

Chapter Eleven

Buddhist Gods and Goddesses

In this chapter an attempt is being made to give a connected idea of the hierarchy of Buddhist gods and goddesses, which I prepared for my own use. Part of this is directly relevant to my subject, in so far as it has a bearing on the finds of Buddhist images discovered in Bengal. The rest is not presently pertinent. I have, however, incorporated a systematic account in the hope that it may help to give a broad and general idea of the peculiarities of Buddhism which was developing in some of its later phases, although specimens representing them, as full as the text concerned, are not available in many cases. From the *Sādhnamālā* we get a description of images and it is rather surprising to notice that the images tallied most remarkably with the descriptions given in the text. Although many of the corresponding *sādhana*s are without samples discovered so far in Bengal, these have not been left out of account in this chapter, as future discoveries may show the advantage of dealing with the texts comprehensively, particularly in supplying links of an integrated system.

Besides the *Sādhnamālā* there is the book entitled *Niṣpannayagavālī* of Mahāpandita Abhayākaragupta. It is a work on *Maṇḍals* (i.e. Circles) and presents valuable information about the Buddhist deities. It may be noted that the Buddhists did not stop with the

making of images of Buddha alone but 'under the influence of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, Buddhist gods and goddesses appeared and multiplied' as the developed iconography clearly establishes.

The Buddhist deities, particularly noticed in this chapter with special reference to the texts studied, include : Ādi-Buddha, Dhyāni-Buddha, Bodhisattvas and their multiple forms with special reference to Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. A separate section is devoted to the divine emanation of the Dhyāni Buddhas. Female deities are dealt with in a new chapter with special reference to Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā, Cundā, etc. Minor deities are also not excluded from this study.

In primitive Buddhism i.e., Hinayāna, there were no gods and goddesses. In the earlier School of Art at Sāñchi and Bharhut, representation of the Buddha as in image is absent. It is believed by some scholars that the Greeco-Buddhists of Gandhara were the first to carve out from stone images of Buddha.¹ But Coomaraswamy thinks that the Mathura School produced the earliest image of Buddha. Early references to Buddhist gods and goddesses are found in some literary works. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa gives a description of a number of them. But a more systematic account is found in the Guhyasamāja Tantra, describing the five Dhyāni Buddhas with their mantras, mandalas, and śaktis. Asaṅga in the 3rd century A.D. also referred to the Dhyāni Buddhas and their emanations. Besides, under the influence of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhist gods and goddesses

¹ A. Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays, 127.

appeared and multiplied. In speaking of the later development of this aspect of Buddhism, B. Bhattacharya remarks : 'virtually, there was an epidemic of deification in which every philosophical dogma, ritualistic literature, abstract ideas, human qualities, even desires such as sleeping, yawning and sneezing were deified or given a deity form'.² Thus did the Buddhists get a systematised and well-classified pantheons, with its profusion of gods and goddesses. The Buddhists applied a systematic principle in classifying their deities as found in the *Sādhnamālā*, which described their characteristics. The *Sādhanas*, incorporated in the text called *Sādhnamālā*, were composed in ancient monasteries of Bengal and Bihar.

A detailed account of the Buddhist deities are given below :

Vajradhara (Ādi-Buddha) :

As the name Ādi-Buddha means the first Buddha and Vajradhara being an Ādi-Buddha, he is also regarded as the first deity in the Buddhist pantheon. Ādi-Buddha is the progenitor of five kūlas or families of Buddhist gods and goddesses and the originator of the five Dhyāni Buddhas.³ He is the embodiment of 'śūnya'. The original conception of Ādi-Buddha is regarded as the product of the Nālandā monastery about the 10th century A.D.⁴ In the Kālacakra Tantra the doctrine of Ādi-Buddha was for the first time included. It is also a work of the 10th century A.D. In the Svayambhū Purāna it is said that Ādi-Buddha first 'manifested himself in Nepal in the

² Bhatt-I, 31.

³ Bhatt-I, 44.

⁴ JASB, II, 1893, 57 ff; JBORS, IX, 114 ff; cf, Bhatt-I, 42-43.

form of a flame of fire, and Mañjuśrī erected a temple over it in order to preserve the flame. This ancient temple is known as the Svayambhū Caitya.⁵ There are two forms of Vajradhara : single and Yab-yum. In the former form, he is seated in Vajraparyāṅka attitude covered with ornaments with his hands crossed against the breast in the vajra-hūn-kāra-mudrā, holding the vajra in the right hand and the ghanta in the left. The vajra stands for sūnya while the bell represents prajña or wisdom.⁶ The second form is identical with the above except that he holds his śakti in Yab-yum attitude. She is dressed and covered with jewels, carries the kartri and the kapāla (skull cup) both of which have symbolic sense. The female associates of Vajradhara, according to Getty, is Prajñapāramitā.⁷ Besides, the Nispannayogāvali gives a description of Vajradhara as the principal deity of the Vajrasattva Mandala. He occupies the central position in the Mandala. He is reddish white. He possesses three faces and six arms. With the two principal hands carrying the vajra and the ghanta, he embraces his Prajña. In the other two right hands she carries the sword and the ankuśa and in the two left hands the kapāla and the noose. He stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka pose and dances the Tāṇḍava dance.⁸ A specimen of Vajradhara is preserved in the Baroda Museum. Vajradhara was not universally accepted as the Ādi-Buddha and some tried to identify Ādi-Buddha with Vajrasattva, and some with others.⁹ However, he was

⁵ Bhatt-I, 43.

⁶ An image of Vajradhara is preserved in the Baroda Museum is differently represented, cf, Bhatt-I, figure 13.

⁷ Bhatt-I, 43, Getty, 131.

⁸ NSP, 8.

⁹ Bhatt-I, 44; cf, Getty, 4 ff.

very popular in Nepal and Tibet.

Dhyāni Buddhas :

Next to Vajradhara, the five Dhyāni Buddhas are important in Buddhist iconography. They occupy the central position in the pantheon of Northern Buddhists, 'are the progenitors of the five families of deities constituting the whole of the Buddhist pantheon'.¹⁰ The Buddhist believes that the world is composed of five cosmic elements or skandhas. The five skandhas are Rūpa (form), Vedanā (sensation), Samjñā (name), Saṅskāra (Confirmation) and Vijñāna (Sensation). These cosmic forces are without a beginning or an end and are defined in Vajrayāna Buddhism as the five Dhyāni Buddhas'.¹¹

The Dhyāni Buddhas are Buddhas who are exempted from passing through the stage of a Bodhisattva. There are five Dhyāni Buddhas, namely, Vairocana, Ratnaḍambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Aksobhya. To these Vajrasattva is added subsequently, thus raising the number of the Dhyāni Buddhas to six. Vajrasattva was regarded as the priest of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. 'They are always engaged in peaceful meditation' and 'they restrain themselves from the act of creation'.¹² The Guhyasamāja gives us the theory of the

¹⁰ Bhatt-I, 42.

¹¹ It is believed that the Dhyāni Buddhas were created by the Adi-Buddha. They were endowed with 'his existence, the virtues of that jñāna (wisdom) and dhyāna (meditation) to the exertion of which, by Adi-Buddha, he owed his existence; and by similar exertion of both he produced a Dhyāni Bodhisattva - Hodgson, The Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, 28.

¹² Bhatt-I, 47.

Dhyāni Buddhas for the first time.¹³ In this work the five Dhyāni Buddhas are described with details regarding 'their mantras, their mandalas, their śaktis or female counter-counterparts'.¹⁴ The Dhyāni Buddhas are in all cases shown as resting on a lotus with crossed legs in a contemplative mood. The hands are either empty or with a bowl placed on the lap. In bare heads are thick curls decorating like a flame of fire. 'They wear the monastic garments with the right shoulder usually bare, and no ornaments'.¹⁵ When represented they bear a common appearance. But in fact they vary in regard to their recognizing colour, mount (yahana), symbols, śaktis, offsprings, direction, mantra and characteristic display of their hands. These features of the Dhyāni Buddhas are portrayed below.¹⁶

'The emanation or offsprings of these Dhyāni Buddhas constitute their families'.¹⁷ The member of each family is required to bear the miniature figure of their parental Dhyāni Buddha on their foreheads. Each deity is given a different form. On the four sides of the stūpa symbolising the Buddhist universe, are to be represented four Dhyāni Buddhas. Only Vairocana, who is the deity of the inner shrine, is usually unrepresented; he may, however, be placed between Ratnasambhava in the south and Aksobhya in the east, in exceptional cases. Vajrasattva is regarded as the sixth Dhyāni Buddha and their

¹³ Guhyasamāja, chapter I.

¹⁴ Bhatt-I, 45 ff; ADV (11th century A.D.) also gives an account of them.

¹⁵ Getty, 29.

¹⁶ Cf, Getty, 30; Esoterism, 129.

¹⁷ Bhatt-I, 47.

priest. He is portrayed with priestly symbols, viz. the vājra and the ghanta. He is later than the Dhyāni Buddhas.

Vairocana :

Vairocana is regarded as the first Dhyāni Buddha. As mentioned above he is regarded as 'the deity of the inner shrine', and is not therefore represented on the stūpa. But as noted above, there are exceptions to this rule, as noticed in Nepal. The Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana is well-known in India, Nepal, China, Japan, etc. In Nepal he was worshipped both as Ādi-Buddha and Dhyāni Buddha; the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists believe that the Yogācārya doctrine was communicated by him to Vajrasattva. The distinctive colour of Vairocana is white. Both his hands are held on the chest with the fingers arranged to symbolise a combination of physical and mental happiness. His vāhana is a pair of dragon and his recognising symbol is cakra or the disc.

Vairocana with four faces and eight arms is known as Vajradāt^hṭu, this form of Vajradāt^hṭu Buddha is represented in the Vajradāt^hṭu-maṇḍala of the Niṣpannayogāvalī. Here he is represented seated in Vajraparyāṅka pose. Although he is white, his four faces are of four different colours.¹⁸ Another form of Vairocana is known as Garbhadhātu.¹⁹ The goddess Mārīcī bears an image of Vairocana on her head-dress.

¹⁸ NSP, 44.

¹⁹ Cf, Getty, 33.

Akṣobhya :

Akṣobhya is ^{the} second Dhyāni Buddha according to the Nepalese Buddhists. He is very popular in Buddhist countries. He is best described in the Pañcākāra section of the Advayavajrasaṅgraha.²⁰ Here he is represented as seated in the vajraparyāṅka pose. He is two-armed with the left hand lying on his lap in 'meditation mudra' and the right in Bhūmispārsā mudra. 'He represents the primordial cosmic element of Vijnana (consciousness)'.²¹ Many other forms of Akṣobhya is noticed in Tantric works.²² He is also recognised by his vāhana - a pair of elephants and his recognising symbol is the vājra or thunderbolt. His colour is blue. He is the chief deity of the Akṣobhya-maṇḍala.²³ He was known as early as the 3rd-4th century A.D.²⁴ It may be noted that the Sādhana quoted by Foucher states that Akṣobhya should be on the tiara of Manjusri while the other Dhyāni Buddhas should be on the four sides.²⁵ From the Sādhanaṃālā it appears that the head of Heruka should be decorated with a garland of skulls and by Akṣobhya.

An image of Heruka shows the figure of Akṣobhya on his tiara. It was found at Subhapur, a village north of Badkanta,

²⁰ ADV, 40-41.

²¹ Bhatt-I, 51.

²² Four-armed, six-armed, sitting, standing, single and yab-yum pose.

²³ NSP, 35.

²⁴ Cf, Getty, 3rd century; 7th-8th century A.D. - Bhatt-I, 51.

²⁵ Foucher, II, 40-41.

district in Tippera.²⁶ An image of Tārā recovered at Khailkair (Dacca) depicts two Dhyāni Buddhas on the two sides of the head of the goddess, Akṣobhya being on the left.²⁷ From a sādhana we find that in the Jatāmukuta of Mahācīnatārā there is an image of of Akṣobhya.²⁸

Ratnasambhava :

Ratnasambhava, the third Dhyāni Buddha is mentioned for the first time in the Guhyasamāja. His description is found in the Pañcākāra section of the Advayavajrasaṅgraha.²⁹ Ratnasambhava's colour is yellow and faces the south, with his left arm lying on his lap and the right exhibiting the Varadā mudra; he is represented seated with legs locked. He is distinguished by his vāhana, a pair of lions and shining jewels (Ratnacchatā). He may be two or more armed. The Niṣpannayogāvalī refers to another form of this Dhyāni Buddha.

Two images of Ratnasambhava have been recovered from Bengal.³⁰ One of them is reported to have been discovered from Vikrampur.³¹ The other is preserved in the collection of the Vāṅgiya Sahitya Parishat Museum.³²

²⁶ Cf, Bhattasali, 37.

²⁷ Ibid, 57-58.

²⁸ Sādhanamālā, 210.

²⁹ Bhatt-I, 73; ADV, 41.

³⁰ JASB, 1926, 169; Paul, 79

³¹ See, VRSM, No.A (a), 6/138.

³² No.C.(a) 6/71.

It may be noted that on an image of Tārā found at Khaikair two Dhyāni Buddhas are depicted on the two sides of the goddess : on the right Ratnasambhava and on the left Aksobhya.³³

Amitābha :

Amitābha is regarded as the fourth Dhyāni Buddha by the Nepalese Buddhist; in India he is regarded as the most ancient among the Dhyāni Buddhas. As described in the Pañcākāra section of the Advayavajrasaṅgraha he is of red colour. His recognising symbol is the lotus and he exhibits the Samādhi mudrā in his two hands which lie on his lap. His vāhana is a pair of peacock and as already mentioned, lotus is associated with his name.

Small images of Amitābha are found on Lokanātha's crest, on the image of Mañjuśrī, Vājra Tārā and Bhṛkūti Tārā, as described below : on an image of Lokanātha found at Bandarbazar, Sylhet, Amitābha in miniature is represented on his crest. This image may be assigned to the 8th-9th century A.D.³⁴

An image of Khasarpaṇa Lokanātha found at Mahākālī in Vikramē-pura in Dacca appear on the head along with four other Dhyāni Buddhas, Amitābha occupying the central seat.³⁵ An image of Mañjuśrī was found from a tank called Yugi Badīr Pukur in the village of Jalkuṇḍi, district Dacca.³⁶ On the head of this image

³³ Bhattasali, 57-58.

³⁴ Ibid, 25.

³⁵ Ibid, 28.

³⁶ Bhattasali, 29.

there are to be seen miniatures of four Dhyāni Buddhas viz., Vairochana, Ratnāsembhava, Amitābha and Akṣobhya.³⁷ On the prabha mandala of the image of Vajra Tārā also appears the figures of some of the Dhyāni Buddhas including Amitābha.³⁸

An image of a goddess identified by some scholars with Bhṛkūti Tārā,³⁹ found at Bhavsnipur, Dacca district⁴⁰ bears a representation of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the tiara. Images of Amitābha are quite familiar in Tibet⁴¹ and China.⁴² It may be noted that images of Padmanartteśvara and two-armed Raktalokeśvara forms of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, are rarely to be found in India. The Sādhana devoted to their worship states that on their Jaṭāmukutā there is to be an effigy of Amitābha.⁴³

Amoghasiddhi :

Amoghasiddhi occupies the fifth place among the Dhyāni Buddhas. He is to be shown as seated firmly with his left palm resting open on the lap; the right hand being in the Abhaya (protection) mudrā. He is well represented in many Tantric works

³⁷ Cf, Foucher, II, 40-41; Bhattasali, 28-29.

³⁸ Cf, Bhattasali, 46-48.

³⁹ Cf, Ibid, 54-56.

⁴⁰ Preserved in the Dacca Sahitya Parisat.

⁴¹ Gordon, 139.

⁴² Clark, II, 61, 106, 152, 164.

⁴³ Sādhanaṁālā, 75, 77, 84; Bhatt-I, 134, 138; similarly on the Jaṭāmukutā of Nilakantha, another form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, there is an effigy of Amitābha - Bhatt-I, 140; cf, Sādhanaṁālā, 85-86.

and is described in detail in the Advayavajrasaṅgraha. His colour is green. His vāhana is a couple of Garudas. He is recognised by his double thunderbolt, Viśvavajra.⁴⁴

Amoghasiddhi is present on the tiara of Parnasāvārī. An image of this goddess is found in a village in Dacca district with Amoghasiddhi placed in the centre of the tiara.⁴⁵ According to a sādhana quoted by Foucher⁴⁶ Amoghasiddhi may also appear on the tiara of Mañjuśrī along with the other Dhyāni Buddhas.⁴⁷ Amoghasiddhi is popular specially in Tibet and China.⁴⁸

Vajrasattva :

Vajrasattva is regarded as the priest of the Dhyāni Buddhas among whom he stands in the sixth place. Some scholars are inclined to identify him with Vajradhara;⁴⁹ others think he is Ādi-Buddha.⁵⁰ He is of white colour.

Unlike the other Dhyāni Buddhas he is not represented on the stūpa. Separate temples are built in his honour where he is secretly worshipped. Vajrasattva is known in two forms, viz., single and Yab-yum. He is to be represented as seated on a

⁴⁴ ADV, 41-42; Bhatt-I, 55-56.

⁴⁵ Bhatt-In 58-61.

⁴⁶ Foucher, II, 40-41.

⁴⁷ Bhattabali, 29.

⁴⁸ Gordon, IT?, 27; Getty, 42; Clark, TLP, II, 32, 56, 115, 126, 128, 138, 144.

⁴⁹ M. de la Vallée Poussin - G-5.

⁵⁰ Cf, Getty, 38.

lotus, dressed grandly with ornaments and having a crown in which there is often the image of Akṣobhya, usually holding a vajra in his right hand and a ghanta (bell) in the left hand. This form of Vajrasattva is common. The other form, known as Yab-yum in which he is associated with his sakti named Vajrasattvātīkā, bearing the Kartri and Kapala in his right and left hand respectively. He is also described in the Advayavajrasaṅgraha.⁵¹ He is common in many Buddhist countries.

An image of Vajrasattva belonging to the 10th century, is kept in the house of a local resident in Dacca. It sits in Abhaya pose with the legs 'one upon the other' (and not locked).⁵² Vajrasattva is also found represented on an image of Khasarpana Lokanātha found at Belasa, P.S. Badkanta, District Tippera. In this instance Lokanātha appears in Ardhacharyāṅka pose, seated on a lotus throne. Underneath the lotus seat is displayed an image seated in Vajrasana with a thunderbolt in his right hand resting on the sole of the left foot, and a bell resting on the sole of the right foot. This image is regarded as the replica of the God Vajrasattva.⁵³

Similarly, an image of Syama Tārā found at Somapura, in the village of Vajroyogini, Dacca district, we find the goddess seated on a lotus throne with two images depicted beneath the throne, one of which is Vajrasattva, is shown seated with a Vajra in the right hand and the bell in the left.⁵⁴

51 ADV, 41; Cf, Bhatt-I, 75.

52 Cf, Bhattasali 24; Foucher, I, Plate, IV, fig, 6.

53 Bhattasali, 24.

54 Ibid, 56-57.

It may be noted that Vajrasattva when represented on other images, is assigned a place underneath the lotus seat, occupied by the chief god or goddess with whom he is associated. On the other hand, the place for the other five Dhyāni Buddhas in similar case were on the crest or tiara of the central deity.

Section B

Bodhisattva :

Bodhisattvas are so called because their essence (sattva) is purified by wisdom or enlightenment (i.e. bodhi). The Bodhisattvas derived their origin from the five Dhyāni Buddhas and constitute a group which has a definite place in the Mahāyāna system. The Bodhisattvas are of two classes : mortal and celestial. A mortal Bodhisattva is one who previously appeared in human forms and then through a series of incarnations gained enlightenment (bodhi-jñāna) and finally reached the goal (i.e., Buddhahood).¹ The Bodhisattva reaches the second stage when he becomes illuminated by the consciousness of desire for the attainment of Buddhahood (Buddha-citta).² As a Bodhisattva, Buddha is decorated with crown and jewels. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston displays such images.³ There are thus many Bodhisattvas. Among them Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī are more prominent and are dealt with separately in greater detail.

The five Dhyāni Bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, Ratnapāni, Padmapāni and Viśvapāni form a special class.⁴ The

¹ Cf. Getty, 44.

² Ibid. It is said that there are ten stages through which a Bodhisattva must pass to reach the final form i.e. Buddha - cf. Sūtra on the Ten stages, Conze, 66.

³ This image is made of black slate measuring 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches - A. Coomarswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, 75, fig. 9(a).

⁴ Getty, 45; Bhatt-I, 49 ff.

Dhyāni Bodhisattvas are the spiritual sons of the Dhyāni Buddhas. 'The Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas of this group of five have a definite place in the Mahāyāna system' and have created each in his turn a world. They are in many cases found in association with others in mandalas.⁵

A group of eight Bodhisattvas ~~are~~^{is} found in Northern Buddhist temples on either side of an important divinity. The Gods on the right are Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāni and Kṣhitigarbha, while on the left are : Sarva-nīvarana-viṣkambhin, Maitreya, Samantābhadra and Mañjuśrī.⁶

In the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayakara Gupta, forty-eight Bodhisattvas are mentioned, in three separate lists, as follows :

List No.1. Samantabhadra, Akṣayamati, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Gaganagañja, Ratnapāni, Sāgarāmatī, Vajragarbha, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Chandraprabha, Jālinīprabha, Amitaprabha, Pratibhānkūṭa, Sarvasōkatamonirghātamati, Sarvanīvaranaviṣkambhin.

List No.2. Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Gandhahasti, Jhānsketu, Bhadrāpāla, Sāgarāmatī, Akṣayamati, Pratibhānakūṭa, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Sarvapāyāñjaha, Sarvasōkatamonirghātamati,

⁵ NSP.

⁶ Getty, 45.

Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Amitaprabha, Gaganagañja,
Sarvanivaranaṣkambhin.

List No. 3. Maitreya, Amoghādarsin, Apāyañjaha-Sarvapayanjaha,
Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati, Gandhahasti, Surāṅgama,
Gaganagañja, Jñānanaketu, Amṛtaprabha, Candraprabha,
Bhadrapāla, Jālinīprabha, Vajragarbha, Akṣayamati,
Pratibhānakūṭa, Samentabhadrā.⁷

Each list consists of sixteen names of Bodhisattvas; some names occur in all the three lists. Out of the forty-eight names only twenty-five names occur only once with their attributes.

A Dhyāni Bodhisattva is iconically represented as richly attired and ornamented with thirteen precious ornaments including two garlands, one reaching the thigh and another the navel, a girdle, etc. In the middle of the crown is an image of his Dhyāni Buddha or 'spiritual father'. The hair is arranged in the form of a bejewelled ushnīsa. He generally has the ūrnā on the forehead.⁸

If the Dhyāni Bodhisattva is in a sanctuary with his Dhyāni Buddha, the former is in a standing posture; when he is in his own chapel, he is represented seated. The Dhyāni Bodhisattvas may be shown in company with their śakti in Yab-yum attitude.⁹

⁷ NSP, 46 ff; Bhatt-Icon. 8.

⁸ Cf, Getty, 46.

⁹ Getty, 46.

Some of the more important Bodhisattvas are described below.

Samantabhadra :

Samantabhadra is one of the most popular Dhyāni Bodhisattvas. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī¹⁰ he is made the chief out of the sixteen Bodhisattvas. In this text his name occurs frequently.

In the Akṣobhyamaṇḍala he is found in the company of seven with no independent form; in the Vajradhātumaṇḍala he resembled Amoghasiddhi with the Garuda vehicle and the right hand in the abhayā mudrā.¹¹ In the Durgatipariśōdhana-maṇḍala he appears in an independent form with a bunch of jewel in the right hand and the left rests on the hip. He is of yellow colour.¹² In the Kālacakra-maṇḍala he is represented with his śakti Dharmavajrā, and in the three right hands he holds the vajrā, knife and paraśu and in the three left hands, ghanta, kapāla and 'severed head of Brahmā' (or night lotus). He is blue.¹³ In the Dharmadhātuvagīśvaramaṇḍala¹⁴ he is yellow with two arms 'showing the varadā in the right hand' and holds on the left 'sword on lotus'.¹⁵ In the Sādhanamālā he is described as 'pitābho ratnotpalavarapradah' i.e. of yellowish colour, holding a jewel on a lotus with hands in the varadā mudrā.¹⁶

10 NSP, 23.

11 Ibid, 24.

12 Ibid, 67

13 Ibid, 85.

14 Ibid, 58.

15 Bhatt-I, 83.

16 Sādhanamālā, 40.

According to Getty, he is to be represented with the crown, decorated with ornaments and dressed in a princely style with his symbol, the cintāmani in his left hand and the right hand in the vitarka mudrā. The figure may be either seated or standing; and is sometimes accompanied by his śakti. As a member in the group of eight Bodhisattvas, he appears in standing posture with his hand in the vitarka and charity mudrās, holding stems of lotus flowers supporting his special symbol, the cintāmani on the right side and the vajra on the left.¹⁷ This description does not fully tally with the different accounts found in the Nispannayogavoli¹⁸ referred above. Although there may be some similarities, his peculiar features in the Nispannayogavoli are sword on lotus; hand on hip; double lotus; abhayā and varadā mudrās, etc. These are not only found in the above mentioned text but also in the statuettes discovered in China.¹⁹ A painting of Samantabhadra Lokeśvara is preserved in the Machhanda Vahal, Kathmundu, Nepal. This Samantabhadra Lokeśvara is seated in the vajraparyāṅka pose on the lotus. He displays the varadā mudrā with his right hand and against the chest he holds the stem of a lotus with his left hand.²⁰

Samantabhadra was very popular in some Buddhist countries

¹⁷ Getty, 47.

¹⁸ NSP, 23, 58, 67, 68.

¹⁹ Cf, Clark, 8, 9, 133, 274.

²⁰ Cf, Bhatt-I, 399, 414.

outside India. In Japan he is represented on the taira of Mañjuśrī in the company of Śakyamuni. This form is also popular in China where Samantabhadra is found seated on an elephant. Many images of Samantabhadra have been found in Peiping.²¹

Bodhisattva Vajrapani is the spiritual son of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya and Māmekī.²² His special attribute is vajra; he may be either standing or seated. Pander's Pantheon shows him as seated with the legs locked, holding the vajra in his hands placed on the lap in 'meditation' mudrā. He may also be represented in the bhūmisparśa mudrā with the vajra 'being balanced in the palm' of his left hand resting on his lap.²³ This specimen is found displayed in the miniature painting in a MS. Add 1643 presented in the Cambridge University library. He is one of the Dhyāni Bodhisattvas found in Northern Buddhist temples.²⁴ In the Sādhanamālā²⁵ Vajrapani is described as 'suklābo vajrahasto varapradah i.e., of white colour, carrying the vajra in one hand and displays the abhaya mudrā in the other. Curiously, Vajrapani is not mentioned in any of the lists furnished in the Nispanna-yogavalī.

Vajrapani is a popular name in many of the countries outside

²¹ Cf, Clark, 8, 9, 52, 133, 274.

²² Bhatt-Icon, 53.

²³ Getty, 51.

²⁴ Ibid, 51-52.

²⁵ Sādhanamālā, 49.

India. Various legends and accounts about him are available in which this name occurs in different contexts. In Japan he is often represented in 'mystic diagrams'; in Tibet he has several ferocious (Dharmapāla) forms viz., Vajrapāni-ācārya, Nīlāmbara-vajrapāni (Yi-dam), Acala-Vajrapāni, Mahācakra-Vajrapāni, etc. Besides, mention may be made of Vajrapāni, the Thunderbolt-Wielder in the aspect of a spell deity, explained by Getty as 'the deified form of a snake charm, the Protector against snake-bites'. In this form he is found seated on a lotus throne supported by peacocks with his right hand holding 'at his breast one end of a noose, with which to catch the snake demons; while the left, on his hip, holds the other end of the noose'. He is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas. Not only he wears many ornaments but 'snakes are coiled around his arms and ankles'.²⁶ If painted, he is to be of white colour.

Vajrapāni is also found in Garuda form.²⁷ He is, again, the Protector of the Nāgas, as the enemy of the demons.²⁸ Different views are held about the identification of Vajrapāni for instance, Hodgson calls him 'aeon of Vajrasattva Buddha' and De Groot 'reflex of Vajrasattva'.²⁹ According to Getty he is both 'the ferocious emanation of Vajradhara and the spiritual reflex, the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva of Aksobhya'.³⁰ Grunwedel identifies Vajrapāni with Śakra or Indra.³¹ Hiuen-tsang mentions Vajrapāni with the

²⁶ Getty, 53.

²⁷ Cf, Getty, 53.

²⁸ Cf, Buddhism in Tibet : Schlagintweit, 114.

²⁹ Code du Mahāyāna, 16.

³⁰ Getty, 50.

³¹ Foucher, l'Art Greco-bouddhique, figs, 276, 278: Grundewel, 90.

Īathāgata 'when he subdued the gigantic snake in Udāyāna'. It seems that the name Vajrapāṇi may not have denoted the same God or demi-god. His identification in any particular case should depend on the context in which the name occurs. Obviously, he is not Vajrapāṇi of the group of eight Bodhisattvas in all cases without exception.

Images of Vajrapāṇi have been found in some parts of Bengal including the life-size image of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi from Śubhapur (5 miles north of Bad-kanta, Tippera district).³²

Ratnapāṇi :

Bodhisattva Ratnapāṇi is the descendent of the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava and his consort Vajradhatavisvari. He belongs to the Ratnakula. The Nispannayogāvalī describes him in the Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara-maṇḍala as 'śyāmo daksinapāṇinā ratnam vāmenābjastha - candar-maṇḍalam-bibhrāṇah' i.e., green in colour, holding the jewel in the right hand, and the disc of the moon on lotus in the left hand.³³ He is represented either seated or standing 'he holds the stalk of a lotus on which appears the kula symbol which is here the jewel (ratnacchata).³⁴ He is well known in Tibet. A metal image of standing Ratnapāṇi was found in Nepal and a sitting image is also found.³⁵ A painting of Ratnapāṇi Lokēśvara is preserved in

³² Bhattasali, 7.

³³ NSP, 58; Bhatt-I, 87; Getty represented her 'seated with the right hand in charity mudra, sometimes holding the stem of a lotus flower while the left balancing the cintāmani (magic jewel) lies in his lap. - p.53.

³⁴ Bhatt-I, 74.

³⁵ Ibid, fig, 40, 54, 66, 71, 87, etc.

the Machhandar Vahal, Kathmandu, Nepal. It is a seated figure with a sword in his left hand and the other hand in the varada mudrā.³⁶

Akṣayamatī :

Bodhisattva Akṣayamatī is given the second place in the Niṣpannayogavali. He is also mentioned in Buddhist ritualistic literature,³⁷ and is always represented in Maṇḍalas with other deities. In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala she is represented with a golden complexion, "the clenched left hand is held against the chest with the varada with rosary in the right hand" (.....
... vāmamustim hr̥dyavasthāpya savvena varadamudrāḥ).

In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala he is described as yellow in colour, wielding sword in the right hand and exhibiting the abhaya with lotṣ in the left.³⁸

In the Durgatipariśodhana Maṇḍala he is represented white and with his two hands holds the bowl with the nectar of knowledge. (jñānāmrtakalāsa dhārī).³⁹

In another place Akṣayamatī takes the same form as Amoghasiddhi with Abhaya in the right and the left lying on the lap.⁴⁰

³⁶ Bhatt-I, fig, 47(a), 399, 412.

³⁷ NSP, 50.

³⁸ Ibid, 58.

³⁹ Ibid, 67.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 46.

Kṣitigarbha :

Kṣitigarbha is another Bodhisattva. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī he is described 'as identical with his sire Vairocana with the Dharmacakramudrā and the cakra symbol'.⁴¹ In the same work he is described as yellow in colour showing the earth touching mudrā in the right hand and a lotus with the Kalpa tree (kalpavṛkṣa) in the left.⁴²

The Sādhana-mālā, however, describes Kṣitigarbha under Lokanātha Sādhana as of green colour and displays in his two hands the jar and the abhaya mudrā.⁴³

Kṣitigarbha is not common in India but in other Buddhist countries he is quite popular and well represented.⁴⁴

Ākāśagarbha :

Another Bodhisattva is Ākāśagarbha i.e. the Bodhisattva who lives in the womb of the sky. He is also known as Khagarbha. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī he is represented in the Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara Maṇḍala as of green with the right hand in the attitude of showering jewels and the cintāmani jewel in the left. (.....Savyena Sarvaratnavarṣī vāmana cintāmaṇibhṛt ..)⁴⁵ In

⁴¹ NSP, 6.

⁴² Ibid, 58.

⁴³ Sādhana-mālā, 40.

⁴⁴ Cf, setty, 102 ff.

⁴⁵ NSP, 58.

this work Ākāśagarbha is sometimes given the same form as his sire Ratnasambhava with the varada mudrā and the jewel.⁴⁶

In the Sādhnamālā, Ākāśagarbha is known by his second name Khagarbha and described as of green colour and holds the cintāmani jewel in one hand and exhibits the varada mudrā in the other (....cintamānivarapradah..)⁴⁷

Getty however, includes him in the group of eight Bodhisattvas and thinks that his essence is ether (i.e. essence of the void space). He is represented as "standing with his hands in vitarka and vara mudrā, and his special symbol, the sun is supported by a lotus at his right shoulder, while at his left is a lotus-flower supporting a book ..."⁴⁸ Ākāśagarbha is differently represented in other Buddhist countries.⁴⁹

Gaganagañja :

Another Bodhisattva is Gaganagañja who is affiliated to the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava of yellow colour in the Niṣpannayogavali.⁵⁰ Besides, the same work associates her with different maṇḍalas : Thus, for example, in the Mañjuvajra maṇḍala Gaganagañja is of golden yellow colour. In the left hand he holds the vajra in clenched hands which is proudly placed on

⁴⁶ NSP, 6.

⁴⁷ Sādhnamālā, 49.

⁴⁸ Getty, 101.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 101-2.

⁵⁰ NSP, 46.

the hip (..Vajramustim garvena Katyām nvasya ...) while the right is raised upwards in the sky. ⁵¹ In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala he is represented as of yellow colour with the right hand holding the cintāmaṇi jewel and left a bowl from which the kalpa tree is suspended (Kalpavṛkṣm dadhānaḥ). ⁵² Lastly, he also finds place in the Durgatiparīśodhana Maṇḍala. Here he is described as of white colour, holding the dharmaganga on lotus in the right hand (padmasthanadharmagañjadheraḥ ..) while his left arm rests on his hip (on lap) (Katisthvāmahastah). ⁵³ In the Sādhanamālā he is represented red holding the lotus and exhibits the varada mudrā in his two hands. ⁵⁴

Sāgaramati :

The next Bodhisattva is Sāgaramati (ocean mind). He is mentioned in the Niṣpannayogāvalī and represented in maṇḍalas. In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala he is described as of white colour, holding the conch in the right hand and a sword marked with a vajra in the left ... ⁵⁵

In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described as of white colour "with both hands outstretched and the fingers displaying the sea-waves." (... hastadvavaprasaritaḥ sarvāṅgulibhistar-aṅgābhinayī...) ⁵⁶

⁵¹ NSP, 50.

⁵² Ibid, 58.

⁵³ Ibid, 67.

⁵⁴ Sādhanamālā, 49.

⁵⁵ NSP, 58.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 50.

Vagrarabha :

Another Bodhisattva is Vagrarabha. He is described in the Niṣṣannayogāvali and in one place he is identified with the Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi.⁵⁷ In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvari Maṇḍala he is described as having the colour of the petal of a blue lotus (nīlopaladalavarna) with the right hand holding the vajra and the left showing the Deśabhūmika book.^{57a} He is also represented in the Durgatipariśodhana Maṇḍala as of bluish white colour (nīlasitaḥ) and holds the blue lotus in the right hand while the clenched left rests on the hip.⁵⁸

Mahāsthāmaprāpta :

Mahāsthāmaprāpta is a Bodhisattva who has obtained greatness of strength. In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala, he is described as yellow in colour with the right hand holding the sword and the left the lotus.⁵⁹ In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is depicted white and holds in his left hand a bunch of six full-blown lotuses (ṣaṭ-vikāsi tapadmadhārī...) while the left left hand shows the varada mudrā.⁶⁰

Candraprabha :

Bodhisattva Candraprabha i.e., light of the Moon, is first

57 NSP, 46.

57a Ibid, 58.

58 Ibid, 67.

59 Ibid, 58.

60 Ibid, 50.

identified with his parental Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha in the Niṣpannayogāvalī.⁶¹ In the same work he is represented differently in the Maṇḍalas. In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described as of white colour like the moon. He holds in the left hand the Moon on lotus and shows the Varada in the right.⁶² Next he is described in Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala as white. He holds in his right hand discus marked with a vajra, and in the left the disc of the moon on a lotus (Vāmena padmastha-candremandalam dhatte).⁶³ In the Durgatiparisodhana Maṇḍala he is depicted white, holds the moon on lotus in the right hand while the clenched left rests on the hip (... padmasthacandra-bimban bibhrāṇaḥ kaṭisthavānemustih).⁶⁴ From the above it appears that the recognising symbol of Candraprabha is the moon on lotus.

Jālinīprabha :

Jālinīprabha or Sūryaprabha is another Bodhisattva. He is described in the Niṣpannayogāvalī first in the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala as of red colours and holds in the left hand the sun on a lotus and the right displays the varada mudrā.⁶⁵ Secondly, he is described in the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala as reddish white in colour (sitāraktaḥ). He holds the sword in the right hand

61 NSP, 46.

62 Ibid, 50.

63 Ibid, 58.

64 Ibid, 67.

65 Ibid, 50.

and in the left the disc of the sun on a lotus.⁶⁶ Thirdly, in the Durgatiparisodhana Mandala he is described as red in colour and holds in the right the Vajra-pañjara (i.e. vajra marked caged) and the left rests on the hip.⁶⁷ His symbol is the disc of the sun. His red colour suggests that he is the spirited sun of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. In fact, he is identified with Amitābha in this work.⁶⁸

Amitaprabha or Amṛtaprabha :

Amitaprabha (boundless light) or Amṛtaprabha (light of Nectar) is another Bodhisattva who is represented in different Mandalas in the Nispannayogāvali. In the Durgatiparisodhana Mandala he is described as of white colour. In his right hand he holds the jar of nectar on the crown of his head and his clenched left hand rests on the hip (...mukutoparyamtakalāśabhṛtsavyekarah katisthāvāmamustih).⁶⁹ In the Mañjuvajra Mandala he is described as of red colour and holds in his two hands the jar required in the bath of initiation (...hastadvayena abhisekakalāśadhāri).⁷⁰ In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mandala⁷¹ he is described as of white colour, with the right hand he holds the double lotus and with the left hand a jar on lotus. In all representation of Amitaprabha, the 'jar' appears. Probably the 'jar of consecration' is his symbol of recognition. We find that on two occasions he is

66 NSP, 58.

67 Ibid, 67.

68 Cf. NSP, 46.

69 NSP, 67.

70 Ibid, 50.

71 Ibid, 59.

described as of white colour and once as of red. "If this appears that Amitaprabha should belong to the family of Vairocana because of his white colour. His spiritual father will be Amitābha when he is red in colour".⁷²

Pratibhānekūta :

In the Niṣpannayogāvalī, the Bodhisattva Pratibhānekūta is represented in different mandals in different colours, "thus affiliating himself to the families of Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava and Amitābha".⁷³

In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described as of green colour. His clenched left hand is placed on the lap, while he flourished the whip with the right hand ... utsaṅga-vānamustīr-dakṣiṇana choṭikāpradaḥ.⁷⁴ In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala he is described as of yellow colour and holds in the right hand the stick and in the left the sword on lotus.⁷⁵ But in the Durgatiparisodhana Maṇḍala he is of red colour and holds in his right hand a crown on lotus and the left rests on the hip.⁷⁶

Sarvāsokatanirghatamati :

As the name of the Bodhisattva suggests that he is the destroyer of all sorrows and inertia. He is also represented in

⁷² Bhatt-I, 91; cf, NSP, 46.

⁷³ Ibid, 91.

⁷⁴ NSP, 50.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 50.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 67.

the Maṇḍalas in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. In the Durgatiparisódhana Maṇḍala⁷⁷ he is described as of whitest yellow in colour and holds in the right hand the rod and the left rests on the hip. In ^{the} Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is of golden colour and his hands display the attitude of striking (prahārābhinayī).⁷⁸ In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala he is described as of red colour. With his right hands he holds the vājra with five things (pañcasucikakulīśam) and with the left the sākti.⁷⁹ His yellow colour, referred to twice, affiliate him to the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava; and red colour to Amitābha. He is also identified with the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya.⁸⁰

Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin : (Viṣkambhin):

In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described either of blue or white colour (nīlaḥ śuklo vā). His left hand displays the bhūsparsa mudrā and the right the act of pacification (prasamābhinayī).⁸¹ In the Dharmadhātuyagīśvara Maṇḍala he is blue in colour and holds the sword in the right hand and flag marked with a double thunderbolt (... viśvavajrāṅkapāṭā kādharah).⁸² As his colour is either blue or white, he is identified by some with Akṣobhya and by others with Vairocana.⁸³ In the Niṣpannayogāvalī he is identified also with Amoghasiddhi.⁸⁴ In the Lokanāthasādhana he is called Viṣkambhin and represents him with two hands,

⁷⁷ NSP, 66.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 50.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 50.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 46.

⁸¹ Ibid, 50.

⁸² Ibid, 59.

⁸³ Cf, Bhatt-I, 93.

⁸⁴ NSP, 6.

one holds the excellent jewel and the other displays the
...mudrā. His colour is ash.⁸⁵

Maitreya :

Bodhisattva Maitreya is described many times in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī. In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described as a four-armed God. The two principal arms display the dharmacakra mudrā. The other two hands show the varadā mudrā in the right and the twig of a Nāgakesāra with a flower in the left. His colour is golden.⁸⁶ In the Durgatiparisódhana Maṇḍala he is represented yellow and holds in the right hand the Nāgakesāra flower and the Kuṇḍī or bowl in the left.⁸⁷ He is sometimes identified with the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana⁸⁸ or Akṣobhaya.⁸⁹ In the Sādhanamālā he is described as of yellow colour and shows the Nāga flower and displays the varadā mudrā.⁹⁰ His recognising symbol is Nāgakesāra flower.

Gandhahasti :

Bodhisattva Gandhahasti is mentioned in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. In the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described as of green colour and holds in the left hand an elephant trunk on a lotus and the right hand displays the varadā mudrā.⁹¹ In the Durgatiparisódhana

⁸⁵ Sādhanamālā, 50.

⁸⁶ NSP, 50.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 66.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 6.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 46.

⁹⁰ Sādhanamālā, 49.

⁹¹ NSP, 50.

Mandala he is described as whitest green in colour. He holds in his right hand the conch containing sandal paste while the left rests on the hip.⁹² He is sometimes identified with the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava.

Jñānaketu :

The Bodhisattva Jñānaketu is described in the same text. In the Mañjuvajra Mandala he is described as yellow in colour and holds the flag marked with cintāmani jewel in the left hand and the right displays the varadā mudrā.⁹³ In the Durgatiparīśodhana Mandala he is blue in colour; the right hand holds the cintāmani flag and the left rests on the hip.⁹⁴ In another place he is made identical with the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava.⁹⁵

Bhadrapāla :

Another Bodhisattva is Bhadrapāla. In the Mañjuvajra Mandala he is depicted red. He holds in his left hand the jewel and displays the varadā mudrā in the right.⁹⁶ In the Durgatiparīśodhana Mandala he is white and holds in his right hand jewels and the left rests on the hip.⁹⁷

Servāpāyanjaya : Apayanjaha :

Apayanjaha is described in the Niṣpanṇayogāvalī. In the

⁹² NSP, 66.

⁹³ Ibid, 50.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 67.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 46.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 50.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 67.

Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala he is described as white in colour and displays with his two hands the act of removing sin (hastadvayena pāpeksepanābhinayī).⁹⁸ In the Durgatiparisódhana Maṇḍala he is of white colour and holds the ankusa (goad) in both hands.⁹⁹ In another place he is identified with his spiritual father Aksobhya.¹⁰⁰

Amoghadarsin :

Another Bodhisattva is Amoghadarsin. He is also described in the same text. In the Durgatiparisódhana Maṇḍala he is described as yellow in colour and holds the lotus in the right hand and the left rests on the hip.¹⁰¹

Surangama :

The Bodhisattva Surangama is referred to in the Durgatiparisódhana Maṇḍal of the Nispannayogāvali. Here he is described as of white colour, holding the sword in the right hand and the left rests on his hip.¹⁰² He is also identified with the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ NSP, 50.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 66.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 46.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 66.

¹⁰² Ibid, 67.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 46.

Section C

Avalokitesvara :

Avalokitesvara is the most popular God in Mahāyāna pantheons (the spiritual son of Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha and his śakti Paṇḍarā). There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the antiquity of the cult of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. According to B. Bhattacharya 'the conception of Avalokitesvara is as old as the 3rd century B.C.' In fact, 'Avalokitesvara is said to be the Bodhisattva who rules during the period between the disappearance of the mortal Buddha, Śakyasimha, and the advent of the future, Maitreya'.¹ In the Mahāvastu Avādāna he has been characterised as the 'Bhagavan who takes the form of a Bodhisattva whose duty it is to look around (Avalokita) for the sake of instructing people and for their constant welfare and happiness'.² In the Sukhavatī Vyūha³ his appearance is noticed for the first time. But the actual date of this work is not known.⁴ His name is referred to in the Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sutra.⁵ Getty believes that in Northern India his worship became popular towards the 3rd century A.D. and that it reached its climax in the 7th century. Both Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. and Hsuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. ^{spoke} ~~spoke~~

¹ Bhatt-I, 124.

² Senart, Le Mahavastu, II, 94.

³ Max Muller, Intro, iii-iv.

⁴ Bhatt-I, 143-44.

⁵ Date not known. That this was known to Kasyapa Matanga in the 1st century A.D. is doubtful.

about Avalokiteśvara in their accounts. His worship began to decline towards the 8th century and practically disappeared by the 12th century.⁶ The Chinese called him Kuan-yin as early as the 1st century A.D. Avalokiteśvara was introduced into Japan and Tibet in the 7th century A.D.

He is regarded as the embodiment of all that is good, 'the best of the saṅgha'; the Measured 'Light of the Sun and Moon'; The spiritual son of Amitābha, the personification of Power of universal pity. He is indeed the most popular divinity in the Mahāyāna Pantheon, specially in Nepal and Tibet. Getty says that 'his worship still extends northward to Lake Baikal and from Caucasus eastward to Japan'.⁷ Various forms of Avalokiteśvara are described in the Sādhanamālā.⁸ Numerous images of different varieties are also found. Most of the forms noted in the Sādhanamālā bear the figure of Amitābha, his spiritual father on the crown (except Vajradhara). In the earliest images Avalokiteśvara is represented with one head and two arms. Later their number increased.

Some forms of Avalokiteśvara :

1. Saḍekṣarī-Lokeśvara :

In the Sādhanamālā four Sādhanas are offered to this God,

⁶ Watters, 215, 224; Getty, 58.

⁷ Getty, 57.

⁸ The Sādhanamālā gives altogether 38 Sādhanas; it may be noted that in the Macchandar Vahal (a vihāra) of Kathmandu in Nepal there is a wooden panel around the main shrine containing representation of as many as 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara with their names. - Bhatt-I; 394 ff.

who may be either alone or may be together with Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā and Maṇidharma or may be in the company of two others. He is represented as profusely ornamented with four arms, carrying a lotus in one of the left hands and a rosary in a right hand. The other two hands are joined and clasped against the chest. He is white. The Sādhanamālā, besides, contains another Sādhana about Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara, according to which he should be holding the book and the lotus.⁹ The Karaṇḍavyūha contains a dhyaṇa about Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara. An image of seated Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is preserved in the Indian Museum. Here Śaḍakṣarī is accompanied by Maṇidhara and Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā on both his sides. Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is ornamented and beaming.¹⁰ An image of Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara group was found in the Birbhum district.¹¹ It is partly mutilated - two hands probably holding the rosary and the lotus respectively are missing; the other two hands are in the Añjali mudrā. Miniature figures of Maṇidhara and Mahāvidyā (broken) accompany the central figure.

Another image belonging to this group was found in Niyamatpur (district Rajshahi). Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is here represented seated cross legged on a full-blown lotus - two hands are shown in the añjali pose and the other two holding rosary and lotus are damaged: wearing a jatāmuktā he is accompanied by Maṇidhara

⁹ Sādhanamālā, 36.

¹⁰ Bhatt-I, 126; fig, 95.

¹¹ ASIAR, EC, 1920-21, 27.

with two arms and Śaḍakṣarī-Mahāvīdyā. His hands are displayed in the same manner as those of Śuḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara. She bears miniature images of Amitābha and four Dhyāni Buddhas on his head. This image may be assigned to the 11th century A.D.¹²

An image of the same period was found at Rānipur (Maldah) and is probably preserved in the local museum. It is a four-armed Avalokiteśvara, with his front hands in the añjali pose and the other two hands in the form, as presented in the Sādhanamālā, 'carrying a lotus in the left and a rosary in the right'. On the jaṭamakutā miniature figures of Maṇidhara occur in the right and Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvīdyā on the left respectively. The image is gracefully ornamented.¹³

In this context reference may be made to two images preserved in the Sarnath Museum. In one of the images Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is accompanied by Maṇidhara and Mahāvīdyā, all seated on lotus thrones. Under the throne are four small figures which according to B. Bhattacharya 'none else than the four guardians of the gates of the Śaḍakṣarī Mandala, as prescribed in the Kārandavyūha'; another Sarnath image of Śaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is seated in a different pose.¹⁵ Śaḍakṣarī-Lokanāth is very popular and also common in Nepal. He is worshipped in all monastery there.

¹² VSS, AR, 1936-37; 1937-38.

¹³ Cf, HB, 468, plate xxii.56.

¹⁴ There is a beautiful bronze image preserved in the Birla Museum.

¹⁵ Cf, Sarnath Catalogue, No.B(e) 6, Pl. XIV(b).

Simhananda :

Simhananda is regarded as the healer of diseases.¹⁶ The name Simhananda has been differently interpreted. According to Grunwedel it may have reference to 'an ancient legend in which the roaring of a lion awakened still-born babes to life'.¹⁷ Getty believes the title 'Simhananda' means 'with the voice of a lion'.¹⁸

Four Sādhana are offered to this God in the Sādhanamālā. Simhananda has three eyes, a jatāmukutā but no ornaments. He wears a tiger-skin, seated on a roaring lion with royal ease. 'In his right there is a white trident entwined by a white snake, and in his left there is a lotus - bowl full of fragrant flowers. From his left hand rises a lotus on which there is a sword burning like fire'. But the images discovered do not always agree with the Sādhana. The God may be decorated with ornaments.

Many images of Simhananda have been found in India. His great popularity in Nepal is shown by the fact that at Patan (in Nepal) most of the monasteries are decorated on the staircase by a pair of images of Simhananda. Simhananda is also popular in Tibet and China. In India images of this God are preserved in the different Museums of India and Bangaladesā.

¹⁶ Some believe that he is the curer of leprosy. Among the Lamaists there is a Sādhana known as Simhananda-sādhana (Getty, 60) by means of which a king suffering from leprosy was cured.

¹⁷ Mythologic boudhique, 130.

¹⁸ Getty, 60.

Khasarpana :

Khasarpana is another form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He bears a strong resemblance to Lokanātha. Like Lokanātha, he has one face and two hands. But unlike Lokanātha, he appears together with four Gods viz., Tārā, Sudhanakumara, Bhṛkūṭī and Hayagriva. He is white. He is decorated with ornaments, wears the jaṭāmukṭa and has a joyous face and his body spreads rays. He sits either in lalitā or ardhaparyanka attitude, on a lotus throne. In front of him is Tārā of green colour. Next is Sūdhanakumāra with hands in the śñjali pose and with a book. Hayagriva stands in the North. He is with a bulging stomach. Bhṛkūṭī stands to the west of Khasarpana. These are the four companions of Khasarpana. The Sādhnamālā contains a number of Sādhanas devoted to him. A black stone image of Khasarpana was found in Mahākālī (Dacca - Bangladesh) with an inscription belonging to the 10th-11th century A.D. He is accompanied by Sūdhanakumāra and Tara on the right, and Hayagriva and Bhṛkūṭī on the left. He is represented seated in lalitāsēna "underneath a trefoil arch on a double-petalled lotus carved on a saptaratha pedestal with many additional images such as "Suchimukha, the donor couple, ... ratnas, a female figure dancing to the tune of musical instruments played by others, etc." The upper portion of the prabhāvatī is decorated with figures of Pañcha-Tathāgatas. The artist deserves high appreciation for his skill in producing this masterpiece, which is regarded as "one of the noblest objects of religious art in Bengal,"¹⁹ and considered to be one of the finest products of the Pālā School of Arts.

19 HB, 468, Plate XX, 50: Bhattasali, 27-28.

An extremely mutilated image of Khasarāpana Lokanātha of the 10th-11th century A.D. in the ardhaparyāṅka posture was found at Belāsa (P.S. Bādkaṁtā, in the Tippera district). Of the four accompanying deities only the figure of Bhṛuṅgī^{at} is not damaged.

'To the left of the Nagas, underneath the lotus seat is depicted a draped figure sitting in vajrāsana with legs locked'... He bears a thunder-bolt in his right hand and a lotus in his left. This, according to N.K. Bhattasali, is a representation of Vajrasattva.²⁰

In the lowest panel, are represented from left to right :
1. Horse, 2. Swordsman, 3. financier, 4. damsel, 5. jewel, 6. wheel, 7. elephant. These are supposed to symbolise the Buddhist conception of the Seven Jewels.

In the Indian Museum there is a mutilated image of ~~Khasarāpana~~. Khasarāpana^(the) is popular in Tibet and China. A standing image of Khasarāpana is found from North Bengal (Chowrāpārā - Rajshahi) belonging to the 12th century A.D.²¹

Lokanātha :

Lokanātha is the fourth form of Avalokiteśvara-Bodhisattva. He appears either single or in the company of more than two. In

²⁰ Bhattasali, 26.

²¹ Cf. ASI-AR. (E.C.), 1930-34, 27, 32; plate 1, figures 1 & 2; ASI-AR, 1930-34, 262-263; plate CXXXI(b); HB, 468, Plate XX, 51.

some cases he appears in a group of eight Bodhisattvas, four goddesses and four guardians of the gates. The latter form of representation of Lokanātha with different deities etc., possibly reflects the entire mandala of this Bodhisattva.²²

Lokanātha has two hands, the left hand carries a lotus and the right is in the varada pose. He wears the jatāmukutā and he is seated in the lalita attitude with a delightful beaming face. He is white coloured. He may appear in the pranyāka or vajrapranyāka attitude. Standing images of Lokanātha are also come across.²³ Tārā is on his right and to the left is Hayagriva in a bowing gesture, carrying the staff in his hands. He is red in colour, appears terrible and is clad in the garment of tiger-skin.

The Sādhnamālā²⁴ describes the eight accompanying Bodhisattvas, represented on the eight petals of the lotus-seat on which Lokanātha is seated, as follows :

	Colour	Symbol	Exhibit
Maitreya	yellow	Nāga (Kesara) flower	<u>varada</u> pose
Ksitigarbha	green	<u>kalāśa</u>	<u>abhaya</u> pose
Vajrapānī	whitish	<u>vajra</u>	<u>abhaya</u> <u>mudra</u>
Mañjuhosa	golden complexion	sword & book	

²² Bhatt-I, 130.

²³ Ibid, fig, 107, 108.

²⁴ sādhnamālā, pp. 49-50.

	Colour	Symbol	Exhibit
Gagangāñja	red	lotus	<u>varada mudra</u>
Viṣkambhin	ash	excellent jewel	" "
Samantabhadra	yellowish	lotus	" "

Many Sadhanas are denoted to Lokanātha. In this he appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity. His images are found in Bengal.

An image of Lokanātha was discovered at Raghurampur, in Dacca district. He is seated in lalitāsāna; his left hand carrying a lotus and the right exhibited in the abhayā mudra.²⁵ An image of Lokanātha, in the ardhaparyāñka posture, probably of the 8th-9th century A.D., was found in the Sāladaha river, in the border of the Faridpur and Barisal district. He is found carrying a lotus in the left hand and the right hand in the abhayā mudra.²⁶

An image of Lokanātha, standing on a lotus, probably of the 8th-9th century A.D. was found at Bardarbazār, Sylhet. He is carrying the lotus in his left hand and 'blesses mankind with his right hand'. He is dressed up to the ankles with long hair falling on his shoulders. The Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha is engraved on his crest.²⁷

A twelve-armed image of Lokanātha, found at Sonarang,

²⁵ Bhattasali, 27; Plate, VI. 1.A(11)a

²⁶ Ibid, 27.

²⁷ Ibid, 25. A similar figure is found in Foucher's work of, *Iconographie Bouddhique*, Vol.I, plate, IV, p.106, Nos.2-3.

Dacca district, is preserved in the Museum of the Vangīya Sāhitya Parisat, Calcutta.²⁸

A seated image of Lokanātha, surrounded by five Dhyāni Buddhas, is reported to be included in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum.²⁹

An image of Lokanātha in ardhaparyāṅka pose seated on a lotus throne with right hand in the varada mudrā pose, was found in Poondri, Dinajpur district in North Bengal. He is dressed in dhoti and also jewelleryes and wears the jatāmuktā with an effigy of Amitābha. On its top there are two stupas on both sides. The inscribed pedestal contains the usual Buddhist formula : 'Ye Dharma hetu....'³⁰

The Cambridge MS. No. Add 1643 gives the following accounts of some images of Lokanātha found in East Bengal:-

An image of standing Lokanātha in abhāṅga pose from the village Cāmpitalā in the Tippera district with boon in his right hand and a long stalk in the left. Tārā and Hayagriva are on his right and left respectively. Two Vidyadharas are represented on the two sides above the head of Lokanātha.³¹

An image of Lokanātha seated on a lotus with the right

²⁸ Bhattasali, 27.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ VRS, AR, 1932-33 and 1933-34, p.19.

³¹ Cambridge MS. No. Add, 1643, No.19.

leg hanging with Tārā and Hayagrīva on his two sides. His right hand is in the varada mudrā and the left holds a lotus with a stalk. This image was discovered in Jayatungavarṣa in the Tippera district.³²

A standing image of Lokanātha found from Harikeladesa (East Bengal) as described by Foucher has six hands of which on the right are respectively in charity, holding a lotus, a rosary mudrā. Of the left hands, one is in the charity mudrā and the other holds a book. The image is accompanied by four figures: two on the right and two on the left. Those on the right are kneeling figure with 'an enormous belly', with 'a beak-shaped mouth' supposed to represent 'preta' and the other Bodhisattva is a Green Tārā. On the left are Tārā (red) and Tārā (yellow) with four hands.³³

In this connection reference may be made to some terracotta slabs, found in Rājasān at Sabhar, district Dacca, containing eight niches with a figure, diagonally arranged in different postures - they probably represent the Buddhist Trinity Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha. Here was also found a small and thin plaque containing probably a figure of Lokanātha.³⁴

³² Cambridge MS. No. Add, 1643, No.59; EI, XV, 303.

³³ Ibid, No.55.

³⁴ Cf, Bhatt, 32.

Hālāhala :

Hālāhala, another form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, is not popular in India. The Sādhanamālā provides some Sādhana which help the identification of the deity. Hālāhala possesses three faces sparkling with delight and love. He is always with his sakti whom he carries on his lap. In a stone image found in Nepal he appears alone unaccompanied by his Sakti. An image of Halahala was found in China.³⁵

Padmanartteśvara :

The sixth form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is Padmanartteśvara. His worship is not popular in India. No example of this form of Bodhisattva has been found in Bengal. A few have been found in Nepal and China.³⁶ There are three Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā, each Sādhana gives a different form of Padmanartteśvara. According to one Sādhana, Padmanartteśvara is one-faced with eighteen arms, ~~to be~~ standing in ^{the} ardhaparyāṅka attitude with an image of Amitābha in his jatāmukuta. An image of this kind belongs to Nepal.³⁷ The second Sādhana refers to an ornamented one-faced figure also in ardhaparyāṅka attitude but unlike the former with eight hands. A peculiar feature of this deity is that he is encircled by eight goddesses.³⁸ A two-armed, one-faced Padmanartteśvara is portrayed in another Sādhana. According to the text

³⁵ Clark, TLP, II, 65.

³⁶ Ibid, 133.

³⁷ Bhatt-I, fig, 110; cf, Clark, II, 1, 3; Sādhanamālā, 77.

³⁸ Sādhanamālā, 76.

he is seated on an animal with a representation of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the crown and is 'embraced by Padmavāsini'. This Sādhana is accompanied by a Dhyāna which gives details about the Maṇḍala and the lotus throne.³⁹

Hariharihāri-vāhana :

The name of this form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is made up of three 'Hari's' together. As the vehicle of Lokeśvara is constituted by lion, Garuḍa and Viṣṇu, each called Hari, he is given the name Hariharihāri vāhana. This form is illustrated in the finds from Nepal and China.⁴⁰ Hariharihāri is white and well dressed with the jatāmukuta on. He is six-armed. Details about the display of the arms are given in the Sādhanamālā.⁴¹

Trailokyavaśāṅkara :

Trailokyavaśāṅkara or Oḍḍiyāna Lokeśvara is another form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. There are two Sādhanas about this God in the Sādhanamālā. One of the two Sādhanas relating to this God was composed by Mahāsiddha Sarahapāda. He is one-faced, two-armed and three-eyed and is seated on a red lotus in a vajraparyeṅka attitude. Images of this God ^{are} ~~is~~ very rare.⁴²

Raktalokeśvara :

Four-armed Raktalokeśvara is another type of Bodhisattva

³⁹ Bhatt-I, fig, 112.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 136.

⁴¹ Sādhanamālā, 77.

⁴² Bhatt-I, fig, 114; cf, Clark, TLP, 219, 266.

Avalokiteśvara is that of red colour, dressed in red and red unguents, also called 'Caturbhujā Avalokiteśvara' in China, when four-armed. A two-armed variety is also mentioned in a Sādhana. There is another form of Raktalokeśvara who possesses two arms, dressed in rich clothing, ornaments, jatāmuktā with representation of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. He is also red and carries a red lotus in the left hand. There is much similarity between a two-armed Raktalokeśvara and Vajradharma.

Māyājālakrama :

The Māyājāla Tantra refers to a fierce form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara named after the Tantra. He has five faces, three eyes and twelve arms. He stands in the pratyālīha attitude with a tiger skin on his body decorated with a garland of heads. His images are rare in India; only a few are found in Tibet and Nepal.

Nilakantha :

Another form of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is Nilakantha. He is yellow. He is seated on a lotus in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude and his two arms are in the śamādhī mudrā. 'His throat shows a blue pill (of poison)'.⁴³ He wears no ornament but his jatāmukuta bears the image of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. It is held that 'the conception of this God is modelled on the Hindu deity Śiva'. There are some similarities between Nilakantha and Vajrarāga, a form of Mañjuśrī. An image of Nilakantha was found in Sarnath.

⁴³ Bhatt-I, 140.

Sugatisandarsana :

Sugatisandarsana Lokesvara, as known from the Sādhnamālā, has six hands, with a rosary in the three right hands, exhibiting the varada and the abhayā pose. In the three left hands he carries a lotus, a water-pot and a staff with three horns. He is dressed with ornaments and wears sacred thread. He bears a peaceful appearance, 'standing on a moon over lotus'. An image of this God is preserved in the Indian Museum. There is also a Nepalese drawing of this image.⁴⁴

Pratasantarpita :

Pratasantarpita, another form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is covered with ornaments. He wears the sacred thread. He bears an elegant appearance, standing on a lotus. He is white with six arms, 'exhibiting in the first pair of hands the varada poses, carries in the second pair the jewel and the book, and in the third pair holds the rosary and the tridandī (staff with three horns)'.⁴⁵ A Nepalese illustration of this type is available.

Sukhāvati Lokesvara :

The Dharmakosasaṅgraha of Amṛtānanda gives a description of Sukhāvati Lokesvara. He is seated in lalitāsana pose with a caitya on the top. He is three-faced, six-armed; one of his right hand is 'in the act of shooting an arrow', the remaining two have the rosary and the varada pose. In one of his left hands

⁴⁴ Bhatt-I, 141; fig, 117.

⁴⁵ Sādhnamālā, 89.

he carries a bow (and the lotus ?) and another is placed on the thigh of Tārā. He is surrounded by Vajratārā, Visvatārā, Padmatārā, and the like. Images of Subhāvati Lokeśvara are rare in Bengal.

Vajradharma :

Vajradharma is represented seated 'on the moon over lotus on the back of a peacock'. He holds the stem of a lotus in his left hand and 'the right causes it to blossom against his chest' with the five Dhyāni Buddhas represented on his crown.

Section D

Mañjuśrī

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī has been assigned the highest rank among the Mahāyānist Gods. Many legends are connected with his name. The different Buddhist countries have interpreted his greatness differently. He is the 'personification of Transcendent Wisdom'.¹ He is the first Bodhisattva whose name occurs with Śākya-muni in 'lotus of the Good law'. He is called Ādi-Buddha, but in some Sūtras he appears as historical figure. Getty tells us that Mañjuśrī was born out of the celestial light emanating from the forehead of Gautama Buddha. This ray gave birth to a jambu, later a lotus and 'from the interior of the flower was born the prince of sages, Ārya Mañjuśrī...'² According to the Svayambhu Pūrāna originally Mañjuśrī lived on mount Pañcaśīrsa (the Hill of Five Peaks) in China, where he had many followers including the king of China, named Dharmakara. Later Manjusri left China for Nepal to visit the shrine of Svayambhu (Ādi-Buddha) near lake Kalihrada,³ which was unapproachable. Dharmakara who was bent upon bringing the God within the reach of the people opened the valleys on the southern sides of the lake, the water rushed through the opening, leaving dry land at the bottom and thus bringing Nepal into existence. The Svayambhu Pūrāna goes on to say that Mañjuśrī made

¹ Getty, 110.

² Getty, 110; Grunwedel, *Mythologie*, 138.

³ Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, 249; Hodgson, *the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, 116.

a dwelling for himself and a monastery (known as Mañjupattana) for his followers. Dharmākara was made the king of Nepal. After fulfilling his desires he became a Bodhisattva. Thus according to the Svayambhū Purāna it was Mañjuśrī who introduced Buddhism in Nepal from China but it is not known when exactly and under what circumstances Buddhism made its first appearance in Nepal. Some scholars hold⁴ that he himself was the author of the Svayambhū ~~Purāna~~ ~~Purāna~~. It is believed that Mañjuśrī laid the foundation of Nepalese civilisation or 'a wanderer who carried Buddhism into Nepal'.⁵

Mañjuśrī as a Mahāyānist deity does not find a place in the Gandhara and Mathura schools of sculpture. He was not known to the early authors like Aśvaghosa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, etc. The Āryamañjuśrīmulakalpa refers to Mañjuśrī. He is also mentioned in the Guhyasamājatantra (A.D. 300), the Sukhāvatī Vyūha (or the Amitāyus sūtra)⁶, Fa-hien, Hiuen-tsang, I-tsing, etc. There are forty-one sādhanas devoted to Mañjuśrī in the Sādhanamālā. In the Nāmasaṅgīti he is called Ādi-Buddha, but in some of the sūtras he appears as a historical figure. In the Sādhanas he is occasionally spoken of as having descended from either Amitābha or Akṣobhya. The different colours of Mañjuśrī may be explained as due to the 'allegiance to several kulas or families'.⁷ As a

⁴ Mitra, Nepalese Buddhist Literature ; Getty, 111.

⁵ 'The first day of the year is dedicated to Mañjuśrī', Getty, 111.

⁶ This work was translated into Chinese between A.D. 384 and 417.

⁷ Bhatt-I, 102.

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is decorated with all kinds of ornaments worthy of a prince. In his commonest form Mañjuśrī carries a sword in his right hand with a Prajñāpāramitā manuscript in the left.⁸ In other variety two symbols are placed on a lotus. He is accompanied only by Yamāri or by his śakti or female counterpart or by Sadhanakumera and Yamari or by four divinities.⁹ In the Nispannayogavāli Mañjuśrī is depicted in the Mañjuśrī Maṇḍala with three faces, of yellow, blue and white colours; six-arms, in the three right hands he holds the sword, varadā mudrā and the arrow and the three left hands show the Prajñāpāramitā book, the blue lotus and the bow.¹⁰

The different forms of Mañjuśrī are noticed. Particularly interesting is a gold-plated bronze figure of Mañjuśrī recovered from North Bengal and preserved in the Rajshahi Museum. In this image Mañjuśrī is represented as standing in the dvibhaṅga pose, with an image of Akṣobhya engraved on his jatāmukuta. The left arm displays the vitarka pose, the right arm is broken.¹¹

The Sādhanamālā describes Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī as having one face¹² and two arms in the śamēdhi or dhyāna mudrā. The image of Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha being represented on his tongue. He is white. 'He is decked in all princely ornaments, wears the five pieces of monkish garments.....'

⁸ Bhatt-I, 102.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ NSP, 48.

¹¹ HB, plate, xlvi; 111 and 113.

¹² Sādhanamālā, 129.

The Sādhana-mālā describes Dharmadhātu Vagīśvara with four faces and eight arms. The Niṣpannayogāvalī gives an account of the Dharmadhātuvagīśvara Maṇḍala. In this Mañjuḥṣa is given the chief place. He is represented as seated in vajraparyāṅka attitude - he is four faced and eight armed. 10 hands are in dharma-cakra mudrā, with the other right hands he holds sword, the arrow and the vajra, while the left hands carry the Prajñā-pāramitā manuscript, a bow and a bell. A few specimens of this form come from Tibet and China.¹³ Mañjuḥṣa is another form of Mañjuśrī. The Sādhana-mālā describes Mañjuḥṣa as riding a lion with two arms exhibiting the vyākhyāna mudrā he holds a lotus in the left. He is sometimes associated with Yamāri and Sādhana-kumāra on his left and right respectively. Images of Mañjuḥṣa are rare.

There are some Sādhana in praise of Siddhaikavīra, another form of Mañjuśrī, seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude with right hand in the varadā mudrā and the left hand holds the blue lotus with the effigy of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya on his crown. In one Sādhana describing the Maṇḍala of Mañjuśrī, Siddhaikavīra is given the central position associated with four Gods, viz., Jālinī-prabha, Candraprabha, Kāśinī and Upakāśinī.¹⁴ A standing figure of Siddhaikavīra has been found in Sarnath.

¹³ Getty, plate, xxxv, 6; TLP, II, 124, 241, 262.

¹⁴ Cf. the forms of Lokanatha and Siddhaikavīra.

In this aspect Vajrāṅga Mañjuśrī is presented as an embodiment of love with the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya on his crown; he is six-armed carrying a bow of flowers filled with the arrow of a lotus bud¹⁵ in his two principal hands; he carries a sword, a looking glass, a lotus and the Aśoka bough respectively with the remaining four hands. He is represented as a youth of sixteen years displaying at the śṛiṅgāra rasa.¹⁶ The Hindu God of love, Madana may be regarded as his replica. There is a solitary Nepalese drawing of this God.¹⁷

No images of Nāmasaṅgiti Mañjuśrī have come to light from India. There is a Nepalese drawing of this God. His images are found in China.¹⁸ The Sādhanamālā also gives only one Dhyāna in honour of this God. Nāmasaṅgiti Mañjuśrī is seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude in the orb of the moon on a lotus with an image of Akṣobhya on his crown. He has three faces and four arms holding respectively the Prajñāpāramitā, a sword, a bow and the arrow.¹⁹ The Sādhanamālā describes Vāgīśvara another form of Mañjuśrī, whose head bears the figures of five Dhyāni Buddhas in a decorative style. He is seated on a lion in the ardhyaparyāṅka attitude. He carries the night utpala in his left hand. ~~In the~~ In the Indian Museum there is an image of Vāgīśvara which does

¹⁵ Bhatt-Icon, 114.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, fig, 78.

¹⁸ Ibid, fig, 79, 80.

¹⁹ Sādhanamālā, 159-60.

not follow all the details found in the Sādhanamālā account. This image carries a bell in the right hand, and sits on a lion throne instead of a lion. Images found in Nepal offer slight differences from the account as quoted in the Sādhanamālā. Vāgīśvara is a popular deity in Nepal and is also known to the people of Tibet. In another variety he is known as Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī. He is represented seated on a lion throne or on a lion. He is yellow. Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī when represented as seated on a lion appears very much like Simhananda-Lokeśvara.

Mañjuvara is differently described in two Sādhanas in the Sādhanamālā. In the first Sādhana he is shown seated on the lion in the lalitā or ardhaparyāṅka attitude with the effigy of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the head. His hands are in the dharmacakramudrā with the blue lotus bearing the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript (Dharmacakramudrā - saṃyuktāṃ. Prajñāpāramitānvitot-pāladhārināṃ).²⁰ On the other hand in the second Sādhana Mañjuvara is associated with Yamāntaka bearing a fierce look, the latter is shown carrying a staff in one of the hands and touches the feet of Mañjuvara with the other. He carries in his left hand the lotus with the Prajñāpāramitā on it. He is shown seated in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude, not on the lion. Many images of Mañjuvara have been discovered from Bengal. An image of one of these was discovered at Bara in Birbhum district with the effigies of the five Dhyāni Buddhas over the head and accompanied with Sadhanakumāra and Yamāntaka on the right and

²⁰ Sādhanamālā, 111.

left respectively. As regards mudrā or poses they closely agree with those noted in the Sādhana referred to above.²¹ Two seated images of Mañjuvara are preserved in the Indian Museum. In both, the hands are joined against the chest in the dharmacakra mudrā. In one case Mañjuvara is accompanied by two female divinities, supposed to be the wives of Mañjuvara-Mañjuśrī, viz. Kesinī and Upekṣinī. In the Museum of the Varendra Research Society²² there is a six-headed image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī surrounded by five Dhyāni Buddhas. In the Rajshahi Museum there is an image of Mañjuvara of the 11th or 12th century A.D. decorated with ornaments. He is seated on a lion in the lalitāsana pose and his hands placed near the breast exhibit the dharmacakra mudrā. A book is placed on a lotus flower, held by its stalk in its left arm.²³ A portion of the prabhāvali is broken; the figures of the Dhyāni Buddhas Amitābha and Akṣobhya are, however, preserved. This image was found at Talanda.²⁴ Mañjuvara is also worshipped in Tibet.

Another form of Mañjuśrī is Mañjuvajra who is accompanied with his śakti. His different forms are best described in the Sāghanamālā and the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta.

²¹ The image was identified at first with the Hindu goddess Bhuvaneshvari (Birbhūm Bibarans) or with Simhananda Lokeśvara. ASI-AR, EC, 1920-21, 27; cf, Bhatt-I, 117n.

²² Catalogue No. A (b) 1/64.

²³ Cf, HB, 470, plate, XXII, 57.

²⁴ HB, 470.

In all these accounts he is represented with three faces and six arms. It may be noted that there are some similarities between the Sādhanaṃālā and that given in the Niṣpannayogāvalī.²⁵ A third description of Mañjuvara found in Niṣpannayogāvalī is somewhat different and does not tally with the other accounts. Mañjuvara is well known in Tibet and China.²⁶ An eight-armed Mañjuvara with his śakti is preserved in the Baroda Museum.

Another form of Mañjuśrī is Mañjukumāra. In this form he is decked with princely ornaments and seated on an animal (suttvaparyāṅkinam...) He is three-faced and six-armed, in two right hands holding a sword, an arrow and the third in the varada pose; while those on the left side carry the Prajñāpāramitā, blue utpala and a bow respectively. He wears the dress of a mendicant.

Araṇachana, a popular form of Mañjuśrī is widely represented. The Sādhanaṃālā providing more Sādhanaṃs for this God testifying to his comparative importance. He is seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude either on a throne or on an animal, with his legs closely locked. He is associated with four figures, those of Keśinī, Upakeśinī, Candraprabha and Sūryaprabha.

Several very fine images of this God are found. An image was found at Jalkuṇḍi probably belonging to the 12th century

²⁵ NSP, 48; cf, Bhatt-I, 118.

²⁶ Gordon, IIL, 66 with the śakti under the title of Mañjunātha; Clark, TLP, II, 7, 11, 53, 198, 199.

A.D. Arapachana is seen seated in the vajraparyanka pose on a lotus carried by two Nāgas. Out of his two arms, the right forearm is missing while with his left he carries the Prajñāpāramitā. He has a smiling face and he is associated with the four divinities viz. Jālinī, Upakeśinī, Suryaprabhā and Chandraprabhā and on the prabhāvalī appears four Dhyāni Buddhas, namely, Vairochana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha and Ratnasambhava.²⁷ Two specimens one from Nepal and the other from Baroda are also available. The Sādhanamālā describes Arapachana in another Sādhana as Sadyonubhava - Arapachana or Sady^onubhava Mañjuśrī more or less on similar lines. Here he has a smiling face brilliant like the moon (smitavikasitavadanaṁ śasāṅkakantitulya śobhaṁ), he is decked with princely ornaments and represented seated on a double lotus in the vajraparyanka attitude. He carries the sword and the book and (wears the five cīrakes (rags) which are slightly folded'. He is associated with four divinities viz., Jalīnikumāra, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī'.²⁸ In the Timkar collection, New York, there is an image of Arapachana Mañjuśrī from Bengal (11th century A.D.). Black slate 3'9½". It was exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.²⁹ Arapachana is worshipped in Tibet. The Tibetan Arapachana carries a bell in his right hand. He is also known in China.

²⁷ Bhatt, fig, I.A.(11)b, 28-29; plate, VII (b); HB, 470, plate XXII, 58.

²⁸ Bhatt-I, 121.

²⁹ Ananda R. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, 244, plate LXXI.

Sthiracakra, another form of Mañjuśrī is mentioned not in an ordered form in the Sādhnamālā. He is represented as holding a sword in one hand and the other exhibits the varada pose. He is seated on the moon supported by a lotus.³⁰ He is associated with Frañña and both of them 'display the sentiment of passionate love'.³¹ He was also known in China.³² An image of this god, discovered at Malda, is preserved in the Museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad.³³ It has certain special features with a sword on a lotus with its stem held in the left hand, the right hand being in the varada pose. Seated in the lalitā posture over a lotus, the God is accompanied by his sakti on his left side. The Dacca Museum possesses an excellent image of standing Sthiracakra.³⁴

Vadirat is a form of Mañjuśrī. The Sādhnamālā gives an idea about it in a Sādhana. He is represented as a young man of sixteen years age, decorated with valuable ornaments. He is seated on the back of a tiger in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude and his hands exhibit the vyākhyāna mudrā. He is decked with various ornaments. One specimen of this God is found in the Chinese collection.³⁵

There are at least thirteen forms of Mañjuśrī according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya. Account given by Getty³⁶ broadly classifies

³⁰ Bhatt-I, 122.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Clark, TLP, II, 261.

³³ Cf. Handbook of the sculptures in the Museum of the SPP, 33.

³⁴ Modern Review, 1938, March.

³⁵ Clark, TLP, II, 272.

³⁶ Getty, 109 ff.

them into two categories : (1) Human and (2) Tantra. Of the two, the first is subdivided into three forms, viz.

I With sword and book :

	colour	symbol	mudrā
1. Mañjuḥoṣa	white	lotus supports	<u>Vitarka mudrā</u>
2. Simhanānda Mañjuḥoṣa	yellow	" "	<u>Dharmacakra</u>
3. Mañjuśrī	yellow	Simhanānda	sword held in the hand.

II To the second category are assigned the following :

With blue lotus :

4. Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī	yellow	on lion throne	'royal ease'
5. Mañjuśrī	yellow	" " "	<u>dharmacakra</u>
6. Simhanānda Mañjuśrī	"	seated on a lion (legs locked)	"
7. Dharmasānka- samādhi- Mañjuśrī	white		<u>dhyāna</u>
8. Siddhāikavīra Mañjuśrī	"	legs locked	<u>varada mudrā</u>

III With sword and utpala

9. Mañjuśrī	black or dark blue	kneeling, third eye
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IV Tantra form :

10. Jñānasattva Mañjuśrī	yellow	lotus, book, } bow and arrow } one head and four arms.
11. Vagranāga	"	One head 4 to 6 heads.
12. Mañjuvādra	"	3 heads and 6 arms.
13. Dharmadhātu Vagisvara	"	" "
14. Yamāntaka		Dharmapāla form. Archaic form with śakti.

There is much similarity between Mañjuśrī and Prajñāpāramitā. The latter is regarded as the embodiment of wisdom and Mañjuśrī is the male personification of wisdom. Images of both carry lotus and book, but there are certain distinguishing features 'either a sword is added to the other symbols or the posture differs, or the figure is masculine'.³⁷

The greatest contribution of Mahāyāna Buddhism was the Bodhisattva conception. This idea brought great success to the Buddhist religion 'and that it proved capable of converting the whole of Central and East Asia, and of winning for a time more adherents than any other religion'.³⁸ This ideal was so great that even the Hinayāna schools incorporated some of its characteristics into ~~the~~^{is} own systems.

The account given above is not merely a theoretical classification and categorisation of the Bodhisattvas. It is interesting to note the Bodhisattvas soon became objects of religious worship with many followers. They were given names, they had different attributes, spiritual and visible as described above. They are regarded as worthy of worship as Buddha.³⁹

³⁷ Conze, 54.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ In the Lotus Sutra it is said that to pay homage to Avalokiteśvara is as recompensing as the worship of innumerable Buddhas - Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, 364.

Section E

Emanation of Dhyāni Buddhas as Gods

Emanation of Amitābha :

Two gods namely Mahābālā and Saptasātika Hayagrīva emanated from the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. The Sādhanamālā describes Mahābālā as red with one face and four arms, standing in the pratyālādha attitude. The image of Amitābha is on his crown. Saptasātika Hayagrīva is also red and bears the image of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on his crown. He is fierce looking with three eyes and protruding belly. He wears a chain made of skulls.

The appearance of one of his face is like that of a horse. It may be noted that Avalokitasvara and few forms of Mañjuśrī also emanated from the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha, mentioned above.

Emanation of Akṣobhya :

A number of male deities emanated from the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya. They are fearful in appearance with the exception of Jambhala. Images of some have been found in Bengal. The male Gods emanating from the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya are listed below :

1. Candarsona is yellow with one face and two arms. He has a terrible face with a garland of 'severed heads'. He is dressed in tiger skin and his 'sacred thread consists of a white snake' (mundamālāsīraskam....sitāsarpayañnopavītam vyāghracarmanivasanam....).¹ It is said that he should be always represented in yabyam but the Sādhanamālā does not say anything about it.²

¹ Sādhanamālā, 172.

² Cf, Bhatt-I, fig, 124.

2. Heruka is regarded as the most important member of this group. There are three varieties of Heruka, viz., (1) two-armed Heruka (dvibhuja Heruka),³ (2) Heruka in Yabyam, and (3) four-armed Heruka (caturbhuja Heruka). Many sādhanas are offered to this God in the Sādhanamālā and Nispannayogāvalī. His iconographical features may be briefly summed up. He stands on a dead body in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude, with his body covered with human skin and wears a garland of human heads. His hair is arranged in the form of a crown and on it there is an effigy of the Dhyāni Buddha Aksobhya. The head is decorated with five skulls. (Piṅgorddhva-keśam Aksobhyamukutam karnakundalam Asthyabharanasobham tu sirah-pancakapālakam).⁴ He manages the vajra in the right hand and from his left shoulder hangs the khatvaṅga with a flowing banner, like a sacred thread. He carries in his left hand the kapāla full of blood.⁵ In this connection it may be noted that in another sādhana 'the khatvaṅga is described as being marked with a vajra of five thongs and decorated with a banner with jingling bells, human heads and a double lotus, the lower part of the khatvaṅga resembling the vajra with one thong....His left leg rests on the double lotus (and not on the corpse)'.⁶ An image of Heruka which may be assigned to the 11th century A.D., was discovered from Subhapur, north of P.S. Baḍkamtā (Tippera)⁷ and kept in the Dacca

³ Cf, Paul, 84.

⁴ Sādhanamālā, 473.

⁵ Bhatt-I, 156.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Bhattasali, 37, fig, 1.A(iv)b.

Museum. Heruka is seen standing in the *ardhaparyāṅka* attitude with a face beaming with joy, the hands appear to have held a kapāla and a vajra. The Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya can be seen on his tiara. The other features agree well with those described in the *Sādhana*. Getty is inclined to identify this image as the goddess Kurukulla.⁸ In the Indian Museum there is an image of Heruka, found in North Bengal. Dr. P.C. Bagchi is inclined to identify this with Sambara and assigns it to the 12th century A.D.⁹

Hevajra occupies an important position among the Tibetan Buddhist pantheons. This God made his appearance during the last phase of Buddhism. It may be noted that there is not much difference between Heruka and Hevajra; the latter name is given when he is accompanied by his prajña. There are at least four varieties of Hevajra, viz. (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed, (3) six-armed and (4) sixteen-armed. All have the blue colour and are represented in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude. The first two varieties have one face each, the third variety is with three faces and the last with eight faces. This variety bears the image of Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya on his crown. He has four legs, trampling the four Māras. In the right hands he carries the vajra, the sword, the arrow, the discus, the wine-glass, the staff, the Trisūla and the goad. In the left hand he has the bell, the lotus, the bow, the

⁸ Cf, Getty, plate, XLII, fig, 1, 129.

⁹ ASI-AR, 1934-35, 79, plate, xxiv(c); HB,471, plate xxi, 53.

raised khatvāṅga, the skull-cup, the jewel, the raised index finger and the noose.

Some images of Hevajra were discovered in different parts of Bengal : (1) An image of 16-armed Hevajra in Yab-yum attitude with his prajñā ^{was discovered} from Murshidabad. Its iconographical features agree more or less with the above.¹⁰ (2) Another image of 16-armed Hevajra was unearthed from Paharpur.¹¹ (3) A third image was discovered from the Bharamnagar subdivision of the Tripura state.

Buddhakaṭāla :

One form of Heruka is Buddhakaṭāla. He is represented with his śakti, Citrasena, one-face and four arms, standing in the ardhacaryāṅka attitude with the Dhyāni Buddha Aksobhya on his crown. ^{An} ^{of this god} image is preserved in the Baroda Museum.

Sambara :

The Sādhanamālā¹² describes God Sambara, another form of Hevajra. He is three-eyed, two-armed and one-faced with Aksobhya on his crown, standing in the Alīdha attitude upon Bhairava and Kālarātri, with tiger-skin on his body, a chain of human heads on the neck and head. The Nispannayogāvalī describes Sambara

¹⁰ Nahar Collection, Calcutta; cf, HB, plate xxi, 54.

¹¹ Dikshit, 55, Pl.xxxviii (c); ASI-AR, 1927-28, 185, Pl.xlix (a,f).

¹² Sādhanamālā, 504.

of the Sambara Mandala with four faces and twelve arms.¹³ His iconographical features tally, more or less, with those of two-armed Sambara. He is represented with his śakti, Vajravārāhi, who bears the effigy of the Dhyani Buddha, Vairocana on her crown, but Sambara bears that of Aksobhya. Getty's Sambara (Yi-dam) i.e., God Protector is also 4-faced and 12-armed.

Saptaksara :

Saptaksara is another form of Hevajra with three faces and six arms. He is represented with his sakti Vajravārāhi in the alidha pose.

Mahāmāyā :

The Sādhnamālā and the Nispannayogāvalī both describe this form of Hevajra. He is represented in the centre of a lotus with his śakti Buddhakīnī in yab-yum. He is four-faced and four-armed. He is associated with four goddesses on the four sides - East - Vajradākīnī; south - Ratnadākīnī; west - Padmadākīnī and north - Visvadākīnī. Mahāmāyā and his associates have a terrible look.

Hayagriva :

Hayagriva is the God who emanates from the Dhyāni Buddha Aksobhya and is represented as standing in lalitā attitude with

¹³ NSP.

three faces and eight arms having a terrible appearance.

Raktāyamāri and Kṛṣṇayamāri :

The God Yamāntaka is called Raktāyamāri when red and Kṛṣṇayamāri when blue. He may be worshipped alone or with his śakti. The Sādhanamālā depicts him as standing in yab-yum in the pratyālīdha attitude. He is one faced, two-armed, 'carries the kapāla full of blood in the left hand and the white staff surmounted by a yellow head still wet with blood, in the right'.¹⁴ The effigy of Aksobhya is on his crown. He is dressed in tiger-skin and ornaments of snakes (nāgābharana-vibhūṣanem pingalardhvakesam vyāghracarmam-baradharam.....)¹⁵

Kṛṣṇayamāri :

Kṛṣṇayamāri is of three different forms. Two-armed Kṛṣṇayamāri is blue with one face, standing in the pratyālīdha attitude 'on the orb of the sun on a double lotus and as riding a buffalo...!¹⁶ The four-armed Kṛṣṇayamāri is ferocious looking with three faces and accompanied by his prajāña. 'His ornaments are formed by the host of the lords of twice-born serpents who are white like stalk of lotuses. He carries in his right hand the Mudgara and the sword, and his left hand the lotus and the jewel'. The six-armed Kṛṣṇayamāri is also ferocious. He is represented with three (or six)

¹⁴ Cf, Bhatt-I, 167.

¹⁵ Sādhanamālā, 530.

¹⁶ Ibid, 547.

faces, six arms and six legs, standing in the pratyālīdha attitude with the image of Akṣobhya on his crown. The six hands carries the khadgas, the mudgara, the vaira, the ghanta, the vairapāśa and the mūsala. In the Nispanṇapogavali¹⁷ the six-armed Kṛṣṇayamāri is regarded as the principal deity of the Yamāri maṇḍala.

Jambhala :

Jambhala is regarded as a Buddhist counter-part of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa,¹⁸ the son of the sage Viśravaṇa hence called Vaiśravaṇa. Kuvera's home was on mount Kailāsa and he was made the God of Wealth by Brahmā. According to the Buddhists he was a Lokapāla. In Buddhist countries he was worshipped in many forms. B. Bhattacharya believes that Jambhala originated earlier than the five Dhyāni Buddhas and that being a Yakṣa he may be regarded as of non-Buddhistic origin.¹⁹ Kubera has both Yi-dam and Dharmapāla forms. As Yi-dam he is called Jambala. He is three-faced and six armed with an effigy of Akṣobhya (or Ratnasambhava) on his head. In his hands he carries the citron, the goad, the arrows, mongoose vomiting jewels (or tied round with a lasso, etc. - dakṣinatribhujaiḥ mātulūṅgā - nkusa - bāṇḍharam...)²⁰ Jambhala seems to have been quite popular in Bengal, as shown by the comparatively large number of his images found in different parts of the territory. Details about these finds are given below:

1. A small image discovered in the excavation of the Raghurampur

¹⁷ NSP, 36.

¹⁸ AIK, 283; HB, 471; cf, Getty, 156.

¹⁹ Bhatt-I, 178.

²⁰ Sādhanamālā, 564.

and preserved in the Dacca Museum. He is represented seated in the lalitāksepa posture, 'big bellied, with a citron in the right hand and a she-mongoose in the left' who is vomiting a jewel.²¹

2. Another stone image found in Paikpara, Dacca district with a short inscription on its back 'Jambhala Jale (ndra) ya svaha' to be assigned to the 9th century A.D. It is a seated figure in a Bhadrāsena pose.²²

3. An image worshipped in Badkamta in the Tippera district as reported by Bhattasali.²³

4 & 5. A beautiful seated image worshipped as God Siva at the village of Sukhabāspur, P.S. Munsiganj, District Dacca, as noticed by Bhattasali. Another Jambhala image was also noticed in the same place. It is of a grayish black stone, about 10 feet in height.²⁴

6 & 7. Two images identified as Jambhala, bearing all the characteristics of the God, found in Vikrampur and Rajshahi respectively, to be assigned to 11th-12th centuries A.D.²⁵

8. A beautiful image (4½ inches in height) reported to be preserved in the Aggamāhapandita Dhammavamsa Mahāthara monastery in Chittagong. The pot-bellied god holds a citron in his right hand and a mongoose in his left. 'The base contains a few purses full of coins'.²⁶ The image belongs to the 11th or 12th century A.D.

21 Bhatt, 34.

22 Ibid, 35.

23 Ibid, 35.

24 Ibid.

25 HB, 471.

26 cf, IHQ, VIII, 332.

9. A broken image seated in the lalitāsana pose on a full blown lotus, preserved in the Varendra Research Society Museum.

10. Jambhala is represented in the terracotta art at Paharpur.

I-tsing refers to Jambhala as a seated God with one leg pendent and holding a golden money bag - he was black.

Ucchusma - Jambhala :

The Sādhanamālā describes a type of Jambhala known as Ucchusma-Jambhala, having the image of Akṣobhya on his crown. He is a dwarf. He is represented in the pratyālīdha attitude with a protruding belly, standing on Dhanada. In his left hand he holds the mongoose vomiting at jewels 'on his left thigh'...²⁹ This form of Jambhala is represented in an image found at Sārnath.

Vighmāntaka :

From the Sādhanamālā it appears³⁰ that he is blue with two arms and one face. He is represented standing in the pratyālīdha attitude with a terrible appearance. In one specimen he is seen trampling on the God Ganesa.

Vajrahūnkāra :

Vajrahūnkāra is either two-armed or six-armed. The two-armed Vajrahūnkāra is described in the Sādhanamālā as 'terrible in

²⁹ Bhatt-I, 179.

³⁰ Sādhanamālā, 558-59.

appearance'. His arms display Vajrahūnkāra mudra, carrying the ghanta and vajra (Ghantāvajraprayogena mudrā - baddhakaradvayam); standing in the pratyālīdha attitude upon Bhairava. The six-armed Vajrahūnkāra is represented in the Vajrahūnkāra Maṇḍala of Niṣpennayogavālī as its main god. He is blue with three faces and six arms.

It may be noted that there are some similarities between the two-armed Vajrahūnkāra and Vajradhara in regard to the mudrā; but Vajradhara is represented seated in vajraparyanka attitude whereas Vajrahūnkāra stands in the pratyālīdha attitude.

Bhūtaḍāmara :

Bhūtaḍāmara bears a terrible appearance, he is black with four arms and is vividly described in the Sādhanamālā.³¹ He is regarded as the chief God of the Bhūtamāṇḍala of the Niṣpannayogavālī.

Vajravālānalārka :

He is another God with a terrible appearance, four faces and eight arms. He is blue and represented standing in the ālīdha attitude. 'He tramples upon Viṣṇu with his consort'.³²

Trailokyaviṣṇava :

He is represented as standing in the pratyālīdha pose attacking

³¹ Sādhanamālā, 521.

³² Bhatt-I, 184; Sādhanamālā, 512.

with his legs Mahesvara and Gauri. His appearance is terrible with blue colour, with four faces displaying different attitudes and feelings; of his eight arms, two are placed in the vajrahūnkāra mudrā carrying the ghanta and vajra.

Paramāsva :

He is represented as standing in the pratyālīha attitude trampling with his four legs Indrani, Śrī, Rati, Prīti, Indra, Madhukara, Jayskara and Vasanta. He has eight arms and four faces displaying different sentiments and feelings. He is red.³³

Yogāmbara :

In the Niṣpannayogavālī³⁴ Yogāmbara is given the most honoured place (bhagavan Yogāmbara). He is represented as seated on a lion in the ardhaparyāṅka pose. He has got six arms and three faces of red, white and blue colour respectively. Embracing his Prajna Jñānadākinī.

Kālacakra :

The Niṣpannayogavālī describes Kālacakra, who is introduced for the first time in the Kālacakra Tantra (about the 10th century A.D.). He is represented dancing in the ālīha pose 'on the bodies of Anāṅga and Rudra'. He has four faces with twelve eyes and twelve arms. He is known in China and Tibet.

³³ Cf, Sādhanamālā, 510-11.

³⁴ NSP-32.

The above account shows that there were at least twenty Gods emanating from the Dhyāni Buddha Aksobhya. All of them are blue in colour and have a terrible appearance, except Jambhala who is worshipped in many parts of Bengal. Heruka is also well known.

Emanation of Vairocana :

Nāmasaṅgiti has been described as emanating from the Dhyāni Buddha, Vairocana, 'the God of the inner shrine'. Many Goddesses have emanated from Vairocana. Nāmasaṅgiti is a deification of the Nāmasaṅgiti literature. Getty³⁵ describes Nāmasaṅgiti as a 'Dogmatic Form of Avalokiteśvara'. An account of this God is to be found in the Dharmakośasaṅgraha.³⁶ He is represented with a jātamukuta; he is one-faced and twelve-armed, which are ⁱⁿ different mudrās, seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus with a smiling face. In Nepal many images of this God have been found.

Emanation of Amoghasiddhi :

The only God emanating from Amoghasiddhi is Vajrāmṛta. The rest are Goddesses. According to the Niṣpannayogavali³⁷ Vajrāmṛta, is the chief deity of the Vajrāmṛta Maṇḍala. He is represented seated with his prajñā, has three faces and six arms and is green.

Emanation of Ratnasambhava :

From the Dhyāni-Buddha Ratnasambhava only one male deity has

³⁵ Getty, 66, 67.

³⁶ A.S.B.M.S. Fol. 91.

³⁷ NSP, 18.

emanated. He is Jambhala. Another form of Jambhala known as Ucchusma-Jambhala, as already mentioned, also emanated from him. According to some scholars Jambhala emanated either from the Dhyāni-Buddha Akṣobhya or from Ratnasambhava. The characteristic feature of Jambhala emanating from Ratnasambhava is that 'he carries the mongoose in his right hand and the citron in the left'.³⁸ He is represented either alone or with his śakti : when alone, he carries the mongoose in the left ^{hand} and 'the citron in the right'.³⁹ He is seated in the lalitā attitude. In the Yab-yum form he is represented seated in vajraparyanka attitude with his prajña, Vasudhara, he is three faced and six armed, well ornamented with a big belly.

Ucchusma Jambhala :

He is represented standing in the pratyāliḍha attitude upon Kuvera with terrible appearance, protruding belly and ornaments made of snakes. 'He holds the kapāla full of blood against his chest in the right hand and looks eagerly at it with three eyes. The left hand ...holds the mongoose'.⁴⁰

Manusi Buddhas - Gautama Buddha :

N.K. Bhattasali gives a list of images of Gautama Buddha preserved in the Dacca Museum. The list of such images as representatives of Buddha includes (a) an image of Buddha seated in

³⁸ Bhatt-I, 237.

³⁹ Ibid, 238.

⁴⁰ Bhattasali, 30-33; cf,

adamantine pose on a Padmāsana or lotus-seat, found at Ujāni in the Faridpur district. There are some miniature representations below the lotus seat; (b) an image of Buddha seated in Vajrasana and in the bhūmisparśa mudrā. It is made of white marble. Found in Mymensingh district; (c) a terra-cotta plaque with the image of Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā, from excavation at Raghurampur, P.S. Munsiganj, district Dacca, with eight stūpas including two big ones, at the site. (d) A similar, broken image of Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā 'under a trifoliate arch' with eight stūpas is found from Raghurampur, district Dacca. (e) One headless image of Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā from Ashrafpur which yielded a copper-plate of Devakhadga. (f) One cubicle slab of sand-stone with four Buddhas, seated in the dhyāni mudrā, found at Churain, P.S. Munshiganj, district Dacca.⁴¹

Special mention is to be made of the ancient site of Sabhar in the Dacca district where many Buddhist remains were discovered. The finds include : one terracotta slab with eight niches containing representation of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha seated in dhyāna, lalitā and mahārājalīla āsanas respectively. Probably this type represents decoration used outside a Buddhist structure. One terra-cotta slab containing five niches with a Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā in each case; one terra-cotta slab with seventeen niches with figures of Buddha in different poses and of two Bodhisattvas were engraved on it; one terra-cotta with Buddha and Bodhisattvas; one thin plaque with single Bodhisattvas in lalitāksepā

⁴¹ Bhattasali, 30-33; cf,

(336)

posture; one image of Buddha about a foot high in bhūmisparśa
mudrā from Sabhar. Images of Buddha in different pose are found
in large numbers in different parts of East Bengal.

Section F

Goddesses

The introduction of the female element in the Buddhist pantheon and their growing popularity came in the wake of the increasing influence of the Tantra system, when by the 7th century A.D. the rigidity of the Northern Buddhist School had positively declined, leading to the rise of female deities in many forms including ferocious forms as well as the conception and worship of sakti or female energy of a god.

Tārā :

The most beloved of the feminine deities are the Tārās 'saviouresses' who are regarded as the mothers of the world and who protect and fulfil all our hopes.¹ She is known by many different names.² Gradually the cult of Tārā became popular with the Buddhists. A group of twenty-one Tārās came into existence during the period between the eighth and the twelfth centuries A.D.³ In the 7th century A.D. Hiuen-tsang saw many statues of Tārā in Northern India. B. Bhattacharyya holds that 'Tārā is a common name applied to a large number of feminine deities in the Buddhist pantheon'.⁴

¹ E. Conze, *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, 1967, 81-82.

² There are one hundred and eight names of Tārā - *Buddhist Texts*, Ed. and trans. by E. Conze, 1954, No. 176, 197.

³ Getty, 118.

⁴ Bhatt-I, 226.

The name Tārā is supposed to be derived from the root 'tār' (to cross) i.e., the deity who ferries across (tāryati). She is the goddess who helps her devotees to cross the ocean of existence and thus become the Saviouress par excellence. In Tibetan 'Tārā' is equivalent to sgrol-ma meaning 'saviouress' or 'deliveress'. In Mongolian her name is 'Dara eke' meaning 'Tārā mother i.e., mother of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas'.⁵

There are different legends about the origin of goddess Tārā. Thus some believe that she was born from 'a blue ray that shown from the eye of Amitābha'. Again, some hold that 'a tear fell from the eye of the god of Misericordia Avalokiteśvara, and falling in the valley beneath, formed a lake. From the waters of the lake arose a lotus-flower, which, opening its petals, disclosed the pure goddess Tārā.' Lamas believe that 'Tārā was incarnate of all good women, the two pious wives of the Tibetan Buddhist king, Srong-tsan-sgam-po were regarded by them as incarnations of Tārā'.⁶ Many varieties of Tārā are noted in Tentric works.⁷ Tārās of different colours; Tārās with two-arms and more; Tārās emanating from the five Dhyāni Buddhas; seated and standing; in the company of Avalokiteśvara or others; single or in the company of other Gods.

Distinction based on colour :

White Tārā : Sitatārā :

Sitatārā is the name of the white Tārā symbolising purity and

⁵ Cf, Getty, 120.

⁶ Ibid, 120.

⁷ The book of praises of the twenty-one forms of Tārā, Ed. and Trans. into German by S. Hummel, Studien, 1950, 97-109. .

⁸ Cf, Getty, 122.

highest wisdom. She is the consort of Avalokiteśvara and is represented standing.⁹ The Sādhnamālā represents Sītātārā as white with four arms and three eyes (Tārābhagavatīm sukḷām trinetrām caturbhujām.....). She is adorned with ornaments and wears the images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on her head dress. She is accompanied by Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī to her right and left respectively.¹⁰ The worship of Sītātārā is not common in Bengal but she is popular in Tibet, China, etc.

B. Bhattacharys gives a list of white Tārās as follows :

1. Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā : This Tārā is represented seated in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude accompanied by ten female deities.

2. Mrtyuvañcana Tārā : seated alone in the vajraparyāṅka attitude with a wheel on her chest.

3. Caturbhujā-sītātārā: is accompanied by Mahāmāyūrī and Mārīcī. She is four-armed, the first pair exhibiting the utpala mudrā and the lotus, and the second pair in the varada pose.

4. Sadbhujā-sītātārā: The Sādhnamālā represents her seated in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude with three faces of three different colours (white, yellow and blue) and three eyes each; six hands - one of her right hands displays the varadā pose and the other carries the rosary and arrow. The remaining three hands exhibit the utpala, lotus and bow. She is decked with ornaments and a coron

⁹ Gēṭṭy represents her with two-arms. There are some similarities between Khadiravaṇī and Sītātārā; but the differences between the two helps us to identify the two goddesses (Khadiravaṇī is two-armed whereas Sītātārā is four-armed).

¹⁰ Sādhnamālā, 215.

with the image of Amoghasiddhi. 'Her head is embellished by five severed heads and a crescent moon' (...pañcamundavibhūṣitam-astakām archacandrakṛtasekharām...).¹¹

5. Viśvamātā: The Sādhnamālā describes her as one-faced and two-armed - the right hand displays the abhaya pose and the left hand carries the white lotus with a white serpent as her vāhana.

6. Śukla Kurukullā : Śukla Kurukullā is white with two arms exhibiting a rosary and a cup of utpala. She is three-eyed. She is decked with ornaments of snakes, thus, 'Her hair is tied up by the serpent Ananta of blue colour, her necklace is formed by the milk coloured Vāsukī, ...her ear-ornaments by red Takṣaka, her sacred thread is the green Karkhotaka, her girdle is the white Padma the lord of serpents, her Nupura is the serpent Mahāpadma..., her bracelet is the yellow śaṅkhapāla, her armlet is kulika of the smoky cloud. ...(nīlānantābaddhakeśīm...piyusavarna - vāsukīkṛtāhārām rakta-Takṣakakṛtakarnagrakundalām dūrvāśyama - Karkhotakakṛtayañṇonavitām, śukla - Padmanāgendrakṛtahārām, mṛnālevarna - Mahāpadmakṛtanūpurām, pīta-Śaṅkhapālakṛtakaṅkanām dhūmā bhṛavat - Kulikakṛtakeyūrām...).¹² She wears a crown with the image of Amitabha. She is a passionate lover and possesses a heart 'which is melting with compassion' (...sṛavadamṛtavigrahām Karuṇārdra-cittam bhāvayet...)

Jāngulī-Tārā :

While Jāngulī-Tārā is represented with four arms and one face,

¹¹ Sādhnamālā, 216.

¹² Ibid, 362-63.

herself decorated with a jata mukuta, a white scarf, ornaments of gems and white serpent. She plays the vīnā with the first pair of hands, with the second right hand she makes the mudrā of protection and holds the white serpent in the second left. She is bright like the moon.¹³

Green Tārā : Syāmatārā :

Syāmatārā is green Tārā, who is regarded by the Tibetans as the original Tārā. The list compiled by B. Bhattacharya comprising the following :

1. Khadiravanī Tārā
2. Vasvatārā
3. Āryatārā
4. Mahattarī Tārā
5. Varada Tārā
6. Mahāsī Tārā
7. Durgottarīnī Tārā
8. Dhanada Tārā
9. Jāngulī
10. Parnasābarī

The Green Tārā is represented dressed like a Bodhisattva with a crown, seated on a lotus throne, 'the right legs pendant, with the foot supported by a small lotus'.¹⁴ She is two-armed - the right hand displays the charity mudrā and the left in the argument

¹³ Bhatt-I, 191-92; Getty, 122.

¹⁴ Getty, 123; cf, Cambridge University Library MS. (No.Add.1643).

mudrā. She may be alone or in the company of many. In the latter case, her place is to the left of the principal God.¹⁵ Her companions may be 'eight green Tārās' or Ekajatā and Mārīcī or Jāṅgulī and Mahāmāyūrī.¹⁶

Khadiravani Tārā :

Khadiravani-Tārā is represented in the Sādhanamālā as of green colour with two hands displaying the varada mudrā in the right and the utpala in the left. She is accompanied by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajatā to her right and left. She bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on her crown (Haritāñi Amoghasiddhimakutīm varadot-pāladha ridaksinavāmakarām Aśokakāntā - Mārīcy - Ekajatāvya gradak-sina vāmadigbhāgām divya - kumārīm...dhyātvā)¹⁷ She is represented standing or seated. An image of black stone found at Somapura, district Dacca is preserved in the Dacca Museum. It is a seated image of Khadiravani-Tārā. The iconographical details tally with the Sādhana. It is green. The right hand displays the varada mudrā and in her left hand she holds a half blown blue lotus. She is accompanied by Aśokakāntā (Mārīcī) and Ekajatā. Eight Tārās are on the prabhavalī carrying the lotus in their left hands and the right hand is displaying the abhaya mudrā. A krittikumha is shown on the top and a short inscription at the bottom, the script of which may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.¹⁸

15 She is sometimes found in the right of Avalokiteśvara.

16 Getty, 123.

17 Sādhanamālā, 175.

18 Bhattasali, 56-57.

A small image of Khadiravaṇī Tārā is found from Rajshahi. Here she is represented seated in lalitasana on a full blown lotus, the left hand exhibiting a nilotpala and the right in the varada mudra. She is decked with ornaments and sacred thread.¹⁹ Recently the Varendra Research Museum have acquired a bronze Khadiravaṇī-Tārā standing in tribhaṅga pose on a lotus pedestal. She is two-armed. The right hand displays the varada mudrā and holds a 'full blown lotus in the left hand in such a way that it exhibits the abhaya mudrā. She is adorned with dress and ornaments, 'a prominent tilak mark on her forehead and a trivali on her throat and 'a lotus-shaped prabhāvali behind the head of the goddess'. She is accompanied by Aśokakānta Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā.²⁰ An illustrated manuscript from the Cambridge University library (Add. 1643) contains a picture of Tārā. Foucher incorporated it in his book. Stapleton obtained photographic copies of the same. The image appears to be of Syama Tārā of the Khadiravaṇī class with eight attendant Tārās. The Cambridge manuscript bore the label 'Chandradvīpa Bhagavati Tārā Arisasthāna'.²¹

Vaśyatārā :

Vaśyatārā is represented in the Sādhanamālā as seated in the bhadrasāna. She is of green colour with two arms - the right displays the varada mudrā and carrying the utpala in the left. She

¹⁹ VRS-AR, 1928 - 29, p. 15.

²⁰ JVRM, III, 1974, III, plate IV (Museum No.3037).

²¹ Cf, Bhattasali, 12.

bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown.²²

Ārya-tārā :

Another name of Vaśyatārā is Ārya-tārā. She is represented seated alone in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude. In the Nālanda copper plate of Dharmapāla there is a reference to Ārya-tārā.²³

Mahattarī-tārā :

Mahattarī-Tārā is green and she is represented seated alone in the vajraparyāṅka attitude.

Varada-tārā :

Varada-tārā is represented seated in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude. She is accompanied by four other deities, viz., Āsokakānta, Māricī, Mahāmāyūrī, Ekajaṭā and Jaṅguli.

Mahāśrī-tārā :

Mahāśrī-tārā is not included by B. Bhattacharya in the list of green Tārās. There are great similarities between her and the Varada-tārā. She emanates from the Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi as her colour is green. She may be in the list of green Tārās. The Sādhana-mālā gives a vivid description of this goddess together with her companion deities. Mahāśrī-tārā is represented seated on a golden throne covered with many kinds of flowers (suvarṇa-siṃhasana pari...nānā puspā...), with one face and two heads

²² ~~See~~ Sādhana-mālā, 178.

²² Sādhana-mālā, 178. ~~See also the same work~~

²³ EI, XXIII, 290 ff.

displaying the vyākḥana mudrā. She is decked with ornaments and crown bearing the image of Amoghasiddhi (...servālāṅkāra-bhūsitām...Amoghasiddhimukutinīm...).²⁴ Ekajatā and Ārya Jaṅgulī is to the left of Mahāsri-tārā and Āsokakāntā and Mahāmāyūrī to the right. Ekajatā is seated in the ardhanaryāṅka pose and bears an angry face with a swelling abdomen (...sakrodhām lambodarām....). She holds in her two arms the kartrī and the kapāla and she wears a dress made of tiger skin. Her colour is blue but her hair is red. Ārya-tārā is of green colour holding in one of her hands a snake and the other is in the varada mudrā (Ārya - Jaṅgulīṃ śyāmavarnām sarpavaradahastām)²⁵ Āsokakāntā is represented with a crown and holds the vajra and Āsoka flower in her hands. She is yellow. Mahāmāyūrī displays the peacock's feathers and the varada mudrā (māyūrapicchavaradahastām)²⁶ Fortunately we have got a beautiful image of Mahāsri-tārā preserved in the Indian Museum. She is seated on a throne in the Rājajīlā pose with the right leg pendant and resting on a lotus (It appears that the five Dhyāni Buddhas are on the prabhavali)²⁷ She is accompanied by four goddesses.²⁸ The iconographical features of this Tārā agree to a great extent with the description found in the Sādhanamālā.

²⁴ Sādhanamālā, 244-45.

²⁵ Ibid, 245.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Bhatt-I, 229; fig, 169; cf, Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras.

²⁸ Ibid.

Durgottāriṇī-tārā :

Durgottāriṇī-tārā is represented on a lotus with four arms displaying the noose, goad, lotus and the varada mudrā. She is of green colour. In this connection reference is to be made to the Mainamati copper plate of Ranavankamalla Harikaladeva (Saka 1141)²⁹ where mention is made of a monastery named Durgottārā-vihāra. As the name shows it was a vihāra dedicated to the goddesses named in the Sāghanamālā as Durgottāriṇī-tārā.³⁰

Dhanada-tārā :

Dhanada-tārā is another variety of green Tārā. She is represented seated on an animal with one face and four arms, displaying rosary, varada pose, utpala and book (...caturbhujām akṣa sūtravaradotpalapustakadhanām....). She is decked with ornaments and a crown with the effigy of Amogasiddhi. She is accompanied by eight goddesses. Wealth and wisdom are combined in this form of Tārā; 'Her name as Dhanada-tārā is significant, as one of the appellations of Kubera is known as Dhanada'.³¹

Jaṅgulī-tārā :

Green Jaṅgulī-tārā is four-armed and there is much similarity with the white Tārā of the same name. The mudrā being same in both the cases but the symbols are different. The symbols of the green Jaṅgulī-tārā are trisūla, peacock's feathers and snake.³²

29 IHQ, IX, 282-ff.

30 Bhatt-I, 307.

31 IHQ, XXXIV, 191.

32 Bhatt-I, 192, Getty, 124.

Parnasabari :

Parnasabari of two varieties are known: yellow and green. Yellow Parnasabari bears the image of the Dhyani Buddha Aksobhya and Green Parnasabari that of Amoghasiddhi. The former bears a smiling face (lalitahasinim -) while Green Parnasabari bears an angry smile (....sakrodhahasitananam...). The vehana of Yellow Parnasabari is 'Vighnas' and of Green Parnasabari 'diseases' which she tramples under her feet (asesarogamaripadakrantam...) There are similarities with respect to the other features. She is represented in the pratyalidha attitude with three faces, three eyes and six arms (..trimukham trinetrām sadbhujām...). Her three faces are of three colours, blue, white and red and in her six arms she carries - vajra, parasu, arrow, bow, cluster of leaves and tarjanipasa. Yellow Parnasabari is well dressed with a garment of leaves and ornaments including a jatamukuta with the image of Aksobhya (....parnapicchikavasanam....sarvalankaradharam jatamukutastha Aksobhyadharinim....). Green Parnasabari wears tiger skin and a garment of leaves, 'has a slightly protruding belly, her hair tied up above' (....saptatramalavyaghra carmani vasanam isallambodariṁ ūrdhvasamyatakesim adho...).³³

The mantra dedicated to her worship is 'Pisaci' and Sarvamāripṛasamānī' which makes her 'the destroyer of all disease and epidemics'.³⁴ Grunwedel points out that another name of

³³ Sādhanaṁālā, 308.

³⁴ Bhatt-I, 232.

Parnāsabarī is 'Sarvasavarīṇām bhagāvati' which he thinks means 'goddess of all the Savaras (Savar or Saora)'.³⁵ Grunwedel is of the opinion that Parnāsabarī is the goddess of the aboriginal tribes of India. 'Her name, some of the iconographic features such as the leaf garment, and the characteristic epithet pisāchī applied to her in the dhyāna-mantra indicates the Savara tribe as the source from which she was adopted in the later Buddhist pantheon...'³⁶ Images of Parnāsabarī, though rare are found in Bengal. An image of Parnāsabarī is preserved in the Indian Museum. The face of the goddess is broken. She is six-armed and trampling upon Ganeśa (i.e. Vighna).³⁷ Two identical images of Parnāsabarī with three heads and six arms have been found in Dacca. Their iconographical features agree in detail with those furnished in the Sādhanamālā. On the Prabhavali the five Dhyāni Buddhas are depicted and Amoghasiddhi occupies the central position. The goddess tramples with her feet 'two prostrate male figures' which symbolise diseases and epidemics against which the goddesses fight. On the base is the god Ganeśa with a shield and a sword in hand. One of the images is worshipped as Jīyas Thākuraṇī at the village of Naynanda, Dacca; the other was discovered near the village of Vajrayoginī, P.L. Munsiganj, district Dacca.³⁸

³⁵ Cf, Getty, 134.

³⁶ HB, 474.

³⁷ Bhatt-I, 270, fig, 140.

³⁸ Bhattasali, 60-61, Plate XXIII (a) & (b).

Yellow Tārā :

Getty gives a list of four Tārās, including Bhr̥ṅkuṭī, Khadiravani-Tārā, Vajra-Tārā and Jāṅgulī Tārā as yellow Tārās. B. Bhattacharyya gives a more or less similar list - only Khadiravani Tārā is replaced by Parnasābarī.³⁹

Bhr̥ṅkuṭī :

In the Sādhanamālā there are two Sādhanas in honour of Bhr̥ṅkuṭī. She is represented with four arms, one face, three eyed and yellow (caturbhujakamkhīm pītām trinetram....). Her two right arms display the varada-mudrā and the rosary; the two left arms carry the tridandī and the kamandula. She bears the image of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the crown: she is seated 'on the orb of the moon over a lotus' (padmachandrāsānasthām....).⁴⁰

Another form of Bhr̥ṅkuṭī with blue colour is known. She is represented with three heads and six arms.⁴¹

A beautiful, partly mutilated image of Tārā found at Bhavanipur in the Muñsiganj subdivision of the Dacca district is preserved in the Dacca Sahitya Parisat. The image is made of greyish black stone, seated on a lotus throne, with three faces - the front face bears a lovely expression and the right smiling; eight arms (partly broken) - she is decked with ornaments and a crown with the effigy of Amitābha.

³⁹ Getty, 124-25; Bhatt-I, 308-9.

⁴⁰ Sādhanamālā, 341.

⁴¹ See, 'Blue Tārās'.

Below the lotus seat are two lines and four images of Gaṇeśa. This shows that she is to be regarded as a sort of Dharmapāla - i.e. Defender of the Faith.⁴² This image may be assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D. Scholars sometimes identify this with the goddess Mahāpratisarā.⁴³

Vajratārā :

Another variety of yellow Tārā is known as Vajratārā. She is a popular deity and accounts about her are found in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī and in the Sādhanamālā. Her images are also found in other countries as well as in Bengal. Vajratārā is represented in the Vajratārā maṇḍala as golden yellow with four faces and eight arms - carrying vajra, noose, arrow and conch in the four right hands and yellow night lotus, bow, goad and raised tarjarī in the left hands. (aṣṭabhujā savyair - vajraṃ pāśam śaram śankham ca vibhratī vamaih pītopalam cāpam ankusam tarjanim ca...). The Dhyāni-Buddha Ratnasambhava is the spiritual father of Vajratārā (Vajratārāyāḥ kuleśo Ratnāśah....).⁴⁴ In the Indian Museum there is an image of Vajratārā with the accompanying deities in a maṇḍala as found in the Niṣpannayogāvalī, to be discussed below. The Sādhanamālā describes Vajratārā, well decorated in a circle with other Goddesses. She is eight-armed and four-faced (Mātrmandala-madhyasthām Tārādevīm vibhāvayet/ Aṣṭabhujām caturvektrām sarvā-lankārabhusitam/). On her crown are the five Dhyāni Buddhas (Pañcabuddhamukutim....). She is seated on a double lotus and

⁴² An additional feature is the representation of quiver full of arrows struck on the ground, to the right of the lotus seat of the goddess. - Bhatt, 54-56; JHAS, 1394, 86.

⁴³ See below under Mahāpratisarā.

⁴⁴ NSP, 38.

radiates red-hued light in the vajraparyāṅka attitude.⁴⁵ The Sādhnamālā describes the four deities on the four sides and also the Guardian deities as follows :

Deities on the four cardinal points - Puṣpatārā, Dhūpatārā, Dīpatārā and Gandhatārā - all of them are covered with ornaments. Guardian deities - Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭī, Vajraghaṇṭā, Usnisavijaya, Sumbha. The Guardian deities are represented standing in the Ālīdha attitude and wear ornaments made of snake. Foucher also gives the Sadhana and an illustration of this goddess.⁴⁶ We are fortunate in having a very beautiful image of Vajratārā well preserved in the Indian Museum obtained from Patharghata in the Bhagalpore district. A highly ornamented pedestal (about eight inches high) holds an eight-petal lotus on the top. The central position of the lotus bears seated Vajratārā, with her legs closely locked; eight armed. The eight petals are numbered and the 'concave side' of each petal is occupied by a female deity. It is interesting to note that 'the lotus expands and closes hiding and exposing inside figures by a skilful mechanism. When the petals fold together....it gives the appearance of the bud of a lotus'.⁴⁷ Foucher explains its method 'as a convenient method of representing her (i.e. Vajratārā) in Mandala'. It may be assigned to the 10th century A.D.⁴⁸ Another image of Vajratārā is preserved in the Dacca Museum. It was discovered from a tank in the village of Majbadi, two miles west of the P.S. of Kotalipada, district Faridpur.⁴⁹ Another image of this goddess was in the Dacca Museum, it is in a mutilated

45 Sādhnamālā, 177.

46 Foucher, Buddhist Iconography, Pt.II, 69-71.

47 Bhattasali, 46.

48 Cf, Bhattasali, 48.

49 Ibid, 48.

condition. It may be noted that in the Calcutta Museum image, the attendant goddesses are female figures standing in ālīdha posture. In the Dacca Museum image, the petals are occupied by dancing female figures.⁵⁰

Jāṅgulī-Tārā :

Jāṅgulī-Tārā may be of different forms and colours. Four Sādhanas are found in the Sādhanamālā in praise of Jāṅgulī-Tārā. In one Sādhana Jāṅgulī-Tārā is represented seated on an animal with four arms, one face. She is covered with ornaments of gems and white serpents (...sitaratnālaṅkāra - bhūsitām suklasarpair-vibhūsitām...).⁵¹ With two hands she plays the vīṇā, with another hand she carries the white snake and the fourth hand displays the Abhaya mudrā. She is white. Her symbol is snake or vīṇā. No image of this Jāṅgulī-Tārā is green. There is much similarity and dissimilarity between these two forms of Jāṅgulī-Tārā.⁵² Both these forms of Jāṅgulī-Tārā are discussed above. The yellow Jāṅgulī-Tārā is represented in the Sādhanamālā with three faces and six arms (Ārya - Jāṅgulīm ātmānam jhetiti nispādayet pītām, trīmukhām sadbhujām...). In her three right hands she carries the sword, vajra and arrow and in the left hands, the tarjarī with the noose, blue lotus and bow. She is seated on the 'expanded hood of a serpent'; and bears the image of Aksobhya on the crown (...sphītapānāmandalāśīrahsthām sarvadvyastrabharana-bhūsitām...Aksobhya-krāntanastakām...). Her vāhana is snake.⁵³ Although female deities

⁵⁰ Cf, Bhattasali, 50-53.

⁵¹ Sādhanamālā, 253.

⁵² Ibid, 251.

⁵³ Ibid, 248.

were not worshipped earlier, still it is believed that Jāṅgulī-Tārā is as old as Buddha himself. The mantra for her worship is said to have been imparted by Buddha to Ānanda. Jāṅgulī-Tārā can remove poison, heal a victim of snake-bite and even prevent such a mishap. She is popular among the Buddhists. Scholars have tried to connect Jāṅgulī-Tārā with the Hindu goddess Manasā. Ksitimohana Sen⁵⁴ pointed out that in South India among the Telegu and Kanarese speaking people - a snake goddess known as Mañchāmmā or Mother Mañchā is worshipped. He connects the goddess Mañchā with the Hindu goddess Manasā.

Blue Tārā :

Two varieties of blue tara are known viz., Ekajāṭī and Mahācina Tārā.

Ekajāṭā :

Ekajāṭā is the most powerful and ferocious Tārā. Powerful, because if one is fortunate in hearing her mantra uttered it will bring him good luck and prosperity and free him from all difficulties. Ferocious, because her appearance is terrible. The Sādhanamālā describes her three forms - more or less similar. All forms of Ekajāṭā are of blue colour. Only difference lies with regard to the number of arms ranging from two to twenty-four.⁵⁵ The Sādhanamālā represents her clad in tiger skin, with one face

⁵⁴ Pravasi, 1329, B.S.; 384-395; cf, Bhattasali, 221, ff.

⁵⁵ cf, Getty, 125-126; Bhatt-I, 193.

and three eyes (vyāghra - carmāvrtāh / Ekavaktrāh trinetrāsca...). She is short, 'pot-bellied', angry-looking and stands in the pratyālīdha attitude (...kharvā lambodarā raudrāh pratyālīdha - padasthitāh/....). She wears a long garland of heads with corpses lying near her feet (muṇḍamālāpralambitāh....)⁵⁶ On her crown there is an image of Akṣobhya. The hands are in different poses and holds different symbols.⁵⁷ An image of Śyama Tārā found at Sompara district, Dacca is in the Dacca Museum. This Śyama Tārā is associated with other Tārās including Aśokakantā and Ekajaṭā to her left and has kartri (knife) in the right hand and a karo (skull cup) in the left.⁵⁸

Ekajaṭā emanated from the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya. The Sādhanamālā gives a description of the Maṇḍala of the Aṣṭabhuja - Kurukullā. In the western gate of this Maṇḍala rests Ekajaṭā (paścimdvāra Ekajaṭam...);⁵⁹ Ekajaṭā is one of the companion deities of Mahāsrī-Tārā and sits to her left in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude.⁶⁰ Ekajaṭā is also a companion of Khadiravaṇī-Tārā and appears on her left.⁶¹

Vidyujjvālākālī :

Vidyujjvālākālī is another form of Ekajaṭā. Her appearance is terrible and ferocious. She is represented with twelve faces of different colours - each having three eyes; twenty-four arms carrying

56 Sādhanamālā, 266.

57 Getty, 126.

58 Bhattasali, 56-57.

59 Sādhanamālā, 351-52.

60 Ibid, 245.

61 Ibid, 176.

different symbols; stands in the pratyālīdha attitude and 'tramples upon the four Maras'; her ornaments are made of snakes and wears a Jatamukuta with the image of Aksobhya.

Mahācinatārā :

Mahācinatārā emanated from the Dhyāni Buddha Aksobhya. On her crown she bears the image of this Dhyāni Buddha (i.e. Aksobhya). She is called Mahācinatārā because it is believed that she came from Mahācina and was incorporated in the Hindu Tantric pantheon.⁶² The Sādhanamālā gives a description of this form of Tārā whose appearance is more terrible than that of Ekajātā. She is represented standing in the Pratyālīdha attitude wearing a chain made of heads (Pratyālīdha - padām ghorām mundamālāvibhūsitām.....) and ornaments made of snakes, with tiger-skin on. She stands on a corpse: she is one-faced and three-eyed, short with protruding belly. On her four hands she carries the sword, kartri, utpala and kapāla.⁶³

Red Tārā :

Kurukullā is the only form of Red Tārā known so far. But there are Kurukullā; with white colour also. There are many forms of this goddess. She is one faced and arms ranging from two to eight. The mantras of Kurukullā can cast spell on different categories of people. The different forms of Kurukullā, besides

⁶² Cf, Bhatt-I, 190-1; 309.

⁶³ Sādhanamālā.

the Śukla Kurukullā referred above, are as follows :

Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā :

Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā, as the name suggests, is a form of Kurukullā, worshipped in Uḍḍiyāna identified by B. Bhattacharya with modern Vajrayogini in the Dacca district. Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā bears a terrible appearance. She wears a garland made of skull and a garment made of skin and sits on a corpse in the ardhayaryāṅka attitude. Her colour is red. She is three eyed and four-armed. It is believed she is worshipped in Uḍḍiyāna but no images of her are found in Bengal.

Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā :

The Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā with its Maṇḍala constituting the Principal god ^{deś} and twelve accompanying goddesses are described in a Sādhana attributed to the Siddhācāryya Indrabhūti. She is red and wears all kinds of ornaments. She is eight armed - the first pair exhibit the trailokyavijayā mudrā, while the others carry aṅkuṣa, arrow, noose, bow, utpala, etc. Her appearance is peaceful. In the Sādhanamālā she is represented seated in the vajraparyāṅka pose. 'On the orb of the sun over the lotus with eight petals and resides in the sanctum' (Vajraparyāṅkanisannām kūtāgāramadhya-nivāsinīm prathamakaradvayena)⁶⁴ On the eight petals rest female divinities viz., Prasannatārā, Niṣpannatārā, Jayatārā, Karnatārā, Cundā, Aparājitā, Pradīptārā, Gauritārā. All of these

⁶⁴ Sādhanamālā, 351-52.

goddesses are represented seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude. Colour red and bears the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown. On the four gates of the four quarters are stationed Vajravatālī, Aparājitā, Ekajātā and Vajragāndhārī - they are represented in the Ālidha attitude with different colours, viz., red, yellow, blue and golden.

Māyājālakrama Kurukullā :

Māyājālakrama Kurukullā is red in colour with red garments. She is shown seated on a red lotus with eight petals in the vajraparyāṅka attitude. She is six-armed. Her hands display the trailokyavijaya mudrā, abhaya mudrā, kunda flower, rosary and kamandalu. The five Dhyāni Buddhas are on her crown.

Tārodhava Kurukullā :

Tārodhava Kurukullā is represented in the Sādhanamālā as red in colour with red garments and ornaments and seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude on a red lotus. She is four-armed exhibiting the abhaya mudrā and the arrow in the left hands and bow and red lotus in the right hands. She is accompanied by Kāmadeva and his wife. She wears a crown with the image of Amitābha. She displays 'amorous sentiments'.⁶⁵

Some images of Śyama Tārā have been recovered in Bengal. N.K. Bhattasali gives an account of these in his book. Following details

⁶⁵ Bhatt-I, 149.

about them are supplied by him :

1. An image made of sand-stone, representing a Syama-tārā standing in tribhāṅga pose. The right hand displays the varada mudrā and holds a half-blown blue lotus with the left hand. It is discovered from Sukhabāspur, P.S. Munsigang, district Dacca. Preserved in the Dacca Museum.⁶⁶

2. A highly ornamented and beautiful image of Tārā in black stone is found at Khaikair, P.O. Gachha, P.S. Jaydevpur, district Dacca. Preserved in the Dacca Museum. Tārā is seated on a lotus throne with one leg pendant and placed on a lotus. The left hand holds a half-blown blue lotus. The right arm is in the varada pose. To the left of Tārā there is a miniature Tārā. Two Dhyāni Buddhas are seen on the two sides of the prabhāvali - identified as Ratnasambhava and Akṣobhya. On the base of the lotus-seat is inscribed the Buddhist creed 'Ye Dharma' - the script may be assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D.⁶⁷

3. A lovely image of standing Tārā made of black stone was obtained in Vikrampura, district Dacca. Tārā here is represented, decked with ornaments and crown, standing on a lotus. On the top of the prabhāvali are the five Dhyāni Buddhas and on the two sides are two miniature figures. Tārā is standing in an elegant pose.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Bhattasali, 56.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 57-58.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 58.

Images of Tārā are found from different places in Bengal. N.N. Law visited the Aggamahāpandita Dharmavamsa Mahāttara which is a well-known monastery in Chittagong. He noticed here the following images of the goddess Tārā :⁶⁹

I. An image of Tārā in lalitāsana, height five inches with a lotus in her left hand. (2) Black chlorite stone figure of Tārā seated in lalitāsana, the right hand displays the varada mudrā. 'The base contains two lions, couchant on two sides and a pair of devotees in the middle'. These two images are assigned to the 11th or 12th century A.D.

II. The VRS acquired a miniature figure of Tārā. This Tārā is represented seated in lalitā pose, right hand resting on the knee and the left exhibiting a nīlotpala (blue water lily). The slab is ornamented with images of Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā.⁷⁰

III. Image of Tārā found engraved on a banner. In the Nesarika grant of Govinda III (Saka 727)⁷¹ it is said that Govinda III brought from king Dharma (i.e. King Dharmapāla of Bengal) an image of goddess Tārā. It is quite possible that Dharmapāla at the time of his surrender to Govinda III, offered him an image of Tārā. Dr. B.C. Majumdar⁷² holds the same view and adds that possibly Govinda III was attracted to Buddhism by his contact with the Buddhist Pāla

⁶⁹ IHQ, VIII, 332.

⁷⁰ VRS-AR, 1934-5, No.1537.

⁷¹ EI, XXXIV, 23-34.

⁷² JAS (L), XXII, 133-34, XXIV.

ruler, Dharmapāla. But D.C. Sircar holds a different view that the inscription shows that it is ^{of} ~~is~~ ^a dhvaja king Dharmapāla which bore the figure of the goddess Tārā. Of course, it is difficult to say whether the figure of the goddess was fixed to the top of a pole or was painted on the flag cloth. Hence the idea that not the ensign but merely an image was carried away by Govinda III from Dharmapāla is unwarranted.⁷³

IV. A small seated image of Tārā was found from the ruins of Kernasuvarna.⁷⁴

V. Near the Paharpur temple there was a rectangular brick temple dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā, situated in a compound studded with votive stūpas. The temple was founded by a monk named Vipulaśrīmitra in the 12th century A.D. as evidenced by the Nālandā inscription.⁷⁵

VI. A Bronze image of standing Tārā in varada mudrā with the head and halo broken off as preserved in the Nālandā Museum. It was discovered from the Nālandā monastery, site No.4 (Devapāla level).⁷⁶

VII. A bronze image of Tārā from near Mangalbari, district Dinajpore. She is represented seated in the lalitāsana on a full blown lotus. Her right hand displays the abhayā and the left hand holds the stalk of a lotus. The figure is dressed in dhoti, and

⁷³ EI, XXXIV, 135-40.

⁷⁴ Indian Arch., 1958-59, 77.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 1960, 64.

⁷⁶ ASI-AR, 1928-9, 144.

decked with ornaments - on the whole she bears a pleasing appearance.⁷⁷

VIII. Another addition to the VRS is a miniature figure of Tārā. Here Tārā is represented seated in the lalitā pose, right hand resting on the knee and the left exhibiting a nilotpala. 'Above her head is shown a miniature stūpa'.⁷⁸

Prajñāpāramitā :

Ādi-Prajña (i.e. Prajñāpāramitā) is the female counter-part of Ādi-Buddha. She is regarded as the mother of all Buddhas and thus earlier than the Dhyāni Buddhas. She did not emanate from the Dhyāni Buddhas. Prajñāpāramitā is the sacred book of the Buddhists which Buddha himself kept in the custody of the Nāgas (or serpent gods). Nāgārjuna, in the 2nd century A.D. discovered this book of wisdom and founded a new school of Buddhism. The goddess Prajñāpāramitā is an embodiment of this book. In most cases the goddess is printed on covers of the Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts. Prajñāpāramitā was very popular in Cambodia, Japan, Java, Indo-China, etc. She was also worshipped in Nepal, but in China she was unknown. In the Sādhanamālā there are a few sādhanas in honour of Prajñāpāramitā. Ārya Asaṅga also composed one Sādhana. Different forms of Prajñāpāramitā represented in the Sādhanas

⁷⁷ VRS-AR, 1927-8, No.735, 4.

⁷⁸ VRS-AR, 1934-5, 19.

on the basis of colour are the following :

Sitaprajñāpāramitā :

Sitaprajñāpāramitā is white in colour with one face and two arms. In her left hand is the sacred book, the Prajñāpāramitā and in her right hand, the red lotus. She sits in the vajraparyāṅka attitude decked with all sorts of ornaments with an image of Akṣobhya on the crown. She bears a pleasant look (...vajraparyāṅka-saṁsthitāṁ // sarvalāṅkārasampūrṇāṁ....Akṣobhyamudritāceyaṁ...) ⁷⁹

Pitaprajñāpāramitā :

Pitaprajñāpāramitā bears a similar form, only there is a difference of colour. Unlike Sitaprajñāpāramitā she is yellow, the two arms display the vyākhyāna mudrā. The Prajñāpāramitā book rests on a lotus to her left. ⁸⁰

Kanakaprajñāpāramitā :

Kanakaprajñāpāramitā also bears an identical form but her colour is golden; and the display of the arms - which exhibit the dharmacakra mudrā 'there are two books on two lotuses rising from under her two arm-pits'. ⁸¹ An image representing this form of Prajñāpāramitā is in the Indian Museum. ⁸² Although this is partly mutilated its iconographic features agree to a great extent with

⁷⁹ Sādhanamālā, 310-11.

⁸⁰ Bhatt-I, 192

⁸¹ Sādhanamālā, 321; cf, Bhatt-I, 199.

⁸² cf, Bhatt-I, fig, 142.

those given in the Sādhana. It may be noted that Prajñāpāramitā is represented in the forms found in the Sādhana's but 'the spirit of divine wisdom' is not represented in the images found in Bengal. From the Raghurampur excavations two images of Prajñāpāramitā were found. (1) A mutilated image of a goddess made of white sand-stone. The goddess is represented seated with legs locked in meditative pose, left hand in the varada pose. She is accompanied by a male attendant to her left. Tribhanga pose.⁸³ (2) A two-armed Prajñāpāramitā is also found from this excavation. (3) Besides, we have noticed a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā. In this case Prajñāpāramitā is 'invoked as holding out abhaya with a right hand and with a stem of lotus with a book on it, twining round a left arm; the remaining two hands perform the mudrā of dharmacakra.⁸⁴ (4) In the Maldah Museum there is an image of seated Prajñāpāramitā.⁸⁵ (5) An image was installed by a Bhikṣu named Dharma-śrīpāla, originally an inhabitant of Karnatakam. From there he migrated to North Bengal. This image is preserved in the Indian Museum.⁸⁶ (6) A broken image was discovered from Hili, Baghaura. It is now in the Rajshahi district.⁸⁷ The Vajrayogini grant of Samēlavarmen⁸⁸ records the gift of some land in favour of a temple of Prajñāpāramitā and other deities. Two illustrated manuscripts of Aṣṭasāhasrīkā Prajñāpāramitā⁸⁹ contain images of a number of

⁸³ Bhattasali, 42.

⁸⁴ Cf, Foucher, II, 84.

⁸⁵ cf, HB, 472.

⁸⁶ A note to the additions to the VBS Museum, 1925-26.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ EI, XXX, 255-63; cf, SHAIB, xxxiv.

⁸⁹ Cambridge University library MSS. Add. 1643; library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, MSS.A. 15; Foucher, I, Bud. Icon.

Buddhist deities of India.

Mārīcī :

Like Tara, Mārīcī is also popular among the Buddhists. She is worshipped in India, China, Japan, Tibet, etc. She is invoked by her followers differently in different countries. Thus, the Chinese regards her as 'Queen of the Heaven', and 'Mother of the Dipper'; in Tibet as 'Goddess of Dawn'. The Sādhanamālā gives different forms of this goddess; the classification being based on the number of arms, faces and colour. Her recognising symbols are : chariot with seven pigs, her 'sow face', and her four companions, viz. Varttāli, Vadāli, Varālī and Varāhamukhī. She emanated from Vairocana. Some scholars are inclined to identify Mārīcī with Vajravārahī. B. Bhattacharyya does not accept this view.⁹⁰ Getty, however, identifies Mārīcī with the goddess Aurora (Ushā) of the Āryans. Mārīcī in different forms and with different names is mentioned below.

Asokakānta :

The Sādhanamālā represents Asokakānta as standing, displaying with her left hand the bough of an Asoka tree and the right hand in the varada pose. (...Asokavrksasākḥāgravilagnām vāmapāninā // Bibhratīm varadākāradaksinākara pallavām //....)⁹¹ Her colour is yellow and she is decked with ornaments including a crown with

⁹⁰ Bhatt-I, 208.

⁹¹ Sādhanamālā, 305; Sādhana No.147.

Vairocana. Her vāhana is a sow (pig). Getty, however, represents her differently.⁹² In this form she is accompanied by Green Tārā, seated with a third eye.

Ārya-Māricī :

Ārya-Māricī is identical with Asókakānta except for the display of her arms - she carries in her two arms the needle and the string.

Māricīpicuvā :

Māricīpicuvā is known by other names such as Astabhujapita or Samkṣipta-Māricī. Her colour is yellow, with three faces, with three eyes each, of three different colours displaying different sentiments; eight armed exhibiting needle, string, ankuśa, noose, bow, arrow, vajra and branch of asoka. She stands in the alidha attitude on a chariot drawn by seven pigs. Underneath the chariot stands Rāhī. She is accompanied by four goddesses of different colours and dress : Varttālī with four arms and a face like a sow is red in colour; Vadālī carries in her four hands noose, vajra, branch of asoka and needle. She is yellow; Varālī is of white colour and Varāhamukhī carries the vajra, arrow, asoka and the bow. She is of red colour.

Images representing this form of Māricī are found in Bengal.

1. A beautiful image of Māricī in black stone, found in Faridpur, ~~is preserved,~~ is preserved in the Dacca Museum. Its

⁹² Getty, 133.

iconographical features described below, agree with the Sādhana almost in all respects. Foucher⁹³ gives a vivid description of this image of Mārīcī. She is good-looking with the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana on her taira. She has three faces with three eyes each eight hands....The goddess is placed inside a caitya.... her chariot is drawn by seven pigs and driven by Rahu. She is accompanied by four goddesses.

2. In the Dacca Museum there is a crude specimen recovered from Ujani in the Faridpur district. This image does not entirely tally with the iconographic details given in the Sādhanamālā. The Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana is absent from her hair-dress but she is accompanied by five attendant goddesses (instead of four). The pigs driving the chariot are not well represented.⁹⁴

3. A beautiful image of Mārīcī is worshipped as goddess Kali in Badkamtā, district Tippera.⁹⁵

4 & 5. Two more images of Mārīcī worshipped at Dacca, as reported by N.K. Bhattasali, are preserved in the Rajshahi Museum.⁹⁶

6 & 7. Two beautiful images in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Their iconographical features are the same as noted in the Sādhanamālā.⁹⁷

Ubhayavarāhānana :

This form of Mārīcī is three faced with three eyes each. The

⁹³ Iconographic Boudhique, II, 92.

⁹⁴ Bhattasali, 44.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 44.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 44-45.

⁹⁷ Bhatt-I, 212; fig, 152, 153.

central face bears an expression of delight and love; the other two faces are sow like; twelve arms carrying different attributes: dressed in tiger skin, a red scarf and decked with ornaments and the Dhyāni Buddha, Vairocana on her taira. She stands in the ālīdha attitude treading on Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others. She rests inside a caitya. Images representing this type of Mārīcī are rare in Bengal.

Daśabhujasita - Mārīcī :

In the Sādhanamālā Daśabhujasita-Mārīcī is described as possessing five faces of different colours; ten arms displaying different attributes; with her four legs she stamps the four Hindu gods, viz. Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā; she is white in colour and rides a car (chariot) drawn by seven pigs. Her crown is decorated with the image of Vairocana. She is also accompanied by three other goddesses of different colours. Below the chariot are the nine planets.⁹⁸

Vajradhātvisvarimārīcī: Uddiyāna Mārīcī: Vajravetālī :

These three forms are the most frightful representations of Mārīcī. There are resemblances between these three forms of Mārīcī. They are six-faced with three eyes each and a protruding tongue; twelve arms exhibiting different items. They appear inside a caitya in the ālīdha pose with tiger skin on and serpent ornaments and the images of Vairocana on their crowns.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Cf, Sādhanamālā, 285-6, Sādhana No. 139.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 280, Sādhana No. 136.

Mahāpratisarā :

Mahāpratisarā is regarded by the Tantric Buddhists as one of the Rakṣā deities.¹⁰⁰ She is represented either singly or in a group. She is regarded as the Protector of evils. Her colour is yellow, with three to four faces and eight to ten arms. She is shown seated 'on the ardhaparyāṅka or the lalitā attitude' with the image of Ratnasambhava on her crown. Her hands exhibit different attributes.¹⁰¹

Mahāpratisarā - alone :

An eight-armed and three-faced goddess of black stone is found in Vikramapura in the Munsiganj sub-division of the Dacca district. The faces are sparkling with joy. In her eight hands she displays different items, such as sword, arrow, trident, discus, thun^der-bolt, bow, 'lasso with a ring tied to the end, held in the tarjanī mudrā between the breasts', hatchet. She is seated on a lotus seat with many ornaments on. Her taira is decorated by a caitya.¹⁰² This is a lovely piece of sculpture and may be assigned to the Pālā period and 'approximately dated in the 11th century A.D.'¹⁰³ The above image is compared to another image preserved in the Dacca Museum.¹⁰⁴ It is found at Bhevanipur in the Munsiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. Bhattasali identifies this goddess with Bhrīkūtī Tārā.

100 There are five Rakṣā deities known as Pañcarakṣā.

101 Cf, Sādhana-mālā, 401-2.

102 Bhattasali, 61-2, 100.

103 HB, 473.

104 Ibid.

Mahāpratisarā in a Mandala :

The Niṣpannayogavāḷī describes Mahāpratisarā as having a 'yellowish red halo' with four faces and twelve arms (Mahāpratisarā pītābharaktaprābhamandala caturmukhā ...dvadasabhujā...)¹⁰⁵

Her place is in the centre of a Mandala together with the four other Rākṣā deities viz., Mahāsāhasrapramardani, Mahāmantrānūsārini, Mahāsītavati, Mahāmāyuri, who are placed in the four directions.

Mahāsītavati

Emanated by Amitābha. She is represented in the ardhaparyāṅka attitude with four arms and red in colour.

Vāgīśvara :

From different parts of Bengal images of the Vajrayana goddess Vāgīśvara are found.¹⁰⁶ A four-armed mutilated image of Vāgīśvara was found in Kachra in the Dinejapore district. She is represented seated on a lotus in lalitāsana pose. The lotus is placed on a 'triratha pedestal including a lion, 'the vehicle (vāhana) of the deity, and a demon'. Two of her original hands display the varaḍa mudrā and in the other two she carries a sword and a shield. She is accompanied by a female attendant. Besides this, the Rajshahi Museum possesses another image of Vāgīśvarā made of bronze,¹⁰⁷ and there are a few in the Indian Museum.¹⁰⁸ There are no Sādhanas

105 Sādhanamālā, 42.

106 Cf, HB, 474.

107 VRS-AR, 1932-33 and 1933-34, 20.

108 Cf, Bhatt-I, fig, 81, 82.

in praise of this goddess.

Hārītī : (Yakshīnī) :

Hārītī is a Yakshīnī. There are no sādhanas in honour of her in the Sādhanamālā. But there are legends about her in Buddhist mythology. According to the Samyuktavastu, Hārītī stole all the children in Rājagriha and ate them up. The bereaved parents went to Buddha for protection. At that time Buddha was living in Rājagriha. He thought out a plan to punish Hārītī. Buddha stole Hārītī's youngest and the most favourite son and hid him in his begging bowl. Hariti was greatly agitated when she saw her son missing. She went to Buddha and requested him to let her see her son. Buddha replied that her son would be restored on one condition only i.e. she must follow Buddha's teaching and allow the people of Rājagriha to live in peace. Hārītī agreed. But she asked Buddha how she will maintain herself and her five hundred children. At this Buddha asked the monks of the vihāra to supply to Hārītī and her five hundred children daily with the same kind of food which they themselves were accustomed.¹⁰⁹ It may be noted that in all monasteries in India and Nepal the command of Buddha was obeyed and on the altar of all monastery, dedication is made to Hārītī. Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing noticed in every monastery they visited in North India an altar dedicated to Hārītī. An image of black stone was found in the

¹⁰⁹ Cf, Getty, 85.

village of Pāikpādā, district Dacca. It is preserved in the Dacca Museum. The goddess is represented seated on a lotus seat with four arms. With her two original hands she carried a baby on her lap; the upper right hand exhibited a fish and the upper left hand a bowl. This image had been identified with Hāritī.¹¹⁰ The Varendra Research Society Museum has four specimens of Hāritī.¹¹¹ Also two images are found from the ruins of Khadi.¹¹²

Sitātapatrā :

A beautiful image found in Tippera was preserved in the Dacca Museum. Made of octo-alloy metal. On the top over the head of the goddess is the parasol. She is represented seated on a lotus seat with one leg pendant, resting over a lotus. She bears a sweet expression and eight-armed. In her four right hands she carries the wheel, bow, sword, vara mudrā and in her three left hands she holds the thunder-bolt, arrow, lasso.¹¹³ To the image ^{are} attached two seals.¹¹⁴ Sitātapatrā is described by Getty¹¹⁵ as a goddess white in colour, who may have three heads. 'She has eight arms and with the two normal hands holds her special symbol, the Parasol, under which she is believed to protect all true believers....The other hands hold the wheel, bow, arrow, book and

110 Cf, Bhattasali, 63.

111 (A(e) 1/327, A(e) 3/106, A(e) 2/329, A(e) 4/115.

112 VRS - AR, 1928-9, 8; Paul, 88; HB, 461.

113 The attribute in one of her left hand is not identifiable.

114 Cf, Bhattasali, 53-54.

115 Getty, 121.

lasso. Her expression is sweet.

The Sādhanamālā describes a goddess called Sitātapatrā Aparājitā with three faces and six arms who is distinguished from other ^{the} Aparājitā.¹¹⁶

Aparājitā :

In the Sādhanamālā,¹¹⁷ a description of this Buddhist goddess is found. She is depicted yellow in colour with one face, two arms, 'the right hand is raised, displaying the act of dealing a slap, while the left carries the noose round the raised index finger against her chest'. She is terrible looking and tramples upon Gaṇeśa and her parasol is raised over her head by the host of wicked and ferocious gods, Brahmā and others".

A broken image of this goddess is found in Nālandā. The upper part is lost, showing only the lower half. The figure to the right of Aparājitā (?) appears to be Indra and the rod held by him may be the parasol.¹¹⁸ Another image of this goddess is in the Indian Museum. It is similar in description to that found in the Sādhanamālā and resembles the Nālandā image. Aparajita is also represented in the Astabhuja-kumkullā. She is found in the company of other deities standing in the alīdha attitude. Aparājitā is assigned a seat in the southern gate. She is yellow in colour with the image of the Dhyāni Buddha Ratna-sambhava on her hair dress. She is four-armed; in her two right hands she holds the staff and the goad; and in the two left arms

116 Cf, Bhatt-I, 215 ff.

117 Sādhanamālā, 403.

118 Bhatt-I, fig, 189.

the bell and the noose.¹¹⁹

Vajrayogini :

An important Buddhist goddess is Vajrayogini. She does not bear the effigy of any Dhyāni Buddha on her crown. There are three forms of this goddess.

(I) Headless form :

In the *Sādhanamālā*¹²⁰ the headless form is terrible in appearance. She is of yellow colour. She is nude, her right leg is stretched and the left is bent down; she carries in her own head severed by herself with her own kartri (Svakartrikartita-svamastaka-vāmahastasthitām) held in the right hand and meditates on the blood issuing from the body. She is accompanied by two Yoginis, Vajravarnanī and Vajravairocani. On all sides of the yoginis is depicted the awful cremation ground. This form of Vajrayoginī may be compared with the Hindu goddess *Chhinnamastā*. B. Bhattacharyya concludes "that this Buddhist goddess was borrowed and incorporated wholly into their pantheon by the Hindus."¹²¹

(II) Red form :

Vajrayogini of this form is represented standing in the

¹¹⁹ *Sādhanamālā*, 351-2.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 452-53.

¹²¹ *Bhatt-I*, 247.

ālīdha attitude with red complexion on the burning ground. She rides a corpse, nude with three eyes, protruding belly and is endowed with six auspicious symbols. She carries the kapāla in the left hand and vajra in the right. She is identical in many respects to the forms of Nairātmā and Vajravārāhī.

(III) Yellow form :

This form of Vajrayogini is more or less similar to the above form except for the attributes she carried in her hands which are kartri and kapāla and not kapāla and vajra.

Vajrayogini is a consort of Heruka and ^{she is} represented in yab-yum form.

Prasannatārā :

The Sādhanamālā gives us a description of Prasannatārā of yellow complexion and terrible appearance with three eyes, eight faces of different colours and sixteen arms, with a necklace made of half-a-hundred heads (Sādrasāṭardhamunda mālakṛtahāram...) She is represented standing in the pratyālīdha attitude on the moon over the double lotus and tramples under her left and right feet Indra and Upendra and presses Rudra and Brahma between the two, and destroys the veils of ignorance.¹²² Prasannatārā also appears as a companion deity in the Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā. She is placed in the vajraparyanka attitude on the petal in the east. She is of red colour.

¹²² Sādhanamālā, 241.

Collective deities :

The Buddhists created ten Gods of directions : North, South, East and West; the four intermediate corners, such as, Vayu, Agni, Isana and Nairrta; to the top and the bottom.

Probably the Buddhists got this idea from the Hindus (cf. Dikpālas). The ten deities are described in the different Mandalas in the Niṣpannayogavāli and in the Sādhanas. They are the following : Yamāntaka, Prajnāntaka, Padmāntaka, Vighnantaka, Takkirāja, Niladanda, Mahābala, Acala, Uṣṇisa and Sumbharāja.

Besides, there were six goddesses of direction as mentioned in the Vajratārā maṇḍala in the Niṣpannayogavāli¹²³ and in the Sādhanamālā,¹²⁴ as follows : Vajrāṅkuṣī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphotā, Vajraghantā, Uṣṇisaviḷayā and Sumbhā. In addition to the above six we may add also Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Dīpā and Gandha, thus making the total number ten.

Eight Uṣṇisa Gods :

The word 'Uṣṇisa' means 'the crown' but B. Bhattacharya¹²⁵ points out they have nothing to do with crown. They seem to be an extension of the four Dhyāni Buddhas with their known symbols and mudrās. In fact, they are placed like the Gods of directions

123 NSP, 38.

124 Sādhanamālā, 185.

125 Bhatt-I, 299.

in the four principal and intermediate directions. They are mentioned in the Durgatiparisódhana Mandala¹²⁶ of the Nispanna-yogāvāli. These deities are two-armed and one faced. They are well dressed, decked with ornaments including a crown. They are represented seated on human beings. They are the following :
Vajroṣṇiṣa, Ratnoṣṇiṣa, Padmoṣṇiṣa, Viśvoṣṇiṣa, Tejoṣṇiṣa, Dhvajoṣṇiṣa, Tikṣoṣṇiṣa and Chhatroṣṇiṣa.

The Pañcarakṣā :

Both the Sādhana-mālā and the Nispannayogāvāli refer to the Pañcarakṣā deities. They are worshipped either single or collectively in a Mandala. In Nepal the Pañcarakṣā deities are very popular. They are artistically engraved with the Dhyanī Buddhas and their śaktis on Pañcarakṣā manuscripts. In Nepal the chief of the Pañcarakṣā deity is Mahāmāyūrī; according to Foucher 'the Rakṣā are presided over by Mahā-sāhasrapramardanī'. But in the Sādhana-mālā¹²⁷ and the Nispannayogāvāli¹²⁸ Mahā-pratisarā is the principal deity' while the four others occupy the four cardinal directions. But there are no fixed rules and any one of the Rakṣā deities may occupy the central position. Mahāpratisarā is yellow with four faces and twelve arms. Her head is decorated with a caitya and she sits in the vajraparyanka attitude. She is also described as bearing the image of Ratna-sambhava in the hairdress. Her recognising symbol is the umbrella

126 NSP, 66.

127 Sādhana-mālā, 401-2.

128 NSP, 42.

or jewel.

Mahāsāhasrapramardani :

She is represented white with four faces of different colours, and ten arms. She is assigned to the eastern direction, seated in the lalitā attitude on the orb of the moon placed on a double lotus.

Mahāmantrānusārīnī :

The Niṣpannayogāvalī describes the third pañcarakṣā deity as of blue colour with three faces and twelve arms. She sits in the vajraparyāṅka attitude over a double lotus in the southern direction. Her symbol is vajra.

Mahāsītavati :

Mahāsītavati, another pañcarakṣā deity is described in the Niṣpannayogāvalī as of red colour with three faces and eight arms. She is represented seated in the orb of the sun on a double lotus in the western direction. In the Sādhanamālā she is represented in green colour with six arms.

Mahāmāyūrī :

Another pañcarakṣā deity is Mahāmāyūrī described in the Niṣpannayogāvalī as of green colour with three faces and eight arms. She is represented seated on the orb of the moon on a double lotus, with "the halo of the moon and sitting on a man".

The Sādhnamālā depicts her in yellow colour with eight arms.

Gauri group of goddesses :

The Sādhnamālā and the Nispannayogāvalī describe the eight deities of the Gauri group. They are presented with a violent and fearful look with ornaments and garlands dancing in the pratyālīdha attitude and 'show the raised index finger with clasped fist against the chest, as the common gesture'. They are the following : Gauri, Cauri, Vetāli, Ghasmari, Pukkasi, Śabari, Candāli, Dombi.

Four animal-faced goddesses :

The Nispannayogāvalī describes four deities with animal faces and four deities with bird faces. In their two arms they carry the kartri (chopper) and kapāla (skull-cup). They carry the Khatvānga on their shoulders. They are sometimes four-armed. The principal face is either human or animal. In the former case, the animal face is depicted over the head or on the crown. The Nairātmā Mandala gives the following : Haṅyāsya (horse face); Śūkarāsya (sow-face); Śvānāsya (dog face); Siṃhāsya (lion face).

Four Dakīni groups :

The Nispannayogāvalī and the Sādhnamālā refer to goddesses of this group. In the Sādhnamālā they are the represented with one face, three eyes, four arms, carrying in their left hands the kapāla-marked khatvānga and the kapāla and in the two right hands

the Damaru and the knife; stands in the ālīdha attitude with ornaments made of five bones. They are the following : Dākini; Lāmā; Khandarohā; Rūpini. The Nispannayogāvalī also gives a list of deities under the following heads : Pāramitās; Viśitā goddesses; Bhūmis; twelve Dhārinīs; four Pratisamvits; four Dance deities; four Door Goddesses; four light goddesses.

Before concluding it may be noted that Hindu Gods were not unknown to the Buddhist Pantheon. In fact, many Hindu gods were incorporated and given independent forms in the Sādhanas: some were made companion deities in Mandalas and lastly, they were also assigned humiliating positions i.e. they were trampled upon by angry Buddhist Gods. They are the following : Mahākāla, Gaṇapati, Gaṇapatihṛdaya, Sarasvatī, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahesvara, Kārttikeya, Varāhi, Gaṇḍā, Bhr̥ṅgi, Nandikesara, etc., etc.

Mention may also be made of the śaktis of the Dhyāni Buddhas : Pāṇḍarā (śakti of Amitābha), Māmaki (śakti of Aksobhya), Locanā (śakti of Vairocana), Tārā (śakti of Amoghasiddhi), Vajrādhatviśvarī (śakti of Ratnasambhava), Vajrasattvāmikā (śakti of Vajrasattva).¹²⁹ Getty gives a different account where Māmaki is the śakti of Ratnasambhava; Locanā of Aksobhya; Vajradhatviśvarī of Vairocana, Getty's list does not include Vajrasattvāmikā śakti of Vajrasattva.¹³⁰ According to her all the five śaktis are dressed as 'Bodhisattvas with five-leaved crown', sitting in

¹²⁹ ADV, 42-43.

¹³⁰ Getty, 139.

lalitāsana 'the right hand in vara mudrā and the left in vitarka
pose, except Vajradhātviśvarī whose hands are in dharmacakra
mudrā'.¹³¹

¹³¹ Getty, 139.

Section G

Cundā

A popular but mysterious goddess in the Buddhist world, both in India and outside is Cundā. This name in India is found in different forms Candā, Candrā, Cundrā, Cundrā. Some of these variations seem to be of an orthographic character. The name is sometimes described as of "moon-like colour", as will be seen later¹. As suggested by E. Conze, "The Chinese and Tibetan equivalents Tchouen-t'i (T'siuen-d'ie) or Tchou-en-tche, and Tsundahi or Tsundehi - may go back to sanskrit Cundī, Candī (= Durgā !), Cunda, Chundi, or Cuntī. The Japanese Shingon sect is in doubt as to whether the name of Jundeī Butsumo, or Jundeī Kwannon, is derived from the Sanskrit sundhī (purity), Sunda (bright and beautiful), cuntī (a well), or cundī (to become smaller)".² Getty points out that in Japan "the only feminine form among the seven Kwan-non is Jun-tei (...). She is called Kotī-srī or Sapta-kotī-Buddha-mātrī-Cuntī-devī, or the goddess

¹ According to a dhārinī Cundā is described as having "a lambent flame of fire proceeding from the body and resting above the top of the head like a bright gem or as the full moon": S. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Sculptures*, London, 1871, 412; in another dhārinī she is described as "radiant as the autumn moon": A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Tokyo, 1962, 129.

² E. Conze, *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, Oxford, 1967, 254-55.

Cuntī, mother of 700,000 Buddhas. It is believed by the Japanese that the goddess is taken from Indian mythology and is Burgadevī, wife of Siva (...)"³

The form Cunda is come across in the Sikṣasamuccaya of Santideva, the Nispannayogavali of ^AŚbhayakaragupta and Sadhanakala. But the most important literary evidence regarding Cundā is furnished by the Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University library, dated in the 11th century A.D.⁴ (fig. 1). This manuscript contains the miniature of Cunda with a label which reads as follows : Pattikere Cundāvarabhavane Cundā, which means that it represents Cundā of the temple of Cundā at Paṭṭikera (Tippera district in Bangladesh). The Cambridge manuscript reference signifies that in the region to which it refers the Buddhist goddess was known by this name in the 11th century A.D. The Tanjur mentions Cundā-sādhanas in many places without referring to their authorship,⁵ though elsewhere Buddha-kīrti is referred to as the author of the work entitled Ārya-Cundā-sādhana.⁶ The name Candra appears in the Ārya-mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and Cundāvajrī in the Tantric work entitled Guhyasamāja.

Nothing definite is mentioned about her origin. She is

³ Getty, op. cit., 93.

⁴ Add. 1643.

⁵ A. Chattopadhyaya, ed., Catalogue of Kanjur and Tanjur, Calcutta, 1972, 132-33.

⁶ Ibid, 133 (ng. lxxxvi.36. 156a, 4 - 156b, 5).

sometimes called "Mother of Buddha".⁷ According to the Nispannayogāvalī,⁸ Cundā "is the embodiment of the Buddhist dhārinī work called Cundā-dhārinī".⁹ The Nispannayogāvalī knows twelve Dhārinī deities. The Sādhanemālā gives the mantra in which the goddess Cundā is invoked : Om Cale Cule Cunde Svāhā. The name being used here in the vocative case.

Cundā is affiliated to different Dhyāni Buddhas. Thus, on the basis of a statement in the Nispannayogāvalī under the Mañjuvajra-mandala, she appears to be affiliated to the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana.¹⁰ In the same work but under a different mandala, viz Dharmadhātu-Vajrisvara-mandala, Cundā is regarded as one of the Dhārinī goddesses and assigned to the Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi.¹¹ According to Getty she emanated from Vajrasattva, whose image may be exhibited on her head-dress.¹²

The available representations of Cunda in art and iconography and her description in literature may conveniently be classified according to the number of arms with which the goddess is endowed, though in some cases, as we shall see later, the question of her identification remains controversial. For this

⁷ Getty, op. cit., 129.

⁸ Māhapandita Abhayākaragupta, Nispannayogāvalī, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, (Gaekwad Oriental Series, CIX), Baroda, 1949, 57.

⁹ Dhārinīs are a peculiar kind of Buddhist literature.

¹⁰ NSP, 52; B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Calcutta, 1968.

¹¹ NSP, 57, 219-20.

¹² Getty, op. cit., 129.

classification we have to take into account : (a) images preserved in the different Museums, (b) descriptions of the goddess in the sādhanas, (c) her association with other deities as indicated in respective mandalas, and (d) manuscript-paintings, especially those on the Cambridge manuscript already referred to.

In the first place a two-armed goddess Cundā appearing in a mandala is described in the Nispannayogāvalī as of white colour, holding in her two hands the rosary on which a kamandalu is suspended (Cundā śuklā aksasūtrāvalambita-kamandaludhara).¹³ In this context reference may be made to two two-armed images, one preserved in the Djakarta Museum with her pair of hands in the dhyāna-mudrā¹⁴ identified by some with Prajñāpāramitā but with Cundā by Conze.¹⁵ The second image is a Java bronze holding a bowl.¹⁶ She is also identified with Prajñāpāramitā, but Conze identifies her like the one above, with Cundā.¹⁷

A four-armed goddess is mentioned in the Sādhana-mālā with "colour of the autumn moon", one face, and four arms displaying the varada-mudrā in the right hand and holding a book on the lotus in the left. The other two hands hold a bowl. She is to be decked in all kinds of ornaments (śaraccandrābhām caturbhujām

¹³ NSP, 57.

¹⁴ No. 639a.

¹⁵ Conze, 255.

¹⁶ No. 3614 of the Rotterdam Museum.

¹⁷ Conze, 255.

daksinena varadām vāme pustakāṅkitapadmaharām karadvaye
pāthadharām sarvāṅkārābhūsitām.¹⁸ It may be noted that the
 image holds a bowl (pātra), as mentioned in the above text but
 the two hands are in the dhyāna-mudrā though not specifically
 mentioned as such in the sādhana, quoted above. An image
 corresponding with the above sādhana is said to have been in
 the collection of W.B. Whitney of America, now preserved in the
 Freer Gallery of Art.¹⁹ Getty's description of the goddess is
 slightly different. She is described as "red in colour", the
 upper hand holding a rosary and a book respectively, while the
 lower one is in "meditation" mudrā holding a vase; she has a
 sweet expression.²⁰ With this description agrees the miniature
 of the goddess from Vumkarānagare in Lāntadece (read Lata),
 illustrated in the Cambridge manuscript:²¹ "Bodh. fém. rouge,
 assise à l'indienne, à quatre bras, la 1^{re} paire de m. est dans
 la pose de la méditation et tient un vase arrondi; la 2^{me} paire
 tient à d. le rosaire, à g. le livre. - Halo. - Per..." (fig.2).
 And also the four-armed Cundā on the outside panel of the temple
 of Candi Mendut in Java.²² Clark has reproduced a "Caturbhūja-
 Cundā" of China, the first two hands displaying the varadā-mudrā
 and the other two hands like the above, holding a bowl.²³ She

¹⁸ Sādhanamālā, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, (Gaekwad Oriental Series,
 26 and 41), Baroda, 1925-28, 271.

¹⁹ Bhattacharyya, IBI, 221.

²⁰ Getty, 129.

²¹ A. Foucher, Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après
 du documents nouveaux, Paris, 1900, 200, no. 58.

²² Cf, Getty, 129.

²³ W.E. Clark, Two Lamaistic Pantheons, New York, 1965, 284.

has also a sweet expression and is well decked. R. Linossier mentions a four-armed yellow goddess on a Tibetan banner and identifies her with Cundā, whose right hand holds a vajra, the left rests in the lap, holding a bowl. The second right hand holds the rosary, the second left the book.²⁴ A four-armed Cundā is portrayed in Cave no.12 at Ellora, two of her hands displaying the dhyāna-mudrā with a bowl or vase. Besides these, some examples of four-armed Cunda as represented in mandalas are available. Thus in the Astabhuja-Kurukullā-mandala the two right hands of the goddess display the varadā-mudrā and the arrow drawn to the ears and the two left hands hold the blue lotus and the bow.²⁵ In the Kālacakra-mandala Cundā is with four arms. In the two right hands she carries a mudgara (club) and a kunta (knife) and in the two left hands a padma (lotus) and a danda (staff). Thus from a study of the images so far recovered and the relevant texts quoted above, it will appear, generally speaking, that the four-armed Cunda, a popular goddess, had as her attributes book, lotus, bowl or vase, rosary, bow and arrow, club, knife, staff, etc. The gestures of the arms of this goddess as noticed are the varada-mudrā and the dhyāna-mudrā. In respect of the latter mudrā, the texts, as we have seen, describe the two hands as holding a vase or pātra, without naming the mudrā as

²⁴ R. Linossier, "Les peintures tibétaines de la Collection Loo", in *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932, I, 24; cf, Conze, 249.

²⁵ *Sadhanamala*, 352.

dhyāna-mudrā. The mudrā, as depicted in the images, shows the posture of meditation, with a vase on the two hands. The discussion on the dhyāni-mudrā is relevant to four-armed images of Cundā as many-armed images do not show this characteristic. The presence of the vessel on the palms may find some explanation in a story²⁶ which runs as follows : "...On the seventh day of the third month the spirit of a tree under which Buddha had for seven week been in a state of samādhi (deep meditation) took notice of Buddha's long absence from food. Some travelling merchants passed at that moment, and, their way being blocked by insurmountable objects, they asked the spirit of the tree to help them. He called their attention to the presence of the Buddha, and told them that they should offer him food. The four kings of the Devas (Lokapāla) had four sweet-smelling bowls, which they filled with the barley mixed with honey that the merchants offered. Buddha took all the four bowls through fear of offending one of the kings, and, placing one on top of the other on his left hand, formed them into one. It is believed that when Maitreya comes upon earth as a Manushi Buddha the pātra will again become four bowls". This story is somewhat significant in explaining the dhyāna-mudrā and the bowl in a four-armed Cundā.

A Cundā with six arms is portrayed in Cave no.10 at Ellora

²⁶ J. Edkin, Chinese Buddhism, London, 1893, 24.

and an eight-armed Cundā is kept in the Leyden Museum of Ethnology,²⁷ while a second one with eight arms is illustrated on a panel in the Candī Mendut, Java : it is represented standing.

A twenty-armed goddess made of bronze, discovered from site No.1 at Nālandā,²⁸ is sometimes taken as an image of Cundā. But F.D.K. Bosch and others have identified her with a special form of Parjañāpāramitā.²⁹ A. Ghosh gives the attributes in the left hands from below upwards as a flask, noose, sankha, book-on-lotus and dhvaja. The attributes in the other hands are fruit, rosary, sword, abhaya-mudrā and an indistinct object.³⁰

Cundā is depicted as a sixteen-armed goddess in an illustration in the Cambridge University manuscript, already referred to (fig.1). She is shown seated on a lotus throne in vajrāsana. Foucher describes this goddess as : "Bodh. fém. jaune, assise à l'indienne, à seize bras. La première paire de m. est réunie dans le geste de l'enseignement; les quatorze autres sont: à d. 1° en charité, ou tenant 2° le foudre, 3° le disque, 4° la massue, 5° l'épée, 6° la flèche, 7° le rosaire; à g. 1° le flacon, 2° la hache, 3° le trident, 4° l'arc, 5° le couteau recourbe, 6° ?, 7° le sceptre d'or - Halo". (Female Bodhisattva with sixteen arms. She is yellow, seated cross-legged. The first two hands

²⁷ No.1630-18 : Catalogues van's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, V. Javaansche Oudheden, Leiden, 1909, 108; pl.XIV, fig. 1.

²⁸ Nālandā Museum Reg. no. I-370.

²⁹ F.D.K. Bosch, Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1926, Weltevreden, 1927, 30.

³⁰ A. Ghosh, A Guide to Nālandā, Delhi, 1939, 29 ff.

are joined in the gesture of teaching. One of the fourteen hands (on the right) is in the varadā-mudrā, the other hands hold thunder-bolt, discus, club, sword,³¹ arrow³² and rosary; the seven left hands respectively carry : flask, axe, trident, bow, curved knife and sceptre. No clear idea can be formed of the object held by it on the sixth left hand.³³ The attributes in some cases have been differently identified but it is certain that the goddess, so represented, is Cundā, as she has been named as such in the label of the manuscript. Considering the nature of some of the different attributes held by the goddess, Getty concludes that "Cundā with sixteen arms is war-like in appearance. (compare the Hindu goddess Candī worshipped in her military aspect)".³⁴

In this context reference may be made also to an image from Nepal described by B. Bhattacharyya as sixteen-armed, now preserved in the Baroda Museum (fig. 3). On the pedestal there is the prostrate figure of a man lying on his back, on which the goddess is found seated in the pariyāṅka-āsana, richly dressed and covered with ornaments. The two principal hands are arranged in the form of a mudrā, "which is akin to dharmacakra". The remaining seven hands display (downwards from the top), 1. sword, 2. damaru (kettle-drum), 3. knife, 4. (broken), 5. hammer, 6. garland of

³¹ Bhattacharyya, IBI, 223: "dagger"

³² Ibid, "indistinct".

³³ Foucher, 199, no.51.

³⁴ Getty, 93, 129.

jewels, 7. abhaya-mudrā. The remaining seven left hands show likewise 1. discus, 2. bell, 3. noose, 4. dagger, 5. goad, 6. arrow and 7. varada-mudrā. The deity is one-faced.³⁵ B. Bhattacharyya identifies the Baroda Museum image with Cunda in spite of some minor variations as he himself notes.³⁶ Van Lohuzien-de Leeuw describes some of the features differently and criticizes the proposed identification mainly on the following grounds as advanced by her : (1) the first pair of hands are not in dharmacakra-mudrā "as is customary for all Cundā figures with numerous arms", (2) such attributes as the flask, lotus, rosary and book which occur in all Cundā images are conspicuously absent, and (3) finally she points out that none of the known representations of Cundā whether many-armed or otherwise, are actually seated on a human figure.³⁷ According to B. Bhattacharyya, however, "The special feature of the Baroda Museum image is its seat which is on the prostrate figure of a man".³⁸ Although absent in all the other available images of Cundā, this, in his opinion, is really a characteristic of Cunda, "which is not against the direction of the Sādhana". Cundā, he points out, is said in the sādhana to be seated on a sattvaparyanka or a seat spread on a sattva, which usually means a man or an animal.³⁹ The identification proposed by B. Bhattacharyya, is thus shown

³⁵ Bhatt-I, 224; all the sixteen arms are not clearly depicted in the photograph (see fig.3)

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ J.E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, in Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume, ed. A.B.M. Habibullah, Dacca, 1966, 136-38.

³⁸ Bhatt-I, 224.

³⁹ Ibid.

to be supported by textual authority. It may be said, however, that the number of arms and the attributes carried in most of them are not clear from the annexed photograph (fig. 3). The note received from the Curator of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery places the image in the 16th century. The grounds for this dating are not mentioned.

An eighteen-armed image of a goddess made of stone, found at Niyamatpur in the Rajshahi district (Bangladesh), probably to be assigned to the 9th century A.D., is preserved in the Varendra Research Society Museum (fig. 4).⁴⁰ Here the goddess is represented seated with legs crossed on a full-blown lotus, the stalk of which is held by two Nagas, with female deities to the left and right. She wears a jatāmukuta and her head is covered by an umbrella. Her main pair of hands are in the dharmacakra-mudrā and the second pair is raised, holding a lotus. On the remaining right hands she carries vase, chisels (?), sword, ankusa, hatchet, vajra and rosary. In the three of the left hands she holds a vase, and in the remaining hands dhvaja, ^{noose}~~noose~~, ankusa, umbrella (?) and book. It is curious that the image holds a vase in three hands according to the identification proposed. Since the symbols are not quite clear one cannot be sure, however, that the attributes in all cases have been correctly identified.

⁴⁰ Varendra Research Society Annual Report, 1936-37, 29.

A bronze goddess with eighteen arms was found at Nālandā in site No.4 (fig.5).⁴¹ This goddess is seated on a full-blown lotus supported by two Nāgas, with an umbrella on her head. The main pair of hands are in the dharmacakra-mudrā. The attributes in the other left hands as described by A. Ghosh are : bell, noose, flag, disc, conch, pot, book-on-lotus and an indistinct object. The right hands show fruit, conch, sword, vajra, rosary, varada-mudrā and two indistinct objects.⁴² This description of the goddess by Ghosh is not acceptable to van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, whose contention is that "Ghosh describes the objects from below upwards taking the half-raised hand last".⁴³ Some similarities between this image and the one found at Niyamatpur are noticeable. It is to be noted that this particular Nālandā image has been identified as Tārā by some⁴⁴ and with Prajñāpāramitā by others.⁴⁵

Reference may be made in this connection to another female image made of stone, with eighteen arms, found at Nālandā and preserved in the Indian Museum.⁴⁶ This goddess is seated on a full-blown lotus with an inscribed base. Her main pair of hands are in the dharmacakra-mudrā. The attribute in her lowest right hand is a round object and in the other she holds a lotus. The other attributes in the other hands are indistinct. The objects held

⁴¹ ASIAR, 1926-27, 219; 1927-28, pl. XLIVb; National Museum, New Delhi, 34, 47.

⁴² Ghosh, op. cit., 29-30, pl. VII.

⁴³ Op. cit., 129-30.

⁴⁴ ASIAR, 1926-27, 219; 127-28, pl. XLIVb; cf, Nalanda Museum Reg. no. 4-115.

⁴⁵ A.J. Bernet Kempers, The Bronzes of Hindu-Javanese Art, Leiden, 1933, 43.

⁴⁶ Indian Museum, Calcutta, no. 4474.

in the left hands are pot, conch, wheel, elephant-goad, and lotus, the rest being indistinct.⁴⁷ According to von Lohuizen-de Leeuw the descriptions are not in proper order. It is difficult to say if the order in the display of the attributes should be a decisive factor in settling this controversy. This image was identified by R.D. Banerji with Tārā.⁴⁸ The other view is that the image is one of Cundā. This controversy appears to be due to the different views concerning the identification of the objects held by the goddess in her different hands.

Foucher identifies a many-armed stone image kept in the house of the Mahant at Bodh-Gaya as a representation of Cundā with eighteen arms. The image is seated on a double lotus, the stalk of which is supported by two Nāgarājas. The first pair of hands (broken) are held in dharmacakra-mudrā. Of the right hands the second is broken, the third is stretched out half-way showing an indeterminate gesture in between varada-mudrā and abhayapānī-mudrā, the remaining holds sword, jewel, thunderbolt, elephant-goad, club (in the form of khatvāṅga). The second of the left hands is broken; in the remaining hands she holds club (stick), noose, discus. The eighth and the ninth are broken.⁴⁹ In regard to some details, Foucher's account has not been followed by van

⁴⁷ R.D. Banerji, Eastern School of Sculpture, (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XLVII), Delhi, 1933, 38-39.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Foucher, op. cit., 146 and note 1.

Lohuizen-de Leeuw.⁵⁰ But there is no difference of opinion about the first two arms being shown in the dharmacakra-mudrā. But the fact that the hands supposed to be in this mudrā, are broken, may raise a doubt about the correctness of this view. B. Bhattacharyya referred to another Cundā image with eighteen arms noticed by him in a Durgā temple near Kurkihār in Bihar.⁵¹

In this context reference may be made to an Indo-Javanese bronze female deity with eighteen arms preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (fig. 6), which Heine-Geldern describes as Cundā;⁵² the attributes and mudrās of this deity are as follows : "the main pair of hands are in the dharmacakra-mudrā. The right hands show from below upwards : abhaya-mudrā, curved knife (?), a globular attribute, three strings ending in small round objects (remains of a noose), two handles of broken attributes, vajra, rosary. The left hand shows in the same order : flask, broken handle, one end of a broken (bow ?), śāṅkha, cakra, stalk of lotus (?), pot, book, etc."⁵³ Some scholars have, however, compared her with Prajñāpāramitā.⁵⁴ It appears to us that the image as described above, may be fittingly compared with the eighteen-armed Cunda image found in different parts of India,

50 Foucher, 124.

51 Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, I 2, 1944 (1945), 21-26.

52 R. Heine-Geldern, *Altjavanische Bronzen aus dem Besitze der Ethnographischen Sammlung des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien*, Wien, 1925, pl. 12.

53 Ibid. Cf, Bhattasali Commemoration Volume, 125-27.

54 *Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw*, X, 1925-26, 93-95; cf. N.J. Krom, "De Buddhistische Bronzen in het Museum te Batavia", *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera*, 1912, (Batavia, 1913), 67-69; cf, Bhattasali Commemoration Volume, 125-26.

referred to above. This goddess with eighteen arms may also be compared with the Jundei Kwannon with eighteen arms from Japan.⁵⁵

Clark gives an illustration of a "Baṣubhujā" Cundā (devī).⁵⁶ She is represented with three faces and twenty-four arms. If she has been identified correctly by Clark, this is a unique specimen of the goddess with three faces and twenty-four hands as counted by me.

The Nispennayogāvalī gives an account of Cundā with twenty-six arms as she appears in a mandala, described below. Colour moon-white (candravarna).⁵⁷ The two principal hands exhibit the dharmacakra-mudrā, the remaining right hands show the abhaya-mudrā, sword, garland of jewels, citron, arrow, axe, club, hammer, goad, thunder-bolt, tripatākā and rosary. In the remaining left hands she shows the flag marked with cintāmani jewel, lotus, kamandalu, noose, bow, javelin, discus, sword, tarjani (raised index finger), bowl, bhindipāla and the Prajñāpāramitā scripture.⁵⁸ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw believes that the twenty-six armed Cundā is only an elaboration of the more commonly known form with eighteen arms.⁵⁹

Cundā as Companion Deity in Mandalas :

(1) Cundā as companion deity of Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā is

⁵⁵ Conze, 257.

⁵⁶ W.E. Clark, Two Lamaistic Pantheons, New York, 1965, 285 no.41.

⁵⁷ NSP, 49.

⁵⁸ Bhatt-I, 223.

⁵⁹ Op. cit., 136.

described in the Sādhana-mālā.⁶⁰ Cundā is represented seated on the lotus petal in the Īśāna corner of the Kurukullā mandala. The other goddesses in the same mandala also take their seats on the remaining petals. Thus, Prasannatārā in the east, Nispamatārā in the south, Jayatārā in the west, Karnatārā in the north, Aparājitā in the Agnī corner, Pradīptārā in the Nairṛta corner and Gauritārā in the Vāyu corner. These portrayed deities including Cundā, in the present instance, look alike. They are red in colour. They wear a crown with the figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, and sit in the vajraparyanka attitude. The two right hands exhibit the varada mudrā and an arrow drawn to the ears. They carry in their two left hands the blue lotus and the bow.

(2) Cundā in the Kalacakra-mandala is described in the Nispanna-yogāvalī as the wife of Takkirāja, who resembles the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava, is white in colour with four arms. In her two right hands she carries a club and a knife and in the two left arms a lotus and a staff.⁶¹ In this mandala Cundā appears in the company of many deities. She and Takkirāja are in charge of the gate in the south direction. She is here regarded as a krodha deity.⁶²

(3) Cundā in the Dharmadhātuvagīśvara-mandala is depicted with two arms, she carries in her two hands the rosary on which a kamandalu is suspended. In this mandala all the twelve dhārinī

⁶⁰ Sādhana-mālā, 352.

⁶¹ NSP, 89.

⁶² Ibid, 82.

deities including Cundā were stationed in the northern direction.⁶³
 All the twelve dhārinīs are placed in the family of the Dhyani
 Buddha Amoghasiddhi of green colour.

(4) Cundā in the Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala appears with a large number of
 gods and goddesses. She is assigned a place with others in the
Mañjuvajrakula in the Īśāna corner. She is represented as possessing
 a moon-white (candravarṇa) complexion with twenty-six arms.⁶⁴

In none of the maṇḍalas is Cundā given a central position.
 In Japan Cundā is most popular in paintings of maṇḍalas (mystic
 diagrams). In the Garbhakośa-maṇḍala she is stationed "in the
 second enclosure called the Sarvagñā parsad, where she is figured
 with eight (or eighteen) arms".⁶⁵

Attributes and Gestures : Their Significance :

Some observations may be made here on the attributes and
 poses of the hands of Cundā with arms exceeding four, which we have
 already discussed. The list of attributes as available from extant
 texts and images includes rosary, arrow, sword, club, cakra, vajra,
dhvaja, curved knife, bow, trisūla, axe, flask, aṅkuśa, jewels,
 noose, broken handle, ratnadana, globular object, fruit, conch,
 hatchet, chisel, pot or bowl or vase, umbrella, book, lotus, hammer,
 spear, drum, ghanta, dagger, etc. The gestures being the dharmā-
cakra-mudrā, abhaya-mudrā and the varada-mudrā.

⁶³ NSP, 57, 62.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 49.

⁶⁵ Cf, Getty, op. cit., 129.

It may be noted that van Lohuizen-de Leeuw regards the dharmacakra-mudrā as an essential mark of identification of this goddess (i.e. Cundā with more than four arms). She states : "For we have already seen that the Cambridge manuscript clearly identifies a female deity holding its main pair of hands in dharmacakra mudra as Cundā. Moreover, the Nispannayogāvalī describes a form of Cundā with twenty-six arms, holding her main pair of hands in the so called mūla mudrā, and in my opinion B. Bhattacharyya was fully justified when he interpreted this attitude as the dharmacakra mudrā on the basis that Cundā is an emanation of the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana who displays the same gesture".⁶⁶ Much of the difference of opinion about the attributes on which depends the identification of the images concerned is due to indistinct representation. Secondly, there is also a controversy about the order in which these attributes are placed. A note may be added here regarding the views expressed by B. Bhattacharyya, Conze, Getty, Coomaraswamy, Zimmer, etc., about the significance of some attributes and poses as found associated with this goddess. Three gestures are noticed : (1) the varada-mudrā which is a gesture of granting fulfilment; (2) the abhaya-mudrā symbolizes the grant of fearlessness, and (3) the dharmacakra-mudrā which denotes the pose of turning the "Wheel of Law". If Cundā, as held by some, is to be regarded as the "Mother of Buddha" these poses may be appropriate for her. But these poses are not attributable to her only. Among the objects held, the lotus is a symbol of purity; the book held

⁶⁶ Getty, 126.

by Cundā is Cundā-dhārinī; the rosary is for counting the number of repetitions of the mantra; the cakra is the symbol of absolute completeness; dhvaja is the banner of victory; the trīsūla is held to symbolize "the sun with a flame" but there is much diversity of opinion regarding it; the sword is the symbol of the emptiness which constitutes the core of the doctrine of perfect wisdom. The begging-bowl typifies renunciation of all possessions. The spiritual and protective aspects of the goddess are thus brought out symbolically through the medium of certain attributes and gestures suitable for the concept.

It is difficult to say when the worship of Cundā came into vogue. The noted Chinese pilgrims (from the 5th to the 7th century A.D.) who visited India do not refer to this goddess although her concept originated comparatively earlier as is indicated in some of the sources already mentioned. Her popularity as a goddess became evident during the Pāla rule as shown by the illustration on the Cambridge manuscript and her images found in Bengal and Bihar. Friendly relations between the Pālas and the rulers of Java and Sumatra may account for the presence of Cundā in Java in addition to the Vienna specimen. As a story shows, belief in this goddess existed in Bengal even before the foundation of the Pāla dynasty (8th century A.D.). Tāranātha⁶⁷ gives a legend from which it appears that it was a popular belief that Gopāla put an end to the prevailing anarchy and founded the Pala dynasty through the favour of the goddess Cunda, propitiated by him. Gopāla, it is said, under the instruction

⁶⁷ Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India, ed. D.P. Chattopadhyaya, Simla, 1970, chap. 28.

of an ācārya carried a hidden club. With this club, he destroyed a nāgini, who appeared before him to take his life. For several years this nāgini used to kill every king elected in an assembly, thus causing anarchy in the country. Gopāla, who killed this nāgini, was elected king for seven successive days. His faith in Cundā, whom he propitiated, was proved when the nāgini's attempt failed and he was made king permanently. Gopāla's devotion to the goddess may have led to an increase of her popularity. We do not know about the original type of the goddess. She is found in developed forms with some of the elements borrowed from the conceptions and representations of other goddesses whose cults may have been more firmly established. This has resulted in a confusion regarding the identification of Cundā on a definite basis. She is sometimes confused with images of Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā, etc. Cundā resembles Prajñāpāramitā very closely both in regard to her physical and spiritual characteristics. As Prajñāpāramitā is regarded as "the mother of all Buddhas", Cundā is regarded by her dhārinī as the mother of seven koṭis of Buddhas. Images of Cundā and Prajñāpāramitā exist having two arms and more. But there are some marked differences also between the two. We have already noticed examples of four-armed Cundā whose original hands, in most cases, are found in the dhyāna-mudrā or holding the bowl. This characteristic is not noticed in the four-armed images of Prajñāpāramitā. Conze also holds a similar view. He states : "...with some care the four-armed Cundā is easily distinguished from the four-armed images of Prajñāpāramitā by the gesture of the original hands, which are either in dhyāna

mudrā or holding the begging bowl".⁶⁸ There are however, difficulties, as shown above, in distinguishing many-armed forms of Cundā from Prajñāpāramitā. Thus the eighteen-armed goddess from Nālandā has sometimes been identified as Prajñāpāramitā. Similar is the case with the twelve-armed goddess. Like Prajñāpāramitā, Cundā also resembles Tārā. Cundā is again identified with Candī. This suggestion comes from Japan in particular as referred to above. With regard to Candī there are some specific stories in Hindu mythology which give her a character of her own.

⁶⁸ Conze, *op. cit.*, 255.