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The Buddhist Deity Vajrapāṇi

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As an attendant or rather protector of the Śākyamuni Buddha Vajrapāṇi appears in the Buddhist art of India as early as the beginning of the Christian era in the area known as Gandhara, present day parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Much has been written on the identity of this attending figure of the Buddha holding *vajra* or thunderbolt in his right or left hand by various scholars in various works. The latest exhaustive writing on the Gandharan Vajrapāṇi has been published by Flood 1989: 17-27. Mallmann 1975: 413 describes Vajrapāṇi of the Greco-Buddhist art appearing under the aspect “d’un adolescent imberbe, tantôt sous celui d’un homme fort, musclé et barbu”. She quotes Lamotte 1966: 113, who very skilfully analysed the development of Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi in the following way, “Forme secondaire d’Indra, génie protecteur de Śākyamuni, bodhisattva attaché avec Ānanda au service du Maître, divinité émanée de l’Être suprême: telles sont en gros les étapes parcourues au cours des temps par le yakṣa Vajrapāṇi. Le secret de sa fortune et de son apothéose se trouve dans le Vajra, son inséparable emblème. Vajra est le *foudre* servant d’arme offensive et défensive; c’est aussi le *diamant*, le plus dur des minéraux.”

Our discussion will not touch the theme of the early appearance and nature of Vajrapāṇi, but will be directed towards the assessment of the rôle of Vajrapāṇi in the Buddhist art of post-Gandhara India and its neighbouring countries where the *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* (-*Tantrayāna*) Buddhism, especially the latter one predominated.

Vajrapāṇi as an attending Bodhisattva ⁽¹⁾ appeared first in the Buddhist caves of Western India, viz. Kanheri, Nasik, Ellora⁽²⁾, Ajanta, Aurangabad etc., of which Ellora is the most important spot. But before going to describe the iconography of the early Vajrapāṇi images in these Buddhist caves we find it necessary to refer to the Buddhist iconographic texts for the description of this Bodhisattva. This however, does not mean that the textual descriptions are earlier to the existing icons of the early centuries.

The relevant Buddhist iconographic text and the most important one, viz. *Sādhanamālā* refers to Vajrapāṇi as an attending deity with another Bodhisattva or with a group of Bodhisattvas. For example,

Sādhanamālā 18: *Lokanātha-sādhana*. In this *sādhana* the central deity is Lokanātha or Avalokiteśvara who is surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas each

sitting on a petal of an eight-petaled lotus (*aṣṭa-dala-padma*). The eight Bodhisatvas are: Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Mañjuḥṣa, Gaganagaṅja, Viṣkambhin and Samantabhadra. Vajrapāṇi is described as of white complexion, showing *vara-mudrā* and holding *vajra* (*vajrapāṇiś = ca śuklābho vajra-hasto vara-pradaḥ*).

Sādhnamālā 28: *Hālāhala-sādhana*. In this *sādhana* Vajrapāṇi is mentioned with Avalokiteśvara, Maheśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. Hālāhala or Hālāhala-Lokeśvara is a form of Avalokiteśvara. No description of Vajrapāṇi is given in this case.

Sādhnamālā 211: *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-sādhana*. In this *sādhana* Vajrapāṇi is mentioned with Lokeśvara (i.e. Avalokiteśvara) as attending upon the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Both the Bodhisatvas are seated. Lokeśvara to the right of the goddess while Vajrapāṇi to the left. In this case Vajrapāṇi is of bluish complexion holding *vajra* on a blue water-lily in the left hand and *cāmara* in the right (*vāme vajrapāṇiḥ kuvalaya-dala-śyāmaḥ vāme kuvalayas-tha-vajra-dhārī dakṣiṇe cāmara-hastaḥ*).

Sādhnamālā 212: *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-sādhana*. This is rather a description of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā *maṇḍala*. Padmapāṇi holding a lotus and Vajrapāṇi holding *vajra* should be at the right and left of the goddess respectively (*padma-vajra-dharau tasyāḥ pārśvayoḥ savya-vāmayoḥ*).

Sādhnamālā 280: *Yamāntaka-sādhana*. In this *sādhana* Vajrapāṇi accompanies Kṣitigarbha, Khagarbha, Lokeśvara, Viṣkambhin and Samantabhadra. Vajrapāṇi has a dark complexion (*kṛṣṇa*), seated on the moon holding *aśani* (i.e. *vajra*) in the right hand and *tarjanī-mudrā* in the left.

The other well-known Buddhist iconographic text is the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākara-gupta. In this text we have the following references to Vajrapāṇi.

In *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) the Jina Akṣobhya is to be surrounded by eight Bodhisatvas, Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Lokeśvara, Mañjuḥṣa, Sarvanivaraṇa-viṣkambhin and Samantabhadra.

It may be noted here that in the *Lokanātha-sādhana* of *Sādhnamālā* 18 all these accompanying Bodhisatvas are mentioned excepting Lokeśvara, he being the central deity, his place has been taken over by Gaganagaṅja.

The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* prescribes that all these Bodhisatvas should look like their *Kuleśa* (Transcendent Buddha, Jina or Tathāgata), only Maitreya should carry in his right hand a branch of Nāgakeśara flowers with leaves which should be marked with *cakra*. Vajrapāṇi therefore, should look like Akṣobhya, but no mention is made of his attributes. Nevertheless, this is a very relevant iconographic reference to a group of Bodhisatvas which inspired the Indian sculptors to illustrate them in several instances. We will refer to that in our following discussion.

In *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) of the above text Vajrapāṇi who is sta-

tioned at the southern gate is described to be of green complexion (*harita*), six-armed, holding *vajra*, *kartri* and *paraśu* in the right hands and *ghaṇṭā*, *kapāla* and *brahma-śiras* in the left, and embracing Śabdavajrā (p.85).

In the same *maṇḍala* at the end (p.93) Vajrapāṇi is again described as of green complexion as that of Akṣobhya.

This form of Vajrapāṇi is not to be met with in India so far as we know, but in Nepal and Tibet.

The iconographical details of the twentysix *maṇḍalas* of *Niṣṭpannayogāvalī* appear to have been illustrated in the *Tantrayāna* art of Nepal and Tibet.

Marie Thérèse de Mallmann (1975: 413-414) remarks that according to *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* Vajrapāṇi plays two different rôles: in one he leads the clan of *vajra* (*vajra-kula*) where Avalokiteśvara guides the clan of lotus (*padma-kula*), the two accompanying the Buddha, chief of the series of Tathāgata; in another rôle he is an attendant of the Buddha with seven or fifteen Bodhisatvas. He is ornamented and of blue complexion.

In *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* Vajrapāṇi plays an important rôle with Śākyamuni and *Kumārabhūta*-Mañjuśrī. He is Yakṣa-senāpati, Vidyārāja and Bodhisatva.

In ch. 2 which is a description of making a *maṇḍala* Vajrapāṇi is described as of cheerful mien, ornamented, of green complexion, attending upon Śākyamuni Buddha to his left holding in his right hand a fly-whisk and showing with his left hand the fist like thunder-bolt (*ārya-vajrapāṇi-kuvālaya-syām-ābhaḥ prasanna-mūrtiḥ sarv-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitaḥ dakṣiṇe cāmara-vyāgra-hastaḥ vāmena krodha-mūrti-hastaḥ vajra-muṣṭiḥ*). The expressions, *prasanna-mūrtiḥ* and *krodha-mūrti-hastaḥ* are contradictory.

In ch.4 in the description of another *maṇḍala* where Śākyamuni is being attended upon by sixteen Bodhisatvas, eight on each side and on a lotus, Vajrapāṇi should be at the right, of golden complexion, ornamented, wearing *upavīta* stud with pearls and a shining crown set with jewels, holding *vajra* in the left hand and showing *varada-mudrā* with the right hand (*ārya-vajrapāṇiḥ vāma-hasta-vinysta-vajraṃ kanaka-varṇaṃ sarv-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitaṃ dakṣiṇa-hast-oparuddha-saphalaṃ varadaṃ ca ... muktāhāra-yajñ-opavītaṃ ratn-ōjjvala-vicchūrīta-makuṭaṃ...*).

Śākyamuni addresses Vajrapāṇi as *Yakṣ-eśa*, lord of the Yakṣas (p.145).

Ch.50 describes the importance of Vajrapāṇi as Yakṣa-senāpati, commander of the Yakṣa-army. There is a tussel between Krodharāja Yamāntaka and Vajrapāṇi. Mañjuśrī has to pacify the latter. Vajrapāṇi is described as *vajrin* and *vajradhara*.

M. Th. de Mallmann comments further (p.414) that surprisingly in the *Sādhanamālā*, *Niṣṭpannayogāvalī* or *Piṇḍikrama*, Vajrapāṇi does not find place in any of the three groups of sixteen Bodhisatvas, his place has been taken by Vajragarbha. Vajrapāṇi, nevertheless finds place in the group of six or eight Bodhisatvas. He is an attendant of Uṣṇīṣavijayā.

Generally in the Buddhist Caves of Western India the Buddha is shown with two attending Bodhisatvas, Vajrapāṇi being one of them. But with the development of the the concept of *maṇḍala* the Buddha is shown surrounded by eight Bodhisatvas including Vajrapāṇi. This concept got a considerable popularity in Eastern India during the Pāla period (800-1200 AD) as is evidenced from the presence of a numerable relief-sculptures from that area. Of the Buddhist Cave Temples Ellora in Maharashtra tops the list in illustrating Vajrapāṇi as an attending Bodhisatva.

In Cave No.6 at Ellora both Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) and Vajrapāṇi attend upon the Buddha with other female companions (Fergusson and Burgess 1880: 375). But the largest number of Vajrapāṇi images are from the Do Thal (Cave 11) at Ellora. There Vajrapāṇi holding *vajra* in his right hand attends upon the Buddha with Padmapāṇi (Fergusson and Burgess 1880: 379). At Ellora Vajrapāṇi is shown either holding *vajra* in his right hand or the stalk of a blue water-lily (*nīlotpala*) on which *vajra* is placed in the left hand.

There is some confusion amongst different authors as regards the numbering of the Ellora Caves.

Gupte 1964: 88-89 has listed twentynine sculptures of Vajrapāṇi in Ellora Cave Nos.5, 8, 10, 11 and 12. Gupte remarks that only once Vajrapāṇi is shown four-armed (Cave No.10) where *vajra* is shown in his *mukūṭa*. But he does not refer to the attributes of his four hands. Gupte has surely taken this reference from Burgess 1883: Pl.XIX-4. Burgess describes (p.11), "This Elūra one evidently is for Vajrapāṇi, and it is to be observed that while he holds a *vajra* in his left hand the end of another is represented over his head, as if emerging from it. The other symbols he holds are too much injured to be recognised. This figure is possibly an early form of Vajrapāṇi, as now represented in Tibet, in the terrific aspect of Chyag-ndor — "the subduer of evil spirits."

In a very recent study Geri H. Malandra has made a thorough schematic study of the Ellora Caves unfolding for the first time the representation of different *maṇḍalas* in the various Buddhist Caves (7th-8th centuries), see Malandra 1993.

About Vajrapāṇi she remarks (p.99), "In the latest caves, his companion, usually on the viewer's right, is always Vajrapāṇi, but is more difficult to identify securely in the early and middle period caves.... The argument for identifying Avalokiteśvara's companion as Vajrapāṇi even in the early caves where he does not hold a *vajra*, is based first on the fact that earlier at Ajanta in the late fifth century, for example in Cave 1, Vajrapāṇi holding that emblem, is Avalokiteśvara's companion. A century later, in Aurangabad Cave 6, Vajrapāṇi appears as *dvārapāla*." ⁽³⁾

Malandra however, does not refer to a four-armed, independent figure

of Vajrapāṇi, mentioned by Burgess and Gupte.

In Cave 12 (Tin Thal) the interesting *maṇḍala* (*Akṣobhya-maṇḍala*?) with the Buddha (Akṣobhya?) and Bodhisatvas are shown in nine eight 'squares', the Buddha being seated in the middle attended upon by two chauri-bearers, and to his right and left are seated respectively Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. Fergusson and Burgess 1880: 381; Gupte 1964: pl.3a; Malandra 1993: 75.

In his illuminating article Pal (1972-73: 71-73) refers to the *aṣṭa-mahā-bodhisatva-maṇḍala* which Phyllis, Granoff (1968-69: 81ff.) has pointed out to have formed part of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*. This *sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra between AD 746-771. Granoff published a significant Central Asian triptych from the Nelson Gallery illustrating the eight Bodhisatvas, a fact which proves that the concept of *aṣṭa-mahābodhisatvas* around a Buddha or Tathāgata was current in Central Asia and also in China and Japan. For a Chinese bronze portraying *aṣṭa-mahābodhisatva-maṇḍala*, see Pal 1972-73: fig.3. For this type of *maṇḍala* Pal illustrates a circular terracotta plaque (fig.1) from Uttar Pradesh (India), now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. According to Pal this is the earliest illustration of the *maṇḍala*, i.e. 6th century AD. In this *maṇḍala* the central image is that of a Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* and not *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā* of the image at Ellora Cave 12 *maṇḍala*. In this case the image may be either of Śākyamuni or of Vairocana. The central figure is attended upon by Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) to the proper right and Maitreya (not Vajrapāṇi) to the proper left. Vajrapāṇi seems to be seated at the proper right corner holding *vajra* on *nīlotpala* or *kuvalaya*.

From Western India we pay our attention to Eastern India, especially to Magadha or South Bihar where during the Pāla rule (8th-12th centuries) the Buddhist art reached the last florescence and the Buddhist iconography of India received its final injunction.

We have already referred to different *sādhana*s from the *Sāadhanamālā*. The *sādhana* 18 called *Lokanātha-sādhana* mentions eight Bodhisattvas around the central deity, Lokanātha or Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi being one of them. He should be of white complexion holding *vajra* (in the left hand) and *vara-mudrā* (in the right hand). So far no sculpture illustrating this *sādhana* was known to us. Fortunately enough in the Poddar collection of Calcutta there is a beautiful Pāla stone relief of c. 10th century illustrating this *sādhana*. In this relief (*maṇḍala*) two-armed Lokanātha or Avalokiteśvara stands in a graceful position surrounded by eight seated Bodhisattvas including Vajrapāṇi⁽⁴⁾.

But several relief-sculptures of the Ellora type, viz. the Buddha surrounded by eight seated Bodhisattvas have been found in Magadha or South Bihar. One such sculpture has been published by Mitra 1989: 199-201,

fig.1. The inscribed door-lintel from Bodhgaya is now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta (Acc. No. T.5785). Mitra dates the sculpture in the ninth-tenth century. The Buddhist creed is written on top of the images and the dedicatory inscription below. The central Buddha image (Vairocana?) shows *dharmacakra-mudrā* and is seated in *vajraparyāṅkāsa*. All the eight Bodhisattvas sit in *mahārājājalāsana* holding different attributes. Mitra identifies the Bodhisattvas in the following order (from left to right): Samantabhadra, Kṣitigrabha, Khagarbha, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Jñānaketu or Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. Mitra describes Vajrapāṇi in the following way (p.201), “The sixth Bodhisattva is Vajrapāṇi supporting a thunderbolt (held vertically against the chest) with his right palm, the left, touching the stalk of an *utpala*, resting on his thigh”⁽⁵⁾

As an independent image of Vajrapāṇi Bhattacharyya 1968 published two figures 26 and 27. Bhattacharyya’s figure 27 is earlier to his figure 26, and is from the Nalanda Museum. The exact findspot of figure 26 is not known, but is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Bhattacharyya describes (p.53), “Vajrapāṇi, when represented, either stands or sits and carries usually a lotus on which is placed the family symbol of Vajra.” Bhattacharyya is wrong, Vajrapāṇi carries *vajra* on a blue waterlily (*nilotpala*) and not on a lotus (*padma*).

Bhattacharyya (1968: 98) was a bit careless in translating the passage, *vajrapāṇiś = ca śukl-ābho vajra-hasto vara-pradaḥ* as, “Vajrapāṇi is of white colour, carries the Vajra in one hand and displays the Abhaya mudrā in the other.” Vajrapāṇi displays *vara-mudrā* and not *abhaya-mudrā*.⁽⁶⁾

Banerji (1933) wrongly identifies two images, pl.IX (a) and pl.XV(a) as Vajrapāṇi. The image of pl.IX(a) does not hold any *vajra* and two peacocks are shown in the throne-recess. The image is of Vajradharma-Lokeśvara, a form of Avalokiteśvara.

The image of pl.XV(a) is of Vajrasattva, see Saraswati 1977: pl.156.⁽⁷⁾

In September, 1992 when I was in New York I got the information that the Irving family of the Long Islands possesses a stone image of Vajrapāṇi of the Pāla period. This image was not exhibited in the big exhibition called “The Leaves from the Bodhi Tree” organized by the Huntingtons. I immediately wrote to the Irving family kindly to send me a black-and-white photo of the image and to permit me to publish the important image. After my return to Berlin I got an excellent photo of the image together with the permission to publish it. I thank both Mr and Mrs Irving for this kind gesture.⁽⁸⁾

The image is from Nalanda and is 30 inches in height. Fig.1. This is perhaps the earliest Vajrapāṇi image from Eastern India. It is of typical black basalt from the Nalanda region. This is not a Pāla image, but a pre-Pāla one. The Bodhisattva stands in a graceful *ābhāṅga* position⁽⁹⁾ on a small lotus against an elongated, oval-shaped back-plate which has not yet

been treated as *prabhā-maṇḍala*. On the palm of his right hand placed near his navel, he holds his attribute, *vajra*, double-pronged, his left hand being placed on the head of a dwarfish male figure also standing but on the platform without a lotus. What is most striking in this Vajrapāṇi image is the elaborate cork-screw type hair-style of the deity. The hair of the deity is arranged in cork-screw curls over the head tied with a garland and falling in bunches on his right shoulder. This type of hair-do is Gupta and not Pāla. Compare for example the beautiful stone image of the standing Yakṣa-dvār-apāla from Caitya Cave 19 at Ajanta for the similar type of hair-style⁽¹⁰⁾. The image is dated in c. 462-80 AD. Fig.2⁽¹¹⁾

A beaded tiara is tied to the forehead of the deity. Vajrapāṇi has a benign face with a serene expression. This is the expression per excellence of Vajrapāṇi from India. He is not a raudra or ferocious deity, he is *saumya* or benevolent. On the forehead of the meditative smiling face there is an *ūrṇā*-like mark. The deity is richly decorated. On his neck, besides the Gupta *ekāvalī* a broad necklace is given, and he wears a long *upavīta* stuck with pearls (*muktāhāra-yajñopavīta*). On his arms he wears armlets and bangles, of which the armlets are typical of the Gupta period⁽¹²⁾. His lower garment is tied with a single girdle (*mekhalā*) and it falls down much longer on the right leg than on the left. Over his thighs a sash is tied with a big knot. Surprisingly the legs are devoid of any ornament, anklets are missing. He does not wear two ear-rings. His right ear-lobe is shown with a big hole like that of Śākyamuni, but his left earlobe is decorated with a large ornament. It appears from the photo that the left arm of the deity is somewhat damaged.

The dwarfish male figure on whose head Vajrapāṇi places his left hand does not appear to be Vajrapuruṣa or the personified thunderbolt. He stands with his right leg slightly bent as if indicating its association with *tarjanī-mudrā* shown in his right hand. His left hand rests on a battle-axe (*paraśu*). The eyes on his large face are directed towards his *tarjanī* or pointing finger of the right hand. He has fangs (*daṁṣṭrā*) coming out of his mouth. He wears a short under garment and necklace, armlets, bangles and anklets, all made of snakes, and the sacred thread which is also a snake (*vyāla-* or *sarpa-yajñopavīta*). His hair-style with cork-screw curls betrays Gupta influence. The figure may be identified as Hayagrīva, but we are not sure. Hayagrīva is generally an attendant of Avalokiteśvara. His horse-neck is not always shown. He does not appear to be Vajrapuruṣa, because Vajrapuruṣa is quite a calm figure with hands crossed on his chest in a gesture of submission, which Pal (1978: 120) calls *vinaya-hasta*. The term needs textual support.

An one line inscription recording the Buddhist creed is engraved on the back-plate white reads: *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy=avadat=teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇah* (tran.: 'Tathāgata (i.e.

Buddha) has revealed the cause of those phenomena which spring from a cause and also (the means of) their cessation. So says the Great Monk.' Mitra 1971:4).

The characters of writing, especially the short medial *ā* sign, the subscript *ya* sign, point to a pre-Pāla date of the image, and stylistically it is also corroborated. This unique image of Vajrapāṇi is to be dated in the 7th century.

Our second Vajrapāṇi image from Magadha or South Bihar is a magnificent stone image, now in the collection of David Young of New York. I am thankful to him for kindly sending me several excellent black-and-white photos of the image with permission to publish them⁽¹³⁾.

This black basalt stone image (33 in. high) is a masterpiece of Magadhan Buddhist art and hardly we come across such a rare image of Vajrapāṇi either of the pre-Pāla or Pāla period. Fig.3.

The central figure, also an independent image of Vajrapāṇi, like Figure 1, stands in *ābhāṅga* position on a flat pedestal which is engraved with lotus petals to give an impression as if the deity stands on the pericarp of a lotus. He holds *vajra* (double-pronged) in his right hand and puts his left hand on the left thigh on the sash. He wears various ornaments, such as bangles, armlets, two types of necklaces, and a long thin *upavīta* stud with pearls (*muktāhāra-yajñopavīta*). He wears a three-peaked crown and two types of ear-rings, the second factor proves the earliness of Eastern Indian Sculptures. Jewels are set in the triangular elements of the crown as well as in the armlets. His curled hair comes out of his crown and two locks fall on each side of his shoulders. The face has a benign serene expression, and there is an *ūrṇā*-like mark on the forehead. This type of mark appears in the early sculptures of Magadha during the Pāla period. His lower garment (*antarīya*, popularly described as *dhoti*) falls much longer on the right leg than on the left (compare Fig.1 also). This way of showing the lower garment is usually met with the sculptures from Kashmir and from the Himalayan region. The lower garment is tied with a girdle (*mekhalā* or *kāñcī*) with a rosettee and *Makara*-heads in the middle. The legs have no anklets (compare also Fig.1). A large knot of sash is shown to the right of the image. A circular *prabhāmaṇḍala* appears now behind the head of the deity with an ornamental design.

Similar to Fig.1 Vajrapāṇi has a demoniac attendant with a fierce face, Fig.4, with large bulging out eyes and open mouth with fangs. He has a basket-like frisure with a jewel on it. But unlike the attendant of Fig.1 his hands are crossed on his chest which is perhaps a gesture of submission (*vinaya-hasta*). We are not sure if we can identify this image as Vajrapuruṣa or the personified *vajra*? The image wears two large, circular ear-rings and other ornaments like, necklace, bangles, armlets and anklets and although he does not wear a snake as *upavīta* (compare Fig.1) a curly snake

is shown on his left shoulder. His short under garment with folding marks is tied with a simple girdle.

Both the images stand against an oval-shaped (slightly damaged at the proper right) back-plate. On top of the back-plate the well-known Buddhist creed is written in the *Siddhamātrkā* script. The text with slight careless mistakes reads: *ye dhamā hetu-pravā hetuṃ teṣaṃ tathāgato hy = avadat = teṣaṃ ca nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*.

Below on the lotus petals of the pedestal the donative inscription reads, Fig.5: *dedharmmo = yaṃ ārya-mahāvihāra-vāsiṇaḥ sthavir-āniruddhavarmaṇaḥ*, (tran.) 'this (image) is the meritorious gift of the elderly monk, Aniruddhavarman who is a resident of the noble, great monastery.'

Perhaps this great monastery was situated in Bodhgaya, as it will be known from our discussion below.

From the characters of writing and the stylistic study of the image it may be said that the sculpture belongs to the early 8th century.

In this connection we would like to refer to an inscribed image of the Buddhist goddess Cundā published by Asthana 1991: 269-73. The upper portion of the relief-sculpture has been broken away. See Fig.6. On the damaged back-plate the Buddhist creed is engraved (only *ye dhama hetu-pra-*), and on the petals of the lotus below the donative inscription. This inscription is important for our discussion. It is written in the early *Siddhamātrkā* script but in corrupt Sanskrit. It reads: *dedharmmoyam sthavir-āniruddhasya* (correctly: *deya-dharmmo = yaṃ sthavir-āniruddhasya*), i.e. this (image) is the meritorious gift of the elderly monk, Aniruddha. Asthana informs us that this image came from Bodhgaya. It is now preserved in the National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Now two factors connected with the National Museum Cundā image are quite relevant for us, viz. the donor and the find-spot of the image. We have seen above that the Vajrapāṇi image of David Young collection (Fig.3) is a donation of the elderly Buddhist monk, Aniruddhavarman. We think that this *sthavira* Aniruddhavarman is the same person as the donor of the Cundā image, viz. *sthavira* Aniruddha. Perhaps there was no space for the engraver to write down the full name, viz. Aniruddhavarman in case of the Cundā image. In both the inscriptions the characters of writing are same, and strangely enough in both the inscriptions the same mistake has been committed, viz. *dedharmmoyam* instead of *deyadharmmoyam*. Most probably the same scribe was responsible for engraving both the records. Now, if the Cundā image hails from Bodhgaya we may suggest that the Vajrapāṇi image also originates from Bodhgaya, and in that case *sthavira* Aniruddhavarman was a resident of the great monastery at Bodhgaya.

With the above two relief-sculptures from Magadha or South Bihar (Fig.1 and 3) we may compare a copper image with traces of gold of Vajrapāṇi from Nepal illustrated and described by Pal 1977-78: 160, No.93. The

image is in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art⁽¹⁴⁾. Fig.7. Pal has dated the image in the 8th century and described, “Two figures stand gracefully on distinct though connected lotuses. The larger figure represents the Bodhisatva Vajrapāṇi, his right hand holding a boss against his chest. His left hand grasp the prongs of a thunderbolt that emerges from the head of the dwarf, who is the personification of Vajrapāṇi’s emblem and is known as Vajrapuruṣa.”

The smaller figure stands in an obedient attitude with his arms crossed on his chest. Pal calls it *vinaya-hasta* or submissive gesture. A snake is tied to his lower garment, perhaps a tiger-skin, like a girdle. It is quite difficult to identify the round object which Vajrapāṇi holds against his chest.

We may refer in this connection to the excellent stone image of Vajrapāṇi accompanied by Vajrapuruṣa from Dhvaka Bahal, Kathmandu, illustrated by Krishna Deva 1984: pl.101A. This is an important image for the study of early Vajrapāṇi images. But this is not an independent image, it is shown in one of the four niches of a Caitya which has been dated c.7th century by Krishna Deva, see plate 93. In the three other niches two images of the Buddha and Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara are shown. Perhaps with Padmapāṇi Vajrapāṇi attends upon the Buddha. Vajrapāṇi stands in *ābhaṅga* position on a lotus? showing *vara-mudrā* with the right hand and holding the prongs of *vajra* which come out of the head of Vajrapuruṣa with the left hand. The dwarfish Vajrapuruṣa (partially damaged) stands with his hands crossed against his chest which is the typical gesture of Vajrapuruṣa in Nepal. It is very difficult to say from the photo of the volume whether he has fangs or not? But he wears a necklace of snake.

Vajrapāṇi has a serene, meditative expression on his face. No *upavīta* has been given to him. He wears a three-peaked crown over his curly hair, two types of ear-rings, a single-beaded necklace, arm-lets and bangles, but no anklets. The armlets are of the Gupta period (compare the arm-lets of Fig.1)⁽¹⁵⁾. A sash is tied around the thigh of Vajrapāṇi with a large knot at the proper right side (compare our Fig.3).

On the Nepalese Vajrapāṇi Pal comments (1974b: 35), “Although Vajrapāṇi is not as important as Maitreya in the Buddhist pantheon, he certainly appears to have enjoyed a greater popularity in Licchavi Nepal.”

It is questionable also if the two earlier images from Magadha (our Figs.1 and 3) were not the models for the Vajrapāṇi images of Nepal?

In this connection we draw the attention of the scholars to a very well-known but somewhat controversial *dvārapāla* image from Cave 6 of Ellora. Fig.8⁽¹⁶⁾. The magnificent image stands at the right to the entrance of the cave with the image of Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* (Vairocana?), Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara is shown at the left to the entrance. For the situation of the images see Malandra 1993: 27, Text fig.2-1. The *dvārapāla* image has been earlier identified by Saraswati (1977: pls.3, 4)⁽¹⁷⁾ and later by

Malandra (figs.21, 35) as Maitreya and not Vajrapāṇi, because the deity does not hold any *vajra*, and because there is a *caitya* in his *jatā-makuṭa*.⁽¹⁸⁾ But quite puzzling is the small, male attendant to the left of the *dvārapāla* figure looking intently at the master and holding his arms crossed over his chest which is a gesture of Vajrapuruṣa, and perhaps one can see the three prongs of *vajra* over his head. We wonder if this figure be not of Vajrapāṇi, and in that case here we have the earliest representation of the personified *vajra*, viz. Vajrapuruṣa.

Coming back to Bihar again we illustrate a seated independent image of Vajrapāṇi from Magadha, now in the Collection Frei of Switzerland (No.202.661). Fig.9. The height of the sculpture is 51 cm and the breadth 31.5 cm. Unfortunately this very artistic image is badly mutilated. The two-armed deity sits in *lalitāsana* on a large double-petalled lotus, his right foot is placed on a small lotus. The large lotus is placed on a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*). The deity holds in his right hand *vajra* (damaged) against his chest, and with his left hand holds the stalk perhaps of *nīlotpala* or blue water-lily. This image belongs to the type similar to the Nalanda Museum inscribed image and described as such in the *Sādhanamālā* (see de Mallmann 1975: 414).⁽¹⁹⁾ The damaged oval-shaped back-plate is decorated with beads and rosettes, a *stūpa* is shown at the right above the shoulder of the deity. It is difficult to say what was illustrated at the proper left side. At the proper right below in front of the pedestal a male figure is shown with folded hands, most probably the donor of the image. The sculpture should be dated in c. 10th century.

The four line inscription on the pedestal written in the early *Gauḍīya* script reads (1.1) *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetu[m]* (1.2) *teṣāṃ tathāgato hy = avadat = teṣāṃ nīca* (correctly *teṣāṃ = ca*) *yo* (1.3) *nirodha evaṃvādī mahāś-rava-* (1.4) *ṇaḥ* (correctly *mahāśramaṇaḥ*); and on the right side (1.1) *de-dharmo =* (correctly *deya-dharmo =*) *yaṃ kā-* (1.2) *yastha-parvva-* (1.3) *kasya*, i.e. this (image) is the meritorious gift of the scribe, Parvvaka.

A small (12 cm) but quite graceful stone image of an independent Vajrapāṇi is preserved in the Nalanda Museum (No.00016). Fig.10. The deity sits in *lalitāsana* on a cushion (no lotus has been given here) placing his right foot on a small lotus. His right hand is slightly damaged (perhaps he held a fruit in the hand), with the left hand he holds the stalk of *nīlotpala* with *vajra* on it. This is a very significant attribute for Vajrapāṇi, viz. *nīlotpala* and *vajra*, or *vajra* shown on *nīlotpala*. Vajrapāṇi has a smiling face. He wears *kaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, various ornaments and a pearl-stud *upavīta*. The oval-shaped back-plate has been treated as *prabhāmaṇḍala* with beads. The Buddhist creed is engraved at the back side of the image. The image should be dated in the 9th century.⁽²⁰⁾

In Eastern India, rather Bihar-Bengal, the Śākyamuni Buddha is shown generally with the attending figures of Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, sometimes Mañjuśrī, but hardly Vajrapāṇi. The Patna Museum has an interesting relief illustrating the seated Śākyamuni Buddha with two attending Bodhisatvas, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi (Sohoni Collection). Flg.11.

The composition follows the tradition of the Buddhist caves in Western India. The Śākyamuni shows *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* sitting in *vajraparyāṅkāsa-na* under the *Bodhi* branches on a double-petalled lotus placed on a lion-throne (*simhāsana*). *Vajra* is shown on the wavy drapery underneath the lotus perhaps indicating the seat as the famous *vajrāsana*. To the right of the Buddha stands in a graceful position Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara holding *cāmara* in his right hand and the stalk of a full-blown lotus in the left hand. Perhaps a tiny figure of Jina Amitābha is shown in his beautiful hair-do. To the proper left of the Buddha stands another Bodhisatva wearing various ornaments and holding *cāmara* in the right hand and the stalk of *nīlotpala* with *vajra* on it in the left hand. Fig.12. He is Vajrapāṇi. Both the Bodhisatvas stand each on a lotus. On top two Vidyādhara are shown flying against clouds each carrying a garland. In this relief the Buddhist creed written in the *Siddhamātrkā* script is engraved on the pedestal below. The relief should be dated in the late 9th-early 10th century.

In the adjacent area of Bihar-Bengal, viz. Orissa where Buddhism played an important rôle and where *Vajrayāna* Buddhism flourished from the 9th century onwards the presence of Vajrapāṇi was conspicuous by the discovery of several images of the deity. In her monumental excavating work at the site of Ratnagiri, Cuttack District, Orissa Debala Mitra has made an exhaustive and scholarly study of Buddhism prevailing in that area. Mitra 1981, 1983. She makes a significant remark (1981: 22), "That Vajrayāna found a strong footing at Ratnagiri is fully corroborated by the excavations which yielded, apart from the religious edifices, numerous votive *stūpas* with the reliefs of divinities of the Vajrayāna pantheon, separated images of these divinities and inscribed slabs and moulded terracotta plaques with *dhāraṇīs*."

Vajrapāṇi appears here both as an independent as well as an attending Bodhisatva. Like in Ellora or Bodhgaya he is shown in a group of eight Bodhisatvas.

In Stūpa 82 the seated figure of Vajrapāṇi has been described by her as (p.67), "In side an oblong niche, the raised frame of which is rounded at the top, is Vajrapāṇi, with a high *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, seated in the *lalitāsana* attitude on a double-petalled lotus, below which are a kneeling devotee and a bowl of offerings. His left hand, with the stalk of an *utpala* bearing a thunder-bolt, rests on the seat, while the right palm, in the *vara-mudrā*, is placed against the knee. Clothed in an *antariya*, the Bodhisatva is adorned with *valayas*, beaded armlets, a beaded *hāra* and ear-rings. The image faces the

north.”

The combination of *vajra* and *utpala* or *nilotpala* is the attribute per excellence of Vajrapāṇi in Ratnagiri (or Orissa).

In two cases of illustration of the Buddha- or Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* eight seated Bodhisatvas are shown around the seated Buddha or Akṣobhya. In pl. CXXXVIII A the eight Bodhisatvas are (Mitra, pp.190-91): Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Lokeśvara, Kṣitigrabha?, Khagarbha, Vajrapāṇi with a thunderbolt on an *utpala*, Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin?. Mitra quotes the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (p.6) where Akṣobhya is described as surrounded by the eight Bodhisatvas: Maitreya, Kṣitigrabha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Lokeśvara, Mañjuḥṣa, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Samantabhadra. For a similar illustration see also pl. CXXXVIII B and pp.191-92. Vajrapāṇi is also shown attending upon the Buddha or Akṣobhya with Avalokiteśvara. The Buddha shows *bhūmiśarśa-mudrā*, Avalokiteśvara holding *cāmara* and *padma* is to the right of him and Vajrapāṇi holding *cāmara* and *vajra* on *nilotpala* is to the left. The two transcendent Buddhas Ratnasambhava and Amitābha are shown on top (pl.CXXXVIB).⁽²¹⁾

In the group of four Bodhisatvas around the Buddha Vajrapāṇi is shown with Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya. The Buddha is in dharmacakra-mudrā but under the Bodhi-tree. All the four Bodhisatvas are seated. Vajrapāṇi holds *vajra* on *nilotpala* (pl.CXXXIXA).

As an independent deity Vajrapāṇi is shown in relief in a *caitya* (pl.LXXIIA). Mitra says (p.124) that this is the only one *stūpa* with the image of Vajrapāṇi, “With his right palm, in the *vara-mudrā*, resting on the knee and the left holding the stalk of an *utpala* supporting a thunderbolt, the two-armed Bodhisatva is seated in the *lalitāsana* attitude on a double-petalled lotus with his right leg pendant.”

In one relief, it is neither the Śākyamuni Buddha nor Akṣobhya, but Dharmasāṅkhasamādhi-Mañjuśrī (as has been doubtfully identified by Mitra 1983: 314-15, pl.CCLX) who is surrounded by the eight seated Bodhisatvas, viz. Avalokiteśvara (or Gaganagaṅja), Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Khagarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Viṣkambhin? and Kṣitigarbha?. The central deity is bejewelled and displays samādhi-mudrā. A conch (*śaṅkha*) is shown below the pedestal.

Saraswati (1977: pl.64) is absolutely wrong in identifying an extremely important, four-armed Vajrapāṇi from Ratnagiri (c. 9th century) as Jaṭamukuṭa-Lokeśvara, although he describes the deity as holding in the upper left hand “lotus, supporting *vajra*, by stalk”. Mitra (1981) rightly identifies and describes the image (p.159, pl. CIXA), “The four-armed image, 1.22 m. high and 66 cm. wide, in the east niche represents Vajrapāṇi with a restrained but well-rounded bodily features and a calm face... the Bodhisatva holds in his lower left hand a spouted oval waterpot (*kamaṇḍalu*) placed on a flower, in his upper left hand the long stalk of an *utpala* supporting a *vajra*

(thunderbolt) placed horizontally and in upper raised right palm a rosary, the lower right palm being in *vara-mudrā* (placed against a lotus).”

The two Transcendent Buddhas, Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava are shown on top, while below on the pedestal near the right leg of Vajrapāṇi an emaciated male figure (*preta*) is shown beseeching a boon, and at the left a four-armed, pot-bellied and fierce-looking (mouth showing teeth with fangs) dwarfish male figure with two main arms crossed on the chest, holding *pāsa* in the upper left hand and in the gesture of paying homage (*vandanābhinayī*) with the upper right hand. Debala Mitra doubtfully identifies the figure as Hayagrīva.

This is a unique image of Vajrapāṇi. The *Sādhanamālā* has no description of a four-armed Vajrapāṇi.⁽²²⁾

In another situation from another part of India Vajrapāṇi is shown as an attendant of Mañjuśrī with the other Bodhisatva, Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara. In this case Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisatva of wisdom, plays a very important rôle. This situation is created perhaps because of the text, *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*. We illustrate a bronze panel from the Neustatter Collection, Los Angeles which seems to be from Ladakh. It belongs to c. 12th century. Fig.13.⁽²³⁾ The central figure is c. 18 cm high. All the three Bodhisatvas of the panel stand each on a lotus which is placed on a pedestal engraved with lotus petals. The central figure of Mañjuśrī is much taller than the two attending Bodhisatvas indicating thereby the superiority of the deity. He brandishes a sword with his right hand and holds the stalk of *nilotpala* with the *Prajñāpāramitā* text on it in the left hand. He has a different type of head-dress than the two other Bodhisatvas.

Vajrapāṇi stands to the proper right of Mañjuśrī signifying his pre-privileged position to that of Padmapāṇi. Both Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi have each a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* hair-do. Vajrapāṇi shows *vara-mudrā* with the right hand and holds *vajra* in the left hand. Padmapāṇi too shows *vara-mudrā* with the right hand, perhaps with a jewel at the point of the fingers. He holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus in the left hand.⁽²⁴⁾

Uhlig (1976) illustrates two bronze figures of Vajrapāṇi from Ladakh with similar iconography (p.18). In both the figures Vajrapāṇi holds *vajra* against his chest with the right hand and the stalk of *nilotpala* with the left hand.⁽²⁵⁾

In all these cases Vajrapāṇi is a benevolent figure with a calm expression on his face.

Therefore, it is difficult to identify the fierce bronze image from Kashmir, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, as Vajrapāṇi. See Pal 1975: 164, fig.60 (also Pal 1973: fig.16; 1979: pl.XIV, fig.27). Pal comments, “The right hand of the figure holds an irregular staff and the left clearly supports a thunderbolt (*vajra*). ... The Cleveland figure is very likely the earliest known Indian representation of the angry aspect of the deity. ... This

bronze remains one of the most significant Kashmiri sculpture discovered so far. It is important not only for the study of Indian t̄antric Buddhism, but also for that of the spread of t̄antric ideas and artistic forms into China.”

We shall have to wait to find out a second fierce image of Vajrapāṇi from any part of the Indian subcontinent.

In the painted Buddhist manuscripts from Bihar-Bengal Vajrapāṇi is shown of bluish complexion, seated in *lalitāsana* and holding *vajra* in the right hand against his chest, the left hand resting on the thigh. He is attended upon by two male deities. See Saraswati 1978: 110, pl.29, dated in the 4th regnal year of Gomīndrapāla (12th-13th century AD).

In the Nepalese Buddhist art Vajrapāṇi plays an important rôle. We have illustrated from Pal an excellent image of Vajrapāṇi with Vajrapuruṣa earlier (see Fig.7). It may be remarked in this connection that although Vajrapāṇi has a developed iconography in Nepal than in India, generally the deity has a *saumya* (benign) mien as in India. The images of Vajrapāṇi do not appear in the Nepalese art before the 8th century and continues till the 13th century. And it is quite interesting to observe that in the Nepal Valley the Buddhist deity Vajrapāṇi had a counterpart, viz. the Hindu god Indra. As a specialist on the Nepalese art Slusser comments (1982: 284-85), “In the Kathmandu Valley, as the Cult of Indra waxed, that of Vajrapāṇi waned, apparently during the Transitional period. Beginning about the eleventh century, Nepalese images of Vajrapāṇi becomes increasingly rare, and those of Indra increasingly common.”

Another interesting fact is that in Nepal a separate cult of *vajra* was initiated. Slusser remarks (p.234), “Even the anthropomorphized *vajra* seems to have had an independent cult in Nepal Mandala during the Licchavi and Transitional periods. There are a number of portable bronzes of Vajrapuruṣa, which though they may once have accompanied large separate images of the Bodhisatva, show no sign of previous physical attachment, and could have been made as independent objects of worship (plate 469). Support for an independent cult is provided, moreover, by a large in situ relief Vajrapuruṣa, which almost certainly was consecrated independently (plate 470).”

Pal (1975: No.24) illustrates one gilt copper image of Vajrapuruṣa belonging to the 10th century with a question mark. See Fig.14.

Coming back to the Vajrapāṇi images from Nepal we illustrate a beautiful bronze image of the deity belonging to the Thakuri period, i.e. c. 10th century and measures 24.8 cm. See Fig.15.⁽²⁶⁾ The *saumya* figure of the deity stands on a double-petalled lotus showing *abhaya-mudrā* with the right hand and holding double *vajra* in the left hand. His curly locks of hair fall on his shoulders, he wears a crown, two types of ear-rings, *upavīta* and various ornaments, there is a circular halo behind his head. For the style of wearing his undergarment, and the sash which is tied around his thighs with a large

knot, compare Figs.1 and 3 from Magadha or South Bihar.

Not only the *saumya* type, a malignant type of Vajrapāṇi (*caṇḍa*-Vajrapāṇi) was also known to Nepal and in this aspect Nepal was related to Tibet. Pal (1975: 43, No.25 and 1991: 45, No.9) has illustrated a gilt copper image of this type. The image measuring 21.3 cm has been dated 9th-10th century. Fig.16. Vajrapāṇi dances in *ardhaparyāṅka* position on two corpses. He holds *vajra* in the raised right hand and shows *tarjanī-mudrā* with the left hand. He wears a tiger-skin, a snake as the sacred thread, necklace, armlets, bangles and anklets, all made of snakes. He has three large, bulging eyes, open mouth with fangs (*daṃṣṭrā*) and *ūrdhvajvāla* hair-arrangement. It is rather difficult to say if this image were not an import from Tibet, or if the sculptor were not from Tibet?⁽²⁷⁾

The climax in the conception of Vajrapāṇi reaches with the *Kālacakrayāna*. In *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no 26) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, already referred to, Vajrapāṇi is described of gree complexion, six-armed and embracing Śabdavajrā. Pal (1975: 45, 77, no 27) illustrates one such figure (with different iconographic detail) and calls the image Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi. The gilt bronze with polychrome, inlaid with semiprecious stones measures in height 13-1/4 inches and belongs to the 15th century. Fig.17. (24) The six-armed Vajrapāṇi is shown embracing Śabdavajrā with the two main arms showing at the same time *vajrahumkāra-mudrā* with the hands, his upper right hand holds *vajra* and the upper left hand shows *tarjanī-mudrā*. Quite interesting is the fact that with the two lower hands he lets loose two snakes that triumph over the two prostrate figures on the pedestal, perhaps two Hindu deities. Vajrapāṇi and Śabdavajrā trample the deities. But although this is a malignant manifestation "the god's face glows with the sentiment of love." As a contrast one may compare the Tibetan image to be illustrated below (Pal 1991: no 67).

In the *Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna* form of the Buddhism in Tibet Vajrapāṇi plays a very important rôle and assumes the final manifestation, in *krodha* or *caṇḍa* (angry) aspect. Most of the Tibetan images of Vajrapāṇi belong to this category.

Pal (1983: 197, 57) illustrates one two-armed, benign image of standing Vajrapāṇi of brass (15 cm) from Western Tibet belonging to the 12th-13th century. It is rather doubtful if the image be from Western Tibet although Pal (p.197) remarks, "The design of the crown, with its three pointed lobes, is similar to those seen in eleventh-to-twelfth-century western Tibetan paintings.... As is also typical of Western Tibetan bronzes...." The deity holds horizontally in his stretched out right hand *vajra* (not *padma*!), his left hand rests on his thigh.

We illustrate a very common two-armed Vajrapāṇi from Tibet. Fig.18. The bronze image measuring 18.4 cm is from Western Tibet and is dated 15th-16th century. The deity, Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi holds *vajra* in his raised

right hand and shows *tarjanī-mudrā* with the left hand. His face has an angry outlook with three bulging out eyes and the mouth showing devilish teeth. He wears three-leaf crown and various ornaments of which bangles, anklets and girdle are made of snakes. The deity stands in the usual *pratyālīḍha* position on a double-petalled lotus wearing a tiger skin.

With the above image one may like to compare the powerful at the same time beautiful gilt bronze image of Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi from Tibet measuring 16 cm and belonging to the 16th century. Fig.19.⁽²⁸⁾ In this figure Vajrapāṇi tramples a snake and a human figure under his feet. He is also bearded like the previous figure. Surprisingly he wears a huge snake as *upavīta* but which hangs down from his right shoulder and not from the usual left shoulder.

Of similar iconography but in a painting on cloth from Central Tibet is this powerful and very expressive image of Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi. Fig.20.⁽²⁹⁾ It is a pity to show this blue-complexioned deity in black-and-white. The painting measures 115×95 cm and is dated in early 15th century.⁽³⁰⁾

In the great Stūpa of Gyantse where the complete pantheon of the *Tantrayāna* Buddhism is illustrated in painting of the 15th century Vajrapāṇi is shown in different forms. As a warthful deity Vajrapāṇi is painted on the western wall of Chapel 2 Ea. The two-armed deity of blue-black complexion stands in *pratyālīḍha* position with Garuḍa in between his legs, holding the double *vajra* in the upraised right hand and *ghaṇṭā* and *tarjanī* in the left hand. See Ricco and Lo Bue 1993: pl.38. The two authors comment on this image (p.75), “The aspect of Vajrapāṇi which is reproduced here is related to group of *kriyātantras* and *caryā* tantras (among which are the *Āryapātālanāmatantrarāja* and the *Bhagavannīlāambaradhara vajrapāṇitantra*) and to the *sādhanas* compiled by Sugatibhadra.”

For a beautiful, dark blue image of Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi holding double *vajra* in the raised right hand and *pāśa* in the left hand painted in a Thangka of ca. 15th century from Tibet see Uhlig 1981: 196, abbildung 83. The deity wears snake as ornaments and also as *upavīta*. He wears a tiger-skin. A standing Garuḍa is shown on top at the proper left holding two snakes with his hands and biting them.

The Vajrapāṇi and Garuḍa combination is quite unique. Vajrapāṇi in his Indra aspect is invoked as the got of rain in Nepal and Tibet. This idea goes back to the Ṛgveda. The demon, Vṛtra as a snake (*ahi*) obstructs the clouds to shower rain. Indra has to hit Vṛtra with his *vajra*.

Garuḍa is an enemy of the snakes, in an indirect way he also helps the flow of rain water. Hence, perhaps, Garuḍa is shown with Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi.

An outstanding figure of Vajrapāṇi called Nartakavara-Vajrapāṇi (pl.39) have been described by the authors, Ricco and Lo Bue, in the following way (p.77), “Endowed with eight heads, sixteen arms and six legs, the deity is

represented dancing, his left feet tradding upon the *nāgarājas* and the right legs bent, with the soles of the feet turned upwards (*tāṇḍava ardhaparyāṅka*). His eight heads are distributed on three superposed levels: four on the first, three on the second and an isolated one on the third. All heads are endowed with a third eye and all have a fierce look, except for the one placed at the top. The two central arms bear a *vajra* raised upto with the right hand, and a *kapāla* full of blood brought to the chest with the left, while the other fourteen arms are skilfully placed to create the impression of their whirling in the dance. All hands, each one endowed with a different attribute, display the *tarjanīmudrā*.”

The figure is painted on the northern wall of Chapel 15b after the text, *Āryavajrapātālanāmamantrarāja*. It reminds one of the special form of Avalokiteśvara as Padmanartteśvara, *sādhanas* 30 (two-armed), 31 (eight-armed) and 32 (eighteen-armed), all one-headed and two-legged.

The fact that the Tibetan concept and manifestation of Vajrapāṇi travelled beyond the borders of the country is evidenced from the magnificent gilt brass image with lacquer and pigments inset with gems, from Chahar, Inner Mongolia, now in the Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm. The large image measures 185.4 cm.

The angry deity wears a five-leaf crown and has a gorgeous *ūrdhvajvāla* hair-do. He stands in *pratyālīḍha* position trampling two snakes, wearing a tiger-skin and a snake as a garland. He holds *vajra* in the stretched out right hand and *tarjanī-mudrā* in the left hand. He has a bearded face with bulging out three eyes and an open mouth with fangs (*daṃṣṭrā*). See Rhie and Thurman 1991: 68-69, no 1.

The writers comment, “This work dates from the later phase of Tibetan Art when it had penetrated deeply into the cultures of China, Manchuria, Inner and Outer Mongolia, and some parts of Soviet Siberia, such as Buryat.” This has been called an “International Tibetan Buddhist style.”

Earlier in this paper we have referred to a four-armed Vajrapāṇi from Ellora (Cave 10) mentioned by Burgess (1883: pl.XIX-A) and another from Ratnagiri mentioned by Saraswati (1977: pl.64 description wrong) and Mitra 1981b pl.CIXA). A four-armed Vajrapāṇi is quite rare. Rhie and Thurman (1991: 193, no 58) illustrate a Tangka with an interesting illustration of the four-armed, angry Vajrapāṇi from Central Tibet dated early 17th centry. The deity shows *vajrahūṃkāra-mudrā* with his main pair of hands and brandishes *vajra* with the right hand and *pāśa* in the left hand. In this image the deity wears *muṇḍdamālā*. Vajrapāṇi has a bright golden complexion. Tucci identified this image as Bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāṇi, but his complexion should be dark blue.

Finally we illustrate a fully developed angry form of Vajrapāṇi with three heads and six arms, and embracing his female counterpart, Śabdavajrā (cf. *Niṣpannayogāvalī* no 26). Fig.21. We have already illustrated a

Nepalese image of the deity (Fig.17), but with one head and having a loving expression. The image has been described as Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi and consort (Rhie and Thurman 1991: 191, no 56). Pal (1991: 126, no 67) published this image describing it as Vajrapāṇi with Spouse. The brass image with cold gold paste and pigments is from Central Tibet. It measures 37.6 cm and belongs to the 15th century. In this image Vajrapāṇi wears snake-ornaments and holds *vajra* in the upper right hand and shows *tarjanī* in the upper left, *abhaya* in the second right and *vara* in the second left. He holds the leg of his companion with the third right hand and a snake with the third left. Sabdavajrā holds a chopper and a skull-cup. Both of them crush under their feet two Nāgas.

Another type of Vajrapāṇi called Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi (wrongly written as Nilambhara) has been illustrated and described by Essen and Thingo (1989: II-293). The gilt copper image set with semi-precious stones and painted (measuring 12 cm) is from Tibet and belongs to the 17th-18th century. Vajrapāṇi stands in *pratyālīḍha* position holding *vajra* in the right hand and *ghaṇṭā* in the left hand (these are attributes of Vajrasatva!). As he wears blue cloth he is called Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi which has been transmitted in a *sādhana* by Rechungpa (1084-1161), which belongs to the *Anuttara* and *Mahā-Yoga-Tantra* class. But the identification of this image as Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi is doubtful, it may be identified as Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi or his emanation Vajravidāraṇa (see Essen and Thingo, p.136).

Neumann (1944: 85, fig.15) illustrates a figure of Nīlāmbara Vajrapāṇi in the dome of the *stūpa* at Lori gonpa, Mustang. Neumann describes (p.83), “Like all angry forms of Vajrapāṇi he is blue bodied and stands with his feet wide apart in the *krodha* fashion, holding up the *vajra* in his hand. As Nilambara-vajrapani, the deity is characterized by a *ghanta* (prayer bell) in his left hand ... No explanation can be given concerning the charming deity between his legs, sitting in *latitasana*... on a white elephant ...”

The charming deity between Vajrapāṇi’s legs is most probably Indra, the god of rain. Compare for example, the seated figure on elephant in Rhie and Thumann (1991: 195) pl.58.2 which has been identified as Indra.

Neumann has illustrated the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-*maṇḍala* from the dome of the same *stūpa*. The three-headed and eight-armed goddess is attended upon by Avalokiteśvara to her right, holding *cāmara* and white *padma* in the right and left hands respectively and Vajrapāṇi to her left, holding *cāmara* and *vajra* on *nīlotpala* in the right and left hands respectively. See Neumann (1994: 83-84), fig.11; 12 and 13. This is a charming image of Vajrapāṇi.

The painting illustrates the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-*maṇḍala* of *Sāadhanamālā* 212 mentioned by us earlier.

We have doubt about the identification of the dark coloured, central deity in a Tangka from Central Tibet and belonging to the 15th century, as “Va-

irasattva (Wrathful Form)” by Rhie and Thurman (1991: 332-33, no 132). The fierce-looking deity sits in *lalitāsana*. (Vajrasattva sits in *vajraparyāṅkāsana* or *satvaparyāṅksāsana*) and holds a three-pronged *vajra* against his chest with the right hand and *ghaṇṭā* with the left. He is bearded and has three bulging out eyes and open mouth with devilish teeth (*damṣṭrā*). He should rather be identified as Vajrapāṇi.

Dunhuang on the Silk Road was a very important centre of Buddhist culture from the mid 4th century to the early 14th century. Some twenty-five kilometers south-east of the town, Shazhou the Mogao Caves were the scene of activities of the Buddhist community. The esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang is well documented in the numerous manuscripts, wall-paintings and votive banners from the late 7th century onwards (Sørensen 1991-92: 287-88). The Indian masters, Subhākarasiṃha (636-735), Vajrabodhi (670-741) and Amoghavajra (705-774) translated and were authors of several esoteric *sūtras* and scriptures, majority of them dealt with elaborate rituals based on paintings, *maṇḍalas*, statues etc. The images invoked in these rituals included several esoteric forms of Avalokiteśvara, Mahāmāyūrī and Vajrapāṇi. Vajrapāṇi as a Bodhisattva is shown as a youth in princely attire holding *vajra* in one of his hands in the mural in the Caves, nos 14, 196, 427, 449 and in a silk banner-painting now in the collection of the Musée Guimet (EO. 1189). In another silk banner which is preserved now in the British Museum, London the excellent figure of *saumya* Vajrapāṇi is shown standing and holding the double *vajra* on his right palm against his chest and the stalk of a pink lotus (not blue water-lily) with his left hand (see Rhie and Thurman 1991: pl.20). His complexion is olive green which is a contrast to his lower garment of bright yellow, red and blue print. A red coloured sash is tied to his thigh with a large knot at his right (compare our Fig.2). He wears a three peaked crown and various ornaments, but his feet are bare (compare our Figs.1 and 3). He stands on a double-petaled pink lotus. On the whole figure the eyes with a serene expression are striking because of the bright white colour. The authors (Rhie and Thurman) comments (p.122), “The whites of his large eyes make such a startling setting for the pupils that they become the focal point of painting. This bold contact with the viewer is distinctly non-Chinese as it is typically Tibetan.” This painting is dated in the 9th century.

“His *yakṣa* form developed into a secondary, but still highly important class of protectors known in Chinese as *jingang* (*vajrapālas*) or *da lishi* (Great Powerful Knight)”, (Sørensen, p.312). The Vajrapālas are known in Dunhuang as early as the Northern Wei period (386-534) and are found as door-guardians in the earliest caves in Yungang. “These protectors are known variously as *dvārapālas*, *vīras* (*lishi*), or *renwang* (“benevolent kings”), which traditionally protect the Buddha assemblies, and guard the temple gates.” (Sørensen, p.316).

In this connection one has to refer to the imposing figure of Vajrapāṇi illustrated in the wall-painting at Kizil on the Ancient Silk Road and dated ca. 500 AD. See le Coq & Waldschmidt 1928-33, Vol.VI, p.66, pl.3b; Härtel & Yaldiz 1987: 45; Härtel, Yaldiz *et al* 1982: 68, no.10. The vigorous figure of Vajrapāṇi holding *cāmara* in the upraised right hand and a sceptre-shaped *vajra* in the left hand. He wears a crown and various ornaments. Quite striking is the *ūrṇā*-mark on his forehead, moustache and wide-open eyes in adoration of the Buddha. He sits on a high stool in *ardhapralambapāda* position, to the proper right of the master. (MIK III 8839)

For another illustration of a seated Vajrapāṇi to the proper right of the Buddha, one should refer to the fragmentary wall-painting also from Kizil, but in another cave and dated later, 7th century. In this case Vajrapāṇi wields a stylized *cāmara* in the left hand and *vajra* in the right hand poised on his right knee. See Gründwedel 1920: p.II 63, pl.XXIV/V, figs.2-4; Härtel, Yaldiz *et al* 1982: 102, no.35. (MIK III 8725a)

Another fragment of wall-painting showing two scenes of the Buddha preaching from Tumshuk, Eastern Area and dated 7th century, illustrates Vajrapāṇi in armor seated to the proper right of the Buddha. He holds *cāmara* in the right hand and *vajra* in the left, but he is characterized as a demon having fangs in the corners of his mouth. This is the angry aspect of Vajrapāṇi which is common in Tibetan art. See Le Coq 1922-26, V: 31ff., pl.F1; Härtel, Yaldiz *et al* 1982: 109-110, no.42. (MIK III 8716)

In another fragment depicting the *Prāṇidhi* scene from Khocho, Temple (a) dated 9th century Vajrapāṇi is illustrated in a demoniac form with an angry look and flowing blue hair and beard, his eyes and mouth are open wide. His attributes are damaged. This is a painting of superb quality. See Grünwedel 1906: 64, pl.v, fig.3; Le Coq & Waldschmidt 1928-33, VI: 89f., pl.29; Härtel, Yaldiz *et al* 1982: 157: no 94. (MIK III 4459a, b)

All these fragments of wall-painting from the Ancient Silk Routes belong now to the famous Collection of the Museum of Indian Art Berlin.

In Japan the two-armed and fierce-looking Vajrapāṇi is known as *Shukonogo-jin* or the “Thunderbolt Deity”. As the protector of the Law of Buddhism (*dharma*) he brandishes the kongosho (*vajra*), a stylized thunderbolt that symbolized the power of wisdom to penetrate ignorance and destroy evil.

Shukongo-jin belongs to the same category of deities as the paired guardians often placed at either side of the gateways to the Buddhist temples.

In spite of various scholarly studies on Vajrapāṇi there remains a lot of confusion in clearly identifying the three deities holding vajra, viz. Vajrasatva, Vajradhara and Vajrapāṇi.

We quote the veteran Buddhist scholar, Snellgrove (1987: 131), “Precisely as the wielder of this weapon this chief of *yakṣas*, known as Vajrapāṇi

(Thunderbolt-in-hand), appears as chief of Bodhisatvas in several tantras, for he has become the holder of the supreme symbol of this latter phase of Buddhism. Thus, as we shall see, he is also referred to as *Vajradhara* (Thunderbolt-Holder) and with this name becomes the Supreme Buddha of the tantric traditions. He may also be acclaimed as *Vajrasattva* (Thunderbolt-Being), but this is more logically understood as a general appellation to the highest state of tantric being, a term formed on the analogy of Bodhisattva (Enlightenment Being)."

And another Buddhist scholar, Lo Bue (1990: 173) makes the following remark, "A good example of iconographic confusion can be seen in attempts to identify Vajrapāṇi as distinguished from Vajrasattva and Vajradhara on purely iconographic grounds. Such attempts often prove unsatisfactory especially when Vajrapāṇi is portrayed in his peaceful form and when gold colour replaces his canonical colour, which is blue. The attributes of Vajradhara, Vajrasattva and Vajrapāṇi in their peaceful manifestations are the same: the *vajra* and the bell. These three deities may be seen confused with Guru Padma-gsol-ba, one of the eight manifestations of Padmasambhava, who is dark blue and holds identical attributes. Yet the Tibetans do differentiate between them...."

This is quite logical, otherwise there will be a disaster for a *sādhaka* to propitiate a particular deity.

NOTES

1. We have followed the spelling of the expression as it occurs in the inscriptions and in the earlier Sanskrit manuscripts, although all most all the scholars use the expression as bodhisattva.
2. This is the spelling used by the modern scholars, the earlier spelling is Elura. No diacritical mark has been used for the modern place names.
3. Malandra comments further (p.99), "It would seem that in cases where companions of Avalokiteśvara do not hold the vajra, they could be identified as Vajrapāṇi only if a significant lapse in iconographical precision is assumed."
4. This relief has been published by Mitra 1966: 41, pl. 2, and is going to be published by Claudine Bautze-Pieron in the Boisselier Festschrift.
5. In the Poddar collection, Calcutta there is also an inscribed door-lintel illustrating the Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* and seated in *vajraparyāṅkāśana*, and the eight Bodhisatvas, four on each side of the Buddha, seated in *mahārājilāsana*, Vajrapāṇi being one of them. The relief-sculpture should be dated in the 10th century. See Mitra 1966: 39-40, pl. 1; also Claudine Bautze-Pieron mentioned above.
6. Banerji (1933) illustrated the Nalanda Museum image of Vajrapāṇi, pl. XXXVII (a). Two Transcendent Buddhas are on top of the image with a *stūpa* in the middle, the right one seems to be Akṣobhya and the left one Ratnasambhava. Saraswati (1977) also illustrated the image, pl. 166. Saraswati's dating of the image as c. 10th century is late. The image should be dated in the early 8th century. Paul (1987: pl. 35) illustrates the same image and describes it in pages 85-86. But Vajrapāṇi holds in his left hand the stalk of a blue water-lily and not of a blossoming lotus. She dates the image as early 9th century.
7. But the image is not from Nalanda as Saraswati has given. According to Claudine Bautze-Pieron the image betrays the Kurkihar style and must have come from that area.
8. The image is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York as a donation of

the Irving family. I thank Amy G. Poster for giving me the information of the sculpture and introducing me to the Irving family.

9. This position is wrongly described by the scholars as *tribhaṅga*, but see Varma 1983.
10. Compare also, for example, Pal 1978: pl.19: A Male Deity from Bihar, 6th century; also the seated Vajrapāṇi image from Nalanda, Saraswati 1977: pl.166 and Paul 1987: pl.35. Paul rightly describes (p.86), "Similar note-worthy is the luxurious locks that descend from the piled-up *jaṭā-mukūṭa* over the left shoulder in a series of cork-screw curls." But her dating of the image as early 9th century is late, the image should be dated in the early 8th century.
11. I am thankful to the Director of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Ramnagar, Varanasi for kindly sending me the photo of the image with the permission to publish it (Ref. No.1035, Neg. No.W.S. Neg.1189/1966).
12. Compare for example, Pal 1978: 59, pl.5: Sūrya from Uttar Pradesh, late 4th century.
13. I am very much obliged to Amy G. Poster for her help to contact personally David Young.
14. The height of the image is 17.8 cm. Pal has published this beautiful image on various occasions: 1974a: fig.203; 1974b: fig.77; 1974c: fig.6; 1975: fig.23.
15. Although in India this type of arm-lets is rare in a later period, in Nepal, on the contrary, it is found in the later sculptures also. Compare for example, the Padmapāṇi image from Katheshimbu, c. 9th century, Krishna Deva 1984: pl.98.
16. Reproduced partially from Zimmer 1960:
17. Saraswati wrongly gives the Cave number as VII.
18. Malandra remarks (p.29), "Thus with *dharmachakramudrā*, the Cave 6 Buddha image might be seen as representing Vairocana, who in early tantric texts like the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, is usually described in a triad that includes the attendants Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi. Identification, of the proper right attendant as Avalokiteśvara is clear. However, the proper left attendant is not so easily identified since in Cave 6, as in Ellora's other early Buddhist caves, the figure does not hold the vajra, Vajrapāṇi's usual attribute. Here, based on the *stūpa*-like jewel in the *jaṭāmukūṭa* and right hand in *vitarkamudrā*, and on the likely connection between Cave 6 and Cave 5 (see below), I suggest that the Bodhisatva is Maitreya."

Against Malandra's remarks it may be pointed out that the Bodhisatvas's right hand is not in *vitarka-mudrā*, but it holds a branch with flowers (*Aśoka?*), and no Maitreya figure at Ellora has a male companion with crossed arms on the chest.
19. See Banerji 1933: pl.XXXVII(a); Saraswati 1977: pl.166, etc.
20. Saraswati 1977: pl.89 published this image and identifies doubtfully as Avalokiteśvara. Saraswati identified *vajra* on *nilotpala* as a female figure!

Saraswati 1977: 19 also published an excellent metal image of a seated Vajrapāṇi from Nalanda, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, wrongly identifying the deity as Siddhaikavīna. Claudine Bautze-Picron has corrected this blunder in her corrected but unpublished list of the Saraswati volume.
21. Saraswati 1977: pl.165 illustrates an image of Vajrapāṇi from Ratnagiri (c. 9th century) wearing a three-peaked crown (compare our Figs.1 and 3) and holding *cāmara* in the right hand and the stalk of *nilotpala* with *vajra* on it in the left hand. Saraswati wrongly calls the flower lotus!

See Mitra 1981: pl.CXXVIA for the image in a group.
22. Surprisingly the corresponding four-armed Avalokiteśvara image (Saraswati, pl.63; Mitra, pl.CIXB) holds the similar attributes excepting a full-blown lotus in the upper left hand instead of a blue water-lily with *vajra* on it, and is attended upon by the two similar figures, viz. a *preta* and a four-armed male figure with crossed arms on the chest.
23. I am thankful to Frank Neustatter for showing me the panel and sending me the black-and-white photo with permission to publish it.
24. A similar bronze panel has been published by Uhlig (1976: 19) with the title, Vajrapāṇi, Manjuśrī and Padmapāṇi. The bronze panel is from Ladakh and has been dated in the 12/13th century. It is from the Schroeder collection, Zürich. I am thankful to Neustatter for drawing my attention to this published bronze panel.

Ulrich von Schroeder (1981) illustrates three panels of this type, viz. 32A, 32B and 32D.
25. One is from Ulrich von Schroeder, and the other from Schoettle, Stuttgart. The former, the beautiful one, is dated in c. 12th century and the other in c. 12/13th century.
26. See Sotheby's sale catalogue, New York, June 2, 1992. lot 9.
27. Pal (1975) illustrates two malignant types of Vajrapāṇi from Nepal. One, No.26 (p.77) is a gilt bronze image of the 12th century, height 25.4 cm (M. 81. 272. 1). This type of Vajrapāṇi is quite

common in Tibet although the facial expression of the deity is not ferocious as is expected. In this image Tathāgata Akṣobhya, *kuleśa* of Vajrapāṇi, is shown on his crown.

The same image has been published by Pal (1983: 210-11, s 22) but ascribed to Central Tibet.

28. See Shireley Day Ltd., Exhibition Catalogue, 1992.

29. Rossi 1992: 22.

30. For a beautiful brass image of Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi belonging to the 13th century and from Central Tibet, measuring 29.2 cm, see Rhie and Thurman 1991: no 35. The authors comment (p.190), "This tough, vigorous, yet elegant sculpture of Vajrapāṇi reflects a style later than the early naive beonzes of terrific figures in the late 11th to 12th century..."

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Fig. 1. Vajrapāṇi with attendant, inscribed, stone, from Nalanda.

Irving Collectern, now Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 30 inches high, 7th century. Courtesy Irving family.

Fig. 2. Yakṣa-dvārapāla from Caitya Cave 19, Ajanta, stone, c.462-80 AD. Courtesy American Institute of Indian Studies, Rammagar, Varanasi, India, Neg. no. W.S. 1189/1966.

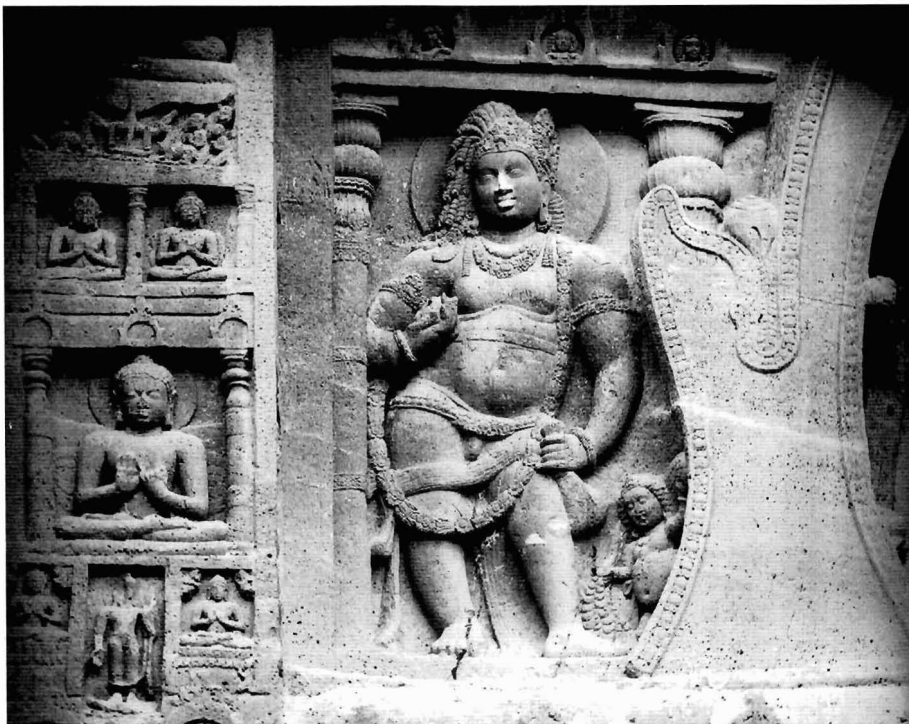




Fig. 3. Vajrapāṇi with attendant, inscribed, stone, possibly from Bodhgaya. David Young Collection, New York, 33 inches high, early 8th century. Courtesy David Young.



Fig. 4. Ditto, attendant figure. Courtesy David Young.



Fig. 5. Ditto, donative inscription on the pedestal in the *Siddhamātrkā* script of early 8th century. Courtesy David Young.



Fig. 6. Cundā, inscribed, stone, from Bodhgaya, now National Museum, New Delhi, early 8th century. Courtesy National Museum.



Fig. 7. Vajrapāṇi with Vajrapuruṣa, copper with traces of gold from Nepal. 17.8 cm high, 8th century. Courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Fig. 8. Dvārapāla from the right entrance of Cave 6 at Ellora. Maitreya?, 7th century. Partial reproduction from Zimmer, pl. 192.

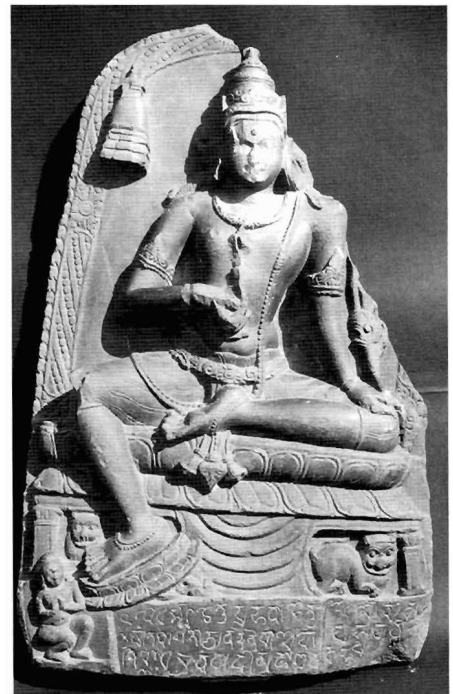


Fig. 9. Vajrapāṇi, damaged, inscribed, from South Bihar, now Collection Frei, Switzerland (no. 202.661), stone, 51 cm high, 31.5 broad, 10th century. Courtesy Frei, Switzerland.

Fig. 10. Vajrapāṇi, inscribed, from Nalanda Museum (no. 00016), stone, 12 cm high, 9th century. Courtesy Nalanda Museum.



Fig. 11. Buddha with Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara, inscribed, from South Bihar, now Patna Museum (Sohoni Collection), stone, 9th-10th century. Courtesy Patna Museum.



Fig. 12. Ditto, Vajrapāṇi.



Fig. 13. Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara), bronze, perhaps from Ladakh, now Neustatter Collection, Los Angeles. 18 cm high, c. 12th century. Courtesy Neustatter, Los Angeles.



Fig. 14. Vajrapuruṣa?, gilt copper, from Nepal, now Los Angeles Museum of Art, 5-1/4 in. high, 10th century, Courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Fig. 15. Vajrapāṇi, bronze, from Nepal, 24.8 cm high, c. 10th century, Courtesy Sotheby's, New York.



Fig. 16. Vajrapāṇi, gilt copper, from Nepal, now Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 21.3 cm high, 9th-10th century. Courtesy Los Angeles County Museums of Art.



Fig. 17. Vajrapāṇi, six-armed, embracing Śabdavajrā (Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi), gilt bronze with polychrome, inlaid with semiprecious stones, from Nepal, now Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 13-1/4 in. high, 15th century. Courtesy Los Angeles County Museums of Art.



Fig. 18. Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi, gilt bronze, from Western Tibet, 18.4 cm high, 15/16 century. Courtesy Sotheby's, New York.



Fig. 19. Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi, gilt bronze, from Tibet, 16 cm high, 16th century. Courtesy Shirley Day Ltd., London.



Fig. 20. Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi, painting on cloth, from Central Tibet, 115×95 cm, early 15th century. Courtesy Galerie Marco Polo.



Fig. 21. Vajrapāṇi, three-headed, six-armed, embracing Śabdavajrā (Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi), brass with cold gold paste and pigments, from Central Tibet, now Zimmerman Collection. 37.6 cm high, 15th century. Courtesy Zimmerman.