

“The Role and Status of Women as Represented in Gandhāra Art”



Submitted by

Qamar-un-Nisa

Supervised by

Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman

TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

QUAID -I- AZAM UNIVERSITY,

ISLAMABAD

2017

Declaration

I hereby declare that the dissertation “The Role and Status of Women as Represented in Gandhāra Art” is the product of my research, and it has not been submitted presently to any other university for any other degree.

Qamar-un-Nisa

I hereby recommend that the dissertation prepared under my supervision by Qamar-un-Nisa titled “The Role and Status of Women as Represented in Gandhāra Art” fulfils the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr Ghani-ur-Rahman

Supervisor

Certification

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Qamar-un-Nisa and it is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

Supervisor -----

External Examiner -----

Director -----

Dated-----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To start, I express my thankfulness to Almighty Allah for enabling me to complete this work. I am indebted to all my family members, especially my mother and father for their prayers, love and moral support.

The words here do not do justice to the depth of my thankfulness, as words are the mere artifacts which represent objective realities at a reduced level. First of all, I wish to thank my esteemed Supervisor, Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman, Associate Professor, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. I am indebted to him for his valuable time, guidance, immense encouragement and infinite patience.

My special thanks to Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Khan, Director, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, who rendered invaluable guidance, assistance and important support throughout this work. I am also very grateful to Dr. Osmund Boparachchi, Professor in Sorbonne University, ENS Paris, France for his guidance, thoughtfulness and constructive suggestions which lead to the successful completion of this thesis. It would be an injustice if I do not acknowledge his support and assistance because he was always ready to support me in my research. I would also like to thank Ms. Deepali Dewan, Senior Curator, Department of World Cultures, Royal Ontario Museum, Canada for inviting me to ROM which gave me the opportunity to consult their library resources. Special thanks goes to Mr. Jason Neelis, Associate Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Canada for his relentless help and his constant guidance.

During the course of my research, I visited various Museums, institutions and libraries in Pakistan and abroad. I am grateful to the staff of these Museums, institutions and libraries and the staff of TIAC Mr. Haider Jaffari, Mr. Naseem and to Mr. Qiam Ali Shah. I am very thankful to all of my friends, colleagues, and professors who contributed and helped to formulate my thoughts and ideas. Among them, Abdul Basit, Farhat Nasim, Shoaib Malik, Syed Hamid Mehmood Bukhari, Fazal-e- Rabi and my niece Mehak Khan.

I am also thankful to Brig. Wasiq Ahmed Khan (Head of Department Pakistan Studies, National University of Modern languages, Islamabad) for his continuous support. I would also like to acknowledge both of my elder sisters, brothers and other family members for their cooperation and assistance.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband ‘Kashif Khurshid’ whose constant encouragement, support and love enabled me to reach this monumental goal.

Dedicated to My Mom and Dad

In the Memory of my father who always dreamed of seeing me where I stand today but took the lead to heaven before the completion of my thesis and my beloved mother who always believed in me even when I lost faith in myself.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1-11
Declaration	III
Certification.....	IV
Acknowledgements.....	V-VI
Dedication.....	VII

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION	1-3
1.1 Theoretical Frame work	3-9
1.2 Statement of the problem	9-10
1.3 Hypotheses	10
1.4 Research questions.....	11-12
1.5 Research methodology	12-13
1.6 Review of literature.....	13-17
1.7 Organization of the study.....	17-18

CHAPTER 2

GEOGRAPHY HISTORY AND ART OF GANDHĀRA	19-20
2.2 The term Gandhāra	20-22
2.3 Geography of Gandhāra.....	23-26
2.4 History and art of Gandhāra.....	26-27
2.5 Alexander's invasions in Gandhāra	27-31
2.6 Mauryan rule in Gandhāra	31-33
2.7 Occupation of Bactrian Greeks in Gandhāra	33-39

2.8 Scythians and Parthians in Gandhāra	39-40
2.9 Arrival of Kushans in Gandhāra.....	40-45
2.10 Huns or Ephthalites in Gandhāra Hypotheses	45-46

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN ACCORDING TO LITERARY SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY IN THE PRE-BUDDHIST AND BUDDHIST PERIOD	47
3.2 The role and status of women as child and young girls in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	48-51
3.3 The role and status of women as daughter and sister in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	51-56
3.4 The establishment of the institution of marriage in the Indian society and the role and status of married women in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	56-59
3.5 The role and status of women as wife in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	59-66
3.6 The role and status of women as mother in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	66-69
3.7 The role and status of step mother in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period	69
3.8 The right of divorce for women in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	69-70
3.9 The role and status of widow in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period	70-74
3.10 The religious role and status of women in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	74-78
3.11 The role and status of women as temptress and seductress in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period	78-79
3.12 The Role and Status of Women as Courtesans and Prostitutes in the Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	79-82
3.13 Political and legal role and status of women in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period.....	82-84

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF ROYAL WOMEN AS DEPICTED IN GANDHĀRA ART IN THE CONTEXT OF PALACE LIFE 85-87

- 4.1 The role and status of Queen Māyā in the episode of ‘Dream of Queen Māyā’ and the depiction of her dream in Gandhāran art 87-94
- 4.2 The role and status of Queen Māyā and other women attendants as represented in Gandhāra art in the episode of the ‘Interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā’94-99
- 4.3 The role and status of Queen Maya and other women attendants in the episode of ‘The birth of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha’ as represented in Gandhāra art..... 99-114
- 4.4 The role and status of women in the episode of the Bath and Seven steps of Bodhisattva Śākyamuni and its representation in Gandhāra art 114-116
- 4.5 The role and status of Queen in the episode of ‘Retune to Kapilvastu’ after the birth of the child and its representation in Gandhāra art. 116-121
- 4.6 The role and status of Queen at the eve of the horoscope of Bodhisattva and presence of Queen as his mother on this auspicious occasion 121-128
- 4.7 The role and status of Yaśodharā as wife of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha and her representation in Gandhāra art..... 128-132
- 4.8 The role and status of women as depicted in the episode of ‘Royal chaplain introduces Yaśodharā to Siddhārtha’ as represented in Gandhāra art. 132-135
- 4.9 The depiction of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā ’s marriage in Gandhāran sculptures 135-139
- 4.10 The role and status of Yaśodharā as wife in the matrimonial rituals in Gandhāra art. 139-142
- 4.11 The representation of women in different roles and status on the eve of great departure and its depiction in Gandhāra art. 142-156
- 4.12 Women representation in the episode of Chandaka and kantaka’s return in Gandhāra art.....157-161
- 4.13 The role and status of women as represented Jatakas in Gandhāra art 161
- 4.14 The role and status of women in Syama jataka as represented in Gandhāra art161-163

4.15 The role and status of women in Maitrakanyaka jatka as represented in Gandhāra art.....	163-164
4.16 The role and status of women as wife in Amara Jataka as represented in Gandhāra art.....	164-167
4.17 The role and status of women in Dipankara Jataka as represented in Gandhāra art.....	167-170

CHAPTER 5

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN AS DEPICTED IN GANDHĀRA ART IN THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT	171
5.1 The role and status of Mother goddess Harithi as represented in Gandhāra art.....	171-185
5.2 The role and status of city goddess in the episode of great departure and its depiction in Gandhāra art.....	185-188
5.3 The religious role and status of prostitutes/nuns as represented in Gandhāra.....	188-189
5.4 The religious role and status of courtesan Amarpali as most generous women at the time of Buddha	189-198
5.5 The role and status of courtesan/nun Utpalvarna in the Gandhāra art who is known as second Buddhist nun.....	198-208
5.6 The role and status of Sujata, a pious woman who prepared food for the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni and its depiction in Gandhāra art.....	208-211
5.7 The battle of Samgdha with naked ascetic and its representation in Gandhāra art.	211-213
5.8 The role and status of women worshippers as represented in Gandhāra art	213-219
5.9 The representation of w omen as jealous and envious members of society and its depiction in Gandhāra art	219-225

CHAPTER 6

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN AS DEPICTED IN GANDHĀRA ART IN THE CONTEXT OF ENTERTAINMENT AND SENSUAL TEMPTATION	226-228
6.1 The role and status of women as seductress and temptress in the palace life of the prince Siddhārtha and its depiction in Gandhāra art.	228-237
6.2 The role and status of women in the episode of the temptation by Mara and his daughters and its depiction in Gandhāra art	237-248
6.3 The role and status of w omen in the Dionysus imagery and its representation in Gandhāra art	248-256
6.4 The representation of women on the Toilet trays/ Love making scenes and its depiction in Gandhāra art	256-258
6.5 The role and status of women in wine drinking scenes in its representation in art in Gandhāra.....	258-264
CONCLUSION.	265-273
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	274-288
GLOSSARY	289-305

INTRODUCTION

I have been very eager when it comes to my studies and I have always tried my best to do well throughout my academic career. I am the only female in my family who moved to a city to pursue the undergraduate and graduate degree. In my culture sending females to school is an afterthought and priority is given to males. When growing up I have always wondered about inequality between males and females, why such a difference in our South Asian culture? My Master of Philosophy thesis was on violence against women: A case study of “Meerwala case” explored the injustice against a female, when a brother was accused of having an illicit relationship with a girl of a noble family and Panchyat (self-composed local village court) decided that his sister will bear the consequences of this illegal relationship which led to the rape of his sister by numerous men.

When I decided to enroll in the doctoral program, I wanted to further explore the role and status of women in a different context and religion other than Islam. Upon further exploration, I learnt that women had no status and respect before the arrival of Buddhism and history of Buddhism can be related to Gandhāra art. Buddhist art of Gandhāra has a very rich history in Pakistan. Even though, numerous scholars have written about Buddhism but none of them have tried to explore the role and status of women in Gandhāra art holistically. This increased my curiosity even further and I decided to write on this topic.

Gandhāra art has long been significantly recognized primarily because it possesses a unique hybrid of styles and iconographies from the Silk Road (Hallade 1968: 42). This span of creation existed between the middle of the 1st to the 5th century CE (Zwalf 1996: 20; Tissot 1986: 14; Dani 2008: 120) influenced by the Hellenistic, Greek, Iranian, Parthian and Central Asian cultures (Marshall 1960: 17). Therefore, Gandhāra art flourished in a region with a confluence of distinct cultures, developed a specific style that vary from these most of the Buddhist sacred art. Thus, the world of art is a highly complex entity in terms of its historical and cultural roots.

The world of art is a creative process which goes through different stages of evolution in terms of its multiplicity of forms and types. Art existed in human lives from the pre-historic period. It is an important part of being human and regardless of culture and times, can be found in all aspects of our lives (Banerji 1994:1). Art is the expression or application of human creative skill and imagination, typically in a visual form such as drawing, painting or sculpture, producing works to be appreciated primarily for their beauty or emotional power (Dwivedi 1991:91-92).

Gandhāra art is a uniform and exact representation of the actual life of the day, the manner in which ancient mythology affects the local perception of women is a topic that continues to have traction in the gendered demarcation of South Asia today. The visual manifestation of the societal values of the Buddhist society has represented the art enabling craftsmen the degree of freedom to portray representative work of the lifestyles of its society. However, it still looked as restricted on certain themes and thus different from the western artists of the day. Gandhāra art represents an undeviating and thorough representation of the actual life of the day i.e, the visual manifestation of the Women's role and status through sculptures, reliefs and panels. Gandhāra art has given freedom to the sculptors to express their interpretations that are associated with their religion and social beliefs. Representational art of Gandhāra is a record of massive degrees as well as consistent visual evidence of the social, political, religious and economic lifestyle of Buddhist society. The role of women, largely depicted in a variety of ways in the Gandhāra art, can still be studied to evaluate their status in the Buddhist society.

There is a paucity of formal, scholarly material that specifically deals with the depiction of the female form in the region, although a great deal has been written about the art of ancient Gandhāra. But no one has tried to accomplish the task of studying the role and status of women in Gandhāra art. This thesis touches upon the art history of the Buddhist Gandhāra and the mythology of the sub-continent and examines the social, maternal, entertaining, assisting, spiritual, sexual, temptress and seductive aspects of women as reflected in the Gandhāran art. However, a special focus has been given to the most important role and status of women in Gandhāra art i.e. the palace life, the religious life and the entertaining and seductive role.

The term "palace life" has been defined as those women who attained royal status and contributed their major role in the early life of Buddha. The relationships of these women with Buddha have been through their family ties, a social relationship, and those women who occupied extraordinary ranks in the royal family. Those women are shown faithful, loyal, obedient, trustworthy and lovable. Women from common masses were entertainers, guards, nurses and attendants. Although they were born with a slave fate but due to their services and role, they got a higher status in the early life history of Buddha. They are presented as courageous, dutiful, helpers and assistants of the queens and royal family. The sacred roles played by women in Buddhist society are considered marvellous in nature, and Gandhāra art is incomplete without the depiction of these women. Apart from this sacred role, the term "Religious role and status" is distinguished

goddesses such as mother goddess, city goddess and prostitutes who became nuns and devoted their lives for the sake of the religion. Apart from these distinguished females, the common women worshipers, their sacrifices and devotion for religion due to their inner qualities and their effort for liberation are undeniable.

The term “Entertaining and seductive role” has been defined where women are used as tool to distract Buddha and other prominent religious men, from the way of enlightenment and where delicate sex is presented as the vamp to trap them. Women are portrayed strong and they are being used by the socially stable elites of the society. They were used as an object of lust to achieve the worldly affairs and greed. Due to their beauty and physical attraction they were used as most powerful weapon in Gandhāran society as well. The vibrant aspects of women’s nature are portrayed as a paragon of beauty and charm and delicacy in order to achieve the attention of men. In certain cases, women are not portrayed as seductress or temptress but are depicted in various states of emotions and feelings for her partner or lover; however, from sculptures it is not possible to identify the nature of their relationship. Some scenes show the various aspects and statuses of women in the practice i.e. wine-sellers, wine servers, dancers, musicians, and in some scenes shown even as wife or family member. In Gandhāra art women are depicted in the status of their social life, enjoying the pleasure of love; beside this the art portrayed women involvement in various religious, aesthetic, social and secular activities. This thesis examines the various roles or statuses of women such as secular and religious, in using the Gandhāran sculptures to examine the gender issue in ancient India particularly, in Buddhist culture. In the first half, I examine what the authors of the sacred texts and Gandhāran sculptors’ attitudes toward women were, in general, especially regarding the social and family dynamics involved; in the second half, I discuss the status of women in the Buddhist context and in the third half, I analyze the secular role and status of women. These divisions of the various roles of women of my examination will allow me a more comprehensive rendering of the status of women in the Buddhist society.

1.1 Theoretical Framework:

Before discussing the role and status of women as represented in Gandhāra art in particular, I would like to discuss general theories of the nature of art. A British art historian Kenneth Clark, in his essay “art and society” has defined the role of art played in human careers in the past ages.

Clark examined the vital role of art performed in the great ages of classical Greece, the middle ages, the Renaissance and the 19th century. He noted that in the Classical and Middle periods, people looked to art because it reminded them of things of lasting crucial beliefs about fate and destiny of human. Though created by oppressed, the art works reflected the values of the dominated groups in society, certain formal observation, rituals, and the belief were also reflected (Smith 2006: 33-34). The distinguished culture historian Jacques Barzun noted that art is an important part of our culture. It corresponds to a deep instinct in man; hence it is enjoyable and it teaches us sensory language, communication creativeness, enhance problem solving, ethnic identity, creative vision, and humanize schooling (Barzun 1978: 9-20). Similarly, my research has reflected the social, religious and cultural life of the Buddhist society through its art. In this research Gandhāra art is considered instrumental in identifying the social behavior of the society towards women status according to their roles. This research will assist an individual to understand the vision of the Buddhist society through its art.

Art history as known in the 21st century began in the 19th century but has precedents that date to the ancient world. Like the analysis of historical trends in literature, sciences and politics; art historian also relies on formal analysis, semiotics and iconography. Both semiotics and iconography address the meaning of the works of art. Within the discipline, art historians have developed iconography as a distinctive mode of inquiry first but semiotics is actually older as a philosophy of meaning; its roots go back to the ancient times” (D’Alleva 2005: 20-28). Art history has most productively been practiced and taught as the scholarly study of works of art through their historical development, in stylistic and geographic contexts; its genre, design, format and styles; encompasses several methods of studying the visual art includes the art of sculpture, painting and architecture. This was accomplished in broader three sub-disciplines. As a famed art historian Ernst Gombrich noted: “the field of art history is much like Caesar’s Gaul, divided in three parts inhabited by three different, though not necessarily hostile tribes: (i) the connoisseurs, (ii) the critics, and (iii) the academic art historian” (Gombrich 1996: 7). This research eloquently combines the study of sacred Buddhist literature, formal analysis, semiotics and iconography of the sculptures, images, panel reliefs and carved friezes. These methods played a pivotal role in understanding the meanings of the work of Gandhāra art. Its distinctive mode of research helps to understand the format and style of the art and also defines the social and religious life of the Buddhist society.

Art historian uses historical method to answer questions. Art history as a discipline is different from the art criticism, art theory or philosophy of art. Art criticism is the analysis and evaluation of the works of arts, concerned with interpretation of meaning and the critical judgment of a specific work of art. Art critic tends to focus more on modern and contemporary art from culture closer to their own. While art historian tends to study art works made in diverse cultures that are more distant in time and space (Barrett 1994:86).

In historiography scholars treated women as a branch of social history, and their aims were to elucidate the experiences of ordinary women and the sources of their tyranny as a woman. Though early historians did not ignore the role of women in society but almost entirely emphasized on the rise and fall of Victorian domesticity, with concentration on women's separate sphere at home. In the past three decades, the preceding assumptions regarding women domesticity have been challenged and discarded by some scholars as a path of their entry into the public life. The feminist school of thoughts emerged in the 1960's and 1970's, where women have become one of the prolific and creative fields in historiography. Such transformation was begun with the introduction of few widely readworks.

Joan W. Scott (1986), point-out that how historian could depict insight from emerging fields of post-colonial studies, anthropology, sociology etc., and how to clarify means and ways in which gender categories shaped knowledge with identities and power relations (Scott 1986: 1053-1075). Linda K. Kerber (1988) pointed out the metaphor of separate spheres and beside certain limitation she suggested that it helped historians to avoid thinking about race, while focusing on the assumed sphere of middle-class women (Kerber June 1988:9-39).

At the time, scholars were already beginning to clutch the multiplicity of women's role and experiences in history and public life. Historian such as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, worked on the mid-wife's life (Ulrich 1990), Jacqueline Jones Royster worked on the African-American women (Royster 200), while other historian worked on the Native American, Asian American, Latina and several other colors of women and soon it became clear that independent categories were not only race and gender. Even, historian rejected the ideas that women's oppression as women should be their dominant concern.

Thus the historians understanding of women as a historical subject has been reshaped and fragmented by the rise of gender and race in the academic discourse. Such insights have increased a marvelous burst of scholarly inspiration and creativity over the past more than three decades,

accompanied by a cheerful sense of chaos. Historiography of Women is no longer exclusively a branch of social history but amongst other things, it treats popular culture, intellectual life, economics and even electoral politics etc.

Historians of art, architecture, calligraphy and even law, foreign relations beside other fields, today recognize gender as a category of analysis. Significant findings are coming from those researchers, even they don't consider themselves historian of women at all. Many writers whether writing on any major theme or a specific field in history, incorporate findings in gender and women history (Edwards 2011: 337).

Art theory or philosophy of art, also known as aesthetics, is concerned with the fundamental nature of art, which includes investigating the enigma of the sublime and determining the essence of beauty, taste with the creation and appreciation of beauty. Technically, art history is not these things, because the art historian often roots their studies in the scrutiny of individual objects i.e. drawing, painting and sculptures. They use historical method to answer the questions i.e. how did the artist come to create the work? What are the key features of this style? What meaning did the object convey? And what historical forces shaped the artists work? How did the creation, affect the course of artistic, political and social events? (see detail in Elkins: 1996). According to the theory of aesthetics the art historians scrutinized the individual objects and used historical methods to answer the question. Similarly, in my research the aesthetic aspect is the representation of women with various roles and statuses. Gandhāra art is an innovative and developed form of art, which depicted women in beautiful manner as compared to other ancient arts. Under this theory this research work will analyze the essence of women's character in various social, religious, political and cultural aspects.

Formal analysis or formalism is the study of art by examining and comparing the form and style-the way objects are made and their purely visual aspects. The context of the work like the reason for its creation, the historical background and the life of artists, is considered to be of a secondary importance. Formal analysis is consisted of four levels while explaining a work of art.

- i. Description; description of the object without value judgment
- ii. Analysis: determining what features suggest and decide why the artist used such features to convey specific idea
- iii. Interpretation; establishing the broader context for the type of art
- iv. Judgment: judging the piece of art work its rank related to other works and the originality of the work.

Formal analysis is

an important aspect of this research. The four steps of art explained above are thoroughly discussed in this research to examine and understand the visual aspects of Gandhāra art.

Semiotics also called semiotic studies, explore the study of signs and symbols as a significant part of communication, and iconography is a branch of art history. It involves a particular depiction of subject, in terms of the content of image, its identification, description and interpretation. The subject depicted, the particular composition, detail and elements that are distinct from artistic style (D'Alleva 2005: 20-28; Barrett 199: 46-50). There are various theories of art, but amongst those the most relevant and mostly used theories are the formal theory of art, presentational theory of art and the instrumental theory of art.

Harold Osborne's work, *Aesthetics and Art Theory* has identified three basic ways of an object of art: i. the physical properties of the art work i.e. paints on canvas, sculpture, wood, marble, clay, ink on paper etc. ii. Such physical property of an art work possesses texture, contains shapes, reflects certain colors, occupies spaces, and is apprehended over time iii. These textures, shapes and colors are organized together in a variety of ways. Such material and organizational qualities of an art work; are called its formal properties and thus it is considered as a formal theory of art. Formal theory of art forms: size, shape, scale, location, visual clarity and texture. Its colors are properties of light-illumination and harmony-dissonance. According to the Aesthetic Art Theory the formal properties of art work are significant in understanding the value and objective of art. This research formalizes the theory of art that helps to comprehend the visual clarity, reality and naturalism in Gandhāra art. This theory will help the individual to understand the affection and the common beliefs of the artists in the creation of this art.

An art work presents itself in certain basic ways. For example, an art work, which serves as a copy of reality, is criticized as realistic or naturalist i.e. An art, which represents itself in an improved version of an existing reality, is called idealistic. Some art work, don't mimic reality and such kind is called as abstract. Discussion and analysis of an art work within the context of realism, idealism and abstraction, are to participate in a presentational theory of art. Presentational theory of art terms are naturalism, realism, idealism, illusion, architectonic, representation, abstraction, decoration, stylization etc. The terms of an art work are the significant aspect of this research, as stated in the presentational theory. This theory supports the researcher in identifying the actual life of the Buddhist society, its objectives and the zest of the artists of this very society.

Throughout the history, art work served as an instrument of accomplishing various purposes, i.e. art works served to teach people about the particular political, social and religious personages and beliefs. If art work is acting on behalf of a particular purpose, then we are working within the framework of instrumental theory of art. Instrumental theory is applicable to craft, communication of personal ideas and emotion of an artist, social, moral, political and religious values, iconography, narrative and ritual etc. (Osborne 1980: 22-25). Gandhāra art is instrumental in the propagation of the Buddhist beliefs and ideas. It is also helpful in understanding the social, cultural, moral and political life of the Buddhist society. In the framework of instrumental theory Gandhāra art is the representation of Buddhist society.

Sexuality and inter sexualism are the emerging areas of historical research. It is between male and female not only by the notion of separate sphere but also by the ideas of distinct sexes. It too shows that sexual identities have rarely been private matter but they have been publicly defined and even performed in the western countries. Historians have focused on the exploring of sites of gendered discourse and conflicts. Anne D'Alleva noted:

All of these scholarly arenas share common ground, but there are distinctions among them, both in terms of their academic history and in terms of their areas of inquiry. Whereas feminism is particularly concerned with the social construction of women's identity, Gender Studies is concerned with the social construction of all gender identities and experiences-whether man, woman, transgendered, gender-blended, queer, or something else altogether (D'Alleva 2005: 70).

One of the most recent and important findings of past decades on women studies, suggest that women's oppression as women cannot be untangled from several other forms of oppressions on the basis of gender and race. These two have been mutually constituted. Amongst the first, historian of slavery strongly showed how gender and race are tangled categories. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Europeans had changed their views from one-sex model to two-sex model. In one-sex model woman body was considered as an inverted form of male body, while the two-sex model seen women as naturally different beings. The dualistic theory was developed along with some new notions of gender themes like race, seductive role and status. The works of historian like Kathleen Brown, Sharon Block and Lisa Lindquist Dorr focused the gender and race basis of historiography and suggest that more work needs to be done on the intersection of gender (D'Alleva 2005: 38). Magnetism and sexual orientation of women are frequently discussed in the Buddhist literature (related to some specific legends of the life of the Buddha) which also depicted

in Gandhāra art. This research work also defines the sensual & seductive role and status of women in Gandhāra art. If the art work is a representation of a particular purpose, then we are working within the framework of instrumental theory of art.

For many centuries historians have documented not only figurative desire for women but also linked with sexual liaisons that ranged from consensual marriages to seduction and rape. In Gandhāra civilization many women were forced to poverty and domestic services, where they labored under the direction of queens and other females' majesty or employers.

In my research women are portrayed in the dualistic theory in the seductive role, women were put under different circumstances and certain times they faced difficult choices. Some worked under the slavery of rich or crown. Few women played important role in kingship like queen and other majesties. Some interacted with the queen and kings and even were decision makers, mediators and negotiators across cultural boundaries. Some women withdrew interaction with the queen and kings, and strengthen their own communities.

The search for women empowerment and female moral authority was also existed in Gandhāra art. Some women shaped gender relations not only by their presence but also through conscious efforts to civilize other women. They built certain communities and society where women were symbolized as a powerful gender as compare to male.

This thesis faces the overwhelming task of noting broader trends of women history in Gandhāra art, focusing on various broad areas on women's role as sacred, entertaining and seductive in Gandhāra art. These areas have been the most significant and illustrate some of the most dramatic ways in which earlier assumptions have been overturned.

1.2 Statement of the problem:

Women have always played an important role in all societies whether in a lower level to men, equal to men or superior to men. Similarly, women have also played various roles in the Buddhist society. This research work has explored the role and status of Women especially in different spheres of socio-religious and seductive life. The main problems which will be solved in this research work are as follow.

- Gandhāra art is the most significant instrument for the reformation of the socio-cultural history of Gandhāra civilization. This medium has been used previously by different scholars and is being used by scholars and researchers to complete the picture of Gandhāran history. But still there are many aspects of Gandhāra art and history that are not addressed.

- The present scholar has opted a topic which has never been probed in a holistic manner.
- The artistic work of Gandhāra art (sculptures, reliefs and panels) were visually examined and analyzed in order to find out the roles and statuses of women, their societal values, changes and rituals at the time when the objects were created. It became evident from the initial review that as scholars concentrated on the history, origin and types of Gandhāra art but less attention has been given to the topic under study.
- Buddhist text and art complement each other in many instances. In many cases it become different to represent a scene of text in art, and text has also been changed with the passage of time. That is why it becomes difficult to rely totally on text. It becomes the responsibility of the scholar to be very cautious for discussing an episode of history. The present research will be considering text and art together to reconstruct the history of women in the Buddhist society.
- Women had also been awarded the role of a social reformation of the society. However, unfortunately, her own self had been ignored in all aspects, in all roles and in all the times and everywhere.
- Gandhāra art is incomplete without mentioning the role and status of women. Once decided the role of women in society, her status can be defined in any society and this is the main problem which has been addressed in this research work.

1.3 Hypothesis:

- In Gandhāran civilization women holds a multidimensional and multipurpose position. i.e. her various roles and statuses as presented in Gandhāra art through different expressions, such as sculptures, panels and reliefs etc. These images convey us the strength, influence and weakness of women in the Buddhist society.
- The women in the Buddhist society and Gandhāra art seem to be involved in every aspect of life. This level of involvement provoked us to look at the positive and negative influence of women in the Buddhist society.
- Different literatures afford us with different evidence. There is no specific, colossal judgment that represents the Buddhist attitude toward women. These voices differ under various circumstances, social/institutional developments throughout the history of Buddhism.
- Text and imagery cannot substitute for each other, because the text is self-explanatory, whereas the scenes afford only a few figures and some characteristics, or an accessory

object. Therefore, the story represented in the pictures is completely up to the understanding of the observers.

1.4 Research Questions:

During this research I explored gender dynamics, the role and status of women in the pre-Buddhist society in the textual studies and Buddhist attitude toward women in textual and visual context. This study will also explore these issues and research questions analytically. The question is that how these collections of art and texts exhibit constructive information about diverse features of their artists, societies, authors and what these individuals tried to present to their societies and how it helped them to reconstruct the various roles and status of women in the past? Were women appreciated or despised in ancient Indian society? In order to comprehend the role and status of women in Buddhism, in general, and in the Gandhāra art in particular, in social, religious and entertaining context, we need to juxtapose the art and texts. This will enable us to examine the attitude of society and the Buddhist community toward women from socio-religious and a gender perspective. For example, in their social gender contexts, did women hold a prominent status such as a mother, foster mother, wife, daughter in law in the palace life of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha? How Gandhāra art is helpful in examining the attitude of the society toward women and how they were expected to behave in a family setting and in social dynamics? Apart from these royal ladies, the royal assistants and guards of the queens and the nurses and entertainers of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha are the second most important characters of the palace life. For example, how their role as an employee is helpful to reconstruct the human relationship in general and most importantly between high and lower class? Were these women active participants and empathetic in the palace of king Suddodhana and how these women are adored and admired in Gandhara art due to their roles? Likewise, women were also depicted in the popular stories of the former lives of the Buddha, known as *jātaka* tales, these stories were also represented in ancient India for many centuries in sculptures and paintings at various Buddhist sacred sites. I have examined the *jātaka tales* from a gender perspective to explore the role and status of women in the Buddhist society, such as, how these stories praise and honor the loyalty and generosity of women in the previous lives of the Buddha? The study also analyzes the religious roles of women in Gandhāra art and texts in which we have comprehensively focused on the minor possible level of the religious aspect of the Buddhist civilization. This study specifically focuses on various religious roles of women, for

example, the iconography and paleography of Gandhāra civilization show how the teachings of Buddha plays their role towards the social improvement among women in the society which was also accepted by the general public? This also leads to another question, were women active participants in the Buddhist religious practices and supporters of the Buddha's teachings just like their male counterparts? This study also begs us to raise a question, did the devotion and sacrifice of nuns towards religion were recognized in a same way as their male counterparts? Conversely, the secular roles of women are also an indispensable part of this research. Women were utilized to achieve various tasks by manipulation which included but not limited to evoke thoughts of sexual nature. Assigned multifarious tasks by king Suddodhana and queen Prajapati showwomen as an instrument of lust and leisure but they were failed to give results shown in Gandhāra art, why? How the iconography of Gandhāra art comprehend the women in the context of sensual temptation? In another context, women were also utilized as an entertainer. For example, they acted as a wine server, dancer, lover and musician. This raises the question that how Ghandara art portrayed these images? Also, how that respective society interpreted these different roles of women? Moreover, this research not only endeavored to examine the status of women in Gandhāra art but also analyzed how these sculptures provide us a transparent picture of the culture and philosophy of the Buddhist society. This solidifies the notion that why the art of Gandhāra is being observed as most prized possession of Buddhism, and how this art helped in establishing the definite history of the Buddhist society on itsbasis?

1.5 Research Methodology:

This research work is based on historical and analytical research. Historical method is used for the collection of facts, selection of the sculptures, panels and reliefs, selection of characters and variety of various episodes representing the various roles and status of women in Gandhāra art and texts. As per the nature of this research, the deductive logic of enquiry is used for analytical research to understand the social behavior of the general public towards women's position in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra.

In order to trace out the roles and statuses of women the study began with an extensive search and literature review of publication on the life of Buddha and Gandhāra art. Distinctive sources accessed were publications from subject expert in books, journals, reviews and academic databases. After reviewing the literature, the decision was made to narrow the primary research

field by focusing the study on women's roles and status in Buddhism.

During the primary research following activities were to be investigated and analyzed:

- Physical appearances of the women. (Dress code, hair style, jewelry, crown or head dresses).
- Poses of the subject. (Sitting, standing, kneeling, and frontality).
- Facial expression.
- The study environment and position therein.
- Material, composition and chronology of the object.
- Foreign influences (Greek, Roman, Persian, native etc.).

The interpretation, linking and relating the artefacts with historical events (related to the life of Buddha) practices, roles, cultural changes and rituals verified to be very advantageous. The evidences of Gandhāra art and texts enabled us to understand the role and status of women in the Buddhist society, as it is interpreted classified and recorded in Gandhāra art and texts. The available evidences of those sculptures of Gandhāra art and texts as representative of the women's role, were then categorized into various sections.

Sources:

- **Primary Sources:**

From the literature review of the last three chapters of this thesis, it becomes clear that primary research should be conducted focusing on an in-depth visual analysis of the available museum artifacts. Efforts were made to the visual examination of the selected objects, and correlating the elements of the subject with the period. Specific attention was given to sculptures of Gandhāra art. Apart from gathering the visual material, some of the photographs used in this thesis were taken from the following museums and libraries in Pakistan, France and Canada.

- Library of the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Pakistan
- Bulac Library, Paris, France
- College De France Library, Paris
- EFEO Library, Paris
- Exploration Branch Library Karachi
- Guimet Museum Paris, France
- Guimet Museum library Paris, France
- Royal Ontario Museum library Canada

- University of Toronto library Canada
- John. P. Robarts research library Canada
- Karachi Museum Library, Pakistan
- Karachi Museum, Pakistan
- Lahore Museum, Pakistan
- National Library, Pakistan
- Peshawar Museum Library, Pakistan
- Peshawar Museum, Pakistan
- Peshawar University Library, Pakistan
- Swat Museum, Pakistan
- Taxila Museum, Pakistan
- Taxila Museum library, Pakistan

To view the Buddhist religious objects such as inscriptions, manuscripts and visual representation displayed in public and those stored in their vaults and warehouses of the museums, those visits were essential part of this study. It was an opportunity to exchange views with the subject experts and curators on the observation of the study. These museums and libraries are suitable sources and places for both primary and secondary data. These sculptures, panels and reliefs of Gandhāra art were excavated from different sites of the northern areas of Pakistan, prominently among these are the sites of the Takhat-i-Bahi, Jamal Garhi, Sehri Behlol, Shahh-ji-Dheri, Butkara, Ranighat, Jamrud, and Saidu Stupa etc. The objects of these sites are now displayed in various museums in Pakistan, India, England, USA, Germany, Canada, Italy and France etc.

- **Secondary Sources:**

For the purpose of gaining the best and up-to-date information on the roles and status of women in Buddhism, literature review of this research was conducted and rich secondary sources i.e. books, journals, and other publication of the reputed scholars on the subject were examined. Accounts of huge literature in the form of books were consulted for the study as evidenced in the bibliography i.e.

1.6 Review of Literature

The sacred texts related to the life of the Buddha is an authentic source of the various roles and statuses of women in pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist period such as *The romantic legend of Sakya Buddha* (Samuel Beal 1875) refers to the great departure of the Bodhisattva for the religious life. It also comprises the previous and subsequent history of Buddha which helps to understand

the role and status of women in both epochs. *Buddhacharita, The Life of the Buddha* (Asvagosha 1937) mainly highlights the awakening of Siddhārtha when he confronted by the reality of old age, sickness and death, while seduced by the charm of women assigned to keep him at palace. The three volumes of *The Mahāvastu*, (J. J. Jones, 1949, 1952, 1956) emphasizes the jataka tales and subsequent history of the life of Buddha which helps to examine the status of women in various roles in different episodes of the life of Buddha. The two volumes of *The Lalitavistara* (Gwendolyn Bays, 1983) appraised the life history of Buddha in a very appealing manner. It also signifies the role and status of women in various rapport with Buddha and in the concerned society. Apart from these sacred text the subject of Gandhāra art and the life story of the Buddha in art taken up by various writers such as, *Buddhist art in India* (Grunwedel Albert and James Burgess, 1901-1965) reviewed the early Indian style and conferred the discovery, composition and artistic value of the Gandhāran school which is supportive to analyze the significance of Gandhāra art. *The Beginning of the Buddhist Art* (Alfered Foucher, 1917) traces the foreign influences and the origin of the Buddhist art. It also marked out that Gandhāra art provided us bulk of themes of the life of Buddha and similarly offers a task for future researches on this art. The work of Sir John Marshall in regard of his excavations at Taxila and his study of Gandhāra art entitled *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (1951, 1960) is a constructive exertion to enlighten various phases of Gandhāra art. The illustration in his work covers the whole series of the life of Buddha. *The Dynastic Art of Kushans* (J. M. Rosenfield, 1967) signifies Gandhāra art under the patronage of Kushans. He focused his study on coinage and epigraphic evidences of the Kushan rulers in the region. The Buddhist narrative sculptures were also exposed to comprehend Gandhāra art under the patronage of Kushan rulers. *Gandhāran Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia and Central Asia* by Madeleine Hallade (1968) suggests the geography and foreign influences on Gandhāra art and similarly illustrated the various characteristics of Gandhāra art which are principal source to comprehend the Buddhist society. *Origins of the Gandhāran Style* (Lolita Nehru 1989), determined the extent of the foreign impact and the preparation of the indigenous Gandhāran style from the combination, modification and rejection of stylistic elements at work in Gandhāra region. *The life of the Buddha according to the ancient texts and Monuments of India* by A. Foucher (2003) comments the life of Buddha from his birth to enlightenment with the assimilation of text and monuments which is a significant source of evidence of the Buddhist society. These records on the Buddhist art of Gandhāra are considered an authentic and valuable reserve of the various aspects

of the life of Buddha and the different role and status of women in the concerned society.

The sacred and ancient text related to the position of women in ancient India is the third major source of information. Two major Sanskrit epics of ancient India the Mahābhārata (Kisari Mohan Ganguli, 1883) and the Ramayana (Valmiki Manmatha Nath Dutt, 1891) show the inconsistent attitude toward women in both worldly and spiritual spheres. The collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymns, the Rig-Veda (Stephanies & Jamison 2014) regarded very high role and status of women in both social and religious life. Dharmasastra, (Patrick Ollivie; G. Buhler 1886) examined the diverse and contradictory position of women in ancient Indian society. The *Kautiliya's Arthasastra* by R. P. Kangle (1909) analyzed the socio-economic position of women. *Women under Primitive Buddhism, laywomen and Almswomen* by I.B. Hornor (1930) explains the supreme socio-religious status of women in Buddhism. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Present day* by A. S. Altekar (1959) studied the position of women in Hinduism at various phases of history. *Shakuntala* by Romila Thapar (1973) is an interface between literature and history and addressed the multiple identities of women at various phases of life. *Women in Indian Sculpture* by M. L. Varadpande (2006) and *Women in Buddhist Art* by Vinay Kumar Rao (2012) provide ample pattern of various roles of women as represented in Indian art.

Journals and magazines were also consulted during the writing of the text of the thesis. The current opinion of experts involved in the field of Gandhāra art, remained a valuable source for this research work. Various journals, magazines and articles were extensively checked and consulted, as mentioned in the bibliography.'

Therefore, addressing the gap in the literature that tend to focus on the various roles and statuses of women which will allow me to conduct a more comprehensive study of the role and status of women in the Buddhist society. I aim to generate a new vision into the roles and statuses of women by adapting these various judgements in text and art. This will be a unique source of study of women in Gandhāran Buddhism. Likely, I can pursue my discussion beyond the limits of the present scholarly debate and reach a point which can help us to distinguish the various roles and status of women in this society.

Catalogues:

Valuable catalogues and sources related to Gandhāra art that provides unique collection of Gandhāran sculptures in different museums of the world and unique sculptures buried in private collection all around the world, are also rich sources of information for this thesis. Such collection

of Gandhāran sculptures extended the horizon of this research work. Those sources include: Isao Kurita's two volumes on '*Gandhāra Art in the Ancient Buddhist Art Series*' and W. Zwalf's *A catalogue of the 'Gandhāran Sculptures in the British Museum'* (1996), '*Gandhāra Art in Pakistan*' by Harald Ingholt (1957), Tanabe, Katsumi, ed., '*Gandhāran Art: From the Hirayama Collection*' (1984), Tanabe Katsumi, '*Gandhāran Ladies and Toilet-Trays from Japanese Collection*' Tokyo (1985), D.C. Bhattacharyya's catalogue entitled '*Gandhāra Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh*' (2002), '*A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Stone Sculptures in the Taxila Museum*', by Muhammad Ashraf Khan (2005), '*The Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan 1931-1985*' by Francine Tissot (2006) and '*The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*' by Fidaullah Sehari (2008) largely the preeminent assortment of Gandhāra art with well examined interpretations and references for each item.

- **Electronic databases and Internet Sources:**

Apart from books and journals, electronic databases and internet sources were also accessed for relevant information. Some of the photographs of the sculptures used in this thesis were obtained from electronic databases and internet sources. However, utmost care was taken to use only the official and trusted websites of the internet.

1.7 Organization/Composition of the Study:

Chapter one, reviewed the theoretical framework, focused on the conceptual aspect of the research work and leading theories related to thesis and the conceptualization of Gandhāra art.

Chapter two: *Geography, history and art of Gandhāra*, has analyzed the significance of the land of Gandhāra due to its geographical location and also highlights why this land was important for the diffusion of the Buddhism and remained the pivotal point for the foreign invaders. It also presents a brief account of the union of the east and west culture that creates a distinctive history of the area.

Chapter three: *The role and status of women according to literary sources of Indian history in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period*: observed the different roles and statuses of women in ancient Indian society in the context of various phases of life. It also implies the serene assessment of different roles and statuses of women in the pre-Buddhist and in the Buddhist society.

Chapter four: *The role and status of women as depicted in Gandhāra art in the context of palace life*, examined the sacred role and status of women in various domains of life in the light of

the Buddhist text and Gandhāran sculptures. This chapter described a brief union of the palace life of the Bodhisattva as prince Siddhārtha, and also examined the previous birth stories of the Bodhisattva. Women are classified in various groups according to their veneration and services. These episodes of Gandhāra art assist to comprehend the role and status of women in very appropriate manner.

Chapter five: *The role and status of women as depicted in Gandhāra art in the religious context*, suggests the religious devotion, fondness, forgoes and virtuousness of women of different social groups. The depiction of these images shows the religious role and status of women.

Chapter six: *The role and status of women as depicted in Gandhāra art in the context of entertainment and sensual temptation*, conversed a brief description that how women were used as an instrument to enhance the worldly paybacks from ages. It also refers the alluring nature of women to attract the men by their physical beauty and charm. Conclusion, bibliography and glossary has been placed in the end of the thesis.

Chapter 2

2.1 Geography, History and Art of Gandhāra

This chapter throws light on the nomenclature, geography, history and art of Gandhāra in ancient India according to coins and excavations in various parts of the area. It shows the numerous characteristics of the life of the people of this area. It also discusses the geography and the changes that occurred in different phases after foreign invasions. This study also helps to understand the civilization, economy, languages, education system and ancestral and religious rights of people in a society. Histories of several dynasties are being discussed in this chapter and their various roles and activities. The following table has been designed to bring together the historical events of Gandhāra under different span of time.

331-327 B.C.	Alexander the Great (r. 336-323 B.C.) has conquered Gandhāra, Taxila, and succeeded at the Indus River.
200 B.C.	The first Buddhist sites was established in Gandhāra, but no divine imagery was found from that period.
2nd century B.C.-1st Century A.D.	Sculpt stone dishes and worldly grandeur objects were assembled during that time period.
1st century A.D.	First emergence of sculpture embellishing Buddhist sites was discovered.
1st-3rd century A.D.	Kushan dynasty administered much of Greater Gandhāra and North India, attaining the apex of its dominance under King Kanishka (r. A.D. 129-155) and Huvishka (r. 155-193).
2nd century A. D.	During this period many Buddhist sites were established and most Gandhāran Buddhist narrative sculptures were created.
3rd century A.D.	Divine icons of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas commence to be carved. The clay, stucco, and terracotta start to be widely used but Schist persist as influential medium.

3rd-5th century A.D.	During this period most of the Gandhāran Buddhist iconic sculptures were produced. This era saw the discovery of new Buddhist sacred sites and the older ones were greatly expanded. However, this phase is known as the period of greatest prosperity in Gandhāra
4th-5th century A.D.	Religious images became monumental, and the iconography of Buddha images turned to be more complicated.
5th-6th century A.D.	This era saw a gradual decline in donor assistance to Gandhāran and Buddhist sacred areas due to the invasion of various Hun people. As they diminish the Buddhist monasteries, Buddhist communities reused the thumble down sculptures.

Table 1 The Historical Events of Gandhāra Region (Behrendt 2007).

2.2 The Term Gandhāra:

The term Gandhāra is found for the first time in the oldest religious literature of South Asia, i.e., *Rigveda*, considered the most ancient of Indian sacred hymns, where, the term is defined as a part of the North-West of India (Griffith 1968: 652; Ingholt 1957: 1). This hymn approximately was composed between 1500 to 1000 BC (Basham 1963: 31). The Hymns were composed in Vedic Sanskrit and dated to approximately 1200 B.C. The hymns do not precisely locate Gandhāra, but refer to the area of the river *Suvastu*, which is the Swat River of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of the present day Pakistan. The composition of *Rigveda* was followed by the Brahmanas. During this period the center of the spiritual accomplishments was relocated to the neighboring country on the east, i.e., the upper portion of the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna. This was the country of the holy sages i.e., Brahmarshidesa (Rapson 1965: 40). The *Atharvaveda* is considered as the second well known religious text of Hinduism which relates the Gandharies with Mujavants, eastern Magadhas and Angas.

In the *Atharvaveda*, and also in the *Srauta Sutras* the Gandhari people are mentioned as a despised nomadic people distant from the Aryan homelands and to whom fever as an illness was wished to be relegated (Zwalf 1996: 15; Majumdar 1951: 258; Swati 2008: 131-132). Therefore,

it appears that Aryan of the *Vedic* period did not look upon Gandhāra as a holy place which could stimulate the *Vedic* poets to glorify its virtues. Furthermore, along with some other tribes *Rigveda* mentions Gandaries but does not contend on the boundary of their country (Majumdar 1951: 258). In the *Vedic* and *Puranic* literature, Gandhāra is regularly denoted to as “Uttara” (northern) country, occupied by Gandhāras (Rapson 1955: 26). This area is also identified as Gandhāra by Chinese pilgrims *Kin-to-lo* (Cunningham 1924: 55). The towns and villages of these people were desolated and the inhabitants were very few, in one corner of the royal city there were above 1000 families. The people were faint-hearted and fond of practical arts, majority followed to other system of religion, a few being Buddhist” (Beal 1884: 98). Beside these earlier texts, the term Gandhāra is also found in the late *Vedic* text as in *The Srutra Sutras Hiranyakesi*, while *Apastamba* and *Baudhayana* also talked about them (Zwalf 1996: 15; Murty 1971: 1; Khan 1998:57).

The people of Gandhāra are similarly referred in the dialogues of the *Upanishads*, and in the epic poem, the *Ramāyāna* which is considered as the core of Indian Philosophy. An interesting reference in the *Upanishads* refers to Gandhāra as a place where dedicated students returned for liberation from worldly affairs while seeking truth from a teacher. The epic poetry of *The Mahābhārata*, which is one of the most important texts of Hindu faith, was first recited at Taxila (Zwalf 1996: 15). Kunti, the mother of the Pandavas, who conquered the Kauraves in the grand civil war that forms the core story of the *Mahābhārata*, is referred to as a woman of the Gandhāri people (Basham 1967 47; Jongeward 2003:7).

The term Gandhāra is also found in the literature of the later period, the most important example is the Buddhist Scripture *the Anguttara Nikaya* which includes Gandhāra within the sixteen Mahajanapadas of India (Sengupta 1984: 12). In the later inscriptions of the Darius (Old Persian Daryavaush) son of Hystaspes, the Gandhāras and the Hindus are stated as subject peoples. Burgess stated that the offshoot residents by the Indus and the Aryan occupants of Kabul and that district were recognized in India as Gandhāra in Herodotus the Gandarioi (Burgees 1985:10).

In the inscriptions of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustan and Behistun (528-19) the people of Gandhāra are mentioned among his subject people and as the soldier of the great kings. The region of Gandhāra remained a seventh province of the Persia until it was conquered by Alexander the Great in 327-26 B.C (Ojha 1968: 9; Marshall 2008: 1; Sehri 1991: 2). The early historical reports show that, the term Gandhāra is not only found in the sacred literature but also in the texts of Achaemenian, Hellenistic and Roman literature indicating the area in the North-West of India

(Ingholt 1957: 1). Thus, the *Historica* of Herodotus also stated Gandhāra as one of the territories of the Achaemenian Empire (Khan 1998: 57).

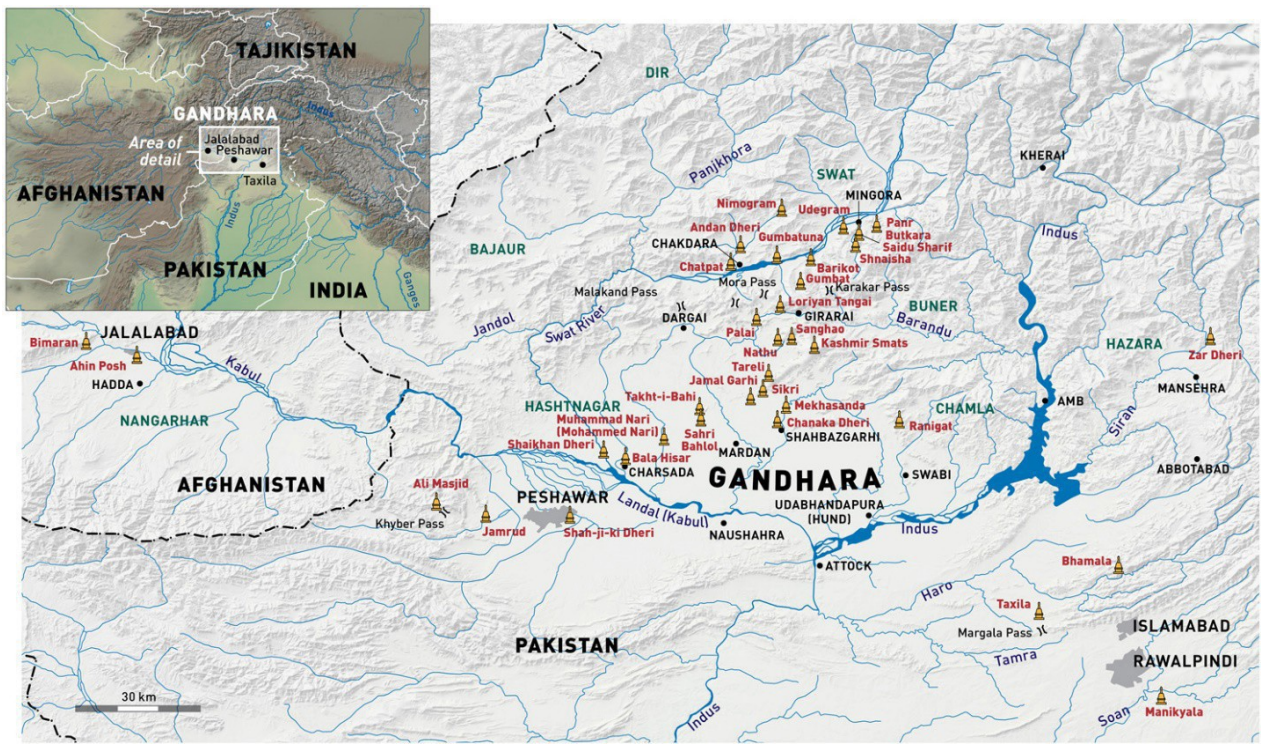
Besides this, the word Gandhāra is also mentioned by famous Greek historians; Herodotus, Strabo and Ptolemy who wrote it by different names as Gandarioi, Gandarae and Gandaritis (Brown 1908: 3; Burgess 1897: 75). So far the word Gandhāra is variously recorded in the ancient and later texts and the meaning of word Gandhāra is often translated as ‘the land of fragrance’. Taking “Gand” as fragrance and “hara” as land thus, the composite form of the word Gandhāra suggests a country or piece of land generated abundant fragrance and because of this quality, it apparently, came to be known as Gandhāra “the land of fragrance” (Khan, et al 2005:8).

In transitory we have dissimilar selections concerning the meaning of Gandhāra. However, according to the pattern of the nomenclature, the meaning of Gandhāra is an issue that needs to be addressed. From Gandhāra many other regions took their names on account of the topographical features of the land they represent. According to this if the meaning of Gandhāra as ‘land of fragrance’ is correct, it does not fall in to this pattern. Therefore, the most prominent feature of the topography of the Peshawar valley is its river system. Kabul and Swat River joins river Indus near a place known as Kund (reservoir or pond), due to which the whole Peshawar valley was known in the beginning as Kundhar (the land marked by sheet of water) (Ahmed 2000: 29). It is significant that Qandhar (in Afghanistan) is documented by early Muslim writers as Qandhara (Rahman 1979: 14).

The other interesting legend regarding its name is related to the tribes of the post *Rigvedic* period, one of them is Druhyus who’s king Angara struggled for grabbing land into the north western corner of the Punjab (Majumdar 1951: 258). King Druhyus was killed in the chaos by a person named Gandhāra after whose name the Druhyus settlement in the Punjab came to be known as such. The traditional history (based on *Puranas*) mentions it was due to this reason that the term Gandhāra came in to mode as the name of the region. The Druhyus (now Gandharis) after sometime crossed the borders of India, i.e., Indus, and found many principalities in the Mleccha territories in the north (i.e., Gandhāra) (Majumdar 1951: 279). In the light of above discussion, we find various options regarding the meaning of Gandhāra. Which of these is correct is somebody’s choice.

2.3 Physical Geography of Gandhāra:

The measurement of the boundaries of Gandhāra is for the first time described only by Xuan Zang. The country measured about 1000 li from the east to west and about 800 li from the north to south. On the east it borders on the river Sin (Sindh). The capital of the country is called Po-lu-sha-pu-lo. It is about 40 li in circuit (Beal 1884: 97). This measurement parallels with the existing valley of Peshawar as it is noticeable by Jalalabad hills (Afghanistan) on its west, and the river Indus in the east, Swat and Buner hills on the north, and Kala Bagh hills on the south (Cunningham 1924: 55). Thus, we come to know that Gandhāra is the name of an ancient kingdom, located in the northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan. Gandhāra was situated mainly in the Peshawar valley, the area located on the west bank of the River Indus, the Potohar plateau, mainly in the fertile valleys of the lower Kabul and Swat rivers and extending on the east of the river Indus (Ingholt 1957: 13; Bopearachchi 2015: 330). It was a triangular piece of land and bounded on three sides by high mountains (Khan 1998: 56). According to Bopearachchi, North-western India encompasses the ancient region of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Gandhāra and the Punjab, situated to the south of the Hindu-Kush. It is bordered by the Thar Desert and the upper Ganges plain to the east, the Hindu-Kush mountains to the west, and in the north mountain berries of the Himalayas are hiding various small regions like Hunza and Chitral (Bopearachchi 2015:330).



Map: Gandhāra (Asia society).

The main cities of the kingdom of Gandhāra were Purushapura (modern Peshawar) and Takshasila (modern Taxila). The *Ramāyāna* considers Gandhāra as lying on both sides of the river Indus, with its two capital cities Takshasila for the east, forming an area 170 miles from east to west and above 100 miles from north to south and Pushkalavati from the west (Sengupta 1984: 13; Burgees 1985: 76). The boundary of Gandhāra varied throughout the history. Sometimes the Peshawar valley and Taxila (as mentioned above) were collectively considered as Gandhāra but at various junctures the Swat valley was also included in it. The kingdom was ruled from the capital at Pushkalavati (Charasada), Taxila and Purushapura (Peshawar). According to the *Ramāyāna*, Rama Bharata, the king of Ayodhya found the city of Takshasila (Taxila) for his son Taksa and the city of Pushkalavati (Charasada) for his second son Puskala (Michael 2009: 27; Sharma 1985: 42). However, the Peshawar valley has always provided a main channel for the annexation of India but the heart of the Gandhāra, however, was always the Peshawar valley.

Among the Buddhist sites excavated at the end of the 19th and during 20th centuries, *Takhti-Bahi*, *Sahri-Bahlol*, *Jamalgarhi*, *Loriyan-tangai*, *Mekha-sanda*, *Sikri*, *Charsadda*, *Butkara*, *Taxila*, *Zar Dheri*, *Shnai-sha* hold an important place. Gandhāra cannot be isolated from the neighboring regions that modern historians define as the Greater Gandhāra: the upper Swat valley, Dir, and *Bajaur* agencies in the formerly North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Taxila in the Punjab, and *Begram-Kapisi* and *Hadda* in Afghanistan. “The *Begram-Kapisi* region at the foothills of the Hindu-Kush, known in antiquity as Paropamisadae with Alexandria of the Caucasus as its most prominent settlement, should be considered a part of Greater Gandhāra, mostly because of the tight links of the so called Begram School with the earlier Gandhāran artistic production” (Cambon 1924: 25).

It is substantial to evoke here that the territories of existing central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and North-West India were occupied by the Greeks and their Persian ancestors and their Parthian, Scythian and Kushan descendants. Politically and geographically along with the regular barrier of the Hindu Kush mountain range these regions can be separated into two diverse regions (Gardin 2003: 21-25). The Bactria and Sogdiana was parallel by the north zone of Hindu Kush, while that to the south to Arachosi, Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. The settlement arrangements of numerous kingdoms in these sectors help us in understanding the basic geographical features of these two great regions. The mountain ranges of Pamir and Hindu Kush conquered the Bactria and Sogdiana and are persistently roofed in snow.

They are characterized, like most regions in Central Asia, by large deserts, striking mountains, high plateaus and contracted valleys where human settlement tend to be determined to exploit the rare bountiful strips of cultivable land (Gentelle 2002: 625-663).

In the North-West India by the hills of the Hindu Kush and Himalayas the much contracted but particularly productive valleys of *Hunza*, *Chitral*, and specifically Swat presented ideal localities for such settlements. Contrasting the areas to the north, the zones to the south of the Hindu Kush are considered by the large basins and plains of *Bannu* and Peshawar and by the existence of rivers like the Indus and the Swat. The great steppes of Punjab, the country of five rivers, are the richest of entire sections of Pakistan. The role of regular frontier played by the Hindu Kush range is very vital in understanding the religious, cultural and political variances of the Greek and other monarchies in the north and later in the south. As it was so problematic to cross, the Hindu Kush became a natural fortification between the two areas, thus prompting the history of the Greeks and their descendants in Gandhāra and its adjacent regions (the unpublished article of Bopearachchi, Gandhāra: A Historical Perspective).

Gandhāra region is well known for its geographical significance, settled history, rich water resources, tropical rains, and irrigation and agricultural system, which mostly based on the river water, Al-Masudi refers to three main rivers; Raid, Mihran and Kabul in this area. Gandhāra Civilization was settled around the area of the Kabul river valleys because the former area of the Gandhāra was mostly drained via the Kabul River. This river flows down to the east, where it joins the Indus at the place of Attock. River Alingar, River Kunar, River Swat and Kundar were the important tributaries, which irrigated the area of the Gandhāra region (Beal 1884: 98; Majumdar 1951: 258; Michael 2009: 28).

Due to these abundant water resources, the region was well reputed for the production of sugar-cane, good quality wool, cereals, variety of fruits and flowers, (grapes, plums, peaches, apples, apricots, water melon, sweet oranges etc.) (Sengupta 1984: 79). Cereals, wheat and barley observed a vital part of the food material of the people of Gandhāra (Marshall 1931: 27). From ancient times meat was common food article of the people of the region. They liked the flesh of sheep and used garlic, onion, black pepper, ginger, asafetida, and saffron for the cooking of the food (Sengupta 1984: 79). The area also has abundance of sugar cane from the juice of which they prepared the solid sugar. The climate is warm and moist. The disposition of people is timid and soft. They love literature. This ancient land produces many authors of Shastra's, for example

Narayanadeva, Asanga Bodhisattva, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, Dharmatrata, Manorhita, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, Parsva and many others (Beal 1884: 98). In short Gandhāra relished a prominent position in the development of human civilization because Gandhāra provides a crossroad of geography and history to the foreigners. It is a land where East and West and North and South meet, it was for the first time in the history that Asia and Europe meet at this land and provided an opening for the socialization of diverse people and cultures. These nations mismatched one another and contributed to the improvement of human civilization (Dani 1998:152).

2.4 History and Art of Gandhāra:

The significance of Gandhāra in the human history is creative and stimulating (Dupree 1998: 33). Gandhāra was an important area because it navigated the great trade routes and linked the Central Asia, Western Asia and India. The geography, atmosphere, history and socio-economic environment played a vital role in fostering the hybrid civilization of Gandhāra (Khan 1998: 53). India is considered as the heart of the old world because the mature culture of India had been derived from outside and due to inexpressibly rich imagination which had been re-formed and renovated over and over again. Due to this reason India was regarded as “the cradle of mankind” and the “seat of primeval wisdom” (Burgees 1985: 9). Among various rich and conquered regions of India from foreign invaders Gandhāra region has been considered as a big central point of conquest, starting from the Persians and then Alexander the Great.

All the invaders familiarized various political, economic, social and administrative systems to consolidate their power and control over this region and maintain good trade and foreign relations with other nations. The earliest definite reference about the Achaemenians found in the inscription of Behistun (c.520-518 BC) which lists twenty-three satrapies including ‘Gadara’ (Gandhāra) of the Achaemenian empire of Darius but Sindhu (the Indus region) is omitted (Thripathy 1942: 15-16). Conversely, the inscription of Hamadan however, omits Gandhāra and mentions only the name of ‘Hindu’ satrapy of Achaemenian Empire (Majumdar 1980: 41). It might be possible due to the implementation of Hamadan epigraph the whole Sindhu valley including Gandhāra was compositely represented by the term ‘Hindu’ as the Achaemenian satrapy. The long span control of two centuries of the Achaemenians is recorded only in satrapyreference.

In order to facilitate the international trade, the Achaemenians familiarized the use of coin currency and new weight and measure system and also to the adoption of alphabetical writings in Gandhāra and Sogdiana. Panini presented his own grammatical structure and gave a new

alphabetical order for Sanskrit. The evaluation of the Achaemenian cuneiform syllabary was influenced by this alphabetical system (correctly speaking syllabic system). This innovation of Panini has added historical significance and provided the new basis of the study of modern linguistics. In this way the land of Gandhāra has its historical significance in the consolidation of human language and linguistics during the reign of Achaemenians (Dani 1998: 152). The system of land communication, a new road and postal system that was later extended by Aśoka Maurya from the city of Takshasila eastwards to his capital at Pataliputra (modern Patna in Behar) and right up to the port town of Suvarnalipti on the Bay of Bengal was developed during the time of Achaemenians (Dani 1998: 152).

The Achaemenians also brought their artistic influence in the region. The historical incidents, influence of new beliefs, relationship between Iran and Indus basin, borrowing of tools & skills and the transfer of objects had successive artistic influence on Indian art. During 304 and 297 BCE, friendly relationship was established between the Indian Muryan dynasty and the Seleucids, this resulted in the transmission of various aspects of Achaemenid art to India. In the middle of the third century BCE Aśoka built a palace at Pataliputra which was almost as stunning as the Achaemenid palace of Susa. Apart from this, the bell shaped capital of Persepolis and the images of animals are still present on the base-reliefs of Gandhāra. Aside from this, the Achaemenid style of ornaments were first used in the ancient art of India followed by the Mathura, Kushan and Gandhāran style (Hallade 1968: 16-17).

Achaemenians declined under Xerxes although their control over the far flung regions continued. Persian influence over Gandhāra is proved by the particular call of Darius III to Indian troops in his final encounter at Arbela to repel the Greek invasion of Persia (Rapson 1965: 305). Persian defeat at Arbela by the Greek and Macedonian forces ended the Achaemenian political power over their eastern provinces included Gandhāra.

2.5 Alexander's Invasion in Gandhāra:

In the Sindhu valley Alexander's campaign is documented by classical writers whose versions are not relatively as full as one may crave. They do not mention to the Persian satrapy of Gandhāra by its specific name. Though, the capital of Gandhāra (*Pushkalavati*) and its occupation by Alexander is documented. Perdicas and Hephaestion were transmitted by Alexander to lay obstruction of *Pushkalavati*. However, the king of Astakenoi (*Ashtakaraja*) named *Astes* refused to surrender before Alexander (Majumdar et al 1980: 43). Alexander joined his generals at *Pushkalavati* after

subduing the state of *Buner* and Swat. Astes battled Alexander's army for a month or more but unsuccessful and laid down his life in fighting. The city was occupied and given over to a certain Sangaya or Sanjaya an enemy of Astes (Rapson 1965: 318). Gandhāra was now included in the new satrapy constituted by Alexander, comprising areas west of river Sindhu (Indus) and Nicanor was made its governor (Majumdar 1960: 15).

Alexander crossed the Hindu-Kush between 329 and 326 B.C.E. He conquered the eastern satrapies of the Achaemenian Persian Empire, Bactria, Paropamisadai, Arachosia, Seistan and Gandhāra (Bopearachchi 2015: 491; Green 1991: 381). In 306 B.C.E. he declared himself king and founded his new capital at Seleukeia on the Tigris where he set out his Indian campaign. His conquest to the Achaemenian satrapy ended with the death of Darius III. According to the same author the Persian dynasty founded by Cyrus in 539 B.C.E. expanded its empire with Cyrus II, Darius I and Xerxes until it stretched from Macedonia to the north, Egypt to the west, and Indus valley to the east. The Gandhāra region has always been a land of conquests (Green 1991: 379). Herodotus, the Greek Historian of the 5th century B.C.E, wrote that "the territories situated on both sides of the Hindu-Kush paid tribute to the Persian or supplied troops.

The coins discovered in the result of the excavation report of Stein from Bir Kot, also indicated the presence of Achaemenians and the invasion of Alexander in the village of Bir Kot and in the surrounding areas, which are a clear proof of the Persian rule in the area (Stein 1927: 430). After conquering the Persian satrapies, Alexander crossed the Hindu-Kush in Spring 327 B.C. After reaching at Nikia, he divided his army into two groups, Hephaestion and Perdikkas, one large group marched towards the tract of Peukelaotis (Sanskrit Pushkalavati, modern Charasada), the other group led by Alexander himself, marched towards the north of the Kabul River. The three battalions of assemblage were to proceed down the Khyber Pass to the Indus (Majumdar et al 1980: 43; Green 1991: 381-82). From Kabul he crossed Swat and subjugated the Massaga and Aornus (Narian 1965: 157). In 326, he crossed the Indus and welcomed by the local king known as Omphis or Ambi at Taxila. He ruled the territory between the Indus River on the west and the Hydaspes River on the east. He offered food, entertainment, and lavish gifts to Alexander and his army. Alexander enjoyed the hospitality of the King and allowed him to enjoy and live in peace (Holt 2003: 55; Narian 1965: 175; Green 1991: 387).

The Greek states were combined into a universal monarchy by the Macedonian empire after a century and a half followed the death of the Buddha. On western frontier formed by Hellenes

while on the east the North West India first opened by Alexander the Great (Burgees 1985: 8). In India he had joined an Indian raja Sasigupta (Sisicottus). He briefed Alexander about the political situation outside the Khyber. After this Alexander sent his envoys to Ambi (Omphis) the raja of Taxila and the Indian west of the Indus and asked them for the meeting. Raja Ambi and many other minor rajas arrived with gifts because raja Ambi wanted the support of Alexander against his great rival Poros. Poros was powerful king whose kingdom lay beyond the Jhelum (Hydaspes) River (Green 1991: 381). After that he proceeded to the Jhelum (Hydapses) where he confronted with a powerful king Poros. Hydapses River became hurdle in the way of the Alexander because it was flooded and broadened from the snow melt of Himalayas and also because of the seasonal rains continued for over two months. But the Alexander's army crossed the severe thunderstorm. Some unique decadrachm, showed Alexander on horse retreating an elephant rider (Poros) (Holt 2003: 54; Green 1991: 389). They fought fierce battle called, 'The battle of Hydaspes', which was the most famous elephant war in the history between the ancient Greek and the army of Alexander.

Poros fought bravely, but his army was dispersed, then he prepared another force of his own men, but having been wounded in his right shoulder, he wheeled his elephant and retreated. First Ambi, the king of Taxila was sent with Alexander's message but Poros was not agreed to submit, he once again turned his elephant and rode up towards the king Ambi, he hardly saved his life and returned. After the decisive battle, Poros was defeated and brought to the Alexander, he forgave him, and with the help of the Meroes, who had long been the friend of Poros (probably Chandragupta Maurya) he succeeded in reconciliation with Poros. Alexander was impressed by the hospitality and bravery of the Poros and reinstated him as a king of all the country between the Beas and the Jhelum (Narian 1965: 158; Green 1991: 389-402). Raja Poros remains to this day a "great hero of the Punjab", Poros ruled the Pauravas (hence his name), and such he dominated the Punjab region between the river Hydaspes (modern Jhelum) and Acesines (modern Chenab) (Holt 2003: 48-49).

Diodorus says after the battle the Macedonian army rested for thirty days in the midst of vast plenty of supplies. Indian regards him as a Dharmavijayi due to his courageous demeanor of Poros. But the king felt the honest appreciation for his beaten opponent and called him the most beneficial assistant and ideal counterweight to Ambi of Taxila. Though Alexander staged a public settlement between the two rajas, he meant to each of them to keep an observant eye on the other (Green 1991: 402). As Boppearachachi has correctly mentioned after a careful study of the

“Medallion of Alexander the Great from the Mir Zaka deposits” held on March 26th at Ecole Normale Superieure, this was Alexander’s last major and greatest battle: the issuing of the gold and silver medallions commemorating the victory reflects the bloody battle against the elephants that brutally trampled and mangled the Greek soldiers. On the reverse of the coins, an elephant is depicted walking on the right, which symbolizes India (These coins were examined by four numismatists).

After these successful conquests, his ambitions were still not ended; he goes one step further and crossed the Chenab and the Ravi (Narian 1965: 159). After crossing these areas, he marched towards the Beas, and made links with the kingdom of Phegala. At this point his troops began to lose heart and refused to continue because of the dangers and hardships, they had been facing after their entry in India. However, Alexander had not stopped his journey, sailing down the Indus, he reached Patala, in July 325, he stayed there to prepare the last stage of his journey out of India and back to Hellas. Alexander penetrated no further than West Pakistan confrontation gathered in the Punjab under the command of a young Kshatriya commoner Chandra-Gupta and finally this journey of the Great conqueror of the world ended at Babylonia, where he died on June 10th 323 B.C.E (Narian 1965: 159; Green 1991:427).

After the death of Alexander, his Empire was divided into groups among his Governors and associates. Lysimachos became the ruler of Thrace and adjoining areas in the Euxine, and gradually, his Empire extended to the Black Sea and Asia Minor. In 281 B.C.E Seleucos 1, one of Alexander’s officers, defeated him at Korupedion and became the Governor of Babylonia. He was a great emperor, in 306 B.C.E he became king and founded his new capital at Seleukeia on the Tigris. Most of the satrapies of the old Achaemenid Empire, such as, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Choresmia, Parthia, Aria, Sogdiana and Bactria came under his control (Burgees 1985: 76; Green 1991: Bopearachchi 2011: 47). Pithon abandoned the northwest and rushed to western Asia (Rapson: 1965: 385). Pithon assign the administration of the northwest or Gandhāra but nothing is known about the political structure of the country of Gandhāra till it was invaded to the vast Mauryan Empire (Majumdar 1980: 60).

The arrival of Greeks in Gandhāra also brought Greek art in the region. The grandeur of the Greek rulers are reflected on the coins issued by their rulers. They depicted Greek gods and goddesses on thousands of coins i.e. Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Hermes, Tyche, Heracles, Dionysos, Helios, and Poseidon (Bopearachchi 1994: 338-339; Hallade 1968: 22). These coins moved around

in Gandhāra and in the neighboring areas as an evidence that the Hellenistic culture is present in the region. Later, most of these divinities also appeared in Hindu and Buddhist context (Bopearachchi 1999:). Apart from coins, sculptures were another source of the wide spread influence of Hellenism in the area. Their art work reflects the hybrid character and diverse influences because their old Greek traditions were mingled with local elements. The Hellenistic themes and motifs were remodeled and then sent to Gandhāra and Bactria (Hallade 1968: 22-24). In the late second century BCE, Gandhāran urban elite had developed an elegant taste for foreign goods and had provided many styles, forms and motifs that were diversified by Gandhāran artists to create a distinguishable Gandhāran art. Some of these earliest Gandhāran sculptures were carved in compact stone dishes (discussed in chapter 5) whose artistic style indicated contact with the Hellenistic roots (Behrendt 2007: 8). The conquest of Alexander the great inspired many Buddhist artists of central Asia and Gandhāra such as Heracles, Dionysas and the god of wine became popular part of Gandhāran art. Even though, all these forms of Hellenistic art Dionysas enjoyed much popularity in Gandhāran art. It is evident from John Boardman archaeological findings of Tiliya Tepe tomb that this god was particularly popular among Scythians and the objects depicting Dionysas and the members of his escort were given an outstanding place in Gandhāran art (Boardman 2003: 348-374).

2.6 Mauryan rule in Gandhāra:

After Alexander's death, around the 4th century B.C.E the satrapies of Parthia, Aria, Bactria and Sogdiana remained under the control of the Seleucid reign established in Syria and Mesopotamia, while, in the south of the Hindu-Kush, Seleukos 1 contested Alexander's Indian territories in the south of the Hindu-Kush with Chandragupta Maurya, the first Mauryan king (Bernard 1985: 85-96). When Maurya gained power, Alexander's successor disappeared from the political scene of the Punjab, after that, the whole northern India, Sindh, Kathiwar and Gujarat came under the control of the native king Chandragupta (Bopearachchi 2015: 291).

The Greeks established friendly political relations with the Mauryas, in 305 B.C.E. The regions located in the south of the Hindu-Kush, came under the direct official control of Chandragupta Maurya, thus, for the first time Gandhāra became part of an Indian Empire (Hargreaves 1986: 2). Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara in 297 B.C.E. Among the Greeks he is known as '*Amitrochates*' Greek transcription of the Sanskrit '*Amitraghata*', 'the destroyer of foes'. In 272 B.C.E. at the time of his death, a large part of the subcontinent was

conquered that became part of the Mauryan Empire (Thapar 2002: 178). His son and the grandson of the Chandragupta Maurya, king Aśoka (272-232B.C), referred as a *ChakravartinCakkavatti*, a universal monarch started his political career as governor of Taxila and Ujjain (Thapar 2003: 180).

He became the real pattern of the Mauryan Empire. He gave political strength to his reign through the promotion of culture, architecture, tranquility, prosperity and religion. He himself dramatically converted to Buddhism with his attendant after the war of Kalinga, (C, and 262 B.C.E) and announced Buddhism as an official religion. For the propagation of the religion, he sent his missionaries from Patliputra (capital) in various directions of the world (Smith 1994: 162).

Aśoka continued the usual aggressive policy of expansionism. However, the war of Kalinga left very depressing effects on Aśoka, and also, according to Buddhist literature, the teachings of Buddha changed his whole outlook of life and made him a pious person from a ferocious and tyrant one, and he 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 carrying his 'Dharma policy' (Taranath 1869: 48-50).

Aśoka sent missionaries for the propagation of Buddhism in various parts of his region and even beyond his borders. We do not learn any momentous role played by the country of Gandhāra or its people during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya or of his descendant Bindusara. Most probably Gandhāra was administratively comprised in the viceroyalty of Taxila. We only know about Madhyantika (A Buddhist apostle) who spread Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kashmir in c. 256 B.C.E. (Rapson 1955: 449). He spread his new belief among his subjects on the North-West frontier under the instructions of Aśoka. Buddhism became the leading religion of the region of Gandhāra due to his perpetual efforts. During the middle of the 3rd Century B.C.E. the lives of the people of Gandhāra came under the influence of Buddhism (Khan and Hasan 2003: 56). It was Aśoka, who reorganized the Buddhist sangha and the third Buddhist council in C.250 B.C.E. which was held at Patliputra. The followers of the Theravada sect claimed that it represented the true teachings of the Buddha (Thapar 2003: 181). The first massive stupas, like Dharmarajika, in the city of Taxila, were erected in Gandhāra and elsewhere in his Empire. Beside the stupa, the rock edicts of the Aśoka are still preserved at Shahbazghari, some ten miles in the east of Mardan (Hargreaves 1986: 2).

During this period the art flourished in a different way. The Maurya rulers erected pillars which emphasized on Buddhist doctrine. The pillars were decorated with the shapes of animals like lion

and bull or with lotus flower that is a most prevalent symbol of Buddhism. Some pillars (During Hinayana period in which no image of Buddha were made) were depicted with the memories and teachings of historical Buddha, lotus, lion, wheel, dharma and the four noble truths. Some pillars were inscribed with the edicts of king Aśoka and his dedicatory inscriptions. These artifacts demonstrated Aśoka's desire to reach in the hearts of many cultures in his kingdom. (khanacademy.org; Rowland 1953: 67-71; Marshall 1960: 3). Aśoka employed the language of edicts to propagate his people the benefits of the Buddha's law. However, the true picture of the Maurya civilization is depicted in its sculptures. The Maurya culture represents the foreign style, which is quite different from the main stream and the tradition of Indian art. It also displays the identical intimacy of relationship and impression of the cultures of the Hellenistic, western and Iran. This imperial art is also described as a folk art, much more truly Indian in style and tradition and an appropriate drive for the future development of Indian art (Rowland 1953: 65). The individual taste and liking of Maurya rulers originated from the ideas and objects from Medo-Achaemenian and Hellenistic Orient and this also furnished their motivation and innovation. The Indian art not only became indefinite material but it augmented from the position of handicraft and primitive art to the grandeur and eminence of civilized monumental art. One of the significant purpose of this art was to influence and intimidate the inhabitants with the power and nobility of the mighty rulers. However, the Maurya court art with all its distinguished bearing, monumental impression and civilized character remains an isolated short chapter of Indian art history (Ray 1975: 50-51).

After the death of the Aśoka in 231 B.C.E. Gandhāra once again lost its independence and became prey to Bactrian Greek invaders. Thus, Gandhāra remained a part of Mauryan Empire till its disintegration. According to Taranath one of the descendants of Aśoka named Virasena set up an autonomous kingdom in Gandhāra (Taranath 1869: 48-50).

2.7 Occupation of Bactrian Greeks in Gandhāra:

The Greco-Bactrian kingdom was founded by Diodotos I, on the bank of the Oxus River (Zwalf 1996: 160). After Greco-Bactrian rule in 190 B.C.E. the Mauryans disappeared from the political scene. Many coins are discovered, in the result of the excavations from the Sheikhan Dheri and Taxila (Sirkap) which provides clear evidences of their presence in the area (Wheeler 1960). "According to Justin's abbreviated version of Pompeius trogus' *Philippic History* (41.4), at the time when Parthia begun its revolt against the Seleukids-towards the middle of the third century

B.C.E. Diodotos, the Seleukid satrapy of Bactria also started revolt against its Suzerian, which resulted as an independent kingdom in Bactria” (Bopearachchi 2011: 47).

It is a clear indication, that, The Greek kingdom emerged at the time, when Seleucid kings ruled a part of the eastern provinces invaded by Alexander, until about 250 B.C.E. Diodotus, the then governor of northern Afghanistan footing the control and established his rule in the provinces of Bactria (northern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), Sogdia (northern Uzbekistan) and Margiana (Turkmenista) (Cribb 2003: 207). The gold and silver coins issued by Diodotus, declared his independence, on which he replaced the Antiochus II, by minting with his own portrait and his own name on the coins (Bopearachchi 1994: 513-519). After gaining power, Diodotus, paid special attention to expand his territory and invaded the area of southern Afghanistan, but unfortunately, they lost most of the areas and the Greek kingdom became confined to southern Afghanistan (the Kabul valley region, Paramopasidae and the Qandahar region, arachosia) and Pakistan (north-western Pakistan, Gandhāra) (Cribb 2003:207).

Text is always considered a reliable source of information about the historical facts, but ancient text regarding the early history of these kingdoms are not sufficient, apart from some short passages from Greek and Latin authors and some Indian and Chinese text, written material is not available on this part of history. Coins and inscriptions are the only source of the reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their nomadic successors (Scythians, Parthians and Kushans). Coins provide clear evidence of the presence of about forty-five Greek kings, who ruled in Bactria and India, while the written sources mentioned only seven rulers in these areas. Although the study of these coins is not easy however it provides valuable information about the succession of the rulers, minting, techniques, metrology, iconography and geographical localization of different kingdoms. Chinese Annals are also considered as important source of information about the Kushans (Bopearachchi and Piper 1998: 177-223).

Apart from coins, the inscriptions, which are surfaced during the last fifteen years, are the second major source of information, for the understanding of their cultural, economic and political activities, mode of production, artistic taste, customs and warfare. The discovery of thousands of artifacts, sculptures and ceramics discovered from Altia, Pasirik, Orlat, Khalchayanin in Sogdiana and Tiliya Tepe and more recently from Jalalabad in Afghanistan has also contributed to change our perception of these cultures (Bopearachchi 2003). As discussed above inscriptions are important sources of information regarding the chronology of Gandhāra and related regions. The

inscription published by Richard Salmon is a reliable one, which consisted on three separate dates, namely the twenty-seventh (27th) regnal year of king Vijayamitra, the year seventy-third (73rd) as 'Azes' year and the two hundred and first (201) is "year of Yonas (Greek)" (Salmon 2003:364).

Under a careful calculation, Salmon said: the Azes era is the same as the current Vikrama era, which is corresponded in the year 58/7, B.C, and the Indo-Greek era must began in the year 186/5 (Salmon 2003: 365). After re-examining the inscriptions, Harry Falk said, it is a well-known fact, that Alexander's conquests, 326 B.C.E, were the beginning point of Indian era, but he was not agreed with the Arsacids's intercalary system. According to him this era of Arsacid (c.247 B.C.E.) was never used in Gandhāra. While, the first local method of bearing with starting point probably is 186 B.C.E. in spring. So it is very clear, that the first year of this era is the year 185 B.C.E. Secondly, he was not agreed that, Vikrama era is equivalent to the Azes's era. So a series of the so-called Yavana era and the Arsacid era led to a new start of the Azes era in 48/7 (spring based year) or 47/6 BC (autumn-based year) (Falk 2009: 71) explains this point after analyzing the Bajur inscription published by Richard Salmon "if the Azes era to be dated in the year 48/7, the year 201 of the Greeks (yonana) mentioned in Bajur inscription has to be placed in the year 176/5 B.C.E. giving us some precious indications on how to place in a chronological order some of the Greek, and published the ascension of Kanishka 1 on the throne and the beginning of Gandhāra art to circa 127 CE (Falk and Bennett 2009: 197).

According to the Greek historian Polybios (XI,39), Euthydemos became the king of Bactria by murdering the heirs of Diodotos, overwhelmed in Bactria by Antiochos III in 206 B.C, Euthydemos rejected before Teleas, a diplomat of the Seleucid king, ever having dedicated any deed of revolt against the Seleucid king and his ancestors (Bopearachchi 2011: 47; Bernard 2004: 338-56). The importance of the reign of Euthydemos and his son, Demetrios is also revealed by an inscription from the Kulib area in Tadjikistan published by Georges Rougemont and Paul Bernard (Bernard 2004: 338-56).

The inscription is a dedication by a certain Heliodotos to the goddess Hesita of a fire altar. It describes both, Euthydemos, the greatest of all the kings and his son, Demetrios Kalinikos, glorious conqueror. In Polybios account, (XI,3) we also noted, that at the time of the Siege, Demetrios, the son of the Euthydemos¹ played a vital role in finalizing the agreement of reconciliation between his father and the Antiochos III. In reward of this agreement, antiochos III, promised to give his daughter to the prince Demetrios (Bernard 2004: 338-356). After the death

of Aśoka, the weak decadent of the Mauryans were unable to maintain their control in the region. Demetrios took advantage and rushed into India and extended his Empire further south, around 183 or 182 and took control of the whole area beyond the Hindu-Kush Mountains in 186/5 B.C (Salomon 2007: 366). Later on, they established many new cities in the area like the city of *Sirkap*, *Bala-Hisar* and *Sheikhan Dheri* (Zwalf 1996: 16). Apart from the cities, the Die-struck bronze coins depicting horse and elephant with Greek letters while Demetrios depicted himself on his coinage with a headdress made of elephant's scalp. Elephant was symbolic animal of India, so this symbol shows his conquest of India. These series of coins are evidence of his control over the region and are considered the first Greek coinage of India (Bopearachchi 2011:48; Falk 2009: 70). Due to his conquests and establishment of Indo-Greek kingdom Justin referred to him as "King of Indians" (Salomon 2007: 366).

The Indo-Greek kings ruled in Gandhāra with great strength and valor, which is depicted on the coins issued during their reign of Demetrios's younger brother and successor, Euthydemus II. Agathocles (185-170 B.C) and Pantaleon (c, 185-180 BC) are considered contemporaries in the history. Each of three kings issued their own series of cupro-nickel coins which bore more or less the same religious monograms, such as Agathocles coins were distinctly Indian type represented Hindu deities, gods and goddesses, Indian motifs, legends in Brahmi and Kharoshti script. By issuing these types of coins, he conveyed his respect for the local beliefs and faith (Salomon 2003: 366; Bopearachchi 2011: 48). Agathocles enjoyed a longer period of reign because his issues were more numerous and diverse than his contemporaries. All the Greek rulers paid special homage to the local beliefs and faiths. Apart from these rulers Menander who enjoyed good reputation among Greek rulers paid special attention for the propagation of Buddhism and erected a Stupa at *Bajur*. It is important to underline he also issued many coins during his reign which were unearthed from *Aziz-Dheri*, *Gangu-Dheri*, which are considered as first Indo-Greek sites in the region (Zwalf 1996: 16). Dani suggests, Menander laid the foundation of the Greek cities of *Pushkalavati* (Charsada) and *Taxila* (*Sirkap*) and it is confirmed from the coins discovered from these sites (Ihsan and Naeem 2008: 6).

The excavations under Dani at *Shaikhan Dheri* have provided an ample evidence of the presence of these rulers in the region. For instance, the square copper coins of Agathocles and square copper coins of Apollodotus and square copper coins of Menander (type no.45, type no 307 and type no 512 of Punjab Museum catalogue) (Whitehead 1914) were discovered from these sites.

It is supposed that the city was established by Menander. In the middle of the second century BC he was the most famous of the Bactrian Greek rulers of this region (Dani 1965: 23). The name of Menander I is also found with seven kings named on coins in Bigram. He was one of those rulers, who extended Greek rule from southern Afghanistan to the Punjab (Cribb 2009: 65). Numismatists and historians approved that Menander was one of the greatest or renowned of the Indo-Greek rulers. The coins of his name are unmatched and more abundant than those of the other Indo-Greek rulers. He was the only Indo-Greek ruler whose name is mentioned in the ancient Indian literature (Bopearachchi 2015: 188-9). Menander symbolizes the unmatched supremacy of Buddhist wisdom compared to the great wisdom of the Greek sovereign when he meets Nagasena at Sagala. According to the sacred part of the *Milindapanha* Menander converted to Buddhism, renounced his reign and became the *arhant*. Conversely, according to the Pali version Plutarch Menander died during a military campaign. Thus we come to know if he was faithful to Buddhism then why he went to the war. The emblem of the wheel on his bronze coin might symbolize the Cakravartin (the righteous king) who makes the wheel of law turn, meaning a 'supreme ruler' but it may also be a Buddhist connection. He conquered the extensive areas of India. He crossed the Hypanis (Beas) and advanced to the Isamos, then he invaded Saketa (a city of Awadha province) and Mathura, after that he reached the Ganges valley to Rajasthan.

According to the numismatic data, Apollodotos I, Antimachos, Necephoros were the contemporaries of the Menander. The association of the coins of these three kings is also evidence, apart from this the names of Menander and Apollodotos are also mentioned together in the classical text (Bopearachchi 2015: 193-212). At the time of Menander's death his son Strato was very young so his wife Agathocleia became his successor for a certain time. Agathocleia is attested by six series of coins that show its various stages (Bopearachchi 2015: 214, pl.11, no 31). It is important to mention here that the coins of five Bactrian rulers Euthydemos I, Demetrios I, Agathocleia, Pantaleon and Eucratides I are found in the south of the Hindu-Kush and as far East at Taxila. These coins provide clear evidences of the presence of Greek conquest in the early second century B.C.E (Cribb 2009: 65). The parchment was found in a cave in Yousfdhara not far from Baktra (Balakh), the capital of ancient Bactria. It records a transaction of the sum of 100 drachms of coined silver, which indicated that dated to a year 30, when Antimacho was king. Clarysse and Thompson said that the year 30 cannot be a regnal year, but to a new era celebrating the recognition of the Bactrian kingdom by the seleukid king Antiochos III in 206 B.C.E. According to this

document, 176/175 BC is the date when Antimachos I enthroned the Bactrian kingdom (Clarysee and Thompson 2007: 275; Bopearachchi 2011:48).

Eukratides I was the last Bactrian king, who ruled Bactria and India. He was famous for issuing the largest gold denomination even struck in antiquity. Justin is the most reliable source of information on Eukratides, who says, that the Demetrios II was overthrown by the Eukratides, who later, became powerful king of Bactria and invaded parts of India as well. He commemorated his parents Heliokles and Laodike on the reverse of his coins. It is important to mention here that his mother used to wear the royal diadem, which was considered symbol of royalty from the victory of Alexander the Great over his opponent Darius III, Kodomannos in 330 B.C.E (Bopearachchi 2011: 49).

Apart from these well-known kings, coins are discovered from various sites which indicate more Greek rulers in the area, like Zolios I, Demetrios III, Menander II, Peucolas, Polyxenos, Amyntas, Artemidoros, Thrason, and queen Agathocleia. These kings issued coins, particularly, for their own regions, but these are not to be seen as a sequence. With the help of their coinage, one can understand the diverse origins of the art during their reign but the influence of Hellenistic art can not be under-estimated. These Bactrian and indo-Greek kings legitimized their kingship by identifying themselves with Alexander i.e. Diodotos introduced thundering Zeus on his coins similar to the Alexander's scepter. Euthydemos also chose Heracles and identified himself with Alexander (Bernard 1985: 131-133). Similarly, like Alexander, Demetrios symbolized India by portraying himself by wearing elephant's scalp. Antimachos I also wore Kausia worn by Alexander to distinguish himself from other Greeks and high ranking soldiers and officials (Fredricksmeier 1986: 215-227; Kingsley 1991: 59-76). Menander I and most of his successors adopted goddess Athena on their coinage and associated themselves with Alexander the great (Brett 1950:55-72).

Many of these excavated objects reflect diverse creation i.e. the toilet-dishes. Some of these foreign objects were skillfully decorated with Hellenistic ornaments and others were made clumsily by local craftsmen, copying the models from other sources which inspired them. These objects represent various styles portraying classical legends, erotic themes, mythical beings, the quadriga of the sun-god and couples bearing wine-chalices. The theme of the wine serving (Hallade 1968: pl. 20) later reflected in the Gandhāran base-reliefs in which the image of Buddha

is enclosed by various celestial or earthly persons. They wore Indian dresses and ornaments while the donors were adorned with rough and simple costumes of nomads (Hallade 1968:25-27).

It indicates that the Greek rulers progressively lost control of the region to other invaders (Cribb 2009: 65). It is important to note here, apart from these numismatic evidences a Bodhisattava marble head belonging to Acrolithic statues, made with the composite forms of a Greek acrolith which were of course quite common in Gandhāra sculptures, is found from a Buddhist building, located near *Takla Bala*, an extension of ancient city of *Puskalavati*. Bopearachchi writes “The Greek in Bactria on the one hand perpetuated their traditions in these distant lands, and on the other hand, made innovations with far-reaching consequences of Indian art, even after the decline of their political power (Bopearachchi 2015: 120-37). Dani stated that these Greeks lived in the land of Gandhāra for nearly two hundred years. They left a long legacy of Greek language, literature, science and philosophy during 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.E. (Dani 1998: 154).

2.8 Scythians and Parthians in Gandhāra:

The process of invasion in these fertile and prosperous regions still not ended. The next dynasty which ruled in Gandhāra was the Scythians (Saka) and the Parthians. The Greeks were dethroned by the Scythian prince named Maues and established their rule in Taxila around the middle of the first century B.C.E. It is dated to the year 78th of the era of Maues (Falk 2006: 393-412). On the basis of a single document copper plate inscription of Patika was found at Taxila in 1862. He was thought to be a king Moga (Maues). Apart from this inscription several coins of his son Artemiodoros have been discovered from the area of Barikot and Swat (Falk 2009: 70-71).

Maues was succeeded by the Indo-Scythian Azes, Azilises from Peshawar and succeeded Maues in Taxila (Falak 2009: 71). Around 48 B.C.E. the Indo-Scythian Azes I became king of the provinces of Gandhāra and western Punjab (Burgees 1985: 78). As discussed above the pages of history are witnessed that the invasions of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians are just like a war operation because many families were interested to conquer this area, but the period of Azes on the basis of some historical documents is considered a peaceful period. Some of his coins and an inscription from Bajur and Buner published by Harry Flak shows his peaceful start. He also issued shared coins, which depicted Greek kings on the obverse, and made a peaceful agreement with Apollodotos II. He also issued shared coinage with Azilizes, the ruler of the east

of the Indus and Hazara. Under these peaceful agreements Azes ruled successfully over the whole area of eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab (Falk 2006:395).

The Scythian rulers also influence the Gandhāran artists with the inauguration of new style on the obverse of their coins. They portrayed the king wearing a heavy cataphractus or armour on horseback (Bopearachchi 1994: 378). Later this type was frequently appeared in Gandhāra art. One of the example is the depiction of a guardian wearing scale armour over a dhoti and holding a spear (Bonn 2009/2010: fig. 225). Another example is found in the episode of the Temptation of Mara against Buddha (See Fig 154). Mara soldiers are often portrayed wearing the cataphractus (Bonn 2009/2010: fig. 162-163). These pre-existing iconographies were interpreted by the Gandhāran artists with the addition of indigenous Indianizing elements to make them more acceptable in the Buddhist context.

Gondophares the organizer of the Indo-Parthian kingdom came to power towards the end of Azes II, s reign. He captured Gandhāra and the adjoining areas most probably in AD 19 or some time earlier. The exact date of Gondophares is nowhere documented. Thus also is the case of his forerunners namely Pacores (Majumdar et al 1980: 131). Gondophares was surely the supreme among all the Indo-Scythian-Parthian. According to the Christian belief, the Parthian was allotted to St. Thomas by Christ himself as a distinct region of missionary activities (Smith 1974: 145, Hallade 1968: 25). So the rulers of the Scytho-Parthian line held their influence for more than a century over the eastern area of Iran and the region corresponding to the present day Pakistan. The Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms were ended in the result of the Kushan's invasions.

2.9 Arrival of Kushans in Gandhāra:

Kushan dynasty is one of the most important and powerful dynasty, which extended from the Ganges river valley into the Oases of the Central Asia in the first three centuries of the Common Era (Rosenfield 1967: 1). Burgees stated that after Sakas in slight future we have names that appears to be Parthian such as Gondopharas or Gudapharas, Abdagases Orthagnes &c, among which Gudapharas must have ruled about C.E.25-50 (Burgees 1985: 78). The posthumous bronze coins of Hermaios give a clear indication, that the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms (in paropamisadae and Gandhāra) were ended in the result of the invasion by the Kujala Kadphsis. In the light of these evidences, the Kushan remained in power in the middle of the first century

between 30 to 90 C.E. According to the Chinese annals, *Hou Hanshu* the Yagbu who unified the Kushan Empire was called Qiujiuque.

There is a general agreement among the historian and numismatists to identify him, as Kajula Kadphises, whose name appear on the coins as KOZOAO KA^A KOZOAA KA in Greek and Kajula Kasa or Kuyula Kaphsa in Kharoshati”. According to the same annals, Qiujiuque invaded the kingdom of Anxi, and captured Gaofu (Kabul), then Puda (Pushkalavati) and Jibin (Cashmere) and died at the age of eighty. These people were famous for their invasions in Bactria, their next target was India, they crossed the Hindu-Kush mountains and conquered the area of Paropamisadae and Gandhāra dethroning the last Greek king Hermaiose, c, 70 B.C.E. (Bopearachchi 2007: 46-47). Cribb added that Kajula Kadphises also known to us by the coins struck in their own name. In Begram, he issued the coins depicted the last Greek ruler Hermaios. In Gandhāra and Sindh, he used Indo-Parthian design on his coins, the series of coins issued in the area of Kashmir. Indo-Scythian design is very common, in Bactria he revived new version of Bactrian Greek coins (Cribb 2009: 66). Apart from these types of coins Kajula Kadphises, also depicted a male portrait, on the obverse of their coins, which he has taken from the Roman coinage, particularly, the profile and hair style very much resembled to the Roman king Augustus (Rosenfield 1967:13).

Regarding history of the Kushan kings, Rabatak inscriptions solved the problem of the genealogy of the early Kushan kings. These inscriptions are considered, the most reliable source in this regard. According to these religious inscriptions, after Kajula Kadphises, the next king of the Kushan dynasty was Soter Megas, whose name is still controversial among scholars. Some numismatists identified this king with the anonymous king, ‘Soter Megas’ (Cribb and William 1995: 97-142). Soter Megas is a title which means “Great Saviour” (Ihsan and Naeem 2007: 8). Boparachchi, himself examined about 90 gold coins of the above mentioned hoard, he writes on the basis of his analysis, “if this Vima Taktu was the same as the so called Soter Megas assumed by J. Cribb, one would expect to see his title or one of his main coin type (Zeus Mithra, or king mounted on horse) but the commemorative series of coins showed different story, we see naked Shiva instead of his title or tamga (as it was tradition of Kushan kings) while the Soter Megas was the follower of the Iranian god, Mithra” (Bopearachchi 2007: 45). This analysis provides a clear understanding of the religious and political difference between the Kushans and the Soter

Megas because his coins are basically different in symbols, legends, denominations and above all in types not only from his predecessor but from his successors as well.

Gerard Fussman has quite correctly suggested that Soter Megas was a usurper, who has interrupted the Kajula's regular descendants and broke the sequence of the Kushan kings (Fussman 1998: 612). Bopearachchi who agreed with Fussman's hypothesis asked the question if Soter Megas was usurper how should he be placed chronologically. How can we explain the real role of Vima Taktu whose name is mentioned in the Rabatak inscription and now on the new celebratory series as the father of Vima Kadphises (Bopearachchi 2007: 46). He further explains in the light of the clear evidences, which are found in the results of the excavations in the area of *Pushkalavati*, where a chist casket containing 13 coins of Soter Megas found in the reliquary stupa and those in the valleys of Kabul and Swat, some more coins of Soter Megas are found in a stupa such as *Tepe zargaran* at Bactra, excavated by French Archeological mission in Afghanistan (Bopearachchi 2007: 46).

The reliquary of Rashuk at Tope Passani and Top No.3 of Bimaran (27 coins) is another evidence. Except this, he never used the Buddha image for the external decoration of the stupas, while the use of garland and floral motifs were the common and only choices for the period of Soter Megas. In the light of the above mentioned evidences we can easily understand that Soter Megas was an isolated ruler who was politically and religiously different from his immediate predecessor Kajula Kadphises and his immediate successor Vima Kadphises (Wilson 1899: 72). The conquest of Gandhāra by the Kushans is also attested by the Panjtar inscriptions (Majumdar 1980: 139). The Panjtar inscriptions, no doubt would have been installed by Kajula Kadphises soon after his conquest of Gandhāra. The further confirmations were supplies by Senavarmas inscriptions as it openly comments both Kajula Kadphises and his son Sadashkano. The inscription apparently recommends that Sadashkano was Kajula's governor of Gandhāra (Bailey et al 1980: 22-29).

Vima Kadphises was the third Kushan emperor according to the Rabatak inscription. He insisted on the genealogy of his forefathers, which shows that he was the real and legal heir of the Kushan dynasty. He issued a long series of gold coins, and used imported Roman coins, with a similar weight to the standard Roman gold coins. The Kushans habit of looking to the west shows, that, their Pantheon was Bactrian, Greek and Hellenistic (Falk 2004: 168). The coin series issued by Vima Kadphises very much resembled the coins issued by his grandfather Kajula Kadphises

(Cribb 2009: 66). Vima Kadphises was a powerful Kushan ruler who established trade relations with Romans as his gold currency was based upon the weight standard of the Roman aureus (124 grains). This gold currency of Vima Kadphises brought prosperity and gave boost and impetus to commercial activities (Chattapadhyaya 1979: 37). He introduced full-figured royal portrait on his coins, instead of Iranian busts and Indo-Scythian armed horseman (Cribb 2009: 66). Apart from political interest we can see religious affiliation on the coins issued during his reign, one can see the representation of the Kushan god Oesho in the guise of the Hindu god Shiva, He replaced the Greek and Iranian gods, which shows his association with the Hindu religion that is varied with Buddhist religious faith. We also found Heracles, holding a club in his right Shiva on his coins. However, he retained the Greek and Kharoshati inscription on his coins (Cribb 2009: 66). His gold coins are very much adequate, accurate and based on well-defined monetary pattern. He used different gods and portrait on his coins to gain political support of his subjects. Kushan Empire reached its peak in the reign of Kanishka I around 127C.E. according to the Gupta records (Falk 2004: 167). Kanishka I is observed as the supreme ruler among all the Kushans. He is commonly believed to have prominent *Po-lu-sha* of all the Chinese pilgrims (Purushapura, present Peshawar) as capital of the Kushans (Beal 1969: 97). The advent of the Kushans in the 1st century C.E. gave a new stimulus and life to the Buddhist faith. They extended their empire from the Oxus to the Ganges and from Pamir to the mouth of the Indus. They also transferred the seat of the government from Bactria to Gandhāra the most noteworthy and significant change, that strengthened the grounds of Gandhāra culture. He struggled a lot for the promotion of the Mahayana Buddhism and the Buddhist religious art of Gandhāra (Khan and Hasan 1998: 57). Kanishka is known as the real patron of Buddhism, his affiliation towards Buddhism can be seen by the services and practices done by him. He made Buddhism, a wide spread religion among the people. Due to these acts he is also known as second Aśoka; on his coins the Buddhist emblems are clearly minted. It is a well-known fact, that the Buddhist art also progressed at a very high rate during his rule, it would not be wrong, that, the Buddhist art in Gandhāra enjoyed its peak under his rule (Rosenfield 1967: 28; Majumdar 1980: 144).

During the Kushan era the new classical types of art were mingled with well-established Greaco-Parthian and Graeco-Roman art under a new aspect. The suitable political environment, trade links and cultural contacts between Indo-Afghanistan and Graeco-Roman during Kushan Empire became the source of the broadcast of various art techniques in the region. Under the

Kushan Empire the new models were copied and absorbed in Gandhāra art with strong Indian tradition. The work of art was appreciated and diversity of models was adopted by the Gandhāran and its neighboring regions. The affiliation of various regions with Gandhāra art gave birth to its hybrid nature. The Kushans played a decisive role in the development of Gandhāra art and despite of all these impacts the inspirations, the subjects and scenes of daily life of Gandhāra art are Indian (Hallade 1968: 33-42). Dani stated, the patronage of the Greek Kushans and Mahayana Buddhism infused the new artistic inspiration into the art of Gandhāra. This art is considered as symbolic icon of its culture and society and it is also considered as true representative of its civilization. The art of Gandhāra merged the borrowed ideas of east and west and shaped a new school of art of its own and then spread in all directions into India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, China and Far East. The art of Gandhāra is neither Indian nor western but it initiatives together assimilates the diverse features with its own method and generates a new practice that is known today as Gandhāra art (Dani 1998: 154).

This second phase of the Kushan Empire is known as the great Kushan era. Kanishka as the king of Gandhāra organized the second Buddhist council in Galandar or in Kashmir in the presence of 500 monks, (Rosenfield 1967: 3). The rule of the Kanishka was abolished by his successor Huvishka around 150 C.E. who ruled for about 38 years (Bopearachchi 2009: 243-266). Huvishka, like his predecessors, issued gold and bronze coins, as it was the tradition of the Kushan kings. He showed an elephant rider and royal bust above clouds and rock, which was the symbol of power and peak of his rule and the political strength of his reign. Apart from the political strength, he also represented his religious affiliation through his coins, as on the reverse of the coins; he depicted different deities, which represented his broad political and cultural horizon and the religious policy of his predecessors. He depicted thirty-three names of different divinities on his coins (Rosenfield 1976:101; Mitterwalner 1986:5-6).

Next to Huvishka, was Vasudeva I, who ascended the throne around 188 C.E. He ruled almost twenty-four years. The coins issued during his reign showed his affiliation towards Hinduism. He depicted the image of OESHO, Bull and Siva on his coins (Roesenfield 1967:104). His coins (Copper coins of Shiva and bull type) were also recovered from excavations at *Shaikhan Dheri* that provided an evidence of his presence in the region. It proves that the site was given up during his reign (Dani 1965-6:23). However, Crib says after Huvishka, the coins of, Kanishka II, Vusishka, Kanishka III, Vasudeva II, Saka and Kipunadha were discovered, which indicated, the

further sequence of the Kushan dynasty, until the Iranian style coins found in the area which showed the demise of the Kushan kings (Cribb 2009: 67). Huvishka was succeeded by Vasudeva who is regarded as the last in the line of the great Kushans. But it does not mean that the Kushan ceased to rule. According to Alexander Cunningham, the line of the Kushan emperors who reigned after Vasudeva I is termed as 'Later Kushans (Cunningham 1962:18).

Gandhāra flourished under the Kushans in diverse fields. They developed the strong land communication system to meet the demand of international trade and issued the new gold currency. During their time Gandhāra succeeded and thrived and welcomed the people to its shrines and monasteries. The economic growth had reached its climax and wealth, knowledge, art and science were shared with all the inhabitants who emerged here from diverse areas and lands. The Kushan rulers also played pivotal part in the propagation and recognition of the Buddhism as a world religion. These Kushan emperors encouraged the Buddhist monks and missionaries to move along the Silk Road and spread the message of Buddha wherever they want (Dani 1998:153). In the 4th century C.E., the country of Gandhāra conceded into the hands of its new leaders well known as Kidar Kushans. The best outstanding sovereign among the Kidar Kushans was Kidar himself. He established the Kidar Kushan line of rulers in the northwest (Gandhāra and northern Punjab India) (Mitterwalner 1986: 40-44). These rulers could not receive the grandeur of their descendants and subjugated by the Huns or Ephthalites in the middle of the 5th century C.E.

2.10 Huns or Ephthalites in Gandhāra:

Gandhāra also remained under the control of different Kidarite principalities from the early 4th century C.E. The Kidarite rule was transferred to the Hephthalites, also known as white Huns. They were nomadic people of Central Asia, who entered in Bactria early in the 5th century C.E. and expanded their control towards Gandhāra and the Punjab from the Kabul valley. Their center was Gandhāra and Udayana. In the middle of the 5th century C.E. they swept away the cultural life of Gandhāra. Toraman and Mihiragula were their most powerful leaders, who carved out a huge empire, stretching from the Hindu Kush to Bihar (eastern India). The first Hun king was Toraman who established his rule in northern India (including Gandhāra) and central India. His son Mihiragula became ruler after his father in 520 C.E. and maintained the tradition of his family. He killed the monks and collapsed the Monasteries. A Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun, travelled through this region at the same time in 518-21 C.E. described his brutal activities towards Buddhism (Thapar 2003: 286-87). The rule of Toraman over Gandhāra, Punjab, Rajaputana and Kashmir is

shown by his coins. According to the Kura inscriptions, found in salt range Toraman enjoyed a high royal status as his title *Rajadhiraja Maharaja Toraman Shahi Jabula* shows, while his son Mihiragula was called the king of Shakal, i.e. Sialkot. The evidence of his coins shows that he was adherent of Pashupati, i.e. God Shiva. Huns were famous as foes of Yueh-chis. They were not of homogeneous race but originally a group of Turkish, Mongolian and other racial elements. In 5th century C.E. Huns captured the valley of the Oxus and threw off the yoke of Juan from their shoulders and started to increase their empire. They progressed through the Hindu Kush into Afghanistan and further down into the plains of Pakistan. Uti, son of Tatam was the actual organizer of the glory of Huns. Uti pushed them out the Sasanians from the Oxus valley after the war of ten years. Encouraged by this distinct triumph Huns swiftly crossed Hindu Kush and advanced into Afghanistan and Gandhāra. However, the magnificent period of the Huns rule ended at the death of Mihiragula probably in C.E. 550 (Qureshi 1967: 59-60). After the death of Mihiragula many small local states emerged. At this phase with the help of small sources we come to know that its capital was Po-lu-sha-pu-lo (Peshawar), its majestic family was disappeared and that it was being governed by deputies from Kapisa or Kia-pi-Shi (Beal 1964:92-93).

In the light of the above debate it is pretty laid-back to comprehend the facts that the land of Gandhāra has always been an easy access for different nations from the ancient times. This region has always been a fascinating land for the foreign invaders for cultural influences and trade activities because it was western gateway to the Indian sub-continent and its geographical location was very suitable for trade links and for socio-cultural interaction among these ancient world. These were the main reasons that many races and tribes invaded Gandhāra in different ages. Thus, some of the foreign invaders conquered Gandhāra only for lucrative purposes, while others decided to rule and stay in this prosperous land, they try to intermingle here and contributed to the growth of the local society, religion and material culture. These foreign invaders left along lasting impression on the social, cultural, economic, political and religious life of the Gandhāra and contributed a useful addition in the development of Gandhāraart.

Chapter 3

The Role and Status of Women According to Literary Sources of Indian History in the Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Period

This chapter throws light on the status and role of women in ancient India according to the ancient, modern and sacred literature. It illustrates the life of a woman as a daughter, sister, wife, mother, widow and prostitute. It also discusses the life of woman before and after marriage, and the changes that occur in a women's life in different phases. This study also helps understand their social, ancestral and religious rights in a society. Women of various caste, creed and status are being discussed in this chapter in their various roles and activities in the light of the a) Rig-Veda, (ca. 1650 BCE (Raman 2009: 2). b) Smirti (1000 BCE- 600 CE) (Raman 2009: 45), c) Mahābhārata and Ramāyāna (800-300 BCE) (Raman 2009: 13), d) Upanishads, (700- 300 BCE), e) Arthaśāstra (300-BCE-300 CE) (Raman 2009: 46), f) Dharmaśāstra (100 BCE- 200 CE) (Raman 2009: 46). Similarly, some modern studies are also briefly summarized in this chapter.

Women are not allowed to lead their lives according to their own will and wish. They are dependent on the male members of their family as it is stated in the Manu's code of law. Woman in all age group;

as a little girl, as young women or in old age is not free to do anything for her pleasure even in her own house. During childhood, she is dependent on her father, during young age upon her husband, in old age or in case of widowhood upon her sons, if she is a mother of daughters and has no sons, then she is dependent upon the near kinsmen of her husband, in case of their default upon those of her father again, in the absence of her paternal kinsmen, upon the sovereign, but she cannot spend her life liberally in the society (the Dharmaśāstra: 195, Buhler).

It shows that women were not endorsed a good deal of autonomy in the social order of Indian society.

In the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist society the role of women has been depicted in both deleterious and constructive ways. Woman is portrayed as mother-goddess, mother, wife, daughter, dancing girl and in many other social, political and communal practices. Status of women in society can easily be understood after studying the different characters and characteristics of women in the ancient text. How women were treated on behalf of their character in the society truly reflects the role and status of women.

3.1 The role and status of women as a child and young girl in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

According to the ancient literary sources, the position of women as daughter and as a young girl is discussed with salient differences. Sometimes these differences are mentioned in the same text and from time to time it is also specified in contemporary various texts. Before the arrival of Buddhism, the position of women in India was on the whole low and without honour. As a daughter parents consider her as anxiety. A daughter whether married or unmarried is considered a financial burden, male child is regarded tenderly while daughters are unwanted species (the *Mahābhārata*, vako-vadha : 330, Ganguli). It expresses the adverse image and attitude towards the female child. From the ancient times girls are considered the bizarre wealth. So they were not treated equal to the boys and were not given equal chances to get education and other delights of life. Therefore, people always wanted baby boys not baby girls. They prayed for boy and made offering in front of god because they considered boy as the stick of their old age. According to the *Atharvaveda* people used so many methods and techniques for acquiring a son and son is preferred over daughter. In the *Ramāyāna* and the *Mahābhārata* son is considered as *Punnemano Narkat Trayate*, while in Hindi son is considered as a source of deliverance from hell for his parents. Without son a couple/ parents have no lead or an honourable place in a society (Dixit 2008:132-33).

Besides this, Vedic studies contained the examples of women's sacrifices to gods, as an important religious duty like tresses. They were not allowed for offering oblation (Altekar 1938: 1-4). These examples show that daughters were not dearer as compared to a son that is why they were sacrificed for the pleasure and preference of gods. However, at the same time in the *Mahābhārata* the instance of wish to beget a heroic son or a daughter is recorded (the *Mahābhārata*, Adivansavataranaparva: 122, Ganguli). It indicates that a male child is preferred over a daughter but instead of that the position of a daughter is not considered low and degrading in the society. Apart from this many examples of parents love for daughter is found, for instance, according to the same text fathers represent their love for their daughters and said they are unable to bear the grief of daughters because they are very dear to them and they wanted to see them happy (the *Mahābhārata*, Sumbhava Parva: 175, Ganguli). Although, the *Mahābhārata* also mentioned the love of a father for her daughter, a Brahman stated about the rights of a wife and daughter as hesaid,

I cannot abandon my wife so constant in the vow and I cannot sacrifice my daughter whom I have begotten myself because my affection for my daughter and son is equal (the *Mahābhārata*, Vaka-vadhaparva: 327, Ganguli).

Similarly, the birth of a daughter was as wanted as the birth of a son, a woman wished the birth of daughter and said,

I would be very happy if a daughter was born of me over and above my hundred sons and junior to them all, my

husband then may attain those worlds that the possession of a daughter's sons conferred the affection of a woman for son in-law is great" (the *Mahābhārata*, Sambhavaparva: 243, Ganguli).

It shows a balanced approach towards the birth of female child in a society.

Conversely, there are relevant proofs mentioned in the sacred literature which shows that not only the new baby girl but her mother also becomes the victim of hatred and disrespect in the society as compared to the mother of sons who enjoyed more respect and status. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* that prayers were asked for the birth of sons not for daughters (Raman 2009: 52). Simultaneously, example of unhappiness is found on the birth of a daughter like the king Pasendi of Kosala, was displeased from his queen Mallika after the birth of a daughter (Hornor 1930: 9). Though, according to the Buddhist rituals the birth of a son was not essential as compared to Hindu rites (Thapar 1961: 86; Indra 1955: 18). After experiencing all this, question arises, why daughters were considered a symbol of despair, disappointment, burden, anxiety and sorrow in the society. According to the epics the birth of a daughter was taken as an evil sign because of uncommon fact of their dancing, singing and laughing at the time of birth; aside this no other reference is available. Shokambari stated, the adoption of the daughter was common practice, Sita, Kunti, Sakuntala and Pramadvarya were all adopted daughters, and parents felt more fondness for son in law as compared to their own son. However, daughters were considered a cause of unease because she was spared in marriage (Shokambari 1966: 16).

The marriage of a daughter was a holy obligation for a father. It was a matter of great strain to find out an appropriate companion for his daughter. A daughter becomes a source of anxiety and anguish in the situation when father is unable to find an entitled match for her (Shokambari 1966: 16-17). In ancient times, daughters were given the right of self-choice in the matter of their marriage but instead of that it was mainly the responsibility of father to find an appropriate match for her. The father of Sita and Urmila talked about their marriage with the father of Rama and Lakshmana because it was worthy of their wealth and grace. The king asked for their own daughters in the interest of these high-souled ones. "Janaka with clasped hands addressed both the potent and said I considered my lines as blessed since such puissant ascetic wish even that shall be done" (the *Ramāyāna*, Balakandam: 163-164, Valmiki). Similarly, another example is found of fisherman who was worried about the marriage of his daughter and offered his proposal to king Santanu with happiness and said at the birth of his daughter, "he wished a husband for her, equal to her", with this thinking he gave his daughter to king Santanu in marriage (the *Mahābhārata*, Sambhavaparva: 215, Ganguli). Raman stated, later on some misogynist inserted biasness in the *Mahābhārata*, because apart from the

patriarchal conducts in the society the Sanskrit epics praised the daughter as a cherished gem and do not lament on the birth of a daughter. As king Janka loved his daughter *Sita* and Raja Kuntibhoja took great care of his daughter Kunti and Raja Durapadi also valued his daughter Durapadi (Raman 2009: 59).

The tradition of the *Svayamvara* or self-choice was mutual in *Kshatriya* groups while *Dharmaśāstra* literature is quiet on the subject of self-choice and this topic was failed to get the wide-ranging recognition in the society. It is very common in the *jātaka* stories that the parents, mainly mothers, were very concerned regarding the selection of the bridegroom for their daughters. According to the Sanskrit literature written after c. 500 A.D. It is not adequate for girls to choose their life partner without the permission of their parents or custodians (Altekar 1938:65).

Gandhāra art also portrayed the value of suitable partner and self-choice in Buddhist society. Princess Yaśodharā is an example of this when her father conducted the tournament for the selection of his son in law for his beloved daughter. The purpose of the tournament was to select the best partner for his daughter who is eligible and expert of various worldly arts. The Buddhist literature and Gandhāra art also indicates the self-choice of Siddhārtha about his marriage but in the episode of the royal chaplain introduces Yaśodharā and Siddhārtha, (see chapter four) one can observe the glimpse of the self-choice of Yaśodharā for Siddhārtha as well. According to the *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu* the second example of the love for daughter is explained in the character of Queen Māyā when her father decorated the Lumbinī garden for her daughter to welcome her and for her comfortable delivery (see chapter 4 in the birth episode of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha).

In *Mahābhārata*, the three daughters of the king of Kasi, all equal in beauty to the *Apsaras* themselves, would get married on the same occasion, selecting their husband at a self-choice ceremony; when an accomplished person was invited, a maiden may be bestowed on him, decked with ornaments along with many valuable ornaments. Others again may bestow their daughters by accepting a couple of kin. Some bestowed their daughters by taking a fixed sum and some took away maidens by force. Some wed with consent of the maidens, some by drugging them into consent, and some by going unto maiden's parents and obtaining their sanction. Some again obtained wives as presents for assisting as sacrifices. Of these the learned always applaud the eighth form of marriage. Kings, however, speak highly of the *Svayamvara* and according to it. But the sages have said, "wife is dearly to be prized who is taken away by force, after the slaughter of opponents, from amidst the concourse, I bear away these maidens hence by force" (the *Mahābhārata*, Sambhavaparva: 114, Roy). All the historians are of the view that there was general freedom of women's choice in marriage in *Rig-Vedic* times, and if it was the case, there would be no reason to expect a *Svayamvara* in the later sense in the Veda. Although it can be approved that in *Rig-Vedic* times women had more freedom in many respects, bride had the right to choose her partner and she can attract him through

her beauty (the *Rig-Veda*, X.27: 12, 1416, Stephanie & Jamison). At the time of marriage parents used to give some house hold articles in the form of gifts to the bride/ daughter that is called dowry. The evidence is presented in Gandhāra art as well when the father of Queen Māyā prepared a Palanquin for his daughter when she came back to Kapilvastu after the birth of a child. (see chapter four, episode return to Kapilvastu after the birth of the child).

However, all the contemporary sacred writings give indications of the duplex attitude towards daughter in both the worldly and spiritual life. Though, after the advent of Buddhism women as a daughter enjoyed a better position in a society. As it is mentioned above that the king Pasendi of Kosala was displeased on the birth of his daughter. When his second wife gave birth to a son the Buddha said to him that a woman is superior to a man if she is clear, faithful, well-behaved and virtuous. A daughter could become a wife of a great king and give birth to an almighty ruler. However, king Pasendi's daughter became queen of Magdha and these by the ancestress of the greatest Indian ruler Aśoka who ruled Magdha 250 years later (Hecker 1982: 4; Ranathunga 357).

3.2 The role and status of women as daughter and sister in the pre Buddhist and Buddhist period:

Status of daughters can be gauged from their property rights. Because property is one of the major assets of a person's life which cannot be confiscated easily and parents only inherit the property to their children not to anyone else. Many disparities are found even in the share of boys and girls. The property right of a daughter is a critical subject since the ancient times. There is a vital example of Sita's marriage when her father was grieved at her marriage with the fear of loss of his money. A rich influential father of a daughter felt equally insecure as of a poor man. Both were alike losing their assets in terms of money in case of marrying her daughter (Altekar 1938:5).

Sons are given preference and inherited the property of their parents and sometimes in the absence of a direct son; girls inherited the property because the acceptance of hired male was not in practice. Conversely, during the medieval era (5th to the 15th century) adoption became a practice. Daughters carried in a bride price to supplement their parent's wealth, like the daughters of wealthy families carried luxurious gifts from their fathers to their husband's family. But the dowry system was unpopular in ancient India. If the son is absent, the *Mahābhārata* encouraged an identical division between a daughter and the secondary applicant. It is mentioned in the law book *Yajñavalkya Smṛiti* (ca.400 BCE). However, by 200 B.C.E. most theologians had instigated to be pitted against women's right to inherent property as daughters and wives. In the *Mahābhārata* two epics represent such concerns even among adoring fathers. Such as society appreciated premarital virginity. These concerns and organized laws that shortened women's economic independence also condensed the status of daughter in classical India (Raman 2009: 59). The deprivation of daughter inheritance

also indicates the little and minor position of girls in society.

In contrast Buddhism preserved the daughter's share and fathers also gave their share in the form of dowry at the occasion of their marriage in the form of cloths, jewels, and money according to his status. The parents also used to celebrate the marriage of the daughter. After marriage ceremony, she used to go to her parents-in-law and remained loyal and sincere to them till her death (Hornor 1930: 33-4). Subsequently, after marriage the status of married girl became less in her parents' home as compared to the unmarried girl. The unmarried girl enjoyed more importance and respect in her parents' home. However, in divergence the unmarried girl had the right to inherit her mother's dowry (Shakambari 1966: 21).

This shows the different attitudes of society towards the married and unmarried women. After marriage the girl drops her importance at her parent's home but at the same time she can enjoy respect and honour at the home of her parents-in-law. However, the social and religious requirements were same for unmarried and married women. When unmarried girls remain at home for the care of their parents and younger sisters and brothers, for these services they were considered as un-abused and gratified. So during the medieval period (5th to the 15th century) it was surely practiced in the Hindu society on a small scale because till that time daughter never considered as infanticide in learned families and considered as unwanted burden and endless misfortune by typical householders (Altekar 1938: 7-8). There are various opinions regarding the status of unmarried women. Some societies considered them unholy, burden and anxiety while other gave them respectable place not only in society but in religion as well.

The Brahmanical and Buddhist society also differed regarding the status of unmarried woman. In Brahmanical society, the unmarried woman was considered substandard while in Buddhist society the unmarried women were regarded with respect and higher religious status as nuns because they reserved themselves for religious services as compared to the socially responsible married women (Thapar 1961: 86). The practice of sale and purchase of daughter was known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* but this practice was condemned by royal sage Bhishma by laying down that "no one should bestow his daughter upon any person by sale. A wife should never be purchased nor should a father sell his daughter" (Gupta 2009 38-39). Manu also condemned the sale and purchase of a daughter, regarding this he also considered woman as a cage bird in her home and that she is not trustworthy in sharing the serious responsibilities of men (Gupta 2009: 38-40). This statement expresses the improvement towards daughter's respect and honour in a society. The concerns of parents for their daughters are mentioned in the Uttarakanda at various places about their progressing age. The statement of Sita in the *Ramāyāna* before the Anasuya is unforgettable. She said that her father Janaka became sad and more thoughtful about her as a meagre man grieving at the loss of his little treasure when she reached the growing age. On the birth of a daughter, a father faces disrespect

and hate from his superiors and inferiors. On the basis of the above mentioned social values, the birth of a daughter is not celebrated in the family and society and the wedding of a daughter was also considered a huge burden (Vyas 1967: 100-101).

After the birth a daughter enjoyed care and liberty for the growth of her personality as mentioned in epics. She enjoyed equal love and care from parents because it is a central character of human beings. She is mentioned as *dayita* and beloved to father as compared to mother. The unmarried girl was taken as a good symbol; particularly their presence at the eve of religious rituals and public anniversaries was thought to improve the auspiciousness of the accord. The presence of eight well patterned virgins on the time of training for approving Rama as a crown prince was considered as an article of good luck (Vyas 1967: 100-1).

In the Vedic literature women have no right of inheritance. There is no doubt about the prejudices against property devolving upon female heirs by inheritance. Among the female heirs, daughter who have no brother was the first to succeed in establishing her right of inheritance but society was not willing to accept her rights than that of a wife or a widow. In *Rig-Veda*, one of its early hymns refers to a daughter with no brother getting her share of patrimony. Since normally women do not inherit their father's property, the term *Pitryavati* can only be applied to a brother less daughter. The fact is that not only the maiden with no male sibling was given into marriage she was particularly decked out, an understandable practice in a society. The Hindu law books were unconcerned with the economical aspect of the institution of the inheriting daughter (the *Rig-Veda*, X.27: 12, Stephanie & Jamison).

The general opinion of the Hindu society was that sister should not get any share in the patrimony, if they had brothers. This is the opinion of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature, and Kautilya agrees with it. There is only one writer, who assigns a small split to the daughter along with sons. Who is *Sukra*. *Sukracharya*, the famous teacher of the *Asuras*, loved his daughter *Devayani* dearer than his own life. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that he should have been the only *Smriti* (A Hindu religious text containing traditional teachings on religion) writer to assign a small share to the daughter, even when she had brothers (Altekar 1938: 241). According to the Laws of Manu the amount given on the bridal procession, in token of love, and what she received from her brother, mother or father, is called the six-fold property of a woman (the *Dharmaśāstra*: 370, Buhler). According to the *Rig-Veda* and the *Atharvaveda*, a maiden without a brother does not enjoy a very good reputation and violate the institution of *Mitra* and *Varuna* (they are two deities (devas) of the ancient Indian scriptures of the *Rig-Veda*. They both are connected with a sun and they are protectors of the righteous order (the *Rig-Veda*, IV.5: 5, 566, Stephanie & Jamison).

Some authors had been quoted in support of a daughter's right of inheritance, but other in support of a son's right to inheritance. The leader (i.e. the father) appoints the daughter's son for the

purpose of the continuation of the lineage; he obtained as grandson a daughter's son equivalent to a son's son, Yaska now proceeds to the interpretation of the third and fourth paras of *Rig-Veda* when the father arranges the impregnation of a daughter is not given away, he composes himself with a contended mind. The wording is somewhat equivocal. Taken in isolation it could be thought to refer to association just as some modern interpreters have understood the Vedic verses to refer to the intercourse between Dyaus and his daughter Usas. In Yaska's context this is however not very probable (the *Rig-Veda*, III.31: I, 509, Stephanie & Jamison). It demonstrates that fathers do all this to protect his wealth and property.

It is better to interpret the passage in the light of *vashistha* (It is one of the Saptarishis (seven great Rishis) in the seventh, i.e. the age of Manu). If a daughter is not given in a marriage bear a son from a man of equal status, the maternal grandfather has a son in him, and he shall offer the funeral cake and take the property. The preceding sutra make it likely that *apratta* refers to an unmarried girl, not to a girl, not given in marriage previously, but now with the express purpose of producing an heir for her father. The son whom an unmarried girl begets out of lust in the father's house becomes the son of the maternal grandfather. Yaska then will have a father in mind who arranged for his daughter to have an "illegitimate" child. Manu said, according to law the right to inheritance belongs to both children (son and daughter) without distinction.

The brother less daughter was known as *Putrikadharmi* which meant that her son was to inherit his maternal grandfather's property and perform his funeral rites. At the occasion of marriage, the wealth that one was expected to give to his daughter was according to one's own status. This junction may have been prompted out of the sense of duty or justice towards the daughter who had no right to inheritance, therefore dowry was her due, and it was known as "*Kanyadhana*". "*Gyatideyam*" and sometimes "*Haranam*", "*Yautakam*". The great kings might have given a portion of their wealth to their daughters out of affection. Other reasons might have prompted to the growth of this custom. Giving away gifts after 'dana' was known as "*Dakshina*", which had great religious merits (Shakambari 1966: 65). The tradition of *kanyadhana* shows father's love and affection for his daughter and conversely it also represents the social status of daughter in the concerned society. The custom of dowry taking and *Sulka* or bride price was common among the Aryans of north-west frontier. There is an example of the king *Kekaya* conversed his daughter *Kaikeyi* in exchange of promise to confer his kingdom on her descendants. Later this tradition was named *asura-vivah*. The dowry given at the time of marriage in the form of gifts and presents was named *kanya-dhana* or *stri-dhana*. Sita was also awarded by his father king Janaka with numerous hundred thousand cows, outstanding shawls and crores of white clothes, elephants, horses, chariots and a well decorated infantry and hundred maidens, gold, silver and corals (the *Ramāyāna*, Balakandam: 169, Valmiki). Parents gave these gifts to their daughters for a successful marital life. This tradition is still continuing

in almost all societies of the world in one form or the other. Parents considered these gifts as a sign of good life and they hoped that their daughters will gain respect and love among her in-law family (Vyas 1967: 86). This tradition is still very common in India and Pakistan as well and the purposes of giving these gifts are the same as mentioned by Vyas.

The sister has been placed much higher in the line of succession in the Bombay school than anywhere else. She comes immediately after the grandmother, mainly on account of an ingenious argument advanced in the *Mayukha*. It is clear that *Nilakantha* is here trying to justify a known usage with the help of some spacious arguments (Altekar 1938: 271-272). According to the Manu's code of law to the maiden (sister) the brothers shall respectively give (portion) out of their share, each out of his share one-fourth part, those who refuse to give will become outcasts (the *Dharmaśāstra*: 348, Buhler). The words of Manu are firm regarding women's share in property which indicates the obligation of this custom in the society and enhances the position of women both in her parents' home and in her in-laws family. The responsibility of bestowing a fatherless daughter used to fall upon the brother. *Vibhishana* blames Ravana for not being able to perform this duty for *Kumbhinasi*. It was perhaps due to the loss of independence of woman and for her helplessness that a mother's status was put very low in the lists of the guardians who were to bestow the maiden. According to the *Mahābhārata* kinsmen also had the right to give away the bride (Shokambari 1966: 55).

Similar is the case of marriage that after father, the marriage of a girl is also the responsibility of a brother as it is stated in the *Mahābhārata*, in the mountain festival of Bhojas, Partha who saw Bhadra the daughter of Vasudeva. In the meanwhile, her brother Bharata felt the attention of Partha and told him that she is her sister and favourite daughter of my father, if you liked her I will speak to my father myself and in his response Partha said if she will become my wife I will win prosperity in everything. Her brother suggested him that the self-choice of the Kshatriyas will be held but the temper and disposition of the girl is doubtful so carry away my beautiful sister by force but boy sent message to her father and asked for his assent (the *Mahābhārata*, Subhadra-Parva: 423-424, Roy). This shows two important aspects about the respect and honour of women. This event of history shows two aspects of male behaviour towards female. A man who wanted to marry a woman went to her brother and asked for her hand respectfully. Whereas on the other hand the brother considered her sister as a burden and advised him to forcefully elope with his sister. He made him afraid of the possibility that her sister might prefer someone else in the festival of self-choice on him.

As stated above and according to the laws of Manu from ages parents tried to get their daughters married with suitable companions. It is the duty of the husband and wife that a father should give his daughter 'to a distinguished, handsome suitor of equal caste in accordance to the prescribed rules, though she has not attained the proper age' (the *Dharmaśāstra* 343-344, Buhler). Gandhāra art is also not silent on the marriage issue of daughter as the marriage of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā is an

excellent example of the compatible partner for a daughter. The settlement of marriages was always considered a sensitive issue through the ages. In Buddhism the parents also played vital role in arranging the marriage ceremonies of their children and Gandhāra art also portrays the marriage ceremony of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā in the presence of their parents. Their parents also played significant role in arranging the best life partners for their children. (see chapter four, episode the marriage of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā).

3.3 The establishment of the institution of marriage in the Indian society and the role and status of married women in pre Buddhist and Buddhist period:

The institution of marriage has its own social and religious significance. This establishment enjoys identical place in all religions of the world. Marriage was considered a public and sacred duty and requirement. The system of marriage is not a modern concept. The tradition of marriage is older than the Vedic period and was established in the Indo-Iranian age (1500 B.C. to c. 500 B.C). From religious point of view, the unmarried person was considered secular and imperfect as mentioned in a Vedic passage. In 300 B.C.E. marriage was considered more necessary for young girls as compared to men. According to a Vedic passage wife is bound with a cord and reach to the journey of new home and good wishes are also mentioned for new mistress of the household, which shows marriage was compulsory for young girls (the *Rig-Veda*, X. 85: 1-7, 1520, Stephanie & Jamison). As Altekar stated according to sage *Dirghatamas*, it is not easy for women to endure in the society because they confronted more risks in society as compared to unmarried men so marriage became compulsory in other contemporary societies as well (Altekar 1938:29-35).

Kangle Stated about various forms of marriages in the *Arthasāstra*, for instance,” making a gift of the daughter, after adoring her (with ornaments) is the Brahma marriage. The joint performance of sacred duties is the *Prajapatya* marriage. On receiving a pair to cattle (from the bride-groom) is the *Asura* form of marriage. By making a gift (of the daughter) to the officiating priest inside a sacrificial altar is called the *Daiva* marriage. By a secret association (between lovers) is the *Gandharva* marriage. On receiving a dowry is called the *Asura* marriage. By forcible seizure (of a maiden) is called the *Raksasa* marriage. By the seizure of a sleeping or intoxicated (maiden) is called the *Paisaca* marriage” (Kangle 1909: 115). The first four forms of marriage are lawful with the approval of father and the remaining with the approval of both the parents; father and mother. Whereas, parents received the dowry of the daughter or one of them in the absence of the other and in case of their death the girl shall receive the second dowry. In case of all forms of marriages giving pleasure (to the bride by means of gifts) is not forbidden (Kangle 1909:115).

The institution of marriage is considered a sacred and esteemed obligation. In the ancient society women were also kept as mistresses but after marriage their position and respect spontaneously get enhanced. The Megasthenes and Arrian’s opinions regarding the approach of

Indian society towards women in the case of marriage is as follows, Megasthenes writes “that Indian marries many women. There appear to have been a fixed bride price consisting of a yoke of oxen to be exchanged for a bride. Probably most people who could afford it had a yoke of oxen for pulling carts and carriages. Those who did not possess the oxen must have paid the equivalent in value”. The *arsa-vivah* in which an unmarried girl was given in exchange for a couple of cow is denoted in the *Arthaśāstra*. This kind of marriage is also known as an inherited practice. This tradition is considered as one of the eight categories of marriages existed in the society at that time. This example truly designates the position and place of woman in the Brahmanical society, where she is not considered as human being and society did not secure any standard of marriage for women. She was regarded equal to the cost of a couple of a cow (Thapar 1961: 87). One can identify the position of daughter in the eye of her parents and in society as well.

Society of the time did not esteem their wishes and desires regarding their marriages and it might be possible they were married to a man who offered heavy price (in form of cows and oxen) to their parents. Megasthenes seems to suggest, that some wives backed their husbands in their works while other were merely concerned with bearing children. In contrast men enjoyed all the pleasures and happiness of diverse spheres of life with the support of their wives. Women assisted their husbands in the fields but it is possible that Megasthenes was stating only to the domestic circles, whereas in wealthy clans some wives looked after the children and some administered the house hold works (Thapar 196: 87). The practice is still in use in the remote areas of India and Pakistan. The one main reason can be poverty and the other one is the cultural continuation or tradition that women do not take it as a burden and disrespect and in the same way men do not take it as a shameful act. Apart from the bride price the selection of the partner was a matter of great care and attention from the ancient times. Men preferred to marry a woman of equal rank or status. Gandhāra art and Buddhist text also provides the examples of the marriages among the people of equal status, like the marriage of Queen Māyā and Parajāpatī with king Suddhōdana and the marriage of Siddhārtha with Yaśodharā held among the clans of equal status.

From primitive Indian to the growing society marriage is considered the prime duty of a man. Manu instructed man to marry merely a woman of equal rank for the first time but in second marriage he can accept a woman of low caste or rank and the children of these mismatches formed those mixed classes on which the disdain of the representative fell so nastily. As it is mentioned above and according to the *Mahābhārata* the tradition of self-choice was common in the society for instance, the eldest daughter of king Kasi had chosen king Saubha as her husband and told her father that he had accepted me as his wife in his heart and I have chosen him as my lord. In spite of that the young girls considered themselves to get married to a husband who was equal to themselves and give them extreme love and respect (the *Mahābhārata*, Adhiparva: 216-217, Roy). The marriage of woman in

the equal status shows the respect and value of women and secondly her compatibility with her husband and in-laws was the major reason. Many social problems like divorce, domestic violence can be prohibited by this practice. The marriage of Gopa/ Yaśodharā and prince Siddhārtha was a vital example of tradition in the sixth century of the era. The Gandhāra art also throws bright light on this aspect of the society. Many sculptures of the marriage ceremony and the toūrnāment held before their marriage for the selection of the bridegroom for Yaśodharā are found (see chapter four, episode of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā).

Contrary, in the Brahmanical society, men adored dominancy and the system of endogamy and exogamy marriages with reference to caste was prevailed. In Brahmanical society the lower status of a wife was considered as guarantee of a blissful marital life. In the patriarchal system and in joint family system in case of the distinct property rights, the male dominated in the society (Dixit 2008: 145). The lower status or caste of women was considered as the symbol of success because the women from the lower caste can easily be suppressed by their husbands and in-laws in order to spend a happy and prosperous life.

The property of married women was another debatable subject of the ancient societies. This also reflected their social position.

It is ordained that the property of a married woman, according to the *Brahama*, the *davia*, the *Arsha*, the *Gandharva* or the *Pragapatya* rite shall belong to her husband alone if she dies without issue. However, it is prescribed that the property which may have been given to a wife on an *Asura* marriage or one of the other blamable marriages shall go to her mother and her father, if she dies without issue. Whatever property may have been given by her father to a wife, who has co-wives of different casts that the daughter of the Brahmana wife shall take (the Dharmaśāstra: 371, Buhler).

The age of the marriage for girls has been always a main subject from early historic times. Early marriages are still a common practice in Indian society. The parents feel embracement and inferiority if they have young unmarried daughter at home. Society has its own religious and social norms where the age of marriage is considered vital as that post adolescence marriages are referred in the *Rig-Veda* and earlier Grhya Sutras. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rig-Veda* examples of old unmarried damsels amusing hopes of getting married are found but no single example of age difference is found in the Ramāyāna. Likewise, the narrative part of the *Mahābhārata* also specifies that young girls are not given to old men in marriages (Shokambri 1966: 42-45). Therefore, it can be said disparity of age was also kept in mind when parents find out a partner for their daughters. This practice is not completely prohibited and still existed in almost all societies of the world. Gandhāra art also shows the marriages in young age as the depiction of queen Māyā in dream and birth episode, and the marriage of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā was also held in very young age (see chapter four).

However, like other religions Buddhism does not regard marriage as a religious duty nor as a sacrament that is established in heaven. According to Buddhism marriage is neither holy nor unholy. Though Buddha never spoke against married life and gave various kind of advices to married couples, he said “if a man can find a suitable and understanding wife and a woman can find a suitable and understanding husband both are fortunate” (Dhammananda 1987: 4). Buddha also pointed out the problems, difficulties, worries, responsibilities and rights and duties of husband and wife for a happy married life. Buddha also said that the peace and harmony of a home rested largely on a woman (Dhammananda 1987: 3-11). It shows that Buddhism emphasis on mutual understanding and also focus on rights and duties of husband and wife that became the source of the feeling of security and contentment between them.

3.4 The role and status of woman as wife in the Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

Women have been enjoying different statuses in the family as well as in the society since early historic times. In all statuses they performed different responsibilities but at the same time they were enjoying different distinction in the family. As a mother she has been responsible for the growth and training of her children but on the other hand she has secured the most respectable place in the family as a decision maker for her children. As a daughter and wife she has been enjoying a prominent position in the family but at the same time she must be obedient and dutiful to her parents and husband. Dharmasāstra the ‘law of Manu’ mentioned that a wife must be obedient to her husband in his life and after his death. A faithful wife worshipped her husband like a god. A faithful and sincere wife will remain with her husband after her death. A woman must beautify herself with pure flowers, roots and fruits for her husband’s desire. The faithfulness of a woman after the death of her husband is an assurance that she will enjoy the pleasures of heaven in the company of her husband. Conversely, if she ignored her duties she would be placed in the womb of jackal as penalty of her sins (the Dharmasāstra 160-69, Buhler).

In Vedic and post-Vedic literature women became only the means of sustaining man’s physical requirements and lost the place of honour and respect in the society. In *Atharva* hymn a husband considered wife as dependent because she is gifted by God to serve him and to secure his progeny. In the *Upanishads* women were taken as a source of appeasing man’s instinct of desire and pleasure. The women’s position was weakened even in the later age of Dharmasāstra (Indra 1955: 10-11). The position of women as wife was considered inferior because of various systems of marriages prevalent in ancient societies. During the Vedic and Buddhist period the system of marriage was grounded on monogamous. The kings, elites and nobles followed the polygamy while polyandry was infrequent; only one example of the princess Kanha in the *kunala - jātaka* who had five husbands is found. Two opinions of the polyandry marriages were found regarding Buddhism. Some say this system ended

with the growth of Buddhism while Pali classics negated this opinion and said this system was succeeded under Buddhism. The example of the polyandry under Buddhism is when Kisa-Gotami was worried about the other wives of her husband; she did not want to share her house with the other wives of her husband. Utpalvarana is the second instance who left her house because of her own mother who belonged to her husband or because they both were bonded to one man (Indra 1955: 69). It indicates that such system of marriage became the source of anxiety and sorrow instead of pleasure and happiness for women.

Shalini Dixit added in this regard (2008: 137) that the *Aitareya Brahmana* denies the polyandry and visibly supports the notion that “for one man has many wives, but one wife cannot have many husbands at the same time” she has permitted to the standard of thought at the time, the possessions of one man only. Men have been enjoying dominancy over women from ancient times. The two great religions of the world; the Brahmanism and Buddhism looked upon women as jewel if they have faithfulness and devotion for her husband. Women performed particular rituals for the safety and long life of their husbands because husband was considered centre of a woman’s life. Furthermore, Buhler says (the *Dharmaśāstra*: 196), women performed sacrifice, vow, and fast for their husbands and in response of their obedience she will be dignified in heaven. In the age of *Mahābhārata* the status of woman as a wife was defined on the basis of her cast, as the Brahman wife relished higher status than other wives. Only Brahman wife attended the needs of her husband and joined him in the religious rituals and ceremonies. According to epic literature if a man had several wives of the same caste then, eldest wife has more rights on her husband than the junior wives (Indra 1955: 62). However, women enjoyed a loveable and delightful place in the life of their husbands, but the caste system was prevalent in the Indian society that split the position of wife according to her cast which was degrading and humiliating for women.

The rite of marriage is also discussed in the Manu’s code of law. The consecratory rite of taking the hand in marriage only for bride of equal class is recognized as the procedure of the rite of the marriage. When a woman marrying an upper class man: a Kshatriya bride should take hold of an arrow, a Vaisya bride a goad and a Sudra bride the hem of his husband’s garment (the *Dharmaśāstra*: 43, 100, Ollivelle). Examples of love and respect for wife are found as rishi Jaratkaru said: I shall protect my wife with all my abilities, he made an agreement with his wife saying “nothing must ever be done or said that is against my liking and in the case of doing any such thing I will leave the house bear in mind these words” (the *Mahābhārata* Astikaparva: 98-99, Ganguli). Another example is a man should cherish and protect his wife with his wealth but he must protect his own self both by his wife and his wealth (the *Mahābhārata* vakvadhparva: 329, Ganguli). In response to all these things, women’s love for her husband is stronger than any other relation (the *Mahābhārata* Hidimvadhparva: 318, Ganguli).

At the same time various examples are found regarding husband's love for his wife on some valuable occasion or on the birth of a child particularly on the birth of a son. Kings arranged boons (bonuses) to their queen at the birth of a son like Bimbisara (Hornor 1938: 35-62). Though it can be assumed that it might happen occasionally or this tradition might be practiced in royal family because the kings got their successors from their queen and this was not common practice in the society but this custom is still prevalent in the Indian society. Women's position as a wife in the pre-Buddhist society was inferior and her marital life was not as secure as men. Husband had right to remarry if his wife is barren or bearing only daughters. On the other hand, the birth of a daughter was not celebrated in the Vedic Indian society. However, at the same time some hymns are found written by highly knowledgeable women in the *Rig-Veda*. These women freely participated in the religious ceremonies; Visvavara and Apala were famous among them (the *Rig-Veda* 1-6. 689: Stephanie & Jamison).

The pregnant women were cherished and esteemed in the family and society as well. As a wife her responsibilities were to bring up child and serve her husband and in laws. If widow she was considered liable to her father or son. After the arrival of Buddhism, the situation changed and women began to enjoy more equality and greater respect and authority. During Buddhist period their domestic, religious and social status was improved (Hornor 1930: 1). Wife enjoyed superior place during her pregnancy. She acquired much higher status and her husband tried to fulfill all her desires during this time period. Thapar quoted the example of the Aśoka's mother Dhamma, during her pregnancy she desired to walk on the moon and the sun, to play with the stars and to eat up the jungles. After this desire the king called the city elders to interpret the signs (Thapar 1961: 26). Likewise, King Suddhōdana called the Brahman to interpret the dream of Queen Māyā. The Buddhist text and the Gandhāra art provide clear mark of the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā. The treasurable samples of this interpretation are displayed in the various museums of the world. (see chapter four, episode interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā).

The queens during Mauryan dynasty were adored the same position and status as the queen appreciated during the Sakyan's period. If a man who has a wife weds a second wife, begs money to pay the marriage expenses. He finds no advantage but sensual enjoyment but the issue of his second marriage belongs to the giver of the money. In the same chapter Bhuler says neither a girl nor a married woman, nor shall a man of little learning, nor one uninitiated, offer an *Agnihotra* (the *Dharmaśāstra*: 431, Buhler). A married woman was always given due respect and proper place in family because now along with the status of wife she has also reached the esteemed position of mother of his husband's child.

The status of a wife and mother is described in the *Shakuntala*. *Shakuntala* is a famous drama of Kalidas which enjoyed a worldwide popularity due to its true representation of the Indian society.

There are many evidences how women were treated during that time, first she was rejected as a wife but at the same time, she was respected as a mother particularly as a mother of a son. The Dushanta (the hero) accepted Shakuntala as his wife due to her motherhood, it might be possible if she would be barren wife she was unable to get that status in the royal family. The analysis of the position of a woman is given in the pre-Buddhist society in the *Mahābhārata*, when Dushanta, the mighty herof Pauravas dynasty met the beautiful maiden named Shakuntala in a hermitage; the king fell in love with her and asked her to become his wife by the rite of the Gandharvas. Shakuntala married him on a true promise that the son born by her shall be young king to succeed him. King promised and got married with Shakuntala and also made promise that he will send an escort for you, with footmen, horses, chariots and elephants, and with that he shall take her to his castle.

Shakuntala gave birth to a son, and he appeared like a child of a God. When he was six years old the seer told her that it is time for him to become king, and it is not good for a woman to live too long with their kinsmen. She went with her son to the king and paid proper homage to her king and said, greatest of men remember the promise you made long ago when we lay together, man of fortune, in Kanva's hermitage. The king refused to recognize her as his wife. She said, she is a wife who is handy in the house, a wife who bears children, a wife whose life is for her husband, she is a wife who is true for her lord, the wife is half the man, a wife is better than his best friend, a wife is the root of Law, profit and love, a wife is a friend in a man's extremity. They who have wives have rites, they have households, they are happy, they have luck, and a man with a wife is a trustworthyman. Only a faithful wife follows even a man who has died before, stands still and waits for husband. A good wife follows after her husband if he has died before. But king replied, I do not know that this is my son you have born, women are liars and wicked who will trust your words. Shakuntala said, king you see the faults of others that are small, like a mustard seeds, and you look but not see your own, the size of pumpkins. Menaka is one of the thirty Gods, the thirty came after Menaka. My birth is higher than yours, Dushanta you walk on earth, but I fly in the skies. See how we differ, like mount Meru and mustard seed. I can roam to the palaces of great Indra, of Kebura, of Yuma, of Varuna, behold my power king. The lesson I shall teach you is truth. Then Shakuntala departed, and a disembodied voice spoke from the sky to Dushanta, do not reject Shakuntala. You have planted this child. Shakuntala has spoken the truth. The king devoted his son by Sakuntala with the name Bharata and started calling him young king (the *Mahābhārata* Sambhava-Parva: 149-162, Ganguli; Thapar 1999: 16-43).

This is an interesting story that has mentioned the role and status of women as a mother and a wife. Shakuntala is a strong character of the story and dominates as a wife and as a mother of a male child. Women as wife also participated in the religious rituals with their husbands. Various examples of women participation are found in the rituals with men in the art of Gandhāra in the subject of women worshippers (see chapter 4, episode women worshippers in Gandhāra art where wives are

depicted equally with husbands around the Buddha). Without women participation rituals were considered incomplete. Women participated in the religious ceremonies in the company of their husbands and also in the absence of the husbands.

Women also performed rituals independently at their marriage ceremony and after the marriage for the safety and prosperity of their marital life and family. It was not necessary to perform these rituals in the company of the husband (Sastri 1918: 14). The *Sankhayana Grihyasutra* of the *Rig-Veda* speaks of the *Indrani-Karma*, a ritual performed by, or on behalf of the maiden on the eve of her marriage; this ritual related the oblation to the gods and goddesses including *Aryanman*. They offered homage to the gods and goddesses for a flourishing and successful life. This shows in some rituals the married couple offered rites jointly while in other they performed independently. However, marriage was considered a start of a sacred life and a married couple now is unable to perform a conjoint worship that is stated in the words of the following mantras addressed to the bride in this connection “in the home of the creator, in the region (attained as the result) of the meritorious deed, I secure for thee a place of blessedness with thy husband” (Sastri 1918:69-70).

As a wife woman has much responsibilities not only from her family and society but religion also bound her in these duties. Sastri further mentioned the laws of *Shruti* and *Smrities*. In the laws of *Shruti*, she discussed the responsibilities of a married woman who (as wife) has started from the first day of the marriage and continued till her death. In *Smrities* it is mentioned that the marriage is prior to the intellectual, moral and spiritual responsibilities whereas *Shruti* mentioned the laws without any orientation to any specific period of the society. This shows that there was no gender discrimination; both men and women had identical chances to prepare themselves for the future answerable life of house holder in advanced Aryan community (Sastri 1918: 69-70).

Apart from these, there is another interesting aspect related to the women’s rights as a wife regarding their share in the husband’s property preserves the equality of husband and wife related their wealth both enjoyed equal ownership, in Epics wife is mentioned as a noble supervisor of the husband’s property. In the moral portion it is stated that a wife can enjoy the wealth of her husband but she has no property rights over it that means she cannot give it away. It shows she cannot sell or gives it as a gift to any other relative of her own without the consent and ambition of her husband. It is further mentioned that according to the “Great Epic” the wife was allowed to enjoy their thousand coins given to her by her husband, a thousand more than prescribed by Kautilya and Vyas. It shows she was allowed to spend a small amount of her husband’s property not the whole amount. (Shokambri 1966: 244-45). The property rights were granted to women but they were not free to use them on their own free will. This also indicates the lower position of women as a wife in the society. It is stated in the *Arthaśāstra* regarding the property rights of women that maintenance and ornaments constitute woman’s property. Maintenance is an endowment of a maximum of two thousand (panas)

as to ornaments there is no limit. Woman is free to spend that amount on her son, daughter-in-law or her own maintenance. She can also utilize when her husband is away and there is no other arrangement of her maintenance. Though under the natural calamities like disease, feminine, danger or for religious acts husband can also use this asset. Husband and wife both can use this asset on their children. In the case of pious marriage, husband and wife can use this asset jointly but if they committed *Gandharva* or *Asura* marriage the husband will return with interest. Under the *Raksas* and *Paisaca* marriage if husband use this asset, he shall pay the penalty for theft (Kangle 1909: 115-116). The *jātaka*'s and *Arthaśāstra* suggest a generally human attitude towards the slaves, particularly, if female slave has a child by her owner, both mother and child is immediately recognized as free. The king is expected to chastise those who do not give heed to the claims of their slaves (Thapar 1961:91).

In the response of all these facilities and love a woman must be loyal and regard the desires of her husband because her loyalty is more important than her religious obligations. Thus, in this way she can obtain the higher position in her family, society and in heavens as well (Bader 58: 1925). According to the *Mahābhārata* rishi Dirghatamasa said his wife Pradweshi that every woman shall have to adhere to one husband for her life either the husband is dead or alive it shall not be lawful for a woman to have connection with another and she who has such connection shall cardinally be regarded as sinful and even she will not be able to enjoy that wealth truly (the *Mahābhārata* Sambhavaparva: 220, Roy).

The above discussion illustrates the status of woman as mother and wife, it is something very natural that after marriage it is foremost and primary desire of a woman to have children but she can attain the status of a goddess of fortune for her family, and after becoming mother, she becomes more honourable, worthy and earnest not only for her husband but for the whole family as well. In fact, her services for her family are considered equal to religious services. Gandhāra art also portrayed the loyalty and love of Yaśodharā for her husband. In the episode of the Chandaka and kantaka's return (see chapter 4) she has barred all the luxuries of palace life, took off her ornaments in the love of her husband. As Buddha returned to see her which we consider that, he may showed respect and regard her for her loyalty and faithfulness.

Woman after becoming mother is spontaneously raised to the higher position as compared to wife. The legend of the *Mahābhārata* paid great honour, love and respect to a wife and a mother that we cannot find in any other society of the world. It is she who brings up the children and dedicates her life for the well-being of her husband and children. A man with a wife is also considered more reputable and reliable because wife is a source of deliverance. A true and candid wife was considered as a father to achieve the considerate duties of the life and act like a mother in the hours of adversity. The virtuous wife desired to remain with her husband after death and if her husband dies earlier she

shadows him even in death.

Husband is considered as a root of family life and a woman is nothing without the support and love of her husband. Man is considered as central object of the family. As Vyas writes in his book 'India in the age of Ramāyāna' husband is the main root of a woman's life. A wife cannot survive without the support and favours of her husband. This relationship is more vital than her father, mother, sons, friends and even her own self. Husband provides her shelter in life and after life. The author quoted an excellent example of the Rama and his mother (who was desirous of leaving her husband and accompanying her son to the forest) he advised her mother the ethics of the *Stri-dharma* as conceived in the age and followed to this day. "For wife her husband is her refuge and her religion, her lord and her god, her preceptor and her guileless friend". Loyalty and faithfulness are the basic elements in this relationship. A wife having these potentials must follow her husband in all circumstances. On the other hand, husband must be responsible for his wife and cannot disown her because she is the sharer of his pleasure and worries (Vyas 1967: 103-105). Men are considered the continuation branch of the family which gave men a very high esteemed position in the society whereas the women are always considered the assisting and helping hand of the men which mean that women are only meant to be inferior from men and she will get heaven in the reward of her services and affection to her husband.

Women enjoyed the rights of protection, maintenance, property and foremost the conjugal rights. Particularly in Indian society husband feels pride in fulfilling his wife's desires and wishes to do it at his best. The word *bhartha* is used for husband meaning 'supporter', 'nourisher', or '*pati*', and 'protector' and for the wife the word *bharaya* is used that nurtures him by husbanding all the family assets. Therefore, these words provide evidence that a husband must be responsible to esteem his wife and provide her all the ease of life according to her wishes and desires. Apart from this he also paid attention to the conjugal rights of his wife during the proper season (the *Mahābhārata* Sambhavaparva: 220: Roy). It is considered sin if he did not visit his wife or stay away from her and ensemble with the wives of the others. Vyas added, from the above discussion it is clear that the women of the Ramāyāna age wielded a potent influence over men both in political and social spheres (Vyas 1967: 111- 112). Thus, we come to know that women are considered as the protectors of their offerings and are presented in the socially weak position.

Woman enjoyed a respected place as a householder after her marriage in the house of her husband. After marriage woman called "Goto house" that means thou 'be a lady of the house'. As mistress (of the house) 'thou shalt direct the sacrificial rites', being a householder she took charge of all the household chores and tried to make herself a perfect wife and mother according to the Aryan ideal. During that time women were equally educated to men and sacrificed herself like men in both the phases of her life (before and after marriage) (the *Rig-Veda* X. 85.26 :1519, Stephanie & Jamison).

The position of a married woman in her husband's house as the nuptial hymn of Surya presented the woman as queen in her home. The title used for husbands like 'Pati', 'chief', 'master of the house', or 'grihapati' showed him as protector not dictator. As well as women are called 'Patni' or 'grihatni' or 'indrani' showed her authority and splendor as a sharer of her husband (Bader 1925: 49-50). The above mentioned statement shows the admiration and esteem of woman after marriage.

Married life is always considered an object of pleasure, righteous and virtuous start of new surviving. The married life abstains a man from his mistakes. Because after marriage man focuses on the happiness of his family and wife particularly after maternity a woman accomplished her wifhood and as a mother she became an entity of veneration. Being mother woman deserves more respect, honor and integrity both in her family and in the eyes of her husband (Bader 1925: 52). *Mahābhārata* mentioned wife as a central authority of home, who rules all members of family as ocean rules all the rivers of the world and enjoys and participates in the festivals in the company of her husband like kings and the citizens of Andhakas tribes accompanied with their wives and bands of singers participate on the eve of the grand festival of the Lvrishnis (the *Mahābhārata* Subhadra-harana Parva: 423: Roy). A detailed chapter of duties and rights of the husband and wife is discussed in *Manvadharamasastra* (the *Dharmaśāstra*: 328-345, Buhler) which mentioned that husband has to guard his wife and preserved his offer springs, virtuous conduct, his family, himself and his merit. This shows that women are not reliable, husbands should not trust on their wife's purity. It shows the inferior position of a woman as a wife like Shakuntala.

Though in spite of all these statuses of wife the *Arthaśāstra* allows men to (Kangle 1909: 117) remarry if the wife does not bear offspring or does not bear son or bear only daughters or dead offspring or infertile but he will wait for some years however the time period of wait is different in changed conditions but in case of violation of the rule he has to hand over the women's property, dowry and fine of twenty-four *panas*. After paying this a man can be a polygamist because women are there to bore sons. A man cannot approach an infertile woman, mother of a son, or eager of a religious life, or a mother of a dead offspring or whose menstruation has stopped or leprous or senseless wife. Conversely, wife can leave her husband if the husband is characterless, or overseas, or committed transgression against the ruler, or unsafe for her life or to become pariah or if he is powerless. All these writings represent the balanced attitude towards women as wife and mother.

3.6 The role and status of women as mother in the Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

In the *Rig-Vedic* religion and society motherhood was highly appreciated. Women enjoyed equal rights with men in the Vedic age. As a mother women were taken as an object of respect because she is the prime preceptors of children. She is greater in coaching and uplifting her children more than father (Raman 2009: 27; Indra 1955: 3). In Buddhism, the woman, as a mother enjoyed an unassailable

position and treated with great honour and revered. Under Buddhism she can enjoy her individual life independently until her death; her complete dependence on men was gradually vanishing; now she can enjoy her own identity and place in the society. Motherhood is their sole and natural function. Now women became respectable after getting married. Kisa Gotami is an eminent example, before marriage, she has no identity as a daughter or sister in the society and considered an ordinary. Conversely, after marriage and especially when she became mother of a son she got an honourable place in the society (Honor 1930: 3-4). Māyā, Parajāpatī and Yaśodharā also enjoyed a respectable place in Gandhāra art as mothers. We can identify the status of women as a mother from the Buddhist epoch, that men used their mother's name for their identification (Hornor 1930:7).

Women as a mother enjoyed a very eminent position in ancient society and in her family that is otherwise unknown to her (Hornor 1930: 9). She not only enjoyed a prominent position and power at home but she was also considered as source of devotion and admiration for her children and retained her home over her children's loyalty. A mother is a deliberate good friend and loyal companion of family (Hornor 1930: 11). The art of Gandhāra also provides ample examples of the love of mother. In the episode of the return of Kantaka and Chandaka, Parajāpatī the foster mother of Buddha became unconscious in the grief of her son and she also used all her potentials to stop him from renunciation. Secondly, Yaśodharā sacrifices her whole life for her son Rāhula when her husband leaves the palace; she does not marry again for the sake of her son and husband (see chapter four, episode the return of Kantaka and Chandka and the great departure).

A mother is equally treated and her kids are loved without discrimination of son and daughter. The story of the Anjulimala is an excellent one of the love of a mother for her son. He was robber, so his father refused to naught with him but his mother accepted and loved him a lot and tried to stop his son from his illegal activities. Ubbiri evinced the story of the mother's love for a daughter when her daughter died. The grief and worry of the Sumedha's parents when she decided to enter in the religious life, even her father got stunned, he loved her a lot so wanted to see her married (Hornor 1930: 13). The Buddhist art of Gandhāra also depicted such examples. The father of Queen Māyā decorated the Lumbinī grove for the ease and convenience of her daughter. Similarly, the father of Yaśodharā arranged competition to choose a best man for his daughter in the presence of Yaśodharā (see chapter four, episode birth of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha and Marriage of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā).

The mother in Indian society enjoyed very respectable position in the society because she bears hardships for her children. This act of Indian woman presents her as heroic self-sacrificing type of woman hood (Hornor 1930: 14). As a mother woman not only enjoyed respect, honour and love from her family but she also enjoyed many religious and social rights as it is stated in manysacred

literature and writings. Woman as a mother enjoyed a higher place than the preceptor and father in the family and more respectable and higher than the whole earth in the society. From the time of the *Upanishads* she is mentioned first among the three 'Atigurus' and this rule considered good in the society. Motherhood considered as a great religious and social duty. The married women enjoyed much esteemed place in the society. In the epic it is mentioned that men did not stare married women (Shokambari 1966: 132-135; Raman 2009: 59). Women became respectful from the first step of her motherhood as the expected women had enjoyed extra care, respect and attention not only in family but in society as well. Māyā is also depicted in Gandhāra art as pregnant mother with great care, love and adoration.

In the epic it is mentioned that maternity homes were found for common women and motherhood with admiration. According to the Manu's code of law, the newly married women, young, sick and pregnant women may be fed without hesitation and pregnant women should not be forced to pay tolls on a ferry to sages, ascetic, Brahman etc. (the Dharmaśāstra: 407: 189, Olloville). As King Suddhōdana fulfilled the wish of Queen Māyā to stay alone in the palace during conception. The dream episode of Queen Māyā is frequently depicted in Gandhāra art. According to the Mahāyāna Buddhist text, society does not allow the pregnant woman to renounce familial responsibility in the name of religion. Motherhood is not religious because women want to become mother for society purposes not for religious obligation. The Hindu text mentioned the religious status of a woman through her functions as mother. But the Mahāyāna Buddhist considered motherhood as an element of pain, suffering, bondage and dependency, while religion freed human beings from these situations. Like these women/mothers are out of religion due to the suffering and hardships a woman suffers because of motherhood. In comparison, Hinduism and Confucianism, considered motherhood as holy and sacred because of the hardships and sufferings a woman bears to become a mother (Paul 1997: 61).

Mother is also considered important in family matters particularly affairs related to her children. The Gandhāra art also represented the examples of women participation in the family matters (see chapter four, episode interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā, and horoscope of the child) Queen Māyā and Parajāpatī shared the identical seat with the king Suddhōdana in the royal assembly (See chapter four). Māyā, the mother of the Buddha Shākyamuni is indicated as a symbol of motherhood in the early Buddhist sects. From the character of Queen Māyā and other self-sacrificing mothers of early Buddhist literature, it is quite easy to conclude the prominent status and position of a woman as a mother in the society. The love of Buddha for his mother is also portrayed in Gandhāra art when he went to heaven to teach dharma to his mother (see chapter four, episode Utpalvarana the second Buddhist nun). Similarly, he allowed Parajāpatī to join religious life when he remembered how she nurtured him with great love and care. In the epics mother is considered as

source of authority in the family. She has been esteemed even above the father. In the Sanskrit verse she is taken as equal to god because her love as a mother is superior to all. The mother is more superior for the children because she gives birth to them, as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*(12.265).

Raman (Raman 2009: 52) has mentioned the status of mother

as long as one has a mother, one is well protected; if she is lost one has no protection. Even one has lost all wealth, no worry oppresses, no age wearies him who can call out “mother”, even when he is a hundred years old, and he behaves like a two years old child. A man is then old, becomes happy, and finds the world empty when he has lost his mother. There is no cooling shade like the mother, no refuge like the mother and no beloved like the mother (Raman 2009: 52).

3.7 The status of step mother in the Indian society:

We are not sure about the pious spirit of the son for a step mother because co-wives transfer the jealousy to the children. The hero Rama, who is taken as an ideal also betrays such feelings. The relationships between the step mothers and sons are generally cordial in the royal families because of their highly cultural backgrounds (Raman 2009: 142). The Manu represented the mother above the father because of her sufferings as motherhood; he said a mother is more superior to a thousand fathers. According to Hindu belief the maternal love is divine than conjugal and other love (Bader 1925: 63). A mother enjoyed a central status in the family and centre of honour and love in the eyes of her children. This is shown in the Rama’s mourning for his mother when he found himself shameful for his helpless tearful mother. Rama sets the example of respect and love for step-mother just like his real mother. He also advised Sita for equal treatment to his step-mothers because he viewed all as his own real mother (Vyas 1967: 116). The relationship of the step mother is always seen doubtfully and this relationship is also considered as double standard. Gandhāra art also represents the relationship of a step-mother in a positive and a very blissful attitude. The love of Buddha for his foster mother Parajāpatī and Parajāpatī’s love for his son is an eminent example of the status, respect and love between step mother and son (see the episode of the return to Kapilvastu, the great departure and the return of Chandka and Kantka).

3.8 The right of divorce in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

According to Hindu religion after marriage a women transferred bodily and spiritually from her paternal family to her husband’s home. From Aryans to the age of epic and *Mahābhārata* there is no evidence about divorce. The term first introduced in the *Arthasāstra* but not in all conditions only in special emergencies. If a woman hates her husband and she had passed seven menstrual cycles and she loves any other man, then she must insistently return the endowments and ornaments to her husband and allow him to lay with some other woman. Similarly, if a man hates his wife then he must

take her wife to some sage woman or her parents or guardians. However, if a man denies the fact of having physical relation with her wife and any witness or spy attest the relationship between both of them then the husband has to pay twelve pannas as a penalty. A wife having conflict with her husband cannot nullify the marriage without the will of the husband and vice versa. But if they both have conflict they both can divorce each other. If a man feels any insecurity regarding her wife and wants a divorce, then he had to return everything that he got at the time of marriage. If a woman feels any insecurity from her husband and she wants a divorce, then she had to forego all his property and rights. The marriages which took place under the first four conditions cannot be nullified (Kangle 1909: 118-9).

The *Smriti* literature also negates the right of divorce to women (Indra 1955: 94). In the light of the Dharmaśāstra literature that allows the husband to remarry while his first wife is present and he can completely disown her. This shows the presence of the divorce before the Christian era. The *Atharvaveda* also states the remarriage of woman (Altekar 1938: 38). In the light of this text we come to know that divorce was not common practice and it was allowed in case of guilty of infidelity or unfaithfulness. Under these conditions woman was permitted to divorce her husband. A wife can also be divorced if she is disobedient and disloyal. In Buddhism, woman was never considered a creature of burden and they did not run the danger of being put away because they were wicked workers. Divorce was settled among the husband and wife because marriage was not considered as religious or legal approval. Affection and carefulness is the main object of the marital life and if husband and wife hated each other and are not eager to live with each other than divorce is allowed according to Kautilya (Hornor 1938: 62-63). However, they can be separated if they can not live together harmoniously (Dhammananda 1995:19). In such circumstances where the relationship of husband and wife is not working then divorce is considered a blessing because in such condition where the relationship cannot work properly the whole family suffers along with husband and wife. However, in spite of that Altekar (Altekar 1938: 85) stated that apart from the Buddhist culture divorce was not common practice among the particular culture segments of the society.

3.9 The role and status of women as widow in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

The subject of the unmarried girl was not as sensitive as compared to the subject of the marriage of the widow in the ancient societies. The ancient societies had various social and religious concerns regarding the position and remarriage of the widow. The position of women concerning the marriage and the relationship between husband and wife, the married women were highly regarded in the society as compared to the unmarried woman. However, in case of widowhood she was not allowed to remarry with her own choice. If she wanted to remarry she must choose her consort among her in-laws (Thapar 1961: 88-9).

After the growth of Hindu society this verse led serious arguments on the subject. Women were allowed to remarry under serious circumstances of sufferings and pains. The Vedic text also contains the examples of the remarriage of the women. The term *punarbhū* literally means a woman married again. Apart from Vedic text the Dharmaśāstra and *Smṛiti* texts also accepted the remarriage of the women. Krishna Data discussed the point of view of various critics and says “that *Asahaya*, *Devanabhata*, *Madhavacarya* and *Kamesvara* accept that the verse *nastemrt* ordains the remarriage of the married women. However, *Asahaya* informs that the practice had been overruled by custom others except *Kamesvara* hold that this right to remarriage is not allowed to the women of the Kali age” (Kali yug began approximately five thousand years ago and it has a duration of 432,000 years, leaving us with 427,000 years till the end of the present age) (Krishna.Data 8-14).

Marriage was considered compulsory even for widows because men deaths were common due to clashes among Indo-Aryans and non-Aryans. There is a clear evidence of the remarriage of the widow in the hymens that reflects respect for the reproductive power of a woman that is essential for the existence of the community. There is a funeral hymen advised a young widow on the grief of her husband’s body to spend a normal life, perhaps even remarry. Apart from this *Rig-Vedic* Aryans did not force their widows to sacrifice herself on the funeral pyre of their husband (Sati) and this custom developed a millennium later in the fifth century C.E. (Raman 2009: 33). Several evidences are found in the *Mahābhārata* that negates the custom of sati and women were allowed to remarry and spend a peaceful life. However, the practice of widow remarriage was also recognized in the *Arthaśāstra*. After the decline of the joint family system widow was considered a burden in her in laws, home and even not tolerable in her parents’ home. Thus widows led depressed life and in such circumstances the remarriage of widow became tolerable. In the Vedic age the widow lived with her husband’s younger brother or with any other man to produce son for her husband. This custom is still prevalent in some parts of India. There is no reference of widow’s remarriage in the *Rig Vedic* age in the *Atharvaveda* (Indra 1955: 103-4). According to the *Mahābhārata* a widow spends life in sadness and sorrow. She has no purpose of life after the death of her husband. She spends life in mental agonies and broken heart in the pain of separation. The theory of bad karma and rebirth is associated with the widowhood and states that she has spent a sinful former life that is why she is spending a torturing widow life (the *Mahābhārata* Sambhavaparva: 248, Roy).

This also illustrates the varied attitudes towards a widow. She is totally dependent on her in laws family or male members of his parental or in-laws family. The tradition of polyandry (Niyoga) is found in the first Sanskrit text. This custom was introduced in Indo-Aryans society in the Epic *Mahābhārata* (800-300 BCE). The heroine Durapadi married to five Pandava brothers (the *Mahābhārata* Adiparva: 20, Roy). Though polyandry allowed some sexual liberty to women and allowed them to remarry and lead a respectable life in the society. No account of women’s life in the

epics would be complete without the mention of the practice of *Niyoga*. The custom of the *Niyoga* may well be in the fact that woman was considered a piece of family property (Shokambari 1966: 157).

According to the *Rig-Veda Niyoga* is a term referring to the appointment for woman to beget offspring for her deceased husband. At that time the term *Niyoga* has been controversial because *Niyoga* in husband's life time insisted that the wife should make over only to the husband's relative in order to have children. *Niyoga* is forbidden because of the "weakness of the senses" and the hand of the relative is considered as that of a stranger. If this rule is broken both husband and wife go to hell. All the dharma texts agree that the sexual relationship between the widow and the brother-in-law has to stop, once the purpose of *Niyoga* the birth of a son is achieved (the *Rig-Veda* X.40: 2. 1443, Stephanie & Jamison). Thus, it is concluded that the dead male member of society is more worthy as compared to the alive widow. Because she is still living with other man to beget son for her dead husband and for her own-self.

Widowhood was considered a disgrace in Indian society. The early *Rig-Vedic* hymn commended the widows to rise up women into the world of the living. The *Mahābhārata* presented the widow Kunti as custodian of her sons and offspring. However, in the classical era the male members of the family considered widow as a threat because she could be dependent upon them and she can reduce their share by taking her husband's property. She was also considered a burden and menace for family respect because she is a source of attraction for outside males. However, in spite of all these, Sati was not commonly practiced in the society and there are examples of remarriage of widows (Raman 2009: 62-3). These evidences represent the poor standard of a widow in family and in society as well.

Widow's rights to inherent her husband's property should have remained unrecognized. The Vedic texts, declared that women to be incapable of inheriting any property are particularly against the widow. In early times the custom of *Niyoga* was very common, so the widow without sons were very few. The majority of them used to get their husband's share, if not directly as their heirs, at least indirectly as the guardians of their heirs minor sons. Vedic text opposed to this right. Most of the Dharmasāstra writers adopted the same point of view. Even widow cannot hold the authority of the ownership of the husband's property which a wife acquires at the marriage; it terminates with the husband's death (Altekar 1938: 250-51). After the death of husband, the women become socially weak and they have to withdraw all the colours and joys of life. The ancient times, widows preferred to join Sangha in order to maintain their respect and status.

In *the laws of Manu*, it is mentioned that when the purpose of the appointment to the widow has been attained in accordance with the law,

those two shall behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law if those two (being thus) appointed deviate from the rule and act from carnal desire, they will both become outcasts, (as men) who defile the bed of a daughter-in-law or of a Guru by twice born men, a widow must not be appointed to (cohabit with) any other (than her husband), for they who appoint (her) to another (man) will violate the eternal law (the Dharmaśāstra 65, Buhler).

The widow mother was regarded as the sole controller of the estate, though the son was its legal heirs and owners. Hindu culture held the mother in very high reverence so the rights of women were much earlier recognized than that of the wife or the widow (Altekar 1938: 272). The widows and divorced women joined the *Sangha* in *Thrigatha*. There is a story of Isidasi, a woman who married a rich merchant. She provided him her best services of cooking, clothing, approaching him respectfully, dressing him as would be a servant. In spite of all her services her husband rejected her. She then married twice more but rejected by both husbands as well. Later she joined the Sangha and learnt the triple knowledge (the Therigāthā: 400-432, 34-143; David & Norman). The women become more downtrodden when their husbands and their family treat them inferiorly and try to harass them. Utpalvarana and Amrapāli are the two main examples of such malicious behaviour.

In Zoroastrian law the childless widow has to remarry first of all in order to beget heir for her husband. Unlike the Hindu *Niyoga*, this second marriage, called *Cakar* or *Cagar*. It is a valid marriage but sin in Manu *smariti*, because the widow remains the property of the first husband also in after life. The children of the *cagar*-marriage would all belong to the first husband. The “chaste” *Niyoga* prevalent in the dharma-texts must have been a frustrating and humiliating experience for both partners. The next step in moral the “progress” was the prohibition of the *Niyoga* altogether which left the childless widow, whether she was an adult or still a child, at the mercy of her in-laws without the prospect of consolation and support which she might find in a child. She has no choice but to live a chaste and ascetic life. She waits to go to heaven where she would join her husband whom if she was betrothed as a small child she might not even have known in this life (Schmidet 1987: 68-75).

Widows were luckless creature and an object of pity. Thus, all the utterances of the widow are full of self-pity. But in the great Epics a widow’s sorrow is compared to the sorrow of a person who has lost his son and this statement is forwarded by an enumeration of eight other types of sorrow. Therefore, the widow’s grief was not considered to be the greatest sorrow by the society. She may, believe in the theory of her “karmas”. It is however, significant to note that she has not been enumerated among the sinners (the *Mahābhārata* Sambhavarva: 247-248, Roy). The happiness and the success of the married life depended upon her *karma*. If a woman’s husband dies it is considered a result of woman’s bad *karmas* and she is considered a bad luck and a sinner. Conversely, if the wife dies before her husband then the man did not forgo anything in his life and enjoyed the same position and honours of life and is not considered a sinner or a bad luck. In the Vedic age widows

used to follow funeral processions in carriages. Step by step the certain restrictions were imposed to freedom and women became more delicate, dependent and emotional for want of intellectual education and it became impossible for them to attend the funerals and this practice was entirely abandoned. According to the Manu's code of law the king should protect the estate inheritance to barren women. Women without son or bereft of family, women devoted to their husbands, widows and women in distress. If their in-laws usurp their property in their life righteous King should discipline them with the punishment laid down for thieves (the Dharmaśāstra: 28. 168, Olivelle). Apart from this, if a widow did not commit *Sati* she cannot enjoy her life like a married woman in the society as she was not permitted to wear colorful clothes, jewelry, and she ate and fast at specific time and slept at the mats on the floor. In Hinduism the presence of a widow was considered a bad omen on the event of birth, marriage, naming and death whereas in Buddhism she was not swamped on such rituals (Hornor 1930: 72-3). The society detested the widow because she was considered as impure being and it was a common concept that she became widow in the result of some previous deeds (Hornor 1930: 80). Shokambari (1966: 191) stated that the widows mostly wear white dress that signifies the pureness and soberness. The narrative of the widows found in the epics solely coming from the noble families and attending the public function stunningly. However, I personally agree with Hornor's point of view regarding widow's position about her wears, jewelry and as a symbol of bad omen.

3.10 The religious role and status of women in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

The position of women is represented differently in various religious texts. As Brahmanas show the women's inferiority like "Women, the Shudra, the dog and the crow are something wrong". Such extreme misogyny was balanced by the conviction that nature and society operated through male and female forces. Conversely the *Grihya- Sutras* (ca.800-300 BCE) says that women are dominant to family rituals during birth, confirmation, marriage, pregnancy and death. The Brahmanas thrived in subordinating women's religious consultant. (Raman 2009: 36-7). Apart from this, women also faced ascetic restrictions in various religions due to their impurity. For example, the Brahman text indicates women's impurity during menstruation, pregnancy and child birth. These taboos are also counted as interruption in an ascetic life of yogic meditation. Ascetics' restrictions on women are mentioned in various religious texts like *Upanishads* (700-300 BCE), in the secondary Sanskrit text (s) like the epics, and in the heterodox text, Buddhist and Jaina texts (Raman 2009: 39). However, in the Pre-Buddhist society religious ceremonies were performed by men because women were regarded as unclean and impure due to various reasons.

The Aryans, Iranians and in the Vedic age women were also regarded as untouchable during her monthly period, but above all during this period Hindu society has been regarding women as

extremely impure and temporarily untouchable (Altekar 1938: 194-207). Due to this reason till the rise of Buddhism women were excluded from social and religious activities which reflect the lesser position of women. Though natural process of menstrual cycle and child birth are the signs of reproduction and fertility but women were considered unclean, untouchable and impure during these days, which is a sheer disrespect and insult for women. Similarly, the most anti-feminist literature deprived women from their religious and spiritual life. The people of low profile like shudras, slaves and women were not allowed to read the Vedas. A woman cannot attain the heaven through her personal devotions and merits; she could attain this stage only through the obedience of her husband. According to Manu all women are sinful and prone to evil. Women should be reserved only for domestic duties so they could not find time for sinful activities and mischief (Dixit 2008: 137). The Manu's code of law did influence the social attitude in the Indian society but in spite of all these, in India there is always a glorification and idealization of motherhood. On the other hand, the minor religious rituals like the *jātaka rma*, *Namakarana*, and *Chuda* etc. were performed by girls. However, the discontinuation of the *Upanayana*, was because women produced a disastrous effect upon their general position in the society. Manu declared that the pious Brahman should not attend a sacrifice, which is performed by women (Altekar 1938:15).

Though parallel to these texts, the Buddha was reluctant to admit women to his *sangha*. It is necessary to mention here that at the time of the rise of Buddhism the existence of monasteries in India was not without precedent. Mahavira did not keep community life as the exclusive privilege of men. He also permitted it to be a right for women. He organized his followers into four orders; Monks, Nuns, laymen and laywomen (Hornor 1930: 95). Likewise, when the Sangha was established in Buddhism, Buddha granted a religious role to women which were prohibited in the history of the world. Women quickly took advantage of this opportunity. These women were wise, creative, gentle and compassionate. There were many women who were recognized as fully and equally enlightened and the Buddhist literature agrees that women could become *arahants*. The sacred text is filled with examples of the renunciation of women of the worldly life for the religious life. According to Ananda, for attaining the *arahanship* there is no barrier of sex, both alms men and alms women can attain it and fall from the paths. Some historians considered Buddha as anti-women from religious point of view when he rejected the offer to join order by the *sakayan* ladies but from social point of view, he did not teach difference between men and women (Dixit 2008: 153). In this way Buddhism began a new horizon for women with the establishment of the *bhikṣuṇī sangha* and provides a platform for women to participate in religious life (Dixit 2008:39).

By general review of the status of women in Buddhist society, it is noted that they were enjoying much better position as compared to other contemporary societies. In Buddhist record women are presented in a negative image, the most important example is the lower level of nuns in

Sangha than the Monks. Most of the written record is produced by the male members of the society, so obviously they are biased in their viewpoint and promoted the men's role and position and intentionally ignored and left out the women's role. All the sacred text is written after the death of the Buddha so there are chances of mistakes because Buddha believed in the equality of humans without the discrimination of gender. The Buddhist society appreciated the entrance of women into *Sangha* because the *Sangha* largely depended on women for donation and support that may have been a big concern of the Buddhist priests. The eight-noble path for the nuns shows that it was a latter addition in the existing rules of the society. However apart from this it was a major change that first time women had joined an influential organization in India (Verma 2000:69-75).

According to *Bhagavad Gita*, women's admission into *Sangha* is not a supporting element for family. If women joined the religious life, it will destroy the family unit and religious life in *Sangha* will become more complicated because women also suffered the seduction and raping attempt by men. The well-known story of that era is the dishonour faced by the *Draupadi* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. This situation presents the insecurity for women in the Buddhist society. The society at the time was not free from violence against women that reflects the practical way of dealing with the social concerns of contemporary society. (Verma 2000: 77). Instead of their physical and spiritual weakness women were not behind the men in case of religious sacrifices. Gandhāra art also represents ample examples of women worshippers, religious sacrifices and great offerings of women. (see chapter four, episode women worshippers in Gandhāra art).

The Tantric Buddhism has uncompromising attitude of honour and homage for women. According to a major tantric scripture of the Yogini-tantra class "one should honour women because women are heaven, women are truth, women are the supreme fire of transformation, women are Buddha, women are religious community, and women are the perfection of wisdom". Thus, according to *laksminkara*, men have great respect for women; this respect should range to ritual worship. A yogi worth of the name should always worship women not only the relatives but also the women about whom he might be unfavourably disposed. The *Candamaharosana-tantra* scriptures are major source of information about the female Buddha who is a source of the improvement of men attitude towards women. These scriptures dictate the contemplation and recitation of men in the company of their female companion. Through the three world, women are life givers and auspicious of true bliss. Women are more virtuous than all living beings; women are source/centre of tenderness and protectiveness. A woman like glorious *Vajrayogini* provides sustenance to friends and strangers (Mirinda 1994: 40-47). The women were treated respectfully in Buddhism because like men, women are also essential part of the society. Subsequently, it can be said that every status of human being is not ascribed; similarly, women improved their position in every society through their positive role and contribution. On the basis of their constructive role, they are regarded in better position in every

society of the world. The status of women can be analyzed on the basis of their role in different relation.

Women are not behind men in religious sacrifices. The *Therīgāthā's* descriptions inform us about the sacrifices of women for religion. Addhakasi implies her former wealth by referring to her large wages as a prostitute; Sakula refers in passing to her abandonment of money and grain. Canda describes her poverty as lack of food and clothing (*the Therīgāthā: 97. 49*, Davids & Norman). Sujata alludes to her former wealth by describing her clothing, ornamentation, food and servants (*the Therīgāthā: 122-126. 60-61*, David & Norman). Anopama describes a suitor willing to pay her father eight times her weight in gold and jewels. He added women joined *Sangha*, when they themselves completely understand the reality of the life. In the *Therīgāthā*, there are ten poems referring to aging or illness (*the Therīgāthā: 145-146. 69*, David and Norman). In the case of Sumedha's long speech with her parents on the evil of sensual pleasures, she states that all births are bound up with old age, and sickness, this long argument of Sumedha provides a clear evidence of women's understanding with the religion (*the Therīgāthā: 141-152*, David and Norman). In Gandhāra art the prostitutes Amrapāli gifted mango grove to Buddha and devoted her property for religion. Utpalvarna also renounced the life of luxury and joined the religious life. (see chapter four, episode the role and status of prostitutes in Gandhāraart).

In the *Therīgāthā* women can maintain social interaction among each other in *Sangha* but in contrast the *Therīgāthā* the *Sangha* is not so social. The *Theras* spent much of their time alone, and they do not have any interaction among themselves. Blackstone says this perspective has important implication for the self-image of the *theris* and *Theras* (Blackstone 1998: 58). In the Smṛiti text (1000 BCE-600 CE) the chief Smithies of this period were *Ramāyāna*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavad-Gita* which shows that few women could study the Vedas or pledge public rites. The non-Hindu text was also composed by men if they were written by women their names would have been removed later on. In the later Vedic era *Smṛities* (CA. 1000-300 BCE) the epics were communicated by both educated and ordinary folk like women and Shudras. Apart from these, women also took part in the oral traditions according to the Sanskrit literature. It is written in the *Srauta Sutras* that women can study Vedas and take part in sacrifices, they were lying bricks for the altar, pondering rice for the ceremony, lighting the fire and chanting Vedic hymns (Raman 2009: 48-9). In Buddhism women not only allowed to take part in the religious sacrifices but also donated various material things in the name of the religion. The *Nagarjunakonda* Buddhist stupa in the Deccan designated that *Shatavahana* queens Camti Sri, *Adavicatisri* and six others donated money for the monuments. Similar inscriptions are exposed by the Shaka queen and prosperous women are presented at Amaravati stupa and Buddhist monastic caves in western India. The Chola queens like Sembian Mahadevi built Hindu temple in south India (Raman 2009: 68).

The women donors are also depicted in the Gandhāra art. These depictions portray the real picture of their generosity and their affiliation with the religion. The episode of the women worshippers is representing the same spirit of women in the Buddhist society. (see chapter four, episode the role and status of women worshippers in Gandhāra art). Women also played an active role in propagation of the religion in India as the daughter of king Asoka helped to spread Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Shatavahana queens (ca. third century CE) maintained Buddhist monasteries. In the modern era the lower caste Tantric and Dalit Buddhist women and men have saved their religion and new monastic groups have developed due to their efforts. The wealthy Jaina and Buddhist women offered abundant donations for the propagation of their religions and their communities of Monks and Nuns. Apart from monks and nuns some laywomen and laymen adopted the renunciant's life to help the public and returned to domestic life humiliated by the ascetic experience, thus serving to assimilate the Sangha (Raman 2009:76-77). Therefore, joining Sangha was not a matter of only spiritual satisfaction but it was also a major reason of getting respect and honour in the society for the women who were rejected by the society for different reasons. Raman had described this in the following words:

Women joined *Sangha* for social, psychological and spiritual causes. Some women were fed up from domestic life and frustrated wishes, some took it as source of hurtful sorrow, and some wanted to join the company of religious women but all of them moderated by Buddha's teachings. Some women joined *Sangha* because they were living without the support of their husband and family, servants and aged women also joined the *Sangha* under Parajāpatī's guidance. Mothers, sisters and widows also became nuns because of their homelessness and cheating of the male members of the family. Polygamous marriages were one of the main causes to join the *Sangha* because co-wives led miserable life in jealousy and distrust. Courtesans also found respectable position as laywomen and nuns in early Buddhism so these women became nuns and led a peaceful and passive life in the society (Raman 2009: 91-92). In spite of all, it is concluded that though there may be different reasons of joining *Sangha*. However, after entering the *Sangha* women played a very constructive and pivotal role in the progress of the religion.

3.11 The role and status of women as temptresses and seductresses in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

In the past, women were regarded as instrument of evil. A distinction must be made between the symbolic representation of women, generalized as the dark, sensual, emotional nature of the personality or "eternal feminine", and the actual being of woman as an individual. Woman as the "eternal feminine" the temptress and seductress is a common element in the religious thought. Woman is Eve precipitator of the fall of man, and Pandora who wreaks havoc on the world. The examples of

woman as the embodiment of evil in the Buddhist literature reflect the limitation of the tempted Adam human condition, which is a continuous process of suffering and rebirth (samsara). It frequently denoted by the feminine and the projection of the masculine resentment, denoted by the projection of the feminine onto women (Paul 1997:4).

The Buddhist myth the *Aganna-suttanta*, like the myth of Genesis, Greek mythology, specifically the Pandora myth, is similar one intent with that of Eve. But is more explicit in its representation of woman as the perpetrator of all existential suffering. In Indian mythology the representation of women as evil is continued, but we have a more complex form of the myth of Eve. The dominant and invincible goddess is Devi, who slays the gigantic buffalo in the *Puranas*. Buddhists inherited the Indian mythological structure in which tension existed between the maternal aspect and the destructive aspect explicitly illustrated by *kali* whereas *kali* represents both the maternal and destructive forces of the cosmos. The Buddhist representation of woman as evil is one traditional attitude. The two representations are not combined in one image as in the case of *kali* (Paul 1997: 5).

In Buddhism the prototype of woman as evil is found in the *Theravada* scriptures known as the Pali canon when the Buddha was on the threshold of enlightenment. Mara, the sovereign of the desire realm, attempted to prevent the great enlightenment of the Buddha. In order to tempt the Buddha, Mara dispatched his three daughters, personifications of lust (*raga*), Aversion (*Arati*) and craving (*Trsna*) to appear before the Buddha. The ultimate feminine seduction was embodied in these three, but the Buddha to be, was utterly repelled by them. A derivative of the prototype of Mara's daughters developed early in the Buddhist literature in the description of hell. Woman, as cosmic physical energy, was perceived as temptress and seductress and was associated with the death of the spiritual beings (Danial 1970: 10-17). The episode of the temptation of Mara with the support of his daughters is presented in detail in Gandhāra art (see chapter 5, episode the temptation of Mara by his daughters) and also discussed in the sacred ancient Buddhist text like the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*.

3.12 The role and status of women as courtesans and prostitutes in the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

In the early historic period courtesans, domestic slaves, *nautch*-girls (dancing girls) and women musicians also existed. The women who did not gain their livelihood, or not supported by any one, are known as courtesans. They were also expert in dancing, singing and lute-playing. Although the extent of the courtesan in ancient India is disputed, it had existed before the Buddhist days, despite the importance given to the marriage in the Vedic age. However, during Buddhism the courtesan Amrapāli and Utpalvarana appears to have benefited and respected by Buddha and the others in various ways. A courtesan come under the spell of *Dhamma* was *Bindumati*, in the time of Aśoka.

They paid tribute to Buddha who had passed away, and (making) a solemn asseveration of the truth, and she reversed the flow of the Ganges (Hornor 1930:90-91).

The *Ramāyāna* furnishes a definite instance, first in the history of the Indian civilization for royal recognition and prevalence of prostitution. The remedy for drought in the kingdom of *Romapada* was to entice *Rsyasrnga*, son of sage *Vibhandaka*, from his *asrama* into the kingdom. *Rsyasrnga* was non cultured hermit youth, ignorant of pleasures ensuring from contact with women. The *Purohita* (of Romapada) suggested that courtesans of comely presence and clad in ornaments should be honoured and sent to lure the young ascetic. The actual task of selection and dispatch of the courtesans was entrusted to the ministers. This indicates that even people placed in high and respectable position knew details about courtesans. The State etiquettes of the period, and proverbial Indian fondness for ritual necessitated employment of a large retinue of courtesans and *nautch* girls as escorts of honour. It should be remembered that these ladies were quite distinct from common prostitutes, and that their services were requisitioned in all royal festivities. When Rama was to be consecrated as a crown prince, *vasistha* directed preparations to be made for the purpose, which was a band of well-decked dancing girl drawn up within the second apartment of the royal palace. The courtesans were considered inauspicious and it is clear from the fact that, when Rama returned to *Ayodhya* from his exile in the forest, Bhartha ordered a host of *ganikas* to go out to accord him a fitting reception (Vyas 1967: 120). It shows that these women were appointed to entertain the male members of society but on the same footing they were considered ominous and menacing members of the society. (see chapter 5, episode palace life of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha and the great departure of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha).

These women performed exactly the same duties to the kings as did *Apsaras* for the *Indra*. Princes particularly took delight in them and they were often attached to the courts. They had to sing and dance to entertain kings and their guests. Some of them used to be concubines and lived among the members of the royal families. May be these were songstresses who used to sing in the palace to awaken the prince in the morning a custom referred to so often. In the narrative part of the Epics they are mentioned among other auspicious objects such as the maidens, to welcome the heroes. They go along with the maidens as already mentioned, which would be unthinkable from our present standards (Shokambari 1966: 120).

Likewise, the cities of *Kaushambi*, *Varanasi*, *Vaisali* and *Rajagriha* attracted female courtesan, the rich people used these female for entertainment and amusement. Some scholars state that the breakup of the tribal clans during urbanization led to the 'alienation' of some women. The Buddhist texts stated the courtesan of *Visali* who charged high rates were supervised by Amrapāli who was appointed by the king. The male authors of the Hindu sutras prohibited the Brahmans not to admit food from them but Buddha accepted the invitation of Amrapāli and overwhelmed by her

kindness. Amrapāli was a respected woman and became a Buddhist nun. She was not disreputable prostitute; her wise poem is included in the Therīgāthā. In the later era courtesans dance and sang for the pleasure of their clients regardless of their class and society as their living depended on fees (Raman 2009: 67). The episode of the Amrapāli and Utpalvarana are beautifully depicted in the art of Gandhāra as well and reflects the status of these women in the Buddhism society. (see chapter4)

The Buddhist king Aśoka was fully aware about the suppressed condition of women in the society of his time. Aśoka appointed a special group of *mahamattas*, who would be concerned mainly with the welfare of women. The term used for these officers was *ithijhakha-mahamattas*, literally, the officers who were the superintendents of prostitutes. It seems hardly feasible that officers of the rank of *mahamattas* would have been appointed merely to supervise the city's prostitutes, but it would also concern it with other duties connected with women. Much of their time must have been given to the royal harems (Thapar 1961:7).

Kirde Singh and Moti Chandra mentions eight *jātaka* stories in which prostitutes play amore or less dominant role, e.g. *Gamani-Canda-jātaka* and *Atthana-jātaka*. In these *jātakas* the courtesans are shown as business women, motivated by the wish to earn as much money as possible. *Vattaka-jātaka*, a courtesan was employed as a temptress for the son of treasure, but he refuses her. At the end she saves him from the death penalty, and portrayed as a positive and helpful character. The *Kanavera-jātaka*, the courtesan Sama falls in love with a thief and used a person who was in love with her to pay bribe to chief of the police. After the thief was brought to her in a covered carriage, both spend some time together making love. The thief distrusts her, that if she fell in love with another man she will kill him. He takes her out into a park and after drugging her he takes off her clothes. The thief no more wanted her. After knowing this she continues her usual way of life. Pali narrativetexts (early part of the first Millennium CE) provide some impressions of the beginnings of the practice of prostitutions. First, prostitutions might have developed out of the group-marriage and clan-wife system which was common to nomadic tribes (Singh 2004:43-45).

The courtesan in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature classifies the role and images of the courtesans in three stories. One type shows the heroine, in this case, a courtesan who moved by a strong feeling (worldly or spiritual) or deep seized by her destiny, undergoes a psychological development. She finally becomes inclined to the law of the Buddha. In the second type of stories, the prostitute or courtesan merely symbolizes the world of sensual pleasures and her part is more or less the role of a temptress or an actress. In this type of stories, the courtesan is portrayed without individual features and as a member of urban culture living among kings, ministers, merchants, go-betweens and thieves. In the third type of stories, a female teacher of the law (*dharma*) is depicted as a courtesan. In the Mahāyāna *Gandavyuha*-sutra the beautiful *Bhagavati Vasumitra* is described with the attributes of a *ganika*. She teaches with her look, her embraces, and her kisses. She knows allthe

arts (*kalas*) and has many lovely female servants (Singh 2004: 49-51). So, it can be said that women were used for pleasure; they were considered precious material for the decoration of palaces, courts, camps and cities. They also play positive and helpful part in society and religion as well.

3.13 Political and legal role and status of women in the Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist period:

In the Indian society we find the social and religious role in the text and art abundantly but we cannot find enough depiction of their legal and political role in the society because the political matters in India fully remained in the hands of male members of society. Women's share in the administrative matters was infrequent, only male dealt the throne affairs. The Aryan history is also silent regarding female contribution to state affairs. The Vedic and post Vedic literature is also quiet regarding female queen or princess. The only example regarding female sovereign was found in Kashmir, south India and Ceylon. *Mahābhārata* also stated three queens governed in Ceylon (Indra 1955: 146). Even in Gandhāra art enough evidences of women's role in this respect are not found, if she has been depicted equal to the man she is only portraying to the limit of family matters.

According to epigraphic record the political position of women is categories in three ways. First some women ruled independently because they attained the reigning right by virtue of their marriage. Some women attained the ruling right by birth because they were born in royal families and thirdly are those women who shared the rule and cooperate with their husbands. However, in Vedic times women lost their status and deprived from their right of counselling in Sabha or assemblies due to distrust on their mental caliber because women were unable to keep the secrets of Government and were incompetent to deal the complicated state affairs (Indra 1955: 148-9). The political status of women in the Vedic ages was inferior and substandard as compared to men. The *Rig-Veda* stated some examples of female warriors and soldiers participating for fighting in field. The women participation in the battlefield is also found in the age of the *Ramāyāna*. For instance, the example of *Kekayi's* participation is found in the battle against his enemies of Indra. *Mahābhārata* is silent regarding women's participation in the historic war (Indra 1955: 154).

Women were granted the right of giving evidence in the absence of the qualified male witness according to Manu. The political status of women was limited in the ancient India. In the Buddhist period it is quite clear from the statement of the Buddha he clearly detected to Ananda:

women are soon angered Ananda, women are full of passion Ananda, women are envious Ananda, women are unintelligent Ananda, that is the reason Ananda that is the cause women have no place in public assemblies and do not earn their living by any profession (Indra 1955: 240).

During Buddha's time there is no example of female figure performing any noticeable or unnoticeable place in the administration of state. During the reign of Aśoka, a large number of

Bhikṣuṇī spread the teachings of Buddha in far and wide places but there is little evidence that any office of significance was ever occupied by women because women were undeserving of being entrusted with any matter of prominence (Indra 1955: 244). The art of Gandhāra also provides the clear evidence of the non-participation of women in the political and state affairs. Queen Māyā, Parajāpatī and Yaśodharā enjoyed respect, honour and righteousness in the royal palace of the king Suddhōdana. These women of the royal family are portrayed at various occasions as discussed in chapter four in the company of their husbands but under the light of these sculptures there is no single evidence available that shows their participation in the administrative matters of the state (see chapter 4, the episode of Interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā, Horoscope of the child, palace life and the great departure). Prince Siddhārtha was the only heir of his father's state. After his departure from palace in search of eternal peace and salvation he left a little son and his wife Yaśodharā. In the present day society if such event takes place, his wife will take over the responsibilities of his reign, particularly, when king Suddhōdana became old but there is no evidence available in the Buddhist text or in the art of Gandhāra that represents the political role of Yaśodharā after the renunciation of the Bodhisattava. In this perspective the researcher wishes to analyze the depiction of women in Gandhāran Buddhist art because her perspective in this research is to give an overview of the treatment of women in Buddhist background.

The pre-Buddhist and Buddhist approach toward women was not constant. Nor all the literatures speak with the same voice when it comes to women and neither do scholars in the field of Buddhist study (Faure 2003: 3). As stated above there are two different group of scholars with very different opinion. The first group believe that women competed very pivotal role in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist history in both social and religious life. Foley stated that “Buddhist nuns have laid down all social prestige and gained the austere joys of an asexual rational being, walking with the wise men in recognized intellectual equality on higher level of thoughts” (Foley 1893: 348). The second group of scholars take the contrasting way and indicate women are considered as substandard citizens, inferior to men because Buddhism is androcentric or even misogynous. Paul points out “this subordination of the women's authority to that of man's reflects both the social order of India at that time and the monastic hierarchical structure of the community wherein even the most senior nun must be deferential to the youngest novice monk” (Paul 1979: 170). These two group of scholars specify contrary understanding of the position of women in Buddhism.

In my opinion the most impartial and unbiased approach of this matter is by Alan Sponberg who understands the history of Buddhist literatures and talks about the fickle attitude towards women of early Indian Buddhist literatures in various opinions. He lists four of these opinions and three of them occurred in the early era. The first opinion is *soteriological inclusiveness*, which shows that women follow the same religious route and achieve the same goals as men. This statement coincides

with the original group of scholars such as Arhatship who emphasized on the sacred path of Buddhism which was open to both men and women (Sponberg 1992: 9). However, another frequent voice in Buddhist literature states that “sexual differences are real and the male sex is by nature superior to the female sex, both socially and spiritually” (Sponberg 1992: 12). This takes us to the second voice of *institutional androcentrism*, which claims that men have the superiority in the community and that women are inferior to them on a social and institutional level. Women are threatening to the integrity of the monastic institution (Sponberg 1992: 15-16). This assertion relates to Paul’s on the secondary treatment of nuns in the Buddhist community. Moreover, the risk created by women is portrayed differently in the third voice, *ascetic misogyny*, which is intimidating to women and identifies them as a menace to male celibacy (Sponberg 1992: 24). Gross also focuses on this vice when she determines that Buddhists were misogynist. Therefore, it looks like that when a cluster of scholars claims a certain opinion in Buddhism explains its mindset toward women. Moreover, beliefs like egalitarianism, androcentrism and misogyny only shed light from one (Gross 1993: 34). The next chapters will throw light on the above stated opinions regarding the status of women (superior, equal and inferior status of women) in the light of the Gandhāraart.

Chapter 4

The role and status of women as depicted in Gandhāra art in the context of palace life

This chapter revolves around the royal role and status of women in Gandhāra art. This section has classified women into three categories on the basis of their veneration and role. The first group consists of Queen Māyā, Prajāpatī and Yaśodharā as the mother, foster mother and wife of the Buddha respectively. These ladies belonged to royal status as well as they performed and contributed their major role in the life of the Buddha. The next category is exactly opposite to the first one, this group comprises women entertainers, guards, nurses and attendants. Although they were born with a slave fate but due to their services and role they got a higher status in the life history of the Buddha. Gandhāra art is incomplete without the depiction of these women. The last group comprises all the women represented in the jātaka stories whether they are mother, wives or future wives. They are depicted in a very positive manner and their services are unavoidable in the previous lives of the Buddha.

The first group to be discussed includes the royal creed women in Gandhāra art. Among these females, queen Māyā was the most important woman in the life of the Buddha. Queen Māyā as a mother of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha is a symbol of life, love, purity and cause of the birth of Bodhisattva. The birth of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha is associated with the dream of his mother because her dream is the beginning of birth of the holy man. The dream of Queen Māyā ensued in the result of the descent of the Bodhisattva from Tusīta heaven. Before the child was conceived, she dreamt a white elephant entering her body. This white elephant is also considered one of the seven treasures of the universal monarch (Foucher 2003: 25-26; the *Mahāvastu* vol. II: 8, Jones). Due to its unusualness, the episode of her dream holds a lot of importance in the Buddhist art and literature as well.

It was an unacquainted legend, therefore it embraced more importance in the sacred Buddhist literature with common belief and faith. All Buddhist text agreed that Maha Māyā was the mother of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. She is the distinguished character of the Buddhist text and Gandhāra art because her selection as a mother of the future Buddha was a matter of great honour and reverence subsequently the choice of the pure and noble family was necessary for the birth of the Bodhisattva. As it is mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (the *Mahāvastu* vol. II:1-3, Jones), at the time of his descending Bodhisattva make four great surveys namely, the time of his rebirth, the place

of birth, the continent of his rebirth and finally the family of his rebirth. He thought that the King Śuddhodana was praiseworthy to be his father and Māyā¹ as mother who was from an honoured and respected family. Māyā the mother of the Bodhisattva was pure, untouched and her life period was short. Her life duration after the birth of Siddhārtha was only seven days because mothers of all Bodhisattvas die seven days after giving birth to Bodhisattva.

The similar myth of purity of her mother is narrated in the *Lalitavistara*. Māyā was obsessed with all those qualities which are essential for the mother of Bodhisattva. Therefore, she was worthy to be his mother because she intensely notices religious law, no woman in the world of the gods and world of the men and of the *Gandharvas* is equal to Māyā. No man or even god can look upon her with desire. So she is the woman most suitable to become the mother of the Bodhisattva (The *Lalitavistara* vol. I: 47-48, Bays). Apart from her ethical and moral conduct she was very attractive and nice looking woman. Similar description of her beauty is defined in the *Buddhacarita* in very striking manners like she looked as attractive as *Padma*, as persistent as the earth; she is like the incomparable herself. This woman was changed and always conversed with politeness because of her courteous behaviours (the *Buddhacarita*: 5, Olivelle). At the time of the birth of the Bodhisattva all the required thirty-two qualities were present only in the Sakayan woman queen Māyā, the first wife of king Śuddhodana. After the selection of the noble family, the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha descended from Tusīta heaven in the form of white elephant and entered in the womb of her mother on the highest place of the *Dhritarastra's* fair palace. Queen Māyā herself desired and requested king Śuddhodana that she wants to spend a night away from him in the company of her female attendants and restrained the company of any strange woman or young man in her settings (the *Lalitavistara* vol. I: 75, Bays). The above mentioned legend of the life of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha is based on the most reliable sacred Buddhist text. Apart from the sacred text Buddhist art of Gandhāra is considered as the second most reliable source to reconstruct the Buddhist history or the life of the Buddha.

¹ It is mentioned in the *Lalitavastara*, after the selection of his parents, In the great assembly of gods, Bodhisattva asked in what form he could enter in the womb of his mother. Some said in human form, some said in *Sakara* form, in the form of Brahma, in the form of great king, in the form of *Vaisravana*, in the form of Rahu, in form of *gandharva* or *kinnara*, a *moharaga* in the form of *Mahesvara*, in the form of *Candra* or *Surya* or in the form of *garuda*. At last *Ugratejas*, one of the *devaputras* of the Brahma realm said, according to the information found in the brahman books, mantras, Vedas and Sastra, we know the *Bodhisattvas* entered in the womb of his mother in the magnificent form of a great elephant. He also predicted if he entered in this form in the womb of his mother, he will be endowed with thirty-two marks of a great being (The *Lalitavastara* vol. I: 72, Bays).

Gandhāra art is not only representing the society and culture of that time but it gives an actual replication of the sacred text of Buddhism. The artists depict the character of Māyā according to the thirty-two qualities mentioned in the text. Māyā as the mother of Gautama is represented with extra attention and consecration in Buddhist art and literature respectively in the scene related to the birth of the Siddhārtha. There is particular grace and elegance observed in her representation. The character of queen Māyā enjoyed a very respectable and reputable place in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra because the birth story or origin of the holy man is connected with his mother. Queen Māyā as a mother of the Bodhisattva is depicted in three main legends of the life of Bodhisattva; the dream of Queen Māyā, interpretation of the dream and the birth of the Bodhisattva. The dream of queen Māyā is the start of the life of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. In this way the episode of the ‘Dream of Queen Māyā’ holds a lot of importance in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Almost all the artists of that time depicted the legend of the dream with great eagerness, admiration and esteem because her dream was the sign of birth of the Siddhārtha, the enlightened one. In all the sculptures of the episode of ‘The Dream of Queen Māyā, Māyā is depicted as a principal figure of the episode. While her son Bodhisattva Siddhārtha in the form of white elephant is considered as the second most important figure. Without the depiction of the white elephant the theme of Queen Māyā’s dream cannot be made clear because these two figures are essential part of this episode. Besides these two significant characters the depictions of some other characters are also enhancing the splendour of the episode. Apart from Queen Māyā some other women are also shown in this episode in various roles and statues. They are performing different duties and services for Queen Māyā. These women are portrayed as attendants, guards and entertainers of the Queen. They all are energetic characters of the episode and improves the realism in the legend. Conversely, the presence of these women provides evidence that not even a single male person was present at the time of the conception of queen Māyā. Thus, these women are considered eye-witness of the pure and honourable bearing of Queen Māyā. With the help of some beautiful Gandhāran sculptures we will now try to understand the importance of this episode.

4.2 The role and status of Queen Māyā as mother of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha and the depiction of her dream in Gandhāran art:

The episode of the dream of Queen Māyā and the unusual birth of Bodhisattva are the most significant elements of this legend. The birth of the great men is almost always attached with sacred

and miraculous features. In almost all the sculptures related to dream episode Queen Māyā is a central figure. Similarly, in fig.1, Queen Māyā is depicted as a main and appealing figure. She is looking very elegant and graceful from her appearance. Queen Māyā has been shown sleeping calmly on her luxurious cushioned bed. The *Mahāvastu* beautifully (the *Mahāvastu* vol.II: 5, Jones), related her passive sleep with the slumber of *devas* and it was all because of her sinless life and sacrifices of cranel desires, honest and virtuous way of life.

She is sleeping in inclined position and lying on left side. She is keeping the left hand under her head and right arm is being placed on her womb. Māyā's bed is covered with beautiful fabric and carved with diverse kind of motifs which improves the charm and status of the royal lady. Her lavish and comfortable bed narrates the real image of the statement of the *Mahāvastu* that her bed is decorated with fair flowers like deva's abode in a heaven (the *Mahāvastu* vol.II: 5, Jones). She wears a thin dress just like Roman *toga*, but the upper portion of the body is naked. Māyā is adorned with ornaments like bangles, double necklace, anklets and long ear pendants. Her head is covered with a beaded headdress but hair loops are visible on forehead. On the top of the scene, Bodhisattva in the form of two tusked elephants is depicted in a dominant position entering in the womb of his mother Queen Māyā¹. Beside Queen Māyā and white elephant four women attendants are portrayed around the sleeping queen. The first helper is shown on the left side of the elephant holding a *camara* in her hand perhaps for air or towards off flies etc. The other two are depicted on the right side of the elephant. One of them holds a spear in her hand and the second one is standing in alert position and looking at Queen Māyā.

The fourth one seems to be dozing, while seated on separate *Pithikas* (wooden pedestal to rest foot). The sleeping woman is an indication that this event happened at night. It is quite noticeable that the ornaments and headdress of two attendants are similar to Queen Māyā. The room is lightened with a lamp that is second indication that the event occurred at night. This relief shows the worth of Queen, as a mother of Bodhisattva. She looks different and outstanding among other women. This thing is very visible in this sculpture from her dress, ornaments and her way of sleeping, her cushioned bed and other accessories. All these symbols prove her status and position as mother and as queen of a respectable clan. While the other women are depicted as attendants and their depiction is showing their hectic and busy schedule in the royal harem.

In fig 2 Māyā is shown in different sleeping posture. She is shown somewhat forward and right leg bended. Her right hand lies on the side of the mattress of her bed. Māyā is depicted with one or two high pillows. In this figure her couch is covered with a beautiful fabric carved with

various types of motifs and leaves. The depiction of the bed is more obvious as the previous one. Not only her couch and fabric but even her foot stool is also carved with a floral motif having a button in the centre. Māyā wears a lower garment while the upper part of the body is naked. Her facial expressions are clearly depicted which represents her internal peace and satisfaction during her slumber. In this sculpture, the garments and figures are shown with the Roman style which represents the Roman influence on Gandhāra art (Behrendt 2007: 36). The elephant is broken we can imagine the presence of the white elephant only by a big round circle/*halo* carved in the background which indicates the presence of Bodhisattva during her mother's sleep. The representation of the sacred sign *halo* is adequate to understand the relation between Māyā and Bodhisattva and it is a strong emblem about the dream episode and conception of Queen Māyā. There are four female guards standing on both sides of the queen near her feet and head. One of them stands near her head and holds spear in her left hand. The depiction of spear or any other kind of weapons in their hand gives an exact sign regarding their duty. They are appointed only for the protection of queen Māyā not for entertainment or any other objective. They all wear beautiful dresses and ornaments except one who is depicted on the extreme left of the queen Māyā.

Another sculpture in fig 3 also represents the same theme with identical characters. The eyes of Queen Māyā are fully closed that shows her peaceful and soothing sleep. In this figure her bed is not beautifully decorated, it has all essential things but portrayed in a simple way. The artist shows a lot of similarity in the fabric of dresses and in the bed cover that shows the rough method of the sculpture. Queen Māyā is unaware about the sacred upcoming event of her life. She wears a full sleeves wavy tunic and the lower part of her body is covered with a curvyquilt. An elephant is visible near her womb that signifies the conception theme of the sculpture. According to Ghani-ur Rahman entering of the elephant in his mother's womb represents the unnatural presence of bodhisattva in her mother's womb. It was an unusual birth, so it was a divine choice to convert him from the heaven through a medium (Māyā or better to say an illusion) to the earth (Rahman 2013: 92). All women guards are holding spears in their hands and looking at the sleeping Queen with amazement, adoration and wonder. These sculptures represent the status of a wife in the Buddhist society. Since before the dream of Queen Māyā it was not assured that she is going to give birth to a holy man. So the king Śuddhodana regard and loved

the Queen Māyā only as his wife not as a mother of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha because at that moment he was ignorant about the future honour and pleasure related to his wife Queen Māyā.

Like other sculptures, in this carving (fig 4), the main significance is also given to the mother of the Bodhisattva. The lower part of her body is decently covered with a quilt and her couch is also superbly enclosed with a bed sheet that is hanging down to the footstool. In this sculpture room of the queen is not depicted clearly. A lamp makes it easy to associate it with a night time. Queen Māyā is sleeping calmly, while the Bodhisattva as an elephant is depicted coming down from the sky and entering the womb of his mother. The illustration is accompanied by only one female attendant. She stands near the feet of queen in a manner of offering homage to her. The face of the attendant is damaged.

In fig 5, Queen is carved in the same sleeping pose attended by two female attendants on both sides of the bed. They hold spears in their hands. These attendants wear similar garments and headdress. They stand in a same position looking at Queen Māyā but they are unaware about the significant future event. The presence of attendants shows the worthy position of the mother of Bodhisattva. This sculpture represents the theme of dream episode in a very realistic and convincing manner.

In fig 6 Māyā is sleeping under a flat topped shelter with oblique sides. She is depicted in her usual comfortable posture having one or two high pillows. In this sculpture her couch consists of three thick layers of wood or stone which might be for her ease and comfort. The couch has legs and covered with a fabric with turned corners hangs down above the small foot step, which is laid for the convenience of the Queen. Zwalf writes the chamber has a charmed trapezoidal roof on Corinthian half-pilaster and suitable bases. There is a cross-hatched triangular panel on the left, perhaps a curtain or the return of its roof (Zwalf 1996: 145). The Corinthian half pilaster represents the Greek and Roman influence on Gandhāra art.

The dream episode of Queen Māyā is associated with night time but instead of that her dressing is very classical and she is bedecked with precious ornaments. All these accessories of Queen Māyā symbolize her high rank in the society. In this figure (fig 6), an elephant is depicted from the top in a round shape circle called *halo*. The depiction of *halo* shows the Greek origination (Marshall 1960: 42). The tip of his trunk is depicted downwards which shows that slightly he is ready to enter in the womb of her mother. The artist has given more prominence to Queen Māyā and white elephant except that all other characters are depicted outside the chamber

represent their lower position. There is only one female guard (yayani)² stands on the right side of the Queen near the sloping side of the bed. The presence of yayani shows the Greek influence on Gandhāra art. She grasps a spear in her left hand and raises her right hand in amazement or maybe she is paying homage to Queen Māyā. Her standing posture clearly shows her respect and concentration towards Queen Māyā.

She is looking at sleeping Queen in a vigilant position, which shows no body can harm the queen in her presence and passionately ready to follow any order or wish of Queen Māyā. A turbaned celestial observer is present on the back of the female guard, but he is depicted in half-length. On both side of the couch is a framed *amornio*. They are portrayed in duplicate posture. One arm in raised position to hold the branch of a tree represents her tribe and crossing the legs at the vessel base with ward off edge. The only variance is one who stands at right side, raises her hand with exposed palm while the other who stands at left side, rests it on his right thigh. Women are the dominant melody of the dream episode of Queen Māyā either they are performing any kind of duty. They have been carved in various postures and actions which indicate their significance in this episode. These sculptures show that beside queen Māyā and Bodhisattva (in the form of white elephant) the women attendants are also essential part of this episode although they are portrayed in any role or status.

This legend is also depicted with other themes of the life of the Buddha. In fig 7, four different episodes of the life of the Prince Gautama is depicted in a beautiful sequence; Dream, birth, last palace life and great departure. These events are the most preferred and enchanting theme in Gandhāra art because these occasions become the cause of a great change in the world of Buddhism. The first essential and amazing event is the dream of Queen Māyā that is given top position by the artist. This sculpture is different from the other discussed samples in the dream episode. The descent of an elephant is not visible because the upper portion of the panel is broken. In this scene the women are portrayed in different role. Here they are portrayed as entertainers of Queen Māyā. They are performing some kind of musical instruments for the pleasure and desire of the Queen. There are two female musicians in the panel sitting in crossed legs position playing

² The word yavani used for Greek female guards. It may be a exchange of the word of *Yogni* used by S.P.Gupta in his book of the elements of Indian art. 2002. *Yagonis* were considered as attendants of *Durga* or *Kali* to help her in various jobs. They kill demons, bestow favour, fulfill desires and remove distress. They are depicted sitting, standing and dancing postures. Most of the times, they are depicted naked for worship, it is for this reason they are called yoginis. (Gupta 2002)

some musical instrument. While queen is sleeping but they are awake not even dozing because it is very much clear from their sitting pose. They are elegantly dressed, adorned with ornaments and beautiful headdresses which show that they are royal musicians and entertaining the queen not an ordinary woman.

In fig 8, Queen Māyā is sleeping on her couch with her back to the viewers in a very relaxed mood. She bends her right leg and the position of her foot is very clear. Her legs are covered with a knee length quilt but she is naked from hips and waist. Only two strips of her upper garment and wreath headdress is visible from her back side. A white elephant surrounded by a *halo* is depicted quite above her womb near the upper portion of her bedroom as it is depicted in a position to enter the womb of Queen Māyā from right side. Her chamber is completely different from other sculptures. Her bed cover is carved with rosettes and leaves. Three female guards are standing in different directions. They wear identical garments, jewellery and headdresses. Two are depicted around her right and left side standing in a separately carved arches. One is depicted at the front and holds spear in her both hands while the other one with back view. One stands in front of Māyā's face and watching her. The figure of Māyā is well-proportioned and curvy which increases the charisma of the scene. These sculptures enhance the element of interest and grab the attention of the viewers and art lovers.

Fig 9 resembles the above mentioned sculpture in its characteristics. Queen Māyā's hair is tied in a ponytail. In this figure we get a different hair style of Queen Māyā in Gandhāra art. This hair style is still in practice all over the world but in Gandhāra art it is very unique and exclusive. The face of the Queen is fully invisible while the back is wholly nude and apparent. Only a thin quilt covered the lower part of her legs. The beaded bed sheet and the pillow cover represent her royal status in the society. In this scene elephant is entering in her upward right womb while she is sleeping quietly and calmly. Two female guards stand on both sides of the Queen with spears in their hands. The woman guard standing on the right side is looking profoundly at the sleeping Queen while the other one is looking upward. They wear same dress and are performing the same duty as well.

In fig 10 Queen Māyā is depicted frontally on her couch and her face is clearly visible to the viewers. In this sculpture a star like *lalata chandra* is visible in the middle of her forehead which is a common ornament in the Indian society. Two female guards have been shown guarding the Queen during her sleep. Foucher stated that the Greek female guards were much

sought after to watch over Indian harems (Foucher AGBG, II: 69-72). The female guards are portrayed on both sides of the couch of Queen Māyā. The woman with a spear in her hand is exactly looking at the face of the sleeping Queen and other hand placed on her waist for affluence and comfort. The next female guard stands in a very unique posture in crossed legs with the support of pillar while the left hand rests on her waist. This is a different standing posture of a female guard in the episode of the dream of Queen Māyā. One can observe the feeling of pride and boldness on her face. Her eyes are quite open and she is looking profoundly at the Queen which represents her courage and bravery. Both female guards are wearing Greek dresses. Their hair style resembled the hair style of Queen Māyā and they are adorned with ornaments as well.

Fig 11 is very attractive sculpture of the dream episode of Queen Māyā. She is portrayed in her chamber in the same posture as mentioned in fig 4, 5 and 6. This sculpture is unique due to its composition. It is divided into two main registers with the construction of a pillar. Queen is sleeping while two female guards are carved on both sides for her protection. She is not holding weapon in her hand but her right hand is depicted in her (Queen) hair for a comfortable sleep of Queen Māyā which represents her affection and care for her mistress. A foot stool placed near the couch of queen for her ease and relief. The most interesting feature of this sculpture is a sleeping female guard that is quite different in the dream episode in the Gandhāra art. A female guard is sleeping on the ground with the support of a pillow as we see in the great departure episode. It is quite natural representation of human resistance. Sleep is a natural process, because the dream episode happened at night time so the depiction of one sleeping woman represents the profound observation of the artist about the law of the nature. The bust of two females are also depicted in the background at the upper part of the sculpture looking downwards at the sleeping Queen. All the above discussed sculptures represent the status of woman as a mother in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra.

The legend of the dream of Queen Māyā enjoyed a meaningful admiration among all Indian arts and particularly in Gandhāra art. In this episode women are primarily portrayed in two chief roles. These roles are ascribed and achieved as well because women are glorifying due to their aptitude of fertility and motherhood. Similarly, motherhood was an ascribed status of Queen Māyā but as a loyal and faithful wife she is portrayed in all matters of her family, specifically associated to the future of her child. In Gandhāra art, she is not only depicted as an object of aesthetic and beauty but in a sacred, devoted and sinless status of a mother and a wife.

The royal attendants, guards and entertainers of Queen Māyā also achieved the sacred status in this episode due to their roles and services. All Buddhist canons are agreed on the sacredness of the event of the dream of Queen Māyā. In this context it is quite easy to accept the dedicated role of these women who protect the sleeping Queen while sacrificing their own sleep and relaxation. The dream of Queen Māyā is incomplete without the depiction of these women. In my opinion these women are performing a threatening, strong and courageous duty that is not possible for every woman because physically women are considered weak and unhealthy for such activities. These women achieved this sacred status due to their role and services in this episode. The dream of Queen Māyā represents the same theme in all Indian arts and paintings with some variations. She is portrayed in different sleeping postures according to the imagination of the artists. She is illustrated in inclined position and lying on the left side, in frontal position, with her back to the viewers and in some what forwarded position while the right leg bended with one or two high pillows under her head. The second variation is the depiction of the white elephant, his size and position and the representation of *halo*. Some sculptor depicted the elephant in *halo* while other portrayed it without *halo*. The third dissimilarity in its composition is the number of attendant figures. However, the purpose of the illustration of these female attendants was same. This factor indicates the regional differences of the Gandhāran artists. All women attendants and entertainers are similarly bedecked with adequate dresses and ornaments like Queen Māyā. In some sculptures their dresses and ornaments are identical with Queen Māyā while sometimes they clothed differently. It indicates that these women were not deprived of their right to beautify themselves and were enjoying their basic rights in the Gandhāran society.

43 The role and status of Queen Māyā and other women attendants as represented in Gandhāra art in the episode of the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā:

The interpretation of the Dream of Queen Māyā is the second most significant episode in the Buddhist text and Gandhāran art. After experienced an unusual dream. Queen Māyā felt a change in her physical situation thus she emphasized her husband on calling the interpreter who could precisely comprehend the dream and can provide her a satisfactory construing regarding the future of the dream. King Śuddhodana called upon the learned Brahman because the interpretation of the dream was very important for the royal couple (the *Mahāvastu* vol II: 11-12, Jones). The interpretation of the dream by the conversant Brahman indicates the value and

position of the royal family specifically the status of Queen Māyā in her home and clan. The significance of the dream of Queen Māyā are also stated stunningly in the sacred text of the *Lalitavistara*. When Queen Māyā got up she adorned herself with ornaments and garments and went into the Aśoka wood with her female attendants and desired to see her King. King Śuddhodana felt very happy on the demand of his wife which he never felt before. When King reached there the *Devaputras* realm revealed these verses to the king.

The great Bodhisattva has descended from Tusīta heaven, and entered the womb of Queen Māyā as your son, with austerities, spiritual practice, and virtue”. When king reached to his Queen, she narrated her dream to the king. After listening the dream king Śuddhodana ordered his ministers to call the Brahman who know the *Vedas* and astrology for explaining the dream of Queen Māyā (the *Lalitavistara*: 98-99, Bays).

The Brahman was called on the demand of Queen Māyā which represents the significance of a wife and a mother in the society. After listening the dream of Queen Māyā the Brahman predicted the dream as a good sign for the royal family. The virtuous interpretation of the dream is exquisitely described in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*. Brahman said, “you will obtain a great joy, there is no sign of unhappiness for your family in this dream (the *Lalitavistara*: 99, Bays). Queen has conceived a son if he sustained his realm, he will become a worldwide sovereign, if he takes up a religious life, he will become a Buddha (the *Mahāvastu*: vol.II: 12, Jones).

Moreover, the reality of the dream and the position of queen Māyā is illuminated in Gandhāra art in a same credible style. In Gandhāra art she is not given secondary place or ill-treated and enjoyed the same place as she deserved as a mother of a holy man and as a Queen of a reputable clan. In this episode, the royal couple is sharing the same seat. However, Māyā is given more prominent position as the Brahman. She is seated on a location that is placed above the seat of the Brahman sage. Queen is sitting beside the king, while the sage who is considered the most respectable man in the Indian society is sitting below to the queen. This important event of the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā is carved in the Gandhāra art with same adoration, idolization and dedication that we have seen in the dream episode. There are some illustrations which provide the proof of the happiness of the royal couple after the prediction of the Brahman about the Dream.

Fig 12 beautifully represents the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā. The royal couple is sitting beside the Brahman and he is explaining the meaning of the dream. In this

sculpture, the royal couple shares the same seat which is sited above the seat of the Brahman. He is shown under a flat-topped canopy with sloping sides. Queen is portrayed beside her husband that shows her respect and esteem in the society. The noble couple is carved in a separate chamber while all other figures are depicted outside of their chamber. It reveals that only wife can sit beside her husband in his private chamber. Queen is bedecked with a wonderful dress and beautiful ornaments according to her ascribed status in the society. She wears a full-sleeved dress, chignon and a nice sirobhushana which is a symbol of royalty. The chignon is traced back to the ancient Greece, this hair style was popular among women and men. The royal couple is carved in an identical posture. They place the left hand on their thigh and right hand raised might express their happiness after listening the interpretation of the dream. In all sculptures Queen Māyā is depicted prominently. All sculptors belonging to any part of the country give due respect to the Queen Māyā because she was the daughter of a noble King and wife of a respectable King and mother of the future Buddha. Therefore, she is depicted in the art as a symbol of respect, glory, elegance and woman of high status in the society.

In fig 13 two beautiful scenes are carved together. These scenes describe two continuous legends of the life of the great man, the dream of Queen Māyā and the interpretation of the dream by the Brahman. The dream scene is explained in the first episode but in third register the interpretation of the dream is depicted. The royal couple is seated on equal position in European style. They are depicted in relax and happy mood which shows their approval about the prediction of the Brahman. The bearded Brahman is portrayed beside the king Śuddhodana on other seat. This gesture of all the chief figures also indicates their dialogue about the dream which shows that Queen Māyā was also endorsed to participate in the discussion. In this way the artist is glorifying the figure of the mother in the Buddhist society.

The queen and king both wearing a long wavy and body fitted tunic but Queen Māyā is adorned with elegant jewellery and her hair are very elegantly braided that signifies the exclusivity of her hair style. The refinement of the figure of Queen Māyā is represented in almost all the sculptures in various forms which indicate her high position in the society as a mother and as a wife and that is the focused theme of these episode. Alongside the main figures two half-length figures are also depicted in the background. One is standing near Queen Māyā. She might be her attendant, while the other is standing near King Śuddhodana and looking attentively at his face possibly noticing his joy after hearing the interpretation of the dream. The sculpture is

divided by divine woman figure. She holds flowers in her hands celebrating this auspicious event. The presence of this figure also shows the symbol of pleasure and delight.

Another under discussion sculpture in fig 14 represents the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā in different manner. This is a very beautiful panel due to its composition because it is carved attractively and skillfully. The workmanship of this relief shows its close resemblance with the Partho-Greek reliefs (Marshall 1960: 43). In this panel Queen Māyā is omitted otherwise she is constantly portrayed sitting beside the King understanding the explanation of her dream. In this panel King Śuddhodana sits in crossed legs style on a greatly engraved seat under a vast canopy which symbolizes his higher status as a king. An oval shaped symbol in the middle of his headdress symbolizes the indigenous Indian style of royalty. One can observe the feelings of satisfaction and pleasure on his face. In this sculpture two Brahmans are identified from the water pots in their hands because mostly Brahmans always carry pure water in the water pots for the occasions of same celebrations. Water pots are presented at various occasions in Gandhāra art for various purposes (Bhattacharyya 2002: 85; Ingholt 1957: 52). Two females are also represented in the background of the King's throne. They are holding fly whisks in their outer hands for air. Fly whisks too are showing the royal status of king Śuddhodana (Ingholt 1957: 52). Both of them listens the explanation of the dream. The feelings of amazement are reflecting from their gesture. One of them is keeping her hand on his mouth while the other one is watching very intensely at King Śuddhodana. It might be possible she is observing the reaction of the King after the interpretation of the dream. Queen Māyā the central character of the dream episode is excluded in this panel. The absence of Queen Māyā is noticeable because the illustrator has given full prominence to the King and specifies the secondary position of the queen. I personally do not disregard the position of the Queen here because the interpretation of the dream is actually occurred on the wish of Queen Māyā. After her demand the King ordered his ministers to call the Brahmans for the understanding of the dream (the *Lalitivastra*: 98-99, Bays). The above mentioned statement acknowledged the position of Queen Māyā as a wife of King Śuddhodana. Fig 15 is divided into three registers. On both sides the female guards are shown which signifies the theme of security of the royal palace. In the middle register the King sits in his similar crossed legs posture on a high seat while the Brahman is depicted on another seat very close to King explaining the meaning of the dream. In this sculpture Queen Māyā is again absent but the female assistants show the importance of other females in the Buddhist society on this

propitious occasion. Women are portrayed on all such holy occasions as compared to men which characterize their maternal aptitudes. The absence of the prime figure of Queen Māyā represents the possibility that the people of this area do not like the presence of woman in this authoritative position. Thus, the artist carved the sculpture according to the choice and requirement of the local people. The presence of other women on such occasions has shown their sacredness, politeness, social position and honour in the society.

Another attractive sculpture, fig 16 carved with two themes but the second one represents the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā. The sculpture is broken at the left sides but the theme is quite visible. This is very charming sculpture due to the sitting style of the royal couple. The Queen sits on the right side of the King. She is slightly turned towards her right side but listening the explanation of her dream. Māyā holds bunch of lotus flowers in her right hand which is a symbol of purity and feminism (Bevans and Mayer 2003: 9) and at some places lotus is also used as symbol of Māyā while her left hand is placed on her left knee. In this sculpture King placed his left hand on his left knee like queen Māyā, while other hand is shown in talking motion with the Brahman. These two episodes are the preferred theme of the sacred texts and arts. They not only enjoyed a prominent position in Gandhāra art but the portrayal of the analysis of the dream and interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā is also depicted in other Indian arts as well. In the conception or Dream of Queen Māyā generally the artists and the historians agree in representing Queen Māyā while sleeping and her husband is absent. The sacred texts stated that she fulfilled the requirements or thirty-two qualities necessary for the mother of the Bodhisattva. The detail of her qualities is mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* and in the *Lalitavistara* (The *Mahāvastu* vol II: 9, Jones; the *Lalitavistara*: 30-45, Bays). When Queen Māyā goes to the *Dhritarastra* palace, she took all her thousand maidens to the fair mansion as King promised her that he will fulfil all her wishes. For her ease the King said “you who have entered upon a noble life, I and my whole realm are at your command” (the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II.6, Jones).

This statement of the King of a well-known clan for her Queen shows her status as a mother. Not only he respects her wish, but for her comfort he ordered thousand maidens to accompany her because he did not want any trouble for her beloved Queen. It not only shows the status of women as a mother but also shows the love and respect of a husband for his wife. Māyā’s pregnancy as well as her marital life was not normal. In this regard Foucher (2003: 26) added, “she feels no carnal desire, she could no longer inspired by anyone, including her husband. She was selected as

mother of the Future Buddha. When she had dreamt about the birth of her son Bodhisattva, only women were depicted around her as her attendants and guards”. Male are not depicted in these scenes, even at such a big event. As discussed in chapter three that Indian society belief in signs of things to come, so the presence of women at this auspicious event is not considered good practice because they think that women are impure and not worthy to be there on such a sacred and great event. In spite of all these superstitions, we always find women as Māyā’s companion in face of her sister Prajāpatī, city goddess, Yakshi and attendants. From the above mentioned events we can get an expression of the world of women because of the absence of the male figures. As a mother Queen enjoyed a particular position in Gandhāra art and Buddhist text as well. The second important reason of her prominence is her loyalty and obedience for her husband. We cannot ignore her status as an obedient and devoted wife. Similar description of her obedience is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 77, Bays), she was a loyal and obedient wife of King Śuddhodana because she asked the king Śuddhodana for her wish to go for Dhritarastra’s fair palace, she gets permission from her husband. The word “permission” shows the obedience of the queen Māyā for her husband. Likewise, we cannot ignore another important aspect of affection, faith and confidence between husband and wife. The belief of King Śuddhodana on his wife Queen Māyā presents her value. It is very unusual that the king Śuddhodana believed on Māyā’s dream. There is a possibility that King believed because of the prediction of a Brahman that Māyā will give birth to a male baby or perhaps it was because she was a Queen that is why he believed her. If there were a common woman she would not have been believed. We can also assume the third possibility of his believe because there was no male person presented in the palace of Māyā at the time of conception as it is discussed in the text and narrated in the art. The other element of her purity is pronounced by the *devaputras* of the *Suddhavaśa* realm as stated above (the *Lalitavistara*: 97, Bays). Though, whatever may be the reason of the belief of King Śuddhodana, but one thing is confirmed he provided trust and assurance to his wife. This act of the king towards his wife became the symbol of affection and esteem for the whole society. This example provides the evidence of the status of women particularly as wife in the early historic society. The depiction of the foot stool near her feet also symbolizes her social position or an emblem of attention and veneration. The above mentioned episodes represents the better position of women as a wife and a mother in the concerned society.

44 The role and status of Queen Māyā as a mother and other women attendants as depicted in Gandhāran art in the birth episode:

The birth of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha is a significant and divine event which is also regarded as a founding stone in the history of Buddhism. This auspicious event is also a legend in itself because he was conceived and born in a very unusual and virtually holy manner. We find many legends and texts regarding Buddha's life but few are the authentic ones which can be trusted and followed. There is no difference between the text and art regarding the Buddha's birth which specifies the authenticity and reliability of the event. The date of birth of the Bodhisattva is mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* and in the *Lalitavistara* (the *Mahāvastu* vol. I: 8, Jones; the *Lalitavistara*: 43, Bays), Bodhisattva did not descend into his mother's womb during the dark fortnight, but on the night of full moon on the fifteenth of the month *Pusa*.

However, the divinity and holiness of the birth of the Bodhisattva is based on its marvellous and sacred origin, the author of the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 96, Bays), says the "Bodhisattva was pure and sacred from the conception of his mother because he entered in the womb of his mother in the form of a white elephant, with beautiful feet, wrought trunk, rosy head, graceful gait and with diamond body"³ From this statement it is quite easy to understand his incredible birth because his origin was blissful so the birth of that great man was also miraculous. From the above discussed statement about the conception of Queen Māyā we can associate two significant opinions with the conception and the birth of the Bodhisattva. The conception of queen Māyā occurred on the fifteenth of the month so it was quite easy to estimate the exact birth time of the child. Secondly, the indication of full moon night enhances the charm and sacredness of the event.

Furthermore, after the conception of Queen Māyā the time of the birth of Bodhisattva was set as ten lunar months. The month was near to end when the Śākyan Subhuti (father of Queen Māyā) send messenger to the King Śuddhodana requesting him to send his daughter to his house for the delivery of the child because he was afraid that when the child will be born Māyā will die, thus let the Queen come back to his home where he has prepared the gardens for her comfort and ease. Though King Śuddhodana greets his request and replied that she should come and break

³ The birth of the Buddha was a miraculous. The Bodhisattva entered in the womb of his mother in the form of an elephant and born in the shape of a six months old child, however, it is not clear when he changed his animal into human. Chinese believed when bodhisattva entered in the womb of his mother he was 'mounted on an elephant'. There is contradiction among writers regarding his birth (Foucher 2003). According to the *Lalitavistara* the descent of Bodhisattva in the form of an elephant was only a dream of queen Māyā (the *Lalitavistara*: 95, Bays).

the branch of the *Sāla tree*. After that King Śuddhodana planned for Māyā's departure, he ordered that all the roads between *Kapilvastu* and *Devdaha* should be free from all kind of grass, leaves, litter, weeds, pebbles and obstacles. White elephant prepared for the journey of Queen Māyā towards *Lumbinī*, she accompanied her musicians and dancing-women, guards and attendants for magnificence, amusement and protection (the *Mahāvastu*: vol.II: 16, Jones; Beal 1875:12-3).

Queen Māyā got impressed by the beauty of the grove. She appreciated and watched everything with passion and curiosity. The grove was clustered with the *Sāla* or fig trees. It was straight from head to foot, had beautiful extended branches with perfect symmetry (the *Mahāvastu*, vol II: 17, Jones). Its leaves look like a plumage of a peacock's head and were as soft as *kacalindi* cloth, scent of the flowers was attracting the queen towards the tree. Māyā was charmed by the beauty of the trees and wanted to spend some time beneath their shade. When Queen Māyā reached under the tree, it bended down its branches and Queen with her right hand holds the curving branch of the *Sāla* tree and looked up into the expanse of the heavens (the *Lalitavistara*: 130, Bays).

It is common Buddhist faith and all the sacred literature agreed that Bodhisattva was born when his mother was standing under the *Sāla* tree. The similar description is verdict in the *Mahāvastu* that Bodhisattva was born when Queen Māyā was standing with a branch of the tree in her hand with helpers and the gods who were there to receive the child. In this position, the child was born with full consciousness and mindfulness (the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 9, Jones; Beal 1875: 13). On the basis of the sacred text, this posture of Queen Māyā also developed a prominent position in almost all the sculptures in Gandhāra art. This position of Queen Māyā is depicted very adorably and pleasantly. She stands in *tribaṅgha* position under trees and grasped the branches of the tree with raised hands. Queen wears various kinds of dresses and ornaments in different sculptures in which drapery around the legs is present in almost all carvings but the upper part of the body is portrayed in both styles; nude and covered. The standing attitude of Māyā is still a philosophy of art in India even today. Her standing stance also resembled with *yakshini*. The standing position of Queen Māyā at the time of the birth of Bodhisattva is also an uncomfortable and unusual stand. It is stated in the *Mahāvastu* like other women she did not lay down or sat down during her delivery. Bodhisattva emerges acknowledged and thoughtful from her mother's right womb without doing any injury or even without a petty impression of pain (the *Mahāvastu*: 18, Jones; Foucher 2003: 30).

The unusual posture of queen Māyā is also an evidence of the divine beginning of the Bodhisattva. The second important element of this divine origin is the celebration in heavens that is stated in the text and depicted in the art as well. This birth was also partied in the human world particularly in the *Kapilvastu* the native town of the Bodhisattva. After the birth of the child the heavenly women with in *Añjalimudrā* bended knee surrounded the queen and addresses to her in following words;

The Queen now brings forth the child
Able to divide the wheel of life and death,
In heaven and earth, no teacher,
Can equal him,
Able to deliver both Devas
And men from every kind of sorrow,
Let not the queen be distresses

We are here to support her (the *Mahāvastu*: vol.II: 18; Beal 1875: 13).

The news of the birth of the child reached to *Kapilvastu* through some women attendants. One of the ministers named Mahanama gave a precious necklace to the woman who brought this blissful news. Mahanama sounded loudly the drum of pleasure in happiness and delighted on the birth of the prince of the *Śākya* clan. At that moment king was holding meeting with his ministers on some important state affair, King was anxious to know about the matter and person who dared to make this noise in the premises of the royal palace. Then Mahanama informed the king about the birth of his child that the queen of the ruler of the city has gotten out a son. This was great news for King Śuddhodana, thus he immediately went to Lumbinī garden to see his wife and son. King Śuddhodana the father of the child gives him name Siddhārtha (the one who obtained success and prosperity) but he is also known by his second name Gautama (name of the clan) (the *Mahāvastu*: vol.II: 18, Jones).

Likewise, the legend of his birth is also considered the most important event in Gandhāra art which is depicted by different artisans with some variations. They paid their homage to the great man and his mother through their art. In this episode Māyā is again a prominent figure because other women are depicted as subordinate to increase her importance. Apart from women attendants the presence of the celestial figure in the form of the city goddess is also enhancing the significance of the event and the principal figure in the form of a mother. The attendance of the city goddess also represents that the people of the whole city came to see and celebrate the event. Allsculptors

and historians agreed that the Bodhisattva emerged from the womb of his mother as he entered before ten months. There are some disparities in the sculptures because they are not made by single hand but the central theme of all the figures is almost same. Due to its divinity this episode is also the most favourite theme of Gandhāra art. There are number of sculptures showing the birth scene of the Bodhisattva that are available in the museums and in private collections all over the world. The Buddhist art gives an extraordinary place to the birth episode of the Bodhisattva and narrate the status of mother Queen Māyā with extra charm and piety. The carvings and sculptures related to the birth episode bear much similarity with the image carving style because the basic theme or faith regarding this legend is same. Now some kind of unique sculpture displayed in various museums of the world will be discussed to help understand text in the light of art. In this legend we often find three interrelated episodes of the life of the Buddha altogether in Gandhāra art. These episodes are; the Birth, Bath and Seven steps of the Bodhisattva *Śākyamuni*. The collected photographs have been put together but in the text portion the two phases have been discussed separately to facilitate the few separate examples of Birth, Bath and Sevensteps.

The birth of the Bodhisattva is the most momentous theme of Gandhāra art. The fame which is being acquired by the birth episode is not the part of any other episode. This event has derived a lot of attention by the sculptors. In fig 17 Māyā the mother of the Bodhisattva is standing in the middle with the left leg across the right at the ankles. She wears very sophisticated dress. From the left shoulder a scarf passes behind the back and hangs from both upper arms like *Uttarīya* but her full body is elegantly covered. Even her head is enclosed with a wreath headdress. She wears ornaments, earrings, bracelets, a collar and anklets. These ornaments are still common in India and Pakistan. Bodhisattva emerges from her right side with *halo* and *uṣṇīṣa* causing no pain for her mother.

No sign of anxiety or pain is visible on Māyā's face. The birth of the Bodhisattva was painless because according to the *Lalitavistara* five thousand apsaras came to the mother of the Bodhisattva before her delivery bearing oils filled with divine perfumes, divine scented water, bearing garments and the ornaments of the Bodhisattva, and instruments of divine music to made the birth time of Bodhisattva jubilant (the *Lalitavistara*: 144-45, Bays). The sculpture is shown the true reflection of this statement. In this scene god *Indara* is standing on the right side of the queen with kneeling knee to receive the child. He wrapped the baby in a pure cloth (the *Lalitavistara*: 130, Bays), while all the existing figures are looking at the child with amazement

and pleasure. Beside the divine figures, the women attendants are the second most important character of this event because the presence of the female figures is as significant as the divine characters of the episode. There are two females on the right side of the Queen Māyā. The first one who is helping Māyā is identified as her sister Prajāpatī. We do not know exactly about this figure as Foucher said and people believes she could be Mahāpajāpatī because she is depicted in almost all the birth sculptures as a helper and assistant. She stands with crossed legs below the knee very close to Māyā holding and keeping it on her shoulders. The affection of the female figure for Queen Māyā is very obvious which indicates her relationship with Queen Māyā. She wears a sleeved *tunic* over a *paridhana*, twisted headdress and ornaments which show that she also belongs to a noble family. There is another female figure identified as city goddess stands behind Prajāpatī. She dressed like Māyā. She is also bedecked with ornaments and holds a long cornucopia. Her right hand is till her mouth which shows her astonishment which leads to the unusual birth of the Bodhisattva. All the figures are depicted very beautifully but the mother is carved more gracefully. She has long oval face, sharp features and long eyes. She is taller than other women and she is the most prominent lady in the whole scene. Even a person having no idea about the birth of the Bodhisattva can easily identify the different status of the lady in the sculpture. It is all because she was the mother of Gautama. She was the one who kept Bodhisattva in her womb for ten months (the *Lalitavistara*: 123, Bays), and became the blessed source of her birth.

Fig 18 is a damaged sculpture but all main figures/characters are portrayed, some are visible, some are broken. Māyā stands in her usual stance under a *Sāla* tree⁴. This standing posture of Māyā was common among other Indian arts like Bharhut and Sāñcī as well. The pillar figure of the Bharhut represents women under a tree with raised hands towards branches as trying to pluck the flowers. This subject is also depicted on the gateways at Sāñcī. Here we can see that the figure of Māyā is not different from other women carved in the panel. Her sister Prajāpatī who is helping her is taller than Māyā while in other sculptures, under discussion all women are smaller than Māyā. The depiction of the cornucopia indicates the presence of the city goddess. The next woman attendant faces the birth almost in profile with hands joined. There is another possibility that she

⁴ This is known by various names i.e. the emperor Aśoka bearing this tree with his own name as Aśoka tree. The other texts state that it was a fig tree *Plaska* which bent down towards Māyā during the birth of the Bodhisattva. However, the most common was *Sāla*. This tree was abundantly found in the sub- Himalayan zone. This kind of tree also shaded the death of the blessed one after eighty years (Foucher 2003:30).

is paying homage to Māyā and Bodhisattva or praying for the relief and ease of Queen Māyā at the time of delivery. It is noticeable here that not only attendant but god Indra is also taller than Māyā. At the top double out lined lotus petals pointing upwards for a good fragrance at the time of the birth of the Bodhisattva. Lotus is also symbol of purity as Māyā was pure from all sins. *Lalitavistara* added, Bodhisattva was born with full realization and knowledge. He was not touched by human beings, the gods themselves had received him. Indra embraced the Bodhisattva in a silken dress made with gold and silver threads and took him in his arm (the *Lalitavistara*: 130, Bays). This is depicted in all sculptures that Indra is receiving child with kneeling or bended legs that shows his respect and homage for the Bodhisattva. According to Ghani-ur-Rahman the presence of gods and other celestial beings on this event is adding the importance of the occasion and also indicating the great objective of the birth of the Bodhisattva (Rahman 2008: 163). In the scene provided below the seven steps at the time of birth is depicted. It is common belief that the Bodhisattva takes seven steps towards each cardinal point after his birth (the *Mahāvastu* vol, II: 18, Jones; the *Lalitavistara*: 131-132, Bays; Ingholt 1957:52).

In fig 19 Māyā is depicted from front with one leg bended and not in a usual *tribangha* posture. The similarity of dresses of Queen Māyā and Prajāpatī and other ornaments represents their relation and different status from other two women who are present at this prodigious event. The lady stands behind Prajāpatī holds a spouted water pot in her hand. She placed her hand close to her mouth as a gesture of astonishment. She wears a *paridhana* (Indian dress) and tunic (Greek and Roman dress) and it represents the mixture of Greek, Roman and Indian influence on Gandhāra art. As Burgess stated Māyā and Prajāpatī are depicted in Greek dresses but their ornaments are Indian (Burgess 1965: 111). A similar gesture is made by the god Brahma standing behind the Indra who received the child. She is present here to indicate that the whole city had come to welcome the Bodhisattva. One thing is obvious in this sculpture that both the attendants are taller than Prajāpatī. Women are enjoying central position in the birth episode of the Bodhisattva in different roles as assistant, attendants, musicians and as nurse of the Queen Māyā. In fact, it is the world of women from nativity to the birth of the Bodhisattva, not a single man is depicted in these scenes. This was very sacred and special event so it is a place of honour for women to be present at the time of the birth of Bodhisattva. The King Śuddhodana, father of the Bodhisattva was not portrayed even in a single sculpture at this fortunate occasion. The tapering framed column has a Corinthian capital which represent the Greek and Roman architecture style. Rowland stated, during

Kushan era the Corinthian was generally used in erected structures. However, the Corinthian capital of Gandhāra have Roman origin (Rowland 1953: 142).

Fig. 20 shows the birth of the Bodhisattva and the return to *Kapilvastu* from *Lumbinī* garden. In this scene Prajāpatī bends towards Māyā as she puts her hand on her left womb. She is looking at Māyā and making her realize her presence because Prajāpatī's presence is a kind of support for Māyā. The dress of Prajāpatī is different from Māyā. She wears short-sleeved tunic and her scarf is obviously passing over her left shoulder and an ancient Greek hairstyle called chignon. It represents the mixture of Indian and Greek influence on her dress. In this figure the Bodhisattva emerges from her right side from the upper garments. The Brahma is standing behind Indra in *Añjalimudrā* pose, may be paying attribute to the Bodhisattva. In this sculpture Brahma and Indra both are wearing *uttarīya* in different style but are present here to welcome and receive Bodhisattva.

Fig. 21 is a master piece of birth scene of Bodhisattva. Māyā is shown in the centre of three women attendants and three gods who came to receive the child. City goddess is depicted with cornucopia in her left hand and pouch in the other hand. The woman stands in the right corner holds a *camara* in her right hand and water pot in the left hand. Here she holds water pot for the bath of the child or for Queen Māyā. The sculpture signifies the helping role of women at the time of birth of the child either she is a sister of the Queen or servant of the royal harem. All are engaged in the service of the Queen but their duties are different according to their status. Prajāpatī who is the sister of the Queen is standing near to her providing relaxation with her hand touch. The other attendants are also there for the comfort and ease of the Queen but we cannot observe in any sculptures that the attendants of the Queen are touching her or stand very near to her. It is possible that they are not allowed to stand beside her or to touch her. The child has *halo* around his head emerges from the right side of the Queen. Ghani-ur Rahman stated the depiction of *halo* and *uṣṇīṣa* might also represent the superior position of the Bodhisattva because if the cranial is the highest level of the cosmic system then the *uṣṇīṣa* is beyond the cosmic system. It thus indicates that he is beyond any idea of superiority (Rahman 2009: 29-30). Three gods are standing in a row but the child was received by god Indra with outstretched arm. At the end of the sculpture at the back of Brahma the third god is portrayed. His dress is different from other two gods. The happiness and

rejoice on the birth of Bodhisattva took place in the heavenly world and is revealed by the musical instruments, which are visible in the background.

In fig. 22 the birth of the Bodhisattva is depicted according to the usual scheme. In the centre of the sculpture Queen Māyā stands in a *tribangha* posture. She stands straight but her head is turned towards Indra and the side of the child. Next to Queen Māyā her sister Prajāpatī is depicted. She wears a different dress, a waist length body fitted tunic and paridhana like trouser, and even her body parts are quite visible in this dress. She is carved with her back towards the city goddess which shows the status of Queen Māyā and Prajāpatī. It indicates that royal women are portrayed with their back towards the city goddess but the other attendants cannot stand with their back towards the royal ladies. In this figure city goddess holds the cornucopia and water pot while the city god carries a flower in her raised hand to welcome or celebrate the divine birth of the Bodhisattva. On the left side of the Queen the three gods are shown in a row at the back of god Indra. Two women busts are also shown in the sculpture. There is a possibility of the presence of tree spirits watching at Māyā. The dresses of all the figures either Queen, her sister; attendants and even the gods are different from each other. May be this is according to their status and role at the event. All the figures are carved with similar features. All has round faces with fleshy cheeks and almond eyes which are increasing the grace of the characters.

Fig. 23 is broken from right side but represents the theme of the episode in a very magnificent manner. It is different from other under discussion sculptures due to its composition. Māyā's face is damaged but it is not difficult to identify her graceful personality which is different from all women. She wears paridhana below her belly button, but the upper part of the body is naked and clearly visible. In Indian art it is common practice and the artists made nude figures of the mother goddesses. Māyā was mother of the future Buddha so they made her nude figure to pay homage to her. The second main reason of her nudity is the concept of fertility, as Māyā is portrayed as a symbol of fertility.

They made the nude figure of Māyā in respect, homage and honour which shows her different and high status from other women. It is noticeable here that Prajāpatī and two attendants of Queen Māyā wear similar full-sleeved tunic and paridhana with similar ornaments. We can only identify Prajāpatī from her closeness to Queen Māyā because she stands on her fixed place very close to Māyā and looking at her face with love. In the background the figure of the tree spirit *Yakshni* is very visible. She stands with her right hand raised, in gesture of pray, assurance or blessing to the

Queen and her child. It is evident that the woman of the royal family Prajāpatī and attendants wear similar dress and ornaments. It is the beauty and uniqueness of the sculpture or the ability of artisans which eliminates the difference of class on the basis of garments. At the background the celestial musicians are depicted with drum and other musical instruments rejoicing the birth of Bodhisattva, below the sculpture a small vague figure takes the seven steps. This small figure is indicating his miraculous power and the legend of seven steps after his birth.

In fig. 24 the theme and the characters of the sculpture are similarly portrayed at their usual places. Māyā stands in the middle surrounded by her female assistants and the gods, who came to receive the child. However, the depiction of the figures and the other elements are very clear. Her grace and stance is different from other women present at the event. She wears a curvy but transparent chignon. The upper part of the dress is made of thin silk type cloth because her breasts are visible. Her features are quite prominent; long eyes, sharp nose, cylindrical body and delicate hands. She looks different from other women even from her sister. It is not difficult to identify her status from her outlook. In this figure Prajāpatī wears knee length *tunic* and *Paridhana*. Her dress

is totally different from her sister Queen Māyā and other women who are present at the event. According to my analysis it shows that she was unmarried till that event. Mostly in Indian society women wear sari after marriage, although her ornaments are not different from Māyā. The dresses and ornaments of attendants are not as precious as Māyā and her sister wore. This signifies the class difference in the Gandhāran society. They stand next to Prajāpatī, one holds mirror in her hand and the other's hand is raised in air. Maybe she is paying tribute or praying for Queen but there is no sign of unrest or anxiety on their faces. The city goddess holds a small jewellery or cosmetic box instead of a water pot. The depiction of mirror and small box might contain cosmetics for the beautification of Queen Māyā after the delivery of her child or for the beautification of Prajāpatī (as bride) because Queen Māyā died after the birth of her child and King Śuddhodana married Prajāpatī and the presence of these two things indicate the next event of the Śākya clan.

The birth of the divine child is depicted by different artisans with petty differences but the central theme of the birth of Bodhisattva is same. Māyā is mother of Bodhisattva and Queen of the King Śuddhodana who is famous and loved by his people due to his kindness and gentleness. So his Queen is also loved by his countrymen that are clear from the figure of Queen Māyā. Māyā wears full length *uttarīya* but her lower garment is loose and portable. There is only the city goddess who holds the palm branch and a pouch made by cloth in her hand. All women wore same

type of ornaments including Māyā, but their dresses are not similar. There is a little difference in their dresses we only identify Prajāpatī and the city goddess from their position in the sculptures. It shows that royal attendants also enjoy facilities in the royal harem. On the left side Indra and Brahma are present to receive the divine child. Women attendants hold the specific position in all the sculptures that represents their committed attitude towards their duty.

Fig. 26 is different from other under discussion sculptures due to the portrayal of the figures and their outlook. The sculpture is broken but it is not difficult to recognize the principal characters of the episode. The Prajāpatī and other attendants are not present only half part of Māyā's body is present. On the extreme left of the sculpture of above three devas are portrayed in different postures. The first one is standing in *Añjalimudrā* paying homage on the birth of the holy man. The other two are depicted with flowers in their hands. They are celebrating the fortunate event of the birth of Bodhisattva. In the second row the female divine figures are shown in a sequence. The first one is depicted in *Añjalimudrā* posture like the deva. The central figure is depicted with a gesture of amazement on this unusual birth. The third one is celebrating this event having flowers in her hand. In the last row Indra stands in straight position receiving the child from the womb of her mother. On the extreme left of this row King Śuddhodana and Queen Māyā is depicted which is the most interesting element of this sculpture. Māyā stands towards King Śuddhodana holding her child in her hands and showing to the king. The King is looking at his son with great devotion and love. This is a different sculpture in which king is depicted with his son and beloved wife after his birth. This beautiful gesture of Queen Māyā and King Śuddhodana specifies the typical Indian tradition of the birth of a child. Prince Siddhārtha was their first baby and first baby is always very dear to parents. This sculpture presents the true feeling of love of parents for their child and for each other as well.

Fig. 27 is different from other sculptures as it appears to be a pencil sketched sculpture, which is enhancing its beauty. Māyā and Prajāpatī are wearing same dresses; curvy and lining with heavy beaded girdle and unique ornaments. Their sirobhushana are beautifully carved with veni bandha. Only city goddess is depicted in the illustration, no women attendants are portrayed. Her dress is elegant and different from Māyā and her sister and she stands behind Prajāpatī she is always depicted with expression of astonishment at the birth of Bodhisattva. The upper portion of the carving shows the presence of two nude figures standing in *Añjalimudrā*, paying homage to Bodhisattva and his great mother. The child is very prominent his half body is out of the womb.

Queen Māyā, Prajāpatī and Indra all are looking at child with affectionate gesture. The musical instruments in the background are symbolizing the great celebration in heavens.

Fig 28 is unique from other under discussion sculptures due to its accomplished structure and assembly. In this sculpture all women presented as slender and elegant figures due to such an important narrative. She is carved as a taller and most prominent figure among all women, the dress of all women are almost similar, lower part of the bodies are covered, but the upper garment is made of thin cloth because their breasts are naked. In this sculpture all women including Māyā are carved in a row in a sequence. In this sculpture Prajāpatī instead of turning to Māyā, portrayed shoulder to shoulder with Māyā. All women wear similar ornaments, necklace, ear pendants, bracelets, anklets and elegant headdresses, which are enhancing their grace and beauty. It is a different depiction of same theme, with presence of more number of attendants. In this scene all women are depicted equally beautiful as Māyā is depicted. Their clear and attractive features are grabbing the attention of the viewers and artlovers.

It is very realistic sculpture we can see that the women present there will start moving, as they are living characters. They are busy in some activity and talking to each other. They have fleshy cheeks and almond eyes. Only one attendant holds a palm branch and next to her holds a small box or pouch containing something important that is required for Queen or newly born child. One woman stands behind Prajāpatī and looking at her. At the top most portion of the illustration, tree spirit Yakshani is carved in *Añjalimudrā* posture. The sculpture is only of its types due to the prettiness and living characters of women.

Fig. 29 is a marvellous sculpture represents the birth and seven steps of Bodhisattva Shakyamuni. Māyā is depicted from the front with cross legs in the middle of the sculpture. Prajāpatī depicts very near to her placing her right hand around her waist and left hand at her belly that is a sign of love and caution. She is as tall as Māyā and having slender and supple figure which adds to her beauty and glamour. She is looking at Māyā while Māyā is watching at her right side. The city goddess stands next to Prajāpatī on distance to the royal lady. This sculpture is different due to the dressing of women figures. All are wearing different style of dresses and headdresses but they had similar braided hair style, anklets, earrings, necklace and a *lalata Chandra* is also visible in the middle of the forehead. The second exclusivity of this sculpture is the presence of the *Sāla* tree that is beautifully planted at the right corner of the sculpture. Next to Indra another

female figure is standing with her back to the viewers and touching some musical instrument or plucking the flowers from tree to celebrate the divine birth of Bodhisattva.

Fig 30 also comprised the central characters of the birth episode. However, in the extreme right a small size female attendant carved in *Añjalimudrā* posture expressing her gratification. In this sculpture Māyā and Prajāpatī wears similar dresses and head dresses. They are attire transparent Indian *uttarīya* but their bodies are fully covered and long scarfs are also hanging around their arms. The unusual aspect of this sculpture is that all the figures are depicted from front position. They are shown in motionless condition that is not possible for humans to stand straight while performing different activities. All women including Māyā are watching on their right side. Might be they are watching the baby because the last attendant is paying homage as well.

There is very attractive and appealing sculpture with the same scene and characters in fig 31. Māyā is wearing a wavy lower garment with a scarf while the upper part is wholly nude which represents her motherhood and fertility very apparently. The legs of Bodhisttava are also visible on her mother's belly. Behind the Indra and Brahman another female figure is shown but her face is fully damaged. In this scene all women wear different style of dresses but their neck ornament and hair style is nearly similar. The last attendant is standing with side pose. She is small in size and placed her hand on the shoulder of her next attendant. Her small size and fragile illustration shows her meagre status. In this sculpture Māyā is wearing very stylish and changed style of earrings which are infrequent in Gandhāra art. In this episode the figure of Māyā has a resemblance with the North Indian Yakshis. She is holding the tree branch and the legs are crossed like a Yakshi on a gateway to stupa I at Sāñcī. (Behrendt fig: 16), (Behrendt 2007: 37-38). It symbolizes the indigenous influence on Gandhāra art. Hallade also stated that in the dream and birth episode Māyā's illustration of female beauty is of Indian descent. Indian beauty was not limited to Māyā, the other Gandhāran women figures are also the reflection of the Indian aesthetic and perfect image of woman as described by Kalidasa (Hallade 1968:117).

All the above mentioned sculptures and panels narrating the birth episode of Bodhisattva Shakyamuni have resemblance and differences. But the main characters, theme and composition are similar. The minor variance reveals the reality that these sculptures were made by different artisans and also replicates the regional differences. But one thing is very evident that all the sculptures represent the affection and admiration for the holy man and his mother. These

sculptures also show their religious beliefs and philosophies. Māyā died soon after giving birth to Buddha. Her death was physical but artists made her alive through their artistry and sculptures. Gandhāra art is a clear proof of Queen Māyā's presence and her glory. She is given due importance and significance in Gandhāra art due to her motherhood. From this we get to know the status and respect given to mother in Buddhist society.

The dress and ornaments of queen Māyā are carved elegantly and stunningly. In the *Lalitavistara* it is mentioned that she dressed herself with finest and most beautiful festival garments and covered her arms with bracelets (the *Lalitavistara*: 127, Bays). So we can see the true reflection of this statement in Gandhāra art. The sculptors tried to represent the true picture of Queen Māyā. In these sculptures the dress of other women are also very beautiful and made of thin cloth, as Burgees (1985: 33), stated in India people wore light dresses like ancient Greece and this tradition is still continued in India. Furthermore, the nudity of the limbs was also common tradition as we can observe in most Gandhāran sculptures women are portrayed semi-nude that represents the real picture of the Indian society generally and the Gandhāran society particularly.

The nakedness of women was also common practice in India. We noticed the nudity and transparency of the women dresses in Gandhāra art which indicates the mutual tradition among the Indians also abundantly depicted in older sculptures. However, the upper part of the body is always uncovered which shows the delicacy of women body but the edges of the garments are visible over the ankles and between the legs and the headdresses and the ornaments were also rich in designs and slenderness. In the south of modern India among the Nayar-ehchhis of Malabar this kind of dresses and ornaments are still common (Burgees 1985: 35). After the careful examination of the sculptures of the Gandhāra researcher is agreed with Halade that Gandhāra art replaced the early Indian style. Human figures became the centre of the Gandhāra art and the detailed became precise. The birth episode of the life of the Buddha in the Gandhāra art exemplifies the home-grown features of the art in many ways despite of the foreign influence. In this episode Māyā is depicted in Indian ideal of female beauty; her cross legs standing style indicates the Indian aesthetic. The women attendant holds the water vase and tree palms usually used in Indian society for ritual ablution. The depiction of the tree in various episodes represents the primitive, local and deep held beliefs to Buddhist iconography (Hallade 1968: 119). In my opinion in spite of all these elements it is obvious that Gandhāra art replaced the early Indian style but the features of the

human figures are not absolutely native but they have more resemblance with Greeks; their fleshy faces, almond eyes, sharp noses indicate the Greek association like fig 10, 14, 16, 19.

The *tribangha* posture of Queen Māyā grasping the branch of the *Sāla* tree is also debatable element of this episode as it is discussed by Varadpande (2006: 21), it is not a new idea in Gandhāra art that women are compared with flowers and delicate trees in the ancient art and poetry as well. A verse in Kalidasa's play *Abhigyanā Shakuntalam* and in the monuments of Sāñcī women are carved in this posture. Women and trees are depicted in socio-religious customs and rituals into alluring forms and motifs. One of the nature related ancient fertility ritual was visiting the *Sāla* garden and women used to stretch the branches of the *Sāla* tree, pluck the flowers and throw them at each other with pleasure and delight. The second main reason of the depiction of queen Māyā under the *Sāla* tree represents the nature, fertility and richness because *Sāla* tree and woman has close connection due to its charm and fertility. The birth story of the Buddha added a new scope to this ritual. Māyā Devi on her way to her father's home attracted by the *Sāla* tree and desired to play with them. During this playing activity she gave birth to her child. After the birth of the Buddha this act of Māyā became a great or sacred act and grasping the branches of the *Sāla* tree became a great symbol in the Gandhāra art. So in all birth episodes Queen Māyā is depicted while holding the tree branch.

Fergusson compares this posture of Māyā with Nautch girls (dancing girls) based on the formation of the Buddhist legend that is innovative with the diverse visionary type. He says this model is artistically distinguished in Gandhāra by the alteration of costume and by the evident adaptation of an ancient Nike for the demonstration of Gautama's mother (Ferguson Pl. LXV and XCI: 1973; Burgess 1965: 111). Likewise, Mahāpajāpatī is the second most important character of this episode. She is assisting and making Māyā feel that being her sister she is there for her in the time of delivery to facilitate her. It is common tradition in Indian society that at the time of delivery pregnant women's mother or sister are always present. The presence of Prajāpatī in all illustrations is a true reflection of Indian culture. It is very common in Indian custom that at the time of the birth of child, sister or mother of the girl look after her. There is another opinion about the figure of Prajāpatī, Bhattacharyya (2002: 134), indicates this woman as the figure of Kanchuki, the important attendant of the royal house of *Kapilvastu*. However, it is unusual for Kanchuki to touch Māyā Devi's body at the time of this fortunate event. I personally believe she is Prajāpatī the adopted mother of the Bodhisattva after the death of Queen Māyā.

The third main character of this episode is women attendants who are also an essential element of this legend. The main purpose of their presence is to assist and help Queen Māyā and her sister Prajāpatī at the time of delivery. In all the sculptures these women are portrayed in same position performing same services. Despite all these facts every character of woman is depicted in a permanent role and position. In this episode Queen Māyā is a chief figure due to her ascribed status because she has been designated as mother of the future Buddha. Owing to her position the artists depicted her elegantly and tastefully as compared to other women. Mostly she is presented in semi-nude posture (fig 8, 9, 16) which shows her fertility and motherhood. The depictions of other women figures represent the achieved status of women because of their specific roles on this prodigious event. In some sculptures they wear similar dresses and ornaments like Queen Māyā and her sister Prajāpatī (fig 9, 14) while mostly they are dressed differently which shows their lower status in the society. The minor differences increase the interest of the scholar because it is based on regional disparities in the society but the main theme and melody of the episode is same showing the common faith and belief of the Buddhist community which is the magnificence and uniqueness of Gandhāra art.

45 The role and status of women attendants in the episode of the bath of the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

The basic purpose of the bath was to clean the impurities or ablutions of the body. After the birth several methods are used to clean the baby from impurities around the world but in India bath is a common early historic tradition for the infants to keep them clean. According to the text, Bodhisattva was born free from all scums and crusts (the *Mahāvastu*, vol. II: 21, Jones; the *Lalitavistara*: 135, Bays). Though, the bath of Bodhisattva was just a formality because he was born pure but at the same time the text and art both are agree about the bath of the child. However, variations regarding the water used for the bath of Bodhisattva exist. Foucher says, we have four different opinions about the water used for bath. Some are agreed, that both cold and hot water was used for his bath. Other said that two springs emerged and filled two tubs of water for the bath of the child. At other place, the water seemed to fall from heaven like a rain. Furthermore, it is mentioned that the Nanda and his younger brother Upananda poured water upon Bodhisattva for bath (Foucher 2003: 34). Likewise, the Indian art also reflects variations e.g. at Mathura art two nagas are depicted in the bath scene while in Gandhāra art, Indra and Brahma are performing

this act of kindness with the help of royal women attendants. This episode is unique in itself because no royal lady has given bath to the child only the royal attendants are present and giving bath to the baby which makes it a unique and distinctive event. Although this event is not carved very often but the available sculptures are enough to describe its importance.

Fig 32 is a true representative of the Indian tradition in which women are depicted to give bath to the infant. It is very common in Indian society that women help (lady doctor, nurse or mid-wife and the old women in the family, either mother or mother in law) support other women at the time of delivery and also give bath to the newly born child. This sculpture is not in good condition, broken and chipped, but the bath scene is very much clear. The naked infant Bodhisattva stands on a round stool, has a broad chest, plump legs, and wears anklets, having *usnisha*, standing straight on the stool. Two women are sitting on the ground and kneeling with one knee down in respect of the Prince across the table. These women are wearing a *girt paridhana* round a long sleeved *tunic*, ornaments like earrings and wreath headdress holds both the hands of Bodhisattva with affection and care which is visible from their facial expressions. On the left side of Bodhisattva, Indra is portrayed but his head is damaged. He is holding a water pot with stretched hand for the bath of the child while in right hand *vajra* is visible. He wears *uttarīya* and a *paridhana*, necklace, collar and bracelets. This sculpture presents the sacred role of the royal attendants in the noble family and in the Gandhāran society particularly. They are portrayed in the middle of the sculpture which also indicates their sophisticated position.

In fig 33 Bodhisattva is carved on four armed stool under a canopy. At this propitious occasion four gods are present on both sides. Indra and Brahma are depicted in the middle pouring water together with their right hands from two small water pots. Indra is holding *thunderbolt* in his left hand. Next to Indra a god in princely costume is standing in *Añjalimudrā* posture worshipping Bodhisattva and next to Brahma another huge size god is depicted in the same stance. Both are paying homage to the holy man. The most significant aspect of this sculpture is two women seated in bowing posture. They tenderly are rubbing his body with love and pride. Both of them are watching at Bodhisattva and their facial expression are shimmering their inside feelings of happiness and pleasure. The wreath head-dress of women, the Corinthian column with the usual moulding and the full and round faces of the figures (Zwalf 19996: 153) shows the Greek influence on Gandhāra art.

Fig 34 also represents the same characters performing similar duties. The image of water is depicted very beautifully which gives indication that water is coming from heavens not from the water pots. The gods wear *uttarīya* while the garments of woman attendants are not visible but they are seated in their usual posture. The facial expressions of all the figures are invisible but one can identify their careful attitude for their duty and child as well. Indra is carved behind the scene, wearing *uttarīya* and watching the event with affection. These sculptures represent a different and unique status of women in the society and in the royal domestic. The presence of women at the time of bath of the child shows their blessed and humble status in the society. He was not an ordinary child, but the prince of the Śākya clan, Bodhisattva and a child who will become the universal monarch or the Buddha (the enlightened one). God Indra was sent from heaven to give bath to the child. As mentioned in the previous chapter, at that time people were very much superstitious about the presence of women on such occasion. Especially in Indian society women were not allowed to attend the meetings of lords and devas. In this sculpture we can observe the women are helping the god Indra while he was giving bath to Bodhisattva. It indicates an optimistic and respectable attitude towards women in the ancient society.

4.6 The role and status of Queen in the episode of return to Kapilvastu after the birth of the child:

It is stated above that Queen Māyā went to Lumbinī garden on the request of her father to King Śuddhodana for the birth of the child. After the delivery mother and child had to return to their native town. The interesting element of this episode is the identification of the mother either the woman is biological mother or adopted mother of the child. The existing contradiction regarding the principal figure about the mother is the real beauty and uniqueness of this legend. We always get dual comments on this discussion, no clear or authentic proof is being found on the figure which can state the difference between Prajāpatī and Māyā. At the end of the episode researcher will conclude the principal figure in the light of her observation and research. The most reliable Buddhist text of the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* has also given different opinion regarding the death of Queen Māyā.

According to the *Mahāvastu* (*the Mahāvastu* vol. II: 22, Jones) after the birth of Bodhisattva, King ordered to prepare a jewelled palanquin for Bodhisattva and his mother. They both returned from the *Lumbinī* grove in a palanquin made by Visvakarma bore by four great lords and carried

by four maharajas. Conversely, the *Lalitavistara* describes Māyā died after seven nights of the birth of Bodhisattva and infant Bodhisattva returned to the Kapilvastu in chariot seven days after Māyā had left the town. This distinct opinion creates the contradiction about the identification of the woman in this scene. According to the above mentioned sacred texts Māyā died after seven nights of the birth of Bodhisattva and then she is Prajāpatī the future foster mother and aunt of the Bodhisattva. Some authors like Ingholt stated she is queen Māyā. He describes a figure displayed in Karachi museum, and in Calcutta museum (Ingholt 1957: fig.17) looks like Māyā. He says in this figure Māyā is shown inside a wagon with a child in her arms drawn by bullocks. Ingholt also gives similar description about the presence of Māyā in the episode of the Siddhārtha's horoscope. He writes the supportive figure (fig. 20) (the woman holding the child) is probably Māyā's sister Mahāpajāpatī soon to become Siddhārtha's stepmother after the early death of Māyā (Fig.35 in the episode of horoscope of the child). The lady who is depicted beside the king listening the horoscope of the child is Queen Māyā the first wife of the King Śuddhodana. Furthermore, Zwalf, whose catalogue of the Gandhāra sculpture in the British museum is considered as an authority in Gandhāra art, is silent on the identification of the figure. (Fig. 35. discussed below). He is just indicating the figures as three women in the palanquin and the central figure with a child. So it is not easy to identify her as MahāMāyā, Mahāpajāpatī or any attendant of the royal house coming back to Kapilvastu after the birth of Bodhisattva. It is declared in the catalogue of the narrative stone reliefs from Gandhāra in the Victoria and Albert museum in London by Barger and Wright (Plate X b) excavated from Swat valley (Gumbet), in the episode of the interpretation of prince Siddhārtha's horoscope, that the figure portrayed in the European style beside the King Śuddhodana is Queen Māyā. King seems to be looking at Queen Māyā and explaining something to her (Ackerman 1975: P X b).

According to the *Lalitavistara* and Beal after the death of Queen Māyā King Śuddhodana gathered his family men and consulted them about best foster mother for the Siddhārtha. Almost five hundred Śākyans married women were ready to accept this obligation, but Śuddhodana decided that only Prajāpatī is able to accomplish this responsibility (the *Lalitavistara* :149, Bays; Beal 1876: 63). After this decision Prajāpatī became foster mother of the Buddha after the death of Māyā. She was also given appropriate admiration and standing in the Buddhist text and in Gandhāra art, because she was Buddha's aunt also who fastened with him at the time of his birth.

After marriage when the royal couple took Buddha to temple King Śuddhodana asked Prajāpatī to get the child ready and carry him in her lap. The baby can be carried by any servant but King Śuddhodana preferred Prajāpatī his foster mother to hold the baby. This is an evidence that Māyā was dead when this event took place. When the prince was adorned with jewellery in the Vimalavyuha garden, Prajāpatī herself held the prince in her arms, whereas there were eighty-thousand women, five thousand men and ten thousand young girls present. It shows her love and association with his nephew (the *Lalitavistara*: 182, Bays). However, the *Lalitavistara* describes many evidences from various occasions that Queen Māyā died before the horoscope of the prince, when king Śuddhodana thought about the nurturing of his son. The eldest of his clan remarked for Mahāpajāpatī, the sister of Māyā and aunt of Bodhisattva for rearing Bodhisattva. All other clan members agreed to put their confidence in Mahāpajāpatī Gutami because all other women are careless and proud of their beauty and youth. The relationship of King Śuddhodana and Prajāpatī was a result of discussions between the honourable men of the clan (the *Lalitavistara*: 149, Bays).

The second evidence of Māyā's death is the time when prince was taken to the temple to pray the gods, King Śuddhodana asked Queen Prajāpatī to dress the child with ostentatious clothes and prepared him for temple to pray to the gods (the *Lalitavistara*: 174, Bays). From this we come to know, that Māyā is dead and the women depicted in the episode of the horoscope of the Buddha is Prajāpatī not Māyā. At this instant the story of Queen Māyā is ended and the legend of Queen Prajāpatī as a foster mother of Bodhisattva and second wife of the King Śuddhodana begins. The above stated occasion specifies that the quest for good life partner with the will of the elders is an ancient tradition. This represents that every woman was given appropriate veneration and position in the face of mother and wife from the ancient times. As foster mother of Bodhisattva Prajāpatī firstly depicted in the episode of return to Kapilvastu with his child in a highly decorated palanquin. According to the text the roads were decorated from *Lumbinī* garden to Kapilvastu for the reception of the Bodhisattva and his mother. They also accompanied with the singing women and men on his return to their native town (the *Lalitavistara*: 147-148, Bays). As it is stated in chapter three the mother of son enjoyed more respect and privilege in this episode Gandhāra art portrayed the genuine picture of this statement.

In this event we do not find any dual expression in sculptures like defined in the text. In sculptures the event is carved in different modes but other contradiction is not found. In this

episode Prajāpatī is enjoying the same valour and veneration as Māyā enjoyed in the dream, interpretation of the dream and the birth of Bodhisattva, which is why it is difficult to discriminate between Māyā and Prajāpatī. The return of Queen with the child is very beautifully depicted by artist although it is not a most favourite subject in Gandhāra art. However, her depiction in Gandhāra art clarifies the status and role of woman as mother in the concerned society. Some specimens of this legend are given below. In the light of these sculptures we will observe that the honour and veneration she got during the journey was due to the position of mother or just because she was a woman.

In fig 35 Queen is carved with her child with two women attendants. They are returning to Kapilvastu with great honour and valour. In this sculpture the woman stands in the centre holding the child is most probably Queen Prajāpatī. Queen is carved two steps ahead of other two ladies and she is having an expression of relief and pride on her face. All figures are portrayed in three quarter view. All three women are wearing the similar dress, sleeved tunic with drapery folds and their ornaments are similar; long ear pendants, a collar and necklace. They have a trendy hairstyle falling on to the shoulders. They wore wreath headdress around a high loop of hair which is enhancing their grace. Queen's head dress is quite different from other women. It might be made of a fine cloth. Jewels or beaded motifs are visible which represents her different status among other women. This kind of head dress is very rare in Gandhāra art, however, there is possibility that this headdress is gifted by King Śuddhodana to her wife after the birth of the child. It is common traditions in Indian society that husband present his wife with special kind of ornament as a gift or reward of her maternity. She holds her child with affection and attention. Her delicate hands with artistic fingers are visible.

The love of a mother for child is very obvious from her attitude. There are two women attendants but queen herself embraces her son, which shows her motherly affection for her child. She is feeling proud and satisfied which is clear on her face. This caring attitude is evident of the King Śuddhodana's decision to marry Prajāpatī. According to the *Lalitavistara* and Beal king himself was in approval to marry Prajāpatī and all were agreed at King's decision and Prajāpatī became the foster mother of the future Buddha. King appointed thirty-two other women for her assistance, eight to nurse the child, eight to wash him, eight to feed him and eight to amuse him (the *Lalitavistara*: 127, Bays; Beal 1875: 63). The appointment of other women indicates the care and affection of the king for his wife and son as well. Her status is also depicted by the decoration

of the palanquin. It is decorated with vegetal design, leaves, buds and fruits covered with a beautiful carpet. All these things show the respect, honour, value and status of a Queen as wife and mother of Bodhisattva. This image represents the Greek and Indian influence, the head-dresses called wreath, rounded faces, serene expressions, almond eyes and the palanquin with rectangular Corinthian corner (Zwalf 1996: 155) shows the Greek influence while their dresses such as the *uttarīya*, *paridhana* and the ornaments symbolizes the Indian influence on Gandhāra art.

Fig 36 is different from the previous one in this scene Queen is not standing but sitting in a palanquin with her two women attendants. The figure of the Queen is broken while the other two women are watching the child. A woman attendant holds a long palm branch resembled the cornucopia of the city goddess. The palanquin of the Queen is led by a horseman and carried by four figures. One thing is very observable that the figure on the right side of the sculpture looks like a woman from her outlook because she wears ornaments and her facial features are also indicating her gender. She is also depicted in the company of men to carry the chariot of the royal lady. A tall male figure is standing beside the palanquin, most probably King Śuddhodana while the palanquin is carried by a horseman. The decoration of the palanquin symbolizes the significance of the event and the mother and the child.

Another attractive sculpture (Fig 37) described between two Corinthian pilasters is characterizing the same theme. The presence of Queen and child is shown in a close chariot conceded by two men. This is very simple sculpture but the main theme is quite apparent. A horse man is leading the palanquin towards the native home of Bodhisattva. Sehrai stated that the palanquin appeared itself because it was not potential of any human to make such palanquin. King just ordered to beautify the roads and singing men and women attended the Prince and Queen on their return to Kapilvastu (Sehrai 1988: 26). The depiction of the palanquin for mother in the scene highlighted the position of wife and mother in the society.

Fig 38 is divided into three registers. The return to Kapilvastu is depicted at both ends, on right and left side. While in the middle of the sculpture the birth of Bodhisattva is carved in an attractive manner. The return to Kapilvastu is portrayed in the same manner as mentioned in the figure two which depicts respect and veneration of King for his wife and love and care for his child. All these sculptures portrayed the figure of Queen as a very worthy and noble member of the society. She enjoyed this status not only as a mother but as a wife as well. According to the

sacred texts and Gandhāra art the attitude of King Śuddhodana towards his wives is very tolerant, tender and considerate (the *Lalitavistara*: 125-126, Bays). He fulfilled the desires and needs of Queen Māyā before the birth of his child which indicates the proper status of a wife in the Gandhāran society. In this episode he is giving appropriate admiration and veneration to his second wife Queen Prajāpatī.

Fig 39 is divided by the depiction of a female figure. She stands under the *Sāla* tree and holds a long spear in her hand. The palanquin is shown with a beaded outline. Queen is carved in European style holding her baby on her lap. She sits gallantry and looking at her front which indicates her confident attitude. The most interesting element of this sculpture is that the palanquin is carried by three women not by men. Their style shows that they are performing this service with pride and happiness not with the feeling of burden. Apart from this the chariot is also led by another woman instead of a horseman. In this episode women are performing all roles and duties like dream and birth episode. We have a common belief of women that they are delicate ones but here we can see that they are performing physically very tough job of carrying the palanquin with full control and supremacy.

In fig 40 the chariot is covered from all sides for the safety of the child and his mother. The chariot is drawn by two lions the bravest and the kings of all beasts in the world. The chariot was specifically prepared for Queen. So it might be possible that other women were not allowed to sit equal to the Queen in the same chariot. It also denotes the prestigious status of queen as mother in Gandhāra art. Queen sits alone in the chariot and it is driven by a horseman with knee length tunic and trouser. He is walking ahead the lions, looking behind at the chariot may be advising something because his one arm is raised in the direction of the chariot. The shallow Corinthian capitals, a plinth and torus base is shown in the framed columns. This style was rich in Roman architecture (Audsley 1881: 163) and later adopted in Gandhāra art.

From the above discussed Gandhāran sculptures we come to know the status of Queen Prajāpatī as the mother of Bodhisattva. She is depicted in the central position among other women. She is enjoying the same position and prestige as Queen Māyā enjoyed being mother and beloved wife. In the birth episode she is not given such status due to her lower position because at that time the biological mother of Bodhisattva was present. In birth episode she is depicted only as helping figure for her sister but in this episode she is portrayed as a principal figure in a distinct position.

From these instances it is quite easy to examine the status of woman as mother and wife in the Gandhāran society.

4.7 The role and status of women at the event of the horoscope of Bodhisattva and presence of Queen as his mother on this auspicious occasion:

This episode is related to the horoscope of the Bodhisattva. For this objective king Śuddhodana called the astrologists to predict the future of new born child. It was an old tradition since early historic time people believe that the movements of the heavenly bodies affect their daily life. When Queen returned to *Kapilvastu* with his son at this moment King Śuddhodana ordered all the astrologers and soothsayers at palace to cast his horoscope and suggest the name of the child. The king wanted them to make a true prophecy of his child's destiny (the *Lalitavastara*: 150, Bays).

The author of the *Mahāvastu* says the Brahman sage Asita who is renowned in heaven also was the witness of quaking of the earth and the great radiance. He heard divine sounds of songs and music and saw celestial showers of flowers raining down and thousands of *kotis devas* and *apsaras* carrying garlands and perfumes in the path at the time of the birth of Bodhisattva. He was waiting for the proper time and place to see the boy when he gets sure. He reached the door of the palace at *Kapilvastu* through the air by his magic power. The Sage got respect and honour by King Śuddhodana. On seeing him King rose up and greeted him. The Sage examined the thirty- two marks of great man on the boy's body. The sage reported to the King "This boy will not become a universal king, he will become a Buddha in the world, he will preach the *Dharma* which confers calmness which is noble and leads to *Nirvana*", (the *Mahāvastu* vol. II: 27-30, Jones; the *Lalitavistara*: 151-153, Bays). As stated above, before the sage Asita, the prediction of the future of the boy was also interpreted by Brahman in the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā. But now it is confirmed that he will not become a universal monarch but he will become the saviour of this universe

The royal couple believed on the prediction of the sage Asita because the astrology in India is considered a sacred tradition. Sivapriyananda stated, "The astrology originated from the gods, Brahma, the cosmic creator and he was the first to propagate astrology", (Sivapriyananda 1990: 14). From this statement it is clear that, there is a close connection between religion and astrology. Thus, there is no distrust on the prediction of sage Asita. Later these predictions come true when Bodhisattva renounced the palace life and went to the forest in search of eternal peace and

happiness. Mostly people make prediction after the birth of the child about his/her destiny and seek prediction before they start any work whether it will be good or profitable for them or not. Even before marriage they take help of some sage who predict the future life of the couple. This important historical event is carved by the artisans with same central theme in which King Śuddhodana is portrayed with his Queen. The sculptures of this episode characterize the real picture of the status of mother particularly in the royal family and will help us understand the status of mother in Gandhāran society. Aside from in the light of these figures we can examine the position of woman as a mother in the family affairs and domestic relationship.

Fig 41 presents the episode of the horoscope in a very attractive way. The first three under discussion panels are carved in a well-organized sequence. In the first panel, after the return to *Lumbinī* gardens, the sage Asita came to the royal palace to see the boy. At his arrival King commanded the courtiers to bring the boy to the sage (the *Lalitavistara*: 152, Bays). In this scene a woman holds the boy in a soft blanket. If we consider the statement of Foucher correct, then the woman carrying the child is probably Māyā's sister Mahāpajāpatī; the foster mother of Siddhārtha. However, as stated above that Māyā died soon after the birth of the child so the standing figure might be any royal attendant because Prajāpatī is now mother and she is shown beside King Śuddhodana on the same seat in a European style. The faces of all main figures except the sage Asita are damaged so we are unable to identify their expressions.

Two women attendants are portrayed in the background of the scene; one is depicted behind the Queen while other one behind the sage. The King, Queen and the woman who is holding the child wear the heavy necklaces and anklets. Prajāpatī holds a specific position among the Gandhāran women whether she is depicted religiously or socially. There are many episodes of Buddha's life which are incomplete without the depiction of Prajāpatī. After Queen Māyā's death Prajāpatī is the second most eminent lady in the life of the Buddha.

The next fig 42 is the extension of the previous one. This is very attractive and rich sculpture due to its composition. In this sculpture woman is giving child to the sage Asita. Both are watching at child with care and admiration. Sage is keeping the child in his lap. Queen and King are shown on same decorated royal seat and placed their feet on foot stool for ease and comfort. Both raised their right hand in happiness and contentment. The feelings of pleasure and pride are apparent on their faces. The sage is carved on a separate cushioned seat that is lesser adored and comfortable. This gesture of happiness is resembled with the reaction of the royal couple after

the interpretation of the dream of Queen Māyā. The lady who holds baby during this time wears a European style body fitted tunic and paridhana and knotted her hair. The royal attendant presents here to look after the Queen and the baby that is a sign of respect and esteem for mother in Buddhist society., which shows her royal status, and honour that King preferred her in all matters related to her child. The Sage Asita; an honourable and renowned person is depicted at an ordinary seat while Queen is enjoying equal status as King Śuddhodana. From this we can assume that Queen's opinion was given importance in all matters of King's life and his family decisions. These sculptures symbolize the real image of the society, because wife is a better half of her husband and she enjoyed a respectable position in decision making regarding her family and children. In this sculpture all the figures are sitting in European manner (Ingholt:1957: 54) and indicates the foreign influence on Gandhāra art.

Fig 43 is the continuation of the previous one. In this illustration the child sits on the lap of Sage Asita instead of the attendant. The royal couple and the sage all are seated in the European style. It shows their different status and royalty. The royal couple portrayed in calm mood placed their feet on the footstools while the Sage sits without any foot stool. Although the sage was considered highly respectable person but in the sculptures we can see that the sage is seated at the lower position as compare to King and Queen. It might also signifies his humbleness and modesty because Gandhāra portrays the real image of the way of life of that time. To the left side of the sculpture the first day of school of Siddhārtha is portrayed. This sculpture also represents the kind attitude of love and affection of husband for his wife.

The royal couple is portrayed under canopies in fig 44. King is depicted in a royal manner resting his arms on his both knees while Queen sits beside him. She holds her necklace with her right hand. Both of them listen to the future of Prince very attentively. Their facial expressions show their informal attitude and conversational style. Sage sits in a separate cabin holding child on his lap. He sits in crossed legs style, watching the child prudently and telling his future to the royal couple. A female guard stands on the right side of the sculpture. Two female busts are also shown at the upper portion of the scene. May be they are also royal attendants but perform some other duties in the palace. They are watching the prediction of Asita for the future of the Prince. Fig 45 is quite different sculpture from other under discussion figures. The main figures are portrayed in same row under a canopy. King Śuddhodana sits in the middle and the upper position. Two long pillars of his royal seat are very plainly visible in the background. On his right

Queen is shown in similar style on a small and lower seat. Two female Greek guards stand on both ends of the sculpture. They are shown like Māyās guards in dream episode holding spears in their hands. They wear Greek dresses, knee length tunic and body fitted trousers. They are watching keenly downwards. This gesture represents their obedience for their master and mistress. The couple of female are also depicted in the gallery on both sides. It shows that the horoscope of the Prince was held in the female chamber or in the royal harem of the King because except King sage Asita and his nephew no other royal man or male servant is depicted in this episode.

The fig 46 is broken at both sides but the middle theme is quite visible. The sage is seated on their left and he is construing the meaning of the thirty-two marks on the body of the child. This is very charming sculpture due to the sitting style of the royal couple. The Queen is seated on the right side of the King. She is slightly turned towards her right side but listens to the sage while the king is intensely watching at the sage and listening him. In this sculpture King is resting his left arm on the right shoulder of his wife Queen Prajāpatī, this gesture of King towards his wife shows his affection, adoration, respect and admiration for his wife. This sitting posture also symbolizes the frankness and love between husband and wife. Such kinds of examples are very rare in the Buddhist literature but the Buddhist art represents a very true example of the status of wife in the life of his husband. On the right side of the sculpture two female guards are busy in conversation while on the left the great departure scene is visible.

In fig 47 four main figures of the episode are depicted. All are seated on their usual position. The difference in this sculpture is the depiction of the bunch of flowers in the right hand of the Queen. While the King is busy in conversation with the sage. One other element is also very interesting that the sage placed her hand on the head of the boy while all the other character like Queen, King and two attendants behind them are amazingly looking at the sage and the boy. Perhaps the sage is crying because it is mentioned in the text that after the prediction of the future of the child sage expressed his mourning that he will not be able to listen the teaching of the Buddha because of his old age (the *Lalitavistara*: 153-154, Bays). This sculpture is presenting the same situation in this scene.

In the above mentioned episodes only the royal ladies are shown on prominent place due to their motherhood. The other women are portrayed on lower positions in various roles and services. Therefore, we can notice it is an ancient tradition of the society that women are

appointed on such jobs and roles. We cannot see any woman performing some prominent service in the whole series. They can be seen presenting inferior tasks and services in the royal harem and in the life of Bodhisattva. They are depicted in a secondary role at every place except their mistresses. The majestic attendants are abundantly portrayed in Gandhāra art offering such kind of sacred duties. This shows that women were not only considered important for domestic purpose but also performed prodigious services for these great events of the life of the Bodhisattva. These episodes indicate the courage and integrity of women. Mostly men are considered worthy to perform such services and women are considered delicate but in Buddhist society they are granted this privilege to perform these pious duties. Briefly, women were appointed in the royal harem for such kind of services till the Mughalera.

From the birth till the death of Buddha women are being portrayed performing different activities and duties regarding different phases of his life. It is utterly possible that women were considered appropriate for homely kind of job such as entertainers and guards, thus they can perform all their responsibilities within the premises of the palace. There also exists the possibility that due to the conservative society women were not allowed to perform job outside the premises and only men were thought capable of doing tough and superior duties. Apart from these roles according to the *Lalitavistara*, women are also appointed to serve Bodhisattva, e.g. thirty-two nurses were chosen to serve him; eight nurses to carry him, eight to suckle him, eight to bath him, and eight to play with him (the *Lalitavistara*: 150, Bays). On the event of the birth of Buddha women were given respect to perform all the services but even after birth women were granted with the honour to nurture, accompany and take care of the baby who is the future Buddha. That was a matter of great honour and high status in the Indian society for women.

Beside all textual contradictions and variations, the sculptures of Gandhāra art represent same theme and the identical role and status of women but are different from each other in their style and technique. As Mustamandy stated; Gandhāra art shows multiform local stylistic variations which are a result of acceptance of the Greco-Bactrian style by the local artists at different regions. The Indic deities are found with deities of the Greek origin including Herakles, Tyche and Dionysos, Silenos, the Centaur, Harpocrates and Athena at different sites of Gandhāra during excavations (Mustamandy 1997: 18). Similar description is stated by Stavisky (1998: 37), on behalf of the data collected from the entire Buddhist monuments of the town site of old Termez the sculptures are different from each other due to the local priorities during Kushan Empire.

However, the similarities are there in the basic theme of the legend due to religious beliefs and the development of the art under one dynasty and due to the common perception and practice or due to the local demand of the people.

According to the above observation two women are appreciated and cherished due to their higher status as a mother of Bodhisattva because they were not ordinary women. The second important element of their respect and admiration is their social background; they belonged to the royal family and married into a royal family. Therefore, it is clear they are not well-treated due to their womanhood but due to their motherhood of the holy man. Queen Māyā appreciated and adored with full decency and deference in almost all the above mentioned sculptures as a mother of Bodhisattva and elder Queen of King Śuddhodana. Queen Prajāpatī is the second most important character of these episodes. Due to her loving role as a sister of Queen Māyā and as an aunt and foster mother of Bodhisattva her services are sincerely appreciated in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Queen Prajāpatī not only performed her social role with integrity and reliability but her religious role and status is also unavoidable in the Buddhist society. Mahāpajāpatī was the first Buddhist nun. She became the source of conversion of many other women in the Sangha. Due to her respect as foster mother of the Buddha and the wife of King Śuddhodana her name has been mentioned in the mythologized version. Apart from their ascribed status we can also observe the achieved status of these holy women in Gandhāra art. Both royal ladies had played a magnificent job as a mother and as a wife. Queen Māyā has sacrificed all her carnal and worldly desires to reach the status of mother of the Buddha and Prajāpatī had nurtured Buddha to the best of her abilities and made him able to reach the peak of enlightenment. For that sake Gandhāran artist had treated them like the goddesses. Prajāpatī played the role of a sister and a mother very well but religiously we cannot ignore her services too, due to her, women also got a prominent position in religion.

The most important feature of her personality beside her social role and status, she was also praised for the long standing as the first bhikṣuṇī after the death of her husband King Śuddhodana. She had shaved her head like Indian widows and put a monastic robe with several royal house women, travelled on foot from Kapilvastu to Vaisali where Buddha was staying at that time. He is not in favour of women to become a part of religious life but with the intervention of Ananda in favour of women (Kurita vol. II 2003: fig. 468) he granted permission to women to join the religious life but under eight severe rules of the religious life (Foucher 2003: 198-199). Kabilsingh

(1998) writes, according to Tripatika, the most important primary source did not provide any reason of not allowing women to join the order. Buddha was not allowing his foster mother because she was a Queen and spends a life of comfort. Buddha was also criticized for breaking up families by ordaining the husbands and wives. The participation of five hundred Sakiyanies to beordained would definitely affect the status quo. This credit goes to Mahāpajāpatī that woman got equal religious grounds because men and women got equal potential to achieve spiritualenlightenment.

But at the same time Buddha scolded “if women not gained admission in to the order, religious life have lasted for a long time, now good law could lasted only for five hundred years instead of thousand years”. At the time of death Buddha advised Ananda in the response of his question regarding women, Buddha replied, “stay away from women you should not look towards women, neither talk to them” (Foucher 2003: 198-99). According to Kabilsingh (1998) if it is true, it might be possible that this instruction was only for Ananda because he was good looking and had attractive personality and once he almost lost himself to seducing women but Buddha intervened and saved him. However, scholars have different opinion regarding the admission of women in Sangha and response of Buddha but all are agreed that women got permission to join Sangha due to Mahāpajāpatī.

48 The role and status of Queen Yaśodharā as wife of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha:

After queen Māyā and Prajāpatī, Yaśodharā is the third most important female character of the Buddha’s life. The life story of the Buddha can never be completed without the depiction of Yaśodharā. Buddha had spent very less but beautiful and memorable time with Yaśodharā and Gandhāra art had depicted this time with full care and appropriate manner. Women enjoyed a more respectable place in the Indian society during the life time of Buddha and under the reign of the great King Aśoka as associated to Hinduism and Brahmanism. As a wife she is considered as husband’s better half and custodian in time-based and divine affairs than a mere domestic worker.

At the time of marriage of Yaśodharā and Siddhārtha the polygamy system of marriage was prevalent in the society. Marriage is considered sacred and religious duty. The institution of marriage existed from early historic times. Before Buddhism the various sorts of marriages were prevalent in the Indian society as discussed in chapter three. Most popular were polygamy and polyandry marriages. The Buddhist society was monogamous, at that time people do not like the

idea of several wives so the polygamy was incredible among people (Indra 1955: 183-195). Early marriages of the son or daughter when they reach the age of puberty were common tradition among Indians from early historic times. Foucher stated that according to the tradition when Bodhisattva grew up and reached near sixteen the age of the early marriage, it was time to find a lady for him. According to the future forecast of sage Asita for prince Siddhārtha, King Śuddhodana assumed if the prince is married and bounded by women, he will not leave his family. In this way the chain of *Cakravartin* kings will be maintained (Foucher 2003: 58). Accordingly, he decided that it is a best time to settle the Prince in married life. The selection of a bride for the Prince was the foremost assignment for the ministers of King Śuddhodana.

The *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* mentioned two different stories in this regard. It is stated in the *Lalitavistara*, when ministers asked Bodhisattva about his desire for marriage Bodhisattva remembered that all the prior sensible Bodhisattvas were married and lived with a wife and had a son. But instead of all these, they were not disturbed by craving, nor did they turn from the pleasures of meditation. So Bodhisattva Siddhārtha will too follow this example. Bodhisattva wanted an ideal woman to marry. She must be modest and very pure in birth, family and lineage, having good conduct, charitable, without pride, bitterness, cunningness and jealousy, and she must be young and beautiful. She must also be a good daughter-in-law and mistress for her slaves. King Śuddhodana, ordered the Brahman to find out the young woman with these qualities from one end of the Kapilvastu to the other. No matter she is daughter of a Kshatriya, a Brahman, a Vaisya or a Sudra. The King was not anxious about the cast and creed of the woman for his son. While on the other hand the Prince in his discussion with councillor strains for a perfect purity of birth, race and family. King Śuddhodana explained my son cares nothing about race and family. But the real abilities and merits are the source of his pleasure and delight. The Brahman went to the great city of the Kapilvastu, with the demand of the Prince find the Gopa⁵. She was young gracious woman, daughter of the Sakaya Dandapani (the *Lalitavistara*: 212-215, Bays). She resembled to Siddhārtha's feminine ideal. The same legend of the selection of the

⁵ In the text three names of the wife of the Siddhārtha are found. The Abhinishkraman sutrs mentioned three names of wife of Bodhisattva, Yaśodharā, Manodara and Gotmi. In the *Lalitavistara* Yaśodharā and Gopa are misperceived (the *Lalitavistara*: 96, Bays). The Chinese memoir at the end of the Shan-men-yih-tung also mentioned three names Gotami, Yaśodharā and Mrigadava. Burnouf also quoted three names i.e. Yaśodharā, Gotami and Utpalvarana

bride appears in the *Mahāvastu*, but the name of the woman is Yaśodharā,⁶ the daughter of the noble Śākya Mahanama.

According to the *Mahāvastu* Bodhisattva himself selected Yaśodharā from the event of the distribution of ornaments for all young women of Kapilvastu. This event was arranged by his father King Śuddhodana for the convenience of his son in the selection of a best bride for himself. Yaśodharā, the daughter of the Śākya Mahanama reached at the last when all the precious jewels were distributed. When the young Prince saw the Yaśodharā, he could not put away his gaze from her. The Prince took off his costly necklace, his finger- ring, which worth hundred-thousand piece and offered it to Yaśodharā. Yaśodharā smiled at this act of Prince. When Prince went to the palace the King asked his ministers about the distribution of ornaments. He told the King about the Śākya daughter Yaśodharā and the whole story of Prince who offered his necklace and ring to Yaśodharā (the *Mahāvastu*: vol.II: 42-70, Jones; Beal 1875: 80). King Śuddhodana sent a message to Yaśodharā's father and admitted the offer to marry her daughter to his son Siddhārtha. The father of Yaśodharā refused the proposal because Siddhārtha has grown up among women. Secondly he was not advanced in the arts of archery, elephant riding, and handling bow and sword services (the *Lalitavistara*: 218, Bays). King Śuddhodana become hurt at his rejection and shared his demand with his son Siddhārtha. On hearing this the young Prince asked his father to announce a tournament on the seventh day and call all the person who are skilled in the knowledge of the archery arts, fighting, boxing, cutting, stabbing, speech, feat of strength, use of elephant, horses, chariots, bows, spears or in argument. In this context the young Prince took it as a task and fought many rivalries and he won them all. In this way he got married with Yaśodharā (the *Mahāvastu* vol II: 71, Jones; the *Lalitavistara*: 219-238, Bays; Foucher 2003: 60).

The above discussed text represents the higher status of a woman as a daughter in the Buddhist society. It was not easy for man of that time to marry a woman of his own choice. Prince Siddhārtha belonged to a reputable and powerful clan even then he went to many mental and material exercises to gain Yaśodharā as his wife. At the end when he had won all the competitions then their marriage was decided because he proved his valour and bravery and now he deserves to get married with Princesses Yaśodharā. Then prince at the fortune day had sent various kinds

6

of precious jewels and expensive ornaments to Yaśodharā, and she was tenderly greeted by five hundred dancing women came to the palace of the prince as the Gatha says.

Yaśodharā the daughter of the great minister,
Whose fame was known in every land
Selecting a fortune day for her marriage,
Approached and entered with in the royal precinct',
And afford the prince every sort of pleasure,
Even as Kusika, the lord of Heaven,
Enjoys the company of Sasi his queen (Beal 1875: 92).

The third line stated that Yaśodharā herself selected the day of her marriage. It also represents her status in both families; in the family of her father and her husband as well. She adored as daughter and as daughter in law because it is not possible even in modern times that woman herself decides the day of her marriage in the conservative societies. However, in Indian society not only men but women also enjoyed their right of self-choice in the matter of marriage from early historic times. This shows the independence of women in the selection of her husband as Yaśodharā selected her husband in a *toṛṇāment*. This identifies that women participated in the fairs and festivals with their family members. In the Vedic age (as mentioned in chapter three) women have right of self-choice in the matter of marriage and they also attended the *sabhas* or assembly of the learned one in the company of their husbands (Gupta 2009: 68). The willingness of Yaśodharā for her marriage with Prince Siddhārtha shows the same status of women in the Gandhāran society. The art of Gandhāra represents the true picture of this social status of the women in society. Yaśodharā was the third important woman in the life of Bodhisattva as his wife. After the prediction of the Sage Asita, King Śuddhodana always kept him surrounded by women to provide him delight.

A similar legend of winning love for the sake of marriage is also narrated by Faxian. He told a story of a boy who loved a girl a lot. But the girl kept a condition that if the boy will bring her a tricoloured flower from a high mountain only then she will marry him. The boy went to the mountain and brought the flower to his real love and got married to her. (Shoai 2002: 45). The marriage theme of the Prince Siddhārtha and Princess Yaśodharā is not very exceptional in Gandhāra art and other school of Indian sculptures. But instead of that it was an interesting subject and we cannot ignore its importance because it was a start of the new life of the Prince Siddhārtha and Princess Yaśodharā. This episode also represents the custom of marriage in the

Indian society and the status of women as a wife in this society. Yaśodharā was one of the seven treasures of the Prince Siddhārtha as well so she was born for the Prince, as it is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*, she was radiant and well proportioned, beautiful, pleasing to the eyes and not desired for any other than the Prince Siddhārtha (the *Lalitavistara*: 217, Bays). In the light of the Gandhāran sculptures we can examine these five modes in the marital life of Buddha with Yaśodharā.

49 The role and status of women in the episode of royal chaplain introduces Yaśodharā to Siddhārtha as depicted in Gandhāra art:

It is a religious tradition of the Indian society that marriage ceremonies are conducted in the presence of the chaplain. It was a marriage between two royal families. Therefore, all the marital matters were decided in the presence of chaplain. In fig 48 Brahman is depicted in the middle of the royal couple. He is an old man with beard and his head is covered with turban, wearing a full dress with rippling folds but his right shoulder is bare. He stands in a very relaxed mood looking at Prince Siddhārtha and explaining something to him. On the right side of the Brahman Prince Siddhārtha is depicted in a heroic size. The Prince and the Brahman both are portrayed in the same posture, with left hand placed on the waist. The prince Siddhārtha wears *uttarīya*; the traditional Indian dress with regular and ribbed pattern and his scarf is rendered from his left shoulder. He is also adorned with ornaments e.g. *vaksha hara* and *patra kundala*. Princesses Yaśodharā depicted on the left side of the Brahman.

She is dressed very beautifully on this auspicious occasion. Her dress is made of thin cloth, the upper garment is almost transparent, but the lower part of the body is covered with tight trouser (*pajama*). She is adorned with precious ornaments beaded *kati sutra*, *karna kundala*, *vaksha hara*, *kan kana*, and *nupura* and besides a heavily jewelled *sirobhushana*, having feather on the top, which reflects her royal status. This headdress is not very common in Gandhāra art. It means the members of the royal families wear such headdresses on some special occasions. There is another female figure standing with a water pot in her hand wearing simple dress, headdress and wearing no ornaments. She may be a servant in the royal house present here for the services of the royal couple. On the top of the sculpture some celestial figures are presented with different postures. One standing with his back to the viewers and other two are carved in *Añjalimudrā* posture, paying tribute to the royal couple.

Fig 49 is carved with same theme and with same figures. However, Prince Siddhārtha is taller than all other figures. He wears a smooth *uttarīya* and scarf is hanging on his left shoulder. He is also bedecked with ornaments⁷ and a precious decorated *sirobhushana*. Above it a round canopy and a *halo* is carved behind his head which symbolizes his holiness. All these symbols imitate his higher status. In this sculpture his face and features are very prominent. The bride Yaśodharā's face is not clear. She wears only a lower garment with curvy pattern but the upper part of the body is naked. Yaśodharā with a high loops hair style is touching the feet of the Prince in adoration and Prince is giving approved gesture with raised hands. It is a common Indian tradition that women touch the feet of their husbands in respect and veneration in Hindi language it is called *Aisharvaad*. This sculpture represents the distinctive Indian custom and practice. Here in this sculpture some other women are portrayed on the left side of the Siddhārtha, holding flowers in their hands and looking at the Prince. Most probably they are the members of the Siddhārtha's harem. On the right side of the scene chaplain and his wife are carved. His wife is portrayed in the gesture of astonishment like city goddess (in birth and great departure episode) and god Brahma (in birth episode) are portrayed in Gandhāra art. On the left side Devadatta the second candidate who wanted to marry with Yaśodharā is portrayed in a depressed mood. The characters of this scene are beautifully describing the legend of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā's marriage. With the help of these figures one can easily understand the background story of this marriage. The artist made this sculpture with aptitude and intellect.

Fig 51 is divided into three registers. The theme of the upper part is not clear but in the middle register Buddha is seated on a stool in meditation and worshippers are depicted on both sides. Royal Chaplain introduced Yaśodharā to Prince Siddhārtha. Siddhārtha stands in the middle in a very stylish and modish way. One can easily identify him from his standing position. Royal Chaplain is carved on Siddhārtha's left. His right hand is in raised position while in left hand he holds a hand of a woman. She depicts in *tribangha* posture but the upper part of her body is not clear. On the left side three other women are shown. One is portrayed very near to Prince

⁷ Prince Siddhārtha is always adorned with heavy ornaments, the *Lalitavistara*, chapter IX it says king Śuddhodana had five hundred sets of jewelry made by five hundred Śākya, ornaments for the hands, the feet, the head, neck, seal rings, earrings, bracelets for the upper arm, belts of gold, golden cloth, net of bells and pearls, shoes ornamented with jewels, decorated scarves with precious stones, golden bracelets, necklaces and diadems were made for the prince, that are depicted in almost all the episodes till the Great departure he take off his jewelry (the *Lalitavistara* Chp IX, Bays).

and placed her arm on the side of the wall for support. Two of them are standing in cross legs style however the middle one stands straight but her face is damaged. Devadatta is depicted on a stool with cross legs posture in unhappy and hopeless mood. All of them are watching amusingly at the Prince. Their gestures show they are happy and enjoying the engagement ceremony.

The four treasures of Bodhisattva are shown together in fig 51 i.e. Chandaka, Kantaka, Vajrapāṇi and Yaśodharā. Chandaka, Kantaka and Vajrapāṇi are depicted in the back row and looking profoundly and humbly at Bodhisattva. Yaśodharā is portrayed in a reverent manner; she is seated on her knee and touching his feet but watching at her right, while Bodhisattva is shown in reassurance gesture which shows he accepted her as his wife. A bearded Chaplain stands near to Bodhisattva watching him with raised hand which indicates they are talking to each other. Two small size women figures are portrayed on both sides in identical *tribanḡha* posture. They wear *paridhana* and ornaments like necklace, earrings, anklets and turban like headdress. The depiction of Yaśodharā in this posture represents her obedience, loyalty and love for her husband.

Fig 52 also represents the same theme with similar figures. In this scene twelve figures are portrayed, six on each side of Bodhisattva. Apart from Bodhisattva another divine being is also shown with a *halo* in *Añjalimudrā*. The raised hand of the royal chaplain represents he is declaring the acceptance of the proposal of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā because his hand gesture is indicating his happiness. Siddhārtha stands in his identical posture. However, Yaśodharā is seated on her knee and touching the right foot of her husband. She profoundly looks at his feet that are representing her true spirit of veneration for her husband. Her facial expressions are quite visible. Apart from Yaśodharā, two other women are also shown in standing position. One wears *uttarīya* and the other one wears tunic with *paridhana* and adorned with ornaments. The expressions of all the figures are similar which shows they are listening some important message by the royal chaplain.

The depiction of Yaśodharā at this occasion signifies her respect and esteem. This also represents the social values of Gandhāran society that they consider woman will and wish before her marriage. In these sculptures prince is shown very tall like Hercules and given a lot of coverage, while Yaśodharā shown very small as compared to Prince. In fig 49 she is so much at the side, that it is unable to identify her as a bride. It might be possible that in the eyes of the artist the depiction of bride is just a formality or it is also possible that the society did not like the proper depiction of woman or bride on such occasions but in this sculpture she is depicted in

small size but in the middle and very near to the Prince. Her standing style represents her frankness and outspokenness with her future husband because she is portrayed in conversational mode with the Prince. Some heavenly beings are also shown in the background celebrating this occasion. This sculpture is beautifully narrating the engagement ceremony and the position of bride in the society. No other women except Yaśodharā is portrayed in this gesture of candour with Siddhārtha in Gandhāra art, therefore, it describes the status of wife in the society.

4.10 The role and status of Yaśodharā at the eve of her marriage and its depiction in

Gandhāran art:

The marriage of the Prince Siddhārtha was the happiest event for the royal family. This event is considered as another significant subject of Gandhāra art. This scene is depicted by various artists with great kindness and compassion for the Siddhārtha and his Princess Yaśodharā. The basic theme of this episode is narrated according to the traditions of the Indian society. The marriage episode is carved with minor differences but with great enthusiasm. These sculptures represent the true reflection of the Indian society. There are various figures in this episode, busy in different activities which show the real image of the marriage. The main figures in this episode; are Prince Siddhārtha, Princess Yaśodharā and King Śuddhodana, father of Yaśodharā or Gopa, *chowry* bearers, dancers and musicians. However, in all the episodes, the royal couple seems to be at some prominent place and status in the middle of this section.

The marriage ceremony is depicted according to the Indian custom because without the holy fire and holy water marriage is not finalized. Authors have different opinions regarding this matter. Mahadeva Sastri writes about this ritual in the following way, ‘marriage is complete with the *Sapta-Padi*, the ritual which has the bridegroom holding the hand of the bride and walking seven steps together, advising to unite their oaths and ambitions in life and setting a seal upon the proposal by an appeal to the Gods, appealing their blessings on the proposed union (Sastri 1918: 41). Similar description is narrated by Manu (VIII, 227) that “the Mantras of *Pani-grahana* (the seizing of the hand) are the trustworthy mark of wifehood. Let the learned know that *mantras* are complete on stepping the seventh step. This ceremony takes place on the first day of the marriage and it is said in some *Smritis* that by this ceremony the girl becomes one with the husband in *Gotra* and *Pinda*. Thus, according to Manu it is the mutual contact of joint action in

all concerns of human life and attested by the Gods raised at the time, which organizes the attached promise of marriage.

In Gandhāran sculptures the depiction of the holy fire and sprinkling of the holy water is also shown to represent the real appearance of the marriage. Beside these figures there is the depiction of several figures mostly women engaged in dancing, playing musical instruments, serving the royal couple as attendants or guards and engaged in some kinds of joyful activities. There are very few stories describing the marriage ritual of Prince Siddhārtha and Princess Yaśodharā. Some stated it took place at bride's residence and after that Prince Siddhārtha took away the bride to his own home. In the light of the Gandhāran sculptures we will attempt to examine the real particulars about the marriage ceremony of Prince Siddhārtha and Princess Yaśodharā.

The marriage of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā is depicted in Gandhāra art by various artists in different regions. All the essential rituals of marriage ceremony are represented in the sculptures of the Gandhāra art. Fig 53 represents the last but main part of the Indian marriage. As Foucher has correctly stated the two essential rites of the marriage ceremony, the joining of hands and the triple circling around the fire by the bride and groom and this last scene is represented on the base-relief of Gandhāra in a traditional way (Foucher 2002: 63). In this sculpture, Prince Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā stand near the holy fire with join hands, ready for triple or seven circles around the *agani* which is the major part of the marriage ceremony. Yaśodharā wears a sari like garments, a nice head dress, earrings and necklace, while Siddhārtha's whole body and head is covered with a single rippling garment. Siddhārtha holds Yaśodharā's right hand in his hands over the holy fire. This posture shows his feelings and respect for his wife because his style is very respectful and venerable towards her.

Another small figure is visible between Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā watching all the ceremony with care and attention. He is most probably Yaśodharā's father because in Indian tradition, father or brother of the bride gives her hand to the groom in Hindi language it is called *kanya-dhan*. He stands behind the couple for this purpose. On the left side of Yaśodharā her attendant is carved looking like a train bearer. King Śuddhodana is also present here to the right side of the Prince, adorned in the royal dress. The water pot is lying in front of the couple definitely contained water, which is used by the father or brother of the bridal to seal the transfer of the bride with his groom from her father's house to her husband's house.

In fig 54 marriage ceremony is depicted almost in same Indian manner, but the main difference between these two sculptures is very important. Here king Śuddhodana and the father of Yaśodharā are not depicted. Princess Yaśodharā is looking at Siddhārtha with affection and the smile of the Prince Siddhārtha is very visible here. The sign of *halo* is very visible behind the Siddhārtha which signifies him being blessed. He wears a crested turban earrings and *Uttarīya* with *paridhana*, holding his bride hand while other is resting on his waist. The jewellery of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha which includes the turban pins belonging to the end of the Saka Parthian period (Rowland 1953: 146). Yaśodharā wears a long tunic with a draped over garment which is covering her head. She is adorned with traditional Indian ornaments. They make a strong commitment that they should not leave each other and they promise to be each other's companion for seven births and lives and they will be partner in every happiness and grief. Apart from Yaśodharā, a woman is standing behind the Yaśodharā. She stands there for the services of the Yaśodharā that is visible from her attitude, she holds the bride's upper garment in right hand and fly-whisk is also visible in her left hand. The Brahman is present on the left side of Siddhārtha here because in his absence the ritual of the marriage ceremony is not possible. He holds a *homa* spoon in joined hands and adding holy water on fire. A small seated figure is putting sacred water on the fire from the two globular water pots. In the scene of the marriage ceremony Yaśodharā is equally depicted with her husband. She is appreciated in appropriate manners as a wife of the Prince.

In fig 55 two other figures are also visible behind prince for his support and care. One is holding umbrella in his hand for his comfort and relief. The big sign of *halo* is also visible in the background. On the other side Yaśodharā is portrayed in a very obedient and cautious gesture. Two other women are also standing with bended knee behind Yaśodharā. They hold the veil of the bride. The presence of female attendants shows that women were commonly used for such services from ages that are much noticeable in Gandhāra art. This is very simple sculpture, only bride and groom and their attendants are present at the occasion.

In another under discussion sculpture fig 56 the royal couple is portrayed in walking position. It shows they are taking seven circles around the holy fire. They hold their right hands and in the left hand prince hold a large piece of cloth. The sculpture is damaged in the middle so the dress and other accessories of princess Yaśodharā are not visible. Two female attendants are depicted in their specific position performing their job. In this sculpture two royal figures are also

shown in the background watching the marriage ceremony. Most probably they are King Śuddhodana and Queen Prajāpatī. In all the under discussion sculptures, Yaśodharā is depicted as middle figure of the episode and depicted with full eagerness and passion by the artists.

The bridal procession of Yaśodharā and Siddhārtha is depicted beautifully. In fig 57 the palanquin of Yaśodharā is carried by four men towards the palace of King Śuddhodana. Two other men are also standing in front of palanquin. They are busy in conversation; one is holding two small boxes under his right arm while other is carrying a bow in his hand. They are wearing different dresses. Their dresses are better than those who are carrying palanquin. It shows their better social status. One man is sitting in front of palanquin. It might be possible that he is leading the procession. In this sculpture bride is not visible in the whole scene but the presence of palanquin shows her respect and reverence. This scene also resembled the sculpture narrating the story of return of Queen and his son to Kapilvastu. In that scene Palanquin was carried by four women instead of men. In that scene Queen Prajāpatī returned to palace with his son in same manner and protocol. It is a common practice of the Indian society to bring the bride to her new home with such a protocol and it was also practiced in the Gandhāra society.

The depiction of the horse in bridal procession in fig 58 highlights the significance and valour of the prince. The horse is bigger as compared to other sculptures. Horse is highly decorated with all the required accessories. He looks healthy and vigorous with long tail that shows his good kind. Prince is sitting on his horse and looking at the back to her wife who is depicted in a palanquin. The second different element of this sculpture is the depiction of Yaśodharā. Her face is depicted outside the palanquin. She looks into a mirror held by another woman that shows her consciousness about her beauty and pride because mirror is a symbol of beauty. Another woman is shown under the palanquin in frontal stance. The palanquin is carried by two men and most probably a tall figure of the city goddess is standing at the end of the scene. She holds a cornucopia and wears a same long beaded necklace as Yaśodharā is wearing. Yaśodharā is enjoying an appreciable and considerable position in these sculptures.

The sculptures of the Gandhāra art related to the marriage of Yaśodharā and Siddhārtha indicated that the marriage of the royal family was depicted and celebrated in the typical Indian style. This episode provides clear evidences of the indigenous influence on the art of Gandhāra. The area of Indian Sub-continent has diverse cultural activities, it is rich due to its charming events, ceremonies, rites and rituals. In this episode most of the dresses are Indian but with the pinch of

Greek look. The depiction of scarf with tunic and body fitted trouser is Greek. The presence of dancers, musician and entertainers give us an impression that dancing was considered as essential part of celebration and religion as well. In temples apsaras were also depicted dancing and entertaining gods. Thus, the dancers are not considered lower in the society as entertainers (Varadpande 2006: 71).

These sculptures also help us understand the social traditions of the Gandhāran society. It is an early historic ritual that a man and a woman get married in people of equal status. We see that Māyā, Prajāpatī and Yaśodharā who played major role in the life of the Śuddhodana and Siddhārtha were from equal clan and status. The practices are still common today in all societies of the world particularly in Indian and Pakistani society and women are also respected being a daughter in law in both societies. People were conscious about the equal match for their daughters. Their daughters were not bound to anyone who was not eligible for them for instance when Yaśodharā's father refused Śuddhodana for the proposal of Siddhārtha by saying that he was nurtured in the company of women so he might not be able to protect her daughter like other men. He demanded Prince to prove himself eligible for his daughter. Yaśodharā and his father imposed all the necessary skills and talents on Siddhārtha because Devadatta also wanted to marry Yaśodharā. It shows in Gandhāran society women had some authority over their husbands. There is one factor to be taken into consideration in this respect. A drastic change is noted in the pre and post marriage sculptures. At the event of the royal chaplain we noticed that Yaśodharā was shown smaller than Prince Siddhārtha and in the marriage scene she is carved equal to the Prince. This change carved because of the change in her royal status because before marriage she was just a daughter of a respectable clan and after marriage she became wife of a Prince who was going to be the future King of his clan. She had given the appropriate importance she deserved on this event. The marriage could have been portrayed symbolically but she had been carved individually and is given a prominent position along with Bodhisattva.

4.11 The role and status of Yaśodharā as wife in the matrimonial rituals in Gandhāra art:

The area of Indian Sub-continent has miscellaneous traditional activities on various occasions. The wedding rituals may differ on the regional bases but the purpose of these rituals is almost the same. In these rituals if the bride wins that mean she is going to dominate the whole life and vice-versa. Marriage is considered a sacred and religious obligation and is accomplished with all superb

rites and conducts. Among these colourful customs the most momentous are the games and gambling played by the newly wedded couple. Most of them have lost their definite meaning and seen an obligatory element in the culture which occasionally became an essential part of a religious ceremony and is viewed a part of their rites and rituals associated to their religion(N. Khan 2010: 43).

For the feudal-lordship of the groom or the bride a hush or open game is played in different cultures of the sub-continent. The purpose of such games is to gain authority over each other and on the family of each other or even to gain love and affection in future life. Nasim Khan mentioned multiple games which are played between bride and groom in various ethnic groups in Indian sub-continent in a view to dominate each other. Gandhāra art also represents such scenes which characterize the true picture of the Indian society. Through these sculptures we come to know about the wedding rituals of the Gandhāran era as well as the protocol which was given to the bride on the occasion of the wedding.

Fig 59 indicates the time of pleasure and preference. The married couple is playing disc. In this panel Princess Yaśodharā is sitting on right side on a royal seat and her feet are resting on a foot stool. She wears an ankle length body fitted drapery and adorned with ornaments; a beaded necklace, earrings, thick and heavy anklets, bangles and elegant headdress. Her left hand is placed on her knee and she holds a bunch of lotus flowers in her hand while in the other hand she holds a box or disc type object. She is intensely watching at the table which shows that she doesn't want to lose the competition. While on the left side Siddhārtha seated on a high stool in the same manner. His right hand is also portrayed in raised position but his fist is closed while the other hand is placed on his knee. Both are watching at the middle of the table that represents their attention in the game. Behind Yaśodharā a female attendant is standing very courteously and watching the game. While on the other side a female with a *parasol* is standing behind Siddhārtha for his affluence and comfort. A male also stands with a *chowry* in his hand at the extreme left of the panel. In this panel this is unusual thing because in almost all the under discussion sculptures such kind of jobs are performed by women not by men.

In fig 60 Mostly figures are damaged and it is not easy to identify them but is not difficult to identify the theme and style of the panel. In this panel the figure of Yaśodharā is more noticeable and prominent as compared to others. She is seated on the left side of the table in a shy mode. She is depicted on a decorated throne and her legs are placed on a foot stool. She wears folded body

fitted robe. A female attendant is also portrayed behind Yaśodharā. Her headdress and hair style are similar to the ones of Yaśodharā but standing in straight position which shows her attentiveness towards her mistress. Siddhārtha is shown seated beside his wife in same kind of seat and in same position and style. His facial expressions are not visible because his face is broken but he holds the hand of woman who sits beside him. Another woman sits behind the table. She performs the responsibility of a referee. She is not visible but she is also watching at the activity happening at the table she is extending her right hand in the same style as Yaśodharā's right hand. Kharoshati letter "ba" is visible in the right corner (N.Khan 2010: 42). The figure depicted behind Siddhārtha is not identified because the upper part of his body is missing. In this episode women are enjoying a prominent position in every role and status. Only women are depicted around the princely figure in various services and comforts.

The couple is shown in a very relaxing mood seated on comfortable seats and their feet are placed on the foot stools. In fig 61 Yaśodharā wears a tight full body dress with folds. Her hair is knotted behind the head and is combed back. She wears a thick necklace and anklets. Her left hand is placed on her lap while the other hand is stretched towards the table and rests inside the bowl sited at the table. Nasim Khan stated "her seat seems composed of wood or canes elements (*vetrasana*) showing horseshoe or pointed arch likedesigns".

Siddhārtha is also doing the same activity his right hand is also extended towards the bowl. In some areas of Punjab these kinds of rituals are still in practice. One of the most notable ritual is that in which a big bowl is being filled with milk and a ring is thrown in it along with other items. The one who finds the ring first is declared as the dominant one for the whole life. Seated in royal manner, Siddhārtha wears a long necklace and double bangles in his left hand which is resting on his left knee. A double rim *halo* is also shown in the background that is a symbol of his purity and cleanliness. His upper body is nude but he is wearing a *paridhana* or Indian *dothi* to cover his lower body. A strong woman attendant is standing behind Yaśodharā for her comfort and relief. She is looking straight and holding something round in her right hand and a piece of cloth in her left hand. She might be holding the belongings of Yaśodharā because there is no scarf or any other object Yaśodharā is having or she might be holding something for her comfort and relaxation. Another standing female figure is also depicted in between the royal couple. She wears Indian sort of Sari and wearing neck jewellery. She is surely standing for the services of the royal couple.

Behind Siddhārtha the tree branches are also depicted which shows that the event is taking place out of the palace.

Fig 62 is divided into two registers. In the upper part various figures are shown in *Añjalimudrā* posture while an alms bowl placed on the throne. In the lower register there are three female and a male figure is depicted. In this panel Siddhārtha is seated on right side while Yaśodharā is sitting at left side of the panel. In this figure she is holding a torch like object in her left hand in place of lotus or tulips.

In the background of the table two females are standing near the royal couple. They also hold a torch in their right hands and dressed and ornamented like the royal lady. The depiction of torch in the hands of women shows that the event might took placed at the evening times or might be possible they will give it to the victor of the game. The presence of women on such occasion shows their domestic status and the opportunities of enjoyment for women in the society. Such costumes and traditions are still in practice in Pakistan in the areas of *khybar-pakhtun-khawa* particularly and in other areas of Pakistan and India with minor regional differences. These games among newly married couple are interesting source of amusement and laughter for the audiences because these games are associated with local legends. Such kind of entertainment also becomes the source of love and closeness between the married couple for the whole life. The depiction of this episode in Gandhāra art indicates the pure Indian influence.

4.12 Representation of women in different roles and statuses on the eve of Great Departure of Bodhisattva Śākyamuni and its representation in Gandhāra art:

After examining the married life of the Prince we come to know that Bodhisattva was spending a comfortable life in the royal palace. In this episode we see that Bodhisattva foregoes the life of ease and comfort, his beloved wife and his new born son just for sake of spiritual enlightenment. This episode after the marriage of Siddhārtha is just opposite to the preceding episode. He was happy in his life but some dilemmas of life urged him towards the serenity of the reclusive life. In the *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacharita* and in the *Mahāvastu* the legend of the great departure is discussed logically and soundly. As we know Sage Asita clearly interpreted about the future life of the Bodhisattva. So the King Śuddhodana was anxious about the future of his son and his kingdom.

The first reason of the apprehension of the royal family about Prince Siddhārtha started from the dreams of King Śuddhodana and Princess Yaśodharā. It is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 283-296, Bays), before the renunciation of the Prince King Śuddhodana and Princess Yaśodharā saw different awful dreams about the Prince Siddhārtha. King Śuddhodana saw seven different dreams about his departure while his wife Yaśodharā also saw twelve dreams. She was scared about the interpretation of these dreams but the Prince comforted his wife about her dreams and asked her not to get scared about her dreams. However, at the same night Prince himself had five dreams and all the dreams indicated his spirituality and future religious life.

All the three royal members were worried about the interpretation of the dream. Although he was anxious because of his foul dreams and he wanted to interpret the true purpose of these dreams. He got his answer in the pleasure garden where he saw the four dilemmas of life. According to the *Buddhacarita* when he went to his pleasure garden in the company of the young women, Bodhisattva found the reason of leaving his house on each gate of his pleasure garden. On the eastern gate, he saw an old man on the road with feeble body, chattered teeth, trembling limbs, and wrinkled skin. He realized that all human beings suffered in such a way, old age will take youth, energy and strength from every one. On the southern gate he saw a man affected by disease, his charioteer told him, he is near to death now. On the western gate he saw a dead man on a palanquin, and charioteer, explained him the reality of the death. At last he saw a monk on the northern gate of his pleasure garden, Bodhisattva noticed his calm and control and disciplined act, and the charioteer told him about the monk's inner calm without desire and hate (the *Buddhacarita*: 131, Olivelle).

All these factors proved to be a turning point of Siddhārtha's life and became the initial step towards his nomadic life. After realizing the fact about the old age, disease and death he did not feel any fascination to physical pleasures and set his mind on how to depart his palace. He went to his father and asked his consent for nomadic life in search of *dharma* but King asserted him to give himself to household *dharma*, and if he leaves his father in this way his *dharma* will turn into *adharmā*. He claimed four things to his father to escape ascetic life and old age should never over take his youth. He will constantly continue in the warmth of youth, disease should never attack his noble health and his life should be infinite (the *Lalitavistara*: 303, Bays). The King became speechless when Siddhārtha asked about the remedies of these three tyrannies of

life. Subsequently watching the helplessness of his father in front of these tyrannies he took the final stance of leaving the palace life and accepting the bitter realities of life as well as the attempts of spirituality and religion overwhelmed him and he decided to leave in the path of enlightenment. We find its exact interpretation in the Buddhacharita. When parting is the immovable rule for this world, it is better for *dharama*'s sake. Death will not discrete me as I stand deserted and unsatisfied without reaching my destiny

On the other side in reaction to these dreams King Śuddhodana had used diverse modes to stop his son from leaving his home and family. He made his safety measures and commanded to offer him preferred desires. He decorated the palace particularly his harem with lights, music and songs for his pleasure. King ordered women to encircle around the couch of prince. Women were not allowed to sleep but advised to gaze their eyes over him. These women offer their abilities to play the music loudly and safeguard the prince cautiously (the *Lalitavistara*: 305, Bays). All delights of life were provided to Prince Siddhārtha by his father King Śuddhodana in his women apartment and ordered the women to well charm the Prince with dance, music and songs but Prince desired liberation from all burned longing and *bodhyangas*. Queen Prajāpatī and King Śuddhodana used all the safety measure to stop Bodhisattva in the form of women as well as they fortified the whole palace and kept a strict eye on the Prince. They appointed the attractive and young women for the services and entertainment of Bodhisattva. It is stated in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. II:139-142, Jones) that the women appointed on this duty were not ordinary they were impartial, perfect, adoring, having shiny white limbs, bright eyes, full breasts, stable and well girdles, soft beautiful black hair, wearing ornaments of gems and pearls, mantles, cloaks, bracelets, rings and anklets and playing five musical instruments. Prince Siddhārtha got conscious that the corporal beauty is worldly that is why he did not find any attraction near these women.

Apart from these cautionary measures, the Śākya princess surrounded the city with supplementary protectors, patrols of chariots, horses and elephants are positioned at each cross road. Apart from this Prajāpatī assembled all the women of the garden and scolded them to stimulate the mind of the Prince. She said “let none of you fail to provide amusement for him night and day and there will be no interval of darkness, and never be without wine and burning perfumes”, they appointed guards at every door to prevent ingress or egress, “remember if the prince escape, there will be no other source of pleasure within the palace”. After that the son of

the chief officer of the state named Udayi visited the ladies chamber and advised them to use every longing to keep the Prince captivated in inclination (Beal 1875: 123-24). King Śuddhodana was so much sure about the departure of the Prince that is why he took all the measures of security and tried to capture the Prince in palace. These women used every expertise to lure the Prince but they were failed and he left the palace, his family and all pleasures of princely life. When Bodhisattva adopted the life of nomadic monk for discipline, quiet and absolute relief, he was passing through his country streets, women of the Kapilvastu came out in their balconies to watch him. Mrigi was mother of Ananda belonged to the same clan praised the prince in appreciation and splendour in the following stanza;

Blessed indeed is the mother, blessed indeed the father,
Blessed indeed is the wife, whose is the husband so glorious (the *Mahāvastu*: 152- 53, Jones).

The prince perceived this verse but his mind was stable on the sound of the word Nirvana. He neither responded, nor looked to the Śākya lady (the *Mahāvastu*: 152-53, Jones). But various texts disagreed with the *Mahāvastu* in the response of the prince to the singer. According to Singhalese tradition, the prince gave her a chain of pearls from around his own neck and a gesture of affection (Foucher 2003: 73). I personally agree with Foucher, because when Bodhisattva left his palace he was fully adorned with ornament and there is a possibility he gives one chain to the woman who glorifies him because for Bodhisattva there is no mean of all these stanzas and admirations. Beside all these fortification and amenities of King Śuddhodana and his wife Prajāpatī. Bodhisattva left the palace life at his fix time because till that he completed everything on fix time, e.g. he left Tusīta heaven and arrived into his mother womb, his birth, horoscope and marriage all proceedings were succeeded in an appropriate time so he left his palace life on the same balance, on the other hand, it is a common maxim, that there is a time for everything in this world. That is why Siddhārtha did everything in his life according to the adequate time. Thus, the event of the great departure also took place on fix time.

In this episode the depiction of women is much more as compared to the other episodes because women were used as the main instrument to stop the Prince from leaving the palace. We noticed a weird thing in this episode that although Siddhārtha was married but still women were used as an instrument to stop him. Now we have to see the purpose of using these women as an instrument and to notice the contradictions and similarities present in the text and art. Beside the ancient and sacred text regarding the Great departure of Bodhisattva from his palace life, all these

conditions are truly represented by the artists of Gandhāra in a very organized form. Gandhāra art provides us visual evidences of the great departure in a very realistic manner. We analysed some sculptures where women play a vital role in stopping Siddhārtha to leave the palace on the order of Śuddhodana and Prajāpatī. The principal characters of this episode are Prince Siddhārtha, Princess Yaśodharā, Chandaka, city goddesses, female guards, women musicians and dancers. This episode holds a great significance in the religious history of Buddhism. It was the start of the religion of Buddhism that Siddhārtha left home and started his journey to become Buddha. It was his first step to find out the way of salvation that's why this episode is given lot of importance in Gandhāra art. There are many sculptures in this relation with some variations we will discuss some of them.

He was spending a luxurious life free from all kind of sorrows and grief. Thousands women, maidens, dancers and musicians surrounded him in the palace all the time. They entertained him with different meals, music and dance. Figure 63 shows Prince Siddhārtha is seated on the inverted lotus throne in the meditating pose and female dancers are entertaining him. The *Buddhacarita* stated during that night, splendid girls played their musical instruments and entertained the Prince as *apsaras* entertained Indra on the Himalayan peak (the *Buddhacarita*: 143, Olivelle). This sculpture gives a true reflection of this statement. These women are depicted in different dancing poses. They dance with front posture to the viewers. One is depicted with raised one leg and one arm; this is an attractive and traditional dancing posture in Indian society. They wear different dresses, but the ornaments and hair style are similar. The next register portrays the first scene of his future life. In this scene women are not depicted but the previous register is giving the complete picture of his palace life. The scene represents the great departure in a very restrained manner. Bodhisattva rides his horse while three human and two celestial figures are depicted in a row watching the last scene of palace departure.

Fig 64 provides a rich detail of three different episodes that are very famous in Gandhāra art. The top scene represents the palace life of Bodhisattva. There are five female figures in this scene who are busy in conversation. It shows they know about the departure of the Prince or they want to stop the prince from departure, because the next scene is about the Great departure. They wear identical garments and head dresses. Yaśodharā sleeps, while, the prince is ready to take advantage of her sleep. He is seated on the couch and ready to leave his wife and everything of his palace. It indicates his lack of interest in his previous life and now he wants to escape from

this luxurious life and his beloved and loyal wife. Women of the royal harem tried to delight the prince well with music, dance and songs, but the prince's mind and heart was not there nor anywhere else. He is just memorizing the truth of this impermanent life. His mind is stable on the old age, disease and death. He wanted to escape this luxurious life. Beside the entertainers two women are presented in the balcony above who see the departure of the Prince from royal harem.

On the lower right side of the scene only one female musician is depicted with a harp in her hand, she sleeps in seated position. The last scene recounts the Great departure of the Prince, it is a last moment when Prince leaves the palace life and rides his horse Kantaka out of the palace shown at the gateway. A guard or attendant stands to the right for the services of their master and his groom Chandaka holds a parasol above his head. A young woman most probably the city goddess is present there at the farewell of the Prince with one hand raised in blessing posture. She is wearing Roman toga, necklace and anklets. On the extreme right of the sculpture six representations of Buddha are depicted in different gestures, *Abhyamudra*, and fasting posture. The future Buddha is shown with a water pot and in *Abhyamudra*, in meditation in walking position and in standing meditation.

Two important interrelated scenes are depicted in fig 65. The first scene signifies the last palace night which portrayed the prince very happy and satisfied with his way of life. Nobody can guess that he would renounce this life very soon. He is reclining on a high couch with the support of a high pillow. This posture of Siddhārtha is very common in almost all the sculpture related to the palace life and in the episode of the great departure. His facial expression shows that he is enjoying this royal treatment. His eyes are half closed, right hand is raised, while left is lying on the couch. Princess Yaśodharā is seated on the side of the couch and resting her feet on the footstool, she is also enjoying music and dance of the royal entertainers. Her right hand is raised in amusement which shows her interest in music and both are appreciating the musicians. A woman attendant is carved behind their couch giving them air. A female drummer is seated beside the couch, while other women are playing different musical instruments. All the entertainers in this sculpture are women and they wholeheartedly trying to entertain the couple. In the lower section the great departure of the Prince Siddhārtha is depicted. This section reveals the next legend of the new life of Bodhisattva. Yaśodharā is now sleeping after the musical entertainment. She is sleeping calmly, lying on her royal couch unaware what is going to happen.

Conversely, Prince Siddhārtha is portrayed on the edge of the couch, holding his one foot on the ground while the other is rested on the footstool, on which Yaśodharā was resting her feet when she was listening music, which shows he is stepping down carefully so that Yaśodharā did not get disturbed. His right hand is raised and he is giving order to his groom Chandaka to saddle his horse.

Chandaka is depicted on the back of the couch to the left hand in *Añjalimudrā*, which shows his obedience for his master. Two female drummers are also presented on the ground on both sides of the couch. One is embracing with her drum in a rolled position that shows it is a night time and all are unaware about the departure of the Prince. As mentioned above it was a strict order by the King for these women does not doze or sleep, and guard the prince carefully. Then question arises how these women disobeyed their master and mistress and slept. The answer is given in the *Buddhacharita* (The *Buddhacharita*: 145, Olivelle) it was *Akanishtha* deities, who practiced the best austerities, became aware of his resolve made those young women succumb to sleep. The women dancers and musicians, who were main hurdle in his way to departure, fell asleep now. But two female guards are depicted in each of the two niches flanking the couch and hold spear in their hands. They are talking to each other which show they evidently hear nothing about the great departure. In the balcony five divinities are presenting different signs. On the right is the bust of moon god, in the centre the bust of the bull is very visible while, on the left the bust of the sun god is depicted.

This sculpture is a mixture of happiness and sadness. In the upper register we see the Prince is enchanting with his wife. They are living in peace and comfort. His wife is enjoying the same luxuries as the Prince is relishing. She never thought that he will renounce her after few moments. On the other side, Prince is now ready to leave everything; he forgot how he won Yaśodharā. She is his ideal wife, but even Yaśodharā and the music of the finest instruments did not bring him joy. He is ready to leave his home in search of decisive joy. Yaśodharā was his desired wife but when he left the palace he did not even pass a glance at her. He wanted to pamper his son before leaving the palace but due to Yaśodharā he was unable to do so. Apart from other things the attractiveness of this sculpture lies in its architecture. This sculpture is very interesting in its architectural forms that represent the mixture of styles the cubicles panelled on the roof in the later Graeco-Roman style and the columns with Persepolitian capitals and Indian foundations,

the Buddhist rail pattern of panel and the decorative Hellenic or Roman torus adds to the magnificence and splendour of the sculpture (Burgees 1965: 129).

Fig 66 is different from other under discussion sculptures. It is interesting due to its different features. The central characters are depicted on their identical position and place but few important characters are lacking in this sculpture. The musicians and dancers are missing in this scene due to which this sculpture is looking incomplete because these royal dancers and musicians are important part of this episode. The presence of these women shows the previous life and royal activities of the Prince. Siddhārtha is talking to a person, who is most probably *Chandaka* who is standing in front of Siddhārtha but behind a pillar. While in all other sculptures *Chandaka* is depicted behind the couch of the Prince. Above in the balcony, three female figures are carved. They are leaning in balcony bent their bodies towards the royal harem like a bow. They are looking downwards as they know what is going to happen. On the right of the sculpture three figures are present among them one is female who stands near the couch, which is most probably their female guard. It is hard to identify because she is not depicted with her spear in her hands that is an identical symbol of a guard in the Gandhāra art. Two other small persons stand behind this female figure, one straight with the support of the wall of the sculpture, while other with cross legs posture which is most associated with the *Yaksni*. Beside the absence of many women figures the sculpture is giving a full exposure to Yaśodharā while she is sleeping.

Fig 67 is different from other figures due to some aspects. Prince Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā are portrayed in same posture. The gestures of prince show that he is asking Chandaka to bring his horse but Chandaka is missing in this sculpture. In this sculpture their dress are different he wears an Indian dothi but its style is very rare in Gandhāra art.

In this figure Prince Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā are sharing same cloth. Yaśodharā is covering her head with that cloth while the other corner is on Siddhārtha's left shoulder and he is in sitting position and just about to leave. This sculpture is a true image of the statement of the *Lalitavistara*, (the *Lalitavistara*: 245, Bays) not only his dress was jeweled with precious stones but jeweled bells, silk fringes, garlands of flowers, pearls and other precious stones are draped everywhere adding to the charm of the Prince for this royal life. All these accessories can be examined in this scene. On the extreme right of the sculpture there is addition of a new female figure standing near Princess Yaśodharā on the place of the female guard with a *chamara* in her hand for providing air to the sleeping Princess, while the *yavani*, the female guard is standing on

the extreme left of the couch near the feet of the Princess Yaśodharā. She is holding a spear in her right hand and sleeping with the support of the couch. The other female characters are depicted in a different position. Another half-length female figure is depicted behind the couch in sleeping position. She is keeping her elbow on the couch and fell down on the couch by deep slumber. Two female musicians or dancers are also sleeping on the ground with the support of different things. All females are bare-breasted and wear transparent garments.

In fig 68 the sleeping style of Yaśodharā is just like Queen Māyā's sleep in the dream episode. She was also unaware of the upcoming event and so is Yaśodharā. Their room is decorated with a mattress couch, a short patterned textile with floral motifs and two pillars for oil lamp, which indicates it is a night time event. The lower part of her body is covered while her breasts are bare in this sculpture. The women dancers and musicians are sleeping on the ground here and there. They are presenting the correct appearance of the statement of the *Buddhacarita* (the *Buddhacarita*: 147, Olivelle). Two are in seated position while other two are lying on their musical instruments, lying down where they sat. Their bodies are bent down by deep sleep embracing each other with entwined arms and adorned with golden bracelets.

On the right side of the couch a female is seated in a low circular position with his back to the viewers. She is naked up to the waist, wear a headdress but her hair is braided. Next to her the musician resting her head on the drum and passes her arm over the legs of the first sleeping. Another woman naked till the waist seated on the cushion but lean forward over her musical instrument is also enjoying her sleep. On the top of the sculpture another female figure is depicted with different role from these women, she is not a musician or dancer. She is a royal guard standing outside the royal harem with a male guard. She holds spear with her both hands. The job of guards is mostly done by male but we see this job is also fulfilled by women. This directs the bravery of women or it might be possible that it was a common faith that women guards are more appropriate for the security of the royal ladies. Now a day it is a common belief that women can do anything shoulder to shoulder of the men but this sculpture shows us that this belief was also common in ancient days. These sculptures represent the world of women like the birth episode of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha.

Figure 69 shows the moustaches Chandaka on the back of the couch with the turban. He is offering turban to Bodhisattva, while his hair is already tied in a *Chignon*. In this figure he wears a *paridhana* and *uttarīya* but his chest is almost bare. He raised his right hand towards Chandaka

asking for his turban. Yaśodharā is asleep calmly but the lower portion of her body is covered while she is naked to the waist. The royal couple is depicted in different posture from other sculptures. There are two female figures portrayed in sleeping posture. They wear identical garments with full sleeved tunic and a beaded girdle around their waist and anklets but their hair style is different.

In this figure women are portrayed in different sleeping postures i.e. with a spear in her hand. She wears a long sleeved tunic, necklace and a turban like head dress. Her eyes are half closed in sleep but she is still in standing position because she is a protector of the royal couple. One is asleep on her closed arms resting them on a banded barrel drum. The next attendant is asleep on a low circular cushion. Another is resting her head on the edge of the couch, and supporting herself. She is sleeping with her back to the viewers but her figure is shown very celestial but she has a long braid at the back of her head. This hair style is still common in Indian society. The moustached Chandaka is portrayed behind the couch. He presents a crusted turban with bands and frontal ornament. This symbolizes the last scene of Bodhisattva with his wife but one can observe the expressions of sorrow on his face. It shows Bodhisattva was sad on leaving his family and home. The decorative Corinthian pilasters in fig. 68 and fig. 69 shows the Hellenistic pattern (Marshall 1960:35).

Fig 70 represents a very stimulating situation of the legend of Great departure and beginning of the renunciation of the palace life. Prince Siddhārtha is seated on his couch with his feet over the side and rimmed *halo* on his back. In this sculpture Princess Yaśodharā is asleep on the left side of the scene with her head raised on a high pillow, while in all other sculptures she is sleeping on the right side. Her jewellery is quite different from other sculptures, multiple strains *vakshahara*, *kan kana*, *karna kundala*, *lalata chandra* and *sirobhushana* and thin garment. It is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (chapter XIII, Bays) that Bodhisattva lived in the women chamber in the company of eighty-four thousand women all as beautiful as goddesses amuse the Prince with all the comfortable refinements, but their main duty was to please the prince. During the leaving night Akanishtha deities made the young women fall in deep sleep (the *Lalitavistara*: 310, Bays).

Like the account of the *Lalitavistara* all women fell asleep here and there with their musical instruments, some were resting her checks on their hands, tossing their lute, some placed their hands on her laps, some holding flute in her hand and lying down on the ground, slipping their

gowns from her waist, some slept embracing their *tambura* with their hand, another lying down on her drum between her thigh. Another woman lying with dishevelled and hanging loose hair, her cloths and ornaments slipping down from her waist and necklaces are scattered like a statue of a girl. Other is lying as dead. They are unconscious and their jewellery and garlands are fallen down. The legs and head of some women are hanging, while others had covered their uneven features, some were lying naked in rough manners. Some had fallen on their sides grasped their drums, dropping over the lutes, vinas and the vallakis. Some hold the kimpalas, nakulas, sampas and tadavacararas (the *Lalitavistara*: Ch. XIII, Bays).

Some have clenched flutes between their teeth; some are moving their faces and others blinking their eyes. Bodhisattva just had an impression of a cemetery in his harem and decided to leave his palace life forever in search of true joy and pleasure (the *Lalitavistara*: 310, Bays). This legend of the Buddha's life is very popular in Gandhāran art. The Gandhāran artists did not represent this condition of the women of the royal house at the time of the departure of Bodhisattva from his royal house. Although they are shown sleeping yet they are beautifully depicted in these sculptures. This practice of feminine musicians and dancers is continued till the Mughal dynasty in the Indian society. They all had their feminine orchestra in their palaces.

Fig 71 is quite different from other sculptures. Prince Siddhārtha is seated at the edge of his couch with crossed legs, his both hands are rested on the couch but he is shown in leaving position. The figure of the prince is not much clear so we cannot identify his expressions. A royal attendant is portrayed in front position with a spear and a fly whisk in her hand. It is quite clear from her gestures that she is awake but unaware about the departure of Bodhisattva. Below the royal attendant a woman drummer and another entertainer is also asleep in seated position with her back to the viewers. A half-length woman figure is carved from the front. She might be a musician or dancer. It is not easy to identify if she is sleeping or awake. She is in standing position but her eyes are half-closed. The most interesting element of this sculpture is depiction of three busts in the balcony. They look like women from their headdresses and earrings.

In fig 72 on the extreme right of the sculpture we can see a beautiful celebration of the entertainers. Four musicians are playing vina, flute and drum to entertain the royal couple. The musicians are seated on the ground in different positions, playing diverse musical instruments to entertain the couple. The next scene is revealing the second part of the story. The Princess is sleeping on that place of the couch where Bodhisattva was seated and enjoying the music of the

royal musicians. She is shown with her back to the viewers and unmindful about the unpleasant happening of her life. All the entertainers are sleeping in different positions on the ground. In this one episode of the life of Buddha we can observe the different role and status of women in the royal palace and they are performing their duties accordingly. One is Princess, the others are attendant, some are dancers, and some are musicians. This element is prevailing all over the world from the ages and Gandhāra art reflects the true picture of different position and status of women in society.

Bodhisattva and his wife Princess Yaśodharā the main characters of this episode are shown on their royal couch. In fig 73 Yaśodharā asleep on her couch with the support of her arm. Her belly is naked while she wears a body fitted upper garment and also adorned with ornaments like cuff-shaped bangles. Pia Brancacci (2006: 255) has studied in detail this relief, and she is of the opinion that the bangles in the corpus are usually plain. Furthermore, she says that these textiles are not found in early textile samples, these are from classical stem. There are six divine figures which are presented behind the couch. They are adorned with heavy jewels and wear turbans. Only their busts are visible in the scene. The musicians are lying on the ground, holding their musical instruments. Among these women two busts of women are also depicted with their eyes fully closed that show their deep slumber. In these sculptures women wear such type of ornaments. They were nicely dressed and ornamented to entertain Bodhisattva to stop him to leave the royal palace. These women just played their role as entertainer of the royal couple. Except this we cannot find any other activity performed by these women in the royal palace. All the artists from different regions of Gandhāra and in other contemporary arts depicted these women as a tool of entertainment with minor differences.

In fig 74 the whole departure scene is depicted under a canopy. The bed room of the royal couple is decorated with stunning hangings in the background. All the principal figures of the episode are present at the event. Siddhārtha is seated on his couch with one cross leg while the other leg is placed on a foot stool. It is the last moment of his departure from his princely life. *Chandaka* and *Kantaka* are standing on the left side of the sculpture. Siddhārtha wears an unusual kind of dress; a knee length tunic like upper garment with drop down which is most probably Persian dress. He wears no shoes, his fingers and feet are very visible. He holds turban in his left hand and the bridle of the horse in right hand. Horse is also decorated with all kind of accessories his bended legs and with motion of compliance. Two female figures are depicted behind them in

the extreme left of the sculpture. One is depicted in astonishment posture which shows she is city goddess but she is standing at left side instead of right. Some other figures are also carved in the balconies watching the great event which brought a great change in the religious history of the time. As discussed in the episodes above, in the palace life the Bodhisattva depicted with turban, jewellery, dothi and muslin skirts. The ornaments of the Bodhisattva are resembled with Hellenistic gold, excavated at Taxila and the pattern of dohti is an adoption of the neo-Attic style that was bloomed in Roman Empire under Hadrian (Rowland 1953: 132). It shows the combination of Greco-Roman style in Gandhāra art.

The role played by women in all the episodes of the life of Buddha is the only of their kind. We cannot ignore the different roles and services played by women on different occasions. The representation of women in Gandhāra art is clear evidence that only women were capable for these roles and services. Women were represented as dancers, singers and musicians in Indian art from ancient times. Young women elegantly played the musical instruments for instance; orchestral instruments, both string and wind, curved harps, flutes and hand drums. All these instruments were used to maintain rhythm of dance. The Gandhāra art pleasantly portrayed the position of women and their physical beauty and graceful attitude in a realistic manner. It is not unusual in the Gandhāra art because in ancient times girls were taught to play musical instruments. We can see the depiction of women with these characteristics in Mathura museum, Konark temple, Orissa, Nagarjunakonda and Khajuraho temple and in Gandhāra art where women are carved with their musical instruments in various episodes from the dream of queen Māyā till departure of Bodhisattva. Women were eager of music and dance, their love for music is shown in the above discussed episodes. Sometimes they are found sleeping while embracing their musical devices (Varadpande 2006: 84).

This is a clear indication that music and dance was not considered false act in Indian society but the Indian women are very fond of music and dance because it is a part of their religious rituals. In the great departure of Bodhisattva and in his palace life we have observe various posture of dance and several musical instruments that were used in the Indian society. The King Śuddhodana furnished five sensual gratifications for his son. First he tried to amuse his son with the help of dancing, contained the Indian etiquettes, of the classification of more or less schematic poses. Secondly wise used by his father was to sue singing to entertain the prince.

Thirdly music of different kinds of solos, string, flutes or harps were used to entertain him. Fourth, orchestral music with the sustained rhythm of drums that accompanied dancing was used, and fifth is women (Foucher 2002: 65). All these five gratifications are exactly represented in the Gandhāra art in the episode of the Great departure. The role and services of these women are not ignorable in this legend. Their position in the sculptures represents their hectic role in the episode and their loyalty and obedience for King and queenPrajāpatī.

But in spite of all these efforts the Prince Siddhārtha was haunted by his vision and left the palace. The love of his wife and his duty towards his son could not stop him from his way to salvation. Yaśodharā, dancers and musicians got tired in their efforts to side-track Siddhārtha and fallen asleep on the floor of the chamber. The artist sometimes strayed from written tradition in the fine representation of this crucial moment of the life of Buddha. The sculptures portrayed the women dancers beautifully that is relatively different to the text. See below the account of the Burgess and the *Lalitavistara* concerning the posture of the women. The Great Departure from palace under the Canonical text (*Avidurenidana*) and in the *Lalitavistara* is presented in a way that the prince was entertained by his goddess like beautiful servants skilled in dance, music, songs and adorned with classy ornaments and dresses, who were flattering him with their dance and music but Gautama fell into slumber without paying any attention to these elegant women. When he slept all women laid down on the ground in various directions and positions spittle ran out of their mouths, some slept even with open mouths. Some had torn clothing, some had ugly and discoloured faces or flawed bodies. They are snoring, laughing, and mumbling, coughing, laughing and gritting their teeth. The women apartment was changed into great disorder by the *devaputara Dharmacarin* and by the gods of the *Suddhavaśa* realm (Burgess 1965: 13-14; the *Lalitavistara*: 310, Bays). These sculptures have no resemblance with the sacred text. In text we find the weird description of these women but in art these women are depicted young, beautiful and full of valour. There is just a possibility that may be only Bodhisattva was noticing all this in this manner but in reality there was nothing like that. In text beside this ugliness women are portrayed using different low grade tactics to tempt the Bodhisattva towards them and to divert his mind from the intentions of leaving the palace but in art we only see them entertaining Prince through music, dance and other enjoyable activities.

Apart from this the renouncement of Bodhisattva raised many questions in the mind of the reader that on one side Buddha preaches humanity and human rights and on the other side he left

his young wife and new born baby. His wife longs for him and spent her whole life alone. This situation creates a prominent difference between his teachings and acts. But at that time it is believed that if a person wants to be spiritual and religious he had to forego the material world as previous Buddha did, that is why the act of the Buddha is considered an act of valour not as an unjust. The supreme abode cannot be attained without renouncing the world, as it is stated in the *Upanishads* IV, “He should neither converse with women nor remember the women he had seen. He should give up all stories connected with women. He should not even see the figure of women in a picture. The mind of an ascetic who through delusion adopts the above four a thing connected with women is necessarily affected and thereby perishes” (*the Upanishads* 2004: 54, Joshi et al.).

The great departure of Bodhisattva is repeated in many episodes and had already portrayed on the bas-reliefs on one of the doors of the great stupa of Sāñcī. The Bodhisattva was not depicted in human form but the depiction of the horse with a parasol indicates the legend. After reading this sacred text we can easily understand why Bodhisattva left his wife Yaśodharā alone in the palace while she was sleeping at night. In this episode Yaśodharā is portrayed in a prominent position and enjoyed a desirable position as a wife of the prince Siddhārtha.

We did not find any male figure except King Śuddhodana and prince Siddhārtha in the above mentioned episodes although these events are the major perspectives of his life. In these episodes the world is portrayed in a feminine colour. If we notice their services, roles, status, style, dresses, ornaments and their physical features and beauty we feel that the only sex exist in the world is delicate sex and nothing else. Only women can achieve this status due to their gentle and affectionate nature. So we can say all these episodes of the life of Buddha are incomplete without the services of these women and Gandhāra art portrayed the role and status of woman in various characters fairly and justly. The presence of these women in the sculptures helps us understand the role and status of common women in the Buddhist society. Religion and sacred literature had solid inspiration on Gandhāra art. There are various well-known sacred literatures which influence the artists of the period, *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Divyavadana* and *jātaka* stories. This sacred literature and the carvers of principally the life story of the Buddha is a heart favourite topic of the artists of the Gandhāra and they have engraved the fable of Buddha with excessive passion and enthusiasm and associated it to religion and philosophy analogous to the old Indian art (Mathur 1998: 16).

4.13 The representation of Women in the episode of Chandaka and Kanthaka's return and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

The great man of Sakay's left his palace while his family members were asleep. This episode portrayed the condition of royal harem after the departure of Prince that how these women are mourning and groaning in sorrow and grief. In art and texts, we do not find enough data to understand it but whatever we find is enough to prove the point. We will discuss this episode in the light of the statements of the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Buddhacharita*. According to the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 339, Bays) after renouncing his palace life Bodhisattva reached at his final destiny in the city of Anumaineya, in the land of Maineyas. At this place he sends Chandaka back with his horse Kanthaka, he took off his ornaments and his silken princely garments. He send out message for his father with homage and respect about his entrance in the ascetic grove to destroy old age, death and separation from his relatives. *Chandaka* overcome by misery and wished to stop the Prince from ascetic life. He requested him,

“Oh my lord please do not abandon your old gentle father, your second mother, who nurtured you, your truthful wife with a suckling son and do not abandon me” (the *Buddhacharita*: 173, Olivelle).

However, all his efforts become useless because no power can stop Bodhisattva from his decision. *Chandaka* and *kantaka* went back to the *Kapilvastu*. In the meanwhile, when the women woke up and they did not find the Prince in his apartment, they began to cry with sorrow and crumbly words because they lost their guardian and lord. Women became unconscious and beat their breasts, thighs and hit their heads against the wall. Some put dust in their heads, some pulled out their hairs, some raised their arms and some stressed their bodies. Mahāpajāpatī, the foster mother of the Prince distorted on the ground with grief and demanded the King to bring back her son as quickly as possible (the *Lalitavistara*: 340-41, Bays; Beal 1875: 148). The condition of women which we find in the text is the true reflection of the Indian society.

When Yaśodharā got up she did not find the Prince on her couch and in the matter of moment she understood the whole situation. She fell on the ground from her couch and she wept terribly because she knew the determination of Bodhisattva's mind. She knew that he will not return without achieving enlightenment. At this instant Prajāpatī, the foster mother of the Prince gave her comfort, though she herself was in pain and agony (the *Lalitavistara*: 344, Bays). The mother of the Prince inquired about his son to the Chandaka and hereplied

“Oh Mighty Queen the Prince has forsaken the world with its pleasure, for the purpose of seeking supreme wisdom, and now he dwells in the mountains far away, with shorn locks and soiled garments” (Beal 1875: 149). she became restless after knowing this like a cow grieving of its calf, she cried with raised hands her limbs lost their control and tears poured down her cheeks and she fell to the ground with heartache (Beal 1875: 149). The situation of the women, particularly Yaśodharā is described in the *Buddhacharita*, in a very realistic manner, when the *Chandaka* and *Kantaka*, both reached at the palace, *Kantaka* neighed in a loud voice, women rushed towards him with great hope and joy. They were in depressed disorder, without makeup, ornaments and their eyes were filled with tears. Yaśodharā contended with *Chandaka*, and blamed *Kantaka*, because they helped him in his departure. *Chandaka* was upset to see the weeping Yaśodharā and said, please do not get annoyed with Bodhisattva, he is faultless in this matter because this was a divine charisma. They oppose with all their sovereignties to stop the Prince from his renunciation, the palace and he tried to provoke Princess Yaśodharā and others from their sleep by their names and grasping their hair but useless so it was the effort of gods and Prince mounted his horse on the way and left the palace for highest insight (the *Buddhacharita*: 221-227, Olivelle; Beal 1875: 149-50). This is an important event of the life of the Prince. It is beautifully defined with rich details in the Buddhist text but we only find few sculptures in Gandhāra art which shows the miserable condition of the two important women in the life of the Buddha, Mahāpajāpatī and Yaśodharā. The principal figures of this scene are; Chandaka, Kantaka, Yaśodharā, Prajāpatī, women of the royal harem and King Śuddhodana.

This episode holds a great importance in the Gandhāran history and in the Buddhist religious literature. The episode of the great departure is depicted in Gandhāra art with extra deliberation and reflection of his life in palace. In the religious spheres of the Buddhism the episode of great departure remained the favourite and preferred topic of the Gandhāran artist. After this big event of the ascetic life of the Buddha the next episode (return of Chandaka and Kantaka) had failed to gain its appropriate attention in the eyes of the Gandhāran artists. After the renunciation from palace, it was confirmed that Bodhisattva will never come back before attaining his purpose. Some sculptures represent the grieved situation of his family members particularly his mother Prajāpatī and his wife Yaśodharā. They mourned for him because he was the next monarch of the Śākya clan and after his departure from palace, Yaśodharā destitute herself from all the treats of the royal palace in the memory and love of her husband.

In fig 75 the seated figure in the ground is Mahāpajāpatī and the woman holding the bridle of the Kantaka is Yaśodharā. She is disagreed with Chandaka and arguing with him because he took away the delight of her heart. He is one who helped him in leaving the palace. The condition of Prajāpatī in this sculpture is truly portraying the statement of the *Buddhacharita* that Gutami Prajāpatī wept bitterly on the departure of his son just like an osprey had lost his chicks. She lost her self-control, wept aloud and became unconscious. Her face was covered with tears. She holds her right hand on his head in grief and the other is resting on her knee. It shows her helplessness (the *Buddhacharita*: 223-229, Olivelle). Yaśodharā is also looking helpless here while Chandaka is explaining her whole event about the leaving of Bodhisattva. According to the *Lalitavistara* “She draped her arms around the neck of the Kantaka, remembered her good time passed with her beloved husband and speaks her sorrows in different ways” (the *Lalitavistara*: 347, Bays). This sculpture is a true mirror of this statement. In this sculpture the royal women who are always adorned with rich jewelled ornaments are depicted in a miserable condition. Yaśodharā and Prajāpatī are depicted in sadness; their heads are covered with a piece of cloth. They wear full sleeved dress and no ornaments only anklets are visible. Gutami his mother fell on the ground and fringed her arms in grief. Beside these two women, other women of the royal harem also lost their self-control. Their faces are distressed representing their worry and concern. This sculpture represents the true feelings of a mother and a wife. After the departure of Bodhisattva from his royal palace the spirit and colour of life eliminated from the life of his mother and wife because the happiness and brightness of life for a mother and a wife is concerned with the husband and the son. The attitude of Yaśodharā and Prajāpatī shows the dependence of women on their husbands and sons in the Gandhāran society.

Fig 76 also depicts and represents the condition of both royal ladies after the confirmation that *Chandaka* and *Kantaka* returned without the Prince. In this scene they both wear similar dresses and are adorned with full royal ornaments. It is not quite easy to identify these two figures. One woman had kept her one hand on her cheek and other on her knee. The feelings of depression and anxiety are very clear on their faces. Another is depicted with her back to the viewers with naked waist. She is identified with her long knotted tail and anklets. The situation of Yaśodharā is exactly quoted here in the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 347, Bays) after knowing this Gopa/ Yaśodharā got unconscious with over whelmed grief and pain and many women were trying to make her aware again. In this sculpture we cannot deny the role of royal attendants although they

were also suffering the same pain but still they were consoling Yaśodharā and Prajāpatī. This sculpture is showing the true Indian culture in which at the time of grief and sorrow women gathered and console each other. The Gandhāran sculptures appreciated the women role according to their actual performance in the life of the Buddha.

The apartment of Yaśodharā is strikingly depicted in fig 77. She is seated on her couch in a miserable and depressed posture like a slacker. Her gesture shows she has no more interest in the worldly life whereas Prajāpatī and another royal attendant are standing around her in same gesture of sadness. Prajāpatī is consoling her while the other attendant holds water pot in her left hand and compressed her head with other hand which shows her sadness and grief because the return of Chandaka and Kantaka is the expiration of their hope of the return of Bodhisattva. Kantaka is depicted between the door of the apartment while the Chandaka holds the parasol and the jewellery of the Prince in a big pouch of cloth and offers to Yaśodharā while she is unconscious about all these things. The scene signifies the true image of human feelings and sensation. One can certainly recognise the situation of a wife and mother without their husband and son. These sculptures not only portray the real picture of the Buddhist text but also depict the real image of human life and touch the human sentiments and passions.

He renounced the world along with his wife to gain the religious spirituality. Yaśodharā became the victim of his act in the age when she needed her husband. It is a nature of a women created by God to be kind hearted and in this sculpture they are practically proving it, but kantaka died after some time in the separation of Siddhārtha. Despite of all her loyalties and faithfulness Siddhārtha did not sent any message for Yaśodharā as it is stated in the *Mahāvastu* (the *Mahāvastu* vol I: 161, Jones) Yaśodharā lost her importance in the life of the Siddhārtha after his departure from the royal palace because he did not send any message to Yaśodharā. While on the other hand he gave message to Chandaka for his father, mother and other family members. When he left the palace he did not leave any message for Yaśodharā because he might want her to carry on her life without him and if he left her message what that message would be? Whether he wanted Yaśodharā to carry on her normal life or the second possibility is that he was feeling guilty for her and had no words to console her. So no message is found for Yaśodharā from her husband in the sacred text but it is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* that Chandaka console Yaśodharā and give her hope that one day she will again see her husband as a best man when he will obtain enlightenment.

According to all the Buddhist text Yaśodharā also renounced her pleasures and comfortable life in her royal palace in the love and memory of her husband. She also adopted a simple way of life and devoted herself for her beloved husband (the *Lalitavistara*: 352, Bays). This legend is described in detail in the *Mahāvastu* in the *Siriprabha-jātaka*. I personally agree with the opinion of Carus, Siddhārtha was mourned when he took a last glimpse at his wife and son. After seven years when Buddha came back to Kapilvastu he went to Yaśodharā's chamber. He had respect for his wife and saw she had forbidden all the generous treats and accepted the Siddhārtha's way of life. Then Buddha admitted her calmness and purity and due to this holiness and invaluable purity she had to become the wife of the Buddha. Later on after the death of King Śuddhodana, Prajāpatī with the company of Yaśodharā and many others joined the Sangha (Carus 1985: 201-203). Gandhāra art had represented this episode accurately and beautifully that one can get the vivid picture of their sorrows and grief. These sculptures portray the true inner expressions and feeling of human beings. This episode shows the dependence of women on their husbands and sons that how they cannot survive without them.

4.13 The role and status of women in Jātakas and its representation in Gandhāraart:

The legendary (Jātakas) stories of the life of the Buddha are based on two common beliefs among all the religions of India. The *Samsara*, the continual of rebirth of all creatures and the *Karma*, the merits achieved by good or bad actions (the importance of deeds). The Bodhisattva Śākyamuni gained Buddhahood under the law of *Karma* by his continuous sacrifices and generosity accomplished in his former lives in animal or human form (Hallade 1968: 112-113). However, it is believed that it was not his first birth. His previous birth stories are illustrated in 550 Jātakas in the form of different beings. Foucher stated the three essential beliefs regarding the Jātakas stories. A) The *Samsara*, in which all the living beings must be reborn in five conditions, the lost soul, ghost, animal, man or god. Then he will be free from the circle of wandering and attains salvation. B) The *Karma*, the moral laws in the present life will decide his future destiny. C) the divine sight (extra lucid-intuition) the honour of remembering his previous existences and even those of others (Foucher 1972:30-31). It shows that Bodhisattva Śākyamuni achieved the supreme dignity of Buddha under the long series of successive rebirths and his good actions and virtues (Foucher 1972: 31-32). The under discussion jātaka stories of Gandhāra art will not only help us to recognize the above cited philosophies of *Samsara*, *Karma* and lucid-

intuition but also shed light on women status in various roles in the former lives of the Bodhisattva Śākymuni.

4.14 The representation of woman in Syama jāataka in Gandhāra art:

This is an interesting story linked to the status of mother and father in the earlier societies. This story is associated to the life of a Brahman. He spent many years of his life in study and lastly married. After the birth of a son, they decided to relinquish the worldly pleasures and lived in separate huts in a jungle and ate merely vegetables. After some time both of them; husband and wife became blind and wholly reliant on their son named Syama (the future Buddha). They lived in the distant part of the Himalayas but their submissive son supported and assisted them with love and compassion. The son was hunted by the arrow of the king of Benaras accidentally and died. After that he was prodigiously returned to life (Ingholt 1957: 49; Sehrai 1988:18).

In the *Mahāvastu* the legend represents differently, here Syama was a wealthy, opulent and rich courtesan having silver, gold and plenty of female and male slaves and hirelings. She fell in love with a horse dealer named Vajrasena who was accused as a thief of the royal house and was punished to impale alive by the king. Syama was badly in love with him and thought she will die if she does not win this man. She sends a slave to the executioners that she will give them a large quantity of gold if they will not put this man to death and she also provided another man with same appearance and complexion so you will take him and put other man to death. After the agreement she sends the merchant's son who was working in her house from ten years with food for the executed and then the executioners put the merchant son to death in place of the horse dealer.

She entertained the horse dealer with various kinds of foods, perfumes, costly garments etc. The horse dealer was upset with all these things. On his demand Syama and horse dealer went to the water pool to play the water game. During the play horse dealer grasped Syama by the neck and held her under water until she become unconscious. The horse dealer escaped and went away. After that Syama got the dead body of a man and bathed him with perfumes and scented water and pretended that he is the merchant's son and refused to show his dead body to his parents and relatives because she promised the dead man. After the funeral of the young man his parents took Syama to their house because they thought she loved and valued our son. The merchant and his wife treated Syama as their son. One daysome actors came for begging at her door from Taksasila

the city of the horse dealer Vajrasena, Syama sends a message, “Silken clothed Syama, whom you did clasp too tightly in your arms among the blossoming Sāla-tree sends you greetings” Vajrasena the merchant replied in these words. “She should not take me whom she does not know in exchange for one she knew for so long, an inconstant man in exchange for a constant one. I will go still farther away from here lest she take another in the exchange for me” (the Mahāvastu: vol. II. 162-170, Jones). After the death of Syama the kings sought out the parents and rejected his throne in order to attend them in his stead. In the left side of the fig 78 the king is standing before the parents of Syama resting his left hand on his waist. His standing stance is much similar with the standing stance of prince Siddhārtha in his marriage ceremony. The parents of Syama are portrayed sitting on the separate basketry stools. The father is sitting in frontal stool while mother is sitting behind her husband and listening the king.

In the middle scene the king is portrayed with blind parents or leading the parents towards the dead body of their son. The panel has very obviously shown the old age and sickness of the parents. The father is standing with turned back which shows his old age while her wife is consoling him with the touch of her hand. This gesture of kindness of a mother shows her loyalty and love for her husband. Secondly her mourning shows the warmth and thoughtfulness of a mother for her son. In this jātaka woman is portrayed in dual character, one as a loyal and gentle wife second as a tender and patient mother.

The King is depicted beside the parents of the dead man in grief while he wears crown and holds spear in his left hand. In the third scene the dead Syama lying in the ground while his parents are mournful on his death. His father is seated near his head and lamenting in grief while mother is crying with her left hand raised that is a common Indian tradition, mostly women cry on the death of their loved ones in this manner. Hiuen-Tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century, mentioned in his description of Gandhāra that the incident took place about stupa about ten miles from Pushkalavati (Modern Charsada). The portrayal of the conventionalized honeysuckle flower on an overturned lotus base adorns the right handed of the panel (Ingholt 1957: 49; Hargreaves 1928: 20-21; Sehrai 1988: 19).

4.15 The role and status of woman in Maitrakanyaka jātaka as depicted in Gandhāra art:

Maitrakanyaka jātaka is another story associated with the position of woman as a mother in society. Maitrakanyaka was not a common man. Buddha in one of his earlier birth was born as

Maitrakanyaka. His father was a ship owner and died at sea. After his father's death he earned a lot of money and spent openhandedly on his mother. His mother was afraid due to death of his father she instructed him not to go to sea but he did not pay any heed. One day, he got angry and kicked her mother in her head when she advised him. After that he went to sea and experienced many bad things. He lost many precious things of his life. He misplaced his ship like his father but he spent an ample amount of money on his mother in his home town so as compensation, he was well received wherever he stopped, first by four then by eight, by sixteen and lastly by thirty-two nymphs. Finally, his wandering spirit headed him to those hells where those sons were penalized who assault their mothers (Ingholt 1957: 48; Sehrai 1988:19).

the fig 79 is divided into three scenes. On the extreme right of the relief Maitrakanyaka is received by the nymphs. He holds a garland in his hand which shows warm welcome to Maitrakanyaka. She is welcoming him with bended knee which shows her respect and admiration for Maitrakanyaka. In the middle scene a couple is shown on high seats in a very relaxing mood. The male person is playing a musical instrument. While the woman is resting her feet on the foot stool. She is singing with a raised hand in the company of a male musician. She wears a body fitted costume, ornaments and a similar hair style like a nymph. Sahrei stated the musical instrument resembled with "*rabab*" a Pashto string instrument which is much popular among people of Khyber Pakhtun Khawa (Saheri 1988: 20). Next to the singing couple Maitrakanyaka is depicted in entering position in the open door and questions from the guardian of the palace about the weird scene in which a man is seated with the burning wheel on his head. The guardian holds a club in his left hand while with his right hand he is pointing at the wheel and telling him that 'it's your turn now'. The mother of Maitrakanyaka is not portrayed in the whole scene but the whole story is associated with the respect and honour of a mother which shows the position of a woman as a mother in the Gandhāran society. As a mother women enjoyed prominent position in Gandhāra art from jātaka stories till the last incarnation of the Buddha.

4.16 The representation of woman as wife in the Amara jātaka in Gandhāra art:

This is another remarkable story associated with the loyalty, faithfulness and love of a wife for her husband. Foucher stated in the legend of Amara Bodhisattva Siddhārtha is depicted in the feminine form or his wife Yaśodharā is portrayed in her previous birth (Foucher 1917: 174-75). The name of Amara's husband was Vararuchi. He was a student of his father. After his marriage

he went away from home to exercise asceticism. At his leaving he gave money to Hiranyagupta, his neighbour for domestic expenditures of his wife. After some time four men fell in love with Amara. Among these were a young officer, a domestic priest, the son of the minister of the king and Hiranyagupta. When Amara claimed money from Hiranyagupta, he snubbed to give it to her.

Lastly, she called all of them at different timings of the same night. With help of a servant she packed all of them under a basket. The Hiranyagupta was last one he made the revelation because he retained his husband's money. Next morning, she went to the king with all four baskets and narrated the whole story (*The jāataka*, no.546. vol.VI. 182-246). The Amara jāataka is also described in the *Mahāvastu* in which the exalted one said to his monks that it is not first time that he won Yaśodharā by means of his skills. Before this long ago there was smith village outside Yavakachaka. The daughter of head smith named Amara was very amiable, comely, virtuous and of great power. The great Mahausadha asked her parents to give him Amara but her parents were not agreed to give their daughter to one who is not smith. After that the great Mahausadha skilled himself in needle making, however, when her father saw the needles he got amazed he took his daughter with him and addressed the great Mahausadha in the following verse; "Never I have heard of, never have I seen such needles. I am well pleased with your work, and I give you this girl of mine". At that occasion it was Yaśodharā as a smith's daughter (*The Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 80-86, Jones).

The legend of faithful Amara is shown in fig 80 in associated portions. In the extreme right side of the panel with the assistance of a servant she is trapping the suitors under the basket and again she is standing aside under a tree and watching the whole activity. The tree spirit or a deva or a minor deity is observing admiringly between the leaves of the tree. In the middle scene a huge basket is placed in the middle with three male heads peer over the boundaries of the bulky basket. At the right side a man with a long staff is standing, he looks like a Brahman while on the other side an old woman is standing and discussing this incident with the Brahman. On the extreme left side, a royal couple is depicted on a high same throne in a very candid and relaxed stance. They are turned and looking at each other which shows they are enjoying the condition of three men under the basket and appreciating the elegance of faithful Amara or listening the blaring argument going on. The sitting style of the royal couple also shows the status of woman as a wife in the art of Gandhāra. Their grace also resembled with the sitting posture of Queen Māyā and King Śuddhodana as well. Ingholt and Sehrai stated the same story of faithful Amara

is also depicted on the stupa of. In this the king is sitting on his throne, and Amara is standing beside him, pointing to her lovers in the open basket. Three baskets are unwrapped and showing the faces of the lovers, while the fourth is placed on the shoulders of two porters (Ingholt 1957: 49; Sehrai 1988: 21).

This legend portrayed the status and position of a trustworthy woman in the pre Gandhāran society. The depiction of the legend on various places shows the worth of the genuineness of a woman towards her husband. The artist depicted the legend with additional love and admiration which also narrates a lesson for other women in the society. In this jātaka story the artist had very beautifully depicted the loyalty and faithfulness of a wife because throughout the world the loyalty and love of wife is being appreciated.

4.17 The role and status of woman as wife in Visvantara jātaka as depicted in Gandhāraart

It is story of the last incarnation of Buddha in which Buddha was born as Prince Visvantara, the son of the King Sivi. He was renowned for his charity. He had a magnificent white elephant which used to carry rain wherever and whenever needed. Once the neighbouring country named Kalinga in India suffered famine due to shortage of rainfall. It is requested to Visvantara by the King of that country through the delegation of Brahmans to give them the miraculous elephant to produce rain. Prince Visvantara gifted the white elephant to the delegation of Brahmans which enraged his father's substance and he was displaced from his kingdom on the annoyed objection of his father on his act of charity.

In the company of his wife and two young children he was exiled in a remote jungle. Due to his charitable nature, on his way he gave his horse and then his royal chariot in assistance. Later he gave his children to a terrific Brahman in charity. The trial of his donations was not finished yet, Sakra, the King of gods in disguise achieved the wife of the Prince of charity. But finally the trial of the Prince of charity terminated and the entire family is combined in the court of the King (*the jātaka*, vol-VI. no.547. 246-547). The legend of the Visvantara was allied with the Gandhāra during sixth and fifth century A.D. In the time of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsang and Sung-Yun. They stated that the story has occupied the Mardan district near Shahbaz Garahi. The rock edicts of the Mauryan king Aśoka in Kharoshati in script have erected at the same place other than two thousand years (Hargreaves 1928: 22; Sahrei 1988:22).

Fig. 81 represents the prince Visvantara his wife, Sakra (the king of gods) and four other figures. Two of them has halo in the background which is representing their divine status. The

sculpture is representing the last phase of this legend. The Visvantra, his wife and Sakra are standing in the frontal row. Sakra and Visvantra are standing in an identical posture wearing almost identical dress. The only difference is that the upper part of the prince is nude. The Sakra is looking at the prince and his hand gesture shows that he is talking about something. It might be possible he is informing him about the acceptance of his charity. The woman is standing with a curve to the other side and her facial and hand gesture shows she is talking with the figure depicting near to her. She wears an elegant dress (resembled with the dress of women worshippers in fig. 123) ornaments and a nice head dress. The whole legend revolves around the charity of the prince. However, the loyalty and the tolerance of the wife cannot be overlooked. She left all the comforts of her royal life and escorted her husband. Furthermore, he tolerates and accepts her husband's decision when he donates their children to a terrific Brahman. *Vessantara jāataka*...portrays an ideal wife, who encouraged and helped the Bodhisattva to fulfil his vows.... Thus, she helped him in pursuing the ideal of 'Dāna Parāmitā,' and did not prove herself an obstructing force. In this way as a Bodhisattva wife, woman, too underwent the same penance (Talim 1972: 99-100). Subsequently, this wonderful legend portrays a very diverse and exclusive aspect of women's nature.

4.18 The role and status of woman in the Dipankara jāataka as represented in Gandhāra art

The Dipankara jāataka is debated by various scholars with keen interest and attention because the story related to Dipankara jāataka is mentioned in different texts and Gandhāra art as well. From the sacred text we come to the point that it is not easy to become Buddha. This position is obtained after a long struggle and by sacrificing all pleasures of human life. Once the Dipankara Buddha was about to visit a certain town. The king of the area reserved all the flowers to pay respect and homage to Buddha. A young ascetic named Megha or Sumati desired to pay his adoration to Buddha. But he was unable to purchase any flower for the homage. He was in trouble but meanwhile got a chance to meet a young girl, who had seven lotuses or according to Burgees she has some Utpala or blue lotus (Burgees 1985:143). The story of Dipankara Buddha is mentioned in detail in the *Mahāvastu* from his birth till his death (the *Mahāvastu*: Vol. I: 152-203, Jones). When Dipankara Buddha visited the royal city of Dipavati in the company of eighty thousand monks, the young Brahman Megha recognised his thirty-two marks, he felt sublime exhilaration,

a sublime joy and gladness, he threw those five lotuses towards the exalted Dipankara, and they remained fixed as a bright veil covering the circle of Dipankara's head. The young Brahman girl Prakriti also threw her two lotuses and these too stood suspended in the air and the flowers thrown by other people stood over the exalted one as a canopy of flowers so as to win power over men ready to be trained. Then exalted one convinced people by means of three miracles, the miracle of magic power, and the miracle of mind-reading and the miracle of instruction (the *Mahāvastu* Vol. I: 192-93, Jones). Sumeti purchased five of the flowers from her, on condition that in all future births she would be his wife.

When Dipankara arrived at the place Sumeti casted the flowers before the Buddha, the flowers did not fall the ground but remained suspended over the head of the Buddha. When this miracle happened Sumeti prostrated him and bowed down himself in the feet of the Buddha in homage and adoration. He wanted Buddha, to cross over his hairs, so that his feet may not get muddy. At the same time, he wished to become the saviour of the world. Seeing his adoration and devotion, the Dipankara Buddha predicted that he will attain the enlightenment and will become a Buddha and will be born as the Śākyamuni Buddha, in the age of Sakaya tribe. Hearing this, young man miraculously rose up into the air where he again kneeled and continued his homage to Buddha. The young man of that time was destined later to become Gautama Buddha of history, while the young girl from whom he borrowed the lotuses, Buddhist believed that she is Yaśodharā, the beloved wife of the Prince Siddhārtha, whom he left in the great renunciation in search of eternal happiness and peace (Ingholt 1957: 50; Foucher AGBG, 275. Fig, 139; Hargreavese 1928: 4-6, fig11; Majumdar: 29-34, Burgees 1965:142-3.fig.95).

On the extreme right of the fig 82 a young girl and Sumeti are shown busy in bargain. The girl is shown in a corner on a flat throne, she holds lotuses in her right hand and wears Indian dress. Her whole body is covered and she is elegantly adorned with ornaments; long necklace, bangles, earrings, thick anklets and a beautiful wreathed headdress. The young Sumeti stands near her asking for flowers in exchange of promise that she would be his wife in all future incarnation. The Dipankara Buddha is depicted in a heroic figure, wearing the monk robe. He is standing in reassurance gesture with a big *halo* in the background and is accompanied by a monk. Brahman Sumeti is standing near Dipankara Buddha showering flowers on Buddha with his right hand, while in left hand he is holding a water jar in his left hand. When the flowers are showered over the head of the Buddha, he lay down on the ground near the feet of Buddha and spread out

his hairs like a mat over in adoration of the Buddha. Sumeti, the loving ascetic of the Buddha is depicted four times in the scene. Finally, he is seen in the mid-air in front of the balcony of the house paying homage to the Buddha in *Anjalimudara*. Burgees stated that the depiction of the balconies were common theme in Indian art. The inhabitants (men and women) looked down the processions from the open balconies of their houses. It basically belongs to the old Indian art; it is also depicted on the east gateway of the stupa at Sāñcī and recurrent in Greek art (Burgees 1965: 59). Behrendt stated the relief of Dipankara jātaka shows resemblance with the North Indian sculptures and with the Indo-Parthian style (Behrendt 2007: 35). Marshall stated that the small cut crafted in the arris and its support for the foot of Sumeti and the dense garland dressed by the girl taken from the Graeco-Parthian style (Marshall 1960:57).

The architecture is full of eastern colour because it is an eastern tradition to stand in the balconies on particular occasions and events. The depiction of divine and human figures in the balconies is usual in Gandhāra art like at the eve of renunciation of the Buddha, still this style of construction and architecture is very common even now days. In one scene when he is bargaining with the young girl, he wears full dress, while in other three places he wears only lower garment. The young girl from whom he purchased the flowers is depicted in the corner of the scene. She is the central figure of the fortune of the Sumeti, who took flowers from her to pay homage to Buddha. The sense of sacrifice of a woman is depicted in the sculpture. She gave the flowers to Sumeti thinking that these flowers are meant to be for Buddha whether I present or he presents it to him. This also shows the weak nature of woman because he gave her the offer of marriage in future. If he had to seek flowers from any male member, he could have offered him something special and expensive so he took the advantage of her womanhood. She had played a sort of sacred role that on the offer of marriage she lent him the flowers. Secondly that person might have misled her to have flowers.

At this moment we cannot ignore the adoration of Utpalavarnā (See chapter 5) in comparison with male members. It can also be said that Utpalavarnā and Sumeti had equally adored and venerated Buddha although due to their gender discrimination Sumeti had been given more importance in Dipankar jātaka where as Utpalavarnā sometimes neglected. In all the sculptures Gopa is depicted because she became the source of good news of being future Buddha to Sumeti because of his warm welcome and sacredness. The reason was Gopa because he borrowed flowers from her if she had not lent him the flowers he would not have been able to

welcome him warmly. Gandhāra art had given women their true depiction in the society and had portrayed a positive expression of their sacrifices, faith and their religious worships. This shows us that if women did not enjoy a very high position even then they were given an acceptable place in the religion and society if we compare their status with the pre Gandhāra society.

The hero of the jātaka appears to be Sumeti (according to the Divyavadana, sumedha of the Pali texts and Megha in the Mahāvastu) He says the King Vasava, at the eve of his twelve years sacrificed and offered four great gifts (namely, a golden staff, a water pot, a bed decorated with gold and gems, five hundred karsapanas and a bride decked with ornaments) to Sumeti because of his high proficiency in Vedas. He accepted the first four but not the bride. The girl got impressed by Sumeti and requested her to accept him as his bride, but he was not willing then the girl went to the city of Dipavati and dedicated herself to the services of the god. She gave her ornaments to a gardener in turn of a promise of a number of blue lotuses for worship. On the day of Dipankara Buddha's visit to the Dipavati, the girl went to the Gardner to get her share of flowers, but all flowers were collected by the King for the welcome reception of the Dipankara Buddha. But at the same time, miraculously, seven lotuses blossomed in the gardener's tank. The girl plucked them and kept them in a water jar so nobody can see them. Sumeti was very ambitious to worship the blessed one. So he requested the girl to give him flowers in exchange of five hundred coins. The girl did not agree but when she realized that like herself he also wanted flowers for worship. She got ready to give him five flowers on one condition that at the time of offering the flowers to the Buddha he will cherish a desire to have her in every future birth as his wife. Sumeti agreed at her demand (Das 2004: 110). The legend of the Dipankar jātaka presents the optimistic and confident human attitudes of both genders for each other. Thus we come to know that Gandhāra art represents the passions and desires of human behaviours in a very realistic manner.

These legends are expressing the qualities of a good and exemplary wives. They are portrayed constantly faithful and dedicated to their husband. They forego their royal luxuries and endure all sorts of desolation for her husband. The primary intent of these stories is to praise the generosity of the Bodhisattva, and for this reason they do not go further and also praise how loyal his wife was or even give her any credit for being so selfless a wife. At the end of these stories, we are told that, in each case, the life led by the loyal wife was a past life of Yaśodharā (the *Mahāvastu*.vol. I. Jones).

Chapter 5

The Role and Status of Women as Depicted in Gandhāra Art in the Religious Context

This chapter throws light on the religious roles and status of women in the Buddhist society. In this chapter first category comprises on the role and status of celestial women in Gandhāra art. The role and services of Harithi and city goddess is discussed here. The goddess Harithi was majorly associated with children while city goddess is depicted on the auspicious and major events of Buddha's life history. The next class comprises women who were the neglected part of the society but due to their sacredness and sacrifices they got a commendable place in the Buddhist society and Gandhāra art. The third group comprises women worshippers. In this group women of all age are shown and their sacredness and love toward the religion made them an unavoidable part of Buddhist society and Gandhāran society and art. In the next episode, the aspect of spirituality of a dead women and element of jealousy in women's nature would be discussed in which a woman conspired against another woman.

5.1 The role and status of mother goddess Hariti as represented in Gandhāra art:

There are many *Shalabhanjika yaksis* in Gandhāra, the most common types of *yaksi* figures originate in the region are those of the ogress Hariti. The initial enduring sculptures of Hariti date from the Kushana period and are found in the area of Gandhāra itself. Hariti was initially a folk deity originating from Swat, and her tale is recognized in ancient Indian scrolls such as the *Samyukavastu*. Before Buddhism, Hariti existed in the Hindu pantheon as the folk goddess Mari, Mata, Badi, or Mai (Joshi & Sharma 1969: 14). All Buddhist texts agree on the status of Hariti as mother goddess of Buddhism. This goddess achieved prominence among Buddhist domains. The status of Hariti are found in monasteries with children because children are symbol of fertility and richness. The people of Gandhāra worshipped her and paid offerings and donations in love and adoration. The sculptures of Harithi are erected only in monasteries not in other places and occasion because her legend is only associated with children. The concept of mother goddess is very inclusive but we did not find any other mystical powers and influences associated with Hariti. The history of the worship of mother goddess is not a new concept in the Buddhist society, particularly in Gandhāra art.

According to the *Puranas* the mother goddess is considered as a woman with extra strength and supremacies in the world. With her natural powers she has the ability of subjugating all types of evil to protect children and all humans are her children. The concept of *Sakti* regarding mother goddess developed in phases and continued in Buddhism and Jainism. The worship of the mother cult was common practice in the prehistoric north-west India and extends from the Indus valley to the Asia Minor. The Great mother, the pregnant goddess of fertility was worshipped through the world due to her nourishing, defending and protecting character (Mitter 2001: 8; S. P. Gupta 2002: 55). The concept of the mother goddess existed in most of the religions of India. Hariti is a well-known and most reputable goddess of the Buddhism. The identification of Hariti in Gandhāra art is not difficult because she is depicted mostly with children around her. This myth is associated with different stories. These stories help to comprehend her high position in Buddhist art of Gandhāra. There are four ways in which Gandhāran artists have portrayed Hariti, however I have divided her visual description into the following types: Hariti as a mother goddess; Hariti as a demon-goddess; Hariti coupled with her consort Panchika; Hariti with acornucopia.

The representation of Hariti in *Samyukavastu*:

The root meaning of the word Harithi is ‘one who robes’. It has a close connection with her legend. The first story is related to her karma or deeds in her previous life (Datta 1942: 207). According to Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), the most specified chronicle of Hariti exists in *Samyukavastu*, Chapter 31, in the *Bhiksuni Vibhanga* of the *Mulasarvastivada Vinaya* (Shaw 2006: 468). This material is dated to the fourth or fifth century, while portions of the work are apparent previously. According to this text, Hariti is known as the *yaksi* Abhirati, which means “Joyful Girl”. Her father Sata, was the patron of *yaksa* of Rajagrha, the ancient land in today’s Nalanda district of the Indian state of Bihar. When, Sata died, Abhirati’s duty was to follow in her father’s footsteps. However, she refused to commit to her familial expectations having already sworn an oath in her former existence, to devour the children of Rajagrha. Though her brother Satagiri was aware of her spiteful goals, he failed to dissuade her. In order to divert her from her wicked vow, he arranged for her marriage to Panchika, the son of the patron *yaksa* of Gandhāra. Abhirati lived with her husband and gave birth to five hundred children. Ultimately, the irrevocable force of her pledge manifested itself and could no longer be denied. She descended on Rajagrha with her brood, kidnapping and consuming the infants and children of the town.

The citizens of Rajagrha, in a desperate means to satisfy the unknown *yaksa* responsible for the massacre, offered food, flowers, music and banners in their prayers. When a *yaksa* recognized Abhirati as the hellion injurious their young, the public decided that the so-called “Joyful Girl”, better deserved the name Hariti, which denoted “Thief”. In an offer to exact revenge, the people turned to Shakyamuni Buddha, who concealed Abhirati’s youngest child under his begging bowl, rendering him undetectable. Hariti, inconsolable, seek far and wide for her baby in vain and requested to the Buddha, claiming that she would end her life if he refused to return her beloved offspring. The Buddha stated: “You have lost only one out of five hundred, but still you are so much grieved, imagine the immense sufferings you are causing to others by devouring their children, in some cases even the only child” (Joshi & Sharma 1969: 13). Hariti, compassionate and finally repentant impressed Shakyamuni with her eagerness to change, and he returned her child and took her under his patronage as her guru. She obtained the five precepts of Buddhism and became an *Upasika*, or a female layworshipper. Abiding by one of his five precepts: to abstain from taking life. Hariti expressed her reservations that her children would starve without the flesh diet to which they were so accustomed. The Buddha then promised that his disciples would leave a bowl of food each time they sat for a meal, as an offering to Hariti and her children. In exchange, Hariti and her offspring would immortally safeguard his devotees and grant a sense of comfort and tranquility to his monasteries (Shaw 2006:112).

According to B. K. Datta, in her former life she was born in sub-Himalayan region and her name was *Kundala*. In her previous life she made a vow. She daily stole and ate the infants of the Rajagrha. In the result of this inhuman act she was reborn as *Yakshi* and gave birth to five hundred children. Every day she stole an infant to feed herself and her five hundred sons from Rajagrha. When people came to know that their goddess is revealing them they informed Buddha. Buddha wanted to put this offensive act to end. So he seized one of her youngest and adored child. She roamed place to place in search of her son and lastly reached to Buddha and told him about her child. Buddha uttered his wonder about her curiosity for her child, though he is one of five hundred. Then Buddha made her understand about the heartache of those who had only one or two children and lost one or both on account of her harsh act. The words of the great man touched her heart and she was converted to Buddhism and became an *Upasika* or lay disciple (Datta 1942: 207). When she was converted to Buddhism she was anxious about the presence of her children in future. The Buddha assured her that an adequate amount of food would be provided to her and for her children

daily in every Buddhist monastery by the *Bikshus* dwelled in the *monasteries*. This is a reason that the image of Hariti is found in a porch or in a corner of the dining hall in all Buddhist monasteries holding a baby in her arms or around. Burgess gives her name *Kishimojin*, the protector of the earth and caring *Eingara* her youngest child in her arms or sometimes with six daughters (Ingholt 1957: 145; Burgees, 1965: 104-105). The second interesting story related to the mother goddess Hariti is portraying her revenging attitude in response of cheating. Intrigued by the tale, the townspeople asked the Buddha the reason for Hariti's initial vow to prey on infants.

H.C. Das and Shaw writes that Hariti was wife of a cowherds at Rajagrha, she lost her expected child in a dance festival. She was forced to dance, and the dance caused miscarriage. After this event she became revengeful and retaliated by scoffing children. She was supposed to be a protector deity of Rajagrha for her spiteful acts in former birth but now she had developed a habit of stealing and eating the children of Rajagrha (Das 2004: 78-9; Shaw 2006: 112). Upon encountering the *Pratyeka*, or the solitary Buddha, she offered five hundred mangoes that she had previously bought in exchange for her buttermilk. The *Pratyeka* Buddha, touched by her generous donations provided her with magical powers and Hariti, who vowed to wreak revenge for the loss of her child now had the power to do so. Thus, in order to fulfill her vow, she was reborn as Abhirati, a *yaksi* with the power to consume human flesh (Shaw 2006: 113). It is important to identify that people at the time believed that *yaksis* could grant fertility to women and provoke their pregnancy, but also appropriate children. Infantile illness or miscarriages were consequences of incurring the curses of another *yaksi*. To seek vengeance, Hariti wanted to provoke the sufferings of other women who may have been responsible for cursing her. Shakyamuni's response to Hariti's dreadful activities was one of concern rather than anger: representing the Buddhist virtue of compassion even at the most violent behavior. He understood that her actions were derived from a deep wound from former life that had caused her to become psychologically distressed and merciless. He allowed her redemption and exoneration by a renewal of the self. He saw potential for enlightenment in every soul, no matter how deformed the character was. He induced and found in Hariti, the faint remnant of goodness in her love for children and utilized this aspect of her to prompt her ethical conversion (Shaw 2006: 115). Hariti repentantly pledged to devote herself to the well-being of others as abenefactor.

Representation of Hariti as the embodiment of small pox:

The third legend of this mother goddess is related to her supernatural strength to cure the disease of the smallpox among children. Foucher stated that Harithi was in fact a wicked fairy belonged to the race of the maleficent, the spirit of the air (*Yaksha*) but she is also represented as the demon of the sickness of smallpox and the genius of riches. This devotee was considered as a menace to infection when smallpox infects an unvaccinated population of children. In spite of the advanced vaccinations it is a common belief in India that she should have finished the disease of the small pox by converting herself from a forbidding hazard into a compassionate divinity (Foucher 1914: 280). The worship of deities responsible for eruption of epidemic illness seems to be an ancient common cult of native backgrounds that has been recorded as a folk practice in Indian villages till present day (Brubaker 1978: 50) Malignant female ghosts and disease demons were rampant in the Hindu pantheon (Brubaker 1978: 52). The imagery of cannibal goddesses re-emerged in Buddhist legends, proving the cultural expressions of the shared ideology (Slusser 1972: 97-98). In the Hindu tradition, the most popular *Shitala Mata*, the wife of Shiva the Destroyer, the goddess of sores, ghouls, pustules and disease. Her name *Shitala* literally means smallpox in Sanskrit, but she is colloquially stated to as *ma* or *amma*, which means 'mother'. Her name indicates both a maternal situation and a purveyor of plague, associations that are also prescribed to Hariti. Hariti, *Shitala Mata* and many other disease goddesses share the characteristic of ambivalence, operating as a figure of malevolence and benevolence at once, simultaneously the source of disease and the agent of its cure (Brubaker 1978: 243-244). Historically, these epidemic goddesses are always identified as a maternal female. Hence, the construction of a nurturing yet vile mother is a nation- wide expression of the underlying trepidation of the feminine that was manifest in Brahmanical and Buddhist orthodoxy (Crooke 1896:1-127).

The *Avadana Kalpalata* directly affirms that when Hariti descended on Rajagrha, "an epidemic in the city caused the women to lose their children in the womb." Therefore, in accounts of the legend, Hariti may have kidnaped children by infusing infection due to the beliefs of period when her story was in formation (Shaw 2006: 177). Naturally, it was the *yaksi* Hariti who developed into the embodiment of small pox, the most dreaded of all infantile diseases at the time. What adds gravity to this hypothesis is the rationale behind the concentration of Hariti images in the Gandhāra region. Relative to other areas abiding by the Buddhist religion during a contemporary time period, Gandhāra possesses a plethora of Hariti sculptures. If we consider the inquiry of Bivar correct than we can associate this concept of remedy of smallpox to

the consume epidemic assaulted in Roman Empire in 166 C.E. Roman troops caught by this infection in 165 C.E. which resulted in a high death rate in Rome. Galen of Pergamum a well-known physician described it as smallpox. The author said if his dating of the Skarah Dheri image to C.E. 136 is correct. The epidemic was already travelled through the trade routes, eventually reaching Gandhāra and growing in the region of Kanishk. The infection spread rapidly within a short span of time and the images of Harithi in Gandhāra reflects the growing distraction of the Buddhist devotees (Bivar 1970: 19; Shaw 2006: 124). It was at this time, during the artistic pinnacle of Kushan rule, that people felt the need to submit to Hariti in order to prevent the danger of contagion. Therefore, the people leaned toward this *yaksi* in particular, forming a Hariti cult. The claim provides the socio-historical conditions that may have stimulated the spread of her cult (Shaw 2006: 124).

Yijing and Foucher account

The Chinese pilgrim Yijing, also known as I-Tsing (671-695 CE), narrated the tale of Hariti and informed that laypersons did in fact deliver food offerings at her altars, in keeping with the story (Shaw 2006:113) He indicates: “Hariti has the ability of giving prosperity. If those who are barren on account of their physical weakness, make donation of foodstuff, their need is always rewarded... Everyday an ample offering of food is made before this image” (Shaw 2006:115). According to Yi-Tsing, the image of Hariti is shown almost in all of the Indian monasteries not as a devourer but as the giver of the children because people thought of her as a goddess of fertility. We can notice this concept of *Sakti* in the figure of Hariti where she is also depicted with multiple hands (fig. 86) which represents her multiple powers at the same time. Besides the journey of the Yijing and Hiuen-tsang, the archaeological activities of Foucher also provide the reliable indications of the existence of the legend related to fertility goddess Hariti. During his journey he found a Stupa and monastery in every mound and the conciliation of Hariti with offering of food (Foucher 1914: 281-83). So besides the textual facts the evidence of stupa and shrine at Zari Dheri which is connected to Hariti are much more vital evidences of the presence of Hariti.

Representation of Hariti in Buddhism:

The Buddhist shrine combined supernatural existence of native character wherever the Buddhist practice spread (Shaw 2006:116). Whereas, *yaksis* typically beautified *stupa* railings and entrances

outside the monastic locations, Hariti sculptures were placed within them. Her adoration was that of the first independent goddess cult within Buddhism (Shaw 2006:110). Her description as a child-eater was by no means distinctive to the area: certain *yaksas* and *yaksinis* were, and are still, considered to retain the power of sucking the liveliness out of humans by devouring their flesh. The terror they prompted among people and their craving to steal and eat babies begins from sufferings of childlessness, miscarriage, death in childbirth, and death of an infant. At that time women would decide to be reborn as *yaksis* to find evidence against the ones to blame for harming their children. This pattern, predominant in the society, would become a malicious cycle perpetuated over lifespan, with every revengeful mother producing chaos in her next life (Shaw 2006: 117). The Buddhists altered her from this curse into a beneficent deity (Joshi & Sharma 1969: 14). In the Gandhāran Buddhist tradition, Hariti's persona adds a womanly touch to a religion so rampant with male descriptions of the Buddha. Since Shakyamuni Buddha had transcended the earthly plane and arrived in the realm of *parinirvana*, devotees turned to Hariti: an earthly, and therefore more amicable, deity (Shaw 2006: 111). She listened to the needs of the common people, providing them with an image to which to pray for the wellbeing of their children. As reward, they assigned a part of their meal in the belief that Hariti's children would consume the food. On the evidences of the image of Hariti on various archaeological sites of Gandhāra, Hariti is known as a mother goddess and fecundity goddess and shown with a group of children and her consort *Kuvera*, the lord of wealth. This subject was very communal and popular in Gandhāra Sculptures. The catalogues of various museums and private collections have published beautiful sculpture of Hariti with different mods like Kurita, Ingholt and Zwalf's record represented unique and mature collection of the image of Hariti from different sites of Pakistan. The sculptures of Hariti are very unique, costly and in a fine style. We have found different sculptures of Hariti, which is a proof that people believed in the power of Hariti and used to honour her.

In fig 84 Hariti stands in a very graceful manner. One child is depicted on her right arm with a hand lying on her exposed breast while her left hand is resting on waist and two children are portrayed on her shoulders, in a posture that they are playing with her. Two babies are naked, while the third one wears a long costume, climbing on her left shoulder with the support of her headdress. He wears anklets and holding a bowl in left hand. The manner in which the children clutch onto

their mother's body is similar to that of the Roman Tellus, a relief from the Ara Pacis Augustae. This marble relief was created in Rome during the Early Empire, the Augustan period, in the years 13- 9 BCE. Tellus was considered a goddess of the earth in ancient Roman religion and myth. Just like Hariti, Tellus's attributes were the cornucopia, bunches of fruit and flowers and babies. The name Tellus is the Latin word for land, territory and earth, conjuring up notions of fertility (Lyons & Ingholt 1957: 146). In this figure Hariti stands in a very comfortable position, her long almond eyes are wide open and we can see a lovely smile on her face. She wears a transparent sari made with a single piece of cloth and a beaded girdle under the drapery and adorned with precious ornaments. She wears two types of bangles in hands, long heavy earrings and an elegant headdress. Hariti hair are properly combed back at the side. Ingholt added, in the middle of the forehead the hair is arranged like a cluster of snail-shell curls (Ingholt 1957: 146). A small rosette appears in the centre of the forehead. The rosette, a vegetative motif, proposes Hariti's connection with earthly fertility. The rosette design shows and traces the Mediterranean influence on this sculpture. Rosettes appeared in Mesopotamia and Ancient Greece, one of the earliest one found in the famed Phaistos Disc dating from the 2nd millennium BCE, recovered from the Phaistos archaeological site in southern Crete (Schwartz 1959: 105-112). This design seemingly traveled to Gandhāra and derives from the natural botanical shape, which was common in funeral steles. The fact that she wears this ancient vegetative motif further underscores her original identity as a *yaksi* tree-dweller, a woman whose origins exist in a natural setting. Achary stated that this sculpture reminds us the early Palmyrene ladies because of the ears tresses and a pearl diadem on her head recalls the Byzantine queens (Achary 2009: 76). This sculpture is a combination of beauty and grace of a woman. The dressing and the ornaments worn by Hariti are really out class which shows her honour and status. We did not even find this kind of ornaments and dressing worn by Queen Māyā or Yaśodharā in Gandhāra art. Her head dress and the crest triumphing shows classical appearance while the ornaments display the Indian fashion (Burgess 1965:103-104).

Fig 85 shows that people used to love and honour Hariti and in order to achieve their demand and honour the artist had portrayed her in such a way (Fig. 84). In this sculpture two babies are seated on the shoulders of Hariti on each side while the younger one is depicted on her left hand near her breast. She holds a flower in her right hand and adorned with beautiful ornaments and an elegant headdress with a very unique and different hair style having heart shape in the middle of the forehead. She wears a full sleeves sari with folded pattern and stand in the

same posture in fig 84 like an Indian style. The ornaments like necklaces and the earrings are typically representing Indian elegance. But serenity and gratification can be observed on her face which symbolizes her divinity and holiness.

Hariti depicted differently in fig 86 which reveals a different legend related to this significant personality in the Buddhist faith. This is quite interesting how a monster converted and associated to the Buddhist religion. In this scene she is portrayed in a standing position which discloses her previous nature. Her posture shows her strength and valour. She is depicted with four arms, and holds different things in her four hands which might represent her four different abilities and strength. In her right hand she holds a wine cup in her upper right hand a child is seated on her lower right hand. On the upper left hand, she carries a *trident (trishula)*, Her upper left hand holds a trident, a weapon that symbolizes the Three Jewels of Buddhism: the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *sangha* (McArthur 2002: 141). According to Ingholt, the trident is borrowed from her husband Pachika's lance, much like the wine-cup on her upper right hand. According to Bivar, it is a *trisula*, a symbol of Siva, which has an obvious relevance to the destructive effects of smallpox (Bivar 1970: 19). The representation of Hariti with *triśūla* symbol of Siva shows a clear significance to the destructive effects of smallpox. In lower left hand she holds a water pot, which depicts and reflects her fertility power for both man and earth while her bottom left hand holds a child, alluding to her power of imparting fruitfulness to both earth and man (Ingholt 1957: 146). The expressions of delight are visible on her face and in her half open eyes. Her garment is transparent and her breasts are visible but legs are covered and she is adorned with different ornaments and having a different hair style a cross in the middle and hairs are arranged on both sides of the forehead. She attires a precious jewelled headdress like a queen and there is a beetle leaf shaped depicted in the middle of the headdress. A large *halo* is depicted behind her and an *ūrṇā* (third eye) marked in the middle of her forehead which is indicating her divine rank like deities. Two tusk-like teeth protrude upwards from both sides of her smiling lips: indicative of the deranged Hariti prior to conversion. A cluster of leaves alongside her head represents the symbolic vestiges of the tree of fertility associated with the Indian *yaksis* (Rowen 2002: 57). Her overall image is impressive and fear inducing.

Two male figures most probably donors are shown below near her legs on both sides of the sculpture. They hold something in their hands might be a gift for the goddess or paying homage in her honour in Añjalimudrā. Before goddess Hariti, the goddess Badrakali was also depicted with sword, a conch shell and an arrow. These symbols show the strength and furious nature of the goddess. The use of such weapons by the mother goddess is abundantly found during Kusana period (Achary 2009: 76; S. P. Gupta 2002: 56). So, it is quite recognizable that both scholars are right in their view about the depiction of trisūla because the portrayal of such weapons presents the strength and valour of the goddess. Such weapons are commonly used to conquer or to contest the enemies in the Indian society. Apart from this the divine figures are portrayed with such kind of weapons in the temples. So these emblems are used symbolically to present the divine figures in the Indian art.

In fig 87 Panchika and Hariti are sharing the same seat and are seated in European style that represents their equal status. Hariti is frequently depicted along with her spouse as they both play benefactor roles and form a fitting divine couple in a devotional context. While Hariti is queen of the *yaksi* clan, Panchika stands for the aggregate of the *yaksas* that follow and support the Buddha (Shaw 2006:127). When displayed together, they emanate with an impression of grandeur and strength. Contrary to the early Indian representations of nature deities, Hariti and Panchika were individualized (Rowen 2002 : 80). The couple evolved and were formulated a separate identity that was independent of the actions or life events of the Buddha (Rowen 2002: 80). They had kept their right foot on the stool while the other one is placed on the ground. In this sculpture four children are depicted around the divine couple in different position and places. She holds a child in her lap like a suckling infant, who is playing with her necklace. A wizened, grinning yaksa pops up between their shoulders to extend an offering (Rowen 2002: 85). This sculpture reminds us the sitting posture of Queen Māyā and King Śuddhodana. Panchika is turned towards Harithi while she seated comfortably and restfully. Marshall describes the figure of Panchika as a Scythian chief (Marshall 1960: fig 114). Later he was identified as Panchika (Marshall 1960: 104). It shows the Scythian influence on Gandhāra art. The god Panchika wears only a lower garment *paridhana* and is naked from his waist but he attired an elegant ornament, his one arm is damaged and other is not clearly visible but he has a broad chest and a solid body, while the goddess Hariti wears a folded sari made by a diaphanous cloth. This sculpture is different from others because her consort Panchika is also depicted with her and her children are also present there, which shows the

maternal love and fertility. Hariti is variously depicted differently with her counterpart Panchika. According to Basham, the mother goddess is considered as *sakti*. She gave strength and potency to her male counterpart, because gods were taken as inactive and superior while the goddesses are active and intrinsic. During the Gupta period the worship of the mother goddess began in special temple due to her extra activeness and as strength of her male counterpart (Basham 1954:511).

Fig 88 is a beautiful figure of goddess Hariti with eight children. She wears a thin fabric tunic with folded pattern; her whole body is covered; only her breasts are clearly visible under the tunic. She is seated on a high stool with her legs wide open in a European style but in clumsy mood. There is another garment like a shawl around her shoulders, round the back and fall from the left shoulder. Her head dress is quite different; she wears a wreath with a six-petal led flower at the middle of the head. Besides this she is having different hair style, loops of hair are depicted on both sides of the forehead with a plain surface in the centre. A small naked infant is lying in her lap while three children are presented on both sides of Hariti near her legs. They all had different hair styles. On the right side of the goddess three children are depicted. In this sculpture all the children have rounded face and are wearing different ornaments. It should be underlined here that in all the sculptures related to goddess that are examined all the children present around her are male. There is no female child in all the sculptures. It is a common belief of ancient times that male children are preferred on female children. The artists had portrayed this believe keeping in view the mentality of the people and the society.

In fig 89 goddess Hariti is depicted equal to the god Panchika. He is wearing transparent long tunic with rippling pattern down to her anklets but the upper garment is very loose from her right shoulder. This dress of Hariti resembles the dress of city goddess in the episode of great departure in fig 94. She is having a different curled hairstyle with a knot in the centre. She grasps a long floral ornament called cornucopia in her left hand and rests her beautiful long fingered hand in the lap of Panchika. This attribute of the cornucopia is a marker of the prevailing Hellenistic influence even when processed by intermediate Iranian civilizations (Rowan 2002: 53). Due to the presence of a cornucopia, Hariti has been deemed an amalgamation of numerous goddesses from Mediterranean and Iranian cultures: Demeter, Roma, Fortuna, Tyche, Anahita and Ardoksho (Rowan 2002: 53). It is probable that these other cornucopia goddesses, whose analogous characteristics enabled their ultimate synthesis with Hariti, introduced the concept of the cornucopia into Gandhāra. Since Hariti may embody elements from Tyche, Ardoksho, Demeter

or Athena, her counterpart Panchika might in fact possess elements from other gods that were worshipped along the Silk Road, such as Kubera, Vaishravana, Pharro, or Heracles (Quagliotti 2011: 46). In spite of disparities of outward appearance and variations in attribute, all symbolic content emphasizes her function as a protective deity of fertility and affluence (Rowan 2002: 54). The presence of one or more children represented with the image of their deified mother provides the only unambiguous identification of Hariti (Rowan 2002: 53). A small child is shown standing next to Hariti holding her right thigh. The god who is known by different names, Panchika, Prajnaka, etc. is portrayed beside his consort looking towards her. His arms are not clearly visible but he holds a double handled drinking cup in his hand. Behind them a bearded old man is depicted with holding something on his back offering a small pouch to Panchika. Below their extreme right, a dwarfish naked figure is carved grasping the pot and looking upward. The facial expression of the couple is noticeable, their eyes are wide open, noses are sharp, chins are round and Panchika is smiling while Hariti's mouth is open as she is discussing something with her consort. At the feet of the god two pots of money are shown indicating that they are the gods of wealth.

According to Ingholt figure 90 is Demeter Hariti. This sculpture is different from other sculptures because in this sculpture children are absent. She is depicted alone on a four legged couch with cube pattern. Her features are very sharp. Her eyes are wide open just like bloomed flowers, pointed nose, and lips appear parted. She looks very graceful and elegant, while her sitting style shows her strength, respect and status in the eyes of the artist and in the society as well. She holds a *cornucopia* in her left hand. Her right hand is wrapped under her garment and is not observable. She attires a full body dress with a double folded pattern and a rounded head dress. Her hairs are arranged with back combing pattern. Ingholt commented it may be a local version of Demeter or an early Hariti because on the stratigraphic bases this sculpture is dated back in the early first century C.E. (Ingholt 1957: 148).

Panchika and Hariti are standing in a good mood having smiles on their faces in fig 91. Hariti is standing with bended legs while Panchika is standing with crossed legs below knees. She is holding some fruit between her thumb and middle finger. She is caring a baby on her left side in pure Indian style, which is rare in other sculptures. In every sculpture the baby is keeping his hand on left breast of Harithi which shows the fertility of women. In this sculpture Hariti is fully covered with an elegant dress while Panchika is nude only his legs below knees are covered with a loose piece of a garment. He is holding a case in his right hand. His feet are bare while Hariti is wearing

shoes in this sculpture. The artist tried to show the maternal love of a woman towards her child by portraying the child in her lap or by showing that she is feeding him. This is done to show the status of a mother in the society that how a mother loves her children and how she sacrifices and nurtures to bring up her children. We can see that the place of Māyā and Hariti is very eminent in Gandhāran society and these sculptures are portraying the true picture of this perception. The child in her hands should be the youngest one hidden by the Buddha for lesson and later given to the mother.

Fig 92 Dani stated, these sculptures provided the first basis for a modest beginning in the production of the art of Gandhāra under Kushan emperors (Dani 1965- 66: 40). In this sculpture Harithi depicted on a high and broad decorated black chair. The seat represents her distinctive status. Her sitting style is also shown in various Gandhāran sculptures i.e. in the episodes related to the royal couples in the interpretation of the dream and in the episode of the horoscope of Buddha. Māyā, Prajapati and Yaśodharā in the entertainment in the palace life are also depicted in the similar position. Her seated style had shown her social status in the Gandhāran society. On her back a halo like sign is apparent that is reflecting her religious position in the society. She wears a transparent wavy long drapery. Her breasts are apparent under her drapery. This kind of ornaments is equally famous and is still worn by Pakistani and Indian women on especial occasion. It is a common ornament of bridals and still in fashion in the modern times. Her half closed eyes characterize her contentment while her cheeks, nose and lips represent an ideal female beauty. This is unusual sculpture because in this sculpture she is grasping a bunch of grapes in her left hand that might show the arrangement of food from Buddha for her children.

There are seven children depicted in this sculpture. The youngest one is lying in the lap of the mother. It might be possible they are showing their love for the younger child and he is holding the neck ornament of his mother. The artist had deep observation about the child behaviour towards mothers. It is very common that children grasp the hand, ear, dress or any ornament of mother while sleeping that shows the child's satisfaction that the mother is near them. Gandhāra art is presenting a live picture of the human feelings and moods with the help of this sculpture. The keen observation of the artists about the human behaviour is presented in these sculptures. The sculptures strongly depict the emotions and essence of the children for her mother in this legend. The children are naked but adorned with and all them have long hair with similar hair style.

In fig 93 they are portrayed on the same seat but one important observation in this sculpture is a big rounded *halo* in the background which is enhancing their spirituality and holiness. The Panchika and Harithi are seated in a calming posture and smile is very obvious on their faces. She holds a pouch like object in her right hand which indicates the symbol of wealth of her consort. Panchika is depicted on her right side; he is seated with great valour and boldness. His sitting style resembled with Prince Siddhārtha and King Śuddhodana, or it might be possible it was common sitting style of respected and honourable or people with extraordinary qualities in the Buddhist society or in Gandhāra art. He has moustaches and wears *uttarīya* and bedecked with elegant. The presence of a female figure in the background between the two *halos* is unusual because in all other figures no female baby or any other female is portrayed with Panchika and Harithi.

The stimulating legend of Hariti is abundantly described in the text and represented in Gandhāra art because after her conversion in to Buddhism, she was considered and worshipped as a mother goddess. Apart from her conversion we can observe her motherly feeling for her lost child. When she met Buddha she was crying and lamenting for her missing baby. As stated above, at this moment he was touched by Buddha's speech and converted to Buddhism. The conversion of Hariti signify the soft nature of a woman because Hariti sacrifices her lust for the sake of people and religion. Conversely, in reward society and religion venerated her greatly and gave her the place of mother goddess and arranged food for her and her children in every monastery. The artists made a lot of sculptures in honour of Harithi to pay tribute to her convergence from a child eater to a mother goddess. Except from Hariti many forms of mother goddess are depicted in same manners in other arts. They are also highly adorned with ornaments, depicted in standing and sitting position on lotus. Acharay stated that the presence of Hariti with children is not a new idea in Gandhāra art. The image of Saptamatraka with a baby in her lap is also found on the bank of the river Baitarani in Jaipur. The worship of this deity is prevalent in Orissa from the time of Sailodbhava King (Acharay 2009: 77). There is a variety in the depiction of the images of Hariti. She is depicted standing, seated and holding a baby in her lap playing with her neck ornament or suckling her breasts (Fig. 85, 87, 88). She is also depicted with her consort. Sometimes the couple is sitting while the children are playing around them (Fig; 87). In figure ninety-one, she is carrying a baby on her hip, which resembles an Indian way. It is common in India that women carry the baby in this manner. The petty differences of the figures represent the local significance but the

central theme of the legend is same which increases the beauty and reliability of this legend. This legend indicated that people of these areas were living under diverse cultures and varied political dynasties but they were connected under common religious convictions and faiths.

According to Foucher the worship of goddess Hariti has been ecstatic early in the North-west India because she is worshipped as a patron of the childless people. She is depicted with a child in her hand which strongly resembled Virgin Mary (Foucher 1914: 282). Foucher included her in the group of idols and the cycle of the legends on the bases of the depiction of *halo* (Fig. 93). The image of Hariti gained a wide spread popularity in Gandhāra art because of her motherly nature and grace. The representation of Hariti in sculptural art was firstly occurred in Gandhāra. Apart from Gandhāra the Sculptures of Hariti are present in the Mathura art. During the Kushan period these sculptures are preserved in Mathura museum. The medieval period sculptures of the goddess are preserved in the Nalanda and Sarnath museums. Sculptures are displayed in *Ratnagiri Mahavihara* and the other in the *Lalitagiri* museum (Das 2004: 79; Joshi 1969: 89). Hariti also depicted in the art of Orrisa which talks about the Hariti image in Candi Mendut in Java with same attention and veneration. The sculptures of goddess Hariti are the most unique, expressive and beautiful as compared to other women depicted in Gandhāran sculptures. In these sculptures every aspect of Hariti's life is very vividly portrayed and these figures also symbolize the variance of behaviours of Gandhāran society about Hariti. Earlier she was a demon and later when she was converted in to Buddhism, people accepted her as goddess and started worshipping her and took offerings for her in order to get offspring.

5.2 The role and status of city goddess in great departure episode and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

The sculpture which often appears in the great departure scene represents a sacred female form of city goddess. In most sculptures in the *abhiniskramana* scene frontally or in profile can be identified as the city goddess of Kapilvastu. She is usually depicted in the corner of the narrative relief and dressed fully in Graeco-Roman *attire* like the classical and near Eastern goddess of fortune, Tyche (shown on the right side of the sculpture at the lower part near the lotus) wearing a turreted crown. Rahman stated the goddess has been represented with grim face on the event of the great departure. It represents two aspects, firstly, the city of Kapilvastu would never have liked the prince leaving the city and causing the pain to the whole city. Secondly, it might show

the unawareness of the deities like the humans who did not know the exact value of his departure (Rahman 2007: 36-37).

In Fig 94 the city goddess is depicted in a very elegant manner. She stands in the right corner of the sculpture in a crossed legs manner like Queen Māyā in the birth scene and looking very graceful. She placed her left arm on the side of the wall while her right arm is touching the left one. She wears a different kind of dress from other above mentioned women of the Gandhāra art. It is a western style cap sleeves dress resembling the modern style of maxi which is still popular dress in western society and in India and Pakistan as well. She is adorned with light ornaments like bangles, earrings and a long necklace. Her hair is combed very decently and a rounded headdress enhancing her beauty and elegance. She has round face and almond eyes. She is depicted outside the chamber where Siddhārtha is riding his horse for departure. The facial expressions of the city goddess are very apparent and represent her annoyance or the gesture of unhappiness. Buchthal stated that the departure of the Buddha is descended from the commemorative series of Roman imperial art. The heroic departure of the Kings was a common theme on Roman coins and medallions of the second and third centuries (Buchthal 1945:12).

In Fig 95 the city goddess is represented in the corner in her usual style. She is depicted in the frontal pose. She is resting her face on her right cheek while the left arm is in folded position and touching the right arm elbow. It is a very traditional standing posture showing the amazement of the city goddess. Her face is not in a good condition so it's not easy to identify her feelings thus we can guess her feeling from her standing posture. She wears full sleeves, wavy ankle length tunic that is covering her full body. She is adorned with a long beaded necklace, bangles and thick anklets. She wears an elegant tower-crown like headdress. Her feet are not depicted in a front position, but turned in opposite sides. In this scene she is again portrayed outside the chamber of Siddhārtha but she is depicted in a beautiful way reflecting true Indian ideal of female beauty.

In fig 96 city goddess is portrayed in crossed leg posture somehow similar to the posture of sculpture 94. She wears the same dress like sculpture 94 and resting her head on her left arm and arm is placed on the side of the pillar. She has a different hair style from above mentioned sculptures. She looks keenly at Bodhisattva but her eyes are closed. She has different features; long forehead and her face is expressionless. But her standing posture shows her contentment and pleasure. It might be possible she is sleeping while in standing position with support of the pillar because it is a night time when Bodhisattva left the royal palace in search of salvation.

Because a man standing next to her is looking keenly at her as he is making sure that she is unaware of the departure of Bodhisattva.

In fig 97 the city goddess is depicted on the right side of the sculpture. This is quite different sculpture from the above mentioned. In this scene city goddess wears a dress which covers her left arm and the legs but the breasts and the abdomen are bare. Her standing posture is also dissimilar. She touches her cheek with the right hand. She wears a mural crown headdress, leaf like pendant, a beaded girdle of three strands with a central pipal leaf ornament to cover the lower part. A figure of Yakshi described by Marshall also adorned the similar kind of leaf ornament to cover the lower part of the body (Marshall 1960: fig. 89). It represents the Greco-Parthian origin on Gandhāra art (Marshall 1960: 70).

K. Fischer says that three points need clarification in this sculpture (fig 97) of the city goddess. The untraditional clothing is the rare example of a hip-girdle with a frontal leaf like ornament and a possible significance of such sensual woman in place of the virtuous goddess. This was unique dress but not unfamiliar in Indian art. In the art of Mathura, women are depicted with nude abdomen decorated with a girdle with frontal clasp known as *mekhala* (Fischer 1987: 62). Likewise, Litvinskij says it is also used in Gandhāra from the Kushan period. In Bactrian terracotta nude figurines of women were also used leaf ornaments around the girdle (Litvinskij 1983: 2-5). In ancient Indian art such ornaments were used for decoration either below or over the garments like *Nagakanyas*. These opulent adornments were used to make women more charming as a part of *mithuna*-groups in love play and erotic groups. Women like *Yakshi* and similar to her appearance and wonders in the case of the *Nagradevta*. On one hand the figurine of the *Nagradevta* resembled with the wealth bestowing goddess *Lakshmi* and the propitious *Yakshi* and with the Mediterranean city goddess Tyche, while on the other with her earliest oriental complement of fertility. Symbolism may institute an association among the courageous protector of the city and her sensual illustration on a Gandhāra relief (Fischer 1987:62-3).

The sensuality also occurs in the figure of the city goddess in the Mediterranean culture and Tyche is linked with the Aphrodite escorted by Eros with her customary mark of the crenelated crown (Carter 1968: 132). *Nagradevata* is sometimes figured as the goddess of fortune. In the art of Gandhāra the extraordinary seminudity of the goddess is infrequent. The features of productiveness and prosperity were stressed in the name of *Lakshmi* and the city goddess of the *Kapilvastu* was also portrayed as the mark of fecundity after the image of a half naked *Yakshi* in

carnal typology. *Nagradevata* was not only portrayed as a soldierly protector but as a fortunate spirit. The artists depict her like other fecundity goddess in the approach of Yakshi from Bharhut, Sāñcī, Mathura or Andhra Pradesh. The art of the Gandhāra assembled the choice of a female ornament that enhanced the carnal taste of the deity (Fischer 1987: 63-4). As Burgees stated the ornaments were also used for the handling of the nudity but the naked body as such was never a purpose of demonstration in Buddhist art (Burgees 1985: 33). In most sculptures of the great departure city goddess is depicted in a gesture of sorrow. Her hand gesture of sorrow shows her gloomy feelings it might be *mudra* of bewilderment or disgrace¹. The *Nagaradevata* in Hellenistic outfit inclined on an altar like erection supporting the left cheek with her left hand and looking at a male person in seductive way. Sometimes instead of a virtuous woman symbol of fecundity and eroticism are observed there (The *Mahāvastu*: Vol.11: 164). According to *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacarita* king Śuddhodana used such women to bind his son to worldly life and lust. This nude lady may be appointed for this act to stop the Prince Siddhārtha from renouncing the palacelife.

5.3 The religious role and status of prostitutes as depicted in Gandhāra art:

Prostitutes are considered as a part of the human society from several centuries. The presence of the prostitutes was very common in the chambers of the chiefs and rajas in Indian society. The *Arthasāstra* provides ample evidence on the role and status of the prostitutes in the Indian society during the reign of the Maurya dynasty. Prostitutes are immense share of the life of the elites. They played role in raising and training of the prostitutes. The sexual relationship and the institutes of the training of the prostitutes were common in ancient Indian and in ancient Greek. Similarly, the matters related to the duties of the trained prostitutes were common in both civilizations. The names of the highly professional and trained prostitutes are mentioned in the Sanskrit language. They were full time companions of the well-known rajas. During the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya prostitutes were not only trained in singing, dancing and poetry but they were experts in flower arrangements, perfume making, cosmetic making, military skills, professional spies and were used to plant rebellion. The beautiful prostitutes with such expertise were considered worthy among elites, public courts and *bazars*. Maurya also had done proper planning for the streets of the prostitution during the townplanning.

¹ Fischer noted it was *Vismaya-mudra*. This hand gesture is well known from modern studies of behaviorism.

Prostitutes and women spies were also used for various worldly benefits such as to release the abducted rajas (Kangle 1909: 235) and to create misconception among rajas and chiefs. The beautiful prostitutes were planted with the chiefs and when they get mixed up with each other, then she was sent to another chief to create enmity among two chiefs and in such situation they assassinated each other for the attainment of the beautiful woman. Prostitutes, dancers and song setters were also used to assassinate or restrained their lovers at secret places (Kangle 1990: 287-8). Prostitutes were not only given special place in the courts of the rajas and chiefs but they also relished a pious position in the Buddhist religion in which prostitutes has respectable and reputable place even when society rejects them for their misconducts and wrong doings. The art of Gandhāra is a true reflection of the Buddhism. This art recounts various aspects of the Buddhist society related to different matters of life. Similarly, apart from the pleasurable and entertaining role of the prostitutes in the society and in the royal harem, the art of Gandhāra does not ignore the religious and sacred status and role of the prostitutes in the Buddhist society and in Buddhism as well.

5. 4 The religious role and status of courtesan Amrapāli as a most generous woman at the time of Buddha:

Amrapāli is also known as the most famous courtesan of the Buddhist literature but then she became a generous human being who transformed herself and became a nun. She forgo her previous life and devoted herself and her fortune to foster the teachings of Buddha. This is an example of how a Buddhism accepted and transformed a sinner into a nun and showed her a right path and a woman's true place in the society. She is called in Pali Ambapāli or Ambapālika of *Vaisali*. In the narrative parts of the Pali *Vinaya*, her five accounts are found. *Suttapitaka*, *Therigāthā*, *Therigāthā -Atthakatha* of *Dhammapala*, *Khuddakanikaya* and *Mahaparinirvanasutra* (Singh 2004: 45). Amrapāli was famous courtesan due to her beauty and charm. But various legends are associated with her origin and birth. Amrapāli is sometimes identified with Surya, the daughter of the sun, who drives in the chariot of the *Asvins*, sometimes with *Rohini* (the star Aldebaran) who is the main star of *Rohani's* chariot in *Taurus*. Both could easily be identified or changed by mistake in so far as *Surya* is given to the Moon-god as a bride, and *Rohini* is called the favourite wife of the Moon-god. She is called a courtesan, *ganika*, the word in fact means 'belonging to the group' 'vulgar', 'public', and is derived from *gana*, 'hoard, group'. Now, the

mother goddess makes up such a group and since both Surya and *Rohini* have the productive Sun-god as father or ruler, Ganika is probably the same as the mother-goddess *Savitri*, the daughter of the sun. So Amrapāli was self-born (Hendrik 1982: 268). There is another interesting story about her birth discussed by Kirde Singh. He stated that *Mahant*, a bulging citizen of Vasali finds a beautiful girl who has grown out of a plant in tree in a mango garden. He accepts and instructs her. The enigmatic girl called Krta but because of her origin she was called Amrapāli, she was very attractive and bright. Her foster-father wants her to get married, but because of her prettiness the assembly of the clan (*gana*) decides that she cannot be given in wedding, but made a courtesan for the desire of the entire clan.

She decides to become a *ganabhogya*. She is visited only by one man in a day, and an amount of 500 *karsa-panas* is to be paid for her facilities. Her house could be examined only once a week. Whoever disobeys these situations should be penalized by death. According to the same text Amrapāli infatuated by the Picture of the King Bimbisara, when the King knows about this extra ordinary woman, he met Amrapāli. After their meeting Amrapāli gave birth to male child, a neighbourhood child, called the Abhaya as bastard. Then Amrapāli send her boy with a royal ring gifted by the King Bimbisara to his father and he is recognized at the king's palace (Singh 2004: 55-56). This legend not only describes the charm and beauty of Amrapāli but also indicates her higher contour among the prostitutes. She has privileged deep distinction due to her beauty among the people of Visali but in the Buddhist legends she is regarded for her good and virtuous nature as to her beauty.

Besides her origin now the conversion of Amrapāli into Buddhism will be discussed that is the core of this outstanding and notable legend in the Buddhist text and particularly in Gandhāra art. According to The *mahāvastu*, Buddha has visited Visali on his way to bring mercy to the people of the Visali when they were suffering two kinds of incurable diseases. The people of Visali went many devas but all were failed to calm the disease. When Buddha reached to Visali he stayed at the grove of the Amrapāli, when she came to know about the stay of Buddha at her grove. She reached there in a simple dress without ornaments and took her seat on one side as a practical woman goes for religious obligations. Buddha called Amrapāli a mental heat for weak people. He said to his believers be aware and attentive because a person who is weak in self-control, his association with an armed opponent or a snake is better than that of a woman. A woman whether, she is sitting, sleeping, walking or standing, or even quiet giveaway the heart of

a man in all conditions. He considered women as threat for men or might be for virtuous life of the monks.

However, Amrapāli behaved contrary to the expectations of the Buddha and his disciples. Amrapāli dropped her head and presented her appreciation to Buddha. According to the *Buddhacharita*, she sat down and asked to Buddha that *dharma* fascinates the learned one and poor people or the luckless woman or those who are self-controlled. Likewise, in this world of preferences, a woman wants to pamper herself into *dharma*. Buddha accepted her inner intelligence and reality instead of her worldly circle and pleasures. Buddha replied her that *dharma* is her real wealth. Self-dependence is blessing but all the women depended on others, so they struggle much for their survival “O Amrapāli you should reach over a right type of conclusion” (the *Buddhacharita* translated by shanti lal nagar, 2011: 249-56). According to the *Digha Nikya*, when she attended the religious address her face brightened with pleasure. Then she requested Buddha and his disciples for meal at her home. The blessed one recognized her offer. When Licchavi came to know about this he demanded Amrapāli to exchange the meal of the Blessed one with hundred thousand pieces. She rejected to give this honour if Licchavi proposes her his entire subject region or give her all Vesali with its reverence she would not give up such an important meal. Then Licchavi reached to the blessed one and demanded him for meal with his disciples at his place. Buddha refused him because he has assured Amrapāli before Licchavi. “Then the Licchavi snapped his fingers and said we have been beaten by the mango woman, we have been cheated by the mango woman”. The blessed one reached at the place of the Amrapāli with his bowel. Amrapāli served them with hard and soft food prepared at home. The blessed one sat down on the prepared seat and Amrapāli served the food to the Buddha and his monks till they were satisfied. When the blessed one had ended his meal Amrapāli sat down on a low stool and said, “Lord, I present this park to the order of *Bhikshus*, of which Buddha is the chief. The Buddha admitted the gift of mango grove by courtesan Amrapāli and instructed her about dharma after that he departed from her residence (Digha Nikya 1987: 242-244; Carus 1895: 201-204). The acceptance of the gift by Amrapāli is a gesture of respect and honour toward women in Gandhāran society and in Buddhism. In this episode the birth and background of Amrapāli is not much important as compared to her religious services and sacrifices. We are not sure about the origin of her birth but it is a well-recognized element that as a courtesan she played very positive role in Buddhism and placed herself at higher position in the religious history of

the Buddhism. She achieved this status due to her optimistic role as a nun. Amrapāli has enjoyed honour by the kings and admired by the learned. She is famed in Buddhist legend because she gave a better position to women, particularly a better type of courtesan in ancient India. When she visited to Buddha at Visali, the blessed one acknowledged her invitation of meal at her place instead of the city father, who wished to give him a sincere and public greeting.

Amrapāli was young and attractive women at the time but the words of Buddha had changed her life and she renounced her previous life and adopted the way of dharma. This is an interesting legend of the Buddhist literature. The authors describe it in various terms, but all are agreed that Amrapāli or Ambapāli (Pali text) was famous among her suitors because of her beauty, wealth, and intelligence. This legend got fame in Buddhist text due to the acceptance of Buddha for her request to dine not because she was an ordinary woman but as she was a prostitute who later converted to Buddhism and became a pious nun in response of the teachings of the blessed one (Basham 1954: 184). Apart from literature we found various sculptures in Gandhāra art which reveal the legend of the gift of the mango grove by courtesan Amrapāli to Buddha. These sculptures truly represent the position of a courtesan in the eyes of Buddha. We did not find any sculpture of Amrapāli inviting Buddha for meal or serving meal to Buddha and his disciples. We can say this is a sense of male dominance compelled those artists to ignore such an honourable event for a woman. This event depicts the feeling or spirit of forgiveness present in the religion. The women who are probably not a respectable part of society are given due respect and honour in religion and were considered appropriate for the status of nun and female monks. Faxian also set examples of women who were being raped or were prostitutes by profession got respectable place in religion. This practice is not common even today but at that time they were given their appropriate place. Amrapāli was a beautiful and charming woman according to Buddhist text and art. Gandhāra art provides ample examples of the respect and honour for women in the concerned society but the sculptures related to the legend of Amrapāli are precious one in this regard.

Fig 98 narrates the beautiful legend of the generosity of Amrapāli. This slab represents three different scenes. The extreme upper right portion is damaged. Apart from it the whole scene is obvious and clear. On the upper register of the sculpture four figures are depicted in seated position under *Caitya* arches in different postures. There are two scenes of the life of the Buddha which are depicted on the lower register of the sculpture. On the right we can notice the Great departure of the Buddha from Kapilvastu. On the left side, the gift of the mango grove by the

courtesan Amrapāli is depicted. There are two main principal characters of this episode; the Buddha and the courtesan Amrapāli. In all the sculptures some other worshippers are also depicted in the scene. In this frieze Buddha is seated on a low pedestal decorated with parallel line and zigzag pattern. He holds a bowl in his left hand, while the right hand is raised in reassuring pose as he expresses his approval for the gift or giving her blessing gesture because this posture was also used for blessing by the Buddha.

On the left side of the Buddha two worshippers are depicted, they are standing in *Añjalimudrā*, paying homage to Buddha. They are clothed in a full dress like *uttariya* and scarf and adorned with light ornaments. The figure which is depicted near Buddha is looking attentively at him. He is observing that Buddha had accepted a gift from a common courtier and he had given her a lot of respect and honour which was very unusual act in the society. There is an expression of amazement on his face and he is bowing in front of Buddha, whereas Buddha's eyes are closed and his hand is in the position as he is blessing her, thanking her or accepting her gift with open heart. On the right side of the Buddha the main figure of this episode is depicted carrying a big water jug in her hands. She stands close to the seat of the Buddha in a relaxing mood. One can notice the feeling of happiness and satisfaction on her face and from her body gestures. She wears a full sleeved and knee length dress, a wreath head dress and adorned with earrings. She looks attentive at the raised hand of the Buddha, as he is saying something and she is listening to him very respectfully. There is another female figure standing behind Amrapāli. She holds a water pot in her hand. She might be a servant of Amrapāli or another worshipper waiting for her chance of worship or brought some food for Buddha in her bowl or this sculpture represents the dual theme related to Amrapāli. The other figure is presenting the legend of the invitation of food to the Buddha and his monks by Amrapāli. She is also clothed in a long costume similar to Amrapāli.

In fig 99 a big *halo* in the background and a rounded wreath of leaves is depicted around the *halo*. The depiction of the mango leaves is an evidence of the gift of mango grove at the occasion when Buddha stayed at mango grove of Amrapāli. There are four figures in the background; the two which are depicted above the scene near the wreath of leaves are not identified because their faces are fully damaged. There might be divine beings because they stand near the wreath around the *halo*. Two figures are portrayed near the Buddha on each side. On the left side two male figures are represented in same posture and position. On the other side

Amrapāli is portrayed with her maid or a worshipper, she is fully turned towards Buddha and looking at him. She holds a water flask in her hands and her standing position is different, she stands with bended legs in adoration or with the weight of the water flask. Her outlook shows her status that she was very rich and beautiful lady as depicted in the text. She had a splendid personality and a scarf is hanging on her right shoulder which indicates the Indian traditional dress and a three layered head dress. The woman depicted behind Amrapāli is standing in *Añjalimudrā*, which shows her veneration for Buddha. In this sculpture her dress is different from Amrapāli, which shows the difference in their social position and status in the society. The scene shows, that flask holding lady may be Amrapāli, visited herself to the Buddha at his arrival to her city, flask is just depicted to identify Amrapāli because it was ritual that the receiver wash his hand before accepting the gift. The flask is just used to identify Amrapāli, who's gift was accepted by Buddha (Bhattacharyya 2002: 85).

Fig 100 is damaged from right side but the principal figures are simply recognized. Amrapāli is portrayed very near to Buddha with a water flask or some kind of another offering in her hands while a female figure is depicted behind her in *Añjalimudrā* stance. Both of them wear similar kind of dresses and ornaments. Only their hair style is different from each other. In the upper row in the background a bearded *Vajrapāṇi* is standing near to Buddha. He has an oval face and is holding *Vajra* in his right hand. His moustaches, and beard is seen while hair are combed backed which is very prominent in the scene. Two other male figures are also depicted in the middle of the row while in the extreme left another female figure is standing and looking at her front. She stands in the same row of *Vajrapāṇi*. The representation of women on such events shows their position in the religion and in society. In all the sculptures Amrapāli is depicted in a prominent position that is the symbol of veneration for all women community of that time.

In fig 101 the head of the Buddha is damaged a *halo* and mango leaves with button in the middle are clearly visible around the sculpture. The figure of Amrapāli is depicted dually in this sculpture. This is a unique carving in a sense that she had been depicted in dual character and two gifts are depicted combine. In this scene no male figure except Buddha is depicted. There are three women figures on each side of the Buddha. On the left side of the Buddha obviously Amrapāli with a water flask is depicted. The left hand with beautiful fingers is raised in amusement after the reassurance of the Buddha. She is clothed in Indian dress; a knee length

tunic and a loose trouser. The other woman worshipper is missing in this sculpture. On the left side of the Buddha, the male figures are depicted in other under discussion sculptures but here is a big difference, this place is also reserved for another woman, who holds a garment on her both hands and looking at Buddha with hope and respect. Foucher identifies her as Amrapāli because she is commemorated to present three donations to the Buddhist laics, food, clothing and shelter (Foucher 1903: plate xi. La Donation d'Amrapāli). She is standing at a place of honour that is reserved only for men according to the Indian custom (Ingholt 1957:92).

This figure shows an encouraging attitude of men towards women in the Buddhism and in the Gandhāran society. If we notice, we come to know this assumption to an extent that women were given an equal respect to the male that Buddha had accepted her gifts and the artists had depicted her in the place of male in the art. Therefore, it is concluded that religion had an ample designation for female also. When religion gave this designation to women then the society also accepted it thus the artist moulded this sculpture. The presence of Amrapāli with identical garment and ornaments is another evidence of her gift of garment to Buddha. On the right side of the Buddha, behind the Amrapāli, Vajrapāṇi is depicted. On the top of the scene two celestial worshippers in *Añjalimudrā* posture are portrayed. The Buddhist sculptures represent the presence of the celestial beings in many episodes of the Buddha's life. In the same way the presence of the celestial beings in this sculpture enhances the beauty of scene and increase the sacredness of the event. The presence of celestial beings on the event of presenting the mango grove by a prostitute Amrapāli to Buddha and its acceptance shows that this event was celebrated and appreciated even in the heavens. The depiction of this event in Buddhist art of Gandhāra shows the positivity of Buddhist society regarding the conversion of a prostitute in Buddhism and it also shows that people as well as Buddha himself accepted this with open heart. In fig 102 the standing posture of Amrapāli is different from other sculptures. She stands straight and her expressions are confident that Buddha had accepted her gift and she is heedless about others that what they will think about her. She holds a water trough so she can wash the hands of the Buddha which was a common ritual being performed at the time of the acceptance of the gift and transfer of property (Bhattacharyya 2002: 85). The celestial worshippers are presented on each side of the Buddha. On right side, behind the Amrapāli a bearded figure of *Vajrapāṇi* is depicted and in the corner above him a worshipping celestial in *Añjalimudrā* is presented. While on the left side two figures in identical position are depicted. On the left side

below to these celestial figures three worshippers are paying homage to Buddha in *Añjalimudrā*. Among these figures, one who stands at the end, near the seat of the Buddha is a woman. She might be Amrapāli, who is paying homage after the acceptance of her gift by the Buddha, but she is different from Amrapāli in her outlook.

This sculpture represents as an interesting element. If this place is reserved for male members of the society as we have discussed above, then why a woman is presented at this place even though she is royal lady but still she is a woman. They are not only standing close to male but they are standing at their equal place from which we get the idea that women enjoyed a worthy position in the Buddhist society. The male figures stand beside women without gender discrimination. This sculpture represents the bright phase of the Buddhist society. The religious obligations are performed on equal basis without the gender biasness. They are considered higher or lower due to their ethics and action not because of their gender.

In fig 103 Buddha is portrayed under a mango grove in his typical stance on a throne. On his right side six figures are shown in double row paying homage to holy one. On the other side seven figures are standing in similar way. Most of them are portrayed in *Añjalimudrā* posture paying homage to Buddha. The presence of mango grove above Buddha's head indicates the scene of the gift of mango grove of courtesan Amrapāli to Buddha. In all the sculptures related to Amrapāli she is shown in the front row on the right side of the Buddha that represents her prominent position in the Buddhist society.

Fig 104 is different to some extent due to its composition. On the right side of Buddha monks are portrayed on flat seats in dhayana stance which shows their deep association with Buddha and his religion. On the other side Amrapāli stands near to Buddha. She holds a piece of cloth in her both hands. It may be some kind of tradition that Buddha will clean his hands with a piece of cloth instead of water. The presence of Amrapāli in the attendance of monks is a matter of great value and integrity for a female usually and a courtesan mainly.

After studying these sculptures, we get two assumptions of Buddha accepting the invitation of a courtesan because of her women hood or to give her a religious urge by showing her the place of woman in the religion. The second reason may be that Buddha had already committed to Amrapāli. So being Buddha it was not his line to turn his feet from his commitment. If it would have been like this, then the practice of giving priority to male would have become part of religion and society. The art of the Gandhāra was controlled by the monastic authorities. So their main

concern was to encourage the Buddhist message in the legend of the Amrapāli, the Sikri artist (Lahore museum sculpture fig.104). As we see the artist's choice of the static's monoscenic mood, we can estimate that his chief concern was not to relate the story of Amrapāli but to highlight the status of the celebrated courtesan of a Buddhist adapt. This legend can be ignored but this event had been given its appropriate respect and place in order to represent the true place of women in the society. For instance, we can take the incident of Prajapati entering the religion. It was a huge event but it is neglected in Gandhāra art. Whereas the above discussed event had given a generous importance. As it is mentioned in the Digha Nikya when Licchavi reached his home after the refusal of the Buddha of his request to dine with him he snapped his finger, saying "A worldly woman has out done us; we have been left behind by a frisky girl" (Digha Nikya 1987: 243; Dehejia 2005: 188).

It is the statement of a worldly man who considered himself superior than a woman. But Buddha wanted to create love among the human beings. He considered all human beings equal without discrimination of caste, creed, class and clan. The prostitute was also a part of all the societies. As the institution, the prostitute was already standing before Buddhism but we find two important examples of the courtesan in the Buddhist text and in Gandhāra art as well. This profession is not appreciated in any religion and in any society all over the world from early historic time. Prostitutes are considered inferior and impure and people do not like to sit, eat and mix-up with these women. As compared to this statement we can see prostitutes were not hated in Buddhism. They enjoyed the equal status and honour by the blessed one. They joined the order and became honourable nuns. Buddha gave them proper veneration as compared to the member of the wealthy family by accepting the invitation of dinner and gift of Amrapāli. The Gandhāra art also depicted this event in many sculptures and the legend of Amrapāli enjoyed a prominent place in Gandhāra art and the sacred Buddhist text.

In my personal opinion here lies as great connection between the life story of Amrapāli and Buddha. At the start of the journey of enlightenment when Buddha realizes the bitter realities of life like, old age, disease and death he renounced the worldly luxuries and fake colours of life. In the same way according to the poem of Therigāthā when Amrapāli got the realization she also left the profession of prostitution and sacrificed all her wealth and assets in the way of religion and enlightenment. According to Blackstone Therigāthā contains ten poems to aging or disease. In the reference to the aging method, the poem credited to Amrapāli in each of its nineteen stanzas

entirely dedicated to a contrast of the feature of her body when she was young and attractive with those now that she is old and no longer beautiful. The poem instigates with her hairs and moves down her body through her face, arms, body and feet, concluding with an overall assessment of her body. Each element is examined distinctly and in a disconnected fashion, alternating an account of youthful rightness with aged deterioration. According to same author in these poems, Amrapāli wants an attainment of liberation. She has clearly looked at the doctrine as a mirror. She sees the truth of impermanence reflected in her own experience of aging (Blackstone 1998: 269-281).

Prostitutes are considered as women of low rank in the society. Whereas in the case of Amrapāli we also find only few sculptures representing the lower treatment of the episode of the gift of mango grove but the character of Amrapāli is enjoying the worth importance in the Buddhist art and text because of her inner qualities and her efforts for liberation. All male admired her a lot but she realized her inner beauty and chose the path of religion for herself. The character of Amrapāli had taken a shape of legend in the Indian society because of her inner beauty and preference to religious world instead of materialistic world. She scarified everything for religion that is why not only in Gandhāra art but also in Indian society she is taken as a role model. Up till now books are written on her not only this, movies and drama serials (the famous Indian actress Heema Malani played and directed the role of Amrapāli) are also broadcasted on her. All this respect and place is not because of her beauty but it is because of her sacrifices she made for religion. Both phases of her life are exactly opposite to each other and she was revolutionary in both phases of her life which is considered as the positive point of her life and artist had also depicted it very accurately.

5.5 The role and status of courtesan Utpalavarnā in the Gandhāra art who is known as second Buddhist Nun:

The legend of Utpalavarnā has been a favourite topic among the Buddhist in various countries, like India, Sri Lanka, China and Tibet. The story of Utpalavarnā has enjoyed the same significance in the literary sources and in the Indian Buddhist art, particularly in the Gandhāra art (Bopearachchi 2011: 365). The story of the Utpalavarnā attracts the attention of the researchers because it is still a riddle. The writers have different opinions about the previous life of Utpalavarnā. In Pali and Sanskrit language Utpalavarnā means “the colour of the blue lotus”. The Buddhist text of different

languages; Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Pali, Sinhalese and Japanese describes different stories about this famous character. The commentary by Tao-hysan on the fourfold rules of discipline written in 630 discussed the fundamental influence on the establishment of the discipline and training of the priests. The author was the founder of the Nan-shan branch of the writ school in China. He writes that Utpalavarnā renounced the secular world on the birth of her daughter when she came to know that her husband has illegal relationship with her mother. She left her home and her baby. After that she got married with a rich man of Varanasi, but her fate brought her on another turn where she faced a more bitter reality that her husband's second wife is her own daughter (Bopearachchi 2011: 353). After passing through such serious phase she decided to become disciple of Buddha. She became the second devout nun and reached at the stage of arhat under the supervision of the Mahāprājapati. She died in an encounter with Devadatta, when he tried to kill Buddha under a huge rock. She reprehended Devadatta for his evil act. Devadatta hit her with his fist and killed her. There is another story about Utpalavarnā in the jātaka sutra discussed by Dogen in his chapter "*Kesa Kudoku*". In her past life she was a prostitute and wore the monk's robe as a joke. The Buddha of that time predicted her future Buddhahood from the merit of that act alone. At the time of Kashyapa Buddha she became a nun in her second birth. In the time of the Śākyamuni Buddha, it was her third birth and she became a great arhat and gained three types of knowledge and six miraculous powers (Bopearachchi 2011:353).

There are several sculptures excavated from the sites of Gandhāra region are considered as a valuable treasure to build the history of the Buddhist art. These sculptures also provided appreciated evidence about different characters that played vigorous role in the life of the Buddha and in the growth of Buddhism. Utpalavarnā is one among these characters, who is well-known as a second Buddhist nun and definitely played an optimistic role in the Sangha and set an example for other foul women that, the real deliverance is in the religion not in the luxuries of the world. The legend of the Utpalavarnā is associated with the visit of the Buddha to the *Tavatimsa* heaven. These sculptures recounted a very stimulating legend of the life of the Buddha and his mother Queen Māyā as mentioned in most of the holy texts as she died seven days after the birth of his son. It is mentioned in the *Upanishads* (Joshi, Bimali Trivedi 2004: 62). There are six classes of Sannyasins, *Kutichaka*, *bahudaka*, *hamsa*, *paramahamsa*, *triyatita* and *adadhuta*. In the first class of *kutichaka*, he is the one who worships mother, father and teacher. That is one of the reason that Buddha went to *Tavatimsa* heaven to taught dharma to his mother Māyā, who was reborn in the

heaven as goddess. Foucher and Koizumi Yoshihide mentioned the scene of the descent of the Buddha from *Tavatimsa* heaven. When Bodhisattva Siddhārtha attained complete enlightenment the Buddha Gautama visited the *Tavatimsa* heaven to teach his mother Queen Māyā the good law and converted her, who was by then reborn as a god. Buddha stayed in the *Tavatimsa* heaven for three months and seven days. On his return he was tenderly welcomed by the gods.

They prepared a triple ladder with heavenly architecture with Brahma and all the gods of the Rupaloka descended a golden ladder on the left. Indra escorted by all devas of the Kamaloka came down with a crystal ladder on the right, but the Buddha descended in the central ladder that is prepared with the valuable and pure lapis lazuli (Foucher 1987; Koizumi Yoshihide 2009/10: 310). Fabri stated Faxian says the middle ladder was made of seven precious substances on which Buddha descended (Fabri 1930: 288). Faxian also stated that Buddha come down from the *Tavatimsa* heaven by three-fold precious ladder. The middle ladder was made of seven precious substances on which Buddha descended then the king of the Brahma heaven (Brahmakayikas) appeared on a silver ladder on the right side of Buddha with white chauri in his hand. Then the king of Devas Sakra appeared on a golden ladder on the left side of Buddha and holds a precious parasol in his hand. The three ladders were disappeared after his descent, only seven steps remained visible. The Devas were also present whilst Buddha descended. During his stay at the *Tavatimsa* heaven Buddha also visited the abodes of devas and taught them the truth (Beal 1884: Xi). He descended the manly world by a *Vaidurya* (lapis lazuli) staircase and Brahma on golden ladder on his right and Brahma on crystal stair cases with hundred ribbed Parasol over him for welcome (Rockhill 1907: 81).

In the *Asokavadana*, or the *legend of King Asoka* provides evidence that Pindola Bharadvaja has witness that Utpalavarnā has disguised herself in to Cakravartin king through magical powers. The same legend is mentioned in the Tibetan Buddhist canons (*Bksh-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur*) that Utpalavarnā knew about the arrival of the Buddha from the *Tavatimsa* heaven. She disguised as an emperor and came to adore him. King Udayana recognized her by her sweet bodily odour (Bopearachchi 2011: 355). In this regard Beal added the observation of the Chinese traveller Faxian, who visited Nepal, Sri-Lanka and India between 399 C.E and 412 C.E. According to him Buddha went to *Tavatimsa* heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother. His disciples were not alert about this. “When seven days was left he broke the ice and *Aniruddha*, using his divine sight beheld the lord of the world a far and forth with address the august (Arya)

Mahamudgalaputra “you can go and greet the lord of the world”, *Mudgalyayana* accordingly went, and kneeled down venerated the foot and exchanged friendly greetings. When the meeting was over Buddha informed *Mudgalyanaa* after seven days that I will descend to *Jambudvīpa*, after that *Mudgalyayana* returned. After that when Buddha descended to the kings of eight kingdoms, ministers and people assembled to meet Buddha. At this moment the courtesan Utpalavarnā also wanted to welcome the Buddha. Although she is a woman but she wanted to greet him first. According to Faxian it was Buddha’s forthwith by his miraculous powers transferred her in to a holy *Chakravartti* king, and through this kind of attitude of Buddha she was the very first to meet him and adored him. The arrival of the blessed one from the *Tavatimsa* heaven is a significant occasion and has got much prominence in the Buddhist text. It is agreed in the text that he went to *Tavatimsa* heaven to teach *abhidharma* to his mother. This event has its specific place in Gandhāra art, not because of legend of the Utpalavarnā but because of the Buddha’s visit to *Tavatimsa* heaven. However, we cannot ignore the figure of a woman illustrated on the foot step of the ladder who is considered as first one to greet Buddha. She incarnated herself as a *Cakravartian* by mystic power and reached to the principal row to welcome the blessed one (Beal 1884: XXXIX-XI; Bopearachchi 2011: 355). The sculptures of Gandhāra art provide us the real picture of the genuineness and fondness of Utpalavarnā towards Buddhism. This legend helps us to understand the role and status of a courtesan in the eyes of Buddha and its social rank in the Buddhist society. This episode is presenting different mode in almost all the sculptures.

The arch relief of fig 105 is bedecked with the floral motifs at the top. Buddha is portrayed at the top on both sides of the arch in *abhyamudra* stance. The second creature is related to the religious world, the world of devas and gods listening the Buddha with abundant tribute in kneeling and sitting situation. According to Kloppenburg (1973) the arch may be the *pratyekabuddhas*. In the Theravada Buddhism the *pratyekabuddha* is stirred by the “sleep of ignorance” and achieved Moksha from the cycle of rebirth. The notion of moksha is illustrated through this panel. The next figures represent the world of nagas and *urgas* which is shown with the symbol of the cobra appearing at the back of their headdresses. At the end the world of the men is depicted in the form of the King Udayana and his Queen and we can also see Utpalavarnā in the guise of a universal monarch. On the right side of the panel we can see that couples of monks are depicted at the top paying homage in *Añjalimudrā*. There are five couples depicted in the following position of *Añjalimudrā* with their bended legs which shows their devotion to Buddha. This sculpture

represents different world and the cycle of the rebirth and also represents the way of salvation through the presence of Buddha in meditation and the presence of the monks and other five couples, who are paying homage to the Buddha. One element is noticeable that women are depicted equal to men while they are paying homage to Buddha while Utpalavarnā is depicted in the guise of the universal monarch which indicates her dubious character that is not acceptable in the Buddhist society from the ancient times. It is written in the *Mahaprajnaparamita sastra* of *nagarjuna* that Utpalavarnā wanted to hide her disreputable position. So she transformed herself to a noble king (Lamotte 1949: 636). When she reached there, people got up from their seats in honour, but when she reached near to Buddha she again transformed in to her original form of a *bhikṣuṇī*. In this way she got preference on the entire crowd and she is considered as the first one to worship the Buddha.

Fig 106 is broken from the extreme right side, but the middle ladder on which Buddha is depicted is in good condition. He is depicted with a big *halo* behind his head. He is standing in the same position as he was standing on his wedding ritual (fig 54-55). Indra is also shown on his right side on the other ladder. He is accompanying him. At the bottom of the sculptures Utpalavarnā is represented. She is sitting on the ground in front of the ladder of the Buddha with her back to the audiences. She had raised her both hands in homage and looked at the blessed man. She wears a full sleeved tunic with a blouse. Her dress clearly identifies her because monks only wore a robe and their full body is not covered. This figure is clearly identified as Utpalavarnā by Foucher and Fabri (Foucher 1905: 539-540; Fabri 1930: 290). On the other side of the sculpture a figure is depicted on an elephant. He is most probably King Udayana because elephant is considered as symbol of royalty from the ancient times. The King wanted to greet Buddha first but Utpalavarnā was the first to greet and welcome Buddha. In these sculptures we see the great spirit of devotion and love of Utpalavarnā for Buddha and for Buddhism also. When Buddha descended from heaven she was the first one to reach there and she welcomed him on first hand leaving the King and other respected monks behind. She enjoyed this gratitude and was being blessed by Buddha for performing this out of the way task. Due to this unique reference she became immortal in the religion of Buddhism and Buddhist art of Gandhāra.

According to Fabri the artist has beautifully arranged not less than seventy figures and five horses in fig 107 (Fabri 1930: 291). In this sculpture the earthly realm and heavenly realm are depicted altogether to greet the blessed one. We can identify the heavenly being with a symbol of

halo on their back and they are depicted in kneeling posture towards the blessed one having flowers in their hands or paying homage in *Añjalimudrā*. In the middle of the stairs Buddha is depicted thrice in the company of Indra and Brahma. Fabri identified King Udayana on the chariot on the bottom of the right side of the sculpture; it might be Utpalavarnā guise in the form of King Udayana who had come to greet the Buddha. Hans Christoph Ackermann, also described this relief in his catalogue of the ‘*Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London*’ (I.s.11-1947.no13. Pl. G) He refused to accept the presence of the courtesan Utpalavarnā at this occasion. He also denied her presence in the two reliefs published by Foucher (1905: 1918; 1922).

Bopearachchi writes that the Utpalavarnā was depicted in the guise of the king Udayana and his wife. She was not shy to approach to Buddha because she is a woman. If a queen can come to worship Buddha, then there is no reason for the story that she was shy to greet Buddha. Buddhist text provided us clear evidence that she was not at all shy to pay homage to Buddha. However, the story is based on the fact that she is a woman and she would not have been allowed to worship the Buddha first in a huge gathering of men. It is very common practice not only in Buddhism but also in other religions of the world that women are given secondary place as compared to men in the religious ceremonies and rituals. We can say that Utpalavarnā was not shy to greet the Buddha but religiously she was not allowed to do so before any male member. If it had been so the dignity of men would have been tarnished forever. It is also clear in the case of Amrapāli, when Licchavi got disturbed because Buddha accepted the invitation of Amrapāli instead of Licchavi (Bopearachchi 2011: 360). I agree with this point of view of Bopearachchi that women were considered inferior for religious obligations in the presence of men in almost all religions and societies. They are considered imperfect because they are low creature and are submissive to men. Utpalavarnā also faced the same situation in the presence of the reputable king, heavenly beings and other male members of the society.

Fig 108 is quite different sculpture; Buddha is standing on the second last step of the ladder. The figure of the Buddha is taller than all other figures depicted in the sculpture. There are two royal figures depicted on each side of the triple ladder in *Añjalimudrā*. Zwalf identified King Udayana with crested turban and the nun emperor wearing a double-looped *chignon*. On the left side of the sculpture three other women, who most probably are nuns depicted paying homage to the Buddha. We can clearly observe a small figure near the feet of the Buddha. The figure is seated

in kneeling stance and joint hands together in *Añjalimudrā* posture showing her dedication for the Buddha. Zwalf correctly recognizes the figure as Utpalavarnā (Zwalf 1996: 189-90, no. 208). The place on which Utpalavarnā is depicted shows her love and deep devotion for religion and for the blessed one. Gandhāra art had depicted a lot of worshippers and followers which were very truthful and rational towards Buddha and religion but the genuineness and truthfulness we find in the personality of the Utpalavarnā is very hard to find in other figures. She was a prostitute but when she left her profession and became spiritually aware of religion she followed and understood it from the core of her heart.

Fig 109 depicts the legend of the descending of the Buddha and the devotion of Utpalavarnā in a beautiful way. At the top of the sculpture Buddha is seated in *Dhyānamudrā* posture, the worshippers or celestial beings are standing on both sides and listening him attentively. Two royal couples are depicted on each side of the stairs in *Añjalimudrā* posture. We can identify them from their outlook because their outlook represents their social status. On the left side, at the bottom of the ladder Utpalavarnā is depicted in a kneeling position in *Añjalimudrā*. We did not find a lot of adoration and beauty in the sculpture of Utpalavarnā as compared to other women depicted in Gandhāra art but the real beauty of her sculpture lies in the sincerity and religious urge of Utpalavarnā. If we do not consider the text even, then we come to know the expression of love and honour of a courtesan because she owed her soul and body and her life for religion and her master. Fig 110 represents the realm of the gods listen to the Buddha in homage. In central part, the descent of the Buddha is depicted standing at the top step of the ladder. Indra and Brahma are depicted on the lower stairs in *Añjalimudrā*. Apart from them two flying figures are also depicted on either sides of the Buddha. They are representing the heavenly realm. At the bottom Utpalavarnā is depicted in front of the central ladder in the same posture with her back to the audiences, which shows that she is unaware about her surroundings. In this sculpture she is depicted twice in two different forms. One is shown on her arrival in disguise of the Cakravartin king to avoid the people. She was scared of the fact that she was a woman and also a prostitute while on the other hand she may not be permitted to receive Buddha because the society will not accept it at any cost so she as a *bhikṣuṇī* seated on her knees in her unique form to greet the Buddha. In the lower part four couples are depicted paying adoration to Buddha. At the bottom Buddha is seated in *Abhayamadura* with six standing figures. Four are depicted on the left side and two on

the right side. Two kneeling figures are depicted in *Añjalimudrā*. It might represent the admiration of Utpalavarnā because the figure kneeling on his right looks like a female.

In fig 111 the three figures had *halo* behind their heads. The earthly figures are portrayed on each side of the stairs. Three figures are present at left side, two at the right side and one in the middle. King Udayana is depicted in the royal dress on the left. There are two standing figures in the royal dress might be a King and his suit. In the middle of the stairs a figure depicted at the bottom is Utpalavarnā. One thing is obvious that Buddha is looking down while his right hand is raised in reassurance posture. This is an interesting situation which shows the blessing of Buddha for Utpalavarnā or it shows that Buddha has accepted her adoration with respect and raised his hand in the response of her worship and homage because it is a sign of blessing and reassurance.

This figure (fig.111) depicted near Brahma is a bhikṣuṇī Utpalavarnā. She looks like a woman rather than a man from her physical appearance. This sculpture may depict the conversion of Utpalavarnā from the *Cakravartin* to the nun. The squatting image in the middle is no doubt Utpalavarnā worshipping the Buddha after having fully transformed herself back into a bhikṣuṇī (Bopearachchi 2011: 363). The presence of two nuns in different gestures and dressing at the bottom of the stairs is unusual and causing problem. He said if the smaller figure was a male he might be Subhuti or Maudgalyayana. The Buddhist text is also silent on the presence of two nuns at this event. But we can assume the dual character of the Utpalavarnā at the same event, her transformation from *Cakravartin* to *abhikṣuṇī*.

Therefore, we consider it true that this relief is representing only a part of the total scene, but this scene is stylistically and proportionally different from the Zar Dheri arch (Fig 105). It is predicted if the missing panel of the Zar Dheri relief is discovered someday, it will almost show the presence of the Buddha in *Vitarkamudra* teaching his mother and other gods in the realm of gods, and also narrate the story of his descent from the thirty-three gods, with the triple ladders and the presence of Utpalavarnā transforming herself from *Cakravartin* to *bhikṣuṇī* as depicted in this relief ((Beal 1884: 40; Bopearachchi 2011: 365, Fig.1-b). This event throws light on the distinction between two women Utpalavarnā and the Queen of kin Udayana. At the time of adoration Queen was allowed to be there because she was the Queen and hold a noble position in the society while Utpalavarnā was not allowed because she was a prostitute and an ignored and cursed member of the society. However, unlike the behaviour of the society towards prostitutes

Buddha gave respect and honour to Utpalavarnā just like he honoured Amrapāli and accepted her offerings and worship at this historical moment.

These sculptures are the clear proof of the event that the Utpalavarnā was first human being to welcome Buddha and worshipped him on earth. The society also accepted this event when it became clear that she was Utpalavarnā not a king. That is why the artist gave place to this event in the history of art and depicted Utpalavarnā in her own face. Fig 112 is a different sculpture because stairs are depicted in different blocks. Buddha, Indra and Brahma are standing in different blocks of the stairs in different postures. On the top of the scene Buddha is standing in the middle holding Uttarīya in his left hand while the right hand is resting on his chest. Indra standing on the left of the Buddha holds the *vajra* in the top and the bottom scene in two different ways, while in the central scene he is standing in *Añjalimudrā*.

In the top most scenes Brahma is paying homage to the Buddha. In the central scene he is standing in *Añjalimudrā* with his neck kneeling towards Buddha which shows his deep devotion. In this panel, on each side of the central scene five celestial beings are shown in each edifice dressed in different costumes and wearing different headdresses. The depiction of these celestial beings shows their adoration for Buddha. They are celebrating this occasion because they are holding flowers and garlands and some are paying homage in *Añjalimudrā*. The depiction of these celestial beings adds to the sacredness of this event. The earthly realm is recognized by two bhikṣuṇī. The changing disguise shows us the real face of society which is ignorant towards women because if she would have come there in her true disguise she would never had been allowed to worship Buddha. However, afterwards when Buddha accepted her as a nun then the society also accepted her and paid homage through these sculptures.

Fig 113 is quite different from other under discussion sculptures. The figure at the side of the middle stairs touching the symbol of the feet of Buddha is Utpalavarnā. This indicates that it is a figure of a woman instead of a man though her hair style is much similar to men. In Gandhāra art; the depiction of women with such hair style is rare. She is simple and depicted without any kind of ornaments. The figure of Buddha is missing. He is shown only with his foot prints at the bottom of the stairs. Rahman stated in this sculpture the depiction of the foot prints of the holy man communicates the idea of the superiority of the Buddha body as his lowest part of the body was presented for reverence (Rahman 2007: 104). In every sculpture Utpalavarnā is being depicted in a very small size even her dress and ornaments are not very clear and mostly sculptures are

unattractive and not so impressive but her religious devotion had been depicted very fairly and honestly. We can say art is an appropriate way to narrate all kinds of feelings and expressions. Women are depicted in various roles and characters which represent various phases of their lives as a mother, courtesan dancer and Bhikṣuṇī.

The legend of Utpalavarnā enjoys a special place in the Buddhist text and in Gandhāra art. All scholars are agreed on the identification of the kneeling figure at the bottom of the sculptures as Utpalavarnā. Conversely we find contradictions regarding her background in the text if we consider any of them true then we get the original picture of Utpalavarnā that by disguising her from a woman to a king was not only because she was a woman but it was also a major reason that she was prostitute and the prostitutes were considered foul members of the society. The profession of prostitution is being adopted by women from early historic time and if a prostitute converts her into religion the society does not accept this change easily. That is why she disguised herself. The second important thing is that the queen of king Udayana was present there in her own face while Utpalavarnā disguised her. Conversely, this legend throws light on the bright aspect of the society that Buddha accepted her change and she became a pious nun under the guidance of Prajāpati. Even in the present age if a woman changes herself (from prostitute to nun) so much as Utpalavarnā she will not be accepted so easily by the society. If we take the case of Gandhāra art, then the artist had also accepted it with open heart. Similarly, the Buddhist society accepted this change and gave them a high status in the religion and in the society.

The honour and homage paid to Utpalavarnā due to her wisdom and services for religion because she was the standard and measure of almswomen disciples. In the Anguttara Nikayas, Gotama, represented Khema and Utpalavarnā as the faithful almswomen desired for (ordained female) in his disciple. These women were regarded as criterion because of their special power, wisdom and will (Hornor 1930: 168). On the basis of Indian critical mind prostitutes are classified in to nine order set under this critical situation. The Amrapāli and Utpalavarnā are considered as Rupajibi, the most expensive courtesan due to many credentials; her beauty, flawless body and splendid bodily proportions. And as Ganika like ancient Greece she is most cultured, pretty and very accomplished. She is full versed in the sixty-four arts, kings and courtiers did not disdain her advice or her charm (Mehta 1972: 40). Like Amrapāli she is an ideal for the whole class of courtesans and was honoured by all and had the right to a seat of honour among men. In the light of this discussion one thing is very noticeable that they renounced their charmed and magical life

of luxuries and amenities and chose the path of salvation by their own will and spirit. Although she was the second main character of this legend after Buddha, after Prajāpati she is the second highest nun and her title is her identification in the whole Buddhist history. However, the legend achieved the admiration due to descent of Buddha from *Tavatimsa* heaven not as idolization of Utpalavarnā. In comparison with male members it can also be said that Utpalavarnā and Sumeti had equally adored and venerated Buddha although due to their gender discrimination Sumeti had been given more importance in Dipankar jāta (see chapter four) whereas Utpalavarnā sometimes neglected. The dress, jewellery and other adorations of Utpalavarnā are different from other Gandhāran women. We do not know the exact reason of conversion of Utpalavarnā towards religion but it is an utter reality that when she converted herself she adapted from the core of her heart and performed great services in the history of religion.

5.6 The role and status of Sujātā, a pious woman who prepared food for Bodhisattva Sakyāmuni and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

Sujātā was a pious young woman, who prepared food for the Bodhisattva when he began to practice austerities. All the Buddhist texts agreed on the name of a village girl Sujātā². The legend of Sujātā is not given much importance in the Buddhist history but the role of Sujātā as a food donor to the Bodhisattva is much important. Her virtuous role is enough to understand her position in the judgment of the Bodhisattva. Bodhisattva not only accepted the food but also gave respect and honour to Sujātā. In almost all the major characters we have different stories about their origin and background similarly Sujātā in the light of various sacred texts will be discussed with minor variances. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* in the first *Avalokita sutra* that before departing towards Uruvilva, the blessed one stayed at Rajgriha on Mount Gridhrakuta with his five hundred monks. However, now it is time to go that place of the earth where he settled down and destroyed the great yaksa and achieved the perfect mastery of all good qualities and received the perfect enlightenment. When Bodhisattva had done with practicing austerities at Uruvilva he received meal from Sujātā, the village overseer's daughter. Then he came to the river Nairanjana. He took bath in the bank of the river and drank the meal given him by Sujātā and threw the copper vessel

² Sujātā was given name to the lord of the village, who ordered his two daughters to prepare food for Bodhisattva. After partaking this he desired to devote himself to the attainment of supreme wisdom. According to the *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara* Sujātā was maiden of the village lord who offers food to Bodhisattva. Beal also mentioned this name as Nandika's daughter by whom Bodhisattva partake food to nourish his body. (the *Lalitavistara*:404-412).

in the river. After that he sat down under the *Bodhi* tree for the perfect enlightenment (the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 248).

Conversely, it is stated in the *Lalitavistara* (chapter xviii: 404-412) that not only Sujātā but nine other young girls like Bala, Balagupta, Supriya, Vijayasena, Atimuktakamala, Sundari, Kumbhakari, Uluvillika, Jatilika also prepared food for the Bodhisattva. These girls prepared different kinds of food for the Bodhisattva but next morning when he came for begging in the village, he received rice from Sujātā the daughter of head villager. This food was prepared upon the order of the god during midnight with the purest cream of the milk of the thousand cows with fresh and newest rice. When Sujātā was preparing food for the Bodhisattva she noticed the signs of blessings like a *Srivatsa*, a *Svastika*, a *nandyavarta*, a lotus and a *Vardhamana*. According to the same text Sujātā covered the food with flowers and perfumes because she knows that after taking this food the Bodhisattva will attain the perfect enlightenment. When Bodhisattva took that food filled with honey and milk from Sujātā he thought that after partaking this food he will attain the perfect, supreme and complete enlightenment. He accepted the food and left the Uruvilva and took bath in the river Nairanjana. At the same time, Bodhisattva felt prune of his hairs and beard. Sujātā collected in order to raise a shrine to them. Now Bodhisattva ate the food given by Sujātā and threw the bowl into the river where the bowl was taken up by Indra for homage (the *Lalitavistara*: 404-412).

Another interesting myth regarding the food of the Bodhisattva is stated in the Sutra that after six years penance Bodhisattva decided to fortify his body by partaking some ample food. Now Bodhisattva asked Deva Brahman about the breaking of his penance, and according to the advice of the Brahman he went to the house of *Senayana*. He has two young and attractive daughters named Nanda and *Bala*. They knew about the King Śuddhodana and Queen Māyā's son and wished him as their husband. When *Senayana* heard about the arrival of the *Sayaka's* son at his door his daughters prepared a provision of wheat, oil, milk and honey and after eating and drinking Bodhisattva asked about the wish of the girls. In response they expressed their wish to become the wives of the Sakyan prince. The Bodhisattva replied my sisters; my aim is to achieve enlightenment and to address the unsurpassable law. According to the same text Bodhisattva went straight to the house of the village lord and his two daughters prepared food with cow milk and rice for Bodhisattva. Sujātā prepared a golden dish with the delicious food and presented to the Bodhisattva with her own hands. Now after accepting the gift of Sujātā, Bodhisattva departed

from Uravilva and progressed towards the Nairanjana River. There he dine food and bathed in the river after that Bodhisattva advanced towards the Bodhi tree for the attainment of the Supreme Wisdom (Beal 1875: 195-198). In the Buddhist text we have found sundry information about Sujātā but in the Gandhāra art we find only few sculptures in which Sujātā is depicted, but honourably her character has great importance because she was the first women who prepared food for the blessed one. Her love and devotion in preparation of the food is inevitable. Few samples found in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra are discussed below.

In fig 114 Buddha is seated in the meditation posture in the middle of the scene. His right hand is raised in reassurance posture, while the other hand is resting on his thigh. The half-closed eyes of the Buddha represent his deep meditation. His whole body is covered with *uttarīya* with folded pattern and his *usnisha* is depicted clearly. This sculpture resembles the sculpture of the gift of Amrapāli (Fig. 99) Buddha is portrayed under the huge branch of the Bodhi tree. The branches are providing shadow to the Buddha and covering his head and providing shelter from rain and sunshine. He is seated on a simple and flat throne. Two women are depicted on either side of his throne. The woman on the right side of the Buddha is offering something to the blessed one. It is quite difficult to identify Sujātā, because both women are standing in the same adoration and homage.

The hands of the figures represent at right side are damaged but it is quite sure she is holding something in her hands that is most probably food which she brought for the blessed one. She is standing with bended legs and wears a full body Sari. The other figure is standing with same adoration on the left side of the blessed one. She is looking attentively at the blessed one which shows her respect and honour for the Buddha. In the background two half-length female figures are depicted. They might be heavenly beings because according to the *Lalitavistara*, when Sujātā prepared the food she asked her servant named *Uttara* to request the presence of the blessed one. When *Uttara* went to call the Bodhisattva, wherever she went, she always caught sight of the Bodhisattva. *Uttara* informed the presence of the *Sramana* or Brahmin everywhere. Sujātā asked her that the food is being prepared for that *Sramana*, please inform Bodhisattva that dinner is served. *Uttara* went and bowed to his feet and extended an invitation to him in the name of Sujātā (the *Lalitavistara*: 407-408). According to this statement the women depicted around Bodhisattva are Sujātā and *Uttara*.

In fig 115 Buddha is surrounded by four women. All carry some food items in their hands. The first two women on both sides are bowed in front of the Buddha in respect and veneration while the other two are waiting of their turn. The different dresses of women indicate their different status in the society. The worship and veneration of these women is appreciable and their adored gestures for Buddha symbolize the religious spirit of women in the concerned society. In spite of all these things the legend of the Sujātā is not well recognized and delightfully portrayed in the art of Gandhāra as compared to other legends.

In fig 116 two young and attractive women are standing on Buddha's left side in identical dresses and ornaments. The second one is carved in Añjalimudrā while the first woman is watching her keenly or may be talking to her. It is not easy to identify Sujātā we can only assume the woman depicted near to Buddha is Sujātā. Three male figures most probably monks are depicted behind the scene. It should be noted that women are shown in front row while monks are behind them which represents the honour and veneration for Sujātā.

In fig 117 two women are depicted on both sides of Bodhisattva. One holds the bowl of food in her both hands while the other woman on right side of the Bodhisattva holds a water flask like Amrapāli which indicates the acceptance of food from Sujātā. In this scene Bodhisattva is portrayed in meditation posture while a big *halo* is also shown in the background. In this scene he holds something in his hand to eat that is indicating the receipt of food prepared by Sujātā whereas the women are watching him very tenderly and kindly. No other figure is portrayed in this scene that is enhancing the value of this episode.

This episode is not depicted according to the importance of the event. In my opinion it is a matter of great respect and admiration that Bodhisattva accepted the food prepared by Sujātā before his final enlightenment and illumination. The legend gained its appropriate attention in the sacred Buddhist text but in art this legend has not gained equal admiration and appreciation as compared to other legends of the life of the Buddha. However, in spite of all these facts the artists depicted the female figures to show that the food was prepared by a woman; otherwise they can show this event only with the figure of the fasting Buddha.

5.7 The battle of Samgdha with naked ascetic and its representation in Gandhāra art:

The legend of the Samgdha is important but it is not adored that much in Buddhist text and art. The reputation and value of Samgdha in Gandhāra art and in the Buddhist text is not like Amrapāli and

Utpalavarnā. We can say the Buddhist text and Gandhāra art are silent about the issue of Samgdha. Samgdha was a daughter of a rich merchant *Anathapindada* from *saravasti*. She is also depicted as a donor of the *Jetavana* Park. She got married in a Jaina sect. As according to the tradition she went away from his father's house and started to live in her husband's house away from *Sravasti*. Her in-laws did not share her religious beliefs. But were staunch supporters of the *Nirgranthas*, the naked ascetics of the *Jaina* sect. Samgdha was the follower of Buddhism and as a woman she was distressed by the lack of clothing of these ascetics. One day she took a stick and belaboured one of them to the consternation and wrath of her father and mother-in-law (Ingholt 1957: 82; Kurita 2003). Only one sculpture related to this legend is found displayed in several museums and published in various books.

Fig 118 represents the entire legend in a very attractive manner. On the right side of the sculpture Samgdha is standing half naked with her back to the viewers. Only one half of her face is visible which presents the expression of arrogance. On her right under the balcony a small size figure of the *Jaina* follower *Digambara* is standing in a conflicting manner. He is looking arrogantly at Samgdha. Samgdha is also holding pole in her hand which represents her fight with the small heighted naked man. On her left side Buddha is standing who immediately appears at the battle place with in flying position, the flames are releasing from both feet and shoulders. The parents- in-law of Samgdha is portrayed in the balcony. They were witness of the incident in the balcony of the house. Ingholt stated during fight the upper garment slipped down but according to Foucher (AGBG, 1, P.533) the Indian women in ancient times did not have, "*pudeur du sin*". As a result of her battle with the ascetic Samgdha has been sent back to her father's house as a punishment but Ingholt says samagdha's in-laws were also converted to Buddhism (Ingholt 1957: 82). However, according to the Buddhist scripture (*Divyavadana*) no fight between Samgdha and Jaina ascetic is mentioned (Kurita 2003: 325). But Gandhāra art depicted this story quite differently.

In art Buddha is also depicted in the company of princes and Brahmans and his immediate arrival indicates the severity and harshness of the event. Kurita stated on the other half of the sculpture Sumeti the Dipankara Buddha is shown that is uncertain in this scene. I personally believe he is not Sumeti but she is Samgdha paying homage to Buddha with complete emotion and religious sentiment. She is portrayed in same dress and same hair style but her veneration grace resembled with Sumeti. In Dipankara jātaka Buddha is not depicted with flames from his shoulders

and water his feet but in this scene both miraculous signs are obviously portrayed which symbolize different aptitude but the homage of woman is one of its example. This gesture of worship also shows the kind and spiritual passion of women at that time. The veneration of Samgdha is representing the whole women folk of Gandhāra society.

5.8 The religious role and status of women worshippers as represented in Gandhāra art:

The tradition of worship was started with the creation of the human race in this world. People of every community and era worshipped according to their faiths and beliefs. People of different religions follow different methods of worship but these differences are not based on gender patterns. In every religion of the world worship is obligatory for all men and women without any discrimination. Women are also inevitable to perform their religious rituals according to their reliance and trust not a single religion can stop women from their right of worship and devotion. Similarly, in ancient India women played significant role in the religious ceremonies in the company of their husbands. There was no discrimination on gender basis and diversity of class in religious matters. In the performance of the religious sacrifices husband and wife equally participated even the religious deed was incomplete without the participation of woman. Women were advanced in this aspect of religious life than men mentioned in the Rig-Veda. Brahman literature also mentioned women participation compulsory in religious sacrifices. In the age of Upanishads women used to enjoy equal religious status with men in the performance of the religious ritual (Indra 1955: 121-125). However, the religious status of women passed different phases throughout the history. In some religions they enjoyed more prominence in religious ceremonies but at other places they are avoided from their high status. As Indra stated;

The religious status of women was weakened in the later ages. Their religious status was discreditable, they have no scriptures to follow in the age of *Mahabharata* that they are living lies, beds, seats, ornaments, food, drink and absence of all that is reputable and virtuous tolerance in offensive words and love of sexual comradeship these were conferred by Brahman for women. In the post epic age women were regarded inferior religiously and no sacrifices were acceptable by them without the company of the husbands. Even women were not considered equal to men in the attainment of salvation that is viewed as an ultimate goal of human life (Indra 1955: 126-9). Despite all these facts women were not treated inferior in the performance of the religious rituals, their worship was considered in low grade as compared to men. According to the same text the religious position of women not always remained disgraceful in every period of history. Women enjoyed very respectable place in the performance of the religious services and sacrifices with their husbands. But their

separate entity in religious matters has not been recognized and their religious status was not equal to men. As compared to the Hindu age women enjoyed superior religious status in the Buddhist age as a laywomen or almswomen. The establishment of nuns' community is an evidence of their religious position in the society. They were guided by the same rules and regulations in the *Sangha* as that of the monk (Indra 2009: 230-31).

We can analyse the worshipping spirit of women from the depiction of the kneeling worshippers which are found in the earliest remains of the Indus valley in the art of India (Coomaraswamy 1966: 2). In the religious perspective the attitude toward women in different Buddhist literature exist has conflicting view. There is no single, monolithic opinion that represents the Buddhist attitude toward women. Some scholars suggest the Buddhism contain ample evidence that women played decisive roles in Buddhist history and revealed are markable degree of religious egalitarianism. These scholars support women parity, reverence and autonomy in the Buddhist society (Foly 1893; Hornor 1930; Shuster 1987; Shyu 2008). The Buddhist attitude towards women is not consistent because of the complex history of the texts as it is transmitted from period to period. However, the history of Buddhism is not limited to those voices only. There is a space for further clarity in the form of Gandhāran art. This art is a most significant source to visually examine and analyse the various roles of women because it developed a unique style that differs from that of most Buddhist sacred sites and ultimately gave visual form to Buddhist religious ideals (Dehejia 1997; Behrendt 2007). Gandhāra art represents the true reflection and ample examples of women participation in the religious services and sacrifices in the company of their husbands and separately. The Gandhāran sculptures show that women from all groups of society equally participated in religious ceremonies without any discrimination. Gandhāra art portrayed the identical religious status of a Queen, a courtesan, a prostitute or a devotee without discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and social status in all the religious ceremonies which shows that there was no discrimination in the religion on the above mentioned factors. We get the proof from the samples represented in the Gandhāraart.

Fig 119 represents the religious activities of the Buddhist community. Buddha is seated in *Abhayamadura* posture on a flat stool with cubic pattern in the middle. A flat-topped canopy is providing shelter from sun shine and rain to the Buddha. This canopy is decorated with wreath flowers and a piece of cloth on both sides. Buddha is depicted in *Dharmachakra* mudra. In this scene Buddha is flanked by the worshippers, the figures around the Buddha are not common members of the society. He is flanked by a princely couple or members of high class of the society on his right side. A man stands near the Buddha in *Añjalimudrā* in adoration while a woman is

also visible behind him. She holds some offerings in her both hands. The dresses of the couple are much similar to Indian costume. The couple is paying homage to Buddha in *Añjalimudrā* posture. The woman depicted on the right side in the sculpture is the most prominent figure in this scene. She is highly adorned with ornaments. Behind the princely couple two women attendants are depicted on either side. They hold gifts or offerings in their both hands that are most probably from the princely couple as a token of love and homage for Buddha. These princely attendants are different from other figures due to their costumes and they also hold different kind of offerings. Wherever royal couple has been depicted their attendants are always women that indicate women attendants are integral part of the royal couple or upper class community in Gandhāra art.

There is also potentials that women were being reserved for such minor jobs where as men were constantly considered for greater ranks and jobs. The second possibility is that women were being reserved for such jobs because of their soft and caring nature. Mostly in Gandhāra art we find Buddha in this posture seated under the Bodhi tree. It is also assumed that maybe it is a special worship where mostly princely figures are present. It seems that they had decorated this place before their visit to honour the Buddha because it is very old ritual that whenever a king visits any shrine of saint, they take offerings with them and get those places decorated in order to pay homage. The place is highly decorated with different wreaths and flowers on each side covered from the head to protect the lord. This is a beautiful sculpture representing the male and female worshippers at the same time. It also shows the status of wife in the life of her husband.

Fig 120 represents only women worshippers around the Buddha. Buddha is undoubtedly a guest in the house of the female worshippers grouped around him (Ingholt 1957: 106). If it is true, then it is also a matter of honour for women that Buddha accepted their invitation and visited their place because they seemed common women from their outlook. Above all it is a very unique event and is not very commonly depicted that the Buddha had accepted the invitation of any male person and visited their places. If this aspect is correct then we can say that it shows the status of women in society and religion. It also indicates that the Buddha had chalked out special time for women and at the time of worship there was no male member present. It is also possible that in the absence of male member women may want to discuss some of their problems with Buddha which cannot be conveniently discussed in the presence of male. On the left side of the sculpture a woman is portrayed with her two children. She holds a floral spray in her hand. A bearded

Vajrapāṇi is depicted with his large thunderbolt. On the right side four women are shown, three of them holding small gifts while one is depicted in *Añjalimudrā* stance paying homage to Buddha. Two women visible on front are looking old from their faces, while the other two are young.

In this scene (fig. 120) woman of almost every age group is depicted specially in old age when the inclination of the person automatically move towards religion. Conversely, in other Gandhāran sculptures most of the emphasis is being laid on the physical beauty and youth of the women but these sculptures draw our attention towards the reality of the world. All are portrayed with sympathetic realism in features and painstaking are accurate in costumes and ornaments. All the three women standing in frontal row on each side covered their heads with a shawl or *dupatta*. It also shows their marital status, because in Indian tradition married women covered their heads with a piece of cloth of their dress called Sari, that is a modern form of Roman *toga*. The presence of children on this occasion is not an unusual matter. It is common Indian tradition from the early times that people bring their children on such event for their training or in the response of some of their vows. This sculpture truly represents the Indian tradition.

Fig 121 represents the worship of women and monks at the same time and at the same place in *Añjalimudrā* posture paying adoration to the blessed one. Her expressions are not observable because her face is damaged. A half-length woman figure is also visible in the background with a fly whisk in her hands to provide air to the women worshippers. The presence of this figure indicates the social status of the worshippers. On the other side a group of monks is also depicted in three rows in *Dhyānamudrā* might be according to their religious status. Their hands are covered under robes but their faces are raised upwards to the Buddha which shows that they are listening to Buddha with keen interest. In this sculpture women are present at one side and monks are portrayed on the other side which shows that women were given equal status to monks and were treated equally. There is a possibility that may be Buddha wanted to give some orders for women in the presence of monks because according to Foucher Buddha said that men should not talk to women. He also prohibited the eye contact with women (Foucher 2003: 199). In spite of all these, presence of women worshippers in the presence of monks is surprising.

Fig 122 is an exceptional sculpture related to the death of holy man. The sculpture is broken from all sides but the principal figures are much clear. In this sculpture the coffin of Buddha is carried by three women. On the left side of the sculpture the female bust is shown while the lower

part of the body is missing. A woman portrayed in front position which shows their grief on the death of the holy man. The next figure is shown with her back to the viewers but it is much obvious from her outlook that she is a woman. She holds the coffin of Buddha with her both hands. Her long hairs are open. Open hairs are also symbol of grief and sorrow. This is unusual in Gandhāra art that a woman is portrayed with long open hairs. On the right side of the sculpture *Vajrapāṇi* is standing near the coffin. He holds his *vajra* in his both hands. The sadness and sorrow are visible from his face. This sculpture is representing an excessive status and position of women in the religious circle. Their depiction with the coffin of Buddha is a matter of great worth and substance because in almost all religions and societies of the world coffin or dead bodies are carried by male members due to impurity of women. Because of menstruation cycle they are considered impure and unclean. Rao in his book 'women in Buddhist art of India' (2012) also describes such type of sculpture.

In fig 123 Bodhisattva *Matriya* is flanked by women worshippers. On the left side Bodhisattva is placed on a high seat, his right hand is raised in *chinmudra* while other is seated on left knee. Five women worshippers are standing on his left side. All are dressed in sprawling robes in diaphanous manner. These kinds of robes are rare in Gandhāra art. Two women in the middle are standing in *Añjalimudrā* stance which states their tribute and worship. These women are portrayed in different postures around Buddha. One of them holds some kind of offering in her right hand and standing in frontal position. Ingholt stated that the royal ladies are portrayed in similar manner in Chinese art during the early Tang period (Ingholt 1957: 139). Under this statement it is quite clear to recognize the social status of these women. They are royal ladies and came to Bodhisattva for offerings and worship. Their dresses are relatively trendy and stylish which is uncommon in Gandhāra art.

In fig 124 she is worshipping Buddha in the company of monks which represents her religious status and prominence in the Buddhist society. This also shows that Buddhism accepted those women and sprang them advanced position in the religion. Their facial expression shows their faith and confidence on the holy man. It might be possible they came to Buddha for some wish and looking at him with great expectations and hopes. The women's depiction in such characters represents their religious faith and potential that is a matter of great strength and valour for the whole women folk of the concerned society.

In fig 125 two couples are shown in *Añjalimudrā* stance. Two female in princely costumes are standing on right side with great respect and veneration. They are depicted in a row with kneeling head which is a symbol of adoration towards Bodhisattva. Bodhisattva is seated in *Dhyānamudrā* under a decorated roof. Two male figures are shown on the left side of the sculpture in the same stance. They are standing on the right side of the sculpture and worshipping the holy man in the presence of their partners. This sculpture shows the status of a woman as a wife and participation of woman in family worship.

Fig 126 represents two chief themes of Gandhāra art. Both themes are related to worship and veneration to Buddha. On the left side of the sculpture the Dipankara jātaka is portrayed worshipping and paying homage of Sumeti for Buddha. On the extreme right side, the sculpture is broken but the theme of the story is much clear. Buddha is sitting on a high matted seat. Two full size and one small size woman are standing in *Añjalimudrā* stance. They wear ankle length maxi style dress and their heads are covered with a scarf or dupatta. They are portrayed with side pose but their facial expressions are quite visible which reflect their confidence and honour for the holy one. Both episodes represent similar theme but the only difference is that in Dipankara the veneration of a male is shown while in other episode the worship of women is portrayed with abundant fondness and kindness.

Fig 127 represents two sacred aspects of the life of women in the Gandhāra society. In this scene they are guarding the urn which symbolizes their sacred duty but oppositely this attitude shows their veneration and admiration for the blessed one. They hold long spear in their hands as the women guards are depicted with similar weapon in the dream of Queen Māyā which indicates the nature of their job. One figure is shown in the middle of the scene, seated on feet and paying worship in *Añjalimudrā* posture. The women guards are performing their duty with great pride and vanity because they are appointed on very blessed and holy job. The depiction of women in this scene in place of men is a matter of respect and veneration for women in this kind of job. It shows they were not only appointed as guards of the royal figures but they were also acting as guards of the urn of the holyman.

Fig 128 also shows the presence of woman in the company of her husband while paying adoration to Buddha. The Apalala and his wife are shown in small size. They are seated in *Añjalimudrā* and looking at the blessed one for assurance of the acceptance of their worship. The presence of woman shows the value of wife at the occasions of the religious rituals in the society.

Two monks and one flying figure are also depicted in the scene. The figure of Buddha is more prominent as compared to other worshipping figures. It is a fact that even the most traditional societies of the world do not stop women from worship. In every religion of the world women are being portrayed worshipping together with men equally although not on daily basis but on many occasion and event women get equal chance of worship with men. It is very beautifully portrayed that women are worshipping along with male members and specially monks freely and equally in Gandhāra art. The representation of women worshippers at various occasions and in various assemblies portrays their better position in the Buddhist society and it also highlights the religious spirit of women in the concerned society. The ample carving of these worshippers also defined the social acceptance of women's participation in the religious ritual in the company of their husbands and even in the presence of the monks. In all the scenes Buddha is seated with turned legs. The turned leg occurs, Ebert notes, on thrones and *kline* in the art of *Bharhut* and *Amaravati* as well as Gandhāra. But she sees no grounds for stipulating a connection between the Gandhāran legs and the other two, as few similarities exist (Srinivasan 2006: 258). The next important and interesting element in these sculptures is the presence of Vajrapāṇi. Anna Filnigzi stated in this regard Ananda/ Vajrapāṇi is the shadow of the Buddha Ananad's compatibility with women finds space in a non-narrative dimension, which shows him a sort of patron in an assembly of female worshippers of the Buddha. Due to his love for women he cannot get them out of his mind. He requested Buddha to allow women into the order, and also insisted the Buddha how to conduct with women. This is the reason he is depicted in the assembly of women worshippers (Filigenzi 2006: 270-85).

5.9 The representation of women as a jealous and envious member of the society in the episode of the 'Nursling of the dead woman' as depicted in Gandhāra art:

Jealousy is a destructive thought and creates hatred and distrust among humans. The feeling and acts of jealousy is one of the most favorite and preferred theme of the artists, painters, writers and poets. The episode of the nursing of dead women is a live example of the feelings of jealousy among human beings particularly among women. Gandhāra art portrayed this legend with full expressions and veracity. The legend of the dead women describes the feeling of fear, anxiety and insecurity among women for their husband. The principal figures of this legend are king and his wives. As Raman stated, "The element of jealousy was common among co-wives in the

polygamous society that led to create various social problems in the society and women considered their lives as hell, some were ready to eat poison to get rid from the sufferings of the polygamous marriages and some of them joined Sangha and became nuns” (Raman 2009: 91).

A king has several wives and he was well liked by all of them. Among all his wives the youngest one conceived a son and due to jealousy and cynicism the senior wives of the king conspired against the younger wife who was pregnant. They decided to bribe the palace. They asked the Brahman to tell the king that the youngest wife is having a bad omen not only the queen but the bearing child can also cause the destruction for both the king and his kingdom. It is discussed in the previous chapters the Brahman’s prediction was considered worthy in Indian society. Ingholt writes, after the prediction of a Brahman, king got enraged and buried the youngest wife alive in a tomb, in order to neutralize the fateful prophecies (Ingholt 1957: 85). However, the merits acquired by both her and her unborn child in previous existence was that she not only was able to deliver her child after her death she was able miraculously to suckle him. For three years the child Sudaya, lived in the tomb until the crumbling of the wall enabled him to free himself. For three years he lived in the jungle. Buddha saw him there during a visit to the region and made him a monk despite of his tender year (Hargreaves 1977: 40-41; Shakur 1954: 46-7). In this legend we find two types of dark elements; one is that we find the feelings of jealousy and inferiority between women and second is the negative role played by a priest to get reward in order to curse one woman and please others.

Fig 129 represents the story in a vivid way. The sculptures are true representation of the legend. The artist beautifully depicted the dead woman, her child and the Buddha in sequence. In this sculpture we have seen the double image of the Buddha. On the right side Bodhisattva Siddhārtha is depicted, who stands in royal style highly adorned with royal ornaments. He stands with great valor and looking straight. As usual the figure of the Bodhisattva is taller than all other figures in the scene. A worshipping prince and Vajrapāṇi are depicted on each side of the Siddhārtha. The worshipping figure is carved toward him in *Añjalimudrā*. Two flying genii are also visible on the opposite side of each other carrying a garland in their hands. The main scene of the legend is shown in the middle of the sculpture. The tomb represents as a brick vault and the dead figure of the mother is also shown in this scene. The head with hair and the trunk of the dead woman is visible. The left side is portrayed as a withered cadaver. The right breast is shown firm and round like living women. The firmness of her breasts symbolizes her fertility and

motherhood because without this eminence of the dead woman, her child cannot survive in the tomb for three years. She just looks like a sleeping woman. Her motionless gestures show she is dead.

The child stands in front of the Buddha in *Añjalimudrā* posture paying homage to Buddha. The child is naked as we know he lived in jungle so he had no clothes to wear. The nakedness of the child is creating the real image of his jungle life. Buddha wears full monks robe. He is also depicted in *Añjalimudrā* with bended legs, and it shows his affection for the young boy, his expressions and emotions for the young boy are visible from his gesture. Behind Buddha *Vajrapāṇi* is portrayed with crossed legs and behind the child a man stands in *Añjalimudrā* wearing monk robe and *usnisha* like Buddha. He might be the royal father of the child who later was converted to Buddhism by his son *Sudaya*. In the background devas/ celestial beings are depicted with flowers in their hands, paying admiration to the child. The iconographic symbolizing of devas and celestial beings is an evident impression about the sacredness of the event.

The feeling of jealousy for youngest royal lady was very solid and natural because she was pregnant. The other wives of the king knew that being mother of the ancestor she will enjoy an eminent position in the palace. The status of motherhood is already discussed in the previous chapter. Being mother of the successor, the youngest queen will enjoy the prominent status of mother queen. This fact was unbearable for other wives. That is why they conspired against her and resultantly she got buried alive. Fig 130 narrates the legend in a beautiful sequence from left to right. In the extreme right of the sculpture, the strong wall of the tomb and the grave of the woman are depicted with bricks. The dead queen is depicted just like a skeleton lying in the grave. Her child is carved near her holding her left breast which indicates that her mother was source of his food in the grave. There is another figure shown in the grave in seated position. He holds a half-length arm in his hand. On the roof of the grave area two huge figures are shown in same position in identical posture. They might be guards appointed to keep eye on the grave.

The next scene represents the story of the conversion of the child into Buddhism. A naked child is portrayed in *Añjalimudrā* in front of the Buddha in adoration. Buddha stands in reassurance gesture. His gestures show the love and blessings for the young boy. The half-length figure of king is also depicted in the background adorned with ornaments looking at the Buddha and his son. In researcher's opinion the boy was the youngest monk in Buddhism. The woman

who was buried alive after being considered a bad omen, her son became the youngest monk. After his conversion to Buddhism as a youngest monk he became the sign of prestige and regard not only in the religious history of Buddhism but for his father and his clan as well. The other miraculous thing related to that young monk was the incredible power of his mother who miraculously got influenced of feeding her son even after her death. Gandhāra art had portrayed this legend very beautifully and artists have done full justice with it.

Fig 131 represents the two interrelated legends of the life of Buddha. The first scene is very obvious due to the presence of the principal figures of the legend of nursing the dead woman. On the extreme left of the sculpture the child is carved on the chest of his dead mother. The grave/tomb is shown only with a rounded wall. Beside them three other figures in *Añjalimudrā* are depicted behind the grave in the left corner of the sculpture. In this sculpture two other monks are also presented near Buddha on this occasion.

The next scene is portraying the adoration of the king father for his son. In the extreme right of the sculpture the king is depicted in *Añjalimudrā* posture paying homage to Buddha. Some half-length celestial beings are also represented in the background in *Añjalimudrā* posture. In the lower scene Buddha is carved on throne. He is flanked with monks on both sides. Near Buddha the royal figure is depicted which indicates the conversion of the king into Buddhism due to the devotion of his son and innocence of his wife that she was buried alive without any sin. This fact is a clear proof of greatness and purity of a woman. Keeping all these things in view the king converted into Buddhism and this event represents the whole legend. The conversion of the king into Buddhism shows his realization for his inhuman act with his youngest wife, who was buried alive without any immorality and wickedness. Oppositely, this act of the king is also showing his love for his dead wife and his young son who became the source of his religious wisdom.

In fig 132 the grave or tomb is depicted on the extreme right side. Buddha is shown in reassurance gesture that indicates the acceptance of the homage and zeal of the young boy and he accepted him as monk. The expressions of love and happiness are quite visible on the face of the Buddha. In every sculpture the dead woman is depicted because she is a good omen. Unfortunately, the dead figure is very ugly but still without its presence the legend is incomplete. One thing should be underlined in this legend that women responsible for the death are not depicted anywhere because they are symbol of wickedness. Although, they were the main

characters behind this legend but due to their wickedness neither society nor the artists accept them. Although they are living characters of the legends but they are treated like dead while the woman with good character and moral conduct is dead seven years ago but she is a living character and principal figure of the legend.

Fig 133 is quite different from other sculptures because in this sculpture the key figure (dead woman) of the legend is not shown physically. Only her grave is shown with triple layered stone. The second different element of this figure is the boy depicted only once, he is not fully nude and wears a diaphanous pitambara. Buddha, king and *Vajrapāṇi* stand near the grave of the dead woman. Buddha also wears head dress and holds a sword like weapon in his left hand that represents his royalty and kingly status in the episode. Their gestures show they are talking about the woman and his child because the king is pointing towards the boy by his right hand and Buddha's hands are raised in reassurance gesture or it might represent the conversation style. Besides these principal figures two more figures are shown in the second row. One of them holds a long stick and from the top, *Vajrapāṇi* holds the stick in his right hand. The presence of the *Vajrapāṇi* represents the significance of the event. *Vajrapāṇi* is depicted in almost all the miraculous and significant events of the life of the Buddha as his close companion.

Fig 134 is divided into two parts. The first scene represents the same story. The next scene is very unique and interesting. The king is easily identified due to his dress and crown. He is seated under a tree in *Añjalimudrā* that shows his obedience to Buddha or secondly his conversion to Buddhism and acceptance of his son. The acceptance of boy as his son by the king is also portrayed as the real image of humanely feeling towards his child. In the next Buddha is giving a begging bowl to the boy that is a clear indication of his acceptance of Buddhism. This is a matter of great honor and pride for the young boy. His expression of happiness and satisfaction can be observed from their gestures. *Vajrapāṇi* and other monks or celestial beings are also present on the occasion.

The king buried his youngest wife not by his own will but due to cleverness and cunningness of his other wives. Now the presence of the king at this occasion represents his recompense for his merciless act. Due to that boy he was converted into Buddhism. The act of king is being practiced from prehistoric times till present. These practices are still common in almost all societies of the world. Gandhāra art had depicted this legend in a very outstanding way. The Gandhāran art had given this legend an appropriate end that the king gets converted

into Buddhism. But being a king what he had done with his wife was very heartless because if she had something wrong, she herself was answerable in front of god for her misdeed. The king had no right to bury her alive without confirming her accuse. Conversely, the act of king was also natural because in the male dominant society, women are not provided the opportunity to give self-clarifications. These practices are common in the whole world but Gandhāra art has depicted this practice in an artistic and out class way. The chief cause of his inhuman act was women. In this episode women are also depicted as temptress but in this episode their objective was different from the above discussed episode. In this episode they tempted the king in the jealousy and wariness for the youngest queen. Gandhāra art has portrayed the human feelings of jealousy and suspicion in a very attractive style. This legend is innovatory to understand the negative feelings and emotions of the humanbeings.

In this legend the boy who was buried with his mother after giving the title of illicit act not only became a source of blessing for himself but also for his father. There are many other legends and stories of atrocities for women in whom they became victim of tyranny and suppression. The depiction of this legend gave a picture of social system prevailing at that time. If that boy had not become a monk or Buddha did not found him in forest, it was utmost impossible that the legend would have been depicted. Because this legend got place in Gandhāra art due to Buddha, it is also possible that the legend was not depicted because of the tyranny on woman by her husband but only due to Buddha's presence and because the boy was converted into monk and his father also entered Buddhism. Otherwise who knows how many other women had become the victim of suppression on which Gandhāra art is silent. The reaction of the wives of the king towards the beloved and pregnant wife was very natural and humane as Vyas writes (1967: 90) in his book 'India in the Ramāyāna Age', "the system of polygamy was prevalent in the Katriya class and the jealousy between co-wives was quite common. This was often found to spring from the rival wife's children. The rivalry between Kaikeyi and Kausalya reached its climax when the question arose of the installation of the latter's son to regency". *Manthara* in her expostulation to kaikeyi described the prosperity of a co-wife's son to be as ominous as the approach of death. This is not the only legend of tyrannies being done with women. Beside this legend, women became victim of various sorts of ill-treatment in the concerned society. Many stories under this topic are found. A very authentic legend related to Faxian the first Chinese who traveled through sub-continent is found. Yuan wye Shoai translated his travel story in which he

narrated the story of a woman who was raped by a priest of a temple. She came there to worship in a temple but became the victim of lust of a man (Shoai 2002: 1). Another legend mentioned in the same book is of kidnapping. He saw three sons of a landlord were trying to kidnap a girl. But the girl was lucky enough to be rescued by Faxian and his companions, later she adopted the Sangha (Vyas 2002: 2). Another legend quoted in the same book is that a master raped his slave's sister. She committed suicide after such insult and degradation (Shoai 2002: 78-79). Because there is no place for that woman in the society after this she is impotent to make a respectable position in the society. Her act of suicide is an evidence of the social behavior of people towards a woman who fall prey to the desire of a wicked man. Shoai narrated (Shoai 2002: 82-84). Another very interesting and one of its kind legend of a girl given as a ransom of murder which was done by his father. She was only seventeen years old and one day she was stoned by his sixty- five years old husband and the villagers as an accuse of being an adulterous. When Faxian passed by that village, he rescued that girl and took her to the monastery present at the town of Cho Cha Shilo (present Taxila city of Pakistan). Although she was adulteress and a fly away bird from her family but then the pledge by Faxian and his companions the religion forgave her and accepted as a *Bhikshuni*. Oppositely, we find a positive aspect of religion in which the women were respected and given their appropriate status in the society. We see that women like prostitutes and courtesans who were rejected by the society, the religion accepted them and gave them the venerable status of nuns. This is the achieved status of women in the downtrodden society.

Chapter 6

The Role and Status of Women as Represented in Gandhāra Art in the Context of Entertainment and Sensual Temptation

In this chapter the seductive and negative role of women will be discussed, this chapter has divided the role of women into three categories. In the first category the entertaining role and status of women in the palace life of the Bodhisattva is discussed. The second category comprises the seductive and temptress role and status of women constructed on the episode of the seduction by Mara's daughters. In these two episodes, women are used as tool to distract Buddha from the way of enlightenment and delicate sex is presented as the vamp to trap the holy man. In this discussion women are portrayed strong and they are being used by the socially stable elites. The third category under discussion is the vibrant aspect of women's nature. In this category women are shown at the peak of their beauty and delicacy in order to achieve the attention of men. The sculptures which come under this category shows that women used their beauty and delicacy in the way which always attracts male sex by showing their physical beauty and by making men their addicts.

Women are always considered as seductress and temptress in almost all ages of the human development while completely overlooking their sacred social and religious role in the society. The early myths represent women as temptress to male members of the society even to spiritual *yogis* and Divine followers. However, women are also represented superior to their husbands in many ways as the first authors of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Pandava Yudhishtira* criticized those men who portray women as unreliable and wicked. Though the later interleaved literature states, women are naturally sensual sexually greedy and keen to tangle men through these skills (Raman 2009: 53). According to the above mentioned statement we have two different opinions regarding the nature of women, but this shall also be agreed upon that all women are not seductress and wicked. Similarly, all men are not superior and virtuous by nature.

Apart from the *Mahābhārata* the *Vedic* hymns also describe the desires and sexual wants of women in various manners. In the *Vedic* hymns women are revealed to express their sexual wants openly. The conversational hymns between divine, semi-divine and usual women and men elect desire and denial. *Nymph Urvashi* rejects her lover *Pururavas* for sex and criticizes him for forcibly 'penetrating her with his "rod three times a day"' (the *Rig-Veda* 10.95. 1-18.vol III, 2014: 1548-1550). The second hymn also discusses the conversion of Spinster Apala into a needed woman the third hymn describe the desire of an unmarried girl Apalala who wanted sex and progeny in the charm of healing and fertility in ultimate preparation of her marriage. She finds soma on her way she brings it home and addresses first the soma and then Indra. She expresses her wishes in three different ways. However, Indra purified her through increasingly smaller holes, rendering her "sun

skinned”, the author says quite possibly a reference to the curing of teenage acne, a frequent accompaniment to the entry into sexual maturity (the *Rig-Veda* 8. 91.1-7. Vol. III. 2014: 1189-1190). Ancient texts provide ample examples of sensual desires of women from their beloveds and husbands, that is why women are considered temptress. However, in spite of all these evidences, these literatures also appreciated the worthy and commendable potentials of women as well.

Furthermore, the non-Vedic texts often show seductive nymphs who tried to frustrate and divert the meditating sages. Only few of them like the Buddha could struggle the tricks of the vixen Mara. There are minor legends regarding the seductive role of women in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Ramāyāna*. These women try to seduce the sages with their loveliness and tricks like the gorgeous princesses *Shanta* who seduce the sage *Rsyasringa*. The sage *Vishvamitra*'s moral intents were sparked by the nymphs *Menaka* and they spend long time in each other's company. The rishi begat on *Menaka* a daughter named Sakuntala (the *Mahābhārata. Sambhavaparva*: Section LXXII. Vol. I. 1956: 154). The sages mostly reside with their wives until their final departure for spiritual journey. The *Yajnavalkya* resided in the forest with his two wives, *Maitreyi* and *katyayani* until his final departure mentioned in the *Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishads* (Raman 2009: 38). Accordingly, Buddha was not only sage who was tempted by Mara and her daughters. Women used these wiles to attract men through ages. Due to these actions Manu also viewed women as morally low creature than men. He says “it is the nature of women to seduce men in this world, for that reason the wise are never left unguarded in the company of females”. He added “women are able to lead astray in this world even a learned man and make him a slave of desire and anger” (Indra 1955: 12). However, it is also a fact that if women are morally low creature that is the reasons they are used as an instrument by male members of society to gain their worldly benefits and hungers as Mara used his daughters to seduce Buddha for his personal gains. *Arthasāstra* that is considered as ancient Indian treatise on state craft also describes these aptitudes of women in different way but the crux of this discussion is same, he considers that the company of women is worse than any other immoral conducts. The author says that the addiction to women is worse than the addiction of gambling. The concentrations of the rajas can be diverted from gambling but not from women. He gets insane in this habit and is consequently unable to perform all his political tasks and becomes an addict of doze (Indra 1955: 13; Kangle 1909: 246).

Apart from these reliable and ancient texts the secular and sacred roles of women are also depicted in various ancient arts with their dual nature. They are given divine and blessed roles but on the other hand they are also depicted as seductress and temptress. Likewise, the Indian secular erotic art is very ancient, which was confirmed by different explorations at Harappa etc. The substances of this art are cult objects, fertility divinities and mother goddesses which may be worshipped in the primitive way. The same appears also true for the terracotta of the Ganges valley

sites. However, the figural art of the Pre-medieval age saw modification in the erotic feelings towards women. The art without the depiction of female figures was completely losing its sensuous charm. Although it became more submissive but on the other hand women were also appreciated because of their attractiveness, and kindness as the great dramatist and poet like *Kalidasa* frankly described the physical grace of their heroines (Mehta 1972: 12-13; Thapar 1999: 16-43). Thus, women are abundantly discussed in ancient text and art because of their nature and beauty. Likewise, we can also observe different roles of women with the help of text and art and on this behalf we can identify their position in the concerned societies as well.

As we identify the women beauty, grace, their role and status in the Buddhist society with the help of the religious art of Gandhāra, since this art provides us ample examples of female beauty and their sacred role during the life of prince Siddhārtha. The Buddha also resided with his wife Yaśodharā and great number of female musicians and dancers in the palace of the king Śuddhodana before his departure for the religious services. The episode of the Great departure in the art of Gandhāra is a foremost example of Siddhārtha's stay with his wife in his palace built by his father for his comfort and luxurious life. The second or the dark aspect of women's nature is their seductive behaviour that is also observed in Gandhāra art and in the Buddhist text. Therefore, with the support of Gandhāra art one can easily understand the second aspect (seductive) of women's nature that will be helpful to recognize the complete picture of women's conduct and behaviour.

6.2 The role and status of women as seductress and temptress in the palace life of the prince Siddhārtha and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

Dancers have always enjoyed a special place in Indian literature and art. Indian literature related dance as essence of female. A dancer must be in her youth with good features, swollen and round breasts etc. She must be confident, proud and bold so she can understand the music, song and rhythm to entertain the viewers. The beautiful heroine of *Kalidasa Malavikagnimitrapana Malakia* and the model dancer of *dramaturigist Nandikeshvara's Abhinayadarpana* had all of these aptitudes in their personality. Dancers are always depicted in different postures, moods and positions in different art of India like Bhārhut, Sāñcī and later in Gandhāra art. The depiction of women as dancers starts from Mesolithic cave paintings. The most important and oldest sculpture excavated from Mohen-Jo-daro, datable to c. 2500-1500 B.C.E. known as 'dancing girl'. The sculpture of the dancing girl is an exclusive example of dance and entertainment in the primitive societies (Varadpande 2006: 67-8). These sculptures show that male members liked women in this condition and get amused by it. If they had not appreciated this role of women then it was almost impossible to become common for these activities. In primitive society the discovery of dancing sculptures showed utter urge to watch dances and such kind of amusing activities, which made artists project women in such activities.

According to the same text beside this unique sculpture of the dancing girl, the sculptures of the most noticeable dancers in solo as well as group are found in various ancient monuments like *Ranigumpha* cave in the *Udaigiri* hill near *Bhuvaneshvar*. The women opera bands performed all over the country in ancient India. The *Ramāyāna* calls them as *Vadhu-nataka-sangh* and the *Arthashastra* of *Kautilya* terms them as *street-preksha*. Apart from art the famous and loved women dancers are stated by their names in Indian literature. *Talapatta jātaka* argues about *Janapadakalyani*, a striking dancer who had earned standing among commonalities at that time. We also find names of the dancers on *Bhārhut* pillar (Varadpande 2006: 67-75). It provides evidence that the depiction of women dancers is not a new tradition in *Gandhāra* art. The representation of female dancers in various modes identify that women perform these acts because of their physical beauty and charm as compare to men. The portrayal of these acts on the temple walls is showing their sacredness because they are performing these actions for pleasure of deities not to seduce men. Apart from dance activities the inscription of the names of women dancers on the *Bhārhut* pillar is evidence of the participation of women dancers not only on social celebrations but they also participated in the celebration of religious rituals. The dance activities are frequently associated with women in most societies of the world due to their physical prettiness and sensuality. Women dancers not only performed in social and religious ceremonies but women dancers also played essential part of the royal harem of the kings and princes. These dancers were awarded with precious gifts at the end of their acts. Depiction of women dancers is one of the favourite topics of artists, painters and sculptors. In *Gandhāra* art we find women dancers in the royal palace of King *Śuddhodana*, who were particularly appointed to entertain Prince *Siddhārtha* in his royal harem. Firstly, this aspect would be discussed in light of the sacred Buddhist text and latter with the support of *Gandhāra* art.

According to the *Buddhacarita* after the birth of the *Bodhisattva* the sage *Asita* predicts the future life of the *Bodhisattva* to king *Śuddhodana*. Subsequently, the prophecy of the Sage king *Śuddhodana* becomes very strong regarding his son. He decided to provide all the luxuries and amenities to Prince *Siddhārtha* because he did not want that anything would distress the mind of the *Bodhisattva*. To avoid this kind of state, the King provided him with a compartment on the top floor of the palace, and adorned the chamber with all treats and releases of every season of life. The compartment bubbled like *kaliasa*, the chamber was crowded with women servants and subordinates who served the *Bodhisattva* and entertained him with loud music and relieved him with their fingers tips for his comfort and ease. The dancers of the *Bodhisattva*'s harem resembled the *apsarases* in their splendour and beauty. In the chamber women amused him with soft voices and appealing motions, with playful drunkenness and sweet laughter, with twisting eyebrows and sideways looks. Those women were skilled in erotic arts that were tireless in providing sexual delights. He did not come to earth from that heavenly manor (the *Buddhacarita* 47-49, Olivelle). Therefore, we come to

recognize the use of these women to stop Bodhisattva from renouncing palace life by king Śuddhodana and his queen for the pleasure of his kingdom. Furthermore, according to the same literature translated by Johnston in the chapter titled “Life in the Palace” after the prediction of the sage Asita about the future of prince. King arranged all possible worldly pleasures for the prince that can stop him from departing the palace life. King Śuddhodana made his son marry in early youth with a girl of his own choice. She was a beautiful girl with a good conduct and was called as goddess of fortune due to her virtuous behaviour. She was renowned because of her righteous and brilliant attitude, loveliness, humility and kind bearing. Siddhārtha lived in his glorious palace with his wife and other women who delighted him with their soft voices, charming blandishment, playful intoxications, sweet laughter, carvings of eyebrows and sidelong glances, prince was captive of women, who were skilled in the accessories of love and in fatigable in sexual pleasure. He did not descend from the place to the ground, just as one who has won paradise by his merit does not descend to earth from the heavenly mansion” (Johnston 1936:24-26).

Beside the worldly and sensual pleasures in the form of women dancers and musicians king also preserved his personal sovereignty guards to protect his son. But this *dharma*-loving lord of men by letting his son loose among the objects of sense kept him from *dharma*. But all the Bodhisattvas, those beings of incomparable natures, first taste the flavour of worldly pleasures and after the birth of a son leave for the forest. However, the motive was fully developed in him by the accumulation of the past acts, he enjoyed sensual pleasure till he reached illumination (Johnston 1936: 31). All the efforts made by his father and mother turned useless and Bodhisattva renounced his worldly pleasures for the sake of *dharma*. Therefore, according to the tradition Bodhisattva Siddhārtha also spend a luxurious life in his palace in the company of women entertainers. In the light of the above discussion we can understand the lavish life of prince Siddhārtha in his palace. In spite of this fact that king Śuddhodana tried to make prince Siddhārtha habitual of these luxuries, it is also a fact that king and princes of time also used to spend their life in same luxurious manners as he was spending. Apart from the Buddhist literature, the Buddhist art of Gandhāra is the other most reliable source for an insight in the palace life of the Bodhisattva. Through its narrative representation one can easily recognize the legend of the life of the Buddha. Gandhāra art is consistent foundation to analyse the tradition of music and dance in the concerned society. Gandhāra art is providing us ample and sufficient illustrations of these activities of women in the royal harem of prince Siddhārtha. These sculptures are also helping us in modernizing these mores in the existing era and to comprehend the role and status of women dancers and singers in the primitive society.

The representation of female dancers and musicians in palace life episode reveal the true image of the Indian style and depiction of the musical instruments are also represented the traditional Indian grace. Likewise, the dancing postures of female dancers are also shown in typical Indian

manner. Siddhārtha is portrayed with his wife on a splendid bed covered with mats and surrounded by women dancers and musicians. There is a contradiction on the number of women appointed for his amusement. One of the texts suggests forty thousand while eighty four thousands were suggested in the *Lalitavistara* and all are equal to goddesses in beauty (the *Lalitavistara*: chap XIII, Bays). The tradition of the musicians and dancers for the amusements in the royal courts was not a new trend; it was common in Indian traditions and mentioned in Indian literature depicted on paintings and reliefs since the Bhārhut period (Hallade 1968: 123). In Gandhāra art it is discussed with the relevance of the life of Bodhisattva but dance and music are not only related with entertainment of royal families but it is also an important part of religion as well and similarly associated with religious obligation that is why it was a common practice in Indian society.

In fig 135 the royal couple is portrayed in the royal apartment and is entertained by a musician and dancer. In this scene the royal couple is depicted in the central position on their couch with flat topped canopy with sloping sides, similar with the couch of Queen Māyā. Their couch is covered with mattress, pillow and a wavy cloth. Prince Siddhārtha is half-recline on a couch with the support of a pillow, while queen Yaśodharā is seated beside him. He wears a beautiful turban, an *uttariya* a long necklace, a collar, and earrings and holds a wreath in his left hand. Queen Yaśodharā is portrayed in a good mood, resting her foot on a footstool. She wears a tunic with an over garment draped over her left shoulder, a wreath headdress, ear pendant, a collar, a necklace, anklets, bracelets, and holds a bunch of flowers in her right hand. Royal couple is enjoying the music and dance of the women of royal house. In this sculpture, Yaśodharā is depicted with prince Siddhārtha, enjoying the dance and music, while in Indian society it is not very common practice to allow women to enjoy such events and activities. It can be said that it may be a royal family tradition. On the left side of the couch a dancing girl wears sleeved tunic, a headdress, *paridhana* a tight trouser and ornaments carved in an attractive dancing posture raises her right arm and leg performing and entertaining the royal couple. On the other side, a female drummer is depicted her right hand is half raised, while the left hand is barring at drum, which shows she is playing music and singing something on which the other woman is performing. They both are performing together, so it is called a group performance. They wear full sleeved tunic, a nice headdress and long earrings.

According to the Indian tradition, the royal couple was entertained by the women performers till Mughal dynasty. In the balconies, pair of figures are depicted on both sides, on the left side, half-length female figures are represented they are looking at each other and talking about something. They are also bedecked with headdresses, long earrings and bracelets, with flowers in their hands offering to the royal couple. It might be possible that they will throw these flowers on the performers at the end of their activity because the royal couple and other ornamented figures depicted on both sides of sculpture with flowers in their hands, which shows that flowers are also part of celebration

or it is indicating the beauty and charm of the event.

The theme of fig 136 shows the inside of a palace and all sections seem to be related to each other. In this sculpture prince Siddhārtha is not reclining to the couch but seated in erect position and accompanying his wife. They are paying appreciation to the entertainers with their right hands while the left hand resting on their thighs and their feet are placed on the footstool in royal manners. A drummer is playing her drums whereas another female dancer is present on the right side of the sculptures. It shows the combine effort of the entertainers to amuse the royal couple. On the balcony four female are looking down and enjoying the royal performers. These are most probably the women of the royal harem who are allowed to share these acts of amusement. The presence of other women at the eve of the entertainment of the royal couple except than the performers is rare. Only female guard is depicted on this occasion. Two half-length figures are also depicted behind the royal figure. It is also possible that they might be celestial musicians. The niche is carved on the both sides of the couch decorated with birds. In these scenes we cannot observe any immoral conduct of dancers and musicians. They are only performing these actions for the pleasure of the royal couple. Fig 137 represents two important themes of the life of Siddhārtha. Both scenes are entirely different from each other but there is a deep connection. One scene depicts his palace life while other depicts the reason of renouncing the palace life. This sculpture is divided into two registers with the erection of Corinthian pilaster. On the right side Siddhārtha rides on a horse. A female attendant is stands behind him and holds a shield like object in her right hand. She wears *paridhana* and fan shaped head dress. A sick fat man is lying in the ground in front of the horse. His belly is swollen and ribs are visible. He grasps the ground with his left hand while right hand is raised. His eyes are wide open due to sickness and he is looking at riding prince. Another female figure is portrayed behind the sick man. She might be his wife just standing behind for his care under the shade of the Corinthian pilaster. This was one of the main causes to renounce the palace life. On the left side of the sculpture the newly wedded couple is depicted on their couch. Yaśodharā holds a bunch of lotus in her raised right hand. It might be possible that she wants to present to the entertainer or maybe she wants to present to prince as token of love. He holds a garland in his left hand and a bunch of lotuses in his right hand. It might be possible he wants to give flowers to his wife and the other to the entertainer as reward of her act. A female drummer is may besinging as well to amuse the royal couple. Another female attendant is portrayed behind their couch near Siddhārtha in amusement and pleasure. The depiction of this female is obvious that she is standing here not to enjoy the musician's act but for the services of the royal couple. In this scene women are depicted merely as performers. Women are seated on ground which shows their inferior position, on the other hand they are appointed to lure the princess that is also represents the dark side of the social attitude towards these women.

Fig 138 is a beautiful sculpture which represents the luxurious life of the prince Siddhārtha at his ancestral palace at *Kapilvastu*. We can perceive a remarkable dancing postures and attitudes of the dancers to entertain the prince. In this sculpture two women are depicted around each side of his couch. They hold fans in their hands blowing air to the prince. The woman seated on the left side is playing drums with full enthusiasm one hand is on the drum while the other is fully raised with zeal. The next one is depicted with her back to the viewers but she is shown with wide spread legs and playing flute. Her hands are depicted very beautifully in the posture of playing flute and they seem very realistic and are giving an impression as if she is really playing flute. Another damaged figure is shown on the edge of the sculpture with a long spread leg wears anklet, but we cannot define her role in this sculpture. The flute player's dress and hair style is quite different from other women. Her hair is tied in a knot and she is wearing a girdle and a scarf is also visible from her back and left arm. Queen Yaśodharā is not portrayed in this scene that is symbolizing that the prince was also entertained in his royal harem without the presence of his wife or this sculpture represents the unmarried life of Bodhisattva.

Fig 139 represents the two most important and interrelated events of the life of the Buddha. The upper register shows the life in palace that is presenting his royalty, upper status and pleasing life in the society. The second event of great renunciation is depicting the contrasting way of life for eternal peace and happiness. This sculpture presents his pleasurable married life in the palace. Yaśodharā is portrayed on the edge of the couch they both are fanned. One performer is depicted in a dancing posture, while the other one is standing with her hands joined together, she might be clapping to enhance the rhythm of the music, while the third one is seated and playing vina. This musical instrument is frequently depicted in Indian arts and usually used in Indian music.

According to the statement of Varadpande (2006: 77-84) vina is a most favourite stringed musical instrument of women. It is profusely depicted in the sculptural art of India. The goddess of learning *Saraswati* is generally shown with vina. Princess *Vasavadatta* is considered the most famous vina player of the Indian literature. She learnt this art from king Udayana of *Kaushambi*. The second woman is playing two drums and playing it with enthusiasm and her facial expressions are such that she is enjoying it a lot. Two other women are shown in the extreme left of the sculpture. One most probably plays flute because her both hands are depicted in a position of holding a flute. Another damaged dancing figure is visible and her feet are turned in a dancing pose, while the other one is standing behind her but the purpose of all women is to amuse the royal couple because they are appointed for this job. These sculptures represent the honest and fair nature of women towards their job and profession. One can distinguish their balanced and just attitude from their expressions and exertion. In the palace life of the prince only women are shown playing music and dancing because it is in the nature of women that they look attractive and beautiful while dancing. It is a

common practice that women are associated with every matter of beauty, art, poetry, painting and dancing activities because the postures and figures of women are much more flexible and attractive as compared to men. The sculpture (fig. 139) shown a combine architecture and style. The niches illustrate the Graeco-Roman style which has Persepolitan capitals style columns, an Indian base rail design of the frieze and the ornate displaying the Hellenic and Roman torus (Burgess 1965:129).

In Fig 140 instead of Siddhārtha, Yaśodharā holds a flower in her right hand to give as a reward to the best performer. The royal couple is adorned with ornaments, vaksha hara, wrestles and elegant sirobhushana. Apart from the royal couple five women are shown in the sculpture. One royal attendant is depicted on her particular place, behind the couch. There are four musicians playing different musical instrument; all are shown in seated position on the ground in front of the royal couch. While the other one is sitting on a stool playing vina or tambura. Next to her is a woman depicted with her back to the viewers, playing flute. Another woman depicted with stretched leg and playing her instrument with great enthusiasm. The drummer is shown beside the couch, with one arm in raised position. Their sitting style and place is representing their social status in the Gandhāran society, although they are dressed in attractive manners and are highly jewelled with different types of ornaments but one can easily define their position in the royal palace. If we see the same character at other place we can consider them as honorable women of the society, but their presence in the palace life representing the true picture of their social role and status.

In fig 141 Yaśodharā is guarded by *Yavani*. She stands straight near the couch, guarding her mistress while she is sleeping. Behind her four women musicians are playing different musical instruments, flute, harps and vina. While the drummer is fall asleep on the ground resting her head on the drum. This indicates the night time event. These are the women who are appointed by Śuddhodana and Parajāpātī to entertain the prince in palace and he must get so much attracted towards these women that he should not even think to leave the palace. The lower panel is indicating the great departure of the prince from the royal palace. Prince Siddhārtha's presence in the whole sculpture is broken while the *Chandaka* is shown with royal umbrella. Two other figures are also visible in the lower panel. One is most probably city goddess because according to the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 310, Bays) all performers went to sleep before the departure of the prince.

This Fig 142 is a different and interesting scene which is totally opposite from the life of pleasure. This sculpture represents his future life (after renunciation) he is depicted in *Abhayamadura* posture on the inverted lotus throne, instead of his royal couch. In this sculpture we see that the prince is physically present in the palace, watching different activities of women, but mentally he is experiencing his coming future life where he is shown on lotus in *Abhayamadura*

gaining the spiritual height. The artist had shown two main aspects of the life of prince Siddhārtha and Buddha in which on one side he is watching the dance and music of royal dancer and on the other side he is meditating. The artists have carved a very beautiful mixture of the two main aspects of the Buddha's life. Two women are depicted on each side of the prince in lovely dancing scene trying to provide excitement to the prince. The artist had portrayed the dancing women in such a beautiful and realistic way, that one can hardly realize that they are not real but only a sculpture. Varadpande (2006: 74) says this posture of dancing is a favourite theme of the artists in which they portray the disposition of the limbs, known as *sthanas*, *karanas* and *angaharas*. These postures of the dancer resembled with the dancer of *pawaya*, fifth century A.D. (Varadpande 2006: Fig 32) three musicians are playing flute, harp and a drum in order to create more colour and joy in the scene. The second part of the sculpture is representing the departure of the prince with his horse Kanthaka, in presence of Indra, Brahma, Yaksha, Vajrapāni and Mara.

In fig 143 the royal couple is entertained by five beautiful performers. They had cylindrical bodies and their attitude is naughty and tempting while performing in front of the royal couple. They can be compared with the *Devadasis* who performed in front of the gods. Varadpande (2006: 71) says the inscriptions of queen *Chittralekha* describe the beauty of the women dancers (*Devadasis*) that they are very lovely and attractive. Gods simply forgot the heavenly damsels like Rambha and Menaka and it was difficult for him to leave their image in the temple for a moment. A tall girl is depicted in a frontal position. She is most probably singing and dancing at the same time, because her hands and arms are shown in the singing position. She is standing in a dancing posture with cross legs like *Yakshies* and *Śālabhañjikās*. A woman drummer is portrayed close to her and beating the drums while the other one is playing vina in standing position. Two women figures are depicted just behind the royal figure. They hold musical instrument in their hand but we can see a symbol of *halo* behind them. They might be the heavenly figures or celestial musicians who are celebrating the upcoming event of the life of the prince. We find all the women are young and beautiful and their figures and dresses show their status in the royal palace.

In fig 144 Prince Siddhārtha is seated on his royal throne with great valour and beauty. Two young women are depicted in dancing posture on each side of the prince. They are beautiful and attractive dancing in the *Sthanas* posture. Their dancing styles are very classical and trained which shows that they are very expert in dance activities. Their dancing postures are pure Indian classical and with a scarf being a part of their dress which is evidently elaborating their Indian flair. On the other side a woman is playing vina with full devotion and enthusiasm turned towards the dancer to provoke her sentiments. The central figure is standing in *Yakshi* posture and playing flute that is similar to Krishna who is abundantly depicted with a flute. This musical instrument is very common and famous in India due to its sweet sound which mesmerizes the listener that is why it

is a famous Indian musical instrument. Varadpande writes the most attractive flute player with slender figure is depicted on the Vishvanatha temple at *Khajuraho* (Varadpande 2006: 84). The last figure on the extreme left of the sculpture is also singing some musical instrument that is enhancing the beauty of the scene. The women enjoyed an essential position in the role of entertainers in various Indian arts. The legend of palace life of the Bodhisattva is incomplete without the portrayal of these dancers, singers and musicians.

Prince Siddhārtha is seated in *Dhayanamudra* on the lotus flower in fig 149. His dress and ornaments are representing his contented and relaxed life in his palace. He has moustaches and a big *halo* sign is also visible in the background. In this scene two holy symbols like sign of *halo* and lotus flower throne are signifying his virtuous and sacred life. Moreover, two women are shown in attractive and charming dance posture on both sides of the prince. They have attractive feature and slender body as mentioned in the text. However, Bodhisattva is seated in meditation, his eyes are half closed but he is not giving any consideration and expression to these entertainers. The presentation of women as dancers and singers is not a new topic in the Buddha's legend.

Music and dance became the principal indoor activity of girls during the Vedic and epic periods. Women were encouraged in the case of these activities and that they must be specialized in music during the early Vedic period otherwise this duty would not be assigned to them (Altekar 1938: 20). The art of Gandhāra is giving the true picture of these skills and talents of women. As Varadpande stated (2006: 70), women are usually depicted as dancers in social and religious spheres not only in Gandhāra art but in other Indian arts as well. Women are depicted in the identical dancing postures at Bhārhut and Sāñcī stupas (west gate) for instance a dancing serpent girl is shown in a very interesting and content posture in front of a Bodhi tree. All these sculptures are related to the life of palace of the prince Siddhārtha, which are providing an easy perception to scan the palace life of the prince Siddhārtha. However, in this episode the efforts of these women went in vain and prince left the palace in search of peace, happiness and salvation. According to Varadpande, (2006: 68), when he became Buddha, he negated all types of arts including dancing. He felt such activities create sensual, misanthropic and confused states among the viewers. He believed that the performers will be reborn in anguish. He also expelled two *Bhikkus* from *Sangha*, who were fond of dance and offer women dancers to perform.

Under the above discussion in the episode of the great departure and palace life of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha cannot consider dance wrong but the intentions of these women were wrong. The tempting activities of these women are fairly and justly depicted in Gandhāra art, the legend of the pleasure garden is also associated with the same role of women. This episode is discussed in the *Buddhacarita* with the title of the women in the pleasure garden. *Bodhisattva* visited the city garden in the company of young females. They tried their best to entertain the prince by using different tact.

Some touched him with their breasts, some slipped down their garment, some walked around him, some grasped the Aśoka tree and mango tree branches and dangled down around him, some sang sweet songs and some tried to entertain him with their laughter.

The Bodhisattva did not get distressed by these women. Udayin, who was expert in worldly matters and well versed in the *Sastras* spoke to the prince and gave him examples of gods like Indra fell in love with Ahalya. The wife of the Gautama in ancient times, Agastya demanded for Rohini, the wife of Soma, Brhaspati gave birth to a son named Bharadvaja from Mamata. The daughter of Marut and the wife of Utathya, but you are rejecting the worldly pleasures. Not even an example of the conversation of the Bodhisattva and the Udayin regarding this issue of worldly pleasures could be found. However, one can find the proofs of the pleasure garden in the text but there are no examples of the pleasure garden in Gandhāra art. It is possible rendering to the text that these women exposed a lot and tried to seduce Buddha or maybe it was not an important matter in eyes of an artist or may be it is possible that to avoid repetition of same role of women as depicted in the Great Departure and in the palace life of Buddha. In this episode women dancers are portrayed in a negative role to seduce the Bodhisattva but music and dance were accustomed triumph among the women of high classes as mentioned in the epic literature. Indra stated (1955: 70-72), the city of *Ayodhya* was famous for theatres and recreation halls for women dancers and musicians according to *Ramāyāna*. Rama was welcomed by women dancers and musicians when he throned on hire (Indra 1955: 70). But later on women lost their social status and their rights became the subservient of the male members of society due to various social and political causes.

6.3 The role and status of women in the episode of the temptation by Mara and his daughters and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

The story of the temptation by Mara and his daughter is narrated in the sacred text like the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* and in the *Buddhacarita*. According to these sacred texts Bodhisattva after retiring from the world decided to renounce this life for eternal peace and happiness. He put himself in to severe asceticism and left his palace and family. During his journey of enlightenment, he had faced many hardships. However, the temptation of Mara and his daughters is the most challenging and stimulating because the success of Bodhisattva is the termination of Mara's sovereignty. All sacred texts agreed that Mara was a powerful god and wise dominant of all the creatures (the *Mahāvastu* Vol. II: 360-362, Jones). However, on contrary, Bodhisattva knows that the cycle of rebirth, deceptive pleasure and lawful cycle of temporary delight causes for sorrow and only death resisted these miseries of life.

In this battle of rebirth and eternal peace Mara was hopeful that he will stop Bodhisattva from his path, Mara asked him, life is most valuable for living man, what living man had best that their

deeds do not bring sorrows and man came out of self-interest. This is the most thoughtful statement but one that will have no result on a foreordained judgment. For the Buddhist ascetic, as for the whole monastic municipal the essence of love can only be the devil (the *Lalitavistara*: 400, Bays; Foucher 2003: 110-11). As we have discussed in the previous chapter in the light of the Gandhāra art, in the episode of the great departure that Mara at several occasions had tried to interfere the struggle of the Bodhisattva. According to the *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 484, Bays). At this time Mara used all his armies to stop the Bodhisattva because at this occasion he had confidently decided to conquest all the carnal desire and look for the remedy to abstain from worldly preferences. There are different terminologies used for Mara in various religions. The terminology identified an evil celebrity in the early writings of the Buddhist tradition is, like the Christian tradition, generally diverse. The term Mara, however is the dominant reference throughout the selected literature, references and phrases, which refer to an “Evil One” (Boyd 1975: 73). Conversely, Singh says (Singh 2004: 35) in Hinduisms, Mara is considers as the love god. In the name of Mara, he is also depicted with his wives and daughters on the western and northern gateways of Sāñcī.

Etymologically the term Mara is related to the *Palimaccu* and the Sanskrit *mrtyu*, which mean “death”. Moreover, specifically whereas *Maccu* (Skt. *Mrtyu*) indicates “death itself”, Mara therefore etymologically means the one who kills or causes death. Often the name “maccu” is attained as a synonymous reference for Mara, as well as the epithet ‘antaka’ which means ‘being at the end’ or making an end. “*Papima*” (the evil one) is the term most commonly applied to the name Mara. Like the term Mara itself, *Papima*, is a word familiar to the religious vocabulary of ancient India. In the old Sanskrit literature *Papima* was always used as a masculine noun meaning “evil” misfortune and sin. It is also personified as a masculine god similar to “*mrtyu*”, but in the selected literature of the early Buddhist tradition there is complete identification of *Papima* and Mara (Boyd 1975: 73-4). The terminology designating an evil personage in these selected writings of early Buddhism is thus quite varied, but the dominant term is Mara. Though most of these terms, including Mara itself, grew out of the context of Vedic, Brahmana and *upanishadic* terminology, nevertheless, Mara is principally a Buddhist symbol (Boyd 1975: 76). In the *Lalitavistara* the term Mara *Papiyan* is also used in the chapter defeat of Mara (the *Lalitavistara*: 457-511: Bays).

Thus it is to mark that in Buddhist mythology Mara is Mara *Papiyan*, an important god next to the Sakra and Mahabrahama. He was ruler of the highest Kamadevaloka heavens. He is the tempter like the Satan of the ancient Testimony. He is always prepared to bring the world under his influence of senses by temptations (Sivaramamurti 1977: 89). However, before his defeat Mara had long discussion with Bodhisattva and tried to seduce him with various worldly pleasures. Boyd says (1975: 77-81; Gupta 2009: 99) Mara address Buddha as Satan did with Jesus. Mara argued Buddha to keep his supernatural knowledge to himself and warns him lest he be reborn in distress. Marawants

Bodhisattva back into the world of sensuous desires by halting him away from the path of the enlightenment the argument of Mara with Bodhisattva is also discussed in the *Lalitavistara* in chapter eighteen the Nairanjana river and defeat of Mara because by reaching to the path of rightness and pureness he can overcome the influence of Mara.

According to Rahman, that Mara is not like Satan, who tried to deceive the sages and prophets from their right path, as mentioned in the three monastic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). Mara was inventor of the universe and can be personification of Parajāpatī. So he was defender of the cycle of life and death and if any sage like Buddha had acquired the remedy to put an end to this cycle of creation then it would be a great challenge for him. Perhaps it was the reason that he disguised himself in the negative form to stop the Bodhisattva from achieving the eternal peace and wisdom in the form to stop the cycle of rebirth (Rahman 2007:56).

In the *Mahāvastu*, the temptation of Mara has been discussed through several jātakas, which shows the attack of Mara with different things. According to *Sakuntaka-* jātaka (bird and fowler) during the sixth year of Bodhisattva renunciation life but cannot overcome him. This time his personal weapons were flower and birds however on the other hand in the *Buddhacarita* these weapons are mentioned as “five world-deluding arrows” (Asvagosha 1936:189). In the *Kacchapa-* jātaka, Mara tried to attack in the form of a florist but Bodhisattva controlled him with his intelligence and inner power of wisdom. In *Surapa-* jātaka (deer *surapa* was Bodhisattva and hunter was Mara who said I will tell you a wise saying if you give me your flesh. Surapa get ready and said “the dust of the feet of a good man is better than a mountain of gold”). According to the first *Avalokita-*sutra at night Bodhisattva saw that *nanda*, *Sunanda*, *Sumanas*, *Isvara*, *Mahesvara* and many others are paying homage to the exalted one, (this discourse is called *Avalokita*) and was given of yore by former *Tathagatas*, *Arhans* and perfect Buddha. Bodhisattva understands now that it is time to sit on the spot of earth where he could overcome the great *Yaksa*, greet host, cross the great flood and achieve incomparable control and supremacy in the world and incomparable blessing (the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 224-227, Jones).

Finally, the Bodhisattva reached at River Nairanjana and sat under the Bodhi-tree. The wicked Mara tried to stop him with different disguise but in vain. He stood in front of the Bodhisattva and sang his loud song and waved his garments. He threatened Bodhisattva from his great army, great strength, great conqueror and mighty bull and tried to create distress for him. He roared fourteen times but Bodhisattva overcame it and entered and abode in the first meditation which is aloof from sensuous desires and from sinful and evil ideas. It is mentioned in the second *Avalokita-*sutra (the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 295-354, Jones). In the *Lalitavistara* (401, Bays) he forced the Bodhisattva to leave this life go home and become a universal king and he can turn the Himalayas in gold and can build a palace for him where he can live in peace and pleasure. Bodhisattva, however, had no interest

in the worldly affairs anymore. He comes to know the immortality of this worldly life. He wanted such life in which there is no return. Then Mara attacked at Bodhisattva with his army i.e. desire, second, discontent, third hunger and thirst, fourth carving, fifth sloth and torpor, sixth fear, seventh, doubt and the eighth is called pride. Then there is greed and falsely won praise, esteem and renown.

Wicked Mara considered Bodhisattva to be a rival and Bodhisattva has come to know that perfect enlightenment is impossible unless Mara and his hosts are unconquered. Mara used different tricks with his hosts to betray the Bodhisattva. According to the second *Avalokita* sutra of the *Mahāvastu* at this moment he was supported by thousand women like a king of devas possessed of glory and magic power, “I shall grant thee the seven treasures, O wise one, become a universal king”. He used his daughters as his most powerful and influential tool in different ways. They carried flowers of fair sandal-wood stand in the sky in front of him, clothed in pure garments and accomplished in music and the arts, with lutes, cymbals, tabours, conch-shell, flutes, trumpets, *Sambharikas*, *nakulakas* and *kimphalas*, they sang in chorus at the foot of the tree. He offered Bodhisattva, a superb palace, conch-shell and cymbals. Enjoy flowers, perfumes and ointment, the elephant, the lovely-maned horse, the excellent women and the armed treasure and the counselor these treasures are thin” (the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 300-301, Jones).

Gandhāra art provides clear evidence that Bodhisattva was all alone sitting under the tree with empty hands in his lap. But instead of all that, the text and adversaries are agreed that had no chance of success against the complete Buddha because Mara had dreamt about his defeat. In the *Lalitavistara* the whole detail of the defeat and dreams of Mara is mentioned that before this Mara *Papiyan* had a dream of thirty-two features in which he saw his defeat and awful things (the *Lalitavistara*: 459-60, Bays). However instead of that he organized his army in four partitions of troops, strong and courageous in combat, having talent to change their faces into many diverse shapes and to transform themselves in a hundred million ways. The whole army of the demon approaches with different faces of animals, snakes, insects, donkeys, dogs, vultures, buffalos, goats, swine, ram, camels and eyeballs hollow and shine with fire. He continued in the company of demons and his sons but it was not possible to defeat (the *Lalitavistara*: 463-467, Bays; the *Buddhacarita*: 381-383, Olivelle; the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 364-65, Jones).

Mara used all his powers and energies to influence Bodhisattva but he was defeated because the victory of Bodhisattva was decided. The *Lalitavistara* (the *Lalitavistara*: 472, Bays) describes the success of the blessed one very honourably “Even if you could crush to powder, the earth, the seas and the mountains together with the gods, *asuras* and *gandharvas*, you and thousands like you, equal in number to the sands of the Ganges, could still not move one hair of Bodhisattva, the one who is wisdom holder. According to the *Mahāvastu*: vol. II: 363, Jones), his son name *Janisuta* let him awaken the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He said I have learnt about his conception, birth and

leaving home and now seated on Bodhi tree. There is no being or collection of beings capable of stopping him from winning the perfect enlightenment. According to the *Lalitavistara* (chapter the defeat of Mara: 457-511, Bays), the Bodhisattva even sent a sort of challenge to his rival Mara in form of a light ray from his *ūrṇā*, and shook his head like a hundred-petal lotus in full bloom to weaken the forces of Mara which reached to Mara in his celestial palace. It is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*, the son of Mara, named *Sarthavaha*, and other sixteen *Devaputras*, tried to discourage Mara from his ill-doings because they were attending the *Bodhi*-tree.

Mara threatened Bodhisattva through numerous campaigns and reasons but all his schemes became useless. He decided to use his daughters for this resolve or investigates the Bodhisattva with desire and passion because his daughters were share of ten chief evils of Mara. They followed their father's wish and advanced the Bodhisattva. They revealed thirty-two kinds of feminine wiles to fascinate Bodhisattva. According to the *Lalitavistara*, they disguised themselves as goddesses half veiled their faces to enhance their magnetism and showed him their half-naked round breasts. They alluringly smiled with red lips, stretched out their spreader arms and looked at him with half closed eyes to heighten their sensuous charm. They wore transparent garments, some ornamented their breasts with garlands of flowers, and some exposed their half thighs to glamorize themselves to fascinate Bodhisattva. They used their physical beauty in the form of some dancing and singing. They used all the attractive dancing postures like they moved their hips sighed deeply during dance and tossed their dresses and ornaments shamelessly. They decorated their bodies and arms with perfumes and ointments and exposed them to Bodhisattva. Their faces were also painted with various kinds of ointments and they were highly bedecked with various kind of jewellery particularly with different type of dangling earrings (the *Lalitavistara*: 483-484,Bays).

According to the same text, they were also witnessed to be busy in laughing, pleasure and games as they are unconscious about other worldly matters. Some looked like young girls and young women and some were mature women. These girls, apart from their beauty used various ways to lure the blessed one like they admired the spring season, because spring is the most beautiful season, they invited the Bodhisattva to enjoy with them and enjoy his beautiful youth. They force him that supreme understanding is problematic to attain so dismiss it from your opinions. The daughters of gods have come for your pleasure". They were provoking him for desire but Bodhisattva answered the daughters of Mara in following words. "Desires are the root of suffering" (the *Lalitavistra*: 484-485, Bays).

The girls did not accept their defeat and argued with Bodhisattva like their father Mara. Their discussion is described in the *Lalitavistara* with rich detail. After that he will not refuse their love and shall offer reign like *Sakara* does in Heaven and adored the company of lovely damsels as gods in all heavens. In short, they were matchless in beauty and splendour in this world but the Bodhisattva replied desires are inconstant like dew drops and autumn clouds, thus your bodies are filled with all

impurities and ordained with ills, birth, death, disease and old age after this Mara's daughters accepted their defeat left the Bodhisattva and wished him success and praised him in many ways (the *Lalitavistara*: 485-494, Bays). Conversely, in the *Buddhacarita* the presence and alluring tactics of his daughters are not described in detail like *Lalitavistara*, it stated a woman like a black cloud trying to seduce the mind of a great man but he will remain flitted and restrained. She tried to burn him with the fire of her eyes and fix her blazing gaze on him like a noxious snake but failed to attract the passionate man (the *Buddhacarita*: 391, Olivelle). Despite all his struggles and energies, it was not possible to conquer Bodhisattva. Bodhisattva replied to Mara that this earth is my witness because the earth is home of all beings. He touched the Great earth with his right hand; the earth was shaken in six ways and the whole army of Mara was to fleet away from the scene. The earth goddess *Sthavara* shook the whole great earth and spoke to Bodhisattva, just go great beings. The earth goddess *Sthavara* privileged and admired Bodhisattva and showed in her own power in numerous ways and vanished (the *Lalitavistara*: 481-82, Bays).

Apart from the text we have another source to verify all the above discussed data. The episode of the temptation by Mara is portrayed in Gandhāra art as well as in other contemporary and later art. The depiction of Mara's daughter in seductive role in Gandhāra art is not a new theme. Women were treated as an instrument by the male members of the society to gain their personal advantages. They considered women as source of delight and pleasure and used them according to the situation, but even then women did not enjoy a respectable and trust worth place in the society. The words of Shalini Dixit are representing the true image of the women's position in Indian society. Women were observed as untrustworthy, unfaithful and no better than household possession (Dixit 2008:152-3). But in this episode, beside the household possession we can see a different use and role of women in the concerned society.

The Gandhāran carvings of temptation of Mara and his daughters are as exclusive and attractive as those of Amarāvati and Ajanta. The composition of assault of the troops of Mara is a powerful release of energy but the provoking elegance of the women is stated in elastic attitude and melodious alliances are portrayed more powerful as compared to the other forces of Mara (Hallade 1968:126). All the sacred literature agrees about the seductive role of Mara's daughters to stop the blessed one from the path of wisdom but one can have different thoughts about their names, Hallade called his three daughters pleasure, anxiety and concupiscence but all their lascivious allures and female charms were as ineffective as the demon army (Hallade 1968: 126). Boyd stated, "Mara used his daughters to lure the Buddha from the path through sense and desires, these two things are commonly associated with Mara's daughters (mara-dhitaro) Tanha, (craving), Arati (discontent) and Raga (passion) (Boyd, 1975: 83). So Mara's daughters are "craving", "discontent", and "ignorance". However, Asvaghosa mentions the name of three daughter of Mara as Discontent (Raga), Delight

(Arati), and Thirst (Thana). Their names are not a matter of importance but the purpose of their position is much significant. There are some elegant examples of the Mara's assault carved in Gandhāra art that represents the real picture of the above mentioned text.

Fig 146 is broken from the extreme right side but the picture of the scene is clear and narrating the attempt of Mara to seduce the Bodhisattva with the support of his daughter. In this sculpture Bodhisattva is not visible, while Bodhi tree is shown on a high flat throne instead of Bodhisattva that represents the sacredness of the purpose of Bodhisattva. A nude male figure is depicted in front of throne in a seated position looking upward. Another manly figure is represented beside the tree. His hair is knotted on the top of his head. He is looking from his extreme right. On the extreme left of the sculpture Mara is depicted in a traditional way with the support of his daughter that shows his confidence on his daughter. It was the most harmful tact of Mara against Bodhisattva. He holds his arm around the neck of his daughter; his style is also reflecting his inner feelings of pride and arrogance. We can notice his satisfaction from his facial expressions because it is common belief that women can attract the attention of male through their luscious acts and bodily attraction they can make a sane, insane. Mara and his daughter is portrayed in identical posture. Both hold their one hand at their waist that is reflecting their challenging nature. His daughter stands beside her in a very attractive but seductive manner. She is shown in a frontal position holding her right hand on her waist. In modern era it is a common pose used by models when they walk on the ramp. She wears a lower garment, while the upper garment is missing. This is clear evidence according to the *Lalitavistara*, that they were showing their firm round breasts to attract the Bodhisattva because this is one of the thirty-two kinds of the feminine wiles (the *Lalitavistara*: 484, Bays). Women beauty and appeal is considered as major obstacle and main barrier in the path of virtue. The daughter of Mara reflects the true picture of this statement because according to them their beauty was their chief cradle to appeal the Bodhisattva.

All the principal figures of the episode are shown in standing position in fig 147. Bodhisattva portrayed in the middle of the scene with a big *halo* in the background. He wears a full monk robe with folded pattern and his whole body is wrapped in this garment only his hands and feet are visible. His right hand is raised in reassurance gesture, but here this style represents his argument with Mara who stands on the right side of Bodhisattva in same manner. It might be possible that Mara is just making fun at the Bodhisattva or betraying him that he is following his path; the daughters of Mara are also stand on his right side. One who is depicted beside Mara just wears the lower garment in Indian style, while the upper part is nude. The other girl holds the arm of her sister. Mara is using his daughters to encourage the sensuous desires of the Bodhisattva because (Boyed 1975: 82) Mara's role is primarily to encourage man's internal inclinations toward sense desires. He acts as a causative agent who "entices" man away from the path of the enlightenment to sense desires. This sculpture represents

the exact picture of this statement in which Mara used his daughters to defeat the virtue of the Bodhisattva. As it is described in the *Lalitavistara*, the man who thinks desire becomes a slave of women, abandons the pleasure of the Dharma and leaves the path of good conduct, for desire and joy of desire he leaves the path of contemplation and dwells far from wisdom (the *Lalitavistara*: 489, Bays).

As stated above Mara used various supportive elements. In this sculpture on the right side of the Bodhisattva a bearded Vajrapāṇi and another figure is shown which indicates supportive element of the Bodhisattva. In the background, four half-length figures are depicted on each side of the scene in reassurance posture, raising their right hand while other two are holding something in their hands. This legend, on one side shows the mentality of man regarding the female members, how they use women to attain their personal advantages. Conversely, the legend also highlights the bad nature of women who deceive men through their beauty and appealing gestures. As it is mentioned in the *Milindapanho*, Buddha has been reported to say that “with opportunity and secrecy and the right oaths of all women will go wrong. Aye, failing with others, with a cripple even” (Dixit 2008:153).

It was the strongest weapon that Mara used against the Bodhisattva. He used his daughters as a sensual source to gain power and strength in the world because women are purely sensual. The non-Buddhist text shows women’s sexual desire is as strong as men (Paul 1997: 05). So the Mara’s daughters got failed in giving the sexual delights to the Bodhisattva, as Blackstone says,

beside the case of the Bodhisattva women are glowed with much more intense sexual vitality and they are the primeval force of fecundity. Unlike the Hindu Mother goddess, the sexual energy was unequivocally repugnant in early Buddhist sects such as the Theravada sect because the feminine or sensual is samsara, the world of bondage, suffering and desire which led to cycle of rebirth” (Blackstone 2002: 60).

It was the effect of the Buddha’s teaching that the early Buddhist sects denied accepting this reality about women.

In fig 148 the Bodhisattva is depicted in the middle of the panel in reassurance gesture. His neck is slightly bended towards Mara and a big *halo* is also visible in the background. The figure of the Bodhisattva is taller than the other figures which portrays his superiority over other human beings. A long tree branch is also depicted between the figure of the Bodhisattva and Mara that shows the temptation scene. The demon Mara and his daughters are shown on the left side of the Bodhisattva. One girl stands very near to Mara, holding his father’s hand and looking at her sister. Actually this figure of girl is crude while the next figure is shown properly and depicted nicely. In this fig she also covered her head with a scarf (dupatta) that is a different and unique element of this episode.

Their expression shows that this is not a motionless scene but shows the argumentative

conversation between Bodhisattva and Mara. The depiction of Mara with his daughters and arguments with the Bodhisattva shows his mean and cunning nature because he is using a delicate being as a most powerful and supportive element to win his battle. In this episode Mara also exploited the beauty and splendour of his daughter as a snare to stop Bodhisattva from his virtuous path. But all their skills and arts became ineffective in front of the wisdom of blessed one. As it is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*, the daughters of Mara said to the Bodhisattva that women like them are difficult to find even in the abode of the gods but Bodhisattva remained consistent in his worship not attracted by any of their offers because he was pure and above all the worldly desires. He said the impure and unclean body is easily destroyed and enveloped in suffering. Bodhisattva said, I will obtain the imperishable state which will produce supreme happiness and will be revered by sages (the *Lalitavistara*: 493-94, Bays).

In fig 149 two male figures are depicted in the background and one of them is carrying a drum on his back. There is a female figure standing in front of the Buddha with arms across the chest which shows her relaxed or calm attitude. Her facial expressions show that she is arguing with Buddha because her mouth is half opened. In the previous chapter women in many roles and statuses are discussed and all of them are standing with great respect and homage in front of the Buddha, even the ladies of the royal families show homage and adoration for the blessed one. I agreed with Bhattacharaya's opinion that the only possibility of a female figure depicted in this posture in front of the Buddha could have been one of the *Marakanyas* (daughter of Mara). Who had long arguments with the Bodhisattva (Bhattacharaya 2002: 126). The *Lalitavistara* also provides ample examples of their argumentation with Bodhisattva when they said

“you are young and in prime of your life. Before beauty passes you by and old age and sickness touched you, enjoy the joy of desire with us. But the blessed one reply now he is on the way that leads the city free from fear “(the *Lalitavistara*: 492, Bays).

According to this text and under discussion sculpture (fig. 150) the same situation is portrayed by the artist that the daughter of Mara is arguing with Bodhisattva because her standing posture reflects her courageous and bold attitude about her task on which she is appointed by his father.

Fig 150 is broken because only Mara and one of his daughters is visible. He is shown as a tall figure. His arrogance, revenge and his inner jealousy is much visible from his facial expressions. He holds a weapon in his left hand while right hand is not visible because the frieze is not in good condition and the figure of the Buddha is also missing. His daughter is standing on his left side in a crossed legs posture. This posture is very common in Gandhāra art. It is known as dancing posture that is similar to *Yakshi* and *Śālabhañjikā*. At the time of the birth of the Bodhisattva, Queen Māyā is also depicted in this posture. However, here this position of the daughter of Mara is representing the opposite story. She stands in this style to tempt Buddha. Mara's daughters played many tricks to

deceive the Bodhisattva but all their efforts became fruitless. This is the evidence of the women's impurity and seductive nature that is also discussed in latter sacred texts. The impure and seductive nature of women is also mentioned in *thergatha*. According to these poems the women body reflects only a common perception of all human bodies (Blackstone 1998: 70). The case of Mara's attack on the Bodhisattva with his daughters is criticized from women's point of view but the main culprit behind this legend was a man who used his daughters to gain his personal objectives

The most prominent and key character in figure 151 is a dancing woman. She is dancing with pride and rhythm in a traditional Indian style with crossed legs posture. She holds a mirror in her left hand. The depiction of female figures with mirror in Gandhāra art is very common which indicates beauty and pride of a person. The dancing figure of a woman wears a lower traditional Indian curved garment below her belly button while the upper part of the body is nude. The companion of female is also visible in a diminutive size with same dancing posture. Despite these dancing female figures some other figures are also depicted in the background, among them the *Vajrapāṇi* is quite identifiable. He stands behind the taller dancing figure of a female holding *vajra* in his hand. Bhattacharya mentioned that the identification of the complete fragment is problematic. He says that the complete sculpture had the representation of the Buddha seated on the *vajrasana* on the eve of obtaining the Enlightenment. In the case, the apparent dancing figure with prideful demeanour is one of the daughters of Mara (Marakanaya) who had come to distract Siddhārtha's meditation. The other male figure portrayed beside the dancing girls is Mara himself and *Vajrapāṇi* is keeping watch on the happenings. The presentation of *Vajrapāṇi* with the dancing girl symbolizes the virtue against the evil attempts of Mara and his daughters. (Bhattacharyya 2002:108).

Fig 152 is stunningly portraying the arguments of Mara and his daughter with the Bodhisattva on the both sides of the Pipal tree. The figure of the Bodhisattva is taller than all other figures, which shows the respect and homage for the great man. He wears a long monk robe and standing with a bended neck towards Mara and his daughter. A celestial being is also depicted behind the Bodhisattva and the *Vajrapāṇi*. This shows that they are standing in the air. On the right side Mara is depicted with crossed legs. In this sculpture he has sharp and curved features. His daughters support him in arguments. She stands with his father and placed her left hand on her waist. She wears a diaphanous pattern garment and her body is quite visible. Their standing postures show that they are enjoying the situation or they are confident about their victory over the Bodhisattva.

Due to above discussed roles women are always associated with imperfection, wickedness, and almost everything bad. This case is not only in Buddhism. Almost all religions with ascetic ideals have shown such attitude towards women. Women are considered as heaven of sex and sensuality (Dixit 2008: 13). The status of the Mara's daughters is taken as symbol of all these elements. To ancient Indian Buddhism all women were daughters of Mara. The presence of the

celestial beings is usual on such fortunate events in Gandhāra art

Fig 153 depicts the legend of the temptation of Mara with the help of his hosts and daughters. These two sculptures are showing the combine attack with hosts and daughters. The hosts with dangerous and horrible faces are depicted above while the daughters of the Mara are depicted below in this figure. They are portrayed in surprising posture but their features are depicted gracefully and they looked like living and moving characters. The Bodhisattva and Mara are not depicted there but it is not difficult to identify the scene.

At the bottom of the fig 154, at the extreme right the demon Mara is seated on a high stool in a relaxing mood holding his left leg on the right that shows his calmness and confidence. While his two daughters are standing in dancing posture, they are wearing identical dresses and ornaments, beaded necklaces, bangles, earrings and heavy double anklets. The middle one is looking behind at her father, while resting her arms on her sister's shoulder. Burgess stated (1985: 97) the preparation of the girls shows their intentions, which they want to, interfere in the religious efforts of the Bodhisattva and want to ruin his meditation. He also specified that this episode is depicted in the Ajanta paintings with sculptural representation in cave xxvi.

In fig 155 Bodhisattva is surrounded by various figures from both sides. On the right side four figures are standing among that Mara and his daughter is portrayed with folded hands. Beside them some other figures are also represent. All of them are depicted behind a stool like object. Mara stands very near to his daughter and he is keeping his arm on his daughter's shoulder. Mara is being represented in this episode in this particular style. They are watching each other that show they are discussing some important issue. The other daughter is standing on the top of the back row. All of them are trying to distract Bodhisattva from his path of spirituality by using different methods.

In fig 156 Buddha is seated under an area which is decorated with full bloomed lotus flowers. He is depicted on a surfaced seat in *Bhumisaursha mudra* (Earth touching Pose). On the right side angry Mara and his one daughter are depicted in arguing stance. He is keeping his arm on his daughter's shoulder while Buddha is engaged in his worship. On the left side of the sculpture other two daughters are portrayed in different alluring stance. One stands very near to Buddha. She holds a bunch of flowers in her left hand while the other one is carved in dancing posture. She is portrayed with crossed legs and folded hands gesture. They are attractive and have slender bodies. The whole scene is depicted in Corinthian pilasters decorated with human figures. On the right side the sculpture is broken but the figure of a tall woman is carved. She also holds a bunch of flowers in her hand like Mara's daughter. She is most probably another scene of Mara's attack with the support of his daughters.

Buddha is sitting on a cross design decorated seat with a halo in the background under a wreath which is decorated with pipal leaves in fig 157. Mara holds a sword in his left hand and standing

very near to Buddha which shows he is prepared to attack on Buddha. His daughter is carved behind him in dancing posture but looking at other side. On the left side Mara is depicted with bended knee near to Buddha. He is looking at Buddha and proposing him his daughter. The upper part of the figure of his daughter is broken so it is unable to identify his daughter's expressions. These scenes show the deprived position and status of women in society. The practice of enslaving women as alimony is an ancient practice and is still continued in India and Pakistan. The proposals of women are also given in order to settle the disputes of property and other petty conflicts.

The treatment of women in this episode is a typical reflection of male attitude towards women and that even includes their own daughters. Gandhāra art had depicted the true behaviour of society towards women in the episode of temptation of Mara. Almost in every society of the world, women are treated as an object of lust and greed because women are considered as a symbol of beauty and attraction. Men are thought as weak in character in case of women. That is the reason when Mara failed in every scheme to misguide Buddha. He used his most powerful weapon, his daughters. He was utmost sure of his success. His confidence in his daughters is clearly visible from his facial expression. In the end the daughters of Mara got impressed by the consistency of Buddha and accepted their failure. This is also an important fact of women's nature that they respected Buddha for his deeds and consistency. Buddhist society had accepted this fact of women hood and had given its worthy place in sacred text. Mara's daughters hold a prominent place in Mara's effort to entice the *Bodhisattva* from the path (Boyd 1975: 118). The *Lalitavistara* mentioned,

the daughters of Mara represent sixty-four kinds of desire and they bowed in the feet of the Muni with guilt, respect and gentleness. They praised him in following words, "you are like mountain gold, may your purposes and your prayer be accomplished, you have passed through hundreds of lives, having delivered yourself, may you free this world enveloped in misery" (the *Lalitavistara*: 494, Bays).

After that they returned to their father, bowing in his feet and told him all about their efforts, but he does not gaze at anyone with desire. They said that Mount Meru could tremble, the sea could dry up, even the sun and moon could fall, but the one who has seen the errors of the three worlds would not fall into the grasp of a woman" (the *Lalitavistara*: 494-95, Bays). It becomes clear from this paragraph that these daughters of Mara were obedient to their father as well as they came to know the greatness and goodness of the purpose of Bodhisattva. We come to know that Buddhist text and Gandhāra art have realized the inner wellness and goodness of women and they had accepted it also.

6.4 The role and status of women in the Dionysus imagery and its representation in Gandhāra art:

The portrayal of love making scenes in art represents an expression of a 'natural society'. The depiction of the loving couples were first found in Buddhist monuments at Bhaja and Bedsa early

in the first century B.C.E. (Mitter 2001: 79). This tradition was used to decorate the temple doorways from the Gupta period onward. In Gandhāra art this tradition is also portrayed in various forms and materials but they are one of the finest specimens of the representation of loving couples. Besides the art, the Indian paintings also represent the love scenes in the caves of Ajanta. Around 200 B.C.E. the custom of such paintings was identified in the Indian society. Apart from the chief events of life of the Buddha and his previous births in the form of the *jātaka* stories, the Ajanta paintings also represent the lovers looking eagerly at each other. These paintings last a deep influence on the Indian art and the tradition of the portrayal of love making scenes in the art and paintings. This practice also became the common trait in the Indian arts. The representation of these couples is also abundantly found in Gandhāra art (Bach 1985: 22). The depiction of the love making images in the Gandhāra art also shows the universal and natural feeling of humanbeings.

The *Mithuna* sculptures (involvement of man and woman in sexual unification) were commonly depicted on the temple walls of *Bhubaneshvar*, *Konarak* and *khajuraho* during tenth to thirteenth century C.E. According to this sculptural art there was nothing improper in physical love and sex during ancient and medieval times in India. During that time art represents all facts of daily life. So they constantly depicted love scenes because it gives pleasure and enjoyment and perpetuate the family tree of the human race (Mehta 1972: 11-2; Philip Rawson, *Erotic art of the east*). A unique thing is noticed in these love making sculptures that the background and the places are beautifully and elegantly decorated. This is because that they wanted to make those events fantastic and dreamy. This practice is still very common in the present era that on the occasion of wedding the bridegroom's car and house are being decorated with flowers and lights in order to give it a fancy, amorous/ romantic touch.

The Gandhāra art not only represents the religious role of women in its sculptures but also depicts the secular role and seductive position of women in the society. The Dionysus images are one of the examples of the secular position of women in the Gandhāran society. In fig 158 an interesting erotic couples stand under decorated arches. The arches have folded layers of wall decorated with small stones but the sides of the walls are adorned with bloomed lotus flowers. In the middle of the two arches a big size bird is represented in a standing position and embraces both sides of the arches with its wings. The depiction of the bird in the art is associated with deities. In the mythology of Mesopotamia dove is a symbol of fertility goddess. This bird is resembled with parrot and in the ancient Indian art playing with parrot was the favourite theme and is included in the sixty-four arts described in the *Kamasutra* (Chandrakala 1980: 43).

The most interesting component of this sculpture is the dual depiction of the loving couple in two different positions. The couple is portrayed under both arches in two different love postures. They are enjoying the pleasure of love and are ignorant about worldly matters. On the right side of

the sculpture the couple stands in a side pose but their facial expressions and figures are quite visible. The woman is hiding her lower part of the body with a thick wavy shawl while the upper part of the body is fully nude. Her hair style is quite different. The short hair is visible on the forehead while she has a high Knott at the back. This hair style is still in fashion in eastern as well as western world. A bearded man stands at the back to woman. He wears a knee length wavy Indian style dhotī and a girdle at the top of his dress. The upper part of his body is nude. He has long hair as compared to the other Gandhāran male sculptures and this is unusual hair style. He has beard that presents the Indian tradition while his long hair is western element on Gandhāra art. So the figure of this man is a combination of two unique traditions of east and west. He is embracing the woman from back and touching at her thighs. The woman also holds his hand with love as she is trying to stop her in shyness. The expression of wariness is visible on her face. This act also represents the social element of Indian woman. Love shyness is a universal element of human nature and can be found among people of all ages and among both sexes but the acute element is found among women (Gilmartin 2013: 05). This sculpture is showing the exact picture of this statement.

The depiction of nude figures of woman is not a new practice in Gandhāra art; Mehta says the Indian artists commonly depict the woman complete and partial nude like the sculptures of ancient Roman and Greece. The nudity was common practice in the Indian arts of the medieval times and in the earlier age of Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Mathura. It is not certain from these sculptures that nudity was common practice or not but Indian depicted the undressed female body to represent the vehicle of fertility, fecundity and motherhood. Beside above mentioned sculptures the semi-divine *Yakshi* also represents the fertility aspect of a tree-goddess in the art of Gandhāra (Mehta 1972: 30).

In the next scene (Fig.158) the position of the couple is changed that represents the next step of love making under the next arch. The same couple with same garment stands in a different position of love making. The shawl of the woman is missing now; she is depicted nude with her back pose while the man is portrayed in the same dress. He is embracing the woman in his both arms. She is hugging her man and kissing on his cheeks with emotions and love. She holds his face and hands that is a usual love posture. The man stands with bowing pose and enjoying the pleasure and intimacy of her woman. The physical intimacy starts from embracing the lover. So it can be a first step in love making, this step of love making is also described in the poetic literature. There is a lovely stanza on the theme in the Gatha Saptashati, it says,

In the drama of love (rati-natka) the embrace of the lover is like its opening sense, the *purvaranga*. As a tree falls by the force of powerful wind, by the embrace of the lover all the barriers of mind collapse”
(Varadpande 2006: 114).

It is also mentioned in the Sanskrit literature that the embracing of the lover is a start of love making. The sculptures have represented this *Purvaranga* with all its distinctions and variations (Varadpande 2006: 114). The sculpture portrays the true and natural universal feeling of human beings for opposite sex and for his/her companion or life partner.

In fig 159 a beautiful couple is depicted in a relief panel and the panel is decorated with strong columns. The upper most part is decorated with four layers of the leaves while the right side of the top portion is broken. A couple stands in a very calm and pleased mood. The woman stands on the right side of the man. She wears a thin sleeveless ankle length Indian Sari. The left side of her body is covered while the right breast is nude. She is bedecked with an ornaments and holds a pouch in her left hand. Her hair is explored on her forehead but head is covered with a nice beaded *sirobhushana*. She stands shyly by the side of her man with bended legs; the right foot is on ground while on the left side she stands on her toe. She is looking down with coyness and intimacy of love. The attitude of woman is showing her deep inner feeling for love and enthusiasm for love making. She is highly bedecked and it is also shown how she adorned herself for the pleasure of herlover.

Her male counterpart stands on the left. He had kept his left arm at her shoulder with love and adoration. He is looking delightfully at his female partner while the woman is looking down calmly. He holds a costly beaded and round shaped necklace in his right hand. It might be possible that he is presenting it to the woman as a gift of love. It is very common in Indian tradition that the male partner offers valuable gifts to his woman before starting the formal and legal relationship. He has curly hair and wears an elegant head dress like *usnisha* at the top of the head. She stands in a different style resembled with *Śālabhañjikā* or *Māyā* in the birth episode and the left foot is clasped with the pillar. They have round faces and identical features that show they belong to the same race. They seem to be Greek from their outlook and hair style but they wear Indian dresses which represents the local influence on Gandhāra art. Their physical features and their depiction with costly ornaments represent their sophisticated position in the Gandhāran society. The woman in this sculpture wears a thin Indian sari but the upper part of the body is nude. Mehta writes in olden days it might be possible that women remained their upper part of the body unclothed in the house excluding possibly before outsiders. But Zimmer says in the art of theAjanta,

the nude and semi-nude appear in every attitude and movement, but the forms have not been studied and arranged indoors, for the sake of art. The bodies are active and lithe, and yet with re-emphasis on athletic muscular development (Zimmer 1983).

Wine drinking was common practice in the Indian society. So there are plenty of sculptures in almost all Indian art portraying the wine drinking scenes in which lovers enjoying the pleasures of love while drinking wine in the company of their beloved. Fig 160 is beautifully depicted three figures

of different gender and different age group; a man a woman and middle aged man. A man with a muscular body is half lying on the mattress with the support of his left arm while the right arm is in raised position. A big wavy piece of cloth is shown on the couch it might be a mattress cover or his shawl that is thinning out on the cushion before sleep. He has small beard and heavy moustaches that represents velour and impressiveness of his personality and also the traditional local influence on Gandhāra art. He only wears underwear like dress that shows he is in mood of drinking before sleep. The second main figure of the sculpture is a sharp featured woman with full body dress is standing beside him holding a big cup of wine in her right hand and offering him to drink. It might be possible that she is a servant and offering a cup of wine to her master because her expressions are not fantasizing the appearance of love or intimacy which is commonly shown in the wine drinking scenes. The third figure is very interesting. He is a middle age man having thick moustaches and wears a knee length Greek style dress. His one shoulder is covered while the other shoulder is bare. He also wears long boots that is very uncommon in Gandhāra art because mostly figures are portrayed bare footed. In this sculpture the long boots symbolize the Greek tradition. His hair style is also uncommon among other figures. He keeps a big bag of wine on his shoulders and holds it with his both hands. He also looks like a servant the expression of exhaustion and tiredness is visible on his face. This sculpture represents that women were also used as wine server in various assemblies of the society. In some sculptures she is depicted as wife serving wine to her male partner to enhance the pleasure of love but this sculpture shows that she is offering her services as a wine server in the royal assemblies or as an individual server to her master in obedience and respect.

Fig 161 is divided into two parts with a huge pillar. The upper part of the pillar is decorated with various kinds of leaves. The thickness of the pillar shows the strong suit of the sculpture. On the right side of the pillar, a figure is depicted with a bowl in hands which represents that water is falling from the pillar in the bowl. In the middle of the sculpture a loving couple stands in a frontal position in a romantic mood. The woman portrayed on the right side and she wears a full sleeves knee length body fitted tunic and ankle length tighttrouser.

She stands very gracefully and resting her left hand on her waist while the other hand is in raised position that shows her pleasure and delight. She is offering some flower or bead to her partner as a gift of love and affection. The interesting object in this sculpture is a long wavy scarf that is hanging down on the shoulders of the couple. They are sharing a common scarf that shows their love and nearness for each other. The male partner stands very near to her woman in a cross legged style that shows his satisfaction and contentment. He is seeing dearly at his female partner and touching her breast with love and fondness. This act of man shows that Gandhāra art portray woman as a source of intimacy and keenness for her male partner or conversely the women were used as a tool to seduce man and to daze their understanding and intelligent acts. The couple is looking at each other with

great love and attachment of adoration. It is clear from their appearance that they belong to royal or elite family. On the left side of the sculpture another male figure is depicted in a nice dress. He holds his scarf in his left hand, while he holds the leaves of the *Sāla* tree with his right hand and he has very sharp features. His character is not clear in the sculpture. The depiction of the *Sāla* tree indicates the reproductive cult of human beings as Buddha was also born under the *Sāla* tree. The couple is shown in physical love. That is considered as normal and vital feature of social life as Mehta writes the classic literature; the religious text and legendary lore are full of symbolism and citation of carnal relations. The theme was stimulated in medieval ages with the proliferation of the erotic and so-called *Mithuna* which is depicted freely on temple walls. This might represent the sexual strength of the times that reflects the Indian art and literature (Mehta 1972:42).

In fig 162 the pillar had occupied one third of the available space. A royal couple stands in a frontal position on the right side of the sculpture. A man is depicted on the right side of the woman. A long scarf of the *uttariya* is hanging down from his left shoulder. He holds a bowl of grapes in his left hand while the right hand is in upward position with a flower. He is watching straight which shows his compact boldness as a male member of the society. The woman is portrayed beside him with a same posture. She also raised her right hand in upward position and holds a beaded necklace in her hand. She stands with great splendour and grandeur that shows her status in the society and in her family particularly. The equal status of the woman in the sculpture shows her position in the life and heart of her partner. She is watching at the bowl of grapes in the hand of her partner. A small heighted figure of a woman is depicted on the left corner of the sculpture under the branches of the *Sāla* tree. She is offering a bowl of grapes to her mistress with respect and honour. Grapes symbolize the wine because mostly wine is extracted from the grapes. So the sculpture depicted grapes instead of wine. The couple will eat grapes before love making to enhance the pleasure of love. As Behrendt says (2007: 8) wine drinking and grape cultivation was common in Gandhāran era at the time of the Alexander the Great invasion and Dionysian tradition in the Gandhāra is associated with agricultural richness of the area. The presence of the *Sāla* tree indicates the creation process. It also symbolizes the production and new life. Queen Māyā was also standing under the *Sāla* tree at the time of the birth of the Buddha. In this sculpture the woman was not portrayed in the erotic scene, she is just depicted in an equal position with her man with respect and honour.

Fig 163 portrays the wine drinking scene with three women and a man. The right side of the sculpture is decorated with various motifs and on the same side a woman is carved in front of the horse and holds his reign with her right hand while in left hand holds an empty cup of wine. A bald bearded man with heavy moustaches is shown on the back of the horse. He is turning behind and drinking a cup of wine by the hand of a woman. They put their arms around each other's shoulders which show their love and fondness. The man is nude while the woman wears a knee length body

fitted frock, tight trouser and a large scarf is wrapped around her legs. She is looking at the face of the man with feeling of tenderness. The woman on the left corner of the sculpture is depicted in a dancing posture. She is dancing in a traditional Indian style in cross legs posture. The right hand is resting on the waist while the left hand is depicted over her head. The dancing figure of the female is adding beauty to the event. This shows that in the Gandhāran society people drink wine on particular occasions and also arrange dancing woman or courtesans on these occasions to enhance the joy and pleasure of the occasion. Mostly women used to perform such kind of services. They are shown as dancers, wine servers and wine sellers in Gandhāra art. These kinds of services show the lower status of women in the society or women were treated as a tool of entertainment in the Gandhāran society.

Fig 164 is very beautiful and attention-grabbing sculpture of a love making couple. Both figures are standing under an arch in a very passionate stance. They are unconscious about their surroundings. Their staring eyes are half closed. Woman is standing on the right side of the sculpture in crossed legs posture. She holds the hem of her lower dress with her left hand and with the other she holds the hem of her companion's dress. She is slightly turned towards her companion that shows her enthusiasm in the company of her lover. She is fully naked only her lower legs are covered with a piece of a cloth which is also hanging down. She wears a string of beads with a leaf pendant round the hip. This kind of ornament is also observed in the dress of the city goddess (Fig. 97). Such ornaments were used for decoration of the upper or lower part of the body. The man stands on the left side of the sculpture is naked only his left leg is covered with the same piece of cloth. He placed his right hand on the belly of his companion while the other arm is around her waist which shows that he is embracing woman with passion and craving. He is touching his companion and trying to kiss her. This deed represents the truth of the conjugal relationship of a couple. A small figure is also carved above the arch playing vina which signifies the pleasure of the event. The performance of the musician at this moment is increasing the beauty and charm of love making. The presence of the woman dancers and musicians in the royal harem of Bodhisattva to encourage his sensuous desire was also noticed.

In fig 165 the arch is supported with Corinthian columns. Woman stands on the right side in crossed legs and turned towards her companion. Queen Māyā was free from worldly sorrows and sufferings and was depicted in the same attitude at the time of the birth of her son. *Śālabhañjikā*, the tree spirit *Yakshi* who are free from worldly distresses and troubles also depicted in this standing posture, similarly, the love making sculptures of Gandhāra art also portrays the same feelings of happiness and pleasure of the women figures during love making. She is turning slightly towards her companion and holds the hem of her companion with passion and love. The man is trying to kiss and embrace her. He has kept his arm on her shoulder and trying to embrace her. Man is also semi-nude, only his lower legs are covered with a hem. He wears earrings and a round necklace. He presents a

garland to his companion posing his love and fondness for her. Four long tailed birds are resting on the roof.

In fig 166 two figures are depicted under an arch in erotic attitude. The arch is decorated with sealed and has rosette (round stylized flower design) at the summit. The external cornice is sustained by arrays and bedecked with five rows of blobs. Woman stands on right side and feeling shy or annoyed with her partner because she has turned her neck to the other side. The expression of annoyance is more visible as compared to the feeling of shyness. Her hairs are combed down on the forehead and she wears an elegant head dress which is enhancing her stylishness and prettiness. A turbaned man stands on the left side. He has kept his left arm on woman's shoulder while with the other hand he holds her right arm and trying to convince her. He is trying to kiss his companion. Both figures are semi nude but the lower parts are covered with *paridhana*. The fig. 165 and fig. 166 has a close resemblance with the figure discussed by Marshall (fig. 79) and according to that the elegant decoration enhancing the surface, the Corinthian pilaster, the cornices framing and the panels are certainly Greek while the vertical lines is familiar motifs of early Indian style (Marshall 1960:59).

A royal couple is carved under a highly decorated arch with rosette, brackets and with rows of beads. In fig 167 a woman is portrayed on the right side of the sculpture in *tribangha* stance. The upper part of her body is fully nude but she is bedecked with elegant ornaments like long earrings, beaded necklace, bangles and anklets. Her hair is combed back on her forehead and a loop shaped knot of hair is found at the top of the head. She holds a round shape mirror in her left hand while the left arm is kept on her partner's shoulder. On the other side of the sculpture a man with a moustache is shown beside her. He holds a beaded garland in his right hand as a gift for his partner. He is watching with keenness at the garland while woman is watching into mirror that represents her concern for her magnificence and outlook. A crown like turban is enhancing the grace and charm of the man. They seem to be a royal couple from their appearance. We find the love making sculptures of almost every class of the society. The artist has enlightened all the classes of society in their particular status and method. Their social position and status in the society can be analysed by giving a close site to the sculptures. From these sculptures it is underlined that love making scenes were not prohibited in the society because it is in the nature of human and human life is incomplete without this practice. We find royal love making sculptures as well as love making of common status people as the sacred sculptures of Queen Māyā, Parajāpatī and Yaśodharā are also found. In the same way sculptures of sensuality and intimacy are found.

From the above discussion, it is concluded in researcher's opinion that these love making scenes cannot be considered as the seductive role of women. They are only responding to the feelings of their partners and are trying to make them happy and satisfied. So, their relationship can be bounded well and can get strong. After examining these sculptures, we come to know that love always creates

positive manners among human being and acts as an inspiring potency among them. Therefore, love is a permanent and a prime concern of the human sentiments as Milton stated

Love has been motivating force behind the poets, the artists, the musicians and the singers of India. To them, there was nothing more beautiful than a beautiful woman and the beauty of a woman is more adorned and attractive” (Milton).

Likewise, Mehta (1972: 52) stated that love is a chief force behind the Indian artists. It has been the great lithic imagery of the sculptors of the past for i.e. Sāñcī, Bhārhut, Mathura and Gandhāra as well. But all the splendours of India’s diverse arts have numerous sides and multi-tintedprisms.

In these sculptures various forms of garments and ornaments were abundantly used. Apart from this episode the various kind of trendy garments are used in all most all Indian art to enhance the feminine charm and charisma. According to Sultana (2009: 58) most of the female images portray the unusual feminine beauty which is rarely seen in reality. The female figures not only portray the ideal form of body structures but other ornamentations were also commonly used to praise their feminine impression. The female figures were vastly wreathed with all types of ornaments like girdles, anklets, necklaces, bangles, wrists, tikka, and various kinds of head dresses. In almost all the sculptures women used various forms of dresses but the most common dress of the Indian women is Sari. Many women wore a long shawl or scarf over both the shoulders. They also wear a beaded girdle around the hips and decorated claps in front to enhance the beauty of their dress. Their breasts are uncovered (whether this was the practice or only artistic convention is unclear) (Salmon 1998: 40). We have observed all kinds of dresses and ornaments in these sculptures which represents the native costumes and class difference as well.

6.5 The representation of women in various roles and status on the Toilet Trays/ Love Making Scenes and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

The toilet trays are another significant symbolic artistic creation of the Gandhāra region. These trays prove to be charming objects and made of various kinds of materials. They are made of soft stone such as steatite or serpentine or hard stone such as schist or made from gypsum. They are decorated with various motifs; forms and style like geometric, floral and figurative themes are engraved within the globular space and generally bordered by decorative edge. These trays were produced between the 2nd century B.C.E. and the 2nd century C.E. (Pons 2009: 78).

However, these trays are associated with the upper class and represent the good taste of the elites of Gandhāra about the foreign goods. Therefore, the Gandhāran artists altered their making to create classifiable Gandhāran art (Behrendt 2007: 78). These trays are not associated with single culture but also show the beautiful combination of multiple values as Carter writes (1970: 31,Pons

2009: 78) these trays portrayed the brief phenomenon of Gandhāran art and are resulted from a diversity of samples for instance the globular shape with adorned motifs derived from Greek bronze mirrors and *emblemata* from Hellenistic Bactria. The sections are analogous to caskets and *pyxeis* from Ai Khanoum. The Greco-Bactrian people came in Gandhāra with Demetrius 1 by crossing Hindu-Kush through 185 B.C.E. They imported Hellenistic formal collection from Bactria to Gandhāra and then altered by native artists. Afterwards new and unique objects were produced in the available hard and soft stone material by the local people.

Due to their shape and decoration these dishes are called by various names by some eminent Gandhāran scholars. Sir John Marshall interprets these toilet trays as cosmetic containers (Marshall 1951:190). Many trays were excavated from Gandhāran sites but most of these trays were excavated by sir Marshall from Taxila at the site of Sirkap from pre-Kushan level. These trays have generally been considered in the dominion of decorative secular art (Carter 1970: 31). These dishes were discovered in domestic context rather than in the sacred areas because these trays were used for domestic rituals. Their decoration also represents their domestic use (Behrent 2007: 8). Dar called these trays liturgical vessels (Dar 1979: 149). Francfort sponsored them as votive objects (Francfort 1979: 5).

These dishes not only called by different names but are carved and decorated by different figures, sections and themes. These toilet trays are decorated with “Aphrodite and Eros”, ‘drinking scene’, religious ritual such as “sacrifices scenes’ and amorous scenes such as “Apollo and Daphne” are commonly depicted on Gandhāran trays. These abundant scenes engraved on the toilet trays are derived from the Greeks, Roman, Indian, Iranian and Scythian iconographic stocks (Pons 2009: 78). Apart from their name and carvings these dishes are decorated in multiple styles and are divided into two or more than two compartments. The theme of these toilet trays was derived from foreign and their artistic style reflects contact with Parthian and Saka traditions as well as with the Hellenistic world (Behrendt 2007: 8). The style and design of their division also helped researcher understand their origin like Carter (1970: 31) says the circular division of toilet trays in compartments is shown in Hellenistic origin. These toilet trays represent an inquiring mixture of Greek and Iranian objects mutual on occasion with wandering basics from Indian iconography.

The various themes of social life were carved by the artists to enhance the beauty of these dishes. Particularly the human activities are chief theme on these trays, among these melodies the love making is one of the most favourite subject of the Gandhāran artists. As Varadpande writes man and women are depicted to enjoy the pleasure of love by forming beautiful relationship and these human pair is known as *mithuna*. The Indian sculptors adopted the *mithuna* motifs and represent it with variety of style and grace and imagined women in all her grandeurs as an appealing lover. The history of the depiction of human pair in art is as old as the history of human beings.

Apart from love making the magico-religious, purely aesthetic, social and secular activities are carved on these dishes. Besides from Gandhāra art and toilet dishes these subjects are also depicted in the cave paintings of the Mesolithic era. These paintings represent women as lover and the stone art portrayed simple *mithuna* and amorous scenes. These sights are depicted in Indian art since second century B.C.E. at Buddhist stupas of Bhārhut, Sāñcī or at Buddhist cave such as *Kondance* and *Pitalkhora* in western Deccan (Varadpande 2006: 107).

According to the same text, the carving of these *mithuna* couples is presented with numerous flairs and elegance to make them more amorous with the passage of the time and represent discern of love with the variety of ways. *Mithuna* motifs of Bhārhut and Sāñcī and the early Buddhist caves of Maharashtra are less amorous; they portrayed women standing shyly along with their partners. After that the sculptor showed the more closeness of loving couples and this theme reached to the medieval monuments and temples like those at Khajuraho in the central India or at Bhuvaneshvar Puri and Konark in Orissa. The sculptors show variety of love making scenes visually through their art (Varadpande 2006: 108). This theme attracts the attention of the viewers and these monuments are eminent due to the engraving of love making scenes. Women were depicted on toilet trays in Gandhāra art in order to make them more beautiful and tempting for the buyers. These trays were being used in different rituals and occasions. Due to this reason the beautifying of these trays was an important element.

6.6 The representation of Women in various roles and status in wine Drinking Scenes and its depiction in Gandhāra art:

The participation of women in the wine drinking parties in the company of their lovers to boost the desire of love making or as a fun or merry making was a common practice in the ancient India. The wine drinking was common in the magico-religious rites in adoration of divinities. The Vedic literature is full of examples of the wine intoxicating *sama-ras* abundantly used in the Vedic rites. The *bacchanalian* scenes with the connection of woman are also mentioned in the epic *Ramāyāna* and the *Mahābhārata* (Varadpande 2006: 55).

Women enjoyed the wine not only in the company of their lovers but they enjoyed it in the company of their female friends inside and outside of the houses and harems. The heroine of the *Mahābhārata* infrequently relished the wine and the *Durapadi* the wife of five *pandava* brothers also pleasure the wine in her picnic with Subhadra; the pretty sister of Krishna in the company of other women of the harem (the *Mahābhārata*: Adi-Parva, Roy). Later this tradition adopted by the Indian sculptors, particularly this was commonly practiced in the school of Mathura that beautiful women were gorgeously depicted with wine glass in their hands

Apart from this, wine and women were also associated with richness and growth like wine

was also used to make the trees blossom and irrigating in ancient India. It was common practice that the young girls water the Aśoka tree with mouthful of wine. Apart from this the wine cult practice was also introduced at Indian stage by the famous poet *Kalidasa*. He shows queen *Iravati* in his play *Malavikagnimitra* in drunken condition. Later on *Shudraka* in his play *Mricchakatikam* presented the drunken courtesan that reflects the common practice of the Indian culture that people visit the courtesans to increase the pleasure of wine in their company. The author of the play also mentioned the ill effects of the wine on human health and society. The eminent Sanskrit literature play “*Bhana*” also presented the life in the vicinity of courtesans (Varadepande 2006: 59). These wine drinking scenes are also depicted in the Gandhāran art which represents their social rituals and preferences. We see women in these sculptures in different depictions. At some places they are drinking in the company of their beloved, at other places they are presenting the wine to the companions and at some places they are swirling in ecstasy after drinking. In some sculptures women are also dancing and playing music in wine parties. These activities portrayed the different aspects and status of women in the same practice. This also makes clear the attitude and conduct of men in the described activity.

Fig 168 is engraved with the interesting theme of Apollo and Daphne. This tray consisted only in one part in which Daphne is depicted on her knees in the ground and Apollo holds her from her shoulders. The Apollo wears a pointed hat and a long scarf is hanging on his right shoulder. We have two different opinions regarding the identification of his hat as Marshall stated that the hooded mantle of such type was worn by Greek countrymen (Marshall 1960: 18). But Behrendt stated that pointed hat indicates the Parthian style and Gandhāran artists portrayed this event to appeal the local audiences (Behrendt 2007: 10). Marshall also stated on the garment of woman as he says the woman is draped in a *himation* or shawl which considered the Hellenistic sculpture. He says this toilet tray is much loftier from other toilet trays (Marshall 1960: 18). Both figures are nude carved on a decorated rim and lotus flower is carved in relief.

Fig 169 is divided in to three compartments with different styles of rims and beautiful pillars. A couple is portrayed in each section. On the top section an amorous couple is depicted. Woman stands in frontal position. Her partner is shown behind her touching her body with his right hand while the woman is looking at him and also holds his hand in love which shows that she is responding his affection and love with a smiling face. The lower part of her body is carved with a wavy dress while the upper part is nude. The man had curly long hair that reflects the foreign influence while the upper part of the body is nude. In the middle compartments a wine drinking couple is presented. A man is holding a cup of wine in his left hand standing with his woman companion with his right knee bowing towards her. The woman is standing straight beside him looking at the cup of wine. In the last compartment a couple is standing in frontal position. The

woman is holding mirror while the man is holding flower in his hand. They are wearing identical costumes; the upper parts of their bodies are covered while they are wearing a thigh length dress to cover their legs. The dresses of all the three couples are different from each other and they are portraying different aspects of human life.

Fig 170 represents a different theme of the Gandhāran society. The couple is depicted between two pillars and the upper part is decorated with floral design. A round faced woman is portrayed as a wine seller, while the man is depicted as purchaser. This sculpture is indicating that women were related to the business of wine selling and this was not considered a bad thing in the society. She holds a big pitcher in her left hand while they are talking about money or something else. The round faced man stands beside her purchasing wine from her female counterpart. He wears only a short Indian *paridhana* but they have identical hair style. The classical style of the sculpture represents its western origin but these styles reached in Gandhāra through trade and cultural ties with the western world and adopted by the local artisans.

Fig 171, 172 and 173 represent the same drinking theme of loving couples. These trays have a tripartite similar arrangement but decorated with different leafed stalks and beaded pattern. The first tray is divided in three sections and decorated with beads. The inner part and the lower half are decorated by rows of squares. In the upper part a couple is portrayed embracing each other with love and devotion. The woman is looking at her partner. She wears a full sleeves wavy dress. The bearded man is wearing an identical pattern dress and holds a cup of wine in his right hand looking at his companion. He also wears a nice beaded head dress and two thick bangles in his righthand.

Fig 172 is also made on the same pattern and the drinking couple is shown on the top position. The man holds a big glass of wine taking sips. He wears a rippling pattern turban while the woman is depicted beside him. She holds a flower in her right hand. The depiction of flower is enchanting the charm of wine drinking.

Fig 173 is decorated with the leafed stalks with a broad border and crossed design. The round faced drinking couple is depicted on the upper part of the tray. The couple holds a wine cup in their right hands. They are depicted in frontal position. The man has curly hair, loops of hair is hanging on both side of the shoulders. He seems to be nude. His belly button is visible but he wears a long necklace and embraced the woman with his left arm that shows their love for each other.

Fig 174 has an identical arrangement like above mentioned trays. But the rims and two bars are decorated with beads. In the upper part a beautiful couple is depicted in standing position but facing one another. The woman is depicted in typical Indian style and keeping her left hand on her waist while on the other side her companion holds a cup to a woman's mouth. The one thing is identical in all the Gandhāran trays that they are divided into two or three sections. The lower sections are decorated with different geometrical designs but the human figures are shown in the

upper part and almost all figures are portrayed in half length. All the couples are enjoying the company of their companion. It shows that drinking was not forbidden in the Gandhāran society and culture. Women also used to enjoy the company of their partners.

The illustration of a drinking couple carved on the comb in fig 175 is quite rare in the Gandhāra art. The features of the figures are not obvious but the comb bristles are shown on the top of the scene. The comb is divided into five compartments, one central compartment and four small compartments are shown in each corner. The theme of the central couple is quite clear and obvious. A drinking couple is shown in an adoring mood in the middle section of the comb. A man is depicting on a half lying posture on a floor mattress with the support of a pillow and his female partner is sitting in his lap. They hold a cup of wine and their posture shows they are drinking wine from one cup. This drinking scene shows that women used to enjoy the company of their husbands or drinking was an essential part of the amorous life in the Gandhāran society. It is mentioned in the encyclopedia of the ancient world that in Latin this comb is inscribed with the words “Modestina farewell” and carved from ivory. These types of combs were used by Roman women to beautify the complicated hairstyles. These combs were also made in ivory, silver, wood and bone and represented the status of the people than fashion (Steele and Tames 2000:218).

Fig 176 depicts a different drinking scene in which three figures are shown; two females and a male. The front of the couch is decorated by four rectangles with five indentations in each and below the ledge on which the couch is placed is a leaf-and-dart pattern (Ingholt 1957: 178). A small heighted woman is seated on the stool on the right corner of the scene. She holds a wine cup in her left hand while the right hand is resting on the side of the couch where a man is lying in a very relaxing mood and looking at the same woman that shows they are talking to each other. The other woman is portrayed in between his legs that signify their love and closeness for each other. She holds a wreath/ garland in her left raised hand. It might be possible that she is offering the wreath to her companion to express her love because floral wreaths indicate love and commitment. The representation of the figures and the decoration of the couch indicates that the drinking couple belongs to a higher status and the small women are serving wine to the couple which shows that women were also appointed to serve wine in the royal chambers or in the elite families. Marshall stated (1960: 18) that the scene is conversant of the way Greeks consumed alcohol. He said the figures are attired in the Greek *chiton* and *himation*. The exceptional characteristic of these figures are their wide open staring eyes and the wig like treatment of their hair are dating from the late Saka-Parthian period.

Fig 177 represents a very interesting toilet tray presenting the wine drinking on the event of the ‘wedding of Ariadne and Dionysus’ that is conversant subject of Greco- Roman art (Marshall 1960:19). This dish comprises ten figures engaged in entertainment by drinking wine. Only a draped

woman seated on a high seat is playing on a *lyre*. Beside her a drinking couple is seated on a bench like seat. The male is embracing the woman with his left arm while the female partner is offering him a cup of wine with her right hand. She is exposed from back and her buttocks are clearly visible. Their headdresses are enhancing their grace but they are looking fondly at each other. Behind the draped woman a man is portrayed who holds a staff in his left hand. On the lower part a young couple is playing the Pan-pipes. On the right side two men are tramping grapes in a big wine tub while the grapes juice is strained in a tall flask. Two other men are also depicted on the left side one is carrying a wine skin on his back while the other one is offering and raising a cup of wine near his mouth. Two other figures are lying on the ground in drunken position. This toilet tray is representing the whole story of wine making, drinking and the condition of human after over drinking in an attractive series.

Fig 178 comprises six figures all are busy in entertaining themselves with different kind of acts and performances. The sculpture can be divided into group of three. The first group is entertaining themselves by drinking wine while the other is amusing themselves with singing and dancing. All these object of entertainment are reflecting the foreign influence. Wine was not prohibited in Indian society from prehistoric times but the style and custom of these drinking parties without the gender discrimination is not an Indian tradition. On the extreme right side of the sculpture a nude male figure is depicted on the ground under a tree. He holds a bowl of wine in his right hand and looking extremely in his wine cup. A stunning woman is portrayed near her. Her posture is representing her bulging position. She is looking behind a man who is offering her a big bowl of wine with his right hand while he is carrying a wine trough on his left shoulder. The next man is also watching behind at them and observing the activity between them. While he is associated with the next scene, a group of three busy in music and dance activity. He is playing tambourine like musical instrument. Next to him a woman is dancing with great tempo and passion between two musicians. In the extreme left a bearded man is holding two, three kinds of musical instruments in his hands but he is playing a string with full passion and urge. He is unaware about his surroundings which show his sincerity with his profession.

Fig 179 represents the family drinking scene. This sculpture also comprises five figures. A young couple, an elderly couple and a small child is also depicted in the middle of both the couples. In this sculpture an elderly couple is carved on the right side of the sculpture. In this scene woman carries a big bowl of wine with double handle in her right hand while a bearded man has placed his right hand on his head which show his gesture of kindness towards the child. The child is shown under the leaves of the tree. Her facial expressions indicate her inner bliss and delight. On the other side of the sculpture a young couple is portrayed in an enjoyable mood. The young man is portrayed fully nude standing in a front position. Marshall also mentioned (1960: 39) that the point of style,

design and execution are typically Hellenistic. The depiction of such type of sculptures represents the tradition of drinking parties and arrangements in society without gender differences. Women are abundantly represented in wine drinking parties even in family drinking scene reveals the wine drinking was not prohibited in the society. Even the presence of the small child is an indication of the transmission of the tradition to the next generations. Most of the sculptures portrayed the couples in wine drinking scene either they are depicted on the toilet trays or portrayed in the sculptures. However, the theme and composition of all the sculptures is same and representing the true picture of Gandhāran society. The style, dresses and stances described by Marshall (fig. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 45) are Greek rather than indigenous (Marshall 1960:34-35).

In fig 180 two couples are portrayed on a lion footed plinth. Both women are illustrated in idiosyncratic stance and are exposed in right contour. They wear upper garment just to cover their breasts because the cross bands of their garment is visible. They wear *Saries* but their backs and bottoms are entirely exposed. On the right side of the sculpture a woman is seated on the thigh of her male partner and rests her right hand on his left shoulder which indicates their affection and intimacy for each other. She is looking at front while her companion is looking at her face with eagerness and keenness. The other couple is sitting on the left corner in front of each other. The woman is smiling in the company of her beloved and fans her partner with fondness and affection while her bearded partner is offering her a bowl of wine. The bowl of wine is depicted near her mouth which exposes her willingness. In this scene both the male partners are sitting in identical posture. Both of them are resting their left arms on their left leg and looking lovingly at their female partners. According to Burgess this sculpture (fig. 180) uncover the Roman sarcophagus with its lion heads and claws. Men look more like Roman while the women wear heavy Hindu (Indian style) anklet (Burgess 1965: 150).

In fig 181 the couple stands in an eye-catching and loving stance. Their physical gestures are representing their mood and temper. The woman is shown with cross legs posture on the right side of the sculpture. She has placed her left arm on the side of the arch while the right hand is in raised position. The movement of her hand and slightly turned neck shows her shyness from her companion. On the right side of the woman her male partner is standing beside her. He holds a cup of wine in his right hand and offering his woman partner. She is depicted in bashfulness posture while the male partner is looking at her with full passion and excitement.

Once Faxian was passing through village got chance to drink wine, a man had a child and in its celebration he drank wine and also offered it to Faxian and his companion but they refused to have wine. This shows that drinking wine was forbidden in Buddhism or it is also possible that only Bikshus considered it forbidden. Because in the above mentioned sculptures it is obvious that in

society wine drinking was a common practice (Shoai 2002: 184-185).

Conclusion:

The period of 2nd Century BC to 3rd Century AD saw Buddhism flourish which includes the growth and development of Buddhist art and architecture as well. The present study is based on different forms of art and these different types are available in the form of sculptures, relief panels and figurines. The misconception regarding prejudice against women is very natural in the male dominating societies, same is the observation for Buddhism. Although Buddhism emerged in a time when the male was dominating in social terms but highly accomplished women were still found in the Buddhist civilization which negates the perception of women inferiority culturally. Women figures were portrayed in Indian art for centuries. The painters and sculptors all over the world portrayed the women figures with an infinite charm and fascination. Similarly, women are widely represented in Gandhāra art in various roles and statuses. However, before the arrival of the Buddhism, the position of women in India was depressed. There were no proper rights reserved for women's protection and well-being in the Indian society. Women enjoyed some rights but as compared to men, their rights as a mother, stepmother, wife, daughter, daughter in law, widow and even as an entertainer were non-existing. Consequently, women had no place in the society from the ancient period due to the overwhelming dominance of men in the society. Women are presented in multiple roles in almost all societies of the world such as the ancient literature like *Rig-Veda*, epic literature, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramāyāna*, the *Upanishads*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Buddhacarita* have mentioned the status of women in society in various relations. The whole literature is filled with opposing and differing views regarding the social, domestic, religious, seductive, political, legal and entertaining role and position of women. In some aspects, women enjoyed equal status as men in early Vedic society and in the Aryan society as well (religious sacrifices and services were performed equally by husband and wife) while on the other hand, in the *Ramāyāna* age women were considered inferior to men. Women were subjugated like chattels and treated as a low ranked creature in the society just like an animal.

Women were not given a good deal of autonomy in the social order of Indian society. They were dependent on the male members of their families in all age group. Principally the deprivation of women in inheritance and ascetic restrictions in various religions indicated the petty and slight position of women in society. However, alongside the examples of the foundational age of Buddhism, all the contemporary holy writing gives a sign that women were measured inferior and

honourless to men in both the worldly and mystical life however after the arrival of the Buddhism, women were treated more humanely as compared to other societies. When Buddhism flourished the women's life changed for the better in the society because Buddha's teachings provided relief to the human beings from misery, depression, and desolation.

No society can flourish without giving appropriate respect and liberty to its women and this was no different in past, present or in future. The various roles of women in the Buddhist society give us the picture of strength and significance of women in Buddhism. After deciding on this area of study, I found that there is representation of women in all the major events of the life of Buddha, probably because they appeared very significant in the global inventory of Gandhāran sculpture, which mainly consisted of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Gandhāra fascinated me because it was a laboratory for art and an ancient phenomena of globalization. The role of women is largely depicted in variety of ways in Gandhāran art can still be studied to evaluate their status in the Buddhist society. Raman stated, in almost all ages of the human development women are presented in social, religious and entertaining roles in the society (Raman 2009). Similarly, women are portrayed in the stereotypical social, religious and entertaining roles in Gandhāran art because without the depiction of women in these roles the life history of Buddha is incomplete. The roles and services of women on different occasions in all the episodes of the life of Buddha are the one and only of its kind and it is a clear evidence that only women were capable of these roles and services. Gandhāran art gives us the vibrant picture of women representation in Gandhāran Buddhist society because the sense of maternity, nurture, faithfulness and devotion can only come in the female form while performing all these very important roles.

This research uncovered many episodes in the social context where women are depicted with honor and grace. They are endowed with intelligence, capability and virtue. For example, Queen Māyā as wife and mother, Prajāpatī as a sister and foster mother, Yaśodharā as daughter and wife are granted free will to act as mother, wife and daughter etc. In Buddhism, women were regarded as the source of devotion and admiration for her descendants. Mother treated her offsprings without difference between son and daughter. Women as mother and in the period of pregnancy had enjoyed a worthy and well-regarded status in the family and in society as well. She had received extra attention and affection from her family during this period. The character of Queen Māyā, Prajāpatī and Yaśodharā are strong evidence of the standing of a mother in the

Buddhist text and in Gandhāra art. As a mother, the status of women is incomparable in Gandhāra art like almost all societies of the world. However, there is no disgrace in simply being a woman. These women appreciated and cherished due to their higher status and social background. They are portrayed at various occasions in the company of their husbands and separately but under the light of these sculptures there is no single evidence available that shows their participation in the political and administrative matters of the state or their opinion was given importance in the matters of King's life, his royal decisions and in major family decisions. Apart from these royal women some other women i.e. attendants, guards and nurses are also depicted in the social context. This shows that women were not only restricted to domestic chores but also performed external duties with courage and integrity. This wave is indicating the bravery and courage of women. In this way, they not only performed their domestic duties but also supported the economic needs of their families in a very respectable manner. However, we cannot see any woman performing any prominent service in the life history of Buddha, they are depicted in secondary roles at every place and can be seen performing inferior tasks and services in the royalharem.

Conversely, there are many episodes where women are depicted with disgrace and undesirable qualities in the context of entertainment. In the palace life of the Bodhisattava Siddhārtha and in the episode of the temptation by Mara and his daughter, women are used as an instrument to distract Bodhisattva Siddhārtha from the way of enlightenment. Women were treated as a tool by male members of the society to gain personal advantages. They considered women as source of delight and pleasure and used them according to the situation. In this context, women did not enjoy a respectable and trust-worthy place in the society. The social responsibilities, entertaining and temptress roles of women are depicted in a very prominent and justified manner in Gandhāran art. However, religiously women have not received enough praise and devotion they deserve. The religious role of women is ignored in many events, for example: when Queen Prajāpatī joined the Sangha in the company of five hundred women is a great achievement in Buddhist history but it is not mentioned anywhere in Gandhāran art. However, in text we have a lot of discussion about her entry and request to her son for permission. Apart from their entrance into religious life Gandhāra art is also silent about this fact of the Buddhism, how these women led their lives in the order. They are not depicted in performing any religious ceremonies or any sculpture which shows that Buddha or any learned monk taught them norms. As Vinay Kumar Rao, writes in his book, *Women in Buddhist Art*, "The denial of Buddha to admit MahaPrajāpatī

his foster mother and aunt into religious life was not due to personal bias of Buddha towards women, nor did he respond that women are weak or incapable to achieve salvation from worldly sufferings. However, he was more concerned about the weakness of the male involuntary of Sangha, who are unable to control their attraction and desire for women colleagues”. Instead of all that the admission of women was a great event but we can’t find even a single sculpture showing Prajāpatī requesting the Buddha to let them enter the religion. This depicts that Buddhist society was prejudiced against women and they did not want women to enter the religion. We only find a sculpture in Kurita’s collection showing Ananda favoring the admission of women in the religion as Gandhāra art is silent on this. Also, the courtesans and prostitutes who were the neglected part of the society but they left their professions to become nuns and got a commendable place in the Buddhist society and Gandhāra art i.e. Amrapāli and Utpalvarna. They renounced their charmed and magical life of luxuries and amenities and chose the path of salvation by their own will and spirit. They were appreciated only due to their services and sacrifices for the religion. However, on the same footing they were considered ominous and menacing members of the society. In some episodes, they were ignored at many important events even when their depiction was required and were only depicted as a secondary character or used to enhance the importance of Buddha. Another important role held by women in Gandhāran society was celestial woman, i.e. mother goddess Harithi. She is worshipped as a patron of the childless people. Many ancient, Buddhist texts describe the tale of Harithi as one of transformation, as she converts from a voracious devourer of helpless infants to a staunch protector of children. It was the Buddhists who transformed her from this curse into a beneficent deity. Apart from her conversion we can notice her motherly feeling for her lost child and soft nature of a woman when Harithi sacrifices her lust for the sake of people and religion and in reward society and religion venerated greatly and gave her homage and status of mother goddess.

Gandhāra art has ample examples of women worshippers in the company of their husbands and separately. Women from different groups of society are depicted in Gandhāran art without discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and social status. However, women are portrayed only as worshippers and devotees but the influence and services of the nuns are ignored in Gandhāra art. The Gandhāran society had opened a new horizon in the status and respect of women. They gave women respect and honor at the high level as compared to other conventional religions and societies. I found that the images of the women invoke impressions of fertility and abundance but

they simultaneously project an intimidation that must be placated and regarded with reverence in various episodes, queens are portrayed equal to king and it shows that queen Māyā and Prajāpatī played vital role in the family matters. Also, Yaśodharā is enjoying the matrimonial rituals and entertaining acts of other women in the company of her husband. Conversely, under the light of this research there is no single evidence available that shows Yaśodharā's educational activities but there are images of Buddha going to school. After Prince Siddhārtha departure from palace he left a little son and his wife Yaśodharā, she could have taken over the responsibilities of his reign, particularly, when king Suddhōdana became old but there is no evidence available in the Buddhist text or in the art of Gandhāra that represents the political role of Yaśodharā after the renunciation of the Prince Siddhārtha. She was a woman of strong will, that is the most remarkable quality of her nature and that she was a single parent of Rahula but later became a nun. It is understandable that the majority of Buddhist literature neglects Yaśodharā in every aspect even though she was part of Buddha's monastic life. The statement of the *Lalitavistara* mentioned that Yaśodharā did not veil her face in the presence of her father-in-law and the men of the household, for which she was severely criticized. Once, she recited some verses before the entire house, "those who retained their body from ignoble acts, always speak in reserve manners, disciplined their senses, guard their mind, satisfied with their husband, the assemblies of gods know my conduct, virtue, restraint and my modesty. Why should I veil my face' (*the Lalitavistara: 236*). It shows the freedom of speech of the royal lady. When she argued on this point and made her stance clear, king Suddodhana became very happy, presented her with two pieces of white cloth adorned with precious stones, a pearl necklace, and a golden garland. Conversely, from the text, we come to know that the king was very pleased and gifted Yaśodharā, while Gandhāra art and other contemporary art had ignored the event. These royal women are depicted as a central figure in all sculptures, dominating all the other by their respectively large and elegant representation. Yaśodharā, was frequently the ideal wife of Gautama who not only adored and respected him but also sacrificed herself in other ways for the sake of her husband. Yaśodharā has not received enough praise and devotion from Buddhism that is her due. It is understandable that the majority of Buddhist literature neglects Yaśodharā as unworthy of mention concerning the monastic life of the Buddha. But nonetheless she has frequently appeared in the *jātakas*, and give her a certain degree of credit and approval as both a woman and a wife.

Gandhāra art played a vital role in the reconstruction of the ancient history of Gandhāran society and the Buddhism because it is based on truth, religious trends, emotional expressions and realism as compared to other contemporary arts. Gandhāra art represents the various aspects of the religious life of the Buddha and several aspects of daily life of Gandhāran society. Changes in artistic work are due to the involvement of various cultures and the theme of this art are sole sources for studying the culture of these nations particularly the role, status and lifestyle of women belonged to a different class group. In this research work, I have analyzed the ancient and modern Indian literature on Buddhist society and Gandhāran art as well. I have visited various museums and analyzed hundreds of sculptures to overview the role and status of women in Gandhāran art and in the Buddhist society. The women representation in the art of Gandhāra is not a new tradition. The female figurines are discovered under the result of various excavations at different sites of the region. Women are depicted in various characters like mother goddess, archaic female figure, primitive divinity, tutelary deities, in the form of toys or involved in different social activities. These figurines are rudimentary and are not in sound shaped because they are handmade and their features look like birds and animals. They had engraved eyes, punched nose, hair is indicated by few vertical lines, narrow waists, broad lips, separate legs and nude body adorned with ornaments. Sometimes it looks like as all parts of the body are made separately and then fixed together. Gandhāra art is an innovative and developed form of art, which depicted women in a beautiful manner as compared to other ancient arts.

However, in Gandhāra art the role and status of women can also be understood by the women beauty and minuteness of the facial features and their physical figure. This research helps us to understand the artist's sense of beautification and similarly supports us to understand the class difference between women. We find that whether the artists had carved Queen Māyā, Prajāpatī, Yaśodharā or any royal attendant or whether they carved Amarpali or Utpalvarna, they have carved them with full devotion and had kept minute details in consideration. Like they haven't carved them but they have worshiped them.

Their sharp features, delicate expressions, beautiful physique and subtle depiction had made them goddesses of beauty and elegance. Their faces are round with calm and serene expression. Their eyebrows are arched and almond shaped eyes enhance their beauty along with curvy lips with a

mild smile give them a celestial look. Their pointy noses and bloomy cheeks are an important factor of their beauty.

Their waists are thin and the remaining figures are fully proportioned. Unlike the ancient Indian art, they have not shown huge breasts, large hips, and tiny waists but they have portrayed very natural figures and physique. In Indian art, these features are not only considered the standard of beauty but also the symbol of motherhood, womenfolk, fertility and breeding. Gandhāra art had depicted the beauty of women in a very accepted and genuinemanner.

In the case of attire, we do not find much variety. Mostly they used a single and thin garment to cover their whole body. Most of the time their upper body portions are found naked but the lower part is often covered. In many sculptures, they also wore Indian type Saries, Greek tunics, and frocks, baggy and tight trousers. These dresses give them Greek look as well as Indian look which enhanced their beauty and grace.

One of the major features of these sculptures is their ornaments and jewelry. We found typical Indian type of jewelry like heavy and more than one necklace, heavy anklets, various kinds of headdresses, thin and heavy bangles, earrings, armllets, and bindya were very common among all classes of women. The heaviness and thickness of jewelry were considered a mark of high esteem and social repute. This kind of jewelry is still used in India and Pakistan on the special occasion as well as for dailyuse.

Different hair styles are also an important feature of the sculptures which enhance their beauty and charm. From prehistoric times different kinds of hairstyles were used to enrich one's beauty and personality. In Gandhāra art we find curly hairs, hair loops, hair buns, different kind of knots, at some places ponytails, combed and neatly parted hairstyles. Most of the times these hair styles were being decorated by jewelry and headdresses were used to supplement their beauty and slender.

Use of different kinds of cosmetics and mirrors was also common in Gandhāran ladies. The excavated toilet trays/cosmetics trays and some sculptures show us that the process of beautification is being continued from early historic times and it was a common practice among women of Gandhāransociety.

In the Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan 1931-1985, Francine Tissot had given the pattern of women world. He had emphasized on women and women related sculptures. He had shown the sculptures related to different social activities of women. We find a vivid collection of sculptures in which women are depicted performing various activities like dancing, singing, walking, conversing and above all beautifying themselves. We can see women sitting in front of dressing tables with servants on their sides, wringing their hair, holding mirrors in their hands. They used to adorn themselves by different objects like jewelry, making different kinds of hairstyles and wearing various dresses designed in different styles.

This research shows that the Buddhist society and Gandhāra art had opened a new horizon in the status and respect of women. They gave women respect and honor at a level which is comparable to other conventional religions and societies. So many faces of women in the world can be observed during the different period of history but that does not mean women were given high position or equal status to men. This research helps us to gain insight into the significance of women in Buddhist Gandhāran art and texts. As a result of numerous fusions, this research topic can explore and study the culture of Gandhāran Buddhism particularly the role, status and life style of women who belonged to different class groups possesses some of the finest examples of the portrayal of the female body in Asian art, and is therefore a pivotal example of the effect of geographic, economic, and religious circumstances on the representation of women. Re-evaluating the women roles in Gandhāran culture shall impact the understanding of the contemporary culture of Pakistan and Afghanistan. In reference to the roles of women, the culture around the world since ancient civilizations holds an effective and dominating status. However, women roles have evolved but the status of women is measured by the position she holds in the society. In Pakistan and Afghanistan these roles of women still have the similar influence on the lives of people and in society collectively. However, if we compare the roles of women now and then, the only thing that has changed is time and circumstances but their roles in the society stay the same. The search for women empowerment existed in the Gandhāran society giving us the picture of weakness and strength of women in Buddhism and these views will help us change the way women are viewed in specific relationships to the cultural heritage of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

This research can construct cultural changes resulting in a communal acknowledgment of the better social, religious, political and legal role and status of women. In this way, women can

play the far better role than their ancestors. From my research, I, therefore, found sufficient proof (i.e. in the character of Prajāpatī, Yāsodharā, Harithi, Utpalvarna and Amarpali) that the changes experienced in the social and religious attitude influenced the role and status of women in a positive way. Their daily lifestyle can improve due to their attainments and they can become an icon of the society. Conversely, women no longer played a secondary role in the society but proved themselves to be earnest regents, effective figure and iconic member of the society. This research will prove to be the gateway in the struggle for women rights and equality and it may prove to be a new chapter in the history of women and their rights and status. In future, the researcher intends to go deeper in every notion that has been developed in this study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Ackermann, H. Ch. *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London: Catalogue and Attempt at a Stylistic History*. Rome: 1975.

Alexander, Cunningham. *Four Reports Made during the Year 1862, 63-64-65*. Vol. I-II. Simla: Rep, Varanasi, 1972.

Ali, I., and M. N. Qazi. *Gandhāran Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum (Life Story of Buddha)*, Hazara University, Mansehra, Pakistan, 2008.

Allchin, Bridget, Raymond Allchin, Elizabeth Errington, and Neil Kreitman. *Gandhāra Art in Context, East-West Exchanges at the Cross Road of Asia*. New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997.

Altekar, A.S. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*. 2nd ed. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Indological Publishers, 1959.

Ashvaghosa. *Life of the Buddha*. Translated by Patrick Olivelle. New York University Press: JJC Foundation, 2008.

Audsley, George Ashdown and Audsley, William James. *Numerous Illustrations from All Styles of Architecture*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. Vol. II. 1881.

Bach, Hilde. *Indian Love Painting*. New Delhi: Luster Press Pvt. Ltd, 1985.

Bader, Clarisse. *Women in Ancient India Moral and Literary Studies*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. Ltd, 1925.

Badrinath, Chaturvedi. *The Women of the Mahabharata the Question of Truth*. Hyderabad-India: Oriental Blackswan Private Limited, 2008.

Behrendt, Kurt A. 2007. *The Art of Gandhāra: In the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. London: Yale University Press.

Banerji, Arundhati. *Early Indian Terracotta Art Circa 2000-300BC (North and West India)*. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1994.

_____. *Images, Attributes & Motifs Studies in Early Indian Art and Numismatics*. Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1993.

Barrett, Terry. *Criticizing Art: Understanding the Contemporary*. California: Mayfield Publishing, 1994.

- Basham, A.L. *The Wonder that was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1954.
- Beal, Samuel. *Buddhist Record of the Western World*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1969.
- _____. *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Vol. I-11. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers, 1884.
- _____. *“The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha: From the Chinese Sanskrit*, London: Trubner & Co, 1875.
- Behrendt, Kurt. *The Art of Gandhāra, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New Heaven and London: Yale university press, 2007.
- Bhattacharyya, D.C. *Gandhāra Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh*. Chandigarh: Government Museum and Art Gallery, 2002.
- Blackstone, Kathryn R. *Women in the Footsteps of the Buddha, Struggle for Liberation in the Therigatha*. New York: Curzon Press, 1998.
- Boparachachi, Osmund. “Acroliths from Bactria and Gandhāra.” In *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kushana World*, edited by D. Meth-Srinivasan, 119-132. Leiden Boston, 2007.
- _____. “Menander Soter, an Indo-Greek king: Chronological and Geographical observation.” *From Bactria to Taprobane, Central Asian and Indian Numismatics Art*, 188-212. New Delhi: Manoharlal, 1998.
- _____. *From Bactria to Taprobane: Selected Works of Osmund Boparachachi*, vol. I. Central Asian and Indian Numismatics; vol. II. Art History and Maritime Trade. New Delhi: Manohar Publisher, 2015.
- _____. “The Emergence of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdom”. *From Bactria to Taprobane, Central Asian and Indian Numismatics Art*. New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2015.
- _____. “Coins production and circulation in Central Asia and North-west India (before and after Alexander conquest.” *From Bactria to Taprobane, Central Asian and Indian Numismatics Art*. PageNO. New Delhi: Manoharlal, 1998.
- _____. “The First Kushan Sovereigns: Chronology and Monetary Iconography”. *From Bactria to Taprobane: Art History and maritime Trade*. PageNO. New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2015.
- _____. “Some Observations on the Chronology of Early Kushans.” *ResOrientales*

- XVII, (2007): 41-53.
- _____. "The Emergence of the Greco-Baktrian and Indo-Greek Kingdom." In *Coins from the Asia Minor and the East*, Selection from the Colin E. Pitchfork Collection. Edited by N.L. Wright, Vol. 2, 47-50; 167-179. Australian Center for Ancient Numismatic Studies, Macquarie University, 2011.
- Bonn. *The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan. Legends, Monasteries, and Paradise*, Kust und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Berlin: Zürich: 2009/10.
- Bose, Mandakranta. *Faces of the Feminine in the Ancient, Medieval and Modern India*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Boyd, James W. *Satan and Mara, Christian and Buddhist Symbols of Evils*. Neatherlands: Leiden E.J. Brill, 1975.
- Brancaccio, Pia, and Kurt Behrendt, eds. *Gandhāran Buddhism Archaeology, Art, Texts*. Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2006.
- Buchthal, H. *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculptures, Annual lecture on Aspects of Art*. London: British Academy, 1945.
- Burton, Richard F. Trans. *The Kama Sutara of Vatsyayana: The Classical Hindu Treatise on Love and Social Conduct*. New York: E.P. Dutton and CO., Inc, 1962.
- Carus, Paul. *The Gospel of Buddha: According to the Old Records*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1985.
- Cribb, Joe. "The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, Its Coinage and its Collapse," *Afghanistan ancein Carrefour Entre L' Est ET L*. Turnhout, PageNO. Belgium: Owest, Brepols Publishers n.v., 2003.
- Chattopadhyaya, B. (1979) *The Age of the Kushanas A Numismatic study*, Sri Sankar Bhattacharya Punthi Pusak 34 Mohan Bagan Lane, Calcutta: 1979.
- Cunningham, A. *Later Indo-Scythians, reprint from the Numismatic Chronicle 1893-94*, edited by A.K. Narain, Varanasi. Dani, A.H. (1969) Peshawar The Historic city of Frontier, Khyber Mail Press, Peshawar: 1962.
- D'Alleva, Anne. *Method and theories of Art History*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005.
- Das, Anasua. "Dipankara Jataka in Gandhāra Art", in *Buddhism and Gandhāra*, edited by R.C. Sharma, Pranati Ghosal. PageNO. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Aryan

- Books International, 2004.
- Dehejia, Vidya. *Anthropology: Art and Aesthetics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- _____. *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publisher, 1999.
- _____. *Discourse in Early Buddhist Arts Visual Narratives of India*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publisher, 2005.
- Dixit, Shalini. *Patriarchy and Feminine Space: A Study of Women in Early Buddhism*. New Delhi: Manak Publications, 2008.
- Donaldson, Thomas E. *Iconography of Buddhist Sculpture in Orrisa*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 2001.
- Dwivedi, Shiva Kant. *Temple Sculptures of India: With special reference to the sculptures of the Bhumija Malwa*. Delhi: Aga Kala Prakashan, 1991.
- Edwards, Rebecca. "Women's and Gender History," in *American History Now*, ed. Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011.
- Elkins, James, ed., *Art history versus Aesthetics*. New York: Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006.
- E. W. Cowell, *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000.
- Falak, Harry. *Gandhāra Eras, Gandhāra the Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan Legenda Monastries, and Paradise*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 2009.
- Falk, Harry, and Bennet Chris. *Macedonian Intercalary Months and the Era of Azes*. Norway: Acta Orientalia, 2009.
- Faure, Bernard. *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 2003.
- Filigenzi, Anna. "Ananad and Vajrapāṇi: An Inexplicable Absence and a Mysterious Presence in Gandhāra art", in *Gandhāran Buddhism: Archarlogy, Art and Texts*. Edited by Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt, Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2007.
- Foucher, A. *The Begging of Buddhist Art*, trans. by L.A. Thomas and F.W. Thomas Paris: 1917.
- Foucher, A. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*. Varanasi, Dalhi: Ideological Book House, 1972
- _____. *The Life of the Buddha according to the Ancient Texts and Monuments of India*,

- trans. Simon Brangier Boas, New Delhi: 2003.
- Fussman, Gerard. *C'est désormais une solution plus simple que de considérer Soter Megas comme un usurpateur kouchan, ayant interrompu pour une génération la succession régulière des descendants de kujala kadphises, un peu comme Napoleon venu s'intercaler entre Louis XVI et Louis XVIII*, 1998.
- Gandhāra. 2016. *Asia Society* available at: <http://sites.asiasociety.org/Gandhāra/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Map-3.jpg>. Accessed: [1st December 2015].
- Gombrich, Ernst. *The Essential Gombrich: Selected Writing on Art and Culture*. London: Phaidon Press, 1996.
- Gombrich, Richard, et al. *Buddhism*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.
- Green, Peter. *Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 B.C. A Historical Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1991.
- Gross, Rita M. *Beyond Androcentrism: New Essays on Women and Religion*. Montana: Scholars Press for the American Academy of Religion. 1977
- Griffith, R.T.H. Tran. *The Hymns of the Rigveda*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1986.
- Grunwedel, Albert., and James Burgess. *Buddhist Art in India*. London: 1901. Indian Reprint 1965.
- Gupta, S.P. *Elements of Indian art: including Temple Architecture, Iconography and Iconometry*. New Delhi: Indraprastha Museum of art and Archaeology, 2002.
- Hallade, Madeleine, *The Gandhāra Styles and the Evaluation of Buddhist Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968.
- H. C. Das. "Interaction between Buddhist and Brahmanical Art in Orrisa." In *Interaction between Brahmanical and Buddhist Art*, edited by R.C. Sharama. PageNO. New Delhi: D.K. Print World, 2004.
- Harle, J.C., and Topsfield, A. *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*. London: The British Academy, 1987.
- Havell, E.B. *Indian Sculptures and Paintings*. London: Johan Murray 1908.
- Hiuen, Tsiang. *Si-Uy-Ki Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Translated by Samuel Beal. Vol. I. London: 1884 (Reprinted Delhi Oriental Books Corporation, 1996).
- Holt, Frank L., *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Hornor, I.B. *Women under Primitive Buddhism, laywomen and Almswomen*. London: George

- Routledge and Sons, 1930.
- Indra, M. A., & Pandit, V. L. *The Status of Women in Ancient India: A Vivid and Graphic Survey of Women's Position, Social, Religious, Political and Legal, in Ancient India*. Motilal Banarasidass.1955.
- Ingholt, Harald. *Gandhāra Art in Pakistan*. New York: Pantheon Books.1957.
- Jaini, Padmanabh S. *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debats on the Spiritual Liberation of Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife, Women, Rituals and Hospitality in Ancient India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Jarrige, Catherine. "The Terracotta Figurines from Mehargarh." In *Forgotten Cities of Indus*, edited by Michael Jansen, Mairemulloy and Gunter Urban. Germany: Rerlag Philippvon Zabern Mainz, 1991.
- Jayal, Shokambari. *The Status of Women in the Epics*. Delhi, Varanasi, Patna: Motilala Banarsidass, 1999.
- Johnston, E.H. *Buddhacarita the Buddha's Mission and last Journey*. XV to XXVIII. Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, 1937.
- _____. *The Buddhacarita, Or Acts of the Buddha*. Lahore: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, first edition Lahore, 1936, Reprint, Delhi, 1972.
- Jongeward, David. *Buddhist Art of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Royal Ontario Museum Collection of Gandbara Sculpture*. Universitu of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies, 2003.
- Joshi, N.P. and R.C. Sharma, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow*. Lucknow: The Archana Printing Press, 1969.
- Kangle. *The Kutliya Arthashatra*, University of Bomby: Moti Lal, 1909.
- Kenoyer, J. Mark. *The Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*. Oxford University Press and American Institute of Pakistan Studies, 1998.
- Kern, Heinrich. *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien. Eine Darstellung der Lehrren und Geschichte der buddhistischen kirche, erster Band*. Verlag: Otto Schulze, 1882.
- Khan, Mohammad Ashraf. *A Catalogue of Gandhāra Stone Sculpture in the Taxila Museum*. Vol.1, The Department of Archaeology and Museum Ministry of Culture, Sports And Youth Affairs Government of Pakistan, 2005.

- _____, and A.G. Lone, *Gandhāra (Geography, Antiquity, Art & Personalities)*.
Islamabad: 786 Printers, 2004.
- Kloppenborg, Ria. Trans. *The Sutra on the Foundation of the Buddhist Order* (Catusparisatsutra)
Belgium: E.J. Brill-Leiden-1937.
- Knox, Robert. *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*. London: British Museum
Press, 1992.
- Krishna, Y. *The Buddhist Image its Origin and Development*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal
Publishers Pvt Ltd, 1996.
- Kurita, I. *Gandhāran Art, I. The Buddha's Life Story*. Tokyo: Nigensha Publishing. 1988.
- Litvinskij, B.A. *Tepa-i-Schah, Kultura I svjazi Kuschanskogo Baktrii*. Moskva: 1983.
- Mac. Sweeney Naoise, ed. *Foundation Myth in Ancient Societies: Dialogue and Discourses*.
Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Majumdar, R.C. *The Vedic Age*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1951.
- _____. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (ed), reprint, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay: 1980.
- _____. *The Classical Account of India*, (ed), Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta: 1960.
- Marshall, John. *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archeological Excavations Volumes I-III*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Marshall, J., and Alfred Foucher, A. *The Monuments of Sanchi*. Vol. I-III. Delhi: Swati
Publications, 1982.
- Marshall, John. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*. Cambridge: 1960.
- Mathur, Suman. *Art and Culture under the Kushans*. Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 1998.
- Meher McArthur, *Reading Buddhist Art: An Illustrated Guide to Buddhist Signs & Symbols*,
London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2002.
- Mehta, Rustam J. *Masterpiece of the Female Form in Indian Art*. Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala
Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd. 1972.
- Miller, Beatrice D. "Views of Women's Roles in Buddhist Tibet." In *Studies in History of
Buddhism*, edited by A.K. Narian, 155-161. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1980.
- Mitter, Parth. *Indian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Mitterwalner, G.V. *Kusana Coins and sculptures*, D.P. Sinha, Director, Department of Cultural
Affair, Government of U.P. Lucknow, for the Government Museum Mathura, 1986.
- Morris, William. *Art and Society: lectures and Essays*. Gary Zabel, George's Hill Boston, 1993.

- M. Slusser. "Nepali Sculptures - New Discoveries" In *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers Presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in October, 1970*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 97-98.
- Nehru, Lolita. *Origins of Gandhāra Style: A Study of contributory influences*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- N.P. Joshi, and R.C. Sharma, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculptures in The State Museum, Lucknow*, (Lucknow: The Achana Printing Press, 1969).
- Osborne, Harold "Types of Aesthetic Theory", in Ralph Alexander Smith and Alan Simpson, eds., *Aesthetics and Arts Education*, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Osborne, Harold. *Aesthetics and Art Theory: An historical Introduction*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980.
- Paul, Diana Y. *Women in Buddhism: Image of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Qureshi, I.H. *A short history of Pakistan*, (ed) University of Karachi: 1967.
- Rapson, E. J. *The Cambridge History of India*, (ed), S. CHANK & CO., Fountain, Delhi: 1955.
- Randhawa, M. Singh and Randhawa, S. Doris. *Indian Sculpture*. Bombay: Vakils, Feffer & Simons limited, 1985.
- Ray, Niharranjan. *Maurya and Post-Maurya Art and Study in Social and Formal Contrasts*. Indian council of Historical Research: New Delhi, 1975.
- Brubaker, Richard L. *The ambivalent mistress: a study of South Indian village goddesses and their religious meaning*. PhD diss., University of Chicago: 1978.
- Rockhill, W.W. *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order, derived from the Tibetan works in the Bkah-Hgyur Bstan-Hgyur*. Kegan. London: Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1907.
- Rosenfield, J.M. *The Dynastic Art of Kushans*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.
- Rao, Kumar Vinay. *Women in Buddhist Art*, Agam Kala Prakshan, Delhi: 2012.
- Roy, S.A. *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*. New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1982.
- Roy, Partapchandra, and Kisari Mohan Ganguli, *The Mahabharatha of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyas: Adi parva. Sabha parva*. India: Bharata Press, 1883.

- Rowland, Benjamin. *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. Marryland,USA: Penguin Books, 1953. Repr 1954, 1956, 1959, 1967.
- Royster, Jacqueline Jones. *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change among African American Women*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2000.
- Salmon, Richard. *The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 Bc in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription*. In *Bopearachchi and Boussac*, 2005. 359-401.
- Sastari, A. Mahadeva. *The Vedic Law of Marriage, Or, the Emancipation of Women*. Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1988.
- Schmidt, Hanns-Peter. *Some Women's Rites and Rights in the Veda*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1987.
- Sharma, Deo Parkash. *Harrapan Terracotta in the Collection of the National Museum*. New Delhi: National Museum, 2003.
- Shaw, Miranda. *Passionate Enlightenment: Women in Tantric Buddhism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Shaw, Miranda. *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Shoai, Ywan Vay. *Faxian: The First Chinese Pilgrim of the Subcontinent*. Islamabad: Loak Virsa, 2002.
- Smith, Ralph Alexander. *Culture and the arts in Education: Critical Essays on Shaping Human Experience*. New York: Teacher College Press, 2006.
- Smith, V.A. *The Oxford History of India*, reprint, Oxford University Press, Delhi: 1994.
- Sponberg, Alan. "Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism." In *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*, ed., José Ignacio Cabez—n, 1-36. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1992.
- Srinivasan, Doris Meth. "Local Carfts in Early Gandhāra Art". In *Gandhāran Buddhism: Archaeology, Art and Texts*, edited by Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt, 243-269. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2006.
- Stierlin, Henri. *The Cultural History of India*. Geneva, Switzerland: Edito-Servis S.A, 1983.
- Tanabe, Katsumi, ed. *Gandhāran Art: From the Hirayama Collection*. Kodansha: Silk Road Museum Foundation. 1984.
- _____. *Gandhāran Ladies and Toilet-Trays from Japanese Collection*. Tokyo: The

- Ancient Orient Museum, 1985.
- Talim, Meena. *Woman in Early Buddhist Literature*. Bombay: University of Bombay: 1972.
- Thapar, Romaila. *Ancient India: A Text Book of History for Middle Schools*. India: National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1966.
- _____. *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*. Oxford University Press, 1961.
- _____. *Caste and Origin Myths in Early India*. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1992.
- _____. *The Penguin History of Early India from the Origin to AD 1300*. New Delhi: Chaman Offset Printers, 2003.
- _____. *Sakuntala: Texts, Readings, Histories*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited Publisher, 1999.
- The Lalitvastra Sutra/ The Voice of the Buddha: The Beauty of the Compassion*. Vol. I and II. Translated in to English from the French by Gwendolyn Bays. Publication Place: Dharma Publishing, 1983.
- The Laws of Manu*. Translated with Extracts from Seven Commentaries. Trans. George Buhler. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.
- The Mahabhartha of Krishana Dwaipayana Vyasa*. Trans. Partab chandra Roy. Calcutta: Oriental publishers, 1956
- The Manu's Code of Law. A Critical edition and Translation of the Manava Dharmasastra*. Trans. Patrick Olivelle. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J.J. Jones. London: Luzac and Company, LTD, 1949.
- _____. vol. II, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J.J. Jones. London: Luzac and Company, LTD, 1952.
- _____. vol. III, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J.J. Jones. London: Luzac and Company, LTD, 1956.
- The Ramayana*. Trans. Valmiki Manmatha Nath Dutt. Calcutta: Girish Chandra Chackravarti, 1891.
- The Rig Veda. The Early Religious Poetry of India*. Trans. Stephanie.W & Joel.P. Brereton. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- The Therigath. Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns*. Trans. Mrs.C.A.F.Rhys David & K.R.Norman.

- Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 1989.
- The *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan, 1931-1985*. Paris: UNESCO, 2006.
- Taranath, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, trans, by F.A. Von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.
- Tripathy, R.S. *History of Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited. Delhi, 1942.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Varadpande, M.L. *Women in the Indian Sculptures*. New Delhi, India: Abhinav Publications, 2006.
- Verma, Chapla. "The Wildering Gloom: Women's Place in Buddhist History." In *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern India*, ed. Mandakranta Bose, 69-86. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2000.
- Vyas, Shantikumar Nanooram. *India in the Ra Māyāna Age*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1967.
- Walshe, Maurice. *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Digha Nikaya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1987.
- Wheeler, M. *5000 Years of Pakistan: An Archaeological Outline*. London: 1950.
- Whitehead. R.B. *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Libraray*. Chicago: Argonaut Inc. Publishers, 1914.
- Wilson, W.H. *Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan*. London: Court of Directors of the East India Company, 1914.
- Yamamoto, Chikyo. *Introduction to the Buddhist Art*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1990.
- Zabel, Gary. ed., *Art and Society: Lectures and Essays by William Morris*. George's Hill, Boston, 1993.
- Zwalf, Wladimir. *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.

JOURNALS

- Azeem, Abdul. "A Unique Discovery from Aziz Dheri (Shinkiari-Hazara)- Comparative Study of the sculpture." *Museum Journal III & IV* (National Museum of Pakistan, January-December 2002): 66-77
- Barzun, Jacques. "Art and Educational Inflation." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 12, no. 4 (October 1978): 9-20.
- Bernard, Paul. "Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum. IV: Les monnaies hors trésors, questions d'histoire gréco-

- bactrienne." (1985).
- Bailey, H.W. (1980) 'Akharosthi Inscription of Senavarma, King of Odi' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London: 1980.
- Bivar, A. D. "Hârîti and the chronology of the Kuṣāṇas." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33 (1970): 10-21.
- Boardman, John. "The Tillya Tepe Gold: A Closer Look." *Ancient West & East* 2, no. 2 (2003): 348-374.
- Bopearachchi, Osmund. *La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie centrale et dans l'Inde du nord-ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)*. Edizioni AIT, 1999.
- Brett, Agnes Baldwin. "ATHENA ΑΛΚΙΑ ΗΜΟΣ OF PELLA." *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 4 (1950): 55-72.
- Carter, Martha L. "Dionysiac Aspects of Kushan Art." *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968): 121-146.
- _____. "The bacchantes of Mathura: New evidence of Dionysiac Yaksha imagery from Kushana Mathura." *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 69, no. 8 (1982): 247-257.
- Clarysse, W., and D. J. Thompson, "The Greek Texts on Skin from Hellenistic Bactria." *Zeitschrift Fur Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* (2007): 273-279.
- Crooke, William. *The popular religion and folk-lore of northern India*. Vol. 2. A. Constable & Company, 1896. 1-127
- Dani, Ahmed Hasan. "Contribution of Gandhāra towards Civilization." *Journal of Asian Civilization*, no. II (December, 1998): 151-155.
- _____. "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation, 1963 & 1964 Season (In search of the second city of Pushkalavati)." *Ancient Pakistan* no. II (1965-66): 17-135.
- Datta, Kumar. Bimal. "A Metal Image of Harithi." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, (Tagore Stella Kramrisch, 1942):
- Dupree, Nancy. Hatch. "Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan in Crises." *Journal of Asian Civilization* xxxi, no. II (December, 1998): 33-51.
- Falk, Harry. "The Kaniska Era in Gupta Records." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 10 (2004): 167-176.

- Foley, Caroline A. "The Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation as Illustrated by Dhammapāla's Commentary on the Therī-gāthā." *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, ed. E. Delmar Morgan, 1: 1893. 344-361.
- Foucher, A. "Les bas-reliefs du st pa de Sikri Gandhāra." *Journal Asiatique* sér. 10, II (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903): 185-330.
- Fredricksmeier, Ernst A. "Alexander the Great and the Macedonian kausia." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 116 (1986): 215-227.
- Grandjean, Catherine. "Osmund Bopearachchi, Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques— Catalogue raisonné." *Revue numismatique* 6, no. 36 (1994): 338-339.
- Hecker, Hellmuth. "Buddhist Women at the Time of the Buddha." Buddhist Publication Society, 1982: 72.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate sphere, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 9-39.
- Khan, Muhammad Ashraf, and Mahmood ul Hasan. "Buddhism and influence on the cultural heritage of Pakistan with special Emphasis on Gandhāra." *Journal of Asian Civilization* xxvi, no.1 (July, 2003): 55-59.
- Khan, Muhammad. Ishtiaq. "Buddhism in Gandhāra Thoughts." *Journal of Asian Civilization* xxxi, no. II (December, 1998): 53-64.
- Khan, Nazar Shah. "Preliminary Report of Excavation at Marjani, Kabul, Swat." *Ancient Pakistan* xi (1995): 7-71.
- Khan, Nasim. "Playing with Ring- Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā : A Panel Relief from Aziz Dheri." *Ancient Pakistan* xxi (2010):
- Kingsley, Bonnie. "Alexander's" Kausia" and Macedonian Tradition." *Classical Antiquity* 10, no. 1 (1991): 59-76
- Konishi, Masatoshi. "A Rise of Gandhāra Culture in Pakistan." *Journal of Asian Civilization* xxi, no. II (December, 1998): 65-70.
- Marshall, John. *Greek and Sakas in India*, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland*: 1947. 3f.
- Mughal, M. Arshad. "Gandhāra art the Pride of Pakistan." *Journal of Asian Civilizations* xxx, no. 1 (December, 2007): 17-21.
- Narian, A. K. "Alaalexander and India". *Greece & Rome* 12, No. 2, Alexander the Great (Oct.,

1965): 155-165.

Quagliotti, Anna Maria. "Deities Integrated into Buddhism," *The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan Art of Gandhāra*. Edited by Martha McGill and Adriana Proser. New York: Asia Society Museum, 2011, 43-52.

Rahman, Addul. "Shnaisha Gumbat: First Preliminary Excavation Report." *Ancient Pakistan* VIII (1993): 7-103.

Rahman, Ghani-ur. "The Battle of Enlightenment: Buddha's success against the Temptations and Assaults by Mara in Gandhāra Sculpture." *Journal of Asian Civilizations* xxx, no. 2 (July, 2007): 51-70.

Rahman, Saif-ur. "A Fresh Study of Four Unique Temples at Takshasila." *Jo ūrṇā l of Central Asia* III, no. I (July, 1980): 91-138.

Rahman, Saif-ur. "Gandhāra Art in Perspective." *Journal of Asian Civilization* XXI, no. 11 (December, 1998): 71-118.

Schwartz, Benjamin. "The Phaistos Disc." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. no. 2 (1959): 105-112.

Rehman, Saeed-ur. "New addition to Sculptures in the Possession of the Department of Archaeology." *Northern Circle* no. II (December, 1998):

Scott, Joan W. "The Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (Dec., 1986): 1053-1075.

Simpson, William., and Phene Spiers, "The Classical Influence on the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan." *Journal of Royal Institute of British Architecture* 1 (1894):

Stein, Aural. "Alexander's Campaign on the India North-West Frontier: Notes from Exploration between Upper Swat and the Indus." *Geographical General* lxx, no. 5 (November, 1927): 417-440.

Sultana, Aneela. "Gendered Excavations: Understanding Women's Beauty in Space and Time." *Journal of Asian Civilizations* xxxii, no. 1 (July, 2009): 55-65.

Tanveer, Tahira, and Muhammad Ashraf Khan. "The Performance of the Pancavarsika Evidences from Buddhist Art of Gandhāra." *Journal of Asian Civilization* xxvii. no.2 (December 2004): 128-139.

MULTIPLE SOURCES

Fischer K.: Why has a Gandhāran sculptor depicted the Nagaradevatā semi-nude in the

- Abhiniskramana scene? In: Investigating Indian Art. Proceedings of a symposium on the development of early Buddhist and Hindu iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in may 1986. 61-65 (Veröff. d. Museums f. Indische Kunst Berlin, 1987).
- Gupta, S.P. "Sanghol the Meeting Place of Works of Arts of Gandhāra and Mathura." *Investigating Indian Art*. Proceedings of a symposium on the development of early Buddhist and Hindu iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in may 1986. 89-104 (=Veröff. d. Museums f. Indische Kunst Berlin, 8 (Berlin, 1987).
- Haesner, C. "Some Common Stylistic and iconographic Features in the Buddhist Art of India and Central Asia." *Investigating Indian Art. Proceedings of a Symposium on the Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin, 1986, Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst 8*. 105-120 (Berlin, 1987).
- Hahn, Michael. "Obstacles to Enlightenment Male Perspective on Women in the Poetic Literature of the Buddhist". In *Aspects of the Female in Indian Culture. Proceedings of the Symposium in Marburg, Germany, July 7-8, 2000*. 41-49. Ulrike Roesler and Jayandra Soni (ed), Marburg: 2004.
- Kirde, Signe. "On the Courtesan in Buddhist Literature with selected Examples from Ksemendra's Bodhisattavavadanakalpalata". In *Aspects of the Female in Indian Culture. Proceedings of the Symposium in Marburg, Germany, July 7-8, 2000*. 41-49. Ulrike Roesler and Jayandra Soni (ed), Marburg: 2004.
- Gandhāra. 2016. *Asia Society* available at: <http://sites.asiasociety.org/Gandhāra/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Map-3.jpg>. Accessed: [1st December 2015].
- Rowan, Jennifer Gilmanton. "*Danger and Devotion: Hariti, Mother of Demons in the Stories and Stones of Gandhāra, A Historiography and Catalogue of Images*." PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2002.
- The Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Southwater Publisher, 2000.

Glossary:

Abhidharma/ Abhidhamma	Abhidharma (Sanskrit) Abhidhamma (Pali) are ancient (3 rd Century BCE and later) Buddhist text which contain detailed scholastic reworking of doctrinal material appealing in the Buddhist sutras according to the schematic classification
Agnasuuta	This Sutta describes a discourse imparted by the Buddha to two Brahmins, Bharadvaja and Vesettha who left their family and caste to become monks. The two Brahmins are insulted and maligned by their own caste for their intention to become member of Sangha.
Agnihatra	Agnihatra is a Vedic Yojna performed in Hindu communities. It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda and ascribed in detail in the Yajurveda Samhita and the Shatapatha Brahmana. The Vedic form of Ritual is still performed by the Nambudiri Brahmins of Kerala and a small number of Vaidiki Brahmins in South Asia.
Aitaraya Brahman	Aitaraya Brahman is the Brahman of the Shakala Shakha of the Rigveda, an ancient Indian collection of sacred hymns. This worse, according to the tradition it is associated to Mahidasa Aitreya.
Amarpali	This name comes from two Sanskrit words Amara means mango and Pali means leaves this is usually interpreted as (a child) of the Mango grove. Amarpali was royal courtesan of Vasali in present Bihar the capital of Licchavi republic in ancient India around 500 B.C. this courtesan later transferred in to Buddhism and became Arahant.
Anguttara Nikaya	It is a Buddhist scripture, the fourth of the five nikayas, or collection in the Sutta Pitaka which is of the 'three baskets', that comprise the Pali Tipitaka of Theravada Buddhism. This

	Nikaya consists of several thousand discourses ascribed to the Buddha and his chief disciples arranged in eleven nipatas or books according to the number of dharma items referenced in them.
Anuloma marriage	An Anuloma marriage in Hinduism refers to the hyper gamy form of marriage. During the Vedic age inter-class marriages used to take place in the form of Anuloma marriages. It is social practice according to which a boy of upper Varna can marry a girl from lower Varna/caste.
Apsaras	An Apsaras is a female spirit of the clouds and waters in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. They are beautiful, supernatural, youthful and elegant female belongs and superb in the art of dancing. They are often wives of Gandharvas, the court musicians of Indra.
Arhan-ship	A monk who has achieved enlightenment and at death passes to nirvana
Arrian	He was Greek historian, public servant, military commander and philosopher of the 2 nd century Roman period. He was the author of a work describing the campaigns of Alexander the Great titled 'Anabasis'
Arsa-vivah	In this marriage an unmarried girl was given in exchange for a couple of cow. This type of Vivah was prevalent in later Vedic age.
Aryans	The term Aryan originated from the Sanskrit word arya. The Aryan race was racial grouping commonly used in the period of the late 19 th Century to the mid-20 th Century to describe people of European and western Asian heritage.
Asuras	In Hinduism a group of power seeking deities related to the more benevolent devas (also known as suras). They are sometimes considered nature spirit. They battle constantly

	with devas.
Asura-vivah	In this type of vivah the groom is not at all suitable for the bride but willingly he gives as much wealth as he can afford to the bride's parents and relatives. In this type of marriage generally is of lower social rank or caste than the bride.
Atharvaveda	An ancient Rishi and Veda meaning Knowledge. The scared text of Hinduism and one of the four Vedas. According to the tradition it is composed by two groups rishis known as the Atharvanas and the Angirasa.
Ayodhya	It is also known as Saket. It was An ancient city of India believed to be a birth place of Rama and setting of the epic Ra Māyāna. Ayodhya used to be the capital of the ancient Kosala kingdom.
Bhagavad-Gita	Songs of God, often referred to as simply Gita, It is a set in a narrative frame work of a dialogue between Pandava prince Arjuna and his guide and charioteer Krishna. Facing the duty as a warrior to fight Dharma righteous war between Pandavas and Kauravas.
Bhartha	This word was used for husband that meaning supporter, nourished or pati
Bhiksuni-Samgha	Monastic community of ordained Buddhist monks or nuns. According to Buddhist scriptures the order of Bhiksuni was first created by the Buddha at the specific request of his foster mother Mahaparajapati
Brahamanical	The holy or sacred power that is the source or sustainer of the universe
Brahamans	In Hinduism Brahman is the unchanging reality a mind set and beyond the world which cannot be exactly defined. Brahman is an individual belonging to the Hindu religion. Priests, artists, teachers and technician class and also an individual belonging to the Brahman caste

Brahmavadini	Land gifted to Brahmans during the chola period
Caitya	In Buddhism, a sacred place or meeting place or meditation grove for mendicant enunciates and a pilgrimage center for the laity
Cakar/ Cagr marriage	In Zoroastrian law a childless widow has to remarry first of all in order to beget an heir for her husband
Chattra	This is symbolized by the umbrella, whose important function is to cast a shadow of protection from sun. It is a traditional Indian symbol of both protector and royalty
Confucianism	Confucianism is also known as Ruism. It is an Eastern religion/philosophy. Confucianism originates as the system of ethic, education statesmanship taught by confusions and his disciples
Dampati	wife was regarded as co-owner of the family property along with her husband
Dayita	Dayita is the best girl you can find out there. She is nice, kind, honest, talented and lovable girl. Dayita is basically an angel, she is cute, beautiful and has a kind heart. She is wanted by many boys but only one will get her.
Devaputras	Sons of gods or devas
Devises	Devises, servant of deva (god) or Devi (goddess) is a girl dedicated to worship and services for a deity or temple for the rest of her life.
Dhaniya sutta	Conversation between the herdsman Dhany and the Buddha
Dharamasastra	A Brahmanical collection of rules of life often in the form of a material law book
Dharamasastra	Dharamasastra is a genre of Sanskrit text and refers to the Sastra or Indic branch of learning, pertains to Hindu dharma,

	religion and legal duty. It is primarily a product of the Brahamnical tradition in India and represents the elaborate scholastic system of an expert tradition.
Dhayana-mudra	Dhayana-mudra is hand gesture that promotes the energy of meditation, deep contemplation and unity with higher energy
Draupadi	Draupadi is described as the Tritagonist in the Hindu epic Mahabharata. According to the epic she is the ‘fire born’ dynasty of Drupada king of Panchala and also became the common wife of the five Pandavas. She was the most beautiful woman of her time.
Endogamy	Endogamy is a practice of marrying with a specific ethnic group, class or social group.
Epics	An Epic is a lengthy narrative poem ordinarily concerning a serious subject. It is a poetic composition in which a series of great achievements is narrated in elevated style
Exogamy	Exogamy is a social arrangement where marriage is allowed only outside of a social group, tribe, clan or family. The social groups define the scope and extent of Exogamy and the rules and enforcement mechanisms that ensure its continuity.
Gandhāravas	Gandhāravas is name used for distinct heavenly beings in Hinduism and Buddhism. It is also a term for skilled singers in Indian classical music.
Ganikas	Prostitute take money for sex
Gotama	Gotama means ‘descendants of Gotama. He is also known as Siddhārtha Gautama. He was sage on whose teaching Buddhism was founded. He is believed and taught mostly in Eastern India between the 6 th and 4 th Centuries B.C.E.
Goto-house	lady of the house
Grhya-sutra	Domestic rules treating the rites of passage such as marriage,

	birth and name giving etc.
Grihapati	protector not director
Halo	Halo is also known as nimbus, aureole. A halo is a symbol of holiness represented by a circle or are of light around the head of saint or holy person
Harem	Harem is a forbidden place. The part of an oriental house reserved strictly for wives, concubines etc.
Hermits	A person who lives in speculation from society
Hinduism	Hinduism is a religion of majority of people in India and Nepal. It also exists among significant population outside of the sub-continent. Unlike most other religions Hinduism has no single founder, no single scripture and no commonly agreed set of teachings.
Homa	It is Sanskrit word which refers to any ritual in which making offerings into a consecrated fire is the primary action. It practiced by 'Rishis' in ancient times refers to close the Vedicerca.
Hymn	Hymen is a type of song, specifically written for the purpose of praise, adoration or prayer and typically addressed to a deity or deities or to prominent figure or personification.
Indo-Aryan race	The Aryan race was a racial grouping commonly used in the period of the late 19 th century to the mid-20 th century to describe people of European and Western Asian heritage.
Ithijhakha-mahamattas	A group of officers appointed by King Asoka for the welfare of women
Jataka stories	The Jatakas refer to the Previous birth stories of Buddha in both human and animal form.
Kali age	Dark age, it is last of the four stages the world through as part of the cycle of yugas described in the Sanskrit scriptures with in the present Mahayauga.

Kan kana	Wristlet
Kanya-dhan	Kanya-dhan is the most highly valued Hindu wedding ritual. There are different interpretations regarding Kanya-dan across South-Asia. The ritual makes the bridegroom to think that his wife is the most precious gift given by the god Vishnu and the bride to think that her husband is a form of Vishnu
Karmas	Karma is the law of moral causation. The theory of Karma is a fundamental doctrine in Buddhism. This belief was prevalent in India before the advent of Buddha.
Karna kundala	Ear ornament
Kati sutra	Girdle
Keyura	Armlet
King Janka	The janaka dynasty ruled the Videha kingdom from their capital Mithila, identified with modern Janakpur in Nepal. A certain king janka, who probably reigned during the 7 th century BCE, is mentioned in the late Vedic literature as a great philosopher king. King Janka is also mentioned in the Ra Māyāna epic.
King Pasenadi	(Sanskrit Prasenajit 6 th century BCE) was a Aiksvaka dynasty (A dynasty founded by king Ikshvaku) ruler of Kosala. He succeeded his father Sanjaya Mahakosala. He was a prominent upasaka (lay follower) of Gautama Buddha, who built many Buddhist monasteries.
King Santanu	In the epic Mahabharata, Santanu was a kuru king of Hastinapura. He was the descendant of the Bharata race of the lunar dynasty and great grandfather of the Pandavas and kauravas. He was the youngest son of king Pratipa of Hastinapura and had been born in the latter old age.
Kinsmen	Aman sharing the same racial, cultural or material background

	as another
Kishimajin	Harithi, the Buddhist goddess for the protection of children, easy delivery, happy child rearing and parenting harmony between husband and wife, love being and the safety of the family.
Kshatriya	The Sanskrit term Kshatriya is used in the context of Vedic society wherein members organized in to four classes, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra.
Kundala	The name of Harithi in sub Himalayan region
Kuvera	The consort of Harithi. He is lord of wealth and the god-king of the semi-divine Yakshas. In Hindu mythology he is regarded as the regent of the north and protector of the world.
Lalata Chandra	Forehead ornament
Lalitavistara	Lalitavistara is the Buddhist Sutra of the Mahayana tradition that tells the story of Buddha from the time of his descent from the Tusīta heaven until the first sermon in the Deer park near Banaras.
Layman	A layman is defined as either a non-ordained member of a Church or a person who is not qualified in a given profession and does not have a specific knowledge of a certain subject.
Laywoman	A woman who is not member of the clergy
Mahabharata	Mahabharata is one of the most important ancient epic of India. It narrates the Kurukshetra war and the fates of the Kaurava and Pandava princes. It contains Philosophical and devotional material such as discussion of the four “goals of life”.
Mahāvastu	Mahāvastu describes the ‘Great event’ or ‘Great story’ or ‘Great Subject’ of the vinaya. It is a text of the Lokottaravada school of early Buddhism. It describes historical preface of the Buddhist monastic code. Over half of the text is composed of

	Jataka and Avadana tales, account of the earlier life of the Buddha and other Bodhisattvas.
Mahayana Buddhism	One of the three existing branch of Buddhism. It is also known as great vehicle. This form is prominent in North-Asia, China, Magnolia, Tibet, Korea and Japan.
Mara	In Buddhism, Mara is a demon that tempted Gautama Buddha by trying to seduce him with the Vision of beautiful woman who in various legends are often said to be Mara's daughter. He is a tempter, distracting humans form practicing the spiritual life by making mundane things alluring or negative seem positive.
Māyā	Māyā literally means Illusion or magic. It is short form of 'Ma'ayan' meaning spring or book in old Persian the name means generous In Buddhism Māyā was name of Buddha's mother. Māyā is also the name of a manifestation of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, prosperity and love.
Megasthenes	He was Greek ethnographer and explorer in the Hellenistic period author of the work Indika. He was born in Asia Minor and became and became an ambassador of seleucus of the Seleucid dynasty possibly to Chandragupta Maurya in Patliputra, India.
Mithuna	It is a Sanskrit term used in tantra most often Translated as sexual union in a ritual context. It is the most important of five makasa and constitutes the main part of the grand ritual and tantra variously known as Panchamakara, , panchatattvaand tattva chaksa.
Monks	Member of the monastic order
Monument	Monument is a type of structure that was explicitly created to commemorate a person or important event or which has become important to social group as a part of their

	remembrance of historical times.
Niyoga	Niyoga is an ancient Hindu tradition, in which woman whose husband is either incapable of fatherhood or has died without having child would request or appointed a person for helping her to bear a child.
Nuns	Nun is a member of a religious community of women, typically one living under vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. She may have decided to dedicate her life to serving all other living beings.
Nupura	Anklets
Pandita	A broad term for Scholar or teacher in the ancient and contemporary Indian context, particularly one skilled in the Sanskrit language
Pani grahana	Ritual symbolizes the bride surrendering her heart in the hands of the groom during the occasion of the marriage
Pati	Pati meaning is ‘chief’, ‘master’ or ‘lord’ of the house
Patni / grihapatni/ indrani	showed woman authority as share of her husband
Patra kundala	Ear ornament
Patrimony	Property inherited from one’s father or male ancestor
Pauravas	Puravas was an ancient country in northwest subcontinent dating from at least 890 BCE. Its first capital was Hastinapura in the 8 th century BCE the state fell in to a steady decline during 5 th and 4 th centuries BCE.
Pitambara	lower garment
Pitryavati putrikadharmini	The brother less maiden normally women did not inherit their father’s property

Polyandry	Polyandry is a form of polygamy where by a woman takes two or more husbands at the same time. Polyandry is contrasted with Polygamy involving one male and two or more females.
Pramadvara	A lovely story of undying love told in the Pauloma Parva of the Mahabharata. Pramadvara, abandoned by her real parents found great love in her husband and foster father. Another thing that is nice to note is that Sthulakesa a Brahman rishi raised the Kshatriya-apsara girl; Pramadvara married to a Brahman, another antar-satheeya vivah (inter caste marriage).
Pratyeka Buddha	A Buddha on their own or private Buddha. He who achieves Buddhahood for himself instead of feeling the call of almighty love to return and help those who have gone less for goes ahead into the supernal light, pass onwards and enters the unspeakable bliss of nirvana.
Punarbhū	A woman who is married again
Pūrṇās	Puranas are ancient Hindu texts, story of ancient times, particularly ancient Indian history, tradition and Hindu belief
Putrika	A daughter appointed to raise male issue to be adopted by a father who has no son.
Raja Kuntibhoja	In Hindu mythology, kuntibhoja was the adoptive father and cusion of queen kunti. He was ruler of the Kunti kingdom. Kunti was daughter of king Shurasena but was later given to Kuntibhoja since he was devoid of children. Kuntibhoja raised her as his own daughter and love her. She was very beautiful and intelligent and later married Pandu.
Rama	He is the seventh avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu
Ramāyāna	The Ra Māyāna is a Sanskrit epic poem ascribed to the Hindu sage, Sanskrit poet Valmiki. It is regarded as one of the two great works of Indian literature, along with the Mahabharata. The Ra Māyāna also plays an important role in Hindu

	literature.
Rig-Veda	The Rigveda is an ancient Indian sacred collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymens. It is counted among the four canonical sacred texts of Hindus known as Vedas. It is one of the oldest extant texts in any Indo- European language. Philological and linguistic evidence indicate that the Rigveda was composed in the north-western region of the Indian sub-continent most likely between c. 1500-1200 B.C.E.
Rishis	In the Vedas the term Rishi (Sanskrit rsi, Devanagari: denotes an inspired poet of rig Vedic hymns, who alone or with others invokes the deities with poetry. Post Vedic tradition regards the Rishis as “sages” or “saints”.
Rudrayamala	An ancient scripture as told by Siva himself to Sakti. This worship can be done only mentally
Sages	Wise person
Saints	Saint is a person who is recognized as having an exceptional degree of holiness or likeness to God.
Śākyamuni	It is Hindi word formed by combining two words Sakya and Muni Gotama Buddha was Sakya and Muni in Hindi means saint so that is why he called Śākyamuni or simply the Buddha, on whose teachings Buddhism was founded.
Sankhayana grihya sutra	A ritual performed by or on behalf of the maiden on the eve of her marriage.
Sanskrit literature	It is body of writings produced by the Aryans people who entered the Indian Sub-continent from the north-west probably during the 2 nd millennium B.C.
Sapta padi	Sapta Padi means Seven steps, after trying the Manglasutra, the newly wedded couple take seven steps around the holy fire.
Shruti	It is the body of the sacred text comprising the central canon of Hinduism and is one of the three main sources of dharma

Shukracharya	Sukra, the Sanskrit for 'clear, pure, or Brightness, is the name of the son of Bhrigu, and preceptor of the Daityas and the guru of the Asuras, identified with the planet Venus, one of the Navagrahas. He presided over Shukravar. He was a Bhargava rishi of the Atharvan branch and a descendant of sage Kavi. The feminine natured Shukra is a Brahminical planet. He was born on Friday in the year Parthiva on Sraavana Suddha Ashtami when Svati Nakshatra is on the ascent.
Siddhārtha	Siddhārtha is made up of two words. In the Sanskrit language, Siddha (achieved) Artha (what was searched for) which together means "he who found meaning (of existence) or "he who has attained his goals".
Sirobhusana	Coiffure
Sirobhushana	Turban
Sita	Sita is a central female character of the Hindu epic Ra Māyāna. She is the consort of the Hindu god Rama (avatar of Vishnu) and is an avatar of Lakshmi, goddess of wealth and wife of Vishnu. She is esteemed of spousal and feminine virtues of all hindu women.
Sita	From the furrow. She is the central female character of the Hindu epic Ra Māyāna
Smrities	It is based on the memories of the sages. Smritie is considered is one of the ancient sources of Hindu law, as distinct from the Vedas, which are considered as to be Shruti or the product of the divine revelation.
Sruta Sutra	Sruta sutra is a number of Hindu rituals manuals used by priests engaged in the performance of the grander Vedic sacrifices. It contains the conservative ritualistic tradition of the historic Vedic religion in Hinduism, based on the body of Sruti literature. They are still practiced in India today, although

	constituting a small minority in Hinduism.
Stri-dhana / kanya-dhana	The dowry given at the time of marriage in shapes of gifts and Presents
Suddodhana	Suddodhana means 'pure rice', traditionally Suddodhana is said to have been a great king. Suddodhana was father of Gautama Buddha. He was leader of the Sakyan clan who lived in Kapilvastu and was a righteous chief.
Sujata	Sujata is a Sanskrit word, Su means good and Jata means birth or origin. It means from a good caste or from a good family origin.
Sulaka	The selling of the daughter or bride price in altercation of marriage given by the bride groom to the bride or her family
Sutra period	Sutra period is related to the last Vedic literary period from about 200 A.D. to 1700 A.D.
Svayaymuaraor	The tradition of self-choice
Tambura	It is long necked plucked string instrument found in various forms in Indian music
Tantric scripture	Tantric sacred solemn
Theraghta	Theraghta often translated as verses of the elder monks. It is a Buddhist scripture, a collection of short poems supposedly recited early by early members of the Buddhist sangha. The title is also given to someone who has been a monk for more than ten years word Gatha means monk
Therigatha	Theigatha often translated as verses of elder nuns. It is title given to someone who has been a nun. Theri is the title for nun, and it is a verse both of the work contain poems composed by the Buddhist disciples
Trident	A long three pronged fork or weapon
Upanishads	Upanishads are a collection of Vedic text in a language which

	contains the earliest emergence of some of the central religious concepts of Hinduism. Some of which are shared with Buddhism and Jainism. The Upanishads are considered by Hindus to contain truth, concerning the nature of ultimate reality and describing the characters and form of human salvation.
Upasika	lay disciple
ūrṇā	Third eye. In Buddhist art and culture the ūrṇā is a spiral or circular dot placed on the forehead of Buddhist images as an auspicious mark.
Utpalvarna	Blue lotus
Uttarakhanda	Uttarakhand is a state in the northern part of India. It is often referred to as the Devbhumi (literary 'land of the Gods') due to the many Hindu temple and pilgrimage centers found throughout the state. Uttarakhand is known for its natural beauty of Himalayas.
uttarīya	upper garment tied at waist
Vajra	It is a Sanskrit word meaning both thunderbolt and diamond. Additionally it is a weapon which is used as ritual object to symbolize both the properties of a diamond and a thunderbolt
Vajrayogini	The dakini the essence of all Buddhas
Vajrayogini	Vajrayogini is a generic female istadevata and although she is sometimes visualized as simply vajrayogini. Her practice includes methods of preventing ordinary death, intermediate state and rebirth and for transforming all mundane daily experiences into higher spiritual paths.
Vaksha hara	Necklace
Vedas	Vedas are a large body of texts originating in ancient India and composed in Vedic Sanskrit. The texts constitute the oldest

	layer of Sanskrit literature and the oldest scriptures of Hinduism. Hindus consider the Vedas to be apauruseya which means 'not of a man' super human and impersonal, authorless.
Vedic epoch	The period when oldest scriptures of Hinduism were composed during ca. 1750-50 BCE.
Veni bandha	Braid
Vihara	Vihara is the Sanskrit and Pali term of a Buddhist monastery. It originally meant a 'secluded place in which to walk' and referred to 'dwelling' or 'refuge' used by wandering monks during rainy season.
Vina	Vina is a plucked stringed used mainly in Carnatic classical music. It has a long flattered finger Board with responding gourds each other
Vinaya	Pali or Sanskrit literary meaning 'leading out', 'education', 'discipline' It is a regulatory frame work of the Sangha or Monastic community of Buddhism based on the canonical texts called the Vinaya Pitaka.
Yajnavalkya Smrti	The yajnavalkya smriti is a Hindu text of the Dharamasastra tradition. It has been called the 'best composed' and 'most homogeneous' specimen of this genre.
Yakshas	Yakshas is the name of a broad class of natural-spirits, usually benevolent, who are caretakers of the natural treasures hidden in the earth and tree roots. The feminine form of the word is Yakshi
Yaśodharā	Yaśodharā means, renowned or one who has achieved fame. She was wife of Siddhārtha Gautama, the founder of Buddhism. She later entered the order of Buddhist nuns and is considered an Araht.
Yogi	Yogi is a Practitioner of yoga. The term Yogi is also used to refer specifically to Siddhas and broadly refer to ascetic

	practitioners of mediation in number of Indian religions including Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism
Zoroastrians	Zoroastrians is the ancient pre-Islamic religion of Persia (modern day Iran). It survives there in isolated areas but more prosperously in India, where the descendants of Zoroastrian Persian immigrants are known as Paresis or Parsees.