

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAITREYA IMAGE IN KUSHANA MATHURA

The present chapter concerns itself with the origin and development of Maitreya icon in Kushana Mathura school. The parallel development in Gandhara school will be dealt separately in the following chapter.

In the preceding chapter, we have already analysed the origin of Maitreya concept in India, implying that this was much before the images of the Buddha was made in anthropomorphic form, sometime around the beginning of the Christian era(1). We have enough evidence in sculptural tradition to prove the existence of the popular cult of Maitreya among the early Buddhist community, at least from the beginning of the Kushana period. It was simultaneously in Mathura and in Gandhara that the first images of Maitreya were created, more or less independently of each other(2). As is the case in the development of the iconographic program of the Buddha image, the Maitreya image from Mathura also owes much to the indigenous tradition of making Yaksha images for its inception, while the Gandhara image type developed with the influence received from the Hellenistic art. These two great centres of art of Kushana empire have created apparently distinctive features of Maitreya in both

stylistic and iconographical details. Due to the limited literary materials available, the study of Maitreya cult during Kushana period has to depend almost entirely upon the sculptural finds. Considering such a circumstance, it becomes a hard task to uncover the complex aspects of the Maitreya cult. Taking into account such limitations it is believed that a comprehensive study of the images may shed light on the problem.

So far, Maitreya images found in the region of Mathura reveal two variations; the earlier of the two is characterised by the combined features of both the Buddha and Bodhisattva, and the latter is a distinctly elaborate image type with a diadem on the head in combination with certain features of the first type. Both these are generally found in a row along with the Mānushi Buddhas, or on the pedestals of the Buddha statues. When the image is in the form of an independent statue, it is generally in the standing pose, while it is invariably in the seated pose when the deity is represented on the above mentioned secondary places. Around two dozen images from Mathura have been identified as that of Maitreya by earlier scholars. In the present study almost half of the earlier identification remains rectified and over a dozen of new images have been identified as representing Maitreya.

The present chapter is broadly divided into the following sections:

1. The combined image of the Buddha and Bodhisattva.

2. The images of celestial Maitreya.
3. The controversies in Maitreya iconography.

III-1. THE COMBINED IMAGE OF BUDDHA AND BODHISATTVA

The earliest typology of Maitreya icon from Mathura is characterized by three distinct features: firstly it has the characteristics of the Buddha images in the hair style and in the garments; secondly, it adopts the Bodhisattva ornamentation; and lastly, it holds a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. It is these principal characteristics which distinguish the images of this typology from the other. These images could be broadly categorized into two groups namely the standing and the seated images.

III-1-A. THE STANDING MAITREYA IMAGES

The standing Maitreya images of this typological group have the following characteristics:

- a) The top of the head has a small ushnisha which differs from that of the kapārdin type of snail shell.
- b) The presence of the hair style of small curls which has been considered as a developed type that followed the so-called shaven hair style of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva images.
- c) The presence of a small circular uṇṇa in between the

eyebrow.

- d) The large round halo with the scalloped border behind the head which emerges from the sides of the shoulders.
- e) The costume comprises of the dhoti, worn in a manner similar to the early Buddha/Bodhisattva images(3); the left arm and the shoulder covered with the fold of the drapery, the lower garment reaching below the knee and its hem resting on the left hand, the presence of waist band fastening the lower garment which terminates into a double knot to the right side and two fillets from the knot hanging down on the right thigh. A bunch of folds hang in between the slightly opened legs and touch the ground.
- f) The presence of elaborate ornaments comprising of big round earrings, necklaces (generally two in number) and a couple of bracelets and armlets.
- g) The right hand raised up to the shoulder level and display abhaya mudrā.
- h) The left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu by the index and the middle fingers.
- i) The bare feet without any sandals.
- j) In certain examples the presence of Yajñopavita, the sacred thread crossing from the left shoulder to the right side of the body.

The standing images of Maitreya are generally of the free standing type, carved almost in a three-dimensional manner. The most striking feature of this type of Maitreya

image is that it has all the characteristics of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva image type, while the hair style is modified from the Kapārdin type into that of the small curls. The additional features that, however, specifically denote the personality of Maitreya are the ornamentation and the kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. In other words, the earliest type of Maitreya images from Mathura has composite features deriving from both Buddha and Bodhisattva iconographical specificities.

A standing image of Maitreya from Ahicchatra, now in the National Museum (fig. 1), is perhaps the most excellent image of this group with almost all the features intact; and it is identified as Maitreya by an inscription on the pedestal. This, although worn out, reads "Maitreya pratima pratisṭhāpita", i.e. "the statue of Maitreya was installed" (4). Rosenfield reads it further as; "the image of Maitreya installed for the benefit and happiness of all beings" (5).

This image carries all the features described above, while it has some more noticeable details. There is a cakra on the palm of the raised right hand. He is adorned with heavy round earrings, a necklace, three bracelets and armlets. The waist band is carved with floral motifs and the neck shows two incised grooves. The yajñopavita has a cylindrical bead, and passes from the left shoulder to the right side of the waist. What is absent in this image is the ushnisha which might have got worn out.

Vogel reports a standing Maitreya image which has all

the iconographical features as the above image (fig. 2)(6). Although it is partially damaged and a bit clumsy in style, the small ushnisha on the top of the head is visible. Of special interest in these two images is the presence of yajñopavita, which some scholars have been interpreting as the symbolic representation of the Brahmanical nature of Maitreya(7). However, this proposal needs careful examination since it does not appear consistently in other images of Maitreya.

Another image of Maitreya, now in the Lucknow Museum, (fig. 3), has certain additional feature in comparison with the above two examples. Here the chatra is represented above the head and recalls the fully free standing representation of the umbrella along with the standing image of Bodhisattva, erected by the monk Bala at Banaras (fig. 10). The small curls are still traceable, although it is badly worn out and appears like the shaven head of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva image. The ornamentation is simple and the yajñopavita is absent.

More striking combination of the features of the Buddha and Bodhisattva is seen in the standing Maitreya image from the collection of the Mathura Museum (fig. 4). He looks more like an ornamented Buddha than a Bodhisattva. Such appearance is due to the style of the garment which appears somewhat like the sanghāti of the Buddha. The garment remains the same as the previous one, however, the stronger modelling of the folds and the slighter carving of girdle

gives such a difference in the appearance. The broken right arm must have been in abhaya mudrā.

III- 1-B. THE SEATED MAITREYA IMAGES

The characteristic iconographical features of the seated Maitreya images are more or less the same as that of the standing ones. The differences occur mainly due to the change of posture which, are as follows:

- a) They are mostly found in relief and smaller in size compared to earlier type.
- b) They are seated in padmāsana, with the crossed left leg over the right and having each foot with the sole turned up wards.
- c) The cakra design is generally incised on the palm of the raised right hand and on each of the upturned soles.
- d) The left hand while still holding the kamaṇḍalu is placed in front of the folded left knee.
- e) The seat is of plain cushion type or omitted when there is no space.
- f) Although the hair style is of the small curl type, it also shows matted hair as it is combed back.
- g) Due to the posture, the lower part of the body appears simpler and the garment type shows no difference with that of the early seated images of the Buddha/Bodhisattva.

One of the most beautiful images of the seated Maitreya with the above features is on the tympanum from

Mathura, now in the National Museum (fig. 5). Both stylistic and iconographical features go close to the Ahicchatra Maitreya image. One may say that, it is a seated version of the same. Similar to this in iconography, but rather primitive in style is the image on the door-jamb found from Govindanagar, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 6). The upper most compartment shows the seated image of Maitreya with all the characteristics we described for the seated image of Maitreya. This image has been identified as Siddhārtha Bodhisattva by R.C. Sharma, mainly due to the youthful look and the absence of moustache(8). We will in a later context discuss in detail why it is not Siddhārtha but Maitreya.

Besides the inscriptional evidence, the most definite source for the identification of Maitreya images comes from a representation of a series of the Mānushi Buddhas. The Bodhisattva figure at the end of a row of seven Buddha figures can be definitely identified as Maitreya. Such identification is based on the notion that Maitreya will appear after a series of past Mānushi Buddhas, the last seven of whom are Vipasyin, Silkhin, Viśvābha, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Śākyamuni Buddha. Although not a single such complete example from Mathura has been found, we have a few broken friezes showing a few images of Buddhas and Maitreya who is represented at the left end of the frieze.

A broken frieze in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 7),

displays a group of Mānushi Buddhas. Out of the four images three show the features of the Buddha, and Maitreya is shown at the left end of the series before a worshiper figure. The kneeling worshiper wears the same dhōti as that of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva type, while the other two Buddhas in the middle, wear the sanghāti in Gandharan style with both shoulders covered. The feature of Maitreya follows the characteristics of the combined image of Buddha and Bodhisattva and holds a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand in front of the left knee. The new additional features here are; a big u^hnisha tied by a thin band, and the two circular lines inside the nimbus in addition to the scalloped border. The left fist which holds the kamaṇḍalu, is placed towards the front of the knee, whereas in the case of the previous images, the same is placed downwards with the side of the palm turned towards the body.

III-1-C. THE ICONOLOGICAL BACKGROUND FOR THE EARLY MAITREYA IMAGES

It is obvious that the early Mathura artists were well aware of the two most distinguishable aspects of Maitreya, the Bodhisattva of the present time as well as the Buddha of the future. However, whether there was a conceptual difference between the Buddha and Bodhisattva in the early Buddhist art of Mathura is an unresolved issue. We may try to address this problematic question while analysing the two

images. Hypothetically, not only there existed the differentiated concepts of Buddha and Bodhisattva, but they also translated these in the visual representations of them aswell. Hence, there had been a possibility of the existence of the combined images of 'Buddha' and 'Bodhisattva' too(9).

It has been generally believed that there was no clear conceptual difference between the Buddha and Bodhisattva in the early Kushana art in Mathura, and only later, shortly after Kanishka's reign, the clearly differentiated concepts emerged within the developments of Mahāyāna doctrine. According to R.C. Sharma, for example, there was no iconographical distinction between the images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva in the early phase of Mathura art, and it is from Huvishka's reign(10) that the pantheon grew and the neccessity was felt to mark some distinction. Such conclusions are made mainly due to the fact that the early images of the Buddha from Mathura are often identified as Bodhisattva by the inscriptions incised on the pedestals of the images.

Already, in the beginning of the present century Vogel made an observation about the seated images of Buddha from early Mathura school of art; according to him at least in the seated images, the Mathura sculptors of the early Kushana period made no distinction between Gautama the Bodhisattva and Gautama the Buddha(11). Lohuizen-de-Leeuw suggests that one should not interpret the term

'Bodhisattva' in the specialized Mahāyāna sense of a being, who is striving towards Enlightenment and who is not yet a Buddha(12).

It is true that no inscriptional evidence have been found pointing directly to the identification of the Śākyamuni Buddha before the middle of Huvishka's reign(13). The Buddha image has been referred either simply as 'Buddha' or 'Bodhisattva'. A close examination of an early inscription however, reveals the significant point that the early Mathura artists did differentiate 'Bodhisattva' from the Śākyamuni Buddha. The inscription on the pedestal of the Buddha image, now in the Lucknow Museum (Acc. No. 66,48), informs us that the image of Bodhisattva was installed in the honour of all the Buddhas(14). Yet another seated image of the Buddha, in the Mathura Museum (Acc. No. 74. 20), gives a similar description. According to this, the image of the Bodhisattva was installed by Śenaka for the worship of all the Buddhas and for the welfare of all beings(15). Here we find the prevalence of the Mānushi Buddha concept among the Buddhists of Mathura and the fact that Bodhisattva is differentiated at least from the past Mānushi Buddhas, and most probably including the Śākyamuni Buddha is indeed a very significant point to take note of.

One of the earliest dated image of Buddha from Kausambi, now in the Allahabad Museum (Acc. No. 19), gives still more complicated description. It reads thus: "In the year second of Mahārāja Kanishka, on the eighth day of the

second (month) of hemanta, (Buddhist) nun Buddhāmita who is well versed in the Tripitaka set up (this image of) Bodhisattva at the promenade of the Lord Buddha"(16). Reading the inscriptional information as it is, the image in the form of 'Buddha' is meant to represent 'Bodhisattva' and it is made at the place of the worship of the 'Lord Buddha'. The 'Lord Buddha' here means undoubtedly the Śākyamuni Buddha but the Bodhisattva here does not seem to refer to Śākyamuni Buddha nor Śākyamuni Bodhisattva. What we learn from all the above examples of the early Mathura inscriptions, which are assignable to the reign of Kaniṣka on the basis of the style of the images as well as the characteristics of the scripts is that, the sculptors undoubtedly distinguished the 'Bodhisattva'(Refer foot note No. 16) which they referred to as the image of the 'Śākyamuni Buddha' (Refer foot note No. 13), from the 'Mānushi Buddhas' (Refer foot note No.15), in honour of whom they installed the image.

We have to ask here what then might have been the reason to designate the title 'Bodhisattva' to the images having the features of the Buddha, and why they avoided to use the term 'Lord Buddha', or the 'Śākyamuni Buddha', directly referring the so called Buddha/Bodhisattva images, while these two designations were already known terms. The present researcher is of the opinion that the term 'Buddha' or 'Bodhisattva' has hardly any specific connection with the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, but they might have used

'Buddha' for the conceptual meaning of the enlightened one, while they refer 'Bodhisattva, that is one who is yet to be enlightened. In other words the term 'Bodhisattva' might have been preferably used for the existence of the Buddhahood, whereas 'Buddha' meant to them total nonexistence. For the early orthodox Hīnayāna Buddhist, it was the Dharma which was the most important, and there might have been very little importance to have the cult image of their Lord who had already achieved the final Nirvāṇa.

With the emergence of the bhakti or the attitude of personalized mode of worship within the Brāhmanic fold, the orthodox Hīnayāna Buddhist definitely would have felt difficulty in maintaining the older resolution towards the inhibition of making the cult image of the Lord(17) and keeping on with the symbolic mode of the image making. It is possible that they looked for a rather easy solution for arriving at a cult image and eventually the result was not the creation of the historical Buddha, but the image of the mythically designated Buddha, the 'enlightened one', with all the traditional mahāpurshalakṣaṇās that was known to the ancient Indians. The image seems to have been made more or less for the meditational rather than for the devotional purpose. It was a symbol of the Buddhahood, the ultimate goal of the Hīnayāna Buddhists. Thus, the first Buddha image must have been created by the Hīnayāna Buddhists and its beginning might have taken place fairly early, much before the accession of Kanishka by at least a century or

so(18). Such transitional period lasted a century or so and only approximately after Kanishka's reign that the Buddhists of Mathura might have started making the image specifically referring to the Śākyamuni Buddha(19). Since then the attendants of the Śākyamuni Buddha were replaced by the Bodhisattvas rather than the chauri bearers of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva images, and the proper image of the Śākyamuni Bodhisattva was introduced with the princely attire, the turban and ornamentation(20). Even though it took a long time to overcome the tradition, such change probably owe much to the daring attitude of the King Kanishka who might have ordered the artist to introduce the images of the Buddha and Maitreya, and named it as the 'Śākyamuni Buddha' and the 'Maitreya Buddha' in his coins(21).

Theoretically, Maitreya was already on the way to become an important deity, if not the first, to be worshipped by the Hīnayāna Buddhists. For the early orthodox Buddhists it was the Law that was the most important and their aim of practising the Law was to reach the final Nirvāṇa. As we have studied in the previous chapter, Maitreya was characterized by his preaching nature as the source of the Law. Furthermore, he was the living model for the early Buddhists to be followed, rather than the Śākyamuni Buddha who by then had passed into the final Nirvāṇa.

The facile assumption that the Bodhisattva ideal

belongs to Mahāyānic system and not to Hīnayānic belief system is not at least applicable in the case of Maitreya. He was already well recognized as a Mānushi Bodhisattva who had not yet achieved the enlightenment, but was entitled to become a Buddha according to the Hīnayāna Buddhist much before the establishment of the Mahāyāna philosophy became a source for the development of the Buddhist art of Mathura. According to the Hīnayāna theory, anyone who wishes to reach the final salvation has to first achieve the enlightenment. Evidently, there could be many who claimed themselves to be 'Maitreya'. According to Hsuang-tsang's reports, Vasumitra(22), who attended the Third Buddhist Council, proposed by king Kanishka, is claimed to be a successor of Maitreya(23). R.C. Sharma, on the basis of Divyavadana passages, gives a legendary story of Upagupta who was believed to become a successor of Śākyāmini Buddha. According to him, Upagupta, who was a contemporary of the Emperor Ashoka, was predicted by the Śākyāmini Buddha as a Buddha to come after hundred years of his Nirvāṇa(24).

Thus, for the early Hīnayāna Buddhists, it was the 'Dharma' which was important, and eventually they created the image of the Buddha for the conceptual inspiration as we have argued earlier, while Maitreya fulfilled both categories as a conceptual inspiration and as a cult deity. Most probably, the already changed Hīnayānist not much later after the creation of the Buddha image, created the image of Maitreya with the additional features of the kingly attire.

Thus, the first image of Maitreya could have fololowed by the first image of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. Evidently, only these two Mānushi Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Siddhārtha, appear first in the art of Kushana period much before the appearance of the Dhyāni Bodhisattvas.

III-1-D. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY MAITREYA IMAGES

Along with the problem regarding the existence of conceptual difference between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, the iconography of the Bodhisattvas from Mathura in the scholarly world had been always a matter of speculative interpretation. As Rosenfield points out, "the Bodhisattva imagery of the Kushanshahi of this period (i.e. about the middle of the second century A.D.) is not yet clearly understood and there are some apparent irregularities in the symbolism"(25). It is generally believed that the iconography of the Bodhisattvas, beginning shortly after the reign of Kanishka, was in a nebulous stage for a century or so. According to this theory, (and if we consider Maitreya as a Mahāyānic Bodhisattva), no Maitreya image could have been made before the time of Huvishka. Another theory that makes it impossible to push back the date of first Maitreya image prior to the reign of Huvishka is the presence of small curls for the hair style in the earlier Maitreya images which developed some time in the late Huvishka period. This is interpreted as a result of

Gandhara influence. According to the previous scholarship it was the kapārdin type (shaven head with the snail shell like top knot) that appeared on the head of the first Buddha image, and was later followed by the small curls type of hair. Coomaraswamy notes that "the early Kushana Buddha and Bodhisattva type of Mathura is characterised by the following peculiarities; ...the head is shaven, never covered with curls; the ushṇīṣa, whenever present is spiral; ..." (26).

Lohuizen-de Leeuw divides the hair style of the Buddha from Mathura school of art into five categories: kapārdin type with almost smooth surface of the hair, notched style or semi-circular scratched type which developed with Gandhara influence, small curl type, and the fully curled hair style of Gupta period (27). According to her, "the curly hair, although in the form of snail-shells, customary here and there in old Indian art for a long time already, was not adopted for the Buddha image at Mathura until after the year 130 A.D." (28). Such a theory of stylistic development of the hair style of the Buddha, however, often ^{does} not go along with other elements in the case of Maitreya image.

Among the first Maitreya images described in the previous part of the study, there are three images which raise conflicting opinion among scholars about their chronology. According to the differing viewpoints of various scholars, the date of early Maitreya images can either be traced to the early Kanishka period or to the

early Huvishka period. To shed light on the origin of the first Maitreya image, it is essential to examine the opinion of previous scholars which would eventually lead us to a plausible conclusion.

R. C. Sharma observes that the small curls in the hair style appear for the first time in the Ahicchatra Maitreya image in the art of Mathura(29). While dating the image to the first phase of Huvishka, he further states that "the appearance of semi-curls in the hair style alone is a late feature, but the other characteristics shown on the image point to an early phase"(30). It is apparent that he neither could place the image to a date at the late Huvishka period from the evidence of the hair style, nor to the early Kanishka period according to the other formal features, but he took the safer stance of a place in between the two. The image could have been attributed with a much earlier date if it had the Kapārdin type of hair style, or we have to reject the theory that the hair type of small curls comes only after the Gandharan influence. Another interesting suggestions for the dating of the image has been made by P. Pal and P.L. Gupta. P. Pal reads the inscription on the pedestal of the statue as being dated to the fourth year of Kanishka, which seems to be too early a date for those who follow the 'hair type' chronology (31). More surprisingly P.L.Gupta even attributes its probable dating to the period of Mahārāja Sodasa on the paleographic grounds(32). But, at the present state of our knowledge P.L. Gupta's proposal

seems to be too early for the date of Ahicchatra Maitreya image. If there were any images similar to that of this Maitreya image before this time, they would be those of the Yaksha image from Mauryan and Sunga period.

Significantly, for the origin of Maitreya iconography the Parkham Yaksha image (fig. 8), to which generally a second century B.C. date is ascribed, arises a special interest(33). There is an obvious similarity in the iconographical features of this Yaksha image(34) and Ahicchatra Maitreya. Parkham image is adorned with heavy rounded earrings and two necklaces, one of which is flat and circular and the other is in the 'V' shape, similar to that seen on the Maitreya image. The broken right arm of the Yaksha still has a part of the bracelet intact. The right hand might have been in abhaya mudrā, as the intact right side of the waist indicates. The left hand might have been kept on the left hip, as indicated by the stone being broken at that spot. The bunch of folds touching the ground which falls inbetween the legs, comes very close to the same fashion seen also in the Ahicchatra Maitreya image. In comparison to the early Maitreya image the missing feature is only the kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. It also shows a few extra features like the band around the waist and, perhaps headgear, a trace of which remains above the left ear.

It is generally accepted by art historians that the Yaksha typology was the basic formal prototype for the Mathura Buddha image convention(35). Parkham image.

however, is much more closer to the early Maitreya image than the early Buddha/Bodhisattva image in terms of its iconography. If anything make us hesitate in identifying it as a Maitreya, it is because of the bulky pot-belly, the trace of a headgear, and the absence of the kamaṇḍalu. Thus, Parkham image type could have been an inspiration to the early Mathura artists for formulating the Maitreya image. Although there remains an iconographical closeness between the Parkham image of the second century B.C. and the Ahicchatra Maitreya image, the long time gap between the two also needs to be considered while making such a correlation. In this context two standing images of Yaksha, one from Vidisa(fig. 9) and another from Mathura(fig. 10) may fill up the gap. According to the stylistic features the first image is datable to the first century B.C., where as the later one may belong to the first century A.D. As in the case of the Parkham image, these two images are also adorned with a sort of headgear and ornamentations. Further, the object in the left hand is generally regarded as a purse. The right hand of the fig. 10 is raised in abhaya mudrā at the shoulder level.

Comparing these two images with the standing Maitreya images from Kushana Mathura(figs. 1 to 4) one can see a great similarity in their iconographical features. Especially the fig. 10 has a close resemblance to Maitreya images, particularly if the headgear could be changed in to the hair type of the Buddha. As in the iconography of the

Maitreya images of Kushana Mathura, this image of Yaksha has all the essential ornamentations and garment type of Bodhisattva. A band is tied around the waist, while the lappets of the knot hang down over his right thigh in a very similar manner with that of the Maitreya images from Ahicchatra and the other parts of Mathura (figs. 1 and 3)

The Buddhist stele, from the Kimbell Art Museum, (fig. 11), can be compared best with the Ahicchatra Maitreya image, both in stylistic and iconographical features. It is dated in the fourth year of Kanishka, which incidentally is the same date which P. Pal proposes for the Ahicchatra Maitreya image (36). The great artistic skill seen in this image brings Ahicchatra Maitreya image close to it in the chronological sequence. Almost fully carved from all the sides, the well proportioned body and the delicate details suggest that the sculptor of this image could make the Ahicchatra Maitreya image without much difficulty. Looking at the iconographical elements, it is evident that none of the five figures represented on the stele has features identical to that of the Ahicchatra image, but the elements are shared between all the five figures. The elements such as the halo along with the scalloped border behind the Buddha image, the treatment of the right hand of the Buddha, the types of the ornaments of the secondary deities (37), the style of the garments of the figures on the pedestal, the treatment of the lower body of the attendants, and the bunch of folds in between the legs of the attendants, etc.

are similar to the image of Maitreya under consideration. All these elements suggests that the date of Ahicchatra Maitreya image comes quite close to the above triad of the early Kanishka period and also the Yaksha image from Mathura(fig. 10). Still, the problem is how closely can we date these sculptures. Is it really possible to consider an early date to the images which have the small curly hair style?

The image of Maitreya on the tympanum from Jamalpur, (fig. 5). adds up further to the complexity of the issue. Bachhofer assigns the date of 117-129 A.D. for the tympanum(38), while Czuma dates it to the early pre-Kanishka period, which is the early first century A.D.(39). Although Bachhofer does not specify the reason, it must have been based on the the hair style of the Maitreya image. Czuma's dating is mainly on the basis of the fact that this tympanum represents a pātra (begging bowl) and a turban, both of which are symbolic representations of the Buddha. Czuma considers the appearance of these symbolic representations and the Buddha and the Bodhisattva in human form together in one place as an indication that "they belong to the period of transition from the aniconic to the anthropomorphic stage" i.e.,the early pre-Kanishka period(40). His interpretation of the pātra and the turban as the symbolic representation of the Buddha as such does not seem to be conclusive in this case. instead the pātra above the Buddha image must be Śākyamuni's pātra symbolizing the Dharma, and

the turban must be representing Śākyamuni's turban, which symbolize here the transformation of rulership from the Śākyāṃuni Buddha to Maitreya whose image is shown below.

The key point in dating the tympanum seems to be the appearance of the Bodhisattva image on the reverse side. The halo behind the Bodhisattva image suggests his identity as a divine being, most probably Siddhārtha Bodhisattva. Thus the date of the tympanum would depend on the date of the first appearance of Siddhārtha Bodhisattva in the Mathura art. It may not be as early as the early pre-Kaṇiṣhka period as Czuma proposed, but could be somewhere in the later part of Kaṇiṣhka's reign. But before giving a conclusive date, it will be worthwhile to study a few more images which may suggest a still earlier date.

The door-jamb from Govindnagar (fig. 6) is attributed^{to} an early first century A.D. date by R.C. Sharma, who identified the figure on the top compartment as Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. In a later context we will discuss in detail why it cannot be Siddhārtha but Maitreya (41). For the present, let us simply assume that it is a representation of Maitreya, since we observe a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand of the figure (41). Sharma's early dating is based on the stylistic feature of the image, especially the hair style of the Buddha in the kapārdin type in the lowest part of the door-jamb. If his dating is correct we have here the first Maitreya image which dates back to pre-Kaṇiṣhka period. And more importantly, we have here the so called combed hair style

for a Maitreya image. There is, however, greater chance of it being dated later, say, the end of Kanishka or early Huvishka reign. The architectural and floral design on the borders are suggestive of a later date.

From the above study of three images of Maitreya, we still find it difficult to ascribe a firm dating for those early images. All the images have certain complicated features which result in the varied suggestions regarding their date, depending on the viewpoint one chooses to hold.

Within such complexity we are still left with one method to locate the earliest Maitreya image; i.e., tracing the oldest while simultaneously comparing it with all the images of Maitreya at our disposal. Through the method of relative chronology, the standing Maitreya in the Lucknow Museum(fig. 3) seems to be the oldest among all the available examples of the Maitreya image from Mathura. The notable features of this image compared to other examples are; firstly, the presence of chatra above the head, secondly, the absence of the 'V' shaped necklace, and thirdly, the presence of relatively large sized water vase in the left hand. The unusual placement of the chatra, in between the halo and the head suggests the lack of artist's experience. This is one of the few representations of the chatra in relief, which otherwise used to be commonly placed behind the early fully rounded Buddha/Bodhisattva images (fig. 12). The flat circular necklace around the neck recalls that of the attendant or chauri bearer of the early

seated Buddha/Bodhisattva images of pre and early Kushan period. The attendants of the Buddha do not wear double necklaces while most of the Maitreya images do have simultaneously a circular and a 'V' shaped one. In most of the cases, each of the two attendants have distinctive necklaces, i.e., one has a flat circular necklace while the other wears a 'V' shaped one. Lastly, the water vase in the left hand of the figure is noticeably bigger in size compared to the other images. It is a rather naturalistic representation of the water carrier of the monks, whereas in the other images it is too small to be indicative of the actual object. A standing Buddha image in the Musee Guimet (fig. 13) has been given the date by Luhuizen-de Leeuw, as contemporary to the well known Buddha/Bodhisattva image from Katra, and the most probable date of which is the beginning of Kanishka's reign(42). The above scholar even suggests the possibility of its date being that of pre-Kanishka period(43).

According to the archeological finds and on the basis of inscriptional evidence, the chaṭra seems to have been a very important object to be installed along with the image of the Buddha during pre or early Kanishka period. We have collections of a number of stone umbrellas. the most spectacular one is preserved in the Sarnath Museum (fig. 12). According to the inscription on the post of the umbrella, the image of Buddha along with it was installed by monk Friar Bala at Banaras(44).

The comparison between the Musee Guimet Buddha image of the Kapārdin type and the standing Maitreya image with the chatra, leaves hardly any doubt that both of them are contemporary. Although the post of the chatra is placed behind the halo in the Buddha image it is almost identical with that of the Maitreya image. Despite the difference in the iconography, the treatment of halo, face, hands and body are very similar to each other. Already in 1927, Coomaraswamy noted that this image from Lucknow Museum is identical in type with the standing Buddha image which is dated to the third year of Kanishka(45).

Considering all the circumstantial evidence and the relative chronology, the most probable date for the beginning of the Maitreya icon is the reign of Kanishka. Thus, the date of the earliest^e available Maitreya icon from Mathura can be traced back to the early Kanishka period. Yet the image making tradition as such, however, might go back even to the pre-Kushana period. If we agree to this proposition, we are bound to reconsider the ~~p~~roposed dates for the images which have the small curls hair type, and will have to consider that this type was known to the early Mathura artist before the generally accepted date, that is of Huvishka period.

The head of the Maitreya image under discussion, if examined closely reveals the small circles in two or three rows. Although much has been worn out, the traces of small curls are still preserved at the sides of the head.

However, in an ordinary photographic reproduction the hair style appears to be similar to the shaven head of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva images. The ushnisha on top of the head is as small as that of the Maitreya image on the tympanum in the National Museum(fig.5).

Presumably, the small-curls hair style was employed in order to differentiate Maitreya's feature from the shaven head of the Buddha in the early Mathura school, just as he can be seen distinguished from the image of Buddha by the ornaments. In other words, this hair style was made only for the Maitreya images by the early artists of Kushana Mathura, and was not necessarily a style developed after the kapardin type. That is why these two types appear simultaneously again and again as noted in the cases of the figs. 5, 6 and 7.

Another important fact supporting the above proposal is that there is not a single image of Maitreya having the so-called kapardin type of hair style, while the later images of Buddha, that is during the early phase of Huvishka, do have either the kapardin type or the small-curl type.

The probable date for the early group of Maitreya images from Mathura extends from the early period of Kanishka to the beginning of Huvishka period. The Maitreya image from the Lucknow Museum(fig. 3) and the seated Maitreya image on the door-jamb from Govindnagar may be dated to the early Kanishka period. The tympanum with Maitreya image on it(fig. 5) and the Ahichhatra Maitreya

image(fig. 1), may be dated as the latest, that is to the early period of Huvishka, though it can still go back to the reign of Kanishka.

The frieze with three images of Buddha and one Maitreya image(fig. 7) is assignable to the middle of Huvishka's reign, for the Gandharan influence which is obvious in this work. The two standing images in the Mathura Museum(figs. 2 and 4) may be attributed to the last phase of Huvishka period; since the first exemplify much advanced ornamentation and the second has the type of kamaṇḍalu similar to that of the image dated to the twenty-ninth^e year of Huvishka's reign (fig. 17). Both the figures might have been carved by different local craftsmen, for each image carries some peculiar features which are not common with others.

The standing image of Maitreya(fig. 2) has elaborate ornaments, especially the yajñopavita which is closely related to that of the Bodhisattva images from Gandhara. At the same time, other features, especially the size of the kamaṇḍalu indicates its early date. Another standing image from Mathura(fig. 4) shows a rather unusual way of the treatment of the folds of the garment, while the other features, such as the treatment of the head, ornaments and the pose of the left hand, are similar to the early type.

Among many icons created by the Kushana Mathura artist. the identification of Maitreya is by no means simple. There are many elements that are commonly observed in all the images. The problem of classification further gets complicated when the image is in a broken condition. To overcome the problems of interpretation, it is essential to study the meaning of the iconographical elements of a particular icon which is intact, and further compare it with other related icons.

The features of both Buddha and Bodhisattva which came to be adopted for the images of Maitreya are logical since the deity has the nature of both these related deities. These have been analysed in depth in the previous chapter. It is reasonable that the iconography of the Buddha can be shared only by another being whose disposition is also that of enlightenment, for example, the Jain Tīrthankaras. The Bodhisattvas and deities similar to them have a royal bearing, such as in the case of Indra, Nāgarāja etc.

Kamaṇḍalu(46), one of the most important and constant features of Maitreya iconography, is held by other deities also, such as Indra, Nāgarāja, Agni, Shiva, Rāma, etc. The meaning of kamaṇḍalu has been generally related to the Brahmanic nature of Maitreya, since Maitreya is expected to be born in a Brāhmin family in the future. Such theory, however, needs a more careful consideration, since most of the Mānushi Buddhas too in some way or the other are related

to the Brāhmanic pantheon. The Śākyāmuni who is known to be belonging to the princely Kshatriya caste, for instance, is traditionally claimed to be a Brāhmin youth when he, by the name of Megha, had taken a vow to become the Buddha in the earlier birth at the feet of the then Buddha Dipankara(47).

Unlike the proposed source of origin of Maitreya's kamaṇḍalu, this attribute in the hands of various deities of Kushana Mathura seems to be much closely associated with the water cosmology originated in the context of the agricultural life of ancient India; Indra is the god of rain and Nāga lives in water. Thus, there is a probability that the kamaṇḍalu in the hand of Maitreya might have been derived from such popular water cosmology, rather than exclusively from the Brāhmanic iconography and yet could be developed into a symbol signifying the auspicious nectar of future life or more precisely the essence of the Buddhist Law(48). In the case of Maitreya it is more a symbol rather than the realistic representation of a utilitarian water pitcher of an ascetic or a monk. When it is in the hand of the Brāhmin ascetic, it is much bigger in size as it is shown on the relief sculpture of early Gandharan school. The ascetic meaning can be more appropriately applied for the water vase of Shiva, or the later Maitreya images of the Western Deccan, where the overall ornamentation of the image got eliminated and the figure began carrying a deer skin over his left shoulder signifying the ascetic nature of the deity.

In visual representation the water vases of different deities look alike and is difficult to differentiate from one another. This alone, in any case cannot be the sole factor that determines the identification of a Maitreya image. The broken image of standing Indra from Mathura, now in the Samuel Glenberg Museum (fig. 14) is a good example to illustrate the common use of certain iconographical features in Kushan Mathura school. If we see the lower half of the body alone, it is impossible to determine whether it is of a Maitreya image(49). Hence, one needs to take extra care in identifying such broken images.

There are, however, some important points with which we can safely identify the early images of Maitreya. They are:

- a) Trace of small-curls of hair without headgear, presence of the bodhisattva ornamentations, such as earrings, necklaces, bracelets and armlets. There can be no other icons having the proposed two features other than Maitreya.
- b) Kamaṇḍalu in the left hand along with the above features. This point is made on the basis of the fact that no image having the kamaṇḍalu, other than Maitreya, will have a bare head and they always have some kind of headgear; for Indra it is a cylindrical crown and a turban for Nāga(50).
- c) Trace of halo which is big enough to cover both sides of the shoulders, the Bodhisattva ornamentation, and kamaṇḍalu. The point is made based on the fact that it

is only the Maitreya images that will have a halo emerging out from both the sides of the shoulder, since the Nāga images will have a nāga-hood and other deities are represented without halo.

- d) Seated in padmāsana and a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. This point is based on the fact that there is no other image that has been noticed holding the same in a seated posture other than Maitreya, although there are many images having the kamaṇḍalu when they are shown standing. This is at least true for the Kushana Mathura school(51).
- e) Seated image with the right hand in abhaya mudrā and the bodhisattva ornamentation. This point is made upon the fact that the other important Bodhisattva of the Kushana Mathura, Avalokiteśva is always represented in dhyāna mudrā.

Two busts. one in the Allahabad Museum(fig. 15) and another in the Lucknow Museum(fig. 16), are good examples testifying the above statement, (a), and are to be identified as early type of Maitreya image with the combined iconography of Buddha and Bodhisattva. Both the images are broken and the lower part of the body are missing. The hair style of the small-curls and the earrings, and the necklaces are clearly discernible. The latter image clearly has the broken mark of the ushnisha. In both the cases, there are broken marks at the right shoulder which certainly indicate that the image held the right hand in abhaya mudrā. The first image may date towards the end of Huvishka's reign.

for there are additional circular lines on the halo and the beaded necklace which has not been seen in the earlier image type. The second image may be dated to a still later period, for it has much more elaborate necklaces.

The surviving lower half of a broken image from Girdharpur, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 17) has a kamaṇḍalu and a part of the left hand. There is a mark indicating that the image wears a dhoti in the fashion of the Katra Buddha images. The right hand must have been in abhaya mudrā, for there is no broken mark on the lap. Following the point, (d), we can conclusively read this broken image as Maitreya. The original figuration might have been like the Maitreya image on the tympanum from Mathura (fig. 5). Rosenfield, while identifying the image as Maitreya, still feels "obliged to defend its identification with some care, since the Bodhisattva imagery of the Kushanshara period is not yet clearly understood" (52). But on the basis of circumstantial evidence, without doubt we can classify such a seated image with the kamaṇḍalu in the left hand as Maitreya. It is worthy to take note of the representation of the cakra stambha on the pedestal. This symbol stands for Maitreya's nature, as the source of the Buddhist Law, to which the kamaṇḍalu is also related in its essential meaning. What is interesting in this image is that the Maitreya iconography also incorporates elements like that of simhāsana, which had been reserved for the Buddha alone. The symbolism of the lion, here stands for

the universal kingship of Maitreya. The inscription on the pedestal gives the date of twenty-ninth year of Huvishka's reign. It further mentions that this Maitreya image was installed by Dharmaguptaka for the welfare of all beings(53). The Dharmaguptaka is a sect of Hīnayāna Buddhism and is closely related to Sarvastivādin school(54). Here, for the first time, we have a firm evidence that the worship of Maitreya flourished among the Hīnayāna circles.

The last point with which we can distinguish a Maitreya image from other images is on the basis of a circumstantial evidence, that it is only in the Buddha and Maitreya images that we notice the right hand in abhaya mudrā, when in a seated posture(55). Consequently, it is only the Maitreya images that will display the right hand in the same manner among seated images which has the bodhisattva ornamentation. The fragment of a lintel in the Mathura Museum(fig. 18) shows an interesting image seated on a pedestal. The face of the seated figure is broken and a part of the left knee is also damaged. Still visible are the head without a headgear, the trace of earrings, and the right hand in abhaya mudrā. Following the above points, we can presume that this sculpture represents none other than Maitreya.

The seated Buddha image from Sitala Ghati, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 17), has an accompanying seated Bodhisattva image on the pedestal. The lower half of the pedestal is completely damaged leaving no trace of the lower part of the Bodhisattva. Only the upper part of the

Bodhisattva image remains which has a damaged right hand in abhaya mudrā, while a necklace on the chest is still visible. Judging from the size of the four standing donor figures, it is certain that the Bodhisattva was in the seated position and is identical with the above example, therefore, this image can also be identified as Maitreya. The image with two additional circles on the nimbus must have been originally similar to the Maitreya image on the door lintel in the Lucknow Museum(fig. 7). Both are stylistically assigned to the middle of Huvishka's reign.

III-2. THE IMAGES OF THE CELESTIAL MAITREYA

Approximately during the last years of Huvishka's reign another Maitreya image type emerges in the Mathura region. This type is characterized by the presence of a crown on the head and appears quite different from the early Maitreya images discussed previously. The identification of this new typology has often confused the students of Buddhist iconography, and unless it is found among a group of Mānushi Buddhas most of them have been labelled under the title of Bodhisattva.

A close examination of this new type, however reveals that it maintains fundamentally all the characteristics of the first Maitreya image type with an additional iconographical feature of a crown. In other words, the crown is added up on the small-curl hair type of the first

Maitreya images, and often the top of the ushnisha is intentionally kept visible, which projects out from the top of the crown.

A stone relief from an architectural fragment from Jamalpur mound now in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 20) contains a group of the Mānushi Buddhas on the lower freize. What interests us here is that the image to the right of the Kushana donor figure with hand in namaskāra mudrā has all the characteristics of the first Maitreya type with an additional crown on the head. The type of ornamentations, the hand gesture, the seated posture, and the garment type are all identical with the fig. 7, while the head is adorned with a kind of crown which had not been seen before. The projected part, partly broken at the top of the crown, seems to be either ushnisha emerging out from the top of the head or a part of the crown, but certainly not the cockade of a turban.

On the stylistic ground, the date of the relief had been generally assigned to the transitional period, i.e., the end of Huvishka's reign, when the traditional or the indigeneous style was intermingled with the new incoming Gandharan style(56). Here, Maitreya is flanked by two chauri-bearers for the first time.

The stone architectural fragment from Govindnagar, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 21), has a similar seated image of Maitreya. He is seated in padmāsana, while displaying the right hand in abhaya mudrā and the left holding a

kamaṇḍalu near the folded left knee. He is adorned with ornaments and wears a doughnut shaped crown on the head. The crown is worn in a similar manner to that of the laurel wreath of the Roman Emperors. The most interesting factor here is that the headgear does not obstruct the combed hair which is clearly visible from the bottom of the headgear. The round projected part above the headgear most probably must be, that of the ushnisha rather than a part of the headgear. The architectural posts on both the sides of the image and the introduction of the round pendent hanging above the 'V' shaped necklace suggests its later date, sometime after the reign of Huvishka, i.e., the early reign of Kanishka II(57).

Another image similar to the above type is found on the pedestal of the seated Buddha image from Maholi, now in Mathura Museum (fig.22). The Bodhisattva is seated at the centre of four standing figures, most probably a donor family. The tiny kamaṇḍalu in his left hand and the Bodhisattva ornamentation suggest his identity as Maitreya. On top of the headgear is the ushnisha clearly recognizable. The crown, although it is partly damaged, must have been of a flat, cylindrical shape with the top part open, so the upper part of head becomes visible from the top.

Luhuizen-de Leeuw assigns a date of 122nd year of Kanishka's era for the above sculpture(58). If we accept this dating it can be presumed that the second type of Maitreya image continued to be made still in the late second

century; and more importantly the garment type of Maitreya similar to the Katra Buddha image too has continued, while the central Buddha image has a changed style similar to the Gandhara style.

A seated Maitreya image on one side of a pillar, with a standing Bodhisattva on the other side(see fig. 40) in the Lucknow Museum(fig. 23), shows a much clearer shape of the headgear which is in the shape of a cylindrical hat without the brim and a bit taller than the previous one. It has a spiral design in front and the ushnisha is seen on the top of the headgear in a small round shape. Comparing the architectural design of this pillar with the Govindanagar image(fig. 21), one can say that it is quite possible that both of them must be contemporary, though probably made in different workshops(59). The difference of the crown type in the two images may be due to the developing stage of this new element in the iconographic programme.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art has an interesting Bodhisattva image, which is broken at the lower neck level and only the head is preserved(fig. 24). The headgear is described by Czuma as "the turban with the small, flat cockade; the jewelled band holding the turban"(60). It should not however be called a turban, since it differs fundamentally both in style and in the way it is worn. This headgear is a crown which is different from that of the turban which is wound around the head. The round buckle at the centre of the headgear is not the same as the cockade-

shaped design which indeed is the last part of the long cloth. In actual practice of tying a turban the long cloth is wrapped around the head in such a way that the last part is left out in front of the head so as to form a flower like design. The headgear of this Bodhisattva image is kept on top of the already stylized hair in small curls. It is most certain that Maitreya wears a kind of crown that is different from the turban of other Bodhisattvas, and hence this head originally might have belonged to a Maitreya image. The urṇa in between the eyebrow is suggestive of his divine nature.

The identification of the above image should be that of Maitreya is further confirmed by a seated image of Maitreya from Mathura(fig. 25). From the report of Coomaraswamy it was then in the possession of Messers Yamanaka, New York(61). The image wears almost identical type of crown with that of the fig. 24. The iconographical features of the body are the same as the other images that have been identified as Maitreya earlier. His right hand is raised in abhaya mudrā and a cakra is incised on it. The ornaments, especially the necklace in 'V' shape with a round pendant, are in a style similar to that of Govindnagar image(fig. 21). The broken part of the left hand suggests that it was originally placed downward, and most probably held a kamaṇḍalu. This image and the previous head clearly show the curled hair style below the crown.

Coomaraswamy identified it as Bodhisattva or crowned

Buddha(62). The prominent hair style of small curls obviously visible below the crown might have lead him to call it as a crowned Buddha. However, no image of Buddha with a crown have been found from this region, and because of the Bodhisattva ornamentation represented here, the proper identification of this image must be Maitreya with a celestial crown.

Supporting this hypothesis is another example of seated Maitreya, from Sanchi(fig.26). According to Marshall, this broken pedestal of a standing Bodhisattva has been found at the stūpa 12(63). The image here is seated in padmāsana, while the left hand holding a kamaṇḍalu is kept in front of the folded left knee. What is more interesting here is that the deity wears a certain kind of headgear and has a long hair covering the shoulder. Now looking back to the fig.25, we see traces of same feature on both the shoulders (clearly seen on the right side, the left is worn out). Thus it is certain that the artists of Kushana Māthura adapted this hair style, typical of the Bodhisattvas in Gandharan art, to emphasise Bodhisattva nature of Maitreya. Needless to mention that the image with such long hair may not be of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, or the crowned Buddha Śākyāmuni, and moreover, the appearance of kamaṇḍalu in the hand confirms the image as none other than Bodhisattva Maitreya. All of the above three images (figs. 24-26) are datable as belonging to a period shortly after Huvishka's reign(64).

A fragment of a door lintel in the Mathura Museum (fig. 27) represents a group of four Buddhas along with Maitreya. Maitreya is shown on the extreme right of the group and the Buddhas to the left of him. All are seated in padmāsana. Here too, Maitreya has a tall cylindrical crown, long hair falling up to the shoulders, and the bodhisattva ornaments. The projected part in front of the left knee suggests the presence of kamaṇḍalu. The unusual shape of the headgear design and the poor workmanship compared to the image on the lintel of the fig. 7 suggests that it could be a copy of the latter and the probable date of this lintel could be as early as the reign of Kanishka II or sometime before it.

As evident from the above discussion the Mathura artists of this period were well aware of Maitreya's nature as the celestial Bodhisattva, the ruling figure in Tushita realm(65). They adopted a crown to symbolize the celestial nature of Maitreya while maintaining the traditional iconography of his combined features of Buddha and Bodhisattva. The origin of this particular headgear does not allow an easy conclusion; whereas the style, however, suggests that this adoption was made through literary, rather than artistic, influence.

The assumption that this new iconography may have been probably derived from the Gandhara school of art should be reconsidered, since there are no image of Maitreya found from Gandhara region which has the crown or any kind of headgear that is found in the Mathura school. The

iconography of Maitreya from Mathura school show the continuation of the so-called Kakra type garment of Buddha and the ornaments of Bodhisattva. These aspects remained fundamentally the same even after Mathura artists began representing the crown on him.

The origin of Maitreya image as deriving from the image of Brahmā who attends upon Buddha in certain early examples pairing with Indra, is not applicable to the Mathura Maitreya images. and the facile assumption that Mathura artists developed the iconography of Maitreya from the second century A.D. with the coming of Gandharan influence should also be modified. Mathura artists created their own version of Maitreya image having the regal traits separate from the Gandharan type.

One of the most important clue for this proposition is that, unlike in the tradition of Gandhara school of art, Maitreya image in Mathura school is never placed as an attendant of the Buddha. He, when represented not singly is represented either among the other Mānushi Buddhas or on the pedestal of the Buddha images. Maitreya image in Kushana Mathura school holds its own right as a divine Bodhisattva whose nature is Enlightenment, distinct from Gandhara school.

III-3. THE CONTROVERSIES IN MAITREYA ICONOGRAPHY

In the study of the Maitreya iconography, there had

been some controversial claims among Buddhist iconographers regarding certain identification and interpretation. There are many theories that are proposed by different scholars, which eventually turn out to be difficult to accept.

As noted, the yajñopavita which has been generally believed to be an important element in recognizing Maitreya images, no more holds true in the light of the present research. The preference of the youthful face for Siddhārtha while differentiating an image from that of Maitreya too is an invalid observation. The term 'youthful face' can be more appropriately called as 'archaic smile', which is applicable to almost all the figurative images in the pre-classical phase of Indian art.

Further, the generally accepted theory that the figure seen in between the feet of a deity represents the exact nature of the main image results in misreading the actual identification as we shall see later(66).

Similarly, the simhāsana is respectably dedicated to the Śākyamuni Buddha, and when the same motif is seen with the Maitreya image, as in the seated Maitreya from Girdharpur(fig. 15), raises a doubt regarding the image being Maitreya or not(67).

R.C. Sharma suggests that the figure of garuḍa in the crown is an important element for identifying the Maitreya image(68). However it has been found that, not a single image of Maitreya has this element in Kushana Mathura school of art, but the garuḍa motif was used unspecifically for

many images as a decorative motif for ornamentation. Sharma's suggestion must be based on the much later tradition that Garuḍa is a vahana of the Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi, whose counter Mānushi Buddha is Maitreya. To clear off such controversies, a comparative study of the images having similar features of Maitreya is undertaken, as below.

III-3-A. THE CONTROVERSY REGARDING BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTHA AND MAITREYA

Apart from the image types of Maitreya that we have studied so far, there has been another type of Bodhisattva image popularly known during the Kushana period from Mathura. This image type has almost identical features with Maitreya, except for it has a turban and does not carry the kamaṇḍalu. Despite the availability of large number of this turban type Bodhisattva images, its definite identification has not yet been fully exposed so far. While most of the Buddhist iconologists suggests the identification of the turban type Bodhisattva as that of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha(69), this type has been frequently regarded as the Bodhisattva Maitreya or Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. Rosenfield has used the title Mahāsattva as the appropriate name for this type of Bodhisattva image(70). However, the term Mahāsattva, can be seen as hardly different from that of Bodhisattva. In a way, both the designations are used to

indicate, as Rosenfield mentions, "the personification of active altruism"(71). Mahāsattva is, indeed, commonly used along with the term Bodhisattva; for example, in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra, where Maitreya is called the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya, and Siddhārtha is addressed by the name Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Siṃha(72).

A relief from Mathura, now in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam(fig. 28) may shed some light on this problem. Undoubtedly, it represents the farewell of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka, the prince Siddhārtha stands in between the half knelt Chandaka and the horse Kaṇṭhaka. Here, the prince Siddhārtha is represented with all the characteristic features of the Bodhisattva that we have described above, and more importantly he is adorned with a nimbus behind his head. From the stylistic features of the relief, it may be considered as contemporaneous to the relief in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 20), or may be slightly later. Thus. it reveals that by the middle of Huvishka's reign, the iconography of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha was well established with the characteristics shown in this image. What is most important here is that the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha wears a turban with a so-called cockade decoration in the front, which is shown repeatedly in many other such images as well.

Perhaps, the earliest image of this type may be that found on the tympanum in the National Museum, New Delhi(fig. 29). It is the reverse of the fig. 5, which we have dated

to the early Huvishka's reign(73). As in the case of the Maitreya image on the reverse, the 'V' shape necklace is not properly folded at the tip. Here too, the turban is majestically placed on the head of Bodhisattva, he is seated in meditation with dhyāna mudrā and behind him is a big nimbus and floral design. It is most probably the representation of the First Meditation of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, who in course of time becomes the enlightened Buddha. The representation of the seated Buddha in the teaching gesture(74) in the above compartment may suggest such a connection.

Another such example comes from the Lucknow Museum (fig. 30). On the basis of the formal and stylistic features, especially the three tiered pedestal without any figure on it suggest that the relief may belong to a very early date, even before the reign of Huvishka(75). The importance of these two images is that both are seated with the hands in dhyāna mudrā and this mudrā is constantly found in other seated images of the Siddhārtha Bodhisattva who have the same type of turban as well. This is in contrast with the Maitreya images whose right hand is always held in abhaya mudrā. Consequently, it is possible that these distinct hand gestures alone provide us the possible identification and difference between the images of Maitreya and Siddhārtha Bodhisattva.

The seated Buddha image found from the bank of the Jamuna river, whose head is broken now in the Mathura

Museum(fig. 31), carries a small seated Bodhisattva on its pedestal. The bodhisattva ornamentation and the right hand in abhaya mudrā is clearly visible. From the above analysis we can read that this representation is of Maitreya Bodhisattva, and not of Siddhārtha Bodhisattva(76).

The seated Bodhisattva image, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 32), offers the still worse test for a Buddhist iconographist. The pedestal is badly worn out and yet traces of two lions frontally placed at both the sides, and a seated image at the centre and two standing figures flanking the central image remain. Luckily we are in a position to read that the right hand of the central seated image is raised in the position of abhaya mudrā. Thus, according to circumstantial evidence this image can most probably be identified as Maitreya, and the two flanking figures as the commonly seen devotee figures(77).

It can be said that the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha was recognized by the Mathura artists as princely figure at least during the early period of the reign of Huvishka, and the artists of Mathura obviously differentiated him from the Maitreya by the differing hand gestures and the headgears. This difference remains the same throughout the Kuṣāṇa period in Mathura. Consequently, even when an image does not show a proper reading of the kamaṇḍalu or hair style, the specific mudrā alone can be indicative of the image on the pedestal of Buddha being Maitreya(78). This can be further confirmed when the image shows varied

ornamentations.

III-3-B. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE MAITREYA AND THE NĀGA ICONOGRAPHY

Among the groups of images created by the artists of Kusana Mathura, the Nāga images occupy an important place with its elaborate iconographical details. The iconography of this most ancient cult deity incorporated the iconographical elements of the Yakshas and Chakravartin, and as a result shares certain common iconographical features with the Bodhisattvas. Moreover, the existence of the water vase in the left hand of these Nāga images has often confused the students of Buddhist iconography to misread them as Maitreya.

A tiny standing figure of Bodhisattva, preserved in the Indian Museum(fig. 33) is one of such problematic images. It is labelled as Maitreya Bodhisattva by the curator of the museum. The image is adorned with the Bodhisattva ornaments and wears dhoti in the usual fashion of Bodhisattvas of the early Kushan Mathura. His right hand is raised in abhaya mudrā, while the left hand holds a water vase which is bigger in size than the usual. All these elements, especially the water vase, may easily lead one to conclude its identification as Maitreya. However, there are apparently two different features between this image and the other Maitreya images that we have studied so far. The

first is that the present image shows the turban type headgear which is identical with that of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, and the second point is the absence of the nimbus which is always seen behind the head of Maitreya images.

There is another image, very similar to this, from the Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia (fig. 34). Coomaraswamy places it under the name of 'Bodhisattva' with the suggestive identification of 'Maitreya'(79). Needless to describe the detail of the features, but it has a peculiar shape for the back side in addition to the features of the Calcutta image. Although traces of the water vase is not very clear, the position and the pose of the left hand nevertheless indicate its presence.

A strong doubt in identifying these two images as Maitreya is further increased with an unusual stone panel preserved in the Bharatpur State Museum, Rajasthan(fig. 35). With the stylistic features of the early Kushana Mathura school, it has a row of four standing images in identical attitude and each one carrying a water vase in their left hands which are very similar to the previous images. There are no known artistic or literary evidence to prove any sort of multiplication of Maitreya figures throughout Buddhist period in India(80). These can, at best of our present knowledge be the four Nāga kings, i.e. Tirasāraji, Asita, Prādaku and Kaṅkaparvan of the four quarters(81). The identity of the above type of images as Nāga can be

confirmed by comparing with Nāga images from the early Mathura school.

A sculptural panel with two Nāga images from Rajgir, now in the National Museum, Delhi, (fig. 36), is a good example to examine the characteristics of Nāga iconography from Mathura. The left one has lost its head and the iconographical details of the body alone shows no difference from any of the standing Maitreya images from this region. But when we see the other image in the pair we find the difference of the headgear and the nāgahood. He wears a turban, the most appropriate headgear for all deities having kingly noble character(82). The body of the snake is folded in a zigzag manner behind the Nāga image and forms circular folds one on top of the other.

Now, if we look back at the standing image in the Pennsylvania University Museum (fig. 34), it is obvious that it represents a Nāga image and the irregular edges of the panel, supporting the image at the back, is indicative of the same folded body of the snake shown in fig. 36. The round nimbus like panel behind the head might be a closer clue in indicating the nāgahood, as the horizontal line above the shoulder is unusual for the nimbus. Such unprominent type of the nāgahood here suggests its early date, probably to the early Kanishka era.

As far as the image from the Indian Museum is concerned (fig. 33), we have little evidence to trace its identity. The only indicator of it being a Nāga image may be the

slightly bulged circular marks below the raised right arm and a very faint indication of something near the left leg that could be a nāga coil. The single round necklace and the disproportionately big water vase seem to indicate its early date, which may be similar to that of the previous image.

A colossal image of Buddha, in the Lucknow Museum, has a specially interesting figure in between his feet (fig. 37). This small figure has been invariably identified as Maitreya(83), and R.C. Sharma even suggests identity of the Buddha as either Vairocana or Maitreya Buddha(84). The above identification is based on the hypothesis that the personage wearing the royal attire; the necklaces, earrings, bracelets and turban, and holding a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand is the iconography of Maitreya. Further the object or personage in between the feet of the central figure is considered to be a direct reflection of the central figure(85).

The image shown in between the feet of the Buddha is more likely to be a Nāga image rather than that of Maitreya, for he wears the turban. Moreover the absence of the nimbus does not favour its identity as Maitreya. Against the hypothesis of the reflection of the main image over the subsidiary image, we have counter evidence to prove the assumption being merely conceptual. The pedestal of a standing image in the Prince of Wales Museum (fig. 38), shows a tiny female figure in between the feet. From the

inscription on the pedestal, we discern that the central image had been of the Śākyāmunī Buddha, and we can presume that the female figure in between the feet of the Buddha is the female lay-worshipper Khvasica who set up the image of Śākyāmunī Buddha(86). Thus, it is evident that the secondary image in between the feet of the main image does not necessarily indicate a reflective deity in relation to the main image.

As evident here, none of the two supposedly important elements can be conclusively applied for the identification of the image standing in between the Buddha's feet(fig.37) as Maitreya. A close examination of the sculpture on the contrary, reveals that the rounded motif behind the image looks similar to the folded body of the snake of the fig. 36. It is not impossible that it is a Nāga image. The presence of Nāga image at such places as in the fig. 37 is not very strange since Nāga plays an important role in Buddhist legends. Nāgas have been known for their great reverence for the Buddha; Nāga Erapatra was known as the one who eagerly awaited the appearance of the Buddha in the world, and Nāga Mucilinda protected the Buddha from a terrible storm for over a week(87).

Thus, it is most probable that the standing image in between the feet of the Buddha in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 37) represents that of Nāga Erapatra. The other alternative identification of this image is that of a simple donor. There had been donors whose names had close

associations with Nāgas, for example, Pusika Nagapaya or Nāgarakṣita; the first one is the donor of a seated Buddha(88) and the later is the donor of a standing Amitābha Buddha(89).

A very interesting image for the students of the Buddhist iconography is the over life size standing image, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 39). It is shown with the head of a Brāhmin and the body of a Bodhisattva holding the kamaṇḍalu in his left hand. Rosenfield had identified this image originally as Maitreya, but later it has been recognized that its head had been recarved(90). His idea that the image was retouched seems perfectly right(91), while his reading of the original identity of the image has to be reconsidered. In all probability this might have been of a Nāga image, for we know that the Maitreya figure having the above type of body do have the small-curved hair style without any headgear, and the presence of the turban in this statue can best be understood when we relate this image with the Nāga image whose headgear is always a tall turban with cockade design in front. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the Kushana Mathura artists understood the fundamental nature of each deity they made and differentiated hence the Nāga and Maitreya have been distinguished with certain specific characteristics that correspond to their nature.

III-3-C. THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT MAITREYA AND AVALOKITEŚVARA IDENTIFICATION

The standing image of the Bodhisattva, preserved in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 40), is perhaps the most problematic one for our investigation of Maitreya iconography of the Kushana Mathura school. The image is shown with all the characteristics of the celestial Maitreya image type we have studied; a cylindrical type of crown, earrings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and the kamaṇḍalu in his left hand. The figure has the early Buddha/Bodhisattva type of garments. The differences such as an additional figure of a tiny seated Buddha in front of the crown and the small lion figure in between the feet are noteworthy. Mainly due to the appearance of Buddha figure in front of the crown, Coomaraswamy suggested its identification to be that of Avalokiteśvara and the tiny Buddha image as Amitābha Buddha(92).

There are serious problems in the above readings. To begin with, we do not have any confirmed evidence to trace the existence of the concept of parental Buddha Amitābha for Avalokiteśvara during Kushana period. Even if we hypothetically assume that the tradition might have already existed in Kushan period(93), the Buddha figure, is not in dhyāna mudrā, which is the permanent mudrā of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha according to the later tradition(94). Moreover we have no definite evidence that the Buddha in the

forehead of the Bodhisattva image is an exclusive mark only for Avalokiteśvara. The Avalokiteśvara image had started to bear his parental Buddha, Amitābha, on his forehead only from the late Gupta period onwards. Secondly, no image of Avalokiteśvara has been found holding the kamaṇḍalu in his hand from the Kushana Mathura school. Thirdly, the lion figure in between the feet has been found mostly in the Buddha images or sometimes with the Maitreya images as well, but never with the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva image.

The style of the crown here is in a way similar to that of Maitreya which we have studied so far. But, it is to be noted that, this headgear is far removed from the turban type which had been in vogue for the images of Avalokiteśvara in Gandhara school during this period. The kamaṇḍalu in the hand of the image is evidently that of Maitreya while the presence of the lion can also be explained keeping in view the example of the siṃhāsana under the image of Maitreya (fig. 17). The lion here symbolizes the kingly or masterly nature of Maitreya who has already been recognized as the ruler of the Tushita heaven and a source of the Buddhist Law.

According to the later tradition the abhaya mudrā seen here is the mystic mudrā of the Dhyāni Buddha, Amoghasiddhi, whose counter Mānushi Buddha is Maitreya. We should, however, take care in relating the small Buddha figure in front of Maitreya's head as Amoghasiddhi, the parental Dhyāni Buddha of Maitreya according to the Vyūha tradition.

The abhaya mudrā of the emblematic Buddha may be an outcome of the abhaya mudrā of Maitreya that was currently popular in Mathura school of art during the Kushana period and coincides with the abhaya mudrā of Amoghasiddhi which developed later on.

On the contrary, the representation of the emblematic Buddha image on the forehead of Bodhisattva might have developed first for Maitreya rather than for Avalokiteśvara as has been believed so far. The identification of such Buddha image could, in this case, be a symbolic representation of either Śākyāmuni Buddha or Maitreya's future career as a designated Buddha. The preference may go to the first one, when we consider the symbolism of stūpa on the forehead of Bodhisattva Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara who are often represented in the ascetic features in Western Deccan. Besides, it is possible that the presence of the Buddha figurine in relation with Maitreya may represent the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. Some Chinese scripture of the later period mentions that Maitreya Bodhisattva bears a crown which radiates hundreds and thousands of transformation of Buddhas(95). However, such concept of nirmāṇakāya, or the body of transformation, seems to be rather difficult to apply to this image of an early period.

Another important point to identify the image conclusively as Maitreya Bodhisattva is that the abhaya mudrā of the emblematic Buddha. This is the only mudrā with which Maitreya has been depicted consistently during Kushana

period in Mathura school. Its identification as Maitreya Bodhisattva may be proved by the related iconography of Bodhisattva shown on the reverse of this statue (fig. 23); which demonstrates the characteristic features of the two most important Bodhisattvas popular in Mathura school of art. The upper one is shown with the turban type Bodhisattva seated in dhyāna mudrā which represents the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, and the lower one is shown with the crowned Maitreya type with the right hand in the abhaya mudrā and the left hand holding the kamaṇḍalu. Comparing the crown of Maitreya with that of the standing image on the reverse one can notice that both the crowns are basically the same while the crown of the standing image has been elaborated with the geometric design and carries a seated Buddha image, a symbolic representation of Maitreya's nature. All such elements do not favour its identification as Avalokiteśvara. A head of the Bodhisattva image from Sanchi (fig. 41) is another rare example having an emblematic Buddha image on its head. At the first appearance the head seems to wear a turban with cockade design. Marshall and Foucher suggest the head as belonging to Avolokiteśvara and his Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha, for the emblematic Buddha image, whose hand is in dhyāna mudrā (96). A close observation, however, reveals a few interesting features; firstly, headgear here differs from the ordinary turban-type headgear used by Avalokiteśvara. Secondly, the band around the headgear recalls that of the fig. 24, whose identity we

have suggested as Maitreya. Looking at the figs. 24 and 25, we can relate that the cockade of the fig.41 is a bigger version of the round buckles shown in front of the headgears of the figs. 24 and 25. Even though the emblematic image of Buddha here displays dhyāna mudrā, it seems to have no great meaning for its identification as the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha, for there are a lot of later images of Avalokiteśvara having the emblematic Buddha image in different mudrā(97). On the contrary, it could mean to represent Maitreya's nature as the yet-to-be Buddha. Thus, it is highly probable that the Maitreya iconography of Kushana Mathura was well established in the above manner, whereas we are rather confused when we look at Kushana iconography from the point of view of the later Buddhist iconographical complexity.

The idea of the iconographical elements of Maitreya having emblematic Buddha suggestive of his future career is based on the fundamental concept of the Mānushi Buddhas. Maitreya must have been a role model for the early Mathura Buddhists whose aim was to reach the final salvation.

The teaching aspect of Maitreya seems to have been the most important feature of the deity for those Buddhist followers, as is evident from the gesture of the abhaya mudrā which is shown constantly in his images throughout the Kushana Mathura school of art. There is hardly any Mahāyānic concept of the Bodhisattva in belief of Maitreya, but as in the case of the Buddha in the Hīnayāna Buddhism,

he shares the nature of the mortal Buddha. The above proposal is indeed opposed to the widely accepted opinion that the Maitreya cult in early India is closely related to the widespread concept of Maitreya's celestial realm Tushita. We have already discussed in the second chapter that the religious aspirations of Kushana Mathura Buddhist were mainly for the achievement of the Dharma and the welfare of the human beings in the world. Those humble wishes of the Mathura Buddhists reveal much of the Hīnayānic nature. Karatika, a Hīnayāna Buddhist and the donor of the seated Maitreya from Mathura, too, expressed his wish for the welfare of all beings.

It has been generally considered that Maitreya for the Kushana Mathura Buddhists was never a popular deity, but the present research reveals that he was always present deep in the hearts of every Buddhist of ancient Mathura, as is exemplified by the available sculptural evidence.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 It has been generally believed that the first anthropomorphic images of the Buddha emerged shortly before the reign of Kanishka. However, there is a group of scholars who try hard to push back the date of the first Buddha image to some time before the Christian era. See the recent article of P. Pal (1988), "A Pre-Kushan Image from Mathura" in Marg, pp. 1-20; A.K. Narain (1985), "First Images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva: Ideology and Chronology" in Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia, ed, A.K. Narain pp. 1-21; John C. Huntington, "The Origin of the Buddha Image: Early Image Traditions and the Concept of Buddhadar Śānapunyā", in Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia, pp. 23-58.
- 2 Foucher has suggested that the representation of Maitreya was first made in aniconic form. He gives us an example of the row of stupas carved in relief, on the torana of the Great Stupa at Sanchi. He interprets it as a symbolic representation of the Mānushi Buddhas and Maitreya. Foucher (1917), p. 171. This interpretation however, needs more careful examination, and cannot be confirmed unless we get more evidence of similar kind.
- 3 The term Buddha/Bodhisattva is used here for those early images of the Buddha identified with their inscription as Bodhisattva.
- 4 R.C. Sharma (1964), p. 194, pl. XV-6.
- 5 Rosenfield (1967), p. 231.
- 6 J.P.H. Vogel (1910), pl. XV-b.
- 7 R.C. Sharma (1984), p. 194.

- 8 Ibid. p. 107.
- 9 The term 'Buddha' or 'Bodhisattva' is used here without denoting relationship with Śākyāṃuni Buddha or Siddhārtha Bodhisattva, but refers to the general meaning 'Buddha for the enlightened one, 'Bodhisattva' for whose yearning is enlightenment. Otherwise, it will be specifically 'the Buddha' for the Śākyāṃuni Buddha and 'the Bodhisattva' for the Śākyāṃuni Bodhisattva.
- 10 Ibid., p. 234. Sharma, following B. N. Mukherjee, gives the date of the year 26 of Kanishka era for the beginning of the reign of Huvishka; since he followed the year 78 A.D. for the date of Kanishka the beginning year of Huvishka's rule comes in A.D. 104. See Sharma (1984), p. 26.
- 11 J.P.H. Vogel (1910), p. 40.
- 12 Lohizen-de Leeuw (1910), pp. 178-79.
- 13 The seated Buddha image, now in the Mathura Museum (Acc. No. 78.34), is perhaps, the first image having the name of 'Śākyāṃuni Buddha' for the identification of the image. R.C. Sharma reads the inscription thus: "This image of Śākyāṃuni Buddha was set up for the welfare of all beings by Yaśā, daughter (?) of Gradhadīna, mother of Hasti and Datta and the housewife of goldsmith (?) Bhaṭṭipriya who is the son of Bhaṭṭisena and the grandson of Bhaṭṭihasti." He assigned this image to the reign of Huvishka in accordance with stylistic and epigraphic evidence. R.C. Sharma (1984), pp. 190-91. The standing image of Buddha, dated 26th (or 28th) year of Huvishka, is identified as Amītabha Buddha, the image is in the Mathura Museum (Acc. No. is 77.30).
- 14 D.R. Sahani (1908-9), A.S.I.R., p. 135.

- 15 "Senka the son of Śreṣṭhahastī who is the son of Sindhuka(?) installs (this image of) Bodhisattva.... for the worship of all Buddhas and for the welfare of all beings in the honour of parents by Senaka and son of Dama." Sharma (1984), p. 181, n. 41.
- 16 P. Chandra (1970), pp. 61-62.
- 17 According to the Dīgghanikāya, a Theravādin literature, the Śākyamuni Buddha himself said that nobody would see him in the idol form (Dīgghanikāya, Brahmajālasutta, 2,3,23). But in the Vinaya of the Sarvastivādins, the Śākyamuni Buddha permit for the making of the image of Bodhisattva. According to it Anathapindaka asked, "World honoured one, if images of yours are not allowed to be made, pray may we not at least make images of Bodhisattvas in attendance upon yours". The Buddha granted his permission to the request. A. Waley, "Did the Buddha Die of Eating Pork", in M'elanges Chinois et bouddiques, Vol. I, 1932, pp. 352-4.
- 18 There are various opinions regarding the accession date for king Kanishka, the generally acceptable dates are; A.D. 78 favoured by Bachhofer (1929), Lohizen-de Leeuw (1949) and R.C. Sharma (1984), and A.D. 108 by D.C. Sircar (1968), A.D. 110-115 by Rosenfield (1967), A.D. 125 by Smith (1903), A.D. 128-129 by Konow (1969), A.D. 134 by Harmatta (1965), A.D. 143-144 by Ghirshman (1957) and Puri (1965), A.D. 248 by R.C. Majumdar (1920) etc. The complexity of the problem allows no simplistic solution to the present researcher whose aim is however different. The present researcher accepts A.D. 78 as the most likely one in view of the evidence currently available. The papers on the problems of dating Kanishka's reign are edited by A.L. Basham (1968).

- 19 Rosenfield is of the opinion that "beginning in the reign of Kanishka III(early third century),as Buddhist image begin to recur in large number, the inscriptions carefully distinguish Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Dīpaṅkara, and others". Rosenfield (1967), p. 243. It is, however, evident that such distinction was already made during Huvishka's reign.
- 20 The standing Bodhisattva from Kankalitīla, now in the Lucknow Museum (Acc. No. B. 126) must be the earliest of its kind. The stylistic features suggests its date somewhere in the early second century A.D. The missing head must have been with the turban headdress. There is still a chance of having the first image of the Śākyamuni Bodhisattva during the Kanishka period; Some of the earliest of its kind is shown in plates 29 and 30. Their stylistic features suggest its probable date to sometime in the late first century A.D.
- 21 See the next chapter pp. 138-146.
- 22 Watters comments on Vasumitra as a name common to several illustrious Buddhists as; a personal desciple of the Buddha, an author of the Abhidharma-prakarāṇa-pada-śāstra, Abhidharma-dhātukāyapāda-śāstra, Ārya-vasumitra-bodhisattva-saṅgīti-śāstra, and a commentator on Vasubandhu's Abhiharmakoṣa-śāstra. Watters (1904-05), Vol. I, p. 273.
- 23 Beal's trans. Vol. I, p. 155.
- 24 The Divyāvadana furnished a detailed account of the prophecies made by the Buddha when he visited Mathura before his demise. He foretold that: 'after hundred years of my death there would be a perfume merchant (Gandhi) named Gupta. He would be blessed by an

illustrious son, Upagupta who would fulfil my mission and propagate the Law. He would be Buddha without symptoms (Alaksaniko Buddha). He would help thousands of people to get rid of miseries and sufferings. He would be initiated by Sanakavasi who would establish a monastery at the Rurumudra hill.'

Cited from R.C. Sharma (1984), p. 42.

- 25 Rosenfield (1967), p. 231.
- 26 Coomaraswamy (1927), pp. 57-58.
- 27 Louizen-de Leeuw (1949), The Sythian Period. See pl. XV.
- 28 Ibid., p. 126.
- 29 R.C. Sharma (1984), p. 194.
- 30 Ibid., p. 194.
- 31 P. Pal (1979), in Oriental Art, pp. 212-26.
- 32 Parameshwari Lal Gupta (1981), in the "Letter to the Editor", Oriental Art, pp. 228-9; The Mahārāja Sodasa could have ruled in the last years of the first century B.C., or early decades of the first century A.D. See Rosenfield (1967), p. 136.
- 33 It has inscription in Maurya Brahmi, which reads, "Made by Bhadapugarin ... Gomitaka the pupil of Kuṇika." Vogel (1910), p. 88.
- 34 Cunningham, who discovered the statue, identified it as a Yaksha or attendant of demi-god who carried a chauri. Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XX, p. 41; But Vogel was inclined to identify it as Kubera. Vogel (1910), p. 88.
- 35 Coomaraswamy, who first proposed this theory, even identified the attendants of the early Buddha/Bodhisattva image as Yakshas, since they followed the royal attire of the Yaksha with necklace

earrings, bracelets and turban. A.K. Coomaraswamy (1927), pp. 13-14.

36 The inscription on the pedestal reads thus: "In the (equal) year 4 of Mahārāja Kanishka, in the third month of the rainy season, on the 26th day, the Bodhisattva (image was) installed by the honorable Dharmanandi, a companion of the Buddhist monk, Bodhisena, his own shrine together with (his) parents, with his parental aunt (?), Bhadra, (and) with all the living beings". Cited from P. Pal (1988), p. 9.

37 The 'V' shaped necklace of the two attendants of the Buddha is identical type to the one we observed in the Parkham image and the Ahicchatra Maitreya image, but the flat circular type of necklace is missing here, while the other two figures on the pedestal wear it singularly without the 'V' shaped necklace. It is common to see that each of the attendants of the early image of the Buddha share either of the two types of necklaces, one in round shape, and the other in the 'V' shape. See for an example, the famous Katra Buddha/Bodhisattva image, now in the Mathura Museum, Acc. No. A.1.

38 L. Bachhofer (1939), pl. 103.

39 Czuma (1985), p. 58.

40 Ibid., p. 58.

41 R.C. Sharma's remarks of "the absence of moustaches and youthful look" cannot be taken as serious judgement for differentiating Siddhārtha from Maitreya. It may be acceptable to Ingholt, in the context of Gandhara images of Maitreya.

42 Louizen-de Leeuw (1949), p. 150. On the grounds of style and

palaeography, scholars came to the conclusion that Katra Buddha Bodhisattva image must be approximately contemporary with Bala Buddha /Bodhisattva image, which is dated in the third year of Kanishka era.

- 43 Ibid. p. 150. She gives the suggestion on the assumption that the images made during Kanishka's reign omit the date when there is no space on the rim of the pedestal. She sees no such reason for Katra image bearing no date.
- 44 Sahni translates it thus; "In the third year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the third (month) of winter, the twenty-second day, on this date (specified as) above, was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitakas and follower of Friar Puśyabuddhi (namely, an image of) the Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Banaras, at the palace where the Lord used to walk, together with (his) parents, with (his) master and teachers, (his) followers and pupils and with (the nun) Buddhāmitra versed in Tripitakas, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharpaltana and together with the four classes (monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen) for the welfare and happiness of all creatures." Sahni (1914), p. 33.
- 45 Coomaraswamy (1927), p. 63.
- 46 The water vase in the hands of various deities has been named differently in accordance with the meaning proposed by individual scholars: Mallman uses the term kamaṇḍalu or water vase as an attribute of Avalokiteśvara. She notes that the kamaṇḍalu of Avalokiteśvara has no filling tube. Mallman (1948), p. 266. Eitel glosses kunḍika as watering pot, and kalāśa for bellied jar containing "all that may be desired". Eitel(1888), pp. 79-80;

- Saunders specify the amṛtakalāśa for carrying the nectar of immortality. Saunders (1960), p. 195: Yu-min Lee uses the name kundika for the one that of Maitreya. Lee (1983).
- 47 Foucher (1900), p. 232.
- 48 Mallman is of the opinion that the water vase in the hand of Indra or Maitreya may not have been, in ancient times differentiated from the water vase. Mallman (1948) p. 266.
- 49 The inscription on the base reads "Indraḥ devarāja", i.e., Indra, king of gods.
- 50 See the fig. 14 for Indra and the fig. 36 for Nāga image.
- 51 The later period of the Buddhist art of India reveals a few icons, other than Maitreya, with Kamāṇḍalu in the hand.
- 52 Rosenfield (1967), pl. 231.
- 53 This is the only Maitreya image from Mathura school that is dated by inscription, it reads: "In the year 29 of the Mahārāja Huvishka, fourth month of the rainy season, first day; on that day (as specified above) this image was installed by Karaṭita (a resident) of Araki in the ... vihāra for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptakas (sic) for the welfare of all beings." Trans. by Rosenfield (1967), p. 230.
- 54 Rosenfield (1967), p. 230.
- 55 For more details see, pp. 106-110.
- 56 Sharma notes that during the last years of Huvishka's reign, "the heavy inflow of Gandhara traits at Mathura resulted in a sort of stylistic crisis and despite several new alien features a few archaic and indigenous conventions were also revived". Sharma (1984), p. 200.

- 57 According to the chronology we applied here, i.e., the beginning of Kanishka's reign in 78 A.D., the reign of Kanishka II is 152-176 A.D.
- 58 Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949), p. 236. The inscription on the pedestal reads, however, the year twenty-two, and Leeuw considers that it omits the digit hundred.
- 59 The curator of the Mathura Museum has displayed the Maitreya image (fig. 21), along with a stone chatra above it. It is of wonder if this catra goes on top of the standing Bodhisattva image fig. 40, the reverse of which is fig. 23.
- 60 Czuma (1985), p. 83, fig. 25.
- 61 Coomaraswamy (1927), p. 234, fig. 87.
- 62 Coomaraswamy, pl. 87. He noted that the image would appear like a prototype of the later crowned Buddhas and can be recognized. p. 56, n. 5.
- 63 Marshall and Foucher(1940), Vol. 3. P. 3, Pl. CXXIV-d. According to them, the inscription in Brāhmi reads that the image is dedicated by the daughter of a certain Vishakula.
- 64 Czuma gives the date 130 A.D. for the date of fig. 22. Coomaraswamy suggests the early second century for the seated Maitreya image, fig. 23.
- 65 According to the Lalitavistāra the Śākyamuni Buddha, before leaving Tushita heaven, put his diadem on the head of Maitreya, who became the leader of thirty two thousand Bodhisattvas. Lalitavistāra, ed. Vaidya (1958), p. 2.
- 66 The theory is an outcome of the assumption that a lion figure in between the feet of the Buddha is the symbol of the supremacy of

the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha who was known as 'Śākya Siṃha', i.e., the lion among the Śākyas. Sharma (1984), pp. 186-87.

67 See, p. 95.

68 R. C. Sharma (1984), p. 194.

69 Marshall and Foucher (1940), p. 386; R.C. Sharma (1984).

70 Rosenfield (1967), p. 238.

71 Ibid. p. 238.

72 The Sāddhamā-puṇḍarīka sūtra, H. Kern's trans. In this text the term Mahāsattva is generally used in the following manner: "We preach to the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas a sublime" p. 107.; "The lord then addressed to the eighty thousand Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas" p. 213.; "Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Mahāpratibhāna," p. 228.; In this text the role of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas was explained in detail to Mañjushrī. Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas addressed in the Mahāyānic sense refers especially to those wise men or monks or nuns whose character is already Bodhisattva. p. 262-280.

73 See pp. 84-85.

74 Often in the early Kushana period, both in Mathura and Gandhara, the abhaya mudrā was used as teaching attitude which was replaced by dharmacakra pravartana mudrā later on. See, Saunders (1960), p. 61.

75 The proposed date here however cannot be taken for granted since there is no trace of Kātra type of garment which is characterized with the band of garment around the left shoulder.

76 R. C. Sharma suggests the probable date for this statue as the last days of Vāsudeva, the beginning of last quarter of the second century A.D. R. C. Sharma (1984), pp. 205-26.

- 77 Lohuizen-de Leeuw suggests the probable date for this image to be after the year 129 A.D., since it bears resemblance to the images having advanced stylistic development than the images of Anyor. She had dated the the Buddha images from Anyor to the year 51 of Kanishka era and the images showing advanced development than them as after the year 129 A.D.
- 78 It is not applicable when the image is standing; the turbaned Bodhisattva image when he is in standing position displays the right hand in abhaya mudrā.
- 79 Coomaraswamy (1927), pl. 80. He might have missed to read the traces of water vase in the left hand.
- 80 The Mahāyāna concept of the Buddha became ideal and represents the nature of multiple manifestation. Maitreya, too, in connection with the ideal of the Buddha could have a similar nature. It is however too hypothetical to say that this early Kushana representation is the visual representation of such conceptual nature of Maitreya.
- 81 They are mentioned in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas. According to Vogel, they along with two others are associated with six quarters or regions and six divine regents. Vogel(1926), Indian Serpent Lore or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art, p. 9; In the later mythology they are associated with quarters as supporters of the earth. According to Sivaramamurti, "the divine Lokapālas or guards of the quarters came to be in some manner associated with the Nāgas; and this accounts for the Buddhist belief of two Nāgas Virūpaksha and Erapatra as Lokapalas of the eastern and western regions." Sivaramamurti (1956), p. 72. The identification

proposed here can be tentative, since the figure does not show any trace of the nāgahood, thus, it can also be the antropomorphic representation of the four quarters.

82 According to Czuma the tall cockade of the Nāgarāja is "often referred to as a maulimani ornament." Czuma (1985), p. 83.

83 Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949), p. 312. R.C. Sharma(1984), p. 220.

84 R. C. Sharma (1984), p. 220; Yu-min Lee (1983), pp. 167-68.

85 In the early Kushana Buddha image, a lion or a cluster of lotus flowers are represented in between the feet and these objects have been regarded as symbolic representations of Śākyāmuni Buddha's nature.

86 Luder reads the inscription in Brahmi thus; "In the year 45 of Mahārāja Huvishka Devaputra, in the third (month) of the rainy season, on the 15th day, on this date, an image was set up at Alika in the Rosikavitara by the female lay worshipper Khvasica for the welfare and happiness of her parents, of her mistress, of the mother of Samanika (Śramaṇika), of Samanika (Sramanika), of Jivaka, of the mother of Jīvaka, and all sentient beings." H. Luders (1961), pp. 205-06.

87 Sivaramamurti (1956). p. 70.

88 Only the broken lower part is found in the Mathura Museum(Acc. No. 10.212).

89 It is the first image of Amitābhā Buddha that is identified by its inscription. It is now preserved in the Mathura Museum (Acc. No. 77.30).

90 Rosenfield (1967) p. 311, n. 68.

91 Apart from head, other parts of this image also have been recarved;

the right hand, the smaller necklace which originally must have been in a flat circular shape, and the folds in between the legs. There must be more marks of recarving behind the shoulders so as to remove the nagahood.

- 92 Coomaraswamy (1927), p. 57, pl. 78. We do not have any Kushana example of Avalokiteśvara image having the Amitābhā image on its forehead, even though we are informed that the image of Amitābhā Buddha was known and installed in early Mathura school as evidence comes from the inscription on the pedestal of the Buddha image found at Govindnagar.
- 93 B.Bhattacharyya suggests that the proper literature concerning the concept of the Dhyāni Buddha comes from the late Tantric texts, like the Sādhana-mālā which was formulated in the thirteenth century A.D. and the theory of Dhyāni Buddha might have begun around the tenth century A.D. Bhattacharyya (1928), p. 43. According to Agrawala the Vyūha tradition had developed in the Kushana and the Gupta periods. V.S. Agrawala (1965), p. 139. The sculptural evidence, on the contrary, suggest that the proper image symbolizing the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābhā as an emblem of Avalokiteśvara appears during the late Gupta period.
- 94 The pedestal is now in the Mathura Museum (Acc. No. 77.30), and its inscription reads thus: "On the 26th day of the 2nd month of rainy season in the year 20 (6) on this occasion the image of Amitābha Buddha was installed by Nāgarakṣita son of Buddhabāla grandson of merchant Satvaka and grandson (daughter's son) of the trader Balakīrti(?) for the worship of all Buddhas. Whatsoever merit is in this charity let it be for listening to the Supreme

- Knowledge of the Buddha." Cit. R.C. Sharma(1984), p. 232. n. 169.
- 95 The Kuan Mi-lo Pu-sa Shang-sheng Tou-shui-tien Ching (Daizōkyō Vol. 14, p. 419 c); Tsan Mi-lo Ssu-li Wen (Daizōkyō, Vol. 53, p. 404 a); they are translated by Hsuan-tsang cit. Yu-min Lee(1983), p. 165.
- 96 Marshall and Foucher(1940), Vol. 3, p. 128, pl. CXXVI-d.
- 97 This phenomenon is observed not only in Mathura, but also in Gandhara and in the Western Deccan, particularly at Bagh (fig.155 and 156), Ajanta (figs.175-178), Aurangabad (figs. 189 and 190), and Nasik (figs. 205 and 207).