

DANGER AND DEVOTION: HARITI, MOTHER OF DEMONS  
IN THE STORIES AND STONES OF GANDHARA:  
A HISTORIOGRAPHY AND  
CATALOGUE OF  
IMAGES

by

JENNIFER GILMANTON ROWAN

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Art History  
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Master of Arts

June 2002



DANGER AND DEVOTION: HARITI, MOTHER OF DEMONS  
IN THE STORIES AND STONES OF GANDHARA:  
A HISTORIOGRAPHY AND  
CATALOGUE OF  
IMAGES

by

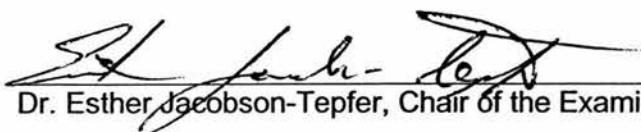
JENNIFER GILMANTON ROWAN

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Art History  
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Master of Arts

June 2002

"Danger and Devotion: Hariti, Mother of Demons in the Stories and Stones of Gandhara, A Historiography and Catalogue of Images," a thesis prepared by Jennifer G. Rowan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Art History. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:



---

Dr. Esther Jacobson-Tepfer, Chair of the Examining Committee

6/3/02  
Date

Committee in charge: Dr. Esther Jacobson-Tepfer, Chair  
Dr. Charles Lachman  
Dr. Maram Epstein  
Dr. Sarah Thompson

Accepted by:

---

Dean of the Graduate School

## An Abstract of the Thesis of

Jennifer Gilmanton Rowan                      for the degree of                      Master of Arts  
in the Department of Art History                      to be taken                      June 2002

Title: DANGER AND DEVOTION: HARITI, MOTHER OF DEMONS IN THE  
STORIES AND STONES OF GANDHARA: A HISTORIOGRAPHY  
AND CATALOGUE OF IMAGES

Approved:



Dr. Esther Jacobson-Tepfer

The sculptural images of Hariti document the synergistic character of Gandharan art, religion and society during the Kushan period (first to fifth centuries C.E.). This thesis establishes a comprehensive historical, religious and cultural context for sculptural representation in Gandhara and the emergence of a distinctive Gandharan style. It is designed to consolidate Hariti's extant images and to review and re-evaluate their iconography and historic identifications. It includes a Catalogue of images of Hariti and related Gandharan deities and provides translations of Buddhist texts relating the story of the Mother of Demons. In addition, Hariti's mythology is examined for evidence of the shifting dynamics of authority, orthodoxy and gender within the traditions of Brahmanism and early Buddhism.

## CURRICULUM VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Jennifer Gilmanton Rowan

### GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon  
Ontario College of Art  
Wayne State University

### DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts in Art History, 2002, University of Oregon  
Bachelor of Science in Consumer Resources and Advocacy, 1983, Wayne State  
University, Detroit

### AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Art, Architecture and Religions of India, Central and East Asia

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Maude Kerns Graduate Intern in Asian Visual Resources, Visual Resources  
Collection, Architecture and Allied Arts Library, University of Oregon, 1996-  
1997

### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

13<sup>th</sup> Annual Barnard College Feminist Art History Conference, New York, 2001  
Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast Annual Conference, Walla Walla, 1998  
Henry Luce Foundation, China On-Site Seminar, Shanghai and Hangzhou,  
People's Republic of China, 1997

## AWARDS AND GRANTS:

Center for the Study of Women in Society, Graduate Student Travel Award, Fall 2001

Architecture and Allied Arts Student Travel Award, 1999/2000

Graduate School Research Award, Spring 2000

Study for the Center of Women in Society, Graduate Student Research Award, Spring 2000

Mark Spenenburgh Endowment for the Aesthetics and Study of Sculpture, Spring 2000

Marian Donnelly Graduate Travel Award, Spring 2000

## PUBLICATIONS:

"Individualism and Innovation: The Search for a Meaningful Aesthetic in 20<sup>th</sup> Century China (forthcoming). *Traditional Painting in Shanghai and Hangzhou 1870-1949*, ed. Kuiyi Shen and Julia Andrews. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Art Publishing House

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Esther Jacobson-Tepfer, Dr. Charles Lachman, Dr. Maram Epstein, and Dr. Sarah Thompson for their sustained interest and support throughout the duration of this project. Thanks are also owed to Art History Department Head, Dr. Kathleen Nicholson, for encouraging me to imagine the possibilities of research in Pakistan; and to my friend and benefactor, Mark Sponenburgh, whose immense generosity included priceless afternoons of Darjeeling tea and apricots and visions of Lahore, Peshawar and the Vale of Swat.

In addition, much appreciation is due to the warm assistance and cooperation of Pakistani archaeologists and museum personnel, specifically, Dr. Farid Khan, Emeritus, University of Peshawar; Dr. Shah Nazar Khan and Fidaullah Sehrai of the Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar; Dr. Mohammed Ashraf Khan and Mahmood-ul-Hasan of the Taxila Museum; Dr. Anjum Rehmani and Dr. Humera Alam of the Lahore Museum; and Tahira Tanweer of the Swat Museum in Saidu Sharif. I am likewise indebted to the efforts of Dr. Anita Weiss of the Department of International Studies, University of Oregon; Nadeem Akbar of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies in Islamabad, Bob and Nina Lawrence of Corvallis, and Dr. Patricia Omidian and Gulcheen, Yusef and Palwasha Mirbasha of Kabul, Afghanistan (formerly of Islamabad) for their generous Afghani hospitality.

I thank my parents: Richard Fanning for his insatiable curiosity and Jocelyn for her unconditional optimism; and my daughter Madeleine, my taskmaster and model for excellence. Finally, I thank John Marion Henry for his heart and his soul and for believing my assertions that this too would pass.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION.....	1
I. THE KINGDOM OF GANDHARA: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY .....	4
The Kushans and Kanishka the First.....	5
Buddhism in Gandhara .....	8
Archaeology in Gandhara: a Summary .....	11
Notes .....	19
II. THE SCULPTURAL TRADITION IN GANDHARA .....	26
Stone Sculpture and the Imagery of Buddhism .....	28
Development of a Gandharan Style .....	32
Cult Images and Kushan Eclecticism .....	34
The Role of the Yaksha in Gandharan Buddhist Art.....	37
Notes .....	41
III. REPRESENTATIONS OF HARITI.....	48
The Hariti Legend and Sculptural Forms .....	49
Hariti's Iconographic Markers.....	52
Female Cult Images in Gandhara before the Kushans.....	54
Images of Hariti with Children .....	56
Images of the Cornucopia Goddess.....	59
Ancient Precursors for the Gandharan Goddesses of Abundance .	62
Anomalous and Hybrid Images .....	67
Notes .....	72
IV. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TUTELARY COUPLE .....	80
Images of Panchika-Kubera .....	81
Images of Hariti and Panchika and the Tutelary Couple.....	85
Yaksha Imagery and the Dionysiac Traditions .....	91
Later Manifestations of Hariti and the Tutelary Couple.....	93
Notes .....	96

V. READING THE LEGENDS, CONTROLLING THE SYMBOLS: ASSIMILATION, AUTHORITY AND ASCETICISM.....	101
Hariti in the Buddhist Literature .....	102
Buddhism and the Challenge of Orthodoxy .....	104
The Hariti Legends as Conversion Tools.....	110
Gender, Power and Dominance in the Culture of Buddhism .....	116
Concluding Remarks.....	130
Notes .....	131
APPENDIX A: THE <i>SAMYUKTAVASTU</i> .....	139
APPENDIX B: THE <i>GUIZI MU JING</i> .....	146
APPENDIX C: THE <i>MAHA MAYA SUTRA</i> .....	149
APPENDIX D: THE <i>SAMYUKTAGAMA</i> .....	150
APPENDIX E: THE <i>FOU BEN XING JING</i> .....	153
APPENDIX F: THE <i>GUANGDING JING</i> .....	154
APPENDIX G: THE PHYLLITES AND SCHISTS OF GANDHARA: GEOLOGY, SOURCES AND SCULPTURAL METHOD .....	156
MAPS.....	159
FIGURES .....	164
CATALOGUE .....	303
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	343

## LIST OF MAPS

MAP	Page
1. The Kingdom of Gandhara and the Indian Subcontinent.....	159
2. Gandhara and the Kushan Empire.....	160
3. The Achaemenid Empire and Alexander's Campaigns .....	161
4. Buddhist sites in Gandhara.....	162
5. Sketch Map of Swat Valley showing excavation sites .....	163

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Cosmetic palette. Sirkap .....	164
2. Bacchanalian processional relief. Buner .....	165
3. Miracle of Sravasti. Sahri-Bahlol .....	166
4. Royal portrait sculpture of Parthian King Atiw. Hatra.....	167
5. Donor Figures in Indo-Scythian costumes .....	168
6. Worshipper wearing a Phrygian cap. Butkara .....	168
7. Hellenistic processional relief.....	169
8. Garuda attacking a nagini .....	170
9. Yaksha caryatids. West Torana, Stupa I. Sanchi. ....	171
10. Yaksha caryatids supporting offering table. Gandhara.....	172
11. Chandra Yakshini. Bharhut .....	173
12. Offering of the Four Bowls .....	174
13. Vajrapani with the Buddha .....	175
14. "Baroque Lady" .....	176
15. "Baroque Lady" .....	176
16. Molded fertility figure with wreath and plaited hair. Charsada (?) ....	177
17. Head of a molded fertility figure with wreath. Akra .....	177
18. Archaic stone figurine. Stratum III, Sirkap .....	178
19. "Donor" figure. Stratum II, Sirkap .....	179
20. Fertility figure with flower. Stratum II, Sirkap .....	180

21.	“Demeter-Hariti”. Sirkap .....	181
22.	Mother goddess with child. Bhir Mound .....	182
23.	Mother goddess with child. Sirkap .....	182
24.	Apsara Pancacuda. Tamluk .....	183
25.	Hariti with child, lotus and birds .....	184
26.	Chulakoka Devata. Bharhut. ....	185
27.	Gandharan Yakshi with grapes .....	186
28.	Gandharan Yakshi with bird .....	186
29.	Hariti with child on auspicious pot. Takht-i-Bahi. ....	187
30.	Hariti with trident and four arms. Sahri-Bahlol .....	188
31.	Hariti with trident. detail of face .....	189
32.	Hariti with children. Sikri .....	190
33.	“Yusufzai” Hariti .....	191
34.	“Yusufzai” Hariti. detail .....	192
35.	“Yusufzai” Hariti. detail .....	193
36.	Hariti with children. Shaikhan Dheri .....	194
37.	Hariti with children. detail .....	195
38.	Ardokhsho. Begram .....	196
39.	Ardokhsho. back and side views .....	197
40.	Ardokhsho-Hariti and attendants. Shnaisha Gumbat .....	198
41.	Ardokhsho-Hariti shown being photographed .....	199
42.	Ardokhsho-Hariti. detail .....	200
43.	Ardokhsho-Hariti. detail .....	200
44.	Cornucopia goddess .....	201
45.	Cornucopia goddess. Barikot (Birkot-Ghwandai) .....	202

46.	Nana-Anahita with four arms on lion. Silver plate.....	203
47.	Nana with cup and lions.....	204
48.	Nana with cornucopia and lions. Jandial.....	205
49.	Nana. alternate view.....	205
50.	Tyche with attendants. Hadda.....	206
51.	Tyche. Swat Valley.....	207
52.	Animal-headed goddess with winecup.....	208
53.	Demoness with trident.....	209
54.	Demoness with child.....	210
55.	Matrika Vaisnavi. Shabkadar.....	211
56.	Kubera Yaksha (kupiro yakho). North Torana, Bharhut.....	212
57.	Kubera with his consort, Riddhi. Padhavali.....	213
58.	Kubera in bacchanalian drinking scene. Mathura district.....	214
59.	Panchika Yaksha (?). West Torana, Sanchi.....	215
60.	Panchika. Takal.....	216
61.	"Mardan" Panchika.....	217
62.	Panchika. Jamalgarhi.....	218
63.	Skanda-Kumara in armor.....	219
64.	Hariti and Panchika. Shahji-ki-Dheri.....	220
65.	Hariti and Panchika. Sahri-Bahlol.....	221
66.	Tutelary couple with cornucopia and child. Takht-i-Bahi.....	222
67.	Tutelary couple photographed in situ, 1910-11. Takht-i-Bahi.....	223
68.	Tutelary couple of Gaul.....	224
69.	Tutelary couple of Gaul.....	225
70.	Divine couple with child and fruit.....	226

71.	Ivory rhytons. Nisa .....	227
72.	Drinking scene on bowl. Buddhigarra.....	228
73.	Dionysiac figure with rhyton. Nagarjunakonda .....	229
74.	Kubera and his consorts, Hariti and Lakshmi. Mathura. ....	230
75.	Hariti and Panchika shrine. schematic diagram. Ajanta .....	231
76.	Hariti with child in bracket form. Swat .....	232
77.	Hariti with children. Nimogram .....	233
78.	Hariti with children. Skarah Dheri.....	234
79.	Hariti in crenellated crown with children. ....	235
80.	Hariti with children and grapes.....	236
81.	Hariti with children. Swat.....	237
82.	Hariti with children.....	238
83.	Hariti head and torso with children.....	239
84.	Hariti. Saptarshi-Tila .....	240
85.	Hariti in chiton with child on back .....	241
86.	Hariti with children wall painting. Farhad Beg-yailaki.....	242
87.	Divine triad with Hariti and children. Dandan Oilik.....	243
88.	Divine triad with Hariti holding infant. Dandan Oilik. ....	244
89.	Hariti nursing child and surrounded by children. Yarkhoto .....	245
90.	Cornucopia goddess wearing modius .....	246
91.	Cornucopia goddess with cup .....	247
92.	Cornucopia goddess enthroned .....	248
93.	Cornucopia goddess wearing modius .....	249
94.	Cornucopia goddess with feet on lotus .....	250
95.	Goddess with traces of cornucopia .....	251

96.	Cornucopia goddess on head of ogre .....	252
97.	Cornucopia goddess on cup .....	253
98.	Cornucopia goddess with child seal impression .....	254
99.	Ardokhsho on reverse of dinar of Vasudeva I (?) .....	255
100.	Ardokhsho with cornucopia on pendant ornament .....	256
101.	Goddess on pendant with modified cornucopia and lotus .....	257
102.	Goddess enthroned with birds, grape cluster and devotee .....	258
103.	Fragment of a two-register panel .....	259
104.	Cornucopia goddess with inscription .....	260
105.	Sri with modified lotus-cornucopia. Brar .....	261
106.	Cornucopia goddess on textile fragment. Niya .....	262
107.	Goddess with cup .....	263
108.	Feet of goddess standing on lion .....	264
109.	Nana on lion on reverse of coin of Kanishka III .....	265
110.	Goddess with lion on reverse of dinar of Chandragupta I .....	265
111.	Goddess with cup and small animals .....	266
112.	Composite goddess on lion with lotus-cornucopia .....	267
113.	Gajalakshmi with lions and lotus-cornucopia. Kashmir .....	268
114.	Panchika as the God of Wealth .....	269
115.	Panchika with spear .....	270
116.	Panchika-Pharro with two yakshas .....	271
117.	Panchika-Pharro with staff .....	272
118.	Skanda-Kumara as a bodhisattva .....	273
119.	Skanda-Kumara in armor with spear .....	274
120.	Pharro (?) with bowl on lion .....	275



121.	Hariti and Panchika with child .....	276
122.	Hariti and Panchika with fruit, cups, child and yaksha .....	277
123.	Hariti and Panchika with children. Koi Tangai .....	278
124.	Hariti and Panchika with children .....	279
125.	Hariti and Panchika with children in wing of diptych .....	280
126.	Tutelary couple with cornucopia. Varia .....	281
127.	Tutelary couple with attendant. Nimogram .....	282
128.	Tutelary couple with money bag, staff and cornucopia .....	283
129.	Tutelary couple with money bag, staff and cornucopia .....	284
130.	Tutelary couple .....	285
131.	Tutelary couple .....	286
132.	Tutelary couple with spear and cornucopia .....	287
133.	Tutelary couple with child and cornucopia .....	288
134.	Tutelary couple with cornucopia. Charsada (?) .....	289
135.	Tutelary couple with cornucopia .....	290
136.	Tutelary couple with cornucopia .....	291
137.	Tutelary couple with cornucopia and staff. Taxila (?) .....	292
138.	Tutelary couple without attributes .....	293
139.	Tutelary couple with kylix .....	294
140.	Tutelary couple with spear and club .....	295
141.	Royal or tutelary couple. Ramora .....	296
142.	Divine couple under a flowering tree .....	297
143.	Divine couple with child .....	298
144.	Divine couple with children. Koi Tangai .....	299
145.	Divine couple. Koi Tangai .....	299

146. Divine couple with yaksha (?) .....300
147. Divine couple with bowl.....301
148. Divine couple with child, amphora and kylix. Hadda.....302

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of Buddhist sculpture produced during the time of the Kushan Empire (approximately the first to the middle of the fifth century C.E.) in the region of ancient Gandhara. The focus is on a loosely classified corpus of extant images of Hariti, a popular deity who was incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon, literature and religious imagery. Hariti's precursors were the goddesses of fertility and abundance deriving from Greece, Rome, Iran, India, and the Near East. The movement of people, goods, and ideas along the pan-Asian trade routes gave rise to a creative confluence of diverse traditions, and Gandharan Buddhist archaeological sites have furnished a wealth of material evidence testifying to the complex interplay and fusion of cultures and beliefs. At the same time, these artifacts have raised controversies of chronology and stylistic influence that continue to perplex scholars to this day.

While subject to these same considerations, the Gandharan images of Hariti have generated a new set of questions related to Buddhist strategies of assimilation and representations of the feminine in early Buddhism. The variant representations of Hariti and the persistence of her legend and cult attest to the universality and tenacity of belief in a goddess of abundance, even as a subtext of Buddhist orthodoxy. At the same time, Hariti's legend and her images provide a structure and methodology by which to examine the symbolic implications and social consequences of gender under Brahmanism and early Buddhism.

Hariti has been the focus of two notable studies of the early nineteenth century. The 1917 study by Noël Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," focused on the legend of Hariti in early Buddhist literature and the dissemination of her cult in China. In his 1922

treatise, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Alfred Foucher theorized about sources of stylistic influence for the Gandharan sculptures and the comparative iconography of the goddess of abundance. While Peri and Foucher made substantive and enduring contributions to Hariti scholarship, my thesis is designed to consolidate to the extent possible Hariti's extant images, review their iconography and historic identifications and place them in an updated context of late twentieth century Gandharan research and archaeology. In addition, it is my intention to recast Hariti scholarship in the context of a feminist discourse that incorporates a cultural reading and symbolic analysis of Hariti's iconography and legend.

The thesis itself is conceived as two distinct but complementary parts: a historiography in five Chapters and a Catalogue of photographic images.<sup>1</sup> In addition, my translations of the primary Buddhist texts are provided in the appendices that conclude the document. The overall organization of the thesis is designed to introduce in the first Chapter a broad historical and religious context for Hariti's Gandharan images. The focus narrows in subsequent Chapters to illuminate the deity's political, social and symbolic values within the framework of the Kushan Empire and Brahmanical and Buddhist religious traditions. Accordingly, Chapter Two emphasizes the sculptural

---

<sup>1</sup> Foreign terms will be italicized and defined in a note upon their first use. The spelling of place names of Gandharan Buddhist sites is based on the standard used by Pakistani historians whenever possible, in particular, spellings used by the venerable Pakistan scholar and archaeologist, A. Hassan Dani. I often identify sculptural works in the text and Catalogue according to their historical provenance designation (without implying accuracy in some instances). Provenance and dating are drawn from available materials but must be considered generally unreliable. The term *Hinayana* or "Lesser Vehicle" is considered pejorative, and I have largely refrained from using it in my work. *Theravada* is generally accepted for the form of Buddhism practiced in Southeast Asian countries therefore, to avoid confusion, I have used the descriptor "Early Buddhism" to differentiate from the parallel and later development of Mahayana or "Greater Vehicle". Although the Pinyin system of Romanization is applied to Chinese terms elsewhere throughout the document, my translations of the primary Buddhist texts in the Appendices retain the French romanization method used by Noel Peri in his translations of these works from the Chinese.

tradition and secular and religious imagery characteristic of Gandharan art. Chapter Three examines the diverse origins and variations of form and iconography while addressing problems of historic identifications of images. Chapter Four is dedicated to the cult images of Hariti's consort, Pancika, and the Tutelary Couple. It includes a discussion of dionysiac traditions in the art of Gandhara as linked with Iranian Hellenism and the cult of the yaksa in the Indian subcontinent. Finally, Chapter Five provides a close reading of the primary versions of the Buddhist legend of Hariti with a dual focus: as a didactic tool used to advance Buddhist orthodoxy and as a gendered construction that reflects the cult and culture of asceticism. As the product of a progressive strategy of religious assimilation in Central Asia, Hariti's profound notoriety in the Buddhist legends and the remarkable endurance of her popular cult are altogether connected to ancient tensions between gender, power and orthodoxy.

## CHAPTER I

### THE KINGDOM OF GANDHARA: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The extreme northwest of the Indian subcontinent has been used for millennia as a transcontinental passage for trade or conquest. In ancient times, the region was known as the Kingdom of Gandhara (Map 1).<sup>1</sup> The geographic center included the Peshawar Valley and the districts of Swat and Buner. To the northwest, Gandhara encompassed the Kabul Valley and beyond to Kapisa and Fonduquistan on the flanks of the Hindu Kush. Taxila and the five rivers of the Punjab mark the extreme limits to the southeast. On its northern frontiers, this realm was defined by an imposing barricade of mountain ranges: the Hindukush, the Pamirs, the Karakoram, and the Himalayas. The Indus River bisects Gandhara's ancient boundaries as it winds southwestward from its Himalayan source to its terminus at the Arabian Sea. The strategic Khyber Pass, now marking the modern border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, once provided critical access to the historic trade routes linking Gandhara with China to the east and Rome to the west.

In the time of the historical Buddha (566-486 B.C.E.),<sup>2</sup> this kingdom was under the jurisdiction of the Achaemenid Empire (ca.700-330 B.C.E.). It was conquered by the armies of Alexander the Great in 327 (Map 2) but soon came under domination by the Indian monarch, Chandragupta Maurya, in 305. Greek forces from Bactria again took control of the area in 190 B.C.E. This time, the Greek occupation lasted a full century before their Gandharan settlements were overrun in 90 B.C.E. by a group of northern nomads, the Shakas, and then by the semi-nomadic Parthians from their origins in the Oxus regions. Another nomadic people, the Kushans, moved into Gandhara from their

conquests in Greek-held Bactria sometime during the first century of the Common Era. Their growing empire and dynastic patronage provided a powerful impetus for the expansion of Buddhism in Gandhara and Central Asia and the efflorescence of Gandharan Buddhist art.

#### The Kushans and Kanishka the First

The Kushans formerly resided near Dunhuang in the northwest frontier regions of China. They were then known by the Chinese as the *Yuezhi*.<sup>3</sup> In the second century B.C.E.,<sup>4</sup> they were attacked and defeated by the *Xiongnu*, an antagonistic and racially unrelated tribe of nomads who in driving the Yuezhi from their grazing lands initiated the westward migration of the latter. In the course of this emigration, some of their number splintered away from the larger group and settled in the mountainous periphery of the southwest Tarim Basin. These two divisions were subsequently differentiated by the Chinese as the Lesser (*xiao*) and Greater (*da*) Yuezhi.

The Greater Yuezhi continued to move northwest, crossing the Pamirs. By the end of the second century B.C.E., they had aggressively entered the area north of the Oxus and occupied Bactria. Over the next hundred years of their occupation of that area they gradually abandoned their nomadic ways and became settled. Unification of the five constituent tribes of the Yuezhi under a single leader in the last decades of the first century B.C.E. completed the process by which the Kushan Empire was established.<sup>5</sup> This leader, Kujula Kara Kadphises,<sup>6</sup> continued to forcefully expand his range of domination into the southeast: the Kushans crossed the Hindu Kush and invaded the Kabul and Indus regions. The momentum of Kushan conquests penetrated into the Ganges region and was completed by the third generation during the reign of Kanishka the First. Archaeological and literary evidence indicate that at this peak of domination,

Kushan rule extended from Kashmir to Sind in the lower Indus delta; from Bactria to the western Tarim Basin; and southeast to Mathura, Sanci, and Orissa (Map 3).

However rapid the ascendancy of the Kushan Empire, its duration was altogether brief. Unification of the Yuezhi under Kujula Kadphises is unlikely to have occurred before 35 B.C.E.; he is said to have lived on to age 80.<sup>7</sup> According to the Chinese *Hou Hanshu*, his successor was Vima Kadphises<sup>8</sup> who was followed in turn by the third and most famous of Kushan monarchs, Kanishka the First.<sup>9</sup> Kanishka's reign is believed to have lasted between 21-28 years.<sup>10</sup> He was followed by his son, Huvishka, and Huvishka's successor, Vasudeva, but a series of Sasanian invasions from Iran extinguished the dynastic line in about 241 C.E.. Eventually, local Kushan rule was permitted to resume but only as a satrapy of Sasanian Iran with diminished authority.<sup>11</sup> By the middle of the fifth century, Kushan Gandhara and northwest India had been laid to waste by the invading White Huns or Hephthalites.<sup>12</sup>

The dominant recurring theme of Kanishka scholarship, particularly in the context of Gandharan studies, is the still-unresolved issue of dating and chronology linked to the date of Kanishka's accession to the throne and the advent of his era. A large corpus of works with dated inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharoshthi script has been recovered but has been insufficient to mitigate the dispute.<sup>13</sup> This is primarily due to the unknown eras referred to in these inscriptions that cannot be made to correspond with our own; and because scholars have arrived at conflicting interpretations of the frequently illegible script. Although it continues to be a matter of contention, most scholars place the commencement of Kanishka's reign between 78 and 144 C.E. Radiocarbon testing of charcoal remains at the Kushan city site of Shaikhan Dheri appears to support the earlier date and makes it a compelling choice for a relative point of reference.<sup>14</sup>



In itself, the controversy of Kanishka's dates lies outside the scope and intent of this study. Of genuine concern for any archaeologist or art historian, however, is the extreme difficulty in placing the Kushan artifacts in an acceptable chronology that can also be correlated with the Common Era. Each of the small number of surviving Gandharan sculptures actually inscribed with dates<sup>15</sup> may conceivably be assigned to any one of three or more eras. The possible variance in calculation between eras may range as widely as 450 years.<sup>16</sup> For this reason, most attempts to frame Kushan material culture within a chronological context have been based on subjective stylistic criteria that are at times questionable. Both Sir John Marshall and Ludwig Bachhofer, for example, conjectured that sculptures of a more Hellenistic appearance should be given earlier dates.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, if dates could accurately be assigned to these sculptures, the determination of their relative ages would assist in outlining the evolution of the Gandhara style.

In addition to the uncertainty of dates and chronology, there remains much about the Kushans and their legendary king that is maddeningly obscure. We simply do not know very much about them, even after 150 years of scrutiny of the archaeological and literary evidence. Ironically, this void is compounded by the Kushan's own cultural eclecticism – they appear to have borrowed intensively from the many cultures they encountered in their position on the trade route crossroads, yet it is unclear just what they themselves contributed to this *mélange*. This cultural eclecticism is further demonstrated by the fact that although Kanishka established Buddhism as the official state religion, it was never to the exclusion of other religions within the Kushan realm. In fact, Kanishka readily appropriated and incorporated elements from diverse sources, including the use of representations of non-Buddhist deities and symbols on his coinage. Although this quality of inclusiveness was demonstrated by other Kushan kings, both

earlier and later, it is Kanishka who historically has assumed larger-than-life fame for his royal patronage of Buddhism and who has been credited with the greatest Buddhist expansion since that of King Ashoka.

### Buddhism in Gandhara

Buddhism had previously been introduced into Gandhara in the Mauryan Period by proselytizing missions sent during the reign of King Ashoka (272-237 B.C.E.). Chinese literary evidence presents us with a Kanishka whose conversion provided Buddhism with a champion of Ashoka's caliber, whose monuments altered the face of the landscape, and who cut a figure of mythic proportions in the Buddhist legends. It has been asserted in the Chinese and Tibetan records that Kanishka convened the fourth and last great Buddhist Council in Kashmir,<sup>18</sup> patterned after those of Ashoka. Although the veracity of this event is a matter of historical uncertainty, it is evident that royal patronage, attributed particularly to the time of Kanishka's reign, supported the erection of hundreds of Buddhist *stupas*,<sup>19</sup> shrines and *viharas*<sup>20</sup> throughout the Kushan kingdom. In his travel accounts, the Chinese pilgrim, Faxian,<sup>21</sup> describes a plethora of Buddhist monuments and monastic communities still flourishing in Gandhara in the early years of the fifth century before the incursions of the White Huns.

Faxian's journal also includes a first-hand description of a monument in Purushapura<sup>22</sup> of extraordinary stature and surpassing wonder, a stupa credited to Kanishka which Faxian proclaimed to be the most majestic he had ever seen and surely the tallest of its sort in the *Jambudvīpa*.<sup>23</sup> Subsequent travelers concurred, and their accounts have outlived the stupa complex itself; its grandeur and eminence were exalted in Chinese, Sogdian, Khotanese-Shaka, and Arabic texts.<sup>24</sup> Eyewitness accounts vary,

but measurements of the circumference of the primary structure range from three to four hundred paces, the estimated height ranging from 400 to 700 or more feet.<sup>25</sup>

Some part of Kanishka's significance in Gandharan Buddhist history is based on an ambiguous but engaging blend of fact and "pious fabrication" by which he was credited with elements associated with Ashoka<sup>26</sup> in the manner of a *chakravartin*.<sup>27</sup> The body of Buddhist legends connected with Kanishka also reflects this process of mythogenesis. These legends are elaborated with descriptions of miracles and supernatural manifestations; but perhaps most significant are accounts that tell of his connection with Ashvaghosha, an Indian Buddhist monk poet who was known both as Kanishka's friend and spiritual advisor and who was later worshipped as a bodhisattva by the Chinese. One variant story tells of the tribute demanded by Kanishka of the king of Pataliputra whom he had defeated in battle. Instead of an exorbitant ransom, the king gave up to Kanishka three priceless items: the revered almsbowl of the Buddha, a virtuous cock, and the venerable Ashvaghosha himself who had been installed at his court.<sup>28</sup> The story goes on to credit Ashvaghosha with Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism; other legends describe Ashvaghosha's prophetic signs and visions that consecrated Kanishka's great stupa and vihara at the time of their completion at Purushapura.

Kanishka's monuments and the testimonials and legends associated with him did much during subsequent centuries to advance his glorification as a righteous Buddhist monarch. In retrospect, this construction may well have been more politically expedient than one based on a profound conversion and heartfelt piety.<sup>29</sup> His penchant for cultural and religious open-mindedness is made most dramatically evident in the diverse deities that figure on the coins produced during the years of his reign. Dobbins points out that coinage is the equivalent of an "official pronouncement" and as a symbolic token of a

governing entity, it is traditionally conservative in design.<sup>30</sup> Yet Kanishka's coins feature Buddhist deities and symbols far less often than other types.<sup>31</sup> These include Graeco-Roman deities such as Herakles, Fortuna (Roma), Athena, Aphrodite and Demeter; Indian deities including Shiva; and Iranian deities such as Pharro and Ardokhsho. Similarly, Kanishka's royal patronage also supported temples dedicated to ancestor worship and to the Brahmanical and Iranian cults, and his official affiliation with Buddhism did not disaccommodate his own lifelong devotion to the fire altars.<sup>32</sup> In addition, historians agree that Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism, unlike that of Ashoka, never impeded his pursuit of a policy of aggressive militarism with the consequential loss of many lives. Interestingly and perhaps ironically, the years of incessant warfare and his insatiable need for conquest seem to have resulted in Kanishka's ultimate assassination at the hands of his frustrated and fatigued army.<sup>33</sup>

In the shadow of their most renowned and historically charismatic sovereign, the life and characteristics of the Kushan people remain largely obscured; what little is known is based on archaeological evidence and the historical records of adjacent peoples (Chinese, Sogdian, Tibetan). The populace under Kushan governance consisted of many tribes and nationalities,<sup>34</sup> and the proximity of Gandhara to the great cross-continental trade highways contributed to an atmosphere of cosmopolitan sophistication. Trade with Rome was beneficial, with large imports of gold exchanged for exports of precious stones and textiles, and prosperity was enjoyed by many. The general affluence of the Kushans and their love of ornament are evident in the archaeological findings at Taxila that include many luxury items and jewelry. The nobility and upper social echelons provided charity to the impoverished and support to the monastic communities as means of gaining religious merit. In addition to the more grandiose works of dynastic patronage, individual patrons commonly commissioned the

installation of devotional images and architecture. Representations of donors also appear on many Gandharan Buddhist works, providing us with a picture of Kushan patronage and its varying ethnicity.

Yet, the prosperity and eminence of the great Buddhistic Kushan Empire in Gandhara was finite. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Xuanzang (603-668 C.E.), describes the Gandharan landscape in the first half of the seventh century as bleak and desolate when he passed through the area 150 years after the pitiless scourge of the Hephthalites.<sup>35</sup> He writes:

The royal family is extinct,.... The towns and villages are deserted, and there are but few inhabitants. ... The disposition of the people is timid and soft: they love literature; most of them belong to heretical schools; a few believe in the true law. ... There are about 1000 sangharamas which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild shrubs, and solitary to the last degree. The stupas are mostly decayed. The heretical temples, to the number of about 100, are occupied pell-mell by heretics.<sup>36</sup>

Although the Hephthalites seem to have targeted the Buddhist establishments with particularly destructive zeal,<sup>37</sup> not all was reduced to mere rubble and shards. Many centuries later, during the British occupation of the Punjab and India's northwest frontier regions, the discovery of artifacts associated with a Gandharan Buddhist culture attracted the interest of the West and initiated a golden era of archaeological exploration.<sup>38</sup>

#### Archaeology in Gandhara: a Summary

The rich corpus of extant Gandharan sculptural and architectural relics represents more than one hundred and fifty years of archaeological exploration. When these works came to the attention of the West in the mid-nineteenth century, they immediately sparked the interest of western scholars who were intrigued by their marked

similarities to Western Classical art. Yet after a century of formal excavation, questions about the origins and meaning of these works remained unanswered. Discoveries made since the mid-nineteenth century by archaeologists, amateur collectors and treasure-hunters had effectively divorced pieces from any meaningful context. Until relatively late in the process, these excavations were carried out with infrequent attention to scientific methodology or systematic attempts to correlate findings to archaeological strata.<sup>39</sup>

Many of the recovered pieces were scattered, without clear provenance, to museums and private collections around the world. Consequently, until the latter decades of the twentieth century, spatial relationships and issues of chronology remained frustratingly elusive and fiercely controversial. In his *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, Ingholt wryly illustrates this impasse with a quote from Bosch:

There is no other period we can think of, in which, as on a battlefield, so many convictions of archaeologists have clashed, the ground is strewn so abundantly with the battered armors of outworn theories, the broken weapons of rejected hypotheses, and where at the same time the problems still awaiting solutions are so numerous, so defiant, and seemingly so insolvable.<sup>40</sup>

The first century of formal exploration<sup>41</sup> was the undisputed domain of the British Archaeological Survey of India whose career archaeologists and scholars included a legion of venerables. After the Punjab came under British rule in 1849, permitting new ease of access to the ancient sites, the early explorations and collection of antiquities took place under the direction of an array of aesthete scholars and antiquarians, as well as opportunistic collectors. Most of these came out of the ranks of the British military, including Sir Edward Clive Bailey, Colonel H. C. Johnstone, Major Harold Arthur Deane, Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. L. Mainwaring, James Burgess, General Alexander Cunningham and Major D. H. Gordon. Characteristic of archaeological practices of the

time, their investigations employed no retrieval methodologies, being far more focused on a speedy extraction of the sculptures themselves and not on obtaining any data that would allow later interpretation from their context in situ.

In 1907, D. Brainard Spooner initiated the first "systematic" excavations at Sahri-Bahlol<sup>42</sup> in the Peshawar valley (Map 4) and later worked on the nearby monastery complex of Takht-i-Bahi.<sup>43</sup> He is also credited with undertaking the excavation in 1908-09 of the Kanishka stupa and vihara at Shahji-ki Dheri at the southeast edge of the modern city of Peshawar.<sup>44</sup> Sir Aurel Stein was Superintendent of the Indian Archaeological Survey from 1910-29 and worked in Chinese Turkestan,<sup>45</sup> Iran and the extreme northwest regions of India. His occasional work in Gandhara included direction of excavations in 1912 at the royal city of Sahri-Bahlol.<sup>46</sup> He was appointed as the first director of the Peshawar Museum in the Northwest Frontier Province, which was built to house the sculptural finds taken from Sahri-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bahi. In 1926, he completed a comprehensive survey of Buddhist sites in ancient Udiyana (Swat).<sup>47</sup> In 1912, Sir John Marshall, then Director General of Archaeology in India, took over the long-neglected excavation of the city sites of ancient Takshasila, now called Taxila.<sup>48</sup> His name will always be intimately associated with Taxila, as the extensive excavation of these sites advanced under his pragmatic direction for over twenty years (1913-1934). Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, best regarded for his work on the Indus valley civilization sites, completed the 1958 excavation of the mound of Bala Hisar at Charsada,<sup>49</sup> northeast of Peshawar. H. Hargreaves directed excavation work both at Sahri-Bahlol and at Shahji-ki Dheri and was later appointed to a directorship at the Peshawar Museum. In 1928, he revised and appended D.B. Spooner's original 1909 guide to the museum holdings.<sup>50</sup>

No less important to this period of discovery was the involvement of the remarkable French archaeologist and Buddhist iconographer, Alfred Foucher, who has

been called the "great pioneer of Gandharan studies".<sup>51</sup> Foucher's iconographic analyses of the Sahri-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bahi sculptures are included in his seminal treatise, *L'art Gréco-bouddique du Gandhâra*. Among his numerous publications is *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara* of 1915 in which he endeavors to trace the route and identify the location of sites visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Xuanzang.<sup>52</sup> In 1922, he became head of the newly formed *Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* that was founded for the sole purpose of tracing the influence of Hellenism through Afghanistan into Buddhist Gandhara.<sup>53</sup>

The more formalized approach of the "second wave" of excavators still often left much to be desired. The vast number of known or suspected sites, the limited field season which typically ran from February through March, and the predatory forays of local treasure hunters encouraged a justifiable tendency to work with some haste to remove all objects of interest from the site to a place of perceived safety. At Sahri-Bahlol, Spooner excavated one of the lesser mounds during the 1907 season and another during the 1910 season.<sup>54</sup> The particularly fine sculptures he recovered from these sites were subjected to a cursory assessment before they were crated for storage and exhibition in the Peshawar Museum. No comprehensive study or iconographic analysis had been concluded by the time his reports went to publication. Spooner recorded nearly 300 pieces gathered in the initial year of the excavation;<sup>55</sup> Stein supervised the 1912 season and cleared fully six mounds in that single season. His inventory registers 1,200 objects packed for removal to the Peshawar Museum.<sup>56</sup>

The occurrence of Partition in 1947, which created the independent nation of Pakistan, imposed a temporary hiatus on archeological exploration in Pakistan. When work resumed in that country, it was under the control of the Government of Pakistan Department of Archaeology or of the provincial governments. The University of



Peshawar's Department of Archaeology became and remains the premier training ground for the newest generation of Pakistani scientists. Independence effectively put the Pakistan archaeologists in control of their heritage sites, and although British archaeologists were not excluded from archaeological investigation, the vast resources of the British Archaeological Survey were no longer at their disposal. In addition, museum collections were divided, and many pieces sent overseas to the British Museum or to museum collections located in India.

Francine Tissot has described her two-year investigation to locate the albums of photographic documentation of the sculptures excavated at Sahri-Bahlol from among the archival records established by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) since 1907.<sup>57</sup> Ultimately, these were discovered in a perfect state of preservation in the India Office Library in London and did provide her with visual documentation corresponding exactly with the ASI Annual Reports. However, the fragmentation and random dissemination of the early archaeological records in this instance and in general has compounded the difficulty of developing a comprehensive corpus of these early Gandharan finds.

Among developments occurring after Partition, work by Daniel Schlumberger and the French Delegation of Archaeologists at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan in 1951 provided some support for Foucher's dearly held theory of a Bactrian Greek precedent for Gandharan iconography in Pakistan.<sup>58</sup> Schlumberger's subsequent discoveries at the site of the Bactrian Greek city of Ai Khanum in 1964 augmented the growing body of evidence for this Hellenistic Greek connection.<sup>59</sup>

During the same period in Pakistan (1956-1964), the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (IsMEO)<sup>60</sup> under Giuseppe Tucci (president of IsMEO), Pierfrancesco Callieri, and Domenico Faccenna and working in collaboration with the Government of Pakistan (GOP) Department of Archaeology and Museums, undertook a

comprehensive survey of archaeological sites in the mountainous regions of Swat (Map 5). Many of these had been identified several decades earlier by Aurel Stein<sup>61</sup> and were among those included in a survey compiled by Barger and Wright in 1938.<sup>62</sup> Priority was given to sites in the area of Mingora-Saidu Sharif where Tucci was responsible for the supervision of excavations at Udegram.<sup>63</sup> Faccenna directed the work at Butkara I from 1956-62 and, with Callieri, supervised the Saidu Stupa excavation from 1963-68 and 1977-89. The Italian Archaeological Mission also helped to realize construction of the Swat Archaeological Museum in Saidu Sharif which was inaugurated in 1963<sup>64</sup> to accommodate and display the vast quantities of material extracted during these and other excavations in Swat.<sup>65</sup>

The GOP Department of Archaeology and Museums and the Department of Archaeology at Peshawar University worked in cooperation with IsMEO on a number of Swat sites including the Buddhist sacred precinct of Panr-I in the Jambil valley. However, the Pakistan-directed excavations were not overshadowed by the work being done by the Italians. Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani of the Archaeology Department of Peshawar University is considered the father of modern Pakistan archaeology. Of his numerous archaeological investigations, the site of Shaikhan Dheri at Charsada, scientifically excavated under his direction in 1963-64, provided critical evidence to determine relative chronologies and precise dating of Buddhist artifacts from the time of the Kushans.<sup>66</sup> Farther north, the Buddhist site of Nimogram was discovered about 45 kilometers west of Saidu Sharif in Swat in 1966 by a former curator of the Swat Museum, Mr. Inayat-ur-Rahman.<sup>67</sup> Excavation of the monastery complex and stupa court took place in 1967 and 1968 by the GOP Department of Archaeology, and the sculptural objects were removed to the Swat Museum collection.<sup>68</sup>

In an article published in 1973, K. Walton Dobbins lists nine sites whose excavations produced acceptable stratified evidence for the periodization of Gandharan art up to that time,<sup>69</sup> four situated in urban locations included Taxila at Bhir Mound and Sirkap;<sup>70</sup> Shaikhhan Dheri at Charsada; and Kapisa at Begram.<sup>71</sup> The remaining five sites he mentions are in the area of Chakdara north of Peshawar: Chatpat, Andan Dheri, Bambolai, Damkot, and Ramora.<sup>72</sup> In the nearly thirty years since this list was published, many more sites have been formally and scientifically opened in Gandhara. These have produced additional data that augment and recast the histories of the ascent, peak and decline of the Kushans and of Buddhism in Gandhara's northwest regions. Of indisputable value is that the corpus of material evidence from these sites, unlike the majority of pieces recovered in the century prior to Partition, was fully documented in situ by the archaeological teams carrying out the excavation. There can be no suspicion of forgery or uncertainty of place and position of origin; the teams responsible for excavation include members of the museum staff who now curate these collections.

Dr. Abdur Rahman of the Department of Archaeology at Peshawar University excavated the stupa, viharas and shrine complex at Butkara III over the 1982 and 1985 field seasons.<sup>73</sup> The site yielded a large number of sculptural figures and relief panels now in the collection of Peshawar University's Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. In 1989, excavation of the Buddhist site of Shnaisha, 5 kilometers southwest of Saidu Sharif, was initiated by the GOP Department of Archaeology under the direction of Nazir Ahmad Khan, a curator at the Swat Museum. Excavations continued in the 1990 season with the cooperation of the Department of Archaeology at Peshawar University under the leadership of Dr. Rahman.<sup>74</sup>

This is by no means a comprehensive inventory of excavation projects over the archaeological history of the region of ancient Gandhara. Dozens more have been

undertaken in the region of Swat alone. In addition to the sites associated with the Buddhist period in Gandhara, numerous sites have yielded pre- and post-Buddhist artifacts, including prehistoric and protohistoric grave cultures,<sup>75</sup> and art and architecture from the Hindu and Islamic periods.

Difficulties continue for Pakistan archaeologists working in the field and those charged with the stewardship of existing sites and museum collections. Funding from the Pakistan Government is insufficient; Pakistan is an impoverished country in which economic priorities continue to be military-based. With limited resources, museum staff must seek the means to modernize their facilities and preserve and catalogue their heritage collections. At the same time, lack of funding has resulted in museum closures and consolidations in recent years, collections have been disassembled and are sometimes disturbingly unaccounted for. Pakistan's poor economy has also intensified the chronic threat of spoilage of excavation sites through agricultural practices or the actions of local treasure-hunters. The destruction and ransacking of archaeological sites in Pakistan is as extensive a problem today as when Stein described it in the first decades of the twentieth century:

...much regrettable damage and loss have been caused...in tribal territory and elsewhere along the Peshawar border by "irresponsible" digging....How destructive such digging usually was and how often much of the spoil, when sold to amateur collectors, was ultimately scattered and destroyed, is a story too sad to be told here.<sup>76</sup>

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gandhara is first mentioned in the historical literature as a part of the Achaemenid Empire in the time of Cyrus the Great (558-528 B.C.E.). John Marshall, *Taxila: an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934* (Cambridge: University Press, 1951), 1:13.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of the life of the historical Buddha are based on two chronologies found in the Buddhist texts. The chronology found in the *Sri Lankan Chronicles* places the life of the Buddha from 624-544 B.C.E.; however, most modern Buddhologists favor the later dates (566-486 B.C.E.) as is discussed in Frank E. Reynolds and Charles Hallisey, "The Buddha," in *Buddhism and Asian History*, eds. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Mark C. Cummings (New York: McMillan Publishing, 1989), 31.

<sup>3</sup> The Chinese characters used for Yuezhi can be translated as "moon clan"; there is additional evidence of lunar associations with the Yuezhi and the Kushans. Konow, *Journal of Indian History* XII (1933): 1-46; Maenchen-Helfen, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 64 (1945): 77-80, n. 110; cited in Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 7, n. 3. Controversy over the nationality of the Yuezhi is unresolved. F.W. Thomas has suggested that they were Iranian in origin, possibly related to the Scythians based on linguistic evidence. Another theory holds them to be proto-Turkic due to physical characteristics as depicted in the portraits on their coinage and to the assertion by Turki kings of Gandhara who claimed Kanishka as their ancestor. B.N. Puri, *India Under the Kushanas* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965), 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> The date of 165 B.C.E. is accepted by most scholars. Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kusanas* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Ltd., 1973), 15, n. 14.

<sup>5</sup> This dynastic appellation was probably derived from a family or tribal name with the new sovereign ruler of the Kushans giving his clan or dynastic name to the nation. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Known by the Chinese as Qiu Jiujue; this appears on early Kushan copper coins as Kujula Kadaphasa in Greek, written in Kharoshthi script. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> The *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han) 118.9a gives the Chinese name as Yan Gaozhen. *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>9</sup> All subsequent references will refer to Kanishka the First simply as Kanishka. Kanishka the Second ruled briefly at the time of the Little Kushans during the latter years of the dynasty but is not discussed in this thesis.

<sup>10</sup> Puri, *India Under the Kushanas*, 55-56.

<sup>11</sup> Harald Ingholt and Islay Lyons, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), 16.

<sup>12</sup> The first group of Huns to pose a threat were the Kidarites who entered the area from the northeast during the time of Sasanian sovereignty in the fourth century; the second group known

as the Hephthalites moved down from Bactria and controlled Gandhara as far as the Punjab by the end of the fifth century. Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb, eds., *Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan* (Cambridge, England: The Ancient India and Iran Trust, 1992), 6-8.

<sup>13</sup> The Iranian language used by the Kushans was Prakrit, identified as the language of Bactria; it is likely that the original language of the Yuezhi was related to Tokarian. A. Dehkan, "The Relationship of the Kushan and the Parthian empire," *Proceedings of the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period held in Dushanbe September 27-October 6, 1968* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 116. The Kharoshthi script had been introduced into Gandhara by the Achaemenian kings of Iran. This was derived from Aramaic and written from right to left. Fidaullah Sehrai, *A Guide to Takht-i-Bahi* (Peshawar: by the author, 1982), 4. In India, this Aramaic script was modified to accommodate the local Prakrit language and as Kharoshthi, was used by Ashoka for his inscriptions in the northwest although Brahmi script was favored elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), 172.

<sup>14</sup> Numismatic finds at this stratified excavation site show that a house was burned during the later part of the reign of Kanishka and was rebuilt during the reign of Huvishka. Radiocarbon dating of the charcoal remains gives a range of 147 B.C.E. to 93 C.E. for the burning of the house. Dr. Ahmad Hassan Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavations: 1963 & 1964 Seasons," *Ancient Pakistan* 2 (1965-66): 25. The radiocarbon evidence (performed separately by two University laboratories at Michigan State and Washington State) is vigorously disputed by A.D.H. Bivar in "Tree Rings for Kanishka," *South Asian Studies* 5 (1989): 149-56; cited and discussed by Joe Cribb of the Department of Coins and Metals, British Museum in "Numismatic Perspectives on Chronology in the Crossroads of Asia," *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. Raymond Allchin and others (New Delhi: Regency Publications for the Ancient India and Iran Trust of Cambridge, 1997), 228, n. 13. Cribb's chronology places the first year of the Kanishka era or the commencement of his reign at 100 C.E..

<sup>15</sup> There are only five, according to Ingholt in *Gandharan Art* (22) who states that four are sculptures and one a bronze reliquary. K. Walton Dobbins identifies only the four pieces of sculpture but does not mention the reliquary in "Gandhara Buddha Images with Inscribed Dates," *East and West* 18 (1968): 281-288.

<sup>16</sup> We are provided with the example of an inscribed sculpture of Hariti from Skarah Dheri. Three eras have been suggested for the one in which this image is dated: the theory supporting the earliest era proposes placement in the second century B.C.E. and the latest in the year 342 C.E.. K. Walton Dobbins, "A Note on the Hariti Image from Skarah Dheri, Year 399," *East and West* 17 (1967): 269.

<sup>17</sup> Sir John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara* (Cambridge: University Press published for the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan, 1960); Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture* (Paris: 1929), I:75-88; cited by Dobbins in "Gandhara Buddha Images," 281, n. 3.

<sup>18</sup> The Sarvastivadins and Mahasanghikas were the important Buddhist sects of this period; the former sect represented the principal northern form of Hinayanism and flourished in Gandhara during the time of Kanishka. Tradition has it that the Sarvastivadin sect predominated at the Buddhist Council of Kanishka and that many Mahayanist writings emerged out of this occasion. Puri, *India Under the Kushanas*, 143.

<sup>19</sup> Stupas are hemispherical monuments that were constructed for the interment of Buddhist relics in northern India and Gandhara. The stupa became the primary cult object and symbolic

architectural expression of Buddhist belief. As a reliquary or votive object, its construction conferred great merit to donors or patrons.

<sup>20</sup> Vihara means "pleasure ground" in Sanskrit and refers to the residential quarters of the monastic organization or sangha (also termed "sangharama"), i.e.; a Buddhist monastery. Sehrai, *Takht-i-Bahi*, 31.

<sup>21</sup> No precise dates are available, but Faxian began his 14-year pilgrimage to India in 399 CE and died at age 88 in the monastery of Sin sometime after the middle of the fifth century. James Legge, introduction to *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; being an account by the Chinese monk Fâ-hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886; unabridged republication, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), 2 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>22</sup> Kanishka's Gandharan (southern) capital and the site of modern Peshawar in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP).

<sup>23</sup> One of the four great continents of the universe, representing the inhabited world to the Buddhists; it is often used as the Buddhist name for India. Legge, *Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 34, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Dobbins, *The Stupa and Vihara of Kanishka I* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1971), 12.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 32.

<sup>27</sup> The Buddhist ideal of a Universal Monarch or ruler "whose domain expanded without violence in direct ratio to the degree to which he manifested the Buddhist Dharma in his own spirit and rule. Throughout Buddhist lore it is made clear that the vocation of such a king is inferior only to that of an enlightened arhat, both of whom are to be celebrated after their deaths by the building of a stupa over their remains." In the *Digha Nikaya* II, 141-143; trans. T.W. Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* (London: Oxford University Press, 1899-1921), 3:154-158; quoted by Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 175, n. 7.

<sup>28</sup> This is recorded in the Chinese text, *Fu fazang yinyuan juan*; another text, *the Za baozang jing* (perhaps a name for the *Samyuktaratna-pitaka-sutra*) refers to Asvaghosa as one of three Buddhist holy men at Kanishka's court. Dobbins, *Stupa*, 38.

<sup>29</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 29.

<sup>30</sup> Dobbins, *Stupa*, 8.

<sup>31</sup> This is statistically based on extant Kanishka coins. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 30.

<sup>32</sup> Kumar, *Early Kusanas*, 88.

<sup>33</sup> The Chinese *Tripitaka (Sampradaya-nidana)* describes Kanishka's murder which is said to have taken place during a military expedition. The king was sick, and his men, exhausted with unending warfare, took advantage of his weakened state to smother him in a blanket. Sylvain Levi, "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes," *Journal Asiatique* (1896): 482-483; cited in Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 39, n. 46.

<sup>34</sup> This diversity was reflected in those appointed by the Kushan emperors to responsible posts in their governments. Kumar, *Early Kusanas*, 214.

<sup>35</sup> Xuanzang left China in 629 and returned in 645. Samuel Beal, introduction to Xuanzang's *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World: translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, popular edition: two volumes in one. Translated by Samuel Beal. Trubners Oriental Series (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1884), xix.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:98.

<sup>37</sup> Ingholt refers in *Gandharan Art* (16) to Buddhist writings that describe the cruel treatment of Buddhists by the White Huns.

<sup>38</sup> Ahmad Hasan Dani notes that until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, little attention was given to the development of a historiography of post-Kushan settlement in Gandhara. After the decline of Buddhism in Gandhara, the population was gradually superseded by the Hindu Shahis and inscriptions in Kharoshthi script were replaced by the Gupta Brahmi alphabet. This period of pre-Islamic history is thinly documented. In 1000 CE, the inhabitants of the region were overthrown by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Six hundred years later, the history of the Mughal empire in Gandhara formally began with Humayun's return from exile in Persia and his occupation of Peshawar as a prerequisite to the conquest of India. His son, Akbar, (ruled 1556-1605) elected to build his new capital at Lahore in the Punjab, and subsequent Mughal dynasties held power until the early decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. By the middle of that century, British commercial interests had gained supremacy in the region and British Imperialism was established in the Indian subcontinent. The Punjab was annexed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century following a period of Sikh uprisings. It was during this period of British occupation and rule that Buddhist Gandharan sculptures were "discovered" and brought to the attention of the West. "Excavations at Andandheri and Chatpat," *Ancient Pakistan* IV (1968-1969): 28.

<sup>39</sup> Lolita Nehru, *Origins of the Gandharan Style: a Study of Contributory Influences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 7.

<sup>40</sup> Bosch, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* VII (1950): 91; cited by Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, 22, n. 28.

<sup>41</sup> James Burgess states that archaeological discoveries of the ancient Buddhist remains in the northwest subcontinent were first made known in the mid-1830s by Mr. C. Masson, Dr. Honigberger, General Ventura, and Captains Court and P.T. Cauley. *The Gandharan Sculptures* (London: W. Griggs, 1899), 1.

<sup>42</sup> D. Brainard Spooner, "Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol," *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report* (hereafter cited as *ASIAR*) (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing (1906-07): 102-118; (1909-10): 46-62.

<sup>43</sup> D. Brainard Spooner, "Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi," *ASIAR* (1907-08): 131-148.

<sup>44</sup> D. Brainard Spooner, "Excavations at Shahji-ki-Dheri," *ASIAR* (1908-09): 38-59. The site of the Kanishka stupa in Peshawar has been overlaid by modern housing developments, according to Farid Khan, Professor Emeritus, University of Peshawar Department of Archaeology.

<sup>45</sup> Chinese Turkestan is referred to as Xinjiang Province in the modern People's Republic of China.

<sup>46</sup> Stein, "Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol," *ASIAR* (1911-12): 91-119.



- <sup>47</sup> The Swat Valley, 180 kilometers north of Peshawar, is accessible from the Peshawar Valley through the Malakand Pass. Udiyana (alternately spelled Uddiyana or Udyana) is the ancient Sanskrit name for Swat, meaning "garden". Mohammed Ashraf Khan, *Buddhist Shrines in Swat* (Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum, 1993), 3, 6.
- <sup>48</sup> A. Waheed Jan, *Taxila: Story in Stone* (Rawalpindi: WJ Classics, 1997), 12.
- <sup>49</sup> Charsada is the site of the first Kushan capital of Pushkalavati ("Lotus City") before it was relocated for strategic reasons to Purushapura ("City of Flowers"), or Peshawar.
- <sup>50</sup> H. Hargreaves, *Gandharan Sculpture* (Delhi: Mayur Publications, 1986 reprint of the 1928 edition). Although many times reprinted since Hargreaves published the 1928 edition, the *Handbook* has not undergone subsequent revisions, even following the removal to India of many sculptures from the Peshawar Museum at the time of Partition. It is currently out of print. Saleh Mohammed Khan, current curator of the Peshawar Museum stated to me that he himself did not have a copy of this publication nor access to accession numbers corresponding to museum catalogue records.
- <sup>51</sup> Nehru, *Gandharan Style*, 2.
- <sup>52</sup> Alfred Foucher, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara: a Commentary on a Chapter of Hiuan Tsang*, trans. Hargreaves (Pilkhana, Sonarpur, Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1915). Translation is credited to Hargreaves who is identified on the title page as Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle.
- <sup>53</sup> Foucher began work in 1922 at Balkh, the ancient capital of Bactria, but was not successful in identifying a Greek site there or anywhere else in his lifetime. Not until 1951 was any such evidence unearthed. Daniel Schlumberger, "Surkh Kotal: a Late Hellenistic Temple in Bactria," *Archaeology* 6 (1953): 234.
- <sup>54</sup> The principal urban site of Sahri-Bahlol was examined by Bellew and Cunningham in the time period between 1860-1872 when it was relatively uninhabited. By the time Spooner began his excavations in 1906, the development of a modern village on the mound forestalled its excavation. Attention by archaeologists was thus redirected to the mounds representing secondary settlement sites described by Stein as "quasi-suburban villages" encircling the central city site. Interspersed with these were more than a dozen smaller mounds that, once opened, revealed Buddhist shrines or monastery sites. Most of the fine sculptures later comprising the larger portion of the holdings of the Peshawar Museum originated in these small tertiary mounds.
- <sup>55</sup> Spooner, "Sahribahlol," (1906-07): 106.
- <sup>56</sup> Stein, "Sahri-Bahlol," (1911-12): 91.
- <sup>57</sup> Francine Tissot, "The Site of Sahri-Bahlol in Gandhara, Pakistan: Further Investigations", *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in Venice*, eds. Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri (Rome: ISMEO, 1990): 737.
- <sup>58</sup> Schlumberger, in "Surkh Kotal," *Antiquity* 33 (1959): 84, describes his 1954 finds at the Surkh Kotal "acropolis" as a "Greco-Iranian production" which he defines as a monument made for an Iranian cult (with an Iranian plan and fire altar substructure) yet boasting a number of architectural and ornamental features of Greek origin.

- <sup>59</sup> Nehru, *Gandharan Style*, 4.
- <sup>60</sup> IsMEO is the acronym for Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Italian Institute for Cultural Relations Between Italy and Asia).
- <sup>61</sup> Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts," *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, (MASI) no.42 (1930).
- <sup>62</sup> Domenico Faccenna, introduction to *On Swat: Historical and Archaeological Notes* by Giuseppe Tucci (Rome: IsMEO, 1997), x.
- <sup>63</sup> Tucci excavated the townsite of Udegram (or Ora, as it is known in the Greek historical records) which was conquered by the troops of Alexander the Great in 327 BC.
- <sup>64</sup> "IsMEO Activities," *East and West* 14 (Sept.-Dec. 1963): 287.
- <sup>65</sup> Permission for the excavations was given by Major General Miangul Jahanzeb, the ruler or Wali of Swat, who also donated the land for the Swat Museum. The Museum served as a repository for his personal collection of regional Buddhist art and artifacts. Giuseppe Tucci "Swat Museum: Saidu Sharif," in *On Swat*, 314-319. The Museum was reinaugurated in 1993 following an expansion funded largely by the Government of Japan. Ahmad Hassan Dani, foreword to M. A. Khan's *Gandharan Sculptures in the Swat Museum* (Saidu Sharif: Swat Archaeological Museum, 1993): i.
- <sup>66</sup> See A. H. Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavations," *Ancient Pakistan* 2 (1965-66): 17-214.
- <sup>67</sup> Makin Khan, *Gandhara Art: Origin and Development in Uddiyana, Pakistan* (Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum, 1999), 57.
- <sup>68</sup> M. A. Khan, *Buddhist Shrines in Swat* (Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum, 1993), 49.
- <sup>69</sup> Dobbins is referring to coin finds that support correlation of levels at these sites. K. Walton Dobbins, "Gandharan Art from Stratified Excavations," *East and West* 23 (1973): 280.
- <sup>70</sup> John Marshall, *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Order of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, vols. I - III, (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1951).
- <sup>71</sup> Roman Ghirshman, *Bégram: Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946).
- <sup>72</sup> A. H. Dani, "Excavations at Andandheri and Chatpat," *Ancient Pakistan* 4 (1968-69): 1-102.
- <sup>73</sup> M.A Khan, *Buddhist Shrines*, 26.
- <sup>74</sup> Abdur Rahman, "Shnaisha Gumbat: First Preliminary Excavation Report," *Ancient Pakistan* 8 (1993): 1-124.
- <sup>75</sup> The sequence of prehistoric and protohistoric sites in Swat can be dated from the third millennium B.C.E.. to historic times. These include Butkara II (excavated by the Peshawar University Department of Archaeology), Katelai, Loebanr I; and the settlements of Loebanr III, Birkot-ghwandai (Barikot), and Aligrama and Kalako-dherai. Faccenna, introduction to *On Swat* by Tucci, xii. In addition, Shah Nazar Khan (Director, Peshawar University Archaeology Museum)

recommends G. Stacul's "The Fractional Burial Custom in Swat Valley and Some Connected Problems," *East and West* 25 (1975).

<sup>76</sup> M. Aurel Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus: personal narrative of explorations on the North-West Frontier of India* (London, 1929; reissued New York, 1972), 17; quoted in Wladimir Zwalf's *A Catalogue of the Gandharan Sculpture in the British Museum* (London: for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1996), 26, n. 9.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SCULPTURAL TRADITION IN GANDHARA

Archaeological evidence from Gandhara shows that the earliest known monastery sites with Buddhist sculpture can be dated to no earlier than the first century C.E.,<sup>1</sup> a period concurrent with the early phase of Kushan rule.<sup>2</sup> Cult images discovered at pre-Buddhist levels had been fashioned of modeled or molded terracotta,<sup>3</sup> yet, as Buddhism developed in Gandhara, the use of stone for devotional sculpture appeared and flourished. Stone, or 'schist', is the sculptural medium that came to be most closely identified with the Gandharan School;<sup>4</sup> however, the appearance in the archaeological sequence of a fully developed stone carving art without evidence of an established indigenous tradition has given cause for much speculation.

Yet, the stone sculpture associated with Buddhism in the time of the Kushans did not arise in Gandhara without pre-existing sculptural activity. Of comparable importance in Gandhara's sculptural tradition was the widespread, sustained use of stucco.<sup>5</sup> This medium may have been introduced during the Greek period, although few examples of sculpture have been recovered from these levels.<sup>6</sup> Although early scholarship held that stucco sculpture appeared in Gandhara only in the later Kushan period and supplanted the stone carving craft by the second half of the fifth century, archaeological evidence indicates otherwise.<sup>7</sup> Stucco artifacts have been excavated at Shaka-Parthian and early Kushan levels as well as at every stage up to the time of the Hephthalite invasion. Modern archaeologists have been able to show that stone, stucco and terracotta were used concurrently for sculpture as late as the fifth century, often at the same site.<sup>8</sup> Yet, it

is also the superior survival rate of stone that ensured its prominence in the archaeological record. Stucco is subject to dampness and decay, and while terracotta is relatively durable, unfired clay is unlikely to survive under most conditions.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, wood may well be considered a lost component among the materials employed by the sculptors of Gandhara. Although no extant examples can be attributed to the Kushan period,<sup>10</sup> woodcarving is an ancient tradition in Gandhara, especially in the northern region of Swat where the practice continues to the present day. The susceptibility of wood to burn or decompose and leave no evidence of sculptural application is particularly regrettable in Gandhara. As a sculptural medium, wood, like stone, employs a technical process of carving, unlike the modeling or molding of clay and stucco materials.<sup>11</sup>

Among devotional sculptures and architectural ornamentation in Gandhara, metals such as bronze, copper, gold and silver appear not to have been in common use although many secular pieces have been excavated and reveal a high level of workmanship.<sup>12</sup> A few small cult statues have also been recovered but likely date from pre-Kushan levels or were imported.<sup>13</sup> Two highly significant sculptural pieces associated with the Buddhist period are the Bimaran reliquary of gold and the Kanishka reliquary of copper found by Spooner at the Kanishka stupa at Shahji-ki-Dheri.<sup>14</sup> Other than these two examples, the representation of cult images in metal is associated with numismatics, which I will discuss later in its relationship to chronology and Kushan iconography.

In addition to examples of a sculpture tradition in Gandhara, there is evidence of stone carving at archaeological levels predating those containing Buddhist stone sculpture. Cosmetic palettes of schist (fig. 1) were excavated at Sirkap (Taxila) and numerous other Gandharan sites. The designs are secular and derived from Hellenistic

themes that include Bacchanalian drinking scenes, amorous couples, the Dioscuri, and mythological creatures.<sup>15</sup> These palettes testify to a familiarity with the stone medium in the period preceding the Kushans and the appearance of Buddhist stone sculpture. The emergence of stone carving for devotional reliefs and images does correspond with the advent of Kushan patronage of Buddhism; however, widespread and conclusive archaeological findings present us with evidence of sculptural activity before the arrival of the Kushans in Gandhara. This existing foundation of sculptural skills may begin to explain the near-seamless adaptation to the 'new' medium of stone in the production of Buddhist sculptural art.

#### Stone Sculpture and the Imagery of Buddhism

The production of stone sculpture in Gandhara was synchronous with the erection of Buddhist religious monuments: the shrines, stupas, and vihara complexes dedicated to worship and to the Buddhist monastic community. These structures provided an architectural context for the stoneworker's ornamentation that became the visual articulation of veneration for royal patrons and lay devotees. The sculptures may be placed in two general categories: relief carvings that formed a decorative surface on stupas and shrines and iconic figures installed in niches or small chapels within the sacred monastic precinct. Architectural structures were first faced with smooth stone, then a coating of stucco was applied in combination with decorative and narrative reliefs of stone or stucco.<sup>16</sup> These ornamental surfaces were commonly gilded or polychromed; however, few traces of this final embellishment remain.<sup>17</sup> Only rarely have relief sculptures been discovered still in their original installation. Determination of the exact purpose and position of a surviving piece, once divorced from its architectural framework, is often not apparent, although its dimensions or curved shape might help to

identify it as a stair riser or as part of a sequence of panels encircling the drum of a stupa.<sup>18</sup>

The overall content of the reliefs' imagery is also Buddhistic yet inclusive of themes and motifs borrowed from adjacent traditions. The majority of relief sculptures consist of worship scenes, narratives, or decorative panels.<sup>19</sup> Other reliefs, such as the friezes of male and female figures in so-called bacchanalian processions (fig. 2), are not so easily categorized. Although these may appear incongruous in a Buddhist context, bacchic or dionysiac scenes of drinking and revelry and related imagery are common to the Buddhist art of Gandhara and appear to be an integral expression of Kushan cultural syncretism. I will revisit the dionysiac theme in my later discussion of the representations of Hariti and Panchika in the context of the yaksha cult.

Worship scenes are hieratic compositions with a centrally placed Buddha or bodhisattva symmetrically flanked by disciples or worshippers. Although non-narrative in appearance, these scenes frequently reference specific events, miracles or sermons. An example may be found in images representing the Great Miracle of Sravasti (fig. 3). In Foucher's controversial analysis, representations of this event are iconographically referenced by three corresponding elements: a Buddha in *dharmachakra mudra*,<sup>20</sup> a central lotus on which he is enthroned, and the presence of two attendants identified as Indra and Brahma.<sup>21</sup> Foucher's criteria consigned a great many reliefs into the category of narrative regardless of the otherwise emblematic treatment.

Gandharan narrative reliefs typically illustrate a formulated, discrete scene designed to illustrate an episode germane to the life of the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni,<sup>22</sup> or a *jataka* tale depicting an event from one of his previous existences.<sup>23</sup> In particular, scenes from the life of Shakyamuni are various and abundantly reproduced. They include the major themes of his birth: his departure from Kapilavastu,

enlightenment, first sermon and *parinirvana*;<sup>24</sup> representations of famous conversions and miracles; and a vast number of secondary legends whose vigorous popularity ensured their prominent position in the repertoire of the Gandharan sculptors. The number of jataka stories identified in Gandharan sculptural art is considerably more circumscribed; however, these few stories appear with great frequency among the narrative reliefs. Although there is no evidence to show that the historical Buddha ever traveled into Gandhara during his lifetime, a number of his legends became associated with specific Gandharan sites whose profound significance was further consecrated by the erection of dedicatory stupas.<sup>25</sup>

In Gandhara, sculpture in the round is primarily devotional and iconic. There is some evidence of portraiture but it is scant and consists of royal figures and donors. Most remarkable among them is the life-sized, standing royal female donor from Sahri Bahlol who holds a small trefoil shrine or reliquary and is supported at the base by a bust of the earth goddess.<sup>26</sup> But portraiture is something of a rarity in Gandhara 'proper',<sup>27</sup> and most of the independent figures sculpted in the round represent the Buddha, the bodhisattvas and other deities drawn into the Buddhist context, including those without an obvious link to Buddhism. The Buddha image in Gandhara is contemporary with the earliest Buddhist stone sculpture in the region, corresponding with the first century of Kushan patronage under Kanishka.<sup>28</sup> The so-called aniconic phase in early Buddhist art, in which symbols appear to have been substituted for the Buddha's anthropomorphized image, has no equivalent evolutionary parallel in the art of contemporary Gandhara.<sup>29</sup> These anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha emerged more or less simultaneously in Gandhara and Indian Mathura but are theorized as having been based on disparate models.<sup>30</sup> It is a matter of continuing disagreement among scholars if the emergence of the Buddha image in one region preceded this development in the other



and which tradition provided the models that were adapted for use in each location.<sup>31</sup>

This debate is of limited relevance to this study. I will address it later only in terms of the respective sources of style and iconography of Gandharan Buddhist cult figures and, in particular, the iconography of Hariti and the tutelary deities of fortune and abundance.

As the Buddha image and associated imagery emerged and expanded under the Kushans, the Buddhist religion was also experiencing a period of tremendous growth and ideological evolution. The monasteries of Gandhara became centers of doctrinal study, differentiated by the canonical school to which each adhered. The Sarvastivadin sect was the dominant Buddhist school at the time of Kanishka. This sect represented the early *Hinayana* form of Buddhism stressing the individual path to salvation and holding as its focus the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni. Yet, out of the coexistent Mahasamghika sect, a movement emerged that referred to itself as *Mahayana*.<sup>32</sup> This doctrine gave impetus to the ideal of the *bodhisattva* or future and transcendent Buddha whose infinite compassion ensured salvation for all living beings. The division between Mahayana and Hinayana doctrine was a gradual process reflected in the newly produced Mahayana *sutras*;<sup>33</sup> the polarity of their respective ideologies was manifest by 200 C.E. with the issuing of the Lotus Sutra.<sup>34</sup>

Whether these transformations in the nature of the Buddhist religion were mirrored in the characteristics of its narrative and devotional images has been greatly contested among Gandharan scholars. The great iconographer, Alfred Foucher, dismissed any suggestion of Mahayana influence in the art of Gandhara,<sup>35</sup> and others have maintained a similarly conservative interpretive stance.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, the emphasis in the stone narratives on the life and legends of the historical Buddha and with relics associated with his cult such as his *patra*<sup>37</sup> or his turban indicates a preoccupation with the temporality of his human existence and thus an attachment to the earliest doctrines.

Yet, there is evidence in Gandharan imagery of the introduction and assimilation of Mahayana concepts. The many beautiful images of bodhisattvas, which became the embodiment of the Mahayana notion of universal salvation, are a characteristic feature of Gandharan sculpture.<sup>38</sup> In narratives and worship scenes, Buddha images often assume exaggerated proportions beside their comparatively diminutive attendants and worshippers. The conception of the Buddha replicating himself into innumerable manifestations beyond the spatial and temporal sphere is also represented in sculpture; in fact, examples exist that are believed to represent the five *dhyani* Buddhas.<sup>39</sup> A keen interest in sculptural depictions of miraculous events from legends of the Buddha may be construed as evidence of developing Mahayana sensibilities. Finally, it has been hypothesized that some of the reliefs that were classified by Foucher as portrayals of the Sravasti Miracle should instead be read as paradise scenes, providing substantiation of an Amitabha cult.<sup>40</sup> The above examples are, individually and collectively, compelling indicators of a growing familiarity with integral Mahayana abstractions.<sup>41</sup> In addition, it has been suggested that the embryonic stirrings of Mahayana Buddhism acted as the stimulus that gave rise to the advent of the Buddha image in the earliest phase of Gandharan Buddhist art.<sup>42</sup>

#### Development of a Gandharan Style

Devotional Buddhism and its permutations continued to exert a profound and singular authority over the art of the Gandharan sculptors. In conjunction with internal sources of influence, cultures from beyond Gandhara's mountainous frontiers introduced a dynamic alchemy of idea and imagery that were rapidly integrated into a distinctive Gandharan style. Efforts to identify each individual contribution and its respective culture of origin have not produced definitive or satisfactory conclusions; the sculpture maintains

a diverse and complex blend of compositional devices and stylistic elements that are part appropriation and part invention. Ludwig Bachhofer wrote:

What makes a piece of sculpture a Gandhara work is, of course, not the subject matter, but the treatment of forms. Gandhara sculpture is easily recognized when the style is fully developed; the difficulty arises when one comes to the beginnings.<sup>43</sup>

From the beginning of Western 'discovery' of the sculptural art of Gandhara, its resemblance to classical forms was engaging and perplexing. The search for a Hellenistic source, which had driven Foucher to seek evidence of Greek settlements in Bactria, also occupied the researches of Marshall, Rowland, Wheeler, Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Ferguson, Smith and Soper. The appearance of Hellenistic design, devices, and deities was attributed as often to Roman sources as to Greek; however, it became increasingly difficult to ignore the filtering effect of the intermediate cultures to which they were exposed between the Mediterranean and Gandhara. The invasion of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.E. left behind isolated Greek colonies; a century later, Bactrian Greeks had regained a temporary sovereignty over Gandhara. Evidence has now confirmed that from the first century B.C.E., an Iranized Hellenism arrived in Gandhara by way of Parthia.<sup>44</sup> For nearly two hundred years, continuous contact between the philhellenic Parthians and the Kushans facilitated a flourishing cultural transfusion<sup>45</sup> that contributed significantly to the development of the characteristically syncretic Gandharan style.<sup>46</sup>

At the opposite extremity of the Kushan kingdom, the cultures and religions of the Indian subcontinent provided an alternative array of beliefs, religious texts, images, and iconographic formulas. There was considerable opportunity for mutual exchange as merchants, pilgrims and travelers from India passed through Gandhara to reach trade

routes leading west to the Mediterranean or east to Central Asia and China. The transmission of Buddhism was arguably India's most important export but this process occurred neither as a discrete delivery nor as a sterile opportunity. The manifold contributions of India to the art and culture of Gandhara, along with the respective influences of Greece, Rome and Parthia, require an inquiry greatly exceeding the parameters of this discourse. With this in mind, my discussion of foreign influence will be limited to representations in Gandharan sculpture of the cult figures that came to be associated or juxtaposed with Buddhism. Vestiges of cultures from outside Gandhara may be distinguished in the postures, clothing, ornamentation and attributes of the individuals portrayed in the sculptures. In addition, the identities of the cult images themselves clearly show the magnitude of cultural diffusion and assimilation that thrived in Kushan Gandhara.

#### Cult Images and Kushan Eclecticism

The earliest cult images so far discovered in Gandhara are the modeled terracotta fertility figures found in abundance at pre-Kushan, pre-Buddhist levels throughout northern Gandhara and nicknamed 'Baroque Ladies' by Wheeler.<sup>47</sup> At subsequent levels, figurines were produced in a mold and detailing applied later by hand; these are considered a local innovation of Hellenistic derivation.<sup>48</sup>

An essential adherence to hieratic frontality is a characteristic of sculpture of the Gandharan School and is replicated outside of Gandhara proper in the royal portrait sculptures of the Parthian fortress city of Hatra. This quality has been described as the chief innovation of Parthian iconic art<sup>49</sup> and reflects the dynastic, king-centered Iranian tradition.<sup>50</sup> The royal Hatran portrait sculptures (fig. 4) display an open-palm sign of benediction that approximates the *abhaya mudra*<sup>51</sup> so common to Gandharan images of

the Buddha and bodhisattvas. In contrast, Greek, Roman, and Indian forms are portrayed more naturalistically with relaxed postures and elegant gestures. Some of the Gandharan bodhisattva figures affect a graceful and courtly pose, suggesting a comparison with Greek prototypes, but the orientation of primary cult figures, whether seated or standing, is overwhelmingly frontal.

The garments worn by figures in the Gandharan sculptures also reflect a spectrum of diverse traditions. Images of the Buddha are unvaryingly dressed in the traditional monastic garb of an Indian ascetic with a set repertoire of mudras<sup>52</sup> and requisite *lakshanas*.<sup>53</sup> The Gandharan bodhisattvas are portrayed as Indian nobility emulating the appearance of Prince Siddhartha. They are clothed in long dhotis below the waist and wear elaborate jeweled turbans or headdresses, heavy earrings and quantities of jeweled ornaments and amulets. Unlike their Indian correlates, the Gandharan bodhisattvas are endowed with moustaches.<sup>54</sup> Peripheral figures display more variation: donor figures exhibit ethnic differences within the Kushan population (figs. 5, 6), frequently appearing in Indo-Scythian or Parthian costume. Processions of female and male figures wearing chitons, himations, and tunics (fig. 7) bear a striking resemblance to Roman and Greek sculptural friezes.

The remaining figures that populate and activate the sculpture of Gandharan art make up a coterie of divine and semi-divine beings. This varied caste speaks to the Kushan penchant for the appropriation of belief and image and to the changes in Kushan dynastic patronage of Buddhism and of other religious practices in Gandhara. The images also represent the personification of ideas that crossed borders and cultures to merge and reemerge with refurbished name and form but with ideological content and symbolic functions intact. Nowhere is the syncretism of Central Asia more evident than in the Kushan pantheon. Lest this be seen as an indicator of casual dilettantism, the

fusion and incorporation of supernatural beings might more accurately be classed as a deliberate strategy of unification and reconciliation of the diverse communities within the vast Kushan territories.<sup>55</sup> Alternatively, the prominent occurrence of these divinities may be indication of the extent to which Buddhism was itself infiltrated by foreign cults.<sup>56</sup> Outside the immediate Buddhist context, this is best illustrated by the constellation of deities issued on Kushan coins, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the sculptural art of Buddhism under the Kushans, the divine participants are, in effect, emissaries who were conscripted from the pantheons of the major civilizations that traveled the crossroads through Gandhara.

Of the divinities from Hellenistic sources, images of Aphrodite and Eros have been identified from the pre-Buddhist levels at Taxila although these may have been imported into Gandhara. Later statues, concurrent with the Buddhist period, include representations of Athena,<sup>57</sup> Tyche, Demeter,<sup>58</sup> and Herakles who appears as an Atlantid in the non-narrative stupa decorations.<sup>59</sup> Also ubiquitous in Gandharan art are the garland-bearing amorini or erotes, an emblem of abundance rooted in the Graeco-Roman vernacular.<sup>60</sup>

Although Iranian deities attained a disproportionately large representation in the coins of the Kushan kings, remarkably few of these were integrated into the religious imagery of the Kushans.<sup>61</sup> Those deities whose images did transfer to stone sculpture tended to be functional correlates with deities already integrated into Buddhism,<sup>62</sup> specifically, the Iranian tutelary deities, Ardokhsho and Pharro, with their Kushan-Indian counterparts, Hariti and Panchika/Kubera. I will discuss these and related comparisons in the following two chapters dedicated to the cult images of Hariti and the tutelary couple.

### The Role of the Yaksha in Gandharan Buddhist Art

However, it is the contribution from the Indian subcontinent that provides the greater part of the extended Buddhist pantheon of divine and semi-divine beings during the Kushan period. Just as they also appear in the Buddhist art of India, the primary representatives from the Brahmanical tradition are usually identified as the gods Indra and Brahma who are most often positioned as flanking the Buddha in scenes of worship.<sup>63</sup> Beyond this gesture to Indian artistic convention and the orthodox Hindu pantheon, the remainder of participants is taken from several of the eight classes of demi-gods that figure prominently in Indian Buddhism.<sup>64</sup> The *Garuda*, ferocious birds of great size, appear with some frequency, possibly because of their association with eagles, an important emblem in the art of the Scythians and Parthians.<sup>65</sup> In Gandharan sculpture (fig. 8) they are often represented in a dramatic confrontation with one or more of their avowed enemies, the *nagas*,<sup>66</sup> serpent deities who control rainfall and are the subterranean guardians of the waters. Charged with protection of the *nagas* are the *yakshas*,<sup>67</sup> tutelary guardians of the earth, whose representations are most numerous among Gandharan anthropomorphic images. *Nagas* and *yakshas*, ancient nature divinities who predate the movement of Aryan peoples and Vedic religion into India, represent the remnants of indigenous practices and beliefs in the Indian subcontinent. The roles they were given to play in the outward diffusion of Buddhism account for their importance in the art and myth of Gandhara. In addition, the goddess Hariti, the focus of this study, is identified as a *yakshi*, a female yaksha.<sup>68</sup> Although the infiltration of the Aryan religions and the much later rise of Buddhism marginalized their cults, *naga* and *yaksha* images became fixed in the iconography of these new orthodoxies. Ancient

stone yaksha images are thought to have provided prototype and model for the earliest representations of the Buddha in Mathura.

In India, yakshas are featured in a wide range of functions, often assuming a supportive role (fig. 9). In the Buddhist architecture of Gandhara, yakshas again appear as ornamental caryatids (fig. 10) used to prop up a plinth or shoulder a length of garland. The erotes and Herakles figures of Gandharan sculpture are no other than hybridized, Hellenized yakshas. Yakshis are portrayed in India as voluptuous, fertility goddesses standing in *tribhanga* pose,<sup>69</sup> an arm stretched overhead to grasp the branches of a budding tree (fig. 11). In Gandharan sculpture, this classic yakshi stance is cautiously mimicked; however, the female figures are more modestly proportioned and fully clothed in regionalized costumes.

As well as in their integration into the Buddhist architecture as support and ornamentation, yakshas appear in narrative reliefs in the capacity of concerned spectators or active facilitators of a significant event. Ashvaghosha's *Buddhacarita* offers a description of the horseback departure of Prince Siddhartha on the night of his renunciation of family and palace:

Then that good steed, avoiding all noises which would sound startling in the dead of night and awaken the household, - all sound of his jaws hushed and his neighing silenced, - went forth, planting his hurrying steps at full speed. With their lotus-like hands, whose forearms were adorned with golden bracelets, the yakshas, with their bodies bent down, threw lotuses and bore up his hooves as he rushed in startled haste.<sup>70</sup>

These beneficent yakshas are identified in Buddhist texts<sup>71</sup> as the Four *Lokapalas* or Four Heavenly Kings of the Cardinal Directions.<sup>72</sup> In addition to their participation in this episode, they are noted as present at the Buddha's birth, his first sermon and his parinirvana. Prior to his impending enlightenment, they approach the



meditating Siddhartha (fig. 12), each offering him a bowl of milk to break his fast.<sup>73</sup> The attendance of this foursome at each of the Great Events in the Buddha's life confers upon them a unique distinction as divinely-charged and privileged witnesses. It suggests a profound level of involvement, even to their being the essential catalyst for each critical transition in the Buddha's life. In legend and in art, the four yakshas are accorded great stature, but it is always by virtue of their devotion to the Buddha and in deference to his vocation.

Vajrapani is another familiar figure in the Gandharan sculptural repertoire, identified by his attribute, the *vajra*.<sup>74</sup> Usually portrayed as a bearded Brahman or hermit (fig. 13), he is frequently included in narrative reliefs or scenes of worship but is never depicted as an independent cult figure.<sup>75</sup> Vajrapani is an intriguing hybrid who appears to be the blended product of Hellenistic and Indian origins.<sup>76</sup> He is a yaksha who has appropriated the attribute of the god, Indra, yet his appearance in Gandharan sculpture often resembles a Herakles. His function is similar to that of the four Lokapalas, that is, to officiate as semi-divine attendant or guardian to the Buddha throughout his worldly existence.<sup>77</sup> However, whereas the inclusion of the Lokapalas is iconographically specific to certain momentous life events, Vajrapani appears beside the Buddha with a certain random reiteration.

By contrast, the character of Kubera, king of the yakshas, becomes fragmented and diffused during the transition from India to Gandhara. In Vedic and Buddhist myth, he is familiar as the God of Wealth. In the sculpture of Mathura, Kubera appears as a potbellied deity wielding a wine cup. He is closely identified with his alter ego, Vaisravana, one of the Four Lokapalas, and is largely supplanted by Vaisravana in Buddhist legends of Central Asia.<sup>78</sup> An equally close connection persists between Kubera and the yaksha, Panchika, who is identified in the *Lalitavistara* as one of twenty-

eight generals over Kubera's yaksha army.<sup>79</sup> In Gandharan art and legend, the two are often confused or substituted for one another; their roles and attributes are so readily interchanged that, functionally and iconographically, they coalesce into a single entity. Representations of Panchika-Kubera as an independent cult figure are by no means uncommon in Gandhara, but his relevance to this study relates rather to the many examples of sculpture in which he figures as the consort of Hariti.

From their indigenous origins in the Indian subcontinent, the yakshas migrated into the Buddhist imagery of Gandhara. By the time of the Kushans, they had emerged as composite beings reflecting the complex history of the region, its varied population and the diverse peoples moving across the Central Asian trade routes. In much the same way that a multitude of deities came to be represented on the coinage of the Kushan kings, yakshas were promoted as divine supporters of the monarchy and of the Buddhist religion. The relative lack of standardization of their representations in sculpture, unlike the circumscribed canons applied early on to images of the Buddha and bodhisattva figures, is indicative of their popular appeal to an enormous and varied societal base. It is also evidence of their continued authority as a devotional cult in direct competition with Buddhism. I will explore these dynamics of competition and assimilation through the images and myths dedicated to the goddess Hariti in the following chapter.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Art objects found in levels that predate this period can be termed "pre-Buddhistic" or "non-Buddhist". Dobbins, "Stratified Excavations," 282.

<sup>2</sup> Sculptural evidence from stratified excavations strongly suggests that Buddhist stone sculpture was introduced into Gandhara in the early Kushan period, perhaps not before the reign of Kanishka. *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 286-287.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix G for a description of the schists and phyllites used for stone sculpture in Gandhara.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion and compositional analysis of Gandharan stucco art, see Andrew P. Middleton and Anna J. Gill's "Technical Examination and Conservation of the Stucco Sculpture," Appendix 4 of Wladimir Zwalf's *A Catalogue of the Gandharan Sculpture in the British Museum* (London: for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1996), 363-368. The authors note that stucco is a widely used but generic term for a mixture of plaster, slaked lime and powdered marble or shells or chalk, with the addition of gum. This mixture results in a plastic material that can be molded or modeled and will set to a hard and relatively durable finished product. The term should not be used to describe images made from unfired clay. The majority of pieces analyzed are of lime-stucco, although gypsum was also used. Mortimer Wheeler looks to trade between Alexandria and the Kushan Empire as the source of the technique of stucco sculpture and possibly for craftsmen skilled in its use. Alexandria was the center for premier stucco sculpture at the western end of the pan-Asian trade routes. It is also adjacent to expansive gypsum beds, a constituent material of stucco. Mortimer Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan: an Archaeological Outline* (London: Christopher Johnson Ltd., 1950), 55. Although gypsum-stucco is higher in occurrence in areas in the Kabul valley in Afghanistan, it seems to have been less frequently used in Gandhara in favor of lime-stucco, based on the British Museum pieces tested. K.M. Varma, *Stucco in India from pre-Mohenjodaro Times to the Beginning of the Christian Era* (Santiniketan, 1983); cited by Middleton and Gill in "Stucco Sculpture," 363, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Nehru points out in that although Sirkap provides a continuous sequence of over one hundred and fifty years and bridges the gap between Indo Greek and Kushan rule in Gandhara, Marshall did not excavate the level of Greek occupation at Taxila as thoroughly as later levels in the sequence, which may be the reason for the small amount of sculpture dated to the Greek era. *Gandharan Style*, 4, 74.

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Rowland has argued that stone sculpture came to an end by the middle of the third century C.E. and was replaced by work done with stucco. In *Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, revised 3d ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 81. However, Wheeler asserts that stone carving continued up to the time of the invasion by the Hephthalites. In *Antiquity* (1949): 17-18; cited by M. A. Shakur in *Gandhara Sculpture in Pakistan* (Bangkok: Seato Publishing, 1963), 29, n. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Using examples from Chatpat and Bambolai, Dobbins suggests in "Stratified Excavations" (292) that stucco and terracotta figures at those sites were modeled after those carved from stone.

<sup>9</sup> Nehru points out in *Gandharan Style* (82) that most clay pieces that survived did so only because they were converted into terracotta through accidental exposure to a conflagration.

<sup>10</sup> Two surviving examples of relief carving in wood, discovered in 1888 by Major H. A. Deane in a cave in the Yusufzai tribal regions, should probably be assigned to the Hindu Shahi period. This attribution is based on characteristics of style and content which are greatly dissimilar to those of the Gandhara School. Burgess, *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India* (London: W. Griggs, 1897), plates 152 and 153.

<sup>11</sup> In fact, additional evidence of woodworking does exist, if only in the decoratively carved wood furniture that is represented in the stone narrative and devotional reliefs and displays a compelling resemblance to pieces carved in northern Pakistan in the modern era. Many ornamental motifs reappear in modern examples of the woodcarver's art just as the ancient stoneworkers recorded them in stone.

<sup>12</sup> Numerous examples of jewelry are included among the artifacts recovered at Sirkap (Taxila) and date back to the Indo-Parthian and early Kushan periods (second century B.C.E. to second century C.E.).

<sup>13</sup> Gandharan copper-based alloying technology has been described as representing the earliest stages of development of a local sculpture tradition. For a more in-depth discussion, see Chandra Reedy, "Technical Studies of Gandharan Art," *Gandharan Art in Context*, eds. Allchin and others (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997), 267-283.

<sup>14</sup> The Kanishka reliquary, although crudely executed, is an intriguing example of cross-cultural emblematic art and royal symbolism. For an in-depth discussion and stylistic/iconographic analysis and comparison with the Bimaran reliquary, see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 259-262; also see catalogue entry by N. Kreitman in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads*, 193-197; K. Walton Dobbins, "Two Gandharan Reliquaries," *East and West* 18 (1968): 151-162.

<sup>15</sup> Stanislaw J. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), 144; Dobbins, "Stratified Excavations," 285; and Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Relief panels were fixed in their intended position on a monument with a system of tenon and mortise or were pinned in place with nails. Their correct placement was assured by matching up the mason's marks that were carved into the corners and edges of the stones. These marks were not used to identify the otherwise anonymous stoneworkers; we see that they typically consist only of single letters or numbers inscribed in Kharoshthi. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 51.

<sup>17</sup> One may now only imagine the impression made on pilgrims and passersby during the era of Buddhist dominance. The Chinese pilgrim, Sungyun, was a visitor to Swat in the first decades of the sixth century and reported seeing 6000 golden images at the monastery at Talo (since identified as Butkara I near Mingora). Many sculptures bearing traces of gilding have been recovered from this site. In Giuseppe Tucci's "Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat," in *On Swat: Historical and Archaeological Notes* (Rome, ISMEO, 1997), 78.

<sup>18</sup> Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 50.

<sup>19</sup> Recent comprehensive studies on early Buddhist narrative representation in India, Gandhara and China include Lolita Nehru's *Gandharan Style*; Vidya Dehejia's "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 374-392; and Julia K. Murray's "Buddhism and Early Narrative Illustration in China," *Archives of Asian Art* 48 (1995): 17-31.

<sup>20</sup> The dharmacakra mudra is a symbolic hand gesture that means "turning the wheel of the Law"; it is an iconographic sign generally reserved for images of the Buddha Gautama and references the occasion of his first sermon following his enlightenment. Louis Frédéric, *Flammarion Iconographic Guides: Buddhism* (Paris, New York: Flammarion, 1995): 43. This mudra does not appear in India until the late fifth century and may be an innovation that originated in Gandhara, according to Francine Tissot in *The Art of Gandhâra: Buddhist Monks' Art, on the North-West Frontier of Pakistan* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1986), 14.

<sup>21</sup> A. Foucher, "The Great Miracle," *Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, trans. L.A Thomas and F. W. Thomas (Paris: Paul Geuthner; London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), 180-181. For additional discussion of this iconographic identification and controversy, see Ju-hyung Rhi's "Gandharan images of the Sravasti Miracle: an Iconographic Reassessment" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 1-13.

<sup>22</sup> The historical Buddha is referred to as Prince Siddhartha or the Bodhisattva before the event of his enlightenment; subsequent appellations include Shakyamuni, Gautama and the Tathagatha.

<sup>23</sup> Continuous narration rarely appears in Gandharan narrative representations. In this sense, Gandharan narratives and processional compositions are more closely affiliated with Hellenistic relief imagery than with the continuous or progressive narrative styles of the art of India exemplified at Sanchi and Bharhut.

<sup>24</sup> The (Maha)parinirvana refers to the ultimate death of the historical Buddha, in which he achieved nirvana and ended samsara, the cycle of rebirth.

<sup>25</sup> The Visvantara, Dipankara, and Syama jatakas are individually linked with specific sites in Gandhara and were popular themes in the Buddhist sculptural reliefs in that region. Foucher in his *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara* makes identification of these and other sites based on the travel accounts by Faxian, Xuanzang and other Chinese pilgrims. Other sites include the four stupas that mark the respective locations of the gifts of eyes, head, body and flesh of the Buddha in his previous lives.

<sup>26</sup> This figure was excavated by Spooner in 1909 who in his 1909-10 archaeological report of Sahri-Bahlol (61-62) suggested an identification for her as Huvishka's queen. Rosenfield points out in *Dynastic Arts* (218-219) that the significance of this portrait lies in its being the only extant, freestanding image of a Kushan woman. Another freestanding figure, albeit much fragmented and headless, is a man who holds an identical shrine and may have been intended as a companion statue.

<sup>27</sup> This invites comparison with Mathura, the great southern capital of the Kushans, where so many royal Kushan portrait images have been found, including the famous portrait sculpture of Kanishka.

<sup>28</sup> Dobbins, "Stratified Excavations," 287. See note (below) referring to the Bimaran reliquary with its images of the Buddha as dated even earlier than the earliest stone examples of the Buddha image from stratified excavations.

<sup>29</sup> The theory of aniconism has been subjected to vigorous scrutiny and reinterpretation in recent years. For a critical appraisal of this and proposed alternate theories, see the following articles. Susan Huntington, "Early Buddhist Art and the Theory of Aniconism," *Art Journal* 49 (1990): 401-408; Vidya Dehejia, "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 45-66; Susan Huntington, "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems: Another Look," *Ars Orientalis* 22 (1992): 111-156.

<sup>30</sup> Foucher, Rowland, Marshall and others support a Graeco-Roman model for the Gandharan Buddha images while Coomaraswamy and Lohuizen-de Leeuw propose the indigenous Indian yaksha image as a local prototype for the Mathuran Buddhas. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 41.

<sup>31</sup> Lohuizen-de Leeuw has argued for the Mathuran precedent in her discovery of an early copy of a seated Mathuran image found in Gandhara from the late first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E.. J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. Herbert Hartel (Berlin: 1981), 377-400. On the other hand, the coins of Kanishka and the Bimaran reliquary with their standing Buddha images have been dated to early in the first century C.E.. In Gérard Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin: Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst, 1987), 67-88. The quandary stands at an impasse.

<sup>32</sup> Mahayana, meaning "Great Vehicle" implied a superior process to enlightenment; Hinayana or "lesser Vehicle" was the disparaging name given to the older form. Theravada is the term used currently to describe this form of Buddhism as it moved into and became established in the countries of South and Southeast Asia. For the purposes of this thesis, I prefer to use Early Buddhism in referring to Buddhism in its manifestation in Northern India and Gandhara prior to and coinciding with the emergence of Mahayana.

<sup>33</sup> Sutras are sacred Buddhist texts purporting to be dialogues of the Buddha. The Pali Canon is a collection of the Buddha's discourses known as the *Sutra Pitaka* that found acceptance as authentic by both the Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhists. The Mahayana sutras were written in Sanskrit instead of Pali and consisted of innovations of these dialogues as well as commentaries. Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: a Historical Introduction*, 3rd edition (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982), 66, 241.

<sup>34</sup> The *Lotus Sutra* is the principal text of Mahayana Buddhism.

<sup>35</sup> Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 32, n. 43.

<sup>36</sup> Y. Krishan, "Was Gandhara Art a Product of Mahayana Buddhism?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1964): 104-119; and Gregory Schopen, "The Interpretation on the Kusan Image of Amitabha and the Character of the Early Mahayana in India," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* (1987): 10-2:99-134; cited by Rhi, "Srivasti Miracle," 11, n. 30.

<sup>37</sup> The legendary begging bowl of the Buddha which was enshrined during the Kushan dynasty at their capital of Purushapura (modern Peshawar). The relic was in place at the time of Faxian's travels in the early fifth century but had been removed by the time Xuanzang passed through the area in the seventh century. Xuanzang's reports state that it had been carried off to the royal palace in "Bolasi" the Chinese transliteration for Sasanian Persia. In Shoshin Kuwayama's "The Buddha's Bowl in Gandhara and Relevant Problems," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in Venice*, eds. Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri (Rome: ISMEO, 1990), 964.

<sup>38</sup> It is unknown whether any or most of the bodhisattvas represent Siddhartha prior to his attainment of Buddhahood. Although the varied iconography indicates a virtual pantheon of bodhisattvas, only a few such as Manjushri, Maitreya and Avalokiteshvara (sometimes as Padmapani) have been convincingly identified. Robinson points out in *Buddhist Religion* (78-79) that these are three of the four most significant bodhisattvas in the Mahayana Sutras in which

they are used as interlocutors to engage in discourses with the great disciples and Shakyamuni Buddha.

<sup>39</sup> A significant component in Mahayana belief is the group of five transcendental or cosmic Buddhas among whom the Buddha Amitabha figures. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 32, n. 58.

<sup>40</sup> John Huntington, "A Gandharan Image of Amitayus Sukhavati," *Annali Dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 40 (1980): 652-72; cited in Rhi, "Sravasti Miracle", 10, n. 23.

<sup>41</sup> Chinese translations of Mahayana texts have been dated to the second century C.E., therefore it may be surmised that concepts associated with Mahayana must have arisen in Gandhara much earlier. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 32.

<sup>42</sup> Sir R. E. Wheeler, "Romano-Buddhist Art: an Old Problem Restated," *Antiquity* XXIII (1949): 5; Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York: Bollingen Series, 1955), 1:340; Benjamin Rowland, *Evolution of the Buddha Image* (New York: Asia Society, 1963), 8; Ju-Hyung Rhi, "Sravasti Miracle," 174, n. 103; and others; cited in Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 32, n. 44.

<sup>43</sup> L. Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 61 (1941): 226; cited by Chantal Fabrègues "The Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhara Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 1 (1987): 33.

<sup>44</sup> Fabrègues, "Indo-Parthian Beginnings," 38.

<sup>45</sup> A. Dehkan, "Kushan and the Parthian empire," 115.

<sup>46</sup> The Kushans and Parthians most probably shared a common ancestry. By earliest accounts, they were nomads descended from related Indo-Scythian tribes ranging from the Caspian steppes to Chinese Turkestan. They both suffered defeat in the third century C.E. by the Sasanians. Roman Ghirshman, *Persian Art: the Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties* (New York: Golden Press, 1962), 16.

<sup>47</sup> Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Charsada: a Metropolis of the North-west Frontier, being a report on the excavations of 1958* (London: Published for the Government of Pakistan and the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1962), 104. Excavations by Wheeler at Bala Hisar (Charsada) and by Sir John Marshall at Bhir Mound (Taxila) did not find evidence of archaic goddesses at the earliest levels they reached. Marshall dates their earliest range to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. in *Taxila*, 2: 440; Wheeler calculated their appearance (106) from the third century B.C.E. and their highest occurrence during the second century B.C.E.

<sup>48</sup> Dobbins, "Stratified Excavations," 283.

<sup>49</sup> Ghirshman attributes this observation to Rostovtzeff in *Persian Art*, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Nehru, *Gandharan Style*, 40.

<sup>51</sup> The abhaya mudra is the Buddhist hand gesture indicating "have no fear".

<sup>52</sup> In Gandharan art, both standing and sitting Buddha figures use the abhaya and dhyana mudras; seated Buddhas also use the dharmachakra and bhumisparsha mudras. In Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 40.

<sup>53</sup> Lakshanas are the physical signs denoting a Buddha. In Indian and Gandharan Buddha images, common lakshanas include the *ushnisha* or cranial bump, the *urna* or forehead whorl, auspicious symbols on the soles of his hands or feet, webbing between the fingers, and elongated earlobes that make reference to the heavy earrings given up by Prince Siddhartha upon his renunciation of the worldly life.

<sup>54</sup> In contrast with their Indian correlates, the Gandharan bodhisattvas wear moustaches, an attribute seeming to reflect the male members of the host population of Kushan Gandhara.

<sup>55</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 88.

<sup>56</sup> Benjamin Rowland, Jr., "The Tyche of Hadda," *Oriental Art* 12 (Autumn 1966): 188.

<sup>57</sup> The Athena of the Lahore Museum was originally identified by Alexander Cunningham in 1873 and appears to be based on her chiton and helmet and traces of a spear once held in the raised left hand. Although the site provenance was indeterminate, Cunningham conjectured that the sculpture "once graced a small temple dedicated to Athena Promachos, which was very probably as old as B.C. 100." Elizabeth Errington points to this statue as an example of the legacy of nineteenth century collection practices and early identifications in "Documents Relating to the So-called Athena of the Lahore Museum," *Lahore Museum Bulletin* 3 (1990): 19-28.

<sup>58</sup> The so-called 'Demeter' from Sirkap is just as often identified as representing Hariti. This image is discussed in Chapter three of this thesis and in the Catalogue (fig. 21, cat. 21).

<sup>59</sup> Gandharan images of Vajrapani also appear to be modeled on the Hellenistic Herakles, as is discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>60</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 262. In reference to the syncretic imagery of the Kanishka reliquary; the motive is juxtaposed with small Buddha images placed in the garland loops, an association of fertility with Buddhism.

<sup>61</sup> This notion is also supported by a comparison of Kushan coin imagery with deities displayed on Gandharan seals and sealings of the Kushan period. The frequency and variety of cult divinities on the official coinage of the Empire contrasts with a far more limited number of deities on seals, the more personal character of seals suggesting that they are a more reliable indicator of cult diffusion. Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the Northwest of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1997), 272.

<sup>62</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 72-73.

<sup>63</sup> In the Vedic tradition, Brahma is the Supreme Creator. He was paired with Indra, the king of gods, and both were appropriated by Buddhism as an endorsement of its superior authority and dominance over orthodox Brahmanism.

<sup>64</sup> The eight classes are the deva, yaksha, naga, gandharva, kinnara, asura, garuda and mahagora.

<sup>65</sup> Fabrègues, "Indo-Parthian Beginnings," 37.

<sup>66</sup> The prevalent Gandharan motif of a Garuda in the act of seizing a female Naga is thought to have been inspired by the Hellenic theme of Ganymede for love of whom Jupiter transformed himself into an eagle in order to effect an abduction of the beautiful youth. Stanislaw Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), 182.



<sup>67</sup> It is actually Vajrapani, a yaksha linked with Indra, who is so charged. In Alice Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History and Iconography*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press for Oxford University Press, 1928; republished, New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 50 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>68</sup> Yakshini is an alternate term for yakshi.

<sup>69</sup> The three-angle posture achieved when the weight is placed onto one leg, in this manner raising the height of the hip and letting the shoulder drop on that side. It is a relaxed pose, the antithesis of the rigid frontal pose of equal weight distribution.

<sup>70</sup> Ashvaghosha, "The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha," trans. E.B. Cowell, in *Buddhist Mahayana Texts*, ed. Cowell and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894; first published as Volume XLIX of *The Sacred Books of the East*, republished, New York: Dover Publications, 1969): 60-61 (page citations are to the reprint edition). T.IV, 192.

<sup>71</sup> The *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacarita*.

<sup>72</sup> Also called the Four Regents, Protectors of the World, or World Guardians, they are named Vaisravana (or Vaisramana, associated with the north); Virudhaka (south); Dhrtarastra (east); and Virupaksa (west).

<sup>73</sup> Buddhist legend informs that rather than risk giving offense to any of the four, the Buddha miraculously fused the four bowls into one. In Gandharan representations of this miracle, the bowl held by the Buddha is horizontally scored with four lines to indicate the transformation.

<sup>74</sup> The thunderbolt, which is also the attribute of Indra. "Vajrapani" means "Bearer of the Thunderbolt".

<sup>75</sup> Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 43.

<sup>76</sup> The subject of Vajrapani's origins is expanded in Michael Bosler's "Vajrapani Imagery in the Art of Gandhara," (M.A. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990).

<sup>77</sup> In fully developed Mahayana iconography, Vajrapani is the second dhyani bodhisattva.

<sup>78</sup> Vaisravana is listed among the divine protectors of the ancient kingdom of Khotan in the Tibetan text *Li Yul Lun-Bstan-pa* (Annals of the Li Country). The Devi Hariti and her retinue is also among those tutelary deities appointed by the Buddha as tutelary deities over the Li country. F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935), 94, 97.

<sup>79</sup> S. Lenmann, ed. *Lalitavistara* (Halle, n.p., 1908), 202; cited by Ram Nath Misra in *Yaksha Cult and Iconography* (New Delhi: Manoharlal Publishers, 1981), 75, n. 1.

### CHAPTER III

#### REPRESENTATIONS OF HARITI

The devotional images of the goddess, Hariti, provide a variety of forms that, unlike the Gandharan cult images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas, appear relatively unrestricted by the dictates of canonical representation. From their earliest appearance, Gandharan images of the Buddha present a narrow conformation of postures, mudras, attitude and attire. Bodhisattva images are also subject to this homogenized treatment with only essential variations in their headdresses and attributes. In contrast to these primary members of the Buddhist pantheon, secondary deities exhibit much more variation in the manner of their representations. The diverse cultural backgrounds and aesthetic leanings of Gandharan patrons and sculptors are more evident at this level of cult image production, and these images provide us with the best examples of the characteristically syncretic Gandharan style. The multiform images of Hariti are evidence of this syncretism and of her composite nature. She is derivative of many prototypes that are manifested in the diversity of her cult statues as well as in the variety of her functions as a deity and cult personality. Although Hariti's sculptural images are the primary theme of this chapter, emphasis is given to the deity's iconography as an independent cult image. Chapter Four will continue with the discussion of Hariti's images paired with her consort, Panchika, in their configuration as the tutelary couple.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the Hariti legend and written testimony regarding the role, placement and appearance of her images in the Buddhist monasteries of India's northwest. The subsequent discussion of the primary forms and

attributes ascribed to the deity will invoke the inevitable question of appropriate identifications and equivalencies of symbol and function. The next section will summarize the appearance and early development of archaic fertility images within Gandhara, followed by a brief attempt to construct a lineage of Hariti's divine predecessors from the adjacent civilizations of the silk routes. An examination of persistent themes that emerged during the transmission of the cult of the Great Mother will provide a background for the development of the conception of a Gandharan goddess of abundance under the Kushans. The final section raises issues associated with problematic or anomalous images with suggestions for alternative interpretations of historic classifications. Throughout the Chapter, I will provide support for this study with descriptive references to examples in the catalogue.

#### The Hariti Legend and Sculptural Forms

The legend of Hariti appears in numerous Buddhist text sources, several of which are provided in translation as appendices to this document. Often cited is the written account by Yijing, a Chinese traveler whose western pilgrimage brought him to India in the second half of the seventh century. While visiting the monasteries in that country, he observed food offerings made to an image of Hariti and provided an account of her legend and an explanation for the installation of her images in the Buddhist monastic complexes. His summary version of the story follows. It was directly inspired by the most fully expanded and widely circulated form of the Hariti legend that is found in the *Samyuktavastu* of the *Vinaya*<sup>1</sup> of the Mula-Sarvastivadin sect and is dedicated to the *Bhikshuni*.<sup>2</sup>

At the former birth of this mother, she from some cause or other made a vow to devour all babes at Ragagriha. In consequence of this wicked vow, she forfeited her life, and was reborn as a Yakshi; and gave birth to five hundred children. Every day she ate some babes at Ragagriha, and the people informed the Buddha of this fact. He took and concealed one of her own children, which she called Her Beloved Child. She sought for it from place to place, and at last happened to find it near the Buddha. 'Art Thou so sorry,' said the World-honoured One to her, 'for thy lost child, thy beloved? Thou lamentest for only one lost out of five hundred; how much more grieved are those who have lost their only one or two children on account of thy cruel vow?' Soon converted by the Buddha, she received the five precepts and became an Upasika. 'How shall my five hundred children subsist hereafter?' the new convert asked the Buddha. 'In every monastery,' replied the Buddha, 'where Bhikshus dwell, thy family shall partake of sufficient food, offered by them every day.' For this reason, the image of Hariti is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arms, and round her knees three or five children. Every day an abundant offering of food is made before this image. Hariti is one of the subjects of the four heavenly kings. She has a power of giving wealth. If those who are childless on account of their bodily weakness (pray to her for children), making offerings of food, their wish is always fulfilled.<sup>3</sup>

According to this and other accounts, it was due to the Buddha's decree that an image of the Mother of Demons came to be placed in every Buddhist monastery where food offerings made to the image became part of the mealtime ritual. This firsthand testimony provides one explanation for the great number of Hariti sculptures found at Buddhist archaeological sites. We can be confident that her representations often included paintings on the refectory walls,<sup>4</sup> but few have survived.<sup>5</sup> With rare exceptions, only the images worked in stone remain to document her widespread presence, function and variable aspects. It is unfortunate that very little in Yijing's story describes the appearance of Hariti's images other than the presence and number of children in her arms and by her side.<sup>6</sup> His simple description is insufficient preparation for the shifting forms and inconstant iconography associated with the body of Hariti's representations.

The *Samyuktavastu* places the Hariti legend in Rajagriha, in the kingdom of Magadha in the north of India.<sup>7</sup> In the same way that certain stories of the Buddha came to be associated with pilgrimage sites in Gandhara, the arena of Hariti's conversion was localized to a site sixteen kilometers north of Pushkalavati (Charsada). In his *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Xuanzang records a visit to the stupa at Sare-Makhe-Dheri that was erected to commemorate the conversion of the notorious yakshi mother.<sup>8</sup>

It is fitting that Hariti's legend situates the site of her conversion to the Peshawar Valley in Gandhara. This area was the center of her cult in the time of the Kushans and contains many of the archaeological sites where her cult images were discovered. It is curious, however, that despite the broad-based popularity of Hariti's cult and the prevalence of her iconic images, the episode of her actual conversion appears never to have entered the narrative repertoire of the Gandharan sculptors.<sup>9</sup> Along with legends of famous miracles, stories of the conversions of heretics or evil yakshas are often-repeated themes in Gandharan narrative art. Certain of these tales contain features that share some elements of similarity with the Hariti legend, for example, the conversion of the cannibal yaksha, Atavaka.<sup>10</sup> It is arguable that Hariti's post-conversion eminence as protector of women and children and bestower of fecundity was sufficient cause in itself for her expanded popularity under Buddhism and stimulated production of her cult images exclusively for the purpose of worship, petition and merit. It is also possible that Hariti cult worship, as a popular religion long antedating Buddhism, simply continued in much the same fashion and was essentially unaffected by later manufacture of the legend. This being the case, the legend would have functioned merely to rationalize and facilitate the adoption of her cult and image into Buddhism.

For all their innovation and variation, most Hariti images may be seen as taking one of two or more possible primary forms. The first, in the manner of Yijing's

observations, presents Hariti as an independent cult image, seated or standing. She may be easily identified by the child resting in her lap while others climb on her shoulders, or rest against her knees. The second primary form combines Hariti with her male consort, the Yaksha Panchika, arranged with their children in a tableau of lush fecundity. An extensive discussion of the primary forms and associated iconography of the images of Hariti and Panchika as Kushan deities of abundance will follow in Chapter Four.

#### Hariti's Iconographic Markers

Hariti's independent sculptural images appear to follow a few generalized forms; however, there are many stylistic and iconographic deviations from these basic formulas. As do the other secondary figures in the Gandharan Buddhist pantheon,<sup>11</sup> her images demonstrate a variability that place them beyond the conventionalizing influence of Buddhist representational canons. These variations of form, attribute and style are not ascribable merely to regional idiosyncrasies or to stages in the deity's iconographic development. This poses questions for the iconographer: what are those attributes that reliably distinguish Hariti? Which historic identifications are justified; that is, how frequently in Gandharan Buddhist studies has the designation of Hariti been used as a convenient or generic classification for any variant goddess of abundance? Do the variant attributes associated with images of the deity represent symbolic equivalents? The importance of iconographic markers becomes more critical in the absence of epigraphic evidence that might be used to ascertain the identity of Hariti's images.<sup>12</sup>

In the strictest sense, only one distinguishing attribute is validated by textual evidence in the form of Yijing's recorded observations. The presence of one or more children represented with the image of their deified mother provides the only

unambiguous identification of Hariti. The alternate attribute of the cornucopia is a marker of a prevailing Hellenistic influence even when processed by intermediate Iranian civilizations.<sup>13</sup> It has been associated with numerous goddesses from Mediterranean and Iranian cultures: Demeter, Roma, Fortuna, Tyche, Anahita and Ardokhsho. It is likely that the cornucopia was introduced into Gandhara by means of these goddesses whose similar characteristics and functions facilitated their eventual fusion with Hariti. Within the parameters of Gandharan imagery, I will usually refer to these cult figures as cornucopia goddesses.<sup>14</sup>

Secondary attributes associated with Hariti's representations<sup>15</sup> include a piece of fruit, a wine cup or goblet, and a lotus blossom.<sup>16</sup> The pomegranate has been referred to in iconographic studies as one of Hariti's characteristic attributes.<sup>17</sup> Two rationales have been offered: that the many-seeded pomegranate symbolizes the fertility and prolificacy of the deity;<sup>18</sup> the alternate explanation is that the fruit's crimson center represents Hariti's pre-conversion preference for human flesh.<sup>19</sup> Although iconographers have speculatively identified as fruit a few of the more obscure objects held by the Gandharan Hariti, only the cluster of grapes is unequivocal. None bears a resemblance to a pomegranate, which has not been identified in Gandharan sculpture;<sup>20</sup> the grape cluster (and wine cup) is linked to dionysiac imagery that will be addressed in Chapter Four. Hariti's solitary cult figures depict her in both standing and seated postures with substantial variation in style of costume and personal adornments. Nevertheless, there is an overriding preference for strict hieratic frontality and unconcern for formalized symbolic gestures. A single mudra is only occasionally connected with Hariti's images: an auspicious act of protection or goodwill with the first and second fingers extended, ring and little finger curled into palm, thumb usually bent but sometimes pointed

outwards.<sup>21</sup> In spite of the outward differences of appearance and variations in attribute, the symbolic content reinforces her role as a tutelary deity of fertility and riches.

### Female Cult Images in Gandhara before the Kushans

In positioning Hariti's sculptural images within the context of the advent and development of female cult images in Gandhara, it is natural to look to prototypes among the modeled and molded terracotta fertility figurines found at levels predating the Kushan period. The simple modeled and applied images of the baroque lady type are the earliest known forms (figs. 14-15), but terracotta goddess figurines are present in abundance at archaeological strata dating from 225 B.C.E. to 25 C.E..<sup>22</sup> Headdress and ornamentation consists of a wreath of woven leaves with applied rosette or disk-shaped ornaments (figs. 16-17). The wreath or "chaplet of leaves" introduced during this period is most typical of headdresses worn by later Hariti figures although stylistic innovations are abundant. The terracotta cult figures are certainly of local production, although the wreath and its occasional alternate, the polos, were appropriated from Western sources.

Other early figurines from Taxila sites represent material, technical and artistic developments in Gandharan sculpture. Four statuettes from Sirkap are the earliest known Gandharan female cult figures made of stone. Collectively, they provide an example of the emergence of stone sculpting technology and illustrate early stages in the evolution of style and iconography for such figures. All are carved fully in the round. The figurine found at the earliest level (fig. 18)<sup>23</sup> is characterized by an archaic expression and rigid frontality, replicating in stone the double-molded terracotta figurines of preceding and concurrent strata. The figure is fully nude but for *channavira*<sup>24</sup> and hip-girdle, jewelry, and a fillet and low polos that replace the chaplet of leaves. The three remaining figures were found at the subsequent stratum and have been dated to the



latter half of the first century.<sup>25</sup> Two of these figures, wearing channavira and hip-girdles, are clearly related to the earlier model but with varying grades of stoneworking facility and aesthetic sensibility. The described 'donor figure' (fig. 19)<sup>26</sup> is awkwardly worked and is dressed, as its predecessor, in channavira with the addition of a full-length cloak with schematically incised folds and horizontal sleeve gathers.<sup>27</sup> The other statuette from the same period (fig. 20) takes dramatic leave from the archaic mien of its comparative images. The body is fleshed out with naturalistic musculature, proportions and stance. The facial expression is soft and engaging with full cheeks and well-articulated features. In comparison to its archaic predecessor, this statue successfully evokes the essence of a living woman and marks a departure from archaic cult figure production and a shift in aesthetic sensibilities.<sup>28</sup>

The final statuette from Sirkap (fig. 21, cat. 21) is something of a return to rigid frontality in cult imagery. She wears a polos, is fully draped in chiton and himation and sits on a low, four-legged bench. Her only attribute is a rather squat cornucopia.<sup>29</sup> She has been identified variously as Hariti and Demeter, and her formal appearance and distinct iconography do suggest that the image was intended to represent a specific deity rather than a generic type of fertility image.<sup>30</sup> Among the double-molded fertility goddesses excavated at Taxila's Bhir Mound and Sirkap sites are the earliest Gandharan examples of mother goddesses holding a child. In addition to minimalist forms, some are quite intricately worked (figs. 22-23) and reveal a pronounced stylistic relationship with the Shunga goddess images from Northern India (fig. 24) that suggests they may not be representative of an indigenous Gandharan tradition.<sup>31</sup> Again, these early examples appear to represent a standardized type rather than a differentiated deity with associated iconographic features. Later, stylistically comparable Kushan examples in gold and silver repoussé (fig. 25, cat. 1) display a significantly developed iconography

that distinguishes them as the representations of specific divine entities. The generalized appearance of non-specific fertility deities and mother goddesses attests to a tradition in Gandhara of ritual worship focused on reproductive prolificacy. These beliefs preceded the emergence of differentiated divinities that developed contemporaneously with the first century of Kushan rule.

The most significant category of deities associated with fecundity and abundance is that of the yakshas of India, best exemplified by the single standing yakshi figures of robust proportions and sensual poses (fig. 26). The resemblance of the Gandharan yakshis (figs. 27-28) to their source images in India is discernible but much modified. The elemental eroticism of the Indian yakshis is here lacking: nudity is aberrant and demeanor is constrained.<sup>32</sup> Instead, Gandharan yakshis frequently serve as compositional devices between relief panels where they pose on the rims of *purna kalasa*,<sup>33</sup> a motif that functions as a symbolic reference to their powers of fertility and abundance.

#### Images of Hariti with Children

We know from her legend that Hariti was a yakshi, born into that ambivalent class of demi-gods because of an adverse karmic action. Hariti's images occasionally provide reference to this past and to her yakshi status: one comparatively neutral example is the standing Hariti with child from Takht-i-Bahi (fig. 29, cat. 2). This Hariti mimics the stance of the Gandharan yakshis as she poses under a canopy of leaves and garlands on the top of a pedestal in the form of a *purna kalasa*. Her garments emphasize a prevailing Indian influence: she wears a sari, a chaplet of woven leaves and ankle bracelets over bare feet in the Indian fashion. This piece probably served as a spacer

between larger panels on the facade of a stupa in the same manner that generic yakshi figures were typically displayed in Gandhara.

A less benign example is the famous standing Hariti discovered by Stein at Sahri-Bahlol (fig. 30, cat. 3) and installed at the Peshawar Museum. This monumental image<sup>34</sup> is similarly dressed in the Indian manner with sari and bare feet with anklets but is remarkable for its several unique features: the figure is endowed with four arms and holds the unusual attribute of a trident in addition to the requisite presence of a small child.<sup>35</sup> In addition, prominent fangs protrude at each side of her faintly-smiling mouth (fig. 31), a reference to Hariti's ambivalent yakshi nature and notorious appetites. A cluster of leaves alongside her head represents the symbolic vestiges of the tree of fertility associated with the Indian yakshis. I will revisit this compelling yet problematic image at a later point in this chapter.

Other extant sculptures of Hariti with children underscore the eclectic variability of her representations and the confluence of diverse cultural influences that gave rise to Gandhara's characteristically syncretic art. The Hariti from Sikri (fig. 32, cat. 4), now part of the collection of the Lahore Museum, is illustrative of the converging influences of Hellenism and Parthian Iran. The figure's robust body is clothed in chiton with one shoulder clasp undone and the right breast exposed; the wet drapery effect is emphasized over breasts and girdled hips. The jeweled diadem with medallions and the flat neck ornament are comparable to those of the royal figures and funerary reliefs from Hatra and Palmyra.

The "Yusufzai" Hariti<sup>36</sup> now prominently displayed in the Gandharan collection of the British Museum (figs. 33-35, cat. 5) reveals a more dominant effect of Iranian cultures in the symmetry of the figure, her hieratic seated pose and her Parthian garments. Most notable are the long decorative sleeves of Hariti's robe with their

ornamental, horizontal gathers and raised vertical trim, also characteristic of the sculptures of Hatran royalty.<sup>37</sup> The braided chaplet with single rosette recalls the headwear of the double-molded fertility figures as a Hellenistic tradition adopted in Gandhara in advance of the Parthian incursion. The bare feet and donut-style ankle bracelets are elements in Kushan representation appropriated from Indian sources.

The four examples just given are discoveries by British archaeologists from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Pakistani excavations of Shaikhhan Dheri at Charsada in 1963-64 uncovered an enthroned Hariti with children (figs. 36-37, cat. 6)<sup>38</sup> that shares some common characteristics with these earlier findings. The round, fleshy face and neckfolds of the deity, her hair style with its cluster of snailcurls over the forehead and longer strands pulled back to curl over the ears, and the distinctive round ornament suspended over the forehead<sup>39</sup> replicate features of the Sikri Hariti. In addition, each figure wears a jeweled polos-style headpiece,<sup>40</sup> flat circular necklace and scarf draped over the shoulders as a shawl. There are also significant differences. The Sikri Hariti holds a child in her right arm and two at her shoulders but holds no other identifying attributes. She stands in an awkward tribhanga pose and her lower extremities below the hem of her chiton are missing. By contrast, the Hariti from Shaikhhan Dheri is provided with seven children; the cluster of grapes in her raised right hand reinforces her identification as a goddess of abundance. She sits rigidly upright in *palambadasana* on a throne with a wide, ornamental back, her knees spread apart and bare feet placed firmly beside each other on a diminutive footstool.<sup>41</sup> She is dressed in a sari-like garment over bare feet and anklets. The long sleeves of her garment are roughly incised with simulated gathers in the Parthian fashion also seen in the much earlier robed donor statuette from Taxila and in the beautifully articulated costume of the Yusufzai Hariti.

### Images of the Cornucopia Goddess

Although the presence of children is the only primary attribute substantiated in the literature as the identifier of Hariti, the substitution or addition of a cornucopia may be regarded, at very least, as a reliable symbolic equivalent. As a classification tool, the horn of plenty is an ambiguous element within Gandharan art. It is the chief attribute of Ardokhsho, the Iranian-derived deity adopted by the Kushans during their sojourn in the Oxus regions. Variations of treatment that have produced a horn terminating in the head of an animal may be correlated with the rhyton drinking vessels, such as the examples found at Nisa. The occasional flared rim also appears to be a Gandharan innovation.

Some degree of fusion and hybridization between Hariti and Ardokhsho certainly took place. It is noteworthy, however, that the solitary representations of the cornucopia goddesses demonstrate a stronger tendency towards conformity of representation. In the manner of the Hariti-Demeter from Sirkap, almost all extant examples are seated on some form of throne or platform in the formal palambapadasana pose. There is a strong reliance on symmetry and frontality; the cornucopia is invariably positioned at the deity's left side while her right hand may be raised to display a secondary attribute. Headwear may take the form of a polos but often produces a taller cylindrical or flared silhouette with a flat top in the manner of a modius or calathos.

Extant examples of the cornucopia goddess or Ardokhsho-Hariti demonstrate a wide-ranging distribution when provenance has been established. This range largely coincides with the distribution of findspots of the sculptures of Hariti with children.<sup>42</sup> At the site of Begram in Afghanistan, Roman Ghirshman discovered the statuette of a divinity, which he identified as the goddess Ardokhsho (figs. 38-39, cat. 22), installed in the wall-niche of a room under excavation.<sup>43</sup> The goddess sits in a high-backed throne

with carved legs and floral motifs. Her elongated cornucopia has an exaggerated flare at its upper rim and contains three balls representing fruit. In her raised right hand, Ghirshman has identified a lotus blossom with six petals. Her hair is raised in a high chignon and clasped by a ribbon or tiara. She plants her feet firmly on a low footrest ornamented on its face with a sawtooth design. The folds of her gown form a highly schematized and symmetrical pattern, and a high girdle and diagonal bodice folds draw emphasis to her breasts.

It is interesting to compare the Begram Ardokhsho-Hariti with the micaceous schist panel of an Ardokhsho-Hariti with four female attendant donors (figs. 40-43, cat. 23) excavated in 1990 at Shnaisha Gumbat (Swat) by University of Peshawar archaeologist, Dr. Abdur Rahman. There is significant resemblance in almost every aspect of the two images: they are identical in proportion, posture and facial expression. The Shnaisha Gumbat Ardokhsho-Hariti sits in palambapadasana pose on a high-backed throne, her feet set apart on a low footrest. Like her Begram counterpart, her hair is parted in the middle over her broad, benevolent face. She wears a high headdress in the form of a flared fruit basket or *calathos*<sup>44</sup> that models exactly the shape and appearance of the chignon of the Begram goddess. The long gown is belted high under the breast and reproduces the schematic pattern of symmetrical, diagonal folds; the draped sash hanging to off-center between her knees appears to simulate the vertical panel of drapery folds that form a distinctive column on Ghirshman's statuette. Her cornucopia precisely replicates the long, sinuous cone and dramatic flare of the Begram deity's attribute. Her right hand is raised but empty of attributes; instead, she uses it to display a mudra of benediction. True differences are remarkably few. Beside the feet of the Shnaisha Gumbat figure are two pots of flowing coins; the four tall posts of her throne are adorned with tassels; and the four attendants provide dynamic contrast to the

formal rigidity of their object of worship. The essential sameness of the two primary figures lends credence to a canonical precedent for representations of Ardokhsho throughout the northern Kushan realm.

Two other examples reinforce speculation of a canon for the Gandharan cornucopia goddess. The British Museum holdings include an enthroned female figure (fig. 44, cat. 24), formally arrayed with a cornucopia to her left and lotus blossom in her raised right hand. The image is headless and costume style is indeterminate although an emphasis is placed on a diagonal sweep of drapery from the figure's left knee down to her right ankle. The base on which the figure rests is of particular interest. It depicts a stylized pattern of overlapping circles meant to represent a sack or vessel of coins, in this way confirming identification of the goddess of abundance. It is striking to compare this with the more recently excavated image of the cornucopia goddess from Barikot in Swat (fig. 45, cat. 25).<sup>45</sup> The resemblance of the two figures is compounded by the loss of both figures' heads, but more deliberate similarities are obvious. The Barikot Ardokhsho appears to mimic the precise posture of its British Museum correlate. Unfortunately, the figure from Swat has suffered significant abrasion and the finer details have been lost; however, the goddess still holds the familiar attributes of lotus blossom and cornucopia. Her garment is at least superficially identical, including the sweep of fabric from knee to opposite ankle. It is impossible to make speculations concerning geographic range and distribution here: as is the case with most pieces collected in the first century of Gandharan archaeology, the British Museum sculpture is without provenance.<sup>46</sup> Callieri dates the Barikot statue to a late phase between the fourth and fifth centuries<sup>47</sup> during the time of the 'Little Kushanas' and Sasanian hegemony over Gandhara.<sup>48</sup>

These two distinct patterns of representation -- the deity with the child and the cornucopia goddess -- lead us to two possible conclusions. On the one hand, we may be seeing a single deity whose iconography has been variously interpreted; alternately, these images may be representative of two or more goddesses whose functional, symbolic and outward similarities produced a fusion of hybrid imagery. The latter assumption appears more reasonable; it is misleading to force these diverse images into one common classification. Hariti, in her very origins, is a composite goddess whose images document a progressive synthesis of iconographic representation and meaning. I have already referred to Hariti's Indian prototype as a pre-Vedic nature spirit. Her antecedents from Near Eastern, Hellenic, and Iranian cultures likewise present a significant, alternate and complex lineage of iconography and functions out of which were formed the variable manifestations of the Kushan goddesses of abundance in Gandhara.

#### Ancient Precursors for the Gandharan Goddesses of Abundance

The earliest evidence of a progenitor for our Gandharan goddess appears in the ancient histories and mythologies of Near Eastern civilizations of the third millennium B.C.E.. These document the traces of a primarily agrarian culture in which cosmology and worship were goddess-centered. The matriarchates, or as Pryluski describes them, *gynecocracies*,<sup>49</sup> exalted female reproductive powers in their constructions of society and of the divine. Out of such societies emerged the concept of a supreme mother goddess whose cult extended from Asia Minor to Egypt, crossed the Iranian plateau to the Indus River and beyond. This Great Goddess of Western Asia was familiar to the Hellenic, Iranian and Semitic populations under many appellations but the earliest name known to us is Inanna,<sup>50</sup> the goddess of Uruk in ancient Mesopotamia. With the decline



of Sumer, she was appropriated as Ishtar by the Semitic peoples then in ascendancy. Her worship spread into the regions of Syria, Iraq and Iran where she was correlated with Artemis and venerated in the great temples at Dura-Europas and Susa. Indications of her cult have also been unearthed at Hatra and Palmyra.<sup>51</sup> Coin evidence indicates that her cult was instituted in Bactria where she was assimilated to Ardivi-Anahita and established as the patron deity of Balkh (Bactra), the capital city.<sup>52</sup> In Bactria, Nana-Anahita was syncretically combined with the Iranian deity, Ardokhsho,<sup>53</sup> in whose guise she was introduced to the Kushans.

While the origins of this divine lineage may be traced back as far as the historical records of Babylon, two distinct patterns emerge in the development of the cult of the Great Mother. In her earliest manifestation as Inanna-Ishtar, the deity is associated with the life-giving waters, reproduction and childbearing, and the fertility of the fields and the flocks. She holds sway over the sustaining processes of nature while embodying universal principles of life and death within the larger cosmological schema. Consequently, the necessary cosmic balance must be assured by the emanation of a destructive aspect; for Inanna, this is expressed in her auxiliary designation as goddess of the battlefield.

In contrast to this construction is the emergence of a female deity occupied less with natural phenomena and the dual powers of creation and annihilation than with the relatively secular concerns of the city-state and the fortunes of the ruling sovereign. Preeminent within this classification of deities is the Greek goddess, Tyche, who rose to popularity in the kingdoms of Hellenistic Asia Minor. In her earliest conception, she was a goddess of Chance but later evolved into a special protectress of cities. Eventually, she was transformed into the divine personification of a city itself.<sup>54</sup> The first historical mention of an image of Tyche is from Pausanias who describes the goddess' statue as it

appeared in Smyrna<sup>55</sup> in the sixth century B.C.E..<sup>56</sup> It is with this legendary image that Tyche's iconography appears to have been established; according to Pausanias' account, the deity was depicted wearing a polos and crenellated crown<sup>57</sup> and holding a cornucopia.<sup>58</sup>

In Hellenized Bactria, the city-goddess Tyche was adopted by the Parthian Arsacids and Indo-Scythians who struck their coins with her image. She was brought into contact with the locally established cults of the composite goddess of fecundity and abundance, Nana-Ardvi-Anahita, and in particular came to be aligned with the Iranian deity, Ardokhsho. In Avestan mythology, Ardokhsho corresponds with the goddess, Ashi Vanuhi, described in Zoroastrian literature as a protector of kings' fortunes, bringer of victory in battle, bestower of children and emblem of kingly glory.<sup>59</sup> The integration of functions and iconography peculiar to the legacy of Nana-Anahita and to Tyche in Asia Minor and Bactria appears to have contributed significantly to the development of Ardokhsho's conception under the Kushans.<sup>60</sup> The perseverance of these powerful divinities, their contiguity and their progressive fusion fashioned the prototype for the Gandharan Hariti, endowing her with the characteristics and attributes associated with a goddess of wealth, abundance, guardianship and royal glory. In addition, Hariti's lush maternity, contrasted with her past affinity for child-eating, is wholly consistent with the dual nature expressed in the character of the Mesopotamian Inanna. This duality is manifested equally in the ancient traditions of India, demonstrated in no small measure by the localized goddesses of disease and the intrinsic ambivalence embodied by the yakshas.

This is not to imply that a complete homogenization of related but distinct deities had been effected by the time of Hariti's efflorescence in Gandhara. Examples of her precursors and counterparts appear in contemporaneous sculpture or numismatics and

are referenced in the Buddhist literature. The original, divergent forms of goddess of nature and goddess of State are represented in the images of Nana and Tyche-Ardokhsho, respectively. Gandharan representations of Nana consist mostly of Kushan intaglio seal or coin images<sup>61</sup> where she often appears seated on the back of a lion, the sacred animal associated with the Mesopotamian Ishtar and symbolic of her warlike aspect.<sup>62</sup> Lunar symbols that may appear with her refer to her early identification as a moon goddess and correlate her with Aphrodite and Artemis.<sup>63</sup> A silver bowl of uncertain origins<sup>64</sup> now in the collection of the British Museum (fig. 46, cat. 45) shows a four-armed female figure in a crenellated crown with a lunar crescent, seated on a lion and holding an attribute in each hand: a bowl, a scepter, and solar and lunar symbols.<sup>65</sup> Among the stone sculpture of Gandhara are two images in Pakistan museum collections that may be tentatively identified as representations of Nana. A cult image in the Lahore Museum (fig. 47, cat. 46) depicts a haloed figure seated on a wide-backed throne and flanked by a pair of attendant lions. She wears a polos and chiton and holds a cup in her raised right hand and an unidentified object in the left. A small, carved image excavated at Jandial (Taxila) is identified (incorrectly) in the catalogue of the Taxila Museum as Panchika (figs. 48-49, cat. 47). The small, headless female figure is carved fully in the round. She sits in a high-backed throne flanked by two crouching lions and holds a scepter or modified cornucopia terminating in an animal's head.

Representations of Tyche in Gandhara are infrequent. The Indo-Greek kings' coinage displays her earliest images in India, but she appears to have been wholly superseded by her Iranian correlate, Ardokhsho, on the Kushan coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka.<sup>66</sup> Sculptural images are rare: two examples have been convincingly identified. The first (fig. 50), excavated at Hadda in 1922-3 by Barthoux,<sup>67</sup> is a small limestone panel with a central female figure holding a cornucopia and seated in a

modified palambapadasana with legs pendant.<sup>68</sup> She is flanked by two male figures dressed in Roman scale armor and coat of mail, respectively. Crouching beside each of her feet is a hybrid creature with human head and torso ending in a snake body. These have been identified as river gods, perhaps functioning in this instance as anthropomorphic representations of the Kabul and Surkhar Rivers.<sup>69</sup> Although the head of the central deity is missing, the characteristic crenellated crown is in this instance unnecessary to support identification of a Tyche. The configuration of the sculpture's components appear to personify the geographical conception of a fortified city situated on two rivers.

The other sculpture is an incomplete fragment from a vertical five-panel relief excavated by Faccenna at Butkara I in Swat. The head and bust of a female divinity have survived (fig. 51) ; she wears a channavira and heavy earrings and a braided wreath or polos surmounted by a crenellated crown. In another panel, a female figure stands to the right of another (male?) figure.<sup>70</sup> Both hold poles or spears; the female wears the distinctive crenellated crown, albeit much damaged (the quality of this image was too poor to reproduce here).

City goddesses and local deities assigned a tutelary function over a region or site are not unfamiliar in the Buddhist context in Kushan Gandhara and may speak to a much older tradition. Ashvaghosha's *Buddhacarita* includes a passage describing the distress of the city goddess of Rajagriha upon observing Shakyamuni so humbly garbed in his monastic robes.<sup>71</sup> The *Lalitavistara* and *Mahavastu* both note the presence of the city goddess of Kapilavastu at the Great Departure when she offers her parting blessing to Prince Siddhartha.<sup>72</sup> Reliefs depicting this narrative sometimes include a female deity wearing a crenellated crown among the participants and observers.

Though widely represented in coin imagery in Gandhara before the arrival of the Kushans, city goddesses never appear on the coinage of the new dynasty. Gnoli attributes this phenomenon primarily to the Kushan's institution of a system of centralized rule and their conception of divine kingship derived from Iranian traditions.<sup>73</sup> The legacy of the localized city goddess proved to be no longer germane to the structure, scale and ideology of the new regime and was superseded by a grander expression of Kushan belief. This took the form of Ardokhsho, the feminine embodiment of the principle of kingly glory that was dedicated to the abundance and prosperity of the realm. Her standing or enthroned image with the cornucopia attribute appears on coins issued by almost every Kushan king from Kanishka the First to the end of the dynasty.<sup>74</sup> The vast majority of the deities appropriated by the Kushans for their coin pantheon tended not to be reflected in the sculpture of the empire. However, the prevalence on coins and in sculpture of images of Ardokhsho as the Gandharan cornucopia goddess and her correspondence with Hariti's images indicate a blurring of perceived differences between these two divinities. Their growing similitude of concept and function gave rise to syncretic representations that reflect a social environment of competing aesthetics and varied ethnic pressures and preferences. The convergence of ideals and iconography in the images of Hariti and Ardokhsho is most plainly differentiated among representations of the tutelary couple and will be discussed in the following chapter.

#### Anomalous and Hybrid Images

Among independent images of the goddess of abundance are those whose extreme degree of syncretism places them outside the conventional iconographic repertoire and precludes straightforward classification. One is a small schist sculpture of unrecorded provenance<sup>75</sup> of a haloed female deity seated with knees apart in formal

palambapadasana pose (fig. 52, cat. 43). She raises a cylindrical drinking vessel in her right hand and is garbed in a manner identical to the seated cornucopia goddess but the iconography diverges in other respects. Below the traditional braided wreath headwear, the goddess' head is that of an animal with the pointed ears and sharp muzzle of a fox or dog.<sup>76</sup> The head of an identical animal inexplicably protrudes just below the deity's left shoulder and seems to be supported in the palm of her left hand.<sup>77</sup>

Syncretic representations more likely to be associated with the conception of Hariti include three goddess figures whose facial features are made distinct by tusks or fangs. Two images of unknown provenance<sup>78</sup> bear some iconographic and stylistic similarities to their better-known affiliate, the four-armed Hariti from Sahri-Bahlol discussed earlier in this chapter. The problems raised by the Sahri-Bahlol Hariti's anomalistic appearance and iconography are echoed in these lesser-known sculptures. Collectively, the threesome may denote a previously undesignated conception, perhaps inspired by the later development of a Tantric form of Buddhism in the north, of Hariti in her pre-conversion cannibalistic aspect.<sup>79</sup>

The first of these (fig. 53), like the Sahri-Bahlol image, carries a trident and is four-armed, a distinct peculiarity in Gandharan imagery. The arrangement of the hair is identical and otherwise unique among extant images of the deity; another unusual feature is the halo that has been superimposed in each instance by the stylized, incised folds of a shawl or drapery. The most apparent differences between the two include the pose, expression, and remaining attributes. The Sahri-Bahlol statue is a standing cult image rendered with rigid frontality. Her expression is benign, even benevolent, inconsistent with the fangs that emerge from the corners of her faintly smiling mouth. In addition to the distinguishing trident, she bears a wine cup, a nectar vessel and a child seated in the palm of her lowered hand. The comparison image is curiously angled in a

pose that is dynamic, implying action, with drawn-up knees as though arrested in flight. Her features are grotesque with bulging eyes under ferocious, angled brows. Although her attributes do not include a child, she carries a trident in her upper left hand,<sup>80</sup> and at her right, a bowl and what appears to be a dagger.

The other comparison image (fig. 54) is endowed with only two arms and stands in the upright stance of a cult image. The same treatment of the halo with its overlaid drapery in three distinct, schematic folds suggests a stylistic relationship between the three images. Her face is harsh with rimmed, empty eyes; conspicuous fangs frame the corners of her set lips. The upraised right hand holds an implement that, though abraded, takes the form of a handle with a short, possibly curved blade. In the lowered left hand, she grips the hair of a dangling child figure in an attitude less maternal than predatory.

The Sahri-Bahlol Hariti -- ever enigmatic, problematic -- requires re-evaluation in the light of comparison with these two demonesses. If she is meant to represent Hariti, is she shown here as a reformed bodhisattva or as the notorious childeating ogress? Does the tiny child represent her youngest son, Priyankara, or does it symbolize a generic victim of her base inclinations? The fangs, the spray of leaves behind the head, and the wine cup are iconographic markers of her Indian yakshi cult origins. On the other hand, the trident and multiplicity of arms and attributes speak to an incipient worship of Shiva that may be linked with the development of esoteric Buddhism.

It is also conceivable, as more than one source has suggested, that this sculpture does not represent Hariti at all. The published source of this conjecture comes from an iconographic study by Pran Gopal Paul of early sculpture of Kashmir.<sup>81</sup> Evidence of a shared history and even a shared identity between Gandhara and Kashmir dates to the Mauryan period and King Ashoka who was responsible for the

construction of both Buddhist and Brahmanical monuments in these regions.<sup>82</sup> The Fourth Buddhist Council, convened by the great King Kanishka, is believed to have taken place in the vale of Kashmir, and other inscriptions, popular tradition and literary evidence allude to a continuing relationship between these two contiguous areas. The religious environment in Kashmir was one that supported Buddhism since the time of Ashoka, but Shaivism predated Buddhism's introduction and remained the predominant faith.<sup>83</sup> The Buddhism that survived the destruction of the Huns in Gandhara became infused in Kashmir with elements of primitive folk cults, Tantrism, and Brahmanism. Although decimated by periods of devastating iconoclasm perpetrated by the Huns and Muslims, the extant sculpture of Kashmir is sufficient to provide evidence of a syncretic blend of Indian and Gandharan styles, most of these images being Brahmanical in theme.

It is beyond the scope of this study to offer a comprehensive discussion of Kashmiri art and iconography, other than to provide a context for the disputed identification of the Hariti from Sahri-Bahlol. This earlier identification is largely based on the attribute of the child and the findspot of the sculpture at the excavated site of a Buddhist shrine.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, the figure's atypical appearance and iconography has led to speculation that the cult image is one of a set of *matrikas*,<sup>85</sup> specifically identified as the Matrika Mahesvari based on the identifying attributes of the trident, wine cup and child. Although Mahesvari is a child-bestower, this representation also succeeds in expressing the dual principles of benevolence and malevolence so characteristic of the Brahmanical saptamatrikas. In support of this theory Paul offers a comparison with another image, also documented as part of the Peshawar Museum collection (fig. 55).<sup>86</sup> This sculpture was collected from a mound some thirty kilometers northwest of Peshawar near Shabkadar.<sup>87</sup> The head is missing, but the intact attributes can be



identified as a conch, a lotus, and chakra and a club, attributes that identify her as the Matrika Vaisnavi.<sup>88</sup> Despite the significant distance between their respective excavation sites, the two statues share an extraordinary resemblance and could easily be classified as members of the same set of matrikas. Their dimensions are identical, and they are both carved from schist.<sup>89</sup> The multiple arms, rigid, upright stance, solid contours of the body, garments and schematic fall of the folds are all unique characteristics, unconventional in Gandharan sculpture and exclusive to these two images. Paul points out that Hun rule over the Peshawar valley was directed from its base in Kashmir after the fall of Kushans. It is not inconceivable that the influence of Kashmiri Brahmanism spread into Gandhara and triggered the production of Shaivite cult images in the northwest,<sup>90</sup> even if this does not in itself explain the relationship between the Sahri-Bahlol and Shabkadar images or verify their identifications.<sup>91</sup>

These are just two attempts to explain and classify the Sahri-Bahlol image within the context of the highly syncretic religious and political environment of Gandhara during and immediately after the time of the Kushans. It is possible that many of the images of the goddess of abundance, historically classified as Hariti or as Ardokhsho, require reassessment with the introduction of new research or newly published, previously unknown images. Even though the findspots of the Sahri-Bahlol Hariti and Shabkadar matrika are recorded (unlike so many of the Gandharan images that exist without such documentation), iconographic solutions and accurate identifications of these and other images remain elusive. It is not my intention nor is it within my ability to assign absolute determinations regarding the traditional corpus of Hariti sculptures and related images. Rather, I wish to append the data with more recently available images, to introduce an expanded framework for the iconographic classification of these images, and in doing so, to continue to raise questions regarding the reliability of historical designations.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist *Vinaya* (T.XXII-XXIV, 1421-1502) stipulates the rules of deportment for the monastic order, and the *Samyuktavastu* (Sanskrit: "Miscellanea"; Chinese: *Genben shuo yiqie youbu binaye zashi*) appears in Chapter 31 (T.XXIV, 1451). This text was brought to China in the seventh century and translated into Chinese by Yijing himself. *Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais: Édition de Taisho (Taisho shinshu daizokyo)* (hereafter abbreviated T.), comp. Paul Demiéville (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1978), XXIV, 1451. For a translation into French, see Noël Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* (1917): 3-14. My translation into English of this version of the Hariti legend may be found in Appendix A of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Bhikshu and Bhikshuni are Sanskrit terms for Buddhist monks and nuns.

<sup>3</sup> Yijing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion (Nanhai qigui neifa zhuan, T.LIV, 2125)*, trans. Takakusu Junjiro (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1982), 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Beal provides a translation by Julien of Yijing's account which varies on several points: it is said that the image of the deity is painted on the kitchen or porch wall; also, it emphasizes that Hariti is revered as the most powerful among the retinue of the four heavenly kings. In Xuanzang's *Si-yu-ki*, 1:110-111, n. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Stein excavated a mural painting of the Mother of Demons in Buddhist shrine XII, at Farhad Beg-yailaki near Khotan in the Tarim Basin. Foucher dates the painting to no later than the eighth century in his "Buddhist Madonna," 285-286. Mario Bussagli discusses Stein's finds in the region of Khotan and reproduces images of these in *Central Asian Painting: From Afghanistan to Sinkiang*, 2d ed., trans. Lothian Small (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1979), 53-68. Bussagli dates the painting of Hariti to the mid-sixth century.

<sup>6</sup> Foucher interprets the five children as numeric shorthand for Hariti's five hundred sons, her favorite, here identified as Pingala, he identifies as the one held at her breast. Alfred Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddique du Gandhâra* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1922), tome II, part I, 135.

<sup>7</sup> Magadha, south of the Ganges in Bengal, was the geographical center of the Buddhist sphere in northern India and was the political impetus behind the unification of northern India in the centuries following the death of the Buddha.

<sup>8</sup> Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, 1:110-111. The site was identified by Alfred Foucher in *Ancient Geography* (17-19) who also notes that the name, *Sare Makhe*, means "red face" in reference to small pox or measles for which a pinch of earth from the mound is said to provide a cure. Current-day Muslim women continue to enact rituals traditionally associated with the site in other ways as well: a small village in close proximity to the Hariti Stupa boasts a popular shrine dedicated to Bibi Sahida, a Muslim saint who is reputed to cure infertility (Hamida Alam, Curator, Lahore Museum).

<sup>9</sup> Hariti and the Buddha appear not to have been portrayed even within the same piece or panel in Gandharan art. The confrontation that led to Hariti's conversion did emerge much later as a popular narrative theme in the Chinese painting repertoire. Chinese artists chose to portray the drama of the Buddha's concealment of Hariti's youngest son under his almsbowl while she and a throng of demons endeavor to free him. Julia K. Murray points to this as an exclusively Chinese iconographic innovation and suggests a conflation of imagery drawn from portrayals of Mara's

hordes attacking the Buddha to thwart his enlightenment. In "Representations of Hariti, The Mother of Demons, and the Theme of "Raising the Alms-bowl" in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 43 (1981-82): 256, 259.

<sup>10</sup> The king of Atavi was obliged to provide the flesh-eating Yaksha Atavaka (alternately called the Yaksha Atavika or Alavaka) with a living human victim each day. Eventually it came about that the king's own young son was designated to be the ogre's next meal. The child's wet nurse led him to the yaksha's forest dwelling; however, the Buddha appeared in time to circumvent the act and effect a conversion. Representations of this story in Buddhist narrative sculpture are simply organized with few elements: the central Buddha seated on the pedestal throne of the ogre, one or more representations of a small naked boy (a rare Gandharan example of continuous narration), his nurse, the yaksha and adoring onlookers. These simple narrative elements correspond with the Hariti conversion story reduced to its most basic components: female (nurse), child (prince) and Buddha corresponding to Hariti, Pryankara (her youngest son), and the Buddha. This example of a Gandharan narrative appears on one of the panels of the Sikri stupa base discussed by A. Foucher in his book *Les Bas-Reliefs du Stûpa de Sikri (Gandhâra)* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903), 190-199, fig. 1.

<sup>11</sup> The best example of a secondary divinity with a wide range of representational modes is the Vajrapani who appears at times as a bearded Brahman and at others as a young man in a variety of dress. For a comprehensive study of the manifestations of Vajrapani, see Michael Bosler's thesis titled "Vajrapani Imagery in the Art of Gandhara" (Master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> The Hariti sculpture from Skarah Dheri may be the only extant sculptural image of the deity with an inscription however, this contains a date but does not confirm identification of the deity. Dobbins, "A Note on the Hariti Image from Skarah Dheri, Year 399," *East and West* 17 (1967): 268-272. In a related note, Dr. A. H. Dani discusses a rock carving with inscription near the Indus River on the Karakoram Highway (KKH) about a mile from Chilas. Below an inscription in Kharoshthi that honors the Kushan King Vasishka (father to Kanishka II) is an incised representation of a stupa with a crown, a nimbus, two legs. On either side of this anthropomorphized structure, Dani identifies a lion jutting out, back to back, like arms from the body. The inscription on the left in Scythian Kharoshthi reads: *Hariti prathatkasa*, interpreted to mean: "Establishment of Hariti." In Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Chilas: the City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)* (Islamabad: by the author, 1983), 115, 117, fig. 89.

<sup>13</sup> The non-appearance of the cornucopia in Indian iconography is generally attributed to an aversion in the Brahmanical tradition to animal horn due to religious taboo prohibiting slaughter or interference with cows; only individuals of the lowest caste can touch such objects regarded as unclean or polluted. Alfred Foucher, "The Tutelary Pair in Gaul and in India," *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, trans. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas (Paris: Paul Geuthner; London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), 142.

<sup>14</sup> Exceptions will be based on contextual details and other associated attributes.

<sup>15</sup> These secondary attributes associated with the deity may occur alone or in conjunction with children or cornucopia.

<sup>16</sup> This last seems at times to have developed out of the elongated cornucopia shape. Alternately, other evolved forms retain the animal finial and reduce the cornucopia to a coil or spiral. In this form, the attribute may assume the appearance and function of a scepter. An example of this modification can be seen in the gold repoussé and pearl medallion or pendant from the Cleveland Museum of Art with a smiling goddess in chiton (fig. 101, cat. 37). She holds a lotus in her right

hand and lotus-cornucopia in her left. Examples of this evolved form commonly appear in the later Kashmiri images of Gajalaksmi (fig. 113, cat. 53) and the image of Sri from Brar (fig. 105, cat. 41).

<sup>17</sup> Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 86.

<sup>18</sup> This clearly compares with the pomegranate's symbolism as an attribute denoting cyclical fertility in the Classical myth of Persephone and Demeter.

<sup>19</sup> M. Slusser "Nepali Sculptures: New discoveries," In *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1970*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 100-101.

<sup>20</sup> It may well be that the pomegranate appears as a late development in Hariti's iconography, more characteristic of East Asian images of the deity or of deities associated with her. Getty offers an example of an image of Hariti at the temple of Chandi Mendut in Java where she is seated on a throne over a basket that Getty says "seems to contain" pomegranates. Getty, *Northern Buddhism*, 86.

<sup>21</sup> Carter identifies this gesture as a "sri" mudra and points out that it is never performed by the Buddha, but by other gods and mortals as a gesture made to the Buddha at an auspicious occasion or, in the case of an individual cult figure, towards the observer or worshipper. Martha Linick Carter, "A Gandharan Blessing," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 1 (1987): 52.

<sup>22</sup> It is important to note that these archaic goddess figurines have not been found at levels earlier than the late third century B.C.E. and therefore surely represent a non-indigenous or imported tradition. Levels with the greatest abundance date from 225 to 25 C.E., depending on the site. Dobbins, "Stratified Excavations," 283. Male figures and ritual tanks or model shrines were also found in correspondence with these fertility goddesses at Sirkap. Major Gordon, "Mother Goddess of Gandhara," *Antiquity* 11 (March 1937): 77.

<sup>23</sup> Sirkap stone figurine no.4, stratum III (Indo-Parthian period), early first century C.E..

<sup>24</sup> The channavira is a type of girdle encircling the hips with breast chain crossed and linked at solar plexus.

<sup>25</sup> Stratigraphic correlation of datable sites provided by Dobbins in his "Stratified Excavations," 281.

<sup>26</sup> The headless figure holds an offering box.

<sup>27</sup> The open-fronted cloak may be compared to those worn by Parthian and Kushan nobles. An example may be seen in Harald Ingholt's "Parthian Sculptures from Hatra," *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 12 (1954): 13-14, plate III, no. 2.

<sup>28</sup> A comparison may be found in the bacchanalian scene on the front of a statue base in the Lahore Museum in which two female figures drink and carouse with their male paramours. They are posed to be viewed from the back and are dressed only in channavira and himations draped low to expose their naked buttocks.

<sup>29</sup> The right hand of the figure is concealed beneath her garments, an unusual device in the context of Gandharan iconic imagery of any period.

<sup>30</sup> This last identification is no doubt based on the cornucopia, the Hellenistic dress and the findspot that places the cult figure in the remains of this Bactrian-Greek city. It is just as possible that this is an image of any of the number of cornucopia-bearing goddesses from the Hellenistic or Iranian cultures. This could explain the apparent regression to a more formal affect: the image of a particular deity is more likely to call up any existing canon for that deity's representation. Based on attribute, dating and provenance, I am disinclined to concur with the Hariti identification, however I think it probable that figures like this one may have provided a model for the later Kushan images of Hariti.

<sup>31</sup> Dobbins, "Stratified Excavations," 283.

<sup>32</sup> Why was the appearance and role of yakshis so effaced in Gandhara? I speculate that this is due to the close approximation of the traditional pose of the yakshi images to the standardized pose of Queen Maya, the mother of Prince Siddhartha, in narrative representations depicting the birth of the Buddha. It is clear that the yakshi image provided the model for the figure of Queen Maya at the time when this episode was being canonized into the Gandharan repertoire of narratives. In the process, the model itself was subjected to refinement in order to elevate the overall dignity of the pose in this intimate juxtaposition with the infant Buddha and his mother.

<sup>33</sup> The purna kalasa or auspicious pot is a profound and ancient symbol of creation in the Indian traditions and a decorative motif of beauty and good fortune.

<sup>34</sup> The statue is four feet tall.

<sup>35</sup> Susan L. Huntington concurs that the primary attribute of the child is the critical determinant in identifying the Sahri Bahlol goddess as representing Hariti. In *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), 148.

<sup>36</sup> Yusufzai is a region only vaguely geographical that is identified as provenance for this piece. Although it is an unsatisfactory designation and a dangerously subjective term, it was adopted as a convenient descriptor by the British collectors of the nineteenth century. In actuality, it referred to the amorphous territory of the Yusufzai Pathans, a tribal group of Afghan origins who first entered a general region between Peshawar and Swat in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The geographic provenance must refer to territory only partly situated within the jurisdiction of the British and was probably loosely applied. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 14.

<sup>37</sup> As already shown in Ingholt's example (above note), there are many similarities between Kushan and Parthian costume that are observable in the Hatran sculptures.

<sup>38</sup> I was informed by Assistant Curator, Nidaullah Sehrai, of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at the University of Peshawar that this sculpture was stolen sometime after its excavation and turned up years later in a museum collection in Germany. After much negotiation and political pressure, it was eventually returned to Pakistan. The head of the small figure of the child at Hariti's left shoulder is not original but is the result of a later cosmetic enhancement that occurred during the time the statue resided in Germany.

<sup>39</sup> A.H. Dani asserts in "Shaikhan Dheri Excavations" (41) that this is a distinctive Pathan custom found even to this day among Pakistan Pathan tribal communities.

<sup>40</sup> The Sikri Hariti's headpiece is geometric in ornamentation; the Shaikhan Dheri Hariti wears a softer, twisted variation.

<sup>41</sup> Palambapadasana (also referred to in the scholarly literature as "European pose") is of Iranian and West Asian origins. It does not appear in Indian art prior to the time of the Kushans but was commonly used in Gandhara in representations of princes, bodhisattvas and minor deities, never by the Buddha himself. In Rosenfield's *Dynastic Arts*, 186-187.

<sup>42</sup> It is difficult to generalize on matters of sculpture type, geographic range and site provenance because the large number of extant Ardoksho-Hariti figures that cannot be associated with a specific site or region.

<sup>43</sup> Roman Ghirshman, *Bégram: recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946), 78-79, pl. XVII, XVIII, XLV.

<sup>44</sup> The calathos is worn on the head as a symbol of fruitfulness in Greek and Egyptian art.

<sup>45</sup> Excavated by Pierfrancesco Callieri and the Italian Archaeological Mission and first published in Callieri's *Bir-kot-Ghwandai 1990-1992: A Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1992), plate XIX.

<sup>46</sup> The statue is among gifts made to the British Museum by Mrs. D.H. Gordon. Major D.H. Gordon's archaeological investigations in the Peshawar Valley region of ancient Gandhara continued over many years in the early twentieth century. Most pertinent to this study, he authored "The Mother-Goddess of Gandhara," *Antiquity* 11 (March 1937): 70-79. It may be presumed that he had a special interest in collecting examples of this and related divinities.

<sup>47</sup> Dating is based on the stratigraphy of the site and corresponding numismatic evidence. Callieri describes this archaeologically in *Bir-kot-Ghwandai* (35): the ratio of excavated Kushan to Kushano-Sasanian coins occur in balance at this stratum.

<sup>48</sup> This term refers to the latter half of Kushan dynastic rule that followed the Sasanian intrusion in the third century.

<sup>49</sup> Jean Prylusk, "The Great Goddess in India and Iran," *Indian Historical Quarterly* 10 (1934): 416.

<sup>50</sup> Alternately referred to as Nanai (the Semitic name), derived from Nana, and Nanaia (Nana is the Eastern version of the name and Nanaia is the Western version, according to Rosenfield in *Dynastic Arts*, 85.

<sup>51</sup> Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, *Nana on Lion* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1969), 3-4.

<sup>52</sup> Xuanzang's travel accounts from the region of Balkh include description of a shrine decorated with precious gems, containing a figure of Buddha and guarded from the outside by a statue of the deity, Vaisravana. A Turkish prince who camped by the temple for the purpose of robbing it of its valuables dreamed of being struck by a lance hurled by Vaisravana (correlate of the Indian God of Wealth, Kubera) and subsequently died. *Si-yu-ki*, 1:44-45.

<sup>53</sup> In Bactria, she was also associated with Parvati-Uma. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 88.

<sup>54</sup> Rowland, "Tyche of Hadda," 183.

<sup>55</sup> The site of the modern Turkish city of Izmir.

<sup>56</sup> Martha Linick Carter, "A Study of Dionysiac Imagery in Kushan Art," (Ph.D diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1970), 168.

<sup>57</sup> Also called a turreted or mural crown, the headdress models the façade of a walled city.

<sup>58</sup> Carter, "Dionysiac Imagery," 168.

<sup>59</sup> *Ashi Yast* 17, 2, 7-12; cited in Carter, "Dionysiac Imagery," 167, n. 42.

<sup>60</sup> Gherardo Gnoli, "Tyche and Dioscuri in Ancient Sculptures from the Valley of Swat," *East and West* 14 (March-June 1963): 33.

<sup>61</sup> Nana's image appears on coins of Kanishkas I and III and of Huvishka and include the legend *Nanashao*, *Nano*, or *Shaonano*, the term *shao* being an honorific meaning "king or ruler". Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 90.

<sup>62</sup> Mukherjee, *Nana on Lion*, 11. The lion is also associated with the Syrian deity, Atargatis, who attained some prominence in first and second century Parthian cult imagery of Hatra and Dura-Europas. Ingholt, "Parthian Sculpture at Hatra," 33-34.

<sup>63</sup> Mukherjee notes in *Nana on Lion* (11) that Nana and the deities related to her often exhibit a lunar aspect or connection. It is interesting that this orientation must have been shared in some measure by the Kushans whose nomadic forebears were named the "Yuezhi," meaning Lunar Family or Race, by the Chinese. Rosenfield points out the frequency of lunar emblems appearing on Indo-Scythian costumes and cites Sylvain Levi's assertion that Kanishka bore the Sanskrit epithet of *Chandra*. Levi, *Journal Asiatique* (1936) 62; cited in Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 8, n. 4. Rosenfield also documents the frequent use of the image of Mao, the Iranian moon god, on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Mao is an exception among West Asian lunar deities for being male. He is portrayed with lunar crescent behind shoulders, holding a staff and/or sword, and making a distinctive two-fingered salute with his right hand. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 80-81.

<sup>64</sup> This piece is thought to be part of the Oxus treasure. Mukherjee, *Nana*, 89-90.

<sup>65</sup> Rosenfield identifies the circular object as a wheel and does not offer an explanation for the turreted crown, usually regarded as the identifying attribute for Tyche. *Dynastic Arts*, 90.

<sup>66</sup> Carter, "Dionysiac Aspects," 168.

<sup>67</sup> Jules. J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Hadda; figures et figurines, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, t. 4 (Paris, Éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1930); in Rowland, "Tyche of Hadda," 183-189.

<sup>68</sup> Tychai portrayed with the cornucopia attribute are of Hellenistic derivation. Gnoli in "Tyche and Dioscuri," 33.

<sup>69</sup> Xuanzang, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1906), 90, n. 35; cited by Rowland in "Tyche of Hadda," 183, n. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Gnoli identifies this as two females, however, the partially obscured figure on the left is almost certainly a partially exposed male in draped himation. The other panels are a curious mixture of diverse traditions and include figures identified as an Indian yaksha in caryatid pose, the Dioscuri, and a six-armed divinity in armor with chakra and vajra attributes. "Tyche and Dioscuri," fig. 2, 3, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Ashvaghosha, "Buddha-Karita," 105.

<sup>72</sup> Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddique du Gandhâra* (Paris, 1905), 1:360-361; Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum* (Delhi, 1937), 2:43, plate VIII; *Mahavastu*, 2, 164; cited in Rowland, "Tyche of Hadda," 186, n. 25, 26.

<sup>73</sup> Gnoli, "Tyche and Dioscuri," 35.

<sup>74</sup> Ardoksho does not appear on the coins of Vasudeva the first but does feature on the coins of the early Gupta monarch Samdragupta before she was assimilated to Sri Laksmi and her cornucopia was transformed into a lotus. Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Collected by Sir Harold Arthur Deane and now part of the British Museum's Gandharan Collection. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, fig. 105.

<sup>76</sup> Zwalf suggests this may be a bear but also introduces a possible connection with a goat-headed male deity, a protector of children, who is associated with Skanda in the later Vedic literature and among the Jains. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 123.

<sup>77</sup> This may represent an adaptation or reinterpretation of the animal-headed cornucopia that is typically held on the same side.

<sup>78</sup> Both are in private European collections and published in Kurita, *Gandhara Bijutsu (Gandhara Art)* (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1988), fig. 489 and 490.

<sup>79</sup> Depiction of Hariti's demonic aspect is not uncommon among Japanese representations of Kishimo-jin.

<sup>80</sup> The fourth hand (front left) is too abraded to distinguish its attribute.

<sup>81</sup> Paul, *Early Sculpture of Kashmir: (Before the Middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD)* (Leiden: Sneldruk Enschede, 1986).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>84</sup> The excavation site of this sculpture by Aurel Stein is identified in his 1911-12 report as Mound C, situated less than a mile south of the village of Sahri Bahlol. He describes the figure as a four-armed female divinity that he first mistook for a statue of the Hindu goddess, Parvati, although his friend and colleague, French iconographer A. Foucher, reviewed the inventory photographs and assisted in later identifying the image as Hariti. The precise site of the statue's excavation in Mound C was in the extreme north of the vihara area at a spot where an entrance gate is assumed to have stood. Stein offers as supporting evidence for the identification of the Mother of Demons as it agrees with Yijing's description of Hariti's images installed "at the porch or in the corner of Buddhist convents in India." Stein, "Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol," 1911-12.

<sup>85</sup> The Brahmanical matrikas are usually referred to as the *Saptamatrikas* or Seven Mother Goddesses whose number is believed to derive from the celestial bodies, the Pleiades. The matrikas are usually manifested in groups of goddesses who embody both creative and destructive characteristics and who seldom figure as independent entities. Katherine Anne Harper, *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas: Seven Hindu Goddesses of Transformation* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 13.



<sup>86</sup> Peshawar Museum catalogue no.1926.

<sup>87</sup> It was actually picked up from the top of an unexcavated mound near the village of Harichand in the Mohmand Territory, east of Shabkadar and was presented to the Peshawar Museum by the Mr. Frank Anson, Assistant Commissioner of Charsada. Paul, *Early Sculpture*, 289, n. 74.

<sup>88</sup> Paul, *Early Sculpture*, 136-137.

<sup>89</sup> Analysis of the stone would be a determinant in settling the question of shared origins but has not been proposed to date.

<sup>90</sup> Paul, *Early Sculpture*, 246.

<sup>91</sup> Denise Leidy, Asian curator at New York's Metropolitan Museum, expressed to me in conversation her strong conviction that the problematic Sahri Bahlol figure is in fact a representation of Durga by virtue of the presence of the trident. I am somewhat doubtful of this identification because of the unconventionality of the attributes of the cup and the child (particularly the latter). However, the figure may represent an intermediate stage during the assimilation of Hariti to Durga during or after the time of the Little Kushans.

## CHAPTER IV

### REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TUTELARY COUPLE

In the Indian tradition of yaksha cult worship, we recognize a prototype for Hariti in the representations of nubile yakshi devatas whose fecund powers compel the trees to bloom. Independent representations of Panchika may be traced back to the standing field yakshas and have been tentatively identified in the relief sculpture of the pillar uprights of Bharhut and Sanchi. Similarly, an Indian prototype for the paired images of Hariti and Panchika is found in the ubiquitous *mithuna*<sup>1</sup> couples for which there are comparatively few material Gandharan equivalents.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the early Indian representations of popular nature deities, Hariti and Panchika may be seen as having evolved beyond the rank of generic type. They were individualized, and in their sculptural representations inhabited an independent identity and performed a specific role that did not correspond with nor rely on the actions or life events of the Buddha. In this sense, they are uniquely differentiated from the other demigods that figure in the art of Gandhara. The permutations of their conventional forms and iconography do document the characteristic process of dynamic synthesis of diverse cultures in Gandhara. However, the yaksha cult with its related dionysiac and fertility themes is an integral component figuring in their iconographic development.

This chapter begins with a brief description of the Indian precedents for Hariti's consort, Panchika, with corresponding literary references that establish the early iconography of this deity within the context of Indian traditions. Panchika's later manifestation in Gandhara established a separate and distinct identity under the

Kushans where he was quickly paired with Hariti and both provided with tutelary functions as deities of wealth and abundance. The next section introduces the art and iconography of the tutelary couple in a framework intended to identify the primary sculptural forms and point out the respective degree of influence from Hellenistic and Iranian cultures. Dionysiac practices, beliefs and imagery were intrinsic to the Indian yaksha cult; the final section will discuss the profound impact of these themes on Gandharan art in general and specific implications for the iconography of the tutelary couple. At the same time, dionysiac cults established in the regions of Bactria in the centuries predating the appearance of the Kushans were equally responsible for the introduction of these thematic devices into the visual vocabulary of Gandhara.

#### Images of Panchika-Kubera

As an independent, albeit lesser, cult figure, Hariti's consort exhibits a distinctive iconographic description. He is described in the *Samyuktavastu* as Panchika, son of the yaksha Pancala, and successor to his father as the tutelary yaksha assigned to Gandhara. Although he is here identified as the father of Hariti's 500 sons, he otherwise figures little in this or any other version of her legend. Yijing's travel account that provides us with our only documentation of Hariti's early iconography gives no reference to Panchika by name nor to his role as the husband of the demon mother of children. Yijing offers a curious description of a male image installed in the great monasteries of India and appeared to be loosely associated with Hariti's images. This account describes the male figure as appearing in the kitchen or porch of the vihara. The icon is two or three feet in height and carved from wood; it holds a golden bag and is seated on a small chair with one foot pendant. The deity is regularly wiped with oil and subsequently blackened, and it is called Mahakala or the great black deity. Food offerings are made to

this deity who is said to revere Buddhism and protect the religious community from misfortune.<sup>3</sup>

Panchika does appear elsewhere in the Buddhist literature. The *Lalitavistara* names him as a prominent yaksha chief under Kubera, king of yakshas, and the *Mahamayuri* lists him as the tutelary protector of Kashmir.<sup>4</sup> In the traditional role of yaksha as divine observer, Panchika is mentioned in the *Divyavadana* as one of the witnesses in attendance at the great Sravasti Miracle.<sup>5</sup> In addition, this text offers a hyperbolic description of Panchika as lord of a strong army consisting of giant-like men, mountain-like elephants and elephant-like horses.<sup>6</sup> Although he emerges as a demi-god and the personification of wealth and worldly success in the Buddhist art of Gandhara, Panchika's precursors in art and literature are rooted in Brahmanic and Buddhist India. He has been called an "extension or mythic development" of one aspect of the dual character of Kubera himself.<sup>7</sup> As can be seen in their respective images, Panchika's association with Kubera can be traced in their shared characteristics and attributes; however, the Gandharan Panchika figures show a singular and independent development. In India, while Panchika is allowed a measure of distinction as a peripheral and supporting character, this "mythic development" reaches maturity in Gandharan sculpture. In advance of a discussion of Panchika's mature manifestations, a preliminary look at the Kubera prototype is necessary.

Kubera represents an ancient pre-Vedic tradition of nature worship in India. Nevertheless, he attained prominence as a popular deity in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Although he was ultimately embraced by both Brahmanic and Buddhist orthodoxy, traces of his indigenous origins remain evident, and a suspicious ambivalence is expressed throughout the early Brahmanical texts. His dual nature is such that he is characterized as lascivious in his appetites for women and wine;

however, his position as a militant guardian within the yaksha lineage is exalted. He is called the God of Wealth who guards the world's treasures,<sup>8</sup> and he is shown to maintain strong affiliations and even to share roles with Indra, Brahma, and Shiva. In the Buddhist texts he is worshipped as one of the Four Lokapalas with the designation of Regent of the Northern Quadrant, a role and identity he shares with Vaisravana.<sup>9</sup> His earliest verified image in India (fig. 56) is carved on an upright pillar of the northern torana at the Buddhist stupa at Bharhut.<sup>10</sup> His later representations are plentiful in the area of Mathura, an indication of his great popularity during the time of Kushan rule.

In the literature, instructions for the appearance of his images provide considerable detail and variation. An early text, the *Vishnudharmottara Purana*, enumerates the following characteristics: "He should be pot-bellied, four-handed, wearing *udichya vasha* with armor over the body. On his bearded face, two fangs should be shown. He should hold mace and spear in the right hands and jewel (or pot of jewels) and a pot (of riches) in the left hands. Riddhi,<sup>11</sup> his consort, should be shown seated on his left lap (fig. 57)."<sup>12</sup> The *Rupamandana* indicates that Kubera's images should be four-armed, holding one of the following attributes in each hand: a club, *nidhi*, citrus (lemon), and water-vessel.<sup>13</sup> Other iconographic descriptions exhibit great variety but share characteristics related to his designation as the God of Wealth or Guardian of Riches, including the corpulent torso<sup>14</sup> and the mace, club or spear. Most of the key features of his iconography, however, developed during the time of the Kushans. Mathuran images show a portly Kubera holding a purse or money bag and a wine cup or nectar vessel, although he is also shown alternately with attributes of a lemon, a lotus, or a *nakula* or mongoose. The purse or moneybag thus becomes an attribute associated with the function of guardian of riches; the mongoose, which was believed to store and spew jewels, is a variant on this theme. The wine cup and the numerous portrayals of Kubera

in scenes of drunken revelry (fig. 58) point to his having been the central figure of bacchanalian cults in Northwest India.<sup>15</sup>

This is the collectivity of popular and iconographic traditions that gave rise to the Gandharan images of Panchika-Kubera<sup>16</sup> in the time of the Kushans, and later to imagery depicting Vaisravana in Central Asia.<sup>17</sup> While there is an early, tentative identification of Panchika among the images of yakshas at Sanchi (fig. 59), later Gandharan cult images of Panchika recall their Kubera precursors while meriting distinction among the masterpieces of Gandharan sculptural art. Two of these, the Panchika-Kubera from Takal now in the Lahore Museum (fig. 60, cat. 54) and the Panchika from Mardan,<sup>18</sup> now in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 61, cat. 55), are immense statues, the former nearly life-size. The third, from Jamalgarhi and now part of the British Museum collection (fig. 62, cat. 56), is smaller in scale but equally monumental in stature. All three portray Panchika as a spear-carrying, Indo-Scythian warrior,<sup>19</sup> an ethnic type strongly echoed in the striking features and abundant moustache characteristic of the Pathan tribesman.<sup>20</sup> Each is seated with bare feet and chest, the torso exaggerated and protruding; a dhoti is draped across hips and legs. Personal attire also consists of an elaborate jeweled and crested turban and the earrings and necklaces of royalty. Donor figures and children cluster alongside the legs of the throne. The Jamalgarhi Panchika squats over a frieze of bacchanalian revels, the abraded remains of a halo still evident on the stele behind his head. The damage to the hands and arms of each figure has obliterated any attributes that might have provided additional iconographic information.

Numerous images appear to be closely affiliated with Panchika and have sometimes been described as representing that deity. An identification of the Hindu deity, Skanda-Kumara-Karttikeya is considered appropriate, and this classification

reveals an interesting, albeit indirect, link to Panchika through Hariti as a mother goddess. Skanda is the issue of Shiva<sup>21</sup> and was appropriated and raised by the saptamatrikas.<sup>22</sup> The reason for Skanda's popularity in Kushan Gandhara is not precisely understood although the worship of Shiva was formally endorsed throughout the Kushan lineage of rulers.<sup>23</sup> The early iconography is simple and is readily correlated with images of Panchika: these hybrid images are depicted as a haloed, turbaned male (fig. 63, cat. 62) wearing military dress,<sup>24</sup> and holding a spear and a bird identified as a cock.<sup>25</sup>

#### Images of Hariti and Panchika and the Tutelary Couple

Although individual cult figures of Panchika-Kubera in Gandhara are few, these imposing examples and the common occurrence of Kubera images in Mathuran art of that period are convincing indicators of the Kushans' unquestioned affinity for a god of wealth. However, more characteristic of his manifestations in Gandhara are the images of Panchika as the consort of the goddess Hariti. The popularity of the divine tutelary couple in Kushan Gandhara is supported by the frequency of their devotional images. The Hariti-Panchika form again casts Panchika as a spear-bearing warrior and positions Hariti at his left side in the aspect of a fecund mother goddess. The product of their abundance is all around them: they are surrounded by clinging, climbing, naked boys.<sup>26</sup> A wizened, grinning yaksha pops up between their shoulders to extend an offering. This is the most generic formula of Hariti-Panchika as the divine couple. The two best extant examples of these are both in the Peshawar Museum. One was discovered at Shahji-ki-Dheri (fig. 64, cat. 65), while the other, a larger and far more elaborate image, comes from the site of Sahri-Bahlol (fig. 65, cat. 66).

This is the first of three basic forms of the tutelary couple in Gandharan art. Examples of this form are fully integrated in the style of the Gandharan school; however, the couple's garments and adornments and their robust figures indicate the dominant foreign influence as Indian. The second form repeats the basic components of the first with the male and female figures posed together in an identical arrangement. Yet, however similar the superficial composition, the couple's iconography, demeanor and dress represent a significant divergence. The differences may be described as reflecting an Iranized or modified Hellenism that entered Gandhara from the northwest frontier of the Kushan Empire. In this second form, the enthroned couple is depicted as slimmer and more youthful, the male figure is devoid of facial hair and wears the leather greaves<sup>27</sup> and tunic that have been identified as a Roman military uniform.<sup>28</sup>

Attributes associated with this manifestation of the tutelary couple are variable. Most commonly, the female deity rests a cornucopia in her lap and supports it in the curve of her left arm. Her consort may hold any of the following attributes: a purse (or moneybag), wine cup, and staff or scepter with round pommel or knob. Each figure usually rests one or both feet on low, individual footstools decorated with a sawtooth pattern. An arrangement of pots or jars tipped over to spill a cascade of coins often flanks the feet of the couple.<sup>29</sup> In this way, their popular function as the bestowers of wealth and abundance is made literal.

The most elaborate and iconographically inclusive example of this form of the tutelary couple was recovered from Takht-i-Bahi and is now part of the collection of the British Museum (fig. 66, cat. 72). The pair sits on a carved wooden throne with back and turned legs, the female resting her right hand on the left thigh of her partner. She wears a chiton and polos and holds an elongated cornucopia with a horned animal-head finial. Her beardless partner wears the pleated tunic with mantle, laced greaves and fillet.



Although his arms are missing, a footed, two-handled drinking vessel in the shape of a kylix remains fixed in place at chest level. Between the heads of the couple, a bearded yaksha with a topknot extends a small moneybag while a small child clings to the thigh of the female.<sup>30</sup> At either side, the upper torso of a fanged yaksha pours from a tipped vessel side, the contents flowing towards center in a smooth, pliant cylinder on which the deities rest their feet.<sup>31</sup>

Also discovered at Takht-i-Bahi was the only documented sculpture of the tutelary couple in stucco (fig. 67, cat. 73). It was modeled in high relief on a stupa base in the Court of Three Stupas and was described and photographed in situ by Hargreaves in 1910-11. The male figure wears the Roman tunic belted at the waist. He rests his bent left arm on the shoulder of his consort, a purse held in his hand. She wears a chiton that is girdled below the breasts and balances the cornucopia upright by her left side.<sup>32</sup>

While representations of the tutelary couple as Indian yakshas with children justify a straightforward identification as Hariti and Panchika, the latter Iranized Hellenistic form, though clearly hybridized in this example, calls for a separate classification. Rosenfield categorizes images of the tutelary couple with cornucopia as representing the Iranian deities, Pharro and Ardokhsho, who are each considered the personification of the principle of abundance and royal fortune.<sup>33</sup> Linked together, and with some iconographic modifications, they are the functional and ideological equivalents of the tutelary couple with children, Hariti and Panchika. The co-appearance of both forms in the heart of Gandhara during the Kushan period is intriguing and has given rise to consideration of politics, patronage, and variant meanings. Based on Kushan coin image chronology, Ludwig Bachhofer maintained that the paired images of Hariti and Panchika represent an older phase of imagemaking and were supplanted by their modified Iranian counterparts by the beginning of the third century C.E.. He conjectured

this to reflect a process of "self-fashioning" by the Kushans in resistance to the overbearing influence of India (and Indian religion) and Parthian Iran.<sup>34</sup> Bachhofer's contention seems extravagant. No unequivocal evidence of a Kushan movement to promote a distinct and separate dynastic identity exists; on the other hand, Kushan sculpture and coin images show a persistent pattern of cultural appropriation and synthesis. Subsequent scholarship has largely repudiated Bachhofer's theory, in part because his method of assigning the sculptures a place in his chronological continuum was based entirely on stylistic concerns and cannot be realistically correlated with Kushan coin images.<sup>35</sup> As has been shown, most of the vast number and variety of deities pictured on coins of the Kushan realm never transferred to the devotional imagery of Buddhism and are therefore not reliable as correlates. In addition, archaeological evidence has provided examples of the tutelary couple with children and the tutelary couple with cornucopia in concurrent use at the same site. This may be a function of diverse patronage preferences or an example of Kushan inclusiveness, what Rosenfield terms "unification... and reconciliation with different ideological communities of the silk route".<sup>36</sup> One may also speculate that the two forms are not synonymous in their symbolic values and may represent differentiated nuances of meaning and function.

The pronounced Hellenistic elements that are integral to the appearance of this form of the tutelary couple encouraged Alfred Foucher to compare the Gandharan images with analogous sculptures recovered from sites in Roman Gaul (figs. 68-69).<sup>37</sup> In addition, numerous images have been found in these regions that portray independent female and male deities holding one or more possible attributes that include a cornucopia, patera,<sup>38</sup> purse, cake, mallet (the male figure only) and child.<sup>39</sup> The paired images, however, present a more striking comparison, the points of similarity being more numerous than the differences. Other than the arrangement of the couple, which is

inverted, with the Gallic female at her male consort's right side,<sup>40</sup> the most significant modification from the Gandharan configuration is that the male deity is armed with a club or mallet instead of Pharro's traditional scepter or staff. The same small footstool, often ornamented with the familiar sawtooth motif, is positioned under one raised foot of each deity. The female deity wears a chiton, one shoulder bared, with the modius-type headdress typical of the Ardokhsho-Hariti images. She holds a cornucopia brimming with fruit in her curved left arm and a patera in her other hand.<sup>41</sup>

Foucher does not go so far as to draw a direct connection between the deities of Gaul and their Gandharan counterparts and makes only a vague reference to intermediate figurines of terracotta in the Mediterranean regions. Nevertheless, he does point to the compelling evidence of an aesthetic and conceptual relationship that is not surprising when taking into account the active commercial and cultural exchanges occurring between Rome and Gandhara during the Kushan era. The image of a divine couple espousing the popular objectives of wealth and offspring strikes, moreover, a universal chord that would have been ensured as enthusiastic a reception in Gaul as in Gandhara.

The third and least common form of the tutelary couple represents a radical departure from the formulas specified above. It may be described as representing a more direct derivation of Hellenistic elements. While it is tempting to see this form as a rare and aberrant occurrence, extant versions exhibit a distinctive albeit incomplete iconography. The male and female figures stand under a tree or a canopy of overhanging leaves and flowers. The male, with the well-articulated body of an Adonis, wears only a himation hung over one shoulder and draped in a deep diagonal below the opposite knee, displaying full frontal nudity. The female usually wears a peplos and a wreath or polos on her head. In one such grouping, part of the collection of the Indian

Museum in Calcutta, the female holds what has been identified as a sistrum in her left hand.<sup>42</sup> The figure of a small child and a small yaksha figure are also components in this and other versions; however, there is significant divergence in this and other details from piece to piece. Unfortunately, the arms, attributes and accessory figures of most extant examples are broken away and preclude any possible reconstruction of a complete or consistent iconography. The most beautifully realized and iconographically interesting example is from a private collection in Pakistan (fig. 70, cat. 90). In this instance, the male deity wears a laurel wreath wrapped tightly around his head, the female a wreath of braided leaves. He is diagonally draped with genitalia exposed in the above manner, and the female wears an elaborate chiton and himation. The male holds a cup or *kalasa*<sup>43</sup> in his right hand; the female holds a cluster of grapes and cradles a small child in her left arm.

The standing variation of the tutelary couple is the most strongly Hellenized of the three primary forms but continues to express a symbolic content closely paralleled by the Graeco-Iranian form of the seated couple and by the yaksha couple with children. Underlying these divergent iconographic variations are many common characteristics and recurring attributes that identify the capacity of the tutelary couple as benefactors of good fortune and fecundity: the fleshy, sexualized bodies, the purse, children, cornucopia, fruit, and jars or heaps of gold coins. Perhaps this may be seen as representing the deities' appeal at the common or popular level.

At another level, the divinities function as the deified supporters of the monarchy, or the personifications of divine sanction of the legitimacy of Kushan dynastic rule.<sup>44</sup> Panchika's predominant attribute of a spear or lance, which was a prominent element of the military symbolism of the Indo-Shakas, later became an important emblem of imperial authority of Kushan regalia under Kanishka.<sup>45</sup> As Pharro and Ardokhsho, the

deities embody the Iranian concept of *khvareno* or "kingly glory" which inextricably links the legitimacy and righteousness of the ruler with the continued prosperity of the realm.<sup>46</sup>

The use of individual images of Pharro and Ardokhsho on the reverse of many issues of Kushan coinage represents an official form of Kushan propaganda promoting dynastic supremacy by divine endorsement.<sup>47</sup> Inevitably, the linking of Pharro with Ardokhsho and their conjoined attributes of military authority and worldly riches naturally became fused with the corresponding iconography of their Indian yaksha counterparts, Panchika and Hariti.

#### Yaksha Imagery and the Dionysiac Traditions

The common theme linking the variant iconographic forms of the tutelary couple is the persistent reiteration of dionysiac scenes and motifs. As mentioned earlier, this is a significant manifestation of yaksha imagery in the art of Mathura where Kubera held sway as the central cult personality in popular bacchanalian cults. The attribute of the wine cup or flask of nectar is a development of the iconography of water cosmology in this context.<sup>48</sup> This philosophy is pre-Vedic, constructed on an ancient animist ideology in which yakshas figure as a spiritual force of a more profound character than even the naga deities who are also guardians of rain and wealth.<sup>49</sup> Out of the primordial waters, emerged the first being, Varuna, the progenitor of the race of yaksha and divine protector of *amrita*, the sacred water or nectar containing the germ of life. The *amrita* is the source of the gods' immortality and corresponds with the rejuvenating elixir, *soma*. It is the sap or life essence in plants that is also found in milk, rain, dew, mead, semen and liquor and represents the feminine principle of the reproductive union of male-female.<sup>50</sup> This evolved sexual union finds expression in the mithuna imagery of Sanchi and Karli where naga or yaksha couples appear in intimate embrace, grasping wine cups or

holding fruit. By the time of the Kushans, yakshas had become the popular deities of reproductive fertility in India. Kubera, who is a later, popular emanation of the Varuna prototype in holding sovereignty over the yakshas and the earth's treasures, is also the inheritor of guardianship of the divine soma. These conjoined legacies gave rise to the attributes most commonly associated with his cult images: the moneybag and drinking vessel. As we have seen, both of these elements transferred from the imagery of Mathura India to that of Gandhara. The appearance of the wine cup in the yaksha and naga cult images of both regions is so persistent that it may be equated with the *amrita kalasa*.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, the wine or liquor it contains is analogous with the divine soma, and the lotus motif of India is replaced by the grapevine in the art of Gandhara where it may be likened to a tree of life.<sup>52</sup>

In Gandhara, the earliest bacchanalian representations are drinking scenes depicted on the secular cosmetic palettes found primarily at pre-Kushan levels at Taxila and other sites. In the Buddhist context of the Kushan period, these so-called bacchanalian processions often appear on stair risers or similar slab reliefs at stupa complexes. Finally, the rise of the wine cup or nectar vessel as an attribute in Buddhist cult images attests to the institutionalization of the imported bacchic tradition. Despite the considerable evidence in Mathuran sculpture of an ancient form of this popular cult, expressions of the bacchic theme in Gandhara reveal a second, distinct source. The evidence points to the Hellenistic traditions that penetrated the region from the West through Iran. According to the recorded observations of travelers in the region, grape cultivation for winemaking was an ancient practice in Bactria and the Kabul Valley.<sup>53</sup> Remains of images and temples tentatively identified as dedicated to the god of wine have been discovered at Denavar, Shami and other sites.<sup>54</sup> To the west of Bactria, Alexander's invading armies spared the ancient city of Nisa as an act of veneration to its

mythic founder, the god Dionysos.<sup>55</sup> The famed ivory rhytons discovered at Nisa (fig. 71) are embellished with dionysiac scenes carved in the wide ornamental register encircling the opening.<sup>56</sup> As a variation on the wine cup attribute, the Iranian rhyton is never adopted into the dionysiac imagery of India and Gandhara.<sup>57</sup> Most interesting is a silver dish from Buddhigarra near Tank in the Punjab, now in the British Museum (fig. 72). Surrounded by a grapevine motif, a corpulent, half-naked, mustachioed male raises an animal-headed rhyton to a diminutive female partner holding a footed goblet. Another example, a curiosity by virtue of its remote distance from Gandhara, is a stone relief carved on a pillar at a site in Nagarjunakonda (fig. 73).<sup>58</sup> The figure is a bearded, semi-nude male holding with one hand a loose drape around his loins while raising a rhyton with the other as if preparing to drink.

The introduction of dionysiac themes into Gandhara from these two distinct and disparate sources, the yaksha cults of India and the Indo-Greek dionysiac cults of Iran, brought together a fusion of parallel systems of imagery and belief. Representations of the divine tutelary couple in their varied manifestations are illustrative of the processes of adoption and adaptation that characterize the syncretic art of Kushan Gandhara.

#### Later Manifestations of Hariti and the Tutelary Couple

The conclusion of the Kushan Empire and marginalization of Buddhism in Gandhara did not eradicate the universal conceptions of divine oversight of fortune and fecundity that had been so enthusiastically embraced during the era of ascendancy. Already, the legend of Hariti had been carried over the caravan routes through the kingdoms of Central Asia where her surviving images mark the path of her cult's dissemination. Under the Guptas, who rose to power after the Kushans in India,<sup>59</sup> the Kushan conception of the goddess of fecundity and fortune was assimilated to Sri

Lakshmi, the divine personification of the Indian concept of abundance, while Hariti's malevolent aspect was incorporated into the character of the ferocious goddess Durga. Images of both these Brahmanical deities are identified by elements appropriated from Gandharan antecedents, notably, the cornucopia that came to be reinterpreted as a stylized lotus and the lion, called into play as the deities' *vahana* or vehicle.<sup>60</sup> Hariti is occasionally identified as one in a set of Brahmanical matrikas, deities known for their ambivalent natures that swing between nurture and violence. In early Mathuran examples, she is sometimes portrayed with a child (fig. 74) as one of a group of Kubera's consorts.<sup>61</sup> Other consorts featured in these configurations with Kubera include Lakshmi with a lotus and Bhadra holding a flask.<sup>62</sup>

The most conspicuous of Hariti's images in the Buddhist art of India is found in the vihara of Cave Two at Ajanta where she and Panchika are featured in one of the chapels flanking a Buddhist shrine dated to the first half of the sixth century (fig. 75). Although her Buddhist cult was ultimately superceded in India by the re-emergence and ascendancy of Brahmanical orthodoxy, Hariti's cult persisted and thrived in Buddhist countries outside of India and Gandhara. Depictions of Hariti have been documented at Central Asian sites in the Taklamakan desert kingdoms of Khotan, Niya, and Turfan. In Southeast Asia, sculptured images of Hariti and her consort, Panchika, have been found at the Chandi Mendut temple in Java. Her worship as the smallpox goddess Sitala or Green Hariti in Nepal,<sup>63</sup> as Guizi mu in the monasteries of China and as Kishimo-jin in Japan was observed and documented well into the twentieth century.<sup>64</sup> In China, Hariti was assimilated and effectively subordinated to the Chinese manifestation of Avalokiteshvara under the designation of Songzi Guanyin.<sup>65</sup> With the appropriation and duplicate delivery of Hariti's traditional powers and function, this esteemed bodhisattva



diverted and usurped popular devotion from the lesser-known Mother of Demons whose worship in China persisted but whose prestige never approached a comparable level.<sup>66</sup>

In Gandhara, Hariti, her consort Panchika and other deities who were charged with protection, prolificacy and prosperity enjoyed great popular appeal and stimulated the production of cult images. These images reflected the aesthetic preferences and variable traditions of the people and cultures of the Silk Road and were also exploited to advance the secular ideologies of the Kushan Empire. Even after the dynasty's demise, the popular message of its idols penetrated into the surrounding Buddhist lands of Asia and was transliterated by the artisans of the respective host traditions. The Gandharan images of the deities of fortune mark a dynamic point in a syncretistic continuum of representation and belief. Beyond conventional examinations of iconography and visual meaning, the Hariti images also prompt the posing of a new set of questions. The final Chapter of this study aims to expose the gendered construction of Hariti and her legend and to explore the symbolic significance of the deified demoness in the Indian religious traditions.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Mithuna or 'loving couples' figure prominently in the fertility imagery of Indian Brahmanical and Buddhist art.
- <sup>2</sup> Leroy Davidson examines a rare Gandharan example of a mithuna made from burnished yellow terracotta in his article "Mithuna Couple from Gandhara," *Artibus Asiae* 16 (1953): 254-257.
- <sup>3</sup> Yijing. *Record of Buddhist Religion*, 38. In his essay "Hariti la mère-de-démons" (48), Peri describes a deity positioned opposite the images of Hariti (who goes by the name of Guizi mu in China) in the refectories of Chinese Buddhist monasteries. He is identified as the cannibal yaksha Atavaka, who figures in a conversion story in the life of the historical Buddha of particular popularity in Gandhara (the story is summarized in Chapter Three notes). The appearance of Atavaka's images and his attributes are not mentioned in the Buddhist texts; however, the Buddha is reported as imposing sanctions in exchange for a guaranty of food offerings identical to the bargain he made with Hariti on the occasion of her conversion.
- <sup>4</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 246.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>6</sup> Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 77.
- <sup>7</sup> Carter, "Dionysiac Imagery," 130.
- <sup>8</sup> His name has been interpreted as "Hero of the Earth" or "One who dominates the earth". Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 59.
- <sup>9</sup> In the Puranic tradition, these two appellations describe different aspects of the same deity, however, in other texts, such as the *Lalitavistara*, the two are mentioned as distinct from each other. Ibid., 59-60.
- <sup>10</sup> Identified by Cunningham, the name of the figure is provided in an accompanying inscription "Kupiro Yakho". L.A. Waddell, "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images, and Art: a Study in Buddhist Iconography, with Reference to the Guardian Gods of the World and Hariti, "the Buddhist Madonna."" *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*, 3d. ser., 33 (January 1912): 133.
- <sup>11</sup> The meaning of Riddhi is "Prosperity". In E. Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trubner, 1915), 143.
- <sup>12</sup> *Vishnudharmottara Purana* III.53.1-14; cited by Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 66.
- <sup>13</sup> Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 67.
- <sup>14</sup> The great stomach is symbolic of contained wealth and abundance and has sexual implications related to fertility and potency.
- <sup>15</sup> I use the terms bacchanalian and dionysiac interchangeably.

<sup>16</sup> There are no inscriptions that identify this deity as Panchika by name. He is iconographically and functionally related to the Kubera deity but has been modified in the relocation to Gandhara. His images have been accepted as Panchika through his association with Hariti in the Buddhist art and because he is identified by name as Hariti's consort in the literature.

<sup>17</sup> In Central Asia, particularly in association with the Kingdom of Khotan, the Vaisravana cult was a more evolved expression of Kubera-Panchika worship. Representations of this prominent yaksha deity depict him as a warrior in armor with a lance and a miniature stupa, and he is sometimes shown with a winged helmet and shoulder flames. Vaisravana is often paired in Central Asia with the goddess, Sri Devi, the evolved manifestation of Hariti's benevolent aspect in Gupta times.

<sup>18</sup> Before it was relocated to its position in the Peshawar Museum, this sculpture was displayed in the officer's mess of the elite British regiment, the Queen's own Guide Corps, in Mardan in the Northwest Frontier regions.

<sup>19</sup> The Mardan Panchika is missing both arms, but a portion of the broken shaft of the spear remains where it was angled down along the inside of his left leg.

<sup>20</sup> The modern-day Pathans are an autonomous tribal society settled largely in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and Swat.

<sup>21</sup> Alternately, Skanda is described as the son of Agni, the Fire God, who briefly holds Shiva's ejaculated semen in his mouth in the course of this convoluted tale of procreation.

<sup>22</sup> In Hindu myth, the matrikas are sent to murder Skanda but are overcome with devotion to the infant instead. Skanda's wet-nurse is described as the mother who was born of anger and whose attribute is the trident. In Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty's *Hindu Myths* (New York: Penguin books, 1975), 114.

<sup>23</sup> Shiva often figures on the coinage of Kushan kings.

<sup>24</sup> In Gandhara, the common form of military dress is *udichya vesha* or "northern attire". In this example from the British Museum collection, the figure wears scale armor with breastplate over a dhoti. In Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, 180.

<sup>25</sup> Skanda's later iconography in Gandharan imagery varies: the deity shown in abhaya mudra or at times riding on the back of a peacock. *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>26</sup> Hariti's children, when gender is discernible in the sculptures, are always boys, consistent with that aspect of the legend that refers to 500 sons (the number of sons varies by version).

<sup>27</sup> Shin guards.

<sup>28</sup> Bachhofer, "Hariti und Pancika," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 13 (1937): 8.

<sup>29</sup> On occasion this motif is reduced to a simple, schematic representation of a heap of coins substituting for the footrests or incorporated into the decoration of the footrest.

<sup>30</sup> The presence of a child is not common to this form of the tutelary couple.

<sup>31</sup> The yaksha is missing on the right side but for the arm holding the money jug. That the sculptor chose not to represent the flowing contents of the jugs as coins or schematized circles is a curiosity, unique to this particular image, and difficult to explain. We might imagine that this is an example of the penchant of Gandharan artists to reduce elements to an essential minimum, but the elaborate detail of the cornucopia belies the tendency in this instance. Instead, the smooth surface is broken only by the mason's mark, under the left foot of the male figure.

<sup>32</sup> Tragically, this remarkable stucco sculpture did not survive many years beyond its discovery. Sehra, *Guide to Takht-i-Bahi*, 74, fig. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 247.

<sup>34</sup> Bachhofer, "Hariti und Pancika," 13.

<sup>35</sup> Bacchofer's article is riddled throughout with examples of his western bias for the classical arts of Greece and Rome. His article concludes with the declaration: "One cannot ignore the fact that the Shakas and Kushans took over classical forms and deformed them with their barbaric fists. The later works are the furthest from Hellenistic ideals...." *Ibid.*, 14. Translation gratefully attributed to Mitzi Kirkland and Susan Hoyt.

<sup>36</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 88.

<sup>37</sup> The two examples provided by Alfred Foucher were found on Mount Auxois in the early nineteenth century and housed in the Archaeological Museum in Dijon. In Foucher's "The Tutelary Pair in Gaul and India," *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art: and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, trans. L.A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1917), plate XVII, 1-2.

<sup>38</sup> The patera, a saucer for drinking libations and for sacrifices, is sometimes replaced by a goblet of the *olla* type. Foucher, "Tutelary Pair," 140.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Foucher describes this as a difference between East and West, the Western model traditionally decreeing that the position of the female is always at the male's right hand. *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>41</sup> The patera identified by Foucher may actually represent a fillet, an attribute common to the coin images of Ardokhsho under the Kushans. If it is a patera, it is the logical symbolic equivalent to the wine cup often associated with the sculptural representations of Ardokhsho-Hariti.

<sup>42</sup> Martha Carter acknowledges that a sistrum is elsewhere unknown as an attribute of the Gandharan goddess of abundance. It is an Egyptian percussive instrument that became known as the attribute "par excellence" of the Egyptian Great Mother Isis whose representations often show her with the nursing infant Harpocrates. Carter speculates that the Isis cult, widespread during this period, inspired the association with images of the Gandharan goddess. In "Dionysiac Imagery," 161. This identification and theory are intriguing but doubtful: if a sistrum, it is a unique occurrence among the range of attributes associated with a Gandharan deity of abundance.

<sup>43</sup> Waterpot or nectar vessel.

<sup>44</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 96; Carter, "Dionysiac Imagery," 164-168.

<sup>45</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 55.

<sup>46</sup> In the *Avesta*, this concept refers to a fiery splendor and divine protection bestowed on righteous kings by Ahura Mazda as the result of their meritorious rule. In Carter, "Dionysiac Imagery," 164.

<sup>47</sup> The need for legitimization seems more logically a motive of the Kidarites or "little Kushanas", the dynastic line that succeeded the original Kushan lineage after the Sasanian conquest; however, coin images of Pharro and Ardoksho are not restricted to this period. They appear on the coins of Kanishka I and his successors, Huvishka and Vasishka; also Kanishka II and Vasudeva II of the second Kushan tier; the Hun, Mihiragula; and many of the Gupta kings who followed the Kushans in the Punjab. Errington and Cobb, *Crossroads*, 68-73.

<sup>48</sup> Coomaraswamy reports that the term "water cosmology" was first used by Hume in the introduction to his *Thirteen Principal Upanishads* in reference to passages describing the creation of the world as built on water. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1971), 2:14.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Carter, "Dionysiac Imagery," 188-189.

<sup>51</sup> Coomaraswamy, "Origin of the Buddha Image," *Art Bulletin* 9 (1927): 303-305. Coomaraswamy corresponds this *amrita kalasa* to the attribute of the bodhisattvas, specifically to the *kamandalu*, water vessel attribute of Maitreya (although its meaning in this context has been transcended to spiritual rebirth and salvation); cited by Martha Linick Carter, "Dionysiac Aspects of Kushan Art," *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968): 143-144.

<sup>52</sup> Carter, "Dionysiac Aspects," 135, 142.

<sup>53</sup> Kautilya of the Mauryan court named favored vintages from the region of Kapisa, and the Han general Zhang Qian provided a report of grape production in Ferghana by the Anxi (Parthians). *Ibid.*, 136-137.

<sup>54</sup> Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, 18-21.

<sup>55</sup> Carter, "Dionysiac Aspects," 136, 140. Roman Ghirshman identifies Nisa as the site of Dionysos' exile from Olympus where he was reared by Silenus and the Muses. In Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, 18.

<sup>56</sup> Carter describes one scene of a bearded male holding pan pipes in one hand while making the sri mudra, a Buddhist gesture of benediction, with his right. In addition, she provides an example of Kushan coin imagery showing the Iranian deity Pharro standing on a spoked wheel while displaying the mudra. In "A Gandharan Blessing," 45, 59.

<sup>57</sup> Rare examples do exist; the failure of this horned drinking vessel to enter popular representation is likely due to the Brahmanical abhorrence against animal horn. This cultural aversion also restricted acceptance of the cornucopia motif to Gandhara and prevented its migration deeper into the Indian subcontinent.

<sup>57</sup> Located in Andhra Pradesh, 150 kilometers southeast of Hyderabad, Nagarjunakonda (ancient name Vijayapur) was an important Buddhist center in southern India from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E..

<sup>58</sup> Located in Andhra Pradesh, 150 kilometers southeast of Hyderabad, Nagarjunakonda (ancient name Vijayapur) was an important Buddhist center in southern India from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E..

<sup>59</sup> By the end of the third century, the Kushan presence in northern India had fallen into decline. The Gupta Empire under Samudragupta (reigned c. 335-376) assumed authority in India in 350 C.E.. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 115.

<sup>60</sup> The image of Sri Lakshmi appears on Gupta coins after Samudragupta's reign and follows the model of a seated Ardoksho combined with the iconography of Nana as mounted on her usual vahana, a couchant lion. Pratapaditya Pal, *Indian Sculpture: a Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection* (Los Angeles: County Museum of Art in association with the University of California Press, Berkeley, 1986), 106. Katherine Anne Harper claims that Lakshmi's iconography was formulated by the second century and includes symmetrical elephants showering water over the deity, but her images include many deviations from convention considered by Harper to be deliberate innovations. In Harper, *Saptamatrikas*, 60.

<sup>61</sup> She is identified in these instances by inscription and therefore cannot be mistaken for another child-carrying matrika such as Mahesvari (discussed in Chapter Three) or one of the *Krttika* Mothers who fostered the divine infant, Skanda.

<sup>62</sup> It is interesting to see in the multiplicity of consorts affiliated with Kubera the same characteristics and attributes that were combined in the single person of the Gandharan Hariti. Bhadra is the daughter of the god Soma and appears to have been associated with powers of fertility in the same manner as did Hariti. Archaeological evidence indicates that these four deities enjoyed great popularity during the Kushan period in Mathura. Lakshmi eventually came to be coupled with Vishnu as his consort, Bhadra disappeared entirely and Hariti gradually faded as a differentiated deity from the pantheon of Hindu divinities in India. Harper, *Saptamatrika*, 65.

<sup>63</sup> A. Foucher, "Buddhist Madonna," In *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art: and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, trans. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1917), 280; M. Slusser "Nepali Sculptures," 93-104.

<sup>64</sup> Peri's colleague, M. Maspero, visited temples in Canton and Ningbo where Hariti's images were included in a series of twenty to twenty-four deities arranged in two opposing lines in the temples' hall of worship; Hariti's images were doubled and placed opposite each other, one taking a male form with a beard. Peri, "Hariti la Mère-de-démons," 61-63.

<sup>65</sup> "Child-bestower Guanyin". *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>66</sup> Peri attributes the feminization of Avalokiteshvara to rivalry between the cult of Guanyin and Hariti's popular cult in China. He proposes that the Songzi form of the Bodhisattva, devised as a child-bestower to induce the devotion of women, had already been desexualized by artists intending to express the quality of other-worldly purity. The addition of a child to representations of Avalokiteshvara was an iconographic innovation unsupported by the Buddhist literature but meant to endow the bodhisattva with material expression of the power to bestow children. In "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 70-72.

## CHAPTER V

READING THE LEGENDS, CONTROLLING THE SYMBOLS:  
ASSIMILATION, AUTHORITY AND ASCETICISM

Until now, the emphasis of this study has been the historic and artistic context of Hariti as a religious icon and cultural artifact. The aim of this final Chapter is to examine more closely the mythology of Hariti as the product of an ancient complex of Indian beliefs as well as a signifier of shifting dynamics of power and orthodoxy in religious practices. The images of Hariti and the construction of her legends testify to these transitions on different levels: the need for differentiation between competing orthodoxies, the assimilation of ancient animistic cults and the incompatibility of goddess worship with the rise of ascetic ideals. Interpretation of Hariti mythology will incorporate discussion of the role of the Sangha in its facilitation of Hariti worship, polarities of representation of the divine female, the construction of gender relationships in Indian traditions, and pollution and disease theory.

In Kushan Gandhara, imported Indian religious beliefs were fused with a conglomeration of borrowings from the West - Parthian Iran, Greece, and Rome - which may well have resulted in altered and diluted meanings. However, the vibrant practice of Buddhism and concurrent, widespread evidence of devotional Brahmanism in Gandhara speak to an environment receptive to and at ease with the doctrines and constitutive values espoused by these related traditions. In addition, the Peshawar Valley as the geographical nucleus of ancient Gandhara engendered the rise, efflorescence and diffusion of the cult of Hariti and propelled her initiation into the pantheon and literature of Buddhism. Hariti is a Gandharan creation of diffuse origins, and we can only hope to

comprehend her intrinsic meaning, beyond superficial representations in story and in stone, by looking to the competing and complementary strands of religious belief underlying her worship. The intent and composition of this Chapter is twofold: the first section will discuss conversion of heretics and deviant divinities as a persistent theme in Buddhist lore and offer a reading of Hariti mythology as infused with that objective. In the second half, the concept of the dominant paradigm will again be raised but with a view toward gender as implicated in conventions of representation of the feminine - woman, goddess, demoness - in Buddhist myth, image and practice.

### Hariti in the Buddhist Literature

Hariti's legend is recorded in numerous Buddhist texts, the earliest example traceable back to the third century. These versions are disparate in age and style and differ in the details on which the story hangs. In addition, she appears in many other, more abbreviated references in the Indian, Tibetan, Korean and Chinese Buddhist literature. As described in Chapter Three, the most developed and widely circulated version of the legend is found in the *Samyuktavastu* in the *Vinaya* section of the Chinese Canon.<sup>1</sup> It is this version that provided the source for Yijing's seventh century synopsis of Hariti's conversion story.<sup>2</sup> An earlier version of the legend is narrated in an early Buddhist sutra dedicated to Hariti that dates back to the Western Jin at the end of the third century or beginning of the fourth.<sup>3</sup> This sutra, recorded also as being in the Tibetan Canon, is titled the *Guizi mu jing*,<sup>4</sup> or the *Hariti Sutra*, and relates unmistakably the conversion story of this "Mother of Demons".<sup>5</sup> Other, later works of note include the *Samyuktagama*,<sup>6</sup> the *Maha Maya Sutra*,<sup>7</sup> the *Guangding jing*,<sup>8</sup> and the *Fo benxing jing*.<sup>9</sup> While only the two primary versions will be drawn on for the purpose of this discussion, English translations are provided for all these versions in the Appendices of the thesis.



In addition to reiteration of the Hariti story in the literature, the status and import of the deity is reinforced by the abundance of incidental references that represent Hariti in guises that alternate between the malignant and the beneficent. The *Guanfo sanmei hai jing*<sup>10</sup> identifies Hariti as one among the demonic hoard sent by Mara to sabotage the Buddha's enlightenment; however, the *Lalitavistara*<sup>11</sup> describes her with Panchika and their 500 sons as foretelling and facilitating Siddhartha's Great Departure. Hariti is counted in the *Mahamayuri*<sup>12</sup> as one of twelve great demons who witnessed the conception and birth of the Buddha, while in the *Maha Maya Sutra*, the Buddha's mother extols the magnitude of her son's accomplishment in converting the malevolent Mother of Demons. Hariti is identified in the *Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra* for the first time as one who has attained the spiritual rank of Bodhisattva.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, the *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* appears to affiliate her with a group of ten raksasis, female members of a race of flesh-eating spirits.<sup>14</sup>

Not only is the dissemination of the Hariti mythology difficult to trace but versions disagree in connecting the pivotal event to a place. It is situated initially in Magadha at Rajagriha, then relocated northwest to Kashmir and the "Snowy Mountains," and eventually is placed in China by the *Mahamayuri*.<sup>15</sup> We may well assume that this process delineates the geographical spread of Hariti's cult - the distribution of her cult images also supports this direction - but there are limited sources to draw on by which we can discover the specifics of either her worship or of her worshippers. These few sources are exclusively doctrinal and represent the singular perspective of their monastic authors and translators; consequently, a vast number of practitioners remain unrepresented in the historical record. No direct method now exists to permit the reconstruction of a meaningful context for the transcendent and immanent functions of the myths, icons and rituals associated with Hariti. An oblique approach may offer the

best results by expanding the discourse through alternative readings of the legends as tools of confrontation, conversion and authority.

### Buddhism and the Challenge of Orthodoxy

The encroachment and takeover by Buddhism as it gradually emerged as the dominant religion in India and the northwest regions of Gandhara required no armies or military victories. As was characteristic of Buddhism throughout its lengthy proselytizing history, the spread of Buddhist doctrine and devotion was a discreet but tenacious process in which it was adapted to the specific cultural nuances of the resident populations of its host countries.<sup>16</sup> Buddhism had arisen in India out of the growing numbers of heterodox *sramanas*<sup>17</sup> who were inspired and united by the appearance of an extraordinary spiritual teacher, the historical Buddha, Gautama. The ascendancy and expansion of early Buddhism is therefore due to the fact that it was in every way antithetical to the presiding orthodoxy of Vedic Brahmanism. The Brahmanical sacrificial rituals, hierarchical caste system and complex pantheon all were at odds with this early secular manifestation of the Buddhist way to salvation. Inevitably, at some unmarked, unknowable moment, orthodox Brahmanism gave way to the new orthodoxy of Buddhism. Advocated and advanced by royal patronage and carried by pilgrim, monk or devout tradesmen, the Buddhist doctrines, practices and beliefs were introduced to the countries outside of the Indian subcontinent where the mechanisms of conversion and assimilation ensued.

A more difficult and sustained challenge than the rivalry with orthodox Brahmanism was posed by the popular cults that were the local manifestations of ancient, pre-Vedic animistic belief systems.<sup>18</sup> This form of "heresy" and the worship of various chthonic divinities under trees and at simple stone altars continued to be

practiced regardless of the officiating religious authority, whether Brahmanism or Buddhism. In Gandhara, we have ample evidence of Buddhism's vigorous application to assimilate competing conventional and popular cult religions. Descriptions of conflict and concession, confrontation and conciliation are documented in the ubiquitous narratives and jatakas of the Buddhist sculptural reliefs and the expanding Buddhist mythology. Among those illustrated in stone is the frequently repeated theme of the Buddha's conversion of heretics that was usually accomplished through the inducement of impressive, supernatural displays. The "Conversion of Kasyapa", the "Conversion of Angulimala", the "Invitation of Srigupta" and the "Miracle of Sravasti" are examples of this class of conversion story.<sup>19</sup> In each example, Brahmanical or other, undifferentiated heretics are swayed to Buddhism by a convincing demonstration of the Buddha's superior power and authority.

More prevalent than scenes illustrating the miracle-driven conversion of a heretical believer are representations in which deities and spirits associated with alternative belief systems are appropriated into roles that portray them as subservient to Buddhism. In early Buddhist art, Buddhism's authority is promulgated in hieratic worship scenes positioning the Hindu deities Indra and Brahma in devout attendance on a central Buddha. In Gandharan art also, lesser divinities and nature spirits are represented in the service of Buddhism, as discussed in Chapter Two using the examples of Vajrapani and the Four Lokapalas. These representations function as an affirmation of compliance in which there is no hint of ambivalence or resistance to the overriding sovereignty of Buddha. The message of universal allegiance is elsewhere controverted in Buddhist myth and art. Among the eight classes of supernatural beings drawn into the entourage of Buddhism,<sup>20</sup> two of these, the nagas and the yakshas, are systematically portrayed as being comprised of members either supportive or hostile.

The Gandharan repertoire includes many dramatic narrative scenes of confrontation and capitulation between the Buddha and nagas, the mythical serpent deities associated with guardianship of terrestrial waters and powers over rain and flood. Popular narratives include the "Victory over the Serpent in the Fire Temple" and the "Submission of the Naga Apalala" featuring a defiant naga who is successfully subdued and converted to the Buddhist precepts. Conversely, nagas appear more often in neutral or positive portrayals such as benevolent royalty arranged in processions or attitudes of adoration of the Buddha. The "Visit of the Naga Elapatra" is an often-illustrated story of pilgrimage and petition featuring a naga who traveled from Taxila to Benares to do homage to the Buddha and beg of him a human form. There is the story of the serpent king, Muchalinda, who wrapped his long coils around the meditating Buddha and covered him with his hood during a storm. This act of homage has been described as the "perfect reconciliation of antagonistic principles",<sup>21</sup> uniting the serpent as symbolic of life-force and the Enlightened One as having just severed the cycle of rebirth. In Buddhist lore, the ultimate test of loyalty is evidenced when the nagas are charged with guardianship of the most profound teachings of Buddhism until such time as humankind evolved to the capability of sufficient comprehension.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to the primarily benevolent role of nagas within Buddhism, the yaksha class of demigods is portrayed as composed of both allies and adversaries in the human and Buddhist realm. The dutiful Vajrapani and Four Lokapalas are always drawn as being supernaturally present and infinitely supportive at the critical events in the life of the historical Buddha. Non-specific yakshas in the form of Herakles, garland-bearing erotes and other caryatids, and yakshi devatas are displayed as complicit partners on the edifices of Buddhism's monuments. Other yakshas exhibit through the agency of the stories and reliefs a profound antagonism devised to represent an ancient rift or

fundamental conflict of a more cosmic turn. In an existence distinguished by dark and light, the yaksha are often seen as close relations to that which is intrinsically evil and inclined to do harm.

The rudimentary beginnings of the yaksha cult are found in the *Rgveda* where they are considered gods of a high order, sometimes possessed of a benevolent nature and at other times demonic.<sup>23</sup> The *Satapatha Brahmana* refers to Kubera as a *rakshasa*<sup>24</sup> and lord of robbers and evil-doers<sup>25</sup> and, according to one tradition, yakshas and rakshasas are believed to share a common origin.<sup>26</sup> In the Epics, yakshas are portrayed as a class of subdivinity of degraded rank still distinguishable by their opposing or ambivalent natures. By the time of the Puranas, much attention is directed to describing efforts undertaken by the superior cult deities to assimilate or suppress these elusive but persistent folk deities.<sup>27</sup>

With the emergence of the new Buddhist orthodoxy, a new rivalry naturally ensued. Although the earliest Buddhist monuments, such as those of Bharhut and Sanchi, were configured with a profusion of yaksha and yakshi images, a Buddhist mythology was already forming that frequently cast these semi-divine beings in a refractory or malignant role. This disparity between representations of yakshas in art and those in myth suggests that the stories tended to follow in a pre-Buddhist folk tale genre in which a conflict between opposing extremes results in a resolution that takes the form of a moral victory of good over evil.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the theme of moral opposition is an articulation of Buddhist cosmology pairing the agents of creation, production and worldly wealth with the Buddha as archetype of soterial extinction. The struggle with the yakshas, unparalleled in Buddhist folklore, underscores the influence of this competing cult and the efforts within Buddhism to eradicate or assimilate it.

The lengthy association of yakshas with cannibalism and rituals involving blood sacrifice is evidence of their pre-Aryan affiliations,<sup>29</sup> and their kinship with the flesh-eating, demonic rakshasas meant that distinctions between the two tended to become blurred. Both yakshas and rakshasas are portrayed in the literature as devourers of meat with a preference for human flesh, particularly that of children.<sup>30</sup> These practices were infinitely exploitable as points of comparison to be placed beside Buddhism's wholly antithetical precepts and fit well within the dualism that is characteristic of Buddhist cosmological myth. It was therefore a simple thing for practitioners of animal sacrifice, whether under Brahmanism or the indigenous, animistic cults, to be metaphorically portrayed as cannibals.<sup>31</sup> In addition, the element of cannibalism could in turn function as a metaphor for the phenomenal, illusory world whose very nature is dependent on a process of consumption.<sup>32</sup>

In the context of Buddhism's myths, as in actual Buddhist practice, the most potent weapon in the battle against heresy and heterodoxy is conversion. Just as the legends incorporated the comparatively minor resistance of the nagas against Buddhist hegemony, a significant number narrate the engagements of the Buddha (or his previous incarnations) with malignant, flesh-eating yakshas. From the Pali repertoire of birth stories comes the "Jataka of the Yaksha Kharadathika"<sup>33</sup> who, disguised as a Brahman, solicited from the altruistic Bodhisattva his two children. Although the yaksha immediately reverted to his true form and graphically consumed the children on the spot, the satisfaction of the future Buddha in the conclusion of his charity was undiminished, and his merit increased proportionately. From the *Jatamakala*, a later, Sanskrit collection (estimated sixth to seventh century) revered in Northern Buddhism, is the "Maitrabala Jataka".<sup>34</sup> It tells of the Bodhisattva in his previous incarnation as a righteous monarch whose virtue was tested by a group of evil yakshas. At their insistence on a meal of

human flesh, he offered them pieces cut from his own body. This meritorious act inspired remorse in his tormentors who then dedicated themselves to his service. An episode in the life of the historical Buddha, which is also a popularly recurring theme in the Gandharan narrative repertoire, is that of the "Conversion of the Yaksha Atavaka",<sup>35</sup> discussed in Chapter Three. The king of Atavi was obliged to provide a human victim to a local, evil yaksha every day until ultimately, the lot fell to his own small son who was led to the forest as the food sacrifice. The Buddha suddenly appeared seated on Atavaka's own throne and vied with him in a contest of wits. This resulted in the yaksha's conversion and the lives of the king's son and future victims were spared.

These three episodes suggest how critically important the malevolent yaksha is in assuming the role of archetypal adversary in opposition to the superior buddha-nature. This can be seen as occurring on three distinct levels. First, the confrontations provide an opportunity for the future Buddha's self-testing and provide a means of showcasing his meritorious path to eventual enlightenment. Furthermore, the Buddha may be portrayed as one who is not indifferent to petition in the phenomenal world in waging battle against manifestations of evil. Finally, yakshas facilitate the image of the Buddha as a pure and rational advocate for the eventual spiritual salvation for all sentient beings regardless of their impure and base nature.<sup>36</sup>

It is worth considering yet another rationalization for the expanded role of demons, i.e.; yakshas, in the didactic texts and proselytizing strategies of early Buddhism. The issue of conversion is raised in the profoundly influential Mahayana text, the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>37</sup> The relevant passage of Chapter Twenty-four explains the power of the Bodhisattva Fine Sound<sup>38</sup> to magically alter his form into whatever shape would be most efficacious in communicating the Buddhist doctrine to each individual being.

...now he displays the body of the god king Vaisravana; ...now he displays the body of a Brahman; now he displays the body of a bhiksu, bhiksuni, upasaka, or upasika; ...now he displays the body of god, dragon, yaksha, gandhara, asura, garuda, kinnara, mahoraga, human, or nonhuman... Whoever is in hell, or in the rank of hungry ghost or beast..., he can rescue them all. Even in the inner quarters of a king's palace, changing into a female body, he preaches this scripture. ...This bodhisattva Fine Sound is one who can save the living beings of the Saha world-sphere. ...If a person is one who can be rescued by a pratyekabuddha's form, he preaches Dharma to him in the form of a bodhisattva. If a person is one who can be rescued by a Buddha's form, he preaches Dharma to him in the form of a Buddha. Thus in a variety of ways, depending on the one to be rescued, he displays the appropriate form.<sup>39</sup>

This text delineates the skillful means applied to accomplish conversion through the medium of the great bodhisattva in the guise of the being most appropriate to the task, appearing as a buddha, a Brahmanical god, a semi-divine spirit or even a "cannibal demon". In short, every creature - human or non-human, male or female, god, ghost, beast, or demon - is a candidate for salvation through the compassion of the bodhisattva who will preach to each with that one's voice and assuming that one's form.<sup>40</sup> In Buddhism, therefore, the yakshas function both as the message and the messenger with dispositions that may be overtly benevolent or expressly violent, yet all is employed in the furtherance of Dharma.

#### The Hariti Legends as Conversion Tools

The various forms of the Hariti legend appear designed to advance the objective of conversion. Of the two primary extant versions, the *Samyuktavastu* is a superior work of dramatic storytelling that has been liberally augmented with stylistic and symbolic literary embellishments.<sup>41</sup> In it, Buddhism is aggressively promoted through frequent comparisons with its popular and institutionalized rival religions and by the supreme authority personified by the Buddha over alternative pantheon figures.



An unfavorable comparison is implicitly drawn in the attempts by the king and populace of Rajagriha to propitiate the spirits through offerings, sacrifice and rituals of purification. All ritualistic appeals to these symbols of authority prove futile; both the king and local gods are shown as helpless to counteract the scourge. Even the spirit protector of Rajagriha, while able to identify the Yakshi Abhirati<sup>42</sup> as the source of the affliction, defers to the superior power of the Buddha whose supernatural act of concealing Hariti's favorite son underscores his otherworldly authority<sup>43</sup> and marks the moment when Hariti's own maverick powers are eclipsed. The *Samyuktavastu's* painstaking description of her reaction and tortuous search underscores the extent of her impotence and degradation, and she is ultimately led to realize that the Buddha represents her only possible salvation.

The comparatively archaic style of the *Guizi mu jing* reflects its greater antiquity. The constitutive narrative elements are presented in a straightforward if abrupt manner but lack the sophisticated structure and lyric prose distinguishing the later work. There are significant and minor variations in the relating of the basic narrative. The expanded role of the sramana as intermediaries between the Buddha and the grieving parents,<sup>44</sup> the absence of Priyankara and the corresponding device of the Buddha's begging bowl, and the doubling in the number of Hariti's brood distinguish the *Guizi mu jing* from the later work.<sup>45</sup> More striking yet is the diatribe delivered by the Buddha in the *Guizi mu jing* that immediately follows the event of Hariti's conversion. After imposing upon her the Five Precepts,<sup>46</sup> he restores her children, then launches into an ardent denunciation of the malevolent practices for which Hariti's sons and their subordinate legions of demons are answerable. The Buddha's harangue demands notice in that it takes on a tone and specificity that is out of character with the remainder of the narrative.<sup>47</sup> Of greater material consequence is the protracted enumeration of counterfeit forms assumed by

Hariti's sons and their demonic hordes in the torment of their human victims. The Buddha accuses them of masquerading as tree and other nature spirits and as spirits of the house and cart; in other words, as the minor divinities of daily popular worship, in order to advance their malicious ends.<sup>48</sup> As the litany continues, we are told that Hariti's multitudes are to blame for the night terrors and spirits of the dead that plague men and deceive them, but the text's didactic intent is made evident in its concluding lines:

...Thus, under these false names, they coerce men to perform sacrifices and to kill (the victims) whom they cook; the ignorant people kill and cook (the victims) in order to feed these demons; these demons do not really wish to eat but, being very malicious they cause men to commit murders in order to compel them to enter into hell. Even not eating these (victims), they rejoice to see men perform sacrifices. These demons are not capable of protecting human life; they do only what adds to their crimes; and men, maddened and ignorant, entangled with these demons, are miserable.<sup>49</sup>

In this single monologue, both the competing popular cults and orthodox practices are implicated, if not complicit, in the misery of humankind. The Buddha cautions against careless dependency on the veracity of the popular gods, and the Brahmanical sacrifice is cloaked in cannibalistic overtones and is vilified as an opportunity for men to be degraded and deceived. Without condemning alternative deities and religious practices outright, their devotees are shown as risking abuse and trickery without the benefits and protection that Buddhism offers. Positioned in the text immediately after the recitation of Buddhist precepts, the Buddha's impassioned message invokes a comparison that is both pointed and profound.

Another point of comparison may offer evidence of the widening philosophical differences between early and Mahayana Buddhism. The *Samyuktavastu*, a Mahayana text, introduces an early Buddhist concept in the form of a *pratyeka-buddha* in the section describing Hariti's prior existence and the evil vow that led to her inauspicious

rebirth.<sup>50</sup> The appearance of a pratyeka-buddha is not an incidental detail in the narrative; his presence in Rajagriha is mentioned at the very onset of the Buddha's discourse to his monks, even before his description of the festival to which the pregnant wife of the oxherd has come to sell her curds. As she squats in the road, shamed and disregarded after miscarrying, she is approached by the pratyeka-buddha who performs a series of supernatural phenomena in response to her offering of fruit. Filled with admiration at this miraculous spectacle, the oxherd's wife immediately dedicates the merit of her alms gift towards retribution against the people of Rajagriha, and so the evil vow is conceived.

The contrast between the oxherd's wife's encounter with the resplendent but spiritually barren pratyeka-buddha and Hariti's confrontation with the Buddha is clearly drawn. The pratyeka-buddha, considered a perfected being though by an antiquated standard, can transmit no teaching nor illumination of moral consequence to his new devotee. In fact, her first act of worship is the execution of a vow whose evil ramifications will transcend her immediate existence. This connection between the offering and the vow is reiterated by the Buddha at the conclusion of his explanation to the monks.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, the concealment of Priyankara is the Buddha's only supernatural act, and it is an action taken not to impress but as a step intended to ensure Hariti's tractability. He then leads her through a series of questions designed to bring her to a place of reason and genuine contrition so that her conversion is a product of education and not merely one of coercion or infatuation. The consequence of the Buddha's superior method is Hariti's complete reform and dedication as a protector of Buddhism. By these means and devices, the legend of Hariti in its two primary versions teaches the supremacy of the Buddha and Buddhism over the Brahmanical and popular religions. Moreover, the *Samyuktavastu* signifies a philosophical shift within Buddhism itself by

extolling Mahayana principles while condemning certain constructions of early Buddhism as disinterested and self-indulgent.

In addition, both versions of the legend describe Hariti's gift of her own children to the Buddhist monastic community, an element that is considerably expanded in the later *Samyuktavastu*. There are two rationales for this offering and its emphasis. At one level, Hariti's sons and their retinue of demons function as emblematic of a heterodox cult. Hariti's conversion and subsequent gift of her offspring to the Buddha is analogous to a formal transfer of her cult followers or disciples over to a superior spiritual adept and is a measure of her final subordination.

The second rationale provides insight into secular disapprobation of Buddhism arising from the perception of renunciation as a permanent loss, a death of sorts, when a son or husband joined the Buddhist monastic order.<sup>52</sup> This contributed to the conviction that Buddhism was essentially anti-family in its objectives, an accusation exacerbated by the Sangha's steady acquisition of acolytes and its emphasis on celibacy and the repudiation of worldly concerns and obligations. These familial objections as recorded in the *Vinaya* suggest an ironic comparison with Hariti's own crimes:

That monk Gotama is on a path which takes away people's children. That monk Gotama is on a path which makes widows. That monk Gotama is on a path which destroys families."<sup>53</sup>

The Hariti legend purports to shift this culpability away from the Sangha while casting the Buddha as heroic redeemer. In the *Samyuktavastu*, the mothers of Rajagriha observe with astonishment the offering of sons by the "wicked yakshini". Faced with this selfless example, they are compelled to emulate her and insist that the Sangha accept their sons as well. It is notable that the legend goes still further by establishing a textual

precedent for lay support of the Sangha in the presents and other offerings provided by the mothers to the monks in compensation for the cost of their sons' keep.

The Hariti legends specify the contract established between the Buddha and Hariti. This assures her of a replacement diet in the daily food offerings provided in the monks in their refectories in exchange for her protection of the Dharma and the Sangha. In the *Guizi mu jing*, the Buddha directs Hariti to live adjacent to the vihara. He charges her with the power to bestow offspring on the childless and her sons with the protection of men. On these particulars, Buddhism sanctioned a continuance of Hariti's devotional cult but transformed what had been a heterodox manifestation of popular belief into a practice mediated by its physical contiguity with the monasteries and the control of the Sangha. Worship of Hariti might proceed, but now the icon resided inside the refectory and its deity was clearly identified as an agent subservient to Buddhism. Although charged with the ritual feeding of the cult image, the monastery benefited accordingly through the offerings of lay worshippers who wished to appeal to the deity for protection or a cure for infertility.<sup>54</sup>

Hariti was an invaluable asset to Buddhism in all her many guises: as the formidable leader of demons, personification of evil, and archetypal candidate for conversion; as malevolent destroyer of families and benevolent bestower of sons, and as an ancient, popular cult figure who came to endorse the principles of Buddhism and generate patronage for its institutions. The first half of this chapter has been dedicated to locating Hariti, her legend and her images as functional devices within the ideological sphere of Buddhism. The final section will broaden and deepen the focus by casting the legend and images of Hariti as gendered constructions in the larger context of Indian traditions and, in particular, the cult of asceticism. This "feminist intervention"<sup>55</sup> into the

study of the concept and uses of Hariti is an alternate means of acknowledging and contemplating a dynamic that is as ancient as it is ageless.

### Gender, Power and Dominance in the Culture of Buddhism

The phenomenon of Hariti cannot be understood merely through a study of her image, its origins and iconographic development. Our interest lies largely in the process by which she was appropriated and transformed by Buddhism. In this sense, she is illustrative of the shift in Buddhist religious practices that began with the assimilation of competing belief systems and was later articulated by the inherently misogynist ideology of asceticism. The presumption that the Hariti legend is premised on the rivalry between belief systems and focused on the goal of conversion is supported by elements in the narrative itself. Yet, the treatment of gender relationships within the texts suggests that the tensions between power and authority are also implicitly sexual. Hariti's gender is pivotal to the efficacy of her legend, so evidenced by the "demon-goddess paradigm"<sup>56</sup> that explains the formula of female representation manifested in the art and literature of religious traditions of the subcontinent.

Deities and demons are inventions of human beings, and as conceptions of the supernatural world, they necessarily mirror the cultures that create them.<sup>57</sup> The roles, actions and alliances of the divine reflect the distribution of power and the dynamics of social control in earthly relationships while exposing the more subliminal human motives of fear, ambivalence, possession and desire. While women were conspicuous as partners in the household and shared participation with their husbands in the sacrificial rituals during the early Vedic period (c.1500 B.C.E.), the diminishment of their status and gradual exclusion from the sacrifice occurred during the time of the *Brahmanas* (c. 900-500 B.C.E.). This appears to have taken place in correspondence with the emergence of

an ascetic tradition and growing differentiation between an ideal vision of purity and a corresponding horror of pollution.<sup>58</sup> Indian asceticism exacerbated the decline of women's status, associated them with impurity and contamination and excluded them from participation in the sacrifice. The notion of women as representing a specific and generalized menace grew out of this purity-pollution dichotomy and came to be manifested as a distinct phenomenon of the post-Vedic Brahmanical religious and social environment. It contributed to a complex Hindu mythology inundated with dangers in female form: as women or demons who are resolved to defile the sacrifice (and the sacrificer) and who perform metaphorical castration on men by seducing (and consuming) them.<sup>59</sup> The great Indian epic, the *Mahabharata* (c. 900 B.C.E), augurs the rise of Indian misogyny by singling out women as the most efficacious tool sent by the gods to test the corruptibility of men:

I will tell you, my son, how Brahma created wanton women, and for what purpose. For there is nothing more evil than women; a wanton woman is a blazing fire; she is the illusion born of Maya; she is the sharp edge of the razor; she is poison, a serpent and death all in one.<sup>60</sup>

The theme of women as seductive, perilous and untrustworthy runs throughout the *Brahmanas*. Although women and demons are portrayed as dangerous, female demons pose the greatest threat and are frequently associated with the motif of unclean or improper food that often functions as a metaphor for murder, castration, abortion, and cannibalism.<sup>61</sup> Favorable representations of divine women in Indian myth and art are distinguished from their demonic counterparts in a formula of opposites that has been described as "goddesses of the breast and goddesses of the tooth."<sup>62</sup> This model holds that goddesses who are linked with a male consort are represented as compliant and domesticated and so manifest a benevolent aspect. Examples include the goddesses

Lakshmi or Parvati who are depicted as devoted consorts to their powerful god husbands, Vishnu and Shiva. As such, they functioned as models of subservience and benevolence for the edification of their human female devotees. Conversely, independent goddesses are portrayed as malevolent, unpredictable and dangerous, embodying an unrestricted sexual potential or sexual imbalance. An alternate differentiation is suggested by the order/disorder dynamic.<sup>63</sup> Here, the malevolent goddess is one whose autonomy represents a challenge to order and authority in contrast with her chaperoned counterpart who operates entirely within clear and established mechanisms of control.<sup>64</sup>

The gendered disposition of Brahmanism was the most entrenched and pervasive ideology of the Indian social-religious environment during the period of the emerging Buddhist cult. Buddhism, in deliberate divergence from its spiritual predecessor, preached of a salvation attainable by all, irrespective of caste or gender.<sup>65</sup> In actual practice, however, the role of women who were reluctantly admitted into the Buddhist religious community was comparatively circumscribed, and women in general were viewed with apprehension if not alarm. The Buddhist *Vinaya* imposed special rules of behavior that subordinated nuns to their male counterparts.<sup>66</sup> The Pali Canon relates the Buddha's advice to his favorite disciple, Ananda, when he asked how a monk should behave towards women: "You should avoid their sight, Ananda." "But what if we do see them, Blessed One? What are we to do then?" "Do not speak to them, Ananda." "But what if we do speak to them, Blessed One?" "Then you must watch yourself, Ananda."<sup>67</sup> Buddhism's fundamental philosophy of renunciation and its proclivity for monastic asceticism incubated the ascetic misogyny that was most certainly a legacy of the pre-Buddhist Brahmanical and ascetic traditions.



Ashvaghosha's first century Buddhist text, the *Buddhacarita*, illustrates the convention in early Buddhism of associating women with desire and powers of delusion.<sup>68</sup> Prince Siddhartha, having experienced the encounters with disease, old age and death, is alerted to the sight of his wives in oblivious attitudes of sleep that expose them as distorted and dishevelled. He is "moved with scorn" at the uncomely spectacle and declares:

Such is the nature of women, impure and monstrous in the world of living beings; but deceived by dress and ornaments a man becomes infatuated by a women's attractions.

If a man would but consider the natural state of women and this change produced in them by sleep, assuredly he would not cherish his folly; but he is smitten from a right will and so succumbs to passion.<sup>69</sup>

The supernatural realm generates a more overtly malevolent host of female adversaries who materialize at the scene of Gautama's enlightenment as Mara's daughters, Lust, Thirst (desire) and Delight. In turn, they chastise him for abandoning his family duties, then resort to flattery and deception in an attempt to enchant or trick him. Defeated by his unswerving meditation, they are supernaturally transformed by the Buddha into decrepit hags, and their father is powerless to restore their youthful forms.<sup>70</sup>

As the Buddhist emphasis on monasticism grew, women increasingly came to personify the world of the senses and to represent the greatest barrier to personal salvation. Transcendental purity came to be expressed in terms of masculine celibacy; conversely, impurity was associated with the natural realm and female fecundity. Menses and childbirth were symbolic of *samsara*, the endless cycle of rebirth and the source of all suffering. Female beauty was seen as designed to enslave men and to destroy them. Malignant female ghosts and disease goddesses that first populated the

Hindu pantheon and graphic imagery of cannibal demonesses that re-emerged as a feature of Buddhist legends are cultural expressions of this shared ideology.

The tradition of belief in deities responsible for outbreaks of epidemic disease appears to be an ancient popular cult of indigenous origins that has been documented as a folk practice in Indian villages up to the present day.<sup>71</sup> Historically, these divine purveyors of plague have always been identified as female;<sup>72</sup> the most familiar of these is Sitala, worshipped as a goddess of smallpox in India and Nepal.<sup>73</sup> Others are specifically associated with cholera, but all share the characteristic of ambivalence or of operating along a slippery continuum of malevolence and benevolence in that they are both the source of disease and the agent of its cure if properly and satisfactorily propitiated through offerings and ritual sacrifice. Disease goddesses require blood offerings;<sup>74</sup> Sitala's worship in particular has long been connected with human sacrifice.<sup>75</sup> Contemporary beliefs reflect ancient tradition in that disease goddesses are typically ascribed a local or regional tutelary function and venerated for their power to protect children and overcome barrenness.<sup>76</sup>

The construction of the good and evil mother is a potent expression of the underlying fear of the feminine that was manifest in Brahmanical and Buddhist orthodoxy. The names of the disease goddesses are typically suffixed with "mai" meaning "mother" but the pantheons of aboriginal and Brahmanical goddesses also include the matrikas who are likewise characterized by ambivalent and capricious natures.<sup>77</sup> This group of divinities predates the emergence of Buddhism and reached efflorescence as part of the Saivite pantheon during the medieval period. They are described in the mythic literature as having been sent by Indra to kill the infant Skanda, and this serves to alert us to their violent aspect.<sup>78</sup> However, in a turnabout that is not uncharacteristic of their changeable natures, they determine not to destroy the child but

to wet-nurse him and become his foster mothers. The iconography of the saptamatrikas and the cult of Skanda and the Mothers was incubated during the Kushan period and formalized with the rise of the Gupta kings.<sup>79</sup> Matrika imagery holds that one, several or all of the cult figures are represented with a child. In addition to their association with Skanda, the matrikas are connected with the popular Mathura cult of Kubera, God of Wealth, who figures in many of their iconic groupings. The theme of the evil mother is more defined in the following story that bears strong similarities to the myth of Skanda and the matrikas. Putana, a female demon who is identified in the myth as a devourer of children, is sent to kill the infant Krishna by nursing him after smearing her breasts with poison. Krishna responds angrily by sucking so powerfully that he draws out Putana's life-force with the milk and cuts off her breasts.<sup>80</sup> The mythic conception of a childeating ogress has been theorized to represent inner conflict towards one's own mother and lends support to the view that motifs illustrating maternal volatility directed towards children are in fact a manifestation of ambivalence or hostility directed towards women.<sup>81</sup>

The pronounced emphasis on cannibalism as a demonic practice has been noted earlier in this chapter as a ubiquitous feature of Hindu mythology that persisted into the literary imagery of Buddhism. However, in Buddhism as in Brahmanism, the most formidable flesheaters are female whose ravenous impulses are typically directed towards men or infants. The perceived association between women and cannibalism is rational if sexual intercourse is understood not as male penetration but as female consumption of the male penis and seed. Implicit in this model is a transfer of power from man to woman resulting in his material, sexual and spiritual diminishment. In addition to being seen as devourers of the male and his vital energies, a female has the paradoxical distinction of being a food producer in the form of breast milk. From this

incongruity arises psychological confusion and ambivalence for in consuming her husband, a woman may nourish her son.<sup>82</sup>

Beyond the omnipresent anxiety of the *vagina dentata* is an underlying correlation between hunger and evil. Hunger itself is perceived as evil in both Brahmanical and Buddhist thought.<sup>83</sup> The Brahmanas offer early creation myths that illustrate this point: in one example, the Creator produces the first evil creatures whose overpowering hunger plagues the universe until they are provided with suitable food.<sup>84</sup> Just as hunger leads to pollution through the consumption of food that is taboo, the linking of menstruation with sexual intercourse and conception leads to inappropriate appetites and the origination of death as depicted in the following myth:

The sixty-four yoginis who lived in the underworld bathed in the sea once when they were menstruating. The shadow of a hawk fell on their blood and a girl was born. The yoginis gave her men as her food. But men at this time kept the Water of Immortality in a hollow bamboo and were able to return to life after the girl ate them. When she became hungry again she sent the sixty-four Yoginis to Mahadeo. He stole the Water of Immortality and there was death in the world.<sup>85</sup>

Buddhism offered an idiosyncratic approach, associating hunger with craving or desire that is identified in early Buddhism as one of the Four Noble Truths of Buddhist doctrine and the source of all misery in the cycle of human existence. The Buddhist mythologies, however, reiterate the familiar Brahmanical imperative that demonizes women by attributing to them illicit cravings for forbidden food, in particular, a proclivity for human flesh. In addition, women again are designated the purveyors of death if only by virtue of their primary role in reproduction and childbirth. The "Mahosadha Jataka" tells of a woman who takes her infant to a water tank to wash, but an evil yakshi steals the child to eat it. They come before the future Buddha as a magistrate in a hall of judgment who through trickery is able to determine motherhood of the child. He delivers a

spirited admonition to the childeater and in converting her to the Precepts, ensures her adherence to a more innocuous diet.<sup>86</sup> Women present a more graphic threat combining coitus with cannibalism in the Buddhist legend of *Ratnadvipa* that describes an island of five hundred demon women who wine, dine and beguile unsuspecting shipwrecked mariners before devouring them.<sup>87</sup>

The expanding emphasis on renunciation in Hindu and Buddhist soterial doctrines provides a basis for a conception of goddesses in which personifications of prosperity are tied to emblems of destruction, disease, and delusion.<sup>88</sup> In the world of humans, the danger posed to men by mortal women appears to have been viewed as no less formidable. The early Buddhist literature addresses this concern in the form of admonitions directed alternately to male and female monastics. An early example from the Pali canon is the *Therigatha*,<sup>89</sup> a text of 522 verses purported to be written by Buddhist nuns who are unfailingly complicit in the conventions of their institution. They deprecate their beauty and worldly attachments, and in examining their own impermanence and progressive physical deterioration, their words are early testimony to burgeoning monastic visualization practices that prescribed meditation over decomposing corpses. This repugnance for the body is expressed repeatedly as in the following verses attributed to the virtuous nun Sumedha:

Why should I cling to this foul body, unclean, emitting odours, source of fears, a bag of skin with carrion filled, oozing impure the while? Repulsive carcass, plastered o'er with flesh and blood, the haunt of worms, dinner of birds... were one the body to dissect, and turn the inside outermost, the smell would prove too much for e'en one's mother to endure.<sup>90</sup>

The Buddha denounced practices of extreme asceticism and self-mortification as unproductive and inconsistent with the more moderate doctrine of the *Middle Way*.<sup>91</sup> However, Buddhism's fundamental emphasis on the ephemeral nature of the

phenomenal world led increasingly to a culture of aversion directed towards the physical body.<sup>92</sup> The monastic emphasis on renunciation and life as a celibate fostered the transfer of culpability that put the onus on women for men's spiritual failings.

Contemplation on the corpses of women, therefore, came to satisfy complementary goals in providing material instruction on the transitory nature of worldly existence while offering an efficacious means of extinguishing male desire by witnessing the gruesome transformation of a decaying female form. The *Dhammapada* attributes to the Buddha this contemptuous description of the corpse of a famous courtesan:

Oh, see this beautified image; a mass of sores erected.  
Full of illness, highly fancied, permanence it has not - nor constancy.  
Quite wasted away is this form, a nest for disease, perishable.  
This putrid accumulation breaks up. For life has its end in death.<sup>93</sup>

The celibate ideal was integral to concepts of salvation promulgated by the expanding cult of asceticism in Buddhism. Not surprisingly, the role of lay women and nuns in Indian Buddhism demonstrates a pattern of progressively diminished standing that correlates with the emergence of Mahayana by the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>94</sup>

There is no small degree of paradox in the visual representations of female divinities in a context in which renunciation and spiritual extinction were extolled. Early Buddhist monument decoration incorporates a vigorous, indigenous iconography of unbridled fecundity and worldly abundance including the voluptuous yakshi tree spirits and other references to the transient pleasures of secular life.<sup>95</sup> These provocative portrayals of wide-hipped fertile females are difficult to reconcile with their unambiguous monastic context and, in particular, are at variance with the Gandharan images that appear to venerate the Buddha's years of asceticism preceding his enlightenment.<sup>96</sup> Clearly, Buddhism could contextualize its female divinities only by transforming them into

abstract symbols.<sup>97</sup> The orthodox disaffection for female biological processes is made evident in representations of the Buddha's conception and birth that repudiate normal methods and circumvent polluting contact with the vagina. Conception occurs when Queen Maya dreams of a white elephant who enters her side; she gives birth when the Buddha emerges undefiled from her right side.<sup>98</sup>

Hariti is no less a product and an instrument of Buddhism whose monastic culture usurped powerful indigenous symbols while reiterating ideals of the Brahmanical ascetic tradition. As a yakshi, she is implicated in the moral duplicity and libertine appetites of her class. Moreover, she is described in the literature as a goddess of smallpox, a disease in which infants and young children are most susceptible as victims. The cannibalism connected with the yakshas and their close cousins, the rakshasas, establishes an immediate analogy for the arbitrary destruction, or symbolic consumption, of children through the onset of epidemic illness. In Hariti, the horrific specter of infanticide is coupled with archetypal maternity. She personifies an incongruity that evokes the unimaginable: although she is the devoted mother of five hundred sons, she is also a predatory monster and, at a cosmic level, represents the ultimate disintegration of order and a system out of balance. While in Hinduism, dualism is an essential and universal reality that is maintained only through elaborate ritual and social structures, Buddhism exploits dichotomy by identifying it as anomalous and anarchistic. Buddhism, therefore, demonizes Hariti but then must redeem her, bestowing upon her the attributes already associated with other divinities of disease and popular worship, those being the powers of protection and of granting progeny.

Hariti's maternity and her constitutive ambivalence invite comparisons with the saptamatrikas, and in fact, she is identified as one of the matrikas in many of their variant iconic arrangements. The coupling of one or more matrikas with the Yaksha

Kubera provides a compelling parallel with images of Hariti with the Yaksha General, Panchika, who is closely identified with Kubera in Buddhist literature. The configuration of the paired tutelary couple in Gandhara has undeniable affiliations with Brahmanical pairings of male gods and their consorts. The representations of Hariti and Panchika portray her as benevolent and maternal in the presence of her consort and clearly reflect an androcentric focus. Whether accompanied by Panchika or portrayed independently, Hariti is invariably depicted as subject to the prevailing (paternalistic) authority in her attitude of benign compliance.<sup>99</sup> This suggests that, in the Buddhist context, Hariti provided a more potent image when converted than heretical, more effective as a domesticated mother goddess than as an untamed threat.

The confrontation between Hariti and the Buddha may be interpreted as a metaphorical struggle between the conflicting factions of gender, power and orthodoxy. As in all Buddhist morality tales, the outcome is a preordained equation of submission and dominance. A final, close reading of Hariti's legend will allow a measure of insight into the symbolic implications and social consequences of gender under Buddhism.

The inaugural portion of the *Samyuktavastu* introduces the emerging alliance of two yaksha families through their paternal heads, a friendship that is formalized through the betrothal of their as-yet unborn offspring. Abhirati's younger brother, Satagiri, becomes her guardian and head of the family after the Yaksha Sata's death. The manifestation of Abhirati's cannibalistic urges coincides with the elimination of paternal control. As her brother is unable to discourage her powerful determination to act upon her innate inclinations, he transfers his symbolic authority by expediting his sister's nuptials with the yaksha son, Panchika of Gandhara. The theme of disorder and authoritative imbalance continues. Panchika is unable to control his wife even as she begins to produce sons. In fact, Abhirati's immoderate maternity is converted into a



manifestation of her expanding autonomy and ungovernable will. Reproduction appears to occur unilaterally; it is as though Abhirati has assumed control of her husband's semen. Her five hundred sons function as emblems of her destructive power and as an ancillary reserve of violence to fuel her violent appetites. The consummation of Abhirati's infanticidal urge marks the complete abdication of her husband who then vanishes from the narrative.

We mark several additional components of the *Samyuktavastu* as relevant to this interpretation. The intercession of the Buddha to end Hariti's murderous rampage represents a demonstration of paternalistic authority designed to reestablish sexual controls and thus restore androcentric social order. There is a more profound implication: the Buddha's victory over Hariti and his interruption of the infanticide is a metaphor for the salvation of men.

The Buddha's account of Hariti's past existence reveals the conjoined indiscretions of the oxherd's wife and the men of Rajagriha. The unnamed woman enters the city at festival time, carrying a jug of curdled milk. She encounters a crowd of five hundred men on their way to the celebration. A sexual transgression occurs, cloaked in the euphemism of dancing, that results in a consequence with ritualistic nuances. The cowherd's wife loses her fetus and is left to bleed in the road as the others continue on to the festival gardens. The curdled milk is symbolically juxtaposed with the seed of the five hundred men and the aborted fetus and is consecrated by her sacramental offering of the five hundred mangoes. These symbolically charged constituents allude to the commission of a sacrificial rite that may be defiled or heretical or otherwise illicit, but that secures the karmic deposition of the respective participants. Although they share in the collective guilt and subsequent repercussions, the cowherd's wife assumes all criminal liability. As the Yakshi Abhirati, she exercises her disproportionate sexual power through

the production of five hundred terrible sons. As Hariti, she nourishes those sons by cannibalizing the progeny of Rajagriha.

It is notable that the Buddha's strategy in opposing the Mother of Demons is to identify and exploit her essential vulnerability: maternal love. The abduction of her smallest son annihilates the monster and exposes the mortal; Hariti's attachment - a very Buddhist model of womanly weakness - that of a mother for her child proves her undoing. She relinquishes autonomy and control without hesitation; she abandons all reason and self-interest while undertaking an obsessive and singleminded pursuit of the missing Priyankara. Hariti's capitulation echoes the anguish of the universal mother and points to the weakness of mortal women in the ties that bind them to the phenomenal world. Several compelling narratives that closely parallel Hariti's frantic quest are found in the verses of the *Therigatha*. These reinforce Buddhism's position on grief and the futility of attachments and are directed specifically towards women. The story of Vasitthi describes her mental derangement following the death of her son:

Now here, now there, lightheaded, crazed with grief, mourning my child,  
I wandered up and down, naked, unheeding, streaming hair unkempt ...<sup>100</sup>

Another account tells of Kisagotami who is despised by her husband's family until she produces a son. He dies an infant, and her grief drives her out into the streets to search for a cure, clasping the tiny corpse in her arms. The Buddha prescribes a remedy, a mustard seed from a home that had never experienced death. After visiting house after house, Kisagotami is forced to confront the reality that death is an unavoidable consequence of life and the loss of a child is elemental to the lot of womankind.<sup>101</sup>

There is an appalling symmetry in the playing out of Hariti's demonic manifestation that harkens to familiar themes identified in Indian myth: mothers who destroy, goddesses of disease, and malignant ghosts who crave the blood of young children and are maddened by the proximity of pregnant women.<sup>102</sup> The counterpart of the benevolent woman whose breasts flow with milk is the demoness who consumes blood; the goddess who alternates from protecting mother to decapitating, castrating adversary<sup>103</sup> - all of these may be seen as externalized expressions of sexual fears and imbalances designed to maintain patriarchal control and advance patriarchal objectives.

It is not by random chance that Hariti is represented as female in Buddhist art and myth. In fact, it was imperative that gender figure into Buddhism's objectives - certainly no enemy is more formidable nor none so depraved as a mother who would destroy and devour children. The demonization, conversion and rehabilitation of Hariti by Buddhism was a process of transformation by which her indigenous danger was converted into conventionalized symbols of duty and devotion. Images of a deposed, displaced and desexualized Hariti were installed in the refectories of Buddhist monasteries. In a sterile environment, amongst a population of monastics necessarily removed from parent, spouse or child, her representations portray her with an infant at her breast, her immanent maternity symbolically extended to the monastic community as surrogate sons. Her latent cannibalism manifested in the form of symbolic food offerings or sacrifice-substitute, Hariti the Demon Mother was transfigured into a metaphor of spiritual nurturing and sustenance.

### Concluding Remarks

The phenomenon of Hariti is compelling on varying levels. Iconographically, her images provide evidence of a syncretism born of the dynamic interaction between contiguous cultures. The uncertainty of her origins has been compounded by accounts of indifferent collection practices, fragmented records, a history of arbitrary identifications and the dissemination of images without provenance. The Buddhist legends associated with the Mother of Demons provide a window into the paradigms of authority and gender that existed before and continued after the emergence of Buddhism. Finally, the appropriation and conversion of popular, indigenous nature deities illustrates the systematic process of demonization and reinvention designed to further the interests of orthodoxy and patriarchy. In this service, Hariti is distinguished as a champion of endurance and transformation whose timeless universality transcended her constructed meanings across sacred and symbolic boundaries.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For my translation into English of the *Samyuktavastu* version of the Hariti legend, see Appendix A of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 15.

<sup>3</sup> Peri uses the pejorative term "Hinayana" to describe this sutra. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> T.XXI, 1202. For Peri's translation into French of this Chinese text, see *ibid.*, 16-21. My translation into English of the *Guizi mu jing* appears in Appendix B of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> Translates variously from the Chinese as Mother of Spirits, Mother of Demon Sons, Demon Mother of Sons, Demon Mother of Children, etc., although Peri does indicate that as a general expression, *guizi mu* is more likely a generic category referring to a mother of demons rather than *the* mother of demons. Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> Peri provides translations of two versions of the *Samyuktagama*: 1) *Za ahan jing*, T.II, 99; and 2) *Bieyi za ahan jing*, T.II, 100. In Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 34-36; 36-37. See Appendix D of this thesis for translations of both versions into English.

<sup>7</sup> *Mohomoye jing*. T.XII, 383. For Peri's translation, see "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 30-31. See Appendix C of this thesis for my translation of the *Maha Maya Sutra* into English.

<sup>8</sup> T.XXI, 1331. For Peri's translation, see "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 24-26. See Appendix F of this thesis for my translation into English.

<sup>9</sup> T.IV, 193. In Peri's "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 29-30. See Appendix E of this thesis for my translation.

<sup>10</sup> T.XV, 643.

<sup>11</sup> T.III, 186.

<sup>12</sup> Peri references multiple translations of the *Mahamayuri*, specifically those by Yijing (T.XIX, 985); Sanghabhadra (T.XIX, 984); and Amoghavajra (T.XIX, 983).

<sup>13</sup> T.XXV, 1509. Alexander Soper provides a detail from the commentary, xxxix, where it is stated that among the demon deities there are those like ... "the Mother of the Demon Sons who have been able to find the Way and now are great Bodhisattvas". In *Literary Evidence of Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asia Supplementum 19, 1959), 241.

<sup>14</sup> T.IX, 262-265. Peri qualifies his statement by noting that this is the meaning that comes out of the translations by Burnouf and Kern but is not supported by the Chinese translations. Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 41, n. 1, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. Peri notes (43) that Gandhara is distinguished in *not* being one of the sites associated with the legend in its extant versions, yet the stupa commemorating the conversion is recorded in Xuanzang's travel accounts as sited in Charsada near Pushkalavati. He theorizes that at least one version is not known to us that would situate the conversion site in Gandhara; it should be

noted that in the *Samyuktavastu* version, Hariti and her crimes are associated with Rajagriha but she is described as having been married to a yaksha from Gandhara.

<sup>16</sup> Arthur Wright discusses Buddhism's subtle acculturation for a Chinese audience as accomplished most efficaciously through "translation" of its ideas into a form the Chinese would find accessible and acceptable. In *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 35-40.

<sup>17</sup> Sramanas were the ascetic holy men or "strivers" who emphasized a mendicant's life of renunciation and austerity outside the orthodoxy of Brahmanical religion. It is also used to refer to the Buddhist monks.

<sup>18</sup> Of course, it was not as simple as a contest between two competing orthodoxies underlain by evidence of popular animism: Jainism is another heterodox movement that emerged at the same time as Buddhism, also under a charismatic leader, Vardhamana Mahavira. In addition, there is mention in the Buddhist literature of five other heterodox teachers with their own sets of tenets and community of ascetic and lay followers. A. L. Basham, "Jainism and Buddhism," in *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 2d. ed., vol.1, ed. Ainslie T. Embree (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 45-47.

<sup>19</sup> These are popular stories that appear repeatedly in the Gandharan reliefs and show up in multiple examples in each museum collection in Pakistan. For example, the 1928 museum handbook for the Peshawar Museum lists between three and twenty-six images illustrating each one of these legends from the life of the Historical Buddha. Hargreaves, *Gandharan Sculpture*, 34-42.

<sup>20</sup> These eight classes are described in some of the Mahayana sutras as members of the "universal audience" that attends the sermons of the historical Buddha. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 227.

<sup>21</sup> Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 67.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. The concept of *suyata* or ultimate void is later transmitted by the guardian nagas to the sage, Nagarjuna and there marks the advance from early Buddhism to the Greater Vehicle.

<sup>23</sup> Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 16.

<sup>24</sup> The rakshasas are a deviant class of demi-gods who, according to one tradition, share a common origin with the yakshas, but while individual yakshas may exhibit benevolent, ambivalent, and even malevolent characters, the nature of the rakshasas is wholly evil, violent and bloodthirsty. In Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas*, 1:7-8.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:7.

<sup>27</sup> References made to conflicts between Shiva and the yakshas appear to reflect competition between Shaivism and the yaksha cults. Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 31.

<sup>28</sup> Gail Hinich Sutherland, *Disguises of the Demon: the Development of the Yaksha in Hinduism and Buddhism* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1991), 106-107.

<sup>29</sup> Misra, *Yaksha Cult*, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Sutherland, *Disguises of the Demon*, 110.

<sup>32</sup> Sutherland points out that this sacrificial view of life is transformed in Buddhist practice with offerings of food and alms to the monks. Ibid., 108.

<sup>33</sup> V. Fausböll and T.W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales* (London: Trubner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1880; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1977), 33. This is described as a collection of stories from the Pali claimed to have been handed down intact and in the original language from the time of the Council of Patna (c.250 B.C.E.) and transmitted to Ceylon by the great missionary, Mahinda.

<sup>34</sup> Aryasura, *Once the Buddha was a Monkey: Arya Sura's Jatakamala*, trans. Peter Khoroché (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 47-66.

<sup>35</sup> Foucher, *Stupa de Sikri*, 192-193.

<sup>36</sup> A comparison of this group of episodes raises speculation about the contrast between the Pali jataka and the subsequent two legends. The Pali story seems to reflect the early Buddhist notion of the pratyekabuddha in which exclusive interest is dedicated to personal salvation. In contrast, the Maitrabala and Atavaka legends feature a righteous being who is attentive to worldly concerns, exudes compassion without self-interest and is dedicated to the deliverance of others. This suggests that these contrasts realistically represent the transition from early Buddhism to Mahayanist belief.

<sup>37</sup> *The Lotus of the True Law, or the Saddharma-pundarika*.

<sup>38</sup> The Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.

<sup>39</sup> Leon Hurwitz, transl. *The Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 308.

<sup>40</sup> Gandharan iconography for representations of the Dhyana Buddhas shows a central meditating Buddha surrounded by radiating Buddha figures. In contrast to these, a relief sculpture in the Peshawar Museum clearly illustrates a configuration of varied bodies emanating from the Bodhisattva. These are described as an ithyphallic Shiva, Brahma, Vajrapani, Skanda-Kumara and a pratyeka-buddha in abhaya mudra. M.Taddei, "Non-Buddhist Deities in Gandharan Art: Some New Evidence," in *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, held at the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin in May 1986*, eds. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin: Museum fuer Indische Kunst, 1987), 350-354.

<sup>41</sup> The work is tripartite, enhancing the dramatic effect: the initial portion establishes a context of beneficent alliances; the climax occurs at the midpoint with Rajagriha's siege of terror, the Buddha's intervention, Hariti's desperate search for her son, and her final capitulation. The concluding segment, ingeniously posed as a teaching delivered by the Buddha to his monk devotees, offers a characteristically Buddhist rationalization for Hariti's evil actions premised on the Dharmic law of causation and effect.

<sup>42</sup> Hariti, or "thief", is the name bestowed upon the cannibal Yakshi Abhirati by the residents of Rajagriha.

<sup>43</sup> The concealment of Priyankara under the Buddha's almsbowl is described in the *Samyuktavastu* as an act of magic that renders him invisible to his brothers and mother.

<sup>44</sup> Unlike their more passive counterparts in the *Samyuktavastu*, the sramana are also charged with the abduction of Hariti's one thousand demon children whom they conceal from their mother in the vihara.

<sup>45</sup> The number of Hariti's sons occurs as 500 in most versions of her legend although one or two other texts give it as much as 10,000. Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 21.

<sup>46</sup> The Five Precepts require the devout Buddhist to abstain from killing living beings, stealing, lusting, deceiving, and drinking intoxicants.

<sup>47</sup> In "Hariti la mère-de-démons," Peri remarks on the unparalleled nature and tone of this passage (21-22), noting that other versions of the legends include nothing comparable. He is inclined to attribute this to an innovation attached by the author of the sutra.

<sup>48</sup> Although not referred to by name, the class of yaksha is implied here. This could offer an explanation for the benevolent/malevolent polarity among yakshas by identifying the antagonistic examples as demons who have assumed the form of nature spirits. It is interesting that in the *Samyuktavastu* narrative, the yakshas are never presented as wholly evil; Hariti is a unique and aberrant case. In fact, Abhirati's father, brother and husband are portrayed as beneficial guardian deities attached to a community although they are powerless to stop her murderous deeds.

<sup>49</sup> Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 19-20 (Peri's parentheses).

<sup>50</sup> Pratyeka-buddhas ("private buddhas") are one of the three types of perfected beings that also include Buddhas and *arhats*. Pratyeka-buddhas and arhats represent an ideal that is a characteristic of early Buddhism. Whereas a Buddha perceives truth and then teaches it to others, pratyeka-buddhas and arhats, although having achieved enlightenment and thus defeated the cycle of rebirth, do not communicate this soterial knowledge to others. Conversely, the emphasis of Mahayana Buddhism was altruistic and extolled a compassionate path that ensured salvation for all beings. Out of this philosophy of altruism emerged the cult of bodhisattvas who become the divine facilitators of universal salvation. A.L. Basham, "The Greater Vehicle" of Mahayana Buddhism," in *Buddhist Tradition in India, China and Japan*, ed. William Theodore de Bary (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 75-76, 82.

<sup>51</sup> He states: "...it is this yakshini Hariti herself! It is because formerly, having made an alms offering of 500 mangoes to a pratyeka-buddha, she made a criminal vow; that she has now been reborn at Rajagriha as a yakshini, that she has had 500 sons, that she has sucked the vital energy from men and has eaten all the children of that city." Peri, "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 13.

<sup>52</sup> Liz Wilson, *Charming Cadavers: Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 22.

<sup>53</sup> H. Oldenberg, ed., *Vinaya Pitaka* (London: Pali Text Society, 1879-1893), 1:43; cited in Wilson, *Charming Cadavers*, 23-24, n. 31.

<sup>54</sup> A comparison to this example of monastic mediation may be found in the *Avalambana Sutra* (dating to the third century B.C.E.). It describes ritual offerings performed by an assembly of



Buddhist monks for the purpose of rescuing deceased ancestors condemned to the hell of hungry ghosts. Living descendants are expected to provide food, drink and sleeping clothes to the monastery for the offering ceremony. Again, these arrangements assure the monks a critical and intermediary role as the negotiating agents who control of the ritual and its desired outcome.

"Maudgalyayana's Descent Into the Preta Purgatory." Transl. Samuel Beal in *The Oriental*, (November 6, 1875); cited in L. Austine Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2d. ed. (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons Ltd., 1971; reprint of the 1939 edition), 98-99.

<sup>55</sup> This term attributed to Griselda Pollock in "Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Art: an Introduction," in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London, 1988), 1-17; cited in the commentary by Eric Fernie in *Art History and its Methods: a Critical Analogy* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995), 298.

<sup>56</sup> Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes and Other Mythical Beasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 115.

<sup>57</sup> Rita Gross, "Is the Goddess a Feminist?" In *Is the Goddess a Feminist? The Politics of South Asian Goddesses*, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel and Kathleen Erndl (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 104.

<sup>58</sup> Rita Sherma, "Sa ham; I am She," in *Is the Goddess a Feminist? The Politics of South Asian Goddesses*, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel and Kathleen Erndl (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 26-27.

<sup>59</sup> Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Tales of Sex and Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 85.

<sup>60</sup> Bhishma's advice to Yudhishtira in the *Mahabharata*. Cited in O'Flaherty's *Hindu Myths*, 36, n. 20.

<sup>61</sup> An apt example is the story drawn from the *Jaiminiya Brahmana* of Long-Tongue the Demoness (*JB* 1.161-63) who continually destroys the sacrifice by licking up the sacred soma. To stop this desecration, Indra sends a handsome man equipped with male organs covering every limb to correspond with her equally numerous vaginas. Long-Tongue is willingly seduced but then discovers that she is impaled all over by the man's members. Once immobilized, Indra is able to slay her (with his thunderbolt, a symbol of the male phallus). O'Flaherty, *Sex and Violence*, 101-103.

<sup>62</sup> O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes and Other*, 90. O'Flaherty points out in that the tooth is also symbolic of the female genitals in an allusion to the *vagina dentata*.

<sup>63</sup> C. McKenzie Brown, *Triumph of the Goddess: The Canonical Models and Theological Visions of the Devi-Bhagavata Purana*, SUNY series in Hindu Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 122-125; cited in Tracy Pintchman, *The Rise of the Goddess in the Hindu Tradition*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 204, n. 24.

<sup>64</sup> Pintchman, *Rise of the Goddess*, 205.

<sup>65</sup> Alan Sponberg terms this phenomenon "soteriological inclusiveness" in his essay "Attitudes towards Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism". In *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, ed. J.I. Cabezon (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 8.

<sup>66</sup> Rita Kloppenborg, "Female Stereotypes in Early Buddhism: The Women of the Therigatha," in *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions*, ed. Ria Kloppenborg and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 152; Robinson and Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion*, 58-59. Eight rules of deportment applied exclusively to Buddhist nuns require that: (1) any nun, no matter how senior, must respectfully salute a monk, no matter how junior; (2) aspiring nuns must undergo a two-year training period, and then be ordained by both the communities of monks and nuns; (3) nuns must not criticize monks; (4) nuns may not receive alms before monks; (5) nuns who violate rules of conduct are subject to disciplinary action for a fortnight and must then seek restitution from the communities of monks and nuns; (6) every fortnight the nuns should ask the monks for instruction; (7) nuns may not spend the rainy season retreat in the company of monks; and (8) after finishing the rainy season retreat, nuns should request the ceremony marking the end of the retreat from the communities of monks and nuns. Gustav Roth, ed., *Bhikshuni Vinaya [of the Mahasanghikas]: Manual of Discipline for Buddhist Nuns* (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1970), 4-18; cited in John S. Strong, *The Experience of Buddhism: Sources and Interpretations* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 55-56.

<sup>67</sup> T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter, eds., *Digha Nikaya* (London: Pali Text Society, 1889-1910), 2:141; cited in Wilson, *Charming Cadavers*, 18, n. 11.

<sup>68</sup> It is problematic to conjecture about the comparative stature of women in India's subcontinent and in Gandhara under the Kushans, in particular as the Kushan Empire straddled these distinct geographical regions with their divergent cultural and ethnic histories. What small evidence exists, (usually in epigraphic form as donative inscriptions) has been interpreted as supporting the notion that women in Kushan Gandhara enjoyed an element of autonomy and independent standing. Yet, these women may have represented an elite minority and the status of the average woman under the Kushans is not possible to know. Ashvaghosha is known as having been Kanishka's spiritual mentor during his reign so it can be assumed that the *Buddhacarita* expressed views that were generally accepted by the Buddhist monastic and lay communities of that time.

<sup>69</sup> Ashvaghosha, *The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha*, Book V, lines 64-65. In Cowell's *Buddhist Mahayana Texts*, 58.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, Book XV, lines 13-34, 160-163.

<sup>71</sup> See Richard Brubaker's contemporary study of this phenomenon: "The Ambivalent Mistress: a Study of South Indian Village Goddesses and Their Religious Meaning," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1978.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>73</sup> M. Slusser. "Nepali Sculptures - New Discoveries" In *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers Presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in October, 1970*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 97-98.

<sup>74</sup> Brubaker describes the mingling of rice and buffalo blood that comprises a suitable offering of complementary elements (animal and vegetable, red and white, life and death) and suggests a symbolic fertilization process, noting that the coming together of red and white in India evokes the charged image of menstrual blood and semen. In "Ambivalent Mistress," 243-244.

<sup>75</sup> Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1896), 1:127.

<sup>76</sup> Brubaker, "Ambivalent Mistress," 31.

<sup>77</sup> See Chapter Three for an earlier reference to the saptamatrikas.

<sup>78</sup> This version of the myth of Skanda is found in the *Mahabharata* 3:214:10-17. The seed of Agni, the god of fire is thrown from Mount Sveta into a golden basin from which Skanda is born. Cited by Harper, *Saptamatrikas*, 68-69.

<sup>79</sup> Harper, *Saptamatrikas*, 70, 73.

<sup>80</sup> *Bhagavata* 10.6.1-44; cited in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty's *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 338, n. 87.

<sup>81</sup> J.L. Masson, "The Childhood of Krsna: Some Psychoanalytic Observations," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94:4 (October-December 1974): 459; cited in O'Flaherty's *Origins of Evil*, 338, n. 88.

<sup>82</sup> O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes and Other*, 264-265.

<sup>83</sup> O'Flaherty, *Origins of Evil*, 30.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Verrier Elwin, *Myths of Middle India* (Oxford, 1949), 420; cited in O'Flaherty, *Origins of Evil*, 245, n. 121.

<sup>86</sup> Fausböll, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, xiv-xv.

<sup>87</sup> Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, 2:239-240. The story's violence escalates when the shipwrecked son of a king manages to escape; the vengeful queen of the raksasis reaches his father's kingdom before him and devours the king and all the occupants of the palace. Later, the new king returns to Ratnavipra to destroy the demon women. This story appears also as the *Valahassa Jataka* in which the number of mariners is set at five hundred and again in the Mahavastu in the story of "The Five Hundred Merchants". In Sutherland, *Disguises of the Demon*, 139-140.

<sup>88</sup> Lawrence Babb, "Marriage and Malevolence: The Uses of Sexual Opposition in the Hindu Pantheon," *Ethnology* 9:2 (1970): 147.

<sup>89</sup> "Verses of the Elder Nuns" is included in the Khuddaka Nikaya, the fifth part of the second "basket" of the Pali Canonical scriptures, the Sutta-pitaka. They are said to have been recited at the First Council after the death of the Buddha (c. 486 or 483 B.C.E.). In the Introduction by Steven Collins, *Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns (Therigatha)*, rev. ed., trans. C.A.F. Rhys Davids (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1989), vii.

<sup>90</sup> Rhys Davids, *Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns*, 144-145, verses 466, 471.

<sup>91</sup> The doctrine of the Middle Way incorporates the Holy Eightfold Path, which the Buddha introduced on the occasion of his first sermon.

<sup>92</sup> In *Charming Cadavers* (52), Liz Wilson compares the Buddhist preoccupation with body impurities and discharges with Brahmanical concerns about ritual purity and pollution. While Brahmanism provides ritual strategies for purification, Buddhism "instrumentalizes" the body as an object of abhorrence used in meditation to facilitate spiritual advancement.

<sup>93</sup> John Ross Carter and Mahinda Palihawadana, eds., *Dhammapada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 214-215, verses 147-148.

<sup>94</sup> Gregory Schopen, "*Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*" (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 250.

<sup>95</sup> Earliest extant examples are found in the reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi (first century B.C.E. to first century C.E.) and recur throughout the Kushan period in the Gandharan repertoire of imagery.

<sup>96</sup> Images of the ascetic Buddha are an iconographic phenomenon found exclusively in Gandhara and are the subject of controversy as to their intended representation. Gautama's prolonged austerities were abandoned as an unsuccessful means of attaining enlightenment, and in the light of the Buddha's denunciation of extreme practices, it seems an unsuitable period to be commemorated with a relatively large number of representations. For an interesting interpretation of the iconography of the ascetic Buddha, see Robert L. Brown's article "The Emaciated Gandharan Buddha Images: Asceticism, Health, and the Body," Natasha Eilenberg and Robert L. Brown, eds. *Living a Life in Accord with Dhamma: Papers in Honor of Professor Jean Boisselier on his Eightieth Birthday* (Bangkok: Silpakorn University Press, 1997), 105-115.

<sup>97</sup> It perhaps should not be presumed that these abstract representations neutralized their overt sexuality; Misra points out in *Yaksha Cult* (157) that the *Vinaya Pitaka* specifically prohibits monks from sexual intercourse with yakshis, which was an offense.

<sup>98</sup> Lest her womb risk contamination through some future, lesser habitation, Queen Maya dies shortly thereafter (one may also note that although Christ's conception is chronicled as similarly immaculate, accounts of his birth have never laid claim to miraculous deviations from biological norms).

<sup>99</sup> The rare exceptions are problematic identifications such as the so-called Hariti from Sahri Bahlol. See discussion at end of Chapter Three.

<sup>100</sup> Rhys Davids, *Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns*, 65, verse 133.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-91, verses 213-223.

<sup>102</sup> The most dangerous of these are said to be the spirits of women who have miscarried or died in childbirth. Babb, "Marriage and Malevolence," 146.

<sup>103</sup> O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes and Other*, 41, 114.

## APPENDIX A

*SAMYUKTAVASTU*<sup>1</sup>

Gupta lives with her sons  
 the Yakshini of Rajagriha  
 Gift of children, garment tied around their necks  
 Invocation of the name and offering of food.<sup>2</sup>

In the days when the Buddha was living in Rajagriha, in the vihara of the Forest of Bamboo, there was a genie yaksa who lived near a mountain situated inside the city; he was called Sata. He extended his protection over the great King Bimbisara, over the queen and the wives of the king, the princes, ministers, and all men. Thanks to his powers, the king and all men enjoyed peace and tranquillity. He ensured rain to fall in due time; the plants produced an abundance of flowers and fruits; the springs and the lakes were full; there was no famine and whatever one asked for was easily obtained. The sramanas, Brahmans, paupers, orphans, and merchants all came en masse to the country of Magadha, and this yaksa protected them all. Finally, Sata married a woman of his own kind and from among his relations and lived with her. At this time, in the north, in the country of Gandhara, there was also a yaksa called Pancala. He lived there, protecting the country, and upon it he granted tranquillity and abundance. There was no conflict on the borders of Magadha and of Gandhara. This yaksa also married a woman of his kind and lived with her. Thereafter, on one occasion, the yaksa of all the regions having gathered together, these two yaksa had opportunity to express their mutual congeniality and became friends. Later, after separating, each returned to his own residence. The yaksa Sata gathered the most beautiful flowers and fruit of Magadha and sent them to Pancala, and he in turn sent to Sata flowers and fruit produced in the north. In this way, over a long time they demonstrated to each other their feelings. At subsequent meetings, they picked up the thread of their friendship. Then Sata said to Pancala, "What can we do so that after our deaths our descendants make friends with each other and are not divided?" Pancala said, "Well said! I am of the same mind." Sata said, "We must contract an alliance by means of our future descendants. If between our two families, we produce a son and a daughter, we will marry them to each other." The other said, "It will be done!"

A little time later, the wife of Sata conceived and, her term fully come, she brought into the world a daughter. She was very beautiful, and all those who saw her loved her. At the moment of her birth, all the yaksa rejoiced greatly, and her parents gave her the name Abhirati.

<sup>1</sup> *Genben shuo yiqie youbu binaye zashi*, T.XXIV, 1451. Translated into Chinese by Yijing. My English translation is based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 3-14.

<sup>2</sup> This is the verse that serves as title to this work.

Then Pancala, hearing of the birth of this girl, felt great joy and thought "The yaksa Sata is my friend; he has fathered a daughter, I must now father a son. She is, moreover, my (future) young, beloved daughter-in-law, it is appropriate and necessary to prepare a gift of necklaces and garments with which to adorn her person." He had them brought there along with a letter in which he said "I hear that you have fathered a daughter – this gives me great joy. I am sending to you the garments for her. Please deign to accept them." Sata, having received this message, replied with another letter. And now, Pancala thought of nothing else but to have a son. A short time later, his wife conceived, and her time having come, brought into the world a son. When it was time to give him a name, as he was the son of Pancala, he was called Pancika. Then the yaksa Sata, having learned that Pancala had fathered a son, thought: my friend has fathered a son. I cannot allow this opportunity to pass; I must send garments and ornaments with which to express my joy. It is he who will be the husband of my daughter, there is no doubt." And he wrote a letter saying "I hear that you have fathered a son; I am very happy. I send you some garments as a token of congratulations; please accept them in that they may convey the sincerity of my feelings."

Pancala having seen this letter, responded to it with another, saying "Here now is the realization of all the wishes that we have formed in our friendship. Let us wait until they are grown, and we will have the wedding."

Then the wife of the yaksa Sata was newly pregnant, and all the mountains uttered cries resembling the trumpeting of elephants. Her time having arrived, at the moment when she gave birth, the mountains shouted again with new cries. All of the relatives held counsel and said "The day when this child was conceived and at the moment he was born, all the mountains uttered cries. This son of Sata, he must be called Satagiri."

When he was grown, his father died and he himself became the head of the family. At this time, Abhirati was grown; she said to her younger brother, "I have the urge to go throughout the city of Rajagriha in order to take and eat all the children who are born there." The younger brother replied "Older sister, I have heard said that our father always protected the ruler of this city and all its people, that he provided them with tranquillity and drove away from them all afflictions. I too want now to give them my protection. I extend my protection to this location, and if someone else wants to cause harm to its people, I will prevent him and will protect them. But you, why have you now conceived this evil design? Abandon this thought!"

But under the influence of the persistent urge of a murderous wish formed in a previous existence, the yaksini again spoke to her brother and he replied as before. The brother, realizing that it was impossible to alter his sister's intentions, thought "I am not strong enough to cut short this evil thought. But while still living, my father wanted to give her in marriage. I must now bring about this marriage." And he wrote a letter to the yaksa Pancala saying, "My sister Abhirati has now reached a suitable age - we must form our alliance. Come quickly." Having received this letter, Pancala came to Rajagriha in order to conclude the ceremony, made the marriage, and returned home.

A long time passed after Pancala's return to his city; the young woman and her husband loved one another. She made to him this speech, "Oh Benefactor, you know it is my desire to be able to take and eat the children of the people currently living in Rajagriha." He replied "*Bhadramukha*, it is there where all the members of your family live; if someone else came to harm them, my desire would be to prevent him from such a thing. How is it possible that so suddenly and out of such cruelty you have conceived of this evil notion? Speak to me of it no longer." This stemmed from the residual influence

of a criminal vow formed in a previous existence. She cried out with impatience, looked at him angrily, and remained silent.

Some time later, she brought a son into the world and in succession she gave birth to 500, one after another. The youngest was named Priyankara. The power of the 500 sons increased; their mother drew on their violence in order to carry out the evil actions. However much her husband remonstrated with her, it was to no avail; she did not listen to anything he said. The husband, knowing her feelings, spoke of it no more.

At this time in Rajagriha, Abhirati ate one after another of the children of the residents of that city in the places where she passed. Then all of those who had lost their children said to the king, "All the children of your subjects have been stolen, and we don't know who has caused this great evil. Our grief is extreme - how can an end be put to it? We ask that the king in his goodness have this investigated." The king gave orders in all quarters of the city and placed guards at the gates to the four sides of the city. But the soldiers themselves were all carried off. From day to day their numbers grew fewer and no one knew what became of the people. The pregnant women were all carried off. One was disposed to go elsewhere.

At that time, great calamities began to pervade Rajagriha. All the princes, ministers, and leaders informed the king repeatedly that great crises were taking place throughout the land and explained these things to him in detail. Learning of this, the king was alarmed. He brought in the soothsayers and asked them for the cause of the trouble. They answered, "These calamities are the work of a yaksa. It is necessary to prepare without delay all sorts of excellent food and to offer sacrifices." The king gave clear orders, had them announced to the sound of a drum, and made it known to all the people: "All those who are currently residing in my estates without distinction as to natives or foreigners must prepare foods, perfumes and flowers; to clean the streets, the moats of the city and the populated districts; to place there decorations of all sorts; to make heard the drum, the music, the songs, the chimes and the bells; and to hang banners." Then the people of Rajagriha carried out the king's order, each applying himself to it with zeal; providing the foods, perfumes, flowers, and other similar things - the streets were as decorated as the *Nandavana*<sup>3</sup>; and everywhere sacrifices were offered. Although a great deal of effort had been taken in order to provide for all of this, the calamities, however, did not cease. The sufferings and terror reached boundless proportions.

Then the genie, *Tian* \_\_\_\_\_, protector of Rajagriha, made it known to everyone in a dream, "Your children have all been devoured by the yaksini, Abhirati. You must go to the place where the Bhagavat is; the Buddha will ease all of your pain." Then the people responded to the genie, "She who takes our children and feeds on them is an evil scoundrel of a yaksini - why call her Abhirati?" and all named her the yaksini Hariti.<sup>4</sup> The people of Rajagriha, informed of this thing, all went to the place where the Buddha was and worshipped his feet saying, "Oh Bhagavat, for a long time this yaksini Hariti has not been good to the inhabitants of Rajagriha. At first, we had not any bad thoughts regarding her, but she harbors odiously cruel feeling towards us. She abducts all the children we have brought into the world and makes of them her food. We beg of you, oh Bhagavat, to have pity on us and to render her powerless." The Bhagavat received this

---

<sup>3</sup> The Gardens of Indra.

<sup>4</sup> "Thief."

request in silence. But they, understanding that the Buddha had granted it, worshipped before his two feet, thanked him, and turned back.

The next day at first light, the Buddha having taken his robe and his bowl, entered into the city in order to seek his food. Having begged following the order of the houses, he came back to the place where he lived and took his meal; after which he went to the residence of the yaksini Hariti. At that moment, the yaksini had gone out and was not at her home but the smallest of her sons, Priyankara remained at the house. The Bhagavat concealed him under his almsbowl and because of his power (as a) Tathagatha the older brothers could not see their youngest brother and the youngest brother could not see the older ones.

Then the yaksini returned to her house. Not seeing her little child, she was overcome by worry and set about to search for him everywhere. Next she questioned her children, "Where is Priyankara?" They answered, "None of us have seen him." Then she beat her breast weeping tears of grief; her lips and mouth dry and burning, her mind disconcerted and distracted, her heart torn from suffering; she went in great haste to the royal city and scoured through all the districts, the houses of ill-repute, and the byways; she searched everywhere in the gardens, the forests, the lakes, the ponds, the temples of the gods, the shrines of the spirits, the inns and the deserted houses, but she found nothing. Her sorrow increased and she panicked completely. She cast off her garments and began to utter great cries calling "Priyankara, where are you?" Finally she went out of the city and coursed through the villages, searching in the major hamlets without finding anything. She went in the four (cardinal) directions, reaching as far as the four oceans without seeing anyone. With her hair undone and allowing her body to be seen, she rolled in the earth, dragging herself on her elbows, crawled on her knees, crouched, sat. In this way she traversed successively through all the Jambudvipa, the Seven Black Mountains, the Seven Mountains of Gold, the Seven Snowy Mountains, Lake Anavatapta, the Gandhamadana<sup>5</sup> of Jambudvipa, searching everywhere without finding anything. Her emotions, her despair were such that her throat no longer allowed anything to pass through. She went east to Videha, west to Godhaniya, and north to Kuru but no one did she see. Then she went to Sanjiva, to Kalasutra, to Samghata, to Raurava, to Mahaurava, to Tapani, to Pratapana, to Avici, to Arbuda, to Nirarbuda, to Atata, to Hahava, to Ahaha, to Utpala, to Padma, to Pundarika; she visited thus the sixteen main hells without seeing her son. Then she went over the Marvelous Mountain,<sup>6</sup> climbed to the first level, then to the second, then to the third, passed the palace of Vaisramana-devi,<sup>7</sup> arrived at the summit of the Marvelous Mountain, entered into the garden Caitraratha, then into the gardens Micraka, Parushyaka and Nandana looking everywhere without seeing her son. Then she went under the tree Parijata, reached the Sudharma hall, entered into the city of Sudarcana and wished to enter into the Vaijayanta of Indra. But the Great Spirit, Vajrapani, with innumerable yaksa, was at the door which he guarded. Seeing that she sought to enter, he drove her out of the city of Sudarcana.

Her suffering still increasing, she came to the place where dwelt Vaisramana-

<sup>5</sup> The Perfumed Mountain.

<sup>6</sup> Mount Sumeru.

<sup>7</sup> Vaisravana, Guardian King of the North and one of the Four Lokapalas; also known as Kubera, God of Wealth.



*devi*. She fell to the ground and prostrated her entire body on a great stone, weeping and keening, saying, "Oh great General! My little child Priyankara has been stolen from me and I do not know where he is. I beg you to find him and restore him to me!" Vaisramana said to her, "My Sister, don't let your trouble drive you into complete despair. Look who came and remains motionless beside your house on the day terrace." She responded, "Oh great General, it is only the sramana Gautama who is there." He replied, "If that is so, you must go in all haste to this Bhagavat and confide in him. He will help you to see Priyankara again."

Hearing these words, she felt as great a joy as a dead person who is brought back to life. She turned back towards her house. From a distance she saw the Bhagavat, the thirty-two marks and the eighty signs that decorated his body; the perfect light which he emitted surpassed the brilliance of a thousand suns and was identical to that of the Mountain of Marvelous Jewels. From the depths of her heart was kindled an ardent faith - all her pain disappeared; she felt as much joy as if she had already recovered her son.

Arriving at the place where the Buddha was, she worshipped the Buddha's feet, then moving back, sat down by his side and to him said, "Oh Bhagavat, it is a long time that I have been separated from the smallest of my sons, Priyankara. I am beseeching you, through your benevolence, allow me to see my son again!" The Buddha said "Yaksini Hariti, how many sons do you have?" She responded, "I have 500." The Buddha said, "Hariti, since only one of your 500 sons has disappeared, have you cause for grief?" She replied, "Oh Bhagavat, if I don't see Priyankara today, I will certainly vomit up my hot blood, and I will end my life." The Buddha said to her, "Hariti, because you no longer see one of your 500 sons, you feel such great pain. Those whose only child you take and devour, how then is their pain?" She responded, "Their pain is greater than mine." The Buddha said "Hariti, now you know the pain of being separated from that which one loves. Why therefore do you eat the children of others?" She replied, "I ask only that the Bhagavat give me his instructions." The Buddha said, "Hariti, you must receive my teaching. Grant safety to all of those who are inhabiting Rajagriha at this moment. If you do this, you will see Priyankara again without leaving this place." She replied, "Oh Bhagavat, from this moment I submit myself to the Precepts and the Order of the Buddha. I grant safety to all of those dwelling in Rajagriha at this time." After she had spoken thus, the Buddha revealed Priyankara to her. Then Hariti took refuge in the Tathagatha and received the teachings. All the people of the city had peace and were delivered of their sorrows.

After this, Hariti came up to the place where the Buddha was, received the three refuges and the five precepts: from not killing living beings; etc., as far as not drinking intoxicating liquor. Then she came up to the Buddha and said, "From this time on, what will my children and I eat?" The Buddha said, "Virtuous woman, don't be concerned. All of my sramana and disciples who are in Jambudvipa, for each meal following the sequence of meals will give to you the food of living beings; at the end of the line, having prepared a tray of food, they will call you by your name and will call your sons, and you will all eat your fill. You will never suffer from hunger. And if there is food remaining, then to all the living beings and to all the spirits living in the rivers, the mountains, and the sea, and to all the beings who eat, it will to them be offered and deliberately will they also be satisfied."

The Buddha said to Hariti, "And I also confer upon you to do the following: all the Sangharama of my Law, all the places where the monks and nuns live, you and your sons, day and night, with zeal you will protect them, you will not allow anything to do them harm and always you will give them peace. As long as my Law is not destroyed in

the *Jambudvīpa*, this is what must be done." After the Bhagavat had delivered these words, the mother Hariti and her 500 sons and all the masses of yaksa who had come felt a great joy and adored and served the Buddha.

Then the monks, having listened to the words of the Buddha, all felt doubt and asked the Bhagavat, "What prior deeds did the mother Hariti do in order to bring into the world 500 sons, to suck the vital energy of men, and to devour the children of the people of Rajagriha?" The Buddha said to the monks, "Listen. This yaksini and the inhabitants of this city must themselves pay the price for their prior actions.

"Oh monks, in distant times, there lived in Rajagriha an oxherd. He took a wife and before long, she was pregnant. In those days, there was no Buddha, there was only a pratyeka-buddha. He revealed himself to men but preferred to live in solitude. According to the opportunity, he helped himself to that which he wanted which was at hand. There was then in the world only that one punvakseta. One day, this pratyeka-buddha, while wandering near the places of men, arrived at the city of Rajagriha. There was a grand festival to which had come 500 men. Everyone was arrayed with ornaments and bearing food and drink and making music, and they went together up to the festival gardens. On their way, they encountered the wife of the oxherd, pregnant, carrying a jug of curdled milk. They all said to her, "Sister, come dance and make merry with us!" The wife, seeing that, began to shout aloud with them; then, the passion growing, her eyes rolled up and her eyebrows raised, she began to dance with them. As a result, she exhausted herself and miscarried. All the people of the city went out into this garden; the wife, in great affliction, rested her head on her hand. Finally, with her curdled milk, she bought 500 mangoes. At this moment, the pratyeka-buddha came and approached this woman. From a distance, she saw his body, his peaceful spirit and his majestic, well ordered bearing. She saw him advance on the road and in her heart she conceived a respectful trust. Then coming before him, she worshipped his two feet, and taking the fruits of excellent perfume, she offered them to the saint. Pratyeka-buddhas can teach only with their bodies, and they cannot explain the Law by mouth. Wishing to do well to this woman, he spread his two wings, like those of the king of Hamsa, and rose in the air, causing all sorts of miracles to be seen. This ordinary woman saw these marvels and her heart became attached to this saint. As a great tree that falls, she flung herself to the ground, her hands joined, and she made this vow - "by the merit of the alms that I have made to this true punyaksetra, I request rebirth in the future in Rajagriha and to eat of the children of all who inhabit this city."

"Monks, what do you think of this? Could the oxherd's wife have done otherwise? It is this yaksini Hariti herself! It is because formerly, having made an alms offering of 500 mangoes to a pratyeka buddha, she made a criminal vow: that she has now been reborn at Rajagriha as a yaksini, that she has had 500 sons, that she has sucked the vital energy from men and has eaten all of the children of that city. Oh monks, I have always taught you that a malevolent action demands a malevolent retribution; a mixed action, a mixed retribution; and a benign action, a benign retribution. Endeavor to practice benign action and avoid malevolent action or mixed action because retribution is received through one's own self." Then all the monks having heard the words of the Buddha felt a great joy in their hearts, worshipped the feet of the Buddha and took their leave.

In the same location as above, until Hariti had received the three refuges and the five precepts of the Tathagatha, she was tormented by the other yaksa. Then she brought all her children and gave them to the Buddhist community. One day, seeing the monks going in search of their food, they changed into small children and followed

behind. When the women of Rajagriha saw them, many of them were overcome by emotion and came to take them in their arms. They then disappeared. The women asked of the monks, "Whose children are these?" They replied, "They are the children of Hariti." The women said "Are these then the children of that yaksini so hateful and wicked?" The monks answered, "She has completely rejected all wickedness, and because of this, all the yaksa torment her. This is why from this time forward she has given us these children." The women thought "The yaksini has rejected her evil intentions and has given her children. Why would we then not give them ours also?" And they gave their children to the community. The community refused to take them. The women said then, "The saints have taken the children of that wicked yaksini; why then will they not take ours?" The monks took this opportunity in order to speak to the Buddha. The Buddha said, "Receive them." The monks obeyed these instructions. But although they received the children, they were not supervised and they went everywhere to amuse themselves at their whim. The monks told this to the Buddha. The Buddha said, "Once a boy has been given to the community, a monk will receive him and will tie to his head a piece of old kasaya and will watch over him. If many boys have been given, the monks of all ranks, superior, average, and lower, will receive them and will share them according to their desire and will watch over them just as said before so that they will not be the target of suspicion. Then the parents came back bearing gifts in order to compensate (the expenses incurred by the children) and to withdraw them. The monks did not accept. The Buddha said, "Accept." Subsequently, these children conceived affectionate feelings, and they returned bearing clothing which they offered to the monks in recognition of their good deeds. The monks, knowing their feelings, would not accept. The Buddha said, "Receive them."

As the Buddha was saying that they must receive the presents offered in exchange for the children, six monks went to ask the parents for the entire compensation. The Buddha said, "Don't ask the price; learn to content yourselves to receive that which they give according to their wishes."

In the same location as above, the yaksini Hariti gave all her sons to the community. During the night while they were sleeping, they were tormented with hunger and let out groans of complaint. Once morning came, the monks took this opportunity to tell the Buddha of this matter. The Buddha said "Once morning has come, take them something to eat while saying their name and rendering homage to them." It happened also that during times of abstinence they wished to eat. The Buddha said, "You must give food to them." It happened also that they wished to eat at forbidden times. The Buddha said, "You must give to them." It happened also that they wished to eat that which was left at the bottom of the monks' bowls; the Buddha said, "You must give it to them." It happened also that they wished to eat of impure things; the Buddha said, "You must give these to them."

## APPENDIX B

*HARITI SUTRA (Guizi mu jing)*<sup>1</sup>

In the time when the Buddha was in the country of Ta-teou,<sup>2</sup> in this country there was a woman, mother of many children, of a very malicious nature. She took delight in going to steal people's children to kill them and to eat them. The families who lost their children didn't know who had taken them. They wandered through the lanes and in the countryside and lamented; then returning, they held council. This continued for some time. Ananda and all the sramana went and saw for themselves the people lamenting; when they returned, they held a council with them, and they pitied the families who had lost their children. The Buddha knew what the sramana were thinking. He came to the place where they were staying and asked the sramana: "Concerning what subject did you hold a council?" The sramana and Ananda said to the Buddha: "The subject is this: having gone out and observed for ourselves, we noticed in the lanes and in the countryside many people who were lamenting. We asked these people who lamented, "Why do you grieve?" They answered us, "We have lost our children – we do not know where their bodies are." These people who lamented so, they were not just a single family, and all had lost their children."

The Buddha said to Ananda and to all the sramana, "Whoever stole the children in this country is no ordinary human being, it is the Mother of Demons who is now manifested as a human being. She takes delight in stealing the children of others. This mother has a thousand sons: five hundred are in the heavens and five hundred on the earth. These thousand sons are all Demon Kings, each of these kings commands several legions of demons. Therefore, five hundred demon kings are in the heavens and torment the gods, and five hundred demon kings are on the earth and torment the rulers and the people. The gods themselves can do nothing to fend off these five hundred demon kings."

Ananda said to the Buddha, "The mother of demons who has come into this county, shouldn't she be ordered not to steal the children of others?" The Buddha said, "Very good. She must be ordered not to steal the children of others from this time forward." Ananda asked the Buddha, "By what means can she be prevented from stealing the children of others in the future?" The Buddha said then to Ananda, "Let all the sramanas go to the place where this mother dwells and wait for her departure, then let them take all her children and bring them to the vihara and hide them."

All of the sramana went and waited for the mother to leave, then they took her children, numbering one thousand, and brought them secretly to the vihara. The mother had gone out again to steal children. Upon her return, in entering into her house she no longer saw her children. Then she abandoned the children of others without daring to kill

<sup>1</sup> T.XXI, 1202. My English translation based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 16-21. Parentheses are Peri's.

<sup>2</sup> Among the works concerning Hariti, this is the only country named that is not identified.

them. Then she started looking for her children everywhere in her house but she could not discover where they were. Then she went out, going through the streets, scouring all over town but did not find them. Then she went out of town and searched for them without finding them, then she returned to the town and went through the lanes and lamented to herself. This continued for ten days. The mother was panicked; her hair undone, she went to the market uttering moans, striking her breast, hitting herself, sending out great shrieks to the heavens, delivering incoherent speeches, and able to neither drink nor eat. The Buddha sent his disciples to see this spectacle. Catching sight of the mother, they asked her, "Why do you go all throughout the town, hair undone and lamenting?" The mother replied to the disciples, "It is because I have lost my many children that I weep." The disciples said, "Do you want to find your sons?" The mother replied, "I want to find them." The disciples said, "If you truly desire to find them, there is in these times a Buddha. You must go to him and ask. The Buddha knows the future and the past. Go and you will find your sons."

The mother, hearing these words, conceived a great joy and her mind was eased; and following the disciples, she came to the place where the Buddha was. Very joyful, she approached and venerated the Buddha. The Buddha then asked the mother, "Why do you go throughout the town lamenting?" The mother replied to the Buddha, "Because I have lost my sons." The Buddha asked the mother, "Where did you go after leaving your sons so as to have lost them?" The mother remained silent and did not reply. The Buddha asked the mother, "In leaving your sons, where were you going and from where did you return?" She remained silent and said not a word. The mother knew that it was wrong to steal the children of others. Then the mother arose and venerated the Buddha, flinging herself face-down against the ground and saying: "It is that I am a madwoman." The Buddha interrogated her anew: "You have children – do you love them?" The mother said, "The children I have, whether sitting or standing, I always want them by my side." The Buddha questioned her again: "Since you are capable of loving the children you have, why every day do you steal the children of others? Others love their children as you do. The families who have lost their children are going through the lanes and lamenting as you have done. Furthermore, those children of others whom you have stolen, back at your house you kill them and eat them. After you die, you will enter into Samghata Hell."

The mother, hearing these words was filled with terror. The Buddha asked her still again, "Do you sincerely desire to find your children?" The mother got up and threw herself again face to the ground saying, "I beg of you, have pity on me!" The Buddha spoke once again to the mother, saying to her, "If your children are returned to you, will you sincerely repent? If you repent sincerely, I will return to you your children." The mother said, "I repent." The Buddha said, "You repent. What will you do in the future as a pledge of your repentance?" The mother said, "I will listen to the teachings and the precepts of the Buddha, and I will conform myself to his words – it is thus that I will repent. If the Buddha returns my children to me, I will never again deviate from what he will say."

The Buddha said, "Will it truly be as you say?" The mother said, "I will surely act in accordance with the words of the Buddha." Then the Buddha imposed upon her the Five Precepts – first, not to kill living beings; secondly, not to steal; thirdly, not to be lustful; fourth, not to deceive; and fifth, not to drink intoxicating liquor. In return, he gave back to her all of her children. Then the Buddha once again said, "You have one thousand sons; I will tell you the names of your thousand sons. Five hundred are in the

heavens; all are kings among the demons and with their officers and subaltern demons, envious and malicious, they torment the inhabitants of heaven. Five hundred are on the earth where they torment all the human people. Your sons are demon kings, they command several legions of demons. These five hundred of your sons with their officers and subaltern demons in enormous numbers are extremely hateful and evil. They turn themselves some into tree spirits, others into spirits of the earth or of the waters; or deceiving people, they pass themselves off as their older or younger brothers, their wives, their children, by their malice causing trouble both inside and outside of houses; or they make themselves into spirits of the sea or spirits of boats and of wagons, or into house spirits; or they call themselves the spirits who live in the dark of night, or they send dreams to men or they send to them terrors and cause them to see dreadful things; or they assume the names of those who have died by accident or by disease. It is in this way that they torment men. And they are everywhere. They are very hateful and malicious. Thus, under these false names, they coerce men to perform sacrifices and to kill (victims) whom they cook; the ignorant people kill and cook (victims) in order to feed these demons; these demons do not really wish to eat (the victims) but, being very malicious, they cause men to commit murders in order to compel them to enter into hell. Even not eating these (victims), they rejoice to see men perform sacrifices. These demons are not capable of protecting human life; they do only what adds to their crimes; and men, maddened and ignorant, entangled with these demons, are miserable.”

The mother of demons, hearing the words of the Buddha, repented to the depths of her heart and received the srotapatti, apprehending the future and the past. Making a great obeisance, she said to the Buddha: “I am a madwoman who knows nothing; from existence to existence I have been evil. Now I have received the precepts; my thoughts are completely absorbed in the Middle Way of the Law. My spirit is endowed with clairvoyance; I see again my thousand sons. Now I know; the excellent words of the Buddha are realized! I entreat the Buddha to have pity on me. I wish to live beside the vihara of the Buddha; I wish to call the thousand kings my sons; I wish to attach them to the Buddha. I wish to give back good deeds to men in and under heaven.” The Buddha said, “It is very good; this thought that you have is excellent.” The Buddha said, “In the future, you must abide by these words. You will live beside the vihara of the Buddha. When the people of this country who don’t have children wish for and ask for them, you will give them some. According to your wish, I will give names to your sons; I will make them protectors of men and will allow them to wrongly torment them no more.”

To make a vow with the Mother-of-demons, there was the Bhuta Manibhadra and his older sister called Tche-ni. All the demons in and below the heavens are the responsibility of this Manibhadra. He is sovereign over the interior of the four oceans; the merchants by boat and by wagon, they who possess riches – all are the responsibility of Manibhadra. Manibhadra attached himself to the Buddha and received the precepts. He protects men’s interests. As for Tche-ni, she comes to the aid of women in childbirth.

There is a devaraja called Vaisramana who rules the four worlds and protects human life; riches are Vaisramana’s responsibility. To make a vow, there was also a great demon king named Asura who has command over all the nagaraja and all the spirit poisoners. They vowed that their venom would do no harm to men; they vowed that their hearts having become good, they would not exercise vengeance and that they would no longer bite men. They vowed to give to men all that they ask for, and even if nothing is requested, at least they will do no harm. Then the men approached the Bhuta Manibhadra and venerated him.

## APPENDIX C

*MAHA MAYA SUTRA*<sup>1</sup>

And also the mother of demons  
 Who ceaselessly devoured the children of men  
 The Buddha in his mercy  
 Hid her son, rendering him invisible  
 In the depths of despair, she searched everywhere  
 But knew not at all the place where he was  
 Then she came and questioned the Buddha  
 Asking him to point out where her son was.  
 The Tathagatha used a method of salvation  
 Reversing roles, he questioned her  
 This is because you yourself love your son  
 That you hurry about eagerly asking to see him  
 Why therefore with so much cruelty  
 Do you ceaselessly devour the children of others?  
 Account for yourself, and so that your feelings are a lesson for you  
 Kill no longer, torment no longer  
 If you are capable of reforming your heart  
 You will instantly see your son again.  
 As soon as she heard these words  
 She was seized with joy and worshipped the Buddha, her face to the ground  
 And furthermore, in order to see again her son  
 Joining her hands together, she said to the Buddha:  
 Henceforth for this entire existence  
 I reject all evil intentions  
 Then going forward, she received the five precepts  
 And likewise obtained the fruit of the law  
 And so, this mother of demons,  
 Because she loved her own son,  
 Extended her love to other people  
 And, finally, forever ceased the killing  
 I ask you, oh Venerable Great Merciful Benevolence  
 That it be so now.  
 By your compassion for the mother who gave you birth  
 Extend this compassion to every living being  
 I ask you to open in haste the Way of the Law  
 And ensure that all hear and receive it.

<sup>1</sup> T.XII, 383. My English translation of this excerpt from the *Maha Maya Sutra* is based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 30-31.

## APPENDIX D

SAMYUKTAGAMA (*Za ahan jing*)<sup>1</sup>

Here is that which I have heard. Once the Buddha was living at Karanda venumana in Rajagriha. In those times, the venerable Aniruddha walked among men in the country of Magadha. He came to the dwelling of the mother of the demon Priyankara, and there took lodging. Then, the venerable Aniruddha, during the final watch of the night, sat with his body erect, recited the *udana*, the *po-lo-yen-na*, the verses spoken by the sthavira who had seen the Truths, the verses said by the *bhiksuni*, the verses of the *siksapada*, the verses *yi-p'in meou ni* and the sutras; he recited all of these in detail. But during this night, Priyankara wept. Then the mother of the demon Priyankara spoke these words in order to quiet her son:

Demon Priyankara, you must not weep now  
 One must listen to this bhiksu who recites the verses of the *Dharmapada*.  
 He who knows the *Dharmapada* is able to keep the precepts.  
 He removes himself from the murder of beings; his words are truthful and he does not employ lies.  
 He is capable of rejecting inequity and of eluding the way of the demons.

When the mother of the demon Priyankara spoke these words, the cries of the demon Priyankara ceased.

Here is that which I have heard. One day, the Buddha, being in the country of Magadha, walked among men. Accompanied by a large crowd, he arrived at the dwelling of the mother of the demon Punarvasu, and there he took lodging. Then, for the monks, the Buddha explained the Law in accordance with the Four Holy Truths, that is to say, the Truth on suffering; the Truth on the origins of suffering; the Truth on the extinction of suffering; and the Truth on the Way of the extinction of suffering. In those times, the children of the mother of the demon Punarvasu were two, Punarvasu and one daughter-demon, Uttara. During the night, these small children wept. Then the mother of the demon Punarvasu spoke these words in order to teach her children, her son and daughter:

You, Punarvasu and Uttara, do not weep.  
 Let me hear the Law which the Tathagatha explains.  
 Neither father nor mother can help their children to avoid suffering  
 It is in hearing the Law which the Tathagatha explains that one obtains deliverance from suffering

<sup>1</sup> *Za ahan jing*, T.II, 99. My English translation based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-démons" 34-36.



In this world, those people who obey their passions are tormented by all sorts of sufferings

The Tathagatha, in explaining the Law, bestows the means of extinguishing birth and death.

At this moment, I wish to hear the Law; you, you must be still.

Then Punarvasu and the demon Uttara,

Fully obedient to the words of their mother, quieted themselves and listened in silence.

Then they said to their mother, "Good! We too are happy to hear the Law.

This perfect Buddha Bhagavat, in the Cheng clan of Magadha, has

For all the classes of living beings, explained the Law which redeems from suffering.

He has explained suffering and the cause of suffering, the extinction of suffering and the Way of the extinction of suffering.

In following these Four Holy Truths, in the stillness one achieves nirvana...

Mother, listen well now to the Law which the Buddha explains.

Then the mother of the demon Punarvasu said these words:

Marvelous! Intelligent children! You know well to comply with my desire.

You Punarvasu, you have praised well the Buddha, Teacher of the Way.

You, Punarvasu, and you, Uttara, my daughter

Thrill to feelings of joy with me; I have seen the Holy Truths.

Then the mother of the demon Punarvasu having said these lines, her demon children rejoiced with her and were quiet.

### SAMYUKTAGAMA (*Bie yi za a han jing*)<sup>2</sup>

In those times, the venerable Aniruddha, walking behind the Buddha, arrived at the palace of the Mother of Demons of Magadha. Then Aniruddha, rising early, the night still continuing, sat with body erect and recited the lines of the *Dharmapada* and the verses *po-lo-yen-na* and those of the *bhadanta*. Then, in a high voice, he spoke their meaning and recited the sutras. Then the small child, beloved of the Mother of Demons, named Priyankara wept and shed tears. Then the Mother of Demons, in order to quiet her son said to him, "The holy man recites the sutras, do not weep." And she spoke these lines:

Priyankara, cease your cries;

Listen to the verses of the *Dharmapada* which the holy man recites.

Who ever hears these verses avoids violation of the precepts,

Obtains purity, and becomes capable of observing the prohibitions.

Priyankara, cease your cries.

Listen to the verses of the *Dharmapada* which the holy man recites.

<sup>2</sup> *Bieyi za ahan jing*, T.II, 100. This legend is not particular to the Sanskrit canon. A passage corresponding rather exactly to the one preceding can be found in the *Samyutta nikaya pali*, Book X, *Yakkha-samyutta*. My translation based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-de-démons 36-37.

Who ever hears these verses obtains the avoidance of death.  
 Priyankara, cease your cries.  
 Listen to the verses of the *Dharmapada* which the holy man recites.  
 Who ever hears these verses obtains true speech  
 Priyankara, cease your cries.  
 Listen to the verses of the *Dharmapada* which the holy man recites.  
 Who ever hears these verses escapes the malice of demons.  
 Because of that, you must cease your cries.

Here is what I have heard. One time, the Buddha was in the country of Magadha in the palace of the mother of the yaksa Punarvasu. During this night, the Buddha took lodging in this palace. The son, the yaksa Punarvasu and the daughter, Uttara, wept during the night. Then the mother, comforting her children and wishing to stop their crying, said these lines:

Punarvasu and Uttara  
 You at this moment must not cry.  
 The Buddha, hero of the world, is explaining the principles of the Law.  
 Let me hear it.  
 Neither father nor mother can prevent suffering  
 Only the Bhagavat, skillfully explaining the Law  
 Is able to bestow upon those who hear it everlasting avoidance of all suffering.  
 All living beings, following the course of passions,  
 Sink into the ocean of birth and death.  
 I wish to hear the law and interrupt the course of passions  
 Punarvasu and Uttara  
 Because of this, you must keep silent.

Then Punarvasu spoke these lines:  
 Now, following the command of my mother, I will not utter a cry.  
 My younger sister Uttara, she also will be silent.  
 I beg you, hear this sramana explaining the Marvelous Law.  
 In Magadha, the Buddha, the greatest among men,  
 For all living beings, in detail,  
 Explains the Law of the cessation of suffering  
 Explains that suffering brings forth suffering  
 Explains the necessary Law which leads out of suffering  
 Explains the eight Sacred Paths of the Sages,  
 And how tranquility attains nirvana.  
 It is good! Hear the sramana explaining the principles of the Marvelous Law.

The mother replied with these lines:  
 You, oh intelligent being, that which you said complies with my feelings.  
 You have praised well this being, the master of the world.  
 In keeping yourself silent, you allow me to see the four Truths.  
 Uttara, later you will succeed also in seeing the four Truths.

## APPENDIX E

*FO BEN XING JING*<sup>1</sup>

The yaksini, mother of demons  
 Whose name is Abductor<sup>2</sup>  
 Who was known to devour in this world countless  
 Newly born children and those still carried in arms,  
 The smallest of her sons, Priyankara  
 The Buddha took him and hid him under his bowl.  
 The mother went away in all directions searching for him,  
 Hastening panic-stricken, she came towards the Buddha.  
 The Buddha asked her "Do you love your son?"  
 Others also love their children.  
 If you are able to be good and kill no longer  
 I will let you see your son."  
 Then she submitted to the teaching and received the precepts  
 She conceived of the goodness and killed no more.  
 With her sons she took refuge in the Buddha  
 As streams and rivers go to the sea  
 She brought males and females in great numbers  
 Of male and female demons in masses  
 And their male and female descendants  
 so numerous as to fill the deserts and valleys  
 It is thus that in the Jetavana  
 He converted the Mother of Demons.

<sup>1</sup> T.IV, 193. This verse was translated into Chinese by the monk, Baoyun, in the first half of the fifth century. My translation is based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> "Ravisseuse" is the name as it appears in Peri's work.

## APPENDIX F

GUANGDING JING<sup>1</sup>

There is a demoness who lives East of the Snowy Mountains. Her name is Arita and there are 700 demons whom she makes her followers. She spoke thus: "Before the sramana Gautama explained this method, this mudra and this mantra, we went everywhere and our hearts had no fear. Now we have heard the sutra of this mudra." And raising her voice, she spoke of her pain, "Ah, what grief! Ah, why is it so? Formerly, we took the vital energy of men and we made of it our food. We did evil to men. Now we can no longer harm them. Such is the virtue and the divine majesty of this sramana. Let us go with him all together." She said then, "For a long time, I have heard the lofty reputation of Gautama spread far and wide. But now, in addition I have heard the sutra of this method, of this mudra, and of this mantra. I submit, I believe, I adore the feet of the Buddha. On my knees with hands joined I take refuge in the devati-deva. I pray to him to take me as his disciple; I ask that he give me his precepts." The Buddha said, "This is good, this is good. It is because in a previous existence you acquired merit that now you were able see me." Then the Buddha gave to Arita the law of the three refuges and the five precepts and made there an upasika. Arita, after receiving the precepts, venerated the Buddha and said, "I and my 700 demon followers will protect the four classes of disciples and those places where the Law will be practiced in every country, city, and town, and even without requesting it, we will give to them that which they need."

Arita said again to the Buddha, "I and my 700 demon followers have been accustomed to taking vital energy, blood and flesh, and making of it our food. Today, we took refuge in the Buddha, and the Bhagavat imposed upon us the precept of not killing living things. I ask only that the Venerated of Gods order his disciples that at the time of their usual meal, they give to us an alms-offering of some small remainder of their food." When Arita had concluded these words, the Bhagavat consented to her request; and in the presence of the Buddha, she obtained the Way of Srotapanna.

The Buddha said to Ananda, "After I leave the world, if anyone, man or woman, practices this sutra of the abhiseka, of the mudra and of the great mantra, let him anoint of liquid perfume a circle of earth of the dimension of a wagon's wheel, let him distribute there flowers of sweet-scented lotus, and light seven lamps, and burn *p'o hiang*, *kiao hiang*, and benzoin, and let him point the reflection of a mirror made of green copper in the five directions, so that the Maras (sic) will not be able to disguise their forces. Let him take seven arrows and make of these the symbols of the Spirit Kings."

He said again to Ananda, "Among the demons of Arita, there are seven in particular who are the most powerful. When the demons fight among themselves, these demons alone overcome the raksasa. Seeing Arita submit and believe, they too joined

<sup>1</sup> T.XXI, 1331. This account tells of a great assembly at Jetavana during which the Buddha, in disclosing a spell for the suppression of demons, imparts this narrative to Indra. My translation into English based on Peri's version in "Hariti la mère-de-démons," 24-26.

their hands in crossing their fingers before the Buddha. Then they made this solemn vow: "After the death of the Buddha, we will protect in every country the places where this mudra and this great mantra are practiced." Ananda said "These seven spirit kings, what are their names?" The Buddha said, "The first is named Indra; the second, Ho-lin-lo; the third, Po-ye-yue-lo; the fourth, Song-lin-lo, the fifth (mistyped in text as septieme), T'an-t'e-lo; the sixth, Tchao-you-mo-lo; the seventh, Kumbhira." The Buddha said, "Ananda, after my death, these seven Spirit Kings will protect all of my disciples and will not permit the Maras to act according to their whim with them. When they are given something to eat, one must make seven portions and completely purify the copper vessels. This must not be overlooked; if one is inattentive, the spirit kings distance themselves from you and will no longer protect you." Ananda, crossing his hands, said to the Buddha, "All of the words of the Bhagavat are in keeping with the True Law. Now he has explained the method of the abhiseka, the mantra, and the mudra. Men who are exposed to danger wish to practice it and to offer food to Arita and to her demons. This must not resemble the law of the heretics and of corrupting ideas." The Buddha replied to Ananda, "This would be misunderstanding my thinking. I prescribe the food offering in order to secure the help of Arita for the four classes of disciples and so that she act in powerful spirit." The Buddha said to Ananda, "Like a king who has in another country an enemy who wishes to invade his frontiers; he gives to his subjects, to all of his generals and soldiers, all kinds of excellent foods, oil of thyme, the honey of the rock and everything agreeable to the palate; he gives them also all sorts of garments, precious jewels, and many sorts of things. Then he overcomes all the rebels, none resist; they are scattered, and all reverts to its original state. There is no more trouble, everyone comes back to righteous rule." The Buddha said to Ananda, "In giving now to Arita that which is needed for her subsistence, I am like that king who makes gifts to his officers and soldiers; there is no difference. It is so that Arita subdues the external Maras and all the evil demons, that there be none who are not dispersed and destroyed and who do not flee, that they return to their dwellings and hide there and are seen no longer."

## APPENDIX G

THE PHYLLITES AND SCHISTS OF GANDHARA:  
GEOLOGY, SOURCES AND  
SCULPTURAL METHOD

Gandharan devotional and architectural stone sculpture is the foremost extant material evidence of the cultural synthesis that occurred under Kushan dynastic promotion and patronage. Foremost as a distinguishing characteristic is the medium itself, a metamorphic stone universally referred to as schist that contributes to the distinctive appearance of the sculpture. Gandharan sculptural stone has been the focus of a number of technical geological analyses in recent decades.<sup>1</sup> The intent of these projects has been to determine the range of materials used by Gandharan sculptors and the number of distinct sources they might represent; to correlate sculptures with their material provenance; to establish source relationships between sculptures; and to accurately determine respective chronologies. In the *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, published posthumously in 1960, Sir John Marshall emphasizes the utility in analyzing the varieties of the stone medium to aid in the periodization of the sculptures. More than forty years later, this goal has yet to be achieved due to the relatively small number of sculptures that have been subjected to petrographic analysis and the inaccessibility of quarry sites in politically unstable regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, these conditions have not improved significantly.

During his excavations at Sirkap, Marshall carried out visual identifications of the stone artifacts to determine material content. He listed a range and variety of stone types that he identified as schist, micaceous schist, chloritic schist, quartz-mica schist, phyllite, steatite/soapstone, sandstone and claystone. He concluded that these stone materials were not local but were most certainly brought to the site from outside the immediate area. It was also his hypothesis that the chloritic schists and phyllites originated from quarries located in southern Swat.<sup>3</sup>

Technical analyses of sculptures in museum collections performed by Newman in 1984 and Reedy in 1997 confirmed Marshall's suppositions. Their respective

---

<sup>1</sup> L. Courtois, "Examen minéralogique de quelques roches de monuments gréco-bouddiques," *Arts Asiatiques* 9 (1962-63): 107-113; C. Lahanier, "Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France examen au laboratoire d'une tête de roi barbare (appendix), in F. Tissot, ed., "Remarques iconographiques apropos d'une tête de roi barbare du Gandhara," *Arts Asiatiques* 32 (1976): 80-81; cited in D.R.C. Kempe, "Nature and Source of the Gandhara Sculptural Schist," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 9 (1982): 25-28.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Reedy, "Petrographic Analysis of Gandhara Stone Sculptures," in Errington and Cobb's *Crossroads of Asia*, 264.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Newman, *Stone Sculpture of India* (Cambridge, MA: Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard University Art Museums, 1984), 58.

examinations of thin-sections prepared from stone taken from a range of sculptures resulted in the conclusion that most of these stones were phyllites.<sup>4</sup> Reedy characterized nine of his fifteen analyzed samples as a carbonaceous quartz-mica-chloritoid phyllite stone type.<sup>5</sup> Newman described twelve of the fourteen samples in his test batch as a soft, silvery-gray, graphitic chloritoid phyllite.<sup>6</sup> Petrographic examinations of a total of thirteen samples included five composed of the same phyllite as those in Newman's sample and five others consisting of a carbonate phyllite from pieces of known provenance excavated in eastern Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup>

Phyllites and schists are foliated metamorphic compositions occurring along a continuum of fine to coarse-sized mineral grains in correspondence with their respective degree of metamorphism.<sup>8</sup> Slate occurs at one extreme and gneiss at the other; phyllite and schist arise at intermediate stages, phyllite being of a finer-grained texture than schist. Geological surveys of the Gandhara region indicate that the chloritic phyllites preferred by Gandharan sculptors probably came from the pre-Cambrian rock formations of northern Pakistan, Kashmir and northern India.<sup>9</sup> Non-chloritoid-bearing schists and phyllites are common to areas in Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan.<sup>10</sup>

The predominant characteristic of metamorphic rocks is foliation, or layering.<sup>11</sup> Stone that is highly foliated has a tendency to split along these naturally formed lines of cleavage, and this has a critical bearing on stone selection and method of carving. Fine textured rock of homogeneous composition is more suitable for carving and less prone to unintentional breakage. The Gandharan sculptural stone would have had to have been quarried so that the natural direction of foliation ran parallel to the plane of the slab. Stone sculptors had to adopt the technique of cutting directly perpendicular into this

---

<sup>4</sup> Petrographic analysis included the sectioning of samples from sculptures and subsequent mineral analysis using a petrographic microscope, a scanning electron microscope with x-ray spectrometer, and/or electron beam microprobe. It is noted that while thin sections provide comprehensive information about the samples, they might not be representative of the "whole rock", particularly the coarser-grained rocks, due to the diminutive and discrete nature of each sample. Newman, *Stone Sculpture*, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Reedy's fifteen analyses represented five different stone types. C. L. Reedy in "Technical Studies of Gandharan Art" in *Gandharan Art in Context*, ed. Allchin and others (New Delhi: Regency Publications for the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, 1997), 275, 277.

<sup>6</sup> Newman, *Stone Sculpture*, 57.

<sup>7</sup> These last thirteen samples were taken primarily from sculptures in the Musée Guimet. Reedy, "Technical Studies," 274.

<sup>8</sup> With greater metamorphism, a function of temperature and pressure, grain size increases and minerals are altered. Newman, *Stone Sculpture*, 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

plane.<sup>12</sup> The schists and phyllites of Gandhara are soft enough to have permitted intricate detailing and not so strongly foliated as to prevent deep undercutting of the relief panels. This foliation is clearly visible on extant sculptures that have sustained concussion; breakage always occurs across the horizontal plane of the piece. For this reason, the larger proportion of Gandharan sculpture is carved in relief; independent figures are rarely produced fully in-the-round but tend to be columnar with a flattened profile, intended for placement in a niche or small shrine to allow a restricted, frontal view.<sup>13</sup>

Few quarry sites have been conclusively identified in the Peshawar Valley as the source of the stone used by Gandharan sculptors;<sup>14</sup> however, Italian and Pakistani geologists working in Swat have provided evidence that appears to corroborate John Marshall's theories of nearly a half century ago. Di Florio, Lorenzoni and Lorenzoni have located outcrops and quarries of chloritoid-bearing phyllites throughout the Swat Valley.<sup>15</sup> Rehman and Zeb identified deposits of a chloritoid mica-quartz schist underlying green schists in the area northwest of Mingora in Swat.<sup>16</sup> Ongoing geological research in Swat will certainly contribute source information for the raw material used by the stone carvers of Gandharan sculpture. In addition, continued petrographic analysis of extant Gandharan sculptures in collections will eventually produce a viable sample of data that can be used to construct theories of site provenance and relative chronology.

---

<sup>12</sup> This explanation provided by Fred Walters, adjunct professor in masonry and stoneworking methods in the Department of Architecture at the University of Oregon.

<sup>13</sup> The forearms of figures, if extended, were carved from a separate slab and attached dry with dog cramp-style mortises. Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 51.

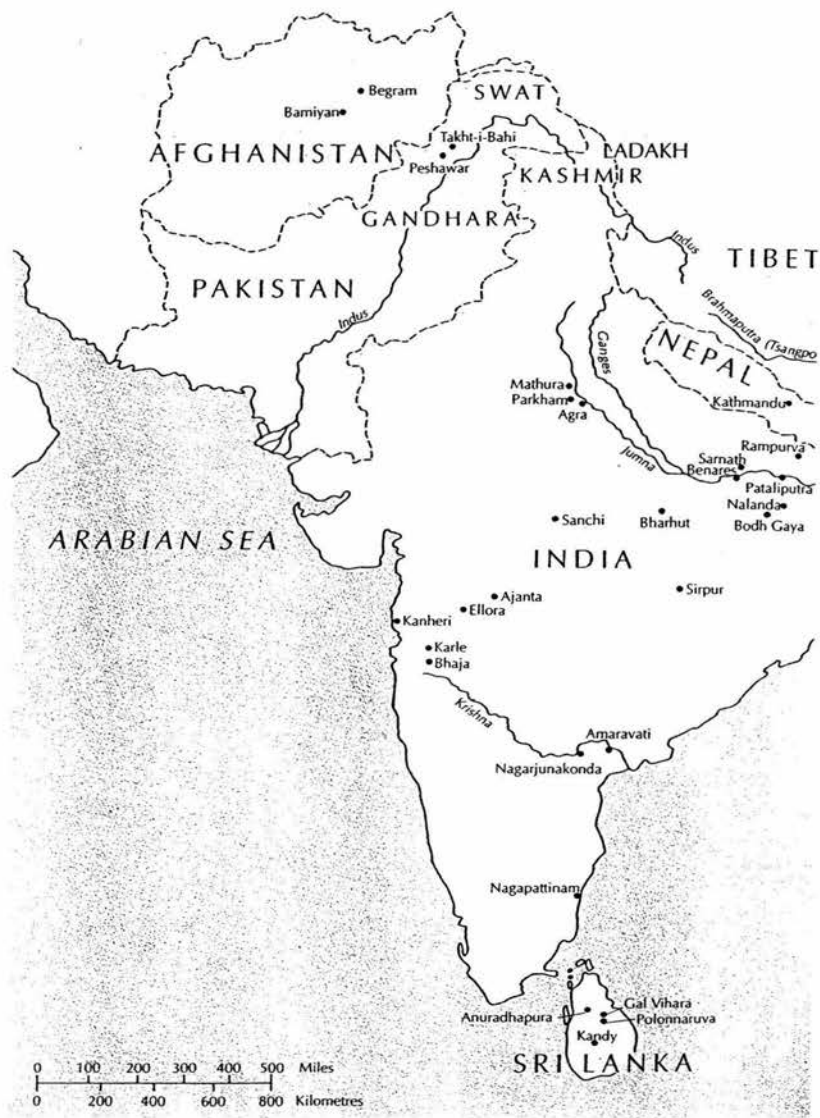
<sup>14</sup> Kempe identified one such site but it was small and the quality stone appeared to have been played out. Exploration of the Peshawar Valley near Takht-i-Bahi and the Swat and Buner borders yielded no additional evidence of stone of this composition. Reedy, *Crossroads*, 276.

<sup>15</sup> M.R. Di Florio, S. Lorenzoni and E.Z. Lorenzoni, "The Rocks from the Archaeological Buddhist sites of the Middle Swat Valley (Pakistan, NW)," abstract in *Archaeological Stone: Scientific and Technical Studies, British Museum Conference 14-16<sup>th</sup> November* (London, 1991); cited in Reedy, "Technical Studies," 276.

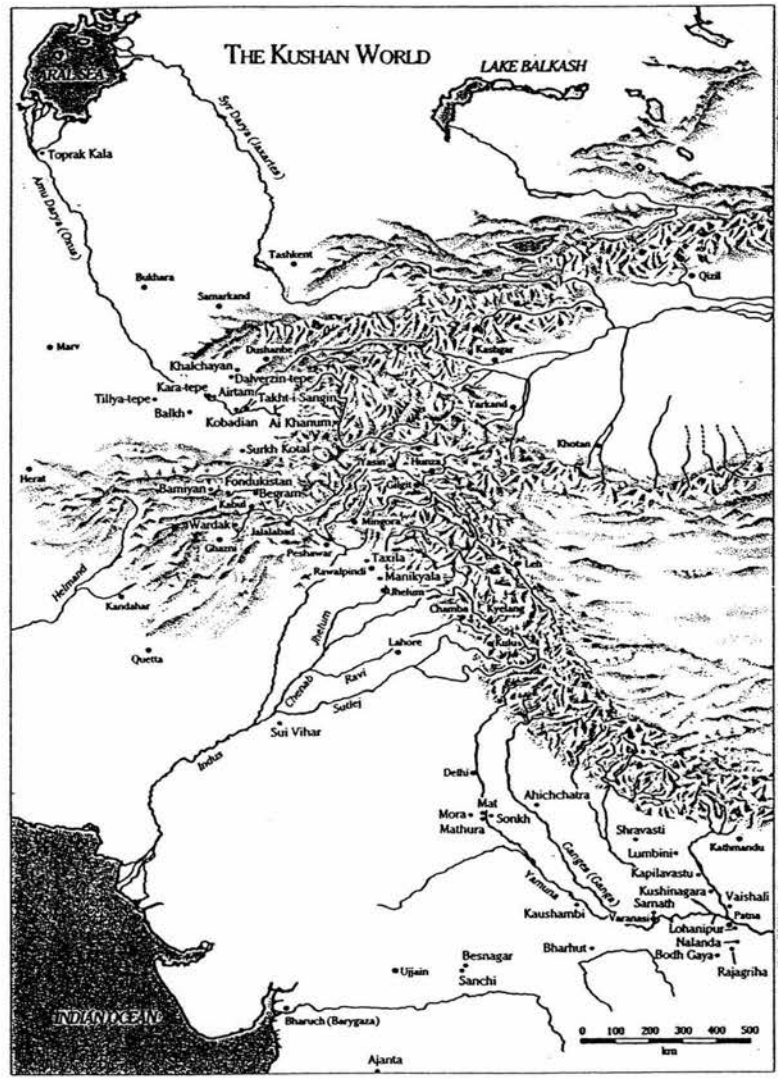
<sup>16</sup> Rehman-Jalil-Ur and A. Zeb, "The Geology of the Shah Dheri-Kabul Area, Swat," *Geological Bulletin, Peshawar*, 5 (1970): 96-110; cited in Reedy, "Technical Studies," 275.



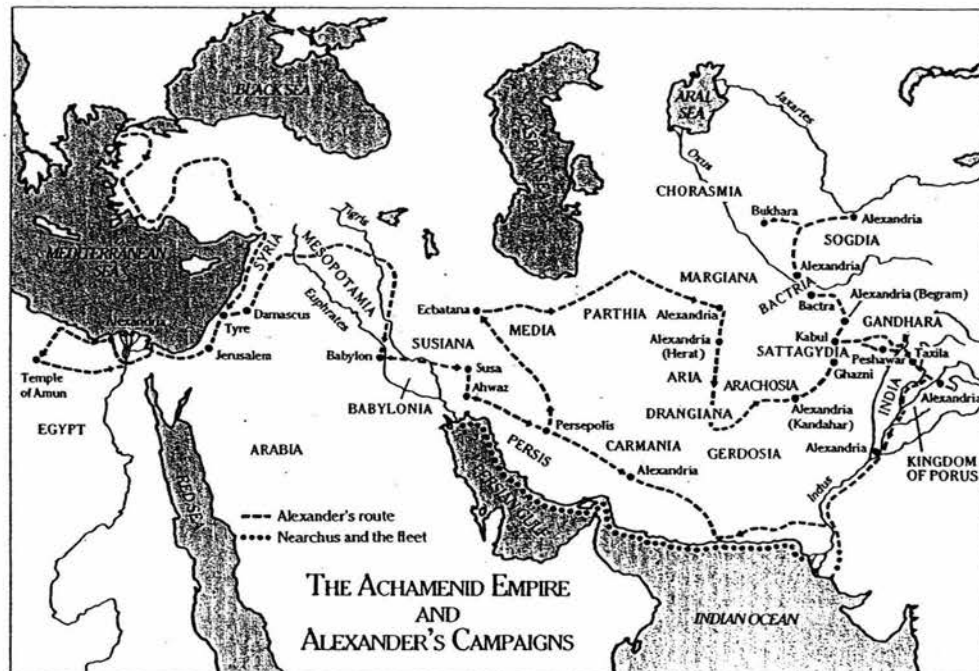
MAPS AND FIGURES



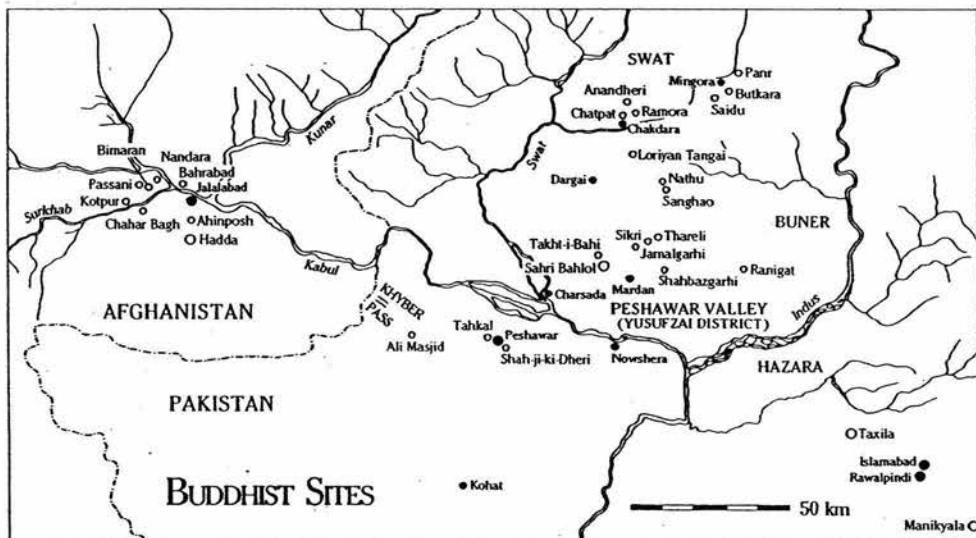
Map 1. The Kingdom of Gandhara and the Indian Subcontinent. (Reproduced: Fisher, p. 206).



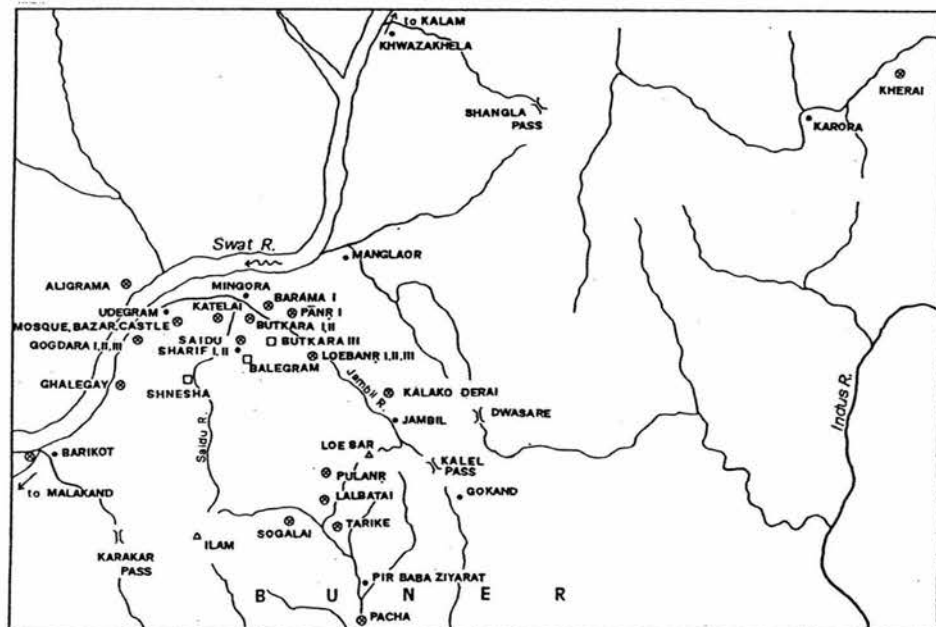
Map 2. Gandhara and the Kushan Empire. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, p.7).



Map 3. The Achaemenid Empire and Alexander's Campaigns. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, p.5).



Map 4. Buddhist sites in Gandhara. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, p.177).



Map 5. Sketch Map of Swat Valley showing excavation sites of the Italian Archaeological Mission (marked with asterisk) and the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan (marked with a square). (Reproduced: Callieri and Faccenna, fig. 1).



Figure 1. Cosmetic palette. Sirkap. (Reproduced: Silk Road Civilizations III, fig.31, p.59)

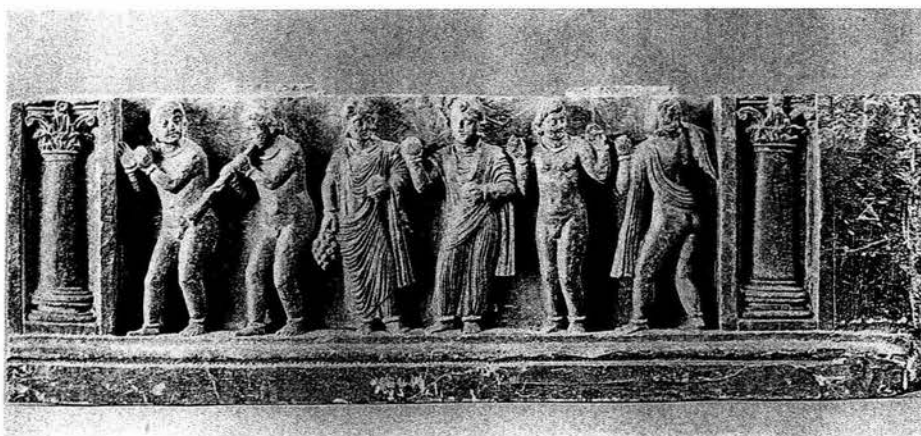


Figure 2. Bacchanalian processional relief. Buner. green schist; h: 16 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 537).





Figure 3. Miracle of Sravasti. Sahri-Bahlol. h: 21.5".  
Peshawar Museum. (Reproduced: Marshall,  
*Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl.. 89, fig. 124).



Figure 4. Royal portrait sculpture of Parthian King Atiw.  
Hatra. Third Shrine, left of the door of cella.  
Parthian period (1<sup>st</sup> century). Gray marble; h: 224.5  
cm. Mosul Museum (inv.IM110662, MMS).  
(Reproduced: Silk Road Civilizations II, fig. 11).



Figure 5 (left). Donor figures in Indo-Scythian costumes.  
detail. (Reproduced: Rosenfield 98a)

Figure 6 (right). Worshipper wearing a Phrygian cap.  
Butkara (Swat). green schist. (Reproduced: Kurita,  
fig. 595).



Figure 7. Hellenistic processional relief. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 535).



Figure 8. Garuda attacking a nagini. h: 40.6 cm. Australian National Gallery. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 511).

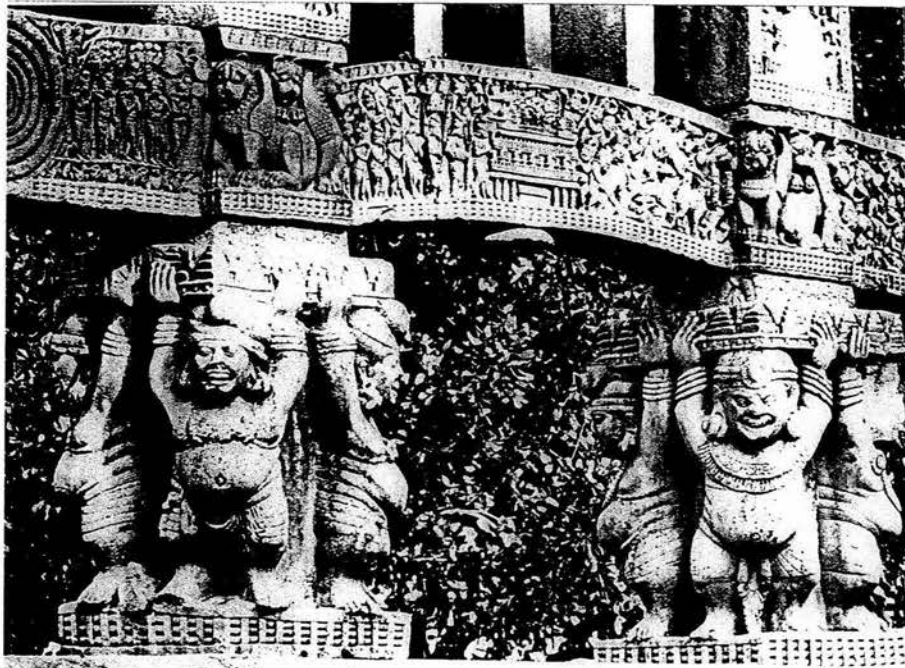


Figure 9. Yaksha caryatids. West Torana, Stupa I. Sanchi.  
(Reproduced: Misra, fig. 55).



Figure 10. Yaksha caryatids supporting offering table.  
Gandhara. Two views. gray schist; h:43 cm. Private  
collection, Japan. (Reproduced: Kurita, figs. 435-  
436).

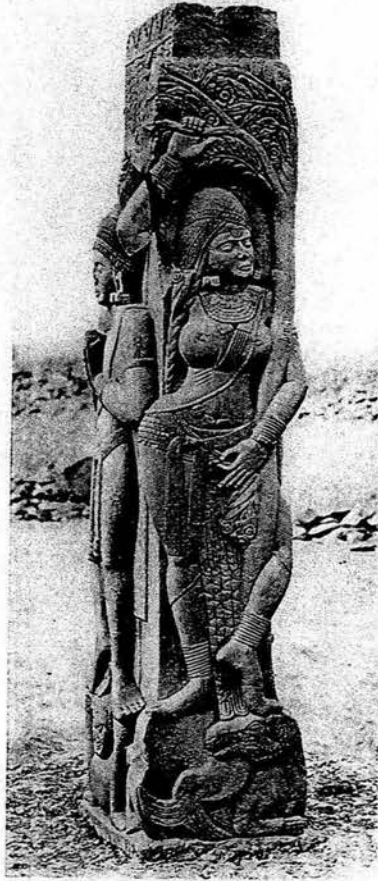


Figure 11. Chandra Yakshini. North Torana, Bharhut.  
Calcutta, Indian Museum. (Reproduced:  
Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, fig. 21).





Figure 12. Offering of the Four Bowls. Swat or Buner. gray schist; h: 31.7 cm.; w: 34.6 cm. British Museum. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 191).



Figure 13. Vajrapani with the Buddha. h: 15.75". Berlin Museum. (Reproduced: Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 140, fig. 63).



Figure 14 (left) "Baroque Lady". Peshawar district, 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. red-brown terracotta; h: 10.8 cm. Los Angeles County Museum. (Reproduced: Pal, fig. S6).

Figure 15 (right) "Baroque Lady". Peshawar district, 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. red-brown terracotta; h: 7.8 cm. Los Angeles County Museum. (Reproduced: Pal, fig. S7).

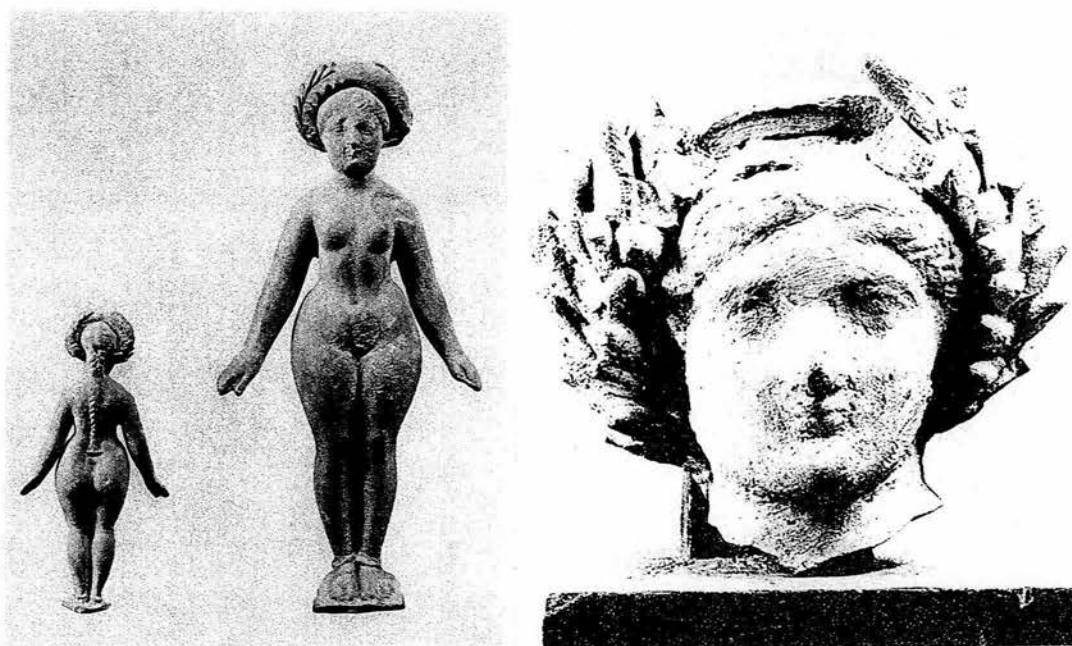


Figure 16 (left). Molded fertility figure with wreath and plaited hair. Charsada (?), 1st century C.E. Front and back views. terracotta; h: 26.7 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. (Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 79).

Figure 17 (right). Head of a molded fertility figure with wreath. Akra (Bannu). terracotta; h: 2 5/16". Peshawar Museum, 451. (Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 512).



Figure 18. Archaic stone figurine. Stratum III, Sirkap (Taxila), 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. mica schist; h: 18.7 cm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. (Reproduced: Higuchi, pl. VI-2).



Figure 19. "Donor" figure. Stratum II, Sirkap (Taxila). h: 4 1/8". (Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 441).



Figure 20. Fertility figure with flower. Stratum II, Sirkap (Taxila), 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. mica schist; h: 22.8 cm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. (Reproduced: Higuchi, pl. VI-3).



Figure 21. "Demeter-Hariti". Sirkap (Taxila). gray schist; h: 11.8 cm. Karachi Museum. (Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 347).



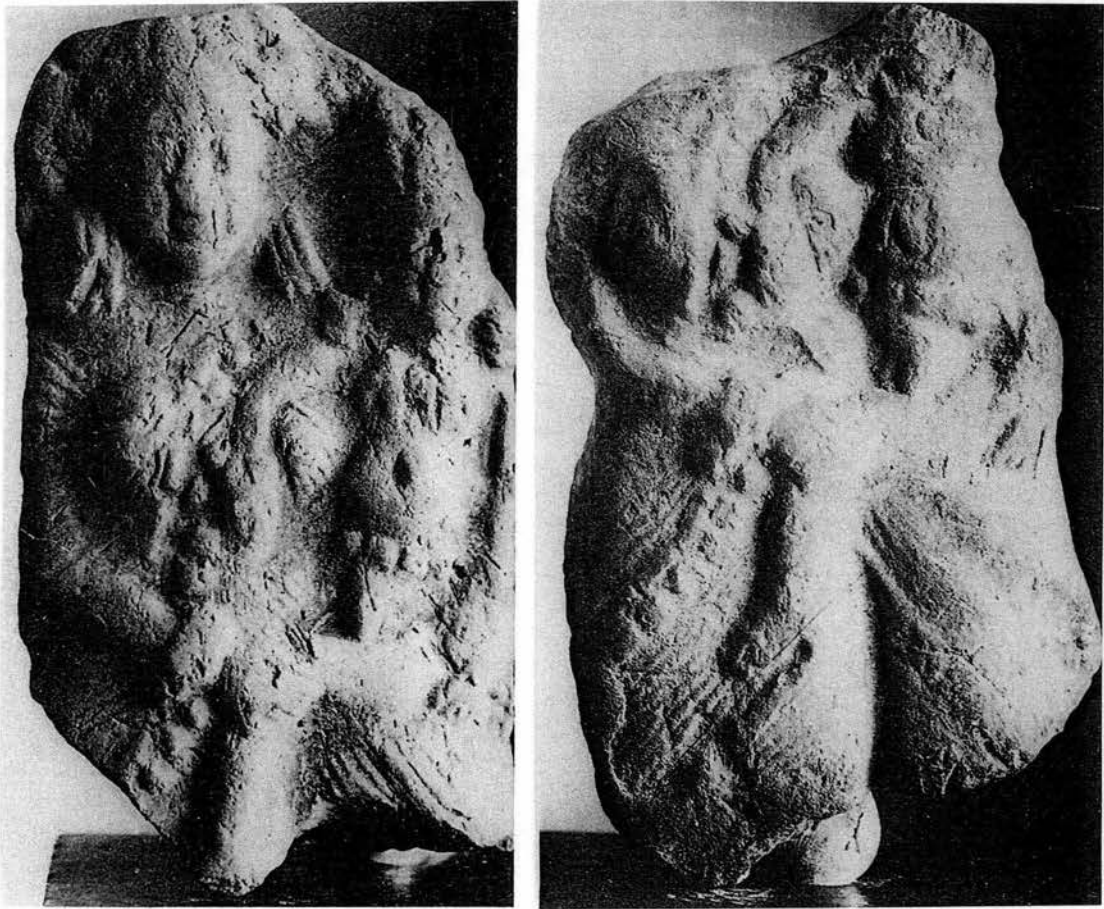


Figure 22 (left). Mother goddess with child. Bhir Mound (Taxila), (molded) terracotta no.23. (Reproduced: Nehru, fig. 153)

Figure 23 (right). Mother goddess with child. Sirkap (Taxila), (molded) terracotta no. 25. (Reproduced: Nehru, fig. 152).



Figure 24. Apsara Pancacuda. Tamluk (West Bengal).  
Shunga period. Indian Institute, Oxford.  
(Reproduced: Misra, fig. 86).



Figure 25. Hariti with child, lotus and birds. 1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. silver-gold repoussé; 8.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 74).



Figure 26. Chulakoka Devata. Bharhut. Calcutta, Indian Museum. (Reproduced: Misra, fig. 47).



Figure 27 (left). Gandharan yakshi with grapes. gray schist;  
h: 48 cm. USA, private collection. (Reproduced:  
Kurita, fig. 427).

Figure 28 (right). Gandharan yakshi with bird. Swabi (?).  
Green schist. Japan, private collection.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 428).



Figure 29. Hariti with child on auspicious pot. Takht-i-Bahi.  
Peshawar Museum. (Reproduced: Marshall,  
*Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 77, fig. 112).



Figure 30. Hariti with trident and four arms. Sahri-Bahlol. schist; h: 122 cm. Peshawar Museum. (Author's photo).



Figure 31. Hariti with trident. detail of face. (Author's photo).





Figure 32. Hariti with children. Sikri. gray schist; h: 90.8 cm. Lahore Museum. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 494).



Figure 33. "Yusufzai" Hariti. British Museum. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 92).

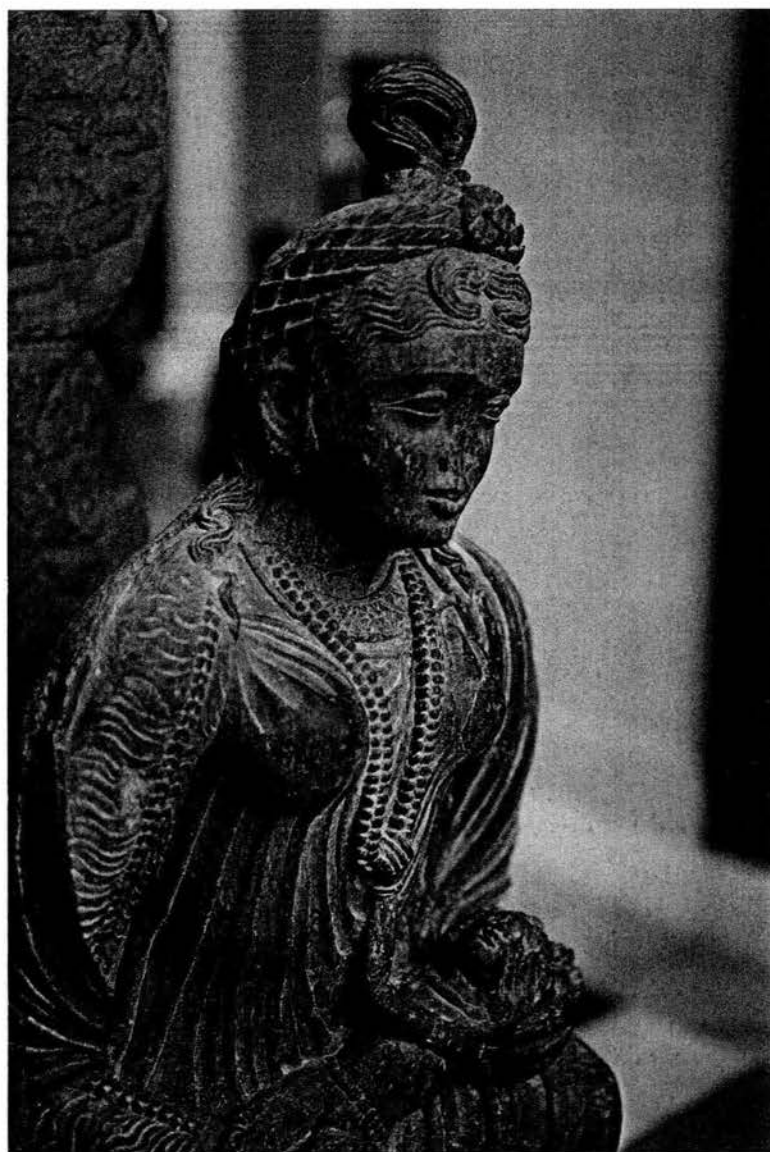


Figure 34. "Yusufzai Hariti". detail. (Author's photo).



Figure 35. "Yusufzai" Hariti. detail. (Author's photo).



Figure 36. Hariti with children. Shaikhan Dheri. (Author's photo).



Figure 37. Hariti with children. detail. (Author's photo).



Figure 38. Ardokhsho. Begram. (Reproduced: Ghirshman, *Bégram: Recherches Archéologiques*, pls. XVII, XVIII, XLV).

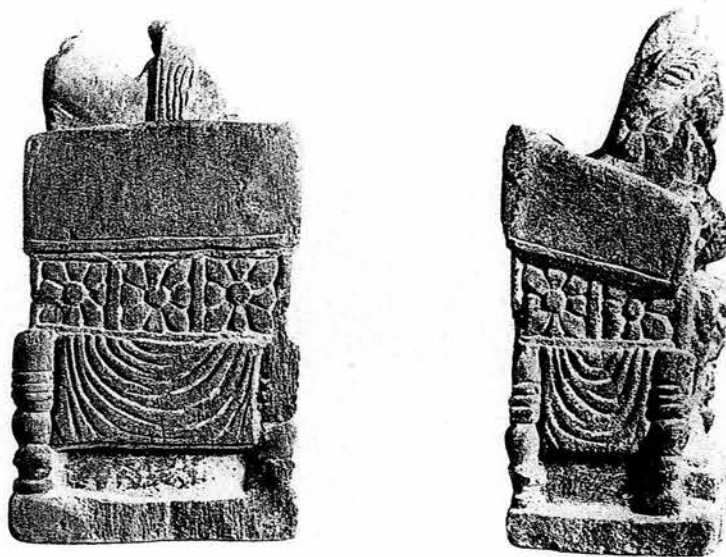


Figure 39. Ardokhsho. back and side views. (Reproduced: Ghirshman, as above)

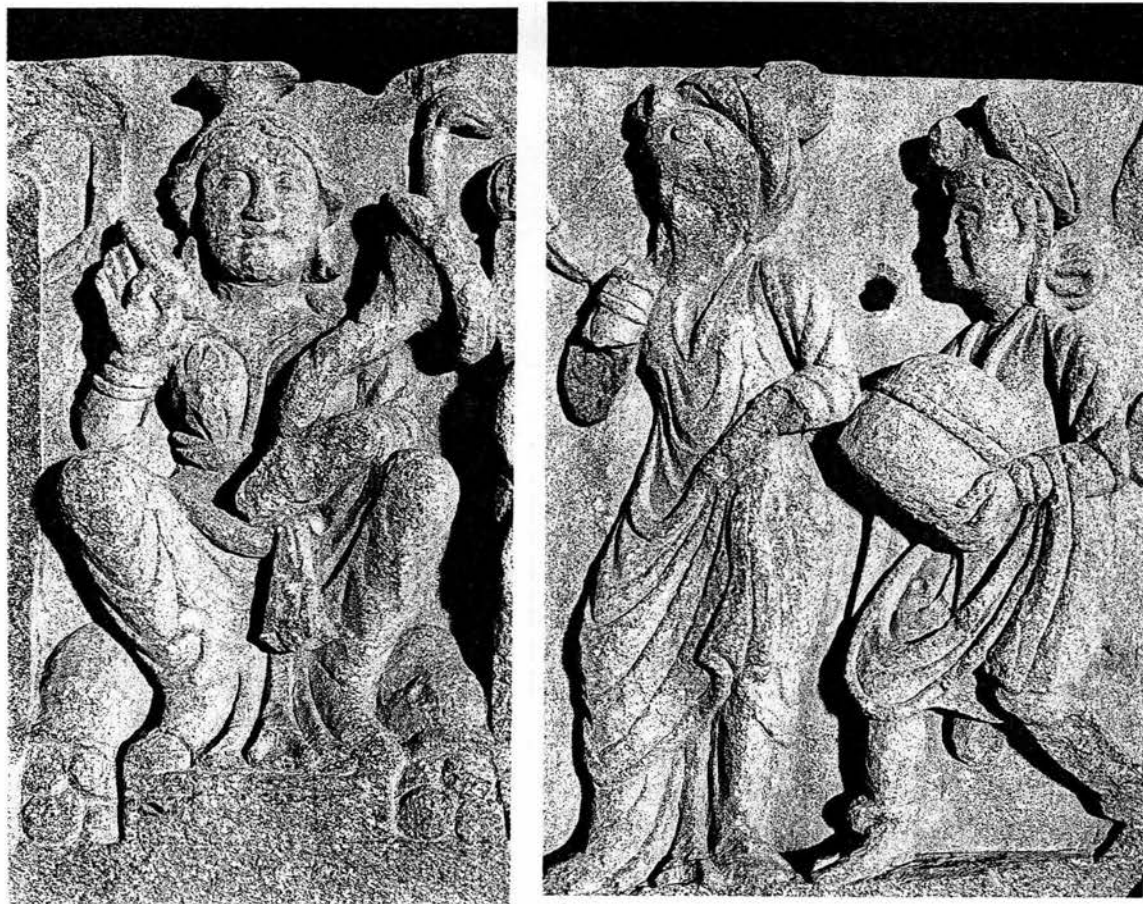




Figure 40. Ardokhsho-Hariti and attendants. Shnaisha Gumbat. stair-riser relief panel. (Author's photo).



Figure 41. Ardokhsho-Hariti shown being photographed in the foyer of the University of Peshawar Museum. (Author's photo).



Figures 42-43. Ardokhsho-Hariti. details. (Author's photos).



Figure 44. Cornucopia goddess. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 93).



Figure 45. Cornucopia goddess. Barikot (Birkot Ghwandai), BKG 4-5, period VIII. Grey schist; h: 14.1 cm. (Reproduced: Callieri, *Bir-kot-Ghwandai*, pl. XIX, fig. 4).



Figure 46. Nana-Anahita with four arms on lion. Silver plate. (Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 47).



Figure 47. Nana with cup and lions. Punjab Museum, Lahore. (Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 6).



Figure 48 (upper) Nana with cornucopia and lions. Jandial (Taxila). Taxila Museum. (Author's photo).  
Figure 49. (lower) Nana. alternate view. (Author's photo).





Figure 50. Tyche with attendants. Hadda. limestone; h: 18.1 cm. Kabul Museum, KM 62.3.205 (formerly?). (Reproduced: Rowland, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan*, fig. 53).



Figure 51. Tyche. Swat Valley. (Reproduced: Gnoli, fig. 6).



Figure 52. Animal-headed goddess with winecup.  
(Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 440).



Figure 53. Demoness with trident. green schist; h: 28 cm.  
Europe, private collection. (Reproduced: Kurita,  
fig. 489).



Figure 54. Demoness with child. gray schist. Japan, private collection. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 490).



Figure 55. Matrika Vaisnavi. Shabkadar. Peshawar Museum. (Reproduced: Paul, fig. 66).



Figure 56. Kubera Yaksha (kupiro yakho). North Torana, Bharhut. Calcutta, Indian Museum. (Reproduced: Misra, fig. 42).



Figure 57. Kubera with his consort, Riddhi. Padhavali, Morena District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. (Reproduced: Misra, fig. 16).





Figure 58. Kubera in bacchanalian drinking scene.  
Mathura district, Government Museum, Mathura.  
(Reproduced: Misra, fig. 6).



Figure 59. Panchika (?) Yaksha. West Torana, Stupa I, Sanchi. (Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 470).



Figure 60. Panchika. Takal. (Reproduced: Rosenfield, fig. 62).



Figure 61. "Mardan" Panchika. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 472).



Figure 62. Panchika. Jamalgarhi. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 90).



Figure 63. Skanda-Kumara in armor. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 102).



Figure 64. Hariti and Panchika. Shahji-ki-Dheri.  
(Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 344).



Figure 65. Hariti and Panchika. Sahri-Bahlol. (Reproduced: Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 105, fig. 144).





Figure 66. Tutelary couple with cornucopia and child.  
Takht-i-Bahi. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 98).



Figure 67. Tutelary couple photographed in situ, 1910-11.  
Takht-i-Bahi. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 499).



Figure 68. Tutelary couple. Gaul. (Reproduced: Foucher, "The Tutelary Pair in Gaul and India," pl. XVII, fig.1).



Figure 69. Tutelary couple. Gaul. (Reproduced: Foucher, "The Tutelary Pair in Gaul and India," pl. XVII, fig.2).



Figure 70. Divine couple with child and fruit. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 497).



Figure 71. Ivory rhytons. Nisa. Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, fig. 41).



Figure 72. Drinking scene on bowl. Buddhigarra (Tank, Punjab), 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E..silver; d: 25.1 cm. British Museum, OA 1937.3-19.1. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, fig. 101).



Figure 73. Dionysiac figure with rhyton. Nagarjunakonda.  
(Reproduced: Carter, "Dionysiac Aspects of  
Kushan Art," fig.15).





Figure 74. Kubera and his consorts, Hariti (right) and Lakshmi (center). Mathura. (Reproduced: Misra, fig. 9).

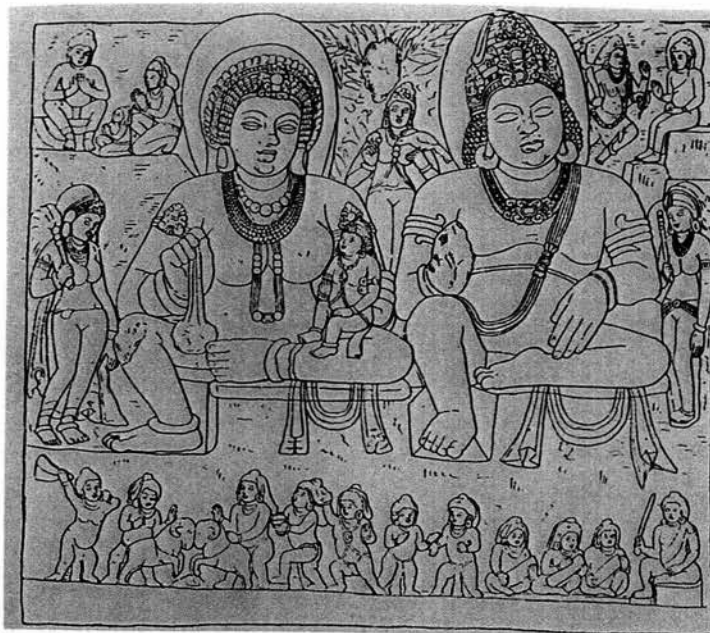


Figure 75. Hariti and Panchika shrine. schematic diagram.  
Ajanta, Cave II. (Reproduced: Coomaraswamy,  
*Yaksas II*, pl. 5, fig. 1).



Figure 76. Hariti with child in bracket form. Swat Museum.  
(Author's photo).



Figure 77. Hariti with children. Nimogram (Swat). (Author's photo).



Figure 78. Hariti with children. Skarah Dheri.  
(Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art* (intro), pl. II,  
fig.3).



Figure 79. Hariti in crenellated crown with children.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 493).



Figure 80. Hariti with children and grapes. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig.487).



Figure 81. Hariti with children. Swat. (Reproduced: Pal, fig. S50).





Figure 82. Hariti with children. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 495).



Figure 83. Hariti head and torso with children.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 491).



Figure 84. Hariti. Saptarshi-Tila. Front and back views.  
(Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 378).



Figure 85. Hariti in chiton with child on back. (Reproduced: Chandra, fig. 55).



Figure 86. Hariti with children wall painting. Farhad Beg-yailaki. (Reproduced: Bussagli, p. 54).



Figure 87. Divine triad with Hariti and children; Dandan Oilik. (Reproduced: Baumer, fig. 70).



Figure 88. Divine triad with Hariti holding infant. Dandan Oilik. (Reproduced: Baumer, fig. 69).



Figure 89. Hariti nursing child and surrounded by children.  
Yarkhoto. (Reproduced: Hartel, cat. 147).





Figure 90. Cornucopia goddess wearing modius.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 420).



Figure 91. Cornucopia goddess with cup. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 481).



Figure 92. Cornucopia goddess enthroned. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 479).



Figure 93. Cornucopia goddess wearing modius.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 480).



Figure 94. Cornucopia goddess with feet on lotus.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 485).



Figure 95. Goddess with traces of cornucopia.  
(Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 94).



Figure 96. Cornucopia goddess on head of ogre.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 441).

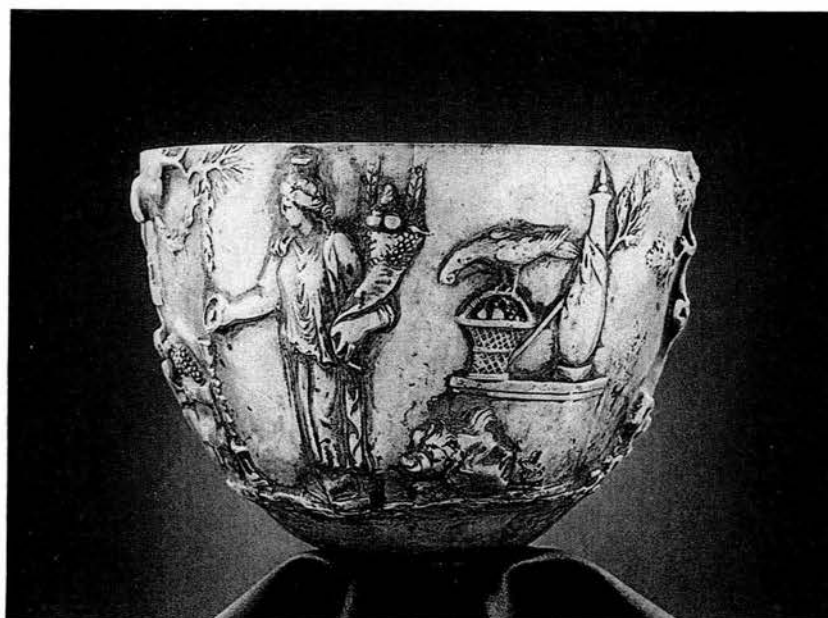


Figure 97. Cornucopia goddess on cup. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, fig. 97).





Figure 98. Cornucopia goddess with child seal impression.  
(Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 38).



Figure 99. Cornucopia goddess on reverse of dinar of Vasudeva I (?). (Reproduced: Pal, fig. C14).



Figure 100. Ardokhsho with cornucopia on pendant ornament. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribbs, fig. 146).



Figure 101. Goddess on pendant with modified cornucopia and lotus. (Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 75).



*enlarged to 120%*

Figure 102. Goddess enthroned with birds, grapes and devotee. (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, fig. 142).



Figure 103. Fragment of a two-register panel.  
(Reproduced: Nagar, fig. 9).



Figure 104. Cornucopia goddess with inscription.  
(Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 95).



Figure 105. Sri with modified lotus-cornucopia. Brar (Kashmir). (Reproduced: Paul, fig. 67).





Figure 106. Cornucopia goddess on textile fragment. Niya.  
(Reproduced: Baumer, fig. 95).



Figure 107. Goddess with cup. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 486).



Figure 108. Feet of goddess standing on lion.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 442).



Figure 109 (upper). Nana on lion on reverse of coin of Kanishka III. (Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 1A).  
Figure 110 (lower). Goddess with lion on reverse of dinar of Chandragupta I. (Reproduced: Pal, fig. C25).



Figure 111. Goddess with cup and small animals.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 483).



Figure 112. Composite goddess on lion with lotus-cornucopia. (Reproduced: Pal, fig. S103).



Figure 113. Gajalakshmi with lions and lotus-cornucopia.  
Kashmir. (Reproduced: Paul, fig. 70).



Figure 114. Panchika as the God of Wealth. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 473).





Figure 115. Panchika with spear. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 470).



Figure 116. Panchika-Pharro with two yakshas.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 471).



Figure 117. Panchika-Pharro with staff. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 468).



Figure 118. Skanda-Kumara as a bodhisattva.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 464).



Figure 119. Skanda-Kumara in armor with spear.  
(Reproduced: Pal, fig. S41).



Figure 120. Pharro (?) with bowl on lion. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 467).



Figure 121. Hariti and Panchika with child. (Reproduced: Pal, fig. S44).



Figure 122. Hariti and Panchika with fruit, cups, child and yaksha. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 99).





Figure 123. Hariti and Panchika with children. Koi Tangai.  
(Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 384).



Figure 124. Hariti and Panchika with children.  
(Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 382).



Figure 125. Hariti and Panchika with children in wing of portable diptych. (Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 80).



Figure 126. Tutelary couple with cornucopia. Varia.  
(Author's photo).

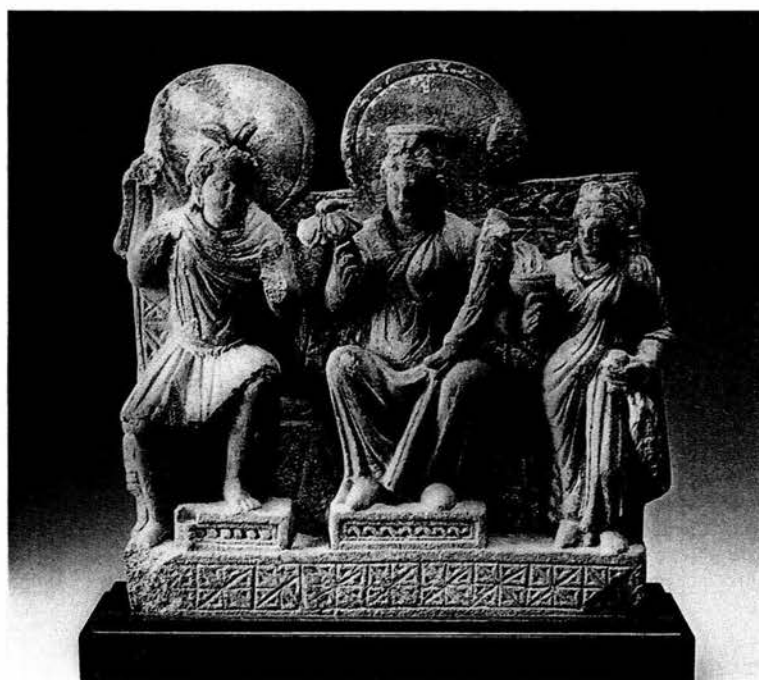


Figure 127. Tutelary couple with attendant. Nimogram.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 421).



Figure 128. Tutelary couple with money bag, staff and cornucopia. (Author's photo).



Figure 129. Tutelary couple with money bag, staff and cornucopia. (Author's photo).



Figure 130. Tutelary couple. (Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 343).





Figure 131. Tutelary couple. (Author's photo).



Figure 132. Tutelary couple with spear and cornucopia.  
(Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 388).



Figure 133. Tutelary couple with child and cornucopia.  
(Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 386).



Figure 134 . Tutelary couple with cornucopia.  
Charsada (?). (Reproduced: Hallade, fig. 70).



Figure 135. Tutelary couple with cornucopia. (Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 96).



Figure 136. Tutelary couple with cornucopia. (Reproduced:  
Zwalf, fig. 97).



Figure 137. Tutelary couple with cornucopia and staff.  
Taxila (?). (Reproduced: Errington and Cribb,  
fig. 144).



Figure 138. Tutelary couple without attributes.  
(Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 100).





Figure 139. Tutelary couple with kylix. (Reproduced: Tissot, *Art of Gandhara*, fig. 140).



Figure 140. Tutelary couple with spear and club.  
(Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 504).



Figure 141. Royal or tutelary couple. Ramora (Swat).  
(Reproduced: Dani, "Excavations at Andandheri  
and Chatpat," plate no.29 (a)).



Figure 142. Divine couple under a flowering tree.  
(Reproduced: Zwalf, fig.101).



Figure 143. Divine couple with child. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 500).

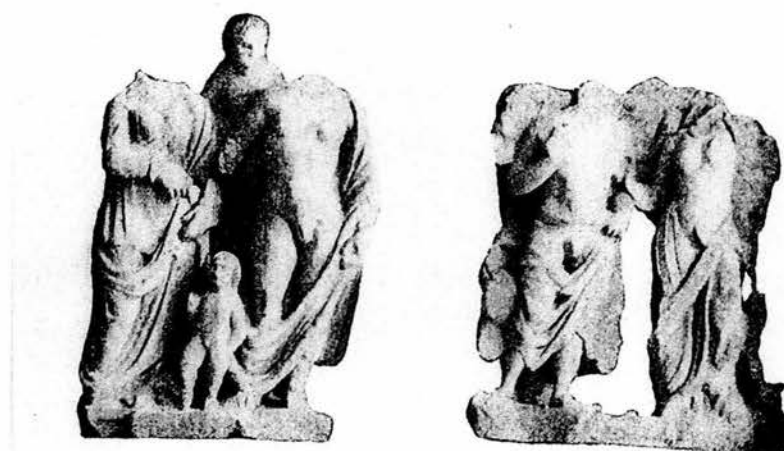


Figure 144 (left). Divine couple with children. Koi-Tangai.  
(Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 380).

Figure 145 (right). Divine couple. Koi Tangai. (Reproduced:  
Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 381).



Figure 146. Divine couple with yaksha (?). (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 502).

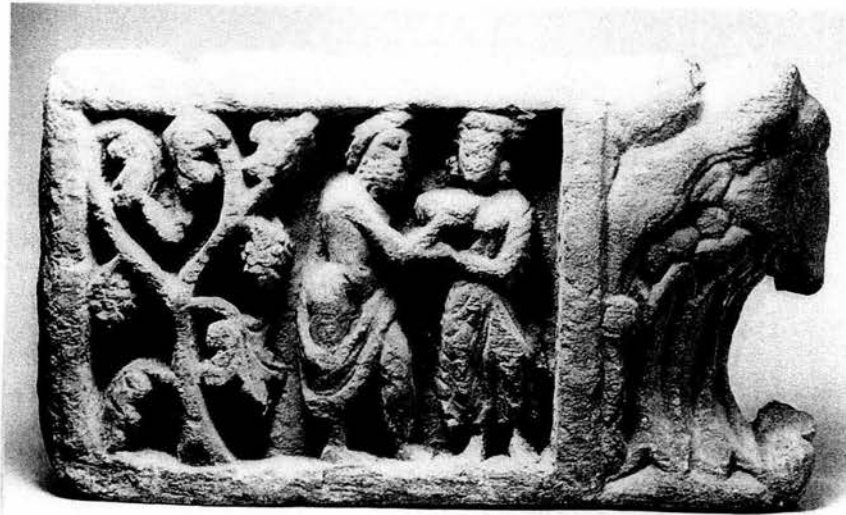


Figure 147. Divine couple with bowl. (Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 566).





Figure 148. Divine couple with child, amphora and kylix. Hadda. (Reproduced: Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 31, fig. 49).

A CATALOGUE OF IMAGES OF HARITI AND RELATED DEITIES  
OF ABUNDANCE IN GANDHARA AND CENTRAL ASIA  
CA. FIRST TO SEVENTH CENTURY C.E.  
ARRANGED BY FORMS, PRIMARY  
TO ANOMALOUS

This Catalogue is not a comprehensive compilation and analysis of the extant images of Hariti. It includes original and published photographs of the Gandharan images located in the major museum collections of Northern Pakistan as well as examples that could be identified in secondary sources of works in private and museum collections around the world. No attempt has been made to include an exhaustive citation of publication: source citations are here given in short form and the user is advised to refer to the bibliography of the thesis for the full citation. Dimensions and materials rely on descriptive information furnished in the published sources from which they were taken. Provenance information and approximate dating of the object are also provided as available.<sup>1</sup>

The Catalogue is arranged in list format as follows: brief descriptive title and figure number; provenance and dates; material and dimensions; museum or collection location; photo reproduction credit; and descriptive remarks. Iconographic comparisons and analysis of each work will vary depending on the significance of distinguishing features and the quality of available photographic documentation and existing cataloguing. Only those figures identified as representing Hariti and related Gandharan deities of abundance are provided with a corresponding catalogue entry (catalogue and figure numbers vary due to the disparate order of reference in the thesis).

Images of Hariti with Children

1. Hariti with child, lotus and birds (fig. 25).  
Provenance unknown. Ca. first to second century C.E.  
Silver-gold repoussé. D. 8.9 cm.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 74.

This roundel shows an image of Hariti encircled by a pearl and dart pattern. An outer border consists of stylized lotus petals in a double outline.

The goddess is represented as seated in three-quarter view on an elaborate throne. On the high back of the throne are perched two birds; she is flanked by lotus flowers, one open and one in bud. Hariti appears to be offering her right breast (*dugdhadrini* mudra) to the child lying across her lap.

Her face is of gold foil and her hair falls in locks to her shoulders. She wears a wide jeweled collar and jeweled headdress with rosettes placed over the ears. Prominent earrings or baubles dangle from each rosette. She also wears multiple wrist

and ankle bangles. The skirt of her garment is incised with ornamental curved, parallel lines, the hem flares out over the feet.

The function of this and other such roundels is unknown but they may have been used as ornaments on horse harnesses, for decorating belts or as a crest on the cockade of a turban. See figure 102 (cat. 38) for stylistic and iconographic comparison to Shunga goddesses.

2. Hariti with child on auspicious pot (fig. 29).

Takhti-i-Bahi. Second to fifth century C.E.

Schist-type stone. Dimensions unavailable.

Peshawar Museum.

Reproduced: Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 77, fig. 112.

Hariti stands on a vase-type pedestal below a canopy of leaves and fruit. She holds an infant on her left hip. She wears a sari; the hem of her garment flares out at each side, and she wears donut-style anklets gathered tightly at mid-front. Her feet are bare. Long earrings are implied but here the stone is badly abraded; a pendant beaded necklace is worn with a flat collar-like neckpiece and a single bracelet at each wrist. The goddess' hair is arranged in thick, horizontal waves under a crown of braided leaves. A large flower or ornament appears to have been attached to the headpiece at front center but is now missing. Braids or locks of hair fall from behind this crown, a loop of hair stands up at the top of the head. Her face has a heavy jawline and is much abraded.

This piece would have been used as a spacer figure between larger panels in the decoration of a stupa, the figure mimics the pose and function of traditional Gandharan yakshi figures as devatas or tree spirits.

3. Hariti with trident and four arms (figs. 30-31).

Sahri-Bahlol. Second to fifth century C.E.

Schist. H. 122 cm.

Peshawar Museum.

Reproduced: Author's photo.

This image of Hariti stands in high relief on a devotional stele, a plain nimbus behind her head. The figure is formal and rigidly frontal, flanked by two small worshippers. The goddess is four armed and holds the following attributes in each hand: trident; waterpot; footed cup; and tiny seated child.

Her garments are in the "wet" drapery style, the breasts and pubic region are emphasized by etched lines and stylized drapery folds. The lower skirt flares from knees to ground with many parallel folds. She wears a scarf that appears as flat, incised lines on her nimbus and then wraps around and over her upper arms at the elbows. A twisted sash binds the waist while a rope of similarly twisted fabric drapes in an unusual U-shape over the thighs.

Hariti's hair is parted in the center and arranged in neat parallel waves; her longer hair is looped up on the right side of her head. Behind the left side of her head, an ornamental pipal (?) leaf and flower appear.<sup>2</sup> She wears an elaborate, high headpiece of looped jeweled strands. Her earlobes are extended with heavy earrings. Around her neck, she wears a thick rope of gems with large central beads in combination with a

broad ornamental neckpiece with a square central amulet. All four arms are heavily braceleted including her upper arms.

This figure has proved most problematic in terms of reliable identification in the context of Hariti iconography. This is due, in part, to the multiple arms, an anomaly in Gandharan imagery, but also because of the unusual array of attributes and stylistic features that cannot be correlated with any other Hariti image. See figure 55 for stylistic comparison, related discussion in Chapter Three.

#### 4. Hariti with children (fig. 32).

Sikri. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 90.8 cm.

Lahore Museum.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 494.

This large statue of Hariti stands in pseudo-tribhanga pose although the center of gravity is ambiguous. She wears a chiton clasped over the left breast while her right breast is bared as for nursing. Her garment is of the wet-drapery style. A ridge formed by a girdle worn under the garment is visible low on the hips. On her head, she wears a polo-type headdress composed of three horizontal rows of beads or jewels interrupted by quadriform rosette-motif ornaments. The right (surviving) earring is long and cylindrical. She wears a broad, flat collar-necklace with running quadriform motif and a crescent medallion suspended between the breasts with a twisted fabric sash. On her wrists are multiple wrist bangles. Feet (and ankle ornaments) have been broken off. Her hair is worn with a cluster of snail-curls on the forehead, the rest pulled back in articulated strands with tendrils curling over the shoulders. She wears a small circular rosette-form *lalatika* ornament on forehead.

Hariti holds three children: one is placed at her breast as if to nurse and two others perch on her shoulders. Compare with figure 36 (cat. 6) for similar treatment of forehead curls and *lalatika* forehead ornaments.

#### 5. "Yusufzai" Hariti (figs. 33-35).

Yusufzai region (upper Peshawar Valley). Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 77 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1886.6-II.1). Given by Colonel A.C. Walker.

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 92. Details: Author's photos.

This sculpture of Hariti portrays her seated in *palambapadasana* on a backless throne, her feet resting flat on a carved footstool. She holds a naked, male child across her lap. Other figures (children?) cluster three to a side, one holding a parrot. A larger child sits in royal pose between her feet.

Hariti's breasts are accentuated by the tight, smooth casing of her garment; the nipples are visible. The skirt of the garment falls in folds between her spread knees but follows the bent angle of the leg instead of falling naturally with gravity.<sup>3</sup> She wears a shawl over her left shoulder. The tight sleeves are full-length and ornate, distinguished by tight horizontal pleats or gathers in a wavy pattern. A narrow ornamental band or double line of beads runs down the length of each arm to the wrist.

Hariti wears a wide, flat jeweled necklace in combination with a rope of precious stones held by the child on her lap. Ankle bracelets are decorated with an incised crosshatched pattern, and round, ornamental bracelets or cuffs fit tightly around her wrists. One beaded earring is visible hanging from her left ear, and she wears a ring on the little finger of each hand. Her face is heartshaped, her nose has been broken off. She has a smooth, low brow with articulated eyelids and no pupils. Her hair is arranged in flat, stylized waves with a central part and forming a distinctive almond-pattern in center of her forehead. She wears a narrow woven wreath with a central rosette motif. Overhead, a section of her hair is looped high and fastened in place.

The influence is predominantly Iranian which is evident in the Parthian-style garments and dynamic surface ornamentation. See figures 78 and 79 (cat. 9, 10) for comparisons of the wreath, the hair on the forehead and the treatment of the sleeves.

6. Hariti with children (figs. 36-37).

"House of Naradakha," Trench B4 (2), no.2211; Shaikhan Dheri, Charsada.

Early second century C.E.

Dark gray, homogenous schist. H. 11".

Peshawar, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar.

Reproduced: Author's photo.

Hariti sits in formal palambapadasana on an elaborate throne with a small footstool. Her head is framed by a plain nimbus, and she is flanked by two children at her shoulders, another standing at each knee and two seated beside her footstool. A final (seventh?) child is seated across her lap.

Hariti holds a cluster of grapes and leaves in her raised (damaged) right hand and simulates abhaya mudra. She is dressed in a long gown with underskirt and long sleeves with horizontal gathers. The bodice is wrapped from her left shoulder across her left breast to her waist. A shawl or robe covers her left shoulder and arm. Her hair is arranged in a cluster of tiny snailshell curls at the forehead, then pulled back into smooth locks that curl at the top of each ear. She wears a twisted, jeweled polos, a circular lalatika on her forehead and beaded earrings; around her neck is a double-strand twisted/braided necklace and a flat circular necklace with square medallions. Around each ankle is a large plain round bangle.

The throne has a wide back and protruding upper register or panel with a quarter sunburst or lotus pattern at each corner. Lower panels are squares scored with straight and diagonal lines in a star pattern with angled wedges impressed into each triangular segment. The footstool is narrow with a scored horizontal motif centered in the top front, the legs curved inward with squared feet.

Compare with figure 32 (cat. 4) for similar treatment of the hair and forehead ornament. The disappearance of this sculpture and its discovery after some years in Germany adds an interesting footnote. Although the head of the child at Hariti's left shoulder was missing when the piece was excavated by Professor Ahmad Hassan Dani in 1963-64, it had been mysteriously replaced at some point prior to its repatriation to Pakistan.

7. Hariti with child in bracket form (fig. 76).  
 Nimogram (Swat). Date unavailable.  
 Light gray schist. H. 13 cm.  
 Saidu Sharif, Archaeological Museum of Swat (NG. 374).  
 Reproduced: Author's photo.

Hariti stands with her right hand raised but damaged; a small child perches high on her left shoulder. The child's face is very crudely carved and ill-proportioned (perhaps designed to be viewed from below). The goddess is full-faced, with a slightly smiling expression. Her hair is arranged in a chignon at the back of her head. She wears a chiton clasped at each shoulder and gathered in folds between the breasts and into a high waist. A scarf hangs in a long diagonal drape from her left side down and across to her right knee and back up behind. Below the hem of her dress, an underskirt flares over the tops of both feet. The base of the bracket is a simple plinth decorated with a sawtooth pattern.

This is an example of an image that can be identified as a particular architectural component; another is the Hariti standing on the auspicious pot from Takht-i-Bahi that served as a divider between panels (figure 29, cat. 2). A third example is the tutelary couple with cornucopia (in stucco) photographed in 1910-11 in situ as a panel on a stupa base in the Courtyard of Stupas at Takht-i-Bahi (no longer extant. See figure 67, cat. 73).<sup>4</sup>

8. Hariti with children (fig. 77).  
 Nimogram (Swat). Second to third century C.E.  
 Black schist. H. 38 cm.  
 Saidu Sharif, Archaeological Museum of Swat (NG. 432).  
 Reproduced: Author's photo.

This image of Hariti shows her seated in palambapadasana with a child across her lap, her feet placed on a square footstool. Hariti is full-faced with an abraded nose and a small smile of contentment. A small figure (children?) crouches at either side of the footstool, symmetrical posed with one raised knee; the head of the figure on the right is broken. Traces of two more figures are positioned behind Hariti's shoulders.

The goddess wears a twisted, coiled wreath around her head and a flat floral ornament over the hair at center front. The hair, indicated in incised strands, is pulled evenly away from her forehead and frames her face cleanly, an additional loop of hair stands up at the crown of her head. She wears a long-sleeved, ankle-length dress; larger folds are carved three-dimensionally while smaller gathers are indicated with incised lines over the bodice and sleeves. The sleeves are horizontally incised to indicate decorative gathers or pleats. She wears large round earrings and a long double strand necklace that hangs over a smaller flat necklace.

## 9. Hariti with children (fig. 78).

Skarah Dheri (Peshawar district). Ca. 233-342\* C.E.

Schist. Dimensions unavailable.

Formerly of the Central Museum in Lahore (current location unknown).

Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art* (intro), pl. II, fig. 3.

This Hariti stands in a slight tribhanga pose. Her face is round with heavy cheeks, a Greco-style forehead and brow; lidded eyes with no pupils delineated, a straight nose, and thin lips set firmly together. She holds a child who stands in her left hand while two children sit on her shoulders. The base of the sculpture is heavily damaged but traces remain of a small figure seated between Hariti's feet (see cat. 12). She is wearing a form-fitting robe with elaborately scored, curving parallel folds (some forking) which hangs below the breasts. Her breasts are ornamented with dotted paired lines radiating from the centers. Her right sleeve fabric is gathered in lines perpendicular to a central ornamental seam running down the front of the arm to the wrist. Ornamental horizontal bands repeat at regular intervals, terminating in a wide ornamental cuff or bracelet at the wrist. The hand is broken away but still holds a cluster of grapes.

She wears a pendant jeweled rope necklace over a broad, flat, bib-like jeweled collar, double ankle bracelets (feet are broken away below these bracelets) and long cylindrical earrings with parallel grooves. Her hair is stylized in a neat band across forehead with mirrored waves in center forming a distinctive almond shape (see fig. 33, cat. 5 for comparison). The headdress is a woven wreath with a central rosette motif. A striated loop or bun of hair shows above the wreath at the crown of the head. Traces of a nimbus remain.

This image is one of only four Gandharan Buddhist images inscribed with a date (calculations based on a range of possible eras place it variously between the years indicated above).<sup>5</sup> Compare with figures 79-81 (cat. 10-12) for stylistic and iconographic comparisons.

## 10. Hariti in crenellated crown with children (fig. 79).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 110 cm.

Europe, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 493.

The goddess wears forehead curls, a *lalatika* ornament, cylindrical earrings, and a wreath of woven leaves worn in combination with a crenellated crown in the manner of a Tyche. Her clothing is Parthian style (compare with the Hatran royal portraits such as figure 4). She is surrounded by five (?) children and holds a bulbous fruit in her lowered right hand.

In this instance, Hariti's iconography may be conflated with Tyche or another city goddess. For a comparison of Parthian-style garments and forehead hair, see the Yusufzai Hariti (figure 33, cat. 5); for a comparison of iconography and form, see figures 78, 80, 81 (cat. 9, 11, 12).

## 11. Hariti with children and grapes (fig. 80).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Schist. H. 99 cm.

London, Spink & Son Ltd.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig.487.

This sculpture of Hariti shows her as nude above the waist. She wears only a dhoti, scarf and jewelry: donut-type ankle bracelets, cylindrical earrings, and necklaces that include the combination of circular collar with a pendant on a rope of beads. She holds a cluster of grapes in her lowered right hand. Five children surround her, all nude. One nurses at her breast, another perches on the goddess' left shoulder and one sits atop the shoulders of a brother as he reaches for the grapes in her hand. The fifth child stands alongside her left ankle.

## 12. Hariti with children (fig. 81).

Swat Valley. Ca. 250-300 C.E.

Gray phyllite. H. 110.5 cm.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.78.105).

Reproduced: Pal, fig. S50.

The goddess wears only a dhoti and a channavira with bracelets at her wrists and ankles, cylinder earrings, beaded necklaces and a wreath of woven leaves. Her hair is schematically incised with parallel grooves; a loop or chignon is visible over the top of the wreath. She holds a cluster of grapes in her lowered right hand and supports a nursing child at her left breast. Another child perches on her left shoulder; two more stand by her right ankle and reach for the grapes. Between her feet, a fifth small figure sits on a cushion in crosslegged pose and appears to be writing on a slate. Unlike the children, he is fully dressed, wears his hair in a bun (ushnisha?) and may be intended to invoke comparison with the Buddha.

Compare rigidity of pose, costume, style and iconography with figure 80 (cat. 11). A third Hariti image, discovered at Skarah Dheri (figure 78, cat. 9), although dissimilar in dress, stands in near-identical posture with child at the breast and shoulders. The base of the Skarah Dheri Hariti is badly damaged but traces remain of a small figure seated between the feet of the goddess, suggesting a likely iconographic relationship.

## 13. Hariti with children (fig. 82).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Green schist. H. 35 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 495.

Hariti leans forward from her seat on a low bench with turned leg posts, three naked children in active poses on the shallow plinth before her. A fourth child pops up in the crook of her left arm. She wears a wreath of braided leaves, and her jewelry includes a flat collar with pendant rope of beads and beaded earrings. Her dress is tight over her breasts and the long sleeves are decorated to the wrist with even rows of gathers.



Compare the treatment of the sleeves with that of figure 33 (cat. 5) and figures 78-79 (cat. 9-10). This appears to be a Parthian innovation as can be seen in the royal portrait sculpture of King Artabanus (figure 4) and other sculptures from Hatra; it also appears in examples of Indo-Scythian dress (figures 5-6). Although the Yusufzai Hariti offers the most beautifully articulated example of this treatment, the gathered effect is at other times simulated with roughly incised lines, appearing even in examples of Gandharan yakshis (see figures 27-28).

14. Hariti head and torso with children (fig. 83).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Schist. H. 57 cm.

London, Spink & Son, Ltd.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 491.

Only the top half of this sculpture has survived and has suffered significant damage (the goddess's arms are also missing); however, skillful workmanship is evident in the delicate modeling of the facial features of the goddess. The outline of the hair over the forehead, the plane of her cheek and square jawline, and the naturalistic delineation of the lips raise the standard of Gandharan sculptural artistry above the standard. Her jewelry is modest: cylindrical earrings, a flat round collar necklace with a pattern of simple angled lines and a triple rope of beads or braided chain with oval pendant. Also notable is an innovation of Hariti's usual headgear - the wreath of braided leaves, here doubled and laid in a crisscross arrangement around the head. Four children, badly damaged, cling to shoulders and bared breast but are otherwise unremarkable.

This form of crossed double wreath may be seen in two examples: the stucco head of a bodhisattva (Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 548) and a Buddha image, also stucco (Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 541). This variation suggests an innovation of the turban headgear, associated generally with bodhisattva images, and was probably constructed of bands of twisted scarves. The distinctive leaf ridges on the wreath of the bodhisattva distinguish this particular example, as does the ridged topknot that resembles the hair treatment of numerous Hariti and Ardokhsho images (see figure 38, cat. 22).

15. Hariti (fig. 84).

Saptarshi-Tila (Saptari Mound), Mathura City (find-spot).

Schist. H. 1.5 m.

Mathura Museum.

Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 378.

The female figure stands, fully in-the-round; her forearms are missing. She wears a plaited laurel wreath on her head and a shawl wrapped around her shoulders and upper arms. A long braid of hair with ribbons hangs down her back.

Although this piece was excavated from a site at Mathura, stylistic and material (schist stone) evidence point to its origin in Gandhara. There is disagreement as to its identification: Sharma has identified the figure as a portrait of the Gandharan Queen Kambojika, queen of the Maha-Kshatrpa Rajula and mother of Sodasa, based on the fact that the statue was found in the same mound from which was recovered the famous

lion capital with the Queen's dedicatory inscription.<sup>6</sup> The Hariti identification relies on the remnant of a child's hand placed on the shoulder of the figure. This last evidence is compelling, however the figure's significance also lies in that it points to the close ties between Mathura and Gandhara during the years of unified rule under the Kushans.

16. Hariti in chiton with child on back (fig. 85).

West Pakistan. Third century C.E.

Gray schist. H. 25.5 cm.

Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum (52).

Reproduced: Chandra, fig. 55.

This standing figure of Hariti is dressed in a voluminous chiton. A child, now headless, is prominent on her right shoulder. Leafy vegetation is visible behind the figure, suggesting a deliberate association with yakshi nature spirits.

17. Hariti with children wall painting (fig. 86).

Farhad Beg-yailaki, Shrine XII. Sixth to eighth century C.E.

Polychrome. W. 18 1/2".

New Delhi, Collection of the National Museum (20F.XII 004).

Reproduced: Bussagli, p.54.

The image is characteristic of the Khotan painting style: a flat, ornamental surface and a reliance on simple outlined forms. The face of the goddess is round, even discoid, the features drawn in a flat, linear fashion. A nimbus consists of concentric circles with a ring enclosing geometric bowtie shapes. A lock of curled hair is stylistically applied to each cheek, she wears large hoop earrings, a stylized flower ornament over her forehead and a dress with narrow ornamental bands around the sleeves. Her eyes are elongated and her expression is unfocused and impassive; slightly curved lines indicate a double chin and neck folds. Three naked children are awkwardly superimposed at Hariti's right shoulder and at each breast. A fourth child (?) wearing a Sasanian style tunic is placed at her left shoulder.

18. Divine triad with Hariti and children (fig. 87).

Dandan Oilik (Khotan, Tarim Basin). Ca. eighth century.

Mural painting (in situ). Dimensions unavailable.

Reproduced: Baumer, fig. 70.

Hariti is pictured wearing a diadem. She sits crosslegged in the center holding a swaddled infant while an older child sits on her left knee. On her left is a four-armed Brahmatri-murti. He holds three arrows, a bow and a cock and is accompanied by his vahana, a goose. On the right is a boar-headed deity that may represent Varaha, an avatar of Vishnu, or a benevolent deity with protective powers for children. He holds round objects (solar symbols?) in his raised hands and what appears to be a lotus bud in his lowered right hand. The three primary figures are nimbate.

19. Divine triad with Hariti holding infant (fig. 88).  
 Dandan Oilik (Khotan, Tarim Basin). Ca. eighth century.  
 Mural painting (in situ). Dimensions unavailable.  
 Reproduced: Baumer, fig.69

This painted triad includes an ithyphallic, Maheshvara-trimurti accompanied by Nandi at left and a Brahmatri-murti (also ithyphallic) at right. Hariti sits crosslegged, holding a swaddled infant. All are nimbate; the flanking deities are four-armed and hold solar and lunar symbols. This is another example of the painting characteristic of the Khotan region with cartoon-like outlines and simplified shapes.

20. Hariti nursing child and surrounded by children (fig. 89).  
 Yarkhoto (Turfan). Ninth century C.E.  
 Polychrome on ramie. H. 51 cm.  
 Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst (III 6302).  
 Reproduced: Hartel, cat. 147.

A haloed Hariti sits on an elaborately carved bench. She is richly garbed in a robe with embroidered borders and matching headscarf. She nurses an infant while eight small children are arranged at various forms of play around her, each dressed in Chinese style. This speaks to the stylistic transformations of Hariti's imagery as it traversed through Central Asia. The region of Turfan is well within the Chinese frontier and the imagery tends to reflect Chinese aesthetic preferences and sensibilities.

21. "Demeter-Hariti" (fig. 21).  
 Sirkap (Taxila). Late first century.  
 Potstone. H. 11.8  
 Karachi Museum.  
 Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 347.

The female deity sits on a backless bench. Her face is round and expressionless. She wears a polos over hair that is styled in a short utilitarian bob. A mantle hangs from the left shoulder. She firmly grasps the blunt end of a rather squat cornucopia; her right hand is strangely concealed under the folds of her garment.

This image is often identified as either Hariti or Demeter. It dates from the pre-Kushan period and therefore precedes most sculptural images of the cornucopia goddess generally identified as Ardokhsho. It is very possible that this early image provided a crude prototype that was adapted by the Kushans for Gandharan representations of the goddesses of abundance.

Images of the Cornucopia Goddess

22. Ardokhsho (figs. 38-39).

Begram III, Chamber E3. Ca. third century C.E.

Schistose stone. H. 18.5 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Ghirshman, *Bégram*: pls. XVII, XVIII, XLV.

The goddess is carved fully in the round. She sits on a high-backed throne with carved legs and floral motifs. Her elongated cornucopia has an exaggerated flare at its upper rim and contains three balls representing fruit. In her raised right hand she holds a lotus blossom with six petals. Her hair is raised in a high chignon and clasped by a ribbon or tiara. She plants her feet firmly on a low footrest ornamented on its face with a sawtooth design. The folds of her gown form a highly schematized and symmetrical pattern, and a high girdle and diagonal bodice folds draw emphasis to her breasts.

For similarities of style, form and iconography, compare the Begram cornucopia goddess with the micaceous schist panel of the Shnaisha Gumbat Ardokhsho-Hariti with four female attendant donors (figs. 41-44, cat. 23).

23. Ardokhsho-Hariti and attendants (figs. 40-43).

Shnaisha Gumbat. Period I (reign of Huvishka, ca. second century C.E.).

Green micaceous schist. H. 26 cm.

Peshawar, Sir Shibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar.

Reproduced: Author's photos.

This panel relief shows five female figures. The lower left corner of the panel is missing so that the figure on the extreme left is represented only by upper half. The most prominent among the five is the central figure. She is seated on a cushion full of coins, some of which have slipped out the front. The throne back is ornamented with fluttering banners. The goddess holds a cornucopia with a dramatically flared upper rim in her left arm and performs sri mudra with her raised right hand. She is clad in chiton and himation and wears heavy earrings and a polos on her head. The flanking figures, in standing position, are symmetrically arranged - on each side a donor is accompanied by an attendant. The attendants carry donations in covered baskets. The donors appear well-dressed and prosperous, indicating affiliation with a privileged social stratum.<sup>7</sup>

24. Cornucopia goddess (fig. 44).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Light gray schist. H. 15.9 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1961.5-20.8). Gift of Mrs. D.H. Gordon.

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 93.

The headless goddess is seated. She wears a long-sleeved dress with a diagonal drape and underskirt. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia with vertically twisted ornamentation and a round fruit at the top. In her right hand she holds a lotus flower. A

round pendant on a collar or necklace hangs at center chest. The base of the sculpture is decorated with schematic, circular designs intended to represent an open sack of round coins overlapping each other. Compare this image with a near identical sculpture from Barikot (see figure 45, cat. 25) although the base on that image is shallow and is too abraded to make out a design.

25. Cornucopia goddess (fig. 45).

Barikot. BKG 4-5, period VIII. Fourth to fifth century C.E.

Gray schist. H. 14.1 cm.

Location unavailable (BKG 1591).<sup>8</sup>

Reproduced: Callieri, *Bir-kot-Ghwandai*, pl. XIX, fig. 4.

This badly abraded image (head is missing) follows the same formula as described in the previous entry (figure 44, cat. 24). Here the deity holds a truncated cornucopia in her left arm and raises an indistinct object (a lotus cluster?) in the right. She sits in palambapadasana with knees apart. Her overskirt falls in a diagonal drape from left knee to right ankle; the underskirt flares over the feet. Abrasion has obscured the usual coin motif that likely appeared on the base below the feet of the deity.

26. Cornucopia goddess wearing modius (fig. 90).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 25 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 420.

This statue of the goddess with a cornucopia is an interesting variant; rather than cradling the cornucopia in the left arm with the tip resting in the lap, the goddess balances it on the mound of coins beside her and leans it against her left knee. The iconography follows convention in other respects (although the right arm is missing so the secondary attribute can only be conjectured).

27. Cornucopia goddess with cup (fig. 91).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 18 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 481.

The conception of this goddess with a cornucopia is a relatively rigid reiteration of the basic iconographic formula for the Gandharan goddess of abundance. She holds the standard attributes of a cup and a very elongated cornucopia. Her face is without expression, framed by a round halo and surmounted by an unadorned modius. The folds of her garment are stylized, particularly the mirrored drapery folds of the flared underskirt. She is enthroned in formal symmetry on a high-backed throne with an ornate back and turned legs. An overturned pot of riches flanks each end of the base.

## 28. Cornucopia goddess enthroned (fig. 92).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. H. 12 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 479.

This small iconic image of the cornucopia goddess may be classed among the more conventional of its kind. The carving of the stone is relatively crude, and the left arm and hand of the deity are ill-proportioned and clumsy. The right hand (and attribute) is missing. The cornucopia is elongated and vertical. It has a rounded rim and a raised, overall pattern of diamonds that may be intended to simulate the acanthus leaf ornamentation of more elaborate examples (see figure 66, cat. 72). It terminates in the head of a horned animal, resting on its tip on the knee of the goddess.

## 29. Cornucopia goddess wearing modius (fig. 93).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. H. 12 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 480.

The goddess sits in a high-backed throne with ornamental carving and narrow, turned legs. The back of the throne is surmounted by a large, plain, ovate nimbus; the throne rests on a base incised with scalloped circles representing coins under the feet of the deity. She wears a modius and tiara over short curly locks. Her garment is roughly carved, the drapery folds rigid and sharply angled. Both hands are missing. The cornucopia has a flattened appearance and follows an unusual S-shaped curve;<sup>9</sup> its body is perfunctorily carved with crisscrossed lines to simulate the acanthus leaf motif.

## 30. Cornucopia goddess with feet on lotus (fig. 94).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 22 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 485.

This devotional statue of the goddess may be lacking in the quality of workmanship but is notable for its dynamic surface ornamentation and the iconographic content that includes a few unusual features. The goddess sits in palambapadasana with her knees wide apart. Her feet rest together on the top of an elaborate lotus flower with naked figures flanking her at each side. The lotus throne is uncommon in Gandharan iconic imagery. It most often figures in representations of the Sravasti Miracle, in fact, it is one of several key elements used to identify that narrative. The attendant figures are small and male. This suggests the interesting possibility that in this piece we have a hybrid image in which elements of Hariti's iconography (male children) have been fused with the iconography of the cornucopia goddess. The cornucopia is damaged and provides no additional information. The deity's nimbus is diminutive but highly ornate, another unusual feature in Gandharan iconic representations. The statue's plinth is ornamented on its façade with a narrow sawtooth motif.

## 31. Goddess with traces of cornucopia (fig. 95).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 14.8 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1961.5-20.9). Gift of Mrs. D. H. Gordon.

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig.94.

The condition of this sculpture is significantly abraded and few details are discernible. Although the deity is nimbate, the halo is much deteriorated. She sits on a throne with her feet resting directly on the base or plinth. No attributes have survived but she raises her right hand as though holding a lotus (see figure 44, cat. 24) and her left arm is bent as if supporting a cornucopia (no longer extant).

## 32. Cornucopia goddess on head of ogre (fig. 96).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. Dimensions unavailable.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 441.

This work is a curiosity due to the wing-like extensions from behind the deity and the grotesque crown of an ogre's head on which she stands. The image is badly abraded and much detail has been lost. It is possible that the so-called "wings" represent foliage or branches framing the deity in a manner similar to images of the divine couple under a flowering tree. Although a yaksha or dwarf often functions as a vahana in Indian representations of devatas and yakshas, it is not a characteristic of Gandharan art.

## 33. Cornucopia goddess on cup (fig. 97).

Provenance unknown (Gandharan). Ca. first century B.C.E.

Silver repoussé. H. 9.5 cm; diam. 12.8 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, fig. 97.

What has survived consists of the outer casing of the cup; missing are the handles, foot, rim and inner wall. The casing is entirely covered by a continuous frieze split evenly into two scenes: one side depicts a turbaned, bearded man in himation standing over a table. He holds a staff over one shoulder and his right hand is outstretched. The second scene features a standing goddess figure dressed in a girdled chiton who holds a cornucopia of fruit, corn, grapes, pomegranates and a pine cone in her left arm; her outstretched right hand holds a disk or bowl. A child stands before her reaching for a large cluster of grapes.

An analysis of the cup's symbolism is beyond the scope of a catalogue entry but as a luxury object of considerable portability it provides another example of the varied means by which influential ideas, motifs and images were transmitted across Asia.

34. Cornucopia goddess with child seal impression (fig. 98).  
 Provenance unknown. Ca. first to second century C.E.  
 Material unavailable: H.75" x .5".  
 London, British Museum.  
 Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 38.

This positive impression of an oval agate (?) seal portrays a standing female figure in three-quarter view, wearing a chiton and modius and holding a cornucopia within her bent left arm. She extends her right hand to a small child who reaches up as if to take an object. An inscription along the right edge reads: *Shoogao*.

Seals and coins are objects that can be characterized as easily transportable and therefore comprised a significant source of transmitted imagery throughout Central Asia. While coin images represented the official propaganda of the realm, seals may be seen as being inherently more personalized, suggesting that they tended to more accurately reflect belief at the popular level.<sup>10</sup>

35. Ardokhsho on reverse of dinar of Vasudeva I (?) (fig. 99).  
 Provenance unknown. Ca. 142-176.  
 Gold. D. 2.2 cm.  
 Los Angeles, County Museum of Art (M.77.56.20).  
 Reproduced: Pal, fig. C14.

The obverse side of this coin portrays the Kushan king dressed in a long tunic with sword and making an offering at a fire altar. A trident stands at the left; he also holds a trident in his left hand. The reverse depicts the goddess standing with her right leg slightly bent. She holds before her a cornucopia filled with fruit. The Kushan dynastic symbol appears in the field at the right. An inscription in Bactrian in Greek script appears at the left: *Ardoxsho*.

36. Ardokhsho with cornucopia on pendant ornament (fig. 100).  
 Provenance unknown (India). Ca. fourth century C.E.  
 Gold. D. 35 mm.  
 London, British Museum (OR 5200)  
 Reproduced: Errington and Cribbs, fig. 146.

This unusual two-sided pendant employs designs taken from coins of Constantine (307-337 C.E.) and Kushan kings. The obverse shows a bust of a Roman emperor with a crude copy from a Latin inscription with the name and title of the emperor. The reverse shows the standing goddess Ardokhsho with a cornucopia. A crude Bactrian inscription states the name of the goddess.

The design on the reverse of the pendant bears strong resemblance to the reverse of the coin of Vasudeva (figure 99, cat. 35) including the Kushan dynastic symbol in the field to the right of the goddess. Gandhara and the Indian subcontinent were economically linked with Rome via the pan-Asian silk routes. The eastern origin of this piece illustrates the natural occurrence of cultural exchanges that resulted in reiteration and reinterpretation of visual images beyond their original sphere of influence.



37. Goddess on pendant with modified cornucopia and flower (fig. 101).  
Sirkap (Taxila). Ca. second to fourth century C.E.  
Gold repoussé, carnelian and pearls. D. 5 cm.  
Cleveland Museum of Art (formerly London, Victoria and Albert Museum).  
Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 75.

This pendant features the bust of female figure holding a lotus in her right hand. She also holds a cornucopia that has been modified into an embellished lotus form topped by a bowl of fruit at her left. She wears a chiton belted high under the breasts with a short, fully flared skirt and a peaked tiara. The reverse side of the pendant is decorated with an embossed open lotus.<sup>11</sup>

38. Goddess enthroned with birds, grape cluster and devotee (fig. 102).  
Provenance unknown. Ca. second century B.C.E.  
Silver repoussé. D. 7.4 cm.  
London, British Museum (OA 1937.3-19.4). Purchased at Rawalpindi in 1922.  
Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, fig. 142.

The stylistic and iconographic similarities of this image to Figure 25 are remarkable. Note the angle of the legs of the figure, the position of the feet, multiple bangles on the arms and ankles and the swirling fabric of the hem of the garment. Also note the corresponding appearance of the throne with birds perched on its high back. Although the deity in Figure 25 holds an infant and this goddess dangles a cluster of grapes, each appears equally devised to represent a goddess of abundance.

It is unfortunate that neither piece has provenance and cannot therefore be connected spatially; both exhibit a strong resemblance to goddess imagery (see Figure 24) of the Shunga Dynasty (185-75 B.C.). Although the dating is earlier than the earliest Hariti images, it is possible that one or both images may represent a prototype or early form of this Kushan goddess.

39. Fragment of a two-register panel (fig. 103).  
Sahri-Bahlol (?). Second century C.E.  
Gray schist. H. 43 cm.  
Columbia, University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology (76.166).  
Reproduced: Nagar, fig. 9.

This piece is described in the Catalogue of the University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology as a depiction of two events in the Buddha's life. The upper register is identified as the "Offering of the Handful of Dust". The female figure wears a wreath of woven leaves and holds a cornucopia in her left arm and an unidentified object (fruit?) in her right hand. The small boy beside her raises his hands in *anjuli mudra*, as do most of the remaining figures. *Vajrapani* stands at the lowest register; the two figures beside him may represent two of the four *Lokapala* (their counterparts may have appeared on the left in the missing section of panel).

Gandharan representations of this popular narrative typically depict the boy as standing beside the Buddha while making the dust-offering directly into the Buddha's bowl; in addition, the child's mother is traditionally depicted holding palm leaves or

peacock feathers in a cluster. This particular fragment may actually represent the right portion of a worship scene of which the left section (including the Buddha) is missing. An alternate identification of the female with cornucopia as Hariti and the boy as her son Priyankara is an intriguing possibility in that representations of Hariti in proximity with the Buddha (within the same narrative or panel) are otherwise unknown in Gandharan Buddhist art. It is possible that the familiar formula of mother and son seen in representations of the "Handful of Dust" was reinterpreted for this portrayal of a reformed Mother of Demons among a retinue of demi-gods paying homage to the Buddha.

40. Cornucopia goddess with inscription (fig. 104).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 22.2 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1959.12-15.1).

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 95.

The female figure wears a high-waisted tunic over an underskirt that flares over the feet. Wavy, incised lines indicate drapery, also note the unusual treatment of the bodice fabric over the breasts. The goddess leans her left elbow on the rim of a cornucopia decorated with twisted, striated designs and terminating in the head of a horned animal. A Kharoshthi inscription appears on the base: *Siriye padima* ("image of Sri"). This is an example of conflated iconography as the Iranian goddess Ardokhsho is assimilated to the Indian deity of similar function, Sri Lakshmi.

41. Sri with modified lotus-cornucopia (fig. 105).

Brar (Kashmir). Date unknown.

Stone. Dimensions unavailable.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Paul, fig. 67.

The goddess stands in an elegant swaying posture, holding a modified cornucopia-lotus in the curve of her left arm, the right arm is missing. Her hair is arranged in a high chignon with long coiled locks falling beside her face. The fabric of her bodice swirls in a whirlpool pattern around her breasts.

42. Cornucopia goddess on textile fragment (fig. 106).

Minfeng, Niya (Tarim Basin), tomb 59MNM 001. Ca. third to early fourth century C.E.

Batik cotton textile with wax resist dye. L. 86 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Baumer, fig. 95.

This unusual example of early batik dyed fabric includes the image of a cornucopia goddess rendered in simple outlines. She is bare-breasted and nimbate with an ornamental halo over a plain, ovate mandorla. She wears simple beaded earrings and necklace of round beads. The cornucopia holds a cluster of leaves and grapes.

## 43. Animal-headed goddess with winecup (fig. 52).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Light gray schist. H. 24.2 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1939.1-19.19). Collected by Sir Harold Arthur Deane.

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 440.

The goddess sits on a small, cylindrical base with an incised pattern of triangles. The back of her throne is shoulder-height and edged with a decorative border of diagonal grooves. A large, plain halo frames her head and shoulders. She wears an oversized wreath crosshatched to simulate woven leaves and a long dress with a dramatic diagonal drape from left shoulder to below the right knee. An oval pendant hangs from a long rope of beads around her neck. Her face resembles a fox, bear, dog or goat with upright ears, angled eyes and a small muzzle.

In her rotated right hand, she raises a tall cup incised with two horizontal bars; her raised left hand holds the muzzle of an animal (a replica of her own) at her shoulder.

This goddess may be associated with a child-protecting, animal-headed (goat) deity associated with the god, Skanda. The second animal head held in the left hand may be an innovation or variant motif derived from the animal-headed cornucopias so common to the Gandharan goddesses of abundance.

## 44. Goddess with cup (fig. 107).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Green schist. H. 12 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 486.

This short, squat female figure has a square face and expressionless features. She sits on low throne with turned wooden legs, knees apart in palambapadasana. Her bodice is wrapped asymmetrically, the folds of her garment are indicated in stylized, parallel ridges. She wears a polos or unarticulated wreath over bobbed hair. Curved, incised horizontal lines indicate the back of the throne or a textile. She holds a bowl or cup in her right hand; the left arm and attribute are missing.

## 45. Nana-Anahita with four arms on lion (fig. 46).

Provenance unknown (Oxus treasure?). Sasanian period (third to fifth centuries C.E.).

Silver plate. Dimensions unavailable.

London, British Museum.

Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 47.

The four-armed female deity wears a crenellated crown with central lunar crescent and sits on a lion. She holds attributes in each hand: lunar and solar symbols in her upper left and right hands, and a bowl and a scepter in the lower left and right hands. This may represent a fusion of the goddesses Nana and Anahita who offered an equivalent symbolic value as goddesses of natural phenomena and abundance.

46. Nana with cup and lions (fig. 47).  
 Provenance unknown. Date unknown.  
 Stone. Dimensions unavailable.  
 Punjab Museum, Lahore.  
 Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 6.

The goddess sits in palambapadasana, feet placed squarely on a low, unadorned plinth. Her throne is high-backed with an inset band of beading; it is surmounted by the deity's very large nimbus. She wears a crown of leaves and long-sleeved sari over bare feet and ankle bangles. She holds a cup in her right hand and in her left hand, she holds an unidentified object that might represent a piece of fruit or the point of a cornucopia, now missing. Two lions flank the throne, one at either side, shown in rigid, symmetrical silhouette.

47. Nana with cornucopia and lions (figs. 48-49).  
 Jandial (Taxila). Date unknown.  
 Sandstone (?). H. 6".  
 Taxila Museum.  
 Reproduced: Author's photos.

Carved fully in the round, this headless figure is seated in palambapadasana. The unadorned back of the throne is intact. She holds an animal-headed scepter or cornucopia in her left arm that terminates in a spiral at shoulder height. She is flanked by two crouching lions.

The goddess wears a short tunic with a pleated skirt ending above the knee but overlaying a longer garment. The tunic is belted at the waist with a narrow sash. The bodice of the tunic spirals in a whirlpool pattern over the right breast and below the left breast. Her jewelry includes a necklace consisting of a double strand of beads with a central medallion and a simple bangle on the left wrist.

The Taxila Museum Catalogue identifies this image as Panchika, however the headless figure clearly represents a female, and the appearance of the modified cornucopia and lions suggests a more likely identification of Nana.

48. Feet of goddess standing on lion (fig. 108).  
 Provenance unknown. Date unknown.  
 Stucco. H. 29 cm.  
 Peshawar Museum.  
 Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 442.

What remains of this stucco fragment primarily consists of a couchant lion, head turned to look back towards the goddess standing on his back. Only her feet and the hem of her garment have survived. The cat-like lion with rounded muzzle and elongated, sinuous neck bears close resemblance to lion figures at Butkara I at Saidu (Swat).

49. Nana on lion reverse of coin of Kanishka III (fig. 109).

Provenance unknown. Ca. third century C.E.

Gold. D. 24 mm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Mukherjee, fig. 1A.

The obverse of this coin image shows the Kushan king performing a ritual offering at a fire altar while holding a trident in his left hand. This side is inscribed with the legend: *Shaonano Shao Kaneshko Kosho*. The reverse side depicts a nimbate Nana sitting on a couchant lion and holding a sceptre and cornucopia. Her feet rest on a lotus. The inscription in Bactrian is: *Nana sao* ("Goddess Nana, the king, our mistress").<sup>12</sup>

50. Goddess with lion on reverse of dinar of Chandragupta I (fig. 110).

Provenance unknown. Ca. 320 C.E.

Gold. D. 1.9 cm.

Los Angeles County Museum (M.77.55.15).

Reproduced: Pal, fig. C25.

The obverse of this coin shows the standing king and queen facing each other, both nimbate. An inscription with their names appears in Sanskrit with Brahmi letters: *Chandragupta, Kumaradevi*. On the coin reverse is a goddess in tiara, nimbate, sitting forward-facing on a couchant lion. She holds a cornucopia with a flared rim and round fruit.

This coin is the first issue of Chandragupta I, founder of the Gupta Dynasty. In this imagery, the influence of Gandhara is evident although there are notable innovations. The king is dressed in Kushan style and the Kushan dynastic symbol appears on the reverse. Although the lion is traditionally associated with images of the Iranian divinity, Nana, by the Gupta period, the lion had become the mount of Durga, the Hindu deity who corresponds with Sri Lakshmi. Durga's iconography does not include a cornucopia which has been borrowed from the Kushan Ardokhsho coin types. This is an example of elements from Kushan and Indian imagery that have been conflated to create a new and fluid vocabulary of symbolic meanings.

51. Goddess with cup and small animals (fig. 111).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 19 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 483.

The female deity, nimbate, sits with knees apart. The quality of workmanship is spare but finely articulated. She wears a braided wreath over waved hair, beaded earrings in clusters, and a simple necklace with pendant. A long underskirt covers all but the tips of her shoes. In her right hand, she holds a tall cup with an incised rim. At lower left, a small animal crouches by her throne. The muzzle of another animal appears at her right hand. The attribute of a disembodied animal head is an iconographic curiosity; for other examples, see figures 47 (cat. 46) and 52 (cat. 43). This may represent a reinterpretation of the animal-headed cornucopia.

52. Composite goddess on lion with lotus-cornucopia (fig. 112).  
 Kashmir (?). Sixth century C.E.  
 Black schist. H. 14 cm.  
 Los Angeles County Museum.  
 Reproduced: Pal, fig. S103.

This goddess is carved fully in the round. She sits on a couchant lion between two columns with lotus capitals. Her halo is integrated with her lotus headpiece. Drapery folds of her chiton are indicated schematically as curved lines, forming a whirlpool pattern that revolves around the breasts. She holds a cornucopia that has evolved to take the form of a lotus with an animal head resting in her left hand. In her right hand, she holds a lotus bud.

This figure may represent Gajalakshmi, a form of Sri Lakshmi (Durga) who was eventually assimilated with the Gandharan goddesses of abundance (Hariti, Nana, Ardoksho) in the later Kushan period. Although this figure is without provenance, it bears a stylistic and iconographic resemblance to other goddess images from Kashmir.

53. Gajalakshmi with lion and lotus-cornucopia (fig. 113).  
 Kashmir. Date unknown.  
 Stone. Dimensions unavailable.  
 London, British Museum.  
 Reproduced: Paul, fig. 70.

This image repeats the iconography of the one above (cat. 52), in particular, the lion reclining beneath the goddess and the symmetrical lotus columns that appear to support the throne and the deity's ornate halo. The pleated skirt of the deity's tunic bears a strong resemblance to the garment worn by the image of Nana from Jandial at Taxila (figures 48-49, cat. 47). The cornucopia is an ornate variation of the evolved lotus form appearing on the gold repoussé pendant from Sirkap at Taxila (figure 101, cat. 37).

#### Images of Panchika and Related Deities

54. Panchika (fig. 60).  
 Takal (Peshawar environs). Date unknown.  
 Dark gray schist. H. 180.3 cm.  
 Lahore Museum.  
 Reproduced: Rosenfield, fig. 6.

This massive sculpture achieves monumentality like no other extant image of the Yaksha Panchika. The deity sits on a carved throne, left foot raised onto a small footstool. He wears a long moustache and is draped in a dhoti; his bared torso evokes a sense of mass, authority and stature that is echoed by the path of a woven acanthus leaf garland that curves down his side from his left shoulder and winds around his great abdomen. The right arm is missing from the shoulder but may be presumed to have held a purse (?). His raised left hand grasps the shaft of a spear below its blade where a bell with clapper is lashed.

Panchika's headdress is ornate with gold repoussé, cabochons and an asymmetrical ornament or topknot with the head of an animal over a tassel of clustered beads. His lavish earrings repeat the motif of the beaded tassel. He wears a heavy, flat, circular necklace (indicative of Parthian origins) with cut gems and geometric floral motifs. At an angle across his chest he wears a plastron necklace with the head of a makara faced to a cut stone or amulet. Three naked child figures sit or kneel beside him; at lower right, a standing figure, headless, in Indo-Scythian tunic and leggings and holding a cluster of lotus blooms probably represents the donor.

Panchika's corpulent belly is consistent with his early correspondence with Kubera whose cult was centered in Mathura; the significance of the appeal of a god of wealth should not be underestimated in Gandhara in Kushan times. In addition, the representations of Panchika appear to model the Kushan mythic hero ideal and may reflect Kushan "self-fashioning." This idea is supported by the emphasis on his spear attribute. Originally figuring in the military symbolism of the Indo-Shakas, the spear was appropriated by the Kushans as an emblem of dynastic Imperial authority.<sup>13</sup>

55. "Mardan" Panchika (fig. 61).  
Provenance unknown. Date unknown.  
Gray schist. H. 70 cm.  
Peshawar Museum (2088).  
Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 472.

Another example of Gandharan sculpture at its finest, this Panchika is notable for having been long displayed in the officers' mess of the elite British regiment, the Queen's own Guide Corps, in Mardan in the Northwest Frontier regions, north of Peshawar. It is very similar to the Takal Panchika in dress, ornament and demeanor, and although he is missing the left arm and right hand; there is evidence that he held a spear at his left.<sup>14</sup> A naked child stands between the feet of the deity and small donor figures stand at each side.

56. Panchika (fig. 62).  
Jamalgarhi. Date unknown.  
Gray schist. H. 46.4 cm.  
London, British Museum (OA 1887.7-17.46). Gift of Sir Alexander Cunningham.  
Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 90.

Panchika squats deeply on a low throne, the ornamentally carved corners of the back are visible behind his shoulders, a small, plain nimbus is outlined behind his head; he rests his raised right foot on a diminutive stool while two devotees raise their hands to him in an attitude of worship. He wears a moustache, his face and bare torso are skillfully and realistically rendered; his abdomen is prominent and distended. His turban is ornate with cabochons, an asymmetrical cockade and tassel. He also wears large circular earrings, a heavy chain with round medallion or amulet around his neck, and a double rope of beads from his neck to his bicep where it is linked to an armband with a floral motif. He holds a spear diagonally angled in his left hand; his right hand, which may have held a purse, is missing. Below his feet is a second register depicting a

bacchanalian scene. The central figure wears a turban and a tunic with pleated skirt, sits on the back of a lion and raises a drinking cup.

Panchika's association with drinking scenes and his enlarged abdomen denote his link with Kubera, God of Wealth, who is the deity central to the bacchanalian cults of Mathura. Kubera's persona and iconography were assimilated to Panchika in Gandhara and to the Lokapala, Vaisravana, Regent of the North, who became a prominent tutelary deity in Khotan and other kingdoms of Central Asia's Tarim Basin. The asymmetry of the cockade ornament on his turban has been suggested as an iconographic identifier of Panchika<sup>15</sup> and is seen as early as in the tentatively identified representation of this demi-god on an upright of the West Torana at Sanchi (figure 57).

57. Panchika as the God of Wealth (fig. 114).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. H. 21 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 473.

This Panchika wears a turban with a large cockade and crest. His torso is bare, and he is clothed in a dhoti with a cloak over his shoulders. He sits in relaxed royal ease. A naked boy child stands at his right side; on his left, a male figure (yaksha?) crouches beside him and pours out a stream of coins from a narrow-mouthed pot or sack.

58. Panchika with spear (fig. 115).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. Dimensions unavailable.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 470.

A nimbate Panchika with moustache sits on a wide bench with its back carved in rough geometric designs; his feet are planted firmly on a low footrest. His torso is massive and solid, he wears a dhoti and turban. His spear is angled to one side, its shaft is festooned with ribbons.

59. Panchika-Pharro with two yakshas (fig. 116).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 16.2 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 471.

This tutelary image combines a central deity flanked by two attendant Herakles figures. The identity of the primary figure is somewhat ambiguous: he wears a tunic with a dhoti, is devoid of facial hair and holds an angled spear ornamented with a sash or ribbons. He may wear a close turban with a low, asymmetrical cockade (alternately, this may be a simplified rendering of the deity's hair).



A triad combining a God of Wealth with yaksha atlantids is an unusual innovation or variant of Panchika-Pharro iconography and is difficult to interpret, in particular due to the absence of coin or treasure motifs to underline the identity and function of the deity.

60. Panchika-Pharro with staff (fig. 117).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. Dimensions unavailable.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 468.

This representation appears to fuse the iconography of these two Gandharan deities with similar function. The seated male figure wears the military tunic and greaves or boots characteristic of the Pharro type tutelary deity. He grips a staff or a spear with the blade broken away but festooned with ribbons below the finial. The flowing hair and moustache are unlikely features of the Gandharan Pharro or the Hellenized male tutelary deity. Additional attributes or the inclusion of a purse or treasure would make this identification clearer.

61. Skanda-Panchika as bodhisattva (fig. 118).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 91.5 cm.

London, Sherrier collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 464.

This large and elaborate image of a Skanda-type deity is of particular interest. The figure has the refined features, moustache and flowing locks, ornate turban with elaborate crest and jewelry of a Gandharan bodhisattva of the finest workmanship. The seated pose with crossed ankles emulates a Maitreya but without the amrita vessel that would confirm the identification. His attributes include the cock associated with Skanda and a piece of fruit. The deity is endowed with an embellished nimbus; in addition, he wears a broad, jeweled necklace with a beaded border that hangs over his chest in the form of a bib. Two kneeling devotees flank him on each side of his low footstool.

62. Skanda-Kumara in armor (fig. 63).

Kafir-kot.<sup>16</sup> Ca. second century A.D.

Gray schist. H. 23.8 cm.

London, British Museum (1899.6-9.6). Gift of Sir Harold Arthur Deane.

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 102.

The halo and iconography of armor combined with the attribute of the cock and spear identify this figure as the Brahmanical god, Skanda, who is portrayed wearing the northern military garment called *udichya vesha*, a tunic of scale armor, worn over dhoti (with bare feet), and a sword at the left hip. He wears circular earrings and bracelets and a turban topped with a prominent, central cockade with crest.

The close similarities to Panchika's iconography are obvious; however, Panchika is never represented with the cock attribute and although referred to as a yaksha

general, is not represented in formal military attire. Although representations of the tutelary couple in the Pharro-Ardokhsho form typically depict Pharro in a military tunic, it is a Roman style garment with pleated skirt, bare knees and leather greaves (calf protectors) or boots.

63. Skanda-Kumara in armor with spear (fig. 119).

Peshawar district. Second century C.E.

Gray schist. H. 23.1 cm.

Los Angeles County Museum (M.85.279.3).

Reproduced: Pal, fig. S41.

An embellished example of the Hindu deity, Skanda, as represented in Gandharan art. He wears the military tunic of the northern regions (*udichya vesha*) over a dhoti in the same style of figure 63 (cat. 62) above. He is nimbate, and his turban boasts a central cockade with crest. His feet are bare. He holds a spear festooned with a ribbon upright in his right hand, a cock in his left. A bow is slung across his chest and the scabbard of his short sword hangs at his side. A kneeling devotee in Scythian dress presents a lotus flower offering at the left side of the deity.

64. Pharro (?) with bowl on lion (fig. 120).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 30 cm.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 467.

The figure of Pharro is true to the iconography of the Gandharan tutelary deity but for the substitution of a couchant lion for the usual throne or bench. The figure holds a bowl and spear or staff; he is dressed in a military tunic with a short pleated skirt. The collared lion turns its head to gaze up at the deity. The carved block is badly abraded and is missing the upper right corner. The upper edge of the square block is trimmed with a narrow cornice; the base is a solid plinth.

#### Hariti and Panchika

65. Hariti and Panchika (fig. 64).

Shahji-ki-Dheri. Date unknown.

Schist. H. 14".

Peshawar Museum (2821).<sup>17</sup>

Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 344.

The seated couple have individual halos, each incised with a simple concentric circle close to the outer rim. The base is unadorned except for a double horizontal line.

Panchika is moustached and wears a turban with a large rosette over his forehead and a large asymmetrical cockade (broken) over his right ear. He is unclothed to the waist with a dhoti wrapped loosely around his hips. Both feet are bare. He wears

earrings, a simple, round neck ornament and a long woven necklace that hangs from his left shoulder, falls below his right chest and across his upper right arm in the manner of a royal prince or bodhisattva. He wears plain bangles on each wrist and high on his left arm. His raised right hand grasps a beribboned lance just below its point, the bottom of the staff against the base, he props his raised left foot along the shaft, as if disdaining the simple footstool that seems placed before him for that purpose.

Hariti turns slightly towards her consort. She has thick hair in deep waves from an off-center part, wears a braided wreath with a large, partially-opened lotus bud to one side in the front, a fabric cockade opposite to the right rear. Her eyes are heavy-lidded, her mouth firmly set. She wears large earrings and wide, double-strand ankle bracelets, and a long narrow strand of beads hanging between prominent breasts that are low and bulbous with articulated nipples. She wears a sari or full length gown, the hem crudely rendered in ragged folds (these hang at an unrealistic angle, following the angle of the raised left leg). Her left foot is placed on a small footrest. She raises her right hand, palm facing outward, holding an object (the long stem of a bulbous fruit? A money bag?) between the thumb and index finger, the other fingers straight. With her left hand open as in a benediction, she touches the head of the naked child in her lap with the bent ring and little fingers.

A naked child raises his arms and face to Panchika; another stands with a hand on Hariti's knee, a third peers around her left shoulder while the child in her lap grasps her rope of beads. The figure of a yaksha leans forward between the heads and shoulders of the tutelary pair.

66. Hariti and Panchika (fig. 65).

Sahri-Bahlol. Date unknown.

Schist. H. 3' 4".

Peshawar Museum (241).

Reproduced: Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 105, fig. 144.

Panchika wears a jeweled turban with prominent tasseled cockade on the left side. His hair is long with strands falling over his shoulders and he wears a moustache. Around his neck is a twisted rope necklace with asymmetrical knot-clasps falling over the chest and over his right shoulder in the fashion of a bodhisattva or prince. A second necklace is decorated with cabuchons. His upper torso is unclothed, and he wears a dhoti draped low on his hips, His bare left foot rests on small footstool. Both arms are missing.

Hariti wears a wreath of woven leaves back on her head with a large lotus bud ornament at the front. Her hair is arranged in curled locks around forehead, and long cascading strands over shoulders. She wears a long multi-strand necklace in combination with a flat round necklace decorated with cut gems; she also wears multiple -6 or 7- plain round bangles on her wrist and ankle bracelets. Her dress is a sleeveless chiton clasped at the left shoulder. Her feet are also bare, the left foot resting on a footstool.

Several children attend to their parents, and Hariti holds an infant in her lap. A yaksha leans forward between their shoulders. The base of the sculpture is decorated with an elaborate frieze of fourteen children described by Ingholt as "amorini-yakshas accompanied by two potbellied sileni".<sup>18</sup> They are framed by a Corinthian pilaster at each end. The seat of the deities' throne is decorated with simple, narrow sawtooth pattern.

## 67. Hariti and Panchika with child (fig. 121).

Provenance unknown. Ca. early second century C.E.

Gray schist. H. 28.4 cm.

Los Angeles County Museum (M.83.66).

Reproduced: Pal, fig. S44.

This representation of Hariti and Panchika is characteristic of the Indian form of the tutelary couple. In this example, Hariti holds an infant on her lap and makes the sri mudra gesture of blessing with her right hand. She wears a wreath of braided leaves with lotus medallion at center, a sari-like garment and bare feet with wide ankle bangles. Both feet are placed flat on a small footrest. Her consort wears a turban with crest, a scarf, loop necklace and a dhoti; the remains of a spear are still attached to his knee. His right knee is propped up at an angle, the foot pressing against his left calf. The left foot is placed on a diminutive footrest. The faces of each are faced toward each other; both figures are nimbate.

## 68. Hariti and Panchika with fruit, cups, child and yaksha (fig. 122).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Light gray schist. H. 21 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1961.5-19.5).

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 99.

The couple sit together on a bench-like throne with high back; Panchika's head is missing; Hariti is complete but her face and nimbus are abraded. A yaksha, now headless, sits up between the deities' shoulders, leaning forward and holding objects, probably a purse or fruit, in his left hand. The deities are in Indian dress and raise wine cups as if to drink; Hariti's left hand lies in her lap and holds round objects (fruit?). A small child in a smock stands on the plinth between them. Panchika's left foot is placed on a small footrest; Hariti sits in palambapadasana with feet together on a larger footrest that is ornamented with a sawtooth pattern.

The wine cup is a common alternate attribute of Hariti and other deities of abundance. It emphasizes the connection between the dionysiac cults of northern India and yaksha cosmology. In addition, it is symbolic of the cult of Dionysos that was established in Bactria previous to the coming of Alexander and proved influential in Iran, Afghanistan and Gandhara.

## 69. Hariti and Panchika with children (fig. 123).

Koi Tangai. Date unknown.

Stone. Dimensions unavailable.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 384.

This badly damaged piece offers a conventional representation of Hariti and her consort with children.

## 70. Hariti and Panchika with children (fig. 124).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. Dimensions unavailable.

Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde.

Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 382.

The sculpture is a well-preserved, conventional representation of Hariti and Panchika with three children and a yaksha figure in the background. The nimbate deities are iconographically true to the standard for this Indianized form of the tutelary pair.

## 71. Hariti and Panchika with children in wing of diptych (fig. 125).

Provenance unknown. Ca. second century C.E.

Gray schist. H. 14.6 cm.

Cleveland Museum of Art (73-76).

Reproduced: Czuma, fig. 80.

The single, remaining wing of this diptych is divided into two registers: the arched upper panel depicts Hariti and Panchika seated on a throne. In this representation, the female is seated to the right of her consort instead of at his left. Panchika holds a spear vertically between them, and the faces of children appear scattered in the background behind them. The lower, rectangular panel depicts a couple that may represent a royal couple or the patrons who commissioned the shrine. Interestingly, the male figure holds a bird on his left wrist and a lotus on a drooping stem by his right hand; the female wears an elaborate headdress, gown and jewelry. A small figure kneels beside the two performing *abhaya mudra* in an attitude of worship.

Small diptychs are by their size and nature personal, portable shrines and, like seals, may provide insight into popular forms of religious devotion contrasting with institutionalized religious art in the monastic precinct. If the couple in the lower register is intended to portray the patrons themselves and, above them, their tutelary deities, Hariti and Panchika, it is a configuration that is most unusual and difficult to interpret. It is possible, of course, that the imagery of the missing diptych half would have provided some clarifying information.

## 72. Tutelary couple with cornucopia and child (fig. 66).

Takht-i-Bahi. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 27 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1950.7-26.2).

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 98.

The deities sit together on a high-backed bench or throne. The male deity holds (both arms missing) a double-handled drinking vessel of the *kylix* or *kantharos* type. He wears a belted tunic with pleated skirt and toga or cloak clasped over his right shoulder. On his bare legs, leather greaves are folded over at mid-calf in decorative points. His hair is arranged in rows of curled locks under a fillet, and he wears long earrings. The female deity wears a *chiton* clasped at the shoulders; her right shoulder is bared and her breasts show through the transparent bodice. The garment is girdled above the waist; an underskirt covers the tops of her bare feet. Her hair is coiffed in rows of curls under a

small tiara of the calathos type; she wears heavy beaded earrings and narrow bangles on her wrists. In her left arm, she holds an elongated cornucopia filled with a variety of round and clustered fruits and decorated with acanthus-leaf scales. It terminates in her lap with the head of a horned animal. A small child stands at her knee with his arms raised to her.

Between the primary deities, a bearded yaksha leans forward and offers a small sack or purse. Beside the feet of the male deity, a fanged yaksha supports an overturned pot as the contents pour out in a homogenous cylinder under the feet of the deities. A similar figure on the opposite side is missing but for an arm.

This is a relatively unusual representation of the tutelary couple with cornucopia as this iconography is not usually combined with a child. Also unusual is the way the money pots are represented without the schematic circles to indicate coins. It is surprising that the sculptor neglected to include this significant iconographic detail. For a comparison image of this variation of fused iconography, see figure 139 (cat. 87).

73. Tutelary couple photographed in situ, 1910-11 (fig. 67).

Takht-i-Bahi, Court of the Three Stupas. Fourth to fifth century C.E.

Stucco. Dimensions unavailable.

No longer extant.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 499.

The Court of the Three Stupas at the monastery of Takht-i-Bahi is the site of two small (4', 6" square) stupa bases and a large (21' square) stupa, all in a state of remarkable preservation at the time of their discovery and conspicuous for their ornate decoration in stucco. Only the frieze on the south side of the base was preserved to the height of 4' and featured nine panels separated by Corinthian pilasters, supported by a plinth and surmounted by a cornice. Each of these panels featured a Buddha image in dhyana mudra except for the central panel that held a representation of the tutelary couple (identified by Hargreaves as Kubera and Hariti) also modeled in stucco in high relief.

Hargreaves documented the images in situ in 1910-1911. At that time, he wrote, "They are shown seated in European fashion (sic) side by side, on a low throne, the female to the proper left. The right hand of the god rests on his thigh, while the left grasps a money bag, the left elbow resting in a natural and familiar attitude on the right shoulder of his consort who bears in both hands a cornucopiae (sic) by her left side. The god is clad in a short garment terminating just above the bare knees. Over this is a sleeveless robe which covering the upper part of the body and held at the waist by a girdle, falls as a second and shorter shirt almost to the edge of the undervestment. The arms are bare save at the shoulders where short frilled sleeves of some undergarment are seen under the edge of the uppermost robe. On each wrist is a bracelet and round the neck a jeweled torque, the upper garment being caught near the right breast by a large circular brooch-like ornament. The hair is elaborately treated showing below a fillet a ring of spiral curls covering the forehead, while above is a *krobulos*-like top-knot. The feet are clad in buskins reaching to the middle of the calf. The right foot appears to have rested on a footstool, the left, slightly raised, resting against the front of the throne, The face is turned towards the female who is clothed in well-draped garments falling to the feet. A short tight-fitting bodice terminating just below the well-developed breast covers the upper part of the body. The gracefully curled hair is dressed high above the forehead and shows in front a circular star-like ornament. The cornucopia is held on her left, the

lower end which rests in the lap being grasped by the right hand, the left hand supporting it near the breast. Indications of a nimbus round the head of the female figure still exist and apparently the head of Kubera was similarly adorned. As to the identification of this figure as Kubera, there can be little doubt; for the money-bag is obviously the attribute of the god of wealth. His consort, be she called Hariti or not, is undoubtedly a goddess of fertility."<sup>19</sup>

The stucco ornamentation of the stupas in Court of the Three Stupas, including the image of the tutelary couple, could not be adequately preserved on-site and is no longer extant.

74. Tutelary couple with cornucopia (fig. 126).

Varia (Swat). First to third century C.E.

Soapstone. H. 17 cm.

Saidu Sharif, Archaeological Museum of Swat (V. 1017)

Reproduced: Author's photo.

The tutelary pair is seated in palambapadasana; each has a halo and is dressed in Hellenistic garb. The male figure is missing his face, right arm from the elbow, and right leg. He is dressed in a long-sleeved (?), knee-length tunic with gathered or pleated skirt. He wears knee-high boots with the tops folded over in triangular flaps. He rests his left elbow on his partner's right shoulder and holds a small round object (a bag of money?) in his left hand. Nothing remains to confirm his other attribute, a staff or spear, but this is not contraindicated. In fact, the position of his right arm is consistent with similar pieces while a small residual piece on the base near the inside of his left foot might be the terminal tip.

His consort wears an ankle-length chiton, clasped at each shoulder and gathered high under the breasts. A braided laurel wreath sits high on her head; her hair is in curls over the forehead and then pulled back over her ears. She wears earrings, a long single strand of beads with a center amulet and large ankle bracelets. Her feet are bare. Her right hand rests on her consort's left thigh. She holds a cornucopia whose upper portion is missing; the terminal point simulates the head of an animal.

The outer legs of the double throne still survive and appear as turned or carved wood. The feet of the two deities rest on a base that consists of pots of money turned on their sides in sets of two and laid base to base. Schematic circles between two center-facing rims represent coins. Two small headless figures, one at each extreme side, straddle the outermost pots, holding onto the rims.

75. Tutelary couple with attendant (fig. 127).

Nimogram (Swat). Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 23 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 421.

This interesting piece initially appears to be configured as a triad, due to the relatively prominent size and stature of the female donor figure on the right, but is actually a representation of a nimbate tutelary couple with cornucopia. The provenance of Nimogram in Swat is supported by the ornate decorative surfaces and the level of detail

on the base, the footrests and the back of the high throne. The arrangement of the figures has resulted in the central positioning of the female deity who holds a cornucopia and an open flower. She wears a flared calathos-style headdress. The male figure wears a knee-length tunic but both hands are damaged and he has no surviving attributes.

76. Tutelary couple with money bag, staff and cornucopia (fig. 128).

Sahri-Bahlol. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 8 5/8".

Peshawar Museum (78M).

Reproduced: Author's photo.

The two figures are nimbate. The male deity's left knee is raised with foot suspended as though resting on an unseen footstool. He holds up a bag of money in his left hand. In his damaged right hand, he holds a thick staff or spear with broken finial. He wears a long-sleeved tunic with a cape hung loosely around his neck and clasped just below his right shoulder. His leather greaves are topped by a wide decorative band. He is clean-shaven, his hair is short with curls around the forehead and a topknot at the top back of his head.

The headless female deity sits with knees apart and feet flat on the base, the tips of her feet protruding from below the flared hem of her garment. Her dress is high-waisted and long-sleeved. The fabric of the bodice spirals over her left breast. Her right hand rests on her consort's knee; with her left she holds an elongated cornucopia decorated with a spiraling pattern of lines and dots. It opens with a narrow roll and contains four large, round fruit.

The rectangular base of the sculpture on which the couple directly rest their feet is inset with a simple design in low relief of two pots tipped onto their sides with an outpouring of round coins.

Ingholt's photo shows the condition of the sculpture prior to subsequent damage: the staff held by the male deity is shown complete - topped by a knobbed finial.<sup>20</sup> Compare the whirlpool pattern of the female deity's dress bodice with fig 48-49, 105, 112, 113. This design innovation may derive from the frequent depictions of the Goddess of Abundance that depict her chiton as dropping off a shoulder with one breast exposed, resulting in an asymmetrically wrapping of the fabric. K. Walton Dobbins discusses this pattern as being unique to Hatran art as well as stylistic details in sleeve treatments and forked drapery folds (he uses the Skarah Dheri Hariti as an example - see figure 78, cat. 9).<sup>21</sup>

77. Tutelary couple with money bag, staff and cornucopia (fig. 129).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 6".

Peshawar Museum (686M).

Reproduced: Author's photo.

The tutelary pair are seated, nimbate, with faces turned towards each other. The male figure wears a long-sleeved, knee-length tunic with a corded hem, a bordered band of decoration running vertically down the chest and a beaded neckline. He wears a cloth cap set back on his head, and his hair is cut evenly around the face and longer in the



back like a helmet. His left knee is bent and raised high, the tip of the left foot in contact with a small heap of coins. He rests his elbow on his consort's shoulder, holding a bag of money in his hand at chest level. With his right hand, he grasps a staff topped with a finial of leaves and festooned with streaming ribbons.

The female deity wears a long-sleeved, knee-length dress with a tight bodice and a full skirt trimmed with borders that parallel the hem. A double-strand of beads with an amulet or pendant hangs between her breasts. The curved tip of a cornucopia rests on her raised left knee and is supported by her left hand. Her left foot rests on a small pile of coins.

78. Tutelary couple (fig. 130).

Jamalgarhi. Date unknown.

Schist. H. 10 1/4".

Peshawar Museum (1962).

Reproduced: Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 343.

This seated, nimbate tutelary couple, both badly damaged, appear to conform to the Hellenistic form of the tutelary couple. The male figure is slim with a toga or cape fastened over his right shoulder. The female figure wears round earrings, a long gown with form-fitting bodice, and a drape hanging diagonally from her left knee to ground. At the feet of the pair, overturned pots of coins (Ingholt describes these as two large moneybags)<sup>22</sup> spill out onto the ground. Two small figures emerge - head, shoulders and upper torsos - from the mound of scattered coins.

79. Tutelary couple (fig. 131).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Fine-grained gray schist. H. 6-7".

Peshawar Museum (3016).

Reproduced: Author's photo.

The seated deities are nimbate, their haloes adorned with a simple incised outline, though badly abraded. The male deity wears a belted tunic with pleated skirt and long sleeves; a cape or toga is fastened at his shoulder with a circular clasp. His right hand holds a staff (now missing). His left foot rests on a footstool, the right foot placed directly on the sculpture base.

The female deity sits in palambapadasana. She is full-faced, smiling, with lidded eyes. She wears a wreath with a modius, a simple flat, circular necklace and a single round bracelet on her right wrist. Her garment is a full-length chiton fastened with a circular clasp at each shoulder. She cradles a cornucopia in her left arm; it terminates in an animal head in her lap.

Both footrests have a simple rectangular inset of a horizontal row of circles, representing coins. A third figure whose head and upper torso appear between the heads of the tutelary couple is too badly damaged to identify but suggests a yaksha.

## 80. Tutelary couple with cornucopia (fig. 132).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. H. 18 cm.

Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde.

Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 388.

This badly damaged example of the Gandharan tutelary couple follows the standard configuration and iconography for the pair. The female figure wears a modius and holds an elongated cornucopia with an ornate surface design and wide decorative band around the rim. The male deity holds a spear or staff with ribbon decoration. The plinth-base of the piece is faced with a zigzag pattern.

## 81. Tutelary couple with child and cornucopia (fig. 133).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Stone. H. 20 cm.

Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde.

Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 386.

The tutelary couple is combined with a child in this hybrid representation. Other attributes and details are consistent with the Pharro-Ardokhsho form of these deities. The deep base is covered with a scallop motif to represent the material treasure associated with the gods of wealth and abundance.

## 82. Tutelary couple with cornucopia (fig. 134).

Charsada (?). Date unknown.

Schist. H. 17 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Reproduced: Hallade, fig. 70.

This tutelary pair follows the model of the Pharro-Ardokhsho type in seated pose. The clean-shaven male figure holds the typical attributes of staff and purse. The female deity holds an oversized cornucopia that terminates in a horned animal head. She wears a narrow braided laurel wreath surmounted by a cylindrical hat of the modius type. Her consort wears a military tunic and toga or cape; his legs are bare. Below their seat is a schematic pattern of concentric circles representing heaps of coins. A decorative band across the bottom plinth repeats the motif alternately with a dart pattern.

## 83. Tutelary couple with cornucopia (fig. 135).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 22.9 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1933.11-10.45). Gift of the Royal Artillery Institute.

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 96.

The tutelary couple sit together on a bench with ornamental turned legs and a high back with a carved upper border. The head of the male deity is encircled by a damaged halo; his hair hangs in long strands over his shoulders and he wears a fillet. He is dressed in a

tunic with long sleeves decorated with ornamental gathers, a belt of circular medallions and a pleated skirt. A cape or cloak is loosely draped around his neck and fastened with a large circular medallion over his right shoulder. He wears greaves with the tops folded over; both feet rest on the plinth of the base over a rectangle-shaped inset framing a row of large disks. His left arm rests on his consort's shoulder.

The female deity is headless. She wears a chiton clasped between the breasts and at each shoulder. She rests her left foot on a low footstool, and she carries a cornucopia decorated with an overall diamond pattern and terminating in her lap with the head of a horned animal.

This couple is characteristic of the Pharro-Ardokhsho form of the tutelary couple who signify wealth, fecundity and the prosperity of the realm. The pattern of disks in the plinth under the feet of the male deity is another variation on the pots of coins and material treasures implicitly promised by the God and Goddess of Abundance.

84. Tutelary couple with cornucopia (fig. 136).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 21 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1946.7-22.3).

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 97.

This example of the tutelary couple follows a near-identical formula to the one above except for the motif of the overturned jars of coins on which the tutelary couple rest their feet. The two pots rest horizontally on their sides, base-to-base, with a mound of coins pouring out of their openings to either side. There is a wide degree of variation in representing the conception of wealth associated with the tutelary couple. It is interesting that although this is a standard element in their iconography, every manner of innovation is dedicated to the expression of this singular idea.

85. Tutelary couple with cornucopia and staff (fig. 137).

Taxila (?). Ca. fourth century C.E.

Gold repoussé; h; 3.6 cm; w: 4.4 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 10-1948). Formerly Col. D.H. Gordon Collection.

Reproduced: Errington and Cribb, fig. 144.

This rectangular plaque of gold shows a seated, nimbate couple within a beaded frame. The male figure holds a staff with an embellished pommel; his cape or toga is fastened with a large round clasp over his left shoulder. The female deity holds a long-stemmed lotus in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left arm.

The position of the two figures is reversed from the usual arrangement and it has been suggested that the maker copied the design onto the die without inverting it, although this does not account for the cornucopia correctly placed at the goddess' proper left side.<sup>23</sup>

86. Tutelary couple without attributes (fig. 138).

Swat. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 23.1 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1904.12-17.7).

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig. 100.

The male and female deities sit together on a double throne, each with a small footstool decorated with a sawtooth pattern. He is dressed in a dhoti and crested turban; she wears a long-sleeved dress or tunic with ornamental gathering along the length of the sleeves. She turns her body towards her consort and raises her hands in anjali mudra.

The Indianized garments classify this image in the Panchika-Hariti group, even lacking the child attribute that is the standard iconography for this form.

87. Tutelary couple with kylix (fig. 139).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Schist. Dimensions unavailable.

Paris, Musée Guimet (18917).

Reproduced: Tissot, *Art of Gandhara*, fig. 140.

The headless male figure wears a belted military tunic with pleated skirt and a toga or cape clasped at his right shoulder. His legs are bare but for leather greaves. He grasps the handle of a kylix-type of drinking cup in his right hand and rests his left elbow on his consort's shoulder. She wears a chiton and modius with an ornament in her hair above the forehead. She holds the bottom half of a cornucopia in her left arm; it terminates in her lap with the head of a horned animal and is covered in diamond-shaped scales in the form of acanthus leaves. A small child stands between the pair and reaches up to his mother's knee. A fragment of another figure (yaksha?) may be seen on the left bottom corner by the feet of the male figure; a third figure (yaksha?), badly broken, stands between the heads of the couple. Their feet are placed on raised footrests ornamented with circle forms suggesting coin imagery.

This image is best compared to the schist sculpture of the tutelary couple from Takht-i-Bahi, now in the British Museum, (figure 66, cat. 72) in that it combines the Pharro and Ardokhsho form and iconography of the tutelary couple with the child-attributes of Hariti and Panchika. Other stylistic and compositional elements suggest an iconographic relationship, in particular, the distinctive form and decoration of the cornucopia, the type of drinking vessel held by her consort, the identical pose of the small child as he clings to the leg of the goddess, and the yaksha figure who pours out the contents of the vessel of abundance on which the deities rest their feet.

88. Tutelary couple with spear and club (fig. 140).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 13 cm.

Japan, private collection.

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 504.

This unusual piece shows the youthful, clean-shaven male figure with nude torso and draped himation (?) in the style of the Hellenized divine couple; however, he and his

consort are seated together on a throne. He leans on a long, irregular club on which he rests one foot. His consort is nimbate and wears a chiton clasped at the right shoulder. She is positioned facing him, and she is the one to hold a spear between them.

89. Royal or tutelary couple (fig. 141).

Ramora (Chakdara, Swat). Fourth century C.E.

Green phyllite. Dimensions unavailable.

Location unavailable.

Reproduced: Dani, "Excavations at Andandheri and Chatpat," plate no.29 (a).

This sculpture was recovered while clearing debris from a robbed stupa at this site. Although there are no surviving attributes that might help in the identification of this piece, the pose simulates that of the tutelary deity with cornucopia or children. The couple is enthroned with twin footrests. The male figure, missing his head, wears necklaces and is bare-chested; he wears a drape or dhoti below his hips and sits with knees apart and ankles crossed. The female figure raised her right hand in abhaya mudra, wears a Parthian-style, long-sleeved dress and jewelry, including double ankle bangles. Between the heads of the two primary figures appears the face of a third figure that may be female. Although this may be intended to represent an attendant, the configuration resembles the standard formulas of Hariti and Panchika and the tutelary couple that include a curious yaksha figure positioned between the primary couple.

90. Divine couple with child and fruit (fig. 70).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Gray schist. H. 24 cm.

Location unknown. (Formerly Pakistan, private collection).

Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 497.

This beautiful work effectively combines various iconographic elements signifying the divine, fecund couple. The child at the female deity's breast and the cluster of grapes she holds impart a message of abundance and plenty. The exposed male holds a handled cup (?) in his lowered right hand and is crowned in a laurel garland. They are surmounted by vegetation in the form of leaves, vines and branches.

91. Divine couple under a flowering tree (fig. 142).

Provenance unknown. Date unknown.

Schist. H. 19.4 cm.

London, British Museum (OA 1939.I-19.18).

Reproduced: Zwalf, fig.101.

The couple stand under the heavy flowers and foliage of a tree, the female on the left and male on right. The female figure wears a long-sleeved tunic over a longer garment and a tiara surmounted by a low polos-style headpiece. She reaches across with her left arm to offer an unidentifiable object to her consort. The male figure is youthful and clean-shaven with wavy strands of hair. He is almost completely nude other than a himation that he wears draped low in front to reveal his genitals.

This male figure type closely resembles one of the forms of the Gandharan Vajrapani (the more common form represents Vajrapani as a Brahman or Herakles). Other variations on the divine couple show a wine cup attribute and suggest a bacchanalian theme.

92. Divine couple with child (fig. 143).  
Provenance unknown. Date unknown.  
Schist. H. 25 cm.  
Calcutta Museum.  
Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 500.

This version of the divine couple displays a mix of conventional iconographic elements for this form. The deities stand under a canopy of tree branches with a small, naked child between them. The chiton-garbed female offers a large unidentified object to her consort. He is draped with a himation, his body fully exposed. A small figure crouches on the right, possibly another child or a yaksha figure.

93. Divine couple with children (fig. 144).  
Koi-Tangai. Date unknown.  
Stone. Dimensions unavailable.  
Calcutta Museum.  
Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 380.

This sculpture is reduced in its components but reflects the configuration and basic iconography of the standing, Hellenized divine couple. The poor reproduction is a deterrent to a comprehensive iconographic examination.

94. Divine couple (fig. 145).  
Koi-Tangai. Date unknown.  
Stone. Dimensions unavailable.  
Calcutta Museum.  
Reproduced: Foucher, *AGBG*, fig. 381.

The divine couple stands together under a tree. The head of the exposed male is missing and he holds no attributes. The female deity in chiton is also headless and armless. There are no children, standing or carried.

95. Divine couple with yaksha (?) (fig. 146).  
Provenance unknown. Date unknown.  
Gray schist. Dimensions unavailable.  
Pakistan, private collection.  
Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 502.

The divine couple stands under a tree on an ornamental plinth with a running zigzag (sawtooth) pattern. Their hands touch as though an object is being exchanged. A small

headless child perches on the goddess' right shoulder and touches her hair. Between them a yaksha figure squats, face-upturned. The male figure wears a himation draped low on his thighs and is bearded with a full head of curly hair in the manner of a Herakles or a Vajrapani.

96. Divine couple with bowl (fig. 147).  
Provenance unknown. Date unknown.  
Gray schist. H. 24 cm.  
Japan, private collection.  
Reproduced: Kurita, fig. 566.

This sculpture is actually in the form of a relief image rather than a devotional icon. The scene is inset within a rectangular space. The two figures appear to represent the divine couple due to their proximity to the tree and the bowl or cup they appear to share. The male figure is bearded in the manner of a Vajrapani and wears a low, draped himation that exposes his torso. The female figure wears a wreath of leaves and a chiton. The tree may actually represent a grapevine by virtue of the clusters hanging from its branches. The similarity of this scene and other configurations of the divine couple to scenes portraying an overt bacchanalian theme and content suggests that this distinction is not always clear.

97. Divine couple with child, amphora and kylix (fig. 148).  
Hadda. Date unknown.  
Stone. H. 6.5".  
Location unavailable.  
Reproduced: Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 31, fig. 49.

Similar in form to the image discussed above (cat. 96), this panel with a bacchanalian scene in high relief includes musicians playing instruments as well as a couple holding wine vessels. The chiton-clad female figure holds a cluster of grapes in her right hand over the head of a small naked child who stands by her side. In her left arm, she raises an amphora. The male figure at her left wears a draped himation with an exposed torso and holds a kylix by the two handles. This scene may be intended to represent the divine couple or may have simply appropriated some of the imagery and the basic compositional arrangement associated with some of those images. The blended iconography of the divine couple with elements from the popular bacchanalian processional scenes precludes classification. The question of iconic versus narrative is another consideration.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The reader is again cautioned to remember the caveats frequently addressed throughout the thesis regarding the reliability of archaeological records prior to the late twentieth century.
- <sup>2</sup> A vestigial reference to Indian yakshi iconography?
- <sup>3</sup> The disregard for gravity in the falling folds of garments is frequent phenomenon of Gandharan sculptural style. See figure 65 for another example in the figure of Panchika.
- <sup>4</sup> Although not in situ at the time of excavation, it may be speculated that the Arodokhsho-Hariti panel from Shnaisha Gumbat fits within the dimensions appropriate to a stair-riser panel (see figures 40-43, cat. 23).
- <sup>5</sup> As discussed by Dobbins in "Gandhara Buddha Images with Inscribed Dates," *East and West* 18 (1968): 281-288.
- <sup>6</sup> R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathura* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1984), 67, 165, fig. 4.
- <sup>7</sup> Abdur Rahman, "Shnaisha Gumbat: First Preliminary Excavation Report," *Ancient Pakistan* VIII (1993): 1-124 (Pl.XXXVIIIa, p. 92).
- <sup>8</sup> It is very likely that this cornucopia goddess is currently housed in the Archaeological Museum of Swat in Saidu Sharif. I examined an identical image in Reserve Storage Facility that was identified by Museum Curators as excavated by the Italian Mission. The Curators believed it had not been published and consequently no photography was permitted.
- <sup>9</sup> The flat quality and curious silhouette of this cornucopia suggests a resemblance to the cluster of palm leaves or peacock leaves often carried by female figures in narrative reliefs.
- <sup>10</sup> Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the Northwest of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan*, 272.
- <sup>11</sup> The open lotus design on the reverse of this pendant is strikingly similar to the lotus pattern worked into the base of the Bamiyan reliquary. In both examples, the lotus is represented with an inner and an outer row of petals; each curving to a point with an embossed outline. The center circle is filled with dots to represent stamen. See Errington and Cribbs, *Crossroads*, 189, fig. 191.
- <sup>12</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 85-86, 89-91.
- <sup>13</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 55.
- <sup>14</sup> Traces of a spear shaft remain along the surface of the drapery at the inside of his left leg.
- <sup>15</sup> Francine Tissot, *The Art of Gandhâra: Buddhist Monks' Art, on the North-West Frontier of Pakistan*, 11.
- <sup>16</sup> The provenance designated as Kafir-kot has been shown to be problematic in Gandharan archaeological records of the nineteenth century and has been contradicted in other sources. In Zwalf, *Catalogue*, 27.



<sup>17</sup> Ingholt gives the Peshawar Museum accession number as 1416 for this piece.

<sup>18</sup> Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, 147.

<sup>19</sup> Sehrai, *Guide to Takht-i-Bahi*, 74-75.

<sup>20</sup> Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 345.

<sup>21</sup> Dobbins, "A Note on the Hariti Image from Skarah Dheri, Year 399," *East and West* 17 (1967): 269.

<sup>22</sup> Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, 147.

<sup>23</sup> Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads*, 144.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aryasura, *Once the Buddha was a Monkey: Arya Sura's Jatakamala*. Trans. Peter Khoroché. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Ashvaghosha. "The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha." Trans. E. B. Cowell. In *Buddhist Mahayana Texts*, ed. E. B. Cowell, part I, 1-206. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894; first published as Volume XLIX of *The Sacred Books of the East*; republished, New York: Dover Publishing, 1969 (page citations to the 1969 edition).
- Babb, Lawrence. "Marriage and Malevolence: the Uses of Sexual Opposition in a Hindu Pantheon." *Ethnology* 9:2 (1973): 137-148.
- Bachhofer, Ludwig. "Pancika und Hariti - Faro und Ardoxsho." *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 13 (1937): 6-15.
- Basham, A. L. "'The Greater Vehicle' of Mahayana Buddhism." In *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China and Japan*, ed. William Theodore de Bary, 72-109. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jainism and Buddhism." In *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 2d. ed., vol.1, ed. Ainslie T. Embree, 45-47. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Baumer, Christopher. *Southern Silk Route: In the Footsteps of Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000.
- Bosler, Michael. "Vajrapani Imagery in the Art of Gandhara." Master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990.
- Brown, Robert L. "The Emaciated Gandharan Buddha Images: Asceticism, Health, and the Body." In *Living a Life in Accord with Dhamma: Papers in Honor of Professor Jean Boisselier on his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Natasha Eilenberg and Robert L. Brown, 105-115. Bangkok: Silpakorn University Press, 1997.
- Brubaker, Richard. "The Ambivalent Mistress: a Study of South Indian Village Goddesses and Their Religious Meaning." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1978.
- Burgess, James. *The Ancient Monuments, Temples, and Sculptures of India*. London: W. Griggs, 1897.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Gandharan Sculptures*. London: W. Griggs, 1899.
- Bussagli, Mario. *Central Asian Painting*. New York: Rizzoli Intl. Publications, 1979.

- Callieri, Pierfrancesco and Domenico Faccenna. *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*. Rome: IsMEO, 1989.
- Callieri, Pierfrancesco, Paolo Brocato, Anna Filigenzi, Mauro Nascari, and Luca Maria Olivieri. *Bir-kot-ghwandai 1990-1992: a Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO*. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Seals and Sealings from the North-west of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4<sup>th</sup> century BC - 11<sup>th</sup> century AD): Local, Indian, Sassanian, Graeco-Persian, Sogdian, Roman*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1997.
- Carter, John Ross and Mahinda Palihawadana, eds. *Dhammapada: a new English translation with the Pali text, and for the first time an English translation of the commentary's explanation of the verses with notes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Carter, Martha Linick. "Dionysiac Aspects of Kushan Art." *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968): 121-146.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Study of Dionysiac Imagery in Kushan Art." Ph.D diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Gandharan Blessing." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 1 (1987): 45-63.
- Chandra, Moti. *Stone Sculpture in the Prince of Wales Museum*. Bombay: Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1974.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda. *La Sculpture de Bharhut*. Trans. Jean Buhot. Paris: Vanoest, Editions d'art et d'histoire, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yaksas, Part 1 and Part II*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1971; reprint of the 1928-31 Washington edition.
- Cribb, Joe. "Numismatic Perspectives on Chronology in the Crossroads of Asia." In *Gandharan Art in Context*, ed. Raymond Allchin, Bridget Allchin, Neil Kreitman, and Elizabeth Errington, 215-230. New Delhi: Regency Publications for the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, 1997.
- Czuma, Stanislaw J. *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*. Cleveland: Museum of Art, 1985.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan. "Shaikhan Dheri Excavations: 1963 and 1964 Seasons (In Search of the Second City of Pushkalavati)." *Ancient Pakistan* 2 (1965-66): 17-214.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Excavations at Andandheri and Chatpat." *Ancient Pakistan* 4 (1968-69): 1-102.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *Chilas: the City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)*. Islamabad, by the author, 1983.
- Davidson, J. LeRoy. "Mithuna Couple from Gandhara." *Artibus Asiae* 16 (1953): 254-257.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Art of the Indian Subcontinent from Los Angeles Collections*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press for the UCLA Art Council and UCLA Art Galleries, 1968.
- Demiéville, Paul, Hubert Durt, and Anna Seidel, eds. *Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais: Édition de Taisho*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1978.
- Dehejia, Vidya. "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art." *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 374-392.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems." *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 45-66.
- Dekhan, A. "The Relationship of the Kushan and the Parthian Empire." In *Proceedings of the International Conference on History, Archeology, and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period held in Dushanbe September 27–October 6, 1968*, 113-117. Moscow: Nauka, 1974.
- Dobbins, K. Walton. *The Stupa and Vihara of Kanishka I*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Note on the Hariti Image from Skarah Dheri, Year 399." *East and West* 17 (1967): 268-272.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Two Gandharan Reliquaries." *East and West* 18 (1968): 151-162.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gandhara Buddha Images with Inscribed Dates." *East and West* 18 (1968): 281-288.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gandharan Art from Stratified Excavations." *East and West* 23 (1973): 279-294.
- Errington, Elizabeth. "Documents Related to the So-called Athena of the Lahore Museum." *Lahore Museum Bulletin* 3, no.1 (1990): 19-28.
- Errington, Elizabeth and Joe Cribb, ed. *Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*. Cambridge: The Ancient India and Iran Trust, 1992.
- Fabrégues, Chantal. "The Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhara Sculpture." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 1 (1987): 33-43.
- Faccenna, Domenico. *A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan) 1956-1962*. Rome: Department of Archaeology of Pakistan and IsMEO, 1964.

- Faccenna, Domenico. *Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan) 1956-1962*. Rome: IsMEO, 1981.
- Fausböll, V., ed. *Buddhist Birth Stories; or, Jataka Tales*. Trans. Thomas William Rhys Davids. New York: Arno Press, 1977; reprint of the 1880 ed. published by Trübner, London, in series: Trübner's oriental series.
- Fisher, Robert E. *Buddhist Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.
- Foucher, A. *Les Bas-Reliefs du Stupa de Sikri (Gandhâra)*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara: a Commentary on a Chapter of Hiuan Tsang*. Trans. H. Hargreaves. Pilkhana, Sonarpur, Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Tutelary Pair in Gaul and India." In *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art: and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*. Trans. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas, 139-146. Paris: Paul Guethner, 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Great Miracle." In *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*. Trans. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas, 147-184. Paris: Paul Guethner, 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Buddhist Madonna." In *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art: and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*. Trans. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas, 271-291. Paris: Paul Guethner, 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *L'Art Gréco-Bouddique du Gandhâra*. Tome 2. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1922.
- Frédéric, Louis. *Flammarion Iconographic Guides: Buddhism*. Paris, New York: Flammarion, 1995.
- Fussman, Gerard. "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art." In *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin in May 1986*. Ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo, 67-88. Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst, 1987.
- Getty, Alice. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History and Iconography*, 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press for Oxford University Press, 1928; republished, New York: Dover Publications, 1988.
- Ghirshman, Roman. *Bégram: recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*. Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Persian Art: the Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 BC - AD 651*. New York: Golden Press, 1962.

- Gnoli, Gherardo. "The Tyche and Dioscuri in Ancient Sculptures from the Valley of Swat." *East and West* 14 (Mar-June 1963): 29-37.
- Gordon, Major D. H. "The Mother-Goddess of Gandhara." *Antiquity* 11 (March 1937): 70-79.
- Hallade, Madeleine. *Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968.
- Hargreaves, H. *Gandharan Sculpture*. Delhi: Mayur Publications, 1986; reprint of the 1928 edition.
- Harper, Edward B. "Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Caste and Religion." *Journal of Asian Studies* 23 (June 1964): 151-197.
- Harper, Katherine Anne. *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas: Seven Hindu Goddesses of Transformation*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.
- Härtel, Herbert. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982.
- Higuchi, Takayasu. *Pakisutan Gandara Bijutsu ten (Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan)*. Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Kyokai, 1984.
- Hopkins, E. Washburn. *Epic Mythology*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915.
- Huntington, Susan L. *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Early Buddhist Art and the Theory of Aniconism." *Art Journal* 49 (1990): 401-408.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems: Another Look." *Ars Orientalis* 22 (1992): 111-156.
- Hurvitz, Leon, trans. *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (from the Chinese of Kumarajiva)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Ingholt, Harald and Islay Lyons. *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1957.
- Ingholt, Harald. "Parthian Sculptures from Hatra." *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 12 (1954): 5-55.
- "IsMEO Activities." *East and West* 14 (Sept/Dec 1963): 287-289.
- Jan, A. Waheed. *Taxila: Story in Stone*. Rawalpindi, WJ Classics, 1997.

- Jayawickrama, N. A., trans. *The Story of Gotama Buddha (Jataka-nidana)*. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990.
- Kempe, D. R. C. "Nature and Source of the Gandhara Sculptural Schist." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 9 (1982): 25-28.
- Khan, F. A. *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan: Prehistoric, Protohistoric, Buddhist and Hindu Periods*. Karachi: Elite Publishers Ltd., 1969.
- Khan, Makin. *Gandhara Art: Origin and Development in Uddiyana, Pakistan*. Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum, 1999.
- Khan, Mohammed Ashraf. *Gandhara Sculptures in the Swat Museum*. Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Buddhist Shrines in Swat*. Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum, 1993.
- Kloppenber, Rita. "Female Stereotypes in Early Buddhism." In *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions*, ed. Rita Kloppenberg and Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 151-169. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995.
- Kumar, Baldev. *The Early Kusanas*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Ltd., 1973.
- Kurita, Isao. *Gandhara Bijutsu (Gandhara Art)*. Tokyo: Nigensha, 1988.
- Kuwayama, Shoshin. "The Buddha's Begging Bowl in Gandhara and Relevant Problems." *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in Venice*, ed. Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri, 945-978. Rome: IsMEO, 1990.
- Legge, James, trans. *A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms: being an Account by the Chinese monk Fâ-hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in search of the Buddhist books of Discipline*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886; unabridged republication, New York: Dover Publications, 1965 (page citations are to the reprint edition).
- Marshall, Sir John. *Taxila. An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934*. Volume I-III. Cambridge: University Press, 1951.
- Marshall, Sir John. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara: The Story of the Early School, its Birth, Growth and Decline*. Cambridge, England: University Press for the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan, 1960.
- Middleton, Andrew P. and Anna J. Gill. "Technical Examination and Conservation of the Stucco Sculpture." In *A Catalogue of the Gandharan Sculpture in the British Museum*, ed. Wladimir Zwalf, 363-368. London: for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1996.

- Misra, Ram Nath. *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*. New Delhi: Nunshiram Monoharlal Publishers, 1981.
- Mukherjee, Bratindra Nath. *Nana on Lion*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1969.
- Murray, Julia K. "Representations of Hariti, the Mother of Demons, and the Theme of "Raising the Almsbowl" in Chinese Painting." *Artibus Asiae* 43 (1981-82): 253-268.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Buddhism and Early Narrative Illustration in China." *Archives of Asian Art* 48 (1995): 17-31.
- Nagar, Sarla D. *Gandharan Sculpture: a Catalogue of the Collection in the Museum of Art and Archaeology*. Columbia, Missouri: Museum of Art and Archaeology, 1981.
- Nehru, Lolita. *Origins of the Gandharan Style: a Study of Contributory Influences*. Oxford: University Press, 1989.
- Newman, Richard. *The Stone Sculpture of India: a Study of the Materials Used by Indian Sculptors from ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard University Art Museums, 1984.
- O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. *Hindu Myths*. London, New York: Penguin Books, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tales of Sex and Violence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Pal, Pratapaditya. *Indian Sculpture: a Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection*. Los Angeles: L.A. County Museum of Art in association with the University of California Press, Berkeley, 1986.
- Paul, Pran Gopal. *Early Sculpture of Kashmir (Before the middle of the Eighth Century A.D.)*. Leiden: Sneldruk Enschede, 1986.
- Peri, Noël. "Hariti la mère-de-démons." *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* (1917): 1-102.
- Pintchman, Tracy. *The Rise of the Goddess in the Hindu Tradition*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Przyluski, Jean. "The Great Goddess in India and Iran." *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 10 (Sept 1934): 405-430.
- Puri, B. N. *India Under the Kushanas*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965.



- Rahman, Abdur. "Shnaisha Gumbat: First Preliminary Excavation Report." *Ancient Pakistan* 8 (1993): 1-124.
- Reedy, Chandra. "Petrographic Analysis of Gandhara Stone Sculptures," in *Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*, ed. Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb, 264-277. Cambridge: The Ancient India and Iran Trust, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Technical Studies of Gandharan Art." In *Gandharan Art in Context: East-west Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. Raymond Allchin, Bridget Allchin, Neil Kreitman, and Elizabeth Errington, 268-283. New Delhi: Regency Publications for the Ancient India and Iran Trust (Cambridge), 1997.
- Reynolds, Frank E. and Charles Hallisey. "The Buddha." In *Buddhism and Asian History*, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Mark C. Cummings, 29-49. New York: McMillan Publishing, 1989.
- Rhi, Ju-hyung. "Gandharan images of the Sravasti Miracle: An Iconographic Reassessment." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991.
- Rhie, Marilyn Martin. *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, Volume 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999.
- Rhys Davids, Caroline A. F. and K. R. Norman, trans. *Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns (Therigatha)*. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1989.
- Robinson, Richard H. and Willard L. Johnson. *The Buddhist Religion: a Historical Introduction*, 3d. ed.. Belmont (California): Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982.
- Rosenfield, John M. *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley, New York: University of California Press, 1967.
- Rowland, Jr., Benjamin. *Gandharan Sculpture from Pakistan Museums*. New York: Asia Society, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Tyche of Hadda." *Oriental Art* 12 (Autumn 1966): 183-189.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Art in Afghanistan: Objects from the Kabul Museum*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971.
- Schlumberger, Daniel. "Surkh Kotal: a Late Hellenistic Temple in Bactria." *Archaeology* 6 (1953): 232-238.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Surkh Kotal." *Antiquity* 33 (1959): 81-86.
- Schopen, Gregory. "On Monks, Nuns, and "Vulgar Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism." In *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*, 238-257. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.

- Sehrai, Fidaullah. *A Guide to Takht-i-Bahi*. Peshawar: by the author, 1982.
- Shakur, M. A. *Gandhara Sculpture in Pakistan*. Bangkok: Seato Publications, 1963.
- Sharma, R. C. *Buddhist Art of Mathura*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1984.
- Silk Road Exposition. *The Grand Exhibition of Silk Road Civilizations*. Nara: Nara National Museum, 1988.
- Slusser, M. "Nepali Sculptures - New Discoveries." In *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers Presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, October, 1970*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal, 93-104. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.
- Sponberg, Alan. "Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism." In *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*, ed. Jose Ignacio Cabezon, 3-36. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992.
- Spooner, D. B. "Excavations at Sahribahlol." *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report (ASIAR) (1906-1907)*: 102-118.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Excavations at Sahribahlol." *ASIAR (1909-1910)*: 43-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi." *ASIAR (1907-08)*: 131-148.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Excavations at Shahji-ki-Dheri." *ASIAR (1908-09)*: 38-59.
- Stein, Sir M. Aurel. "Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol." *ASIAR. (1911-1912)*: 91-119.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts." *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (MASI) 42 (1930)*.
- Strong, John S. *The Experience of Buddhism: Sources and Interpretations*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995.
- Sutherland, Gail Hinich. *Disguises of the Demon: the Development of the Yaksha in Hinduism and Buddhism*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1991.
- Taddei, M. "Non-Buddhist Deities in Gandharan Art: Some New Evidence." In *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin in May 1986*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo, 349-362. Berlin: Museum fuer Indische Kunst, 1987.
- Thomas, F. W.. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935.
- Tissot, Francine. *The Art of Gandhâra: Buddhist Monks' art on the North-West Frontier of Pakistan*. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, 1986.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Site of Sahri-Bahlol in Gandhara, Pakistan: Further Investigations." *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in Venice*, ed. Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri, 737-764. Rome: ISMEO, 1990.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. "Swat Museum: Saidu Sharif." In *On Swat: Historical and Archaeological Notes*, 314-319. Rome: Istituto Italiano per L'Africa E L'Orient (IsMEO), 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat." In *On Swat: Historical and Archaeological Notes*, 61-86. Rome, IsMEO, 1997.
- Waddell, L. Austine. "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images, and Art: a Study in Buddhist Iconography, with Reference to the Guardian Gods of the World and Hariti, The Buddhist Madonna." *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*, 3d. ser., 33 (January 1912): 104-160.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Buddhism of Tibet; or, Lamaism*, 2d ed. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons Limited, 1971; reprint of 1939 edition.
- Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer. *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan: an Archaeological Outline*. London, Christopher Johnson Ltd., 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Charsada: a Metropolis of the North-West Frontier: Being a Report on the Excavations of 1958*. Oxford: University Press for the Government of Pakistan and the British Academy, 1962.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. "The Female Body as a Source of Horror and Insight in Post-Asokan Indian Buddhism." In *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, ed. Jane Marie Law, 76-99. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Wilson, Liz. *Charming Cadavers: Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Wright, Arthur. *Buddhism in Chinese History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- Xuanzang. *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 692)*, popular edition: two volumes in one. Translated by Samuel Beal. Trübners Oriental Series. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1884.
- Yijing. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)*. Trans. J. Takakusu. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishing, 1982.
- Zimmer, Heinrich, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A Catalogue of the Gandharan Sculpture in the British Museum*. London: for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1996.

