



**HAL**  
open science

# Images of devotion and power in South & Southeast Bengal

Claudine Bautze-Picron

► **To cite this version:**

Claudine Bautze-Picron. Images of devotion and power in South & Southeast Bengal. Andrea Acri. Esoteric Buddhism in mediaeval maritime Asia, Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons, ISEAS Press, pp.163-191, 2016, 978-981-4695-08-4. hal-01096345

**HAL Id: hal-01096345**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01096345>**

Submitted on 18 Dec 2014

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

## Images of devotion and power in South & Southeast Bengal

Claudine Bautze-Picron,  
CNRS, UMR 7528 'Mondes Iranien et Indien'

### Introduction

The importance of Buddhist art in Eastern India from the 8<sup>th</sup> up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century has been recognized since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as a major source of inspiration for the arts of Tibet and Southeast Asia. This artistic period has been associated with 'esoteric' practices and rituals and shows aspects which can differ from region to region over the centuries. As a matter of fact, Eastern India is a vast geographical area which includes Bangladesh and the modern Indian States of Bihar, Jharkand, Orissa and West Bengal. Bengal (Bangladesh and the State of West Bengal) and Orissa stretch along the Bay of Bengal, and the former region – in particular South and Southeast Bengal, an area which extends from the South of Dhaka up to Chittagong – was instrumental as the source of various aspects of esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia.

This art is usually labelled as 'esoteric' or 'tantric' and belonging to the Vajrayāna,<sup>1</sup> and in inscriptions which mention them or in colophons of manuscripts which they had ordered to be produced, the Buddhists of Eastern India defined themselves as followers of the 'excellent Mahāyāna' (*pravaramahāyāna*) (see below). The creation and development of a rich pantheon of characters, male and female, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, culminated in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Eastern India.<sup>2</sup> But how was it really perceived and viewed? What were its functions? And were all its different types of production, i.e. stone, terracotta, stucco or cast images, manuscript illuminations, cloth-paintings or murals, regarded in the same way, without forgetting that images could also be visualized? It is beyond the scope of this paper to try to answer these questions, which have already been assessed by authors in various different ways: for a long period, a major interpretation was the sectarian view according to which the images are seen as reflecting a conflict between the Buddhist community and brahmanical or Hindu society. More recently, ROB LINROTHE has put them in a new perspective, as reflecting or symbolizing philosophical or religious experiences.<sup>3</sup> This should however not lead us to abandon completely the perhaps more basic interpretation of some of these images as in fact picturing deep tensions occurring between the different faiths existing in the region and which could surface and find expression in the art – thus acting as propaganda or helping to easing off the pressure.<sup>4</sup> If images could be appreciated from different perspectives depending on the social position of the viewer, they also most probably

1

---

<sup>1</sup> I am thankful to Christian WEDEMEYER and other colleagues for having replied to my query on the use of this term in the H-Buddhism Log for March 2012 (<http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lx&list=h-buddhism&user=&pw=&month=1203>); see also WEDEMEYER 2013, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Read LINROTHE 1999 for an in-depth study of the development of the iconography of wrathful deities and its subsequent periods.

<sup>3</sup> LINROTHE 1990 summarizes previous views on the topic.

reflect on the situation of the monks' community within the society. Due to the extremely rich amount of material, we shall confine our attention here to the material images.

From its very early period, the Buddhist community had entertained close relations with the royal power – as can already be surmised from the biography of the Buddha as recounted in the sources. This connection survived through all the periods and found echoes in the imagery which emerged and developed as a language not only used within the Buddhist community but also fundamentally aimed at the laity. In the course of time, this visual language probably acted as intermediary between the different social groups: for instance, the image of the Buddha seated in *bhadrāsana* commonly met with on the façades of excavated monuments in Maharashtra in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries could convey different meanings when conceived, ordered to be done, and seen by monks and when seen by lay people. For the first ones it referred to the Sermon on Mount Meru – where the Buddha taught while seated on the throne of Indra, king of the divine universe, signifying the Buddha as a universal and divine king ruler over all gods of the brahmanical pantheon, and hence also his power over human rulers. For the latter it was an image showing the Buddha teaching, thus dispensing his wisdom to humans like them. I doubt that lay people could consciously have read more into such an image. However it is true that such iconographic features, i.e. a major character seated in *bhadrāsana* on a lion throne, date back to the early centuries of our era, when it was used in depictions of Kushan rulers; it is thus possible to argue that these features remained lying in the collective unconscious as partaking to the iconography of a ruler.

2

Images thus bear multiple purposes and meanings; understanding of them is at different levels, some conscious, which I would qualify as 'exoteric', some unconscious and to a certain degree 'esoteric'. What is exoteric here is the immediate perception of the depiction of the Buddha, seated on a lion throne, with hands joined in a specific gesture in front of the breast, which leads to the equally immediate identification of the Buddha as teacher. What would be esoteric here is the unconscious knowledge that this image is an one of royal power. But what would be definitely esoteric is the perception of this as an image of a saintly man having become ruler of the universe since he could sit at the top of the universe, occupying the throne there, as we have seen, of the king of the gods. This, I would add, is an understanding of the image which was willingly used by the Buddhist community on the façades of their monuments in order to transmit a message of power to lay society at a certain period and in certain regions. This is not only the Buddha as a teacher, but it is the Buddha at the centre of the universe and thus teaching to the whole of society. This is of course not the use which is traditionally made of the term 'esotericism' in scholarly research, and one could argue that this interpretation actually concerns the symbolic message of the image. As a matter of fact, going beyond the materiality of the images – and this is the aspect with which we shall mainly be concerned here – a mental, non material, conception of the image emerges: the initiate creates an image which is part of an evanescent continuity and with which he identifies (*sādhana*), or constructs a *maṇḍala*. Such spiritual practices have been described in texts, like the *Sāadhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: the rich iconographic material which they contain can help to identify, i.e. to name, images actually cast, carved or painted but we should never forget that these texts describe another, purely visual, category of images.

---

<sup>4</sup> VERARDI 2011, pp. 284-293 analyses for instance images of Cāmuṇḍā clearly betraying features of aggression towards the Buddhists.

These texts were aimed at practitioners involved in spiritual practices and not at serving as user manuals for artists.

Turning to Eastern India,<sup>5</sup> and in particular to Bengal, and thinking of the mainstream Buddhism which flourished in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries in the region, we cannot ignore the particular position of the region, traversed by monks not necessarily adept in the Mahāyāna, not to speak of its late esoteric phase. This throws a different light on the point of convergence of all monks visiting Eastern India, i.e. Bodhgaya which was and still is today a place where Buddhists from all Asia meet. The main image of the temple was and still is venerated by Buddhists of every obedience, which implies that it bears different layers of interpretation, it can be Śākyamuni but it can also be Vairocana.<sup>6</sup> And this may lead us to wonder about the context in which images of the Buddha noted in South Bengal were produced and worshipped – and above all is by whom (see below).

Buddhists excelled in the production of images of power. Images are basically of a material nature. They can, however, also be immaterial, such as those described in *sādhanas*, being created mentally and imbued with deep magical energy. These images have left no material traces, but being ‘esoteric’ par excellence were created by monks during their meditation. More than any material icon, a visualized image allows the monk to identify with the deity evoked,

Material images likewise become active when brought to life through specific rituals performed after being carved or cast by artists. Images, i.e. material images, thus always bear a grey area, an aura which is not materially perceptible but is nonetheless existent. Some images are more powerful than others; such are the cult images which are the objects of regularly performed rituals. Other images, e.g. those distributed on the facades of monuments, do not undergo similar treatment and their meaning is altogether of a different nature – they can, for instance, illustrate various aspects of the deity, i.e. of the Buddha in a Buddhist context; they help in defining the sanctuary as place inhabited by the Buddha, or/and contribute to reflecting the universal presence of the Buddha.<sup>7</sup>

3

## **Bengal, an international region**

There are different ways of approaching the vast topic which is the presence of similar Buddhist images in the countries bordering on the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea. The relations between images and monuments dating back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century and later from Indonesia, mainly Java, but also Sumatra or Borneo, and the homeland of Buddhism were noted a long time ago, Bihar – more precisely the old Magadha – being considered to lie at the source of the ‘esoteric’ iconography noted in the South Seas. Recent research

---

<sup>5</sup> For a general presentation of Buddhism in Eastern India from the 8<sup>th</sup> century and onwards, consult NIYOGI 1980, SEN MAJUMDAR 1983, CHATTERJEE 1985, pp. 230-356.

<sup>6</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2010a, pp. 33, 37-38 and passim.

<sup>7</sup> Such was the case of the temple at Bodhgaya: before its massive restoration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, stucco images of the Buddha – more rarely of Bodhisattvas (Mañjuśrī) – were distributed in the niches now occupied by stone images (CUNNINGHAM 1892, pls. XII-B, XIV-XV). Monument 1 in Nalanda also had its facades with niches containing stucco images not only of the Buddha, but also of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, and this major difference between the two monuments (and sites) can be accounted for with the fact that the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya is the “house” of Śākyamuni par excellence; Mañjuśrī being an integral part of the Buddha iconography at Bodhgaya (see below), his presence among the stucco images is not out of place.

has, however, contributed to a more discerning appraisal of the situation during this fairly long period. Land routes within the Indian Subcontinent connected different regions and maritime routes crossed the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea in all directions.<sup>8</sup>

Bengal is a vast region located at the convergence of different routes, from Assam and Yunnan in the East, Bagan and Arakan in Southeast, Orissa in Southwest, Bihar in the West, and Nepal and Tibet in the North and Northwest. It is also a region of transition between sea and dry land, between South and Southeast Asia, with inland ways leading to harbours like Tamluk or Chittagong which were connected with maritime routes along which merchants and monks travelled back and forth.<sup>9</sup> Monks came from abroad to join the Mahāvihāras and participate in the teachings which were dispensed there,<sup>10</sup> but also to go on pilgrimage to the places visited by the Buddha. They came from all over Asia but relations between the Himalayan range, Bihar and North Bengal were particularly intensive in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup>

In this context, monks from various countries and sects converged in particular at Bodhgaya, which was at the centre of a centripetal movement.<sup>12</sup> Conflicts between monks originating from Sri Lanka and from the Himalaya are evoked in Tibetan historical sources, reflecting conflicts between Theravāda and esoteric Buddhism.<sup>13</sup> Similar conflicts seem to have arisen in Bagan during the early phase of the Bagan kingdom<sup>14</sup> but from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century on, Theravāda definitely grew stronger than Mahāyāna there.<sup>15</sup> The Bagan rulers took deep interest in the Bodhi tree and the attached temple, sending missions to Bodhgaya to preserve and restore the monument.<sup>16</sup> In the reverse direction and as a final stately gesture vouching for the depth of the relation between the two sites, a copy of the Mahābodhi temple was erected most probably during

4

---

<sup>8</sup> See PANDE/PANDYA DHAR 2004 which include a number of papers dealing with various cultural, in particular iconographic, aspects shared by South and Southeast Asia.

<sup>9</sup> MUKHERJEE 2011 constitutes an in-depth study of the position of Bengal within the Asian network.

<sup>10</sup> Besides monks from Tibet – as one could expect – others from Sri Lanka professed their faith in Mahāyāna, i.e. esotericism; such was the case of Jayabhadra who came to study at Vikramaśīla, for instance (CHATTOPADHYAYA 1980, p. 325). See also FRASCH 1998, pp. 76-77.

<sup>11</sup> Some inscriptions inform about the movements of monks; see for instance the 9<sup>th</sup>-century Ghosravan inscription mentioning the monk Vīradeva who originated from North-West India (SASTRI 1942/1989, pp. 89-91; BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), p. 163 note 4 for detailed references), the Bodhgaya inscription of Vīryendra, native of Samatata (Southeast Bengal) and monk from Somapura (Paharpur)(DUTT 1962, pp. 375-6 with further references), the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Nalanda inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra, related to monks from Somapura (SASTRI 1942/1986, pp. 103-5; DUTT 1962, p. 376). For a study of the Bodhgaya inscriptions and of the international presence at the site, see LEOSHKO 1987, pp. 26-75.

<sup>12</sup> LEOSHKO 1987, pp. 40-56.

<sup>13</sup> Thus, the site was also visited and inhabited by monks originating from Sri Lanka; the existence of a Theravādin monastery in the close vicinity of the Bodhi temple is attested from the 4<sup>th</sup> century up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (FRASCH 2000, p. 58 note 7; FRASCH 1998, pp. 73-74). The Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin who visited the site in the 13<sup>th</sup> century tells how he was advised by a *śrāvaka* to throw the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which he carried into the river and not to worship images of Avalokiteśvara or the Tārā (Roerich 1959, pp. 73-74). And Tāranātha records how ‘a large silver-image of Heruka ... [was] smashed ... into pieces ... used ... as ordinary money’ (D. CHATTOPADHYAYA 1980, p. 279).

<sup>14</sup> FRASCH 1998, p. 78.

<sup>15</sup> This does not mean that esoteric Buddhist monks were altogether absent from Bagan, but they did not hold a major function in the site.

<sup>16</sup> As FRASCH 1998, pp. 78-79, reminds us, there were three such missions during the Bagan period; see also FRASCH 2000b, pp. 41-43.

the reign of King Nadaungmya (r. AD 1211-ca. 1231).<sup>17</sup> Travelling all the way from Bagan up to Bodhgaya, pilgrims had to cross Bengal, leaving artistic evidence of various natures: bronzes cast in Eastern India were discovered at Bagan,<sup>18</sup> and stone images of the Buddha discovered in Bengal illustrate an iconographic programme encountered in the murals of Bagan as well as sharing stylistic similarities with the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>-century stone carvings from this site.<sup>19</sup>

Beside this intense relation with nearby Burma, which is attested by various sorts of evidence, the region's contacts extended beyond the seas. As mentioned below, Atiśa left his homeland to study in Suvarṇadvīpa where he remained twelve years before returning to the continent and pursuing his brilliant career; and in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century the worship of Heruka, so important in the Delta, found direct continuation at Padang Lawas, a Buddhist site in North Sumatra. Likewise, east Java established itself as heir to iconographic topics illustrated in Bengal in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup>

The presence of Buddhism in the region is well-documented with sources of different natures, all showing how Eastern India in general, and Bengal in particular, held a fundamental position in the development of Buddhism around that period: many names of scholars survived in the Buddhist canon<sup>21</sup> and the rich poetic work of the Mahāsiddhas was not only preserved in old Bengali but also translated into Tibetan.<sup>22</sup> Concerned with the history of Buddhism, Tibetan authors furnish ample information about Bengali scholars and the monasteries built in the region, as well as the local rulers who sponsored donations made to the Buddhist community or were instrumental in fostering the foundation of monasteries.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> FRASCH 1998, pp. 79-80; FRASCH 2000b, p. 41.

<sup>18</sup> LUCE 1969-1970, vol. III, pls. 445a, 446, 447a-d.

<sup>19</sup> LEOSKO 1990; ALLINGER 2002; LEE 2009, figs. 24, 74, 82-83, 90; HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 222-223; A. SENGUPTA 1993, figs. 54-55.

<sup>20</sup> With regard to the names Hevajra and Heruka, see our note 15 in BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press). MALLMANN 1986, pp. 182-186 considers the names as being interchangeable when applied to some images, including the one encountered in Southeast Bengal; LINROTHER p. 250, and following him LEE 2009, prefers retaining the name 'Heruka' for the images under consideration, underlining that the name refers to a 'type' but also to the 'ultimate *krodha-vighnāntaka*' depicted by these images. For sake of easiness, but not necessarily being correct in view of LINROTHER's analysis, I shall here retain here the name 'Hevajra' as in my previous study of the Padang Lawas material (BAUTZE-PICRON 2014(in press)), aware that more attention should be devoted to the topic.

<sup>21</sup> NIYOGI 1987 & 1988.

<sup>22</sup> SHAHIDULLAH 1928; MOUDUD 1992; DASGUPTA 1976, pp. 3-109; JACKSON 2004 (with numerous references); BAGCHI 1982, pp. 64-75. Mahāsiddhas whose iconography is well-developed in Tibet (ROBINSON 1979; VON SCHROEDER 2006; LINROTHER 2006) found only a (timid) echo in the artistic representation of the region; for an example showing Śavaripa and probably from North Bengal or East Bihar, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2007, p. 85 & pl. 10.9; for an individual portrait, probably from Lakhi Sarai: BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/92, fig. 34 and LINROTHER 2006, cat. 4 pp. 188-189. Siddhas could also be depicted on the outer surface of petals of lotus *maṇḍalas* for instance, see, for instance, HUNTINGTON/BANGDELL 2003, cat. 68; LINROTHER 2006, cat. 5 pp. 190-193; WEISENBORN 2012b, pl. 52); emaciated ascetics, possibly situated in a rocky landscape, can be found in some stone images (for instance, see Fig. 4), a situation which might be related to the tradition of the Mahāsiddhas and of the Aris in Bagan (S. BHATTACHARYA 1994). An isolated and distant group of low-reliefs showing Siddhas and carved on the façade of caves is to be seen at Panhāle Kājī in Maharashtra (DESHPANDE 1986 & 1989).

<sup>23</sup> See in particular TĀRANĀTHA (CHIMPA/CHATTOPADHYAYA 1980) and SUMPA (DAS 1908).

As a matter of fact, and although these sources with caution must always be approached gingerly, they do fortunately provide information which is not available from the Indian side, characterized, rather, by a scarcity of written historical information. Due to the nature of the available documents – royal copper-plates ratifying donations of lands revenues – no details are indeed given concerning the real function or position of Buddhist monks at the court, or the genuine spiritual beliefs of the rulers.<sup>24</sup> Data collected from local archaeology, epigraphy and art history, will be summarized here with a view to reappraising this part of the material, in placing it within its geographical and historical contexts.

## Political landscape

Numerous inscribed copper-plates have been recovered throughout Bihar and Bengal; the information which they contain is manifold and brings light to bear on various aspects of the regional history, their main purpose being to record donation of land. They mention kings and their genealogy, name the recipient, and describe the land which is given. While naming the ruler who authorizes the donation, the text also mentions his religious affiliation: the Pāla, mainly ruling in Bihar, West and North Bengal from the 8<sup>th</sup> up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the Candra rulers ruling in Southeast Bengal from the 10<sup>th</sup> c. up to c. AD 1050 are two dynasties who officially claimed to be Buddhist, the king being described as *paramasaugata* and the seal affixed at the top of the copper-plate bearing the Buddhist symbol of the wheel flanked by two deer above the name of the ruler.

**The Pālas** – However, when considering the recipients of the donation which these copper-plates record, it should be noted that they are very rarely mentioned as being Buddhist: of all the official inscriptions of the Pāla rulers, only five out of twenty-two concern a donation made to a Buddhist institution, all the others referring to donations towards Brahmins or brahmanical temples dedicated to Viṣṇu or Śiva.<sup>25</sup> These five donations which were made during the reigns of the early Pālas (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries) are recorded in the two Nalanda inscriptions of Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla respectively, the so-called Murshidabad inscription of the first ruler, the Jagjivanpur inscription of his grandson Mahendrapāla, and the Mohipur inscription of Gopāla II, son

---

<sup>24</sup> The presence of the Buddhist seal at the top of the copper-plates of the Pāla rulers and the fact that they label themselves as *paramasaugata* cannot be considered to be definite evidence of the affiliation of the kings to the last esoteric phase of Buddhism. As seen in the inscriptions also, the recipients or donors respect the “excellent Mahāyāna” (see below), and this is perhaps how they really felt. No local information is preserved which would vouch for the interference of monks in the royal function. Quite to the contrary, I would suggest that, at least in South Bengal – in the region of Vikrampur-Mainamati – these were the Brahmins who might have held a major position in specific rituals: remains of only one Hindu temple were recovered on the Devaparvata, i.e. Mainamati, which recalls the situation encountered at Bagan from the 11<sup>th</sup> century on where we know that the Brahmins were involved in rituals related for instance to the foundation of the royal palace (see BAUTZE-PICRON 2009b, p. 434). An important piece of information is however given in a biography of Śākyaśrībhadrā (1140s-1225) who acted “as chaplain to the king of Jayanagara for some time” (Jackson 1990, p. 11; and p. 18 note 1 on Śākyaśrībhadrā’s date of birth) and had visions of Maitreya while at court (ibid., p. 10), Jayanagara being most probably the village of Jaynagar located South of Lakhi Sarai where 12<sup>th</sup>-century Buddhist images were recovered in large numbers (BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/92, pp. 239-41).

<sup>25</sup> G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, pp. 441-442 lists 19 inscriptions. See the following note for the inscriptions regarding donations to the Buddhist community and which might have been discovered after the publication of BHATTACHARYA’s paper. See also SEN MAJUMDAR 1983, pp. 144-150.

of Śūrapāla, the second son of Devapāla – all donations thus made in Bihar and North Bengal.<sup>26</sup> Already in that period, the rulers might also have recognised donations made towards Brahmins or a brahmanical temple, a practice which was to be preserved by their descendants. At the same time, Brahmins also appear as lay Buddhist donors responsible for the production of manuscripts as shown by JINAH KIM.<sup>27</sup>

The official inscriptions of the first Pāla rulers reflect a continuous tradition of donations made to the *saṃgha* by the king but also by his subjects, the sovereign ratifying the donation of land-revenues for the upkeep of the institution while his subjects had provided the funds for the initial donation; Tibetan sources, however, mention that Dharmapāla had been involved in the establishment of the great monasteries of Vikramaśīla and Somapura (Paharpur, North Bengal),<sup>28</sup> and seals were discovered in situ at Paharpur naming the monastery *śrī-somapure-śrī-dharmapāladeva-mahāvihāriyārya-bhikṣu-saṃghāsyā*.<sup>29</sup> The recent discovery of a copper-plate inscribed in the year 26 of the ruler's reign confirms this link in referring to a donation of land plots for the upkeep of a community of monks at the Somapura-Mahāvihāra.<sup>30</sup>

Even though the eulogy may start with the evocation to the Buddha and the ruler mentioned as *paramasaugata*, its text reveals that the world of Hindu gods was an integral part of the ruler's culture.<sup>31</sup> In the case of the official inscriptions of the Pāla and Candra rulers, who acknowledge their Buddhist faith through the seal fixed at the top of the copper plates and this label as *paramasaugata*, we hardly find any mention of female or male characters of the Vajrayāna. This does not imply that the individuals involved in the act of donation were not aware of this form of Buddhism: Mahendrapāla's army chief who had the monastery built for which the donation was made is named Vajradeva for

7

---

<sup>26</sup> Nalanda inscription of Dharmapāla: G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, p. 441 n° 1; S. BHATTACHARYA 1985, pp. 154-5 n° 31 & p. 124 for further references. So-called Murshidabad copper-plate of the same ruler: G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, p. 441 [second group] n° 1; see FURUI 2011, p. 145 on the find-spot of the plate. Nalanda copper-plate of Devapāla: G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, p. 441 n° 4; S. BHATTACHARYA 1985, pp. 154-5 n° 33 & p. 125 for further references. Jagjivanpur inscription of Mahendrapāla: G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, p. 442 [second group] n° 2). Mohipur copper-plate of Gopāla II: FURUI 2008.

<sup>27</sup> KIM 2013, pp. 236-47. It is perhaps within this context that one should consider the contents of tortoise-shell inscriptions discovered at Vajrayogini (Vikrampur): both the Buddha and Vāsudeva, i.e. Viṣṇu, are praised side by side (SIRCAR 1949; BISWAS 1995, p. 58). See also PRASAD 2011, p. 130, noting that in Southeast Bengal, donations were made to Brahmins rather than to Buddhist monasteries and that donations made to the monasteries had been done in a specific limited area; and PRASAD 2010 for a study of donors of images in Southeast Bengal who rightly remarks p. 34 'a general absence of donation of any Buddhist deity by any member of society in early medieval Comilla, Sylhet, Noakhali and adjoining parts of Tripura'.

<sup>28</sup> CHATTOPADHYAYA 1980, pp. 274-83; NIYOGI 1980, pp. 52-59; MAJUMDAR 1971, p. 115; Sen Majumdar 1983, pp. 125-127, 128-131.

<sup>29</sup> DIKSHIT 1938, p. 90; NIYOGI 1980, pp. 21-22, 52-59; FURUI 2011, p. 155 note 26.

<sup>30</sup> G. BHATTACHARYA 1994 & 2000, p. 442 (quote after 2000). See FURUI 2011 for a reading of the plate and for discussion of the find-spot (p. 145): this was initially thought to be in the Murshidabad district but the author suggests that – considering the information given in the inscription – it must have originated further North (South Dinajpur district in West Bengal; Dinajpur or Bogra districts in Bangladesh).

<sup>31</sup> Let us briefly observe that, as one could expect (see BAUTZE-PICRON 2010a, p. 39 note 91), it is the Vaiṣṇava mythology which is predominant in all inscriptions, with numerous analogies being drawn between the king and the god. The transition from one belief to the other at this "official" level is made during the rule of the Candra in South Bengal (see below).



instance.<sup>32</sup> In the Devapāla Nalanda, the Mahendrapāla Jagjivanpur and the Gopāla II Mohipur inscriptions, the donations were similarly made “for the worship, copying etc. accordingly of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, of the abode of all the leading virtues like the prajñāpāramitā etc., of the multitude of the noble Avaivarttika Bodhisattvas, (and) for garments, food, lying and sitting accommodation, meditation and personal belongings etc. of the community of noble Buddhist monks (belonging to the) Eight classes of great personages (and) for repairing work (of the monastery) when damaged and broken...”<sup>33</sup>

**Southeast Bengal** – Turning, now, to the inscriptions from Southeast Bengal, from the 35 which SWAPNA BHATTACHARYA had collected in 1985 in her study of the epigraphic material from Bengal and Bihar<sup>34</sup> and which were found in this region – from Faridpur district up to Chittagong, most having been discovered in Mainamati and the area of Vikrampur –, only nine refer to a Buddhist recipient, all other beneficiaries being Brahmins.<sup>35</sup> As mentioned above, the Candras who ruled from Vikramapura in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>36</sup> claimed to be *paramasaugata* and had the Buddhist seal affixed at the top of their copper-plates with their names inscribed on it below the *dharmacakra* flanked

<sup>32</sup> G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, p. 436.

<sup>33</sup> G. BHATTACHARYA 2000, p. 444-445 who remarks how similar the formulation is between the Nalanda and Jagjivanpur texts. Bhattacharya translates with “noble Buddhist monks (belonging to the) Eight classes of great personages” *aṣṭamahāpuruṣapudgalāryabhikṣu saṃghasya*. See also MUKHERJI 1992, p. 172 (but correct his translation). FURUI 2008, p. 70 writes: “... making the grant ... To the Buddha, the abode (*sthāna*) of all Dharmanetrīs beginning with the Prajñāpāramitā, a group (*gaṇa*) of non-returning (*avaivarttika*) Bodhisattvas, and to the *bhikṣu-saṃgha* as an embodiment of the eight great persons (*aṣṭa-ārya-puruṣa*)... according to their ranks. This was for the following purpose: worship, offerings and rituals...” I wish to quote here an e-mail by PETER SKILLING, dated March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009 replying to a question formulated by myself: “Avaivartaka is a quality of a bodhisattva, usually connected with the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) - a significant point because he cannot turn back, but must go on to full awakening ... One interesting thing about the inscriptions - only a handful, which belong to the Pāla period in Eastern India - is that they seem to take us from the ideal world of the texts - in which the ascent though the *bhūmis* takes many lifetimes - to the "real world" community of the monks, the *saṃgha*. Usually the inscriptions record donations to the "mahāyanika-avaivartaka-bhikṣu-saṃgha" - the community of *avaivartaka* Mahāyāna monks. In at least one case, the compound is preceded by the "eight noble individuals" (*aṣṭa-ārya-pudgala*) or similar terminology of Śrāvaka attainments (sorry, I do not have the inscriptions to hand). The question is: were the monks of the *vihāras* in question actually regarded as having these attainments? Did they so proclaim themselves? Usually Buddhist tradition is discreet - or in some contexts restrained by *Vinaya* - about proclaiming one's spiritual achievements. Or is the phrase simply a rhetoric that expresses the perceived worthiness of the recipients of *dāna* by the donor(s), or, more properly, by the eulogist(s)?

In any case the term does not mean "the Mahāyāna Avaivartaka Buddhist sect" as it has sometimes been translated. In fact, the inscription(s) that mention the *āryapudgala* and the *avaivartaka* in the same breath are good examples for the fact that Śrāvakayāna (*Hinayāna*, if one likes) and Mahāyāna lived under the same monastic roof and shared the same ideological bed. Again the idea of "sect" is quite inappropriate.”

<sup>34</sup> S. BHATTACHARYA 1985, pp. 150-161. More copper-plates have been discovered since S. BHATTACHARYA submitted her Ph.D., but their content does not invalidate the observations based on her list. Importance is to be attributed to the content of the mid-9<sup>th</sup> c. inscription discovered at Jagjivanpur, a site located in Malda district, West Bengal: it records a donation made towards the Nandadirghika Udranga Mahavihāra by Mahendrapāla's general Vajradeva for the worship of (Buddhist) deities, the performance of rituals including the copying of manuscripts (G. BHATTACHARYA 1992).

<sup>35</sup> FURUI 2013 for a study of the position of the Brahmins in Bengal. However, this is not decisive with regard to the situation of Buddhism among the society: Brahmins could also be Buddhist and commission the production of manuscripts, see KIM 2013, pp. 238-240.

<sup>36</sup> See S. BHATTACHARYA 1985, pp. 125-6 & 154-6, inscriptions n° 38-50. See also BISWAS 1995, pp. 11-26 for a presentation of the history of the region.

by the deer.<sup>37</sup> All inscriptions of Śrīcandra start with devotion being paid to the Jina, i.e. the Buddha, the Dharma and the *saṃgha*,<sup>38</sup> whereas his grandson Laḍahacandra (1000-1020) claims his affiliation to Viṣṇu although preserving the Buddhist seal affixed on his copper-plates.<sup>39</sup> As to Laḍahacandra's successor, Govindacandra, he also preserves the seal and is named *paramasaugata*, but the content of his inscription is completely brahmanical.<sup>40</sup> From around the middle of the eleventh century, the Candras were followed by the *paramavaiṣṇava* Varmans who also ruled from Vikramapura<sup>41</sup> and at a still later period, the site became the capital of the Senas, themselves devotees of Sadāśiva.

A clear shift in the religious affiliation of the rulers thus took place towards 1050 in the region.<sup>42</sup> The Buddhist community could still, however, enjoy a royal support in the region of Comilla at a later period: an inscription dated 1141 Śaka, i.e. AD 1219, was incised in the 17<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva who claimed to be Buddhist; the inscription confirms the donation of land for the upkeep of a *vihāra* erected in the city of Paṭṭikerā and dedicated to Durgottārā.<sup>43</sup> As a matter of fact and although no major donation to the Buddhist community can be anymore ascribed to a ruler afterwards, Buddhism remained present in Paṭṭikerā, a region which entertained close contacts with nearby Bagan.<sup>44</sup> And in an inscription dated 1158 Śaka, i.e. AD 1236, Gautamadatta, minister of the *vaiṣṇava* ruler Dāmodaradeva, was "said to be 'devoted to the feet of Śrī-Gautama'".<sup>45</sup>

As we will see below, even in the absence of royal patronage, the Buddhist community was active in the region, with manuscripts being produced around the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Figs. 18-20). Political relations and trade with the neighbouring kingdom of Bagan also characterize this period,<sup>46</sup> these connections being part of a wider network linking Bagan to Bodhgaya where the Burmese undertook restorations of the temple.<sup>47</sup>

9

### Lay practitioners and their manuscripts

From the numerous manuscripts produced during this period, many are richly illustrated with images of male and female characters, many described in texts such as the *Sādhanamālā*. Few colophons give any information as to the place of production; when given, this site is often said to be Nalanda whereas a number of manuscripts were

<sup>37</sup> SIRCAR 1973, pp. 20, 51.

<sup>38</sup> Idem, p. 51.

<sup>39</sup> SIRCAR 1969-1970, p. 199; SIRCAR 1973, pp. 45-49, 51-54.

<sup>40</sup> SIRCAR 1969-1970, p. 199; SIRCAR 1973, pp. 49-51, 54-55; S. GHOSH 2008-2009, pp. 112-113; PRASAD 2011, p. 129 suggests 'a gradual loss of Buddhist hegemony in Samatata' in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>41</sup> MAJUMDAR 1971, pp. 197-204.

<sup>42</sup> For a survey on the 'Religious condition of Vanga and Samatata', see BISWAS 1995, pp. 51-60.

<sup>43</sup> D.C. BHATTACHARYA 1933, pp. 233-4. The region, kingdom or city, known as Paṭṭikerā was part of the region of Samatata and is already mentioned in inscriptions of the Candras from Ladahacandra's reign; it was located east from Comilla in Tripura district (old Tippera) (S. BHATTACHARYA 1985, p. 264; see also D.C. BHATTACHARYA 1933, pp. 285-6).

<sup>44</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2014(in press); on this kingdom and its location, see MAJUMDAR 1971, pp. 257-9.

<sup>45</sup> DANI 1954, pp. 186 & 187 (line 16).

<sup>46</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON (in press).

<sup>47</sup> FRASCH 2000, p. 41-42.

produced in very different sites,<sup>48</sup> and as JINAH KIM's research shows, most manuscripts produced in the twelfth century reflect a dramatic change in the nature of the donors, henceforth lay practitioners. The production still, however, seems to be important in Bihar and probably North Bengal; and although no indication of the site of production is given for them, a small number of manuscripts can be considered to have been produced in the region of Vikramapura-Mainamati since their colophons refer to rulers of Southeast Bengal (Figs. 18-20).

A manuscript was probably produced at Vikramapura during the reign of Govindacandra<sup>49</sup> while three others survived, donated during the reign of Harivarman, two being illustrated<sup>50</sup> and dated in the regnal years 8 and 19 respectively whereas the third, not illustrated, bears the date of 39.<sup>51</sup> The first reproduces the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and has for donor "Rāmadeva who is said to be a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna (Figs. 18-20). The writing of the MS. was completed in the eighth year of the prosperous reign of Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Paramavaishṇava Śrīmad Harivarman Deva in the month of Kārttika, on the twelfth day of the moon, on Wednesday in the constellation of Uttarāphālgunī."<sup>52</sup> The second, preserved in the Varendra Research Museum in Rajshahi, contains the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.<sup>53</sup> As to the third, preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata, it includes the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra*.<sup>54</sup>

A further illustrated manuscript donated in the regnal year 47 of Lakṣmanasena was possibly produced in this part of Bengal, considering the fact that the ruler was then reigning from Vikramapura.<sup>55</sup> The same can be said of an illuminated manuscript of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*:<sup>56</sup> although no precise date or location are given in the colophon, the style of the paintings include features noted in the manuscripts of Harivarman's reign and the subdued colours profoundly differ from vibrancy reflected by the manuscripts produced at Nalanda for instance.<sup>57</sup> Two basic features seem to characterize the paintings of South Bengal: stylistically, line clearly prevails over the volume, i.e. the surfaces are flat and covered with plain colours, and, as far as iconography is concerned, we observe a tendency towards a narrative rendering rather than the clear iconic images seen in manuscripts from Bihar or North Bengal. This is particularly well illustrated in a manuscript – the present location of which is unfortunately unknown, but which was

10

<sup>48</sup> See WEISSENBORN 2012a: the site is unrecorded in 33 manuscripts; it is given as Nalanda in 7 cases and various other sites in 10 further examples, among which a manuscript may have been produced at Somapura as suggested by J. LOSTY 1989b (as quoted with references by WEISSENBORN 2012a, p. 298 n° 26).

<sup>49</sup> WEISSENBORN 2012a, p. 308 n° 43 for further references.

<sup>50</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1999 & 2009; WEISSENBORN 2012a, n° 31 & 33, pp. 301-2 (with further references).

<sup>51</sup> See MAJUMDAR 1971, note 1 p. 201 for a discussion concerning the two dates given in this third manuscript, which would imply that Harivarman ruled at least 46 years, starting his reign in 1073-1074.

<sup>52</sup> B. BHATTACHARYYA 1944, p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> SIDDHANTA 1979, pp. 383-4 where it is dated in the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year; the six paintings are reproduced in Bautze-Picron 1999, pls. 13.32-35 & 40-41 & pp. 192-3, see also p. 160 for further references.

<sup>54</sup> SHĀSTRĪ 1917, pp. 79-82; the author supposes that the river "Veng" mentioned in the post-colophon was located in Jessore district (also mentioned by MAJUMDAR 1971, note 1 p. 201).

<sup>55</sup> KIM 2013, p. 59: Ms D10; WEISSENBORN 2012a, p. 294, n° 24 (with further references).

<sup>56</sup> LOSTY 1989a; WEISSENBORN 2012a, p. 311 n° 48; KIM 2013, p. 57: Ms. B5.

<sup>57</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, p. 162; KIM 2013, p. 106 after LOSTY 1989a, p. 5.

photographed in the monastery of Nor in the thirties – which Eva Allinger analysed, concluding that it is to be related to the art ‘of Bagan and eastern Bengal’.<sup>58</sup>

Depicted in the pedestals of images of the Tārā, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī (Figs. 5, 7, 14) carved in the region is the worship of the manuscript which lies on a stand, beside which sits a monk wearing a ‘pointed cap’ and holding the two classical attributes of the ritual, i.e. the bell and the *vajra*.<sup>59</sup> From comparison of images of Mañjuśrī in North (Fig. 3) and Southeast Bengal (Fig. 5) it immediately emerges that this double motif, i.e. the manuscript on stand and the monk with pointed cap, is not only repeatedly encountered in the art of the region, but also occupies a predominant place in the ornamentation of the pedestal. The manuscript is also one of the Bodhisattva’s major attributes from an early period on; besides, Mañjuśrī is one of the Bodhisattvas encountered by Sudhanakumāra in his quest for wisdom and knowledge. He is thus clearly an image reflecting the fundamental importance attributed to this quest gained through the production, reading, and worship of manuscripts.

## Geography & the archaeology of monasteries

**North Bengal** - Major Buddhist sites are located in North Bengal:<sup>60</sup> Paharpur or Somapura as known from inscriptions and written sources as a monastery is said to have been founded in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century by Dharmapāla, probably on the remains of an earlier religious structure.<sup>61</sup> East from Paharpur, Mahasthangarh was a major city in the region for a very long period. Though apparently occupied up to quite a late period, none of these sites seem to have taken a very active part in the late phase of esoteric Buddhism, embodied in Paharpur by the fragment of a small image of Hevajra embracing his Prajñā.<sup>62</sup> Besides Somapura, another ‘Great monastery’ (Mahāvihāra) was located at Jagaddala (Jaggadala), the foundation of which is attributed to Rāmapāla in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup> Its precise location in North Bengal had long remained uncertain; however, excavations led at Jagdal in Naogaon District, North Bangladesh, a site situated some 20 km from Paharpur, revealed Buddhist remains, including a very delicately carved small image of Hevajra and his Prajñā embracing each other, which might support the identification of the site with the famous monastery (Fig. 1).<sup>64</sup>

11

---

<sup>58</sup> ALLINGER 2010, pp. 36-38 & fig. 6. Two narrative texts which were illustrated in the region and in Nepal are the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* and the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, e.g. (WEISSENBORN 2012a, pp. 310-311; ALLINGER 2008).

<sup>59</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, pp. 61-62 & figs. 5-7, 10-11, 17, 22; for illustrations, see LEE 2009, figs. 16, 19, 27, 31, 95 & 96; fig. 80 shows the monk alone with no depiction of the manuscript, this is also a rare example of this iconographic motif at the bottom of a Buddha image-

<sup>60</sup> NIYOGI 1980, pp. 50-61 for a survey of the monasteries in North Bengal; see *ibidem*, pp. 61-65 for the monasteries in West Bengal. To her survey, one will add the monastery discovered and excavated recently at Jagjivanpur (ROY 2002). See also DUTT 1962, pp. 328-80 for a survey of the Mahāvihāras and the monasteries during the Pāla period. RANJUSRI GHOSH carried intensive fieldwork in South and North Dinajpur districts (R.GHOSH 2006-2007, 2008-2009, 2012).

<sup>61</sup> See LEFÈVRE 2012, pp. 239-240 for a summary of the various hypotheses; the author himself suggests that the Buddhist monument was built on the remains of a brahmanical temple.

<sup>62</sup> Today preserved in the Indian Museum, Kolkata; see: D. MITRA 1989, p. 182 & figs. 1-2; A. SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 40; NIYOGI 2001, figs. 39-40.

<sup>63</sup> NIYOGI 1980, pp. 59-60.

<sup>64</sup> ZAKARIAH 1994; MIAH 2003, pl. 11.6 p. 153; see also NAZIMUDDIN AHMED in *Banglapedia*.

Large 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>-centuries images of Mañjuśrī teaching (Fig. 3), of the Tārā and of Mārīcī (Figs. 1-2) were recovered in a vast area which roughly coincides with the Division of Rajshahi and the Dinajpur District in Bangladesh, the districts of South Dinajpur (Dakshin Dinajpur) and Malda in the Indian State of West Bengal.<sup>65</sup> West from this wide region, was located the monastery of Vikramaśīla (today: Antichak, on the south bank of Ganga River, Bhagalpur District, State of Bihar), foundation of which is also attributed to Dharmapāla<sup>66</sup> and which opens the way to Magadha and its fundamental sites of learning, like Nalanda for instance, or to the pilgrimage route connecting all sites visited by the Buddha. As revealed by a very large number of stone images carved in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and found around the city of Lakhi Sarai, a place situated on the route between the Mahāvihāras of Nalanda and Vikramaśīla,<sup>67</sup> the area held a crucial role in the region during this period. One of the villages located in the southern suburbs of the town is Jaynagar where important images were recovered,<sup>68</sup> and which might well be the old Jayanagara where once stood the royal palace of a Pāla ruler at the court of whom the Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadrā resided for some time in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>69</sup>

As neighbouring regions, North Bengal and Bihar are closely related. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries the Buddhist artistic production of both regions shared profound aesthetic similarities which are clearly distinguished from the artistic trend characterizing the production in South Bengal. The iconography is also directly in the circle of influence of Bihar whereas specific iconic formulations emerge in the southern regions.

**South & Southeast Bengal<sup>70</sup>** - South of Dhaka, the site of Bikrampur, i.e. Vikrampur (also named Vikramapurī), covers a very large area over which some 17 or 18 villages are scattered and which is limited by the Dhaleshvari River to the North and the Meghna to the East.<sup>71</sup> The village of Vajrayogini is said to be the birth-place of Atiśa (982-1054) who belonged to a royal family.<sup>72</sup> Atiśa, also known as Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, left Bengal, probably in 1012 AD, to study under Dharmakīrti 'of Suvarṇadvīpa' often identified with Sumatra although this was recently interpreted as a 'general name for the region of South East Asia'.<sup>73</sup> He returned to Bengal in AD 1025, having spent twelve years under the

12

<sup>65</sup> Today preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi: BAUTZE-PICRON 1993, pp. 151-2 & note 15 (add the following references: RAHMAN 1998, pl. 28 & pp. 23; pl. 39 & p. 29; A. SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 41) (Mañjuśrī images) and 2001a, pp. 268-9 & 288: n° 35-38, fig. 18 (add the following reference: RAHMAN 1998, pls. 62-63 & pp. 45-46) (Mārīcī).

<sup>66</sup> Above note 28.

<sup>67</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/92.

<sup>68</sup> To the references listed in my paper published in 1991/92, is to be added the recently published paper by J. KIM 2012 on the nun who donated an Avalokiteśvara image (1991/92, p. 256: A.9).

<sup>69</sup> Above note 24.

<sup>70</sup> NIYOGI 1980, pp. 65-86 for a survey of the monasteries located in the region.

<sup>71</sup> As mentioned and described by A.M. CHOWDHURY in *Banglapedia*, the area has greatly suffered and much transformed in the course of centuries through the evolution of the rivers, mainly the Padma, which runs south of the area (see also ABU MUSA 2000, pp. 1-4).

<sup>72</sup> ABU MUSA 2000, pp. 11-12; on Atiśa, see EIMER 1979, pp. 182-96 and CHATTOPADHYAYA 1981, pp. 56-66.

<sup>73</sup> EIMER 1979, pp. 182-96, CHATTOPADHYAYA 1981, pp. 84-96; COEDÈS 1964, pp. 259 & 264. See SKILLING 1997, p. 188 for his and WHEATLEY's opinions concerning the location of Suvarṇadvīpa. For the traditional views on the location, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press) note 79. 'Śrīvijayapura (or Vijayanagara) of Suvarṇadvīpa', where Dharmakīrti lived can thus be tentatively located in South Sumatra

guidance of Dharmakīrti in the kingdom of the ruler Cuḍāmaṇivarmadeva who is also remembered for having had a monastery built in Nagapattinam during the reign of Rājarāja around AD 1005.<sup>74</sup>

Vikramapura was the capital of various Hindu kings who ruled in the region. The initial centre of power of the Candras who ruled in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries was located on the Devaparvata, i.e. Mainamati, before Vikramapura became their administrative seat during Śrīcandra's reign (c. AD 930-975). They were followed by the Varmans who ruled in the 11<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century from Vikramapura, before being ousted by the Senas who reigned till the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Throughout this period, from the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> up to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the site proves to have been a very intensive Hindu place: numerous images of Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Śiva, mainly as a dancing god, were produced then, all reflecting very high aesthetic quality. No major architectural remains similar to those uncovered at Mainamati or Paharpur for instance could, however, be recovered, which is basically due to the changing landscape of the region provoked by its rich and intricate water system.<sup>75</sup>

Going east from Vikramapura in the direction of Comilla, one is struck by the Devaparvata (today Mainamati), a hill which rises out of the flat country and reveals abundant archaeological remains.<sup>76</sup> Besides numerous architectural structures adorned with terracotta panels, a large number of small cast images and some, very rare, of large dimensions, were recovered during the excavations; stone images were not found in abundance at the top of the hill but some were discovered in the countryside from here as far as the region of Chittagong, where a large group of 9<sup>th</sup>-century bronzes was recovered at Jhewari – now preserved in the Indian Museum – whereas an equally important stone 12<sup>th</sup>-century image of the Buddha was found at Betagi where it is now worshipped. Tibetan authors mention the existence of a monastery, the Piṇḍa or Paṇḍita-vihāra in or near Chittagong: the monastery owes its fame to the debate which saw Buddhists and Brahmins opposed and to the victory of the former after putting on 'pointed caps', which have since remained part of the clothing of monks, especially in Tibet.<sup>77</sup> As recalled by PUSPA NIYOGI, the mahāsiddha Tilopa (988-1069)<sup>78</sup> and at a later period, Vanaratna (1384-1468), the teacher of Tāranātha, were also native to the region.<sup>79</sup>

13

---

(Palembang) (BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press) note 80) or in the Malay Peninsula (Kedah) (SKILLING 1997, pp. 188-91 sums up the evidence), both regions being practically equidistant from the region of Padang Lawas, another major Buddhist site of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century (on the Buddhist remains of this Sumatran site, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press)).

<sup>74</sup> CHATTOPADHYAYA 1981, p. 88; COEDÈS 1964, pp. 259-264; SKILLING 1997, p. 188; SEN 2009, p. 67; SESHADRI 2009, p. 125. See GUY 2004 for a survey of the Buddhist data attesting to contacts between South India and Southeast Asia.

<sup>75</sup> Excavations revealed however recently a monastery at Dholagaon: <http://bangladeshunlocked.blogspot.de/2012/05/atish-dipankars-vihara-dholagaon.html> ;  
<http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/23/ancient-buddhist-vihara-found-in-munshiganj> ;  
[http://www.daily-sun.com/details\\_yes\\_24-03-2013\\_1000-year-old-Buddha-Bihar-found-in-Munshiganj\\_447\\_1\\_9\\_1\\_2.html#.UYXMcTEpmho.facebook](http://www.daily-sun.com/details_yes_24-03-2013_1000-year-old-Buddha-Bihar-found-in-Munshiganj_447_1_9_1_2.html#.UYXMcTEpmho.facebook)

<sup>76</sup> See BHUIYAN 2008-2009 for a small site located Northwest of Comilla.

<sup>77</sup> NIYOGI 1980, p. 69; BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, p. 62 & note 35.

<sup>78</sup> NIYOGI 1980, p. 69

<sup>79</sup> PAL 1989; NIYOGI 1988, p. 44. Like most monks, Vanaratna was widely travelled, going to study in Sri Lanka where he stayed six years before returning to India and Tibet.

## Iconography and the function of the images

From the immensely rich world of images which emerged within Vajrayāna in Eastern India and which was inherited and further developed by the Tibetans, only specific characters found their way into the visual iconography of Southeast Asia. While this phenomenon has yet to be rightly appreciated or even studied, we may suggest that the creation of such a rich iconography and the extremely abundant production of images in the monasteries of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa might have partly resulted from the presence of Tibetan monks and their probable involvement in the transformations which the iconography underwent. A second aspect which the study of iconography brings to light is the geographical distribution of the images: not all ‘gods’ and ‘goddesses’ were represented evenly everywhere. This observation helps in localizing the specific South Asian geographical area where images carved or cast in Southeast Asia had the source of their inspiration. The iconography is closely intermingled with the way of depicting these characters, i.e. with ‘style’: as demonstrated by PAULINE LUNSINGH-SCHEURLEER, the earliest so-called Javanese bronze images were in fact cast in Southeast Bangladesh, and more particularly in the region of Mainamati.<sup>80</sup>

Mainamati was at the centre of an active Mahāyāna community from the post-Gupta period onwards. Stone images were rarely produced whereas the production of metal images seems to have been very important, numerous small bronzes from an early period (late 7<sup>th</sup> up to 9<sup>th</sup> century) depicting the main Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī or the Tārā among others having been recovered in the site and the region.<sup>81</sup> The advance of Vajrayāna can be appreciated thanks to the discovery of a human-size bronze of Vajrasattva. Most of this material should be dated prior to the ninth century and is contemporary with images from the region exported to Java where they would inspire a rich production of cast images in the subsequent centuries.<sup>82</sup>

Studies of iconography rely heavily on textual sources. However, the visual iconography often presents features which find no echo in the texts. Producing an image is a creative process not locked in dogma and meets very specific religious or spiritual needs at the time of its fabrication; monasteries were not entities withdrawn from the world, but were interacting with the space around them, and they were also open to monks coming from at times far-away countries. The fact that the monasteries of Bihar and Bengal were engaged in extremely dynamic religious and spiritual activities may also have overshadowed the fact that they might have been influenced by developments which had taken in other countries. Clear evidence is, for instance, provided by the representation of Sudhanakumāra standing or seated near the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in images from Bihar and Bengal dated from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and onwards (Fig. 4).<sup>83</sup> Sudhanakumāra is no god and no image of him alone has, to the best of my knowledge, ever been produced: he is an attendant to the Bodhisattva forming a pair with Hayagrīva whereas the Tārā is paired with the Bhṛkuṭī. Likewise, he can attend on Mañjuśrī on the latter’s images.<sup>84</sup> But he is the main character of a spiritual quest which leads him to

---

<sup>80</sup> See note 82 below.

<sup>81</sup> LEE 2009, figs. 127 to 162 reproduces such early bronzes discovered at Mainamati or in the region.

<sup>82</sup> LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER/KLOKKE 1988, cats. 14-17 pp. 66-69.

<sup>83</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), pp. 99-100 (with further references).

<sup>84</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1993, pp. 152 & 153; CASEY 1985, cat. 22.

Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī and which is narrated in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.<sup>85</sup> The text was illustrated in the ninth century on the Borobudur in Java and later versions are known from murals at Tabo (Western Himalayas), dated before 1042 or from a Nepalese manuscript tentatively dated around the mid-twelfth century or slightly later.<sup>86</sup> There is no doubt that the text was known in Bihar and Bengal as it was in these regions bordering India, but the main character was here singled out of the narrative and introduced as attendant to the two major Bodhisattvas to be worshipped in Bihar and Bengal, where he becomes a figure of knowledge, his main and sole attribute being the manuscript which he holds clasped under his left armpit, both hands joined in the gesture of veneration in front of his chest. We cannot exclude the possibility that the importance of the text at Java – which cannot be doubted, considering the fact that it is illustrated through 460 panels on the Borobudur –<sup>87</sup> stretched out to Eastern India and beyond. In India, it is included in the iconography of two Bodhisattvas of different but to some extent complementary functions, although in both cases the fact that this young man in search of wisdom carries the manuscript symbolizing the spiritual knowledge which he accumulates through his encounters with wise men and Bodhisattvas may show how fundamental the book cult was within the monastery itself, but also beyond its limits, among the lay community.<sup>88</sup>

The eighth and ninth centuries constitute a major period in the history of Buddhism in Java, marked notably by large constructions like the Borobudur and the Candi Sewu. Around the middle of the ninth century, Bālaputradeva, a Śailendra ruler, had a monastery built in Nalanda for monks originating from Java, and as a diplomatic gesture of good will, the Pāla ruler of the time Devapāla had the revenue from land and villages donated for the upkeep of this institution.<sup>89</sup> The years around AD 830 have been considered by J. DUMARCAÿ as pivotal between two phases of development of Javanese architecture, showing a “new cultural impulse” which originates from India and brings new architectural techniques, and which is characterized by the creation of major construction sites.<sup>90</sup> For different but complementary reasons, MARIJKE KLOKKE reached the same conclusion.<sup>91</sup> In this context we should mention the dedication of an image of Mañjuśrī made by a monk from Bengal or ‘Gauḍīdvīpa’ in the year 782 at Kelurak,<sup>92</sup> i.e. in the vicinity of the Candi Sewu, a monument whose date is much debated, but can be roughly dated between the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the first part of the 9<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>93</sup> An inscription found in the compound of the Candi Sewu mentions the enlargement in 792 of a ‘mañjuśrīgrha’, which could very likely be the Candi Sewu.<sup>94</sup> The Candi Sewu, like the

<sup>85</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), p. 99 note 116 for references.

<sup>86</sup> ALLINGER 2008, pp. 153 (date of the manuscript as proposed by JERRY LOSTY) and 154; KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997, pp. 120-124. For a comparison of the narrative in Tabo and on the Borobudur, see KIMMET 2012, pp. 98-99. For other iconographic similarities between Java and Western Himalaya, see CHANDRA/SEVI SINGHAL 1999.

<sup>87</sup> SOEKMONO 1976, p. 20.

<sup>88</sup> KIM 2013, pp. 223-224, 236-250.

<sup>89</sup> FURUI 2011, p. 155 note 25 for the references.

<sup>90</sup> After KLOKKE 2006, p. 51.

<sup>91</sup> KLOKKE 2006, p. 52.

<sup>92</sup> MIKSIK 2006, pp. 188-190; KLOKKE 2006, pp. 53-54.

<sup>93</sup> KLOKKE 2006, pp. 53-54 (with further references)

<sup>94</sup> KLOKKE 2006, *ibid.*



Borobudur, offers a majestic three-dimensional illustration of a topic generalized in the sculpture and the painted manuscripts of Eastern India from the 9<sup>th</sup> century on, i.e. the depiction of the five Tathāgatas, which was favoured mainly in the iconographies of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and the Tārā.<sup>95</sup> As we will see below, the motif of the five Tathāgatas saw a particular treatment in the iconography of the Potala mountain on which the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara resides (Fig. 4); this iconography is encountered in particular after the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Bihar and South Bengal,<sup>96</sup> which suggests that the visual concept ‘Mountain cum Tathāgatas’ might have been inspired by the impressive Javanese monuments.

Images of specific deities were more favoured than others and may not have found the same degree of religious fervour everywhere. Thus, we witness a radical change in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries in the regions of Vikrampur and Mainamati, when large stone images of Mañjuśrī<sup>97</sup> and Heruka/Hevajra are produced (Figs. 5-7, 8-9).<sup>98</sup> This period follows a phase where the monastery of Nalanda seems to have exerted a major function: images outstanding in terms of iconography and aesthetic quality have been recovered in the area of Vikrampur which clearly relate on the evidence of their style to the ateliers located around Nalanda/Ghosravan/Tetrvan in Bihar. Such is the case of a unique depiction of a specific aspect of Mārīcī (fig. 12) or a representation of Avalokiteśvara seated on the Potala (Fig. 4).<sup>99</sup> Moreover, a 9<sup>th</sup>-century bronze image of Mahāpratisarā found at Kurkihar in Bihar is a clear product of the ateliers located around Mainamati (Fig. 15).<sup>100</sup>

The importance of Heruka under different aspects in Bengal (Hevajra; Saṃvara; Cakrasaṃvara; Buddhakapāla; Fig. 24) reminds us that Atiśa who originates from the region of Vikrampur ‘had the visions of Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Trisaṃvaravyūha (?) and Hevajra’.<sup>101</sup> Hevajra/Heruka as seen in Southeast Bengal (Figs. 8-9), i.e. dancing and at

<sup>95</sup> But not exclusively; it crowned, for instance, the tall image of the Buddha standing at Jagdishpur, near Nalanda (BAUTZE-PICRON 2010a, fig. 125a).

<sup>96</sup> One of the most accomplished examples was found at Kurkihar (Bihar) and can be dated to the late 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), fig. 110.

<sup>97</sup> CASEY 1985, cats 22, 33; M. MITRA 1999c; LEE 2009, figs. 95-96.

<sup>98</sup> BHATTASALI 1929, pl. XII & pp. 35-37; SARASWATI 1977, ill. 172; HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 215; BISWAS 1995, pls. 38-39 & p. 40; LINROTHE 1999, fig. 188 & pp. 249-266 (on Heruka, as named by LINROTHE) & 267-275 (on Hevajra); HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pls. 506-507 & pp. 279, 301-302; LEE 2009, figs. 66-67, 69; add to it: BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press), figs. 1-2.

<sup>99</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2001, pp. 272-275 on the Mārīcī found at Bhavanipur; see also: BHATTASALI 1929, pl. XIX & pp. 54-56; HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 206; SAMSUL ALAM 1985, fig. 69; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pl. 518 & p. 131; LEE 2009, fig. 51 & pp. 168-181. Two further images of the elephant god Gaṇeśa found in Southeast Bengal and dated through inscriptions in the 10<sup>th</sup> century could likewise have been ‘imported’ from Bihar (BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), chapitre VI, notes 15-17); it is most interesting to read that the donors of these two images and of a third one, of Viṣṇu, also sharing features with the art of Bihar, were donated by merchants who might indeed have been travelling between Southeast Bengal and Bihar (PRASAD 2010, pp. 31-33 . BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/92, pp. 249-250 on similarities shared by the image of the Bodhisattva on the Potala and sculptures from Bihar; see also: BHATTASALI 1929, pl. VIIa & pp. 27-28; SARASWATI 1977, fig.59; SHAMSUL ALAM 1985, fig. 78; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pl. 512 & p. 129; LEE 2009, figs. 54-55 & pp. 54-55, 179-190.

<sup>100</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), fig. XXX, p. 18 and chapitre IV, note 358 for further references. See MEVISSSEN 1999 for a study of this iconography in Bengal and abroad.

<sup>101</sup> CHATTOPADHYAYA 1981, p. 378 and EIMER 1979, p. 92: ‘Als Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna studierte..., sah er im Traum Heruka vor sich am Himmel und hörte ihn sagen ... er solle Mönch werden und viele Schüler anleiten.’

times trampling on a corpse, alone or at the centre of a circle of eight yoginīs, was also worshipped in North Sumatra (Padang Lawas) and Cambodia. Other similar isolated images are found scattered in various sites of Bihar and Orissa, like Nalanda or Ratnagiri,<sup>102</sup> and the deity can also be depicted with even more frightful aspects known as Saṃvara or Cakrasaṃvara, which seem to have been favoured in North Bengal with images showing twelve or sixteen arms, four faces and embracing the Prajñā (Vajravārāhī).<sup>103</sup>

Veneration of Hevajra/Heruka and Mahākāla, another major wrathful male deity present in Bengal and Bihar,<sup>104</sup> extended far beyond the South Asian Subcontinent; Mahākāla was protector of the State in the Dali kingdom and under the Yuan,<sup>105</sup> and is also present in East Java and Sumatra. Hevajra was worshipped in North Sumatra and was a major deity in Cambodia,<sup>106</sup> while his image found at Padang Lawas in North Sumatra is evidently based on those carved in the region of Vikramapura, another evident element of contact between the Buddhist centres of these countries. A still enigmatic three-faced wrathful god standing in the victory posture and trampling corpses was found in the region of Vikrampur (Fig. 10): although doubt remains as to the proper identification of the wrathful three-headed image, this is evidently visually related to the more 'classical' image of Mahākāla as found for instance in Lakhi Sarai but also in Vikrampur, or to further images of Yamāntaka and Krodhas from Bihar.<sup>107</sup> Both gods, Hevajra and Mahākāla, are physically very different: Hevajra/Heruka, in his images found in South and Southeast Bengal, has a beautiful well-proportioned human body although he frowns and has fangs. This is not the case of Mahākāla and the wrathful image from Vikrampur: they are pot-bellied, have bulging eyes, have a heavy body with short legs and do not display the lightness of movement which the dancing Hevajra shows. Other aspects of Heruka, like Cakrasaṃvara, found more particularly in North Bengal, partakes of the same type of image with heavy body and which expresses violence and aggressiveness whose obvious aim is to frighten.

Images exported by monks evidently reflected concepts developed in Eastern India, but they merged with local Southeast Asian spiritual and political considerations. Clearly, Hevajra, like Mahākāla, were images of political power in regions outside the Indian

---

<sup>102</sup> They were apparently to be found everywhere, but seem to have remained isolated in the sites where they were discovered (D. MITRA 1989, D. MITRA 1997-1998). We also know of a silver image of the deity which must have stood at Bodhgaya (above note 13).

<sup>103</sup> WEISSENBORN 2012b, figs. 51-55 & pp. 69-76 on this iconography (also illustrated in manuscripts, *ibid.*, figs. 41a, 42c, 45a, 47-48). See DONALDSON 2002, pp. 206-211 & HERRMANN-PFANDT 2006-2007 on the Cakrasaṃvara-maṇḍala, assimilated with Jambudvīpa and showing the universal power of the god over all Hindu, mainly Śaiva deities and sites of pilgrimage.

<sup>104</sup> LEE 2007, figs. 70-71 & pp. 204-208 on two examples found in the Vikrampur area; the presence of a tiny Buddha image at the top of the slab, probably Amoghasiddhi (as recognized by LEE whereas the author in HAQUE/GAIL 2008 sees here Amitābha) makes it a Buddhist and not Śaiva image (also reproduced by HAQUE/GAIL 2008, plate 462 & p.163 and by RAHMAN 1998, cat. 72 & pl. 46).

<sup>105</sup> Howard 1996, p. 235.

<sup>106</sup> See BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press) with further references on both gods in Sumatra and beyond.

<sup>107</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/92, figs. 16, 25 & 17 for a Krodha (Lakhi Sarai). For Yamāntaka: see LINROTHE pp. 162-176. For the Vikrampur image, see LEE 2007, fig. 71 & pp. 204-208: the presence of a tiny Buddha image at the top of the slab, probably Amoghasiddhi (as recognized by LEE whereas the authoress in HAQUE/GAIL 2008 sees here Amitābha) makes it a Buddhist and not Śaiva image (also reproduced by SARASWATI 1977, ill. 179; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, plate 462 & p.163 and by RAHMAN 1998, cat. 72 & pl. 46).

Subcontinent, symbolizing the duty of the ruler to protect the country by destroying its enemies (Mahākāla), while illustrating the presence of the political power as universal (Hevajra/Heruka standing at the centre of a maṇḍala) and destructive of negative forces (Hevajra/Heruka dancing on corpses). One may thus wonder whether, in India as was the case in Southeast Asia or China, they had the leading position of protecting the State; there is no clear evidence that the rulers of Eastern India ever placed themselves and their States under the protection of Mahākāla or Hevajra.<sup>108</sup> Taking this into consideration leads us to surmise that these gods had to protect the *saṃgha*: the monastery becomes the *maṇḍala* on which Hevajra rules.<sup>109</sup>

How are we to assess the function of these images in their historical context? Can we approach the stone and cast images, and indeed the illuminations inserted in manuscripts alike? Probably not, since their basic function, which justifies their creation, differs. Large stone or cast images are to be displayed publicly, even if only to the monks, whereas small images can be carried, be they private belongings of monks or donated to the monastery by monks and lay people. Small objects could easily be transported, which makes their study rather difficult: were they produced in the site where they were discovered? Were they carried away from another site? Were they part of a set of images? Studying them thus means taking on many doubts and unknowns.

The production of a manuscript reflects a completely different situation.<sup>110</sup> When the eye and the mind focus on a material image – for simple worship or identification with it –, the movement is centripetal, going from outside (the viewer) towards one single object. But opening and reading a manuscript open cosmic dimensions with the eye wandering through many different divine images and the mind following the spatial directions in which the deities depicted in the manuscript are distributed. The creation of a rich illuminated manuscript allows inserting practically as many images as desired; these male and female characters show a wide range of physical features known from their descriptions in *sādhana*s and can even be rarely shown in stone (Figs. 21-24). Their insertion all through a manuscript transforms this one into a frame to these images most often unrelated to the text, usually of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. In short, they do not illustrate the text, or too rarely only in the case of narrative texts or of the *Pañcarakṣā* text.

One manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* donated in the early period of Harivarman's reign as seen above has a rich and peculiar iconography<sup>111</sup> where Avalokiteśvara appears as a major Bodhisattva, showing many different aspects (Figs. 18-19); this importance is consistent with the attention paid to different types of images of the Bodhisattva, for instance residing on his mountain, the Potala, found in the region (Fig. 4).<sup>112</sup> The motif of the mountain quite naturally enhances the divine position of the

<sup>108</sup> To which remark one should add the observation made by B.N. PRASAD on the absence of inscriptions on images which would refer to a donor (here note 27).

<sup>109</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2010a, pp. 22-23; DAVIDSON 2002, pp. 113-168.

<sup>110</sup> See JINAH KIM's book (2013), which offers a range of new and challenging considerations regarding such manuscripts.

<sup>111</sup> For KIM 2013, pp. 104-6 the folios preserved in Baroda and those kept in different Western collections, private and public, do not belong to the same manuscript whereas for WEISSENBORN 2012a, pp. 301-2 (n° 33), they all belong to one single manuscript.

<sup>112</sup> See above note 99. LEE 2009, fig. 59 is related to this iconography, a trefoil arch being the only reminder of the niche within the mountain where the Bodhisattva sits; BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, pp. 183-5.

Bodhisattva, this being also the place of residence of a major god like Śiva<sup>113</sup> and becoming also the seat of the Tārā in a unique and outstanding carving found around Mainamati.<sup>114</sup> In this image, the Tārā preaches, evoking the ‘Potalake Bhagav[at]ī Tārā’ depicted in two Nepalese manuscripts of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>115</sup> The fact is that these manuscripts, like the illustrated *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* kept in the British Library, take part in the very same iconographic tradition reflected by the manuscript dated in the regnal year 8 of Harivarman, i.e. they depict ‘famous’ images of the entire Buddhist world, with images of deities located in far-away countries like China, Java, Sri Lanka, or the Maharashtra to quote only a few whereas the images in the Harivarman manuscript are those of many aspects of Avalokiteśvara, the Tārā or Mārīcī for instance.<sup>116</sup>

Looking back at the history of the Buddhist community in South Asia, more particularly at its carved artistic production, it is obvious that the dividing line which one would wish to draw between the community and the non-Buddhist society within which the *saṃgha* was evolving was never deeply anchored: Buddhist were well aware of the existence of Hindu gods and goddesses, introducing them in their own artistic imagery but having of them a perception which could thoroughly change over the centuries.<sup>117</sup> Thus, Brahmā and Śakra (Indra) are present from the very beginning, appearing as peaceful characters fully submitted to the Buddha, an aspect which they preserve up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. But from perhaps the late 10<sup>th</sup> century and onwards, they also appear as demons belonging to Māra’s army, thus suffering the fate of deities like Gaṇeśa/Gaṇapati,<sup>118</sup> Śiva, Pārvatī and others who were perceived as malevolent characters and hence could be trodden by frightful Buddhist characters whose major function was to destroy them. Going through the centuries, one attends thus a permanent encounter between the Buddhist and the brahmanical (Hindu) imaginary worlds which finds its visual expression in a Buddhist context.<sup>119</sup>

When considering ‘Buddhist’ images, one tends too easily to forget that they were conceived in a context where the religious imagery was not exclusively Buddhist. Quite on the contrary, Buddhist monasteries were surrounded by a landscape which was fundamentally inhabited by ‘Hindu’ gods and goddesses and which might have felt as dangerous if not threatening. In a wide movement which swept over Bihar and Bengal as from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Hindu deities were considered to belong to Māra’s army where

---

For other images of the Bodhisattva in the region, see BHATTASALI 1929, pl. VIa & pp. 25-26; SARASWATI 1977, ill. 60; A. SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 56; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pls. 513-514 & pp. 158, 160-161; LEE 2009, figs. 27, 31, 58-60 & pp. 121-129, 185.

<sup>113</sup> LEE 2009, fig. 64.

<sup>114</sup> LEE 2009, fig. 65 & p. 190. For other images of the goddess in the region, see: BHATTASALI 1929, pls. XX-XXII & pp. 56-58; SHAMSUL ALAM 1985, figs. 49, 65; BISWAS 1995, pl. 28 & pp. 32, 35; NIYOGI 2001, fig. 50; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pl. 46 & pp. 146-147; LEE 2009, figs. 15, 17-19 & pp. 96-99, 105-112.

<sup>115</sup> FOUCHER 1900, p. 192 n° 16, p. 210 n° 18 & pl. VII.16

<sup>116</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, p. 188; KIM 2013, pp. 56-57 & 93-109.

<sup>117</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1996 & 2010a.

<sup>118</sup> LANCASTER 1991, p. 278 mentions a fifth century Chinese translation of a text referring to him as Vināyaka, an ill-intentioned character “who keeps the practitioners from progressing and is thus a negative force that must be overcome”.

<sup>119</sup> This is not to say that the Hindu side was unaware of the existence of the Buddhists, but the main, if not only, character who was shown in a demeaning position was the Buddha, see VERARDI 2011, *passim*.

they held a leading position, replacing the traditional monsters of the army,<sup>120</sup> and having possibly their outer appearance modified, Brahmā becoming for instance a threatening character showing fangs.<sup>121</sup> This perception of the Hindu pantheon apparently arose in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, an outstanding example being the image of Jagdishpur, a site located in the direct vicinity of Nalanda.<sup>122</sup> From there, it is found up to Bagan in Burma, following a line which crosses Lakhi Sarai in East Bihar and the entire Delta (Figs. 16-17; below: The Buddha).

Images are not only carriers of religious or spiritual values, they also deeply reflect daily concerns; images could be conceived as an answer to images which were produced by men of different beliefs and as such could be acting as echo to them. Images were clearly part of a ‘campaign’ which was aimed against those belonging to the ‘other’ side. Some examples can be here given, drawn from various parts of Eastern India and belonging to different periods: images of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī produced in Magadha in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century, more particularly in the region of Bodhgaya, clearly borrow elements from Skanda images, such as the necklace and the hair-dress whereas the lion serving as *vāhana* was probably borrowed from Durgā’s iconography.<sup>123</sup> At a later date, the 12<sup>th</sup> century, outstanding images of Mahākāla resembling closely contemporary images of Bhairava were carved in the area of Lakhi Sarai.<sup>124</sup>

And, turning to South Bengal in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is probably no chance that most Hevajra images (Fig. 8-9) were produced in this region where the cult of Śiva Natarāja was particularly important, or that Avalokiteśvara shows various ‘Śaiva’ aspects in the manuscripts of the region, notably the rare form of Padmanarteśvara.<sup>125</sup> Another factor might lie in the proximity of Assam, more particularly of the Kāmākhyā-pīṭha located north of the area here considered, and in the vicinity of which ‘a cemetery called Heruka’ would be located according to the *Kālikā-purāṇa*.<sup>126</sup> Hevajra images receive a fighting stamp in being a wrathful character sharing features with the frightful Hindu goddess Cāmuṇḍā whereas images of this goddess and of Śiva Bhairava can also convey a strong message of violence towards the Buddhist community, wearing for instance a long garland of Buddha’s heads or trampling on a bowl full of similar heads.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1996; BAUTZE-PICRON 2010b, pp. 111-116.

<sup>121</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1996, pp. 126-127 & fig. 20.

<sup>122</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2010b, pp. 108-116.

<sup>123</sup> Not forgetting that Skanda is chief of the divine armies and that Durgā is a fighting goddess; BAUTZE-PICRON 1989b, figs. 1, 4-15, 18. BAUTZE-PICRON 1993, pp. 151-2 (on the lion).

<sup>124</sup> Mahākāla: BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/1992, figs. 16 & 35; Bhairava: KUMAR 2011, figs. 15a-b. On the similarities, see LEE 2009, pp. 206-207. However, DAVIDSON (2002, pp. 211-217) relates Heruka to Bhairava, ‘Heruka [being] formed in imitation of Maheśvara’, and Heruka being a ‘divinity of a cremation ground’: the situation is indeed very complex as the author also notes p. 214. It is indeed likely that the (Buddhist) cult of a god named Heruka owes a lot to the (tribal and Hindu) tantric tradition which had emerged in Assam (ibid.).

<sup>125</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, p. 184. As Saṃvara, Heruka rules over the universe from Mount Meru, reminding, as mentioned by DAVIDSON (2002, p. 210) that this image echoes the motif of Śiva on Mount Kailash, but it also echoes the presence of the Buddha on Mount Meru where he teaches the Dharma to his mother and the gods (BAUTZE-PICRON 2010, pp. 28-35).

<sup>126</sup> DAVIDSON 2002, p. 213 mentions that the cemetery is today named Bhairava.

<sup>127</sup> As shown by G. VERARDI 2011, visual language was a major vector of propaganda and can reflect deep conflicts which were tearing the society. And in the ‘Buddhist camp’, this goddess was really perceived as

Also Mañjuśrī is armed with a sword and represented in the gesture of using it, holding it high above his head.<sup>128</sup> The development of the Bodhisattva iconography at Nalanda in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries found an echo in his importance in Java in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. As seen in an earlier paper,<sup>129</sup> his function is to teach when Śākyamuni becomes Buddha, which makes the two iconographies – of the Buddha’s enlightenment and of the Bodhisattva teaching – profoundly complementary.<sup>130</sup> Mañjuśrī possesses the sword with which darkness is slit and light (of the Bodhi) pervades the mind: such a major image used to stand at Bodhgaya till it was stolen from the site,<sup>131</sup> and the very characteristic gesture of holding the sword above the head as if going to be used occurs in three outstanding sculptures from Southeast Bengal.<sup>132</sup> These include a rare depiction of Arapacana Mañjuśrī (Fig. 6)<sup>133</sup> which foreshadows a 13<sup>th</sup>-century image of the same iconography carved in East Java,<sup>134</sup> and two images of the also very rarely illustrated Mañjuvajra (Fig. 7) where the Bodhisattva is three-faced and six-handed, and has attributes which illustrate his function as slayer of ignorance – a main attribute being the manuscript – and as bestowing his compassion.<sup>135</sup>

The Bodhisattva is not the only character who makes a reference to Bodhgaya and the Bodhi. A major goddess is then Mārīcī whose numerous images were found all through the region (Fig. 13)<sup>136</sup> and hardly differ from those worshipped in Bihar or North Bengal. This is not a peaceful deity; she carries weapons in her eight hands, presenting the *vajra*

---

a dangerous deity, belonging to the army of Māra and ferociously the Buddha (BAUTZE-PICRON 2010b, pp. 111-116).

<sup>128</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, figs. 1, 9-10. The weapon can be symbolic of destroying ignorance and darkness, opening the way to wisdom and light, but it might also be considered at a more basic level, being a visual rendering intended for non-Buddhists; the same can be said on the sword being held by Mārīcī (and other deities) whereas in the opposite camp, it is Cāmuṇḍā who is depicted in an even more aggressive mood (above notes 4 & 120)

<sup>129</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 1993 (& 1989).

<sup>130</sup> It is worth noting that the Mañjuśrī illustrated in Fig. 5 is accompanied by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, reproducing thus partly the triad so often encountered in Bihar of having the Buddha flanked by these two Bodhisattvas (BAUTZE-PICRON 2010, p. 77).

<sup>131</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), pp. 117-8 & p. 214, n° 170 (see also fig. 170)

<sup>132</sup> LEE 2009, pp. 239-53 & figs. 95-96 & 101.

<sup>133</sup> BHATTASALI 1929, pl. VIIb & pp. 28-29; SARASWATI 1977, ill. 27; SHAMSUL ALAM 1985, fig. 89; A. SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 62; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pl. 491 & p. 132; LEE 2009, fig. 191 & pp. 248-253.

<sup>134</sup> As rightly suggested by PAULINE LUNSINGH-SCHEURLEER: see BAUTZE-PICRON 2014 (in press) note 30 for further references.

<sup>135</sup> LEE 2009, figs. 95-96 & pp. 239-248. An even more rare depiction of the Bodhisattva as Nāmasaṅgītī has been discovered in the Vikrampur area; the particular feature of this image is that it is the real female Nāmasaṅgītī who is depicted and not the usually seen male one (AKMAN 1999; BAUTZE-PICRON 2000, pp. 108-111; LEE 2009, fig. 37 & pp. 145-155).

<sup>136</sup> See my paper of 2001 for a study of the iconography of the goddess in Eastern India and in particularly, for the images produced in Southeast Bengal, see pp. 268-9 & 288-9: n° 39-47; add two images in the Khulna Museum published by MEVISSSEN 2009 and LEE 2009, pp. 155-168. The image reproduced here was stolen from the Mainamati Museum (for further references, see MEVISSSEN 2009, p. 280) and reappeared on the Belgian Art Market in 2006-2007 (*52<sup>e</sup> Foire des Antiquaires de Belgique*, p. 209 where the provenance is said to be a “private English collection”); I myself saw it with the art-dealer K. Grusenmeyer (Sablon, Brussels). See also: BHATTASALI 1929, pls. XIIIb-XIV & pp. 43-45; HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 217; A. SENGUPTA 1993, figs. 27, 67-68; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pls. 519, 523-525 & pp. 146, 172-273, 282-283; LEE 2009, figs. 23, 42-49 & pp. 155-168.

in the upper right hand;<sup>137</sup> four sow-faced female deities surround her. All of them form thus a *maṇḍala*, a structure which is encountered in more than one iconographic type, see for instance the images of Arapacana Mañjuśrī, Mañjuvajra (Figs. 6-7), Hevajra (Fig. 8), the five Tathāgatas, and the Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā (Fig. 14)<sup>138</sup> or even of the Buddha's life (see below). She symbolizes the sun light which penetrates the entire universe when Śākyamuni becomes Buddha; with her position of victory and her numerous armed hands, she is depicted as a warrior-goddess chasing away the darkness, i.e. the ignorance. The very fact also that she stands within the womb of a *stūpa* is there to prove that light resides in the bosom of the Buddhist monastery. Her numerous images testify also to the importance of the female element as a dynamic, creative force.

Movement is what opposed her to the images of the Tārā but brings her close to depictions of Parṇaśabarī (Fig. 11),<sup>139</sup> a frightful goddess of folk origin, clad with leaves, who protects from deceases but also dispels hindrances to the spiritual quest, and having the *vajra* and the *aṅkuśa* as weapons. Her images are rare but they are the reflection of the way chosen by the Mahāsiddhas, drawing their inspiration from non-canonical literature, refusing to be part of the 'official' Buddhist community, opting for a freedom of mind which they found in the solitude of the forest.<sup>140</sup> As far as one can surmise from the existing material remains, Buddhism in this part of Bengal was not solely confined to the monasteries where monks were mainly active: as JINAH KIM's research recently demonstrated, the lay-practitioners were more and more active notably in the production and worship of the book; besides, the Mahāsiddhas were also much active as 'independent' spiritual seekers throwing a critical look on the 'official' Buddhist way. Lay-practitioners and these ascetics reflect two further aspects of Buddhism, the study of which is more difficult to grasp, but which had to be taken into consideration by the *saṃgha*, hence also the existence of these large images of Parṇaśabarī in what was the capital, i.e. Vikramapura, where many other images were collected, side by side with those of Sūrya, Viṣṇu or dancing Śiva, and where, let us remind it, the political power was openly brahmanical. The community was evidently outnumbered and this severely reduced position might also explain the multiplication of Mārīcī images; emerging as seen above in the womb of a *stūpa*, but also belonging to the *kula* of Vairocana, it is the monument as body of the latter which is here standing, but it is also the monument as symbol par excellence of the Buddhist way, and thus of the community, which is here depicted.

**The Buddha** – Considering the rich pantheon which we just shortly surveyed and which developed during nearly two centuries, it must be noted that the iconography of the Buddha is rather uniform, depicting him touching the earth, i.e. at the very moment of his enlightenment. However, details added this model can vary from image to image, and features can be inserted which are not encountered in Bihar, for instance the protome of

<sup>137</sup> Where in Bihar, she can present the sword (BAUTZE-PICRON 2001, figs. 6, 9, 14-15).

<sup>138</sup> BHATTASALI 1929, pl. XXI & pp. 56-57; B. BHATTACHARYYA 1958, fig. 375; SARASWATI 1977, ill. 103; GHOSH 1980, ill. 11 & p. 42; SHAMSUL ALAM 1985, fig. 90; SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 31; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pl. 530 & p. 146; LEE 2009, fig. 16 & pp. 99-105..

<sup>139</sup> BHATTASALI 1929, pls. XXIIIa-b & pp. 58-61; B. BHATTACHARYYA 1958, figs. 173-174; SARASWATI 1977, ill. 188-189; HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 210; A. SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 70; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pls. 541 & p. 147; LEE 2009, figs. 33-34 & pp. 129-144; see also M. MITRA 2000.

<sup>140</sup> On the Siddhas, see DAVIDSON 2002, pp. 169ff.

an elephant below the Buddha.<sup>141</sup> The main image remained, however, the one of Śākyamuni at Bodhgaya, i.e. evoking the earth-goddess while touching the soil with the fingers of his right hand, and as such, it could be venerated by any monk.

A very specific iconographic program depicted on book-covers and in a series of illuminations traditionally distributed at the beginning and the end of the text echoes the narrative rendering of the Buddha's life which is carved in the lower part of images produced in the region in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> c. and which reflect a boundary between the 'eight scenes' model encountered in Bihar and the detailed rendering of the biography painted in various temples of Bagan.<sup>142</sup> As also observed by EVA ALLINGER, this iconographic model is also illustrated in early cloth-paintings which have been preserved in Tibetan monasteries.<sup>143</sup> Even if one surmises that the carving of the images is posterior to some murals at Bagan, I personally do not think that their presence in the lower part of stone images from the Delta specifically reflects a Burmese influence but illustrates a conscious choice of presenting the biography.

The model retained is based on a composition which was elaborated in Magadha around the 9<sup>th</sup> century and which shows that the life of the Buddha reached its peak at Bodhgaya, there where the Bodhisattva became Buddha: this is the moment from where there is no return possible (Figs. 16-17). Around the central large image, seven scenes are distributed following a very specific visual pattern, i.e. the scenes are paired according to their iconography and not in a chronological order.<sup>144</sup> All scenes are depicted as if being icons on their own and not as part of a continuous narrative and all, apart from the final decease, are depicted as if images standing on their own in their own shrines. Now, the motif of the shrine is typical of the art of Southeast Bengal, but the profile of the tower does not belong to any temple, but to the Bodhgaya temple and only particular figures sit within such a structure, i.e. the Buddha and Mañjuśrī. In these images also, only the central Buddha sits in a niche supporting this particular type of spire whereas the secondary scenes are distributed in niches having their arch fully inserted in a series of flat and broad recesses which support an *āmalaka*, a structure well-known in manuscript illuminations and which has been there considered to be motif of (northern) Bengali origin.<sup>145</sup> The spire of the Bodhgaya temple being only noted above images of the Buddha and Mañjuśrī is a consistent feature since, as mentioned above, the Bodhisattva holds a major position in the iconography of the enlightenment.<sup>146</sup> Not only does the presence of

---

<sup>141</sup> LEE 2009, figs. 74-80, 82-88, 90 & pp. 217-232 for a lengthy discussion of the Buddha image in the region of Dhaka. The motif of the elephant protruding below the Buddha is also encountered on the images of Viṣṇu or Śiva in Bengal (BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, note 16). Further, see: BHATTASALI 1929, pls. VIII. IXb & pp. 30-34; SARASWATI 1977, ills. 196, 199; HUNTINGTON 1984, figs. 208-209, 223; SHAMSUL ALAM 1985, figs. 55, 72, 77; A. SENGUPTA 1993, fig. 52; BISWAS 1995, pl. 40 & pp. 36, 40-41; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pls. 486, 503 & pp. 129-130, 157.

<sup>142</sup> ALLINGER 2010 wrote a detailed analysis of the question.

<sup>143</sup> ALLINGER 2010, pp. 34-35; BAUTZE-PICRON 1995/96. The place of manufacture of these cloth-paintings is still a matter of debate; I personally tend to consider the thangkas reproduced by EVA ALLINGER, figs. 5-6 as of Bengali origin but made for a Tibetan patron (the painting of fig. 5 includes the depiction of heavily clad characters and monks).

<sup>144</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2002, pp. 222-223 (with further referenes).

<sup>145</sup> But which could occur in manuscripts produced at Vikramaśīla, a site located in East Bihar, see LOSTY 1989b, pp. 89 & 95.

<sup>146</sup> Moreover, these two images of the Bodhisattva also include depiction of the Seven Jewels of the Cakravarti, a topic which was well-favoured at Bodhgaya (HSU 2008 for the topic).



a tower transform the image into a shrine but through the presence of four subsidiary shrines distributed around the spire the sculpture illustrates a *maṇḍala*.

The secondary scenes can also be seen as reflecting specific aspects of the Buddha since apart from the Birth scene – always depicted in the lower part, all refer to Śākyamuni as a Buddha. The Birth scene is symmetric to the offering of Madhu by the monkey which took place at Vaiśālī; in the particular setting where they are distributed, both scenes in fact conclude the Bodhisattva's life – the Birth scene being the last one of this phase to be seen here – and the Buddha's life – since Śākyamuni took in Vaiśālī the decision to definitively depart from this life.<sup>147</sup> Similarly, the first sermon held at Sarnath illustrates a 'real' event whereas the sermon at Śrāvastī reflects the magic powers possessed by the Buddha (and it is also there that the Buddha takes the decision to go on Mount Meru where he will teach his mother and the gods).<sup>148</sup> The Parinirvāṇa scene topping the composition indicates that the Buddha is now out of reach, in undefined realms.

Now, the 'perfect' life which is here illustrated rests upon a high basis covered with scenes carved in low-relief; what is depicted in the lower part of the image, being in contact with the soil beneath it, is located at a human level and thus is per se of a lower essence than the divine world seen above which it has also for function to support.<sup>149</sup> As a matter of fact, the scenes carved in the lower part of the image mostly shows Śākyamuni still as a Bodhisattva, with his father presenting the newly born to Asita as starting scene followed by the great departure, the cutting of hair, the long period of asceticism up to the moment where Mucilinda protects the meditating monk, further scenes being possibly inserted. Now, what could appear to be a 'simple' narrative depiction of this phase of the Buddha's life hides or reveals specific aspects of the Buddha's personality. As seen in a previously published paper,<sup>150</sup> the depictions of the emaciated Buddha and of the Buddha being sheltered by Mucilinda refer in fact to two contradictory but complementary aspects of the Buddha's personality which have been exemplified since the beginning of our era in Gandhara, i.e. the Buddha as master of fire and water. In small images carved in the so-called andagu stone and which were mainly, but not exclusively, discovered in Burma, these two scenes are symmetrically distributed below the main cycle of eight events, and in cloth-paintings or on painted book-covers, they are usually seen side by side.<sup>151</sup>

The image of the Buddha, being elaborated as it is, i.e. including the canonical topic of the 'Eight great events', seven being distributed around the main one, and adding to it further moments of this biography, is addressed to any Buddhist; thus this 'perfect' life finds its conclusion in the imperceptible moment of the enlightenment, which is the aim to be reached by the devotee, even through radically different ways, but it narrates also the initial phase of the Buddhist way; in some way, such images, more than any other one, speak for the eternity of the Dharma.

**The five Tathāgatas and the *maṇḍala*** – The motif of the five Buddhas is commonly encountered topping the images of the Buddha (whoever he is), Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and the Tārā. It occurs however irregularly in the images just considered which depict

<sup>147</sup> LEOSHKO 1993/94, pp. 258-259.

<sup>148</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2010a, p. 28 and note 50.

<sup>149</sup> Bautze-Picron 1995a & 2007, pp. 93-94.

<sup>150</sup> Bautze-Picron 2008, pp. 89-91.

<sup>151</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, fig. 5 & p. 89 note 21.

the biography of Śākyamuni where it is the set of the seven Buddhas of the past joined by Maitreya which always crowns the image.<sup>152</sup> The depiction of the five Buddhas is also seen in illuminated manuscripts or/and on their book-covers.<sup>153</sup> The distribution of their five images<sup>154</sup> all through the manuscript transforms the linear text in a three-dimensional structure.<sup>155</sup> Their presence crowning stone images allows achieving the same result, in particular when carved in a rock-like landscape which symbolizes the Potala Mountain on which Avalokiteśvara resides; they constitute the basic *maṇḍala*, four of them marking the four cardinal points around the fifth one located at the centre. However, one should mention that nowhere in Eastern India, architectural compositions such as those achieved in Central Java in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries were ever created.

The concept of the *maṇḍala* was well-known in the region; it is observed numerous images: Mārīcī, the Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā, Arapacana Mañjuśrī, Mañjuvajra, or Hevajra, as mentioned above. Even, the topic of the Buddha's life has been reproduced on such a model which refers to Bodhgaya, centre of the Buddhist universe, there where Śākyamuni became *buddha*, a place and moment in time which shows the start of a new beginning and the emergence of a new spiritual thought; this model also integrates all around this fundamental scene smaller depictions of major events of Śākyamuni's life. What is here shown is a pilgrimage which can be done through visualization. The idea of the non-dual universe with images emerging out of its centre found a particular achieved form in cast lotus *maṇḍalas*, found from the Faridpur district in Southeast Bangladesh up to Bihar and where the deity presiding over the *maṇḍala* can be Hevajra, Vajratārā, Cakrasaṃvara or the Buddha, for instance.<sup>156</sup> And beyond Bengal, this type of object was also produced in Bagan with the central image is the Buddha, a *stūpa* or the spire of the Mahabodhi temple bearing depiction of the eight great events while monks are distributed on the eight petals.<sup>157</sup> Now, while this is the perfect embodiment of the oneness of the universe with its central point out of which all peripheral deities emerge and these images of gods and goddesses offer each in their way a subtle version of such a symbolic vision, the *maṇḍala* is also in a more prosaic manner the monastery; such images are then subdued ways of expressing visually this spiritual stranglehold which the monastery pretends to possess.<sup>158</sup> Certain deities can be magically invoked or worshipped

<sup>152</sup> Bautze-Picron 1995/96, pp. 360-361.

<sup>153</sup> KIM 2013, pp. 83-85; WEISSENBORN 2012b, p. 25 & fig. 9.

<sup>154</sup> Even if there are only three, they still suffice to create a direction, i.e. a three-dimensional volume: BAUTZE-PICRON 1999, pp. 186-7.

<sup>155</sup> See KIM 2013, pp. 132-148 on the three-dimensional space which painted images confer to the manuscript (besides the fact that the very act of handling the manuscript transforms the flat two-dimensional surface into a three-dimensional space).

<sup>156</sup> LEE 2009, pp. 340-344 & figs. 192-194 (Hevajra, Vajratārā); KIM 2013, pp. 65-68 & fig.2-6 p. 67 (Vajratārā, Buddha surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas); WEISSENBORN 2012a, fig. 52; HUNTINGTON/BANGDELL 2003, cat. 68; LINROTHE 2006, cat. 5 pp. 190-193 (Cakrasaṃvara).

<sup>157</sup> LUCE 1969-1970, pls. 425-428. Although it might appear difficult to consider these cast lotuses as being 'esoteric' or '*maṇḍalas*', the fact is that the main topic which is depicted within the inner space shows the eight great events drawn from the Buddha's life either distributed around a central shrine or fixed on the eight petals around a central *stūpa*. Thus it would be as if these various aspects of the Buddha either irradiate out of the central shrine or all merge into the central and final monument.

<sup>158</sup> DAVIDSON 2002, pp. 206-211 & HERRMANN-PFANDT pp. 206-211 study the Cakrasaṃvara-*maṇḍala* which includes deities linked to specific pilgrimage sites distributed all over India and which are not specifically Buddhist but mainly Śaiva or Śākta, a particular way of 'assimilating' the world of the other, of 'magically reclaiming the whole of India for Buddhism' (HERRMANN-PFANDT 2006-2007, p. 16).

within this context, having for function to protect from any danger, like the Pañcarakṣā goddesses,<sup>159</sup> from dramatic situations encountered while travelling like the Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā who had inherited this function from Avalokiteśvara<sup>160</sup> or to protect from deceases, like some aspect of Avalokiteśvara (Fig. 14).<sup>161</sup> Asserting such powers, declaring its own vision of the universe – thought to be merged with the Buddhist community – were a necessary reaction in a surrounding where highly powerful Hindu images were created in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting the strength of the brahmanical temple sustained by the political power.<sup>162</sup>

## Conclusion

The production in Bihar fits within a long artistic tradition; ateliers were numerous and very active; they were closely related to the monasteries and sites of pilgrimages. This presence might account for stronger and stricter iconographic rules. The situation differs in the Delta: there is no site of pilgrimage and the monasteries do not seem to have played the same intensive ‘cultural’ role of drawing monks from abroad to remain and study there. Rather, the region seems to have been the place of the last ramifications of esoteric Buddhism as strongly practiced in and originating from Bihar and North Bengal. This Buddhism underwent in Bengal deep transformations, allowing the lay-society to perform rituals with the production of manuscripts, and being confronted with anti-establishment way of life as advocated by the Mahāsiddhas. Moreover, being an area to pass through when going to Bihar when coming from Burma, it was thus visited by Theravādin monks and not exclusively by those advocating Mahāyāna. As we may surmise from the short survey presented here, this late (and last) phase of Buddhist art in Bengal reflects a deep intricacy which makes the study of its iconography difficult but also stimulating: Whereas images of Mārīcī and Mañjuśrī relate to the Bodhi and thus to the homeland of Buddhism, i.e. old Magadha or Bihar, the history of the wrathful representations of Heruka is deeply interwoven with the iconographies of Śiva and Cāmuṇḍā as they emerged in Bengal and Assam, and the iconography of the Buddha’s life betrays deep similarities with its representation in Burma and Tibet. This chapter of the history of Buddhist art would undoubtedly deserve to be written anew.

26

## Bibliography

When researching on the late Buddhist art of South & Southeast Bengal, one is confronted with an abundance of publications which address various different topics;

---

<sup>159</sup> See MEVISSSEN 1999. For an image found in the Vikrampur area, see: BHATTASALI 1929, pl. XXIX & pp. 61-62; B. BHATTACHARYYA 1958, fig. 185; NIYOGI 2001, fig. 80; HAQUE/GAIL 2008, pl. 5 & p. 131; LEE 2009, fig. 36 & pp. 112-113, 143-145.

<sup>160</sup> ALLINGER 2000; BAUTZE-PICRON 2004, p. 239 & note 105 for further references.

<sup>161</sup> KIM 2012, p. 210

<sup>162</sup> For instance, the images of Viṣṇu generally show the god surrounded by tiny images of his *avatāras*, and those of Sūrya present him with similar images of the Grahas or of the Ādityas: these three models illustrate the gods as a power which is eternal (the *avatāras*) or who rules throughout the universe (the Grahas) (see MEVISSSEN 2006 & 2010; BAUTZE-PICRON 1985, pp. 473-474; BAUTZE-PICRON 2007, p. 101). Śiva is worshipped in the region mainly as dancing, displaying his power to destroy the universe which he achieved through this action.

hence this classified bibliography, necessarily incomplete, which can be understood as being simultaneously a reflection on past studies and a tool for further research. This bibliography may, as a result, also include papers or publications which deal with the late Buddhist art in Bihar or Southeast Asia when relevant to or quoted in the present paper. Among the publications listed below, special attention should be paid to the Ph.D. Thesis presented in 2009 at the University of Texas, Austin by EUN-SU LEE whose life tragically ended too prematurely. Exhaustive bibliographies on illuminated manuscripts are included in the works of KAREN WEISSENBORN (2012b) and JINAH KIM (2013); outstanding bibliographies on the topic of Esoteric Buddhist art have been prepared by ULRICH VON SCHROEDER in his publications of 1981 and 2001, to which one will add UTPAL CHAKRABORTY's book:

CHAKRABORTY, UTPAL 2006, *Bibliography on Indian Buddhist Art and Archaeology, General and classified under Geographical Sites*, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd. (Perspectives in Indian Art and Archaeology, n° 6).

## HISTORY, BUDDHISM

BAGCHI, PRABODH CHANDRA 1982, *Indological Studies, A Collection of Essays*, Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati Research Publications Committee.

BAUTZE-PICRON, CLAUDINE (in press), 'Textiles from Bengal in Pagan (Myanmar) from late eleventh century and onwards', in: MOKAMMAL H. BHUIYAN (ed.), *Dr. M. Harunur Rashid Commemoration Volume*.

BHATTACHARYA, SWAPNA 1985, *Landschenkungen und Staatliche Entwicklung im Frühmittelalterlichen Bengalen*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut Universität Heidelberg, Band 99).

BHATTACHARYYA, BENOYTOSH 1964, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol. XLVI).

CHATTERJEE, RAMA 1985, *Religion in Bengal during the Pāla and the Sena Times (Mainly on the basis of epigraphic and archaeological sources)*, Calcutta: Punthi Pustak.

CHATTOPADHYAYA, ALAKA 1981, *Aīśa and Tibet, Life and Works of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet, With Tibetan Sources* translated under Professor LAMA CHIMPA (reprint, first edition: 1967), Delhi/Varanasi/Patna: Motilal Banarsidass.

CHATTOPADHYAYA, DEBIPRASAD (ed.) 1980, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, translated from the Tibetan by Lama Chimpa & Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Company, 1980.

DAS, SARAT CHANDRA 1908, *Pag Sam Jon Zang, History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India by Sumpa Khan-po Yeçe Pal Jor*, edited with a List of Contents and an Analytical Index in English by, Calcutta: Presidency Jail Press.

DASGUPTA, SHASHI BHUSHAN 1974, *An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.

--- 1976, *Obscure Religious Cults*, Calcutta: Firma Klm Private Limited.

- DAVIDSON, RONALD M. 2002, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism, A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- DUTT, SUKUMAR 1962, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, Their History and their Contribution to Indian Culture*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- EIMER, HELMUT 1979, *Rnam Thar Rgyas Pa, Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiśa (Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna), I. Teil: Einführung, Inhaltsverzeichnis, Namensglossar*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz (Asiatische Forschungen, Band 67).
- FRASCH, TILMAN 1998, 'A Buddhist Network in the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgaya, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300-1300', in: CLAUDE GUILLOT et alii (eds), *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 69-92.
- 2000, 'Der Buddhismus im Jahre 1000', in: HERMANN KULKE (ed.), *Periplus, Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte, Band 10 – Asien im Jahre 1000*, pp. 56-72.
- FURUI, RYOSUKE 2013, 'Brāhmaṇas in Early Medieval Bengal: Construction of their Identity, Networks and Authority', *Indian Historical Review*, vol. 40/2, pp. 223-248.
- GHOSH, SUCHANDRA 2008-2009, 'Nature of Royal Patronage in South-Eastern Bengal: 507 AD – 1250 AD', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vols. 3-14, pp. 109-118.
- HUSAIN, A.B.M (ed.) et alii 1997, *Mainamati-Devaparvata*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (A Survey of Historical Monuments and Sites in Bangladesh, vol. 1).
- JACKSON, DAVID P. 1990, *Two Biographies of Śākyaśrībhadrā: The Eulogy by Khro-phu Lo-tśā-ba and its 'Commentary' by bSod-nams-dpal-bzag-po, Texts and Variants from Two Rare Exemplars Preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 4).
- JACKSON, ROGER R. 2004, *Tantric Treasures, Three Collections of Mystical Verse from Buddhist India*, Oxford/New York...: Oxford University Press.
- KHETRY, SARITA 2011, 'Social Role of Monasteries in Bengal in early medieval Period', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 16, pp. 289-298.
- KINNARD, JACOB N. 1996, 'Reevaluating the Eight-Ninth Century Pāla Milieu: Icono-Conservatism and the Persistence of Śākyamuni', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2, Winter 1996 ('On Maṇḍalas'), pp. 281-300.
- KVAERNE, PER 1975, 'On the Concept of Sahaja in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature', *Temenos*, vol. XI, pp. 88-135.
- MAJUMDAR, R.C. (ed.) 1943, *The History of Bengal, volume I. Hindu Period*, Dacca: University of Dacca [reprint:] Lohanipur/Patna: N.V. Publications, 1971.
- MUDUD, HASNA JASIMUDDIN 1992, *A Thousand Year Old Bengali Mystic Poetry*, Dhaka: University Press Limited.
- MUKHERJEE, RILA 2011, 'Introduction: Bengal and the Northern Bay of Bengal', in: RILA MUKHERJEE (ed.), *Pelagic Passageways, The Northern Bay of Bengal Before Colonialism*, Delhi: Primus Books, pp. 1-260.
- NEWMAN, JOHN 1988, 'Buddhist Sanskrit in the Kālacakra Tantra', *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 11/1, pp. 123-140.
- NIYOGI, PUSPA 1980, *Buddhism in Ancient Bengal*, Calcutta: Jijnāsa.

--- 1987, 'Buddhist Scholars of Ancient Bengal, Part One', *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale". Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, vol. 47/4, pp. 373-396.

--- 1988, 'Buddhist Scholars of Ancient Bengal, Part Two', *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale". Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, vol. 48/1, pp. 11-34.

OBERMILLER, E. 1932, *History of Buddhism (Chos-byung) by Bu-ston, II. Part The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, Translated from Tibetan by, Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 19. Heft).

PAL, PRATAPADITYA 1989, The Last Buddhist Pandit of Bengal, in DEBALA MITRA & GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA (eds.), *Nalinikānta Śatavārṣikī, Dr. N.K. Bhattasali Centenary Volume (1888-1988), Studies in Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal*, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, pp. 189-97.

PANDE, ANUPA & PARUL PANDYA DHAR 2004, *Cultural Interface of India with Asia, Religion, Art and Architecture*, New Delhi : D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd./National Museum Institute (National Museum Institute Monograph Series, no. 1).

PRASAD, BIRENDRA NATH 2011, 'Monarchs, Monasteries and Trade on an "Agrarian Frontier"', Early Medieval Samatāṭa-Harikela, Bangladesh, c. 400 CE – 1250 CE', in: BIRENDRA NATH PRASAD (ed.), *Monasteries, Shrines & Society, Buddhist and Brahmanical Religious Institutions in India in their Socio-Economic Context*, New Delhi: Manak, pp. 116-136.

RASHID, M. HARUNUR 1974, 'Pāla Rule in South-East Bengal', *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, vol. III, pp. 27-47.

ROBINSON, JAMES B. (transl.) 1979, *Buddha's Lions, The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas*, Berkeley: Dharma Publishing.

ROERICH, G.1959, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpl), A Tibetan monk pilgrim*, With a historical and critical Introduction by A.S. ALEKAR, Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

SEN MAJUMDAR, GAYATRI 1983, *Buddhism in ancient Bengal*, Calcutta: Navana.

SHAHIDULLAH, M 1928, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha, Les dohā-koṣa (en apabhraṃśa, avec les versions tibétaines) et les caryā (en vieux-bengali) avec introduction, vocabulaire et notes*, Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve.

SNELGROVE, DAVID L. 1987, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors*, London: Serindia Publications.

VERARDI, GIOVANNI 2011, *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, New Delhi: Manohar.

WEDEMEYER, CHRISTIAN K. 2013, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology, and Transgression in the Indian Traditions*, New York: Columbia University Press.

**EASTERN INDIA, BENGAL**

**ARCHAEOLOGY & ARCHITECTURE**

ABU MUSA, MD. 2000, *Archaeological Survey Report, Munshiganj District*, Dhaka: Department of Archaeology, Minister of Cultural Affairs, Govt. of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

AHMED, NAZIMUDDIN, 'Jagaddala Mahavihara', in: *Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, on-line: [http://www.banglapedia.info/HT/J\\_0008.htm](http://www.banglapedia.info/HT/J_0008.htm), accessed 30<sup>th</sup> January 2014.

CHOWDHURY, A.M., 'Vikramapura', in *Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, on-line : [http://www.banglapedia.info/HT/V\\_0050.htm](http://www.banglapedia.info/HT/V_0050.htm), accessed 30<sup>th</sup> January, 2014.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER 1892, *Mahâbodhi, or the great Buddhist temple under the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gaya*, London: Allen.

DESHPANDE, M.N. 1986, *The caves of Panāle-Kājhī (Ancient Prañāḷaka), An art historical study of transition from Hinayana, Tantric Vajrayana to Nath Sampradāya [Third to fourteenth century A.D.]*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 84).

--- 1989, 'Pražāḷaka (Panāle-Kājhī) Caves: A Hinayāna and Tāntric Vajrayāna Centre with Nāthe Sampradāya Caves', in: *Buddhist Iconography*, New Delhi: Tibet House, pp. 69-73.

DIKSHIT, K.N. 1938, *Excavations at Paharpur*, Delhi: Manager of Publications, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55.

GHOSH, RANJUSRI 2006-2007, 'Archaeological Investigation in the Districts of Dakshin Dinajpur and Uttar Dinajpur, West Bengal: A Report', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vols. 11-12, pp. 323-359.

--- 2008-2009, 'Second Report of Archaeological Investigation in Two Dinajpur District (Dakshin and Uttar) of West Bengal', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vols. 13-14, pp. 119-142.

--- 2012, 'Towards understanding the Buddhist Environment in two Brāhmanical Settlement Zones from some unpublished Buddhist Antiquities of erstwhile West Dinajpur , West Bengal, *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 17, pp. 17-38.

LEFEVRE, VINCENT 2012, 'Pāhārpur, une oeuvre de circonstance?', in : VINCENT LEFEVRE (ed.), *Orientalismes, De l'archéologie au musée, Mélanges offerts à Jean-François Jarrige*, Turnhout: Brepols Publishers n.v.(Indicopleustoir, Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean), pp. 237-253.

MIAH, MD. ABUL HASHEM et alii 2001, *A preliminary Report on Excavations at Halud Vihara, Naogaon*, Dhaka: Dept. of Archaeology, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Govt. of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

MIAH, MD. ABUL HASHEM 2003, 'Archaeological Excavations at Jagadalla Vihara: A Preliminary Report', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 8, pp. 147-166.

ROY, AMAL 2002, 'A Newly Discovered Buddhist Monastery at Jagajjivanpur', in: GAUTAM SENGUPTA & SHEENA PANJA (eds.), *Archaeology of Eastern India: New perspectives*, Kolkata: Centre for Archaeological Studies and Training, Eastern India, pp. 551-611.

SENGUPTA, GAUTAM 1996, 'Archaeology of Coastal Bengal', in: HIMANSHU PRABHA RAY & JEAN-FRANÇOIS SALLES (editors), *Tradition and Archaeology, Early Maritime*

*Contacts in the Indian Ocean, Proceedings of the International Seminar Techno-Archaeological Perspectives of Seafaring in the Indian Ocean 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. – 15<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. New Delhi, February 18 – March 4, 1994*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 115-127.

ZAKARIAH, ABUL KALAM MUHAMMAD, 'Jagaddala Mahavihara', *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, vol. 8, pp. 29-41.

## EPIGRAPHY

BHATTACHARYA, DINESH CHANDRA 1933, 'The Maināmati Copper-Plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva (1141 Śaka)', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, pp. 282-9.

BHATTACHARYA, GOURISWAR 1992, 'The New Pāla Ruler Mahendrapāla', *Pratna Samiksha*, vol. 1, pp. 165-170.

--- 1994, 'Newly Discovered Copper Plate Grants of the Pāla Dynasty', NALINI BALBIR & JOACHIM K. BAUTZE (eds.) *Festschrift für Klaus Bruhn zur Vollendung des 65. Geburtstages: dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, Reinbek: Wezler, 1994, pp. 195-224, reprint in: BHATTACHARYA, GOURISWAR 2000, pp. 441-454.

--- 2000, *Essays on Buddhist, Hindu & Jain Iconography & Epigraphy*, ed. ENAMUL HAQUE, Dhaka: The International centre for Study of Bengal Art (Studies in Bengal Art Series, No. 1).

BHATTASALI, N.K. 1942, 'The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, vol. VIII, pp. 1-39.

--- 1954, 'Two Grants of Varmans of Vanga', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXX, pp. 255-63.

DANI, AHMED HANSAN 1954, 'Sobharampur Plate of Dāmoradeva', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXX, pp. 185-8.

FURUI, RYOSUKE 2008, 'A New Copper Plate Inscription of Gopala II', *South Asian Studies*, vol. 24/1, pp. 69-75.

--- 2011, 'Indian Museum Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapala, Year 26: Tentative Reading and Study', *South Asian Studies*, vol. 27/2, pp. 145-156.

MAITY, SANCHINDRA KUMAR & RAMARANJAN MUKHERJI 1967, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions bearing on History and Civilisation of Bengal*, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.

MUKHERJI, S.C. 1992, 'The three recently discovered copper plates of the Pāla Period', *Pratna Samiksha*, vol. 1, pp.171-178.

PRASAD, BIRENDRA NATH 2010, 'Votive Inscriptions on the Sculptures of Early Medieval Samatāḥ-Harikela, Bengal: Explorations in Socio-religious History', *Religions of South Asia*, vol. 4/1, pp. 27-43.

SANYAL, NIRAD BANDHU 1950, 'Mandhuk Inscribed Image of Gaṇeśa of the Reign of Gopāla II', *Varendra Research Society's Monographs*, vol. 8, pp. 4-6.

SASTRI, HIRANANDA 1942, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material*, Delhi: Manager of Publications.

SIRCAR, D.C. 1949, 'Two Tortoise-Shell Inscriptions in the Dacca Museum', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, vol. XV/2, pp. 101-108.



--- 1969-70, 'Mainamati Plates of the Chandra Kings', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 197-214.

--- 1973, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Calcutta: Sanskrit College (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. LXXVII).

## MANUSCRIPTS

ALLINGER, EVA 2002, 'The Paintings in the Loka-hteik-pan at Pagan, Myanmar: Stylistic Connections with Paintings from Bengal', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 7, pp. 9-29.

--- 2008, 'An early Nepalese *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* Manuscript: an Attempt to discover Connections between Text and Illuminations', in: CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON (ed.), *Religion and Art: New Issues in Indian Iconography and Iconology, Volume 1 of the proceedings of the 18<sup>th</sup> conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, London, 2005*, London: The British Association for South Asian Studies/The British Academy, pp. 153-164.

--- 2010, 'Considerations on the Development of the Representation of the Buddha's Life in early Tibetan Thangkas', in: ERBERTO LO BUE & CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS (eds.), *Tibetan Art and Architecture in Context*, Halle: IITBS (International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies), pp. 27-42 (PIATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006).

BAUTZE-PICRON, CLAUDINE 1999, 'Buddhist Painting during the reign of Harivarmadeva (end of the 11th c.) in Southeast Bangladesh', *Journal of Bengal Art*, Dhaka, vol. 4, pp. 159-197.

--- 2000, 'The Los Angeles manuscript covers: uncovering and explaining their iconography', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 5, 2000, pp. 95-128.

--- 2009a, Three more Folios from the Harivarmadeva Manuscript, dated regnal Year 8, in: SHAHNAJ HUSNE JAHAN (ed.), *Abhijnân, Studies in South Asian Archaeology and Art History of Artefacts, Felicitating A.K.M. Zakariah*, Oxford: BAR International Series 1974, pp. 118-21. (South Asian Archaeology Series, edited by ALOK K. KANUNGO, No. 10.)

FINOT, LOUIS 1934, 'Manuscrits sanskrits de sādhanā's retrouvés en Chine', *Journal Asiatique*, juillet-septembre, pp. 1-86.

KIM, JINAH 2013, *Receptacle of the Sacred, Illustrated Manuscripts and the Buddhist Book Cult in South Asia*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

LOSTY, JEREMIAH P. 1989a, 'An early Indian Manuscript of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*', in: D. MITRA & G. BHATTACHARYA (eds), *Nalinikānta-Śatavārsikī: Studies in Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal*, Delhi: Indian Books Centre, pp. 1-21.

LOSTY, J.P. 1989b, 'Bengal, Bihar, Nepal? Problems of Provenance in 12<sup>th</sup>-century illuminated Buddhist Manuscripts, Part One', *Oriental Art*, N.S., vol. XXXV/2, pp. 86-96.

SHĀSTRĪ, MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARA PRASAD 1917, *A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. I, Buddhist Manuscripts*, Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press.

WEISSENBORN, KAREN 2012a, 'Eine Auflistung illuminierter buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften aus Ostindien', *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Band 20, pp. 277-318.

--- 2012b, *Buchkunst aus Nālandā, Die Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-Handschrift in der Royal Asiatic Society/London (Ms. Hodgson 1) und ihre Stellung in der Pāla-Buchmalerei des 11./12. Jahrhunderts*, Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 77).

#### SCULPTURE, CAST AND CARVED, COMPREHENSIVE STUDIES

BANDYOPADHYAY, BIMAL 1981, *Metal Sculptures of Eastern India*, Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.

BANERJI, R.D. 1933, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi: Manager of Publications (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. 47).

BAUTZE-PICRON, CLAUDINE 2007, 'Sculpture. a. Ancient Period', in: Prof. LALA RUKH SELIM (ED.), *Fine Arts and Crafts*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, pp. 91-109 (Cultural Survey of Bangladesh Series, volume 8).

--- 2013 (in press), *The forgotten Place, Stone Images from Kurkihar, Bihar*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

BHATTACHARYA, GOURISWAR 2000, *Essays on Buddhist, Hindu & Jain Iconography & Epigraphy*, ed. ENAMUL HAQUE, Dhaka: The International centre for Study of Bengal Art (Studies in Bengal Art Series, No. 1).

BISWAS, KRISHNA 1995, *Sculptural Art of Ancient Bengal*, New Delhi: Bhawan (The Heritage of ancient India).

HAQUE, ENAMUL & ADALBERT J. GAIL (eds) 2008, *Sculptures in Bangladesh, An Inventory of Select Hindu, Buddhist and Jain Stone and Bronze Images in Museums and Collections of Bangladesh (up to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century)*, Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art (Studies in Bengal Art Series No. 8).

HUNTINGTON, SUSAN L. 1984, *The 'Pāla-Sena' Schools of Sculpture*, Leiden: E.J. Brill (Studies in South Asian Culture, vol. 10).

MITRA, S.K., ed. 1979, *East Indian Bronzes*, Calcutta: Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

RAY, NIHAR RAJAN, KARL KHANDALAVALA & SADASHIV GORAKSHKAR 1986, *Eastern Indian Bronzes*, New Delhi: Lalit Kalā Akademi. (Lalit Kalā Series of Indian Art).

SENGUPTA, GAUTAM 1996, 'Problem of Pala Art and a Derivative Style in Assam', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 1, pp. 149-160.

SHAMSUL ALAM, A.K.M. 1985, *Sculptural Art of Bangladesh: pre-Muslim Period*, Dhaka: Department of Archaeology and Museums.

VON SCHROEDER, ULRICH 1981, *Indo-Tibetan Bronzes*, Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications Ltd.

--- 2001, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet, Volume One, India & Nepal, Volume Two, Tibet & China*, Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications Ltd.

## MUSEUM & EXHIBITION CATALOGUES (BUDDHIST ART OF EASTERN INDIA)

BHATTACHARYA, ASOK K. 1989, *Jhewari Bronze Buddhas, A Study in History and Style*, Calcutta: Indian Museum.

BHATTASALI, N.K. 1929, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca: Dacca Museum Committee.

BLOCH, THEODOR 1911, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta: Printed at The Baptist Mission Press.

CASEY, JANE ANNE (ed.) 1985, *Medieval Sculpture from Eastern India, Selections from the Nalin Collection*, Livingston, New Jersey: Nalini International Publications.

CHAKRAVARTTI, NILMANI 1908, *The Supplementary Archaeological Catalogue of the Indian Museum*, Allahabad: Printed at the Pioneer Press.

CHANDA, RAMAPRASAD 1936, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.

CHANDRA, PRAMOD 1963, *Indian Sculpture from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum.

GANGULY, MANOMOHAN 1922, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, Calcutta: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

GUPTA, PARMESHWARI LAL (ed.) 1965, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities (Stone Sculptures, Metal Images, Terracottas and Minor Antiquities)*, Patna: Patna Museum.

HUNTINGTON, JOHN C. & DINA BANGDEL 2003, *The Circle of Bliss, Buddhist meditational Art*, Chicago: Serindia Publications.

HUNTINGTON, SUSAN L. & JOHN C. HUNTINGTON 1989, 'Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th centuries) and Its International Legacy', *Orientalia*, vol. 20/10, pp. 26-46.

--- 1990, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th centuries) and Its International Legacy*, Seattle/London: The Dayton Art Institute/University of Washington Press.

LEFEVRE, VINCENT & MARIE-FRANÇOISE BOUSSAC 2007, *Chefs-d'oeuvre du delta du Gange, Collections des musées du Bangladesh*, Catalogue réalisé sous la direction de, Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux/Établissement public du musée des arts asiatiques Guimet, 24 octobre 2007-3 mars 2008.

MITRA, DEBALA 1982, *Bronzes from Bangladesh: a study of Buddhist images from District Chittagong*, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

RAHMAN, MUKLESHUR 1998, *Sculpture in the Varendra Research Museum, A Descriptive Catalogue*, Rajshahi: Varendra Research Museum, University of Rajshahi.

SAHNI, DAYA RAM 1914, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārṇāth*, with an introduction by J.P.H. VOGEL, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India.

UHLIG, HELMUT 1981, *Tantrische Kunst des Buddhismus, Eine Ausstellung unter der Schirmherrschaft des Senators für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten DR. DIETER SAUBERZWEIG*, Kunstamt Tempelhof, Berlin: Verlag Ullstein GmbH.

## ICONOGRAPHY

### *1° Comprehensive Studies*

MAHAPANDITA ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA 1972, *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta*, ed. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA, (second Edition:) Baroda: Oriental Institute (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 109).

BHATTACHARYYA, BENOYTOSH 1924, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography mainly based on the Sādhanamālā and other cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals*, London/New York: Humphrey Milford/Oxford University Press.

--- 1958, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography mainly based on the Sādhanamālā and other cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals*, second edition revised and enlarged with 357 illustrations, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya.

BHATTACHARYYA, DIPAK CHANDRA 1974, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

--- 1978, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, New Delhi: Manohar.

BHATTACHARYYA, N.N. (ed.) & AMARTYA GHOSH (associate ed.) 1999, *Tantric Buddhism, Centennial Tribute to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya*, New Delhi: Manohar.

DONALDSON, THOMAS EUGENE 2001, *Iconography of the Buddhist Sculpture of Orissa*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts/Abhinav Publications.

FOUCHER, ALFRED 1900, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des documents nouveaux*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur.

--- 1905, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des textes inédits*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur.

GETTY, ALICE 1962, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, [reprint:] Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962.

GHOSH, MALLAR 1980, *Development of Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India: A Study of Tārā, Prajñās of Five Tathāgatas and Bhṛīkuṭī*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt.Ltd.

KRISHNA MURTHY, KONAKONDLA 1989, *Sculptures of Vajrayāna Buddhism*, Delhi: Classics India Publications (Classics Indian Art Series No.-1).

LALOU, MARCELLE 1930, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes (paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris : Geuthner (Buddhica, documents et travaux pour l'étude du bouddhisme, série 1, mémoires).

LEE, EUN-SU 2006-2007, 'A Preliminary Note on Buddhist Sculptures from Dhaka Region', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vols. 11-12, pp. 265-283.

--- 2009, *On defining Buddhist Art in Bengal: the Dhaka Region*, Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin, Austin: The University of Texas.

MALLMANN, MARIE-THERESE DE 1986, *Introduction à l'iconographie du tântrisme bouddhique*, [reprint:] Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve. (First edition: 1975)

NIYOGI, PUSPA 2001, *Buddhist Divinities*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

SARASWATI, S.K. 1977, *Tantrayāna Art, An Album*, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.  
SENGUPTA, ANUSUA 1993, *Buddhist Art of Bengal (From The 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C. To The 13<sup>th</sup> Century A.D.)*, Delhi: Rahul Publishing House.

2° Publications bearing on specific iconographic aspects (non exclusively Buddhist)

AKMAN, AFROZ 1999, 'Two Hitherto Unpublished Images from the Vikrampur Area, Munshiganj District', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 4, pp. 467-476.

ALLINGER, EVA 2000, 'Some Problems about the Green Tārā together with the Eight Great Dangers and the 21 Tārās, The Indian Origin and Tibetan Resolutions', in: MAURIZIO TADDEI & GIUSEPPE DE MARCO (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 1997, Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, held in the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Palazzo Brancaccio, Rome, 7-14 July 1997*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Serie Orientale Roma, vol. XC), vol. III, pp. 1368-81.

ARENES, PIERRE 1996, *La Déesse sGrol-ma (Tārā), Recherches sur la Nature et le Statut d'une Divinité du Bouddhisme Tibétain*, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oriëntalistiek (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, vol. 74).

BAUTZE-PICRON, CLAUDINE 1989a, 'Some Aspects of the Iconography of Avalokiteśvara in "Pāla-Sena" Stone Sculpture', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1985, papers from the Eighth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held at Moesgaard museum, Denmark, 1-5 July 1985*, edited by KAREN FRIFELT and PER SØRENSEN, London: Curzon Press, The Riverdale Company, pp. 327-349.

--- 1989b, 'Some Aspects of Mañjuśrī Iconography in Bihar from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards', *Tribus, Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums*, Band Nr. 38, Dezember, Stuttgart: Linden-Museum Stuttgart – Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, pp. 71-90.

--- 1991/92, 'Lakhi Sarai, An Indian Site of Late Buddhist Iconography and Its Position within the Asian Buddhist World', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 2, pp. 239-284.

--- 1992, 'A Preliminary Report on the Buddha Image from Betagi', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1989, Papers from the Tenth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris, France, 3-7 July 1989*, ed. C. JARRIGE, Monographs in World Archaeology n°14, Madison Wisconsin: Prehistory Press, pp. 301-308.

--- 1993, 'Mañjuśrī au geste de l'enseignement', in: *Premier Colloque E. LAMOTTE (Bruxelles et Liège 24-27 septembre 1989)*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, pp. 149-160.

--- 1995, 'Between men and gods, small motifs in the Buddhist art of Eastern India, an interpretation', in: *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art, Proceedings of a seminar held at Leiden University, 21-24 October 1991*, eds K.R. VAN KOOIJ and H. VAN DER VEERE, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, pp. 59-79.

--- 1995/96, 'Śākyamuni in Eastern India and Tibet from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 4, pp. 355-408.

--- 1996, 'From God to Demon, from Demon to God: Brahmā and other Hindu deities in Late Buddhist Art of Eastern India', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 1, pp. 109-135.

- 1997, 'Le groupe des huit Grands Bodhisatva en Inde: genèse et développement', in: NATASHA EILENBERG, M.C. SUBHADRADIS DISKUL & ROBERT L. BROWN (eds.), *Living a Life in Accord with Dhamma: Papers in Honour of Professor JEAN BOISSELIER on his Eightieth Birthday*, Bangkok: Silpakorn University, pp. 1-55.
- 2001, 'Between Śākyamuni and Vairocana: Mārīcī, Goddess of Light and Victory', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 7, pp. 263-310.
- 2002, 'The biography of the Buddha in Indian art: how and when?', in: ANDREAS SCHÜLE (Hg./ed.), *Biographie als religiöser und kultureller Text/Biography as a religious and cultural text*, Münster-Hamburg-London: Lit Verlag, pp. 197-239.
- 2004, 'The universal compassionate Bodhisattva, Miscellaneous Aspects of Avalokitasvara/Avalokiteśvara in India', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 10, pp. 225-90.
- 2005, 'Images of Avalokiteśvara at Dharaut, Bihar', in: UTE FRANKE-VOGT & HANS-JOACHIM WEISSHAAR(eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 2003, Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists (7-11 July 2003, Bonn)*, Aachen: Linden Soft (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kommission für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen und Eurasien-Abteilung, Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen, Band 1), pp. 413-420.
- 2007, 'The hidden God. Some Remarks on Yama and the Protectors of the sacred Space in Buddhist Art', in: G. BHATTACHARYA, G.J.R. MEVISSSEN, M. MITRA, & S. SINHA (eds.), *Kalhâr (White Water-Lily), Studies in Art, Iconography, Architecture and Archaeology of Indian and Bangladesh, Professor ENAMUL HAQUE Felicitation Volume (The volume is presented on the 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Prof. ENAMUL HAQUE)*, New Delhi: Kaveri Books, pp. 81-95.
- 2008, 'The Emaciated Buddha in Southeast Bangladesh and Pagan (Myanmar)', in: CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON (ed.), *Miscellanies about the Buddha Image*, Oxford: BAR International Series 1888, pp. 77-96. (South Asian Archaeology 2007, Special Sessions 1, Universita di Bologna & Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.).
- 2010a, *The Jewelled Buddha from India to Burma, New Considerations*, New Delhi/Kolkata: Sanctum Books/Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India (Sixth Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy Memorial Lecture).
- 2010b, 'The Buddha and his emaciated Demons', *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Band 19, pp. 87-122.
- 2014 (in press), 'Buddhist Images from Padang Lawas Region and the South Asian Connection', in: DANIEL PERRET (ed.), *History of Padang Lawas, North Sumatra. II: Societies of Padang Lawas (9th c. – 13th c. AD)*, Paris: Cahiers d'Archipel, 2014.
- BHATTACHARYA, GOURISWAR 1989a, 'Buddha Śākyamuni and Pañcatathāgatas: Dilemma in Bihar-Bengal', in: KAREN FRIFELT & PER SÖRENSEN (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 1985, Papers from the Eighth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held at Moesgaard Museum, Denmark, 1-5 July 1985*, London: Curzon Press, The Riverdale Company, pp. 350-371. [BHATTACHARYA 2000, pp. 29-41.]

--- 1995/96, 'The Buddhist Deity Vajrapāṇi', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 4, pp. 323-354.

--- 1996a, 'Donors of a few Tārā images from Magadha or South Bihar', in: FRIEDRICH WILHELM (ed.), *Festschrift DIETER SCHLINGLOFF, zur Volledung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, pp. 1-28. [BHATTACHARYA 2000, pp. 461-470.]

--- 1996c, 'The Magnificent Bronze Image of Vajrasatva from Mainamati, Bangladesh', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. I, pp. 137-148. [BHATTACHARYA 2000, pp. 131-137.]

BHATTACHARYYA, BENOYTOSH 1923, 'Identification of Avalokiteśvara Images', in: *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, January 28<sup>th</sup> to February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1922*, Calcutta: Published by the Calcutta University and Printed by the Baptist Mission Press, pp. 285-290.

BHATTACHARYYA, PARNASABARI 1999, 'Parṇaśabarī: A Tantric Buddhist Goddess', in: N.N. BHATTACHARYYA & AMARTYA GHOSH (eds.), *Tantric Buddhism, Centennial Tribute to Dr. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp 215-221.

BHUIYAN, MOKAMMAL H. 2008-2009, 'Buddha survives as Vāsudeva', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vols. 13-14, pp. 229-236.

BRYSON, MEGAN (in press), 'Indian Image, Chinese Text: Mahākāla Worship in the Dali Kingdom (937-1253): A Study of the *Dahei tianshen daochang yi*', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*.

GHOSH, MALLAR 1980, *Development of Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India: A Study of Tārā, Prajñās of Five Tathāgatas and Bhṛikuṭī*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt.Ltd.

See also MALLAR MITRA

HERRMANN-PFANDT, ADELHEID 2006-2007, 'Cakrasaṃvara Iconography and Buddhist Religious Politics in Medieval Bengal', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vols 11-12, pp. 9-20.

HSU, CHIN-AN 2008, "*Sieben-Juwelen*" und *Stifter Reliefs in Bodh-Gayā, Bihar*, Taipei: Shen-cho Lai, Research Center for East-West Philosophy and Hermeneutics (Dissertation, Universität Heidelberg 2007).

KIM, JINAH 2012, 'Unheard Voices: Women's Roles in Medieval Buddhist Artistic Production and Religious Practices in South Asia', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 80/1, pp. 200-232.

KRISHNA MURTHY, KONAKONDLA 1988, *Iconography of the Buddhist Deity Heruka*, Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.

KUMAR, PUSHPENDRA 1992, *Tārā, The Supreme Goddess*, Delhi/Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1992.

LANGBERG, HILLARY ANNE 2013, *Visualizing the Power of Wisdom: Mañjuvajra Mandala, an Eleventh Century Pāla Period Sculpture from Bengal*, M.A. Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin.

LEOSKO, JANICE 1985, 'The Appearance of Amoghpaśa in Pala Period Art', in: *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, ed. A.K. NARAIN, New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985, pp. 127-135.

--- 1990, 'The issue of Influence in Burmese Art', in: CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON (ed.), *Makaranda, Essays in honour of James C. Harle*, Delhi: Indian Books centre, pp. 185-188.

--- 1993/94, 'Scenes of the Buddha's Life in Pāla-Period Art', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 3, pp. 251-276.

--- 2000, 'Considering Unusual Images and Their Sites: The Examples of Kurulākulā from Hasra Kol', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 5, pp. 29-39.

--- 2000-2001, 'About Looking at Buddha Images in Eastern India', *Archives of Asian Art*, volume LII, pp. 63-82.

LINROTHE, ROB 1990, 'Beyond Sectarianism: Towards Reinterpreting the Iconography of Esoteric Buddhist Deities Trampling Hindu Gods', *Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 2/2, pp. 16-25.

--- 1997, 'Beyond Sectarianism: Towards Reinterpreting the Iconography of Esoteric Buddhist Deities Trampling Hindu Gods', in: C.P. SINHA et alii (eds.), *Art, Archaeology and Culture of Eastern India, Dr. B.S. Verma Felicitation volume*, Patna: Bihar Puravid Parishad, pp. 193-198.

--- 1999, *Ruthless Compassion, Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric and Buddhist Art*, London: Serindia Publications.

MALLMANN, MARIE-THERESE DE 1948, *Introduction à l'Étude d'Avalokiteçvara*, Paris, 1948 : Presses Universitaires de France (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études – tome cinquante-septième).

--- 1952, 'Un aspect méconnu d'Avalokiteçvara', *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 479-485.

--- 1955, 'Notes d'iconographie tântrique. I.-Une image inédite d'Avalokiteçvara, II.-De Vighnāntaka à Mahākāla', *Arts Asiatiques*, tome II, pp. 35-46.

--- 1961, 'Un aspect méconnu d'Avalokiteçvara. II', *Arts Asiatiques*, tome VIII, pp. 203-210.

--- 1964, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, Paris : École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1964. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, volume LV).

--- 1968, 'Une intéressante statuette de divinité du Bouddhisme ésotérique', *Musées de Genève*, n.s., n°83, Mars 1968, pp. 2-4.

MEVISSSEN, GERD 1989, Studies in Pañcarakṣā Manuscript Painting. *Berliner Indologische Studien* (Reinbek) 4/5, pp. 339-374.

--- 1990, 'The Indian Connection: Images of Deified Spells in the Arts of Northern Buddhism, Part I [Mahāmāyūrī]', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology. Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies* (Kamakura) 1, pp. 227-246.

--- 1991/92, 'The Indian Connection: Images of Deified Spells in the Arts of Northern Buddhism, Part II', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 2, pp. 351-382.

--- 1992, 'Transmission of Iconographic Traditions: Pañcarakṣā Heading North', in: CATHERINE JARRIGE (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1989. Papers from the Tenth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France, 3-7 July 1989*, Madison/Wisconsin: Prehistory Press, pp. 415-424 (Monographs in World Archaeology 14).



- 1999, 'Images of Mahāpratisarā in Bengal: Their Iconographic Links with Javanese, Central Asian and East Asian Images', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 4, pp. 99-129.
- 2005, 'The Riddle of the Four-Armed Marici Image from Udala, Orissa', in: UTE FRANKE-VOGT & HANS-JOACHIM WEISSHAAR (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 2003. Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists (7-11 July 2003, Bonn)*, Aachen: Linden-Soft Verlag, pp. 501-507 (Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen 1).
- 2006, *Ādityas, Grahas, and other Deities of Time and Space on Sūrya Sculptures, Predominantly from Bengal*, Kolkata: Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India (4<sup>th</sup> Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy Memorial Lecture).
- 2007, 'Images of Buddhist Goddesses Accompanied by Astral Deities, in: GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA, GERD JR MEVISSSEN, MALLAR MITRA & SUTAPA SINHA (eds.), *Kalhar (White Water-Lily). Studies in Art, Iconography, Architecture and Archaeology of India and Bangladesh (Professor Enamul Haque Felicitation Volume)*, New Delhi: Kaveri Books, pp.154-203.
- 2009, 'Two Unpublished Mārīcī Sculptures in the Khulna Museum, Bangladesh, and Related Images from Mainamati, in: DEVANGANA DESAI & ARUNDHATI BANERJI (eds.), *Kalādarpaṇa: The Mirror of Indian Art, Essays in Memory of Shri Krishna Deva*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, pp. 273-284.
- 2010, 'Corpus of Viṣṇu Images with daśāvātāras, predominantly from Bengal, *Berliner Indologische Studien*, vol. 19. Pp. 171-286.
- MITRA, DEBALA 1989, 'Some Images of Heruka-Hevajra', in: DEBALA MITRA & GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA (eds.), *Nalinikānta Śatavārsikī, Dr. N.K. Bhattasali Centenary Volume (1888-1988), Studies in Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal*, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, pp. 179-188.
- 1992, 'An Image of Vairochana in the collection of Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta', *Pratna-Samiksha, Journal of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal*, vol. 1, pp.179-181.
- 1996, 'An iconographic study of the figures of eight great Bodhisattvas in Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in Orissa', in: DEBALA MITRA (ed.), *Explorations in Art and Archaeology of South Asia: Essays Dedicated to N.G.MAJUMDAR*, Calcutta: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal, pp. 353-391.
- 1997, 'A Brief Survey of the Representations of Aṣṭa-mahā Bodhisattva-maṇḍala in India and Bangladesh', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 2, pp. 59-77.
- 1997/98, 'Notes on Heruka/Hevajra and a Few Images of this Vajrayana Deity', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 5, pp. 377-393.
- 1998, 'Lintels with the figures of eight great Bodhisattvas and a Tathāgata – an iconographical study', in: C.P. SINHA (chief ed.), *Facets of Indian Culture, GUSTAV ROTH Felicitation Volume published on the Occasion of his 82<sup>nd</sup> Birthday*, Patna: Bihar Puravid Parishad, pp. 276-300.
- 1999, 'Representations of Aṣṭa-mahābodhisattvas from Nalanda: An Iconographic Study', in: N.N. BHATTACHARYYA & AMARTYA GHOSH (eds.) *Tantric Buddhism, Centennial Tribute to Dr. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 31-53.

MITRA, MALLAR 1989, 'An inscribed lintel from Bodh-Gaya in the Asutosh Museum', in: D. MITRA and G. BHATTACHARYA (eds.), *Nalinikānta-Śatavārṣikī: Studies in Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal*, Delhi: Indian Books Centre, pp. 199-201.

--- 1998, 'An Image of the Buddhist Goddess Bhrkuti in the Bangladesh National Museum', *Kalyana Bharati: Journal of Indian History and Culture*, vol.2, pp. 41-44.

--- 1999a, 'Four Images of the Buddhist Goddess Aparājitā', in: P.K. MISHRA (ed.), *Studies in Hindu and Buddhist Art*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, pp. 95-99.

--- 1999b, 'Goddess Vajravārāhī: An Iconographic Study', in: N.N. BHATTACHARYYA & AMARTYA GHOSH (eds.), *Tantric Buddhism, Centennial Tribute to Dr. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA*, ed., New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 102-129.

--- 1999c, 'An Image of Mañjuśrī in the company of Jālinīprabha and Candraprabha preserved in the Bangladesh National Museum', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 4, pp. 497-514.

--- 2000, 'The Buddhist Goddess Parnaśabarī in Bangladesh and Some Other Countries', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 5, pp. 263-281.

--- 2001a, 'Two Images of Akṣobhya', in: S.S. BISWAS, AMITA RAY, DEEPAK R. DAS, SAMIR K. MUKHERJEE (eds.), *Essence of Art and Culture (In Memory of Prof. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli)*, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, pp. 239-241.

--- 2001b, 'Sambara, The Buddhist God: A twelve-armed Image from Nepal and Images from Bengal', in: ENAMUL HAQUE (ed.), *Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Commemoration Volume, A collection of essays on history, art, archaeology, numismatics, epigraphy and literature of Bangladesh and Eastern India*, Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, pp. 327-333.

See also MALLAR GHOSH

MUKHERJEE, KALPIKA 1999, 'Vajrayoginī and Mahākāla – Two Most Fearful Deities in the Buddhist Tantric pantheon', in: N.N. BHATTACHARYYA & AMARTYA GHOSH (eds.): *Tantric Buddhism, Centennial Tribute to Dr. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 208-214.

NIYOGI, PUSPA 1977, 'Cundā – a Popular Buddhist Goddess', *East and West*, vol. 27, pp. 299-308.

PAL, PRATAPADITYA 1966, 'The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-I', *Oriental Art*, N.S., vol. XII/4, Winter 1966, pp. 234-239.

--- 1967, 'The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-II', *Oriental Art*, N.S., vol. XIII/1, Spring 1967, pp. 20-28.

--- 1967-68, 'The Iconography of Cintāmaṇi Cakra Avalokiteśvara', *Journal of The Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N.S., vol. II, 1967-68, pp. 39-48.

SHAW, MIRANDA 2006, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.

VAN LOHUIZEN- DE LEEUW, J.E. 1966, 'The Paṭṭikera Cuṇḍā and Variations of her Image', in: A.B.M. HABIBULLAH (ed.), *Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume*, Dacca: Dacca Museum, pp. 119-143.

WILLSON, MARTIN 1996, *In Praise of Tārā, Songs to the Saviouress, Source texts from India and Tibet on Buddhism's Great Goddess*, (revised edition: Boston: Wisdom Publications.

#### OUTSIDE SOUTH ASIA (QUOTED IN THIS PAPER)

BAUTZE-PICRON, CLAUDINE 1999, 'Between India and Burma: the "andagu" stelae', in: DONALD M. STADTNER (ed.), *The Art of Burma, New Studies*, Mumbai: Marg Publications, vol. 50, pp. 37-52.

--- 2009b, 'The presence of the five dreams of the Bodhisatta in the Murals of Pagan', in: CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON (ed.), *The Indian Night, Dream and Sleep in Indian Culture*, New Delhi: Rupa and Co, pp. 418-51.

--- 2014 (in press), 'Buddhist Images from Padang Lawas region and the South Asian connection', in DANIEL PERRET (ed.), *History of Padang Lawas, North Sumatra. II: Societies of Padang Lawas (9th c. – 13th c. AD)*, Paris: Cahiers d'Archipel.

BHATTACHARYA, SWAPNA 1994, 'The Ari Cult of Myanmar', in: UTA GÄRTNER & JENS LORENZ (eds.), *Tradition and Modernity in Myanmar*, Münster/Hamburg: LIT Verlag (Berlin Asien-Afrika-Studien Bd.3/2), pp. 251-271.

CHANDRA, LOKESH & SUDARSHANA DEVI SINGHAL 1999, 'From the Goddesses of Plaosan to the Dhāraṇi-Maṇḍala at Alchi, in: N.N. BHATTACHARYYA & AMARTYA GHOSH (eds.), *Tantric Buddhism, Centennial Tribute to Dr. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp pp. 54-64.

COEDES, GEORGES 1964, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Nouvelle édition revue et mise à jour, Paris: Éditions E. De Boccard.

DEGROOT, VERONIQUE 2009, *Candi Space and landscape: A Study on the Distribution, Orientation and Spatial Organization of Central Javanese Temple Remains*, Leiden: Sidestone Press (Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde/Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, vol. 38)(Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de grad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden).

FRASCH, TILMAN 2000, 'A Remark on the Mahabodhi Temples at Pagan', in: WIBKE LOBO & STEFANIE REIMANN (eds.), *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998, Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the European Associations of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August – 4 September 1998*, Berlin: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Special Issue & Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, pp. 41-49.

GUY, JOHN 2004, 'South Indian Buddhism and its Southeast Asian Legacy', in: ANUPA PANDE & PARUL PANDYA DHAR (eds.), *Cultural Interface of India with Asia, Religion, Art and Architecture*, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd./National Museum Institute (National Museum Institute Monograph Series, no. 1), pp. 155-175.

HOWARD, ANGELA F. 1996, 'Buddhist Monument of Yunnan: Eclectic Art of a Frontier Kingdom', in: MAXWELL K. HEARN & JUDITH G. SMITH (eds.), *Papers prepared for an international symposium organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in conjunction with the exhibition Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, New York: Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 231-245.

KIMMET, NATASHA 2012, 'Sharing Sacred Space: A Comparative Study of Tabo and Borobudur', in: DOMINIK BONATZ, ANDREAS REINECKE, and MAI LIN TJOA-BONATZ (eds.), *Selected Papers from the 13th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 2010*, Volume 2: Connecting Empires and States, Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, pp. 93-101.

KLIMBURG-SALTER, DEBORAH E. 1997, *Tabo, a lamp for the Kingdom, Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*, with contributions by Christian Luczanits, Luciano Petech, Ernst Steinkellner, Erna Wandl, Milan: Skira.

KLOKKE, MARIJKE J. 2006, 'The history of Central Javanese architecture. Architecture and sculptural decoration as complementary sources of information, in: HENRI CHAMBERT-LOIR & BRUNO DAGENS (eds.), *Anamorphoses, Hommage à Jacques Dumarçais*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes, pp. 49-68.

LANCASTER, LEWIS R. 1991, 'Gaṇeśa in China: Methods of Transforming the Demonic', in: ROBERT L. BROWN (ed.), *Ganesh, Studies of an Asian God*, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 277-286.

LINROTHE, ROB (ed.) 2006, *Holy Madness, Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, Chicago: Serindia Publications.

LUCE, GORDON H. 1969/70, *Old Burma ~ Early Pagán*, New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher/Artibus Asiae/The Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER, PAULINE AND KLOKKE, MARIJKE J. 1988, *Divine Bronzes, Ancient Indonesian Bronzes from A.D.600 to 1600, Catalogue of the Exhibition organised in collaboration with the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art held in the Department of Asiatic Art, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam April 30-July 31, 1988*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

MIKSIK, JOHN N. 2006, 'Manjushri as a political symbol in Ancient Java', in: HENRI CHAMBER-LOIR & BRUNO DAGENS (eds.), *Anamorphoses, Hommage à Jacques Dumarçay*, Paris: Les Indes savantes , pp. 185-226.

SKILLING, PETER 1997, 'Dharmakīrti's Durbodhāloka and the Literature of Śrīvijaya', *Journal of the Siam Society*, volume 85, pp. 187-94.

Dr. SOEKMONO 1976, *Chandi Borobudur, A Monument of Mankind*, Assen/Amsterdam/Paris: Van Gorcum/The Unesco Press.

VON SCHROEDER, ULRICH 2006, *Empowered Masters, Tibetan Wall Paintings of Mahāsiddhas at Gyantse*, Chicago/Hong Kong: Serindia Publications /Visual Dharma Publications Ltd.



1

2

3

4

5



6

7

8

9



10



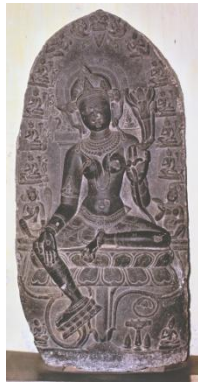
11



12



13



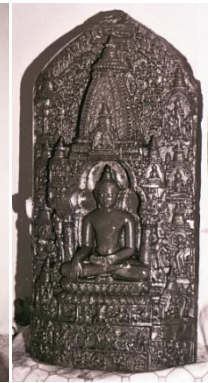
14



15



16



17



18



19

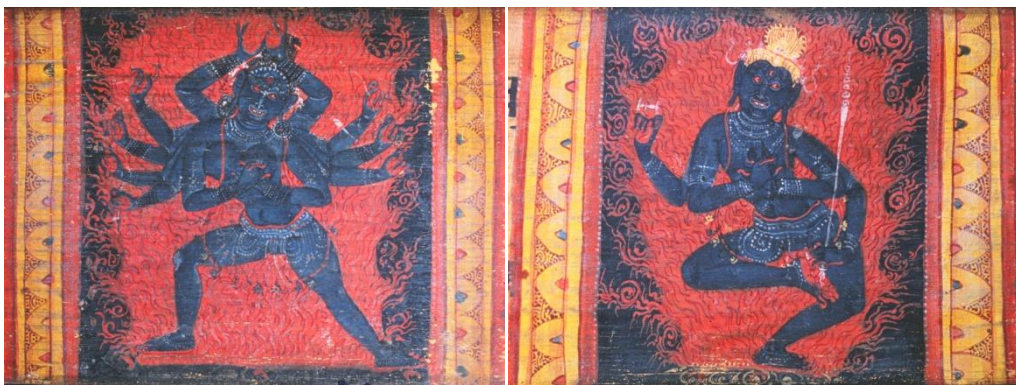


20



21

22



23

24

## Legends to the pictures

Unless mentioned, all photos are courtesy of Joachim K. Bautze

1. Tārā (Jagdal, Naogaon District; Paharpur site Museum)
2. Mārīcī (Narikelbaria, Paba, Rajshahi District; Varendra Research Museum)
3. Mañjuśrī (Niyamatpur, Rajshahi District; National Museum of Bangladesh)
4. Avalokiteśvara (Mahakali, Vikrampur area; National Museum of Bangladesh)
5. Mañjuśrī (Chandimura, Lalmai, Comilla District; Rammala Library, Comilla)
6. Arapacana Mañjuśrī (Jalkundi, Northeast of Vikrampur area; National Museum of Bangladesh)
7. Mañjuvara (probably from Southeast Bangladesh; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
8. Hevajra (Lajjair, Comilla District; National Museum of Bangladesh)
9. Hevajra (Barkanta, Comilla District; National Museum of Bangladesh)
10. Wrathful three-headed male deity (Paschimpara, Vikrampur area; Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi), photo courtesy of G.J.R. Mevissen.
11. Parṇaśabarī (Naynanda, Vikrampur area; National Museum of Bangladesh)
12. Mārīcī (Bhavanipur, Vikrampur area; National Museum of Bangladesh)
13. Mārīcī (Salban vihara, Mainamati; formerly at the Mainamati Museum, present location unknown)
14. Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā (Sompara, Vajrayogini, Vikrampur area; National Museum of Bangladesh)
15. Mahāpratisarā (Kurkihar, Bihar; Patna Museum)
16. Buddha and his life (Betagi, Chittagong District; Ratnankur Vihar, Betagi)
17. Buddha and his life (Sibbari, Khulna District; Kamalapur Buddhist Monastery, Dhaka)
18. Avalokiteśvara (Harivarman's regnal year 8; private collection)
19. Twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara (Harivarman's regnal year 8; Baroda Museum inv. E.G. 122), photo courtesy of Brigit Breitkopf
20. Mañjuśrī as Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara (Harivarman's regnal year 8; Baroda Museum inv. E.G.121), photo courtesy of Brigit Breitkopf.



21. Ḍakinī (?) (Manuscript dated N.S. 393 or 1273 AD, folio 401a; Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi)

22. Eight-armed red goddess (Manuscript dated N.S. 393 or 1273 AD, folio 297a; Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi)

23. Eleven-armed blue goddess (Manuscript dated N.S. 393 or 1273 AD, folio 173b; Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi)

24. Four-armed blue god (Hevajra?) (Manuscript dated N.S. 393 or 1273 AD, folio 388b; Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi)