

CHAPTER IV

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAITREYA ICONOGRAPHY IN GANDHARA

Along with Mathura. Gandhara, another important centre of Buddhist art of the Kushan Empire, has been rightfully credited for having innovated the Buddha image. The importance of Gandhara school is not only with regard to the originality and distinctness of the Buddha image that has been evolved here, but also for the peculiarities of Bodhisattva iconography. As for the Maitreya iconography, particularly, the region of Gandhara(1) has yielded hundreds of sculptural representations of the deity, distinct from that of Mathura school in their style and iconographical features.

Nearly a century before, Foucher came upon a legendary theory that the very form of Maitreya in Gandhara sculpture is a regally ornate version of the deity Brahmā(2). In addition to Foucher, Soper has also suggested that the Maitreya image type may have been borrowed from the iconography created for the god Brahmā, and that both Maitreya and Brahmā, in different ways, represent the quintessence of Brāhmanism(3). The origin of Maitreya image since then had been related to the god Brahmā.

Consequently, for identifying the image of Maitreya the double knot chignon (or bow-knot) and the kamaṇḍalu have been considered as the two most important elements, in addition to the Bodhisattva-ornamentation. Moreover, due to the absence of firm evidence for the dating of Gandhara sculptures in general(4) it has not been possible till recently(5) to define the date of the origin of Maitreya icon.

One of the major problems faced in the study of the Maitreya images from Gandhara is that, neither any textual evidence have been found for the understanding the Maitreya cult nor any definite sculptural evidence with which we can determine the standard iconographical features of Maitreya has been agreed upon. So far, too many instant hypotheses on the iconographical features of Maitreya have been suggested.

To overcome the lack of written evidences regarding the Maitreya cult in Gandhara, the present chapter proposes to examine all the varied iconographical characteristics of Maitreya that have been suggested so far, so as to establish the standard format of representation. Moreover, an attempt is made here to describe the nature of Maitreya cult in this region on the basis of sculptural material.

It is not out of place to mention here that the chapter deals with only some significant images of Maitreya in the context of the iconographical typology, and many images having similar iconographical features have been omitted

from detailed description(6). The chapter comprises of five main parts:

1. The representations of Maitreya on the coins of Kanishka.
2. The combined images of Buddha and Bodhisattva.
3. Maitreya images with the combination of Buddha, Bodhisattva and ascetic elements.
4. The ascetic type of Maitreya image.
5. Controversy in the iconography of Maitreya in the art of Gandhara.

The division of the second, third and fourth parts are based on the hair styles, i.e., the top-knot ushnisha type, the top-knot type with the long hair falling to the shoulders, and the bow-knot style(7); the last part deals with the controversial problems in the study of Maitreya iconography.

IV-1. THE REPRESENTATIONS OF MAITREYA ON THE COINS OF KANISHKA

Surprisingly until recently no one had identified the image of Maitreya on the coins of King Kanishka; it was Joe Cribb, in 1984, who brought out half a dozen of those coins depicting the seated image of Maitreya with the Roman letters that reads METRAGO BOUDO, i.e. Maitreya Buddha(8). Although there are obvious differences, both in the inscribed names and in the iconographical features between the Buddha and the Maitreya images found on the coins, we

can see now clearly that the previous scholarship had failed to read this Buddhist deity, who is different from the Śākyamuni Buddha.

Technically, such misreading was caused by two factors, which in turn are connected with the fundamental aspects of the Maitreya cult. Firstly, Maitreya is called BOUDO and secondly, the Maitreya images on the coins are shown with the nimbus and the ushnisha similar to the Buddha. However, it is valid to consider that the earlier misreading was due to the pre-conceived notions that the iconography of Maitreya followed that of the Buddha, and the cult of Maitreya developed with the coming of Mahāyānic Bodhisattva concept. Cribb's fresh interpretation is indeed not very surprising, since anyone who avoids the above pre-conceptions can clearly find the difference between the two images.

Taking the clue from Cribb, we can now have precise evidence for the earliest Maitreya image; moreover Maitreya's presence on the coins, one of the most significant objects of common use, suggests the importance of the cult during Kanishka's reign(9). The appearance of Maitreya image with the combined features of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva suggests that even for the early Buddhists of Gandhara region, as in the Mathura school, the concept of Maitreya as a future Buddha had been much important. Such concept could have been developed from Hīnayāna theology itself, rather than a fresh Mahāyāna concept, where the

Buddha became the spiritual god rather than as a historical person who attained enlightenment.

The Chinese pilgrim's reports tell us the prominent role of Hīnayāna Buddhists in the society. Fa-hein, who visited this region in the early years of the fifth century A.D., informs that in Udayan (Swat) many Buddhist priests studied Hīnayāna Buddhism(10). Further, a colossal Maitreya statue in T'o-li, the capital of the country Udayana, has been reported by many Chinese pilgrims, like Pao-yun, Fa-hein, Hsuan-tsang etc.(11). Pao-yun, who left for India in 397 A.D., saw an image of Maitreya as a Buddha, 80 feet tall and covered with gold plates(12).

Thus the link between Maitreya cult and Hīnayāna Buddhism was strong and the tradition as such must have been already developed in Kushan Gandhara as evident from the coins of Kanishka. Until the contribution of Cribb the earliest image of Maitreya had always been traced back only till the end of the second century A.D., since the earliest dated image in this region belongs to this period(13).

Cribb gives altogether fourteen specimens of coins, including the six coins illustrated here, having either METRAGO BOUD, or METRAGA BOUDO, or MERTAGO BOUDO written on them(14); see for example, figs. 42, 43 and 44. M. Carter added one more coin having an identical inscription and the image similar to that described by Cribb(15). All these coins show on the front, the regular type of the King Kanishka's image, who invariably is in the standing pose and

holding a spear in the left hand and a torch in the right. He wears a brimmed cap and knee length coat and a cloak (figs. 45 and 46).

The iconographical characteristics of the Maitreya image shown on the reverse of these coins are as follows:

- a) They are all seated in padmāsana on a low stool. This is a very interesting feature when we compare this with the Buddha images which are always shown in the standing pose on the coins of Kanishka(16).
- b) He is nimbated, which is indicated by a circular line around the head. Often, it is invisible or partially visible; the most clear example is seen in fig. 43.
- c) The round ushnisha is large and appears to be tied with a band separating the ushnisha from the head, as can be seen in figs. 42 and 44.
- d) The appearance of hair style is somewhat like a turban without the so called cockade, but in reality it must be of the long hair type which is loosely tied up into the top knot. The image in fig. 45 shows a rather tidy hair style as that of the Buddha images.
- e) No facial detail is visible from any of the known examples, although we can presume that it might not have any thing other than the human face(17). The ears are generally unmarked since it can be seen as covered by long hair.
- f) He wears a garment which is very difficult to read. In certain cases as in figs. 345 and 47, some lines suggest

the folds of the garment(18).

- g) The earrings appear in the form of a prominent dot at both the sides of the neck, immediately below the hair. It often plays the role of indicating the ornamentation, while other ornaments are often not visible. The fig. 46 for example, shows a badly worn out image which gives hardly any detail indicating its identity as Maitreya. But the earrings, in the clear shape of dot above both the shoulders distinguish them from the long ears of the Buddha.
- h) He wears a single necklace in the form similar to japa mālā as shown in the figs. 46 and 47.
- i) He wears a bunch of armlets and bracelets, indicated by a few lines. The figs. 42, 43, 44, 47 and 48 show the ornaments on both the hands, whereas in the sculptural representation, it is generally shown only on the right arm due to the garment which covers the left hand.
- j) The right hand is raised in front of the right side of the chest, possibly with the palm turned inwards. The fig. 42, however, shows the right hand much closer to the established form of the abhaya mudrā, whereas the fig. 45 shows hands in the similar position of the dharmacakra pravartana mudrā(19).
- k) The left hand is kept down slanting towards the centre, and holds a kamaṇḍalu, and it is generally difficult to trace its actual shape. The figs. 42, 47, and 48 illustrate the typical position of the left hand and

shows a small round object held below. Among all the figures observed till now, the fig. 45 is the only one which shows the left hand extending up to the centre of the body.

- l) The sitting position in padmāsana generally assume a triangular shape since both the legs are kept together, as seen in the figs. 42 and 43.
- m) He is always seen seated on a low stool, two legs of which are shown. The stool of the fig. 45 shows the additional supports in the form of one horizontal and a few vertical lines linking the front legs of the stool(20).

From the above reading of the iconographical features of Maitreya images found on the coins we arrive at two most obvious questions. The first question concerns itself with the significance of such an iconographical type. In other words, what could have been the fundamental concept that lead to the creation of these iconographical features. The next question is whether there could have been any prototype, from which the iconographical type has been derived. The iconographical fixity of the images shown on the coins suggests that prior to the time of the manufacture of coins, there could have existed a prototype of this image type either in sculpture or in painting.

For answering the first question we have four important points to deal with which reveal the features of Maitreya as these might have been understood by the artists of

Kanishka's time. Firstly, the nimbus around the head of Maitreya image suggests that the deity is a divine being and not merely an ordinary person. Secondly, the ushnisha suggests his personality similar to that of the Buddha. Traditionally, such top knot hair style had been used for the ushnisha in the Buddha images of Gandhara school and it differs from the so called 'bow knot' or 'two-looped chignon' type seen in many of the sculptural images of Maitreya from this region. Thirdly, the ornamentation suggests the celestial nature of Maitreya as the ruling Bodhisattva of the Tushita heaven. Lastly, the kamandalu in the hand of Maitreya suggests Maitreya's being as the source of the Buddhist Law(21). In his left hand Maitreya holds the essence of the Law symbolized by the kamandalu and his right hand symbolizes the teaching of the Law. In the second chapter we have already noted that the most important nature of Maitreya's cult in early India was the teaching aspect; many Buddhist scholars are known to have paid homage to Maitreya for the solution of doctrinal disputes(22).

The above characteristics and symbolism of the iconographical features of Maitreya images from the coins of Kanishka are comparable to that of the first Maitreya image from Mathura. Thus the fundamental concept behind the origin of iconographical schema of these two important art centres of Kushan Empire must have had the same origin.

Then comes the second question related to the origin. Cribb has pointed out in detail the similarities between the

Maitreya images of these coins and the images of Maitreya from Mathura(23). According to him "although Gandharan in some respects, the coin images do not conform very closely to the typical classic Gandhara sculpture of Maitreya ..." (24). The reasons for the above statement are based on two judgements i.e., he sees the similarity of hair type between the coin images and the early Mathura images; he notes that "the typical Gandharan Maitreya has his hair tied in a loose knot with two loops and held by a jewelled tiara" (25). The second reason is given by the comparison of the seated position; to cribb the Mathura image "clearly exhibits the triangular formation" on the coins, whereas on the "typical Gandharan seated image they form a rectangle" (26).

The above statements are disputable for the following reasons: The top-knot style of ushnisha does not seem similar to that of the early Maitreya image type from Mathura. It is more closely related to the shape of the ushnisha of the Buddha images from Gandhara. The ushnisha of the Mathura sculptures had never been separated from the head by the tiny band, as noticed in the previous chapter, whereas the top knot hair is the prominent feature seen in both the Buddha and the Maitreya images in Gandharan art. This type of hair style belongs to an important type of Maitreya, along with the 'two-looped chignon' type hairdo.

His second comparison has serious drawbacks when we compare the differences between the two dimensional relief

and the round sculptures. According to changes in the viewing angle the round sculptures do change its appearance. For instance, if we look from a high view point at the seated image like that of fig. 17, it would show the triangular shape and otherwise it will not show the same feature. The seated posture seen in the figs. 42 and 43 is shown frontally without the triangular shape. So the comparison between the coin images and the Mathura sculpture cannot be taken as a reasonable point of similarity. Overlooking such problematic points, Cribb has concluded that "the earliest Buddhist images of the Gandharan school are based on the sculpture of the Mathura school which first created image of the Buddha early in the reign of Kanishka"(27). This statement has another serious problem; even if we consider the inconclusive reading of the similarities as possible, how is it possible that the Mathura images of Huvishka period become the prototype for the coin images which belong to Kanishka's period(28).

This matter should be considered seriously since the origin of the Maitreya image almost entirely depends upon such interpretation. Before comparing this coin image of Maitreya, and the Mathura image it is essential to first study the sculptural representation of Maitreya from Gandhara region.

As was the case in the Mathura school of art, the earliest Maitreya images of Gandhara school are characterized by the combined iconography of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. This simple statement however may sound strange to those who believe that one of the most characteristic features of Gandhara Maitreya image is the bow-knot hair style of a Brāhmin ascetic. J. N. Banerjea, for example, has remarked that in the Hellenistic art of Gandhara, different modes of dressing the hair are shown by the artists on the head of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya: "the former has his hair tastefully arranged upwards with jewelled bands encircling it, while the latter has a long hair tied sideways in a double knot just in the centre of the cranium."(29)

A survey of the Maitreya images from the regions of Gandhara apparently reveals different types of hair arrangements. The first and more popular type is the hair tied up on the top of the head in the shape of the ushnisha and the lower part of the hair is either short like that of the Buddha images or long and hanging down up to the shoulders. This type of hairdo has been termed here as the "top-knot" type. The other type shows the upper part of the hair in the form of double-looped chignon while the rest of the hair loosely hang down up to the shoulder. They are often decorated by beaded string around the upper part of the hair arrangement. Despite the fact that such top-knot type of Maitreya image is found more in number than the bow-

knot type, the top-knot type of Maitreya image has been often overshadowed by the bow-knot type. Too often, the image having the top-knot hair style has been considered to be that of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha(30).

A close examination of the top-knot hair style of Maitreya reveals no difference from the ushnisha of the Buddha image of this region. It must be right to consider that the top-knot hair type of Maitreya image is meant to represent the ushnisha of the Buddha which is one of the thirty-two Mahāpurshalakṣhaṇas. We have already accepted the top-knot hair arrangement as one of the most characteristic features of the Buddha images in comparison with the Mathura version of the ushnisha protuberance. In both the Maitreya and the Buddha images from the regions of Gandhara, the hair is wavy and the ushnisha is separated from the head by a tiny band around its lower part.

The difference of hair type between the Buddha and the Maitreya images is suggested by the lower part of the hair; in the case of Maitreya, the lower part of the hair is long and falls on to the shoulders, whereas that of the Buddha is shorter. Interestingly, there are some notable differences in the style of the lower part of hair among those Maitreya images having top-knot ushnisha and can be grouped into two: one with shorter hair type and the other with the longer hair type. The first type is almost similar with the hair arrangement of the Buddha in its appearance.

IV-2-A. MAITREYA IMAGES WITH USHINISHA

From a survey of over two hundred images that can be identified as Maitreya from Gandhara, over a dozen images can be classified as belonging to this group(31). These are distinguished from the other images by their iconographical similarity with the Maitreya images seen on the coins.

The Maitreya images constituting the present group have the following characteristics:

- a) The nimbus is comparatively small in size and has a simple line incised around its outer edge.
- b) The ushnisha is tied around by a thin band at the lower level and is devoid of ornamentation.
- c) The hair is generally of the small-curl type and the hair formations are bigger compared to that of the Buddha image.
- d) He has a round urṇa in between the eyebrow.
- e) The ornamentation is simple compared to the general type of the Bodhisattva of this region; it comprises of only two simple necklaces.
- f) The right hand, whether the image is seated or standing, displays invariably abhayamudrā and the left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu.
- g) The upper garment generally covers large part of upper body except the right shoulder in the manner of open mode of Buddha's sanghātī.

- h) When he is in the seated position, the feet are covered by the garment, and importantly, the position of the left hand comes close to the central part of the folded legs, as noticed in the images on the coin.
- i) He is usually shown seated on a siṃhāsana or a stool, both of which are covered with a cloth in front and a small foot stool is represented before it.

An almost perfect representation having the above description is found in the seated image from Karki, now in the Lahore Museum (fig. 49). Notable details are the necklaces, the raised right hand, and the design of the kamaṇḍalu and the throne. Among the two necklaces the longer one terminates in two dragon heads between a cylindrical bead, and the other is flat and fastened around the neck. The raised palm has a round design in its centre, most probably a cakra. Ingholt placed the date of this image to the later period of the Gandhara school, i.e., the fourth to the sixth century A.D.(32). The date of the image, however, can be placed much earlier, possibly, in the mid second century A.D. on the basis of the iconographical features.

A small image of Maitreya, around six inches high, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 50) shows delicate details corresponding to the above image. The ushnisha and the small curly hair resembles that of the Buddha, although it is much thicker and hence covers the ears. The left arm here is bent almost at right angle and so the hand is

positioned near the navel. The comparatively big sized throne gives the impression that the image is that of a real person, rather than a mythical personage. Such an elaborate throne must be the outcome of the concept that Maitreya is the ruling figure in Tushita abode.

A relief from Shotorak, now in the Kabul Museum (fig. 51) depicts a seated Maitreya along with a group of worshippers at the top frieze. The role of Maitreya as a ruling Bodhisattva of the Tushita realm is symbolically delineated by the placement of him on the top register. The worshippers, who are shown on both the sides with their hands in namaskāra mudrā, may be taken as the representations of the Bodhisattvas or the Devas who attend the teaching of Maitreya in the Tushita heaven. The iconographical details of Maitreya seen here are very close to that of the Maitreya image seen on the coins of Kanishka.

Now in the National Museum, Delhi, a Maitreya image (fig. 52) with similar iconographical features with the above image is seen depicted on a gable, commonly used in the decoration of Buddhist stūpas. In the top-most register the turban of the Buddha is placed on a stool, and below this is the seated image of Maitreya worshipped by the nimbated Bodhisattvas of the Tushita realm. He has a top-knot ushnisha. His right hand is in abhaya mudrā, while the left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu. Such images with the top-knot hair style has often been identified by scholars as the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, but for various reasons this cannot

be taken for granted(34).

A relief from Rawalpindi, now in the Karachi Museum (fig. 53) represents a seated Maitreya flanked by four worshippers in Sassanian dress. The hair of the deity is in a wavy style, very similar to that of the Buddha images from the regions of Gandhara, and the upper half of the body appears uncovered. Other features remain the same as in the case of the above examples.

All the above examples demonstrate a close relation both in form and iconography with the Maitreya images represented on the coins of King Kanishka. The differences noticed in the sculptural representation are the clear treatment of the garments, the folded legs, and the elaborate throne. These differences, however, are due to the distinctness in the scale and the material employed. What is important here is that, in any case, these Gandharan images are closer to the coin images rather than to those from Mathura.

The Buddhist stele from the Muhammad Nari, now in the Chandigarh Museum (fig. 54) is a unique example, which shows a series of eight Mānushi Buddhas which undoubtedly represent the seven Buddhas of the past and a image of Maitreya Bodhisattva. At the left end of the series before the three devotees is the Maitreya image with the combined features of the Buddha and Bodhisattva. As is the case in the seven other images of the Buddhas, Maitreya is shown here as a divine Buddha with nimbus and the ushnisha. At

the same time, the Maitreya image demonstrates some notable differences from that of the other Mānushi Buddhas. The lower part of the hair of Maitreya is longer and slightly curled up, while the upper part of the head is represented in the same way as for the other Mānushi Buddhas. The Maitreya image is adorned with ornaments; a flat circular necklace around the neck and the comparatively large broken part below the hair suggests big round earrings. The mode of the garment is different and much of the upper body has been left bare; the dhoti is wrapped around the waist and the aṅgavastra is wrapped around the left arm at the shoulder and falls loosely to the right of the hip. The oval shaped kamaṅḍalu is clearly visible in his left hand.

A relief from the Peshawar Museum (fig. 55) is another example of Maitreya representation among a series of Mānushi Buddhas. Here the deity is placed at the right end of the group(35). Similar in the features with the previous image, here the image has two necklaces and shows the right hand in abhaya mudrā. Notably, both the above Maitreya images bear the top knot hair style different from the bow-knot type, which has been better related to the images of Gandhara.

A broken relief, now in the Lahore Museum (fig. 56) is an interesting image, which at a first glance looks like a Buddha in sanghati. But the presence of the earrings and the necklace suggests its identity as a Bodhisattva. The comparison between this image and the above Maitreya image reveals close similarity in both style and iconographical

features. His right hand might have been in abhayamudrā and the left might have held a kamaṇḍalu. The broken end at the right side of the panel suggests that the image might have originally belonged to a row of Mānushi Buddha group.

One of the most excellent examples of the Maitreya images with the combined features of the Buddha and Bodhisattva is the standing Maitreya image, now preserved in the National Museum, Delhi (fig. 57). The big ushnisha and the hair is fully covered with the small shell like design. The mode of the garment used here is something in the midway between Buddha's sanghati type and Bodhisattva's uttariya type. The dhoti is wrapped around the waist with folds in front, and the lower lines of the undergarment stand above the knee level with well folded hem.

A relief from Paitava now in the Kabul Museum (fig. 58) displays a group of donor family flanking a standing Maitreya image on both the sides. The image of Maitreya is depicted here with a few differences. His nimbus is bigger compared to the previous examples. The ushnisha and the hair is made up of wavy patterns. The aṅgavastra is treated differently here which begins from the left hand and passes through the left shoulder. The garment is kept loosely while it passes through the folded right arm, so that it curves down like a 'U' shape in front of the body and goes up to the left shoulder wrapping the shoulder. While the right hand is in abhaya mudrā, the left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu. What is interesting here is that Maitreya is

shown with bare feet, whereas all the male attendant donors wear boots and the female donor attendants wear shoes. This may be indicative of his status as a divine being. Maitreya is shown here with the same type of ornamentation that is worn by the female donors next to him. Such common features of the iconographical details between the deity and ordinary worshipper is certainly not usual in religious art. The present relief may suggest that for the Buddhists of this region, Maitreya was a friendly deity, as his name suggests.

Such a friendly nature is also observable in the fig. 54, where Maitreya is seen turned towards the group of standing devotees. The gesture of the monk between the standing Maitreya and the donor couple is unusually relaxed, as if he is introducing the donor couple to Maitreya.

From the group of Maitreya images discussed above a few points regarding the nature of Maitreya cult could be deduced. Firstly, he is considered as a divine Buddha represented with the nimbus and the ushnisha. Secondly, he is a kingly Bodhisattva suggested by the siṃhāsana and the bodhisattva ornamentation. Thirdly, his friendly nature is well emphasized perhaps for the first time, and further, the teaching nature of Maitreya is suggested when he is seen among a group of devotees.

Thus, the present group of Maitreya images stand close to the early Maitreya images of the Mathura school in concept; since both the schools emphasized the combined

nature of the Buddha and Bodhisattva. Evidently, these two schools might have followed the same principles and identical sources for the iconographical specifications. This fact definitely excludes the stylistic differences, since each of the schools followed their own specific artistic tradition independently.

IV-2-B. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY MAITREYA IMAGES FROM GANDHARA

Regarding the chronology of Gandharan art, there has been no agreement among scholars. In 1950, Bosch made a wonderful remark on the situation when he pointed out: "There is no other period we can think of, in which, as on a battlefield, so many convictions of archeologists have clashed, the ground is strewn so abundantly with the battered armours of outworn theories, the broken weapons of rejected hypothesis, and where at the same time the problems still awaiting solutions are so numerous, so defiant and seemingly so insolvable"(36). Unfortunately this statement is still applicable and there is hardly any room for fresh attempts as for the chronology is concerned. However difficult the attempt may be, the present study does intend to review the previous theories, keeping in view the possibility of arriving at an alternate chronology through the study of the development of different iconographical features seen in the Maitreya images.

A survey of the Maitreya images from the region of Gandhara reveals beyond doubt that, the proposed group of Maitreya image with the combined features of both Buddha and Bodhisattva are the earliest images of the deity available to us from the Gandhara school. The probable date for this first phase Maitreya typology may go back to the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka, i.e., much before the proposed date of the fourth century A.D.(37). The early date proposed in the present study is based on the following factors; firstly, there is a basic iconographical similarity between the Maitreya images found on the coins of Kanishka I and the present group; secondly, this group has obvious archaic stylistic features, compared to the other Maitreya images from this region; thirdly, there is no reason to believe that Mathura had no impact on the early Gandhara school, while the impact of the Gandhara school is considered in the art of Mathura during the early years of Huvishka's reign(38). It is impossible to agree that the well-known iconography of Maitreya of the first century A.D. had appeared in Gandhara school only after almost two hundred years, and that too having almost identical iconographical features to that of Mathura. Lastly, the established theories by the previous scholars have certain limitations at least as far as the images of Maitreya is concerned.

The unchanged theory of the chronological scheme of Gandharan art regarding the problem of dating the Maitreya images of our group is that the hair style consisting of

small-curls in the shape of snail-shells and the uncovered right shoulders is a later developed style which manifests after the mode of the garment covering both the shoulders. According to Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the small curls hair style, the uncovered right shoulders, the uncovered feet and the dharmacakra pravartana mudrā are later elements, imported from Mathura to Gandhara towards the Gupta era, that is to say towards the beginning of the fourth century A.D.(39).

However, none of the Maitreya images of our group having the small curls hair style and the bare right shoulder, is either shown with the dharmacakra pravartana mudrā or with uncovered feet. As it has been analyzed in the previous chapter, the small curls hair type was one of the most characteristic features, most probably exclusively used for the Maitreya image alone in the early Mathura school of art(40). When the same is seen in the Gandharan images, while the wavy hair style is popularly used for the Buddha images, it is a firm conclusive evidence that the small-curls hair type was distinctively known to the early Kushan artist of both Mathura and Gandhara traditions as a means to differentiate the Maitreya image from that of the Buddha. Although the badly worn out surfaces of the copper coins of Kanishka do not show the details of the treatment of the hair, we can at least discern that Maitreya's hair is much longer than that of the Buddha images found on the coins of the same period(see, figs. 42-48). The appearance of the outer line of the fig. 45 itself is almost identical

to that of the sculptural representations of the small-curls.

We are well aware of the artistic skill of the Gandharan sculptors who created almost any kind of personages with appropriate hair design and costumes. One of the earliest relief from Peshawar, (fig. 59), show the three different personags, and each is shown with different hair styles facial features and costumes(41). It is not farfetched to say that Gandharan artists might have used certain specific characteristic features for a certain kind of personality(42). They never carved a Vajrapāṇi image, for example, with the Buddha's sanghati and no image other than the Buddha and Maitreya is given the ushnisha. Likewise, they might have made Maitreya's image while keeping certain features similar to that of the Buddha image, and certain others different from that of the Buddha. The result is not only the addition of the ornamentation but also the hair style, while maintaining the basic ushnisha type and the mode of the garment.

In the case of the open mode of the garments, there are many examples indicative of its existence in the early Gandharan art. Many male images on the early reliefs from the region of Gandhara are seen draped in dhoti and long uttariya which is worn in a manner similar to that seen in our group. The middle image on the stair riser relief of the early Kushana (fig. 60)(43), is shown in an almost identical mode of garment as the standing images of our

group. The difference, however, is that uttariya of the male figure is kept loosely so that much of the upper body is bare, while that of the Maitreya images are kept more tightly.

A relief panel, now in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 61), represents the interpretation of Māyā Devī's dream. The central figure seated on the throne and wearing turan headgear must be king Śuddhodana, and two flanking figures are the sage Asita and Narahatta(44). On the basis of style Marshall gives a date of second half of the first century A.D. to this relief(45). An interesting point here is that the ornamentation and garment type of king Śuddhodana is depicted with a design very similar to that of the Maitreya image. Moreover, the throne of king Śuddhodana can be very well compared with the throne of Maitreya image of fig. 50. The date of the Maitreya image(fig. 50) can be contemporary to the above image, the date of which is proposed as the late half of first century A.D. If the above assumption is correct, the small-curls hair style and the mode of garment with the uncovered shoulders can be presumed to have present long before the proposed date of the fourth century A.D.

A remarkable similarity can be discerned when we compare the iconographical features of the images on Kanishka's coin and the seated Maitreya images of the present group. The presence of a thin band below the ushnisha is parallel to that of the Maitreya images on the

Kanishka coins. The single incised line around the edge of the nimbus seen in the sculptural images goes well with the thin band type nimbus found on the coin images (figs. 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47). On the contrary, the Maitreya images of the Kushana Mathura school are characterized by the scalloped border around the nimbus. The type of the stool seen on the coin images is close to that of the early Maitreya images found in Gandhara. In the Mathura school, on the other hand, the Maitreya image is often represented on bare ground or on a rectangular stool (see figs. 5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 27). Of all these, the most important point about the coin images is the position of the left hand which holds a kamaṇḍalu; which is common to both the coin images as well as the seated images of the present group. In both, the left hand is placed near to the centre of the folded legs, where as the Maitreya images of Mathura school display the left hand near to the front of the folded left knee.

The difference between the art of Mathura and Gandhara is mainly in the plastic treatment of the forms. A striking comparison emerges when we see the Ahicchatra Maitreya image (fig. 1) and the Maitreya image from Gandhara school (fig. 57). They share the fundamental common elements of iconographical specificities. Both have a round halo, small-curls of hair and ushnisha, ornamentation, right hand in abhaya mudrā, and a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. But the treatment of each of these elements shows the typical

style of these two schools. Such stylistic elements and related iconographical features may suggest that these two great art centres of Kushana Empire invented and developed the respective icons by depending upon the same theological and ideological sources, and not through stylistic borrowings from one another. The different Buddhist iconographical typologies might have got well established in these two schools by the time the early Maitreya images were made. The Maitreya image from Gandhara (fig. 57) might have been carved somewhere near the date of the Ahicchatra Maitreya image i.e., by the end of Kanishka period or by the early reign of Huvishka, as we have proposed for the fig. 1 in the previous chapter.

In 1984, J. Sherrier brought out an interesting miniature stūpa with four free standing figures; among which Maitreya is also found represented (fig. 62)(46). The inscription in Kharoshti script, on the drum reads, "Of Sivaraksitaka, the stūpa for worship"(47). Fussman gives the date of circa first century A.D., not later than 150 A.D. to the sculpture on paleological grounds(48). Further, J. Sherrier points out that the central stūpa with the inscription is of later adaptation to the old base platform and the four free-standing images(49). Considering the opinions of both Fussman and Sherrier as reasonable, we have here an image of Maitreya, the date of which goes back to at least before the mid-second century A.D. From the details of the Maitreya image here, we can relate a certain common

characteristics to the early Maitreya image from Gandhara(figs. 49-58).

The open upper garment and the combed hair style as shown in the figs. 53, 54 and 58, may possibly be dated as later than the other Maitreya images having the small-curls hair style.

Although it is difficult to go for a precise dating of each of the available images of Maitreya of this typology, it seems quite reasonable to date them in the periods of Kanishka and Huvishka. The proposed group of the early Maitreya images, however, should not simply be taken as the prototype for the coin images. Cribb's proposal, that the coin image of Maitreya might have borrowed the iconography from sculptural image needs more careful study.

IV-3. MAITREYA IMAGES WITH COMBINATIION OF THE BUDDHA, BODHISATTVA AND ASCETIC ELEMENTS

In the iconographic programme of Maitreya, a great change took place which coincides with the introduction of a new type of hair style. Unlike the early Maitreya images having the hair style similar to that of the Buddha Śākyamuni, the group of Maitreya images under consideration show delineation of the long hair which hang down till the shoulders. In the sculptural representations, this new

feature manifests quite strikingly and distinctly from the early Maitreya images, regardless of the presence of the ushnisha on the top of the hair. It is significant to note that nearly half of the Maitreya images from Gandhara fall into this category.

Broadly speaking, this group exemplifies a much advanced style with elaborate details in contrast to the previous phase. The characteristics noticed in this group are as follows:

- a) The nimbus with an incised line around it, which also has been noticed in the previous group, now becomes bigger.
- b) The hair is treated in long wavy manner instead of the small curls.
- c) While maintaining the ushnisha, the lower part of the hair become longer and is drawn up to the shoulders.
- d) An elaborate hair ornament around the hair.
- e) The earrings are generally the round ring type.
- f) Along with the double necklace which we observed in the previous group, the additional third (or fourth) jewelled string is worn around the neck.
- g) The bracelets and armlets are more delicately designed and the crown-like buckle is shown on the armlets.
- h) The upper garment is kept loose, so that most of the upper body looks bare. Three modes of wearing the upper garments are noticed(51).
- i) His right hand is invariably in abhaya mudrā and the left hand holds a kamandalu.

- j) The position of the left hand is more or less the same as in the previous group, which is kept near the left thigh when he is in the standing pose, or, near the centre of the folded legs when seated.
- k) In the standing pose, the feet are generally bare, while in some instances they are shown with sandals.
- l) When seated, the feet are generally covered under the garments and are shown on the stool.

The Maitreya image on the pedestal of the image of the Buddha that has been dated to the year 318 of unknown era (fig. 61), shows a few advanced features compared to the earlier group of the first Maitreya images. Here the nimbus shown behind the broken head is comparatively bigger size, the garment is much more open and he wears an extra ornament, known as yajñopavita, in addition to the double necklaces. The inscribed year of 318 has been related to the old Śākā era, corresponding to A.D. 189 according to Lohuizen-de Leeuw(52), or 196 A.D. according to Czuma(53).

Another important pedestal which has been dated to 384 year of an unknown era (fig. 64), depicts a seated Maitreya image surrounded by three worshippers. The disproportionately large ushnisha is tied up with a thin band, and the wavy hair hangs down to the shoulders. The figure of Maitreya is slightly turned towards the ascetic worshipper who has a striking feature that is better associated with Maitreya images according to previous scholarship, i.e. the

bow-knot hair style and the ascetic garment. Whether he is the god Brahmā, as some may say, or an ordinary brāhmin is not our concern, but what is important here is that the Maitreya figure here has definitely different features from that of the ascetic figure. He has an u^hnisha of the Buddha, the ornamentations of Bodhisattva, and long hair of say, brāhmin ascetics.

Following the date scheme suggested by Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the date of the fig. 63 would be A.D. 189 and the fig. 64 that of A.D. 255. This dating seems reasonable if we consider that the above type of Maitreya images might have been introduced somewhere around the middle of the second century A.D. after the first Maitreya image type which we dated to the periods of Kanishka and Huvishka i.e., A.D. 78 to A.D. 140.

A few more Buddhist pedestals have been noticed having the identical composition as in the above two examples (54). Interestingly, all the pedestals are of the standing images which most possibly represented the Sākyamuni Buddha. All these pedestals, including the figs. 63 and 64, and the pedestals mentioned in the footnote No. 54 have been composed of seated Maitreya images seated on stools along with and a group of standing worshippers. In the second chapter, we have already discussed that the teaching nature is the most important aspect of the cult of Maitreya practiced in early Kushana Gandhara. Such nature of Maitreya is particularly important especially for Buddhist monks and

religious scholars. The fig. 63 shows two monks and two lay worshippers with their hands in namaskāra mudrā. In the fig. 64, Maitreya is represented facing towards a standing ascetic figure whose hand is in namaskāra mudrā. Such a disposition of the deity might be due to the belief among Buddhists that Maitreya is a kindly personality to whom anyone can pay homage in order to solve the religious doubts.

A small seated image of Maitreya of around 10 inches high, now in the Mathura Museum (fig. 65) and another similar image in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, (fig. 66) are good examples for this new trend in the iconography of Maitreya image in Gandhara. The round plain nimbus is rather smaller compared to the figs. 66 and 64. The ushnisha has a spiral design with beaded string around the base and both have long wavy hair that touch the shoulders. Compared to the earlier Maitreya images of this group, these two examples have much smaller earrings. Each one has an extra chain adorning the chest; a beaded string in the fig. 65 and a longer one that passes from the left shoulders to the right side of the body in the fig. 66. The former wears the garment in the mode of Type I, whereas the latter is in the mode of Type II(55). Both the images have lost their right arm, which might have been in abhaya mudrā, while the left hands are still intact and each holds a kamaṇḍalu near the centre of the folded legs. Stylistically, both are assignable to the later half of the

second century A.D., possibly before the fig. 63 which is dated to A.D. 189.

A seated image in the Patna Museum (fig. 67) has more elaborate necklaces; a short and wide band-like one, a longer one with three or four beaded strings combined together with two lion-head terminal at the centre, a double beaded strings combined together and kept loosely towards the right shoulder and an yajñopavita-like one with three cylindrical pendants. The broken mark on the right arm suggests that the hand might have been raised in abhaya mudrā. Interestingly, here we have the feet slightly coming out of the garment. The most closely comparable image of this type is noticed in the Indian Museum Calcutta, (fig. 68). In addition to what is seen in the fig. 67 we have here a much elaborate coiffure and the upper portion of head is supported by strings of pearls arranged like a net. It would not be very wrong even if we say that the broken part of the fig. 67 might have been same as in the fig. 68.

The seated image of Maitreya image from Loriyan Tangai, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 69) has almost identical features with the above two images. The interesting feature of this work is noticed on the pedestal which here is divided into six compartments by 'floral stalks' and in each compartment sits a Bodhisattva. All these images are identical and they have turbans on their heads, ornamentations on the body and display dhyāna mudrā. Until now, no similar example has been found Maitreya

representations. Further, so far there has not been any convincing theory which explains these multiple Bodhisattva images along with Maitreya. Over a dozen of Buddha images with this type of pedestals have been found in various collections,, one of which is in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (fig. 70). Here the multiple Bodhisattva images on the pedestal have been replaced by six Buddha images which are all in dhyāna mudrā. These have been generally regarded as the representations of Mānushi Buddhas or sometimes as Dhyani Buddhas, although there are some problematic issues in such identification(50). The striking similarity between the pedestals of the Maitreya(fig. 69) and that of the Buddha(fig. 70) suggests that they share certain common artistic ideal. As per our present knowledge, the Maitreya image here may mean to represent the ^{one} who teaches the Dharma to the countless Bodhisattvas, Devas and Devis in the Tusita heaven. The multiple images on the pedestal seems to represent those listeners, most probably the thirty-two thousand Bodhisattvas who are mentioned in many Hīnayāna scriptures(57). Such immense number would in any case be impossible to be represented in sculpture and hence is reduced to six, using the available space. The above three Maitreya images (figs. 67, 68 and 69), may be datable to the early third century A.D., close to the date of fig. 63.

Like the seated Maitreya images, most of the standing Maitreya images are recognized by the identical hair-do,

ornamentation, garments, and the kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. Out of over three dozen of the free standing images that have been studied, only two images show the right hand intact and these display abhaya mudrā. Nearly half of them hold either kamaṇḍalu hanging in the left hand or show at least the mark of it on the side of the hip.

A standing Maitreya image from upper monastery at Nathu, now in the Calcutta Museum (fig. 71) has the above mentioned features and is the most well preserved example with the right hand intact (58). On the right palm a circular design is clearly marked which probably is dharmacakra. The triangular design around the halo(59), the stretched index finger of the left palm and the inverted lotus type pedestal are rather unusual features. These features may suggest its later date, which could be somewhere in the early third century A.D. The other features are similar to the top-knot type Maitreya group.

A standing Maitreya image in the Lahore Museum (fig. 72), has been identified as Siddhārtha by Ingholt who considered the kamaṇḍalu as an attribute of both the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha and Maitreya(60). We shall discuss this controversial matter in another part of this chapter. Here, we may read this image simply as Maitreya due to the fact that it has identical features as the previous Maitreya images. He has an identical type of hair style and ornamentation with the previously discussed seated Maitreya images. He wears the garment in the mode of Type I and more

importantly shows the bare feet without the sandals which is also noticed in other images of the present group.

Another standing Maitreya image from Karachi, now in the National Museum, Delhi (fig. 73), shows more delicate details with the similar iconographical features, except the mode of the garment. Here, the *uttariya* is worn in the mode of the Type II (Ref. foot note No. 51). The pedestal is carved with two flower motifs which was a common decoration for the pedestal of the Buddhist images of the early Gandharan sculpture. The above two sculptures are assignable to the late or the early third century A.D., perhaps slightly earlier than the date which we proposed for figs. 67, 68 and 69.

A standing Maitreya image from Mardan, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 74), has sandals decorated with a lion-head buckle, in addition to the features of the previous two examples. On the pedestal is a pātra under a royal umbrella, and a group of worshippers. The pātra must be that of the Śākyāmunī, which has been taken to the Tushita heaven after his Nirvāṇa (61). The pātra is often considered as the symbol of the Dharma. The representation of such a pātra on the pedestal of Maitreya image may symbolize that he will succeed the Śākyāmunī to become the Buddha who will propagate the Dharma on earth.

A standing Maitreya image in the Patna Museum (fig. 75), while maintaining the general features as that of the fig. 74 shows another interesting feature. On either side

of the nimbus are two half kneeling figures with hands in the namaskara mudra. Both these miniature images might represent the Devas of the Tusita heaven, as it is suggested by their halos. It is interesting to compare them with the Bodhisattva images on the pedestal of the fig. 69, which are meant to represent the Bodhisattvas of the Tushita heaven. The image of Deva generally has a simple hair arrangement, whereas, the Bodhisattvas of the Tushita have turbans on their heads. The front part of the head of Maitreya is badly broken, but the typical hair style of the present group under is still traceable; the round ushnisha and the net type coiffure are visible from the side while the long wavy hair is intact which hang over the shoulders. The broken right hand might have undoubtedly been raised in abhaya mudrā. Although no kamaṇḍalu remains, the intact left hand is still seen with the head portion of the object held between the thumb and the index fingers. He too wears the sandals of the same type shown in the fig. 74. The probable date of this image and the previous one may be close to the date of fig. 69, i.e., the late second century or the early third century A.D., considering the stylistic and iconographical comparison.

Maitreya images have been represented as an attendant of the Śākyāṃuni Buddha in several sculptures in the art of Gandhara(62). From a survey of over three dozen of such triad groups, around half a dozen Maitreya image seem to have the top-knot hair style. Curiously these attendant

Maitreya show variations in the mudrās; in one case abhaya mudrā, varada mudrā in two and in one example he holds a lotus bud.

A pedestal from Musee Guimet, Paris (fig. 76), shows a group of five standing figures; the standing Buddha at the centre, two flanking Bodhisattvas and two worshippers at both the ends. The Bodhisattva on the left side of the Buddha is clearly marked with all the characteristics of the Maitreya image with top-knot hair arrangement. He has a round ushnisha that is identical with that of the Buddha next to him. All the images of this triad is depicted with abhaya mudrā. In the left hand of Maitreya is kamaṇḍalu. The arrangement of the Buddha triad group here is a unique one as the main Buddha image is in the standing pose(63).

A Buddhist stele from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 77) invites special attention. Unlike what is usually found in the standing images, the Maitreya image here is placed on the left side of the Buddha and is found under an architectural setting and displays varada mudrā in the right hand. His counterpart on the right side is the Bodhisattva with the turban headdress; his right hand is raised in abhaya mudrā and in the left hand an object resembling a scepter(64). Maitreya image is shown here with all the characteristics of the top-knot type except for the right hand gesture, and he stands on an inverted lotus base. The broken left arm might have held a kamaṇḍalu, as the remaining mark at the side of the hip indicates, but the

right hand is delineated with the palm turned outwards. Along with another example illustrated by Ingholt(65), the varada mudrā has been understood as one of the variations of Maitreya's right hand mudrā. However, it needs more careful examination before we can come to a conclusion, for the image has a disproportionately big hand compared to the counterpart Bodhisattva and the forearm is abnormally bent. The other figure on Ingholt's illustration too has this rather unnatural position of the forearm indicating the arms may be a later addition. In case if the right hand, in both the two cases are original, then we have here the earliest Maitreya images with varada mudrā. The probable date of the stele may be around the early third century A.D., according to the ~~chronological scheme~~ suggested in this thesis.

More confusion arises when we study a Buddhist triad in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 78). The Maitreya image standing on the left hand side of the Buddha is depicted with a lotus bud in the right hand, which is the most characteristic attribute of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and a kamāṇḍalu in the left, while ~~other features~~ remain the same as in the previous examples, particularly the top-knot hair arrangement. The present Maitreya image is the only one that has been noticed during the course of the present study with a lotus in the right hand instead of abhaya mudrā. The counterpart Bodhisattva, with a turban headdress, also carries the same type of lotus bud in the right hand, while

the left carries the so-called garland. Such unusual elements may suggest that the lotus flower which was later understood to be an attribute of Avalokitśevara had not yet been associated exclusively with this deity at the time when this image was carved(66). The second point is that the well established abhaya mudrā in relation to Maitreya seems to have lost its importance somewhere around the early third century A.D.

All the above images of Maitreya are a step ahead in the evolutionay process in both style and iconography. The first Maitreya group emphasized the nature of Buddha and the nature of Bodhisattva, both of whom were associated with Maitreya; whereas, the present group further added the ascetic nature that has been represented by the long hair which is drawn up to the shoulders. This is somewhat contradictory to the ideal that has been emphasized by the Mathura artists of the mid-second century. As has been already mentioned, the Mathura artist by the end of Huvishka's reign began to lay emphasis on the celestial nature of Maitreya and thereby created Maitreya images with the crown on the head. In other words, the Buddhists of Mathura might have been more orthodox than those of Gandhara. In Gandhara Maitreya images have the appearance of a mortal teacher with the moustache, the natural style of hair, sandals etc.

The early third century A.D. seems to be period of experimentation in the iconography of the Buddhist imagery

in Gandharan art. The Buddhist triad might have been introduced during this period in which the Maitreya image is shown in varying mudrās. The next significant change in the iconography of Maitreya in the art of Gandhara is the introduction of the bow-knot hair style which will be discussed in the following part.

IV-4. THE ASCETIC TYPE OF MAITREYA IMAGES

According to Hīnayāna concept, Maitreya is in the stage of Bodhisattvahood, during the period of which the necessary virtue of becoming a Buddha is expected to be obtained. As has been discussed in the second chapter, all the Past Buddhas had undergone religious life and earned a life of good act; in the similar way Maitreya also is supposed to be going through an ascetic life.

Such ascetic nature of Maitreya is crystalized best with the introduction of the new iconography, namely the bow-knot hair style which is categorized as the present group. The ushnisha disappears and rather natural long hair becomes tied up into what may be described as butterfly shape. This so-called bow-knot type Maitreya image style seems to have developed after the top-knot type. This assumption is made with the following criteria. Firstly, the Maitreya image with the bow-knot hair arrangement shows mannerist elements in style; decorated and exaggerated. Secondly, the appearance of new features like bow-knot

hair, lion design earrings, sandals etc. Thirdly, the traditional use of abhaya mudrā loose its popularity, if not totally, and instead we have dhyāna mudrā, dharmacakra pravartana mudrā and namaskāra mudrā. Detailed characteristics of the bow-knot type of Maitreya images are as follows:

- a) A big nimbus emerging out from both the ends of the shoulders.
- b) The hair is tied up in two-looped chignon at the top of the head; sometimes it appears on the top of the ushnisha which disappears gradually, and the lower part of the hair hang down till the shoulders.
- c) The clear mark of the urṇa in between the eyebrows.
- d) The moustache is often represented.
- e) The ornamentation becomes more elaborate.
- f) Generally, the mode of garments are of the Type II.
- g) In the standing posture the figure invariably wears the sandals.
- h) In the standing images, the abhaya mudrā disappears and the so called namaskāra mudrā is introduced.
- i) The seated images have dhyāna mudrā, and a kamaṇḍalu which is placed between the joined hands and sometimes when dharmacakra pravartana mudrā is shown in this phase, kamaṇḍalu is ovoided.
- j) When seated, the feet are often visible on the lap, with the soles turned upwards.
- k) The seats are almost identical to that of the previous

group of Maitreya images.

There are a few interesting images which demonstrate intermediate stage of development between the top-knot type and the bow-knot type. The seated image of Maitreya, from Dharmarjika stūpa, (fig. 79), is shown in the centre of the composition under an elaborate baldachin. The damaged right hand is raised in the pose of abhaya mudra, while the left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu. On both the sides are groups of deities having nimbus. The scene has been interpreted as the Entreaty, when the gods besought the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha to leave his princely home and family in order to become the Buddha and save mankind(67). Marshall has suggested it as a figure of Maitreya who is shown in the Tushīta heaven when the gods entreated the future Buddha to return to earth(68). This scene can, however, very possibly be interpreted as that of Maitreya's teaching to the Devas. The importance of Maitreya for the early Buddhists was not that he will come to earth, but more precisely was his present status as a Bodhisattva who teaches the Dharma.

Looking at the stylistic features, the present sculpture display a bow-knot hair style although small and insignificant. But, the general features of the image show the typical characteristics of the first Maitreya group, i.e., the small nimbus, the simple ornamentation, the mode of garments etc. These features are surprisingly comparable to the early group of Maitreya images, as for instance, the figs. 49, 50 and 51, for all of which we have proposed a

date of early second century A.D. Thus, it is evident that the proto-type of the so-called 'bow-knot' type Maitreya image probably had already existed in the second century A.D. A seated image of Maitreya, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (fig. 80) is another such example. This seated image is shown with a small bow-knot hair arrangement, the characteristic of the present group, while the rest of the features are of the early period, particularly the small-curly hair style. Another image similar to this one, both in style and iconography, comes from the Oriental Museum, University of Durham, (fig. 81)(69). The broken nimbus seems to have been rather big in size and has some decoration at the remaining edge(70). The small round mark at the top of the head suggests that there must have been a small ushnisha, possibly in the bow-knot type similar to that of the fig.80. He is seated on a siṃhāsana with a support at the back. left hand is placed almost at the center of the folded legs which may remind us of the images on the coins of Kanishka.

A seated image from the Upper Nathu Monastery(fig. 82) is another example with contradictory features. Although small, the bow-knot is well preserved above the small curls of hair covering the ears, but not falling on to the shoulders. The mode of garment, too, is very close to the early group of Maitreya images, as for example, the fig. 49, 50 and 51. Here, we are not in a position to decide whether the above four images are of the earliest bow-knot

type Maitreya images of the second century A.D., or they are of later dates. An important clue in dating of these images may be the border decoration of nimbus. with radiating flames in the form of a row of triangles. This particular design appears approximately by the second century A.D. in the art of Gandhara(71). The above four images of Maitreya might have been contemporary with the early top-knot type Maitreya images and when the bow-knot type gained popularity by the early third century A.D., the top-knot ushnisha of these images probably had been retouched, so it appears to be small and insignificant compared to the usual size of bow-knot. Retouching could have been done when the bow-knot and the border of radiating flames were popular, probably in the third century A.D. The early date may be supported by the following criteria: The size of nimbus is smaller compared to that of the general bow-knot type. The sizes of the ushnisha in the bow-knots here are unprominent. The small curled hair style shown here seems to have been popular during the time when the top-knot type of Maitreya image were made. The bow-knot type Maitreya image always have long wavy hair hanging down till the shoulders, whereas the above four Maitreya images do not have it, but have just enough hair to cover the ears. Lastly, the abhaya mudrā, as seen in the fig. 80, disappear with the introduction of the bow-knot hair arrangement in the iconographical programme of Maitreya in the art of Gandhara(72).

The seated Maitreya image from the Lucknow Museum (fig. 83) may be a still developed type which follow the above four images. The partially broken nimbus shows a row of triangles round it and the garment is also worn in a similar mode, that we have observed in the figs. 80 and 82. But the great changes that are seen here are the prominent bow-knot, the long wavy hair hanging till the shoulders, jewelled hair band, elaborate ornamentation and most importantly the hand pose, which is in dhyāna mudrā. A small kamaṇḍalu is held in the left hand on the top of which the right hand is placed. Despite the small size of the work which is just around ten inches high, it shows good proportion and skillful details. Thus, this image may be assignable to the early third century A.D.

A seated Maitreya image in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (fig. 84), is perhaps another well preserved example that belongs to the transitional period. The image has the bow-knot hair arrangement closely related to that of the figs. 71, 80 and 82. Maitreya here, however, has long hair coming down upto the shoulders in addition to what is observed in the above example. The ornamentation is further elaborated and consists of a pair of earrings, two necklaces, two chains, armlets, and bracelets. A kamaṇḍalu is held below the palms placed one over the other and turned upwards. This image may be contemporary to the fig. 67, 68 and 69 of the top knot type.

A seated Maitreya image from Loriyan Tangai, now in the

Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 85) shows clearly how the bow-knot hair type was adapted upon the top-knot ushnisha. The lower part of the ushnisha is tied by a beaded string, and a second bigger jewelled band is fastened around the long wavy hair which hang down till the shoulders. He has a big plain nimbus and is shown in the attitude of meditation with both the hands in dhyāna mudrā. The decorated kamaṇḍalu is held by its neck in between the index and the middle fingers of the upturned left palm over which is placed the right palm. The soles of the feet emerge out from the garment. The seat has been lost but the remaining lower part suggests that it might have had a small padmāsana, or it is the tenon which might have been fixed the image to its pedestal. A tenon on the halo suggests that there might have been an umbrella(73). This image may belong to the early third century A.D., if not later. Such iconography appears continuously in the region of Gandhara until the later period, as is evident from the fifth century image of Maitreya from Jaulian monastery, Taxila (fig. 86). Even though it has been largely damaged, the preserved parts show elaborate ornamentation, and the hands in dhyāna mudrā. A tiny kamaṇḍalu in the hands, and the inverted lotus seat can also be noticed. The images seems to have had a big nimbus, curly hair and possibly the bow-knot hair arrangement. What is important in this group of Maitreya images is that the artists begin to emphasize the ascetic personality of the deity instead of the teaching nature noticed in the earlier

phases.

Another iconographical shift along with the introduction of new hair style, is in the hand gesture. We have observed the invariable use of abhaya mudrā in the early Maitreya images, which understandably is related to the teaching aspect of Maitreya. However, no image during the present phase of the bow-knot hair arrangement has the depiction of abhaya mudrā. Instead, dhyāna mudrā is frequently employed for the seated images of this phase(74).

Another interesting aspect found in the course of the present study is that there is no Maitreya images having dhyāna mudrā when the deity is found represented on the pedestal, as a secondary image. On the contrary, it is the turbaned Bodhisattva who is attributed with dhyāna mudrā. For the bow-knot type of Maitreya images proper, when found on the pedestal, it is either the abhaya mudrā or the so-called namaskāra mudrā that is favoured.

The broken pedestal of the seated Buddha, in the Lahore Museum (fig. 87) has a seated Maitreya image in the centre, surrounded by a group of monks and nuns. His right hand is raised to the shoulder level as in the case of the abhaya mudrā, but on close observation, the palm can be seen here turned to the reverse, which can be named as namaskāra mudrā(75). This unusual mudrā(76) seems to be yet another original invention which manifested along with the bow-knot hair style sometime around A.D. 300.

A seated image of around ten inches in height, in the

collection of Lahore Museum (fig. 88), is a statue type of Maitreya image having the same type of mudrā. Stylistically the image is rather simple and crude compared to the other bow-knot type Maitreya images, and we are tempted to take it as an image of an early date. But the bow-knot hair style and the large nimbus make it impossible to date it before the third century A.D.

Another variation in the hand gesture is the dharmacakra pravartana mudrā which is noticed among the seated images of the bow-knot type Maitreya. The most probable explanation to such fresh adaptation would be that in the cult of Maitreya he is considered as the source of the Dharma, which had been translated in sculpture symbolically by the abhaya mudrā and the kamaṇḍalu in the earlier Maitreya images. This same aspect might have received a re-interpretation with newly introduced teaching gesture namely, dharmacakra pravartana mudrā. A seated image from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 89), is one of the few Maitreya images which displays the hands in this mudrā. The bow-knot is placed frontally and the ushnisha is shown behind it. The lower part of the hair hang down till the shoulder. What is absent for the image being identified as Maitreya is the kamaṇḍalu, one of the most important iconographical attributes of Maitreya. When it was easy for the sculptor to wedge in the kamaṇḍalu, as he did in the case of the previous examples of Maitreya in dhyāna mudrā, here the problem seems obvious that the

sculptors found it difficult to place the object while both the hands were engaged in dharmacakra pravartana mudrā. Hence, the sculptor might have decided to avoid kamaṇḍalu and depended totally on the bow-knot hair style for the identification of the deity. Such an omission of a supposedly important iconographical element may suggest that this particular type of the hair arrangement have been well recognized as a significant feature of Maitreya by the Buddhists of Gandhara. In turn, any Bodhisattva image having the bow-knot hair arrangement could be read as Maitreya. A bust with the bow-knot hair arrangement and the bodhisattva-ornamentation preserved in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 90) can be identified as Maitreya in comparison to the fig. 89. The broken hand suggests that it was originally in the dharmacakra pravartana mudrā and the lower half of the body might have been very similar to the fig. 89. Both the images are assignable to the early third century A.D.

Over three dozen free standing Maitreya images with the bow-knot hair arrangement have been noticed during the present study. The general iconographical features of the standing images are more or less the same as that of the seated images. Minor differences in the standing images generally are that they are bigger in size, more decorative and delicate in style compared to seated images. Instead of rigid frontality seen in the seated figures, the standing figures often show an easy attitude, with the head slightly turned to the side and one of the legs slightly bent as if

about to step forward. They invariably wear sandals, whereas the top-knot type of Maitreya images are seldom represented with sandals.

A small standing Maitreya image (fig. 91), might be one of the earliest among the standing images with the bow-knot hair type. Even though the work is relatively simple in style, it shows most of the characteristics of the present phase under consideration. The image has bow-knot on the top of the head and long hair which touches the shoulders. Apart from urṇa and moustache he wears various ornaments including an interesting necklace with animal heads and armlets with big disks. The left hand clearly illustrates the way kamaṇḍalu is held in the Gandhara school of art. He wears the garment in the mode similar to the Type I and also wear sandals. The most probable date for this image on the basis of similarity with the fig. 84 would be the early third century A.D. It is interesting to compare the similarity in style, particularly in the treatment of ushnisha and the armlets in both the images.

Looking at the more than life size Maitreya image from Sikri, now in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 92), we see almost similar elements that we have noticed in the top-knot Maitreya image group, except for the hair style. The workmanship of this image and the other Maitreya sculptures of the bow-knot type exemplify high classical standards. We have already pointed out that the standing images with the bow-knot hair style are always shown wearing sandals,

whereas in the case of top-knot type of the Maitreya images, this has not been a constant feature. Therefore, it seems that there had been an intermediate period when both the types were in practice simultaneously and the period might have been approximately from the mid second century to the early third century A.D. After this period, the exaggerated, manneristic style seems to have evolved.

The standing image of Maitreya from the Madras Museum (fig. 93), is one of the very few standing Maitreya images having the right hand intact. This image, too, displays the right hand near the shoulder, with the palm turned towards the shoulder in the same manner as that of the figs. 87 and 88. Other important features are: the big nimbus, the bow-knot hair arrangement, kamaṇḍalu in the left hand and the sandals, all of which fall into the present category. The treatment of the hair, however, reminds one of the small-curly hair style of the early Maitreya images. However, the highly twisted bow-knot, and other elements indicate the manneristic features, and so, a mid third century A.D. date for the image would be appropriate.

A standing image of Maitreya, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (fig. 94), is shown with a slightly tilted head. The hair arrangement reminds of the fig. 85 with the top-knot and the long bow-knot above it, while the rest of the features are of the general nature. A kamaṇḍalu is held by the index and the middle fingers of the left hand. The image is broken above the knee, and the left knee might

have been slightly bent as it is seen in the image from Jammalgarhi, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 95). The latter has a fashionable hair style; the bow-knot is tilted so that the right side loop slides down to the right side of the brow. The hair is longer than usual and covers almost the entire shoulder. The round broken mark near the left side of the thigh suggests that the figure originally held a kamaṇḍalu. The sandals are traceable, although the straps are worn out.

Three round sculptures, which may be discussed as belonging to this manneristic phase are preserved in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (figs. 96, 97 and 98). All, while having the general iconographical features of the present group of the bow-knot type, in one way or the other have the graceful qualities of the later period. The fig. 96 is trim and delicate, suggestive of the classical quality. The bow-knot slides down to one side while the head is placed frontally. The fig. 97 is adorned with new type of the chains besides the usual double necklaces and the smooth folds of garments clinging to the body. The fig. 98, although wears simple ornaments compared to the above images, is carved with great skill. It has the fashionably tied bow-knot, an unusual hair band, and the transparent garment particularly reminds the treatment of the same in fig. 97. All these three images might have been carved after the mid-third century A.D.

Even though the above descriptions of the standing

images informs us enough of the stylistic and iconographical features of the later developments in the top-knot type of Maitreya images, what still remains to be understood is the particular mudrā of the right hand. From among over two dozens of the free standing images having the bow-knot hair style, only two examples, one in the Government Museum, Madras (fig. 93) and another in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, have the right hand intact, so as to understand the mudrā of the hand(77). About the broken examples what we can speculate considering the remaining part of the hand is that the forearm must have been raised up from the ankle but there is no possible indication of the position of the right palm. It may be remembered that similar was the case in the free standing images of the top-knot hair style too. In the case of top-knot type, the broken hand had been taken for granted as having held in abhaya mudrā, which could be more or less proved to be true, since there was a constant tradition of using abhaya mudrā from the early Maitreya representations until the introduction of new mudrās such as dharmacakra pravartana mudrā and dhyāna mudrā. In fact no other mudra except the abhaya mudrā had been in vogue in the early Maitreya image group of the top-knot hair style. However, simultaneously with the introduction of the bow-knot hair style, the abhaya mudrā seems to have become redundant. Neither the standing nor the seated images of Maitreya with the bow-knot hair style have been observed with the right hand in the abhaya mudrā, from among roughly

four dozen Maitreya statues that have been studied during the present research. An unusual mudrā which was put into use shows the right hand in a similar manner as the abhaya mudrā; but the palm is turned inwards, unlike the outwardly positioned abhaya mudrā, (figs. 87, 88 and 93). We cannot, therefore, assume that abhaya mudrā was the only exclusive mudra that the standing bow-knot hair type Maitreya images held.

At least half a dozen of the Buddha triads exemplify Maitreya having this particular mudrā. The Buddhist triad from Sahri Bahlol, in the Peshawar Museum, (fig. 99), is perhaps the best known example for the purpose of analysing this particular mudrā. On the left of the Buddha stands Maitreya with the typical characteristics of the bow-knot type. The deviation can be noticed in the gesture of the right hand. The hand is kept close to the shoulders and the palm turned inwards somewhat similar to that of the Brahmā image represented in between the turbaned Bodhisattva and the Buddha image in the same triad group. Another fine example comes from Takhti-Bhai now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 100). Maitreya stands on the left side of the Buddha. The bow-knot hair style, and the kamaṇḍalu in his left hand, undoubtedly indicate the deity being Maitreya. While maintaining other characteristics of the Bodhisattva, like nimbus, urṇa, ornamentations and the uttariya, he is devoid of the sandals. As was the case in the previous example, the right hand of Maitreya here holds

the palm turned inwards. Huntington suggests that the right hand which is brought near to the shoulder and the palm turned inwards indicates namaskāra or mudrā of greeting(78). Similarly, Taddei states that this gesture is often held by young ascetics in Gandharan art, and the presence of the namaskāra mudrā in Maitreya images is indicative of deity being a Brāhmin by caste(79). Such hypothesis has been well received when considered along with the bow-knot hair style and the kamaṇḍalu which are taken as symbolic indications of Maitreya's Brāhmin origin.

However, the so-called namaskāra mudrā theory seems inadequate in explaining the gesture of Maitreya and the meaning needs to be carefully examined. There are two types of namaskāra mudrā; the most popular one being the type that displays the palms touching each other when brought near to the chest, as is frequently seen in the worshippers attending the deity. The other type is the one which, B. Bhattacharya describes as, "the hand, slightly bent, is raised above in a line with the shoulders with fingers outstretched or slightly bent with the palm turned upwards"(80).

Although the above description is similar to that of the right hand gesture of Maitreya, a fundamental difference is that Maitreya displays the palm totally turned inwards as if to touch the shoulders, whereas the namaskāra mudrā described by Bhattacharyya has "the palm turned upwards". The problem occurs as Bhattacharyya relates it with the

mudra of Bodhisattva. He says that this mudrā is "assumed by the Bodhisattvas when paying homage to the Buddha or the Tathāgata, or by the minor deities to the principal"(81). Since there is no Bodhisattvas displaying the palm turned upwards, Bhattacharyya's reading of "the palm turned upwards" seems to be an outcome of the observation of the traditional practice of paying respect greeting rather than the specific reading of the sculptural representation. In the modern practice the hand is generally posed towards the head, while simultaneously the head also bows down slightly. The gesture of Brahmā seen in between the seated Buddha and the standing image of Maitreya on the Buddhist stele from Sahri-Bahlol may be the most appropriate gesture to be called namaskāra mudrā. (fig. 101).

Following is an attempt at refuting the proposed name and meaning of the so-called namaskāra mudrā seen in the Maitreya images. The first question is that of the presumed Brāhmanic nature of Maitreya. It can be noted that this opinion has not been made on the basis of any particular basis of influence in Maitreya cult from Brāhmanical sources. Instead, it is the ascetic nature that is stressed in the Bodhisattva concept from the Hīnayāna Buddhist theoretical point of view. We should not forget that the texts, while mentioning the Brāhmin family for the origin of Maitreya's earthly life, however do not omit his bodily appearance as having the thirty-two mahāpurusha lakṣaṇas(82). Further, no available texts describe the

importance of Maitreya in the context of his Brāhmin origin. Thus, the connection between Maitreya and the Brāhmanic features are insignificant, his state as the yet-to-be Buddha who has to undergo the necessary virtues of Buddhahood might have resulted in the general impression that he has close affinity with ascetic Brāhmin. Secondly, there are obvious differences in the posture and the attitude of the Maitreya images, in comparison with any of the Brahmanic deity. Thirdly, and most importantly there is no possible explanation why this gesture is not seen in the counterpart Bodhisattva, if it was meant to represent 'paying homage' to the Buddha.

A good example in this regard, comes from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (fig. 102) Although the standing four images have been regarded as laymen in general, they could nevertheless be the group of two Bodhisattvas, along with Indra and Brahmā since the composition is identical to the figs. 99 and 100. The ornamentation seen on the ascetic figure at the extreme right of the Buddha may prove this hypothesis. What is important here is that the Bodhisattva attendant in the figs. 99 and 100 could have also held the mudrā of the attendants of this group (fig. 102), who are shown with the more popular namaskāra mudrā having both the hands ~~in~~ front of the chest and the palms touching each other. In the light of such clear examples of namaskāra mudrā, the question would be as to why the artists used a different mudrā for Maitreya if we presume that he is

showing the attitude of homage to the Buddha. Another strong evidence which goes against the established notion is furnished by the free standing image of Maitreya seen in the figs. 88 and 93. There seems to be no reason for such independent icons to have the 'gesture of paying homage' to the Buddha or any other supreme deity.

Thus, the identification for the gesture seen in the Maitreya images in figs. 87, 88, 93, 99 and 100 as namaskāra mudrā is invalid. Instead, the probable meaning of this gesture could be of 'compassionate acceptance' expressed towards every fellow beings, whose nature is faulty, yet yearn for redumption. It might not have been, however, meant to denote the saviour aspect of the deity who was expected to lead the people to salvation in the distant future, onto the Pure land of Ketumati. The gesture may mean to represent Maitreya's 'magnanimity', along with the friendly nature which his name itself means. Maitreya should be recognized as one of the most humanistic deities among the Buddhist pantheon. Maitreya, as a Buddha designate, lent compassion and pity to the ignorant and weak creatures and is characterized as having constant feeling of deep and lasting love, all pervading, profound and beyond measure towards all the creatures. Moreover, Maitreya is the deity to whom all Buddhists seek communion with, and seek guidance and advice in their thinking and deeds.

Another important point we have to consider here is that whether this mudrā of 'magnanimity' had been used

exclusively for Maitreya alone or had it been also used for other deities. From among a survey of around three dozen Buddhist triad groups(83), at least in six cases this particular mudrā has been noticed, all belonging exclusively to Maitreya and none to the Bodhisattvas having the turban head-dress. Thus, it is possible to conclude that this unique mudrā has a particular connection with Maitreya alone. Although, this particular gesture had been identified as related to Maitreya by other scholars(84), no earlier instance has specified the particular type of Maitreya image that this mudrā is specifically related.

Out of the six cases having both the head and the right hand intact for exemplifying this particular mudrā, five images, reveal the bow-knot hair style(85). In one case Maitreya is has the top-knot hair arrangement which is preserved in the National Museum, Delhi (fig. 103) Here, Maitreya stands on the right side of the Buddha and has a kamaṇḍalu in his left hand and the right hand is held up with the palm turned inward. Except this image the mudrā under consideration seems to have been related specifically with the bow-knot type of Maitreya images. However, the Maitreya image on the left side of the Buddha (fig. 104) which shows the clear hair style in the bow-knot has right hand held in regular abhaya mudrā though it is partially broken. There remains a mark of the kamaṇḍalu at the side of the left hip. Thus, although the gesture of the 'magnanimity' of Maitreya was an important gesture in the

bow-knot type of Maitreya, certain images that were carved during the early years of the third century A.D., the older traditional abhaya mudrā continued to be practised for a while.

The tradition of inscribing the bow-knot type Maitreya as such seems to have begun from the early years of the third century A.D. During this time the composition of the Buddhist triad might have also been introduced for the first time and reached its zenith by the middle of the third century A.D. The most problematic examples within the above chronology is the Buddhist triad illustrated in fig. 101. This work had been regarded, in many respects, as one of the most important work of art from Gandhara, since it is dated by inscription. Besides, it shows detailed iconographical features comprising of the most important Buddhist deities and has the finest artistic quality. Its inscription in Kharosthi reads thus: "In the year 4 (or 5), on the fifth day of the month Phālguna, the pious gift of Buddhanada, learned in the three Piṭakās; may it be for the honoring of his deceased (?) father and mother." (86) Czuma applied the era of Kanishka i.e., the year A.D. 182 to the 5th year of unknown era and derives the year 182 A.D. for this image (87). This date, however, seems much too early according to the chronological scheme followed here on the basis of the iconographical development. Looking at the iconographical features of these Maitreya images by itself the possible date would be the early third century A.D.; the

period we assign as the classical period comprising of the bow-knot type Maitreya images. It may belong to a still later date if we consider the fact that the Bodhisattva attendants here wear the sandals, which are generally absent when they attend the Buddha as seen in the earlier triad groups (figs. 99, 100, 102, 103 and 104). On the ground of stylistic evolution too, this date seems to be appropriate. As a general fact chronological study of Gandharan sculpture on the basis of dated sculpture is difficult, since we cannot rely on any era with definiteness.

Comparing the iconographical elements, the date of the mid-third century seems to be most likely for this work (88). The dharmacakra pravartana mudrā, the lotus seat, the open right shoulders and the bare feet of the Buddha are such late features. Throughout the present study we proposed the above characteristics of the Buddha to ^{be of} the early third century A.D., nearly a century earlier to the proposed date by Ingholt and Lohuizen-de Leeuw. Even though it is not a definite evidence, the presence of the tiny Buddha on the forehead of the Bodhisattva standing opposite to the Maitreya Bodhisattva may also be yet another indication of the later date. The Buddha in dhyāna mudrā on the forehead has been generally regarded as Amitābhā Buddha and the Bodhisattva as the Avalokiteśvara, and its introduction has been related to the late Gupta period (89). Compared to this image, the similar triad group (fig. 99) may go back to a slightly earlier date on the basis of the following

assumptions; the Bodhisattvas have bare feet and, the Bodhisattva opposite to Maitreya has ordinary turban without Dhyāni Buddha on the forehead. The figs. 100, 103 and 104 can be dated still earlier compared to the above two images.

To sum up, the bow-knot type of Maitreya images are the last among the Maitreya sculptures found in the region of Gandhara, and it gained its popularity from the beginning of the third century A.D. The basic concept of such image type might have been deeply related to the Hīnayānic concept of Maitreya that he is an ascetic Bodhisattva whose nature is of the future Buddha. Again we are forced to consider Maitreya as a Mānushi Bodhisattva who is different from the other Dhyāni Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. With the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism, emphasis came to be more on the the spiritual form of Buddhanirmāṇa, which on the other hand led to the formulation of Maitreya as an ascetic Bodhisattva who now attend the preaching of the then spiritual Buddha Śākyamuni from the celestial Bodhisattva (90). The generally accepted theory that the bow-knot Maitreya image is an indication of Maitreya's association with the Brāhmin caste, therefore, needs critical reappraisal. It is to be conceded that it is not because of his Brāhmin origin, but due to the Hīnayānic Bodhisattva nature of Maitreya, (as an yet to be enlightened one), that his images are endowed with the ascetic features, symbolized by the bow-knot and the long hair hanging down over the shoulders. Such a personality is further emphasized with

the attitude of meditation, - dhyāna mudrā, which are frequently seen in the Maitreya images having the bow-knot. The friendly nature of Maitreya can be seen as another important aspect which the Buddhist of Gandhara region emphasized greatly, resulting in the Maitreya image with the attitude of the 'acceptance'.

Another notable change in the iconography of Maitreya along with the introduction of the bow-knot type is that the image of him began to appear in the Buddhist triad as an attendant of the Buddha. It is interesting that when we compare this development with the Mathura school of art, in which Maitreya is never represented as an attendant of the Buddha, but appears independently as a celestial Buddha adorned with a crown. Apparently these two schools of Kushana kingdom certainly followed their own independent ideology in interpreting Maitreya with different characteristics; i.e., the ascetic nature of Bodhisattva and teaching nature of the Buddha. However, in the beginning, both the schools emphasized the teaching nature of Maitreya and made Maitreya icon with the features of Buddha.

In the second phase of the iconographical development, Maitreya image began to appear differently in these two schools. In Mathura, he became a more kingly deity, i.e., ruling Bodhisattva of Tushita heaven, and as Buddha of the Future. In Gandhara, on the other hand, he became an ascetic Bodhisattva. The bow-knot type Maitreya images and the dhyāna mudrā are examples of this tendency, even though

the earlier feature, like the ornamentation indicating the celestial Bodhisattva, remains unchanged.

It is worthy to note the origin of the Maitreya image once again in order to understand how the above changes took place. It is generally believed that the origin of Maitreya image as a regally ornated version adopted from god Brahmā and of Brāhmin ascetics features and as related to the concept of Hīnayāna Bodhisattva who is seeking for the way of enlightenment, so the worship of the Maitreya began among the Hīnayāna circle. But, as has been discussed in the foregoing section, neither the ascetic type of Maitreya image that is the earliest, nor is it Hīnayāna Buddhism that had led to the bow-knot type of Maitreya image. The first Maitreya image, on the contrary, appears with combined features of the Buddha and Bodhisattva, and not the in the form of ornated Brahmā. It was the uniqueness of Maitreya being a Mānushi Buddha as well as a Mānushi Bodhisattva that have been emphasised to a great extent in the first Maitreya images.

On the other hand, the ascetic type of Maitreya images with the bow-knot hair arrangement is, in all probability, an outcome of counter theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Under the coming of Mahāyāna ideas, the concept of Mānushi Buddhas became indistinct. The importance of the Buddha Śākyamuni was no more as a great teacher who had obtained the Enlightenment, but as a god whose spiritual power now allow him to appear any where in any form and in any number. The

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra describes many names of Bodhisattvas who attend the teaching of the Śākyamuni Buddha, who is supposed to have entered to the final salvation according to the Hīnayāna Buddhism.

Thus, during Mahāyāna Buddhism the state of Maitreya, the only Mānushi Bodhisattva came to be emphasized more in the Hinayanic spirit. The Maitreya images were amply distinguished from other Dhyāni Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna Buddhism by the ascetic feature. Maitreya became an ideal personality for the ascetics striving for the release from the wordly passions, whereas, Mahāyānic Bodhisattvas are already autonomous and powerful gods themselves.

IV-5. CONTROVERSIES IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF MAITREYA IN GANDHARAN ART

The most puzzling question in the iconography of Maitreya image in Gandharan art is whether the Maitreya image with the top-knot hair style and the one with the bow-knot hair style represent the same deity or not. Often, the former has been considered as Siddhārtha Bodhisattva and the later as Maitreya. Ingholt was of the opinion that the image of Bodhisattva having the top-knot and the youthful face is indicative of the image being that of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha(91). The logic behind this hypothesis is that the top-knot of Bodhisattva is similar to that of Śākyamuni

Buddha in the sculptural representation and Siddhārtha Bodhisattva should look young since he became the Buddha only at the age of thirty-five(92).

IV-5-A. SIDDHĀRTHA OR MAITREYA ?

The reason for the confusion between the iconography of Maitreya and Siddhārtha is basically due to the obvious analogy of theological virtues between the two, since both of them are in the state of Bodhisattva who are to become Buddha thereafter. As a consequence they share a number of common iconographical features in their respective visual representations. The common elements include their garments consisting of dhoti, long uttariya and occasionally shawl. Further, they are adorned with various types of earrings, necklaces, armlets and bracelets. The lowest compartment of a stele from Mohammad Nari, now in the Government Art Gallery and Museum, Chandigarh (fig. 105) has a seated Bodhisattva image with two attendants. Adorned with a turban and the bodhisattva ornamentation he wears the usual garment of the Bodhisattvas. Seated in meditation under a tree, the deity is attended by a man in adoration and a youth holding an umbrella. It is in all likelihood, a representation of Siddhārtha in his first Meditation which took place under a jambo tree. The attitude of the youth, probably an attendant of the prince seems to be speaking of his tiredness of waiting upon the Master who is in deep

meditation. A man with the attitude of adoration may be Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha's father who fell in worship before the meditating son.

A sculpture from the Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 106) is the representation of the same event. On the pedestal a man with a plough and two oxens on to the left side clearly refer to the ploughing match; when Siddhārtha was filled with grief and went into meditation as he saw the tired oxen, the men sweating in the sun and the birds devouring the insects that the plough had turned up(93). Siddhārtha wears a jewelled turban with the so-called cockade design high up in front of the forehead, earrings, two necklaces, armlets and bracelets. His hands are in dhyāna mudrā kept above the folded legs. A part of the sole is visible under the uttariya, worn in the mode of the Type III. These iconographical features except the type of headdress and the omission of kamaṇḍalu are almost identical to the Maitreya images of the figs 84 and 85. Such princely features of Siddhārtha are indications of his position as a prince of Śuddhodana's kingdom; seen also in the figs. 60 and 61.

Interpretation becomes problematic, specifically when the top-knot type of Maitreya images are shown along with the narrative story of the Śākyamuni Buddha. A stele in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 107), for instance, contains five main compartments, and minor compartments at both the sides. The second compartment from the above seated

Maitreya image is represented surrounded by a group of figures. Wearing the Bodhisattva attire the Maitreya image is shown with the top-knot hair arrangement, the right hand in abhaya mudrā and the left hand holding a kamaṇḍalu. Czuma reads this scene as "Prince Siddhārtha surrounded by his courtly retinue." (94) There is however, no possible explanation as in what occasion Siddhārtha assumed teaching gesture as suggested by the abhaya mudrā, and why he, then a prince, carry a kamaṇḍalu.

Even though there is a lack of proper explanation many scholars believe that such image, especially when it is represented along with the scenes from the life of the Buddha, is the portrayal of the prince Siddhārtha.

A similar case is seen on the relief from the Musée Guimet, Paris (fig. 108). On the left side of the panel (not reproduced here) is the scene of the Birth of the Buddha. On the right side of the panel is the seated Maitreya under an architectural frame with identical abhaya mudrā and attire similar to the previous example. Each side of the Maitreya are kingly figures seated on stools, and each of them having an attendant in namaskāra mudrā. Such identical arrangement certainly represents a particular event which we do not know in the light of our present knowledge. At the same time it is interesting to compare the above two sculptures with the fig. 55. In all the cases. if the figures were shown without kamaṇḍalu, the scene could have been interpreted as Siddhārtha with Indra

and Brahmā who entreat him or was rejoiced at his resolution to depart. As a tradition such incident took place generally at night, probably in Siddhārtha's bed room, when all were fast asleep, in which Siddhārtha made momentous descision to leave the palace in order to become the Buddha. Indra and Brahmā, as a tradition, are represented in the form of Bodhisattvas, with a turban for the former and ascetic features for the latter. On the other hand, there are two alternative possibilities regarding the above works; the first is that the scenes could possibly be representing Maitreya's earthly life which is identical to that of the Śākyamuni Buddha(95), or the scenes may not be necessarily representing one particular person's life story, but could be representing stories from both the Śākyamuni Buddha and Maitreya.

There are many cases of the Gandharan art which consist of unconnected stories, as seen in the fig. 109. The relief is divided into two sections by the Corinthian pillar, the right side shows the seated image of Maitreya and the left shows Śākyamuni Buddha with a group of worshippers around him(this side not reproduced here). The scene on the right compartment, with the Buddha at the centre, may be that of the event, when Āmarapālī presented an Āmravana, holy water to the Buddha as a gift(96). Maitreya shown on the other side compartment is in almost identical attitude, but is adorned with ornaments and holds a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. As in this case, the sculptural narrative panels

need not necessarily indicate a series of related incidents from the life of a particular personage.

Another reason for the confusion between Maitreya and Siddhārtha images is that there are some examples of Siddhārtha having the top-knot hair arrangement in the art of Gandhara. This too leads to certain confusions. A relief in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 110), is the scene of the prince Siddhārtha attending the school. Seated on the right on a wicker stool is guru Viśamitra and on the left side stands the young prince Siddhārtha holding a bowl and a pot, which might be the containers for ink and water used in writing. Here, Siddhārtha has a top-knot hair style and is adorned with ornamentation, earrings, necklaces and bracelets.

A relief, which represents the scene of Siddhārtha's bed room in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (fig. 111), is another example of Siddhārtha shown with the top-knot hair style and the ornamentations. Within the central arch is also shown the princess Yaśodhara asleep on a cot and before her is the seated prince Siddhārtha.

A careful survey of the reliefs from Gandhara reveals a very important fact, which we have not paid attention so far; i.e., regarding the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha who appears with the princely attire and most importantly with the turbaned headdress. However, four cases are noticed as exception during the course of the present study. The first instance when Siddhārtha is represented, as a youth, as in

the fig. 110. The top-knot hair style here does not necessarily indicate the ushinisa, one of the thirty-two mahāpur^ushalakṣhaṇas. A relief in the Victoria Albert Museum, London (fig. 112), has a group of youth accompanying the prince Siddhārtha to school. The young Siddhārtha seated on the cart is depicted with a top-knot hairdo and a nimbus while the other youths are devoid of nimbus but have the similar hairdo. This example suggests that the top-knot hair arrangement was a popular hair-do for the youth in ancient India.

The third case of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha having top-knot hair style is when the prince is seen in the bed room (fig. 111). A relief from Jamrad, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 113) demonstrates a fact well enough without doubt. In the upper compartment, Siddhārtha is reclining on a couch, entertained by female attendants with music and dance. Here, he is seen with the princely turban, whereas in the lower compartment, when everybody has fallen asleep, he is shown without the turban. Siddhārtha as a noble prince, could not customarily present himself in front of others without the turban and only in private bed room he probably could remove the turban. Another occasion of Siddhārtha appearing without turban is when he finally drops the princely attire before starting the ascetic life. In the relief showing the farewell of Kaṇṭhaka, from Sokri (fig. 114), the prince is seen handing over his princely jewellery to Chandraka who is shown still holding the royal

umbrella. Here, Siddhārtha is again shown with the top-knot hair arrangement. Siddhārtha's turban was then taken by the gods of the Trayastriṃśa heaven where it was kept, perhaps as shown in the fig. 115

Conclusively, it is evident that the turban is one of the most important elements that cannot be separated from the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, unless he is shown in the context of above mentioned events. Thus, the Bodhisattva statues with the top-knot hair and the long hair hanging on the shoulders cannot be identified as the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, and most of these cases are to be identified as of Bodhisattva Maitreya, if not all the cases.

A seated image of Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol (fig. 116) is a very good comparison with the image of Siddhārtha in the fig. 106. The general features of the two images are more or less the same except for the hair arrangement and the hand gesture. The Maitreya image has a big top-knot hair arrangement decorated with jewelled band, whereas the Siddhartha image has a jewelled turban. Maitreya displays dharmacakra pravartana mudrā indicating his teaching nature(97) whereas Siddhārtha displays dhyāna mudrā. The kamaṇḍalu in the centre of the pedestal of the Maitreya is a firm evidence for its identification.

On the pedestal of a standing Maitreya image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta(117) is a seated Bodhisattva having a turban headdress, flanked on either side by two worshippers. According to the above hypothesis, this small

Bodhisattva can be safely identified as the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. Here, the question is how did the image of Siddhārtha come to be represented on the pedestal of a Maitreya image(98). Due to the defunct assumption that the secondary image on the pedestal will have direct link to the main image, the main figure like the present one has been often understood as that of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. A careful study of the pedestal image, however, reveals that any particular connection between the main and the secondary image can not be made out.

At the same time there are instances of depicting the same deity on the pedestals. For example, the Maitreya statue in the Seattle Art Museum (fig. 118), has a seated Maitreya image on the pedestal. The image on the pedestal is clearly that of Maitreya with the right hand in abhaya mudrā, and the left hand holding a kamaṇḍalu. Such cases are not rare in the iconographic scheme of Gandharan art(99). The most problematic image in the context of the present discussion comes from a private collection, in New York (fig. 119). The image has all the necessary elements for being identified as Maitreya, but for the turban like diadem. Certainly such a headdress is new for the iconography of Maitreya within the art tradition of Gandhara. The frontal appearance of the diadem looks almost like the turban of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha with the cockade design in front, as seen in the fig. 105, The difference however, is seen from the side view; which unlike

the turban, the upper portion is open and the top part of the head is visible from the side. It is worthwhile to compare this image with the crowned Maitreya images of Mathura school of art (see figs. 24, 25 and 41). Even though the shape of the crown seen in Mathura differs from that of the above image, the way they are kept in position is fundamentally the same. It is however, difficult to assume that the Gandharan sculptor of this image meant to represent the celestial nature of Maitreya, which is definitely the case of the Mathura artists. The unpopularity of such iconography in the region of Gandhara may suggest that this exceptional iconography might have been put to use for Maitreya following the popular use of the same in other Bodhisattva images. Another notable features in this image is the presence of the secondary image of Maitreya on the pedestal. The image is seated in padmāsana with the right hand in abhaya mudrā and the left holds a kamaṇḍalu (cannot be seen in the photo reproduction here).

To sum up, the definite iconographic elements with which we can safely classify the Maitreya images from among the images of Bodhisattva in the Gandhara region are as follows:

Firstly, any image with the traces of nimbus, the hair style with the top knot or the bow-knot and having ornamentation can be inferred as Maitreya. The broken images illustrated by the figs. 119 and 120 are such cases. This propose is opposed to the general belief that these can

not be taken as Maitreya. As for an example, Czuma states that the above mentioned image "leaves the attribution to any specific Bodhisattva is open to speculation."(100)

Second point undoubtedly is the kamaṇḍalu; any image having the trace of kamaṇḍalu in the left hand and having the bodhisattva-ornamentation can be surely inferred as Maitreya. The two standing Bodhisattva images in the Patna Museum(figs. 122 and 123) offer good examples with regard to the controversy of the Bodhisattva iconography in Gandahran art. Both the sculptures have damaged head. The right hands are also broken. The only possible indication towards their identity seems to be in the left hand. The image of the fig. 122 is shown with the left hand on the hip. The hand gesture suggests that there can have no Kamaṇḍalu, thenceforth the image can not be Maitreya, but probably the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. On the contrary, the image of the fig. 123, whose left hand is broken away, there remained a trace of a kamaṇḍalu, and the image must be none other than Maitreya. Similarly a headless image in the Kabul Museum (fig. 124) can most possibly be identified as Maitreya for there is a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand. The abhaya mudrā of the right hand may suggest that the lost head might have had a top-knot hair arrangement with the long hair touching the shoulders, since this mudrā was most commonly found along with the top-knot type. The probable date of the image may be of late second century A.D., in comparison with the similar seated Maitreya image of the fig. 69.

IV-5-B. ICONOGRAPHY OF MAITREYA IN TUSHITA^H

Logically, when Maitreya is shown as Bodhisattva, it is meant that the deity is in the Tushita realm, the place where he is residing until the next mission in to the future world. On the contrary, if Maitreya is shown with the features of Buddha, the location indicated is Ketumatī, where he will achieve an enlightenment and become a Buddha.

Despite the possibility of such a simple convention, the identification of the specific locale of Maitreya's dwelling has been often a subject of argument. For instance, there is a general belief that the the so-called cross-ankled posture with the hands in dharmacakra pravartana mudrā is the attitude of Maitreya in the Tushita heaven(101). An earliest representation of Maitreya's palace is the one illustrated in the fig. 79. Often, this work has been regarded as the representation of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, and the attendants as Indra, Brahmā, and the other gods, who visited to remind him of the renunciation of the world(102). Such misreading is caused by the facile assumption that the distinctive marks of the Bohisattva Siddhārtha before descending to the earth is the padmāsana and dhyāna mudrā. But the abhāya mudrā and the kamaṇḍalu in the right and left hands respectively enable the identification of the image as that of Maitreya.

Rosenfield has illustrated two examples which are

considered to be representation of Maitreya in the Tushita heaven(fig. 125). Regarding the scene illustrated in the fig. 125, he makes a remark, which is as follows "Maitreya in the Tushita paradise is not in the same passive waiting role as Śākyamuni Buddha, but rather as the central deity ruling in Paradise similar to Amitābha in Sukhāvati"(103). Soper regards the scene as the teaching of Maitreya at his earthly paradise Ketumati(104). But, the scene seems to be a remarkable representation of Maitreya's Tushita described in the Chinese text, Shang-sheng Ching. According to it, there are hundreds and thousands of brahmadevas carrying various precious things to decorate the canopy of the inner palace of the Tushita abode. The leaves of Seven-jewelled trees in Tushita emit golden rays which are transformed into fifty billion bejewelled women, and each bejewelled woman stands under a tree and their ornaments make wonderful music from which the Dharma is taught(105).

The most important example that has been frequently regarded as the representation of Maitreya's Ketumati, is perhaps the stele from Mohammad Nari, now in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (fig. 126). The stele is divided into three sections; the upper part represents Bodhisattva Maitreya who is seated on a stool with the legs crossed at the ankles, the right hand is raised in the so-called namaskāra mudrā, or the gesture of 'acceptance' and the left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu. The middle the main part of the stele consists of a seated Buddha in dharmacakra

pravartana mudrā, who is represented along with a number of small Bodhisattva figures. The lowermost section has the delineation of a pātra at the centre, which is being worshipped by a number of seated figures. John Huntington suggests the scene of the middle section as a representation of Amitābhā in his Sukhāvātī paradise, and the top scene as Maitreya in his Tushita paradise(106).

Even though there is a doubt in reading the middle section as Amitābhā's Sukhāvātī, the upper Bodhisattva seems to be none other than Bodhisattva Maitreya as is indicated by the elements like the top-knot hair arrangement, the 'acceptance' or 'magnanimity' gesture and the kamaṇḍalu. The nimbused figures around the seated Maitreya certainly suggest their identity as divine beings, most probably the Devas and the Bodhisattvas who are supposed to be dwelling in Tushita with Maitreya. The identification of the scene as the representation of Tushita is not only due to the presence of subsidiary figures, but even when seated alone and showing the Bodhisattva features the image could be taken as Maitreya in Tushita realm.

IV-5-C. MAITREYA AS A FUTURE BUDDHA

Maitreya is the Buddha of Ketumati. He will achieve the enlightenment under the nāga tree in the pure land of Ketumati, and then he will lead countless people to religious salvation. The identical career of Maitreya

with Śākyāṃuni Buddha should, therefore, enable him also to avail a monastic garment. Huan-tsang tells us about the 'golden' garment of kashāya (saffron garment of monks) which has to be delivered by Kaśyapa to Maitreya when he will achieve the necessary conditions of becoming the Buddha(107). Thus, if there is any image of Maitreya in the form of Buddha, it is plausible to presume that the belief in future rebirth or the belief in Ketumati is an important aspect for those who installed the Maitreya image with the features of Buddha.

Looking at the Buddhist stele of fig. 126, the main image of which has been regarded as Amitābha in his Sukhāvati paradise, one may ask why the image of Maitreya is represented on the upper section of the same panel(108). Yu-min Lee suggests that such combination on the basis of the Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra, can closely be related to Amitābha's paradise, Sukhāvati(109). However, the text also mentions that the followers of the Buddha would meet Maitreya Bodhisattva and obtain Buddhahood. It means that the promised paradise is Ketumati, and not Tushita, in which the future Buddha Maitreya will lead people to salvation. Thus the stele most probably is a representation of Maitreya's two realms; the Tushita realm in the top register and the other the Ketumati, the pure land in the lower register. This hypothesis is based on the following criteria. To begin with, the appearance of the pātra on the lowermost register is known to be closely related with the legend of

Maitreya undoubtedly. It is the patra of Śākyamuni Bodhisattva which will be used by Maitreya in Ketumati as well. Fa-hsein states that after Maitreya has arrived at supreme wisdom, four heavenly kings will once again come and respectfully salute him as a Buddha, in the same manner as they have done to the former Buddha Śākyamuni(110). The patra, as we know, has no relation with the celestial Dhyāni Buddha Amitabha. Secondly, the tree canopy above the Buddha is generally used for the Mānushi Buddhas whereas the Dhyāni Buddhas or any divine being when represented in the heavenly scene, are shown under the chatra-canopy as seen in the Maitreya image in the top register. Thirdly, there is a close similarity in the secondary divine attendants, in their physical features, attitude and in the composition, who are represented in the register of Maitreya Bodhisattva and that of the Buddha. It may be remembered that those beings who are reborn in the Tushita and also those who are then Bodhisattvas are mentioned to be attending the Three Assemblies of Maitreya under Nāgapuṣpa tree, with which they would liberate from the bondage of existence(111).

Apart from the main image of the Buddha, we have here four tiny Buddhas, two are in the architectural pavillion, one with round body nimbus and another under the tree canopy at the top right. Among the other divine spectators, some are in princely garments and turbans or others have the appearance of Brāhmin ascetics; one holds a book (the first figure from the left in the second row from the bottom);

some hold lotus (the second one from the right in the same row); two garland holding Bodhisattvas at both the sides of the Buddha. Above each of the standing Bodhisattvas, are the two other Bodhisattva figures. The figure on the left hold vajra and the other in namaskāra mudrā, possibly former being Indra and the latter Brahmā. The issue become complex when we compare it with the famous Mohammēd Nari stele, in the Lahore Museum (fig. 127). The representation is as complicated as the theories that have been put forth. Foucher identified the representation as the great Miracle of Śrāvastī(112). Rosenfield regards that such representation "seems to be symbols of the immanence and power of the Buddhist pantheon"(113). Another theory is that it is a representation of Amitābhā's paradise Sukhāvātī. Huntington suggests that this scene corresponds to the account in the larger Sukhāvātīvyūha, in which Śākyamuni makes Sukhāvātī visible at the request of Ānanda(114). A comparison between this and the fig. 126, leads the identification of this as Maitreya's earthly paradise Ketumati, if we accept the identification of the fig. 126 as the representation of both Tushita and Ketumati of Maitreya. Already in the fourth century, when this type of steles were being carved, the concept of Maitreya's pure land, Ketumati, might have been developed, almost equaling the level of Amitābhā's Sukhāvātī heaven. Kumārajīva's versions of the Maitreyavyākaraṇa sūtra(115) describes Ketumati as "eight virtued water flows in the ponds and

rivers in this paradise, various flowers are in full bloom everywhere, and a jewelled canopy covers the whole Ketumati"(116). A very important evidence supporting the argument may be the inscription on the similar stele found near Yakubi in Swabi sub-division, Peshawar district, now in the Peshawar Museum(Acc. No. 280) (117). Konow reads the Kharoshti inscription thus: "Gift (of ...) the young Jina by the resident of Hida village ..."(118) Majumdar translates it thus: "The young Jina in the midst of those who had deviated from the truth"(119). For both Konow and Majumdar, the reference to young Jina meant Śākyamuni Buddha(120). Such an assumption was due to the misinterpretation of the visual representation as the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī following Foucher's theory. On the contrary, if we accept the representation as the work of Mahāyāna Buddhists, the young Jina here could most probably be Maitreya, who is to follow Śākyamuni Buddha. The already supreme god Śākyamuni, according to the tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, cannot be called a young Jina.

Another complicated issue regarding the representation of this type of stele is the so-called emanating Buddhas, generally found on the top-corners of such examples(121). In the top-corners of Mohammad Nari stele, two seated Buddhas are seen, each having eight emanating Buddhas as if they are emerging out from the body of the Buddha. Foucher regards them as the visual representation of Buddhanirmāṇa created by Śākyamuni(122). Following the Hīnayāna Buddhist

ideal, the representation may be that of the 'Śrāvasti Miracle', whereas according to the Māhāyāna Buddhism one can interpret the same as the simultaneous existence of myraids of Buddhas. Thus, the Buddha could create numerous image of himself which can be called Buddhanirmāṇa for delivering all the living beings.

Sometimes, Bodhisattva images also appear similar to emanating Buddha, with the similar emanating images around the figures. A relief fragment from Mohammad Nari, now in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (fig. 128) has such emanating Bodhisattva images on the right side of the top-most tier and in juxtaposition to the Buddha having the emerging Buddhas. Interestingly, the one on the right has the iconographical feature of Maitreya with the bow-knot hair arrangement, but without kamaṇḍalu. Unlike the Buddha image on the opposite side, who has six emanating Buddha figures, the Bodhisattva figure here is surrounded by different types of standing figures; the lowest one is shown with a spear or trident, the middle one with a spear in the right hand and a round object on the left shoulder(123). The left hand side of Bodhisattva is broken off. A similar image type preserved in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (fig. 129) is seen having identical iconographical features(124). Three emanating images on the left side of the Bodhisattva are; the upper-most one is the nimbused Buddha in abhaya mudrā; the middle one probably with indent and a vessel in the left hand; the last one with

hands in namaskāra mudrā. The identification of such a Bodhisattva figure is controversial. Maurizio Taddei interprets such images as the representation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's ability to reveal himself in infinite forms in order to convert all sentient beings(125). Ju-hyung Rhi suggests that such representation does not specify a particular Bodhisattva - but "they seems to represent the Bodhisattva-mahāsattva in a generic sense, as the general ideal of Mahāyāna Buddhists"(126). He denies the possibility of identification of this as Maitreya or Avalokiteśvara with the reason that the image does not have a water vase, an important attribute of Maitreya. He also points out the absence of turban, the general headdress used for Avalokiteśvara in the art of Gandharan(127).

There are, however, a few reasons to believe that this type of Bodhisattva could be the representation of Bodhisattva Maitreya. Firstly the kamaṇḍalu; although this attribute is most important feature of Maitreya, it is not a compulsory attribute for Maitreya in the art of Gandharan as is seen especially in the Maitreya images in crossed-legged position which might have developed in the fourth century A.D.; almost the same time when the 'emanating Bodhisattva' might have been introduced. Secondly, there has been no other Bodhisattva who has the bow-knot hair style known to us from the region of Gandhara. Thirdly, there are various legends telling us about Maitreya's appearance in disguises such as, a Brāhman ascetic or even as a dog(128). Thus, it

is probably not farfetched to conclude that these above images could be the representation of Maitreya for which the following assumptions are to be considered. Firstly, the representation below the scene of Tushita of Maitreya could best be his earthly paradise Ketumati. Secondly, the 'young Jīna' mentioned by inscription on the identical stele (fig. 127), could possibly be interpreted as the future Buddha Maitreya. Thirdly, the Bodhisattva with 'emanating figures' (fig. 128 and 129) are shown with the bow-knot hair style, the most characteristic feature of Maitreya. If the above assumptions can be confirmed with further evidence we can be sure that the cult of Maitreya in Gandhara region was as prominent as the cult of the Buddha Śākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism.

There are a few more sculptures in which we can trace the tradition of representing Maitreya in the form of enlightened Buddha. A relief in the Chandigarh Museum (fig. 130), shows an unusual Buddhist triad. At the centre is the standing Buddha with the right hand in abhaya mudrā, on his right side stands a Bodhisattva with the turbaned head-dress, and on the other side stands a Buddha figure with the right hand in the so-called 'himation pose' (129), which has been argued as the characteristic mode of the Buddha Kaśyapa. As studied earlier, it is Maitreya who is always paired with the turbaned Bodhisattva in the Buddhist triad. Comparing it with the Buddhist triad of fig. 76, we can hypothetically presume that the Maitreya image of the fig.

76 is replaced here with Maitreya having the features of the Buddha. In both the cases the turbaned Bodhisattva with the empty left hand on the hip, might be the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. If the above proposal is considered, we have here the evidence that the concept of Maitreya had been understood not only as the Future Buddha, but also already as a Buddha in the minds of the Buddhists of the Gandharan region.

In the Buddhist monastery at Jaulian, Taxila, a similar image of a standing Buddha is represented as an attendant of the seated Buddha Śākyamuni (fig. 131). Here, too, the image is in the so-called 'himation pose' as that of the fig. 130. On the other side, however, it has another standing Buddha flanking the central Buddha. Materials so far available, allow us to possibly interpret these two Buddha attendants as Kaśyapa, the predecessor of the Śākyamuni Buddha, and Maitreya the successor of the Śākyamuni Buddha. Such a triad may be recognized as the Buddhas of the three ages, Past, Present and Future, the notion of which is emphasized in many early Buddhist texts(130). On the pedestal of the seated Buddha image from Sahri Bahlol (fig. 133) is seen two seated Buddhas and a tree at the centre. The conventional identification of these two images of the Buddhas is one as Śākyamuni and the other as Maitreya Buddha and the tree is considered as the pipal tree under which the Śākyamuni Buddha achieved the Enlightenment(131).

As noted earlier, the so-called namaskāra mudrā, which we proposed as the mudrā of 'acceptance' or 'magnanimity' is a very important iconographical characteristics of the Maitreya images of Gandharan art. However, a few Buddha images with the similar gesture from this region also have been found. Due to the close relationship between this gesture and Maitreya some scholars have suggested that the Buddha image having this particular gesture might be the representation of Maitreya in the form of Buddha(132). A pillar from Swat, now in the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome (fig. 133), has a standing Buddha at the lower half of the relief. Here, his right arm is bent upward; the hand in front of the shoulder, and the palm turned inward. It is conjectural to conclude that this image represents Maitreya in the form of Buddha due to the lack of enough supportive evidence. Generally, this gesture is employed when the Buddha is seen presenting the serpent to Kaśyapa (fig. 134). In this right hand is raised near to the shoulder and the palm is turned inwards. In other cases, however, the hand is generally placed on the chest and the left hand carries a bowl in which lies the serpent innocuously(133). The right hand gesture here might symbolize his authority over his realm. In some cases the gesture may symbolize the 'acceptance' as for example, in fig. 135, where the Buddha is served a meal by a youth and in front of him is a table with the dishes. His right hand touches the chest with the palm turned inward, while the left

hand holds a bowl(134). Thus, the so-called namaskāra mudrā cannot be taken for granted to say that it is Maitreya as a Buddha.

Another hypothesis regarding the iconography of Maitreya is that the Buddha performing dharmacakra pravartana mudrā and seated in pralambapādāsana is the characteristics of Maitreya. At least one image has been found from the region of Gandhara, but the rarity of this type makes it impossible for us to determine whether this type of Buddha was meant to be Maitreya or the Śākyamuni Buddha. This particular iconography is analysed separately in Chapter VII.

The above analysis of the few proposals regarding the iconography of Maitreya as a Buddha leads us to think that the concept of Maitreya as the Buddha of Ketumatī had not gained much popularity in the region of Gandhara, although we may conclude that such a concept was nevertheless known to the artists of Gandharan.

IV-5-4. MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES OF MAITREYA ICONOGRAPHY:

CRESCENT MOON AND STŪPA

There are a few iconographical features which we have not dealt with which have been considered by previous scholars as the characteristic features of Maitreya images from Gandhara school of art. Bussagli has suggested that the lunar crescent inserted between the diadem and the tenon

is a symbolic representation of Maitreya's monarchical nature and is a conclusive evidence for the identification of Maitreya in the art of Gandharan(135). Following him, Ingholt who believed that the hair type and the Brāhmanic water flask in the left hand of image are of no help in distinguishing Maitreya images from that of Siddhārtha, and tries to identify Maitreya images by the presence of the lunar crescent design(136). He could, however find only one image having the lunar crescent(137), similar to the one seen on the head of the standing Maitreya image in the Allahabad Museum (fig. 136). In connection with the use of the lunar crescent by the royal monarchs(138), the use of the same for the Maitreya images of Gandhara has been understood as indicative of the sovereignty or royal characteristic of Maitreya(139). Czuma says that the crescent may signify the lunar origin of Maitreya(140). However, the rarity of Maitreya images having such a special feature enhanced, by undistinguishable shape of the same seen in the available examples, leads to the question of the significance of the above hypothesis. Wherever it is present it rather seems to be a simple decoration of coiffure of Bodhisattvas in general, than as a specific symbol of Maitreya. There are quite a few images of other Bodhisattvas with turban having a similar design on the headdress.

Another important iconographical feature which has been related to Maitreya images is the stūpa on the forehead of the deity. Czuma, while describing a Maitreya image (fig.

119), states that the stūpa present in the crown is an important identifying mark of Maitreya(141). The present study, however, reveals that not a single image of Maitreya having this supposedly important emblem of Maitreya has been found from the early Buddhist art of Mathura and Gandhara(142). Sometimes, the images of Maitreya, like the figs. 84 and 119 may lead us to misread that it has a stūpa on the forehead. One should, however, be cautious of such readings, until we are confident enough about the shape of the stūpa in visual representation. Needless to mention, that the mustache and the sacred thread should not be taken as the indications of the image being Maitreya exclusively, in contrast with the 'youthful face', another unseemingly characteristic feature of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 The region of Gandhara generally includes Swat, Purusapura (Peshawar), Taxila, Nagarahara (Jelalabad) and Hidda (Hadda). The three river valleys of the Swat, Kabul and the Indus formed the main Gandhara region. There was an ancient route connecting Udbhanda (Ohinda on the Indus), Shahbajgarhi, Hoti, Mardan, and Charsaddha. In the time of Kanishka a new route running from Peshawar direct east up to the Indus was diverted. According to the Mahāvamsa, Moggliputta Tissa, the spiritual guide of King Ashoka after the Third Buddhist Council sent missionaries to different countries to propagate Buddhism. A Buddhist servant, Majjhantika was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara, Mahāvamsā, XII, pp. 834-36, also in Asokāvadāna (The Legends of Emperor Ashoka, p. 2), Hsuan-tsang's Si-Yu-Ki, W. Thomas' trans. p. 267.
- 2 A. Foucher (1918), Vol. II, p. 232.
- 3 A. Soper (1959), p. 217.
- 4 The chronology of Gandharan Sculpture is one of the most controversial subject in the field of Indian Art History. Many scholars have proposed various opinions which vary while assigning the exact dates. Dani gives a rather simple system of the approximate chronological order: Period I (the first and second century A.D.), Period II (the third and fourth century A.D.) and Period III (the fourth to the seventh century A.D.). According to him no independent figures of the Buddha & Bodhisattvas were found in the Period I, and they are normally required for placing in

niches around the stūpa and perhaps on the temple walls, Snellgrove (1978), p. 102. Ingholt divides the entire period of Gandharan art into four phases according to the stylistic characteristics: Phase I (144 to 240), Phase II (240 to 300 A.D.), Phase III (300 to 400 A.D.) and Phase IV. The Phase I comprises the relief with the Hellenistic features, Phase II shows a mixture of the old Parthian features with the Sasanian innovations, and no single seated Buddha statues are supposedly made during these phases. The Mathura features are shown in the phases III and the single independent figures appears during this phase. The Phase IV is characterized with the use of paired, parallel lines to indicate the folds of the drapery; Ingholt (1957), Introduction, pp. 26-41. Marshall believed that works of the best workmanship were produced during the first century of the Kanishka era. Marshall (1960), p. 64. While considering all the above opinions, the present study tries alternative dates according to the evaluation of the iconographical features of Maitreya image.

- 5 A fresh reading of Maitreya's image on the coins of King Kanishka was made in 1984, by Joe Cribb of the British Museum. See, pp.
- 6 Over two hundred Maitreya images have been studied from both the actual survey and the photo reproductions. Among them nearly one hundred images are independent statue type, around thirty-five are stele type representing the Buddhist triad, (where Maitreya is shown as an attendant of the Buddha), and the rest are those where the deity is shown as a secondary deity in various contexts where he is presented in small relief sculptures.
- 7 Various terminology has been used for Maitreya's hair arrangement

as found in the art of Gandharan. In the present work the top-knot is used for the round ushnisha type, and the bow-knot for the other so called 'two-looped chignon' type.

- 8 Joe Cribb has published two papers regarding the origin of the Buddha image, in each of which he has introduced the coins of Kanishka on the reverse of which are found with the images of Maitreya; "The origin of the Buddha image - the numismatic evidence in South Asian Archeology" 1981, Briget Allchin ed. 1984, pp. 231-244; "The Re-examination of the Buddha images on the coins of King Kanishka: New light on the origin of the Buddha Image in Gandhara Art", Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia, ed) A.K. Narain ed. 1985, pp. 59-87. According to him, the inscriptions are Bactrian (Kushana) versions, translated into Greek letters from the Sanskrit/Prakrit names. It reads either METRAGO BOUDO or METREA BOUDO or METRAGO BOUDO. Cribb (1985), pp. 62-63. Among twenty coins of Kanishka that have been recognized by Cribb with Buddhist deities on the reverse, fourteen are of the Śākyāmuni Buddha which are all in the standing pose, and six reveal Maitreya images, all in the padmāsana. Cribb (1985), p. 79.
- 9 Rowland suggests a propagandist motive for the usage of the Buddha image on the coins (1953), p. 80; Rosenfield suggests supporters and participants in the king's authority and imperial companionship. Rosenfield (1967), pp. 69-74; Cribb, while supporting the suggestion of Rosenfield, further suggests 'ritual Burgess or foundation deposition as the usage, after its rareness of their coins (both Buddha and Maitreya image). Cribb (1985), p. 79. The last suggestion of Cribb seems not reasonable, for we have

found not a single example of any coins that has been designed especially for such events. Traditionally, it is ordinary coins, older one preferably, that have been used for such ritual occasions in India.

- 10 Si-Yu-ki, Beals trans. pp. xxix.
- 11 Fa-hsein, who visited India in the early years of the fifth century A.D., reports that the image was made by an arhat who studied the size and appearance of the Maitreya Bodhisattva after visiting the Tushita three times. "Its length is 80 feet, and its upturned foot 8 feet, on fast days ever shines brightly." Beal's trans. Vol. I p. xxix; Hsuan-tsang who visited India in 630's, also gives us a similar description. According to him, the figure of Maitreya Buddha was carved out of wood and about 100 feet high and is the work of the arhat Madhyantika. Beal's trans. Vol. I, p. 134.
- 12 A. Soper (1959), p. 268.
- 13 A standing Buddha image from Lorian Tangai, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, dated to year 318 of uncertain era by its inscription, has been converted to Christian era of 196 A.D. following the Saka era.
- 14 Joe Cribb (1985), pp. 62-63. They are: Four in the British Museum - Cunningham Collection No. O.R. 0323, 1894-5-6-1457 and 1894-56-1458, Whitehead Collection No. 1922-4-24-3608; five in different private collections in England; one in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; one in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, No. 10156; one in Berlin State Museum; one in private collection in Japan.
- 15 Czuma (1985), pl. 62 M. It is now in the collection of Craig

Alden Burns.

- 16 There have been found no a single example of Kanishka coin having seated Buddha image.
- 17 Cribb says, "he wears a moustache." This observation seems to have been made after the fig. 47. However, it cannot be taken for granted, since the face of this image has been badly distorted.
- 18 Cribb described the garment of Maitreya thus; "a loin cloth and cloak worn off the shoulders and wrapped round the forearm." However, it is questionable whether such detail design was possible in small die of coin. Moreover the appearance of the ornamentation, such as necklace, bracelets and armlets suggests absence of garment. Often the mark of such ornaments appears to be in the form of lines which looks like the folds of a garment.
- 19 The mudrā of the Maitreya image in the coins of Kanishka has been described as vitarka mudrā, dharmacakra pravartana mudrā, dhyāna mudrā or vyākhyāna mudrā by previous scholars. The actual intention of the artist, however, seems to make the gesture of reassurance through the right hand.
- 20 Cribb describes the stool as "a low stool which is covered with a cloth". Cribb (1985), p. 62. But the stool is bare without cover, and the supports shown in the stool of fig. 43, might have led him to read these as the folds of cloth.
- 21 The symbolic meaning of the kamaṇḍalu in Maitreya's hand has been already discussed in the previous chapter, p. 92 after we have discarded the general interpretation of ascetic meaning of kamaṇḍalu in connection with Maitreya's presumed 'Brāhmanic' or 'ascetic nature'.

22 See Chapter II, pp. 42-49.

- 23 He studied for the comparative purpose, Ahicchatra Maitreya image, (fig. 1), and the fragmentary seated image of Maitreya dated year 29, (fig. 17). Cribb (1985), pp. 70-72.
- 24 Cribb (1984), p. 236.
- 25 Ibid., p. 236.
- 26 Ibid., p. 236.
- 27 Cribb (1985), p. 80.
- 28 Such misinterpretation seems to be the outcome of personal eagerness to establish certain theory without disturbing generally accepted theories; such as the theory that the Mathura school first created images of the Buddha. Such eagerness made him to misread the inscribed date of the seated Maitreya image from Girdharpur, fig. 17 as, "dated in year 29" while original reading is the year 29 of Mahārāja Huvishka. Cribb (1984), p. 236.
- 29 Benerjea (1956), p. 288.
- 30 Ingholt readily identified the top-knot type as that of Siddhārtha by the following reasons; the resemblance of the hair style with the ushnisha of the Buddha image and the youthful appearance of the face.
- 31 The accurate number is avoided throughout the present study for the following reasons; firstly, in many images, the detail features are not readable so as to classify exactly to any particular group; secondly, there are too many damaged images that lead counting the accurate number meaningless; thirdly, the possible existence of the images which have not been included in the present study leads the finger count, so the approximate figure given here should not be take as final. However, whenever

it is found necessary, the number of the figures are given in the foot-note.

- 32 Ingholt (1957), p. 137. He places the date of this image to the later period of Gandhara school, i.e. fourth to sixth century A.D. The date of the image however, can be placed much earlier, possibly, in the mid-second century A.D. on the basis of the iconographical features.
- 33 See, pp. and figs. 42-48.
- 34 Ingholt suggests the identification of this image as either the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha or Maitreya due to the similarity of its hair style compared to that of Śākyamuni Buddha. Ingholt (1957), pl. 278. For the detailed discussion see pp.
- 35 Such placement is also observed in the Western Indian cave temple as in the Chaitya hall at Ajanta (Cave No. 26).
- 36 Bosch, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VII, 1950, p. 91, cit. from Ingholt (1957), p. 22.
- 37 According to Ingholt it is from the period III (300-400) that a single seated Buddha statue appears and since the beginning of the fourth century A.D., the following characteristics occurred in Gandharan sculpture:
- a) Two mudrās appears; dhyāna mudrā and dharmacakra pravartana mudrā.
 - b) The saṅghati no longer covers the right knee.
 - c) More of Mathura influence.
 - d) The right shoulder is uncovered, as well as both feet.
 - e) The rendering of the drapery folds becomes a multitude of forked folds.
- Ingholt, (1957), pp. 29-37.

- 38 Ingholt states that "It is possible that during the period of our Group I (144 to 240) some Mathura sculptors imitated the Gandharan Buddhas, but no such Mathura sculptures have survived which can be dated with certainty. Ingholt (1967), p. 30.
- 39 Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949), p. 126; Ingholt also places the appearance of the Buddha image with the right shoulder uncovered garment type only in Group III (300 to 400 A.D.) along with the new introduction of dharmacakra pravartana mudrā. Ingholt (1967), pp. 35-36.
- 40 See, p. 79.
- 41 Ingholt (1957), places this relief to the earliest group of the Gandharan sculpture.
- 42 The image on the extreme left is possibly Svastika who is believed to have presented a bundle of grass for the seat of the Buddha is shown with the small curls similar to that of Maitreya images.
- 43 There are many similar stair-riser reliefs from the region of Gandhara, preserved in various Museums in the world. They are generally assigned to be the earliest groups of Gandharan sculptures, that is to say in the first century A.D. The present relief is now in the Rijks Museum, Leiden. See Czuma (1985), pp. 172-77.
- 44 The younger looking one on the other side must be his nephew Naradatta. Each of them holds a water vase in the left hand.
- 45 Marshall (1953), Artibus Asiae, p. 131.
- 46 J. Sherrier (1984), "An important relic stūpa with four free-standing figures", in South Asian Archeology 1981, ed. Bridget Allchin, pp. 254-256.

- 47 The translation is of Prof. Fussman, who offered two other alternative translation; either '(Gift of) homage'; or '(Gift of) Śivarakṣitaka, the stūpa with its barrow (for going out in procession)'. Cited from J. Sherrier (1984), p. 254.
- 48 Ibid., p. 254.
- 49 In the words of J. Sherrier: "To take this relic's history in its hypothetical sequence of events, it is my belief that originally there was a stūpa with four figures and the inscription - but that the central stupa, i.e., the drum, dome, harmikā and umbrella was smaller than the existing one, and that the earlier drum also had a tenon under its base which fitted into the central socket - which this present drum has not got. We must then assume that the lost central part of the stūpa was replaced by this one. Hence the marked difference in quality to that of the figures and the base platform." Ibid., p. 256; He also observes that the four figures have the stone tenons under their round bases and fit into the four slots - each into its own specific shapes on the platform of the square base. Ibid., p. 254.
- 50 J. Cribb (1985), pp. 70-72.
- 51 The mode of dhoti is basically the same; it is wrapped around the waist, with or without the help of the band. The dupatta is worn above the dhoti mainly in two different modes and sometimes a shawl is added. In the sculptural representation they show three distinguishable types:
- Type I: The uttariya is loosely passed from the right thigh and goes upward to the left arm, and wrapped around the shoulder. In addition to this, a shawl coming from the back is shown at the

folded right arm.

Type II: The uttariya passes through the folded right arm, and hangs loosely in front of the body and goes towards the left shoulder from where it is wrapped in the same way as the first type.

Type III: The uttariya is kept in a similar manner like the first type, but is held more tighter that much of the body is covered. Above this a shawl is worn around the folded arms, which loosely hang and forms a 'U' shape.

52 Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949), p. 114.

53 Czuma (1985), p. 232.

54 A pedestal of a standing Buddhist figure is illustrated in Ingholt (1957), pl. 305; Two similar pedestals are present in the reserve collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. One has traces of the feet and the other has a tenon hole. Apart from these a Buddha image having a similar Maitreya image on the pedestal is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (Acc. No. 4905/A23215).

55 See foot note no. 51.

56 When the number of the Buddhas on the pedestal is two, they are considered as Sākyamuni Buddha and Maitreya Buddha; when the triple images are found then interpreted as the Past, Present, and Future Buddhas; the five images as that of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas; for the multiple image of Buddhas numbering four and six simply as past Mānushi Buddhas. The interpretations of multiple representation of Buddhas on the pedestal as Mānushi Buddhas or Dhyāni Buddhas have been reinterpreted by the present researcher, who maintains these as the Gandharan version of the

'Great Miracle of Śrāvastī'. I.C. Kim, "Gandharan Version of Śrāvastī Miracle?" Unpublished paper.

- 57 See, pp. 27-32.
- 58 Another similar example with the right hand in abhaya mudrā is illustrated in Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhara, (1960), fig. 140.
- 59 Similar design is observed in the figs. 80-83.
- 60 Ingholt (1957), p. 135, pl. 288.
- 61 S. Beal (1906), Si-Yu-Ki, Vol. I, p. 50. The pātra is often represented on the pedestal of Maitreya image as well as on the pedestal of the Buddha image: for Maitreya image see the fig. 97, from the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (Acc. No. 87.1153) and in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Acc. No. 4896/A23209).
- 62 The origin of the Buddhist triad, with the composition of the Buddha at the centre and two Bodhisattvas standing on either side of the Buddha might have derived from the early tradition of representing the King with the chauri bearers, which is also frequently seen in the early Mathura school of art.
- 63 One more of such variation may be seen in the fig. 130 from the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.
- 64 The identification of the counterpart Bodhisattva with the turban headdress have been greatly confusing; although there is a general agreement that the image holding the so-called garland is Avalokiteśvara, and the image having nothing in the left hand but placed on the hip is Siddhārtha Bodhisattva. The present Bodhisattva, however, allows no easy classification.
- 65 Ingholt (1957), fig. XVI-4.

- 66 The origin of the flower as an attribute of Avalokiteśvara is of speculation. There is no contemporary evidence to trace the origin of Padmapāṇi commonly understood as another name for Avalokiteśvara. Earliest evidence may come from the bronze image of Northern Wei period in China (A.D. 386-535); there are a considerable number of images holding the lotus bud in the right hand, and are identified as Avalokiteśvara by the inscription. See, Saburo Matsubara's (1966), pls. 23(a), 38(a), 48(a), and 48(d). Thus, the lotus flower as an attribute of Avalokiteśvara might have developed around the beginning of the fourth century A.D., in between the date of the present work and the Northern Wei Chinese works.
- 67 Ingholt (1957), p. 58, pl. 37.
- 68 Marshall (1960), p. 79.
- 69 This image of the seated Maitreya is published in the Marg issue, India and Greece; connections and parallel, ed. S. Doshi, 1985, p. 24. The reproduction there is, however, printed in reverse, so the left hand shows the right and the right vice-versa.
- 70 The design at the edge of the halo looks like that of the flame design seen in the fig. 80.
- 71 Czuma suggests that this type of halo might have derived from the Iranian world where one finds it in the sculpture of Hatra and Palmyra. Czuma(1985), pp. 158 and 210-212.
- 72 An exceptional case may be the image of Maitreya on the pedestal of the Buddha, illustrated in Ingholt(1957), fig. XV-3.
- 73 A seated Maitreya image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Acc. No. 4254) shows a clear shape of tenon below the image, and a trace of

- the tenon on top of the nimbus. This image might also have had the umbrella on top of the nimbus and probably a lotus seat below.
- 74 The Maitreya images with the dhyāna mudrā other than illustrated in the present work are; three in the reserve collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta; one in the Prince of Wales Museum, in Bombay, one in the Lucknow Museum(Acc. No. 47.91) and one in the Lahore Museum(Acc. No. 1968).
- 75 A similar image is illustrated in Ingholt's (1957), pl. 236. Ingholt misreads the gesture of the right hand as abhaya mudrā.
- 76 The term namaskāra mudrā for this gesture has been questioned for its appropriateness. See p. 216-220.
- 77 The image in the India Museum, Calcutta is in the reserve collection. The bow-knot hair arrangement and the still traceable kamaṇḍalu in the left hand indicate its identity as that of Maitreya.
- 78 Huntington (1957), p. 93.
- 79 Maurizio Taddei (1969), p. 375.
- 80 B. Bhattacharyya (1958), p. 437.
- 81 Ibid., p. 437.
- 82 See p. 35, and also Chapter II, footnote no. 74.
- 83 Miyaji (1986), published thirty Buddhist triad groups. Other triad groups, apart from Miyaji's illustration are; the figs. 76, 101 and 102; Rosenfield's (1967), pl. 92; one in the reserve collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta; one in the Heras Institute Museum(Acc. No. 30.50); one in the Birla Academy Museum, Calcutta. The last example attracts a special interest for those who followed Foucher's theory that the Buddhist triad of

Gandhara represents the 'Miracle of Śrāvastī'. The Buddha in this triad is represented standing on the stool, and below his feet is the clear design of the 'fire' or 'water' that is often found in the representation of the 'Twin Miracle' in the art of Gandhara. The present investigator however, questions its authenticity but welcomes others opinion.

- 84 In 1959, Soper made an observation that this particular gesture, namaskāra mudrā as he terms, is one of the important characteristics of Maitreya iconography. Soper (1959), p. 216; Taddei states more strongly that, in Gandharan art Bodhisattva figures showing the namaskāra mudrā are identified as none other than Maitreya. Taddei, (1969), p. 376.
- 85 Among the six cases, three are illustrated in the present work (fig. nos. 99, 100 and 102). Others are; two in the Peshawar Museum (Acc. No. 1727) and Fitz Patrick 503; and one in the National Museum, Karachi.
- 86 J. Brough's translation, published by Harle (1974), "A Hitherto Unknown Dated Sculpture from Gandhara: A Preliminary Report", South Asian Archaeology 1973, Leiden, E.J. Brill (ed.).
- 87 Czuma (1985), p. 198.
- 88 The great event in the history of this region during this period is Invasion of Shapur I which might have taken place in A.D. 240-41, after which the post-Kaniṣhka Kushan dynasties began. However, we do not have firm evidence to trace any change in art after this political event.
- 89 Saunders(1960), p. 230. He noted that before the Gupta period, the iconography of dhyāna mudrā as a gesture of Amitābhā had not

yet been established. As we will see in the fifth chapter, the emblematic image of Amitābhā Buddha in front of Avalokiteśvara's headgear seems to have got established in the post Gupta period, while the prototype is nevertheless available during the Kushan period.

- 90 In one of the most important Mahāyāna scripture, Saddharama-puṇḍarīka sūtra which was translated into Chinese first time by Dharmarakṣa in A.D. 286, Maitreya is mentioned as one of the several Bodhisattvas who could obtain the Buddhahood. Sanskrit scripture often describes the teaching of Maitreya through the form of conversation; Maitreya asks questions and the Buddha explains.
- 91 Ingholt (1957), p. 135. He considers the jewelled ushnisha and the hair flowing down over the shoulders as the reminiscents of the Siddhārtha statues, moreover, a flask in the hand is an attribute of both Siddhārtha and Maitreya.
- 92 Siddhārtha left the illusionary palace life by the age of twenty-nine and it took six years to attain the Enlightenment. Lalitavistāra, pp. 382-86, Vaidya (1958), p. 190.
- 93 Ingholt (1957), cit. p. 133.
- 94 Czuma (1985), p. 189. He reads the topmost scene as 'Śākyamuni's birth'; the third scene as Siddhārtha and his wife Yaśodharā; the fourth scene as proclaiming the renunciation of wordly things; the fifth, the lowest scene as the Great Departure.
- 95 The various scriptures, especially the Maitreyavyākarama-sūtra, tell us about the birth and life stories of Maitreya which is almost a duplication of that of the Śākyamuni Buddha. For more

- details see, pp. 35-36.
- 96 Dīghanikāya, XVI, 2.
- 97 The dharmacakra pravartana mudrā has been noticed mainly with the bow-knot type Maitreya images which has been introduced sometime around the beginning of the third century A.D. The present image from Sahri Bahlol seems to suggest that the top-knot type of hair arrangement was still in vogue after the introduction of the bow-knot hair arrangement. On the basis of its style this image is datable to the first half of the third century A.D.
- 98 There are similar Maitreya images having a seated image of Siddhārtha on the pedestal; one in the collection of the Norton Simon Foundation in Los Angeles, see Leoshko (1988), fig. 7; one in the Patna Museum, (Acc. No. 1336) illustrated here in the fig. 123; one in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, illustrated here in the fig. 95; one in the Peshawar Museum, illustrated here in the fig. 89.
- 99 The image of Siddhārtha, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Acc. No. 4982/A23197), depicts the same type of Bodhisattva images on the pedestal. An image of the Buddha, in the Lucknow Museum (Acc. No. G. 122a), has a tiny seated image of the Buddha on its pedestal.
- 100 Czuma (1985), p. 207.
- 101 Saunders points out that the dharmacakra pravartana mudrā with the exception of Maitreya, is a reserved mudrā exclusively for the Buddha. E.D. Saunders (1960), p. 100. See for more details Chapter VII pp.
- 102 Ingholt (1957), p. 58. He also suggests its possible identity as

Bodhisattva Maitreya.

- 103 Rosenfield (1967), p. 235; Snellgrove (1978), suggests its identification as Vairocana, whose cult spread from Gandhara across the Central Asia, p. 66. But, the image belongs to the early third century A.D., which is an early date to be considered in the context of the advanced Dhyāni Buddha theology which might have developed only much later.
- 104 Soper (1959), p. 217.
- 105 For more description, see, pp. 30-32.
- 106 John Huntington (1980), pp. 651-672.
- 107 Si-Yu-Ki, Beal's trans., Vol. II, p. 143.
- 108 John Huntington suggests that the Bodhisattva image here is Avalokiteśvara seated under jewelled flowers described in texts, like Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra and Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra. John Huntington (1980), pp. 650-667.
- 109 Yu-min Lee(1983), p. 214, "Since the Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra is closely related to Amitābha's paradise, Sukhāvati and the preservers of the teaching of this scripture are said to be able to meet Maitreya, Maitreya's association with Sukhāvati is very evident."
- 110 Si-Yu-Ki, Beal's trans. Vol. I. The four heavenly kings are Dhartarashtra, Virudhaka, Virūpāksha and Vaiśrāvaṇa.
- 111 See, pp. 37-38, and also Chapter II, footnote no. 77.
- 112 Foucher (1917), pp. 170 and 176. Along with the almost ideal example of Sarnath version, his theory has served as a key for identifying the representation of the theme. Although it has been widely accepted, some objection to this identification has been

- expressed by later scholars such as Spooner (1911); Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949), pp. 131-140; John Rosenfield (1967), pp. 236-8; Huntington (1980) pp. 656-61; and Ju-hyung Rhi (1991).
- 113 Rosenfield (1967). "The Tathāgatha, as essentially one with the eternal and stainless and immaterial Dharma - the First cause of all the existence - assumes or creates apparitional forms (nirmāṇakāya) to suit the circumstances of his instruction to mankind." Cit. p. 231.
- 114 Huntington (1980), pp. 565-61.
- 115 They are Ta-Cheng-fo-Ching and Hsia-sheng Cheng-fo Ching of around 400 A.D. It might have adopted much from the Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra which seems to have been popular during the fourth century A.D.
- 116 See pp. 33-34.
- 117 The stele is illustrated in Ingholt's (1957), pl. 256.
- 118 Cited from Ingholt's (1957), p. 123, "According to Konow, the term 'young Jīna' refers to the Buddha.
- 119 N.G.A. Majumdar(1937), p. 66 n. He refers to the inability of the heretic teacher to perform miracles that they had undertaken to do.
- 120 "The explanation of this is derived from the Buddhist tradition according to which the Buddha was a younger teacher than the forty heretics whom he confronted at Śrāvastī." Ingholt (1957), p. 123.
- 121 The representation of the so-called 'emanating' or 'multiplying' Buddha have been found in various collection mostly as fragments; they are, two in the Chandigarh Museum, Acc. Nos. 1137 and 2355; Two in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Acc. No. 19 and 20.

- 122 ".... among the images which have emanated from the Blessed one, some, as if better to emphasize their supernatural and magical character, are surrounded by an irradiation in the form of an aureole composed of other Buddhas." Foucher (1917), p. 172.
- 123 This has been read by S. Paul and P. Khanna who regards the last two as Kārtikerya and Kubera. They considered the seated Bodhisattva as Avalokiteśvara. S. Paul (1993), pp. 64-65.
- 124 Two more such examples of emanating Bodhisattva are known; they are one in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, previously in the Peshawar Museum, one in the Nprsek Museum, Prague. Both are illustrated in Taddei(1987), fig. 1 and 5. The last one is surrounded by six figures of Bodhisattvas.
- 125 Taddei (1987), pp. 349-355. His reading is based on Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra in which Avalokiteśvara preaches the Dharma taking the form of various beings.
- 126 Ju-hyung Rhi (1991), p. 91.
- 127 Ibid., pp. 90-91.
- 128 Hsuan-tsang, Si-Yu-Ki, Beal's trans. pp. 191-192.
- 129 Grunwedel (1901), pp. 189-90. The term 'himation pose', comes from the similar mode of the costume then currently in vogue in the Greek East. Ingholt's (1957), p. 111, pls. 206, 211 and 227. See the fig. 69, the image at the extreme right of the Buddha in the present work.
- 130 The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra emphasizes the notion of three ages.
- 131 Another possible interpretation of such multiple representation of the Buddhas has been made as an abbreviate version of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle' by the present researcher, "Gandharan Version of

'Śrāvastī Miracle?'" Unpublished.

- 132 M. Taddei, (1963), pp. 364-390; Lu-min Lee (1983), p. 216.
- 133 Other examples are illustrated in Ingholt(1957), pls. 85, 86 and 87.
- 134 Ingholt interpretes the scene as "the meal in Śrīgupta's house at which Buddha rendered the poisoned food innocuous." Ingholt (1957), p. 86.
- 135 Mario Bussagli (1949), p. 357; He states that the lunar crescent is one of the astral symbols which decorates the tiara and crown of Sasanian monarchs; the lunar crescent also commonly adorns the tiara of Kushan kings, like Kaniṣhka and Huvishka. Pp. 355-39.
- 136 Ingholt (1957), p. 135.
- 137 Ibid., pl. 289.
- 138 See Rosenfield (1967), pp. 67-69.
- 139 Ingholt (1957), p. 135.
- 140 Czuma (1985), p. 204. The present researcher however, has come across no indication of Maitreya belonging to the clan of lunar descendancy.
- 141 Ibid., p. 203.
- 142 Gouriswar Bhattacharya points out that "the stūpa or chaitya in Maitreya's crown or jaṭā was unknown in the Gandharan art. However, it can be understood as originated later, perhaps in the Cave sculptures of Western India. Perhaps such a development received its hints from the 'tapering tenon' or the large jewel on the head of the Gandharan Maitreya images and other Bodhisattva figures." G. Bhattacharya (1980), p. 105.