiara crowns the Buddha's head, hiding the hair on which only one row of curls is still visible, following the outline of a bow. A thick pearled row surmounted by a zig-zag line constitutes the basis of the head-dress.

Three high triangular fleurons are put above it, each adorned by a circular gem to which are attached small scrolls and volutes of various sizes which spread symmetrically. Further rhombic fleurons attached to stalks arise between these triangular motifs.

The tiara, the broad necklace and the earrings usually shaped as tiny lotus-flowers are specific attributes of the bejewelled Buddha who is, otherwise, dressed with his monastic robe (see here cat. 137). Images were produced in the 11th and 12th centuries everywhere in Bihar, particularly in the main centres like Bodh Gayā, Kurkihār or Nālandā.

This head belongs probably to the early phase of production of this iconography. As a matter of fact, only the lower part of the diadem is adorned by the broad pearled moulding whereas its upper part is constituted by two thin plain bands: on most of the known examples,⁷⁰ a second broad plain or pearled band replaces them. The line of zig-zags appears everywhere, but on late images from Nālandā, it can be replaced by a row of rhombic gems which are separated by rectangular spaces.⁷¹ The fleurons of the tiara present also a more elaborate treatment on late images, two central gems are superimposed: a rectangular supports the central one which can be shaped as the *tri-ratna*.⁷² And the intermediary gemmed rhombi erected on stalks are generally flowers.⁷³ The later development shows a much higher tiara, with a profusion of small scrolls and volutes which spread all over the triangular fleurons, it introduces also another lotus foot at mid-height of the stalk of the intermediary flowers whereas, at least on images from the Nālandā-Lakhi Sarai-Antichak region, a rhombus is placed in the central part of the diadem, linking together the two broad plain bands. Besides, the diadem is plainly horizontal and does not follow the shape of a bow.⁷⁴ Most of this "late" elements are noticed on the bronze images from Kurkihār which were donated during the reign of Vīgrahapāla III, towards the end of the 11th c., which suggests evidently an earlier date for the head under survey.⁷⁵

38. Feet of the Buddha and kneeling elephant

Inv. IC 33728.

Waddell collection 93.

From Bihar.

No available photography.

No available photography but from the description either by Waddell 1905-1906 or in the inventory book, it appears that this fragment belonged to a depiction of the taming of Nālāgiri.

39. Lower part of a stela: the lions' throne

Inv. I 599/old IC 32810.

7,5 x 11 x 5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 333, 1905.

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 9th c. (style), 10th c. (palaeography).

The Buddha sat in *padma*° and displayed the *bhūmiśparśa*° on his lotus-seat, accompanied by a Bodhisattva standing on his proper right. Strangely enough, no second Bodhisattva seems to have stood on the proper left side, since a large scroll is carved there. The drapery falls from below the lotus-seat with its lateral edges rolled up, its folds are indicated through concentric thick and deep lines which are incised. Two large lions are profiled on either side; they are depicted with much vividness and care.

Proportionally large lions are usually met with in the early part of the 9th century; similarly, a more naturalistic treatment of the drapery is also encountered at that period in sites like Nālandā and Kurkihār.⁷⁶

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit and donor's name:

y[e] dharmmā h[e]tu-prabhavāḥ hetu[m] teṣā- (line 1)

ttathāgato hy avada teṣāṃ nīca yo (line 2)

nirōddha eva vādī mahāśrama- (line 3)

ṇaḥ // dedharmmoyam uyrā (line 4)

Translation of the fourth line:

"This (image is) the meritorious gift (of) Uyrā."

40. Lower part of a stela: the lions' throne and Bhūdevī

Inv. I 541/old IC 33691.

17 x 25,5 x 8 cm. Greyish blue phyllite.

Waddell collection 42, 1906.

Suggested date: 11th c.

This fragment belonged to a stela depicting the Eight Great Events, as can be surmised from the still remaining representation of the birth and of the Vaiśālī event on either side of the central image, the Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśa*°. The image has been broken at the height of the waist of the main image and the head of the Buddha at Vaiśālī has also been destroyed, Māyā being the only properly preserved character. The Buddha wears a plain dress where folds are not shown; he sits above the double lotus adorned with the beads reminding of the stamens. Bhūdevī, called by the Buddha is profiled on the centre of the narrow stepped pedestal, and the two lions are likewise profiled on either side; three conic offerings and the male devotee are carved among them.

The bun of hair of Māyā falls on her left shoulder, which allows to propose a date not before the 11th century. Other elements can also be taken into consideration, like the extremity of the petals of the lotus-seat which turns on itself, the facial features of the queen with pointed chin, elongated open eyes or the side view of the Buddha seated in *bhadra*° – whereas on earlier depictions, he sits in a perfect frontal view (cat. 27).

It is possible that this fragment was collected between Lakhi Sarai and Uren. It was once part of the collection of Waddell who travelled in the area and published in 1892 an article on the material observed at the Mount Uren and the Museum owns other objects from this collection, including a pedestal actually recovered at Uren (cat. 76). Furthermore, this fragment shares with the pedestal and with a depiction of Jambhala collected at Ghosikundi, a suburb of Lakhi Sarai, the fact of bearing an inscription using the *bhaikṣukī-lipi*.⁷⁷

INSCRIPTION

Bhaikṣukī-lipi of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed. The language is Pāli influenced by Sanskrit.

siddham (*symbol*) ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā
teṣaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato [a]vaca teṣaṃ ca yo ni
rodha evaṃ vādī mahā-(line 1, below)
[śś]amaṇo (line 2, top right)

PUBLISHED

G. Bhattacharya 1985b, fig. 3 & pp. 138-139.

41. Lower part of a Buddha image displaying the *bhūmiśparśamudrā*

Inv. I 665/old IC 33677.

12 x 31 x 19 cm. Beige, fine-grained sandstone. Waddell collection 24, 1906.

Found at Kukuṭapāda (probably Kurkihār).

Suggested date: 11th c.

The Buddha wears a plain monastic robe where only the edges are indicated through a fillet in low relief. The lower part of the dress spreads in narrow folds between the legs. The fingers of the right hand fall elegantly, touching the petals of the lotus-seat. Broad and thick, the round petals form the two symmetrical rows above which runs the row of pearls which indicates the stamens.

It is possible that the image was produced in the region of Bodh Gayā, where this type of stone was carved.

INSCRIPTION

On the petals of the upper row. Gaudīya of c. 11th century. Name of the donor:

śausā[ṃ]ghṛkasya
which means that

“(The image is the gift) of Śausānghṛka.”

42. Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśamudrā*: fragment

Inv. I 1128/old IC 33721.

8 x 8 x 3 cm. Yellowish fine-grained sandstone. Waddell collection 83, 1906.

Bihar. Suggested date: 9th-10th c.

This fragment from a small stela illustrates the Buddha at his Enlightenment when he made the *bhūmiśparśa*°. Two attending figures must have stood on either side of the Buddha, since the feet of the one who stood on his proper right can still be seen above a lotus. Below the lotus, the pedestal is adorned with the drapery which covers the central part and is surrounded by two decorative rhombi. This reminds of a similar decorative structure noticed on images from Nālandā where triangular motifs adorn the pedestal (see here cat. 64).

INSCRIPTION

On the back-side. Fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed:

... rmmā hetu ... (line 1)
... tathāgato [hy a]... (line 2)
... rodho evaṃ vādī... (line 3)

43. Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśamudrā*: fragment

Inv. I 1136/old IC 33719.

5,8 x 8,5 x 4 cm. Yellowish sandstone. Waddell collection 81, 1906.

Bihar. Suggested date: 9th-10th c.

Only the lower part of this image survived, showing the legs of the Buddha seated in *padma*° and the right hand touching lightly the earth in front of the double lotus-seat. A high plain pedestal supported the image.

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 10th century. Donor's name in Sanskrit:

sohekasya//

which means “(The image is a gift) of Soheka.”

44. Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśamudrā*: fragment

Inv. I 1137/old IC 33718.

8,5 x 8 x 3,5 cm. Beige sandstone. Waddell collection 80, 1906.

Bihar. Suggested date: 10th c.

Only a small part of the image has survived; the Buddha sits on a high lotus-seat with large petals. The image was included in a frame, of which a part still survives on the left side, which might indicate that it once belonged to a votive *caitya*.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 10th-11th century. Record of the donation:

d[e]vadha[rmmoyaṃ] ... mā ...

which means “This is the meritorious gift of ...”

45. Damaged image of the Buddha displaying the *samādhimudrā*

Inv. I 23/old IC 34782.

27 x 23 x 9 cm. Greenish grey sandstone. Leitner collection 553, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: late 7th to 8th c.

The upper part of the image has been broken off. A large tenon is carved below the pedestal in order to fix the image. The Buddha sits in *padma*° and displays the gesture of meditation, *dhyāna*°. Only the edges of his monastic dress are indicated at the level of the anklets and at the neck. The body is massive, the compact torso stands with broad shoulders and thick arms above the crossed legs. The surfaces are flat. The soles are not turned upwards, like on all images of the collection but towards the viewer, which constitutes evidently a chronological criterion.⁷⁸

The Buddha sits directly on the plain pedestal which bears the inscription: the same treatment of the lower part, where the donation inscription is incised, occurs on two further images, one of them located in the Mahant's compound of Bodh Gayā.⁷⁹ Although the back-slab is badly damaged, one can recognize that it was plain and that incised lines indicated the lower part of the throne which supported a large circular nimbus, two features which are also noticed on the Bodh Gayā images of the 6th and 7th centuries.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Siddhamātrkā of the 8th century. Record of donation and Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

1° on the pedestal:

siddham (*symbol*) deyadharmmoyaṃ
śākyopāsaka-dampatyor māla[ṇ]kara (line 1)
sa-parivāra-dharayā yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu sa... (line 2)

Translation:

“Success! This (image) is the meritorious gift of the Buddhist devout worshipper couple, ... with his wife Dharā. What merit there is in this (gift), let that be ...”

The reading and interpretation of this inscription by H. Härtel are different:

oṃ deyadharmmoyaṃ śākyopāsaka dampatyō
mālā[bh]jāra. i... (...) pari[c]jāradharayā
[d=a]t[ra] puṇyaṃ tad=bhavatu sa...

2° on the back-slab:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā
hetuṃ (*line 1*)
[teṣāṃ] tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca
(*line 2*)
[yo] nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśrama- (*line 3*)
ṇaḥ (*line 4*)

PUBLISHED

Härtel 1960, p. 73 & pl. 41.

46. Fragment of a pedestal: the Wheel of the Law

Inv. I 1152/old IC 33686.
9,5 x 17,3 x 6,5 cm. Grey phyllite.
Waddell collection 34, 1906.
Sārnāth. Suggested provenance: area of
Nālandā.

Lower part of an image which represented the Buddha teaching as it can be deduced from the presence of the wheel of Law surrounded by the two profiled deers of Sārnāth. This motif was flanked by the two roaring lions. The pedestal is very much destroyed since only one of the two fulvous beasts has been preserved. Similarly, only the lower part, shaped as a jar, of one of the pillars of the back of the throne is still visible.

Wearing a plain dress without indication of pleats, the Buddha sat on a double lotus the petals of which were carefully carved.

We notice behind the lion that on the next tier of the pedestal, a narrow rectangle is carved in low relief and that within it, a second rectangle is incised. This motif, which appears at a first glance to be a negligible detail, constitutes in fact a hint at the probable origin of the image, *i.e.* Nālandā or its area. We notice indeed similar rectangles or squares on the pedestal of images collected in the monastic university. Fragments of small images from Bihar were discovered in sites like Sārnāth, Kasya or Saheth Maheṭ.⁸⁰

47. Lower part of an image of the Buddha with the Wheel of the Law

Inv. I 1151/old IC 33684.
10 x 13,7 x 8 cm. Grey brown phyllite.
Waddell collection 32, 1906.
Sārnāth (?). Suggested provenance: Nālandā.
Suggested date: 10th c.

Fragment of a Buddha image seated in the "European attitude" who displayed most probably the *dharmacakrapravartana*°, illustrated by cat. 21. Two large fleurons adorn the pedestal; their shape as well as the still visible lower part of the pillars of the throne remind of images from Nālandā.⁸¹

48. Lower part of a standing image of the Buddha

Inv. I 666/old IC 33674.
8,5 x 16 x 6 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.
Waddell collection 22, 1906.
Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā.
Suggested date: 11th c.

The Buddha stood above a lotus which is attached to two large scrolls adorning the central step of the low pedestal.⁸² Two pointed *cāitya*s, only partly preserved, are carved on either side of the feet whereas the edge of the back-slab was adorned with broad flames, all elements which help to suggest Bodh Gayā as the origin for this fragment (see cat. 23).

49. Avalokiteśvara displaying the dharmacakrapravartanamudrā

Inv. IC 35608.
58 x 33 x 17 cm. Fine-grained phyllite.
Waddell collection 31, 1908.
From "the interior of Magadha beyond
Rajagriha".⁸³ Suggested date: 10th c.

The Bodhisattva, identified through his lotus and the tiny image of Amitābha in his head-dress, sits in the "European way" or *pralambapāda*° or *bhadra*°, a position which is usually, as it is here the case, related to the gesture of teaching. His traditional female attendants are depicted: the green Tārā on his proper right and Bhṛkuṭī on his proper left. Besides, the Krodha Hayagrīva is shown, seated below the group, symmetrical to the human devotee who offers a garland. The Tārā has her hands folded in the *añjali*° while holding in her left elbow the stalk of her *utpala*. Bhṛkuṭī is four-handed, she displays the gesture of generosity with the lower right hand while holding the *kamaṇḍalu* in the corresponding left hand and presents the *akṣamālā* and a short branch which reminds of the *tridaṇḍa* which is the usual attribute of the deity. Both stand with the body slightly and elegantly sloping on a lotus attached to its thick stalk which is surrounded by scrolls also found below the lotus supporting the feet of the Bodhisattva.

Avalokiteśvara sits on a throne sustained by two lions. Two octagonal pillars support the architectural lintel forming the back of the throne; they are fixed in large jars. A large oval nimbus rests above it, surrounded by two fleurons; it is limited by the flames shaped as a question-mark and by a plain but carved in high-relief band while the oval nimbus behind the two female deities is indicated by a row of pearls. Two garland-bearers fly on either side of the nimbus whereas a tree with jewels as flowers or fruits tops the composition.

Through a number of its motifs and their treatment, this stela is close to images found at

Nālandā or in the area of Ghosrāvān-Tetrāvān.⁸⁴ It shares also with images from Nālandā the treatment of the face, with the rather elongated features, the eye-brows drawn slantwise, the small smiling mouth and the peculiar pointed line of the scalp.⁸⁵

This image of the Bodhisattva is simultaneously traditional and unusual. It is traditional with the presence of the two female attendants and of Hayagrīva but it is utmost unusual through the way Avalokiteśvara sits and through the *mudrā* which he displays; it is also unusual through the presence of the tree crowning the image. The Krodha Hayagrīva appears on images from the early part of the 9th c. discovered at Nālandā or in the region lying westwards of it.⁸⁶ He is depicted in his wildness, pot-bellied, locked hair spread all around the head, grimacing face, displaying the *namaskara*° with the right hand, while lying the left hand on his weapon, a club.⁸⁷

Texts do not seem to ascribe the gesture of teaching to the Bodhisattva. However, a limited number of cast, carved or painted images illustrate Avalokiteśvara displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and sitting in various positions, *padma*°, *lalita*°, or more rarely *pralambapāda*°/*bhadra*°.⁸⁸ Indeed, apart from this image, the *pralambapāda*° seems very rare in relation with the Bodhisattva in Bihar.⁸⁹ On some of these examples, a further iconographic detail is introduced, *viz.*, the rocky landscape all around the Bodhisattva which refers evidently to the Potala Mountain on which Avalokiteśvara is supposed to reside.⁹⁰ It is possible that the tree carved above the nimbus is a reminder of this mountain. A crown encircles its trunk,⁹¹ flowers spread symmetrically on either side, not identifiable, they might simply be lotuses (?), but on each of them, a jewel or *ratna* is clearly lying. This "jewel-tree", bearing the sword, occurs also above a Nālandā image of the teaching Bodhisattva⁹² and is more fully represented in various images of Avalokiteśvara where the "jewels" are clearly those of the cakravartin.⁹³ Besides, the tree can also be one of these *ratna*s conquered by the cakravartin.⁹⁴

It would thus appear that the Bodhisattva is here depicted as a cakravartin, seated on the Potala.

INSCRIPTION

Buddhist creed and donative text in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit (corrupt); Gaudīya of the 10th-11th c.

On the pedestal, in the middle:

ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ
tathāgato hy a- (*line 1*)
vada teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahā-
śravaṇa[h] (*line 2*)

The donative inscription runs on all three parts of the pedestal:

siddham (symbol) deya-dharmmoyaḥ upā- (left, line 1) [sa]ka-bhogarikasya jad atra (right, line 1)

pu[nna] tad bhavatu ācārya-o- (left, line 2)

pādhyāya-mātā-pitr-pū- (middle, line 3)

... maṃ kṛtvā saka-satva-rāse III (right, line 2), which means:

„This is the meritorious (gift) of the lay worshipper Bhogarika. Whatever merit there is in this (gift) let that be ... by all sentient beings keeping in front of (his) teacher, preceptor (and) parents.”

PUBLISHED

Gelpke 1941, p. 23; Bautze-Picron 1985b, fig. 2; Bautze-Picron 1989c, p. 338 n° 45 and 1998, fig. 5.

50. Avalokiteśvara

Inv. I 1156/old IC 36204.

84 x 53 x 12 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection 36, 1908.

“It came from near Buddh-Gaya”.⁹⁵ Date: first part of the 9th c.

Evidently, this image has been the prey of religious vandalism, the central figure has been decapitated, his arms are broken off, the side images are all defaced, the inscriptions are badly decipherable.

The central image is Avalokiteśvara, recognizable through his large *padma* which he held in the left hand. In the elaborated foliated scrolls out of which arises the flower, a large *kamaṇḍalu*, which is partly damaged, has been displayed: it stands above a large leaf and is adorned by a double row of pearls around its neck. The Bodhisattva is also accompanied by the traditional group of attendants, i.e. the Tārā with Sūcimukha, the Preta and Bhṛkuṭī with Hayagrīva on his proper right and left sides. The two-armed Tārā stands, holding in the left hand her flower, the *nīlotpala* which she touches with the right hand. Bhṛkuṭī is four-armed, she clasps two hands in front of the breast in the *añjali*°, while holding the *akṣamālā* in the second right hand. She probably held in her second left hand the *kamaṇḍalu* which is traceable at the height of her knee.

Sūcimukha kneels at the feet of the Bodhisattva, turning his “needle-like mouth”, *sūcimukha*, towards the hand of Avalokiteśvara which was open in the gesture of generosity and from where flew the nectar of immortality which the Preta wishes to drink. His body is emaciated, the bones of his legs and arms and his ribs are clearly visible whereas his belly is swollen. In front of him, the terrific Hayagrīva is depicted as if jumping out of the background between Avalokiteśvara and Bhṛkuṭī. He stands, full of energy, in *ālīḍha*°, with the

left elbow lying on his club and the right hand raised in the *namaskara*°. His hair stand on end, merging into the thick flames which irradiate all around the head and the shoulders. Jewels shaped as snakes adorn the heavy body of the Krodha who wears a tiger-skin around the hips.

Three small figures are shown around the head of Avalokiteśvara: a Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśa*° crowns the image, surrounded by two deities seated in *sattvaparyāṅka*°. The first one, on the Bodhisattva's proper right, is Vajrasattva, he holds a *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā* respectively in the right and left hands seen in front of the breast or firmly put above the thigh. Vajrasattva's torso showed also the usual stretching. The second one, Mañjuśrī, presents the (now damaged) right hand open in the *varada*° while holding the stalk of his flower, the *nīlotpala*, in the left one. The Bodhisattva wears his necklace with amulet and tiger claws. Both had a head-dress where the *diadem* was tied in the back with a ribbon, the extremities of which are still seen flying above the ears.

In the lower part of the image, a couple of devotees kneel at the feet of Avalokiteśvara in front of a tiny back-slab. Although they are extremely damaged, their outline is still visible: the first figure, who must have been the man, holds a lamp whereas the second and smaller character, probably his wife, has both hands in the *añjali*°.

The workmanship of this image is of great quality. The central figure stands perfectly straight with attendants distributed around him. The two female attendants are depicted in front of their own back-slab carved in low relief on the main back; both are slightly turned towards the centre of the composition, i.e. towards Avalokiteśvara whom they worship. And this movement is amplified by the position of the two compact little male figures: Sūcimukha is properly profiled and the wild Hayagrīva, or Padmāntaka as the inscription names him, is practically facing the Bodhisattva. At the lower level, the tiny human devotees are also profiled.

On the contrary, the three divine figures who sit on lotuses in the upper part of the image, are all frontally depicted, a position stamped with restraint which they share with Avalokiteśvara. The Bodhisattva constitutes the axis on which the entire image is elaborated, it combines the peaceful and meditative mood of the upper part to the more active and complex feelings enacted by the figures of the lower level. Avalokiteśvara forms a tetrad with the Buddha and the two other Bodhisattvas, and within his quarter, characters arise who combine at times antagonistic feelings, which are the veneration and peace betrayed by the goddesses and the horror and the terror generated by the male attendants.

This sense of the composition and this rendering of atmosphere are combined to a craving for the strength and the plasticity of the bodies and for a detailed and careful treatment of the “decorative” motifs like the jewels, the dresses, the hair, all rendered with much delicacy.

All these observations apply also to a small number of images which were found in villages located at the west of Nālandā, like Telhāra or Biswāk.⁹⁶ These images illustrate Avalokiteśvara or Maitreya and integrate the same group of attendants, they share with the image in the collection a similar high quality of workmanship and reproduce same forms of “decorative” motifs. Moreover, the stela collected at Biswāk illustrates the same iconography, the main differences lying in the presence in the upper part of a rocky landscape from where ascetics emerge who pay their respect to the Bodhisattva and in the absence of the inscriptions noticed here or the Maitreya from Telhāra presents the same *kamaṇḍalu* lying on a lotus leaf on his left side.

It is thus likely that the sculpture in the collection was produced in the very same atelier which was responsible for those various images.

The iconography of the image is very complex. The *mantra* of the central image names him Avalokiteśvara Vajradharma, which the *Sāḍhanamālā* gives as name to a seated form of the Bodhisattva who “holds with pride the stem of a lotus with sixteen petals in his left hand and with the right causes it to blossom against his chest.”⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that this rare gesture is precisely presented by the Tārā here, where it might be confused with the *abhaya*°.

Padmāntaka, as Hayagrīva is here named, receives in one passage of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Bhṛkuṭī for Prajñā.⁹⁸ But the most puzzling is probably the presence of the triad at the top of the image. Avalokiteśvara belongs to the *kula* of Amitābha, the Jina ruling on the western quarter and the image of the latter was probably included in the now disappeared head-dress as it is usually the case, but above the Bodhisattva, another Tathāgata sits who is evidently not Amitābha but most probably Akṣobhya. As to the Bodhisattvas who sit on either side, they are both related to the *kula* of Akṣobhya.⁹⁹ Considering the *mantra* given in the inscription around the latter's head where the central element is *vajra* or the name “Vajradharma” given as epithet to Avalokiteśvara, considering also the presence of Vajrasattva, and this name is the central element of his *mantra*, it is obvious that the thunderbolt holds a major symbolic position in the iconography of the image.

The *mantra* engraved around Mañjuśrī is commonly met with in the *sāḍhanas* of the *Sāḍhanamālā*,¹⁰⁰ and reminds that the Bodhisattva is the Lord of the voice, a position which

he presents when the Buddha is depicted at the moment of the Enlightenment; both characters are closely interrelated, reflecting the two fundamental moments in the history of Buddhism.¹⁰¹

INSCRIPTIONS

Fragmentary. Siddhamātrkā of the 9th century, Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. Inscriptions are engraved on the nimbi of the various deities or around them.

Inscription 1: badly erased, it is engraved on either side of Avalokiteśvara's torso and has six lines. The first one runs at the height of the Bodhisattva's shoulders, it starts like the other inscriptions with a symbol for *siddham*. The inscription reads:

siddham (symbol) samvat 2 [śrī-mahendra]pāla-deva-pra-(image)varddhamā[na]-vijaya-rā (line 1)

[jye] ... r=eva (image) hu[śa] ... je-śr[ī]- (line 2)

... ta[h]- (image) de ... de[va]- (line 3)

... dhyā- (image) ya ... (line 4)

... [śe] anū- (image) tara ... (line 5)

... [bha]na (image) ...¹⁰² (line 6)

Translation:

"In the year two of the ever increasing victorious ruling period of the illustrious Mahendrapāla ..."

Inscription 2: like the first inscription, its two lines run on both sides of the Buddha seated at the top of the image, starting with the symbol for *siddham*:

siddham (symbol) ... bha- (image) vā hetu ... [to] hy a- (line 1)

va[da] ... ro- (image) dha eva ... [ma]hā-śramaṇaḥ/ (line 2)

Inscription 3: on the nimbus of the seated Buddha:

siddham (symbol) om vajra [ña] svāhā

Inscription 4: on the nimbus of Vajrasattva (upper left image):

siddham (symbol) om vajrasatva huṃ svāhā

Inscription 5: on the nimbus of Mañjuśrī (upper right image):

siddham (symbol) om vāgīśvara muḥ

Inscription 6: on the nimbus of Avalokiteśvara:

siddham (symbol) om āry-avalokiteśvara-vajradharmma hrīḥ svāhā

Inscription 7: on the nimbus of the Tārā (lower left image):

siddham (symbol) om tāre tuttāre ture svāhā

Inscription 8: on the nimbus of Bhṛkuṭī (lower right image):

siddham (symbol) om bhṛ svāhā

Inscription 9: on the pedestal, below the Tārā:

Inscription 10: two lines engraved on the pedestal, below Hayagrīva:

om padamā- (line 1)

nta kṛ hrīḥ (line 2)

PUBLISHED

G. Bhattacharya 1986d, pp. 32-38 & pl. 3-4; Bautze-Picron 1989c, p. 338 n° 47.

51. Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara

Inv. I 576/fold IC 33704.

56 x 26 x 7 cm. Grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 57, 1906.

Suggested provenance: region between Nālandā and Lakhi Sarai.

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

The Bodhisattva sits in *mahārājālāsana* on a cushion which is put above the lion who turns his head upwards. The animal crawls on his heavy legs; large volutes are simply incised on his thigh and shoulder. The body is rather short, the head elongated, his mane is tied by a necklace made of small bells. The lines are stiff, the movement slow, and the animal does not possess the energy presented by the lion of a second depiction of Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara which belongs to the collection (cat. 72).

The lion lies above the lotus pedestal constituted with thick petals, in front of which the three devotees kneel, presenting their worship to the Bodhisattva; as they are depicted, they figure evidently a family headed by the bearded man who has his hair tied in a heavy bun on the back of the head. Behind him, his son and wife, protected by her shawl, are similarly profiled, i.e. the lower part of the body is profiled, the torso is in a three-quarter profile.

The Bodhisattva is drawn in front of the back-slab which is carved through around him, setting off the image well. A large row of flames run along the edge of the slab whereas the five Tathāgata.s are distributed on small pedestals which are not shaped as lotus flowers, which is usually the case, but well as clouds. Similarly, the Jina.s stand out against an aura which is shaped as a cloud. Further, the five Jina.s do not sit properly in the traditional *padmāsana* but have the flying attitude of the divine worshippers of the god, who are carved in this part of the slab on most of the images, but which remains extremely rare for the Tathāgata.s. It is probable that the artist tried to illustrate here a detail mentioned by the literary descriptions of the Bodhisattva where it is said that the five Tathāgata.s radiate from him.¹⁰³

A short sword is erected above the white lotus, the stalk of which is held by the left hand of Avalokiteśvara. Behind the reclining lion, a skull out on a lotus is full of small flowers and behind the right arm of the Bodhisattva, a snake is wound around the trident. All those attributes should be white according to the *sādhana* describing this form of Avalokiteśvara.¹⁰⁴

As in Lakhi Sarai image (cat. 72), the Bodhisattva is adorned with very few ornaments,

in fact he wears only the *yajñopavīta* and a gemmed girdle. A lotus flower tops the high *jaṭā* with heavy interlacing locks which crowns his head; further locks fall on both shoulders and a small image of the Jina Amitābha is depicted in front of it.

We cannot fail to compare this image with the similar one found at Lakhi Sarai. But this comparison between two images which are approximately contemporary, both can indeed be dated towards the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th c., permits also to underline the deep aesthetic and plastic differences between this stela and the image from Lakhi Sarai. The volumes here are rounder, the lines are smoother but also weaker, the movement is languid and less elegant. The details of the carving are not achieved with the same care and greatness.

This sculpture was most probably produced in an atelier located in the region of Nālandā. It shares with images of the Bodhisattva of the site the same treatment of the *jaṭā*,¹⁰⁵ it shares also the flying Tathāgata.s with two contemporary images of the Tārā, one of which was discovered at Pārbatī, a site located southeast of Nālandā.¹⁰⁶

PUBLISHED

MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 121; *ibidem* 1976, cat. 121 p. 44 & ill. p. 178; Bautze-Picron 1989c, n° 76.; G. Bhattacharya 1991, fig. 2 & p. 270.

52. Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara

Inv. IC 34851.

10,9 x 7,8 x 4,5 cm. Reddish sandstone.

Leitner collection 393b.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the region. Suggested date: 11th c.

The Bodhisattva sits in *mahārājālila*° on a flat cushion above the lion. The body of the animal is elongated, with short hind legs; the face is turned towards the spectator. Behind Avalokiteśvara, the back-slab is pointed and plain, only adorned with a round small *caitya* carved at the height of the head. The right hand of the Bodhisattva lies above his knee whereas the left one is hidden by the left leg and holds the stalk of the lotus visible at the height of his shoulder.

53. Avalokiteśvara: torso

Inv. IC 33697.

Phyllite.

Waddell collection 49, 1905.

Bihar, probably from the region of Nālandā/Lakhi Sarai. Suggested date: 12th c.

Only the upper left corner of the stela has survived showing the head of Avalokiteśvara adorned by the tiny image of the Jina

Amitābha. The Bodhisattva wears an elaborate *jaṭā* with interlaced locks; the hair is carefully depicted with parallel lines and forms flat and broad curls covering the front part of the head. Further curls fall on the shoulders and on either side of the *jaṭā* which is crowned by a large lotus flower. Above the ear, the ribbon flies forming a large loop (it is supposed to be attached to a diadem, here not represented, but compare to cat. 63 *e.g.*). The facial features are incised and the short front is interrupted by a vertical and narrow *ūrṇā*. The Bodhisattva stood or more likely sat like he does here on cat. 51 & 54 (or like the Tārā of cat. 63) and reflects the gorgeous style achieved in the 12th c. in the region between Nālandā and Lakṣī Sarai.

The back-slab bears an oval plain nimbus behind the Bodhisattva's head. A thick foliated creeper covers the space around it, supporting the lotuses on which the five Jinas sat; only Vairocana and either Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava are still visible. Two decorative bands run along the edge of the slab, plain and with flames.

54. Avalokiteśvara: lower part

Inv. 1668/old IC 33737.

21 x 17,5 x 5 cm. Grey phyllite.

Waddell collection, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Bihar, between Nālandā and Lakṣī Sarai.

Suggested date: 12th c.

The largest part of the back-slab and the upper part of the Bodhisattva's body have been broken away. It is however possible to identify the figure as having been Avalokiteśvara since the Preta Sūcīmukha is visible in the left corner of the pedestal. The ghostly figure kneels, with both hands joined together in the gesture of worship but also, in the present case, of begging the eternal ambrosy which drops from the tips of the Bodhisattva's fingers. Pot-bellied, he presents, as usual, a face deformed by the pointed muzzle. A human devotee kneels with hands also clasped in the right corner, symmetrical to the Preta.

Both of them are carved within a large volute of the stalk which spreads on the pedestal, arising out of the heavy foot carved in the centre. Two further powerful and massive scrolls develop on the central part, one of which ends by a lotus stool on which Avalokiteśvara's right foot lies. The petals of this flower like those of the lotus-seat are very thick and contrarily to the general shape, only one single row of petals forms each corolla (with the tips of a hidden row at the seat). A heavy row of pearls runs along the edge of the lotus-seat, reminder of the stamens.

This broad pedestal is supported by a plain plinth where the recesses are clearly indicated. part of the tenon with which the image was fixed in the floor is still preserved.

Avalokiteśvara wears a long skirt with folds indicated by double incised lines. No anklets adorn his feet. Likewise, no gemmed girdle holds the skirt but only a cloth one which is knotted at the front part and no bracelet is seen around the arm. The long bearded *upavīta* has been partly preserved. The absence of any jewellery – for the sacred chord cannot be considered as a “normal” piece of jewellery – would indicate that Avalokiteśvara appears here in an ascetic form which is not so well known as the more traditional and “divine” one where he wears the set of jewels encountered on any divine figure.¹⁰⁷

Two attendants were probably seated on either side of the Bodhisattva – since attendants usually sat when the central image sat or stood when this deity stood. The lotus on which the figure who sat/stood at the proper right is still visible. It is very likely that these attendants were Hayagrīva and Sudhanakumāra. As a matter of fact, another pair of attending figures was constituted by the Tārā and Bhṛkūṭī at an earlier period, and towards the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, the two male characters were added to them. This tetrad is encountered on most of the images of the 11th and 12th centuries with the images distributed on either side of the Bodhisattva. However, one notices also a hierarchy within these secondary deities: on some images, the male figures sit by the side of Avalokiteśvara and the female ones are carved in the pedestal and on some other ones, only the male figures are preserved while the goddesses have disappeared.¹⁰⁸

Stylistically, this image is close to stelae which were produced in the 12th century in the region of Nālandā and Lakṣī Sarai.¹⁰⁹ The same treatment of the lotus-seat is observed on stelae related to the second site.¹¹⁰ And like also the images of the region of Lakṣī Sarai, a plain plinth supports the pedestal where an inscription is generally inscribed (see here cat. 72-74).¹¹¹

INSCRIPTION

On the pedestal. Gauḍīya of c. 12th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) deydharṃmoyaṃ dānapatī-tailaka-jivita-hala-vadhū-sitākāyā/ (*line 1*)
haso dānapati (*line 2*)

Translation:

“Success! This (image) is the meritorious gift of Sitākā, daughter-in-law of the oil-maker, Hala. Hāsa is the donor.”

55. Avalokiteśvara: lower part

Inv. I 542/old IC 33717.

14 x 25,5 x 3,5 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection “76”, 1906.

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 11th c.

The upper part of the image has been broken off. Nonetheless, we recognize the image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara seated in *padma*° above a high lotus-seat. This lotus is attached to a thick foot from where spread two large volutes. The plinth which supports the pedestal is adorned by a row of broad petals, which constitutes a rather rare feature.

Two cones of offerings are carved in the right corner of the pedestal, symmetrical to the Preta who kneels with both hands raised towards the Bodhisattva from whom he receives the nectar of immortality dropping from the right hand of Avalokiteśvara; this hand is damaged but had to display the *varada*°. The Preta is pot-bellied and has a pointed muzzle as ever.

The Bodhisattva is adorned by various pieces of jewellery, the rendering of which is not very detailed. Traces, *i.e.* only the feet and part of one leg, of two standing attendants remain on either side.

Images of the Bodhisattva depicted in this seated position are rare; two were noticed at Nālandā.¹¹² When displaying the gesture of generosity, Avalokiteśvara usually sits in *lalita*° or stands with the body swaying.

56. Avalokiteśvara or Maitreya: torso

Inv. IC 33727.

From Bihar.

Waddell collection 92.

Bihar, probably from the region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 12th c.

The Bodhisattva was most probably sitting and displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*°. Only the upper part of the body has been preserved; the face is damaged but the soft smile is recognizable whereas the eyes look downwards toward the worshipper.

A high *jaṭā* with thick locks crowns the head whereas locks lie on the shoulders. The flying ribbons are visible on the proper right side of the face, attached to a small pleated fan above the ear; they are supposed to be attached to a diadem which is not existing here. A shawl covered the breast and makes a large loop on the left shoulder, its pleates are indicated through parallel incised lines; the *upavīta* falls above it. A large flower is carved on the proper right side: it was symmetric to the real floral attribute which was depicted on the other side and is now lost. The edge of the back-slab is adorned by a row of elongated flames.

57. Maitreya

Inv. I 598/old IC 33726.

31 x 18 x 7 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Waddell collection 91, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: 11th c.

A large corner of the image has been lost, probably bearing the representation of a second attendant figure. The Bodhisattva stands, slightly bent, on the lotus which lies above the stepped pedestal adorned by mouldings which were interrupted on the central step by an incised triangular fleuron. A female devotee sits or kneels with both hands clasped in the gesture of veneration. The back-slab presents large plain surfaces and is edged by a plain fillet within a row of flames which are clearly shaped as rolled up petals and tend to split in two parts. A lotus bearing a jewel tops the image whereas a now damaged *caitya* was put at the Bodhisattva's proper right, symmetric to the flower attribute.

The attendant figure is too damaged to be identified; he evidently presented the gesture of protection with the right hand in front of the breast and held a flower-attribute in the left one which was partly hidden by the right hand of the central figure. This attendant wears the traditional choice of jewels with the *uttariya* falling down on both sides.

The central figure is also badly damaged. However, the *caitya* standing in front of the *jaṭā* is still traceable, which allows to identify the image with Maitreya. Further, although the flower-attribute is destroyed, the outline of the leaves has been preserved, and it definitely cannot be the one of the *padma* or of the *utpala* but well of the *nāgapuṣpa*, the emblematic flower of the future Buddha.¹¹³ Independent images of Maitreya remain rare, particularly at Bodh Gayā.¹¹⁴

Beside the traditional jewellery, Maitreya wears, surrounded by a tubular diadem which is attached behind by ribbons flying on either side of the head, a high plaited coil of hair where thin circular locks encircle the vertical ones. A similar treatment is noticed on another depiction of the Bodhisattva, probably from Bodh Gayā, which used to form a pair with an image of Avalokiteśvara.¹¹⁵ It is very likely that the loin of cloth which falls on the legs is the *yogapaṭṭa* of the ascetics since the breast of Maitreya is partly covered by the shawl which comes from behind on his proper left side. The type of hair-dress illustrated here and the loin of cloth will become common on images of Bodhisattvas in the 12th century.

This stela was apparently carved in an atelier of Bodh Gayā where the use of the yellow sandstone is not rare. Beside, it shares specific motifs like the treatment of the *jaṭā* or the very same rendering of the flames with images from the site.¹¹⁶

58. Vādirāj Mañjuśrī

Inv. I 1115/old IC 34807.

38 x 22 x 9,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or its area.

Suggested date: end of the 12th c.

Mañjuśrī sits in *lalita*° on a thick cushion which lies on the back of a roaring lion. He displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*° whereas the stalks of two *utpala*s pass in the elbow-pits; manuscripts lie above the flowers.

The back-slab is very soberly worked out, a band in recess runs along the edge, parallel lines incised on it should indicate the flames. The cloth of the cushion is adorned with large flowers inclosed within rhombi. The lion is depicted in a ferocious mood, the face turned towards the spectator, the left front leg put high; his tail is squeezed above his back, turning on itself, the eyes are bulging, the mouth wide open.

The Bodhisattva wears a particular necklace, which differs from the one usually encountered at the neck of other Bodhisattvas or deities and which differs also from the traditional ornament which adorns him, and is seen on the second depiction of him which is in the collection (cat. 59). It is, however, possible that this one, made of large round and flat beads might proceed from his most characteristic necklace. Mañjuśrī wears the hair-dress usually worn by Vajrasattva, i.e. the hair is knotted in different superimposed levels of decreasing width, a fashion which is noticed from the 10th century and onwards with Mañjuśrī.¹¹⁷

The treatment of the carving is rather rough, the flames on the edge of the slab, the ornaments like the armlets, the shawl across the breast are shown through incised lines. The legs are also proportionally too short, the head too large, the torso too narrow. The feet are lying in an awkward position. The mouth is small with sunken corners, the chin protudes. All these details can be noticed on 12th century images from Bodh Gayā and the region.¹¹⁸

The Bodhisattva featured on the lion, but displaying the *varada*°, was particularly worshipped at this site and at Kurkihār where it might have appeared as early as the 8th century.¹¹⁹ On these early images, the animal is generally turned towards our right.¹²⁰ When the image was inherited by the monastery of Nālandā, the *dharmacakrapravartana*° was substituted to the *varada*° and the lion changes its position.¹²¹ Beyond Bihar, the image of the Bodhisattva teaching seated above the lion will know a cult of some importance in north Bengal in the 11th & 12th centuries.¹²² Simultaneously, the image of Avalokiteśvara teaching and seated above the lion was particularly worshipped at Bodh Gayā but since this icon is a

late introduction – only images of the 11th and 12th centuries are known –, we can suspect that the iconography of Avalokiteśvara was influenced by the one of Mañjuśrī with the presence of the lion. The image in the collection could as well reflect the presence of the aspect of Mañjuśrī worshipped in north Bengal as vouchsafe for a reversed influence from Avalokiteśvara's iconography on Mañjuśrī's one – since images of the teaching Bodhisattva on the lion are rather rare in Bihar at the time.

59. Torso of Vādirāj Mañjuśrī

Inv. I 664/old IC 33690.

8 x 11,5 x 8,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 41, 1906.

South Bihar.

Suggested date: first part of the 9th c.

This small torso is the only remains from a depiction of Mañjuśrī teaching; the necklace includes the typical motifs shown at the neck of the Bodhisattva, such as the tigers claws distributed around a disk-shaped reliquary, a motif which characterizes young male figures, Kṛṣṇa being another character who wears this ornament.¹²³ As seen in the first part of the 9th c., small triangular fleurons are attached to a beaded band running around the arm.

INSCRIPTION

Buddhist creed in Gauḍīya of the 11th c.,
Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit, fragmentary on the left edge: ... prabhavā...

60. Bodhisattva (?) meditating

Inv. IC 33720.

9,5 x 5,7 x 3,3 cm. Coarse-grained sandstone.

Waddell collection 82, 1906.

Suggested origin: South Bihar.

Suggested date: 9th c.

This much abraded image depicts a Bodhisattva (?) meditating, with both hands folded above the crossed legs. He sits above a high lotus-seat placed on a plain plinth. The various ornaments which he wears are incised and can be only with difficulty recognized. Similarly, the head-dress appears to include a diadem around perhaps the *jaṭā* – but it is heavily destroyed. The decoration around the meditating figure is difficult to identify. However, the protruding element at the proper right of the figure cannot be identified with a lotus, since the flower attribute should be held at the proper left and is evidently absent (a second flower is always possible at a later period as an application of the rule of symmetry). We notice above this element, a second round-shaped element curved toward the figure on the proper right and a similar one on the left side. Apparently

also, a further probably similar element protruded above the head, a part of it being still visible above left for the viewer.

Among the iconographic types known to us, the image of the (future) Buddha meditating and protected by the Nāga Mucilinda could be a possible hint for suggesting an identification. The clusters protruding from the back-slab could be indeed the hoods spread all around the upper part of the body of the monk who would be here still visualized as a Bodhisattva.

61. Heruka

Inv. I 1118/old IC 33729.

19 x 16,5 x 4 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Waddell collection 95, 1906.

Found at the "Kukutapada-Berg", i.e. the Kukkuṭapādagiri or Kurkihār.

Suggested date: 11th to 12th c.

On a square-shaped stela, the god Heruka is represented surrounded by eight small female deities who are distributed in two rows of four images each on either side of the central deity. All of them dance, i.e. they stand on the toes of the left leg and bend their right leg at the level of the knee while bending their head toward the left shoulder. All of them dance above the naked corpse of a Preta whose long hair spreads around the head. Two-armed, they hold attributes in both hands.

Heruka presents what should be the axe bearing a skull or *khaṭvāṅga* with the left arm while presenting the skull or *kapāla* in the hand and holding the *vajra* in the raised right hand. The attributes are worn out if not destroyed, but the outline of the skull can still be guessed in front of the torso; the axe is rather roughly depicted since it does not appear to have carried the skull whereas a piece of cloth is attached to it.

Beside the normal choice of jewels which are carved very simply, a large garland of skulls bound together with human entrails hangs from the god's shoulders or *antrasaṃgrathitamauṇḍamālāvalambita*. Heruka wears a coil of hair which stand on the end like flames, *jvaladūrdhvaṇḍalakeśa*. He is three-faced, the side faces are very small if not practically invisible and are treated very roughly with incised features.

The side figures are very small and carved rather crudely; however, one can notice that their attributes vary. They all carry an object similar to the *khaṭvāṅga* with the left arm and another smaller object in the raised right hand. A second attribute is also presented by the left hand. Due to their size and to the lack of detail in the carving, these attributes are not easily identifiable and we must relate them to the description of the eight female companions who are distributed on the petals of the lotus in the

middle of which stands Heruka in the *maṇḍala* 8 of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* written by Abhayākara Gupta in the 11th or 12th century.¹²⁴

It is possible to recognize, starting from the lower left corner upwards and going downwards the upper right one: Gaurī (1; East; dancing on Brahmā; the "lord of the line" or *kuleśa*: Akṣobhya; attributes: *kartri* & fish), Caurī (2; South; dancing on Indra; *kuleśa*: Vairocana; attributes: *ḍamaru*, a small drum, & *śūkarā*, a boar), Vetālī (3; West; dancing on Upendra/Viṣṇu; *kuleśa*: Ratneśa; attributes: *kūrma*, tortoise, & *kapāla* [= *pad-mahājanā*]¹²⁵), Ghaṣmarī (4; North; dancing on Rudra; *kuleśa*: Amitābha; attributes: *sarpa*, snake, & *yogapatra* [= *kapāla* or "bowl with fire"]¹²⁶), Pukkasī (5; North East; dancing on Yama; *kuleśa*: Akṣobhya; attributes: *siṃha*, lion, & *paraśu*, hatchet), Śabarī (6; South East; dancing on Kubera; *kuleśa*: Vairocana; attributes: *bhikṣu*, monk & *khakkhara*, the staff belonging to the monk)¹²⁷, Caṇḍālī (7; South West; dancing on Nairṛti; *kuleśa*: Ratneśa; attributes: *cakra* & *lāṅgala*, ploughshare) and Ḍombī (8; North West; dancing on Vemacitrin; *kuleśa*: Amitābha; attributes: *vajra* & *tarjanī*¹²⁸).

Evidently, some attributes and gestures are difficult to identify, but it is possible to reconstruct the distribution of the goddesses thanks to those who are more easy to identify through their attribute(s) or gesture, such as Gaurī (1), Ghaṣmarī (4), Pukkasī (5), Śabarī (6), Caṇḍālī (7) or Ḍombī (8). It is clear that the artist rendered in a very consequent manner the *maṇḍala*, starting in the lower left corner with the Eastern quarter, followed upward by the three other main directions and starting in the upper right corner, the remaining group of the intermediary cardinal points. It is also evident, from a comparison with the texts, that the image, in its totality, does not tally with the available sources since the two-armed Heruka is described with two or four heads and since the three-faced Heruka should have six arms.

The image belongs to the last phase of production at the site of Kurkihār. As a matter of fact, only some rare images can be said to belong to the 11th or 12th centuries which were collected in the village or in the area; besides, they all betray strong stylistic links with the production of Bodh Gayā.¹²⁸

Heruka's images remain rare and betray various aspects of his iconography; they are also found scattered through Bengal and Bihar without that we may, with certitude, locate one particular place where the worship would have been more important. Thus a two-armed, but one-faced image of the deity is shown on a large stela from Nālandā, also surrounded by tiny female images¹²⁹ whereas most of the known examples depict the multi-armed, even-

tually also multi-legged god, in close embrace with his *Prajñā* Nairātmā.¹³⁰

	4	5
N		NE
	3	6
W		SE
	2	7
S		SW
	1	8
E		NW

INSCRIPTION

Some illegible letters.

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1928, pl. 245.

62. The standing Tārā

Inv. I 10099.

69,5 x 42 x 16 cm. Greenish sandstone.

Art market, 1969.

Suggested provenance: Kurkihār.

Suggested date: second half of the 9th c.

The Tārā stands on a double row of lotus petals which is carved above the central step of the plain pedestal. The plain back-slab is large and circular, and its edge is adorned by the twisted pearly garland which is regularly covered by a broad ring ornated with a stylised flower and by flames which are all shaped with their extremities round and with sparks above them.

The attendants to the Tārā stand in front of small plain back-slabs which are carved in relief above the main back-slab. All figures stand with elegance, the body slightly or more violently bent. The goddess presents the *varada*^o and holds the *utpala*, her attribute. She wears a long skirt, the lower edge of which is strongly indicated with a horizontal line; folds are shown through circular concentric lines carved in low relief; the dress is fixed together through two bejewelled girdles. The upper one is large and clasped by a long gemmed ornament where petals spread like scrolls on either side of a central stone; a triple pendant hangs from this ornament and falls between the legs, with small clocks and a spear-like motif attached. A thinner girdle is put across the thighs below the main one. A flap of cloth is carved on the left hip, large and flat. The Tārā wears a broad shawl crossing her breast and hiding also

partly her belly which is slightly bulging, folds are also indicated with lines carved in low relief.

The deity wears a large round coil of hair above the head which is adorned by a bud-like ornament and a ring. A high diadem is constituted by a row of square and round gems and bears two side triangular fleurons and a round central flower of lotus to which hangs a short beaded chain.

The female attendant on the Tārā's proper left, looks toward her. She is Aśokakāntā Mārīcī, whose body is bent like the one of the central goddess although her hips are proportionally broader. She holds the noose or *pāśa* in the left hand which is put on the thigh in a relaxed manner and presents in the raised right hand an attribute which is most probably the branch of *aśoka*; due to its position, this attribute could also be confused with the *cāmara* and we cannot exclude the possibility that the artist intended indeed to suggest this double interpretation. Besides, the axe or *paraśu* is profiled in low relief on her right side.

On the goddess' proper right, stands in *ālīḍha*° a pot-bellied female attendant who is Ekajaṭā. She has a broad face and though her features are slightly worn out, one can still guess that her expression was fearful. She is four-armed, holds with the upper hands the elephant skin which spreads behind her like a large nimbus and presents in the lower ones the sword and the skull. She wears also a heavy garland which falls low on her legs and which is adorned with two skulls.

Both attendants wear a long skirt and various pieces of jewellery. The treatment is in a clear contrast to the one observed on the main deity: no folds are indicated on the skirt, the jewels are also not detailed. This combines to the smaller size of the two goddesses and to the plainness of the small slabs behind them and has to sustain the spiritual hierarchy within the image.

This image was most probably produced in one of the ateliers located at Kurkihār or in the close surrounding. Since the end of the 8th century, images of the Tārā have been carved in the site and a rather large number of similar images, where the goddess sits or stands, were collected in the area, which can be all dated in the 9th century, some rare examples were even discovered in other regions of Bihar.¹³¹ This could indicate that, beside the quantity of images produced in the region of Kurkihār at that period (whatever their iconography), the site was well-known and well visited.

This image combines evidently antagonistic but complementary aspect of the divine essence. The Tārā is related to the night, hence the *nilotpala*, she is the Star who helps the human beings to cross the ocean of existences and offers her generosity to them, hence the

varada°. She also assumes a more "esoteric" function in being born out of the "ocean of knowledge named Prajñā" and in being the one "who gives power to the Buddha".¹³² This relation to the Buddha might perhaps explain the importance of her cult in a site where numerous images of the Buddha attaining the Enlightenment have been recovered.

Her two attendants, whose iconography varies – sometimes the more peaceful image is a male and not a female figure, sometimes the elephant skin is absent ... – belong to the world of the Krodhas, those guardian deities who have the strict function to protect the Buddhist world and to destroy all dark and negative forces. For this purpose, they assume themselves fearful and terrific aspects. These figures relate again the image to the context of the Enlightenment where Yamāntaka for instance was requested by Śākyamuni to appear in order to destroy Māra and his goblins.¹³³ And Yamāntaka replaces Aśokakāntā Mārīcī on certain images from Kurkihār or the region.¹³⁴

Here again, a comparison, even summary, with the literary sources shows the discrepancies between images and texts. As a matter of fact, there is no available written source describing precisely the triad as it is illustrated in art. Ekajaṭā and Aśokakāntā are mentioned as attending to the Tārā, who is variously named according to the different *sādhana*, but their descriptions are short and do not tally with the art objects.¹³⁵

PUBLISHED

Tantrische Kunst 1981, cat. 18 pp. 122-123; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 56 pp. 113-114.

63. The seated Tārā

Inv. I 550/old IC 33692.

35 x 18 x 6 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 43, 1906.

Suggested provenance: region between Nālandā and Lakhi Sarai.

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

The Tārā sits in *lalita*° on a lotus-seat. She presents the *varada*° with the right hand and holds her *nilotpala* in the left raised hand, the position of which reminds of the *abhaya*°. A second flower is carved at her proper right, it is seen from the top and not from the side as the proper attribute, but like this one, it is surrounded by leaves and further still clasped buds. The petals are very thin and elongated.

The body of the goddess is strongly bent and her smiling face slightly turns down toward the devotee. The chin is pointed, a hard incised line indicates the bow-like eye-brows. The neck is narrow with well-marked indicated lines. The Tārā wears a coil of hair in the back of the head, which rests on her right shoulder.

She is adorned by the usual choice of jewels to which is added the long necklace falling above the breast. A shawl crosses her torso, with folds indicated through lines carved in low-relief. A plain skirt hides her legs.

She sits in front of a pointed back-slab, the edge of which is only adorned by a plain band. A similar band indicates the nimbus behind her head; a pointed element is added above it, which reminds of the floral motif encountered on this part on contemporary images.¹³⁶ The five Jinas are carved around the nimbus, each of them seated on a lotus-seat. They can be identified, from left to right as being Vairocana (*dharmacakrapravartana*°), Ratnasambhava (*varada*°), Amoghasiddhi (*abhaya*°) who occupies the central position since the Tārā belongs to his *kula*, Akṣobhya (*bhūmisparśa*°) and Amitābha (*dhyāna*°).

Two female attendants stand on their own lotuses on either side of the Tārā. They are the same as on the previous image (cat. 62) but have here exchanged their positions: Aśokakāntā Mārīcī stands on the proper right side, holding a *vajra* in the right hand in front of the breast and a flower-like motif, which should be the *aśoka* branch in the left one. Ekajaṭā is seen on the other side, pot-bellied, with a broad face and holding the *kapāla* and the *kartri* in the left and right hands. In comparison with earlier images also, the iconography is now much more strict since the pair of goddesses who accompany the Tārā is always the same; moreover, these attending deities present always the same physical aspect and hold always the same attributes.¹³⁷

A further appreciable change from the earlier period is that much less images appear to have been carved – which does not necessarily imply that the worship of the deity is of less importance, but rather that it has found other ways to express itself. As a matter of fact, various forms of the goddess are hence represented. She can be visualized as a teacher and is then named Mahāśrītārā, for instance; on most of the known images, she is accompanied by the same pair of attendants.¹³⁸

She can also be the protective deity called Āryāṣṭamahābhayaṭārā where Ekajaṭā and Aśokakāntā Mārīcī also accompany her.¹³⁹ She can also lose her human form and be illustrated as multi-headed and multi-armed under the name of Vajratārā.¹⁴⁰

The Tārā and her two attendants sit or stand above a high pedestal which is adorned by the thick scrolls of the lotus flower. Human devotees are represented, kneeling and hands folded in the gesture of veneration on either side. A narrow plain plinth supports the pedestal. Such a plinth is often met with at the time; at Lakhi Sarai and in the region, it is broad whereas at Nālandā or in close-by sites like Tetrāvān, it is narrow like in the present case.¹⁴¹

A number of similar images where the goddess sits or stands were produced in the region between Nālandā and Lakṣī Sarai after the end of the 11th century.

INSCRIPTION

On the plinth. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit: devadharmmoyam // caṭṭakaya which means "This (image) is the meritorious gift of Caṭṭakā."

64. Fragment of a standing female deity

Inv. 1621/old IC 33673.

16,5 x 7 x 6 cm. Greenish sandstone.

Waddell collection 21, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā or its area.

Suggested date: second half of the 10th c.

Only the lower right part of this image has survived. It shows a deity in *samapāda*° on a double row of petal lotus. The deity wears along plain skirt which is only adorned by some incised star-like flowers. The deity holds in the left hand the long stalk of the flower attribute. Different stalks, ending in the flower or in leaves, arise out of a well carved foot and a broad scroll coil around them. Similar elegantly feet can be noticed on images from Nālandā or from the region lying westwards.¹⁴²

Similarly, the simultaneous use of the plain band and the flames depicted as if being petals, is noticed at Nālandā in the second half of the 10th century; also on images pertaining of the stylistic idiom of the place, an elaborated fleur-de-lis can be carved on the central step of the pedestal, which is a rather rare position for the motif or on the side ones.¹⁴³ Similar fleurons, but of a strict triangular shape, are noticed on the side recesses of the pedestal from Bodh Gayā, which is dated in the reign of Gopāla III.¹⁴⁴

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Siddhamātrkā of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

... yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ/

65. Vajratārā: head

Inv. 1603/old IC 33696.

20,5 x 21 x 6 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 48, 1906.

Suggested provenance: area of Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: 11th to 12th c.

Only the heads and some attributes of the goddess have been preserved. They are carved in front of a back-slab which is adorned by the nimbus and the two side triangular fleurons whereas a plain band and a row of broad

flames run along the edge. A small but damaged image of a Buddha crowns the composition; he displays the *bhūmiśparśa*°, thus being most probably the Jina Akṣobhya although the texts relate the goddess to Ratnasambhava/Ratneśa.¹⁴⁵

The goddess is three-faced and wears the basket-shaped crown or *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. She had more than two arms, at least six¹⁴⁶ – which would correspond to the number of faces, in which she held a bow and the blue lotus in left hands. From the damage on her right side, it is possible to reconstruct the position of the upper right hand which was carved near the faces and probably held the *vajra*, like Mārīcī (cat. 7 & 66) or the Vajratārā do in better preserved examples.¹⁴⁷ Like these images also, the goddess bows slightly her head.

The images of the goddess are very rare; those known to us can be dated in the 11th and 12th centuries, which coincides also with the date of the writing of her *maṇḍala* by Abhayākara Gupta.

66. Mārīcī: torso

Inv. IC 34751.

24 x 25 cm. Phyllite or sandstone.

Leitner collection 547, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the area. Suggested date: 11th c.

The lower part of the image has been broken away. The three-faced Mārīcī had here eight arms; she presents in the upper right hand the *vajra*, followed by the *aṅkuśa* and most probably by the arrow of which an extremity is still visible in the third hand; the fourth hand was falling in front of the thigh, holding perhaps the needle. Only the *aśoka* flower and the bow are recognizable in two left hands whereas the damaged fourth hand presented the *vitarka*° in front of the breast.

In front of her *karaṇḍamukūṭa*, a tiny image of Vairocana is carved, displaying the *dhyāna*°. The goddess has the usual boar face on her proper left side and the second human face on her proper right side. She stands in an open *caitya* which is indicated through a plain band carved in high relief whereas a row of incised flames runs along the edge of the back-slab.

Although the images from the region of Bodh Gayā show usually only six arms and those from Nālandā eight, the absence of the sword, which is a generalised attribute in the monastic university, as well as stylistic considerations allows to suggest that the image was carved in an atelier located around Bodh Gayā.¹⁴⁸

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary Buddhist creed and in hybrid Sanskrit; Gauḍīya of the 11th-12th c. Runs on the edge indicating the *caitya*.

//h[e]tuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avada teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ//

PUBLISHED

Behrsing 1943, n° 32 & fig. 6 p. 13; Bautze-Picron [in the press-2], n° 12.

67. Mārīcī: lower part

Inv. 1549/old IC 33694.

17 x 18 x 9 cm. Bluish grey phyllite.

Waddell collection 46, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā or its region.

Suggested date: 10th c.

This badly damaged image shows the lower part of the goddess standing in *pratyāliḍha*°. In front of her, the charioteer sits holding a whip in the right hand above the head with which the seven sows are led. The goddess wears a long skirt adorned by a star-like motif which might be reminiscent of the relation of Mārīcī with the (solar) light.¹⁴⁹

Her arms are badly damaged; only some attributes can be properly identified such as the arrow and the needle in the two right hands. One of the left hands was carved in front of the breast, making probably the threatening gesture or *tarjani*° whereas another one held the *aṅkuśa* which is partly erased. This attribute and the sword were introduced in the iconography of the goddess at Nālandā.¹⁵⁰

PUBLISHED

Behrsing 1943, n° 65 & fig. 9 p. 22; Bautze-Picron [in the press-2], n° 29.

68. Mārīcī: fragment

Inv. 11131/old IC 33695.

21 x 13 x 8 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 47, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā or its region.

Suggested date: 10th c.

This large fragment belonged to an image of Mārīcī standing in *pratyāliḍha*° above the pedestal where her sows were profiled. The charioteer is still partly visible, holding the whip in the upraised right hand. The goddess had eight arms; all the left ones are lost and only the quiver, *iṣudhi*, from where she extracts an arrow, *śara*, is clearly recognizable. As such, standing on the ground, this attribute is typical of Nālandā and its region.¹⁵¹ She probably held the needle in the right hand seen in front of the leg, the sword in upper right hand (only a part of the upper arm is preserved).

Here also, her long skirt is adorned with a star-like motif which is often observed on images from Nālandā and the region.¹⁵² Similarly, the firmness of her forms, the broad hips, the polished surfaces point to the same geographical origin.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in hybrid Sanskrit:

... ye dha ...

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron [in the press-2], n° 30.

69. Four-armed deity

Inv. IC 33698.

From Bihar.

Waddell collection 50, 1906.

Inscribed.

No available illustration.

70. Fragment: feet of a standing deity

Inv. I 641/old IC 33675.

7,8 x 6,5 x 5 cm. Brownish fine-grained sandstone.

Waddell collection 22, 1906.

From Bihar.

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

Only the feet of a standing deity remain on this double lotus. The thick petals are rather characteristic of the 11th or 12th century, surmounted by the row of pearls which traces its origin in a row of stamens.

71. Fragment of pedestal with *haṃsa*

Inv. I 619/old IC 33665.

20,5 x 9 x 5 cm. Black phyllite.

Waddell collection 13, 1906.

From Bihar.

Suggested date: 10th c.

This constitutes the left corner of the central step of a pedestal. Some petals of the lotus on which sat or stood the deity are still traceable above the high pedestal. Two similar groups of mouldings limit a broad space in front of which the *haṃsa* is carved. Only the front part of the animal is visible and a part of the tail above his back. The bird holds in its beak a string, perhaps of flowers or of pearls. Below the lower mouldings, the basis is carved with a motif which copies in fact the foot observed below bronze images. As a matter of fact, some rare stone images present this motif.¹⁵³

Birds belong to the "royal throne" and are very rarely observed on the pedestal.¹⁵⁴

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmmā hetuṃ prabhavā ...

C. Lakhi Sarai and the district of Monghyr

72. Simphanāda Lokeśvara

Inv. IC 33702.

73 x 33 x 13 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 55, 1905.

Lakhi Sarai where it was discovered in a well with the Mahākāla (cat. 74).¹⁵⁵

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

The Bodhisattva sits in *mahārājāḥilā*° on a thick cushion which is adorned by foliated scrolls delienated with an extreme care and which is put above a roaring lion. The animal lies, all legs folded but the head turned up-

wards in the direction of Avalokiteśvara; his tail lies between the hind legs. On the shoulder and on the thigh, a large volute is drawn, carved in low relief. Parallel straws of hair cover the neck of the animal with a row of tiny scrolls at the edge of the mane and a further small scroll is carved on the cheek.

The animal lies above a double lotus pedestal put above a low plain basis on which runs the inscription. The edge of the pointed back slab behind the Bodhisattva is adorned by a row of flames of an extreme intricate design. The stone has been carved through around the Bodhisattva's torso. Around the head, a nimbus is drawn, composed by a row of small neatly drawn petals. It supports a large foot from where three thick stalks emerge, all carved in low relief and which support the five lotus-seats on which sits the five Tathāgata.s. From left to right we recognize, Vairocana (*dharmacakra*°), Akṣobhya (*bhūmisparśa*°), Amitābha (*samādhi*°), Ratnasambhava (*va-*



rada°) and Amoghasiddhi (*abhaya*°). As usual, Amitābha occurs a second time in front of the *jaṭā* of Avalokiteśvara.

From behind the lion, arises the thick stalk of the white lotus delicately held by the left hand of Avalokiteśvara; a short sword, which should be white, stands erected on the open flower and at the same level than the brocaded cushion another white lotus supports a white *kapāla* filled up with white flowers. The white *triśūla* stands behind the right arm, a white snake coiled around its staff. A jewel lies above the head of the snake who arises with elegance from behind the arm.

Avalokiteśvara is very unostentatiously dressed: a high *jaṭā* surmounts his head where thick locks are regularly intermingled, forming small archs where the hair is indicated through parallel incised lines. It supports a pointed lotus bud, the shape of which reminds of a jewel. The thin ribbon which holds together the chignon is knotted behind the head, its extremities are depicted flying above the ears whereas thin locks of hair run on the shoulders. A thick *upavīta* falls in smooth wave along the torso and below it, the Bodhisattva wears a scarf across the breast, the *uttariya*. It is transparent like the long skirt which covers the lower part of the body; parallel folds are indicated in thin relief, running elegantly parallel to the edges of the shawl which forms a loop on the left shoulder. Similar folds, but incised, run on the skirt which is bound by a girdle, the clasp of which forms an elegant loop in which the extremities of the skirt are held; it holds also a long pendant which falls between the legs and lies here on the cushion, ending in a central lotus flower and two parallel cloth endings showing tiny wave-like folds. Similar falls of cloth are noticed on the hips above the girdle.

The image reveals thus a workmanship of very high quality. The sculptor carved the details with an extreme care, letting large zones unadorned like the torso or the body of the lion. The animal is full of strength and energy, the body of the Bodhisattva is carved with tension in its movements. The body is inscribed in an irregular pentagon, the head with its high head-dress has rotated on the vertical axis – which passes through the root of the nose. The left arm is slightly bowed inwards whereas the right hand falls fully relaxed on the knee. The stretching of the torso combines with the great plasticity of the forms.

This image illustrates perfectly the *sādhana*s describing the Bodhisattva as “*Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara*”,¹⁵⁶ where he receives as attribute the white lotus, *śvetapadma*. This form which shows an ascetic aspect of the Bodhisattva, deprived from the traditional jewellery, was particularly venerated in order to heal leprosy¹⁵⁷ and is particularly encountered in the 11th and 12th c., *i.e.* after the introduction

around 800 probably of the image of Mañjuśrī on the lion and we cannot exclude here the influence of the Mañjuśrī iconography in the elaboration of this aspect of Avalokiteśvara.¹⁵⁸ Besides, an influence of the iconography of Śiva has also been underlined by M.-Th. de Mallmann with the presence of attributes such as the snake, the *triśūla* and the *kapāla*.¹⁵⁹ Images are rare but always very impressive, they are noticed at Sārṇāth, and from the region of Bodh Gayā till Sultanganj, a site located on the Ganges in the district of Monghyr.¹⁶⁰

Various images of the Bodhisattva were discovered at Lakhi Sarai and in the region; they all date back to the 11th and 12th centuries.¹⁶¹ And the second image of the *Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara* in the collection (cat. 51) was probably produced in the region lying eastwards from Nālandā, thus not far from Lakhi Sarai.

INSCRIPTION

Donative inscription in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit, Gauḍīya of the 12th c.

mallikā-devi-vitovī-sthitā-śākya-sthavirā- (line 1)
vijayaśrībhadrayā deyadharmmo yaṃ // symbol // (line 2)

“devi” should be corrected as “devī”. Cunningham (1871-72, pl. XLV-34) reads “viṇayī” for “vitovī” or “vitorī”, but this is not possible although the meaning of the term is vague.

Translation:

“This is the meritorious (gift) of the elderly Buddhist nun, Vijayaśrībhadrā, belonging to the branch (?) (viṭapi) of Mallikādevī.”

PUBLISHED

Waddell 1894, pl. I; B. Bhattacharyya 1924, pl. XIX-(c) or 1958, fig. 101 (both photographs with the sculpture above the pedestal which is catalogued below cat. 75); Foucher 1905, fig. 2 – probably after the photograph made *in situ* by Joseph Beglar in 1872-73 (Bautze-Picron 1988b, fig. 1); for the photo p. 41, made by Beglar, see *Indian Antiquities*, photo 169; *Führer* 1929, p. 46 & pl. 15; Bautze-Picron 1989a, p. 339 n° 105, or 1991/92, fig. 9 & p. 256 n° A. 9 and 1998, fig. 4; Cunningham 1871-72, pl. XLV-(34) (inscription).

73. Jambhala

Inv. I 379/old IC 33700.

50,5 (tenon: 4 cm) x 25 x 10,5 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 52, 1906.

Lakhi Sarai. Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

The deity sits in *lalita*° on a cushion which is put above the double lotus. A high plain pedestal supports the image; only a bowl with the offering is depicted in the lower left part, symmetrical to the devotee who kneels on a lotus, offering a garland to the god. The back-slab is

soberly adorned since only the edge is covered by a row of round flames reminding of the shape of petals. The back-slab is open around the god, which allows a carving in three dimension of the torso. The image is crowned by a lotus carved in high relief; rows of petals of decreasing size, are superimposed in two symmetric groups, one falling, one turned upwards and supporting a flamed jewel which is surrounded by two standing figures engaged in the action of pouring two vases downwards. Trees protect them and they stand on single lotuses with elongated petals. Two further similar reversed jars are depicted below them at the level of the deity's head.

Corpulent, Jambhala holds his two traditional attributes, *i.e.* the “citron”, *bijapūra* or *mātuluṅga*, and the “jewel-vomiting female mongoose”, *ratnapravarṣinakuḍharam*¹⁶² in the right and left hands respectively. His right foot lies above a stand constituted of five reversed jars pouring jewels. A rich jewellery adorns him: a long necklace and the *upavīta* are constituted of thick pearls, a further gemmed necklace adorns his neck, a flower-garland falls along his arms and forms a bow in his lap. Anklets and wristlets are also made of round beads. High gemmed armlets adorn his arms; they reproduced in low relief the flamed jewel crowning the image. Large circular ear-rings are attached at his ears. His head-dress is very elaborated: a diadem where pearled loops are attached to three high triangular fleurons and two smaller ones, encircles the high pointed tiara and is attached behind the head with ribbons, the extremities of which fall in a tumble on both shoulders behind the ears. The tiara includes two lower superimposed laticed levels which support a lotus flower similar to the one crowning the image. Jambhala wears a short skirt and a scarf which passes in his elbows and is depicted flying in an elegant movement upwards.

The god has a round face with wide open eyes which are elongated; similarly the eyebrows follow a line slightly curved upwards at their extremities. The mouth is small and shows the same stretching upwards, the nostrils are widely open. The fingers of his hands are attached together by a translucent skin.

Like the previous image, and like the following one, this image of Jambhala constitutes a great realisation of one of the ateliers of Lakhi Sarai. It combines physical strength, elegance of the composition, exquisite workmanship but limit in the selection of the motifs. It shows restraint in the movement of Jambhala's body which is however full of tension as if on the point of getting up, at the same time liveliness fills the depiction of the two attending figures of the upper part. Through the simultaneous use of the plain background and of extremely detailed ornaments, which was al-

ready observed above when describing the *Simhaṇāda* Lokeśvara from the site, it creates a dramatic tension between the plain zones and the fully carved ones. All three images show also that the craftsmen were in quest of new potentialities in their art: the back-slab is carved through all around the central deity, which allowed them to carve the image in the round, a feature encountered with most of the stelae collected at Lakhi Sarai.¹⁶³

Jambhala seems to have been particularly venerated at Lakhi Sarai.¹⁶⁴ And it is perhaps at Nālandā or at Lakhi Sarai that he started to replace one of the male figure of the *saptaratna* (here cat. 75).¹⁶⁵ On the images from Nālandā or Bodhi Gayā, which are earlier, his two *nidhi*s, the conch and the lotus, are often represented reversed on either side of his head, letting jewels pouring out,¹⁶⁶ while on the later Lakhi Sarai images, jars of plenty were apparently always substituted for these “jewels”. Jambhala is evidently the generous god who distributes richness when properly propitiated. Tāranātha tells us the story of the *mahācārya* Buddhajñānapāda, who had been appointed as *Vajrācārya* at the great monastery of Vikramāśīla, which was located on the Ganges not far away eastwards from Lakhi Sarai:

‘Begging with the time when his *ācārya* started working for the welfare of the living beings and up to the time of his passing away, he used to receive every night seven hundred golden *paṇas* from Ārya Jambhala and three hundred pearl necklaces from the goddess Vasudhārā. By the grace of these deities, a buyer turned up every morning. He used to spend before each evening all the money obtained there from in pious acts. He spent the time thus. He used to offer lamps as big as the chariot-wheel-seven each for the nineteen deities of the *Guhya-samāja* and three each for the eight *bodhi-sattvas* and the six Krodhas. He used to offer fifteen *naivedyas* to the fifteen guardians of the horizons, each *naivedya* being raised by two men. He used similarly to offer many other articles of worship and to satisfy the disciples who listened to the Doctrine and the ordained monks and all sorts of supplicants. Thus he worked for the perpetual spread of the Law.’¹⁶⁷

The motif of the flamed jewel arising out of the lotus at the top of the back-slab appears on the other images of Jambhala as well as on representations of Mahākāla and Pūrṇeśvarī from Lakhi Sarai.¹⁶⁸ It is most probably the visual representation of the famous formula in six syllables, *ṣaḍakṣarī mahāvīdyā*, “*om maṇi padme huṃ*”.

PUBLISHED

Thomsen n.d., cat. 7; *Indische Kunst* 1966, cat. 64; *MIK Katalog* 1971, cat. 125; *Tantrische Kunst* 1981, cat. 25 pp. 128-129; Picron 1978, fig. 61; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 53 pp. 108-109; Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 14 & p. 256 n° A.16.

74. Mahākāla

Inv. IC 33693.

49 x 27 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 45, 1905.

In a well at Lakhi Sarai (see above cat. 72).

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

The terrific god stands in a slight *ābhaṅga*° above a naked male figure, probably Vajrabhairava.¹⁶⁹ An image of Akṣobhya dominates the stela which is covered by concentric rows of flames. Four female deities are distributed around him: two in a dancing position on either side of his legs and two smaller ones, standing in *ālīḍha*° and *pratyālīḍha*°, on lotuses above Mahākāla's head. All show the same terrific features; they wear short or long skirts, are rather meagre or corpulent. They have broad faces with three wide open eyes and a grimacing mouth. All carry the *kapāla* and the *kartrī*, and the long garland of skulls represented in a simplified manner but which is evidently borrowed from the central figure. All have the same head-dress with the hair put on end and a diadem made of skulls as well as the large disks piercing the ears. The jewellery and ornamentation worn by those four female deities are thus evidently borrowed from the central male figure. These are four of the five Yoginis who surround the god in some *sādhana*s describing him, i.e. Kālī, Karālī, Varālī, Kaṅkāli and Mahākālī.

Mahākāla also holds the *kapāla* and the *kartrī* in the left and right hands respectively whereas the long *khaṭvāṅga* is held tight by his left arm. His aspect is frightening as it should be. The god is corpulent, but irradiates a strong physical energy. Beside the traditional outfit of jewellery, he wears a garland of human faces and skulls and anklets made of snakes. The diadem from behind which another snake arises, is made of skulls replacing the usual fleurons with beaded arches hanging; the diadem is knotted in the back with ribbons the extremities of which fall harmoniously behind the ears on the shoulders. Similar to flames, his hair stands on end. His face is broad. He laughs derisively, the open mouth showing the teeth. The eyes are widely open, a third one opens the forehead. The eyebrows follow a wavy line. The nose is flat with nostrils deeply open. A moustache underlines the upper lip.

The god and the two female attendants stand on high lotuses carefully carved which are distributed above a plain pedestal on which the tiny devotee is carved, kneeling at the feet of the god.

The cult of Mahākāla developed particularly from the 11th century onwards. A second image of the site is known, showing him four-armed and seated.¹⁷⁰ Besides, a number of male terrific images, sometimes named by the authors (Śiva) Bhairava, or Mahākāla as a form of Śiva, have been collected or mentioned at Lakhi Sarai and in the region.¹⁷¹ This ambivalence is not surprising since strong similarities exist indeed between the personalities of the Hindu Bhairava and the Buddhist Mahākāla.¹⁷² The image in the collection or the second stela from the site are clearly Buddhist depictions of the Krodha Mahākāla and they do fit in the general development known by Buddhism at the time.

The image is full of psychic energy, the god causing simultaneously terror and offering protection. The strong and wild movement is fully restrained within the smooth attitude. This ambivalence is also visible at the smile where wildness shows through but which seems also to be benevolent towards the devotee.

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1988, fig. 3; Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 16, pp. 253 & p. 257 n° A.18.

75. Pedestal with the seven jewels

Inv. I 580/old IC 33703.

13 x 46 x 17 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 56, 1906.

Probably collected at Lakhi Sarai (below).

Suggested date: 11th c.

This stepped pedestal reveals a good quality of work, the horse is depicted as if walking, the human figures are full of movement, the “precious stone” has the shape of a lotus bud where the thick petals are carved with elegance. All are carved in high relief in front of the high and flat recess of the pedestal. As usual, two reversed cymas limit the upper and lower edge of the socle. A trefoil is carved in the middle of the upper edge, which is most probably the symbol of the *triratna*, the “triple jewel” which combines the Buddha, the Law or *Dharma* and the community. As such, the motif occurs on various stelae from Lakhi Sarai.¹⁷³

The central element of the group is here the “chief of the treasures” who is depicted as a pot-bellied smiling figure and who holds apparently a fruit in the right hand open in the gesture of generosity. Two large pots are carved on either side of his head, they are re-

versed and their content falls. Evidently, it is here Jambhala who is depicted (see cat. 73).¹⁷⁴ As a matter of fact, the “chief of the treasures” or *koṣādhyaṅkṣarātma* replaces the “chief of the army” in some lists of “seven jewels” and this literary tradition probably finds here its artistic equivalent.¹⁷⁵

PUBLISHED

Waddell 1894, pl. I; B. Bhattacharyya 1924, pl. XIX-c or 1958, fig. 101 (below the Avalokiteśvara of cat. 72 which was recovered at Lakhi Sarai); Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 2.

76. Pedestal with atlant and animals

Inv. I 560/old IC 33701.

16,5 x 39 x 10 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 54, 1906.

Found at Uren, district of Monghyr. Suggested date: 10th c.

This five-stepped pedestal presents an elaborated decoration with two mouldings, including the trefoil motif of the *triratna* in the middle of the upper one (see cat. 75). Circular pillars indicate the edges of each step and separate the various figures from each other. Two pairs of elephants and of lions surround symmetrically the central figure who is depicted like a pot-bellied squatting male atlant who holds the upper part of the image with his arms. Like the animals, he has been defaced but one can still see his hair on end and “raising like flame”, *ūrdhvajvālakeśa*, and he can be identified with a *yakṣa*. This figure shares with the elephants the function of sustaining the image, whereas the lions are reminders of the traditional *siṃhāsana* and occur in eastern India quite often in the pedestal.

The animals are much alive, they turn their face backwards, *i.e.* towards the spectator or the central *yakṣa*; the lions are depicted as if roaring and prancing, the caparisoned elephants are in motion. A similar treatment of the pedestal with thin pillars separating the successive surfaces, can be noticed on images from Lakhi Sarai.¹⁷⁶

This iconographic composition occurs on some rare Buddhist images which can be roughly dated in the 11th or rather the 12th c. and which were recovered in Bihar and Bengal.¹⁷⁷ The motif is also noticed on contemporary small stelae traditionally attributed to Burmese ateliers although some of them at least could have been produced in India.¹⁷⁸

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Bhaikṣukī-lipi of c. 10th century. *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* in Pāli and Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) bhagavā āvuso paticcasa-muppāda dhamma deṣeti paṭiccasamuppannā ca dhammāṇa yo nirodho / ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā [teṣāṃ] (*line 1*) tathāgato avaca / teṣāṃ ca yo nirodho eva-vādi mahaśśamaṇo //0// (*line 2*)

PUBLISHED

Waddell 1892, pl. IV, No. 2; Sircar 1958, p. 224 n° 3; G. Bhattacharyya 1985b, figs. 1-2 & pp. 137-138 (after Sircar 1958); Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 4.

1 Which is apparently a typical “Pāla” way of wearing the monastic robe: it does not appear at an earlier period and even in eastern India, images can avoid it till the 9th c. (Bautze-Picron 1989g, figs. 1 & 6 *e.g.*).

2 The chronology of the early phase of the Kurkihār stylistic idiom is discussed by Bautze-Picron 1990a (images of the Buddha) and 1991b (images of Bodhisattva.s and Tārā.s). The overall stylistic evolution and the iconographic characteristics of the atelier are the object of a work in the press. The chronology in three phases is explained there.

3 Compare *e.g.* to Bautze-Picron 1989g, figs. 12-14.

4 Other images of the Buddha discovered at Bodh Gayā belong to the same trend: one image in the local museum, inv. 1517 (unpublished), another one in the Mahant’s compound (Leoshko 1987, fig. 38, Leoshko 1988d, fig. 10, Leoshko 1988e, figs. 9 & 10) and a third one preserved in the AMP, inv. 114 (P. L. Gupta 1965, p. 53 cat. 6, Foucher 1905, p. 17 fig. I, Huntington 1984, fig. 103 & p. 98, Leoshko 1987, fig. 42 & p. 116, Leoshko 1988e, fig. 12). The Tārā from Itkauri has been often published, see French 1928, pl. XX, Banerji 1933, pl. IV-b, Huntington 1984, fig. 40, Leoshko 1987, fig. 140; the Avalokiteśvara dedicated during the reign of Devapāla is preserved in the NM, inv. 60.605 (inscription read by G. Bhattacharyya 1997b; Bautze-Picron 1989e, p. 337 n° 27).

5 James C. Harle has analysed this motif which appears during the Gupta period and is spread all through the Peninsula, see Harle 1987.

6 Two further unnumbered images of the Bodhisattva preserved in the BGM, *e.g.*

7 This image, preserved in the IM inv. Kr. 2, which illustrates Halahala Lokeśvara with his Prajñā, is still unpublished. It is however catalogued by Kittoe 1848, p. 698 n° 18 and Anderson 1883, 2, p. 272 who both identify the image as a representation of Śiva and Pārvatī.

8 The Halahala Lokeśvara from Purṇāha is mentioned in the previous note, images probably from Bodh Gayā include a Maitreya and an Avalokiteśvara (Heeramanek 1979, pl. (b & w) 119 & 120; Pal 1988, cat. 82). See also a Tārā of unknown provenance (Banerji 1933, pl. XXXIX-c, Picron 1978a, fig. 60).

9 A seated Tārā now in the Birla collection in Calcutta (Khandalavala/Roy 1987, fig. 2.12 p. 20) and previously observed *in situ* by Keith (1910, fig. 8).

10 Asher 1980, pl. 155.

11 See two slightly unpublished later images at the Gayā Museum where the central part of the flower is similar to the one observed here and where 7 or 8 petals are spread around it.

12 Asher 1980, pl. 163.

13 National Museum inv. 47.53 (unpublished).

14 But scholars do not agree about this interpretation. See James C. Harle 1977.

15 J. Leoshko already mentioned the fact, relating also the presence of the Sūrya of the early *vedikā* to the moment of the Bodhi. Concerning different aspects of the iconography and the various meanings covered by the image of Māricī at Bodh Gayā and in other sites, see Bautze-Picron [in the press-2].

16 Mallmann 1986, pp. 31 & 261.

17 B. Bhattacharyya 1958, p. 211.

18 Published by L. Frédéric 1957, pl. 26 & *Visions of Enlightenment* 1988, first unnumbered page at the end although this image is evidently later.

19 It is noticed on a Vasudhārā from Bodh Gayā (Bautze-Picron 1992a, fig. 21 & p. 56 n° 55 for further references), on two images of Durgā of unknown provenance (*idem*, fig. 6 & p. 52 n° 11 [with further references], fig. 12 & p. 53 n° 28). Together with the pearled garland, it adorns the edge of a back-slab behind an aspect of Vasudhārā of unknown origin (*idem*, fig. 26 & p. 57 n° 66).

20 For instance, a Maitreya image at Bodh Gayā, reproduced by B. N. Sharma 1978, pl. XI-fig. 8 or in *Visions of Enlightenment* 1988, 5th unnumbered plate at the beginning of the volume. The ribbons are also visible above the ears of this image.

21 At the aureole, like here: unpublished images of the Buddha in the Bodh Gayā Museum, of the Buddha in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir, an unpublished Mañjuśrī in the garden, a Tārā (Huntington 1984, fig. 105), another Buddha (Harle/Topsfield 1987, cat. 46). At the nimbus: Buddha in the 5 Pandava Mandir of Bodh Gayā.

22 The development of the Buddha image at Kurkihār is analysed in Bautze-Picron 1989g and in 1990a; we summarize here some of the elements presented in these articles.

23 The early depictions of Bodhisattva.s and Tārā.s are analysed in Bautze-Picron 1991b.

24 The following images can be considered: 1° Buddha image, preserved in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art Kansas City inv. 750-1200 (Taggart *et alii* 1973, p. 123; Goloubew n.d., pl. XIV: all “Pāla” images of the former Mallon collection were collected at Nālandā as mentioned by Goloubew in the foreword to the catalogue); 2° four-armed Avalokiteśvara, Nālandā Museum inv. 12.87 (*AR of the ASI 1930-1934*, pl. CXXXIII-(a); Mallmann 1948, pl. X-a; A. Ghosh 1971, pl. IV; Saraswati 1977, ill. 67; M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 47); 3° Tārā, Indian Museum inv. A25132 (Bautze-Picron 1989c, fig. 17 & p. 282 n° 49 for further references); 4° & 5° two unpublished images of the four-armed Avalokiteśvara, today kept in the Sūrya Mandir of Baḍgāon.

25 Beside the Mañjuśrī published by S. K. Saraswati (1977, ill. 40), two further unpublished images should be considered, both preserved also in the Nālandā Museum (photos ASI-ND 441/68 & 501/68).

26 Huntington 1984, fig. 130 and on a further image related to Nālandā: Bautze-Picron 1992c, pl. 15 (& note 17)

27 *Ibidem* and a second image of the Buddha, preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York inv. 20.58.16 (Goloubew n.d., pl. VIII; Zimmer 1955, pl. 380; *Indian Buddhist Sculpture* 1968, cat. 43; Haque 1994, fig. 3 where it is wrongly ascribed to Bodh Gayā – see in note 24 above the remark about the origin of the images previously in the Mallon collection). A third stela, depicting Hārītī, is in the Art Institute of Chicago (Goloubew n.d., pl. X & Bautze-Picron 1992a n° 52 p. 55 for further references). The largest example of such a vivid lion is the animal on which sits the Vagīśvarī dated in the reign of Gopāla III (Bautze-Picron 1992a, fig. 18 & n° 47 p. 55). Further examples are in the Nālandā Museum: 1° Buddha, inv. 00011/49.3872 (Zimmer 1955, pl. 376; C.S. Upasak 1967, pl. XXIII-fig. 1); 2° Vajrasattva, inv. 00046 (Saraswati 1977, ill. 82); 3° Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara probably), inv. 10743 (photo ASI-ND 483/68).

28 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image n°5 (file 1275/08); the scholar held this image to be one of the "finest specimens of all the stone sculptured Buddhas [he has] ever seen from Magadha".

29 A similar drapery with the same pillars occurs below an image of the Buddha displaying the *abhaya*° from Nālandā (photo ASI-Calcutta 397/56); with octagonal pillars, it is seen below a Tārā from the site (photo ASI-Calcutta 715/73) and below another Buddha figure (quoted above in note 24).

30 The best known example is the image from Viṣṇupur, a site located between Bodh Gayā and Kurkihar which was essentially active in the 11th and 12th c. The Buddha image leans against a back in two symmetric parts and was surrounded by the depictions of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. All those elements are today preserved in the Patna Museum. Keith 1910, fig. 3 reproduces on a single photo the triad and the back-slab when they were still *in situ*; see also: Banerji 1933, pl. XXXII- (a) to (c); Sinha 1958, fig. 92, 94 & 95; P. L. Gupta 1965, cat. 8-10 pp. 53-54 & pl. X & XI; Huntington 1984, figs. 120-122 who publish the triad and for isolated image(s) from this group: Stein 1901, fig. IV-V; Sinha 1974, pl. 74-(I) & (ii); Ashton 1950, cat. 264, pl. 47, *The Way of the Buddha* 1956, § V, pl. 24 (p. 199).

31 See for instance Bautze-Picron 1989b,c figs. 17-19, 21; K. Desai 1973, fig. 9; Picron 1980, fig. 7 or G. Bhattacharya 1987a, fig. 2; Bautze-Picron 1985a, pl. VIII.

32 See the Buddha preserved in Kansas City which is quoted in note 24 and the other sculptures mentioned in notes 26 or 27 for instance, or Bautze-Picron 1992c, pls. 14-15 & note 17.

33 A drawing made for Fr. Buchanan Hamilton reproduces such an image at Baḍgāon (OIOC, MSS. Eur. D. 95, folio 162 (new number: 223). Beside two stelae, already quoted in note 24 above (1° & 2°), three further images of the group are preserved in the Portheim Stiftung in Heidelberg and in the Nālandā Museum (1° neg. ASI-ND 1382/73 [Avalokiteśvara], 2° ASI-Calcutta 715/73 [Tārā]).

34 Huntington 1984, fig. 136 & neg. ASI-ND 876/68 (showing the image at the Suraj Pokar).

35 See the Amoghasiddhi preserved in the local museum (Leoshko 1987, fig. 92).

36 For Nālandā: a female snake-deity in the NIM, inv. 9-201 (*AR of the ASI 1930-34*, pl. LXVIII-b, A.

Ghosh 1971, pl. VIII-B, Shah 1955, fig. 41), an unpublished Avalokiteśvara (photo ASI 503/68) (with the pearls), from Bodh Gayā: Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 5.

37 1° BM inv. 1930.7-14.1 and 2° Philadelphia Museum of Art inv. 21-36-16 (Kramrisc 1960, p. 85 cat. 43).

38 See 1° Huntington 1984, fig. 109, Cunningham 1892, pl. XXVI-3, Woodward 1990, fig. 13; 2° Bénisti 1981, fig. 99 (upper part only), photo ASI-ND 36/65; 3° Gayā Museum, ex-AMP inv. 11010; 4° Cunningham 1892, pl. XXVI-2; 5° photo ASI-ND 40/65 (image in the BGM) & 6° Doehring 1925, pl. 14.

39 1° IM inv. A25146/3755 (from Haragaon, district of Patna: Banerji 1933, pl. XXII-c; Asher 1970, pl. VI 6 p. 108), 2° Avery Brundage collection, San Francisco inv. B60 S569 (Hauswedell 1960, # 17; *Pāla* 1984, cat. 10).

40 Examples in Bautze-Picron 1991a, figs. 1-14 & 18-20.

41 *Ibidem*, figs. 16-17; Sotheby's London 1994, # 212; Kramrisc 1960, cat. 41 & pl. 19.

42 Bautze-Picron 1985b, p. 125.

43 See 1° Huntington 1984, fig. 132; 2° photo ASI-Calcutta 741/73 (unpublished); 3° AMP (no inventory number, unpublished, findspot unspecified). A fourth image is preserved in the Tetrāvān temple. Bronze illustrations are also known: Ray/Khandalavala/Gorakshkar 1986, ill. 108, 109 (stolen from the Nālandā Museum before entering the Heeramanek collection: *Arts of India* 1967, cat. 62 and the LACMA: Pal 1988, cat. 70 with further references) & 145 (also stolen from the same museum – present location unknown).

44 Published in the *AR of the ASI, Eastern (now Central) Circle for 1919-20*, p. 40 n° 2 & pl. III-b, in the *AR of the ASI 1919-20*, pl. XXI-a or the *AR of the ASI 1921-22*, pl. XXXVII-h or by Huntington 1984, fig. 133 and G. Bhattacharya 1989a, fig. 27 (see his footnote 59 for further references). In those various publications, the image is identified with Ratnasambhava. Only the *AR of the ASI, Eastern (now Central) Circle*, the *AR of the ASI 1919-20* and H. D. Sankalia 1934, pl. III & p. 133 recognize Maitreya.

45 Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 361 & figs. 17-20.

46 Concerning the tree: see Majupuri/Joshi 1988, pp. 165-166, in particularly the figure p. 166. For the Sopara bronzes, consult D. Desai 1989, fig. 21 & p. 81 which is after Barrett 1956-57, p. 42 & his pl. VIII-fig. 3. But much incertitude seems to have ruled about the precise distribution of gestures among the seven Buddhas in the "Pāla" period (see previous note).

47 See for instance the second and sixth Buddha.s starting from left on a panel from Viṣṇupur (Bautze-Picron 1995/96, fig. 20), or the second figure from right on the other three known panels listed in the same article, note 27 (in those cases, the Buddha is Śākyamuni, standing near Maitreya).

48 Now preserved in the Elvehjem Museum of Art of the University of Wisconsin-Madison inv. 1972.26, it has been often reproduced: Hauswedell 1961, # 16, P. Chandra 1963, cat. 7, Narain 1985, pl. 115, Paul/Paul 1989 (who give the proper identification), Leoshko 1986/87, fig. 1 & p. 33.

49 As said in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*: Lalou 1930, p. 43 & note 5.

50 Cunningham 1892, pl. XXVI below right (BGM inv. 1; see also Huntington 1984, fig. 109,

Woodward Jr 1990, fig. 13), Banerji 1933, pl. XVII-b (also *AR of the ASI 1921-1922*, pl. XXXVII-f or Anderson 1883, p. 48: "B.G. 80") & pl. XXVI-a (also in Anderson 1883, p. 52: "B.G. 99", Leoshko 1987, fig. 75).

51 *AR of the ASI 1921-1922*, pl. XXXVII-e & p. 105, Anderson 1883, p. 16: "S.26". The image was either carved at Sārṇāth or imported from Bodh Gayā.

52 For instance: Bautze-Picron 1992, fig. 22, image of Vasudhārā. Most of the late images found at Pūrṇahā, a site located near Kurkihar, belong to this phase.

53 Avalokiteśvara: 1° IM inv. A25145/3789 (Asher 1970, pl. II . at the top of the stairs; Bloch 1911, p. 54; Bautze-Picron 1989e, n° 29; 2° AMP inv. 10339 (from Hasra Kol; Keith 1910, fig. 4; P.L. Gupta 1965, p. 62 n° 50; Leoshko 1985, fig. 49 & p. 131 note 27); 3° NM inv. 59.92/1 (from the Pretśīla, Gayā; Saraswati *et alii* 1936, fig. 11 & p. 40; Saraswati 1977, ill. 72; Picron 1978b, fig. 2; Bautze-Picron 1989e, n° 61; M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 40 & p. 161); 4° Lucknow Museum (Vogel 1903-04, pl. LXII, fig. 2; B. Bhattacharyya 1923, fig. 2; Mallmann 1948, pl. IX-a; Leoshko 1985, fig. 48; Bautze-Picron 1989e, n° 28); 5° Mañjuśrī: IM inv. Kr. 11 (Kittoe 1848, p. 698 n° 13; Anderson 1883, p. 76; Bautze-Picron 1991b, fig. 10); 6° A.P. Poddar collection, Calcutta (Saraswati *et alii* 1936, fig. 10 & pp. 26-27; Bautze-Picron 1989f, p. 85 n° 24); 7° IM inv. BG 74 (Anderson 1883, p. 48; Banerji 1933, pl. XIV-c; Leoshko 1987, fig. 125; Bautze-Picron 1988b, fig. 24; Bautze-Picron 1989f, p. 85 n° 29); Tārā: 8° present location unknown (Sotheby's New York 1992b, # 100); Birth of Śākyamuni: 9° The Newark Museum inv. 65.43 (*Indian Buddhist Sculpture* 1968, cat. 39; Reynolds 1970, cat. 4); Sūrya: 10° N. P. Poddar collection, Calcutta; 11° present location unknown (Christie's London 1982, # 197)

54 1° IM inv. A25145/Kr.5 (Kittoe 1848, p. 697 n° 6; Anderson 1883, pp. 74-75; Banerji 1933, pl. XXIX-a; Huntington 1984, fig. 116; Bautze-Picron 1988b, fig. 113); 2° Nawada Museum, Narada inv. 74031; 3° Asian Art Museum of San Francisco inv. B60 S118+ (Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 4).

55 For comparative and better preserved scenes of the *Parinirvāṇa*, see: 1° BM inv. 1880-1 (Chanda 1936, pl. XIII & pp. 52-53; from Tetrāvān: drawn under the supervision of Markham Kittoe, manuscript of drawings preserved at the OIOC inv. WD 2877, folio 23); 2° IM inv. 3773 (Banerji 1933, pl. XIVd; Banerji 1937, p. 110; from Tetrāvān: Bautze-Picron 1989g, p. 263 n° 11); 3° IM inv. 3774 (Banerji 1933, pl. XXXI-d; Bloch 1911, p. 54; from Bihar), 4° IM inv. 5610 (Banerji 1933, pl. XXXI-c; Bloch 1911, p. 54; from Bihar); 5° & 6°: two depictions preserved in the NIM (neg. ASI-ND 444/68 & 486/68), both from Nālandā; 7° IM, image from Dinajpur (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, vol. VI, n° 2, July 1979, plate between pp. 100 & 101); 8° Sotheby's, London 1993, # 507.

56 Images 3°, 5° & 6° of the previous note. K. Desai 1976, cat. 30.53 p. 23 & fig. 73-B reproduces the face of a votive *caitya* where only one monk is depicted as an atlant in the centre of the lower part of the composition. It is evident that it is the lack of space which forced the artist to this solution.

57 Images 4° & 7° of note 53 show the grill.

58 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908 (file 1275/08), image n° 6.

59 Leoshko 1993/94, Bautze-Picron 1995/96 pp. 363-369, J. Huntington 1987.

60 Leoshko 1993/94, footnotes 2, 3, 9 & 13, Bautze-Picron 1995/96, footnote 1 pp. 363-369 for bibliographical references.

61 1° NIM (photo ASI-ND 643/68)(two Bodhisattva.s); 2° NIM (Banerji 1933, pl. XXIIa; *APR of the ASI Central Circle* 1920-21, pl. II right; photo ASI-ND 114/58) (the Buddha at Vaiśālī); 3° NIM (photo ASI-Calcutta 443/56) (three Buddha images including the central one with Mucilinda); 4° NIM (Snellgrove 1978, fig. 208; D. Mitra 1980, photo 20; Parimoo 1982, frontispiece & fig. 96; Paul 1987, fig. 71; J. Huntington 1987, fig. 18) (*idem*). The two Bodhisattva.s occur on a stela of unknown provenance in the AMP, inv.11315 (central Buddha is crowned); four Buddha images (twice at Vaiśālī, twice at Bodh Gayā) are seen below another crowned Buddha of precise unknown origin (but of Nālandā style) (Begley 1969, cat. 3); the final decrease and two meditating Buddha images are below a crowned Buddha at Nālandā (Huntington 1984, fig. 134; photo ASI-ND 675/68). To end, a further image illustrating the style of the site but carved in the yellowish-beige pyrophyllite usually attributed to Burmese ateliers, is identical with the image listed 3° above, suggesting that both were carved in the same atelier (Sotheby's New York 1997, # 28) (and shows also many similarities with 4°). Two Buddha images are carved in the lower part of a stela preserved at Ghosrāvāñ (Bautze-Picron 1995/96, fig. 18).

62 Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford inv. OS 67.

63 One notices at Bodh Gayā, in contrary to other major sites, a multiplicity of stylistic idioms, which results evidently in some cases from influences tracing their origin in those other sites, such as Kurkihār (influence in the late 9th c.) or Nālandā (influence in the 10th c.), but is also due to the presence at the place of monks originating from far-away countries, this had simultaneously an impact on style and on iconography.

64 All information concerning the site has been collected by Leoshko 1988c.

65 The Broadley collection was kept at Bihar Sharif from where it was transferred to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in Spring 1891 by Purna Chandra Mukherji (Asher 1970, p. 105). I suspect that Waddell must have passed through Bihar Sharif before that date or around it, since it was also the time when he travelled in the region of Lakhi Sarai (he published his paper on Mount Uren in 1892); it is also clear that everything did not leave at the time Bihar Shariff since some images entered later on the collection of the Patna Museum.

66 Broadley 1872a, pp. 250-253, citation from p. 252.

67 For the images still *in situ*, see J. Leoshko 1988c. An early Buddha preserved in the Patna Museum has been published by Williams 1982, pl. 236 & by Asher 1980, pl. 79 & p. 51. A second Buddha is preserved in the reserve of the same museum (inv. 674; Gupta 1965, p. 55 n°14 – correct the description: two, and not only one, Buddha figures are carved on the upper part of the slab). Another early Buddha image is preserved in Calcutta: Banerji 1933, pl. XXV-c or Leoshko 1988c, fig. 14 & p. 97 (which is similar to a large fragment still *in situ*); a Sūrya image in the centre of the garden of the same museum (inv. 3927; Broadley 1872a, pp. 252-253 n°

LXII; Chakravarti 1908, p. 83 or Bloch 1911, p. 77; Bautze-Picron 1989d, p. 263 n° 8 & pl. 32.10).

68 *AR of the ASI* 1930-34, p. 275.

69 The nāga is preserved in the Nālandā Museum (neg. ASI/Delhi 665/68); the Bodh Gayā sculpture was stolen on the night of 7.10.1988 (information given by Debala Mitra, letter dated 15.9.1995), we still photographed it in Spring 1988. See also Asher 1980, pl. 60 for the treatment of the lids and a similar soft smile, or *ibidem*, pls. 190 & 193 (for the eyes). A post-Gupta image from Tetrāvāñ includes a similar row of pearls at the edge of the nibus (Asher 1980, pl. 78)

70 The upper thin band(s) is very rare; it is observed on an image from Nālandā (Bautze-Picron 1991a, fig. 6), and on a further slab probably from the same site (*ibidem*, fig. 3).

71 Huntington 1984, fig. 134. Compare to it: 1° Coomaraswamy 1923, pl. XXXVII & p. 79, 2° Taggart et alii 1973, p. 123 (upper right), *Indian Buddhist Sculpture* 1968, cat. 47; 3° Sotheby's New York 1990b, # 60. Earlier images from Nālandā are illustrated in Bautze-Picron 1991a, figs. 1, 3-10, 18-19.

72 1° IM inv. A25146/3755, from Haragaon, district of Patna (Banerji 1933, pl. XXII-c; Asher 1970, pl. VI & p. 108; Broadley collection: Broadley 1872a, p. 283); 2° image at Ghenjan (Kuraishī 1931, fig. 27; Burgess 1897, vol. II, pl. 236); 3° Huntington 1984, fig. 134; 4° Leoshko 1988b, fig. 16; 5° ABSF B60 S569 (Hauswedell 2.12.1960, # 17, Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 14).

73 Beside the examples mentioned in the previous footnotes, see also 1° The University of Iowa Museum of Art (Begley 1969, cat. 3); 2° Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde Leiden, inv. 2118-I (Coomaraswamy 1923, pl. XXXIV; Eastman oct.1930, fig. 4; Craven 1961, fig. F; *Het Leven* n.d., pl. XI; *Art and Letters* 1962, p. 2; van Kooij/Raven 1987, n° 7 & 1992, fig. 59); 3° BM inv.1887.7-17.62 (Snellgrove 1978, pl. 206; Parimoo 1982, fig. 100); 4° Sotheby's New York 1996a, # 92.

74 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 7, 35-36. Add to them (without the central rhombus): ABSF inv. B65 S11 (Lefebvre d'Argencé/Tse 1969, cat. 31; Lefebvre d'Argencé 1977, pl. 145; Bautze-Picron 1995a, cover) or Banerji 1933, pl. XVII-b (IM inv. BG 80).

75 Often reproduced, see for instance Huntington 1984, figs. 69-72.

76 Paul 1995, pl. 80; Bautze-Picron 1990ba figs. 1-2, Bautze-Picron 1991b, figs. 6-8, 11, 15, Bautze-Picron 1992a, fig. 20. The drapery with rolled up edges which disclose the two large lions is also noticed on bronzes from Nālandā: Paul 1995, pls. 59 & 75. For another stela from Nālandā, see Bautze-Picron 1989c, fig. 2 & n° 8; a second one most probably from the site is reproduced by Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 6 & pp. 128-129 for further references. An image in the AMP, inv.11339, unfortunately of unknown provenance, includes also the same treatment of the drapery (G. Bhattacharya 1995/96, fig. 11); see also Sotheby's New York 1990a, # 270 or Sotheby's London 1993, # 531.

77 For the Jambhala, see Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 15 & pp. 256-257 n°A.17 for further references. For the script, see G. Bhattacharya 1985b, pp. 136-141.

78 This position is encountered on the Jina images from Rājgir: Asher 1980, pls. 15-16 (Gupta period:

p. 22-23) & 80-81 (p. 51: late 7th century), and on some Buddha images from Bodh Gayā: *ibidem*, pl. 60-63 & p. 43-44 where the images are dated from the middle of the 6th (pl. 60 or Banerji 1933, pl. XXX-c) through the late 6th (pl. 63; Banerji 1933, pl. VII-d), to the late 7th century (pl. 62; Banerji 1933, pl. VII-a). The dating is based on palaeography.

79 *ibidem*, pls. 62-63 & pp. 43-44 where the author suggests that the Buddha below Mucilinda which is to be seen at Bodh Gayā, might have originally come from the nearby site of Dharmāraṇya (comparing it with the Hindu images still preserved in this village); the second image is preserved in the IM, inv. Br. 9, without any precised indication as to its findspot, but it might, as a matter of fact, well have been collected at Bodh Gayā.

80 E.g. two images of the Buddha photographed by the ASI-ND, n° 112/58 & 513/68. Two such images from eastern India were discovered at Kasia, in the district of Gorakhpur (= Kuśinagara) and at Saheth Maheth (= Śrāvastī), both preserved in the BM, inv. 1887.11-23.4 & 5 (Carlisle 1966, p. 27); a depiction of the crowned Buddha at his Enlightenment was recovered at Sārnāth (Marshall/Konow 1907-08, pl. XIX-a & p. 67). Further photos of broken images from eastern India were made by the ASI at Saheth, *APR ASI, Northern Circle* 1908, p. 28, photos 960 & 961 (the objects were deposited at the Lucknow Museum: *ibidem*, p. 35; on the excavations, see Vogel 1907-08, pp. 81-139; the objects were recovered at Kachchi Kuṭī: *ibidem*, pp. 107-108).

81 Bautze-Picron 1991a, figs. 1-5.

82 Compare to Bénisti 1981, fig. 101 (or Parimoo 1982, fig. 101).

83 Letter of Waddell to F. W. K. Müller, dated 29.7.1907 (file 1523/07): "in order to obtain it I had to make two expedition of several days duration ..." Mistaken by the gesture of the Bodhisattva, Waddell identified the later as being Maitreya but mentions that the image "is in perfect preservation and quite unique". Due to illness, he was, however, unable to send the image before the 20th January of the following year (letters dated 23.1.1908 to F. W. K. Müller and to A. von Lecoq, file 194/08).

84 Bautze-Picron 1991a, figs. 6-14, 20 (all slabs from Nālandā or attributed to an atelier of the site); Bautze-Picron 1985b, fig. 1; see also a depiction of the same Bodhisattva displaying also the gesture of teaching, but seated in *padmāsana* from Nālandā (photo ASI-Calcutta 463/73) (and at the feet of whom Hayagrīva sits in the same attitude as the Krodha here) and an unpublished image of the crowned Buddha seated in *pralambapādāsana* and teaching which is preserved in the local temple of Tetrāvāñ.

85 *ibidem*, figs. 10-13, 20 or the Avalokiteśvara quoted in the previous note.

86 For early examples: Bautze-Picron 1989c, fig. 8; Asher 1970, pl. 163. For other images of the 9th c.: below cat. 48 & images discovered at Telhāra and Biswāk which are listed in footnote 96.

87 Mallmann 1986, pp. 180-181.

88 An image of high quality was found at Kurkihār showing the Bodhisattva in *lalita*° (IM inv. A25160/5859; Chakravarti 1908, p. 61; Bloch 1911, p. 56; Stein 1901, fig. II; French 1928, pl. XXIII (2); Kramrisch 1929, fig. 42; Banerji 1933, pl. XV-d; Mallmann 1948, pl. XIV-b; Saraswati 1977, ill. 83;

M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 42). An unpublished image from Nālandā shows the *vajra*^o (photo ASI-Calcutta 463/73); on a second one from the same site, the eight-armed Avalokiteśvara sits also in *vajra*^o (Bautze-Picon 1989c, fig. 14). The painted image was described by Foucher 1900, pp. 109 & 203 (miniature I-73); it displays the gesture of teaching with the *lalita*^o. This painting and another one (Foucher 1900, p. 212), from a second manuscript, would reproduce the Bodhisattva in the Potala Mountain according to the short inscriptions accompanying them; in both cases, indeed, the mountain is reproduced (like on the Kurkihār stela). A bronze from Nālandā, showing the "European way" of sitting, is quoted by Bernet Kempers 1926, pp. 27-28.

89 However, see the Nālandā bronze mentioned in the previous note. A stela preserved in the Indian Museum, of unknown provenance, is evidently related to the style of Orissa and might have been produced in one of the southern districts of Bengal (Anderson 1883, p. 47; Bloch 1911, p. 59). The Bodhisattva sits in *pralambapada*^o in a rocky landscape which is crowned by trees and five small sanctuaries in which the five Jinas sit. The two goddesses attend to him, together with Hayagrīva and Sudhanakumāra.

90 Mallmann 1948, pp. 191-194 names rightly these images "Śrī Potalake Lokanātha" after the name given in one of the Cambridge manuscripts published by Foucher (1900). It is possible that this iconographic type is to be related to the image of the Cintāmaṇi Cakra Avalokiteśvara, also supposed to reside on the Potala according to the texts and to the images (Pal 1967-68, pp.39 & 40).

91 The same is observed on the large Jagdīpur-Nālandā image: J. Huntington 1987, figs. 4 & 6, Bautze-Picon 1996, fig. 16.

92 Bautze-Picon 1989c, fig. 14.

93 The Bodhisattva sits or stands below the tree: Bautze-Picon 1995, p. 74 note 5 (& fig. 18) or Sen Gupta 1983. On an unpublished small image in the Bodh Gayā Museum, the Bodhisattva sits in the pensive mood, also named *mahārājāḷilā*^o, which is also the position of Cintāmaṇi Cakra Avalokiteśvara (Pal 1967/68); a similar image is now preserved in a Swiss private collection (Sotheby's New York, 1993a, # 111). See also Bautze-Picon 1989bc fig. 14 (& p. 281 n°47) where the tree is carved as it is here, arising above the nimbus.

94 Viennot 1954, p. 177.

95 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image n°1 (file 1275/08).

96 Relevant here are a twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara was found at Telhāra (IM inv. 3795: Waddell 1894, pl. II-3; Leoshko 1988c, fig. 2) and a two-armed image was collected at Biswāk by Alexander Broadley (Asher 1970, pl. VI & p. 108; Waddell 1894, pl. III; Foucher 1900, fig. 12; Banerji 1933, pl. VIII-(b); M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 44; G. Bhattacharya 1986d, pl. 5; Bautze-Picon 1989c, p. 338 n° 46). The Maitreya from Telhāra, also collected by A. Broadley, is reproduced by: Banerji 1933, pl. X-(a); Saraswati 1977, ill. 5; Leoshko 1988c, figs. 3-5; see also: Asher 1970, pl. II, VII & p. 109 on the provenance of the image.

97 B. Bhattacharyya 1958, p. 143. See also Mallmann 1986, p. 108.

98 Mallmann 1986, p. 287 (on Padmāntaka: *ibidem*, pp. 286-288).

99 *Ibidem*, pp. 249-150 (*passim*, on Mañjuśrī) & 419-429 (Vajrasattva).

100 *Ibidem*, pp. 24 & 206.

101 Bautze-Picon 1993, *passim* & p. 155.

102 The name of the king was suggested to G. Bhattacharya by D. C. Sircar (Bhattacharya 1986d, note 41).

103 Bautze-Picon 1989c, p. 331 & appendix images 73 & 115. For the Bodhisattva of Bodh Gayā (image 73), see also Bautze-Picon 1989b, p. 274 n° 12 for further references. See also Mallmann 1986, p. 107 & note 12 (*sphuratpañcatathāgatam*).

104 Below note 156.

105 For instance: Bautze-Picon 1989c, n° 68 (or Huntington 1984, fig. 137) & n°96 (or Huntington 1984, fig. 138). For images of unknown provenance, but evidently related to the atelier of Nālandā, see *ibidem*, figs. 14, 19 & 20 & p.330 where examples are listed (see also fig. 6-c p.331). Some other ones were discovered in the Rājgir Hills at Giriye (*ibidem*, n° 109 or Banerji 1933, pl. XVII-(c)) or at Sultanganj (*ibidem*, n° 115 or Huntington 1984, fig. 155).

106 It is preserved in the Patna Museum, inv.8035, see P.C. Chaudhuri 1936, P.L. Gupta 1965, pl. XIII & p. 65 n° 63, R. Choudhary 1956, pl. 4. The second image is also in the AMP, inv.1578 and is labelled as having been found in Bihar without any further detail (or is it Bihar Sharif which is meant?) (P. L. Gupta 1965, p. 64 n° 60).

107 Another example is preserved in the AMP inv.1632 (Gupta 1965, p. 62 n° 53; G. Bhattacharya 1986b, pl. XVII-I & pp. 199-201 – from the Broadley collection).

108 Bautze-Picon 1989c, p. 333. The female pair precedes in time the group of four attendants or the male pair. The male pair alone is apparently always encountered on 12th century images and is thus contemporary with the group of four attendants. See in this article fig. 19 where the female deities are included in the pedestal or fig. 17 where they are altogether absent.

109 *Ibidem*, catalogue n° 68, 70 (fig.14), 99-101, 104 (fig.19), 107-110, 113; Huntington 1984, fig. 138 for instances of contemporary images of the Bodhisattva. Add to these examples: Sotheby's New York 1985, # 265 (with the two male attendants only), Sotheby's New York 1990a, # 268 & 485 (the last one without the scrolls on the pedestal but also with the two male attendants only).

110 Bautze-Picon 1991/92, figs. 7 & 20. An analogous treatment of these thick petals, of which different layers are superimposed is also noticed at Lakhi Sarai: *ibidem*, figs. 18-19, 23, 31-32, 33-34, 38. On most of these examples also, the attendants stand or sit on lotuses which are similar to the one seen here.

111 *Ibidem*, figs. 1, 7, 10-11, 14, 16, 18-19, 23-24, 31-34, 38-39.

112 Quoted in note 88.

113 Compare to: 1° Sotheby's London 1983, # 113 (now in Swiss private collection), 2° NM inv. 59.92/2 (photo NM 1651/69) or 3° Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 5. On these examples, like here, pointed leaves fall while some other stand erected around the small circular flowers. See also the image from the Hasra Kol, today in the AMP, inv. 1682 (P.L. Gupta 1965, cat. 10 p. 54 & pl. XI; Huntington 1984, fig. 120; Sinha 1958, fig. 94 & 1974, pl. 74-i, *The Way of the Buddha* 1956, p. 199) or the depiction of Maitreya by the side of the Buddha.s of the past (Bautze-Picon 1995/96, p. 384 note 27).

114 A 12th century head is preserved in the BGM (photo ASI-ND 53/65) and a stela stands in the Mahant's Compound (Leoshko 1987, fig. 120; *Visions of Enlightenment* 1988, 5th unnumbered plate at the beginning of the volume). See Leoshko 1987, pp. 254-256.

115 Image preserved in the LACMA, inv. M.69.13.7 (Heeramanek 1979, B&W 121; Pal 1988, cat. 82, pp.178-179 who gives further references). The Avalokiteśvara is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Heeramanek 1979, B&W 120); both images were perhaps found at Bodh Gayā (as given by Heeramanek 1979).

116 1° Image of a three-headed female deity in the BGM (photo ASI-ND 13/65), 2° Avalokiteśvara in the Mahant's Compound (Foucher 1900, fig. 16; Mallmann 1948, pl. XIII; Leoshko 1987, fig. 113; *Visions of Enlightenment* 1988, 4th unnumbered plate at the end of the volume), 3° Buddha in the BGM inv.1 (Huntington 1984, fig. 109, Cunningham 1892, pl. XXVI-3, Woodward 1990, fig. 13).

117 Other examples are illustrated in Bautze-Picon 1993b, figs. 1, 3-5.

118 Khandalavala/Roy 1987, figs. 2.12 (an image collected at Hasra Kol: Keith 1910, fig. 8) or 2.19.

119 For this and what follows, see Bautze-Picon 1993b, pp. 151-152.

120 Bautze-Picon 1989f, figs. 14-16.

121 For such images from Nālandā, see Saraswati 1977, ill. 186 & G. Bhattacharya 1991a, fig. 1. Another image from the same site shows the lion in this position and the cushion (Saraswati 1977, ill. 39, *AR of the ASI 1930-1934*, pl. CXL1-3).

122 Bautze-Picon 1993b, fig. 5, p. 151 & note 15 or G. Bhattacharya 1991a, figs. 3-4.

123 Mallmann 1949 & 1956; Bautze-Picon 1989f, p. 75.

124 The text was edited by B. Bhattacharyya (1972). The *maṇḍala* 8 is summarized by Mallmann 1986, pp. 48-49, the circle of the female companions is described, after the text, by D. Mitra 1989, pp. 180-181. For further information of Heruka/Hevajra, see Mallmann 1986, pp. 182-190. See the same for the different goddesses: pp. 136-137 (Caṇḍālī), 140-141 (Caurī), 159-160 (Ḍombī), 172-173 (Gaurī), 174-175 (Ghasmanī), 311-312 (Pukkasī), 327-328 (Śabari: replace p. 328 Nairṛti by Kubera) & 445-446 (Vetālī).

125 D. Mitra 1989, p. 181.

126 *Ibidem*.

127 *Ibidem*.

128 A Tārā is preserved in the BSP inv.C(e)4/8 (Ganguly 1922, pl. VI right & p. 34); a rare representation of Hālāhala Lokeśvara was collected at Puṇḍāha and is now kept in the IM inv.Kr. 2 (Kittoe 1848, p. 698 n°18; Anderson 1883, p. 272: both authors identified the stela as a representation of Śiva and Pārvatī) or a Vasudhārā which appeared in the recent years on the art market (Bautze-Picon 1992a, fig. 22).

129 Saraswati 1977, ill. 172. One further image of the two-handed and one-faced god, from Sārṇāth, is illustrated as ill. 171.

130 On these images, see the article by Debala Mitra 1989, who lists four or them; the fourth one, which once belonged to the collection of P.C. Nahar in Calcutta, found its way to an American collection (Lee 1975, cat. 6).

131 All images are unpublished: 1° IM inv.Kr.9 (Kittoe 1848, p. 698 n° 10; Anderson 1883, pp. 75-76); 2° IM inv.Kr.6 (Kittoe 1848, p. 698 n° 7; Anderson 1883, p. 75)(both from Kurkihār or "Kr"); 3°-4° two images in the Devasthan Mandir, Amaithi (village located in the vicinity of Kurkihār); 5° one stela in the Gayā Museum; 6°-8° three images preserved in the Mahant's compound at Bodh Gayā (one drawn under the supervision of Buchanan Hamilton: Martin 1838, pl. IX-3, another published by Leoshko 1987, fig. 139 & p. 288 or Leoshko 1988b, fig. 7 & pp. 49-50); 9° one preserved in the Mahā Bhadrakālī Mandir of Itkhauri, dated in the regnal year 8 of Mahendrapāla's reign (French 1928, pl. XX; Banerji 1933, pl. IV-b; Huntington 1984, fig. 40 & pp. 49-50; Leoshko 1987, fig. 140 & p. 288); 10° one found in the district of Sahasra and now preserved in the PM inv. 11103. Besides, a number of images appeared on the art market either at the beginning of the sixties or in the recent years: 11° Brooklyn Art Museum (Pal 1978, cat. 53; Heerama-neck 1979, B&W 118); 12° Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester (Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 17); 13° Sotheby's New York 1997, # 26; 14° Sotheby's New York 1992b, # 101; 15° Sotheby's New York 1995b, # 10; 16° Sotheby's New York 1996a, # 97; 17° Hauswedell 26.11.1962, # 23; Sotheby's London 1967, # 58; 18° MG inv.MA 2480 (Hauswedell 1960, # 10; Monod 1961; Monod 1966, fig. 22 & p. 75; 19° The Norton Simon Foundation (Leoshko 1988a, fig. 16); 20° The Russek Collection inv. 655 IBIP. Only the images contemporary with the sculpture in the Museum are here listed; indeed, representations of the Tārā are found from the end of the 8th century (Bautze-Picron 1991b, figs. 11-12, 15 & Corpus A.11-12 and B.2-3 for further references).

132 Translated after Blonay 1895, p. 7. See also *passim* in this work for her protective function towards the human beings or for her relation to the night.

133 Bautze-Picron 1995/96, pp. 372-373.

134 Among the images quoted above in note 131: the standing image at Amaithi, a standing one in Bodh Gayā and probably also 17°. Besides, Yamāntaka appears on a later image found at Kurkihār (IM inv. A24118/Kr.16; Kittoe 1848, p. 698 n° 25; Anderson 1883, p. 78; R.L. Mitra 1878/1972, pl. XXIX; Banerji 1933, pl. XL-a) or on one from Bodh Gayā (BM inv.1872.7-1.45; Chanda 1936, pl. XVI; Picron 1978, fig. 38; Goetz 1966, pl. 215). This is to remind us that Mārīcī is also, if not essentially, a deity related to the Enlightenment (see here cat. 7).

135 Mallmann 1986, pp. 161-162 & 260.

136 See the Tārā from Tetrāvāñ dated in the regnal year 2/3 of Rāmapāla, where a small floral motif surmounts the nimbus (IM inv. A25158/3824; Bloch 1911, p. 65; Banerji 1933, pl. V-c; Goetz 1966, pl. 217; S.K. Mitra 1979, fig. 77; Picron 1978, fig. 70; Huntington 1984, fig. 74; B. Bhattacharyya 1958, fig. 167; M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 29 & pp. 73-74; Broadley collection: Broadley 1872a, p. 282; Asher 1970, pl. VI & p. 109).

137 For late images, see: 1° the image quoted in the previous note; 2° a stela worshipped in the Sūrya Mandir of Baḍgāon/Nālandā (quoted by M. Ghosh 1980, p. 73; it belongs stylistically to the 12th century); 3° BM inv.1887.7-17.66 (collected at Bodh Gayā by A. Cunningham; R.P. Chanda 1936, p. 58); 4° AM inv.3 (image collected at Agradigun, district

of Dinajpur; M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 28 & p. 73); 5° Sotheby's New York 1996b, # 119; 6° Sotheby's New York 1997, # 21. Two large fragments depicting Ekajāṭā, pot-bellied, with hair standing on the end, adorned with snakes as pieces of jewellery, holding the *kapāla* and the *kartrī* are published in Sotheby's New York 1991a, # 42 (now in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, inv. SA 00.925 L) and in Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 41 left corner (image lying at Uren, present whereabouts unknown).

138 M. Ghosh 1980, pp. 57-63. Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 19 & p. 257 n° A.21 (add: M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 26 & p. 61), fig. 28 & p. 258 n° B.4 (for further references, add M. Ghosh 1980, pp. 61-62). For images where she is alone, see: Sotheby's New York 1988, # 34 (with further references, to which one will add G. Bhattacharya 1986b, pl. XVIII & pp. 201-202; now in a private Swiss collection) or Sotheby's New York 1990c, # 265; Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 129 or M. Ghosh 1980, pp. 62-63 who describes bronzes depicting the goddess. 139 M. Ghosh 1980, pp. 38-47 & her ill.11.

140 *Ibidem*, pp. 74-90 & ill. 31; Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 38 & pp. 164-165 (further references) or Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 10.

141 For the examples from Lakhi Sarai, see note 168 *e.g.* The Tārā quoted in the previous note includes such a narrow plinth, see also an Avalokiteśvara at Nālandā (Bautze-Picron 1989c, image n° 68) or another one preserved in the Asutosh Museum (*ibidem*, n° 99).

142 Avalokiteśvara preserved in the IM inv. 3797 (Collected by Broadley, probably at Nālandā: Broadley 1872, p. 19 n° LX; Waddell 1894, pl. II-1; Bloch 1911, p. 58), another one in the AM inv. 39 (Saraswati 1977, ill. 71; Bautze-Picron 1989b, fig. 2) (also in the Nālandā stylistic idiom) and one in the Christensen Fund Collection (O'Ferrall/Tandan/Natesan 1984, cat. 7).

143 The double motif of the aura occurs at the nimbus of the Vagīśvarī dated in the regnal year 1 of Gopāla III (Bautze-Picron 1992a, fig. 18 & p. 55 n° 47 for further references) and at the aura of an image of Śāni (G. Bhattacharya 1986a, fig. 4). The fleuron occurs on the pedestal of an image of Jambhala (IM inv. 3911; Foucher 1900, fig. 21; Banerji 1933, pl. XXXVI-c; Bloch 1911, p. 73); two identical fleurons adorn the side recesses below another Jambhala collected by Broadley (stylistic idiom of Nālandā) (photo Bharat Kala Bhavan 49/259; today in the Bharat Kala Bhavan at Varanasi, ex-IM inv. 3908; Bloch 1911, p. 93; Asher 1970, pl. IV, third image left), below a Pañcarakṣā probably from Nālandā (Raven/van Kooij 1987, n° 3 & 1992, fig. 54 & pp. 98-99), or below a Buddha of unknown provenance but also related to the stylistic idiom of Nālandā (Hauswedell 1961, # 21; Hauswedell 1963, cat.16) and one is introduced, symmetric to Garuḍa, below an image of Viṣṇu from Nālandā also (IM inv. A25166/3888; photo ASI-ND 107/58; Bloch 1911, p. 82; Asher 1970, pl. VIII).

144 IM inv.BG 120: Anderson 1883, pp. 54-55; Banerji 1933, pl. IV-c; Huntington 1984, fig. 51; Huntington 1985, pl. 195.

145 Mallmann 1986, p. 372 (after the *sādhana* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* by Abhayākara Gupta). Since Akṣobhya is also seen on the head-dress of the San Francisco and Murhut images (see note 147), one can suspect that some confusion arose from the position of the hand, which for both Jina.s has to be di-

rected downwards, showing the *bhūmisparśa*° or the *varada*°. See also B. Bhattacharyya 1958, pp. 240-243 & Huntington/Huntington 1990, pp. 164-165.

146 In fact, Abhayākara Gupta describes her with four faces and eight arms; the images mentioned in the following note have eight arms and usually three faces, the fourth one remaining unrepresented, or four faces, all visible (Murhut image).

147 An unpublished broken image of the goddess is preserved in BGM (photo ASI-ND 13/65), another complete image was noticed and drawn under his supervision, in the village of Murhut, south-west of Gayā, by Markham Kittoe in 1847 (Patil 1963, pp. 293-294; the drawing is preserved at the OIOC, Western Drawing inv. 2876, folio 39 with the legend "at Murhut near Gya"). Of unknown provenance, but probably from eastern Bihar or Bengal even (Bautze-Picron 1993a, p. 288), a rather complex depiction of the goddess within her *mañḍala* is preserved in San Francisco (Lefebvre d'Argencé-Tse 1969, cat. 35; Pāla 1984, cat. 11; Picron 1978, fig. 73; Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 38; Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 10).

148 An image from Kurkihār shows a similar display of attributes and includes also the meditating Vairocana (Cunningham 1892, pl. XXX-4; B. Bhattacharyya 1958, fig. 154; further references in Bautze-Picron [in the press-2], n°14).

149 On this ornament, see Bautze 1991/92.

150 Bautze-Picron [in the press-2], ("The attributes").

151 *Ibidem*, n° 21. It is also noticed on the images seen at Ghosrāvāñ or Tetrāvāñ (*ibidem*, figs. 13-14).

152 *Ibidem*, figs. 6 & 13.

153 For instance: Banerji 1933, pl. XXII-c (found at Haragaon, district of Patna, by Broadley: Broadley 1872a, p. 283 or Asher 1970, pl. VI & p.108). The structure of the pedestal of this stela, preserved in the Indian Museum (inv. A25146/3755), is identical with the structure of the fragment in the collection.

154 One single bird occurs on the left side of the pedestal of an "andagu" small image – it is thus invisible when looking from the front at the image (Bautze-Picron [in the press-1], fig.3, [in the press-3], fig. 10 & appendix n° 32).

155 A remark by Waddell is to be read in the inventory book concerning the find-spot: "These 2 owe their remarkable preservation to having been submerged in a well for about a thousand years". However, the Bodhisattva was already recovered in the years 1871-1872 when Cunningham visited the site since he published the inscription of the pedestal. As to the photo made by Beglar, it was done probably in the winter of 1872-73 (Bautze-Picron 1988a, p. 75).

156 Mallmann 1986, p. 107; these are the *sādhana.s* 17, 20, 22 & 25.

157 Grünwedel 1900, pp. 64 & 134.

158 Bautze-Picron 1989f, p. 81.

159 Mallmann 1952 & 1961.

160 Two such images are preserved in the garden of the Bodhi temple (*Visions of Enlightenment* 1988, 6th unnumbered plate at the end of the volume) and in the Mahant's compound (*ibidem*, 4th unnumbered plate at the end of the volume – for further references, see Bautze-Picron 1989c, p. 274 n°12 & drawing 8). A third image perhaps from the site is preserved at the Indian Museum (Bautze-Picron 1989b, n° 60, also published by Leoshko 1987, fig. 116). Another very large – it measures 1,80 m. – rep-

resentation, allegedly from Sultanganj in the district of Monghyr, of the Bodhisattva seated on the lion is preserved at Birmingham (Bautze-Picron 1991/92, note 10 p. 264 for further references or Huntington 1984, fig. 155). Other examples of the Bodhisattva on the lion and depicted without jewellery, as it is here the case, are listed by Bautze-Picron 1989b, n° 69 (the Sarnāth image), 60 & 73 (two of the Bodhi Gayā images), 75(also as fig.15), 76 (here cat.49), 78, 79 & 115 (the Birmingham image)(most of them are of unknown provenance).

161 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 7-8. Figs. 10-13 show only the lower part of seated Bodhisattvas; figs.10 & 12 illustrates most probably the Bodhisattva, when considered the presence of the pair Sudhanakumāra-Hayagrīva in one case, of Sūcimukha in the other one (for a discussion of this aspect of the iconography of the first pedestal, see Bautze-Picron 1988a, pp. 76-77). A further image was located at Jamui, a village located south of Lakhi Sarai (Bautze-Picron 1991/92, pp. 249-250 & note 54 for the references).

162 Mallmann 1986, pp. 195-196.

163 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 17a & b illustrate both sides of such an image depicting a Krodha; see also figs. 18-20, 22-23, 32-33, 37-39.

164 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 15 & 32, pp.259-260.

165 Jambhala is the central painted figure on the pedestal recovered in the excavations of the Sarai mound at Nālandā where he is probably surrounded by the humanized depictions of his two *nidhi*s (Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 7).

166 *Ibidem*.

167 Quoted by Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 66 & note 76.

168 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 15 & 32 (Jambhala), 24 (Devī with child) & 33 (Mahākālā – an inversion of the figs.33 & 35 took place, restaure the proper legends). The jewel is also noticed above woodcut depictions of Pañcarakṣās found at Khara Koto (*ibidem*, p. 252 & note 80).

169 Mallmann 1986, pp. 238-239 (Mahākālā) & pp. 234-235 (Mahābala, another name for the same).

170 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 33 (due to a print mistake, the Mahākālā is to be seen with the caption of fig. 35) & p. 260 n° C.3.

171 *Ibidem*, pp. 253-253 & notes 96-99.

172 *Ibidem*, p. 268 note 94 and Bautze-Picron 1988a, pp. 78-79 note 2.

173 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 8, 15; Bautze-Picron 1996, fig. 18. And the motif can also be split and adorns the extremities of the steps of the pedestal or those of the lintel of the throne (*ibidem*, figs. 20, 32, 34).

174 The god is often depicted at Lakhi Sarai: Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 14-15 & 32. Here: cat. 73.

175 *Ibidem*, note 73, quoting I. Armelin 1975.

176 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 5.

177 Bautze-Picron 1996, fig. 30 illustrates the lower part of an image of the Buddha with this motif; see also *ibidem*, note 15 two further examples in the Vaiśālī Museum and in the Indian Museum.

178 These are the so-called “andagu” images. For a discussion on their possible origins, see Bautze-Picron [in the press-3].

VOTIVE CAITYA.S AND RELATED MATERIAL

recovered at Bodh Gayā and in South Bihar

77. Aniconic votive caitya

Inv. I 2744/old IC 8809.

39 x 37,5 cm. Phyllite.

Bastian collection, 1879.

Collected at Bodh Gayā.

This is evidently incomplete: only the *medhī* and the *aṇḍa* forming the dome have been preserved. The upper surface contains a square hole in which was fixed the *chattrāvalī*, i.e. the umbrellas. Above a high and plain basis and separated by deep recesses, three mouldings are carved, with a round profile, with the profile of the cyma and shown as a double row of lotus petals. Two lines in high relief underline the edge of the basis. A similar *caitya* can still be seen at Bodh Gayā.¹ It shows that the small monument used to standing above two large rows of petals. An alternative to this motif is the foliated scroll.²

Whereas most of the known surviving *caitya.s* contain niches, such small monuments are still to be seen at Bodh Gayā where they offer rarely the decoration noticed here. Indeed, some *caitya.s* have a plain *medhī* above a moulded basis, itself standing on a high cubic pedestal. A heavy *harmikā* dominates with a short *chattrāvalī*. This is their shape nowadays but it appears that some have been repaired, which could imply that their original shape underwent transformations.³

78. Aniconic votive caitya

Inv. I 669/old IC 33716.

18,5 x 9,5 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection "71", 1906.

Provenance located in Bihar without any further precision.

A large part of this *caitya* has disappeared and the remaining fragment is broken in two pieces by a vertical crack. The elongated shape is rather unusual. The slightly bulbous *aṇḍa* emerges from a series of mouldings separated by deep and flat recesses; three mouldings have the same profile, i.e. they include a narrow rim below a broader and deeper one, a curved band (which appears to be a reversed quarter-hollow moulding-plane) and an upper narrow edge. The two narrow rims or edges mark the transition between the mouldings and the recesses.

Below these three mouldings, which are of decreasing diameter, a thicker round torus with upper and lower narrow rims, surmounts the high basis which shows two parts: a slightly sloping broad part above three flat bands of increasing size (going downwards). A large grooved moulding surmounts the piling up: its profile evidently copies the shape shown by the two rows of lotus petals.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

ye dharmma hetu-prabhavā tesāṃ hetum
tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃ
vādī mahāśramaṇa //

PUBLISHED

Franz 1959, Abb. 4 (together with cat. 165).

79. Unfinished votive caitya

Inv. I 1134/old IC 34755.

29 x 16,5 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 90, 1907.

The stone has been rough-hewn, large fillets have been carved out in the high lower part whereas the place for a niche has been reserved on the upper portion.

80. Votive caitya with a litany of Buddha images

Inv. I 2750/old IC 34753.

130 x 57,5 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection A 11, 1907.

This monument is damaged at various places: the pinnacle is missing, the pile of umbrellas is damaged, one corner of the basis is broken off. It comprises four separate parts: the square basis which is built on the usual stepped ground plan, the round body of the *caitya* which is unusually constituted of two parts of different diameters, and the *harmikā* with the *chattra.s*.

The basis contains four levels of tiny representations of the Buddha displaying the *dhyāna*°. They are interrupted by four niches, one on each side, where the Buddha sits and shows the *bhūmisparśa*°, the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and twice He holds the bowl on the hands lying in *dhyāna*°.

The largest part of the dome is covered by seven rows of tiny Buddha images showing the *dhyāna*°. Some very rare representations of the *bhūmisparśa*° are noticed, distributed in a irregular pattern. Above the flat dome, stands a carefully carved *harmikā* having a stepped ground plan. It is shown as if emerging from the dome and presents the traditional shape, i.e. on a solid cubic lower part, lies the widened out upper part which is adorned with a row

of lotus petals on its lower surface whereas a gemmed row runs along the rim. The upper part is flat and has the profile of a cyma.

A thick torus supports the piling up of the seven umbrellas adorned by the triangular fleurons as usual (see cat. 170-174).

The main iconographic feature of this *caitya* is evidently the 11 rows of small images of the Buddha displaying the *dhyāna*°. The collection of the Museum possesses two further examples of such a *stūpa* (below 81 & 82), 5 complete basis (cat. 85-89), as well as fragments of basis (cat. 90-91) or a rectangular slab (cat. 144), all adorned by the same depiction. Examples are known in other collections,⁴ or can still be seen at Bodh Gayā⁵ and in the region.⁶

The basis of this *caitya* includes four niches where the Buddha shows various *mudrā.s*. In other examples, niches can also be carved in the dome and events of Śākyamuni's life be represented. The gestures represented here are related to the traditional cyclus of the *bhūmisparśa*° depicted opposite to the *dhyāna*° (with the bowl on the lap) and of the two images of the *dharmacakrapravartana*° carved in-between (cat. 105/106). The sequence reads here: *bhūmisparśa*°, *dharmacakrapravartana*° followed by twice the *dhyāna*°, which evidently underlines the importance of the last gesture in the cyclus.

In the classical cyclus of the four niches, illustrated for instance below on the votive temple of cat. 136, details still allow to identify specific events of the Buddha's life. A strong tendency is however noticed, which is the disappearance of such details, in particular when images tend to become smaller and smaller. The place is no more there to show them. Nonetheless, this modification of the iconography is sustained by another understanding of the scene to be depicted. During all the "Pāla" period, one observes images where details are combined which should not be, e.g. on a stela from Nālandā where the Buddha is depicted teaching,⁷ the disk surrounded by the profiled gazels is depicted on the lower part but the mango tree is also shown above the nimbus. There is thus here a double reference to the events of Sārnāth and of Śrāvastī combined probably in order to depict the function of teaching and not only a specific event.⁸ But rather than to accumulate details, artists (or their patrons) usually decided to ignore any of them. As a result, only subsists the gesture as possibility of identification of a specific moment in Śākyamuni's life. Simultaneously, arises the possibility of offering another system of identification for the Buddha images which are depicted: for a Buddha displaying a particular gesture without any further detail, might not only be Śākyamuni but also a Tathāgata.

It is evident that the gesture of meditation was fundamental in the elaboration of these *caitya*s since the litany includes only extremely rarely images of the Buddha displaying another gesture.⁹ The litany is known since a rather long period in India,¹⁰ and it might well be related to the “thousand Buddha.s” of the religious literature.¹¹ The testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang is interesting since he evokes at various places those Buddha.s who all achieved their Enlightenment on the Vajrāsana of Bodh Gayā.¹² But why then illustrate the gesture of meditation and not the gesture of evoking the earth at the Enlightenment? Thus if one cannot exclude that these litanies were meant as illustrations of the myriads of Buddha.s mentioned by the texts,¹³ it appears also that their location on the surface of the pedestal and of the *caitya* indicates not only that they irradiate in any direction but also that they are an integrate part of the *caitya* – contrarily to the other representations which are isolated within niches cut in one or four directions on the surface of the *caitya*. Beside the identification Buddha/*stūpa* which these litanies stresses,¹⁴ the gesture of the meditation prevents also us from identifying Śākyamuni at the major events of his life, *i.e.* the Enlightenment and the first predication.

Among the five Buddha.s of the *dharmakāya* or “body of law”, Amitābha, who sits in the western quarter, is attributed the gesture of meditation. In the very same system, the Buddha of the zenith is Vairocana who displays the *bodhyagrī*°, a gesture unknown in eastern India where the *dharmacakrapravartana*° was substituted to it.¹⁵ This system of five Jina.s is very well known in eastern India as we know but it was not the only one to have been considered. The central Tathāgata, Vairocana, occurs also as the central point of two *maṇḍala*.s which are described in texts which were translated in Chinese in the first part of the 8th c.¹⁶ In these *maṇḍala*.s, the *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* and the *Mahākaraṇḍgarbhamāṇḍala*, Vairocana presents respectively the *bodhyagrī*° and the *samādhi/dhyāna*°. And contrarily to some admitted ideas, Vairocana can present the *dhyāna*° in eastern India where he is besides regularly identified with the *stūpa*.¹⁷

In two situations however, Vairocana cannot be recognized, *i.e.* when the Buddha figure holds the hands in the *dhyāna*° and presents the bowl of the monk, which is a sure indication for the representation of the Vaiśālī event, or/and when it is located in the niche opposite the representation of the Enlightenment with in-between the two scenes where the Buddha teaches. But when the depiction of the meditation is multiplied and covers the pedestal and the drum of the *caitya*, and when obviously the events of Śākyamuni’s last existence emerge

out of this background (see below cat. 82, 85-90), then it might well be that the multiplied image is the image of Vairocana from whom emerged Śākyamuni. Vairocana can be identified with the *stūpa*, he is also the eternal and infinite light which, at the moment of the Enlightenment of Śākyamuni, pervaded the entire universe. But he is also the source of Śākyamuni.¹⁸ And the *stūpa* as a round structure was particularly suitable to the illustration of this doctrinal aspect, Vairocana in a central position and irradiating light in all the directions.

81. Votive *caitya* with a litany of Buddha images

Inv. I 2742/old IC 8801.

42 x 37 cm. Grey sandstone.

Bastian collection, 1879.

This uncomplete *stūpa* shows six rows of small images of the Buddha seated and presenting the gesture of meditation. Like on the previous example (cat. 80), some rare representations of the *bhūmisparśa*° are scattered among them. The surface is abraded at various places, a crack appears above a rectangular hole, the function of which is unclear, which was cut probably after the *caitya* was finished in the two lower rows. A square hole was hollowed in the upper surface for the *harmikā* which is now missing.

As suggested above, this kind of *caitya* might well illustrate the central Jina Vairocana who irradiates in all directions from his central position. As a round monument, the *stūpa* is perfectly suited to this illustration.

82. Votive *caitya* with a litany of Buddha images

Inv. I 1143a-b-c/old IC 38960 (a & b) &

38961 (c).

67,5 x 21 cm. Yellowish, grey & pink sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

From Bodh Gayā.

Three superimposed parts constitute this *caitya*. Since the stones differ, it might be that they did not belong together. However, their dimensions match properly and harmoniously, which implies that the craftsmen made use willingly of different stones. The part above the *harmikā* is missing (cat. 165 which was once fixed above it; however, the finial does not fit within the square hole above the *caitya* and was attached through cement); side of the lower part of the pedestal is broken away, parts of the second pedestal and of the upper part are also damaged.

The drum stands above a double pedestal as usually seen at Bodh Gayā.¹⁹ Each pedestal in-

cludes three rows of tiny images of a Buddha figure displaying the gesture of meditation. The drum shows such five superimposed rows. On the four sides of the three levels, niches protude, which include depictions of events of Śākyamuni’s last existence. Though one niche of the lower basis is broken, it is evident that the four niches show the iconography of the drum and that both levels illustrate a widely distributed iconographic program, *i.e.* the Enlightenment, a scene of teaching, the meditation at Vaiśālī (the Buddha holds the bowl) and a second scene of teaching (see drawing 8). The second pedestal includes a set of other scenes and a comparison with a small temple-like from Nālandā²⁰ (compare with drawing 11) allows to restaure the proper position of the second pedestal within the complete structure: birth and final decease are separated by two images of the Buddha standing with the right hand turned downwards. Tiny but unidentifiable motifs are carved below this hand, which are probably Nālagiri in one case and the monk Sariputra in the other one.²¹ The two scenes are thus the descent from the heaven of the 33 gods and the taming of the wild elephant. The same economy of means is evident at the depiction of the birth where Māyā stands alone, holding with the right hand the branch of the tree. A pillar-like object stands on her proper right, it symbolizes the seven lotuses usually depicted as being superimposed for showing the first seven steps of the newly born future Buddha but even this child is not represented here (compare to cat. 89).

The niches are limited by bulbous columns emerging from round pots and on which lies a trefoiled arch. Simplified flames spread around the arch on the lower levels.

The iconographic scheme of the images in the niches is well known. Because the work is at times rough, and because the depictions are small, details which allow a proper identification are often excluded from the representation. This becomes obvious when a comparison is made with similar sculptures which are either better preserved or have been carved in a more detailed manner. These are evidently the eight great events of the Buddha’s life which have been here depicted and as the drawing summarizing the iconographic program shows it, the scenes have been distributed in a well thought of plan. The first and last event, *i.e.* the birth and the decease are shown opposite to each other (drawing 8), and the two standing Buddha figures illustrated in-between probably tames the wild elephant in one case where the Buddha makes the gesture of putting his right hand on the head of the animal, while descending from the heaven of the 33 gods in the other one, where the Buddha displays the gesture of giving. It is evident at that point that the smallness of the images prevents at times a precise

identification of the respective *mudrā*s, only the position of the arm gives information about the possibility of having one of these two events depicted.

While the birth inaugurates the life of Śākyamuni, the Enlightenment starts his career as a Buddha and both events follow each other in the chain of the depicted events. Similarly, the event of Vaiśālī where the tradition locates the gift of the *madhu* by the monkey and the decision of the Buddha to depart from this world, precedes immediately the demise – which could account for the particular two grouping of these fourth scenes. A pure chronological order is not found because the artist had also to fulfil stylistic requirements such as the fundamental rule of symmetry. Therefore, the two events which are illustrated through the very same gestures or through similar positions of the hands have been willingly shown forming a pair between the other four scenes which belong to the beginning of the career (according to the present scheme) and to its final phase. An identical composition occurs on the already mentioned small structure from Nālandā.

If our identification of the multiple Buddha figures displaying the *dhyāna*° as showing the irradiation of Vairocana out of the central *stūpa* is accepted, then the hagiographic scenes appear as if arising out of this background. Śākyamuni would thus be (Mahā-)Vairocana in the *nirmāṇakāya*, an identification sustained by the texts.²²

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1928, pl. 240 (where it is combined with the finial of cat. 165).

83. Fragmentary votive *caitya* with a litany of Buddha images

Inv. I 678/old IC 34643.

20 x 32 x 7 cm. Beige sandstone.

Leitner collection 551, 1907.

Much damaged, this *caitya* shows the plain upper part arising above the five rows of tiny images of the Buddha displaying the gesture of meditation. The quality of the carving is never very high on this type of sculptured *caitya*, which is evidently related to the small size of the figures but also to the repetitive nature of the iconographic structure.

84. Fragment of the drum of a votive *caitya*

Inv. I 656/old IC 34678.

21,5 x 20 x 8 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection A 540, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

This panel, which is slightly rounded, must have been situated between two niches on the *jaṅghāvedī* of a *caitya*.²³ It shows how the craftsmen developed a particular feeling for decoration although they were bound to illustrate a very definite iconography by introducing niches of various sizes. The central niche is more elaborated, although the general work is here rather crude. The gestures shown by the different figures fit in what is generally observed on the *caitya*s from Bodh Gayā. On either side of the central image, the gesture of meditation is depicted twice, with and without the *piṇḍapātra* and similarly, the lower row alternates the *dhyāna*° and the *bhūmisparśa*°.

85-89. Pedestal with a litany of Buddha images

85: Inv. I 1125/old IC 8804. 11 x 38 x 38 cm.

Grey sandstone.

86: Inv. I 2743/old IC 8803.

19,7 x 40,4 x 40,2 cm. Grey sandstone.

87: Inv. I 2745/old IC 8802.

18,5 x 56,5 x 56,3 cm. Grey sandstone.

88: Inv. I 2746/old IC 8805.

25,8 x 43,2 x 42,9 cm. Grey sandstone.

89: Inv. I 2749/old IC 33667c.

12,4 x 31,7 x 31,7 cm. Grey sandstone.

From 85 to 88: Bastian collection, 1879.

89: Waddell collection 15, 1906.

All from Bodh Gayā.

These were evidently pedestals having sustained the drum of the *caitya*. They all include three or four superimposed rows of tiny images of a Buddha displaying the *dhyāna*° and have the shape observed at the upper pedestal of cat. 82 (drawing 13).

The treatment of the faces of the tiny Buddha images is crude, features like mouth and eyes are carved with hard lines and are much simplified. Similarly, the bodies are inscribed within a rectangular outline. The rows are clearly separated from each other by broad and plain edges.

The bodies of the central figures are compact and fill the space within the niches. Māyā is here depicted with crossed legs whereas on a previous *caitya* (cat. 82), her feet were put side by side. The child flies out of her right flank with both hands folded. The last example (cat. 89) includes the superimposed lotuses which symbolize the first steps of the future Buddha at his birth. Only the foliage of the tree is shown, forming like an umbrella below the trefoil arch. The other scenes of this pedestal

differ stylistically from the depictions on the remaining three pedestals. The body is elongated, thin, the movements are more sinuous and accentuated, which would also suggest a later date, perhaps the 11th or 12th c. for this pedestal while the other ones belong to an earlier phase. In particular, the distorted body of the Buddha reclining on his death bed is outstanding with a clear break at the level of the hips. The two *śāla* trees are clearly shown on either side of the central *stūpa* which was to be erected on the ashes of Śākyamuni.

The third pedestal (cat. 87) presents some iconographic particularities. Through its overall scheme, it illustrates the program neither of the upper nor of the lower pedestal of the *caitya* analysed above (cat. 82). It includes a depiction of the *parinirvāṇa* in the lower right corner of one face where the Buddha reclines on his proper left side. The same position occurs on one of the other pedestals (cat. 86). This goes evidently against the main tradition where the Buddha lies on his proper right side.²⁴ The four main images stand, displaying the *varada*° or the gesture of pacifying when the Buddha is alone. The two next scenes where attendants accompany the Buddha, are more complex and cannot be properly identified.

90-91. Fragments of pedestals

90: I 649/old IC 34718.

16 x 26,5 x 12 cm. Brown spotted sandstone.

Leitner collection 542, 1907.

91: I 634/old IC 34690.

8,5 x 20 x 12 cm. Brown sandstone.

Leitner collection 538f, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

Here are two fragments of pedestals of the type shown above, *i.e.* where rows of tiny Buddha figures displaying the *dhyāna*° cover the surface and are interrupted by niches where a particular event of Śākyamuni's life is depicted. On one example, it is here the final demise (cat. 90) while on the other one, a standing figure was represented (cat. 91).

In both cases, only one side of the pedestal or a part of it subsists with some figures from the two perpendicular sides on the first example.

92-94. Fragments of pedestals

92: I 624/old IC 34664. 16,5 x 35 x 8 cm.

Beige sandstone. Leitner collection 504, 1907.

93: I 653/old IC 34724. 20,5 x 37 x 8 cm.

Beige sandstone. Leitner collection 538, 1907.

94: I 679/old IC 34668. 18,5 x 30,5 x 6 cm.

Leitner collection 505, 1907.

Red sandstone.

These three fragments belonged evidently to the lower part of a *caitya*. A semi-circular hollow is carved in the back surface and holes are carved in the upper surface on either side of this round cutting up, showing that these "fragments" were part of a larger structure. In any case, they were distributed around a circular central core. Further, the presence in the first two examples of marks would help to indicate that these pedestals had to match with upper parts where the very same marks were probably incised.

The rather rude workmanship, the facial features being roughly cut and the torso limited by strict and hard lines, is common to this type of sculptured slabs and results most probably from the small size of the images and from the repetitive nature of the structure.²⁵

95-96. Fragments of pedestals

95: I 611/old IC 34677.

11 x 19,5 x 5 cm. Beige sandstone.

Leitner collection 539, 1907.

96: I 659/old IC 34633a.

17,5 x 22 x 5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 540a, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Here are two badly weathered fragments from slabs described above (cat. 92-94) with two and four superimposed rows of tiny Buddha images all displaying the same gesture of meditation.

97-98. Pedestals with a single row of Buddha images

97: I 612/old IC 34670.

16 x 30 x 9 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 525, 1907.

98: I 657/old IC 34672.

17 x 44,5 x 6 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 540, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Only one row of tiny images of the Buddha seated in *vajraparyāṅkāsa* and displaying as usual the *dhyāna*° is carved in the upper part of these two slabs which probably constituted one of the four sides of the lower part of a structure having supported a *caitya*. One notices indeed that the row is also carved on one of the sides of the first example. A mason's mark is incised

on the upper surface of the second slab, the back of which is hollowed, proving that it was attached at a central circular structure.

INSCRIPTION

A double-line fragmentary inscription is incised on the first slab (cat 97) in Gauḍīya script of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed and donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā
hettesāmta tathāgato jy avadat teṣāṇ ca
yo nirodha [e]... (*line 1*)

devadharmmāyaṃ // selajalāvātī-rāṇaka-śrī-
goikasya (*line 2*)

which can be translated:

"This (image) is the meritorious gift of the
Rāṇaka, Goika of Selajalāvātī."

99. Votive caitya with four niches

Inv. I 687/old IC 34711.

38,5 x 19,5 cm. Green sandstone.

Leitner collection 509a, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

This *caitya* and the following two present a style which is isolated within the production of Bodh Gayā. All the umbrellas but one and the finial are broken away. The *harmikā* is square with a central protruding step on each face. A deep recess separates this upper part from the main body of the monument.

The upper part of the *aṇḍa* is plain and presents the usual shape. However, the impression arises that the shape is more rectangular when compared with the usually encountered type of *caitya* at Bodh Gayā. This probably results from the fact that the ground surface of the *harmikā* is proportionally smaller and that, as a consequence, the free upper surface of the *aṇḍa* is larger around it. The lower part of the drum is covered by superimposed tori of various shapes, from top to bottom: a flat band constituted by three bands, a circular tore and a cyma, all three elements separated by two deep recesses. This grouping is also noticed on the following two monuments and differs from the usually encountered one (compare drawings 14 & 15).

A high square pedestal sustains the monument, showing the protruding step on each face. A cyma and a flat band are separated from the high basis by a narrow but deep recess.

Four niches are carved within the drum of the *caitya*. They are constituted by two fluted pillars standing in the traditional jar. The capital is a thick torus which supports the trefoiled arch supporting a tiny lotus bud. The lower part of this arch is hidden behind triangular fleurons. This aperture supports a low *śikhara* of which two tiers only are depicted below the *āmalaka*.

The four niches include depictions of Śākyamuni showing respectively, in the direction of the *pradakṣiṇam*, the *bhūmiśparśa*°, twice the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and the *dhyāna*° with hands holding also the bowl.

The iconographic program is rather common, only this one shows the peculiarity of having the two scenes of teaching side by side and not opposed to each other. This *caitya* and the following two ones illustrate stylistic features which remain isolated within the production of the atelier of Bodh Gayā whereas some are commonly observed at Sārnāth,²⁶ some at Nālandā.²⁷ The shapes are less elongated than on the more traditional Bodh Gayā stylistic trend (below cat. 104 sq), i.e. the niches are proportionally larger, the *śikhara* is less pointed and more large. Like on examples from Nālandā and Sārnāth, the drum does not bear the row of petals which run all around and bears the same system of cymas and tori in *alto relievo*. And like at Sārnāth, it stands above a high plinth of square groundplan covered by similar mouldings.²⁸

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetuṃ nteṣāṇ
tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṇ ca yo nirodha evaṃ
vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ

100. Votive caitya with four niches

Inv. I 1123/old IC 8810.

46 x 22 cm. Grey sandstone.

Bastian collection, 1879.

Found at Bodh Gayā.

Most of the umbrellas and finial have been here broken away. The *harmikā* is here very high and adorned by a broad flat band which turns all around whereas the recess below is narrow but deep. The drum is also damaged on the side of the depiction of the meditating Buddha.

The upper part of the *aṇḍa* presents a rather rectangular shape with the upper line only slightly curved. The drum is covered with a series of bands crudely carved, but a short comparison with the same part of the monument in the previous example allows to recognize the flat upper bands above the round tore and the lower reversed cyma (see drawing 14). A high square basis supports the *caitya*, which is also carved with superimposed flat bands and a deep recess, a shape also noticed in the same previous two *caitya*s and which differs from the usually encountered one (see drawing 15).

Four niches are regularly distributed on the drum, each delineated by two flat pilasters of square groundplan which support a large

gavākṣa. The same composition is noticed at Nālandā and more rarely at Sārnāth.²⁹ The iconographic program differs from the one encountered on the previous *caitya* since one observes the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°, followed by one showing the *dhyāna*° and presenting the bowl. But the remaining two figures do not illustrate Śākyamuni but two Bodhisattva.s. The first one is Avalokiteśvara who sits in *lalita*° and presents the *varada*° with the right hand while holding the stalk of the *padma* in the left one. The last figure is probably Vajrasattva who sits in *vajraparyāṅka*° on a high lotus, he holds the *vajra* in the left hand closed on the left thigh while the right hand is seen in front of the breast, open in the *abhaya*° (see also cat. 132).

The observations made in the previous entry concerning the stylistic similarities with monuments from Sārnāth and Nālandā retain here their value.

101. Votive *caitya* with four niches

Inv. I 2739/old IC 8806.

59 x 26,3 cm. Phyllite.

Bastian collection, 1879.

From Bodh Gayā.

This is the last and most impressive of these three *caitya*.s which belong stylistically together. As in the previous examples, the upper part has been broken away. But what remains reproduces the very same structure with the high and square *harmikā*, the rather rectangularly shaped *aṇḍa* with the drum adorned by the same sequence of mouldings and the very high pedestal carved with flat mouldings.

Four niches interrupt the mouldings of the drum, formed by fluted pillars arising out of heavy jars. As in the first example (cat. 99), triangular fleurons stand above the capitals, hiding the junction of the pillars with the trefoiled arch which is topped by a lotus flower or bud. Behind it, the broad *śikhara* spread its superimposed tiers crowned by the *āmalaka*.

The four niches include representations of the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°, of Mañjuśrī seated on the lion and who presents the *varada*° while holding in the left hand the *niṣṭhāpala* on which lies the manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, of the Tārā showing the same gesture of generosity and presenting the same blue lotus and, to end, of Avalokiteśvara who presents the *padma* in the left hand.

Whereas on the previous *caitya*, two images of the Buddha had been preserved and two replaced by Bodhisattva.s without that a clear view of the iconographic structure would be made – as it is indeed often the case in this kind of composition –, it is evident that here, one decided to select the most “popular” Bodhisattva.s and distributed them around Śākyamuni

at the moment of the Enlightenment, which is also the main scene of the program since the inscription is carved in the lower part of this very side. The two male Bodhisattva.s are distributed on either side of the Buddha and the Tārā is in his back, all three showing the same gesture of generosity. The same group appears occurs on other monuments from Bodh Gayā, two preserved in the Indian Museum³⁰ and another one catalogued below (cat. 131). It reminds us that Mañjuśrī is closely related to the moment of the Enlightenment and that he assumes the position of teaching when Śākyamuni becomes a Buddha on the one hand and that Avalokiteśvara will in the context of Bodh Gayā be provided with the lion as *vāhana* and present the same *dharmacakravartana*°, being then named *Simhanāda Lokeśvara*³¹ a name which can also be applied to Mañjuśrī, also known as Vādirāj.³²

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed and donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetuṃ prabhāvā hetuṃ teṣāṃta- (*line 1*)

tathāgato yavadatoṇca evaṃ vādī ya ni- (*line 2*)

radhā mahāśramaṇaḥ / devadhārmra-vaṇīka- (*line 3*)

ajhukenaḥ / siddham (*symbol*)

“This (image) is the meritorious gift of the merchant Ajhuka.”

102. Votive *caitya* with four niches

Inv. I 1116/old IC 36209.

24,5 x 11 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection, 1908.

Found in “Bihar”.

Four niches are regularly distributed in the drum of the *caitya*, illustrating the Buddha who displays the *bhūmisparśa*°, the *dharmacakravartana*°, and twice the *dhyāna*°. The double row of lotus petals does not appear in the mouldings covering the *jaṅghāvedī* and a small square basis supports the structure. The *harmikā* is constituted by a simple circular moulding which supports the *chattrāvalī* where all the umbrellas are piled on each other (compare to cat. 168 & 169). Again, we notice here similarities with *caitya*.s collected at Bodh Gayā and at Sārnāth.³³

103. Votive *caitya*

Inv. I 581a-b-c/old IC 32638a-b-c.

83 x 32,2 cm (at the basis; largest width of the *caitya*: 24 cm,

largest width of the umbrellas: 14,5 cm).

Grey & bluish black sandstone.

Leitner collection 507, 1904.

Recovered at Bodh Gayā.

Three separate parts constitute this *caitya*, i.e. the high plinth, the *stūpa stricto sensu* and the umbrellas. In its present shape, it shows an anomaly since there is no *harmikā* between the *aṇḍa* and the *chattrāvalī*. The *harmikā* is usually directly attached to the dome and rare are the examples where it is missing.³⁴ Besides, two different stones were here used for the carving of the plinth on the one side, of the dome and of the umbrellas on the other side, which might be a first indication that the lower part and the two upper parts did not belong together at the origin. A second indication is furnished by the width of the door and by the recess running along the lintel and the jambs: the recess of the upper part does not coincide with the recess of the lower part.

The *caitya* belongs to the particular type of the “cella *stūpa*”³⁵ where only three niches present the same shape and size whereas the fourth one is put into evidence through a door-like which is deeply carved. Some can still be seen at Bodh Gayā: like here, the lower part of the opening is carved in a pedestal which is at times missing whereas the upper part starts already at the level of the mouldings carved around the *caitya stricto sensu*.³⁶ Above the level of the plinth, three niches are distributed in the body of the *caitya* where images of the Buddha are carved and it is evident that the now empty niche must have also contained such an image which was carved separately.

Above a broad and plain band, a high cyma is profiled on the plinth. It supports the round and large moulding and two narrow reversed cymas with broad bands at their basis. Triangular fleurons are distributed in the middle of every lower cyma. The ground plan is square and only rhythmized by a central large projection on each face. On the front part, the projection is carved into two deep and narrow niches separated by large and flat pillars below the door. This motif occurs on similar *caitya*.s at Bodh Gayā.³⁷

The circular drum is adorned by a series of mouldings which sustain the plain dome. Above a high unadorned basis, run a torus, a cyma with high basis and a double row of lotus petals separated from the cyma by another plain band. The main side presents the upper part of the door which supports a roof in barrel with three superimposed mouldings interrupted by a flamed niche in which sits a Buddha figure

ure displaying the *dhyāna*°. As on the other *caitya*.s of the same type, a large vase of plenty, *pūrṇaghaṭa/pūrṇakalaśa*, surmounts the roof,³⁸ surrounded by two diverging lions which are much damaged. This double motif of the vase used at the pinnacle which is protected by the animals, is evidently borrowed from the architecture where the vase stands above the crowning *amālaka*. The lateral sides of this construction are adorned by a *gavākṣa*.

In the two side niches, the Buddha displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*° whereas the back niche contains a representation of the same showing the *dhyāna*° and holding at the same time the bowl in his lap. Above these trefoiled niches, a triangular tower is profiled with strongly marked tiers.

The high *chattravālī* lies directly above the dome, which could indicate that it did not initially belong to the same construction since the *harmikā* is missing. An *amālaka* lies above the 11 umbrellas and a further large umbrella crowns this piling up.

INSCRIPTION

Buddhist creed and donative text in corrupt hybrid Sanskrit. Gaudīya of the 10th-11th c.

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā tesā[m] hetu[m] tathāgata ava[da] tesā[m] ca yo ni[ro]- (*line 1*)

dha evaṇivādī mahāśramaṇoḥ // deya-dharmameyaṃ sabhokāḥ //

(correctly: ... śramaṇaḥ // deya-dharmoyaṃ sabhokāyāḥ (*line 2*)

"This is the meritorious gift of (the lady) Sabhokā."

PUBLISHED

Thomsen n.d., cat.4.

104. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. 1 584a & b/old IC 8807 & 8808.

Basis: 41,5 x 61 cm. *Drum:* 55,3 x 35,6 cm.

Phyllite.

Bastian collection, 1879.

It is possible that these two parts did not belong initially together to the same monument. As it is often the case, the *chattravālī* is broken off. The lower part is very high and present the traditional set of mouldings, *i.e.* a flat moulding, a high reversed cyma adorned by a triangular fleuron which presents a central gem surrounded by elongated flames or leaves with curved extremities on each face, a torus with a rhombus similar to the triangle and another plain moulding with a narrow reversed cyma. These three mouldings are separated from each other by deep stepped grooves. Above them and in a groove, a row of broad and flat pillars with capitals are carved, separated by small

niches. A last flat moulding with a flat reversed cyma indicates the upper edge of the basis.

A niche replaces one of the triangular fleuron on one face, formed by a trefoil arch resting on two circular pillars. The usual ornamental fleuron with side flames or leaves crowns the niche in which the Buddha sits, displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°; he is slightly damaged.

The drum shows the usual composition of the four niches regularly distributed on the high row of mouldings. Each niche is constituted by the two round pillars emerging out of large jars and by the trefoil arch. Three triangular fleurons with their lower line curved crown the arch, each showing the same decorative structure of the rhombi and triangles of the the basis, *i.e.* a large oval gem is surrounded by flames or leaves of various sizes, all with curved extremities which are regularly and harmoniously distributed. Small round waves run along the upper edge of the arch between these three fleurons. Behind this decoration, a tower is carved, indicating thus that the niche belong to an architectural structure with which the *caitya* is here identified. The tower shows three superimposed tiers crowned by an *amālaka* on which stands a *pūrṇakalaśa*.³⁹

In the niches, the Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśa*° and the *dhyāna*° with the alms-bowl in two opposite niches and the *dharmacakrapravartana*° in the intermediary niches.

The distribution of the gestures is traditional and would be evidently related to the biography of Śākyamuni if one would not take into consideration the fact that major details have been omitted like the deers on either side of the *cakra* and the defeated heretic, both elements being parts of the respective depictions of the events at Sārnāth and Śrāvastī. But one can wonder why the artist decided not to include these details – similarly, the monkey is also absent below the scene of the meditation. And this "simplification" allows to read differently the iconographic program.

Before he attained the Enlightenment, the Buddha was deeply plunged in meditation, and before he had started this meditation, let us remember that he took a last meal offered to him by Sujatā. Thus the meditation scene might also be a remembrance of this moment and constitute a duplicate to the Enlightenment scene. Two scenes showing this event would thus alternate with two depictions of the teaching. Similarly, there is here not any precise hint at specific moments of the Buddha's career but rather at the teaching as an absolute. Hence, the two fundamental elements of the Buddhism would be rightly perceived as being the Enlightenment and the teaching, the second one being already announced by the first one. Both moments are closely interrelated, particularly at Bodh Gayā where the Bodhisattva

Mañjuśrī assumes the function of teaching at the very moment of the Buddha's Enlightenment.⁴⁰ The close relation between these two *mudrā*.s is exemplified on independant slabs from *caitya*.s where above the niche which includes the main depiction, three small images of the Buddha are illustrated, also in tiny niches;⁴¹ they all show the *bhūmisparśa*° surrounded by two representations of the *dhyāna*°. Similar observations can be done at different positions on monuments of Bodh Gayā,⁴² and we noticed above the isolated presence of the *bhūmisparśa*° in the litanies showing otherwise exclusively the *dhyāna*°.

On the other side, the representations of the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*° and the *dhyāna*° are opposed to each other, which coincides thus with their distribution in the system of the Tathāgata.s, both *mudrā*.s helping to recognize respectively Akṣobhya and Amitābha, who are positioned in the eastern and western quarters respectively. If this level of interpretation is also possible, it does not necessarily imply that the two intermediary Buddha figures should be identified with the remaining two Tathāgata.s, namely Ratnaketu in the south and Amoghasiddhi in the north but that the remaining two images might allude to Vairocana, the one who through his teaching spreads the light in any direction and occupies the central position of the system, *i.e.* he is between Akṣobhya and Amitābha.⁴³

PUBLISHED

Ghose 1998, cat. 27, pp. 183-184.

105-106. Votive *caitya*.s with four images of the Buddha

105: *Inv.* 1 688/old IC 34773.

35 x 12,5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 513, 1907.

106: *Inv.* 1 674/old IC 34712.

31 x 12 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 529, 1907.

Both from Bodh Gayā.

Both *caitya*.s reproduced the same shape even though the first one includes a high plain pedestal absent in the second example. The main body of the monument is rather elongated with four niches regularly distributed in the *jaṅghāvedī*. Each one is depicted by means of flat pilasters rather crudely carved, a plain arch, with the slight shape of the trefoil on the second example lies above them. This arch supports a series of scollops of various forms with a central and crowning triangular element. These niches interrupt a series of mouldings showing from bottom to top: a high cyma, a flat torus and a double row of lotus petals (the one turned downwards behind extremely narrow); a further flat band is introduced below

the rows of petals on the second *caitya*. The bands are separated from each other by narrow but deep recesses. Geometrical motifs like rhombi, triangles or squares with concave sides are crudely incised on them.

Above this lower part, the *aṇḍa* is rather short and even partly covered by the pointed ornament crowning the niches. A broad square and stepped *harmikā*, eventually damaged, stands above a high recess and supports the *chattrāvalī* which form a cone; on each umbrella, short double lines forming a point are incised on the four faces, *i.e.* above the niches. In both cases, the finial has been broken away.

Both *caitya*.s present the same iconographic program where one recognizes images of the Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśa*^o and the *dhyāna*^o with the mendicant bowl or *piṇḍapātra* on two opposed faces and showing the *dharmaśakrapravartana*^o on the intermediary faces (drawing 1). Some images on the second *caitya* are badly damaged.

INSCRIPTION

On cat. 105, in Gauḍīya script of c. 11th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit: siddham (*symbol*) dhammajivasya / which means "(This *caitya* is the gift) of Dharmmajiva."

107-109. Votive *caitya*.s with four images of the Buddha

107: Inv. I 689/old IC 34707.
29 x 13,5 cm. Yellow sandstone.
Leitner collection 516, 1907.
108: Inv. IC 34706.
23 x 12 cm. Yellow sandstone.
Leitner collection 515.
109: Inv. I 699/old IC 8793.
27 x 12,5 cm. Red sandstone.
Bastian collection, 1879.
From Bodh Gayā.

All three *stūpa*.s are similar to those of the previous entries but show a more compact form and the groundplan of the *harmikā* is plainly square. They are also partly damaged with the finial missing, as it is often the case or the Buddha images defaced. Cat. 108 would illustrate the iconography schematized by the drawing 5 according to the description given by A. von Lecoq on the card (the Buddha on the proper right of the one shown as a teacher, presenting the gesture of meditation with the bowl and the one on the back without this attribute). All illustrate the same iconographic program.

INSCRIPTION

On 108.

110. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. I 1148/no old nr.
25 x 13,7 cm. Beige sandstone.
Precise provenance unknown but probably from Bodh Gayā.

The *harmikā* is destroyed, but a square hole has been cut in the upper surface for fixing the now lost umbrellas. This small monument is identical stylistically with two *caitya*.s catalogued above (cat. 105 & 106). The iconography also is the same. This close comparison allows to locate at Bodh Gayā the atelier responsible for its realisation.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary and illegible. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Sanskrit. Donor's name ?

111-113. Votive *caitya*.s with four images of the Buddha

111: Inv. I 615/old IC 34730.
19,5 x 14 cm. Red sandstone.
Leitner collection 509e, 1907.
112: Inv. I 1135/old IC 34772.
21,7 x 17 cm. Brown grey sandstone.
Leitner collection, 1907.
113: Inv. I 685/old IC 34732.
15,5 x 15 cm. Grey sandstone.
Leitner collection 512, 1907.
From Bodh Gayā.

These three *caitya*.s belong also to the same group of small votive monuments from Bodh Gayā but are much more damaged, having lost their *chattrāvalī* and in part or totally their *harmikā* while one face of the first monument is broken away and faces of the Buddha can be much eroded. Their iconographic program remains identical with the one noticed in the previous entries (it is one of the depiction of the *dharmaśakrapravartana*^o which is missing in the first *caitya*).

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary inscription on cat. 113. Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Donor's name in Sanskrit: devadharmamoyam ja [ya] ... which means "This (*caitya*) is the meritorious gift of Jaya (?)."

114. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. I 2747/old IC 33667a.
44,7 x 17,1 cm. Yellow sandstone.
Waddell collection 15, 1906.
Found at Bodh Gayā.

This rather well preserved *caitya* is carved in one single block of stone. It includes the four niches surmounted by their pointed scrolls similar to those noticed in the previous monuments but much better carved and preserved. A very pointed fleuron with a curved lower edge and which is adorned with a round hollow crowns the decoration lying above the trefoiled arch of the four niches. This fleuron lies above an undulating bow the extremities of which are turned upwards in a hard drawn volute and below which two half fleurons stand, one on each pillar of the niche.

The *jaṅghāvedī* is high and presents the same sequence of mouldings, *i.e.* a high and flat cyma, a high torus, a narrow band and the double row of lotus petals. The plain dome arises out of it and sustains the quadrangular and stepped *harmikā* above which the *chattrāvalī* is well preserved, although the finial has been broken away as in most of the cases.

The four Buddha images display the same gestures noticed till now but in a different distribution, *i.e.* the two depictions of the *dharmaśakrapravartana*^o follow each other after the scene of the Enlightenment (drawing 2), which brings this scene close to the meditation scene.

Through its iconographic composition, this *caitya* like some which follow (cat. 115 & 117), departs from those described above by renouncing to the rule of symmetry which directs the composition of all images in the period, be they *caitya*.s or stelae. The link with Śākyamuni's biography is preserved since these are still the four major events which could be traced behind these four figures although, as on the monuments seen above, the details allowing a proper identification have been ignored – only remains the mendicant bowl on the lap of the meditating Buddha. Thus, this *caitya*, like the following ones, introduces another perspective already evoked above (cat. 104) which would be to stress not only biographical moments but rather to perceive these events as fundamental in the Buddhist thought. A further possibility of interpreting is worth considering, which is that the main Buddha to be here figured would be Vairocana recognizable through his gestures of teaching and of meditation.⁴⁴

115. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. I 695/old IC 34650d.
19 x 10,5 cm. Grey sandstone.
Leitner collection 518d, 1907.
From Bodh Gayā.

This small *caitya* is badly damaged with the figures of the Buddha defaced and the bodies erased. It has lost its upper portion and must have stood on a separate plinth since its lower surface is hollowed. The very same four *mudrā*s are depicted with the gesture of teaching depicted twice side by side after the gesture of Enlightenment, turning in the *pradakṣiṇam* whereas the gesture of meditation follows (drawing 3).

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 11th century. Donor's name in Sanskrit:
d[e]va[dha]rmmoyam semide...
which means "This (*caitya*) is the meritorious gift of Semideva (?)."

116. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. IC 34733.
13 x 8,5 cm. Grey sandstone.
Leitner collection 513, 1907.
From Bodh Gayā.

This *caitya* is stylistically similar to those described under cat. 115, 117 & 118. From the description by A. von Lecoq on the inventory card, the iconography shows: right from the Buddha seen on the illustration, the Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśa*°; left from it, the same with the *dhyāna*° and the mendicant bowl and behind, the same gesture without this bowl (see drawing 5).

117. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. I 694/old IC 34650c.
22 x 10,5 cm. Beige sandstone.
Leitner collection 518c, 1907.
From Bodh Gayā.

A large part of the *chattrāvalī* is broken away. The figures of the Buddha are also much defaced. But stylistically the *caitya* belongs to the main tradition of Bodh Gayā exemplified by most of the examples here catalogued.

The four Buddha images display the *bhūmiśparśa*°, the *dhyāna*°, a second *dhyāna*° holding also the mendicant bowl and to end the *dharmacakrapravartana*°, in the *pradakṣiṇam* (drawing 4).

Evidently, the double representation of the gesture of meditation is noteworthy. As such, it occurs also on the following *caitya* (cat. 118). A clear distinction is made between the two scenes since only one of them introduces the *piṇḍapātra*. In late Buddhism, a Buddha presents the bowl as attribute although his presence has not been yet mentioned as such in the Indian Subcontinent, it is Bhaiṣajyaguru the Medicine Buddha. However, at least one inscription on a Nepalese manuscript called the Buddha of Bodh Gayā *Ārogyaśālī Bhaiṣajya-bhaṭṭāraka-vajrāsanaḥ* and there exists a close relation between Śākyamuni at the time of his Enlightenment and the Healing Buddha.⁴⁵ This does not imply that in all certitude the Buddha figure holding the bowl on these votive *caitya*s is Bhaiṣajyaguru, but that there exists a further possibility of reading the iconographic structure which is superposed upon the already quoted eventual identifications such as the four great events of Śākyamuni's biography – which is also the most common model.⁴⁶

118-120. Votive *caitya*s with four images of the Buddha

118: Inv. I 675/old IC 34734.
13 x 9 cm. Yellow sandstone.
Leitner collection 514, 1907.
119: Inv. I 602/old IC 34713.
25,5 x 13,5 cm. Red sandstone.
Leitner collection 509d, 1907.
120: Inv. IC 38980.
23 cm. Sandstone.
Rawlins collection, 1913.

Only the first and the third monuments are recorded as having been actually collected at Bodh Gayā. The second one comes from "Bihar" without any further precision.

Very much damaged, these monuments have lost their *chattrāvalī*, corners of the pedestal can be broken off, figures of the Buddha are defaced. They are, none the less, noteworthy through their iconography which they share with the previous catalogue entry; the only difference consists in having exchanged the position of the *bhūmiśparśa*° and of the *dharmacakrapravartana*° (observation made on the first two monuments only, drawing 5). As a matter of fact, the scene of the meditation occurs twice, with and without the begging bowl lying on the lap, the two remaining scenes being as ever those of the Enlightenment and of the teaching.

The *caitya* of unknown provenance is so close to those from Bodh Gayā that one cannot but attribute it to the same origin. The *chattrāvalī* of cat. 166 belongs to the now missing *caitya*, cat. 120.

121. Votive *caitya* with four images of the Buddha

Inv. I 697/old IC 33706.
16 x 10,5 x 5 cm. Grey sandstone.
Waddell collection 59, 1906.
Found in Bihar, probably at Bodh Gayā.

This small *caitya* is much damaged, having lost its upper part while one face of the drum has been broken away. It included initially four niches of which only three are preserved; they include images of the Buddha displaying the *bhūmiśparśa*°, and of the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and *dhyāna*° on either side. This shows at least that the structure departs from the traditional one and is close to the one noticed above (cat. 118-120) with the meditation without the almsbowl on the right side of the main Buddha (which might imply that the missing image presented the same gesture with the bowl).

Though the plastic quality is not very high, this *caitya* presents the interesting feature of showing the Buddha with a broad front, a plainly horizontal hairline and a pointed chin, narrow and round shoulders, a short neck, all features which are rarely combined in India but remember evidently of the Burmese rendering of the Buddha image.

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 11th-12th centuries. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:
devadharmmoyam/māhādevi//
which means "This (*caitya*) is the meritorious gift of Mahādevi (?)."

122-123. Fragmentary votive *caitya*s with images of the Buddha

122: Inv.. I 647/old IC 34650a.
14 x 9 x 4 cm. Beige sandstone with white spots.
Leitner collection 518a, 1907.
123: Inv. I 683/old IC 34686.
27 x 17 cm. Beige sandstone.
Leitner collection 560, 1907.
From Bodh Gayā.

These two *caitya*s are very much damaged. Not only they have both lost their *harmikā* and *chattrāvalī*, but the drum and the *aṇḍa* are also much destroyed since only one face remains on the first *caitya*, and two on the second one. In the first case, it is the Buddha displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*°, who is also seen in the second example with the Buddha showing the *bhūmiśparśa*°. Since in this last case, the image is partly destroyed, one has to rely on the fact that only the left shoulder of the holy man is covered to draw this conclusion.

Though much battered, these two *caitya*s belong to main stylistic trend of Bodh Gayā event though they can illustrate as is the case

of the second monument (cat. 123), a rather crude carving with a much simplified rendering of the hair *e.g.*

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary inscription on cat. 122. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor's name (?) in Sanskrit (?):

vā[sa]... (below the central Buddha figure)

mā... (below the right side Buddha figure)

Fragmentary inscription on cat. 123. Gauḍīya of c. 12th century. Verse in Sanskrit:

... nya samuttir[ṇṇa]-bhavā[r]ṇṇava[m] // (line 1)

... caittoyaṃ ati-sundaraḥ // (line 2),

which can be translated as

"in order to cross over the ocean of worldly existence. ... this very beautiful *caitya* ..."

Although fragmentary, this record proves to be very important since it informs that the so-called "votive *stūpa.s*" were actually named *caitya.s* at that period.

PUBLISHED

123: G. Bhattacharya 1983, p. 37.

124-125. Votive *caitya.s* with images of the Buddha

124: Inv. I 655/old IC 34708.

12 x 8,5 x 7 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 517, 1907.

125: Inv. I 700/old IC 8794.

15,5 x 9 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Bastian collection, 1879.

From Bodh Gayā.

Both *caitya.s* are small and much battered, they have also lost their *chattrāvalī* and their *harmikā*. Even though, it is evident that the carving was not much refined, as is often the case in this type of sculpture, probably because they were small or produced in large number. Four Buddha figures are depicted in the four niches, displaying the traditional *bhūmisparśa*° and, what is less common, thrice the *dhyāna*° (drawing 6).

The most pre-eminent feature of these small monuments is the presence of three Buddha figures displaying all the same gesture of meditation. This pre-eminence of the *mudrā* in the iconographic structure was already announced by some *caitya.s* catalogued above where it was depicted twice and will culminate when it is shown four times (cat. 126-127). And it is evidently related to the *caitya.s* covered by tiny depictions of the Buddha meditating (cat. 80-83).

INSCRIPTION

Inscription in Gauḍīya of c. 11th century on cat. 124. Donor's name in Sanskrit:

geghādhara[sya],

which means that "(This *caitya* is the gift of) of Geghādhara."

On cat. 125, fragmentary inscription in Gauḍīya of c. 10th-11th centuries. Donor's name probably in Sanskrit (?):

... mā ...

126-127. Votive *caitya.s* with images of the Buddha

126: Inv. I 673/old IC 34709.

16,5 x 12,5 cm. Beige sandstone.

Leitner collection 510, 1907.

127: Inv. I 693/old IC 34650b.

13,5 x 10 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 518b, 1907.

Both from Bodh Gayā.

Both monuments present a conic shape and rest on a pedestal which does have the quadrangular groundplan usually met with since the angles are rounded. None the less, the structure of the mouldings is identical with the one encountered on other *caitya.s*. They are much destroyed without their upper part, the *aṇḍa* is broken, the Buddha figures are defaced.

The outstanding feature of these two monuments is the presence of four images of the Buddha showing the gesture of meditation (drawing 7).

Can these four images be related to the historical Buddha Śākyamuni? They do not present the almsbowl which could remind of the last meal taken before the Enlightenment or the bowl containing the *madhu* offered by the monkey at Vaiśālī. There is thus no direct allusion to the biography of Śākyamuni. Two explanations are possible. These images show the Buddha at Bodh Gayā, they illustrate the Enlightenment attained through the *samādhi* at the site of the *vajra*°,⁴⁷ or they show Vairocana in his meditative posture as we already suggested above for *caitya.s* entirely covered by a litany of tiny images of the Buddha displaying this gesture (cat. 80-83).⁴⁸

128. Votive *caitya* with one image of the Buddha

Inv. I 5769/old IC 33713.

11 x 5 cm. Beige sandstone.

Waddell collection "66", 1906.

From Bodh Gayā.

This very small *caitya* presents only one niche where the Buddha sits and shows the *bhūmisparśa*°. A large part of the drum and of the *aṇḍa* is broken away, the figure of the Buddha is extremely defaced. Even though, it is clear that the work was rather crude and not very detailed.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit.

dānapa[ti]-maṇoḥ //

or "(This *caitya* is the gift of) Maṇo, the lord of gifts."

129. Votive *caitya* with one image of the Buddha

Inv. IC 33711.

9 x 6,5 x 4,5 cm. Yellow-grey sandstone.

Waddell collection "64", 1906.

Only one face of the *caitya* remains, illustrating the Buddha with *samādhi*° and seated in *padma*° in the niche which is roughly carved – details have been avoided in the treatment of the upper part for instance.

An inscription runs on the lower part, which is illegible.

130. Votive *caitya* with one image of the Buddha

Inv. I 629/old IC 33707.

19 x 9,5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Waddell collection 60, 1906.

From Bihar.

Much damaged, this small *caitya* includes one niche with the Buddha seated and displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°. Perhaps due to the reduced size, the sequence of mouldings on the drum has been reduced to the high reversed cyma and the plain moulding. The monument is erected above a high plinth which is only partly preserved and which had apparently the same sequence of mouldings. The upper surface has been hollowed for fixing the now missing *harmikā* and *chattrāvalī*.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed (?) in corrupt Sanskrit in two lines.

131. Votive *caitya* with four niches with Bodhisattva.s

Inv. I 691/old IC 34729.

14,5 x 11 cm. Reddish sandstone.

Leitner collection 518, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

The *harmikā* and the *chattrāvalī* are lost and the lower part is also much abraded. The *jaṅghāvedī* is high in proportion to the *aṇḍa*, rather short here; it contains also a sequence of mouldings otherwise unknown: no depiction of the lotus petals, no cyma but a lower high and flat plain moulding separated by a recess from the upper plain and narrow mouldings. This rests upon a high square basis covered by similar mouldings.

The front part of the *caitya* is indicated by a high niche which covers not only the lower part of the drum but also the basis, which reminds of the “cella *stūpa*” described above (cat. 103). All images are much damaged and defaced but their main iconographic features are still recognizable. In the main niche, the Buddha sits, displaying the *bhūmisparśa*° whereas the three normal niches include representations of Bodhisattva.s. Mañjuśrī sits in *mahārājāḷilā*° with the right hand on the knee and the left one behind the left thigh holding the stalk of the lotus on which lies the manuscript, the Tārā with the right hand displaying the *varada*° and holding the *utpala* in the left hand and Avalokiteśvara is seated also in *mahārājāḷilā*° and holding the hands like Mañjuśrī, he presents the *padma* on his proper left side.

The iconography is thus similar to the one noticed on some more *caitya*.s from Bodh Gayā such as the one analysed above (cat. 101).⁴⁹

INSCRIPTION

Damaged two-lined inscription in Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit.

132. Votive *caitya* with four niches with Bodhisattva.s

Inv. 1616/old IC 34731.

20 x 15 cm. Phyllite.

Leitner collection 511, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

The upper surface of the *aṇḍa* still shows the hollow in which was fixed the now missing upper part and though the pedestal has also disappeared, this small *caitya* is rather well preserved. It illustrates the traditional structure with four niches which interrupt the sequence of mouldings covering the *jaṅghāvedī*.

The main figure is as usual the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*°. On the other faces, we recognize Mañjuśrī who sits in *mahārājāḷilā*° and presents in the left hand the stalk of the *nilotpala* on which lies the manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* while displaying the *varada*° with the right hand. In the back niche, Vajrasattva sits in *sattvaparyāṅka*°. The right hand holds the *vajra* in front of the breast and the left one lying on the thigh presents the *ghaṇṭā*. Mañjuśrī and Vajrasattva bear both the same hair-dress which is made of three superimposed pads. This high chignon reflects perhaps the description given in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* of the priest tying his hair up at the beginning of the ritual. The same text also stresses that the disciple has to meditate himself as being Vajrasattva – and that he even carries the two attributes of the latter.⁵⁰ And further, the

particular shape of the hair-dress is the one of the tiara worn by the priests.⁵¹

The fourth niche includes a representation of Avalokiteśvara holding the lotus in the left hand and displaying the *varada*° with the right one.

Vajrasattva is rarely observed at Bodh Gayā; he was already noticed above in a niche of a *caitya* (cat. 100).⁵²

133. Fragmentary votive *caitya* with Bodhisattva.s

Inv. 1630/old IC 33715.

15 x 10 x 5,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection “70”, 1906.

Found in Bihar.

A very large part of this small monument has been broken away. The drum stands above a very high square plinth which is carved with a sequence of mouldings. In the remaining two niches, the Tārā displays the *varada*° and holds her *nilotpala* while a Bodhisattva sits in the very same position and shows the same gesture in the second niche. He holds also an undistinct flower in the left hand.

This *caitya* is evidently close to those produced at Bodh Gayā, sharing with them the triangular fleuron crowning the niches and the small scrolls on either side (cat. 111, 131, 132) or showing similar mouldings (cat. 131 e.g.).

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary and damaged inscription in Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit.

134. Votive *caitya* showing the life of Śākyamuni

Inv. 11122/old IC 34705.

19,5 x 13 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 545, 1907.

From Bihar.

This *caitya*, which was complemented by the *chattra*.s catalogued below (168), presents the peculiarity of having its main part and the basis carved in one single piece of stone. The *aṇḍa* is flat above the high *jaṅghāvedī* adorned by the usual sequence of mouldings; the lotus petals are not depicted in the upper mouldings although the curves have been preserved. This stands above a high square pedestal which is also rhythmized by three plain and flat mouldings.

Four niches are regularly distributed on the main body and, what is rarely encountered, four other niches are cut in the pedestal, below the upper ones. Altogether, these eight niches include the representation of the eight great events of Śākyamuni's life which were then

favoured all through Bihar and Bengal (drawing 9; see cat. 27). Thus, in the upper level, the sequence shows the Enlightenment, a scene of teaching, a meditation (with the almsbowl) and is concluded by the second teaching scene. The lower level includes a standing Buddha with the right hand turned downwards (the representation is too small to say whether the gesture of generosity was here depicted), the final decease, a second standing Buddha displaying the *varada*° and to conclude, the birth. The two standing Buddha figures symbolize probably the taming of the wild elephant Nāḷāgiri at Rājgir and the descent from the Heaven of the 33 gods at Śrāvastī since in this second scene, Śākyamuni is usually shown with the hand open in the gesture of giving and in the first scene with the hand put down above the head of the animal.

The theme of the biography was a beloved topic in the iconography of the period. It has been often depicted on stelae (cat. 27) and it must have also been the frequent object of representation on *caitya*.s. However, since those are generally constituted by various parts, a part of the program is usually missing since most of the *caitya*.s known to us are incomplete. As a matter of fact, the craftsmen of Bodh Gayā and the region decided to represent four niches in the main body of the monuments; rarely only small niches are cut between them.⁵³ None the less, the need of carving the life induced them in introducing four niches in the basis sustaining the main part of the *caitya*. Examples have survived where four small niches are carved in the pedestal with scenes like the birth or the *parinirvāṇa* (cat. 86, 88 or 89 e.g.).⁵⁴ Contrary to their colleagues from Bodh Gayā, the artists of Nālandā, where the program of the eight events was particularly favoured, carved *caitya*.s with eight niches regularly distributed on the drum.⁵⁵

PUBLISHED

Short Catalogue 1902, cat. 545 p. 14.

135. Votive *caitya* with eight niches

Inv. 11142/old IC 36205a & b.

Drum: 40 x 22,5 cm. Pedestal: 20 x 31 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 37(?), 1908.⁵⁶

Found in Bihar.

Although they proportionally match, the *caitya* and the basis were not found at the same place according to the information of the Museum catalogue. Besides, these two parts have been usually related to a *chattrāvalī* catalogued below which was discovered at Bodh Gayā (cat. 174). Both parts, as well as the umbrellas, are rather well preserved with only some corners

broken in the lower part or at the *harmikā*. The carving is carefully done, attention has been paid to the details although in the niches, the heads of the Buddha images are proportionally too large.

The high basis, presents the traditional square groundplan with the broad central projection on each face; it includes the usual sequence of mouldings with two reversed cymas in the upper part. Each reversed cyma is adorned by a triangular fleuron. The lower fleuron is absent on the face which includes a niche with a depiction of the Tārā. She sits in *lalitāsana*, presents with the right hand the *varaḍa*° while holding in the left hand the stalk of her *nīlotpala*. A tiny *caitya* is carved on her proper right side at the height of the flower, being thus symmetric to it. A small female devotee kneels below the goddess, worshipping her with a garland of flower.

The elongated drum includes a high lower part where the mouldings are dissimulated behind the eight niches surmounted by *śikhara*.s. Only the upper double row of lotus petals is more apparent between the pinacles of the towers. The *aṇḍa* arises from the lower part, deprived from any ornamentation – only the pinacles form a row in relief against the naked background. The proportions between the lower and much decorated part and this upper plain zone are equilibrated and elegant. The high *harmikā*, damaged, dominates the drum and the *aṇḍa*, showing the traditional stepped square groundplan.

Eight niches are distributed on the lower part of the *caitya*. Their trefoiled archs rest on bulbous short shafts. Scenes with the seated Buddha alternate with scenes where he stands or reclines on his death bed (drawing 10). One recognizes thus the following positions and gestures, starting from the side with the *bhūmisparśa*° (scene 1) and turning in the *pradakṣiṇam*: the Buddha standing and showing the *varaḍa*° (scene 2), the Buddha seated and presenting the *dharmacakrapravartana*° (scene 3), the reclining Buddha on his death bed (scene 4); flames arise behind his bed and a tiny *stūpa* crowns the composition between the cymbals and the drum held by celestial hands whereas one of the disciples fallen on the groundflour below the bed, shows his despair. The following niche shows the meditating Buddha holding the almsbowl (scene 5), it is followed by the standing Buddha taming the wild Nālāgiri depicted at his feet; the clump of stone falling from his right hand might well be indicative of the five lions which sprung out of his hand at this occasion and which are part of the iconography of the event in eastern India (scene 6).⁵⁷ In the next niche, the Buddha sits and displays the second scene of teaching (scene 7): the presence of the *cakra* with the profiled deers allows a proper identification of

the scene of Sārṇāth and of the corresponding scene on the other side as being the event of Śrāvasti (scene 3). The last niche shows a standing Buddha with the *abhaya*° (scene 8).

The basic program appears here on the front faces but questions arise concerning the intermediary scenes. Two belong obviously to the cycle of the eight great events, these are scenes 4 and 6 showing respectively the decease and the taming of the wild elephant. The remaining events would thus be the birth and the descent from the heaven of the 33 gods at Śrāvasti. Scene 2 might eventually be interpreted as being the first one but since on the other panels, the craftsman took care of introducing the necessary detail to the respective identification and since here no such element is carved, it is perhaps safer not to entertain this possibility.

The gestures of the Enlightenment and of the meditation (but holding the almsbowl) are opposed to each other, which reminds of the system of the Tathāgata.s where Amitābha, meditating, is located in the West and Akṣobhya, touching the earth, sits in the East. Similarly, the two enigmatic standing Buddha.s show the gestures of giving and of pacifying in the south-east and north-east corners: both are seen on either side of the enlightened Buddha, distributed as if they were the Tathāgata.s Ratnasambhava in the South and Amoghasiddhi in the North.⁵⁸ It might well be that what has been attempted here is precisely an adequation between two iconographic systems, the first one concerned with Śākyamuni's biography, the second one with the Pañcatathāgata.s. It is otherwise difficult to explain why the birth and the descent from the heaven of the 33 gods have been ignored.

The eight great events constitute a common topic in the atelier of Nālandā (see following catalogue entry). But they are not clearly depicted here. Some events are obviously not shown. In some cases, the craftsman introduced the details allowing a proper identification of the events, the elephant, the wheel with the deers or the almsbowl e.g. In this last scene, however, we face evidently another of these numerous examples where the details have been avoided or ignored since the monkey is absent, which leads to some confusion (see cat. 80 & 104). This confusion has been used to combine the program of the biography with the program of the Tathāgata.s. The two standing Buddha.s (scenes 2 & 8) replace evidently the birth and the descent from the heaven of the 33 gods; both figures with the other standing Buddha of the Rājgir event and the reclining Buddha (scenes 4 & 6) alternate with the four seated Buddha.s, and this alternation results evidently from a stylistic choice at the very same time that it reproduces the commonly met with program of the four seated im-

ages distributed in the more traditional *caitya* with four niches.

The scene of the decease is seen in the south-west corner, near the depiction of the Vaiśālī event where the Buddha decided to depart from his actual life. This would account for the position of the two scenes side by side in the western quarter where the sun sets.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (*symbol*) ye dharmma hetum prabhavā teṣa hetūṃ tathāgato [a]vadda (*line 1*)
teṣāṃ ca yo n[ī]rodha evamvādī mahāśra-
vaṇaḥ// (*line 2*)

PUBLISHED

Franz 1960, Abb. 10; Thomsen n.d., cat. 5; *Das Bild des Buddha*, cat. 41 pp. 108 & 110; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 57 pp. 114-115; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 6 (with cat. 174).

136. Votive temple

Inv. I 578/old IC 33705.

65 x 15,5 cm. Traces of vermillion on figures.

Phyllite.

Waddell collection 58, 1906.

Collected in Bihar.

This architectural structure includes two tiers of four niches. Those of the lower level are large and include images of the seated Buddha, those of the upper one are narrower and show images of the standing Buddha. Events of Śākyamuni's life are here depicted, since we recognize the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*° (drawing 11-1), and following this scene, clockwise, the Buddha displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*°. The small corpulent male figure who is half-seated, half-standing below him, is the heretic defeated at Śrāvasti after having put into doubt the teaching of the Buddha (dr. 11-2). Next comes an image of the Buddha who holds in his hands folded in the gesture of meditation the bowl of honey offered to him at Vaiśālī by the monkey who is profiled below (dr. 11-3). Finally, the Buddha displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*° at Sārṇāth, as shown by the two gazels around the disk in the lower part (dr. 11-4).

The standing images are not easily relatable to specific events of the Buddha's life. The arms are often broken, which could prevent us from any precise identification of the *mudrā*.s, which were either the *abhaya*° or the *varaḍa*° if we would not take into consideration the position of the left arm. Let us remember, as mentioned in cat. 19 e.g., that when the Buddha displays the gesture of gift, i.e. the right hand is falling, his left arm has to go upwards and that when he shows protection, i.e. when

the right hand goes upwards, then the left one has to fall. Above the scene of the Enlightenment, we recognize the taming of the wild elephant Nālāgiri where the Buddha holds the extremity of his robe in the left hand; the right one had to fall and to show the pacifying of the animal (dr. 11-1'). The next image presents the same position of arms but one can surmise that the right hand displayed the *varada*° (dr. 11-2'). Since the left arm of the following image falls, the right one had to go upwards, and traces of it still remain, showing thus the *abhaya*° (dr. 11-3') and the last figure having the left hand upwards, was presenting the *varada*° (dr. 11-4').

These eight images are thus distributed within niches which are drawn with trilobate arches on the edge of which runs a row of flames and which are crowned by a *caitya*. The side pillars at the angles have disappeared. Each level stands above a high plinth identical to the one usually sustaining votive *caitya*s.

Such a votive temple is evidently related to the iconography of the eight great events of Śākyamuni's biography which can also be depicted in eight niches distributed all around a votive *caitya*. A similar sculpture has been recovered at Nālandā,⁵⁹ where the distribution of images in the lower level is only apparently identical since the events of Sārnāth and Śrāvastī have exchanged their position (respectively positions 2 & 4). The birth and the *parinirvāṇa* are depicted in positions 1' and 3' in the upper level whereas the two intermediary images represent the Buddha seated and displaying the *varada*°, a gesture shared with the standing Buddha.s of the sculpture in the Museum. But one of these images introduces also a tiny representation of the wild elephant Nālāgiri being tamed (in position 4'). Very logically, the decease is shown in position 4' above the Vaiśālī event – since at the later occasion, he took the decision to depart.⁶⁰

Similar temples were also recovered in Bengal but they have only one level surmounted by a high tower. The iconography which they illustrate departs, in its choice of events and in its introduction of a Bodhisattva, i.e. Maitreya, from the votive monuments analysed presently.⁶¹

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary inscription in Gauḍīya of c. 10th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:
ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā tesāṃ [hetuṃ ...]rodhā evaṃvād[i] ...

PUBLISHED

Franz 1967, fig. 208.

137. Fragment of a votive *caitya*: the crowned Buddha

Inv. I 573/old IC 36206.

34 x 33 x 12,5 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection, 1908.⁶²

Exact provenance unknown.

What is seen here is one side of the *jaṅghāvedī* of a *caitya*. This lower part was carved with the traditional sequence of mouldings carved with extreme care and detail. As a matter of fact, these mouldings are adorned with a large choice of decorative motifs such as the high triangular fleurons on the reversed cyma; around the central circular gem, curved leaves irradiate with their extremities turned. This reversed cyma, also adorned with a large beaded garland, rests above a flat moulding, usually plain but here bearing the sequence of rhombi and circles, each forming a small flower. The torus bears another rhombus treated like a flower. Another cyma is then carved with an elaborated decoration: squares with concave sides alternate with circles to adorn the lower border of the cyma, a triangle adorns the plain surface and the recess is covered by foliated scrolls. To end, the double row of lotus petals form the upper moulding.

The Buddha sits in a niche constituted by the two bulbous pillars supporting the trefoiled arch. Such pillars are typical at Bodh Gayā and, but more rarely, at Nālandā.⁶³ A huge monstrous face crowns the arch, spitting large volutes which run down on the outer edge of the arch. Two *nāga*s sit above the pillars; they greet the Buddha with one hand while holding a jar with the other, protected by their three-headed snake-hood. Their tail run upwards along the edge of the arch and disappear behind the short triangular tongue of the *kīrtimukha*. Their presence at that place is extremely rare.⁶⁴

The *kīrtimukha* shows the two short horns emerging out of the eye-brows and turned inwards on either side of a small scroll. Tiny ears are carved above the cheeks and a thin moustache adorns the upper lip. The widely open mouth shows the teeth of the upper jaw. As usual, no lower jaw is carved. Two half-windows are carved on either side of the face; from the outer edge, scrolls emerge which transform this pure architectural motif in a fantastic one. A further fleuron is put on the moulding above the monstrous face.

The Buddha sits in *padma*° and displays the *dhyāna/samādhi*° while holding on his hands the pot, now damaged, of *madhu* which was offered to him by the monkey who is depicted on the lower part of the image. Indeed, in front of the large foliated scrolls which sustain the lotus on which sits the Buddha, we notice twice the depiction of the monkey: on the left side, the animal sits with hands (folded ?) in

front of the breast and turned towards the Buddha and on the right side, he jumps in the well after having made his donation. The Buddha leans against the back of the throne built of two pearly jamba on which a plain lintel rests. A large cushion adorned with two large knobs similar to lotus flowers, fills the central space whereas two small fleurons are carved on either side of the Buddha's head.

The Buddha wears a broad necklace, heavy ear-rings and a high crown. The shape of this ornament is very typical. Three high triangular elements, appearing like enlarged fleurons, are put above a plain diadem which falls very low on the forehead. A row of tiny curls is still depicted on its lower edge whereas a narrow band of zigzags is drawn on its upper edge. Flowers are carved between the fleurons whereas two small rosettes are seen above the ears.

This iconography is not surprising on a votive *caitya*; it is indeed a traditional element of these small monuments as observed above. It remains, none the less, difficult to ascribe this image to a particular site. Like on examples from Nālandā, the Buddha leans on a throne (cat. 146) but also like on slabs from Bodh Gayā, half windows are carved on either side of the monstrous face (cat. 145, 147). Besides, the treatment of this face is reminiscent of the one observed at Bodh Gayā, where the elements are not harmoniously combined and do not merge well with each other. Moreover, it seems that the short triangular tongue is also a peculiarity of the site.⁶⁵ The horns are turned inwards, which is usually not the case. Only some rare and late examples from Bodh Gayā present this shape.⁶⁶

The large loops of pearls and the fleuron carved on the reversed cyma are also noted at Bodh Gayā.⁶⁷ It is thus likely that this fragment originated from Bodh Gayā or from the area.

138. Fragment of a votive *caitya*

Inv. I 654/old IC 34716.

15,5 x 18 cm. Beige sandstone.

Leimer collection 555, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

Only the upper part of the niche survived, it was one of four similar niches regularly distributed around the *jaṅghāvedī* of a small monument. A small part of the decoration of mouldings can still be observed. Smiling, the Buddha sits and displays the *bhūmisparśa*° as can be surmised from the fact that his right shoulder is naked. Traditionally, when he shows other gestures, both shoulders are covered by the monastic dress. The trefoiled arch rests on the bulbous pillars and is adorned by the scrolls which run on its upper edge; a trian-

gular fleuron crowns the niche and two half-fleurons are carved at the extremities of the arch. Behind and above the arch, a large *caitya*-window is depicted, partly broken off. A similar structure is encountered on *caitya.s* or parts of *caitya.s* collected at Bodh Gayā or Kurkihār.⁶⁸

The production at Bodh Gayā and in the region was extremely intensive, which explains that many small *caitya.s* are often carved crudely. However, though the decoration is not very ornamented, it was done very carefully as was carved the figure of the Buddha.

139. Fragment of a votive *caitya*

Inv. I 627/old IC 34687.

14 x 19 x 9 cm. Red sandstone.

Leitner collection 538e, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

Much battered, the Buddha sits displaying the *dhyāna*° and presenting the almsbowl. He sits in a much destroyed niche which was part of a small *caitya*. Part of the mouldings can still be seen on either side. The niche had the typical shape of the trefoil standing above the flat pilasters.⁶⁹

140. Fragment from a votive *caitya*: the birth of Śākyamuni

Inv. I 551/old IC 33662.

15 x 12 x 4 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 10, 1906.

From Bihar.

The trefoil niche rests on the two bulbous pilasters; a large triangular crown it whereas scrolls run along the outer edge but most of this decoration has now disappeared. It was probably included into the pedestal supporting a *caitya* (see 82, 85-90).

Māyā stands, holding the tree with the right hand while the child comes out of her right flank. The pile below him represents the seven lotuses which supported the infant making his first seven steps after the birth.

141. Fragment of a votive *caitya*: the *mahāparinirvāṇa*

Inv. I 1153/old IC 33732.

15 x 55 x 13 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection 99, 1906.

From Bodh Gayā.

Here is a rather carefully carved sculpture showing the scene of the great demise of the Buddha who lies on his right flank. A pillow sustains the head, a flat cushion lies below the body and the feet lie against a thin cushion (which might be in fact reminiscent of the lotus

on which sits or stands the Buddha). The facial features, the hair and the dress are rendered with much care. Also the body is treated with attention, following a gentle curve and the belly protruding slightly above the belt which holds the skirt below the toga. The fingers are distinctively shown and follow a supple line.

The death bed is located between the two *śāla* trees of the groove at Kuśinagara. Celestial instruments were played at the death of Śākyamuni, the drum held by two hands is still visible above the Buddha's shoulder, the second pair playing the cymbals having been broken off.

Two *caitya* windows are carved on either side of the scene, reproducing the traditional shape, with curved and erected extremities, the upper part tied by a rope transformed itself into two symmetric scrolls on either side of a lotus flower which emerges from within the window – and which is not much destroyed. A circle with heavy edge indicates the opening of the window.

It is rather difficult to locate within a *caitya* the position of this sculpture.⁷⁰ It is large and could have perhaps been inserted in the plinth supporting a *caitya* or it could have been an architectural sculpture inserted within a brick construction.

142. Fragment depicting the *mahāparinirvāṇa*

Inv. I 1132/old IC 33663.

10 x 9 x 2,5 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection 11, 1906.

From Bihar.

This much battered fragment shows the final demise of Śākyamuni. The body is short, the left arm too long in proportion with the body. The face is flat and square with broad features. The Buddha lies in a *stūpa* which is widely open and is crowned by a small *caitya* as if this one would be its *harmikā* and *chatravālī*.

The identification of the Buddha with the *stūpa*, which was erected above the reliquary containing his remains, is well known.⁷¹ The monument is depicted above the lying Buddha and between the musical instruments in sculptures.⁷² But representations, like here, of the Buddha reclining in the *stūpa* are rather rare at the period when they were mainly painted on cloth among other biographical scenes.⁷³

The poor state of conservation of this fragment prevents from identifying its position within the structure of a *caitya* or of any other sculpture.

143. Fragment: the Buddha displaying the *abhaya mudrā*

Inv. IC 33672.

11 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection 20, 1906.

Bihar.

This sculpture which is probably of small size, shows the Buddha standing below an arch above which is depicted a large fleuron with drop-like pearls on either side whereas scrolls fill the upper angles. He shows the gesture of protection with the upwards erected right hand whereas the left hand falls along the hip.

It is impossible to locate within the structure of a *caitya* this image since the absence of observation prevents us from telling whether it was broken from a larger sculpture or whether it is complete. Apparently, this sculpture is not complete: the lower lobes of the arch and the pillars are indeed absent. If reconstructed with the complete arch and the sustaining pillars, it becomes similar to small niches which are distributed in the plinth of the *caitya.s*.⁷⁴

144. Slab from a votive *caitya* illustrating the litany of Buddhas

Inv. IC 34674.

39 x 28 x 9 cm. Sandstone (?).

Leitner collection 519, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

Large *caitya.s* were not only constituted by superimposed and distinct levels which were worked separately, they also had apparently the four slabs inserted separately into the drum. Such is the case for this slab where the crowned Buddha sits in the central niche, displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*°, surrounded by two standing Buddhas who show the *varada*°. Similar standing figures are depicted in the angles above the trefoiled arch. All around, 22 small niches have been cut, all showing the same trefoil which lies above pilasters. They are regularly distributed and occupied by Buddhas displaying the same gesture of meditation.

Such a slab, which is well preserved (only the upper right corner is damaged), was fixed in the drum of a *caitya* covered by tiny images of the Buddha displaying the *dhyāna*° (see above cat. 80 e.g.) as shown by such a monument still standing in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir.⁷⁵ On those examples, the number of tiny images accounts to 21, 24 or 22 like here. The structure is repetitive and very rigorously built with a perfect symmetry. No superfluous detail is carved: the back of the niche is plain as it is usually the case at Bodh Gayā, the pilasters are flat, the archs above the tiny niches are rounded without the trefoil which is only observed at the main niche, which is another

mean of stressing the hierarchy of the images, beside of course the size. Properly organized around the central niche, this litany stresses the movement of peaceful irradiation of the numerous Buddhas from the central one.

145. Slab from a votive *caitya* showing the Buddha

Inv. I 1112/old IC 38978.

51,5 x 35 x 13 cm. Grey sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

From Bihar.

This slab is damaged at various places, the upper and lower right corners are broken away, the images of the upper row and the central figure are defaced, some more details are spoilt. But on the whole, it is well preserved and illustrates a well known type of slab⁷⁶ which originates most probably from Bodh Gayā.⁷⁷ The central figure is crowned and adorned by various jewels, like ear-rings and necklace. He sits in *padma*° on a lotus arising out of intricate scrolls which are symmetrically distributed on either side of the central stalk; he displays the *bhūmisparśa*°. Branches of the Bodhi tree are spread above his head, carved in low relief. Two standing Buddhas and two seated ones are distributed around him: whereas the seated ones both show the gesture of meditation, the standing ones present the *varada*° and the *abhaya*°. Both standing figures are shown in a perfect symmetrical position considering the respective position of the arms which are pulled down and those which are raised.

A further group of three Buddha figures is shown in the upper part of the slab where they sit in small niches; the central one shows the same gesture of calling the earth, the two side ones the gesture of meditation.

This type of slab is constructed on a very strict model with three superimposed storeys.⁷⁸ The lowest, and highest, one runs till above the head of the main Buddha and above the *hamsa*°s, the second coincides with the mouldings which bear the two half-windows on either side of the *kīrtimukha* and the third one supports the three small niches in front of a second row of mouldings. A row of pearls runs down along the vertical edges of the slab, partly erased on the left side.

The trefoiled arch is supported by two large octagonal pillars. Those pillars rest in large jars adorned with a double row of lotus petals; their shaft bears a flat ring to which are attached beaded loops and a small fleuron. A triangular fleuron falls at the capital which is constituted by a series of constricted mouldings.

Taking into consideration the existence of similar slabs at Bodh Gayā, it appears quite

evident that this one can also be related to the same site. These images illustrate the crowned Buddha who mostly displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*° and more rarely, as is the case here, the *bhūmisparśa*°. Details allowing a precise identification of the event are usually avoided: presently, neither Bhūdevī nor Māra are seen. And similarly, on those slabs where the Buddha teaches, neither the *cakra* and the deers nor the defeated heretic are to be seen.⁷⁹

On all those images,⁸⁰ the two Buddhas standing on the proper right and left sides of the central image display respectively the *varada*° and the *abhaya*°. In the present case, the triad reproduces thus the gestures shown by the Tathāgata.s distributed in the south, east and north quarters. This possible identification would be reinforced here by the two seated Buddhas on either side of the head, as if seen behind the central image; both of them present the *dhyaṇa*°, gesture of Amitābha, Tathāgata located in the west.⁸¹ A similar grouping around the teaching Buddha is also shown on three slabs⁸² while on the remaining examples, the two tiny seated Buddhas present the *dharmacakrapravartana*°.⁸³

On the upper row, the central Buddha shows the same gesture of calling the earth-goddess, surrounded by two depictions of the meditation. The same distribution occurs on the slab in the National Museum.⁸⁴ But variations are noticed: the central image showing the *bhūmisparśa*°, can be surrounded by two images of the *dharmacakrapravartana*°,⁸⁵ or the central figure can display the gesture of teaching and is accompanied by two Buddhas presenting the *dhyaṇa*°, or the *bhūmisparśa*° or even twice the *dharmacakrapravartana*°.⁸⁶ More rarely even is the representation of thrice the same *mudrā*, i.e. the *dhyaṇa*°.⁸⁷ The gestures illustrated at the upper tier of these slabs, are, as a matter of fact, those noticed on the votive *caitya*°s. The main gestures evoke the Enlightenment and the teaching: they are illustrated in the central niche or in the main niche of the slab.

These slabs do not simply show the historic Buddha. As noticed, the details referring to specific moments of Śākyamuni's existence are usually abandoned, and when they are depicted they are exclusively related to the central image. As a matter of fact, the images of the meditating Buddha never show the alms-bowl, which could constitute a last hint at the event of Vaiśālī. The main Buddha is also bejewelled, which indicates his predominating position over the other figures. As we noticed, when he displays the *bhūmisparśa*°, he can be considered to be at the centre of a triad of Tathāgata.s; he could thus be visualized as being Akṣobhya, which is not excluded since at the time of his Enlightenment, the Buddha became *akṣobhya*, "the immovable".⁸⁸ In the

same context, the bejewelled Buddha who displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*° is still Śākyamuni but transformed into Vairocana, whose origin lies also in the historic Buddha at the time of the first predication at Sārnāth.⁸⁹

This slab, and the other ones which belong to the same group, was thus one of the four images built into a *caitya*. Their iconography reveals that they do not clearly represent the historic Buddha, but rather the *dharmakāya*, i.e. the five Tathāgata.s who trace, at least partly, their origin in specific moments of Śākyamuni's last existence.⁹⁰ The presence, in some rare cases, of details referring to an event of this life, stresses the possibility of reading at different levels the same image, which would have allowed the worship of these sculptures by monks belonging to different, if not antagonistic, sectarian trends.

146. Slab from a votive *caitya* showing the Buddha

Inv. IC 38263.

Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Precise find-spot unknown, from Bihar.

Suggested provenance: Nālandā.

The upper part of this slab has been broken off above the pillars of the niche. As a result, the nimbus and the *hamsa*°s of the throne are partly damaged. The image of the Buddha is also slightly spoilt at the face and the right hand. This image of great aesthetic quality illustrates the bejewelled Buddha at the moment of the Enlightenment calling Bhūdevī. The earth-goddess is depicted on the central panel of the pedestal, surrounded by the two diverging lions of the *siṃhāsana*; she kneels on her right leg, turned towards her proper left with the face directed towards the Buddha to whom she presents the "jar of plenty" or *pūrṇaghaṭa* while paying her respects with the proper right hand showing the *namaskāra*°.

The Buddha sits on a double lotus adorned by a row of pearl-like stamens. He leans on the back of the throne which is constituted by two bulbous pillars on which rests a lintel adorned by a sequence of mouldings. Two *vyāghra*°s/ *vyāla*°s roar on either side whereas two *hamsa*°s used to standing on the lintel, on either side of the nimbus.

The two pillars sustaining the now missing arch, have an octagonal section; they are erected in large jars which are depicted in a very detailed and careful manner, i.e. their bulge rests on a row of thick pearls and is adorned by lotus petals and beaded loops. Another row of pearls runs along their opening out of which bunches of mangos fall on each corner. Similarly, the shaft bears a fleuron above the base and a monstrous face attached

on two plain mouldings whereas garlands of pearls are hanging from his open mouth. The capital is extremely elaborated: the astragal is covered by a row of falling triangles, the corbel has a circular lower part adorned with a row of thick pearls below the upper bell-mouthed main part which has a square and stepped groundplan. An elongated triangle falls in front of it.

Although the precise origin of the object is unknown, it is evidently a production of the Nālandā ateliers and belongs to a group of images actually collected at this site.⁹¹ This group reflects a high quality of carving, the details are always worked out with attention, the image of the Buddha forms a perfect triangle with forms smoothly carved. The plain dress of the image balances elegantly the intricate background and surrounding decoration which might appear to be overwhelming. The Buddha shows a peaceful and smiling face; the eyebrows and the eyes are underlined with an incised line.

Like at Bodh Gayā, four scenes were privileged: the Enlightenment, the first predication, the victory over the heretic at Śrāvastī and the gift of the *madhu* by the monkey at Vaiśālī. But, unlike their colleagues of that site, the craftsmen of Nālandā preserved the details allowing a proper identification of the illustrated scenes with events of Śākyamuni's life. Like at Bodh Gayā also, the Buddha could be represented as a monk or bejewelled.

This slab was completed by another one, now lost, which contained the upper part of the trefoiled niche adorned by elaborated foliages which ended in the mouth of a monstrous face.⁹² Contrarily to examples from Bodh Gayā, this face is carved with elegance and combines itself harmoniously with the scrolls which run on the outer edge of the niche to mix with the tails of the fantastic musicians who sit above the side pillars. A row of three niches was introduced above the niche with tiny depictions of the Buddha displaying various *mudrā.s*.⁹³ The choice of specific gestures shows that here also, the scheme of the five Tathāgata.s was not ignored. If it could be suggested that the model behind this type of construction is also the depiction of the multiplication of images of the Buddha which took place at Śrāvastī,⁹⁴ the context in which these slabs were produced do not really allow such an identification. As a matter of fact, the Śrāvastī miracle is hinted at in Bihar by the gesture of teaching and by the presence of the heretic Purāṇa Kāśyapa represented with shaven head, naked and pot-bellied, crawling on the floor in front of the Buddha (see here cat. 27), and/or eventually by the depiction of the mango tree crowning the image.⁹⁵ These iconographic criteria were, however, not all applied with an equal strictness, since the mango tree is com-

bined to the motif of the *cakra* and the profiled deers on a slab from Nālandā *e.g.*,⁹⁶ which implies that both scenes involving a depiction of the Buddha teaching, *i.e.* at Śārnāth and at Śrāvastī, were meant. This abundance of detail in this case, where elements belonging to different scenes are combined, is not far away from the renunciation of details which is often encountered at the period on slabs of votive *caitya.s*. In one or the other case, it is the Buddha as an absolute teacher, and not at a specific but limited moment of his career, who is to be represented. The narrative constituents are given up and the image has become definitely an icon.

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1991a, fig. 9 & p. 87-89.

147. Upper part of a slab from a votive *caitya*

Inv. I 650/old IC 34784.

30,5 x 34,5 x 11,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection A 15, 1907.

From Bihar.

This fragment is similar to the complete slab of cat. 145 and belongs indeed to a particular group of slabs produced at Bodh Gayā.⁹⁷ But although it presents the same structure, the same decorative and iconographic program, the carving of the foliages running along the trefoil is here more precise and detailed and the monstrous face spreads more harmoniously above the arch.

148. Pedestal of a votive *caitya*

Inv. IC 38958.

38 x 47 cm. Sandstone (?).

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Collected at Bodh Gayā.

This fragment of pedestal is extremely elaborated. It includes a number of mouldings adorned with various motifs. The lower flat moulding is covered with rosettes drawn in squares separated by a plain space. The flowers are clearly drawn with straight or voluted petals attached to the heart. The second moulding has the traditional shape of the reversed cyma and bears a line of *caitya.s*. These show a sequence of mouldings forming their basis on which stands the bulbous *aṇḍa* dominated by the *harmikā* and the elongated *chattrāvalī*. The torus is plain but an ornamental foliage covers the still visible angle; a scrolled leaf spreads horizontally, whereas larger ones are drawn on either side, all attached to the central square gem which covers the line of angle. Another narrow band bears a foliated volute below a second small reversed cyma where only two

triangular fleurons are carved. This reversed cyma supports a row of small niches in which depictions of *caitya.s* and of the Buddha meditating are shown. A third and narrow reversed cyma dominates the pedestal with its flat band adorned by the motif of circles and rhombi alternating.

A small temple-like structure is depicted in the middle of the face. A large niche showing as usual the trefoil which rests on two bulbous pillars shelters the crowned Buddha who displays the *dharmacakrapravartana*.⁹⁸ Two half-fleurons are put on the pillars, a third one crowns the niche. A second niche is cut in the tower which dominates the lower niche. This *śikhara* presents seven tiers or *bhūmis* below the crowning *āmalaka*. The bejewelled Buddha of the lower niche presents the *dharmacakrapravartana* at Śrāvastī; the heretic Purāṇa Kāśyapa is depicted defeated in the lower left corner. In the upper niche, the standing Buddha, wearing the monastic robe without any ornament, displays the *abhaya*.⁹⁹

The main Buddha has been severely defaced. The upper central one was also apparently and willingly hammered.

Quite a larger number of similar fragments are known in public or private collections. It remains, however, often difficult to determine their precise origin. This type of sculpture was of a wide use all through Bihar and only those actually collected or observed at Bodh Gayā have been so far documented.⁹⁸ A similar one, however, can still be noticed in the Sūrya Mandir of Badgaon near the archaeological site of Nālandā, while other examples were collected at Bihar Sharif, north of Nālandā,⁹⁹ or observed at Rājgir, south of this site,¹⁰⁰ or even collected at Kurkihar.¹⁰¹ Most of the examples remain, none the less, of unknown origin.¹⁰²

The lower part of this pedestal presents the outline already noticed on similar objects from Bodh Gayā (cat. 103-104) and the row of rosettes occurs also on similar pedestals collected at the site.¹⁰³ Two groups, both present at Bodh Gayā,¹⁰⁴ can be distinguished, the first one, which is illustrated by the image in the collection,¹⁰⁵ integrates the architectural structure with two niches, the second one presents also two superimposed niches, but they do not belong to a common temple structure.¹⁰⁶ This second group shows in both niches, the Buddha Śākyamuni, seated or standing, displaying various gestures of hands whereas in the first group, the seated lower image is crowned and the upper one, seated or standing, wears the monastic dress.¹⁰⁷ A third main feature helps to distinguish the two groups: the row of niches in which are carved tiny images of the Buddha and/or *caitya.s* is replaced in the second group by a more "decorative" motif, rosettes or fleurons separated by short pillars.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, this second group can include on the

large lower reversed cyma large scrolls which end in the tails of two addorsed *haṃsa*.s whereas the pedestals of the first group show usually a plain moulding, only adorned by the elaborated volutes covering their angles. Only the pedestal in the collection bears a decoration, i.e. the row of *caitya*.s.

The simultaneous representation of the Buddha, crowned or not, and of the *caitya* is superposed on the representation of an event extracted from Śākyamuni's life. But it is clear that the allusion to this event remains shadowy, as in any other example of this group of images. Most of the crowned Buddha images display the *dharmacakrapravartana*° with the small heretic or the *cakra*, more rarely the *bhūmiśparśa*° (with or, more often, Bhūdevī) or the *dhyāna*° (with the almsbowl and the monkey).¹⁰⁹ On the other side, the images of the second group include images which are more evidently related to the biography of Śākyamuni, shown as a monk, the Buddha is also depicted standing and taming Nāgīri or descending from the heaven of the 33 gods e.g. Similarly, the images of the upper niveau in this second group show also depictions of the main eight events, such as the Parinirvāṇa whereas the Buddha images of the first group show here mainly the gestures of meditation (with and without the almsbowl) and teaching (without any symbolic motif).¹¹⁰

There exist thus apparently major differences between the pedestals of the two groups, differences which are not exclusively related to the structure or the composition, but also to the iconography. The second group seems more to be in relation with the life of Śākyamuni whereas the first group introduces a new dimension: the crowned Buddha sits in a temple, the image in the upper niche is also located within the same monument and the seated Buddha.s and *caitya*.s of the upper row, when they appear, are depicted in niches. This upper row includes exclusively *caitya*.s or images of the meditating Buddha alternating with them. These *caitya*.s constitute more than a single reference to the final demise of Śākyamuni; since they alternate with the Buddha or are depicted in a row, one can probably surmise that they are understood to be the Buddha.¹¹¹

A further possibility is that the depicted Buddha is not the historic Buddha but rather Vairocana who remains in the *stūpa* and who has two *mudrā*.s, among which the *dhyāna*°. This could also explain why the main gesture to have been depicted in the central niche by the bejewelled Buddha is the *dharmacakrapravartana*° which is the second typical gesture of the central Tathāgata¹¹² but also why the upper image has for major gestures the *dhyāna*° and the *dharmacakrapravartana*°.

The small *caitya*.s depicted in a low relief at the level of the bejewelled Buddha are seen as if irradiating from a centre, the same can be said from those depicted in the upper row.¹¹³ This motif of the irradiating *stūpa*.s constitutes also a major iconographic thema at Bodh Gayā.¹¹⁴

149. Frieze of Buddha images from a pedestal

Inv. I 583/old IC 38957.

23 x 63 x 10 cm. Traces of vermillion. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

From Bihar.

This row of Buddha images constituted the upper part of the pedestal supporting a *caitya*.¹¹⁵ Trefoiled niches properly adorned with half-flowers between them rest on bulbous pillars. Four niches are carved on the protruding central part, two on each receding side. The positions and gestures are symmetrically distributed. And again the three major *mudrā*.s are noticed here, the *dharmacakrapravartana*°, the *bhūmiśparśa*° and the *samādhi*° with hands presenting also the bowl. Two standing Buddha images are represented in the outer niches, with the right hand in the gestures of generosity or of protection whereas the left hands hold the extremity of the dress at the height of the shoulder or falls along the hip. Thus, these are again the five *mudrā*.s of the Tathāgata.s which are noticed here, distributed in a clear and readable scheme: Vairocana is in the centre of the composition, surrounded on either side by Akṣobhya and Amitābha. Both are also seen twice whereas the remaining Tathāgata.s Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi, who are only depicted once, stand in their proper quarters. Both are also properly positioned within the structure (drawing 12). All images have apparently been willingly defaced.

The decorative motifs which adorned the flat mouldings have partly disappeared but we still recognized the rhombi and circles alternating on the upper fillet and the half-flowers encased in triangles on the lower one.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary and illegible dedicatory (?) inscription in Gaudīya of c. 11th century.

150. Frieze of Buddha images from a pedestal

Inv. I 579/old IC 36213.

22 x 83 x 12,5 cm. Traces of vermillion.

Phyllite.

Waddell collection, 1908.

"It came from Buddhist ruins in the Monghyr district of Magadha";¹¹⁶

as a matter of fact, Waddell collected it at Uren, district of Monghyr.

This upper part of a pedestal is similar to the previous one. It includes nine niches where the Buddha sits on a thick cushion and displays the *bhūmiśparśa*° and the *samādhi*°. As always, the niches have trefoiled archs resting on circular and bulbous pillars. Three clearly drawn fleurons stand above the lower reversed cyma.

The carving betrays a high quality of work; the faces are smiling and the features shown with care, the curls of the hair are neatly indicated, which is rarely the fact in this type of sculpture where the images of the Buddha are rather small. The plasticity of the bodies is combined with a smooth treatment of the surface.

Uren is located at the east of Lakhi Sarai and has unfortunately remained unexplored although the reports published in 1892 by Waddell and in 1903 by Bloch reveal that a Buddhist centre was established at the site. Apparently, remains of the monastery were used for the construction of the railways and no attention was thereafter paid to the archaeological and artistic remains of the place.¹¹⁷

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 10th-11th centuries. Verses and donor's name in Sanskrit. Verses are in *indra-vajrā* (verse 1), *vaṃsastha* (verses 2 & 3) and *anuṣṭubh* (verse 4):

siddham (*symbol*) yat-khaḍga-dhārā-dalit-oru-kumbhā dvi[ṣat]-kar[ī]ndrāḥ samar-āṅgaṇeṣu / yat-pādayor argham iva pradatuṃ prakirṇ[ṇa]-muktā-kusumāni petuḥ // grh-āṅgaṇa[m] yasya ca d[āna]-vāriṇā mad-ātura[nāṃ] kariṇān ca bhūyasā / samucchadad-viṣ- (*line 1*)

... yākṛtaṃ ghanair yā [ja]n-aika ... k-āśray-ākulaṃ // mahābhujāṃ bhūr mahatī jayaśrīyāṃ yaśobhir indu-pra[tu]m[ai]r ddiś-āṅganāḥ / cakāra yaś candana-paṅkaj-ārcitāḥ niśāḥ śaran-nātha iva sva-dhāmabhiḥ // samant-adhepatī tasya pūrṇṇarakṣi[ta-samjñināḥ] // (*line 2*)

... [su] dhānidheḥ // (*line 3*)

This pedestal was thus donated by the *Sāmantādhipati* Pūrṇṇarakṣita, perhaps the ruler of the region of Bodh Gayā.

PUBLISHED

Waddell 1892, pl. IV, n° 3; G. Bhattacharya 1983.

151. Fragment of pedestal

Inv. I 600/old IC 33734.

15 x 32,5 x 14 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection, 1906.

From Bihar.

This fragment reproduces three trefoiled niches, each containing an image of the seated Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*° and the *samādhi*°. Two images are carved on the front side, one on the lateral one. The pillars, between the niches, are square and heavy, constituted by mouldings with decreasing/increasing width. Half-flowers occupy the angles above the pillars between the archs.

It is very likely that this fragment belonged to the type of "cella *stūpa*" seen previously (cat. 103) and which were usually carved in a very detailed and careful manner. The opening of the front side is usually surmounted by a baldachin-like construction which rests on a row of Buddha figures installed in trefoiled niches. The surviving examples include five front niches and one or two on both sides.¹¹⁸

152-153. Fragments of pedestal of a votive caitya

152: Inv. I 660/old IC 34633b.

21 x 23,5 x 9 cm. Beige sandstone.

Leitner collection 540b, 1907.

153: Inv. I 614/old IC 34727b.

13,5 x 17,5 x 4,5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 572, 1907.

From Bodh Gayā.

The corner from a pedestal (152) is hollowed at the back, showing that it was fixed around a circular core. Both examples reproduce the usual sequence of mouldings encountered at that place with the niche located at the middle of the side. An image of the Buddha stands in the small niche; holding the hem of his dress in the left hand, he lets his right hand hanging downwards. The bent movement of the body is much stressed. Geometric floral motifs are incised on the angles of the two lower mouldings, reminding of the elaborated scrolls which are usually carved at that place. Similarly, a row of pointed teeth are incised on the fillet of the second pedestal (153). The carving is probably unfinished and reveals neither a high quality nor precision.

INSCRIPTION

In Gauḍīya of c. 12th century on cat. 152. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

dākokaya (line 2)

thus, "(This image is the gift) of Dākokā."

154. Fragment of a pedestal of votive caitya (?)

Inv. I 636/old IC 34632.

16 x 22 x 5,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 520, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

This fragment might have belonged to the lower part of a pedestal sustaining a votive *caitya*. A plain moulding, perhaps the reversed cyma, is still visible behind the pair of devotees offering garland to the Buddha who stands in the niche and displays the *varada*°. And although the figures are abraded, one can also note that the carving did not reach a high precision, which is particularly noticeable at the rendering of the niche with flat pillars sustaining a curved arch. No scroll runs along its edge but drop-like elements are regularly distributed. This is indeed a common way of simplifying the motif of the volutes which is often observed.

Two human devotees, larger than the Buddha, kneel towards the latter, presenting him with heavy garlands which end with a large knot-like element which could be a flower. A disproportionally very large cone of incense is put in front of them. Both figures are seen in a three-quarters view. An incised shawl or *ut-tariya* covers their breast.

Through its structure, this fragment belongs to the study of the *caitya*, but through its iconography, it is, as a matter of fact, related to the slabs illustrating offerings which are presented below (chapter II-B).

155. Pedestal.

Inv. I 2741/old IC 8812.

25,8 x 43,2 x 42,9 cm. Grey sandstone.

Bastian collection, 1879.

Recovered at Bodh Gayā.

This pedestal used to belonging to a type of *caitya* with a rectangular opening like the one of cat. 103. The pillars standing on either side of the door stand in jars adorned by a row of lotus petals. The triangular fleuron adorns each of the four sides, reappearing in a tiny form at the upper levels of the moulding on the side and back faces. The profile of the pedestal includes the traditional succession of the high cyma above a broad and vertical band, the round and large moulding and two narrow cymas with broad rim which reproduce the profile of the lower one.

156. Pedestal.

Inv. I 2748/old IC 33667b.

7,4 x 24,5 x 24,5 cm. Dark grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 15, 1906.

Collected at Bodh Gayā.

This pedestal evidently belongs to a structure similar to the one described above. Recesses put rhythm into the front surface of the four sides. The profile includes two superimposed cymas adorned by a trefoiled fleuron, which is evidently the symbol for the *triratna* (see cat. 75 & 76).

157. Pedestal.

Inv. I 2740/old IC 8812.

19,8 x 30,5 x 30,2 cm. Sandstone.

Bastian collection, 1879.

Recovered at Bodh Gayā.

This pedestal has a square ground plan as usual. Similarly, its high profile includes the three basic parts, *i.e.* a high cyma above a broad plain moulding, a roundish moulding and a second narrow cyma above another plain moulding. Deep recesses separate clearly these different parts. The triangular fleuron is attached on the four sides to each cyma: large below, small above.

158-159. Pedestals

158: Inv. I 626/old IC 34720.

14 x 17,5 x 7,5 cm. Grey sandstone

Leitner collection 521.

159: Inv. I 1126/old IC 34717.

13 x 30 x 10,2 cm. Red sandstone.

Leitner collection 521, 1907.

Both fragments were found at Bodh Gayā.

Since the back of both fragments is hollowed and since the upper surface has a recess with a hole, it is evident that what survives here is in both cases the corner of a pedestal having sustained a *caitya*. The profile of both fragments shows the two cymas eventually adorned by the triangular fleurons and large petals are incised on the lower cyma in one case.¹¹⁹ A high and deep recess replaces the round-shaped moulding which usually separates the two cymas.

INSCRIPTIONS

On cat. 158, donator's inscription (his/her name is missing) in Sanskrit. Gaudīya of c. 11th century:

deyadharmmoyam pravara-mahāyā[na] ... (line 1)

yad atra punyam tad-bhavatu sar[va] ... (line 2)

ptaya itiḥ // (line 3)

The *visarga* with two *daṇḍa.s* belongs perhaps to the punctuation mark.

On cat. 159, donor's name in Sanskrit. Gaudīya of c. 12th century:

dānapati-māvūkasya

which means that "(The image is the gift) of Māvūka, the lord of gifts".

160. Pedestal with the seven jewels

Inv. 1 680/old IC 36208.

18,5 x 41,5 x 7,5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Waddell collection 24a, 1908.¹²⁰

Bodh Gayā.

This pedestal must have supported a Buddhist image. The back is flat and presents two incisions at both extremities. Mouldings of various outlines are superimposed: a high and flat band sustains the sequence, *i.e.* a reversed cyma in front of which the "seven jewels" and two half fleurons at the angles are carved, a high and plain recess, a second narrow band below another narrow reversed cyma. The upper group of mouldings, though of reduced height, duplicates thus the lower one; the cyma is also adorned by a central fleuron and two half-fleurons which copy those of the lower part.

The interesting part of this pedestal is of course the depiction of the "seven jewels" or *saptaratna* which are venerated by a devotee who kneels on the lower left corner with both hands folded in the *añjali*°. The two animals of the sequence, the "precious horse" and the "precious elephant" or *aśva*° and *hastiratna*, face each other at the extremity of the group, which is their most often encountered position. Both caparisoned animals carry on their back a trefoil-like object which reminds of the "precious jewel" but since the same shape is also presented by a motif which is usually understood to be the symbol of the *triratna* at the time, it might be indeed the later object which is here depicted. Between the two animals, three human figures alternate with two objects which are put above a bulbous stand and which are the "precious disk" and the "precious stone", *i.e.* the *cakra*° and the *maṇiratna*. The "precious woman" or *strīratna* sits between them, and the remaining two male figures represent the "precious prime minister" and the "precious chief of the army", *gr̥hapati*° and *pariṇāyakaratna*.

The "seven jewels" constitute an often encountered thema below *caitya.s* at Bodh Gayā or below other Buddhist images from Bihar, which knows modifications such as the replacement of the "chief of the army" by a sword or the disparition of the "prime minister" and its substitution by the "chief of the treasures" or by Jambhala (see here cat. 75).¹²¹ In the course of specific rituals, they were (or still are) part of the offering made to the deity.¹²²

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 12th century. The name of the donor is illegible. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

danocattādhiva / ye dharmma hetu-prabhā hetum tesam tathāgat[to he]vavadata ni[ro]- (line 1)

dhā evam vādi mahāśravaṇa[h //] deyadharmmoyam prava-mahāyana-yāvina (line 2)

... vā[r̥ṇṇa]va-vi[ṣa]ye nivasābhaharapadhāna nitya pādhanamatya (line 3)

... / yā[vi]me / (line 4, top right).

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 3.

161. Part of a pedestal

Inv. IC 34656. "Bihar, Bodh Gaya (Gandhara?)"

Leitner collection 42, 1907.

No illustration available.

Perhaps not really a "pedestal" but a votive *caitya*, since this word applies to this category of objects in the Leitner catalogue.

PUBLISHED

Short Catalogue 1902, n°42 p.2.

162-165. Finials of *caitya.s*.

162: Inv. 1 651/old IC 34746.

9,5 x 5 cm. Green sandstone.

Leitner collection 535, 1907.

163: Inv. 1 676/old IC 34799.

17 x 9 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection (no number), 1907.

164: Inv. 1 677/old IC 34660.

16 x 8 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 533, 1907.

165: Inv. 2700/old IC 38962.

18,2 x 8,5 cm. Beige sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1912.

162 & 165 were discovered at Bodh Gayā, 163 & 164 in Bihar without any further precision.

Votive *stūpa.s* were usually crowned by finials shaped like lotus buds which were carved above the umbrellas¹²³ and which are constituted by two or three concentric rows of even-

tually elongated petals. These finials were either carved in the same piece of stone as the *caitya* or added to it as the hole cut in the lower surface of one finial (162) proves it.

PUBLISHED

165 is reproduced above the complete *caitya* cat. 82 by Glasenapp 1928, pl. 240. 162-164 are listed 533-535 in the *Short Catalogue* 1902, p. 14.

166-169. *Chattrāvalī*

166: Inv. 1 671/old IC 38979.

12,5 x 8 cm. Grey sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

167: Inv. 1 696/old IC 33710.

11 x 5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Waddell collection "63", 1906.

168: Inv. 1 1124/old IC 34705.

12 x 7,9 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection, 1907.

169: Inv. 1 681/old IC 34856.

9,5 x 8 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection, 1907.

166 & 168 were collected at Bodh Gayā, 167 & 169 in Bihar without any further precision.

The umbrellas or *chattrāvalī* crown the *caitya*. They could be carved in the same lump of stone as the *caitya* or could also be fixed afterwards above the *harmikā* as the circular hole pricked in the lower part of 167 & 168 would show it (it might be that the hole is of more recent origin than the monument itself since in a large number of cases, a square is cut out above the drum, which allows to embed properly the upper part without any need for an extra hole in this part).

The superimposed umbrellas form a spire of decreasing diameter and show various profiles. In some cases, they appear like thick disks (167 & 168) or as distinct and well carved cymas (166). They would be surmounted by the finial shaped as a lotus bud which could be carved either in the same piece of stone (167) or separately and fixed above them. A similar shaped *chattrāvalī* bearing the partly broken finial, is noted above the *caitya* of cat. 102 (and see also cat. 105-109).

Only six umbrellas are counted here, whereas the umbrellas catalogued under 170 to 174 below are usually more numerous. This part of the *caitya* presents also a different shape since the different levels are simply lying on each other without being attached together. Their surface is smooth and plain unless triangular motifs were incised on it (cat. 167). Such a motif appears also on the similarly shaped *chattrāvalī* of complete *caitya.s* (cat. 107-108) which were recovered at Bodh Gayā, suggesting perhaps the same origin for this fragment.

The upper disk which dominates the *chattrāvalī* of cat. 168 is rarely observed. It is noticed on a complete bronze *caitya*¹²⁴ where its upper surface is adorned with a row of petals as if they had fallen from the bud forming the finial.

The *chattrāvalī* of cat. 168 was originally fixed above the *caitya* of cat. 134.

PUBLISHED

166: Franz 1959, Abb. 4 (together with cat. 75).

170-174. Chattrāvalī

170: Inv. 1 594/old IC 34710.

19 x 10 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 534, 1907.

171: Inv. 1 1117/old IC 33709.

29,5 x 12 cm. Phyllite.

Waddell collection "62", 1906.

172: Inv. 1 1119/old IC 8800/8818.

33,5 x 12 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

173: Inv. 1 1120/old IC 8799.

47 x 17,5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

174: Inv. 1 1121/old IC 8796.

33 x 12,5 cm. Phyllite.

Bastian collection, 1879.

The first two examples are said to have been found in Bihar, without any further information, the last three were recovered at Bodh Gayā.

Although the umbrellas are well delineated and present the profile of a cyma above a broad rim, the overall shape is continuous due to the presence of four triangular fleurons regularly distributed which join together the superimposed levels. The number of umbrellas is irregular, does not seem to have followed any specific rule and on the present examples varies between six and thirteen. The high number of umbrellas and the presence of the fleurons contribute to the elongated shape of this part of the *caitya*.

A large knob is carved below the lower umbrella which was used to fix the umbrellas in the *harmikā*. It can be plain (171-173), adorned by a recess (170), or by a round-profiled moulding (171) above a cyma (174).

Above these *chattrāvalī* were fixed finials shaped like pots or lotus buds. In some case however, these elements could be directly attached to them as one example illustrates it (171) where apparently an *amālaka*-shaped element was carved.

PUBLISHED

174: *Das Bild des Buddha* 1979, cat. 41 pp. 108 & 110; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 57 pp. 114-115; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 6 (above the *caitya* of cat. 135).

175. Fragment from a caitya

Inv. IC 33733.

6,5 x 10 cm. Red-grey sandstone.

Waddell collection, 1907.

This represents probably the lower part of a *harmikā*: the lower part is curved and would have been fixed in the upper part of the drum. It supports a broad and flat part below two narrow mouldings and a much broader one. This part is square with recesses at the angles (compare to cat. 80 or 99).

176-177. Circular plaques

176: Inv. 1 1167/old IC 8797.

177: Inv. 1 1168/old IC 8798.

Bastian collection, 1879.

5,3 x 33,8 cm. (diameter). Sandstone.

Both from Bodh Gayā.

Two identical circular plaques with a protruding triangular element on the side of which recesses are drawn. Their function remains unknown.

178-179. Buddhapāda

178: Inv. 1 1154/old IC 8814.

71,5 (max. diam.) x 25,5 cm.

179: Inv. 1 117/old IC 8813.

73 (max. diam) x 28 cm.

Sandstone.

Bastian/Mitra collection, 1879.

Bodh Gayā.

On the lower surface of the *aṇḍa* of a *caitya*, the imprint of a right foot has been carved. The outer shape of the *aṇḍa* is slightly curved and flat above. On the four sides, a small trilobate window is cut in the horseshoe-shaped arch with both extremities raised and a lotus flower arising out of the summit.

The central motif is the sixteen-rayed wheel. Further motifs are incised, but less deeply, on the sole of the foot: a flower and a tray on stand containing a large circular offering or a large open lotus are depicted around a half-human, half-bird figure who is a divine musician, the *gandharva*. On the first imprint, this figure is feminine: she stands with both hands holding small cymbals in front of the breast; she has a pointed and curved noose – reference to the beak, short wings with pointed feathers are attached on the back, she wears a heavy coil of hair on the back of the head. The second engraving shows a male musician holding a *vina* and has his head spread at the back of the head. Both are similar to the *gandharva* who stand on the lintel of the throne on stelae.

Because of the complementary of the two images engraved on them, both carving belong most probably together. They were also part of

votive monuments. *Caitya.s*, particularly when they were of a large size, could be constituted with various parts as exemplified by some examples in the collection for instance (cat. 80, 82, 104). There are still at Bodh Gayā some large *caitya.s* which apparently have an *aṇḍa* carved separately from the *jaṅghāvedī*.¹²⁵

The cult of the impression of the Buddha's foot/feet is attested since an early period in Buddhism.¹²⁶ At Bodh Gayā, the worship of the pair is well documented with its depiction on models of the temple where they are facing the entrance,¹²⁷ with various examples carved on *aṇḍa.s* still *in situ* and with at least one circular slab the edge of which is adorned by a row of lotus petals and does not present the motif of the window – which seems to prove that it was not part of a structure but venerated as independent object, and with the 13th c. testimony of the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin.¹²⁸ Beside the two carvings in the collection, further impressions of single foot are known.¹²⁹ But the complementarity of the iconography could imply that single foot-prints need to be visualized as a part of a larger composition where two such *Buddhapāda.s* are involved in the worship.

An interesting feature is that, would these *aṇḍa.s* be properly put at their place within the structure of a *caitya*, the foot-prints would be seen at the roof of the monument – or rather of course unseen since hidden within the structure. This position is not surprising: painted pairs of foot-prints are depicted on the ceiling of the entrance of various temples at Pagan. And in the very same site or region, the worship of the single foot-print is also well attested as early as the 11th c.¹³⁰ It is also possible that the carvings of the two divine musicians, who allude also to the heaven, refer to this higher position within a structure: the *gandharva.s* are always, like the *hamsa.s*, introduced in the highest position within the "royal throne".

Notwithstanding their Buddhist affiliation, these carvings may have been "re-used" in the course of time in a Vaiṣṇava context. A *Buddhapāda* got in the course of time to be venerated as a *Viṣṇupāda*. The incision of the figure does not show the same depth with which the *cakra* has been engraved; a later addition by another hand is thus not to be excluded. This observation could perhaps also apply to the symbols added on the soles of the pair which was probably worshipped in front of the Bodhi Mandir.¹³¹ Besides, the four windows carved on the side of the *aṇḍa.s* present a clear shape which does not show the intricacy of the motif at a later period¹³² whereas the carving of the figures reproduces a later stylistic phase where the line is nervous, the features slightly exaggerated. The conches drawn on every toe might also belong to a later period. These figures are probably roughly contemporary with

some of the carvings which were made in the 13th and 14th c. on the floor of the Bodhi Temple and which represent devotees.¹³³

Although the two figures were apparently the work of a single hand, it is likely that the foot-prints as such were not carved together. As a matter of fact, the first one (cat. 178) shows the imprint of a right foot where the line of the toes is oblique and implies a difference of length whereas the second example (cat. 179), which should reproduce the imprint of the left foot, is symmetric with only a difference in the width of the big toe; the work is here also more mechanical with curved lines regularly incised at the articulations. More softness is noticed on the other imprint. It is thus probable that these two feet did not form a pair from the beginning but that at a certain moment, a second, left, imprint was incised in order to complement the already existing right one.

PUBLISHED

Mitra 1878/1972, p. 127 and pl. XLIII-fig. 7 (cat. 178) & fig. 5 (cat. 179); Glasenapp 1928, pl. 243; Härtel 1960, pl. 32 (cat. 178); Quagliotti 1998, p. 67 and figs. 45-47 (cat. 178) & 48-50 (cat. 179); Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 2 (cat. 178).

180. Dharmacakra

Inv. I 1144/old IC 33687.

18,5 x 12,5 x 5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 35, 1906.

Sārnāth.

This free-standing wheel which is carved on both sides was probably fixed above a structure. It stands indeed above a double-levelled square pedestal, the lower part of which is smaller than the upper one. The disk shows twelve thick rays, depicted as if they were petals distributed around the boss. Elongated pearl-like elements irradiate from the same centre and form like a nimbus behind the wheel. The edge is adorned by a row of pearls and supports thick flames which are partly destroyed.

181. Votive caitya (?)

Inv. IC 8795.

Bodhi Gayā.

Bastian collection, 1879.

No photo is available.

This "carved stone" (skulptierter Stein), as it is shortly mentioned in the inventory book, is most probably a *caitya* or a pile of umbrellas (the inventory number falls in the group of this category of objects; see the remarks made in the preliminary remarks to the Catalogue).

1 Bénisti 1981, fig. 10 (right) & vol. 1, p. 14. Also catalogued by Anderson 1883, II, p. 40, inv. B.G. 44.

2 *Idem*, fig. 5 & pp. 14 and 30. Bénisti reproduces also on her fig. 4, third from right, another similar small *caitya*.

3 Bénisti 1981, fig. 3 & pp. 13-14.

4 In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Lawson 1988, fig. 4, Harle/Topsfield 1987, cat. 47 pp. 38-39. In the VA: inv. I.S. 244-1950 (unpublished). In the BSP, Calcutta: Ganguly 1922, cat. C(f)8/142, pl. IX & pp. 42-43, & cat. C(f)9/152 p. 43.

5 Bénisti 1981, figs. 13-14, 48-49, 52-53, 62-64, 83, 85 (even though the last two monuments are modern constructions of parts having belonged to initially different *caitya*s).

6 At Itkhauri, south-east of Bodhi Gayā: Franz 1967, fig. 200.

7 Bautze-Picron 1991a, fig. 14 & further references p. 90.

8 On the mango tree related to the teaching at Śrāvastī, see Bhattacharya 1990a.

9 Only one pedestal in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir includes three superimposed rows of images showing respectively the *bhūmisparśa*-, the *varada*- and the *dhyānamudrā* (Bénisti 1981, fig. 63).

10 Bénisti 1981, I, pp. 68-70 quotes literary sources mentioning the "thousand Buddhas" and quotes the earlier artistic testimonies of Ajanta or Ellora *e.g.*

11 *Ibidem*. See also Snodgrass 1992, pp. 56-57.

12 Quoted by Bénisti 1981, pp. 69-70.

13 And it must have been so according to a Chinese inscription of 1022 A.D. (Chavannes 1896, pp. 7 & 9, quoted by Bénisti 1981, p. 70).

14 Snodgrass 1992, pp. 360-365.

15 Apparently only one bronze from Nālandā reproduces Vairocana/Mahāvairocana with this *mudrā*. The Jina has two arms, four faces. Published by Huntington 1984, fig. 171 or by Ray/Khandalavala/Gorakshkar 1986, figs. 241a-b, discussed by Bénisti 1991, p. 261.

16 Śubhakarasiṃha brought the texts to China, via Kāśmīr, whereas the tradition was also brought from India through the South seas by Vajrabodhi (died in 741) and his disciple Amoghavajra (705-774). The first text is the *Mahāvairocanaśūtra*, which includes the *Mahākaraṇḍavyūhamaṇḍala*. The second one is the *Sarvathāgatatattvasaṃgrahasūtra*, which includes the *Vajradhātumaṇḍala*. For the history of the texts and their translations, see Tajima 1936, pp. 22-24 (also in Wayman/Tajima 1992, pp. 228-230) & Wayman in Wayman/Tajima 1992, pp. 8-16.

17 This has been refuted by Bénisti 1991. But the author ignores the information provided by the cave of western India where Vairocana appears evidently in the two aspects illustrated by the *maṇḍala*s quoted above; see the article by John Huntington about the caves 6 & 7 of Aurangabad. The same spiritual trend was present at Nasik as vouchsafed by the complex iconographic program of the unpublished cave 23. It is obviously in this region of Maharashtra that was nurtured the system of the two *maṇḍala*s offering the two aspects of Vairocana. Besides, there exists one example where Māricī wears in her head-dress, a tiny image of Vairocana with the hands folded in the *samādhi**mudrā* (Cunningham 1892, pl. XXX-4, Vogel 1903/04, pl. LXII, fig. 4, Vogel 1932, fig. 38, B. Bhattacharyya 1958, fig. 154, Smith 1969, pl. 98-A, *Chhavi* I, fig. 485). Another image of the goddess replaces the Jina by the *stūpa* (Lefebvre

d'Argencé/Tse 1969, cat. 32, *Pāla* 1984, cat. 8, Mallmann 1986, p. 264 & note 4, Tse Bartholomew 1989, fig. 7, Huntington/Huntington 1989, fig. 5 & the same 1990, cat. 12 & p. 135-136 (with further places of publication being mentioned), Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 3).

18 These various aspects have been dealt with in a forthcoming study on Māricī.

19 See for instance Bénisti 1981, figs. 13-14, 17, 49 ...

20 See below note 59.

21 The monk bowing to the Buddha when the latter comes down from the heaven where he has taught has been identified with the non "Utpala" by Pratapaditya Pal and by Janice Leoshko (both mentioned in Bautze-Picron 1995/96, note 58 p. 385), who do not unfortunately give any literary source for their identification. However, the same character appears often in this situation at Pagan where he has been identified with Śāriputra by Ba Shin (1962, p. 12), an identification which appears to be more likely (Bautze-Picron 1995/96, pp. 357-359 & 367).

22 A similar *caitya* was discovered at Sārnāth (Sahni 1972, cat. D(b)8 pp. 219-220). See Wayman/Tajima 1992, pp. 88, 149 note 67 & 249-250.

23 A large *caitya* at Bodhi Gayā shows the position of such a panel in its structure, Bénisti 1981, fig. 49 or Franz 1967, fig. 199.

24 But another similar position is noticed in the cave 12 at Ellora, upper storey, north-east corner where two depictions of the deceased Buddha are shown above a seated one. These two images are perfectly symmetric, which would explain this curious feature.

25 Another similar carving is preserved in the Allahabad Museum inv. AM 524 (Deva/Trivedi 1996, p. 57 n° 252 & fig. 208).

26 See Archer 1971, fig. 185 (drawing of a *stūpa* drawn under the supervision of M. Kittoe c. 1851); Franz 1960, figs. 9, 13, 14; Franz 1967, fig. 193. Bénisti 1981 does not include any illustration of this kind of *caitya* at Bodhi Gayā.

27 Franz 1960, figs. 3, 6, 7.

28 A *caitya* of similar structure, *i.e.* with a square lower part supporting the drum, which was recovered at Bodhi Gayā, is preserved at the Indian Museum; the niches are carved in this lower part whereas the drum only adorned with flat and plain mouldings stands free above (*The Way of the Buddha* 1993, p. 38 cat. 46). Another one is preserved in the Patna Museum (Franz 1959, Abb. 5).

29 Franz 1960, figs. 4 to 7 (Nālandā) & 14 (Sārnāth).

30 Both are reproduced by Bénisti 1981, figs. 69-70 (& vol. I, p. 58) and 33 to 36 (& vol. I, p. 59) but in the second example, Mañjuśrī and the Tārā have exchanged their position. A further similar *caitya* is preserved in the reserve collection of the Indian Museum (Anderson 1883, vol. I, p. 35-36, inv. B.G. 6: since it is there suggested that it might have been collected by M. Kittoe, it is likely, taking also into consideration some stylistic features such as the flat tiny windows between the niches, that the *caitya* was found in the region of Kurkihar, which Kittoe mainly surveyed). The four figures are there all standing and the Buddha displays the *varadamudrā*.

31 Concerning this form, see Mallmann 1949, pp. 186-191 & 1986, p. 107. It would only appear at a later period, starting with the 11th c. probably as a response to the form of Mañjuśrī on the lion. See

Bautze-Picron 1989f concerning the origin of the Mañjuśrī on lion at Bodh Gayā at Bodh Gayā in the 8th or 9th c. Mallmann 1986, pp. 107-108 observes also the similarities between the images of the two Bodhisattva.s. See Leosko 1987, pp. 248-253 concerning Avalokiteśvara Sīmhanāda at Bodh Gayā (and her figs. 113-114, 116-117); she also quotes pp. 35 & 251 a 12th c. an inscription which mentions this form of the Bodhisattva at Bodh Gayā.

32 Mallmann 1986, pp. 252 & 253, Mallmann 1964, pp. 23-26.

33 And the same treatment of the umbrellas occurs on the *caitya* kept at the Indian Museum which is mentioned above in note 28; it occurs also on a monument from Sārnāth (Biswas 1989, fig. 4). A *caitya*, extremely similar to the one preserved in Berlin was drawn under the supervision of Markham Kittoe around 1851 at Sārnāth (Archer 1971, fig. 185) and a second one is preserved in the Patna Museum (Franz 1959, Abb. 5).

34 Bénisti 1981, figs. 29 & 32 (= R.D. Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXVII-b), Lawson 1988, fig. 2. But we cannot exclude that this absence results from some destruction. Lawson 1988, fig. 1 shows such a *caitya* on the second floor of the Mahābodhi temple (second from right) where the umbrellas have evidently been cemented on a dome at a recent period. Nothing proves that both parts belongs initially together. The same author publishes a votive *caitya* preserved in the Indian Museum (fig. 7) where the *harmikā* seems to have been sawn at its basis. Franz 1967, fig. 199 reproduces the same *caitya* published by Bénisti 1981, fig. 49 but with a major difference: the umbrellas present in 1981 are not yet to be seen in the work by H. G. Franz.

35 As called by Lawson 1988, pp. 65-67. See also Bénisti 1981, I, p. 15.

36 Bénisti 1981, figs. 23-28, 31, 33.

37 But on the three secondary sides and higher in the structure: Bénisti 1981, figs. 24, 27-28.

38 The jar of plenty is also observed between the *harmikā* and the *chattravālī* on a standing *caitya* in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir (Bénisti 1981, fig. 58 in the back).

39 *Ibidem*.

40 Bautze-Picron 1993b.

41 Bautze-Picron 1985/96, fig. 12a-c and note 6 for further references.

42 Bénisti 1981, fig. 56 & 59 (from the very same monument including one of the panel quoted in the previous note), 42, 63.

43 In relation to this observation, one will remind the study of Paul Mus 1935 who tried to trace in a very detailed and brilliant analysis the complex origin of the five Tathāgata.s, tracing it *inter alia* to specific events of Śākyamuni's life (pp. 175 sqr). As he stresses it, p. 197, three Jina.s present a "personalité accusée" and these are Amitābha, Akṣobhya and Vairocana.

44 Above note 17.

45 Inscription published by Alfred Foucher 1900, pl. III.5, pp. 203-204 & 94. Moreover, Bhaiṣajyaguru is characterized by his dark blue skin colour, which he shares with Akṣobhya who is, among the Tathāgata.s, at the closest position with the victorious Śākyamuni (Mus 1935, pp. 178 sqr). In Central Asia, the Healing Buddha rules over the eastern Paradise, thus replacing Akṣobhya (Grönbold 1984, p. 328, Klimburg-Salter 1993, p. 502. And see Bautze-Picron 1995/96, note 37 & p. 362).

46 Bénisti 1981, I, pp. 41-51, only provides this way of identifying this four scenes scheme. However, she does not deal with *caitya.s* where the iconography is simplified and quotes only monuments where the reading is evident through the presence of details like the monkey, the deers and the *cakra* for instance.

47 Snodgrass 1992, p. 158: "The Buddha's Throne is adamant, *vajra*-like, because located at the world's centre. It is 'at the navel of the plane of earth; it is possessed of transcendent entirety; no other place on earth but this is the realm of *śamādhī*, the situation of the goal.'" (and his footnote 28 for the reference to the quotation).

48 And see note 17.

49 And see note 30.

50 Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 62 & footnotes 31-32.

51 *Ibidem*, figs. 5 & 7 and note 31 where reference to actual tiaras are given.

52 See Bautze-Picron 1989b, fig. 1.

53 Bénisti 1981, figs. 41-42, 44 & 46; 54, 57-61; 65-66, 68; 67 (in contrary to what writes the author, vol. II, p. ix-x, her fig. 67 does not show the monument illustrated by the previously quoted figures), 73 (and see Bautze-Picron 1989d). These small niches are often part of the "decorative" program, being integrated within a moulding.

54 Bénisti 1981, figs. 43, 47, 51, 53, 54-55. However, the pedestals do not often, if at all, sustain the original *caitya*. See also Duflos 1998, pl. I.

55 Bénisti 1981, figs. 107 & 108 (in the background).

56 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image 7. It is perhaps the image 37 of the Waddell's collection which is mentioned in the hand-written list of images shown at the Crystal Palace but was "not" included in the first and major sale (file 2188/05), but Waddell writes there that the *caitya* is in 6 pieces.

57 See Tse Bartholomew 1989, pp. 61-63. The lions appear also in the wall paintings of the Lokah-teikpan at Pagan (Oshegowa/Oshegow 1988, Abb. 53 for instance).

58 The authors of the catalogue entry in *Das Bild des Buddha*, p. 108, cat. 41, identify as Tathāgata.s the four seated Buddha figures though they properly underline that these images do not show, most of them, the proper *mudrās*. Härtel/Lobo 1986, p. 115 recognize the last scene (here scene 8) as being a depiction of the descent from the heaven of the 33 gods. A similar votive *caitya* is preserved in the Heras Institute of Bombay (K. Desai 1976, cat. 73, pp. 23-24).

59 In the monastery of site I: H. Sastri 1942, p. 118, (S.I. 60/NIM inv. 00038), *The Way of the Buddha* 1956, p. 29 fig. 5, Franz 1967, fig. 209, Biswas 1989, fig. 7. Two sides are published by H.G. Franz 1960, figs. 22 & 24 and p. 253. A proper study of the object could be made possible through the photos of the ASI-ND, 235/58 to 239/58. The upper level of another similar sculpture is preserved in the Nālandā Museum, it shows standing Buddha.s displaying *abhaya*-, *vara*da- and *abhaya**mudrā*.s. Two fragments of unprecised origin are preserved in the AMP, inv. 11276 (with representations of the crowned Buddha) and Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXVI-a.

60 A. Foucher 1949, pp. 294 & 301-304, an observation which reappeared recently with J. Leosko 1987, pp. 141-143. At that moment, the Buddha met for the last time Māra whom he informed of his decision: thus, this event is also symmetric to the Bodhi

which showed the struggle between the Buddha and Māra.

61 This model is preserved in the BDNM, inv. 1118. It was recovered at Bangarh, in the district of Dinājpur: Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXVI-c, Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XLIII.104, Saraswati 1976, pl. VIII.14. Another small shrine, said to be from Bodh Gayā, is preserved in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. 21-36-7 (Kramrisch 1960, cat. 48 p. 86); it illustrates the scenes of the Enlightenment and of the teaching beside two representations of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara.

62 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image 8 (file 1275/08).

63 Bautze-Picron 1991, figs. 1-5 illustrates slabs with such pillars found at Nālandā or related to the site; see also pp. 84-85. A difference would be presently the presence of beaded arches attached to the fleuron which is attached on the middle of the shaft.

64 They appear in the same position on an architectural slab where the crowned Buddha displays the *dharmacakra**pravartana*^o (above the symbol of Sārnāth) (Horváth 1954, fig. 96, *Selection* 1969, p. 39 fig. 13, or *Handbook* 1970, p. 75 fig. 113 and Plaeshke 1972, fig. 36).

65 For instance, see Bénisti 1981, fig. 77 or in the reserve of the Indian Museum, the slab inv. B.G. 96. Similarly, the slab inv. 1872.7-1.22 in the British Museum (which is apparently from the same hand which carved the slab published by Bénisti).

66 Bautze-Picron 1995/96, fig. 12. A further and earlier example is published by Sotheby's New York, 1990c, # 271; another one is preserved in the Seattle Art Museum.

67 Bénisti 1981, fig. 57 (or 54, 58-61, same *caitya*).

68 Bautze-Picron 1989d, pl. 2-7 (Kurkihār), British Museum inv. 1872.7-1.18 & 19 (perhaps from Bodh Gayā). Bénisti 1981, fig. 67 (the figs. 65-66 & 68 illustrate another *caitya*, which is also visible presently at the presence on this other monument of half-*caitya* windows below the large one). See also Sotheby's London, 1987b, # 278; 1992a, # 430; 1992b, # 377; 1993, # 495 & Sotheby's New York, 1992b, # 109.

69 Bénisti 1981, vol. I, p. 15 notes that those flat pilasters or door-jambes are rarely encountered.

70 Another similar image, of identical size (59 x 23 cm.), was published in Hauswedell 1961, # 20 or by P. Chandra 1963, cat. 15 & p. 17.

71 See Snodgrass 1992, p. 360-365.

72 R. P. Chanda 1936, pl. XIII. Bénisti 1981, fig. 51, Banerji 1937, fig. p. 110.

73 Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 367-368: one painting shows the cremation with Agni standing in front of the cremation ground, another one illustrates the burning Buddha displaying the gesture of teaching (*idem*, figs. 10 & 25). On these paintings, a *stūpa* hovers above the lying Buddha or above the cremation. On a third painting, a *stūpa* includes the face of the Buddha on its drum although no flame is depicted (*idem*, fig. 3).

74 See e.g. Bénisti 1981, figs. 13, 22, 43, 45-48, 49, 51.

75 Bénisti 1981, figs. 49-50. Another practically identical slab, but where the central Buddha displays the gesture of meditation and present the almsbowl is preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. I.S. 240-1950.

76 One slab of the group is still *in situ*: 1^o Bénisti

1981, fig. 59 (see following note). Further similar slabs are preserved in various museums: 2° Bénisti 1981, fig. 79 (MG inv. 5835 & *ibidem*, I, pp. 35 & 87); 3° NM inv. 60.1200; 4° VA inv. MISC.10-1917; 5° Neven 1978/1979, cat. 173 p. 229 (private collection); 6° ABSF inv. B60 S86+; 7° Glynn 1972, fig. 16 or Sotheby's New York, 1990c, # 271 (previously in the LACMA inv. 70.42.2).

77 Bénisti 1981, figs. 58-59 (detail). The other sides of the same *caitya* which are published by the authoress illustrate a more refined and detailed carving; they also introduce monks in place of Buddhas on either side of the seated Buddha in the niche and elements pertaining of the iconography of the depicted event (for the complete set of these panels, see Bautze-Picon 1995/96, fig. 12a-c & note 6 for further references; see also Sotheby's New York 1998 # 30). However, only one side of this *caitya* belongs to the group under consideration: Bénisti 1981, fig. 59 (a comparison with the other sides, illustrated on her figs. 56, 60 & 61 shows 1° that the first two slabs are apparently slightly later in the development, that the third slab illustrates an earlier stylistic stage and curiously departs from the usual iconography since the Buddha is not crowned, and 2° that the mentioned slab (fig. 59) illustrates an earlier phase than the third one, showing a treatment of the motifs as they are depicted on the piece in the collection).

78 For what follows, consult Bautze-Picon 1991, pp. 85-86 & drawing I p. 99 (slab with two levels) & pp. 88 & drawing II p. 100 (slab with three levels as here illustrated); though this article considered slabs from Nālandā, some of its observations can be used presently.

79 The following images of note 76 illustrate the Buddha calling the earth: 4° et 7°. Among the slabs depicting the teaching, three groups can be isolated: the first illustrate the first teaching (5°), the second one the miracle at Śrāvastī (6°), the third one does include any detail allowing the one or the other identification (2° & 3°).

80 The image 5° in note 76 is the only exception where both attending Buddhas display the *ābhaya-mudrā*.

81 The very same program is illustrated in the niche of the slab preserved at the Victoria & Albert Museum (note 76-4°).

82 Note 76: 2°, 3° & 5°.

83 Note 76: 6° & 7°.

84 Note 76: 3°.

85 Note 76: 4° & 6°.

86 Note 76: 2°, 5° and 7° respectively.

87 Note 76: 1°.

88 Mus 1935 pp. 178-179.

89 *Ibidem*, pp. 182 & 196-197.

90 Paul Mus also noted the identification of the *caitya* with the five Jinas (*ibidem*, p. 189).

91 This question has been handled by Bautze-Picon 1991a where five groups of such slabs have been constituted: the slab in the Museum belongs to the "group B" (*ibidem*, fig. 9 & pp. 86-89). Comparative material is illustrated in the article figs. 6-8 & 10.

92 One such example is known; *ibidem*, fig. 6 only reproduces the lower part whereas Kramrisch 1929/1983, fig. 14 shows the complete structure.

93 On this example, the three Buddha figures sit. It appears, however, that on slabs which are made in one single piece of stone, the central Buddha sits and the side ones stand. The most often encountered gesture of the central Buddha is the *dhyānamudrā*

(rarely the *bhūmisparśamudrā*) whereas the standing Buddhas display the *ābhaya*- and the *varadamudrā* (when seated, they show the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*). A slab in the collection of the Rietberg Museum, Zürich (inv. RbW 6296/RVJ 291) shows also the same triad of two standing Buddhas on either side of the central one who meditates. Another image discovered at Parbatī by A. M. Broadley, a site located east from Nālandā, shows the same grouping of two standing Buddhas on either side of the central Buddha who presents here the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* (Asher 1970, pl. IX).

94 Foucher 1909, p. 10. See Bhattacharya 1990a, fig. 3 (or Kramrisch 1960, pl. 20) & Sotheby's New York 1996b, # 118 for images of the miracle showing the multiplication of images: the two standing Buddhas display precisely the gestures usually noticed here in the side niches of the upper row.

95 G. Bhattacharya 1990a & R.L. Brown 1984 on the subject.

96 Bautze-Picon 1991a, fig. 14.

97 See above notes 77 & 78.

98 Bénisti 1981, fig. 84; Ganguly 1922, cat. C(f)3/143: pp. 40-41 & pl. IX. But not exclusively noticed at the site: Buchanan-Hamilton observed and drew a pedestal at Rājgir where this row of rosettes is depicted, a motif which M. Bénisti locates exclusively at Bodh Gayā (vol. I, p. 30). See the new folio 202 of the MSS.Eur.D.95 of the OIOC (below note 100). A further example, said to be from Gayā (i.e. most probably Bodh Gayā) is preserved in the Allahabad Museum, inv. 242 (Deva/Trivedi 1996, fig. 186 & pp. 54-55 cat. 228).

99 These are two fragments in the Patna Museum, apparently from the old Broadley collection, inv. 1628 & 1629 (P.L. Gupta 1965, p. 58 n° 28 & 31; Shere 1957, n° 27 p. 21 & n° 30 p. 22; Bénisti 1981, figs. 90 & 93 & vol. I, p. 38 where she locates the find-spot of these images at Kurkihār). Another pedestal from Bihar (Sharif) is preserved at the BSP (Ganguly 1922, cat C(f)4/4, p. 41 & pl. IX).

100 Two such pedestals were observed at the beginning of the 19th c. by Francis Buchanan-Hamilton at the site. Their drawings are preserved in the MSS.Eur.D.95 of the OIOC, new folios n° 201 & 202 (on the drawings made under the supervision of Buchanan-Hamilton, consult Bautze-Picon 1989b).

101 B. Bhattacharyya 1945, cat. n° 144 p.25-26 (& ill. on the unnumbered plate): this is the only example which was allegedly collected at Kurkihār. On this *single* evidence, of which she further writes that she has not even seen a photograph (vol. I, p. 36), M. Bénisti attributes a number of other pedestals to the atelier of the site, see in her book, vol. I, p. 37-38: she even includes the image under discussion, which she mentions p. 38, in this group, ignoring that the actual find-spot is known. That the Berlin pedestal was found at Bodh Gayā weakens even more her conclusions about the attribution of a number of pedestals to the Kurkihār rather than the Bodh Gayā atelier. For the French scholar, the motif of the temple was not to be found at Bodh Gayā but exclusively at Kurkihār (p. 37 of her vol. I).

102 Two examples are kept in the BM, inv. 1925.10-6.1 & 1950.10-18.2, at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde of Leiden, inv. 3063-3 (Bénisti 1981, fig. 91; Raven/van Kooij 1992, fig. 60 & pp. 112-113), at the Rietberg Museum of Zürich, inv. RVI 211 (van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1961, cat. 12 pp. 62-67, Bénisti 1981, fig. 89; the first authoress lo-

cates p. 66 the origin at Kurkihār on the basis of a comparison with the Baroda image quoted in note 101), in the Pinckel collection, Brussel (*L'Art indien* 1969, cat. 90, p. 30, no ill.), or in the art market (Sotheby's London 1983, # 98 or 1995b, # 173; Sotheby's London 1987b, # 277; Sotheby's London 1995a, # 404).

103 Further examples, but without any indication of precise origin, are preserved at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (Craven 1961, pl. 16), at the ABSF (inv. B60 S75+), at the AMP (inv. 11322) or in a private collection (photo collection of the MG, n° 16619/11).

104 Contrarily to what wrote M. Bénisti in 1981, vol. I p. 37, for whom the *śikhara* does not occur at the site. As a conclusion, all pedestals including the tower were produced at Kurkihār (including the image in the Museum which she mentions p. 38 in the list of pedestals which she attributes to the atelier of this site).

105 And by the examples listed in notes 98 (the Calcutta and Allahabad pedestals), 99 (the Patna images), 100 (folio 201 of the Buchanan-Hamilton collection of drawings), 101 & 102. Including the pedestal in the collection, 15 examples of this type could be collected.

106 Above notes 99 (the pedestal in the BSP), 100 (folio 202). A pedestal is located in the Sūrya Mandir of Badgaon/Nālandā; another one at Bodh Gayā (Bénisti 1981, fig. 84). Most of the pedestal are, however, of unknown origin: AMP inv. 11322; ABSF inv. B60 S75+, B60 S79+ & B60 S135+ (the last one published in *Pāla* 1984, cat. 6); Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. '21-36-3 & 4 (Kramrisch 1960, p. 87 cat. 52 & 53: the authoress mentions only "Bihar" as origin of the pedestals; however, the information put on the back of the photo produced by the Museum says "India - Bodha [sic] Gaya"); IM, Calcutta inv. 4394 & A 24951, both reproduced by Bénisti 1981, figs. 95 & 97 and attributed to the atelier of Kurkihār (*ibidem*, vol. I, p. 38). Eleven pedestals have been listed here, to which can be added the pedestal of the Patna Museum (inv. 11322) which shows the two separate niches but is iconographically close to the first group.

107 Only one example of a crowned Buddha shown at the first predication in a niche separated from the upper one where the Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśamudrā* is known to me (AMP inv. 11322).

108 The only exception is again the pedestal in the AMP (inv. 11322) which includes not only the crowned Buddha in the lower niche, but in the row, on either side of the upper niche, *caityas* alternating with Buddhas showing various *mudrās* (*varada°* and *abhayamudrā* on both extremities, *dhyānamudrā* with the almsbowl in the two central niches).

109 11 examples out of the 16 quoted above show the gesture of teaching (notes 98-103).

110 Five examples include the *dhyāna°*, four the *dharmacakrapravartana°* among the 15 pedestals listed in the group; the other pedestals present the *bhūmisparśa°* (two) or the Buddha standing with the *varada°* (one example) or the *abhaya°* (three).

111 On the question, see note 71.

112 Above cat. 80.

113 Two fragments of pedestal, the present location of which is unknown to us, are particularly relevant in relation with this attempt of identification though, in the first case (Photothèque, MG n°

16619/12) it must have belonged to the second type (without *śikhara*) and in the second case (Sotheby's London 1995a, # 405), it presents the single row of niches. The first example (1) shows the upper row of niches with a central niche (standing Buddha, *abhaya*^o) surrounded by niches where *caitya*.s and images alternate: four Buddha.s are depicted, displaying the *dhyāna*^o and the *dharmacakrapravartana*^o. The second (2) includes only images with the two *mudrā*.s alternating. A third pedestal (3) preserved in the Patna Museum, inv. 1627 (Bénisti 1981, fig. 82) shows the Buddha at Sārnāth in the lower level and again a single row of niches with above the lower figure, the Buddha meditating (with almsbowl); on either side, the images show the *abhaya*^o and the *varada*^o and twice the *dharmacakrapravartana*^o. We encounter here a model which was already noticed; with their respective *mudrā*.s, these five Buddha.s evoke also some of the five Tathāgata.s and behind the superposition of the meditating Buddha above the teaching one (with clear hints at Śākyamuni's life), is also outlined the double aspect of Vairocana. A fourth similar pedestal (4) is preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, inv. 19.803 (Coomaraswamy 1923, pl. XXXVIII & p. 80) where the Buddha in the lower niche displays the *samādhi*^o, the Buddha right above him the *bhūmiś-parśa*^o and all other Buddha.s of the upper row again the meditation. This could suggest the identification of the enlightened Buddha with the meditating one. As to the Allahabad pedestal (note 98), it shows only *caitya*.s within the recesses of the upper row on either side of the upper niche where the Buddha meditates, here again is met the simultaneity of the monument with a gesture traditionally attributed to Vairocana.

114 An interesting but fragmentary panel from the site is preserved in the AMP (P.L. Gupta 1965 p. 57 n° 25; inv. 153); it includes three rows of images of seated or standing Buddha figures alternating with *caitya*.s, besides showing also the depictions of the birth and of the final demise (B. P. Sinha 1957, fig. 88, B.P. Sinha ed. 1974, pl. 75). Moreover, it is stylistically close to the pedestal of the collection, showing the same corporeal proportions and the same shape of the monuments. See also below note 25 in chapter II-B.

115 Three similar examples are quoted in the previous note 113 (pedestals 2 to 4). Two further fragments with five niches are reproduced in *Arte de la India* 1967, cat. 2 and in Deva/Trivedi 1996, fig. 185 (& p. 54, cat. 227, Allahabad Museum inv. 525, an example which was found at Kauśāmbī).

116 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image 3 (file 1275/08).

117 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 41 reproduces a photograph of images lying at Uren, probably taken by Th. Bloch.

118 Bénisti 1981, figs. 29-30 & 37-38; a very nice *caitya* of this type was photographed by Joseph Beglar at Bodh Gayā (photo preserved at the VA, n° 6467).

119 The rather typical shape of the fleuron on cat. 158 where the central knob is round and well marked and the row of incised petals occur on the pedestal of a high votive *caitya* in the garden of the Bodhi Mandir, see Franz 1967, fig. 199 or Bénisti 1981, fig. 49.

120 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image n° 4.

121 Bénisti 1981, pp. 71-74 concerning the presence of the motif on the lower part of the *caitya*.s at

Bodh Gayā. Bautze-Picron 1995b, pp. 59-60, notes 5 & 75.

122 In the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* (quoted by Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 64 after Finot 1934, pp. 52 & 66). Similarly, the jewels are offered to the Tārā by Tibetans when they venerate her (*ibidem*, note 75 quoting Beyer 1978, pp. 151-154).

123 Further examples were illustrated by A. Cunningham 1892, pl. XXIII-A to C (lower part of the plate) & pp. 46-48. R. D. Banerji 1933, p. 158 mentions that "hundreds of specimens of this kind were brought from the Bihar Museum to Calcutta". See also Duflos 1998, fig. 14.

124 Preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1982.460.3.

125 Bénisti 1981, figs. 54, 57-60; 62 & 64: the upper part of the four niches is precisely a window similar to the one noticed here, although more elaborated and probably carved later than those in the collection.

126 Paul 1985, pp. 116-127. See her note 49, where she mentions the presence as early as the 1st century B.C. of the foot-print "on an ornamented, circular block of stone" at Bodh Gayā. A detailed study of the prints is given by A. M. Quagliotti in her very recently published work (1998).

127 *Ibidem*, fig. 12 & p. 125. The same model is also reproduced by Guy 1991, fig. 32. The imprints occur on other models of the temple: Guy 1991, figs. 11 & 14 or Quagliotti 1998, figs. 52-53 (front and back of the same carving). In the light of their representation on the small models, the independant imprints have to be most probably interpreted as if the Buddha was standing above them and not as if the devotee had to consider Him standing above him (which would reverse the position left/right).

128 Paul 1985, figs. 10-11 & pp. 122-125 & note 56. Further pairs *in situ* carved on *aṇḍa* are reproduced by *ibidem*, fig. 4 & Bénisti 1981, fig. 88.

129 Paul 1985, p. 117 mentions four in the Indian Museum but does not describe them; the information is perhaps drawn from Mitra 1878/1972, p. 127 who mentions that "four of these [*i.e.* the foot-prints] have been brought to Calcutta". Out of these four, two are preserved in Berlin (described in detail by Mitra p. 127) and two entered the collection of the Indian Museum. Those in Calcutta are reproduced by Quagliotti 1998, figs. 41-42 (inv. A 24214/B.G.2) & 43-44 (inv. A24213/B.G.1) and p. 64; see also Anderson 1883, pp. 33-34 (B.G. 2) or Mitra 1878/1972, p. 124 & pl. XLIII, 3 & 6. One of them (B.G. 2) is also reproduced by Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIV-(d). See also Paul 1985, fig. 5 for a further foot-print still *in situ*.

130 U Mya 1930/34 & pl. CLIII-(a) & (b) (concerning the single foot-print). For examples of pairs: see Paul 1985, figs. 4 left, 8 (Viṣṇupāda), 10.

131 Quoted above note 129. See in particular the fig. 11 in Paul's article & pp. 123-125 where she discusses the inscription. She rightly underlines that the impressions have been re-used by Vaiṣṇavites as early as the 14th c. (as an inscription testifies to it). However, the foot-prints in Burma include a large number of symbols distributed around the central *padma* (and a confusion between the flower and the disk cannot be excluded, due to their shape but also to the fact that the lotus has been since an early period used on the ceiling or on umbrella), which might remind of the symbols illustrated on the pair of Bodh Gayā.

132 Above note 125.

133 Mitra 1878/1972, pl. LI. Asher 1989, figs. 1-2: one notices the same frontal position of the torso and the profiled depiction of the lower part of the body, the same pointed chin which is not depicted in one smooth line from the lower lip (but is curved below the lip), the same large front eye and the same widely open and projecting eye at the back which should not be seen. The woman wears also the same shawl and large ear-rings. For B. Barua (1975, pp. 63-64), the Buddha's footprints of the site are "modern".

CHAPTER II-B

VOTIVE TABLETS

182-183. Devotee and offerings

182: Inv. I 662/old IC 34721.

16,5 x 34,5 x 4 cm. Brown grey sandstone.

Leitner collection A 33/526, 1907.

183: Inv. I 632/old IC 34701a.

15,5 x 22 x 6 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 527a, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Recesses and holes are observed on the upper surface of the first tablet, indicating that it was once walled into a structure. Vertical short strokes of unknown origin are also noticed on the left part of the front surface.

A rectangular panel is drawn in depth in the upper part, in which a scene of devotion is depicted. A woman kneels towards her left, with both hands clasped in front of her breast. She bows her smiling face slightly towards the central offering which is a large stand containing flowers of which the petals are incised in thin lines and are distributed in regular concentric rows. The stand is also adorned by a row of similar petals. Further right, a pyramidal offering emerges on a small cup. Such cones are encountered on practically all depictions of offerings; they probably illustrate cakes which were offering during a ritual.¹ The second tablet reproduces a devotee, probably female since it wears the large bun of hair falling on the shoulders, who kneels in front of two cones.

On the first tablet, the three elements are clearly drawn through soft lines which are never straight but slightly curved, the modelling is smooth and reveals a high quality, the composition is well equilibrated with the devotee and the cone distributed on either side of the large round offering of flowers. The devotee is depicted in a three-quarter and not in strict profile, which counterebalances the more strict outline of the two offerings.

On the contrary, the second tablet offers a much rougher carving, which is not mainly related to the battering of the image. The rectangular panel is not regularly drawn; the outer lines of the three elements are not traced clearly and no detail has been added.

This type of carving does not show any divine image but exclusively illustrates human characters kneeling in front of offerings which they probably made to the deity. Their number can vary and we have here the simplest form of the subject with one single person shown together with her offerings. Flowers and cakes are also constantly observed on these reliefs.

As said above, the small cuttings on the outer edges might indicate that the panel was integrated in a larger structure. With its rectan-

gular shape and because of the plain treatment, it does not appear that this structure would have belonged to a stela or a *caitya* which would have stood above the panel. Through the topic, which is always a scene of devotion, they are similar to the incised depiction of worshippers on the pavement of the great temple at Bodh Gayā.²

INSCRIPTIONS

Gauḍīya of c. 11th-12th centuries on cat. 182.

Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

devadharmamoyam (line 1)

bhadū-patani-svahadavi- (line 2)

kayaḥ (line 3)

Translation:

"This is the meritorious gift of the wife of Bhadū, Svahadevikā."

On cat. 183, Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor's inscription (but his/her name is missing) in Sanskrit:

siddham (symbol) deydaharmamoyam pravarmahāyāna-[yā] ...

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

184. Devotee and offerings

Inv. I 606/old IC 34671.

16 x 41 x 4 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 552, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

The tablet is broken in two parts, but is otherwise only slightly damaged on some edges. A mason's mark is incised on the upper surface, left side.

A larger scene of devotion is illustrated here. A male devotee kneels in the left corner with both hands clasped in front of the breast. In front of him, various offerings are distributed: two cones on small cups, a high and circular stand on which are distributed flowers from where hang two symmetric garlands, an incense brazier in the form of a lotus flower and a lamp stand, *dīpayasṭi*.³

This panel adds to the objects of rituals noticed in the previous examples, the stand with flowers and the incense burner as well as the lamp. Such braziers were indeed discovered at sites like Nālandā,⁴ and may sometimes be represented in the hands of the devotee.⁵ Flowers are also a common part of the offerings.

INSCRIPTION

Siddhamātrkā of c. 10th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (symbol) devadharmmoya śaumaṇaratha

which means that "This (votive tablet) is the meritorious gift (of) Śaumaṇaratha."

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 232 above; Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 9.

185. Devotees and offerings

Inv. I 593/old IC 34667a.

14 x 36 x 5 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 542a, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

A couple of worshippers are carved in the right corner, the man with hands clasped in front of the breast, the woman holding a now erased garland. In front of them, a series of various objects are depicted, some already noticed before, such as the two conic cakes placed on small cups. A large jar is depicted approximately in the centre of the composition, with an undistinct offering.⁶ Next to it, the lamp stand is carved behind the incense brazier. And in the right corner, there is a table on which various objects are distributed, one of them being the conch.⁷

The quality of the carving is poor here, and is not only a result of the state of decay of the image (traces of rust are noticed on the surface of the stone). Details are avoided, e.g. the distinction between the cones and the cups is indiscernable, no line is incised on the cones, the large jar is not regularly drawn, the lamp stand is seen as if on the point of falling, the lines are heavy, the forms not very elegant.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary. Two lines. Gauḍīya of c. 12th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

... nirodha evamvādī (line 1)

... (line 2)

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 12.

186. Devotees with offerings

Inv. I 652/old IC 34719.

24 x 16 x 8 cm. Yellow sandstone.

Leitner collection 558, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Only the right part of the panel has survived. But when complete, it was evidently made of two parts which were put side by side. On either extremity (probably) of the long rectangular space hollowed in the upper part of the slab, a floral motif is incised on the front surface (compare to cat. 191 & 200). Two devotees kneel in front of a large group of ritualistic objects and of offerings. Both are depicted in half-profile, the bust of the woman turned towards the spectator, the lower part of the body profiled. Both also slightly bow their head. As it should be, the woman with the head covered

by a shawl, is depicted behind her husband; she holds a large offering whereas her companion holds both hands clasped in front of the breast in the *añjali*⁹. His hair is tied in the back in a bun which the craftsman curiously carved upwards.

Again we recognize in front of them, the incense brazier shaped like a large lotus flower and the lamp stand profiled behind it, the two elongated cones on small cups and two smaller ones. All four of them are symmetrically distributed on either stand of a stand with a bulbous shaft on which lies the manuscript, itself protected by a cloth which falls on either side. This motif which constituted a major element of this type of tablets,⁸ was located here most probably at the centre of the composition when this was unspoilt. The scene shows a depiction of worship to the manuscript or the offering which is made of a manuscript.

INSCRIPTION (IN BURMESE ?)

kāri . (pha)l (ca/ma/ba) ne' (ya)k sa (pha)n
(line 1)
(g/v)im (ca) kip (ca/cha) ma (kvya)n / ca . krāy
(ma-) (line 2)
n . n kāl ka ... (t) ... (jā)l (line 3)

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

187-188. Offerings and priest

187: Inv. I 595/old IC 34722.

14,5 x 23 x 5,5 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 528, 1907.

188: Inv. I 596/old IC 34727.

16,2 x 20 x 6 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 572, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Both fragments used to belong to a tablet with a rectangular panel. In the first example, only half of a large flat bowl on stand containing perhaps fruits or flowers is depicted on the left part, by its side is the bulbous stand sustaining the manuscript protected by a piece of cloth and on which three flowers, probably, are scattered and the large jar from which leaves fall out, supporting a conch. The two cones are seen below the manuscript. In the right corner, a male figure sits in *sattvaparyāṅka*⁹. The image is not carved in detail but one notices that he wears a pointed cap as hair-dress. The right hand presents an indistinct object in front of the breast whereas the left one lies on the left leg and seems to touch lightly the ground. The very same figure occurs, partly broken away, on the second tablet, by the side of the stand with manuscript surrounded by the two cones. The human devotees are shown here, kneeling and venerating deeply what stands in front of them.

The male character is often seen on this type of sculpture.⁹ Contrarily to the devotees, he is depicted in front view, which is of course an indication on his moral or spiritual position: as noticed above (introduction), human worshippers are traditionally profiled and turned towards the deity whom they venerate and who is always represented in front view, making itself visible to the human world. Through his frontal position, the priest/monk is perceived as a person worthy of respect and worship, this becomes even more evident on the second example.

INSCRIPTIONS

Fragmentary on cat. 187. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed and donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

... [...ya]vada tesaṇ ca ya [e]va vādī mahā-
(line 1)

sava[na] (line 2)

... bhalakasya dhānapati (line 3)

Thus, "(This votive tablet is the gift) of Bhālaka, the lord of gift."

Fragmentary on cat. 188. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

... vovāṇatārokayā

This tablet was thus offered by a lady whose name seems to read "Vovāṇatārakā".

PUBLISHED

188: Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 11. 189: *ibidem*, note 2 p. 74.

189. Offerings and priest

Inv. I 554/old IC 34634.

17 x 29 x 4,5 cm. Reddish sandstone.

Leitner collection 544, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Contrarily to the previous panels, this one is carved with care, the lines are clearly drawn, the forms well cut, small details are incised. The priest sits in *sattvaparyāṅka*⁹, with a slight tension of the torso; he wears the same pointed cap noted previously and holds two attributes in front of the breast and on his left thigh. These are most probably the *vajra* in the right hand and the *ghaṇṭā* in the left one, taking into consideration examples where these two attributes are clearly depicted.¹⁰

The particular seated attitude, the position of the hands, the choice of the attributes is similar to the image of Vajrasattva. Besides, this aspect of the Supreme Buddha wears a peculiar hair-dress where "the hair is knotted in different superimposed layers, the general outline of which shows what is observed" here and on the similar panels of the collection.¹¹ Vajrasattva is also the divine aspect with whom the future initiate has to identify himself; similarly, he holds the *vajra* and the *ghaṇṭā* during the ritual

of initiation. Further, the main priest or *vidyādhara* ties his hair above the head before the ritual starts, which is also similar to the hair-dress of Vajrasattva. There is thus here an evident process of identification which explains why in the artistic representation, the image of the priest is similar, if not identical, to the image of Vajrasattva.¹²

A large jar stands by the side of the priest, containing perhaps flowers. The manuscript is put on the bulbous stand, protected by a piece of cloth whereas a garland makes a large bow in front of it; flowers are scattered above it. Two small and two very large cones are distributed all around the stand, underlying its major importance.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 11th-12th centuries. Donor's name in Sanskrit:

devadha[r]mmoyam dānapati-gopadevasāmi-kasya

which means "This (votive tablet) is the meritorious gift of Gopadevasāmika". Two further letters, "ṇa" and "ta" are inscribed below.

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 10.

190-192. Offerings and devotees

190: Inv. I 556/old IC 34649.

17 x 23 cm x 4. Yellowish sandstone.

Leitner collection 546a, 1907.

191: Inv. I 601/old IC 34663b.

15,5 x 25 x 6 cm. Red sandstone.

Leitner collection 538b, 1907.

192: Inv. IC 34651a & b.

Sandstone.

Leitner collection 537a & b, 1907.

No available illustration.

Bodh Gayā.

In each of the first two fragments, a couple of devotees is depicted, the man presenting a garland and the woman holding the hands clasped in front of the breast or offering a flower or a round object, perhaps a basket with fruits or flowers. She has her head covered with her shawl which forms like a large nimbus protecting her. Both figures wear their hair knotted in the back of the head in a heavy bun which falls on the shoulder or in the nape of the neck. As usual, the man sits towards the centre of the composition and his wife is depicted as seen behind him.

The third image is broken in two pieces and should illustrate an "altar and offerings and a kneeling figure".¹³

One fragment evidently constitutes the extremity of a rectangular panel (cat. 191). A large decorative flower is carved in a square at the right side of the panel, similar to an incised

motif noticed on cat. 186. The couple kneels in front of ritual objects already observed such as the manuscript on the bulbous stand accompanied by the two cones or the large bowl on foot which contains flowers or fruits and the lamp behind the incense brazier.

A comparison of the first three reliefs illustrates the obvious disparity of plastic quality of these reliefs. Whether some are carved with attention, the ritualistic objects are detailed, the human figures present discernible features, they may even smiling gently, their dresses are pleated, others can be roughly carved with an economy of detail and lines carelessly drawn.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary on cat. 191. Gaudīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:
... jo nirodha evamvadi mahāśramaṇaḥ //

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 232 below, Bautze-Picron, fig. 14 (190); *Short Catalogue* 1902, p. 14 n° 537 (192).

193-194. Offerings

193: Inv. 1 609/old IC 34714.

18 x 33 x 7,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 550, 1907.

194: Inv. 1 623/old IC 34806.

18,5 x 16,5 x 4 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Leitner collection 538g, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

Offerings and objects of ritual are depicted on these two fragments where again a noticeable difference in the quality of the carving. The second example (194) shows how the craftsman had a surer line in drawing the motifs which he was going to carve and that he achieved his work with much more precision than did the one responsible for the first panel (193).

Again we recognize here motifs like the manuscript on its stand, the large jar, the cones, the large bowl on stand with fruits.

INSCRIPTIONS

On cat. 193, fragmentary. Gaudīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed and donor's name:

...ī mahāśramaṇaḥ // deyadha[r]moyam paramopasaka-ṭha[ku] ...

which means that "This (votive tablet) is the meritorious gift of the devout worshipper, Ṭhaku ..."

On cat. 194, Gaudīya of c. 12th century. Damaged donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

... ṇīsohacikā[da]to

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

195. Devotees, offerings and "the jewels"

Inv. 1 555/old IC 34653.

15 x 45 x 6 cm. Dark grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 523, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

This panel is evidently related to those considered previously. The importance of the manuscript is shown through its central position. It is as usual, surrounded by the two cones of offerings and on one side by the incense brazier and the lamp. A first devotee kneels on the same side with both hands showing the *añjali*°. Symmetric to the figure and to the objects, a couple shows the same signs of devotion. Behind the devotees, two animals are depicted, i.e. the elephant in the left corner and the horse in the right one. Each of them wears on its back an object which can be respectively identified with the jewel or *ratna* and with the lotus or *padma*.

It is thus evident that at least four of the "seven jewels" or *saptaratna* of the *cakravartin* are depicted here in the angles. The three remaining jewels are human figures, who are the chief of the army, the treasurer and the woman, they do not hold their personal attributes (see cat. 75 for more details) but are depicted as devotees.

The "seven jewels" are distributed on either side of the manuscript and evidently pay their respect to it. This indicates that in some rituals the *saptaratna* were offered to the main deity by the *vidyādhara* or monk¹⁴ – and this would explain the particular transformation of the human characters of the "seven jewels" into devotees. This relief enhances the importance of the manuscript as an object of cult and also as a part of the ritual since texts were read in the course of religious ceremonies.¹⁵ The constant presence of the manuscript and its central position in this type of reliefs probably reveals the development of the gnostic tradition at Bodh Gayā.

The jewels are often shown among objects of rituals and "real" human devotees who worship them on such low-reliefs from Bodh Gayā; the transformation of the characters of the sequence into human devotees appears indeed to be very rare. Usually, these characters are venerated and are, therefore, also seen in frontal view and not profiled as it is here the case (see cat. 75).¹⁶

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 12th century. Donor's inscription (his/her name is illegible) in corrupt Sanskrit:

... devadharmmoya ... (line 1)

mātā-pitra-purva[ṅgamam] kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāṣer anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye (line 2)

... (line 3)

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

196. Offerings and the litany of Buddha.s

Inv. 1 625/old IC 34699.

17 x 26 x 6 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Leitner collection 554, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

This tablet combines two iconographic programs, the offerings in the lower part and the row of tiny images of the seated Buddha, all displaying the *samādhi*° in the upper part. On this fragment, 11 such small figures are visible, stiffly carved, and with hardly visible facial features. In the lower panel, the incense brazier is profiled in front of the lamp, a small tripod supports a bowl with offering, the stand with the manuscript on which some flowers lie is still partly visible although partly broken away.

The sequence of seated Buddha.s is a rather often encountered motif. Larger fragments of complete slabs show that their number vary between 24 and 26.¹⁷ It is, however, difficult to draw any conclusion from these numbers and to relate them for instance with the Buddha.s of the past¹⁸ rather than to the groups of meditating Buddha.s already carved on the drum or basis of *caitya.s* (cat. 80sqr).

INSCRIPTION

Gaudīya of c. 11th century. Donor's inscription in corrupt Sanskrit:

sādhū-śrī-seharat[na]sy ādmonā sādhuṇī-śrī-so (top, line 1)

maṇo 1 deydadamoyam ... ka-dānapati-śrī-... (middle, line 2)

vaiśākha-[di] ... (bottom, line 3)

Translation:

"This (votive tablet) is the meritorious gift of the wife of the merchant, the illustrious Siṃharatna, the illustrious ... the lord of gifts, the illustrious ... the day ... in (the month of) Vaiśākha ..."

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

197. Devotees and the litany of Buddha figures

Inv. 1 1130/old IC 34667b.

15 x 34 x 6,5 cm. Pink spotted sandstone.

Leitner collection 542b, 1907.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date through palaeography: 12th c.

Again, this tablet includes two panels illustrating the row of Buddha seated in *padmāsana* and all showing the *samādhi*° and the scene of veneration. Only the right part of the tablet has survived with 15 Buddha images and the

couple of devotees kneeling with hands folded in the *añjali*° in front of the stand with manuscript. The carving is much arased, it however must not have been of high quality.

This fragment like another already noticed bear both inscriptions in Burmese characters, vouchsafing thus the presence of Burmese monks at Bodh Gayā.¹⁹

INSCRIPTION IN BURMESE

(B)oa° k(v)yāt nerā l (or nekā) (line 1)

(e)y //0// (line 2)

or “(At this place of the) Buddha’s “liberation” (I gave) an umbrella (nerā or nekā)”.

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

198-199. The jewels and the litany of Buddha figures

198: Inv. I 553/old IC 34665.

16,5 x 32 x 7 cm. Reddish sandstone.

Leitner collection 503, 1907.

199: Inv. I 557/old IC 34715.

14 x 18 x 4,5 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 546, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

The first fragment constituted the left part of a tablet with two panels illustrating the row of the meditating Buddha.s in the upper part and the seven jewels in the lower part. 15 tiny figures can still be counted above the depiction of the elephant in front of a stand on which the stone jewel, *mañi/cintāmañi-ratna* is depicted. The three characters of the series are depicted seated with one leg folded on the ground and the other raised, and in frontal view: the chief of the army, *senāpatiratna*, carries the sword in the right hand, the chief of the treasure is slightly pot-bellied, a shape which suits his function and the woman, *strīratna*, holds at the height of her face the mirror in the right hand.

The second fragment composes the right side of a similar slab where seven tiny images of the Buddha are depicted above the horse and the disk of the *saptaratna.s*; the left arm of one of the three human characters of the group is still visible.

INSCRIPTION

On 198: Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Donor’s name in corrupt Sanskrit:

siddham (symbol) deyadharmmoyaṇi raṇa-śrī-jakhvāla-patani-ratana-devikayā // floral design

Translation:

“Success ! This (votive tablet) is the meritorious gift of Ratnadevikā, wife of the officer (rāṇaka), the illustrious, Jakhvāla.”

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 74 note 2.

200-201. Offerings, jewels and litany of Buddha figures

200: Inv. I 648/old IC 34818.

15 x 34 x 8,5 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Leitner collection 502, 1907.

201: I 658/old IC 34666.

16,5 x 24 x 8 cm. Yellowish coarse-grained sandstone with white spots.

Leitner collection 543, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

The peculiarity offered by these two fragments is that they belonged to three-dimensional carved structures. Both fragments present a curved hollow at the back, which would indicate that they were fixed around a circular structure, probably the lower part of a *caitya*.

Both present two panels, the upper one with the row of tiny Buddha images, all meditating, the lower one either with a kneeling devotee in front of the incense brazier and the lamp stand or with the couple of devotees behind the elephant carrying the precious stone. But the row of Buddha figures is also carved on the perpendicular side. Again, the decorative flower appears here, which marks the extremity of the depiction of offerings and worship. On the very same tablet, a number of motifs are incised on both sides of the remaining angle. Whereas it is probably the *stūpa* with the crescent of the moon and the disk of the sun which are incised on the lateral face,²⁰ together with a disk on a stand which might either be the *dharma-cakra* or rather the mirror.²¹

INSCRIPTIONS

On cat. 200, fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit:

[hy avada] ... [mahā] ...

On cat. 201, fragmentary. Gauḍīya of c. 11th-12th centuries. Buddhist creed and donor’s name in corrupt Sanskrit:

ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā hetu[m] te[ś]a] ... (line 1)

di ma [hā] ... (line 2)

mmoya[m] ... (line 3)

sākha-mātā-e[ka]kāyā devy[ā] ... (line 4)

... sakala-satva-rāse ... (on top, line 5)

Which means that

“This (votive tablet is the meritorious gift) of E[ka]kā-devī, mother of Sākha (for the welfare) of all sentient beings”.

202. Couple of devotees

Inv. IC 33723b.

16,5 x 18,5 x 4 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection 86b, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the region. Suggested date: 11th c.

This fragment constituted most probably the left part of the following panel showing four Bodhisattva.s which were worshipped by the couple. As sign of hierarchy between the two, the man sits in *sattvaparyāṅkāśana* on a low bench whereas his wife kneels behind him, with hands folded in front of the breast and the head covered by a shawl. Her companion offers a garland to the Bodhisattva.s; he bears the coil of the hair falling on the shoulder.

203. Four Bodhisattva.s

Inv. 2698/ols IC 33723c.

16,4 x 34,3 x 5 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection 86a, 1906.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the region. Suggested date: 11th c.

The image is similar to cat. 204 but the flower on the left side has been cut off. Four Bodhisattva.s sit on lotus-seats. Their identification remains extremely difficult due to the small size of the attributes, and those proposed here can only be considered as hypothetical. The first one on the left, could be Samantabhadra with the left hand reclining above the thigh and holding in front of the breast an attribute in the right hand. The next one could be Kṣitigarbha, displaying either the gesture of pacification (illustrated also by the Buddha when taming Nālāgiri) or the *bhūmiśparśa*° and holding the vase with the right and left hands respectively, and at the end of the row Ākāśagarbha (or Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin ?) who presents the *varada*° and holds above a lotus the jewel in the left hand.²² The first two sit in *padma*°, the last one in *sattvaparyāṅka*°.

The third Bodhisattva presents a rather unusual gesture: the hands are closed with the index stretched, which is the traditional *tarjanī*° or gesture of threatening, but they are seen above the head. Among the “missing” Bodhisattva.s, Vajrapāṇi could be figured as a more terrific figure than any other Bodhisattvas, but this can only remain hypothetical (but he could also be Vajrayakṣa who presents a similar gesture).²³

204. Four Bodhisattva.s

Inv. 1 2697/old IC 33723a.

16,7 x 45,9 x 7 cm. Sandstone.

Waddell collection 86c, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā or the region. Suggested date: 11th c.

Four Bodhisattva.s sit on lotus-seats within a rectangular niche which is limited on the left by a lotus flower framed in a square. They wear a crown or a *jaṭā* surrounded by a diadem, a shawl covering their breast. Due to their tiny size perhaps, some ornaments are absent, like the necklace, or incised, like the armlets and bracelets. They sit in various positions and can be identified, from left to right, as a form of Avalokiteśvara four-handed with two hands folded in the gesture of veneration in front of the breast while displaying the *varada*° and holding the lotus with the second pair of hands, Mañjuśrī holding the *utpala* in the left hand while the right one rests above the right knee (*rājajalā*°). The identification of the last two Bodhisattva.s is more difficult, the first one sits in *padma*°, presents the gesture of giving and holds an undistinct and partly broken attribute, the second one sits in *sattvaparyāṅka*°, has apparently the same *varada*° and holds a staff to which is attached a flying piece of cloth. Since a small triangular element appears to be carved in front of the *jaṭā* of the third Bodhisattva, he might be Maitreya wearing the *caitya* as head-ornament. Among the Bodhisattva.s, Sarva-nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin carries the flag.²⁴

205. Row of four caitya.s

Inv. 1 597/old IC 34854.

13,8 x 20,5 x 3,5 cm. Greenish sandstone.

Leitner collection 557a, 1907.

From Bihar.

This tablet and the following ones are puzzling objects in the collection. Four *caitya*s are carved in low relief side by side. Each of them presents a high opening, making visible an image of the Buddha. The later displays four *mudrā*.s, i.e. the *bhūmisparśa*°, the *dharmacakrapravartana*°, the *samādhi*° and the very same gesture with presentation of the bowl. A similar choice can be encountered on the four faces of three-dimensional *caitya*.s and we cannot presently exclude the hypothesis that this tablet, like perhaps also the other ones, constitutes a replacement to the real votive monument.

The drum of the *caitya*.s is very high, perhaps in order to accommodate the high niche. The arch of the opening is oblong and rests on plain jambs; it supports a much simplified ornamentation made of drop-like elements, which constitutes only a remembrance of the fleurons and scrolls noticed on better carved

niches of *caitya*.s. The *aṇḍa* is short below the large *harmikā* and the *chattrāvalī*. Flowers are incised on the back-slab between the different monuments and at both extremities.

The carving has not been very carefully realised; the panel is also broken and is heavily damaged. Besides, it appears that the four figures were willingly hammered.

INSCRIPTION

Fragmentary and damaged. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Records the names of several donors such as Nūsūhāra, Ākho, Damo, etc.

206-208. Row of caitya.s

206: Inv. 1 637/old IC 34725.

10,5 x 18,5 x 4 cm. Yellow spotted sandstone.

Leitner collection 557, 1907.

207: Inv. 558/old IC 34657.

18 x 20 x 2 cm. Reddish sandstone.

Leitner collection 530, 1907.

208: Inv. 1 620/old IC 33712.

7,5 x 11 x 3,5 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Waddell collection "65", 1906.

206 & 207 from Bodh Gayā, 208 from Bihar.

They might be complete or fragments of larger slabs, they all show a row of *caitya*.s within which Buddha figures sit. In the first example, three images display the *samādhi*° surrounding the fourth one who presents the *bhūmisparśa*° whereas the three Buddha.s of the second tablet all make the latest gesture. The fragmentary example (208) shows the Buddha in the *samādhi*°.

These images are much battered, the figures defaced. However, due to the size of the objects probably, a simplification in the treatment of the architectural structure took place: the double row of lotus petals which usually forms the upper moulding on the drum, is ignored, the outline of the superimposed mouldings tends to become repetitive (208). The arch has a plain shape, only a remembrance of the trefoil survives (206). Similarly, the carving of the fleurons and the scrolls above the niche reflects a rough simplification, the *chattrāvalī* presents heavy disks with a round profile culminating into a large knob.

This type of panels is related simultaneously to the *caitya* with niche, to the representation of rows of *caitya*.s (cat. 148)²⁵ and of litanies of Buddha images. Installed within the monument, the Buddha is properly identified with it, this *caitya* becomes the place *per excellentia* where the Buddha is installed. The gestures which he presents are those observed in the four niches of the *caitya*.s presented above, i.e. the *bhūmisparśa*°, the *samādhi*° and, as seen on the following examples, the *dharmacakrapravartana*°.

It is possible that the donation of such panels replaced the donation of a three-dimensional votive *caitya*, since evidently some of them include only one depiction of the monument (below cat. 211-212).

INSCRIPTIONS

On cat. 206: damaged. Gauḍīya, c. 11th century. Donor's name in Sanskrit:

deyadharmmoyam pravara-mahāyā[na] ...

Or "This (votive tablet) is the meritorious gift of ... belonging to the excellent Mahāyāna ..." Inscriptions on cat. 207 & 208 are illegible.

209. Row of caitya.s with images of the Buddha

Inv. 1 559/old IC 33735.

18 x 20 x 6 cm. Yellow grey sandstone.

Waddell collection, 1906.

Collected in Bihar.

The *caitya*.s are here carved within niches separated by bulbous pillars. Further images of the meditating Buddha sit above them and between the archs.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 12th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit. Three names are recorded: Koro, Bhagvī and Saphala.

210-213. Caitya with image of the Buddha

210: Inv. IC 33714.

10 x 8 cm. Phyllite (?).

Waddell collection "68", 1906.

211: Inv. 1 645/old IC 34850.

11 x 7 x 3 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 530a, 1907.

212: Inv. 1 618/old IC 34723.

11,2 x 8 x 1,5 cm. Phyllite.

Leitner collection 531, 1907.

213: Inv. 1 670/old IC 33708.

12,5 x 7 x 9,5 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Waddell collection 61, 1906.

Some of these tablets might have been independent and not included within a longer panel which would have shown similar depictions of the *caitya* with the niche and the Buddha image therein. As a matter of fact, two thin incised lines run along the edge of the back-slab behind the monument and parallel double lines are drawn on the edge, indicating flames in one case (212).

The fourth example (213) can, in the contrary, have belonged to a larger structure of which it would have constituted the right side.

INSCRIPTIONS

On cat. 211. Gauḍīya of c. 11th century. Illegible donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit:

On cat. 212. Gauḍīya of c. 12th century. Donor's name in corrupt Sanskrit: dāna ... ḍokā ...

Cat. 210 bears also an inscription.

214. Three Bodhisattva.s

Inv. I 643/old IC 34748.

9,3 x 8,5 x 3,5 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 366, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

This most probably belonged to a longer frieze where Bodhisattva.s (?) were depicted side by side. Now defaced, the three remaining images cannot be identified any more. Two stand with the right hand displaying the *varada*° probably while holding an attribute in the left one. The third figure on the left sits, perhaps with the right leg in front of the seat, the left hand on the corresponding thigh and holding the stalk of the attribute, perhaps a flower.

215. The Buddha within a temple

Inv. I 622/old IC 33685.

19 x 8 x 8 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.

Waddell collection 33, 1906.

Bihar.

The Buddha sits in *pralamba*° or *bhadrāsana* (see cat. 49) on a bench with heavy feet, displaying the *dharmacakrapravartana*°. He is depicted in a rectangular niche which supports a roof constituted by three receding tiers and surmounted by an *āmalaka* with finial. Mouldings are still traceable in the background, indicating that the relief was once part of a larger structure.

216. Kneeling devotee

Inv. 2645/old IC 38955.

22 x 12 x 9,5 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Suggested provenance: district of Monghyr (?).

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

This three-dimensional sculpture represents a bearded male figure kneeling on his right leg and holding the hands together in the gesture of veneration. It is damaged in the lower part, the feet being broken away and the right knee being slightly arched. The hands are also partly destroyed.

He is dressed with a skirt and a shawl falling above the left shoulder. Broad folds are indicated through incised lines. As only jewels, he wears a necklace attached in the back by a chain which falls adorned by a heart-shaped

ornament and small ear-rings fixed in the lobe. The man wears very long hair drawn in the lower part of the neck where it is rolled and forms a large bun; the hair, as well as the beard and the moustache, are indicated through deeply incised parallel lines.

Some independent images of devotees are known from Bihar and Bengal²⁶ where the devotee stands as the central image of the representation. Examples similar to the previous one can be found casted in bronze where they are depicted at the feet of the central deity.²⁷ The three-dimensional carving is not noticed among the stone depictions of devotees, who are usually adorsed at a back-slab; this way of carving is generally rare but is illustrated at Lakhi Sarai in the 12th c.,²⁸ hence the provenance as being the district of Monghyr, which is proposed here.

217. Small seated image

Inv. IC 34812. Bihar (?).

Leitner collection 527, 1907.

No available illustration.

It should illustrate "a niche containing a kneeling figure, and an altar and inscription".²⁹

PUBLISHED

Short Catalogue 1902, p. 14 n° 527.

1 Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 64 & note 54.

2 Asher 1989, figs 1-4, Huntington/Huntington 1990, fig.45 p. 316.

3 Bautze-Picron 1995b, p. 64 where it is observed that the incense brazier and the lamp stand are often seen side by side.

4 *Ibidem*, fig. 20 & note 49 for further references.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 64 & note 50.

6 It might sometimes be clearly flowers: Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 7 & p. 64, or sometimes perhaps fruits (*ibidem*, figs. 10-11 = cat. 188 & 190 here).

7 *Ibidem*, p. 64 & note 56.

8 *Ibidem*, pp. 64-65.

9 *Ibidem*, pp. 61-62 & figs. 5-7, 10-11, 17, 21-22.

10 *Ibidem*, figs. 7 & 22 in particular. See also pp. 61-62 on the attributes and their representation.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 62.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 62 & notes 31-35.

13 Short catalogue 1902, p. 14.

14 Bautze-Picron 1995b, pp. 64 & 66 and notes 46 & 75. This tablet in the collection illustrates clearly the trend of "humanization" of the theme of the seven jewels which was observed in the analysis of this motif (*ibidem*, p. 66).

15 *Ibidem*, p. 65 & note 61.

16 *Ibidem*, figs. 5-7.

17 *Ibidem*, figs. 5 & 7 and p. 66.

18 In the Buddhist tradition of Burma, 27 Buddhas preceded Śākyamuni: rows of 28 Buddhas all seated side by side constitute thus a common topic encountered at Pagan where they are depicted at the cornice of painted walls, presenting often the gesture

of meditation (Luce 1969/1970, pls. 219-223; Ono & Inoue 1978, pls. 58-59). Similar series of Buddhas are noticed at Sarnāth (Sahni 1972, pp. 202-203, cat. C(b)18 shows 26 Buddha figures in the upper part and a scene of offerings and worship in the lower part [see also *ASR for the Years 1904-05*, p. 56 N° 158]).

19 Taw Sen Ko 1911 on the topic.

20 The sun and the moon are noticed on a number of Buddhist images, they belong also to the literary iconography of Māricī (see Bautze-Picron [in the press-2]).

21 For the depiction of a mirror in the lower part of the image, see Bautze-Picron 1995b, fig. 19 & p. 65 and notes 63-64.

22 See for these identifications, Mallmann 1986, p. 333, p. 223, p. 89 (& p. 34) respectively.

23 Mallmann 1986, p. 308; Vajrayakṣa is one of the sixteen Vajras accompanying the four Jinas, which could imply that the two groups under survey might also be some of these characters.

24 *Ibidem*, pp. 339-340. The literary sources show much confusion, and reflect the non-existence of a strict iconography. The same remark applies, but with a lesser degree, to the plastic iconography. See Bautze-Picron 1997, pp. 19-20.

25 And we would like to mention, although no example of this kind is in the collection, a particular structure where 4 to 8 images of the Buddha are illustrated, sometimes referring to the biography of Śākyamuni, sometimes to the Buddhas of the past and Maitreya, all figures standing in the lower part of the carving whereas the upper part supports rows of *caitya*.s, which can also be carved between the Buddhas. These carvings are often free-standing sculpture (Bénisti 1981/83 or Anderson 1883, p. 43 cat. B.G. 51, *ibidem*, p. 54 cat. B.G. 117) or their upper part present the shape of a votive *caitya* (*The Way of the Buddha* 1993, p. 39 cat. 47). All known examples are from Bodh Gayā.

26 G. Bhattacharya 1989b & Bautze-Picron 1995, note 38.

27 Bautze-Picron 1990c, fig. 9; Bautze-Picron 1995, pp. 62-63 & notes 37-38.

28 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, pp. 248-249.

29 Short Catalogue 1902, p. 14 n° 527 (similar to 526 where the description is given).

CHAPTER III

HINDU IMAGES

A. Bodh Gayā and South Bihār

218. Viṣṇu

Inv. I 1111/old IC 38959.

27,5 x 17 x 7 cm. Sandstone.

Traces of red vermillion at the upper part right.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: late 10th c.

The stela is greatly destroyed with apparently the faces of the deities and of the *vāhana* on the right side of the pedestal willingly hampered. A large part of the upper part has disappeared.

Viṣṇu stands in *samapāda*, "feet joined", which means that he is depicted in a perfect frontal view. He is four-armed, holding the club, *gadā*, which stands on the ground, and the disk, *cakra* in the upper two right and left hand; the lower hands are badly damaged but a comparison with other depictions of the god (cat. 241 e.g.) informs that he had the lower right hand open in the *varada*° while presenting the conch or *śaṅkha* in the corresponding left one. He is accompanied by two female attendants who are, on his proper right, Lakṣmī holding a fly-whisk or *cāmara* and, on his Proper left, Sarasvatī who presents the *vinā*.

The god is adorned by the traditional set of jewels, including the long garland of flowers, *vanamālā*. A row of beaded loops and pendants are attached to the two girdles; a short loop of cloth falls above them on the proper right side. A single row of pearls runs within the necklace, the *upavīta* falls on the hip, the armlets lie above the elbows where falls the garland of flowers, simple anklets adorn the feet; small ear-rings adorn the ears. The folds of the *uttariya* across the torso and of the short lower garment are indicated by parallel double incised lines. The head is extremely defaced and the tiara as well as the crown are destroyed. One notices however the fluted rosettes above the ears and behind the ears the ribbons falling regularly below them.

The female attendants wear the round coil of hair above the head. A large triangular fleuron stands in front of it and a thin diadem surrounds it. Lakṣmī wears the sacred cord, both are dressed with a long lower garment closed at the waist by a single plain girdle above which falls the loop of cloth on the proper left hip.

A high nimbus is drawn around Viṣṇu's head; it includes a row of pearls within a band of flames with curved extremity. On either side (but the left part is lost), a flying figure on his

cloud offers a garland. The remaining figure is badly defaced; the cloud on which he is profiled presents large curves with a foliated incised line. Below him, a *haṁsa* is depicted holding in the beak an ornament. His body is short, the long neck is attached to the three large scrolls of the tail which run along the nimbus and below the cloud of the *gandharva*. These scrolls are clearly depicted with a strong movement.

The *haṁsa* stands above the upper bar of the throne, which is evidently the doucine borrowed from the architecture. Below it, the leogryph roars and lashes out above the elephant. Two large pearled loops hang below on either side of the goddesses. This motif is very rare but appears on another, later, depiction of the god.¹

Viṣṇu stands above a double lotus lying on the pedestal which is constituted by recesses on either side of the front part below the god. Two doucines limit it, and in the hollowed intermediary space, two large scrolls ending in two lotus flowers adorn its central part whereas on both sides, a human devotee and Garuḍa are turned towards the centre. Both tiny figures kneel with hands folded in the *añjali*° in front of the breast. In any respect, the pedestal is similar to the one noticed below the image of Viṣṇu slightly later which was introduced above in comparison with the pearls falling behind the god's wives. These two images introduce a particular treatment of the lotus, the two flowers are perfectly horizontal, the central part stands up in the midst of a row of spread petals, each petal is clearly drawn. The very same motif is preserved, in a more intricate form, on later Hindu images of Bihar and Bengal (cat. 236 & 241).

219. Torso of Viṣṇu

Inv. I 610/old IC 34798.

24 x 29 x 10 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 564, 1907.

Suggested provenance: area of Bodh

Gayā/Gayā.

Suggested date: second half of the 8th c.

This badly damaged image of Viṣṇu belonged to the early "Pāla" period as it is illustrated on images collected at Bodh Gayā or in the region.² The god is four-armed and held in the two upper hands the *gadā* and the, now lost, *cakra*. A garland of large flowers used to hanging from his shoulders as it is still partly preserved along the left arm. A simple necklace of pearls and the beaded sacred thread adorned his breast; small pearled rings hang at his ears. Incised lines form a grill covering the tiara whereas a large diadem constituted by thick pearls and supporting three broad triangular fleurons encircles it; fluted ribbons are de-

picted above the ears, indicating the extremities of the ribbons tying the diadem in the back of the head.

The face is strongly destroyed. However, one still distinguishes the features which characterize this early phase and which are also illustrated on the Sūrya torso in the collection (see cat. 222).

The upper part of the back-slab is also broken away. Only parts of the nimbus subsist, which was indicated through a grilled band regularly interrupted by incised half-flowers; similarly, it appears on the same Sūrya. This treatment of the nimbus will be preserved in the 9th century where it occurs on images collected around Nālandā and in the district of Monghyr.³

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p. 14.

220. Torso of Viṣṇu

Inv. I 582/old IC 34788.

46 x 34,5 x 13 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 529, 1907.

Suggested provenance: regions of Nālandā or of Bodh Gayā.

Suggested date: 11th c.

Only the upper part of the god's torso, of Lakṣmī and of the back-slab have survived. Viṣṇu stood perfectly erected, holding most probably the four attributes in the more general fashion (see here cat. 244), with the *varada*° shown by the lower right hand and the *śaṅkha* in the corresponding left one, both hands being now lost, and with the *gadā* and the *cakra* in the upper hands. The god wears the traditional choice of jewels and ornaments; his tiara is rather summarily ornated with a grill of incised lines. His spouse Lakṣmī wears a round coil of hair atop the head on which rests a very high fleuron; this fleuron is not spear-shaped and not triangular. A large plain nimbus is drawn behind her head and her body was bent as can be seen from the oblique direction of her torso and the position of her head slightly turned downwards.

The back-slab is adorned by the royal throne which is incomplete, i.e. the roaring leogryphs and the geese are the only animals to be depicted. All of them hold in their mouth or beak a floral garland. The two *haṁsa*s stand above the lintel of the throne which is shaped as a moulding; they are depicted on either side of the row of large petals which form the nimbus and of the two large triangular fleurons which fill the intermediary space. The two booted flying figures are carved on their clouds, offering a garland to the god. A floral ornament crowns the image, replacing thus the monstrous face; it is seen as a row of spread

petals around the receptacle containing the carpels.

The incomplete depiction of the royal throne is noticed on Buddhist images, and, by extension, on Hindu images carved in a Buddhist surrounding.⁴ The floral ornament crowning the image is similarly noticed on Hindu images from Nālandā and Bodh Gayā.⁵ The same nimbus occurs on Hindu images from Nālandā. The round coil with the lanceolate fleuron higher than it are also noticed on Bodh Gayā images.⁶

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p. 14.

221. Brahmā

Inv. I 682/old IC 34764.

34,5 x 22,5 x 8 cm. Phyllite.

Leitner collection A 61, 1907.

From Bihar. Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

This rather large fragment did not apparently belong to a stela, but may have been incorporated as an element within an architectural structure, although even this remains only a possibility; it is also possible that this image once belonged to the group of the three central deities, i.e. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, or Trimūrti.⁷ The god sits in *lalitākṣepa* on a thick cushion which lies above the lotus arising from below where it is attached to its stalk; behind him, the slab is large and unadorned.

Brahmā is three-faced with the side ones profiled; he wears the *jaṭāmukuta* and is bearded, a feature which does not occur on the early images of the god.⁸ Some jewels adorn him: a necklace, the sacred cord, partly destroyed, a garland which falls into the elbows, armlets. He is four-armed, holding in the preserved left hands the manuscript in the upper one and the *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower one.

222. Sūrya: torso

Inv. IC 34685.

Phyllite (?)

Leitner collection 574, 1907.

Suggested provenance: area of Bodh Gayā/Gayā.

Suggested date: second half of the 8th c.

The lower part of this image has been broken off but the image of the god is rather well preserved. Sūrya stands in *samapāda*, holding in his two hands the two large blown lotus flowers where the stamens turn around the receptacle containing the carpels – which reminds of a turning wheel or sun.⁹ Those large flowers where the petals are depicted as if covering the inner part of the flower is going to be inherited in the 9th century by the ateliers of Kurkihār

whereas in other sites, the petals are usually depicted as spread around the carpels.¹⁰

A narrow but long shawl, the *uttariya*, falls in the hollow of the elbows; it is a permanent element of Sūrya's dress which probably justifies the naming of the god as "endowed with a pair of equal clothes" or *vastrayugmasamopetaṃ* in the texts.¹¹ The extremities of the shawl are depicted as if flying on either side (see cat. 249). Sūrya wears the traditional choice of jewellery, including a broad flat girdle which crosses his thighs obliquely and to which was attached the sheath of the god's sword. His tiara is similar to the one worn by the Viṣṇu of cat. 219.

The upper part of the body of one of the two female characters shooting an arrow can still be seen on the right part, where it was carved above the image of the two male attendants to the god (description in cat. 249).

Two flying figures offer garlands to Sūrya; they are profiled directly on the back-slab without any cloud as background; their movement is strong with the back leg forming a right angle behind them; their legs are naked (compare to cat. 249 where the same figures are booted); they wear a *jaṭā* where all the hair are knotted on the top of the head and fall freely in the back. A nimbus coincides with the edge of the slab, indicated, like on cat. 249 through a broad grilled band where half-lotus flowers are incised.¹²

Like the damaged Viṣṇu of cat 219, the shapes of the face and of the body are full and well-proportioned. The face presents a short forehead with a line of hair all drawn backwards and carefully represented. The eyes are large and wide open. The lips are thick and present a restrained smile. The image of the god is proportionally large and covers the complete width of the back-slab.

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p. 15.

223. Revanta

Inv. IC 34614.

105 cm. Sandstone or phyllite (?)

Leitner collection 384, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Aphaṣḍ.

Suggested date: 7th-8th c.

The lower right corner and the upper part of the image have been broken off, the head of the deity has been destroyed. However, this image of Revanta, the son of Sūrya, still preserves its power; the movement imparted to the composition is strong. The large plain and smooth surfaces of Revanta and his horse, the gentle pace of the animal, stand out in sharp contrast to the crowd of the small attendants walking or running around the deity.

Profiled towards the left, Revanta bestrides his horse and goes hunting, accompanied by beaters and servants. While the lower part of his body is profiled, with the right foot visible behind the animal, his torso and head are facing the viewer. Holding the reins which are attached to a thin bridle, Revanta sits on the saddle, which looks like a flat cushion, of the caparisoned mount; a beaded row is attached at the neck of the animal, and a further band constituted by half-moon shaped plaquettes runs along the back of the horse. The hair of the animal is carefully combed. The horse is depicted as if walking, both right legs are raised up. A small dog is profiled below him.

Revanta wears a broad necklace with a central triangular gem surrounded by cut out flame-like elements. A row of thick beads is put along the inner limit of this pectoral. The very same ornaments occur on Sūrya and Revanta images found in Bihar, in particular at Aphaṣḍ.¹³ Like all his attendants, the god wears a long plain skirt and wears a short knife in its sheath attached at the girdle. He wears a blue lotus in the right hand and a bowl in the left one which holds also the reins. Although he is much defaced, one notices curls of his hair falling on the right shoulder, behind an elaborated ear-ring.¹⁴

The beaters and servants wear a necklace made of thick pearls and are dressed with a plain long skirt which is bound at the waist with a simple girdle constituted by two rows of pearls and closed by a circular medallion. Both ornaments, the necklace and the girdle, appear currently on images of the post-Gupta period, *inter alia* on images of the Sun-god where the necklace is worn by the attendants whereas the waist-ornament is not only seen on the attendants but also on the central deity.¹⁵ All attendants wear their hair dressed in various fashions but rarely adorned by a diadem. While the man in the lower left corner wear the *jaṭā* known in the pre-Pāla times with the hair all drawn on the top of the head where they are attached together by a simple bond, most of the other figures present the neatly carved curls which fall in succession from the central line, and which is also a typical pre-Pāla head-dress.¹⁶ The facial features are all similar.

Three attendants are depicted behind the god; the lowest one holds the thick staff of the umbrella which was to be seen above the god's head but has now disappeared. A man carries two large jars attached to a stick on his shoulders and the third one holds a bag while holding perhaps a *cāmara* in the raised right hand.¹⁷ Above him, the lower part of a galloping animal is still visible. Six further male figures run in front of the horse. The drummer is seen below a man armed with sword and shield. A group of two men includes the conch-blower, above the head of the horse, and

a man carrying a heavy bag on his right shoulder, with the bag visible behind his head, and holding a pot in the left hand. Above these two men, another group of two bear a staff on their shoulders which will probably be used for carrying the big game which is hunted.¹⁸

Apparently, the troupe of men is clearly distributed in two groups: the servants of the god, in charge of his food and drinks run behind him whereas the hunters, the beaters are running in front of him.

The cult of Revanta is evidently related to the worship paid to his father, Sūrya. Images of the latter are found at Aphaṣṭ in the post-Gupta period; in the 9th century, they are found dispersed all through the area around Nālandā, where a Sūrya Mandir still stands today but also in other parts of Bihar like Bodh Gayā or sites located north of this place. Contemporary representations of Revanta, often as fragments, can still be observed in villages like Pāwāpurī, Ghosrāvān or in the vicinity of Lakhi Sarai.¹⁹

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p. 9; *Führer* 1929, pp. 51-52; Härtel 1960, cat. 36 pp. 68-70 & pl. 36 (origin located in Central India); B. N. Sharma 1975, fig. 6 & pp. 42-43.

224. Devī

Inv. I 2699/no old number.
16,9 x 15,5 x 5 cm. Sandstone.
Suggested provenance: South Bihar.
Suggested date: 9th c.

On a round plain back-slab which bears the inscription, the goddess, who is now much damaged (the lower part is lost), stands in *samapāda*; she had four arms holding various attributes or showing gestures but only the two upper ones can be recognized: the *liṅga* presented on the proper right side and a branch on the proper left side.²⁰ She wears the *jaṭāmukha* surrounded by a thin diadem which is closed behind the head; two rosettes are carved above the ears indicating this knot. Armlets with triangular fleurons, a broad flat necklace and the *upavīta* adorn her body; a girdle holds the skirt on the hips.

This image is related to the type of the ascetic Devī, which appears in the late pre-Pāla period in south Bihar before being introduced in north Bengal in the 10th c.²¹

225. Devī with child: fragment

Inv. I 613/old IC 34736.
28 x 14,5 x 6,5 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.
Leitner collection 548, 1907.
Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 9th c.(?)

Only two arms remain from a deity seated above a lion and holding a child and a shield. Therefore and although the image is extremely damaged, we can recognize this fragment as a part of a representation of Durgā as a warrior and as a mother. The child whose face is blurred sits in three-quarter profile, with the right hand touching the now broken breast of the goddess.

The thick arms of Durgā are adorned by heavy bracelets. The lion had a broad face with wide open eyes. His mane is carved with large flat strands which spread towards the back above the horizontal front line and the small pointed ears.

Through the help of a rather large number of comparative images discovered in Bihar, we can reconstruct the missing part of the image.²² Durgā held in her upper right hand the sword and the lower right one illustrated the *varada*°. This iconographic type of the goddess being at the same time the warrior and the mother is well spread in the area of Gayā and Bodh Gayā in the 8th & 9th c.²³ As a warrior, Durgā is often depicted in the region during this period (cat. 228 & 229). She usually shows four arms holding the sword and the shield in the upper hands, and the conch in the lower left hand while displaying the gesture of gift with the corresponding right hand. She sits in *lalitāsana*, and appears as a peaceful deity. She is not the active and destructive Durgā but with the gesture shown by this right hand and through her countenance, she is a peaceful and generous goddess. This aspect of her personality, *i.e.* to give, is enhanced when the small child appears. Some might call him Skanda, and in certain cases the latter one might be meant.²⁴ But he usually does not wear the ornament allowing this identification and with his particular position, on the left knee of the deity, he reminds rather of the child which any mother-goddess holds. Durgā integrates indeed a maternal aspect.²⁵

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p. 14; Bautze-Picron 1992, appendix image 33 p. 53.

226. Durgā: fragment

Inv. I 661/old IC 34752.
21,5 x 16,5 x 9 cm. Greenish grey sandstone.
Leitner collection 565, 1907.
Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 9th c.(?)

The torso alone of Durgā survived: the head is defaced, the breast is broken off, the lower part of the image has disappeared. None the less, we recognize the sword and the shield held in the upper and only surviving hands. The goddess wears large disk-shaped ear-rings. She had a round coil of hair above the head and above the ears the two rosettes. These belong to the ribbons which are fixed to the diadem and knotted in the back. Durgā wore also snake-shaped armlets and probably the sacred cord – traces of which are visible at the shoulder near the necklace.

The *upavīta* adorns the breast of goddesses from the 9th c. and onwards. Previously, it is worn by male, much more rarely by female deities.²⁶ See also the previous entry.

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p. 15; Bautze-Picron 1992, appendix image 25 p. 53.

227. Durgā

Inv. I 642/old IC 33731.
15 x 9,5 x 4,5 cm. Brownish sandstone.
Waddell collection 98, 1906.
Suggested provenance: region of Gayā/Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 9th c.

The Devī, whose face and upper right hand are slightly damaged, sits in *lalitākṣepa* on her lion. Four-armed, she holds the sword and the shield in the upper right and left hands. The lower right hand is open in the *varada*° and the lower left hand held an oblong object, now damaged which might have been the *śaṅkha*.²⁷

She is adorned by the traditional jewels, *i.e.* the necklace, the triangular armlets, the diadem around the round coil of hair, which are usually encountered on her images in the area of Bodh Gayā or Gayā in the 8th and 9th c. The size of her lion, who encompasses the width of the image, his large face with open eyes, thick moustache, and the strands of the mane spread all around the face would also sustain this attribution.²⁸

The back-slab is round and bears for only decoration an incised line running along the edge. Similarly, the pedestal on which reclines the lion is plain. A lotus arises from below the lion on which the right foot of Durgā is put.

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1992, appendix image 22 p. 52.

228. Durgā

Inv. I 3133/old IC 38019.

56,5 x 32,2 x 15 cm. Sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1912.

Suggested provenance: Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 9th c.

This image, which is damaged at the face and the breast, illustrates the same iconography as the previous and following ones, i.e. the goddess sits in *lalitākṣepa* above her *vāhana*, the lion. The right foot lies above a lotus which is profiled in front of the lion. She presents the, now damaged, sword and the shield in the upper right and left hands whereas she displays the gesture of generosity with the lower right hand and holds the *śaṅkha* in the remaining left one. She wears the ornaments noticed above as well as the sacred cord which did not appear on the early pre-Pāla images of the goddess.²⁹

The back-slab is round and does not carry any decoration, so is also the high plinth supporting the image. On images from the region of Gayā and Bodh Gayā, the lion occupies at that period the entire surface of the pedestal and is often shown with the head towards the right side. He faces the viewer or turns the head towards the goddess. His head is large and on the known examples from Bodh Gayā, and from the region, the mane is depicted like here with large locks of hair falling regularly around the head, the eyes are similarly round, the ears small and pointed. Moreover, he wears a thick moustache on the upper lip, has the mouth slightly open with the tip of the tongue coming out.³⁰

Through its iconography, through the selection of motif and through the angular treatment of the body – see the angle of the right knee, the hind leg of the lion, it is evident that this image compares with sculptures found at Bodh Gayā or in the region.³¹

229. Durgā

Inv. I 692/old IC 34845.

55 x 35,5 x 16 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection 452, 1907.

Suggested provenance: region of Gayā/Bodh Gayā/Itkhauri.

Suggested date: 9th c.

The upper part of the back-slab is broken off, the face, the upper right hand and the lower hands are also damaged. The face is round with large open eyes. The lower eye-lid is underlined by a double line. Round and firm lines indicate the large shoulders, the narrow waist and the broad hips. The belly protrudes slightly above the girdle and three folds are indicated below the naked breast.

The goddess sits in *lalitākṣepa* above the crouching lion. She is four-armed and presents the sword and the shield in the upper hands while displaying the *varada*^o with the lower right hand; the second left hand has disappeared but probably held the conch.³² Her right foot reclines on a lotus-stool which arises out of the lower smooth part of the pedestal; it is composed by a double row of petals attached to a stalk. She is clad with a long thick skirt where pleates are indicated through double incised lines and which partly hides the lion. The animal occupies the complete width of the image, he shows the features noticed in previous entries (cat. 227 & 228).

Durgā wears large very large disk-shaped ear-rings, bracelets constituted by a series of plain bangles, triangular armlets which offer a shape typical during the “Pāla” period, i.e. from a central gem, which is here oval but can also be plainly round, irradiate short flame-like elements shaped in such a way that the ornament gets its triangular form; this ornament is attached to a large band which runs around the arm. A broad necklace adorns the upper part of her breast, rows of pearls are attached to the central elongated gemmed ornament. The pearled *upavīta* falls from the left shoulder. Single rows of pearls form the anklets.

A high round coil of hair surmounts her face. It is encircled by a diadem which is partly destroyed, on a row of thick pearls, three triangular fleurons similar to those of the armlets, must have been attached on both sides and in the middle. Further, a fourth taller fleuron is put behind the diadem in front of the hair.

The upper part of the back-slab was most probably round; it is only adorned by the circular nimbus which shows a grill of incised parallel lines. This motif was regularly interrupted by a large stylised flower of which only a fragment survives in the upper right corner.

The image compares favourably with 9th c. images observed at Bodh Gayā or Itkhauri, a site located south-east of Bodh Gayā which shows evident relations with Bodh Gayā and Kurkihār towards the middle of the 9th c.³³ It shares most of the motifs listed above and in the shape observed here with this group of stelaes which includes, beside representations of the goddess, images of Viṣṇu or of the divine couple Śiva and Pārvatī.

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p.12; Bautze-Picron 1992, appendix image 21 p. 52.

230. Durgā

Inv. IC 38971.

26 x 18 x 8 cm. Sandstone (?)

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Suggested provenance: region of Nālandā.

Suggested date: 9th c.

The image is rather well preserved, only one of the left hand and the related attribute have been damaged. The goddess sits in *lalitākṣepa* on a thick double lotus, the right foot resting on a single corolla of petals. Below her, her mount, the lion is profiled towards the viewer's left, turning the head toward the latter; his long tail lies above his back. A narrow plinth supports the image, bearing the inscription.

The back-slab is round and is adorned by two broad bands of thick beads and large flames shaped as question marks, motifs which are encountered at Nālandā (see cat. 22).³⁴ The Devī is adorned by the traditional jewellery encountered in the first part of the 9th c.; her chignon is round and surrounded by a diadem supported three tiny fleurons. She presents the lower right hand open in the *varada*^o, holds the sword in the upper right hand and the shield in the upper left hand whereas the now destroyed left hand held the trident. This distribution, where the *triśūla* replaces the *śaṅkha*, is encountered on a limited group of 9th c. images from various sites of Bihar.³⁵

INSCRIPTION

One line inscription on the plinth, illegible on the available photograph.

231. Durgā with child

Inv. I 1147/old IC 38974.

18,7 x 15 x 6 cm. Pink sandstone.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Suggested provenance: region of Bodh Gayā or north Bengal (?).

Suggested date: 10th c.

The stela is extremely damaged and some features are hardly recognizable. Durgā sits in *lalitākṣepa* above a high double lotus which serves as a cushion. She is four-armed and held attributes in the two upper ones, perhaps the shield and the sword – as noticed generally.³⁶ The lower right hand was open in the gesture of gift while the left one holds the small child. This one holds the sacred cord of the goddess. She wears the traditional ornaments, including the shawl across the torso. The fleurons of her armlets are thin and elongated; two girdles hold her long skirt and one notices the short strap of cloth on her right side above them. She wore a bulbous coil of hair above the head where large locks are indicated. A very much damaged diadem was put on the front part above the flat part of the hair-dress also visible

and a high triangular fleuron adorned the front part of the coil, with a round lower part.

The goddess sits against a back-slab entirely carved. Around her head, a nimbus was drawn, today broken away. On either side, birds were addorsed to it: only the left one has partly survived. It stands above the *makara* which ends the upper bar of the throne and which lies also above the *vyaghra* roaring above the elephant who stands on a lotus. The "royal throne" was thus complete. Only a part of the leogryph is still visible on the right side.

The pedestal has three recesses on either side of the central panel where the *vāhana* of Durgā is profiled towards (our) right. His right front leg is pulled upwards while facing us and his tail runs along his back. Behind him, on the left part of the pedestal, a cow and her calf suckling below her are depicted.

The decoration of the back-slab is similar on an image from Bodh Gayā (cat. 218). The royal throne is not always depicted as it is here since often some of the fabulous animals are retained.

The size and the position of the *vāhana* is noticed on later examples from the 11th & 12th c. in East Bihar, *i.e.* at Lakhi Sarai and elsewhere in the district of Monghyr where the lion occupies the central part of the pedestal and has therefore a reduced size.³⁷ It can even disappear (cat. 256).³⁸

Two large phases can be distinguished in the history of this iconography of the goddess. In the early phase which is illustrated in the collection with images collected at Bodh Gayā (cat. 225-229), she is evidently Durgā presented as a warrior and as a mother-goddess; in certain images, she even wears the *triśūla* in place of the conch, which underlines her Śaiva affiliation.³⁹ In the later phase, she is always the mother-goddess but her weapons can have disappeared. This second phase, which develops in the 11th and 12th c. traces its source in the first phase, but only partly. As a matter of fact, the type of the mother-goddess finds already its expression in the 8th c., period to which can be dated a stela recovered at Ghosrāvān/Tetrāvān in the last century.⁴⁰ And this early image includes some of the rather unconventional attributes presented by the goddess in the atelier of Lakhi Sarai in the 11th & 12th c. (see here cat. 237).

The presence of the cow and her calf begs question. Both are also depicted in the lower left part of the image of cat. 256. The pair could also be the subject of isolated sculptures.⁴¹ Such a sculpture is located in the Dhenukāraṇya situated west of Gayā⁴² where it is named Dhenuka or Kapila.⁴³

The shape of the coil and the treatment of the hair in large strands all meeting at the top are noticed on two images of the 11th c., one of them discovered at Bodh Gayā.⁴⁴

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1992, appendix 34 p. 54.

232. Durgā slaying Mahiṣa

Inv. I 1133/old IC 33730.

26,7 x 18 x 7 cm. Yellowish sandstone.

Waddell collection 97, 1906.

Bihar. Suggested provenance: region of Bodh Gayā/Gayā.

Suggested date: 11th c.

The eight-armed goddess is depicted with her left leg stretched while putting the right foot on the back of the buffalo which she kills. In front of the beheaded animal, lies its head whereas through the open neck, the demon arises in his human form. Apparently also, the lion, vehicle of the deity, is shown, biting the buffalo in his hind legs. Durgā's weapons are distributed in her hands: the sword and the shield in the upper pair, the arrow and the bow in the second pair, an undistinct attribute, perhaps a needle (?), and a human head in the third pair while pulling the demon by his hair and digging her trident or *triśūla* in his body with the four pair.

The treatment of the image is very simplified; the outlines dominate the composition. The lines are hard and the movements stiff. Durgā has proportionally large eyes and a sunken mouth, the forehead is very narrow, the shoulders are broad and the arms stiff. The goddess is carved in front of a pointed slab which does not carry any decoration, a line incised along the edge is the only hint of the existence of an aura. Similarly, the pedestal is plain and only includes a horizontal incised line. Durgā wears only some pieces of jewellery indicated through their outlines, her high *jaṭā* does not bear the indication of the hair, double parallel lines indicate the pleates of her long skirt.

Images of Durgā slaying Mahiṣa are found in large number in Bengal from the 10th to the 12th century,⁴⁵ they are more rarely encountered in Bihar although the worship of the goddess is well attested from the post-Gupta times and onwards – but on these images, it is generally the peaceful Durgā who is depicted, ready for the war against Mahiṣa or victorious.⁴⁶

B. Lakhi Sarai and the district of Monghyr

233. Umā-Maheśvara

Inv. I 604/old IC 38975.

49 x 25,5 x 9 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

(District of) Monghyr.

Suggested date: 9th to 10th c.

A large part of the sculpture has been broken off; both deities have been also defaced. Śiva and Pārvatī sit in close embrace, the god in *lalita*°, the goddess on his left leg with one foot above the lotus-seat. Both have their right foot on the back of their respective vehicles, Nandin for Śiva, and the half destroyed lion for Umā which are profiled towards the right as usual in that period. In the lower part of the pedestal, which is plain, a devotee is profiled, kneeling in front of a basket of offerings.

Both of them are depicted in front of a back-slab which was apparently plainly round and is adorned by a large grided band which flowers regularly interrupted. These flowers are more detailed than on the grills observed on earlier images from the region of Bodh Gayā or Gayā (cat. 222). Petals of various sizes spread symmetrically all around the pistil, turning into small scrolls. Images from the 8th or 9th century from the district of Monghyr show the half-flower noticed in earlier times in South Bihar surrounded by two profiled flowers,⁴⁷ later images show the full flower inscribed, as it is here the case, within a rectangular or square shape.⁴⁸

While holding her husband with the right hand, Pārvatī presents the mirror in her left one; Śiva holds her similarly, as he always does, *i.e.* the left hand sustaining her breast and the right one touching softly her chin. His still preserved right hand holds the blue lotus or *utpala* – the lost left one must have held the trident (see cat. 234 & 235). A large snake arises above the right shoulder of the god.

Both of them wear the traditional choice of jewels, in their forms of the 9th century, *i.e.* a simple girdle is attached to the waist, single necklace, armlets with triangular fleuron. The goddess wears two large circular ear-rings peering the lobe of the ears whereas the god has two different ones: the same large one as Pārvatī at the right ear, and a small pearled ring going through the left ear.⁴⁹ Umā wears a round coil of hair atop the head, adorned by two large loops of pearls which are attached to a fleuron. Śiva has a high *jaṭā*; all the hair are vertically drawn and attached by broad horizontal curls which hold the hair together. A thin pearled diadem, now partly destroyed, used to run around it, bearing a tiny lotus flower. Rosettes above the ears indicate the ribbons closing the diadem. A similar *jaṭā* is

worn by a Gaṇeśa which was till recently to be seen at Rājāona, a village close to Lakhi Sarai,⁵⁰ and which stylistically precedes the representation of the god carved in the year 1 of Gopāla III's reign⁵¹ which was discovered at Mandhuk in the vicinity of Comilla.⁵²

Another chronological piece of evidence is provided by a Buddha image found in "Bihar" (perhaps the town of Bihar Sharif, or perhaps the State of Bihar), which is dated in the regnal year 4 of Mahendrapāla's reign, *i.e.* around the middle of the 9th century.⁵³ It includes complete flowers, even though proportionally smaller and deprived of the tiny volutes, on a flat twisted garland of pearls which runs along the edge of the back-slab.⁵⁴

Through a number of its features, this image can be differentiated from the later image of the couple in the collection (cat. 235): the god does not wear the tiger-skin as skirt, he is not ithyphallic, no Śaiva character is seen between the two animals carrying the deities. Further stylistic elements can be noticed, such as the position of the two vehicles, both profiled in the same direction, besides the forms of the jewellery or of the head-dresses.

PUBLISHED

Grünwedel 1929, fig. 49a p. II-67; Picron 1978, fig. 33.

234. Umā-Maheśvara: torsos

Inv. I 552/old IC 38964.

23 x 22 x 7 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

(District of) Monghyr.

Suggested date: second half of the 10th c.

Only the upper part of the image has survived. Śiva and Pārvatī sit in close embrace as on the previous image, holding the same attributes or showing the same gestures. The lost attribute of the previous image, *i.e.* the *triśūla* has been here preserved, held by the second left hand of the god. Both of them are depicted in front of a plain back-slab, which is slightly pointed, along the edge of which two decorative bands run. One shows flames, the second one is the twisted pearled garland which replaced at a certain point, the grilled band noticed above (cat. 219, 222 & 233). It is regularly interrupted by a floral motif where the central part, shaped as a rhombus, contains a stylised flower and the angles are filled with large volutes. The motif constitutes a development of the flower noticed on the previous image (cat. 233) and is found all through Bihar in the 10th century.

Śiva wears a high *jaṭā* partly destroyed while his wife has still the round coil of hair atop the head. Both wear a simple necklace; a shawl crosses the breast of the god and loops are attached to the armlets.

235. Umā-Maheśvara

Inv. IC 38972.

76 x 34 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Suggested provenance: eastern Bihar (district of Monghyr) or north Bengal.

Suggested date: 12th c.

The image is well preserved, only small splinters are noticed on the images of Umā and Śiva who has, none the less, also lost his *jaṭā*. Being the main deity, Śiva is larger than Umā and is depicted at the centre of the composition, and that directs also the position of his vehicle in front of the central step of the pedestal whereas the lion of Umā slipped towards the right side. The sculpture is animated with movement and restraint, both gods look at each other with tenderness, Śiva sits firmly as the axis of the image whereas the body of his wife is animated with a torsion. The composition directs in fact the glance towards the right part of the image; empty space is preserved behind the god while the back-slab is completely hidden by the goddess and even by the long trident held by Śiva. The composition appears also clearer on the left side where only a right hand holding the blue lotus is carved in high relief; as a matter of fact, the carving is more complex around the goddess, which is not only due to the position of her body but also to the superposition of various levels of carvings showing different depths: her hand with the mirror hides partly the coil of hair and the *triśūla* is carved in low relief.

Śiva or Maheśvara sits in *lalita*^o, turned towards his left where his wife Pārvatī or Umā sits on his leg. Both look at each other. The god is four-armed. He embraces with his front left hand his spouse and touches her chin with the right one. In the back hands, he presents his two attributes, the blue lotus and the trident or *triśūla* adorned by a skull or *kapāla*. Further, a snake, now broken, was carved above his right shoulder (compare to cat. 234). His two-armed wife Umā enfolds him in her right hand while holding the mirror in the left one. She sits in the same manner, which is only reversed. As usual in this iconography, Śiva is *ūrdhvaliṅga*, *i.e.* ithyphallic.

The god wears a tiger skin as short skirt; the motifs of the fur are indicated through round motifs which are either depicted as small flowers with whirled petals or as a whirled wheel, motifs which are evidently reminiscent of the "shoulder ornament" of the lion in earlier times.⁵⁵ The thick sacred thread which crosses his breast, might in fact be a snake (compare to the thread worn by Gaṇeśa on cat. 236). Both deities are adorned with a rich jewellery which shows the treatment noticed on 12th century images, such as the coil of hair worn by Umā, which is supposed to fall in her back but stands

here up, adorned by a series of three superimposed elongated volutes. This element of decoration occurs also on images from Lakhi Sarai, either with the same coil of hair or with the round one.⁵⁶

Both vehicles of the gods are depicted on the pedestal, the bull on the frontal step, the lion towards the right side; both look towards the centre of the composition. Two male dancing figures are added at both extremities, the one on the left side is a pot-bellied dwarf who holds a *triśūla*-like attribute in the left hand whereas the second one is depicted apparently like a skeleton. Both represent Kuṣmāṇḍa and Bhṛṅgin,⁵⁷ and appear on other images from north Bengal illustrating the same iconography.⁵⁸

A similar structure of the pedestal is noticed on the image of Durgā as a mother-goddess (cat. 256).⁵⁹

A plain band runs along the edge of the back-slab, only adorned by a decorative ring which interrupts the band on either side of the deities. The upper part is crowned by the *kīrti-mukha* which is carved in alto-relief and spits two large volutes and parallel rows of tiny scrolls which cover the space between the two flying figures. The latter bring flowers and are profiled on their jagged clouds.

A broad trefoiled nimbus is drawn below through two wide plain bands. In the open space of the central foil, a lotus flower is depicted whereas tiny flowers are introduced in the outside angles at the junction between the central and the side arches. A rhombic fleuron tops the nimbus. The rhombus like the tiny flowers are also noticed on the mother-goddess in the collection (cat. 256).⁶⁰ The trefoil is a motif traditionally encountered on the Śaiva images of north Bengal or east Bihar.⁶¹ The two half-triangles with curved side which are put at both extremities of the nimbus should be mentioned for they appear in a similar shape, though smaller, on a Gaṇeśa image from the district of Bogra or on a Umā-Maheśvara from the district of Rājshahi.⁶² The lotus flower in the centre of the nimbus occurs also on Śaiva images from north Bengal,⁶³ but is also noticed on Buddhist images collected in the district of Monghyr.⁶⁴

PUBLISHED

Grünwedel 1920, fig. 48 p. II-67; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 7.

236. Gaṇeśa

Inv. IC 38966.

Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

(From the district of) Monghyr.

Suggested date: 11th c.

The largest part of the back-slab has been broken away. It would appear that the image of Gaṇeśa was partly carved in the round since the stone was carved through between his arms and his body. The back-slab must have been adorned with the theme of the royal throne since one leg of a leogryph is still visible behind probably a foot of elephant on the left side. The plain treatment of the jewellery, of the diadem, of the head-dress, of the ears or of the attributes would suggest that the image has remained unfinished.

The god sits in *lalita*° above a lotus-seat. He carries his bowl of sweets in the left hand, putting his trunk in it and holds the rosary in the right hand. His right tooth is depicted as if broken; a thick sacred thread falls from his left shoulder, suggesting that it was intended to be visualized as a snake. Conchs adorn his ears. A short skirt covers his thick and powerful thighs, a shawl crosses his breast. The bodily shapes are, as usual, round but betray also an inner strength.

Rows of petals are superimposed: three layers form the upper part, with the inner petal narrow and showing another outline as those below it, two layers form the lower part with also a narrow upper petal whereas the tip of the large lower one turns on itself. This large seat is directly carved above the pedestal, without any moulding indicates the separation. The large mouse of the god is profiled below his right foot. A thick stalk arises out of the foot and forms two large volutes very clearly drawn to which are attached two flowers. Each flower is clearly delineated: a row of petals, turned into scrolls, is spread around the still central closed bud which is also transformed into small scrolls. Besides, on either side, one flower is directed upwards (hidden on the left part par the animal) and one seen downwards. The image is sustained by a high stepped moulding only interrupted by a triangle.

It is usual to have the pedestal of the images covered by the foliated scrolls after the end of the 11th century, however, these scrolls do not show the shape illustrated here. What prevails here is the linear treatment of the motif and the subordination of the volumes to the line. In the "normal" treatment of the motif, the line has dissolved inasmuch as the stalk splits in a multitude of tiny scrolls or that it is hidden by the large flowers. Also, the regularity of the motif where the position of the flowers alternate is not often encountered.⁶⁵ The same motif is used, in a similarly rare occurrence, for

covering the central empty space of the nimbus; images were found at Antichak or as far as Vikrampur, introducing this use of the motif, all images which can be dated in the 11th or 12th centuries.⁶⁶

PUBLISHED

Doehring 1925, pl. 144.

237. Devī: fragment

Inv. IC 38264.

29 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

From (the district of) Monghyr.

Suggested date: 11-12th c.

Here is the torso of a goddess holding a child on her left lap since one still notices the tiny right arm of the child playing with the *upavita*. Only two upper arms subsist and a reconstruction of the image as well as its identification can be done only through comparison with better preserved images showing the same central part.

The goddess is fully covered with jewellery which is carved with care and detail. An elaborated necklace adorns her neck, constituted by leave-like motifs which are regularly distributed around a central gemmed ornament. The long neck chain which falls on her breast has two rows of pearls. Besides, a garland of flower runs along the arms which must have fallen in the hollow of the elbow. High armlets with pointed fleurons adorn the arms. Disk-shaped ear-rings adorn the ears.

The Devī wears a circular coil of hair, a high and smooth diadem surrounds it. It is adorned by large loops with short pendants which are attached to a now damaged flower in the centre. On either side above the ears, short triangular fleurons surmount the diadem. Behind the ears, appear the fluted rosettes which are attached to the large ribbons falling on both shoulders. A further triangular fleuron is put on the front part of the coil. She wears an *utariya* with folds and edges indicated through strong lines in relief.

She smiles gently with fine-drawn lips. Pupils are incised in the almond-shaped eyes. Eye-lids are well indicated and the eye-brow is deeply incised.

This image compares to some stelae from Lakhi Sarai with which it shares *inter alia* the various ornaments and their particular treatment.⁶⁷ It is also this comparison which allows to consider the iconography of this torso, the only remains of what must have been a goddess with child as we know her from numerous images of the late 11th and 12th c. at Lakhi Sarai,⁶⁸ where it took a particular shape. Inscriptions incised on some of these images name her as she was then worshipped, *i.e.* Pūrṇeśvarī

or Pūnyeśvarī, Puṇḍeśvarī, Gausavā or Gau-sevā.⁶⁹ But whatever the name which they wore, these images illustrate an iconography which proceeds partly from the Durgā with child image noticed in south Bihar at an earlier time and later in north Bengal (here cat. 225 & 256), partly from a fertility goddess whose cult is attested since the early Pāla time but which does not seem to belong to the "official" Hindu tradition.⁷⁰

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1992, appendix image 77 pp.57-58.

238. Aṣṭalokapāla

Inv. I 672/old IC 38261.

15 x 54,5 x 7 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1912.

(District of) Monghyr.

Suggested chronology: 9th c.

On this rectangular slab, which is slightly damaged at its extremities, eight male figures sit side by side in various positions, all of them, apart from one, on a lotus. All of them wear the same necklace, a long skirt with folds indicated by parallel double incised lines; apart from Agni who wears a broad shawl, all have the torso denuded.

They can be identified as such, from left to right: Sūrya, in *padma*° and holding his two lotuses; he is defaced but his tiara is still visible, and as usual, he wore boots; Candra/Soma seated in *lalita*° and displaying the *abhaya*° with the right hand while holding the *kalasa* in the left one, like most of the next figures, he wears a *jaṭā*; Vāyu seated in *padma*° and holding the shawl filled by the wind; Varuṇa in *lalita*°, showing also the *abhaya*° and holding a stab surmounted by a coiled snake, which is his *nāgapāśa*; Agni, pot-bellied, squats with the legs held by a loin of cloth above probably a fire, named *yogapaṭṭa*, presents also the *abhaya*° and the *kalasa*; Indra who sits in *lalita* and probably held the now damaged *vajra* in the right hand while putting his left one on the left thigh, the god does not wear a *jaṭā* but a tiara; Kubera is represented as a pot-bellied figure, his facial features are broad, his hair is spread as a mane above the head, also in *lalita*°, he presents the sword in the right hand and held perhaps the purse, now destroyed, in the other one; to end: Yama who sits in *lalita*°, has the same hair-dress as Kubera and seems to offer a grimacing face, his left hand lies on his corresponding thigh while the god holds his staff or *daṇḍa* in the right one.

This panel depicts the Lokapāla as they are listed in a verse of the *Manusmṛiti*, replacing thus two of the Dikpāla, Īśāna and Nairṛti, by Candra and Sūrya.⁷¹ A number of similar pan-

els, most of them fragmentary, were discovered in south Bihar, illustrating the same iconographic model.⁷² The very same group, or a part of it, can also be included in the depiction of the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī or *Śiva-vaivāhikamūrti* which can be dated in the 9th or 10th c.⁷³

PUBLISHED

G. Bhattacharya 1987b & fig. 1; G. Bhattacharya 1997a, fig. 3.

239. Cāmuṇḍā: torso

Inv. I 5818.

26,5 x 18 x 11 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1977.

Suggested provenance: district of Monghyr.

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

This torso of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā imparts feelings of strength, power and fear. It shows that the goddess is only skin and bone. Her emaciated breast fall above her visible ribs; the waist is extremely narrow. Her skin is stretched over the face, the sinews of the neck are taut. Her sunken eyes are wide open and bulging, her mouth is slightly open with teeth and fangs visible, the eye-brows follow a waving line and on either side of the large third eye, wrinkles are incised on the brow. Her wild hair is tied behind the head and all the locks spread like a mane around it; two profiled snakes arise above the ears which are adorned with heavy rings peering the lobes. Cāmuṇḍā wears a broad necklace which contains an elaborated floral ornament to which is attached a row of petal-shaped pearls.

It is impossible to decide how many arms and what was exactly the position of her body, but Cāmuṇḍā stood or sat with the body twisted as she usually does at that period.⁷⁴ However, depictions of the goddess are rare in Bihar in the 12th century whereas her cult is at the period particularly developed in north Bengal. On the other side, this images shares its stylistic and iconographic features, which are in the present case completely merged into each another, with the stelae collected in north Bengal, which might allow to suggest the existence of a relation between this image and those collected in Bengal.⁷⁵

A lengthy description of the goddess is provided by the *Agni Purāṇa* which we quote after Haque⁷⁶ and where we can recognize features of the image, as much as they have been preserved. It is said that "she lives in the burning ground, sits, rides or dances on a corpse, and is surrounded by vultures, jackals etc. She wears the tiger or elephant-skin, a garland of human skulls and ornaments of black serpents. Her body is emaciated, with sunken belly, protruding ribs and swollen veins. Her eyes are de-

pressed. Her hair should be standing on end like flames. She is three-eyed, holds various attributes in her hands and betrays a fearful appearance."

Cāmuṇḍā held a major position in Śaivism in the 11th century, as is vouchsafed by the number of her representations among the images of Māṭrkā.s and by the Bangarh inscription incised in the reign of Nayapāla, son of the great Mahipāla, who ruled in the second quarter of the 11th century.⁷⁷ As a matter of fact, the inscription starts with the salutation *om namaś carccikāyai* and with an eulogy (in verses 1 & 2) of the goddess who is thus named Carccikā. The inscription is dedicated to the ascetic Mūrtiśiva, of the Durvāsas sect; it mentions also the existence of a large Śaiva monastery, *maṭha*, in Bāngarh, an institution which had been fostered by Mahipāla in honour of Indraśiva, one of Mūrtiśiva's predecessors.

C. Bengal

240. Brahmā

Inv. I 312/old IC 43665.

65 x 44 x 17 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1962.

Suggested provenance: North Bengal.

Suggested date: 10th to 11th c.

The image is much damaged: the upper part of the slab is broken away as are the two upper hands of the god and the attributes which they carried. Three-faced – one is supposed to be behind and remains uncarved –, Brahmā sits in *lalitāsana* on a high cushion, which is the usual double lotus. He is four-armed and presents the *aṣṣamālā* in the front right hand, which is also damaged, the *kamaṇḍalu* in the corresponding left hand. The attributes which were held by the lost hands were the ladle, *śruca*, and the sacrificial spoon, *śruva*.⁷⁸ The lower part of one of these two attributes can still be seen resting on the upper left arm.

Brahmā is pot-bellied, his carnation should be golden.⁷⁹ He offers a gentle smile on his three faces, the side ones being perfect profiles while on earlier image, these two faces can be seen in a three-quarter profile.⁸⁰ Each face bears a third eye in the middle of the front. In contrary to late images, Brahmā does not wear a beard.⁸¹ He wears a high *jaṭāmukuta* where the hair is tied at the top below a large lotus flower and falls in vertical loops bound together by horizontal locks. This treatment of the chignon is rarely met with in this form: we notice on 12th century images that the vertical loops are transformed in small locks. Besides, before the introduction of the small locks, the loops are usually horizontal and not vertical like here (cat. 254, 260 par exemple).⁸²

Locks fall on the shoulders. Brahmā wears

the same ornaments as any other deity, apart from the absence of the ear-rings. The *yajñopavita* is thick and short, falling above the belly, which is usually the case with pot-bellied images (compare to cat. 260).

Two male figures attend to the god, each of them carrying a fly-whisk. Both wear ornaments which remain undetailed; only their shape are drawn in low relief. With the left hand put on the hip, they bend their body, turning toward the god. Both display a rather severe face.

The pedestal is high and present a high plain intermediary space between the two groups of mouldings. The large vehicle of the god, the goose or *haṁsa*, is profiled on a lotus on the central part, surrounded by a couple of devotees and a cone of offerings. The male devotee sits and presents a garland to Brahmā whereas his wife, whose head is covered by a shawl, kneels with hands clasped in the gesture of veneration. The bird holds a flower in its beak and has a flowery tail; he is shown as if walking. The same detail is brought in the carving of the tails of the two *haṁsa.s* seen on either side of Brahmā's head above the lintel of the throne. Their tails go upwards, formed by short scrolls attached to a main line which form a large final volute.

Much elegance appears in the treatment of these three animals. On the whole, the image suggests a feeling of strength and of peace. The divinity sits peacefully, smiling to his devotees in all four (three) directions. The face of Brahmā like his body are round and massive. Power is imparted through the volumes, smoothly polished on which the ornaments are carved in low relief. The richness of the decoration is limited to the animals; a similar band of scrolls limit the nimbus whereas the edge of the back-slab is only underlined by two plain bands.

Most of the images of Brahmā originate from north Bengal where his cult seems to have flourished, although in a limited way in comparison with the worship paid to deities like Viṣṇu or Śiva.⁸³ He holds an intermediary position between the two, related to the ascetism of the second as one can see through his hair-dress, or to the royal nature of the first one as can be surmised through the presence of the architecture of the throne at times adorned with the animals. But he holds also a central and unique position since he masters the religious sacrifice, which is corroborated through the presence of the spoon and the ladle.

PUBLISHED

Indische Kunst 1966, cat. 65, ill.p. 19; *MIK Katalog* 1971, cat. 116 & pl. 18, *ibidem* 1976, cat. 116 p. 43, 1986, cat. 101 p. 43; Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 49 pp. 101-103; Picron 1978, fig. 55; Picron 1984, fig. 4; Franz 1990, p. 253; Gadebusch *et alii* 1998, cat. 55.

241. Viṣṇu

Inv. IC 39458.

73,7 cm (2 feet 5 in.). Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

North Bengal. Suggested provenance:

area of Gāzole, district of Māldā.

Suggested date: 11th c.

The god stands in *samapāda* on a narrow lotus. He is surrounded as usual by Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and by the *āyudhapuruṣa*s of the conch and the disk. His *vāhana* Garuḍa kneels on the right part of the pedestal, with hands clasped in the gesture of veneration. The couple of human devotees is facing him. All are carved in front of the side recesses of the seven-stepped pedestal which bears on the central part, two large flowers of lotus which spread symmetrically. On this image, the architectural structure of the pedestal is clearly visible, due to the limited presence of decoration.

The back-slab is very traditionally adorned with the royal throne on either side of the god, and with the monstrous face surrounded by the flying couples on either side of the nimbus. This nimbus has a square shape with rounded angles; incised lines indicate the flames. The *kīrtimukha* is in high relief; on the upper and only jaw, a thick moustache is attached going upwards. Two horns arise out of the eyes, turning around the small pointed ears. The front presents its typical triangular shape which determines also the shape of the slab. Large floral scrolls run out of the open mouth, with two particularly large volutes surrounding the face. Warriors are introduced in the royal throne, between the legs of the leogryphs.

The ornaments which Viṣṇu bears present a form which allows to ascribe the image to an atelier located around Gāzole in the district of Māldā.⁸⁴ The tiara is circular and plain, a high plain fleuron is carved on the front; a diadem surrounds it, adorned with plain loops which are attached to triangular fleurons and a central bud of lotus. Pendants are attached to the side of the ear-rings. The gems of the broad necklace are encased within strict lines, which differs from the treatment observed in the following century in the same region (here cat. 242). The two girdles and their ornaments are flat; they are carved above the skirt where the folds are indicated through circular lines in low-relief. The same treatment characterizes the shawl which covers the breast.

The god presents his traditional attributes, i.e. the thin long *gadā* which rests on a small lotus behind Lakṣmī, the *cakra* and the *śaṅkha* whereas the lower right hand displays the *varadamudrā*, the palm adorned by a tiny circular ornament.⁸⁵ The two lower hands are supported by large open lotuses, one of them – on the god's proper left side – being attached to a stalk which runs symmetric to the club.

PUBLISHED

Doehring 1925, pl. 16; Zimmer 1926, pl. 17; Führer 1929, pl. 16 & p. 50.

242. Viṣṇu

Inv. I 310/old IC 43671.

122 x 63 x 19 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1962.

Suggested provenance: region of Gāzole/Ītāhār/Bhadraśīlā in the district of West Dinājpur.

Suggested date: second part of the 12th c.

This image of Viṣṇu is well preserved even though three of the four arms of the god have been broken; only the upper left arm remains, holding the *gadā*. The missing attributes were the conch (in the lower left hand probably) and the disk (in the upper right one probably) whereas the lower right hand was open in the gesture of generosity. Two female deities accompany him, i.e. Lakṣmī on his proper right, who holds the *cāmara* above her right shoulder and the *padma*, now destroyed, in her left hand, and Sarasvatī on his proper left, playing her *viṇā*. On either side, two tiny male figures stand as symbols of the conch and of the disk, which they bear as head-dress above the diadem. Both display the *abhaya*^o with the right hand and the left one put on the hip (*kaṭihasta*).

The *vāhana* of the god is Garuḍa, the sun-bird who is represented as a human figure bearing wings on his back. He kneels with hands joined in the gesture of veneration on the right part of the pedestal, symmetric to the group of four human devotees who occupy the left part of the pedestal. This group integrates a male figure who offers a garland to the god and is followed by a woman and two further persons, probably his wife and children.

The decoration of the back-slab and of the pedestal is very complex and does not allow any space free. Two large flowers of lotus are attached to the thick stalks which roll on the entire front surface of the pedestal. Their buds arise out of a row of petals spread all around. The petals, like those serving as socles below the deities, are thick but whereas those of these socles are clearly drawn and show only a slight curve at their extremity, the edge of those of the two flowers of the pedestal are jagged. The volutes running on both sides of the pedestal are carved in low relief behind the mount of the god and his devotees. This recess is supported by a high flat plinth with a narrow moulding running along the upper edge.

The traditional monstrous face tops the back-slab, which is edged by a row of jagged flames and by a flat moulding adorned with floral ornaments and rhombi. It is rather small with wide open eyes directed downwards, the

large triangular tongue falling below the upper jaw (the only one to be depicted). Large scrolls run on either side, falling on the nimbus. Two further volutes spread out of the mouth, hidden by tiny male figures depicted in a flying position. The *vidyādhara* fly similarly towards the god, each profiled on a cloud. Both are male warriors, carrying a sword in the front hand and an offering in the back one. Both have the same dress, are booted and wear the *karaṇḍamukuta*.

A pointed nimbus narrowing in the lower part, is drawn behind the god's head, the inner surface is plain whereas a band of jagged flames runs along the edge. Two large plain triangular fleurons fill the angles between the nimbus and the broad lintel of the throne which is supported by equally broad posts. The traditional monstrous and real figures adorn this throne, i.e. the elephant sustains the leogryph which spits a thick garland; the lintel is terminated by the crawling *makaras* depicted as if they are trying to free themselves from the architectural element, and the two fantastic *kinara/kinari* play music on either side of the nimbus, holding cymbals and *viṇā*. Their tails spread behind them and cover the slab, running upwards to the clouds of the *vidyādhara*s.

The treatment of the carving is extremely minute, the decoration betrays a great richness. The deities are dressed with diaphanous cloth, the folds of which are indicated through waving double lines carved in low relief. The cloth reveals the shapes of the bodies more than it hides them. Along the edge of the skirt covering the goddesses, runs a row of tiny folds. All figures wear long and narrow shawls falling on either side of the body in thick and parallel folds ending in waves.

The jewellery is very rich, the ornaments are large and illustrated with much care. Large pearls adorn the heavy *upavīta*, a double row of them forms the long neck chain falling on the breast encasing the broad necklace and the simple beaded row. Loops and pendants of pearls are attached to the high gemmed armlets. Similar ornaments are attached to the broad girdle lying above the hips. Its main flat part is adorned by gems shaped as rhombi, a row of large pearls, perhaps small bells, is attached to it whereas four large archs fall below them. The loop of cloth from the skirt falls above the girdle which also bears an elegantly carved knot – both elements being symmetric to each other. Broad disk-shaped ornaments adorn the ears of the goddesses, distorting the lobe whereas Viṣṇu wears ear-rings lying on the shoulders. Pearled rings adorn the wrists and ankles. The *vanamālā* falls below the knees, each flower being rendered with accuracy.

The god wears a bulbous *kirīṭamukuta*; its highly polished surface bears two very care-

fully carved and detailed rows of lotus petals and jewellery. A diadem with two short fleurons and a central lotus flower surrounds it; its front surface is adorned by oval gems inscribed within small rectangular plates. The fluted ribbons are as usual depicted behind the ears, falling in an elegant tumble onto the shoulders. Both wives wear the large and heavy bun of hair rolling on itself which falls on the back and is depicted as if going upwards; a flat diadem adorned with loops of pearls covers the front part of the hair, surrounding a high pointed triangular fleuron.

The carving has been rendered with much attention and detail, the richness of the decoration is overwhelming and covers the entire back-slab and the bodies of the divinities. Only some plain spaces have been preserved, alternating happily with the deeply carved zones. The poise of the bodies is elegant and strong: while Viṣṇu stands in a strict front position, both goddesses bend their body in a sinuous line which brings animation to the composition. The overwhelming decoration of the back-slab creates a similar atmosphere.

A careful study of the composition, of its motifs and of their treatment permits to suggest that this image was carved in the northern part of the district of Māldā or the southern part of the district of West Dinājpur, more precisely in the region comprising the villages of Iṭāhār, Bhadrāśīlā and the city of Gazole.⁸⁶ This region seems to have constituted a major artistic centre in the 12th century: images of various deities, including Viṣṇu, at times very large, were collected there.⁸⁷ They show the same motifs which are carved identically, for instance, the floral and rhomboid motifs on the moulding of the aura, the shape of the nimbus, the plain triangles on either side, the mouldings of the pedestal, the ornaments, all show on these various stelae the very same treatment (e.g. the gemmed diadem common to the image in the collection and those in the State Archaeological Museum of West Bengal, which on most of the images from Bengal or Bihar, bears pearled loops and pendants, as on the Iṭāhār sculpture), revealing a common origin.

Moreover, the faces have the same pointed chin and round cheeks which form a continuous line, accentuating the triangular shape of the lower part of the face, the mouth is narrow, short and sunken, the eyes form perfect pointed ovals, the eye-brows follow a horizontal line. The slab is hollowed around the torso and eventually the neck of the central deity.

INSCRIPTION

Gauḍīya of c. 12th century. Damaged donor's name in Sanskrit:

danapa ... [pa]ti- (line 1)

śrī-śaṅga ... [pa]h (line 2)

which means "The lord of gifts (dānapati), architect (sthapati), the illustrious Śaṅga ..."

PUBLISHED

MIK *Katalog* 1971, cat. 115; MIK *Katalog* 1976, cat. 115 p. 43; MIK *Katalog* 1986, cat. 100 p. 42; *Indische Skulpturen*, cat. 66. ill. p. 20; Picron 1978, fig. 66; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 9.

243. Viṣṇu

Inv. 19457/old 4404.

74,5 x 35,5 x 17 cm. Sandstone.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 39, 1876.

Gaur. Suggested date: 10th c.

The god stands in *samapāda* in front of the unadorned back-slab, where only the flying figures are depicted in the upper part. His two wives, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, stands on either side, the second one recognizable through the *vinā* which she holds whereas the first one presents a fly-whisk and has the left hand on the leg. Viṣṇu stands above the central recess of the pedestal where the stalk of a lotus is carved, sustaining a double row of petals hardly visible. On either side, a human devotee and Garuḍa kneel with hands folded in the gesture of veneration.

Viṣṇu is four-armed and shows the *varada*^o and the *gadā* on his right side, while holding the *cakra* and the partly destroyed *śaṅkha* in the left hands. He is adorned by traditional jewellery, including the garland of flowers which falls low below his knees. All ornaments are very roughly depicted, without any detail. The treatment of the faces is simple with large eyes simply incised, or with the lips curved as smiling. The body of the god is drawn with hard lines, the shoulders are broad and square but the torso and the members are meagre, all revealing a rather poor workmanship.

244. Viṣṇu

Inv. 15875.

78,8 x 35,5 x 13 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1981.

Suggested provenance: region of Vikrampur, south-east Bangladesh.

Suggested date: second half of the 12th c.

The image is slightly damaged at the top where the monstrous face is broken and the tiara of the god has lost his crowning lotus. Further, the lower right hand has been broken away and Lakṣmī is partly defaced. But on the whole, the image is well preserved and illustrates a stylistic trend and an iconographic variance which developed in Southeast Bengal (Bangladesh) around the ancient capital of Vikrampur.

The god stands in *samapāda*, is four-armed and holds the *gadā* and the *cakra* in the two upper hands, the *śaṅkha* is presented in the

lower left hand whereas the corresponding right one, now lost, probably displayed the *varadamudrā*. He wears his *vanamālā* falling on the knees, is adorned by the usual jewellery: the *upavīta* falls short on the torso – while on the previous image, it fell long on the hips, and partly covers the long neck chain which is constituted by two rows of small beads and encases the broad necklace to which is attached a heavy pendant. This ornament as well as the short sacred cord, the short club (in north Bengal, cat. 209, the weapon stands on a lotus carved by the feet of Viṣṇu) or the small nimbus with petals of lotus are characteristic of the art of south-east Bengal/Bangladesh, more particularly of a large area located south of Dhaka where the ancient capital Vikrampur was most probably located.⁸⁸ Today, the area covers a number of villages around the central village of Rāmpāl.⁸⁹

The two female deities who stand on either side are Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, presenting the attributes noticed in the image from the district of Dinājpur (cat. 242), i.e. the *cāmara* and the *padma* for the one, the *vinā* for the other. The same tiny images of the conch and disk male personifications are similarly standing by the side of the goddesses, each wearing the weapon as a head-dress. Beside the heavy bun of hair which runs in the back of the head, both deities wear a high circular tiara, partly hidden by the lotuses supporting the lower hands of Viṣṇu, this again constitutes a further typical motif in south-east Bengal.

Beside its specific stylistic features noticed above, which allow to ascribe the image to its geographical provenance, the iconography includes elements or treatments of elements which are also specific to the region, such as the central and frontal position of Garuḍa or the representation of the ten *avatāra*.s in two rows on either side of the god, where in north Bengal, the animals of the royal throne are depicted (see cat. 241/242).⁹⁰ The sequence of the *avatāra*.s includes, on the god's proper right side, the fish or Matsya, the tortoise or Kūrma, each holding the club and probably the disk, the boar or Varāha rescuing Bhūdevī perhaps depicted on his right elbow, the man-lion or Narasiṃha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu, and the dwarf or Vāmana holding the umbrella and a water-pot. It continues on the god's proper left side from top to bottom with Trivikrama with the club and the conch perhaps, Rāma with crossed legs presenting the bow and the arrow, Balarāma holding the ploughshare or *hala* and a third image in the very same position holding a lotus in the left hand, who might represent the Buddha; to end, Kalkin, the horse incarnation is profiled as a male riding a horse.

It is not usual to have in such a series Vāmana and Trivikrama being both represented; since this is here the case, one of the

three Rāmas had to be left out, in this case Paraśurāma who is otherwise depicted with the battle-axe to which he owes his name between Rāma and Balarāma.⁹¹ However, two images in the National Museum of Bangladesh⁹² shares this feature with the Berlin image. Moreover, one of them is stylistically so close to our image that one can surmise that both originated in the same atelier.⁹³

A further iconographic feature is the presence of Bhūdevī below Sarasvatī. The earth-goddess kneels, with both hands joined presenting the jar of plenty to the god; symmetric to her, the couple of human devotees is seen below the second goddess. On the central part of the pedestal, Garuḍa is facing the viewer, half-kneeling and presenting the gesture of veneration. The position of the *vāhana* like the mere presence of Bhūdevī are two further elements proper to the art of the region.⁹⁴

PUBLISHED

Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 51 pp. 104-106;

245. Viṣṇu: torso

Inv. IC 60.

84,5 cm. Phyllite.

Acquired before 1880.

Suggested provenance: east Bengal.

Suggested date: 12th c.

Only a large part of the body of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and the upper part of the back-slab have been preserved. Viṣṇu stands in *samapāda* and is four-armed. The attributes held by the two upper hands have been preserved, i.e. the club and the disk whereas the two lower hands have been broken away. A large volute is attached to the pommel of the *gadā* and a stylised flower surmounts the *cakra*, through the centre of which a ribbon is flying. The jewellery is comparable to the one worn by the image of cat. 242, apart from the *upavīta* which is short and falls on the waist.

The back-slab is fully covered with the traditional sequence of motifs and is similar to the selection of motifs made on the image of cat. 242, including the two flying figures attached to the monstrous face. A broad and flat nimbus is carved behind Viṣṇu's head, only adorned with a row of lotus petals.

The quality of the relief differs, none the less, from the one noticed on the already mentioned image. The motifs on the back-slab are less deeply carved and their outer surface is flat; the carving is less detailed, even more simplified – when looking for instance at the treatment of the *kīrtimukha* which is depicted without any scrolls.

Through this reducing treatment of the motifs of the back-slab, through this attention granted to the line and the smooth surface

rather than to the carving of details, through also the selection of some motifs, the short sacred thread or the short club (compare to the weapon illustrated on cat. 242) e.g., this image is closer to images from south-east Bengal, more particularly to a group of stela collected in the region of Vikrampur⁹⁵ where different stylistic trends developed simultaneously, one which illustrates the very stylistic tendencies of the region (see here cat. 245), and one which shows the assimilation of northern features. In this second group, whereas some images would appear as if produced in the north, some, such as the one in the collection, occupy an ambivalent position between the two more characteristic stylistic trends, of the north and of the south-east, which can be rather well separated.

PUBLISHED

Zimmer 1926, pl. 18.

246. Viṣṇu: torso

Inv. I 1140/old IC 4395.

36,3 x 13 x 7,5 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 30, 1876.

From Gaur, district of Māldā.

Suggested date: 11th c.

This torso can be recognized as having belonged to an image of Viṣṇu since a part of the *vanamālā* is still preserved at the level of the knees. The jewels are very carefully rendered; a large gemmed ornament composes the central piece of the necklace which is edged by a row of pearls; the same ornament belongs to the girdle and to the garland of flowers. To the lower pearled row, loops and pendants of pearls hang above the skirt. The folds of the skirt and of the shawl across the breast are indicated through lines carved in low relief. The very same treatment of these elements are noticed on an Avalokiteśvara image collected at Māldā and preserved in the museum of the town.⁹⁶

A number of Hindu images or architectural pieces were collected at Gaur which is located south of Māldā; some are today preserved in the Indian Museum. Named Rāmavati or Lakhnautī (corrupted form of Lakṣmaṇavati), the city was probably the last Sena capital in north Bengal before being conquered by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī in 1198-1199, who retained it as his capital. Like other sites of the region, Rājmaḥāl, which is located to the west of Māldā, Pāṇdua or Ekḍālā, located north of Māldā, Gaur has been intensively built during the Muslim period.⁹⁷ However, Hindu images, often broken or defaced were collected in those sites and beside those of the Indian Museum, some are present in this collection (cat. 250, 251, 258, 259, 282, 284).

247. Viṣṇu: fragment

Inv. I 635/old IC 34790.

40,5 x 20 x 16,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Leitner collection, 1907.

Suggested provenance: Bihar.

Suggested date: 8th-9th c.

Lower right corner of a stela showing Viṣṇu, whose lower right hand holds the partly preserved conch. Part of the flower garland is also visible. The male attending figure stands in front of a plain background, while a stylised half-lotus is still visible above it. As such, this incised medallion used to be integrated within a grill which ran on the edge of the stela on images from the 8th or early 9th c. (see here cat. 222 which illustrates a more refined treatment of the same motif).⁹⁸

The figure is half broken, the head is defaced. However, one still recognizes the elongated *utpala* in the right hand whereas the left hand lied on the hip. The attendant wore various pieces of jewellery and a large circular bun on the back of the head, with hair regularly pleated. He is most probably the *āyudhapuruṣa* of the disk, the Cakrapuruṣa also named Sudarṣaṇa who usually stands on the god's proper left side in the early period, forming a pair with the feminine depiction of the club or Gadādevī (see cat. 248).⁹⁹

248. Viṣṇu: fragment

Inv. I 638/old IC 33581.

23,5 x 9,8 x 9 cm. Greyish sandstone.

Leitner collection, 190 ???.

Suggested provenance: Bihar.

Suggested date: 8th-9th c.

Lower left corner of a stela showing Viṣṇu. The god wore a long *vanamālā* of which a part can still be seen. A small part of his club held in the upper right hand is still visible whereas the lower right hand presented an oblong attribute, probably a depiction of the earth.¹⁰⁰ The goddess who stands below Viṣṇu's hand is probably still Kaumodakī, the personification of his *gadā* since she holds in her left hand the blue lotus or *utpala* and not the *padma* which is the attribute of Lakṣmī – who succeeds to the Gadādevī at this place.¹⁰¹

Gadādevī is depicted with the body slightly bent and the right hand at the hip. Her body is short, the forms are round, heavy lines are incised to indicate the folds of her long skirt, she wears the round bun above the head with thick locks of hair all cumbed backwards. All these elements point to an early dating of this fragment, perhaps the late 8th or early 9th century and could indicate that the image was produced in south Bihar.¹⁰²

249. Sūrya

Inv. I 5845.

112 x 54 x 15 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1979.

Suggested provenance: region of Gayā-Kurkihār or north Bengal.

Suggested date: 9th-10th c.

The Sun-god stands in *samapāda*, surrounded by attending figures who are symmetrically distributed on either side. He wears the long skirt and is booted; his breast is covered by a coat-of-mail above which falls the thick pearled *upavīta*. A tall tiara surmounts his head, carefully adorned with stylised flowers distributed in narrow rhombi; it is surrounded by a diadem which is ornated with alternating squares and circles and which bears a central tiny lotus flower.

Sūrya wears otherwise the normal selection of jewels, such as necklaces, heavy ear-rings, two girdles around the hips holding the skirt and a heavy elaborated pendant falling between the legs; small loops of pearls are also attached to the girdles. Since he is booted, he does not have the anklets. A shawl falls very low on the back and lies on the elbows, fluttering on either side; this *uttariya* explains probably the literary description of the god as wearing "a pair of equal clothes".¹⁰³ He holds the two open large *padma*s at the height of his shoulders.

We recognize two female deities who hold a *cāmara* in their right hand while putting the left one on their hips; both are turned with a slight *bhaṅga* towards the god whereas the male figures behind them face the viewer. Both goddesses wear the same ornaments, are clad similarly, wear boots and have the same head-dress. They are most probably the two wives of the god, i.e. Rājñī and Niṣprabhā¹⁰⁴ who symbolize the clear and dark lights of the god.

Taller than them, and looking at the spectator, the gods behind them can be identified with Piṅgala and Daṇḍin (also named Daṇḍa or Daṇḍanāyaka). The first one is shown pot-bellied, bearing moustache and beard; he holds his attributes, i.e. the *maṣīpātra* and the *lekhanī*, the inkpot and the pen. Symmetric to him, the slim Daṇḍin offers the *abhaya*^o with the right hand in front of the breast and lets his left elbow lie above his weapon, the club or *daṇḍa*, which appears to be shaped like a spear. Both gods wear the same ornaments – only Piṅgala does not wear the large disk-earrings. Both are also booted.

At the feet of these four deities, are profiled the female archers who are probably Dawn and Twilight, i.e. Uṣā and Pratyusā/Samdhya. They are depicted in *ālīḍha/pratyālīḍha*^o, fetching with the right hand an arrow in the quiver attached on their back and holding their bow in the left one. As is often the case, the one on the left side, is depicted as if arising out of the

floor (both can also be shown as such). The charioteer of Sūrya, Aruṇa, appears similarly at the feet of the god: only the part of his body above the thighs is illustrated. He is pot-bellied, wears wings like his brother Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu, and in a strong movement, holds in the left hand the reins and in his up-raised right hand the whip with which he directs the seven horses who pull the solar chariot. A third female figure stands in *samapāda* behind Aruṇa; her head is broken but she is otherwise well preserved; she holds a *kalasa* and an *aṣṭamālā* in the left and right hands respectively. Unlike the two side goddesses, she wears a *jaṭāmukuta* and a reduced jewellery. She has been variously identified with Chhayā or Mahāśvetā.

The animals are depicted on the seven recesses of the pedestal. Six are profiled on the side recesses whereas the central one is carved frontally, and seen as if arising out of the only wheel of the chariot.

The back-slab is round with a point clearly indicated. A row of flames runs along the edge, outside a flat beaded garland. Two small flying figures are profiled on their clouds, offering garlands to the god. Both wear, like all characters of the image, boots, and only show a reduced choice of jewellery. This stela belongs to a small group of images of Sūrya which share the very same stylistic and iconographic features, such as the slab round or pointed like here with the two bands running along the edge, the flying figures on a round cloud, the eight attending figures distributed around the god's legs and feet, the plain background behind the standing attendants, the same distribution of the prancing horses in two symmetric groups on either side of the seventh one who can be variously depicted: profiled and running in one direction with the head turned backwards or facing us, Sūrya wearing the coat-of-mail.¹⁰⁵

Some stylistic elements differentiate this group from images which were discovered in northern Bengal,¹⁰⁶ and illustrate the same iconography: the symmetric distribution of the horses (in Bengal, they all run in one single direction at the time), the twisted garland and the flames on the edge, motifs noticed in Bihar, in particular the twisted garland is known at Nālandā (see here cat. 22) whereas in the eastern region, the flat gridded and broad band with stylised flowers adorns the back-slab (here cat. 233-234) whereas the same combination is observed on an image at Gayā.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the beaded wheel on the central recess occurs on images from Bihar.¹⁰⁸

PUBLISHED

Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 48 pp. 100-101; *MIK Katalog* 1986, cat. 99 p. 42 & ill.p. 201; Gadebusch *et alii* 1998, cat. 54.

250. Sūrya: torso

Inv. I 2725/old IC 4396.

96,3 x 54,8 x 13 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 31, 1876.

From Gaur. Suggested date: 10th c.

Large parts of the image have been broken away. However, one still recognizes Sūrya standing in *samapāda* between the attendants noticed above (cat. 249); Piṅgala and one of the goddess are still partly preserved; an archer used to be profiled in front of the male attendant.

The back-slab was adorned with the thema of the "royal throne", still only partly represented: only the leogryph is profiled above the elephant. A large nimbus lies above the lintel which is supported by two vertical posts. Large triangular fleurons were carved on either side, below the flying figures offering their garlands to the god. The image is crowned by the monstrous face, *kīrtimukha*: on either side of the triangular tongue, two large scrolls arise out of the open mouth. Below the flat nose, the upper jaw carries a thick moustache, horns arise out of the eyes and roll above the small pointed ears. The treatment is still very simple and does not show the intricacy noted at a later period on images from the same region (cat. 242).

This image compares well with a stela depicting Viṣṇu which was collected in the same region¹⁰⁹ and belongs to a slightly later phase (presence of the birds in place of the fleurons, opening of the back-slab behind the head and the torso of the god, large tongue of the *kīrtimukha*,...).

251. Sūrya: fragment

Inv. I 698/old IC 4385.

52 x 25,5 x 8,5 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 20, 1876.

From Gaur. Suggested date: 9th c.

Lower right corner of a stela having shown Sūrya. The two male and female figures stand facing the spectator or slightly turned towards the now missing image of the god. Both stand in front of a plain background carved in low relief on the main back-slab. The male attendant presents the right hand in front of the breast, displaying the *abhayamudrā* whereas his now much destroyed left arm, held an elongated attribute which can be identified with the weapon of Daṇḍin, one of the two male attendants of Sūrya (see cat. 249). At his feet, and extremely destroyed, used to be shown one of the two female archers – only the broad lines of her profile can still be guessed.

By his side, stands one of Sūrya's consorts, holding one hand on the hip and presenting also the gesture of protection.¹¹⁰

252. Śiva

Inv. I 5854.

63 x 27,5 x 7,5 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1980.

Suggested provenance: region of Vikrampur/Rampal.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

Ithyphallic (*ūrdhvaliṅga/ūrdhvamedhra*), Śiva stands with the height of the body on one leg. Four-armed, he holds the drum, *ḍamaru*, in the lower right hand, the *akṣamālā* in the upper right hand and the trident or *triśūla* and *kalasa* in the two left hands. His hips are covered by a tiger-skin, *dvipicarma* where the spots are shown through elongated leaf-like motifs. As usual, the god wears the *jaṭāmukuta* with a diadem which is attached by ribbons of which the fluted extremities fly on either side of the head and the front bears a very large third eye. The forms as well as the rather crude treatment of the pieces of jewellery suggest that this image originated in south-east Bengal (Bangladesh). A similar treatment of the hair is noticed on images in the region, the short *upavīta* is characteristic, the broad necklace with a central jewel seen as a stylised flower and the inner beaded row are also observed.¹¹¹

Two female attendants stand on either side of the god, these are Gaṅgā, on his proper right, and Pārvatī/Gaurī, on his proper left, each identifiable through their respective vehicles, i.e. the *makara* and the lion which are profiled on the recesses of the pedestal on either side of the bull and the devotees. The water-goddess bears in her left hand the jar of plenty, *pūrṇaghaṭa* or the *kalasa*, which is her traditional attribute whereas her right hand seems to hold some flower (see cat. 278). Pārvatī/Gaurī is considered to be the wife of the god, and both can be illustrated in close embrace (cat. 233-235); one of her attributes is the mirror which she holds here in the left hand while having a *cāmara* in the right hand.

Both goddesses stand in front of a reduced back-ground which is incised on the back-slab and which reproduces the throne backing Śiva: a high rectangular back supports the circular nimbus which is surrounded by two triangular fleurons. The edge of the back-slab is adorned by a row of flames attached to a plain band where tiny rhombi are regularly engraved. As such, these two rows are noticed on further images discovered in the region of Vikrampur/Rāmpāl, which is located south of Dhaka.¹¹² Two couples of flying figures offer garlands and venerate the god; both are profiled on their clouds on either side of Śiva's head whereas a small *kīrtimukha* crowns the image, out of the vertical axis. As a matter of fact, although the construction of the decoration on the back-slab is usually very strict, one notices on some images from south-east Bengal, more easiness in

the distribution of space on the upper part of the back-slab, as if the axis of the image became the head of the god, which is not necessarily on the vertical axis (as it should be) but can be bent in one or the other direction (see introduction).

It is apparently exclusively in south-east Bengal that Śiva receives for wives Pārvatī/Gaurī and Gaṅgā who are recognizable through the presence of their respective *vāhana*s; the god is then depicted as here or in a similar form or as Śiva Naṭarāja.¹¹³ As noticed by M.-Th. de Mallmann, the position of Gaṅgā at the right of the god, or/and, in some cases, of Yamunā on his proper left, coincides with their position at the door-jambs of the temple.¹¹⁴ This group of three deities occur in Cambodia where epigraphs name it "Umā-Gaṅgā-Patīśvara".¹¹⁵

PUBLISHED

Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 50 pp. 103-104; *MIK Katalog* 1986, cat. 98 p. 41; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig 10.

253. Śiva Bhairava (?)

Inv. I 9724/old IC 37606.

58,5 x 37,5 x 15 cm. Coarse-grained sandstone.

Offered by Raj Kumar Shyama Kumar Tagore in October 1911 at the occasion of the visit to India of the Crown Prince.

From the "ruins of 'Chandra Nev' a village in Pargana Kutubpore, in the district of Midnapore, (Tagore estate)." (south-west Bengal)¹¹⁶

On the square back-slab, the god stands in a dancing position on a male smiling figure, supposed to be a corpse, both legs are bent and the right foot stands firmly on this image while the left one stands on the toes. The god is three-faces, ten-armed and shows himself as emaciated. He wears the *jaṭāmukuta* adorned by the moon crescent in the front part and with flames, visible on the proper left profiled head-dress; further, a crown of skulls, now partly destroyed surrounds the hair. Bones and veins are apparent, suggesting the terrible appearance, the eyes are deep in their sockets, the mouth shows a grim smile. The lower part of the body is proportionally shorter than the upper one.

The ithyphallic god wears a deer-skin on the shoulders, with the face and the front legs falling on his right shoulder and apparently the tiger-skin around the legs; the long garland of skulls falls on his legs. Ear-rings, a necklace, perhaps a snake, armlets and anklets adorn him.

The attributes and gestures are partly broken off. However, we see the arrow and the bow in the second right and third left hands; the head in the second lower left hand; the

snake held by the broken fourth hand and passing behind the shoulders before spreading his, now abraded, hood at the level of the right shoulder; the *ḍamaru* in the third right hand. The two remaining attributes are most probably the *triśūla* held by the lower right hand and passing in the elbow of the fourth one and perhaps the sword in the corresponding left hand. The two main hands used apparently to present the traditional *mudrā*s of the dancing god, i.e. the so-called *gajahasta* shown by the left arm thrown across the torso and the *abhaya*° displayed by the broken upper right hand.

In the angles, four female deities surround him, sitting in *mahārājatilā*° above lotus-seats and backed on a small square back-slab. All show a peaceful face, are four-armed and display the *abhaya*° with the upper right hand while holding the *triśūla* with the second right hand; one left hand presents the *varada*° whereas the second one holds a lotus attached to a short and thick stem.

The central image and the attending ones all stand or sit on double lotuses with narrow petals bearing a deeply cut central rib, and having their edge underlined by a incised line. The front surface of the three-stepped pedestal is plain below Śiva but adorned by half-lotus flowers framed within triangles on both sides. An elongated nimbus is drawn behind the head of the deity, its central field bears an open lotus within two concentric rows of short incised lines and of pearls.

A similar treatment of the lotus flowers of the pedestal is noticed on rare images, of unknown provenance.¹¹⁷ The iconography of the god is also puzzling, since Bhairava appears as leading the Mothers, perhaps the four goddesses are some of these Mothers, but he is usually depicted pot-bellied and not as an ascetic.¹¹⁸ The dancing ascetic of the region is Cāmuṇḍā and it is possible, that this image reflects some kind of contamination of the Bhairava iconography by the Cāmuṇḍā type (cat. 239).

PUBLISHED

Führer 1929, p. 51.

254. Durgā Mahiṣasuramardini

Inv. I 5847.

53,1 x 29,3 x 9 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1979.

Suggested provenance: Bihar (or Bengal?).

Suggested date: 10th c.

The goddess stands in front of a round back-slab which is adorned by a double row running on its edge: a plain band only interrupted by a flower within the flames simply cut. Similarly the pedestal is plain. A large *kīrtimukha* is carved in low relief in the upper part of the back-slab but is out of the axis.

Eight-armed, Durgā stands in *pratyāliḥāsana*, i.e. the left leg is stretched out whereas the right one is bent with the foot on the back of the buffalo which she kills. Her *vāhana*, the lion is seen behind the defeated monster, biting his back thigh. Only his face and one of his front leg are visible; as usual, the animal wears a thick moustache and has wide open eyes. The goddess has already severed off the head of the monster which lies on the ground and seizes violently the human form of the monster who arises out of the open neck, holding a knife and who, contrarily to most of the known examples, is rather small. Durgā is well armed, with, in respectively her left and right hands, the bow and the arrows which she pulls out of the quiver hanging in her back (a second quiver is seen above her left shoulder), with the shield and the sword held above the head, and with the small bell and the noose or lasso with which she seizes the enemy. Her fourth right hand holds the trident or *triśūla* whereas the corresponding left hand pulls the demon out through his hair.

The *kīrtimukha* presents a form which differs from the one usually encountered; it is not only flat but also broad and deprived from his tongue and from the high triangular protuberance which should arise between the eyes. Similarly, the side scrolls are much reduced. And it is proportionally larger than the monstrous face normally seen. This particular treatment is rather rare and is also noticed on an image preserved in the Lucknow Museum.¹¹⁹ A later development of it can be observed on a stela found in the district of Nadia, where the tongue is however depicted but where the scrolls donot offer the traditional round outline, where the small scrolls are ignored and where the frontal protuberance is very small.¹²⁰ It is also possible to relate this treatment of the *kīrtimukha* with the small face observed on certain Buddhist images from Magadha, put on the nimbus which seems to be spit by the face:¹²¹ on the Lucknow image like on this one, the face is actually put above the aura which runs along the edge of the slab.

A similar distortion of the back-slab is noticed on a depiction of the Śaiva couple preserved at Nālandā where the flower crowning the stela is also out of axis.¹²² To end, the facial features of the goddess can be compared to those of images from south Bihar,¹²³ i.e. the front is very narrow, the eye-brows are extremely curved and form a high arch above the eyes, the mouth is small with the lips going up at their extremities, the chin is pointed, the nose, slightly chipped off, was probably pointed and the nostrils are indicated through well incised round lines.

255. Manasā

Inv. I 5853.

51 x 22,3 x 6 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1980.

Suggested provenance: north Bengal.

Suggested date: 11th-12th c.

The goddess, whose face is slightly damaged, sits in *lalita*° on the lotus-seat. She presents a fruit in the right hand while holding an erected snake in the left one. Seven heads of snake arise from behind, protecting her. They project their tongue outside their open mouth and carry a jewel above their head. Beside the traditional jewels and clothes, Manasā wears a narrow band of cloth, *kucapaṭṭa/kucabandha*, which is tied around her heavy breasts and the extremities of which are depicted flying on either side of the goddess on the back-slab. Her face is round with large open eyes and eye-brows which follow a wavy line, features which relate the goddess to the world of the frightening deities. She wears large ear-rings, usually met with goddesses of the fertility in the 11th and 12th centuries (cat. 256).¹²⁴ The wavy *upavīta*, the folds of the skirt indicated through parallel also wavy lines, the short loops at the armlets are rather typical of images of the 12th century.

Two male figures attend to her, both of them seated in *lalita*° on a lotus attached to a stalk which arises from behind the central lotus-seat, both of them have the right palm in front of the chest. The figure on her proper right is an ascetic: emaciated, he wears a heavy *jaṭā* and a short beard. He is Jaratkāru, the husband of Manasā whereas the second male figure is probably her son Āstikamuni or her brother, Vāsuki, the Serpent King.¹²⁵ He holds a sceptre, which looks like a *khakkhara*, in the left hand and has a snake-hood above his crown.

This group sits above a five-stepped pedestal which is limited by two broad groups of mouldings. A human devotee kneels, with both hands in the *añjali*° in front of the breast. Behind her, and symmetrical to her on the other side, are standing two cones of offerings or incense. A large jar is profiled on the central step, adorned with rows of lotus petals and with a ribbon. Two snakes creep out of it, turning their faces towards the goddess.

The pointed back-slab in front of which Manasā sits is only adorned by a broad plain band which runs parallel to the edge. On their flat clouds, two flying figures worship and offer flowers to the goddess, with the lower part of their body shaped as a snake. A large floral ornament crowns the image; from the upper part, a large protuberance seems to arise whereas two large loops are attached below the lower part. The same motif, but without the loops, is noticed on images of Jambhala,

Mahākāla or Pūrṇeśvarī collected at Lakhi Sarai (cat. 73) but occurs also on Śaiva images of north Bengal and of course, in this region where most of them have been discovered, on the depictions of Manasā.¹²⁶

The iconography of this image pertakes also of the main stream which is observed in north Bengal.¹²⁷ As a matter of fact, the worship of the deity seems to have arisen in the course of the 10th or 11th century in this region although it is probably related to the cult of *nāga* which developed in Bihar, more particularly at Rājgir and in the region since the post-Gupta period. From the 11th or 12th century, no image of Manasā seems however to have been discovered beyond Lakhi Sarai, which would thus, at that period, be the most western site of extension of the cult of the goddess.¹²⁸ This cult could also present an aniconic form, which has been preserved till the present day, with the goddess venerated as a tree or as the pot, which is depicted in the middle of the pedestal.¹²⁹

256. Durgā as a Mother-Goddess

Inv. I 5873.

30,5 x 15 x 5 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1981.

Suggested provenance: districts of Rājshahi or Dinājpur.

Suggested date: 12th c.

This well preserved image illustrates a rather unusual aspect of the "mother-goddess" by combining elements evidently borrowed from the iconography of Durgā, i.e. the sword and the shield, to motifs belonging to the personality of a mother-goddess, i.e. the child and the fruit. The deity, seated in *lalita*°, is accompanied by two female attendants carrying respectively a *cāmara* and a fan or *pākhā*. A human devotee worships the goddess, carved on the pedestal, symmetrical to a cow with her calf (compare to cat. 231), both looking towards the deity. The child wears different pieces of jewellery and holds the sacred thread falling on the breast of the goddess.

A flat plain band runs along the edge of the pointed back-slab, which is adorned by a trefoiled nimbus drawn between two triangular fleurons. A floral rhombic motif adorns the upper part of the nimbus. Small flowers are encased in the angles between the curves of the nimbus. The "face of glory" crowns the composition, surrounded by the usual flying figures who offer flower garlands; parallel rows of scrolls are attached to a lotus which is carved below the upper jaw and spread on either side of the triangular tongue which is also depicted here as if made of volutes. The outer line of the clouds on which the flying devotees are profiled, follows a wavy line.

The high pedestal shows the usual large lotus scrolls which run powerfully on the front step. Two groups of mouldings mark the upper and lower limits of the pedestal; in the upper one, the angles of the recesses are accentuated through a plain half-triangle. The lower group is more complex and is duplicated; half-rhombic fleurons mark the angles of the recesses, joined to the plain half-triangles of the lower part whereas a full rhombus indicates the centre of the pedestal (see cat. 235).

The goddess is dressed with the traditional clothes and wears the usual pieces of jewellery under their form of the 11th century. As a matter of fact, female deities wear at that period the coiled hair on the shoulder or the back of the head, like the two servants do on this image (or compare to cat. 235). The round coil atop the head appears in relation with images of Durgā or of the mother-goddess in east Bihar or north Bengal.¹³⁰

Other features point to a north Bengal origin, such as the trefoil with its rhombus and the tiny flowers, which does not seem to have represented in a place like Lakhi Sarai.¹³¹ The most western site where the motif was noticed is Antichak.¹³²

Specific aspects of the iconography of this image are noticed on other stelae in the collection (cat. 225 & 231).

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1992, fig. 36.

257. Gaurī with Sadyojāta Śiva

Inv. I 10109.

19,5 x 52,5 x 6,5 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1970.

Suggested provenance: north Bengal.

Suggested date: second half of the 10th c.

The composition of this image is horizontal and departs thus from the one usually encountered. As a matter of fact, the goddess reclines on her left side: her legs are crossed and her left foot is massaged by a kneeling servant, her left hand is near her head on a cushion as if it would sustain the head while the right one hovers above the body holding the blue lotus. Below her, a small child is profiled with a hand above his breast. A comparison with earlier examples of the type, from Bihar, allows a better understanding of the position of the deity and of her child.¹³³ Both should be visualized from above, lying on a bed which is meant through the presence of pillow and cushion below the head and the feet, also, a small mattress is carved in low relief below the child who is profiled and his head turned towards his mother. On these early depictions, no attending figure is introduced but a *liṅga* on the *yoni* is carved seen from above.

The goddess wears the traditional selection of jewellery, with loops attached to the girdle, she also has a round coil of hair atop the head. She is depicted reclining on her left side above a mattress which is adorned by star-like motifs and she looks down towards her child, the sculpture should not be visualized anymore as if lying on the ground but as it is with the deity facing the viewer. Two oblique posts limit on either side the bed which rests on feet profiled in the lower part. Between these feet, a series of objects are carved, such as an incense-burner, a conch, a fan, perhaps a mirror, and various pots or jars. On either side, two female attendants stand on lotus-flowers and hold fly-whisks. Both of them as well as the maid-servant kneeling at the feet of the goddess, wear a coil of hair falling on the back of the head and present a simplified version of the jewellery adorning the deity. A frieze of various gods is carved above the goddess, i.e. the Navagraha.s, the *liṅga*, Skanda seated astride on his peacock, which is slightly damaged, and the four-handed Gaṇeśa. The *liṅga* is seen as if standing and is profiled, which departs thus from the stylistic treatment encountered on the earlier images quoted above.

Like on earlier images, we notice thus the presence of the *liṅga*; a further evolution of the type is to introduce other characters reinforcing the Śaiva connotation, such as the bull, Gaṇeśa or Skanda for instance.¹³⁴ The goddess also wears the round coil of hair on the head as in previous times whereas most of the images from north Bengal, which can be dated in the 11th and 12th centuries, show her wearing the coil falling on the back of the head, like her servants here.¹³⁵ These late images also introduce the litany of the Navagraha.s. On some rare late images, a lion has been carved below the bed, indicating thus that the goddess should be the wife of Śiva¹³⁶ and the latter is precisely named Gaurī in an inscription dated in Vīgrahapāla (II)'s reign.¹³⁷

In naming her as such, we should, however, not neglect the important fact that the goddess is the same who is also named Pārvatī or even at that period, Durgā. And although the child has been identified as a form of Śiva named "newly born", *sadyojāta*¹³⁸ this type of image can be more generally related to the "mother and child" or "mother-goddess" type.

Although a clear iconographic distinction can be made between the early images from Bihar, datable to the 9th century, and those, later, from north Bengal, although also stylistic features help to propose their respective dates, the image in the collection appears to be at a threshold between these two phases and two regions.¹³⁹ It still shows the smoothness and the fullness of the body, the heavy face noticed on 10th century images from Bihar,¹⁴⁰ the diadem adorned with a row of large flat pearls and

bearing the flower, which are similar to motifs in Bihar.¹⁴¹ However, it is more likely that this image was produced in north Bengal where most of the images of this type were collected¹⁴² and where it would belong to the earlier phase of production, perhaps even earlier or contemporary to the image dated in Vīgrahapāla's reign.

PUBLISHED

MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 128; Picron 1978, fig. 42.

258. Mother-Goddess: Vārāhī

Inv. I 2757/old IC 4401.

54,4 x 35,7 x 18 cm. Coarse-grained sandstone.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 36, 1876.

From an old temple in Gaur.

Suggested date: 10th c.(?)

This sculpture is extremely battered: the upper part has been broken off, the image is badly defaced, her attributes are unrecognizable. The outline of the boar's head is still perceptible; it must have been adorned by a diadem with triangular fleurons which are still profiled on either side. The pot-bellied goddess sits in *lalita*° on a cushion below which her vehicle, which appears to be human is carved. He sits and stretches the right hand upwards as if sustaining the seat of the goddess, and is perhaps Garuḍa.¹⁴³ The goddess carried in her upper hands the shield and the sword, part or shadow of which are still traceable. Her lower right hand was raised. As to the lower left hand, it rested on the knee holding a now undistinct object. Taking into consideration the complete or better preserved images of the deity, it is possible that these two attributes were a fish and a bowl.¹⁴⁴

This sculpture can be more particularly compared with two images of Vārāhī collected at Bālurghāt and Manahali in the district of Dinājpur, which appear to have been carved in the same type of stone.¹⁴⁵

259. Gaṇeśa and a group of Mother-Goddesses

Inv. I 1160/old IC 4398.

39,5 x 68 x 16 cm. Grey sandstone.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 33, 1876.

"Presented by Mr. Fergusson of Kalichak", from Gaur. Suggested date: 10th c. (?)

The stone is very much corroded, the facial features are worn, the jewels or the head-dresses have become undistinct. Since seven Mother-goddesses or *Mātrkā.s* form the traditional group, it is also likely that the panel has lost two of them who would have been seated on the right side.¹⁴⁶

Gaṇeśa sits in *lalita*° on the left side, and at his proper left side sits Brahmāṇī with crossed legs which are held together by the *yogapaṭṭa*; she is three-faced, with large side faces, now almost completely defaced, is pot-bellied and is two-armed, presented probably in the right raised hand the *akṣamālā* and in the left one, resting on the knee the *kamaṇḍalu*. By her side, sits Maheśvarī above the bull; she holds in the left hand the spoilt *triśūla* while the right one lies on the knee (and is too destroyed to suggest any attribute). Vaiṣṇavī sits above Garuḍa whose round face is seen between the two wings; she is four-armed, presenting in the upper right hand the club, in the upper left one the disk, which implies that the attribute and gesture of the lower hands should be the conch and the *varada*°. Indrāṇī sits above the reclining elephant. Again, her right hand is too damaged to attempt an identification and the left one perhaps presented the thunderbolt. She is followed by Kaumārī or Kārtikeyānī who sits above the peacock. Like the previous Mother-Goddesses, she holds her right hand on her knee but the left part of her body is too destroyed to identify any attribute in this part (which should have been the spear). The “missing” goddesses are thus Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍā.

All goddesses wear the same *jaṭā* where all the hair is drawn upwards and form a round coil of hair. Gaṇeśa and all of them, apart from Brahmāṇī, sit the same way. All have a right hand lying on the knee, where a fruit might perhaps have been held. All have behind the head the same high nimbus only framed by a row of pearls and a narrow plain band.

A similar panel, but without Gaṇeśa and with Durgāmahīṣasuramardīnī in the centre of the composition, includes eight Mātṛkā.s distributed in two groups of four each on either side of Durgā; it was collected in the district of Rājgir and was carved in a similar stone.¹⁴⁷ Like here, a plain plinth supports the Mothers who all sit on their respective vehicles.

260. Gaṇeśa

Inv. I 5855.

57 x 25 x 7,5 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1980.

Suggested provenance: north Bengal, districts of Dinājpur/West Dinājpur or Rājshahi.

Suggested date: 11th c.

Gaṇeśa stands in a dancing position, i.e. the right foot lies above the back of his vehicle, the rat, *muṣika*, while the toes of the left foot touches the front part of the animal. The later is very large as it is usually the case in the few known examples of Gaṇeśa standing on it. Most of the depictions of the dancing god include the vehicle in the pedestal and not as a direct support for his master.¹⁴⁸

The body expresses a very dynamic movement, with the eight arms spread all around. Each hand presents a gesture or holds a different attribute. Thus, the first right hand displays the *abhaya*°, the second one holds the rosary, *akṣamālā*, the third one the axe or *paraśu* and in the fourth one, Gaṇeśa presents his right broken tusk. The lower left hand holds the bowl with sweets or *modaka* in which the god plunges his trunk, the second one the snake, the third one the *utpala* and the fourth one is outstretched in a dance movement, *nṛtyahasta*.¹⁴⁹

The god is pot-bellied; his wide ears are adorned by tiny conchs; they are spread on either side of his animal face where the small eyes are incised and a flower seems to have been drawn at the root of the trunk. As already mentioned, the right tusk is broken but held as an attribute in one of the right hands. Gaṇeśa wears a high *jaṭā* where the thick locks are all distributed horizontally on either side of a vertical central one which supports a lotus flower. Two large beaded loops surround the humps of the head, attached to two triangular fleurons which are profiled on either side. The deity wears the traditional choice of ornaments, including a loin of cloth which falls on the heavy hips below the loops of the girdle or a sacred thread shaped like a snake.

Two musicians attend to the god; they stand astraddle, playing respectively cymbals and drum. Both have the elephant ears and the same *jaṭā*. Two human devotees kneel on the three-stepped pedestal, with hands folded in the gesture of respect. The central part of the pedestal is adorned with the lotus on which the god stands with his *vāhana*.

The back-slab is pointed and presents the normal pair of flying figures offering garlands to the deity. Both are carved on either side of the bunch of mangoes which tops the stela. Behind Gaṇeśa's head, a large trefoiled nimbus is carved.

There is no doubt that this image originated from North Bengal, more particularly from the districts of Dinājpur/West Dinājpur or Rājshahi. The trefoiled nimbus appears as a “landmark” for Śaiva images in the region (see here cat. 235) and in this context, appears on images of Gaṇeśa.¹⁵⁰ The same pair of standing musicians attending to the god,¹⁵¹ the same *jaṭā*¹⁵² are also encountered.

The abundance of images of the god in north Bengal in the 11th and 12th centuries attest to the importance of his cult in the area.¹⁵³ The personality of the god is complex, which is denoted through an image such as the present one: he dances in a humorous imitation of Śiva.¹⁵⁴ He is related to the world of the *gaṇa*.s who inhabit the mountain of Śiva and their hectic activity as well as their monstrous forms are here reminded through the dance and

through the attending musicians, bearing elephant ears. His Śaiva appartenance is also vouchsafed through the presence of the axe, *paraśu*, of the snake as attribute and as sacred thread, of the rosary. He is also a deity who is popularly related to the acquisition of richness and hence bears two conchs on his ears, where they replace the *cāmara*; therefore also, he holds the bowl with sweets, is pot-bellied and a bunch of mangoes hangs above him. Aspects of his myth are also integrated like the mutilated tusk.¹⁵⁵

PUBLISHED

Härtel-Lobo 1984, cat. 52 pp. 107-108; *MIK Katalog* 1986, cat. 96 p. 41 & pl. p. 200; Gadebusch *et alii* 1998, cat. 260..

261. Gaṇeśa and the Navagraha

Inv. I 5871.

21 x 41,5 x 9 cm. Phyllite.

Art market, 1981.

Suggested provenance: north Bengal, perhaps the district of West Dinājpur.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

The nine Planets accompanied by Gaṇeśa have been carved on a slab which was obviously not cut with the initial aim of bearing this iconography since it is shaped with the point whereas the traditional representations of this group of deities are depicted on a rectangular slab.¹⁵⁶ The last two Planets are therefore crushed in this point and are of smaller size than the other ones. All the gods stand on a plain plinth below which their respective vehicles have been profiled; a broad nimbus is carved behind each of them. All gods wear the same ornaments, apart from Sūrya who is booted, their head-dress are reduced to mere pointed caps, and it is moreover evident that the faces have been roughly recarved.

Thus, we recognize, starting from left: Gaṇeśa who is two-armed, holding his bowl of sweets in the left hand and having the right hand reclining on the axe or *paraśu*; Sūrya/Ravi, the Sun, with his two lotuses; Candra/Soma, the Moon, holding the *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand with the right palm resting on the chest; Maṅgala, Mars, who holds the *musala* in the left hand and has the right one like Candra; Budha, Mercury, presenting the arrow with both hands; Br̥haspati or Jupiter, pot-bellied, with the right hand in front of the breast and the *kamaṇḍalu* in the left one; Śukra, Venus, who apparently holds the same attribute; Śani or Saturn, bulky, who has the legs slightly profiled, which suggests that he is lame, and who holds the *khakkhara* of the ascetics;¹⁵⁷ Rāhu who causes the eclipses, whose torso is depicted surmounted by the huge demonic face, he has wide bulging eyes, a smiling mouth,

wears a beard and has the hair rising above the head, he holds the moon crescent and the disk of the sun which lies above it and to end Ketu, the comet, who is depicted with the lower part of the body shaped as a snake and with a snake-hood protecting his head covered by a high tiara, he carries undistinct objects which might be the sword and the *nāgapāśa*.¹⁵⁸

Gaṇeśa appears only on the later panels.¹⁵⁹ Various animals are carved on the lower part of the images, which are the respective *vāha-nas*; from left to right, are thus profiled the rat (Gaṇeśa), the horse (Sūrya), the *makara* (Candra), a bird, perhaps the peacock (Maṅgala), the lion (?) (Budha), the *haṁsa* (Bṛhaspati), the frog or *bheka/dardura* (Śukra), the donkey or *gardabha* (Śani). The last element to be seen is the wheeled axle-tree which transports Rāhu. These vehicles are often absent, in particularly on early panels from Bihar, and when illustrated, they cannot always be recognized or show variations which cannot be accounted for by literary descriptions.¹⁶⁰ Thus the bird below Maṅgala is identified here as a peacock, which is the vehicle of the Planet's *adhidevatā*, Kārtikeya and which occurs on the later panels of the group, although it does not really show the shape of this particular volatile. The *makara* below Soma can at times be replaced by a fish, which would result from the fact that the *pratyadhidevatā* of the Planet is *jala*; the very same *makara* can occur below Maṅgala in one example. Bṛhaspati's vehicle is the *haṁsa* of his *adhidevatā* Brahṁā. Texts usually attribute the buffalo to Śani, not the ass. Budha appears to ride a dog in some cases.

Stylistically, this rather crudely executed panel is close to one which was collected at Bangarh, in the district of West Dinājpur.¹⁶¹ Both images share the use of a broad nimbus behind the deities, the same treatment of the bodies with rather long and stiff legs, both are also weathered. The Planets present the same attributes and gestures (apart from Maṅgala), the same vehicles; in both cases, Bṛhaspati and Śani offer the same heavy silhouette, and Budha stands with both legs side by side whereas he usually crosses his legs on most of the images from the period in north Bengal.

262. Male torso

Inv. I 1129/old IC 34694.
12,5 x 13,3 x 7,5 cm. Sandstone.
Leitner collection A 88.
Allegedly from Bodh Gayā.

The sacred cord and two broad necklaces adorn the torso, the first one with elongated pearls and the second one with a double row of round beads. The *kaustubha* is carved within the large loop formed by the second one, which would identify this torso as a fragment

of a Viṣṇu image. None the less, the torso belonged to a figure not depicted as standing in a strict frontal position but is seen in a three-quarter profile, which implies the representation of movement and the possibility that perhaps Garuḍa carrying the god or another deity shown in a flying position was here depicted.¹⁶² However, the jewel on the breast is not depicted in eastern India and the necklaces shown here do not belong to the jewellery of the region, hence it is likely that the image was either imported at Bodh Gayā or rather that the given provenance is not correct.¹⁶³

263. Torso

Inv. I 1127/old IC 34743.
9 x 6 x 4,2 cm. Sandstone.
Leitner collection 204.
Allegedly from Bodh Gayā.

Only the lower part of the breast, bearing the *upavīta* and the upper part of the legs have survived; a heavy pendant hang from the girdle between the two legs which are covered by a folded cloth. A large attribute was held in a right hand, of which only the lower part subsists – it was perhaps a club. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact provenance of this sculpture.

PUBLISHED

A Short catalogue 1902, p.5.

264. Male torso

Inv. I 684/old IC 34760.
35 x 23,5 x 9 cm. Sandstone.
Leitner collection 500.
From Bihar.

A four-handed male deity, probably Viṣṇu, was depicted here; only the torso and part of the two left arms have survived. One of the left hand held the *cakra* of which only the outline is preserved. The god was heavily adorned by jewellery which does not belong to the traditional choice of eastern India, hence the image was either found in the western region of Bihar, near Uttar Pradesh or the provenance was wrongly attributed.

The god wears a broad necklace constituted by four concentric rows of pearls which are attached together by a gemmed flower; the same four rows are noticed around the waist. A second necklace falls low on the breast and within it, the *kaustubha* is carved; a chain is attached to the lower part of this chain, which runs toward the back and a broad ribbon is attached to it on the proper left side. Above the broad girdle, two short pieces of cloth fall whereas a second girdle lies above the thighs with a further cloth turning around it and forming a loop

in the centre. These various ornaments suggest a more western origin for this sculpture.¹⁶⁴

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p.13.

- Christie's 1975, # 122.
- BGM inv. 5, published by Huntington 1984, fig. 100. A number of other stelae belonging to the same group are preserved in various Indian museums with the label "from Bihar" without any further detail: 1° & 2° two images preserved in the NM (Bautze-Picron 1985, pl. IIIb & IVb); 3° BGM inv. 8 (Asher 1980, pl. 158: from Gayā); 4° Sotheby's New York 1993a, # 112, Sotheby's New York 1994, # 110. To those various images of Viṣṇu, can be added representations of Sūrya, such as one seen at Mandaur, north of Gayā where it was photographed by J. Beglar (Bloch 1900, photo 83 preserved at the OIOC, inv. Eur.G.38, vol. 1, folio 83) or one preserved in the NM, inv. 63.1058 (photo NM 980/64).
- Images of Sūrya in the Sūrya Mandir of Baḷgāon or in Rājgir. See also Christie's 1980, # 207 or Christie's 1981, # 166 (grill without the flowers). For further examples from the region of Gayā or from the district of Monghyr, see under cat. 233-234 & 249.
- Bautze-Picron, pl. VIIb (a Viṣṇu image from Nālandā), or pl. VIII (two images of unprecised origin, but most probably from Bihar), Banerji 1933, pl. LIIIb (Śiva from Bihar).
- From Nālandā: Umā-Maheśvara (photo ASI-ND 456/68; NIM inv. 00001); Śiva (IM inv. A25171/3851; Picron 1980, fig. 7, Bloch 1911, pp. 85-86, Chakravarti 1908, pp. 96-97). From Bodh Gayā: Vasudhārā (Bautze-Picron 1992, fig. 21 (& p. 56 n° 55 for further references). It occurs also above a Buddha image (Banerji 1933, pl. XXIIIb), above an Avalokiteśvara and a Tārā carved in the Bodh Gayā stylistic idiom (Khandalavala/Roy 1987, fig. 2.11 & 2.19).
- Previous note, the Umā-Maheśvara and the Vasudhārā images.
- Bautze-Picron 1996, figs. 9-10 for such compositions from Bihar where the slab around the images is large and unadorned.
- Bautze-Picron 1996, figs. 1-14 or Picron 1984, fig. 10 (and from Bengal: figs. 1-3) all show images from the 9th to 10th c. without any beard; Picron 1984, figs. 5-6, Bautze-Picron 1996, figs. 18 & 20 illustrate later images from the 11th and 12th c. where the god is bearded.
- A similar motif usually adorns the shoulder of the lion, the "sun animal" *per excellentia* (see Bautze 1991/92).
- Bautze-Picron 1991b, figs. 6, 7; Huntington 1984, fig. 112, 115; see also a 9th century Sūrya image collected in the district of Monghyr but evidently related to the Kurkihār style (Huntington 1984, fig. 148).
- Haque 1992, pp. 180-181.
- See above note 3 for references to comparable images.
- 1° AMP inv. 135 (P. L. Gupta 1965, p. 67 n° 71 – exact provenance unknown), 2° IM inv. A25189 (Asher 1980, pl. 194 – from Aphaḍ). The Revanta image presenting the same ornaments is

preserved in the ABSF, inv. B63 S37+ (Sharma 1975, fig. 37; Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 19). Similar, the jewels occur at the neck of a Varāha image from Rājgīr (AMP inv 2692; Asher 1980, pl. 188 & p. 121 note 127 for a further reference). Perhaps slightly later, the ornament adorns the neck of a Sūrya image from Bodh Gayā (BGM inv. 4, Asher 1980, pl. 156).

14 Also noticed on the images quoted in the previous note. Similarly, the curls are also presented by the Sūrya torso of the AMP or by the stela preserved in the BGM.

15 Images quoted in the previous notes. For the necklace, see Asher 1980, pl. 89-92, 148, 149, 152 e.g.

16 For instance: Asher 1980, pl. 73, 82, 89, 90, 107, 149, 150, 155, 156, 159, 167. For the *jaṭā*, see Asher 1980, pl. 167 where both treatments occur on the same image.

17 Sharma 1975, p. 43 recognizes here "the leg of an animal (or a bird)".

18 *Ibidem* recognizes here "a dead animal (not very clear, but may be a small pig)".

19 Those Revanta images are unpublished. For stelae from Bihar, but usually without any known provenance, see Sharma 1975, figs. 36 (from Gayā)-38. See also Sharma pp. 25-31 for a study of the literary sources bearing on the deity; in particular pp. 28-29 for his relation with the forest and the hunting.

20 Which has been variously identified, G. Bhattacharya 1986c, p. 33 identifies it as a "rod with three prongs (*tridaṇḍa*)", Picron 1980, p. 284 note 12 & *passim* as a wooden *triśūla*, or as a trident (p. 287), J.N. Banerjea (quoted by Picron 1980, p. 286 note 22) as a "hooked staff". Be that as it may, a comparison of the examples showing this attribute explains partly the variety of interpretation: it does not coincide with any of the known and well identifiable attributes and (therefore) has a form which is not fixed (see Picron 1980, figs. 4-7, G. Bhattacharya 1986c, figs. 1-4).

21 G. Bhattacharya 1986c, Picron 1980, Sahai 1987 & Maitra 1989.

22 Bautze-Picron 1992a, figs. 5-12, most of them without the child (only fig. 12 shows him). See also the images 10 to 35 in the appendix, in particularly 27 to 35 pp. 53-54 for further examples with child and images 77 & 78 (fig. 36) of a later period (here cat. 238 & 257).

23 *Idem*, pp. 15 & 52 (images 10 & 16 [figs. 9 & 10] discovered at Bodh Gayā).

24 In particularly on a post-Gupta image probably found at Aphaṣṭ (idem, pp. 8-9, fig. 2 & pp. 50-51 n°2).

25 Which is overwhelming at the period in south Bihar. Some bronzes discovered at Bihar Sharif and Kurkiḥār were till recently identified with "Vasudhārā". However, they evidently illustrate Durgā (shield and sword in one case), as a generous goddess (*varadamudrā* with round object) and as Yaśodā (holds the stick in the left hand, the churn is seen near the child in the lower left corner), thus definitely as a mother (i.e. in the present case of Kṛṣṇa) (idem, pp. 23-29 & fig. 24 e.g.).

26 For instance, it does not appear on the early images at Aphaṣṭ (Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 1-2) or on 8th or early 9th c. images from other areas of south Bihar (idem, figs. 3-5, Picron 1980, fig. 2).

27 As it is usually the case: Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 9-11, 14 and p. 12.

28 *Idem*, figs. 5-6, 8-12.

29 Bautze-Picron 1992a, figs. 1-5 donot show this ornament.

30 *Idem*, figs. 9 & 10.

31 *Idem*, figs. 8-10.

32 Bautze-Picron 1992a, figs. 9-11..

33 *Idem*, fig. 8 for the image from Itkhauri (the dated Tārā from the site points to relationship with the atelier of Kurkiḥār), see figs. 9 & 10 for two representations of Durgā from Bodh Gayā similar in iconography and in style with the image analysed here. Another stela is preserved in the Gayā Museum, inv. 013 (idem, appendix 17 p. 52). See also Huntington 1975, fig. 8 & 1984, fig. 100 for an image of Viṣṇu preserved at the BGM, photo ASI-ND 1965 for a second one, Asher 1988, fig. 13 p. 57 (Umā-Maheśvara in the Mahant's compound and *Visions of Enlightenment*. 1988, 5th unnumbered plate at the end of the volume, right photograph).

34 Goloubew n.d., pl. XIII; Paul 1995, pl. 44, 45, 70, 71, 73, ...; Bautze-Picron 1992a, figs. 13 or 18 e.g.

35 *Ibidem*, pp. 12 & 52 (images 10-13), figs. 5-8 (only the fig. 7 belongs to a later phase of the 9th to 10th c.). The image in the catalogue compares well to the fig. 6 where the lion occupies also only half the pedestal.

36 See above cat. 227-230 and Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 12, 27 & 36. But it might also have been attributes similar to those noticed on images of the Devī at Lakhi Sarai, i.e. the pseudo *makaradhvajā*, or a bowl of sweet or a hand-belt (idem, figs. 28-30 & p. 44).

37 Huntington 1984, figs. 73 & 78, Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 16, 27 (& p. 57 n° 72; add to it: Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 32 & pp. 158-159), 28 (& p. 57 n° 73).

38 Huntington 1984, fig. 73; Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 29-30, including, on fig. 29, the inscribed VA image, inv. IS 71-1880 (Cunningham 1873/1966, pl. XLV-33, Sircar 1955, Huntington 1984, fig. 80 & pp. 239-240, *Indian Sculpture* 1971, cat. 11, *Arts of Bengal* 1979, cat. 25, *Indian Antiquities*, photo 168 par J. Beglar).

39 Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 5-7.

40 It is discussed in detail by Bautze-Picron 1992, pp. 37-41 (appendix, p. 57 image 70).

41 Pal 1986, cat. S 144 p. 271 (includes further references). According to the author, the pair has to be related to Kṛṣṇa's biography. A late use of the motif is seen on a stela depicting Kṛṣṇa (Koller 1973, # 267 & pl. 69 where the motif appears twice on the pedestal).

42 Jacques 1962, pl. XV-3; it appears in the *Gayā Mahātmya* VIII-54 (idem, p. 296).

43 *Idem*, pp. 399 (*sub verbo* Kapila) & 408 (*sub verbo* Dhenuka).

44 Bautze-Picron 1992, fig. 21 & p. 56 n° 55 (with further references). The second image was recently discovered but its provenance is uncertain – it is allegedly reported to have been found near Kurkiḥār (idem, fig. 22 & p. 56 n° 56 [with further references]) but is stylistically related to the atelier of Bodh Gayā.

45 Haque 1992, pp. 237-253, more particularly pp. 244-247 where the eight-armed images are analysed.

46 Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 1-17 & pp. 8-15, 34-36: in these images, Durgā sits on her vehicle or stands in front of it; her number of arms can vary from four to eight. Bautze-Picron 1989c, fig. 6 illustrates a fighting Durgā worshipped in Gayā; a second

image of the goddess is preserved in the BM, inv. 1872.7-1.79 (Chanda 1936, pl. XVII), a post-Gupta depiction of the same, localised in Gayā, is reproduced by Asher 1988, fig. 3.

47 Huntington 1984, figs. 145-146; Asher 1986, fig.16; Sinha 1974, pl. 67-i.

48 *Ibidem*, fig. 147; Taddei 1967, p. 21 or Picron 1978, fig. 31; Sotheby's London 1989, # 170. But in the region of Bodh Gayā, the ancient treatment was preserved (Asher 1988, fig. 13; *Visions of Enlightenment* 1988, 5th unnumbered pl. at the end of the volume). A further image of Avalokiteśvara preserved at the Sūrya Mandir de Baḍgāon/Nālandā (photo ASI-ND 873/68) illustrates the same aura with the same flowers. Further examples of the grilled nimbus/aura behind the couple are illustrated by Sotheby's London 1985, # 292, Sotheby's New York 1988, # 36 or 1993b, # 110.

49 For a similar distribution of ear-rings, see: 1° Sotheby's London 1985, # 292; 2° & 3° Sotheby's London 1989, # 170 & 171; and the two images of Bodh Gayā quoted in the previous note.

50 It has been published by Asher 1986, fig. 15: stolen after March 1990 (when we could still see and photograph it), this image was recently sold at Sotheby's New York 1996b, # 123. Besides, the image had a now partly destroyed grilled band for nimbus, regularly interrupted by flowers.

51 Till now, this king was considered to be the second of this name in the genealogy of the Pāla rulers. However, a recently discovered inscription introduces to the historians a "new" Gopāla who reigned at least four years after Śurapāla I and who is thus the second king of this name in the line, the 10th century Gopāla becoming the third and the 12th century king the fourth one (information supplied by G. Bhattacharya who read the inscription, now preserved in an American collection).

52 Preserved in the site museum of Mainamati, published by Huntington 1984, fig. 50 (see also Bautze-Picron 1985c, footnote 10 & p. 19) or Asher 1981/82, pl. 1-3 & pp. 3-4.

53 Banerji 1933, pl. III-c; *AR of the ASI 1923-24*, pl. XXXVI-b; Huntington 1984, fig. 38. Mahendrapāla is the first son of Devapāla, and not the Pratihāra king of this name which tried to conquer Bihar towards the end of the 9th century, see G. Bhattacharyya 1988.

54 The motif of the complete flowers as seen on the image in the collection, appears to have been of a limited use; further examples are noticed on images from Bodh Gayā (Leoshko 1987, fig. 100) and from Nālandā (photo ASI-ND 873/68) or from its area (Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 7).

55 Bautze 1991/92.

56 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 4b, 24, 25 39, 40. See also in note 58 below: 1°.

57 Mallmann 1963, pp. 69-70. As mentioned by this author, the Kuṣmāṇḍa, also named Kumbhāṇḍa, form a group in early literary sources whereas in the *Agni Purāṇa*, one single such figure is quoted. The two attendants observed here occur also on other iconographies of Śiva, such as Sadāśiva or the depiction of the marriage (the author gives in her notes 6 & 7 p. 70 examples of the other iconographic types illustrating the pair). The portly male was identified with Mahākāla by H. Mitra (1933, pl. 15 & 18) as quoted by Mallmann, p. 70, who rather suggests to recognize the Kuṣmāṇḍa of the *Agni Purāṇa*. Haque 1992, does not detail the question (see pp. 145 & 155

where he evokes "Bhṛṅgī, Gaṇas ...") but suggests that the pot-bellied image "could be Bhairava or Mahākālā" (p. 145).

58 1° VRM inv. C(d)3/100 (Basak/Bhattacharyya 1919, p. 10; from Shanail, district of Bogra); 2° VRM C(d)4/18 (*idem*; from Mandail, PS Godagari, district of Rājshahi); 3° VRM inv. 692 (from the district of Bogra); 4° BDNM inv. 81.5077; 5° BDNM inv. 73.367 (Bautze-Picron 1985c, fig. 16; correct the provenance after Haque 1992, p. 389 n° 1618: from Kudahar, district of Bogra); 6° AM inv. A.M. 10 (*Ancient Sculpture* 1964, cat. 105; from Kaligram, district of Rājshahi); 7° Sotheby's New York, 1990c, # 267; 8° BSP inv G(b)1/361 (Banerji 1933, pl. LVb; Ganguly 1922, pl. XVI & pp. 71-72); 9° Sotheby's New York 1995a, # 3; 10° AM inv. 137 (*Inde* 1978, cat. 76); 11° VRM C(d)2/227 (Basak/Bhattacharyya 1919, pp. 9-10; from Nimdighi, PS Niyamatpur, district of Rājshahi).

59 See also in previous note, 1° & 2° or the Gaṇeśa published by Shamsul Alam (1985, fig. 83).

60 See note 131.

61 See notes 131 & 150.

62 MSM inv. 26 (photo AM Govt BD 79/133); the couple is mentioned in note 58-10°.

63 Note 58: 2°, 7° & 9°.

64 A Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara from Colgong on the Ganges and an Avalokiteśvara from Jamui (Bautze-Picron 1991/92, footnotes 10 & 54).

65 Sotheby's New York 1995a, # 6 is the best comparable example: a long row includes the same flower regularly alternating their position. A similar row is supposed to spread on the pedestal sustaining a Viṣṇu image collected at Belwa in the district of Saran (but stylistically related to the 12th century sculpture of the region of Nālandā) (AMP inv. 186; Gupta 1965, p. 69 n°84; Patil 1963, p. 37); it is indeed only clearly visible on the central steps, being hidden on the side ones by the human devotees and the vehicle of the god. There are some examples where only two such flowers are carved on the front part of the pedestal: 1° Christie's 1975, # 122; 2° MM inv. RVS-4 (from Gāzole, district of Māldā); 3° G. Bhattacharyya 1994, fig. 7.2; 4° Sotheby's New York 1994, # 106. All these images belong to different stylistic trends and only the origin of the Māldā image is well secured, all others are of unknown provenance.

66 1° Srivastava 1987, p. 52 lower left corner (Umā-Maheśvara found at Antichak); 2° Bautze-Picron 1991/92 note 59 p. 266 (Avalokiteśvara from Vikrampur). A further example of the flowers on a depiction of the Śaiva couple was recently published by Sotheby's New York 1992a, # 78.

67 In particularly the treatment of the diadem and of the shawl or the selection of the jewels. See Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs. 21-22 (= Bautze-Picron 1992a, figs. 27-28 & p. 57 n° 72 & 73. Add to n° 72: Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 32 pp. 158-159). The other images from this site include the same choice of motifs but these are differently carved, showing a more elaborate and later treatment.

68 Bautze-Picron 1992, pp. 43-46.

69 *Idem*, p. 43 & note 121.

70 One single image, from Ghosrāvān/Tetrāvān, is known at the present day of this goddess named "Muṇḍeśvari" or "Puṇḍeśvari" in the inscription which it bears (*idem*, pp. 37-41 & note 115).

71 G. Bhattacharyya 1987b, p.67. A tradition which also found its way in Buddhist iconography: Bautze-Picron 1996, p. 134 note 46.

72 G. Bhattacharyya 1987b, fig. 4 (six gods), see also AMP inv. 11265 (only five deities) and inv. 11324 (eight gods).

73 G. Bhattacharyya 1987b, fig. 5, pp. 67-68 & note 37.

74 On earlier images, she sits frontally, has a coil of hair atop the head which is usually held by a chain closed by one skull: BM inv. 1872.7-1.85 to 87 (of precise unknown origin, although all three of them might have been produced in the district of Monghyr), AMP inv. 82 (Gupta 1965, p. 73 n° 101 & Banerji 1933, pl. LVIII-b). See also cat. 234-235 for the use of the grilled band with lotus flowers as a nimbus in the region. The same head-dress is noticed on images from north Bengal from the 10th and 11th centuries: Haque 1992, pls. 216-218 or 221.

75 For north Bengal images of the goddess, see Haque 1992, pls. 219, 221 & pp. 267-269. The cult seems to have been much more limited in south-east Bengal (*ibidem*, pl. 220 or pp. 377-379: only two images were collected in the district of Dhaka: n° 1312 & 1317). Probably from the region also, a seated image of the goddess is preserved in the NM (inv. 63.939; B. N. Sharma 1969, fig. 12 & pp. 420-421). One can variously appreciate the presence of the goddess within the group of Hindu deities attacking the Buddha at His Enlightenment, on a rather large fragment from a stela probably found at Lakhi Sarai (Bautze-Picron 1996, figs. 18 & 21).

76 Haque 1992, p. 269.

77 Haque 1992, p. 267 lists 46 images of this mother among the 82 representations of Mātrkā which he could collect. For the Bangarh inscription, consult G. Bhattacharyya 1994, p. 93-94 quoting Sircar 1975 who published the inscription.

78 All four attributes are mentioned in a passage of the *Agni Purāṇa* (Mallmann 1963, p. 120; Picron 1984, p. 93). Two complete images are reproduced by Haque 1992, pl. 248-249, another damaged example is illustrated by Shamsul Alam 1995, fig. 57.

79 *Ibidem*.

80 M. Bhattacharyya 1982, pl. V.

81 Picron 1984, figs. 5-7 & p. 93.

82 See for example the hairdress of a Gaṇeśa preserved at the Walters Art Gallery inv. 25.49 or a Brahṃā in the Madras Museum (Picron 1984, fig. 3). 83 Picron 1984, pp. 98-99; Haque 1992, pp. 307-313.

84 See the map in Stapelton 1932 (pl. 3). Two comparative images are preserved in the Māldā Museum, inv. RVS-21 (Bautze-Picron 1985a, pl. IX-a) & RVS-32 (M: Bhattacharyya 1982, pp. 26 & 27). Further comparative images are kept in the National Museum, New Delhi: 1° inv. 63.927 (Bautze-Picron 1985a, pl. VIII-b), 2° inv. 63.943 (photo NM 4328/65).

85 On this emblem, which might be a disk or a flower, see Bautze-Picron 1985a, pp. 471-472.

86 For a map of the area, see Stapelton 1932, pl. 3 & 4, Gāzole is to be seen on pl. 3 ("Gājole"). Bhadrāśīlā is located "about a mile to the east of Itāhār" (Saraswati 1936, p. 12), both villages being outside the maps of Stapelton (on map 4, the road for Itāhār is indicated). Saraswati 1936 gives a good description of the area.

87 A stela showing Gaṅgā was found at Bhadrāśīlā (Saraswati 1936, fig. 2 & pp. 13-14; Majumdar

1943/1971, p. 462; Huntington 1984, fig. 250; Sen-gupta 1991a, pl. 18; Haque 1992, n° 1507, pl. 241 & p. 304; it is now preserved at the State Archeological Museum of West Bengal inv. S. 293); another one of Viṣṇu, nearly two meters high, was noticed at Itāhār (Saraswati 1936, p. 10; *AR of the ASI 1930-34*, pl. CL-d; preserved at the Indian Museum, inv. 8603/A 25194). Further images of the god were collected at Gāzole and are preserved in the State Archaeological Museum of West Bengal (neg. ASI 734/70 & 736/70) or in the Malda Museum (inv. RVS-15: M. Bhattacharyya 1982, p. 25 – unreproduced). Two more stelae "from Bengal" are preserved in the NM, inv. 63.928 & 79.474, which evidently belong to the very same group of images, and two further images, which are slightly later than the Berlin image or were produced by another atelier, are reproduced by Sotheby's New York 1993b, # 109 and Sotheby's London 1993, # 516.

88 Chakrabarti 1992, pp. 158-159; Bhattasali 1929, pp. vii-xii (& the map of the area on pl. LXXX facing p. x). In the following note, the find-spots of the images found in the area are referred through the name of the actual village and the historic name of Vikrampur.

89 The stylistic and iconographic criteria characterizing this school of sculpture and allowing here to suggest this geographic origin for the image in the collection are detailed in Bautze-Picron 1985c. Images used for a detailed comparison are the following: 1° IM inv. A25207/Ms.15 (of unknown precise origin, see Anderson 1883 note p. 330 & pp. 343-347 for a precise description of the image; Bautze-Picron 1985a, pl. XV-c, 1985c, fig. 21); 2° Present location unknown (Lempertz 29.11.1980, # 596 p. 96 & pl. 24); 3° Śiāldi/Vikrampur (Bhattasali 1929, pl. XXXI; Haque 1992, n° 661; Casey 1985, cat. 57); 4° BDNM inv. 69.170 (Mahākālī/Vikrampur – Bautze-Picron 1985c, fig. 17, Haque 1992, n° 480 & pl. 40); 5° BDNM inv. 69.113 (Tangirtak, district of Dhaka – Haque 1992, pl. 25); 6° BDNM inv. 69.155 (Paikpara/Vikrampur; Haque 1992, n° 51); 7° BDNM inv. 76.1343; 8° BDNM inv. 1104 (Vikrampur – Haque 1992, n° 4); 9° BDNM inv. 70.896 (Vikrampur – Gupta 1909, pl. facing p. 316, Haque 1992, n° 2 & pl. 26); 10° BDNM (no inv. ?) (Haque 1992, n° 65 & pl. 28 – from "East Bengal"); 11° Sotheby's London 1987a, # 204; 12° Present location unknown (Rāmpāl/Vikrampur – Gupta 1909, pl. facing p. 232; *Two Thousand* 1982, # 27).

90 Bautze-Picron 1985a, pp. 472-475.

91 This is the case on all the images listed in note 89. Haque 1992, p. 126 notes the same about the representation of *avatāra.s* on the *viṣṇupaṭṭa.s*.

92 Note 89: 7° and Haque 1992, fig. 25 (image found at Tangirtak, district of Dhaka). Closely related to this small group is the image 2° in note 89.

93 Note 89: 7°.

94 Bautze-Picron 1985a, pp. 474 (Bhūdevī) et 473 (Garūḍa), pl. XVI-b.

95 Most of the images are preserved in the reserve collection of the BDNM: inv. 76.1343, 79.1280, 1107, 66.38, 70.896.

96 M. Bhattacharyya 1982, pl. VII.

97 For Rājmahāl, see Anderson 1883, pp. 264-268; for Gaur & Pāṇḍua: *ibidem*, pp. 256-264, & 'Ābid 'Alī Khān, Khān Sāhib M. 1931; for the same & Ekḍāla: Stapelton 1932. Images collected in these sites, in particular at Gaur or Rājmahāl are listed in Anderson's catalogue of the IM, pp. 256-268. See

e.g.: a lintel with Brahmā (IM inv. Gr.18: Picron 1984, figs. 8-9; Anderson 1883, pp. 262-263); a panel depicting the Navagrahas (D. Mitra 1965, fig. 2; Anderson 1883, p. 261) or a representation of the reclining mother with child (IM inv. Gr. I: Huntington 1984, fig. 248; Anderson 1883, pp. 258-259) and one sculpture, badly damaged, of Durgā in the IM, inv. Gr. 15 (A. Banerji 1971, figs. 1-2; Anderson 1883, p. 261). See also note 54 in chapter V. Further images from Gaur are a large depiction of Dikpālās preserved in the BM (G. Bhattacharya 1987b, fig. 3).

98 Picron 1978, fig. 31-32 or Bautze-Picron 1985, pl. IV e.g.

99 Bautze-Picron 1985, pp. 465-466, pl. III-Va.

100 Bautze-Picron 1985, pp. 452-465 discusses this emblem in relation with the god and considers the various possibilities of identification. The earth is the most probable however. See pl. I-III.

101 *Idem*, p. 465-466.

102 *Idem*, pl. III-Va for comparison.

103 Above note 11.

104 A very careful analysis of the information related to the god given by the *Agni Purāṇa* was done by Mallmann 1963, p. 73-76, from where we borrow most of the information given here. See also Haque 1992, pp.177-195. There is much discussion about the precise identification of the four/five female deities depicted around Sūrya although some pairs are rather evident: Uṣā and Saṃdhyā (or Pratyusā), Rājñī (or Prabhā) and Sāyā (or Nīṣprabhā), the first one in each pair reflects the dawn or the clear light whereas the second one evokes the twilight or the dark light. The fifth goddess, who stands in front of Sūrya, could possibly be Chāyā (or Nīkṣubhā) who can also be identified with Pṛthivī, the earth-goddess.

105 1° Münsterberg 1970, p. 123, Sotheby's New York 1992b, # 106; 2° Sotheby's New York 1985, # 251; 3° Seattle Art Museum inv. 45.1n1.27 (Trubner *et alii* 1973, cat. 13 p. 95; Huntington/Huntington 1990, cat. 20 & pp. 145-146 for further references); 4° IM inv. NS 2246.

106 M. Bhattacharyya 1982, pl. III, pl. II-4; Haque 1992, figs. 150, 152.

107 Asher 1988, fig. 7.

108 Banerji 1933, pl. LIX-a, Asher 1970, pl. VIII (from Rohoi); Asher 1988, figs. 10-11 (in Gayā); Christie's 1982, # 197 (Kurkihār style); AMP inv. 12: Huntington 1984, fig. 148 (found in Monghyr district but illustration of the Kurkihār style).

109 Preserved in the IM inv. A25193 (Sivaramamurti 1957, fig. 8 or photo ASI-ND 125/58).

110 One may compare with a well preserved image of the god, where a similar background is carved behind the attending figures and where the both present the same attitude (Sotheby's New York 1985, # 251).

111 Bautze-Picron 1985c, figs. 13, 17 (the same article for a study of the broad lines of the stylistic development in the region), Bhattasali 1929, pl. XLIX-a.

112 Map in Bhattasali 1929, pl. LXXX (to face intro. p. x). For the images, see *ibidem*, pl. XXXIX (right) or Haque 1992, fig. 84; Haque 1992, fig. 83. See also Haque 1992, figs. 82 & 225 (without the plain band).

113 Another example is published by Haque 1992, fig. 110 (further references to previous publications of the same image in Bautze-Picron 1985c, note 60 p. 30). See also Banerji 1933, pl. LII-a & c, Majum-

dar 1943/1971, pl. VIII, Haque 1992, figs. 117-119, Bhattasali 1929, pl. XLII-XLIII.

114 Mallmann 1963, p. 203.

115 K. Bhattacharya 1961, p. 85 & pl. III-IV, another inscription call the goddesses Bhavānī (Umā) and Jāhnavī (for Gaṅgā) (*ibidem*) & p. 93.

116 File 1732/1911 where it was identified as being a depiction of "Basuki, the Serpent-King".

117 Bautze-Picron 1992d, fig. 11.

118 Bautze-Picron 1990b. This image does not coincide with any specific literary description, a not too much surprising fact. It combines elements which can be related to various aspects of the Śaiva iconography; if Bhairava is pot-bellied, another terrific form of the god, named Aghora, would be differentiated through its emaciated form (Haque 1992, figs. 141-143); Aghora appears also in a *maṇḍala* centered on Sadāśiva (Mallmann 1963, p. 55); the same Sadāśiva is surrounded by nine Śakti who presents the gesture of protection and of generosity (*idem*), a feature which could remind of the four female deities distributed here around the central image. As to Cāmuṇḍā, she dances on a Mahāpreta and her emaciation is characteristic (Haque 1992, p. 273).

119 Umā-Maheśvara: inv. S.M.L./19-H/10 (Picron 1978, fig. 46, *Das Kunstwerk* 1959, Abb. 9 p. 55). This image is of unknown provenance. However, it displays motifs which are typical of the region of Nālandā.

120 BSP inv. G8a)2/284: Huntington 1984, fig. 226, M. Ganguly 1922, pl. XV.

121 BM inv. 1872.7-1.97 (Picron 1978, fig. 37); Tārā from Hilsa (PM inv. 6014) (French 1928, pl. IX, Kramrisch 1929, fig. 6, Banerji 1933, pl. II-b, B. P. Sinha 1958, fig. 97, G. Bhattacharya 1982, pl. I, Huntington 1984, fig. 33, Huntington 1985, pl. 191); Avalokiteśvara (NIM inv. 12.87/10506) (*AR of the ASI 1930-34*, pl. CXXXVIII-a, Mallmann 1948, pl. X-a, A. Ghosh 1971, pl. IV, Saraswati 1977, ill. 67, M. Ghosh 1980, ill. 47) and a similar Bodhisattva at the RSM, inv. 1956.565 (*Asiatic Sculpture* 1978, fig. 3 p. 5; Bautze-Picron 1989e, n° 35). See also Asher 1988, fig. 6 which illustrates a Viṣṇu image from Gayā.

122 NIM 00001 (neg. ASI-ND 456/68).

123 See for instance a Buddha image discovered at Bodh Gayā: BM inv. 1887.7-17.47 (Chandra 1936, pl. XII & p. 51).

124 Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 27-30, 36.

125 The first identification according to Haque 1992, pp. 292-293 or Haque 1975, p. 140, the second identification according to N. K. Bhattasali 1929, p. 226 (quoted by Haque who considers it to be "unlikely"). Further iconographic references are given by Haque 1992, p. 286 note 90. The child Āstika can be depicted seated on the lap of the deity (G. Bhattacharya 1987c, p. 342; G. Bhattacharya 1990b, p. 175), he is also probably the child seen on the image probably carved in the late 12th century at Lakhi Sarai which is quoted in the previous note.

126 Haque 1992, p. 292 (1975, p. 140) suggests that this floral ornament would represent "one of the *nāgas*, namely Padmā". However, it occurs on other iconographic types as already noticed. See note 168 in chapter I. It is possible that the motif bears different meanings in those various cases. Haque 1975, p. 287 (1975, p. 137) notices that "48 out of 58 sculptures" of the goddess which he has listed were actually found in North Bengal.

127 Haque 1992, p. 293 (1975, pp. 142-143) "Group I – Type-1" mentions that 48 out of 51 images, tally with the iconography illustrated by the sculpture of the Museum.

128 Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 39 & p. 263 n° C.9.

129 Haque 1992, pp. 287-289.

130 Haque 1992, pl. 182: "Agni Durgā" from the district of Rājshahi. Images of the mother-goddess dating back from the 11th till the end of the 12th century were discovered in the area Lakhi Sarai; they all wear this type of head-dress: Bautze-Picron 1992, figs. 27-30 or 1991/92, figs. 21-24; from the same area, a Manasā image shares the same head-dress: Bautze-Picron 1991/92, fig. 39. The head-dress is also seen on images from north Bengal: beside the Durgā quoted above, see a mother-goddess from Moroil, district of Bogra in the MSM, inv. 13 (Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 103; Haque 1992, pl. 211; photo AM Govt BD 79/155), or a Manasā from the district of Dinajpur (VRM inv. H(e)5/ 322; Haque 1992, pl. 232).

131 Below note 150; Bautze-Picron 1985c, note 64. For the tiny flowers, see also one depiction of Umā-Maheśvara in the AM inv. 137 (*Inde* 1978, cat. 76; from the district of Rājshahi) or two Gaṇeśa images preserved in the MSM, inv. 26 (Hotshohr, P. S. Khetlal, district of Bogra) & without inv. (Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 83, photo AM Govt BD 79/1135) or another one (with the rhombus and the flowers) in the IM inv. 5625 (Banerji 1933, pl. LX-b – see below note 150-3° concerning the find-spot of the stela).

132 Srivastava 1987, ill. p. 52, lower left: an image of Umā-Maheśvara, which shows similarities (in the structure of the pedestal e.g.) with images of the same iconography discovered in North Bengal (BDNM inv. 81.5077 & 73.367: Bautze-Picron 1985c, fig. 16). Comparable to the Antichak image, a further depiction of the divine couple is illustrated by Sotheby's New York 1992a, # 78. The same structure of the pedestal occurs also on another illustration of this iconography (Sotheby's New York 1995a, # 3).

133 See 1° B.P. Sinha 1959; 2° Banerji 1933, pl. Lc or Larson/Pal/Gowen 1980, cat. 13; 3° The Russek Collection, inv. 806 IBIP.

134 Bull and Gaṇeśa are seen on an image in the Viṣṇupāda Temple of Gayā (Banerji 1933, pl. L-b); Gaṇeśa alone on a stela in the LACMA (where the baby is absent) (Pal 1988, cat. 93 p. 194; G. Bhattacharya 1991b, fig. 4), the same and Skanda occur on the image dated in the reign of Vīgrahapāla (II), i.e. in the second half of the 10th century (G. Bhattacharya 1991b, fig. 5 & pp. 316-317).

135 For later examples, see R.D. Trivedi 1974, figs. 1-3; Banerji 1933, pl. L-a; Haque 1992, pl. 236-239.

136 Haque 1992, p. 298.

137 Quoted above in note 134.

138 Haque 1992, p. 296, quoting Bhattasali 1929, p. 138sq. See also Haque for a general discussion of the iconography (pp. 295-299).

139 Like the image preserved at Seattle (Banerji 1933, pl. Lc or Larson/Pal/Gowen 1980, cat. 13) which is reported to have been collected in the district of Dinājpur (see the legend in Banerji's book; Pal was unaware of it when he located its origin in Bihar).

- 140 See for instance Huntington 1984, fig. 49 (image dated in the reign of Gopālā II).
- 141 For instance: *ibidem*, figs. 49, 128, 133. Most of the images from north Bengal introduce the loops on the diadem.
- 142 Haque 1992, p. 295 mentions that 36 of the 38 images which he has listed were found in this region.
- 143 *Ibidem*, p. 260 noticed the presence of Garuḍa on the images of the goddesses which he analysed.
- 144 Haque 1992, p. 260 & pl. 209. See beside the images listed by this author (p. 376), Sotheby's London 1985, # 310 or Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 24.
- 145 VRM inv. D(e)5/223 & inv. D(e)4/65 (Basak/Bhattacharyya 1919, p. 17; Haque 1992, pl. 209).
- 146 Although one has to say that this number is much irregular; if the literary sources list usually seven Mothers, the artistic rendering of the group seems to have eventually resulted from a selection of the deities, perhaps by the donator. Consult Haque 1992, pp. 257-258 who lists groups of three, five or eight (nine for him: the ninth is Durgā, see following note) deities. Similarly, numerous bronze groups are known, which all show similar discrepancies.
- 147 VRM inv. D(e)1/7 (Basak/Bhattacharyya 1919, p. 16; Haque 1992, p. 258).
- 148 Examples similar to this one: 1° preserved in the MSA, inv. 1234 (photo AM 79/131), 2° Saraswati 1932, pl. 7-4 (from Dinājpur: *idem*, p. 183); 3° in the art market (seen and photographed in Cologne in September 1986; *Oriental Art*, 1988, unnumbered p. 26); 4° Leroy Davidson 1968, cat. 68. For a six-armed Gaṇeśa on the rat, see Haque 1992, pl. 256 (Sibpur, district of Dinājpur). Earlier images of the god from Bihar have been analysed by Singh 1983.
- 149 Haque 1992, p. 323 quotes as alternative to this gesture the *gajahasta* (hand stretched in front of the breast: *idem*, p. 149 – *mudrā* illustrated by the images 2° & 3° of the previous footnote).
- 150 The first three images quoted above in note 148, or: 1° MSM inv. 1245 (photo AM Govt BD 79/132) (from Mahadevpur, Naogaon, district of Rajshahi); 2° Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 83 (MSM); 3° Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XII-fig. 30 or *AR of the ASI 1934-35*, pl. XXXIV-a & p. 79 (IM inv. 9205); 4° Banerji 1933, pl. LX-b (IM; correct the provenance after Majumdar 1943/1971, p. 448: from Bāngarh, district of Dinājpur); 5° *idem*, pl. LX-d (VRM inv. G(b)5/374; from Deopara, district of Rajshahi); 6° *idem*, pl. LX-c (VRM inv. G(b)1/224; from Gol, district of Rajshahi); 7° Basak/Bhattacharyya 1919, 7th unnumbered pl. (inv. G(b)2/185 p. 26; from the district of Rajshahi); 8° Sotheby's London 1990, # 70.
- 151 Note 150: 3°, 4°; Haque 1992, pl. 256. Compare them also to the Mothers attending to a Bhairava from the district of West Dinājpur (below footnote 152).
- 152 Haque 1992, pl. 257; note 148: 3°; 148: 5°, 8°; This treatment is also encountered on images from Bihar: Sotheby's New York 1988, # 35, Sotheby's New York 1990c, # 266 (or Sotheby's New York 1991b, # 89). The head-dress is also noticed on the head of other deities, such as Bhairava or Brahmā: Bautze-Picron 1990a, figs. 1-3 (IM inv. 72/2; from Bhairātā, district of West Dinājpur); Shamsul Alam 1985, fig. 57 (MSM inv. 1235).
- 153 See Haque 1992, pp. 313-327.
- 154 Brown 1991, p. 5, 183.
- 155 Mutilation which is related to the myth of the beheading of the god: Courtright 1985, pp. 74-90.
- 156 Haque 1992, pl. 176 (perhaps also 174) shows the same shape of the back-slab, including the tenon which would have helped to hold the image erected.
- 157 On the iconography of Śāni, see G. Bhattacharya 1986a. Add to the illustration of this article, one further image of Śāni published by Sotheby's London 1976, # 184.
- 158 For the iconography of the group, consult D. Mitra 1965, Gail 1980, Haque 1992, pp. 197-200, Markel 1995, pp. 122-126.
- 159 *Ibidem*, p. 19.
- 160 No vehicle is shown on the following panels: Markel 1995, figs. 32-33, 48-49; G. Bhattacharya 1986a, fig. 2; Christie's 1989, # 230; Sotheby's New York 1995a, # 6, Haque 1992, pl. 177, D. Mitra 1965, figs. 2-7. For the depiction of the *vāhana.s*, see Mitra 1965, figs. 8-11 or Haque 1992, pl. 174-176. See about the question Mitra 1965, p. 26. For all what follows, see Mitra 1965, pp. 16-21, *passim* & the corresponding figs. 8 & 9.
- 161 *Ibidem*, fig. 10 & pp. 20-21, it is preserved in the Directorate of Archaeology of West Bengal, inv. S.34.
- 162 Compare to P. Chandra 1970, cat. 420 or 450 e.g.
- 163 *Ibidem*, cat. 240, 420 and Trivedi 1983, fig. 16 & 31 for examples from regions located west of Bihar. However, a depiction of Viṣṇu reclining on Śeṣa which is preserved in the Gayā Museum and was found locally in the Kṛṣṇadvarkā temple (inv. 017), belongs to the same stylistic idiom. Could we suggest that images were also imported into Gayā and in the region from far-away sites?
- 164 Compare to P. Chandra 1970, cat. 233 & 240, Trivedi 1983, fig. 5 & 16.

CHAPTER IV

JAIN IMAGES

265. Mahāvīra

Inv. I 1191/old IC 36451.

92 x 43,5 x 14 cm. Sandstone.

Wagner collection, 1909.

From the district of "Mānbhūm"

(today: district of Purulia),

probably from Palma.

This image and the following one were found in an area where a large number of Jain temples were constructed and numerous images carved. The largest site is Pakbirra which is well documented,¹ and other remains were or are scattered in villages like Garh Jaipur² or Palma, in the neighbourhood of Purulia, where this image was perhaps collected together with the next one.³

As in most of the Jain images of the area, the back-slab is rectangular. It is sustained by a stepped pedestal where the lions of the throne are profiled on either side of a third one, which is larger and turns his front part toward us. This animal is the emblem, *lāñchana* or *cihna*, of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and last Tirthaṅkara.⁴ The tenon which was used to fix the image in the ground or in another pedestal is still visible.

Naked, the Jina stands on a lotus in *kāyotsarga*^o, perfectly erected with both arms falling on either side of the body. His face is slightly damaged; his curled hair covers the cranial protuberance.

Behind him, the royal throne has been depicted with rows of beads hanging below both extremities of the lintel, which supports the nimbus and the two triangular fleurons. The nimbus is constituted by a row of pearls and a band of flames which are also noticed at the fleurons. The triple umbrella hovers above the Jina with two branches of a tree which fall on either side, which is most probably the *caityavṛkṣa* of the Jina, i.e. the *śāla* tree (*Shorea robusta*).⁵ Divine hands playing cymbals and a drum are carved on either side of the umbrellas. Two flying figures are shown in the upper angles, offering garlands to the Mahāvīra.

The Tirthaṅkara is attended by two fly-whisk bearers. Both stand in a three-quarter profiled view, turned towards the Jina with crossed legs. Both hold the *cāmara* in the front hand, parallel to their arm, and have the second one placed on the bent leg. They wear a short skirt where folds are indicated through incised lines and which is held by a pearled girdle; a flat necklace and a high pointed tiara. Three human devotees kneel behind these servants, offering their worship to the Jina.

Two rows of four deities each surround the

Mahāvīra. They are the eight Dikpāla.s, recognizable through their respective vehicles and very strictly distributed. On the proper right side of the Jina, from bottom to top, we can identify: Kubera (north), pot-bellied and offering perhaps a fruit in the lower left hand, Varuṇa (west) seated on a *makara* and protected by a triple snake-hood, Yama (south) riding the buffalo and presenting the club or *daṇḍa* in the right hand and Indra (east) riding the elephant with perhaps the *vajra* in the raised hand. Facing them, we see: Īśāna (north-east) on the bull, armed with the *triśūla*, Vāyu (north-west) on the deer, holding the banner in the left hand, Nirṛti (south-west) armed with a club-like object and seated astride an animal which could be a dog or a donkey, Agni (south-east) on the ram and surrounded by flames. The presence of the space deities is rather unusual since the Graha.s are normally introduced at this place.⁶

The various forms of ornaments as well as the position of the fly-whisk bearers are noticed on images from Pakbirra. Other points of similarities are observed: the throne, the flamed nimbus and fleurons, the shape of the back-slab or the organization of space on it with the very same motifs in the upper part.⁷

PUBLISHED

Grünwedel 1909, Abb. 32 & p. 57; Mevissen 1998.

266. Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha

Inv. I 1192/old IC 35095.

95 x 42 x 10 cm. Sandstone.

Wagner collection, 1907.

From Palma, district of "Mānbhūm"

(today: district of Purulia).

This damaged image represents Ādinātha, also named Ṛṣabhanātha who stands in *kāyotsarga*^o. Naked, he can be identified through his hair-dress which shows the hair knotted in a high *jaṭā* and some curls falling on the shoulders. Two fly-whisk bearers attend to him, each carrying on the shoulder the *cāmara*. Both are similar to those described on the previous image.

A row of large petals, probably supposed to illustrate the traditional flames, runs along the edge of the back-slab, which is rounded and adorned with the motifs noticed above on the previous image. The triple umbrella is damaged; it is surrounded by the hands of the divine musicians and by the flying garland-bearers. Besides, two flowers are carved on either side of the upper part of the nimbus. This nimbus is shaped like a trefoil and supports in both indentations a floral motif which might perhaps be the stylised rendering of the *nyagrodha* (*Ficus Bengalensis* or banyan) which is

the *caityavṛkṣa* of the Tirthaṅkara.⁸ Behind the torso, the high back of the throne is depicted in low relief with the edges adorned by rows of pearls which are attached below the extremities of the lintel. Two *makara*.s are profiled on either side of the nimbus.

Ṛṣabhanātha is surrounded by the 24 Jina.s distributed in groups of three on either side. All are naked and stand in the same perfectly erected position with arms falling on either side of the body. No element allows a detailed identification of them; only the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha can be recognized as the central figure of the lower left row since, though badly damaged, this tiny image, used to be protected by the snake-hood typical of this Jina. Interesting enough is that the criterion of symmetry has here overruled the iconographic program: there should be only 24 Jina.s, including the central one, and not 25 as is presently the case. As a matter of fact, only 23 should be distributed around the central image,⁹ which would imply that an image such as this one should present two groups of respectively 12 and 11 Jina.s.¹⁰

The much spoilt pedestal presented the two lions on either side of the profiled bull, which is the *lāñchana* of this Jina and of which the outline is still traceable. A pair of devotees were kneeling on either side of the central animal.

PUBLISHED

Grünwedel 1909, Abb. 33 & p. 57.

267. Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha

Inv. IC 36211.

60 cm. Phyllite (?).

Waddell collection 90, 1908.11

Most probably from Vaiśālī, district of Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

This standing representation of the first Jina was probably collected by Waddell at Basarh, where the following images were discovered (see below). All of them show the typical pointed shape encountered all through Bihar and Bengal with a plain band running along the edge.

Ādinātha stands fully erected, naked, the hair knotted in tiny curls covering the front part of the head with a larger knot topping it; unplaited curls fall on the shoulders. The face is round, with large open eyes and a slightly smiling mouth, features which are also shared with the seated Tirthaṅkara of the collection.

The triple umbrella hovers above the Jina, surrounded by two elephants carved in high relief while the torso of a drummer appears above it. Two garland-bearers fly on either side of Ādinātha's head behind the large leaves of the *nyogrodha* which spread from behind

the Jina. A circular nimbus lies above a plain rectangular back-throne whereas two *makara*s are profiled in the small angles between nimbus and back-throne.

The Tirthaṅkara stands above a single row of lotus petals spread above the stepped pedestal which includes a plain plinth below the depiction of two human devotees surrounding the central step; they kneel and worship with folded hands the Jina below whom a drapery falls, adorned by the bull whereas two prancing lions emerge on either side.

The twenty-three Jinas who followed in the course of time Ādinātha are regularly distributed around him, they either stand in the same *kayotsarga*° or in *padma*° on a plain plinth. In the absence of any *cihna*, it is impossible to identify them and only Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha are clearly seen at the level of the central Jina's shoulders, both protected by a snake-hood; it is also possible that the Jina crowning the image is aimed at being the last Jina Mahāvira.

PUBLISHED

Führer 1929, p. 44 pl. 14.

268. Ādinātha or Rṣabhanātha

Inv. IC 33725.

c. 61 cm. Phyllite (?).

Waddell collection 89, 1905.

From Basarh, i.e. Vaiśālī, district of

Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

This image is probably one of the "two statues of Jain Tirthaṅkaras, one seated, the other standing, [which] were discovered about eight feet below the surface"¹² around 1881-82 before being brought in a "mud hut... [near...] a large old tank... the Rakshahiya-pokhar" at Baniyā, Basarh from where they were afterwards (c. 1890-1891) removed without any further information about their destination.¹³

The first of the series of 24 Tirthaṅkara.s, named Ādinātha or Rṣabhanātha, sits cross-legged with hands folded in the *dhyāna*° on a cushion adorned by rhombi. The naked Jina wears his long hair knotted at the top of the head and the unplaited strands falling behind the elongated ears and on the shoulders. He wears an ornament, the *śrīvatsa*, on the breast. His emblem, the bull, is profiled below him.¹⁴

The high five-stepped pedestal has a plain lower part and includes two prancing lions with their torso turned towards the spectator and two human devotees with both hands folded in the *añjalimudrā* on either side of Cakreśvarī who is the *śāsana-yakṣī* of the Jina.¹⁵ As a Jain counterpart of Vaiṣṇavī, she also sits in *lalita*° on Garuḍa and presents in the upper right and left hands the club and the disk, the main right hand makes the *abhaya*°

while the second left one probably holds the *śaṅkha*.¹⁶

Three superimposed umbrellas supporting a flat *āmalaka* and a crowning *kalasa* hover above him. Below them, two broad branches of *nyagrodha* spread, surrounded by two flying garland-bearers. Two mounted elephants converge towards the umbrellas and the torso of a drum-player arises above the composition. Four Jina.s, two on each side, sit around Rṣabhanātha, all sit in *padma*° and display the same gesture of meditation. All show the same hair-dress with hair drawn backwards and matted on the top of the head. All bear the same *śrīvatsa* on the breast but only one can be properly named, i.e. Candraprabha, the eighth Tirthaṅkara, carved at the proper left shoulder of the central Tirthaṅkara. A moon crescent, his *cihna*, is indeed carved on the pedestal above which he sits.

The image of the Jina does not illustrate the usual stiffness; the body is softly carved; the hair is carefully detailed. The facial features are also rendered with attention, the eyes open with the look directed downwards, the mouth smiling slightly. On the contrary, the surrounding Jina.s as well as the other characters are rendered in a rougher manner, all wide-opened.

PUBLISHED

Führer 1929, p. 44 & pl. 14; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 10.

269. Candraprabha

Inv. IC 33724.

30,5 cm. Phyllite (?)

Waddell collection 88, 1906.

From Basarh, i.e. Vaiśālī, district of

Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

The eighth Jina Candraprabha sits in *padma*° with hands folded in the *dhyāna*° on a high double-petalled lotus which is adorned by a row of thick beads. Behind him, the lintel of the throne is indicated through superposed flat mouldings supporting the flamed nimbus and the two high triangular fleurons. The upper part of the pointed back-slab shows the usual triple umbrellas above the two hands playing the drum; branches of a tree, the *nāga*, spread on either side, carved in low relief.

A high pedestal supports the composition: the five recesses are all adorned with a pair of lions, a pair of caparisoned elephants and a female devotee on the front part. All are carved in low-relief, the animals profiled towards the outside of the composition but turning their heads towards the viewer or backwards. The woman kneels towards her proper left, in a position intended as if she would look toward the Jina, a veil covering the head and both hands joined in front of the breast. A broad flat

moulding runs along the upper and lower edges of the pedestal, supporting the moon crescent, which is the *cihna* of Candraprabha.

The Jina is apparently naked, wears curled hair and a cranial protuberance. Four smaller similar images are distributed around him whereas two female bearers of fly-whisk.¹⁷ They are turned towards the Jina, legs crossed and holding the *cāmara* with the inner hand above the head.

270. Votive "Caumukha" shrine

Inv. I 585/old IC 8705.

61 x 17,5 cm. Grey sandstone.

Bastian collection, 1879.

From Bihar, suggested provenance: district of Purulia.

This type of four-sided sculpture is often encountered on Jain sites,¹⁸ it is called "caumukha", from *caturmukha* or "four-faced (image)" since it shows four Jina.s, either standing or seated in four niches. They all sit in *padma*°, and all display the same *dhyāni*°. However, they do not represent the same Jina since at least two Tirthaṅkara.s can be properly identified, i.e. Rṣabhanātha, recognizable through his high *jaṭā* and Pārśvanātha, protected by the snake-hood. The two remaining images cannot be identified since even their *lāñchana* has not been carved below them.

The shape of the square tower is similar to the *śikhara* of Bengali temples with a central *paga* which is plain and is topped by a series of mouldings ending in a point. A large jar crowns the structure. The four niches have a plain circular shape above which a stylised snake is carved; his hood is depicted on both extremities. The angles of this lower part are in a recess. A high pedestal including a triple moulding supports the construction.

It is very likely that this caumukha was produced in the district of Purulia or nearby. It compares more particularly with one shrine located at Pakbirra through some of its elements, such as the pedestal, the recessed angles of the lower part, the structure of the tower or the large pinnacle.¹⁹

271. Jain couple

Inv. IC 209(IC 769).

c. 43 cm. Phyllite (?).

Unknown provenance, 1846.

East India. Suggested provenance: district of Mayurbhañj, Orissa, perhaps the region of Khiching or of Puri, Praci valley, region around Kakaṭpur.

Suggested chronology: 11th c.

A couple sits on a double lotus with large petals and edged by a row of dots, as reminder of

the stamens. Both hold the same flower in the right hand whereas the left one reclines on their left knee. Both sit in the same easy manner below the tree which spreads above them like an canopy, with their right leg folded high and the left one lying on the seat. Their bodies follow a gentle curve: the torso of the male figure is put forward with square shoulders while the female deity presents a more shy movement, withdrawing backwards her more round shoulders. Both of them however have their look directed towards the viewer outside the image.

They wear a plain skirt attached with a simple belt closed by an oval clasp and are adorned by the same choice of jewellery, i.e. single rows of pearls as armlets and anklets, a short beaded *upavīta* passing between the breast of the female deity and to which is apparently attached a further row of pearls which follow the lower curve of the breast, a broad flat necklace composed by three beaded rows attached by a large gemmed ornament. The male figure wears imposing ear-rings, smaller than those at the ears of his companion. His head-dress is also imposing: a high bejewelled crown is surrounded by a pearled diadem wearing triangular fleurons and attached in the back – the cloth ribbons are visible above the ears.

The broad lotus is attached to foliated scrolls which run on the lower part of the image, carved in low relief behind seven small male figures, all seated like the central male deity, i.e. with the right leg folded high and the left one lying on the ground. All appear to be naked, with curled hair and pot-bellied. All of them present the same attribute shaped as a round ball, perhaps a fruit in the right hand. A plain plinth with side recesses supports the image.

Above the tree, a flat and unadorned slab supports a Jina, seated with supine legs and hands; the umbrella protects him whereas two fly-whisk bearers are profiled on either side as if facing him. Behind them, two flowers are carved in high relief above the cymbals and a drum held by the divine hands. A small figure sits on a swing which hangs in the tree. Behind the leaves which spread above him and which cover partly the pedestal of the Jina, a motif is incised, which is most probably the *cihna*, which seems to be the lion, the head and a front leg of which can be seen on the right of the foliage. This could imply that the Jina is to be identified with Mahāvīra. Similarly, it is possible that the tree is the śāla, which is the *caityavṛkṣa* of this Jina, or the *aśoka* related to Mallinātha.²⁰

This couple could represent the parents of Mahāvīra Vardhamāna. In relation with this position of having given life to the Jina, they are also evidently related to the more general

idea of fertility: both of them hold a bunch of flowers from the tree below which they have taken place. At their feet, seven portly images remind of small children.²¹ Another doubt subsists as to the identity of the small character sitting on the swing; some other examples from eastern India include him, but no clue is available as to whom he is.²² Similarly, the small male figures have been recognized as *vyostīṣkadeva.s*,²³ as children²⁴ or as devotees.²⁵

This stela can be stylistically compared to images from the district of Mayurbhanj in north Orissa, more precisely with sculptures from Khiching.²⁶ And the use of the same rectangular cutting of the back-slab is also noticed at Palma (cat. 265) or Pakbirra in the nearby district of Purulia, West Bengal.²⁷ Small similar flowers to those carved in the upper part are also noticed at Palma (cat. 266) or at Pakbirra where they are incised.²⁸ This is not very surprising since the art of the region around Khiching and Benusāgar in Bihar, which is only a few kilometers west of the Orissan site, illustrates a blend of stylistic features tracing their origin in Orissa as well as in the neighbouring countries of Bihar and Bengal.²⁹

None the less, the same iconography is noticed in the Praci valley, more precisely at Lataharaṇa.³⁰ However, the treatment of some motifs differs from the one encountered here although the two flower-medallions carved in the upper corners occur on a number of images from the area.³¹ It appears also that Jaina images are scattered all through the valley, which would make it also a possible origin for the image under survey.³²

PUBLISHED

Führer 1929, p. 44 pl. 14; Doehring 1925, pl. 77.

272. Male deity with attendants

Inv. IC 37608.

Coarse-grained sandstone (?).

Rawlins collection, 1911.

Suggested origin: South Bihar.

Suggested date: 9th c.

A male figure sits in *lalita*° accompanied by two small females attendants, sitting the same way and carrying a fly-whisk. He holds a club in the right hand whereas the left one lies behind his folded left leg. The back-slab, partly broken, is adorned by a grilled band running along the edge, which is observed on 9th c. images from Bihar.³³ The pedestal is plain but bears the incised motif of an animal profiled toward the right and depicted in a jumping position. The central deity wears only some ornaments and a tiara apparently.

The identification of this image remains problematic and can only be proposed by com-

parison with rare similar images, although none of them was discovered in eastern India. It is indeed possible that the male deity is a Kṣetrapāla: some images of this gardian are noticed in Central India, where he is depicted seated in the position shown here, having usually four arms and holding in the main right hand the club like here (but at least one example with two hands is known); this figure is always accompanied by a dog which would thus be the animal depicted here.³⁴

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1928, pl. 244.

1 Patil 1963, pp. 347-349. See the monograph by K. Bhattacharyya, P. K. Mitra & A. C. Bhowmick 1986 where all previous publications are mentioned and the images still *in situ* illustrated; see in particular pp. 134-136 for a history of Jainism in the region. A further image of the Mahāvīra from Pakbirra is preserved in San Francisco, inv. B60 S120+ (*Pāla* 1984, cat. 13; Bautze-Picron 1995a, fig. 15), which is close to an image of Candraprabha still *in situ* (Bhattacharyya/Mitra/Bhowmick 1986, pl. 33).

2 Saraswati in Ghosh 1975, pl. 156A & p. 263.

3 On Palma: Patil 1963, p. 356; Jash 1989, pp. 76-77, P. K. Mitra 1984 where further images from the site are reproduced. Images from the village are preserved in the AMP: Gupta 1965, p. 90; Ghosh 1975, pl. 158B. See also D. Mitra 1958 for images from the district of Bankura. A detailed bibliography on Jain art in this region is given by U. P. Shah 1987, p. 195 note 40, see also Bhowmick 1983 & 1984 as well as most of the volumes of the *Jain Journal*, a quarterly on Jainology.

4 Shah 1987, pp. 84 (list of emblems of the Jina.s) & 187-193 on the Jina.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 89 gives the list of the twenty four trees and by the same author 1955, p. 76.

6 K. Bhattacharyya/P. K. Mitra/A.C. Bhowmick 1986, pl. 38, 40.

7 K. Bhattacharyya/P. K. Mitra/A. C. Bhowmick 1986, pl. 41 is the closest example, see also pl. 23, 24 or 38 for comparative motifs and treatment. But the attending figures or the treatment of the throne are also similar on a stela from Palma (Ghosh 1975, pl. 158B); compare also to an image of Rṣabhanātha from Ambikanagar (D. Mitra 1958, pl. III-A).

8 A similar motif is noticed on either side of the nimbus of another image of the Jina from the same region which is preserved at the Asutosh Museum (Jash 1989, fig. 17). Identical petals are carved on a door-jamb from Kendua (D. Mitra 1958, pl. IX).

9 As is the case with the image from Surohor, north Bengal, now preserved in the VRM (Introduction, note 62). J.N. Banerjea in Majumdar 1943/1971, p. 464 notices also "for the sake of symmetry" the presence of the 24 minimized images around the central one.

10 This iconographic program is not unusual in the region: *idem*, pls. 15, 39, 41; Ghosh 1974, p. 155 & pl. 83A (this image shows also the floral motif on either side of the nimbus).

11 Waddell's letter dated 12.6.1908, image n° 9 (file 1275/08). Image included in the list of the "not" to be sold objects (file 2188/05).

- 12 Smith 1902, p. 282-283.
- 13 Bloch 1904, p. 16 (doubts however that the images, which he apparently never saw, were Jain). The images appear to have been noticed by Garrick at the place named Chak-Rām-Dās/Chākām Dās or Banya, "less than a mile west by north from the fort of Besarh" (in Cunningham/Garrick 1885/1969, pp. 91-92; but the author does not mention their iconography). From the size given by Garrick, the smallest one (one foot ten inches by one foot by three inches) could be here cat. 269, whereas the largest one (two feet two inches by 14 inches by three inches) could be either cat. 267 or 268. Bloch says that they were "taken away some twelve years" before he carried his work (in 1903) at the site, i.e. around 1890-1891, which is apparently the period when Waddell was travelling in the region. The *List of Monuments* 1895, p. 397 mentions that P.C. Mukherji collected Buddhist and architectural fragments for the Indian Museum – perhaps did he also take away the Jain images? (none of them appears in the Chakravarti/Bloch catalogue [1908/1911] however). Mukherji went apparently at different moments at Vaiśālī: he is mentioned by the 1895 *List* whereas Smith 1902, p. 275 note 2 writes that the Bābū visited the site in November 1897 "on behalf of the Government of Bengal". See also Patil 1963, p. 34. Another seated Jina appears among a group of Hindu and Buddhist images photographed in a temple "near Baman Pokar" of Besarh by the Eastern Circle of the ASI in 1903-1904 (photos 243 & 244) (*AR of the AS, Bengal Circle* 1904, p. 9 – the accompanying album of photographs was consulted at the IOIC, London). See also Tiwary 1996, pp. 163-164. All authors mention the existence of two images, but Waddell collected three stelae at this site which has yielded more Jainistic remains, even though not so large in size (Tiwary 1996, p. 148 quoting Mishra/Roy 1964, p. 13); Jash 1989, fig. 13 reproduces a Padmaprabha from the place.
- 14 See Shah 1987, pp. 112-128 for the iconography of the Jina and a lengthy description of numerous examples of his images.
- 15 *Ibidem*, pp. 224-246, more particularly pp. 230-231: similar images to this one were noticed at Deogarh and Khajuraho.
- 16 Since the conch is usually carved when the club is illustrated. On a number of images of the goddess, the club is replaced by a second depiction of the disk and the attribute held in the lower left hand is either a lotus or a citron (see the descriptions given by U. P. Shah).
- 17 Shah 1987, p. 142 mentions a similar image at Rājgir where six small Tirthaṅkara.s are depicted around the central Jina. For the tree, see *ibidem*, p. 89.
- 18 One, now preserved in the NIM was recovered at the Son Bhaṇḍar cave of Rājgir (Shah 1955, fig. 28; Shah 1987, fig. 58; Tiwari/Giri 1989, fig. 105), other ones are preserved at the AM (Ghosh 1975, pl. 159; Jash 1989, figs. 8 & 22) or are located at Pakbirra (K. Bhattacharyya/P. K. Mitra/A. C. Bhowmick 1986, pls. 13, 25-26, 28-29) and Barkala (D. Mitra 1958, pls. IV-B & C, V-A & B); see also Jash 1989, figs. 21 & 23.
- 19 K. Bhattacharyya et alii, pls. 28-29.
- 20 Majupuria/Joshi 1988, p. 126. It is, however, evident, that the leaves are here longer and narrower than those of the śāla and remind more of those of the aśoka (*ibidem*, p. 106). On the other side, the symbol below the Jina is not the water pot of Mal-linātha.
- 21 This identification remains uncertain, other examples are noticed all through north India at the time, with elements suggesting the parental relation between the couple and the Jina at the top of the image although in some cases, these figures appear to be the pair of *yakṣa/yakṣī*: Shah 1987, pp. 48-51.
- 22 Shah 1987, fig. 203 (& p. 50); Bhattacharyya/Mitra/Bhowmick 1986, pl. 12.
- 23 Bhattacharyya/Mitra/Bhowmick 1986, p. 139 (about their pl. 10).
- 24 Shah 1987, p. 48.
- 25 Mohapatra 1986, vol. I, p. 148: concerning most probably the image reproduced by Donaldson 1985, I, fig. 1233, although Mohapatra sees a child in the arms of the female deity and identifies mangoes in the hands of both figures which he identifies with Gomedha and Ambikā.
- 26 Chanda 1929, pls. II-a, X, XIII-b (facial features, jewellery), XII, XV (lotus-seat and scrolls), XXIV-right (crown); pl. IIa is also illustrated by Donaldson 1985, I, fig. 2853 (and add to it fig. 2854); pl. X (left) is reproduced by Mohapatra 1986, fig. 73 & by Donaldson 1985, I, fig. 584; see also Donaldson 1987, III, fig. 3925.
- 27 Bhattacharyya/Mitra/Bhowmick 1986, pls. 10, 12, 22, 23, 31-33, 38-41. We shall add the image of Ambikā preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. I.S. 61-1963 (*Indian Art* 1978, front cover, *Indian Art* 1969, pl. 20; Sharma 1989, pl. 3; Pal et alii 1995, cat. 62; Tiwari 1996/97, fig. 48).
- 28 *Idem*, pl. 32. And above a Rṣabhanātha from the district of Mayurbhanj which is preserved in the NMND (Ghosh 1974, pl. 88 & p. 163; Mohapatra 1984, fig. 104).
- 29 As already mentioned by Donaldson 1985, pp. 231, 239 or 245.
- 30 Donaldson 1985, I, p. 440 & fig. 1233. The image is possibly dated in the late 11th c. It is described by Mohapatra 1986, I, pp. 147-148 where it is identified as being a representation of Gomedha and Ambikā. See also note 25 for the discrepancies in the description.
- 31 Donaldson 1985, I, figs. 1230 & 1231 (at Someśvara), and 1987, III, figs. 3415 (*idem*; compare also the lotus-seat [also on the fig. 3394], the scrolls below it and the jewels) & 3752 (at Kakatpur). But these two large flowers are also found at Paikapaḍa in the Koraput district, which is located south west in Orissa (*idem*, fig. 3414)!
- 32 Ray 1975, pp. 53-54; he mentions, p. 54, that Jain couples are found in various sites.
- 33 For instance: Bautze-Picron 1992d, fig. 8 or Ghosh 1974, pl. 91-A (= J. P. Sharma 1989, pl. 2).
- 34 U. P. Shah 1955, fig. 47 (Deogarh) & 1987, pp. 181-182 (Gwalior Museum); M. N. P. Tiwari 1983, p. 87 (Khajuraho); Ghosh 1974, I, pl. 95-A & 96 (detail, Pithaora). We may add that the iconographic composition does not coincide with any known Hindu or Buddhist images where the attendants are usually personalized with the mean of specific attributes whereas the pair holding fly-whisks is a common feature of Jaina iconography. The dog appears also as vehicle of a form of Bhairava named Baṭuka. However, and even though one aspect of this form bears a staff, the image is fierce, a feature which cannot be observed here (Haque 1992, pp. 166-167).

CHAPTER V

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

273. Veditā: cross-bar

Inv. IC 8799.

93 cm (w.). Grey sandstone.

Bastian/Mitra collection, 1879.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 1st c. B.C.

On either side of this cross-bar, a large medalion is carved, adorned by a lotus flower. It presents two rows of petals, a narrow one within a broader one; the extremities of the lower rows emerge behind the petals of the upper row. It is possible that this piece, like the following ones, were discovered either by Major Mead who undertook excavations for the Archaeological Survey of India in 1863 or, more probably, by Alexander Cunningham in December 1871 when the Buddhist railing was again excavated; R. L. Mitra visited the site in 1863 and brought back architectural fragments to the Indian Museum of Calcutta. However, as it is testified by the information contained in the Museum Archives, the art objects from Bodh Gayā which reached Berlin were, at least partly, still *in situ* at the beginning of 1875.¹

PUBLISHED

Glasenapp 1928, pl. 246 below, Grünwedel/Waldschmidt 1932, fig. 25 & p. 119, Härtel 1960, pl. 2 above & p. 51.

274. Veditā: upper part

Inv. I 4989/old IC 8816.

35 x 110 x 30 cm. Grey sandstone.

Bastian/Mitra collection, 1879.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 1st c. B.C.

This frieze belonged to the *uṣṇīṣa*, i.e. the upper part, of the balustrade surrounding the holy tree at Bodh Gayā. Its profile is rounded. The upper surface is plain whereas the front and back sides are adorned with carvings. On the front part, five animals are running in front of a *yakṣa*, facing the viewer, with a broad face and wide open eyes, a short body above feet apart. He stands behind two buffaloes, the female following the male, who bow their heads downwards and behind three fantastic winged creatures: the first one on the left has a broad human horned face and is followed by two horses, a male and his female. All are clearly drawn on the plain background.

The frieze depicted on the reverse presents flat lotus flowers which lie on each other, all separated by a row of stamen-like elongated beads (?); the petals are of various shapes, some narrow and rounded, some broad and pointed.

PUBLISHED

Cunningham 1872/1966, pl. XXVIII-A & p. 98-99; Mitra 1878/1972, pl. XLVI-4; Doehring 1925, pl. 4; Glasenapp 1928, pl. 247; Grünwedel/Waldschmidt 1932, fig. 46; Härtel 1960, pl. 1 & p. 50. The reverse is published by Cunningham 1872/1966, pl. XXX-A & Mitra 1878/1972, pl. XLVII-4.

275. Veditā: upper part

Inv. IC 8815.

140 cm. (w.). Grey sandstone.

Bastian/Mitra collection, 1879.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 1st c. B.C.

The front part of the *uṣṇīṣa* shows a frieze of profiled animals, all illustrated in couple and running towards the left. All are winged. They can be recognized as male and female goats, male and female sheep, bull and cow, and a single male horse concludes the group.

The back side is adorned by a row of flowers similar to the one forming the back decoration of cat. 274.

PUBLISHED

Cunningham 1872/1966, pl. XXVIII-B (front) & XXX-B or Mitra 1878/1972, pl. XLVII-3 (back); Grünwedel-Waldschmidt 1932, p. 119; Härtel 1960, pl. 2 below & p. 51.

276. Veditā: upper part

Inv. I 16/IC 8817.

34 x 102 x 31 cm. Grey sandstone.

Bastian/Mitra collection, 1879.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 5th-6th c. A.D.

The front part shows a frieze of three profiled animals running toward the left; though roughly represented, they might probably be identified with lions. They face a *triratna* which stands above two leafs spread symmetrically. The reverse is adorned by flowers separated by pillars (?), the plain shaft of which widens out into two flower-like extremities. The flowers show three different treatments of petals, narrow, broad and twisted. This type of decoration is often encountered after the Gupta period at Bodh Gayā² when the *vedikā* was enlarged.³

PUBLISHED

Mitra 1878/1972, pl. XLVI-3; Glasenapp 1928, pl. 246 above; Grünwedel/Waldschmidt 1932, fig. 44 & p. 119, Härtel 1960, pl. 31 & p. 67; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 3.

277. Door-jamb

Inv. I 588/old IC 38985.

45 x 10 x 6,5 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Monghyr, Bihar.

Lower part of a right side door jamb. Three different patterns are carved in three parallel vertical rows. At the extreme right, the elevated design is supposed to represent a pilaster supported by the head of a squatting male figure depicted in three quarter profile. This figure has a smiling bearded face. He wears a lower garment and some simple jewellery (necklace, ear-rings), and had probably the hair tied in a bun on the left shoulder. The pattern on this post, shows, in the lower part, a sequence of two full rhombi with in-between half-rhombi, adorned with foliated elements (petals around a circle); this sequence is limited, on each extremity, by an ornamental motif composed of two symmetric sinuous curves, enclosing a small round element. A half-rhombus arises from the upper, or lower, part of the motif. A plain moulding separates the upper motif which opens downwards, from another one directed upwards and which also sustains, like the lower motif, a sequel of rhombi.

The second row, in the middle, presents lotus petals drawn with two lines, between which are depicted the extremities of other petals. As to the third row, on the extreme left, it is adorned with a *hamsa* at the bottom holding a lotus-stalk with a bud in its beak. The ornamented tail of the bird rises upwards forming a scroll. A small niche is carved below the two left rows, a female figure in flexible position stands therein on a pedestal. She holds a flower-like object in her falling left hand and carries an unidentified object in her raised right hand. She wears a long lower garment. The jewellery is simple: a necklace and a girdle traced without much carving, her hair is tied in a bun which rests on the left shoulder. The niche in which she stands consists of two flat pilasters supporting a trefoil arch surmounted by a drop-like element with two lateral volutes and an uprising element only visible now on the right side.

This door-jamb is narrow and we cannot exclude the possibility that it was completed by other vertical slabs, eventually made of another stone.⁴

As such, the piece presents nevertheless motifs or elements of motifs which can be observed on other door-frames. The geometrical pattern of the rhombi is seen on the external post of the complete door-jamb from Pūrṇahā⁵ and on the second row of the Nālandā door-jamb.⁶ A decorative motif is seen in both cases at the base of the motif: at Nālandā, it is obviously a *gavākṣa*. The pattern is also carved on a door-jamb from Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur, Mad-

hubani district⁷ and it presents there the same shape as here, *id est* the full and half-rhombi do not cover without interruption the post but a certain number of them form a sequel limited by two ornamental and rather elaborated motifs. The sequel and the two motifs are repeated all along the post (and the lintel: see here cat. 279). The same decoration is carved on a door-jamb from North Bengal,⁸ and on a door-jamb from Mandoil, Godagari in the district of Rajshahi.⁹ The ornamental motif interrupts there a twisted beaded garland. As such, the pattern seems to adorn exclusively the outer row of the door-jamb. The same position is due to the squatting male figure under it. If the figure from Nālandā is kneeling with the hands uplifted, the other representations are different: the figure does not keep the hands uplifted and the visible hand is put on the corresponding knee.¹⁰ The central row of petals occurs in a similar position on the mentioned door-jamb from Mandoil¹¹ or at the Nālandā temple,¹² it also adorns the upper border of a lintel from Bihar without any further specified provenance.¹³ The *haṃsa* is only met with on the two examples from north Bengal¹⁴ although the foliage is a common feature to all the door-jambes quoted here (but it springs generally out of the hands of a human character standing at the bottom of the post). The female figure under the arch cannot be with certitude identified with one of the river-goddesses since no animal vehicle is represented,¹⁵ although the attitude and the attributes of the figure are also those presented by these goddesses. From the remaining examples,¹⁶ Gaṅgā is seen on the left door-jamb and Yamunā on the right one entering the temple. As it is represented here, the trefoil arch (without architectural substructure but with the drop-like motif and the volutes), is essentially seen on examples from Bihar,¹⁷ whereas the niche with character introduced below the inner rows of the door-jambes is more typical of north Bengal and north Bihar.¹⁸

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 102 right.

278. Pilaster

Inv. I 5999/old IC 38969.

42 x 17 x 13 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Monghyr. Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

This damaged pillar belonged most probably to a pair which must have surrounded a niche or a door. It shows a defaced female deity who stands above a *makara*, which allows us to recognize her as being Gaṅgā. The second pillar must have similarly included the figure of Yamunā on her tortoise. The existence of com-

plete niches does not only allow us to draw this conclusion, but also to restore the attributes held by the goddess which have now disappeared.¹⁹ Gaṅgā held the *kalaśa* containing water in her left hand whereas the falling right hand might have presented a flower.²⁰

Gaṅgā wears a plain *sāḍī* tied by two girdles, the long *upavīta*, all ornaments being plain. Besides, she has anklets, a necklace and round ear-rings. A large bun of hair, partly damaged, lies on the right shoulder.

Behind Gaṅgā, the pillar shows a typical structure of which only the lower part has survived. Such a pillar has three parts, *i.e.* a basis, a shaft and a capital. The basis is constituted by a large round vase out of which leaves fall at the four corners. The surface is adorned by two symmetric rows of petals separated by a plain and flat narrow band. This vase lies above a thick cordon put above the square basis of the pillar. Four squatting *yakṣas* support and protect simultaneously the vase. The lower part of the shaft shows five large panels each adorned with a flower or a triangular fleuron which alternate. This part is the visible eight-sided part of the shaft which subdivide in the upper part into sixteen panels of which eleven are visible. A flat band with attached plain garlands adorns the upper part of the shaft. A series of flat recesses of various depths used to form apparently the broken capital.

The triple structure (basis shaped as a vase, shaft with a polygonal plan, capital with horizontal recesses) is commonly met with. The squatting figures are noticed on pillars from north Bihar and north Bengal but they rarely occur in their position here,²¹ being rather seen around the capital.²² But those comparative examples are all later than the pillar of the collection, and belong to the late 11th or 12th c.²³ They include more elaborated and sophisticated treatments of the ornaments, like the garlands *e.g.*²⁴ The pillar under consideration might thus be dated at an earlier period, in the late 10th or 11th c.

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 233.

279. Lintel

Inv. I 2714/IC 39457.

26.3 x 106.4 x 9 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1914.

Suggested provenance: east Bihar, perhaps

Monghyr. Suggested date: 12th c.

From comparative pieces, one may assume that the lintel as it appears here is not a mere fragment but complete: as such, it was probably sustained by a pair of jambs.²⁵ Four rows of decorative motifs run side by side, adorning the horizontal and vertical bands.

The external band reproduces the rhombi and half-rhombi which were noticed on the door-jamb above. However, the treatment of the motif differs here. Its structure remains identical but the inner space of the rhombi is adorned by a rosette which is here more elaborated than on the door-jamb, *i.e.* more petals are carved and their extremities can turn on themselves. Besides, the ornamental motif which closes the row of the rhombi is also more elaborated. It is indeed duplicated since two similar motifs are superimposed. Each is constituted by two symmetric groups of curves which end in small volutes. The central curve transforms itself in an arrow-like element which covers the first rhomb to be carved after it. At each extremity of the band, a profiled disk, the edge of which is marked by a series of protuding beads, separate the motif from the two squares occupying the upper angles of the lintel. These squares are indeed small rosettes within a frame.

The second band is interrupted in the middle by a niche where sat a deity, now abraded. It includes also in its vertical portions, two representations of *śikhara* below which two niches include standing characters, also destroyed. The upper horizontal part of the band includes a sequence of couples separated by round columns. Three couples are seen on either side of the niche. The males of the inner couples offer garlands; it is rather difficult to decide which objects are carried by the other males since these images have also been defaced. Behind these figures which are represented in the "flying position", *i.e.* one leg stretched behind the body, the other one bent with the foot in the same direction, the female figures close the hands in the *añjali*^o (at least the females of the inner couples) or have unclear gestures.

The third band is also interrupted by the niche. It shows a sequel of flame-like elements which are extremely detailed and reflect a type of petals commonly found at a late period in the region. Each petal follows a curve similar to an elongated "s". The extremity splits into two parts which turn in opposite directions. At the basis of the petal, two smaller petals (but integrated in fact to the larger one) develop on either side of the main element. A close observation of the motifs shows that the petals of the vertical rows and those of the horizontal row do not follow a single direction. On the horizontal row, the petals depart from the middle and open toward the sides of the lintel (the two parts of the row are thus symmetric). On the vertical rows, the petals are all directed upwards. Whether they are on the horizontal or on the vertical rows, all petals have their base on the inner side of the rows. As a result, in the angles, two symmetric petals meet each other. The artist succeeded in doing so in the upper

left corner but did not achieve the same result in the other one.

The fourth and last row, also interrupted by the niche, contains scrolls which develop from the centre outwards. From the motif which occupies the angles, one can guess that the scrolls on the vertical rows were coming upwards and meeting thus the horizontal volutes. Indeed, the angles are covered by an abstract motif which integrates thinner and smaller volutes attached to the main scrolls.

Each band is limited by two narrow and flat bands which are unadorned. The same band appears also below the last row. Moreover, between the first and second bands, and between the second and third bands, a deep recess has been carved.

The central niche contained a seated character who had four arms. Two hands were folded in the lap in the *dhyāna*⁹ whereas the other two arms held probably attributes at the level of the shoulders. It appears difficult to recognize the standing figures below the *śikharas*. They may have carried attributes but these cannot be seen anymore. The figure on our right has her left arm along the body and the right hand might have carried some object at the level of the shoulder. The symmetric figure has the legs crossed with the left hand on the left hip and it might have held an attribute, perhaps a flower. It is however extremely damaged.

This lintel is very similar to a piece seen by Francis Buchanan-Hamilton at the northern gateway of the Monghyr fort during his survey of the Bhagalpur district in 1810-1811.²⁶ The similarity is indeed great when looking at the structure of both lintels: central niche with a four-handed seated deity, lateral *śikhara*s with standing characters, sequence of concentric bands adorned with different decorative motifs. On Buchanan's drawing, one sees thus an outer band structured like the outer band of the lintel in this collection but where the motif rhombi/half-rhombi is replaced by large segments of eight-faced pillars; a second band with figures separated by short shafts who fly towards a central monstrous face; a third band with large petals distinctly separated; and a fourth inner band covered by scrolls which develop out of the tails of two symmetric birds who converge. The niche interrupts the third and fourth bands.

The same choice of motifs and the same structure are observed on a door-frame from Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur in the Madhubani district.²⁷ Moreover, the band dominated by the standing figures below a *śikhara* is more complete: this band was indeed covered with a row of such standing figures each below the tower. This is noticed on various lintels from Bihar or Bengal.²⁸

The central seated figure could eventually be identified with Viṣṇu who appears in this

position on a lintel preserved in the Avery Brundage collection of the Asian Museum of San Francisco whereas on other lintels, it is evidently Lakṣmī watered by the elephants who is depicted.²⁹

This lintel and another one in the collection (cat. 280), are both similar to the lower and inner part of frames discovered in Bihar and Bengal.³⁰ As a matter of fact, the lintels from Bihar includes the central niche and the sequel of parallel bands which run along the jambs. Related or even identical motifs are introduced such as the flying figures *e.g.* The lintels from Bengal do not necessarily include the central niche but a large knot made of the tails of two *nāga*s at least. These *nāga*s are carved below a row of deep niches which can also be seen in Bihar where they contain images of the Buddha. But it is evident that the two lintels of the collection do not belong to this type; neither the *nāga*s nor the niches are carved.

Like the lintels which were integrated within the Adina Masjid at Pandua, built in 1374-1375,³¹ the images which the lintel of the collection contains were defaced. This is not the only example: at least four door-frames of the western wall of this mosque were borrowed from Hindu/Buddhist monuments³² whereas the outer trefoiled niche of the central *mihrab*³³ most probably illustrates the transformation of the figurative pre-Muslim art into the non-figurative obligation of Islam, by preserving the floral ornaments, transforming the figurative ones into arabesques and producing thus an extremely decorative rich visual impact of the whole. Since this mutation of figurative into non-figurative and floral motifs is also observed on some doorways, one might think that these belong probably also to this phase.³⁴

280. Lintel

Inv. IC 38973.

Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1913.

Collected on "the Banks of the Hoogly, in Hoogly district... is said to come from an ancient capital of Bengal, Satgang (Satgaon)".³⁵

This lintel is rather similar to the previous one (cat. 279). The inner band adorned with scrolls must have run along the door-jambs. In the central niche which is limited by pilasters with foliated capitals, Viṣṇu rides on the winged Garuda, seated in *bhadrāsana*. The *vāhana* is depicted in the "flying" position, *i.e.* one leg is fully stretched and the second one is bent in the same direction; he sustains Viṣṇu's feet with his hands. Garuda's hair is tied up by a snake; the fantastic bird wears a lower garment and various jewels, such as a necklace, bracelets and large disk-shaped ear-rings.

Viṣṇu holds his traditional attributes, *i.e.*

the lower right hand shows the *varada*⁹, the upper right one holds the *gadā*, the corresponding left one the *cakra* and the fourth one the *śankha*. The lower hands rest on round medallions which are of course the lotuses noticed in stelae depicting the god (cat. 241 & 244 *e.g.*). The god wears a lower garment, the *vanamālā* and various pieces of jewellery, such as the *upavīta*, a necklace, armlets, ear-rings and a *kirīṭamukūṭa*.

At the extremities of the lintel, the two wives of the god, namely Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, stand, preserving their position as it is observed in independent images of the triad (cat. 241 & 244 *e.g.*). Both stand with the left leg slightly bent. Lakṣmī is defaced but one still notices the stalk of a full-blown lotus in the left hand while the right hand holds an undistinct object, perhaps a *cāmara*. As to Sarasvatī, she holds her *vinā*. Both wear the same dress, *i.e.* a lower garment, probably an upper one (as women usually do) and the same jewellery, *i.e.* a necklace, armlets, large disk-shaped ear-rings and a girdle. Their hair is tied in a heavy bun which is seen above the left ear and presents a rather rare shape on Lakṣmī's head where it is elongated (with the hair twisted) whereas the hair-dress of Sarasvatī is commonly noticed.

Two decorative bands run parallel. The first one includes in niches separated by columns with a rather bulbous shaft, six flying male figures distributed in two symmetric groups who carry garlands, weapons or play music. They all wear the same lower loin and the traditional jewels. These are not carved with minute detail but are rather incised.

The large and harmonious scrolls which constitute the inner band run symmetric on either side of the central niche. As it is depicted, the scroll seems to arise from behind this niche and develops towards the angles where it comes against a straight line. The extremity of another scroll can still be seen below this line, which suggests that this foliated line must have run all along the door-jambs. The scroll develops in two large curves forming an elongated "s" while simultaneously tiny curls arise, shaped like waves which run on the main line.

A certain tension occurs between these two superimposed bands. The upper one integrates elements of architecture which interrupt the flow of the flying movement of the semi-divine characters all directed inwards. The lower row reproduces a motif which develops in a permanent, uninterrupted, movement going outdoors.

The remarks made in the previous entry (cat. 279) remain valid here. Besides, the flying figures separated by bulbous columns are also seen on the lintel reproduced by Francis Buchanan-Hamilton (reference in the previous entry).

281. Architectural fragment: Durgā

Inv. I 617/old IC 38956.

25 x 25,5 x 9 cm. Phyllite.

Rawlins collection, 1912.

(District of) Monghyr.

Suggested date: 10th-11th c.

This fragment constituted the left corner of an architectural frieze, the exact position within the monument remaining unknown, but it might have been more probably at the level of the *śikhara*. The upper part is moulded; it includes below a fillet, a recess, a fluted band which is shaped as an *āmalaka*, a reversed doucine above a high plain band. A large circular *gavākṣa* covers the lower part; it is constituted by two plain flat bands, the outer one ending into the floral fleuron; further volutes, spread on either side of the lower part.

A trefoiled niche is carved, the plain arch is crowned by a flower whereas its extremities are hidden by half-fleurons, of which only the left one is preserved. It rests above two bulbous pillars. Within the niche, Durgā sits in *lalita*° above the lotus-seat below which her *vāhana*, the lion, crawls. The goddess is six-armed; she holds in the upper pair the sword and the shield, in the medial one, the rosary and the trident whereas she displays the *varada*° with the lower right hand and holds the water-pot in the corresponding left one.

Though the image is slightly defaced, the third eye is still traceable. The goddess wears the traditional choice of jewels and has her hair tied in a high *jaṭā*. This change in the hair-dress is chronological: earlier images of the goddess illustrate her wearing the round coil of hair above the head (cat. 226-229).³⁶ While the round coil of hair is hence preserved for the motherly aspect of the deity (cat. 231), or to her position as wife of Śiva (cat. 233), the *jaṭā* relates her to her ascetic form of the Lalitā Devī type (cat. 224).³⁷

Though the fort of Monghyr is a Muslim construction, it was built on an already existing site. This accounts for the presence of stone images walled in the ramparts as mentioned by Francis Buchanan and other visitors of the place.³⁸

282. Gargoyle

Inv. I 404/old IC 4382.

52 x 128 x 20 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 17, 1876.

From Pāṇḍuah, district of Māldā where it was found "within the interior of the ruined residence of Nūr Quṭb 'A'lam".³⁹

Only the left part of this *makara* gargoyle is here preserved, however the description has at times to take into consideration the complete gargoyle as it can be reconstructed from photo-

graphs (below); it was "found split lengthwise in two, one of which is sent, the other kept for the Indian Museum".⁴⁰ The water flows out of the large open mouth where teeth can still be seen. The hind part remained uncarved since it was fitted into the wall.

Right above the bulging eyes where concentric lines are incised on the pupil, arise the horns which turn behind the ears and are partly covered by tiny scrolls. The inner surface of the ears is carved as if being a leaf with its thin radiating ribs. The neck is short and adorned by a row of scrolls. These and those of the forehead, which is identical with the arising horns, is probably the mane of the lion.

A rather elegant foliated scroll adorns the cheek, drawn with a thin stalk which splits into tendrils and ends into a multitude of tiny leaves. A similar large volute covers the thigh over the short leg which ends in a foot rendered with expressionism. From behind the thigh, further rows of large scrolls arise greatly destroyed today but which were aimed at being those of the swirling tail which could not be properly carved in a gargoyle.

Above the open mouth, a moustache was carved with parallel lines ending in small scrolls.⁴¹

Relatively few *makara* gargoyles have survived although they must have been an integrated part of the architecture.⁴² They belong broadly to the 11th and 12th c. Among them, the gargoyle from Monghyr preserved in the Patna Museum⁴³ is probably the later one: the scrolls on the cheek have become an independent medallion, the horn disappears behind the scrolls which spread all over. The face is more elongated due to the long space between the

trump and the eyes whereas on other examples, it is practically inexistent.

Makaras are also an integrated part of the decoration forming the "royal throne" on the back of the slab behind certain deities. Such examples are seen in the present catalogue (cat. 1, 241, 242, 245) and they can be taken into consideration for tracing the development of the motif. The animals depicted on cat. 1 illustrate an early stage of the development where folds are clearly shown behind the ears and around the open mouth. These folds disappear: the upper jaw and the cheeks become a smooth surface while incised lines replace the folds of the neck behind the ears. The extremity of the trump turns on itself ⁴⁴ whereas on later examples, it usually stretches itself. The elongated eye is initially flat, not bulging and has lids which are carved with care; it is seen above the jaw at the root of the trump. The development shows how it slides progressively towards the back and tends to fall on the side and how its shape is deeply modified since it ends up in a circular bulging element. Short tusks protude out of the mouth: they disappear afterwards whereas moustaches are introduced.

No motif better than the *makara* could be selected for this function of draining off the water from the temple. The origin and the symbolism of the motif have been discussed by authors like J.-Ph. Vogel and J. Auboyer.⁴⁵ It drains off the heavenly waters and is formally related to the crocodile of the Gaṅgā (and becomes also the vehicle of the goddess of this river); being an aquatic animal, it is also related to the vegetation which grows in this surrounding, which explains that foliages can arise from his open mouth,⁴⁶ or that, as it is the



case here, certain of his elements transform themselves into wavy foliages remaining as much of the aquatic vegetation than of the water in which lives the *makara*.

PUBLISHED

Ravenshaw 1878, pl. 30.2 (here p. 107), Anderson 1883, 2, pp. 252-253, Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXI-d, *MIK Katalog* 1971, cat. 122, 1976, cat. 122 p. 44, 1986, cat. 97 pp. 41-42; *Indische Kunst* 1966, n° 67, ill. p. 21.

283. *Kimnari*

Inv. 1587/old IC 38976.
23 x 24 x 11 cm. Phyllite.
Rawlins collection, 1913.
Monghyr.

This damaged sculpture shows a fabulous being which combines the lower part of a bird to a female torso. She probably held a pair of cymbals, *karatala*, or small bells, *ghaṇṭa*, in her broken hands. This can be deduced from a comparison with stelae where the *kimnara*/*kimnari* appear as a pair (below). Wings are attached to her back with a large scroll developing from below it. Similar scrolls are attached at the upper part of the thighs and spread in a gentle wave on either side. The movement of these scrolls is powerful, main lines are drawn with a reduced number of short loops or ending, like the scrolls at the proper right shoulder, into a thick spiral carved in high relief.

The *kimnari* wears traditional jewels like the necklace, triangular armlets, circular earrings. Her hair is tied at the top of the head and falls in thick locks in the back. Her eyes are widely open with concentric lines incised on the pupil, a feature which was already noticed above on the *makara* gargoyle and which apparently belongs to the iconography of those fabulous animals and characters. The pair *kimnara*/*kimnari* belongs also to the "royal throne" depicted behind the deities (cat. 242 e.g.).

It is probable that this image was part of a pair where the second element was the male figure. Male *kimnara*s played the *vinā*.⁴⁷ As noticed above, this pair occurs regularly above the lintel of the throne behind the deity on stelae with their tail spreading along the nimbus. But this image belonged perhaps to an architectural structure being considered its size and its overall shape.

PUBLISHED

MIK Katalog 1971, cat. 123, 1976 cat. 123 p. 44

284. Female figure

Inv. 12758/old 4405.
56,6 x 34 x 22 cm. Sandstone.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 40, 1876.
Gaur. Suggested chronology: 11th c.

This image with a woman carved on the right part of a rectangular slab was evidently part of a larger composition. The figure stands on a broken plinth, turning her smiling face toward her right side. She holds on her right shoulder most probably the *cāmara* while the left hangs by the side of her body. The torso and the legs face the viewer whereas the waist is turned towards the left.

The jewellery is only indicated through its outer line and one can surmise that the image has remained unfinished; the woman wears a circular coil of hair falling on her back and visible above her left shoulder; though her face is much damaged, her smile is still traceable.

285. Fragment of a pillar

Inv. 11164/old IC 34700.
12,5 x 12,4 x 12,2 cm. Sandstone.
Leitner collection 40, 1907.
Bodh Gayā.

This very small fragment belonged to a pillar; it is itself much spoilt and reveals only little of the decoration. A large moulding included volutes distributed around a rectangular centre from where pearly garlands are pouring out before being held by (probably squatting) figures distributed on the angles. Half-medallions adorned with lotus flowers are distributed around the shaft above this mouldings, which had sixteen faces. A similar composition of the decoration is observed on pillars from the post-Gupta or early Pāla period at Bodh Gayā and in other sites from Eastern India.⁴⁸

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p.2.

286. Fragment of a pillar

Inv. 11163/old IC 34654.
11 x 10 (diam.) cm. Sandstone.
Leitner collection (no number), 1907.
Bodh Gayā.

The shaft of the pillar was perfectly circular and adorned by various mouldings, i.e. a row of petals below a torus and a (probably large) foliated scroll which runs below the row of pearls where long and round beads alternated. Those elements of decoration remind of circular pillars from the post-Gupta period found at Nālandā⁴⁹, and which are adorned by various rows of scrolls.

287. Small capital

Inv. IC 34739.
Leitner collection, 1907.
Bodh Gayā.
No available photography.

288. Pillar

Inv. 11138/old IC 4388.
38 x 10 x 9 cm. Phyllite.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 23, 1876.
Gaur. Suggested chronology: 13th-14th c.

This pilaster, which is worn out or remained unfinished in the lower part, belongs most probably to the Muslim period of construction at the site. It includes two identical parts separated by a frieze where four tiny petals converge and form a cross. Two rows of heavy petals are symmetrically carved on either side of a large ring which is composed by three rows of pearls of various sizes and depths. The elongated petals are directed up- or downwards with their tips slightly turned on themselves. As if hanging from these tips, but structurally in fact not related to them, probably floral ornaments are carved in high relief on the petals.

These ornaments remind, through their foliated outline, of a spear-like floral motif which is used in the Small Golden Mosque (Choṭa Sonā Masjid) at Gaur.⁵⁰ Similarly, the thick beaded ring is used at the Adina Masjid of Pāṇḍua,⁵¹ and the petals forming a small cross forming like a grill occur on a door-frame of the same mosque and shaped like flames and parts of larger flowers, on the one preserved in Dhaka.⁵²

Though the mosque of Pāṇḍua was founded in 1375 and the monument at Gaur between 1493 and 1519,⁵³ it is possible that this pilaster belongs to the intermediary phase between the end of the "Hindu period" and this epoch. Various door-jambs can already be attributed to this period when iconic elements are transformed in aniconic floral motifs, and stelae have been reused, their back recarved and fixed in the walls of monuments.⁵⁴

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 102 left.

289. Pillar: upper part

Inv. 12687/old IC 4387.
63 x 18 (diam.) cm. Phyllite.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 22, 1876.
Suggested provenance: Gaur or Pāṇḍua.

This dodecagonal pillar is adorned by a thick row of beads which is at each angle covered by a plain rhombus. Above it, lotus-flowers are inscribed within a thin scroll and are sustained by a foliated foot, each of them is contained in

a frame which is constituted by a lobed arch resting on two thin pillars which coincide with the angles of the panels. Floral pendants hang below the pearled row: they include an oval and pointed central gem, the inner field of which bears a small volute, and which is encased in curled leaves which are distributed all around in a strict symmetric treatment; the extremity of the main ornament ends into a succession of tiny volutes. The pendants are hanging from a stalk which runs like a wavy line, and are separated by flowers attached to a long stalk which fall along the angles of the panels.

A second row of pendants and flowers hang in the upper part of the shaft; they present the same shape but this one differs with less restraint in the outer shape and a prevalence of curved lines. A flat band runs above this decoration, with lobed protuberances emerging out of it at each angle.

The upper part is constituted by a thick cushion, separated from the shaft by a deep recess which is adorned by a row of beads; two symmetric rows of lotus petals cover the upper and lower parts of the cushion which supports a flat and plain band.⁵⁵

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 234.

290. Door-jamb

Inv. I 1149/old IC 4393.

103,4 x 18,3 x 12 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 28, 1876.

Outer courtyard of the Choṭa Sonā Masjid,

Gaur. Suggested date: 13th c.

This part of a door-jamb is constituted by two successive bands separated by a thin moulding. Further plain strips are drawn on both vertical edges. A thin weavy stem runs all along the first band, it is interrupted at regular intervals by knots where small foliated leaves are attached.

The slightly broader second band is adorned by thrice the same motif, each time separated by a small plain moulding which supports on its upper and lower sides three small round protuberances at the angles and in the centre; deeper recesses isolate it from two rows of petals which constitute the lower and upper part of the decorative motif. Each one of these rectangular elements is separated into two surfaces: the outer one shows the intricate foliated ornamentation which is shaped like a bow whereas the inner one is plane and is only adorned by a floral motif which is similar to the pendant attached to the top of niches carved in low-relief on facades or in the back-wall of *mihrab*.⁵⁶ The plain surface below this pendant is panelled, it includes a large side

between two narrow ones, one partly dissimulated by the foliated scrolls.

The band replaces most probably, with its clear separation between the plain surface and the intricate foliated ornamentation, the band of rhombi/squares which was encased into round volutes (cat. 277 & 279). It reappears at Jessore and, illustrating a more complex treatment, in 1558 at the mosque of Qusumba, in Rajshahi where the pendant is much more heavy and the plain surface has been replaced by vertical decorative bands, which proceed from the panelled structure observed presently.⁵⁷

291. Door-jamb

Inv. I 2713/old IC 4392.

99,6 x 22,3 x 12 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 27, 1876.

Outer courtyard of the Choṭa Sonā Masjid,

Gaur. Suggested date: 13th c.

This door-jamb includes the same bands as the previous example but the proportions and the treatment differ. Thus, the scroll shows shorter waves, each including a leaf which is larger than on the first jamb, where only tiny scrolls were carved. As to the second band, each motif is larger here and the bracket tends to close itself with pointed half spear-shaped motifs which are profiled on the inner side.

292. Door-jamb

Inv. I 1150/old IC 4391.

138,3 x 43 x 17,5 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 26, 1876.

Outer courtyard of the Choṭa Sonā Masjid,

Gaur. Suggested date: 15th c.

This lower part of a right upright belonged to the decoration framing either a niche or a door. The similar, but left upright, was collected at the same time and sent to the Indian Museum.⁵⁸ It includes a back decoration constituted by three parallel bands of arabesque, each separated from the other by a deep recess and by a row of lance-shaped elements which run all along the outer edge and ornates also the lower border where small rosettes are introduced between the different fleurons. The waves of the scrolls are rather elongated and support long stalks to which small pointed leaves are regularly attached. In the lower part of the motif, a bow-like band is introduced from behind which the scroll arises.

An oblique line is drawn in the upper part, interrupting the three voluted motifs which are only preserved in the outer bands, letting thus the central one plain.

This frieze is interrupted by the depiction of a niche which is inscribed within a rectangular

frame of a creeper carved with a strict symmetry. Above it, a row of small spear-shaped elements, similar to those on the edge, and a larger band of five full and two half-fleurons with an elaborated foot are carved; they are similar to those noticed on cat. 299 and remind of a similar motif at the Tantipara Masjid at Gaur, dated 1480 A.D.⁵⁹ The niche presents a broad band where small oblong elements, reminding of petals or leaves, meet at their extremities and form a grill-like pattern. The very same motif occurs at the Tantipara Masjid where it adorns two horizontal bands above *mihrab*.⁶⁰ and occurred already, among other motifs, on door-jambs from the 12th-13th c. or on a tympan within the Adina Masjid.⁶¹ The five-lobed arch is broad and plain; flame-like elements are attached to it whereas two lotus flowers fill the remaining empty space. The inner field of the niche is covered by a creeper and by a stylised pendant.

A similar niche is introduced at the bottom of jambs at the Adina Masjid.⁶² In contradistinction with the two previous door-frames, the treatment is here very ornamental and flat, without deep recesses; motifs repeat the same pattern with a great regularity and the curves are encased in strict geometrical lines.

293. Door-jamb

Inv. IC 4402.

Size unknown. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 37, 1876.

Gaur. Suggested date: 15th c.

This constitutes a part of a very high upright, which had to be included within the wall around an entrance. It shows a square panel framed by a weavy stem; the inner field is covered by a large open flower with numerous rows of small petals, which is surrounded by a row of twelve thick rosettes which is interrupted, in the angles, by a pomegranate-shaped ornament (see cat. 294 where the rosette and this ornament also alternate). A further row of thick pearls runs along the edge of the central flower.

Miniaturized, the very same flower reappears in the decoration of the rectangular panel. A lobed arch covers the outer angles of this panel, it is plain with the edges underlined by a thin row of dots. The inner space includes the flower and branches with curled leaves. Two further identical flowers are attached to thin stems which arise from the angles of the bow while branches bearing volutes hang or rise up on each of the three successive decorative bands which cover the inner space of the panel. Three abstract motifs are carved, showing variations on the motif of the grill, from a strict geometric construction in the central and right bands to the creeper of the left band.

A similar decoration used to adorning the uprights and the lintel of entrance at the Tanti-para Masjid of Gaur (1480 A.D.) and reappears at the *mihrab* of the Bagha Masjid, near Raj-shahi, dated 1523 A.D.⁶³

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 235; Doehring 1925, pl. 130.

294. Frieze

Inv. I 1158/old IC 4384.

5,7 x 32,2 x 25 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 19, 1876.

"found in the house of one Dinu Kural of Muhadipur", Gaur.

Suggested date: 15th c.

The front side of this slab is adorned by two motifs which alternate, i.e. the circular flower with rows of petals spread around and a motif similar to a pomegranate but which might also be meant to be a closed lotus, with rows of petals superimposed on each other.

A similar band with the circular flowers only is noticed on the extrado of an arch of the Tanti-para Masjid of Gaur, dated 1480 A.D.⁶⁴ Besides, the same arch bears a continuous frieze of pine-shaped elements reminding of the motif carved here between the circular flower.

295. Slab

Inv. I 2605/old IC 4397.

11 x 27 x 9 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 32, 1876.

Pāṇḍua. Suggested date: 12th c.

This rectangular slab shows on its larger side the regular pattern of squares filled with a flower and joining together at their angles. Their sides are concave, which suggests a sequence of cruciform flowers as well as of circles put side by side or overlapping. On one of the perpendicular side, a row of elongated and narrow petals are carved. And in the prolongation of this frieze, a thick edging protudes, which was apparently unadorned and curved.

The row of petals occurs as a decorative element of rectangular slab reproducing in flat relief a niche, the row being carved above the arch and below the frame; it is thus still a part of the illustrated niche.⁶⁵ Identical petals occur on architectural elements of the 12th c. from north Bengal or Bihar where they adorn either the jar at the bottom of a pillar or form bands running along the door-frame (see here cat. 277).⁶⁶

It is difficult to ascertain an architectural function to this carved slab which might have been part of a porch, with on the outside fa-

cade, the row of petals turned upwards while the inner ceiling would have been decorated with the medallions.

296. Frieze

Inv. I 2712/old IC 4383.

84,2 x 17 x 20,5 cm. Sandstone.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 18, 1876.

Gaur.

This rectangular panel belonged most probably to the decoration fixed on the outer facade of a mosque. It might have been included below a blind niche such as those of the Tanti-para Masjid or have belonged to the upper part of the frame around an opening.⁶⁷

It shows superimposed and intertwining beaded arches falling. A heart-like motif separates the base of the following arches whereas a bud-like element hangs from each of them. The result creates a very compact decoration similar to some bands noted at the same Tanti-para Masjid of Gaur.

297. Frieze

Inv. I 1146/old IC 4389.

21,7 x 33,9 x 14,9 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 24, 1876.

Barī Dargāh, or Shrine of Shah Jalāl Tabrezi, Pāṇḍua.

Two bands constitute this frieze: the lower and main one includes lance-shaped leaves which are attached to a beaded row forming large curves in the lower part; the inner space is filled with a stalk to which are symmetrically attached flame-like elements of decreasing size. Lotus flowers are distributed in the empty spaces between these large leaves.

The upper band presents medallions and rhombi alternating, all showing flat flowers filling them. Whereas this motif has a long history in Indian art, and is present in architectural decoration in the pre-Muslim period,⁶⁸ the spear-shaped motif is more characteristic of the Muslim decorative vocabulary although it is here related to the traditional lotus which has the function of filling the empty spaces.⁶⁹

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 103 below.

298. Base of a circular wall

Inv. I 1155a & b/old IC 4403a & b.

76 x 19,5 x 33 cm (a), 57,5 x 19,5 x 15 cm (b).

Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 38, 1876.

Gaur.

This arch constituted most probably the base of the inner wall of a *mihrab*.⁷⁰ It shows three superimposed mouldings: the lower one includes petals which are separated by a wide space. The second one is a chain of thick beads separated by flat ones; tiny flowers replace one of the beads at the position of the petals of the lower band. As to the third moulding, it shows simple rhombi separated by flat pilasters; again, the rhythm introduced by the petals of the lower row is present through small triangular points which emerge from this band.⁷¹

299. Frieze from a coupola

Inv. 2729/old IC 4390.

12,3 x 47 x 14 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 25, 1876.

Pāṇḍua.

Lance-shaped ornaments are carved in relief, forming a continuous frieze on this stone which must have been part of a coupola.⁷² Their inner space is adorned by a floral ornament where small thick petals are superimposed on each other. The broad basis of the ornament comprehends likewise a half-flower.

Though said to have been collected at Pāṇḍua, this frieze shows similarities with ornamental work on the Tanti-para Masjid of Gaur.⁷³

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 103 above.

300. Niche: fragment

Inv. I 1139/old IC 4400.

24,5 x 39 x 8 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 35, 1876.

Gaur, "given by a man from Gopālpur".

Suggested date: 15th c.

Within a square frame, the niche was cut up into seven deep lobes, of which those on the right side are partly broken away. The outer line of the niche shows, however, three larger convex and one concave curves. Half spear-shaped motifs are carved on either side whereas the space in-between includes a large flower with rows two of petals spreading around the central part and small volutes attached together and carved mechanically.

The density of the decoration as well as the treatment of the lotus or the shape of the niche remind of niches carved on the facade of the Tanti-para Masjid of Gaur, which is dated 1480 A.D.⁷⁴ Similar flowers as well as the incised lines running along the edge of the lobed arch are also encountered (but the lines are carved in relief) in a slabe recovered at the Choṭa Sonā Masjid of the site. The scrolls covering the upper space announce also those of the im-age under survey, although they are carved on

the slab from the mosque with more attention and more variation.⁷⁵

301. Spandrel: fragment

Inv. I 2726/old IC 4394.

73 x 59 x 16 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 29, 1876.

Adina Masjid, Pāṇḍua.

This fragment belongs to the “canopy over the pulpit” of the mosque. The edge of the upper lobe is decorated with a thin creeper which forms regular volutes filled with a large leaf; short lotus petals and thick beads mark the lower surface of the lobe. The same two rows reappear at various places, indicating the limit of the decorative bands. The surface on either side of the arch, was adorned with an elegant and finely carved scrolls of which only a small part remain in the upper right corner.

The upper part includes a series of geometric panels adorned by different decorative motifs. The lower band presents the traditional rhombi and circles alternating, each adorned by a flower of four or eight petals distributed around the centre. Only the edge of these petals is drawn in low-relief. The intervening surface between the rhombi and the medallions is filled with tiny scrolls. The second band is broader and reproduces also the alternation of the two forms, circular and rhomboid but in a completely different structural composition: each element is presented within a square panel, the panels being separated by rectangular uprights which are adorned by grills of various forms. Each rhombus and circle has the edge adorned by a row of pearls which is drawn in high relief around the lotus or the flower having four petals.

A panel was evidently fixed on the upper part of the spandrel, since holes for fixation have been regularly cut out and since the front surface has not been worked smooth. The upper and lower sides of this surface bear the row of petals. Like most of the decoration of the Adina Masjid, this sculptured fragment shows an extreme fineness in the carving; it illustrates also how the geometrization of the overall composition was combined with a sense for the curve and how the relief was carved in various depths.⁷⁶

PUBLISHED

Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 1.

302. Frieze from a screen

Inv. I 1145/old IC 4399.

70 x 28,5 x 10,8 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 34, 1876.

Pāṇḍua. Suggested date: 14th c.

This fragment constitutes one of the angles of a square screen. A frieze of scrolls runs all along the edge with lotus flowers attached to it. The inner part shows a grill where lotuses are carved at the crossings and rhombi in-between.

A similar decoration is noticed on a screen within the shrine of Shah Jalāl at Pāṇḍua which may have been erected in 1342 A.D.⁷⁷ And a similar larger screen must have enclosed the zenana gallery of the large Adina Masjid at Pāṇḍua (1374-1375).⁷⁸

303. Stand (?)

Inv. I 1159/old IC 4386.

7,3 x 28,3 x 19,6 cm. Phyllite.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 21, 1876.

Gaur, “found in the house of Baikaish, a shoe-maker of Mahakipur”.

Said to be a “stand for a lamp, found in a tomb” in the accession catalogue of the Museum, this architectural element appears indeed to be a rectangular support, it is adorned by a row of petals separated by falling small buds attached to a stalk. The lower moulding is plain and bears circular protuberances at the angles and at the middle of each side. It might be however that the element had been used as a capital, in which case, its position should be reversed and the falling petals would be erected upwards.

The upper (or lower ?) surface is hollowed and the inner space is adorned by an incised decorative motif, the large part of which has been arased. It shows a lotus within a circular volute in the middle of the panel, this lotus is supported by a foot with symmetrically distributed leaves with curled tips; a further floral motif surmounted the central medallion, but only the extremities of leaves or petals are still visible.

304. Fragment of a low-relief

Inv. I 2854.

24,5 x 22 x 8 cm. Phyllite.

Suggested provenance: Gaur or Pāṇḍua (?)

This large fragment belonged to a decorative frieze where a very thin creeper runs, forming large scrolls to which are attached small pointed leaves. The work was evidently carried out with a great attention and the delicate stalks and leaves illustrate a great elegance.

305. Inscribed slab

Inv. I 1141/no old nr.

72,5 x 26 x 14 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection 561, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

INSCRIPTION

“It is written in what Buehler called Proto-Bengali, but I prefer to call Gauḍi.”⁷⁹

(After Sircar 1973, pp.52-53:)

[Symbol] sa(sva)sti / śrīmad-Vikramapāṭat / Pī- (line 1)

ṭhīpaty-ācārya-Vu(Bu)udhasenaḥ / gandhaku- (line 2)

ṭy-ādu-sakala-śrīmman-Mahāvo(bo)dhi-vṛ- (line 3)

tter=yathā-pradhān-ādi-prativāsino (line 4)

janapadān karṣakāmś=c=ārogya(rn*) pitu- (line 5)

tvā vadati (/*) vidita-matam=astu bhava- (line 6)

tām vṛtti(tti)r=asmābhir=adya / dinā rāja-śrī- (line 7)

Aśoga(ka)valladevānām mukhyatamā- (line 8)

nām ca Kamā-rāja-guru-bhikṣu-panḍita-(line 9)

śrī-Dharmmarakṣita-caraṇānām=ā-carndrā- (line 10)

[ma]rkkam samarpitā (/*) tad=eśām vidhe- (line 11)

yībhūya yath-ocita[rn] dadānāḥ sukhām mva(va)- (line 12)

sata karṣata c=eti / deśam(śa)-gata-Sim- (line 13)

gha(ha)la-sthavarā[nām(nām)] atra sthitinoṇca (line 14)

pūrvva-vyavastha(sthā)yā Gauravād=ity=a- (line 15)

śne(śe)ṣaṇ=c=āmīti(sthīti) rāja-guru[nā] vidhātavyā(/*) (line 16)

cyām Simgha(ha)lānām Mahāvo(bo)dhi-viṣaya[rn] (line 17)

samappi(rppa)yet (/*) na prāpnumo vayan(yam) / amī- (line 18)

ṣomrthe sādhanika rā[nā]ka-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmadhara- (line 19)

= māṇḍalika-śrī-Sahajapāla-pari-śrī-Vra(Bra)hm-ādi- (line 20)

nām(nām) antaka datāni itī // (line 21)

PUBLISHED

Cunningham 1892, pl. XXVIII; D. C. Sircar 1973 & p. 48 where the attempts of reading the inscription by B. B. Vidyavinode & N. G. Majumdar are mentioned; Sircar 1978, pp. 255-256 (contents of the inscription); Sircar 1979 (reproduces Sircar 1973).

306. Inscribed slab

Inv. I 1114/old IC 34741.

16 x 33 x 6 cm. Sandstone.

Leitner collection, 1907.

Bodh Gayā. Suggested date: 12th c.

Rectangular slab which was probably included within a larger structure as testified by the hole above. A mason's mark is incised at the right top. The inscription is written, very carelessly,

in Gauḍīya of the 12th c.; it includes the *pratiṣṭhasamutpāda-gāthā* and the donative text in corrupt Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit.

ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā he (*written below the line*) tuṃ teṣmā ... jo nīro (*written below the line*) dha evaṃvā- (*line 1*)

dī mähā [s] ravaṇa[h] de [ya] dha (*written below the line*) rmmō-yaṃ prava [ra-mā] hājā- (*line 2*)

na-yā [yi] an para (*written below the line*) m-opāsakaḥ // mähā [g] ā-tika- (*line 3*)

sya /// yad=atra punyaṃ tad=bha... pādhyāya-mātā-pitr- (*line 4*)

pūrvvaṃgamaṃ kṛtvā sakala-satva-rase [a] nuttara-[jñā]- (*line 5*)

na-phala-vāpta iti // (*line 6*)

"This is the meritorious gift of Mahāgātika, follower of the excellent Mahāyāna (and) a devout Buddhist. Whatever merit there is in this (gift), let that be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings keeping in front (his) teacher (and) parents."

307. Inscribed slab

Inv. I 2594/old IC 34762.

18,8 x 22,8 x 9 cm. Red sandstone.

Leitner collection 538c, 1907.

Fragmentary, left and right parts are missing; only three lines are preserved in Gauḍīya of the 12th c. Donative text in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit.

/// dharmōyaṃ (*correctly* dharmo yaṃ) [pra]vara-mahāyāna// (*line 1*)

/// [p]iṇḍayāgikasya yad a[tra]// (*line 2*)

/// satva-rāṣer anuttara-jñāna-// (*line 3*)

"This is the (meritorious gift) of [Pi]ṇḍayāgika, (follower of) the excellent Mahāyāna. Whatever (merit there is in this gift, let that be for the attainment of) supreme knowledge by (all) sentient beings."

PUBLISHED

A Short Catalogue 1902, p.14.

1 A similar carving is reproduced by Cunningham 1872/1966, pl. XXVI below. See Cunningham 1873/1966, pp. 87-88; he mentions p. 98 that "four massive sandstone architraves..." were recovered, among which those catalogued here 275 & 276. See also the Introduction concerning the transactions leading to the acquisition of the artefacts from Bodhi Gayā.

2 Bénisti 1981, figs. 89-91, 95 & 97 e.g.

3 Bénisti 1952, pl. XXVI-d illustrates a later jamb of the balustrade.

4 A.M. Broadley 1872b, p. 8-9 mentions the fact for the large door-jamb of the *caitya* of site 12 at Nālandā which he excavated. See Introduction, note 77.

5 Introduction, note 75-1°.

6 Bautze-Picron 1989d, pl. 32.15 & 16; Burgess 1897, pl. 232 (Asher 1970, pl. V, *Indian Antiquities*, photo 206). Broadley 1872b, p. 8.

7 Introduction, note 75-4°.

8 No number (seen and photographed in 1981).

9 VRM inv. I(b)14/10, Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIX-c = Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XLIII.105, Basak-Bhattacharyya 1919, p. 36.

10 The grotesque figure kneeling and uplifting the arms is seen at Deogarh (J. Williams 1982, pls. 203-204, Viennot 1964, pl. 13) and at Ajaṇṭā, lower cave 6 (Viennot 1964, pl. 5). The acantha leaves adorning the post supported by the *yaṅśa.s* at Deogarh help to understand the ornamental motif seen at the extremities of the rhombi sequence: what would be seen on the Pāla piece, could possibly be two halves of leaves carved side by side and turning their outer line towards each other.

11 Above note 9.

12 Burgess 1897, pl. 229 (Asher 1970, pl. III, *Indian Antiquities*, photo 203).

13 IM inv. Br.62: Banerji 1933, pl. XC-c, Anderson 1883, p. 87-88.

14 Above notes 8 & 9.

15 Other female characters can be introduced like musicians (at Nālandā: introduction note 77) or carrying a *cāmara* (at Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur: Introduction, note 75-4°).

16 Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur (Introduction, note 75-4°) and the door-frames from north Bengal preserved in the BDNM, Dhaka (*idem*, note 75-5° & 6°) Though their "fantastic character" (all the figures are transformed into floral ornaments), they are similar to a door-frame carved at the Kyauk-ku-umin of Bagan (monument 154; Luce 1969/1970, pl. 135; Pichard 1992, ill. 154-o p.249) where the Gaṅgā is still seen on the left door-jamb (only the upper part of Yamunā subsists). The door-frame of Dhaka which is reproduced by Luce (pl. 135bis) is identical to the previous one except that it presents a more "realistic" appearance and that the river-goddesses are not seen (on these frames from Bagan and north Bengal, two squatting figures are seen on either sides).

17 Nālandā (Introduction, note 77) and Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur (*idem*, note 75-4°).

18 See notes Introduction 75-4° & above 7 & 8.

19 Some complete niches have survived, preserved 1° in the British Museum (inv. 1872-7-1.46), 2° the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv.57.51.7: Lippe 1970, fig.40) or 3° the Nālandā Museum (inv.10746: unpublished). Besides, one can still be seen *in situ* at 4° Bhīṭha Bhagavānpur in north Bihar (Mishra 1978, 1979, fig. 25).

20 Examples 1 & 2 in the previous note show the river-goddesses holding the water-pot and the

flower. The third niche replaces them by Bodhisattva.s; a fragment recovered by A. M. Broadley at Bihar Sharif also shows the Bodhisattva (Asher 1980, pl. IX, lower row, second from right).

21 On an example from north Bihar preserved in the Darbhanga Museum (Mishra 1978, pl. XXI.42 or 1979, fig. 27).

22 On 1° a pillar from Rajmahal preserved in the IM inv. A24221/R.1 (Anderson 1883, pp. 265-266, Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIX-a & XC-a) and on 2° another one from Bangarh in the district of Dinājpur, today preserved in the BDNM (Sanyal 1930, "Bangarh Antiquities", fig. 5 = Majumdar 1943/1971, pl. XL.96 = Saraswati 1976, pl. VIII.13 = Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIX-e). They also seem to appear on 3° two pillars from Gaur ('Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, fig. 19 p. 101).

23 Although the inscription of the Bangarh pillar should be "on palaeographic consideration" dated in the 10th c. (Majumdar 1943/1971, p. 191 with further references). It belongs however stylistically to a much later period than this supposed date.

24 Pillars 1° to 3° of note 22 as well as 4° a pillar found at Rajbari, in the district of Dinājpur (Sanyal 1930, "Bangarh Antiquities", fig. 2). Comparisons can also be drawn with the pillars of niches such as those listed above in note 19, 1° & 2°.

25 Examples quoted in Introduction, note 75.

26 The drawing made under the supervision of Francis Buchanan-Hamilton is preserved at the OIOC, MSS.Eur. G.25, N3; it has been published by Martin 1838, vol. II, pl. 3.1.

27 Quoted in Introduction, note 75-4°.

28 *Idem*, note 75-2°, 4° to 6°.

29 It bears the inventory number B70 S10. Lakṣmī is seen on the lintels 2° & 4° mentioned in Introduction, note 75.

30 Introduction, note 75. One can broadly distinguish two structures of door-frames: the first one is illustrated here through the lintel under consideration and through the door-jamb of cat. 277. The second one introduces an upper sequel of deep niches with deities (at times, absent) above the lintel. This second group integrates frames which are apparently later than those of the first group.

31 Mahmudul 1979, p. 59, Ahmed 1997, pp. 84-86.

32 Mahmudul 1979, pp. 84-85, see his pl. IV-V for two examples, or Dani 1961, pl.IX-fig.18 & Ahmed 1997, fig. 216.

33 *Idem*, pl. III (or Dani 1961, pl. XI-fig.21), Mahmudul recognizes also here a work made under Muslim patronage (1979, p.77).

34 Mahmudul 1979, pl. V. Niches have been evidently kept empty or were deprived from their images whereas the *yaṅśa.s* squatting below the outer bands of the jambs are obviously transformed into flowers. The same transformation is noticed on one door-frame kept in the BDNM (note 16 above) where the fluvial goddesses and the various women dancing in the superimposed niches are also transformed into floral designs: only their outline suggests what these elements really were.

35 Rawlins's letter dated 20. 12. 1912 (File 1407/12). Satgaon is Tribeni, a place located north of Calcutta on the river. An early mosque of the 13th c. (A.D. 1298) built at the site includes some Hindu images (Ahmed 1997, pp. 86-87; Dani 1961, pp. 43-44; Mahmudul Hasan 1979, pp. 86 & 127-131; *AR of the ASI 1930-34*, pl. XV-b & c; C. Asher 1984, p. 136:

"all the door-ways are reused from an earlier temple, and sculpted panels, all bearing Vaishnava subject matter, are embedded randomly on to the exterior base ..."); R. D. Banerji supposed the pre-existence of a Vaiṣṇava temple (quoted by Mahmudul Hasan, p. 128).

36 Picron 1980, figs. 1-3; Bautze-Picron 1992a, figs. 1-15, which can be compared to later depictions where the high chignon is introduced: figs. 16-17 & 19.

37 Picron 1980, figs. 5-6, 8-10; G. Bhattacharya 1986c, figs. 5-6, 8-10; Haque 1992, pl. 189-193. The name "Lalitā Devī" is a generic one; Haque gives thus various names to this image of the goddess (Gaurī, Umā or Lalitā), G. Bhattacharya names her "Siddha" or "Siddha-cum-Lalita".

38 Patil 1963, p. 282; Kuraishi 1931, p. 208

39 Or Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam ('Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, p. 106 sqr). The location is mentioned in Ravenshaw 1878, legend to pl. 30, see also Anderson 1883, p. 253.

40 Mitra list, cat. Kh. 17. The right part is indeed preserved in the IM, inv. Pa.1 (Anderson 1883, p. 253), and is illustrated by Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXI-d. With its two parts put together and still *in situ*, the gargoyle is reproduced by Ravenshaw 1878, pl. 30.2.

41 It cannot be the tusk as written by Anderson (1883, p. 252). On the photo of the Calcutta fragment which was published by Banerji (previous note), we don't recognize the head mentioned by Anderson (pp. 252-253) which would grasp the "tusk", *i.e.* the moustache. It would then be similar to the Patna gargoyle (note 43).

42 Two similar *makara* gargoyles were found at Khajuraho: they have been properly described and analysed by Desai/Mason 1993, cat. 31 pp. 194-195.

43 P. L. Gupta 1965, cat. 129 p.79 & pl. XIV, Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXI-e, B.N. Goswamy 1986, cat. 195 p. 243.

44 As on a gargoyle from Bihar in the IM, inv. A 24217 (from the Broadley collection: Asher 1970, pl. II).

45 Vogel 1929/1930 or Viennot 1955 analyse respectively the symbolism and the plastic development of the motif.

46 As on a pair of door jambs from Rewan in Bihar preserved in the Patna Museum (P. L. Gupta 1965, cat. 124 p. 78, Goswamy 1986, cat. 65, pp. 144-145).

47 Such a male bearded figure is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of Varanasi (Gorakshkar/Nigam 1988, cat. 91, p. 140 & ill. pp. 64 & 108). Another example is located at the Śrī Baba Baidhānāth temple of Gayā and is of a similar size (27.5 x 17 cm).

48 Although the architectural material has not yet been the topic of a careful analysis. Similar pillars are illustrated by Asher 1980, figs. 109, 124 & 135, all of them belonging to the pre-Pāla or early Pāla period. The row of half-medallions is generalized, the motif of the moulding can vary.

49 Asher 1970, pl. IV (two pillars collected by Broadley and which are now preserved at the Indian Museum) and Meister/Dhakya 1991, pl. 874 (two same pillars still *in situ* at the temple 12 which is the monument excavated by Broadley). They are dated in the 8th c. by Meister/Dhakya (legend to the plate).

50 Pinder-Wilson 1995, fig. 3 (upper decorative band).

51 But evidently much more refined: Mahmudul Hasan 1979, pl. V (outer band of the door-jambs).

52 *Ibidem* & Introduction, note 73-5°.

53 Pinder-Wilson 1995, pp. 254 & 255.

54 See A. K. Bhattacharyya 1952 (= M. Bhattacharyya 1982, p. 41-42, inv. RXV-12), Pinder-Wilson 1995, Mahmudul Hasan 1979, A. Banerji 1971 (and his figs. 1-2), Ahmed 1997, figs. 6-7. See also the fig. 8 in Pinder-Wilson's article where one notices the presence of a *kīrtimukha* as stone forming the basement below the minbar of the Adina Masjid. A complete group of re-used Hindu and Buddhist images or lintels was recovered in the Mahisantosh Mosque near Balurghat in the district of Dinājpur, all are preserved in the VRM (Basak/Bhattacharyya 1919, pp. 39-40).

55 A similar composition with a cushion atop the pillar is reproduced by 'Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, fig. 22.

56 For instance: *An Album* 1984, fig. 57 or Mahmudul 1979, pl. III.

57 For Jessore: Banerji 1933, pl. XCII-b, for Qusumba: Mahmudul 1979, pl. XXXI, *An Album* 1984, fig. 60. The "evolution of the panel with cusps and lotus decoration" (the surface with the low-shaped line) is summed up by McCutcheon 1984, p. 224.

58 Mitra list, Kh. 26. This is probably the inv. Gr. 6 in Anderson 1883, p. 366.

59 Note 63.

60 Mahmudul 1979, pl. XXVIII-XXIX.

61 Mahmudul 1979, pl. XI (tympan), or for the door-frames: Mahmudul 1979, pl. V (upper left; also at the Adina Masjid) or Introduction, note 75-5° (-Dhaka).

62 Mahmudul 1979, pl. VIII-IX.

63 Mahmudul 1979, pl. XXVIII-XXX, Dani 1961, pl. XLV-fig. 69. A similar upright is preserved in the Birmingham Museum of Art: it is complete, *i.e.* it includes twice the upright as carved here. See Ahmed 1997, pp. 90-91 for the Tantipara mosque & 96-97 for the mosque at Rajshahi. The jambs of a niche from Gaur in the Victoria & Albert Museum (inv. I.S. 3396-1883) are more simple, only adorned by parallel vertical scrolls, but this may be due to the smaller size of the monument (*Arts of Bengal* 1979, cat. 32). Similar door-jambs are reproduced by Ravenshaw 1878, pl. 31.

64 Mahmudul 1979, p. 131 & pl. XXVI; Sanyal 1974, fig. 18 (=Anderson 1883, II, p. 261, Gr. 15).

65 Pinder-Wilson 1995, figs 2-3; A. Banerji 1971, fig. 2.

66 Frames: one preserved in the BDNM (Introduction note 75-5°), one in the VRM (Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIX-c). Pillar: note 22-2°

67 Mahmudul 1979, pl. XXVI (below the upper rectangular panels on either side of the gate) or XXVIII (above the *mihrab*).

68 On the Shrine of Shah Jalāl, see 'Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, pp. 97-106. For instance, on a door-jamb from Mandoil in the district of Rajshahi (Banerji 1933, pl. LXXXIX-c), or on the edge of the trefoil of a pre-Muslim niche re-used in the Adina Masjid of Pāṇḍua (Mahmudul 1979, pl. XIV), on the door-jambs around another niche of the same monument (*idem*, pl. XIII). The niche of the central *mihrab* in the same Adina Masjid illustrates the pre-Muslim and the Muslim treatment of the motif: the trefoil with the frieze of rhombi and medallions is evidently a 12th c. carving whereas the door-jambs carved on either side of the niche are adorned by a frieze showing the same motif which is most probably contemporary with the construction of the monument, the treatment is flatter, the rhombi are real squares put on one of their angles and have the size of the medal-

lions, the motifs are also all separated from each other (*Bangla Desh Heritage* 1974, front cover or Mahmudul 1979, pl. III).

69 On the facade of the Choṭa Sonā Masjid of Gaur e.g.: *An Album* 1984, fig. 57 (right entrance), 'Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, fig. 17.

70 A similar band is noticed in the *mihrab* of the mosque at Qusumba in the district of Naogaon, Rajshahi built in 1558 A.D. (*An Album* 1984, fig. 60, Dani 1961, pl. LIII-fig. 78, Ahmed 1997, pp. 99-100).

71 For a similar group of mouldings at Pāṇḍua, where the petals are however continuous, see Mahmudul 1979, pl. III.

72 Such a band is integrated within the *mihrab* of the Tantipara Masjid at Gaur, dated 1480 A.D. (Ahmed 1997, pp. 90-91): Mahmudul 1979, pl. XXVIII.

73 *Idem*, pl. XXVIII-XXIX: frieze above the niches.

74 Mahmudul 1979, pl. XXVI & p. 131.

75 *Idem*, pl. XLII-b or Pinder-Wilson 1995, fig. 2.

76 A similar structure occurs on niches still at the Adina Masjid (Mahmudul 1979, pl. VIII-IX) even though it is adorned by other decorative motifs. Pillars from this mosque are also preserved at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. X.2477-a & b (Harle/Topsfield 1987, cat. 49 pp. 40-41 where the authors mention the existence of "identical" pillars in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edimburg and in the British Museum).

77 'Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, fig. 18 & pp. 97-99.

78 Mahmudul 1979, p. 84 quoting Beglar's report of the late 19th c. where this author mentions to have seen fragments of such a screen lying on the ground. Mahmudul compares the screen in the Adina Masjid with the screen from the Barī Dargāh illustrated by 'Ābid 'Alī Khān (see previous note). As further proof to the existence of the zenana screen, Mahmudul adds that "sockets at the base of the imposts placed over the outer rows of stumpy pillars are still visible."

79 D. C. Sircar in a letter to the Museum, dated 20.4.1971.

CHAPTER VI

TERRACOTTAS

308 & 309. Votive plaque

308: Inv. IC 11928. 10,5 x 12 x 2,9 cm.

309: Inv. IC 11929. 6 x 10,5 x 3 cm.

Rivett-Carnac collection, 1883.

Bodh Gayā.

The first fragment illustrates the upper part of a votive tablet depicting the Buddha seated in *padma*^o and displaying the *bhūmisparśa*^o within an architectural structure. When complete, this plaque is shaped as a tear-drop or as the leaf of the pipal, the sacred tree of Bodh Gayā;¹ its edge was dotted. 18 *caitya.s* of various sizes are distributed all around; according to their respective size, some bear eight, some seven, some only one umbrella. The monument in which the Buddha sits, is shaped as a trefoiled niche. A row of pearls hangs on either side of the side walls which are shaped as a superposition of thick beads. The superimposed levels of the tower follow the outline of the trefoil; *amālaka.s* are indicated at two levels. The spire which surmounts the niche, with its straight slopes and its broad *amālaka* can be compared to the temple located at Bodh Gayā whereas a triangular fleural motif tops the niche, hiding thus partly the architectural structure. It is also possible that a crescent of moon supporting the solar disk tops the construction to which draperies are attached. From behind the monument, branches of the pipal tree below which the Buddha sat, spread symmetrically.

The second fragment constitutes most probably the lower part of this plaque. It shows the legs of the Buddha as well as his hands. Tiny *caitya.s*, partly erased, were distributed around the lotus-seat and the rounded basis of the plaque would have shown the inscription of the Buddhist credo, had it not be completely worn away.

PUBLISHED

Grünwedel 1893, fig. 47, 1920, fig. 87; Glase-napp 1928, pl. 258 (both together).

310. Votive plaque

Inv. IC 34631.

15 x 9,5 x 3 cm. Red terracotta.

Leitner collection, 1907.

Bodh Gayā.

This cartouche-shaped plaque, which is slightly damaged at the edges and at the face of the Buddha, illustrates Śākyamuni displaying the *bhūmisparśa*^o within a depiction of the Bodhi temple. Ten small *caitya.s* are symmet-

rically distributed around the central construction whereas the double-lined inscription covers the slightly damaged basis of the plaque.² A row of large beads run along the edge, now partly destroyed.

Compared to the previous plaque, the image of the Buddha is proportionally smaller, with more emphasis put on the temple. He sits within a trefoiled niche which rests on two bulbous pillars with basis shaped as vases of plenty and adorned by various rings; a triangular fleuron is attached to the central ring in the middle of the shaft. Rows of pearls hang on either side. The cushion is a single row of lotus petals which lies above a stepped pedestal where flat pillars separate niches above the recesses of the lower part, as if reproducing the actual lower part of a stone image (compare with cat. 146, e.g.). The trefoil is drawn within three rows of thick beads which indicate the lower levels of the high *śikhara*. This tower has straight dotted edges and a surface adorned by a triangular fleuron within two foliate bands; it is topped by the large vase to which ribbons are attached. Branches of the pipal-tree spread on either side of the tower.

The facial features of the Buddha are broad with large half-open eyes. The curls of the hair are thick and large. The body is also broader than on the previous plaque.

PUBLISHED

Glase-napp 1925, pl. 230.

311. Votive plaque

Inv. IC 11313.

6,1 x 4,6 cm. Brown terracotta.

Rivett-Carnac collection, 1883.

From "the Buddhist remains at Sankisa and Bihar", which means that it was found at *Sāṅkāśya* (Sankissa) or at *Behar Khas*, both sites in the district of district of *Farrukhabad*, Uttar Pradesh.

Sealing which is shaped like a pipal leaf with the lower part circular and the upper one pointed. A row of pearls runs along its edge. It shows the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa*^o, sitting within a shrine: a tower surmounts a trefoiled niche which rests above two jambs adorned with thick beads. Similar, but smaller pearls runs along the seat on which the Buddha sits. Elegantly depicted branches of the pipal tree fall from behind the tower on either side, filling the upper space. Five rows of eight *caitya.s* of the same size are depicted on either side of the monument and three further smaller ones have been added in the three lower row, on the proper left side.³ The lower part of the sealing is covered with the creed formula.

This plaque is apparently a lac sealing, sim-

ilar to those found by Alexander Cunningham in the *stūpa* which he excavated at Birdāban, a site in the vicinity of Lakhi Sarai, and which were given to the British Museum.⁴

312. Votive plaque

Inv. IC 33655.

13,5 x 11,5 x 3 cm. Red terracotta.

Waddell collection 3, 1905.

Bihar.

The very large rim has been largely preserved (the lower edge only is partly chipped off). Within it, the pentagonal votive plaque reproduces the Buddha seated in *sattvaparyāṅkā*^o and displaying the *samādhi*^o. He sits within a pavilion, the roof of which is slightly curved and supports a final shaped as a *caitya*; a tiny window rests above the edge of the roof. On either side, two elongated and thin columns are topped with round capitals and stand above a pedestal where a sequence of niches is indicated through the use of flat broad pillars above a flat moulding, now partly destroyed.

Within this square niche, the Buddha leans against the back of the throne: the vertical dotted edges support the lintel adorned by *makara*-shaped knobs, a circular nimbus in relief rests on it whereas large leaves of the Bodhi tree spread on either side.

This type, of which only some rare examples are known,⁵ differs evidently from those illustrated by the previous entries. Most of the votive imprints reproduce the Buddha at his Enlightenment and within the Bodhi temple. The gesture of the hands and the position of the legs differ here; besides, the construction in which the Buddha sits, does not coincide with the traditional depiction of the temple built on the site where he achieved his Enlightenment. However, the tree is well depicted behind the nimbus. This plaque illustrates perhaps a moment of Śākyamuni's life related to the Enlightenment, but due to the absence of the temple as such, it might be a meditation preceding this event.

313-316. Votive plaques

Inv. IC 33722a to d.

Waddell collection 84, 1906.

Bodh Gayā.

No photograph available.

"Small", seem to have been gilded according to the inventory book.

317. Torso of the Buddha

Inv. 1631/old IC 33654.
23,5 x 14,5 x 9 cm. Red terracotta.
Waddell collection 2, 1906.

The largest part of this image of the Buddha has been broken off; however, it is likely that it depicted the seated and not the standing Buddha, due to the size of the remaining fragment. Be that as it may, Śākyamuni displays the *abhaya*° with the damaged right hand, the palm of which is adorned by the *dharmacakra*; the hand is rather small and rests on the breast. The right shoulder is bare and one still notices the incised extremity of the flap which fell on the left shoulder; similarly, the edge of the dress runs vertically on the left side of the torso.

The damaged face presents a round outline and fleshy features with large eyes which are half-closed. Large elongated lobes fall on the shoulders. Thick scrolls cover the head and its protuberance.

The Buddha used to sit in front of a round back-slab, the edge of which was adorned by a row of incised flames, some of which are still visible in the upper part, which present the shape of the question mark without its dot. An oval nimbus was also indicated through a single incised line around the head of the Buddha who was backed on to a cushion, some engraved folds of which are still seen by the right shoulder.

Such terracotta figures or other made of stucco were distributed in niches of temples. Terracottas were regularly distributed in square panels, at Pāhārpur or Antichak.⁶ Larger panels of stucco images were observed in Hindu post-Gupta sites like Aphaṣaḍ or Rājgir, where they have unfortunately mostly disappeared since their discovery,⁷ others, of a Buddhist inspiration, were noticed on the Bodhi Mandir and some are still to be seen on walls of the monument of site 3 at Nālandā.⁸

318. Female head

Inv. IC 33658.
5,5 x 4 x 2,5 cm. Red terracotta.
Waddell collection 7, 1906.
Bihar.

Though Waddell thought this head to belong to the torso catalogued hereafter, it is evident that they belonged to different sculptures. The head is large, with broad facial features, the nose is broken off, the mouth is deep, the front is narrow. Two large circular rings adorn the ears, a pointed cap cover the head.⁹ A plain necklace marks the short neck and part of the breast is visible.

319. Female torso

Inv. IC 33659.
5,7 x 6 x 1,2 cm. Red terracotta.
Waddell collection 7, 1906.
Bihar.

Much spoiled since only the breast, one arm and a part of the belly have been preserved. The right arm stretches across the torso and touch the left breast; a necklace used to adorn the neck.

320 & 321. Bricks with lotus

320: inv. I 2829/old IC 33656.
12,7 x 12,7 x 4,5 cm.

321: inv. I 2830/old IC 33657.
10 x 9,8 x 4 cm.
Red terracotta.

Waddell collection 4 & 5, 1906.
Bihar or Nepal.

Each lotus includes eight petals which are spread around the central circular and still partially closed heart of the flower. A further row of pointed petals is depicted below it, of which the central rib is distinguished. A further decorative band encircles the second flower.

Such bricks were discovered in various Buddhist sites where they could be put above the casket contained in a *stūpa*.¹⁰

322 & 323. Glazed tiles.

322: inv. I 2799/old IC 4367a.
12 x 10,2 x 4 cm.

323: inv. I 2800/old IC 4367b.
12,6 x 10,5 x 4,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 2, 1876.
From the *Chikā Masjid*, Gaur.¹¹

Two similar terracottas, with a broad arch painted with white and green glazes and carved in high relief, the side painted with green glaze.¹²

324a & b. Glazed tiles

324a: inv. I 2801/old IC 4368b.
10,5 x 10 x 5,5 cm.

324b: inv. IC 4368a, now missing, was similar to 324a.

Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 3, 1876.
"said to have been brought from a tomb at Banglaket, Gaur, but last found built in the wall of a private dwelling belonging to one Rām Mandal of Jelalpur".

Lower left corner broken away. Spear-shaped flower ornament painted in white on a dark blue background; white rosettes in the upper corners.¹³

325. Frieze of 3 glazed tiles

Inv. 2802a, b, c/old IC 4370a, b, d
(old IC 4370c was a fourth similar tile, now missing from the collection).
11,6 x 8,9 x 4,5 cm. 14 x 8,5 x 4,5 cm.
6,9 x 8 x 4,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 5, 1876.
Gaur, "last found at Bhaluhat".

A thick white glazed line on a dark background follows a zig-zag line.¹⁴

326. Glazed tile

Inv. I 2807/old IC 4375.
13,5 x 4,5 x 3,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 10, 1876.
Gaur.

Broad green glazed band on a yellow glazed background.

327. Frieze of three glazed tiles

Inv. I 2832a-c/old IC 4369a-c.
13 x 50 x 5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra Kh. 4, 1876.
"from Banglaket ... supposed to have belonged to the tomb of certain Pathan kings buried there. Last found in the house of one Bhagasahan of Muhadipur." Gaur.¹⁵

On each tile, three lanceolated ornaments are shown in high relief on a dark blue background. Their edge is painted yellow whereas the inner field is white and contains a fleuron, the elements of which are painted red, green and yellow within a thin blue edge. Small white six-lobed flowers with a central green part are distributed between the ornaments.¹⁶

328. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2804/old IC 4373.
13,8 x 11,8 x 6 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 8, 1876.
"From the mosque at Gaur. Last found in the wall of a private house belonging to one Sheikh Alibaksh of Muhadipur."

Lotus flower in high relief: two concentric rows of petals, carved in high relief are distributed around the central circular part which bears two incised lines forming a cross.¹⁷

329. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2812/old IC 4381.
12,5 x 10,8 x 5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 16, 1876.
"In the fort at Gaur".

Damaged scroll-work band with lotuses at intervals: only one such flower is preserved with the outer curve of a volute on the side.

330. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2803/old IC 4372.
14,8 x 13,8 x 4,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 7, 1876.
"From the mosque at Gaur. Last found in the wall of a private house belonging to one Sheikh Alibaksh of Muhadipur."

Lanceolated ornament to which are attached four pine-like elements falling on either side.

331. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2810/old IC 4378.
9,2 x 8,6 x 4 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 13, 1876.
Gaur.

Part of an ornamental band with two turmeric flowers hanging down.

332. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2811/old IC 4379.
14,5 x 8,5 x 4,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 14, 1876.
"From the mosque at Gaur. Last found in the wall of a private house belonging to one Sheikh Alibaksh of Muhadipur."

Pine-shaped ornament, used as pendants at the corners of horizontal bands and also as up-rights at distant intervals over such bands.

333. Carved terracotta bricks

Inv. 2831a-c/old IC 4371a-c.
14 x 43,5 x 5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 6, 1876.
"From the mosque at Gaur. Last found in the wall of a private house belonging to one Sheikh Alibaksh of Muhadipur."

Frieze of four and a half fleurons carved in high relief: each brick presents one full and a half-fleuron, which are attached to a lower border showing a wavy profile.¹⁸

334 & 335. Carved terracotta bricks

334: Inv. I 2805/old IC 4374a.
13,6 x 11,2 x 5 cm.
335: Inv. I 2806/old IC 4374b.
11,3 x 8,5 x 4,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 9, 1876.
"From the mosque at Gaur. Last found in the wall of a private house belonging to one Sheikh Alibaksh of Muhadipur."

Part of a frieze of foliated ornaments shaped as scrolls.

336. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2808/old IC 4376.
8,8 x 8,5 x 4 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 11, 1876.
"From the mosque at Gaur. Last found in the wall of a private house belonging to one Sheikh Alibaksh of Muhadipur."

Part of a frieze showing a small flower and a cone-shaped motif within a scroll.

337. Carved terracotta brick

Inv. I 2809/old IC 4377.
12,5 x 12,3 x 5,5 cm.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 12, 1876.
Gaur.

Part of a scroll, partly broken: the upper dotted edge is rounded above two jagged leaves.

338. Frieze of glazed tiles (?)

Inv. IC 4366.
Jagor/Mitra collection Kh. 1, 1876.
Gaur.
No photograph available.

The inventory book mentions that this should be a frieze. It could thus probably be similar to the friezes of cat. 325 and 327.

339. Carved terracotta

Inv. IC 4380.
Jagor/Mitra Collection Kh. 15, 1876.
Gaur.
No photograph available.

The inventory book describes this brick as a scroll containing flowers of lotus.

340. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 2778/old IC 899a.
17,5 x 15 x 5 cm.
Ansorge collection, 1857.
From the ruins of a Hindu temple "at Bollotpor", built in honour of Krishna some "400" years ago by the "Raja of Krishnagor".

This brick and the four following ones belong to the Hindu temples of the late period. It is almost impossible to determine with precision their place of origin; this one and the next three ones are said to have been collected at a temple constructed some 500 years ago, which is probably much too early. As to the one from "Kālightat" (cat. 345), it is difficult to ascertain whether it was really collected at the temple of this name near Calcutta.

This brick constituted the angle of a square structure, perhaps a window, or a door-jamb (?). It shows between two flat and narrow plain bands, a complex twisted design of a ribbon shaped like a branch with small neatly carved leaves. Three small flowers with narrow petals are introduced within this interlacing.

341. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 2779/old IC 899b.
16,7 x 16,3 x 5,5 cm.
Ansorge collection, 1857.
From the ruins of a Hindu temple "at Bollotpor", built in honour of Krishna some "400" years ago by the "Raja of Krishnagor".

This square brick shows an elegantly carved large leaf which had to be completed through the presence of an adjoining brick. The leaf runs along the edge which is adorned by a narrow plain band and a row of elongated dots. The same band and dots underline the outer limit of the leaf. A thin volute with attached pointed leaves runs within the inner field.

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 105 below.

342. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 3072/old VII C 47d,b & c
16,4 x 15,4 x 5 cm.

One corner is now missing (old inv. VII C 47a). A narrow band supporting a row of thin dots runs along one edge. It delimitates also the broad scrolls: the upper part of an arch is preserved in the right corner and a more complete pointed element is carved on the left part, which is probably the extremity turning on itself clearly visible on the previous example (cat. 341). Small volutes fill the space between

these various parts of the leaf, thick and round, running on themselves and attached to a branch which forms an arch in the upper left part.

343. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 2780/old IC 899c.

13,8 x 6 x 4 cm.

Ansorge collection, 1857.

From the ruins of a Hindu temple "at Bollopor", built in honour of Krishna some "400" years ago by the "Raja of Krishnagor".

Slightly damaged, hole for fixation. Rectangular brick which is covered by a scroll to which are attached small leaves, some pointed, some rolling on themselves. The brick was evidently part of a band.

PUBLISHED

Glaserapp 1925, pl. 105 above.

344. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 2781/old IC 899d.

10 x 7,5 x 4,5 cm.

Ansorge collection, 1857.

From the ruins of a Hindu temple "at Bollopor", built in honour of Krishna some "400" years ago by the "Raja of Krishnagor".

Slightly damaged rectangular brick limited by a broad plain edge. An intertwining covers the inner field, forming six circles with small fleurons distributed on the thin stalks between the circles and rolled leaves on the stalks crossing the circles.

345. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 2798/old IC 4171.

18 x 11 x 5,5 cm.

Jagor collection (offered by Pratapachandra Ghosh), 1876.

From the temple at Kālīghat.

Rectangular brick, the two long edges of which are underlined by a plain band. Two large volutes are drawn through thin lines, and the inner and outer surfaces are filled by diamond-shaped granules. A similar decorative motif occurs on temples of the 18th and early 19th c.¹⁹

346. Carved terracotta

Inv. I 1431/old IC 4026.

12 x 9 x 4,2 cm.

Jagor Collection Ca 288.

From the temple at Kālīghat.

Much abraded brick which reproduces a lobate niche resting on flat pillars. On the right part, a woman sits, facing the viewer and holding in her lap a small baby while a second smaller woman stands by her side, waving a fan in her hand. Most of her is destroyed, but her feet are still visible as well as the thick lines which indicate the folds of her dress. She wore a long skirt apparently tied together by a girdle, the tassels of which are falling on the hip, and a shawl hiding her breast, a further shawl or the same piece of cloth falls on her right shoulder. Her right hand holds the fan at the level of the seated woman whereas the left one rests above her belly.

The largest woman sits with crossed legs and apparently wears the same dress, the folds of which covers her left shoulder (both women probably wore a *sāḍī*). The head is covered by the dress and she wears a necklace of pearls and ear-rings. The baby lies with his head on her right knee.

The "life of Kṛṣṇa" or *kṛṣṇalīla* is a major theme in the iconography of the brick temple of Bengal, and it is possible that the scene shows here the god as a child in the arms of Yaśodā.²⁰ Similar panels with various iconographies but with same lobate arch are noticed on various monuments of the region; the treatment of the pleates, narrow and deep, occurs likewise regularly.²¹

1 This votive plaque was offered to the Museum by a German native, J. Behrendt who gave it to Marion Rivett-Carnac for being sent to Berlin with objects which she had herself collected for the Museum (file 1340/83, letter of M. Rivett-Carnac dated 2.1.1883). Behrendt provided a detailed description, included in the file, of the plaque and recorded how it was found in 1880 when restoration work was started at the Bodhi Temple: "... To these masses of masonry were found attached a considerable number of votive slabs, all of exactly the same size & shape as the one which I sent you ..." It must have broken during the journey since it received two inventory numbers. For complete (or not) identical plaques from Bodhi Gayā, see Cunningham 1892, pl. XXXIV-E, Lawson 1982, pp. 153-154 or Zwalf 1985, cat. 145 (the height is given here after this entry), Lawson 1982, pp. 176-179, Lawson 1988, fig. 12 (perhaps from the same mould). The same plaques were also discovered in Burma: Lawson 1982, pp. 181-183. Similar plaques were also produced at Nālandā, but their spire differs since it does not include the floral motif with attached volutes (Lawson 1982, pl. 15-V & VI, pl. 35; Franz 1959, Abb. 12). *The Way of the Buddha* 1993, cat. 69 reproduces also a plaque allegedly from Nālandā, but the spire differs slightly with the frontal part that is larger; the lower part of the slab is not rounded but flat, which allows the presence of another large *caitya* on either side of the lotus-seat.

2 Cunningham 1892, pl. XXIV-D or F (the same) & Lawson 1982, pp. 157-158 & 174-175 illustrate similar plaques.

3 Lawson 1982, pp. 549-552 describes four such sealings preserved in the BM, inv. 1887.7-17.149a-d where he also counts 43 *caitya*s.

4 *Ibidem*, pp. 511-512 on the lac technique, & 549 on the provenance: such a sealing was reproduced by Cunningham 1871-72, pl. XLVI-3 (plate also included by Lawson, pl. 56 between pp. 548 & 549).

5 Cunningham 1892, pl. XXIV-B & Lawson 1982, pp. 161-162 reproduce two such plaques.

6 Sinha 1968; Sahai 1971; Asher 1975; Asher 1980, pl. 210-214; Antichak; Dikshit 1938, pl. XXXIX-L (*passim*); Saraswati 1962, pp. 108-110 & figs. 48-62 & Asher 1980, pl. 216-219; Pāhārpur.

7 Asher 1980, pl. 18-20; Sengupta 1991b, figs. 1-2 (Rājgir); Sinha 1974, pl. 58-64; Asher 1980, pl. 83-86; Sengupta 1991, figs. 12-14 (Aphsāḍ).

8 The stucco images of the Bodhi Mandir disappeared apparently in the course of the restoration of the monument in the late 19th century. Some were reproduced on photographs made by Joseph Beglar who worked with Alexander Cunningham on the site: Malandra 1988, fig. 15, Losty 1991, p. 248. Images are still visible on the walls of the monument at Nālandā but have evidently suffered in the course of time of depredations due to pillagers: Asher 1980, pl. 68-71, Sengupta 1991b, figs. 3-4, Paul 1995, pl. 11-27. A small rectangular slab framing a Buddha image in terracotta was collected in the district of Midnapur, West Bengal (*Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1957-1958, pl. LXXXVII-b; Saraswati 1962, p. 112 note 23 & fig. 46); it can be dated in the Gupta or early post-Gupta period (Asher 1980, p. 33).

9 Similar heads were excavated at Vaiśālī, see Sinha/Roy 1969, pl. XLIX, dated to a "late level of Period IV" in the chronology of the site, i.e. shortly before A.D.600 (*idem*, pp. 8 & 161).

10 Kala 1993, pl. 281 reproduces a similar but

smaller brick from Kaśyā. Mukherji 1899/1969, pl. XI-XIa, XII-fig.2 or XIII-fig.8 reproduces such bricks which he excavated in various sites of Nepal. Most of these sites were also visited at an earlier time by Waddell (see the prefatory note by Smith, p. I) – it would thus be possible that the two bricks of the collection were collected in the region.

11 It is in fact not a mosque, see 'Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, pp. 65-66, the monument is dated A.H. 818-836, i.e. A.D. 1415-1432 (Mahmudul 1979, p. 21). Spoils from Hindu monuments were also used in the construction and "glazed tiles of various colours [were distributed] in the cornice all around and on the corner pillars" ('Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931, p. 66). Most of the tiles were removed from private houses, as also observed by Anderson 1883, p. 368 & note 1.

12 Anderson 1883, Gr. 61 p. 372 describes a similar tile.

13 *Ibidem*, Gr. 28-29 p. 368 catalogues identical enamelled bricks from the same site.

14 *Ibidem*, Gr. 24-27 p. 368.

15 Mahdīpūr is a village located on the bank of the Bhagirathi, see pl. II in 'Ābid 'Alī Khān 1931.

16 Similar ones are listed by Anderson 1883, Gr.45-47 pp. 370-371.

17 *Ibidem*, Gr. 90 p. 375. Similar lotus flowers adorned the facade of the tomb of Shaikh Akhī Sirājuddīn 'Usmān (Ravenshaw 1878, pl. 2) where they form a band in the upper part. Ravenshaw 1878, pl. 23 reproduces a group of carved bricks similar to those of the collection.

18 *Ibidem*, Gr. 73-75 p. 374.

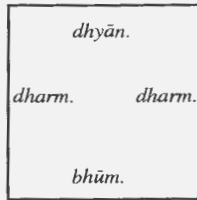
19 Mc Cutchion/Michell 1983, figs. 398, 406, 409..., 611, 620 (same temple: Sanyal 1974, figs. 38 & 41), 662, 686, 689...

20 A similar scene occurs among the decoration of the 18th c. Kṛṣṇa Candra Temple at Kālnā in the district of Burdwān, where it belongs evidently to the depiction of the early years of Kṛṣṇa: Dasgupta 1971, pl. 41 (detail of Mc Cutchion/Michell 1983, fig. 578 & p. 225).

21 *Ibidem*, pp. 137 sq., figs. 258, 367, 269. For the plates: figs. 255, 256, 567, 753, 755.

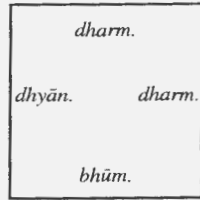
DRAWINGS

1



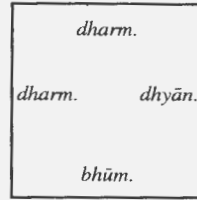
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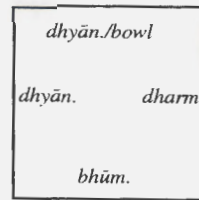
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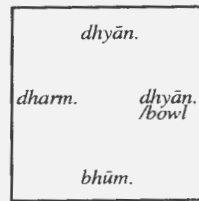
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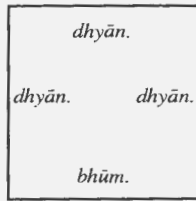
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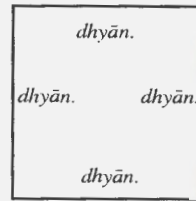
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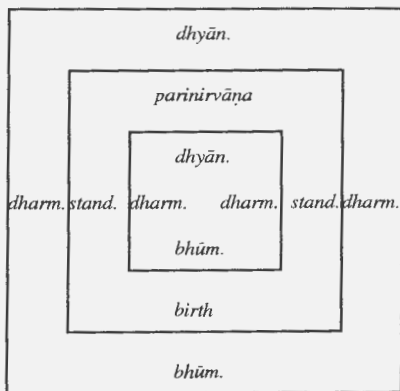
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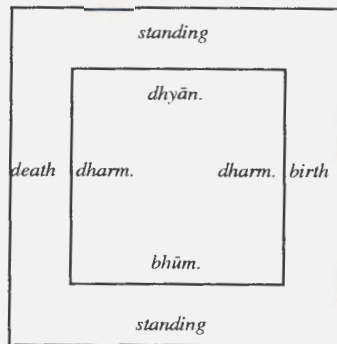
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Cat. 82

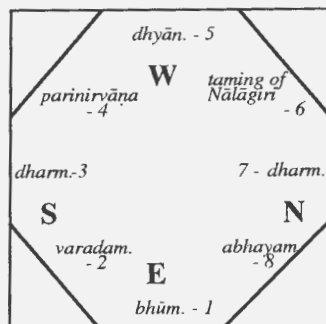
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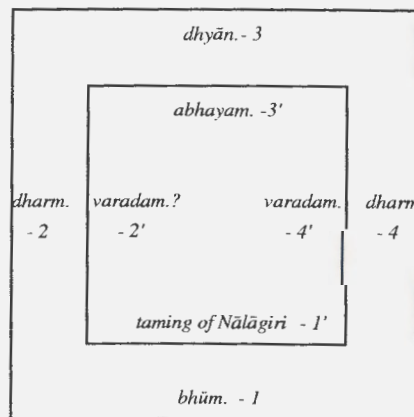
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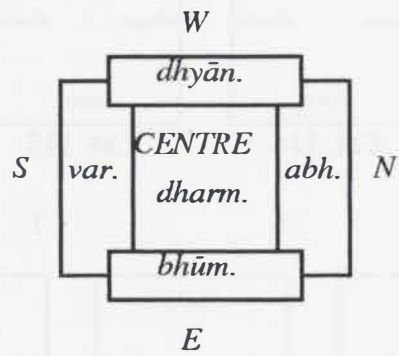


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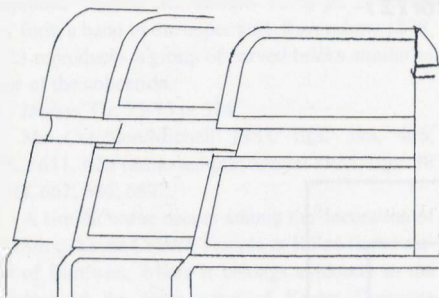
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S	W	E	Centre	E	W	N
<i>varada</i>	<i>dhyān.</i>	<i>bhūm.</i>	<i>dharm.</i>	<i>dharm.</i>	<i>bhūm.</i>	<i>dhyān.</i>
			<i>abhaya.</i>			

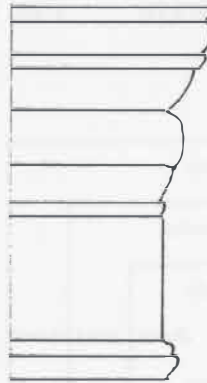


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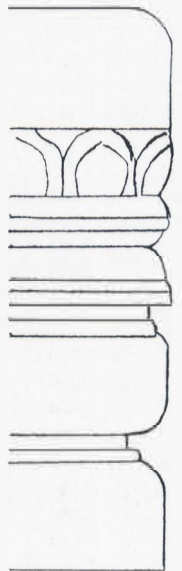
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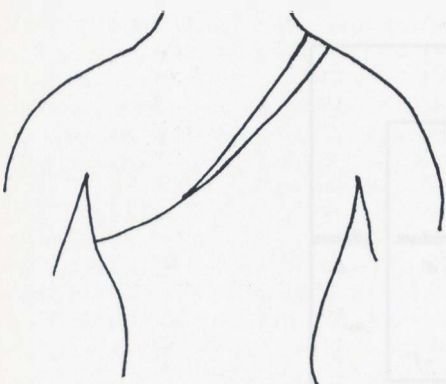
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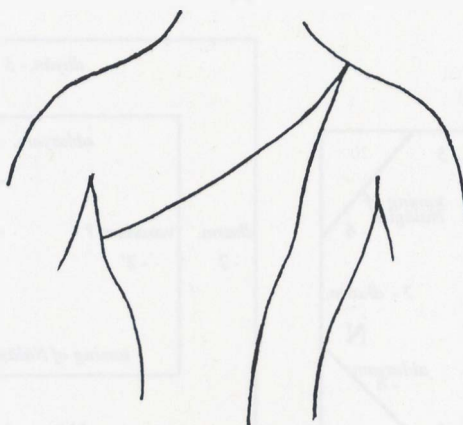
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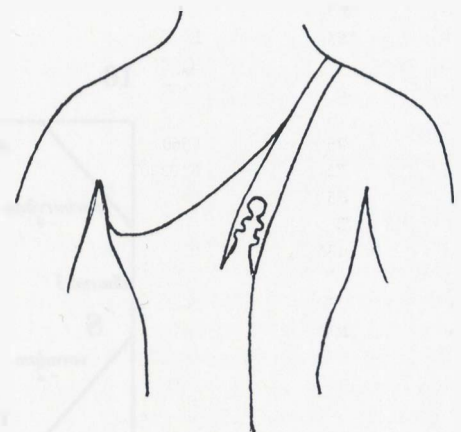
16



a



b



c

COLLECTIONS

A. Waddell Collection

Waddell number	Catalogue number	Inventory number
2	318	I 631
4	321	I 2829
5	322	I 2830
7	319, 320	IC 33658, IC 33659
8	31	IC 33660
9	25	I 607
10	140	I 551
11	142	I 1132
12	32	IC 33664
13	71	I 619
14	13	IC 33666
15	89, 114, 156	I 2749, I 2747, I 2748
16	22	I 590
17	23	I 378
18	24	IC 33670
19	29	IC 33671
20	143	IC 33672
21	64	I 621
22	48, 70	I 666, I 641
24	41	I 665
24a	160	IC 34656
25	35	I 639
26	17	I 545
27	18	I 546
28	28	I 589
29	16	I 544
30	36	I 640
31	49	IC 35608
32	47	I 1151
33	215	I 622
34	46	I 1152
35	180	I 1144
36	50	I 1156
37	135	I 1142a-b
38	14	I 575
39	37	IC 33688
40	19, 20	I 543, I 548
41	59	I 664
42	40	I 541
43	63	I 550
45	74	IC 33693
46	67	I 549
47	68	I 1131
48	65	I 603
49	53	IC 33697
50	69	IC 33698
51	6	I 380
52	73	I 379
54	76	I 560
55	72	IC 33702
56	75	I 580
57	51	I 576
58	136	I 578
59	121	I 697
60	130	I 629
61	213	I 670
62	171	I 1117
63	167	I 696
64	129	IC 33711
65	208	I 620
66	128	I 5769

Waddell number	Catalogue number	Inventory number
68	210	IC 33714
70	133	I 630
71	78	I 669
76	55	I 542
80	44	I 1137
81	43	I 1136
82	60	IC 33720
83	42	I 1128
84	314, 315, 316, 317	IC 33722a-d
86	202, 203, 204	IC 33723b, I 2698, I 2697
88	269	IC 33724
89	268	IC 33725
90	267	IC 36211
91	57	I 598
92	56	IC 33727
93	38	IC 33728
95	61	I 1118
97	232	I 1133
98	227	I 642
99	141	I 1153
no number	27	I 381
	34	I 667
	54	I 668
	102	I 1116
	137	I 573
	151	I 600
	209	I 559

b. Leitner Collection

Waddell number	Catalogue number	Inventory number
A 11	80	I 2750
A 15	147	I 650
A 33[or 526]	182	I 662
40	285	I 1164
42	161	IC 34656
52c	3	I 663
A 61	221	I 682
A 88	262	I 1129
90	79	I 1134
204	263	I 1127
333	39	I 599
366	214	I 643
384	223	IC 34614
393b	52	IC 34851
452	229	I 692
500	264	I 684
502	200	I 648
503	198	I 553
504	92	I 624
505	94	I 679
507	103	I 581a-c
509	106	I 674
509d	119	I 602
509e	111	I 615
510	126	I 673
511	132	I 616
512	113	I 686
513	116	IC 34733
514	118	I 675

Leitner number	Catalogue number	Inventory number
515	108	IC 34706
516	107	I 689
517	124	I 655
518	131	I 691
518a	122	I 647a
518b	127	I 693
518c	117	I 694
518d	115	I 695
519	144	IC 34674
520	154	I 636
521	158	I 626
521	159	I 1126
521a	11	I 1113
523	196	I 555
525	97	I 612
526 [see A33]		
527	217	IC 34812
527a	183	I 632
527b	10	I 633
528	187	I 595
529	220	I 582
530	207	I 558
530a	211	I 645
531	212	I 618
533	164	I 676
534	170	I 594
535	162	I 651
537a-b	192	IC 34651a-b
538	93	I 653
A 538a	8	I 608
538b	191	I 601
A 538b	9	I 607
538c	306	I 1114
A 538e	139	I 627
538f	91	I 634
538g	194	I 623
539	95	I 611
540	98	I 657
A 540	84	I 656
540a	96	I 659a
540b	152	I 660
542	90	I 649
542a	185	I 593
542b	197	I 1130
543	201	I 658
544	189	I 554
545	134	I 1122
546	199	I 557
546a	190	I 556
547	66	IC 34751
548	225	I 613
550	193	I 609
551	83	I 678
552	184	I 606
553	45	I 23
554	196	I 625
555	138	I 654
556	4	I 628
557	206	I 637
557a	205	I 597
558	186	I 652

Leitner number	Catalogue number	Inventory number
560	123	I 683
561	305	I 1141
561a-b	15	I 690
563	33	I 574
564	219	I 610
565	226	I 661
572	153	I 614
572	188	I 596
574	222	IC 34685

no number	5	I 2671
	58	I 1115
	105	I 688
	112	I 1135
	163	I 676
	169	I 681
	247	I 635
	248	I 638
	286	I 1163
	287	IC 34739
	307	I 2594
	310	IC 34631

c. Jagor/Mitra Collection

Kh.1	339	IC 4366
Kh.2	323, 324	I 2799, I 2800
Kh.3	325	I 2801
Kh.4	328	I 2832a-c
Kh.5	326	I 2802a-c
Kh.6	334	I 2831a-c
Kh.7	331	I 2803
Kh.8	329	I 2804
Kh.9	335, 336	I 2805, I 2806
Kh.10	327	I 2807
Kh.11	337	I 2808
Kh.12	338	I 2809
Kh.13	332	I 2810
Kh.14	333	I 2811
Kh.15	340	IC 4380
Kh.16	330	I 2812
Kh.17	282	I 404
Kh.18	296	I 2712
Kh.19	294	I 1158
Kh.20	251	I 698
Kh.21	303	I 1159
Kh.22	289	I 2687
Kh.23	288	I 1138
Kh.24	297	I 1146
Kh.25	299	I 2729
Kh.26	292	I 1150
Kh.27	291	I 2713
Kh.28	290	I 1149
Kh.29	301	I 2726
Kh.30	246	IC 60
Kh.31	250	I 2725
Kh.32	295	I 2605
Kh.33	259	I 1160
Kh.34	302	I 1145
Kh.35	300	I 1139

Jagor number	Catalogue number	Inventory number
Kh.36	258	I 2757
Kh.37	293	IC 4402
Kh.38	298	I 1155a-b
Kh.39	243	I 9457
Kh.40	284	I 2758

d. Bastian/Mitra Collection

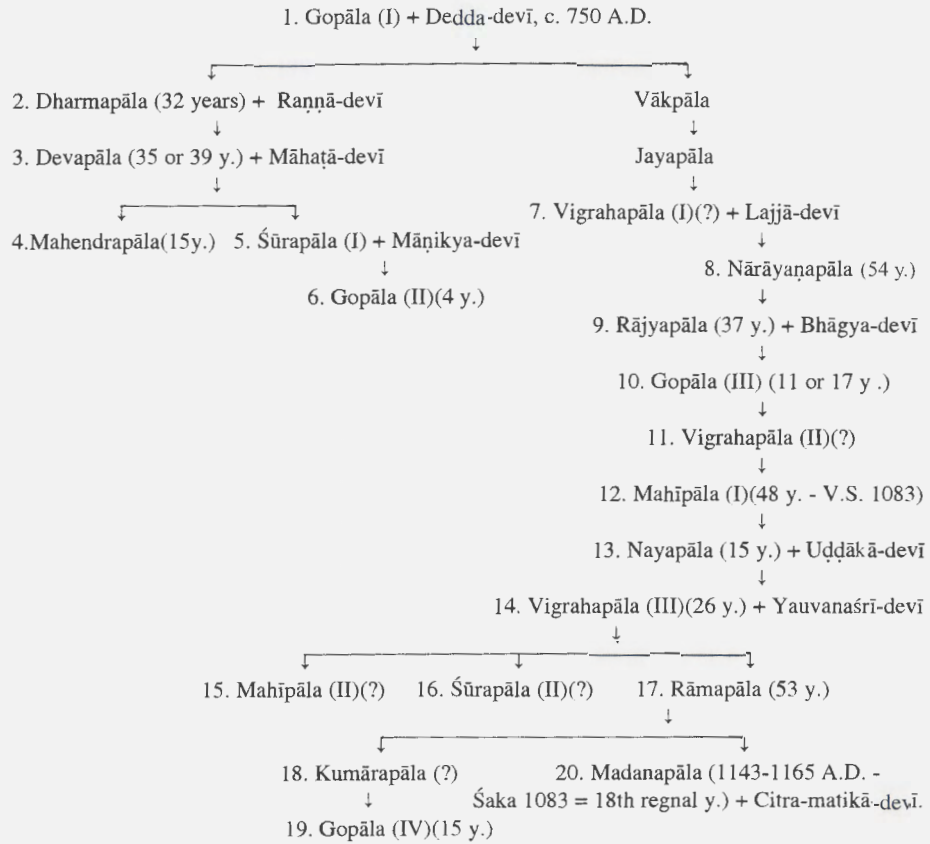
(see note 1 to the Preliminary Remarks of the catalogue)

no number	109	I 699/IC 8793
	125	I 700/IC 8794
	181	IC 8795
	174	I 1121/IC 8796
	176	I 1167/IC 8797
	177	I 1168/IC 8798
	173	I 1120/IC 8799
	273	IC 8799
	172	I 1119/IC 8800 (& 8818)
	81	I 2742/IC 8801
	87	I 2745/IC 8802
	86	I 2743/IC 8803
	85	I 1125/IC 8804
	88	I 2746/IC 8805
	101	I 2739/IC 8806
	104	I 584a/IC 8807
	104	I 584b/IC 8808
	77	I 2744/IC 8809
	100	I 1123/IC 8810
	157	I 2740/IC 8811
	155	I 2741/IC 8812
	179	I 17/IC 8813
	178	I 1154/IC 8814
	275	IC 8815
	274	I 4989/IC 8816
	276	I 16/IC 8817
	172	I 1119/IC 8818 (& 8800)

GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA DYNASTY

8th – 12th c.

(Gouriswar Bhattacharya)



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ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Albums of drawings and photos preserved at the OIOC:

Inv. WD 2876, WD 2877 & WD 2878, drawings made around 1840 under the supervision of Markham Kittoe (1808-1853) (Archer 1969, pp. 466-468). WD 2879 includes drawings of the railing at Bodh Gayā (*ibidem*, p. 468 & Losty 1991, pp. 241-242).

Inv. MSS.Eur.D.95, drawings made around 1811-1812 under the supervision of Francis Buchanan Hamilton (1762-1829) (Archer 1969, p. 398; Bautze-Picron 1989b, p. 270-271 & Losty 1991, p. 242-246 for the drawings made at Bodh Gayā); a second album, inv. MSS.Eur.D.96, reproduces also the drawings from Bihar and Bengal included in the first one. MSS.Eur.G 25 includes drawings made while Buchanan was in Bengal.

Inv. WD 569-952, Portfolio no. 8, drawings 732(2)-735(5); drawings collected by Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821), who was in northern India in 1813 (Losty 1991, p. 236; Archer 1969, p. 508).

Photographic albums accompany the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*: the list of photos made during the running year is provided in the Report, the numerotation of the photos does not start with each report but is continuous (beside an annual numerotation which we do not take here into consideration since it is not used in the photographic albums). Two further independent lists were published, one in 1900 by Theodor Bloch (see above), one in 1921 (see under *Catalogue*) by the Director-General of Archaeology and thus does not exclusively include photos made in eastern India. The Circle was named "Bengal" till 1904 and "Eastern" from 1905-1906. Besides, the reports of the Bengal/Eastern Circle (based in Calcutta) run from 1900 till 1920/21, but already from 1919/20, reports on the Central Circle (based in Patna) include information on the region (whereas already the 1907/08 report of the Eastern Circle includes a list of photographs made in the Central Provinces). Similar reports were annually printed by the various circles, such as the Northern one, the photographic work was led the same way it was made in the Eastern Provinces.

FILES

Numerous informations related to the origin of the images are contained in the files preserved in the archives of the SMPK; these are the files n° 156/1857 (Hermann Ansonge collection); 1340/83 & 1788/83 (Rivett-Carnac collection; these documents belong to the Jagor file); 538/1879 (Bastian collection); 289/04 & 556/07 (Leitner collection); 2188/05, 1523/07, 194/08, 1267/08, 1275/08 & 1395/08 (Waddell collection); 1605/07 & 903/09 (Wagner collection); 2009/10, 1772/11, 300/12, 441/12, 741/12, 1407/12 & 112/13 (Rawlins collection); 1732/1922 (Tagore collection). The Jagor file includes various parts, including the correspondance and other technical information on the one side and the lists of the objects acquired for the Berlin Museum on the other side (File I.B.13, I.B.13a & I.B.13b); 547/77 is Jagor's dairy, 1764/76 is the Mitra List (see below); most of the documents do not, however, bear a specific number.

"zu Sammlung Leitner, Nachtrag des gedruckten Catalogs": English handwritten list of objects of the Leitner catalogue which are not included in the *Short Catalogue*; it is added to the inventory books and has a chapter entitled "Additions to objects under the heading "Ancient Buddhistic Carvings" etc, pp. 13-14" (the images from this list got a "A" before their Leitner number in the inventory book).

Mitra List:

In the file Pars I.B. 13a related to the Jagor collection, the document ad. N° 1764 de 76 (= "addition to 1764/76") includes a detailed list of the Gaur sculptures, written by Rajendra Lal Mitra.

Waddell List:

List of Lieut-Colonel L.A. Waddell Collection of Ancient Buddhist & Tibetan Specimens temporarily displayed at The Crystal Palace, London. This is the hand-written list by Waddell of the objects which he offered to the Berlin Museum; the exhibition took place in 1905 but the list was sent in January 1906 (file 2188/05).

GLOSSARY

(The terms included in the glossary are exclusively those met with in the text. Iconographic informations are only related to images described in the catalogue, where more precision can be obtained in some cases. Since the meaning of some words could change in the course of time, it is the one encountered after the 8th c. which has been here retained.)

Terms designating gestures, *mudrā.s*, or positions, *āsana.s*, have been abbreviated in the text. Some of the definitions have been borrowed from the typescript of a still unpublished glossary provided by Ulrich von Schroeder [v.S.].

In case a term knows various orthographies, we have kept the most commonly used one, e.g. "Bodhisattva" and not "Bodhisatva" as encountered in inscriptions; some terms seem also to have been used within a Buddhist or a Hindu terminology (*vitarkamudrā* & *vyākhyānamudrā* e.g.) but only the one introduced here has been listed below. The discussion of these philological aspects is here irrelevant.)

ābhaṅga: "bent stance", standing attitude with body slightly bent [v.S.].

abhaya mudrā: "without fear" gesture. This gesture granting protection is shown by the right hand of the Buddha, upraised at the level of the shoulder with the palm turned outward. Also the gesture of the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi. See Saunders 1960, pp. 5-63.

adhidevatā: tutelary deity, see cat. 261.

ajina: deer-skin which is worn by ascetics and, in art, by gods like Śiva or by Bodhisattva.s like Maitreya or Avalokiteśvara.

akṣamālā: string of rosary beads, attribute of numerous deities.

ālīḍhāsana: heroic position where one leg is stretched while the other one is bent at the knee; it is usually understood that it is the right leg which is stretched and that it is thus symmetric to the *pratyālīḍhāsana* (s.v.). See Harle 1977, Mallmann 1986, p. 9.

āmalaka: fruit of the *Emblica*, under a stylised form, it crowns the *śikhara* (s.v.) and by extension, architectural elements such as a niche.

aṇḍa: "egg". Main part of the *caitya*, which is round, and stands above the *jaṅghavedī* (s.v.). See also *medhī*, *harmikā*, *chattravalī*.

añjalimudrā: both hands are clasped together in front of the breast or of the forehead or above the head. It is also known as *saṃpuṭāñjali* or as *kṛtāñjalipuṭa* in *sādhana.s* (11 & 14). See Mallmann 1986, p. 35 s.v. "of-frande", G. Bhattacharya 1986d, p. 41 note 29.

antaravāsaka: lower robe worn by monks (and hence, the Buddha), see introduction.

āśoka: Jonesy Asoka. A branch of this tree is an attribute of Mārīcī, see cat. 7.

āśvattha: "Pipal" or *Ficus religiosa*, tree below which Śākyamuni sat at Bodh Gayā. Vientnot 1954, pp. 156, 232-234, Majupuria/Joshi 1988, pp. 72-79.

avatāra: "descent", form of Viṣṇu, see cat. 244.

āyudhapuruṣa: personification of weapons, i.e. of attributes of Viṣṇu.

bhadrāsana: "the happy attitude", might refer to the position seated in the European way, i.e. with both legs falling in front of the seat, see Bourda 1949, Mallmann 1986, p. 10 & note 3, Saunders 1960, pp. 129-130. See also *pralambapādāsana*. See cat. 49 & 215.

bhaṅga: movement of the body.

bhūmi: level of the *śikhara* (s.v.).

bhūmiśparśamudrā: "touching of the earth", gesture of the right hand, palm turned inward and directed toward the earth, shown by the Buddha at Bodh Gayā or by the Tathāgata Akṣobhya. See Saunders 1960, pp. 80-83 & fig. 15 p. 80.

bījapūra: citron. Attribute of Jambhala. Also *mātuluṅga*. See cat. 73.

bodhyagrī mudrā: gesture presented by Vairocana, the forefinger of the left hand is firmly grasp by the right fist. See Saunders 1960, p. 102-107 & fig. "102" p. iii, Mallmann 1986, p. 33.

buddhapāda: "feet of the Buddha", see cat. 178-179.

caitya: also named *stūpa* (s.v.); the term is used in inscriptions for referring to the small monuments which were donated.

caityavṛkṣa: "reliquary tree", below which a Jina sits/stands, see cat. 265 sqr.

cakra: disk. Attribute of Viṣṇu.

cakraratna: see *saptaratna*.

cakravartin: the "owner of the disk", name given to the king, possesses the "seven jewels" or *saptaratna* (s.v.).

cāmara: fly-whisk, made of the tail of the yak. Attribute of attending figures.

chattra: umbrella.

chattrāvalī: superposition of umbrellas which are attached on a shaft (*yaṣṭi*) fixed above the *caitya*; it is shaped like a spire of decreasing diameter. See introduction & cat. 165-174.

cihna: emblem, of various kinds, which is carved below a particular image, in Buddhist or Jain art, and contributes to the identification of this image.

cintāmaṇi: "jewel of the thought", jewel which fulfils all desires, see Foucher 1900, p. 70 note 2 & *Inde classique*, I, § 1110 p. 539, Saunders 1960, pp. 154-156.

ḍamaru: small drum, see cat. 252.

daṇḍa: club, see cat. 249.

dharma: the Buddhist Law, see *triratna*.

dharmaçakra: "wheel of the Law". See cat. 180.

dharmaçakra(pravartana)mudrā: "gesture (of the turning) of the wheel of the Law", shown by Śākyamuni at Śārnāth; the same gesture was presented at Śrāvastī. Both hands are joined in front of the breast, the right hand generally vertical, palm facing outward and the left one horizontal below. The extremities of the thumb and of the forefinger of both hands touch each other, thus forming the wheel. See Saunders 1960, pp. 94-99, fig. 23 p. 94.

dharmaçāya: "body of the Law". In late Buddhism, it designates the higher spiritual nature, symbolised by five Buddha.s (Tathāgata.s or Jina.s, s.v.).

dhyānamudrā: "gesture of meditation". Both hands are lying, palms turned upwards, on each other. The gesture is shown by Śākyamuni when he receives the bowl of *madhu* (s.v.) by the monkey at Vaiśālī; the bowl standing above the hands. This is also the gesture of Amitābha. See Saunders 1960, pp. 85-93. Also named *samādhimudrā*.

dvipicarma: tiger-skin, see cat. 252.

gadā: club. Attribute of Viṣṇu.

gaja: elephant. Element of the royal throne where it symbolizes the earth and sustains a pyramid of fantastic animals, see Auboyer 1949, pp. 130-133.

gajahasta: hand position of Śiva, see cat. 253.

gaṇa: small goblin, see cat. 260.

gandharva: fantastic creature, playing music. Mallmann 1963, pp. 63 & 200, Panchamukhi 1951.

gavākṣa: "bull's eye", window often shaped as a horse's shoe, an element of architectural origin which is used as decorative motif in the symbolic representation of a monument in sculpture.

gaṇṭhā: small bells or cymbals, attribute of Vajrasattva, of the *kiṃṇārī* (s.v.), of the monk, see chapter II-B, cat. 283, Mallmann 1963, pp. 255-256, Bautze-Picron 1995, p. 65.

hala: ploughshare, see cat. 244.

haṃsa: goose. Element of the "royal throne" symbolising also the wind, see Auboyer 1949, pp. 122-124 & Vogel 1962.

harmikā: "small pavillion", it is the stone base in which is fixed the shaft with the umbrellas above the drum of the *caitya*.

iṣudhi: quiver, attribute of Mārīcī, see cat. 7 & 66-68

jaṭāmukuta: hair knotted in a high chignon above the head, worn by Bodhisattva.s or by Hindu deities, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, the Devī for instance.

jaṅghavedī: lower part of the *caitya* which supports the *aṇḍa* (s.v.); it is usually adorned with mouldings. See introduction.

- jina*: “victorious”, designates Śākyamuni or the five Buddhas of the *dharmakāya* (“body of Law”).
- jyotiṣkadeva*: “luminary deities”; group, class of deities, see cat. 271.
- kalaśa/kalasa*: jar.
- kamaṇḍalu*: vessel containing the sacred water, presented by various Hindu (Brahmā *e.g.*) or Buddhist (Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya *e.g.*) deities. See Mallmann 1986, p. 11 note 3, G. Bhattacharya 1989c, p. 109 note 7 who mentions various names (apart from this name, *kuṇḍī*, *kuṇḍikā* or *bhṛṅgāra*).
- kapāla*: skull-cup. Attribute of Śiva, of Mahākāla or of Avalokiteśvara. Can also be used as ornament. See cat. 51, 72, 74.
- karaṇḍamukuta*: head-dress shaped as superimposed pots, see Sivaramamurti 1961, p. 73.
- karatāla*: cymbals. Attributes of semi-divine figures like *kiṃnara/kiṃnarī* (*s.v.*), see cat. 283.
- kartri*: chopper with a round blade and a perpendicular handle. Attribute of Mahākāla or of Ekajaṭā, see cat. 63, 74.
- kaṭihasta* ou *kaṭyavalambita*: hand lying on the hip.
- kaustubha*: jewel on the breast of Viṣṇu.
- kāyotsargāsana*: standing position of the “suspending of the body”, which is perfectly erected, see cat. 265 *sqr.*
- khakkhara*: pilgrim’s staff, it belongs to the attributes of the monk, secondarily to some Hindu or Buddhist deities, *e.g.* Śāni, see cat. 61 & 261.
- khaṭvaṅga*: sceptre constituted of various elements such as skulls and *vajras*. Attribute of Mahākāla or of Hevajra, see cat. 61, 74.
- kiṃnara/kiṃnarī*: fantastic semi-divine figure, male or female which belongs to the *gandharva.s* (*s.v.*). It has traditionally a human body and a horse head. However, in this period and in the region, this term designates rather the half-human, half-volatile figures who play musical instruments and can replace the pair of *haṃsas* in the “royal throne” or in architecture. See cat. 283, Mallmann 1963, p. 200, Panchamukhi 1951.
- kirīṭamukuta*: head-dress shaped like a tiara. Worn by Sūrya or Viṣṇu.
- kīrtimukha*: “face of glory”. Monstrous face crowning the image, its function is apotropaic. See Combaz 1945, Vogler 1949.
- koṣādhyaṅgaratna*: see *saptaratna*.
- kucabandha*, *kucapaṭṭa*: narrow band of cloth tied around the breast, see cat. 255.
- kula*: clan, family. A notion developed in Buddhism which allows to relate with each other in a hierarchical situation various images. Each of the five Tathāgata.s owns his own *kula*, hence is named *kuleśa*, “master of the family”.
- lalitākṣepa*: 1° synonym for *lalitāsana*, 2° it can also refer to a more dynamic standing position, see Mallmann 1986, p. 9 note 11.
- lalitāsana*: “position of ease”. The left leg is folded on the seat while the right one falls in front of it.
- lāñchana*: see *cihna*.
- lekhanī*: pen, see cat. 249.
- liṅga*: phallus, symbolic form of Śiva.
- madhu*: honey. See however Foucher 1949, p. 292 who refutes this identification in relation with the Vaiśālī event of Śākyamuni’s existence (*ibidem*, pp. 289-294).
- mahācārya*: “great monk”, “great master”.
- mahāparinirvāṇa*: “the great final decease” of the Buddha. See also *parinirvāṇa*.
- mahārājālitāsana*: “position of royal ease”. The left leg is folded horizontally whereas the right foot rests on the seat at the same level. See Saunders 1960, p. 128.
- makara*: aquatic monstrous animal. Symbolizes the cosmic waters. Element of the “royal throne”, see Vogel 1929-1930, Auboyer 1949, pp. 117-125. Viennot 1955. See cat. 282.
- maṇḍala*: “circle”, mystic or psycho-cosmic diagram [*v.S.*].
- maṇiratna*: see *saptaratna*.
- mantra*: “formula, invocation” [*v.S.*].
- maṣipātra*: inkpot, see cat. 249.
- mātuluṅga*: see *bijapūra*.
- medhī*: terraced drum sustaining the main part of the *stūpa*.
- muṣika*: rat, vehicle of Gaṇeśa, see cat. 260.
- nāga*: serpent. Can appear as attribute of Śiva or of Avalokiteśvara, or as ornament of Hayagrīva. See Vogel 1926.
- nāgapāśa*: “snake noose”, noose shaped as a snake.
- nāgapuṣpa*: also named *nāgakeśara* or *nāgakesara*, Mesua ferrea, emblematic flower of Maitreya, the future Buddha. See Mallmann 1986, p. 15, Foucher 1905, p. 18 note 3, Majupuria/Joshi 1988, pp. 201-202.
- naivedya*: food offering, see cat. 73.
- namaskāramudrā*: gesture of veneration, shown with the right hand open above the head, palm turned upwards.
- nīlotpala*: “the blue lotus”, *Nymphaea stellata*. Attribute of the Tārā, of Mañjuśrī or of Pārvatī. See Bénisti 1952, pl. I & p. 1, Majupuria/Joshi 1988, p. 69.
- nidhī*: jewel. Two are owned by Jambhala. See cat. 73.
- nirṇāṇakāya*: “body of Transformation”, historical body of the buddha. See cat. 82.
- nṛtyahasta*: movement of the hand in the dance.
- nyagrodha*: Ficus Bengalensis, banyan above Ādinātha, see cat. 266 *sqr.*
- padma*: rose lotus, *Nelumbium nucifera*. Attribute of Sūrya, of Avalokiteśvara. Appears also at various places of the image, used as “decorative” motif, for instance as a seat or a support for attributes or behind the hands of the central deity. On its symbolic meaning, see Bénisti 1952, pl. II & p. 2, 5-9 (with further numerous references), Majupuria/Joshi 1988, pp. 55-70.
- padmāsana*: “position of the lotus”; seated position with both legs crossed and soles of the feet visible. See also *vajraparyāṅkāśana*.
- paga*: central projection on a facade, see cat. 270.
- pākha*: fan.
- paṇa*: measure of weight, see cat. 73.
- paraśu*: axe, attribute of various Buddhist deities, such as Ekajaṭā or of Gaṇeśa, see cat. 62, 63 & 260.
- pariṇāyakarātna*: see *saptaratna*.
- parinirvāṇa*: “the final decease” of Śākyamuni, event which took place at Kuśinagara. See also *mahāparinirvāṇa*.
- piṇḍapātra*: “bowl for the alms”. Attribute of the monk, hence of the Buddha.
- pradakṣiṇam*: distribution of attributes in the hands of a deity, the enumeration runs clockwise, starting with the lower right hand. Mallmann 1963, p. 22 & note 7.
- prajñā*: “Wisdom”, in late Buddhism, female energy symbolized by female deities.
- pralambapādāsana*: “position with the falling feet”, also named *bhadrāsana*. “European attitude” of sitting of the Buddha, Maitreya, Vairocana, or other Buddhist deities, which is usually related to the gesture of teaching. See Bourda 1949.
- pratyadhidevatā*: tutelary deity who stays near/in front of one, see cat. 261.
- pratyālīḍhāsana*: heroic position where the left leg is stretched and the other one bent at the knee; it is usually understood as being reversed to the *ālīḍhāsana* (*s.v.*). See Harle 1977 or Mallmann 1986, p. 9.
- pūrṇaghāṭa*: “jar of plenty”. Also: *pūrṇakalaśa*. See P.K. Agrawala 1985.
- pūrṇakalaśa*: “jar of plenty”. Also: *pūrṇaghāṭa*.
- sādhana*: practice of worship used for the invocation of deities [*v.S.*], refers also to the text describing this practice, and containing a precise description of the deity to be called.
- sāḍī*: dress worn by women.
- śāla*: Shorea robusta, tree below which the Buddha reclined at his death. See Viennot 1954, pp. 235-237. It can also be the tree below which Māyā stood at the birth of Gautama, Viennot 1954, pp. 136, 155-156 (& *passim*), Majupuria/Joshi 1988, pp. 124-127. See also cat. 265.
- samabhaṅga*: “standing fully upright” [*v.S.*], see also *samapāda*.
- samādhimudrā*: see *dhyānamudrā*.
- samapāda(sthānaka)*: “feet held even”, both feet being side by side, the figure stands in a perfect vertical position.

śaṅkha: conch. Attribute of Viṣṇu.

saptaratna: the “seven Jewels” of the *Cakravartin* (see above *sub voce*). They are: the *aśva*° (horse) and the *hasti*° (elephant), the *cakra*° (disk) and the *maṇi*° (stone), the *strī*° (woman), the *grhapati*° (prime minister) or the *koṣādhyaṅga*° (chief of the treasures) & the *senāpati*°/*pariṇāyaka*° (chief of the army). See cat. 160.

śara: arrow, attribute of Mārīcī, see cat. 7.

sattvaparyāṅkāśana: “noble position”. Both legs are folded but not crossed, soles turned upwards.

senāpatiratna: see *saptaratna*.

śikhara: tower of the temple, surmounting the sanctuary. It is topped by the *āmalaka* (s.v.).

siṃhāsana: “seat of the lions”, seat sustained by a pair of lions. Noticed on most of the images of the seated Buddha.

śrīvatsa: “beloved of fortune”, mark on the breast.

śruca: ladle (of Brahmā), see cat. 240.

śruva: sacrificial spoon (of Brahmā), see cat. 240.

strīratna: see *saptaratna*.

stūpa: sacred monument of the Buddhists (and Jains), containing relics; has a hemispherical form. Could also be “miniaturized” and carved as a single sculpture, no more as a real architectural construction in eastern India; from the inscription which is often incised at its bottom, we know that it was then, and at least in this particular situation, named *caitya*. See D. Mitra 1980, pp. 24-26.

śūcimukha: “needle-like mouth”. A monstrous figure from the world of the dead, he appears at the feet of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from whom he gets the nectar of immortality. Cat. 5 or 50.

tathāgata: term which designates the Buddha.s, also called *jina* (s.v.). Five of them, *pañcathāgata*, form a group often figured in the upper part of the images, they are Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana. See *Inde classique*, II, pp. 534-535 § 2274, Mallmann 1986, pp. 129-131.

tarjanīmudrā: “gesture of threat”. The fist is closed and the forefinger is raised.

tīrthika: “heretics”, group of Jain monks who were defeated by the Buddha at Śrāvastī. See Foucher 1949, pp. 277-285 on the cyclod of Śrāvastī.

triṇḍaṇḍa: “triple stick”, attribute of Bhṛkuṭī, a female companion of Avalokiteśvara, see cat. 49 & 50.

triratna: the “three jewels” of the Buddhism, i.e. the Buddha, the Law or *Dharma* and the community or *saṃgha*. In Eastern India, it seems that the trefoil motif would symbolize this triple jewel. Saunders 1960, p. 154.

triśūla: “trident”, attribute of Śiva, see cat. 252.

upavīta: see *yajñopavīta*.

ūrdhvajvālakeśa: “hair raising like flames”.

Style of hair-dressing worn by terrific deities like Hayagrīva (cat. 49, 50) or Mahākāla (cat. 74).

ūrdhvaliṅga: erected phallus. See cat. 235 or 252.

ūrṇā: small lock of hair in the middle of the forehead, between the eye-brows. It is circular on the face of the Buddha, on the image of whom it first appears; it can get various shapes, such as a rectangle, on the face of other deities of the Buddhist pantheon.

uṣṇīṣa: cranial bump above the Buddha's head.

utpala: lotus. See *nilotpala*.

uttarāsaṅga: upper garment, robe worn by the Buddhist monk. See introduction, Griswold 1963, pp. 88-89, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 1984, pp. 183-184.

uttariya: shawl falling often from the left shoulder across the breast.

vāhana: vehicle of gods in Hinduism and Buddhism. See also cat. 261.

vajra: “thunderbolt”. Attribute which holds a major symbolic position in late Buddhism. It belongs to various deities, can be included as an element of other attributes, the *khatvaṅga* or the *vajraghaṇṭā* (bell with a handle shaped as a half-*vajra*, Bautze-Picron 1995, p. 65) for instance, and be the mark or *cihna* of Akṣobhya. It belongs also to the monk, see chapter II-B or Bautze-Picron 1995, p. 65.

vajrācārya: “master of the thunderbolt”, name given to the monk.

vajraparyāṅkāśana: “position of the thunderbolt”, synonym for *padmāsana* (s.v.).

vajrāsana: “adamantine seat” on which sat Śākyamuni at Bodhi Gayā.

vanamālā: garland of flowers which is worn by Viṣṇu, it falls very low on the knees.

varadamudrā: gesture of “gift” displayed by the Buddha or by the Tathāgata Ratnasambhava, or by Hindu deities. The right hand falls with the palm turned towards the devotee. See Saunders 1960, pp. 51-54.

vedikā: balustrade, surrounding the *caitya*.

vidyādharma: “the one who carries the science”.

In the present historical context, it designates 1° the flying figures who offer garlands to the main deity in the upper part of the image, 2° the priest officiating in Buddhist rituals. See Mallmann 1963, pp. 200-201.

vīṇā: musical instrument. Attribute of Sarasvatī or of the Kimpnara. See Mallmann 1963, p. 257.

viṣṇupāda: “feet of Viṣṇu”, see cat. 178-179.

vitarkamudrā: gesture of “argumentation”, where “the hand is raised, the palm outward, the fingers straight, with the exception of the thumb, which touches the end either of the inflected index or of the middle

finger” (Saunders 1960, p. 66-75, in particular p. 67).

vyaghra: leogryph. Part of the “royal throne”, it symbolises the fire. See Auboyer 1949, pp. 125-129 & Dhaky 1965.

vyāla: see *vyaghra*.

yajñopavīta: “thread of the sacrifice”, brahmanical sacred cord which falls across the breast from the left shoulder. It is a permanent element in the Hindu and Buddhist iconographies.

yakṣa: “genius”, “goblin” ... associated with the worship of the nature, hence his relation with the earth, particularly after the post-Gupta period in eastern India where he can act as an atlant, see cat. 76. See Auboyer 1949, pp. 171-172, Coomaraswamy 1980.

yogapaṭṭa: loin of cloth, belongs to the iconography of the ascetic, holding the legs in proper position when the latter sits.

yoni: womb, see cat. 257.

PLATES









141

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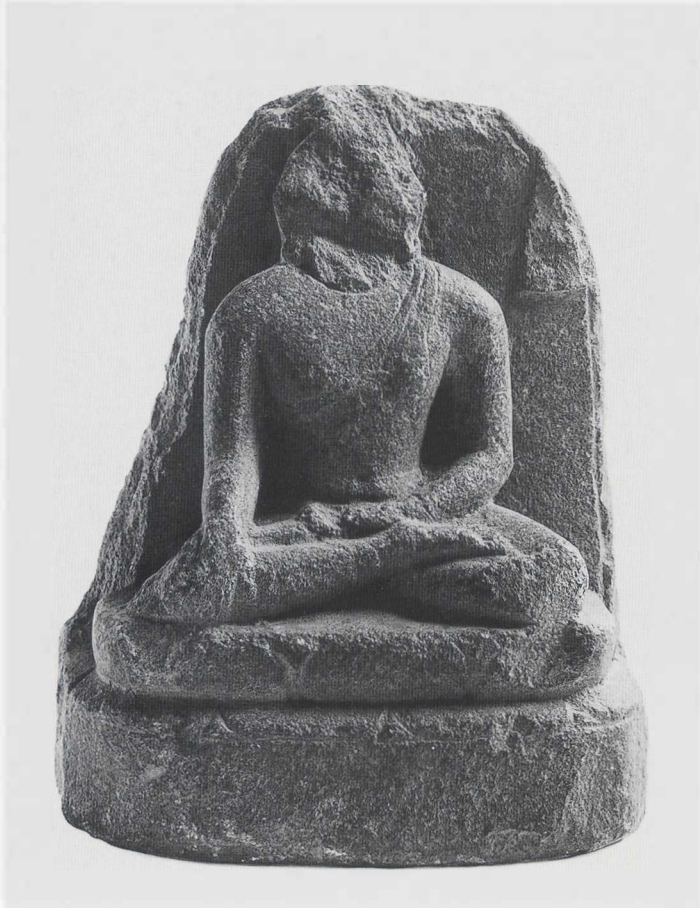


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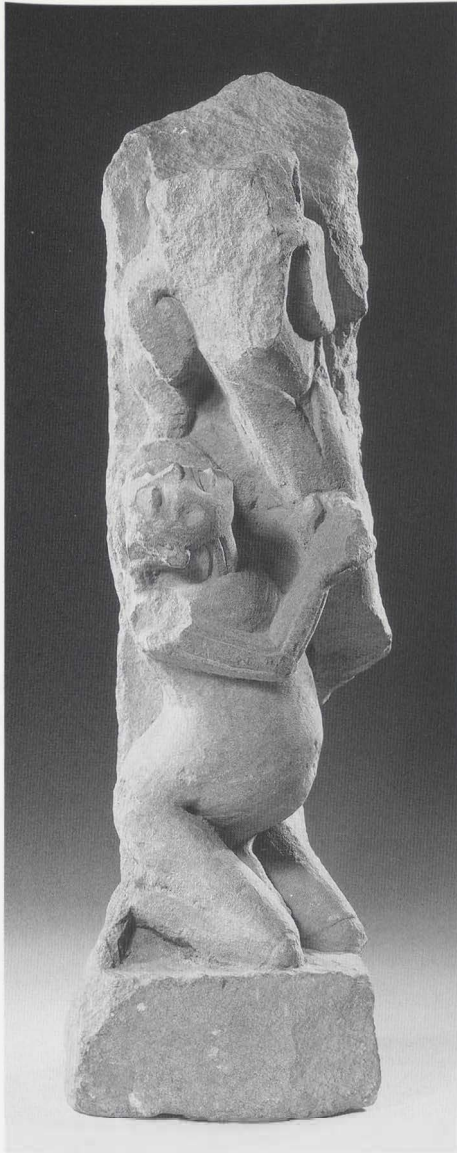
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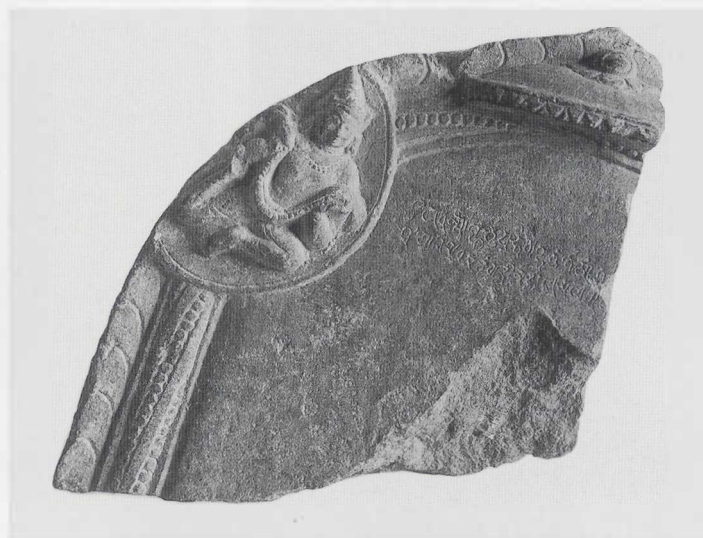
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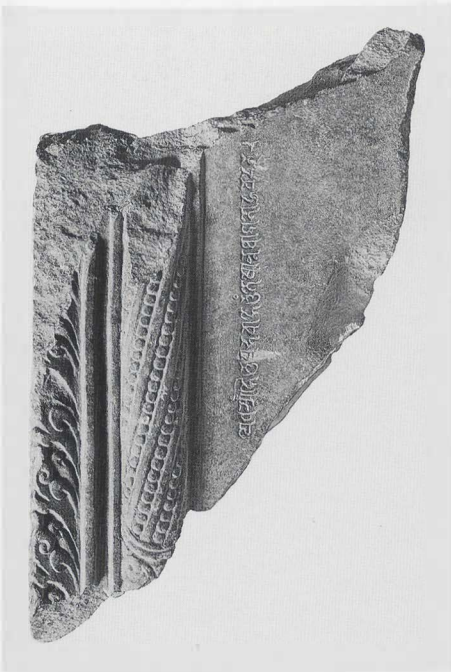


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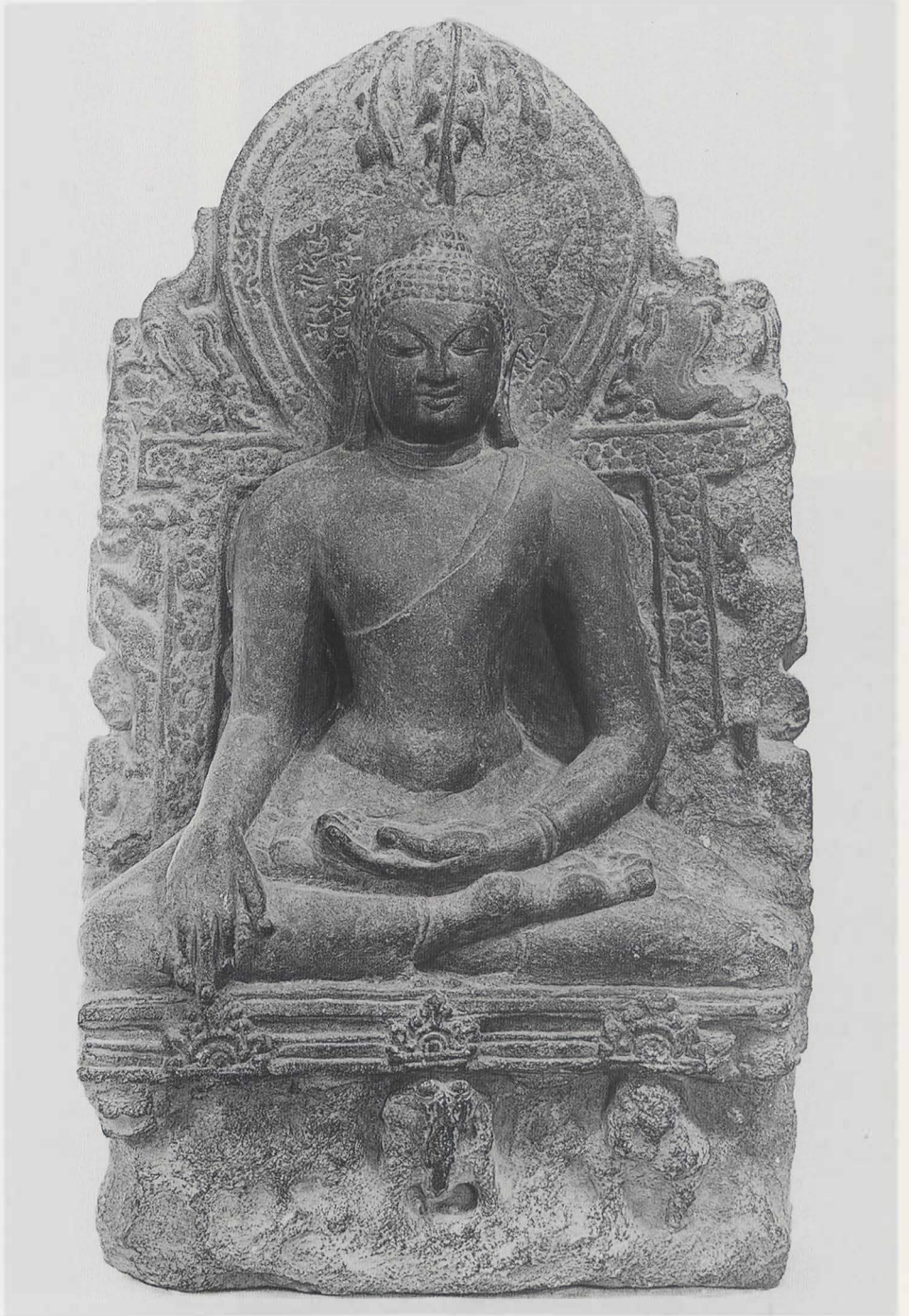


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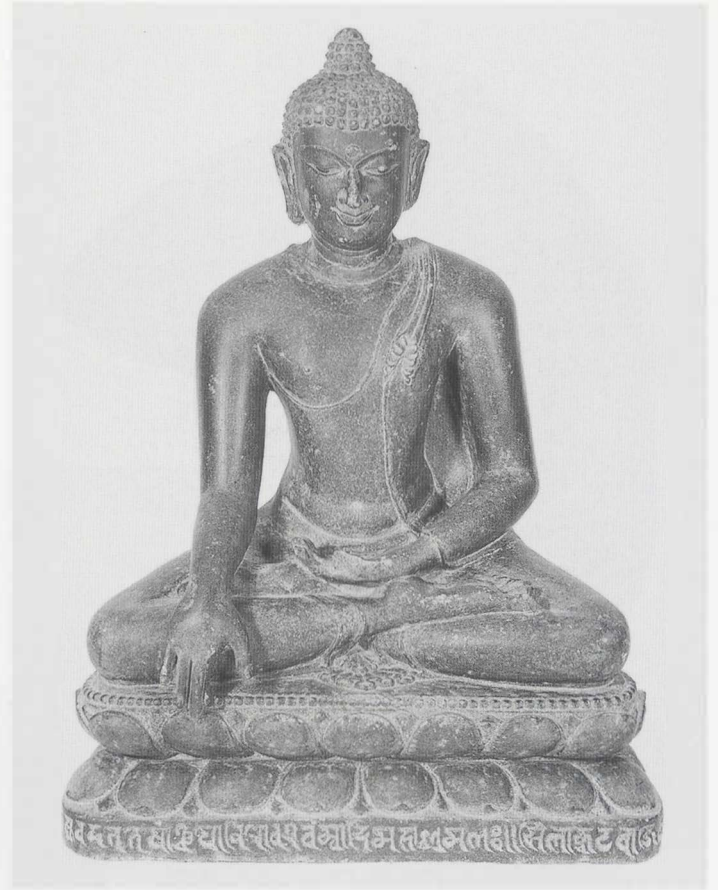
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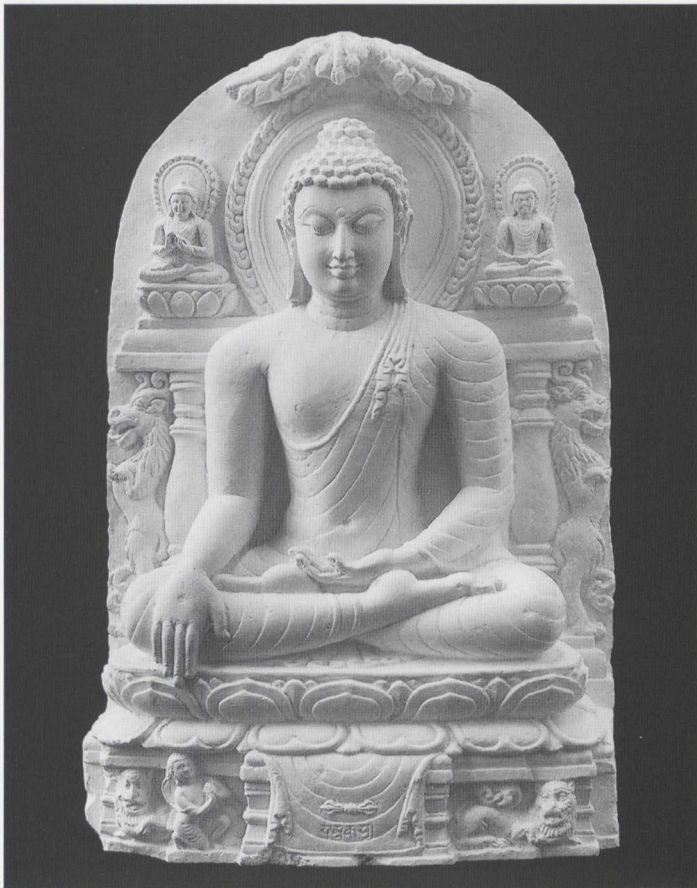




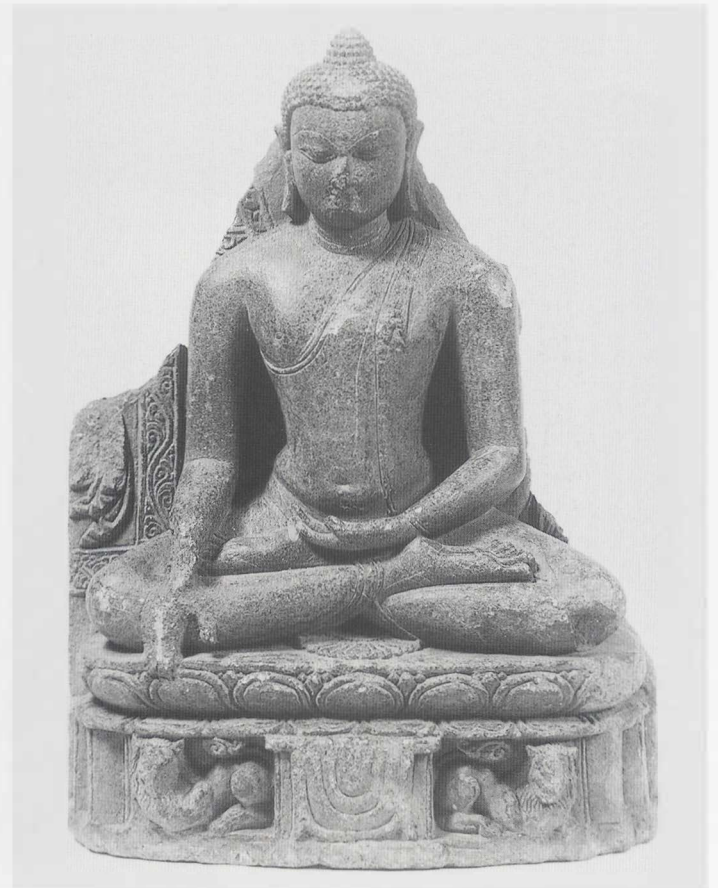
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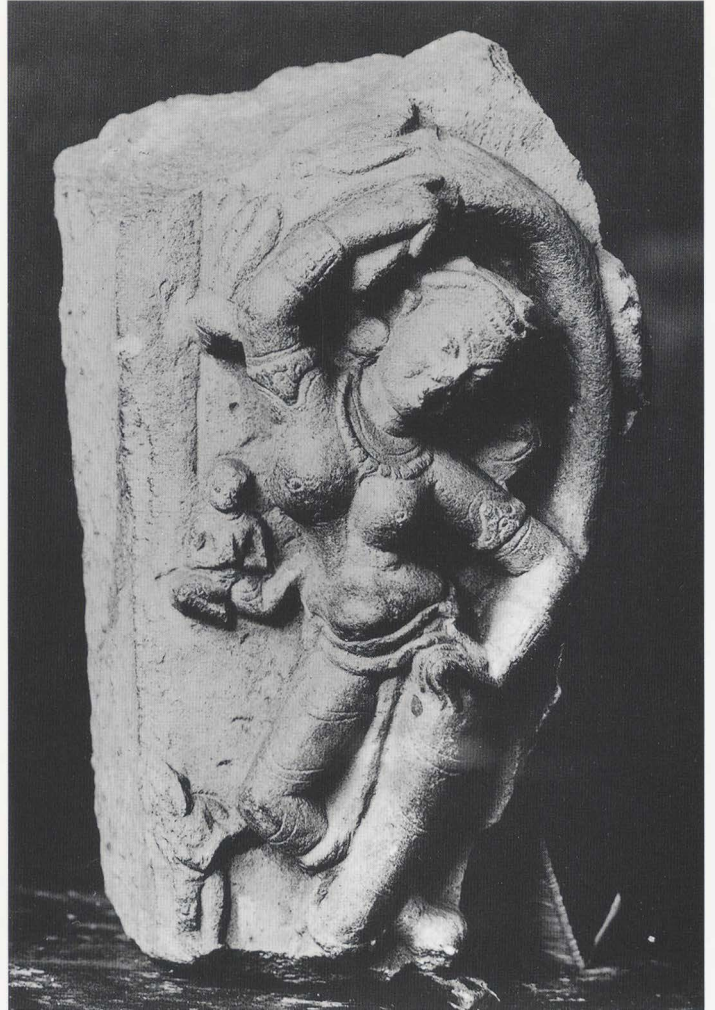
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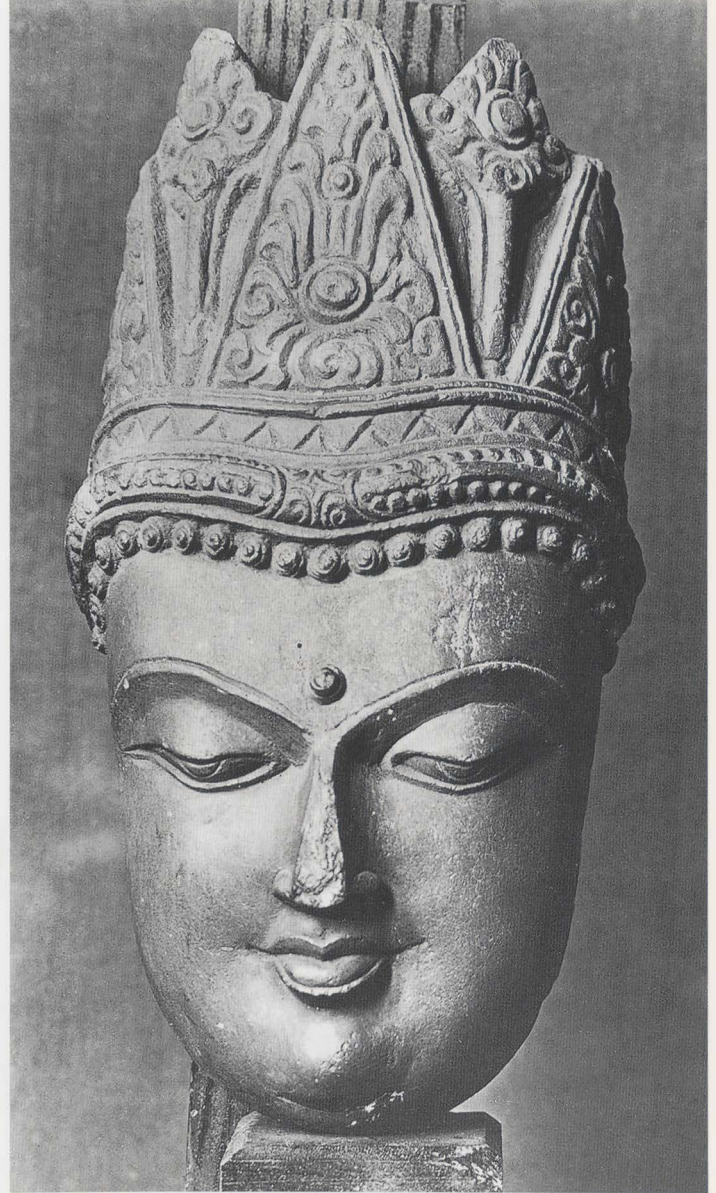
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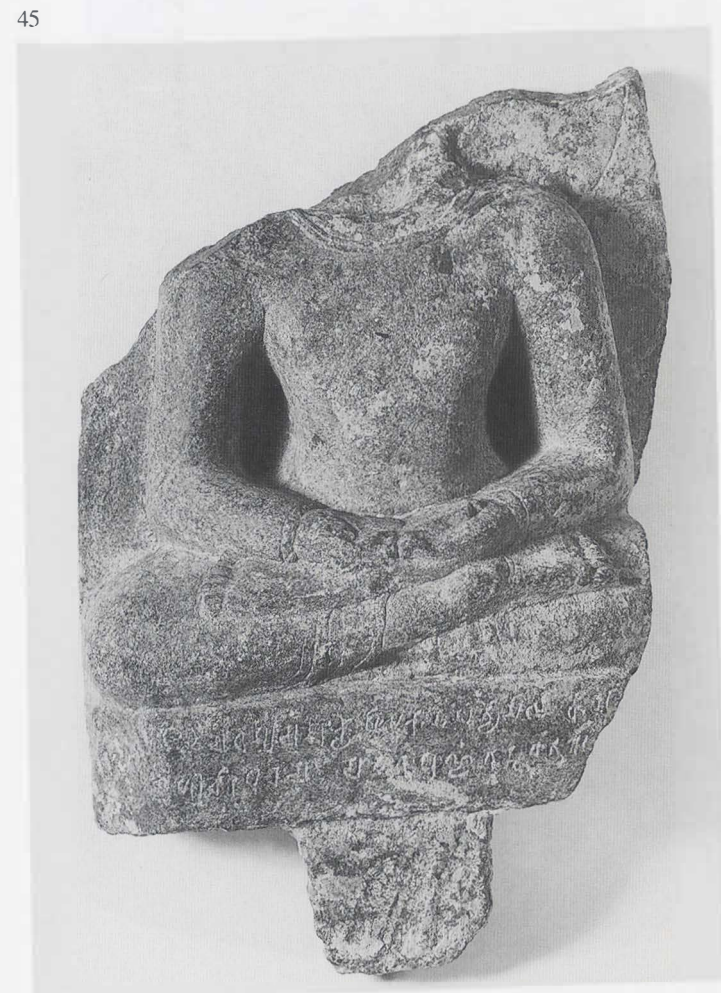
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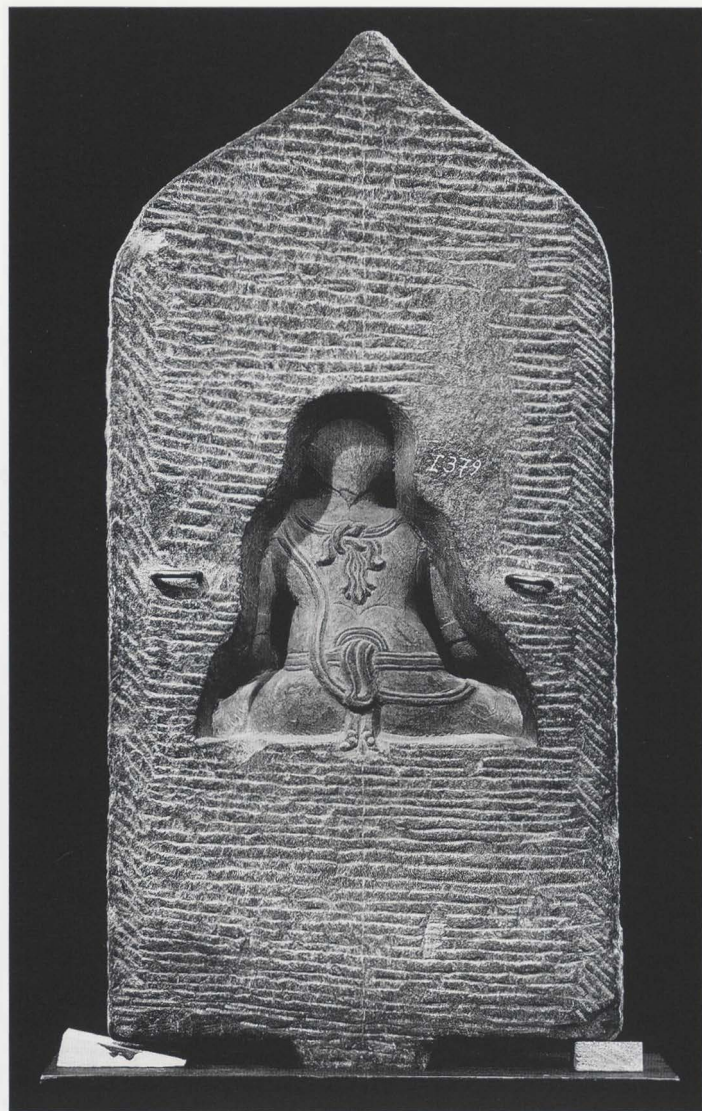
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73a



73b



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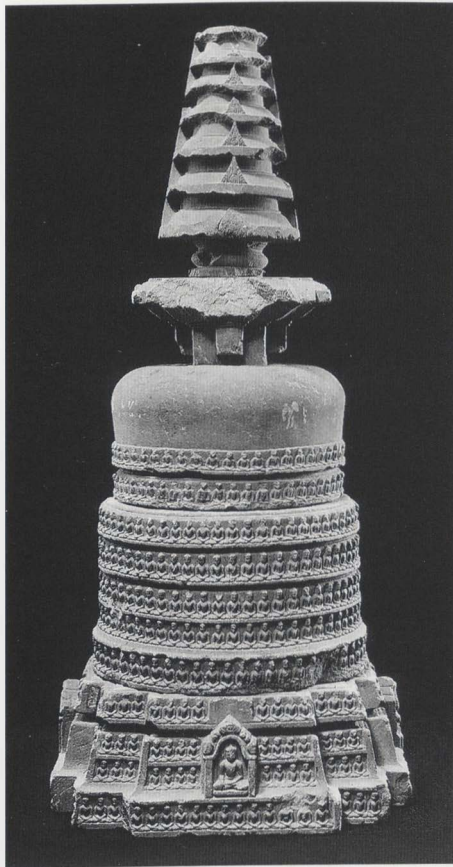
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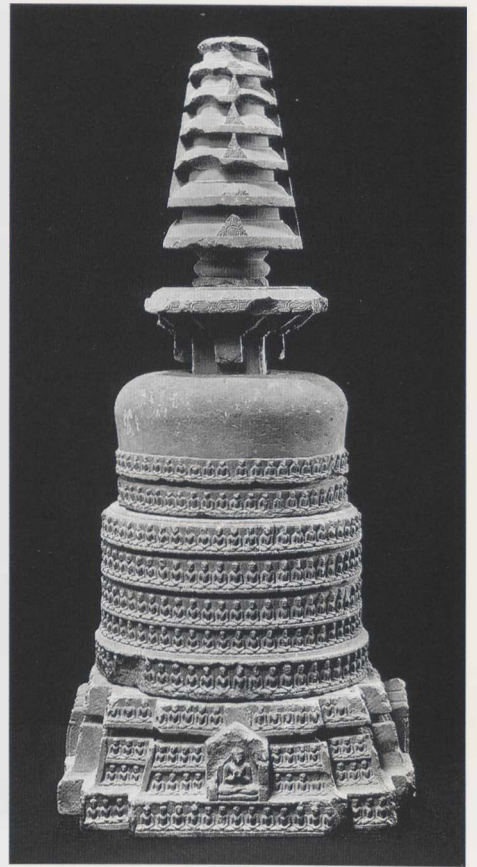
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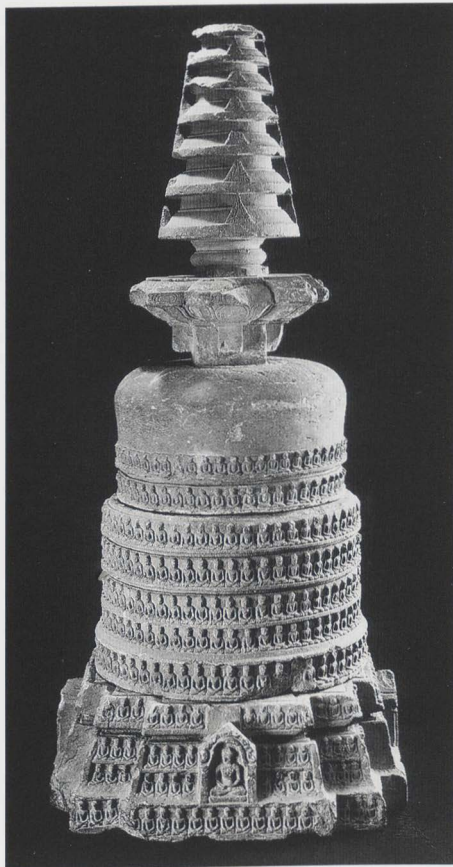


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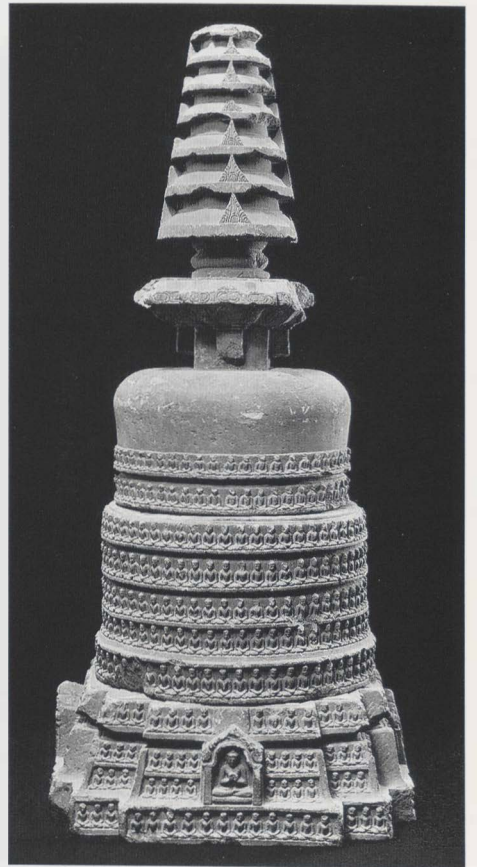


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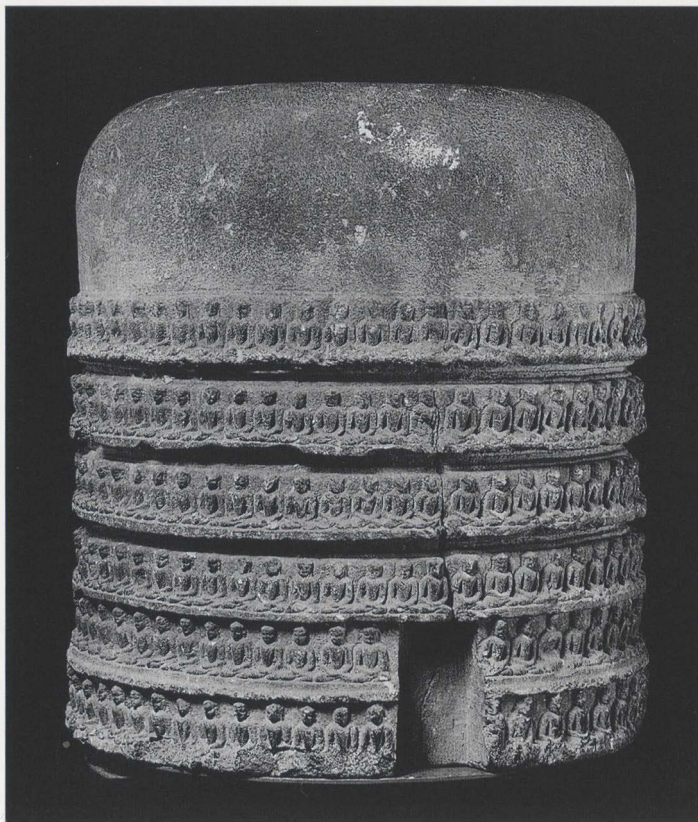


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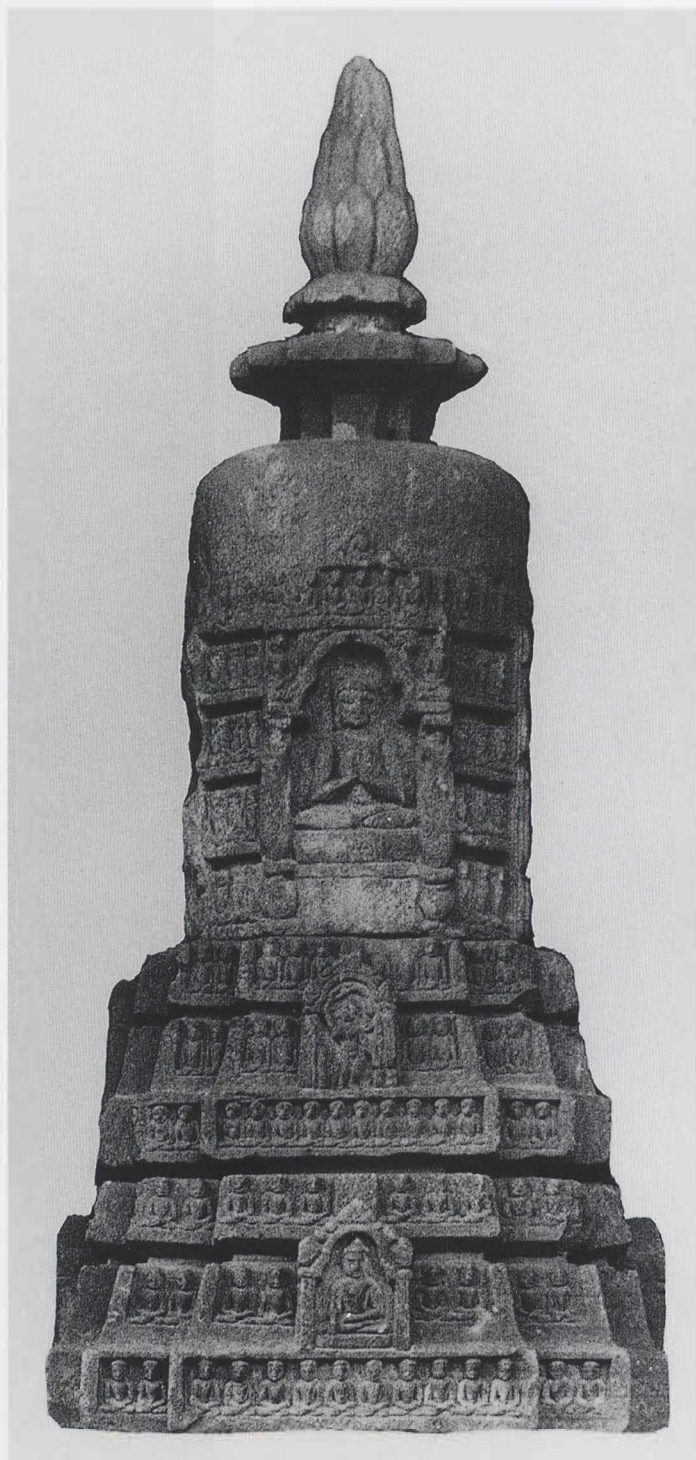


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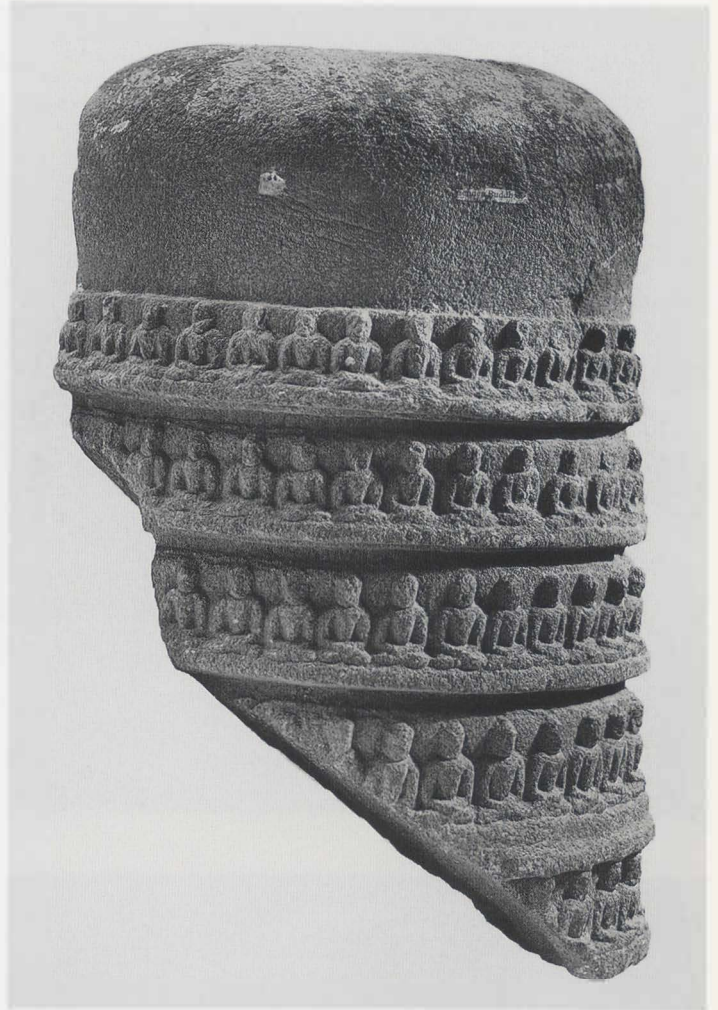


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82a (with 165)



82b



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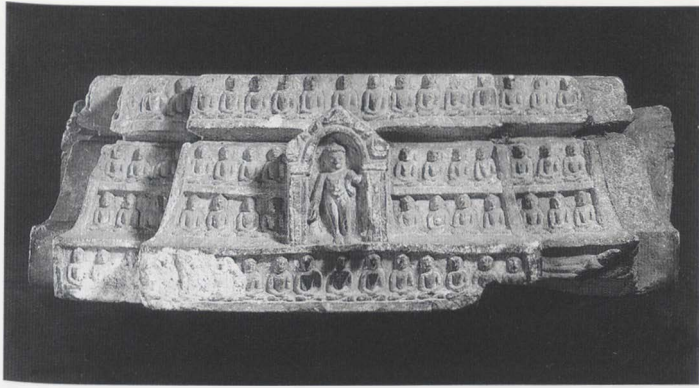
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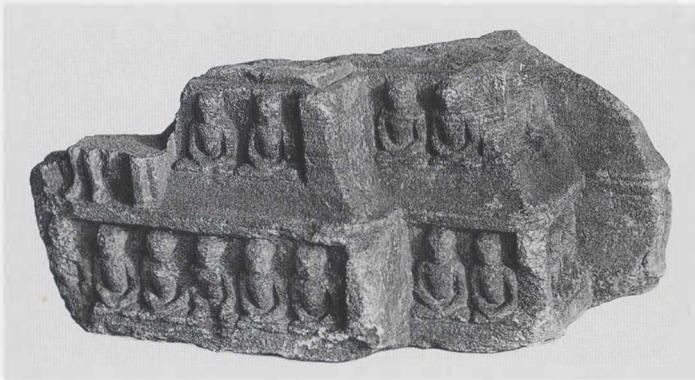


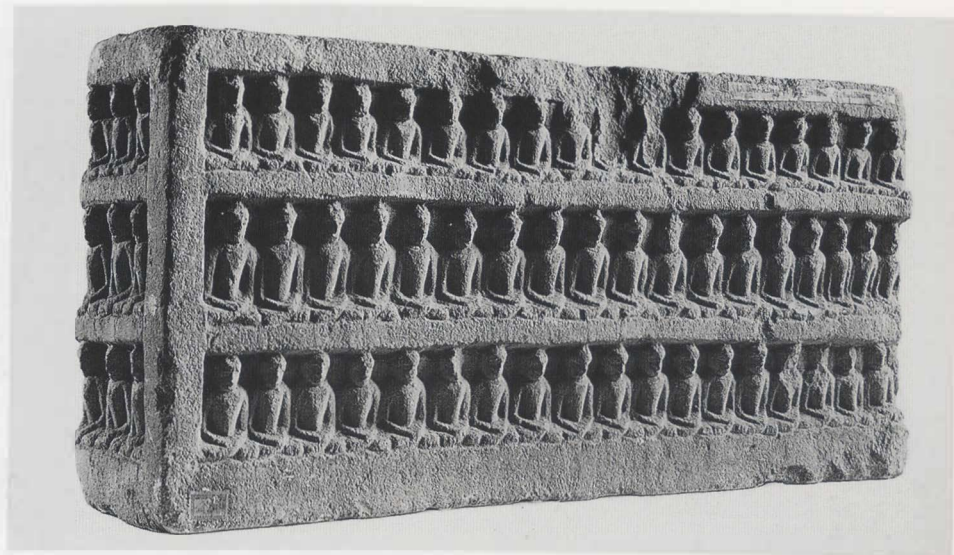
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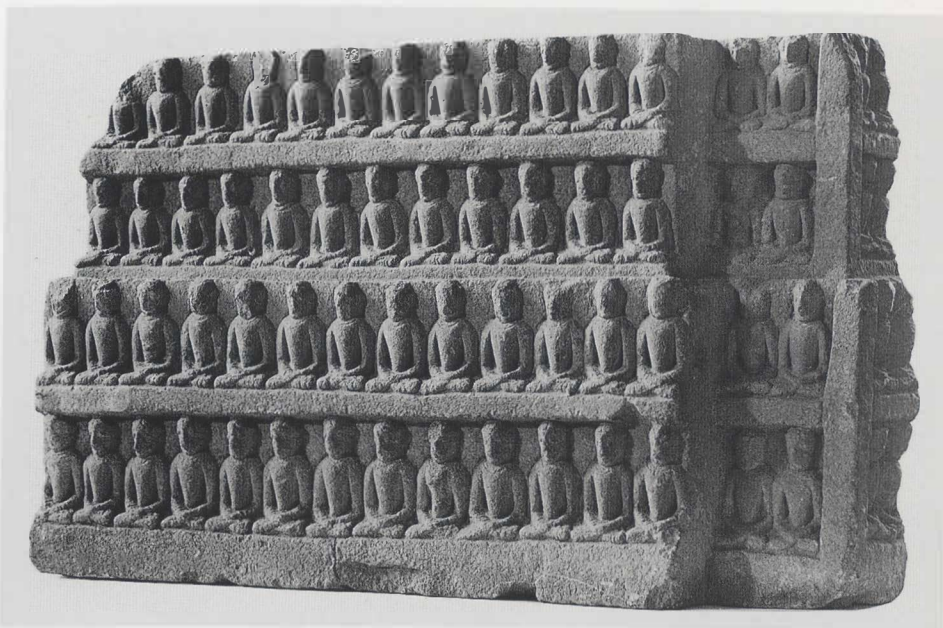


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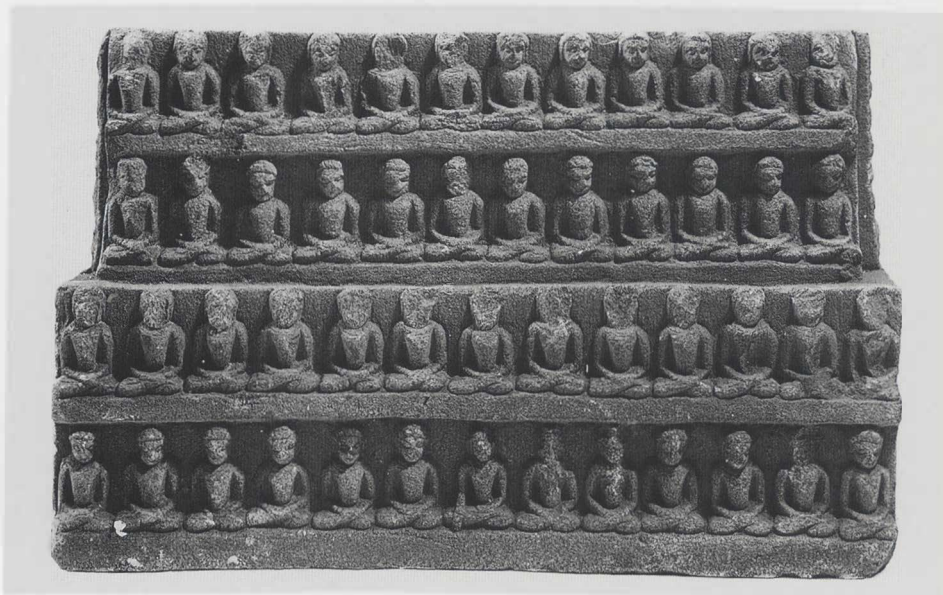


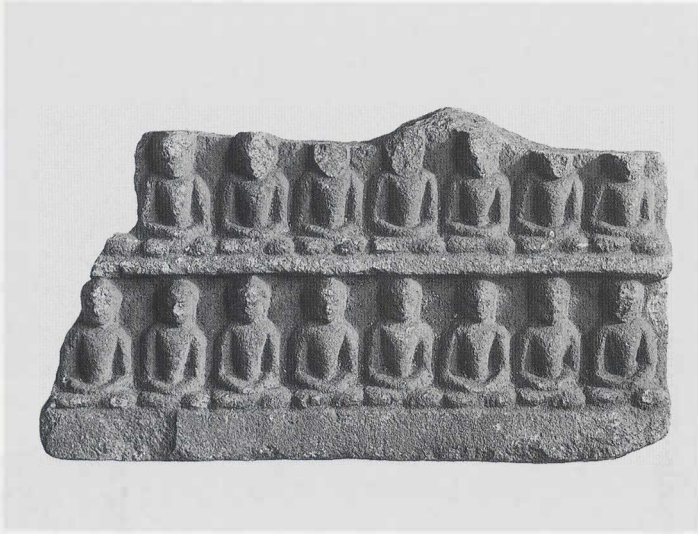
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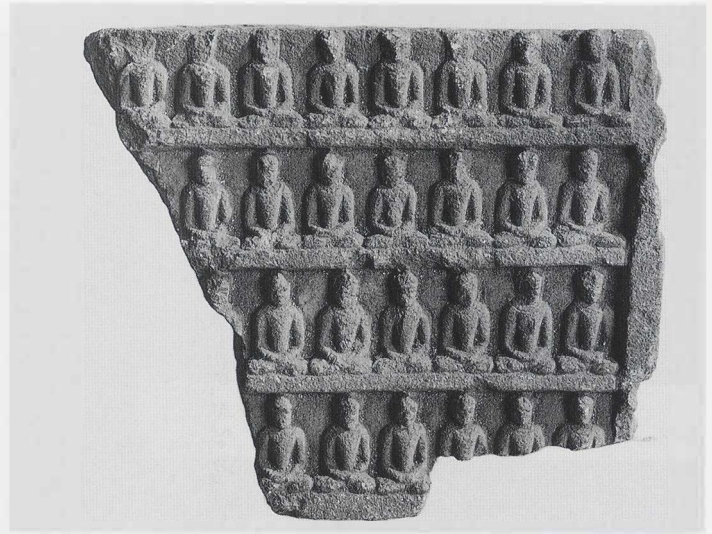
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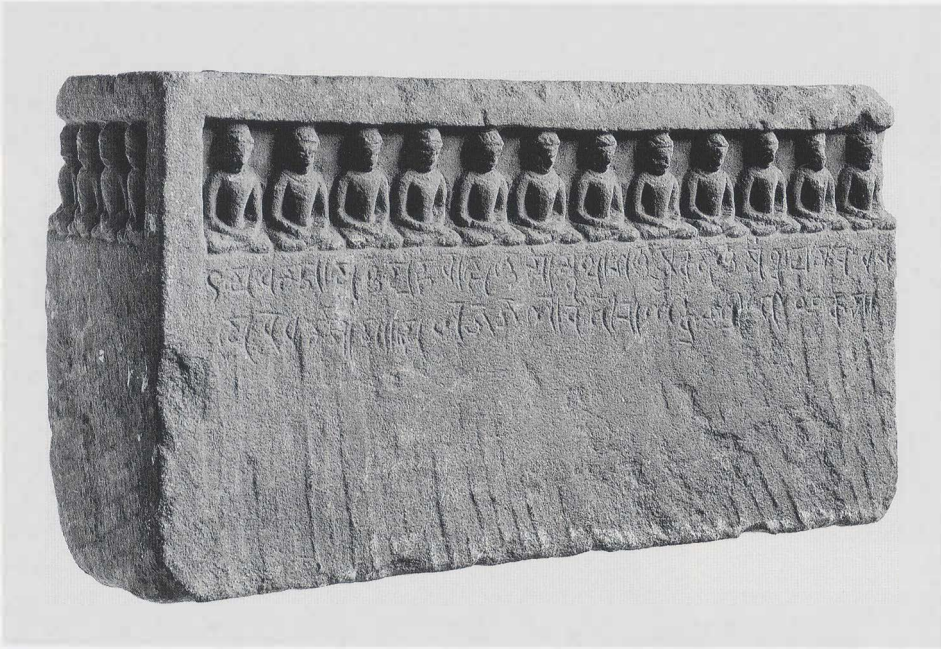




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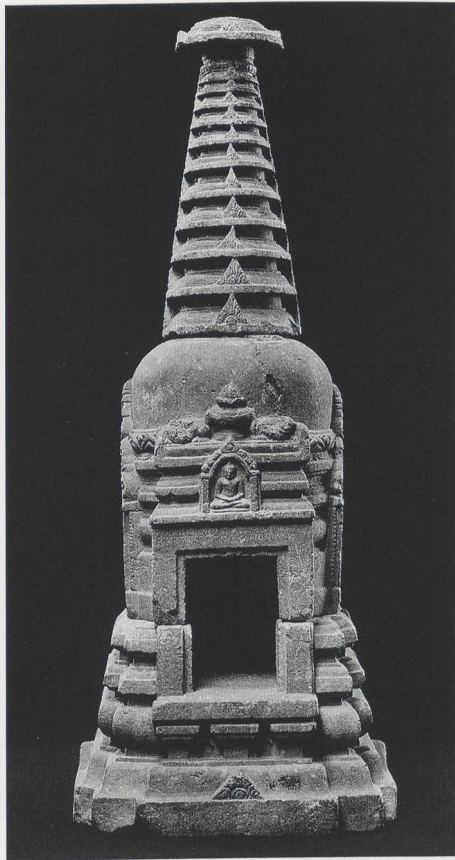
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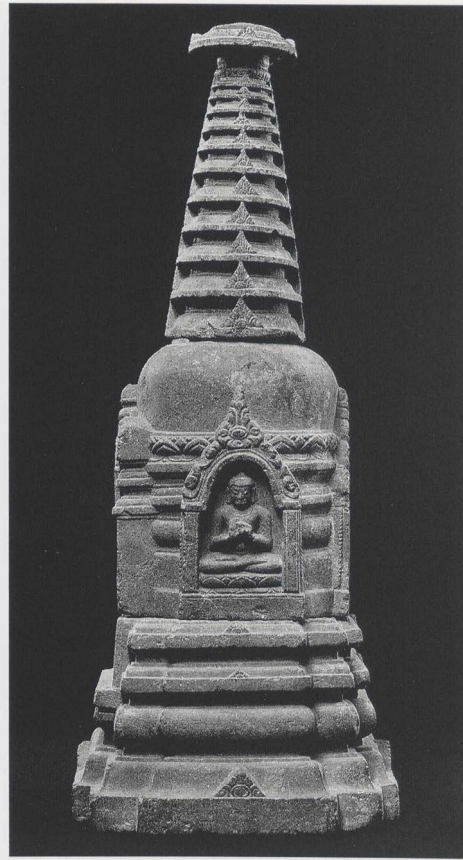
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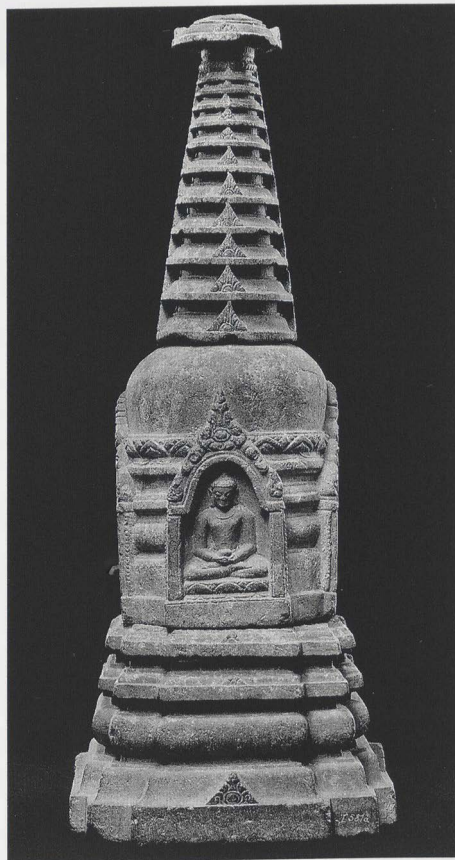


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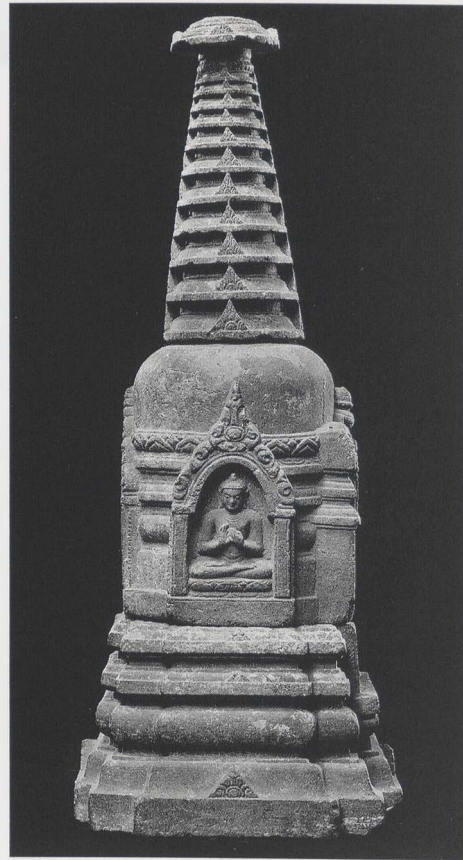


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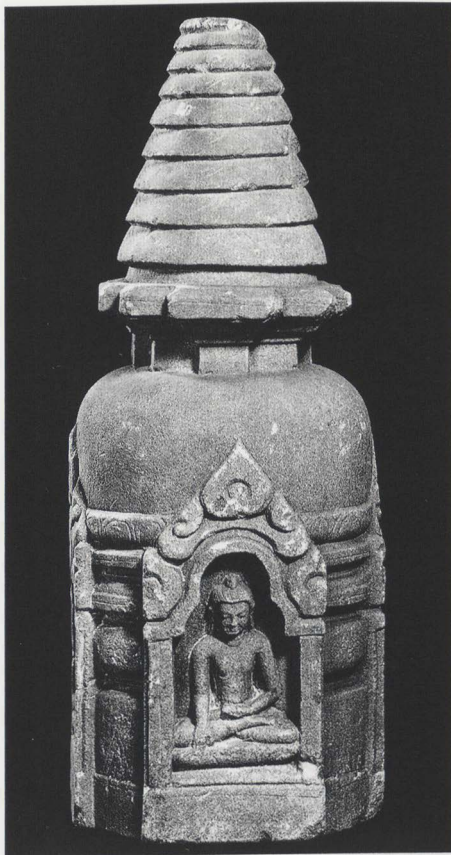
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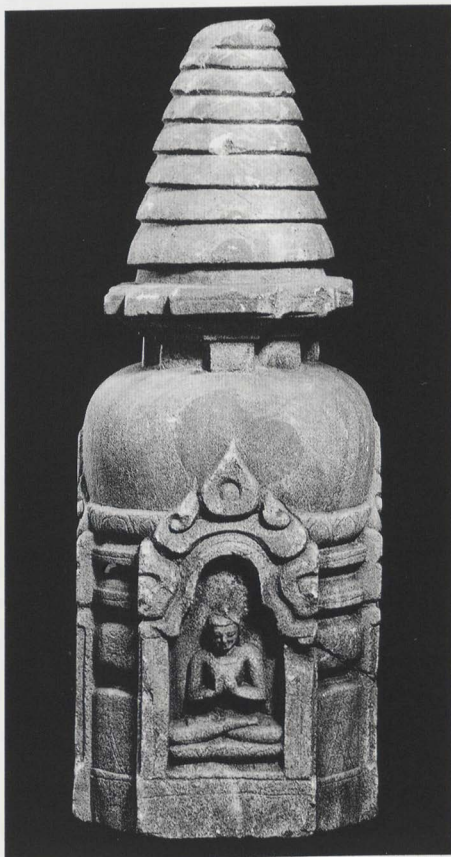


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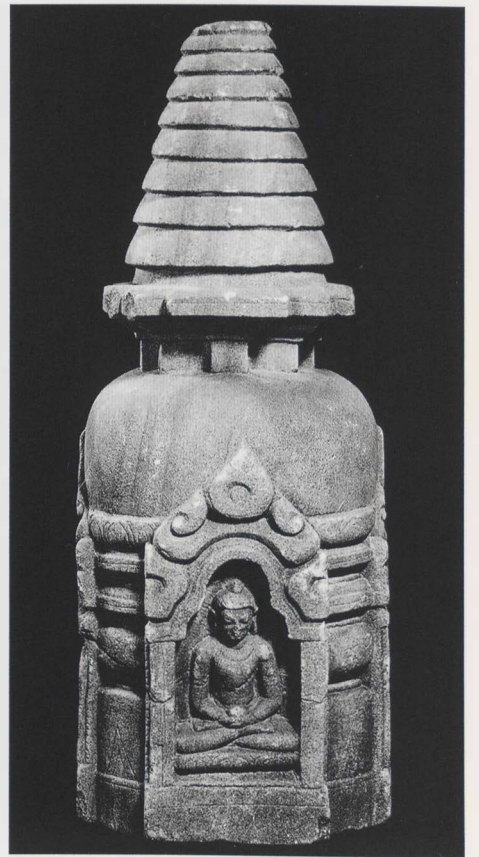


114b

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120b (with 166)

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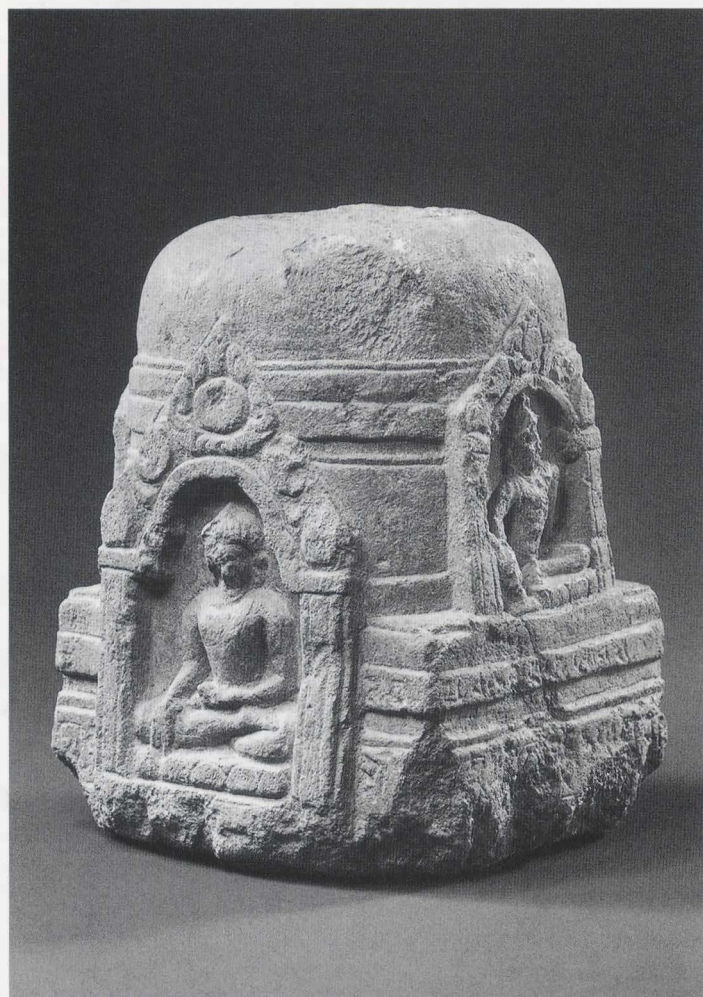
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131a



131b



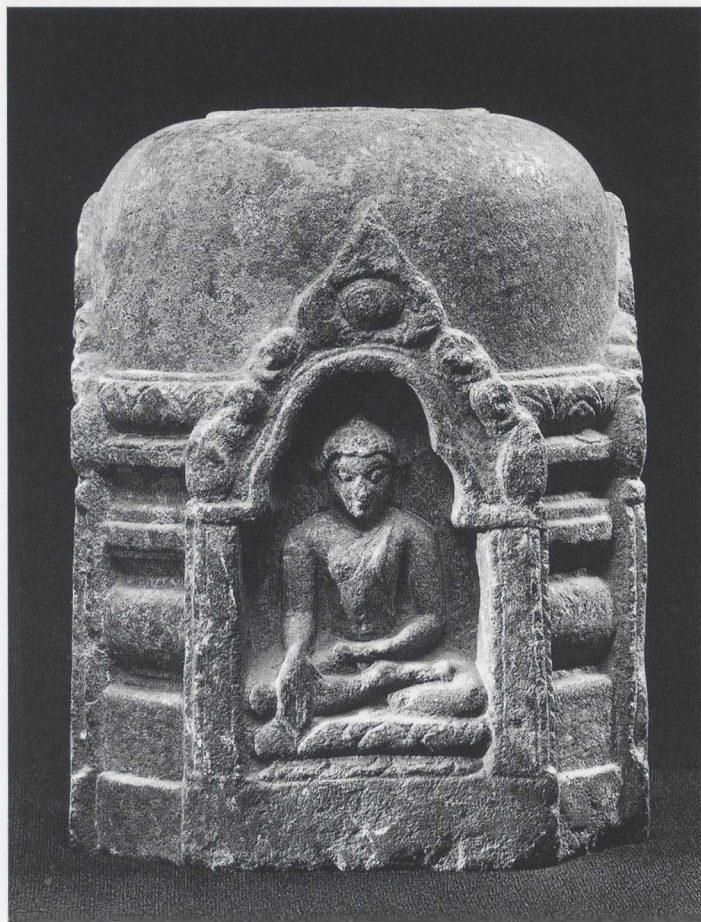


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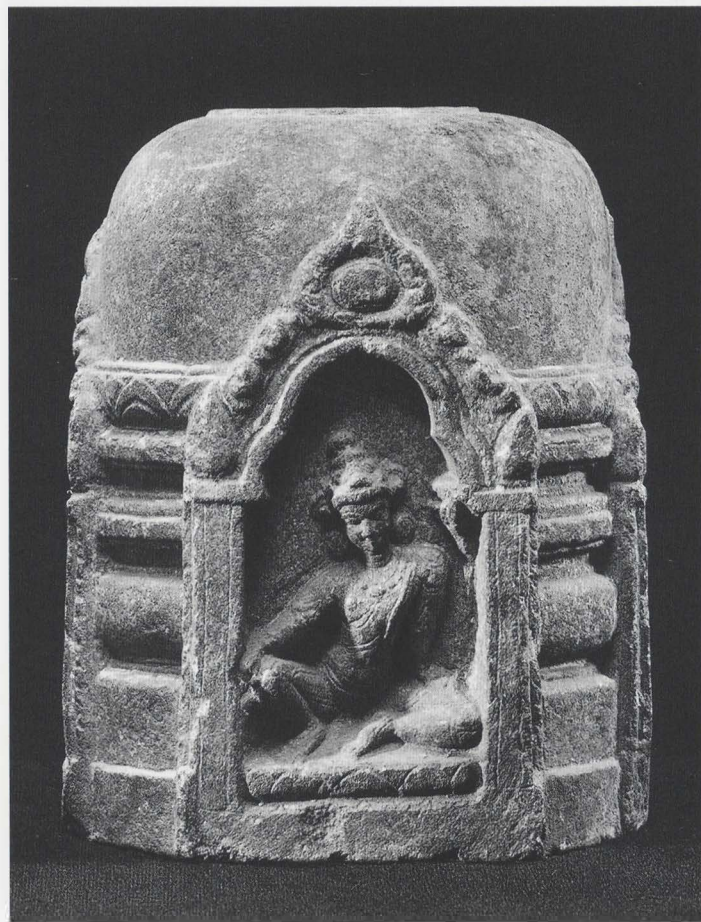


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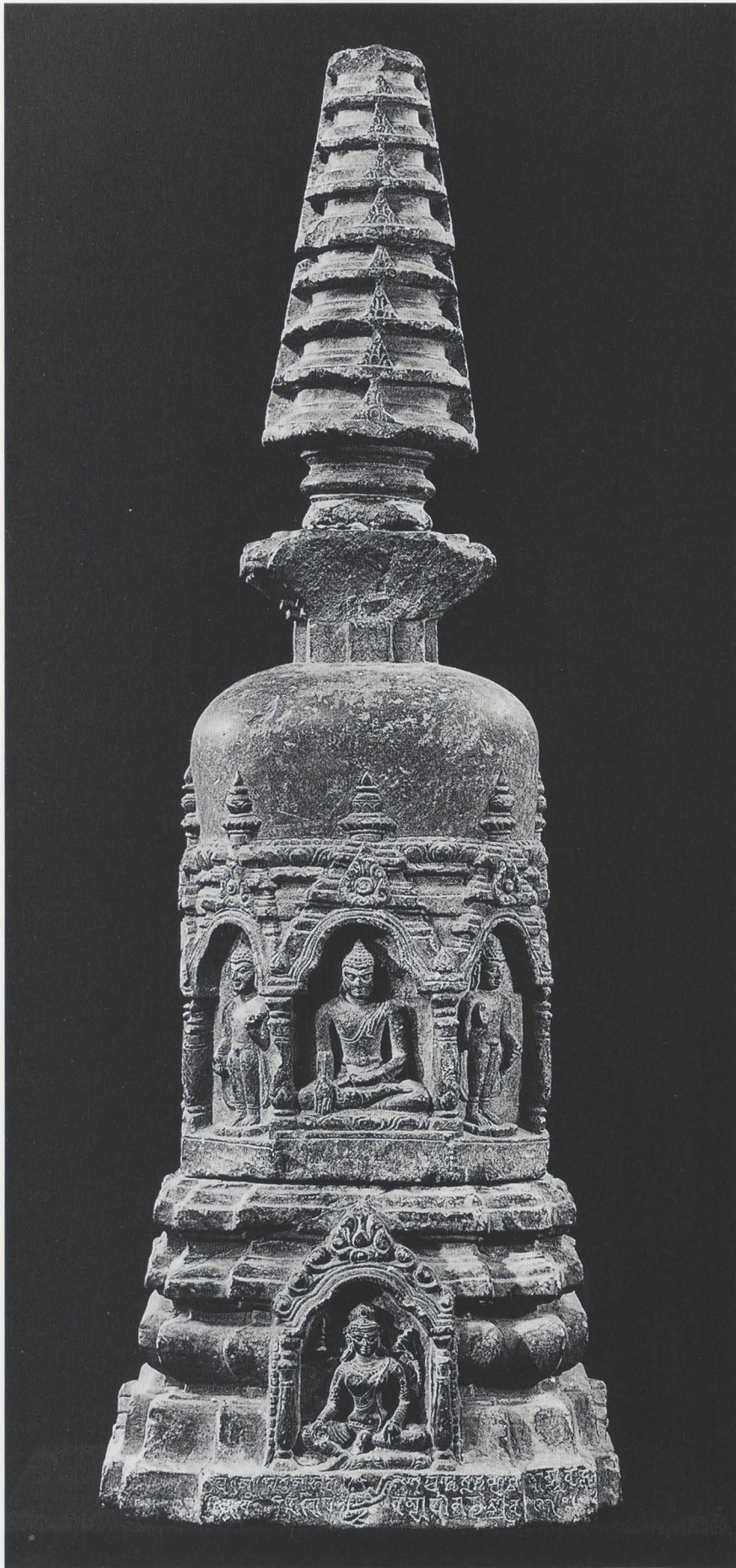




134c



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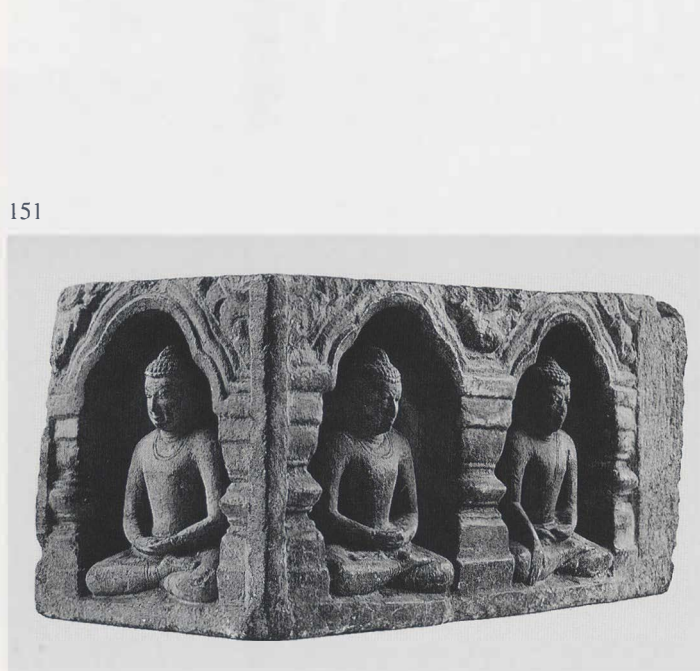




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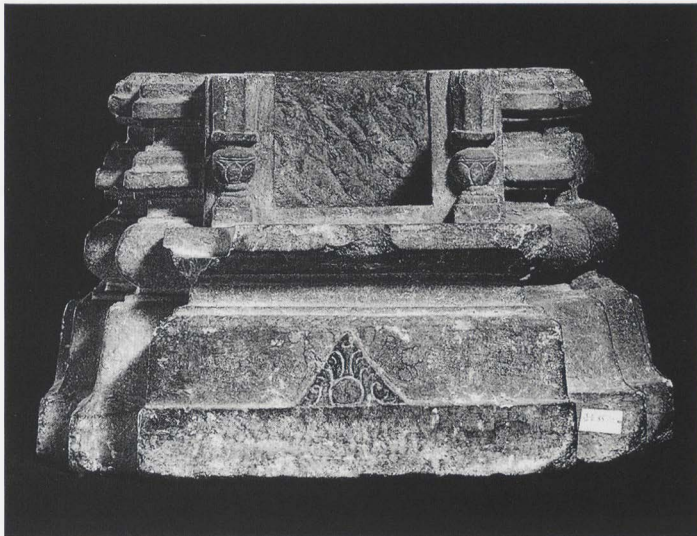
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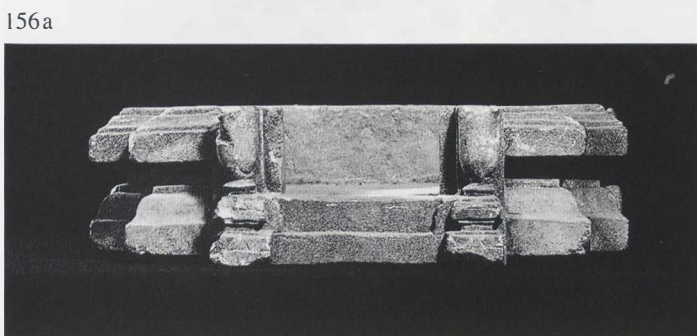
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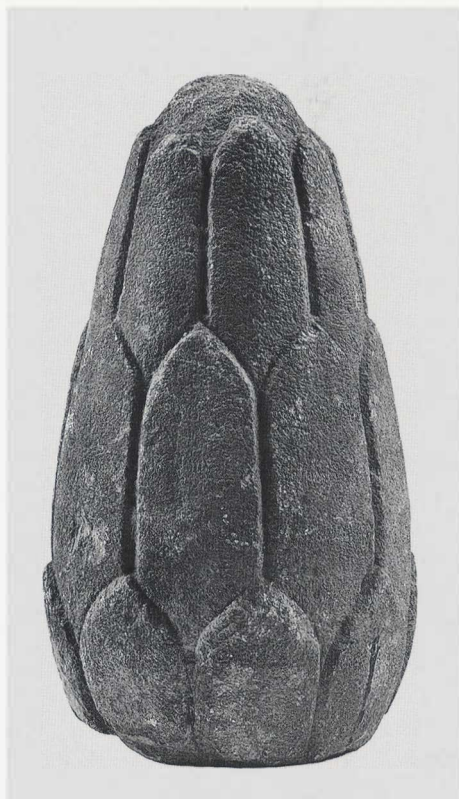


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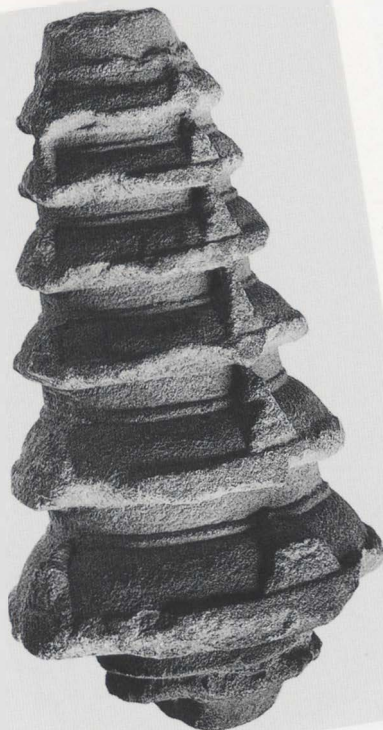


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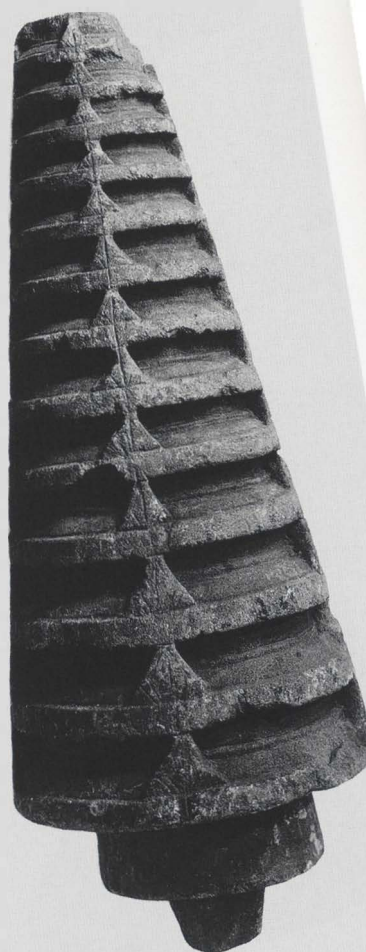
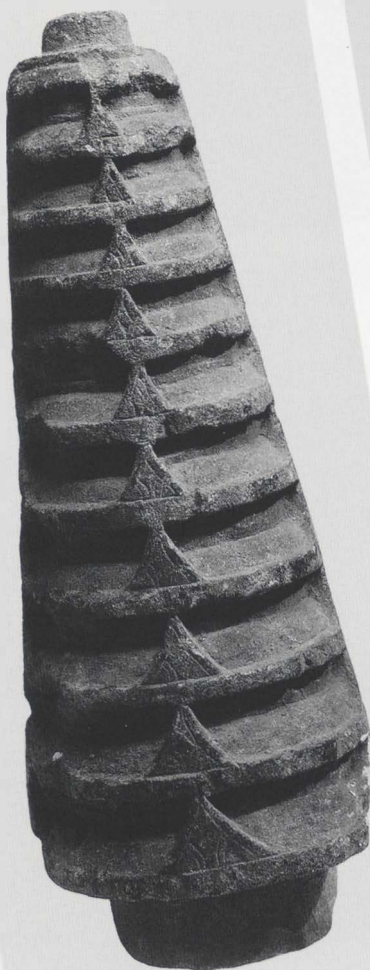


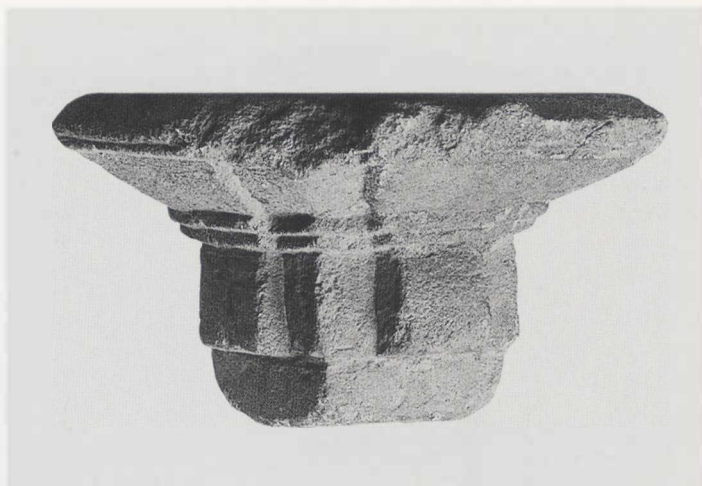
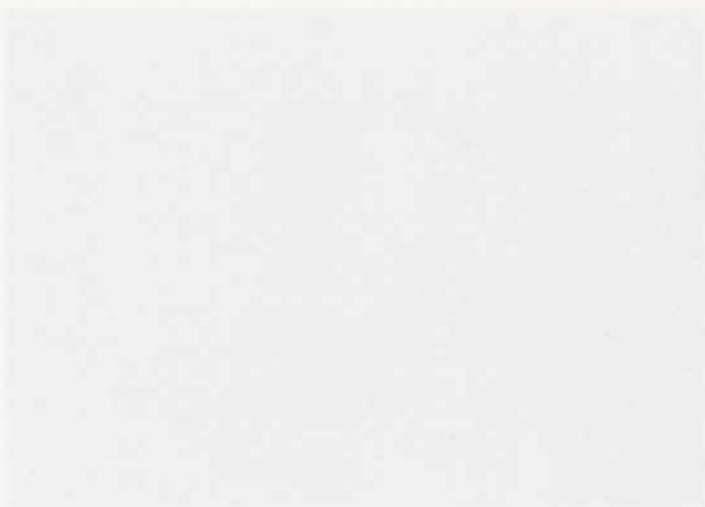
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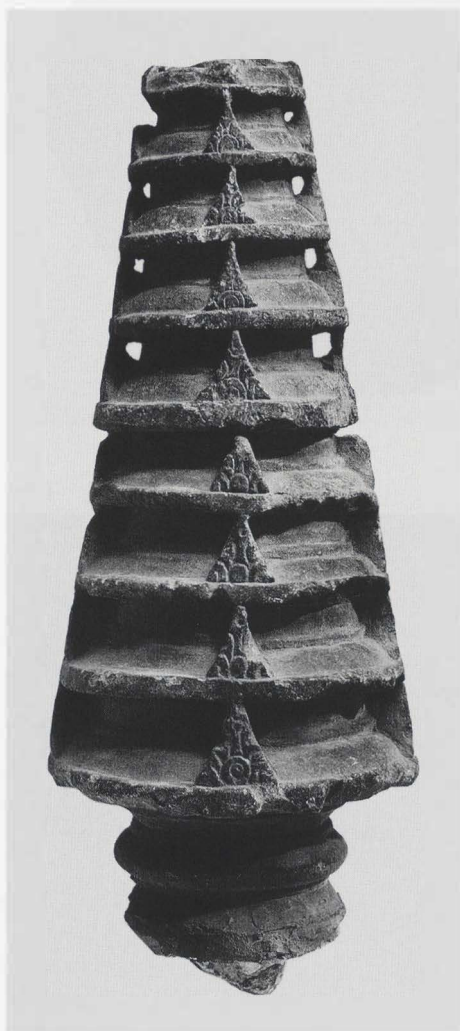
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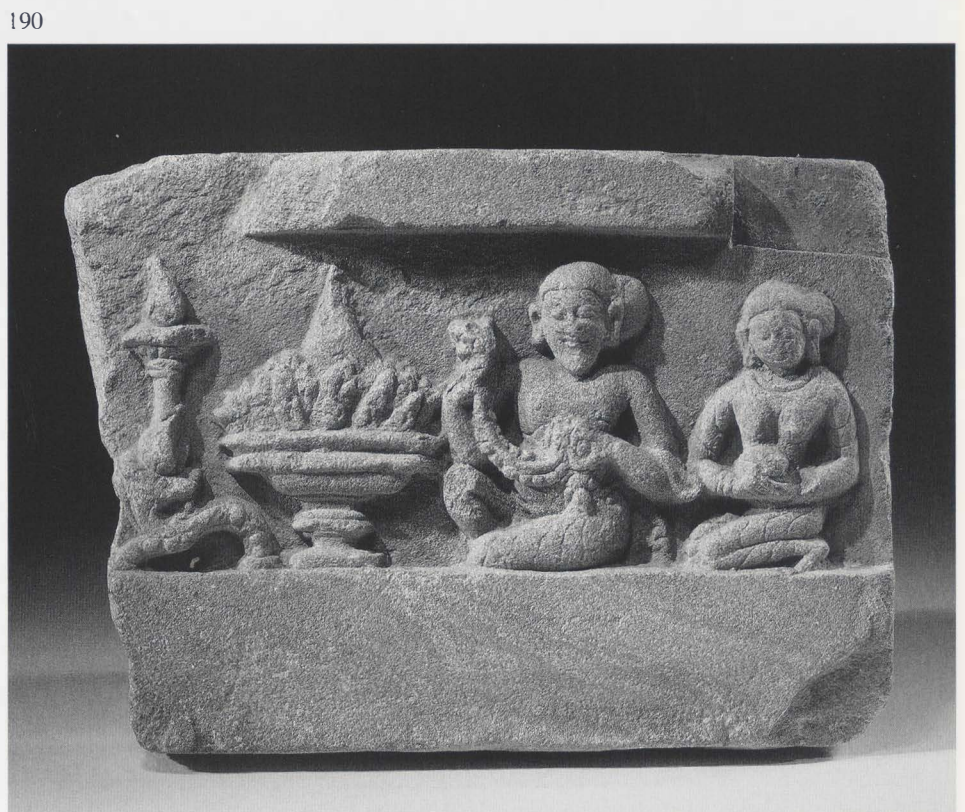


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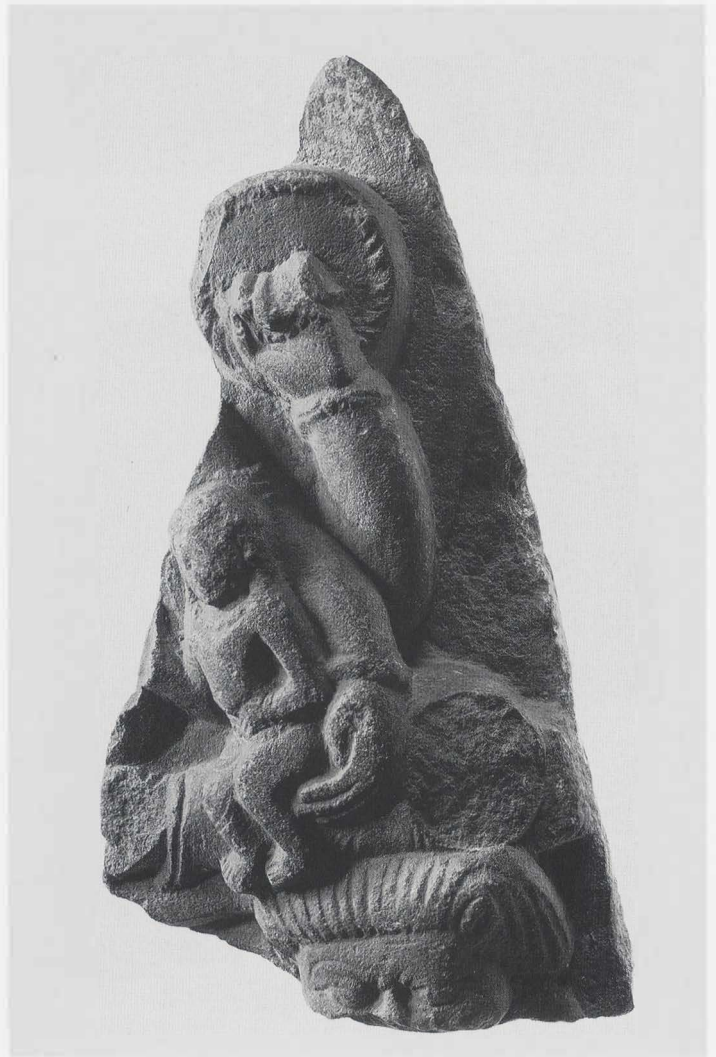
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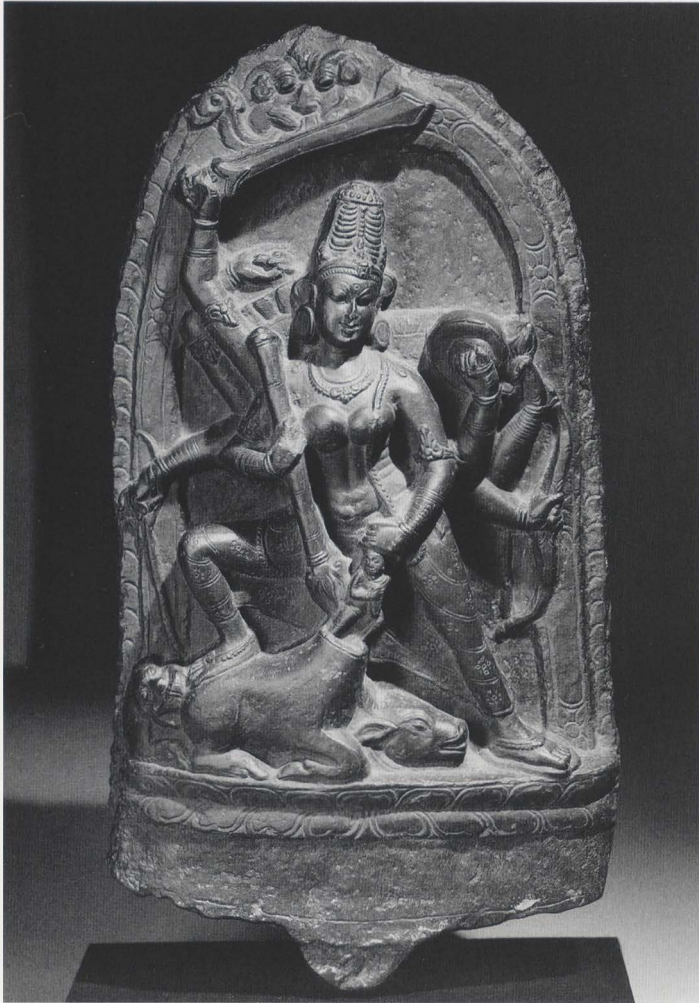


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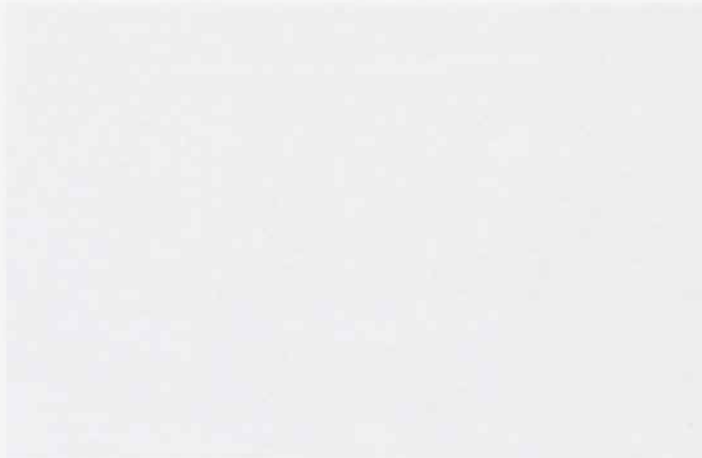


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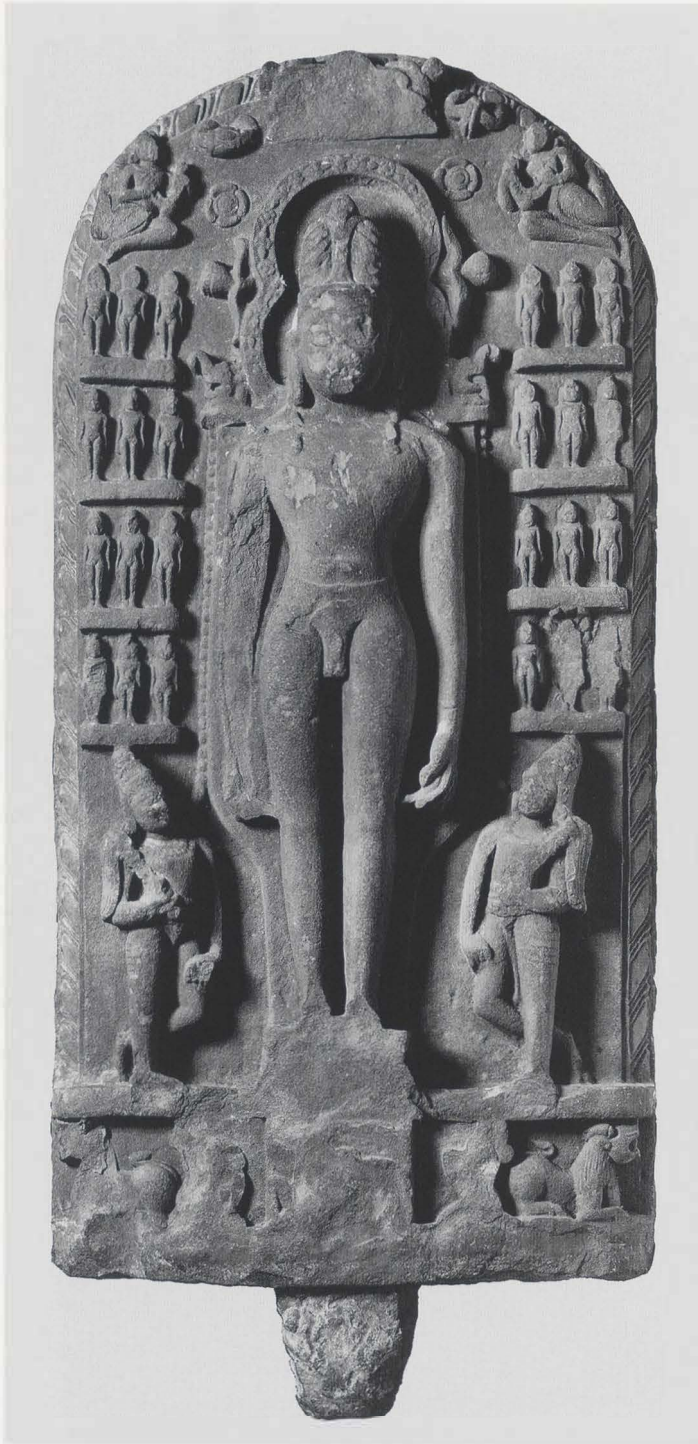
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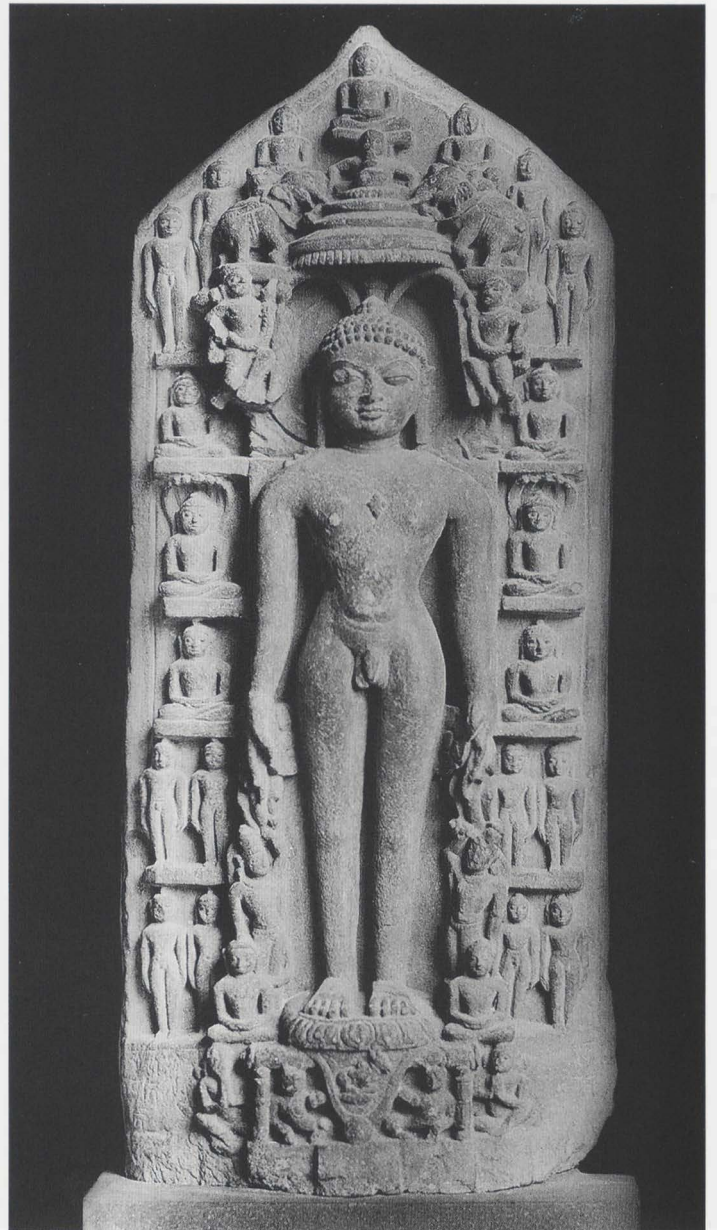
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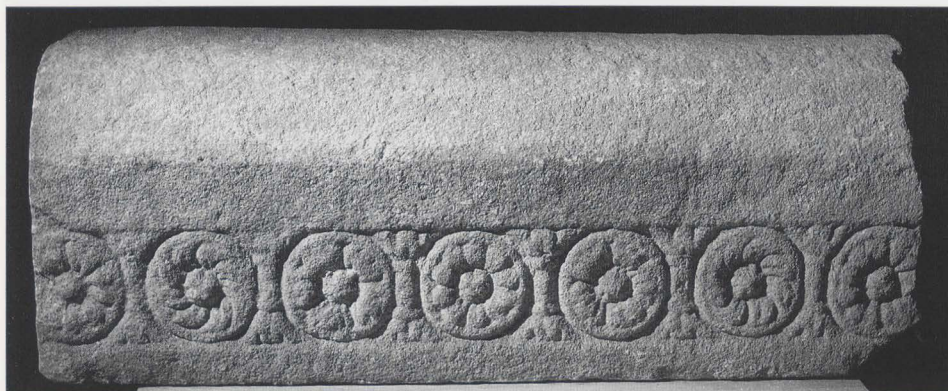
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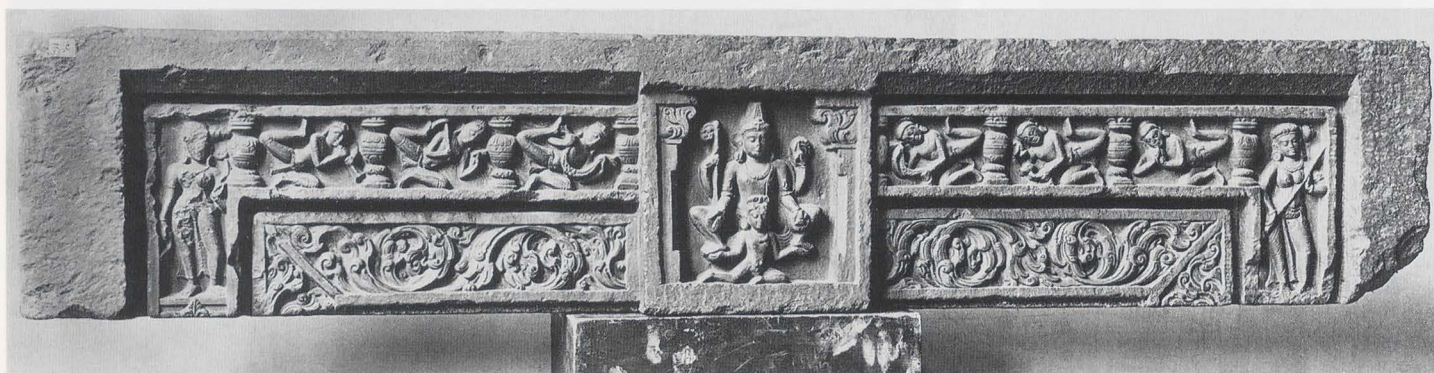


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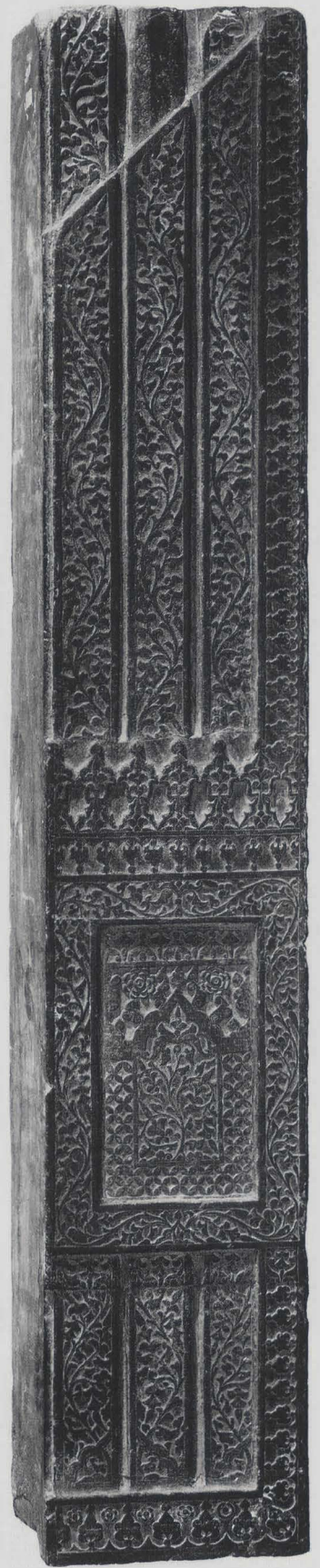
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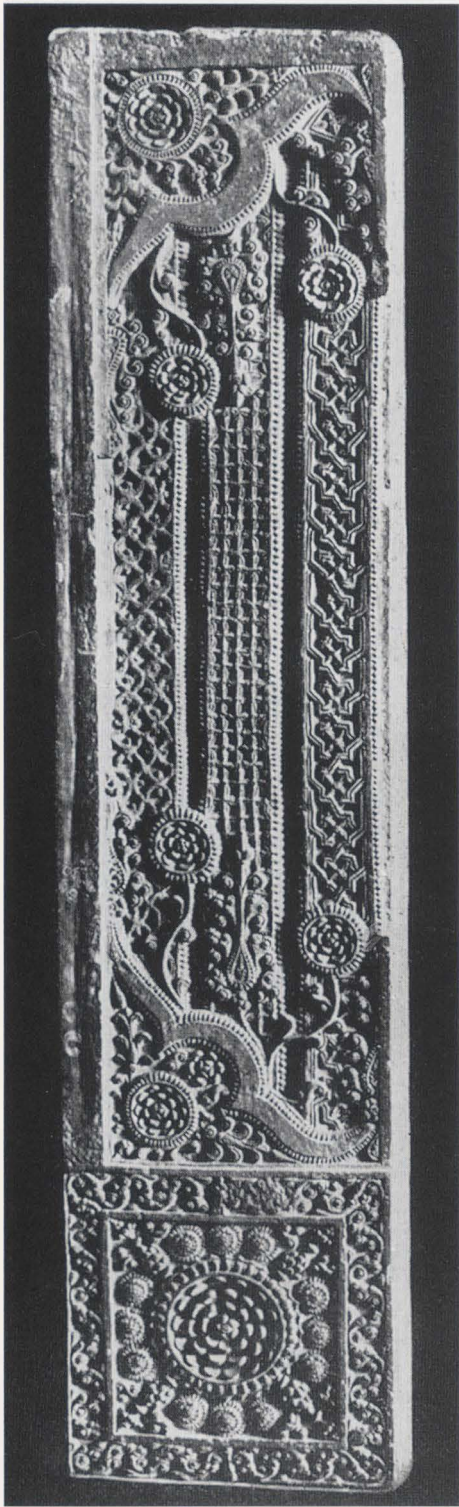
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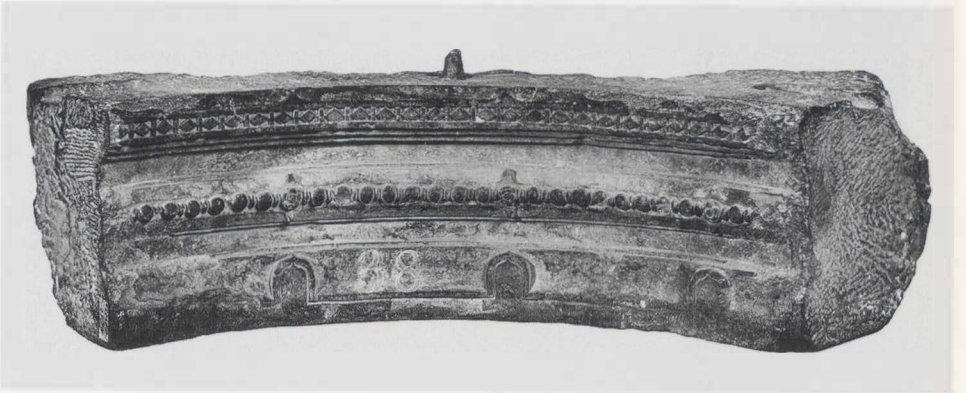
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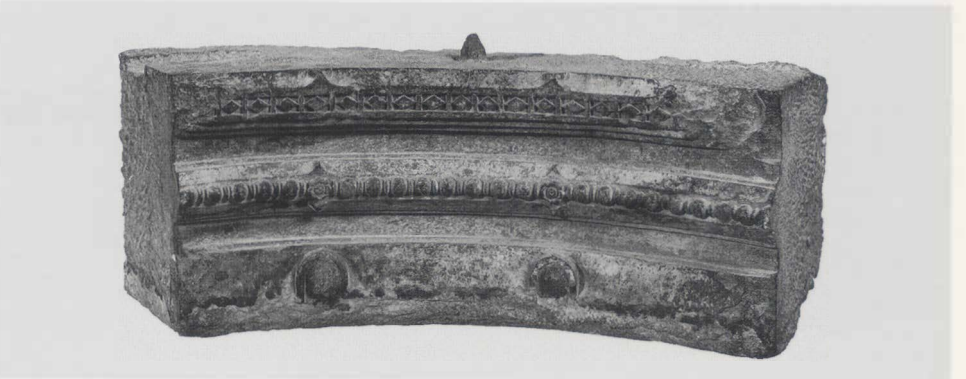


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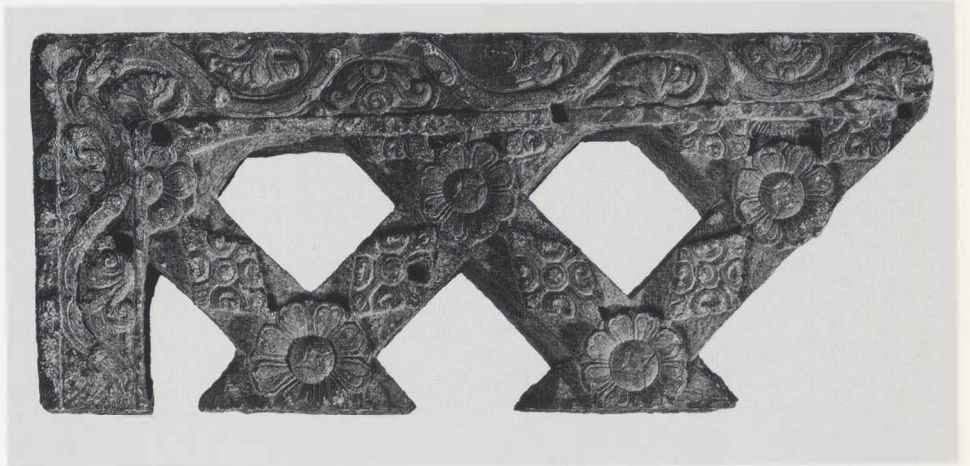
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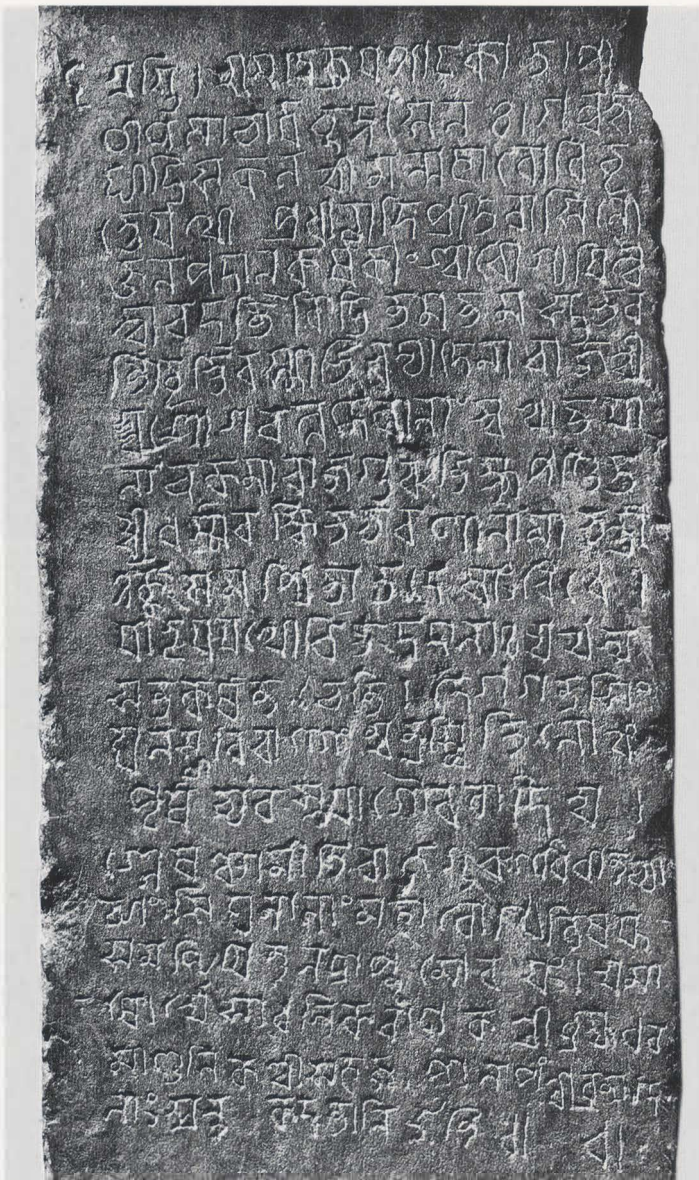
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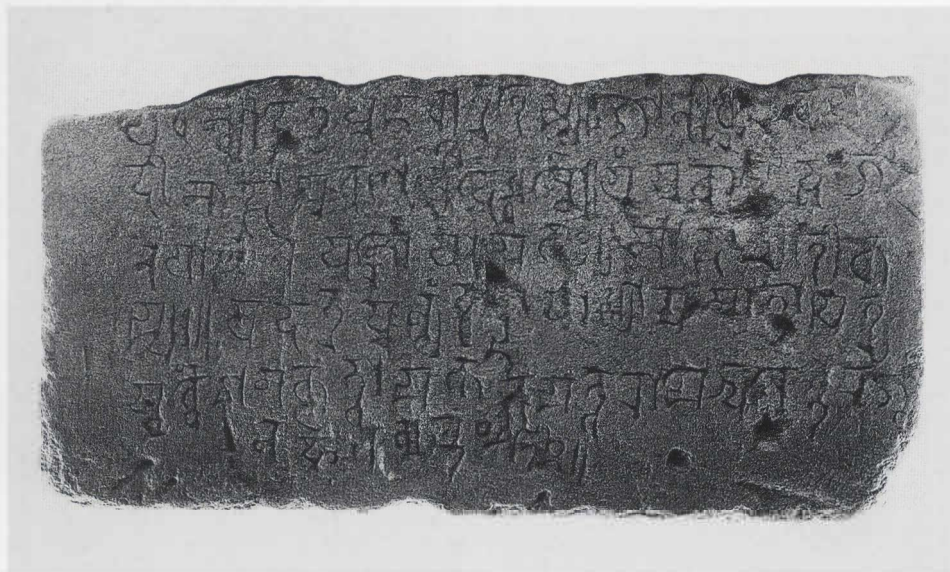
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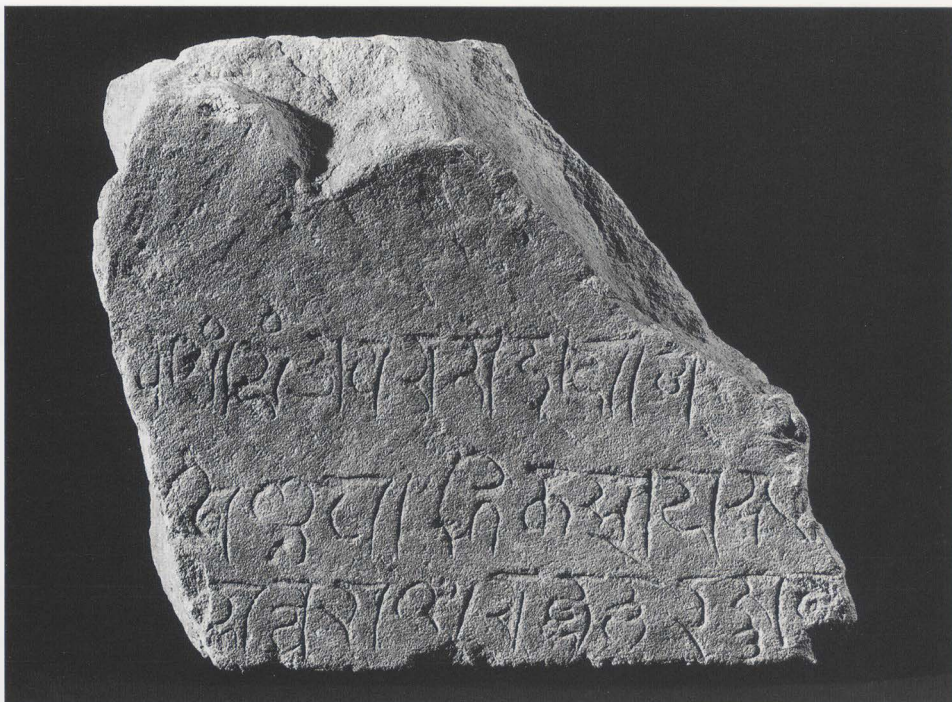


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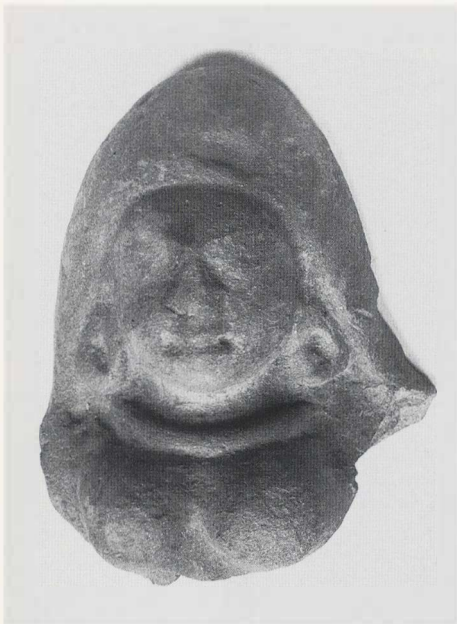




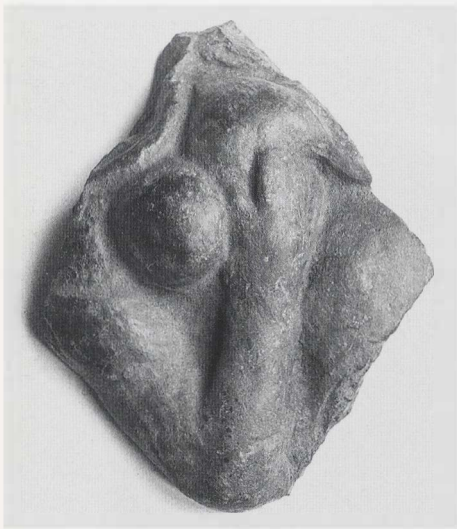
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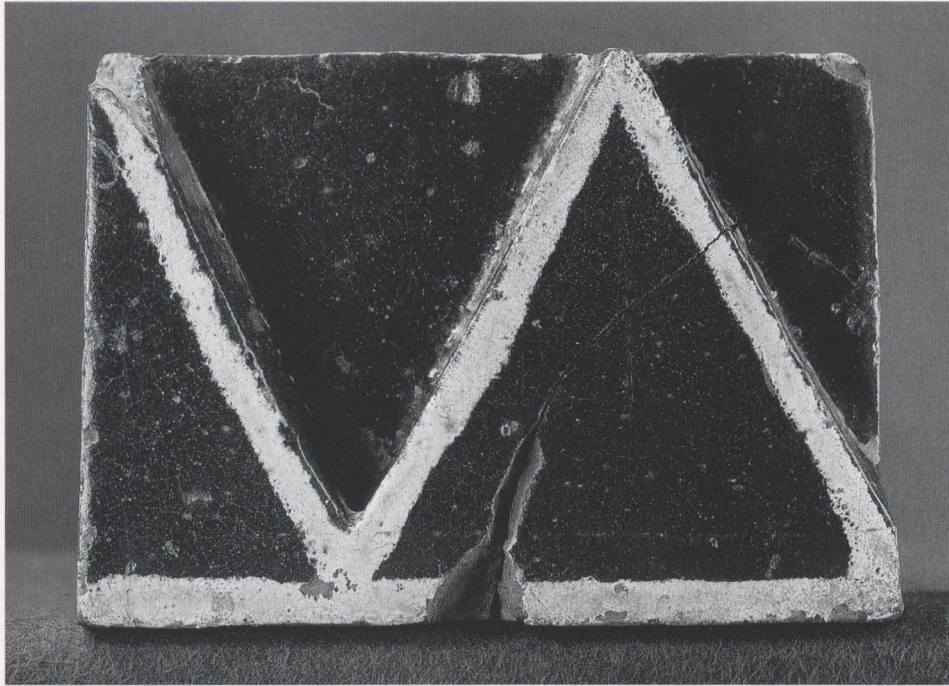


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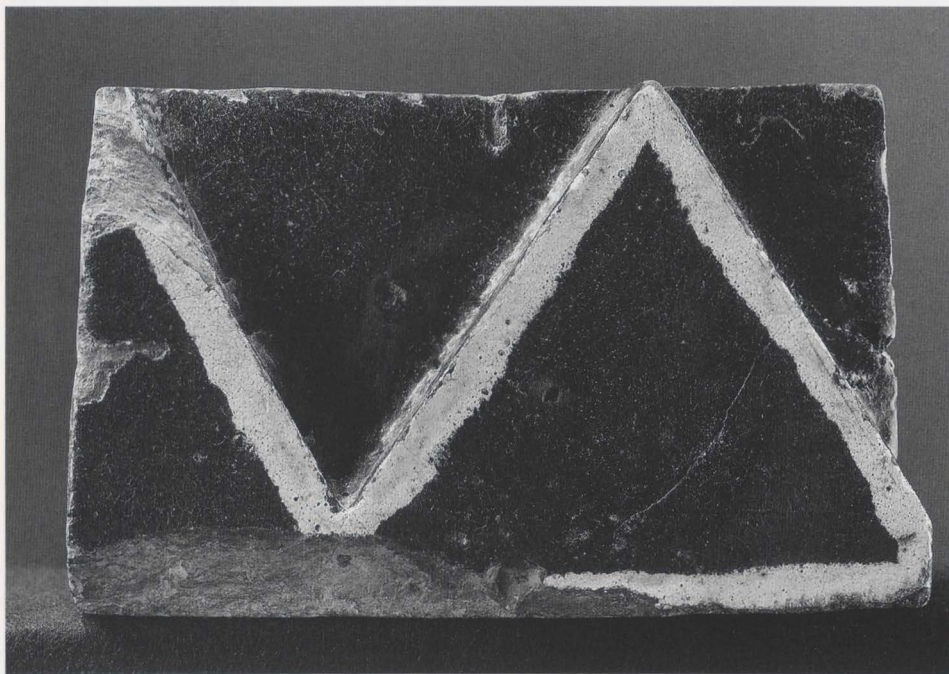


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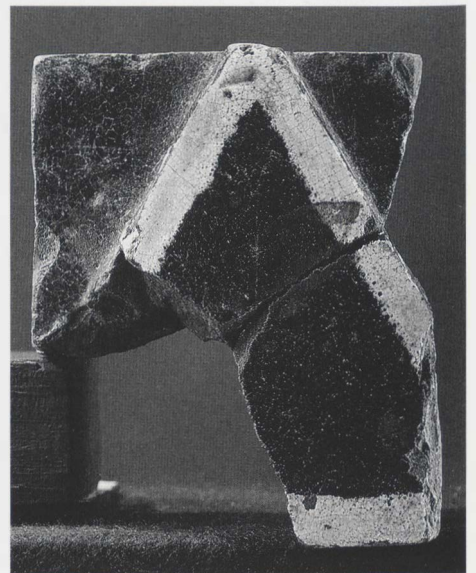


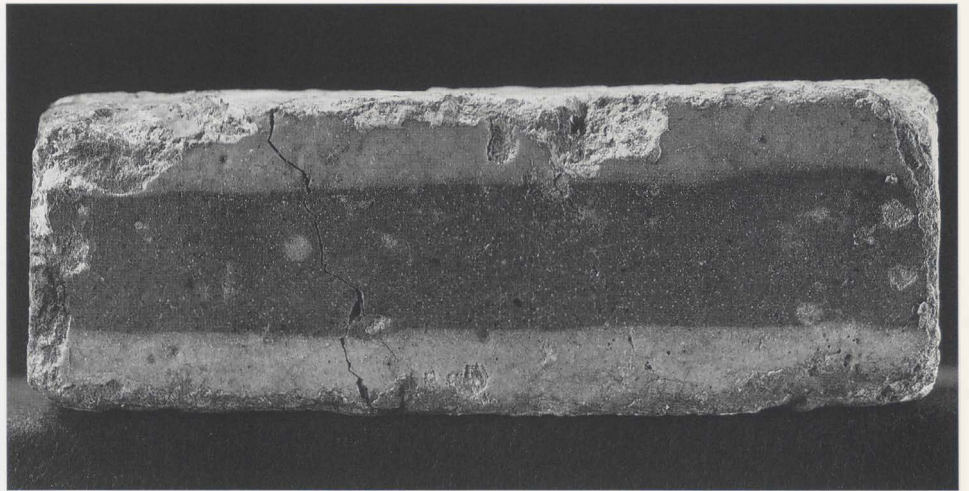
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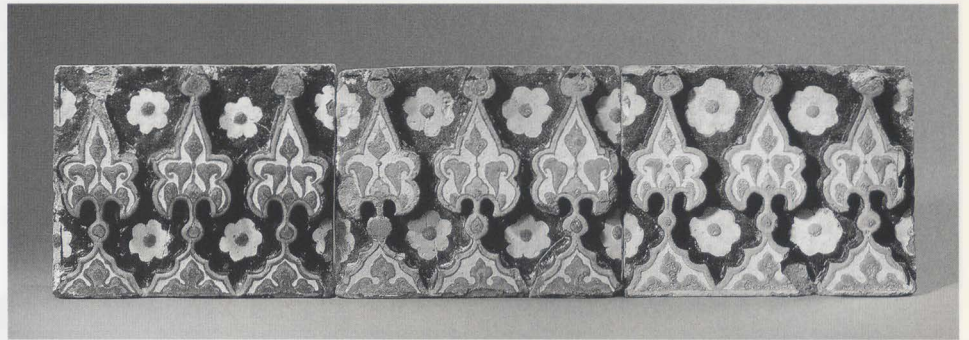
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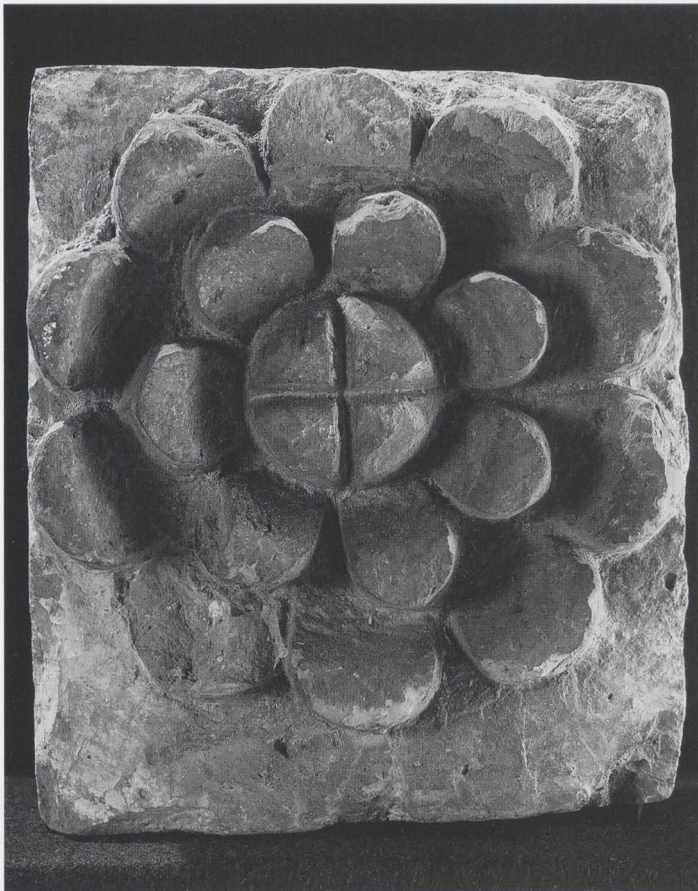


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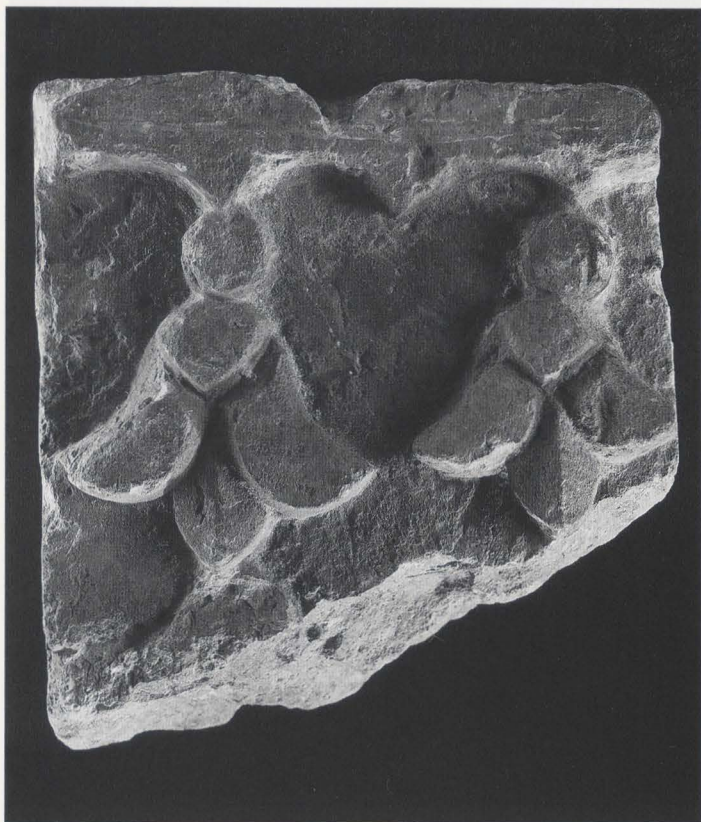


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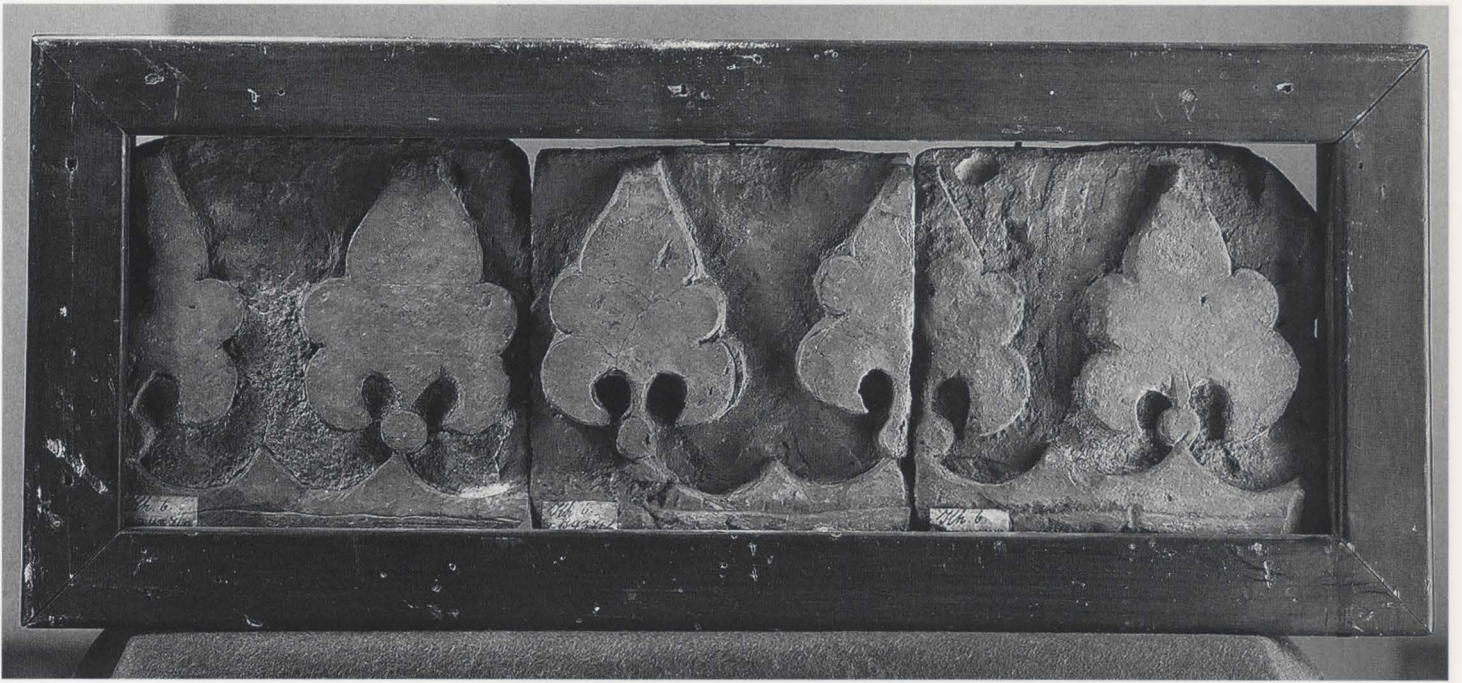
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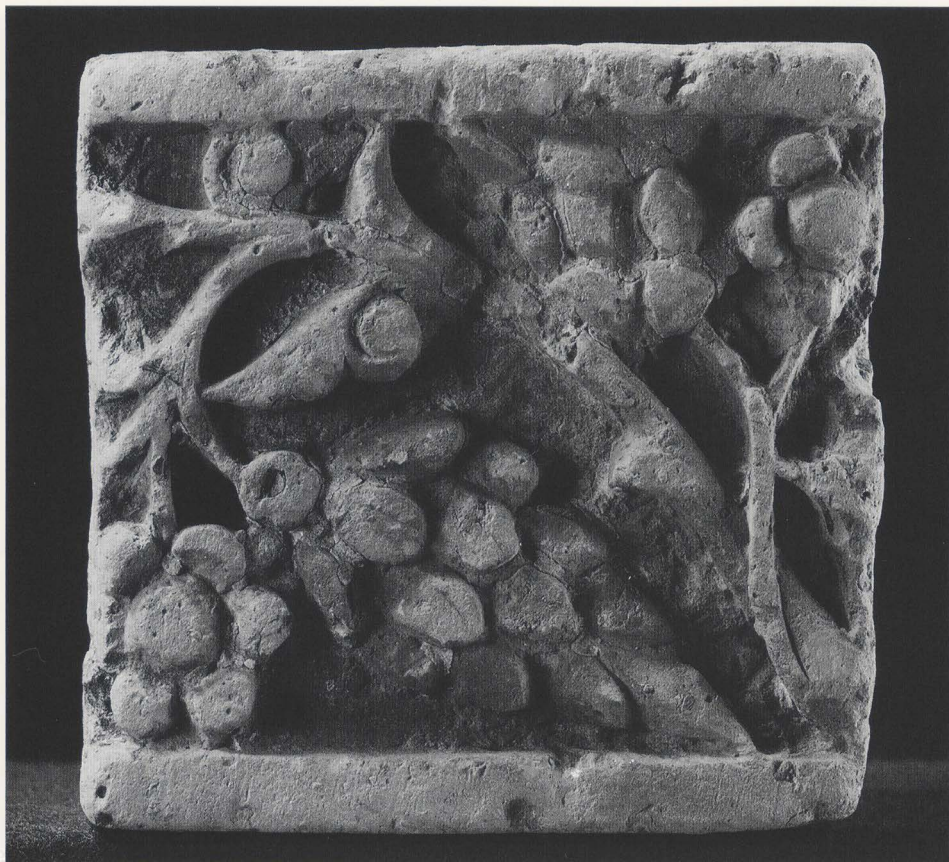
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