

KALHĀR
(*White Water-Lily*)

**Studies in Art, Iconography,
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of India and Bangladesh**

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Images of Buddhist Goddesses Accompanied by Astral Deities¹

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1. Introduction

1.1. Scope. This article is part of a series documenting the occurrence of astral deities and symbols in Indo-Asian Art. Being confined to female Buddhist deities, it lists ninety-two images of goddesses which are represented with or surrounded by figures of one or all nine planetary gods (*navagraha*), figures of the 28 constellations (*nakṣatra*), symbols of the sun and the moon, or symbols of the 12 zodiacal sign (*rāśi*).² This article also complements the brief survey and analysis of *devī* images accompanied by *graha* figures published elsewhere.³

1.2. Icons. Not a single stone image of a Buddhist goddess depicting the complete group of *graha.s* is known so far. Rāhu, the demon of darkness who devours the sun and the moon and causes solar and lunar eclipses,⁴ is the only *graha* who has been carved in stone with a Buddhist goddess, namely **Māricī**, the goddess of Light and Victory (see Tables 1 and 9).

The complete group of nine *graha.s* (Sūrya/Sun, Candra/Moon, Maṅgala/Mars, Buddha/Mercury, Brhaspati/Jupiter, Śukra/Venus, Śani/Saturn, Rāhu/Lunar node, Ketu/Comet) is frequently depicted in Buddhist painted scrolls from Tibet and Nepal, in *maṇḍala.s* centring on the three goddesses **Grahamātrkā**, **Mahāpratisarā** and **Uṣṇīṣavijayā**. These goddesses are multifariously interconnected, and quite often images of one of them appear on paintings of the others (see Table 6).

Vasudhārā, the goddess of abundance, does also belong to this specific group of goddesses. Though often depicted in secondary positions in the *maṇḍala.s* of the former three goddesses (Table 6), no painting of an independent Vasudhārā-*maṇḍala* with *graha.s* is yet known. It is not improbable, however, that such *maṇḍala.s* were once conceived and painted, and it may be just a matter of time that such paintings will surface.

1.3. Texts. The Buddhist goddess **Aparājītā** is described in *sādhana* 192 of the *Sādhanamālā* (*SM*) as being of white complexion and destroying all the *graha.s* (*sarvagraha*; Bhattacharyya 1959: 216; Mallmann 1975: 103). In *sādhana* 204 it is stated that the yellow Aparājītā tramples on Gaṇapati (Bhattacharyya 1959: 245-246; Mallmann 1975: 103). Aparājītā belongs to the “Enlightenment complex” of the Buddha and is closely related to Māricī and Vairocana. Her images predate those of her successor Māricī in the sites of Bodh Gaya and Nalanda, reflecting a certain similarity in their respective personalities (cf. Bautze-Picron 2001: 279). In stone sculptures Aparājītā is frequently shown trampling on Gaṇapati, but not on the *graha.s*. The latter (textual) concept (*SM* 192: white, destroying the *graha.s*) is posterior to the known stone images of the yellow Aparājītā trampling on Gaṇapati by roughly three centuries. It can be understood as a Buddhist reaction reflecting the contemporary prevalent artistic tradition in the Hindu art of Northern Bengal in the 11th/12th centuries where

Gaṇapati and the *navagraha.s* were closely related and venerated together, as evident from numerous *navagraha* stone slabs and the majority of images depicting Gaurī with *sadyojāta* Śiva (cf. CHJ: nos. 36-63). In Tibetan *maṇḍala.s* of **Sitātapatrā-Aparājītā** following the Ngor tradition, there are figures of the 28 *nakṣatra.s*, but not of the *navagraha.s* (bSod nams 1983: pl. 7; 1989: pl. 7; 1991: 8-9).

According to textual descriptions, there are a number of other goddesses that are related to the heavenly bodies. The *navagraha.s* appear collectively as adorants of the yellow **Mahāmāyūrī** (*SM* 206) and of the white **Māricī** (*SM* 132, 135; cf. Mallmann 1975: 276). The sun and the moon figure as personifications of two of the eight dangers in the description of the white **Mṛtyuvaṇcana-Tārā** (*SM* 103, 112). The *graha.s* are also invoked in *SM* 206 (**Pañcarakṣā**) and *SM* 223 (**Mahāmāyā**; cf. Mallmann 1975: 178). A detailed philological and art-historical analysis of the respective *sādhana.s* might produce relevant data for establishing a sequence of steps with regard to the iconographic development of these goddesses and may give an answer to questions such as, “How and when did the process of including the astral deities start?”, etc.

1.4. Symbolism. As far as artistic representations are concerned we are left with the four goddesses mentioned above: **Māricī**, **Grahamātrkā**, **Mahāpratisarā** and **Uṣṇīṣavijayā**. This number is certainly very small in relation to the legion of goddesses that populate the later Buddhist pantheon. When looking for a common denominator that links these goddesses we notice that all four are of fair (i.e. white or yellow) complexion, and all are related to the Buddha of Light, Vairocana, like Aparājītā and Mṛtyuvaṇcana-Tārā in the texts.⁵ Further, in several descriptions of the *maṇḍala* of the white Vajratārā (*SM* 93-95, 97, 110; *NSP* 16), Uṣṇīṣavijayā acts as the guardian of the zenith (Mallmann 1975: 390). In China, Māricī (Doumu) is venerated as the Queen of Heaven. Māricī and Uṣṇīṣavijayā are often represented within a *stūpa* denoting their association with death, and especially Uṣṇīṣavijayā (and to a minor extent also Mahāpratisarā and Grahamātrkā) is linked to the *bhīmaratha* and *lakṣacāyita* rites, in which the *stūpa* itself is the principal object of veneration (Pal 1977). Both rites are celebrated in Nepal even today when a person reaches a very old age to ensure a long life and a fortunate rebirth. These rites were practiced at least from the 14th century onwards, and probably even earlier.⁶ All the four goddesses are personifications of *dhārāṇī.s* and thus connected with magic rites targeted to the aims of longevity, favourable destiny, and protection from all kinds of calamities.⁷ We thus notice a prevailing Light symbolism, an affinity to magic rites, and cosmological as well as astrological implications that make these goddesses suitable to be represented with symbols or figures of the shining heavenly bodies.

In this context mention should be made of another white goddess, not included in the present list. The enigmatic Tibetan Buddhist goddess **dKar mo ŋi zla** (“the white one, sun and moon”), represented on wall paintings in the Gyantse monastery and in Tibetan blockprints as holding the sun and the moon in her hands, is evoked “in order to realize a peculiar magic purpose” (Tucci 1963: 134 and *passim*; Tucci 1941: figs. 79, 104; Willson/Brauen 2000: 374-375, no. 410).

2. List of Images

2.1. Content and structure of the list. The list of ninety-two images has mainly been compiled by surveying numerous publications. The structure of the list is organized according to the principal deity of the composition.

The list falls in four major groups: (I) Māricī with three sub-groups according to the specific type of astral figures or symbols shown with the goddess, (II) Grahamātrkā with two varieties, (III) Mahāpratisarā, and (IV) Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Within the four groups, the list is structured by sub-headings according (i) to the material of the images (stone, metal, wood, painting), and (ii) to modern geographical/political divisions, i.e. statewise, and, in the case of Māricī, even areawise.

I. Mārīcī (60)	##
I.A. Mārīcī with Rāhu (48)	1-48
I.B. Mārīcī flanked by two disks (1)	49
I.C. Mārīcī holding sun and moon disks (12)	48, 50-60
II. Grahamāṭṛkā with astral deities (<i>graha.s</i>, <i>nakṣatra.s</i>, <i>rāśi.s</i>) (7)	
II.A. Independent Grahamāṭṛkā- <i>maṇḍala.s</i> (4)	61-64
II.B. Grahamāṭṛkā- <i>maṇḍala.s</i> as sub- <i>maṇḍala.s</i> (3)	65-67
III. Mahāpratisarā with astral deities (<i>graha.s</i>, <i>nakṣatra.s</i>) (9)	68-76
IV. Uśnīṣavijayā with astral deities (<i>graha.s</i>, <i>nakṣatra.s</i>) (16)	77-92

2.2. Structure of the entries. Each entry contains information on the following details :

--- **Entry no., place of origin, district; present location/museum, size, date.Plate no.**
The present location of the images is given according to the latest reference(s). Museum's names appear in abbreviated form (see Appendix) and are followed by the inventory number in round brackets (if known). The dates proposed by other authors are generally not discussed and have mostly been accepted. If illustrated in this article, the figure number will be found in bold type at the end of the first line; the entry number of illustrated images is printed in bold type in the tables and diagrams.

--- Type and number of astral symbols or deities; posture; iconographical remarks
 Arrangement (**H**, **C**) - sub-type (**-I** etc.) - variety (**-1** etc.)

The arrangement scheme of the astral symbols/deities will be found at the end of the second (etc.) line in bold type in order to facilitate quick reference to the corresponding diagrams in chapter 4. Details of numerical and iconographical relevance of the *graha* figures or astral symbols are listed in chapter 3 (Tables 6, 8, 9).

--- References (Ref.) include verbal quotations if necessary and relevant in the present context. They are occasionally followed by comments.

Several abbreviations have been used; they are listed in the Appendix.

I. Mārīcī

Māricī is conceptually and morphologically related to the Sun God Sūrya, whose chariot she inherits. In a priest's manual (*Pūjāvidhi*) copied in NS 693 = AD 1573 Sūrya is called Māricī-graha (Pal/Bhattacharyya 1969: 32).

In *sādhana.s* 132 and 135 of the *Sādhanaṃālā* (see Bhattachary[y]a 1925), Āditya and the other nine [!] *graha.s*, who symbolize disease, death, famine and distress, are noted to be overcome by Mārīcī's chariot drawn by seven pigs. In *SM* 134, 137, 142 and 146 Rāhu conducts the chariot, holding in his hands the sun and the moon. All these *sādhana.s* describe fair-complexioned forms of the goddess (white: *SM* 132, 135; yellow: *SM* 134, 137, 142, 146); none of her red-complexioned forms seem to bear any astral symbolism, neither in the textual sources nor in the actual images.

Not a single image of Mārīcī with the complete group of *navagraha.s* has yet been discovered. However, Rāhu, the eighth *graha* and demon of darkness causing eclipses, is frequently, though not always, represented in front of Mārīcī's chariot in the centre of the pedestal (## 1-48). Some of these images show the disk-on-crescent symbol surmounting the head of the goddess (## 28, 41, 44, 45, 47). In one sculpture from Bihar (## 49) Mārīcī's head is flanked by two disks, and in the Lamaist art of Northern Buddhism and the Daoist art of China, Mārīcī is represented holding sun and moon disks in her two upper hands (## 48, 50-60).

For a discussion on the significance of Rāhu, the sun and the moon with regard to Māricī, the “Goddess of Light and Victory”, see Bautze-Picron’s comprehensive study and list of ninety-one Māricī images, especially her chapter on “The light and the luminaries” (2001: 280–286). The *caitya/stūpa* that is mentioned in the *sādhana.s* as the place where she resides, often represented in the images, links the goddess to the topic of death, viz. the death and final end of the pre-enlightenment life of the Bodhisatva followed by the victory of the Buddha over the powers of darkness.

I.A. Mārīcī + Rāhu

Forty-eight images of Mārīcī with Rāhu in the pedestal are listed below. The goddess is invariably depicted as standing in a chariot drawn by pigs or horses. As has been observed by Donaldson (1985: 43; 2001: 316), in images of Mārīcī from Orissa that depict her four attendants, it is always Varāli, the goddess of the West, who stands between the legs of Mārīcī and straddles the head of Rāhu, suggesting that Mārīcī is moving westward across the sky in the manner of a solar deity.

As can be seen in Table 1, in the majority of images Mārīci's chariot is pulled by pigs, in a few early examples by horses. Rāhu generally appears on the front of the chariot, either above, or in between, or beneath the pigs or the horses, which mostly number seven. In two or three examples, Mārīci's chariot is pulled by six pigs, in another by eight pigs, in one by nine pigs, and in one apparently by only two pigs, but Rāhu is not represented in the latter two images.

TABLE 1: Māricī Images (## 1-60)							
Images with Rāhu (## 1-48): Position of Rāhu ...							
above	between	beneath	above	between	beneath	between	
7 horses			7 pigs			6 pigs	8 pigs
—	1, 2, 3, (42)	40	9, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, (32), 33, 34, (36), 43, 44, 45	4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (13), 18, 29, (42)	10, 11, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, (36), 37, 38, 39, 41, 47	(12), 46, 48	17
Images without Rāhu (## 49-60) : Chariot drawn by ...							
2 pigs			7 pigs			9 pigs	
59			49, 50, 52, 56, 58, 60			55	
No draught animals preserved: ## 51, 53, 54, 57							

Rāhu's face is occasionally adorned with a beard (e.g. in ## 18, 26, 28, 48). In the early images from Bihar and some of the later images he does not seem to hold any attributes, or they are not conceivable anymore. On the other hand, in most images from Bengal, Orissa and China Rāhu is depicted as holding in his hands either sun and moon disks (8 images), or a disk (right) and a crescent (left) (4 images), or *vice versa* (3 images), or a crescent in each hand (1 image), or a single crescent with both hands (6 images); see Table 9. The iconographic tradition of showing symbols of the luminaries as attributes in Rāhu's hands seems to be a later development since it occurs only from the late 10th century onwards.

BIHAR (stone)

Bodh Gaya

- MIK Berlin** (1 380), 6 arms, 3 human heads; 55x26 cm, 9th century **Plate 20.1**
Rāhu between 7 horses (4+3; drawn as 10 [5+5] in the line drawings), with a charioteer seated on his head. The two wheels of the chariot have 8 spokes on the proper right side and 9 spokes on the proper left (cf. ## 29, 40).^a This asymmetrical feature may be just accidental; if it is intended, one could speculate that the numbers are meant to refer symbolically to the nine *graha.s*, and since one of them, Rāhu, is already represented figurally, the number of spokes of the right wheel was reduced to one.

Ref.: Martin 1838: pl. IX.7 (1.d.); Mitra 1878: pl. XXXI.2 (1.d.); Buchanan 1936: 159 (n.i.); Gelpke 1941: 24, Abb.; Behrsing 1943: II, no. 21 (n.i.); Härtel 1966: cat. 62, Taf. 18; Härtel/Auboyer 1971: 174, Taf. 76; *MIKB* 1971: no. 124, Taf. 17; *MIKB* 1976: 44, no. 124 (n.i.); *MIKB* 1980: 42-43, Abb. 15; Uhlig 1981: 123-124, Abb. 19; *MIKB* 1986: 41, no. 95 (n.i.); Leoshko 1987: 309, 538, fig. 170 (1.d.); Bautze-Picron 1987: 567, no. 25; 606, ill. 25 (1.d.); 623, ill. 25 (1.d.); Bautze-Picron 1989: 276, 286, no. 20 (n.i.); Leoshko 1995: 50, fig. 9; Maxwell 1997: pl. 61; Bautze-Picron 1998: 22, no. 7, fig. (1.d.); 143, col.pl. 7; 154, pl. 7; *Welt* 2000: 246, col. fig. 54; Bautze-Picron 2001: 286, no. 7; 303, fig. 1; Mevissen i.pr.1: pl. 9.

- Manhant's Compound, Bodh Gaya**, 6 arms, 3 heads; 9th/10th century.

Rāhu between horses, beneath charioteer.

Ref.: Leoshko 1987: 309, 537, fig. 169; Leoshko 1991: fig. 4; Bautze-Picron 2001: 286, no. 2 (n.i.).

- IM Kolkata** (A22520/6268), 6 arms, 3 heads; 28.5 x 17.5 cm, 9th/10th century.

Rāhu between 7 horses.

Ref.: Banerji 1933: 98, pl. XLII.b; Kar 1956: pl. XIV; Bhattacharyya 1978: 21, pl. 7; Bhattacharyya 1980: 34, fig. 27; Mitra 1991: 345-346, ph. 44; Bautze-Picron 2001: 286-287, no. 10 (n.i.).

- IM Kolkata** (6267), 6 arms, 3 heads; 53.5x 38.5 cm, 9th/10th century.

Rāhu between 7 pigs; Mārīci with two lateral sow faces (cf. ## 13, 49), reverse stance, stepping to her left (cf. ## 46, 49).

Ref.: Bloch 1911: 69, no. 6267 (n.i.); Banerji 1933: pl. XII.b; Saraswati 1977: XLV, ill. 126; Mitra 1991: 344-345, ph. 43; Misra 1998, 3: 93, fig. F.124; Bautze-Picron 2001: 286, no. 9 (n.i.).

- PM Patna** (1569), 6 arms, 3 heads; ht. 16.5 cm, c. 10th century.

Rāhu between 7 pigs.

Ref.: Gupta 1965: no. 65 (n.i.); Saraswati 1977: XLVI, ill. 128; Bautze-Picron 2001: 286, no. 8 (n.i.).

- 6.-7. IM Kolkata** (B.G. 122), 6 arms, 3 heads each; 83x47.5 cm, dated 1021/22 AD.

Two small figures of Mārīci flanking the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, above an inscription in Chinese characters; both images show Rāhu between 7 pigs.

Ref.: Beal 1881a: pl. [2]; Beal 1881b: 193, note 4 (n.i.); Anderson 1883: 55 (n.i.); Cunningham 1892: pl. XXX.1; Behrsing 1943: II, no. 23 (n.i.); Huntington 1984: 78, 246-249, fig. 83; Leoshko 1987: 47, 311-313, 380, 540, figs. 12, 172; Leoshko 1988: 43, fig. 17; Woodward 1990: 21, fig. 11; Leoshko 1991: fig. 5; Mitra 1991: 346-347, ph. 45; Bautze-Picron 2001: 286, no. 4 (n.i.); Mitra 2001: pl. 10.

Itkhauri (Bihar)

- Bhadrakālī Mandir**, 6 arms, 3 heads; 46x29cm, 10th/11th century.

Rāhu between pigs.

Ref.: Bautze-Picron 2001: 287, no. 13; 303, fig. 3.

Kurkihar (Bihar)

- SML Lucknow**, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 72cm, 10th/11th century **Plate 20.2**

Rāhu above 7 pigs, beneath *makara*-head and female charioteer.

Ref.: Cunningham 1892: pl. XXX (centre); Vogel 1906: 217-218, pl. LXII.4; Smith 1911: pl. 129; 1969: pl. 98.A; Bhattacharyya 1924: 97, pl. XXXI.a; Vogel 1932: Afb. 38; Behrsing 1943: 14, no. 35 (n.i.); Kirfel 1948: Taf. 17, fig. 48; Bhattacharyya 1958: 276, fig. 154; Krishna 1971: fig. 485; Vogel 1977: pl. 30; Bautze-Picron 1987: 577, no. 115 (n.i.); Mishra 1992: fig. 16; Bautze-Picron 2001: 287, no. 15, fig. 5.

Nalanda (Bihar)

- BM London** (OA 1872.7-1.43), 8 arms, 3 heads; 69.8x44.3cm, 10th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs.

Ref.: Martin 1838: pl. XV.2 (line drawing); Buchanan 1925: 100 (n.i.); Buchanan 1936: 223 (n.i.); Chanda 1936: 59 (n.i.); Bautze-Picron 1987: 579, no. 135 (with further references); 609, ill. 135 (1.d.); 627, ill. 135 (1.d.); Bautze-Picron 1989: 283, no. 53, fig. 19; Stewart 1989: 90, fig. 5.5.; 121, fig.; Bautze-Picron 2001: 287, no. 22 (n.i.); Casile 1999: 49-50, fig. 26.

- IM Kolkata** (A25131/3827), 8 arms, 3 heads; 115x60.3 cm, 10th century. **Plate 20.3**

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs.

Ref.: Broadley 1872: 18-19, no. LVI (n.i.); Foucher 1900: 149, fig. 27; Bloch 1911: 68 (n.i.); Bhattacharyya 1924: pl. XXX.d; Behrsing 1943: 14, no. 33 (n.i.); Bhattacharyya 1958: 276, fig. 153; *Chefs-d'oeuvre* 1963: 576, fig. [2]; Saraswati 1977: XLIII, ill. 120; Uhlig 1981: 128, Abb. 24; Bautze-Picron 1987: 580, no. 141 (n.i., with further references); Leoshko 1987: 533, fig. 165; Mitra 1991: 347-350, ph. 46; Mullick 1991: fig. 61; Bagchi 1993: pl. 11; Bautze-Picron 2001: 287, no. 24 (n.i., with further references); Niyogi 2001: fig. 79; Bandyopadhyay 2002: 151, fig. 65.

12. AMN Nalanda, 8 arms, 3 heads; 10th/11th century.

Rāhu (? , or 7th pig?) between 6 (?) pigs, with hair and bulbing eyes, thin arms and breast.

Ref.: Saraswati 1977: XLIV, ill. 124, 125; Mullick 1991: fig. 66; Misra 1998, 3: 92, fig. F.121; Bautze-Picron 2001: 287, no. 21 (n.i.).

13. Present location unknown, 6 arms, 3 heads (with 2 lateral sow faces; cf. ## 4, 49); ht. 10.2 cm, 10th/11th century **Plate 20.4**

Rāhu between pigs, damaged, only 4 pigs extant, Rāhu holding two disks.

Ref.: Soth-NY 5.12.1992: lot 315; Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 28 (n.i.).

Lakhi Sarai (Bihar)**14. IM Kolkata** (A25192/4614), 8 arms, 3 heads; 56.5x27.5cm, 12th century. **Plate 20.5**

Rāhu above 7 pigs and *makara*-head, holding a crescent with both hands.

Ref.: Chakravarti 1908: 72-73 (n.i.); Bloch 1911: 67 (n.i.); Foucher 1905: 93, fig. 7; Bhattacharyya 1924: pl. XXX.c; Bhattacharyya 1928: clxiv-vi, pl. XIII; Kramrisch 1929: fig. 30; 1983: 230, pl. II-30; Banerji 1933: 98, pl. XLII.d; Behrsing 1943: 14, no. 34 (n.i.); Bhattacharyya 1958: 275, fig. 152; Bhattacharyya 1964: pl. IX; Harle 1972: 12, 109, pl. 5.b; Saraswati 1977: XLIII, ill. 119; Bautze-Picron 1987: 540, no. 7 (n.i.); Mitra 1991: 350-351, ph. 47; Mullick 1991: fig. 82; Bautze-Picron 1991/92: 257, no. A.22; 278, fig. 20; Ulaanbaatar 1993: 61, fig. 98; Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 33; 306, fig. 17.

UTTAR PRADESH (stone)**15. Sarnath; AMS Sarnath** (B(f)23), 6 arms, 3 heads; 54x32cm, c. 11th century. **Plate 20.6**

Rāhu above 7 pigs, holding 2 disks, with full body down to the hips. **H-II-3**

Ref.: Oertel 1908: 87-88, 95, no. 126, pl. XXX.d; Sahni 1914: 148-149, pl. XVII.b; Behrsing 1943: 11, no. 22 (n.i.); Saraswati 1977: XLVI, ill. 129; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 53 (n.i.).

16. Sarnath; AMS Sarnath (B(f)24), fragment, pedestal only, 41.9x44.5cm, c. 11th century.

Rāhu above 7 pigs, holding 2 disks (?). **H-II-3**

Ref.: Oertel 1908: 88, 95, no. 144, pl. XXXI.c; Sahni 1914: 149-150 (n.i.).

17. Provenance & present location unknown, 10 arms, 3 heads; ht. 95.2cm, c.11th cent. **Plate 20.7**

Rāhu at bottom of pedestal, below wheel, between 8 pigs (!).

Ref.: Pal 1977-78: 69-70, fig. 38; Heeramanek 1979: no. 89, b/w ill. 89; Soth-Ny 5.10.1990: lot 23; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 54 (n.i.).

BENGAL (stone)

Apart from the eleven images from Bengal listed below, a Māricī image reported by Ahmed (1979: 126, no. 17; Mainamati Museum, acc.no. 2904) might represent Rāhu in the pedestal.

West Bengal**18. Satakhandā, W. Dinajpur; SAM Kolkata** (S.28/05.47), 8 arms, 3 heads; 76.5x55.5 cm, c. 11th century. **Plate 20.8**

Rāhu (bearded) in front of 7 pigs, holding crescent (l.) and disk (r., damaged); below are carved the *saptaratnāni*. **H-II-1**

Ref.: Das Gupta 1963: fig. 22; Majumdar 1971: pl. XXXI.61; Sengupta 1991: pl. 16; Mitra 1991: 353-354, figs. 38-39; Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 35; 307, fig. 18.

19. Rajnagar, Birbhum; GDM Kolkata (GM. 536), 8 arms, 3 heads; inscribed, 10th/11th century.

Rāhu (?) above 7 pigs, beneath *makara*-head.

Ref.: Ray 1999: 96, 98, note 7 (n.i.); Bandyopadhyay 2002: 151, fig. 63.

North Bengal**20. Narikelbaria, Paba, Rajshahi; VRM Rajshahi** (141), 8 arms, 3 heads.; 88x48cm, c. 11th century. **Plate 20.9**

Rāhu above 7 pigs and *makara*-head, holding crescent with both hands. **H-II-5**

Ref.: Basak/Bhatta 1919: 6 (n.i.); Saraswati 1977: XLIII, ill. 121; Sengupta 1993: pl. 69; Rahman 1998: 45, no. 98 (n.i.); Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 36 (n.i.).

21. Bhimpur, Manda, Naogaon; VRM Rajshahi (3421), 8 arms, 3 heads; 62.3x26.7 cm, c. 11th century. **Plate 20.10**

Rāhu above 7 pigs and *makara*-head, holding crescent (r.) and disk (l.). **H-II-2**

Ref.: Rahman 1979: 134, Pl. V.1; Bhattacharya 1989: 351, 356, fig. 3; repr. 2000: 30, 512, pl. 2.3; Rahman 1998: 46, no. 99; 572, pl. 63.

22. Provenance unknown; SMV München (L 115), 8 arms, 3 heads; 63x28cm, c.11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding crescent with both hands. **H-II-5**

Ref.: Goepper 1958: 49 (n.i.); Lommel 1974a: 58 (n.i.); Grönbold 1984: Taf. V.8 (mirror-reversed); Mallebrein 1984: 46-47, Abb. 27; Raunig 1998: 32, Abb. 24; Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 37 (n.i.).

Southeast Bengal**23. Vikrampur, Munshiganj; VRM Rajshahi** (137), 8 arms, 3 heads; 79.5x40.4cm, 10th/11 century **Plate 20.11**

Rāhu above 7 pigs and *makara*-head, holding two indistinct attributes.

Ref.: Basak/Bhatta 1919: 6, pl. [2]; Bhattacharya 1929: 44, no. [2] “found at Āpārā, near Beltali, P.S. Śrīnagar, Dt. Dacca” (n.i.); Behrsing 1943: 22, no. 67 (n.i.); Saraswati 1977: XLII, ill. 118; Sengupta 1993: pl. 68; Rahman 1998: 45, no. 97; 571, pl. 62; Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 39 (n.i.); Bandyopadhyay 2002: 151, fig. 64.

24. Dhalla, Munshiganj; VRM Rajshahi (94), [8 arms, 3 heads]; 76.4x60.5cm, c. 11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding disk (r.) and crescent (? , l.). **H-II-1**

Ref.: Basak/Bhatta 1919: 6 “From Vikrampur, Dt. Dacca” (n.i.); Bhattacharya 1929: 45, no. [3] “found at Duāllī, P.S. Lauhajang, Dt. Dacca” (n.i.); Behrsing 1943: 22, no. 68 (n.i.); Saraswati 1977: XLVI, ill. 130; Rahman 1998: 44, no. 95 (n.i.); Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 40 (n.i.).

- 25. Panditsar, Faridpur; BNM Dhaka** (I.B.(ii)a./1), 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 130cm, 10th/11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs and very large *makara*-head.

Ref.: Bhattasali 1929: 43-44, pl. XIV; Behrsing 1943: 14, no. 36 (n.i.); Dani 1959: ill. 35; Saraswati 1977: XLII, ill. 117; Huntington 1984: fig. 213; Sengupta 1993: pl. 67; Ray 1999: pl. I; Bautze-Picron 2001: 288, no. 41 (n.i.); Bandyopadhyay 2002: 148, fig. 22.

- 26. Mainamati, Comilla; AMM Mainamati**, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 101.6cm, c. 11th century.

Rāhu (bearded) beneath 7 pigs.

Ref.: *Pakistan* 1962: no. 346, Taf. [48]; *Buddha* 1967: 40, ill.; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 44 (n.i.).

- 27. Mainamati, Comilla; AMM Mainamati**, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. c. 60 cm, c. 11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding disk (r.) and crescent (l.). **H-II-1**

Ref.: Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 45; 307, fig. 19.

- 28. Provenance unknown; Neumann Collection, Basel**, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 92cm, c. 11th century.
..... **Plate 20.12**

Rāhu (bearded) beneath 7 pigs, holding disk (r.) and crescent (l.); disk-on-crescent also shown as crowning members on top of the *caitya* (cf. ## 41, 44, 45, 47). **H-II-1**

Ref.: Soth-Lon 24.4.1990: lot 94; Bautze-Picron 1992: 17, 20, fig. 3; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 47; 307, fig. 20.

ORISSA (Stone)

The Mārīcī images from Orissa have most comprehensively been studied and illustrated by Donaldson (2001: 306-328, figs. 355-388). Apart from the twelve images listed below, Rāhu may be represented on one or the other of the six images recently reported by Moharana (2001: 143-144): five in the Prācī valley at Kahala (near Astaranga), Bhianpara, Tiruna and Betenda (all near Nayahat), and Daluakani (Valeśvara temple); and one at Dihasani in Cuttack district.

Mayurbhanj District

- 29. Khiching; BPM Baripada** (II 3/2), 8 arms, 3 heads; 65x41cm, 10th century.

Rāhu between 7 pigs, holding a crescent with both hands. **H-II-5**

The two wheels of the chariot have 9 spokes (prp. right) and 10 spokes (prp. left); cf. ## 1, 40.

Ref.: *AR-ASI* 1922-23: 127, pl. XLI.f; Chanda 1929: pl. V.a; Sahu 1958: 214, fig. 71; Mitra 1971: fig. 140; Joshi 1978: 49-50 (n.i.); Joshi 1979: 48-49 (n.i.); Joshi 1983: 150, figs. 49-50; Donaldson 1985: 39, fig. 30; Mohapatra 1986, II: fig. 71; Srivastava 1986: 36-37, fig. 23; Das 1995-96: fig. 16; Mishra 1997: pl. 32; Behera/Donaldson 1998: 120-121, no. 74, pl. 73 (erroneously labelled “Udalā”); Bautze-Picron 2001: 290, no. 59 (n.i.); Donaldson 2001: 313, fig. 366; Moharana 2001: 142-143, pl. 58; Mevissen i.pr.2: 502-503, figs. 3 (right), 4 (centre & right), 5.

- 30. Udala; BPM Baripada** (II 3/7), 8 arms, 3 heads, 76x38cm, 11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding a crescent (?) in his right and a disk in his left hand. **H-II-2**

Ref.: Joshi 1983: fig. 51; Mevissen i.pr.2: 504-506, figs. 6-7.

Balasore District

- 31. Ayodhya, Khuṭiā temple, Balasore**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 136x74.5cm, late 10th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 (not 8) pigs, holding two disks. **H-II-3**

The large *makara*-head above the central pig has also two hands, each holding a disk or ball, a feature that mislead Donaldson (1985: 40; 2001: 316) to regard the *makara*-head as “the face of Rāhu, spreading out like a *kirtimukha* in the centre, his hands holding the sun and the moon”, although he recognizes “a smaller, more conventional, representation of Rāhu ... at the base beneath the centre sow”. Two Rāhus, one above and one beneath the pigs, are also postulated by Donaldson in his description of the Astaranga Mārīcī (# 37). A *makara* directing the reins of the pigs can be seen beneath the huge (212x130cm) Mārīcī image from Salihundam, Andhra Pradesh (Subrahmanyam 1964: pls. XXVII, XXVII-B; Donaldson 1985: figs. 25-26; *idem* 2001: figs. 363, 382; further references in Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 55), again misleading Donaldson (1985: 38; 2001: 310) to identify it as “a diminutive image of Rāhu”. The Salihundam Mārīcī, however, lacks the head of Rāhu beneath the pigs.

Ref.: Vasu 1911: pl. 49; Sahu 1958: 209-210 “chariot drawn by eight pigs instead of seven”, fig. 64; Joshi 1978: 52 “eight pigs” (n.i.); Joshi 1979: 51 “eight pigs” (n.i.); Joshi 1983: 152 “eight pigs” (n.i.); Donaldson 1985: 39-40, fig. 33; Mohapatra 1986, II: 101, fig. 53; Donaldson 1988: 213, fig. 1; Donaldson 1995: 166, 180, fig. 16; Behera/Donaldson 1998: 120, pl. 71; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289-90, no. 58 (n.i.); Donaldson 2001: 314-316, figs. 368, 384; Moharana 2001: 142 “about 107 cm in height ... eight pigs”, pl. 57.

Cuttack District

- 32. Ratnagiri**; inside niche of monolithic *stūpa* (ht. 61 cm), 6 arms, 3 heads; c. 10th century.

Rāhu (?) above 7 pigs.

Ref.: Mitra 1981: 131 “Rāhu”, pl. LXXVI.C; Donaldson 2001: 309, 312 “Rāhu” (n.i.).

According to Debala Mitra, the excavation carried out between 1958-61 yielded twenty-six images of Mārīcī, viz. two on large structural *stūpa.s* (Mitra 1981: 56, 81), five on drum-slabs from small-sized structural *stūpa.s* (1981: 107-108, pls. LI.B, LIV.A-D), eighteen on portable monolithic *stūpa.s* (1981: 131-134, pls. LXXVI.C-D, LXXVII. A-D, LXXVIII.A-D, LXXIX.A-B; 1983: 300, 336), and one fragment of a pedestal (1983: 336-37, pl. CCLXVIII.B). Donaldson (2001: 306, figs. 358-362) mentions “twenty-seven small images in niches of minor *stūpas* at Ratnagiri”. An image of a four-handed Mārīcī carved on a monolithic *stūpa*, seated on a lotus above seven pigs (no Rāhu), neither mentioned by Mitra nor by Donaldson, was observed and photographed by me in 1997 (see Mevissen i.pr.2: fig. 8). Of these 28 Mārīcī images, only one has been described as depicting Rāhu in the pedestal (Mitra 1981: 131): “... a chariot drawn by seven pigs (the central one facing), the charioteer being Rāhu. Rāhu is represented by a head with an open mouth from which has issued the rope which holds the pigs”. This has been accepted by Donaldson (2001: 309, 312). However, it cannot be ruled out that Mitra and Donaldson mistook the large *makara*-head, that is frequently found on Orissan Mārīcī images, for Rāhu (cf. ## 31, 36). -- A second image at Ratnagiri remains doubtful. Mitra (1981: 132) remarks: “There is a damaged object between the feet of the goddess, and it is not clear if it was the head of Rāhu or a triangular floral object”, (pl. LXXVII.A); cf. Donaldson 2001: 312 “Rāhu?”.

- 33. Maricipur, Machagaon**; in small temple, 12 arms, 5 heads; 105x53 cm, early 11th century.

Rāhu above 7 pigs, between legs of 4-armed female charioteer, holding a disk in each of his hands.

..... **H-II-3**

Ref.: Donaldson 1988: 215-216, figs. 2, 3, 6; Donaldson 1995: 167, 180, fig. 18; Mohapatra 1998: fig. 89; Donaldson 2001: 320-321, figs. 377, 387.

34. **Udayagiri(?), collected from Kendrapara; IM Kolkata (A25235/6957)**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 112 x 57.5 cm, 11th century.

Rāhu with two raised hands above 7 pigs.

Ref.: Chanda 1930: 13, pl. VI.5; Banerji 1931, II: pl. between pp. 404 and 405; Sahu 1958: 199, fig. 40; Donaldson 1985: 41, fig. 34; Mitra 1991: 351-352, ph. 48; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 57 (n.i.); Donaldson 2001: 317, fig. 370; Moharana 2001: 142, pl. 56.

35. **Tarapur**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 113 x 53 cm, 11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding two cup-shaped crescents. **H-II-4**

Ref.: Donaldson 2001: 317, fig. 375, 386.

Puri District

36. **Garedipancana, Bhubaneswar**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 30.5 x 17.8 cm, early 11th century.

Rāhu (?) above (or beneath) 7 pigs.

Ref.: Donaldson 1985: 41 “Rāhu, serving as the charioteer, is ... on the face of the *viśvapadma* above the centre sow”, fig. 35; Donaldson 2001: 316-317 “Rāhu is on the front edge of the *viśvapadma*”, fig. 369; Moharana 2001: 143-144 “Rāhu, the charioteer is seen at the centre”, pl. 61.

In the illustrations, Donaldson’s and Moharana’s “Rāhu” above the 7 pigs strongly resembles a *makara*-head from which issue the reins. It may also be possible that Rāhu is depicted at the bottom beneath the central pig. Only careful examination can verify whether (and where) Rāhu is represented here, as on the Ratnagiri image (cf. #32).

37. **Astaranga**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 66 x 46 cm, mid-11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding two disks. **H-II-3**

Ref.: Sahu 1958: 217-218, fig. 74; Donaldson 1985: 41-42 “a diminutive Rāhu is by her [Varāli’s] feet” ... “A larger image of Rāhu, holding the sun and the moon in his hands, is placed beneath the centre sow”, fig. 36; Behera/Donaldson 1998: 120, pl. 72; Bautze-Picron 2001: 290, no. 60 (n.i.); Donaldson 2001: 317 “A diminutive Rāhu is between the feet of Varāli while a larger image, holding the sun and moon, is placed beneath the sows”, fig. 371; Moharana 2001: 143 “image measures 33 cm x 43 cm”, pl. 59.

38. **Ramacandi**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 68.5 x 42 cm, 11th century.

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs.

Ref.: Donaldson 1995: fig. 15; Donaldson 2001: 319, figs. 372, 385.

Ganjam District

39. **Gopalpur, Nilakanṭheśvara temple compound**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 104 x 52 cm, 11th century.

Ref.: Donaldson 2001: 319, fig. 374.

Provenance unknown (stone)

40. **NMI New Delhi (80.1351)**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 97.6 x 61 x 24 cm, late 10th century. **Plate 20.13**

Rāhu beneath 7 horses, attributes (?) in his hands not discernable. The two wheels of the chariot seem to have different numbers of spokes (cf. ## 1, 29).

Ref.: Gupta 1985: 46, fig. 54 (mirror-reversed); Donaldson 2001: 310, fig. 364 “Bihar/Bengal”.

BIHAR/BENGAL (metal)

41. **Nalanda region; Günter Heil Collection, Berlin**, 8 arms, 3 heads, 18.6 x 10.7 x 7.5 cm, 10th/11th century. **Plate 20.14**

Rāhu beneath 7 pigs; the hair of Rāhu is still discernable above the round face; a crescent-shaped trace in the metal below may or may not stem from a former attribute. There are remnants also of a disk-on-crescent symbol crowning the image (cf. ## 28, 44, 45, 47).

Ref.: Soth-NY 20.3.1997: lot 282; Bautze-Picron 2001: 267, 289, no. 51; 306, fig. 16.

42. **Jaggajivanpur, Malda; SAM Kolkata**, 6 arms, 3 heads; 17.5 x 8.3 x 3.6 cm, c.10th century.

Rāhu (?) between horses or pigs.

Ref.: Mitra 1999: 144 “chariot is drawn by, apart from the central corroded figure which might be a horse (facing), six animals (three each on either flank) looking more like horses than pigs”, pl. 1; Roy 2002: 566-567 “chariot drawn by seven pigs”, 588, fig. 16 (middle left arm broken off).

43. **Found at Sakya monastery, Tibet; Bonardi Collection, Roma**, 8 arms, 3 heads; 11th/12th cent.

Rāhu (?) above 7 pigs.

Ref.: Tucci 1973: col. pl. 143; Tucci 1979; Farbabb. 81; Bautze-Picron 2001: 289, no. 52 (n.i.).

44. **Provenance unknown; JK Lhasa (42[B])**, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 30.8 cm, 11th/12th ct. **Plate 20.15**

Rāhu above 7 pigs and *makara*-head, holding crescent with both hands. **H-II-5**

The image is crowned by a *caitya* showing at its base a seated Buddha figure with hands in *dhyānamudrā*; the *caitya* is crowned by a disk-on-crescent symbol (cf. ## 28, 41, 45, 47).

Ref.: Schroeder 2001, I: 284-285, pl. 93C.

TIBET OR CHINA (metal)

45. **Provenance and present location unknown**, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 30 cm, 18th ct. **Plate 20.16**

Rāhu above 7 pigs and *makara*-head, holding crescent (?). **H-II-5**

The image resembles # 44 so closely that one is inclined to suggest that the latter served as a direct model for the former, including the three additional attendant goddesses that are now lost from # 44. The image is crowned by a *caitya* showing at its base a seated Buddha figure with hands in *dhyānamudrā*; the *caitya* is crowned by a disk-on-crescent symbol (cf. ## 28, 41, 44, 47).

Ref.: Nagel 9./10.5.1997: lot 2165.

46. **Provenance unknown; QPM Beijing**, 8 arms, 3 heads (sow face on prp. right), reverse stance, stepping to her left (cf. ## 4, 49); ht. 16 cm, c. 18th century. **Plate 20.17**
Rāhu between 6 pigs, devouring crescent (prp. right) and disk (? , prp. left). **H-II-2**
Ref.: Palace Museum 2002: 384-385, col.pl. 169.

CHINA⁹ (metal)

47. **Provenance unknown; QPM Beijing**, gilt copper *caitya* enshrining Mārīcī, 8 arms, 3 heads; ht. 93 cm, c. 18th century. **Plate 20.18**
Rāhu beneath 7 pigs, holding two disks; disk-on-crescent also shown as crowning members on top of the *caitya* (cf. ## 28, 41, 44, 45). **H-II-3**
Ref.: Palace Museum 1992: 109, 225, pl. 80; Bautze-Picron 2001: 294, n. 47 (n.i.).

China (painting)

48. **Khara Khoto; SHM, St. Petersburg (X-2363)**; 80 x 53 cm, late 12th/early 13th ct.....**Plate 20.19**
Mārīcī stands on 4 legs (cf. # 52), has 10 arms and 3 (or 5) heads, holding red sun disk (r.) and white moon disk (l.) in her upper hands. **H-I-1**
Rāhu (bearded) between 6 [!] pigs, holding a red sun disk in his right and a white moon disk in his left hand. **H-II-1**
Ref.: Oldenburg 1914: no. 47; Piotrovsky 1993: 150-151, no. 23, col.pls.
See below (introduction to I.C. Mārīcī holding sun and moon disks) for comments.

I.B. Mārīcī flanked by two disks

The Mārīcī painting from Khara Khoto (# 48) presents a new feature not seen in any previous image of the list: the goddess holds a sun and a moon disk in her upper right and left hand respectively. There is at least one image from India that bears some morphological similarity: An early and rather enigmatic sculpture from Kurkihar, Bihar (# 49; **Plate 20.20**), shows the halo of the goddess flanked by two globular disks, each placed on a *viśvapadma* floating in the background. Whereas the disk on the proper right is vertically aligned with the composition of the image and thus appears static, the one on the proper left is shifted upwards and turned inwards thus achieving an impression of movement. The latter disk may symbolize the rising sun while the former may symbolize the setting sun. The rim of the halo around Mārīcī's head is carved with spiral-shaped flames, eleven on either side, with another smaller disk on a *padma* crowning the apex, a symbol of the sun at the zenith of its daily course. This disk also complements the eleven flames on each side of the halo and makes them numerically perfect by achieving twice the twelve, the solar number *par excellence*.

The three disks may thus be understood as referring to the daily course of the sun (sunrise > noon > sunset), and the composition of the image emphasizes this counterclockwise movement by the position of the upper arms, resulting in a circular movement around the three-faced head of the goddess with the focus on the disk of the rising sun (which itself may be understood as the essence of Mārīcī, the goddess of the rising sun and bringer of light). The latter disk, by its dynamic setting, forms also the focus of the rising diagonal line right through the body of the goddess coming up along her outstretched right leg from the bottom part of the sculpture, symbolically the night region, in which the chariot drive overcomes the darkness.

Another interesting feature of the image is the threaded needle held in the upper left hand. This attribute appears to be projecting from the upper hem or corner of a large cloth that continues on the other side

of her head and falls down behind the figure, suggesting that she is shown in the act of removing a curtain that separates the foreground with the fierce aspect of the goddess attacking darkness and ignorance from the light-infested background with the flaming halo flanked by the two disks and crowned by another.

The image is noteworthy for still more peculiarities: (i) the goddess has two lateral sow faces, and (ii) she stands stepping to her left; both features are found simultaneously in only one other image (# 4), whereas # 13 has two lateral sow faces, and the reverse stance appears in # 46. In contrast to the latter three images there is no Rāhu in the pedestal. (iii) Unlike any other Mārīcī image in this list, the headdress is adorned with a *caitya* instead of Vairocana (cf. Bautze-Picron 2001: 277-278). The seven pigs are driven (iv) by two charioteers towards the goddess' left side, each charioteer being seated above a pair of wheels, i.e. they link the two feet of the goddess to the two axles of the chariot. (v) The chariot is thus marked as being four-wheeled, a rare feature only found in the later Chinese images (## 52, 55, 60) though suggested already in the few Indian images in which all the pigs are shown running in one direction (e.g. # 29).

The two fully visible (right) wheels of the chariot show twelve spokes in the shape of lotus petals. The rim of each wheel is adorned with a ring of beads, apparently numbering twenty-nine on the front (proper left) wheel and thirty-four on the rear wheel. The rims of the half-visible (left) wheels behind show likewise different numbers of beads, apparently fourteen on the front (proper left) wheel and fifteen on the rear wheel (cf. the different number of spokes in ## 1, 29, 40). If these numbers bear any symbolic meaning remains to be verified, but in any case the symbolism is not as clear and obvious as in the scheme employed at the head of the image.

This Mārīcī image thus shows, by its inherent numbers, a complex scheme of numerically organized symbols related to the sun light. A similar but less complicated motif of light symbolism is found in the images showing the disk-on-crescent symbol in the apex (## 28, 41, 44, 45, 47), a motif also carved in the apex of the Jagdispur-Nalanda stele which bears two representations of Mārīcī (without Rāhu) flanking the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* in the moment of his Enlightenment (Bautze-Picron 2001: 270-272, 288 nos. 26-27, 305 figs. 9-13; cf. also the two Mārīcī figures ## 6-7 flanking the Buddha attaining Enlightenment).

Bihar (stone)

49. **Kurkihar; AAM San Francisco (B63 S10+)**; 74 x 34.3 cm, c. 10th century. **Plate 20.20**
6 arms, 3 heads with 2 lateral sow faces (cf. ## 4, 13), reverse stance, stepping to her left (cf. ## 4, 46), 2 disks on *viśvapadma* flanking the halo, 3rd disk on *padma* in the apex; 4-wheeled chariot with 7 pigs and 2 charioteers **H-I-3**
Ref.: d'Argencé/Tse 1969: 74-75, fig. 32; d'Argencé et al. 1984: fig. 8; Tse Bartholomew 1998: 63-64, fig. 7; Huntington 1989: 31, fig. 5; Huntington 1990: 135-136, no. 12, b/w pl. 12; Bautze-Picron 1995: 47-48, fig. 3; Bautze-Picron 2001: 287 no. 14, 303 fig. 4; Bautze-Picron's forthcoming volume on Kurkihar.

I.C. Mārīcī holding sun and moon disks

Two *sādhana.s* of the *Sādhanamālā* (SM 132, 135) describe a white form of Mārīcī with five faces and four legs, holding a sun disk (*sūryamaṇḍala*; right) and a moon disk (*candramaṇḍala*; left) in one pair of her ten hands (Bhattacharya[j]a 1925: 274, 278; Mallmann 1975: 263). In extant images, the order of the sun and moon disks is often reversed (Mallmann 1975: 265, n. 9); see Table 2.

In the twelve images of this group, Mārīcī is generally depicted seated, except in ## 48, 52, 60 where she is shown standing. Only one example (# 48) shows Rāhu in the pedestal. This painting from Khara Khoto,

linking the images listed in section I.A. with those of section I.C., can also be seen as the linking element between the earlier Indian and the later Chinese traditions of representing the goddess (see Table 5).³⁰ Further, it is the only example in which the sun and the moon appear twice, with Mārīcī *and* with Rāhu. This doubling of the luminaries is mirrored in the doubling of the goddess' legs, another unique feature among the Mārīcī images in this list.

All the images illustrating this aspect of Mārīcī are from China. Mārīcī was integrated in the Daoist cult as Doumu, venerated as Celestial Queen and Mother of the (four stars constituting the chariot of the) Great Bear or Big Dipper,³¹ so well depicted in the Berlin painting (# 58, **Plate 20.24**) where she appears as part of a Daoist pantheon populated by a host of deities.

Compare the images of Durgā Mahiṣasuramardinī and Sīṃhavāhinī holding two disks from Northwest India (CHJ: nos. 70-73), the related four-armed Nana from Western and Central Asia (*ibid.*: notes 18-23 for references), and the Tibetan goddess dKar mo ñi zla (*supra*, chapter 1.4)

TABLE 2: Placement of Sun and Moon Disks as Mārīcī's Attributes (Images ## 48, 50-60)

<i>right hand</i> : <i>left hand</i>	##	Text
sun disk : moon disk	48, 53, 55	SM 132, 135
moon disk : sun disk	50, 56, 58, 59	—
disk : disk	51, 52, 54, 57, 60	—

CHINA (metal)

- 50. Beijing; present location unknown**, formerly **EM Berlin** (I.D. 23164), acquired in 1901 but lost in World War II; complete height with metal nimbus: 93.5 cm; Mārīcī figure: 55 x 34.5 x 23.5 cm; socle: 25.5 x 44.5 x 36 cm, c. 18th century.

6 arms, 3 heads, seated, disks in upper hands inscribed “moon” (r.), “sun” (l.); wooden socle with 7 pigs (only 1 extant now), wooden backslab carved with 7 globular heavenly bodies in relief, the crowning metal disk serves as a halo.³² **H-I-2**

Ref.: Behrsing 1943: 2-3, no. 1, Abb. 1; 12, no. 28.

- 51. Provenance, present location and dimensions unknown**, c. 18th century.

8 arms, 3 heads, seated, upper hands in disk-holding position, disks missing; no chariot. **H-I-3**

Ref.: Behrsing 1943: 15-16, no. 40, Abb. 8.

- 52. Beijing, Pao Hsiang Lou Temple**, c. 1771 AD.

10 arms, 3 heads, 4 (?) legs (cf. # 48), standing, front hands in disk-holding position, right disk missing; on 4-wheeled chariot pulled by 7 pigs. **H-I-3**

Ref.: Clark 1937, II: 222, no. 6 B 61; Behrsing 1943: 20, no. 58 (n.i.) Mallmann 1975: 265 (n.i.).

- 53. Provenance unknown; MNH New York**, ht. 10.2 cm, c. 18th century.

8 arms, 3 heads, seated, disk in upper right, crescent (?) in upper left hand; no chariot. **H-I-1**

Ref.: Gordon 1959: fig. [2] opp. p. 74.

- 54. Provenance and present location unknown**; ht. 18.5 cm, c. 18th century. **Plate 20.21**

8 arms, 3 heads, seated, inscribed sun and moon disks (reading ?) in upper hands; no chariot; the image is part of a double (or triple ?) set of bronzes with corresponding Sūryaprabha and/or Candraprabha figures (cf. the second image of lot 511). **H-I-3**

Ref.: Soth-Lon 10./11.10.1991: lot 511.

- 55. Provenance and present location unknown**; formerly **MET New York** (acquired in 1914), ht. 18cm, 18th century. **Plate 20.22**

8 arms, 3 heads, seated, disks in upper hands inscribed “sun” (r.) and “moon” (l.); on 4-wheeled chariot pulled by 9 pigs [!]. **H-I-1**

Ref.: Fong 1971: cat. 56, ill.; Soth-Lon 26.11.1984: lot 72; *Orientations* 16/4 (April 1985): 70, ill.

- 56. Provenance unknown; MOK Köln** (C 77, 22), ht. 43.5 cm, c. 18th century.

10 arms, 4 heads, seated, disks in upper hands, moon (r.), sun (l.); on lotus placed on top of 7 pigs **H-I-3**

Ref.: Goepper 1974: 122-123, Abb. 60; Toyka-Fuong 1983: 94-95, fig. B 30.

China (wood)

- 57. Beijing, China; EM Berlin** (I.D. 24768), ht. incl. socle 100 cm, c. 18th century..... **Plate 20.23**

8 arms, 4 heads (*krodha* at the back), seated, disks in upper hands; no chariot. **H-I-3**

Ref.: Behrsing 1943: 3-5 “3 Köpfe”, no. 4, Abb. 2-3' 17, no. 46.

China (cloth painting)

- 48. Khara Khoto; supra # 48**. **Plate 20.19**

- 58. EM Berlin** (I.D.36596), 195 x 133 cm, dated 1745 AD. **Plate 20.24**

8 arms, 3 heads, seated, disks in upper hands inscribed “moon” (right, yellow) and “sun” (left, red); on 2-wheeled chariot pulled by 7 pigs (6 dark, 1 white). **H-I-2**

Ref.: Behrsing 1941: Taf. 23; Behrsing 1943: 17-18, no. 48 (n.i.); Ebert 1989: 71, no. 12, col.pl. on p. 77.

- 59. Provenance, present location and dimensions unknown**.

8 arms, 3 heads, seated, disks in upper hands: right yellow (moon), left red (sun); on chariot pulled by 2 (?) pigs (?). **H-I-2**

Ref.: Werner 1922: col.pl. opp. p. 144 (quoted by Behrsing 1943: 17, no. 47 “2 Zugtiere (Hunde?)” [n.i.]).

China (xylograph)

- 60. Present location unknown; Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan**, c. 1761 AD.

10 arms, 4+1 human heads, 2 main hands in front of breast holding disks; standing on 4-wheeled chariot pulled by 7 pigs **H-I-3**

Ref.: Clark 1937, II: 285, no. 242/95; Behrsing 1943: 21, no. 62 “Hauptarme halten die Brüste” (n.i.); Mallmann 1975: 265 (n.i.); Chandra/Bunce 2002: 492-493, no. 242 (computer enhanced print).

II. Grahamātrkā with astral deities (*graha.s*, *nakṣatra.s*, *rāśi.s*)

According to Lokesh Chandra (2002: 1290), the “Grahamātrkā-dhārāṇī was translated [from Sanskrit] into Tibetan by an anonymous person (Toh 661), and into Chinese by Fa-t’ien in AD 990 (K 1180, T 1303). [...] This is the earliest date of a text on the goddess.”

Grahamātrkā, who is also called Mahādevī or Mahāvidyā, is neither mentioned in the *Sādhnamālā* nor in Abhayākāragupta’s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, both texts reflecting the iconographic development up to the 12th century. The concept of Grahamātrkā, i.e. of providing the group of male Hindu planetary deities collectively with a female Buddhist counterpart, a *mātrkā*, seems to have gained prominence shortly after the final redaction of the above two texts. The earliest description of the iconography of Grahamātrkā is found in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa (Willson/Brauen 2000: 415), who must have lived between the latter half of the 12th and the middle of the 13th century (Bühnemann 1992-93: 18), i.e. roughly a century after Abhayākāragupta. Descriptions are also found in later texts from Nepal (cf. Pal/Bhattacharyya 1969: 42, 71; Mallmann 1975: 178; Chandra 2002: 1288-1292).

The earliest image of Grahamātrkā known so far is painted on a 12th/13th century wooden manuscript cover from Nepal (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. sanscr. 540; Grönbold 1991: 26-28, no. 2, col.pl., left image of upper cover): She appears as the first figure in a row of six goddesses, the other five comprising the Pañcarakṣā pentad (cf. Mevissen i. pr. 4). It is thus obvious that a close association between Grahamātrkā and the Pañcarakṣās was prevalent already in early times (cf. *infra*, chapter 3). The corresponding wooden cover has depictions of the seven mortal Buddhas of the past (Grönbold 1991: 26-28, no. 2, lower cover).¹³

The textual sources as well as the extant images present two different iconographic concepts of Grahamātrkā. The basic iconographic features, viz. her white complexion, her three heads and the six arms with the front pair of hands in *dharmacakramudrā*, are shared by both concepts. They do, however, differ in the attributes of the four other hands and the colour of the lateral heads. For a study of Grahamātrkā and a list of her images, see Mevissen i.pr. 5; see also Bühnemann i.pr.: ch. 5.12.

Seven paintings are listed below. According to Tucci (1941/1989, 1: 190-191), the *maṇḍala* in the Kumbum at Gyantse (# 61) “can be called, by its composition, as astrologic *maṇḍala*”. The *graha.s* are all two-armed and seated on their respective *vāhana.s*: Sūrya (red/ 7 horses), on the proper right of Grahamātrkā with hands in *añjalimudrā* holding a single lotus, Soma (white/ “swan”), Maṅgala (red / goat), Budha (green / lotus), Bṛhaspati (yellow / elephant), Śukra (white/ lotus), Śani (black/ serpent), Rāhu (dark red), Ketu (grey/ rock). The *caturmahārāja.s* are also depicted. Unfortunately, the published photographs do not illustrate the whole composition but only the central image of Grahamātrkā with the smaller figure of Sūrya on her right, and therefore, the structure of the *maṇḍala* and the arrangement of the *graha.s* therein is not clear. In the same chapel are two more images of Grahamātrkā: a clay figure, the main icon of the chapel, flanked by Mañjuṣa and Avalokiteśvara (Ricca/Lo Bue 1993: 238, fig.), and another image painted on the north wall to the left of the entrance door (Tucci 1941/1989, 1: 192; 3: fig. 181). It is unknown whether the latter is flanked by *graha* figures or not.

In ## 62 and 64a (and with minor deviations also in # 64b), the same colour / *vāhana* scheme is followed, with Sūrya and Candra shown on chariots drawn by horses and geese, respectively. In # 62 Rāhu has two snake-tails; he holds a sun disk in his right hand and a crescent in his left hand resting in his lap (also in # 64a+b; see Table 9). The “Light character” of Grahamātrkā is emphasized in # 62 by arranging the sequence of *graha.s* in such a way that the preaching Grahamātrkā is flanked by Bṛhaspati and Śukra (Jupiter and Venus) (see Diagram C-III); mythologically these two deities are the two *guru.s* in the group of *graha.s*, iconographically they are light-complexioned (yellow and white), astronomically they are the brightest stars visible to the naked eye, and astrologically they are the most auspicious planets.

Whereas the two paintings ## 61 and 62 show, besides the ubiquitous *caturmahārāja.s*, only Grahamātrkā and the *navagraha.s*, the other examples illustrate elaborate and extended *maṇḍala.s* including numerous other deities. There are two different concepts of arranging the deities within the composition. Quite unusual for a *maṇḍala* lay-out, both concepts place the principal deity more or less eccentrically. In the “14-deity *maṇḍala* of Mūla Mahāvidyā” from the “Ngor collection” (# 64a; **Plate 20.26**), Grahamātrkā occupies — together with Sūrya — the central circle, but has been shifted slightly upwards from the centre. The second concept is found on four painted *maṇḍala.s* (## 63, 65-67) in which Sūrya alone occupies the centre and Grahamātrkā appears in the NW corner of the inner square (**Plate 20.25**). The eccentric placement of the goddess in both concepts might indicate that the Sūrya-*maṇḍala* was the basis from which the extended *maṇḍala* was subsequently developed by adding the image of Grahamātrkā. Whereas the first concept is known only from an independent example (# 64a), the second occurs both independently (# 63) and as a sub-*maṇḍala* within the “quadruple” *maṇḍala.s* (## 65-67).

The latter (second) *maṇḍala* is based on the *Grahamātrkākalpa* (Willson/Brauen 2000: 415, no. 505); a similar description is also found in some *Dhārāṇīsaṃgraha* manuscripts (Pal/Bhattacharyya 1969: 71). The texts mention 18 deities (including the *navagraha.s* and the *caturmahārāja.s*) by their individual names, and three groups of deities collectively (*sarvvagrahāḥ*, *sarvvanakṣatrāḥ*, *sarvvopadravāḥ*; i.e. “all the *graha.s*”, “all the *nakṣatra.s*”, “all the disasters”).

In the painted examples the *maṇḍala* consists of altogether 74 deities (## 63, 65, 66), but the late painting (# 67) apparently shows only 65 deities.¹⁴ Sūrya is invariably in the centre, surrounded by the other eight *graha.s*. The successive order of these *graha* figures differs considerably from the usual clockwise arrangement: though basically clockwise, the order is modified in such a way that the first four *graha.s* are placed in the main directions and the remaining four *graha.s* in the intermediate directions: Candra (E; bottom), Maṅgala (S; prp. right), Budha (W; top), Bṛhaspati (N; prp. left), Śukra (SE), Śani (SW), Rāhu (NW), Ketu (NE). This order corresponds exactly to the order described in the Tibetan text quoted by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 262-263; reprinted in Chandra 2002: 1290), and to the *dhārāṇī* texts quoted by Pal/Bhattacharyya (1969: 71).

Not only the successive order of the *graha* figures, but also their iconography in ## 63 and 65-67 differs from that observed in the other paintings. All *graha.s* are two-armed and none of them is seated on a *vāhana*. Sūrya (red), Candra (white), Śukra (white), Śani (blue), Rāhu (blue, white moon disk in right hand, red sun disk in left hand [in ## 63 and 66: reverse order]; see Table 9) and Ketu (brown), all hold their characteristic attributes and are shown as crowned figures, whereas Maṅgala (red), Budha (yellow) and Bṛhaspati (yellow) are shown as seated Buddha figures clad in monastic garments with a halo behind their heads. This iconography corresponds, with minor deviations, to the text quoted by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 262-263; repr. in Chandra 2002: 1290).

Beyond this central circle, in the four corners of the surrounding square, are the other deities of the *maṇḍala*. Their figures are all oriented towards the centre in such a way that the ground or base line on which the deities are seated is rotated at an angle of 45 degrees. In the NW corner is the principal image of the *maṇḍala*: the white, three-faced and six-armed Grahamātrkā. She is of almost the same size as the central Sūrya. In the NE corner are eight seated two-armed figures (## 63, 65, 66) arranged in three rows of 1+3+4; they represent “*sarvvagrahāḥ*” (“all the planets”; cf. Pal/Bhattacharyya 1969: 71; Willson/Brauen 2000: 415, n.3). Conceptually they duplicate the eight *graha.s* of the first circle; their iconography and complexion, however, differs considerably from the standard form and also from that employed in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. In # 67 the iconography of “*sarvvagrahāḥ*” as well as their total number differ from the other three examples: here we see nine seated figures, arranged in three rows of 1+3+5. In the SE corner, opposite to the image of Grahamātrkā, are shown 28 seated *nakṣatra* figures arranged in four rows of 2+7+9+10 figures (## 63, 65,

66), or in five rows of 1+3+5+9+10 figures (# 67). In the SW corner are four (## 63, 65, 66) or ten (# 67) seated two-armed figures representing the personified disasters (*upadrava*).¹⁵

In the outer circle of # 64, Grahamātrkā and the *navagraha.s* are depicted a second time (# 64b). In addition, the same circle contains figures of the 28 *nakṣatra.s* as two-armed goddesses with their hands in *añjalimudrā*, seated frontally. They are shown in two sections (15+13), separated by a row of symbols of the zodiacal signs (*rāśi*). Only 10 of the 12 *rāśi.s* seem to be represented, in a partly disordered sequence: Aquarius-Capricorn-Sagittarius-Scorpio-Gemini-Aries-Taurus-Leo-Libra-Virgo. Two signs, viz. Pisces and Cancer, are apparently missing, or one of them is shown linking Scorpio and Gemini, and the other in a red circle above the back of Taurus. The *caturmahārāja.s* guard their respective directions in all seven paintings.

II.A. Independent Grahamātrkā-maṇḍala.s

TIBET (wall painting)

61. Gyantse, Kumbum, N side, 1st floor, chapel on prp. right of centre (the corresponding chapel on the left is dedicated to Vasudhārā), S wall facing N, 1st half of 15th century.

NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ketu snake-tailed; CM. C-?

Ref.: Tucci 1941/1989, 1: 190-191; 2: 152; 3: fig. 173 (NG n.v.); Lo Bue/Ricca 1990: 110 (n.i.); Ricca/Lo Bue 1993: 99, 238, col.pl. 83 (NG not visible); Chandra 2002: 1290 (n.i.).

Tibet (cloth painting)

62. Private Collection, 29 x 25 cm, c. 1500 AD.

NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; CM. C-III

Ref.: Pal 1984: pl. 49 “A Buddhist Goddess”.

63. Lionel Fournier Collection, Paris, 17th/18th century (?) or later. Plate 20.25

NG seated (2x), individual iconography, Ketu snake-tailed; CM, NK. C-I-6

The structure of the *maṇḍala* is identical to the sub-*maṇḍala.s* in ## 65-67; in style it resembles # 73.

Ref.: Jünemann 2003: col. pl. Oktober “Nepal, 19. Jh.”.

64. “Ngor Collection”, present location unknown, 38.5 x 38.5 cm, 2nd half of 19th ct. Plate 20.26

The central *maṇḍala* (a) as well as the outer circle (b) both show NG seated on *vāhana.s* as well as GM; (b) has figures of 28 NK, symbols of 10 or 12 RĀ, and CM.

(a) : Sū is depicted upside down beneath GM in the centre, the other 8 *graha.s* in the inner circle. C-I-5

(b) : GM is depicted in the NW quarter, just above the tip of the NW corner of the inner square (on the viewer's upper right side), followed by the NG in the NE quarter (on the viewer's lower right side). The NG are here arranged in a different order: starting with Sū in the centre (just above the tip of the NE corner of the inner square), the row progresses alternately on Sū's left (Ca. Bu. Śu. Rā) and right sides (Ma, Br, Śa, Ke). The outer circle continues in the SE quarter (on the viewer's lower left side) with 28 NK, shown in two sections (15+13), separated by symbols of the zodiacal signs. C-IV

Ref.: bSod nams 1983: col.pl. 6; bSod nams 1989: pl. 6; bSod nams 1991: 7-8, no. 6 diagram; Daggyab 1991: 54-55 (line drawing); Vira/Chandra 1995: 117, 146, no. 6 (line drawing of central *maṇḍala* [a] only); Willson/Brauen 2000: 415, no. 505 (n.i.); Chandra 2002: 1288-1290, ill. (line drawing of central *maṇḍala* [a] only).

II.B. Grahamātrkā-maṇḍala.s as sub-maṇḍala.s

Regarding the central deity Mahāpratisarā, two of the following three paintings are structurally Pañcarakṣā-maṇḍala.s (## 65, 66). They belong to a type of *maṇḍala.s* of the Vajrāvalī cycle (cf. Jackson 1993: 122) generally known as “Quadruple *maṇḍala.s*”, although they are actually fivefold *maṇḍala.s*. The main overriding Pañcarakṣā-maṇḍala (iconography: SM 206) bounds together and dominates the four sub-*maṇḍala.s* that are painted in the four quarters:

- SW (upper left): another Pañcarakṣā-maṇḍala (different iconography: NSP 18),
- NW (upper right): Vasudhārā-maṇḍala,
- NE (lower right): Uṣṇīṣavijayā-maṇḍala,
- SE (lower left): Grahamātrkā-maṇḍala with Sūrya in the centre surrounded by numerous astral deities. It duplicates the independent representation of this *maṇḍala* in # 63.

In the third and rather late painting (# 67) the overriding Pañcarakṣā-maṇḍala has been deleted and the centre shows a figure of Pañjara-Mahākāla; the general structure of the sub-*maṇḍala.s*, however, is the same as in the other two paintings.

On the whole, the two paintings ## 65 and 66 resemble each other very much. One major difference is the background colour of the E sector of the Grahamātrkā-maṇḍala in the SE, which is white in # 66 (as in the independent Grahamātrkā-maṇḍala # 63) but blue in # 65.

TIBET (cloth painting)

65. KAM Fort Worth (AP 2000.01), ex Zimmerman Coll., 89 x 73.7 cm, c. 1429-56 AD.

NG (and AG) seated, individual iconography, Ketu snake-tailed; PR (2x), CM, NK. C-I-6

The painting is no. 14 in a 44-maṇḍala set of the Vajrāvalī cycle commissioned by Nor-chen Kun-dga'-bzañ-po (1382-1456); cf. Jackson 1993: 122.

Ref.: Rhie/Thurman 1991/1996: 226-29, no. 73, pls. 73.1, 73.3; Lohia 1994 (illustrated on the front dust cover, but not mentioned in the book); Fisher 1997: 164-165, fig. 139; Willson/Brauen 2000: 415, no. 505 (n.i.); Archives of Asian Art 52 (2000-2001): 108, fig. 8.

66. Present location unknown, 70.5 x 59.5 cm, c. 15th century. Plate 20.27

NG (and AG) seated, individual iconography, Ketu snake-tailed; PR (2x), CM, NK. C-I-6

The whole painting is very similar to # 65.

Ref.: Koller A 87/3, 25./26.6.1993: 2, Nr. 18, Taf. 6.

67. Present location unknown, 68 x 65 cm, 19th/20th century. Plate 20.28

NG seated (2x), individual iconography; Ketu snake-tailed (?), PR, CM, NK. C-I-6

The painting reproduces just the four sub-*maṇḍala.s* but not the overriding Pañcarakṣā-*maṇḍala*; the central Mahāpratisarā is replaced by a two-armed Pañjara-Mahākāla.

Ref.: Koiler A 53/3, 29.11.-1.12.1984: 2, Nr. 18, Taf. 18, Nr. 18.

* * *

III. Mahāpratisarā with astral figures (*graha.s*, *nakṣatra.s*, *rāśi.s*)

In *sādhana* 206 of the *Sādhanamālā* describing a Pañcarakṣā-*maṇḍala* centring on Mahāpratisarā, the *graha.s* are mentioned in the section of Mahāsāhasrapramardanī,¹⁶ and — together with the 27 *nakṣatra.s* (lunar constellations)¹⁷ — in the section of Mahāmāyūrī.¹⁸ Interestingly enough, in all the sixteen paintings in this list that depict the *nakṣatra.s* (## 63-68, 70-78, 82), their number is invariably 28, not 27 (see Table 6).¹⁹

According to *Pañcarakṣā* texts the Buddha revealed the *mahāsāhasrapramardanīmantra* when the evil eyes of Saturn were rendering everything desolate at Vaiśālī;²⁰ it is further mentioned that the *mahāśītavatīmantra* protects against adverse planets (Mitra 1882: 159).

All the nine paintings listed below are independent Pañcarakṣā-*maṇḍala.s* surrounded by figures of the *navagraha.s*. Two are from Nepal, viz. the earliest (# 68) and the latest one (# 69). The other seven are from Tibet (## 70-76), all of later dates. The Tibetan examples represent a *maṇḍala* known as “56-deity Pañcarakṣā-devī” (*ṣaṭpañcāśadātmikāḥ pañcarakṣādevyaḥ*), which is found as no. 5 in the first section (Kriyā tantras) of a set of 132 *maṇḍala.s* belonging to the Ngor tradition (Vira/Chandra 1995: 117).

Mahāpratisarā (8 arms, 4 heads, white) is placed in the centre of the *maṇḍala*, surrounded in the first circle by the other four *rakṣā* goddesses, viz. Mahāsāhasrapramardanī (8 arms, 4 heads, blue) in the E (bottom), Mahāmāyūrī (8 arms, 3 heads, yellow) in the S (prp. right), Mahāmantrānusārīnī (12 arms, 3 heads, red) in the W (top), and Mahāśītavatī (6 arms, 3 heads, green) in the N (prp. left). They all follow, with minor deviations, the iconography and directional distribution described in *sādhana* 206 of the *Sādhanamālā* (Mevissen 1989a: 353, 363-365; 1989b: 16-19, 59-60).

The arrangement of the deities in the second through fourth circle differs between the Nepalese and the Tibetan examples. In the early Nepalese painting (# 68) the second circle is occupied by figures of the *navagraha.s*, the third circle by figures of the 28 *nakṣatra.s*, and the fourth circle by figures of the *aṣṭadikpāla.s*; in addition, there are faint traces of zodiacal signs (*rāśi*) painted in the triangular corner spaces, a rare and noteworthy feature. In the late Nepalese painting (# 69), which shows only two outer circles, the second circle is occupied by eight seated figures of different complexion (*Bodhisatvas?*, *dikpāla.s?*), the third circle by the *navagraha.s*. The *aṣṭadikpāla.s*, mostly seated on *vāhana.s*, are distributed in the outer corners of the painting, two in each corner, but their successive order differs from the traditional sequence.

The Tibetan examples (## 70-76), all executed in the characteristic “Ngor-pa style” developed in southern Tibet by Newar artists from the Kathmandu valley, show in the second circle 10 *dikpāla* figures (*aṣṭadikpāla.s* + Brahṃā [E] + Nāga [W]), in the third circle *navagraha.s* (except ## 72, 76: only 8 *graha.s*!), and in the fourth circle 28 *nakṣatra.s*. The four *mahārāja.s* guard the gates in all the seven *maṇḍala.s* from Tibet.

The successive order of the *graha* figures is generally clockwise: Sūrya and Candra are placed adjacent to each other in the E (bottom), Maṅgala in the SE, Budha in the S (prp. right), Brhaspati in the SW, Śukra in the W (top), Śani in the NW, Rāhu in the N (prp. left), and Ketu in the NE. In contrast, the *navagraha* circle in # 69 is evenly divided into nine equal-sized lotus petals, each with a *graha* figure, starting with Sūrya in the E (bottom) and continuing clockwise.

The *graha.s* are generally shown two-armed and seated. In the two examples from Nepal (## 68, 69), their complexion (and also the *vāhana.s* in 68) is more or less similar to the Nepalese Uṣṇīṣvijayā paintings (## 77-92), except for Ketu who is blue in # 69. In the Tibetan examples (## 70-76), however, their complexion and *vāhana.s*, as far as they are recognizable on the published illustrations, are somewhat different: Sūrya (red) / green horse (with two wheels: ## 71, 72, 74, 75); Candra (white) / white goose (with two wheels: ## 71, 72, 74, 75); Maṅgala (red) / black ram/goat?; Budha (green) / no *vāhana*; Brhaspati (yellow) / white elephant; Śukra (white) / no *vāhana*; Śani (blue) / green snake; Rāhu (brown/red/blue, full figure, holding in his right a red sun disk and in his left hand a white crescent [this order also in # 68 from Nepal; see Table 9]) / white cloud; Ketu (white/ brown, full figure) / blue smoke (?).

It should be kept in mind that two paintings listed above in the Grahamātrkā section (## 65, 66) are — structurally — Pañcarakṣā-*maṇḍala.s*, since Mahāpratisarā resides in the centre of the overriding *maṇḍala*, dominating and binding together the four sub-*maṇḍala.s* of which the Grahamātrkā-*maṇḍala* is one. The third painting in that group (# 67) is basically similar, but the central image of Mahāpratisarā has been replaced by a two-armed Pañjara-Mahākāla.

NEPAL (cloth painting)

68. MG Paris (MA 5162), 79 x 64 cm, 13th century.

NG seated on *vāhana.s*, indiv. iconogr., Ke snake-tailed; PR, NG, NK, DP, RĀ. **C-I-1**

Ref.: Béguin 1989: 123, fig. 3; Béguin 1990: 30-31, col.pl. 7; Béguin 1993: 78-81, col.pls. 19, 19[a]; Bléhaut 2001: 71, col.pl.

69. Private Collection, Kathmandu, 81 x 75 cm, painted by Sarvajna Vajracarya, Kathmandu, in NS III 8 = 1997/98 AD.

NG seated, individual iconography, Ketu snake-tailed; PR, NG, DP. **C-I-2**

Ref.: Reported and photo supplied by Marianna Kropf, Kathmandu, April 2003.

TIBET (cloth painting)

70. Alain Bordier Collection, Genève, 52 x 46 cm, 16th/17th century.

NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; PR, DP, NG, NK, CM. **C-I-1**

Ref.: Czuma 1975: 122, fig. 135 “Vajratara”; Jünemann 1988: col.pl. August; Mevissen 1989b: Kat. M.IV.B.16, Farbtaf. 48.

71. Shelley and Donald Rubin Collection, New York (274), 41.5 x 33 cm, 16th/17th century.

NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; PR, DP, NG, NK, CM. **C-I-1**

Ref.: Soth-NY 28.3.1996: lot 65 “Mandala Thanka of Sitatapatra”; Rhie/Thurman 1999: 432, 434-435, col.pl. 172 “Sarvavid Vairocana Mandala”.

72. BM London (1906, 12-26.09), 97.8 x 82.6 cm, 16th/17th century.

AG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; PR, DP, AG, NK, CM. **C-I-3**

The painting differs from the other Tibetan examples in showing 10 (instead of 8) equal-sized divisions in the second (*dikpāla*) circle in order to accommodate the two additional *dikpāla.s* in separate spaces, and only 8 *graha.s* in the third circle (either Ma or Bu is not represented; cf. # 76).²¹

- Ref.: Zwalf 1981: 46, fig. 18 “*Mandala* of Vasudhara”; Mevissen 1989b: Kat. M.IV.B.4, Abb. 131; Willis 1999: 37, col.pl. “Vasudhara”.
73. **SMV München** (91-314422), formerly Olschak Collection, 40 x 34.5 cm, 17th/18th century.
NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; PR, DP, NG, NK, CM. **C-I-1**
In style and execution, the painting is very similar to # 63.
Ref.: Olschak 1987: col. pl. 110; Mevissen 1989b: Kat. M.IV.B.15, Farbtaf. 47; Rosenheim 1992: 164-165, Farbtaf. 59.
74. **Present location unknown**, 51 x 42.5 cm, 16th/17th century. **Plate 20.29**
NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; PR, DP, NG, NK, CM. **C-I-1**
Ref.: Chri-Lon 13./14.6.1983: lot 159.
75. **“Ngor Collection”, present location unknown**, 38.5 x 38.5 cm, 2nd half 19th ct. **Plate 20.30**
NG seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography; PR, DP, NG, NK, CM. **C-I-1**
Ref.: bSod nams 1983: col.pl. 5; bSod nams 1989: pl. 5; Mevissen 1989b: Kat. M.IV.B.17, Farbtaf. 49; bSod nams 1991: 6-7, no. 5, diagram; Vira/Chandra 1995: 145, no. 5 (line drawing; Mahāmantrānusārīṇī and Mahāśītavatī mistakenly rendered with 8 arms each).
76. **Present location unknown**, 51 x 49 cm, c.19th century.
AG seated (on *vāhana.s?*), either Ca or Ke seem to be missing (cf.# 72), individual iconography; PR, DP, AG, NK, CM? **C-I-4**
Ref.: Koller A 52/3, 24./26.5.1984: 2, Nr. 19, Taf. 4, Nr. 19 (col. pl.).

* * *

IV. Uṣṇīṣavijayā with astral figures (*graha.s*, *nakṣatra.s*)

The sixteen paintings of Uṣṇīṣavijayā listed below are all from Nepal, except # 89 which is known to have been painted in Tibet for a Newari patron. They are *paubhā.s* commemorating the *bhīmaratha*, a rite celebrated when a person reaches the age of 77 years, 7 months and 7 days (cf. Pal 1977; Vergati 1999). According to Tanaka (2001: 208) the celebrations do also take place when reaching the age of 88 years, 8 months and 8 days, and 99 years, 9 months and 9 days. He states: “These paintings show a large *caitya* in the centre with a goddess inside the cupola, the identity of the goddess depending on the individual’s age: (1) Grahamātrkā, the goddess of fate who brings good fortune; (2) Vasudhārā, the earth goddess who brings wealth; and (3) Uṣṇīṣavijayā, who eliminates karmic hindrances and brings longevity” (*ibid.*). In Tibet Uṣṇīṣavijayā is venerated as one of the three deities for prolonging life (cf. Chandra 1978-79: 21, 25).

Another closely related type of *paubhā* depicting Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the dome of a *caitya* illustrates the celebration of the *lakṣacaitya* rite, commemorating the attainment of the merit of having made 100,000 *stūpa.s* (cf. Linrothe 1998: 105-112, with further references). The earliest dated Uṣṇīṣavijayā-*lakṣacaitya* painting is in the Zimmerman Collection, dated 1416 AD.²² It shows Candra and Sūrya in the corners of the upper register, but no other *graha* figures; the eight *dīkpāla.s* are represented as dancing deities encircling the *caitya*, and the five *pañcarakṣā* goddesses in the register below.²³ Another undated *paubhā* of this type, now in the Musée Guimet, Paris (MA 5165), is considered by Béguin (1990: 35-37, no. 10, col.pl.)²⁴ as even earlier, i.e. from the 2nd half of the 14th century. This painting shows also Sūrya and Candra, here flanking the central *caitya* at the

top on the proper right and left respectively, i.e. mirror-reversed compared to the Zimmerman *paubhā*.²⁵ Neither the *dīkpāla.s* nor any other *graha* figures except Sūrya and Candra are depicted in these *lakṣacaitya* paintings.

In the sixteen *bhīmaratha* paintings listed below, which all show the complete group of *graha.s*, it is invariably Uṣṇīṣavijayā (8 arms, 3 heads, white) who occupies the dome of the *caitya*. Grahamātrkā appears twice in the *caitya* socle (## 77, 78?), as does Vasudhārā (## 83, 91). The *pañcarakṣā* goddesses are depicted in seven examples (## 77-83), either flanking the *caitya*, or in the socle, or below the socle. In ## 80 and 81 the *pañcarakṣā* sequence appears in a rather uncommon order. The five goddesses are not painted in a single row but in three registers: Mahāpratisarā is on top, just beneath Uṣṇīṣavijayā; Mahāsāhasrapramardanī follows in the second register, and the remaining three *rakṣā.s* appear in the register below, at the bottom of the *caitya*. Generally, the *pañcatathāgata.s* with Vairocana in the centre are shown in a row at the top of the *paubhā.s*.

In all the paintings the group of *navagraha.s* terminates with a hitherto unidentified tenth figure, four-armed, of white complexion, seated on *vṛṣabha* and holding Śaiva attributes. It would be rather far-fetched to relate this group of 10 deities to the three *daśagraha* groups so far known from Indian stone sculptures; in them the additional *graha* figure occurs within the sequence between *graha* no. 2 (Candra) and *graha* no. 7 (Śani) and resembles the iconography of the other *graha.s*.²⁶ In contrast, the white figure in our paintings is invariably placed at the end of the sequence in the NW, and one could be tempted to identify him as Śiva’s *dīkpāla* form, Īśāna, the guardian of the NW, who is usually white-complexioned when shown with the other *dīkpāla.s*.

Recent research carried out by Marianna Kropf on ritual texts dealing with *navagraha* worship in the Newar communities — both Hindu and Buddhist — of the Kathmandu valley has identified this enigmatic figure as Janma, a pseudo-planetary deity who seems to represent the astrological components which are defined by the birth time of a person, and who often appears in Newar ritual texts as the final member of the group of *navagraha.s*. The figure of Janma is found regularly in Nepalese paintings and rarely in wood carvings²⁷ from the 18th century onwards.²⁸ A fanciful 19th century description of Janmagraha as a fearsome ten-armed deity riding a camel is found in Amṛtānanda’s *Dharmakośasamgraha* (Pal/Bhattacharyya 1969: 43, 58-59, n. 68) which, however, does not correspond to the painted figures.

The ten deities (9 *graha.s* + Janma) are generally arranged in a split circle or arch running clockwise around the central *caitya*, thus functioning as an outer protective *maṇḍala* (Diagrams C-II-1 and C-II-2). This pictorial mode was adopted soon after the early experiment of # 78 in which the group is arranged registerwise in pairs (Diagram H-III), and has since been preserved.

All the *graha.s* are generally shown four-armed, except in # 91 where Sūrya and Candra are two-armed. They are usually seated in three-quarter profile with their heads turned towards the central axis of the painting, except in # 78 where all *graha.s* are depicted frontally, # 90 where all except (Budha?) and Śani are shown frontally, and # 80 where Śani, Rāhu and Ketu are shown frontally.

Except for Budha, all the *graha.s* are provided with *vāhana.s*, the heads of which are generally turned inwards except in # 91 where the heads of the *vāhana.s* of Sūrya, Candra, Maṅgala and Bṛhaspati are turned outwards. The complexion of the *graha.s* and the *vāhana.s* is as follows: Sūrya (red) / green horse; Candra (white) / white goose; Maṅgala (red) / white/black ram/goat/dog?; Budha (yellow) / no *vāhana*; Bṛhaspati (yellow/red/orange) / white elephant; Śukra (white) / dog/camel/goat/horse?; Śani (blue) / yellow tortoise; Rāhu (blue) / red fire; Ketu (brown) / red/pink/green *makara*. Rāhu is generally shown holding a white moon disk in his right hand and a red sun disk in his left hand (see Table 9), and Ketu with a snake-tail.

The 28 *nakṣatra* deities form a second protective circle beyond the *graha* circle in three paintings (## 77, 78, 82; see Table 6).²⁹

NEPAL (cloth painting)

77. **SMV München** (33-II-1), 88x60 cm, 17th/18th century.
GM in *caitya* socle; PR below socle; NK in 2nd outer circle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-1**
Ref.: Lommel 1968: 31, 35, 124-125, No. 230, Abb. 15, 17; Lommel 1974a: 134, No. 513, Abb. 62, 63; Lommel 1974b: 93-94, Abb. 55; Martin 1977: 166, fig.; Grönbold 1984: 306, Taf. X.15; Mevissen 1989b: Kat. M.IV.A.14, Taf. 35.
78. **Present location and dimensions unknown**, dated NS 836 = 1716 AD.
GM (?) in *caitya* socle; PR (?) flanking *caitya*; NK along borders.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **H-III**
Ref.: Pal 1977: fig. 13.
79. **RvV Leiden**, ht. 67cm, dated 1720 AD.
PR in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Pal 1978: fig. 118; Mevissen 1989b: Kat. M.IV.A.19, Abb. 127.
80. **MFA Boston** (07-303), 70.2 x 52.7 cm, c. 19th century.
PR in *caitya* socle and pedestal (same unusual order as in # 81).
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s* individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Toganoo 1986: 10, b/w pl. II-10; Vergati 1999: 40-41, fig. 10.
81. **Present location unknown**, 80 x 57 cm, c. 19th century.
PR in *caitya* socle and pedestal (same unusual order as in # 80).
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Soth-Lon 23.II.1987: lot 141.
82. **Jucker Collection, Basel**, 89 x 58.5 cm, dated 1830 AD.
8-armed white Avalokiteśvara with consort in *caitya* pedestal; PR in *caitya* socle; NK distributed all over the painting.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Koller A 101/3, 29./30.II.1996: Nr. 101; Koller A 103/3, 13./14.6.1997: Nr. 71; Kreijger 1999: 82-83, no. 28, col.pl.
83. **Hahn Kwang-ho Collection, Seoul**, 76.5 x 57 cm, dated NS 950 = 1830 AD.
8-armed white Avalokiteśvara with consort in *caitya* pedestal; PR in *caitya* socle; Vasudhārā + 2 Tārās below socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Tanaka 2001a: 208-209, no. 97, col.pl; Tanaka 2001b: 113, no. 76, col.pl.

84. **Present location unknown**, ex Spink London, 63.5 x 45 cm, dated NS 963 = 1843 AD.
8-armed red Mañjuśrī with consort in *caitya* socle. **Plate 20.31**
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Skorupski 1998: 52-53, no. 27, col.pl.
85. **MFA Boston** (19-664), 78 x 58.7 cm, dated NS 979 = 1858 AD.
8-armed (?) red (?) male figure with consort in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Toganoo 1986: 9-10, b/w pl. II-9; Vergati 1999: 39-40 (NG n.m., n.i.).
86. **AAM San Francisco** (B60 D40), 61.6 x 43.2 cm, dated NS 982 = 1862 AD.
8-armed (?) red (?) male figure with consort in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Pal 1977: fig. 1.
87. **NMN Kathmandu**, 73.5 x 50 cm, 19th century.
8-armed red male figure with consort in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: *Nepalese Art* 1966: 84-85, VIII/14, pl. XXXIVB; Waldschmidt 1967: 97, no. 83.
88. **RvV Leiden** (2798/11), 19th century.
8-armed red male figure with consort in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Kooij 1978: 27, 32, pl. XLIV.
89. **LACMA Los Angeles** (M.71.98.1), 71.76 x 55.88 cm (with borders 138.43 x 86.36 cm), painted in Tashilumpo, Central Tibet, for a Newari patron from Nepal, 19th century.
8-armed red male figure with consort in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Pal 1977: 178, fig. 2; Pal 1983: 176-177, fig. P39.
90. **John and Berthe Ford Collection, Baltimore**, 76.5 x 49.8 cm, 19th century.
8-armed yellow (?) Mañjuśrī with consort in *caitya* socle.
NG 4-armed, seated, some on *vāhana.s*, individ. iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**
Ref.: Pal 1971: 47-48, pl. 64; Lauf 1976: 160-161, pl. 58; Pal 1977: 179, fig. 3.
91. **Hahn Kwang-ho Collection, Seoul**, 115 x 77 cm, 19th century.
Vasudhārā in *caitya* socle.
NG seated on *vāhana.s*; Sū and Ca: 2-armed, Ma to Ke: 4-armed, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**

Ref.: Tanaka 1997: 210-211, no. 97; Tanaka 1999: 102, no. 75.

92. Present location unknown, 93 x 66 cm, 19th century. **Plate 20.32**

8-armed white Avalokiteśvara with consort in *caitya* socle.

NG 4-armed, seated on *vāhana.s*, individual iconography, Ke snake-tailed. **C-II-2**

Ref.: Chri-Lon 13./14.6.1983: lot 160.

3. Statistics (Tables 3-9)

Some of the vast information contained in the list has been extracted and arranged under different headings in the following tables. They are not meant to present a comprehensive analysis of all the possible relevant features of the images, but they are just an *ad hoc* summarization of some major features that may be of interest. Numbers printed in bold type refer to images that are illustrated in this article.

The content of the tables is as follows:

Table 3: Provenance of Images ## 1-92

Table 4: Material of Images ## 1-92

Table 5: Time Frame of Images ## 1-92

Table 6: Distribution of Deities in Grahamātrkā-, Mahāpratisarā-, and Uṣṇīṣavijayā-*maṇḍala.s* (## 61-92)

Table 7: Complexity of Principal Goddesses in Images ## 1-92

Table 8: Number and Iconography of *graha* Figures (## 61-92)

Table 9: Placement of Sun and Moon as Rāhu's Attributes (## 1-48, 61-92)

Comments:

ad Tables 3-4: Provenance and Material. The provenance of the Mārīcī images covers the widest area, ranging from Eastern India to China but leaving out Nepal. Within Eastern India, the majority comes from Bihar, followed by Bengal and Orissa, and only few images are from southeast Uttar Pradesh.

With regard to the material, again the Mārīcī images are most heterogeneous, being worked in stone, metal, wood and painting. The images of the other three goddesses are homogenous both regarding material — all are paintings — and provenance: the Grahamātrkā-*maṇḍala.s* are confined to Tibet, the Uṣṇīṣavijayā *paubhā.s* to Nepal, and only Mahāpratisarā is found both in Nepal and in Tibet.

ad Table 5: Time Frame. The images cover a time span of 1200 years. Mārīcī images in Eastern India range from the 9th to the 12th century, where they disappear when they surface in China with the remarkable Khara Khoto painting (# 48), a solitary example that leads, after a gap of 500 years, to the bulk of later Chinese images.

In Nepal, the early 13th century Mahāpratisarā-*maṇḍala* reappears after a gap of 700 years in the end of the 20th century. In Tibet the core time of Mahāpratisarā lasts for 300 years, from the 16th to the 19th century.

Grahamātrkā covers a time span of 500 years in Tibet, Uṣṇīṣavijayā of 300 years in Nepal, the latter with increasing numbers in the 19th century, pointing to the popularity of her cult in the Kathmandu valley in recent times.

ad Table 6: Distribution of Deities. The table shows clearly that the three goddesses Grahamātrkā, Mahāpratisarā and Uṣṇīṣavijayā are multifariously interconnected with Vasudhārā. In the “quadruple” *maṇḍala.s* (## 65-67) all the four goddesses are intergrated, and some of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā *paubhā.s* show up to three of them simultaneously.

Regarding the distribution of the different groups of astral deities and symbols of time and space (9 *graha.s*, 28 *nakṣatra.s*, 8 or 10 *dīkpāla.s*, 12 *rāśi.s*, 4 *mahārāja.s*), we notice that no painting shows all five groups. The *caturmahārāja.s* are exclusively depicted in Tibet and found on every Tibetan *thangka* in this list. Most Pañcarakṣā-*maṇḍala.s* show four groups of these deities, the others up to three groups simultaneously. The mundane *dīkpāla.s* appear only with Mahāpratisarā and Uṣṇīṣavijayā (thus denoting their “earthly” cults) but not with the Mother of the heavenly bodies, Grahamātrkā, who in only one of her heavily populated *maṇḍala.s* (# 64), summons all the astral deities including the *rāśi.s*.

ad Table 7: Complexity of Principal Goddesses. The appearance of Mārīcī is most variable (seven different forms). Her 8-armed and 3-headed images are most numerous and found in all times and geographical regions, followed by her likewise numerous 6-armed and 3-headed form.

The other three goddesses are confined to their standard forms: Grahamātrkā (3 heads / 6 arms), Mahāpratisarā (4 heads / 8 arms), and Uṣṇīṣavijayā (3 heads / 8 arms).

ad Table 8: Number and Iconography of *graha* Figures. In all the thirty-two images showing *graha* figures they are depicted seated, not a single example has standing *graha.s*. The number of *graha.s* is generally nine, with two noteworthy exceptions among the Mahāpratisarā paintings where only eight *graha.s* are shown (## 72, 76). It seems that the painters made a mistake, although careful examination of the *graha* figures may reveal a certain system of *aṣṭagraha.s*. In addition, eight *sarvagraha* figures are shown in ## 63, 65 and 66. All the Uṣṇīṣavijayā *paubhā.s* add a figure of Janma to the *navagraha.s*.

Regarding the iconography of the *graha.s*, they appear as two-armed figures in all the Grahamātrkā and Mahāpratisarā paintings, and as four-armed figures in all the Uṣṇīṣavijayā paintings, with one exception (# 91) where Sūrya and Candra are two-armed and the other seven *graha.s* four-armed.

The *graha.s* are shown seated on *vāhana.s* in three out of seven Grahamātrkā paintings, in all but the most recent (# 69) Mahāpratisarā paintings, and in all Uṣṇīṣavijayā paintings.

Ketu is often — but not always — depicted with a snake-tail; especially in Mahāpratisarā paintings he is frequently shown in human form with legs.

ad Table 9: Placement of Sun and Moon as Rāhu's Attributes. We find seven different modes of depicting and placing the luminaries as attributes in Rāhu's hands. Where the sun and the moon symbols are identifiable and discernable by their colour or form, the moon appears more often in his right hand (21 examples) than in his left hand (18 examples). Sometimes he holds two undifferentiated disks (7 examples) or just one or two crescents (7 examples).

If we compare the distribution scheme of the sun and moon symbols as attributes of Mārīcī (see Table 2), we notice that there the symbols are almost equally distributed on the right and the left side, although the relevant textual sources (*SM* 132, 135) know of only one scheme, viz. the moon on the left and the sun on the right side.

TABLE 3: Provenance of Images ## 1-92							
	INDIA				NEPAL	TIBET	CHINA
	Bihar	Bengal	Orissa	U.P.			
Mārīcī stone metal wood painting	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 49	18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28	29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39	15, 16, 17		45, 46	47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60
	40						60
Grahamāṭṛkā painting						61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67	
Mahāpratisarā painting					68, 69	70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76	
Uṣṇīṣavijayā painting					77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92		
Σ	45				18	16	13
							92

TABLE 4: Material of Images ## 1-92							
	INDIA				NEPAL	TIBET	CHINA
	Bihar	Bengal	Orissa	U.P.			
Stone <i>Mārīcī</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 49	18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28	29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39	15, 16, 17			
	40						41
Metal <i>Mārīcī</i>	41, 42, 43, 44					45, 46	47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56
Wood <i>Mārīcī</i>							57
Painting <i>Mārīcī</i> <i>Grahamāṭṛkā</i> <i>Mahāpratisarā</i> <i>Uṣṇīṣavijayā</i>					68, 69, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92	61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76	48, 58, 59, 60
							36

TABLE 5: Time Frame of Images ## 1-92								
	INDIA				NEPAL	TIBET	CHINA	
	Bihar	Bengal	Orissa	U.P.				
Mārīcī (60)								
9th-10th	1, 2, 3, 4							
10th	5, 10, 11, 49	42	29, 31, 32					
10th-11th	8, 9, 12, 13, 41	19, 23, 25						
11th	6, 7	18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28	30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40	15, 16, 17				
11th-12th	43, 44							
12th	14							
13th								
18th								
18th-19th								
Grahamāṭṛkā (7)								
15th-16th						61, 62, 65, 66		
17th-18th						63		
19th						64, 67		
Mahāpratisarā (9)								
13th					68			
16th-17th								70, 71, 72, 74
17th-18th								73
19th								75, 76
20th								69
Uṣṇīṣavijayā (16)								
17th-18th					77			
18th					78, 79			
19th					80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92			

TABLE 6: Distribution of Deities in Grahamātrkā-, Mahāpratisarā-, and Uṣṇīṣavijayā-ma [^] dāla.s (## 61-92)									
##	Presiding (P) or Subsidiary (S) Deity				Number of Subsidiary Figures				
	Grahamā.	Mahāpra.	Uṣṇīṣa.	Vasudhā.	graha	nakṣatra	rāśi	dikpāla	mahārāja
Grahamātrkā-ma [^] dāla.s (Tibet, 15th-19th cent.)									
61	P				9				4
62	P				9				4
63	P/S				9 + 8	28			4
64	P + S				9 + 9	28	10 (12)		4
65	P/S	P + P/S	P/S	P/S	9 + 8	28			4
66	P/S	P + P/S	P/S	P/S	9 + 8	28			4
67	P/S	P/S	P/S	P/S	9 + 9	28			4
Mahāpratisarā/Pañcarakṣā-ma [^] dāla.s (Nepal/Tibet, 13th-20th cent.)									
68		P			9	28	(12)	8	
69		P			9			8 (+8?)	
70		P			9	28		10	4
71		P			9	28		10	4
72		P			8	28		10	4
73		P			9	28		10	4
74		P			9	28		10	4
75		P			9	28		10	4
76		P			8	28		10	(4)
Uṣṇīṣavijayācaitya-ma [^] dāla.s (Nepal, 17th-19th cent.)									
77	S	S	P		9 + J	28			
78	(S?)	(S?)	P		9 + J	28			
79		S	P		9 + J				
80		S	P		9 + J				
81		S	P		9 + J				
82		S	P		9 + J	28			
83		S	P	S	9 + J				
84			P		9 + J				
85			P		9 + J				
86			P		9 + J				
87			P		9 + J				
88			P		9 + J				
89			P		9 + J				
90			P		9 + J				
91			P	S	9 + J				
92			P		9 + J				

TABLE 7: Complexity of Principal Goddess in Images ## 1-92 (Number of Arms / Number of Heads)							
	6 / 3	8 / 3	8 / 4	10 / 3	10 / 4	10 / 5	12 / 5
Mārīcī	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 32, 42, 49, 50	9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59	57	17, 48 (4 legs), 52 (4 legs)	56	60	33
Grahamātrkā	61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67						
Mahāpratisarā			68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76				
Uṣṇīṣavijayā		77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92					
Number of arms and heads unknown: # 16							

TABLE 8: Number and Iconography of <i>graha</i> Figures (32 images: ## 61-92)			
Grahamātrkā	Mahāpratisarā	Uṣṇīṣavijayā	Σ
Eight <i>graha</i> Figures			
(63, 65, 66)	72, 76		2
Nine <i>graha</i> Figures			
61, 62, 63, 64 (2x), 65, 66, 67 (2x)	68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75		14
Nine <i>graha</i> Figures plus Janma			
		77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92	16
Two-armed <i>graha</i> Figures			
61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67	68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76	91 (Sū, Ca)	16
Four-armed <i>graha</i> Figures			
		77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91 (Ma to Ke), 92	16
<i>graha</i> Figures on <i>vāhana</i> .s			
61, 62, 64	68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, (76)	77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92	27
Ketu with snake-tail			
61, 63, 65, 66, (67)	68, 69	77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92	23

TABLE 9: Placement of Sun and Moon as Rāhu's Attributes in Images ## 1-48 and 61-92*						
right hand	left hand	Mārīcī	Grahamā.	Mahāprati.	Uṣṇīṣavijayā	Σ
disk	disk	13, 15, 16, 31, 33, 37, 47				7
moon disk	sun disk		65		77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92	17
sun disk	moon disk	48	63, 66			3
sun disk	crescent	18, 24, 27, 28	62, 64a+b	68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75		14
crescent	sun disk	21, 30, 46				3
crescent	crescent	35				1
- crescent -		14, 20, 22, 29, 44, 45				6
no or unrecognizable attributes		1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 23, 26, 34, 38, 40, 41	61, 67	69, 76		22
* Due to blurred printing of published illustrations and insufficient descriptions, it is uncertain whether Rāhu is represented in six stone (## 12, 19, 25, 32, 36, 39) and two metal images (## 42, 43) from Eastern India.						

4. Arrangement of *graha* figures or astral symbols (Diagrams)

The different arrangement schemes are illustrated in the following nineteen diagrams. Each diagram gives a schematic view of one up to fourteen images of the list. The name and posture of the principal goddess appears in the centre. The digits indicating the *graha* figures or astral symbols are placed in their relative position with regard to the central image. For systematic reasons, the diagrams are neither to scale, nor does the chosen square form duplicate the actual format of the images.

Regarding the position and the order within the sequence of the *graha* figures or astral symbols on the plane of the image, two major arrangement schemes can be discerned: horizontal (H) and circular (C).

No arrangement with a vertical order has been found;³⁰ the only example that comes close to a vertical order is the Uṣṇīṣavijayā painting # 78 in which the *graha* figures are arranged in pairs flanking the central image on both sides from top to bottom, but the basic scheme is registerwise and therefore the painting has been classified under the horizontal arrangement (H-III).

Horizontal arrangement, falling in 3 sub-types according to the relative position:

H-I: Horizontal row of sun and Moon symbols *flanking the head* of the main image or held as corresponding attributes; there are three varieties (13 images);

H-II: Horizontal row of Sun and Moon symbols held as Rāhu's attributes *beneath* the main image; there are five varieties (22 images);

H-III: Horizontal rows of *graha* figures flanking the main image *from top to bottom* (1 image).

Circular arrangement, falling in 4 sub-types according to the relative position and order:

C-I: *graha* figures encircling the main image *on all sides in clockwise order*; there are six varieties (14 images);

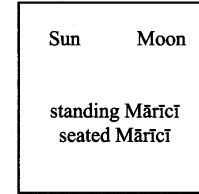
C-II: *graha* figures encircling the main image *on three sides in clockwise order*; there are two varieties (15 images);

C-III: *graha* figures encircling the *bottom* of the main image *in clockwise order* (1 image);

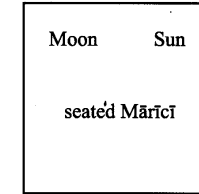
C-IV: *graha* figures flanking the main image *on one side in alternating order* (1 image).

For abbreviations used in the diagrams see the Appendix.

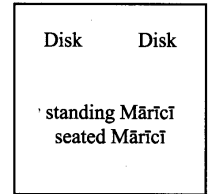
H-I: Horizontal row of Sun and Moon symbols flanking the head of the main image or held as corresponding attributes



H-I-1 ## 48, 53, 55

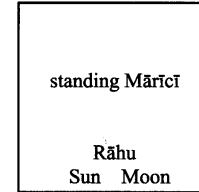


H-I-2 ## 50, 58, 59

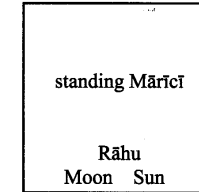


H-I-3 ## 49, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 60

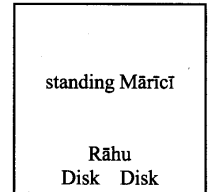
H-II: Horizontal row of Sun and Moon symbols held as Rāhu's attributes beneath the main image



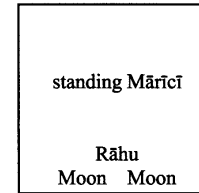
H-II-1 ## 18, 24, 27, 28, 48



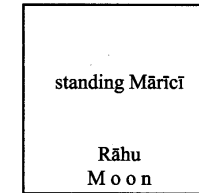
H-II-2 # 21, 30, 46



H-II-3 ## 13, 15, 16, 31, 33, 37, 47

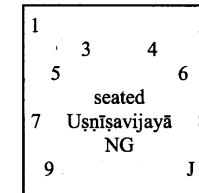


H-II-4 # 35

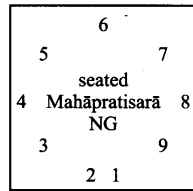
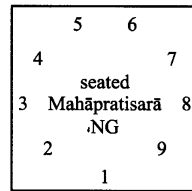


H-II-5 ## 14, 20, 22, 29, 44, 45

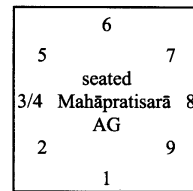
H-III: Horizontal pairs of *graha* figures flanking the main image from top to bottom



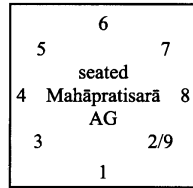
H-III # 78

C-I: *graha* figures encircling the main image on all sides in clockwise orderC-I-1 ## 68, 70, 71,
73, 74, 75

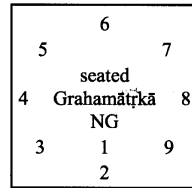
C-I-2 # 69



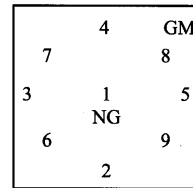
C-I-3 # 72



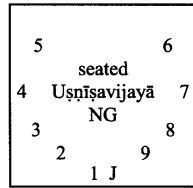
C-I-4 # 76



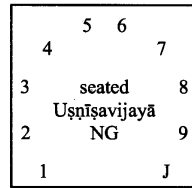
C-I-5 # 64a



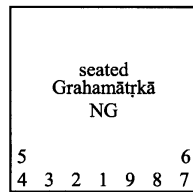
C-I-6 ## 63, 65, 66, 67

C-II: *graha* figures encircling the main image on three sides in clockwise order

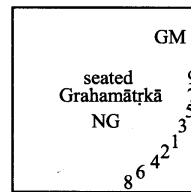
C-II-1 # 77



C-II-2 ## 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92

C-III: *graha* figures encircling the bottom of the main image in clockwise order

C-III # 62

C-IV: *graha* figures flanking the main image on one side in alternating order

C-IV # 64.b

References

1. Since the scholar to be honoured here is very fond of numbers and lists — the extremely useful one in his *magnum opus* on the Hindu sculptures of Bengal numbering as many as 1860 items (Haque 1992) — it should be appropriate to present a catalogue of Buddhist images that consists largely of a list, tables, and diagrams full of numbers.
2. The 92 images of Buddhist goddesses documented in this article are complemented by the 92 images of Hindu and Jaina goddesses listed in Mevissen 2003 (hereafter CHJ), further by the 128 Jaina stone sculptures (of which 8 appear also in CHJ) listed in Mevissen 2000, and the 41 Nepalese Sūrya-, Candra- and Buddhamaṇḍalas listed in Mevissen i.pr. 3, thus bringing the total number of documented images with astral figures or symbols to 345. However, large parts of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Jaina and Bauddha pantheons still await proper documentation.
3. “Ladies and Planets” (Mevissen i.pr.1). That article deals not only with images of Buddhist but also of Hindu and Jaina goddesses.
4. On Rāhu see Gail 1980: 133-137; Markel 1990 (*passim*) and 1995: 55-64.
5. Several Hindu and Jaina goddesses represented with astral figures or symbols are also of white, fair or golden complexion, or are mythologically related to the shining stars or the dichotomy of light and darkness; cf. CHJ: 440-442.
6. According to Linrothe (1998: 103 and *passim*) earlier versions of these rites were already practiced by the Tanguts in the Inner Asian Xia kingdom in the end of the 12th century.
7. Cf. Mallmann 1975: 150-151; Mevissen 1991/92, 1999; Chandra 1978-79; Linrothe 1998.
8. Cf. the remarks on the asymmetrical number of petals on Sūrya’s lotuses in Mevissen 1997: 122. Compare also the Bhaktapur (Nepal) *navagraha* slab where Sūrya holds two 8-petalled lotuses whereas Candra’s lotuses have 7 petals on the proper right and 8 petals on the proper left (Bangdel 1995: 340, sec. 31.5 [Sūrya], 341, sec. 31.6 [Candra]).
9. Being not at all sufficiently familiar with the relevant literature on Chinese art, I assume that the thirteen images listed below are by no means a comprehensive, but hopefully a representative sample.
10. The same integrating force of the artistic *milieu* at Khara Khoto can be witnessed in the images of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses illustrated in the Tangut Tripiṭaka where Nepalese iconographic elements have been blended with Indo-Tibetan, Sino-Tibetan and Chinese styles; see Mevissen 1998: 332-341, figs. 16-20. See also Linrothe 1998 for connections between the Tangut and Nepalese images of Uṣṇīṣavijayā.
11. “Märkit wird ... als “Mutter des Siebengestirns” [n.11: Genauer: “der vier den Wagen bildenden Sterne des Siebengestirns (des Großen Bären)”. Nach einer anderen Version bezeichnet *tou* ... 6 Sterne im Bilde des Schützen] oder “Himmelskönigin” [n.12: T’ien hou ...], gleichermaßen verehrt von Buddhisten und Taoisten.” (Behrsing 1941: 174).
12. “Die ... vergoldete Rückwand ... zeigt Darstellungen von Wolken und 7 kugelförmigen Himmelskörpern in Reliefschnitzerei; die sie krönende große Metallscheibe dient der Figur als Heiligenschein” (Behrsing 1943: 3). -- Behrsing states (*ibid.*) that there were seven pigs (“Die 7 kleinen Schweinefiguren, die in der Sockelnische untergebracht sind, vervollständigen das Bildwerk”), and his illustration (*ibid.*: Abb. 1) shows seven pigs. However, according to the records of the EM Berlin, there were originally eight pigs, of which only one is extant now. This would suggest that the sculpture was provided with a spare pig when it was acquired in 1901.
13. Perhaps they are meant to symbolize the first seven planets (Sun through Saturn) after whom the seven days of the week are named. On the possible connection between the seven mortal Buddhas and the seven planets, see the elaborate and thought-provoking discussion by Simson 1981.
14. Willson/Brauen (2000: 415, no. 505) and Chandra (2002: 1292) call the *maṇḍala* “Sixty-six or fifty deity Lady of Knowledge”.

15. The *upadrava.s* are listed by Monier-Williams (1899: 199) as sudden attacks, grievous accidents, misfortune, calamity, mischief, national distress such as famine, plague, oppression, eclipse, national commotion, rebellion, violence, outrage. — All these calamities are believed to be avoidable by worshipping both the Pañcarakṣās and the Navagrahas.
16. *revatyādi-grahānām santrāsitanāṇi* (Bhattachary[y]a 1928: 407).
17. On the *nakṣatra.s* in the *R̥gveda*, see Achar 2000; also Yampolsky 1950; Gibson 1951. With regard to Revatī, it is interesting to note that in the *R̥gveda* “sUkta RV (V.51) includes the presiding deities of all the nakṣatras. ... The sUkta ... mentions [only] one nakṣatra by name, “svastī paThye revatī” (V.51.14).” (Achar 2000: ch. IV). Revatī’s presiding deity is Pūṣan, one of the twelve *āditya.s* who “as a bestower of fertility ... is associated with marriage rites (*RV.*, X.85, 26 and 37) and with successful childbirth (*AV.*, I.11)” (Stutley 1977: 240). On Pūṣan see Kramrisch (1961) with further references. On Revatī see also Williams 1973: 139-140. — A comprehensive study on the representation of the *nakṣatra.s* in Indo-Asian art is still lacking, though attempts have been made (Kooij 1997); see also the useful lists in Tucci 1941/1989, 1: 259; and Pal 1967a: 32-34.
18. *sasaptaviṃśanākṣatrādi-navagrahādibhiḥ sevaniyā* — “sie soll bedient werden von den neun *graha.s* und anderen mitsamt den siebenundzwanzig *nakṣatra.s* usw.” (Bhattachary[y]a 1928: 407; transl. Mevissen 1989b: 17).
19. A rare example of depicting 27 *nakṣatra.s* in painting is a Nepalese Sūryamaṇḍala in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin (inv.no. MIK I 10013); cf. Mevissen i.pr.3: 128-129, 140, no. S18, pl. 17.16.
20. Mitra 1882: 161. It is interesting to note that in Tibet Vaiśālī is associated with one of the Eight Great Stūpas, namely the “Victory” *stūpa* which is linked to Uṣṇīṣavijayā; see Linrothe (1998: 109-110) for a discussion on its significance and for references.
21. A similar case of leaving out one *graha* figure may be found on a painting in the Ratnasambhava chapel (III.6) on the third floor of the Kumbum at Gyantse. In the list of *graha.s* supplied by Tucci (1941/1989, 1: 234) Śukra is missing. It can, however, not be excluded that this is just a printing error.
22. Pal 1975: 64 fig. 47, 83, no. 47; Pal 1977: 186 [n.i.]; Pal 1978: 71-72, fig. 79; Bangdel 1987: 324, fig. 251; Pal 1991: 74-75, no. 36, col.pl.
23. Another painting of similar composition, dated 1513 AD, is in the Alsdorf Collection (Pal 1997: cat. 203), of which, however, the upper part — including Sūrya and Candra — is missing. As in the Zimmerman *paubhā*, the *pañcarakṣā* goddesses are shown in the lower register. The arrangement of the *dikpāla.s* is slightly different from the Zimmerman painting.
24. Also published in Macdonald/Stahl 1979: 132, fig. 100 (“16th century”); Jünemann 2003: col.pl. September.
25. Another 15th century *lakṣacaitya* painting in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Pal 1967b: 6, fig. 6) conforms to the lateral distribution of Sūrya and Candra as found in the Zimmerman *paubhā*. Instead of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, it is the Buddha who occupies the dome of the central *caitya*.
26. Cf. Mevissen 2000a: 364-65, no. 102, fig. 16 (Deogarh, 9th/10th cent.); Mevissen 2000b: 1268-69, fig. 1 (Khajuraho, 10th cent.); Mevissen 2003: 481, no. 76, fig. 36 (M.P., 10th/11th cent.).
27. Apart from the sixteen Uṣṇīṣavijayā paintings (## 77-92), a 19th/20th century Buddhamaṇḍala shows the *navagraha.s* + Janma (Mevissen i.pr.3: 136-137, 141, no. B4, pl. 17.27). The only sculptural representation of Janma as the tenth *graha* known to me is carved at the end of the wooden *navagraha* panel above the door lintel of the Nepalese temple in Varanasi, built in the middle of the 19th century.
28. Further research is necessary to verify whether this deity is already depicted in two metal Sūryamaṇḍalas dated 1480 and 1485 AD; cf. Mevissen i.pr.3: 126-127, 139, nos. S12 and S13, pl. 17.12-13.
29. For the occurrence and symbolic meaning of *nakṣatra.s* in images commemorating the *bhīmaratha* rite, see also Mevissen 1996: 505, note 53.
30. In Jaina images the vertical arrangement occurs very frequently; see Mevissen 2000: 385-388, and Mevissen 2003:513.

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Appendix

Abbreviations

<i>graha.s</i>		digits used in the diagrams
Sū	-	Sūrya (Sun) 1
Ca	-	Candra (Moon) 2
Ma	-	Maṅgala (Mars) 3
Bu	-	Budha (Mercury) 4
Br̥	-	Brhaspati (Jupiter) 5
Śu	-	Śukra (Venus) 6
Śa	-	Śani (Saturn) 7
Rā	-	Rāhu (Lunar node) 8
Ke	-	Ketu (Comet) 9

General abbreviations (used in the text, tables, and diagrams)

Abb.	-	Abbildung (illustration)	NK	-	<i>nakṣatra</i>
AD	-	Christian Era	n.m.	-	not mentioned
AG	-	<i>aṣṭagraha</i> , 8 <i>graha</i> figures	no.	-	number
c.	-	circa	NS	-	Nepal Saṃvat
cent.	-	century	<i>NSP</i>	-	<i>Niṣpannayogāvalī</i>
CM	-	<i>caturmahārāja</i>	n.v.	-	not visible
ct.	-	century	pl.	-	plate
E	-	east	PR	-	<i>pañcarakṣā</i>
fig.	-	figure	prp.	-	proper
GM	-	Grahamāṭṛkā	RĀ	-	<i>rāśi</i>
H	-	horizontal arrangement	S	-	south
ill.	-	illustration(s)	SE	-	southeast
J	-	Janma	<i>SM</i>	-	<i>Sāadhanamālā</i>
l.d.	-	line drawing	SW	-	southwest
M.P.	-	Madhya Pradesh	Taf.	-	Tafel (plate)
N	-	north	U.P.	-	Uttar Pradesh
NE	-	northeast	W	-	west
NG	-	<i>navagraha</i> , 9 <i>graha</i> figures	#	-	entry no. in the present list
n.i.	-	not illustrated			

If not indicated otherwise, the terms “right” and “left” have been used in the sense of “proper right” and “proper left”, i.e. as seen from the image and not from the viewer.

Location of Images and Abbreviations of Museums

	##
AAM	Asian Art Museum of San Francisco , California, U.S.A. 49 , 86
AMM	Archaeological Museum, Mainamati , Comilla, Bangladesh 26, 27
AMN	Archaeological Museum, Nalanda , Bihar, India 12
AMS	Archaeological Museum, Sarnath , Uttar Pradesh, India 15 , 16
BM	British Museum, London , United Kingdom 10, 72
BNM	Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka , Bangladesh 25
BPM	Baripada Museum, Baripada , Orissa, India..... 29, 30
EM	Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin , Germany [50] , 57 , 58
GDM	Gurusaday Dutta Museum of Folk Art, Kolkata , West Bengal, India 19
IM	Indian Museum, Kolkata , West Bengal, India 3, 4, 6-7, 11 , 14 , 34
JK	Jo khang, gTsug lag khang Collection, Lhasa , Tibet 44
KAM	Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth , Texas, U.S.A. 65
LACMA	County Museum of Art, Los Angeles , U.S.A. 89
MET	Metropolitan Museum, New York , U.S.A. [55]
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston , U.S.A. 80, 85
MG	Musée Guimet, Paris , France 68
MIK	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin , Germany 1
MNH	Museum of National History, New York , U.S.A. 53
MOK	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln , Germany 56
NMI	National Museum of India, New Delhi , India 40
NMN	National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu , Nepal 87
PM	Patna Museum, Patna , Bihar, India 5
QPM	Qing Palace Museum, Beijing , China 46 , 47
RvV	Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden , Netherlands 79, 88
SAM	State Archaeological Museum West Bengal, Kolkata , India 18 , 42
SHM	State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg , Russia 48
SML	State Museum, Lucknow , Uttar Pradesh, India 9
SMV	Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München , Germany 22, 73, 77
VRM	Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi , Bangladesh 20 , 21 , 23 , 24
Private Collections 28 , 41 , 43, 62, 63 , 69, 70, 71, 82, 83, 90, 91
Present Location unknown 13 , 17 , 45 , 50, 51, 54 , 55 , 59, 60, 64 , 66 , 67 , 74 , 75 , 76, 78, 81, 84 , 92
<i>in situ</i> 2, 8, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 52, 61



Plate 20.1 (a): Mārīcī, No. 1 (front view) Museum of Indian Art, Berlin. Photo: I. Papadopoulos.



Plate 20.2: Mārīcī, No. 9. State Museum, Lucknow. Photo: J.K. Bautze.



Plate 20.3: Mārīcī, No. 11 (detail). Indian Museum, Kolkata. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.

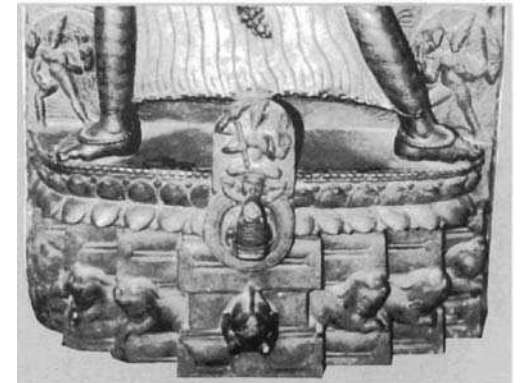


Plate 20.5: Mārīcī, No. 14 (detail). Indian Museum, Kolkata. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.1 (b): Mārīcī, No. 1 (details of pedestal). Museum of Indian Art, Berlin. Photo: I. Papadopoulos.



Plate 20.4: Mārīcī, No. 13 (detail). After Sotheby's New York 1992.



Plate 20.6: Mārīcī, No. 15 (detail). Archaeological Museum, Sarnath. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.7: Mārīcī, No. 17 (detail). After Sotheby's New York 1990.



Plate 20.8: Mārīcī, No. 18 (detail). State Archaeological Museum, Kolkata. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.9: Mārīcī, No. 20 (detail). Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi. Photo: I. John.



Plate 20.10: Mārīcī, No. 21 (detail). Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi. Photo: G. Bhattacharya.



Plate 20.11: Mārīcī, No. 23 (detail). Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi. Photo: I. Johne.

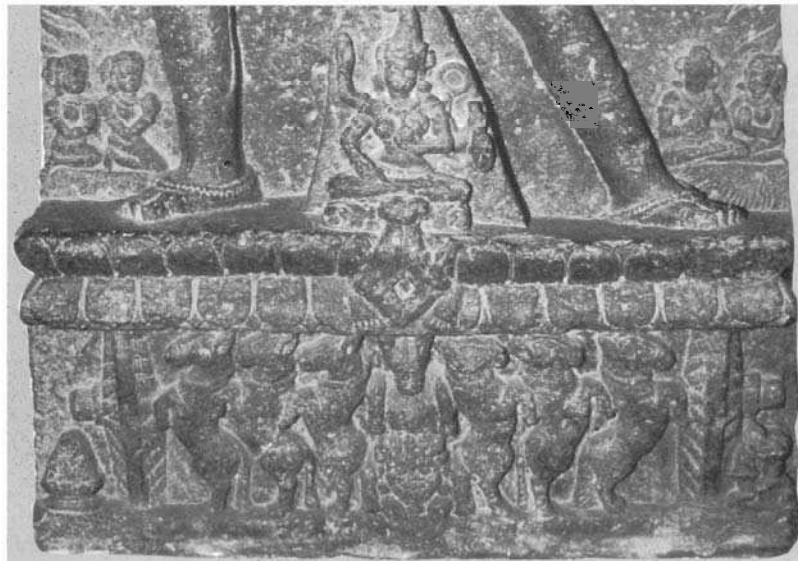


Plate 20.13: Mārīcī, No. 40 (detail). National Museum, New Delhi. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.12: Mārīcī, No. 28 (detail). Neumann Collection, Basel. After Sotheby's London 1990.



Plate 20.14: Mārīcī, No. 41. Günter Heil Collection, Berlin. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.15: Mārīcī, No. 44. Jo khang, gTsug lag khang Collection, Lhasa. Photo: U. V. Schroeder.



Plate 20.16: Mārīcī, No. 45.
After Nagel 1997.



Plate 20.17: Mārīcī, No. 46. Qing
Palace Museum, Beijing. After Palace
Museum 2002.



Plate 20.18: Mārīcī, No. 47. Qing
Palace Museum, Beijing. After
Palace Museum 1992.

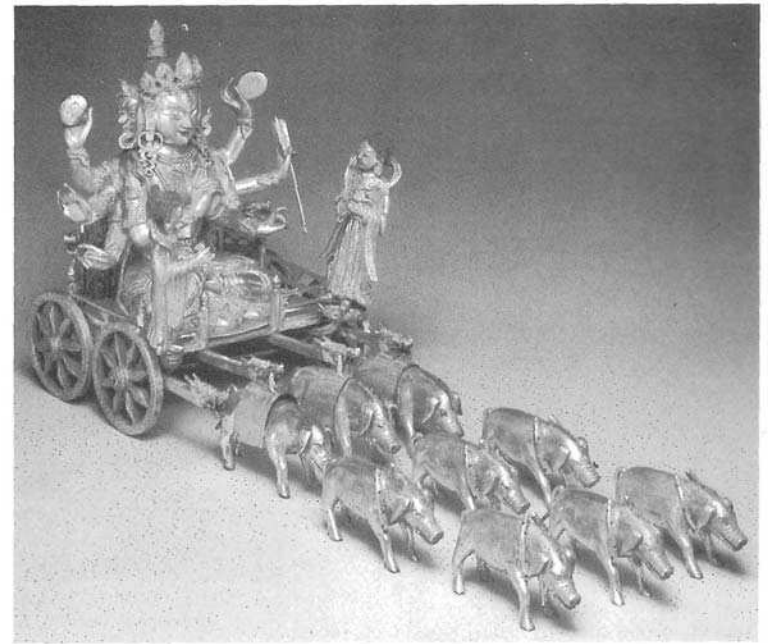


Plate 20.22: Mārīcī, No. 55. After Sotheby's London 1984.



Plate 20.19: Mārīcī, No. 48. State
Hermitage Museum, St.
Petersburg. After Piotrovsky
1993.



Plate 20.20: Mārīcī, No. 49. Asian Art Museum of San
Francisco. After Bautze-
Picron 1995.



Plate 20.21: Mārīcī, No. 54. After
Sotheby's London 1991.



Plate 20.23: (a) Mārīcī, No. 57 (detail).
Ethnological Museum, Berlin. Photo:
G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.23 (b): Mārīcī, No. 57 (front view).
Ethnological Museum, Berlin. Photo: G.J.R. Mevissen.



Plate 20.23 (c): Māricī, No. 57 (detail).
Ethnological Museum, Berlin. Photo: G.J.R.
Mevisen.



Plate 20.24: Māricī, No. 58 (detail).
Ethnological Museum, Berlin.
After Ebert 1989.



Plate 20.25: Grahamātrkā, No. 63 (detail). Fournier
Collection, Paris. After Jünemann 2003.

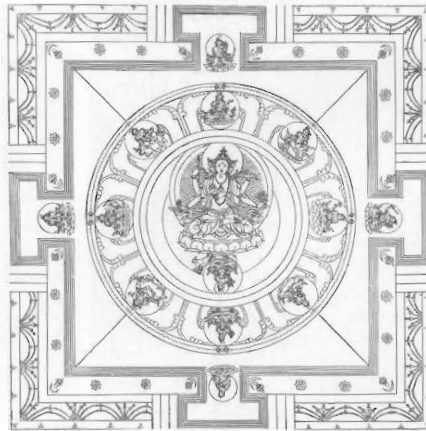


Plate 20.26: Grahamātrkā, No. 64a. After Vira/
Candra 1995.

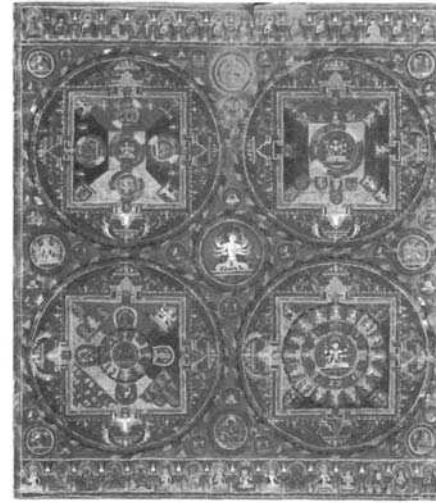


Plate 20.27: "Quadruple" *maṇḍala* with
Grahamātrkā, No. 66 (lower left). After Koller 1993.

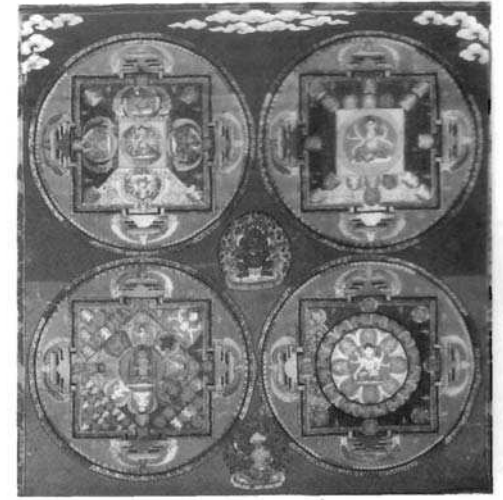


Plate 20.28: Quadruple *maṇḍala* with Grahamātrkā, No. 67
(lower left). After Koller 1984.



Plate 20.29: Mahāpratisarā, No. 74. After
Christie's London 1983.

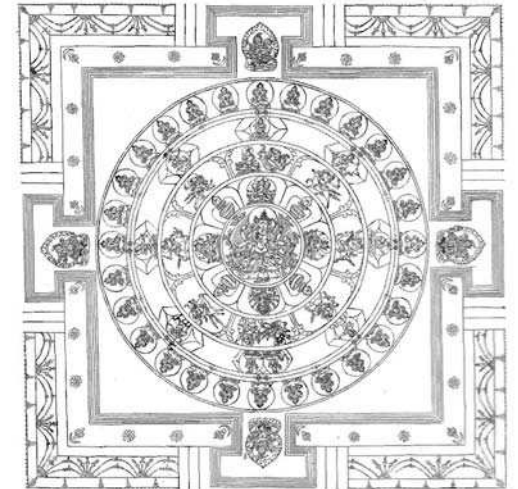


Plate 20.30: Mahāpratisarā, No. 75. After Vira/
Chandra 1995.



Plate 20.31: Uṣṇīṣavijayā, No. 84. After Skorupski 1998.



Plate 20.32: Uṣṇīṣavijayā, No. 92. After Christie's London 1983.

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