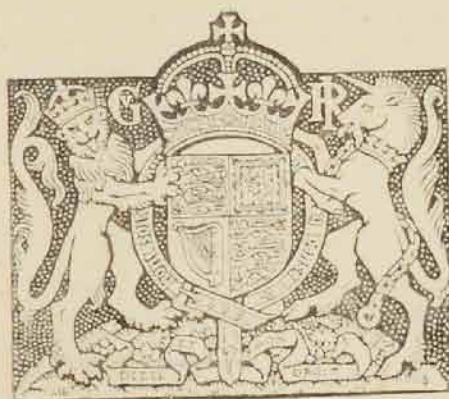


EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIAEVAL SCULPTURE

BY

R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

WITH NINETY-SIX PLATES.



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 (c) The death of Buddha (I. M. No. 5610).
 (d) Ditto (I. M. No. 3774).

XXXII. Vajrāsana-Buddha-Bhāttāraka group from Bishanpur-Tandwa :—

- (a) Lokanātha.
 (b) Maitreya
 (c) Buddha.

XXXIII. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Khasarpana (I. M. No. 3804).
 (b) Lokanātha (I. M. No. B. G. 54).
 (c) Seven Buddhas and Maitreya, a fragment (I. M. No. 6291).
 (d) Lokanātha (I. M. No. N. S. 2073).

XXXIV. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Lokanātha (I. M. No. N. S. 2076).
 (b) Shadākshari Lokanātha (from Birbhum).
 (c) Simhanāda (I. M. No. B. G. 6).
 (d) Lokanātha (from Nalanda).
 (e) Creed on N. S. 2076.

XXXV. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Mañjuśrī (Patna Museum).
 (b) Mañjuśrī (from Birbhum).
 (c) Jambhala from Kurkihar, District Gaya (I. M. No. Kr. 1).

XXXVI. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Jambhala (from Nalanda).
 (b) Kuvera (I. M. No. 3912).
 (c) Jambhala (I. M. No. 3911).

XXXVII. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Vajrapāni (from Nalanda).
 (b) Sthirachakra (B. S. P. No. $\frac{C (d) 3}{16}$).
 (c) Trailokyavijaya (I. M. No. 4552).
 (d) Bodhisattva (from Nalanda).

XXXVIII. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Figure with 12 hands from Garui, District Burdwan.
 (b) Figure with 6 hands from Sagardighi, District Murshidabad (B. S. P. No. $\frac{O (a) 3}{23}$).
 (c) Figure with 12 hands from Ghiyasabad, District Murshidabad (I. M. No. Gd. 1).
 (d) Figure with 12 hands from Sonarang, District Dacca (B. S. P. No. $\frac{C (d) 7}{9}$).
 (e) Inscription on $\frac{O (a) 3}{23}$.

XXXIX. Uninscribed Buddhist images :—

- (a) Tārā (I. M. No. Nil).
 (b) Parnaśabarī (from Vikrampur, District Dacca).
 (c) Tārā (I. M. No. Nil).
 (d) Khasarpana (from Vikrampur, District Dacca).

XL. Uninscribed Buddhist images:—

- (a) Tārā (I. M. No. Kr. 16).
- (b) Vajraśāradā (from Nalanda).
- (c) Yamāntaka (from Nalanda).
- (d) Parnaśabari (from Nalanda).
- (e) Tārā (from Nalanda).
- (f) Tārā (from Nalanda).

XLI. Uninscribed Buddhist images:—

- (a) Mahāpratisarā (Dacca Museum).
- (b) Mahāpratisarā (?) (Dacca Sahitya Parishad).
- (c) Prajñāpāramitā (I. M. No. 3817).

XLII. Uninscribed Buddhist images:—

- (a) Ushnīshavijayā (I. M. No. 4613).
- (b) Mārīchi (I. M. No. 6268).
- (c) Do. (from Nalanda).
- (d) Do. (I. M. No. 4614).

XLIII. Vaishnava images, Vishnu:—

- (a) From Gorakhpur.
- (b) From Śwamibagh, District Dacca.
- (c) From Munger (I. M. No. N. S. 2085).
- (d) From Bangarh, District Dinajpur (I. M. No. 2245).

XLIV. Vaishnava images:—Vishnu:

- (a) From Nakkatitala, District Murshidabad (I. M. No. 6078).
- (b) From Deora, District Bogra (R. M. No. $\frac{E(a)1}{99}$).
- (c) From the Sundarban (I. M. No. Sn. 1).

XLV. Vaishnava images, the incarnations:—

- (a) Vadari-Nārāyana from Sonarang, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
- (b) Varāha from Burdwan (B. S. P. No. $\frac{F(b)3}{362}$).
- (c) Varāha from Nalanda.
- (d) Varāha from Ekana Chandpara, District Murshidabad (B. S. P. No. $\frac{F(b)2}{384}$).
- (e) Varāha from Jhilli, District Murshidabad (B. S. P. No. $\frac{F(b)1}{385}$).

XLVI. Vaishnava images:—the incarnations.—

- (a) Narasiṃha (from Vikrampur, District Dacca).
- (b) Narasiṃha (from Paikor, District Birbhum).
- (c) Narasiṃha from Bihar (I. M. No. 3901).
- (d) Narasiṃha from Rampal, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).

XLVII. Vaishnava images:—the incarnations.—

- (a) Vāmana from Purāpara, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
- (b) Wooden image of Vishnu from Krishnapur, District Tippera (Dacca Museum).
- (c) Vāmana as Trivikrama from Joradeul, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
- (d) Vāmana as Trivikrama from Bihar (I. M. No. 3897).

XLVIII. Vaishnava images:—special forms:—

- (a) I. M. No. Ms. 13.
- (b) Matsyāvātāra, from Bajrajogini District, Dacca.
- (c) I. M. No. 4012.

XLIX. Vaishnava images ; special forms.—

- (a) The ten incarnations (I. M. No. 4181).
 (b) The birth of Krishna (?) from Mallikpur, District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{H(d) 1}{231}$).
 (c) Śeṣhaśāyīn (from Vishnupad temple, Gaya).

L. Vaishnava images ; special forms.—

- (a) The birth of Krishna (?) (I. M. No. Gr. 1).
 (b) Ditto (from Vishnupad temple, Gaya).
 (c) Ditto (from Dinajpur, collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar).
 (d) Ditto (from Dinajpur, B. S. P. No. $\frac{L(1)}{266}$).

LI. Śaiva images :—Līngas.—

- (a) From Mangalkot, District Burdwan.
 (b) From Madariganj, District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{C(a) 1}{82}$).
 (c) From Bihar (I. M. No. 3829).
 (d) From Unakoti, Tripura State.

LII. Śaiva images :—special forms.—

- (a) Śiva-Tāṇḍava from Sankaibondha, District Dacca.
 (b) Śiva from Kashipur, District Bakarganj.
 (c) Śiva-Tāṇḍava from Rampal, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
 (d) Harihara from Bihar (I. M. No. 3856 B).

LIII. Śaiva images :—special forms.—

- (a) Virūpāksha from Rampal, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
 (b) Śiva from Bihar (I. M. No. 3832).
 (c) Metal Durgā, 12 hands, from Keshabpur, District Dinajpur.

LIV. Śaiva images :—special forms.—

- (a) Sadāśiva from Calcutta (B. S. P. No. $\frac{G(a) 1}{379}$).
 (b) Marriage of Śiva from Dacca (B. S. P. No. $\frac{G(b) 4}{285}$).
 (c) Marriage of Śiva (R. M. No. C (d) $\frac{1}{77}$).
 (d) Śiva and Durgā from Swamibagh, Dacca.
 (e) Sadāśiva from Jaman Karai, District Dinajpur (R. M. No. $\frac{C(b) 2}{180}$).
 (f) Sadāśiva from the seal of the Naihati plate of Vallālasena.
 (g) Sadāśiva from Shahpur, District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{C(b) 1}{235}$).

LV. Śaiva images :—Śiva and Durgā.—

- (a) From Bihar (I. M. No. 3955).
 (b) From Dinajpur (B. S. P. No. $\frac{G(b) 1}{361}$).
 (c) Bhairava (collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar).
 (d) From Bhadrisvar, District Birbhum.

LVI. Śaiva images :—special forms and Pārvatī.—

- (a) Devī from Mangalbari, Dinajpur.
 (b) Arddhanārīśvara from Purapara, District Dacca (R. M. No. $\frac{C(c) 1}{95}$).
 (c) Devī (I. M. No. Ms. 3).

LVII. Śaiva images :—Pārvatī.—

- (a) From Mandoil, District Rajshahi.
 (b) I. M. No. Ms. 10.
 (c) From Mahesvarpasha, District Khulna.
 (d) From Raiganj, District Dinajpur (B. S. P. No. $\frac{J(a) 1}{278}$).

LVIII. Śaiva images : Pārvatī, and the Mātrikās.

- (a) Pārvatī (from Shaikhhatī, District Khulna).
 (b) Chāmundā (Patna Museum).
 (c) Charchehikā from Dinajpur (R. M. No. $\frac{D(d) 10}{280}$).

LIX. Miscellaneous deities : Sūrya.

- (a) From Bihar (I. M. No. 3924).
 (b) From Western Bengal (I. M. No. Ms. 8).
 (c) From Northern Bengal, Rajshahi District (R. M. No. $\frac{E(a) 5}{176}$).
 (d) From Eastern Bengal, Dacca District.

LX. Miscellaneous deities : Gaṇeśa.

- (a) From Munshiganj Dacca District.
 (b) From Bihar (I. M. No. 5625).
 (c) From Gol. District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{G(b) 1}{224}$).
 (d) From Deopara, District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{G(b) 5}{374}$).

LXI. Miscellaneous deities : males.

- (a) Kārtikēya (I. M. No. Ms. 9).
 (b) Agni (collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar).
 (c) Brahmā from Raiganj, District Dinajpur (B. S. P. No. $\frac{E(a) 1}{279}$).
 (d) Gaṅgā from Išvaripur, District Khulna.

LXII. Miscellaneous deities : females.

- (a) Śrī from Bhagalpur (B. S. P. No. $\frac{K(a) 1}{265}$).
 (b) Yamunā (Patna Museum).
 (c) Sarasvatī from Chhatingram, District Bogra (R. M. No. $\frac{H(f) 1}{76}$).
 (d) Chāmundā from Devagram, District Nadia (B. S. P. No. $\frac{J(b) 1}{380}$).
 (e) Carved Conch-shells of the Sena period from Naihati, District Burdwan.

LXIII. Miscellaneous deities.

- (a) The seven mothers (I. M. No. 4190).
 (b) The nine planets (I. M. No. 4168).
 (c) Yamunā (I. M. No. 3954).
 (d) Kālī from Bajrajoginī, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
 (e) Sarasvatī from Paikpara, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).

LXIV. Miscellaneous deities : females.

- (a) Manasā (Rungpur Sahitya Parishad).
 (b) Manasā from Bhadishwar, District Birbhum.
 (c) Manasā from Bihar (I. M. No. 3950).
 (d) Manasā, locality unknown (R. M. No. $\frac{H(c) 1}{284}$).
 (e) *Tāmra-Kuṇḍa* from Naihati, District Burdwan.

LXV. Miscellaneous deities : minor deities and Chaityas.

- (a) Nāga and Nāgī (I. M. No. 4148).
 (b) Kāma with Rati and Tṛishṇā (I. M. No. 3812).
 (c) Nāga and Nāgī (I. M. No. 4216).
 (d) Miniature metal Chaityas from Nalanda.
 (e) Revanta from Nalanda.
 (f) Miniature metal Chaityas from Nalanda.

LXVI. Metal Images :—

- (a) Buddha from Nalanda.
 (b) Lokanātha from Bandarbazar, District Sylhet (Dacca Museum).
 (c) Buddha with inscribed plate from bottom (from Gaya).

LXVII. Metal images : images of Vishnu.

- (a) From Sahebganj, District Rangpur.
- (b) From Sahebganj, District Rangpur.
- (c) From Sagardighi, District Murshidabad.

LXVIII. Metal images :—

- (a) Vishnu from Kumarpur, District Rajshahi.
- (b) Chandī from Sonarang, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).
- (c) Vishnu from Sagardighi, District Murshidabad.

LXIX. Metal images :—

- (a) Lokanātha from Nalanda.
- (b) Tārā from Nalanda.
- (c) Shāḍaksharī group from Nalanda.
- (d) Carved Conch-shell from Naihati, District Burdwan.
- (e—f) Vishnu-chakra from Naodanga, District Rungpur (B. S. P. No. $\frac{O(a)1}{383}$).
- (g) Śiva and Durgā from Bogra (B. S. P. No. $\frac{O(b)1}{151}$).

LXX. Miscellaneous Vaishnava specimens :—

Stone Vishnu-chakras from Haskhira and Rajabari, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).

LXXI. Metal images and miscellaneous objects of stone :—

- (a) Prajñāparāmitā of stone from Nalanda.
- (b) Śiva and Durgā from Gaur (B. S. P. No. $\frac{O(b)2}{135}$).
- (c) Stone Makara gargoyle from Deopara, District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{I(b)48}{3}$).
- (d) Gaṅgā from Nalanda.
- (e) Buddha from Patharghata, District Bhagalpur (I. M. No. 4554).
- (f) Bodhisattva from Nalanda.
- (g) Silver Vishnu from Sonarang, District Dacca (I. M. Art. Section No. 12880).
- (h) Stone Garuḍa from Mandoil, District Rajshahi ($\frac{K(e)2}{14}$).
- (i) Maitreya from Patharghata, District Bhagalpur (I. M. No. 4555).

LXXII. Metal images :—

- (a) Vajratārā, open, from Patharghata, District Bhagalpur (I. M. No. 4551).
- (b) Vajratārā, closed, do. do.
- (c) Vajratārā, closed, from Majbari, District Faridpur (Dacca Museum).
- (d) Vajratārā, open, do. do.

LXXIII. Metal objects :—

- (a) Copper lamp from Naihati, District Burdwan (side view).
- (b) Inscribed pedestal of copper gilt image of Buddha from Bhagalpur.
- (c) Bracket with lion's head from Gaur, District Malda (stone).
- (d) Varuṇa from Patharghata, District Bhagalpur (I. M. No. 4557).
- (e) Durgā from Patharghata, District Bhagalpur (I. M. No. 4556).

LXXIV. Metal objects :—

- (a) Vishnu from Sahebganj, District Rungpur (I. M. No. N. S. 2550).
- (b) Tārā from Tripura District (Dacca Museum).
- (c) Miniature Chaitya from Bodh-Gaya (I. M. No. B. G. 233).
- (d) Copper lamp from Naihati, District Burdwan (front view).
- (e) Four stands for conch-shells from Naihati, District Burdwan.

LXXV. Metal objects:—

- (a) Copper Chaitya from Nalanda.
- (b) Copper Chaitya from Ashrafpur, District Dacca (I. M. No. 6301).
- (c) Miniature stone Chaitya from Bihar (I. M. No. Br. 14).

LXXVI. Jaina images:—

- (a) Images in the temple of Śiva, Chatra, District Manbhum.
- (b) Small images and Chaumuhās, Chatra.
- (c) Colossal image of Mahāvīra, Chatra.

LXXVII. Jaina images:—

- (a) Pārśvanātha from Bahulara, District Bankura.
- (b) Pārśvanātha from Harmashra, District Bankura.
- (c) Śāntinātha from Mangalkot, District Burdwan.

LXXVIII. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temple of Muṇdeśvarī near Bhabua, District Shahabad.
- (b) Temple of Tārā at Bodh-Gaya, District Gaya.
- (c) Stupa of the goose, Giriyeḳ, District Patna.

LXXIX. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Side view of the temple of Narasiṃha, Gaya city.
- (b) Stupa of the goose, relic chamber, Giriyeḳ.
- (c) Stone door jamb from Nalanda (Indian Museum).

LXXX. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temples of Salieśvara and Sāreśvara at Dihar, District Bankura.
- (b) Temple of Kalyaneśvari, District Burdwan.
- (c) Group of temples at Begunia, District Burdwan.

LXXXI. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temple of Sāreśvara from N. W.
- (b) Temple of Salleswar (back).
- (c) Temple of Sāreśvara from S. E.
- (d) Makara-Gargoyle from Pandua (I. M. No. Pa. I).
- (e) Makara-Gargoyle (Patna Museum).

LXXXII. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temple of Ichāighoṣh at Gaurangapur, Dist. Burdwan, front.
- (b) Temple No. III at Begunia, District Burdwan.
- (c) Temple of Ichāighoṣh, back.

LXXXIII. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temple No. II at Begunia, District Burdwan.
- (b) Details of the great temple at Konch, District Gaya.
- (c) Temple No. I at Begunia, District Burdwan.

LXXXIV. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temple of Bāsuli at Chhatna, District Bankura.
- (b) Great Torana in front of the temple at Bodh-Gaya, District Gaya.
- (c) Temple at Harmashra, District Bankura.
- (d) Foot print of Buddha from Bodh-Gaya (I. M. No. B. G. 2).
- [(e) Miniature Chaitya from Sabhar, District Dacca (Dacca Museum).

LXXXV. Temple architecture:—

- (a) Temple of Siddheśvara at Bahulara, District Bankura (front).
- (b) Temple of Śiva at Konch, District Gaya (back).
- (c) Temple of Siddheśvara at Bahulara (back).

LXXXVI. Temple architecture :—

- (a) Pillar base with Buddha figures, Patna Museum.
- (b) Stele with Buddha, Wari, Dacca city.
- (c) Miniature Buddhist temple in Maharaja's palace, Dinajpur city.
- (d) Temple No. IV Begunia, District Burdwan.

LXXXVII. Chaityas :—

- (a) From Bodh-Gaya, front.
- (b) From Bodh-Gaya, side.
- (c) From Bodh-Gaya, back.
- (d) Garbha-Chaitya (I. M. No. B. G. 101).

LXXXVIII. Chaityas :—

- (a) Peculiar votive stūpa from Bodh-Gaya (I. M. No. N. S. 5).
- (b) Miniature stūpa and relic caskets from Kiyul stupa, District Monghyr.
- (c) Miniature stūpa from Bihar, District Patna (I. M. No. Br. 13).
- (d) Buddhist Chaturmukha from Bodh-Gaya (I. M. No. N. S. 3).

LXXXIX. Architectural members :—

- (a) Pillar of Śaiva temple from Rajmahal (I. M. No. Rl. 1).
- (b) Inscribed pillar from Paikor, District Birbhum.
- (c) Door-jamb from Mandoil, District Rajshahi.
- (d) Inscribed image from Paikor, District Birbhum.
- (e) Inscribed pillar from Bangarh, District Dinajpur.
- (f) Carved lintel from Debikot, District Dinajpur.

XC. Architectural members :—

- (a) Chaitya—window, Patna Museum.
- (b) Lintel of Vaishnava temple from Gaur, District Maldah (I. M. No. Gr. 18).
- (c) Lintel of a Buddhist temple from Bihar, District Patna (I. M. No. Br. 62).
- (d) Details of pillar from Rajmahal (I. M. No. Rl. 1).

XCI. Finials :—

- (a) Double image of Garuda, side view, from Nagail, District Rajshahi (R. M. No. $\frac{E(c)1}{236}$).
- (b) Kneeling figure of Garuda (Rajshahi Museum).
- (c) Double image of Garuda (front view).

XCII. Architectural members :—

- (a) Stone door-frame from Bihar, District Patna (I. M. No. Nil).
- (b) Door-lintel from Jessore.
- (c) Stone door-frame from Bodh-Gaya, District Gaya (I. M. No. Nil).

XCIII. Architectural members :—

- (a) Pierced stone window from Gaur (I. M. No. Ms. 2).
- (b) Pierced stone window from Dacca.
- (c) The ten incarnations (from the collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar; No. 7A).
- (d) Chaitya window, Vishnu on Garuda (I. M. No. 4180).

XCIV. Architectural members, etc :—

- (a) Miniature stūpa from Bihar, Patna District (I. M. No. Br. 13).
- (b) Door-lintel from Nalanda, Patna District (I. M. No. Nil).
- (c) Carved door-jamb from Nalanda (I. M. No. Nil).
- (d) Pillar from Pabna (I. M. No. Pa. 1).

XCV. Miscellaneous sculptures:—

- (a) Gaṅgā from Deopara, District Rajshahi ($\frac{H(c) 1}{354}$).
- (b) Basrelief, Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara, District Bankura.
- (c) Marriage of Śiva from Viṣṇupad temple, Gaya.
- (d) Impression from plate VI (b).

XCVI. Miscellaneous:—

- (a) Artificial cave, Nalanda.
- (b) Pillars with basreliefs, from original temple of the Viṣṇupad now in the courtyard of the modern temple, Gaya.
- (c) Stucco image, from Nalanda.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIÆVAL SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The study of mediæval sculpture in the north-eastern provinces of India was begun for the first time by the late Dr. Theodor Bloch on his appointment as the First Assistant to the Superintendent of the Indian Museum in 1896. At that time the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum contained the sculptures catalogued by John Anderson in 1883. Two years afterwards the collection of the late Mr. A. M. Broadley, I.C.S., at Bihar, in the Patna District, was transferred to Calcutta. By a combination of these two collections the Indian Museum came to possess the largest number of sculptures of the mediæval period discovered in Bengal and Bihar. The collection was entirely re-arranged by Dr. Bloch between 1898 and 1900. The new arrangement was not chronological but according to the genus and species. Magadha sculptures were divided into two broad groups, Buddhist and Brahmanical. Each class was subdivided into species; such as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārās or Vishṇus, Sūryas, Śaktis, etc. Subsequently, on account of his appointment as the Archæological Surveyor, Bengal Circle, Dr. Bloch had to give up the idea of writing a catalogue of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum. The want of a fresh catalogue was severely felt by me and by other scholars who came to study in the Indian Museum. In 1907 the late Dr. N. Annandale, the last Superintendent of the Indian Museum, revived the proposal for a new catalogue of the Archæological Section and during Dr. Bloch's absence on leave Mr. Nilmani Chakravartī, M.A., a pupil of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., was appointed as a temporary assistant to catalogue the additions received in the Indian Museum after the publication of Anderson's catalogue. Mr. Chakravartī's catalogue was revised and edited by Dr. Bloch after his return from leave in 1908 and published in the latter's name after his death in 1910, as a supplement to Anderson's catalogue.

When I was studying Indian Archæology under Dr. Bloch he had pointed out to me the possibility of writing a thesis on the chronological sequence of artistic development in the North-Eastern provinces of India on the basis of palæography. The collection of mediæval sculptures in the North-Eastern provinces of India contained a very large number of inscribed specimens. Buddhist images as a rule bear the Buddhist creed as well as a donative

record and in the majority of cases the creed is invariably present. At the suggestion of Dr. Bloch I undertook the paleographical examination of inscribed images from Bengal and Bihar in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum as early as 1904. From May 1907 the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum was practically in my charge up to the 31st July 1917, and I had ample opportunities of examining all specimens from Bengal and Bihar belonging to that collection. The conclusions deduced from the paleographical examination of the votive records were embodied in a long note in 1914 but for various reasons it has not been possible to arrange for its publication at that time.

The long delay however which has taken place has enabled me to make the work more comprehensive. When it was first written the Museums of Dacca, Rajshahi, Patna and the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad had either not come into existence or were in their incipient stage. The collection in the Dacca Museum has brought to light a new phase of artistic activity on the North-Eastern frontier of India and very great credit is due to Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., by whom this excellent collection was formed. This collection is very small but it possesses the advantage of being thoroughly representative. The specimens collected from the districts of Faridpur, Dacca, Tippera, Mymensingh and Noakhali include very few inscribed sculptures but the chronological sequence obtained from the inscribed specimens in the Indian Museum proves definitely that in Eastern Bengal there was a separate artistic development, when the Pālas were laying the foundations of their first empire. Art gradually revived in Bihar, specially in the two Buddhist centres of activity, Buddha Gaya or Bodh Gaya and Nālandra or Nālandā; but at that time the artists of Eastern Bengal were able to produce specimens which were exquisite objects of art on account of the delicacy of their outline and expressiveness of form in comparison with contemporary specimens of Northern and Western Bengal.

The Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, founded in April 1910, has collected an immense number of specimens from different parts of Bengal proper and arranged them in the Museum built by Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya at Rajshahi, the principal town of Northern Bengal. The majority of specimens in this Museum come from Northern Bengal, *i.e.*, the Districts, of Rajshahi, Malda, Pabna, Bogra, Dinajpur and Rangpur; but many of them have been collected from other parts of Bengal also; *viz.*, from Rampal in the Dacca District and different parts of the Hughly District. The collection contains a few inscribed specimens, none of which are earlier than the 11th or the 12th century in date. The examination of the Rajshahi collection proved definitely that a certain class of writers were wrong in ascribing the conventionalised style and stylised forms of these specimens to the 8th and 9th centuries, instead of to the 11th and the 12th centuries.¹ Subsequent dis-

¹ Mr. S. Kumar's criticism of these writers in his article entitled "A note on the Bengal school of Artists" was so crushing that they have never ventured to reply.—*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XII, pp. 23-28.*

coveries made by the members of the Varendra Research Society prove that though artistic development in Northern Bengal was parallel with that of Magadha or Southern Bihar, yet during the first empire of the Pālas, the artists of Northern Bengal were decidedly in a minority compared with those of Eastern Bengal and Southern Bihar. An image of Vishṇu discovered by Mr. Nani Gopal Mazumdar in the Malda District and the Buddha discovered at Biharoil in the Rajshahi District prove that, as late as the end of the 7th century, the artists of Eastern Bengal were followers of the decadent Gupta style of the School of Pāṭaliputra. The impulse which enabled the artists of Northern India to shake off the servile obedience to the tenets of the older school had not come as yet. When it came it was felt in Magadha, the metropolitan district of Northern India for at least one millennium. The artists of Northern Bengal may have felt the tremor but it had weakened considerably before reaching the new metropolitan district. Stray specimens discovered in Northern Bengal show the beginning of the change in artistic motives, in the broadness of vision and forceful delineation of the human figure which we find in the image of Tārā (I. M. No. 5862). Such is the torso of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu from Kashipur in the Dinajpur District in the Rajshahi Museum.¹ The founders of the Varendra Research Society, specially the Director of that institution, were inclined to think that conventionalised images of the 12th century like the image of Tārā in the Indian Museum (I. M. No. 5618) were really the products of Dhīmān and Bitpālo, who were mentioned by Tārānātha as the founders of the Eastern School of Mediæval Sculpture in the 8th century A.D. A comparison of the inscribed specimen of Tārā (I. M. No. 5862) with the majority of specimens in the Rajshahi Museum proves definitely that such specimens cannot be earlier than the 12th century and that they belong to the decadent conventional style which came into being during the rules of Rāmapāla and Lakshmanasena.

The palæographical examination of the inscribed specimens in the Indian Museum proves further that the decline of artistic activity in the Eastern provinces in the 9th and 10th centuries was not parallel with the decline in the political fortunes of the Pāla kings. In these two centuries also the artists of Eastern Bengal were much more active than those of Northern and Western Bengal. The specimens from the Eastern provinces of Northern India, which can be definitely assigned to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. come from Magadha or South Bihar and the Dacca District of Eastern Bengal only. The vigour of expression and correctness of delineation of the 9th century is absent in the tenth but we do not as yet find the preponderance of hard and fast rules of the School, which begins in the Eastern School of Sculpture only from the end of the 10th century onwards.

With Mahīpāla I, came the liberation of the Eastern provinces from the yoke of the Gurjaras of Kanauj, their re-union under one sovereign and the establishment of the second empire of the Pālas. It brought about an artistic

¹ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society*, p. 21, No. $\frac{25(6)1}{11}$.

renaissance in which Northern Bengal took the leading part. The new style was a descendant of the old style of the 10th century, but lacked the supreme vigour of the 8th. It had peculiar characteristics of its own. In the reproduction of ideal beauty of form and benign expression adhering rigidly to the canons of the *Śilpa-sāstras*. Northern Bengal specimens of the 11th century show that sufficient latitude was given to its artists for individual capability or genius. The collection in the Rajshahi Museum now comes to the forefront and future students will have to devote more attention to it in studying the sculpture of the second Pāla empire than to the older collection in the Indian Museum. But here also we find that the special characteristics of Eastern Bengal were not completely overpowered by Northern Bengal.

With the rise of the Senas and the last attempt of the Pālas to re-assert their authority over the lost provinces of the empire under Rāmapāla we find Bihar and Eastern Bengal once more taking the lead in the field of artistic activity. Sculpture of the 12th century is degraded, mean, disproportionate and impeded in its movement by hide-bound tradition, yet the artists employ their skill in depicting a smile or in imparting to the countenance of Lokeśvara an expression of ethereal grace. The slavish obedience to the rules of the *Śilpa-sāstras* gradually levelled all peculiar characteristics of the locality and in the 12th century it is impossible to distinguish a Bihar image from an Eastern Bengal example. With the fall of the stronghold of Uddandapura (modern Bihar) and the sack of the celebrated University of Nālandā in 1199 by the predatory bands of Musalman Turks under Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī, the history of Magadhan art comes to a sudden end. Even after the collapse of the Pālas the artists of Magadha continued their activity. Patronage was rare and images few and far between; but the sudden blow at the vast monastic establishments of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā paralysed all artistic activity. Magadha ceased to have a separate existence either on the political map of India or in the long and varied history of its later plastic art.

The contagion spread to Northern and Western Bengal soon afterwards. Lakshmanāvati fell within the next two decades and Central and North-Central Bengal was devastated for a century by continued Musalman inroads. Artistic activity came to a sudden end in North-Western and West-Central Bengal in the earlier decades of the 13th century. Protected by its net-work of rivers Eastern Bengal continued its existence as an independent kingdom till the first quarter of the 14th century. Its artists continued to produce decadent stylised imitations of the 12th century when it was overtaken by the same fate as had befallen the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jain alike in the north-western and central Districts of Bengal in the beginning of the 13th century. The supply of slates and basalts from Bihar had stopped and the artists of Eastern Bengal were compelled once more to have recourse to wood as the only cheap material available for plastic work. Wooden images are being discovered in different parts of Dacca District and in the majority of cases they are pitiable specimens which betray poverty of imagination and extreme decadence.

Modern stone carving of Bengal is but a mere shadow of its former grandeur. Modern sculptors imitate the soulless hybrid schools of stone carving now prevalent at Benares and Jaipur and it has no connection in any direction with the ancient school of sculpture of Bengal. The Musalman kings of Bengal employed Hindu artists in decorating their Masjids and tombs, and the decorative motifs of the *mīhrābs* of the Adina Masjid, the Eklakhi tomb and other splendid specimens of the pre-Mughal architecture of Bengal show a gradual assimilation of pre-Muhammadan styles into the Muhammadan; but that narrative is too long to be included in this monograph.

The second chapter contains a complete description of sculpture, recovered in the eastern provinces of Northern India, during the first seven centuries of the Christian era and the third is devoted to a detailed consideration of the palæographical analysis which forms the framework of this monograph. The special style adopted by the artists of the Eastern Schools of Mediæval Sculpture in the delineation of the life of Gautama Buddha is described in the fourth. The fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the Buddhist and Hindu pantheons. Much of the original fifth chapter had to be left out on account of the long delay in printing of this book during which the material from the Buddhist *sādhana*s has already been utilised by other writers, specially Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya the author of "Buddhist Iconography." The excavations of Nālandā and the activities of the members of the Varendra Research Society, the Dacca Museum and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad have brought to light hundreds of metal specimens and therefore it became necessary to devote a special chapter to metal casting and images. The last or the eighth chapter is devoted to a discussion of such specimens of temple architecture as still remain in the eastern provinces of Northern India, along with such architectural members as had been discovered from time to time in different parts of Bengal and Bihar.

The conclusion which I have sought to establish in these pages is that from the 8th century to the 12th, in the eastern provinces of Northern India artistic activity is evident on a scale, which other provinces of the north and the south failed even to approach in magnificence, excellence and extensity. Here the Pāla and the Sena excelled and even the proud Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Haihayas of Tripurī, the war-like Chāhamāna lords of Śākambharī, the learned Paramāra chiefs of Ujjayinī and Dhārā and the proud Chaulukyas of Anahilapātaka were compelled to yield the first place to them. Mediæval sculptures have been discovered, in varying numbers, in Mahārāshtra, Gujarat, Rajputana and the *Antarvedī* but nowhere is their total number comparable to the output of a single century in Bengal and Bihar.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF SCULPTURE IN EASTERN INDIA.

The earliest specimens of sculpture, found in the eastern provinces of northern India, belong, as is to be expected, to the Mauryan period. Specimens earlier in date, may exist, but, either their early date has not been recognised or is still a matter of controversy.¹ The earliest specimens of Indian sculpture, recognised as such by a consensus of opinion among scholars, are the specimens of Mauryan art *e.g.* the caves at Barabar in the Gaya District and the inscribed pillars of Aśoka in the northern districts of the modern province of Bihar. The single pillar discovered in the excavations of Pāṭaliputra with certain other fragments, which also are undoubtedly Mauryan in date may be slightly earlier than Aśoka, but in the absence of any corroborative evidence it is not possible to pronounce any opinion on them. In spite of the long controversy about them, the Pāṭaliputra images or statues in the Indian Museum at Calcutta have generally been accepted as specimens of Mauryan art, though it has not been decided whether they are images of Yakṣhas or statues of emperors of the Śaiśunāka dynasty. It may be stated without hesitation that in spite of the inscriptions of a later date incised on their backs, they are fine specimens of sculpture, slightly later in date than the period of Aśoka. The principal characteristics of Mauryan sculpture are its boldness, its naturalism and its fine polish.

Much has been written on this subject and the indebtedness of Indian art of the Mauryan period to old Persian art seems to be well established, though it is still doubtful to what extent early Persian art and Indian art and sculpture are indebted to Greek art.² So far as is known, sculptures or objects of art, the dates of which can be or have been determined accurately, belonging to the pre-Mauryan period have not been discovered yet. The Patna statues may be cited as specimens of pre-Mauryan sculpture, but it is really impossible to judge the artistic value of these statues even if they are recognised to be specimens of pre-Mauryan sculpture since they are the only specimens, earlier in date, than Mauryan sculpture, and thus insufficient as a basis on which to frame any reliable conclusions.

The same difficulty exists, to some extent, in the case of Mauryan sculpture. But though the material, at our disposal, is not very plentiful we have more authoritative data, *viz.* the pillars and capitals of the inscribed monoliths, images or sculptures in the round, those crowning the capitals *e.g.* the lions of Sarnath, the bull of Rampurva, etc. We have some specimens

¹ Such is the case with the statues discovered at Patna and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Anderson's *Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part I, pp. 151-57*). According to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal they belong to the Śaiśunāka-period; *circa* 6th century B.C. (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, pp. 88-106 and Vol. VI, pp. 40-50*), while according to others they belong to a later date—*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 474-89. *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 25-36.*

² The theory advanced by Sir John Marshall on this subject deserves serious attention. Cf. *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 620-21.*

of architecture also *i.e.* the pillar and the fragments discovered by Dr. Spooner at Pataliputra. Mauryan art, specimens of which have come down to us whatever be its origin and the influences, which caused its evolution, is the earliest known school of art of the Eastern Provinces of India and more particularly of Magadha. This is a fact which has been recognised by almost all authorities on the subject. The specimens of the Mauryan period which have come down to us, though limited in number, impress on us the vigour and the extreme naturalism of the carving. There is very little idealism in it. Witness for example the lion on the inscribed Aśoka pillar from Rampurva which was discovered by R. B. D. R. Sahni. Unfortunately part of the head of this magnificent lion is lost and the lower part has become slightly decayed, on account of the very long immersion in water;¹ but even so the natural pose and some of its anatomical details are very striking. The specimen shows the delineation of the muscles of the leg very realistically. There is a certain amount of convention in the portrayal of the mane, yet from a distance, or even at a closer view, there is nothing in it, which could strike one as being unnatural.

The other capital from Rampurva, though smaller in size and not so well preserved, is the bull capital. It represents a bull statant in the attitude of life. Though immersion in sub-soil water, for centuries, has destroyed all the wonderful polish for which the sculptures of this period are so well known, this specimen is one of the best representations of the bull in India. Figures or images of bulls are very common in medieval Indian sculpture in all the different schools of India, with the exception of the Gandhāra; because the bull is the vehicle of Śiva and an image of it whether statant or couchant must necessarily be present in a temple of that deity. It will be difficult to find throughout India the figure of a bull, so vigorous in outline and at the same time so faithful to nature as that discovered at Rampurva. Attention may also be drawn to the magnificent capital of the inscribed pillar discovered at Sarnath in 1905. This specimen, though found outside the eastern provinces proper, as has been already stated, is really a specimen of Magadhan Art.² The preservation of its wonderful polish is due to its having been buried for centuries in drier soil.

It has now been generally recognised that this wonderful polish is one of the principal characteristics of all sculptures of the Mauryan period. In well preserved specimens this polish is so very fine that it reflects the image of the spectator and in some cases has deceived some antiquarians into a belief that the Mauryan sculptors coated the surface of stone with a preparation of molten glass or something allied to it, which, in Sanskrit, would be represented by the term *vajralepa* (adamantine plaster). Not only do we see this polish on pillars, capitals and images or statues; but we find it also on the walls of the cave-temples, which were excavated during the reign of the Mauryan Emperors. All the caves on the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills have their walls so well

¹ *Ann. Rep. Archl. Survey of India, 1907-08, pp. 181-88, pl. LXV-LXVIII.*

² It has been demonstrated recently that the Magadhan art of the Mauryan period is an exotic art, and that the sculptors of Aśoka were really trained by Iranian artists. *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 620-23.*

polished, that at first sight they look like walls of plate glass and reflect light so very effectively that at the proper moment, there is little necessity of having a torch or other artificial light to guide the footsteps of visitors. Some of these caves are unfinished and the unfinished portions of their walls prove that this polish was produced by the simple processes of grinding and rubbing without the application of any kind of chemicals or other substances.

The same polish has also been observed on some of the rocks, on which the Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been inscribed. In each and every case, where this great Emperor caused his edicts to be engraved on the living rock, the mason fashioned out a sunken panel of the requisite size, inside which the edict was incised. Before the actual incision of the letters this panel was very highly polished and in some cases, where the rock surface has been under shelter, it has preserved its polish quite intact, rendering the preparation of impressions a somewhat difficult task. Such is the case with the rock Edict at Jaugada and with parts of the Dhauī Edict. The best specimen of early Mauryan art is the Dedarganj image, now in the Patna Museum. In naturalism, symmetry and expression, this specimen is much better than any other image or statue discovered anywhere in India.¹

The degeneration of sculpture and art in general in Eastern India during the two centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ, is undoubted. During this period the growing scarcity of specimens shows the general decline in plastic art, side by side with want of patronage due to the general decline of the Magadhan Empire and the degeneration of the people of Magadha. The causes of this degeneration are not difficult to find. The troubles following the decline of the Mauryan power, the inroads of the Greeks and the Scythians, contributed very largely to the degeneration of art in the Eastern countries. The successors of Aśoka found it difficult to keep intact the fabric of the great Empire built up by the earlier emperors of the dynasty. The chief characteristics of the post-Mauryan art are the continuance of the principal *motifs* borrowed from old Persian art and the gradual disappearance of that wonderful polish, which differentiates the art of the early Maurya from that of later periods.

The best examples of the art products of the post-Mauryan period are the great stone railing around the temple at Bodh Gaya and the series of early Cave Temples at Khandagiri and Udaygiri in the Puri District of Orissa. An earlier generation of antiquarians was inclined to assign the railing around the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodh Gaya to the Maurya period, but the late Dr. Theodore Bloch found this view to be incorrect from engraved inscriptions on a portion of the railing, which he discovered in the Brahmanical Monastery at Bodh Gaya.² To judge from the inscriptions incised on them, the caves in the Khandagiri and Udaygiri Hills, near Bhuvaneśvara, may be divided into two distinct groups carved at two different periods. The first group belongs to the post-

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, pp. 107-113, with two plates.*

² This portion of the railing has now been replaced around the great temple at Bodh Gaya. Cf. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Part II, 1908-09, pp. 139-58.*

Mauryan period and was excavated sometime earlier or later than the great inscription of King Khāravēla, on the roof of the Hathīgumpha. There is a good deal of controversy about the date of this inscription. While scholars like Prof. Lüders¹ and the late Dr. Fleet² have declared that there is no date in this inscription, certain other scholars think that it does contain a date which is the year 164 of the Mauryan Era. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal at first agreed with the latter view,³ but later on gave another interpretation to the passage in dispute.⁴ There is no doubt about the fact, however, that the inscription of Khāravēla is later than the inscriptions of Aśoka and earlier than the group of the early Kushan inscriptions, which Bühler calls 'inscriptions in the Kshatrapa characters'.⁵ The earlier group of the caves at Khaṇḍagiri and Udaygiri are the latest examples in India of the influence of early Persian art on Indian sculpture. In this group the best examples are the Queen's Cave, called locally *Rāṇī Nūr* or *Rāṇī Navara Gumphā*, which is one of the biggest cave temples in India and the Ananta Cave. The former was, perhaps, the residence of the Jaina ascetics referred to in the closing lines of Khāravēla's inscription. It consisted of three wings, one in the centre and one on either side. It is two-storied and on both storeys, the doors and windows are flanked by slender columns with Persepolitan capitals adorned with lions, elephants, bulls as well as other mythical winged creatures. Their execution is very feeble in comparison with that of the lions, etc., carved on Aśoka's capitals.⁶ None of these caves bear any signs of having borne any polish like the caves on the Barābar and Nāgārjuni Hills. Both storeys of the main wing of the Queen's Cave bear series of bas-reliefs which probably represent scenes from the lives of the Jaina Hierarchs, called Tīrthamkaras, and belong to the same period as the four main gateways of the Great *Stūpa* at Sanchi. The posture of all men and animals in them betrays distinct signs of becoming more and more formal. There is a gap of an entire millennium between the dates of this earlier group of caves at Khaṇḍagiri and the later one, which was excavated sometime in the 9th or 10th century A. D.

Before the post-Mauryan school of sculpture came to an end in India, a new school of sculpture arose in Afghanistan and the Western Punjab, which directly or indirectly influenced all classes and schools of sculpture of later date, throughout India. Though this art had no direct contact with the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture, its influence on the evolution of images or bas-reliefs, representing particular incidents of the life of the Buddha, was undoubtedly very great and a few words about it would not be out of place here. This new school of sculpture known as the Indo-Greek or Gandhāra School came into being in the last two centuries before the birth of Christ

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, App. p. 160, No. 1335.

² *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1919, pp. 242-44.

³ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. III, pp. 425-72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 364-404.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 175.

⁶ Sir John Marshall distinguishes two different styles of carving in the upper and the lower storeys of the Rāṇī Nūr Cave—*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 640-41.

and has left numerous specimens of its production scattered over the North-western districts of India. Its influence was so very great that it has left an indelible impress on the plastic art even of that desert country between Afghanistan and China, once thickly populated as well as irrigated, which was included within the zone of influence of Indian civilisation at that date. The productions of this school of sculpture are mainly Buddhist and portray scenes from the life of the Buddha or the Jātakas. The *motifs* and styles of its artists continued to guide the later sculptors during the twelve or thirteen centuries after its disappearance, *i.e.*, up to the period of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India and the consequent cessation of all artistic activity. The date of the most flourishing period of this school depends upon the date of Kānishka. The late Dr. V. A. Smith wrote "whenever the date of Kānishka, the celebrated king of Gandhāra, shall be determined, that of the best period of the Hellenistic sculpture will also be known. Many of them undoubtedly are contemporary with him, though some are earlier and others later. Without going into complicated antiquarian discussions, it may suffice to say here that none of the sculptures are later than 600 A. D., few, if any, later than 400 A. D. and that in all probability extremely few are earlier than the Christian Era."¹ This date of the Gandhāra School has not been universally accepted. The Peshawar relic casket, inside which some bones of the Buddha were found, proves definitely that the great Northern School of Gandhāra had certainly declined in Kānishka's time. The *stūpa* at Peshawar was not erected by a private person but the great Scythian Emperor himself, and an Indian Greek was in charge of the work.² The principal characteristics of the Gandhāra sculptures are:—

- (1) They are entirely Buddhist. "Without exception all the sculptures come from Buddhist sites and were executed in the service of the Buddhist religion Moreover, the subjects treated are not only Buddhist, but purely Indian But however Greek may be the form, the personages and incidents are all Indian, and centre round the person of Buddha, whose image dominates the compositions."³
- (2) The creation of the image of Buddha. "Herein lies the most obvious, and at the same time, perhaps, the most important difference between the ancient schools of interior India, at Sānchī, Bharhut or Bodh Gayā, and the school of Gandhāra, with the cognate branches at Mathurā and Amarāvati, etc. . . . The early schools of Indian art, as we have seen, were content to indicate his supposed

¹ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 99.

² *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1908-09*, pls. XII-XIII.

³ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 99. Later discoveries have proved that purely Greek subjects were also executed by the Indo-Greek artists of Gandhāra, *e.g.*, the image of Harpocrates and the silver plaque representing Dionysus discovered at Taxila—*A Guide to Taxila*, pls. I and XV. Similar figures are found from time to time in the North-Western districts of India. A golden image of this period is in the Indian Museum, *cf. Journ. and Proc. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. VIII, 1912, pp. 283-86, pl. VII.

presence by mere symbols, and did not presume to imagine his bodily likeness."¹

- (3) The introduction of a new style in basrelief representing a large number of incidents from the life of Gautama Buddha. The Gandhāra artists not only represented the principal scenes from the life of the Master, *i.e.*, the birth, the enlightenment, the first sermon and the death, but also those of his previous births. This school of sculpture has been very minutely studied and largely illustrated. The standard authorities on Indian Buddhist iconography and more specially on the Gandhāra School of sculpture are the works of M. A. Foucher, whose well-known work on the subject "*L'Art Græco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*,"² is the latest pronouncement on the subject. This work contains the illustrations and identification of almost all the scenes from the master's life or *Jātakas*, which have as yet been discovered.

Specimens of the Gandhāra School of Art have been discovered for the most part in Afghanistan and Western Punjab. Very few of them have been found in the Eastern Punjab, while stray specimens have been discovered so far east as Mathurā. The Gandhāra School does not seem to have directly influenced the other schools of sculpture of India proper, which Dr. Smith called the schools of Interior India; though it did make its influence felt through another great school of Indian sculpture, the Mathurā School, which came into direct contact with Benares and Anarāvati.

The existence of an earlier school of Indian sculpture at Mathurā has been definitely proved by the discovery of a large number of sculptures and basreliefs in which the majority of the human figures wear a peculiar head dress which has become so familiar to us from the basreliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi.³ In addition to the specimens of the Mathurā School published by Dr. V. A. Smith,⁴ a large number were found by the author in the Lucknow Provincial Museum in 1908. The exact period at which this older school of sculpture of Mathurā underwent a modification, on account of the influence of the Gandhāra School, can also be definitely determined with the aid of inscribed sculptures. The great red sandstone Bodhisattva of Sārnāth was dedicated in the third year of the reign of Kāṣhka⁵ and the Bodhisattva discovered by Cunningham at Sahet Mahet⁶ in the Gonda District, which was dedicated by the same persons and made from the same material and in which the first line of the inscription containing the date is broken, were carved by artists of the older and earlier school of Indian sculpture of Mathurā. The same donors, the monks Bala and Pushyavuddhi, dedicated another image at Mathurā in the year 33, during

¹ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 99.

² Published in three parts, Paris.

³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 632-33.

⁴ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pls. XXXII and XXXIII.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 176-79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-81; pl. 22.

the reign of Huvishka, in which the influence of the Gāndhāra School on the Mathurā School of Sculpture can be clearly discerned. Besides this, the occurrence of the acanthus leaf ornament in the dated Jain images discovered at Mathurā, and belonging to the first half of the first century of the Kushān Era or the Era of Kāṇishka, proves definitely that the influence of the Northern School of Gāndhāra had permeated into the Mathurā School at that period, *viz.*, during the last quarter of the first or the first decades of the second century A. D.

Different theories were at one time prevalent about the date of the Kushān Era, *viz.*, the era used in the inscriptions of Kāṇishka and his successors. These are :—

- (1) Prof. Oldenberg's old theory that the Kushān Era began with the accession of Kāṇishka in 78 A. D.
- (2) Dr. Fleet's theory that the Kushān Era began with the accession of Kāṇishka in 57 B. C.¹
- (3) The theory of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that Kāṇishka came to the throne in 278 A. D., propounded in 1896,² but which has since found only a solitary supporter in Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

The first theory identifies the Kushān Era with the Śaka Era, while the second identifies it with the Vikrama Era. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar tried to establish the theory that the Kushān Era is the Śaka Era with two centuries omitted.

Some of the most important features of the Mathurā School of Sculpture are borrowed from the Gandhāra School as for example, the representation of the scenes of the life of the Buddha. As would be expected, the bas-reliefs of this class so far discovered at Mathurā are less numerous and less vigorous in execution than those from Gandhāra itself. The following events of the life of Buddha have so far been recognized at Mathurā :—(1) Birth, (2) Illumination, (3) First sermon, (4) Death, (5) Visit of Indra to Buddha, (6) Buddha thinking of leaving his home, (7) Buddha leaving his home, (8) The first bath, (9) Descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three gods, (10) The gift of the Jetavana, (11) the Taming of the mad elephant, (12) The presentation of alms bowls, and (13) the change of garments. The Mathurā sculptures also include representations of many of the Jātakas.

The principal characteristics of this school of sculpture have already been dealt with by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who analysed the subject historically and scientifically for the first time.³ Sculptures carved by the artists of Mathurā have been found over a very large area, that is to say, as far south as Sanchi, in the Bhopal State; at Patna and Rajgir in Bihar, in the east; and Sahet-Mahet in the United Provinces, in the north. By far the largest number

¹ Dr. Fleet's incomprehensible ideas about the initial year of the Kushān Era are scattered in a number of papers written between 1903 and the date of his death in 1920 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

² *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, p. 297.

³ *Ann. Rep. of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07*, pp. 136-60; and *1909-10*, pp. 63-79.

of sculptures of this school have been found at Mathurā itself and the majority of them are Jain, Buddhist sculptures being less numerous.

Very few specimens of the Mathurā style of sculpture have been found in the North-Eastern districts of India. The oldest example is no doubt the top slab of the diamond-throne (*Vajrasana*) under the Bodhi Tree at Bodhi Gaya which, judging from a mutilated inscription on it, belongs to the first or second century A. D.¹ Two other specimens were found at Rajgir in the Patna District during the excavations of 1905-06. One of these is the pedestal of an image of the 1st century A. D.² and the other a fragment from the back slab of a large image with a small basrelief representing Buddha seated in a rocky cave. Below this basrelief there is a small inscription which reads in Kushān characters "*Sākyamuni*."³ The material of both specimens is that variety of spotted red sandstone, often called Agra or Karri red-sandstone, in which the majority of the Mathurā sculptures have been carved. Another, a torso of a Bodhisattva of the same material and undoubtedly belonging to the same school, appears to have been found at Bodhi Gaya in the latter part of the 19th century. It was purchased from the heirs of the late Mr. J. D. M. Beglar for the Indian Museum. The excavations of Pātaliputra have also yielded some Mathurā sculptures the most noteworthy of which is a fine torso of a Bodhisattva.⁴

The long series of excavations carried out by the Archaeological Survey at Sarnath, near Benares, have established definitely the existence of a separate school of sculpture at Benares during the reign of the early Gupta Emperors in Northern India. The majority of the sculptures discovered at Sarnath are Buddhist and supply ample materials for an exhaustive study. It would be out of place here to discuss all the principal features of this school and it will suffice to notice only such of them, as have a definite bearing on the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture. One of these is the transformation of basreliefs representing scenes from the life of Buddha. The other important characteristic is a thorough assimilation of the Indo-Greek characteristics of basreliefs as we find them in the Gāndhāra School and their reproduction in a new form of images. For while the Mathurā Sculptures present a mere repetition of Greek motifs and ideas and a stereotyped form of execution we find in the Benares sculptures a complete transformation of those elements into something new which is essentially Indian in character. This new class of Indian basreliefs is at the same time totally different from the older basreliefs of Sanchi and Bharhut.

There was also a school of sculpture at Mathurā, during the period of domination of Northern India by the emperors of the early Gupta dynasty, but it did not evince any signs of rejuvenation. The sculptures of this period are merely degenerate imitations of the earlier productions of the Kushān period and continue to decrease in number until the close of the early Gupta period,

¹ Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*, pls. XII and XIII.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1905-06*, pp. 105-06.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1913-14*, p. 74.

when the Mathurā School may be supposed to have come to a sudden termination. It is therefore unnecessary to discuss the sculptures of the later or early Gupta period of the Mathurā School in this connection.

Excavations have been so fruitful at Sarnath that it is quite possible to trace a history of its sculptural art from the Mauryan period up to the 10th century A. D. Specimens excavated prove that the earlier sculptures of Sarnath belong to the same class as the earlier sculptures of Eastern India and that the Sarnath style suffered the same degeneration as befell the plastic art of the latter region on the decline of the Maurya Empire. During the period which followed the Mathurā School of Sculpture succeeded in imposing its sway, at least partly, on Benares as is amply proved by the discovery of several sculptures, specially images, carved in the red or yellowish sandstone, the favourite material of the Mathurā sculptors, which were brought and set up at Benares, *i.e.*, at Sarnath. This is not all. The researches of the Archaeological Department have provided incontestable epigraphical proof of images having been carved at Mathurā and exported to other distant places for dedication. A Bodhisattva image of the Kushān period unearthed at Śrāvastī¹ bears an inscription stating that the image was carved by a sculptor of Mathurā named Śivamitra and installed at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī.

More important specimens of the Benares School belong to the early Gupta period, *i.e.*, to the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. It inherits, along with other specimens of early Gupta carving, that peculiarity, *viz.*, the representation of scenes from Hindu classical literature in basreliefs, in a manner similar to the *Buddha-charītras* or the *Jātakas* in sculptures of Buddhist origin. Sarnath, however, being a Buddhist stronghold, Hindu sculptures and basreliefs are in a minority. The most important specimens of this school are Buddhist and they fall into two main divisions: (I) Images, (II) Basreliefs.

The first division includes images of Bodhisattvas, Buddhas, Dhyāni-Buddhas and other minor deities. Among these Buddhist images we come across, for the first time, images of a new class. These are single images which partake of the characteristics of a basrelief. They are images of the Master, but at the same time, they represent particular incidents in the life of the Master. In the older schools we are familiar with such incidents in regular basreliefs, while there are also images of the Buddha or of the various Bodhisattvas. So far as our knowledge goes, no image has been discovered in India, belonging to the earlier schools, which represents a particular incident in the life of Buddha. These images are really a transformation of the basreliefs. In the Gāndhāra and Mathurā Schools there is a tendency to represent Buddha as being larger in size comparatively than other human or divine beings. This tendency is also noticeable in some basreliefs of the Benares School. In the latter, this particular tendency transforms the main figure into an image and makes the specimen lose the general characteristics of a basrelief. The adjuncts

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1908-09, pp. 133-38.*

necessary to represent a particular incident of the Master's life are then depicted either on the pedestal or the backslab of the image. The introduction of this new class of images is, therefore, one of the peculiar characteristics of the Gupta sculpture. Two examples of images of this sort may be cited. One is a large image found by Mr. Oertel in 1904-05, representing the illumination of Buddha. The Master is seated in the posture of touching the earth (*bhūmisparśa* or *sākshi-mudrā*) while the Earth-spirit, invoked by him as a witness, rushes up from the earth in front of the adamant throne, on which the Bodhisattva is seated.¹ In this particular image, we have an image of Buddha in a particular *mudrā*, but along with the image we have certain other details denoting the particular event of the illumination of the Bodhisattva, which are depicted in regular *bassi relievi* of the older schools of sculpture. Another image of this particular type was discovered at the same spot. This represents the incident of the first turning of the wheel of Law (*dharmachakrapravartana*) or "the first sermon at Benares." Here we find the Master seated, with his legs crossed, and his hands in that conventional posture, to which later Buddhism has given the name of *dharmachakra-mudrā*. In front of the pedestal there is a small basrelief representing a wheel, standing on a solid cube in the centre, with the *Bhadra-Vargīya* five and two lay devotees.² Such images are more common in the later schools and specially in the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture.

The more important basreliefs discovered at Benares have been found in the form of stelæ. Some stelæ were discovered by earlier excavators, such as Major Kittoe and Sir Alexander Cunningham, but the majority of them were discovered during the recent excavations begun by Sir John Marshall and continued by other officers up to the present day. The finds of the older excavations were partly transferred to the Indian Museum at Calcutta and were partly kept in the Library of the Queen's College at Benares, whence they were taken to the Lucknow Museum. They were then retransferred to the Museum at Sarnath. The small collection of Sarnath sculptures in the Calcutta Museum is, however, a representative one. It contains images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, other minor deities and a number of basreliefs; some of which still form the best specimens discovered in Sarnath. Among the stelæ in this collection the most important ones are Nos. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, and S. 4. Of these, S. 1 is the largest and by far the most important one.³ Unfortunately its upper part was broken off before its discovery and does not seem to have been recovered afterwards. The lower part of a rectangular slab of stone was covered with a single panel and the upper part, which is more than three quarters of the entire area, was divided into two vertical rows of rectangular panels, each containing a basrelief. Out of the latter only four panels over the bigger one are still intact. The basrelief in the lower part is a very important one for the history of Indian plastic art. Here we find a number of

¹ *Ibid.*, 1904-05, pl. XXVIII a.

² *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 170, pl. XXXVIII.

³ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological collections in the Indian Museum, Part II*, pp. 4-7.

scenes from the life of Buddha, which have been found among basreliefs of the Gāndhāra School only and very rarely in the older Indian Schools. This single panel represents five different incidents of the Master's life :—(1) Buddha's mother, Māyā, dreaming that a white elephant is entering her womb. The subject is common in the Gāndhāra School.¹ Among products of the earlier Indian Schools, this scene is to be found on the railing of the *stūpa* of Bharhut.² In later schools this subject has been portrayed on the railing of the Amarāvati *Stūpa*.³ The representation of the birth of Buddha is common in products of all schools but Māyā's dream has been represented very rarely. (2) The birth of Buddha, which, being one of the principal incidents of the Master's life, is common to all schools with variations of details. (3) The bath of the Bodhisattva, representing the new born Bodhisattva standing on a low seat by the side of his mother. This subject is to be found in the Gāndhāra and Mathurā Schools only and does not seem to have been represented by the artists of any other school.⁴ (4) The presentation of the alms-bowl (?)⁵ and (5) the *Mahābhīnīshkramaṇa* or Buddha leaving his home on horseback, which is to be found in all earlier schools.⁶ In the Mathurā school, the representation of this scene has been found on a solitary specimen which is the pillar dedicated by Vādhapāla Dhanabhūti and which was so long supposed to have been preserved at the Aligarh Institute.⁷ In reality it belonged to Cunningham's personal collection and he presented it to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the day after his retirement from the Archaeological Department.

The four compartments above this chamber contain :—(a) the illumination at Mahābodhi, (b) the first sermon at Benares, (c) the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods and (d) the miracle of Śrāvastī.⁸ No other stele discovered at Sarnath represents so many scenes of the life of the Master. S. 2⁹ represents, what M. Foucher calls the four principal incidents from the life of Buddha : (1) the birth, (2) the illumination, (3) the first sermon and (4) the death. S. 3 seems to have formed part of a long series of basreliefs perhaps doing duty as a door jamb or the side of a niche¹⁰ as we find in the Gandhāra School.¹¹

Specimens of sculpture of the early Gupta period have not been found in large numbers in the Eastern provinces. We find that in Bengal proper the specimens of sculpture belonging to the early Gupta period are very few in number. The splendid basreliefs from Chandimau in the Patna District, originally found at Rajaona in the Munger District,¹² which most probably came from

¹ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, p. 295, fig. 149, and p. 313, fig. 160.

² Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXVIII.

³ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook*, Part I, p. 196.

⁴ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 309, fig. 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 417; fig. 210.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 387, fig. 182.

⁷ Lüders, *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, Appendix, p. 22, No. 125.

⁸ Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook*, Part II, pp. 4-5; *Journal Asiatique*, *Dixième Série*, Tom. XIII, 1909, pp. 1-77.

⁹ Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook*, Part II, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 189, fig. 74.

¹² Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III, pp. 154-55; pl. XLV.

a Śaiva temple, and represent scenes from the *Kirātārjunīyam*, may be cited as some of the best examples of this period.¹ The standing Buddha image of copper found by the engineers of the East Indian Railway near Sultanganj Station in the Bhagalpur District² of Bihar and Orissa forms another example of early Gupta art. Some of the best images discovered in Eastern India have been found at Bodh Gaya or Mahābodhi in the Gaya District and during the excavations at Nālandā in the Patna District. At Bodh Gaya many of them are worshipped inside the great Śaiva monastery, which contains the most important images in this holy place of Buddhism. In Bengal images of the Gupta period have been occasionally discovered. A splendid image of Buddha was discovered at Biharoil in the Rajshahi District. This image is remarkably identical in type with the Buddha images discovered at Sarnath and the material is also Chunar Sandstone. Had the findspot not been correctly noted, one may have supposed easily that this specimen was found at Sarnath instead of Rajshahi. The second specimen is a copper image of Vishṇu discovered at Kumārpur in the Rajshahi District. Both of them are now preserved in the Varendra Research Society's Museum, Rajshahi.³

¹ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, 1911-12*, pp. 162-66, pls. LXXIII-LXXV.

² V. A. Smith. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 171, fig. 118.

³ Pl. XIX a.

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE AND EVOLUTION OF THE EASTERN SCHOOL OF MEDIÆVAL SCULPTURE.

A prolonged examination of the mediæval sculptures found in the North-Eastern provinces of India leads one to the conclusion that a new school of sculpture rose in these provinces in the later part of the mediæval period (800—1200 A. D.). Further investigations prove that the date of the rise of this school synchronized with the formation of a new empire in the eastern half of Northern India by Dharmapāla, the second independent monarch of the Gauda country. Fortunately for us, the majority of images and in many cases architectural specimens also, which have been discovered in these provinces, can be dated with much greater exactitude than sculptures of any other province or school in India. In the case of the majority of these sculptures found in the eastern provinces of India we do not find their dates engraved upon them; but in almost every case, there is either a short votive record or a religious formula inscribed on it. The forms of the characters of these inscriptions enable us to determine, with much greater precision, the date of the sculptures on which they are inscribed, in comparison with sculptures from other provinces, where such data are absent in the majority of cases.

A detailed examination of these short inscriptions on such specimens, discovered in these eastern provinces, points to the following conclusions:—

- (1) That the rise of the Pāla Empire in Bengal and Bihar gave a great impetus to art in these provinces, which caused great improvement in the plastic art of this country and finally led to the formation of a new school of sculpture in the provinces constituting the first empire of the Pālas.¹ The rise of this school must have taken place soon after the formation of the first empire of the Pālas, *viz.*, in the 9th century A. D.
- (2) The decline of the political power of the Pālas, on account of the rise of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire in Central and Northern India, had a corresponding effect on the art-products of the eastern provinces of Northern India.
- (3) The revival of the power of the Pālas, under Mahipāla I, led to the revival of artistic activity in Bengal and Bihar. The final decline of Pāla power in the last quarter of the 11th century led to a general decline of artistic activity in the eastern provinces.
- (4) A temporary increase in civil power under the Senas in these two provinces had practically little or no effect on their artistic activities.

¹ See *Pālas of Bengal, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, pp. 43-113.*

These conclusions were reached after a detailed examination of such specimens as are available in the museums and other public institutions of this country and those that have been carried away and are now preserved in the museums of Europe. The principal collections of specimens of this school are in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta, better known as the Indian Museum, and the museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in Bengal. The collection of sculptures in the Indian Museum consists of stray specimens from different parts of Bengal and Bihar, as well as the magnificent collection of the Bihar Museum, started by the late Mr. A. M. Broadley, I.C.S., which was transferred to Calcutta from Bihar in the Patna District in 1898. Many of these sculptures have since been given away as duplicates to several other institutions by the authorities of the Indian Museum and in this way the museum of the Varendra Research Society has received many important and unique specimens discovered in Bihar. The Calcutta collection was classified and arranged by the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, Ph.D. in 1896 when he was appointed First Assistant to the Superintendent of the Indian Museum. Dr. John Anderson, the first Superintendent of the Indian Museum, had catalogued the archaeological collection of the Indian Museum, as it existed in 1882, in two volumes.¹ Later additions, specially the magnificent collection of Bihar were catalogued by Prof. Nilmoni Chakravarti, M.A., of the Presidency College in 1907 and revised by Bloch in 1909.²

Up to 1917 the collection in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi consisted entirely of sculptures collected in Bengal proper and mainly in Northern Bengal. This collection has been catalogued by Prof. Radha Govinda Basak, M.A., Honorary Secretary, Varendra Research Society and Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A., Honorary Librarian of the same Society.³ Other collections of specimens of this particular school are not so important. In India we have the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, which contains a number of fine sculptures. No systematic effort has been made by this Society for the collection of specimens and their museum consists entirely of specimens presented by individual members. A small list of its contents was published by me in 1912.⁴ Since then a larger catalogue has been published by one of the Honorary Curators, the late Mr. Monmohan Ganguly, B.E.⁵ The Museum at Patna, which has been recently started contains a number of specimens discovered in the province of Bihar and Orissa, but no catalogue or list of the contents of this museum has been published as yet. Outside Bihar and Bihar proper, the provincial Museum at Lucknow contains some specimens of this school. The images collected by Major Kittoe, which were for a long time kept in the Queen's College at Benares, were transferred to this Museum in 1904. Outside India, the only museums, which are known

¹ *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Part I, 1882, Part II, 1883.*

² *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1917.*

³ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1919.*

⁴ *A Descriptive List of Sculptures and Coins in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1912.*

⁵ *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1922.*

to possess specimens of this school, are the British Museum in London and the Victoria and Albert Museum. The late Dr. V. A. Smith had collected all published references to specimens of this particular class of sculpture in his book on "the History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon".¹ The earlier volumes of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* also contain a number of woodcuts illustrating certain specimens of this school, many of which were at the same time added to the Museum of this Society, which was transferred to the Indian Museum in 1876-77. A number of fine illustrations of specimens of this school of sculpture have appeared in M. A. Foucher's admirable work on *Indian Buddhist Iconography*.²

The existence of a school of sculpture can only be proved by fulfilling certain conditions, the most important of which are sufficiently long duration and extensiveness. It can be proved from inscribed sculptures, that this new school of sculpture, which rose in the Eastern provinces of India in the 9th century A. D., lasted as a school of sculpture till about the end of the 12th century A. D., when the irruption of Muhammadans into the fertile plains of Bihar and Bengal destroyed the ancient culture of these two provinces. The extension of the school can be proved by the discovery of specimens, which undoubtedly belong to it, in places outside the provinces; just as sculptures of the Mathurā School have been found as far east as Rajgir and Patna and as far south as Sanchi; for example, specimens of this school have been found in fairly large numbers in Benares³ and stray specimens have been traced as far west as Sahet Mahet⁴ (Śrāvastī). The influence of this school is so clearly to be felt in sculptures discovered in the eastern districts of the United Provinces that there seems to be no doubt about the fact that these districts were once included within the zone of influence of the Eastern School. This zone of influence seems to have extended westwards, from the ancient province of Tirabhuktī, modern Tirhut, along the northern bank of the Ganges, because Benares appears to have stood outside the zone of its influence. Mediaeval sculptures found in Benares do not indicate any influence of this school of sculpture, though stray specimens of the eastern school have been found in this place in large numbers. The proper zone of influence of the eastern school, therefore, seems to have lain north of the Gogra as Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni discovered sculptures in Gorakhpur, Gonda and Basti Districts in 1906, all of which are undoubtedly specimens of this particular school of sculpture.⁵

While extension can be judged by the number of specimens found in any particular district, the date of the products of any particular school can only be judged from two different bases:—(a) inscriptions and (b) other criteria established by means of extraneous corroborative evidence. Up to the present time, no other school of sculpture in India, except the Mathurā School, can

¹ Pp. 183-89.

² *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, première partie, 1900, deuxième partie, 1905.*

³ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, 1903-04, pp. 212-26.*

⁴ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1889, Part I, Extra Number.*

⁵ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07, pp. 193-207, pl. LXXIV.*

claim to have produced even a fair number of specimens, which are dated. In other schools, for example, the northern School of Gāndhāra, the date of sculptures has been judged on the basis of their proximity to pure Hellenic sculpture. In other schools, so far as present knowledge goes, no attempt seems to have been made to judge the dates of individual specimens. In the Eastern School of Bengal and Bihār about seventy per cent. of the known specimens bear inscriptions of some sort, which are a sure guide for the indication of their approximate date. These inscriptions fall into three different classes :—

I. The first class is more important for the determination of the date of the school as a whole, as it consists entirely of votive inscriptions, mentioning the name of the reigning monarch, the year of his reign and the name of the donor or donors. The following specimens found in North India belong to this class :—

- (1) Image of Śarvāṇī, a form of Durgā, dedicated during the reign of a King named Devakhaḍga of Eastern Bengal, discovered by Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., Curator of the Dacca Museum (Pl. I, c).
- (2) Sculpture bearing the images of Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu, with a votive inscription on one side, which records the erection of a four-faced Mahādeva and the excavation of a tank in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmmapāla.¹ This sculpture is now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. (Pl. I, a).
- (3) A metal image of a Nāga dedicated in the reign of Devapāla, discovered at Nālandā.² (Pl. I, b).
- (4) A stone image of Tārā dedicated at Nālandā in the 35th year of the reign of Devapāla,³ discovered at Hilsa in the Patna District. (Pl. II, b).
- (5) An image of Buddha, erect, in the attitude of giving protection, discovered at Bihār in the Patna District of Bihār and Orissa, dedicated in the second year of the reign of Śūrapāla.⁴ (Pl. II, a).
- (6) A similar image dedicated in the same year of the same monarch's reign, at the same place and by the same donor. The inscriptions, by the way, mention that the images were dedicated at Uddandapura which is the same as Odantapura of Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, and modern Bihār town.⁵ (Pl. II, c).
- (7) Large inscribed slab now in the courtyard of the great temple of Viṣṇupada, at Gaya, bearing the foot-print of Viṣṇu on the top. The inscription on it records the erection of a temple

¹ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part II*, pp. 48-49, B.G. 82; *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, p. 102. See also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIX, 1920, p. 193.

² *Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey, Central Circle, 1920-21*, p. 39.

³ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, pp. 31-36.

⁴ *Jour. and Proc. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. IV, p. 105, pl. VII.

⁵ *Ibid.*; T. Bloch—*Sup. Cat. of the Arch. Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 52; No. 3764.

- (*matha*) at Gaya in the seventh year of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla.¹
- (8) A metal image of Pārvatī with Kārttīkeya (?), dedicated in the 54th year of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla at Uddandapura, *i.e.*, modern Bihar, now in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad.² (Pl. III, *a* and *b*).
- (9) An image of Buddha discovered in Bihar and dedicated in the fourth year of the reign of the Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāla, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.³ (Pl. III, *c*).
- (10) A slab bearing representations of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, now built into the wall of a small shrine at Rāmgaya, on the opposite bank of the river Phalgu, near Gaya: which was dedicated in the 8th year of the Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāla.⁴
- (11) An image of Buddha now placed in a modern shrine at Guneriya in the Gaya District of Bihar and Orissa. The inscription records its dedication in the ninth year of the reign of the Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāla.⁵ (Pl. III, *d*).
- (12) An image of a female deity, discovered at Itkhauri, in the Hazaribagh District of Bihar and Orissa, dedicated in the 8th year of the reign of the Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāla.⁶ (Pl. IV, *b*).
- (13) An inscribed pillar in the Jain temple at Bargaon, ancient Nālandā, in the Patna District of Bihar and Orissa, which records the visit of a merchant to this place in the 24th year of the reign of Rājyapāla.⁷
- (14) Pedestal of an image found at Bodh Gaya recording its dedication during the reign of Gopāla II.⁸ (Pl. IV, *c*).
- (15) Image of the goddess Vāgīśvari, dedicated at Nālandā, in the first year of the reign of Gopāla II; found at Nālandā by Cunningham and removed by Broadley to the Bihar Museum, whence it was transferred to Calcutta in 1898.⁹ (Pl. IV, *a*).
- (16) Image of Vishṇu discovered at Baghaura, in the Comilla District of Bengal, dedicated in the 4th year of Mahīpāla I.¹⁰ (Pl. IV, *d*).
- (17) Image of Buddha, now worshipped as one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and placed inside a small modern shrine, in front of the great temple of Mahābodhi at Bodh Gaya in the Gaya Dis-

¹ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 60-61.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 110.

³ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1923-24*, p. 193, pl. XXXVI (b).

⁴ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Annuaire & part of the Patna Museum for 1920-21*, p. 44.

⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 110.

⁸ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, p. 105, Pl. VII. Anderson, *Cat. and Handbook*, Part II, pp. 54-55, B.G. 120.

⁹ *J. & P. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. IV*, p. 105, No. 3947; *Suppl. Cat. of Archl. Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰ *J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. XI*, p. 17, pl. X.

trict of Bihar and Orissa. This image was dedicated in the 11th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I.¹

- (18) Doorjamb of the great temple at Nālandā, which was restored after a fire in the 11th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (No. 3959).² (Pl. VI, a).
- (19) Image of Buddha, discovered at Bihar in the Patna District, but now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was dedicated in the 13th year of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III.³ (Pl. V, a).
- (20) Image of Tārā discovered at Tetrāwān in the Patna District and dedicated in the 2nd year of Rāmapāla, but now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 3824).⁴ (Pl. V, c).
- (21) Image of the Bodhisattva Lokanātha found at Chandiman, near Gīriyek in the Patna District, and dedicated in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. N. S. 76).⁵ (Pl. V, b).
- (22) Image of Pārvatī, dedicated in the 3rd year of reign of Madanapāla, preserved in the Patna Museum.⁶ (Pl. VI, b).
- (23) Pedestal of an image dedicated in the 14th year of Madanapāla found at Jaynagar in the Monghyr District of Bihar and Orissa.⁷
- (24) Image of Pārvatī dedicated in V. S. 1232 = the 14th year of the reign of Govindapāla, at Gaya, in the compound of the Vishṇupada temple. (Pl. VI, c).
- (25) Image of the goddess Chaṇḍī now in a small temple on a masonry *ghāt* of the Buriganga river, called Patharghat near Dalbazar, in Dacca, the ancient capital of Eastern Bengal. This image was dedicated in the 3rd year of Lakshmanasena, the fourth king of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal.⁸ (Pl. VI, d).

II. The second class of inscriptions consists almost entirely of votive inscriptions mentioning the name of the donor and in many cases the place of his habitation also, but omitting that of the reigning sovereign and the date.

III. The third class of inscriptions consists entirely of religious formulæ; usually the Buddhist creed *Ye dhammā hetuprabhavā*, etc., is to be found on the majority of Buddhist images. Images with ordinary votive inscriptions which do not contain the name of the reigning sovereign and the date as well as those inscribed with religious formulæ, form the majority of the specimens of the Eastern School discovered up to date. Among these inscribed specimens, those from Bihar preponderate. Of the specimens from Bengal proper only about ten per cent are inscribed.

¹ *Memoirs, A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 75.*

² *J. & P. A. S. B., Vol. IV, p. 105, pl. VI. Bloch, Suppl. Cat., p. 72.*

³ *Memoirs of the A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 112; Journal Asiatique, Dixième Série, Tome XIII, pl. 7, p. 50.*

⁴ *J. & P. A. S. B., Vol. IV, p. 109; Suppl. Cat., p. 65.*

⁵ *Memoirs, A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 93-94; Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12, pp. 161-62, pl. LXXII, Fig. 8 and LXXIII, Fig. 1.*

⁶ *Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. III, p. 124, No. 16.*

⁷ *Ibid., p. 125, pl. XLV, No. 17. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 101.*

⁸ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IX, p. 290, pl. XXIII.*

The dates of specimens in classes II and III can be determined with some degree of exactness by means of a palæographical examination. The chronology of the Pāla kings of Bengal and that of the Pratihāras of Kanauj or Mahodaya is practically settled. The dates of the Pāla Kings, though they cannot be determined with the same degree of exactitude as those of the Pratihāra Kings of Kanauj, can now be definitely said not to fluctuate, in any case, over a period longer than a quarter of a century. The date of any of the inscribed specimens in classes II and III, described above, can be determined by a comparison of the form of its test letters to those used in inscriptions of the Pāla Kings. In this fashion it appears after a complete analysis that it is possible to determine the date of each and every inscribed sculpture with a very close approach to exactitude.

In order to determine what were the test letters during the reign of the second and third sovereigns of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, it is necessary to turn to the inscriptions of their reigns discovered up to date. Of Dharmmapāla, the second sovereign, we possess two inscriptions; the inscribed basrelief of the 26th year of his reign mentioned above and a copper plate grant issued in the 32nd year of his reign which is now in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi.¹ These two inscriptions were most probably incised in the ninth or the last decade of the 8th century A. D. In the Bodh Gaya inscriptions we find three different forms of the palatal sibilant:—(a) The ancient form with the round top as in *Śilābhīdah* (l. 1), *Keśava* (l. 2), and *Shadvīṅśati* (l. 7); (b) the later form without a cross-bar as in *Mahādēvaś = chaturmukhaś* and *Śrēshṭha* (l. 2); and (c) the transitional form in which the cross-bar lingers and the loop is not complete as in *śrēyasē* (l. 4). On analysing the characters of the Khalimpur Plate of Dharmmapāla we find that the looped form has been used in all cases and neither the transitional form in which the cross-bar is absent, nor the later form without the cross-bar is to be found even in one case. These two forms of the palatal *śa*, viz., the looped form and the transitional form with the cross-bar, are to be found in the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena of the seventh century A. D.² In the case of the Bodh Gaya inscription of Dharmmapāla, we find that the usual procedure has been reversed. Ordinarily, later forms of a particular letter are to be found in copper plates only, because the scribes use such forms, with which they are familiar in ordinary correspondence, while stone inscriptions contain a larger number of archaic or monumental forms. Here we find that the stone inscription shows the use of more modern forms while archaic forms are only adhered to in the copper plate inscription. As the later form occurs only in two instances we may reject it as not being a type-specimen of the palatal *śa* in this particular period. Of the next king Devapāla, five inscriptions are known. One is a copper plate grant, which is missing and of which no facsimiles are available. The second is a copper plate grant discovered at

¹ *The origin of the Bengali Script, University of Calcutta, 1919, p. 51.*

² *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 202-5, pl. XXVIII.*

Nālandā and issued in the 38th year of this King.¹ The third is an undated inscription on the back of a metal image discovered at Nālandā.² The fourth is a stone inscription discovered at Ghosrawan in the Patna District which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.³ In this inscription we find that the transitional form of *śa* with the cross-bar has been used in the majority of cases. It may, therefore, definitely be stated that the type specimen of the palatal *śa* during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla is the transitional form used in *śreyase*, in line 4 of the Bodh Gaya inscription of Dharmapāla of the 26th year of his reign. With this datum we may turn to the inscribed specimens discovered in Eastern India up to date. The remaining inscription of Devapāla was discovered on an image found at Hilsa.⁴

Inscribed specimens which can definitely be referred to the pre-Pāla period are very few in number. Thus the Calcutta Museum, which contains by far the largest number of specimens of this school of sculpture, can boast of only two or three specimens, which can be definitely referred to the pre-Pāla period. Unfortunately the image of the Sun god discovered by Cunningham at Shahpur, which was dedicated in the sixty-sixth year of the Harsha Era=572 A. D., cannot be found now. This image, if it is rediscovered at some later date, will furnish important evidence about the condition of plastic art in the eastern provinces, after the decline of the early Guptas, in the seventh century A. D. and before the rise of the Pālas in the eighth. It is true that King Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra had taken away an image of Buddha from Magadha, which he gave, later on, to his minister Chaṅkuṇa, but we do not know whether Chaṅkuṇa and his master were attracted by the reported sanctity of the image only or by its artistic merit.⁵ Among the very few specimens in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which can be definitely assigned to the pre-Pāla period, is an image of Buddha which was dedicated by a general (*balādīkṛita*) named Malluka, which was discovered at Bihar in the Patna district of Bihar and Orissa and was removed to the Calcutta Museum before the transfer of the Bihar collection in 1898.⁶ The form of the characters used in this inscription bears very great resemblance to those used in the Deo-Banarak inscription of Jivitagupta II. The image is a short one representing the Teacher in the attitude of giving protection. The head and body are disproportionately large in comparison with the legs.⁷ The second inscribed specimen comes from the modern Śaiva monastery at Bodh Gaya and represents Buddha being protected by the Nāga Muchalinda from heavy rains. The Buddhist creed is inscribed in two lines and the characters of this inscription are not very far distant from those of the preceding inscription. In this image the coils of the Nāga's body

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310 ff.

² It reads:—1. *Om Śrī-Nālandāyām Śrī-Devapāla-deva-hatte* 2. *Mala Vairasya Śrī-Ujjakasya vahu vishtha*

3. *Kāraṇa devadharmasāpāya prati(t)ipādi(d)itā(tat)*.

⁴ "In the square of the lord, the illustrious Devapāla, at Nālandā, this religious work, the various and extraordinary work of Mala Vaira, Ujjaka was completed." Pl. II d.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 309-10.

⁶ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, p. 33.

⁷ *Kalhana's Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir*, by Sir Aurel Stein, Vol. I, p. 147.

⁸ Pl. VII d.

⁹ Anderson: *Cat. and Handbook*, pl. II, p. 81, Br. 9.

are conventional and impossible in reality and the image itself is a squat heavy affair without any artistic merit.¹ Another image of Buddha, belonging to the Indian Museum Collection (No. 3746), is uninscribed, but most probably belongs to this period.² We find a total want of grace in the delineation of the body though the sculptor was more fortunate in carving out a smiling face. The third image in the Indian Museum Collection which can be ascribed to this period is also that of Buddha (No. 3711)³ which bears a mutilated inscription in two lines, probably in verse, on its pedestal. This image is the best specimen of the pre-Pāla period that has come to light, up to date, but here also the want of proportion between the body and the legs is at once noticeable.

Next in order are the specimens, which on account of the inscriptions on them can be definitely referred to the reigns of the early Pāla Emperors. The dated sculptures of this period are very few in number. The basrelief, dedicated in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, is not an object of art at all. An oblong slab of stone has been divided into three niches by means of two plain square pilasters, some space being left at each end. These three niches contain images of Sūrya, Śiva and Vishṇu. The sculptor has finished his work in a very crude fashion and the specimen cannot be said to possess any artistic merit. Three dated sculptures of the reign of Devapāla have been discovered, one at Hilsa⁴ and two at Nālandā.⁵ We possess two specimens dedicated in the third year of Śūrapāla or Vighrapāla I. One of these images represents the incident of the taming of the mad elephant, Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla, by Buddha, while the second represents the descent of Buddha from the Heaven of the thirty-three gods, attended by Brahmā on the left and Indra, holding an umbrella over his head, on the right. Both images appear to be the work of the same artist and possess various characteristics in common. Now, in these two images the older looped form of the palatal sibilant has been used in one case while a second transitional form, which will be discussed below, has been used in the majority of cases. They therefore are certainly later in date than those in which the looped form has been used invariably. Among inscribed images of the second class, *i.e.*, images which bear inscriptions not containing the name of the reigning sovereign and the date, specimens, in which the looped form or the older form of *śa* has been used, are quite different from the degenerate specimens of the 7th century A. D.

The majority of inscribed sculptures of the second and third classes belong to the Indian Museum and can be sub-divided into four groups. The first group consists of specimens, in the inscriptions of which the looped form

¹ Pl. VII a.

² *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 45; Pl. VII c.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. VII b.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., C.L.E., I.E.S., for early information about the discovery of an image dedicated in the 35th year of the reign of Devapāla. A note on the inscription has appeared in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, pp. 31-36.

⁵ The discovery of the new copper plate grant and the image of the reign of Devapāla has thrown a flood of light on the remains at Nālandā, which appears to have enjoyed the patronage of that king, to a very great extent. *Ann. Rep. of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern (now Central) Circle, 1920-21*, pp. 27-28; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327.

⁶ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-9.

of the palatal *śa* has been used along with another transitional form, in which the cross-bar is present but the upper curve is slightly reduced in size. This transitional form is not noticeable in dated epigraphs of the early Pāla period but is to be found in the Ghosrawan inscription of the time of Devapāla, the third emperor of this dynasty. It is certainly earlier than the pure looped form which we find in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmmapāla and in the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla¹ and is an intermediate form between this looped form and the ancient Kushān form, in which the cross-bar is parallel to the upper part of the letter, or in that, in which the upper part itself being curved, the cross-bar is perfectly horizontal. Among specimens of this group we find that the older form of the palatal *śa*, in which the cross-bar is parallel to the top of the letter, has been used on one occasion only. This is an image of Lokanātha, standing, with six hands. In this case the Buddhist creed, inscribed on the backslab, contains the older form of the palatal *śa*, while the votive inscription on the pedestal shows the use of the pure looped form. From this votive inscription we learn that the image was dedicated by one Suvarmṇika, son of the merchant Vajraka, who was a lay worshipper (*upāsaka*). In two of its left hands the figure holds a rosary (*akṣha-sūtra*), and a round indistinct object, the third being in the posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*). In the right hands he holds (1) a lotus with stalk, (2) a noose (*pāśa*) and (3) a *kamaṇḍala*. On his left a female stands with hands clasped in adoration, while in the crook of her right hand is the stalk of a lotus. On the right we have a four-armed female figure with a *chaitya* in her headdress. Two of her hands are clasped in front while the other two hold indistinct objects (No. 3860).² In the next five specimens we find the transitional form of the palatal sibilant, which is intermediate between the older form, with the perfectly horizontal cross-bar as well as the pure looped form. In this form the curve in the upper part of the latter is narrowed to form a smaller semi-circle with a portion of the cross-bar as its base. In this category we have the fine image of Buddha (*Vajrāsana-Buddha-Bhaddāraka*) from Kīrkihar, in the Gaya District of Bihar and Orissa (Kr. 3).³ From a votive inscription on the pedestal we learn that this image was dedicated by the Buddhist monk Lokeśvaradeva, an inhabitant of the Pāṇḍi *Vishaya*. In the second image, this transitional form of the palatal sibilant is very distinct. It is an image of Lokanātha with two hands. The god holds a lotus with stalk in his right hand while the left holds an indistinct object. In addition to the two-armed female on the left and the four-armed female on the right, there are a number of subsidiary attendant figures. Thus, we have the figure of the *Dhyāni-Buddha* Amitābha on the headdress and another *Dhyāni-Buddha* in the *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā* over his head. On each side of the head we have two seated Bodhisattvas, of which only that on the left is recognisable as

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 161-64.

² Bloch, *Supplementary catalogue of the Archaeological Collections of the Indian Museum, 1911*, p. 59. See pl. VIII a.

³ Anderson—*Catalogue, etc.*, Part II, p. 75. See pl. VIII c.

being Vajrapāṇi. Over the halo we have the representation of rocks with emaciated figures of Rishis coming with offerings. On each side of the Bodhisattva's legs we have two additional figures. On the left we have a *preta*, with an emaciated body and a protuberant belly, drinking with an upturned face something, which appears to be falling from behind the left hand of the Bodhisattva. On the right we see a dwarfish male rushing out (No. 3807).¹ The next specimen is a standing image of Lokanātha with six hands, which was dedicated by one Chakshu-glāṇa Ujjaka. In this image we find two seated female figurines on each side of the head, on lotus brackets. The one on the left has four hands and that on the right, two hands. The Bodhisattva has the figure of Amitābha in his headdress. One of his left hands is in the posture of giving protection, the second holds a rosary (*akshasūtra*), while the third is broken. In the upper right hand he holds a lotus with stalk, with the second he holds an object which resembles a trident, while the third is broken. As in the two previous cases we have a two-armed female attendant on the left and a four-armed female on the right, both being headless (No. 3796).² The collection of Mañjuśrīs in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, contains a fine image of this Bodhisattva with two hands holding a stalk of a lotus on which rests a book, which is the symbol of this Bodhisattva. The left hand is in the posture of giving protection. It is a neat and very fine image (No. 3808).³ The next image of this class is an image of Tārā seated on a lotus throne, which can happily be identified from the votive inscription on its pedestal. The goddess has two hands of which the left is in the posture of blessing while the right holds an indistinct object. She is attended by two other female figures, both seated; the one on the right having four hands and holding the skin of an elephant over her head with two of them, while the one on the left has two hands. On each side of the pedestal there is a male figure. On the right we have a stout male seated with a rosary in his left hand; and on the left a male ascetic is seated with crossed legs. From the inscription on the pedestal we learn that this is an image of the *Potalaka Upatārā*, dedicated by a man named Vāmuka (I. M. No. 3820).⁴ The remaining images of this group all show the use of the definitely formed loop in the place of the upper curve of the older form or the shorter curve of the transitional form. In "the origin of the Bengal alphabet"⁵ this type of the palatal *śa* has been designed to be a transitional form, but a detailed examination of the votive inscriptions of the early Pāla Emperors shows that this looped form is not a transitional one, but one of the settled forms of this test letter, which lasted in Eastern India for about two centuries, from the reign of Ādityasena of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha to that of Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty. In the group of images, in which the looped form of *śa* has been used, is a beautiful image of Lokanātha (?) with two hands, in which

¹ Bloch, *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 58. See pl. VIII b.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58. See pl. VIII d.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59. See pl. IX d.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65. See pl. IX c.

⁵ *The origin and development of the Bengali Script*, Calcutta, 1919, pp. 51-55.

we find a *Dhyāni-buddha* seated on the top of the lotus which the Bodhisattva is holding in his right hand. He is attended by two seated male figures instead of the females (No. 5861).¹ The next specimen is an image of Vajrapāni (?), seated, with two hands, holding a thunderbolt in his left hand. On the pedestal, we find a female figure rushing towards the right, with a mace in her left hand and a noose in her right hand, while under the throne we find two peacocks (No. 3784).² The third image is a fine specimen of a Maitreya, with two hands and with the *chaitya* symbol in his headdress. The Bodhisattva holds a lotus with stalk in his right hand while the left is in the posture of blessing. He is attended by two female figures both standing and with four hands (No. 3790).³ The figure on the left holds an arrow (*śara*) and a skull cup (*Nara-kapāla*) in her left hands, while she holds a bow (*dhanus*) in one of her right hands, the other being placed on her thigh. The figure on the right holds a branch of a tree and an elephant-goad (*aṅkuśa*) in her left hands, while in her right hands she holds a wheel (*chakra*) and an indistinct object. The elbow of her second right hand rests on a battle axe (*paraśu*). There is a *chaitya* to the left of the head of the main figure and another resting on a lotus leaf to the right, near the right hand of the figure.⁴ Another six-armed standing image of Lokanātha belongs to this group, as we have the pure looped *śa* in the Buddhist creed inscribed on its backslab. In this case we find Amitābha on the headdress and a *Dhyāni-buddha* on each side of the head, the one on the left being in the *bhūmi-parśa-mudrā*, while the one on the right is in the posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*). The figure holds a rosary in the upper left hand, and an indistinct object in the second while the third left hand is in the posture of blessing. In his right hands he holds a lotus with stalk in the first, an indistinct object in the second and a *kaṇṇḍalu* in the third.⁵ The finest specimen in this group is, however, an image of Mahattarī Tārā, seated on a lotus throne, with the left foot placed on a lotus below the throne. She holds a lotus with stalk in her right hand, while the left hand is in the posture of blessing. This image was declared by Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology in India, and Mr. O. C. Gangoly, the well known art-connoisseur of Calcutta, to be the finest specimen produced by the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture (No. 5862).⁶ The Indian Museum possesses a fine image of Lokanātha in the collection of terra-cotta plaques discovered at Bodhi Gaya during the excavations of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Here we find Lokanātha seated, with two hands, holding the usual lotus stalk in the right, while the left is in the posture of blessing. The date of this plaque can be deduced from the votive inscription which has been impressed on the backslab from a small round seal (No. B. G. 140).⁷

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 58. See pl. IX b.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62. See pl. IX a.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61. *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, 1er partie*, p. 112, fig. See pl. X a.

⁴ See pl. X a.

⁵ See pl. X b.

⁶ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 67. See pl. X, c.

⁷ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 60. See pl. XI b.

Among Brahmanical images in the Indian Museum collection, the oldest specimen belonging to the Eastern School is an image of Vishṇu, the votive inscription on the pedestal of which shows the use of the looped form of the palatal *śa* (No. 3876).¹

In the second group of inscribed images, the loop form of *śa* gives way to another transitional form, leading to the regular eleventh century form, in which we have two different semi-circles placed side by side on the top of this letter. In this transitional form the upper part of the palatal *śa* once more consists of a single semi-circular curve, which touches the straight line to the right of this letter, but which does not merge in this straight line; as was the case with the older form, in which the cross-bar was perfectly horizontal or in the eleventh century form in which we have two semi-circles side by side. That this transitional form is later than the looped form, need not be proved. In one votive inscription this transitional form has been used side by side with the looped form. This is an image of Lokanātha with six hands. The figure is seated and we have Amitābha on the headdress. The upper left hand holds a rosary, the second is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*), while the third is in the posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*). Among the right hands we find the lotus with stalk in the first, a book (*pustaka*) in the second and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the third. There are three attendant figurines under the lotus throne on which the Bodhisattva is seated. In the centre a dwarf is seated with a cup in his hands with a female standing on each side. The dwarf appears to be Hayagrīva, the two-handed female Tārā and the four-handed female Bhṛikuṭī. The image came from Bargaon, ancient Nālandā, in the Patna District (No. 4473).²

In the second group of inscribed images, there are three different classes of the transitional form of the palatal sibilant. The earliest of these is, no doubt, the form in which the cross-bar is still present but at the same time the right end of the upper curve does not merge in the upper end of the vertical straight line on the right but on the other hand forms an angle with it. The number of specimens which bear this particular form of the transitional *śa* are very few in number. These are:—(1) A large four-armed image of standing Lokanātha, whose identity is revealed by the seated figure of Amitābha in his headdress. Two divine beings are carrying a crown over the head of the deity, who holds a lotus on which rests a book in the upper right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower. A rosary is held in the upper left hand while the lower is in the posture of blessing. To the right of the figure is a small fat dwarf (Hayagrīva) resting his right hand on a mace and to the left the figure of a *preta* kneeling and drinking something flowing from the lower left hand of the Bodhisattva (No. 3962).³ (2) The two remaining instances are females. One is that of Vajravārāhī, or Mārīchī with six hands,

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue* p. 81. See pl. XI a.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73. See pl. XI c.

³ This image used to stand in the vestibule of the Indian Museum from 1895 to 1921 but was not included in the *Supplementary Catalogue*. See pl. XII a.

bending forward on her right leg. She has three heads of which the front one is damaged and the side ones those of a sow. Among her six hands she holds in the left ones a sword (*asi*), an arrow (*śara*) and a drinking cup (?). In two of her right hands she holds a bow (*dhanus*), and a noose (*pāśa*) while the third hand is broken. On the backslab we find representations of tongues of fire issuing from all parts of the body of the goddess. On the pedestal we find a wheel and seven sows with a female charioteer seated between the legs of the deity, and below her the bust of a male, probably representing Rāhu (I. M. No. 6267)¹. (3) The third image is perhaps Hindu. It represents a goddess seated on a cushion with one leg down resting on a lotus. She has four hands, in which she holds an elephant-goad and a round object in the left, while in the right she has a curious wand, ending in the head of a *makara*, the remaining one holding a child on her lap. The image was discovered at Ghosrāwān in the Patna District and an inscription on the pedestal records its dedication by one Chandraka, son of Vishnu in the village of Tentadi. The main figure is called Munḍeśarī or Puṇḍeśarī (No. 3952)².

The largest number of specimens of the second group show the use of another sub-variety of the palatal sibilant in their inscriptions. In this sub-variety, the left arm of the letter does not touch the vertical straight line on the right, which forms its right limb. But there is another sub-variety of the palatal sibilant to be found in images of this particular group, in which, like the variety described above, the upper curve touches the vertical straight line on the right, but there is no cross-bar. The specimens which show this particular variety of the palatal sibilant are only two in number. One of these is an image of Kuvera seated with two hands of which the right has been lost. The short inscription on the pedestal records that it was dedicated in Nālandā (No. 3917)³. The other specimen is one of those special images, peculiar to the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture, representing a particular incident of the life of Buddha, i.e., the descent of Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods (No. N. S. 2072)⁴.

Images in which the left limb of the palatal *śa* does not touch the vertical straight line on the right are largest in number in the second group. In this particular class there are three different varieties of images. The first variety consists of that particular type of images, which represents a particular incident of the life of the Teacher. In this variety there are two specimens: one representing the birth of the Buddha and the first seven steps (No. B. G. 50)⁵, and the second representing the presentation of a bowl of honey to Buddha by a monkey at Vaiśālī, the modern Basārh in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar and Orissa (No. N. S. 2074)⁶.

¹ See pl. XII b.

² *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 95; pl. XII c.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73, pl. XIII b.

⁴ From the collection of images presented to the Indian Museum from the Belvedere palace after the abolition of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal in 1912. See pl. XIII b.

⁵ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 43; see pl. XXV a.

⁶ For the findspot see note 4. Vide pl. XXVII a.

The second variety consists of Bodhisattva images with inscriptions bearing this particular form of *śa*. Thus we have a fine erect Bodhisattva from Kurkihar in the Gaya District with two hands and attended, probably, by Hayagriva (No. Kr. 7)¹. The second specimen is a seated Bodhisattva, who holds a lotus with stalk, on which rests a jewel, in his right hand, while the left is in the posture of blessing (No. 5589)². Another image of Lokanātha, seated, with four hands, comes from Kurkihar; the main figure holds an indistinct object in the upper left hand, while the lower left is in the posture of blessing and a lotus and a book in the right hands (Kr. 10)³. A seated figure of Mañjuśrī, with two hands, holding a book on a lotus in the right hand, while the left is broken, was found at Bodh Gaya. In the inscription on the pedestal the image is styled Prajñāprabha (B. G. 74)⁴. There is only one image in the third variety which is that of Tārā, a small miniature figurine, evidently of Mahattarī Tārā, which came from Bodh Gaya (B. G. 135)⁵.

In the first sub-variety of this transitional form of the palatal *śa*, in which the cross-bar is still present, and in which the right end of the curve does touch, but does not merge in the upper end of the vertical straight line on the right; but on the other hand forms an angle with it, has not been met with in dated inscriptions. The number of specimens, in which this variety of the transitional form of the palatal *śa*, is to be found, is so small that this particular form may be neglected for the present.

In the third sub-variety, the left arm touches the upper end of the straight line on the right side but there is no cross-bar. Most probably specimens of the later *śa*, which are to be found in the Ghosrāwān inscription of the time of Devapāla, belong to this variety. Almost all the later forms of this letter in the last line, which look like ordinary tenth century forms, really belong to this variety, but in this case also the instances in which they have been found on sculptures are also very few. By far the largest number of instances, in which this transitional variety of the palatal *śa* has been found on sculptures, is the second sub-variety in which the left limb does not touch the right limb at all. This variety occurs for the first time in the Gaya inscription of the seventh year of Nārāyaṇapāla, where it occurs in conjunction with the first sub-variety of the transitional form, which is described above. It is also to be found in the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla of the eighth year of his reign, discovered at Rāmgayā in the Gaya District and of the ninth year, at Guneria in the same district. It is also to be found in the British Museum image inscriptions of the year nine of the reign of Mahendrapāla.

The occurrence of these forms in these dated inscriptions leaves no doubt about the position in the chronological scale of the images or sculptures, in the inscriptions on which this particular transitional form has been found.

¹ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 75. See pl. XIII c.*

² *See pl. XIII d.*

³ *Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 76. See pl. XIV a.*

⁴ *Ibid, Part II, p. 48. See pl. XIV b.*

⁵ *Ibid, Part II, p. 60. See pl. XIV c.*

They come after the group in which the first transitional form of the Ghosrāwān inscription of Devapāla and the regular looped form have been used, and they belong more particularly to that period of the history of Eastern India which has been named "The struggle with the Pratiharas",¹ which began with the conquest of Northern Bengal and South Bihar,² by the Pratihāra-Gurjara Emperors of Kanauj and ended with the revival of Pāla power in Eastern India, on the foundation of the second empire of the Pālas, by Mahīpāla I. at the end of the tenth century A. D. During this troublesome period, when the Pāla kings of Bengal lost most of their possessions and finally their ancestral kingdom of Northern Bengal, the progress of art in Eastern India, though much slower in comparison with its rate of progress in the preceding century, had not stopped altogether. As a matter of fact certain changes came over the productions of the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture during this period, which modified to a great extent the productions of its period of *renaissance*, under Mahīpāla and his immediate successors. The products of the school, during this troublous period, far outnumbered the specimens that were produced by the sculptors of the Eastern School during the next two centuries *i.e.*, the eleventh and twelfth.

On account of the paucity of dated inscriptions, which can be referred to this period it is extremely difficult to determine what particular sculptures are to be assigned to it. There is no doubt about the fact, that sculptures, which bear that particular form of the transitional *śa*, in which the left limb does not touch the right limb, belong to the earlier part of this period, *i.e.*, the latter part of the ninth century A. D. This has been proved by the occurrences of this form of the palatal *śa*, in the Gaya inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla and the Rāmgayā and Gunerīya inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla.³ No copper plate or large stone inscriptions, which can be referred to the kings of the Pāla dynasty between Nārāyaṇapāla and Mahīpāla I, both exclusive, have been discovered. Nārāyaṇapāla's son, Rājyapāla, is known from one votive inscription which was incised in the twentyfourth year of his reign.⁴ He was succeeded by his son, Gopāla II, who is known from two inscriptions and one manuscript. One inscription was discovered at Nālandā and was incised in the first year of his reign.⁵ The second inscription was discovered at Bodh Gaya and does not contain any date.⁶ The manuscript is preserved in the British Museum and was written in the fifteenth year of the reign of this sovereign.⁷ He was succeeded by his son, Vīgrahapāla II, of whom we have only one manuscript which was written in the twenty-sixth year of his reign.⁸ There were three Gopālas and three Vīgrahapālas, in the

¹ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 55-67.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 111.

³ Mahendrapāla, who is evidently Mahendrapāla I, of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, was the son and successor of Bhoja, surnamed Mihira and Ādivacāha and reigned in the end of the ninth century A. D.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, 1917, p. 111.

⁵ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, p. 105.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁷ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, pp. 150-51.

⁸ C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 232.

Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The colophons of manuscripts or short votive inscriptions do not mention distinctly which particular Gopāla or Vīgrahapāla it was, and they have to be assigned on the basis of palaeography, reasons for which, in detail, will be found elsewhere.¹ The manuscripts, however, afford no help in the study of the date of sculptures and the state of our knowledge of the miniatures, with which many of these manuscripts are illuminated, is as yet in its infancy.

Of the two inscriptions of Gopāladeva II, the one which was discovered at Nālandā and which was incised in the first year of that sovereign's reign, shows at least one instance of the use of the looped form of *śa*. In all other cases, for example, in *Āścina, Śudī, Parameśvara, Śrī-Vāgīśvari*, the form used is the ordinary eleventh century form. In the other inscriptions all instances of palatal *śa* are of the eleventh century form. It can, therefore, be definitely stated that the use of the later eleventh century form is irregular up to the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla, though instances of its occurrence are known. This form began to preponderate in eastern inscriptions during the period of the reign of his successors. The occurrence of the transitional form, which is the precursor of the eleventh-century form in the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla and of Rājyapāla, shows that its use had not increased during the reign of the successor of Nārāyaṇapāla. Consequently, it may be stated broadly, that the increase in the use of this eleventh-century form begins from the end of the tenth century A. D. The state of the Pāla kingdom in the last half of the ninth century cannot be called prosperous. With the death of Nārāyaṇapāla, or perhaps even during his life time, the empire founded by Dharmmapāla had ceased to exist. The suzerainty of Northern India had passed on to the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings of the Indian desert, who had removed their capital to Kauauj. In the east, the existence of the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla I prove that, for a time at least, the western part of Magadha had passed out of the control of the Pālas, while definite evidence shows that the Pālas continued to sway over the eastern half of Magadha only. This part of Magadha, with Uddandapura and Nālandā as its chief towns, continued to be ruled by Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and Vīgrahapāla II. In the east, Eastern Bengal is now known not to have acknowledged the sway of the Pāla kings, before the time of Mahīpāla I. The kings of this region may have acknowledged the suzerainty of Dharmmapāla and Devapāla, but there is no epigraphical evidence, which can be assigned to a period earlier than the reign of Mahīpāla I, to show that any part of Eastern Bengal was included in the dominions actually ruled by the Pāla kings. In the north, the ancestral territories of the Pālas, *i.e.*, the Northern Bengal or *Varendra*, had passed away from their possession and had been occupied by a line of princes, about whom we know nothing, except that one of them erected a fine temple of Śiva in the Śaka year 888-966-67 A. D.² In this inscription, these kings are described as being descended from the Kāmboja

¹The attribution of the dates in these colophons to Gopāla II and Vīgrahapāla II has been questioned by Dr. Rames Chandra Majumdar of the Calcutta University: *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVI, pp. 301-303.

²*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (N. S.)*, Vol. VII, p. 619.

family, which may indicate that they were of Tibeto-Mongolian descent. Up to this time no inscriptions of the Pāla princes have been discovered in western Bengal or Rādhā and so we are not in a position to ascertain whether this part of the country remained in the possession of the Pālas or not. After the death of Nārāyaṇapāla, his son and grandson seem to have ruled over a small principality, consisting of the eastern portion of Magadha and, probably, a portion of Western Bengal. During this troublesome period plastic art degenerated in the eastern provinces and there is ample evidence of this degeneration in inscribed sculptures discovered in Magadha, the dates of which can be determined from the votive inscriptions on them. Thus there is an unnatural elongation of the limbs in main figures, which are in some cases out of proportion. In Kurkihar itself, where so many beautiful images of the earlier period have been discovered, an image was discovered in which the limbs are disproportionately long and in which traces of the degeneration are very distinct. In this image the form of the palatal *śa* used in the votive inscription is that in which the left limb does not touch the right (Kr. 7).¹

The same characteristics are also to be observed in N. S. 2072, where the same form of the palatal *śa* has been used. The disproportionate elongation of the limbs is very much noticeable in the image of Lokanātha (No. 3962),² where the transitional form with a cross-bar has been used. The other prominent characteristic is an increasing grossness of features combined with minute attention to details, which proves that sculptors of this period devoted more attention to ritual and works on iconography than before. The characteristics are to be found in the image of Vārāhī (No. 6267)³ in which the transitional form of *śa* with a cross-bar has been used. The grossness of features is nowhere more in evidence than in the image representing the birth and the first seven steps taken by Buddha after his birth, which is a very rare image of this kind, known in this School.⁴ In this particular specimen, the form of *śa* used shows that the left limb does not touch the right. Another specimen (N. S. 2074), which represents the incident of the Monkey presenting the bowl of honey to Buddha at Vaiśālī also shows grossness of features. It should be noted at the same time that certain specimens of the same group are not entirely devoid of beauty. The disproportionate elongation of the limbs is not evident in these cases. This is evident in the image of the goddess Muṇḍeśvarī (No. 3952)⁵ or the stele with eight principal incidents of Buddha's life (No. 3737), and two images of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (No. B. G. 74 and Kr. 10).⁶ The best known sculpture of this period, the date of which is ascertainable, is perhaps the image of Lokanātha (No. 5859)⁷

¹ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 75; see pl. XIII c.

² See pl. XII a.

³ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 69; see pl. XII b.

⁴ The second image representing the birth is in the Rajshahi collection. *Rupam*, No. 15 and 16, July and December, 1923, Calcutta, fig. 2, plate facing p. 86; cf. also *Catalogue of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varandra Research Society, Rajshahi*, pp. 6-7, No. $\frac{A(f)1}{292}$.

⁵ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 95; see pl. XII c.

⁶ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, pp. 48 and 76; see pl. XIV a-b.

⁷ See pl. XV d.

of the Calcutta Museum collection. Two other images, one of Jambhala (No. 4571)¹ and another of Kubera from Nālandā (No. 3914)² also deserve special mention among the best sculptures of this period. Up to this time, it has not been possible to include any specimen from Bengal proper in this description, because, in the first place, specimens discovered in Bengal proper are fewer in number and in the second place none of them bears any inscriptions which can be assigned to the eighth or the ninth century A. D. Certain images in the collection of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi in Bengal are reputed to belong to the 8th century and are attributed to the masters named Dhīmān and Vītapāla, mentioned by Lama Tārānātha,³ but the attempt on the part of the authorities of the Society to assign certain sculptures definitely to this period has not succeeded; as no proof is forthcoming about the author of these sculptures or their early date.⁴ On the other hand the style of the majority of the sculptures in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi proves that they belong to the 11th and the 12th centuries A. D.

Mahīpāla I, the son and successor of Vīgrahapāla II, restored the fallen fortunes of his dynasty by reconquering the ancestral dominions of his family in Northern Bengal and by extending the western frontier as far as Benares. When and in what manner the Pratīhāra occupation of western Magadha ended, it is not possible to ascertain as yet. But somehow or other, with the decline in the ability of the Pratīhāra Emperors of Kanauj, their authority gradually declined over the Eastern provinces, and at the time, when Mahīpāla I ascended the throne of Bengal, they had become mere puppets in the hands of the great feudatory chiefs, such as the Chandellas who practically had become independent. Mahīpāla I appears to have come to the throne sometime in the middle or in the second half of the 10th century A. D. There was an Emperor of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj named Mahendrapāla II in 953 A. D.⁵ Within two years he had been succeeded by a prince named Mahīpāla II, whose name has been recorded in an inscription discovered at Bayana in the Bharatpur State, dated 955 A. D.⁶ At the time of Mahīpāla's accession, he had most probably to deal with Gāṅgeyadeva of the Chedi dynasty of Dāhala, when the former extended the western boundary of his Empire. The most notable event of Mahīpāla's reign was the extension of his authority towards the east. Before his time we have no evidence to prove that the provinces known as *Vaṅga* or *Samatata* were included within the empire of the Pālas. Of the numerous records of the reign of this prince only four are important for the study of the sculptures of his reign. These are:—(1) An image of Vishṇu discovered at Baghaura in the Comilla District, Bengal, which was dedicated in the third year of his reign. (2) an image of Buddha which was dedicated in the 11th year of his reign at Bodh Gaya and (3) a door jamb

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 61, pl. XVI, c.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV.

⁴ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XII, pp. 23-28.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-80.

⁶ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919*, p. 43.

discovered at Nālandā, the inscription on which records the restoration of a temple in the 11th year of his reign. The fourth record was found on an image of brass discovered at Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar, which was dedicated in the 48th year of his reign,¹ but which, unfortunately, can no longer be traced.

Mahīpāla I came to the throne in the latter half of the tenth century A. D. From this time onward the form of the palatal *śa* does not change. In this particular form, which became fixed in the eleventh century, the upper part of the letter consists of two semicircles, placed side by side horizontally, the ends of which join. The end of the semicircle on the right is prolonged as a straight line downwards, while that of the semicircle on the left is slightly curved to the left, and to its end is attached a wedge or a triangle. The rise in the fortune of the Pālas very probably gave an impetus to art in the eastern provinces of Northern India. The disproportionate features prevalent in the tenth century gradually disappear, but at the same time we find the artists aiming more at the reproduction of sublime beauty in figures, by an attenuation of the limbs in accordance with the favourite descriptions of Indian poets. These characteristics, which are noticeable in the fine image of Vishnu discovered at Baghaura, which was dedicated in the third year of Mahīpāla I's reign, are also noticeable in sculptures, the votive inscriptions of which use this particular form of the palatal *śa* along with the characteristic eleventh century forms of letters. The best specimen is perhaps a basrelief representing the death of Buddha now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 3773)². In this basrelief we find Buddha lying on a bedstead, placed between two *sāla* trees and a *chaitya* appearing behind his back. Buddha is lying with his head towards the left on his right side. Three monks are to be seen under the bedstead, of whom the one in the centre has his back turned towards the front and is seated in meditation. The figure on the left is lamenting and has also turned his back towards the front. The figure on the right is kneeling and is facing the left. Similar characteristics are to be observed in another basrelief representing the seven past Buddhas with their Bodhi trees and the future Buddha, the Bodhisattva Mañjūreya (B. G. 83)³. There is a sunken panel on the pedestal containing a basrelief. From the right we have a horse and an elephant with triangular objects on their backs. Then comes another object, which is probably a mirror, and after that a lotus; then come three human figures, two males and a female; after which there is a table or altar to the left of which are a votive offering (*naivedya*), a lamp and three human figures, all seated. The same characteristics are also to be observed in an image of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāni. The Bodhisattva is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne and has two hands and one head. Under the throne there are four elephants. The Bodhisattva holds a thunder-bolt (*vajra*) in his left hand which is held opposite to his breast (No. 3785)⁴. An image of the

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, page 105, note 17; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, p. 98.

² *Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 53-54; see pl. XIV d.

³ *Catalogue and Handbook*, Part II, p. 49; see pl. XIV e.

⁴ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 62. See pl. XV a.

Bodhisattva Lokanātha, seated, in the *mahārājatilā* posture, also belongs to this group. The god is seated on a lotus-throne, placed on a lion-throne. His left knee is placed on the seat, while the right is raised, on which his right hand is resting. He holds a bell (*ghaṅṭā*) in his right hand and a lotus with stalk in his left hand. A figure of the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha is to be seen on his headdress, while a *chaitya* appears carved in relief on the backslab to the right of his head (No. 6273).¹ To the same period belongs the figure of an unknown Bodhisattva, perhaps Mañjuśrī. The god is seated, cross-legged, on a lion-throne, on which is placed a lotus. He has six hands and holds a sword (*asi*), (2) an arrow (*śara*), in the upper right hands; while the third is in the posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*). In his left hands he holds the lotus with stalk (*sanāl-otpala*), (2) a book (*pustaka*), and (3) a bow (*dhanuḥ*). The god has three heads, over the central one of which is to be seen the *Dhyāni-buddha* Akshobhya in the earth-touching attitude; while on the top of the backslab against a miniature backslab is to be seen the figure of the *Dhyāni-buddha* Vairochana in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā* (No. 6271).² The image of the Bodhisattva seated in a cave attended by the Bodhisattva Maitreya and the white Tārā (*śīta-Tārā*) belongs to the same date though the execution is not so good as that of the preceding ones. In this image, the Bodhisattva, who is evidently Lokanātha, is seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* posture on a lotus throne inside a cave. He has two hands, which are in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, and has the *Dhyāni-buddha* Amitābha on his headdress. The stalk of a lotus issues from under his left arm-pit. Just over the head of the Bodhisattva, on the top of the cave, is a *chaitya*, on either side of which a human figure is kneeling. Behind this kneeling devotee is a male with a garland and behind each of these males are to be seen a tree and a bearded ascetic seated. The rocks are full of caves containing snakes, geese, monkeys, lions and other animals as well as bearded ascetics. On the top of the rocks, five miniature rock-cut temples are to be seen, each containing the figure of a *Dhyāni-buddha*. Beginning from the right, we have Amoghasiddhi, with his right hand in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*) but without his snake's hood. The second is Ratnasambhava in the posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*). In the centre is Vairochana in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, with a miniature shrine on each side containing an attendant figurine. The fourth is Akshobhya in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparsa-mudrā*) and on the extreme left is Amitābha in the posture of meditation (*ādhyaṇa-mudrā*) (No. 5859)³. To the same period also belongs an eighteen-armed female figure, seated cross-legged, on a lotus throne. On the pedestal is a long but mutilated inscription in five lines. Two of the hands of the goddess are in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. The lowest right hand holds a round object and the lowest left a bottle. Among other right hands one holds a lotus. The objects held in the other hand are indistinct.

¹ See pl. XV b.

² For a description of the Dhyāni-Buddhas and their *mudrās*, see *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. III, pp. 469-70; pl. XV c*;

³ *Supplementary Catalogue, p. 56. See pl. XV d.*

The implements held in the left hands are (1) a pot (*ghaṭa*), (2) a conch (*śaṅkha*), (3) a wheel (*chakra*), (4) an elephant-goat (*aṅkuśa*), the rest being indistinct. The image was discovered at Bargaon or Nālandā (No. 4474).¹ To the same period belongs an image of Jambhala on the pedestal of which there is a long inscription in the *Bhaikshukī-lipi* (No. 4571).² A colossal image of Buddha discovered at Guneria in the Gaya District also belongs to the same period.³

The fourth and last group of inscribed sculptures belongs to the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. This group is represented by three dated sculptures, two of which were dedicated in the reign of Rāmapāla and one in that of Lakshmanasena. The images of this particular group show that the artists of the eastern School have carried their ideas of sublimity so far as to make the figures, carved by them, almost unnatural. This is evident in the image of Tārā, dedicated in the second year of Rāmapāla (No. 3824).⁴ In this image there is an abnormal development of the bust and at the same time an unnatural attenuation of the waist and the hips. The folds of the drapery, too, have become conventional, a characteristic which is noticeable in almost all specimens of this particular group. Take for example, the image of Bodhisattva discovered at Chandimau, which was dedicated in the forty-second year of the reign of Rāmapāla.⁵ An image of Chandī, dedicated in the third year of Lakshmanasena shows further signs of degeneration in the art of the eastern School.⁶ A peculiar Shāḍaksharī group is perhaps the earliest image of this group. In this we find three lotuses springing from the same stalk. On the central lotus a four-armed Bodhisattva is seated holding a rosary in one right hand, a lotus in one left hand and the remaining two clasped in adoration in front. On the lotus on his left, a female is seated, also holding a rosary in her right hand, and a lotus in her left hand, while her lower two hands are clasped in adoration. There was a similar figure on the lotus on the Bodhisattva's right, but it is broken off. The central figure has no other attribute which would enable us to identify it. The inscription on the pedestal shows that particular change in the forms of the tenth and eleventh century alphabet used in the eastern provinces of Northern India which gradually introduced the proto-Bengali alphabet of the twelfth century A. D. (I. M. No. 3813).⁷ To the same group belongs an image of a Buddha discovered at Bodh Gaya. This image belongs to that particular class of Buddha images, which are crowned. The figure has two hands and stands on a fully blown lotus. The right hand is raised in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*), while the left holds an indistinct object, the backs of both hands being placed against fully blown lotus flowers. The votive inscription on the pedestal shows that this image also is one of the earliest specimens of the fourth group and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79. See pl. XVI b.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61; *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, 1er partie*, p. 124, fig. 20. See pl. XVI c.

³ See pl. XVI a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65. See pl. V c.

⁵ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12*, p. 162, pl. LXXIII, fig. 1. See pl. V b.

⁶ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (N. S.)*, Vol. IX, p. 289-90, pl. XXIII. See pl. VI d.

⁷ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 60. See pl. XVII a.

in its execution there is not much difference from the specimens of the third group (I. M. No. B. G. 80).¹

In the remaining specimens, the characters leave no doubt about their date, while the affinity of execution declares them to belong to the same group as the images of the reigns of Rāmapāla and Lakshmanasena. To this group belongs a similar image of Buddha, which is also crowned and likewise has two hands. The right hand is in the posture of giving protection, while the left holds the hem of the garment. The figure stands under a miniature shrine resting on two pillars, by the side of which is a dwarf supporting an elephant, on the back of which again is a lion rampant. On the bracket of the capital of each of these pillars is a *kinnara*. The *kinnara* on the left is playing on a *vīṇā* and that on the right on cymbals. The top of the shrine is a trefoil arch and ornamented with a border of arabesque work. The backslab is bordered with a row of flames, and on its top is an umbrella surmounted by a *chaitya*. On the pedestal is the bust of an elephant facing front and below it an inscription, showing forms of the aspirate and the dental *śa*, the rest of which is illegible. The image is made of copper, heavily gold gilt, which was at one time bedecked with jewels, the grooves for which still contain fragments of precious stones. This image belongs to Mr. Saurindra Narayana Sinha of Jhawa Kothi, in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar and Orissa and was lent by the owner for some time to the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad of Calcutta, in 1911.²

The Calcutta Museum contains the image of a Bodhisattva, which is allied both in execution and in the form of the characters used in its votive inscription to the Bodhisattva Khasarpana dedicated in the forty-second year of Rāmapāla. The Bodhisattva is evidently a Lokanātha, with the figure of the *Dhyāni-buddha* Amitābha in his headdress. To the proper left of the head on the backslab is perhaps the figure of the *Dhyāni-buddha* Ratnasambhava in the posture of giving protection. Below the lotus, on which the god is seated, we find two four-armed figures seated on lotuses. According to the inscription on the pedestal the image was dedicated by the *Mahāmātra* Dunṣahāpicheḥa. The term *mahāmātra* shows that the institutions of the Mauryan period were in existence even in the twelfth century A. D. (No. 3794).³ The Calcutta Museum also contains a fine image of Khadiravanī Tārā. In the abnormal development of the bust, the attenuation of the waist and the hips and the conventionalisation of the drapery, this image shows the same characteristics as that of the Tārā dedicated in the second year of Rāmapāla. The entire sculpture is in a beautiful state of preservation. The goddess is seated in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. A female attendant is seated on her right with a thunder-bolt in her hand. To her left is another fierce-looking female, holding a thunder-bolt and a cup in her hands. On each side of the goddess rises a lotus with stalk and above

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62. See pl. XVII b.

² See pl. XVIII a.

³ This image was discovered at Giriyeḥ near Rajagriha, or Rajgir.—*Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 55. See pl. XVII c.

her head on either side is a *gandharva* with a garland. The backslab is covered with arabesque work and bears the figures of the five *Dhyāni-buddhas*. On the pedestal, below the lotus on which the goddess is seated, is a mass of arabesque work consisting of scrolls. On two of these scrolls a male and a female are to be found seated, evidently the donor and his wife. The characters of the inscription are the same as those of the reign of Rāmapāla and according to it, the image was dedicated by a merchant named Jasadeva (Yaśodeva), son of the merchant Rāja, an inhabitant of Mathurā (No. 5618).¹ The subsequent decline of the artistic activities of the eastern school can be proved by two other inscribed images. The earliest of these belongs to the collection of the Indian Museum. It is an image of Vishṇu (No. Ms. 6) in which the draperies of the god have become reduced to meaningless marks on the legs.² This characteristic is further portrayed in the Kewar image of Vishṇu for which I am indebted to Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., Curator of the Dacca Museum.³

With the end of the twelfth century A. D. *i.e.*, with the Muhammadan conquest of the eastern provinces of Northern India, artistic activity seems to have come to an end in Magadha and Gauḍa. An image belonging to the sixteenth century A. D. in the collection of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi proves that the traditions of the school founded during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla continued in Northern Bengal. In other places the hideous images of Rādhā and Krishna made in large numbers after the death of Chaitanya prove that the sculptors of western Bengal did not continue the traditions of the days when Bengal was independent. In eastern Bengal recent discoveries prove that artistic activity, though subdued, continued up to the fall of the Senas in the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. But the artists of eastern Bengal were obliged to use wood and terracotta for want of stone. The wooden image of Vishṇu in the Dacca Museum probably belongs to the thirteenth century A. D.⁴ The Muhammadan conquest seems to have paralysed artistic activity in Magadha and western Bengal. The pilgrimages to the Buddhist shrines of Magadha came to an end in the land which gave birth to Buddhism early in the fourteenth century. In western Bengal, *i.e.*, the western half of northern Bengal and the country lying to the south of the Ganges and west of the Bhāgirathī, the gradual extension of Musalman conquest led to the final destruction of all temples, Hindu, Jain and Buddhist. To-day nothing is left of these magnificent temples except transformed remains, *i.e.*, the Dargah at Māhisantosh in the Dinajpur District or the tomb of Jafar Khan Ghazi, popularly called Daraf Ghazi at Tribeni in the Hooghly District.⁵ The Buddhist shrines of Magadha were gradually destroyed. The monasteries of Bihar and Nālandā were destroyed in 1199 A. D. The records of pilgrims on the pavement of the great temple at Bodh

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66. See pl. XVII d.

² See pl. XVIII d.

³ See pl. XVIII b.

⁴ See pl. XLVII b.

⁵ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N. S., Vol. V, 1909, pp. 245-6, pl. 1.*

Gaya prove that stray pilgrims continued to visit that shrine till the end of the thirteenth century.¹ The last known bequest made to this temple was recorded in the year 83 of the era of Lakshmanasena—1202 A. D.² The exact date of the ruin of this temple is not known. The excavations of Dr. D. B. Spooner at Nālandā prove that the monasteries and the temples of that place were destroyed by fire but the Buddhist shrines of Bodh Gaya or Mahābodhi were most probably deserted by Buddhists who left the country and took refuge in Nepal.

¹ Cunningham *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 9, pl. VI.

² *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol. IV, pp. 266-71.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE BUDDHACHARITRA.

One of the most important features of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture, during the period of its existence, from the middle of the eighth century A.D. to the end of the twelfth, is the evolution of a particular style in which artists of the eastern provinces of Northern India represented scenes from the life of Buddha. The north-eastern provinces of India, specially Bengal with all its constituent parts (northern, central, eastern, southern and western), remained, for the most part, Buddhist in faith, even after the disappearance of Buddhism as a dominant religion from other parts of India. The artists of this part of India devoted their ingenuity to the discovery of new forms of the representation of the important incidents of the life of the great Master. Their efforts have come down to us in two different styles. There may have been other styles also, but the destruction of all ancient Buddhist structures in Bengal and Bihar has made it extremely difficult, at present, to ascertain whether the styles, specially in basreliefs, of the older schools of Gāndhāra, Mathurā and Benares, were continued in north-eastern India in the early mediæval age or not. Sufficient evidence, however, has been discovered to prove that the artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture evolved at least two entirely different styles for the representation of incidents of the life of the Master. These two different styles, however, were adaptations of the basreliefs, with which students of ancient Indian art are familiar in the older schools of sculpture, such as Gāndhāra, Mathurā, Amarāvati and Benares. These two different modes of representation of the incidents of the life of Buddha are also to some extent alike. In the first mode we find an image of Buddha representing one particular incident of the Master's life surrounded by numerous other images or small basreliefs, representing either particular incidents or the majority of the important incidents. This particular class of basreliefs therefore can be sub-divided into two other groups. In the first group are included those specimens which are surrounded by the majority of the incidents of the Master's life and in the second group we find that the main figure represents one particular incident of the Master's life, while on the backslab seven other principal incidents are portrayed. The second mode consists of the representation of a single incident of Buddha's life in the form of an image. The beginnings of both of these styles are to be found in the Benares school of sculpture. Thus, an image dedicated by a Buddhist elder named Bandhugupta, discovered in the first excavation of Sarnath in 1904-05, represents the Buddha seated on a rocky throne in the attitude of touching the earth (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*),¹ while in front of the pedestal a female is to be seen rushing upwards with a vase or jar in her hand¹. In

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-05, pl. XXVIII a.*

this particular image is represented the incident of the enlightenment of Buddha, his call on the Earth-goddess to witness his perfection and her response to the call of the Master. In the bas-reliefs of the Benares School this particular incident is very often combined with the defeat of the legions of Māra, who are seen either assailing the Master or flying after their defeat. The difference between the bas-reliefs and the new style of representation consists in having an image proper in the centre, which is made much larger in comparison with the attendant figures.

The artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture continued the initial efforts made in this direction by the artists of the early Gupta period in Buddhist Benares. They finished the evolution of the more elaborate stelæ representing either all the eight or most of the principal incidents of the Master's life; as well as the special image representing one particular incident. The first group corresponds to some extent to the stelæ, with which one is so familiar in the Benares school of sculpture; whether it consists of superimposed panels or of separate panels. The artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture simply enlarged the main figure of one of these bas-reliefs and reduced the size of the others. In this respect therefore the first group of images or bas-reliefs of the Bengal School can be called stelæ. These stelæ of the Bengal school, as has been stated above, can be further subdivided into two different parts:—(a) The more elaborate and (b) the less elaborate.

Specimens which can be relegated to the first group are very few in number. One of these has been discovered in the village of Sibbati in the Khulna District of Bengal which was brought to my notice by Professor Satish Chandra Mitra, M.A., of the Hindu Academy of Daulatpur in the same district as well as by Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, a well known journalist of Calcutta.¹ Another specimen appears to have been discovered somewhere in Bihar, most probably in the town of Bihar itself. It formed a part of the collection of Magadha sculptures described by the late Dr. John Anderson, the first Superintendent of the Indian Museum, who describes it in the following words: "An elaborate sculpture in very black stone, measuring 1'-11" high and 10"·50 in breadth. Occupying nearly the centre of the sculpture is a recess 7"·50 high and 1"·75 deep, in which there is a figure of Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. The arch of this recess is supported on octagonal pillars with bracket capitals, and, above each of the latter, there is a small recess bearing a small *chaitya* with a seated figure of Buddha, with another and similar recess above it. A *vidyādhara* is introduced between the main arch and these recesses, as if it were supporting the uppermost small recess with one hand, while its right hand holds up the basement of another large elaborate temple resembling the Great Temple of Buddha Gaya and which contains a figure of Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Above the *chaitya*-shaped pinnacle of this temple, there is a representation of the *nirvāna* of Buddha, the figure lying in a kind of frame supported at each corner by a seated human figure, above which, over the frame, is a small *chaitya* with

¹ See pl. XIX c.

a small human figure on each side of it. The remainder of the sculpture is covered with small figures, and, along the sides, there are a series of *chaityas* placed one above the other with small recesses containing figures of Padma-pāni, of Buddha and incidents in his life, of Māyā in the Lumbinī garden, this last scene, however, not being represented in the simple way it is in the Sarnath sculptures but in a conventional fashion. The mass of little figures in the upper part of the sculpture seems to refer exclusively to Buddha's temptation by Māra. The history of this sculpture is unknown, and it is only supposed to be from Bihar.¹

This specimen is very small, but its carving is very elaborate. The Sibbati stele is much larger in size than the one discovered in Bihar. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, has kindly examined the stele *in situ*, and informed me that the condition of this stele is not very good, as it is worshipped as Śiva at the present day and water is continually thrown on it during worship. Consequently it is also impossible to get a good photograph of it, as it is besmeared with oil and clarified butter, which cannot be removed without the use of soap; but as soap contains grease, an unclean substance according to orthodox Hindu ideas, the worshippers of the stele do not permit its application.²

With the exception of the disparity in size, both the stelae are almost identical in other respects. In the centre of each of them is a large temple, the *śikhara* of which resembles that of the great temple at Bodh Gaya. Inside this temple, under a trefoil arch, Buddha is seated in the attitude of touching the earth, on a full blown lotus. The thunderbolt (*najra*) is in each case shown in front of Buddha, on the top of the lotus throne, to mark it as the adamant throne (*vajrāsana*), seated on which Buddha attained perfection. There is a slight difference in the arrangement of the throne on which this lotus is placed, the details of which are described below. Below the throne there are two rows of bas-reliefs one above the other, the upper one of which represents the attack of Māra's army on Buddha, the allurements of Māra's daughters, and the arrival of Māra and his wife on the scene. This part of the bas-relief is connected with the figure of Buddha in the centre of the stele and represents the incidents immediately preceding the illumination (*sambodhi*). Surrounding this central group there is a band all round the stele which contains different incidents of the life of the Master, beginning with his birth and ending with his death. The scene of the birth is placed, in both stelae, inside a miniature shrine to the proper left of the main figure. In the stele from Bihar, we find Māyādevī standing under a *śāla* tree, clasping the neck of a female to her proper left, the child issuing from her proper right and two small figurines standing below; the arrangement of the details of this and the other incidents will be discussed below.

¹ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Part II, Br. 5, p. 80*. An illustration of this bas-relief appeared in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I, 1893*. See *pl. XIX b*.

² See *pl. XIX c*.

Below the niche, containing the representation of the birth, is a small basrelief containing a seated figure of the Bodhisattva. Under it is a small basrelief representing the prediction of the sage Asita Devala, and below it again there is another basrelief, which perhaps represents the Bodhisattva going to school. Below this is a seated figure, at the proper left lower corner of the stele. To the proper right of this figure, which represents the first meditation of Buddha on the uncertainties of life, we find the following incidents:— (1) The *Mahābhīṣṭkramana* or the departure of Buddha from his home, (2) the leave taking of Chhandaka and Kanthaka, (3) the change of garments and (4) the emaciation of the Bodhisattva. At the lower proper right corner in the Bihar stele we find the figure of the donor kneeling with a garland between his hands. From this place we go up. On the Shibbati stele three recessed corners on the left or the proper right, bear three pairs of human figures, probably representing the family of the donor. Above the last two recessed corners, in this stele, we find a figure of the Bodhisattva seated in meditation, with two females standing on his right, the figures on the left having become indistinct. This portion of the basrelief may represent the presentation of the *pāyasa* to Buddha by Sujātā or Nandabālā, when the Master was famished; because one of the figures in the Sibbati stele, namely that on the extreme right, holds a vessel in her hand. We now return to the temple in the centre of the stele, the figure seated inside it, and the bands of basrelief immediately below the throne, which latter represent the incidents connected with the illumination of Buddha and his attainment of perfection. There cannot be any doubt as to this temple being intended to represent the great temple at Bodh Gaya, because just over the main figure there is a small chamber containing a similar but much smaller figurine, and corresponding to the chamber over the *garbhagriha* of the great temple at Bodh Gaya, which has survived to this day. The four small niches near the spire would then represent the four small shrines at the four corners of the great temple at Bodh Gaya, at the level of the upper chamber. On the top of the spire there is a *chaitya*, in the place of the usual finial, which has been placed over the *āmalaka*. It will be noticed that in both of the stelæ there are two smaller niches or miniature shrines, containing figures of minor Buddhist deities, near the base indicating that in the original temple there were four similar shrines on the ground level out of which only the two in the front have been portrayed in these stelæ. The representation of the temple in both of the stelæ is almost exactly the same. The next incident in the Master's life, immediately after the illumination, is the protection of his body from wind and rain by the Nāga king Muchalinda. This scene is to be found on both the stelæ, in the second line from the bottom near the lower proper right corner. The first sermon preached by Buddha at Benares is portrayed in a miniature temple at the level of the head of the main figure, on the proper right. A similar niche or temple on the proper left contains a similarly situated figurine, which, as we shall see later on when we come to describe the identity of the basreliefs of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture, represents the miracle of Śrāvastī. Higher up, on each

side of the *śikhara* of the main shrine, there are two other miniature temples which contain scenes representing the taming of the robbers and the taming of the mad elephant Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla by Buddha at Rājagriha. The upper part of the backslab, in both of the stelæ, represents the incidents connected with the death of Buddha.

In the second sub-division of stelæ, which consist of an image of Buddha surrounded by smaller images or basreliefs representing other incidents of his life, there are also sub-varieties. The differentia between the sub-varieties pertain entirely to the number of details, which we find in the case of the main image and the subsidiary basreliefs or images. The most elaborate stele of this class is a big image lying *in situ* on a mound near the modern village of Jagdispur near Bargaon (Nālandā) in the Patna District of Bihar and Orissa. In this image, the lower part of which is still buried underground, the main image represents Buddha in the *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*, surrounded on both sides by the army of Māra attacking him furiously. The edge of the backslab is occupied by seven separate basreliefs, representing seven different incidents of the Master's life, which are almost complete in all details and would compare very well with the basreliefs on the stelæ discovered at Sarnath¹. Another image of this class has not been preserved entirely. It belongs to the Indian Museum Collection (No. 4575-76).² We see only the proper left side of the backslab containing three main incidents depicted in great detail. These details, however, will be discussed, when we come to the identification of the basreliefs themselves.

In the majority of cases the stelæ of this class consist of an image of Buddha in the *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā* in the centre and a small basrelief representing his death or *mahāparinirvāṇa* overhead. There are, besides, six smaller images or basreliefs, three on each side of the main image. The incidents represented in the six latter basreliefs on the sides of the backslab differ in different stelæ. The following four incidents are common to almost all of them:—(1) the birth, (2) the illumination or *sambodhi*, (3) the first sermon at Benares or *dharma-chakra-pravartanā* and (4) the death or *mahāparinirvāṇa*. Of these the birth and the first sermon at Benares are the most frequent. In addition to these two incidents there are four or five others which occur on the sides of the stelæ and vary in different specimens; these as:—(1) the presentation of honey by a monkey at Vaiśālī, (2) the attempt of Buddha's cousin Devadatta on the Master's life through hired assassins, (3) or by the mad elephant Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla at Rājagriha, (4) the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods (*Dev-avatāra*) and (5) the miracle of Śrāvastī. Any four of these might be selected by the artists to complete the eight principal incidents of the Master's life. In the majority of cases, the central figure is that of Buddha in the attitude of touching the earth (*bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*), but there are several exceptions to this general rule. For instance, in several sculptures the central place is occupied by a standing figure of

¹ See pl. XX a.

² *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 53. See Pl. XX b.

Buddha or one seated in the attitude of turning the Wheel of the Law. In another specimen now in the Indian Museum (No. 3755)¹ we find Buddha seated in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* in the same position and in a number of others again a standing figure of Buddha. The best specimen of this class is a large sculpture placed inside the north-western corner shrine on the second storey of the main temple at Mahābodhi or Bodh Gaya. At one time the Indian Museum contained a very large number of such specimens, but the majority of them have been presented by its Trustees as duplicates to other institutions. Thus the Rajshahi Museum has come to possess at least two of these unique images.² The only specimen now remaining in the Indian Museum is No. 3766.³ The Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad can boast of one specimen only $\frac{(3001)}{1}$.⁴ The standing figures of Buddha represent, as we shall see later on, his descent accompanied by Indra and Brahmā, from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. In this class many specimens do not represent all of the eight incidents of the Master's life. The image in the small temple in the north-western corner of the second storey of the great temple at Bodh Gaya represents seven only, while No. 3766⁵ of the Indian Museum represents only five. In this specimen the birth, the illumination and the death are omitted.⁶ In the Bodh Gaya specimen the central figure is that of the taming of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla. The birth is omitted and the death is to be found on the top. The scenes on the sides of the backslab are:— (1) the illumination or *sambodhi*, (2) the taming of the robbers at Rājagṛiha, (3) the first sermon at Benares, (4) the presentation of honey at Vaiśālī and (5) the miracle of Śrāvastī. In this class may be included stele No. 3739 of the collection in the Indian Museum. In this specimen the central figure is occupied by an image of Buddha in the attitude of touching the earth. Below it we find four more, but in different attitudes, and representing other incidents of the Master's life.⁷ Of the latter the two at the extremities are also in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and cannot be properly identified; but of those between them, one is attended by the kneeling figure of a monkey, and holds a bowl in his hands, representing the presentation of honey on the bank of the tank to Buddha. The other figure is in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law (*dharmachakra-mudrā*) and therefore represents Buddha preaching the first sermon at Benares. A similar fragment discovered at Nālandā represents four incidents of Buddha's life.⁸ The fragment bears four niches containing figures of Buddha in the following *mudrās*:—(1) *vara*(?), (2) *dharmachakra*, (3) *bhūmisparśa* and (4) *dhyāna* representing, as we shall see later on, when we come to the explanation of the *mudrās* in the eastern school of mediæval sculpture:—(1) the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods? (2) the first

¹ See pl. XXII c; Bloch. *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 62.

² *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1919*, pp. 1-2.

³ *Ibid*; see pl. XXIII b.

⁴ *Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad*, pp. 26-27, pl. IV. See pl. XXIV.

⁵ See pl. XXIII b.

⁶ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 62.

⁷ *Ibid* p. 46. See pl. XVIII c.

⁸ See pl. XXIV b.

sermon at Benares, (3) the illumination at Bodh Gaya and (4) the presentation of honey.¹

With the exception of one or two images discovered at Sarnath we do not know of any other specimens in India except those produced by the artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture, which look like independent images but are really, in modified forms, bas-reliefs, representing particular incidents of Buddha's life. These image-bas-reliefs are totally unlike images of Buddha with which we are familiar in the older schools of Gandhāra, Mathurā, Amarāvati or Benares. The artists of the eastern school enlarged the main figure in the bas-relief; so much so, that it really looks like an image; at the same time they shortened the attendant figures and lessened their number, so that they look more or less like decorative figures on the backslab. Specimens discovered up to date of this peculiar class of image-bas-reliefs contain the representations of the following incidents:—(1) the birth, (2) the illumination or *sambodhi*, (3) the first sermon at Benares, (4) the taming of the mad elephant Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla, (5) the descent of Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, (6) the presentation of honey to Buddha by the monkey at Vaiśālī, (7) the miracle of Śrāvastī, (8) the attempt of Devadatta to kill Buddha by means of assassins, and (9) the death or *mahāparinirvāṇa*.

An analysis of these image-bas-reliefs produced by the artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture proves that the majority of separate images of Buddha belonging to this school represent incidents of the Master's life. In many cases these incidents are to be identified from the posture of Buddha's hand or some attendant figure. Thus the *bhūmīsparśa-mudrā* denotes the illumination or *sambodhi*, and the *dharmachakra-mudrā* the first sermon at Benares or the miracle of Śrāvastī. Of the latter two again the particular incident represented can be identified by the presence or absence of the wheel and the deer on the pedestal. If the wheel flanked by the deer is present in a particular figure it should be taken to represent the first sermon at Benares. If it is absent, then it may be taken for granted that the figure represents the miracle of Śrāvastī. A standing figure of Buddha with his hands in the attitude of blessing (*varada-mudrā*) denotes the descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. Similarly a figure of Buddha with his hands in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*) denotes that it represents the incident of the attempted assassination of the Master by assassins at the instigation of his cousin Devadatta. A similar figure in which an elephant is to be found near the feet of the Master, represents the taming of the mad elephant Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla. Similarly, an umbrella over the head of the Master represents his descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods.

With the addition of numerous minor deities in the latter days of Mahāyāna, the Buddhist pantheon became so full, that images of Gautama Buddha

¹ It is also quite possible that these four figures on the Nālandā specimen represent four out of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas but such an identification is precluded in the case of No. 3739 of the Indian Museum on account of the presence of the monkey in front of one of the figures.

were very rarely to be seen. Such images in Bengal or Bihar came to represent a particular incident of the Master's life and not a general image, as in the older schools. This feature was introduced by the artists of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture, because in older images, say, of the Gupta period we find images of Buddha of the ordinary type; *cf.* the beautiful metal image discovered at Nālandā,¹ or that discovered near Gaya.²

The artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture obtained distinction in another branch of Buddhist iconography, as their predecessors of the school of Gandhāra had done several centuries earlier. After the Gandhāra School, the later schools such as those of Mathurā, Amarāvati and Benares used to represent only certain incidents of the Master's life; but none of them ever produced the amount and the variety, which we find in the Gandhāra School, where the artists seized upon as many incidents of Buddha's life as they could for representation in basreliefs. Eight centuries after the decline of the great school of sculpture in Gandhāra, the artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture, at the other extremity of India, reintroduced the representations of many of the incidents of the Master's life, which had not been portrayed by the intermediate schools, after that of Gandhāra. In order to enumerate the varieties of the incidents of Buddha's life represented in the eastern school it is necessary, in the first place, to analyse the basreliefs of this school, which have been discovered up to date in stelæ or in the form of image-basreliefs.

On all stelæ or basreliefs of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture the story of Buddha's life begins with the birth. Stories previous to his birth as Gautama Buddha, such as Māyā's dream or the *Jātakas*, have not been discovered in Bengal or Bihar up to this time. In the stelæ of the first class, such as those from Bihar³ or from Sibbati, there is a small shrine to the right of the main temple, in the centre of the composition, at the level of the shoulders of the main figure. This miniature shrine contains a female figure, standing, holding on to the branch of a tree over her head with her right hand, while she clasps the neck of another female standing to her left with her left hand. A child is seen issuing from her waist; while to her right, two males are standing in the Bihar stele. The number of figures in the Sibbati stele is not distinct. In both of these stelæ, the figure adjacent to Buddha's mother has the palms of his hands spread out in front. The big female figure standing in the centre, who holds the branch of a tree overhead, is no doubt Māyādevī, the mother of Buddha and the tree, she is holding, a Śāla tree representing the Lumbinī garden near Kapilavastu. The female on her proper left is her sister Prajāpati and the male on her immediate right Indra, who is to receive the child immediately after his birth on a cloth of gold. The second figure in the Bihar stele probably represents Brahmā.

In certain cases, the scene of the birth is combined with that of the divine child taking the first seven steps. This is more noticeable in the huge

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1920-21, pl. XVIII. See pl. LXVI a.*

² *See pl. LXVI c; for the inscription in Bhoikshukī Lipi, see Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78.*

³ *Br. 5 (Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 80).*

stele of the second class at Jagdispur near Nālandā in the Patna District. Here we find a large number of attendant figures. In addition to Buddha's mother, her sister, Buddha himself, Brahmā and Indra we find a female seated on the ground in front of Māyādevī's sister Prajāpati over which are the busts of two *devas* and just below the figure of the child is a small figurine of Buddha, standing on the top of seven circular lotuses, which indicate the seven steps taken by the infant Buddha immediately after his birth. Usually in stelæ of the second class, the scene of the birth consists of Māyādevī standing under the *sāla* tree and the child issuing from her right side; such are stelæ Nos. 3752¹, 3737², 3713³ and 3755⁴ of the Indian Museum collection. There are three stelæ in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. In $\frac{C(5)2}{186}$ there is an additional figure, which is that of Brahmā⁵. In $\frac{C(5)2}{5}$ we find the seven steps⁶. Among the metal images discovered at Nālandā we find the figure of Indra in addition in one case (photograph No. 2123)⁷, but it is absent in another case (photograph No. 2078).⁸ The seven steps taken by the child Buddha immediately after his birth are prominently associated with the scene of the birth in the following stelæ. In fragments Nos. 4575-6⁹ of the Indian Museum collection we find Māyādevī, her sister Prajāpati, and the child Buddha. Immediately under the child we find another figurine of Buddha standing on five lotuses, no doubt meant to represent the seven celebrated steps. In two other cases the seven steps are represented by a number of lotuses without the figure of the child Buddha; these are No. Br. 68¹⁰ of the Indian Museum collection and stele discovered at Nālandā—(photograph No. 2080)¹¹. The steps are also to be found in two separate images representing the birth of Buddha; these are No. B. G. 50¹² of the Indian Museum and No. $\frac{A(6)1}{202}$ of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi¹³.

We should compare the scene of the birth as represented by the artists of the eastern school with basreliefs representing the same scene in the older schools of sculpture beginning with that of Gandhāra. The oldest representations of Buddha's birth are to be found in the Indo-Greek school of Gandhāra, in which the best known specimen representing this particular incident is the Berlin basrelief formerly in the collection of Mr. Longworth Dames¹⁴. The principal component parts of the birth scene, in this specimen as well as in two other elaborate Gandhāra basreliefs, are:—(1) Māyādevī, standing holding on to the branch of the *sāla* tree, (2) being supported by her sister or a female

¹ Pl. XXI b.

² Pl. XXIII a.

³ Pl. XXI c.

⁴ Pl. XXII c.

⁵ Pl. XXIV c.

⁶ Pl. XXI a.

⁷ Pl. XXIV d.

⁸ Pl. XXIV e.

⁹ Pl. XX b.

¹⁰ Pl. XX c.

¹¹ Pl. XXII a.

¹² Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 43.*

¹³ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 43.*

¹⁴ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, pp. 6-7.*

¹⁵ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, pp. 6-7.*

¹⁶ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, pl. XXIX.*

attendant, (3) the divine child issuing from her left side, and (4) Indra standing on the right waiting to receive the child on a cloth of gold. Around this main or central group stands a crowd consisting of mortals, semi-divine beings and gods, some of whom have placed a finger on their lips in expression of wonder. In some specimens of the Gandhāra school, the scene of the birth is combined with that of the seven steps, as is the case with the well known specimens in the Indian Museum collection (No. 5034)¹. In the specimen in the Guide's collection at Mardān², two other persons besides Māyādevī, Prajāpati or the female attendant and Indra are to be found. The Berlin specimen contains a larger number of attendant figures³.

In the Mathurā school, the superfluous attendant figures disappear. Thus the basrelief on the drum of the *stūpa* from the Dhruva mound contains only the principal figures, viz., Māyādevī, Prajāpati or the female attendant, Brahmā or Indra and the child Buddha⁴. Similarly in another basrelief belonging to the Mathurā Museum, the superfluous attendant figures, which we see in the Gandhāra school, have disappeared⁵. In the Benares school, we find, that additional figures are once more introduced. In the fine stela discovered at Sarnath in the earlier excavations and now deposited in the Indian Museum the birth scene is combined with several others. Thus in S.1 and S.3 only the principal figures are to be found, but we find the additional figures in S.2. In this case Indra is kneeling in front of Māyādevī to receive the divine child, which, in itself, is an unusual feature and behind him we find another kneeling male figurine. Among the sculptures discovered during the excavations at Sarnath, started in the present century by Sir John Marshall, the birth scene is to be found on one stele, in which additional figures are not to be found⁶, but in another stele the reproduction is too indistinct to judge of the presence of other additional figures⁷.

The scene of the birth is invariably to be found on stelae of the first class in the eastern school. It is also to be found in the majority of cases in the stele of the second class. It is absent only on one stele (No. 3766). This scene is represented in separate images or basreliefs in some rare specimens only in the eastern school of mediæval sculpture. One specimen was found at Bodh Gaya and belongs to the latter half of the tenth century A. D. (B. G. 50)⁸, and the second is at Rajshahi⁹. The representation of the infant Buddha taking the first seven steps is always combined in the eastern school with that of the birth and is nowhere separately represented. It is stated that immediately after his birth the infant Bodhisattva walked seven steps and recited some

¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 154.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 152.

³ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pl. XXIX.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura and other antiquities*, pl. CV; Vogel, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 166 (N. 2).

⁵ V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura and other antiquities*, pl. CV; Vogel, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 125 (H. 1).

⁶ *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Survey of India, 1906-07*, pl. XXVIII, 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, 4.

⁸ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 43.

⁹ *A Catalogue of the Arch. relics preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi*, pp. 6-7.

verses¹. In Gāndhāra sculptures also, this scene is more than often to be found combined with that of the Nativity of Buddha, such as No. 5034 of the Indian Museum. This incident is to be found solely in a basrelief in the Guide's collection at Mardan.² It is represented separately in one instance only in specimens of the Mathurā School in a fragment discovered at Mathurā but it seems to have been omitted by the artists of the Benares School³. In the stelæ of the second class of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture this incident is once more revived.

We read in the lives of the great Master that immediately after his birth a sage named Kāla-Devala or Asita-Devala came to visit Śuddhodana and cast the horoscope of the new-born child. In the Gāndhāra School, basreliefs representing this incident of the Master's life are common. The basreliefs on the *stūpa* from Loriyan Tangai now in the Indian Museum collection represent this scene.⁴ There is a larger basrelief in the collection of the Lahore Museum;⁵ Representations of this incident have not been found in basreliefs of the Mathurā and Benares Schools discovered up to date. In the eastern school this incident is represented on the larger stelæ of the first class. In the stelæ from Bihar and Sibbati there is a small miniature temple, under the miniature temple containing the representation of the birth scene, which contains the figure of a Bodhisattva and no doubt represents one of the corner domes of the great temple at Bodh Gaya. Below this temple there is a basrelief within a still smaller shrine on the extreme right. To the left of this shrine, two bearded figures are seated side by side one of whom holds up the child Bodhisattva in his arms. This scene is indistinct in the Shibbati stelæ, but it is quite distinct in No. Br. 5. The sage Asita-Devala and others, whose names are to be found in Kshemendra's *Buddha-Janma*, predicted that the child would become a *chakravartin* or universal monarch or a Buddha.⁶

Representations of the Bodhisattva at school have been found among specimens of the Gāndhāra school only and are not known among known specimens of any other Indian School of art.⁷ Both the Indian Museum and the Lahore Museum collections contain excellent specimens of this scene.⁸ One portion of stele No. Br. 5 seems to represent this incident. Immediately below the scene of the prediction of the infant Bodhisattva's future, there is a small basrelief in which an empty miniature shrine is to be seen on the extreme right and three small male figurines stand, with hands clasped in adoration, in front of it, facing the left. It is not absolutely certain whether this portion of the stele is a representation of the Bodhisattva attending the school, but it seems to be a very near approach to the representation of this particular incident.

¹ W. W. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 16.

² *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique*, fig. 155.

³ Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. XX, pl. IV, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 161.

⁶ *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Vol. I; *Sanskrit Texts*, p. 7, verses 40-42.

⁷ D. R. Sahnî, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, Calcutta, 1914*, pp. 193-94, C (a) 12.

⁸ *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique*, figs. 165-67.

Another incident of the Master's life which is not usually represented in the intervening schools of Mathurā and Benares is the first meditation of the Bodhisattva. M. Foucher has given this title to the meditation of the Bodhisattva on seeing the afflictions of human existence; such as death, labour and old age. The ploughing scene is to be found on one of the medallions on the railing at Budh Gaya.¹ It is not very common even among specimens of the Gāndhāra school. In basreliefs of the school we find the Bodhisattva seated in the posture of meditation and a man ploughing in front; the plough being drawn by a pair of oxen. Indra and some other indistinct figures are to be seen on the basrelief on the drum of the Sūkri *stūpa* in the Lahore Museum.² A specimen in the Madras Museum shows the charioteer and one of the horses of the chariot in the background.³ The essential feature of this scene is the Bodhisattva in meditation, which is indicated in the Budh Gaya medallion by the adamantine throne (*vajrāsana*). So far as our knowledge goes, this scene has not been represented by the artists of Mathurā and Benares Schools. One portion of stele No. Br. 5 represents the Bodhisattva seeing the *bhikṣu* and the aged man. This portion is to be found immediately below the school scene, where we find the Bodhisattva seated in meditation with a male figure standing on his extreme left. It is not a representation of the ploughing scene, but as both in the Bihar and the Sibbati stele this basrelief comes immediately before that representing Buddha's departure from his home, it shows that it must represent one of the four incidents connected with the first meditation. As it cannot be the meditation on the ploughing or the dead body, it must be either the Bodhisattva's meditation on seeing the *bhikṣu* or the aged man. In the Sibbati stele the figure of the Bodhisattva seated is quite distinct but four or five human figures below him cannot be discerned clearly.

The more elaborate stelæ of the first class contain representations of several other incidents of the Master's life, which are not usually to be met with in the older schools of Indian sculpture, after the school of Gāndhāra. On the stelæ from Bihar and Sibbati we find the *mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* or the departure of the Bodhisattva from his home, to the left of the scene representing the first meditation. It is said that the Bodhisattva left his home, on his horse Kanthaka, attended by his groom Chhandaka, at night; when the people of the city of Kapilavastu were asleep. The Gāndhāra and Mathurā schools supply many varieties of the representation of this incident. Thus, we find some scenes representing the Bodhisattva meditating on the great renunciation while seated by the side of his sleeping wife, while all the attendant females are sleeping on all sides.⁴ There is a fine series of basreliefs representing different incidents of the great renunciation, belonging to the Gāndhāra school, in the Lahore Museum. In one of them we find the Bodhisattva on horse-back,

¹ *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique*, fig. 177

² *Ibid.*, fig. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 178-80.

the feet of the animal being held by earth-spirits, so that they may not produce any sound.¹ Further on we find the Bodhisattva on horse-back emerging from the city gate.² In the Mathurā school representations of this incident are to be found on a fine pillar presented by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the Indian Museum after his retirement and on another specimen.³ The third specimen is in the Mathurā Museum.⁴ At least one specimen representing this particular incident has been found in Benares.⁵ The artists of the Gāndhāra school divided this scene into four parts:—(1) The Bodhisattva enjoying the pleasures of domestic life, (2) the sleep of the females and the meditation of the Bodhisattva by the side of his wife, (3) the Bodhisattva leaving the females and (4) the Bodhisattva leaving Kāpilavastu on horse-back. The last event was recognised by the Buddhist artists of the Gāndhāra school and subsequent schools of Indian sculpture as the most important part of the great renunciation and its representations, even among specimens of the Gāndhāra school, outnumber those of any other part of the same incident. Here we find the Bodhisattva on horse-back issuing out of the city or the palace gate,⁶ or going away attended by an umbrella bearer and hosts of gods and men, while the horse's hoofs are held up by earthspirits or *yakshas*.⁷ In the Gāndhāra school he leaves the city on horse-back, while his groom Chhandaka holds an umbrella over his head. Moreover the Bodhisattva is attended by Indra, the *nagara-devatā* and other beings. In the Mathurā school the incident is divided into two parts:—The Bodhisattva leaving the female apartments, while the females are asleep and (2) the Bodhisattva leaving the city on horse-back. In the second part it is to be noted that the *yakshas* holding the hoofs of the horse, so prominent in the Gāndhāra school, are absent.⁸ In the Benares school only the last part of the incident is depicted. The best preserved specimen was discovered by Sir John Marshall in 1906-07.⁹ Though the upper part of the slab is broken the basrelief is in a good state of preservation. Other known specimens of the Benares school are in the Indian Museum collection. In the lower right corner of stele No. S. 1 the figure of the Bodhisattva on horse-back is mutilated and the diminutive horseman in the lower right corner of S. 3 also represents this scene.¹⁰

The great renunciation is depicted by the artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture only on the more elaborate stelæ of the first class. It is to be distinctly recognised both in Br. 5 and in the Sibbatī stele. In Br. 5 the Bodhisattva on horse-back is followed by his groom Chhandaka. In the Sibbatī stele the scene is divided into two parts. To the left of the

¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 182.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 183.

³ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part I*, p. 79, M. 3.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, p. 127 (H. 3).

⁵ *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, pp. 186-87, O(a) 2.

⁶ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 183.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 182 and 184, a; *Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 12-13.

⁸ *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 127; H. 4 and H. 5.

⁹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07*, pl. XXVIII, 5.

¹⁰ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, pp. 4-7; *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, première partie*, p. 163, fig. 29.

middle portion of the lowest band of basreliefs we find a miniature temple containing two human figurines representing the Bodhisattva meditating on the great renunciation. To the left of this, again we find the Bodhisattva on horse-back, followed by his groom Chhandaka with his umbrella. In Br. 5 is to be found in front of the horse, an additional figure who is holding a staff in his hand. This figure may represent Indra or the city-god (*nagara-devatā*).

Another additional incident represented in the more elaborate stelæ is that of Kanthaka, the Bodhisattva's favourite mount, taking leave of him. According to the lives of the Master, after proceeding a certain distance on horse-back, the Bodhisattva left his horse, Kanthaka, which at that moment bowed down before him. Representations of this incident are very rarely to be found even in the Gāndhāra school. In the Gāndhāra basreliefs in the Indian Museum collection several other persons besides the Bodhisattva and his groom are present.¹ Here we find Indra and five others in addition to the main figures. In the specimen in the Lahore Museum we find Indra and one other additional figure.² So far as is known, the incident of Kanthaka bowing down before his master at the time of taking leave, has not been found in basreliefs produced by any other school of Indian sculpture. The stelæ of the first class of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture contain representations of this incident. It is to be found to the left of the scene of the great renunciation on both the stelæ from Bihar and that of Sibbati. In Br. 5 we find the horse kneeling down, behind which is the figure of Chhandaka, the groom; and in front of him an umbrella. The figure of the groom, the bowing horse and the umbrella can also be distinguished at the corresponding place in the Sibbati stele.

After taking leave of Kanthaka, the Bodhisattva changed his royal robes, made of the finest Benares silk, with the coarse clothes of a hunter, or, as some say, with the clothes of his groom Chhandaka. In the Gāndhāra school one or two persons are to be found in addition to the principal figures; but in this school also all representations of this incident are very rare. M. Foucher has reproduced only one basrelief from the Lahore Museum.³ Among specimens of the Mathurā school representations of this incident are also very rare and it is known from one specimen only in the Mathurā Museum.⁴ In this particular case, Dr. Vogel, who identified the scene for the first time, states that figures of the Bodhisattva, the horse Kanthaka and an elephant, indicating the Bodhisattva's royal rank, are present. So far as our knowledge goes this scene has not been found among known specimens of the Benares school. But in one of the big stelæ we find a representation of the Bodhisattva cutting his hair. This is to be found in the lowest panel of S. 3.⁵ In the Bengal school the change of gar-

¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 184 (b).

² *Ibid.*, fig. 185.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 187 (b).

⁴ *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, pp. 127-28; H. 5.

⁵ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, 1^{re} partie, p. 163, fig. 129; See also *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, pp. 186-87.

ments and the cutting of hair are represented on both stelæ of the first class and in both cases the incident is to be found represented to the left of the basrelief, representing the leave-taking of Kanthaka. In Br. 5 we find the Bodhisattva cutting his long hair with his sword, and a male is seated on each side with hands clasped in adoration. The scene is to be found in the corresponding place of the Sibbati stele, but, in this case, only the figure of the Bodhisattva cutting his hair with a long sword can be discerned with difficulty.

After leaving his home, the Bodhisattva began to practise austerities, and became emaciated with continual fasting. The emaciation of the Master was a favourite scene with the artists of the Gāndhāra school. Consequently we find representations of the emaciated Bodhisattva in separate images as well as in basreliefs. The celebrated image of the emaciated Bodhisattva discovered at Sikri,¹ which is now in the Lahore Museum collection and the new one found by Dr. D. B. Spooner at Takht-i-Bahi in 1907-08,² are good examples. Among basreliefs the incident is to be found on a specimen in the Indian Museum collection.³ There is another basrelief representing the same incident in the Lahore Museum.⁴ Representations of this particular scene have not been discovered among the specimens of the Mathurā or Benares schools of sculpture. In the eastern school of mediæval sculpture this incident is represented on both stelæ of the first class. In Br. 5 it is to be found to the left of that representing the cutting of the hair. The Master is seated in the posture of meditation, attended by a human figure on each side. The corresponding space in the Sibbati stele is occupied by figures of the donor and his family. But the incident is to be found in that stele, to the left of the figure of Māra, shooting arrows at the Bodhisattva, on the extreme left of the last but one band. Here the Bodhisattva is surrounded by several other figures, all of whom have become indistinct. In this case, however, we find at least three figures standing on the right and two on the left. These figures may represent the presentation of the *pāyasa* to Buddha by Sujātā or Nandabālā, as one of the female figures, on the extreme right in the Sibbati stele, holds a vessel in her hands. These incidents, however, are minor incidents of the Master's life; they were followed by his illumination or *sambodhi*, when he became a perfect Buddha and this event is regarded by the Buddhists as the principal incident of the Master's life.

The representations of the illumination and the incidents connected with it form the favourite themes with the Buddhist artists of all schools. According to the well known story of the Master's life, the touching of the earth by him, and his call, thereby, on the earth-goddess to come and be the witness of his perfect knowledge, indicate the moment when he ceased to be a Bodhisattva and became "the perfect-one" or *Buddha*. Māra, the Buddhist Satan, having informed the Bodhisattva that there was nobody near

¹ Smith—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 110, fig. 61.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08, Part II, p. 140, pl. XLIII (a), Nos. 50-52.*

³ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 14 (5052).

⁴ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique* fig. 200.

at hand to witness his perfection or attainment of perfect knowledge, the latter summoned the Earth-goddess by touching her to be the witness of his enlightenment. In Buddhist iconography this peculiar posture of touching the earth has become one of the *mudrās* or special attitudes. It is called the attitude of touching the earth (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā* or *bhūsparśa-mudrā*) as well as the attitude of witnessing (*sākshi-mudrā*). This incident is regarded by Buddhists all over the world as the most important of the four principal incidents of the Master's life. In the oldest schools of Indian sculpture, before the adoption of Greek methods, the illumination of the Buddha was represented by an empty stone seat (*vajrāsana*) under a tree (*bodhi-druma*), over which was an umbrella indicating the presence of the Master, as we find in the case of the medallion on the railing at Bodh Gaya.¹ In the Indo-Greek school of Gāndhāra, specimens of the representation of this incident are profuse and the details much varied. Almost all incidents of the Master's life, both before and after the illumination, have been utilised by the artists of this school in their decorative schemes of Buddhist shrines. So we see the homage of the Nāga Kāliya,² the meeting with the grass dealer,³ the preparations for the illumination⁴ and finally the illumination itself. The last named incident is divided into two or three parts:—(1) The temptation of the Bodhisattva by Māra's daughters, (2) the attack on the Bodhisattva by the followers of Māra and (3) the call on the Earth-goddess to stand witness. In some cases, in the Gāndhāra school, the last part is supplanted by that of the presentation of four almsbowl by the guardian deities of the four quarters, as on the drum of the Sikri *stūpa*.⁵ No complete representation of the temptation of the Bodhisattva by the daughters of Māra has been discovered as yet among the specimens of the Gāndhāra school though the attack of Māra's army has been represented on numerous specimens.⁶ The defeat of Māra and the call on the Earth-goddess to bear witness to the illumination, are rather rare. The particular posture of touching the earth (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*), which in later schools of Indian sculpture represents the particular moment when the Master attained perfection, is to be found very rarely among known specimens of the Gāndhāra school. There is only one mutilated image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in which two of Māra's partisans are lying prostrate on the ground in front of the adamant throne, on which the Master is seated in the attitude of touching the earth.⁷ In the Mathurā school we find the temptation of the Bodhisattva by Māra's daughters, the attack on the Bodhisattva by Māra's army and the call on the Earth-goddess to bear witness to the illumination, all combined into one basrelief. In this specimen, Buddha is seated in meditation, with his right hand touching the earth, under the Bodhi tree. The daughters of

¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 200.

² *Ibid.*, figs. 194-96.

³ *Ibid.*, figs. 197-98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 199-200.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 210.

⁶ *Ibid.*, figs. 201-02 and 204.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 203; *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 4900.

Māra stand on his sides and their numbers vary according to the space available. Thus in one specimen there is only one figure.¹ On another specimen there are two,² while the full number, three, is to be found in two cases only.³ Besides these, we find Māra himself, in the act of shooting arrows towards the Bodhisattva, with one follower, represented as a demon. The attitude of touching the earth is almost universally common in the representations of this incident in the Mathurā school of sculpture, with the exception of one specimen (H. 6 of the Mathurā Museum) where Buddha has raised his hand in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*), thus showing that the daughters of Māra were already vanquished and Buddha had extended his protection to them. The same arrangement is also to be found in an unpublished basrelief in the Lucknow Museum which appears to have been brought from Mathurā by Dr. Führer. It has not been noticed before and was found by me in the Lucknow Museum in 1908.

Two new features are to be noticed in the representation of this incident by the artists of the Benares school. These are the *makara* standard of Māra and the presence of the Earth-goddess. In specimens of this school, we generally find Buddha, in representations of the illumination, as seated on a rocky seat which represents the adamantine throne (*vajrāsana*) under the Bodhi tree in the attitude of touching the earth. The demons of Māra's army are shown as coming to attack the Master through the air. In one specimen, two daughters of Māra are to be found on the proper left and Māra himself, armed with a bow and arrow, followed by an attendant holding his *makara* standard (*makara-keṭana*) and in another case, a pensive Māra, vanquished and seated on the ground. The *makara* standard is to be found in a specimen discovered in 1904-05 when the excavations of Sarnath were restarted.⁴ The *makara* is also to be found on the top of a staff in one of the stelæ from Sarnath in the collection of the Indian Museum.⁵ In three different stelæ we find Māra vanquished and seated on the ground in a dejected attitude (S. 1 and S. 2 and on a fragment discovered in 1904-05).⁶ In all representations of this incident by the artists of the Benares school we do find Māra standing with a bow in his hand on the right side of Buddha. The *makara* standard of Māra shows that the Buddhist Satan, whose name is the same as the ancient and modern Persian word for a snake (6), which snake, again, is the symbol of Satan in Jewish, Christian and Muhammadan mythology, was becoming identified with the Indian god of love, Kāma, who is called *makara-keṭana*, i.e., "one whose standard was the *makara*." The other new feature of the Benares school is the presence of the Earth-goddess. In stele No. S. 1 of the Indian Museum collection, we find a female on the pedestal of the stele running towards the proper right. This is the figure of the

¹ Mathurā Museum Catalogue, p. 125, H. 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67, No. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128, H. 6 and another specimen in the Lucknow Museum (B. 298).

⁴ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-05, p. 84, pl. XXX (2).

⁵ Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 4-5, S. 1.

⁶ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-05, pl. XXX (4).

Earth-goddess rushing out of the centre of the earth, at the call of the Master. Her right hand is close to her mouth and most probably the artist wanted to show that she had placed a finger on her mouth in expression of wonder. A finger of her left hand is pointed upwards, showing that the cause of her appearance is the call of the Master. Anderson stated about this basrelief, "The other to the left consists of three women within a walled enclosure, one kneeling and apparently engaged in her devotions, holding up a vase with some object on it, and offering it to one of the women, whose attitude is peculiar."¹ We find the figure of the Earth-goddess in the same position, but only half emerged out of the earth both in S. 3 and S. 4. The figure of the Earth-goddess is to be seen very clearly on the fragment of a stele discovered by Sir John Marshall at Sarnath.² In addition to these basreliefs or stelæ, the artists of the Benares school represented the illumination on separate images, which are really modifications of basreliefs. The first excavations of Sarnath in the present century brought to light a magnificent image of this class representing the illumination which was dedicated by the Buddhist elder (*sthavira*) Bandhugupta. This particular image is indeed the earliest specimen of this new class of image-basreliefs which were elaborated to a very great extent by the artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture. On this image we find the Earth-goddess represented fully and not as emerging partly out of the earth and approaching the adamant throne, on which the Master is seated, from the proper left.³ Unfortunately the image could not be identified at the time of its discovery.⁴ The Earth-goddess Prithivî is also to be found in a small fragmentary basrelief exhumed in the same year.⁵ In certain specimens discovered at Sarnath we find a female with a jar on the pedestal of images representing the illumination. Thus in a basrelief of the Gupta period discovered in 1906-07⁶ we find a female offering a pot or a jar, evidently containing some food, in front of the adamant throne. To the left are the figures of a male and a female running away, evidently standing for Māra and his daughters, who are running away after their defeat by the Master. In the collection of Sarnath sculptures in the Indian Museum at Calcutta the Earth-goddess is absent in S. 2.⁷ The figure of the Earth-goddess is to be found on a pedestal discovered at Bodh Gaya which according to the inscription on it is to be referred to the Gupta period.⁸ In this case we find one female figure, carved out in bold relief in front and holding a vase in her hands. To her left a second female is running towards her with a finger of her left hand, while the right is slightly turned upwards. This second female is undoubtedly the Earth-goddess but the female with the jar has not been properly identified.

¹ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 4-5.*

² *Ann. Report of the Archl. Survey of India, 1907-08, pl. XIII (b).*

³ *Ibid., 1904-05, pl. XXVIII (a).*

⁴ *Ibid., p. 81.*

⁵ *Ibid., pl. XXX (a).*

⁶ *Ibid., 1907-08, pl. XIII (b).*

⁷ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 6.*

⁸ *Ibid., Part II, p. 54, No. B. G. 119.*

as yet. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that this sculpture belongs to the Gupta period (C. 500 A.D.).¹

Coming to the eastern school of mediæval sculpture we find the incident of the illumination very widely represented among all classes of sculpture. It forms the principal part of the elaborate stele of the first class represented by the specimens from Sibbati and Bihar; as well as in the majority of stelæ of the second class, beginning with the elaborate specimen at Jagdispur near Nālandā or Bargaon. In the first class of stelæ the illumination is represented by the figure of Buddha seated inside the great temple at Mahābodhi, on the adamantine throne, which in both of these cases is represented by a lotus, on which is placed a thunder-bolt (*vajra*), and by a band bearing basreliefs immediately under it. The throne, on which the lotus-seat of Buddha is placed, is borne in the case of No. Br. 5 on two elephants, two lions and a dwarf with four hands. In the case of the Sibbati stele it is borne by three elephants, two lions and two dwarfs. Immediately under the throne are to be round the figures accessory to the incident. In this band of basreliefs the details in the two stelæ differ. On Br. 5, we find Māra standing on the back of a *makara*, with another human figure on the extreme left, shooting arrows at the Master. To the right of this are two women, one dancing and the other probably singing. To the right of this group are two other women, who are kneeling facing the right, with dishevelled hair. On the extreme right a male and a female are seated on the back of a *makara* between two trees. In the Sibbati stele we find Māra on the extreme left, shooting arrows at the Master, while three human figures appear behind him. To the right of this, there are three groups, with two female figures in each group. In the group on the extreme left, one female is dancing, while the other has adopted an elegant posture; in the central group both female figures are addressing the Master; while in the group on the right, both females are kneeling to the right, with dishevelled hair. The extreme right of this band of basrelief is occupied by a male and a female seated on the back of a *makara*. These figures agree exactly with the necessary figures required in the depiction of the story of the defeat of Māra (*Māra-dharshanā*). Beginning from the extreme proper right of this band of basreliefs, we find Māra and his wife arrive at the Bodhi tree, on the back of their vehicle (*vāhana*), the *makara*. The central band in both cases, represents the temptation of the Bodhisattva by the daughters of Māra. This is represented by the three pairs in the Sibbati stele and the four figures of Br. 5. The pair on the extreme proper left in the Sibbati stele and the figures on the extreme left on Br. 5 represent the daughters of Māra exposing their bodily charms to the gaze of the Bodhisattva in order to allure him from the true path of enlightenment. The central pair in the Sibbati stele and the single figure with the right hand raised aloft in No. Br. 5 represent the daughters of Māra, addressing the Master, when their allurements had failed. The pair of kneeling females on the extreme right of each of these two stelæ

¹ Floet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 282.

represents the daughters of Māra kneeling in submission with dishevelled hair before the Master. The figure of the male on the extreme right of this band of basrelief, standing on the back of a *makara*, attended by a single figure in Br. 5 and by three other figures in the Sibbatī stele, represents the attack of Māra and his army on the Bodhisattva. It is to be noted that the Earth-goddess is not represented on these two elaborate stelæ.

Among stelæ of the second class the most elaborate representation of the enlightenment or illumination is to be found on the huge stele at Jagdispur near Nālandā. The lower part of this huge image is still buried underground, but most of the necessary figures are to be found on the backslab. Thus we find the demoniac army of Māra ranged in vertical rows on both sides of the Bodhisattva and attacking him with various weapons. On the proper left side of the Master's head we find a demon with a wheel in one hand, below him another shooting arrows at the Master, and below that again a dwarf throwing stones followed by a man rushing through the air with a sword in his hand. To the opposite side of the main figure we find four figures representing the army of Māra rushing to the attack on the Bodhisattva. The centre of the stele is occupied by a beautiful figure of Buddha seated in the attitude of touching the earth under the Bodhi tree.

In all other stelæ of the second class, except No. 3755¹ and No. 3766,² of the Indian Museum collection, the illumination of the Master is represented by a figure of Buddha in the *bhūmisparsa-mudrā* under the Bodhi tree. The exceptions to this rule are stelæ No. 3766 and No. 3755 of the Indian Museum collection and No. 60¹ of the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad.³ Some stelæ of the second class discovered at Nālandā offer some additional details. In a small stele we find four figures below the throne of adamant. These are, beginning from the left, Māra himself shooting arrows, a female kneeling and two other female figures representing the daughters of Māra, trying to allure the Master by exposing their bodily charms (photograph No. 2078).⁴ In another metal stele, discovered at the same place, we find two figures, who are to be identified with the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī, on the right, and Padmapāṇi, on the left.⁵

Image basreliefs or single images representing the incident of the illumination generally do not contain any additional figures. Such images are very common in Bengal and Bihar and mention may be made of Nos. 6124, Kr. 12, 3739 and Kr. 3 of the Indian Museum collection, all of which represent this incident. A fine metal image representing the same incident discovered at Nālandā also does not bear any additional details (photograph No. 2084). Certain images in the Indian Museum collection, however, (N. S. 2075) bear on the pedestal a figure of a female rushing upwards with a vase in one of her hands. This may represent the Earth-goddess.⁶

¹ Pl. XXII c.

² Pl. XXIII b.

³ Pl. XXIV f.

⁴ Pl. XXIV e.

⁵ Pl. XXIV d.

⁶ Pl. XXV c.

It is said that after the illumination of the Master, there was a great storm in Bodh Gaya and rain fell in torrents for several days. At this time, a king of the Nāgas, named Muchalinda, protected the Buddha by coiling his body around that of the Master and keeping his hood as an umbrella over his head. Representations of this incident are rare¹ among basreliefs of the Gāndhāra and Mathurā schools. Among specimens of the Mathurā school no basrelief is known to have been identified with this incident. In the Benares school only one specimen is known. It is to be seen on a block of stone, which was used to build one of the pillars of the main gateway of the principal shrine of the Gupta age at Sarnath.² Two images representing the protection of the Master by Muchalinda were discovered at Bodh Gaya. One of these found its way to the collection of the late Mr. J. D. M. Beglar, formerly of the Archaeological Survey and was purchased for the Indian Museum by the late Dr. Th. Bloch.³ The other image is now worshipped inside the great Brahmanical monastery at Bodh Gaya and is inscribed.⁴ On the basis of the inscription, this second image may be referred to the sixth or the seventh century A.D. Competent art-critics like Sir John Marshall and Mr. O. C. Ganguli are inclined to assign the uninscribed specimen in the Indian Museum collection to the same period. In these two images the Master is seated in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). Behind his body are to be seen the coils of the snake's body and over his head the seven heads of the snake forming a canopy. The artists of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture represented the incident of the protection of the Master's body from wind and rain by the Nāga king Muchalinda only in the more elaborate stelæ of the first class. It is to be found in the stelæ from Bihar and Sibbati. On the Sibbati stele Buddha is seated in meditation on the extreme left of the second line from the bottom, while over his head are to be seen the heads of a snake. The same incident is to be found in the same place in No. Br. 5. The late Dr. Th. Bloch was of opinion that the protection of Buddha from rain and storm by the Nāga king Muchalinda was "an event anterior to the Bodhi."⁵ But according to the lives of Buddha, this event happened after the illumination.⁶

Buddha preached his first sermon at Benares, on the outskirts of the city, in a park then known as the Deer Park (*Mṛigadāva*) which is now called Sarnath. In the beginning of the first century A. D. this part of Benares was regarded as being included within the city of Vārāṇasī, as in the inscription on the umbrella shaft of the great Bodhisattva image, dedicated by the friars Bala and Pushyavuddhi in the third year of Kānishka's reign, it is stated that the image was set up in Benares.⁷ In the older schools of Indian sculpture, this scene is represented merely by a symbol, i.e., a wheel on a pedestal as on the railings of the *stūpa* at Bharhut and the temple of Bodh Gaya. In the latter case we find a stone seat or altar with Asoka's famous monolithic pillar surmounted by a wheel on a lion capital in the background. Fragments of such a wheel and a well preserved lion capital were

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, 1906-07*, pp. . . .

² *Ibid.*, 1904-05, p. 85, pl. XXX b.

³ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 51, l. M. No. 6290, Pl. XXX c.

⁴ See pl. VII a.

⁵ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 51, No. 6290.

⁶ W. Rockhill—*Life of Buddha*, p. 35.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 174.

excavated at Sarnath near the inscribed pillar by Mr. F. O. Oertel¹ after the lapse of centuries. In the Gandhāra school the artists delineated the first sermon at Benares or, as it came to be known to the Buddhists, "the turning of the wheel of the law" (*Dharma-chakra-pravartana*) in the following manner:—The Master is usually to be found seated under a tree, on a raised seat. To his proper right, there is a wheel resting on the *Triśatna* symbol, placed on a small pillar, with a deer seated on each side of it. The five former companions of the Buddha, to whom the newfound light was imparted for the first time, are seated on raised seats, while Indra and other gods stand in the sky or on the ground, some of them throwing flowers on the Master. Such is the scene as represented on the famous basrelief discovered at Loriyan Tangai now in the Indian Museum.² It should be noted that in this basrelief Buddha is not touching the wheel and that his right hand is raised in the posture of giving protection (*abhayamudrā*). Among specimens of the Mathurā school, we find that in three cases the right hand of Buddha actually rests on the rim of the wheel, as if he is turning it. Altogether four known specimens of the Mathurā school represent the first sermon. Three of them belong to the Mathurā Museum, while the fourth belongs to the Lucknow Museum. One of the specimens in the Mathurā Museum shows the Master's hand raised in the posture of giving protection as in the case of the Loriyan Tangai basrelief,³ but in the other two specimens in the Mathurā Museum,⁴ as well as in that in the Lucknow Museum, the Master is represented as turning the wheel, because his right hand rests on its rim. The five former attendants of the Buddha, who had turned away in disgust from him, when he ceased to practise austerities and who are known to the Buddhists as the *Bhadra-caryi-ya-pañchaka* are reduced to four on the *stūpa*-drum discovered in the Dhruva *śilā* and altogether omitted on the basrelief discovered at Rajghat in Mathurā. In the specimens of the Benares school the following changes are introduced:—(1) In all cases, the wheel is placed in front of the pedestal or the altar, on which Buddha is seated, who never touches it, (2) the hands of the Master are in the conventional posture known as the *dharma-chakra-mudrā*. Images of the Gāndhāra school, in which Buddha's hands are in this particular *mudrā*, are also known. There are several such specimens in the Indian Museum, but in basreliefs, representing the first sermon, his hands are not to be found in this posture, before the Gupta period. (3) The first five disciples are generally to be found on the pedestal⁵ and in one case only they are to be found on the same level as Buddha himself.⁶ (4) In several cases the Master is represented as seated on a chair, with his legs hanging down.⁷ Similar images, in which Buddha is seated on a chair or seated with his legs hanging down have been found in the Gāndhāra school also. In the Benares school similar images have been discovered.⁸ In other cases we find such figures in

¹ Cunnigham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XIII; *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 434, fig. 221, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Part II, 1904-05, p. 69.

² *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 433, fig. 220.

³ *Mathurā Museum Catalogue*, p. 125, H. I, pl. VI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130, H. 7; p. 167, N. 2, c; See also V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathurā*, etc., pl. CV.

⁵ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, pl. XXXIII b, XXXIV a; 1907-08, pl. XLVIII b. and c.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XIII b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1906-07, pl. XXIX b.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV b.

a basrelief in the Indian Museum collection.¹ Representations of this scene, like those of the illumination, are to be found in basreliefs as well as in image basreliefs among specimens of the Benares school. Among basreliefs on stela, peculiar characteristics are to be found in almost every one. In S. 1, Buddha is seated cross-legged in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā* with an attendant standing on each side with a fly whisk. On the pedestal are the wheel, with a deer couchant on each side, the first five disciples and a devotee. A *vidyādhara* is to be seen flying on each side of the Master's head with a garland. On S. 2, Buddha is seated in the same posture with an attendant on each side, holding a fly whisk, but in this case also, the wheel, the deer, the first five disciples and the devotee are to be found on the pedestal. In S. 3, Buddha is seated on a chair instead of being cross-legged, with his hands in the posture of turning the wheel of the law, while his feet rest on a lotus flower. Two Buddhas stand on each side of the Master and under the lotus we find the wheel, the deer and three kneeling figures on each side. Had it not been for the presence of the wheel and the deer, there would have been no difficulty in identifying this scene as a representation of the miracle of Śrāvastī. But the wheel and the deer, as we shall see, mark in all cases the representation of the first sermon at Benares. S. 4 is similar to S. 1 and S. 2, where the Buddha is seated in the proper *mudrā*, with the wheel, the deer and the disciples on the pedestal. In the stela discovered by Sir John Marshall, during the excavations initiated by him in the present century, we find that Buddha is seated in the same posture as in S. 1, with an attendant standing on each side, but in this case the attendants appear to be Buddhas. The wheel and the deer are to be found on the pedestal but the disciples are absent.² In the fragmentary stela discovered in 1907-08, the figures of the five disciples are to be found grouped around the person of Buddha.³ The first sermon at Benares is represented in separate images also, by the artists of the Benares school. A magnificent image of Buddha in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law was discovered in 1904-05 and on the pedestal of this image we find a wheel, the traces of the deer couchant and the first five disciples.⁴ The image discovered by Sir John Marshall in 1907-08, though later in date, is similar.⁵ The figures of the disciples are absent in a similar image discovered in 1906-07.⁶ In a fragmentary image, discovered in the same year, we find the Buddha seated cross-legged with an attendant on each side and the wheel, the deer couchant and the first five disciples with four devotees on the pedestal.⁷ The Indian Museum collection contains a separate image representing the same scene where we find the wheel, the deer couchant, the five disciples and two attendants.⁸

The birth, the illumination, the turning of the wheel of the law and the death are regarded all over the Buddhist world as the principal incidents of the Master's life. The artist of the eastern school of mediæval sculpture represented the first sermon on almost every possible occasion. We find it on stela of both classes as

¹ S. 3.—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 7.*

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07, pl. XXVII, 4.*

³ *Ibid., 1907-08, pl. XIII b.*

⁴ *Ibid., 1904-05, pl. XXIX c.*

⁵ *Ibid., 1907-08, pl. XVII c.*

⁶ *Ibid., 1906-07, pl. XXII c.*

⁷ *Ibid., pl. XXIII, 6 & 7.*

⁸ S. 49.—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 26.*

well as in separate images. In the stelæ of the first class the incident is to be found in a miniature temple to the proper right of the main shrine, both in Br. 5 and in the Sibbati stele. In both cases the Master is seated cross-legged in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law. A miniature wheel with two deer couchant is to be seen on the Sibbati stele, but is illegible on No. Br. 5. In stelæ of the second class the scene, of course, is represented in detail. In the huge stele of Jagdispur we find it in the middle of the proper right side. Buddha is seated on a throne, in the conventional posture, with two disciples on each side of his body. The wheel, the deer couchant and four attendants are to be found in front of the pedestal. In less elaborate stelæ of this class the incident is represented on the backslab, either to the right or left of the main figure. In No. 3752¹ of the Indian Museum collection it is to be found on the top, on the proper left side, and here the Master is seated in the conventional posture, on a lotus, in front of which are the wheel and the deer. It is to be found in No. 3737² of the Indian Museum collection on the top of the proper right side and the details in Nos. 3752, 3737, 3713³ and others are exactly similar. The position of the basrelief, representing this incident, differs in different stelæ. Thus it is to be found in the middle of the proper left side on 3713, on the top of the left side in $\frac{C(6)3}{6}$ ⁴, in the middle of the left side in $\frac{C(6)5}{185}$ ⁵ and the top of the left side in $\frac{C(6)1}{1}$ ⁶ of the collection of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad. In three specimens discovered at Nālandā, Buddha is seated with his legs hanging down instead of being seated cross-legged, but his hands are in the conventional posture and the deer and the wheel are always present on the pedestal. In all of these three cases, the incident is to be found in the centre of the proper right side (photographs Nos. 2078,⁷ 2080⁸ and 2123⁹). The only exceptions to this rule, in stelæ of the second class, is No. 3755¹⁰ in the Indian Museum collection, in which the main image instead of being in the attitude of touching the earth is in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law. The wheel and the deer are to be found on the pedestal; the artists of the eastern school also represented this incident in separate images. In all of these images, we find Buddha seated on a lotus throne, with his hands in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law, with a deer on each side of the wheel. The figures of the five disciples are conspicuous by their absence. Cf. No. 3729¹¹ and No. 3717 of the Indian Museum collection. In several cases the figure of Buddha wears a crown, which is to be found on the heads of certain images representing the illumination, (N. S. 2071). There is at least one specimen in the Indian

¹ See Pl. XXI b.

² See Pl. XXXIII a.

³ See Pl. XXI c.

⁴ *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad*, by Manomohan Ganguly, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 20-21, pl. XXI a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, pl. XXIV c.

⁶ Pl. XXIV f.

⁷ Pl. XXIV e.

⁸ Pl. XXII a.

⁹ Pl. XXIV d.

¹⁰ Pl. XXII c.

¹¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 49-50.

Museum collection in which Buddha is seated with his legs hanging down but with his hands in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law.¹ As the pedestal is damaged, it is impossible to say whether this image represents the first sermon or the miracle of Śrāvastī. In separate images of the eastern school, the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, whenever it is accompanied by the deer and the wheel, represents the incident of turning the wheel of the law.

When Buddha was seated on the bank of a tank at Vaiśālī, which, later on, became celebrated among the Buddhists as the monkey tank (*Markaṭa-hrada*), a monkey offered some honey to him, then committed suicide by drowning himself in a well and was reborn as a god. This tank has been identified at Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district by the late Dr. Th. Bloch who excavated the ruins at this place for the first time in 1903-04.² The representation of this incident does not seem to have been very popular with the artists of the Gāndhāra school. There is not a single specimen of the representation of this scene in the splendid collection of Gāndhāra bas-reliefs in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and there appears to be only one specimen in the Lahore collection. In this specimen the incident is divided into three parts:—(1) the monkey bringing the bowl of honey, (2) Buddha holding it with one hand and imparting protection with the other and (3) the monkey walking out of the scene.³ The representation of this scene has not been discovered among the specimens of the Mathurā school of sculpture. Among specimens of the Benares school, it is to be found very rarely. Thus the scene is represented as one of the eight principal incidents of the Master's life, on a stele discovered by Sir John Marshall during the working season of 1906-07.⁴ In this specimen, Buddha is to be seen seated in the attitude of meditation, on a lion-throne, while the monkey stands on his proper right with a bowl in his hands. Subsequently, in the Bengal school, we find that the representation of this incident is more popular. It is to be found on stele both of the first and second classes as well as in separate images. Thus it is to be found both in Br. 5 and the Sibbatī stele, to the proper right of the main temple, at the level of the knees of the main figure. Here Buddha is to be seen seated on a lotus with his legs hanging down. In the Sibbatī specimen Buddha is holding a bowl in both of his hands, while in Br. 5 another figure is to be found behind the back of Buddha with a round vessel in his hands. The very elaborate stele of the second class discovered at Jagdispur near Nālandā depicts this scene in greater detail. On this specimen the incident is to be found at the bottom of the backslab, at the proper right corner. Here Buddha is seated on a lotus throne with his hands placed on his lap in the posture of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). Two attendant figures are to be found on each side of the figure and on the pedestal, we find, the monkey, in three different positions showing three different stages of the incident. On

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 49-50, (No. 3716).

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04*, pp. 81-122; see also D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 189, for another version of the story.

³ *L'Art Græco-Bouddhique*, fig. 254.

⁴ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07*, pl. XXVIII, 4.

the proper left the monkey is kneeling with a bowl in his hands in the act of offering it to the Master. In the centre, he is dancing showing his exultation on account of the acceptance of his offering by the Master. On the extreme right we find the monkey disappearing down a well, which represents his suicide. In the stelæ of the second class this incident is mostly represented in the first row at the bottom. Thus, in No. 3737¹ of the Indian Museum collection, the Master is seated on a lotus, with a bowl in his hands, while the monkey is kneeling with another bowl in front of the pedestal. In No. 3752² the incident is to be found on the same side, but the Master is seated on a raised seat with both legs hanging down. It is to be found in the same place in No. Br. 68,³ of the same collection, where the Master is seated in the same fashion. The monkey is to be seen dancing in front of the pedestal. The incident is to be found represented on the right side of the backslab, in the bottom row, in No. 6264⁴ and on the left side in No. 6265. It is to be found on the right side at the bottom in Nos. 3734,⁵ 3755⁶ and 3703.⁶ In No. 3713⁷ it is to be found in the bottom row, on the left, while in No. 3766,⁸ a peculiar stele in which the birth, the death and the illumination are not represented, the representation of this incident is to be found in the second row from the bottom, to the right. In the stele, in the collection of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, this incident is to be found on the right, in the bottom row, in two cases:—Nos. $\frac{6601}{1}$ ⁹ and $\frac{6602}{185}$.¹⁰ In No. $\frac{6603}{5}$ ¹¹ it is represented without any monkey and the Master is seated with both legs hanging down, instead of being cross-legged.

The incident appears to have been very popular in the eastern provinces of Northern India, as we find it represented on paintings also. It has been found twice on an ancient Buddhist manuscript written in Bengali characters. Once it is to be found without a label among the scenes of the life of Buddha,¹² and again as an accompaniment of an illustration, which represents the goddess Tārā of the city of Vaiśālī, in the province of Tirabhukti.¹³ The incident is to be found on the lower proper right of photograph No. 2123¹⁴ and lower left of photograph No. 2078¹⁵ among the stelæ discovered at Nālandā. Among separate images the most elaborate specimen is No. B. G. 53 of the Indian Museum collection.¹⁶ Here Buddha is seated on a lotus throne with a round bowl in his hand. The backslab is very much broken, but on the pedestal we find two

¹ See Pl. XXIII a.

² See Pl. XXI b.

³ See Pl. XX c.

⁴ See Pl. XXIII c.

⁵ See Pl. XXII c.

⁶ See Pl. XXII b.

⁷ See Pl. XXI c.

⁸ See Pl. XXIII b.

⁹ See Pl. XXIV f.

¹⁰ See Pl. XXIV c.

¹¹ See Pl. XXI a.

¹² Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde 1ere partie*, p. 168, pl. X, 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. VII, 1.

¹⁴ See Pl. XXIV d.

¹⁵ See Pl. XXIV e.

¹⁶ *Catalogue and Handbook*, Pt. II, pp. 44-5, pl. XXVII b.

figures of the monkey; the one on the proper left representing him as offering the bowl to the Buddha and that on the proper right as committing suicide down the well, which, again, is represented by four rings placed one above the other. In No. N. S. 2074¹ the scene is represented by Buddha seated, in the same fashion as in B. G. 53, but there are no figures on the pedestal. Instead of them, a monkey is represented to the proper right of Buddha with a bowl in his hands.

Devadatta, a cousin of Buddha had gained considerable influence over Ajātaśatru, the parricide king of Magadha, but had again lost it. Actuated by jealousy and hatred he tried to kill the Master on many different occasions. On one of these occasions the Master was walking through the narrow streets of Rājagṛīha, the capital of Magadha. At this time Devadatta persuaded the keeper of a mad elephant to let it loose in the street through which Buddha was passing. This mad elephant, Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla, charged Buddha; but when it came near the Master, it became subdued by the majesty of the latter's appearance. Thereafter the elephant bowed down in humility. In the Gandhāra school there are specimens in which the elephant is to be seen issuing out of a gate and being blessed by Buddha.² In one of the specimens in the Indian Museum collection of Gandhāra sculptures, it is to be noticed that the elephant holds something in the trunk.³ The only representation of this incident in the Mathurā school is to be found on a railing pillar now in the Indian Museum.⁴ Here the incident is divided into three parts and represented in three superimposed panels.⁵ In the Benares school this incident is very rarely represented. It is to be found on the stele discovered by Sir John Marshall in 1906-07,⁶ and in a sculpture, which once formed the upper part of the backslab of a colossal image of Buddha and which is now in the Indian Museum. In the former case, the Buddha is to be found standing with the elephant kneeling in front, while a man stands with a staff to the left of the Master. This latter is to be taken as Devadatta. In the case of the top of the backslab of the large image, Buddha is to be found standing in the centre, inside a miniature temple, with Indra and Devadatta behind him. In front of the Buddha, two elephants are to be found, one attacking the Buddha with its raised trunk, while the other is kneeling down in front of the Master in adoration.⁷ These two elephants represent two different stages of the same incident. The first which attacks the Buddha, represents the one slaughter of the elephant and the second one, which is kneeling, represents its submission to the Master.⁸ Among bas-reliefs of the Bengal school this incident is to be found represented in stele of both classes as well as in separate images. In the stelæ from Sibbati and on Br. 5 the incident is to be

¹ See pl. XXVII a.

² *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, figs. 267-68.

³ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part I*, p. 232, G. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288, M-15a.

⁵ Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. III, pl. VII.

⁶ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07*, pl. XXVIII, 4.

⁷ S. 69, *Catalogue and handbook, Part I*, pp. 29-31.

⁸ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, 1ere partie*, fig. 30.

found inside a miniature temple, at the level of the second story of the main shrine. In Br. 5, Buddha is standing in the centre of the shrine, behind whom stands a man with a staff. In front of Buddha are two elephants, one attacking him with raised trunk and the other kneeling in submission, as in S. 49.¹ In the Sibbati stele, there is an attendant figurine both in front of and behind the Master, representing most probably Indra and Devadatta. On the extreme left are the elephants, one attacking and the other kneeling. In stelæ of the second class this incident is to be found at the top of the right side on the backslab of the huge stele at Jagdispur. Here, there is one elephant to the proper right of the Master, an erect figure looking like a monk who is most probably Devadatta, behind the elephant, and two other figures on the proper left. In stelæ of the second class this incident generally finds place among the eight principal incidents of the Master's life. Thus in stele No. 3752² this incident is to be found on the left, in the second row from the bottom. It is found in the same place in No. 3737.³ In No. 6264⁴ we find it on the left in the third row from the bottom. In No. 6265 it is represented without the elephants. In No. 3734 it is to be found in the second row on the right. It is represented in the same row in No. 3755⁵ without the elephants. In No. 3713⁶ it is to be found on the left in the third row, while in No. 3703⁷ it is to be found on the right, in the second row. In the peculiar stele No. 3766⁸ it is to be found at the bottom, on the left. In the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad we find it to the right, in the second row, in No. $\frac{C(a)1}{3}$ ⁹ and on the left, in the third row, in $\frac{C(a)2}{185}$ ¹⁰ and on the right, in the second row, in $\frac{C(a)3}{5}$ ¹¹. As in the case of the more elaborate stelæ of the first class, two elephants are represented, instead of one, in $\frac{C(a)2}{185}$. In some of the separate images two elephants have also been represented; but in the majority of cases only one elephant is to be found kneeling before the Master. In some cases the elephant is omitted and in such cases it is extremely difficult to identify this scene. The scene of the submission of the mad elephant, Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla, is coupled with another scene, that of the attempt of Devadatta to assassinate Buddha by means of hired assassins. As in the case of the first sermon at Benares and the miracle of Śrāvastī, which are usually coupled together, the absence of auxiliary figures makes it extremely difficult to distinguish representations of this incident from those of the attempted assassination by robbers. In the case of the first two incidents, *i.e.*, the first sermon at Benares and the miracle of Śrāvastī, the presence of the deer couchant and the wheel, in one case, indicates the first

¹ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 26.*

² See pl. XXI b.

³ See pl. XXIII a.

⁴ See pl. XXIII c.

⁵ See pl. XXII e.

⁶ See pl. XXI e.

⁷ See pl. XXII b.

⁸ See pl. XXII b.

⁹ See pl. XXIV f.

¹⁰ See pl. XXIV c.

¹¹ See pl. XXI a.

sermon and the absence of these emblems, on the figure on the other side, indicates the miracle of Śrāvastī. In the case of the two incidents in which Devadatta attempted to assassinate the Master, the presence of the elephant indicates the incident of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla, while the absence of the figure of the elephant, on the opposite side of the Blackslab in the same row, should be taken to represent the incident of the taming of the robbers employed by Devadatta to kill the Master. In almost all stelæ of the second class, these two incidents are coupled together. The most elaborate of them are the huge stele at Jagdispur¹ and a stele in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad². In the Jagdispur stele, the incident of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla is to be found on the top, on the proper left. The corresponding place on the right is not occupied by the incident of the attempted assassination of the Master, but by another scene, which is the descent of Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. But these two incidents occupy the central row on both sides in No. $\frac{c(6)1}{1}$ in the collection³ of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. Here, we have standing figures on the right and the left. By elimination it can be proved that the figure without any attendants represents the taming of the robbers. This is very clearly illustrated by stele No. $\frac{c(6)2}{125}$ in the same collection⁴ where we find the incident of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla on the proper right, and that of the robbers in the corresponding position on the left. In the former incident we find that there are two elephants and an attendant figure behind the Master. On the left, in the corresponding position, we find an attendant while kneeling in front of the base is a figure, which represents the would-be assassin, submitting to the Master. The incident of the taming of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla is represented in separate images also. These images fall into two classes, in the first of which the Master is to be seen standing in the centre, with his hands raised in the posture of giving protection, and two elephants in front of him, one of which is rising to attack him, while the other is kneeling down in submission. Usually one or more attendants are also to be found. There are two attendants, each with a staff on one side in No. B. G. 99.⁵ Usually there is only one elephant and one attendant. Such is the case with the image, which was dedicated at Uddandapura in the third year of king Śūrapāla I⁶. In this case we find the attendant on the left and the elephant on the proper right, but there is one peculiarity. A small dragon or elephant is to be seen attached to the proper right hand of the Master. A similar indistinct object is to be found in the right hand of the Master in another similar specimen in the Indian Museum.⁷ The representation of the attempt of Devadatta to kill the Master by means of the mad elephant Nālāgiri is also common in paintings in Buddhist manuscripts of the Pāla period.⁸

¹ See pl. XXa.

² See pl. XXIV c.

³ See pl. XXIV f.

⁴ See pl. XXIV e.

⁵ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 52.*

⁶ No. 3764—Bloch, *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 52, See pl. II c.

⁷ No. 3767; *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, 1^{re} partie, pl. X, 6.*

Devadatta's attempt to destroy the Master by means of assassins is also represented in the eastern school, but in basreliefs only. Devadatta hired some assassins and prompted them to destroy his antagonist. In the Gāndhāra school this incident is only rarely represented. In basreliefs of this school Buddha is represented as standing while the assassins are lying in the ambush for him behind a wall.¹ Among known specimens of the Mathurā school of sculpture, the representation of this incident has not been discovered as yet. In the Benares school this incident is also very rarely represented. It has been found on S. 60 only. In this specimen the incident of the assassination occupies the niche on the proper right. In this niche, which is a miniature temple, Buddha is standing in the centre, while Devadatta, who is represented as a monk, stands on his proper left. One man is standing in front of the Master while another is bowing down. The man who is standing in front represents the robber or assassin in his attempt to assassinate the Master, while the kneeling one represents the second part of the incident, in which the would-be assassin is cowed down by the majesty of the mien of the Master and is kneeling humbly in submission.² In the Bengal school, the representation of this incident is to be found on stelæ only; it was not popular enough to be represented in separate images. The incident is to be found in a miniature temple on the elaborate stele from Sibbati and No. Br. 5. In the stele found at Sibbati the representation of the attempted assassination consists of one figure behind that of the Master standing with an umbrella and another figure in his front while a third figure is kneeling in front by the side of the other. Had it not been for the kneeling figure it would have been difficult to identify this particular part of the Sibbati stele as a representation of the incident of the attempted assassination, because usually the umbrella over the head of the Master represents his descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. Though the umbrella is present, the kneeling and standing figures in front of the Master indicate that here we have a representation of the attempted assassination and not the descent of Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. This incident occupies a similar place in Br. 5. also; where in addition to the figure behind the Buddha we find another figure flying to the left of his head. In this case also, the standing figure represents the robber trying to assassinate the Master, while the kneeling figure represents the former's submission.

In stelæ of the second class we find that in the elaborate stele from Jagdispur the incident of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla, combined with that of the subjugation of the mad elephant, occupies the top space on the proper left, but the corresponding space on the top of the right hand column is occupied by a representation of the incident of the descent of Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. The incident of the assassination is to be found in most of the other known specimens of stelæ of the second class. As has been stated above, this incident is to be found in the same horizontal

¹ *L'Art Grec-Bouddhique*, p. 266.

² *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 29-30; Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, I^{re} partie, pl. X, 5.*

row as that in which the incident of the mad elephant is to be found. Thus it is to be seen in the second row in No. 3752¹ and No. 3737² of the Indian Museum. In both cases it is to be found in the same row on the proper left but on the proper right in No. 3703.³ It is to be found in the lowest row of No. 3766⁴ on the proper left. In Nos. 6264,⁵ 6265 and 3713⁶ this incident, along with that of the mad elephant, is to be found in the top row. In all of these cases, the representation of this incident consists of an erect figure of the Master with or without one or more attendants. In the majority of cases, for example, in Nos. 3752, 3737, 6264, 6265, 3755⁷ and 3713 there is no attendant figurine. In many of these cases the only distinguishing factor between the representations of this incident and that of the mad elephant is the absence of the elephant in the case of the former; but in many cases in stelæ of very small size such as Nos. 6264 and 6265 of the Indian Museum collection, the elephant is also omitted. The three stelæ discovered at Nālandā most probably bear the representation of the descent from the heaven of the thirtythree gods in the place of the incident of the lured assassination (photographs Nos. 2078,⁸ 2080⁹ and 2123¹⁰). In more elaborate specimens, we find a kneeling human figure in the place of an elephant on stelæ of this class. This is to be found in No. 3703.¹¹ In the collection of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, this incident is to be found in the second horizontal row from the bottom on the left in $\frac{0.60.1}{4}$.¹² There is no attendant figure also in $\frac{0.60.3}{5}$.¹³ The incident is represented on a more elaborate scale in No. $\frac{0.60.2}{185}$ ¹⁴ in the top row on the proper left. Here one attendant figure is to be seen behind the Master while in front of him is the kneeling figure of the would-be assassin.

Two other incidents of the Master's life are generally to be found in the majority of stelæ of both classes. The first of these is the miracle of Śrāvastī. It is stated in the biographical works of the Buddha that the six Tīrthika teachers, who tried to vanquish him in various manners, being dissatisfied with the attention that was being paid to the Master in Rajagṛha, approached king Ajātaśatru and invited Buddha to a disputation (*vichāra*). Being dissatisfied with the answer of the king of Magadha they went to the adjoining kingdom of Kośala, the capital of which was Śrāvastī. Here, king Prasenajit invited the different parties to a meeting and the Master, subsequently, vanquished the Tīrthika teachers by making fire and water issue simultaneously from his body and preached to them at the same time from the four cardinal points.¹⁵

¹ See pl. XXI b.

² See pl. XXIII a.

³ See pl. XXII b.

⁴ See pl. XXIII b.

⁵ See pl. XXIII c.

⁶ See pl. XXI c.

⁷ See pl. XXIV c.

⁸ See pl. XXIV e.

⁹ See pl. XXII a.

¹⁰ See pl. XXIV d.

¹¹ See pl. XXII b.

¹² See pl. XXIV f.

¹³ See pl. XXI a.

¹⁴ See pl. XXIV e.

¹⁵ *Mahāpratihāryāvatāna*—in the *Divyāvadāna*.

This incident is generally represented in big stelæ in the Gandhāra school and forms the subject of an elaborate dissertation from the learned and able pen of M. Foucher.¹ In these sculptures the representation of this incident consists of the figure of the Master seated cross-legged in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law surrounded by worshipping figures and other figures of Buddha.² No representations of this incident have been found among specimens of the Mathurā school, though one scene on the *stūpa* drum found in the Dhruva *ṭilā*³ is identified with this incident. This incident was identified for the first time on one of the stelæ from Sārnāth in the Indian Museum collection S. 1. In the Benares and Bengal schools of sculpture, the first part of the miracle of Śrāvastī is not represented and we find Buddha preaching simultaneously from four cardinal points only. In the Benares school we generally find Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law with a Buddha seated on each side of him.⁴ A more elaborate specimen from Sārnāth, in the Indian Museum collection, shows numerous stalks issuing from the root of a single lotus plant and on the central one a large figure of Buddha seated. Numerous standing and seated Buddhas occur on other lotus flowers issuing from the same stalk, and surround the central figure, S. 5.⁵ In the majority of cases of the representation of this incident, in the Benares school, we find two Nāgas issuing from some arabesque foliage on the sides of the root of the lotus. In many cases two human figures are also found seated on thrones, one on each side of this group. The figure to the proper right is to be identified with king Prasenajit, as is indicated by the presence of an umbrella bearer and the elephant behind him. Two attendant figures are also to be seen behind the seated figure on the left, S. 1. In the case of S. 5 also we find Buddha seated in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā* on a large lotus, while quite a number of Buddhas are to be found seated or standing in various postures on lotus flowers on long stalks issuing from the common root. There are some mutilated figures at the bottom, among which we can recognise the king and the elephant on the left and another seated figure, with an attendant standing behind him, on the right. The same scene is to be found in modified forms on the stelæ discovered by Sir John Marshall in 1906-07.⁶ The artist attempted to show Buddha preaching from the four cardinal points simultaneously. The posture of the hands, *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, cannot be explained, but the attempt of the artist to show the Master in all four directions simultaneously, has culminated in a large figure of the Master seated cross-legged in the centre of the composition and two other figures also seated, either cross-legged or with legs hanging down, on each side, the fourth figure being hidden behind the main figure. The representation of this scene in this particular form is to be found on another stele discovered at Sārnāth in the same year.

¹ *Journal Asiatique, Deuxième Série, Tome XIII, pp. 1-77.*

² *Ibid.*, pls. 9-16.

³ *Ibid.*, Series X, Tome II, 1903, p. 323.

⁴ *Cat. of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*, pp. 189-92, C(a)3(f), C(a)6-7.

⁵ *Catalogue and Handbook*, pt. II, p. 7. See also C(a)6 in the Sārnāth Museum. (*Cat.* p. 192).

⁶ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07, Part II, p. 93, pl. XXVII, 4.*

There is an inscription on the pedestal on the basis of which the sculpture may be relegated to the fifth century A.D.¹

The artists of the Bengal school followed the artists of the Benares school in the representation of the incident of the miracle of Śrāvastī very closely. We find two different styles of representation of this incident. In the first style we find the Master seated in the centre, with two smaller replicas on his sides. Such are the representation to be found in S. 1 as well as in the stela discovered by Sir John Marshall. This kind of representation is followed in the Bengal school in some stelæ of the second class as well as in separate images. The second method of the representation of this incident is that to be found in S. 5 of the Benares school. Similar representations on separate images have been discovered at Nālandā.² By far the most elaborate representations of this incident among specimens of the eastern school are to be found in separate images. One of them was dedicated in the thirteenth year of king Vīrabhadrā III of Bengal.³ In this image we find that the main figure represents the Master seated on a lotus, in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law. On each side of him is a Buddha seated, with legs hanging down, but with hands in the same posture. On the backslab we find three other similar figures in the three remaining cardinal points. In addition there are four standing figures of Buddha on lotus flowers issuing from the same stalk. Under each side of the main stalk is a Nāga with hands clasped in adoration and to the proper right is the figure of king Prasenajit of Kosala, who was the umpire of this trial between the leaders of the rival sects and to the proper left another male figure. In addition to these figures we find the representation of Buddha's death just over the head of the main figure. The presence, in a representation of the miracle of Śrāvastī, of that of the death of the Master is not easy to explain.⁴ That this sculpture represents the miracle of Śrāvastī will at once be evident from a comparison of this specimen with S.1 and S.5 of the Indian Museum collection. This incident is not elaborately represented in stelæ of the first class. In stelæ of the second class, in which the principal incidents of Buddha's life are represented, the miracle of Śrāvastī is represented by a group of three seated Buddhas instead of four such groups as in the more elaborate image described above. In the big stela from Jagdīspur we find this incident to the proper left in the second horizontal row and it shows the Master, seated in the centre in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law, with two other Buddhas squatting on each side. Below the Master are to be found two Nāgas, on each side of the stalk, a stout figure seated on the proper left and another figure kneeling on the proper right. On each side of the head of the main figure of the Buddha or the Bodhisattva, a male is seated on a projecting bracket. The best representation of this incident among stelæ of the second class is to be found on fragment

¹ *Ibid.*

² See pl. XXVIII b.

³ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 82, pl. XXX; I. M. No. 3731; see pl. Va.*

⁴ *Journal Asiatique 10^{me} series, Tome XIII, 1909, pp. 56-57, pl. 7, see pl. Va.*

No. 4575-76¹ in the Indian Museum. Here, as in the case of the image, we find the central figure seated cross-legged, with a figure on each side, seated with legs hanging down, the hands of all the figures being in the *dharma-chakra-mudrā*. In less elaborate stele of the second class, this incident is represented by only one figure of Buddha. The miracle of Śrāvastī is generally to be found combined with the first sermon; just as the incident of Nālāgiri or Ratnapāla is coupled with that of the assassins. In the stele of the second class, these two incidents are always to be found in the same horizontal row. The identification of this particular incident is helped by the presence of the deer and the wheel in the case of the first sermon and their absence in the case of the Śrāvastī miracle. Thus, in the case of stele of the first class, we find this incident in miniature temples. In Br. 5 we find the wheel on the proper right and a vase on the proper left. In the case of the Sibbatī stele the deer and the wheel are to be found under the miniature temple on the proper right, while the figures under the miniature temple on the proper left have become indistinct. In the majority of these cases the figure of a Nāga or an attendant Buddha is not to be found; but on the other hand, in the majority of cases, a small figurine is to be found seated in front of the little pedestal; cf., 3752² and 3737³ in the Indian Museum collection. In No. 3752 the first sermon at Benares is to be found to the proper left and the miracle of Śrāvastī to the right of the head of the main figure, i.e., on the top horizontal line. The position is reversed in the case of No. 3737. In the small stele, No. 6264,⁴ two figures in the *dharma-chakra-mudrā* are to be found in the second horizontal row. One of them represents the turning of the wheel of the law, while the other should be taken to be the miracle of Śrāvastī; but in both of these cases all indications are absent, as we do not find either the deer couchant or the wheel on the pedestal of either of these figures. It is therefore impossible to say definitely which of these figures represents the first sermon and consequently it becomes impossible to determine by elimination which figure represents the miracle of Śrāvastī. So also in No. 6265 two similar figures, in the same attitude, are to be found in the second horizontal row without any indication to enable us to differentiate between them. In No. 3734 the upper part of the backslab is broken and neither of these two incidents is to be seen. In No. 3713⁵ the miracle of Śrāvastī is to be found on the proper right and the first sermon to the left. In both of these cases the Buddha is seated cross-legged on a lotus seat, in the second horizontal row. The first sermon is indicated by the presence of the wheel and the deer in front of the pedestal and the miracle of Śrāvastī by the presence of a seated figure in relief against the pedestal, and representing the Tīrthika teacher. In 3703⁶ these two incidents are represented in the third horizontal row from the bottom and the miracle of Śrāvastī is

¹ See pl. XX b.

² See pl. XXI b.

³ See pl. XXIII a.

⁴ See pl. XXIII c.

⁵ See pl. XXI c.

⁶ See pl. XXII b.

to be found on the proper left, and the first sermon on the proper right. In this case also the first sermon is denoted by the wheel and the deer couchant, while in the case of the miracle of Śrāvastī we find the figure of the defeated Tīrthika teacher seated on the pedestal. In the collection of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, in the case of $\frac{C(6)1}{1}$, these two incidents are to be found in the top horizontal row, where the first sermon has been placed on the proper right and the miracle of Śrāvastī on the proper left. The latter, however, is much damaged and it is impossible to determine whether there was a miniature figure on the pedestal or not. In the case of $\frac{C(6)2}{150}$ these two incidents are to be found in the second row from the bottom², without any indications, which would enable us to distinguish, which is the first sermon and which is the miracle of Śrāvastī. In the case of $\frac{C(6)3}{5}$, these two incidents are to be found in the top horizontal row³, where we find the first sermon on the proper right and the miracle of Śrāvastī on the proper left. Among stelæ discovered at Nālandā, we find that both the first sermon and the miracle of Śrāvastī are represented in the central horizontal row, by placing the Master with legs hanging down and with his hands in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. In the case of the first sermon, the deer and the wheel are to be found on the pedestal, while there are no attendant figures in the case of the miracle of Śrāvastī.⁴ This latter incident is broken in the case of photograph No. 2080.

From this detailed examination it becomes evident that the sculptors of the Bengal school found it difficult to represent the miracle of Śrāvastī, without additional details to differentiate it from the first sermon and consequently they placed this incident side by side with the first sermon. The first sermon can be easily recognised by the presence of the wheel and the deer couchant and the miracle of Śrāvastī could be recognised by its presence in the same horizontal row and the absence of the wheel and the deer. In the case of the latter, in many cases, the kneeling figure of the vanquished heretic of Śrāvastī provides some means to identify this particular incident. This figure is very clearly that of a despondent man in stele No. 3703. Turning to special images representing the miracle of Śrāvastī, we find that they belong to two different varieties. The first class represents this incident in the orthodox way as we find it in the Benares school and the backslab of the colossal image from Ghasikundi in the Indian Museum collection (No. 4575-76).⁵ As we have seen, the most elaborate representation of this incident in separate images is that discovered at Bihar which was dedicated in the thirteenth year of king Vigrahapāla III of the Pāṭā dynasty (No. 3731).⁶ now in the collection of the Indian Museum. This specimen has been wrongly described by Professor Nilmanī Chakravartī in the Supplementary Catalogue of the Indian Museum collection.⁷ Here we find a close repetition of the details to be found in stele

¹ See pl. XXIV f.

² See pl. XXIV c.

³ See pl. XXI a.

⁴ See pl. XXII a : XXIV d and e.

⁵ See pl. XX b.

⁶ See pl. V a.

⁷ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 50.

No. S. 1 from Sārnāth in the same collection. Thus, we find that Buddha is seated on a lotus with his hands in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā* in both of these specimens. In the Benares basrelief, however, two Buddhas are standing on each side of the main figure on different lotus flowers, while in No. 3731 only one Buddha is seated on the same lotus as the main figure and on each side of it. Then in both cases we find a Nāga on each side of the main stalk. Finally we find a king on one side and a Tīrthika teacher on the other on both. In No. 3731 the elephant and the attendant with the umbrella behind the king are absent. The main idea was to see Buddha preaching, which is indicated by the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, in all four cardinal points in fourfold figures all with their hands in the same posture. Out of these fourfold figures, we find only three, as naturally the artist does not represent the figure at the back. In order to show the fourfold figures at the four cardinal points, he has portrayed the three remaining groups on the backslab, out of which he should have represented only two, because the group at the back should have remained invisible. Ordinarily four groups are not portrayed; so in the majority of stelæ of the Benares school we find that only three Buddhas, one seated cross-legged and two others either seated or standing behind him with hands in that particular posture, are represented in this scene. So also in the Bengal school we find only three figures of Buddha usually all seated together in the representation of this scene. In No. 3751¹ only one group of three Buddhas is to be seen, while below it is a Nāga on each side of the stalk. Specimens Nos. 3727² and 3716³ represent the same incident, which is also to be found in a niche in No. 4301.⁴ In one case only do we find the central figure seated with his legs hanging down, *viz.*, in No. 3716. In this case the duplicate Buddhas are not in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. From a detailed examination of all these different specimens, we cannot but come to the conclusion that in representing the miracle of Śrāvastī, the artists of the Bengal school placed the Buddha with two attendant Buddhas on a single lotus, or on different lotus flowers springing from the same stalk, in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, with two Nāgas one on each side of the stalk. In less elaborate images only the Nāgas were represented, the figures of the king and the Tīrthika teachers being omitted. In less elaborate stelæ of the second class, the Nāgas also were omitted and the incident was represented by placing three Buddhas side by side or by placing a single Buddha on a lotus in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, without any deer or wheel on the pedestal. In specimen No. 3716 we find the Buddha seated with legs hanging down, without any attendant figures, but with the hands in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. Most probably this image also represents the miracle of Śrāvastī. Similar images are also known in the Benares school such as Nos. S. 49 and S. 10. The excavations of Nālandā have supplied some interesting specimens of the representation of this scene. The most interesting of these is the one portrayed

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59; See pl. XXVIII c.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48; See pl. XXVII d.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49; See pl. XXVIII a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71; See pl. XXVII c.

on the margin of the large sculpture discovered near Jagdispur. In this case, the main figure is seated on a lotus, on which the attendant Buddha figures are also seated. Below the lotus, a Nāga is to be seen on each side and other indistinct figures representing the king and the Tirthika teachers. What adds interest to this specimen is the presence of an umbrella over the head of the Master and two branches of the *pipal* tree. In addition to the Buddhas seated on the same lotus as the Master the backslab shows the presence of two other Buddha figurines and a number of other Bodhisattvas and divine beings, all seated on lotus seats, against the backslab. The next specimen from Nālandā, representing this incident, is in reality a miniature shrine containing all figures. From a common root spring seven different stalks of lotus. On the central stalk is a lotus bearing the main figure, with two attendant Buddhas, seated by his side, all in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. On both sides of his head are two other Buddhas seated in the *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, but on separate lotus flowers. By the side of the Buddha are two other Buddhas seated on different lotus flowers and over his head yet another Buddha seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā* on a separate lotus, but, in this case with an attendant on each side. Four of these five different Buddhas, seated on different lotus flowers can be recognised by their *mudrās* to be four of the five *dhyāni-buddhas* such as Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi. Under the main lotus two Nāgas are to be seen one on each side. A group of two mutilated figurines on the proper left probably indicates the vanquished Tirthika teachers and mutilated figures of the king and his attendants are also still traceable on the proper right.¹ The third specimen from Nālandā is a terra-cotta plaque, in which we find several stalks of a lotus plant issuing from the same stem. Buddha is seated in the centre on a big lotus, with his hands in *dharmma-chakra-mudrā*, while an attendant Buddha stands on a smaller but separate lotus on each side. The upper part of this plaque is broken off but most probably the five *dhyāni-buddhas* and two Bodhisattvas, one of which Padmapāni can be recognised on the proper right, were represented on the backslab. At the bottom we find three figures to the left and an equal number to the right of the stalk. These most probably represent the king and the Tirthika teachers with their attendants.²

Another incident of the Master's life, which the artists of ancient Indian schools of sculpture loved to represent, is the descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, where he had gone to preach his true law to his mother for three months. This is known in Buddhist books as the *Devāvatāra* just as his supposed visit to Ceylon is called *Laṅkāvatāra*. We find this scene on one of the pillars of the railing of the *stūpa* from Bharhut, now in the Indian Museum. Here we find the triple ladder, extending from the top to the bottom of the panel, indicating the threefold ladder, which extended from heaven to the earth at Śāṅkāśya, for the descent of the Master, attended by Indra and Brahmā. A pair of footprints is to be found on the top and the

¹ See pl. XXIX b.

² See pl. XXIX c.

bottom rungs of the ladder and an expectant group of men, gods and semi-divine beings fill up the rest of the space.¹ In the Gāndhāra school, we find that the figures of Brahmā and Indra and Buddha have been introduced in the representation of this scene. The Master descends by the central ladder and Indra and Brahmā by the side ones. At the foot of the ladder the full figure of the nun Utpalavarnā is to be found in a less elaborate basrelief in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay. We find that the steps are only two or three in number. It should be noticed that in these two basreliefs Indra and Brahmā descend with hands clasped in adoration.² Very little difference is to be found in the representations of this scene in the Mathurā school. Here in one specimen we find an exact replica of the Gāndhāra basrelief,³ and in another we find the full figure of the nun.⁴ The first change in the manner of representation of this incident is to be found in the Benares school. Here Indra and Brahmā descend with hands clasped in adoration but the former holds a fly-whisk. Only in one case do we find the latter holding a *kamaṇḍalu* instead of the fly-whisk. Out of four cases of the representation of this incident in stelæ of the Benares school we find the representation of the ladder in two cases only, (1) S. 4⁵ of the Indian Museum collection, and (2) a fragment discovered by Sir John Marshall.⁶ In the case of the remaining two, there is only one ladder in S. 1 and none in the other. The nun Utpalavarnā is represented in two cases only. In the first case we find her kneeling on one side of the ladder, with two male figures on the left.⁷ We see that in the Benares school the steps do not form an inseparable adjunct of the representation of this scene and Indra and Brahmā hold different objects in their hands. Thus on the stelæ, discovered at Sār-nāth in 1906-07, Indra is holding an umbrella and Brahmā a *kamaṇḍalu*, indicating that in this particular basrelief Buddha is represented as descending from the heaven of the thirty-three gods. Coming to the Bengal school we find that the presence of Indra with the umbrella and of Brahmā with the fly-whisk represents the descent from the heaven. The steps are absent in the majority of cases. In the stelæ of the second class, which represent the eight principal incidents of the Master's life, this event is very rarely represented. It is to be found in one case only, in the fragment of the backslab from Ghasikundi, No. 4575-76⁸ of the Indian Museum collection. In this particular case, the incident is represented in the second horizontal row. Here Buddha is standing on a lotus in the centre. Indra stands on his proper right on a smaller lotus, holding an umbrella over the head of the Master and Brahmā to his left with a fly-whisk in one of his four hands, while in front of the large lotus is to be found the kneeling figure of the nun Utpalavarnā. This incident

¹ Cunningham—*Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XVII.

² *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 540, fig. 265.

³ Vogel—*Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125, pl. VI.

⁵ Faucher—*Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, 1^{re} partie, fig. 29.

⁶ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08, Part II*, pl. XIII g.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 93, pl. XXVIII 4; *Ibid.*, 1907-08, pl. XIII g.

⁸ See pl. XX b.

is to be found in one of the three stelæ discovered at Nālandā, on the upper horizontal row, to the proper right, where only one attendant figure is to be seen holding an umbrella over the head of the Master. Though the incident of Saṅkāśya is not to be found in stelæ of the second class usually, the artists of that school represented this incident very profusely in separate images. It has been stated above that the artists of the Benares school represented the steps, which are said to have stretched from the heaven to the earth at the time of the Master's descent, in some cases only. In the eastern school the steps are very rarely represented. So far as we know they are to be found on one specimen only (Kr. 5).¹ In this specimen, we find Brahmā holding an umbrella over the head of the Master and Indra a bowl. The ladders are three in number according to the requirements of the legend. In another case we find Brahmā holding a fly-whisk and a *kaṇḍakū*, while Indra holds the umbrella. This is the image, which was dedicated in the third year of King Śūrapāla I of Bengal (No. 3763).² In other images we find a similar arrangement, but no ladder (Kr. 13).³ In another specimen it is extremely difficult to recognise who is Indra and who is Brahmā. The figure on the proper right holds an umbrella and that on the proper left the fly-whisk, but both have only one head (Br. 8).⁴ A somewhat similar specimen is No. N. S. 2072 of the Indian Museum, where the place of Indra and Brahmā is taken by the Bodhisattva Maitreya on the proper right and Lokanātha, with two hands, on the proper left.⁵ In all of these specimens the proper left hand of the Master holds part of his upper garment, while the proper right is in the posture of blessing. One cannot therefore but come to the conclusion that in the Bengal school, the artists, in depicting the scene of the descent of the Master from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, placed Indra and Brahmā on the sides and placed the left hand of the Master in the *varada-mudrā*. In less elaborate images the Master is represented as standing under an umbrella, with his hands in the *varada-mudrā*, indicating the incident of the descent at Saṅkāśya. The hands of the main figure in stelæ No. $\frac{1161}{1}$ ⁶ of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad collection and No. 3766⁷ of the Indian Museum collection are broken, but as in both cases the incidents of the mad elephant and the robbers are separately represented, it can be safely stated that the main figures, in these two stelæ, represent the Master as descending from the heaven of the thirty-three gods.

The death or the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* forms the last one of the four principal incidents of the Buddha's life. We do not find any representation of this incident among the specimens of the ancient schools of sculpture such as those of Bharhut or Sanchī. In the Gāndhāra school, we find two different

¹ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 74*; see pl. XXIX a.

² *Supplementary Catalogue, pp. 51-52, see pl. II a.*

³ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 76*; see pl. XXX b.

⁴ *Ibid., p. 81*; see pl. XXX a.

⁵ See pl. XXX b.

⁶ See pl. XXIV f.

⁷ See pl. XXIII b.

classes of bas-reliefs, the more elaborate ones like that of the Lorian Tangai *stūpa*¹ in the Indian Museum Collection, and secondly small bas-reliefs, in which the accessory figures are less in number.² Here, we find, that Buddha is lying dead on a couch with the head to the proper right, between two *sāla* trees. Subhadra, the last disciple of the departed Master, is seated in meditation in front of the couch. Usually we find a waterbag suspended from an arrangement of three sticks. On all sides of the Master we find Indra, other gods, laymen and monks, lamenting. It should be noticed here, that in some of the bas-reliefs, we find Subhadra seated facing the front,³ but in others, we find him seated with his back turned towards the front.⁴ We find the same details in the representation of this event in the Mathurā School. We find Buddha lying on a couch between the *sāla* trees. A *deva* appears out of the branches of the *sāla* tree at the proper right end. Eight mourning figures are grouped around the couch and Subhadra is seated facing the front.⁵ In other cases we find three or six mourners only.⁶ In the Benares school the *sāla* trees are represented in two cases out of three and we find Subhadra in two cases. His figure is omitted in S. 2 of the Indian Museum. Here, the *sāla* trees are indicated by lines along the corners at the top. The representations on S. 3 and S. 60 are by far the best. In S. 60 we find two conventional *sāla* trees and a *chaitya* between them. In front, three figures are seated lamenting, but we do not find Subhadra among them. One new feature is introduced in this bas-relief. We find the gods of the orthodox pantheon coming to visit the scene of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. There are three rows, and in the front we find Kārttikeya on his peacock and the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa on a mouse (?). In the second row we have, from the right to the left, Sūryya, Indra on his elephant, Yama on his buffalo and Rāhu. In the third row we have Vishnu on Garuḍa, Brahmā on the goose and Śiva on his bull. In S. 3 we have Subhadra, eight divine and lay mourners and the *sāla* trees.

In the Bengal School, we find a class of image-bas-reliefs, representing the death of Buddha, which are very rare in Indian sculpture. In earlier periods, the best example of such images is perhaps the colossal image of the dying Buddha at Mattha Kuar near Kasia. In others we find Buddha lying on a couch between two *sāla* trees. A *chaitya* rises between the trees in the background. In front Subhadra is seated in meditation in the centre, with his back turned towards the front and an aureate halo surrounding him. A mourning figure is seated on each side. We find four specimens of this event in the Indian Museum collection.⁷ In the stelæ of the Eastern Indian school we do not find the figure of Subhadra or the *sāla* trees. Ordinarily they show Buddha lying on a couch surrounded by four mourners, but both in the

¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 277.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 278.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 279.

⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 280-81.

⁵ *Mathura Mus. Cat.* p. 129, H. 8; *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, fig. 282.

⁶ *Mathura Mus. Cat.* pp. 167 and 125, pl. VI.

⁷ 2752-74 & 5619; Bloch *Sup. Cat.* pp. 53-54. See pls. XI^v d and XXXIc-d.

Sibbatī stele and stele No. Br. 5 we also find a host of gods of the orthodox pantheon, on their respective *vāhanas*, proceeding towards the scene of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. Here also we find a *chaitya* rising up in the background. In stelæ, in which the eight principal incidents of Buddha's life are portrayed, we find Buddha lying on a couch, with one or two mourning attendants and a *chaitya* in the background. In all cases, however, this last incident of the Master's life is placed at the top of the back slab. In paintings, in ancient Bengali manuscripts we find the death scene occasionally, but in manuscript Add. No. 1643 of the Cambridge University's collection, the painting is in a very bad state of preservation and it is not possible to decide whether there was a *chaitya* in the background or Subhadra in the front or not.¹

¹ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, 1^{re} partie, pl. X, 6.*

CHAPTER V.

THE BUDDHISTIC PANTHEON.

With the increase in the number of divine and semi-divine members in the Buddhistic pantheon, the elders of the Buddhistic congregation and the artists employed by them were compelled to reduce the descriptions of the various gods and goddesses to writing. This class of books form a literature by themselves and are generally known as the *Sādhanas*. These *Sādhanas* have been discovered in very large numbers in Nepal and Tibet and form the basis of the modern enquiry into Buddhistic Iconography. The pioneer work on the subject is M. A. Foucher's *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, published in two parts. M. Foucher divided his subjects into five different parts:—

- I. The Buddhas,
- II. The Bodhisattvas,
- III. Minor Male Deities,
- IV. The Tārās,
- V. Minor Female Deities.

The first part of M. Foucher's work is devoted to the identifications of the various gods and goddesses and the second part, to practical illustrations of the employment of the *Sādhanas* for that purpose. The identifications made by M. Foucher in these two parts prove conclusively that the extant *Sādhana* literature was written exclusively in Bengal and Bihar and that the sculptures which form the subject matter of this work also formed the basis of these early writers on Buddhist iconography. In fact the majority of figures identified by M. Foucher come from Magadha and a few from Bengal. From a perusal of the second part of M. Foucher's work it is evident that he has not quoted the entire number of *Sādhanas* available; but has only selected such as are necessary for the determination of his identifications. In 1910 when the author began writing this work in the Asiatic Society of Bengal he was helped with the loan of manuscript No. 60, 8059 and the Honorary General Secretary of that body at that time, Mr. G. H. Tipper, M.Sc., F.G.S., obtained the loan of manuscript Add. No. 1464 from the Cambridge University's collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. These two manuscripts were collated and the material used for the identifications proposed in the following pages. Since that date Mr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., has utilised all available material on the *Sādhanas* in the compilation of his work on Buddhist Iconography. Mr. Bhattacharyya enjoyed the unique advantage of examining the great collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the Darbar Library at Kathmandu in Nepal in the company of his father, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E. His work therefore contains the latest additions to our knowledge of Buddhist *Sādhana* literature. Further, Mr. Bhattacharyya has done great

service by editing the *Sādhanamālā* with the help of all existing and available materials.

The principal difference between M. Foucher's work and that of his pupil lies in the mode of treatment. While M. Foucher's work classifies the *Sādhanas* into a number of natural groups, Mr. Bhattacharyya's work is based on the divisions of the Mahāyānic Buddhist pantheon. Mahāyāna of the early mediæval period of Indian history recognised a triple series of five deities. These five deities are known as the five divine Buddhas, Akshobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi, and Vairochana. Each of these five divine Buddhas possesses an earthly counterpart called the *Mānushī* Buddha and a separate emanation known as the Bodhisattva. In the classification of the Buddhist pantheon, the earlier Buddhists make a divine Buddha the head of a particular genus. The Bodhisattvas, the lesser deities, the female deities and semi-divine beings are divided in the *Sādhanas* into five different groups. Thus, in the genus of Amitābha, the Bodhisattvas bear on their head-dress a seated figure of this divine Buddha and this attribute is shared in common by all other male and female deities.

I. THE BUDDHAS.

In the Eastern School of Mediæval Sculpture, images of Buddha generally represent one particular incident of his life. A separate image of Buddha, without any characteristics, which label it as the figure of the Master representing a particular incident, is extremely uncommon in Bengal and Bihar. The Buddha figures discovered in these two provinces represent the Master at the time of one of the following incidents:—

(1) The illumination, (2) The First Sermon at Benares, (3) The descent from the heaven of the *Trayastriṃśas*, (4) The submission of Nālagiri or Ratnapāla, (5) The presentation of honey at Vaiśālī and (6) The Miracle of Śrāvastī. Besides these six different forms we possess separate representations of the birth and the death and, if these are also counted as images, then there are eight different species of the Buddha images amongst specimens of the Eastern School. The only case, where, in the Eastern School, artists have represented the figure of Buddha only without reference to any particular incident of his life is in the representation of the seven past Buddhas and the Messiah of Buddhism, the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Here we find that the seven past Buddhas, including Gautama, stand under their respective Bodhi trees.¹ In this group the future Buddha Maitreya is known by the *chaitya* in his head-dress. Such groups of Buddhas including the one referred to were found in comparatively large numbers at Bodh Gaya and another of the series was dedicated by a Chinese pilgrim (B. G. 133).² Another specimen was dedicated either in the Kushan or Gupta period and a portion of it was recovered during the excavations at Bodh Gaya

¹ See pl. XIV e l. M. No. B. G. 83.

² See pl. XXXI b.

by Cunningham and Beglar.¹ Yet another specimen was found at Bishanpur Tandwa in the Gaya district by Sir Aurel Stein in 1901.²

In the Eastern School, the illumination is represented by the seated figure of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and in the language of the *Sādhanas* this particular type is styled the *Vajrāsana-Buddha-Bhāṭṭāraka*. In such images, in addition to the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation, we find Maitreya on the left and Lokeśvara on the right of the main figure.³ Larger images instead of being carved out of one piece were made by joining several carvings together. An example of such a gigantic figure was discovered by Stein at Bishanpur Tandwa, in 1901⁴; but these figures have now been removed to the Patna Museum.⁵ According to the late Dr. Th. Bloch this group represents the best work of the artists of the Eastern School.⁶

A third class of peculiar images are to be found in Benares, Bihar and Bengal only. In these specimens Buddha wears a crown and a necklace but no other ornament on any part of his body. The best example is the separate image B. G. 807 in the Indian Museum, which represents the taming of the mad elephant and a copper gilt image of Buddha in the possession of Mr. Saurendra Mohan Sinha of Bhagalpur.⁷ These crowned Buddhas are also to be found among second class stelæ representing eight principal incidents of the life of the Buddha. Such specimens are common all over Bengal and Bihar. The best specimens in the Indian Museum are I. M. No. 3703,⁸ 3755,¹⁰ 3713¹¹ and Br. 68.¹² The Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad contains one specimen collected from Bihar in the Patna District, $\frac{Q. 1872}{185}$ ¹³. An earlier generation of archæologists took them to be figures of *Dhyānī* Buddhas and they were labelled as such by the late Dr. Th. Bloch in 1896, but later on he was compelled to admit that the crown and the necklace on the bodies of these Buddhas could not be explained.¹⁴ Whatever be the cause of the presence of the crown and the necklace in these images it is quite certain that they are not figures of the *Dhyānī* Buddhas or the Bodhisattva Maitreya. The second class stelæ with the crowned Buddha as the main figure prove this conclusively. Such images are by no means confined to Bengal and Bihar, because they have also been discovered at Tewar¹⁵ and Tīgowa,¹⁶ or Tegowa in the Central Provinces.

¹ See pl. XXXIIIc.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX, fig. V.

³ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* 2^e partie, p. 17, fig. 1.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX, fig. IV.

⁵ See pl. XXVII.

⁶ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1901-02*, p. 14.

⁷ See pl. XVIIb.

A specimen discovered at Nālandā shows the use of bangles also.—*Ann. Report, Archl.—Survey of India, 1921-22*, p. 106, pl. XXXVIII.

⁸ See pl. XVIIIa.

⁹ See pl. XXIIIb.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, c.

¹¹ See pl. XXIc.

¹² See pl. XXc.

¹³ *Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad by Manomohan Ganguly, Calcutta, 1922*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04*, p. 84.

¹⁵ *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1893-94*, p. 6, para. 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 31, para. 103-104.

II. THE BODHISATTVAS.

The Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture flourished at a period when Hinduism had revived and Buddhism very distinctly degenerated. By imbibing Tāntrika ideals and incorporating a number of deities, which very roughly correspond to similar personifications of abstract qualities in the orthodox Hindu or Brahmanical pantheon, the later Mahāyānic Buddhists of the Eastern provinces created a vast pantheon of their own. A number of deities belonging to the regular Brahmanical pantheon were introduced into Mahāyānic worship but they were always relegated to a subordinate position. In this period the identification of Mahāyāna with the Tantras was almost completed and even now we find names of Buddhist gods and goddesses such as Amoghasiddhi and Akshobhya, Pāṇḍarā and Kurukullā in very orthodox Hindu Tantras. Buddha is very often mentioned by name in many of the Tāntrika works and the sage Vasishtha is said to have worshipped Buddha in order to obtain insight into the cult of Tārā. The mass of Tāntrika literature still extant, remains to be carefully analysed and our knowledge of the line of demarcation between the Buddhist and Hindu Tantras is still very imperfect. With the decrease in the number of Tāntrika Brāhmanas it has indeed become very difficult for us to understand the Tāntrika works and its mystic symbolism.

The analysis of the *Sādhana*s proves that in Buddhist ritual the different species of Bodhisattvas are divided according to the five divine or *Dhyānī* Buddhas. Thus Lokanātha, Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara is an emanation of Amitābha. He is supposed to be the presiding deity of modern Buddhism in the modern age. His period of domination over the universe began from the demise of Gautama Buddha and will end with the birth of Maitreya Bodhisattva. The number of multiplications of this Buddhist deity can be judged from the fact that at least 108 different figures of this Bodhisattva are still worshipped in the *Machchhendra Vahal* in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. In the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture, figures of the Bodhisattva Lokanātha predominate over all others but the specimens discovered do not include all the 108 different species. This Bodhisattva can be distinguished at once by the presence of the divine Buddha Amitābha, by his head-dress and by the presence of a lotus with stalk in his left hand. The number of his hands varies and so do the attributes in each and every different case. We have three varieties of Lokanātha or Lokeśvara already identified:—

(1) Lokeśvara with two hands: he holds a lotus with stalk in the left hand, while the right is stretched down in the posture of bestowing gifts.¹ Examples:— I. M. No. B. G. 140 and N. S. 2073. Tārā and Hayagrīva are present in B. G. 54.² In certain cases a new variety known as Khasarpana³ is obtained by the addition of another lotus stalk to the right and the portrayal of the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas on the back slab.

¹ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde 2^{me} partie, p. 23.*

² See pl. XXXIIIb.

³ *Buddhist Iconography, pl. XXc. See pl. XXXIIIa.*

(2) Lokeśvara with four hands: "the two additional hands of the four-armed type hold a rosary (*akshasūtra*) and a water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) or a book (*pustaka*)."¹ In a colossal image in the Indian Museum we find that one of the right hands holds a rosary, while the other is in the posture of blessing or bestowing a gift (*varadamudrā*). The left hands hold a lotus stalk and a water vessel respectively. (I. M. No. 3962)². A similar specimen is I. M. No. 3860³ but it has six arms instead of four. In the case of the larger image, we find a demon kneeling to the proper right of the main figure and drinking something which falls from the lower right hand of the Bodhisattva and a short male standing to the proper left just below the water vessel. These are evidently Sūchīmukha and Hayagrīva mentioned in the *Khasarpanāsādhana* of Padmākaramati:—

- (a) *Kara-vigalat-pīyūshadhārā-bhjavahāra-rasikam tad-adhaḥ-samāropit-ordhva-mukham mahākukshim atikriśam atiśūticarṇam Sūchīmukham tarjayantam.*
 (b) *Hayagrīvo raktavarṇaḥ kharvalambodurāḥ ūrdhvajvalat-piṅgala-keśo bhujāṅga-yajñopavīti kapilatarasmaśru-śreṇī-parichīta-mukha-maṇḍalo rakta-vartula-trinetra bhṛikuṭi-kuṭīla-bhūko vyāghra-charmāmbaro daṇḍāyudhaḥ.*

Another specimen which deserves mention here is a four-armed image of Shaḍaksharī Lokanātha⁴ which was found in the Shashthitala quarter of the village of Bhadrapur in the Birbhum district.

(3) Lokeśvara with six hands: "In the six-armed figures like the present, we find, besides the attributes enumerated, a snare (*pāśa*) in the left hand, whilst that in the right hand has the appearance of a jewel."⁵ In image No. 5860 of the Indian Museum collection we find a rosary, and a jewel (*ratna*) in the first two right hands, while the third is in the gift-bestowing posture. In the left hands we find, a lotus with stalk, a snare and a water vessel respectively.⁶

Finally in this class of images we find Lokeśvara with a multiplicity of hands. In the *Sādhana*s we find the name of *Māyājālakram-āryāvalokiteśvara* who has five heads and twelve hands.⁷ The Indian Museum collection contains two Lokeśvara images with twelve hands. In both of them we find that there is only one head, and the presence of Amitābha on it signifies that the image belongs to the genus Lokeśvara. No particular *Sādhana* can be applied to any of these two images. In the first one the following attributes are to be seen:—

Right hands.	Left hands.
(1) Rosary (<i>aksha-sūtra</i>).	(1) Book (<i>pustaka</i>).
(2) <i>Tarjjanī-mudrā</i> .	(2) Elephant goad (<i>aṅkuśa</i>).
(3) Indistinct.	(3) Snare (<i>pāśa</i>).
(4) Lotus or wheel.	(4) Lotus (<i>padma</i>).
(5) <i>Abhaya-mudrā</i> .	(5) Jewel (<i>ratna</i>).
(6) <i>Varada-mudrā</i> .	(6) Water vessel (<i>kamaṇḍalu</i>).

¹ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04, p. 315.

² See pl. XIIIa.

³ See pl. VIIIa.

⁴ See pl. X XIV b.

⁵ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04, p. 213, pl. LXII-2.

⁶ Supplementary catalogue, p. 57.

⁷ Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique, 2^e partie, p. 38, note 2.

On the right side of the main figure we find Sūchīmukha and Tārā. We know Sūchīmukha by his emaciated figure and Tārā by her description in the *Khasarpaṇa-sādhana* of Padmākaramati :

Tatra Tārā śyāmā vāmakara-vidhṛita-saralotpalā dakṣiṇa-kareṇa vikāśyanti nānālakṣaravatī abhīnava-yauvanodbhinna-kuchabhārā.

On the left side we find Hayagrīva and Bhṛīkūtī. The following description of Bhṛīkūtī has been given by Prajñākaramati :—

Tatra Bhṛīkūtī caturbhujā hemaprabhā jātikalāpīnī vāme tridaṇḍī-kamaṇḍalu-dhāri-hastā dakṣiṇe vandan-ābhīnava-ākṣhasātra-dharaḥarā Trīnetrā.¹

The Indian Museum acquired an image of Lokeśvara with sixteen hands in 1911, the description of which is not to be found among the *Sādhana*s.²

The *Sādhana*s contain the descriptions of a number of Lokeśvaras, bearing different names, e.g., *Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara*, *Hūlāhala Lokeśvara*, *Hari-hari-hari-vāhan-odbhava Lokeśvara* and *Simhanāda Lokeśvara*. M. Foucher has published a photograph of an image of Simhanāda Lokeśvara,³ but in the first part of his work he has published another, which he has identified as Mañjuśrī.⁴ Closer examination proves that this is also an image of Simhanāda Lokeśvara. The presence of a sword on the lotus on the left side and a trident surrounded by snakes on the right in another image definitely proves that it is a representation of Simhanāda, though the five Tathāgatas are absent from the back slab. This image is still *in situ* at Bodhi Gaya inside the Brahmanical monastery.⁵ There is an inscription on its pedestal in characters of the eleventh century A.D. A similar image is included in the Indian Museum collection (B. G. 6) and another in the Patna Museum.⁶ A third specimen was recently discovered at Bazarpara in the Birbhum District.⁷

Maitreya, the Messiah of Buddhism, is rarely met with in the Eastern School. There are two forms of this Bodhisattva in the *Sādhana*s. When he is an attendant of Buddha, he has two hands and holds a fly-whisk in his right and a branch of a Nāgakeśara in his left hand. The collection in the Indian Museum contains two separate images of Maitreya with two hands, in both of which there is a *chaitya* in his head-dress and in one of them there are two four-armed female figures in attendance upon him. In these two images the Bodhisattva holds a branch of the Nāgakeśara in his proper left hand, while the right hand is in the posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*).⁸ The *Sādhana*s describe another Maitreya with three faces and four hands but no specimen of this particular type has been discovered amongst specimens of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture.⁹

¹ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique*, 2^{me} partie, p. 26.

² *I. M. No. N. S.* 2076. See pl. XXXIVa.

³ *Étude, etc.*, 2^{me} partie, p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1^{re} partie, p. 115, fig. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 116, fig. 16.

⁶ See pl. XXXVa.

⁷ See pl. XXXVb.

⁸ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique*, pp. 48-49. See pl. Xa. *I. M. No.* 3790.

⁹ *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 14.

After the Lokeśvaras and Maitreya the most important group of male deities consists of the Mañjuśrīs. This god is known by a variety of names in the *Sādhanas*; such as, Mañjuśrī, Mañjuvara, Mañjughosha, Mañjudeva, Vāgīśvara, Mañjukumāra, etc. Mr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya's work gives us four different classifications within the same genus:—

- I. Emanations of Amitābha.
- II. Emanations of Akshobhya.
- III. Emanations of the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas, and
- IV. Independent forms.

In the first class Mr. Bhattacharyya places two forms:—(I) Vāk, with one head, two arms and white complexion, both hands joined in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. Specimens of this type are extremely rare. (II) Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, with four faces and eight arms, and holding in the right hands:—(a) bow (*dhanuḥ*) (b) snare (*pāśa*) (c) *Prajñāpāramitā* (d) bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and in the left hands:—(a) arrow (*śara*) (b) elephant-goad (*aṅkuśa*) (c) sword (*asi*) and (d) thunderbolt (*vajra*).¹

Among emanations of Akshobhya Mr. Bhattacharyya notices four types:—

(1) Mañjughosha, with one head, two hands in the *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, with the lotus on his left side and the figure of Akshobhya in his head-dress.

(2) Siddhaika-vīra, with one head and two hands and seated with crossed legs. The left hand holds a blue lotus, while the right is in the posture of blessing.²

(3) Vajrāṅga, with one head and six hands, holding a bow and arrow decorated with the red lotus in the principal hands, in the remaining two right hands the sword and the mirror and in the remaining two left hands a bough of the Aśoka tree and a lotus. This deity, as the name signifies, is the Buddhist god of love.

(4) Nāmasaṅgī Mañjuśrī, three heads, four hands, holding a copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* sword, bow and arrow.³

Mr. Bhattacharyya places certain forms of Mañjuśrī under the heading "Emanations from the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas" because no particular *Dhyānī* Buddha is to be found in their head-dresses. Thus in the case of Vāgīśvara it is simply stated that the five valiants are to be placed on the crown (*Pañcha-vīra-kṛta-śekharam*). Mr. Bhattacharyya places four forms in this class:—

(1) Vāgīśvara, one head, two hands, holding a blue lotus in the left hand, the right being displayed in an elegant position.⁴

(2) Mañjuvara, one head, two hands, holding a blue lotus with the book, the *Prajñāpāramitā* in addition to the *dharma-chakramudrā*.⁵

(3) Mañjuvajra, three heads, embracing *Śvābhā* *Prajñā* with two hands and holding the sword, the arrow, the bow and the blue lotus in the remaining hands.

¹ *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 17-19.

² *Ibid* pl. XIII d.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.

⁴ See pl. XXXV a.

⁵ *Buddhist Iconography*, pl. XVd. See pl. XXXV b.

(4) Mañjukumāra, three heads, six hands, holding in two of the right hands sword and arrow, while the third is in the posture of blessing; in the left hands he holds the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the blue lotus and the bow.¹

The independent forms are rather difficult to connect with the regular genus of Mañjuśrī. These are :—

- (1) Arapachana, with one head and two hands, holding the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the sword.
- (2) Sthirachakra, with one head and two hands, holding a sword in one, the other hand being in the posture of blessing.²
- (3) Vādirāt, sitting on the back of a tiger with two hands in the *vyākhyānomudrā*.
- (4) Mañjunātha, with three heads and six hands, holding the wheel, thunderbolt, jewel, lotus, and the sword. The object held in the sixth hand is not specified.³

While the identifications proposed by Mr. Bhattacharyya in many cases are quite accurate, some specimens in the Indian Museum collection have still remained unidentified. An example of this is the Mañjukumāra in that collection (I. M. No. 6271). If the word *sava-paryāṅkinam* is taken to mean the two lions under the throne then the identification is absolutely complete because in this case the deity has three heads and six hands and holds :—

Right hands.	Left hands.
(1) Sword (<i>asi</i>).	(1) <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> .
(2) Arrow (<i>sarā</i>).	(2) Blue lotus (<i>nīlotpala</i>).
(3) <i>Varada-mudrā</i> .	(3) Bow (<i>dhanuḥ</i>).

The *Sādhanas* enumerate quite a host of minor deities such as Trailokya-vijaya, Chaṇḍa-Mahāroshana, Heruka, Vajradāka, Saṁvara, Buddha-kapāla, Vajrahūmkāra, Mahābala, Vajra-jvālānalārka, Paramāśva, Bhūtaḍāmara, Rakta-yamāntaka, Krishnayamāntaka, Vighnāntaka, Jambhala, Mahākāla, etc. These *Sādhanas* are to be found on folios 257-342 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's manuscript No. Ga. 8059. The identification of these images has already been attempted on a large scale by Mr. Bhattacharyya and in this case also his work is characterised by conformity to the classification of the Buddhist *Sādhanas*. Among emanations of Amitābha we find Mahābala, Saptasatīka Hayagrīva; among the goddesses we find Kurukullā, Bhṛīkuṭī, Mahāsītavatī. Among emanations of Akshobhya we find Chaṇḍaroshana, Heruka, Buddhakapāla, Vajradāka, Saṁvara, Hayagrīva, Yamāri and Jambhala. Numerous examples of Jambhala have been discovered in the eastern provinces of Northern India but by far the best and the oldest specimen was discovered at Kurkihar in the Gaya District. This specimen was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1848 and transferred later on to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. It has been wrongly

¹ *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, pl. XVII d. See pl. XXXVII b.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

described by Anderson as "A seated figure of Ganeśa."¹ None of the other specimens, known to us, corresponds to the two *Sādhanas* quoted by Mr. Bhattacharyya. One of them was dedicated at Nālandā in the tenth century A.D. (I. M. No. 3917)². Another uninscribed specimen belongs to the ninth century A.D. (I. M. No. 3911).³ The latest specimen in the Indian Museum collection is inscribed in the secret alphabet used by the Buddhist monks of Magadha and called *bhaikshukī lipi* by Bühler.⁴ It is really a specimen of the twelfth century A.D. (I. M. No. 4571).⁵ The goddesses who are the emanations of Akshobhya are Mahāchīnatārā, Jāngulī, Ekajātā, Parṇasabari, Prajñāpāramitā, Vajrachikā, Mahāmantr-ānusārīnī, Mahāpratyaṅgirā, Dhavajāgrakeyūrā, Vasudhārā, Nairātmā. Among these Mr. Bhattacharyya has correctly identified the figure of a Yamāntaka from Nālandā⁶, Parṇasabari from the Indian Museum⁷ and from Vikrampur. A fresh identification is possible in the case of Prajñāpāramitā. Indian Museum specimen No. 3817 corresponds to the following *Sādhana* :—

*Bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā pīṭavarūṇā dvibhujāikamukhī pañcha-Tathāgatama-kuṭī, vyākhyāna-mudrā-vatī viśvadala-padmachandrāsīnā, sarvvalāṅkāra-vastravatī vāmadakshīna-pārsve utpalastha-Prājñāpāramitā-ṣaṣṭaka-dhārīnī.*⁸

Ms. A. S. B. Ga. 3059 fol. 163 rev. 164 obv.

The emanations of Vairochana and Amoghasiddhi are only females and we shall have to deal with them later on. Among the emanations of Ratnasambhava we find two forms of Jambhala and the goddesses Mahāpratisarā and Vasudhārā. Mr. Bhattacharyya has identified two images of Mahāpratisarā now in Dacca but in neither of these cases does the *Sādhana* correspond to the one quoted by him. The *Sādhana* quoted on p. 116 describes a goddess with three heads and ten arms, with the figure of Ratnasambhava in the head-dress. Another *Sādhana* quoted by him in the note on page 133 describes a goddess with a *chaitya* in the head-dress, four heads and eight hands holding a wheel, a thunderbolt, an arrow and a sword in the right hands and a thunderbolt with snare (*vajra-pāśa*), trident, a bow and a battle-axe in the left hands. The image seen by me at Swamibagh near Dacca city in 1911 and now removed to the Dacca Museum, does not show the existence of the *chaitya* over any of the heads and the order of the weapons is quite different :—

Right hands.	Left hands.
(1) Sword (<i>asi</i>).	(1) Bow (<i>dhanuḥ</i>).
(2) Lance (?) (<i>sūla</i>).	(2) Thunderbolt (<i>vajra</i>).
(3) Trident (<i>triśūla</i>).	(3) Battle-axe (<i>paraśu</i>).
(4) Wheel (<i>chakra</i>).	(4) Snare (<i>pāśa</i>).

There is another specimen in the collection of the Sāhitya Parishad at Dacca which is almost similar to the one described above. In this case the presence

¹ *Catalogue and Handbook, part II, p. 271, Kr. 1, See pl. XXXVc.*

² *See pl. XIII a.*

³ *Ibid. XXXVc.*

⁴ *Indische Paläographie, p. 59, Tafel VI, XVIII-XIX.*

⁵ *See pl. XVIc.*

⁶ *Buddhist Iconography, pl. XXVI b. See pl. XLc.*

⁷ I. M. No. 3957—*Buddhist Iconography, pl. XXVIII b.*

⁸ *Ibid. pl. XXXIII d. See pl. XXXIX b.*

⁹ *See pl. XLc.—Buddhist Iconography, p. 126n, pl. XXXVIIc.*

of a prostrate male with an elephant's head on the pedestal seems to indicate that this is a figure of Parṇaśabarī, but she does not correspond to the eight-armed figure referred to on page 24 of Mr. Bhattacharyya's book¹. The weapons held in the eight hands are mostly broken but we can still distinguish the sword and the trident in the right hands and the noose and the thunderbolt in the left hands.²

Under the heading "Emanations of four *Dhyāni* Buddhas" Mr. Bhattacharyya describes a number of goddesses and we must close this section with a number of probable identifications. Mention must be made in this connection of an unique bronze image in the Indian Museum, with four heads and twelve arms which bears a very strong affinity to the Trailokya-vijaya and the Mahākāla classes (I. M. No. 4552). It represents a man standing in the posture of an archer (*pratyālīdhapadam*) on the breast of a male and a female lying prostrate but not in actual *co-itus* as in the case of the Trailokya-vijaya in the Brahmanical monastery at Bodh Gaya.³ It agrees with the latter in the following points:—

(1) Two hands hold thunderbolts in front of the heart, which the *Sādhanā* describes as *hrīdi vajra-hūmkāra-mudrā*.

(2) One left hand holds a *pāśa*.

(3) The feet rest on the hearts of a prostrate male and a female.

The points of difference are:—

(1) The bronze figure is in the *pratyālīdha* posture while Trailokya-vijaya is in the *ālīdha*.

(2) The bronze figure holds an elephant hide, a *khaṭvāṅga* and a battle-axe (*paraśu*), which are not the attributes of Trailokya-vijaya.

(3) It wears a garland of human skulls while Trailokya-vijaya wears a garland made of Buddha figures.

Its points of agreement with Mahākāla are:—

(1) It holds an elephant's hide, as does Mahākāla with twelve hands.⁴

(2) It wears a *mūṇḍamālā*, as does Mahākāla with eight hands.⁵

It differs from Mahākāla in one point. Mahākālas with eight and twelve hands are described as embracing their female counterparts with the first two hands (*prathama-cāma-dakṣiṇābhyām-āliṅgitā devī*).

The bronze specimen in the Indian Museum holds the following attributes:—

Right hands.

- (1) Elephant hide (*gaja-charma*).
- (2) Wheel (*chakra*).
- (3) Battle-axe (*paraśu*).
- (4) Sword (*kriṣṇā*).
- (5) Trident (*triśūla*).
- (6) Thunderbolt (*vajra*).

Left hands.

- (1) Elephant hide (*gaja-charma*).
- (2) Skull-cup (*kapāla*).
- (3) Snare (*pāśa*).
- (4) Human head (*naramunda*).
- (5) Staff of Gaṇeśa (*Vināyakaḍanda*).
- (6) Thunderbolt (*vajra*).⁶

¹ *Buddhist Iconography*, pl. XXXVc.

² See pl. XLI b.

³ *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique*, 2^{me} partie, pp. 57-60, fig. 4.

⁴ *Ms. A. S. B. Ga. 8659*, fol. 336.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 335.

⁶ I. M. No. 4552. From: Patharghata, Dt. Bhagalpur. See pl. XXXVII c.

Peculiar forms are noticeable in certain cases, the descriptions of which do not appear to have been found in the *Sādhanas* discovered up to date; e.g., the male figure tentatively designated as a Bodhisattva in pl. XIII d. This specimen comes from Bihar (I. M. No. 5589) and represents a male seated with one leg partly hanging down. He holds the stalk of a lotus in his left hand and on the top of the lotus is to be found a heart-shaped object which, as other specimens of this period show, represents a jewel.¹ The creed shows the use of that particular type of the palatal sibilant in which the curved proper left limb does not touch the right. The genus of this particular specimen cannot be determined, because, in the first place, its emanation is unknown and in the second place the attributes are uncommon. The second specimen also belongs to the Indian Museum (I. M. No. 5859). It represents a Bodhisattva seated in a rocky cave with a four-handed male on his right and two-handed female on his left. He is an emanation of Akṣobhya and in addition to the figure of his parent on his head-dress, the entire group of *Dhyānī* Buddhas is to be found on the back slab.²

We are faced with another problem regarding the images with snake hoods over their heads. The earliest of these figures were dedicated at Nālandā during the reign of Devapāla.³ In this case the figure possesses two hands and holds a wheel in the left and a conch in the right hand. A canopy of a seven-hooded snake's head rises over his head. He is attended by a female on each side and an inscription at the back of the image informs us that it was dedicated in the square (*halla*) of the emperor Devapāla at Nālandā. Exactly similar are two other specimens discovered at the same place, one of which is in stone and has been identified by Mr. Hirananda Sastri as an image of Nāgārjuna.⁴ This image is seated in front of the coiled body of a great snake. It possesses one head and two hands and holds a water bottle in the left hand while a rosary is held in the right. There is no *Dhyānī* Buddha on the head-dress.⁵ The other specimen is made of bronze.⁶

This particular group of Buddhist images is connected with another group of stone and metal images which appear to be a blending of the Lokeśvara and the Vishnu. Four specimens of this particular class have been discovered in different parts of Bengal. The earliest of them is in stone and was discovered at Ghiyasabad near Azimganj in the Murshidabad District of Bengal some time before 1853, and is described by Anderson in the following words:—

"A sculpture in relief, 42". 50×30", consisting of a twelve-armed male figure, evidently some form of Vishnu, with a small male attendant standing on either side, at the foot of which, externally, is a much smaller human figure holding a lotus. The first right hand is upraised, and the second holds the jewel *Syamantaka*. The lowermost right hand rests on the head of the

¹ Compare the pedestal from Bodhi-Gaya in the Indian Museum. *Catalogue and Handbook, etc., part II, pp. 54-55, B. G. 129.*

² See pl. XV d.

³ See pl. I b.

⁴ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, 1919-20, pl. III a.*

⁵ See pl. XXXVII d.

⁶ See pl. LXXI j.

male figure of that side, but a lotus bud is held between the fingers. All the other right hands are upwardly raised at the elbow. The third holds a half-blown lotus flower, with a small bud represented in relief on the part corresponding to the corolla, but which is partially cut away. The fourth right hand holds a lotus pedestal on which there is the representation of a bull; the fifth a lotus pedestal with an elephant on it; while the sixth right hand holds a lotus pedestal. The first left hand is raised and holds the *Saṅkha*; the second rests on the head of its attendant figure, and has also an object between the fingers, but it is too obscure to be made out. The third holds a lotus on which there is an object resembling an axe; the fourth holds a lotus pedestal on which a small animal rests, and the fifth a *trīśūla*-looking body with short feline hind-legs and a human head. The sixth arm and the head of the figure have been broken off. In front of the pedestal on which the figure stands, there is carved the half of a lotus flower in the centre, with an elephant in feeble relief on its left, and two objects on tripods."¹

The second specimen was discovered at Garui near Asansol in the Burdwan District. It is very imperfectly preserved and therefore the emblems in the hands cannot be recognised. It possesses ten hands, in two of which we find the lotus. The head of the Nāga is present over the head of the main figure and there is a male attendant on each side. The head of an elephant appears below the feet of the attendant on the proper left.² The third specimen was discovered in the village of Sonarang in the Dacca District and was presented to the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad several years ago. This specimen represents a standing figure of a male with one head and twelve hands. There is a serpent canopy over the head and over this is the figure of the *Dhyānī* Buddha Amitābha. The symbols held in the hands are:—

Right hands.

- (1) Broken.
- (2) *Makara*.
- (3) Bird.
- (4) Indistinct.
- (5) Indistinct.
- (6) *Varada-mudrā*.

Left hands.

- Tortoise (*kīrma*).
- Elephant (*lasiṇ*).
- Garuḍa*.
- Wheel (*chakra*).
- Plough (*lāṅgala*).
- Broken.

The presence of the figure of the *Dhyānī* Buddha Amitābha over the head of this figure along with some of the emblems held in the hands proves the affinity of this class of images between Vaiṣṇava images proper and Lokeśvaras. A fresh link in the chain is supplied by the fourth image of this group which is made of metal and was discovered near the village of Sāgardighi in the Murshidabad District. The find at Sāgardighi of which this image formed a part, consisted of three beautiful images, one of which is a standing figure of Vishṇu of the ordinary northern type.³ The second figure is peculiar, though the symbols in the hands prove that this also is an image of Vishṇu. The

¹ *Catalogue and Handbook, part II, pp. 253-54. See pl. XXXVIII c.*

² *See pl. XXXVIII a.*

³ *See pl. LXVII c.*

specimen represents a male seated in that particular posture which Buddhist *Sādhanas* call the *mahārāja-līlā*. The objects held are the wheel, the lotus, the couch and the mace. In this case the mace and the conch, instead of being held directly in the hands of Vishnu, have been placed on fully blossomed lotus flowers held by the deity.¹ The third specimen from Sāgardighi represents a male standing under a serpent canopy of seven hoods, with one head and six hands. The emblems held in the hands are:—

Right hands.

- (1) *Makara*.
- (2) Wheel (*chakra*).
- (3) *Varada-mudrā*.

Left hands.

- Mace (*gadā*).
- Conch (*śankha*).
- Garuda-dhvaja*.²

Comparing the bronze figure from Sāgardighi with the stone image of Sonarang we find that, though the figure of the *Dhyānī* Buddha Amitābha is wanting in the former, a good deal of similarity exists in the emblems held by these two figures. They hold the *makara*, the mace, the *garudadhvaja*, the lotus and the wheel in common. The objects held in the hands of the Ghiyasabad figure have not been correctly described in Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook*. In the majority of cases the symbols were placed on fully blossomed lotus flowers, the stalks of which were actually held by the hands. This particular arrangement seems to have been common in the northern part of *Rāḍhā*. Ghiyasabad lies within a few miles of Sāgardighi and the similarity between these two specimens is therefore easily explained. The symbols held in the hands of the Ghiyasabad figure are:—

Right hands.

- (1) Indistinct.
- (2) *Makara*.
- (3) Bull (*erisha*).
- (4) Goose (*hansa*).
- (5) Lotus bud (*padma*).
- (6) Lotus bud (*utpala*). (Placed on the head of the attendant to the right.)

Left hands.

- Broken.
- Garudadhvaja*.
- Broken.
- Plough (*lāngala*).
- Indistinct (placed on the head of the attendant to the left).
- Conch (*śankha*).

It is therefore clear that the Ghiyasabad image belongs to the same genus as the specimens from Sonarang and Sāgardighi. The date of the specimen from Sāgardighi can be fixed from the votive inscriptions on its back, according to which it was dedicated by a person named Pānō, the son of a preacher named Nānnōdāsa. The characters belong to the eleventh century A.D. and are later than those used in the inscriptions of Mahīpāla I. This particular class of specimens, therefore, indicates a blending of the older Bhāgavata class of Vaishṇava images and the Lokeśvaras of the later Mahāyāna school of Buddhism.

¹ See pl. LXVIII c.

² The compiler of the Catalogue of the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad was unable to recognise the symbol held in the upper right hand as a *makara* and describes it as an elephant. The Sonarang image belongs to the same collection and a comparison would have helped him to identify the object correctly. His failure to do so is inexplicable. Traces of a similar figure can also be recognised in the case of the Ghiyasabad image. In spite of the enormous difference in the emblems held this specimen has been quite inaccurately described as *Hrishikēsa*.

III. THE TĀRĀS.

The original order of the division of the female deities of Buddhism was a generic classification according to the *Dhyānī* Buddhas. The introduction of the Tāntrika ideas into Buddhism led to the conception of the female counterparts of the Buddhas (*Buddha-śaktis*). Such are :—

- (1) Vajradhātviśvari.
- (2) Lochanā.
- (3) Māmakī.
- (4) Pāṇḍarā.
- (5) Āryatārā.

Later Buddhism added a sixth *Dhyānī* Buddha to this group, viz., Vajrasattva, and his female energy is entitled Vajrasattvātī. The remaining goddesses are divided into seven classes according to their spiritual ancestors, the *Dhyānī* Buddhas as follows :—

- I. Emanations of Amitābha: Kurukullā, Bhṛīkutī and Mahāsītayātī.
- II. Emanations of Akshobhya: Parṇasāvārī, Prajñāpāramitā, Vajracharchikā, etc.

Under this heading mention should be made of a rare specimen in the collection of the Varendra Research Society. The figure is inscribed with the word "*Charchikā*" on the back slab. It has been included by the compilers of the catalogue of this institution under the species "D. Śākta images"¹. The similarity between the *Sādhanā* of Vajracharchikā quoted by Mr. Bhattacharyya and this figure is remarkable. The Vajracharchikā possesses three eyes in one head, is seated in the *ardha-paryāṅka* posture, on a dead body, is emaciated, wears a garland of human skulls and possesses six hands. She holds a thunderbolt, a sword and a wheel in the right hands, while a human skull-cup, a jewel and a lotus are held in the left hands. The specimen in the Rajshahi Museum is seated in the *ardha-paryāṅka* posture, on a dead body, is emaciated and possesses three eyes in one head. It differs from the Vajracharchikā in the absence of the *Dhyānī* Buddha Akshobhya on the head-dress and in some of the symbols; because it holds a sword, a thunderbolt and a skull-cup in the right hands, while a trident, a shield and human head are held in the left hands².

III. Emanations of Vairocana: Mārīchī, Ushṇīshavijayā, etc. The most important specimen in this class is Mārīchī. She is the Buddhist goddess of Dawn and Fecundity and possesses a number of different forms :—

- (a) Aśōkakāntā, (b) Ārya-Mārīchī, (c) Mārīchī-pichuvā or Saṅkshipta-Mārīchī, (d) Ubhaya-varāhānanā-Mārīchī, (e) Vajradhātviśvari-Mārīchī, and (f) Daśabhujāsita-Mārīchī.

The most common form is that of the Mārīchī with eight hands. The gradual evolution of the abnormal forms can be traced in the *Sādhanas*.

¹ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, 1919, p. 16, No. D (d) 101, 280.*

² See pl. LVIII c.

Originally she had only one head and two hands. Such is the *Asōkakāntā* and the *Ārya-Mārīchī*. The abnormal forms are those with three, five and six heads; six, eight and twelve hands. The eight-armed form of *Mārīchī* was identified by M. Foucher in 1905 (I. M. No. 4614)¹. A specimen discovered in *Nālandā* and I. M. No. 6268 are exactly similar. In the case of the latter a human bust appears on the pedestal between the seven sows².

Among the other abnormal forms the type called *Ubhaya-Varāhānanā Mārīchī* in the *Sādhana*s is represented in the Indian Museum collection (I. M. No. 6267)³. In this case the heads on the sides are those of a boar. The *Sādhana*s describes a particular variety of this *Mārīchī* with two hands only:—

*Mārīchī-rūpēṇa ātmānam vichintayēt rakta-custrām dvibhujām labita-vyāghra-
chermma-nivasanām uddha-(ūrddhva)-gatām rakta-mukuṭini-trimukhīm
ubhaya-varāhānanām.*

—*Ms. A. S. B. Ga. 8059, fol. 158 obv.*

The specimen in the Indian Museum possesses six hands and is in the *ālīḍha* posture as opposed to the *pratyālīḍha* of the regular *Mārīchī* figure. The objects held in the hands are:—

<i>Right hands.</i>	<i>Left hands.</i>
(1) Sword (<i>asi</i>).	<i>Tarjanī-mudrā</i> and snare (<i>pāśa</i>).
(2) Arrow (<i>śara</i>).	Indistinct.
(3) Needle (<i>sūchī</i>).	Bow (<i>dhanuḥ</i>).

This group includes *Ushnīshavijayā*, a splendid specimen of which of the twelfth century A.D. was identified by M. Foucher in 1905⁴.

IV. Emanations of *Amoghasiddhi*: *Khadīravani-tārā*, *Vaśyatārā*, etc.

V. Emanations of *Ratnasambhava*: *Mahāpratisarā*, *Vasudhārā*, etc.

VI. Emanations of the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas: *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Vajratārā*, etc. A fine metal figure of the *Vajratārā* was discovered at *Patharghata* in the *Bhagalpur* District and identified by M. Foucher in 1905⁵. A second metal specimen has been collected for the *Dacca* Museum⁶ but the Curator, Mr. *Nalinikanta Bhattasali*, thinks that the specimen does not correspond to the *Sādhana* of the *Vajratārā* of the class of the emanations of the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas.

VII. Under the heading "Emanations of four *Dhyānī* Buddhas" Mr. *Bhattacharyya* places another form of *Vajratārā*.⁷

Among independent deities are to be found *Vajrasūradā*, a specimen of which was discovered at *Nālandā*⁸, *Sarasvatī*, *Aparājītā*, etc. The subordina-

¹ *Étude, etc.*, 2^{me} partie, fig. 7.

² See pl. XLII c-d.

³ See pl. XII b.

⁴ *Étude, etc.*, 2^{me} partie, p. 86, fig. 6; *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 100, pl. XXXI c. See pl. XLII a.

⁵ *Étude, etc.*, pp. 70-72; *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 123-26, pl. XXXVI (b). See pl. LXXXII a-b.

⁶ See pl. LXXXII c-d.

⁷ *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 129-30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52, pl. XL c. See pl. XL b.

tion of the deities of the orthodox Hindu pantheon is to be found in the inclusion of Sarasvatī¹ and Gaṇapati² among the *Sādhanas*.

It will be evident from the detailed examination of the inscribed specimens in the Indian Museum in Chapter III above that among them, the majority of the Buddhist images of the eighth and ninth centuries belonged to the cult of Lōkanātha or Lōkēśvara. Images of the Śaktis or Tārās are present, but they are very few in number. We do not find any images from this period which may be delegated to the Tāntrika forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism, e.g., *Mantrayāna* or *Kālachakrayāna*. Outside the Indian Museum, such images belonging to the first period of the activity of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture, i.e., the eighth and ninth centuries, are altogether absent in the great Buddhist centres of Bodh Gaya, Kurkihar and Nālandā. In fact the recent excavations at Nālandā have not yielded even a single Tāntrika Buddhist image which can be safely relegated to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Tāntrika forms of Buddhism may have existed in the eighth and ninth centuries in the eastern provinces of Northern India, but it is extremely doubtful whether their tenets had become sufficiently popular to ensure public worship of their peculiar images in or near famous shrines or noted sacred places of Buddhism. The earliest form of Buddhist Śaktis is the ordinary Tārā, i.e., the Sita or the Mahattarī Tārā. In the Indian Museum the only specimens of this period are Nos. 3820³ and 5862⁴.

In the second period of activity of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture, i.e., in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., Buddhist Tāntrika images make their appearance for the first time. We find a larger number of Tārās and different forms of Bodhisattvas along with Vajra-Tārā⁵ and Mārīchī⁶. Minor deities, common to Buddhism and Hinduism, such as Kuvēra and Sarasvatī also make their appearance at the same time in Buddhist holy places, e.g., I.M. No. 3917⁷ (Kuvēra) and the Dacca Museum image of Sarasvatī. But by far the greatest number of specimens produced by the artists of the Eastern School are Buddhas and Lōkanāthas or Lōkēśvaras, even in its second period of activity.

Towards the close of the tenth century and in the eleventh, during the first renaissance period of the Eastern School, the centre of artistic activity was shifted to Northern and Eastern Bengal and the finest specimens were produced by the artists of the metropolitan district of Mediaeval Bengal, i.e., the tract around the city of Gauḍa, consisting of the modern districts of Purneah, Maldah, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Bogra and Pabna. Images of Buddha and Lōkēśvaras are no longer predominant. Tāntrika Buddhism is predominant everywhere. Even in the great centres of Buddhism in Magadha, Tāntrika Buddhist images are to be found in larger numbers and the majority of them

¹ *Étude, etc., 2^{me} partie, pp. 89-90.*

² *Buddhist Iconography, p. 142.*

³ See pl. IX c.

⁴ See pl. X c.

⁵ See pl. LXXII a-d.

⁶ See pl. XII b.

⁷ See pl. XIII a.

are females, both ordinary and extraordinary. We find that particular type of Tāntrika Buddhist images, called *Yab-Yum* in Tibetan, for the first time in Buddhist holy places, especially at Bodh Gaya. In this period of activity of the Eastern School we find a complete assimilation of the different traits of provincial plastic art in the specimens produced in Eastern and Northern Bengal and South Bihar. The image of Vishnu discovered at Baghaura¹ in the Comilla district is essentially the same as certain of the best images in the Rajshahi Museum² and the image of Buddha dedicated in the eleventh year of the reign of Mahīpāla discovered at Bodh Gaya³.

The fourth and the last period of activity of the Eastern School is essentially a period of decline for all forms of Buddhism and revival of Hinduism. Such Buddhist images which can be safely relegated to this period are mostly Buddhist Tāntrika. Such are the Khadiravani Tārā (I. M. No. 5618)⁴ the Lōkēśvara (I.M. No. 3794)⁵, the well preserved Mārīchīs⁶ and Ushnīshavijayā⁷ in the collection of the Indian Museum. The period is one in which we find Buddhist Tantrism gradually blending with Hindu Tantrism. Such union gave rise to the peculiar Saiva images such as that to be found at Kagachipara⁸ near Munshiganj in the Dacca district and the *Tāntrika Yantras* discovered both in stone and metal in the Rangpur⁹ and Dacca¹⁰ districts.

¹ See pl. IV d.

² *A Catalogue of Archl. relics, etc., pp. 17-21.*

³ See ante p.

⁴ See pl. XVII d.

⁵ See pl. XVII c.

⁶ See pl. XLII d.

⁷ See pl. XLII a.

⁸ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924-25, p. 155, pl. XL c.*

⁹ See pl. LXXIX c-f.

¹⁰ See pl. LXX.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORTHODOX OR BRAHMANICAL PANTHEON.

The images of the orthodox pantheon turned out by the artists of the Bengal School may be divided into three sections:—

- I. Vaishṇava images.
- II. Śaiva images.
- III. Images of miscellaneous deities.

I. VAISHṆAVA IMAGES.

Throughout the length of the dominions of the Pālas, *i.e.*, throughout the modern provinces of Bengal and Bihar and part of the United Provinces, images of the various forms of Viṣṇu have been found in very large numbers. In fact, they out-number any other class of images that have been found. It may be said with confidence that the representations of the standing four-armed Viṣṇu and the phallic emblem of Śiva were more popular than any other image, whether of the orthodox or of the heterodox pantheons.

The following statements are based on that excellent little pamphlet in Bengali from the pen of Pandit Vinod Vihāri Vidyāvinōda published by the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad in B.S. 1317—1909 A.D.¹

It appears from:—

- (1) The *Agnipurāṇa*.
- (2) The *Padmapurāṇa*, and
- (3) Hēmādri's *Chaturvarṅga-chintāmaṇi-Vratakhanda*

that twenty-four different forms of Viṣṇu were recognised, namely:—

- (1) Vāsudēva, (2) Nārāyaṇa (3) Mādhava, (4) Purushōttama, (5) Adhōkshaja, (6) Saṅkarshana, (7) Gōvinda, (8) Viṣṇu, (9) Madhusūdana

¹ This book has since been revised and enlarged and published in English. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 2. "Varieties of the Viṣṇu image."*

(10) Achyuta, (11) Upēndra, (12) Pradyumna, (13) Trivikrama, (14) Vāmana, (15) Śrīdhara, (16) Narasimha, (17) Janārdhana, (18) Aniruddha, (19) Hrishikēśa, (20) Padmanābha, (21) Dāmōdara, (22) Hari, (23) Kēśava and (24) Kṛishṇa.

These images vary in the order in which the four hands hold the usual attributes, and the twenty-four forms stand for the twenty-four different combinations of (1) the conch (*śaṅkha*), (2) wheel (*chakra*), (3) mace (*gadā*), and (4) lotus (*padma*). In one place at least a whole set of these twenty-four images seems to have been dedicated by somebody. Mr. Cousens found seventeen of them inside a temple at Māndhātā in the Central Provinces.¹ Out of these images Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are objects of special worship.²

I. Vāsudeva.—(a) Seated on the king of birds (*garuḍa*) with four hands, holding a mace (*gadā*) in his upper right hand and a lotus in the lower; a discus (*chakra*) in the upper left hand and a conch (*śaṅkha*) in the lower. He also holds a quiver (*tūṅṅira*) in his left arm-pit.—*Sabdakalpadruma* quoting *Kālikāpurāna*, Ch. 82.

(b) Holding a lotus in the upper right hand, a mace in the lower right, a conch in the upper left hand and a wheel in the lower.—*Sabdakalpadruma* quoting *Kālikāpurāna*.

(c) Holding a conch and a lotus in the right hands and a mace and a wheel in the left.—*Padmapurāna*, Ch. 86.

(d) A Vāsudeva with two hands is described in the *Agnīpurāna*, according to which he holds a conch in one hand, while the other is in the posture of blessing (*varada*).—*Agnīpurāna*, Ch. 49.

II. Saṅkarshana.—Hemādri in his *Frutakhaṇḍa* gives a description of Saṅkarshana. He is white in colour. His image should be made on the model of Vāsudeva, substituting a *musala* in the place of the wheel and a plough (*lāṅgala*) in that of the mace.

III. Pradyumna.—(a) With four hands, holding a thunder-bolt (*vajra*), and a conch in the right hands and a bow (*dhanuḥ*) and mace in left hands.—*Agnīpurāna*, 49, 12.

(b) With two hands, holding a bow and an arrow.—*Agnīpurāna*, 49, 13.

IV. Aniruddha.—With two (?) hands, holding a shield (*chakrma*), and a sword (*asi*) in the place of the wheel and the mace. Perhaps the image was made with four hands, the remaining hands holding the conch and lotus.

Besides those already enumerated, Pandit Vinōd Vihārī Vidyāvinōda has enumerated and described several special forms of Vishṇu, of which one or two might be mentioned here. One such form is Trailōkyamōhana *Vishṇu*. In this form Vishṇu is seated on *garuḍa*, has eight hands and holds a wheel (*chakra*), sword (*khadga*), staff (*musala*) and elephant-prod (*aṅkuśa*) in his right hands, while in his left hands he holds a conch, a bow, a mace and a snare (*pāśa*). An-

¹ *Progress Rep. of the Arch. Surv. of Western India, 1893-94, p. 3.*

² *Vīṇamūrti-parichaya, p. 13.*

other form is called Hariśaṅkara. It has four faces and twenty hands, holding (1) hammer (*mudgara*), (2) snare (*pāśa*), (3) *śakti*, (4) *sūla*, (5) arrow (*sara*), (6) conch, (7) bow, (8) mace, (9) snare, (10) *tomara*, (11) plough (*lāṅgala*), (12) battle-axe (*paraśu*), (13) staff (*daṇḍa*), (14) knife (*chhurikā*), (15) shield (*chamma*), (16) sling (*kshepaṇa*), (17) lance (*sūla*), (18) *riṣhti* (double-bladed sword), (19) mace and (20) wheel.

On examination it has been found that the majority of images of Vishṇu found in Bengal or Bihar are representations of Vāsudeva, holding a mace in the upper right hand and a lotus in the lower, while the upper left hand holds the wheel and the lower one, the conch. In the illustrations the different provinces have been represented:—

- (1) I. M. No. 6078 from Lalbagh, Murshidabad District, (Western Bengal).¹
- (2) Image from Swamibagh, Dacca City (Eastern Bengal).²
- (3) Image from Bān Rāja's Garh, Dinajpore, I. M. No. N. S. 2245 (Northern Bengal).³
- (4) I. M. No. N. S. 2085, from Jaynagar (Munger District).⁴
- (5) Image of Vishṇu found at Gorakhpur (Northern Bihar).⁵
- (6) A large image of Vishṇu on Garuḍa from Deora in the Bogra District, in the Rajshahi Museum (Northern Bengal).⁶
- (7) Image found in the Sunderbans, in Southern Bengal.⁷
- (8) Inscribed image discovered by Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali at Kewar in the Comilla District, belonging to the third period of activity of the Eastern School (Eastern Bengal).

On some of the images of Vishṇu we find representations of his ten incarnations on the blackslab. Separate representations of the ten incarnations are by no means rare. In some of these, however, the figure of Buddha is suppressed, no doubt, on account of ill-feeling among the sects. This is to be found in an image of the ten *avatāras* at Konch in the Gaya District.⁸ Separate images of the incarnations are also to be found in this school. Separate images of the fish and the tortoise incarnations are rather rare. An image of the fish incarnation of great artistic merit and belonging to the 9th century A. D. was discovered recently at Bajrajogini in the Dacca District and is still worshipped at that place. The Indian Museum collection contains three classes:—

(1) Varāha.—A colossal image of the Boar incarnation is to be found close to the entrance.⁹ It was found in the ruins of Nālandā and brought to Bihar

¹ Pl. XLIV a.

² Pl. XLIII b.

³ Pl. XLIII d.

⁴ Pl. XLIII c.

⁵ Pl. XLIII a.

⁶ A Catalogue of Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varāndra Research Society, p. 17, No. $\frac{E(a)1}{99}$.

See pl. XLIV b.

⁷ Catalogue and Handbook, pt. II, pp. 243-46. Pl. XLIV c.

⁸ Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey, Bengal Circle, 1901-02, p. 13.

⁹ This specimen has now been removed to the southern verandah of the main building of the Indian Museum, ground floor. See pl. XLV c.

by Broadley, whence it was removed to Calcutta. The *Matsyapurāṇa* gives the following description of the Varāha:—

*Mahāvarāham vakshyāmi padmahastam gadādharam tīkshṇa-damśhṭr-āgra-ghō-
nāsyam mēdinī vāma-kurparē,* 28.

*Damśhṭr-āgrēṇ-ōddhṛitām dāntām dharaṇām=utpalānvitām vismay-ōtphulla-
vadanām=uparishṭāt=prakalpayēt,* 29.

Dakṣiṇām kaṭisaṁstham tu karaṁ tasya prakalpayēt

Kūrmōpari tathā pādām=ekam nāgendra-mūrdhanī, 30

—*Matsyapurāṇa, Ch. 260.*

In the Nālandā image the left foot of the Boar is placed on a lotus held in the hands of the Nāga, while in the *Purāṇa* it is stated that one foot is placed on his head. To the left appears a figure of a Nāgī. Varāha has four hands.

Images of the Boar incarnation are rather common in Bengal and Bihar and the best specimens from Bengal are preserved in the Museums of the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad in Calcutta and that of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. Among the smaller specimens the best examples came from Jhilli¹ and Chandpara² in the Murshidabad District, and one from Burdwan.³ In the specimen found at Jhilli in the Murshidabad District of Bengal we find the ancient headdress of Bengal on the head of the main figure. In other details it is exactly similar to the image in the Indian Museum, but between the feet of the main figure we find a miniature female figure in front of a boar. This represents the Earth being rescued by the Boar from the bottom of the primæval Ocean.⁴

In their representations of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, the artists of the Eastern School have followed only one model of the Gupta Schools. In the latter the boar is represented in two different ways. In the first model, a four-footed realistic pachyderm bears on its body the gods and the demi-gods; such are the famous images of Eran and Bilhari⁵ in the Central Provinces, and Khoh⁶ in the Nagod State in Central India. In the second form we find a human being with a Boar's head as at Udayagiri Cave near Bhilsa in the Gwalior State and at Badami,⁷ in the Bijapur District of Bombay. This type has been followed in north eastern India.

(2) Narasiṁha.—The Man-lion. According to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, Narasiṁha has eight hands.

Nārasimham tu kartavyam bhuj-āshṭaka-samanvitam, 31.

Raudram simhāsanam tad-vidārīta-mukh-ekshayam

Stabdha-pīna-satū-karṇam dārayantam dītēh sutam, 32

—*Matsyapurāṇa, Ch. 260.*

¹ See pl. XLV e.

² Pl. XLV d.

³ Pl. XLV b.

⁴ Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad, pp. 67-68.

⁵ Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, No. 23, pl. XXXVII (b).

⁶ Ann. Prog. Rep. of the Arch. Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1920, pl. XXIX.

⁷ Memoirs Arch. Survey, No. 25, pl. IX (b) and XVII (b).

In the only specimen in the Indian Museum we find four hands. Hiranyakaśipu, the son of Diti, is placed on the left thigh and the god is tearing his bowels with two hands. To his right we find Lakshmī standing with a lotus in her left hand and a fly-whisk in her right.¹

In the specimen seen by Mr. K. N. Dikshit at Paikor in the Birbhum District we find the demon king hanging to the nails of the Man-lion.² The specimen from Rampal in the Dacca District is exactly similar.³ But another specimen at Dalalpara in the same place bears the head of the demon on the right knee.

(3) Vāmana.—The Dwarf Incarnation. In the Indian Museum specimen we find the god with four hands. One foot is lifted upwards to cover the heaven. The deity holds a mace in the upper right hand and a wheel in the left, while the lower right is placed on the thigh, and the lower left hand holds a conch. On the pedestal we find a horse tied to a *yūpa*. A small bas-relief is placed above the pedestal. Here we find the Dwarf confronting the king Bali, who holds a vase in his right hand, from which he appears to be pouring out water, thus bestowing the three worlds on the Dwarf. To Bali's left stands a male. This is apparently his priest trying to dissuade him by holding his left hand. Behind them stands a smaller male figure holding an umbrella over the head of the king.⁴ This image represents the Trivikrama form of the Dwarf incarnation, which is so common at Badami in the Bijapur District of Bombay.⁵ A specimen from Joradeul⁶ in the Dacca District is exactly similar. The Dwarf pure and simple is rather rare.⁷

Difference of opinion between the Indian religious sects was not confined to that between orthodoxy and heterodoxy; it spread between orthodox sects also. Thus we have a new class of images in which we find Śiva and Durgā on one side and Viṣṇu with Lakshmī on the other. These images are very rare, and the Indian Museum possesses only two of them.⁸ In some other images Śiva and Viṣṇu are combined, such images being known as those of Harihara. Descriptions of Harihara are to be found in the *Tantrasāra* and the *Sabdakalpadruma* :—

(1) *Sūdam chakraṁ pāñchajanyam=abhūtiṁ dadhataṁ karaiḥ*
Sva-sva-bhūshāch-chha-lilārdḍha-deham Hariharaṁ bhaje.
—*Tantrasāra*.¹

(2) *Sārdham trinetraṁ kamal-āhi-kundalam jaṭamahābhāra-śiroja-maṇḍitam*
Hariṁ Haraṁ=ch=riṇa nagendra-bhūṣaṇam pītājīn-āchchhanna-kaṭi-prade-
śakam.
Chakr-āsi-hastam dhanuḥ-sārngapāṇim pināka-sūl-ājagavānvitaṁ=cha

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 84 (No. 3901). See pl. XLVI c.

² See pl. XLVI b.

³ Pl. XLVI d.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 3897. pl. XLVII d.

⁵ See *Memoirs*, A. S. No. 25, pp. 17—19, 31—32, pl. IX (a) and XVI (a) and (b).

⁶ See pl. XLVII c.

⁷ See pl. XLVII a.

⁸ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 87.

Kandarppa-khatvāṅga-kupāla-ghaṅṭā-sa-śaṅkha-chakr-ājya-dharaṁ maharshē
—*Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 59, quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*.

The images in the Indian Museum agree with the description given in the *Tantrasāra*. Half of the head-dress consists of matted hair, while on the other half is a crown. The upper right hand holds a lance (*śūla*), while the other is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. The left hands hold a wheel and a conch.¹ A similar description of Harihara images is to be found in the 260th chapter of the *Matsyapurāṇa*.

The section on the images of Vishṇu cannot be completed without a reference to certain peculiar forms of the images of this deity. These images fall into two different classes. In the first class may be placed images of Vishṇu, carved in the round, but placed on the back of Garuḍa. The best preserved specimen of this kind is the colossal image belonging to the collection of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, a very imperfect representation of which has been published in the catalogue of that Museum issued in 1919.² In this image we see Garuḍa as a human figure kneeling down on a lotus but with two wings. Vishṇu is seated on his back, but cross-legged. The style of carving of this specimen leaves no doubt about the fact that it belongs to the fourth or the last period of the artistic activity of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture. This particular position of Vishṇu is indeed remarkable and shows that in the fourth period the artists of Bengal had allowed conventional rules to override their innate sense of naturalism; the artists of Magadha however, adhered to nature in representing this particular form of Vishṇu. For example, in Ms. 13,³ the find-spot of which is unknown, we find that Garuḍa is represented as squatting on the ground, but holding Vishṇu on his shoulders as one man carries another. Garuḍa is represented as a dwarf with wings and two hands and Vishṇu rests his feet on the hands of Garuḍa. The legs of Garuḍa are however bent and placed in a quite unnatural position, with the exception of which the image might be passed as one of the best examples of naturalism followed by the artists of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture. In the Rajshahi image, however, the position, in which Vishṇu is seated is quite impossible in nature.

In the second specimen, which comes from the Broadley collection of Bihar, we find Garuḍa represented as a *suparna* proper, that is, a bird with a human head (No. 4012).⁴ Vishṇu is seated on the back of this figure with his legs on the ground; two of his hands are placed on the head of a kneeling male and a female on either side. The remaining two hands hold the wheel and the conch. The specimen described before belongs to the first and best period of the activity of the Eastern School, while the second must be referred

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85, Nos. 3856-A, 3856-B, 3969. Out of these only 3856-B is known to have come from Bihar. See pt. III d.

² *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society*, p. 17, No. $\frac{E(a) I.}{99}$. I am indebted to Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., of the Calcutta School of Arts for a photograph of this image. See pl. XLIV-b.

³ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 340; see pl. XLVIII a.

⁴ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 82, see pl. XLVIII c.

to the following or the second period. Such images of Vishnu were also found in decorative motifs. The Indian Museum possesses a very fine specimen of an image of Vishnu, seated on Garuda, inside a medallion, which occupies the centre of a fine *chaitya*-window. The *chaitya*-window, in this case, is so beautiful that one may be misled to take it to be a specimen of the later Gupta sculpture. But the figure of Vishnu leaves no doubt that this specimen also belongs to the second period of the activity of the Eastern School. Here we find Vishnu seated on the back of Garuda, holding a mace in the upper right hand while the lower is in the posture of blessing; a snake appears in the upper left hand while the lower one is broken. A snake in the hand of Vishnu is very uncommon. We find a snake around the neck of Garuda in the specimen described above. In this case Garuda is also represented as a man with wings. The edge of the *chaitya*-window is headed like the specimens discovered at Bhumra¹ in the Nagod State of Central India (No. 4180).²

In the second class are to be placed a species of bas-reliefs which are found in the eastern provinces of Northern India only. These bas-reliefs, without doubt, represent the birth of Krishna. They are found in large numbers in the Gaya District, but specimens have been found all over Bengal. The earliest specimens of this class are to be found in the compound wall of the holy temple of the Footprint of Vishnu at Gaya, commonly called the temple of the Vishnupāda. In this specimen we find a female lying on a bedstead under which are placed several vases and covers of food. The feet of the female are placed against an expanded lotus, while on the back slab are to be found Brahmā seated on a lotus, the phallic emblem of Śiva, with his *vāhana*, the bull-concham, etc. This specimen belongs to the third period of the activity of the Eastern School.³ The majority of specimens discovered in Northern Bengal belong to the fourth period; such is the case with the beautiful bas-relief in the Indian Museum discovered among the ruins of the Hindu and Buddhist city of Gaur. Here, also, we find a female lying on a beautifully carved four-poster bed, with a female attendant shampooing her feet and a child lying close to her breast. On the back slab we find Brahmā, the nine planets, another male deity and the phallic emblem of Śiva, arranged in a line on a bracket. On the right and left a female stands with a garland and a fly-whisk, on separate lotus-brackets. Below the bedstead we find a lamp of peculiar form used in the 11th and 12th centuries,⁴ a specimen of which was discovered at Naihati in the Burdwan District along with a copper-plate of the 11th year of king Ballālasena of Bengal; a pair of slippers (*pādūkā*) two bowls containing food, a casket of scent or unguents, a mass of flowers and a lamp-stand.⁵ To this class also belong eight specimens in the collection of the Varendra Research Society, the best of which belongs to the same date as the specimen in the Indian Museum. In the catalogue, these bas-reliefs

¹ *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, No. 16, pls. XIII-XIV.*

² See pl. XCIII d.

³ See pl. Lc.

⁴ A similar lamp is described below in Ch. VI. See pl. LXXXIII a.

⁵ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 54-55. See pl. La.*

are called "Images of mother and child." The find-spots noted in the catalogue show that the majority of the specimens were found in the Rajshahi District, two only coming from Bogra.¹ In the specimen discovered at Manda in the Rajshahi District, which was carved as an image proper with a tenon at the proper right end and with a tapering back-slab, we find a lady lying on a four-poster bed with a female attendant shampooing her feet, while another stands at the head of the bed, fanning her with a fly-whisk. Certain indistinct objects described as ceremonial articles of worship are to be found under the bed, and on the back slab we find, from the left, the *linga*, a figure of Gaṇeśa and that of Brahmā. The child, as in the two previous cases, lies close to the breast of the main figure.² A much earlier image of the same type can be seen in the courtyard of the Vishṇupāda temple at Gaya.³

The Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad contains a very small crude specimen discovered in the Dinajpur District, in which the same characteristics are to be found. The constant features in this class of bas-reliefs are:—

- (1) A female lying on a bedstead,
- (2) A child close to her breast,
- (3) Certain offerings under the bed,
- (4) One or two female attendants and
- (5) Figures of some of the gods on the back slab.

In this particular case we find a female attendant shampooing her feet and a *linga* and figures of Gaṇeśa and one other deity on the back slab, another attendant figurine at the foot of the bed and a pot of food with a casket or box under the bedstead.⁴ A very fine specimen of the tenth century discovered at Dinajpur belongs to the collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar of Calcutta.⁵

There can be very little doubt about the identity of these figures, which represent the birth of Kṛishna though some people think that the scene represents the birth of Śiva. In the representation of this incident, the artists of the Eastern School were very greatly influenced by the traditional treatment of the birth of Buddha. This is very evident in the illustration published in the Catalogue of the Rajshahi Museum where we find a tenon on the proper right side of the slab. If it were fixed on this tenon, this bas-relief would have represented a lady standing on a lotus and a child issuing out of her proper left side, as we find in bas-reliefs of most of the schools of Indian Sculpture, representing the birth of the infant Bodhisattva. We find a corroboration of this statement in the bas-relief in the compound of Vishṇupāda Temple where we also find a lotus under the foot of the main figure. Certain specimens added to the Dacca Museum prove that wood was commonly used in architecture in Eastern Bengal. Such specimens were finely carved and are much earlier than the ordinary run of images discovered in Eastern Bengal.

¹ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varāndra Research Society, Rajshahi*, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, plate without number at the end. See pl. XLIX b.

³ See pl. L b.

⁴ *Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad*, pp. 89-90. See pl. L d.

⁵ See pl. L c.

A fine large bracket capital of wood was discovered at Sonarang and it bears a niche with a seated figure of Badari-Nārāyaṇa.¹ The second wooden specimen is a fine image of Viṣṇu discovered at Muradnagar in the Tippera district.²

II. ŚAIVA IMAGES.

The most popular symbol of Śiva is the *phallus* or the *līṅga*, but his images are not uncommon. In the first place we may mention the four-armed form with one head only. Here we find a mace (?) in the upper right hand and the lower hand in the posture of blessing, while the left hands hold a trident (*triśūla*) and *damara*. We find a *preta* standing to the right and the four armed type of Pārvatī to the left, while the bull is always present (No. 3851).³ An image of this particular type was discovered at Kashipur in the Bakarganj District.⁴ Another form is that of Śiva in the *tāṇḍava* dance; this also known as Naṭarāja or Naṭeśa. The Varendra Research Society⁵ and the Dacca Museum⁶ both possess specimens. The type is very common in Orissa, where we find Śiva with ten hands dancing.⁷ Another form of Śiva with ten hands is to be found in the seals of the copper-plate grants of the Sena kings of Bengal. In one grant it is mentioned as "the seal of Sadāśiva" (*Sadāśiva mudrā*).⁸ We find a description of Sadāśiva in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* —

*Dhyāyēt Sadāśivam śāntam chandrakōṭī-samaprabham,
Vyāghra-charmma-parīdhānam nāga-yajñopavītinam,
Vibhūti-līpta-sarvāṅgam nāgāluṅkāra-bhūṣitam,
Dhūmra-pīṭ-ārūṇa-śveta-raktaiḥ pañcabhīr-ānanaiḥ,
Yuktam trinayanam vibhraj-jatājūṭa-dharam vibhum,
Gaṅgādharām daśabhujam śaśi-śobhita-mastakam,
Kapālām pāvakaṁ pāśam pinākam paraśum karaiḥ,
Vāmair-dladhānam dakṣaiḥ-cha śūlam
vajr-āṅkuśam śaram.*

—*Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, 14th ullāsa, 32—35.

A new image added to the collection of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad from Krishnanagar in the Nadia District also possesses ten arms, but the attributes do not agree. The presence of the bull on the pedestal indicates its nature. The main figure is seated with crossed legs. Three out of the

¹ See pl. XLV. a.

² See pl. XLVII. b.

³ *Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 85-86. See pl. LIII. b for a similar image in the Indian Museum, No. 3832.

⁴ See pl. LII. b.

⁵ *A Catalogue of Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society*, p. 11, No. $\frac{C. 631}{75}$. See

pl. LII. a.

⁶ See pl. LII. c.

⁷ Three specimens were added to the Indian Museum in 1912 mostly from the Puri district.

⁸ See pl. LIV. f.

five faces are shown in the image of which one is bearded. We find the following attributes in the hands¹ :—

Right hands.

1. Trident (*triśūla*).
2. Mace (*gadā*).
3. *Musala*.
4. Posture of blessing (*varada-mudrā*).
5. Posture of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*).

Left hands.

1. A curious emblem resembling a branch of a tree.
2. *Damaru*.
3. Indistinct.
4. Rosary (*akshasūtra*).
5. A cup with sweets (*mōḍaka*).

There are three images of this type in the Museum at Rajshahi, two of which are from Dinajpur and one from the Rajshahi District.²

Special forms of Śiva have been discovered in different parts of North-Eastern India from time to time. The Dacca Museum possesses a large number of them. Such is the image of Virūpākṣha recovered from Rāmpāl. The god stands in the position of an archer (*pratyālīḍha*) with eight hands, holding a sword, a noose, or *damaru* and a trident in the left hands, a shield, a bow, a skull cup and a bell (*ghaṅṭā*) in the right hands. He stands on the heads of two prostrate human figures.³ Bhairava is another form of Śiva but at times he is regarded as an emanation or an attendant of Śiva. A fine image of Bhairava belongs to the collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar of Azinganj. It was discovered in the Dinajpur District. The god stands in the *pratyālīḍha* posture with four hands on a severed human head.⁴ The Rajshahi Museum possesses several badly preserved or broken specimens.⁵

The most popular form of Śiva is his phallic emblem (*liṅga*). This falls into four different classes :—

I. The plain *liṅga* with *yoni* or *arghapatta* which is naturalistic in the older Schools of Sculpture, specially in that of Mathurā, but which has gradually become a plain cylinder in the Bengal School with a circular projecting platform around its middle.

II. The *Ēkamukha*, in which one human face is added to the cylinder.⁶

¹ *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad*, pp. 70-71; No. $\frac{G(a) 1}{279}$; See pl. LIV a.

² *Catalogue etc.*, pp. 8-9, $\frac{G(b) 1}{235}$ (Pl. LIV g.) from Shahpur in the Rajshahi District, $\frac{G(b) 2}{180}$ from Jaminkarai (see pl. LIV e.) and $\frac{G(b) 3}{169}$ from Khiratta in the Dinajpur District.

³ See pl. LIII a.

⁴ See pl. LV c.

⁵ *Catalogue of the Archaeological relics, etc.*, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7, No. $\frac{G(e) 1}{1}$ from Madariganj; District Rajshahi. See pl. LI b. Another from Mangalkot, District Burdwan, pl. LI a.

III. The *Chaturmukha*, in which four faces are placed around the cylinder (No. 3829).¹ A *Chaturmukha līnga* is mentioned in the Bodh Gaya inscription of Dharmapāla.²

IV. The *Pañchamukha*, in which five heads are grouped around the cylinder. In an unique bronze specimen in the Indian Museum collection we find that there is a stand on which in the centre of a square platform is a *līnga*. On the sides we find (1) a Snake, (2) a pair of human feet, (3) a bull and (4) a human figure. In a peculiar *līnga* discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshīt at Unakoṭi in the Tippera State we find four separate human figures in relief against the sides of the *phallus*.

In the Śaiva class of images two varieties predominate—those of Śiva and of his consort, Gaurī or Pārvatī. Between them we find an intermediate class, in which the two are combined. The complete union is to be found in the Arddha-Nārīśvara, which is half male and half female. Such images are very rare and I know only of one, which is in the collection of the Varendra Research Society.³ Here both hands are broken and the headdress is half *jaṭā* and half *mukuta*. A complete description will be found in the *Matsya-purāna* :—

Iś-ārddhē tu jaṭābhāgō bālēndu-kalayā yutaḥ
Um-ārddhē ch-āpi dātavyau sīmanta-tilakāv-ubhav
Vāsukīm dakṣiṇē karṇṇē vāmē kuṇḍalam-āliṣet
Bālikā ch-opariṣṭāt-tu kapāleṁ dakṣiṇē karē.
Trisūlam v-āpi kartavyam dēvadēvasya śūlinah
Vāmatō darpaṇam dudyād-utpalam cha viśēshataḥ.
Vāma-bāhuś-cha kartavyaḥ kēyūra-valay-ānvitah
Upavītam cha kartavyam manimuktāmayam tathā.
Stana-bhāram tath-ārddhē tu vāmē pītam prakalpayēt.
Har-ārddham-ajjvalam kuryāt śroṇy-ārddhān-tu tath-aiva cha
Līng-ārddham-ūrdhvaḥ kuryāt vyāl-ājina-kritāmbaram
Vāmē lamba-paridhānam kaṭisūtra-tray-ānvitam.
Nānā-ratna-samōpētām dakṣiṇām bhujagānvitam
Dēvasya dakṣiṇām pādām padmōpari susamsthitam.
Kīnchid-ūrdhvaṁ tathā vāmam bhūṣitam nūpurēṇa tu
Ratnair-vibhūṣitān-kuryād-aṅgulīshv-aṅguliyakān.

—*Matsyapurāna*, chap. 260, 2-9.

The most popular form of the combination of Śiva and Pārvatī is that in which Śiva is seated with Pārvatī on his lap. Such images are found in all parts of the Eastern provinces. The accompanying illustrations show five specimens; one stone image from Bihar⁴, one from North⁵, one from East⁶

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 83. See pl. LI c.

² *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. IV., p. 103.

³ *A Catalogue of Archaeological relics, etc.*, p. 9, No. $\frac{C(6)}{25}$. See pl. LVI b.

⁴ See pl. LV a.

⁵ See pl. LV b.

⁶ See pl. LIV d.

and one from South Western Bengal¹ as well as a bronze image from Northern Bengal.² The following description of these images is found in the *Matsya-purāna* :—

Chaturbhujam dvibāhuṃ vā jaṭābhūr-ēndu-bhūṣhitam
Lōchana-traya-samyuktam-Um-aika-skandha-pāṇinam.
Dakṣiṇēn-ōtpalam śālam vāmē kuchabharē karam
Dvīpi-charma-parīdhānam nānāratn-ōpaśōbhitam
Supratishṭham suvēṣham cha tath-ārddh-ēndu-kṛit-āsunam
Vāmē tu samsthītā dēvī tasy-ōrau bāhu gūhitā.
Sivōbhūṣhaṇa-samyuktair-alakair-lalitānanā.
Sa-bālikā-karṇavatī-lolāṭa-tīlak-ōjjevalā
Maṇi-kunḍala-samyuktā karṇik-ābharāṇā kvacit.
Hāra-kēyūra-vaḥulā Hara-vaktr-āvalōkinī
Vām-āṃsam dēvadēvasya spṛisanti līlayā tataḥ
Dakṣiṇam tu bahūḥ kṛitvā bāhuṃ dakṣiṇatas-tathā.
Skandhē vā dakṣiṇē kukṣhau spṛisantiy-aṅgulijaiḥ kvacit
Vāmē tu darpaṇam dadyād-utpalam vā suśōbhanam.

—*Matsya-purāna, ch. 260, 12-19.*

The attributes are not distinguishable in the metal images owing to corrosion, but in the image from Bihar we find that Śiva has four hands. He holds a trident (*triśūla*) in one right hand, while the other touches Pārvatī's chin. One of the left hands grasps the breast of the goddess, while the second is held aloft. Pārvatī encircles Śiva's neck with her right hand, while she holds a mirror (*darpaṇa*) in her left. There is a similar image in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, on the pedestal of which, we find a dancing *preta* between the *vāhanas* of Śiva and Durgā, the lion and the bull.³

Besides this class a new one has come to light during the last two years. One of these is in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad and the other in that of the Varendra Research Society. In these images, Śiva stands with Pārvatī, in his front, surrounded by a number of spirits and deities. Though these two specimens belong to the same species, there is a slight difference between them. In the specimen in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Śiva stands facing the front. He has two hands, of which the right one is broken, the left one being placed on Pārvatī's left shoulder. Pārvatī also stands to front; she too has two hands, of which the right one is broken, and the left one holds a mirror.⁴ The specimen in the collection of the Varendra Research Society is more complete. Here Śiva and Pārvatī do not stand to front, but face the left. Śiva holds a dagger (*kṛipāṇa*) and a trident (*triśūla*) while Pārvatī holds a mirror and a piece of cloth (?). The figures of a bull and a lion, the respective *vāhanas* of Śiva and Pārvatī, are to be found on

¹ *Pl. LV d.*

² *See pl. LXXI b.*

³ *Handbook, etc., pp. 71-72* $\frac{G(6)1}{361}$.

⁴ *Ibid., pp. 72-4, pl. XVI.* $\frac{G(6)4}{285}$.

the pedestals of both images. Another common feature is the presence of the nine planets. In the Varendra Research Society's specimen the planets are to be found on the top, but in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad specimen they are divided into two groups, one on each side of Śiva's head. The only other common feature between the two images is the pouring of water over Śiva's head by a male and a female in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad image and by a male only in the Varendra Research Society's¹ specimen. In the latter we find Brahmā and Sūrya in a vertical row to the left of the images, but in the former we find three groups:—

- (1) Two emaciated males, perhaps *pretas*.
- (2) A *kinnara* and another male blowing a conch-shell and
- (3) Mahākāla holding an umbrella over the head of the main group.

The figures on the left side of the image in the Varendra Research Society's collection are indistinct in the photograph. Four groups appear to be placed one above another. These seem to be, (1) a bearded male pouring water over Śiva's head, with a female standing behind him with a vase in her hands; (2) a bearded male holding up a dwarfish winged (?) male; (3) a female (?) holding a lotus (?) and (4) a four-armed figure squatting. In the same place, in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad image we find:—(1) a large female figure pouring water and behind her two emaciated figures (? *pretas*), (2) two emaciated figures, one of which is dancing, (3) Nandiśa and another smaller figure. Nandiśa is stated to be monkey-faced in the *Saura-purāna*. In the former image we find two men with drums and two kneeling worshippers, a male and a female on the pedestal. But in the latter we find two rows. In the first row we have:—(1) two Nāgas and an elephant, a Nāga (?) seated with two worshipping figures kneeling in front, (2) two Nāgas standing, a dancing male, and a dancing dwarf (*gana*), two figures bringing offerings and two figures standing with clasped hands facing the proper right.

My attention has been drawn, recently, to a very fine image of the ninth century A.D., which belongs to the same species. This particular specimen was discovered by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Khaira professor of Linguistics in the University of Calcutta, and now belongs to him. Dr. Chatterji has kindly informed me that the specimen was discovered by him in the courtyard of the great temple of Vishṇupada at Gaya. This particular specimen resembles the *Kalyāṇa-sundara* images of Southern India much more than the specimens described above, which were discovered in Eastern Bengal. In this specimen, Hara and Pārvatī stand side by side and not in front of each other. Hara stands to the proper left and Pārvatī to his right. The right hand of Pārvatī is placed in one of the right hands of Śiva. The latter has four hands and holds a round object in the upper right hand, Pārvatī's right hand in the lower, a trident in the upper left while the lower one rests on his left thigh. Pārvatī holds an indistinct object in her left hand, which may be a mirror. Between these two figures is to be found Brahmā seated on the ground, with

¹ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Beliefs, etc.*, p. 9, No. $\frac{6.601}{77}$ and plate.

four heads and two hands. A male attendant appears on each side of the divine pair and both of them hold vases (*ghaṭa*) in one of their uplifted hands. On the top of the back slab there are eleven figures out of which nine in the centre are those of the nine planets, beginning with the Sun from the proper right and ending with Kētu on the proper left. There is a seated figure at each side of the heads of the divine pair which cannot be identified. On the pedestal the lion, the *vāhana* of Pārvatī appears on the proper right and the bull *couchant*, of Śiva, on the left. Between them, the front of the pedestal is occupied by a kneeling female, a dancing male, evidently a *preta*, three dancing musicians, two of whom are playing on drums and the third on cymbals. The technique of the specimen denotes that it belongs to the first period of decline of the Eastern School of Mediaeval sculpture, after the disruption of the first Pāla empire at the end of the ninth century A.D. The specimen belongs to the same class as the two images discovered at Bihar in the Patna district which were dedicated in the third year of the reign of the emperor Śūrapāla I. There is a total want of craven stylization or of any idealistic affectations which is to be found in the sculpture of the eastern provinces of Northern India from the end of the eleventh century.¹ The *differentia* between the three specimens of this particular species is to be found in the presence of the seated figure of Brahmā. The proportions indicated for the figure of Brahmā in South Indian Sanskrit works on leonography, such as the *Aṃśamad-bhēd-āgama*, *Uttara-kāmik-āgama*, *Śilpa-ratna*, etc., prove decisively that the architects and sculptors of North-eastern India worked on different lines and principles from those of Southern India and consequently southern works on sculpture and architecture are not generally applicable to Northern India.

Among the various forms of Pārvatī and Durgā worshipped in the eastern provinces of Northern India the most popular are the eight-armed (*aṣṭa-bhujā*) the ten-armed (*daśa-bhujā*) and the twelve-armed (*dvādaśa-bhujā*). All of these three forms belong to the species of *Mahisha-marddinī* or "The slayer of the buffalo-demon." The worship of the eight and the twelve-armed varieties is now accidental and they have been superseded by the ten-armed variety. But the specimens discovered in Bengal and Bihar and the eastern part of the United Provinces prove that like the Punjab, Rajputana and the Deccan, in the beginning, *Śākta* worship included the worship and the representation of normal forms of this goddess with two or four hands. Just as at Bhumra in the Nagod state of Central India² and at Badami³ in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency the earlier forms of *Mahisha-marddinī* possess four arms only, so also in Eastern India the earlier forms of the goddess possessed two or four arms. But in these provinces the older types, instead of being superseded, survived till the mediaeval period. We find four-armed female figures almost in every part of the country. The worship of the eight,

¹ See pl. XCV, c.

² *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, pl. XIV b.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 25, pl. II b.

ten and twelve-armed figure of Pārvatī was therefore co-eval with the four and six-armed varieties. The wide development of *Sākta* worship in the eastern provinces of Northern India caused the production of a larger variety of images of this particular type. Consequently we find more varieties in this genus than in others of the orthodox or the Brahmanical pantheon. Subsequently the worship of certain varieties of this species appears to have been discontinued and replaced by other forms of the goddess. An image discovered at Mangalbari in the Dinajpur district shows a particular form of the four-armed variety. The goddess stands erect on a pedestal with four hands and one head. Unfortunately two of the hands are broken but of the remaining two, the right holds a trident and the left an elephant-tusk. A figure of the lion is to be seen on the pedestal¹. Another image of the same variety was most probably discovered in Bihar and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal before the foundation of the Indian Museum. In this case also the goddess stands erect with four hands and there is a lion in front of the pedestal. Unfortunately three of the arms are broken and the attributes cannot be recognised. One of the attendants, a female stands under a tree, which she is holding with her proper right hand.² A second image in the collection of the Indian Museum appears to have come from Northern Bengal and was dedicated in the twelfth century A.D. The goddess stands erect with four hands and is in a comparatively good state of preservation. She holds a lotus in the upper right, a ball in the lower right, a mirror in the upper left, and an indistinct object in the lower left hand. She is attended by Ganeśa on the right and a female holding a lotus bud on the left. On the pedestal we find the miniature figure of a boar (?). So far as our knowledge goes at present this particular specimen is unique.³ Certain images in the museum of the Varendra Research Society appear to resemble this specimen but they are slightly different.

A particular class of images has been discovered in different parts of Eastern India. Specimens of this type have been labelled Chandī by the compilers of the Catalogue of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi; but the authors have omitted to quote the authority on which this identification is based.⁴ Such images have been discovered at Bihar,⁵ Mandoil in the Rajshahi district,⁶ Raigunj in the Dinajpur district⁷ and Mahesvarpasa in the Khulna district.⁸ These images are invariably erect, possess four hands and are attended by the bull and the lion. Another characteristic common to all of them is the presence of the phallic symbol of Śiva over the upper right hand. A rosary is also held in this hand while the lower

¹ See pl. LVI a.

² *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 335-36, I. M. No. Ms. 3. See pl. LVI c.*

³ *Ibid., Part II, p. 342, I. M. No. Ms. 10. See pl. LVII b.*

⁴ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, p. 13.*

⁵ *Supplementary Catalogue, p. 87, Nos. 3953 and 6270.*

⁶ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, p. 13, $\frac{1141.1}{11}$. See pl.*

LVII a.

⁷ *Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, pp. 82-3, No. $\frac{J(a)I}{274}$. See pl.*

LVII d.

⁸ See pl. LVII c.

one is in the posture of blessing. The upper left holds a trident while the lower left is indistinct in the majority of cases. She is attended in certain cases only by Kārtikēya and Gaṇēśa and in the majority of cases plantain trees are present on her sides. Kārtikēya with two lions and Gaṇēśa with two antelopes are to be found in the very large specimen discovered at Mandoil in the Rajshahi district. The plantain trees, the lions and the antelopes are also to be seen in the specimen from Raigunj, Dinajpur district. But in the specimen in Mahesvarpasa in the Khulna district the plantain trees are omitted and we do not find Gaṇēśa, though there are several male and female attendants. In the case of the last two there is a boar-shaped quadruped on the pedestal, which the compilers of the Catalogues of the Museums of the Varendra Research Society and the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad agree in calling a *godhikā*, a sort of lizard; but this animal is absent in the case of the large image from Mandoil and the specimen from Bihār in the Indian Museum. Peculiar images of Tāntrika goddesses are discovered in Eastern Bengal from time to time. There is a very rare form of Kālī in the Dacca Museum which was discovered at Bajrajogini in that district. It is totally unlike that with which we are familiar in Northern Bengal as the goddess is seated, and holds a fish in the upper right hand, a skull-cup in the upper left and a child in the remaining two.¹

Images of the Mahisha-marddini fall into three different classes. The eight-armed and the twelve-armed types are very common in the mediæval period but ten-armed specimens are rare. The Rajshahi Museum possesses a six-armed variety purchased at Benares.² The museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad does not contain any and the specimen labelled Durgā has been wrongly identified.³ A specimen in the Indian Museum belongs to the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. Twelve-armed images of Durgā are not very common but a splendid specimen in metal was discovered in 1925 in the village of Kesabpur in the Dinajpur district.⁴ Another important group of Śākta images has now come to be included among Śaiva images proper. Their worship is gradually dying out throughout India. These are the terrible seven Mothers (*Sapta-mātrikāh*), who were universally worshipped throughout Northern and Southern India in the mediæval period. Their images are well known throughout Northern India from the banks of the Jhelum to Sadiya on the north-eastern frontier and from the Kangra valley to Ramesvaram. They have been discovered in cave No. I at Elephanta near Bombay and at different places in Southern India to the south of Madras. The origin of the worship of these goddesses is still shrouded in mystery. Most probably they were accepted into the orthodox Hindu pantheon along with other Dravidian deities such as the phallic form of Śiva. In Northern and Western India the worship of the seven Mothers is generally associated with that of Śiva and the usual way

¹ See pl. LXIII d.

² Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, p. 15, No. $\frac{D(b) 44}{257}$.

³ Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, pp. 85-86, No. $\frac{J 667}{227}$.

⁴ See pl. LIII c. According to the decision of the Government of Bengal, proceedings instituted to acquire this image for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, according to the Indian Treasure Trove Act (Act VI of 1878) were dropped and the specimen returned to the owner.

of representing them is to place them side by side with Śiva and Gaṇeśa at the beginning of the sculpture. Such is the case in the shrine of the seven Mothers in cave No. 1 at Elephanta. We find the names of the different deities forming this group inscribed on the pedestal of one specimen. First of all comes Śiva, seated on his bull, with four hands, holding a *viṅa* and labelled *Mahādēva*. After him comes Brahmānī, with four heads, seated on a goose and labelled *Brahmāyī*. Next comes Pārvatī, with two hands, seated on a bull and labelled *Mahēśarī*. After her is Vaishṇavī labelled *Vaiṣṇavī*, seated on Garuda. The next goddess in order is Kārtikēyānī, with two hands, seated on a peacock and labelled *Kārtikēyānī*. After her is Indrānī seated on an elephant and labelled *Indrānī*. Then come two monstrous figures; Vārāhī, boar-faced seated on a Buffalo and labelled *Vārāhī*, and Chāmūṇḍī or Chāmūṇḍā, emaciated, hideous and seated on a human body.¹ The artists of the Eastern School also carved separate images of the seven Mothers. Such images of Vaishṇavī, Kārtikēyānī, Maheśvarī, Indrānī, Vārāhī and Chāmūṇḍī from Bihar are included in the Indian Museum collection.² An unique image, the Śakti of Gaṇeśa, is also to be seen in this collection. It is an elephant-headed goddess, seated with a rat on the pedestal.³ The Patna Museum possesses a fine image of Kārtikēyānī and another of Chāmūṇḍī. The Varendra Research Society possesses ten images of Chāmūṇḍī or Chāmūṇḍā, three of Vārāhī and at least two slabs with the seven Mothers.⁴

III. MISCELLANEOUS IMAGES.

Among miscellaneous images the most important is that of the Sun-god Sūrya. After Vishṇu images, those of Sūrya are the most abundant. Various descriptions of Sūrya are to be found in Sanskrit literature, but the best one is that to be found in the *Matsyapurāna*:—

*Prabhākarasya pratimām-ūlānīm śrīṅguta dvijāh, rathasthām kārayēd-dēvam
padma-hastām sūlōchanām. Saptāśvam ch-aika-chakraṅ-cha ratham tasya prakal-
payēt, mukutēna vicitrēṇa padma-garbha-sama-prabham.*

*Nānābharaṇa-bhūshābhyaṁ bhujābhyaṁ dhṛita-pushikaram, skandhasthē push-
karē tē tu bilay-ainā dhṛitē sadā.*

*Vastra-yugma-samāpetām charaṇau lējas-āvṛitau.
Pratihārau cha kartavyau pārśvayōr-Dandī-Piṅgalau
Kartavyau khadga-hastau tau pārśvayōh purushāv-ubhau
Lēkhanī-kṛita-hastāṅ-cha pārśvē dhātāram-aryayam
Nānādēvagaṇair-yuktam-ēvām kuryāḍ-dīvākrām
Aruṇah sārathīś-ch-āśya padmīnī-pātra-sarvābhah
Aśvau suvalaya-grīvāc-antasthau tasya pārśvayōh
Bhujāṅga-rajjubhīr-baddhāh sapt-āśva-raśmī-saṁyutāh
Padmasthām vāhanasthām vā padma-hastām prakalpayēt.*

—*Matsyapurāna, chap. 261, 1-8.*

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue, pp. 91-92, I. M. No. 4190. See pl. LXIII a.*

² *Ibid., pp. 90-91.*

³ *Ibid., p. 90, I. M. No. 3919.*

⁴ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, pp. 15-17.*

The principal characteristics of Sūrya images are as follows:—

(1) The god stands holding lotus-stalks in his two hands. Images with four hands are very rare. One is to be found in the Sūrya temple close to the Vishnupada at Gaya.

(2) Seven horses and usually one wheel are always to be found on the pedestal.

(3) The feet of the main figure are never shown. They are either encased in boots or hidden inside the chariot. One specimen from North Bengal,¹ one from Magadha² or Bihar, one from West Bengal³ and one from East Bengal⁴ have been selected for illustration. In specimen No. 3925 in the Indian Museum we find the lower part of the legs hidden in the chariot and so invisible.

Images of Kārttikeya are very rare in the eastern provinces. The *Matsya-purāṇa* describes three different forms:—

- (1) with twelve arms,
- (2) with four arms, and
- (3) with two arms.

*Sthāpayāt-sv-ēshṭa-nagarē bhujān dvādaśa kārāyēt
Chaturbhujah khurvatē syād-vanē grāmē dvibāhukah.*

—Chap. 260, 47.

Not a single twelve-armed specimen has been discovered in Bengal or Bihar. The Indian Museum collection possesses a four-armed specimen, but all hands in this specimen are broken.⁵ There is a peacock on the right and a cock on the left, on the back of which rests one of the left hands of the god. The cock is said to be found in two-armed specimens:—

*Dvibhujasya karē śaktir-vāmē syāt kukkat-ōpari
Chaturbhujē śakti-pāśau vāmatō dakṣhinē tv-asih
Varadō=bhayadō v-āpi dakṣiṇaḥ syāt-turīyakah.*

—Chap. 260, 50-51.

There are three indifferent specimens of images of Kārttikeya in the Rajshahi Museum⁶.

Images of Gaṇeśa are also common, but in North-Eastern India, one special form of Gaṇeśa seems to have been very popular. This is the dancing Gaṇeśa with eight hands. A flint image in the Indian Museum collection shows that the god holds a cup of sweets (*mōḍaka*, it may also be a pomegranate) and a snake in his left hands, while a bunch of mangoes hangs over his heads⁷ (No. 5625).

¹ No. $\frac{p(8)}{176}$ from District Rajshahi,—*A Cat. of Archaeological relics, etc.*, p. 24. See pl. LIXc.

² No. 3924. *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 80. See pl. LIXa.

³ See pl. LIXb. I. M. No. MS. 8; *Cat. and Handbook, part II*, p. 337.

⁴ See pl. LIXd.

⁵ Ms. 9, *Cat. and Handbook, part II*, p. 337. See pl. LIXa.

⁶ *A Catalogue of Archaeological relics, etc.*, p. 12.

⁷ From Bāna Rājā's Garh, District Dinajpur, *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 89. See pl. LIXb.

Cf., Matsya-purāna—

*Vināyakam pravakshyāmi gaja-vaktram trilōchanam
Lambōdaram chaturbāhuṃ vyāla-yajñōpavītinam.
Dhvasta-karnaṃ brīhat-tuṇḍam=ēka-damśhṭram prīth-ūdaram.
Sva-dantaṃ dakṣhiṇa-kara utpalam ch-āparē tathā.
Mōdakaṃ paraśum ch-niva vāmataḥ parikalpayēt.*

—Chap. 260, 52-54.

An image of Gaṇeśa with five heads has been discovered in the Dacca District¹. The Museum of the Varendra Research Society contains a fine collection of images of Gaṇeśa. There are two seated and nine dancing images there, out of which ⁶⁽⁶⁾¹₂₂₄ is the best² and belongs to the 11th century. The second best belongs to the 12th century and came from Deopara³.

Images of Kuvēra are also very rare. They are described in the *Matsya-purāna* in the following words:—

*Kuvēraṅ=cha pravakshyāmi kuntalābhyām=alukṛitam
Mahōdaram mahākāyam nidhy=ashṭaka-samanvitam
Guhyakair=bahubhīr-yuktam dhana-vyagra-koraś=tathā
Hāra-kēyūra-rachitam sītāmbara-dharam sadā.*

—Chap. 261, 20-21

The specimens in the Indian Museum show a fat dwarfish figure seated on a low couch with a bag in his hand, and what looks like a ball in his right⁴.

The only other male deity whose images are common in the north-eastern provinces of India is Brahmā. The usual form is that of a four-headed male seated with a goose on the pedestal. The *Matsya-purāna* describes images of Brahmā in the following words:—

*Brahmā kamaṇḍalu-dharaḥ kartavyaḥ sachaturmukhaḥ
Harṣārūḍhaḥ kvachit=kāryyaḥ kvachich=cha kamalāsanaḥ
Varaṇataḥ padmaḥarbhābhaś=chaturbāhuḥ śubhēkshanaḥ
Kamaṇḍalam vāma-karē sravam hastē tu dakṣhiṇē
Vāmē danḍa-dharam tadvat sravam ch-āpi pradarśayēt
Munibhīr=dēva-gandharvair stūyamānam samantataḥ
Kurvānam iva lōkām śrīm śuklāmbara-dharam vibhum
Mriga-charma-dharam ch-āpi divya-yajñōpavītinam
Ājyasthālīm nyasēt pārśvē vēdāmś=cha chaturāḥ punah
Vāma-pārśvē=sya Sāvitrīm dakṣhiṇē cha Sarasvatīm.*

—Chap. 260, 40-44.

A very beautiful image of Brahmā was sent to the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad from Raiganj in Dinajpur. The upper part of the back slab is broken

¹ See pl. LXa.

² A Catalogue of Archaeological relics, etc., pp. 26-27. Pl. LXc.

³ Ibid. p. 27, No. ⁰⁽⁶⁾⁵₂₇₄. Pl. LX d.

⁴ Supplementary Catalogue, p. 27, No. 3908.

in this image, so are two of the hands. The main figure holds a rosary in one of the right hands and the *kamaṇḍalu* in the left. A female figure is standing on each side. These are evidently Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī. On the pedestal is a goose and two kneeling devotees.¹ There are four good images of Brahmā in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, of which No. 3904 is the best². The Rajshahi Museum contains nine specimens³.

The figures of the nine planets are found all over India and are common in the eastern provinces as well. There are several specimens in the Indian Museum of which the best is No. 4168.⁴ The Rajshahi Museum contains four. They served as lintels of temples⁵. Images of Agni are not uncommon in Bihar and Bengal. The god rides on a ram (*mesha*) and flames are represented all round his body. A fine specimen in the Indian Museum comes from Bihar (I. M. No. 3914)⁶, a second specimen discovered in the Dinajpur District belongs to the collection of Mr. P. C. Nahar⁷. The Rajshahi Museum possesses at least one specimen⁸.

Among minor female images those of Gaṅgā (the river Ganges) and Yamunā (the river Junna) are worth mentioning. The Ganges is always known by her *vāhana*, the *makara*. I am indebted to Prof. Satis Chandra Mitra of the Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, for a photograph of an image of Gaṅgā⁹ found by him inside the temple of Jasoresvarī in Īsvarīpur of the Khulna District of Bengal. In this image the goddess is attended by two Nāginīs, one of which holds an umbrella over her head, while the other holds a vase (*ghaṭa*). A metal image of this goddess has been discovered at Nālandā¹⁰. A very fine image of Gaṅgā, in black basalt, used to stand on the *ghāt* at Trivenī in the Hooghly District of Bengal. There is a good specimen in the Rajshahi Museum.¹¹ Generally images of Gaṅgā are to be found on the doors of temples. The jambs on each side bear standing images of Gaṅgā on her vehicle (*vāhana*) the *makara* and Yamunā on her vehicles the tortoise. Separate images of Yamunā are rare. The Indian Museum collection contains an image in which the goddess stands on the back of a tortoise with an attendant on each side.¹² A similar image with one attendant female is to be seen in the Patna Museum.¹³

Images of Lakṣmī are very rare. The Indian Museum possesses none. The Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad possesses only one image. There are three

¹ *Handbook, etc.*, p. 53, No. $\frac{E(9)1}{271}$. See pl. LXIc.

² *Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 89-90, Nos. 3902-05.

³ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics, etc.*, pp. 27-28; Nos. $\frac{H(a)1}{252}$ to $\frac{H(a)9}{230}$.

⁴ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 83. See pl. LXIIIb.

⁵ *A Cat. of Archl. relics, etc.*, pp. 25-26.

⁶ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 90.

⁷ See pl. LXIb.

⁸ *Catalogue of Archl. relics, etc.*, p. 32, No. $\frac{H(g)1}{167}$.

⁹ See pl. LXId.

¹⁰ See pl. LXXId.

¹¹ *A Cat. of the Arch. relics, etc.*, p. 28, No. $\frac{H(c)1}{354}$. See pl. XCVa.

¹² *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 88, No. 3954. See pl. LXIIIc.

¹³ See pl. LXIb.

metal images in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.¹ Lakshmi is described in the *Matsyapurāna* in the following words:—

*Śrīyam devīm pravakshyāmi navē vayasī samsthitām
Suyauvanām pīnagandām raktavishṭhīm kuñchita-bhruvam.
Pīn-ōnnata-stana-tatām manī-kuṇḍala-dhāriṇīm
Sumanḍalam mukham tasyāḥ śivāḥ sīmanā-bhūshanam
Padma-svastika-śaṅkhaiv-vā bhūshitām kuṇḍal-ālakaḥ
Kañchuk-ābaddha-gātrī cha hāra-bhūshau payōdharau
Nāga-hast-ōpamau bāhū kēyūra-khētak-ōjjvalau
Padmam hastē pradātavyam Śrī-phalam dakṣiṇē bhujē
Mēkhā-ābharaṇām tadrat-tapta-kāñchana-saprabhām.
Nānābharaṇa-sampannām śōbhan-āmbara-dhāriṇīm
Pārśvē tasyāḥ strīyāḥ kāryyāś-chāmara-vyāgra-pāṇuyāḥ
Padm-āsan-ōpaviṣṭā tu padma-sīmhāsana-sthitā.
Kārībhyaṁ snāpyamān-āsau bhriṅgārābhyaṁ-anēkaśaḥ
Prakṣhālayantau karīṇau bhriṅgārābhyaṁ tathā-parau.*

—*Matsyapurāna*, chap. 261, 40-46.

But the image in the collection of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad has four hands and is seated on a lotus. Two elephants are pouring water over her head from vases (*ghata*). She holds a rosary and an arrow in her right hands and a lotus with stalk and a book in the left ones. Some of the attributes are to be found in the description given in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*:—

*Kāryyā chaturbhujā yā vāmakarābhyaṁ sapustakam kamalam
Dvābhyaṁ dakṣiṇa-pārśvē varam-crithishv-akshasūtraṁ-cha
Vāmēshv-ashṭabhujāyāḥ kamaṇḍalum chāpan-ambujam śāstram
Vara-śara-darpaṇa-yuktāḥ savya-bhujāḥ s-ākshasūtrāś-cha.*

—*Chap.* 58, 38-39.

A peculiar image of Chaṇḍī was discovered by my friend, Babu Khagendra-nath Chatterji, in 1911 in the town of Dacca. It would have been very difficult to recognise it as an image of Chaṇḍī had it not been for the inscription on the pedestal. The inscription records that the image was dedicated in the 3rd year of the reign of Lakshmapasena by an officer (*adhikṛita*) named Dāmodara². The image is quite different from the known forms as described in the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Chaṇḍī* or the *Chaturvarga-chīntāmaṇi*, *Vrata Khaṇḍa* of Hemādri. It has four hands and holds a battle-axe (*paraśu*) in her upper right hand, while the lower is in the *varada-mudrā*. The left hands hold a lotus with a stalk and a vase(?). There is a lion couchant on the pedestal.³

Images of Manasā are also rare. The Indian Museum collection contains two images. Two more are in the collection of Babu Puran Chand Nahar, Zamindar of Azimganj, Murshidabad District. The goddess is usually seated with a seven-hooded serpent canopy over her head. Usually there are four

¹ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics, etc.*, p. 31. II (i) 6, II (i) 7, II (i) 8; all found in the Bogra District.

² *J. and P. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), Vol. LX, p. 271.

³ See pl. VII.

hands; in the upper right hand she holds a rosary, while the lower is in the *varadamudrā* and the left hands hold a shield(?) and a vase (*ghaṭa*)¹. The Rajshahi Museum possesses fifteen specimens² and there is a beautiful specimen in the library of the Rangpur Sāhitya Parishad.³ A very good specimen was discovered at Bhadiswar in the Birbhum District.⁴

Images of Nāgas and Nāgīs are common in Bihar. The Indian Museum contains a number of them. The Nāga images are described in the *Matsya-purāṇa* :—

*Nāgās-cha-uīva tu kartavyāḥ khadga-khēṭaka-dhāriṇaḥ
Adhastāt prakṛitis-tēshām nābhr-vūrdhas-tu paurushā
Phaṇās-cha mūrdhani kartavyā dvijihvā bahavaḥ samāḥ.*

—Chap. 262, 48-49.

In the Indian Museum collection we find two representations of a Nāga and a Nāgī embracing each other, the lower parts of their bodies being coiled round each other.⁵

The following rare forms of miscellaneous Brahmanical deities deserve special mention in this connection. The goddess Sarasvatī is very widely worshipped in all parts of Bengal. The fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgha is set apart for her worship. Images are made of clay in which the goddess is represented as standing or seated on a lotus holding a *vīṇā* in her hands. Stone images are very rare. Only one image appears to have been discovered in Eastern Bengal and is kept in the Dacca Museum. The Rajshahi Museum possesses three specimens, two of which were discovered in the Rajshahi District while the third comes from Chhatingram in the Bogra District. In the illustration published in the Catalogue of the Museum we find the characteristic features of the fourth period of activity of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture.⁶ The Dacca specimen also belongs to the same period⁷.

Peculiar images are discovered from time to time in different parts of Bengal. A fine image of an emaciated goddess was discovered at Devagrām in the Nadia District of Bengal. The deity is seated on her haunches on a lotus throne and, with the exception of a scanty loin cloth and an amulet suspended from her neck by a thick string, she does not wear any ornaments or clothing. The upper part of her body is quite bare. The representation of the human diaphragm and the veins on the legs and the neck are quite true to nature. The long lank hair has been combed away from the forehead and the artist has succeeded in depicting a smile on the lean haggard face in a manner which would have done credit to a Greek sculptor. The specimen was discovered in pieces and the proper left arm, which rested on the right knee, is broken. The left hand is placed on the seat and the posture reminds

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 95, No. 3950. See pl. LXIVc.

² *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics, etc.*, pp. 29-30. See pl. LXIVd.

³ See pl. LXIVa.

⁴ See pl. LXIVb.

⁵ See pl. LXVa and c.

⁶ *A Catalogue of Archaeological relics, etc.*, pp. 30-31. See pl. LXII c.

⁷ See pl. LXIIIe.

me of the attitude adopted by many aged women in India. There are two volutes, one on each side of the stem of the lotus and inside each of them is a lotus bud. The figures of the donor and his wife are to be found on the pedestal, on the proper right. The corresponding space on the left of the pedestal is occupied by the miniature figurine of a donkey, standing on a small lotus flower.¹

A fine large image of a female deity was discovered by Prof. Satish Chandra Mitra at Shekhhati in the Jessore District. The image is still worshipped as Bhuvaneśvarī. The goddess is seated in the *ardha-paryāṅka* posture on a lotus throne and her proper left foot rests on the back of a lion. Two more lions are to be seen on the pedestal, one on each side of the larger lion. The goddess possesses three eyes, the third being placed on the forehead, and six hands. She holds (1) a lotus (*padma*) and (2) a rosary in the upper right hands while the third is in the posture of blessing. In her left hands she holds (1) a lance (*sūla*), and (2) a pot (*ghata*), while the remaining one is in the posture of giving protection. She wears a high headdress and the specimen belongs to the fourth and last period of activity of the Eastern School.²

The artists of the Eastern School produced a new kind of image of Māra or Kāma. The god is seated on a lotus with his two wives Rati and Trishnā, one on each side tightly clasped in his arms. He is seated in the *ardha-paryāṅka* posture, with his proper right foot on a *makara*, his *vāhana*. Under the lotus we find an altar, with a female kneeling on the ground in front of it and a wheel higher up on the face of the pedestal. There are two such images in the Indian Museum which were found in Bihar.³ No specimens of this type appear to have been discovered in Bengal proper.

In the Eastern School, a class of images, hitherto identified as Kalkin, the tenth incarnation of Vishṇu, have been proved in the majority of cases to be images of Revanta, the son of the Sun. In images of Revanta we find dogs in a hunting scene on the pedestal. There are four such images in the Indian Museum,⁴ one in the Rajshahi Museum⁵, one in the Sāmāth Museum and at least one such image has been discovered at Nālandā⁶.

In the first period of activity of the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture there is a great paucity of Brahmanical or Hindu images in South Bihar as well as Northern and Western Bengal; but such is not the case in Eastern Bengal. Among the inscribed sculptures from the eastern provinces of Northern India in the Indian Museum belonging to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. the only Brahmanical image is that of Vishṇu from Bihar (I.M. No. 3876⁷). The metal image dedicated by Sarvānī⁸ and discovered in the Dacca District, also belongs to the same period and is referred to in the next chapter. In

¹ See pl. LXIII. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Banjīya Sāhitya Parishad*, p. 84, pl. XIX.

² See pl. LVIIIa.

³ Nos. 3811 and 3812, *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 89. See pl. LXIV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85, Nos. 5621, 3775-77.

⁵ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics, etc.*, p. 26, No. $\frac{876}{245}$.

⁶ See pl. LXVe; *Journ. and Proc. A.S.B. (N.S.)*, Vol. V, pp. 392-93.

⁷ See pl. XIa.

⁸ See pl. Ic.

the second period of activity of the Eastern School there is a similar paucity of Brahmanical or Hindu images. The collection in the Dacca Museum is specially rich in Brahmanical images of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. but, at the same time, it must be admitted that as none of them is inscribed, their attribution is still open to some doubt. No doubt they belong to a period earlier than the specimens of the first renaissance in the Eastern School, *i.e.*, the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.; but as they exhibit certain characteristics common to images of the second period of activity of the Eastern School from Magadha or South Bihar, they, too, have been relegated to the same period. Such is the image of Badarī-Nārāyaṇa¹ from Sonarāṅg and the particularly fine image of the Fish incarnation of Viṣṇu² discovered at Bajrajogini in the Dacca District, which is still worshipped *in situ*. Eastern Bengal appears to be comparatively richer in Śaiva Sculptures of the second period of activity of the Eastern School. Apparently, the two fine specimens of the *tāṇḍava* dance of Śiva in the Dacca Museum,³ one of which was discovered at Rampal, the beautiful image of Śiva discovered at Kashipur⁴ in the Bakarganj District, and the image of Virūpākṣha discovered at Rampal⁵ in the Dacca District belong to this period.

The first period of renaissance in the Eastern School is extremely interesting for the iconographical evidence afforded by it about the revival of the orthodox Hindu or Brahmanical religion in the eastern provinces of Northern India. If the number of images in stone and metals is to be regarded as a criterion for the study of the historical development of the Brahmanical religion then it must be admitted that both in Magadha and Bengal the Bhāgavata sect of the Vaiṣṇavas flourished vigorously from the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The scarcity of such images in the previous centuries proves no doubt that that sect existed as a minor community only in the earlier period of the rule of the Pāla dynasty in North-Eastern India. The sudden increase in the number of the Viṣṇu images in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. proves that a powerful reaction against Buddhism had begun early in the eleventh. This reaction against Buddhism is not evident in the case of the Bhāgavata sect alone; it brought about a general revival of all the different sects of the Brahmanical or Hindu religion. Images of Śiva and Durgā; *lingas*, separate images of different forms of Pārvatī, minor deities such as Śūrya, Gaṇeśa, etc., are to be found for the first time among the specimens of the Eastern School in the third and fourth periods of its activity, *i.e.*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. This revival of the Brahmanical religion is also evident from the varieties of images of the different gods which are altogether absent in the earlier periods, *e.g.*, in the case of Viṣṇu:—

(a) The birth of Kṛiṣṇa,⁶

¹ See pl. XLVa.

² See pl. XLVIIb.

³ See pl. LII a and c.

⁴ See pl. LIIb.

⁵ See pl. LIIa.

⁶ See pl. I a-d, and XLIXb.

- (b) The special forms of Lōkēśvara-Vishṇu from Garuī,¹ Ghīyasabad,² Sonarang³ and Sāgardighi,⁴
 (c) Special form of Vāsudeva from Sāgardighi⁵ and
 (d) Śēshaśāyīn from Gayā.⁶

Among these instances the figure of Śēshaśāyīn is an imitation of the Gupta forms but the special form of Vāsudeva from Sāgardighi is unique, the worship of which is long since obsolete. The complete unanimity amongst the sculptors of the different parts of the eastern provinces of Northern India in the delineation of images of the incarnations of Vishṇu proves that there was a similarity of methods and rules in sculpture in different parts of the Pāla Empire. If we compare the Narasimha from Rampal,⁷ from Paikor⁸ and from Bihar⁹ then we are forced to admit the truth of this statement; but the image of the fish incarnation at Bajrajogini belongs to a class apart.¹⁰ Similarly, in the case of Śaiva images, we find there is a complete unity in the method in the specimens from Swamībagh,¹¹ Bīrbhum,¹² Dinājpur¹³ and Bihar¹⁴ all of which belong to the period of the first Renaissance. Special forms of Śaiva images are also to be found in large numbers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. The collections of Śaiva images in the Indian and Rajshahi Museums belong to this date. Among such images special mention ought to be made of the two peculiar specimens, representing the marriage of Śiva, in the collection at Rajshahi¹⁵ and that of the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad¹⁶ at Calcutta. They are different from the older specimen in the possession of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjī.¹⁷ In the method of treatment there is a certain amount of similarity between the latter specimen from Gaya and the basreliefs and images representing the same subject discovered in other parts of India. But in the case of the two later specimens both the method and the technique are different, showing that there was no similarity or agreement in the methods and rules of the northern and the southern artists of India in the mediæval period.

The Brahmanical specimens described above prove, moreover, that the art-manuals of Southern India, which form the basis of the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's researches into Hindu iconography, found little credence in North-Eastern India in the mediæval period. Allowing for latitude of individual capacity and conception and similarity of the subject matter, there is no doubt

¹ See pl. XXXVIIIa.

² See pl. XXXVIIIc.

³ See pl. XXXVIIIb.

⁴ See pl. XXXVIIIb.

⁵ See pl. LXXVIIIc.

⁶ See pl. XLIXc.

⁷ See pl. XLVIId.

⁸ See pl. XLVIb.

⁹ See pl. XLVIc.

¹⁰ See pl. XLVIIIb.

¹¹ See pl. LIVd.

¹² See pl. LVd.

¹³ See pl. LVb.

¹⁴ See pl. LVa.

¹⁵ See pl. LIVc.

¹⁶ See pl. LIVb.

¹⁷ See pl. XCVc.

about the fact that different schools of different parts of India followed different art-manuals of their own. This is nowhere better evident than in the images of Vishṇu from Gorakhpur,¹ Swamibagh,² Munger,³ Bangarh,⁴ Nakkatitala,⁵ Deora⁶ and Sundarban⁷ and the types to be found in the first volume of Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao's monumental work on Hindu Iconography. But we find the difference more carefully in the case of special images such as those of the marriage of Śiva. In the language of the southern art-manuals such images are called *Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrtis*. Mr. Gopinath Rao has published excellent illustrations of this subject. Three of them come from Southern India, *i.e.*, from Madura⁸ and Tiruvorriyūr,⁹ two from Western India¹⁰ and one from the Central Provinces.¹¹ All of these specimens though coming from different and distant provinces agree in one aspect: they show Śiva and Pārvatī standing side by side in the position of the marriage gift (*sampradāna*). All of the six specimens agree in this respect that Śiva stands by the side of Pārvatī. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao recognised this fully and stated that "In the composition of the scene of the marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva there should be Śiva and Pārvatī forming the central figures facing the east.... To the left of the figure of Śiva should be standing that of Pārvatī."¹² This statement is based on two southern manuals quoted in the second part of the second volume of Mr. Gopinatha Rao's work.¹³ In the actual illustrations we find Śiva standing to the proper right and Pārvatī on his proper left in all cases. We find the same position of the main figures in the great *torāṇa* at Rewa.¹⁴ But the two specimens of the same subject discovered in the Dacca and Rajshahi Districts show Pārvatī in front of Śiva, a feature which is absent in all of the *Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrtis* discovered outside Bengal proper. Even the Gayā specimen agrees with the Non-Bengali style but the two specimens from the Dacca and Rajshahi Districts stand apart from the rest. The Dacca specimen shows the front view of the pair but the Rajshahi specimen shows the side view. In other respects, such as the presence of Brahmā as the officiating priest, the presence of Vishṇu and other gods, these two specimens agree with the description of the *Purāṇas*. It is not possible to state what particular art-manual the sculpture of these two specimens followed; but it is certain that they did not work according to the southern manuals, *Aṃśu-bhēd-āgama* or the *Pūrva-kāraṇ-āgama*. The propriety of calling such images *Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrtis* is, therefore, questionable.

¹ See pl. XLIII a.

² See pl. XLIII b.

³ See pl. XLIII c.

⁴ See pl. XLIII d.

⁵ See pl. XLIV a.

⁶ See pl. XLIV b.

⁷ See pl. XLIV c.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part I, pls. CVI and CVII.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. CI.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. CIII from Elephanta and pl. CIV-CV from Ellora.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. CII from Ratanpur.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 338-40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 172-77.

¹⁴ *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23, pls. XXV-XXVI.*

While thousands of images of different varieties of the four-armed Vishnu, belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been discovered in different parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bihar, only a single specimen of the combined image of Krishna and Rādhā can safely assigned to the Eastern School during its long existence. The locality of this specimen is unknown, but it belongs to the Broadley collection of Bihar and is a specimen of the eleventh century A.D.¹ The Krishna cult was therefore followed by a very minor sect during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Not only do we find a very great scarcity of combined images of Krishna and Rādhā in the Eastern School but no image of Krishna by himself earlier than the fifteenth century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal or Bihar. The popularity of the Rādhā-Krishna cult in the north-eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the majority of Brahmanical images in Bengal and Bihar, both in metal and stone, are either *lingas* and images of Durgā or Kālī or representations of Krishna or Rādhā-Krishna. In this period there is a total absence of images of Vishnu either in stone or metal. There is, thus, a hiatus in the history of the Vaishnava sect in North-Eastern India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D. to fill up which iconography can supply no materials. When the Eastern School had ceased to exist, the artists of Eastern and Northern Bengal continued to carve figures of Vishnu of the old style, occasionally, either in wood or stone. The wooden image of Vishnu in the Dacca Museum,² discovered at Murādnagar in the Tippera District is certainly later than the twelfth century. An inscribed image in stone has recently been added to the Rajshahi Museum, which exhibits the same degenerate style as the wooden specimen described above. These old-style Vishnu images do not appear to have been carved after the advent of Chaitanya.

Recently Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has raised the question of the relationship between the art of India and that of Java. The excavations at Nālandā have provided us with two new facts in the history of Indian plastic art, *i.e.*, the close relationship that existed between North-Eastern India and the Indian archipelago as evidenced by the embassy of king Balaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa to the Emperor Dēvapāla of Bengal and the similarity between the modes and the technique of the artists of North-Eastern India and Java. The discovery of the Nālandā plate of Dēvapāla³ has established, beyond doubt, the very intimate relation that existed between the Pāla Empire of Bengal and Bihar and Suvarṇadvīpa of the eastern archipelago. The reign of Dēvapāla, again, coincides with the first and the best period of the activity of Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture. From a study of the very few plates illustrating Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's paper on this subject⁴ it is evident that central Javanese sculpture of the ninth century is very intimately related to the

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 96, No. 3833.

² See pl. XLVII b.

³ *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27.

⁴ *The Influences of Indian Art*, The India Society, London, 1925, pp. 35-86.

sculpture of Bengal and Bihar of the same period. The Bodhisattva from Chandī Mendut¹ bears a specific resemblance to the great Buddha from Kurkihar² and the so-called Nāgārjuna at Nālandā.³ The stilted pose of the standing Harihara from Simping⁴ is to be found reproduced in many an image of Vishṇu or Sūrya in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The great Vishṇu on Garuḍa from Belahan⁵ bears a very striking resemblance to the similar specimen from Deora⁶ in the Rajshahi District now in the Rajshahi Museum. Dr. Vogel states, "In the first number of *Rupam* (January 1920) the image in question is reproduced side by side with a late mediæval sculpture from Varendra representing the same object. Nothing certainly could more clearly bring out the superiority of Javanese plastic art than the juxtaposition of these two sculptures."⁷ The similarity between these two specimens of the same class does not lie in their plastic characteristics but in the method of treatment of the subject. The Vishṇu on Garuda from Deora is clearly a specimen of the twelfth century A.D., when Arabian depredations in the Indian Archipelago had most probably cut off all connections between North-Eastern India and Java. The specimen from Belahan is nearly three centuries earlier in date. Their similarity lies in the manner in which Vishṇu has been placed on the top of Garuda. In the Belahan specimen we find a complete image of Vishṇu, with backslab and pedestal, placed on the top of a separate image of Garuda. Though both figures have been carved out of the same slab of stone they are, to all intents and purposes, two separate images, combined together. This characteristic is to be found with very slight modifications in the Deora image. In both cases Vishṇu is seated in a conventional posture, which in Buddhist iconography would be styled *arddhaparyāṅka*. Such a position is abnormal in the case of a human figure, riding on the back of another being, also human in shape. Throughout the length and breadth of India there is not to be found a single specimen of this subject in which the artist has treated it in this particular manner. In all other cases, outside Bengal and in the cases of earlier specimens from Bengal and Bihar⁸ we find Vishṇu seated astride, in the fashion of a horseman, on the shoulders of Garuda. The connection between the ninth century art of Java and the north-eastern provinces of India is therefore undeniable. It was the fashion of earlier writers on the history of Indian plastic art to compare the best specimens found outside India, but within the zone of influence of her ancient and mediæval culture, with specimens of the Imperial Gupta age; but when the late Dr. V. A. Smith and Mr. E. B. Havell wrote, the history of the great Northern and Southern Schools of Mediæval Sculpture was very imperfectly known to us. In fact, even now we do not know much of the great schools of sculpture

¹ *Ibid.*, fig. IV.

² See pl. VIII c.

³ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1920-21.*

⁴ *The Influences of Indian Art*, fig. X.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. IV.

⁶ See pl. XLIV b.

⁷ *The Influences of Indian Art*, p. 80 note.

⁸ See pl. XLVIII a. and c.

and architecture of Khajuraho, Dhārā, Bādāmi-Aihole-Pattadakal, Veṅgī and Kāñchī or Conjeeveram. The connection of the sculpture of the Far Eastern countries such as Java, Siam, Annam and Cambodia is with Indian provincial mediæval sculpture of the eighth to the twelfth centuries A.D. and not with that of the great Gupta schools of Pāṭaliputra, Benares and Mathurā.

CHAPTER VII.

METAL-CASTING AND JAINA IMAGES.

I.—Metal images, chaityas and utensils of worship.

Tāranātha has recorded that the art of metal-casting was founded in the eastern provinces by two men, father and son, named Dhīmān and Bītpālo, who lived in Varendra (North Bengal) or Nālandra (Nālandā) during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Both of these artists are stated to have “produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might be the birth-place of their actual designers.”¹ Before the discoveries at Nālandā, the specimens in metal discovered in the eastern provinces were so few that it was not possible to discuss the artistic merits of metal images cast in these provinces with any degree of completeness. The discoveries at Nālandā have now made it possible to discuss the origin and development of metal-casting in the eastern provinces. In this case also, we can trace the evolution and the rise and fall from inscribed specimens as well as from dated images. The most important dated images are the images of Nāga and Muṇdeśvari (7) dedicated during the reign of Devapāla and discovered at Nālandā.² The next dated image is that of Pārvatī discovered at Bihar in the Patna District, which was dedicated at Uddandapura in the 54th year of the reign of Nārāyanapāla.³ This is the first period of activity of the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture as proved by dated inscriptions and votive inscriptions on stone images. We find that in metal specimens also there is a corresponding increase

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1875, p. 103.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, for 1920-21*, pl. 19. See pl. I b.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. III. See pl. III a-b.

of activity and elevation of the standard of excellence of artistic work of this school, in this period. Fortunately we possess several inscribed metal images of the pre-Pāla period. The best of these no doubt is the image of Buddha discovered at Nālandā.¹ In this particular specimen, the latent influence of early Gupta art is so much apparent that it would perhaps be a mistake to include it amongst specimens of the pre-Pāla period, by which term we designate the period which elapsed between the fall of the Early Gupta Emperors and the rise of the independent kingdom of Bengal under Gopāla I and his son Dharmapāla. In another specimen, which is also inscribed, we find the destructive influence of the anarchical state of the country in this period reflected on its art products. Inscriptions and traditional history show that for some time, before the rise of the Pāla dynasty, Bengal was in a state of complete anarchy. Both the epigraphist and the historian have recorded this state of the country and have used the very expressive term *mātsya-nyāya*² for it. In the earlier part of this period (*circa* seventh century) an image of a Buddha was dedicated at Gaya by a Rānaka named Yakshapāla. This inscription is incised on a thin plate of copper attached to the bottom of this image, much in the same way as inscriptions are placed on the bottom plates of Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhist images.³ In this particular image we find the same want of proportion between the different limbs of the body, as we find in the image of Buddha dedicated by the General Malluka.⁴ Want of proportion is the most important feature in this specimen, which is absolutely wanting in the Sultanganj copper image⁵ or the Nālandā gilt image of Buddha. The image of Śarvāṇī discovered by Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., Curator of the Dacca Museum, which was dedicated during the reign of king Devakhaḍga,⁶ as well as the copper image of Viṣṇu, discovered at Kumarpur in the Rajshahi district and now preserved in the Rajshahi Museum also belongs to this period.⁷ Turning to later specimens of metal-casting, we find that this particular specimen is a very crude art-product compared with the metal images discovered at Nālandā which were dedicated during the reign of Devapāla.⁸ It must, therefore, be admitted that with the rise of the mediæval school and the great improvement in stone carving in its first period there was a concomitant improvement in metal-casting of the eastern provinces. The next best specimen, which is uninscribed, is, no doubt, the image of the goddess Ganges discovered at Nālandā, which can be recognised by her *vāhana*, the *makara*⁹. Many of the Nālandā images were destroyed during the conflagration, which followed the destruction or sack of that place by the early Muhammadan invaders under Muhammad Bin Bakhtyār in 1199 A. D. After the discovery of these images, some of them have been cleaned by the Archaeological Chemist but the majority of them

¹ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, for 1920-21, p. 39 pl. III. See pl. LXVI a.

² See Palas of Bengal, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, pp. 45 seq.

³ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 77-78 and pl. See pl. LXVI c.

⁴ Pl. VII d.

⁵ Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 171; fig. 118.

⁶ See pl. I c. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, pp. 357-59.

⁷ See pl. LXXVIII a.

⁸ See ante, p. 124, pl. I b and LXXI f.

⁹ See pl. LXXI d.

still lie covered with verdigris and patina caused by exposure to intense heat. The next uninscribed specimen which, in my opinion belongs to the first period, is, no doubt, an unidentified image labelled "Kuvera and his two wives" by the excavators of Nālandā¹. We find the same characteristics, e.g., well defined proportions, sense of symmetry and expression of infinite charm on the face of the human figures in metal, as we find in all specimens in stone of the first period of the activity of the Eastern School. The *chaitya* discovered at Ashrafpur² in the same District belongs to this period.

It cannot be denied now that the artists of the Eastern School suffered a good deal during the border wars which followed the conquest of Magadha by Bhōja I and its occupation by his son Mahēndrapāla. For three generations the Pālas were at war with the Pratihāras and during this period artistic activity declined in the eastern provinces. The products, which can be definitely assigned on the ground of palæography to this particular period, show the same decline in general excellence as we find on the stone images. The image of Pārvatī which was dedicated in the 54th year of the reign of Nārāyanapāla cannot be called an object of art. It is a crude image and, though it was made at the cost of a comparatively wealthy person, it cannot be called, even by courtesy, an art product. The reason is not far to seek. In the history of the Pāla dynasty we find that in the 7th year of his reign, Nārāyanapāla was in the possession of Gaya and in the 17th year of his reign he was in the possession of Munger. Between the 17th and 54th years of his reign there is a gap of thirty-seven years, the history of which we cannot account for. It is during this period that Bhōja I defeated the Pālas with his army of feudatories, many of whom boast of having defeated the king of Gauda in the famous battle of *Mudgagiri* or Munger.³ Later on, when he was a very old man, Nārāyanapāla reconquered a portion of eastern Magadha, but then the long border war had most probably reduced the country to a chaotic condition and the artists of the Eastern school had most probably fled to distant provinces where security still prevailed. The specimen which can be definitely relegated to this period is the four-armed figure of Prajñāpāramitā⁴ and the four-armed Bodhisattva discovered at Nālandā.⁵ There are very few inscribed specimens belonging to the reign of Nārāyanapāla and there are no inscribed specimens in metal. We reach a more solid ground in the next century. In this period of decline a certain amount of unnecessary elongation of the limbs is noticeable in certain stone images, such as Lōkanātha (I. M. No. 3962)⁶ and the same characteristic is to be found in an image of Lōkanātha discovered at Bandarbazar in the Sylhet District and now in the Dacca Museum.⁷

In the middle of the 11th century Mahīpāla I revived the Pāla power. Northern Bengal, which had been conquered by kings of Tibetan descent, was

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1920-21, p. 42.*

² *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891, pl. III; See pl. LXXV b.*

³ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 59 seq.*

⁴ *See pl. LXXI a.*

⁵ *See pl. LXXIX a.*

⁶ *See pl. XII a.*

⁷ *See pl. LXVI b.*

reconquered and the western provinces were recovered from the Pratihāras. Eastern Bengal was conquered and Mahīpāla I could boast of having founded a second empire, like Dharmapāla. The power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was crushed for ever, and, though there were invasions from the south and from the southwest, the metropolitan districts were at peace. Art revived as a result of the material prosperity of the people of Gauḍa, which we can see in the images discovered at Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur District of Tirhut or Northern Bihar. These images were dedicated in the 48th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I and cannot be traced at present. Probably they form a part of some private collection outside India. Crude lithographs were published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but even from these reproductions we can judge that art, so far as metal-casting was concerned, had revived to the same degree as stone carving.¹ We may say, therefore, with a tolerable degree of confidence, that there was a renaissance of metal-casting in the eastern provinces along with that in stone carving. Here again, as in the case of stone-carvings, we find images of metal in the districts of Bengal proper, while the earlier specimens were entirely confined to northern and southern Bihar. Very few specimens discovered in the districts of Bengal proper can be referred to the period of history, which preceded the reign of Mahīpāla I. In the third period of activity of the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture, we find beautiful images produced in Bengal proper, among which may be mentioned the images of Śiva and Durgā in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. These images were discovered at some place in the Maldah and Bogra Districts². None of them have been cleaned as yet but even in this state they show a virility and strength which is certainly absent in the image of Pārvatī dedicated in the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla. To the same period must be relegated the beautiful images discovered in different parts of Bengal and Bihar. The earliest and the best specimen of the period of the second Pāla empire is the figure of Chuṇḍā discovered at Sonarang in the Dacca District and now preserved in the Dacca Museum³. Next in order come the Shadakhari group⁴ and a miniature figurine of Tārā from Nālandā⁵. After them must be placed another image in the Dacca Museum, a figure of Tārā discovered in the Tippera District⁶. Some of these images were discovered from the banks of a tank or lake called Sāgardighi in the Murshidabad district of Bengal, others were discovered in a deserted town in the northern part of the Rangpur District. A collection of fine miniature images was rescued from the melting pot by the late Mr. Pūrṇa Chandra Mukherji of this Department at Patharghatta in the Bhagalpur District and presented to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. In the first and third groups of specimens we get inscribed images. These inscriptions show

¹ *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1881, p. 98.

² *Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad*, pp. 142-43. See pl. LXXIX g and LXXI b.

³ See pl. LXXIII b.

⁴ See pl. LXXIX c.

⁵ See pl. LXXIX b.

⁶ See pl. LXXIV b.

the use of characters which are certainly later than the Kṛishṇa-dvārikā and Narasiṃha temple inscriptions of the 15th year of Nayapāla, the son and successor of Mahīpāla I. They show some resemblance to the characters used in the inscriptions on the image dedicated in the 13th year of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III¹. In Bengal proper we have found very few inscriptions of the particular type. The proper appellation of this variety of the alphabet would appropriately be proto-Bengali, but this term has already been used by Bühler for the variety which we find in the inscriptions of Vijayasena and his successors². It may therefore suffice in the present case if this variety is termed the Bengali alphabet of the late 11th century. The following inscription is to be found on the back of one of the three images discovered at Sagardighi in the Murshidabad District.

“*Sh(s)uvāchaka Nānnō-dāsa-sh(s)utā Pānō dānapati itaṃ dēya-dharma.*”

“This image is the gift of Pāna, the son of the religious preacher Nānnōdāsa.” Resemblances in the details of these three images indicate definitely that they were the handi-work of one and the same artist. Two images have been referred to above in the section on the images of Vishṇu. One of them is undoubtedly Vishṇu or Trivikrama as the order of the implements in his hands is G. P. S. C.³ He is attended by two male figures. The point of resemblance between this figure and the second is that out of the four attributes in the latter, two are placed on full-blown lotus flowers, as we find in the case of the mace in specimen No. 1.⁴ The main figure in the second case is seated in the *mahārājatilā* posture, i.e., one leg is placed on the ground and the other haunched up. The head dress and the ornaments and other details are exactly similar to those of the first specimen.⁵ The third specimen has already been described in the section on Buddhist images and most probably represents some long forgotten form of Vishṇu, in which it had become particularly identical with some form of Avalokiteśvara or Lōkanātha⁶. But here, also, the common feature is the wheel, in the middle proper right hand, placed on a lotus, as we see in the case of the conch and the mace in specimen No. 2 and in the case of the wheel and the mace in specimen No. 1. All three figures would compare very favourably with a fine image of Vishṇu discovered by Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali at Baghaura in the Comilla District, which was dedicated in the 3rd year of the reign of Mahīpāla I⁷. The inscription on the third metal image indicates that it was later than the Baghaura image. These details show that all of these specimens belong to the same period of plastic activity. In the cast of the faces, in the elegant attitude of specimens numbered 2 and 3, and from treatment of the decorative designs on the back-slabs, we find a general agreement which we have not noticed in

¹ See pl. V a.

² *Indische Paläographie* Eng. Trans. by J. F. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, p. 58.

³ *Handbook, etc.*, pp. 137-38.

⁴ See pl. LXXVII c.

⁵ See pl. LXXVIII c.

⁶ See pl. XXXVIII b.

⁷ See pl. IV d.

metal images belonging to the second period. To the same period may be relegated six metal images of Vishnu found at Sahibganj, in the southern portion of the Rangpur district of Bengal. Five of them were described by Dr. D. B. Spooner in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey¹. None of them is inscribed but a comparison with the Baghaura image and the Sāgardighi images leaves no doubt about the fact that all of them belong to the 3rd period of plastic activity of the Eastern School. In one specimen we find that the main figure is holding the attributes in the order of G. P. S. C. and is attended by Sarasvatī with the *vīṇā* on the left and Lakshmī on the right. On the pedestal we find a miniature figure of Garuḍa kneeling and the donor in a recessed corner.² The next specimen, worth describing, shows holes in which jewels were inset on the back slab. Here also the position of the attributes, G. P. S. C., indicates that the image is of one Vāsudeva. In this case the attendant figurines differ, as each holds a lotus with stalk (N. S. 2250).³ Allied to this group, but of much finer execution are the small metal images discovered at Patharghata in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar. They were collected for the Indian Museum by the late Mr. Pūrṇa Chandra Mukherji. Here we find an image of Buddha in the *vara-mudrā*⁴, a figure of a Bodhisattva evidently that of Maitreya⁵ as we find a *chaitya* in his head-dress, an image of Varma⁶, and another of Pārvatī with Kārtikēya⁷. Out of these four or five specimens, at least three are inscribed and the characters belong definitely to the same period to which the inscribed image from Sāgardighi belongs. To this class belong two other images, one of which is a small image of Vishnu discovered at Sahibganj in the Rangpur District. The back slab of this image is profusely decorated and the main figure is attended by Sarasvatī and Lakshmī. Garuḍa is represented in front of the main figure on the pedestal and we find the donor and his wife kneeling on two recessed corners to the proper right⁸. The second specimen was discovered at Nālandā. It is an image of a Nāga exactly similar to the specimen dedicated during the reign of Devapāla⁹. The main figure wears a garland of human skulls and is attended by female figurines all of which are in an imperfect state of preservation.

The majority of images of Vishnu discovered in the eastern provinces of Northern India, belong to the third and fourth periods of activity of the Eastern School. Though stray specimens have been discovered in Bihar, more than ninety per cent of them come from Bengal proper. Inscribed specimens are very rare and the more favourite form appears to have been that of Vāsudeva. Stereotyped forms produced by the artists of Eastern India in the 12th century

¹ Annual Report of the Archl. Survey of India, Part II, 1911-12, pp. 162-58, pls. LXX-LXXI.

² See pl. LXXVII a.

³ See pl. LXXVII b.

⁴ See pl. LXXI e.

⁵ See pl. LXXI i.

⁶ See pl. LXXIII d.

⁷ See pl. LXXIII e.

⁸ See pl. LXXIV a.

⁹ See pl. I b.

are identical in type with the Buddhist images dedicated at Bihar¹ and Giniyek² during the reign of Rāmapāla and the image of Chandī³ discovered at Dacca which was dedicated in the third year of the reign of Lakshmanāsēna. Few inscribed metal images of this century, *i.e.*, of the fourth period of activity of the eastern school have been discovered anywhere in Eastern India. But the unclean ones of the Nālandā collection may contain some specimens, which may have to be relegated, on the basis of the form of the characters of their inscriptions, to this particular period. The image of Buddha in the possession of Babu Saurindra Narayan Sinha of Jhawakothi in Bhagalpur bears a short mutilated inscription on the pedestal⁴. This image⁵ is certainly later than the three groups described above. It is, however, earlier in date than the silver image⁶ discovered in the Dacca District, which is preserved in the Art Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. The original of this image was given for cleaning to some local artist and the effect produced by the cleaning is far from pleasing. It looks like a new image and, but for the survival of the *kīrtimukha* ornament it would have passed for a clever forgery. The image was brought under the regulations of the Indian Treasure Trove Act after its discovery and we have therefore definite information about its find-spot. Some competent authorities are however of opinion that the specimen preserved in the Art Section of the Calcutta Museum is a clever cast of the original image. In this specimen we find the attenuation of the waist, the idealistic moulding of the torsos of the figures and the conventional arrangement of the draperies, which are the constant features of images produced during the fourth and the last period of activity of the Eastern School. The main figure is attended by two females which are evidently Lakshmī and Sarasvatī and there is a small figure of Garuḍa on the pedestal.

To this period belongs a unique metal plaque discovered in the Rangpur District which was presented to the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad eight or nine years ago. This plaque is made of pure copper and was cast. On the obverse we find a circle inside a square. It contains a ten-petalled lotus, and each petal bears on it a figure of one of the incarnations of Vishṇu. The Matsya and Kūrma incarnations are indicated by full size four-armed figures of Vishṇu, while the remaining eight are to be recognised by their attributes. The reverse is divided into nine panels, the central one containing an image of Vishṇu⁷. This particular style of Vaishṇava worship has fallen into disuse in Bengal, most probably with the rise of Chaitanya and the introduction of the popular form of Vaishṇavism, at the beginning of the 16th century. The Tāntric form of Vishṇu worship, which was most probably introduced into Bengal by the Sēna kings, fell into disuse at this date. This metal plaque is the Tāntric *yantra*

¹ See pl. V c.

² See pl. V b.

³ See pl. VI d.

⁴ See pl. LXXIII b.

⁵ See pl. XVIII a.

⁶ See pl. LXXI g.

⁷ *Handbook to the sculptures, etc.*, pp. 144-45.

of Vishṇu. Fine stone specimens of it have been collected by the Varendra Research Society and three of them have been described in their catalogue¹.

The result of the foregoing analysis is in keeping with that of dated and inscribed stone images from Bihar and Bengal. Inscribed images, which, on palæographical grounds, must be assigned to the end of the seventh or to the first half of the eighth century, show a distinct decline in ideals and execution of the artists of north-eastern India. A comparison of the copper-gilt image discovered at Nālandā² and the great metal Buddha from Sultanganj near Bhagalpur³ now in the Birmingham Museum with the small image of the seated Buddha from Gaya⁴ bearing an inscription in Bhaikshukī characters would reveal this fact. The metal image of Vishṇu from Kumarpur⁵ in the Rajshahi district is slightly better in execution but it belongs to the same age as the Buddha from Gaya. There is as great a paucity of metal specimens as we find in the case of stone images in the period immediately preceding the reign of Dēvapāla.

Suddenly, sometime in the ninth century, there took place a vast improvement in the ideals of artists and their mode of execution. The two inscribed metal images of the reign of Dēvapāla, one dedicated in the square of Dēvapāla (*Dēvapāla-hattē*) and the other in the District (*vishaya*) of Rājagriha, in the great city (*pattana*) by the potter Ujaka and the lady Śogukā of the same class (or caste), who were residents of the place,⁶ prove that this sudden transition from comparative crudity in plastic art of the north-eastern provinces of India must have taken place early in the Pāla period. The absence of dated specimens of the reign of Dharmapāla makes it difficult to say with anything approaching definiteness whether the change began in the reign of Dēvapāla or in that of his father. Further specimens of the period have been discovered at Nālandā alone. The special characteristics to be found in these two images of the reign of Dēvapāla are also to be found in a number of the images discovered recently at Nālandā, *e.g.*, the four-armed Lokanātha,⁷ the little Tārā,⁸ the *Shaḍaksharī* group⁹ and the fine Prajñāpāramitā.¹⁰ The last is as good an object of art of the first period of activity of the Eastern School of Mediæval sculpture as the great Tārā dedicated by the Buddhist monk Gunamati.¹¹ The paucity of materials in Eastern Bengal is also remarkable. The image of Śarvāṇī dedicated by the queen Prabhāvatī of the Khadga dynasty¹² belongs to the same period as the stone Buddha dedicated by the

¹ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological relics, etc.*, pp. 17-21.

² See pl. LXVI a.

³ V. A. Smith—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 171, fig. 118.

⁴ See pl. LXVI c.

⁵ See pl. LXXVIII a.

⁶ I came to learn about the existence of the second specimen from Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S., in 1926 but could not include it among the illustrations. The photograph received from the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, bears the number "S1-372".

⁷ See pl. LXIX a.

⁸ See LXIX, b.

⁹ See pl. LXIX c.

¹⁰ pl. LXXI, a.

¹¹ See pl. X c.

¹² See pl. I c.

general Malluka¹ or the small metal Buddha from Gayā,² but it is earlier than the metal *chaitya* discovered at Ashrafpur³ in the Dacca District. The metal *chaitya* cannot be earlier than the tenth century. The four images in its four niches exhibit the same lassitude in the artist's ideals as other tenth century stone images.

Metal specimens which can be definitely assigned to the earlier part of the tenth century are very rare. No inscribed and dated specimens are known, but the Dacca Museum contains two specimens, which by their form and technique cannot be placed anywhere except in the tenth. One of them is a Bodhisattva from Bandarbazār⁴ in the Sylhet District and the other an eight-armed image of Chandī from Sonarang⁵ in the Dacca District. With the figure of the Bodhisattva, a Lōkanātha, we should compare the great four-armed Lōkanātha (I. M. No. 3962)⁶ and with the Chandī that of Muṇḍēśvarī (I. M. No. 3952).⁷ With the exception of the figures in the niches of the *chaitya* from Ashrafpur, no other metal figures show the same characteristics. Even the metal *chaitya* is certainly later than these two images and may belong to the end of the tenth while the date of the images would lie at the beginning.

With these slight indications it is extremely difficult to indicate the growth or decline of plastic activity in the tenth century, but the data are sufficient to denote that in metal casting also the progress of the plastic art followed the same outline as that of stone-carving.

Specimens of metal casting which can be definitely assigned to the tenth century are comparatively rare, but there is a marked growth in the activities of the school in the eleventh. We do not know of any inscribed or dated metal images belonging to the second half of that century except the small image of Pārvatī and Kārtikēya (?)⁸ discovered at Bihar and now preserved in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. As a specimen of the Eastern School it is extremely disappointing. It is impossible to place it between the Nālandā metal images of the reign of Dēvapāla and the Imadpur metal images of the reign of Mahīpāla I. With the reign of Mahīpāla we reach surer ground. The drawings of the Imadpur images are extremely useful. We find from them that there is a renaissance in metal casting exactly similar to that in sculpture, but here the absence of metal specimens prevents us from finding out whether the renaissance began with the revival of the political power of the Pālas or not. The Bagbaura stone image of Viṣṇu shows that in the case of sculpture and stone carving the renaissance was coeval with the restoration of the Pālas to power but in the case of metal-casting we have to wait till the 48th year of the reign of Mahīpāla, when the Imadpur images were dedicated, which would correspond roughly with some year in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

¹ See pl. VII d.

² See pl. LXVI c.

³ See pl. LXXV b.

⁴ See pl. LXVI b.

⁵ See pl. LXVIII b.

⁶ See pl. XII a.

⁷ Ibid c.

⁸ See pl. III a-b.

In the third period of the activity of the Eastern School we find a return to the normal in the ideals of the artist, a general standard prevailing throughout the different provinces of the Pāla Empire from Eastern Bengal to Gorakhpur, a sudden increase in the total output of specimens and an increase in the importance of the *Bhāgavata* sect of the Vaishnavas. All of these characteristics are equally applicable to metal images of the period. The oldest metal Vaishnava images of the Pāla period belong to this period. Their number also increases considerably. There is a greater variety of images of all other Hindu sects. The image of Śiva and Durgā in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston¹ belongs to the earlier part of the eleventh century, while the specimen from Bogra in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad to the later part of the same.² The general difference in the artistic standard of the tenth and the eleventh centuries can be found by a comparison of the Imadpur images or in their absence of three Sāgardighī Vaishnava images³ with the Lokanātha from Bandarbazār in Sylhet or the Chaṇḍī from Sonarang. Here one cannot resist coming to the conclusion that the artists of the north-eastern provinces once more returned to naturalism, correct symmetry of form and elegance.

To this period must belong the six metal images of Vishnu from Sahibganj in the Rangpur District,⁴ the Trailōkyavijaya,⁵ Varuṇa,⁶ Maitrēya⁷ and Buddha⁸ from Patharghata in the Bhagalpur District, the image of Śiva and Durgā from Gaur⁹ in the Maldah District, the twelve-armed Mahishamarddinī¹⁰ from Kēshabpur in the Dinajpur District and the beautiful miniature Tārā from Nālandā.¹¹ The generic equality of standard may be found by a comparison of the six-armed Lōkēśvara-Vishṇu¹² from Sāgardighī, the Trailōkyavijaya¹³ from Patharghata and the miniature Gaṅgā from Nālandā.¹⁴

Side by side with the decline in the political power of the Pālas, a general decline is noticeable in the plastic art of the opening decades of the twelfth century. Once more there is a disproportionate lengthening of the limbs, noticeable in stone as well as metal images and along with it a distinct attempt to subordinate plastic art to the stereotyped conventions of manuals of art and Iconography. In other words we find greater obedience being paid to standard works on art in the 12th than in the previous centuries. It is very wrong to assume that little liberty existed in mediæval Indian art for the expression of individual capacity of the artists. In the first period of the activity of the Eastern School the great advance in the artist's ideals and

¹ *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, p. 114, pl. LXXI, fig. 230.

² See pl. LXXIX g.

³ See pls. LXVII c, LXVIII c, and XXXVIII b.

⁴ See pls. LXVII a-b and LXXIV a.

⁵ See pl. XXXVII c.

⁶ See pl. LXXXIII d.

⁷ See pl. LXXXI i.

⁸ See *Ibid* e.

⁹ *Ibid* h.

¹⁰ See pl. LIII c.

¹¹ See pl. LXXIX b.

¹² See pl. XXXVIII b.

¹³ See pl. XXXVII c.

¹⁴ See pl. LXXXI d.

execution depended entirely on the freedom enjoyed by individuals for the expression of their personal genius. The modelling of the Tārā dedicated by the Buddhist monk Gunamati¹ and the splendid Mairēya² are conclusive proofs of the fact that individual genius enjoyed abundance of liberty in the expression of forms and ideas. In the renaissance of the 10th-11th centuries, the liberty remained unimpaired and therefore we find that in images of Vishnu, from different parts of the Pālā kingdom, rigidity of the conventional forms was applied only to the iconographical details necessary for the reproduction of a particular image. But in the 12th century the images became so stereotyped as to compel us to admit that individual liberty of expression had almost ceased to exist. This was the beginning of the modern plastic art of Bengal in which images are moulded according to strict rules and the faces are cast from certain standard moulds. These rules are rigidly followed in the making of clay images all over Bengal at the present day.

A further change noticeable in the fourth period of existence of the Eastern School is the introduction of a good deal of foreign influence. This becomes more prominent in the Sēna period (1119-99). In the image of Tārā from Bihar dedicated in the 2nd year of the reign of Rāmapāla³ we find a peculiar mode of modelling of the torse which is noticeable in the 11th century sculpture of Orissa while it is absent in the plastic art of the United Provinces or of North-Eastern Central India of the same period. The abnormal development of the female bust, the stereotyped pose of figures and general expression of racial types in sculptures has so far been absent in the Eastern School. If we compare the treatment of the female bust in the first three periods of the existence of the Eastern School with that in the fourth then we are compelled to admit that a radical change has come over it. There is no reason to suppose that the type of the people inhabiting different parts of Bihar and Bengal had changed materially towards the close of the 11th century. Yet the distinct transformation in the modelling of the bust is undeniable as a factor or characteristic of the north-eastern sculpture of the 12th century. This is noticeable in all stone sculptures of the period.

In metal images the development of the characteristics of the fourth period of the Eastern School is synchronous with that of stone carving. The change which is noticeable for the first time in the copper-gilt image of Buddha⁴ in the collection of Mr. Saurindra Narayan Sinha of Bhagalpur is to be found fully developed in the Sonarang silver image of Vishnu⁵ as well as in the beautiful miniature copper images of the same deity from Meherur in Rajshahi District, Vishnupur in the Bankura District, and from Nagar in the Faridpur District. The difference in the artist's ideal may be found out by a comparison of these three images and the Sonarang silver image with the metal images

¹ See *pl. X c.*

² See *pt. LXXI, i.*

³ See *pl. V c.*

⁴ See *pl. XVIII a.*

⁵ See *pl. LXXI g.*

of the same deity from Sahibganj in the Rangpur District¹ and Sāgardighi in the Murshidabad District.² The similarity of characteristics between images in metal and stone will be found by a comparison between the metal images mentioned above and the stone image from Kewar³ in Eastern Bengal, which is inscribed. The majority of the images of Vishṇu in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad at Calcutta and Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi belong to the fourth period or the 12th century, while we can trace the degeneration of art after the 12th century in later images, *viz.*, one of wood from Muradnagar in the Tippera District⁴ and another inscribed image of stone in the Rajshahi Museum.

The special characteristics of the fourth period of the Eastern School are noticeable in other images of other sects also. The metal *yantra* used in the Tāntric worship of Vishṇu from Rangpur,⁵ the images of Vaishṇavī from Gauḍa and the four-armed Durgā from Deulpotā in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, the images of the ten-armed Śiva on the seals of the Naihāṭī plate of Vijayasēna⁶ and the Sītāhāṭī plate of Vallālasēna, the two Vajra-Tārās from Majbari, District Faridpur⁷ now in the Dacca Museum and from Pathar-ghata, District Bhagalpur now in the Indian Museum,⁸ and the Tārā from Tippera District in the Dacca Museum⁹ all belong to the fourth period of activity of the Eastern School.

With the Muhammadan conquest of South Bihar and Western Bengal at the beginning of the thirteenth century, metal-casting ceases suddenly and no images belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are known from any part of Bengal and Bihar. Metal images now worshipped in these provinces all belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and no cause can be assigned for the cessation of activities of artists in the case of metal-casting, because unlike stone images their products were in almost all cases easily portable.

The section on metal-casting would not be complete without a reference to the numerous copper and mixed metal votive *stūpas* discovered in different parts of the eastern provinces of Northern India. The earliest of them, without doubt, is the beautiful miniature *stūpa* discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham inside the *stūpa* at Nongarh near Kiul in the Monghyr District.¹⁰ This *stūpa* is, from its shape, much earlier in date than the *stūpas*, whether in stone or in metal, produced by the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture. It is made entirely of copper and possesses a little umbrella made of the same metal, stuck on the top of which is a thin rod of gold. The steatite and crystal caskets discovered at the same place have been photographed and I am indebted

¹ See pl. LXVII a-b.

² See pl. LXVII c.

³ See pl. XVIII b.

⁴ See pl. XLVII b.

⁵ See pl. LXXIX e-f.

⁶ See pl. LIV f.

⁷ See pl. LXXXII c-d.

⁸ See pl. LXXXII a-b.

⁹ See pl. LXXXIV b.

¹⁰ Cunningham, A. S. Reports, Vol. III, p. 161, pl. XLVII, 3.

to Lieut.-Colonel A. Alcock, M.D., I.M.S., formerly Superintendent of the Natural History Section of the Indian Museum, for a photograph of this interesting collection; the whereabouts of which are not known at present. The next votive *stūpa* of metal was discovered in the village of Ashrafpur in the District of Dacca along with two copper plates of king Devakhadga of Eastern Bengal¹. This *chaitya* is an elaborate affair and the height of the drum proves beyond doubt that it belongs to the same period as the Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture. Here we find a cruciform pedestal; on each face of which there is a little niche, supported by proportionately tall slender columns and each of these niches contains a seated male or female figure. Above this base there is an open lotus with twelve petals, over which is the drum of the *stūpa*. The four faces of the drum are decorated with four miniature niches, with peculiar hut-shaped roofs or lintels. These roofs are supported on elegant little lathe-turned pilasters and the appearance of these niches is exactly like that of the double-roofed thatched huts of the more well-to-do peasants of Bengal. Around the base of the drum, there is a raised band decorated with *kīrtimukhas*, rows of beads, and tassels; an ornament very much favoured by the artists of the Eastern School and which they continued to use till the establishment of the Muhammadan power in India². The niches on four faces of the drum are occupied by figures of Bodhisattvas and not Dhyāni-buddhas as we usually find on niches of *chaityas* made of stone. On the drum there is a small square abacus with a sloping top, which also reminds one of the huts or hut-shaped brick temples of modern Bengal. Each face of this abacus is occupied by a Dhyāni-buddha in his particular posture (*mudrā*). A copper rod protrudes from the conical roof or the top of this abacus, to which is attached a single parasol, with an edging of beads. A portion of the rod protrudes through the parasol. There are reasons to believe that the parasols were more than one in number. A medallion attached to the side of the parasol bears the creed in characters of the 9th century A.D.³ Among the metal *chaityas* discovered at Nālandā is a beautiful specimen very much corroded, which bears a single niche, roofed by a *chaitya*-window. The face, the drum and the abacus of this specimen are exactly similar to those of the Ashrafpur specimen, but over the abacus we find a thick rod of copper bearing three parasols one over the other. The rod ends in a peculiar symbol which bears some resemblance to the open lotus, which may as well be a representation of the Wheel of the Law (*dharmmachakra*)⁴. A large number of miniature *stūpas* have been discovered at Nālandā⁵, but the best specimen from the eastern provinces of Northern India is a little plain copper *chaitya* discovered by General Cunningham at Bodh-Gaya⁶.

¹ *Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 85-91.*

² The same ornament is used in the so-called tomb of Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Din Azam Shāh at Magrapara in the Dacca District.

³ See pl. LXXV b.

⁴ See pl. LXXV a.

⁵ See pl. LXV c and f.

⁶ *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 33 seq.*

The utensils of daily worship discovered at Nālandā are not very well preserved and the only other specimens of such utensils, which we possess, are the incense-burner and copper-stands discovered at Naihati in the Burdwan District of Bengal. This incense-burner and the stands were discovered at the same place with a copper plate grant issued in the 11th year of the reign of Vallālasēna of Bengal. In shape, this incense-burner is peculiar; a modified "S" rests on two round metal discs; from the smaller limb of the S, a stump rises, which supports a beautiful little cup¹. On each side of the stump we get some arabesque work in copper, the type of which has not been met with elsewhere in Bengal or Bihār. The cup rests on a little disc of the same metal, which has been carved to represent a lotus and the bottom of the cup itself is decorated with a pattern of the same flower, half-opened. This peculiar incense-burner was provided with a lid, which, however, is missing². Along with the same specimen were discovered four little beautiful stands of copper and two small conch shells of the type, which are called "water-conches" (*pāni-saṅkha*) by the priestly class of Bengal³. Though the *pāni-saṅkha* is still in use, stands of this particular shape have not been found anywhere. The modern Bengali Brāhmana places the *pāni-saṅkha* on a little tripod-stand made of brass or copper. These four stands are very simple in design. They consist of a round base and lathe-turned or plain round shaft, which bears on its top a small platter-shaped vessel, with a raised rim⁴. The *pāni-saṅkhas*, discovered with this collection, are of the usual shape and bear the usual ornaments which we find on conch shells of this class. Conch shells of this class are manufactured in large numbers in Calcutta and Dacca at the present day. The last object of this unique collection is a little bowl of copper, the shape of which is exactly similar to that of the *tāmrakuṇḍa*⁵, used by the priests of Bengal at the present day. Its purpose is manifold and varies with the status of the owner. In small temples it is used mainly for throwing the water offered to the god. The use of water, specially the water of the Ganges, is variously indicated in Hindu worship in Bengal; for example, the priests throw this water into the *tāmrakuṇḍa* in lieu of flowers, or scent or sandal or incense or even food. This water is taken up on each different occasion with a little spoon called the *kuśikā* or *kuśi* and thrown into this *tāmrakuṇḍa* instead of being thrown on the head or the foot of image of Vishṇu or Pārvaṭī or Śiva. In larger temples many different *tāmrakuṇḍas* of this particular shape are used; for example, in the temples of Sitārām Rai at Muhammadpur in the District of Jessere, now in the possession of the Maharajas of Natore, I found one *tāmrakuṇḍa* of the size of a small bath tub, used for bathing idols; a smaller one was used for throwing sacrificial water while a third one was used for the decoration (*śrīṅgāra*) of the idols. The persistence of the shape of the *tāmrakuṇḍa* for 700 years is very interesting, as the *cache* to which it belongs

¹ See pl. LXXIII a.

² See pl. LXXIV d.

³ See pl. LXII c and LXIX d.

⁴ See pl. LXXIV e.

⁵ See pl. LXIV c.

must have been buried some time before the Muhammadan conquest of Northern Rādhā at the latest.

II.—JAINA IMAGES.

Jaina images are very rare in Bengal proper but they occur in large numbers in the Chhota Nagpur Division of Bihar and all over Orissa. In the province of Magadha proper very few Jaina images have been found, though most of the ancient Jaina holy places, like Pāvāpurī near Rājgir and Champānagar near Bhagalpur, are included in this province. In fact Magadha is the holiest place of Jainism as the majority of the Tīrthaṅkaras were either born or died in this province. Jaina images, usually to be found at Rājgir, Gaya, Pāvāpurī or Champānagar do not, generally or in the majority of cases, belong to the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture. Many of these Jaina images bear inscriptions in which the date of dedication and the names of the donors are recorded. In the majority of cases the inscriptions belong to the late mediæval period, *i.e.*, to the period which succeeded the Muhammadan conquest of Bihar and Bengal.

The specimens of Jaina sculpture discovered in Bengal proper can be counted on the fingers. Such specimens are very rare in Northern Bengal. The Museum of the Varendra Research Society contains only one Jaina image,¹ which was discovered at Mandoil near Godagari, on the river Padma, in the district of Rajshahi. They are more common in Western Bengal or Rādhā. One of them is now preserved in the Museum of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad at Calcutta.² This particular specimen was discovered in the village of Ujani, near Mangalkot in the Burdwan District. Mr. K. N. Dikshit discovered several Jaina images in the Bankura District, one of which was found in the village of Bahulara³ and another at Harmashra⁴ in the same District. All of these four specimens are, however, nude, proving that the Digambara sect of the Jainas was preponderant in Bengal.

During the last twenty-five years I have had occasion to visit many of the important sites in Chhota Nagpur Division in the districts of Ranchi, Manbhum and Singhbhum; the antiquities of which do not appear to have been properly described. In these districts, which now support a thriving population on account of the prosperity of the coal industry, there are numerous stone-built temples and thousands of mutilated Jaina images lie scattered about the region. The temples of this style begin really from Barakar and Dhanbad and end in the jungle tracts of the Rewa State and the Orissa Feudatory States. Their position indicates that there must have been at one time a dense population in this part of the country who were worshippers of the *Jinas*; because in all of these places Jaina images abound, while Brahmanical temples and images are very few and far between. Buddhist images are never

¹ *A Catalogue of Archaeological relics, etc.*, p. 7, No. $\frac{B(a)1}{13}$.

² *Handbook to the Sculptures, etc.*, pp. 7-8. See pl. LXXVII c.

³ See pl. LXXVII a.

⁴ See pl. LXXVII b.

found in this area, and what Brahmanical images exist to-day or are worshipped, belong to the late mediæval or the Muhammadan period. In Muhammadan histories this tract is included in the very wide term Jhārkhand, which was used to denote the jungle country. In the early days of British occupation, before the cession of the districts of Benares, Korā and Allahabad to the East India Company, the Chhota Nagpur Districts along with Sassaram and Palamau formed, what was known as the South-Eastern Frontier of the Hon'ble East India Company's territories, beyond which lay the territories of the Bhonsles of Nagpur. The Jaina images of the Chhota Nagpur district betray a distinct affinity to the specimens of the Eastern School of Mediæval Sculpture, but there is a good deal of difference among them on account of the material used. Flint, basalt, close-grained sand-stone and mica-schist are very rarely used. The images which are generally found in the Manbhum and Singhbhum districts are made of the very coarse-grained sand-stone, or the schistose rocks which are locally obtainable. The Jaina zone of influence appears to have extended from the south bank of the Ganges and the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī right up to the northern frontier of the jungle country, where the wild Gonds live and which is the province of Gondwana proper. All of these Jaina images are nude, *i.e.*, they belong to the Digambara sect of the Jainas. The images of the jungle tracts (Garh-jat States) of Orissa belong to the same denomination. Such images were found in the majority of Orissa States and a large number of them were dedicated in the late Jaina temple on the top of the Khandagiri hill near Bhuvaneshvar, where these images are still worshipped by survivors of the Jaina inhabitants of Orissa who are locally called "*Sarāks*", a corruption of the term *Śrāvaka*. The temples of the Chhota Nagpur frontier, *i.e.*, from the Districts of Birbhum and Burdwan will be described in the following chapter.

The Jaina images discovered in the Manbhum and Singhbhum districts include splendid specimens which were found in a village called Chhatra close to the town of Purulia, the headquarters of the district of Manbhum. In this village, the majority of inhabitants speak Bengali and the aboriginal inhabitants have also adopted Hinduism as their faith. Large ruins of Jaina temples exist in this village and their materials have been used in the construction of the modern temple of Śiva at this place. We find Jaina images used in the decoration of the front facade of this temple which could not have been built before the 17th century. The accompanying photograph will show a fine image of Varddhamāna's father and mother, imbedded in the plaster to the proper right of the doorway and another image of Śāntinātha to the left.¹ A fine Jaina image lies in front of this temple, while several others are to be found scattered in the village. Among these specimens we find a large image of Parśvanātha² the twenty-third and several of Rishabhadēva, the first patriarch. *Chaturmukhas* or *chaumukas*, as they are called by Jainas of the present day, were made in a peculiar fashion. Images of four patriarchs occupy the four sides

¹ See pl. LXXVI a.

² See pl. LXXVI b.

of a miniature temple. In this respect, these *chaturmmukhas* differ from their prototypes of the ancient period, e.g., the four-fold images or *pratimā sarvatō-bhadrikā* of the Mathurā School of Sculpture and from the modern and mediæval *chaturmmukhas* of Rajputana and Central India. They are more or less like the Buddhist stelæ or miniature temples of the Eastern School, specimens of which are described below, in the next chapter. Some of the Jaina images discovered at Chhatra are of a very big size. Attention may be drawn to a very large image of the first Tirthāṅkara (*Rīshabha*), attended by 71 others of the preceding and the forthcoming ages (*kalpas*), which is now worshipped as *Dharmmarāja* by the villagers of Chhatra.¹ Inscribed and dated images, made in Magadhā or Bengal have been discovered in the south-eastern districts. Such are the images of Buddha and Tārā dedicated at Guneriya in the Gaya District and Itkhauri in the Hazaribagh District respectively. No inscribed or dated Jaina images or sculptures of the particular type, which we find in the south-eastern districts only, have been discovered. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to assign dates to any of these images, but from their execution it may be gathered that they belong rather to the 3rd and 4th periods of activity of the Eastern School than to the two preceding ones.

¹ See pl. LXXVI c.

CHAPTER VIII.

TEMPLES AND ARCHITECTURE.

I.—TEMPLE-TYPES.

Very few temples belonging to the Pāla period have survived in Bengal and Bihar and the only known examples are the great temple of Mahābōdhi at Bodhgaya in the Gaya District and a small brick temple built in its courtyard, now called the temple of Tārā. Among the specimens of earlier stone temples may be mentioned the temple of the goddess Muṇḍēśvarī, in the Bhabua sub-division of the Arrah or Shahabad District, the beautiful little temple of Narasimha in the courtyard of the great temple of the Vishṇupāda at Gaya,¹ the temple at Bahūlara in the Bankura District and that of Ichhai Ghosh in the Burdwan District. The deserted temple in the Sunderbans called the *Jafār-deul*, must also belong to the Pāla period. But in all of these cases we have no evidence left on which the dates of these different edifices can be computed. Except in the case of the stone temple of Narasimha, in the courtyard of the great temple of Vishṇupāda, nothing is known of the dates of the other temples. From the general style and the shape of the *śikhara* it may be stated that the Begunia temples at Barakar are allied to the stone built temples which we generally find in the Chhota Nagpur Division. These temples therefore constitute a class apart, though they were built in the Pāla period. The remaining specimens of temple architecture of the Pāla period are the three temples built of bricks at Bodhgaya, and Konch, and in the Sunderbans the stone temple of Narasimha at Gaya, the temple of Muṇḍēśvarī in the Arrah District, and those at Bahūlara and Dihar in the Bankura District.

Various dates have been proposed for the great temple of Mahābōdhi, but no convincing proof has been found so far, on the basis of which the erection of this temple has been assigned to the Gupta period. The temple is frequently represented in stela, miniature shrines, as well as on terracotta seals or votive tablets; which have been found all over Southern Asia from Mohenjodaro in upper Sindh to Siam and Cambodia in the East. The majority of these tablets bear the Buddhist creed in letters of the 9th century A.D. There are cogent reasons to believe that the famous plaque discovered by Dr. D. B. Spooner during the excavation of Pāṭaliputra² is a representation of the principal temple (*Māla-Gandhakuṭī*) of Buddhist Benares, and not the Mahābōdhi temple at Gaya. This plaque perhaps shows the use of Kharoshthī characters, but the figure seated inside it, is in the *abhaya-mudrā* instead of the *bhūmī-parśa-mudrā*. So far as our knowledge goes, not a single votive seal or tablet has been discovered with the representation of the Mahābōdhi temple, which can be referred to a date earlier than the 9th century A.D. The

¹ See pt. LXXIX a.

² *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. I, pp. 1-4.*

decorative style of the Mahābōdhi temple, as compared with that of the Main Shrine at Sarnath, shows a good deal of difference and we do not find any motifs or decorative styles on the former to link this building with the edifices of the early or late Gupta period. On the other hand, the numerous inscriptions, architectural fragments, decorative features and images discovered in the excavated area at Bodhgaya prove distinctly that the great temple, as it stands, must have been built during the reign of the early Pāla emperors, Dharmapāla and Dēvapāla.

The temple of Tārā,¹ which stands on a much higher level than the great temple, but in the same area, resembles it in all essential details: but the *śikhara*, though built of bricks, slightly slopes inwards and is decorated exclusively with the *chaitya*-window-ornaments executed in brick. It can be shown distinctly by comparison with the Central Indian specimens of temple architecture that the exclusive use of *chaitya*-windows to cover the faces of the *śikhara* belongs to the late mediæval period. Such are the great temples at Makla in the Indore State,² at Chandrehe in the Rewa State³ and at Nemawar in the Indore State.⁴ Moreover it is now an established fact that the temples of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. were without dominating *Śikharas* of the type of the Mahābōdhi temple. This is proved by the absence of the *Śikharas* in the early Gupta temples at Nachna-Kuthara⁵ in the Ajaygadh State and Bhumara⁶ in the Nagod State, and the later Gupta temple at Nachna-Kuthara⁷ and that at Deogadh⁸ in the Jhansi District with modest *Śikharas*. If we compare the Bodh-Gaya temple with the great brick temple at Konch near Tikari in the Gaya District, we shall find out the similarity in the style at once.⁹

The temple of Muṇḍēśvarī in the Bhabua sub-division of the Shahabad District¹⁰ belongs to a different type from the Gadādhara temple in the courtyard of the great temple of Vishṇupāda at Gaya. This temple, at first sight, looks like a temple of the later Gupta period. The massive but graceful mouldings of the string-course, and the use of *chaitya*-windows and pilasters, with vases at the bottom and near the top, point to this conclusion. But this temple is really a survival of the Gupta type in the 8th century A.D. The late Dr. T. Bloch, who visited Muṇḍēśvarī and recovered the two inscriptions which are now in the Indian Museum, was of the same opinion. The carving of the lintels of the gateway and the superior position of the plain *chaitya*-windows over the smaller windows on each facade, prove that this temple was rebuilt in the mediæval period. One of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscriptions was incised in the Harsha year 30,¹¹ but a long slab with characters of the 9th century A.D. was

¹ See pl. LXXVIII, b.

² Annual Progress Report of the Archl. Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921, pl. XXIII.

³ Ibid., 1921, pls. XV and XXVI.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 98-100; pl. XXVI.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, No. 16, pl. I, b.

⁷ Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919, pl. XVII.

⁸ Codrington—Ancient India, p. 61.

⁹ See pls. LXXXIII, b and LXXXV, b.

¹⁰ See pl. LXXVIII, a.

¹¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, pp. 289-90.

also discovered at the same place and was brought to the Indian Museum, where it lies undeciphered. The Muṇḍēśvarī temple bore some resemblance to another temple now entirely ruined. This is the temple of Jīvitagupta II at Dēva-varuṇārka, modern Deo-Banarak in the Arrah District. The upper part of the Muṇḍēśvarī temple has however been entirely rebuilt in modern times and traces, that are left of the Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture, are only observable in the lintels of the smaller windows and the massive gateways. It is, however, quite possible that the plinth moulding and the stringcourse belong to the later Gupta period, but there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the door jambs and the lintels of the gateway as well as the smaller windows are later additions.

In Bengal proper, stone temples are very rare and the known specimens are confined to the western part or rather the western districts of Burdwan and Bankura. Bankura, which is the westernmost district of Bengal, has preserved some beautiful specimens of temple architecture. Mention ought to be made of the stone built temple of Siddhēśvara at Bahulara, which is being repaired.¹ The outline of the *śikhara* and the ornaments thereon deserve special attention. In its outline, the temple of Siddhēśvara resembles two other ancient brick temples *i.e.* the temple of Ichhāi Ghosh at Gaurangpur² in the district of Burdwan and the ruined temple called Jatār Deul in a deserted portion of the forest area to the south of Bengal proper, very loosely called the Sunderbans. In the temple of Siddhēśvara we find the use of numerous *chaitya* windows on each facade of the *śikhara* superimposed, as we find in some of the Central Indian temples. The corners of the *śikhara* consist of superimposed rows of miniature *śikharas*, which we see in the temples at Khājūraha, Un,³ and Nemawar⁴ in Central India. Each of the facades of the *śikhara* bore a projection in front similar to those which we find in the stone built temples of south Baghelkhand *e.g.* the temple of Kārṇa at Amarkantak⁵ and the great temple at Sohagpur in the southern part of the Rewa State. The top of this projection is crowned by an intricate mass of ornaments in the centre of which is a medallion containing a beautiful plaque with an image. The upper part of the *śikhara* of this beautiful temple is ruined, but the outline of the lower part indicates that it resembled that of Ichhāi Ghosh; but not the Begunia temples at Barakar in the Burdwan District. The ornamentation of the niches, of which there were three, is also peculiar; on one face we find a lion-headed male clasping two lions to his breast and two elephants with his legs.

The temple of Ichhāi Ghosh, which belongs to the same class, is rather plain. The great *śikhara* is no doubt intact, but the facade does not show signs of any ornamentation with the exception of two superimposed panels, flanked with slender pilasters and surmounted by heptafoil arches, in the centre

¹ See pl. LXXXV, a and c.

² See pl. LXXXII, a and c.

³ Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year ending 31st March 1919, pls. XVIII-XXI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1921, pl. XXVI.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. XIX.

of each. In front we find the *kīrtimukha*, over which is a vase, placed on a small lotus bracket. The niches in front contain an image of Gaṇeśa or Durgā, while those at the sides contain only a lotus rosette in the upper panels and an image in the lower ones.

The group of temples at Dihar in the Bankura District presents us with a problem.¹ There are two stone built temples at this place but in both cases the *śikhara* has disappeared. The material used is a sort of conglomerate, locally called *kankar* and *baulamālā* in Orissa. In general plan, both the temples are cruciform and the lower parts of both are not ornamented, with the exception of a miniature *śikhara* over each of the openings in the central facades. The lower parts of each of these temples appear to have been plastered and whitewashed. Over the plinth mouldings there is plain ashlar masonry up to the height of the lintels of the doorways. At this height, masonry is perfectly plain with the exception of the portion lying over the lintels of each opening. Above this portion begin the numerous cornices supported by elegant dwarfs, acting as brackets, in different attitudes or brackets containing different animals. In the Sārēśvara temple² five different cornice mouldings are still extant. There are six such in the Sallēśvara temple.³ The carvings of the latter appear to be of inferior quality to those of the Sārēśvara temple. These two temples appear to belong to the beginning of the 11th century A.D. *i.e.*, the third period of activity of the Eastern School.

The stone temples at Chhatna⁴ and Harmashra⁵ and the Begunia⁶ temples at Barakar show very great affinity to the Jaina temples of Chhota Nagpur. The ruins of the temples in the several districts of the Chhota Nagpur Division have not been completely surveyed as yet. Most of them originally Jaina temples, which were gradually appropriated for Brahmanical worship; but the shape is unmistakable and the four temples at Begunia display distinct affinity to the Chhota Nagpur group. To one not familiar with the latter temples, it may seem, at first sight, that the Barakar temples really betray a distinct affinity to the later mediæval temples of Orissa. The sugar-loaf-shaped *śikhara*, a projection in each facade, crowned by a false *āmalaka*, the presence of the massive *āmalaka* and the crest jewel on the top of the *śikhara*, all indicate Orissan influence; but it must be borne in mind that the Orissa temples now form an isolated group, which have been preserved on account of the inaccessibility of the province to early Muhammadan invasions. Orissa was conquered at a time when the iconoclastic force of the Musalmans had spent itself on the monuments of Northern India. It was nominally conquered by the independent Sultans of Bengal in 1568 but practically retained its independence till the reign of Jahāngir, when 'Usmān Karārāni was finally conquered. It remained under the Musalmans for barely a century

¹ See pl. LXXX, a.

² See pl. LXXXI, a and c.

³ See pl. LXXXI, b.

⁴ See pl. LXXXIV, a.

⁵ See pl. LXXXIV, c.

⁶ See pl. LXXX, c.

when the Hindus came back to power under the Bhonsles of Nagpur in 1742. The feudatories of the hill tract maintained their independence and the plains, until lately called the "Moglai," were seldom under the actual tyranny of the crowd of petty Musalman officers, who all hated the province as a penal district. To return to the Bengal temples there is, however, one characteristic which we notice in common between the Orissa temples and the four temples at Barakar. In temples Nos. 1 and 3 and to some extent in No. 2 also we find that the walls of the *garbhagriha* attenuate towards the top and the *śikharas* lie on it like later impositions. All of these four temples are built of stone and the body of the *āmalaka* is perfectly plain. On the *śikhara* only we find mouldings but we do not find any *chaitya*-windows or miniature *śikharas*, which we find in the Muṇḍēśvarī temple or the Siddhōśvara temple at Bahulara. In this characteristic, the Begunia temples resemble the modern temples of Orissa, where the older class of ornamentation was gradually discarded and the *mukhalingam* type of the *śikhara* introduced by Pratāpa-rudradēva of the Sūrya-vaṃśa dynasty of kings, in the late mediæval period.¹ The fourth Begunia temple is more interesting, as in this case we find a survival of the earlier ornaments.² In type, the temple resembles the Brahmēśvara temple at Bhuvanesvar. We find the false *āmalaka* at each corner of the *śikhara*, the ornamented projection in front of the lower door and the peculiar string-course which we find in the Bhuvanesvar temples. The *āmalaka*, in this case, consists of two different slabs but the modern restorations have destroyed all that was graceful and exquisite in this beautiful specimen. The temple of Bāsulīdevī at Chhatna, and that at Harmashra, in the Bankura District, are also built of stone. It appears that these temples are later in date than temples Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of the Begunia group. The temples at Begunia near Barakar resembles the miniature stone temple of Chhatra, near Purulia, in the Manbhūm District, and the larger ones at Dulmi and other places visited by General Cunningham and his assistants. The temple of Kalyāṇēśvarī,³ also built of stone, belongs to a much later date and is perhaps the prototype of the temples of modern Bengal, where the *śikhara* is always sloping and resembles a bee-hive but in shape.

II.—MINIATURE TEMPLES.

Though the temples of Bengal and Bihar, for the most part, have been destroyed, we are fortunate in possessing a large number of miniature temples, mostly Buddhist and Brahmanical, from all parts of Eastern India. The majority of the Buddhist temples are copies of the temple of Bodh-Gaya or Mahābōdhi. General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar rescued numerous miniature temples during their excavations at that place in 1890.⁴ Several of these specimens are in the Indian Museum, but the majority were carried away by General

¹ See pl. LXXXIII, a and c for Nos. 1 and 2. See LXXXII, for No. 3.

² See pl. LXXXVI, d.

³ See pl. LXXX, b.

⁴ Cunningham's *Mahābōdhi*.

Cunningham and have been lost to students of Indian architecture. The stelæ of the first class represent in their reliefs the great temple of Mahābōdhi. Similar representations are to be seen on the terra-cotta plaques or votive seals manufactured by the thousand at Bodh-Gaya and carried away by Buddhist pilgrims to distant parts of the eastern world. Representations of such temples have been found in other parts of Bengal and Bihar. Stele No. Br. 5 comes from a town of Bihar or Uddandapura in the Patna District.¹ The Sibbati stele is worshipped as Śiva in the village of Sibbati, in an obscure corner of Bengal, in the Khulna District.² Similar representations of the great temple at Mahābōdhi were discovered by me in the town of Dacca in the possession of my friend Babu Priyanath Sen, proprietor of the now defunct *Dacca Herald*.³ In this case the representations of the incidents of Buddha's life are absent and we find a figure of Buddha, seated in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*) on a lotus throne, under a trefoil arch. This specimen was most probably carved in Northern Bengal rather than in Eastern Bengal. A beautiful little miniature temple was discovered in the district of Dinajpur most probably among the ruins called Bānarājū's Garh. This specimen is characterized by the sloping corners of the *śikhara*s, the use of *chaitya*-windows on each facade and an *āmalaka*, disproportionately large for the height of the temple. In addition to these features we find the use of the looped-up garlands with tassels and *kīrtimukhas* in the interspaces. The use of these ornaments may be taken generally to indicate a decorative member of the Eastern School of Mediæval Sculpture.

Each facade of this beautiful temple bears a niche flanked by tapering pilasters, which support a trefoil arch and each of these niches contains a figure of Buddha. To the same class belongs a miniature temple discovered at Bodh-Gaya, where we find that the *śikhara* ends in a small *stūpa*, resting on the abacus of a larger *stūpa*, which again is supported on the pinnacles of four miniature *stūpas*, on each facade. On each facade again there is a niche below these *stūpas*. Here, a miniature *stūpa* acts as a pilaster, on each side of each niche, and supports the roof of the niche. There is a Bodhisattva or a Buddha in each of these niches.

III.—THE STŪPA.

We now come to the *stūpa* proper. The only surviving specimen of a large sized *stūpa* is that at Giriyek.⁴ This *stūpa* was erected on the celebrated Gridhradvāra peak and is built entirely of bricks.⁵ Its isolated position has saved it from the Muhammadans and the antiquity of the shrine is indicated by a sloping causeway built of gigantic stones similar to the pre-Mauryan causeway on the Gridhrakūṭa hill in Old Rajgir. The peak faces the Panchanai river. The lower part of this *stūpa* is broken and no ornamentations have

¹ See pl. XIX, b.

² See pl. XIX, c.

³ See pl. LXXXVI, b.

⁴ See pl. LXXXVIII, c.

⁵ See pl. LXXXIX, b.

survived with the exception of a row of niches along each facade of the square base of the *stūpa*. The height of the drum indicates that this *stūpa* belongs to the early mediæval period (8th to 12th century A.D.). Numerous ruins lie all round among which may be mentioned those of a monastery, which still remain to be excavated, and traces of two gigantic reservoirs. The only other *stūpa* which has survived up to our times is a structure now called the Maniyār Math which was excavated by the late Dr. T. Bloch in 1905-06.¹ The drum of this *stūpa*, which was appropriated by the Jainas in modern times for the erection of a very ugly temple of a Nāga, is covered with a row of niches containing beautiful images of stucco; all of which appear to be of Brahmanical origin² and belong to the first and best period of activity of the Eastern School.

The oldest *stūpas* are exact hemispheres in shape, such as the *stūpas* of Sanchi and Andher and the great *stūpa* at Mankiala, near Rawalpindī. A solid cylinder was, in later days, added beneath the hemisphere, thus gradually raising it up above the ground level. This became known as the drum of the *stūpa* and the height of the drum is generally a safe indication of its date. In the Gandhāra *stūpas* we find that a niche is added to one side of the drum. In a Mathura specimen, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, we find four niches on the drum, each facing one of the cardinal points and containing an image of Buddha in the attitude of teaching. This became the standard type of the votive *stūpa* in the mediæval period. Votive *stūpas* of the Bengal School are generally solid cylinders of stone with a hemisphere on their tops which again bears a square piece of stone on its summit to support the umbrella. On each of the four cardinal points of the drum is a niche containing an image of one of the Dhyāni-Buddhas. Generally four Buddhas are figured around votive *stūpas*,³ and five is an unusual number. The four Dhyāni-Buddhas are Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi.⁴ In one specimen in the Indian Museum we find the respective *mudrās* and *vāhanas* of each of these, viz., Amoghasiddhi in the *abhaya-mudrā*, on Garuḍa; Amitābha in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, on a peacock; Ratnasambhava in the *varada-mudrā* on a horse; and Akshobhya in the *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā* on an elephant (Br. 14).⁵ The same specimen in the Indian Museum has five instead of four Dhyāni-Buddhas around its drum, the additional one being Vairochana in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* on two lions (Br. 14).⁶ But there are several exceptions to this rule. In one votive *stūpa* in the courtyard of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gaya, we find that the Dhyāni-Buddhas are not placed in the niches, their place being taken by bas-reliefs representing scenes from the life of Buddha. On one side we find a representation of the incident of the presentation of a bowl of honey to the Buddha by a monkey at Vaiśālī.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1905-06, Part II, pp. 163-06.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04, pls. XXXIX and XL.

³ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey of India, 1903-04, p. 220.*

⁴ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 81.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82, and *J. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. III, p. 470.*

⁶ See pl. LXXXV, c.

Here the Buddha wears a crown and a necklace. In front of the throne we find the three stages of the incident: (a) the monkey carrying the bowl, (b) dancing in exultation because the Buddha had accepted his offering, and (c) committing suicide by drowning himself in a well.¹ In another niche of the same *stūpa* we find the miracle of Śrāvastī.² The niches in the miniature temple from Bāṇarāja's Garh in the Dinajpur district, now in the Maharaja's palace at Dinajpur, are also occupied by four incidents of Buddha's life, namely: *Markaṭa-hrada*, *Dēvavatāra*, etc. In another votive *stūpa* at Bodh-Gaya we find a niche occupied by a six-armed Bodhisattva and his female counterpart (*Śakti*).³ In a bronze or copper *stūpa* found at Ashrafpur in the Dacca district we find that all the niches are occupied by Bodhisattvas.⁴ Finally in a small bronze *stūpa* from Bodh-Gaya and certain miniature *stūpas* discovered at Nālandā we find that the niches are altogether absent.⁵ In some cases we find that the *stūpa* is not solid. One of the niches has given place to a door and it is a small shrine as well as a *stūpa* (B. G. 101).⁶ In many cases a miniature *stūpa* was placed on a fully blossomed lotus which rested in its turn on the body of a snake forming a complete circle. In this case there are four Dhyāni-Buddhas against the drum of the *stūpa*. In front of one of them, at the bottom of the base, i.e., the body of the snake there are the remains of a small image in front of which is carved the thunderbolt (*vajra*). This specimen (Br. 13)⁷ along with two others (Br. 12) and (Br. 14)⁸ originally came to the Indian Museum, before the formation of Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection as the Bihar Museum. So far as known, these three specimens are unique.⁹

IV.—ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS.

In Gaya numerous temples have been built of materials taken from ancient ruins, and many a temple shows an ancient door-frame, which could never have belonged to it. In the courtyard of the Vishṇupāda temple we still have many smaller temples with door frames taken from Buddhist temples as one finds the five Dhyāni-Buddhas on the lintel. A portion of the original porch, *maṇḍapa* or *ardhamāṇḍapa*, of the temple of Vishṇupāda has been re-erected in front of the modern temple, on a lower level, just above the low sloping rock on which pilgrims offer *piṇḍas* at the present day. This *maṇḍapa* consists of two peculiar pillars. Each of them has a bas-relief on each face of its square base. The bas-relief in front of one of them is divided into two parts. In the upper part three pairs of males and females are standing side by side. In the lower part a male is seated to the left with a pot in his hand facing the right. To his right another male is seated with a pot in his hand

¹ See pl. LXXXVII, c.

² See pl. LXXXVII, a.

³ See pl. LXXXVII, b.

⁴ See pl. LXXXV, b.

⁵ See pl. LXXXV, c.

⁶ See pl. LXXXVII, d.

⁷ See pl. LXXXVIII, c.

⁸ See pl. LXXXV, c.

⁹ *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part II, pp. 81-82.*

facing the left. Behind the second figure is his wife seated with hands clasped in adoration. The southern face of this pillar shows a niche containing the standing figure of a bearded male with hands clasped in adoration. The niche at the back contains figures of the usual types of Śiva and Durga seated and in that on the northern side is a standing figure of Sūrya. The second pillar is slightly smaller in size near the base. Over the square base the shaft is at first octagonal, then sixteen-sided and finally round. On the eastern face of the square part of this pillar there is a bas-relief, similar to that on the first pillar but it contains two kneeling figures behind the male to the right. On the southern face a male is standing with hands clasped in adoration. On the western face is a figure of Gaṇeśa with four hands and on the northern face we find a figure of Chandī of the same type as that to be found in different parts of Bengal and described above. There is a plantain tree on each side and deer couchant at her feet. The height of both of these pillars is 5' 2".¹

Numerous pillars of different shapes and sizes have been discovered in different parts of Bengal and Bihar. The majority of them are plain shafts, either round or square in section, which were collected at great trouble and expense by Mr. A. M. Broadley from the temples on the Rajgir hills for the Bihar Museum. Some of these pillars stand out prominently as works of art. The best product of the Eastern School is a tall slender column recovered from Rajmahal in 1881. This pillar was originally brought from the ruins of Gaur during the Musalman period. When the ruins at Rajmahal were destroyed by the Eastern Indian Railway Company, the pillar was used as a lamp-post. It was recovered from that position by the late Dr. John Anderson and now forms one of the principal attractions of the archaeological collections of the Indian Museum. It is 12' 6" in height and is square at the top and the bottom. There is a vase at the bottom and the top is well-nigh covered with ornamental foliage. It has been described elaborately in Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological collections in the Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 265-67 :—

"The base consists of a very handsome vase, with two human figures, back to back, standing at the corners of the lower square portion, each holding up a garland that hangs down in a foliated mass from the mouth of the vase hiding the vase at these parts, but leaving the four sides exposed. The simplest form of this kind of ornament is to be found in the vases represented in the Bharhut Stūpa. The base of the vase has a pediment ornamented with lotus petals, and from the four elaborate handles, in the form of *kīrtimukhas*, depend the garlands held up by the eight human figures. Above the handles there is a plain area which is followed by another band of lotus petals, and then comes the rapid contraction of the neck of the vase, the outer border of the mouth being as wide as the body of the vase itself, and around it there is a slight mesial contraction, with a lotus petal ornament above and below the

¹ See pl. XCVI, b.

contraction. The foliation hanging down from the mouth of the vase is extremely rich, and none of the sides are the same, a remark which also applies to the ornamentation round the body of the vase itself, the sculptor having revelled in diversity, while a harmony at the same time pervades all.

“Eleven inches of the 12 surfaces of the shaft are covered with rich ornaments, all of the foliated character, and some of them arboreal, while others are true arabesques. On two sides, east and west, a lotus stem rises upward, from the ornamentation of the base, giving off lateral branches among foliage, supporting little lotus pedestals on which very well-executed minute human and animal figures occur. In the one to the east, a man is shooting an arrow from a bow, while opposite to him is a characteristically portrayed buffalo, while the two ducks occur on the lotus flowers above. The upper or terminal lotus pedestal of this side bears two birds with their necks crossed over each other, and with foliated tails, the same idea as that which has been observed in the Orissa casts. On the west side, the lotus stem gives off only two branches supporting lotus pedestals, and on each of them is a naked human figure, one emaciated and almost a skeleton, like Br. 96 of the Orissa casts, while a small erect human figure stands below at each of the lotus stems which supports, on its main lotus pedestal, Śiva and Pārvatī surrounded by foliated ornaments. The other two sides of the pillar are occupied with oblong arabesques, one of them a thick undulating lotus stem with lateral foliations and the other, a series of medallions formed by the windings of a foliated stem, and containing foliated centres, one enclosing a figure of a buffalo. All the ornaments of the other side of the shaft consist of elongated, tapering, foliated reliefs springing from a central stem, thus producing tree-like figures recalling the *Asherah*, or Grove of the Assyrians. About 50" above the base of the pillar, four of the faces of the shaft, corresponding to the middle of the four sides of the base, have small erect human figures about 6" high sculptured on them in relief and standing on lotus brackets. One of the female figures resembles Br. 2, and another is engaged, like the figure Br. 3, at her toilet. A little above these, the shaft is encircled by a beautifully carved band of lotus rosettes, from which depends a series of *kirtīmukhas*, from the mouth of which fall elegant beaded loops with intervening tasselled beaded cords. Over the lotus band, foliated triangular and vase-shaped ornaments occur at the line of union of the faces of the shaft. After another plain interval, the shaft is again encircled by a very rich arabesque with a beaded border above and below, and measuring 6" in height, the windings of the lotus stem forming a medallion to each of the 12 faces of the shaft. Among these well-carved figures may be recognised Brahmā, Śiva, Ganēśa, Pārvatī, the Boar Avatāra and probably the Buddha Avatāra as well. From the lower beaded border trisular figures depend, and small foliated eminences rise at the angles. The upper border of this arabesque has two plain mouldings, and another series of foliated eminences placed above the previous ones, and between these rise a line of elongated lotus petals, 4" in height, with everted tip and at once recalling the lotus capitals of Egyptian pillars.

The capital is made up of a depressed vase, or somewhat bell-shaped figure, so to speak, with a broad *amlasīla* band encircling its middle, with a lotus petal ornament on the suspended portion above and below. The lower square portion below the vase is surrounded by two bands of richly carved arabesques differing on all the sides. A seated dwarf occurs at two of the corners, supporting the garlands falling down from above, and it is undeniably the same figure that occurs in the Kurkihar sculptures 9 and 16; whilst a *śārdūla* standing on a prostrate elephant occupies one side of the third corner, and foliated masses its other side, and also both sides of the fourth corner. Above and below this modified vase, which also resembles in form the lotus pedestal on which Śiva and Pārvatī are seated underneath, there is a profusion of foliated ornament which also depends at each corner, the middle of each face of the pillar being occupied by a triangular foliated ornament, the upper one dependent and the lower one erect.¹

This pillar appears to belong to the middle of the tenth century A.D. and the building of which it once formed part was very probably a Śaiva temple. The details of the upper part are reproduced in an enlarged photograph.² Later in date and less elegant in outline is another pillar from another Śaiva temple discovered among the ruins now called Bānarājā's Garh in the Dinajpur district of Northern Bengal. This pillar was brought to Dinajpur town nearly a century ago and erected in the garden of the Maharaja's palace. It is inscribed and dated. According to the inscription the pillar belonged to a Śaiva temple erected by a king of Gauda of Kāmboja lineage in the Śaka year 888—966 A.D.³ The pillar is disproportionately wide, but in other respects it resembles the specimen described above. The vases at the top and the bottom and the dodecagonal shaft remind one forcibly of the later Gupta columns at Apsad in the Gaya district, Deo-Banārak in the Shahabad district, Sarnath, Kosam in the Allahabad district and above all at Mathurā.

Four pillars belonging to the *mandapa* of a temple were discovered embedded in a sand-bank in the Ganges or more properly in the Padma, four miles from the town of Pabna in Northern Bengal and all of them presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal as early as 1837. These pillars are also square at the bottom and each face of the base is plain except for a decorated niche containing a figure of Krishna. Above this square portion, three-fourths of the shaft is dodecagonal and the remainder circular. At the bottom of the duodecagonal portion there is a raised band bearing on it in relief twelve female figures dancing. The rest of the shaft is decorated with the chain and the bell pattern on four of the facets hanging from a mass of arabesque. Above this portion the shaft is circular and bears three low cornices of the same type as the lathe-turned western Chālukyan pillars of the Kanarese country. Among the specimens of the Eastern School these four are the only

¹ See pl. LXXXIX, a.

² See pl. XC, d.

³ There are two different theories about the interpretation of the inscription on this pillar. According to the first there is a date in the last line. For the latest discussion on this subject, see *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. VII, p. 519*.

ones which bear on them representations of Kṛishṇa. All the four pillars are similar with slight variations of details.¹ The motifs show that the structure was erected late in the twelfth century or during the ascendancy of the Senas in North-Eastern India.

Recent discoveries in Bengal proper include two interesting pillars. Both of them were discovered in the village of Pāikōr in the Birbhūm district. One of them is the lower part of a pillar of the same design as those from Rajmahal and Dinajpur being square at the bottom and octagonal above with a vase with ornamental foliage of the same type as that on the pillar from Rajmahal. This pillar bears an inscription recording the erection of a temple by the Chedi or Haihaya king Karna and therefore cannot be later in date than the third quarter of the eleventh century A. D.² The second pillar is a fragment from the top of a monolith consisting of a round abacus and capital, both of which are ornamented with rows of lotus petals. On the top is a headless female figure carved in the round and attended by two other figures. A fragmentary inscription at the bottom records the erection of this pillar by a chief named Rāūta Vijayasena. The forms of the characters indicate that the inscription must have been incised in the last quarter of the twelfth century A. D.³ and therefore this record cannot have any connection with king Vijayasena of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal.

The description of this specimen brings us to the subject of finials. The ordinary finial had the shape of a lotus bud, and hundreds of specimens of this kind were brought from the Bihar Museum to Calcutta. In Bengal two different varieties of finials were used. In the first variety we find seated or kneeling figures of Garuḍa of the same type as those to be found in front of the hut-shaped stone temples of the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. The best specimen is now preserved in the Rajshahi Museum, which belongs to the eleventh century A. D.⁴ The next best was discovered near Rāmpāl in the Dacca district and acquired for the Indian Museum in 1924. The other variety claims some double figures of Garuda in which we find two images back to back and carved out of the same slab. The best specimen is that from Nagail in the Rajshahi district now preserved in the Rajshahi Museum.⁵ To the same class belongs the specimen from Mandoil in the Rajshahi district, which is the oldest specimen known as it cannot be later than the eleventh century A. D.⁶

The only specimen of the free standing *torana* of the type of the famous Chālukyan *torana* at Kapadvanj⁷ in the Kaira district of the Bombay Presidency or the Haihaya specimen from Gurgi, now preserved in the Maharaja's palace at Rewa,⁸ is to be found in front of the great temple of Bodh-Gaya.

¹ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 254-56. See pl. XCIV, d.*

² See pl. LXXXIX, b.

³ See pl. LXXXIX, d.

⁴ See pl. XCI, b.

⁵ See pl. XCI, a and c.

⁶ See pl. LXXI, b.

⁷ Cousens—*Revised list of Antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency, p. 94.*

⁸ *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23, pp. 72-76, pls. XXV-XXVI.*

This *tōraṇa* consists of two monolithic uprights with a plain straight architrave or lintel laid over them. The ornaments on the uprights show that the work cannot be later than the eighth century A. D. as the decorative *motifs* are strongly reminiscent of post-Gupta work. The lower part of one of the uprights was restored during the renovation of the temple in the last decade of the last century.¹

We come now to stone door-frames of temples and their component parts, jambs and lintels. A number of door-frames mostly from Bihar town and its neighbourhood are preserved in the Indian Museum, but as most of them have now lost their numbers it is no longer possible to determine their find-places. The best specimen comes from a Buddhist temple as we find on its lintel three large and three small niches, in two lines, containing seated figures of the Dhyāni-Buddhas. The jambs of this door-frame are divided into five vertical bands, the first of which is severely geometrical in design and reminds one of the first band on the jamb of the door of the sanctum in the Gupta temple at Bhumara.² The second band consists of a super-imposed row of rosettes, alternately round and diamond-shaped. The third band is really a tall octagonal pilaster and the fourth consists of a meandering creeper with ornamental foliage in the interspaces. The fifth band is a round moulding covered with a net work of small diamond-shaped panels containing ornamental rosettes. The first, second and fifth bands are continued on the lintel. The fourth and the fifth are missing in the right jamb. The lintel is also divided into five different bands. The top one is a continuation of the fifth band of the jambs. Below it are three large, two medium-sized and four small niches containing seated figures of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas and four other figures. Below them are the second and the first bands of the jambs and in their centre is a niche in relief containing a small seated figure of Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. At the bottom of the jamb there is a squatting *gaya* and three other figures below the first, third, fourth and fifth bands.³

Another door-frame exhibits a different type. The jambs are divided into four vertical bands, the first of which consists of severe geometrical patterns resting on a lotus and a *kārtimukha* below it. The second band contains a row of rosettes, alternately diamond-shaped and round. The third band consists of a row of dancing figures and musicians super-imposed one upon the other and separated by miniature *chaitya* windows. The first, third and fourth bands have human figures at the bottom. The lintel is also divisible into four separate bands. At the top there is a plain band bearing three empty *chaitya* panels in relief. The second band consists of a row of flying figures. The third and fourth bands of the lintel are continuations of the second and first bands of the jambs and bear in relief in their centre a small niche containing a seated female figure. At each end of the lintel is a human figure on the back of a lion, below which is another flying human figure.⁴

¹ See pl. LXXXIV, b.

² *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16, p. 4.*

³ See pl. XCII, a.

⁴ See pl. XCII, c.

A third specimen of this kind is the immense door-frame recovered by the Maharajas of Dinajpur from the ruins of Bānarājā's garh and re-erected in their palace. These gateways were brought to my notice by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., Director of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi and I saw them for the first time in October, 1924. They are 20' to 30' in height and must have belonged to gigantic temples no other vestige of which remains. Among them special mention ought to be made of the *Nāga-darwāza* or "The Serpent Gateway;" so called on account of the profuse use of snakes in the ornamentation of its jambs and lintels. Want of space prevents the publication of illustrations of these beautiful gateways in this volume.

Of the separate jambs known to us, the best and the earliest specimen was discovered by the founders of the Varendra Research Society at Mandoil in the eastern part of the Rajshahi district in April, 1910 and is now preserved in the Rajshahi Museum. In date the specimen cannot be later than the tenth century A. D. At the bottom of the jamb is a niche with a trefoil arch in which is the standing figure of a Śivagaṇa. Over this niche there are three vertical bands and to the right of it two others. They consist of a band of arabesque on the left, a row of lotus petals to its right, then a row of human figures superimposed one upon another, after it a row of rosettes alternately diamond-shaped and round, and finally, a band of twisted bead-ropes pattern. At the bottom of the last band is the figure of a bearded Suparṇa, half man half bird. The next best specimen came from the ruins of Nālandā. It is described and illustrated by Mr. A. M. Broadley in his "*Photographs of the Buddhist Sculpture, discovered in Bihar (Zillah Patna)*."¹ In pl. VI of this book we find the seven different vertical bands of the door jamb of the so-called temple of Bālāditya arranged against the walls of a tiled hut. After the removal of the Bihar collection to the Indian Museum, these vertical carvings were differently arranged in the western corridors of the ground floor of the main building, where some of them can be seen even now. Only the lower part of the fourth or the central band is reproduced in the plate referred to. We see a male standing at the bottom and a mass of arabesque over his head from which issues a meandering creeper occupying the rest of the lintel. From these seven bands Broadley tried to restore the entire door-frame and a copy of his sketch was reproduced in pl. XIV of his book. The lintels carved by the sculptors of the Eastern School were of many different types. The most common type is derived from the upper part of a wooden door-frame which bears in its centre a niche containing the figure of a deity. This type is represented in the accompanying illustrations by a single specimen from the residence of the Superintendent of Police of Jessore in South-Eastern Bengal.² In another example there is only a single band of carving with a divine figure in relief in its centre, and a row of rosettes below and of *kīrtīmukhas* above it.

¹ Calcutta, 1872; only one copy of this publication is known to exist in the Imperial Library at Calcutta; Catalogue, No. 239, A. 11.

² See pl. XCII, b.

The middle portion is occupied by two intertwining creepers with ornamental foliage; the circular areas thus formed being filled with erotes and all sorts of animals. This specimen was found at Devikot in the Dinajpur district.¹ Another lintel, discovered among the ruins of Gaur or Gauḍa, is decorated with an arched panel with triangular spandrils at the corners. The central panel has a border of graceful scroll-work with the phallic emblem of Śiva in the centre. The left spandrel contains a pair of *gandharvas* in flight and that on the opposite side two *suparnas* (half man, half bird) with musical instruments. The central panel is divided into three small niches supported on round pilasters. The central niche contains a well-carved standing figurine of Śiva. There are two female figures, each with four hands, in the side niches. On each side of this group of niches there are two dancing figures. This sculpture was discovered in Gangarampur, a suburb of the Hindu city of Gaur (Gr. 18).² Another lintel of a peculiar type was most probably discovered in the city of Bihar in the Patna District and belongs to the Indian Museum collection. The carving on it consists of a row of lotus petals on a projected moulding at the top, below which there is another band on a lower level containing diamond-shaped rosettes and arabesque work. In relief against this band, at regular intervals, there are five miniature spires (*sikharas*) of temples, of which the two at the ends are damaged. The central *sikhara* and those at the ends are of the northern sugar-loaf shape but the remaining two are of the southern *gopuram* type. In the space below the band of rosettes and arabesque and between these *sikharas* there are four sunken panels containing the figures of ascetics seated on lotus flowers. Beginning from the left, the first one is reading from a manuscript; the second has the staff of a *yati* behind him and his body is emaciated; the third is seated with hands clasped in adoration while the fourth is reading from another manuscript (Br. 62).³ The curved lintel as well as the straight one was in common use during the prevalence of the Eastern School. A small specimen from Nālandā is carved to represent the circular Roman arch. In this case the carving consists of a miniature temple at one end containing a standing figure of Buddha. We find a row of semi-divine figures issuing out of the arabesque work on the surface of the arch. This specimen is now preserved in the Patna Museum.⁴

The use of the *chaitya* window was gradually discontinued by the architects of the Eastern School. It is also only occasionally used in earlier buildings such as the temple of Muṇḍeśvarī near Bhabua. In certain cases the *chaitya* window was used in Vaishṇava temples for decoration; but these also became very rare in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The specimens in the Indian Museum belong to the earlier part of the period of this school and contain figures of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa. The best of them is I. M.

¹ See pl. LXXXIX, f.

² *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part II, pp. 262-63.*

See pl. XC, b.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88. See pl. XC, c.

⁴ See pl. XCIV, b.

No. 4012.¹ The next best is smaller in size and contains a similar figure (I. M. No. 4180).² These *chaitya* windows are of the same type as those used in the Gupta temples at Bhumara and Deogarh. A single specimen in the Patna Museum contains the figure of an unknown deity, who holds a vase in his right hand while the left is in the posture of giving protection. The existence of snakes among his matted locks indicates that the figure may be one of Śiva. This specimen³ is earlier than the two described above.

Stray examples of pierced stone windows have been discovered in different parts of Bengal and Bihar. In certain cases the aperture of the window frame was occupied by a female or a male figure. The best specimen of this class came from the ruins of the Hindu city of Gaur. It is a plain square frame containing the dancing figure of a lady holding a fan with a long handle in her right hand and a lamp in the other (I. M. No. Ms. 2).⁴ Another specimen was discovered in a garden called Swamibagh near Dacca.⁵ We may mention here another class of windows which are covered with the conventional representations of the wooden or bamboo lattice, such as is common in the majority of the temples of Northern and Western India. In Bengal proper the only specimen known is now preserved in the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. Want of space prevents me from publishing a photograph of this unique and interesting specimen.

The discoveries made by the late Dr. D. B. Spooner at Nālandā prove that the arch of overlapping voussoirs was in common use. We find arches of this style in the great temples at Bodh-Gaya and Konch in the Gaya District as well as in the so-called artificial caves at Nālandā.⁶ At the same place we find the use of stucco in decoration as well as in images. It is a legacy of the Eastern School of Sculpture to modern Bengal. In Bengal, today, images of gods and goddesses are made in a manner quite different from that in vogue in the remaining provinces of India. Whereas sculptors in other parts of India make or mould solid images of clay, the modern Bengalee sculptor makes a frame-work of bamboo and straw and then moulds the limbs in the same fashion as the ancient sculptors, *i.e.*, by applying clay as a plaster to the frame-work. The stucco images of Nālandā were made, for the sake of permanency, with a core of brick work, instead of the frame-work of bamboo and straw.

Among decorative motifs the mythical animal *makara* was generally copied in carving gargoyles. A magnificent specimen was discovered at Gaur⁷ and many similar specimens may be seen in the Adina masjid at Panduah in the Malda District.⁸ Another magnificent specimen is now preserved in the Patna Museum.⁹

¹ *Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 82. See pl. XLVIII, c.

² *Ibid.* See pl. XCIII, d.

³ See pl. XC, a.

⁴ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 340. See pl. XCIII, a.

⁵ See pl. XCIII, b.

⁶ See pl. XCVI, a.

⁷ Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II*, p. 252. See pl. LXXXI, d.

⁸ Ravenshaw's *Gaur and its Remains*, pl. 30, fig. 2.

⁹ See pl. LXXXI, e.

Buddhist worship introduced the representation of the foot-prints of Buddha. One of the earliest specimens was discovered by me on the top of the Gurpā hill in the Gaya District in December, 1906¹ and numerous specimens are to be seen around the great temple at Bodh-Gaya. Some of the specimens were brought from Bodh-Gaya to the Indian Museum and the best of them is B. G. 2.² Allied to these are the foot-prints of Vishṇu of the Hindus and of the Tirthankaras of the Jainas. The oldest known foot-print of Vishṇu was dedicated at Gaya in the 7th year of the reign of the Emperor Nārāyanapāla.³ It is an oblong slab with the foot-prints in the centre, surrounded by the emblems of Vishṇu such as the mace, conch and the wheel and figures of three of his incarnations, namely, the Fish, Tortoise, and the Boar. The oldest Jaina foot-prints are to be found in the Śvētāmbara temple on Vaibhār hill at Rajgir in the Patna District.

¹ *Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. II, pp. 77-82.*

² Anderson—*Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, pp. 32-34. See pl. LXXXIV, d.*

³ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, pp. 60-61.*

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(a) DOOR LINTEL, YEAR 20 OF DHARASIPALA (I.M. No. B.G. 82).



(b) IMAGE DEDICATED DURING THE REIGN OF DEVAPALA
(FROM NALANDA).

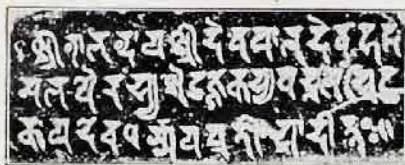


(c) IMAGE DEDICATED BY QUEEN SARVANT OF THE
KHADGA DYNASTY (FROM ASHRAFFUR, DT. DACCA).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
INSCRIBED DATED IMAGES.



(a) BUDDHA, THE YEAR 3 OF SURAPALA I
(I.M. No. 3763).



(d) INSCRIPTION ON NALANDA IMAGE.



(b) TARA, THE YEAR 35 OF DEVAPALA
(FROM HILSA, DT. PATNA).



(c) BUDDHA, THE YEAR 3 OF SURAPALA
(I.M. No. 3764).



(a) PARVATI, THE YEAR 54 OF NARAYANAPALA,
FRONT (BANGIYA SAHITYA-PARISHAD).



(b) PARVATI, THE YEAR 54 OF NARAYANAPALA,
BACK (BANGIYA SAHITYA-PARISHAD).



(c) BUDDHA, THE YEAR 4 OF MAHENDRAPALA
(I.M. No. N.S. 4250).



(d) BUDDHA, THE YEAR 9 OF MAHENDRAPALA
(FROM GUNERIYA, DT. GAYA).



(5) PEDISTAL OF THE REIGN OF GOPALA II (I.M. No. B.G. 120).



(6) YAGISVARH, THE YEAR 1 OF GOPALA II (I.M. No. 3947).



(7) TARA, THE YEAR 9 OF MAHENDRAPALA
(I.M. No. 3948) (Dr. Dasgupta).



(8) VISHNU, THE YEAR 3 OF MAHIPALA I
(I.M. No. 3949) (Dr. Dasgupta).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
INSCRIBED DATED IMAGES.



(a) BUDDHA, THE YEAR 15 OF NIGRAHAPALA III
(I.M. No. 3781).



(b) BODHISATVA, THE YEAR 42 OF RAMAPALA (I.M. No. N.S. 76).



(c) TARA, THE YEAR 2 OF RAMAPALA
(I.M. No. 3824).

(6) DOOR-JAMB FROM
SALANDA, THE YEAR
11 OF MAHRUJA I
(I.M. NO. 3969).



(b) PARVATI, THE YEAR 11 OF MADANAPALA (PATNA MUSEUM).



(c) PARVATI, V.S. 1332, THE YEAR 14 OF GOVINDAPALA
(VISHNUPAD TEMPLE, GAYA).



(d) CHANDI, THE YEAR 3 OF LAKSHMANASENA
(FROM PATHARGHAT, DACCA CITY).



(a) BUDDHA PROTECTED BY MUCHALINDA
 (BODHI GAYA).



(b) 3711.



(b) BUDDHA (I.M. No. 3711).



(c) BUDDHA (I.M. No. 3746).



(d) BUDDHA (I.M. No. Br. 39).



(e) Br. 39.



(a) LOKANATHA (I.M. No. 3860).

(k) 3860.



(l) 3807.



(j) 3796.



(g) 3800.



(b) LOKANATHA (I.M. No. 3807).



(c) BUDDHA (I.M. No. Kr. 3).



(f) Kr. 3.



(i) 3790.



(d) LOKANATHA (I.M. No. 3796).

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

(a) 3820.



(a) VAIRAPANI (I. M. No. 3784).



(b) LOKANATHA (I. M. No. 5801).

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

(c) 3801.

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

(d) 3784.

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

(e) 3808.

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

(f) 3806.



(c) TARA (I. M. No. 3820).



(d) MAITREYA (I. M. No. 3808).

कृष्णदेवराजवर्मणः प्रथमस्य राजसूयस्य

(e) 3801.

शुभम्

शुभम्

शुभम्

दयव्यायशकुलिकुलीवृत्तम्
१०

(7) 3862.

(6) 3790.

(7)



(6) MAITREYA (I.M. No. 3790).



(6) LOKASATHA WITH 6 HANDS (I.M. NO. 3111).



(6) TARA (I.M. No. 3862).

(d) 3876.



(e) 4473.



(f) 4473.



(a) VISHNU (I.M. No. 3876).



(b) LOKANĀTHA (I.M. No. B.G. 140).



(c) LOKANĀTHA (I.M. No. 4473).



(d) 3962.



(f) 3962.



(g) 6267.



(e) 3952.



(d) LOKANATHA (I.M. No. 3962).



(f) MAJCHI WITH 6 HANDS (I.M. No. 6267).



(e) MUNDISVARI (I.M. No. 3952).

161 2072.



161 3917.



(a) KRṢṆA (I.M. No. 3917).



(b) BUDDHA (I.M. No. N.S. 2072).

161 5589.



161 Kr. 7.



(c) LORANĀṬHA (I.M. No. Kr. 7).



(d) BODHISATVA (I.M. No. 5589).



(a) MANJUSHI (I.M. No. Kr. 10).



(b) MANJUSHI (I.M. No. B.G. 74).



(c) TARA (I.M. No. B.G. 135).



(e) THE SEVEN BUDDHAS AND MAITREYA (I.M. No. B.G. 89).



(f) B.G. 135.



(g) Kr. 10.



(h) B.G. 74.



(i) 377B.



(d) PARINIRVANA OF BUDDHA
(I.M. No. 377B).



(a) VAJRAPANI (I.M. No. 3785).



(b) MAHARAJALILA MANJUSRI (I.M. No. 6273).



(c) ARAPACHANA MANJUSRI (I.M. No. 0271).



(d) LOKESVARA (I.M. No. 5859).

ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं

(b) 6853.

ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं

(c) 5859.

ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं

(d) 6271.

ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं

(e) 6273.

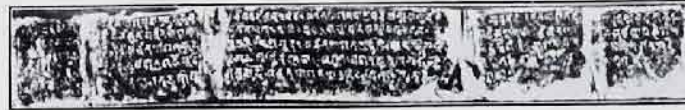
ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं

(f) 5859.

ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं

(g) 3785.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
UNDATED INSCRIBED IMAGES.



(d) 4474



(a) BUDDHA (FROM GUSEHKA, DT. GAYÀ).



(b) TARA (I.M. No. 4474).



(c) JAMBHALA (I.M. No. 4571).



(a) SHADAKSHARI LOKANATHA (I.M. No. 3813).



(b) BUDDHA (I.M. No. B.G. 80).



(c) BODHISATTVIA (I.M. No. 3794).



(d) KHADIRAVANI TARA (I.M. No. 5618).

शुद्धवर्णोऽयं भगवन् शक्यस्य वंशजात्

(f) 3813.

शुद्धवर्णोऽयं भगवन् शक्यस्य वंशजात्

(g) 5618.

शुद्धवर्णोऽयं भगवन् शक्यस्य वंशजात्

(h) B.G. 80.

शुद्धवर्णोऽयं भगवन् शक्यस्य वंशजात्

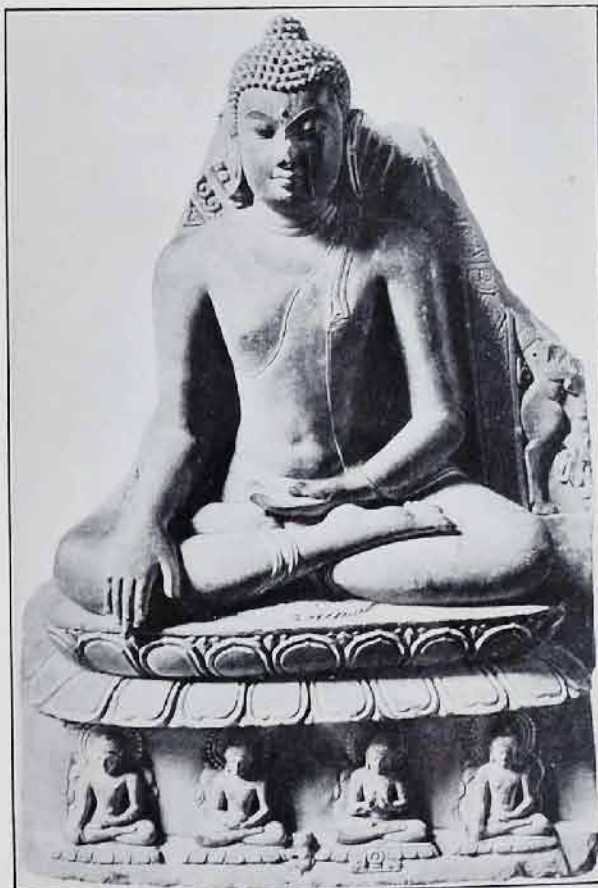
(i) 3704.



(a) COPPER GILT BUDDHA
(FROM BHAGALPUR).



(b) VISHNU (FROM KEWAR, DIST. DACCA)



(c) BUDDHA (I.M. No. 3789).



(d) VISHNU (I.M. No. Ms. 6).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
STELAE OF THE FIRST CLASS.



(a) FROM BIHARIL, DT. RAJSHAHI.



(b) FROM BIHAR (I.M. NO. DR. 5).



(c) FROM SHIBSATI, DT. KHULNA.

PLATE XIX.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
SECOND CLASS STELAE.



(a) STELE AT JAGDISPUR, NEAR NALANDA, DIST. PATNA.

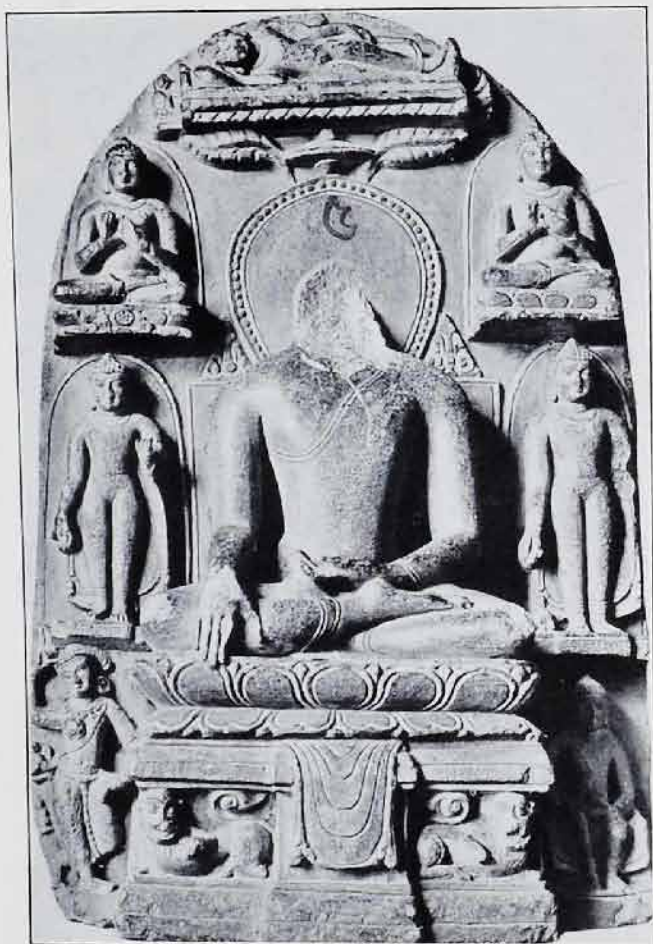


(b) FRAGMENT FROM BACK SLAB OF
STELE (I.M. No. 4575-76).



(c) I.M. No. Br-68.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
 STELAE OF THE SECOND CLASS.



(a) FROM BIHAR, PT. PATNA (B.S.P. No. C (a) 31.

5.

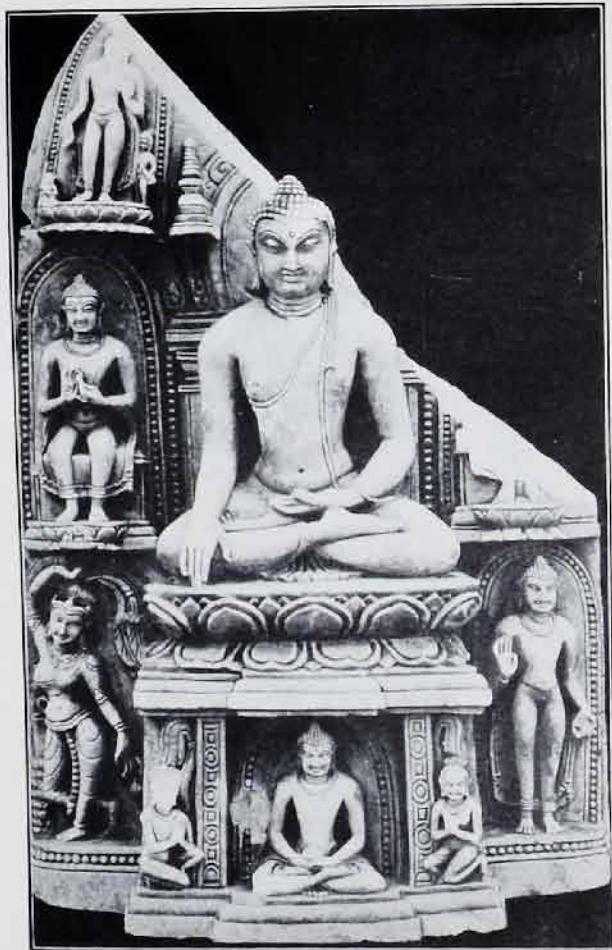


(b) I.M. No. 3752.



(c) I.M. No. 3718.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
STELAE OF THE SECOND CLASS.



(a) FROM NALANDA.



(b) L.M. No. 3703.



(c) L.M. No. 3755.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
STELAE OF THE SECOND CLASS.



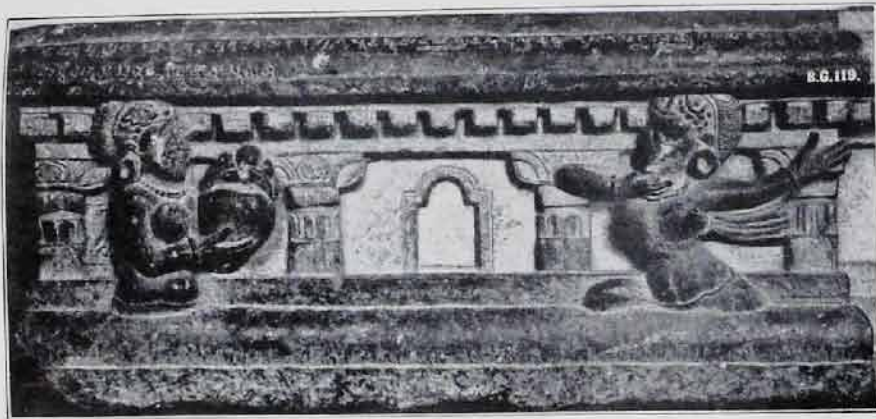
(a) I.M. No. 3737.



(b) I.M. No. 3766.



(c) I.M. No. 6204.



(a) PEDESTAL FROM BODHI-GAYA, DT. GAYA (I.M. No. B.G. 119).



(b) PEDESTAL OF IMAGE FROM NALANDA, DT. PATNA.



(c) B.S.P. No. C (6) 2.
 187



(d) FROM NALANDA, DT. PATNA.



(e) FROM NALANDA, DT. PATNA.



(f) B.S.P. No. C (6) 1.
 1



(a) B.G. 50.



(a) BIRTH OF BUDDHA FROM BODHI-GAYA, DT. GAYA
(I.M. No. B.G. 50).



(b) 3729.



(b) THE FIRST SERMON (I.M. No. 3729).



(c) N.S. 2075.



(c) THE ENLIGHTENMENT (I.M. No. N.S. 2075).



(a) THE TAMING OF NĀLĀGIRI, FROM BODH-GAYA,
DT. GAYA, (I.M. No. B.G. 99).



(b) THE FIRST SERMON (I.M. No. 3717).



(c) THE TAMING OF NĀLĀGIRI (I.M. No. 3707).



(d) THE FIRST SERMON (I.M. No. N. S. 2071).



(a) THE GIFT OF HONEY (I. M. No. N. S. 2074).



(b) THE GIFT OF HONEY, FROM BODHI-GAYA, DT. GAYA,
(I. M. No. B. G. 58).



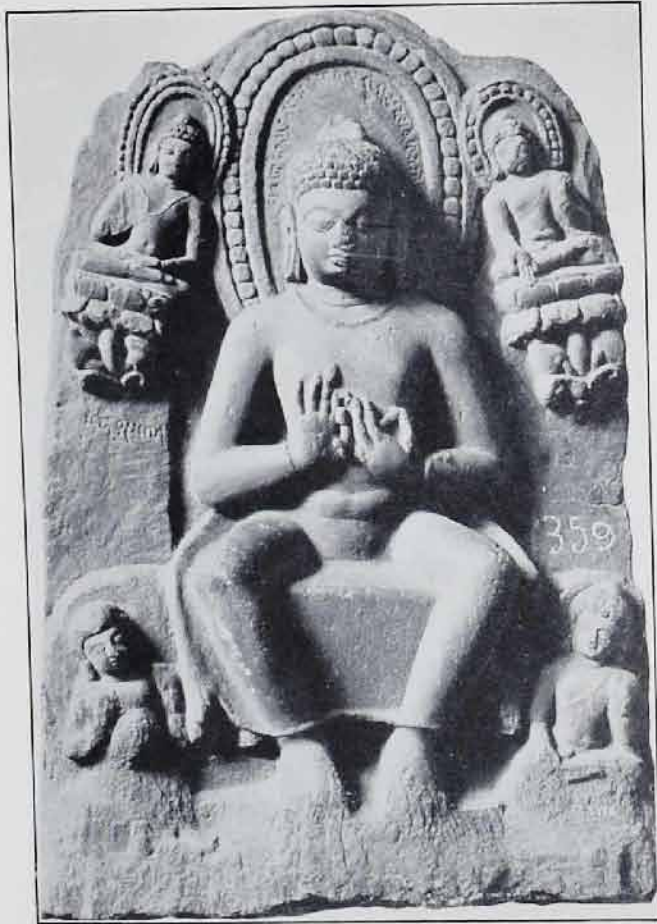
(c) THE MIRACLE OF ŚRĀVASTI (I. M. No. 4301).



(d) THE MIRACLE OF ŚRĀVASTI (I. M. No. 3727).



60 3710.



(a) THE MIRACLE OF SHAVASTI (I.M. No. 3710).



(b) THE MIRACLE OF SHAVASTI
(FROM NALANDA, DT. PATNA).



(c) THE MIRACLE OF SHAVASTI (I.M. No. 3751).

PLATE XXXIII



(a) DEVAVATARA (I. M. No. KR. 5).



(b) THE MIRACLE OF SRAVASTI (FROM NALANDA, DT. PATNA).



(c) THE MIRACLE OF SRAVASTI
(TERRACOTTA FROM NALANDA, DT. PATNA).



(d) THE GIFT OF HONEY (COLLECTION OF
MR. P. C. NAHAR, NO. 68 B).

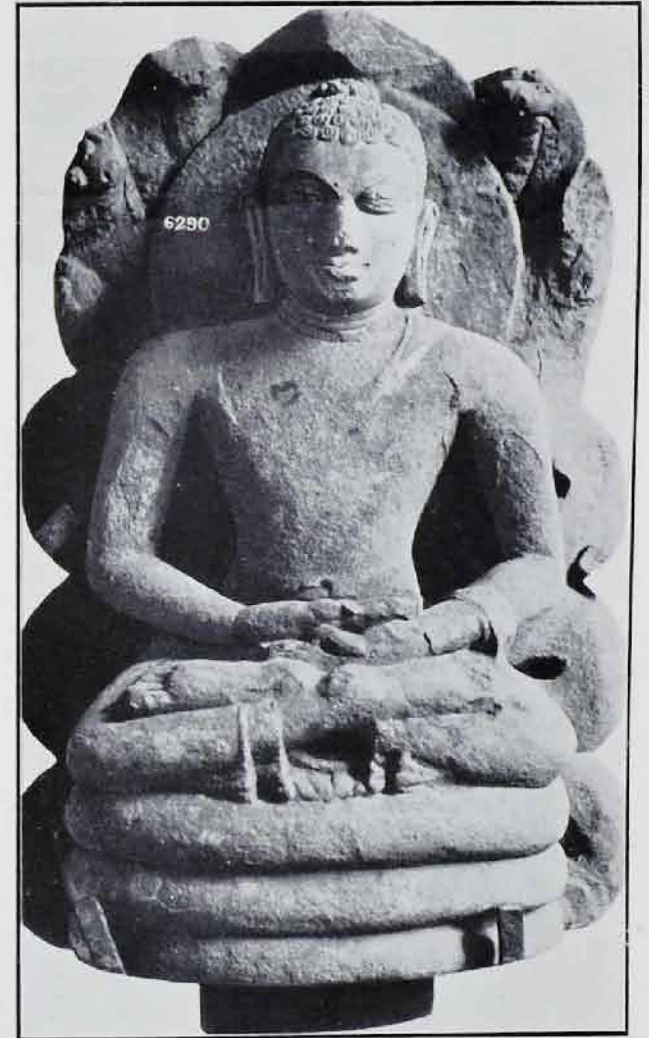
EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
SPECIAL IMAGES OF BUDDHA.



(a) DEVĀNATĀRA (I. M. No. B. 8).



(b) DEVĀNATĀRA (I. M. No. K. 13).



(c) THE PROTECTION OF BUDDHA BY
MUCHALINDA (I. M. No. 6290).



(a) CLAY TABLETS FROM SAHHAH, DT. DACCA.



(b) THE SEVEN BUDDHAS AND MAITREYA (I.M. NO. B.G. 1381).



(c) THE DEATH OF BUDDHA (I.M. NO. 5610).



(d) THE DEATH OF BUDDHA (I.M. NO. 3774).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
VAJRASANA-BUDDHA-BHATTĀRIKA GROUP FROM BISHENPUR-TANDAWA.



(a) LOKANATHA.



(b) MAITREYA.



(c) BUDDHA.



(a) KHASARPANA (I.M. No. 3804).



(b) LOKANĀTHA (I.M. No. B.G. 54).



(c) SEVEN BUDDHAS AND MAITREYA, A FRAGMENT (I.M. No. 6291).



(d) LOKANĀTHA (I.M. No. N.S. 2073).



(a) LOKANATHA (I.M. NO. N.S. 2070).



(b) SHADAKSHARI LOKANATHA (FROM BIRBHUM).



(c) SAMHANADA (I.M. NO. H.G. 6).



(d) N.S. 2070.



(e) LOKANATHA (FROM NALANDA).



(a) MAÑJUŚRĪ (PATNA MUSEUM).



(b) MAÑJUŚRĪ (FROM BIRBHUM).



(c) JAMBHALA FROM KURKIPAR, DT. GAYA (I.M. NO. KR. 1).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
UNINSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGES.



(a) JAMBHALA (FROM NALANDA).



(b) KUBERĀ (I.M. No. 3912).



(c) JAMBHALA (I.M. No. 3911).



(a) VAJRAPANI (FROM NALANDA).



(b) STHIRACHAKRA (B.S.P. No. ⁰¹⁰⁸
16)



(c) TRAILOKYAVAJRAYA (I.M. NO. 1552).



(d) BODHISATTVA (FROM NALANDA).



(a) No. $\frac{O (a) 3}{23}$



(b) FIGURE WITH 6 HANDS FROM SAGARDIGHI,
DT. MURSHIDABAD (B.S.P. No. $\frac{O (a) 3}{23}$).



(c) FIGURE WITH 12 HANDS FROM GHIYASABAD,
DT. MURSHIDABAD (G.M. No. 60. 7).



(d) FIGURE WITH 12 HANDS FROM SONARANG,
DT. DAGGA (B.S.P. No. $\frac{C (d) 7}{9}$).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
UNINSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGES.



(a) TARA (I. M. NO. N14).



(b) PAHASAHANI
(FROM VIKRAMPUR, DT. DACCA).

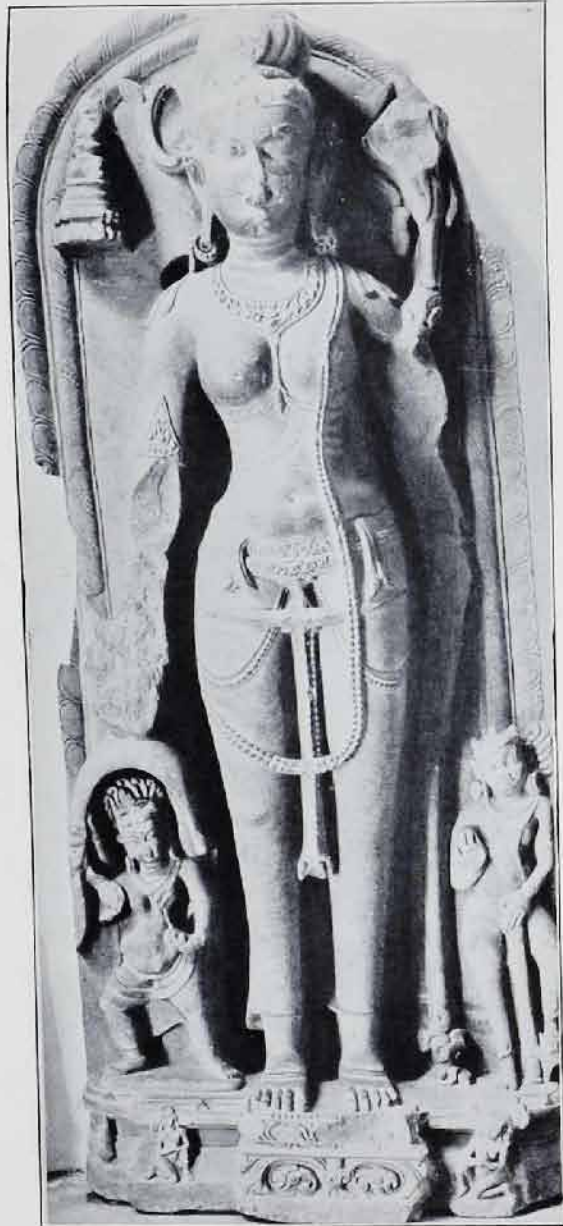


(c) TARA (I. M. NO. N14).



(d) KHASARPANA
(FROM VIKRAMPUR, DT. DACCA).

Photographed & printed at the Office of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1927.



(d) TARA (I.M. NO. KIR 16).



(f) PARNASABARI
(FROM NALANDA).

(e) TARA
(FROM NALANDA).



(f) TARA (FROM NALANDA).



(b) VAJRASARADA (FROM NALANDA).



(c) YAMANTAKA (FROM NALANDA).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
UNINSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGES:—



(a) MAHAPRATISARA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(b) MAHAPRATISARA (?) (DACCA SAHITYA PARISHAD).



(c) PRAJNAPARAMITA (I. M. NO. 3817).

Photographed & printed at the Office of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1927.



(a) USHISHAVITAYA (I.M. No. 4018).



(c) MARICHI (FROM NALANDA).



(b) MARICHI (I.M. No. 6268).



(d) MARICHI (I.M. No. 4014).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
VAISHNAVA IMAGES:—VISHNU.



(6d) FROM GOBARDIPUR.



(6f) FROM SWAMIDIAGI, DT. DACCA.



(6e) FROM MENERG, (I.M. No. X.S. 2085).



(6g) FROM BANGARH, DT. DINAJPUR;
(I.M. No. 2245).



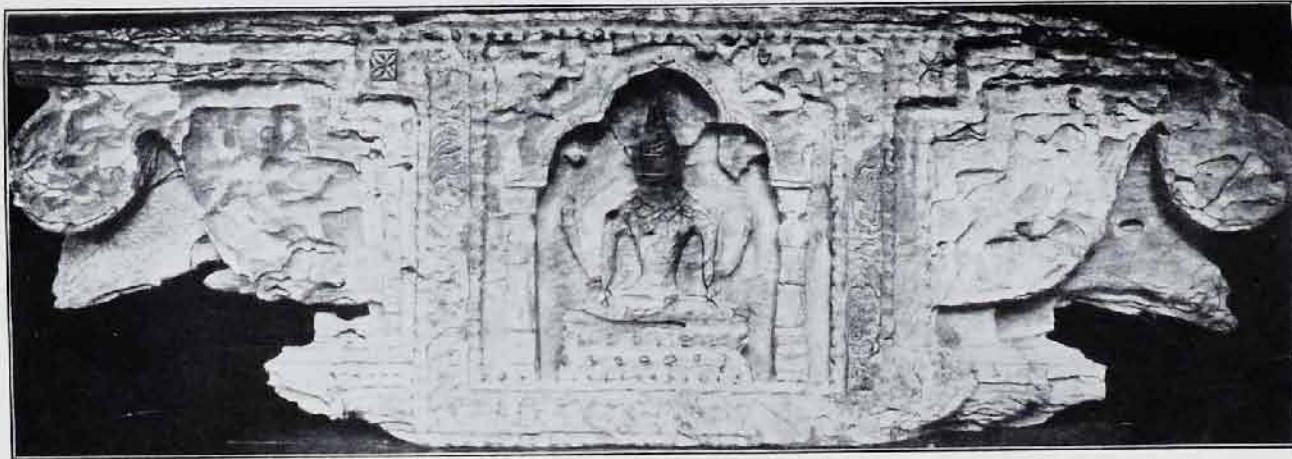
(a) FROM NAKKATTIPALA,
DT. MURSHIDABAD (I. M. NO. 0078).



(b) FROM DEBRA, DT. BOGHA (I. M. NO. 99).



(c) VISKNU FROM SUNDARBAN,
(I. M. NO. 88. 1.)



(a) VADARI-NARAYANA FROM SONARANG, DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(b) VARAHA FROM BULIDWAN,
(B.S.P. No. F (6) 3),
362



(c) VARAHA, FROM NALANDA.



(d) VARAHA, FROM EKANA
CHANDPARA, DT. MURSHIDABAD,
(B.S.P. No. F (6) 2),
384



(e) VARAHA FROM JHILLE, DT. MURSHIDABAD,
(B.S.P. No. F (6) 1),
385



(a) NARASIMHA (FROM VIKRAMPUR, DT. DACCA).



(b) NARASIMHA (FROM PAIKORR, DT. BIRDHUM).



(c) NARASIMHA FROM BIHAR (I.M. No. 3901).



(d) NARASIMHA FROM RAMPAL,
DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).

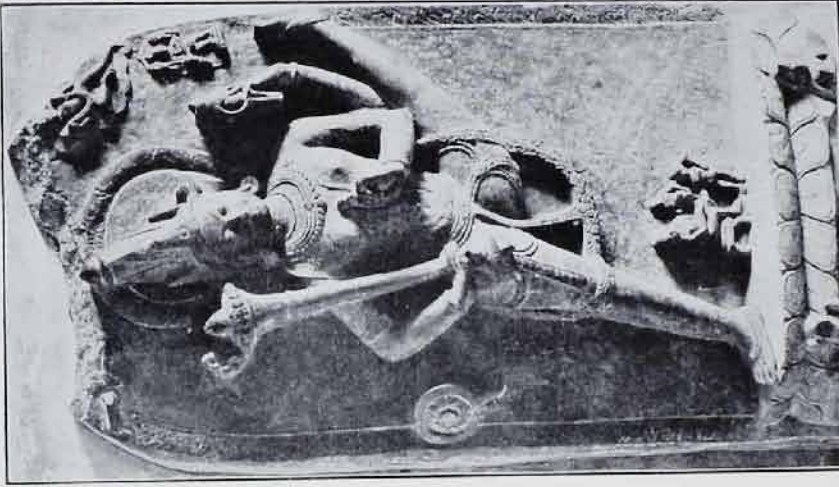
EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
VAISHNAVA IMAGES—THE INCARNATIONS.



(6) VAMANA FROM PURALAHIA,
DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(6) WOODEN IMAGE OF
VISHNU FROM KRISHNAPUR,
DT. TIPPERA
(DACCA MUSEUM).



(7) VAMANA AS TRIVIKRAMA FROM
JOHARDET, DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(8) VAMANA AS TRIVIKRAMA FROM BIHAR
(I.M. No. 3897).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
VAISHNAVA IMAGES:—SPECIAL FORMS:



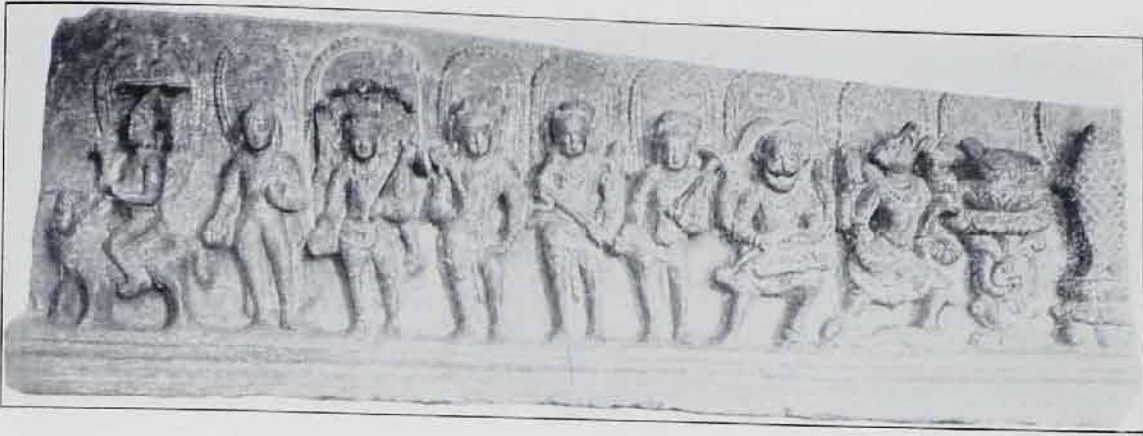
(a) I.M. No. Ms. 13.



(b) MATSYAYATARA, FROM BALHAJOGINI,
DT. DACCA.



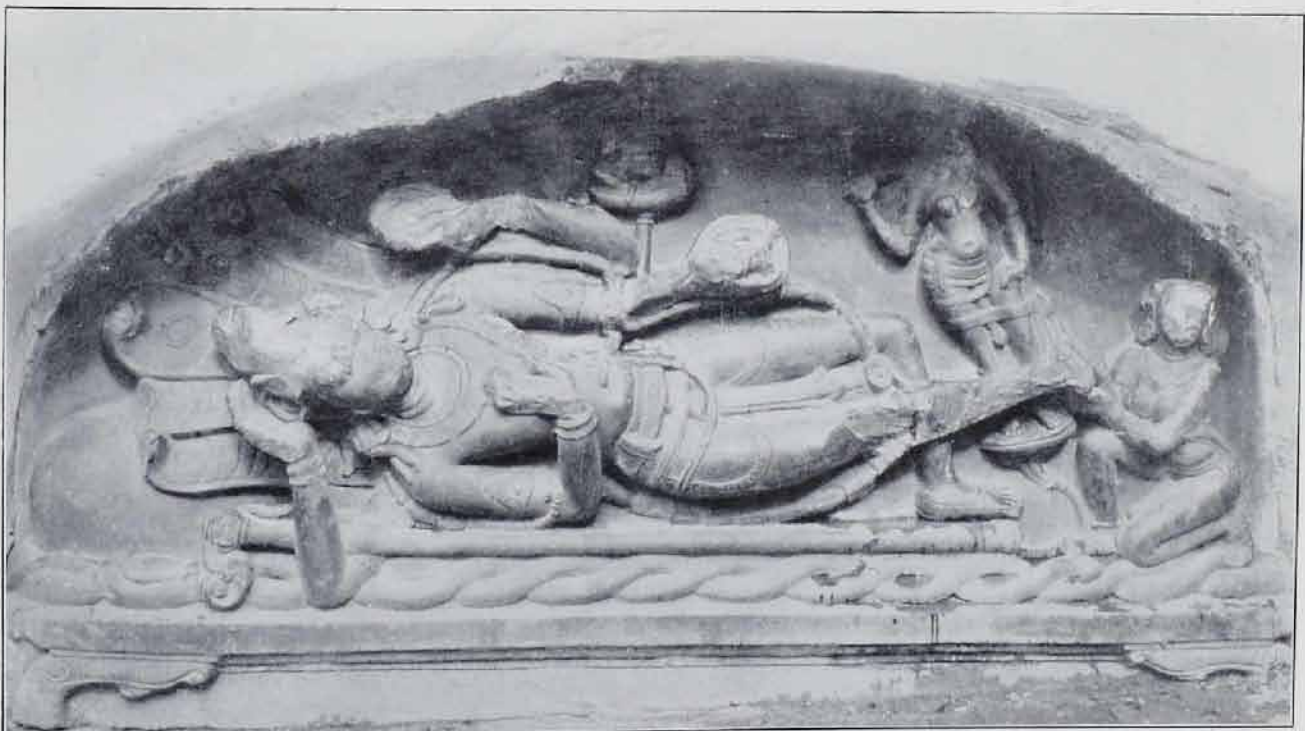
(c) I.M. No. 4012.



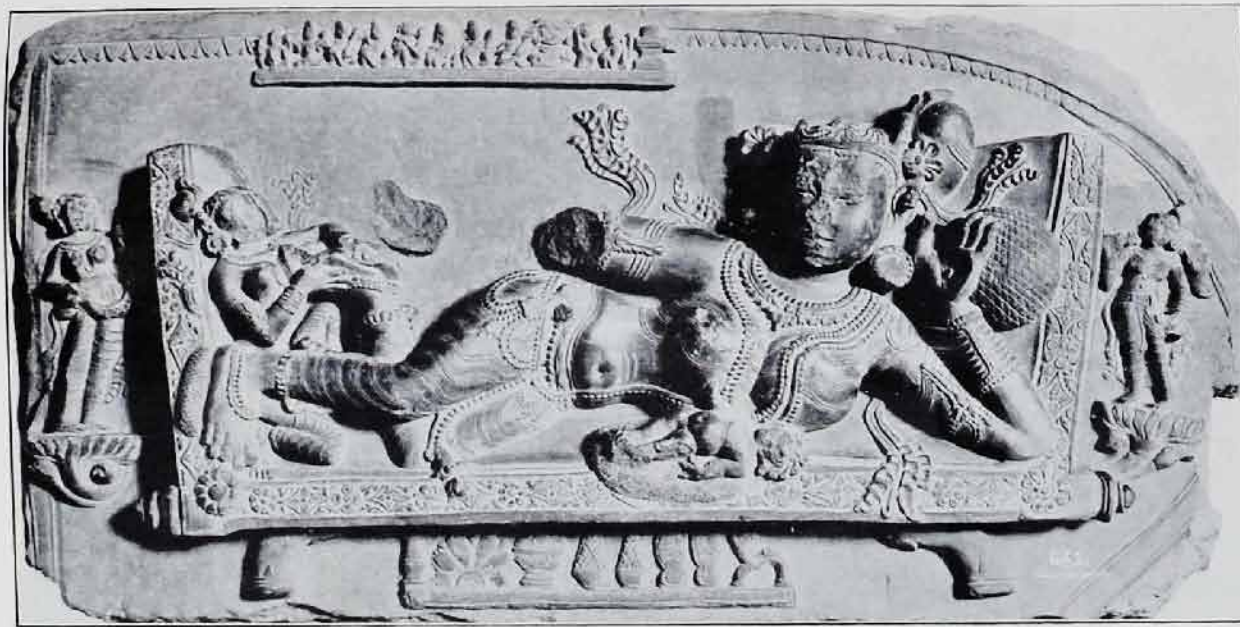
(a) THE TEN INCARNATIONS (I.M. No. 4181).



(b) THE BIRTH OF KRISHNA FROM MALLIKETUR, DT. RAJSHAHI (I.M. No. $\frac{H 661}{231}$).



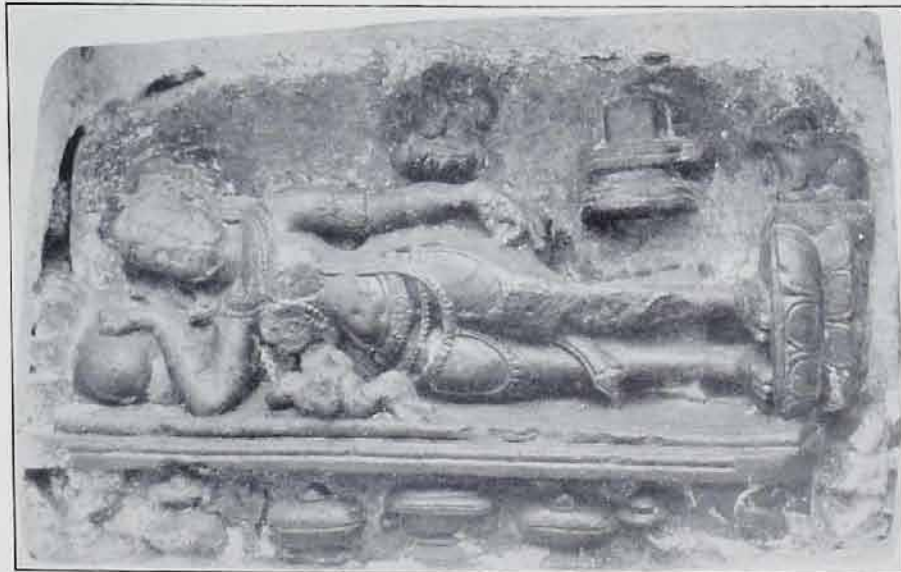
(c) SESHASAYIN (FROM VISHNUPADA TEMPLE, GAYA).



(a) THE BIRTH OF KRISHNA (I. M. No. Gr. D).



(b) THE BIRTH OF KRISHNA (FROM
DINAPUR, COLLECTION OF
MR. P. C. SAHAR).



(c) THE BIRTH OF KRISHNA (FROM VISHNUPADA TEMPLE, GAYA).



(d) THE BIRTH OF KRISHNA FROM DINAPUR, (B. S. P. No. L. (1),
266)

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
SAIVA IMAGES:—LINGAS.



(a) FROM MANGALKOT,
DT. BURDWAN.



(b) FROM MADAHIGANI,
DT. RAJSHAHI (B.M. No. $\frac{C(A) 1}{82}$).



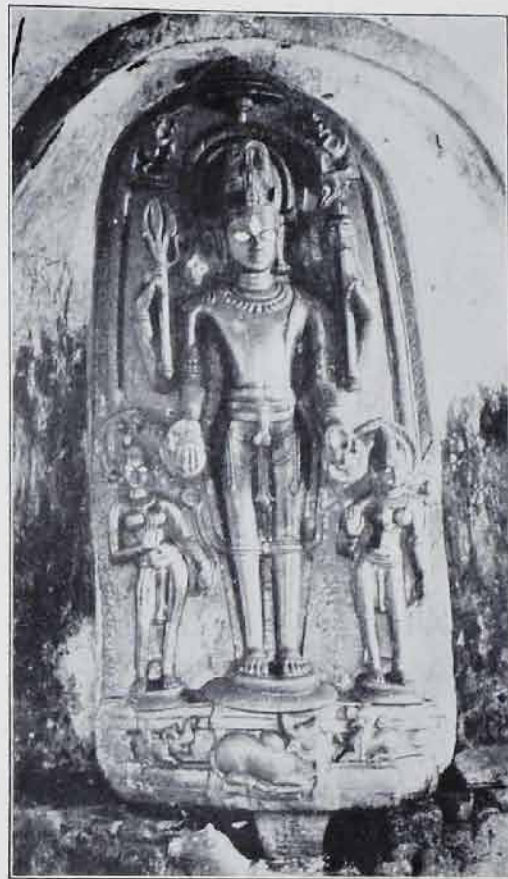
(c) FROM BIHAR (L.M. No. 3829).



(d) FROM UNAKOTI, TIPPERA STATE.



(a) SIVA-TANDAVA FROM SANKARBONDHA, DT. DACCA.



(b) SIVA, FROM KASHIPUR, DT. BARABANGAN.



(c) SIVA-TANDAVA FROM RAMPAL,
DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(d) HARIDHARA FROM BIHAR (I.M. No. 3856 B).



(a) VIRUPAKSHA FROM BAMPAL,
DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(b) SIVA FROM BIHAR (I.M. No. 3832).



(c) METAL DURGA, 12 HANDS,
FROM KESHABPUR, DT. DINAJPUR.



(a) SADASIWA FROM CALCUTTA.
(B.S.P. No. G (M) 1,
379)



(b) MARRIAGE OF SIVA FROM DACCA.
(B.S.P. No. G (M) 4,
285)



(c) MARRIAGE OF SIVA
(R.M. No. C (M) 1,
77)



(d) SIVA AND DURGA
FROM SWAMIBAGH,
DT. DACCA.



(e) SADASIWA FROM JAMAN (KHARAL)
DT. DINAPUR. (R.M. No. C (M) 2,
180)



(f) SADASIWA FROM THE SEAL OF NALHATI
PLATE OF VALLALAKSANA.



(g) SADASIWA FROM SIGHNDIL
DT. RAISHAH (R.M. No. C (M) 1,
265)



(a) FROM BIHAR (I. M. No. 3955).



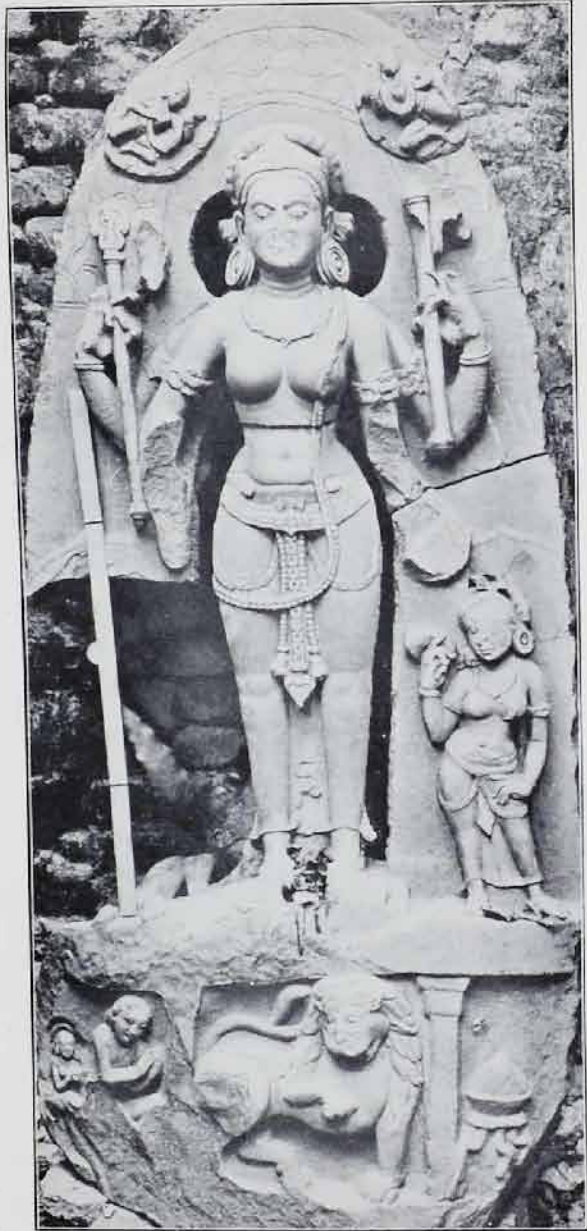
(b) FROM DINAJPUR (B. S. P. No. $\frac{G(B)I}{361}$).



(c) BHADRVA
(COLLECTION OF MR. P. C. NARAY).



(d) FROM BHADISVAB, DT. BIRBHUM.



(a) DEVI FROM MANGALBARI, DINANAPUR.



(b) ARDHANARISVARA FROM PURAPARA,
DT. DACCA.

(I.R.M. No. Cl 1
95)



(c) DEVI (G.M. No. MS. 31).



(6c) FROM MANDOIL, DT. RAJSHAH.



(6) I. M. No. MS. 10.



(6) FROM MAHESVARPASHA, DT. KHULNA.



(6) FROM RAIGANI, DT.
DINAJPUR, (B. S. P. No. $\frac{J(a)11}{278}$).



(a) PARVATI [FROM SHAKIBHATI, DT. KHULNA].



(b) CHAMUNDA [PATNA MUSEUM].



(c) CHARCHIKA FROM DISAJPER (R.M. NO. $\frac{D (d) 10}{280}$).

PLATE LVIII.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
MISCELLANEOUS DEITIES:—SURYA.



(a) FROM BIHAR (I.M. No. 3924).



(b) FROM WESTERN BENGAL
(I.M. No. Ms. 8).



(c) FROM NORTHERN BENGAL
(RAJSHAHI DISTRICT) (R.M. No. $\frac{P. (a) 5}{176}$).



(d) FROM EASTERN BENGAL,
DAGGA DISTRICT.



(a) FROM MUNSHIGANI DIST. DACCA.



(b) FROM BIHAR (I. M. No. 5025).



(c) FROM GOL. DT. RAJSHAHI (R.M.No. $\frac{6761}{224}$).



(d) FROM DEOPARA, DT. RAJSHAHI (R.M.No. $\frac{6605}{374}$).



(a) KARTIKĒYA (I. M. NO. MS. 9).



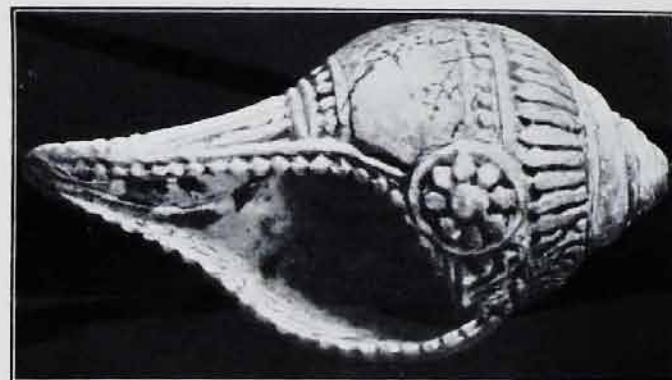
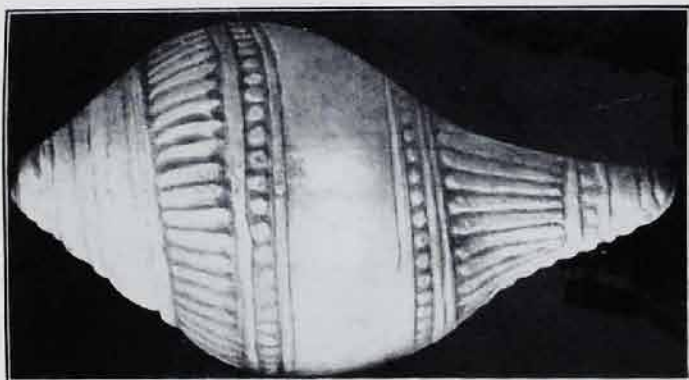
(d) GANGA, FROM ISVARIPUR, DT. KHULNA.



(b) AGNI (COLLECTION OF MR. P. C. NAIK).



(c) BRAHMA FROM RAIGANI, DT. DINAJPUR, (B. S. I. NO. $\frac{E(10)1}{279}$).



60 CARVED CONCH SHELL OF THE SENA PERIOD FROM NAHATE, DT. BURDWAN.



(a) SRI FROM IHAGALPUR
B.S.P. No. K (a) 1,
255



(b) YAMUNA (PATNA MUSEUM).

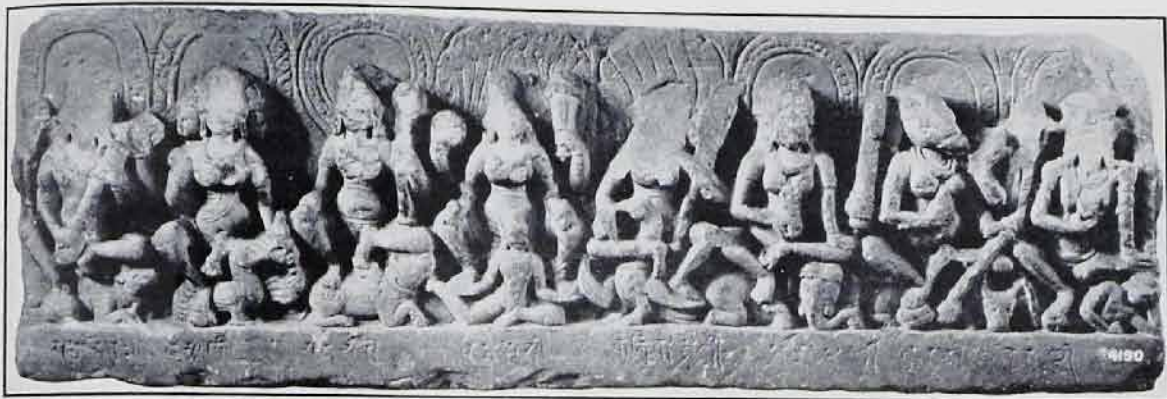


(c) SARASVATI FROM CHHATINGRAM,
DT. BOGHA, (R.M. No. H (f) 1),
76

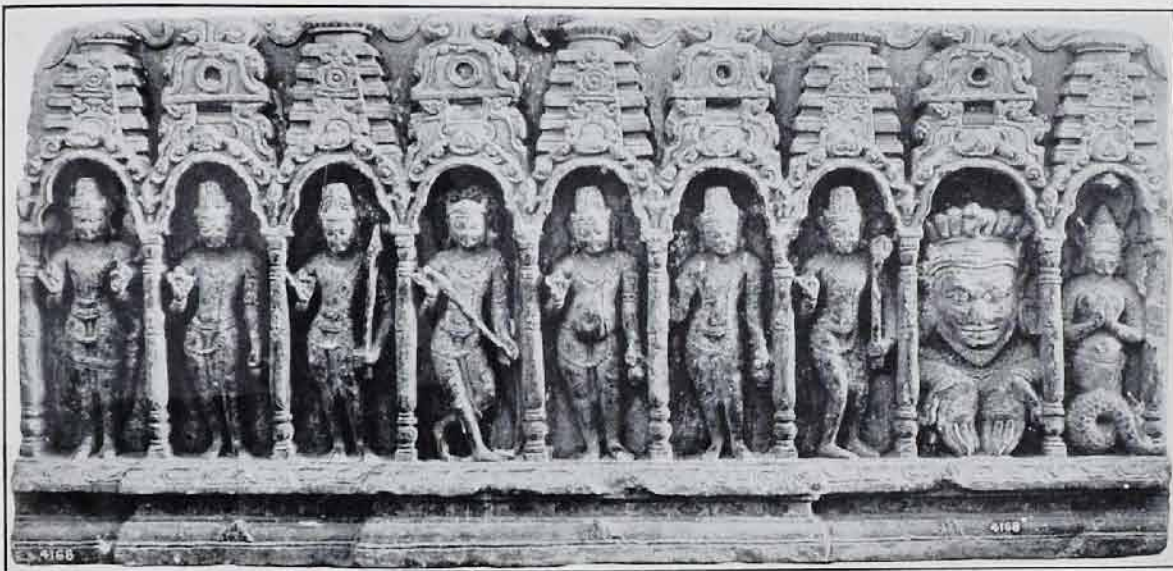


(d) CHAMUNDA FROM DEVAGRAM,
DT. NADIA, (B.S.P. No. J (b) 2),
380

PLATE LXII.



(a) THE SEVEN MOTHERS (I.M. No. 4190).



(b) THE NINE PLANETS (I.M. No. 4168).



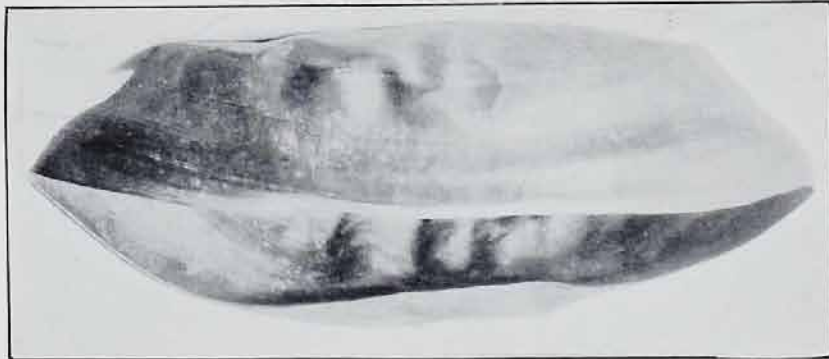
(c) YAMUNA (I.M. No. 3954).



(d) KALI FROM BAJRAJOGINI,
DT. DACCA, (DACCA MUSEUM).



(e) SARASVATI FROM PAIKPABA,
DT. DACCA, (DACCA MUSEUM).



(c) TAMRA KUNDA FROM NAIHATI, DT. BURDWAN.



(d) MANASA,
LOCALITY UNKNOWN
(I.C.M. No. H. Co. 1),
284



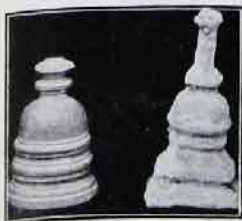
(e) MANASA (RANGPUR SAHITYA PARISHAD).



(f) MANASA, FROM BHADISWAR,
DT. BIRBHUM.



(g) MANASA, FROM BIHAR (I.C.M. No. 8950).



(d) MINIATURE METAL
CHAITYAS, FROM
NALANDA.



(e) REVANTA, FROM
NALANDA.



(f) MINIATURE METAL
CHAITYAS, FROM
NALANDA.



(a) NAGA AND NAGI (I.M. No. 4148).



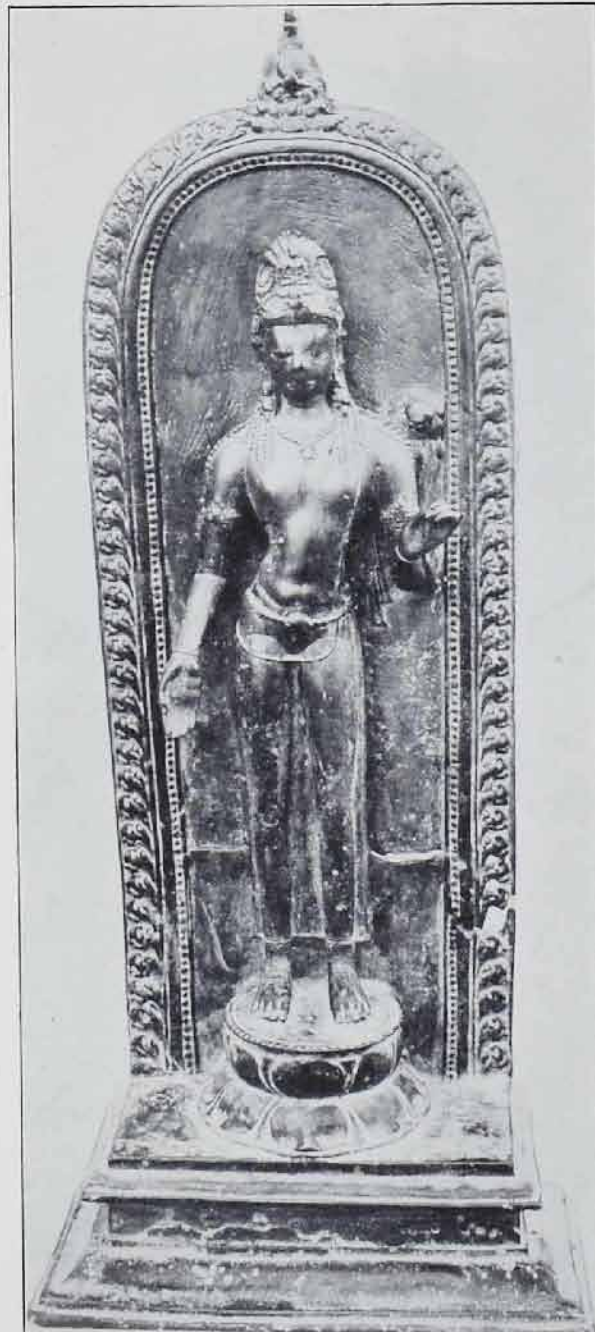
(b) RAMA WITH SITA AND LAKSHMANA (I.M. No. 3812).



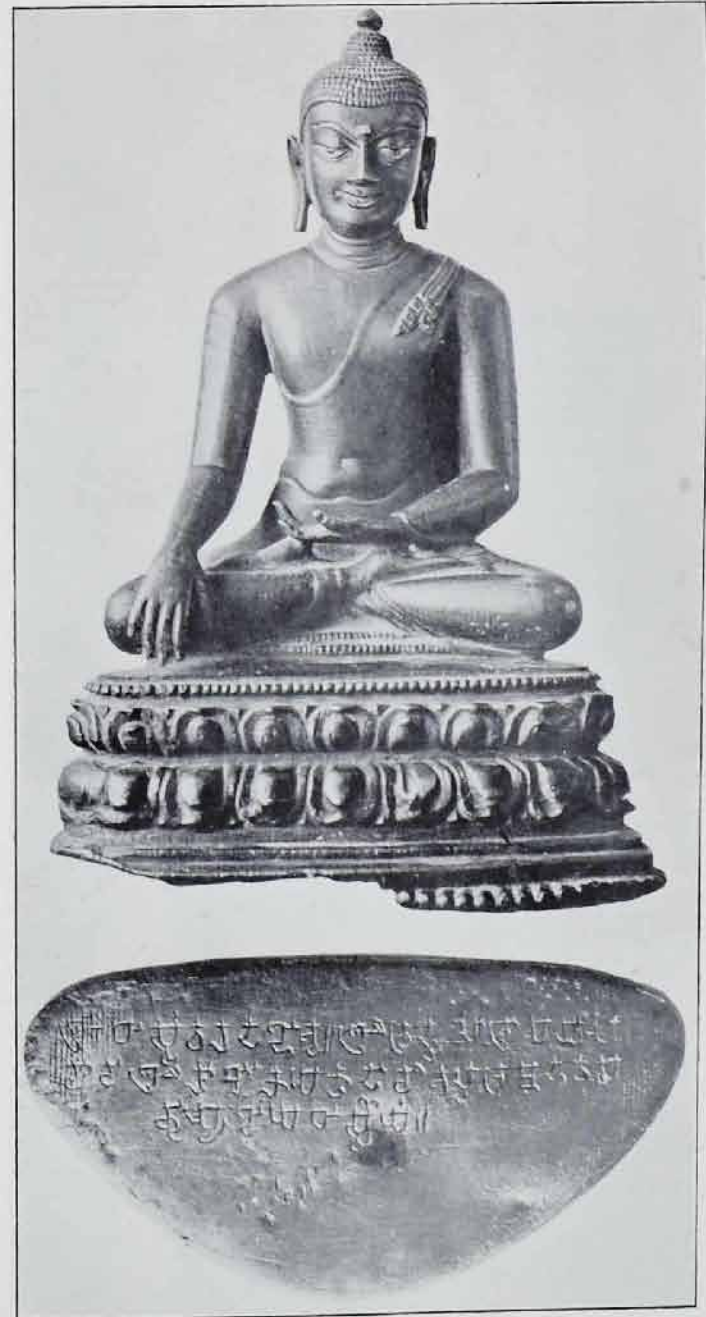
(c) NAGA AND NAGI (I.M. No. 4246).



(a) BUDDHA FROM NALANDA.



(b) LOKANATHA FROM BANDARBAZAR, DIST. SYLHET
(Dacca MUSEUM).



(c) BUDDHA WITH INSCRIBED PLATE FROM BOTTOM (FROM GAYA).



(a) FROM SAHEBGANGA, DT. RANGPUR.



(b) FROM SAHEBGANGA, DT. RANGPUR.



(c) FROM SAGARDIGHI, DT. MURSHIDABAD.



(a) VISHNU FROM KUMARPUR, DT. RAJSHAHI.



(b) CHANDI FROM SONABANG, DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(c) VISHNU FROM SAGARDIGHI, DT. MIRSHIDABAD.



(a) LOKANATHA FROM NALANDA.



(b) TARA FROM NALANDA.



(c) SHADAESHABI GROUP FROM NALANDA.



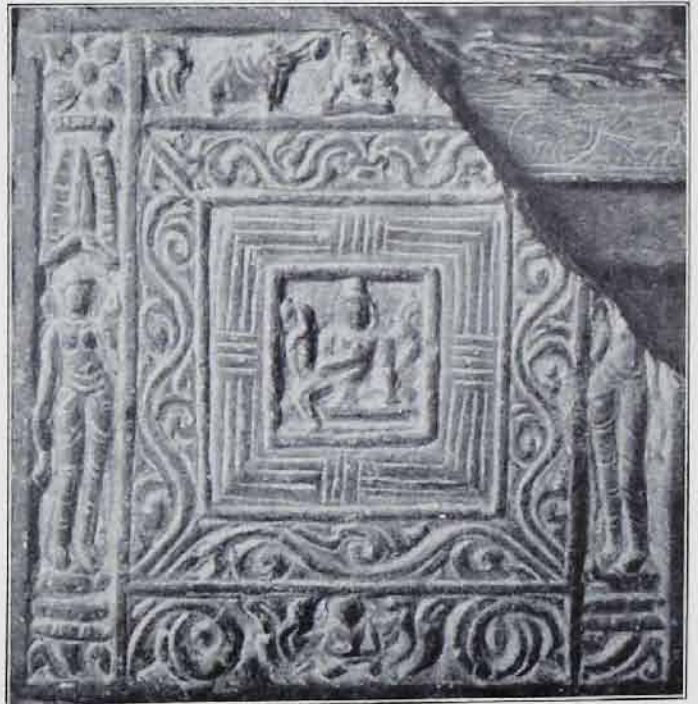
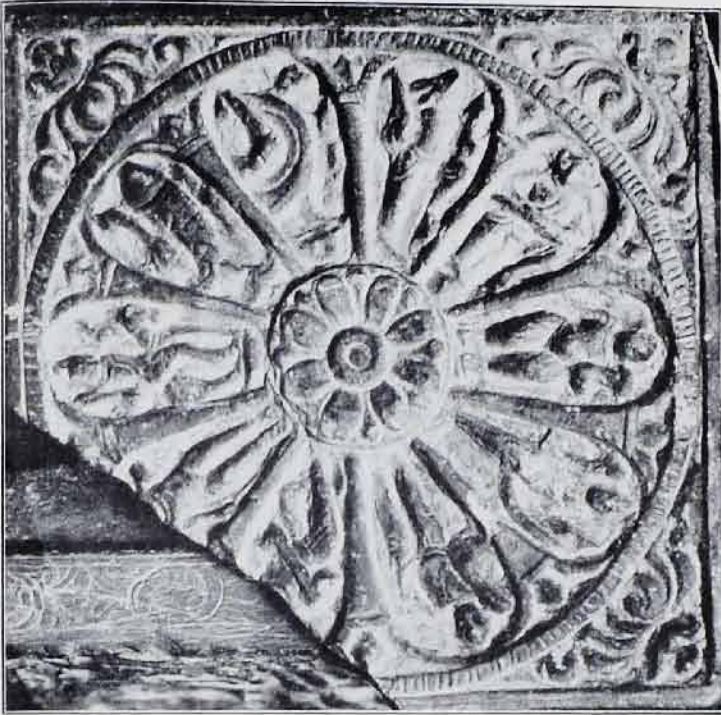
(d) CARVED CONCH SHELL FROM NAHATI, DT. BURDWAN.



(e) VISHNU-CHAKRA FROM NAODANGA, DT. RANGPUR, (I.S.P. No. 0. (a) 1, 383)



(f) SIVA AND DURGA FROM BOGRA (I.S.P. No. 0. (b) 1, 161)



STONE VISHNU-CHAKRAS FROM HASKHIDA AND RAJABARI,
DT. DACCA (DACCA MUSEUM).



(6) PRAJNA-PARAMITA OF STONE,
FROM NALANDA.



(5) SIVA AND DURGA
FROM GAUDA
(B.S.P. No. $\frac{1}{10} 2$),
135.



(2) STONE MAKARA-GARGOYLE FROM DEOPARA,
DT. RAISHAHY (R.M. NO. $\frac{1}{3} (6) 48$).



(4) GANGA FROM NALANDA.



(6) BUDDHA FROM
PATHARGHATA,
DT. BHAGALPUR,
(I.M. No. 4554).



(7) BODHIRATTVA FROM NALANDA.



(9) SILVER VISHNU FROM SONARANG,
DT. DACCA,
(I.M. ART SECTION No. 12880).



(8) STONE GARUDA FROM MANDOL,
DT. RAISHAHY ($\frac{1}{14} (6) 2$).



(1) MAITREYA FROM
PATHARGHATA,
DT. BHAGALPUR
(I.M. No. 4555).



(a) VAJRATARA, OPEN, FROM PATHARGHATA,
DT. BHAGALPUR (I.M. No. 45514).



(b) VAJRATARA, CLOSED.



(c) VAJRATARA, CLOSED, MAHARI, DT. FARIDPUR,
(Dacca Museum).

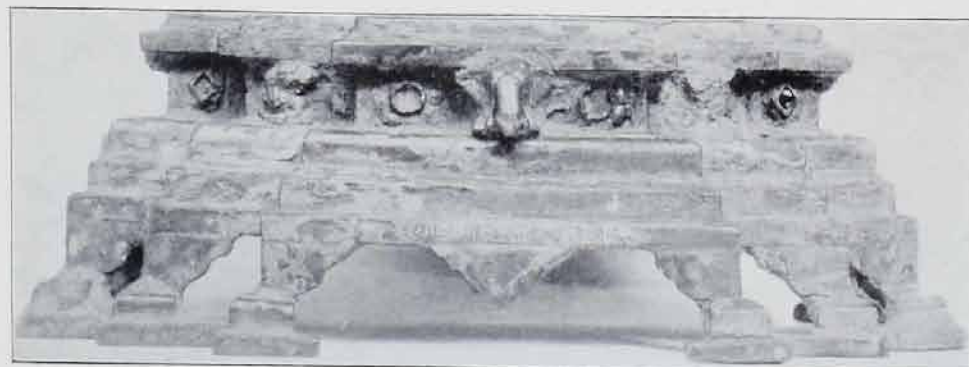


(d) VAJRATARA (OPEN).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
METAL OBJECTS.



(a) COPPER LAMP FROM NAHATI, DT. BURDWAN, (SIDE VIEW).



(b) INSCRIBED PEDESTAL OF COPPER GIFT IMAGE OF BUDDHA FROM BHAGALPUR.



(c) BRACKET WITH
LION'S HEAD FROM GAUDA,
DT. MALDAH (STONE).



(d) VARUNA.



(e) DURGA.

PLATE LXXIII.



(a) VISHNU FROM SAHEBGANJ,
DT. RANGPUR. (I.M. No. N.S. 2550).



(b) TARA FROM TIPICHA
DISTRICT (Dacca Museum).



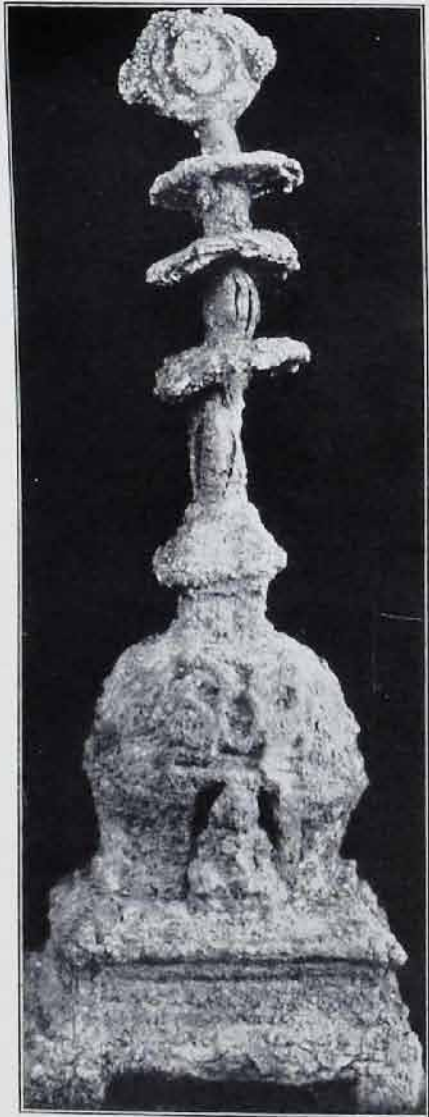
(c) FOUR STANDS FOR
CONCH-SHELLS FROM
NAIHATI, DT. BURDWAN.



(d) MINIATURE CHATRYA FROM
BODH-GAYA (I.M. No. B.G. 283).



(e) COPPER LAMP FROM NAIHATI,
DT. BURDWAN (FRONT VIEW).



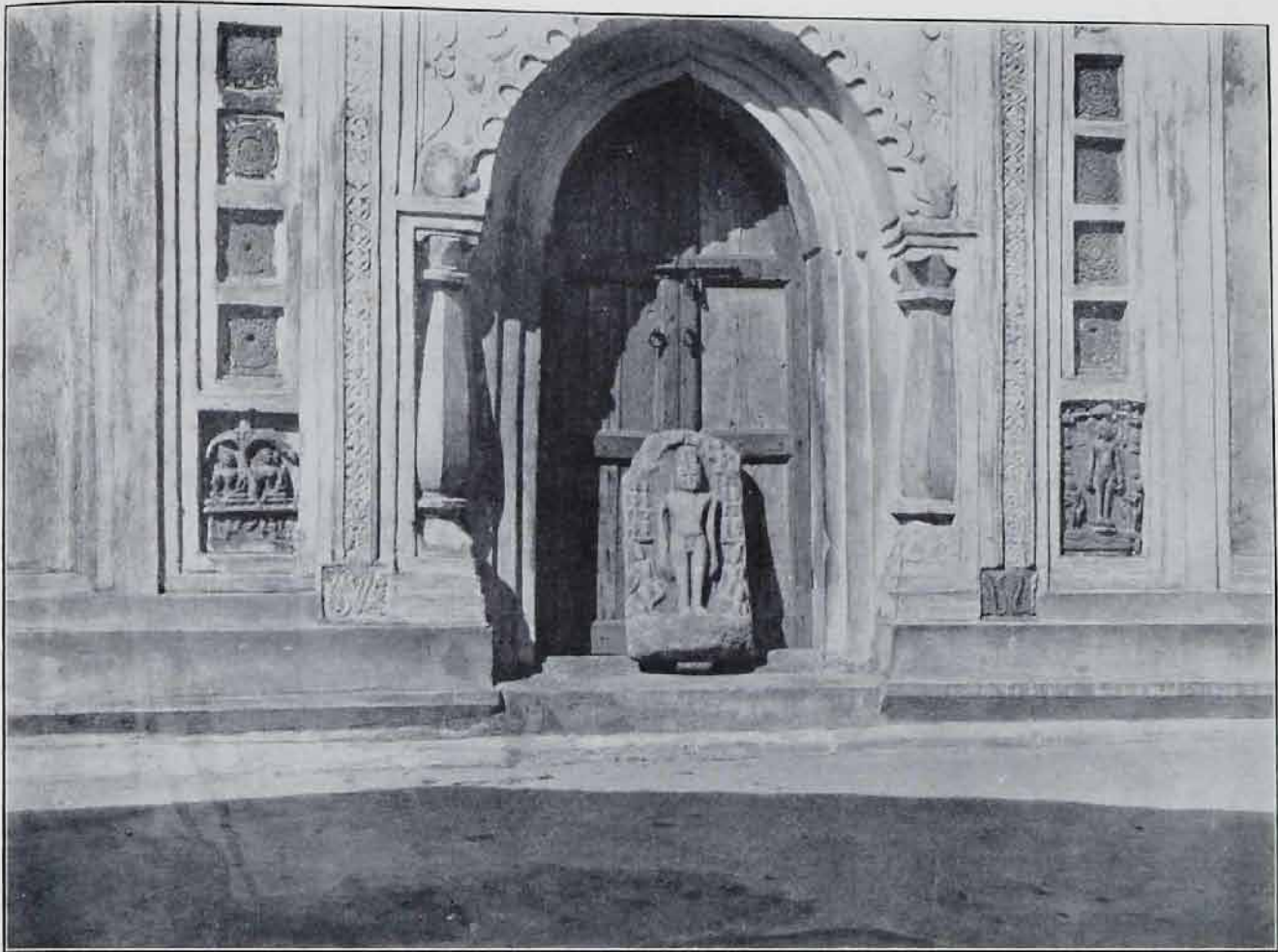
(a) COPPER CHAITYA FROM NALANDA.



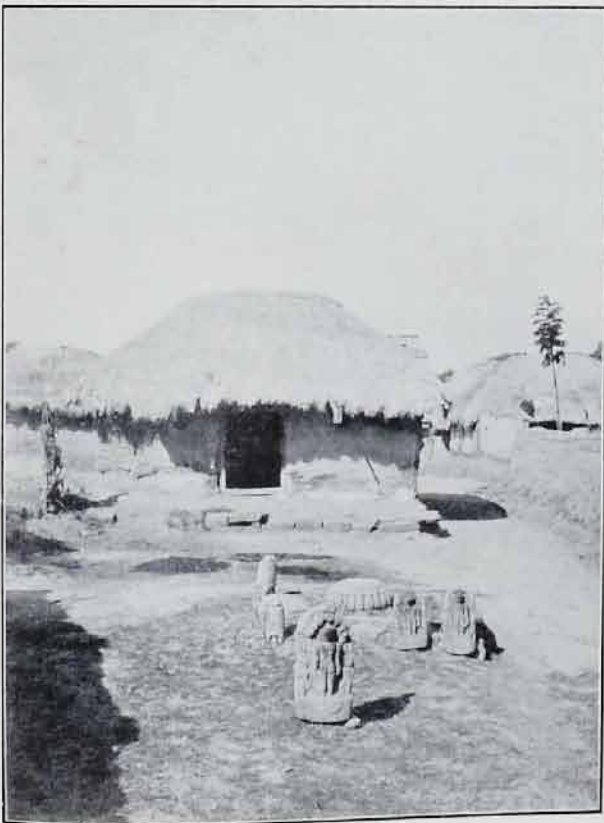
(b) COPPER CHAITYA FROM ASHRAFPUR, DTE. DACCA,
(I.M. No. 6301).



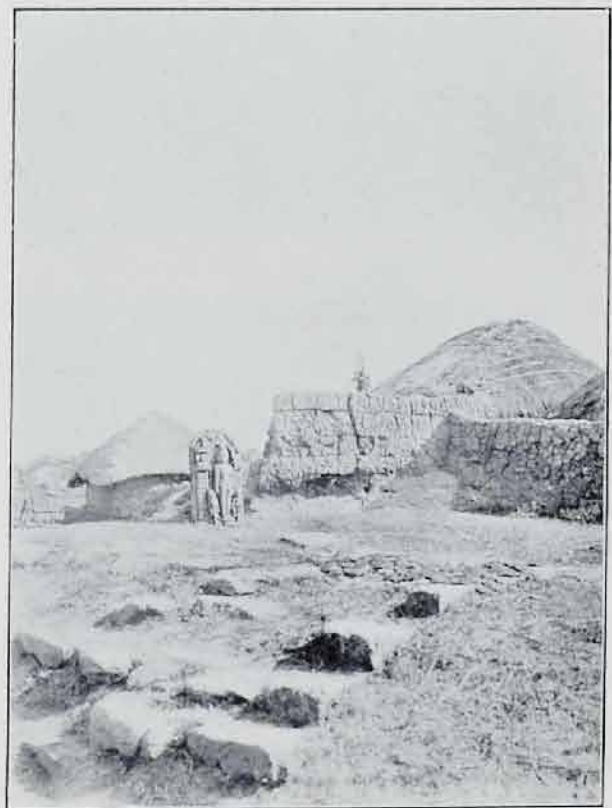
(c) MINIATURE STONE CHAITYA FROM BIHAR, (I.M. No. BR. 14).



(a) IMAGES IN THE TEMPLE OF SIVA, CHATRA, DT. MANDHUM.



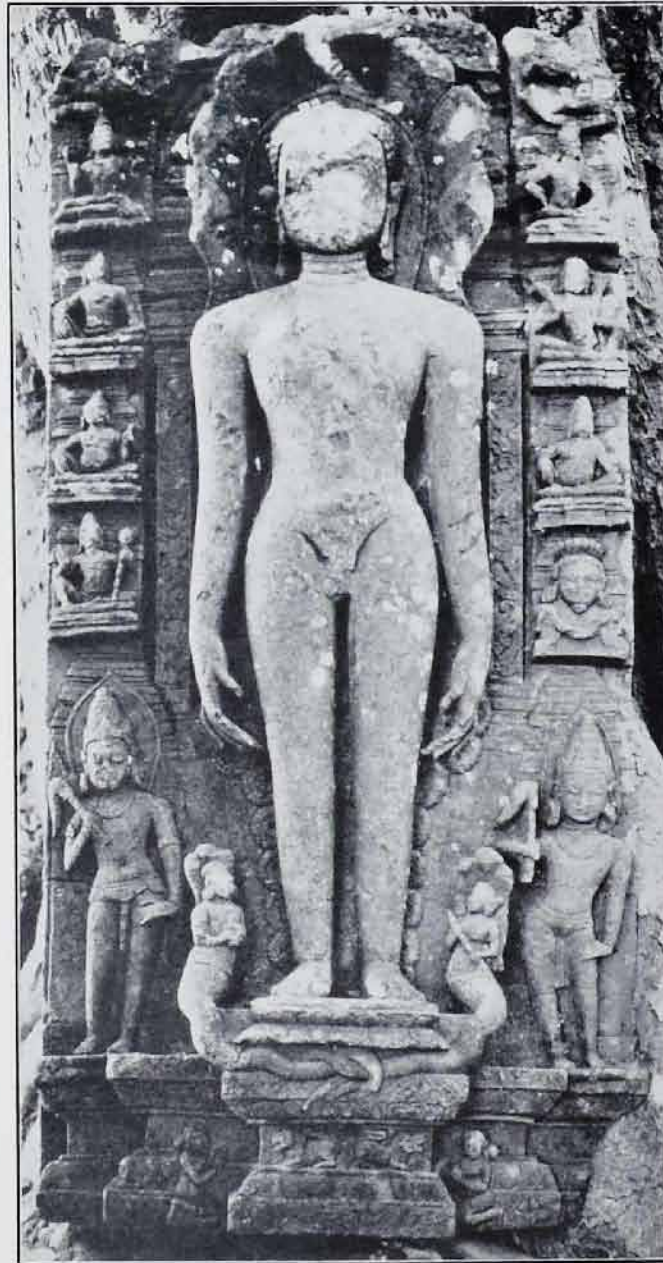
(b) SMALL IMAGES AND CHAUMUKHAS, CHATRA.



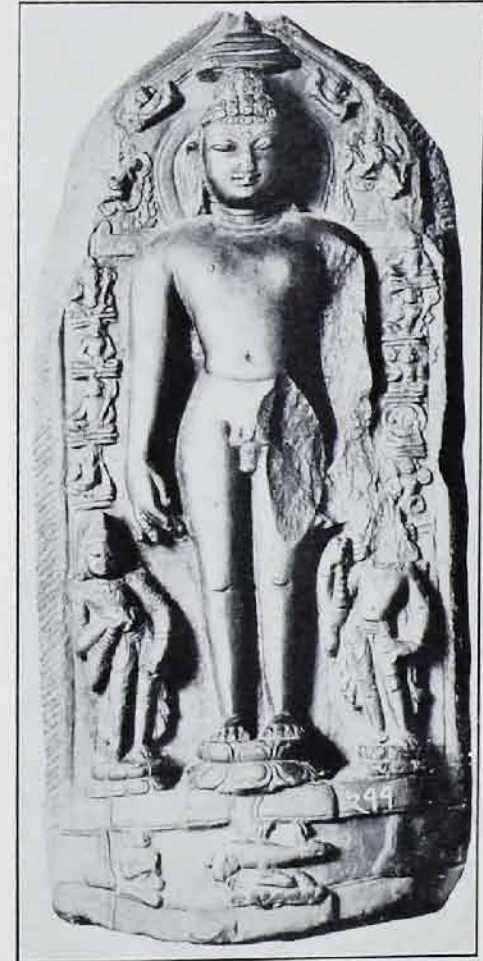
(c) COLOSSAL IMAGE OF MAHAVIRA, CHATRA.



(a) PARSVANATHA FROM BAHULARA,
DT. BANKURA.



(b) PARSVANATHA FROM HARIASHIRA, DT. BANKURA.

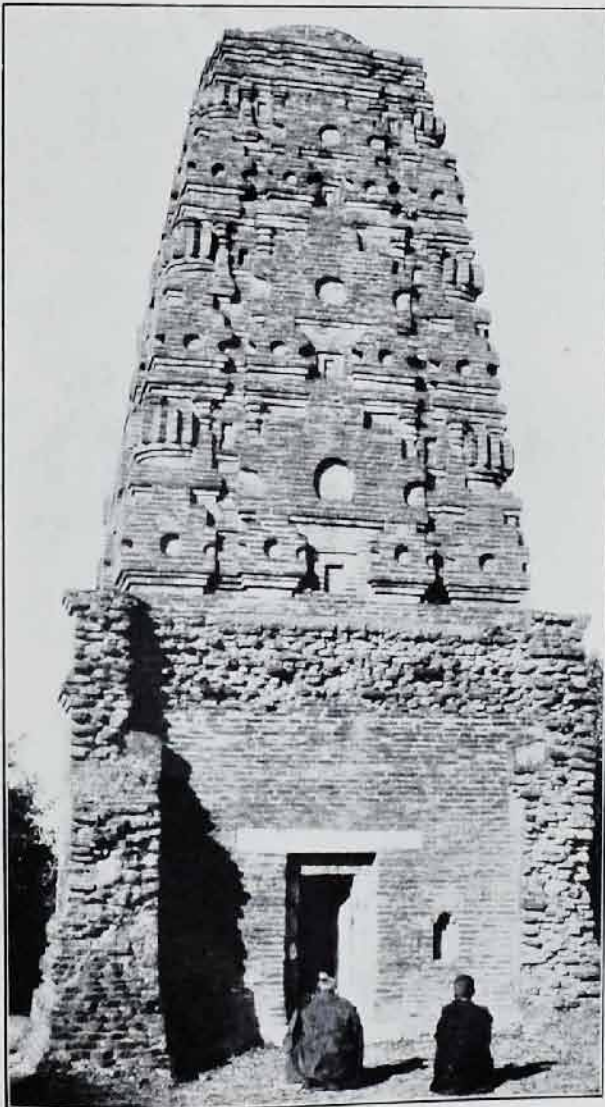


(c) SANTINATHA FROM MANGALKOT,
DT. BURDWAN.

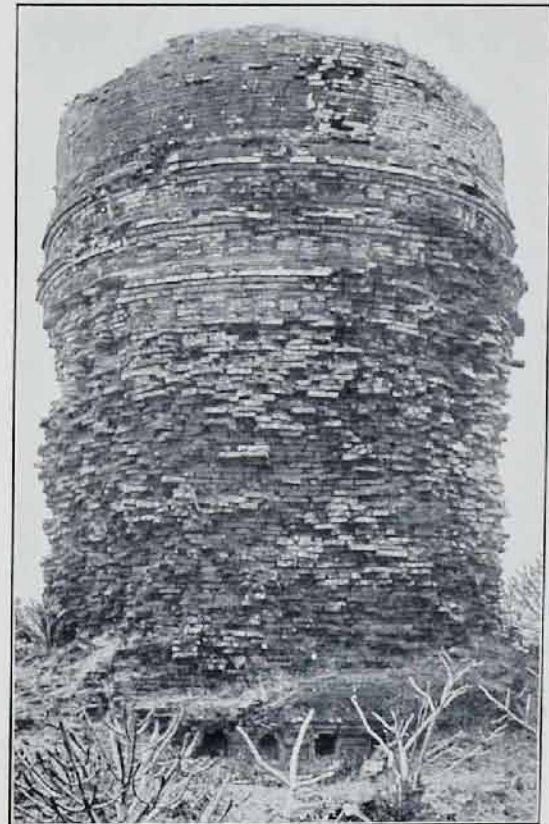
PLATE LXXVIII



(a) TEMPLE OF MUNDESVARI NEAR BHABUA, DT. SHAHABAD.



(b) TEMPLE OF TARA AT BODHI-GAYA, DT. GAYA.

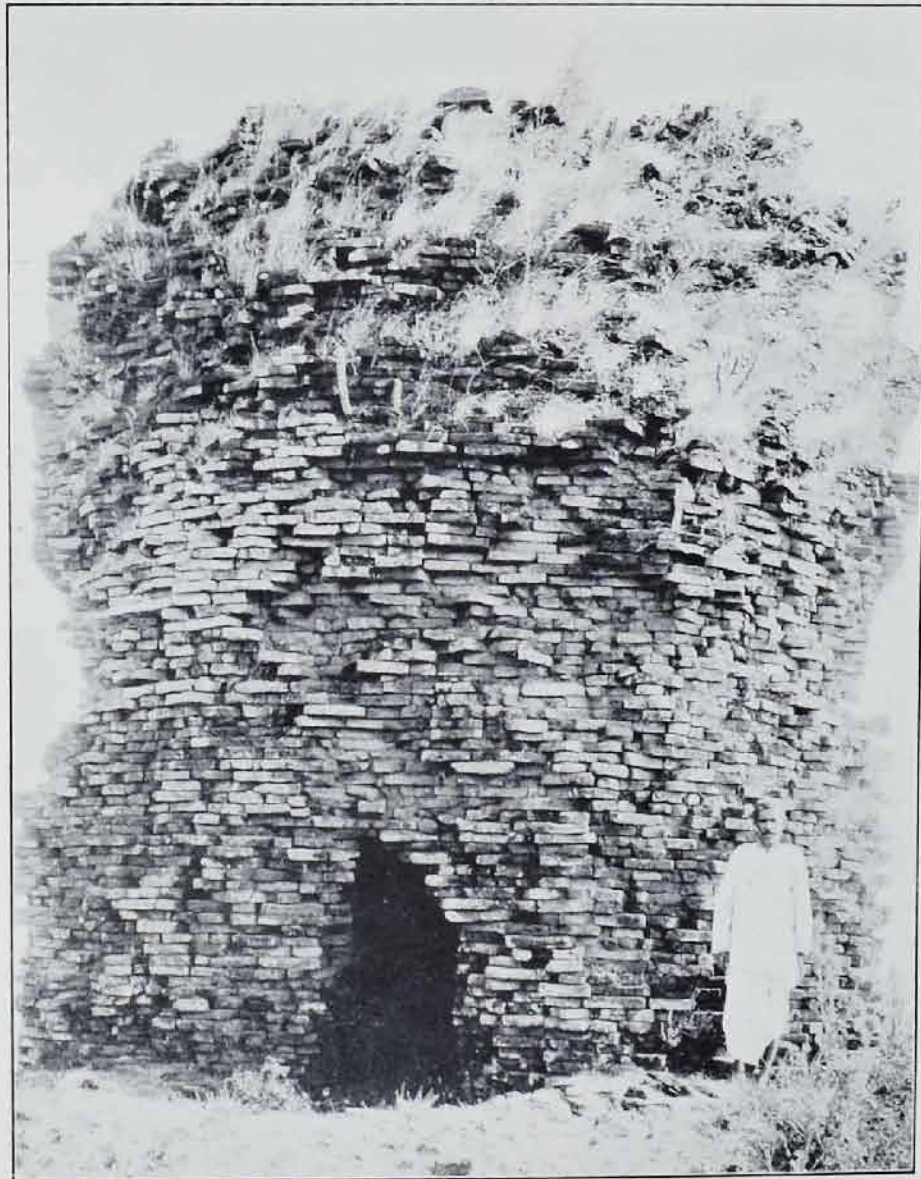


(c) STUPA OF THE GOOSE, GHRYIK, DT. PATNA.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE.



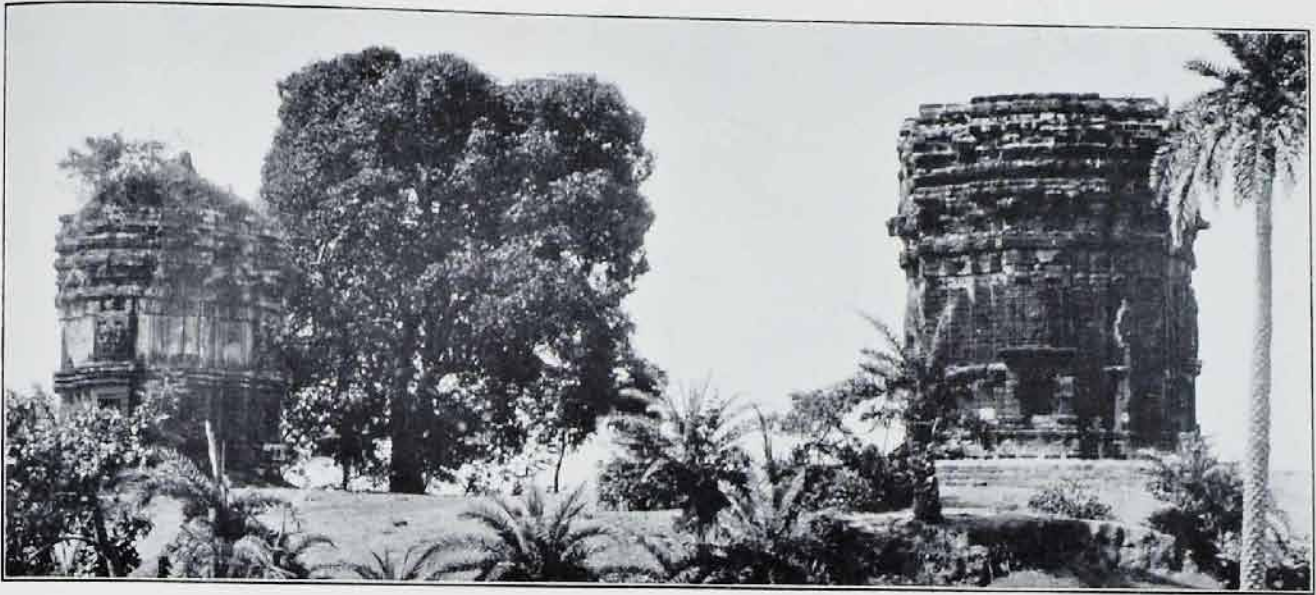
(a) SIDE VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF NADASIMHA, GAYA CITY.



(b) STUPA OF THE GOOSE, RELIC CHAMBER, GIRIYER.



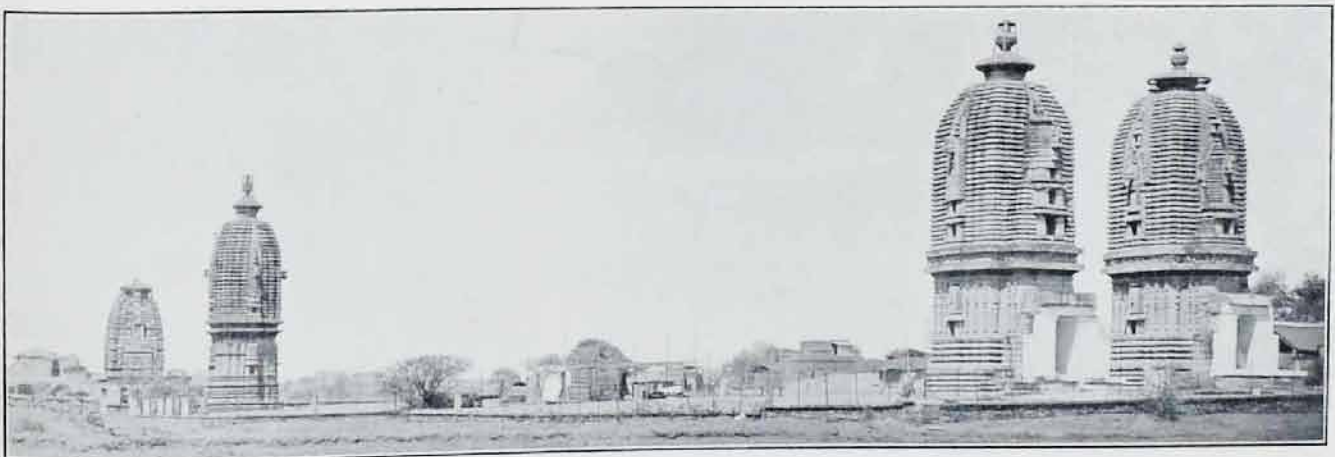
(c) STONE DOOR JAMB
FROM NALANDA
INDIAN MUSEUM.



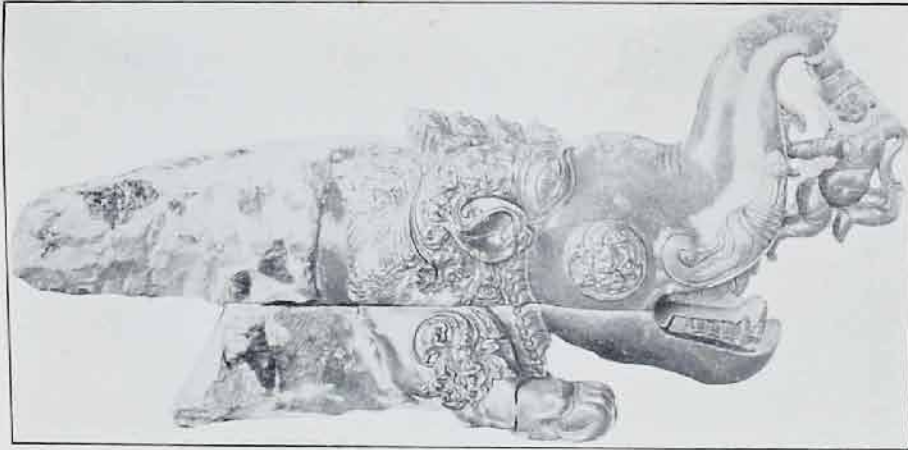
(a) TEMPLES OF SALLESVARA AND SALESVARA AT DIHAR, DT. BANKURA.



(b) TEMPLE OF KAAYANESVARI, DT. BURDWAN.



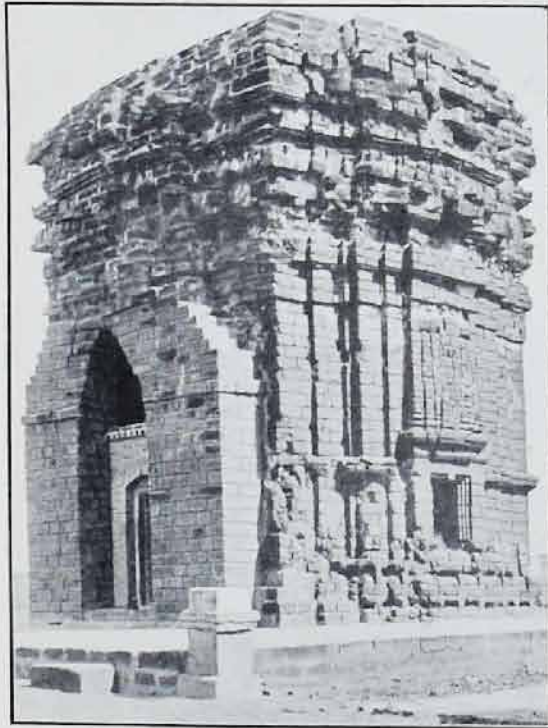
(c) GROUP OF TEMPLES AT BEGUNIA, DT. BURDWAN.



(c) MAKARA-GARGOYLE (PATNA MUSEUM).



(d) MAKARA-GARGOYLE FROM PANDUA (I. M. NO. 16. 1).



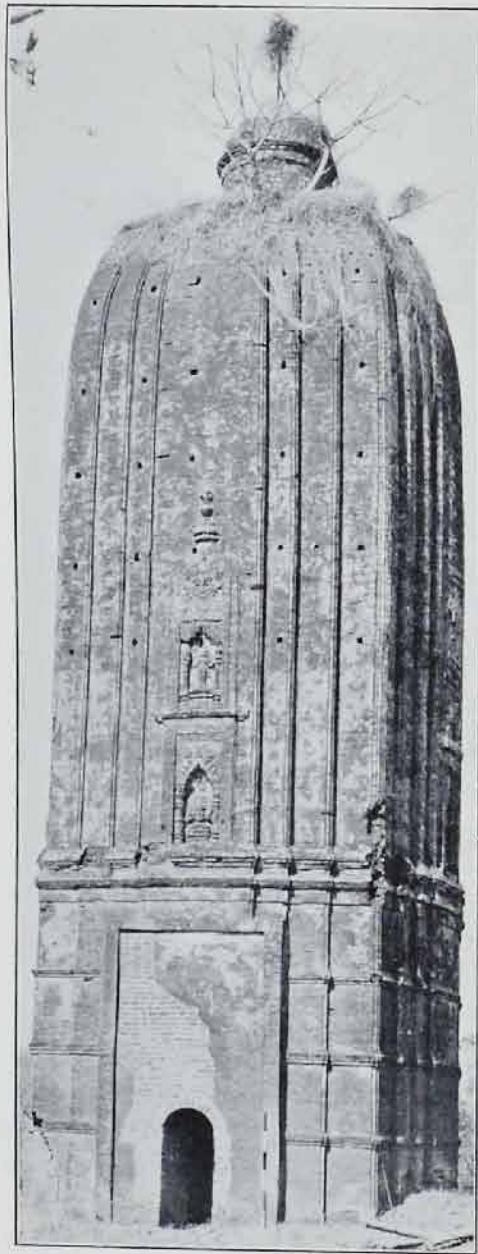
(a) TEMPLE OF SAGESVARA FROM N. W.



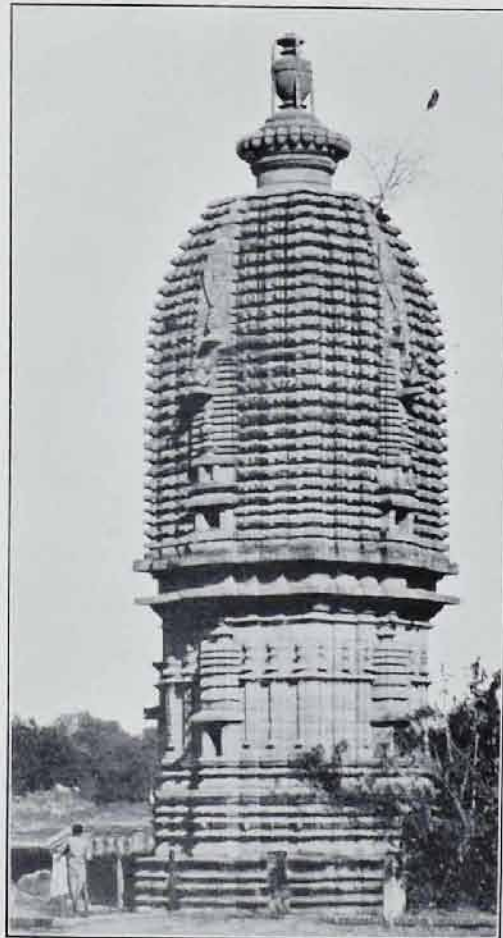
(b) TEMPLE OF SAGESVARA (BACK).



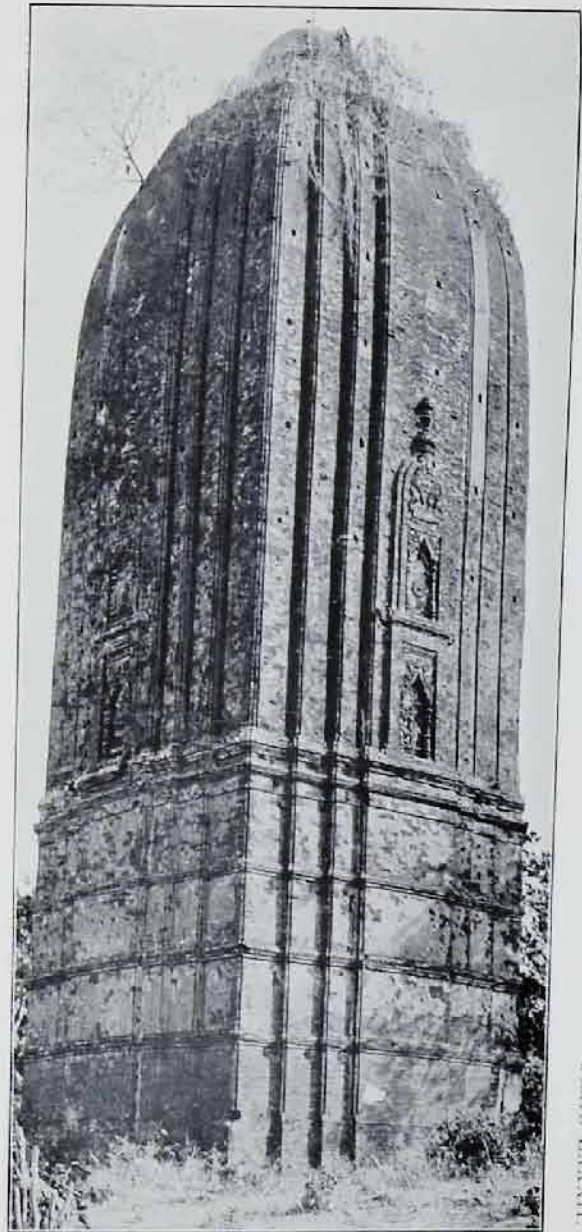
(c) TEMPLE OF SAGESVARA FROM S. E.



(a) TEMPLE OF ICHAIGHOSH AT
GAURANGAPUR, DT. BURDWAN, FRONT.



(b) TEMPLE NO. III AT BEGUNIA,
DT. BURDWAN.

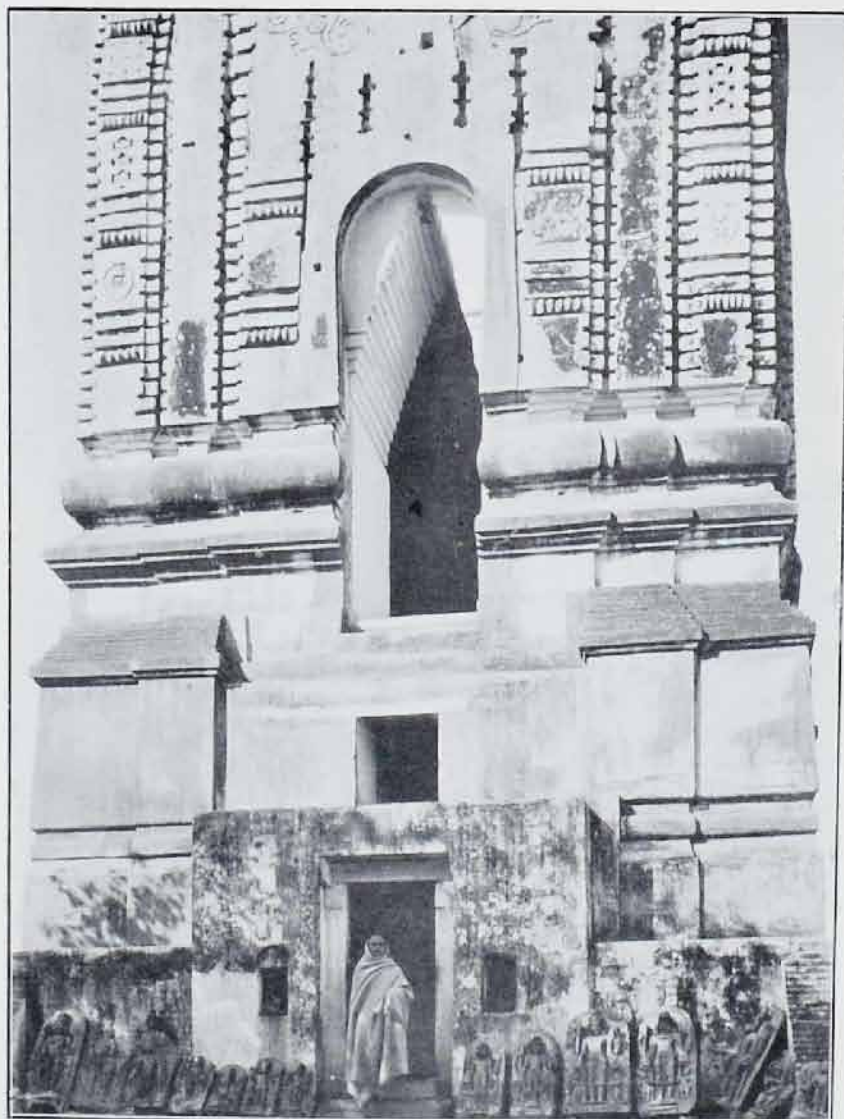


(c) TEMPLE OF ICHAIGHOSH AT GAURANGAPUR, BACK.

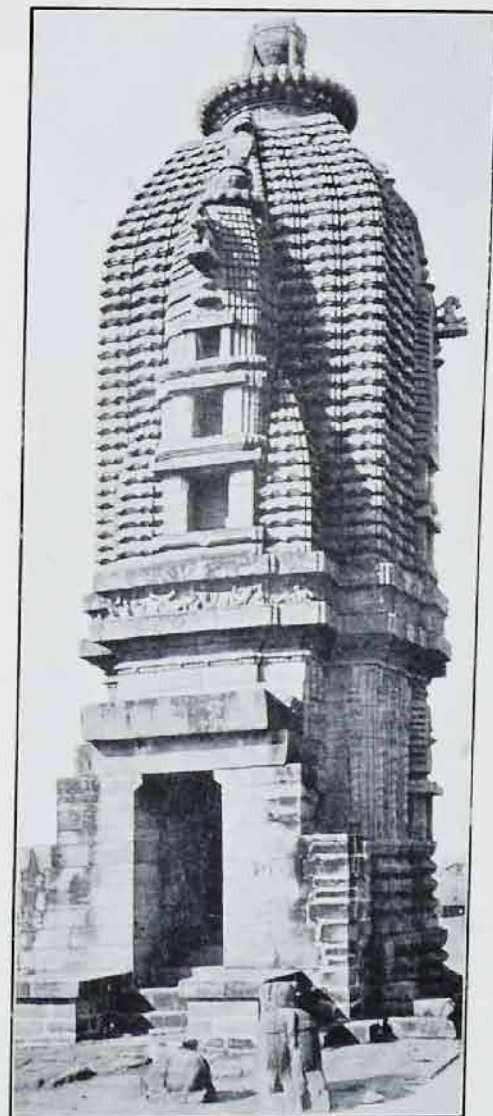
EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE.



(6) TEMPLE NO. II AT BEGUNIA, DE. BURDWAN.



(6) DETAILS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE AT KONCH, DT. GAYA.



(6) TEMPLE NO. I AT BEGUNIA,
DE. BURDWAN.



(a) FOOT PRINT OF BUDDHA FROM BODHI-GAYA, (I.M. No. B.G. 2).



(a) TEMPLE OF BARUTI AT CHHATRA, DT. BANKURA.



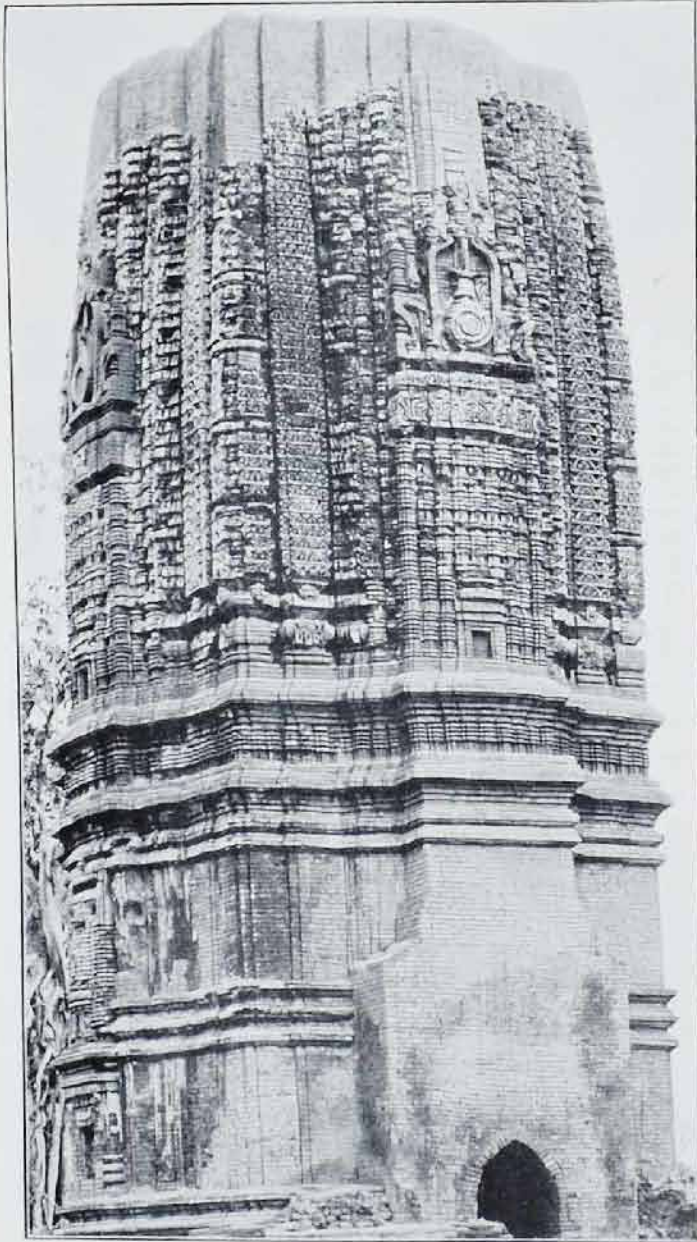
(b) GREAT TORANA IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE
AT BODHI-GAYA, DT. GAYA.



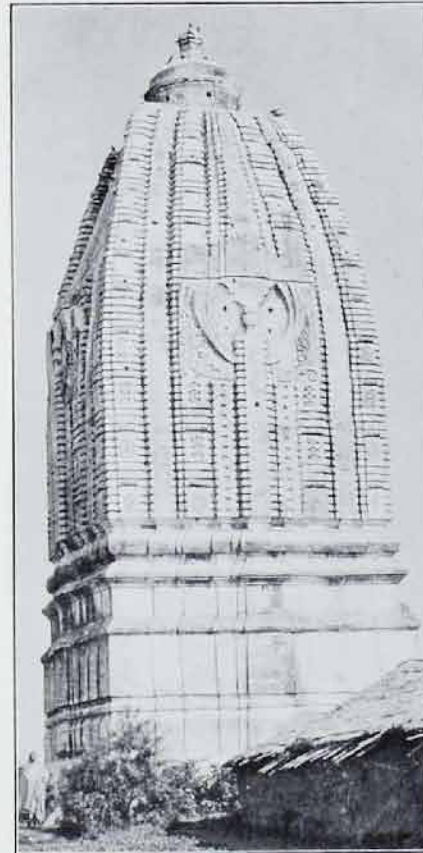
(c) MINIATURE CHAITYA FROM SABHAR,
DT. DACCA. (DACCA MUSEUM).



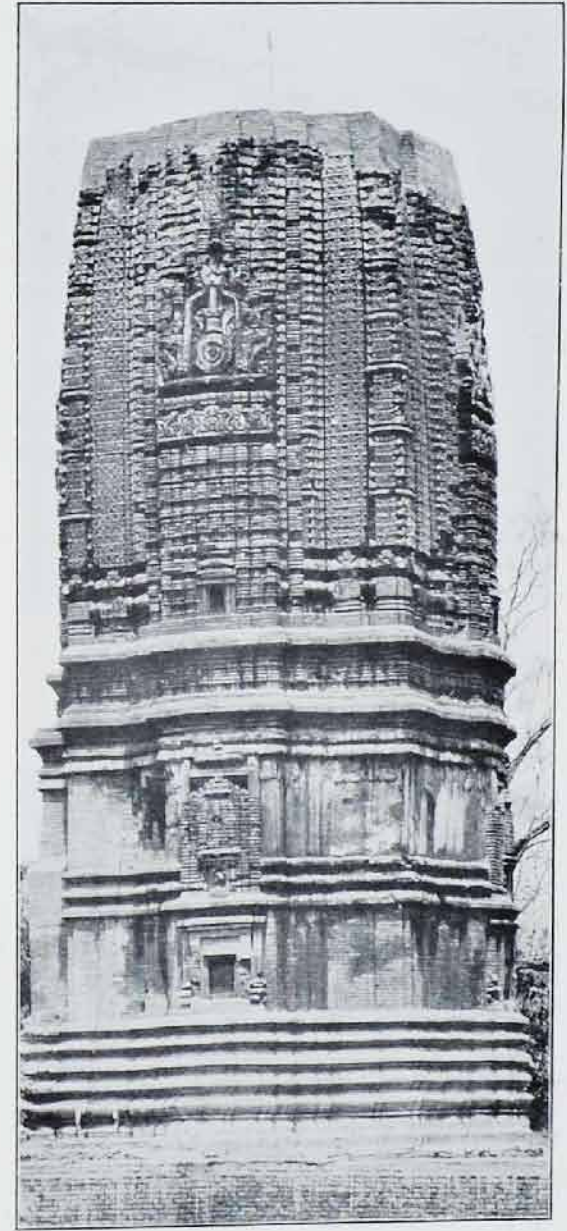
(c) TEMPLE AT HAKMASIDIA,
DT. BANKURA.



(a) TEMPLE OF SIDDHESVARA AT BAHULARA, DT. BANKURA,
(FRONT).



(b) TEMPLE OF SIVA AT KONCH,
DT. GAYA, (BACK).



(c) TEMPLE OF SIDDHESVARA AT BAHULARA,
(BACK).



(a) PILLAR BASE WITH BUDDHA FIGURES,
PATNA MUSEUM.



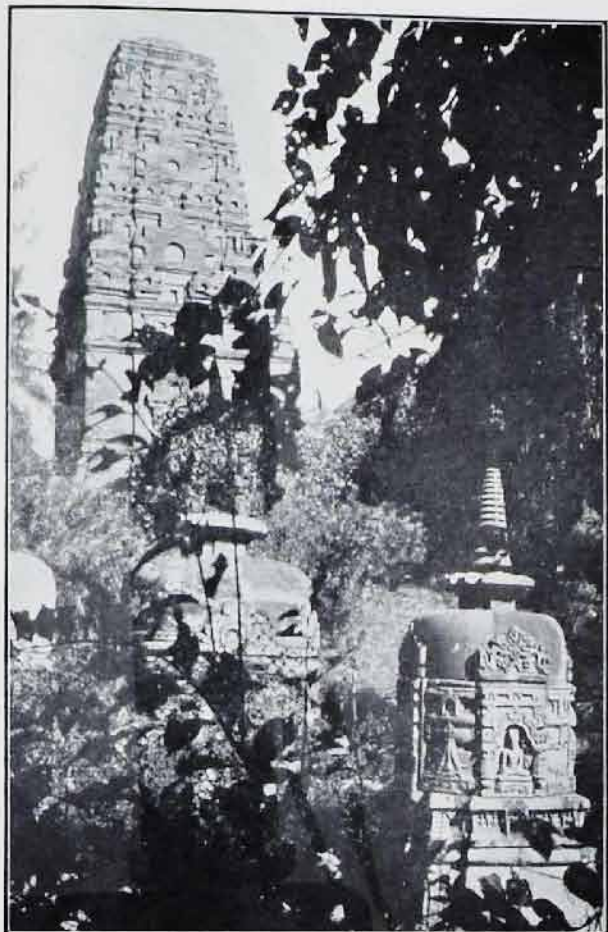
(b) STELE WITH BUDDHA, WARI, DACCA CITY.



(c) MINIATURE BUDDHIST
TEMPLE IN MAHARAJA'S
PALACE, DINAIPUR CITY.



(d) TEMPLE NO. IV, BIGUNIA, DT. BURDWAN.



(a) FROM BODH-GAYA, FRONT.



(b) FROM BODH-GAYA, SIDE.



(c) FROM BODH-GAYA, BACK.



(d) GARBHA CHALPYA (I.M. No. B.G. 101).



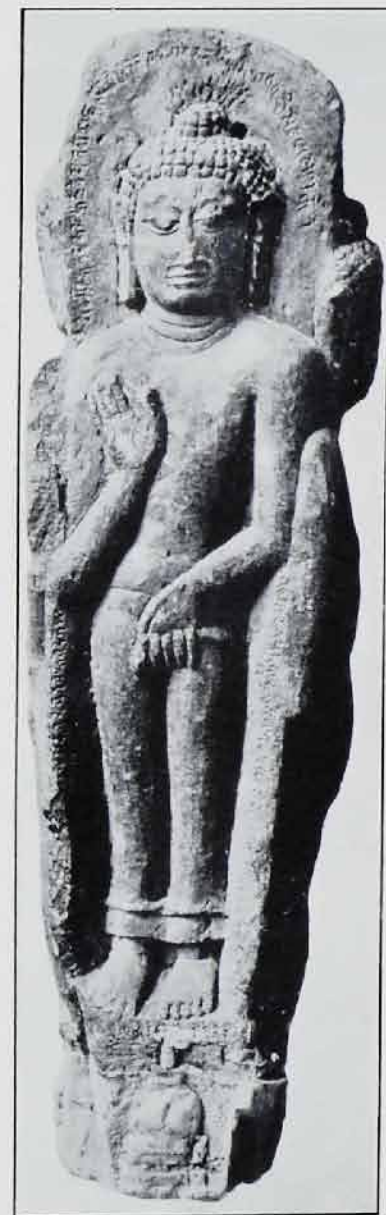
(a) PECULIAR VOTIVE STUPA FROM
BODHI-GAYA (I.M. No. N.S. 5).



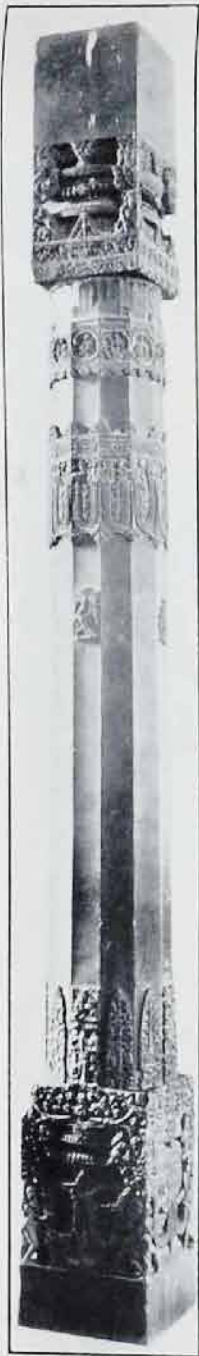
(b) MINIATURE STUPA AND RELIC CASKETS FROM KIVUL STUPA, DT. MUNGER.



(c) MINIATURE STUPA FROM BEHAR, DT. PATNA (I.M. No. BE. 113).



(d) BUDDHIST CHATURMUKHA
FROM BODHI-GAYA (I.M. No. N.S. 61).



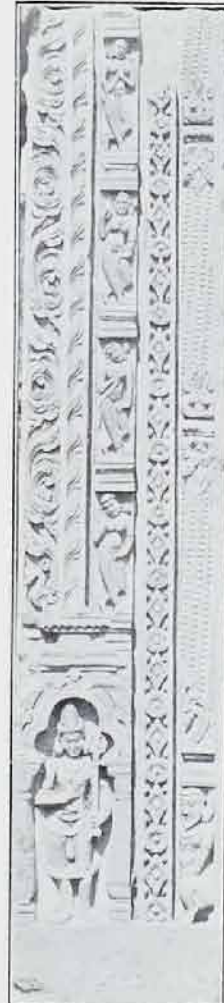
(a) PILLAR OF
SAIVA TEMPLE
FROM RAJMAHAL,
(E.M. No. RL. 1)



(c) CARVED LINTEL FROM DEVIKOT, DT. DISAJPUR.



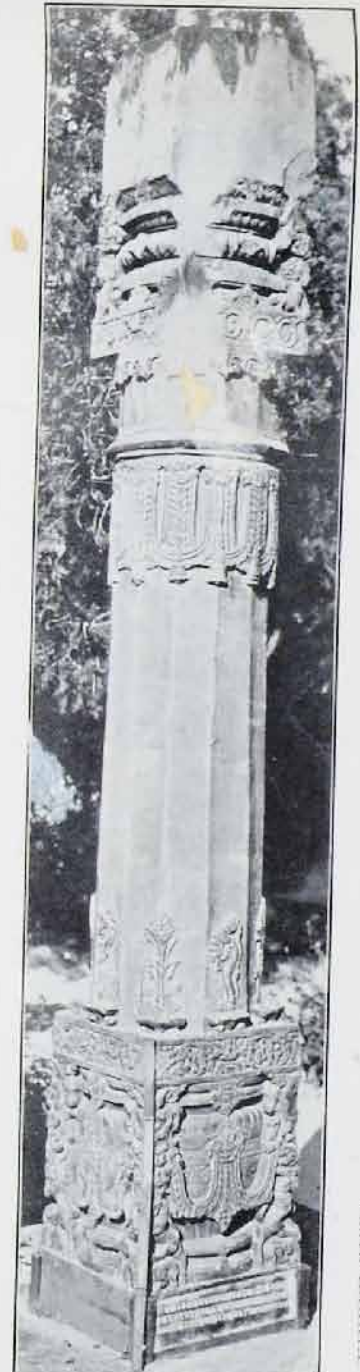
(b) INSCRIBED PILLAR FROM
PAIKOR, DT. BIRBHUM.



(d) DOOR-JAMB FROM
MANDOL,
DT. RAJSHAHI.



(e) INSCRIBED IMAGE FROM PAIKOR,
DT. BIRBHUM.



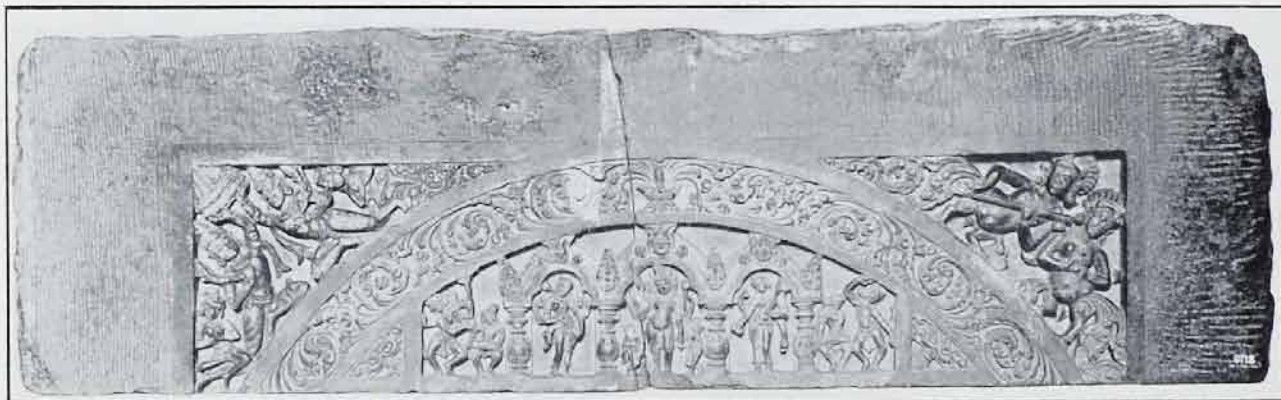
(f) INSCRIBED PILLAR FROM
BANGADI, DT. DISAJPUR.



(d) DETAILS OF PILLAR FROM
RAJMAHAL (I.M. No. Br. 1).



(c) LINTEL OF BUDDHIST TEMPLE AT BIHAR, DT. PATNA, (I.M. No. Br. 52).



(b) LINTEL OF VAISHNAVA TEMPLE FROM GAUR, DT. MALDAH (I.M. No. Gr. 18).



(a) CHATTIYA WINDOW, PATNA MUSEUM.



(a) DOUBLE IMAGE OF GARUDA, SIDE VIEW.
FROM NAGADI, DR. RAJSHAHU,
O.M. No. $\frac{E}{(a) 1}$,
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(b) KNERLING FIGURE OF GARUDA. (RAJSHAHU MUSEUM).



(c) DOUBLE IMAGE OF GARUDA, FRONT VIEW.



(c) STONE DOOR FRAME FROM BIHAR, DT. PATNA (I.M. NO. 812).



(b) DOOR LINTEL FROM
JESSORE.

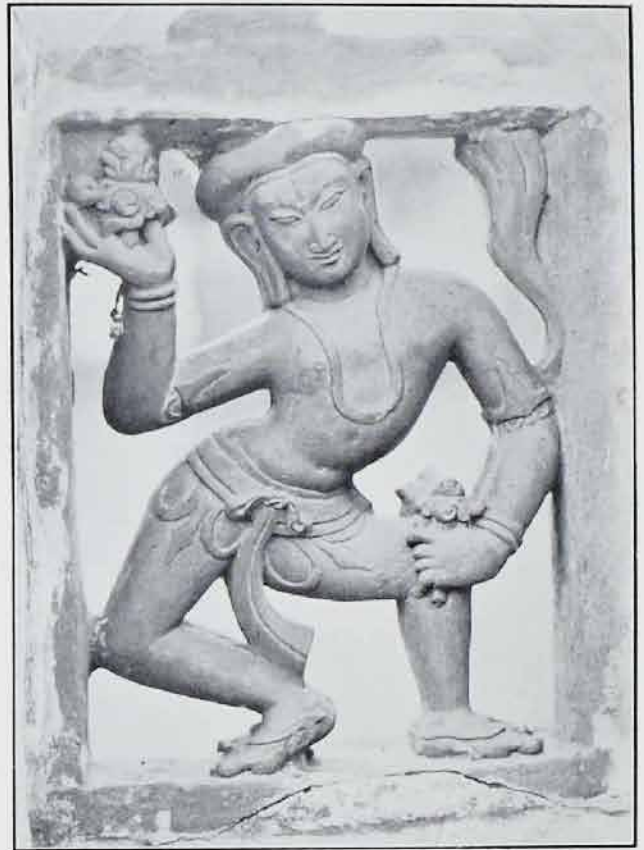


(e) STONE DOOR FRAME FROM BODHI-GAYA, DT. GAYA, (I.M. NO. 812).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS.



(a) PIERCED STONE WINDOW FROM GAUR
(I. M. No. Ms. 2.)



(b) PIERCED STONE WINDOW FROM DACCA.



(c) THE TEN INCARNATIONS (FROM THE COLLECTION OF
MR. P. C. NAHAR, No. 7 A.), A FRAGMENT.



(d) CHAITYA WINDOW, VISHNU ON GARUDA
(I. M. No. 4180).

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE.
ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS ETC.



(a) MINIATURE STUPA FROM BIHAR, PATNA DISTRICT (I.M. No. 311. 13).



(b) DOOR LINTEL FROM NALANDA, PATNA DISTRICT (PATNA MUSEUM).



(c) CARVED DOOR JAMB FROM NALANDA (I.M. No. Nil).



(d) PILLAR FROM PATNA (I.M. No. 46. 1).



(7) INSCRIPTION ON PLATE VI. (b).



(a) MARRIAGE OF SIVA, FROM VISHNUPAD TEMPLE,
GAYA.

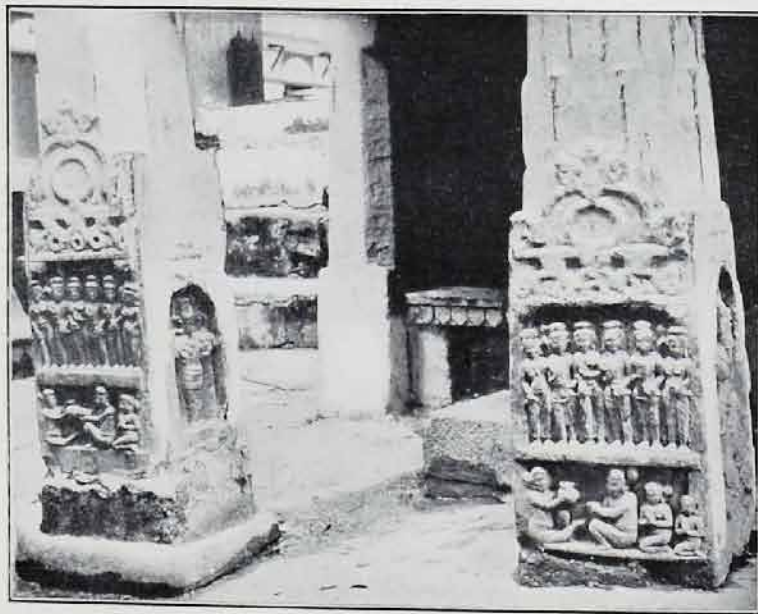


(b) BASRELIEF, SIDDHESVARA TEMPLE AT BAHULARA,
DT. BANKURA.

(c) GANGA, FROM DEOPARA, DT. RAJSHAHY (H. 60 I.),
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(a) ARTIFICIAL CAVE FROM NALANDA.



(b) PILLARS WITH BASILIDÉES, FROM ORIGINAL TEMPLE OF VISHNUPADA,
NOW IN COURTYARD OF THE MODERN TEMPLE, GAYA.



(c) STUCCO IMAGE, FROM NALANDA.