

## 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).<sup>1</sup>

The name of **Rajendra Lal Mitra** (1822-1891)<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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".<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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 ...".<sup>6</sup>

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, *Bud-dhapāda.s* and elements of votive *caitya.s*, which Mitra partly published in his work on the site (cat. 178-179 & 273-276).<sup>7</sup>

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).<sup>8</sup>

**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.<sup>9</sup>

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".<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> The money for this acquisition was offered by a business-man of Berlin, Gerson Simon, who was known for his generosity towards the Museums.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> But we should also underline that he could appreciate the beauty of the images, something of which he himself was aware of.<sup>15</sup> He collected nearly 100 art objects in major sites like Sārṇāth, 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.<sup>16</sup> 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."<sup>17</sup>

In 1907, the Museum bought a large collection of objects assembled by **Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner** (1840-1899)<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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).<sup>20</sup>

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."<sup>21</sup>

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,<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> Among these images, a group had been collected in the Monghyr district and brought "to England 25 years ago", *i.e.* around 1890.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup>

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 Aḥṣaḥ 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.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> 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 period<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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 Bahulara in the district of Bankura or on the monument of site 12 at Nālandā.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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**<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> This stone was used till a later period in

the district of Purulia.<sup>39</sup> Besides, even though of a more limited use, several other rocks have been worked,<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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 Vikramaśīla 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, Ghosrāvāñ, Tetrāvāñ 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.<sup>42</sup> 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 Aparājītā can be ascribed to the place.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup>

Images were produced at **Nālandā**<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup>

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;<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> Some of these iconographies remain rare, Vajratārā, Hevajra/Heruka, Nairātmā

e.g.,<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup>

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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup>

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.<sup>54</sup>

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.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup>

## 2. Jain images

**Bihar** is also the land of Jainism.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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).<sup>60</sup>

The Jain iconography includes essentially images of some Jina.s and of couples representing parents of Jina.s.<sup>61</sup> 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).<sup>62</sup>

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).<sup>63</sup> 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 *sāla* and the *cihna* is the lion (cat. 265).<sup>64</sup>

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.<sup>65</sup> 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, Aphaṣaḍ, 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.<sup>66</sup> 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).<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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).<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> “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.<sup>71</sup> Both regions can also introduce different icons in their cult, Śiva Naṭarāja 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 *kirītamukuṣa*, Śiva or the Bodhisattva.s the **coiled up hair** or *jaṭāmukuṣa*. 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 *bhūmisparśamudrā*, 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, *abhaya mudrā* or of generosity, *vara-damudrā*. Eventually, a **shawl** can be worn, which is folded like the robe.<sup>72</sup>

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**, *hamsa.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.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup> 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 upto 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, *aṅḍa*, 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 *aṅḍa* 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,<sup>75</sup> but very often only the lintel (cat. 279-280)<sup>76</sup> or fragments of the jambs (cat. 277, 278) survived, like those recovered at Nālandā.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> 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-jambes (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 *siddhamātrkā*. 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 *virtula* 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*<sup>79</sup>

The distinction between the *siddhamātrkā* 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 Uddanḍapur 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*.<sup>80</sup> *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 Buddhist, 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.<sup>81</sup>

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

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), especially 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 1- 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 Sañkīṣa).

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 Kurkihār 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 Bodhisattva.s and Tārā.s; 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 *sādhanā.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 Abhayākaragupta and the *Sādhana.mālā* 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 contrast, 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 *Ṛṣabhanātha* 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 *Avatāra.s* 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 theme 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.