Cultural Diffusion: A Case Study of Heracles depiction of Vajrapani in the Buddhist art of Gandhara

By

Muhammad Amjad Habib

TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

2013

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

Muhammad Amjad habib

Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations

Quaid-i-Azam University

Islamabad

I hereby recommend that the dissertation prepare under my supervision by Muhammad Amjad Habib, titled **"Cultural Diffusion: A Case Study of Heracles depiction of Vajrapani in the Buddhist art of Gandhara"** be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

Supervisor:

Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman

Assistant Professor

Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations

Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY

TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

Date: _____

FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Muhammad Amjad Habib and it is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of degree of Master of Philosophy in Asian Studies from Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations.

Supervisor:_____

Examiner:_____

Director:_____

To

My Father (Late) Muhammad Ashraf Habib

Acknowledgements

First and Formost, I thank to Allah Almighty, The Creator of the universe and Source of all the knowledge, for giving me strength and ability to accomplish this task.

Words of gratitude do not always express the depth of one's feelings but I wish to express gratitude to my honorable supervisor Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman whose invaluable suggestions, dexterous guidence and devoted supervision made my work more accurate and worthable. He is realy a man of his actions. His kind and coperative attitude was a torchbearer and a building block to quench my intellectual thirst. Without his intellectual help, the present work could not be accomplished.

I am also thankful to other faculty members of Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, especially Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Khan, the Director, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, for his guidence in my research and his tremendious cooperation that delineate Institute a significant milestone in the learning-sights of the country.

My acknowledgements will remain incomplete if I do not render my gratitude to my friends of Quaid-i-Azam University, especially Muhammad Naveed Akhtar, Mirza Ahmad Hamad-ul-Mubeen Muhammad, Pir Qaim Ali Shah, my classmates for their encouragment, engagement and constant guidence, discussion and material collection in completion of this work.

My parents' encouragement, prayers and tender guidence always remained a source of success for me in every walk of life. I am thankful to my brother whose kind personality always support me not only morally but also financially in every walk of my life. My affectionate and pious mother, whose prayers accompanied in each and every success of my life.

Last but not the least I would like to express vigorious and sincere thanks to the living and non living elements of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad who taught

me number of lessons and will remain the part of my aesthetic life. Infact Quaid-i-Azam University is a verstile and multicultural place where people from every corner of the country are quenching their intellectual thirst and I am happy that Almighty Allah also made me part of this University.

Muhammad Amjad Habib

January, 2013

CONTENTS

Chapter No. 1

Cultural Diffusion and Gandhara Civilization

Chapter No. 2

Buddhism and the Concept of Bodhisattva

Chapter No. 3

Gandhara Art and the Depiction of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction

Man is a social animal which means that whatever he entails is the result of social interactions in the society and the society makes social bonds among its members that generate culture. Human beings interact with each other in the society in order to learn as well as teach.

The Theory of Cultural Diffusion was given by Alfred L. Kroeber in his influential work *Stimulus Diffusion* (1940) which was also called as Trans-Cultural Diffusion. In his work Alfred L. Kroeber described the basic anthropological concept of Cultural Diffusion, its Mechanism and the theories related to the same phenomena. He opines that:

> "Diffused culture material often contains concrete or specific elements by which the fact of diffusion can be subsequently recognized even in the absence of a record of the event. In some cases it happens that the diffusion is definitely piecemeal; only fragments of a larger complex or system reach the affected culture or are accepted by it. In this event, the fragments or isolated items may be put into an entirely new context in the culture which they enter. Such partial bits may diffuse more widely than the patterns or systems or complexes of which they form a part. In the inter-influencing of cultures, it must frequently happen that a new item or specific trait fills some need or is of obvious advantage in a culture which has not previously possessed it; or at any rate that there is nothing already established with which it would have to compete for acceptance. On the other hand a system or pattern, being a larger thing, is more likely to encounter a corresponding system that is already in operation." (Kroeber 1940:20)

Culture takes the natural biological urges that we share with other animals and teaches us how to express them in a particular way. People have to eat but culture teaches us What, When and How?

For example in many Cultures people have their main meal at noon, but most North Americans prefer a heavy dinner. English people may eat fish for breakfast; While North Americans may prefer hot cakes and cold cereals. Brazilians put hot milk into strong coffee; While North Americans pour cold milk into weaker brew. Midwesterners dine at 5 or 6 PM and Spaniards at 10 PM (Kottack 2001: 66).

This notion of "Cultural Diffusion" was further elaborated by the mechanism of cultural change which includes "Diffusion, Acculturation and Independent Invention. Diffusion is the process by which discrete cultural traits are transferred from one society to another through migration, trade, war or other contact (Rogers 1962: 82). Acculturation is the process by which people have firsthand contact with each other and as a result they exchange many things, ideas, and values with each other. Independent Invention is a process of innovation in which humans innovate, creatively finding solutions to the problems. These ideas are further discussed by many scholars and arise many questions such as "Whether human cultures have evolved because of biological evolution or cultures spread from innovation centers by diffusion?"(Boas1966: 43). Boas (1966) argued that although the independent invention of a cultural trait can occur at the same time with widely separated societies where there is a limited control of individual members, allowing them freedom to create a unique style, a link such as genetic relationship is still suspected. He felt this was especially true in societies where there were similar combinations of traits (Ibid: 50).

The notion of "Cultural Diffusion" and its other tenets can also be applied on Gandhara that served as a panorama for many cultures. The region provides the evidences of Middle Palaeolithic period, the artifacts recovered from the Sanghao cave near Mardan describe the Middle Palaeolithic age in this region. Jamal Garhi rock shelter (Mardan) and Khanpur cave (Haripur) entails the mystery of the Mesolithic period of Gandhara. The site of Tangu Nau in Bajaur which was excavated by the Archaeological team from the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar describe the Middle Palaeolithic Period in Gandhara such as Sanghao cave in district Mardan (Ali 2004: 20). Kot Dijian culture (3000-2600 B.C) and Gandhara Grave Culture (1700 B.C-600 B.C) that replaced, Harappan culture in the region, are the salient features

of Gandhara. The sites of Sarai Khola, Hathial at Taxila, Zarif Koruna near Peshawar, Timargarha, Balambat, Thana, Aligrama, Leobanar and Butkara-II in Swat Valley provides the evidences of Gandhara Grave Cultures in this region (Mughal 1972: 125-6; Khan 1973: 3-94). The Gandhara Grave Culture is associated with the speakers of Indo-Aryans, who introduced various artifact styles, who are said to have come from outside of India. They also came and settled in Gandhara.

Gandhara region which includes the present valley of Peshawar including the Jalalabad hills on its west and on the eastern side up to the river Indus, on the northern side it includes the Swat and Buner hills and on the southern side it includes the Kala Bagh hills (Cunningham 1962: 55).In the ancient Vedic and Purānic literature, Gandhara is mentioned as "*Uttaara*" (Northern) Country" inhabited by gandharas (Rapson 1955: 26). It is indeed the land of fragrance which has the rich artistic manifestation of Buddhism and the complete history of the foreign invaders which glorified the geographical location of the entire valley and make a great contribution in the local social setup.

In the 6th and 5th centuries B.C Gandhara formed part of the Achaemenian empire of Persia under Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C) who wanted to make a union between the tribes of both Iranians and non-Aryans origins (Dani 2008: 86). The Achaemenian Empire expanded during the regime of Darius who extended the eastern frontier of the empire to the valley of the upper Kabul and then to the valley of the Indus. The most important aspect of the Achaemenians is the establishment of the Śatrapal System of administration in the entire empire (Ibid: 87).

In the 4th century B.C it was occupied for a brief time period by the armies of Alexander the great. Gandhara was now included in the new satrapy, constituted by Alexander, comprising the

areas west of the river Indus, and Nicanor was made its governor (Majumdar 1960: 15). However, the people of Gandhara, soon after the invasion, stood up against the governor of Alexander in revolt. The latter was killed in this revolt. Shortly afterward this revolt was put down by Philip, the governor of Taxila (Rapson 1955: 331).

There after it was conquered by Chandragupta Maurya. His son Aśoka, who was succeeded after the death of his father in 273 B.C, continued his policy of aggression in the region. The war of Kalinga made a great effect on Aśoka and more over the Buddhist literature made a great effect on him. He changed himself into a pious person and left all the ferocious and tyrant aggressive policies and converted into Buddhism (Tripathy 1942: 163-64).

Gandhara again fell into the foreign hands after the rule of almost one hundred years by the local rulers. In the subsequent centuries, Gandhara was followed by the footsteps of foreign invaders. This time Gandhara was occupied by the Bactrian Greeks and they continued there rule for almost two centuries, from 2nd century to 1st centuries B.C. is evident by the profuse distribution of coins issued by more than thirty Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers (Majumdar 1980: 111). Amongst the most outstanding kings are included Demetrius, Eucratides, Heliocles, Menander and Antialkidas etc. However, in the field of numismatics the Greek mint masters showed unprecedented skills, and definitely introduced new mythology in art, script, devices etc. The real cultural impact of Bactria based Greeks began to penetrate after the extinction of their political suzerainty over northwest of South Asia in the succeeding centuries during the Scytho-Parthians and Kushans.

Śakas, generally known as Scythians were originally Central Asian nomads. They seem too had been striving with their rival tribes in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. They pushed the

Greeks out of Bactria down to the Indus valley (Thomas 1996:186). Gandhara again came under the emperorship of the Scythian and Parthian rulers. To establish the precise chronology of the Scythian rulers it seems impossible to a great extent. However, Marshall was the first one who attempted to distinguish the coins of Azes-I from those of Azes-II (Marshall 1951:769). Moreover, Rapson believes that Azes-II was succeeded by Gondophares in A.D 19 (Rapson 1955:515); Gondophares was the Parthian ruler of Taxila valley. One of the most influential kings of the Indo-Parthians was Gondophares whose inscription dated to the early first century A.D. in Takht-i-Bahi (Mardan) entails his vision in the field of architecture and developing new places such as that of Sirkap in Taxila. The most crucial and significant aspect of Gandhara art "the fire altar" was also a gift from these Indo-Parthians. These fire altars can still be found on many Buddhist sculptures that signifies the diffusion of foreign mythological notions in the local belief system. These fire altars are now called as "Buddha Dhūni" and still provide ample evidences of cultural diffusion in Gandhara art.

History is known by its people who took part in the welfare and development of social lives of their people. Yueh-chis or Keu Shang who are also known as Kushans in the history inaugurated the golden age in Gandhara. In the middle of the first century A.D. Kushans under the command of Kujula Kadphises replaced the Indo-Parthians from the regions of Gandhara and Bactria. Kanishka I was the most influential king known in the Indian history. Kushan rule (1stto 3rdcentury A.D) is considered as the most celebrated and gifted in the history of Gandhara. This was the time when the outstanding and refined form of Gandhara art was emerged. Kanishka is considered as the most significant figure among the Kushan rulers. The Kushans era, a golden era in the history of Gandhara, was a real gift for the people of Gandhara. They developed the economy of the empire by passing it into a new gold currency, and advanced trade along the

famous Silk road, greater part of which they controlled (Dani 2008: 103). After the death of Wima Kadphises (or Kadphises-II), his son Kanishka (or Kanishka-I) ascended the Kushan throne, most probably in AD 78 (Puri 1965: 35-36). Kanishka-I is considered as the 2nd Aśoka for Buddhism (Dani 2008: 110). He patronized Buddhism and held the fourth Buddhist council in Kashmir and promoted the cause of Māhayāna Buddhism (Ibid: 104). He is generally believed to have elevated Po-lu-sha of all the Chinese pilgrims (Purushapura, present Peshawar) as capital of the Kushans (Beal 1969: 97). Kanishka ruled for 23 years till AD 101 or 102, provided his reign started in AD 78 (Majumdar 1980: 144).In the 4th century A.D, the country of Gandhara passed into the hands of its new masters, well known as "Kidar Kushans". The most outstanding ruler among the Kidar Kushans was Kidar himself, to whom the Kidar-Kushans owed their political foundation in north-western India (Gandhara and northern Punjab) (Mitchiner 1979: 40-44).

In the middle of the 5th century AD Ephthalites or Huns appeared on the political horizon of the north-west India and without evident resistance, swept away the cultural life of Gandhara. "Toraman" and "Mihiragula" were their most powerful leaders, who carved out a huge empire, stretching from Hindu Kush to Bihar. After the disintegration of Huns' power their empire fell apart into small local states so that we do not learn anything about the country of Gandhara except that the capital of Gandhara was Po-lu-sha-pu-lo (Peshawar), its royal family was extinct and that it was being governed by deputies from Kapiśa or Kia-pi-Shi (Beal 1969: 92-93).

Gandhara attained its high status from 1st to 5thcentury A.D under the Buddhist Kushan Kings. This region was a trade crossroad and cultural meeting place between India, Central Asia and the Middle East in ancient times. It provides evidences of the arrival of the Achaemenians of Persia

in 6th and 5th century B.C.E, conquered by Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C.E and the Mauryan dynasty of India who made this region as a center for the spread of Buddhism to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Gandhara was also ruled by the Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans. In the 11th century A.D. it was conquered by Mahmood of Ghazna and after that the region was held by various Muslim dynasties. It is because of this Multiculturalism that took place in the region of Gandhara; this land entails the aspects of cultural diffusion that can still provide ample evidences in the daily lives of the people of Gandhara.

The history of Turkish family can be traced back to at least A.D. 666 (Rahman 1979: 47). "Lagaturman" was dethroned by his Brahman minister "Kallar" who laid the foundation of the so-called Hindu Shahi dynasty (Rahman 1979: 46). However, inscriptional evidence now clearly shows that Kallar was probably a chief of the Oḍi tribe (Bailey 1980:21-29). Ethnically the Hindu Shahis were Oḍis whose settlements can still be found in Gandhara (Rahman 2003: 8-9). This dynastic change probably took place about AD 821 (Rahman 1993: 31). This Hindu Shahi or Oḍi Shahi dynasty ruled over Gandhara for about two hundred years and stood guard against the Muslim inroads spearheaded by the Arab governors of Seistan and then the Ghaznavid Turks of Central Asia. The most outstanding rulers among the Oḍi Shahis were "Kallar" (the founder of the dynasty), Samantdeva, Toramana, Bhimadeva, Jayapāladeva and Anandapāla. After the battle of the Indus, in which the Shahis suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Mahmud, Gandhara slipped out of Shahis's hands (Rahman 1979: 148-149).

Many aspects of cultural diffusion took place in the era of Kushans, for instance, the royal traditions of "*Shao-nano-Shao*" (Shahinshah) integrated into the local royal traditions from Persia; "*Devaputra*" (Son of God) integrated from China and "*Rājadhiraja*" (King of the kings)

integrated from India (Dani 2008: 105). They boosted up the economy of their empire by introducing "Gold Currency" that highlighted the prosperity of the Kushans. They developed friendly relations with their neighboring empires and traded with them along the famous "Silk road". It was in the era of Kushans that the famous international communication was developed between the cities like Tirmiz, Balkh, Bagram, Pushkālavāti, Sirichampa, Kāshgar, Tashkurgan, Hunza, Gilgit, Chilas and Swat and further down along the Indus to the sea. Kanishka-I is known as the second Aśoka because of his attraction to Buddhism. Like Aśoka he also erected many Stūpās in the entire region for the propagation of Buddhism. He also held the third Buddhist council in Kashmir; it was in the time of Kanishka-I that the Māhayāna Buddhism propagated.

Statement of the problem

The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara is the artistic manifestation of the Greek mythology and Buddhism that is represented in every aspect of the Buddhist sculptures of Gandhara. The Vajrapāni, which has a tremendous significance in the religion of Buddhism is directly associated with the Greek god Hercules/Herakles not only in their artistic manifestation but also in the divine stories that are directly associated with both the figures, Vajrapāni is considered the power representation of Buddha and symbol of protection. In the same way Hercules also have the same divine value in the Greek mythology and because of this reason the offspring of the Hellenistic civilization regarded both divine figures in the same way like in the art of Gandhara Vajrapāni is depicted like Hercules as the protector of Buddha.

Scope and Significance

The origin of Graeco-Buddhist art are to be found in the Hellenistic Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (250 BCE- 130 BCE), located in today's Afghanistan, from which Hellenistic culture radiated into the Indian subcontinent with the establishment of the Indo-Greek kingdom (180 BCE-10 BCE). Under the Indo-Greeks and then the Kushans, the interaction of Greek and Buddhist cultures occurred in the area of Gandhara, in today's northern Pakistan, before spreading further into India, influencing the art of Mathura, and then the Hindu art of the Gupta Empire, which was to extend to the rest of South-East Asia. The influence of Graeco-Buddhist art also spread northward towards Central Asia, strongly affecting the art of the Tarim Basin, and ultimately the arts of China, Korea, and Japan. It is because of this reason that the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara had tremendous significance for the world and for the followers of Buddhism. It not only deals with the artistic manifestation of the religion Buddhism but also depicted the sacred life of Siddhārtha Buddha mentioned in the Buddhist religious texts thus the art of Gandhara provides the empirical evidences of the Buddhist religious texts which have millions of believers around the world.

Hypothesis

The present research intends to prove that the Gandharan sculptors invented Bodhisattva Vajrapāni that has much similarity with the local and foreign divine figures but the most influential similarity of Vajrapāni is with the Greek god Hercules/Herakles.

Objectives of the Research

- What are the aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Gandhara?

- What were the changes that Buddhism brought in the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom (the easternmost part of the Hellenistic world, covering Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia from 250 to 125 BC)?
- What are the specific features of Gandhara art and how Gandhara art differentiate itself from the other schools of art?
- What are the time lines and influences of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara?
- What are the elements of different cultures in Gandhara art?
- What are the different types of Vajrapāni?
- How the Vajrapāni is depicted as Hercules in the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara?

Methodology

The present research would be conducted on the lines of descriptive cum analytical methodology.

Organization

The research is divided into introduction, three chapters and conclusion. Introduction introduces the topic, its scope and significance, the different aspects of current research mechanism and material available on the research topic. The first chapter provides a detailed notion of cultural diffusion and the mechanism of cultural change. More over it enlightens the implication of cultural diffusion in Gandhara by discussing the rich history of Gandhara. It further elaborates the material objects and divine practices that were diffused with the Imperial and local cultures in Gandhara.

The second chapter describes Buddhism as a religion and the concept of Bodhisattvas in the religion. The divine notion of the Bodhisattvas and the understanding of this notion in the major schools of Buddhism are also discussed in the present research. The concept of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni in the Buddhist literature as well as the depiction of Vajrapāni in the story of Buddha is also discussed in the third chapter. In the recent years there has been an increasing interest in Gandhara art because of its multicultural nature. The third chapter deals with this multicultural nature of Gandhara by focusing on Gandhara art and its different phases of development that is actually the cause of this multicultural nature. The cosmopolitan history of Gandhara that directly deals with the phenomena of Cultural Diffusion is also discussed in this chapter; moreover the depiction of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art and his similarity with other figures is also highlighted. Vajrapāni as the diffused form of Greek god Hercules is discussed and elaborated through different reliefs of Gandhara art. Finally the conclusion based on the research is also provided with the plates that provide the results and findings about the research topic. At the end bibliography is provided that is divided into books and research articles which were helpful in the present research.

Chapter 1

Cultural Diffusion and Gandhara Civilization

1.1 What is Cultural Diffusion?

The word diffusion simply means “spreading of one cultural or individual trait into another culture or in the same culture”. While when we use the word Cultural Diffusion it means the spread of cultural items such as ideas, styles, religions, technologies and languages between individuals, whether within a single culture or from one culture to another. This idea which is a distinctive part of the social traits is present in almost every society from the time when man was created and to the modern times when we are used to be with the advanced technology in our daily lives. Man is a social animal which means that whatever he entails is the result of social interactions among the other members of the society and this is the society which is made by the members of that society in order to create a relationship among the individuals of the same society. Human beings interact with each other in the society in order to learn and in fact to teach as well.

The Theory of Cultural Diffusion which has been discussed in the previous chapter was given by Alfred L. Kroeber in his influential (1940) paper *Stimulus Diffusion* which is also called as Trans-Cultural Diffusion. In his paper Alfred L. Kroeber described the basic anthropological concept of Cultural Diffusion, its Mechanism and the aspects of Cultural change. He further discussed the patterns opon which change occurs in a culture on the basis of cultural diffusion.

The oppressed culture is likely to be changed which means that change in a culture or the cultural traits does not occur randomly but in a very slow process and when the borrowed cultural traits become part of the society then it is adopted everywhere in the society and hence it becomes diffused cultural traits of that society (Kroeber 1940: 20).Cultures are not haphazard collections of customs and beliefs. Cultures are integrated patterned system. If one part of the system changes the other part changes as well. Cultures are integrated not by simply their economic activities and related social patterns but also by sets of values, Ideas, symbols and judgments (Ibid: 21). Cultures train their individual members to share certain personality traits. Different sets of dominant values influence the patterns of other cultures.

1.2 Mechanisms of Cultural Change

The natural biological urges we share with other animals are integrated into cultures and teach us how to express them in a particular way and in a particular context. Different sort of cultural patterns as have been discussed in the previous chapter describe the basic notion of cultural diffusion. People have to eat but culture teaches us What, When and How? In many cultures people have their main meal at noon, but most North Americans prefer a large dinner. English people may eat fish for breakfast; While North Americans may prefer hot cakes and cold cereals. Brazilian put hot milk into strong coffee; While North Americans pour cold milk into weaker brew. Midwesterners dine at 5 or 6 PM, Spaniards at 10 PM (Kottack 2001: 66).

So our culture makes us conscious about the changes that happen in the culture as a whole or among the cultural traits. However these changes occur by a mechanism which is illustrated below:

1. Diffusionism
2. Acculturation
3. Independent Invention

1.2.1 Diffusionism

Why and how do culture changes? One way is the diffusion, or borrowing of traits between cultures. Such exchanges of information and products have gone through out human history because cultures have never been truly isolated. The process of diffusionism has already been mentioned briefly in the previous chapter but in this chapter it will be discussed in detail. Diffusionism as an anthropological school of thought was an attempt to understand the nature of culture in terms of the origin of culture traits and their spread from one society to another. Versions of diffusionist thought included the conviction that all cultures originated from one culture center (heliocentric diffusion); the more reasonable view that cultures originated from a limited number of culture centers (culture circles); and finally the notion that each society is influenced by others but that the process of diffusion is both contingent and arbitrary.

Diffusion may be simply defined as the spread of a cultural item from its place of origin to other places (Rogers 1962: 446). A more expanded definition depicts diffusion as the process by which discrete cultural traits are transferred from one society to another, through migration, trade, war, or other contacts (Winthrop 1991: 82).

Diffusionist research originated in the middle of the nineteenth century as means of understanding the nature of the distribution of human culture across the world. By that time scholars had begun to study not only advanced cultures, but also cultures of no literate people.

Studying these very diverse cultures created a major issue among scholars, which was how humans progressed from primeval conditions to superior states (Kuklick 1998: 161). Among the major questions about this issue was whether human culture had evolved in a manner similar to biological evolution? Or whether culture spread from innovation centers by diffusion? Two schools of thought emerged in response to these questions. The most extreme view was that there were a very limited number of locations, possibly only one, from which the most important cultural traits diffused to the rest of the world. Evolutionism, on the other hand, proposed the "psychic unity of mankind", which argues that all human beings share psychological traits that make them equally likely to innovate.

According to evolutionists, innovation in a culture was considered to be continuous or at least triggered by variables that are relatively exogenous. This set the foundation for the idea that many inventions occurred independently of each other and that diffusion had little effect on cultural development (Kuklick 1998: 163).

Boas argued that although the independent invention of a cultural trait can occur at the same time within the widely separated societies where there is limited control of individual members, allowing them freedom to create a unique style, a link such as genetic relationship is still suspected. He felt that this was especially true in societies where there were similar combinations of traits (Boas 1966: 211).

Boas emphasized that cultural traits should not be viewed casually, but in terms of a relatively unique historical process that proceeds from the first introduction of a trait until its origin becomes obscure. He sought to understand culture traits in terms of two historical processes, diffusion and modification. Boas used these key concepts to explain culture and interpret the

meaning of culture. He believed that the cultural inventory of a people was basically the cumulative result of diffusion. He viewed culture as consisting of countless loose threads, most of foreign origin, but which were woven together to fit into their new cultural context. Discrete elements become interrelated as time passes. Diffusion is direct when two cultures trade, Intermarry, or wage war on one another. Diffusion is forced when one culture subjugates another and imposes its customs on the dominated group. Diffusion is indirect when items move from Group A to Group C via group B with out any first hand contact between A and C. In this case group B might consist of traders or merchants who take products from a variety of places to new markets. Or group B might be geographically situated between A and C, so that what it gets from A eventually winds up in C, and vice versa. In today's world much transnational diffusion is due to the spread of mass media and advanced information technology.

1.2.2 Acculturation

Acculturation, the second mechanism of cultural change, is the exchange of cultural features that results when groups have continuous firs hand contact. The cultures of either or both groups may be changed by this contact. Acculturation and assimilation have most often been studied in European immigrants coming to the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as minority groups already living in the United States. European "white ethnics" have experienced a higher rate of assimilation than nonwhite, non-European, and more recently immigrated groups. These studies have resulted in several important cross-cultural generalizations about the process of acculturation and assimilation (Thompson 1983: 113).

According to Thompson, these generalizations are as follow: *First*, dominant cultures coerce minorities and foreigners to acculturate and assimilate. This process is slowed down

considerably when minorities are territorially or occupationally concentrated, such as in the case of large native minorities who often become ethno-nationalistic. *Second*, acculturation must precede assimilation. *Third*, even though a minority may be acculturated, assimilation is not always the end result. *Fourth*, acculturation and assimilation serve to homogenize the minority group into the dominant group. The many factors facilitating or preventing this homogenization include the age of the individual, ethnic background, religious and political affiliations, and economic level (Thompson 1983: 114).

With acculturation parts of the culture changes, but each group remains distinct. One example of the acculturation is the Pidgin, a mix language that develops to ease communication between members of different cultures in contact. This usually happens in a situation of trade or colonialism. Pidgin English is the simplified English which was developed in the colonies where British had ruled. This is understandable for the people whose native language is not English and for those as well whose native language is English. In situations of continuous cultural contact, cultures also have exchanged and blended foods, recipes, music, dance, clothing, tools, and technologies. This was what happened in the Subcontinent where many big empires of the world came and as a result the local cultures blended with the foreign cultures and on the other hand foreigners also took some important aspects of the local cultures. This is what will be explained in the next investigation of cultural diffusion in the region of Gandhara which was a symbol of enlightenment.

1.2.3 Independent Invention

It is the process by which humans innovate, creatively finding solution to problems. This is the third mechanism of cultural change. Faced with comparable problems and challenges, people in different societies have innovated and changed in similar ways, which is one of the reason due to which cultural generalities exist. One example is the independent invention of agriculture in the Middle East and Mexico. Over the course of human history, major innovations have spread at the expense of earlier ones. Often a major invention such as agriculture triggers a series of subsequent interrelated changes. These economic revolutions have social and cultural repercussions. Thus in both Mexico and the Middle east, agriculture led to many social, political and legal changes, including notions of property and distinctions in wealth, class, and power (Kuklick 1998: 165).

Above is a general description of the concept of Cultural Diffusion and the question how mechanism of this diffusion actually takes place? Next investigation would be how Cultural Diffusion took place in the region of Gandhara because of the arrival of different empires?, and more over what are those aspects upon which cultural diffusion took place in Gandhara in which art is the major manifestation of this phenomenon. For this discussion it is a fundamental concern to diagnose the geographical boundary of the region Gandhara and the arrival of Achaemenians, Greeks, Mauryans, Indo-Greeks and many others. These foreigners not only revolutionized the indigenous cultural values but also made a great contribution in the domestic lives of the local people. These Changes can still be seen in the Gandhara region of Pakistan which is now the part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and some part is in the Punjab province of Pakistan.

1.3 Gandhara

The word Gandhara makes its first appearance in the oldest religious literature of South Asia,(Rig-Veda) (Griffeth 1986: 652), which is generally thought to have approximately been composed between 1500 to 1000 B.C (Basham 1963: 31). So far as the meaning of the word Gandhara is concerned it is often translated as 'the land of fragrance' taking "Gand" as fragrance and "Hara" is interpreted as land. Thus, the composite form of the word Gandhara suggests "a country or piece of land the soil of which yielded abundant fragrance and because of this quality it, apparently, came to be known as Gandhara 'the land of fragrance'.

In the Vedic and Puranic literature the Gandhara is frequently referred to as "*Uttara*" (northern country), inhabited by gandharas (Raposn 1955: 26). Moreover, kien-to-lo of the Chinese pilgrims is also identified as Gandhara; the measurements of its boundaries are however for the first time described only by Xuan Zang (Beal 1969:55). Thus, the country of kien-to-lo measures 1000 li east to west and 800 li form north to west. This measurement corresponds with the present valley of Peshawar as it is marked by Jalalabad hills on its western and eastern limits by river Indus, Swat and Burner hills on northern, and Kala Bagh hills on southern sides, respectively (Cunningham 1962: 55). It seems that the term Gandhara is not unusual in the region as we have other nomenclatures on the same pattern such as Nagarahara, Pothohara (or correctly Pithohara), Vanahara etc, which are stretching to western and eastern sides of Gandhara. It has changed its boundaries depending upon the ruler who ruled in Gandhara, however, the region in what is now northwestern Pakistan, corresponding to the Vale of Peshawar, the Pothohar plateau and having extensions into the lower valleys of the Kabul and Swat rivers is the geographical boundary of Gandhara. The two important and well known cities belonging to the historical region of Gandhara were Purushapura (modern Peshawar) and

Takśaśila (modern Taxila). The Kingdom of Gandhara remained as a well-known region on the map of Asia from 1millennium B.C.E to the 11th century A.D, however, it got its highest prestige from 1st century to the 5th century under the Buddhist Kushans who inaugurated a new age of prosperity in the region. The Hindu term Shahi was used by Al-Biruni to refer to the ruling Hindu dynasty that took over from the Turk Shahi and ruled the region during the period prior to the Muslim conquests of the 10th and 11th centuries. After it was conquered by Mahmood of Ghazna in 1021 C.E, the name Gandhara disappeared. During the Muslim period the area was administered either from Lahore or from Kabul. During the Mughal times the area was part of the Kabul province.

1.4 Gandhara through History

In ancient times Gandhara was a trade crossroad and cultural meeting place between India, Central Asia, and the Middle East. The region was subject to Achaemenian Persia in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and was conquered by Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C. It was thereafter ruled by the Mauryan dynasty of India, under whom it became a centre for the spread of Buddhism to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Gandhara was then successively ruled by Indo-Greeks, Śakas, Parthians, and Kushans. After its conquest by Mahmood of Ghazna in the 11th centuries A.D, the region was held by various Muslim dynasties.

The term Gandhara, for the first time, is found in the Rig-Veda, the oldest sacred book of the Brahmans, in which the good wool of Gandhara is mentioned (Griffeth 1986: 652).Gandhara became a center of culture and education in the periods of *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. In the *Kausitaki Brahmana* it is mentioned that the Brahmans used to go to the north for purposes of study (Ibid). The *Satapatha Brahmana* informed us that *Uddalaka Arūni* went among the people

of northern country. According to the *Uddalaka Jātaka*, this scholar journeyed to Takśaśila (Taxila) in quest of knowledge. The truth of these traditions can be analyzed by the observation of *Uddalaka Arūni* regarding the desirability of going to Gandhara and studying under the qualified teachers for the acquisition of knowledge and attainment of liberation (Dani 2008: 88).

As Gandhara was a center of prosperity in the fields of education, Trade, Medicine, etc and rewardingly the capitals especially Taxila got its fame in every field of life. The fame of Taxila was started with the entrance of Achaemenians in Gandhara.

1.4.1 The Achaemenians

Entry of the Achaemenians in Gandhara was basically a campaign started by Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C.) who wanted to unify the tribes of both Iranian and non-Aryan origin. From Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean the people formed the core of the Kingdom of Cyrus. The Achaemenian Empire expanded during the regime of Darius who extended the eastern frontier of the empire to the valley of the upper Kabul and then to the valley of the Indus (Dani 2008: 85). The most important aspect of the Achaemenians is the establishment of the Śatrapal System of administration in the entire empire as he had at that time.

Gandhara was the seventh satrapy in the Achaemenian Empire and the administration introduced in this satrapy is pirated in the Arthaśastra of Kautilya which is totally based on the Śatrapal System of administration. The satrap, in charge of the administration of the province, was directly appointed by the king and was directly responsible to him. Next to him was the commander in chief, which held an equal rank and was directly responsible to the king. Parallel to these two posts was that of the collector of taxes. The satrap was doubled by a secretary who supervised all his actions and provided the liaison between him and the central court. Besides

him, The Inspectors, called the ears of the king kept a strict eye on the affairs of the satrap. They were quite independent, empowered to own armed forces and commissioned to travel all over the empire and pay many tours to the administrators. Justice was administered by royal judges, who held offices until their death, unless removed by unjust conduct (Ibid: 86).

The same kind of Administrative system is diffused in the Arthaśastra written by Kautilya during the Mauryan Empire which is a clear manifestation of administration diffusion and with a little bit changes it became the centre of any system regarding political administration in the forgoing empires in Gandhara. The Achaemenians also introduced the first writing system known as Kharoshti based on the Aramaic alphabets and is written from right to left. Darius also laid the foundation of a new city in Taxila that extended to the other side of dharma rivulet and has been excavated at Bhir Mound. Darius made a geographical survey of the entire Indus region. He built a junction between Kabul and Swat rivers near Pushkālavāti; modern Charsadda. It was the same route which was further followed by Alexander the Great and then Chandragupta Maurya during the Mauryan Empire in India (Kosambi 1965: 56). Achaemenians also introduced a coin currency in the region which is as under

"The first was the bent bar coins with two symbols, one at either end and so well-known from the excavations of Taxila in Bhir Mound. The second type was of round shape with a symbol punched on one face. It is because of this technique of punching that we call them punch-marked coins"(Dani 2008: 83).

1.4.2 Alexander's Invasion

The invasion of Alexander into India was a practical manifestation of a campaign against the Achaemenians. He wanted to build an empire of his own and also emulates the imperial authority

enjoyed earlier by the Achaemenians. Keeping this in his mind he marched to the eastern provinces of the Achaemenian Empire and got success. He had no intention to go beyond this, that's why he did not cross the Hass River. The important battle of Gaugamela, in which the people of Indus also participated, the Achaemenians lost their prestige. The centralized power of the Achaemenians had gone and the surrounding territories then administered by the local chiefs and tribal men and then afterwards those were the local tribal chiefs with whom Alexander had to deal (Dani 2008: 89). Some of them welcomed him and some mad a terrible resistance but at the end Alexander succeeded in his march into the Indian territory. These tribes were distributed among different territories and hence ruled by the people who were then the masters of these territories. Their configuration regarding their division and their settlement is described by many historians some of whom are as under.

There were three major tribes who lived in the west of river Indus. They were Aspasians, the Kurus in the Panchkora valley and the Assacanians, i.e. those who were living on the bank of the river Suvāstu (Swat). After subjugating them, Alexander appointed Sasigupta and his local officer. In Peshawar valley he had to deal with the Astes (Ashtaka-the head of the eight tribes and hence their capital Hashtanagar (modern Charsadda, or old Pushkālavāti). Ashtaka's brother Sanjaya, came over to the side of Alexander. Over all these conquered tribes Alexander appointed Nicanor, a Greek, as his administrator (Dani 2008: 90).

There were three tribes who used to live between the Indus and the Chenab Rivers, they were Druhyus in Gandhara, Purus between Jhelum and Chenab and Anus in the lower middle Indus. Raja Ambhi of Taxila joined hand with him. Alexander also found a new city of Bucaphela on the spot where his horse died (Kosambi 1965: 60). He also left behind some troops at Taxila. In this region he appointed Philip as his officer. Then the troops of Alexander moved to Sindh,

Balochistan and to other parts of India during his military campaign. After his death the Greek empiresuffered a lot regarding their occupied territories and hence the downfall of Greek empire started because some of the officers that the Alexander had appointed in the Indian region were murdered by the local revolts and some had succeeded to come back into their motherland. Alexander established a contact between the people of the Indus and Greeks. This was his great contribution towards the people of both the sides and because of this reason we can still find the legacy of Greeks in the different areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. They have exchanged their ideas, philosophy, religion, science and as a result many new techniques were developed in every sector of daily life. Alexander's invasion of the Indus was not a result of permanent acquisition of the territory because all of his three viceroys, Nicanor, Philip and Peithon, were killed as a result of the local revolts (Dani 2008: 92). After the death of Alexander his general Seleucus declared himself as emperor of the Asian conquered territory and built his own Kingdom (Ibid: 93), and later he also tried to reconquer the Indus but was boldly faced by Chandragupta Maurya and hence lost more territories in modern Afghanistan.

1.4.3 Gandhara through the Mauryan Dynasty

After the humiliating defeat of Seleoucus, the country of Gandhara passed on the hands of the Mauryans. We do not learn about any significant role played by the country of Gandhara or its people during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya or of his successor Bindusara. Most probably Gandhara was administratively included in the viceroyalty of Taxila (Kosambi 1965: 72). During Aśoka's reign, Gandhara received one of the Buddhist missionaries, dispatched by Aśoka for the preaching of Buddhism, under Madhyantika (Raspson 1955: 449). No significant event took

place in the subsequent history of Gandhara other than this Buddhist missionary who left far reaching effects on the history as well as the cultural life of Gandhara.

Aśoka succeeded his father in 273 B.C and continued the usual aggressive policy of expansionism. However, the prolonged war of Kalinga left very depressing effects on Aśoka. According to Buddhist literature, the teachings of Buddha also changed his whole outlook of life and made him a pious person from a ferocious and tyrant one, as soon as he was converted to Buddhism (Tripathy 1942: 163-64). As a result, he adopted a new state policy well known as "Dharma Policy" which he also propagated by engraving rock edicts and pillars. Aśoka also installed two of these edicts in the country of Gandhara along the ancient Rajapatha which connected the northwestern countries with south Asia. The remains of these rock edicts are also situated in Mardan district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at a place called Shahbaz Garhi and at Mansehra near Abbottabad (Dani 2008: 104).

Except the Buddhist missionary we do not learn about any activity that might have taken place in the subsequent Aśokan period, although Gandhara remained a part of the Mauryan Empire till its disintegration. As we learn from Taranath that one of the successors of Aśoka named Virasena set up a kingdom in Gandhara (Taranath 1869: 48-50). Moreover, Polybius informs us about a certain Sophagaseus or Subhagasena who was an Indian king of the northwest frontier (206 B.C), with whom Antiochus III renewed his ancestral relationship (Rapson 1955: 462)**.** It seems that Subhagasena or one of his predecessors was, probably, a viceroy of the Mauryan emperor and later on he declared himself an independent king of the northwest in which the country of Gandhara was also included (Ibid).

However, there are no contemporary Indian records of Chandragupta Maurya and almost all that is known is based on the diaries of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleocus at Pataliputra, as recorded by Arrian in his Indika. Gandhara was acquired from the Greeks by Chandragupta Maurya (Kosambi 1965: 80).

Aśoka erected hundreds of stūpās in Gandhara among which the most important is the Dharmarājika in Taxila. He also built many Buddhist monasteries which served as the places of learning, worship as well as centers for the propagation of the Buddhist ideas. Although the empire did not long survive, yet Buddhism found deep roots in the society and the Buddhist monks and missionaries completely transformed the basic practices of the people (Dani 2008: 98).

The last Mauryan king was killed by his Commander-in-Chief, Pushyamitra Shunga, who then established his own dynasty in north India. It came to be known as Shunga dynasty. While the Shungas were ruling in north India, the Indo- Greeks, also known as Yavanas, emerged in Bactria(Balkh) as an independent power and soon started extending their rule in the northwestern and northern parts of India (Ibid: 99).

1.4.4 The Bactrian Greeks

Who did follow Subhāgasena in the office is nowhere recorded nor is there any reference of the Indian invasion by the Bactrian king Demetrius, although the latter is remembered as "king of the Indians" (Majumdar 1980: 108). However, it seems that after one hundred years of local rule the fortunes of Gandhara once again fell into the foreign hands. In the subsequent centuries Gandhara saw a succession of foreign invaders who followed each other in their footsteps. The political domination of the Bactrian Greeks continued almost for two centuries (2nd and

1st centuries B.C) as is evidenced by the profuse distribution of coins issued by more than thirty (Bactrian and Indo-Greek) rulers (Ibid: 111).

Among the most outstanding kings are included Demetrius, Eucratides, Heliocles, Menander and Antialkidas. On the basis of numismatic evidences, it is sometimes suggested that kings of the Bactrian Greeks belonged to two different houses headed by Euthydemus and Eucratides. In the second half of the first century B.C. the Bactrians of Gandhara came to face with a new threat spearheaded by a fresh Central Asian invader. These invaders were known as Scytho-Parthians. On the bases of numismatic studies, it has been suggested that the Scythian ruler Azes I deposed the last Greek ruler of Pushkālavāti (the capital of Gandhara) named Hippostratus (Bopearachchi 1995: 44-45). The Greek cultural impact on the contemporary Indian society, where they ruled almost two centuries is not much evidenced except in stray elements, as it is proved by archaeological excavations, particularly at Taxila and Shaikhan Dheri. However, in the field of numismatics the Greek mint masters showed unprecedented skill, and definitely introduced new mythology, script, devices etc. The real cultural impact of Bactria based Greeks began to penetrate after the extinction of their political suzerainty over northwest of South Asia in the succeeding centuries during the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushans.

1.4.5 The Scytho-Parthians

Śakas, generally known as Scythians and were originally Central Asian nomads, seem to have been striving with their rival tribes in the second half of the 2nd century BC. They pushed the Greeks out of Bactria down to the Indus Valley. There were three Śaka settlements, namely Śaka Tigra Khauda (with pointed helmets), Śaka Haumavarga and Śaka Taradarya (beyond the sea) (Majumdar 1980:120). Śaka Haumvarga, however, has been identified by Smith with Scythians,

who afterwards occupied Śakastan (Sijistan or Seistan) which is identified with southern Afghanistan (Smith 1994:186).

The earliest among the Scythians was Vonones who may have originally been a governor of Drangiana (eastern Iran), but , by taking advantage of the relaxed Parthian control over the eastern frontier regions, declared his independence, as his coins show the imperial title, the Great king of kings' (Rājadhīrāja). Further, numismatic evidences inform that his brother Spalirises was a subordinate ruler in relation to the Great king of kings'. Another group of the Scythian coinage treats Spalirises as the Great king of kings' while Aya (Azes I) takes a subordinate position. The imperial title 'the great raja' (Mahārāja) appears on the coins of Aya or Azes-I in kharosthi legend. About this time the eastern districts, comprising the Indus Delta and adjoining regions of the Parthian empire, were governed by the officials of Scythian origin (Majumdar 1980: 123-24), who, in the beginning, owed their allegiance to Vonones but later on declared themselves independent rulers. The earliest was Maues (Moa or Moga) whose name is also found on numerous coins issued by him, and discovered by Marshall at Taxila. On the basis of the evidence of coins issued by Maues, (known as over-strikes of Maues) it has been suggested that the Greek ruler of Taxila was deposed by Maues, who started the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. But, later on, Maues was ousted from Taxila by a Greek ruler of the house of Eucratides, named Appostratus. Appostratus II was, however, dethroned by Azes I as the later issued over-strikes of the former. Thus, Gandhara fell into the hands of the Scythians in 55 B.C (Bopearachchi 1995: 44-45). There are other Scythian rulers whose names are known from numismatics such as Azilises and Azes II (Aya or Aja). To establish the precise chronology of the Scythian rulers it seems impossible to a great extent. However, Marshall was the first one who attempted to

distinguish the coins of Azes I from those of Azes II (Marshall 1951: 69). Moreover, Rapson believes that Azes II was succeeded by Gondophares in AD 19 (Rapson 1955: 515).

Like Vonones, Gondophares originally was a Parthian governor of Archosia (Kandahar) under the Greek king of kings Orthagnes (Ibid). Various versions of the same name in different texts point out the problems of different Prakrits or dialects. Gondophares was certainly the greatest among all the Indo Scytho-Parthians. So much so famous he was that, according to the Christian tradition, the Parthians were allotted to St. Thomas as a special area of missionary activities (Smith 1994: 145). The coin types and their distribution show that Gondophares became master of the Śaka and Pahlava dominions both in eastern Iran and Pakistan. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gondophares leaves no doubt that he was a ruling monarch by his own name (Sircar 1942: 245). Gondophares captured Gandhara and the adjoining areas by defeating the last Scythian ruler Azes II, most probably, in AD 19 or some time earlier, as the date of his inscription of Takht-i-Bahi favors it. However, the precise chronology is one of the most perplexing problems of South Asian history.

The exact date of Gondophares is nowhere recorded. So also is the case of his predecessors namely Pacores (Majumdar 1980: 131) and Abdagases (Cribb 1997: 282-300). From the coins we also learn about other names, sometimes as subordinate to the 'Great king of kings' and sometimes with the imperial title. This list includes Aspavarman, Sasa or Sassan, and Satavastra (styled as the Great king of kings), Phraates (sometimes as governor of Gandhara) etc. the rulers of Scytho-Parthian line held their sway for more than a century (from the 2nd century BC to the1st century AD) over the eastern region of Iran and the areas corresponding to the present day Pakistan. Moreover, the flow of cultural traits, as compare to the earlier period became more rapid from the northwest as archaeological data of the period corroborates (Ibid: 302).

1.4.6 The Kushan Rule

The most celebrated and gifted people as rulers in the history of Gandhara were Yueh-chis, also known as Kushans (as abbreviated form of the original word Kuei-shuang). Chinese historical literature brings Yueh-chis in the limelight of history as nomads, who, being ousted by their powerful rival tribe from their original abode (Tien-shan range in the Chinese Turkistan), marched towards the west and, having faced many vicissitudes on their way, finally succeeded in setting down in the country of Bactria in the last quarter of the 2ndcentury B.C (Puri 1965: 3-5). In fact, the Yueh-chi tribe comprised of five major sections, each having its own independent principality with its own ruler at the head in the country of Ta-hia or Bactria. Kuei-shuang section was, however, the most outstanding among all which, subsequently, under their Wang or king Kiu-Siu-Kio or Kujula Kadphises (Kadphises I A.D 15-65) attacked and annihilated the four other His-hou or principalities (Majumdar 1980: 139).

Later on, Kadphises I conquered Kao fu (or Kabul)and Ki-Pin (or Kafiristan) by defeating the Parthians; the overstrike coins of the former speak for evidence (Bopearachchi 1995: 49). The conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans is also attested by the Panjtar inscription which has been assigned roughly to the period between A.D 15 and 65 (Ibid: 139). The epigraph clearly refers to a Kushan monarch, although he remains incognito,by that time Gandhara was under the Parthian control till about AD 56. The Panjtar inscription, no doubt, would have been installed by Kujula Kadphises soon after his conquest of Gandhara. Senavarmas' inscription supplies further evidence as it clearly mentions both Kujula Kadphises and his son Sadashkano (Ibid). The inscription apparently suggests that Sadashkano was Kujula's governor of Gandhara. The relevant portion of this inscription reads:

‘Honored is the Great king of kings, Kujula Kadphises’ son Sadashkano, the Devaputa’ (Bailey 1980:22-29).

Another inscription of the time of Kanishka was found from Afghanistan in 1993 at a site called Kafir Qila near Rabatak Pul-i-Khumri. In the Rabatak inscription the predecessors of Kanishka are thus mentioned: Wīma Kadphises as father, Wīma Takto as grandfather, and Kujula Kadphises as great grandfather (Cribb 1969:12).In the light of the above mentioned inscription it becomes evident that Kujula Kadphises had two sons, i.e., Wīma Takto and Sadashkno. Coins of the Kushan period, however, do not mention their names. The absence of Sadashkno’s name from coins is to a large extent, understandable for Senavarma’s inscription suggests that he served as the governor of Gandhara under his father Kujula Kadphises. But the omission of Wīma Takto’s name from the Kushan coinage adds more confusion to the Kushan chronology, as he is explicitly mentioned as the successor of Kujula Kadphises in the Rabatak inscription. Now, the Chinese historical literature places Yen-kao-chen on the Indian throne after the death of his father, Kiu-siu-kio or Kujula Kadphises (Majumdar 1980:136-39). This sort of historical evidences arise many questions which are needed to be solved for instance “Was Wīma Taktos’ predecessor Kujula his octogenarian father?” or did he ascend the Kushan throne for a very short period and could not issue coins of his own name?”Kujula Kadphises died at a riped age of eighty (Ibid: 140).

Nonetheless, numismatic evidence favors Chinese chronicles that Kujula Kakphises was succeeded by Wīma Kadphises (or Kadphises II) in A.D. 65 (Chattopadhya 1979: 35).Wīma Kadphises wasin fact, a powerful Kushan ruler who established trade relations with Romans as his gold currency was based upon the weight standard of the Roman aurous (8.035 grammas or 124 grains) (Ibid: 36). Moreover, coins weighing double the weight standard of an aurous were

also struck. This gold currency of Wīma Kadphises brought prosperity and gave boost and impetus to commercial activities. The Kharosthi legend *Mahārājasa Rājadhīrāja Sarva Loga*was on the inverse side of the coins and *Mahiśvarasa Vīma Kath Phisasa Tratarasa* appears on the reverse of the gold coins of Kadphises II. It is remarked that Wīma Kadphises must have been converted to Hinduism and that he became a votary of Siva while his father Kujula was Buddhist (Chattapadhya 1979: 37).

After the death of Wīma Kadphises (or Kadphises II) his son Kanishka (or Kanishka I) ascended the Kushan throne, most probably in A.D. 78 (Puri 1965: 35-36). The genealogy of the Kushans is a controversial subject among scholars of ancient Indian history; formerly, it was generally held that Kanishka was not the son of Kadphises II and that he belonged to another branch of the Yueh-chis or probably hailed from the little Yueh-chis. Now, the discovery of the Rabatak inscription (Afghanistan) has finally settled down this long genealogical dispute as it clearly mentions that Wīma Kadphises was succeeded to the throne by his son Kanishka (Cribb 1997:12).

Kanishka I is regarded as the greatest ruler among all the Kushans. He is generally believed to have elevated Po-lu sha of all the Chinese pilgrims (Purushapura, Present Peshawar) as capital of Kushans (Beal 1969: 97). Buddhist tradition tells that Kanishka was converted to Buddhism by the magical influence of Buddha's teachings. He is also depicted as an impious and cruel person, but like Aśoka, he took refuge in Buddhism owing to the feelings of profound regret over his misdeeds (Ibid: 99-100). Thus, Kanishka became a zealous follower of Buddhism. During the reign of Kanishka Gandhara experienced the most glorious period of its history, as it emerged as a great cultural as well as flourishing trade center where from all the directions traders used to come. That is why one modern historian has translated the word Peshawar as Peshaha-war, i.e.

full of artisans (Dani 1969: 223). Kanishka issued a variety of coins, especially his gold currency, like his father, was of Roman standard to compete the international market. Buddhist art touched its unprecedented height as it displayed a variety of shades and reflected the cosmopolitan nature of Gandhara. Like Aśoka, Kanishka also patronized Buddhism. Buddhist tradition tells us that on the advice of Parśva (or Parśvika) a Buddhist assembly was held to settle the disputes that had crept into it with the lapse of time. According to a Chinese account the meeting took place in Gandhara. Kanishka ruled for 23 years till A.D. 101 or 102, provided his reign started in A.D. 78 (Majumdar 1980: 144).

They boosted up the economy of their empire by introducing "Gold Currency" that highlighted the prosperity of the Kushans. They developed friendly relations with their neighboring empires and traded with them along the famous "Silk Road". It was in the era of Kushans that the famous international communication was developed between the cities like Tirmiz, Balkh, Bagram, Pushkālavāti, Sirichampa, Kāshgar, Tashkurgan, Hunza, Gilgit, Chilas, Swat and further down along the Indus to the sea. Kanishka-I is known as the second Aśoka because of his attraction to Buddhism. Like Aśoka he also erected many stūpās in the entire region for the propagation of Buddhism. He also held the third Buddhist council in Kashmir. It was in the time of Kanishka-I that the Māhayāna Buddhism was propagated.

The Great Kushans created an amalgamation of foreign and local cultures and brought the people of different regions together. Many tribes came with them and became part of the local soil for instance the "Gadakharas", or "Gadaharas" or modern "Gakkhars" known by their Persian traditions of "Kianis" and proudly call them local "Rājās", Pirāchās who were recognized by their skills of art and craft and Gujjars who are living mostly in Punjab (Dani 2008: 104). The national dress of Pakistan "*Shalwār-Kamīz*" describes the significance of the

Kushan dresses (Dani 2008: 105). The beautiful ornaments and magnificent bridal dresses are all the cultural aspects of the Kushans which are still dominant in the present day Pakistan. The chappals and boots of both men and women and the feeling of serenity at the religious merit in deep meditating devotion with upper and lower garments or Shawls, even we can find these aspects in the meditating Buddha of Gandhara sculptures, are all the continuity of old culture in the present era. The modern village system and the domestic life for example *Tandoors* and *nāns*, tools and plants, seats and footstools and chair with back rest, all recall the memory of Kashan home (Ibid : 106). It was in that era that modern Pakistan and Central Asia came together and exchanged many cultural values with each other that can still be found in the social sector of both the regions.

Kanishka met a violent death by his own people and was succeeded by his own son Huvishka (A.D. 104-138). The date of Huvishka's accession is well attested by the inscriptions, as the Brahmi inscription of Mathura fixes his reigning period from the year 26 to 60 of the Kanishka era, well corresponding to the years A.D. 104-138 (Dani 2008: 148-149). Among the Kushan rulers Huvishka issued a large number of coins. His gold coins are the most interesting of all the Kushan series and show about thirty different representations of the king on the obverse. On the reverse is the largest number of divinities (Mitchiner 1979: 5-6).

Huvishka was succeeded by Vāsūdeva who is regarded as the last interline of great Kushans. In his several Brahmi inscriptions he is mentioned as *Mahārāja Rājadhīrāja Devaputra Shahi* or simply *Mahārāja Vāsūdēva* (Mitchiner 1979: 10). The region ofVāsūdevais dated in the years 99 (A.D. 177) like his predecessor Huvishka, these epigraphs evidently refer him to the regional reckoning of Kanishka I (Ibid: 26). Vāsūdeva-I is regarded the last representative of the Great Kushan family founded by Kujula Kadphises I. It does not mean that the Kushans ceased to

rule,but the line of the Kushan emperors who reigned after Vāsūdeva-I is treated as 'Later Kushans'(Cunningham 1962: 18).

Various inscriptions, found from Mathura, Gandhara and Afghanistan, together with the evidence of coins show that certain Kushan emperors ruled over extensive areas, stretching from Kabul to Bihar even after the Great Kushans. The precise genealogy like the one with regard to these rulers from Rabatak inscription, in the light of inscriptional as well as numismatic evidence, the so-called 'Later Kushans' have been approximately arranged in a rough chronological order. The exact period, in terms of years of these Kushan Kings, seems hard to establish in the absence of any reliable literary or archaeological data. However, it is generally suggested that Kanishka II was the first later Kushan emperor who followed Vāsūdeva-I on the Kushan throne. He is also said to have inaugurated a new regal era. Kanishka II was succeeded by another Kushan ruler named Vasishka (or Vajheshka of Ara inscription or Jushka of Kalhana). After Vasishka, Kanishka III ascended the Kushan throne (Ibid: 20).

In the 4th century A.D, the country of Gandhara passed into the hands of its new masters, well known as Kidar Kushans. The most outstanding ruler among the Kidar Kushans was Kidar himself, to whom the Kidar-Kushans owed their political foundation in north-western India (Gandhara and northern Punjab) (Cunningham 1962:40-44). There was no great king like Kujula, Wīma or Kanishka in this new line of Kushans who could revive the past glory of their ancestries.

1.4.7 The Arrival of Hephthalites (White Huns) and Others

In the middle of the 5th century AD Hephthalites or White Huns appeared on the political horizon of north-west India and without evident resistance, swept away the cultural life of Gandhara.

Toraman and Mihiragula were their most powerful leaders, who carved out a huge empire, stretching from Hindu Kush to Bihar (Ali & Qazi 2008: 8). According to the Kura inscription, found in the Salt Rnage Toraman enjoyed a high royal status as his title shows, *Rājadhīrāja* Māharāja Toraman Shahi Jabula. Another inscription of Madhya Pradesh speaks of *Mahā Rājadhīrāja* Toraman denoting that the latter had established his rule as far as the Gangetic Valley. Toraman was succeeded by his son Mihiragula, whom Xuan Zang called the king of Shakal, (modern Sialkot) (Litvinsky 1999: 142). The evidence of his coins shows that he was a follower of Paśupati (god Śīva) (Ibid: 143). Mihiragula, probably, died in A.D. 550 (Qureshi 1967: 159-60). With the death of Mihiragula the glorious period of Hun rule ended. After the disintegration of Hun power their empire fell apart into small local states so that we do not learn anything about the country of Gandhara except that the capital of Gandhara was Po-lu-sha-pu-lo (Peshawar), its royal family was extinct and that it was being governed by deputies from Kapiśa or Kia-pi-Shi (Beal 1969: 92-93).

According to Albiruni, Barhatigin was the founder of the Turk Shahi dynasty of Gandhara. The history of this Turkish family can be traced back to at least A.D. 666 (Rahman 1979: 47). But the history of Turk Shahis is not well documented in the early Muslim histories as they are only marginally treated with reference to the Muslim governors of Seistan. According to Albiruni, Lagaturman was dethroned by his Brahman minister Kallar who laid the foundation of Hindu Shahi dynasty (Rahman 1979: 46). However, inscriptional evidence now clearly shows that Kallar was probably a chief of the Oḍi tribe (Bailey 1980: 21-29). The dynasty he founded came to be known as the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Ethnically the Hindu Shahis were Oḍis whose settlements can still be found in Gandhara (Rahman 2003: 8-9). This dynastic change probably took place about A.D. 821 (Rahman 1993: 31). This Hindu Shahi or Oḍi Shahi dynasty ruled

over Gandhara for about two hundred years and stood guard against the Muslim inroads spearheaded by the Arab governors of Seistan and then the Ghaznavid Turks of Central Asia (Ibid: 32). The most outstanding rulers among the Oḍi Shahis were Kallar (the founder of the dynasty), Samantdeva, Toramana, Bhimadeva, Jayapaladeva and Anandapala. After the battle of the *Indues*, in which the Shahi suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Mahmud, Gandhara slipped out of Shahi's hands (Rahman 1979: 148-149).

This brief review of the history of Gandhara shows that out of two thousand and five hundred years except the rule of the Mauryans and the Oḍi Shahis (Ali & Qazi 2008: 11). For the rest of period Gandhara had been changing masters one after the other. These foreign invaders left deep cultural impressions on the art, architecture, language, trade commerce and economy of Gandhara. It goes to the credit of Gandhara that it assimilated all these cultural diversities and in the course of time gave them its own color. This synthesis of many different cultural norms can be termed as "Gandharan culture".

1.5 The Fall of Gandhara

The history of Gandhara is also documented in ancient Chinese accounts. The first monk in Gandhara was Fa-Xian, who left Chang-an in A.D. 399. Fa-Xian traveled along the southern route of the so-called Silk Road through the Tarim Basin, crossed over Pamirs from Tashkurgan, traveled through Darel and the dangerous passes at Udhyana in the Swat valley, and finally reached Gandhara. This route was called the Ki-Pin-Wu-i-Shan-Li in Han China. Ki-Pin was an ancient name of Gandhara (Khan: 1998: 57) and Wu-i-Shan-Li refers to the Qandahar region of Afghanistan. Fa-Xian also visited Shahbaz Garhi, Taxila, Peshawar and told about the sacred pipal tree that had the seated images of Buddha around it (Ali & Qazi 2008: 12).

Jayapala was the last great king of Hindu Shahi dynasty, whose empire extended from the west of Kabul to the river Sutlej. However, this expansion of Gandhara kingdom coincided with the rise of the powerful Ghaznavid Empire under Sabuktigin(Ahmad 2000: 29).Jayapala defeated twice by Sabuktigin and then by Mahmood of Ghazna in the Kabul valley, Jayapala committed suicide, Anandapala, a son of Jayapala, moved his capital near Nandana in the salt range. In 1021 A.D. the last king of this dynasty, Trilocanapala, was assassinated by his own troops which spelled the end of Gandhara (Ibid: 30).

The rediscovery by the time Gandhara had been absorbed into the empire of Mahmood of Ghazna, Buddhist buildings were already in ruins and Gandhara art had been forgotten. In the 19th century, British soldiers and administrators started taking interest in the ancient history of the Indian subcontinent in 1848; Cunningham found Gandhara sculptures north of Peshawar. He also identified the site of Taxila in the 1860s. From then on a large number of Buddhist statues have been discovered in the Peshawar valley. John Marshall performed an excavation of Taxila from 1912 to 1934. He discovered separate Greek, Parthian, and Kushan cities and a large number of stūpās and monasteries. These discoveries helped to piece together much more of the chronology of the history of Gandhara and its art. After 1947, Ahmed Hassan Dani and Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, made a number of discoveries in Peshawar and swat valleys. Excavations on many sites of the Gandhara Civilization are being conducted by researchers from Peshawar and several universities around the world.

1.6 Cultural Diffusion in Gandhara

The cultural diffusion in Gandhara took place in every sector of life but the most intangible and tangible cultural traits that took place in Gandhara can be distributed among many domains some of which are as under:

Hinduism was supposed to be the predominant religion before the Persian rule as Gandhara had played an important role in the epic of Mahabharata (Basham 1963: 30). During the 2nd century B.C., It was here that Buddhism was adopted as the state religion which flourished and prevailed here for over 1000 years, starting from 2nd century B.C., until the 10thcentury A.D. The Greeks also came within their religious influence in the Indo-Greek period. After the Muslim invasion in the 10th and 11thcenturies, Islam prevailed in the region which is still the dominant religion, roaring the last thousand years. Many religious beliefs were flourished with the amalgamation of local belief system. These religious beliefs were incorporated into Gandhara art which can still provide the ample evidences of Cultural Diffusion. The Buddhist idea of Bodhisattva, especially which of *Maitreya* was adopted from the Zoroastrian mythology and incorporated it into Gandhara art. Many aspects of cultural diffusion took place in the era of Kushans for instance the royal traditions of "*Shao-nano-Shao*" (Shahinshah) integrated into the local royal traditions from Persia, "*Devaputra*" (Son of God) integrated from China and "*Rājadhīrāja*" (The Great King of kings) integrated from India. They boosted up the economy of their empire by introducing "Gold Currency" that highlighted the prosperity of the Kushans. They developed friendly relations with their neighboring empires and traded with them along the famous "Silk Road" (Dani 2008: 105).

The language of Gandhara was a mixture of indo-Aryan dialects, usually called Gandhari. Texts are written right-to-left, which had been adapted for indo-Aryan languages from a Semitic

alphabet (Dani 2008: 150). During the Persian rule, the Aramaic script was used to write the Iranian languages of the empire. Semitic scripts were not used to write south Asian languages again until the arrival of Islam and subsequent adoption of the Persian-style Arabic alphabet for new Indo-Aryan languages like Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi and Kashmiri. The Greeks introduced their language, art and religion in the country of Gandhara, where ruled thirteen Greek kings and queens. Their language lasted more than five hundred years and their art and religion had considerable influence on the flourishing Gandhara civilization (Majumdar 1960: 89). Kharosthi script died out about the 4th century. The Hindko and the archaic Dardic and Kohistani dialects, derived from the local Indo-Aryan Prakrits, are still spoken today, though the afghan Pashto language is the most dominant language of the region today (Sehrai 1991: 17).

The Gandharan style of Buddhist art developed out of a merger of Greek, Syrian, Persian, and Indian artistic influence. Development began during the Parthian period (50 B.C. – A.D. 75). The Gandharan style flourished and achieved its peak during the Kushan period, from the 1st to the 5th century A.D. (Zwalf 1996: 67-68).

Gandhara Art itself shows Greek influence. The figure of Sun God and Bodhisattva in sand stone, several Greek deities, Greek scenes of runic and dance, Greek style of dress and the combing of hair, the new presentation of facial expressions with typical longish style end sharp nose, all showing a character that is far different from the art style which was known from this region of the world (Marshall 2008: 29). The Greek manner of relief, the stories told in different panels and profuse use of Corinthian and Ionian pillars along with the triangular podium completely revolutionized the content and nature of art (Ali & Qazi 2008: 16). This style, evolved in the Indus region, is clear manifestation of Greek Idealism. Even when the Greeks had no more political influence in the region, the Gandhara Art flourished.

This style of Art in Asia is the richest legacy of the country (Dani 2008: 96). Gandhara art is the practical reality of Buddhist ideas and beliefs. Gandhara art reached to its most mature form in the golden age of Kushans. Many ruins of Buddhist stūpās and sculptures elucidate the world from the dignity of Buddhism and its overall philosophy.

In Gandhara the great *Stūpās* were erected to enshrine the relics of the Buddha and were profusely ornamented. Many themes of the Buddhist art were borrowed from the other cultures. The previous life stories of Buddha known as "*Jātaka stories*" and the original life of Buddha Śākyamūni are all the aspects of Gandhara art. Moreover the construction of *Stūpās* and designs of different parts of *Stūpās* are also depicted in the Gandhara art, for instance, the ornamental work attached with the *Stūpās* like the cornice molding, base molding, lower and upper drum and on the stair risers of the *sopana* (flight of steps) are some of the features which are integrated by local and foreign elements of art. The *Harmika* (crown of stūpa providing support for the umbrella), *votive stūpās*, shrines constructed by donors around the main *Stūpa* are all the graceful features of Buddhist religion and art which are tremendously depicted by Gandhara region. These *votive stūpās* and shrines were decorated with different images and illustrations from the life of the Buddha, as well as Bodhisattvas, atlantes, garland bearers, and other motifs were employed on them (Ali & Qazi 2008: 10).

It declined and suffered destruction after the invasion of the white Huns in the 5th century and subsequently after the Arab invasion in the 11th century A.D. The purpose of this art was the propagation of Buddhism through the images carved and molded in stone, stucco, terracotta and bronze, mostly, enshrined in the *Stūpās* and monasteries throughout Gandhara. Today the Gandharan sculptures occupy a prominent place in the museums of England, France, Germany,

USA, Japan, Korea, China, India and Afghanistan together with many private collections world over.

The Persian and Greek influence led to the development of the Graeco-Buddhist style, starting from the 1st century A.D. Important remnants of the Buddhist construction are *Stūpās* and other buildings with clearly recognizable Greek statues and style elements like support columns and lengthy staircases. Ruins from other epochs, are found in the Gandharan capital, Taxila, in the extreme north of the Punjab. A particularly beautiful example of the Buddhist architecture is the ruins of the Buddhist monastery at Takht-i-Bahi in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

It was this time when Greek science and medicine were introduced here. The most important are the five Sidhantas on astronomy. All these four Sidhantas (*Romak, paulisa, Vasishtha and Surya)* indicate knowledge if not based on the Greek astronomy (Majumdar 1960: 65). This seems to be true of the second and third, for though "*Romaka*" need not to be taken to refer to the city of Rome itself, it certainly alludes to Roman Empire in a general sense. The *paulisa* is also probably derived from the name of the Paulus Alexanderanus. The *sera Siddhanta* have been revealed by *Surya* to Asura its Maya in Romaka (Ibid: 67). This may be regarded as an evidence of its western origin or at least Greek influence. Thus their cannot be any doubt that the Indians have the Greek knowledge and they practiced it as well (Majumdar 1960: 69). In Bakhshali (A village in the Mardan District) we can examine a manuscript which contains a unique system of notation based on the decimal price value system. In medicine the most important Greek medicine is what we now call it as a "*Yonani*" medicine practiced all over the Muslim world (Majumdar 1960: 70).

The Kushan kings who have gifted the national dress of *Shalwār* and *Kamīz* and *Sherwani* to Pakistan. The Huns and the Turks who had given to Pakistan the present ethnics, their culture, food and *adab* is still prevailing in the region. Castes like Jats, Gakkhars, Janjuas (Jouanjouan of the Chinese) and Gujjars all trekked into Pakistan and made their home here. Pashtuns, who borrowed the surname of Gul and later the title of khan from the Mongols (Dani 2008: 104) were also the out put of Cultural Diffusion. The confederated tribes of the Hunsled to the new administrative system in the country and created a new form of land management that has lasted until today.

Chapter2

Buddhism and the Concept of Bodhisattva

2.1 The Development of Buddhism

The development of Buddhism provides historical and cultural context in which Buddhism arose. It also describes the early Vedic and Brahmanic forms of the Indian religions, as well as the rise of the urban centers and kingdoms in north India. In the sixth century before the Christian era (6^{th} B.C.E), religion was forgotten in India. The lofty teachings of the Vedas were thrown into the background. There was much priest craft everywhere. The insincere priests traded on religion. They put on the people in a variety of ways and amassed wealth for themselves. They were quite irreligious. In the name of religion, people followed in the footsteps of the cruel priests and performed meaningless rituals. They killed innocent dumb animals and did various sacrifices (Alchin & Alchin 1982: 15). The country was in dire need of someone who can get out of them from this sort of life. At such a critical period, when there were cruelty, degeneration and unrighteousness everywhere, reformer Buddha was born to put down priest craft and animal sacrifices, to save the people and give the message of equality, unity and cosmic love everywhere. The Buddha is believed to be present in the early canonical texts known as *Jātaka Tales* (The previous life stories of Buddha Śākyamūni before his birth as Siddhārtha Gautama Buddha) since in most cases these texts include the teaching in the form of dialogues between the Buddha and those to whom he taught (Carrithers 1983: 5). Moreover, these texts provide detailed

accounts of connected episodes in the Buddha's life, in particular the events up to his enlightenment, and the periods immediately before his final passing away (Ibid: 7).

Buddha's father was Suddhodhana, king of the Śakya tribe. Buddha's mother was named Māyā. Buddha was born in 560 B.C. and died at the age of eighty in 480 B.C. However some western scholars believed 483 or 486 B.C.E. as the death of Buddha and his birth is believed to be 566 or 563 B.C.E. (Trainor 2001: 21).The place of his birth was a garden known as Lumbini, near the city of Kapilavastu, at the foot of Mount Palpa in the Himalayan ranges within Nepal. This small city Kapilavastu stood on the bank of the little river Rohini, some hundred miles north-east of the city of Varanasi (Modern Banaras) (Ibid: 22). As the time drew nigh for Buddha to enter the world, the gods themselves prepared the way before him with celestial portents and signs (Trainor 2001: 23). Flowers bloomed and gentle rains fell, although out of season; heavenly music was heard, delicious scents filled the air. As numerous sculptures and paintings depicts that Māyā stands during the birth and hold the branch of a tree (Trainor 2001: 25). In some versions of the story Siddhārtha emerged painlessly from her right side and is caught in a Golden net held by attendant *devas* (Karetzky 1992: 47).

2.2 The Career of Siddhārtha

Siddhārtha's singularity as the only being capable of realizing the ultimate truth is prefigured in the first movements following his birth. He alights fromthe arms of gods and surveys the world in all directions. Perceiving that no other beings are his equal, he takes seven steps towards the east(the direction he will face when he gains enlightenment) and proclaims his mastery over the entire world, declaring that " I am the chief of the world" (Trainor2001: 25).Māyā (his mother) died seven days after her son's birth. The child was brought up by the sister of Māyā, Mahā

Prajāpati Gotami, who became his foster-mother (Carrithers 1983: 15). On the birth of the child, Siddhārtha, the astrologers predicted to his father Suddhodhana: “The child, on home, would assume the robe of a monk and become a Buddha, a perfectly enlightened soul, for the salvation of mankind or a great king (Trainor 2001: 28). Then the king said: “What shall my son see to make him retire from the world?” The astrologer replied: “Four signs”, A decrepit old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a monk .These four will make the prince retire from the world” replied the astrologers (Ibid: 29).

Suddhodhana thought that he might lose his precious son and tried his level best to make him attached to earthly objects. He surrounded him with all kinds of luxury and indulgence, in order to retain his attachment for pleasures of the senses and prevent him from undertaking a vow of solitariness and poverty (Carrithers 1983: 19). He got him married and put him in a walled place with gardens, fountains, palaces, music, dances and Countless charming young ladies attended on Siddhartha to make him cheerful and happy (Ibid: 20). In particular, the king wanted to keep away from Siddhartha the “four signs” which would move him to enter into the ascetic life. “From this time on” said the king, “let no such persons be allowed to come near my son. It will never do for my son to become a Buddha (Ibid: 21). What I would wish to see is, my son exercising sovereign rule and authority over the four great continents and the two thousand attendant isles, and walking through the heavens surrounded by a retinue thirty-six leagues in circumference.” And when he had so spoken, he placed guards for quarter of a league, in each of the four directions, in order that none of the four kinds of men might come within the sight of his son (Trainor2001: 35).

2.2.1 The Four Sights

Buddha's original name was Siddhārtha which means that one who had accomplished his aim. Gautama was Siddhārtha's family name. Siddhārtha was known all over the world as Buddha, the Enlightened. He was also known by the name of Śākyamūni, which meant the child of the Shakya tribe (Snellgrove 1978: 17). Siddhārtha spent his boyhood at Kapilavastu and its vicinity. He was married at the age of sixteen. His wife's name was Yasodharā. Siddhartha had a son named Rāhula. At the age of twenty-nine, Siddhartha Gautama suddenly abandoned his home to devote himself entirely into spiritual pursuits and Yogic practices (Ibid: 20).

A mere accident turned him to the path of renunciation. One day he managed, somehow or the other, to get out of the walled enclosure of the palace and roamed about in the town along with his servant Chandaka to see how the people were getting on. The sight of a decrepit old man, a sick man, a corpse and a monk finally induced Siddhartha to renounce the world. He felt that he also would become a prey to old age, disease and death (Trainor 2001: 39). Also, he noticed the serenity and the dynamic personality of the monk. Let me go beyond the miseries of this of this life by renouncing this world of miseries and sorrows. This mundane life, with all its luxuries and comforts, is absolutely worthless. I also am subject to decay and am not free from the effect of old age. Worldly happiness is transitory (Ibid: 40).

2.2.2 His Journey for Truth:

Gautama left for ever his home, wealth, dominion, power, father, wife and the only child. He shaved his head and put on yellow robe. He marched towards Rajagriha, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha (Modern Bihar in northern India) (Lama 1992: 41). There were many caves in the neighboring hills. Many hermits lived in those caves; Siddhārtha took Alamo

Kalamo, a hermit, as his first teacher (ibid).Alongside the Brahmin*gurus* (religious teachers) of the mid 2nd millennium B.C.E. there were spiritual teachers known as *Sharamanas* (wanderers), who renounced society and lived as independent ascetics. They rejected the Vedas as revealed texts and denied the religious superiority of the Brahmin caste, which in turn were critical of the *Sharamanas* as ascetics who renounced the society (Trainor 2001: 21).

He was not satisfied with his instructions. He left him and sought the help of another recluse named *Uddako Ramputto* for spiritual instructions. At last he determined to undertake Yogic practices. He practiced severe practices for six years (Trainor 2001: 29).He determined to attain the supreme peace by practicing self-mortification. He abstained almost entirely from taking food. He did not find much progress by adopting this method. He was reduced to a skeleton. He became exceedingly weak. Buddha realized then that he should not go to extremes in torturing the body by starvation and that he should adopt the golden mean or the happy medium or the middle path by avoiding extremes. Then he began to eat food in moderation. He gave up the earlier extreme practices and took to the middle path. Once Buddha was in a dejected mood as he did not succeed in his Yogic practices. A village girl *Sujata* noticed his sorrowful face. She approached him and brought rice plate which was cooked in milk and offered to the Siddhārtha (Ibid: 30).

2.3.3 The Awakening

Gautama was spiritually hungry. He was thirsting to attain supreme peace and Self-realization. He wanted spiritual food. Sujata placed some food before Gautama and entreated him to take it. Gautama began to eat the food underneath the shadow of a large tree, thenceforth to be called as the great Bodhi tree (Trainor 2001: 31). Gautama sat in a meditative mood underneath the tree

from early morning to sunset, with a fiery determination and an iron resolve: "Let me die. Let my body perish. Let my flesh dry up. I will not get up from this seat till I get full illumination". He plunged himself into deep meditation (Ibid: 32).

At night he entered into deep *Samādhi* (super conscious state) underneath that sacred Bodhi tree. He was tempted by Maya the goddess of illusion in a variety of ways, but he stood adamant. He did not yield to Maya's allurements and temptations. He came out victorious with full illumination (Ibid: 35). He attained Nirvana (liberation). His face shone with divine splendor and effulgence. He got up from his seat and danced in divine ecstasy for seven consecutive days and nights around the sacred Bodhi tree. Then he came to the normal plane of consciousness. His heart was filled with profound mercy and compassion. He wanted to share what he had with humanity. He traveled all over India and preached his doctrine and gospel (Murti 1955: 82). He became a savior, deliverer and redeemer. Buddha gave out the experiences of his *Samādhi*:

> "I thus behold my mind released from the defilement of earthly existence, released from the defilement of sensual pleasures, released from the defilement of heresy, released from the defilement of ignorance."In the emancipated state arose the knowledge: I am emancipated, rebirth is extinct, the religious walk is accomplished, what had to be done is done, and there is no need for the present existence. I have overcome all the personal sufferings; I am all-wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Myself having gained knowledge, I have no teacher; no one is equal to me. I am the holy one in this world; I am the highest teacher. I alone am the absolute omniscient one (*Sambuddho*). I have gained coolness by the extinction of all passion and have obtained the real meaning of life. To found the kingdom of law (*Dharma*) I go to the city of Varanasi. I will beat the drum of immortality in the darkness of this world" (Laumakis 2008: 34).

Lord Buddha moved to Varanasi (Modern Benares in India). He entered the deer-park one evening. He gave his discourse there and preached his doctrine. He preached to all without exception, men and women, the high and the low, the ignorant and the learned all alike. All his first disciples were laymen and two of the very first were women. The first convert was a rich young man named Yaśa, next were Yaśa's father, mother and wife. Those were his lay disciples (Hopkins 1998: 36).

Buddha argued and debated with his old disciples who had deserted him when he was in the *Urūvila* forest. He brought them round by his powerful arguments and persuasive powers. Kondanno, an aged hermit, was converted first (Trainor 2001: 37). The others also soon accepted the doctrine of Lord Buddha. Buddha made sixty disciples and sent them in different directions to preach his doctrine. Buddha told his disciples not to enquire into the origin of the world, into the existence and nature of God. He said to them that such investigations were practically useless and likely to distract their minds (Kalimburg 1955: 39).

2.3 Principals and Practices

Buddhism shares with the Hinduism the Doctrine of *Samsāra* "whereby all beings pass through the unceasing cycle of birth death and rebirth until they find a means of liberation from the cycle" (Lama 2001: 23), However Buddhism differs from Hinduism in rejecting the assertion that every human being possess a changeless soul which consist of His/her ultimate identity, and which transmigrates from one incarnation to the next (Ibid). So the basic tenet of soul is not taking as a divine phenomenon by the Buddhists but a mere object which is dependent on their Karmic proceedings. The Buddhist perspective is that humans like all phenomena, are constantly

changing, influx, Impermanent and therefore no fixed identity called “The Soul” is possible in life (Lewis 2000: 58).

The Buddha’s teachings of *Anatman* (No self) reject any notion of an intrinsic, unchanging entity at the core of a person. The Buddha regards that all the human beings are the collection of five components which are called as *Skandhas* which are as under:

> *Rupa* is the first from these *five Skandhas* which is the physical body that is made of the combinations of the four basic elements like Earth, water, fire and air (Lama 1992: 89). Next is *Vedana, Vedana*are the feelings which arise from the sensory contact in the form of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch and thought(Ibid). *Samjana* consist the categories like good, evil or neutral to these sensory inputs (Ibid). *Samskara* is the habitual mental disposition which connects *karma* producing will to mental action (Ibid). *Vijnana* is the last but not least of these five *Skandhas* that is actually our consciousness which arises when mind and body come in contact with the external world (Lama 1992: 92).

Human beings are the compositions of the above mentioned elements and hence no soul exists as an independent phenomenon.

2.4 Wisdom of Buddhism

The Buddhist notions of “Four Noble Truths” and their empirical understanding as “Eight fold paths” regarded as the most prestigious and influential philosophies of their faith towards the understanding of their religion and the nature of life.

2.4.1 The Four Noble Truths

The Buddha's earliest and the most enduring formulation of doctrine, the Four Noble Truths, diagnoses the human condition and prescribes a treatment: the path towards *Nirvana*. The biography of Buddha reveals that through the realizations of these Four Noble Truths, He reached enlightenment. The Four Noble truths were the subject of the Buddha's first sermon and discussed often in the earliest texts. These are, *Dukha*; life is full of suffering and these sufferings are the output of our desires and that we as want to fulfill, *Trishna*; these sufferings are created due to the attachments with the matter, *Nirvana*; these attachments can be overcome by specific ways and mechanism which are needed to be adopted, *Dharma*; this entails the path (Buddhism) to overcome these attachment and to gain the ultimate truth about the nature (Hopkins 1998: 112).

The era in which Buddha lived was one of the warfare and disease, in which life expectancy was short. Roughly one half of the children died before the age of five, and epidemic illness was swept through masses, killing large section of the population (Trainor 2001: 64).Buddha stresses on the spiritual practices in order to escape from the *Samsāra*. He said that spiritual maturity is not possible if remains in denial from his moral values and denying the sufferings of the others. Buddha called the "*Dhàrma*" as the middle way, which can be understood as meaning the middle way between such competing philosophies as materialism and idealism or Hedonism and asceticism. This path, that is also called the middle path, is further elaborated as the "Eight Fold Paths".

2.4.2 The Noble Eight Fold Paths

The four noble truths provide the formula for removing desire: the noble eight fold path. The eight concepts offer a cure for the continuous cycle of rebirth, suffering and death. The eight fold paths are traditionally divided into three categories that mark towards the progressive path of nirvana: morality (right speech, right action, right livelihood); meditation (right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration); and the cultivation of *Prājna*, wisdom or insight (right view, right thought) (Hopkins 1998: 113-125). *Prājna* includes right view and right aspiration. *Shīla* includes right speech, right action, and right livelihood. *Smādhi* includes right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration (Ibid: 126). According to Hopkins (1998) the complete understanding of "Eight fold Paths" is fundamental in Buddhism these eight fold paths are as under:

1) Right view is the true understanding of the four noble truths.
2) Right aspiration is the true desire to free oneself from the attachments, ignorance and hatefulness.
3) Right speech involves abstaining form lying, gossiping or hurtful talk.
4) Right action involves abstaining from hurtful behavior such as killing, stealing and careless sex.
5) Right livelihood means making your living in such a way as to avoid dishonesty and hurting others including animals.
6) Right effort is a matter of exerting oneself in regards to the content of one's mind: bad qualities should be abundant and preventing from arising again; good qualities should be enacted and nurtured.
7) Right mindfulness is the focusing of ones attention on one's body, feeling, thoughts and consciousness in such a way as to overcome craving, hatred and ignorance.

8) Right concentration meditating in such a way as to progressively realize a true understanding of imperfection, impermanence and non-separateness.

The Buddha emphasized on the "Eight fold Paths" as a practical goal-directed guide and urged his disciples not to engage in idle speculation or mere intellectualism. The Buddha cautions his disciples that if they waste their time on pointless philosophical inquiry, they will squander their own spiritual opportunity (Thomas 1996: 120). The Buddha said that as long as my vision of true knowledge was not fully clear regarding the four noble truths, I did not claim to have realized the perfect enlightenment (Ibid: 121).

2.5 The Notion of Bodhisattva in Buddhism

With a history spanning more than two and one-half millennia and the development of a geographical scope that now covers the entire planet, Buddhism remains one of the humankind's interesting religions, and surely one of its most mysterious. It is because of the development of different schools of thought within the Buddhism having a sort of their approaches towards enlightenment that actually attracted the masses of people towards Buddhism. The authoritative involvements of monks in the religion also make it prominent and a delicate religion. The concept of Bodhisattva is very prominent in the both schools of Buddhism but it is the fundamental and crucial aspect of Māhayāna school of thought. However the literal meaning of the Bodhisattva is "Enlightened Existence", *Bodhi* means enlightened and *Sattva* means existence (Halls & Gill 1999: 34).

The Heroic minded one like the concept of "Night" in the west (*Satva*) for enlightenment, a wisdom being, it is anyone who, motivated by great compassion, has generated *bodhićitta*, for

the benefit of all sentient beings (Ibid: 35). The bodhisattva as a divine concept is also very popular in Buddhist art.

In the early Buddhism the term bodhisattva (or bodhisatta as called in *Pali* language) were used to identify the Siddhārtha Gautama, the historical Buddha, and it was assumed that the only historical Buddha merited this designation prior to their attainment of Buddahood (Prebish 2003: 71). There is a big belief particularly in the west that the ideal of the "*Theravāda Buddhism"* is to become an "*Arhat*"(Monk)while in "*Māhayāna Buddhism"*the concept is to become a bodhisattva and finally to attain the state of a Buddha. This concept is not correct it may be because of misunderstanding of the Buddhist text (Ibid: 72).As the most ancient Buddhist text was developed in languages which are not common in the modern world now and that is why it is hard to interpret the original Buddhist text.

2.5.1 Bodhisattva Concept in Theravāda Buddhism

In Theravāda Buddhism the term "Bodhisattva" is used in which Buddha refers to himself and it denoted a period in which Buddha was in the process towards enlightenment. The Bodhisattva also describes in the previous lives of Buddha which is also manifested in the *Jātaka tales*, and as a young man in his current life, prior to his enlightenment, in the period when he was working on his own liberation (Prebish 2003: 74). *Jātaka tales* also describes the previous lives of Buddha as bodhisattva in which Buddha sacrificed himself for the liberation of sentient beings. In the Pali canon the Bodhisattva Siddhartha Gautama is described in this way that "before my awakening, when I was an awakened bodhisattva, being subject myself to birth, being subject myself to aging, being subject myself to illness, being subject myself to death, being subject myself to sorrows, being subject myself to defilement, I sought happiness(Ibid: 75). *Pali* canon

which is the base of this school of thought also enriched with the usage of the term Bodhisattva. Maitreya, the future Buddha, is also mentioned in the *Pali* canon and he is not mentioned here as Bodhisattva but simply the future fully awakened Buddha that will come in the *Kali Yūga* when the teachings of the current Buddha were fully lost (Ibid: 77). The Buddha frequently used the phrase "when I was an unenlightened Buddha." In the later *Theravāda* Buddhist literature the term bodhisattva is frequently used which denotes someone on the path of liberation. However the human manifestation as bodhisattva is not fully enriched in the *Theravāda* Buddhism but a divine concept is always associated with it because the belief of this school of thought depends on Buddha and the Buddhist text that is sufficient in order to attain the enlightenment and there is no more need of any Buddha like figure for the restoration of the original belief system so that's why the bodhisattva concept was not fully established in the *Theravāda* Buddhism. The entry of the Buddhism as a religion can be traced to a missionary endeavor of the Indian king Aśoka who sent his son, the monk *Mahinda*, and daughter, the nun *Sanghamītta*, along with other missionaries to convert the king of Srilanka (Dutt 1962: 129) and the teachings were based on *Theravāda* School of thought. The king erected many *Stūpas* and shrine in order to flourish the Buddhism. There is an inscription from the 10th century B.C.E in Sri lanka of the King *Mahindra* that shows the devotion of King for Buddhism "No one but only the Bodhisattvas would be able to become the kings of Srilanka"(Tharpa 1995: 11). *Māhayāna* Buddhist traditions reached in Sri lanka within several hundred years after the arrival of Buddhism into Sri lanka. The great *Theravāda* Buddhist commentator "*Buddhaghośa*", whose voluminous work known as the *Visuddhimagga* is considered to be one the greatest commentarial masterpiece of Buddhist history (Prebish 2003: 20).

2.5.2 The Notion of Bodhisattva in Māhayāna Buddhism

The path of Bodhisattva is the fundamental aspect of the *Māhayāna* Buddhism even the term *Māhayāna* which is interpreted as the "Great vehicle" is also the synonym of the term *Bodhisattvayana* the "bodhisattva vehicle" (Farrer& Gill 1999: 45). In *Māhayāna*, the term has given a radical new interpretation which motivates everyone towards the path of Buddha in order to attain the Buddhahood to eradicate the sufferings of the sentient beings (Prebish2003: 141). One of the first Māhayāna Buddhists who identifies the Bodhisattvayana with *Māhayāna* Buddhism and the *Sravakayana* with Hinayana Buddhism is Nagarjuna. In his Precious Garland of Advice for the King (Rajaparikatha Ratna mala), Nagarjuna rhetorically asks "Since all the aspirations, deeds and dedications of Bodhisattvas were not explained in the Hearers' vehicle, how then one could become a Bodhisattva through its path" (Vessantara 1998: 390).In another instance, Nagarjuna writes that (In the Vehicle of the Hearers) "Buddha did not explain the bases for a Bodhisattva's enlightenment" (Ibid). While Nagarjuna compares the *Sravakayana* with the *Bodhisattvayana* in these first two passages, he later states that "the subjects based on the deeds of Bodhisattvas were not mentioned in the Hinayana sutras" (Ibid).

Nagarjuna's third passage, then, suggests that subjects concerning bodhisattvas are found only in Māhayāna texts and are absent from all Hinayana texts. Another *Māhayāna* Buddhist to uphold a *Māhayāna-Hinayana* distinction based on the notion of Bodhisattva is Asanga. Asanga described that the Great Vehicle and the Hearers Vehicle are mutually opposed (Cohen 1995: 23).Their contradictory nature includes intention, teaching, understandings, support, and the time that it takes to reach the goal (Ibid). After Asanga discusses the opposing nature of these two vehicles, he then identifies the *Sravakayana* as the lesser vehicle (Hinayana), and remarks that the lesser vehicle is not able to be the great vehicle (*Māhayāna*). Candraktrti is yet another *Māhayāna* thinker who views the *Māhayāna* and the Hinayana as being mutually opposed. Like Asanga,

Candrakirti uses the *bodhisattvayana* and *sravakayana* distinction to separate *Māhayāna* and Hinayana Buddhism as well as to promote the Māhayāna tradition over and against Hinayana Buddhism. In his philosophical work such as Madhyamakavatara, he remarks that the lesser vehicle (Hinayana) is the path reserved solely for disciples and solitary Buddha, and that the greater vehicle (Māhayāna) is the path reserved solely for bodhisattvas (Poussin 1913: 334). Not only does Candrakirti associate the bodhisattvayana with Māhayāna Buddhism, he also hold the belief that the Hinayana schools know nothing of the stages of the career of the future Buddha, the perfect virtues (*paramita*), the resolutions or vows to save all creatures, the application of merit to the acquisition of the quality of Buddha, and the great compassion (Poussin 1913: 335). In other words, for Candrakirti (as for Nagarjuna), the Hinayana tradition does not present a bodhisattva doctrine.

The Bodhisattva first complete the three basic terms and conditions that includes "The Generating the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta), undertaking a formal vow to gain complete, perfect enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings (Pranidhana), and receiving the prediction with regards to future attainment (Prebish 2003: 112). Then a path known as bodhisattva path which includes ten stages is implemented (Ibid: 113). The "Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā *Sūtra*" includes the basic philosophy and explanations of the bodhisattva which is also the earliest Māhayāna text. In this it is said "Because he has enlightenment as his aim. That's why a Bodhisattvais regarded as *Mahāsattva* which means a highly blissful and enlightened one."(Conze 2001: 89).

Māhayāna Buddhism encourages everyone to become a Bodhisattva and to take the Bodhisattva vows. According to their point of view "Life in this world is compared to the people who are living in a house which is on fire. people take this world as reality pursuing worldly projects and

pleasures without realizing that the house is on fire and it will soon burnt down (due to the inevitability of death). A bodhisattva is one who has a determination to free sentient beings from *Samsāra* and its cycle of death, rebirth and suffering (Conze 2001: 96)

In *Māhayāna* a number of celestial Bodhisattvas became extremely important, most important is "*Avalokiteśvara*", the Bodhisattva of compassion, the listener of the world's cries who uses skillful means to come to their aid (Conze 2001: 106). He is the most universally acknowledged Bodhisattva in Māhayāna Buddhism.

Manjūsri, the Bodhisattva of keen awareness and wisdom. *Akasagarbha*, the Bodhisattva of infinite happiness generated by helping countless numbers of sentient beings. Baba Saheb, Param Pujya Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is regarded as a Bodhisattva by Indian Buddhist Bhikkus and by millions of other Buddhists (Thurman 1987: 68-100). *Kśitigarbha* is the Bodhisattva of those beings who are suffering in hellish realms, or the Bodhisattva of great vows (Ibid). *Mahāsthamaprāpta*, Represents the power of wisdom, seen on the left of Amitabha in Pure Land Buddhism (Ibid). *Nagarjuna*, the founder of the Madhyamaka (Middle Path) school of *Māhayāna* Buddhism, is already discussed in the previous discussions. *Niõ*, Two strong guardians of the Buddha, standing today at the entrance of many Buddhist temples in Japan and Korea under the appearance of frightening wrestler-like statues (Prebish 2003: 149). They are manifestations of the Bodhisattva *Vajrapāni* and *Padmaśambhāva*, they are associated with Tibetan Buddhism and Bhutanese Buddhism. The Nyingma school regards *Padmaśambhāva* as a second Buddha (ibid). *Samāntabhādra*, the Bodhisattva who represents the practice and meditation of all Buddhas (Ibid: 150). *Sangharama*, the Bodhisattva who is only revered in Chinese Buddhism (Taoism), *Sangharāma*are also referred to a group of devas who guard Buddhist monasteries and the faith (Thurman 1987: 107). *Shantīdeva*, 8th century scholar, wrote

about Bodhisattvas. *Sitatapatra*, is regarded as the goddess of the White Parasol and protector against supernatural danger. *Skanda*, a *Dharmāpala* who guards the Dharma (religion), with links to *Vajrapāni* and is somewhat the direct forbear to *Murugan*, a Hindu deity. *Tara* is regarded as a female Bodhisattva in Tibetan Buddhism. She represents the virtues of success in work and achievements. She is also believed as a manifestation of *Avalokiteśvara* (Thurman 1987: 120). *Vajrapāni* is an early bodhisattva in Māhayāna school of thought who is also depicted in the Buddhist art of Gandhara as the symbol of power and guide of Buddha. *Vaśudhara*, Bodhisattva of abundance and fertility who is very popular in Nepal. *Maitreya*, The bodhisattva to be reborn and to become enlightened, thus succeeding Gautama Buddha in the future known for his or her benevolence (Ibid: 122). They served as an ideal model for their earthly counterparts by exhibiting extreme compassion and wisdom.

The entire *Māhayāna* notion of the bodhisattva was a clear antithesis to the ideal type in the early Buddhism. An enormous literature developed focusing on the bodhisattva and the Bodhisattva path in Māhayāna Buddhism.

2.6 Bodhisattva Vajrapāni

In the Gandhara Buddhist reliefs we can frequently find a male figure with the Buddha Śākyamūni. That male figure is regarded as Bodhisattva Vajrapāni. Vajrapāni is depicted in a wrathful manner. Vajrapāni is regarded as the embodiment of the lord Buddha's compassion. Vajrapāni is depicted holding a *Vajra*, Thunderbolt, in his hand. If we talk about the Gandhara art he is depicted in different styles as young, bearded and bearded figure holding *Vajra* in his hand. In Buddhist canonical text Vajrapāni had a special status as the companion of Buddha. In the *Lalitavistāra*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Viṇāya of Malasarvastivādins*, the Buddhaćārita, we can

have the idea of the participation of Vajrapāni in the episodes of the Siddhārtha except for the great departure narrated in the *Lalitavistāra* (Taiso Vol. 3:504-506, 572-76). The same idea is represented in the passages of the *Viṇāya of the Malasarvastivādins* and its Chinese version in Vajrapāni is represented as a companion of Siddhartha in textual form other than the depiction in Buddhist art (Gnoli 1977: 88-89).Vajrapāni is also one of earliest bodhisattva of the Māhayāna Buddhism and because of his companionship with the lord Buddha he has special prestige in the canonical text and art. There is a story about the compassion of Vajrapāni and this story is written in the Pali Canon's of the chapter *Ambatthā Sūttanta* that challenges the caste system as the legitimate hegemony of the Brahmins and the upper classes. A young Brahmin *Ambattha* visited to see Buddha. *Ambattha* did not show respect to Buddha as *Ambattha* was belonged from Brahmin family. When Buddha asked him about his lack of respect he replied that he belonged from a Brahmin family and Buddha is not from a Brahmin family so he is not bound to show him respect. Buddha smiled and asked him again that you are from the descendant of a Śakya girl and you know about it. *Ambattha* denied that it is true. Upon refusing to answer Buddha questioned for a second time, the Buddha warned him that his head would be smashed if he failed to do so a third time. *Ambatha* was frightened when he saw Vajrapāni manifest above the Buddha's head ready to strike the Brahmin down with his thunderbolt. He quickly confirmed the truth and a lesson on caste system is determined (Vessantara 1998: 162).

However some scholars regarded him as the manifestation of *Indra* with Buddha to protect him and some take his depiction in Gandhara art as the manifestation of Hercules in art because both are represented holding *Vajra*, Thunderbolt. This question of inquiry is taken into the next chapter with the development of Gandhara art and its phases of development in which not only Vajrapāni but many other Yākṣās and Yākṣīnīs are also depicted. It is necessary first to

understand the developmental phases of Gandhara art and the diffusion of other foreign elements like the Greek, Persian and Roman and last but not the least the impact of Indian Mathura School of art in the Gandhara art.

Chapter 3

Gandhara Art and the Depiction of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni

3.1 Gandhara Art and its Different Phases of development

Gandhara art is the name of a school of art that developed in the geographical region of Gandhara. Gandhara art inherited the legacy of western classical art and the influence of other local and foreign elements and because of this multi dimensional theme of Gandhara art it entails the characteristics of internationalism in its artistic manifestation. As the Gandhara art inherited the western classical legacy that had been introduced by the Greek population settled in Bactria by Alexander the Great. The technical production of the art and some of its secular themes were derived from that source. Hence Gandhara art as a whole for some times was termed as Greco-Buddhist art and Romano-Buddhist art depending upon the source of origin traced by the western art historians (Dani 2008: 120). Greek sculpture art in Asia was developed before, except for the portraits developed on Greek coins before the Christian era, and because of this the theory of "The Roman origin of Gandhara art" have more focus because this art was developed in centuries after the Christian era and at that time Romans had trade links with the Indus valley people (Ibid: 121). This theory about the origin of Gandhara art is modified now because of the recent discoveries of Greek sculptures at Charsadda in Pakistan, Ai-Khanoum in Afghanistan and the discoveries at Takht-i-Sangin in Tajikistan all of these three areas were the part of Kushan Empire at that time (Ibid: 122). So the well known Gandharan art historians, Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, both stressed on the "Classical Greek origin of Gandhara art" in

order to present Buddhism and Buddhist themes under the patronage of the Kushan empire (Dani 2008: 123). European pioneers in the study of Indian art analyzed and dated the Gandharan Buddhist imagery according to their view of its stylistic affinities with Greek, Roman, or Greco-Iranian images but the recent developments in the study of Gandhara art and its evolution has brought the light that more than one theme are present in the Gandhara art.

Gandhara art came into being in the last century before the Christian era when the Śakas were ruling and at that time the Hellenistic art which they inherited from their predecessors had already reached a decadent state. The archaeological excavations done at Bir Mound, the first city of Taxila, dating back to 6th to 2nd century B.C. have yielded no Buddhist sculpture at all. It was in the opening years of the 2ndcentury B.C. (189 B.C) that the Greeks left Bir Mound and transferred their capital to a new site now called Sirkap (Marshall 2008: 3). That means that Gandhara sculptures were not emerged up to the 2nd century B.C. In Sirkap, which is dated from the 2nd century B.C. to 80 A.D, excavations have revealed seven stratums which are distributed into the seven successive periods (Marshall 1960: 20).

VII	Pre-Greek
VI-V	Greek
IV-III	Scythian
II	Parthian
I	Kushan

From these strata a number of sculptures have been recovered, the first thing to note about these sculptures, which are mostly in round is that all of them come from Śakas or Scythian and

Parthian levels (strata IV, III and II) - B.C. 90 to 60 A.D. - and none from the Greek strata uncovered at Sirkap (Marshall 2008: 8). This means that during the supremacy of Greeks both at Bir Mound and Sirkap i.e. up to about 90 B.C. the Buddhist sculpture had not yet emerged (Ibid). This also means that the later Hellenistic influence over Gandhara Sculpture was not direct from the Greeks but came through some other channel. This Hellenistic art can be seen in the form of Ornamental toilet trays that shows the Gandharan workmanship and which was unearthed in the Sirkap city at Taxila (Marshall 2008: 17). Gandhara toilet-trays are thirty three in number, thirteen of them were in grey schist, four of steatite, two of clay stone and two of slate. All of these stones are found in their natural state in Gandhara, but none of them in the neighborhood of Taxila (ibid). According to many art historians these Gandharan toilet-trays mark the beginning of Hellenism in Gandhara (Foucher 1918: 56).

They are round dishes with concave surfaces on the obverse with raised borders. Gandhara toilet-trays indicate different scenes for example "A pair of lover in erotic scene, drinking and dancing scenes; male and female holding drinking cups, lions, leogryphs, winged stages, Seahorses and the like with and without their riders". These Gandharan toilet trays are embodied with geometric and floral designs. Some of the local themes are also the part of this artistic zenith like the depiction of lotus flower or rosettes which are used as an accessory ornaments. Fig 2 to fig 5 indicated some of these Gandhara toilet-trays which embark the beginning of Hellenism in the territory of Gandhara. These Drinking and Love making scenes are very common in rectangular panels. The way of their depiction shows how fundamentally different they are in their composition from the reliefs known from Sanchi and Bharhut in India (Dani 2008:123).

Figure (2) shows the love making scene which is made of fine Gray-schist. It is purely in Hellenistic style. On the rim there is a beaded border which is encircled by running spirals, in the

centre there is an erotic scene in a typical Greek style. The male figure is wearing a Greek dress and the female is in *himation* or *Shawl,* which her companion is pulling from her. On the back of the tray there is a full-blown lotus in low relief, that is manifestation of the local Indian theme.

Figure (3) is the example of drinking scene of Gandhara toilet-tray. It came from the fifth Greek stratum and referable to the later part of the last century B.C (Marshall 2008: 18). In the scene a man is reclining on a couch with a wine cup in his hand. At the head of a couch a woman is seated on a stool she is also holding a wine cup. There is another woman behind the couch who is standing up with a garland in her hand. The figures are clad with Greek dresses of *himation* and *chiton*. In the lower part there are seven palmate rays and a beaded border round the rim. There are two very prominent features of this tray, the wig like treatment of the hairs of figures and there wide open staring eyes. These types of features are also founded in several other trays dating from the late Śaka-Parthian period. These features are very special and prominent on the earlier sculptures of Gandhara.

In figure (4) a man is shown who is riding on a fish-tailed hippocampuses (seahorses). This tray was founded in the stratum II which indicate the late Śaka period (Ibid). There are seven palmate rays shown in the fig which are omitting downward. This figure also entails the wig like treatment of hairs and wide open prominent eyes, special characteristics of Greek art.

In figure (5) a female is shown who is riding on a sea monster. The female is half draped and she is holding a baby in her left arm. Acanthus leaf is also depicted in low relief. On the back side of the tray there is a Kharoshti inscription. There is a very peculiar treatment of the figure. The female is half clad and there is a bare back and prominent buttock. This type of workmanship was very common at that time (Marshall 2008: 19).

In figure (6), A Standing female figure in round in chloritised mica schist is shown from stratum III probably dating from the first century B.C. Height is 7.25 inches. The pose is rigidly frontal, with feet and front legs together, and hands on hips. Save for ornaments consisting of anklets, girdle, crossed breast-chain, armlets and bangles, the figures are nude. The stiff frontal pose and the polos on the head suggest a caryatid, but the figure is so small that it could hardly have served that purpose. Possibly the sculptor was endeavoring to portray an archaic type, such as that of the Mother or Earth goddess (Marshall 2008: 20).

Figure (7) shows standing male figure from stratum II of grey sandstone in massive style but in round. Height is 26.25 inches. The figure wears a tunic tied by a cord at the waist reaching to the knees, long *Shawl* or *himation*, high boots and necklace or torque. The high boots suggest that it may represent Surya (Dani 2008: 125), the Sun-god whose temple is said by Philostratus (Life of Apollonius, II, 24) to have stood in the city of Sirkap, where the statue was found. The right forearm, which was attached by means of a tenon and socket, is missing, and the head is defaced. The hair is arranged in the same wig-like fashion as on those above and other figures of the early Gandhara School. The peculiar treatment of the drapery, which falls loose round the shoulders and arms and stands out on either side of the hips, recalls that on certain coins of Azes I (B. M. Cat 1886: PI. XIX,1).

In Figure (8) there is the depiction of a standing female figure in chloritised mica schist, in round. Height is 9 inches, from stratum II. The figure is naked save for a *Shawl* or *Sari*, which falls over the left arm and below the hips. The left hand holds the hem of the sari, in the right hand which is raised to the breasts, is a lotus. Her ornaments consist of a hip girdle (*mekhala*) with square clasp in front and three rows of beads; a breast chain, crossed both at front and back; bracelets; armlets; and a narrow taenia across the forehead. The hair is taken back from the

forehead and falls in a long plait down the back with a few curls on the two shoulders. On the crown of the head, at the back, is an ornamental medallion. The type is much Indianized and may have been intended to represent an Indian Yakṣi but it seems more likely to be the goddess holding a lotus in her hand who is portrayed on the coins of certain autonomous kings of Taxila, and may represent the Tyche of the city (Majumdar 1937: 57). This statuette dates from the Śaka-Parthian period and is probably to be referred to the early part of the first century A.D (Ibid: 58).

Figure (9) entails standing male figure in the round of grey sandstone. Its height is 16 inches and it wears *Dhoti*, *Shawl*, bracelets and necklace or torque. The right hand is raised in front of the breast with the fingers in what is known as the *Chin-mudra* or *Jnãna mudra*, denoting meditation, knowledge and purity. The left hand rests on the hip. The head and feet are missing. Although the figure is ostensibly in round, the front is flattened as in a relief and the back is not modeled. As the sculpture was found at the *Dharmarājika Stūpa*, there can be no doubt that it is Buddhist and we may surmise that it represents a Bodhisattva at a period when his types had not yet been fixed. If so then it is the earliest Bodhisattva figure (Marshall 1960: 73). It appears to be the work of a local sculptor of Taxila. It is dated to the early part of the first century A.D. or perhaps the latter part of the preceding century. This also means that at least as far as actual discoveries go the first Bodhisattva figure was sculptured at Taxila.

In Figure (10) there is the depiction of a statuette in round of pot-stone (impure talc or steatite), from stratum II, representing a goddess seated on a four-legged throne. Height is 4.62 inches. She is clad in a classical dress consisting of a long tunic and mantle. In her left hand she holds a horn of plenty (cornucopia) and her right hand is wrapped in her mantle. On her head is a low polos. The type is a common one throughout the Graeco-Roman world and has been identified

variously as Demeter, Tyche, Fortuna, Bona Dea, etc. In India the type is familiar on coins of Azes I and II and appears to have been adopted for the Yākṣīnī Hariti, whom this statue possibly represents. Date early first century A.D.

In Figure (11) a volute bracket of pale chloritised mica schist in the form of a winged male figure is shown which is springing at the tips from an acanthus leaf base. From stratum II Sirkap and the length is 6.6 inches. The figure wears a sleeved tunic, *Shawl* and Indian turban and cylindrical ear ornaments of Indian design. His two hands are raised in adoration in front of his breast. It Bears a Kharosti inscription the letters of which according to Professor Konow are of the same age as the inscription on the silver vessels from Sirkap i.e. 30-40 A.D (Knowo 1929: 42).The rigid frontal pose, the working in round, the ornaments and the Indian dress in all the above sculptures show that these were derived from the old Indian School, though with certain innovations (Czuma 1985: 165).This figure is one of the few earliest cult stone sculptures of Gandhara region wherein Hellenism is apparent (Ibid).

Observing the above mentioned sculptures we can derive an idea that an independent early Indian School of sculpture was at Taxila in the 1st century B.C, and towards the end of 1st century B.C or the beginning of 1st cent. A.D, it was taking Hellenic influence as indicated in the figures of1 to 6 and 8 above (Marshall 2008: 22).

It is again at Sirkap that from the lot of stucco sculptures found at two small stūpās in front of the Apsidal Temple and datable to early part of 1st century A.D. we find a head which has been identified as Head of Bodhisattva in Figure (12). It wears an Indian turban in three rolls, crossing in the centre of the forehead and finished with a fantail ornament above. In the same group of stucco figures were found two small stucco heads in Figure 13 and 14 which closely resemble the later type of Buddha heads. The bearded head of a typical Greek Satyr 8.12 inches high, with

pointed ears, broad flat nose, and moustache and free flowing locks. There is nothing mechanical or crude about the workmanship. The features are modeled with feeling and there is an intensity of expression in the knitted brows and half parted lips and boldness in the treatment of the hair and beard that bespeak a thorough mastery over the material. The strong, almost a portrait-like individuality that characterizes the countenance is typical of Greek art in its later phases, and is never found in early Indian art as indicated in Figure (15).

Another head 4.5 inches high in the Hellenistic style is that of a bearded man from stratum II. The beard in this instance is treated in simpler masses, and there is a quiet dignity and repose about the features that find its nearest parallel among cult statues of the Greek pantheon shown in Figure (16).

It is shown from the above two stucco heads that now there is a new school, quite different from Indian traditions and that it took its birth most probably at Taxila under the Graeco-Roman influence and that the artist had a knowledge of Hellenic proportions (Facenna 1962: 182). Thus we come to the conclusion that the Greek influence in domestic articles such as toilet trays etc. was noticeable in the 1st century B.C. but on the statuary side it is observable in the Scytho-Parthians Period between 90 B.C. to 60 A.D. preferably towards the end of B.C. age and that in the first half of 1st century A.D. we find a plastic art fully influenced and developed on Hellenistic lines and proportions and simultaneously we also find in stucco a Bodhisattva head and heads which are a prototype of Gandhara Buddha which however had not finally emerged as yet. This perhaps clearly shows that the birth of Gandhara School in Stucco took place in Taxila in the opening years of 1st cent. A.D. and very rapidly developed henceforth. Similarly the School in stone might have taken its birth at the same time in those parts of the country where

suitable stone for the purpose was available like Mardan and Swat valleys. We have seen the emergence of Gandhara Bodhisattva in plastic art and the prototype of Buddha head as well but we have not as yet come across a Buddha figure in stone or stucco.

The Gandhara school of art proved multidimensional aspects through the different elements that it has used in the sculptures and the variety of local Gandhara schist of which it is made; and that it dates from the late Śaka period is suggested by the character of the carving and the peculiarly distinctive treatment of the hard, staring eyes of the anchorites (Grünwedel 1901: 90). We have also witnessed that the Gandhara sculptors made use of Indian models for their winged *devas* and then proceeded to elaborate them with the Greek volute bracket and acanthus foliage so giving a definite hybrid impression.

The Śakas and Parthians were alike in being philhellenes, admirers of Greek institutions and of Greek material culture. The Parthian on the other hand had vast numbers of Asiatic Greeks with in the border of their own Empire and that's why they were able to enjoy peace and cultural link with the Greco-Roman world (Dani 2008: 102). Parthian art was in fact part and parcel of the Hellenistic art which was prevailing in the west of Asia (Ibid). The Parthian remains in Taxila have furnished many proofs, including objects of stone, terracotta, metal and jewelry, silver and bronze vessels, engraved gems and seals. Many of the smaller articles may have been imported from the west, but others were undoubtedly made on the spot (Marshall 2008: 26)

In Figure (17) a female head is shown which buff is colored in terracotta. She wears and open-work net, perhaps of gold or silver, over the front of her hair and a high bandeau behind, with a rosette above the left ear. The modeling is delicate and sensitive. It is referable to the first century A.D.

The skilled artists and craftsmen from western Asia were encouraged to fine work under the Parthian patronage and at Taxila there is the evidence by the well-known story of St Thomas (Marshall 2008: 29). According to the story, the apostle, who was a carpenter or builder by trade, was recruited in Syria by an Indian merchant named Habban to accompany him to India, to take service at the court of the Parthian King Gondophares, for whom he was acting as agent. Whatever the precise facts behind this story, it fully confirms the conclusion drawn from the monuments themselves that the Parthian conquest of the North-West and the consequent opening- up of communications with the Mediterranean coasts were followed by an influx not only of small objects from western Asia and Egypt but also of artists and skilled craftsmen seeking their fortunes under the patronage of the philhellene Parthians (Ibid). There are many evidences on this subject for example the sculptures taken from the Peshawar valley is the crystal clear evidence on this subject.

The influx of the Hellenistic art which have been described in the figures was short lived. It began soon after the Parthian conquest in A.D. 25 and ended abruptly with the advent of the Kushans soon after A.D. 60 (Lyons and Ingholt 1957: 39). This was the most fascinating period in the history of the Gandhara School of art because of its secular themes. The Kushan rule in Gandhara inaugurated a new theme in the Gandhara art. This rule is sometimes regarded as the golden age in the history of Gandhara. It was the period when Gandhara art was in a formative, adolescent stage. In this period the artists reconcile the Greek and local ideas and they created a new synthesis of religious art which was very much needed in order to propagate the religious ideas of Buddhism into Gandhara art (Dani 2008: 140). Most of the collections of this era came from Swat but there were also some that had come from other areas. Many of the sculptures are

now preserved in the Peshawar Museum. The sculptures of this era are sometimes called as the Mardan group because they were belonged to the Guides' Mess at Mardan (Marshall 2008: 34).

The most fascinating sculptures of this age which is regarded as the adolescence of Gandhara art are the two figures. Figure 18 is the depiction of the Interpretation of "Māyā's Dream" and the figure 19 shows the "Seven steps of Infant Buddha". In figure (18) King Suddhodhana is seated, full face, on a richly decorated throne, on the back of which lean two women attendants with fly-whisks in their hands. Above the king's head is the royal umbrella decorated with bells. To his left and right, seated on stools, are the Rishi Asita and his nephew Naradatta. Both are holding water vessels in their left hands.

In figure (19), that describes the "Seven Steps" of infant Buddha stands under the royal umbrella in the center and behind him is the attendant holding the umbrella shaft with his left hand and a fly-whisk in his right hand. On the infant's left is *Indra*, recognized by his head dress and thunderbolt (*Vajra*), and on his right, Brahma, with the Brahman's Kamandalu in his left hand. Behind the two gods there were six other heavenly beings, three on one side and three on the other.

The above two figures also have a very close affinity with the Partho-Greek reliefs for example in the formal, scenic character of the composition and the self-conscious poses of the individual figures, in the careful delineation of facial features, in the graceful draping of the robes and mastery precision in the modeling of their folds and the framing of the panels between pairs of the rounded Corinthian pilasters, all these features entails the affiliations of these sculptures with Partho-Greek elements.

3.2 Depiction of Vajrapāni in Buddhist Sculptures of Gandhara

In the Gandharan Buddhist reliefs we can frequently find a male figure with the Buddha Śākyamūni. That male figure is regarded as Bodhisattva Vajrapāni. Vajrapāni is depicted in a wrathful manner. Vajrapāni is regarded as the embodiment of the lord Buddha's compassion. Vajrapāni is depicted holding a *Vajra*, Thunderbolt, in his hand. If we talk about the Gandhara art he is depicted in different styles as young, bearded and bearded figure holding *Vajra* in his hand. In the Buddhist canonical text Vajrapāni had a special status as the companion of Buddha. In the *Lalitavistāra*, the *Mahavastu*, the *Viṇãya of Malasarvastivādins*, the *Buddhacarita*, we can have the idea of the participation of Vajrapāni in the episodes of the Siddhartha except for the great departure narrated in the *Lalitavistāra* (Taiso Tripitaka, Vol. 3:504-506, 572-76). The same idea is represented in the passages of the *Vinaya of the Malasarvastivādins* and its Chinese version in Vajrapāni is represented as a companion of Siddhartha in textual form other than the depiction in the Buddhist art (Gnoli 1977: 88-89). The appearance of Vajrapāni in Gandhara narrative stone reliefs comes after the episodes of renunciation and Great Departure of Buddha from Kapilavastu (Foucher 1918: 48). In the Buddhist text of *Lalitavistāra,* chapter XV, is mentioned the participation of Vajrapāni in the episodes of the prince Siddhārtha such as in the Great Departure of Buddha (Lamotte 1966: 121).

In the figure (20) a scene is depicted in which Vajrapāni is accompanying the Buddha. In this scene a grass cutter "Svastika is presenting a bundle of grass to the Bodhisattva" on his way to the Bodhi tree. In this sculpture the *Uṣniṣa* is larger and the Halo is emphasized by the well-defined rim which is more conspicuous than the later sculptures. The Greek monastic robes on both figures are highly emphasized which is also a continuity of cultural diffusion in Gandhara art. Vajrapāni also makes his appearance by holding Vajra in his left hand.

In figure (21) a scene is shown in which Buddha is accompanied by Vajrapāni. In this sculpture again the Halo of the Buddha is highly emphasized and Vajrapāni is also shown with a large beard holding Vajra in his hand. This sculpture is in Berlin Museum. The *Uṣniṣa* of Buddha is also very clear in this sculpture. The Buddha in this sculpture is an exact replica of the Buddha shown in figure (20), with the same moustache, the same wide open eyes and the same oversized *Uṣniṣa* but in this sculpture there is a slight difference as compare to the figure (20) and that is in the outer robe. His outer robe (the Greek *himation*) is draped less stiffly over his left arm. The Vajrapāni is wearing the same short tunic with the same scalloped border as in the above reliefbut in this sculpture he is shown like a *Brahmancaran* with the characteristic locks of the Brahma (Konow 1930: 311).

The visit of Buddha to a Brahmin ascetic is shown in Figure (22). This sculpture was also taken from the Guides' Mess, Mardan and it is now in Peshawar Museum. In this panel the Buddha is accompanied by Vajrapāni and both are standing at the entrance of the Brahman ascetic and the hermit is seated on his rolled-up mat. In this panel the Vajrapāni is wearing a short tunic but here his appearance is slightly different and his drapery is also a little bit different than the other sculptures shown in the previous figures. His long sleeved coat seems to be of the same pattern as that worn by *Indra* so in this relief Vajrapāni made his appearance like *Indra* (Marshall 2008: 48).

This male figure has attracted the attention of many scholars since the discovery of the Gandhara sculptures in the 19th century. Some scholars identified it as *Devadattta* (Gründwedel 1901: 87-95, fig. 42-46). Vajrapāni is also perceived as the Indian deva which was depicted in the Gandhara art because of the influence of other schools in Gandhara art (Santoro 1979: 294, n. 4) the scholars like the oldenburg identified this male figure as Vajrapāni (Oldenburg 1917: 223).

The problem of the identification and function of the Gandharan Vajrapāni is still a debate and that is because of its depiction which seems to be similar with many divine figures in Gandhara art. The main reason is the image of Hercules or Heracles as it is called in the Roman mythology which is very close in the art and divine functions with the Gandharan Vajrapāni (Santoro 1991:293). The physical type of the Vajrapāni was derived from the Hercules but this is the point which is still debatable that is why the image of Hercules is preferred for Bodhisattva Vajrapāni in order to depict it in Gandhara art. The function of the Hercules with that of the Vajrapāni in Gandhara art is represented as the legitimate kingship that performs the wrath and fear of Buddha and protects the followers in their lives (Santoro 1979: 293-302). This quasi-martial impression of Vajrapāni in the Gandhara art makes him more familiar with Hercules in Gandhara art. The resemblance of Vajrapāni with Hercules is both on the basis of quasi-martial characteristics and divine powers (Foucher 1905: 277).

3.3 Types of Vajrapāni

The Gandhara art and the depiction of Vajrapāni entail a complex dimension that is because of the different types of Gandharan Vajrapāni so it is necessary first to have an analysis of these different types of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art. Typologically there are many types of Vajrapāni as Silenus-type, Satyr-type, Eros-type, Zeus-type, Dionysos-type, Pan-type, Hermes-type, Hercules-type and the Alexander the great type (Gründwedel 1901:88, fig. 42; Foucher 1918: fig. 326-32; Fischer 1983: 68, figs. 1-2; Mustamandy 1984: 177, figs. 1-5; Tarzi 2000: 167-70, pls. 3-4). In a Gandhara sculpture where Buddha is shown in the state of *nirvana*, Vajrapāni is also depicted in Kushan dress (Gaulier, Jera-Beazard & Maillard 1976: figs. 16, 29). There are also some types of Mathuran Vajrapāni (Klimburg-Salter 1995: pl. 71) and this Mathuran Vajrapāni is very close to the types of Vajrapāni which is depicted in Gandhara art (Flood *1989: 18).*The most typical and

fundamental physical characteristics of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art is derived from the Hercules whose image had been introduced into Bactria and Gandhara after the invasion of Alexander the Great and the Greco-Bactrians. Ample evidences can be founded on the coins issued by Euthydemos I in which bearded Hercules is shown in seated and Euthydemos II beardless, Hercules is shown in a standing posture (Gardner 1886: pls. I-II, XVI 5, XIX 11, XXI 9, 11-12, XXV 1-4, XXVII 15). The numismatic evidences further provide many depictions of Hercules such as Demetrios I issued coins in which Hercules was shown as beardless and standing (Rosenfield 1967: 77-78, pls. IV 73, V 92). Later on the same posture was followed by the Indo-Scythian coins such as Maues and Azez issued these types of coins (Mitchiner 1979: 254-55) and furthermore the Kushans for example Kujula Kadphises and Huvishka issued their coin currency in which beardless Hercules was shown in standing posture (Bopearachchi 1991: pls. 2-5). It is also a known fact that some Gandharan depiction of Vajrapāni is bearded and some are beardless as the depiction of Hercules on the coins of many emperors. These two types of Vajrapāni depictions have close resemblance with the other two types of Hercules depictions as the numismatic evidences have proved it.

The existence of these two types of Vajrapāni images surely correspond with the two types of Hercules of the Graeco-Bactrians. Therefore, there is no doubt that the image of Hercules/Vajrapāni is properly attributed to the Gandharan Buddhist art, also independent of ancient Indian art and the pre-Kushan Buddhist literary sources. The most typical and fundamental aspect of the Gandharan and Mathuran image of the Vajrapāni is the "*Vajra*" which is equated with the thunderbolt held by Zeus, The original Thunder-god (Czuma 1985: pl. 15). This thunderbolt have a very dominant status in the Greek and Hindu Mythology (Bussagli 1996: 251-72) because this thunderbolt was first belonged to the *Indra* (Santoro 1991: 272-73) and

Indra was the most powerful warrior in Vedic times. *Indra* is considered as Thunder-god and the rain bringer (Zwalf 1996:143-46, pl.136). The very unique shape of the Vajra was also originated in the Indian culture (Stutley 1977: 320), and it is held by the *Indra* which is depicted on the later part of the "*Viṣantra Jātaka*" on the northern Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi in other episodes of the Buddha Śākyamūni and on *Jātakas* (Marshal 1960, pl.4, fig. 6). These aspects of the depiction of Thunderbolt gods and their relations with the Vajrapāni that is due to that Vajra which is always held by Vajrapāni in his hand reveals all the secrets and riddles of Vajrapāni. It also corresponds that Vajrapāni is accompanies with the Buddha Śākyamūni in the Gandharan, Mathuran and central Asian Buddhist art (Gaulier, Jera-Bezar & Maillard 1976: pl.73), but this depiction is not present in the ancient Indian Buddhist art. The assimilation of *Indra* with Vajrapāni which is due to the Vajra reveals another aspect in this dimension that is Vajrapāni seems to be the succor and the secondary form of *Indra* (Lamotte 1966: 120, 159).

The depiction of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art is very popular but it was amply exploited because of his assimilations with many important figures. The Vajrapāni is actually originated in his full and clear form in the Gandhara art so the relation of Vajrapāni to *Yakṣa Guhyakadipati,* who has been regarded by many scholars as the origin of Vajrapāni, is not correct because *Yakṣa Guhyakadipati* are rarely involved in the literary life story of the Buddha Śākyamūni, and ultimately could not inspire Gandharan sculptors. The idea of connecting the origin of Vajrapāni exclusively with the Indian culture is off the mark because the Gandharan images of Vajrapāni reveals that they have no connection with the *Yakṣas* on the basis of their iconographic influences except the Indian styled loin-cloth. *Yakṣas* are often depicted in the Indian art like an Indian prince or king (Rowaland 1968: pls, 12(A), 13, 14(B)), but their status in the Gandhara art is very interesting. They are always depicted as an ordinary laborers or slaves subordinate to a

god. For example in figure (23) they are nothing more than humiliated naked supporters of the four hooves of *Kanthaka*. This figure is the depiction of the Great departure scene.

The art of Gandhara did not give such importance to these demi-god figures instead they are always treated as lower cast subordinate beings. In Gandhara the *Yakṣas* were rather notorious for their blood-thirsty and carnivorous character and also for their wine drinking and consequently they were disgraced (Foucher 1905: 42). The social declines of *Yakṣas* were natural because of the geographical location of Gandhara which was different from the surrounding India properly.

The image of the Vajrapāni in Gandhara art is very clear but Vajrapāni is not represented as an Indian royal prince in the Gandhara art. All the depictions of Vajrapāni are represented in the guise of Greek gods, demi-gods and Greek heroes. On the other hand Yakṣas are depicted as the savages and humiliated beings and they are treated as labors in Gandhara art (Foucher 1905: fig. 252; 1918: fig. 323). These facts prove that the origin of Vajrapāni and his image has nothing to do with the Indian Yākṣās cult and culture. Probably the figural image of Vajrapāni was first developed by the Gandharan sculptors and was later adopted by the Buddhist *Samgha* and incorporated into the literature containing the life story of Buddha Śākyamūni. Many scholars believed that Vajrapāni first appeared in the Buddhist literature and after that its image was created by the Gandharan and Mathuran sculptors but this assumption is not based on any concrete literary evidences. On the other hand the iconographic connection of Vajrapāni with the other Iranian and Kushan war gods for example with the "Verethragna" which is also known as "Ushlagno" (Rosenfield 1967: pl. IX 167, 168) is also an example of the phenomena of Cultural diffusion in the region of Gandhara. There is also an iconographic connection of Hercules with

Ushlagno but Hercules might have connection with "*Oesho*" as the earliest gold coin issued by Kanishka I indicated this complex connection (Cribb 1997: 36, fig. G 1).

The Avestan "*Frawashi*" theory of Vajrapāni also has the linkage with the depiction of Vajrapāni. According to this concept soul which is the part of human body, entails the conscious and unconscious functions with body but after the death the powers to hold the conscious and unconscious functions also become powerless. The depiction of Vajrapāni as the wrath of Buddha which is described in the Gandharan sculptures has a concrete connection with this concept. After the death of Buddha in the Gandhara art the Vajrapāni is hardly depicted in any sculptures as an individual bearer of the thunderbolt who had many divine powers but this is absent in the Buddhist art of Gandhara (Oldenburg 1917: 131). It is clear that the connection of Vajrapāni with the many divine figures was the result of Cultural diffusion. This cultural diffusion has clearly manifested in the Gandhara art and because of these multidimensional aspects of Gandhara art it has an international status.

3.4 Heraklean Type of Vajrapāni in Gandhara Art

Depiction of the classical type Vajrapāni, specifically Heraklean type, as the bearer of thunderbolt is discussed in the above discussion. This Heraklean type of Vajrapāni entails the western theme in Gandhara art; however such influence in Gandhara art is more than stylistic details and facial characteristics and shows a complete diffusion of western iconography in the Buddhist art of Gandhara (Zawalf 1979: 165).

A relief in the British Museum, shown in the figure (24), entails the detailed iconographic transmission of western ideas into the Gandharan Buddhist art. This fragmentary relief shows the Vajrapāni with the lion skin. Vajrapāni is shown in this relief having a head dress and a dress

which is composed of a lion skin compelled with head, its paws knotted around his neck. He carries Vajra in his right hand, a long sword of Kushan type in his left, and is clad only in a lion cloth. The other figures shown in the relief are the Buddhist *bhikshus* (Zwalf 1979: fig. 21).

Stucco relief of the third century A.D has been excavated from "Tapa-i-Shotur" a site in northern Afghanistan. In this stucco relief a small Vajrapāni is shown which seems to be a pure classical Heraklean type with a lion skin around his waist (Snellgrove 1978: fig. 132). He is accompanied with the Buddha of Gandharan type. A relief in a Peshawar Museum also entails this kind of lion skin which is draped across the shoulders of Vajrapāni, in example from Sikri (Foucher 1905: fig. 245) and Sahri-Bahlol (Foucher 1918: fig. 317). Soper also identified a relief in which Vajrapāni is shown wearing this Heraklean type of lion skin over his shoulders (Soper 1951: 304; plates 24 a-b) knotted in front like in figure (24).

The Mathuran sculptures also entails the examples of Vajrapāni with the lion claws knotted about his shoulders. For instance on a red sand stone sculpture from Bareilly, now in the national Museum of New Delhi, Vajrapāni appears on the proper right of Buddha supporting the characteristic wreath and feline shawl of Gandhara(Sharma 1984: fig. 98).

The most typical and fundamental physical characteristic of the Vajrapāni in the Gandhara art is derived from Hercules whose image had been introduced into Bactria and Gandhara after the invasion of Alexander the Great and the Graeco-Bactrians. Ample evidences can be founded on the coins issued by Euthydemos-I in which bearded Hercules is shown in seated and Euthydemos-II in beardless Hercules is shown in a standing posture (Gardner 1886: pls. I-II, XVI 5, XIX 11, XXI 9, 11-12, XXV 1-4, XXVII 15). The numismatics evidences further provide many depictions of Hercules such as Demetrios I issued coins in which Hercules was shown as

beardless and standing (Rosenfield 1967: 77-78, pls. IV 73, V 92).Later on the same posture was followed by the Indo-Scythian coins such as Maues and Azes issued these types of coins (Mitchiner 1979: 254-55) and furthermore the Kushans for example Kujula Kadphises and Huvishka issued their coin currency in which beardless Hercules was shown in standing posture (Bopearachchi 1991: pls. 2-5). It is also a known fact that some Gandharan depiction of Vajrapāni is bearded and some are beardless as the depiction of Hercules on the coins of many emperors. These two types of Vajrapāni have the close resemblance with the other two types of Hercules depictions as the numismatic evidences have proved it.

The use of these types of Hercules figures on coins continued from the era of Graeco-Bactrian monarchs, through those of the Śaka and Parthian rulers of the North West India and enters the Kushan era on issues of Kujula Kadphises (Tarn 1938: 503). On the later gold coins issued by Huvishka, we can frequently find the depiction of Hercules resting on a club (Whitehead 1914: Pl.XIX 162), and appears alongside with other deities of Indo-Greek prototypes (Rowland 1962: 78).

In Gandhara art, Vajrapāni is exclusively depicted in the pose of "Lykeian Herakles" and this depiction of the Buddhist figure is very prominent in the Gandhara art. The different types of Vajrapāni discussed in the above discussion are the continuity of iconographic diffusion in Gandhara art. A relief which is shown in figure (25) rendered the depiction of Vajrapāni in Lykeian Herakles.

In the figure (25) a scene is depicted which shows "the conversion of Kaśyapa brothers into Buddhism by Buddha Śākyamūni". In this sculpture Vajrapāni stands to the left of the Buddha holding *Vajra* and the hem of his robe in his left hand. The semi-nudity of the figure is unusual

in Gandhara art and this type of semi-nudity can be compared with the other figures associated with Vajrapāni. In this sculpture Vajrapāni is depicted in a pure western way having the drapery of the classical type as depicted in the western classical art (Rowland 1945: 86). The story of the conversion of Kaśyapa brothers is very prominent in Buddhism. Kalimburg (1955) discussed the conversion of Kaśyapa brothers in these words that there lived in Banaras a family known as the Kaśyapa family. There were three sons in the family. They carried on a rigorous religious life. After some time the eldest son wished to become a *Sannyasa* **(**Kalimburg 1955: 50). He left his home and went to a place of Uruvella. His two younger brothers followed him and they too became *Sannyasis*. They were all *Agnihotris* or worshippers of fire. They were called *Jatilas* because they kept long hair. The three brothers were known as Uruvella Kaśyapa, Nadi Kaśyapa (Kaśyapa of the River, i.e., the Niranjana), and Gaya Kaśyapa (of the village Gaya). He was known to have obtained *Mukti* (Salvation) while alive (Ibid: 51). People from far-away places came to his Ashram which was located on the banks of the river Falgu. When the Buddha heard about him he thought that it would be a positive approach if these Kaśyapa brothers were convert into Buddhism and for that reason Buddha went to Uruvella.

The Buddha met him and wanting to have an opportunity to instruct him and convert him, said: "If it is not disagreeable to you, Kaśyapa, let me dwell one night in your Ashram." "I am not agreeable to this," said Kaśyapa. "There is a savage Nāga king called Muchilinda who rules over this place. He is possessed of dreadful powers. He is the deadly enemy of all ascetics performing fire worship. He pays nocturnal visits to their Ashrams and does them a great harm. I fear he may do you the same harm as he does to me." Kaśyapa did not know that the Nāgas had become the friends and followers of the Blessed One. But the Blessed One knew it. So the Blessed One pressed for his request, saying: "He is not likely to do any harm to me: pray, Kaśyapa, allow me

a place in your fire room, for one night. “Kaśyapa continued to raise many difficulties and the Blessed One continued to press his request. Then Kaśyapa said: “My mind desires no controversy, only I have my fears and apprehensions, but follow your own good pleasure.” The Blessed Lord forthwith stepped into the fire grove and took his seat. The Naga king Muchilinda came into the room at his usual time. But instead of finding Kaśyapa he found the Blessed One seated in his place. Muchilinda, seeing the Lord seated, his face glowing with peace and serenity, felt as though he was in the presence of a great divinity, and bending his head, began to worship. That night Kaśyapa sleep was very much disturbed by the thought of what might have happened to his guest. So he got up with great misgivings fearing that his guest might have been burnt up. Then Kaśyapa and his followers in the morning light came to have a look. Far from the Lord injured by Muchilinda, they found Muchilinda worshipping the Lord. Beholding the scene, Kaśyapa felt that he was witnessing a great miracle. Struck by this miracle Kaśyapa requested the Blessed Lord to stay near him and make an Ashram, and, promised to look after him. The Blessed Lord agreed to stay on. The two, however, had different motives. Kaśyapa’s motive was to obtain protection against Muchilinda Nāga. The Blessed Lord thought that one day Kaśyapa will give him opportunity to propound his gospel. But Kaśyapa showed no such inclination. He thought that the Blessed Lord was only a miracle maker and nothing more. One day the Blessed Lord thought of himself taking the initiative and asked Kaśyapa, “Are you an *Arhat*? If you are not an *Arhat*, what good is this *Agnihotra* going to do to you?” “Kaśyapa said: “I do not know what is to be an *Arhat*? Will you explain it to me? “The Lord then told Kaśyapa, “An *Arhat* is one who has conquered all the passions which disturb a man from pursuing the eight-fold Path. *Agnihotra* cannot cleanse a man of his sins.” Kaśyapa was a proud person. But he did feel the force of the Blessed Lord’s argument. Making his mind pliant and yielding, until at length

prepared to be a vehicle of the true law, he confessed that his poor wisdom could not compare with the wisdom of the world-honored One. And so, convinced at last, humbly submitting, Uruvella Kaśyapa accepted the doctrine of the Lord and became his follower. Following their master, the followers of Kaśyapa, virtuously submissive, in turn received the teaching of the law. Kaśyapa and all his followers were thus entirely converted. Uruvella Kaśyapa, then, lifting his goods and all his sacrificial vessels, threw them together into the river.

Uruvella Kaśyapa told his followers and his brothers the story of his conversion to the Buddha's Dharma. The great *Rishis* listening to him lost all regard for fire worship and wished to be the disciples of the Buddha. The conversion of the Kaśyapas was a great triumph for the Buddha (Kamala 1997: 56).

The half drapery treatment in the Buddhist sculpture as depicted in the figure (25) is again repeated in another relief which is shown in figure (26). The treatment of drapery in the Kaśyapa relief is repeated in a panel showing "the offering of Dust at Rajagriha". In this relief the figure of Vajrapāni is again almost naked, apart from a summery loop-like arrangement of drapery. The Vajra is held in the left hand, while the right hand is in the *abhāya mudra* gesture. This is again in Lykeian type of Vajrapāni and the hair of the Vajrapāni is treated in a very classical western type (Rowland 1984: fig. 110). The same arrangement of drapery can be seen in another relief of the Genius of Riches and an ascetic in Peshawar museum. The same kind of drapery in the semi-nudity form is depicted in this relief (Lyons and Ingholt 1957: fig. 438-9). The same sort of erotic sculptures of Buddhist art were also excavated from Butkara I (Faccenna 1962: pls. CCLXXXIX, CCXL, CCXCI). These sculptures have a significant appearance of Vajrapāni in the same classical semi-nude type depictions (Tissot 1985: fig. 102).

A relief that comes from the "*Dharmarājika Stūpa*" at Taxila which is made by phylite stone is shown in the figure no 27.In this relief a scene is depicted in which the Buddha is sitting in the center in the "*abhāya-mudra*" posture. In this relief the Vajrapāni is again with Buddha but there are several other female devotees on his right and left. The Buddha have moustache in this relief while Vajrapāni is depicted with both moustache and bushy beard. The other devotees who are also the part of this scene includes a young mother and two children who are standing on the Buddha's right while the other four devotees are on his left, two elderly ones are in front while two middle aged are behind The Buddha. There is a noticeable difference in the treatment of the eyes. The eyes are demonstrating the super human look of Buddha with their considerable look (Marshall 2008:77, fig. 98). The other figures are normal in their appearance while the Vajrapāni is standing in behind of Buddha holding his *Vajra* in his left hand. The treatment of Vajrapāni is also noticeable especially the style of the hair is in a pure classical style (Ibid: 78).

The depiction of a young Vajrapāni is shown in a relief which in now in Peshawar Museum. The young Vajrapāni is depicted in this sculpture holding his *Vajra* in his left hand. "The hymns of Nāga Kālika and his wife" are depicted in a relief shown in figure no 28. The Bodhisattva is shown standing in *abhāya mudhra* to the left of the seat, is dressed in a monastic robe with wavy folds, is separating curly hair style with a raised *Uṣniṣa*, and elongated ears. He is carved to the full height of the panel. The front of the throne is ornamented with geometrical motifs. The Buddha is depicted seated on a throne in *abhāya mudhra* in this relief. His shoulders are covered with drapery in wavy folds. As his right hand is raised, the drapery hangs from his right arm and rests on the throne below his left knee obscuring his feet. He holds his garment in his left hand. He has a round, fleshy face, wide-open eyes, a wavy hairstyle, and a raised *Uṣniṣa* that is broken. A canopy of acanthus leaves is present above his head. The throne bears a wheel placed

on a *Tri-Ratna*, while back-to-back deer looking backwards are present on either side of the Tri-Ratna. These deer symbolize Deer Park, or Sarnath, where the first sermon was delivered (Ali and Qazi 2008: 132). Three monks to the right and two to the left of the Buddha are shown seated on thrones wearing monastic robes and having both shoulders covered. The monks are depicted as listening to the sermon with great interest. Vajrapāni is carved with a shaven face, curly hair, and holding a thunderbolt in his left hand behind the left shoulder of the Buddha. The heads of the monks in the upper right and the lower left corners, as well as the lower border are damaged. The upper left corner is missing (Sehrai: 1991: 41, Pl.37).

In another relief which is now in the Peshawar museum. A scene is depicted which is shown in the figure (29) in which "Śrigupta is inviting Buddha", Buddha is shown standing on a lotus flower, to his palace. According the legend, Śrigupta made a certain plan to kill Buddha (Sehrai: 1991: 117: Pl.115). A ditch was dug at the centre of the palace entrance and a fire was made inside. False flooring was used to cover the ditch. Śrigupta planned that the Buddha would fall into the flaming ditch just as he was being welcomed inside the palace gate (Ibid). Miraculously, Buddha and his followers, instead of falling down into the flaming inferno, are illustrated standing atop the lotus flowers that blossomed over the false flooring of the ditch (Ibid). In this scene, the Buddha walks while Vajrapāni and two other followers follow him with lotus flowers under their feet (Zwalf 1996: Pls. 129). A figure throwing flowers is present in the background. A shaven-headed figure at his right is also observed. Brackets separate the lower scene, which is almost completely lost. Nevertheless, Buddha's head under an arboreal canopy with three worshipers at his right hand and a flower thrower in the background with a shaven head may be observed. Six figures, carved in balconies, are intact (Ibid: 130). The upper and the lower right, as well as the lower left side portions of the panel are badly broken. This rectangular relief shows

two scenes. The left scene with four figures is incomplete. Two ladies, dressed in local robes, stand below with something in their left hands. The lady to the left has parallel vertical folds of drapery on her left side, while the folds on her right side are wavy. Her head is broken. The other woman, standing to the left of the first, has wavy folds on her robe and a headdress. Other figures are present behind the first two. The hands of these latter figures are damaged. The figure to the left has a wavy hairstyle, while the one to the right wears a decorated headdress. All four figures are turned slightly to their right. The Buddha, Vajrapāni and a monk walk on inverted lotuses in the scene to the right (Sehrai 1991: 118). Buddha stands in *abhāya mudhra*. He wears loose garments that cover both shoulders. The fabric has beautiful wavy folds. Buddha holds his *Sanghati* in his left hand. He has an oval-shaped face and his hair is combed backward in a wavy style with a raised *Uṣniṣa*. Vajrapāni stands turned to his right to the left of the Buddha (Ibid: 119). He holds his robe in his left hand and his upper body is bare. The hand that holds his *Vajra* is broken. He has open eyes and a curly hairstyle. A monk follows to his left. The monk has a bowl in his left hand and has a *Kapardin* type of head. His clothing covers both shoulders and reaches below the knees. A bust of a shaven-headed monk is present to the Buddha's right above Vajrapāni and the monk. The kneeling Śrigupta is probably in *namashkara mudhra*, though his hands are now broken (Ibid). He has an elongated, mustached face and wears pendants. He is followed by a small turbaned figure standing in *namashkara mudhra*. His right shoulder is uncovered. A Yākṣā with only his head visible is present under the door cornice between these two. The cornice depicts an acanthus leaf design. Above the cornice are three monks, the busts of three figures, and two turbaned figures between parapet marlins (Sehrai: 1991: 119, Pl.115).

The Bearded treatment of Vajrapāni is apparent in a relief shown in the figure (30).In this relief Vajrapāni have a contrasting position from the surrounding figures shown in this relief. He raises

his right arm above his head showing great sorrow about the death of Buddha. The *Vajra* is again held in the left hand and he has in gesture those possess the classical Graeco-Bactrians art, although the figure is clad in Indian "*dhoti*". In a relief depicting the Death of Buddha, the figure of Vajrapāni is shown in contraposition with a strong curve to the body (Buchthal 1943: Pl. IIIc), Vajrapāni is wearing a "*dhoti*" and carrying a *Vajra* in his left hand while right hand is raised on his head and showing a great sorrow about the Death of his Lord. On a certain coins issued by Vima Kadphasis, Shiva is depicted in the same way as Vajrapāni is depicted in the Death scene, the Lykeian type of Vajrapāni (Rosenfield 1967: pl. II 22). That kind of depiction is again repeated in a relief which is now in Peshawar museum (Lyons and Ingholt 1957: fig. 142).

The depiction of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art proves that the Gandharan reliefs employed specific iconographic attributes of Herakles and this type of iconographic representations were derived from the Graeco-Bactrians deities. The same kind of iconographic representation of Vajrapāni and the "Lykeian Herakles" were also employed with some modifications on Kushans coins which had been discussed in the above discussion. This is the most classical treatment of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art which unfolded the depiction of Herakles and the continuity of his adaptation in Gandhara art in the form of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni. As Soper also discussed this possibility in such words that " It is interesting that this pose seems to have been allotted most frequently to the Vajrapāni, a deity whose physical type could be assimilated to that of the Hercules, Heracles as it is called in the Roman mythology, and whose very function is non-Indian in origin (Soper 1951: 309). The depiction of both figures especially the nude depiction arises many obligations. As in the various coins and sculptures the depiction of Herakles is in nude form even when it is surrounded by the other various figures. This sort of nudity is the heroic tradition and it is always associated with the gods and that is why the nudity in Gandharan

sculptures indicated the divinity (Colledge 1973: 130). The nudity of Vajrapāni in the early Buddhist art is more likely to have been derived from an adaptation of the heroic type than from any poverty of status (Roberts 1959: 119).

The iconographic relationship between Herakles and Vajrapāni can also be associated with the concept of "*Fravashi*" because this concept is directly derived from the Iranian practices of Ancestor worship (Moulton 1913: 277), given the connection between ancestor worship in Dark Age Greece and the development of Hero-cults (Wright 1982: 128), That occupied an evolutionary position which is intermediate between mortal and divine (Snodgrass 1987: 282). The reunion of "*Fravashi*" and soul at death is one of the central concepts in Zoroastrian Mythology (Moulton 1913: 246), but in many reliefs of Gandhara the figure of Vajrapāni and the physical gestures especially at the death of Buddha also indicated the association of *Fravashi* and soul at death scene of Buddha. In many Gandharan reliefs Vajrapāni is depicted as armored and this sort of depiction is highly associated with the Hercules as he had the same status in the Greek mythology. The protective function of Vajrapāni in relation to the Buddha as this relationship is also depicted in Gandhara art is directly associated with the Hercules as the protector of the Roman Imperial house.

The iconographic representation of Vajrapāni explains the diffusion of Iranian, Indian and the western classical religious thoughts into art. The depiction of Vajrapāni as the protector of Buddha and his quasi-martial role assimilates him with western classical role of Herakles/Hercules and the same idea was employed by the Gandhara School of art in the depiction of Vajrapāni. Such diffusion of foreign elements is a rich tradition of Gandhara art that established the International status of Gandhara School of art in the world.

Conclusion

Human cultures have evolved because of biological evolution and cooperation with each other in the society. Culture corresponds to human biological needs and teaches how to live fulfilling those needs responding to the environmental challenges. The common character between human and animals is their intrinsic nature but it is culture that human beings evolve to order and routinise their individual and social actions. Culture is a consistently changeable phenomenon. It accommodates the emerging gainsays and natures posing restrictions. That is why human behavior changes time to time and place to place.

The notion of "Cultural Diffusion" can be applied on Gandhara that served as a panorama for many cultures. The present research intends to prove this notion by the depiction of Vajrapāni and his assimilation with other divine figures in Gandhara Art. The region of Gandhara provides the evidences of Middle Palaeolithic period, the artifacts recovered from the Sanghao cave near Mardan describes the Middle Palaeolithic age in this region. Jamal Garhi rock shelter (Mardan) and Khanpur cave (Haripur) entails the mystery of Mesolithic period of Gandhara. The site of TanguNau in Bajaur which was excavated by the Archaeological team from the Directorate of Archaeology and Museum, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar describe the Middle Palaeolithic Period in Gandhara like the Sanghao cave (Mardan) (Ali 2004: 207). Kot Dijian culture (3000-2600 B.C) and Gandhara Grave Culture (1700 B.C-600 B.C) that replaced the Harappan culture in the region are the salient features of Gandhara. The sites of Sarai Khola, Hathial at Taxila, Zarif Koruna near Peshawar, Timargarha, Balambat, Thana, Aligrama, Leobanr, Butkara-II in Swat Valley provides the evidences of Gandhara Grave complex in this region. The Gandhara Grave Complex is

associated with the speakers of Indo-Europeans, who introduced various artifact styles, were immigrants who migrated from the different parts of the world and came to the region of Gandhara.

The Achaemenians under Darius-I came into the region of Gandhara in 528 B.C and Gandhara became a province of the Achaemenian Empire. The artifacts recovered at Akra (Bannu) shows the legacy of the Achaemenian Empire in Gandhara. Moreover the ancient Achaemenian inscription in Behistun describes the region as "Gadara" which is the corrupted form of the local term Gandhara. The Achaemenians introduced a system to run the Empire which is called the "Śatrapal System of Administration" and as Gandhara was part of the Achaemenian Empire so about one half of the annual revenue was collected from this region. The Śatrapal System of Administration was continued by the other foreign and local invaders in the region with some modifications.

The arrival of Achaemenians as discussed in the first chapter describes the changes occur in the local, administrative, and cultural life of Gandhara. Hinduism was a predominant religion before the arrival of Achaemenian Empire in Gandhara. Achaemenians brought their Zoroastrian mythology along with them. During the 2nd century B.C Buddhism was adopted as the state religion which flourished and prevailed here for over 1000 years, starting from 2nd century B.C., until 10th century A.D. The Buddhist concept of the "Maitreya" is associated with Zoroastrian mythology and because of Cultural Diffusion it took place in the every aspect of life. The Greeks under the command of Alexander the great did not effect in the religious life of the local people however they brought their own mythological interpretation with them which was further incorporated in the local culture. However many aspects of the Gandhara art are associated with the Greek mythology as the concept of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni is associated with Greek God

Hercules. Buddhism as a state religion was declared by Mauryan King Aśoka (272-32 B.C.), who after the war of Kalinga converted to Buddhism. During his regime Buddhism flourished to Afghanistan and Central Asia and hence Gandhara became the center for the propagation of Buddhist beliefs into the other parts of the world. He became a great patron of Buddhism. Dharmarājika Stūpā in Taxila describes the passion of Aśoka for Buddhism. Buddhist literary accounts and epigraphically records identify the lands of Gandhara, Mansehra (Hazara), Taxila, Shahbaz Garhi (Mardan), Qandahar and Laghman as parts of the Mauryan Empire. The Buddhist establishment at Dharmarājika (Taxila), Jamal Garhi (Mardan), and Butkara I (Swat) are good examples of sites associated with the Mauryan Empire. Dharma Policy as a new state policy adopted by Aśoka developed a new religious outlook of Gandhara. Some of the tenets of his policy can still be seen in Mansehra where he wrote the tenets of his state policy that describes the social behavior of the people in Mauryan period.

The Indo-Greeks which are also known as Bactrian-Greeks were saved the classical traditions of Greeks in the Bactria. They were pride on their ancestors but they never had the wish to conquer the world like their ancestors. These Bactrian Greeks came to the region of Gandhara under the patronage of Demetrius I and defeated Mauryans in 190 B.C. They mad Pushkālavāti (Charsadda) as their capital. The most influential king from this linage was Menander who was converted to Buddhism. He also served Buddhism by sending many missionaries to the other parts of the world especially to Sri-Lanka for the propagation of Buddhist beliefs and teachings. The numismatic recovered from the sites of Shaikhan Dheri (Charsadda) and Sirkap (Taxila) entails the glorious economy and statehood of the Indo-Greeks. The Indo-Greeks ruled over Gandhara for about a century (190 B.C to 90 B.C) and in these one hundred years they made the region politically very strong. They also introduced urban life by establishing many new cities

like Sirkap in Taxila and Bala Hisar, Shaikhan Dheri (Charsadda). Menander (150 B.C.) like Aśoka also erected many stūpās in the region one of them is in Bajaur that describes the dignity and devotion for Buddhism by Menander. The Indo-Scythians came on the political horizon of the region. They replaced these Bactrian Greeks in 90 B.C. The coins recovered from many sites of Gandhara region shows the richness of numismatics at that time when Azes-I and Azes-II were ruling. They also made their impressions on the local art of Gandhara which had been mentioned in chapter three of the present research. The Indo-Parthians or Palowas emerged as the new masters of Gandhara by replacing Indo-Scythians in the ending of the Christian era. One of the most influential kings of Indo-Parthians was Gondophares whose inscription dated to the early first century A.D. in Takht-i-Bahi (Mardan) entails his vision in the field of architecture and developing new places like at Sirkap in Taxila. The most crucial and significant aspect of Gandhara art "the fire altar" was also a gift from these Indo-Parthians. These fire altars can still be found on many Buddhist sculptures that signifies the diffusion of foreign mythological notions in the local belief system. These fire altars are now called as "Buddha Dhūni" and still provide the ample evidences of cultural diffusion in Gandhara art.

The Great Kushans created an amalgamation of foreign and local cultures and brought the people of different regions together. Many tribes came with them and became part of that soil for instance, the "Gadakharas", or "Gadaharas" or modern "Gakkhars" known by their Persian traditions of "Kianis" and proudly call them local "Rājās", Pirāchās who were recognized by their skills of art and craft and Gujjars who are living mostly in Punjab. The national dress of Pakistan "*Shalwār-Kamīz*" describes the significance of Kushan dresses (Ibid: 106). The beautiful ornaments and magnificent bridal dresses are all the cultural aspects of Kushans which are still dominant in the present day Pakistan. The chappals and boots of both men and women

and the feeling of serenity at the religious merit in deep meditating devotion with upper and lower garments or Shawls, even these aspects in the meditating Buddha of Gandhara sculptures, are all the continuity of old culture in the present era. The modern village system and the domestic life, for example, *Tandoors* and *nāns*, tools and plants, seats and footstools and chair with back rest, all recall the memory of Kushan home. It was in that era that modern Pakistan and Central Asia came together and exchanged many cultural values with each other that can still be found in the social sector of both regions.

Gandhara art the most significant aspect of the Gandhara civilization which is known in the world because of its multicultural nature and which is depicted in the Buddhist sculptures. Buddhism and its other key tenets have been discussed in the chapter two of this research. Gandhara art is the practical reality of Buddhist ideas and beliefs. Gandhara art reached to its most mature form in the golden age of Kushans. Many ruins of Buddhist stūpās and sculptures elucidate the world from the dignity of Buddhism and its overall philosophy.

In Gandhara the great stūpās were erected to enshrine the relics of the Buddha and were profusely ornamented. Many themes of the Buddhist art were borrowed from the other cultures. The previous life stories of Buddha known as "*Jātaka stories*" and the original life of Buddha Śākyamūni are all the aspects of Gandhara art. Moreover the construction of Stūpās and designs of different parts of Stūpās are also depicted in Gandhara art.

In Gandhara art we frequently find major Bodhisattvas in the different stories of Gandhara art, Vajrapāni is one of them. Bodhisattva Vajrapāni and his depiction in Gandhara art is discussed in detail in chapter four. Vajrapāni, known as the bearer of thunderbolt, has much assimilation with different divine figures one of which is the Greek god Hercules which is also known as Herakles

in Roman mythology. In chapter three the depiction of Vajrapāni is discussed in detail through many Gandharan reliefs. Vajrapāni is depicted in bearded, beardless, younger, old and wearing Greek dressed and in Indian outlook and on some relief in a semi-nude and nude style. His depiction in different styles suggests his interpretation as Graeco-Buddhist, Romano-Buddhist and Mathuran art.

The appearance of Vajrapāni in the Gandhara narrative stone reliefs comes after the episodes of renunciation and Great Departure of Buddha from Kapilavastu (Foucher 1918: 48). In the Buddhist text of *Lalitavistara,* chapter XV, is mentioned the participation of Vajrapāni in the episodes of prince Siddhārtha like in the Great Departure of Buddha (Lamotte 1966: 121). Vajrapāni has been depicted on some Gandharan reliefs very clearly in which he has his *Vajra* in his left hand. Buddha Śākyamūni and Bodhisattva Vajrapāni appear in Gandhara art in many episodes in which Vajrapāni is shown accompanying the Buddha. In some sculptures both the figures (Buddha and Vajrapāni) are wearing Greek monastic robes which are highly emphasized. The Vajrapāni made his appearance in some reliefs by wearing the same short tunic with the same scalloped border like a *Brahmancāran* with the characteristic locks of the Brahma. Vajrapāni also made his assimilation with the Hindu god *Indra*. His long sleeved coat seems to be of the same pattern as that worn by *Indra*. The problem of identification and function of the Gandharan Vajrapāni is still a debate and that is because of its depiction which seems to be similar with many divine figures in Gandhara art. The main reason is the image of Hercules or Herakles as it is called in the Roman mythology which is similar in the art and divine functions to the Gandharan Vajrapāni (Santoro 1991: 293). The physical type of Vajrapāni was derived from the Hercules but this is the point which is still debatable that is why the image of Hercules is preferred for Bodhisattva Vajrapāni in order to depict it in the Gandhara art. The function of

Hercules with that of Vajrapāni in Gandhara art is represented as the legitimate kingship that performs the wrath and fear of Buddha and protects the followers in their lives. This quasi-martial impression of Vajrapāni in the Gandhara art makes him more familiar with Hercules in Gandhara art. The resemblance of Vajrapāni with Hercules is both on the basis of quasi-martial characteristics and divine powers. Typologically there are many types of Vajrapāni as Silenus-type, Satyr-type, Eros-type, Zeus-type, Dionysus-type, Pan-type, Hermes-type, Hercules-type and Alexander the great type and all of these types of Vajrapāni are shown in chapter three of this research that highlights the multiculturalism of Gandhara art because of the cultural diffusion. The Heraklean type of Vajrapāni entails the western themes in Gandhara art. However such influence in Gandhara art is more than stylistic details and facial characteristics. It shows a complete diffusion of western iconography in the Buddhist art of Gandhara.

The numismatic evidences of the Indo-Scythians and Kushans further elaborate the depiction of Hercules on the coins and the same depiction was employed in Gandhara art which is the dominant feature of cultural continuity. The iconographic representation of Vajrapāni explains the diffusion of Iranian, Indian and the western classical religious thoughts into art. The depiction of Vajrapāni as the protector of Buddha and his quasi-martial role assimilates him with western classical role of Herakles/Hercules and the same idea was employed by the Gandhara School of art in the depiction of Vajrapāni. Such diffusion of foreign elements is a rich tradition of Gandhara art that established the International status of Gandhara School of art in the world.

The depiction of Vajrapāni is very influential in the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara in which Vajrapāni is shown by a Greek Hero Hercules. The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara is a clear cut example of the domains of Cultural, Religious and civilizational phenomena of the both Indians and Greeks which developed in Art, Religion and in every aspect of the life of the

people and which is still having some commonalities between each other's in their respective fields of daily life. The Central Asian features, aspect of western classical art and the local elements are interwoven in Gandhara art. These features are so fused with each other that they completely form the aesthetics of Gandhara art. It is because of this multicultural nature of Gandhara art which provides ample evidences of cultural diffusion in Gandhara.

Plates

Plate: I (A)

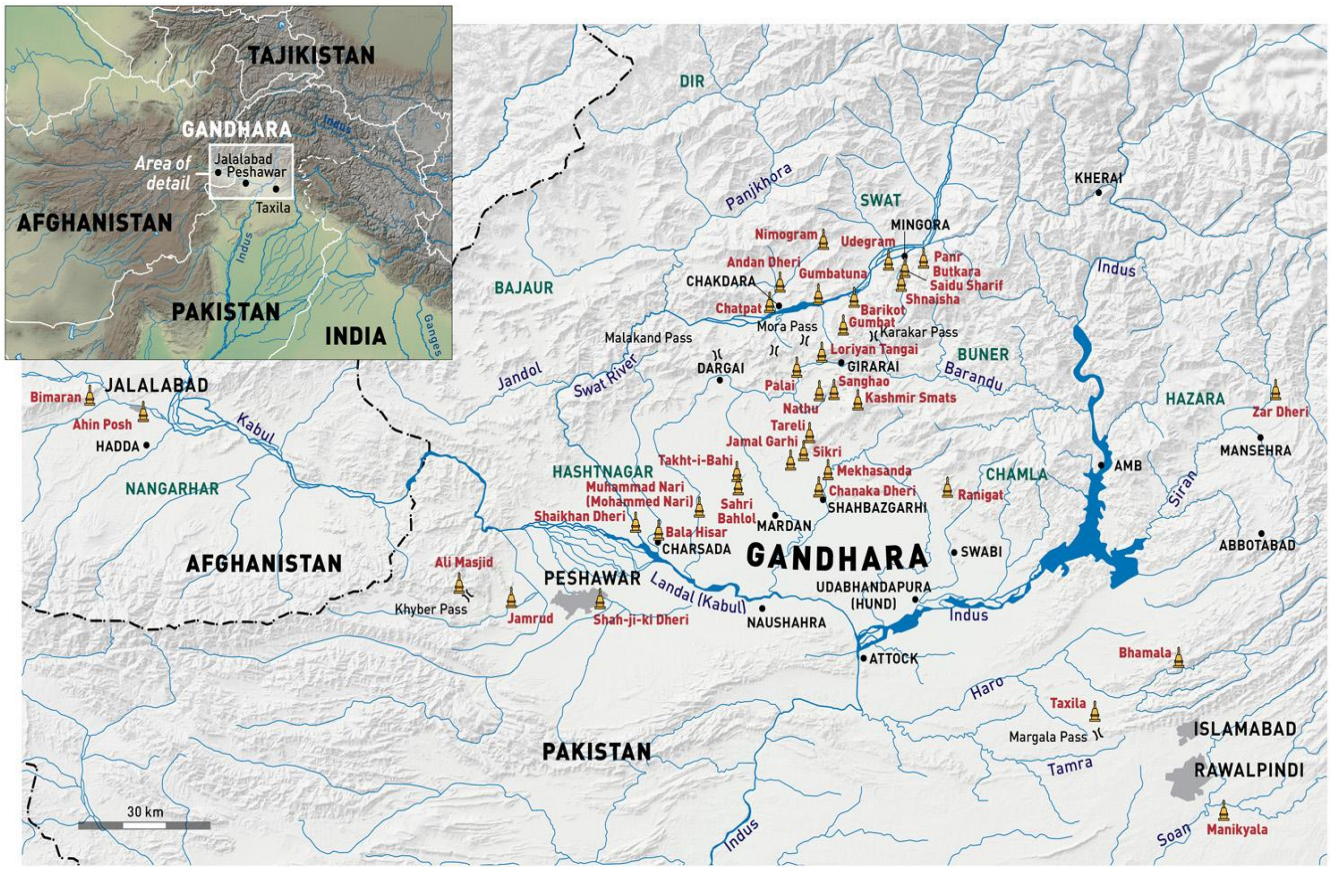

Figure No.1 (A): Geographical Map of Gandhara

Source: www.sites.asiasociety.org/gandharamaps

Plate: I (B)

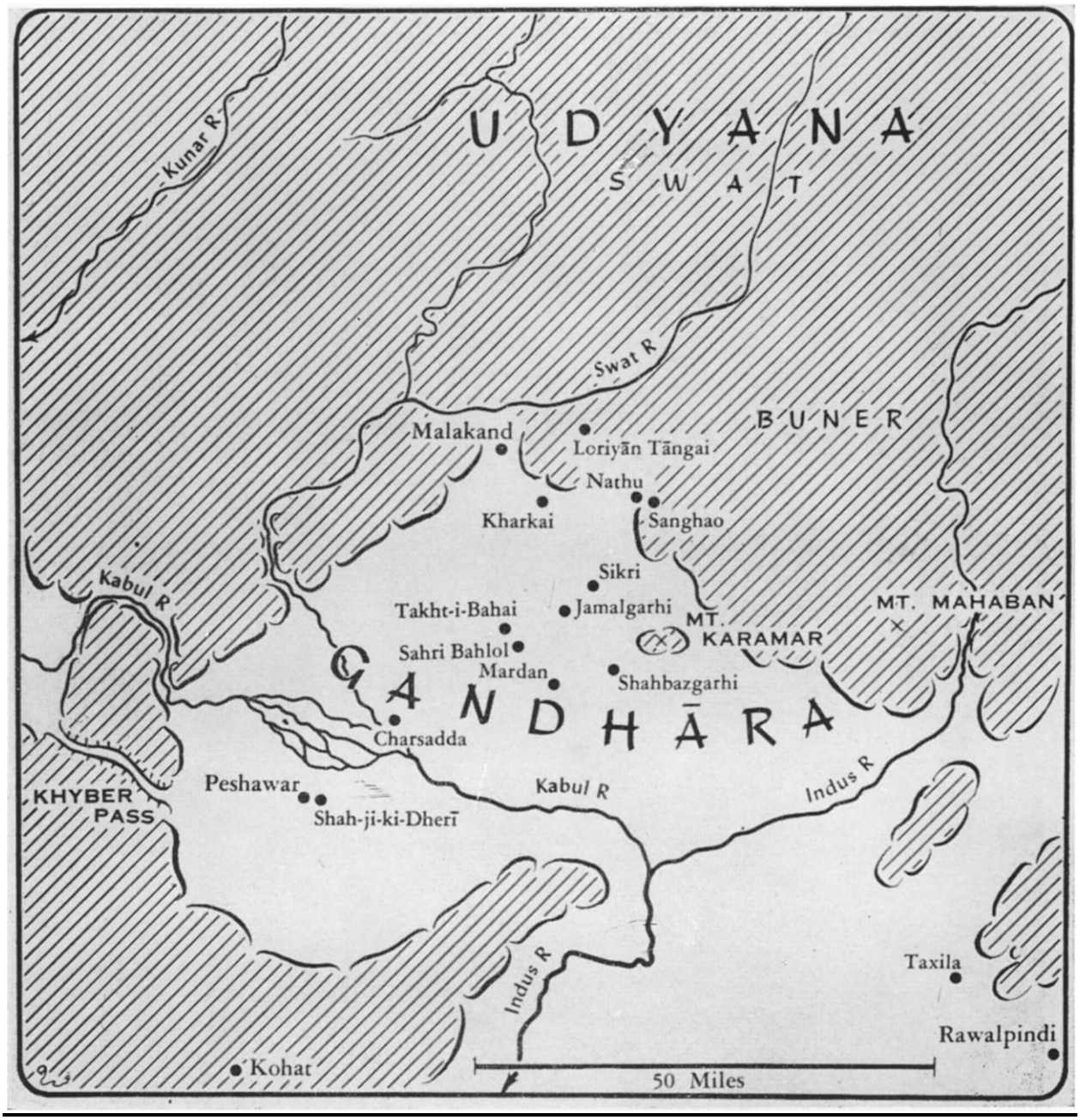

Figure No. 1 (B): Map of Gandhara

Source: From H. Ingholt, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*

Plate: II

Figure No.2: Love making scene of Toilet trays

Source: From Sirkap. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 494, no. 62; vol. III, pl. 144, no. 62.

Plate: III

Figure No 3: Drinking Scene of Gandhara Toilet Tray

Source: From Sirkap. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, pp. 494-5, no. 63; vol. III, pl. 144, no. 63.

Plate: IV

Figure No 4: Man is shown who is riding on a fish-tailed hippocamp

Source: From Sirkap. Taxila Museum. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, P. 496, no. 74; vol. III, pl. 144, no. 74.

Plate: V

Figure No 5: A female is shown who is riding on a sea monster.

Source: From Sirkap. Taxila Museum. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, P. 497, no. 75; vol. III, pl. 145, no. 75.

Plate: VI

Figure No.6: A Standing female in round in chloritised mica schist

Source: From Sirkap. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Marshall, Taxila, vol. II, p. 701, no. 4; vol. III, pl. 211, no. 4a and b.

Plate: VII

Figure Noxila.7: Standing male statuette

Source: From SirkapTaxila Museum. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 702, no. 7.

Plate: VIII

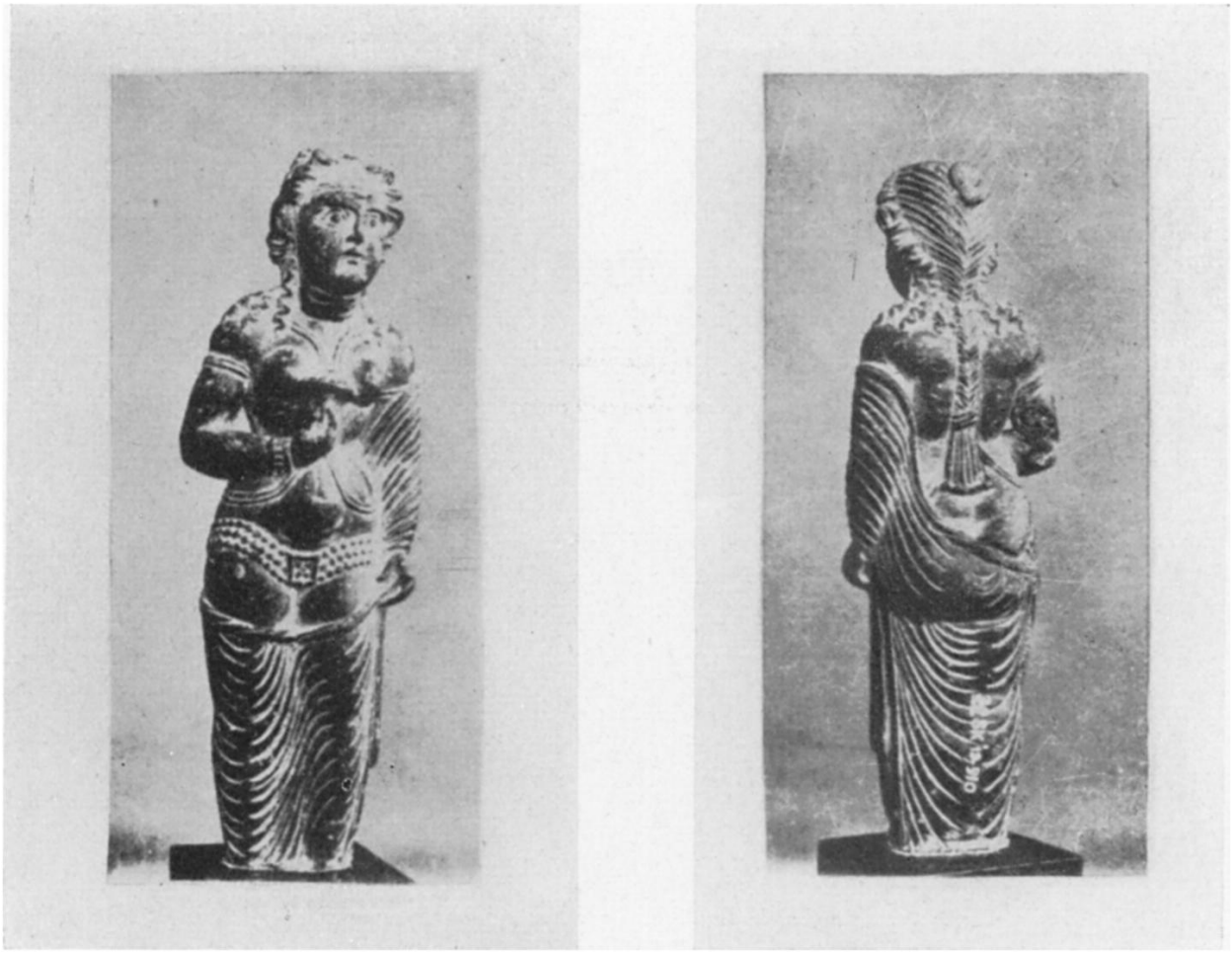

Figure No.8: Depiction of a standing female statuette

Source: From Sirkap. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II. 701, no. 3; vol. III, pl. 211, no 3a and b.

Plate: IX

Figure No.9: Standing male figure in the round of grey Taraki sandstone

Source: From Dharmarajika. Taxila Museum. Ibid. vol. II, p. 701, no. 6; vol. III, pl. 212, no. 6.

Plate: X

Figure No.10: Depiction of a statuette in round of pot-stone

Source**:** From Sirkap (Taxila) National Museum Karachi. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 703, no. 8

Plate: XI

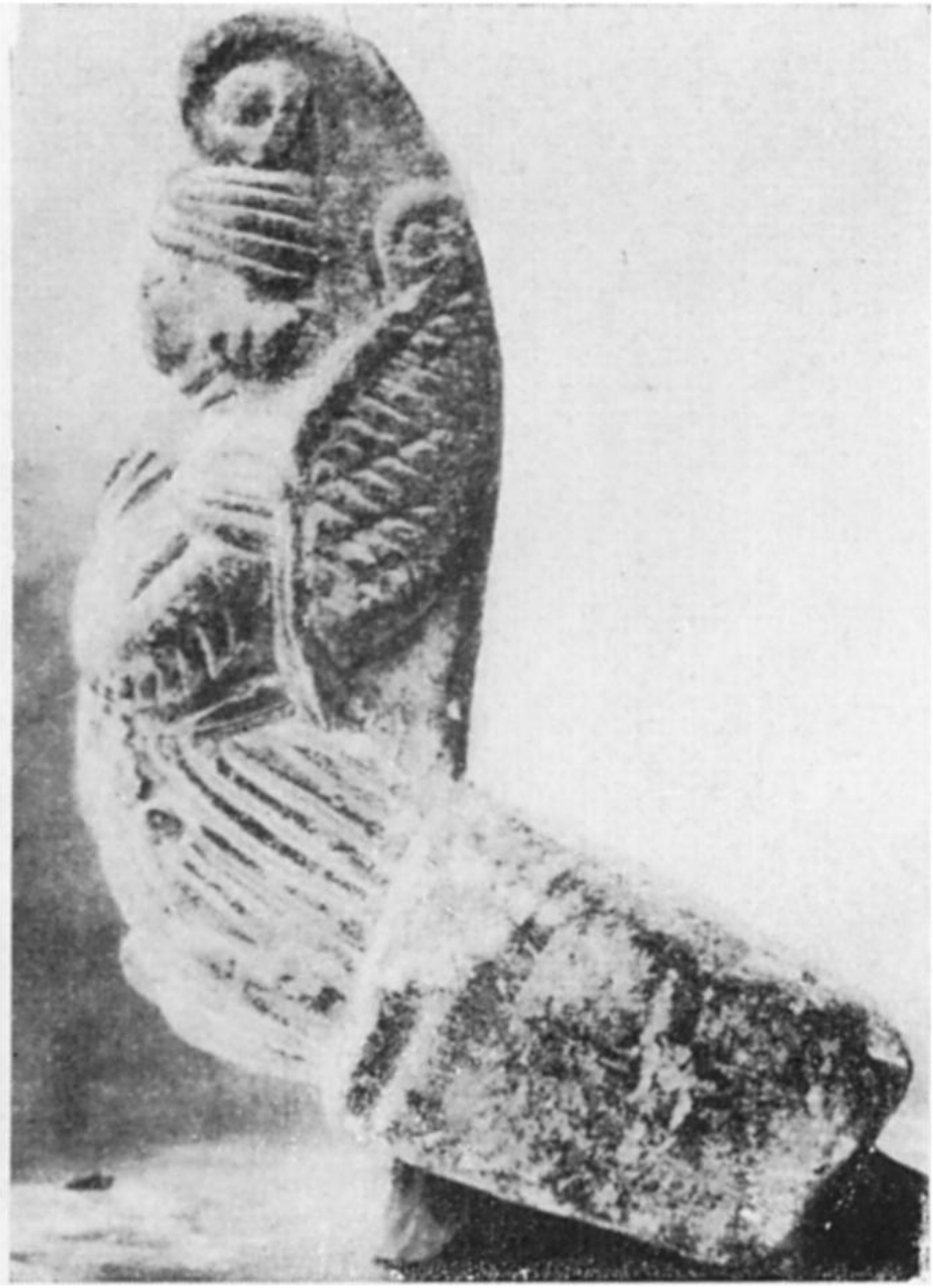

Figure N0.11: Volute bracket in winged *devā* of pale chloritized mica schist

Source: From SirkapTaxila Museum. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 704, no. 9

Plate: XII

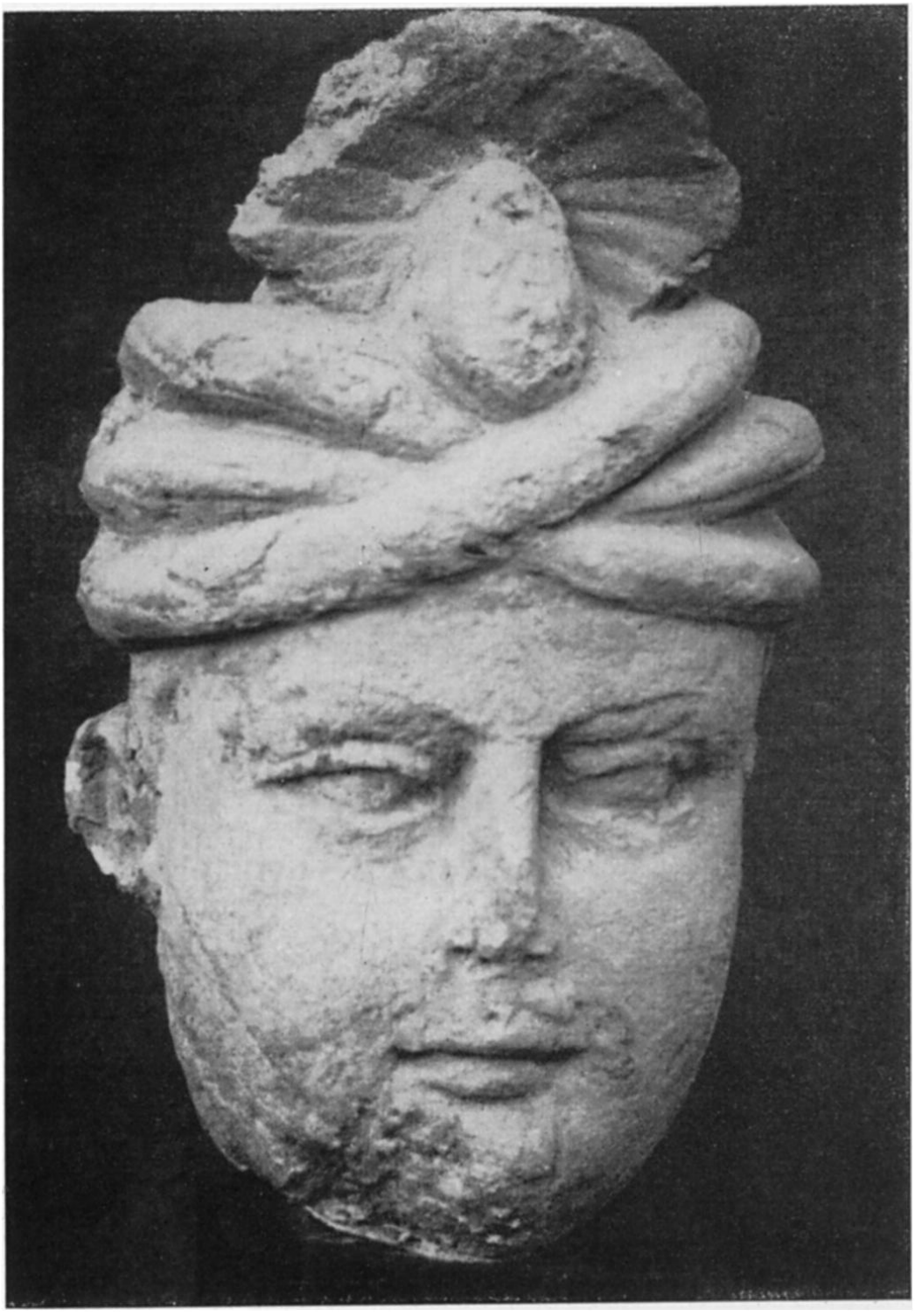

Figure No.12: Head of Bodhisattva

Source: From Sirkap Taxila Museum. (Ibid)

Plate: XIII

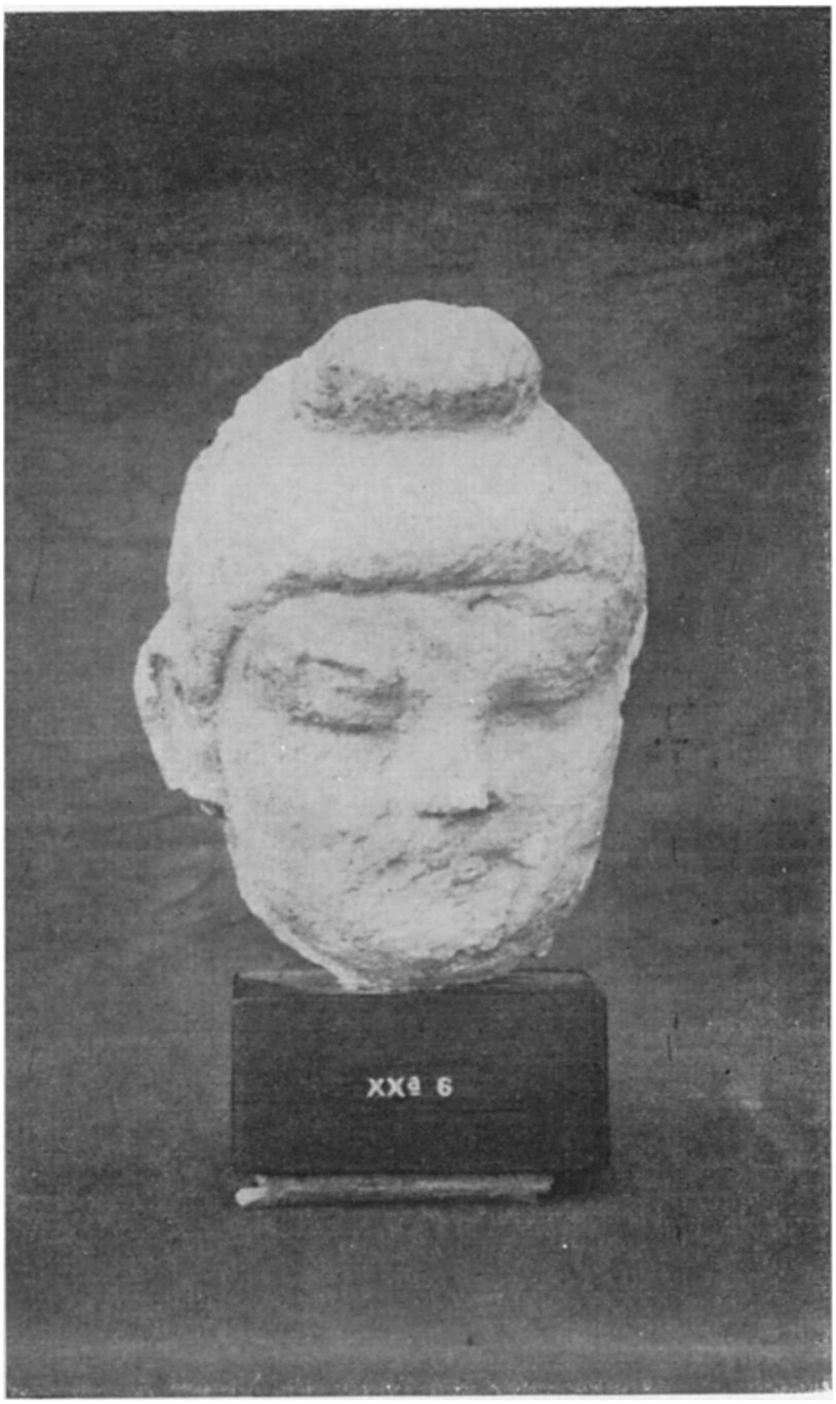

Figure No.13: A Small stucco head

Source: From Sirkap Taxila Museum. Marshall, *Ibid, no 12*

Plate: XIV

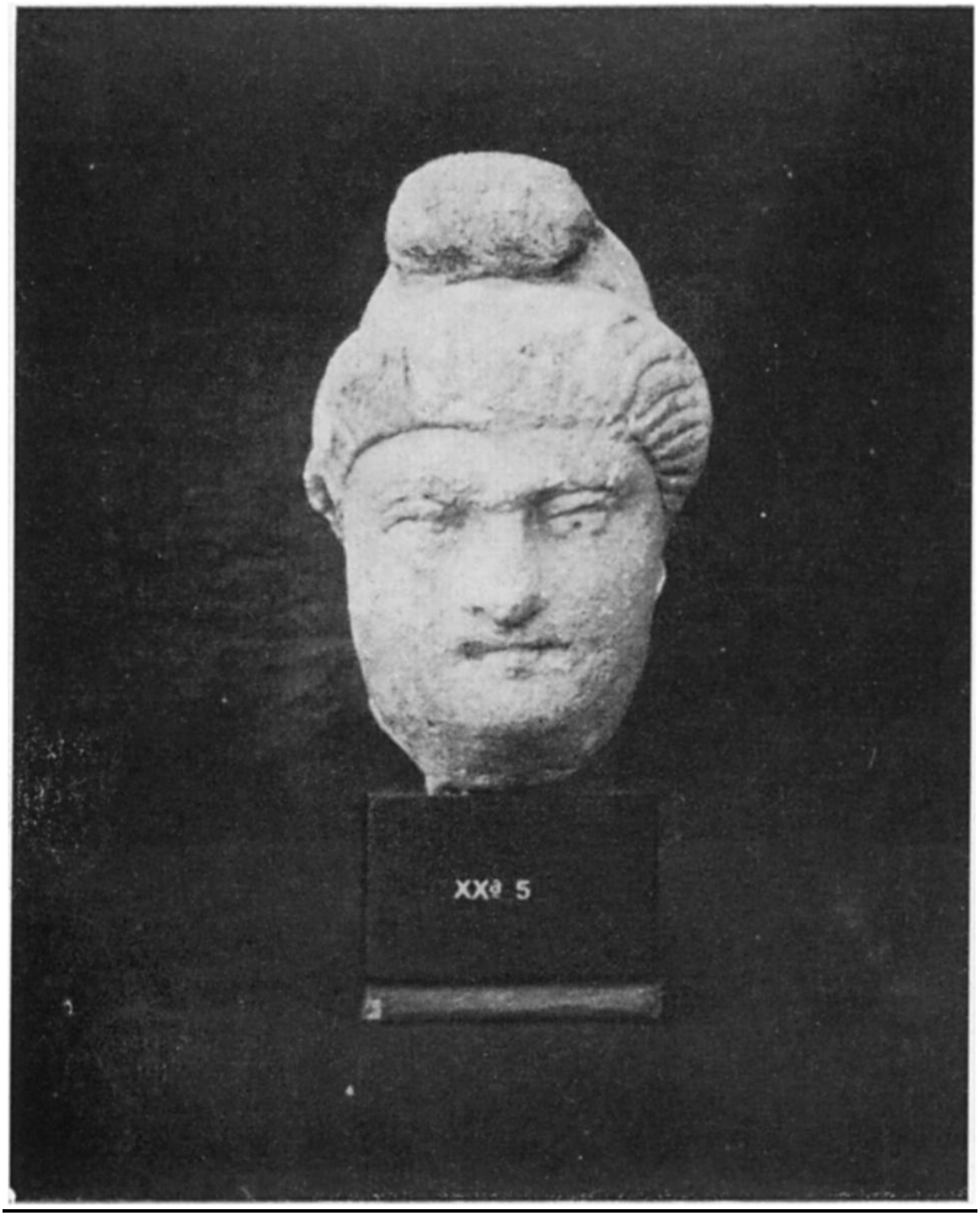

Figure No.14: A Stucco Head

Source: From Sirkap Taxila Museum. Marshall, (*Ibid),* p. 705, no. 13

Plate: XV

Figure No.15: A bearded head

Source: From Sirkap Taxila Museum. (Ibid)

Plate: XVI

Figure No.16: A male head

Source: From Sirkap Taxila Museum.(Ibid).

Plate: XVII

Figure No.17: A female head is in buff colored terracotta

Source: From Sirkap Taxila Museum. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 712, no. 15

Plate: XVIII

Figure No 18. The Interpretation of "Māyā's Dream

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 51.

Plate: XIX

Figure No.19: "Seven Steps" of infant Buddha (Śākyamūni)

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures* in Peshawar Museum, p. 61.

Plate: XX

Figure No.20: Savastika is presenting a bundle of grass to the Bodhisattva

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 106.

Plate: XXI

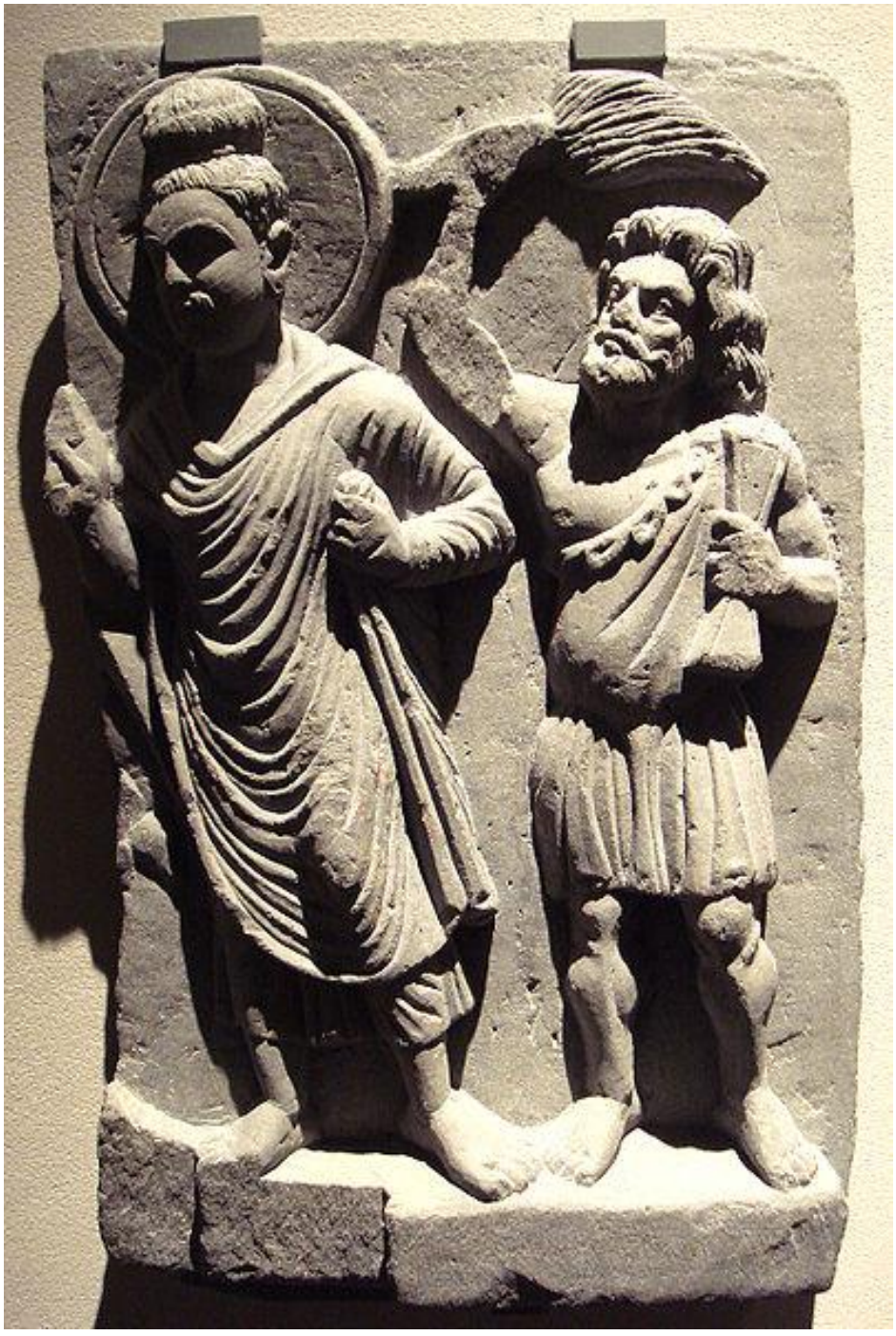

Figure No.21: Buddha is accompanying by Vajrapāni

Source: From Gandhara, Ostasiatische Kunst Museum, Germany.
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:TheBuddhaAndVajrapāniGandhara2ndCentury.jpg)

Plate: XXII

Figure No.22: The visit of Buddha to a Brahmin ascetic.

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum,* p. 111

Plate: XXIII

Figure No.23: The Great departure scene.

Source: From MalaKand Agency, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 95

Plate: XXIV

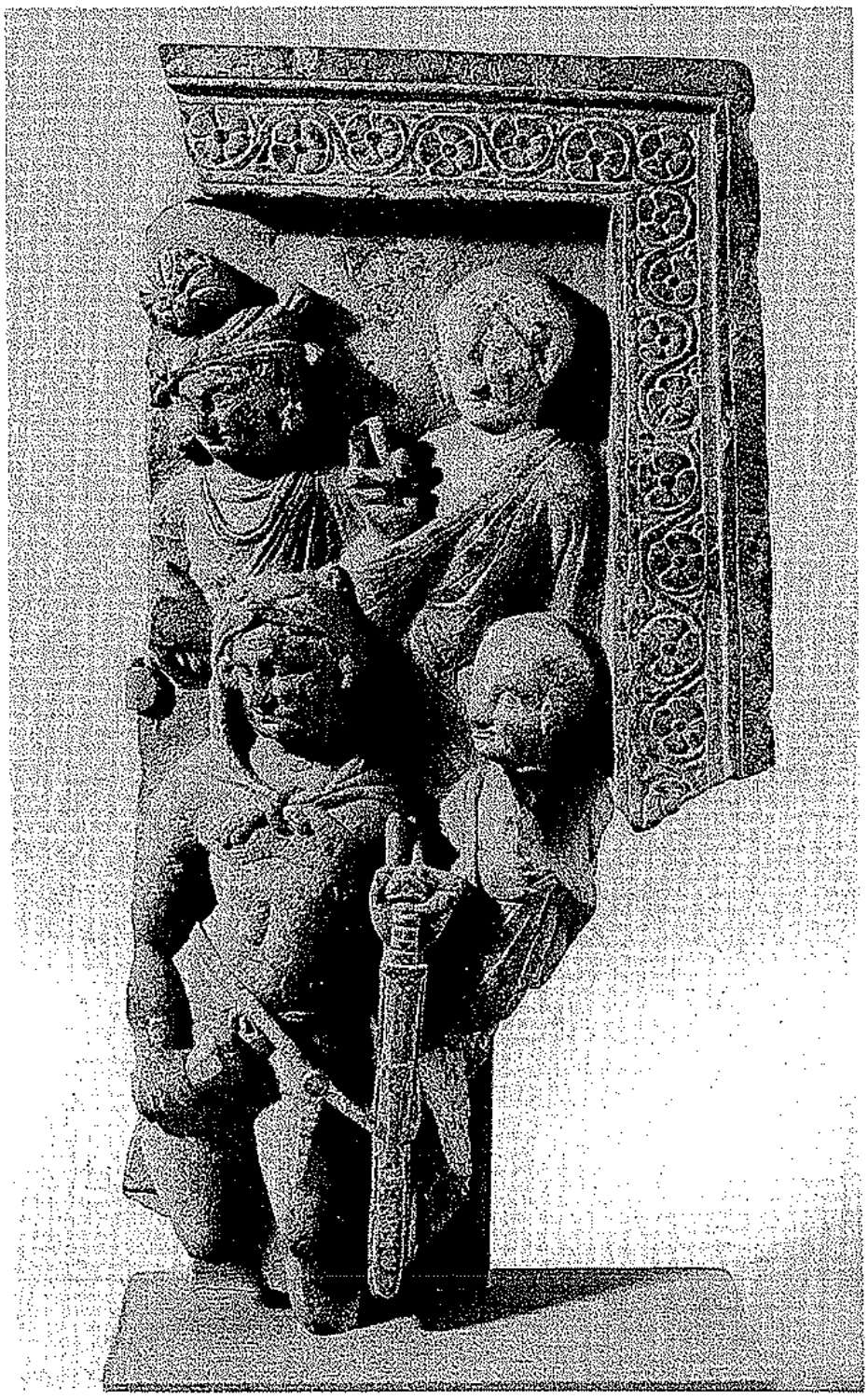

Figure No.24: Vajrapāni with lion skin in British Museum.

Source: From Gandhara, British Museum. Soper, *the Roma style at Gandhara*, pp.301

Plate: XXV

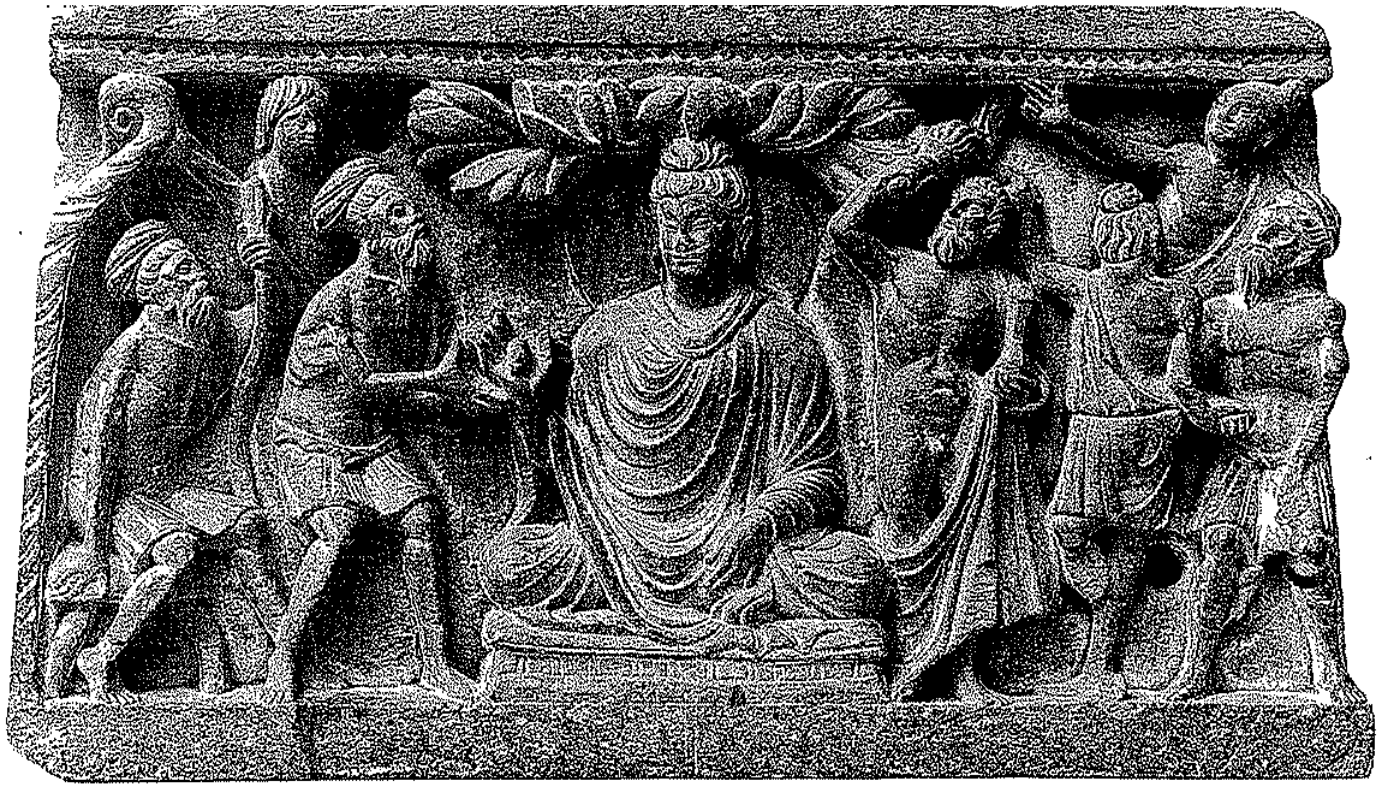

Figure No.25: the conversion of Kaśyapa

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 193.

Plate: XXVI

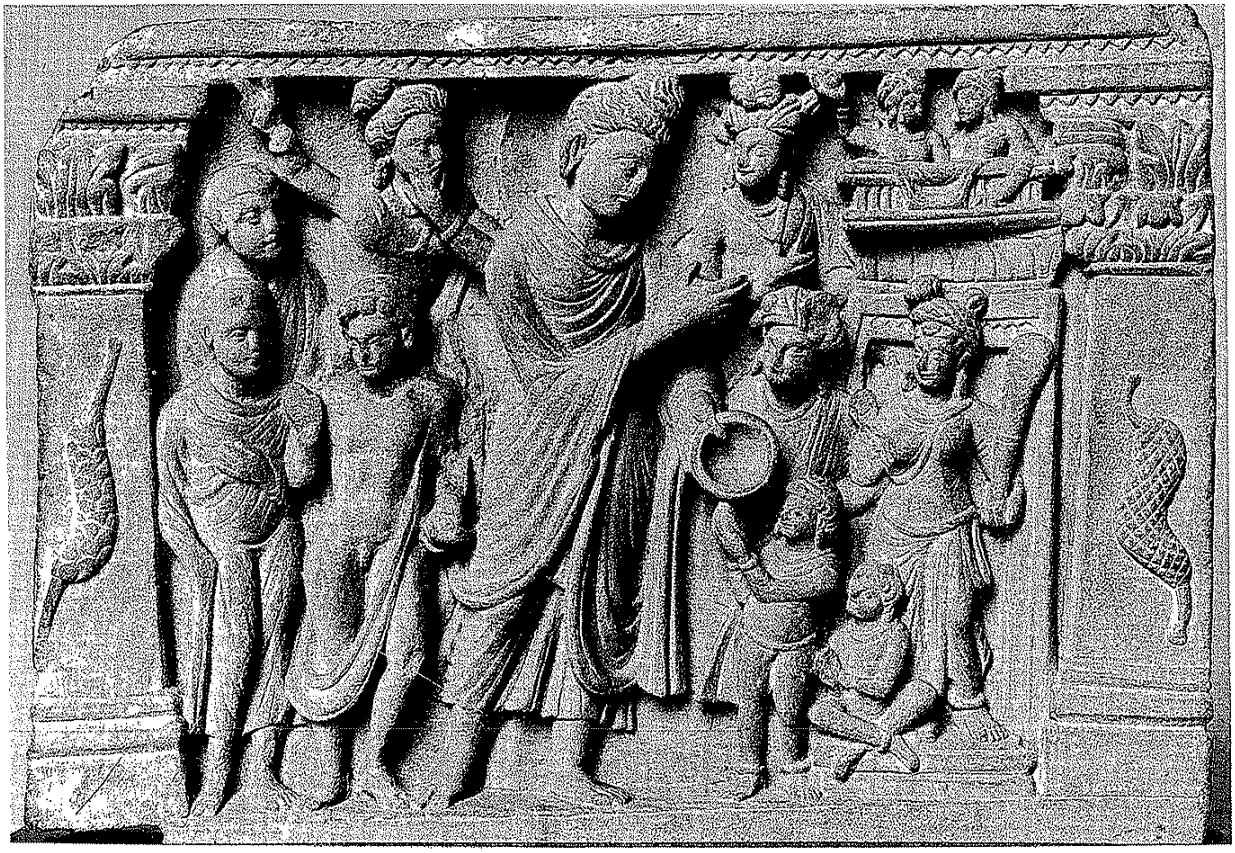

Figure No.26: the offering of Dust at Rajagriha

Source: From Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 210.

Plate: XXVII

Figure No.27: The Buddha enthroned with Vajrapāni.

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 192.

Plate: XXVIII

Figure No.28: The hymns of Nagā Kalika and his wife

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 107.

Plate: XXIX

Figure No.29: Buddha with Vajrapāni in Śrigupta's Invitation

Source: From Mardan, Peshawar Museum. Ali & Qazi, *Gandharan sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, p. 204.

Plate: XXX

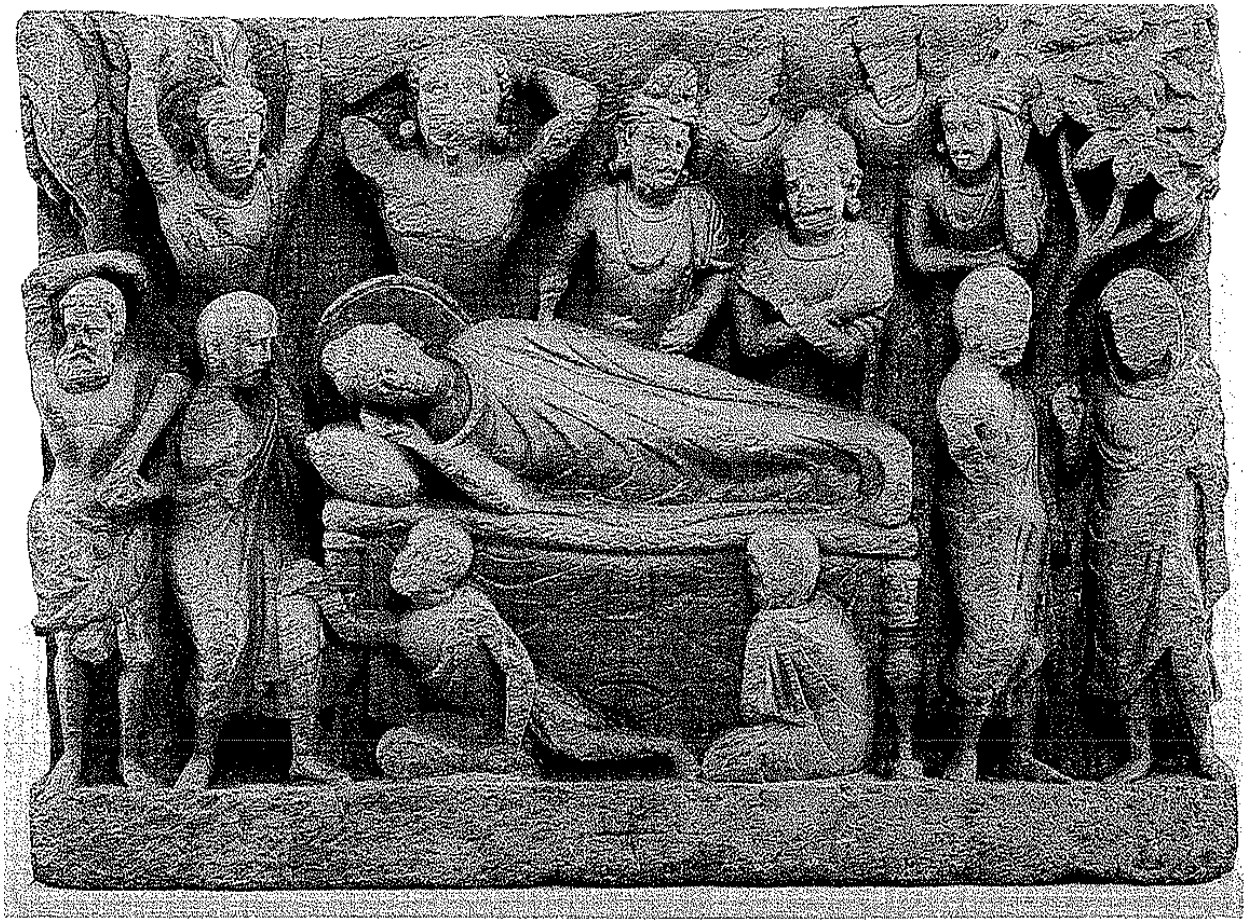

Figure No.30: The death of Buddha

Source: From Gandhara, British Museum. Flood, F.B, *Iconography of Vajrapāni in Gandhara Art*, p.19.

Bibliography

Books

Alchin, Bridget and Alchin, Raymond. *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982 .

Ali, Ihsan & Qazi, M.Naeem. *Gandharan Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum (Life Story of Buddha).* Peshawar: Khyber Printers, 2008.

Basham, A.L. *The Wonder That Was India.* New Delhi: Orient Longmans Limited, 1963.

Beal, S. *Buddhist Records of Western Asia.* Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969.

Boas, F. *Language and Culture.* New York: Free Press, 1966.

Bopearachchi, O. *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques.* Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1991.

Bopearachchi, Osmund & Aman ur Rahman. *Pre-Kushan Coins in Pakistan.* Islamabad: Iftikhar Rasul IRM Associates (Pvt) Ltd, 1995.

Bossagli, M. *L' art du Gandhara, Transl. By F. Tissot.* Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1996.

Carrithers, Michael. *The Buddha.* Oxford: Oxford University Pres, 1983.

Chattopadhya, B. *The Age of the Kushanas A Numismatic study.* Calcutta: Sri Sankar Bhattacharya Punthi Pusak 34 Mohan Bagan Lane, 1979.

Colledge, M. A. R. *Art of Palmyra.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

Conze, Edward. *The Diamond Sutra and the Heart Sutra.* New York: Vintage Books, 2001.

Cribb, J. *New Discoveries in Khshana Chronology.* London: University of London, 1969.

—. *Shiva Images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian Coins.* London: Kamakura Publishers, 1997.

Cunningham, A. *Later Indo-Scythicans, reprint from the Numismatic Chronicle 1893-94, edited by A.K. Narain.* Varanasi: Numismatic Chronicle, 1962.

Czuma, S. J. *Images From Early India.* Cleveland: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Dani, A.H. *History of Pakistan through ages.* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2008.

—. *The Historic city of Frontier.* Peshawar: Khyber Mail Press, 1969.

Dutt, Sukamar. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India.* London: Routledge, 1962.

Facenna, D. *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I, pt.2.* Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1962.

Farrer-Halls, Gill. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Buddhist Wisdom.* Wheaton, Illinois: Quest Books, 1999.

Foucher, A. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, v. I.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1905.

—. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, v. II.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1918.

—. *The Beginning of the Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Centeral-Asian Archaeolgy.* Trans.Thomas, L.A and Thomas, F.W. London: Humphrey Milford, 1917.

Gardner, P. *Catalogue of Coins in British Museum: Greek ans Scythic Kings.* London: British Museum Press, 1886.

Gaulier, S.R. Jera-Bezard & M. Maillard. *Buddhism in Afghanistan.* Netherlands: E.J Brill Leiden, 1976.

Griffeth, R.T.H. *The Hymns of Rig-Veda.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.

Grünwedel, A. *Buddhist Art in India.* Trans by, Agnes C. Gibson. London: B. Quaritch, 1901.

Hopkins, J. *Buddhist Advice for Living and Liberation: Nagarjuna's Precious Garland.* Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1998.

Kalimburg-Salter, D. *Buddha in India.* Wien: Blackwell Publishers, 1955.

Karetzky, Patricia E. *The Life of the Buddha: Ancient Scriptural and Pictorial Traditions* . Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1992.

Khan, M.Ashraf. *Buddhist Shrines in Swat.* Saidu Sharif: Archaeological Museum , 1993.

Konow, S. *Kharoshti Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Asoka.* Calcutta: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 1929.

Kosambi, D.D. *Ancient India.* New York: Meridian Books, 1965.

Kottack, Conrad.Phillip. *Cultural Anthropology.* New York: McGraw-Hill Publications, 2001.

Kuklick, D. Travesti. *Sex, Gender and Culture.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998.

Lama, Dalai. *Stages of Meditation.Ithaca.* New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.

—. *The Meaning of Life from a Buddhist Perspective.* Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1992.

Lamotte, E. *Vajrapani en Inde.* Paris: Bibliotheque de I'Institut de Hautes Études Chinoises, 1966.

Laumakis, Stephen. *An Introduction to Buddhist philosophy.* Oxford: Laumakis, Stephen. An Introduction to Buddhist philosophy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008., 2008.

Lewis, Todd T. *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and Rituals of Newer Buddhism.* Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2000 .

Litvinsky, B.A. *'The Hephtalite Empire', History of Civilizations of CentralAsia.* New York: UNESCO publication, 1996.

Lyons, I and Ingholt, H. *Gandhara Art in Pakistan.* New York: Pantheon, 1957.

Majumdar, N.G. *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museums (Part I): Early Indian Schools.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1937.

—. *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museums (Part II): The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhara.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1937.

Majumdar, R.C. *The Classical Account of India.* Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960.

Marshal, Sir.John. *Taxila, Vol. 1.* Cambridge: The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, 1951.

—. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Marshall, Sir.John. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara (The Story Of The Early School Its Birth, Groth And Decline).* Karachi: Royal Book Company, Reprinted in Pakistan, 2008.

Mitchiner, M. *The Ancient and Classical World 600 B.C.-A.D. 650.* London: Hawkins Publications, 1979.

Moulton, J. H. *Early Zoroastrianism.* London: Constable Publishers, 1913.

Munshi, R. C. Majumdar & K. M. *The Age of Imperial Unity.* Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1990.

Murti, T.R.V. *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1955.

Mustamandy, Ch. *Herakles, Ahnherr Alexanders.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Poussin, Louis. de La Vallee. *"Bodhisattva," in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Prebish, Charles.S. *The A to Z of Buddhism.* New Delhi: Vision Books Pvt.Ltd, 2003.

Puri, B.N. *India Under the Kushans.* Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, 1965.

Qureshi, I.H. *A short history of Pakistan.* Karachi: University of Karachi, 1967.

Rapson, E.J. *The Cambridge History of India, (ed).* Delhi: S.CHANK & CO Fountain, 1955.

Rogers, Everett. *Diffusion of innovations.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Macmillan Company, 1962.

Rosenfield, J. M. *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Rowland, B. *Gandhara Art from Pakistan.* New York: R.R Bowker Company, 1962.

—. *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist/Hindu/Jain.* Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968.

—. *The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain.* 3rd edition reprint, London: Pelican, 1984.

Sehrai, Fidaullah. *The Buddha Story in Peshawar Museum.* Peshawar: Khyber Printers, 1991.

Sircar, D.C. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilizaiton,Vol. 1. (From the sixth century BC to the sixth century AD).* Calcutta: Monoharlal Publishers, 1942.

Smith, V.A. *The Oxford History of India.* reprint, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Snellgrove, David. *The Image of the Buddha.* Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1978.

Stutley, J. & M. Stutley. *A Dictionary of Hinduism, Its Mythology, Folklore and Development 1500 B.C.-A.D. 1500.* London: Routledge, 1977.

Taranath. *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien.* Trans, by F.A. St. Petersburg: Von Schiefner, 1869.

Tarn, W. W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.

Tharpa, D. *The Bodhisattva Vow: A Practical Guide to Helping Others.* New Delhi: Motila Publishers, 1995.

Thomas, E.J. *The History of Buddhist Thought.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Thompson, W. *Introduction: World System with and without Hyphene. In Contending Approaches to World System Analysis.* Berkely: University of California Press, 1983.

Thurman, Robert A.F. *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti: A Mahayana Scripture.* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1987.

Tiyavanich, Kamala. *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in Twentieth Century Thailand.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.

Trainor, Kevin. *Buddhism.* London: Duncan Baird Publishers, 2001.

Tripathy, R.S. *History of Ancient India.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 1942.

Vessantara. *Meeting the Buddhas: A Guide to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tantric Deities.* Birmingham: Windhorse Publications, 1998.

Whitehead, R. B. *Catalogues of Coins in the Punjab Museum, I.* Lahore: Facsimile Publishers, 1914.

Zwalf, W. *A Catalogue of the Sculptures in the British Museum.* London: British Museum, 1996.

—. *The Shrines of Gandhara.* London: British Museum Publications, 1979.

Journals

Ali, Ihsan. "Catalogue of Coins in Peshawar Museum-I (Kushan Period)." *Frontier Archaeology II*, 2004: 1-22 .

Bailey, H.W. "Akharosthi Inscription of Senavarma, King of Odi." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1980: 22-29.

Butchthal, H. "The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1943: 137-48.

Cohen, Richard S. "Discontented Categories: Hinayana and Mahayana in Indian Buddhist History." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion Voll: 63 No.1*, 1995: 2-33.

Cribb, J. & Errington, E. "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 1996: 20-56.

Fischer, K. "Dionysos in Hadda (Afghanistan)." *Journal of Hellenic Studies, 77*, 1983: 65-72.

Gnoli, R. "The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sanghabhedavastu." *SOR, XLIX, 2*, 1977: 41-86.

Gnoli, R. "The Tyche and the Dioscouroi in Ancient Sculptures from the valley of Swat." *East and West, 14/1-2*, 1963: 29-37.

Khan, M. Ishtiaq. "Buddhism in Gandhara- some thoughts." *Journal of Asian Civilization XXI (II)*, 1998: 50-79.

Konow, S. "Note on Vajrapani-Indra." *Acta Orientalia, 7*, 1930 : 311-7.

Kroeber, A. L. "Stimulus Diffusion." *American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 42, No. 1* , 1940: 1-20 .

Mittervallner. "Kushana Coins and Kushana Sculptures from Mathura." *Department of Cultural Affair, Government of U.P. Lucknow*, 1986: 50-89.

Mughal, M.R. "A Summary of Excavations and Explorations in Pakistan (1971 and 1972)." *Pakistan Archaeology 8*, 1972: 113-158.

Oldenburg, S. "A note on Vajrapāṇi in Buddhist Iconography." *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society 3rd series*, 1917: 130-155.

Rahman, A. "Dfate of the Overthrow of Lagaturman-The Last Turk Sahi Ruler of Kabul." *Lahore Museum Bulletin, Vol. 17, No 1 &2*, 1993: 12-45: 12-45.

Rahman, A. "Ethnicity of The Hindu Shahis." *Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. LI, No. 3*, 2003: 50-62.

Roberts, E. "Greek Deities in the Buddhist Art of India." *Oriental Art, 3, pt. 5*, 1959: 114-126.

Rowland, B. "Gandhara and Early Christian Art: Buddha Palliatus." *American Journal of Archaeology, 49*, 1945: 445-468.

Santoro, A. "Hands in Sleeves. A Note on Iranian-Central Asiatic Costumes in Gandharan Art." *East and West Vol. 55- Nos. 1-4*, 2005: 279-299.

Santoro, A. "Note on the Iconography of Gandhara." *RSO, 65*, 1991: 269-307.

Santoro, A. "Vajrapāni nell' atre del Gandhāra: ricerche iconografiche ed interpretative." *RSO, 53*, 1979: 294-341.

Soper, A. C. "The Roman Style at Gandhara." *American Journal of Archaeology, 55*, 1951: 301-19.

Tanabe, K. "Why Is the Buddha Śakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapani? Farewell to Yaksa-theory." *East and West Vol. 55- Nos. 1-4*, 2005: 363-383.

Tarzi, Z. "Vajrapāni-Herakles de la niche V2." *Ktema*, 2000: 163-79.

Wright, J. C. "The Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum." *Journal of Hellenic Studies, n.102*, 1982: 186-201.