PRATAPADITYA PAL is an internationally known scholar of South Asian, Southeast Asian, and Himalayan art and culture, and has been affiliated with many prominent museums and universities over the course of his career as a curator and teacher, including the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; the Art Institute of Chicago; the Getty Research Institute; and the Norton Simon Museum. He has authored over seventy books and catalogues and served as the general editor of *Marg* magazine for seventeen years. His many honors include the fourth-highest civil award (Padmashri) of the government of India (1993), a chair established in his name in Curating and Museology in Asian Art at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and most recently the Doshi Bridgebuilder Award (2015).

STEPHEN P. HUYLER is an art historian and cultural anthropologist who has surveyed Indian craftsmanship and ritual art for over forty years. He has published six books on Indian and Hindu art and curated numerous exhibitions, including projects at the Smithsonian Institution and the American Museum of Natural History. His photography has appeared in forty-one exhibitions in museums and galleries worldwide.

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Puja and Piety

Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist Art from the Indian Subcontinent

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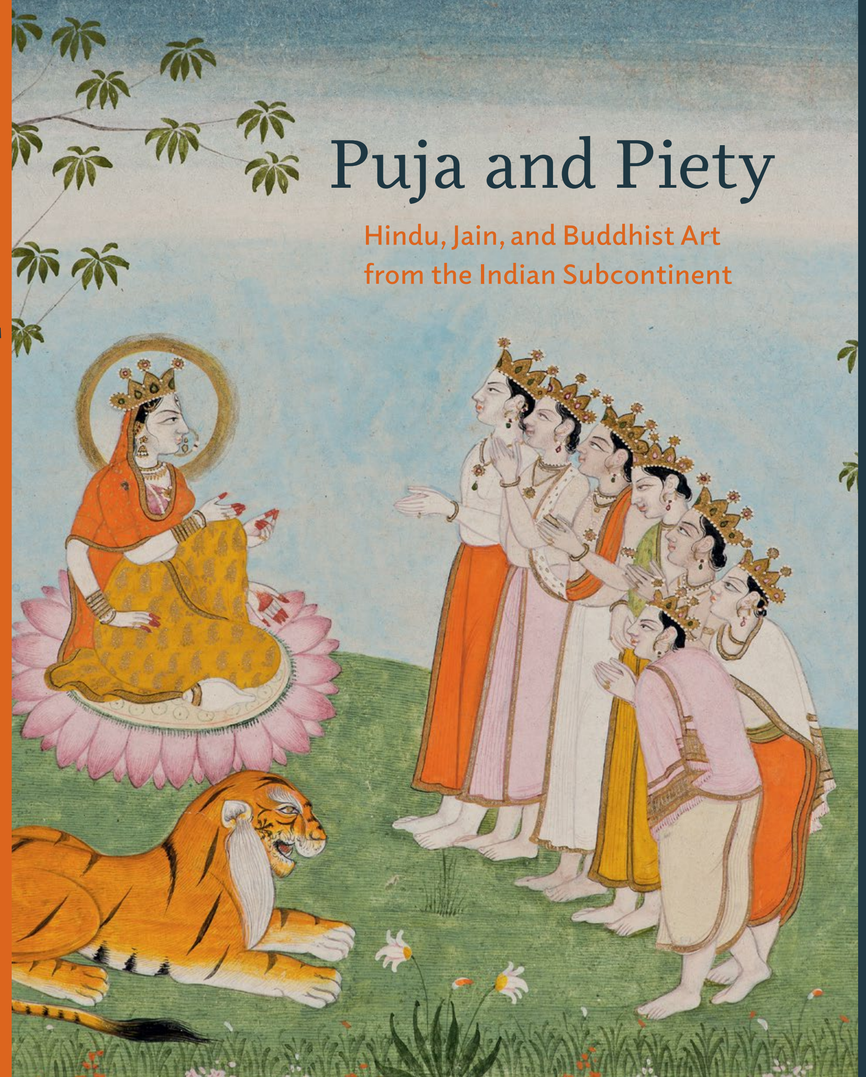

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Edited by

Pratapaditya Pal

With essays by

Pratapaditya Pal

Stephen P. Huyler

John E. Cort

Christian Luczanits

Contributions by

Debashish Banerji

Santa Barbara Museum of Art

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Back cover: (Top) Detail of *Lintel from Façade of a Shvetambara Murtipujaka Jain Household Shrine*, Gujarat, late 18th–early 19th century. Cat. 132. (Bottom) *Head of Buddha with Prominent Topknot*, Gandhara, 4th–5th century. Cat. 155.

Frontispiece: Detail of *Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) Showing Food Offering to Shrinathji at the Annakut (Mountain of Food) Festival*, Rajasthan, late 19th–early 20th century. Cat. 57.

Page 4: Detail of *Temple Sculpture with Amorous Celestial Couple (Mithuna) as Auspicious Symbol*, Uttar Pradesh, 11th century. Cat. 106.

Page 8: *Processional Image of Chandeshvara, a Shaiva Saint,* Tamil Nadu, 13th century. Cat. 114.

Pages 16–17: Detail of *Scenes of Krishna's Life (Krishnalila), Central Panel Showing Venguopala Krishna and Radha under a Kadamba Tree with Attendants*, Odisha, late 19th century. Cat. 49.

Unless otherwise noted, photography of works of art is by Brian Forrest.

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FOREWORD

As the first major exhibition of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art's 75th-anniversary year, it is fitting that this show features many important works from our permanent collection. Nearly half of the over 150 objects in *Puja and Piety* are from the SBMA's permanent collection; the rest are from twelve regional private lenders who are longtime friends and patrons of the Museum. In fact, the exhibition showcases one of the areas of the Museum's Asian art holdings that has expanded the most in recent years, thanks to some major gifts from a few individuals. Of these, the most significant donations came from Dr. Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, who throughout the years have given to the Museum over 100 paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints from India, Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar, and from Stephen P. Huyler, who in 2008 passed to the Museum his extraordinary collection of more than 200 small Indian terracotta sculptures. This generosity first gave impetus to the 2010 SBMA show *From India and Beyond: Gifts from Stephen Huyler and the Pal Family Collection* and now provides the inspiration and core works for the present, magnificent exhibition.

Pratap Pal, the most eminent scholar of Indian art in the United States, has been a valuable adviser to the SBMA since 1970 and kindly agreed to serve as guest curator and editor of the catalogue for this ambitious, wide-ranging project. Indeed, with Susan Tai, Elizabeth Atkins Curator of Asian Art at the Museum, he has organized the first show of this epic scope on the West Coast in over two decades. The exhibition elucidates and celebrates the complex relationship of art and *puja*—or devotional practice—between the three native religions of the Indian subcontinent, with objects spanning a period of two millennia. Among the works assembled are monumental painted temple hangings, portable pictures for pilgrims, temple sculptures, processional bronzes, and ancient terracotta figures for domestic worship. In both the variety of the objects and the emphasis on their function rather than style and aesthetics alone, the catalogue breaks ground in presenting the three religions through many rarely seen expressions of piety. Hopefully it will serve as a basic source for both South Asian art and spirituality for many years to come.

We are extremely grateful to Pratap Pal, Susan Tai, and scholars Debashish Banerji, John E. Cort, Stephen P. Huyler, and Christian Luczanits, who contributed to the exhibition and catalogue, for offering extensive information on and context for the diverse and fascinating objects in this groundbreaking show. In its excellence and scholarly rigor, *Puja and Piety* follows in the tradition of previous exhibitions at the SBMA that highlighted strengths in our permanent collection of Asian art, notably the award-winning 2012 show *The Artful Recluse: Painting, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century China* and, before that, *Carved Paper: The Art of the Japanese Stencil* (1998) and *Kiyochika: Artist of Meiji* (1988), all of which produced catalogues that have become standard references in their respective fields.

Finally, I would like to thank the generous donors who made this presentation and catalogue possible: Fred Eychaner; an anonymous donor; SBMA Women's Board; Victor K. Atkins, Jr.; Narendra and Rita Parson; Natalia and Michael Howe; Siri and Bob Marshall; Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal; Pat and Joe Yzurdiaga; Susan D. Bowey; John C. and Shelby C. Bowen Charitable Foundation; Pamela Melone in memory of F. Bailey Vanderhoef, Jr.; Gwendolyn and Henry Baker; Cecille and Michael Pulitzer Foundation; The Willfong-Singh Family; Dr. Albert E. and Antoinette Gump Amorteguy Asian Publications Endowment; Capital Group, Inc. Asian Lecture Fund Endowment; Lady Dasher Sojo Fund for Asian Art Exhibitions and Publications; Santa Barbara Museum of Art's Friends of Asian Art; and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Larry J. Feinberg
Robert and Mercedes Eichholz Director and CEO
Santa Barbara Museum of Art

PREFACE

Almost seven years ago, Susan Tai, Curator of Asian Art at the Santa Barbara Museum, approached me to organize an exhibition from the museum's collection of art from the Indian subcontinent, now designated as South Asia. The countries involved are currently India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh—the last two being Islamic nations. India, on the other hand, is a land of multiple religions, which includes a large number of Muslims and also Christians and Sikhs, but as the museum contains little in the way of visual culture of these belief systems, the decision was made to limit the exhibition to Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain material.

Although an important group of ancient Indian terracotta objects had recently entered the museum collection, at the time I found that it was difficult to conceptualize an exhibition with the existing material; so it was decided to expand its scope by borrowing objects from local private collectors who generously agreed and for which we are grateful. Fortunately, since then the collection has been considerably augmented with gifts and purchases over the last half dozen years. Moreover, additional loans from Rita and Narendra Parson of Orange County particularly widened the art-historical scope of the available selection. The Parson Collection is strong in Jain art, represented in the museum by a solitary but outstanding wooden façade (collected a century ago by Lockwood de Forest from an abandoned Jain shrine in India), which is nicely contextualized by another specialty of the collectors: the art of wood, rarely seen in museums or exhibitions. Thus the wood carvings included in the exhibition present a novel aspect of Indian aesthetic and religious experience.

Apart from the woodwork, another area of strength of the subcontinent's visual culture included here are the large numbers of monumental religious paintings. Most exhibitions of South Asian art include what are known commonly as "miniatures"—a misnomer if ever there was one—but I believe this is the first exhibition to include such a diverse group of monumental paintings since *The Peaceful Liberators*, an exhibition of Jain art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1994. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to state that this is the largest exhibition of art from the Indian subcontinent on the west coast since the showing of the Heeramaneck Collection, which was also organized at LACMA back in 1970 with diverse material in stone, terracotta, metal, wood, cloth, and paper.

This diversity of material, and the vast geographic and temporal (some 2,000 years) parameters, also presented a problem: how to conceptualize the exhibition! It was our conscious decision not to take a purely art-historical approach, as the selection did not warrant this, but to organize the material by the three major ancient religions that originated in the subcontinent: Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism. Whatever their textual and philosophical differences, all three religions share a common love of using images and symbols to express devotion. So, this function of the objects seemed to be the ideal way to impart cohesion to the varied expressions of visual culture assembled here. Hence the title *Puja and Piety*, which forms the essence of Indian religious art. In fact, if one removes the "image" from Indian religious praxis, then we are left only with abstract ideas that may be of interest to the philosopher and theologian but are meaningless for the ordinary devotee. The three individuals at different levels of society who collectively create a work of religious devotion—the patron, the artist, and the worshipper—are all motivated by puja and piety in pursuit of their spiritual goals, whether it is *moksha* (liberation from the chain of rebirth) or *nirvana* (literally to be extinguished and to be finally released from the karmic cycle). Both the words *nirvana* and *karma*, like *yoga*, *samsara*, *guru*, and *mantra*, are now common words in

English lexicons and mainstream Western culture, unlike in the late sixties when I began my career in America.

To provide greater gravitas to the catalogue, I invited contributions from three of the most eminent scholars in the field who are like-minded in their thinking of the intimacy that exists between religion and spirituality on the one hand and the work of art on the other: Stephen Huyler (Hindu art), John Cort (Jain art), and Christian Luczanits (Buddhist art). They have been angelic collaborators and have contributed three insightful essays that significantly enhance the scholarly value of the catalogue. They have also helped with the catalogue entries of individual objects, though I assume complete responsibility for the attributions and identifications. I must also acknowledge the contribution of our local colleague Debashish Banerji for the ancillary materials, including the annotated glossary, for the catalogue and the didactic material for the exhibition. Moreover, he and Stephen Huyler have read my introduction and offered useful comments, which I have heeded. Thanks also to Chandreyi Basu for helping with bibliographic references.

Within the museum, the burden of coordinating the catalogue and exhibition and all the nitty-gritty that they involve was borne by the indefatigable and highly efficient Sydney Hengst, without whom completing the project would have been difficult. For her invitation I thank Susan Tai, and for his encouragement of the ambitious enterprise, applause is due to Larry Feinberg, the director of the museum and an ex-curatorial colleague of mine at the Art Institute of Chicago. For his excellent photography that enhances the quality of the publication we are indebted to Brian Forrest of Los Angeles.

Outside the museum, I must thank my good friend Fred Eychaner for his generous financial support, without which such lavish illustrations would have remained a mere dream. So would have my own contributions if I did not have the assistance of Nancy Rivera in Los Angeles, who diligently and cheerfully took care of the vast digital tasks that such a major project entails. It is also my pleasure to thank Rivka Israel of Mumbai for bringing her editorial skills to the scholarly efforts of five contributors. Neither the different personalities of the contributors and the geographic distances that separate us, nor the institutional quirks of the museum, fazed her. Finally, I appreciate my wife Chitra's tranquility and forbearance in tolerating the vagaries of scholarly commitments in what proved to be a long and complex gestating process.

Pratapaditya Pal

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Seventy-five years ago, the founders of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art envisioned a museum of world art. In 1941, its inaugural year, SBMA exhibited, acquired, and was lent works of Asian art from China, Japan, Korea, Thailand, and Cambodia. Art from the Indian subcontinent, however, was conspicuously absent. In the decades that followed, the trustees of the Museum made a concerted effort to present a wide range of Asian art exhibitions and sought expertise to acquire major works of Asian art to enrich the collection. The landmark exhibition at UCLA in 1968, *Art of the Indian Subcontinent from Los Angeles Collections*, organized by J. Leroy Davidson, UCLA professor and department chair of art history, provided SBMA the opportunity to acquire two 11th-century stone sculptures that once graced a Vishnu temple in northern India. These sculptures, *Avatars of Vishnu: Buddha and Balarama*, today remain two of the finest masterpieces in the Museum's collection (cats. 31, 42). One year later, the arrival of Dr. Pratapaditya Pal to head the Indian and Southeast Asian art department at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art further inspired interest in Indian art. The Museum's trustees were quick to seek out Dr. Pal's advice, and in 1970 acquired a fine 13th-century bronze sculpture, *Dancing Krishna*, from south India (cat. 39). Thus began an ongoing relationship between Dr. Pal and the Museum.

In 2008, two large gifts from the Pal family and Stephen Huyler fundamentally transformed SBMA's South Asian collection and set this exhibition in motion. We are indebted to Dr. Pal for his unstinting advice over the years and for taking on the project under the resource restraints of a small museum. I am honored to have worked with him. I am grateful to Stephen Huyler, John Cort, Christian Luczanits, and Debashish Banerji, who contributed to the catalogue and patiently accommodated my many requests and questions. Particular thanks to Stephen Huyler, who generously made trips to the Museum this past summer to offer advice and expertise on the installation, and to Debashish Banerji, who also wrote the educational deities charts, didactic texts, and labels for the exhibition.

Special thanks go to the collectors, patrons, and friends of the Museum for their enthusiasm and constant encouragement for this project: Victor Atkins, Jr.; Julia Emerson; Natalia and Michael Howe; Pam Melone; Neil Kreitman; Cecille and Michel Pulitzer; Narendra and Rita Parson; Gloria Rubin; and Deanne Violich.

For assistance in this project, I am most grateful to SBMA's staff, especially Sydney Hengst, my curatorial assistant, who worked with me hand in hand every step of the way, navigating the myriad administrative and manuscript details while cheerfully responding to the needs of those involved. Senior registrar Sandy Davis and associate registrar Gloria Martinez heroically managed the exhibition and loans in the midst of building renovations. John Coplin, our facilities manager, and his staff accomplished the exhibition's installation brilliantly. Joe Cochand is to be commended for his handsome installation design.

For the production of this catalogue, I am grateful to Brian Forrest for his exemplary photography; Rivka Israel, our editor in Mumbai, for masterfully coordinating texts; and Amanda Freyman and Joan Sommers at Glue + Paper Design for crafting a beautiful catalogue that speaks to the arresting imagery of the objects and the spiritual intensity with which they were created. We are indebted to Karen Levine, former senior editor at UC Press, for her guidance, and to Kim Robinson, editorial director, for her support in the interim. Finally, we are grateful to Dianne Woo, our proofreader, and to Theresa Duran, our indexer, for making the book even more user-friendly.

Susan Shin-tsu Tai
Elizabeth Atkins Curator of Asian Art

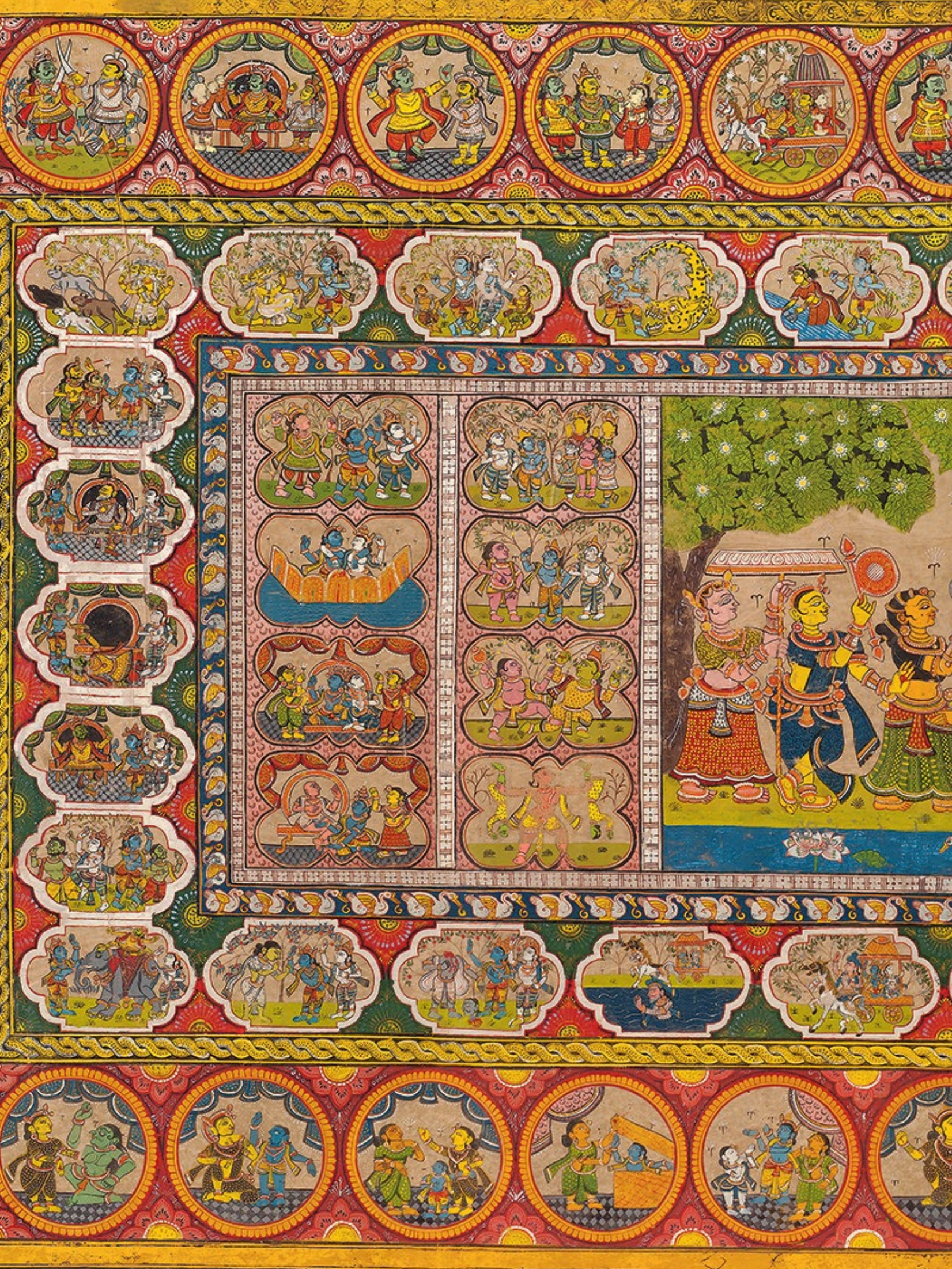
MAP OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

HISTORICAL TIMELINE

Debashish Banerji

5500–2500 BCE	Mehrgarh culture, Chalcolithic ceramic phase, northwest India (now in Baluchistan, Pakistan)
2500–1500 BCE	Indus civilization, Bronze Age, ranging from northwest India (now Pakistan) to western Gangetic region in east and Gujarat in south
1500–1000 BCE	Iron Age in north India Composition of the Vedas (foundational Hindu text) in northwest India Gangetic Valley bronzes
1000–500 BCE	Composition of Brahmanas and principal Upanishads (early Hindu texts), north India Iron Age in south India and rise of Megalithic culture
500–400 BCE	Life of Buddha (founder of Buddhism) Life of Mahavira (founder of Jainism) Establishment of Taxila as a Vedic, and later Buddhist, educational center attended by foreign pilgrims Composition of the Hindu epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*
400–100 BCE	Alexander's invasion of the Punjab and departure from India (326-323 BCE), foundation for later Bactrian-Greek kingdoms in Punjab and Afghanistan, leading to introduction of Hellenistic ideas Beginning of Tamil culture in south; Sangam literature Reign of Emperor Ashoka (302-232 BCE); Maurya Empire (322-185 BCE); Cholas, Cheras, and Pandyas in south Spread of Buddhism and early splits in Buddhism and Jainism Development of Buddhist religious literature in Pali and Jain literature in Prakrit Construction of major monuments across central India and the Deccan Widespread use of stone in imperial building projects and by the Buddhists and Jains Development of Sanskrit *kavya* literature
100 BCE–300 CE	Foreign conquests by Parthians, Scythians, and Kushanas in north India; Kushan Empire and successors (ca. 50 CE-7th century) Founding of Satavahana Empire (ca. 230 BCE-ca. 220 CE) in the Deccan Rise of Mahayana Buddhism and adoption of Sanskrit by the Buddhists Appearance of the Buddha image in Gandhara (Greco-Roman) and Mathura (Indic) Further spread of Buddhism in South Asia and beyond Spread of Jainism across north India Transition from oral to written traditions in religious literature
300–500 CE	Period of Guptas (320-540)/Vakatakas (ca. 250-500) in north India and rise of the Pallavas (600-897) in south India Age of the Sanskrit poet Kalidasa Composition of early Hindu Puranas and Tantras Development of monumental Hindu cave temples Establishment of Nalanda, a Buddhist educational center attended by foreign pilgrims Arrival of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, such as Faxian (337-ca. 422)
500–1000 CE	Continuation of visits from Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, such as Xuanzang (602-664) and Yijing (635-713) Development of stand-alone Hindu temples Rise of *bhakti* in south India due to saint-poets devoted to Shiva and Vishnu, and consequent persecution of Buddhists and Jains Formation of first Muslim kingdom in Sindh (7th century) Life of Adi Shankara (8th century), reformer of Hinduism and founder of Advaita Vedanta Beginning of decline of Buddhism

	Life of Abhinavagupta (950-1020), Shaiva philosopher, aesthetician, and polymath
	Jainism continues to flourish in Karnataka with the carving of the tallest Jain statue in Shravanabelagola (978-993)
	Rise of Yogachara and Vajrayana Buddhism in east India and spread to Asia
	Rise of the Later Cholas (848-1279) in south India
1000–1200 CE	Rise of regional cultures and incipient vernacularism
	Foundation of monumental Hindu temples in Odisha, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Khajuraho
	Islamic invasions and destruction of major Buddhist monasteries
	Jainism flourishes in west India
	Life of Ramanuja (1017-1137), Vaishnava saint of south India
	Life of Hemachandra Suri (1088-1173), Jain monk, scholar, poet, and polymath
	Life of Moinuddin Chishti (1141-1236), Islamic philosopher and mystic, founder of Chishti Order of Sufism in India
1200–1500 CE	Rise of Islam and establishment of Islamic sultanates in Delhi, Gujarat, Bengal, and the Deccan (Bahmani)
	Life of Amir Khusrow (1253-1325), Sufi poet, musician, and scholar
	Disintegration of Buddhism; rise of Sufism
	Rise of Hindu Vijayanagara kingdom (1370-1565) in south India
	Bhakti cult in east India due to Sri Chaitanya (1486-1534), consequent rise of Neo-Vaishnavism
	Life of Vallabhacharya (1479-1531), Vaishnava saint of south India and founder of Pushti Marga
1500–1700 CE	Arrival of Vasco da Gama (d. 1524) followed by other European traders and missionaries
	Conquest of Delhi by Babur (1526) and foundation of the Mughal Empire (1528-1857)
	Development of a new style of painting in the court of Akbar (1542-1605), third Mughal emperor
	Foundation of various Rajput states of Rajasthan, central India, and Punjab
	Fall of Vijayanagara to the Deccani Sultanates (1565)
	Arrival of British East India Trading Company in Surat, Gujarat (1608)
	Taj Mahal built by Shah Jahan (1592-1666), fifth Mughal emperor
	British trading settlements established in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta
	Fall of the Deccani sultanates to Aurangzeb, sixth Mughal emperor (d. 1707)
1700–1900 CE	British ascendancy through East India Company (18th century) with Calcutta as capital
	Establishment of British trading settlements along the west coast from Gujarat to Kerala
	Foundation of the Asiatic Society of India in Calcutta (1784) representing the beginning of Indological research
	Founding of archaeological departments and beginning of archaeological explorations by the British (19th century)
	Growing interest in ancient Indian epigraphy
	Foundation of universities in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras (1857)
	Rebellion of 1857 (aka Sepoy Mutiny), first widespread uprising against British authority
	British crown takes over governance (1858-1947)
	Introduction of new artistic techniques from Europe and foundation of art schools
1947–present	Republic of India



Pratapaditya Pal

INTRODUCTION

Piety, Puja, and Visual Images

Use a picture. It's worth a thousand words. —Arthur Brisbane

Prologue

The visual images assembled in this exhibition originated on the Indian subcontinent comprising three sovereign states today: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Spanning a period of over two millennia, they were created by unknown artists and craftsmen in diverse materials as expressions of religious piety. Most of the images were objects of veneration, whether at religious sites or in household shrines, and even the exceptions such as paintings on paper of the last couple of centuries have religious content in the forms of myths, no matter what their function. Broadly, the objects served three religions known today as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, belief systems that are all indigenous to India.

The primacy of images (*murti*, *pratima*) among today's Hindu worshippers has been affectingly discussed by Stephen Huyler in his essay in this catalogue with examples from the past as well as the present. A few more words about the distant past, however, will not be redundant in this introduction.

It is fashionable among anthropologists to refer to examples of art as representative of "material culture," but rather than serving material function, they were created primarily for people's spiritual needs. Art historians regard them as expressions of human aesthetic impulse, while the historians of religion generally ignore them in their discourses, concentrating mostly on words or texts. But the fact remains that the objects in this exhibition, despite their present status in museums and private collections as works of "art," were expressions of piety and meant for use in *puja*, the Sanskrit word for veneration or worship.

Indeed, the word *puja* is now part of the English lexicon and is included in most dictionaries. It has a more nuanced meaning than simple veneration or worship with offering, and implies honoring and paying homage to superiors as well as the adoration of the Gods with unflinching devotion. The first literary occurrence of the word is in the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* and the *Grihyasutra* (an aphoristic text for domestic rites and rituals), which were both no earlier than the 5th century BCE. Thus, the word does not appear in earlier Vedic texts where religious practice revolved around sacrificial ritual, and "puja" (a word whose origin is uncertain) may well have been adopted from non-Vedic religious practices involving natural as well as man-made objects symbolizing supernatural powers.

Detail of *Temple Sculpture Representing Enshrined Bodhisatva Manjushri Seated on a Lotus*, Uttar Pradesh, 11th century. Cat. 165.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the feminine principle played a major role in this prehistoric and primitive mode of puja, which ultimately during the historic period became assimilated with elements of Vedic religious praxis such as homage to the Fire God (*homa*) and other rites, and produced the grand synthesis that is today's elaborate Hindu worship. The process of assimilation was already achieved by the time of Mahavira and the Buddha in the 5th century BCE, both of whom were against the sacrificial system. The synthesis is enunciated unambiguously in the *Bhagavadgita*, embedded in the *Mahabharata*, where the devotional mode of puja is highly recommended.

Some of the images in the exhibition received worship directly from the devotee or through the medium of a priest or monk, while others were created for shrines or temples, both private and public, to serve didactic purposes as embodiments of spiritual or mythic ideals. No matter whether the representation is of an imaginary deity or of a deified mortal (as is the case with the historical figures who founded Jainism and Buddhism), in religious praxis, the *darshan* (mutual eye-contact) with the image is of greater importance for most devotees than either hearing or reading the scriptures.

Fig. 1 Clay statue of a Goddess, Pakistan, Mehrgarh, 3500-3000 BCE, 7.5 cm. Photograph courtesy Taiyo Ltd., Tokyo.

Fig. 2 Clay jar with painted sacred bull, fish, and pipal tree, Pakistan, Mehrgarh, 3500-3000 BCE, 43 x 37 cm. Photograph courtesy Taiyo Ltd., Tokyo.

Early Forms and Motifs

The primary evidence of worship on the subcontinent is provided by archaeology rather than literature. While the earliest texts known as the Vedas are generally regarded as having been composed around 1500 BCE, the archaeological evidence is much older, going back at least another two millennia.[1] From the Neolithic site of Mehrgarh in the northwest of Pakistan have emerged both terracotta figures and painted pottery that were certainly used in religious ritual. A typical specimen of a clay statue clearly served some kind of

Fig. 3 Deity enclosed by leafy branches of pipal tree forming an aureole, with diverse devotees, Pakistan, Mohenjodaro, 2500-1500 BCE, steatite. Islamabad Museum, NMP, 50.295. Photograph: J. Kenoyer. Reproduced with permission from Vajracharya 2013.

votive function and likely represented a Goddess, perhaps for domestic worship because of its diminutive size (fig. 1).

Apart from abstract geometric forms with unknown symbolic meaning, one predominant motif on the vessels from Mehrgarh is the pipal tree (fig. 2). This particular tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and its leaf have remained an important feature of the art of the subcontinent, as is well known. Depictions of this plant appear prominently in the archaeological remains of the Indus civilization, occurring frequently on seals and tablets in a context that clearly indicates its sacerdotal character. To cite one example, leafy branches enclose an image of a deity like an aureole, approached by worshippers both human and animal (fig. 3). Subsequently, the tree becomes an important symbol of wisdom beneath which the historical Buddha was enlightened; it is revered by the Jains for being associated with one of their Jinas; and it is associated with the Hindu God Shiva as the archetypal divine teacher in his form known as Dakshinamurti—shown seated under another ficus tree, the banyan (cat. 70).

The mango is another plant regarded as auspicious: its leaves are necessary in Hindu ritual worship, and it is associated with the Buddha as well. In Jainism, it appears in most representations of the Goddess Ambika, forming a canopy above her head as she holds a bunch of its fruits as one of her attributes (fig. 4).[2] Obviously functioning as a symbol of fertility, the religious significance of this delicious native fruit of the subcontinent is clear from the evidence throughout the history of Indian art and more compelling for its easy recognition even by the illiterate, besides its frequent use as a metaphor for spring, love, and auspiciousness in literature.

Of all the plants, the lotus flower is the most ubiquitous motif in the arts of the three religions. As far as the archaeological evidence goes, its occurrence is not common in the prehistoric period, but by the 2nd century BCE it is included abundantly as an ornament and a popular symbolic motif. In a terracotta relief (fig. 5, cat. 6), it is encountered as the head of the Goddess seated in the birthing posture, while in a fragmentary but earlier stone relief a stem of the flower is grasped in each hand by the Goddess Lakshmi (see cat. 22). By the Kushan period (2nd-3rd centuries CE), it begins to appear as the seat of the Buddha as well as the halo, and by the Gupta period (4th-6th centuries) as the seat of both Gods and deified teachers. The Jains, too, adopted the motif for the seats and halos of their Jinas, though later. In the beginning, the flower was regarded as a symbol of beauty, purity, and auspiciousness, but later, especially in tantric and yogic

Fig. 4 The Goddess Ambika, Karnataka, 10th century, copper alloy, 24.8 cm. From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Association Purchase, LACMA M72.1,12. Courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art. www.lacma.org

Fig. 5 Fertility Goddess with lotus flower head, Uttar Pradesh, 1st–2nd century. Cat. 6.

meditational evocations, it became a symbol of the devotee's heart.

Animal Symbolism

The material remains of the Indus civilization offer other aspects of devotional worship that continue to survive in all three religions. The bull and the elephant are two of the most familiar animals on the Indus seals. The bull (Vrisha) is a favorite motif in early terracotta art and coins, first as the theriomorphic symbol of Shiva and then as his mount or vehicle (see cats. 63-65). Vrishabha- (or Rishabha-) natha, the very name of the first Jina, means "the lord of the bull," and the animal is one of his cognizants. In the case of the Buddha, metaphorically he is characterized as a bull among men, and the Maurya emperor Ashoka (r. 265-238 BCE) used the animal as the crowning element of his freestanding pillars, now displayed in the presidential palace in New Delhi. The bull, elephant, lion, and horse serve as capitals on other cosmic pillars in stone that Ashoka raised across the subcontinent. The one at Rummindei (Lumbini, Nepal) originally had a horse capital, while the elephant is found at Sankissa in Uttar Pradesh. The lion is frequently represented on Ashokan capitals, most famously the one at Sarnath, site of the Buddha Shakyamuni's first sermon (fig. 6). This capital, now missing the wheel atop, is the emblem of today's Indian nation. Along with the bull, the elephant and lion are ubiquitous sacred symbols with the Jains as well (see cats. 136, 140, 141, 143).

A white elephant is the mount of the Vedic deity Indra, who continued to play an important role in the mythologies of the Buddhists and Jains. Indeed, in the stereotypical nativity story of the Jina or Tirthankara, Indra was responsible for transferring the embryo so that the Jina would be born to a woman of the right *varna*, or class,

Fig. 6 Ashokan lion capital, Uttar Pradesh, Sarnath, 3rd century BCE, sandstone. Sarnath Museum. Photograph courtesy P. Pal.

while in the Buddha's birth narrative his mother, Queen Maya, dreamed of a white elephant that entered her womb. In a central Indian sandstone relief (fig. 7, cat. 23), we encounter two elephants pouring water on the head of a divine female who holds a lotus. Here the pachyderm (*gaja*) is a metaphor for the rain-bearing clouds without which the earth would remain infertile.[3] The figure is identified as Gajalakshmi, Lakshmi being the Goddess of plenitude and fecundity. The festival of light (Diwali) in autumn is dedicated to her and

observed by Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains (see cat. 118) with equal zeal.

The most enduring instance of the pachyderm's popularity is the Hindu God Ganesha with an elephant's head (fig. 8, cat. 104). The son of Shiva and Parvati, Ganesha is the God of auspicious beginnings and remover of obstacles. Jains venerate him as well, while the Buddhists have a more ambivalent attitude.[4] He is invoked at the start of worship of every other Hindu deity, and all temples contain a subsidiary shrine with his image. His celebration in August/September is the most important public religious festival in the state of Maharashtra, where he has become—along with the 17th-century Maratha leader, Shivaji, who challenged Mughal hegemony—a symbol of Maratha subnationalism. Indeed, along with yoga, Ganesha may be the most familiar feature of Hinduism globally. Although there are several myths explaining his animal head, he is clearly another survival of the therianthropic concept of divinity seen also in some of the avatars of Vishnu (discussed below) and other animal-headed deities in both Buddhism and Jainism.

Fig. 8 Wooden image of Ganesha, Karnataka, 19th century. Cat. 104.

Popular Expressions of Piety

The small terracotta objects in the exhibition from various north Indian sites, depicting both male and female figures, constitute important evidence of not only the quotidian concerns of the common people but also their piety in the two centuries around the beginning of the Common Era. Take, for example, the molded plaque of a female holding a pair of fish in her right hand (fig. 9, cat. 2). On one level she can be identified as a fisherwoman, on the other she is clearly a Goddess of good fortune and abundance, as a pair of fish has remained an important symbol of plenitude, especially—but not only—for those making a living from fishing (see cat. 136 for a pair of fish on a Jain manuscript cover). Her claim to be considered a Goddess can also be determined by her hieratic frontal posture, the mat below her feet, and the corncobs projecting from her head. This and other plaques (such as cat. 5, where clearly we see the Goddess's right hand displaying

Fig. 7 The Goddess Lakshmi lustrated by elephants, Madhya Pradesh, 8th-9th century. Cat. 23.

Fig. 9 Terracotta plaque showing a Goddess of prosperity holding a pair of fish, West Bengal, ca. 100 BCE. Cat. 2.

the gesture of *varada*, or charity, and receiving an offering in a bowl from a devotee) are more telling images of popular piety than can be gleaned from any contemporary literature. It seems clear that all these unnamed figures made of clay are progenitors of various Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist deities under different guises and names.

The importance of the Goddess or the Feminine Principle in Indian religious praxis not only is evident from the earliest archaeological remains but still continues across the subcontinent in national festivals such as Dussera or Durga Puja and Diwali in autumn. She is the personification of Shakti or Energy among the Hindus, and Prajna or Vidya (Wisdom, Knowledge) among the Buddhists and the Jains. She appears in countless forms in towns and villages, as is clear from even the limited selection here, in both benevolent and awesome forms, as mother and spouse, as the scourge of the wicked, and as the savior of the devout. Indeed, the followers of the great Mother (as Shakti) are known as Shakta among Hindus, just as those who believe in the supremacy of Vishnu/Krishna are known as Vaishnava, and of Shiva as Shaiva. At the same time, all Gods are considered to be inert Purusha (Male) without their Prakriti (Nature, Female) the active agency. This idea came to flower in the final phase of the development of religion on the subcontinent characterized by the rubric Tantra, which permeated all three religions after the Gupta period.

The Gods and Goddesses of all three belief systems generally mimic human emotions and activities, as is exemplified in the terracotta panel showing the Goddess in the birthing posture (see fig. 5) and a Kushan-period fragment depicting a child playing between the feet of the Buddhist tutelary Goddess Hariti, while an infant, as if newly born, is supported by her left arm (cat. 158). In a variation on the theme, Hariti is portrayed without children but with a cornucopia in her hand, regally seated beside her consort Panchika, in a small schist relief from Gandhara (cat. 157). Here Panchika holds the spear, thereby making him a guardian/protector figure, while in another small relief from the same region (cat. 156), he is still a weapon-bearing figure but additionally holds a sack of money in his right hand and rests his feet on a pile of coins or gems. Thus, in addition to his protective role, he is a deity (indicated by the halo) of wealth.

Such figures of antiquity are collectively designated *yaksha* (male) and *yakshi* or *yakshini*

Fig. 10 Section of railing at Sanchi Stupa, 1st century BCE, showing a yakshi in the front column and a replica of the Ashokan lion capital on the column behind (right), with the surmounting Wheel of Law that is now missing in the Sarnath capital (see fig. 6). Photograph courtesy P. Pal.

(female) and were ubiquitous and pan-Indian as early as the time of Mahavira and the Buddha even as they were protesting against the sacrificial ritual popular at that time involving the slaughter of animals and the social rigidity of Vedic culture. However, it is clear that whatever their philosophical differences, neither these teachers nor the religions they inspired were antagonistic to the popular beliefs such as expressions of piety in the form of puja with lamps, flowers, and fruits, or to the rich mythologies prevalent in their times. Thus, the Vedic Gods Indra and Brahma (the Creator deity) and others played fundamentally important roles in the lives of the enlightened teachers in Buddhism and Jainism, while yakshas and yakshis—the quotidian deities differing from the Vedic celestial divinities of the distant heavens—were incorporated in their pantheons from early on (fig. 10).

Traditionally, the yakshas and yakshis are said to inhabit trees, water, rocks, and caves. Even when I was a child raised in the city, we learned which trees in the neighborhood should be avoided as habitats of spirit entities. The banyan was a favorite and is still venerated in India by renunciants as well as lay Hindu devotees as a natural shrine. In Jain art, yakshas and yakshis were adopted as attendants of the Jinas or Tirthankaras and always depicted as subsidiary figures (fig. 11, cat. 126; also see cat. 129), though some became the focus of *bhakti* (devotion) in their own right. Without them, the repertoire of Jain art would indeed remain very limited.

Renunciation and Enlightenment

If we look at the artistic evidence, the Jina (the Victorious One) and the Buddha (the Enlightened One), historical founders of the two religions known today as Jainism and Buddhism, are always represented as renunciates. The Buddha is a monk exhibiting a variety of postures and gestures, a cranial bump of wisdom being his most distinguishing feature. In early images, these gestures synoptically depict important events in the Buddha's life, but they later come also to symbolize the cosmic and transcendental nature of Buddhahood. Mahavira (the last of the twenty-four Jinas of the current cycle and founder of Jainism), too, is represented as a monk, yet with more limited artistic forms and minimal iconographic diversity.

A Jina, also known as Tirthankara (the Forder), is portrayed nude (Digambara, skyclad), which probably is the earlier mode, as is evident from the surviving images from Mathura of the first century of the Common Era. An early designation of the Jains in literature is Nirgrantha (without clothes). The nudity of the monks came

to be considered an extreme sign of asceticism along with some other unconventional practices and may have caused societal problems.[5] Some dissenters began wearing simple white cotton cloth and came to be known as Shvetambara (white clad).

In keeping with their belief in the complete state of non-being as a result of their enlightenment, the Jinas, with two exceptions (Adinatha or Rishabhanatha and Parshvanatha), are depicted with minimal physical variations, which makes their identification difficult. They are represented either in the seated posture of meditation (fig. 11, cat. 126) or standing erect like a pillar, arms hanging by the side and not touching the body (fig. 12, cat. 128). Distinctive of Jina images, this posture is known as *kayotsarga*, generally translated as "body abandonment" or "body sacrifice." This minimalism in the iconographic features of the Jina, especially of the Digambara order with their nudity, is in keeping with the extreme spirit of renunciation advocated by the religion.

While in Jainism ultimate liberation could be attained only by one who has renounced the world (*samsara*) and adopted the life of a mendicant, practicing extreme austerities, the Buddha in fact eschewed mortification, which allowed for the householder to strive for final emancipation. He was clearly a doer and declaimed that even if one recited few texts but lived in accord with the Law (*dhamma* or *dharma*), one would be liberated. Deeds, not words (*facta non verba*), was his mantra.

Even though the Buddha himself renounced the life of the householder and went in search of enlightenment, and did establish a religious order of monks, he recommended a less austere path than did Mahavira. Common to both the householder and the renunciate was the practice of yogic meditation as a means (*yana*) to salvation; a diluted form of this practice captured the imagination of Western civilization beginning in the 20th century.[6]

Fig. 11 Image of seated Jina Parshvanatha with four other Jinas, Gujarat, 14th century. Cat. 126.

Fig. 12 Image of standing Jina Suparshvanatha with four other Jinas, Karnataka, 15th century. Cat. 128.

Fig. 13 Detail of stone fragment showing worship of meditating Buddha Shakyamuni, Uttar Pradesh, 2nd century. Cat. 150.

Fig. 14 Detail of stone stele of Jina Parshvanatha seated in yogic posture, Karnataka, 13th century. Cat. 117.

God as Yogi

The earliest evidence for yoga is found not in texts but rather in art, in the material remains of the Indus, or Harappan, civilization. Much later it was this renunciate/ascetic tradition that was predominant in the philosophical literature known collectively as Upanishad, out of which—and in antagonism to Vedic sacrificial rituals—emerged Jainism and Buddhism, as well as theistic Hinduism. The geographic source of this thought process, however, belonged far to the east of the sites of the Harappan civilization: in the lower Gangetic plains and largely among the warrior class known as *kshatriya*, rather than among the higher priestly class of *brahman* (adopted in English as *Brahmin* with a capital *B* as in "Boston Brahmins").[7] Both Vardhamana Mahavira and Buddha Shakyamuni belonged to the kshatriya class, as did many of the Upanishadic teachers and thinkers themselves. Both renounced the life of a householder and took to the road in search of enlightenment, practiced austerities, and adopted yogic meditation as the means of attaining liberation (*moksha*, *kaivalya*, *nirvana*, etc.).

Accordingly the earliest figures of Buddha and the Jina are both represented without earthly trappings and as ideal yogis and monks (fig. 13, cat. 150; fig. 14, cat. 117). In keeping with the greater emphasis on renunciation in Jainism, the Jina is either scantily attired or completely naked, while the Buddha is clad in three pieces of monastic garb. Indeed, as noted above, this sartorial issue caused a fissure within the Jain community, which is why early representations of the Jinas (down to the 6th century CE) demonstrate the utter disdain, befitting the liberated Jina, for any form of materiality and sensuality.[8]

The image of the Jina in Indian art is the most spiritual, abstract, and detached in the contextuality of human form. Indeed, even in the earlier art of the pre-Buddhist and -Jain period, whether male or female, the human figure is never conceived as realistic or physically ideal as in Greek sculpture. Rather, it is depicted with a looser body and more flexible limbs and smooth

flesh in keeping with the body of a yogi, which is never muscle-bound and taut. The difference is easily perceptible by comparing a Gandhara and a Mathura Buddha image (see cats. 150 and 151).

Less stylized and more sensuous than the Jina statue, the Buddha figure is characterized by a much greater diversity of gestures and postures. In early art, the Buddha is still a historical person, and important life events are never forgotten, being subtly alluded to with hand gestures. In the many forms of the transcendental Buddhas of later Buddhism as the religion became elaborate, the traces of historicity were abandoned in favor of symbolic meaning. Iconographic variations are much greater in Buddha images than in those of Jinas, but no matter how they are distinguished from ordinary mortals with extrasensory bodily signs of a *mahapurusha* (a great person) and divinized with provision of a nimbus or halo, they are never given multiple arms and hands, which is one of the most indisputable methods of distinguishing the divine from the mortal in the Indian mythic mind.

In the Hindu pantheon, the God Shiva is the ascetic yogi par excellence, but his images, even in the limited examples in the exhibition, reflect an enormous variety of forms (cats. 66-78). The most notable iconographic feature of his renunciate character is of course his matted hair, yet he is portrayed as a handsome youth. His third eye on the forehead, the source of his cosmic rage and energy, is not always present. By and large, he is conceived as a combination of a householder, frequently with his spouse Parvati, or Uma (who, like him, assumes wrathful forms as required), and a renunciate. Even in his angry or Bhairava form (cat. 74; fig. 15, cat. 77), he does not lose his youthfulness.

The concept of yoga is also closely associated with the God Vishnu as in such iconographic forms as Yogavishnu, Yoganarasimha, and Yognarayana. In fact, as early as the *Mahabharata*,

Fig. 15 Stone image of Bhairava, Tamil Nadu, 14th-15th century. Cat. 77.

Fig. 16 Vishnu on Garuda (detail), Karnataka, early 19th century. Cat. 20.

Fig. 17 Detail of arch above Vishnu image showing Brahma, Shiva, and Dashavatara, Rajasthan, ca. 11th century. Cat. 15.

in the story of the sojourn and conversation in the Himalayan ashram called Badari between Nara (Man) and Narayana (one who inheres in Man), both are represented as yogis, as they also are in art.[9] Narayana is also the name of the supreme form of Vishnu in the Pancharatra belief system (a highly ascetic branch of Vaishnavism), and in his recumbent image in the cosmic ocean on a couch formed by the cosmic serpent Ananta (Eternity), he is said to be in *yoganidra*, or meditative sleep (cat. 21). The pervasive influence of yoga is also encountered with the Devi or Durga such as Yogamaya (*maya* meaning "illusion").

God as Ruler and Protector

Apart from the yogi, the mendicant, or the ascetic, the earthly ruler or the king, too, served as a model for the Gods of Indian mythologies from ancient times. The Vedic Indra, powerful king of the Gods, was given the elephant as his mount, the most enduring symbol of regal grandeur on the subcontinent. When the Greek conqueror Alexander confronted King Puru (Greek Porus) in the Punjab, the Indian ruler charged into battle on his elephant. Emulating most Indian kings, subsequent conquerors who settled in the country, notably the Mughals and the British, adopted the pachyderm as the most appropriate symbol of imperial pomp and circumstance.

For the Hindus, Vishnu was the model of earthly rulers, and his representation was modeled on that of a king with every royal accoutrement. In fact, one of his epithets is Upendra, or Little Indra, the king of the Gods; he is also a Sun God and hence he rides the solar bird Garuda to survey the universe (fig. 16, cat. 20) and preserve cosmic order. Appropriately, his spouse is Lakshmi, the Goddess of good fortune, wealth, and prosperity, which are all essential for a successful ruler. In eastern India, he was further provided with a second consort in Sarasvati, the Goddess of wisdom, who in the South is Bhudevi, or the personified earth—and hence *bhupal* (protector of the earth) is a synonym for king.

As the Cosmic Preserver, not only does Vishnu riding on Garuda roam the universe, but to save the world and his devotees or to restore moral order, he also periodically descends (*avatirna*) to earth as an avatar. By the Gupta period, a group of ten avatars (Dashavatara) came to be especially recognized. The exhibition includes a relief of Vishnu with all ten avatars represented together around the lotus halo (fig. 17, cat. 15). Two sandstone sculptures in the museum's collection depicting Balarama (fig. 18, cat. 31) and the

Fig. 18 Balarama as the eighth avatar of Vishnu, Madhya Pradesh, 11th century. Cat. 31.

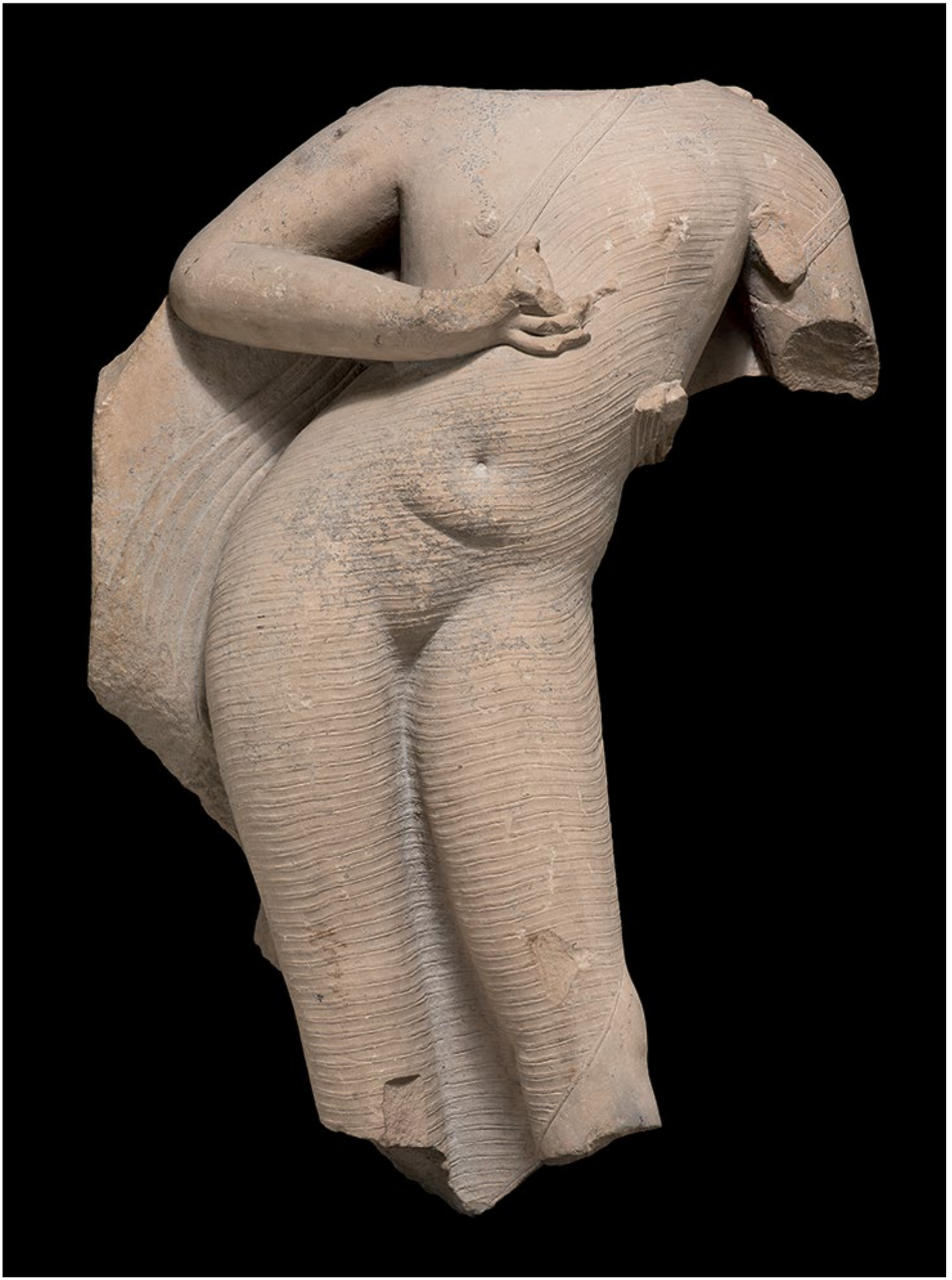


Fig. 19 Buddha as the ninth avatar of Vishnu, Madhya Pradesh, 11th century. Cat. 42.

Fig. 20 Rama and Lashmana approach a hermitage, Malwa, ca. 1680s. Cat. 35.

Buddha (fig. 19, cat. 42), the eighth and ninth avatars, respectively, are well known and rare examples of what must have been an impressive series of sculptures for a Dashavatara temple.

Buddha is the only certain historical figure among the ten, the last, Kalki, being still awaited.[10] It is an exemplar of the tolerant attitude of the Hindus that they adopted as a divine incarnation the founder of what they otherwise consistently characterize in the Puranic literature as a heretic religion. Significantly, Mahavira was not so honored, probably because of the extremism of Jain beliefs as well as the larger following of Buddhism at the time, but Rishabhanatha was accepted as a minor avatar of Vishnu. The Jains further adore Krishna, who is said to be a cousin of the twenty-second Jina Neminatha. Ironically, however, it was Buddhism that later lost its popularity in the Indian subcontinent, while Jainism still survives harmoniously with its identity intact.[11]

Among the other avatars, the exhibition includes several representations of Narasimha, the Man-Lion (see cats. 27–30), and of Rama, the hero of the epic *Ramayana* (fig. 20, cat. 35; see also cats. 36 and 37). It should be noted that most Hindus believe Rama was a historical figure and an ideal ruler; the expression *Ramrajya* (the rule of Rama) has come to mean good governance. In the Tanjore reverse glass painting, the only example of the technique introduced in India in the 18th century by immigrant Chinese artists,

we glimpse a view of the ideal court of Rama. Flanking the green Rama and the fair Sita are Lakshmana displaying humility with crossed arms and a diminutive Hanuman (also green) in the attitude of devotion with his tail hanging down between his legs (cat. 36). The influence of a modern formal photographic portrait is evident.

Even though Shiva is the archetypal ascetic God and the primal yogi, his hair is arranged in a *jatamukuta* (crown [*mukuta*] of matted hair). A tiger skin drapes his hips, and human skulls and serpents are his ornaments; yet, despite these symbols of asceticism, he is often shown bedecked in jewelry as befitting a king. The exhibition includes a variety of his representations from different periods that reflect his diverse imagery, the simplest being his symbolic form in a *linga* (literally "sign" and likely a word of non-Sanskrit origin), signifying both his generative organ and a cosmic pillar, while others are anthropomorphic and mythic figures (see cats. 61–63). Most of Shiva's forms are pacific, but in some he is presented in his angry manifestation known as Bhairava, a later variation of Rudra of Vedic literature (see fig. 15). Here he is the Cosmic Destroyer of the Puranic triad where Brahma is the Creator and Vishnu the Preserver.

No one who has witnessed religious processions or gaily dressed statutes in Catholic Latin America will be surprised to see the wide use of additional clothing for the principal deities in Hindu temples and shrines, public and domestic. Indeed, the most suitable expression of this dressage would be "regal," both for the materials used and for the adornments, sometimes so profuse that only the deity's eyes may be visible to the eager devotee. To complete the regal imagery, a tiara or crown is often added, even when the sculpted or modeled head beneath is already embellished. Generally, however, it is more common to use a piece of plain red cotton garment on the figure in Hindu temples, while a yellow piece drapes a Buddha and the Shvetambara Jains employ a length of white cloth.

Just as the Sanskrit word *bhagavan* (possessor of fortune or share) is freely used by the Hindus to characterize Gods, so, too, the Jains and Buddhists honor their liberated teachers by the same qualifier, such as Bhagavan Buddha or Bhagavan Mahavira. In a similar fashion, the expression *maharaja* or *maharaj* (great king) is a common form of honorific address for both holy men and divinities by the followers of all three faiths.

The spiritual majesty of the Buddha is emphasized in early Buddhist texts when he was declared the "King of Righteousness." While the early representations of the historical Buddha are not literally crowned, the seat is a lion-throne (*simhasana*). In later Vajrayana ritual, it became obligatory to represent the "body of bliss" (*sambhogakaya*) suitably adorned and crowned. Tantric initiatory rites for spiritual transformation are similar to royal consecration ceremonies.[12]

The Jains, in due course, adopted similar *abhisheka* or initiatory rites and embellished the abstract, stylized images of their liberated or omniscient teachers with trappings of kingship, such as the triple umbrella above, the flywhisks held by attendants, and lustrating elephants (cats. 126 and 127). Finally, the last sermon of the liberated being in the Hall of Universal Sermon, or the *samavasarana*, is conceived as a grand audience or durbar as befits a universal monarch (cat. 124).

The Eminence of Krishna

The most complex and charismatic Vaishnava, or even Hindu, deity represented in the exhibition is Krishna. He is the friend, counselor, and charioteer of Arjuna of the epic *Mahabharata*, for whom he brilliantly summarizes on the battlefield of

Fig. 21 Krishna as seen by Arjuna in his cosmic form, Rajasthan or Gujarat, 19th century. Cat. 54.

Fig. 22 An infant Krishna cradling a butter ball, Tamil Nadu, 16th century. Cat. 43.

Kurukshetra the essence of Hindu philosophy and theology in a poem called the *Bhagavadgita* that has become globally famous today. In a remarkable Rajput painting in the exhibition, we encounter Krishna's *Vishvarupa*, or Universal Form; when to convince Arjuna, he demonstrates that everything in the universe owes its origins to him (fig. 21, cat. 54). To enable Arjuna to behold this awesome cosmic form, Krishna gives him divine sight, literally *yogamishvaram*, or yogic empowerment.[13] Clearly, here Krishna resorts to a visual image when he is unable to persuade Arjuna with lengthy rhetoric.

The *Bhagavadgita* is believed to have been composed about the time the earliest objects included in this exhibition were made, and advocates several ways to salvation, one of which is the path of yoga, already discussed, and another that of bhakti or devotion, which is expressed through puja and piety. Interestingly, while presenting the brief for war involving violence, the philosopher-God exhorts Arjuna that for personal salvation, unwavering faith in him, or for that matter any other deity, is a desideratum.[14] This steadfast devotion also forms the crux of some of the avatar myths, such as that of Narasimha, when the boy devotee Prahlada is saved while the doubting Thomas of a king, Hiranyakashipu, is destroyed. A graphic work in the exhibition further demonstrates the theme of bhakti when Vishnu appears before another young devotee called Dhruva or Steadfast (cat. 17).

In the early and traditional group of ten avatars, at least until the 12th century, Krishna is excluded in favor of his foster brother, Balarama. Both, however, were humble cowherders of Vrindavan rather than the kshatriya prince of Dwarka, who counseled Arjuna in the battlefield. It is this dark cowherder lad who is the flute-playing darling of the cowherder girls, scourge of the evil ruler Kamsa of nearby Mathura (whom he finally destroys though he does not sit on the throne himself), and, ultimately, the great lover of the singular cowherder girl Radha, who became the focus of popular devotion across the subcontinent.

Krishna is also the most popular figure among the exhibits. His adventurous and mischievous feats have inspired generations of artists to sculpt or paint innumerable representations with both imagination and emotional intensity. No other Hindu deity embodies love in all its major psychological states with such perception and empathy. One can worship him as a mischievous crawling infant with a butter ball (fig. 22, cat. 43), a dancing toddler (fig. 23, cat. 44), or an adolescent hero (fig. 24, cat. 47)—a youthful flute-player enchanting the cowherder girls, which became the favorite image of the God during the last five centuries of the millennium, especially in northern India. The exhibition includes multiple depictions of this form of Krishna—an extraordinary, richly carved, large wooden panel from Odisha, which may have

Fig. 23 A dancing toddler Krishna, Tamil Nadu, 17th century. Cat. 44.

Fig. 24 A cosmic six-armed flute-playing Krishna, Odisha or Bengal, 19th century. Cat. 47.

been used as a temple door (see fig. 34, cat. 48), as well as stone and metal images intended for domestic shrines (see cats. 45-47).

Devotional Paintings

No deity has inspired and influenced the art of painting as ubiquitously as Krishna, as is clear from the number and diversity of pictures of this God in the exhibition. Also included are a few devotional pictures created in the 19th century around the famous Kali temple in Kolkata in a distinctive style that has come to be known as the Kalighat school (see cats. 32, 52, and 53). While these freely limned images were popular with pilgrims, the school also delineated contemporary societal and satirical themes that were popular with visitors both native and foreign. Buddhists also produced vast quantities of portable paintings on cloth and paper at their monasteries and shrines, which have not survived in India but were preserved in Nepal and Tibet, where they strongly influenced local pictorial traditions.

However, the oldest surviving paintings on cloth in India are those commissioned by the Jains.[15] Several Jain paintings of different sizes and periods are included in the exhibition and are discussed by John Cort in his essay, but a few additional comments here would not be out of place. The Jain pictorial works in the exhibition not only show remarkable diversity of size, medium, and subject, but serendipitously help us to understand the history of Indian painting over four centuries. They include manuscript illustrations on paper that, in the distinctive style of western India, depict in miniature the stereotypical narrative of the lives of the Jinas and teachers (cats. 134 and 135), as well as monumental paintings on cloth or paper with cosmographical or cosmological themes (cats. 121 and 122) and complex topographical compositions of famous pilgrimage sites such as Shatrunjaya (cat. 139). There is also an abstract, modernist picture of *Lokapurusha*, or Cosmic Man (fig. 25, cat. 137) corresponding to the Vishvarupa of the *Bhagavadgita* discussed above (see fig. 21, cat. 54). The cosmographical pictures are the only survivals of the ancient tradition of mandala painting, lost on the subcontinent but enduring elsewhere in Asia. In fact, the exhibition includes rare three-dimensional examples of Jain mandalas in stone and metal (cats. 118-120).

Such large paintings were also produced by the Vaishnavas, who lived in the same geographic and cultural zone as the Jains in western India and in the Vaishnava stronghold in Odisha on the east coast. A number and variety of objects in the exhibition are from two leading centers of Krishna worship: Puri in the state of Odisha and Nathdvara in the desert state of Rajasthan. Both are important pilgrimage sites for devout Vaishnavas and are visited annually by millions of pilgrims. The Puri temple dedicated to Jagannath (Lord of the World) is the older shrine, while Nathdvara was established in the 16th century by the charismatic philosopher-teacher Vallabhacharya (active 1481-1533). Both temples have had enormous influence among Hindu courts and communities far beyond their location. Arts created for devotees and pilgrims at the two centers have influenced devotional imagery elsewhere. Several of the Nathdvara style of monumental paintings with diverse subjects and forms reflect with visual panache the glory of Krishna's divine splendor (fig. 26, cat. 56), while the select smaller examples on paper in a wide variety of styles with narrative content as well as literary conceits depict what is characterized in literature as Krishnalila, or the Divine Play of Krishna.

The Jagannath temple of Puri is an ancient shrine of even greater antiquity than the current impressive 13th-century temple complex visited

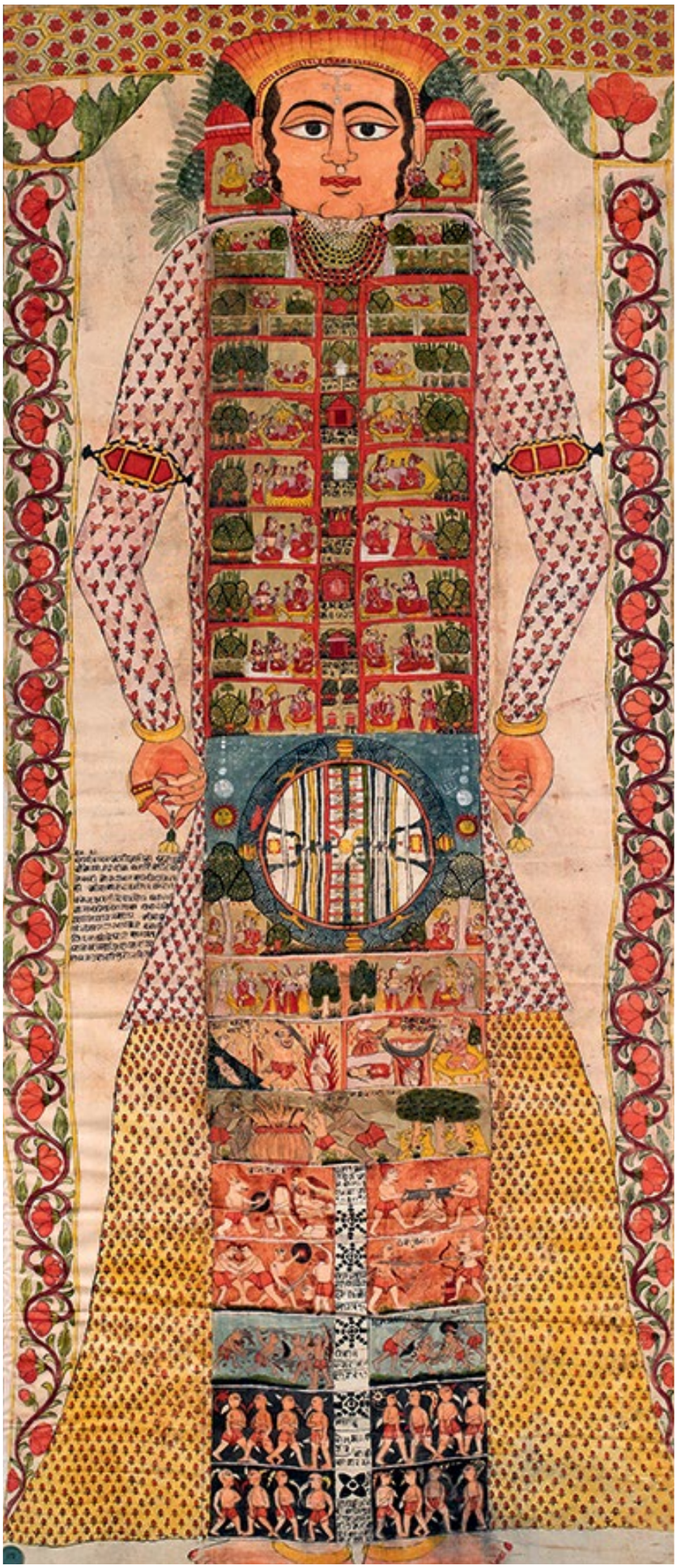
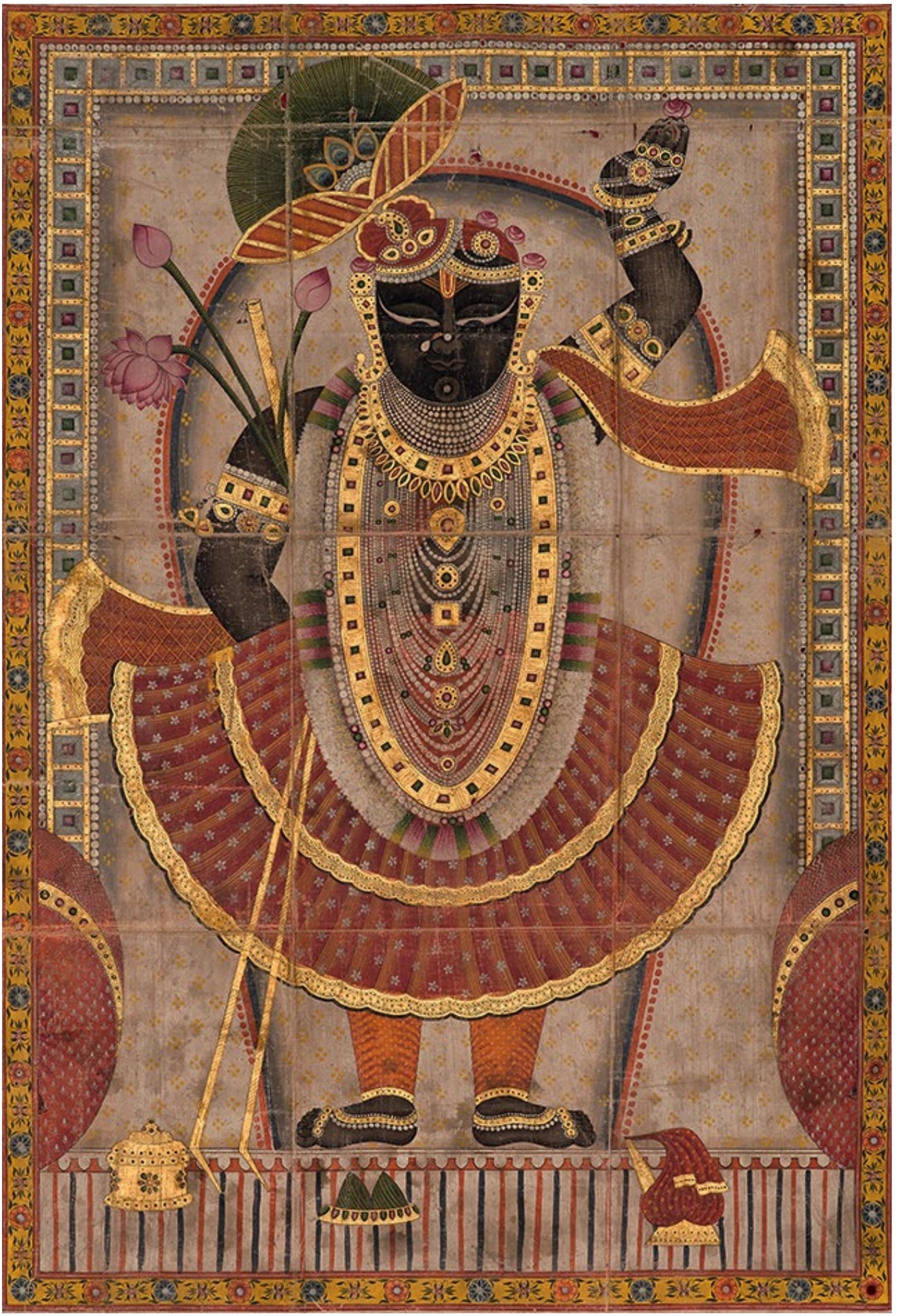


Fig. 25 Lokapurusha, Cosmic Man, Gujarat or Rajasthan, 18th–19th century. Cat. 137.

Fig. 26 Shrinathji, the form of Krishna worshipped at Nathdvara, Rajasthan, 19th–20th century. Cat. 56.



by countless Hindu pilgrims. Consisting of a triad, the deities are identified as Krishna as Jagannath, his brother, Balabhadra (Balarama), and their sister, Subhadra, a manifestation of the great Goddess. Even their iconographic representations (cat. 33; fig. 27, cat. 34) are unusual to say the least: they reflect a tribal aesthetic and are among the most exotic and geometric forms used in a major Hindu temple. It should be mentioned that not only do local tribal communities participate in the temple ritual but every twelve years the timber images in the main shrine are replaced with freshly carved examples intended to be impermanent, whereas most principal images in temples of all three religions are created of stone or metal for greater permanence. In both paintings, besides the triad, the ten avatars are included as in the much earlier stele from the west (see fig. 17, cat. 15), but here the Buddha is replaced by Krishna as Jagannath. This must have happened after Jayadeva, for in his (ca. 12th century) lyrical Sanskrit poem *Gitagovinda* (sung daily at the Puri temple), the poet retains Buddha in his beautiful invocatory eulogy to the ten avatars; "moved by deep compassion," he "condemned the Vedic way that ordains animal slaughter in rites of sacrifice."[16]

Fig. 27 The Jagannath temple triad, Odisha, late 19th–20th century. Cat. 34.

Buddhism: New Path, New Imagery

As discussed by Christian Luczanits in his essay in this catalogue, we encounter Buddhist symbols being venerated in the reliefs not just at Bharhut (2nd century BCE) and Sanchi (1st century BCE to 1st century CE) but also at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra (2nd century), where two fragments in the exhibition are from (cats. 147 and 148). In one (fig. 28, cat. 147) we see not only the feet of the Buddha being worshipped but also the gander (*hamsa*), which in Vedic culture is symbolic of the Supreme Brahma.[17] Two reliefs from Mathura (cats. 145 and 150) and another from Gandhara (cat. 151) depict scenes of the worship of the Bodhi tree and of the Buddha himself.

The early Buddhist monuments also include numerous representations of deities, such as yakshas, some of whom are identified and who sometimes stand on animal or human mounts and are themselves shown in the attitude of adoration of the Buddha. Buddha Shakyamuni and all other Buddhas, transcendental or cosmic, continued to be portrayed in the guise of monks, occasionally crowned, but invariably with a nimbus behind the head demonstrating their divine status. However, unlike the Hindu deities, they are rarely given multiple limbs. As the Buddha was declared to be a cosmic being or superman (*mahapurusha*), he was exalted with a minimum of thirty-two marks of superiority on his body, the most prominent being the cranial protuberance (*ushnisha*) on top of his head, the source of his wisdom or enlightenment.

Fig. 28 Detail of a gander from Nagarjunakonda stupa, Andhra Pradesh, 2nd century. Cat. 147.

Innumerable divine and semidivine entities were incorporated and created as required to complement the central figure of the Buddha. Brahma and Indra of the Vedic pantheon were adopted early as attendants, and most of the tutelary and popular deities across northern India were quickly recruited in the service of the cause. Panchika and Hariti (cats. 156 and 157) are examples of yaksha-yakshi figures that were depicted independent of the Buddha image. Vajrapani was an interesting invention of the Buddhists, as his name—Thunderbolt-in-hand—clearly indicated a debt to the Vedic Indra, whose chief weapon is the thunderbolt (*vajra*).[18] Significantly, the same word, also meaning "diamond," came to signify the indestructibility of the religion as well as to denote the final development as the Vajrayana, or the Path of the Thunderbolt/Diamond, appropriately characterized as the "fast lane" toward salvation in the essay by Luczanits.

Mahayana (the Great Path) developed in the intermediate stage between the simpler, early form of Buddhism designated generally as Shravakayana (Way of the Hearers) or Theravada (Way of the Elders = *Arhats*) and the complex and esoteric Vajrayana. Mahayana emphasized the salvific character of the faith involving personal devotion to specific compassionate beings known by the expression Bodhisatva,[19] an enlightened being of either gender who postpones his or her own nirvana in order to guide less fortunate aspirants who falter on the path. This is the stage when Bodhisatvas such as Avalokiteshvara, Manjushri, Tara, and others enter the visual realm. In a manner typical of Hindu deities, these Buddhist divine forms are eternally youthful, handsome, and even sensual, and modeled on either regal figures or ascetics.

The final phase, Vajrayana, was strongly influenced by tantric ideology, and even more intensely than the contemporary Hindus, Buddhists created numerous devotional rites and rituals for different levels of spiritual praxis (based on lower or higher yoga tantras). These esoteric systems consist of numerous deities of both genders with multiple limbs and attributes in complex symbolic relationships, often represented in mandalas where they reside. They are invoked with elaborate mantras or incantations, rituals, and gestures (*mudra*), which are hard to distinguish from Hindu tantric religious praxis except by the knowledgeable. Such Buddhist rituals are better observed today in Newar and Tibetan monasteries than in India, though they have been reintroduced at Bodhgaya and Sarnath largely due to the influx into the country of large numbers of Tibetan refugees after the Chinese usurpation of Tibet.[20] While the exhibition includes pilgrims' souvenirs from the ancient monasteries of Bihar, a major springboard for the spread of Vajrayana Buddhism across the subcontinent and Asia, one rare and attractive stone sculpture represents the Bodhisatva of wisdom Manjushri, one of the principal Vajrayana deities (fig. 29, cat. 165). This likely belonged to a major later temple near Sarnath.

Fig. 29 Bodhisatva Manjushri, Uttar Pradesh, 11th century. Cat. 165.

Fig. 30 Buddhist Goddess Marichi, Bihar or Bengal, 11th century. Cat. 166.

Equally unusual is the bronze depicting the Goddess of light Marichi as a sow with piglets (fig. 30, cat. 166). Marichi is the Buddhist counterpart of the Sun God, though in all her textual descriptions she has a human form with an additional sow's head and belongs to the family of the transcendental Buddha Vairochana.[21] However, her chariot is drawn by seven pigs instead of the steeds of the Sun God. No textual prescription for this rare iconographic form of Marichi has yet been discovered. It adopts the ancient practice of representing a deity by the deity's animal mount, as when the bull was considered to be the theriomorphic symbol of Shiva.

Jain Murtis and Mandalas

While the exhibition is well represented for powerful early Buddhist art but less so for later periods, the earliest Jain art displayed is of the 12th century. Nevertheless, the selection does show a great diversity of media as well as form. Cort's essay appropriately places greater emphasis on the rites, rituals, and puja as expounded in the literature by the great Jain polymath Hemachandra Suri and later authors.[22]

Though tradition claims greater antiquity for the art of the Jains than for that of the Buddhists, curiously the history of Jain art has not been popular as a subject of study. It was only in the final decade of the last century that the first major exhibition of Jain art in the world was launched in Los Angeles.[23] While there is disagreement among art historians about the earliest examples of Jain art, it is likely that the image of the Jina was carved earlier than that of the Buddha. In fact, although, like the Buddha, Mahavira lived and preached in eastern India, the earliest Jain remains were found in Mathura, the fecund crucible of all early religious art of the historical period.[24]

Fig. 31 Stone ayagapatta from Mathura, 1st century. Photograph courtesy P. Pal.

Fig. 32 Detail of mandala with five Jinas and auspicious symbols, Karnataka, 15th century. Cat. 119.

The best illustration of an early Jain object from Mathura is the richly carved square slab known as an *ayagapatta* (the first word, *ayaga*, meaning veneration, and *patta*, a board, slab, or plaque, though originally and more frequently a piece of cloth or painted cloth). Thus, a painted mandala is also a *patta* or *pata*, and the lithic examples in Mathura, such as the one illustrated in figure 31, are the earliest survivors.[25] While the majority of these devotional objects found in Mathura were used by the Jain community, some were also dedicated by Buddhists, just as the stupa and many other early symbols were shared by both religions in continuation of even older traditions. Jains seem to have abandoned the use of both the stupa and the ayagapatta, which were obviously replaced by the image of the Jina, though the later *chaumukha* (four-faced or -sided image) was derived from the stupa. The cosmic diagrams and painted mandalas on cloth as well as cast or embroidered plaques, a number of which are included in this exhibition, served the same function in modified forms as the early ayagapatta.

Particularly notable are three mandalas in stone and metal mentioned above (cats. 118-120). Two of them are almost identical in form (cat. 118; fig. 32, cat. 119), depicting five Jinas alternating with auspicious symbols belonging to the Digambara order. While the stone example is certainly from Karnataka, the metal specimen's place or origin is somewhat uncertain but likely from the same region. The juxtaposition of five Jinas with four symbols—a flaming wheel and a shrine at the bottom of the circle and a Jina icon and a stand (for a manuscript) at the top—represents Navadevata (Nine Divinities). Both mandalas consist of an open lotus shown frontally; in the stone example, the lotus is placed on an elaborate double-lotus pedestal in the recessed panel of which is a representation of Gajalakshmi flanked by a pair of auspicious solar *svastika* symbols. These elements are absent in the more simplified metal mandala, though the artist has added an elaborate flame border with a *kirtimukha* (face of glory), another auspicious motif, at the summit. Noteworthy as well is the more elaborate

configuration of the central panel in the stone example where the Jina is being adored by two celestial attendants.

Unusual, too, is the third mandala in the form of a lotus with the twenty-four Jinas (making it an example of what is called a *chaturvimshatitirthika* or *chauvisi*, a twenty-four-figured image). Other examples of such lotus mandalas are less elaborate and consist generally of five Jinas; mostly they appear to have been popular in Gujarat. It should be noted that such three-dimensional lotus mandalas were familiar to both Buddhists and Vaishnavas in eastern India during the Pala period (ca. 850–1150) and were likely adopted by the Jains under tantric influence, for in tantric *dhyana*, or meditation, the deity is always invoked in the devotee's heart, which is metaphorically regarded as a lotus flower. It may further be pointed out that the Vaishnavas also believe in the theory of the twenty-four manifestations of Vishnu (*chaturvimshatimurti*). Noteworthy also is the use of the blooming flower atop the bull as a stand for a Shivalinga in the exhibition (cat. 65).

Works in Wood

Finally, one other distinct feature of this exhibition requires a few words of explanation. By now it should be evident to both the viewer and the reader that a large number of the objects included are of carved wood. This is a medium that has generally been ignored by museums when presenting Indian art in the permanent galleries or in overarching exhibitions of the art of the subcontinent.

I have already discussed the universal veneration of trees as abodes of spirits that have survived from antiquity as is evident in the later Sanskrit expression *darumaya brahma* (Tree is the Absolute). Wood was also the oldest material used, along with clay, for both art and architecture, religious and secular. Not only are ancient temples and mansions still extant across the subcontinent, from Kathmandu (Nepal) in the north to Kerala at the southwest extremity of peninsular India, but even today wood is a principal material for building all along the Himalayan belt, and wooden temples are still in use in Kerala.

Students of Indian architecture are well aware of the enormous influence of timber architecture and sculpture on the early lithic monuments that still survive. The stone pillars that Emperor Ashoka erected in the 3rd century BCE across the length and breadth of the country were clearly a continuation of earlier practice in wood. The surviving columns of the Maurya palace in modern Patna witnessed by the Greek ambassador to the court are now petrified wood. The early Buddhist monuments at Bharhut and Sanchi as well as the cave temples in the Western Deccan abundantly reveal features adapted to the lithic medium from earlier wooden structures.

The earliest wood carving in the collection is a rare image of a female goddess, likely a pacific manifestation of Durga, from Bangladesh (fig. 33, cat. 83). Wood was once a favorite material for both sculpture and architecture in ancient Bengal, and examples as old as the 2nd century have survived from the rich archaeological site of Chandraketugarh. This Durga is from the 6th–7th century, from which very few examples have survived due to adverse climatic conditions from heavy annual rainfall. Originally the image would have been polychromed and used in a domestic shrine (judging by its modest size) by the owners, who are represented on either side of the base worshipping the goddess.

Wood carving was once widespread in Gujarat on the west coast and used for all kinds of structures, public and private. In fact, even when the dwelling was made with other materials, the Gujarati Jain community continued to build their

Fig. 33 Wooden image of Durga, Bangladesh, 6th–7th century. Cat. 83.

domestic shrines, known as *derasar*, from wood. A complete façade from such a shrine, now in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, was salvaged from destruction in the early part of the 20th century by the American architect Lockwood de Forest (cat. 132).[26] A second example is a deeply carved column from another shrine with an elaborate base that depicts attendant deities, which together with the façade allows us to form some idea of the rich tradition of wood carving of Gujarat (cat. 131).

Mention has already been made of a massive and sumptuously carved door panel with the flute-playing Krishna from Odisha (fig. 34, cat. 48); and of the fact that the principal triad of the Jagannath temple at Puri are polychromed wooden images. Incidentally, these images are carried annually during the monsoon in a colossal chariot also made of wood, during a festival called *rathayatra* (chariot journey/procession). It was the awesome sight of this festive chariot that has given to the English language the mongrel expression "Juggernaut," which has come to denote "an institute or notion" or mode of locomotion, "to which persons blindly sacrifice themselves and others."[27]

Processions with chariots carrying images were also common among the Buddhists in both South and Central Asia, as attested by Chinese visitors to India. These can still be observed in Nepal within the Buddhist Newar community in the Matsyendranathyatra.[28] In India, however, the rathayatra is still an important festival among the Hindus not only in Puri but also in neighboring states and in South India. The Jains, too, had elaborate processions that included wooden chariots with images of Jinas once upon a time, as described in vivid detail by Hemachandra in his *Lives of the Jain Elders*.[29] Processions are still popular in the Jain communities with living potential renunciates.

Several of the wooden objects in the exhibition may have once belonged to such processional

chariots from Tamil Nadu or Kerala (cats. 19, 27, 72, 85, 107, 112, and 113). Particularly impressive is a Vishnu riding on Garuda with a polychromed arch (cat. 19), which by itself must have served as a processional image as is seen in a 19th-century picture (cat. 20). Other wooden objects, such as the headdress with a lion's face representing Narasimha or the monumental polychromed head of Hanuman, were certainly used in performance or procession (cats. 28 and 40). A rare wooden figure of Shiva as Nataraja (fig. 35, cat. 73) could have been the focus of domestic worship and would have been brightly polychromed, as may be seen in two well-preserved figures of Vishnu and Ganesha (cat. 16; see fig. 8, cat. 104). There is even a pair of wooden sandals of the kind used by brahman priests and other holy men, especially at consecrated sites where leather footwear was considering defiling (cat. 80). The cult of the footwear or footprints of a God, Jina, Buddha, or guru is a feature common to all three belief systems.

Epilogue

With the exception of some of the easily transportable pictures on paper from the 18th and 19th centuries, often wrongly characterized as "miniatures," most of the art objects in the exhibition had a sacred function. These colorful pictures too generally depict religious themes from ancient myths, mostly Hindu. Although by the 18th century European education and cultural influences had been adopted by the gentry under the colonial administration, affecting even the independent or subordinate native rulers, painting at the princely courts continued to depict themes from traditional literature concerned with sacred texts or mythological narratives composed centuries ago. Modernist ideas from Europe did not arrive with political domination but rather with cultural influences in the last half-century of colonial rule

Fig. 35 Wooden image of Nataraja, Karnataka, 16th century or earlier. Cat. 73.

Fig. 34 Door panel with flute-playing Krishna, Odisha, 18th–19th century. Cat. 48.

in the 20th century, which is when these portable pictures began to be "collected" as aesthetic items rather than didactic material.

Although Indian art's journey to Europe had begun much earlier, it is during the twilight of the British Raj that it came to be transferred from the subcontinent freely to the United States. It is rather ironic that while caste Hindus were forbidden to travel abroad, their Gods were leaving the Indian shores in boatloads for Western destinations. Thus, to use a phrase from the title of a fascinating essay by the polymathic intellectual of the United Kingdom, Jonathan Miller, the objects in the exhibition, as well as all others in collections, private or public, are enjoying a remarkable "afterlife." As he put it with elegant poignancy, after providing persuasive arguments: "For all these reasons it seems right and proper to describe the renewed existence of these works of art as afterlives and to see them not simply as faint or attenuated versions of their *previous* existence but as full-blooded representations of their *subsequent* existence."[30]

The purpose of the three essays in this catalogue by eminent scholars of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist art is to help the viewer and the reader understand the old context of the renewed lives of the objects, even as they are seen in their completely altered states of existence in new habitats. Ambient photographic images have been used to furnish a context only; ultimately, the viewer must visit the temples and monuments of India, both dead and living, in either a real or a virtual journey, to comprehend the enormous spiritual power of the image in Indian religious life.

The farther we go back in prehistory, the more we find that the visual image is older than the word, whether in the well-known caves of Europe or in the recently discovered caves in Southeast Asia. This is also true in the Indian subcontinent where art preceded literature. It was by showing his "universal or cosmic form" on the battlefield of Kurukshetra that Krishna succeeded in convincing a reluctant Arjuna to act. And in the Buddhist text *Atthashalini* of unknown date, the Buddha, when asked, "How does the mind produce its diverse effects?" responded: "By the process of depicting. There is no kind of decorative art in the world more various—and pictorial—than painting."[31]

In one of the oldest and most extensive discourses on the visual arts extant in the Sanskrit language—embedded in the ca. 7th-century Hindu text, the *Vishnudharmattora Purana*—in a conversation between Sage Markandeya and King Vajra, the learned brahman declares that in former aeons humans were able to see the Gods directly, but in the present Kali age "men have lost that faculty; therefore they have to worship them (the Gods) in an image."[32]

The primary purpose of the artworks assembled in this exhibition is to reflect the pious desire of the human being, to express the formless through form, the invisible through the visible, and the infinite through the finite. As the greatest Indian poet of modern India—Rabindranath Tagore (1851-1941)—wrote in his *Gitanjali*, we must "dive into the ocean of forms (*rupa*) to acquire the pearl of formlessness (*arupa*)!"

NOTES

1 Some consider the Vedic texts to have been composed much earlier, but the issue is controversial. See Pollock 2006 and Doniger 2015.

2 The Hindu God Ganesha is often seen to stand or dance under a mango tree, and the Jain Goddess Ambika is also venerated by Hindus. The tree is closely associated with many events in the Buddha's life, and a past Buddha, Shikhi, was enlightened under it.

3 Vajracharya 2013.

4 Pal 1995b. Buddhists venerate him and regard him as an obstacle.

5 Cort 2010. An excellent discussion of Jain art, particularly relevant for this exhibition. Unfortunately, no comparable exposition of Hindu or Buddhist art exists.

6 Diamond 2013; Zimmer 1984.

7 We, however, use the word *brahman* with a lower case *b* to denote the caste, while *Brahman* will be employed for the Absolute, and *Brahma* for the name of the Creator deity of the Hindu triad.

8 For the earliest Jain images and their austere form, see Cort 2010, especially chap. 1.

9 For other examples of Vishnu in his yogic forms, see Banerjea 1956, pl. XXIII, 2 and XXIV, in both of which his regal and yogic forms are combined. Banerjea's book is still the best for the study of Hindu iconography and the origin of the earliest artistic forms of divinity in India.

10 Hindus also believe in the historicity of Rama but not with incontrovertible and corroborative archaeological evidence. Kalki is the apocalyptic figure who will arrive riding a horse.

11 See Larson 1995 for a discussion of the Hindu-Jain nexus.

12 See Wayman 1973: the first of six initiations is of water and the second of the diadem (p. 68). In fact, Vajrayana priests often wear diadems during religious ceremonies, as seen in art from eastern India, Nepal, and Tibet.

13 Gita 11.8: "I grant you divine sight that you may behold my universal form." *Divyam dadāmi te chakshu pashya me yogamaishvaram* / 11.8. Interesting is the characterization of this power to view the cosmic form as "yogic manifestation." Note also the removal of the nescient eye and the opening of the knowledge eye in the sixth initiation ceremony with the mirror in Vajrayana (Wayman 1973, pp. 68-70).

14 Gita 9.23: "Unknowingly they venerate me even when the devotees worship any other deity with absolute faith." This verse demonstrates both a tolerant attitude and an emphasis on unalloyed bhakti. The necessity of absolute faith is repeated in several verses elsewhere in the text.

15 See Pal 1995a.

16 Barbara Stoller Miller, *Love Song of the Dark Lord: Jayadeva's Gitagovinda* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

17 The gander remains the vehicle of the Creator Brahma and of the Goddess of knowledge Sarasvati, revered in all three religions. The feet of Vishnu (*Vishnupada*) constitute the principal icon in the Vishnupada temple at Gaya, while for Jain worship see Cort 2010, p. 192, fig. 4.23. The exhibition includes a much later example of Shiva's feet (cat. 79) in the form of sandals (see cat. 80) used as an instrument of conferring blessings on devotees. The wooden sandals may have belonged to a Jain or Hindu priest or holy man. Footwear of holy persons are regarded as relics by followers of all three religions; note the use of hand- and footprints of eminent teachers on the back of Tibetan *thangkas* to enhance their spiritual power.

18 He was first the Buddha's guardian angel and then transformed into a Bodhisatva.

19 Throughout this book Bodhisatva is spelled with one *t* rather than two, which is consistently the case in the original Buddhist texts. See Gouriswar Bhattacharya, "How to Justify the Spelling of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Term Bodhisatva," in Eli Franco and Monica Zin, eds., *From Turfan to Ajanta : Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, vol. I, pp. 35-49 (Bhairahawa, Rupandehi: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2010).

20 Buddhism did survive on the subcontinent, in the Himalayan foothills in both the northwest and the northeast, in the land mass known as Ladakh or Little Tibet, in the Chittagong district of Bangladesh bordering Burma, and in pockets of both the eastern and western coasts of peninsular India.

21 Appropriately, Marichi is associated with Vairochana (literally "the son of [the Sun God] Virochana"); *virochana* means "illumination."

22 For more complete catalogues of Jain art exhibitions see Pal 1995a and Granoff 2009a.

23 While there is a copious amount of scholarly studies of the Jain texts in both India and the West since the 19th century, and of Jain art, especially by the late scholar U. P. Shah in the second half of the last century, not a single exhibition of Jain art has yet been organized on the subcontinent.

24 See Quintanilla 2007.

25 Earlier evidence of painting on cloth known as *yamapata* or scroll of Yama, the God of death, is found in ancient literature.

26 John Cort has written an extensive article about this wood façade as well as the architectural components retrieved by Lockwood de Forest and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see Pal 1995a, p. 110; and Cort 2015).

27 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 9th ed. (1995), pp. 734-35.

28 See Slusser 1982, vol. 2, plates pp. 597-98.

29 Fynes 1998, pp. 203, 206-7.

30 As quoted in Colin McGinn, "Jonathan Miller and the Kinds of Genius," *The New York Review of Books*, vol. LXII, no. 6 (April 2, 2015), p. 79. For a discussion of the afterlives of Indian images, see Davis 1997.

31 As translated by A. K. Coomaraswamy in "An Early Passage on Indian Painting," *Eastern Art* II (1931), p. 218. See Lipsey 1977.

32 Shah 1958, vol. II, pp. 1-2.

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Stephen P. Huyler

Hinduism: The One and the Many

Hinduism, the world's third-largest religion, is unique in that it proposes no one right way, no Absolute, no single path to salvation or higher existence. Instead, Hindus are given a breadth of choice. They are told that there are innumerable ways to reach the Divine, that God is both formless and formed, infinite and finite: the one and the many.

According to the Hindu creed, the formless spirit that pervades the entire universe and beyond, that defines all known and unknown existence, is called Parabrahman. Unapproachable in its inconceivable magnificence, Parabrahman is impossible for most humans to even contemplate. Philosophically, the imperceptible Parabrahman has three cosmic functions—creation, preservation, and destruction—that have been personalized by practical Hindus into individual deities. These divine forms exist, in part, to enable humanity and other living beings to better understand and interact with the Divine. They are described as having superhuman characteristics and populate numerous legends that serve as guidelines for improved human behavior.

The present identity of Hinduism is the result of thousands of years of development in which some subcultures remained almost entirely isolated while others were involved in constant social and economic interaction. The breadth of Hindu diversity is inconceivable and can never be fully recorded. Each community and social order has its own individual religious attitudes, beliefs, and customs. Nevertheless, despite many contradictions, most Hindus worship Gods and Goddesses whose attributes, legends, and rituals can be loosely consigned to the family of one of these two cosmic deities: Shiva and Vishnu. Western interpretations of these two belief systems have often mistaken them as male dominated. But Hindus understand that both Shiva and Vishnu are the absolute blend of all opposites in perfect balance: masculine and feminine, wrong and right, good and evil, black and white. Each supreme deity has innumerable identities: Gods and Goddesses who have their own adherents and specific rituals of *puja* (worship).

Descriptions of the nature and attributes of Shiva and Vishnu could fill volumes. For simplification, Shiva is often described as "the Creator and Destroyer" whose knife-edge balance between chaos and bliss maintains the cycles of life and death in constant flux. Vishnu, frequently called "the Preserver," represents stability, order, family values, and equanimity, but also appears from time to time in a form known as an *avatar* (incarnation or savior) in order to destroy evil and save the pious. In worship, the feminine qualities of the Divine are embodied as Goddesses generically referred to as Devi. The identities of many of these masculine and feminine deities and their associated "families" is discussed throughout this essay.

Hindus believe that the easiest way to have *darshan* (direct experience of the Divine) is by contact either through an element of nature, such as a rock, tree, body of water, hill, or mountain, or through

Detail of *Shiva as Bhairava Dancing with Vishnu and Brahma as Musicians*, Rajasthan, 1750–75. Cat. 74.

an object created by humankind specifically to contain divine energy.[1] Differing from Buddhism and Jainism, the other two religions featured in this exhibition, the Hindu *murti* (often translated as "icon") is not only symbolic of God; the murti *is* God in His or Her entirety, fully present during worship.

Each Hindu image is sacrosanct. It must be treated with respect and care, never sullied or mishandled. Only the pure of mind and heart should approach this vehicle of God. In temples, divine images may be touched only by specifically trained priests who belong to the *brahman* caste. It may be considered a defilement for an unbeliever even to approach the sanctum. Similarly, in most households, direct access to the shrine is restricted to family members. There an individual can directly communicate with the Divine through his or her daily puja.

While many of the Hindu objects in this exhibition were originally created as murtis—embodiments of God—they are no longer consecrated. This desanctification may occur for a variety of reasons, most often through damage or breakage over years of use. Only perfect images are considered appropriate for ongoing worship. The flaws that have caused desanctification may be almost imperceptible and these images still exhibit many of the attributes that originally defined them as Gods and Goddesses. The sacred objects discussed in this essay are selected with three primary categories of Hindu puja in mind:

1. *household murtis*: images worshipped within the home shrine and conveying the beliefs of individual families;
2. *temple murtis*: images from temples that were either the primary or secondary focus of worship within a community shrine; and
3. *processional murtis*: surrogate images that become temporary vehicles for the Divine Presence.

Fig. 1 Puja at a household shrine in Mahabalipuram, Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

A fourth and final section concerns some of the many items in this exhibition that are ancillary to devotion. Though not the objects of puja, they are closely associated with piety.

Household Images

Every aspect of existence is sacred to the traditional Hindu: everything has its own spirit (*jiva*) and may be viewed as divine. Hindus believe that when natural elements such as stone, clay, or wood are handled and transformed into functional objects, they are imbued with greater sacred essence. If that object is used as a part of worship (puja), it becomes a repository for divine grace. Similarly, each Hindu home is viewed as a sacred entity that is inextricably linked to the family's

Fig. 2 Glass painting from Tamil Nadu of Rama and Sita with Lakshmana and Hanuman, Tamil Nadu, late 19th–early 20th century. Cat. 36.

identity. Not only are the materials that have gone into its construction sacred, they are overlaid and infused with the collective residue of years of innumerable rituals and (if the home is inherited) with the spirits of successive generations of family members.

The focal point of each home is its shrine, where prayer and puja coalesce as a family's specific beliefs. Hindu household shrines are as diverse as the customs and belief systems of this complex religion; no two are exactly alike. Families in large houses may designate a separate room for their shrine or even a small temple outside the primary building. In smaller homes, a cupboard or shelf may contain sacred images, or the shrine may be as simple as a row of religious posters on a wall. It makes little difference whether an image is made of paper, clay, or plaster or if it is crafted of marble, gold, or silver. Once it has been dedicated as a murti, it becomes a medium for God's direct presence.[2]

Figure 1 illustrates a household shrine in Mahabalipuram, Tamil Nadu. The resident, a brahman, is conducting his daily morning puja to the only murtis in his home: his family's framed prints of Vishnu and related deities.

According to Hindu belief, our universe has been created, destroyed, and re-created many times. During the eons of existence, Vishnu is believed to have descended to earth on countless occasions, each time in a different manifestation, or avatar. Of the ten avatars most widely acknowledged and worshipped, one of the most popular is the seventh avatar, Rama. India's best-loved epic, the *Ramayana*, is the story of Rama's life, trials, and successes. Favorite details form the basis of innumerable works of sacred art, many of which are used in daily worship. Key points in the *Ramayana* are Rama's marriage to Sita (Goddess Lakshmi incarnate); their misguided fourteen-year banishment to the jungle; Sita's subsequent capture by the Sri Lankan demon-king, Ravana; the long journey to the island of Lanka and the rescue of Sita and defeat of Ravana with the aid of the devoted simian god Hanuman; and finally their return, upon which Rama is crowned king and then emperor of north India, his rule being the perfect prototype of benevolent, well-balanced governance. Sita's faithfulness and purity in the face of almost insurmountable adversity establish her as the Hindu epitome of the ideal wife.[3]

Figure 2 (cat. 36) is an early 20th-century Tamil painting on glass that was created for household worship. In the center are Rama and Sita with Lakshmana, Rama's favorite brother, on their right and Hanuman on their left. When

originally purchased by a family, this image would have been the subject of their daily rituals of puja.

Hindus do not proselytize. Even though social systems are strictly ordered and unequal and often reflect racial and cultural prejudices, it is considered inappropriate for a Hindu to deride another person's beliefs. Most belief systems are hereditary: children will worship the same deities in the same manner as their parents and grandparents. It is considered dangerous to deviate in any way from precisely prescribed rituals. Despite these demands, Hinduism simultaneously allows a remarkable freedom of choice once an individual reaches maturity. While most Hindus continue to follow familial customs, it is not uncommon for outside influences to encourage a change in beliefs and consequent rituals. Transformation might come from exposure to an inspiring temple while on pilgrimage or to new philosophies taught by a visiting *guru* (teacher or master). The household shrine could then reflect a complete change in form and substance. However, most home shrines simply contain a mélange of various images that feature the *kuladevata* (traditional family deity), the *ishtadevata*s (personal deities of primary family members), the objects used in the performance of puja, and possibly a collection of commemorative sacred objects collected during pilgrimages. Sometimes this mixture includes symbols of other Hindu sects or even other religions, such as a statue of a Christian saint or picture of the Ka'aba in Mecca or an image of the Buddha. Collectively, everything within the shrine helps define that family's individuality. As the iconography of images tends to be quite clear, the contents of a household shrine immediately identify whether the family is Vaishnava or Shaiva (worshippers of Vishnu or Shiva, respectively, and their associated deities).

A single household bronze murti from southern Maharashtra (fig. 3, cat. 63) clearly represents

Fig. 3 Household image from Maharashtra of linga with nagas and deities, southern Maharashtra, 18th century. Cat. 63.

the entire family of Shiva. Rising from this small shrine's center is a natural black stone *linga* (the aniconic image of Shiva's masculine energy). It is an excellent example of a *svayambhu* murti—self-created by nature and unformed by human hand. (The primary image in many, perhaps most, Hindu temples, especially those dedicated to Shiva and Shakti, is similarly self-generated and numinous.) This linga rests in a raised basin that is often interpreted as a *yoni*, the aniconic symbol of Shiva's consort, Parvati, the Divine Feminine. Together in puja they are imbued with *shakti* (divine power). Above the linga rise two

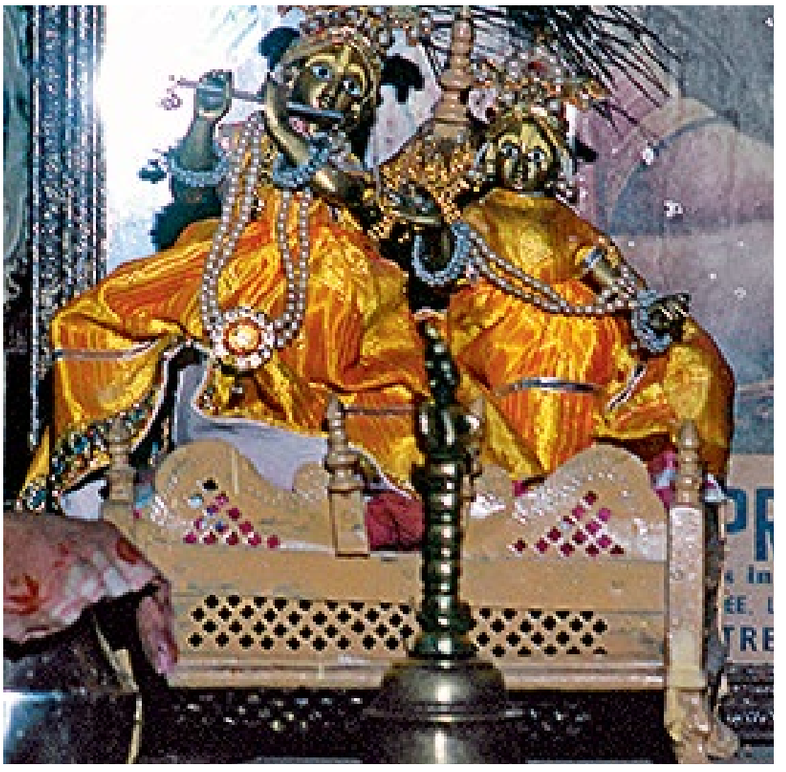

Fig. 4 Household images of Krishna and Radha in a village near Bikaner, Rajasthan. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

*naga*s, hooded serpents or cobras that are associated with Shiva and symbolize protection and virility. Directly facing them stands Nandi (or Vrisha), Shiva's bull vehicle, symbol of steadfast loyalty. On the base to the linga's right is Shiva and Parvati's son Ganesha, the divine Remover of Obstacles, while on the other side is their son Kartikeya, the god of warfare. A bronze Shivalinga in front of Kartikeya and a diminutive horse before Ganesha complete this small shrine.[4]

When it was still consecrated and used in daily puja, this murti would have been treated with the affection and care befitting each sacred Hindu image. Ideally, Hindu dogma demands that sixteen *upachara*s (ingredients of offerings and adornment) be conducted by brahman priests in temple worship. In household puja, these observances vary according to family means and are usually conducted by women. At the beginning of each day, the murti is ritually awakened. It is then bathed in holy water, preferably from the Ganga (Ganges) or another sacred water source, after which it is adorned with substances believed to enhance its purity. (If the image is a painting or print, it will be carefully cleansed without the use of water, although sacred powders and garlands of flowers may be added as adornment, as seen in fig. 1.) Naturally created (svayambhu) and sculpted images are anointed (*abhisheka*) with a series of sacred substances and rewashed between each application. In most homes, these substances are simple, but in those of orthodox brahmans and in temples the anointing will often include milk, yogurt, honey, sandalwood paste, turmeric, coconut water, a mixture of five fruits (*panchamrita*), and ash (*vibhuti*). Other upacharas include burning incense in front of the image; waving an oil lamp in a circular motion around it (*arati*); offering food; prostrating before it; circumambulation (when possible); and, finally, conscious leave-taking from the deity.[5]

In a Vaishnava farmer's house just outside Bikaner, Rajasthan, images of Lord Krishna and his consort Radha have been freshly cleansed, dressed, and bejeweled during recent upacharas (fig. 4). Upon a raised brass dais, Krishna (the eighth avatar of Vishnu) is shown standing and playing his flute while Radha on his left is transfixed with adoration. Popular tales fondly recount that Vishnu was incarnate as the beloved child Krishna in the town of Mathura, not far from Delhi. He grew up into an extremely attractive cowherd whose compelling exploits charmed women far and wide. It is said that Krishna's flute playing could soothe all anger and heal all inequities. Although all women were besotted with him, only Radha was willing to abandon her pride and honor to devote herself exclusively to Krishna. For millennia their relationship, like that of Rama

and Sita, has served as a Hindu prototype of perfect love.[6]

Figure 5 (cat. 45) depicts a brass murti of Venugopala (the flute-playing Krishna) from Odisha. The god's graceful *tribhanga* pose, with body bent thrice and legs crossed, conveys that he is dancing, while the fluid gesture of his two hands evocatively suggests his missing flute.

In figure 6, a simple cupboard serves as a shrine in a merchant's house in Swamimalai, Tamil Nadu. The images in silvered brass plaques and a variety of framed prints suggest that the inhabitants of this home are Vaishnava. To the left on the upper shelf are three bronze images of the crawling Balakrishna, the divine baby Krishna. Stories are told to delighted Hindu children that when Krishna was an infant he so loved butter that he would regularly crawl into his mother's kitchen to steal and eat it!

The rapid movement of a crawling baby was captured perfectly in a Balakrishna cast in bronze in 16th-century Tamil Nadu by a Vijayanagara sculptor (fig. 7, cat. 43). For devotees this murti is a primary symbol of family values epitomizing maternal love and forgiveness.

Temple Images

Hinduism is a religion of personal devotion, not of congregation. Temples may well be meeting places, particularly on auspicious holidays and during festivals. But there is no prescribed day such as in Abrahamic religions when all able-bodied devotees are required to be present. A discourse might be held within a temple precinct by a priest or guru, but that is the exception, not the norm. Tradition dictates no preachers, no sermons or audience—and attendance is not obligatory. The principle purpose of a temple is to house its primary image in the sanctum. Architectural styles vary throughout the Indian subcontinent, but

Fig. 5 Venugopala from Odisha, 17th century. Cat. 45.

Fig. 6 Prayer at a household shrine in Swamimalai, Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

Fig. 7 Image of Balakrishna from Tamil Nadu, 16th century. Cat. 43.

each temple contains at its heart a *garbha griha* (literally translated as "womb chamber") created to protect the deity installed within it. Secondary images—referred to as the extended family (*parivara*) of the principal deity—are also placed and worshipped in a precisely prescribed manner on adjacent walls or in subsidiary shrines.[7]

The primary murti in tens of thousands of temples throughout India is svayambhu—usually a natural stone not carved or shaped by human hand, although human-like features such as eyes, nose, and mouth may have been applied to the surface of the original stone. This deity might have been worshipped in this spot for centuries or even millennia. During the upachara ceremony of ritual worship, chosen priests will further wash it, adorn it with sacred substances, and then dress it in the finest garments and jewelry before any devotee will be allowed to see it. In figure 8, worshippers are shown in the midst of puja to the svayambhu murti of the Goddess Durga in the sanctum of her temple on a mountaintop in the village of Bedla, west of Udaipur, Rajasthan.

The supreme deity Shiva is worshipped in his most elemental form, the linga, in the sanctum sanctorum of most Shaivite temples. Literally translated as "phallus," the word *linga* is also used in grammar as a suffix to denote gender. The masculine gender is called *punglinga*, and the word *linga* is symbolically employed for Shiva's masculine force. Sometimes this image is modeled with phallic lines, as seen in figure 9. However, most often it is simply an upward-thrusting columnar shape that connotes Shiva's supreme power. Most often the Shivalinga rests in a *jaladhara*, or trough, used for collecting sacred liquids that have been poured on the image and siphoned into vessels for distribution to devotees. Recent descriptions have inaccurately described this jaladhara as a yoni, the vagina of the Divine Feminine.[8] Many Shivalingas, such as the one in Mahabalipuram, Tamil Nadu,

Fig. 8 Puja at Durga temple in Bedla, Rajasthan. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

Fig. 9 Linga abhisheka in Mahabalipuram, Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

shown in figure 9, have been carved by sculptors in previous centuries. Here the brahman priest is bathing it in milk as part of his daily abhisheka. Once this murti has been cleansed, it will be swathed in silks and garlanded with fresh flowers before the public is permitted to view it.[9]

A Shivalinga in worship is often considered to be so powerful that its radiant energy can harm unwary or unprotected devotees. For this reason, after abhisheka and before viewing by the public, the Shivalinga may be completely encased in a sculpted brass cover. The brass *mukhalinga* in our collection (fig. 10, cat. 62) was fashioned in Maharashtra in the 18th century to cover a simple stone linga. The *mukha* (face) is intended to

Fig. 10 Brass mukhalinga from Maharashtra, 18th century. Cat. 62.

Fig. 11 Arati at Shiva temple in Kotilingeshvara, Karnataka. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

provide the devotee with a personalized focus for darshan. It rests on the coils of the naga, whose five-headed hood rises above the murti. In figure 11, a brahman priest at the Kotilingeshvara temple in Karnataka performs arati in front of a very similar mukhalinga with painted eyebrows, pupils, mustache, and lips. The elaborate hood of the attendant naga is barely visible behind the many garlands of sacred marigolds placed during puja.

Although the linga, the aniconic image of Shiva, is usually the focal point of every Shaiva temple, iconic murtis commonly adorn the walls and/or subsidiary shrines within the temple compound. Two similar granite sculptures from the 12th-century Chola period in Tamil Nadu (figs. 12, 13) depict Shiva as the Divine Teacher, Dakshinamurti. *Dakshina* translates as "grace." Shiva is the consummate guru: he whose wisdom gracefully guides his disciples through the obstructions of life. These two images portray the God at his most peaceful—the explosive power of the universe gracefully contained in pure balance within his state of yogic bliss. While the image in figure 12 (cat. 70) is devoid of all evidence of puja, figure 13 conveys blackened surfaces from centuries of ablutions and offerings. A fresh cotton dhoti modestly covers the deity's lap; a single white flower has been placed upon it in devotion, while daubs of vermilion and sandalwood paste adorn the image's cardinal points.[10]

As mentioned above, Hindus worship the Divine Feminine and Shakti as essential driving forces in life. Within India as a whole, devotees make more daily pujas to the Goddess (in one form or another) than to any male deity. Parvati, Shiva's consort, is a prime example of

Fig. 12 Granite sculpture of Dakshinamurti from Tamil Nadu, 12th century. Cat. 70.

Fig. 13 Granite sculpture of Dakshinamurti from Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

Fig. 14 Image of Durga dressed for puja at the 12th-century Airavatesvara temple in Darasuram, Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

this attitude. Parvati has many identities. As Shiva's wife, she is maternal, loving, and dependably thoughtful. Yet, when threatened, her wrath is legion and her strength indomitable. In Hindu mythology, supreme evil in the guise of a buffalo demon (Mahishasura) so endangered the universe that none of the male Gods was able to combat it. Collectively, these deities called upon Parvati, promising her all their finest weapons if she would defeat this cosmic enemy. She transformed herself into the Goddess Durga and, astride a ferocious tiger with a different weapon in each of her many hands, succeeded in destroying Mahishasura and restoring balance to the world.

Durga is another of India's most popular Goddesses. She defines Shakti (Divine Power). Devotees pray to her for the strength to combat adversity. In figure 14, a granite sculpture shows Durga standing upon the defeated buffalo demon as she wields her weapons. She has been recently dressed during puja at this 12th-century Airavatesvara temple in Darasuram, Tamil Nadu, and the residue of offerings is scattered at her feet. The image in the sanctum sanctorum of a temple is often dressed in rich cloths with the face covered by a mask. In the Yogini (Tantric Goddess) temple in Hirapur, Odisha, the murti of Durga is considered too powerful for her devotees to behold with

the naked eye. The Goddess's face is covered with a gilded brass mask while the rest of her body is hidden beneath layers of silk raiment. The 18th-century wooden image of Durga (fig. 15, cat. 85) originally would have adorned a processional cart at a temple in Tamil Nadu or Kerala. The fangs protruding from her mouth identify her as Bhadrakali as she assumes her most virulent, bloodthirsty form at the moment of annihilating evil.[11]

A mural on the wall of a Tamil Nadu temple dedicated to Mariamman (a local designation of Durga meaning "the great mother" in the south) also depicts the goddess in her horrific form of Bhadrakali, disemboweling evil in the guise of a beautiful woman while trampling a handsome male demon (fig. 16). Though the apparent violence of this image may disturb the uninitiated, the mother who placed her beloved baby girl beneath it clearly does not feel it poses a threat. Instead, she believes that the Goddess is maternal and benevolent. When beseeched for help, Mariamman will direct her divine anger to protect this infant.[12]

Shiva and Parvati's son Ganesha is one of Hinduism's most beloved deities. He is so popular that he is worshipped equally by the devotees of both major Hindu sects: Shaiva and Vaishnava. Ganesha, with his elephant head and corpulent human body, is the universal Remover of Obstacles. Hindus pray to him at the beginning of any endeavor. In many Hindu homes, his image is placed above or next to the front door to remind householders to acknowledge him before they leave the house. Although he is rarely the primary image in any temple, his murti is usually to be found somewhere within its precincts. Often he is given his own small subsidiary shrine in or near the main shrine.[13]

The 11th-century dancing Ganesha from Uttar Pradesh (fig. 17, cat. 102) beautifully conveys the joyous exuberance of this happy god. Despite the

Fig. 15 Wooden image of Bhadrakali that would have been taken out in procession in southern India, Tamil Nadu or Kerala, 18th century. Cat. 85.

Fig. 16 Mural of Mariamman on the wall of a temple in Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

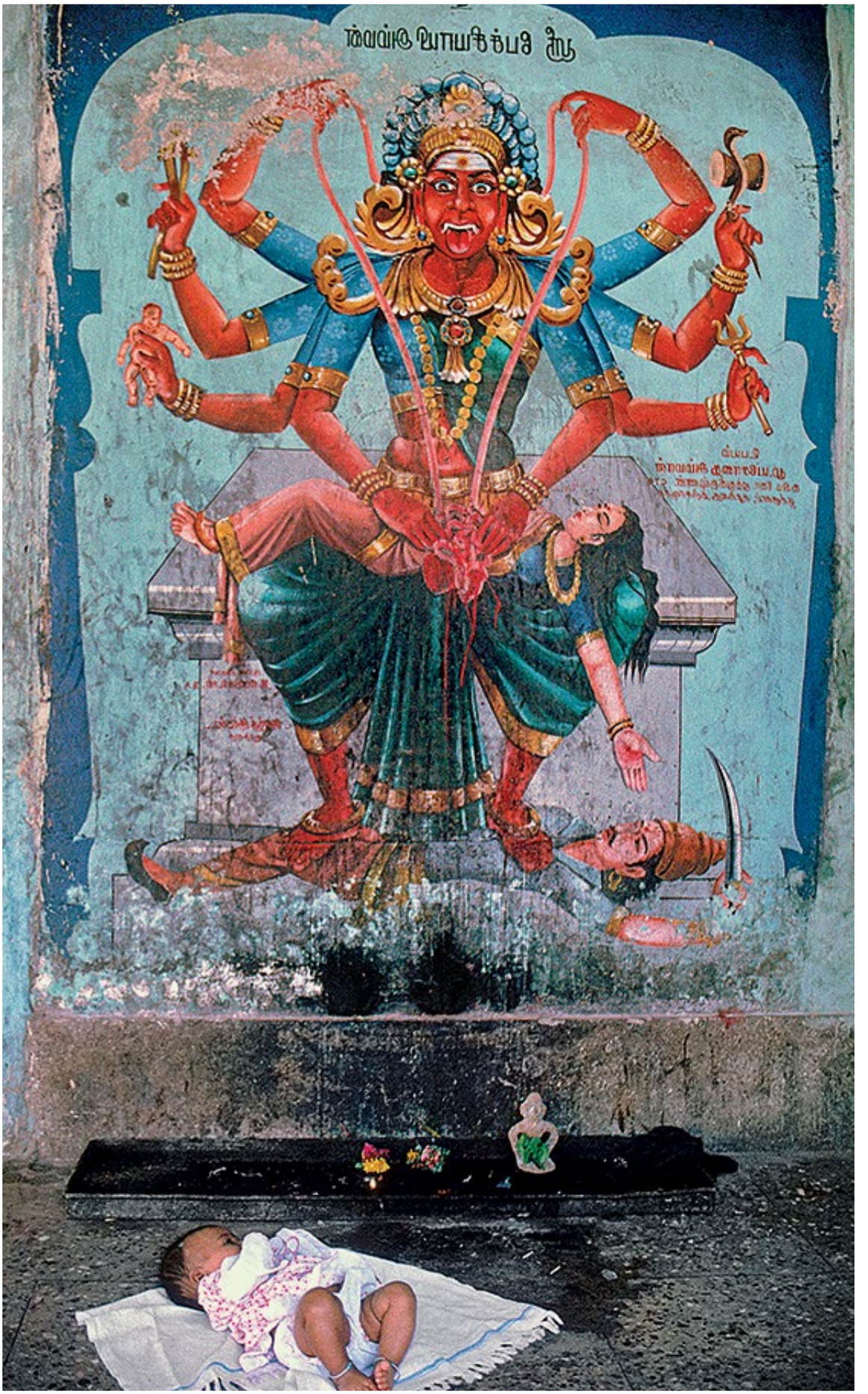

Fig. 17 Dancing Ganesha from Uttar Pradesh, 11th century. Cat. 102.

Fig. 18 Worship of Ganesha in a corridor of the Meenakshi temple, Madurai, Tamil Nadu. Photograph © Stephen P. Huyler.

size of his protuberant belly, his pose is sprightly, his right leg lifted as he stomps out the rhythms familiar to all Indians. This sculpture, missing its base, was removed from the niche of a temple and retains no indications of prior pujas. In contrast, a later stone image of a seated Ganesha (fig. 18) has been worshipped for centuries beneath a sacred tree in one of the corridors of the Meenakshi temple in Madurai, Tamil Nadu. In requesting his beneficence, passing pilgrims rub sacred powders—yellow turmeric and red vermilion—onto his head, trunk, belly, and limbs, and offer him blades of *durva* grass believed to enhance prosperity.

The superb sandstone sculpture in figure 19 (cat. 15) was carved in the 11th century for a temple in Rajasthan and shows a standing Vishnu flanked by attendants and devotees below, with Brahma and Shiva seated on either side above and the Dashavatara (Vishnu's ten incarnations) at the top. Vishnu carries in his four hands those symbols, or attributes, that easily identify him as the supreme deity whose path of righteousness and devotion (*bhakti*) maintains and governs the universe. In his upper left hand is the *sudarshana chakra* (discus), which symbolizes the purified mind and the destruction of ego. His upper right hand holds the *gada* (club or mace), his divine power that suppresses evil. His lower left hand carries the *panchajanya shankha* (the conch he obtained by killing the demon Panchajanya) with which he blows the divinely pure sound of creation and continuity. Hanging from the palm of his lower right hand is the *mala* (rosary) of prayer and meditation.[14] Artistically exquisite, this image portrays no signs of having been in worship.

Originally, the sculpture in figure 19 would probably have been mounted on the exterior wall of a Vaishnava temple in a manner similar to that of a contemporaneous, but iconographically different, sculpture of Vishnu still in situ on the Vishvanatha temple in Khajuraho shown in figure 20. While the Rajasthani image is surrounded by almost two score diminutive attendant figures, the Vishnu in Khajuraho is flanked by two full-size buxom handmaidens. Although the iconography of the in-site temple image is less elaborate in its figural forms than that of the example in the exhibition, the contextual use of the latter is clear. Such steles on temple walls serve a didactic rather than a devotional purpose and hence differ from images in the sanctum.

Fig. 19 Standing Vishnu from Rajasthan, ca. 11th century. Cat. 15.

Fig. 20 Standing Vishnu with female attendants, Vishvanatha temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, 10th–11th century. Photograph by Rudra Narayan Mitra.

Processional Images

Images in active worship in most major Hindu temples are never allowed to be moved. To do so would be to corrupt and defile their divine essence. Exceptions to this norm exist in a small percentage of temples where the primary murti is reverentially carried outside its shrine. Yet, religious festivals are essential features of every annual Hindu calendar, and the procession of the deity outside the temple and through his or her local domain is integral to almost every festival. This apparent ethical contradiction is solved through the creation and use of temporary vessels for each deity's personal power. Most, but not all, of these pro tem icons are sculpted and cast in bronze. In fact, almost all of the large bronze Hindu sculptures familiar in museums and art collections were originally created as *utsavamurtis*: festival or processional images. The primary image in a temple can never be altered and is often svayambhu rather than made by human hand, yet devotees want to display their deity as elegantly as possible. Consequently, it is natural that some of the finest artistic creativity in India's history has been focused upon the design and production of magnificent festival images.

Two bronze processional images in our collection (figs. 21 and 22; cats. 86 and 114) were created in Tamil Nadu. Both are examples of the highest achievement in Indian bronze sculpting and casting. They exhibit typical Chola features of a sensuous, S-curved body supported on one firmly grounded leg while the other is slightly bent and the arms are gracefully fluid. Figure 21 portrays the Goddess Parvati. Without doubt, this figure would have stood on the left side of a bronze *utsavamurti* of her consort Shiva. As lovely as she is, the subtle proportions of the image in figure 22 are particularly superb. This handsome and youthful figure, also a festival image, depicts Chandeshvara, considered by many to be the most important of the sixty-three Shaiva saints, or Nayanmar (singular, Nayanar). Many southern Indian temples to Shiva contain subsidiary shrines to Chandeshvara. This bronze holds his two hands in the gesture of *pranam* (respectful greeting) while pressing between his palms a mala, or rosary, that represents his devotion to Shiva.

Large southern Indian temples can have in their collections hundreds of bronze utsavamurtis, each with a different identity and iconography according to the requirements of a specific festival. Some festivals feature only one or a few processional images while others employ dozens. In some temples, festival images not in use are kept on view for devotees to acknowledge during

Fig. 21 Processional image of Parvati, Tamil Nadu, 14th century. Cat. 86.

Fig. 22 Processional image of Chandeshvara, Tamil Nadu, 13th century. Cat. 114.

their ritual circumambulations of the central shrine. In others, they are stored out of sight until they are needed. The honor of acting as liaison for the deity is reserved for only the most senior and highly respected brahmans. They will carefully clean the bronze prior to formal upachara. Intricately prescribed *shloka*s (religious verses/couplets) must be perfectly recited to invoke the deity to inhabit his or her utsavamurti for the duration of the festival. The newly occupied image is now treated as God fully present and is given an elaborate anointment before being dressed in the finest silks and adorned with fine jewels. Many southern Indian temples are famous for the incredible wealth of their treasures, which contain entire sets of priceless jewels donated by royalty

Figs. 23 and 24 Images of Shiva (with Parvati, fig. 24) being taken out in procession during the Panguni Peruvizha festival at the Kapaleeshvarar temple in Mylapore, Chennai, Tamil Nadu. Photographs © Stephen P. Huyler.

and other rich patrons throughout the centuries. Specific sets are designated for each processional bronze. The most precious are reserved for the primary deity such as Shiva or Parvati, while images of minor deities or saints such as Chandeshvara wear less ornate adornments.[15] Once suitably decorated, the image is placed upon a temple cart—often an impressively carved and ornamented wooden vehicle used solely for this single annual event. The cart will have been freshly painted and/or polished and decorated with new cloths and numerous garlands of flowers. Brahmans surround the murti while devotees pull the cart through the temple gates and onto the streets surrounding the temple. The entire community turns out for the occasion along with devotees from all the neighboring villages, towns, and cities.

Figures 23 and 24 are photographs of the processions of two utsavamurtis of Shiva on different days of the same Panguni Peruvizha festival at the Kapaleeshvarar temple in Mylapore, Chennai, Tamil Nadu. In figure 23, the colossal wooden cart containing the God's bronze murti is pulled through the streets by hundreds of avid devotees while spectators throng for darshan of the deity.

Lines of uniformed police restrain overly exuberant worshippers. Figure 24 focuses more closely on a smaller, gilded cart in which bronze images of Shiva and Parvati have been profusely decorated. Seated priests dispense *vibhuti* (sacred ash) to the outstretched hands of lucky participants.[16]

Figure 25 portrays two large carts being readied for a temple procession in Gokarna, Karnataka. The elaborately carved base of the front cart is not dissimilar to that of the large cart drawn by throngs of devotees in figure 23. The primary wooden structure of this cart was built in the 18th century and covered with hundreds of intricately carved panels depicting deities and scenes from Hindu epics and popular legends. As carvings crack and disintegrate, they are typically replaced by newer artworks, and it is not unusual for such a cart to contain examples of the creative endeavors of generations of local woodcarvers.

A portion of a considerably smaller 18th-century processional cart from a rural Tamil temple is represented in figure 26 (cat. 19). The sculptor has carved a beaked and winged Garuda, the *vahana*, or mount of Vishnu, who is shown sitting on a platform carried on the mythical bird's shoulders. Originally, both images would have been painted in bright polychrome and appropriately dressed and garlanded during processions. In this circumstance, the wooden image of Vishnu was the primary utsavamurti and would have served the same function for its patron village temple as the bronze images did in more wealthy communities.

Fig. 25 Processional carts in Gokarna, Karnataka, primary structures from the 18th century. Photograph © Marina Pissarova.

Objects Associated with and Ancillary to Puja

Many of the Hindu objects in this exhibition were created not as the primary images in worship, murtis, but rather as ancillary items used to enhance the sense of devotion and to facilitate pujas. These items include paintings that illustrate epic legends or graphically describe the individual characters of deities or instruct devotees in the correct manner of performing specific sacred rituals. For example, devotional paintings on cloth, called *pichhvai*, are employed in western Indian temples devoted to the God Krishna as visual and environmental aids, complementary to the primary image in the sanctum.

The central image of a flute-playing and dancing Krishna (fig. 27, cat. 58) in an early 19th-century pichhvai from Rajasthan is familiar to

Fig. 26 Part of a processional cart from rural Tamil Nadu, with an image of Garuda bearing Vishnu on his shoulders, 18th century. Cat. 19.

Fig. 27 Temple hanging (Pichhvai) of Krishna with gopis, Rajasthan, early 19th century. Cat. 58.

Fig. 28 Center detail of monumental painting from Odisha, depicting the legend of Krishna, late 19th-early 20th century. Cat. 49.

us from the bronze household images depicted in figures 4 and 5. Here the god is shown surrounded by dancing cowherdesses (*gopis*). Directly beneath him is his temple flanked by the cows that he herded during his life. Pichhvais such as this were created to hang directly behind the primary image of Krishna (the word *picchvai* means "of the back"). Each temple was designed as a *haveli* (mansion or palace) in which the sanctum sanctorum, or garbha griha, is modeled on a throne room. Pichhvais enhance this interior atmosphere by illustrating the legends of the deity. With prolonged use, these cloths often become damaged and stained by the smoke and spray of anointment liquids, so they must be replaced periodically. A Krishna temple may have dozens of these paintings to commemorate different auspicious occasions, each describing a separate scene or story and hung only during a specific festival or event. For instance, the pichhvai in figure 27 honors the festival of the autumn full moon, Sarat Purnima, shown in the center of the sky with celestial thrones bearing attendant deities and musicians on either side.[17]

A very large painting (fig. 28, cat. 49) from the eastern state of Odisha portrays the entire legend of Krishna. It was created in the late 19th or early 20th century as an aide-mémoire and as a way to graphically teach children the many stories from the life of this popular God. Originally, it may have hung on the wall of a community school or perhaps in the home of a village brahman. The primary scene in the large central panel is the *ras lila*: it shows Krishna and Radha dancing beneath a kadamba tree, along with a bevy of beautiful women devotees. According to the story, each woman believed herself to be the total focus of Krishna's sublime love. The ninety-four small scenes that encompass the lila depict well-known incidents of the cowherd God's adventures beginning in infancy, from the time he stole butter from his mother's kitchen, to his many amorous encounters as a young man, to his picking up the large hill of Govardhan to shelter his devotees from a torrential storm. Each is used to convey different lessons of ethics, moral conduct, and pious behavior.

One of India's most important Vaishnava temples is dedicated to Krishna in the form of Jagannath (Lord of the Universe) in Puri, Odisha. Within the temple's sanctum, the three primary murtis of the God and his brother and sister are wooden, not stone as elsewhere. A unique ancient custom prescribes that every twelve years, these three wooden images are replaced with precisely carved replicas newly invoked with divine energy.

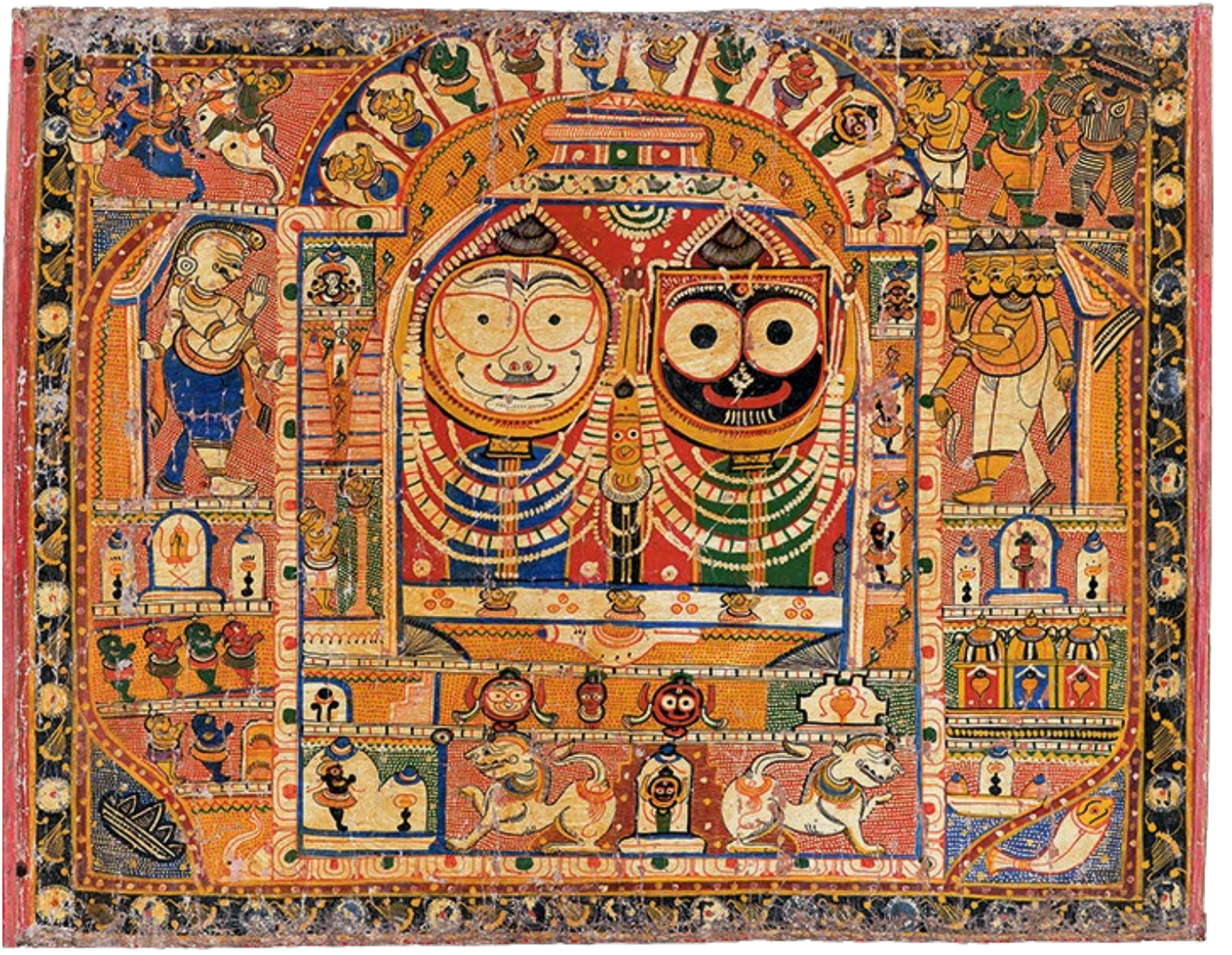

Fig. 29 Painting representing the Jagannatha temple complex in Puri, Odisha, late 19th century. Cat. 33.

Once each year during the monsoon season, these three murtis, not their bronze utsavamurtis as in other temples, are placed in enormous wooden temple carts and pulled through the city streets by tens of thousands of ardent worshippers. Millions of pilgrims travel to Puri each year for darshan of Jagannath. Two of the paintings in this exhibition would have been created in a village near Puri for pilgrims to take back home with them both to commemorate their darshan and as objects of devotion. They might have served the same purpose as a postcard or poster would today and could also have been used as murtis in the household shrine (as in fig. 1).[18]

The painting above (fig. 29, cat. 33) is a representation of the great temple complex. At the center, it portrays the three deities within the sanctum. Lord Jagannath is typically black-faced with a green body; his brother, Balabhadra, is white-faced with a blue body; and their sister,

Fig. 30 Detail of fig. 29 showing subsidiary shrines within temple complex.

Subhadra, is a diminutive figure between them with a yellow face and black body. In the image, the central shrine is surmounted by the ten primary Vaishnava avatars, while surrounding it is a de facto map of the subsidiary temple shrines showing the various gods and goddesses worshipped therein (fig. 30).

Images of deities and iconographic symbols have been employed as decorative devices in virtually every available artistic medium in India. The exterior and interior walls of homes as well as columns, posts, beams, ceiling brackets, and even entire ceilings may be covered with painted or carved designs that at least in some part convey sacred idioms. Styles and application vary from region to region and reflect the economic and social level of the occupants. Throughout India, the entrance (the threshold, lintel, and often the door itself) is the most commonly decorated area of the home. The purpose is not only to make the house appear attractive to all earthly visitors but also to draw the beneficent attention of the Gods.

The doorways of temples as well as the homes of wealthy merchants in the Chettinad region of Tamil Nadu, southern India, have been traditionally decorated with elaborate wood carvings. Figures 31 and 33 (cats. 72 and 113) are late 18th-century examples of these sculptures from a house, temple, or chariot. Figure 32 shows similar carvings still in use in a Chettinad house. The center of the lintel panel shown in figure 31 is occupied by Shiva and Parvati seated upon the bull. To their right is Ganesha, and to their left is Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. Facing each of these divine figures are supplicants, their hands held together in devotion. While the side panel is largely decorative, the sacred figures on the lintel serve to remind both entering and departing householders and visitors to acknowledge the Divine throughout the day.[19] The rearing horse, leonine *yali*, and other figures on the bracket in figure 33 clearly reference the 14th- to 16th-century sculpted stone pillars of the great hall of the Sriranganathaswamy temple in Tiruchirappalli, Tamil Nadu.

Fire is an essential part of all formal puja. It has many uses. Lamps, or *dipa*s, fueled with ghee or oil are used in each shrine as a means of physical and spiritual illumination. After darshan of the deity, the priest typically passes a tray before the devotees upon which is a flame of burning camphor. Worshippers place their hands just above this arati fire to symbolize the raising of their consciousness through prayer. A common style of lamp called a *dipalakshmi* may be used in both temples and households to facilitate puja. Typically this is sculpted and cast in bronze to represent a standing female devotee holding in her hands a hollowed dish that contains fuel and a floating wick, the lighted tip of which protrudes from the point at the dish's front edge. Some of India's finest artistic innovations have been applied to designing dipalakshmis, and there are thousands of varieties. Two examples are illustrated in figures 34 and 35, while figure 36 (cat. 115) is a unique painting of the 16th-century Hindu saint-poet Mirabai holding two lighted lamps as she walks presumably into a shrine honoring her primary deity, Krishna. The 19th-century Mewari painter has obviously modeled his depiction closely upon the well-known Hindu archetype of the dipalakshmi.

While many of the Hindu objects in this exhibition were originally intended as vehicles for the Divine, others are used to inform and to facilitate worship. None of these items is still consecrated. By removing them from sacred use, their innate shakti (power) is believed to be diminished, and yet they still contain key elements of their original purpose. Whether they were originally created as murtis or as ancillary facets of puja, they exemplify the primary tenet of Hinduism that God is everywhere, indefinable but simultaneously manifest within innumerable individual icons: the one and the many. For the pious Hindu devotee, God is directly accessible through puja.

Fig. 31 Carved wooden lintel from Tamil Nadu, 18th-19th century. Cat. 72.

Fig. 32 Carved wooden doorway of a house in Chettinad, Tamil Nadu, still in use. Photograph © dbimages.

Pages 82-83 Detail of Fig. 31.

Fig. 33 Carved wooden bracket from Tamil Nadu, 18th century. Cat. 113.

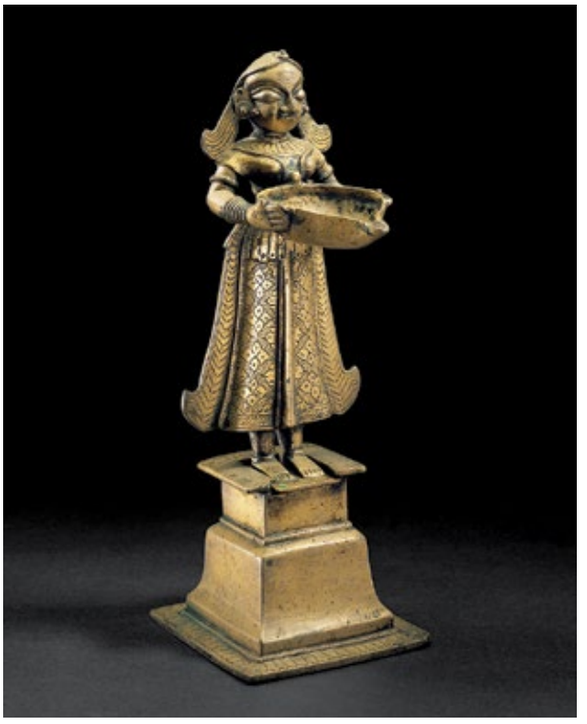

Fig. 34 Brass dipalakshmi from Rajasthan, 19th–20th century. Fowler Museum at UCLA, Gift of the Pal Family, X2001.11.22a,b. © Photo courtesy of the Fowler Museum at UCLA, Photograph by Don Cole.

Fig. 35 Brass dipalakshmi from Tamil Nadu, 19th century. Fowler Museum at UCLA, Gift of the Pal Family, X2001.11.a. © Photo courtesy of the Fowler Museum at UCLA, Photograph by Don Cole.

NOTES

1 Eck 1985, pp. 3–10.

2 Despite the fact that it is ubiquitous in India, surprisingly little has been published on Hindu household worship. Further examples and descriptions may be found in Huyler 1999, chap. 3.

3 Kinsley 1986, pp. 70–80.

4 Detailed examples of similar composite shrine images may be found in Mallebrien 1993, p. 188.

5 See Fuller 1992; Chatterjee 1996, p. 67.

6 Walker 1995, pp. 278–82.

7 For detailed descriptions of temples and their diverse architecture and functions, see Michell 1988.

8 In a private interview, noted scholar Sunithi Narayan said, "Linga means symbol and consists of three equal parts of the whole shaft. The part that is embedded in the ground is square and represents *Brahma*. The part that is enclosed by the circular receptacle is prismatic (either eight or sixteen-faced) and represents Vishnu. The last exposed part is cylindrical and represents *Shiva*. All three together are the Linga, the connecting link between the abstract and material, the formless and the formed." Sunithi Narayan, interview with the author.

9 Dye 1980, pp. 72–75.

10 Meister 1984, p. 59; Maxwell 1997, pp. 55–57.

11 Kinsley 1986, pp. 95–115.

12 Huyler 1999, pp. 143–49.

13 Courtright 1985.

14 Maxwell 1997, pp. 72–95.

15 Krishnan 2015.

16 Waghorne 1992, pp. 9–32.

17 Ambalal 1987.

18 Preston 1985, pp. 14–22.

19 Muthiah et al. 2000, pp. 105–6.

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Fig. 36 Mewari painting of Mirabai carrying lamps, Rajasthan, dated 1838. Cat. 115.

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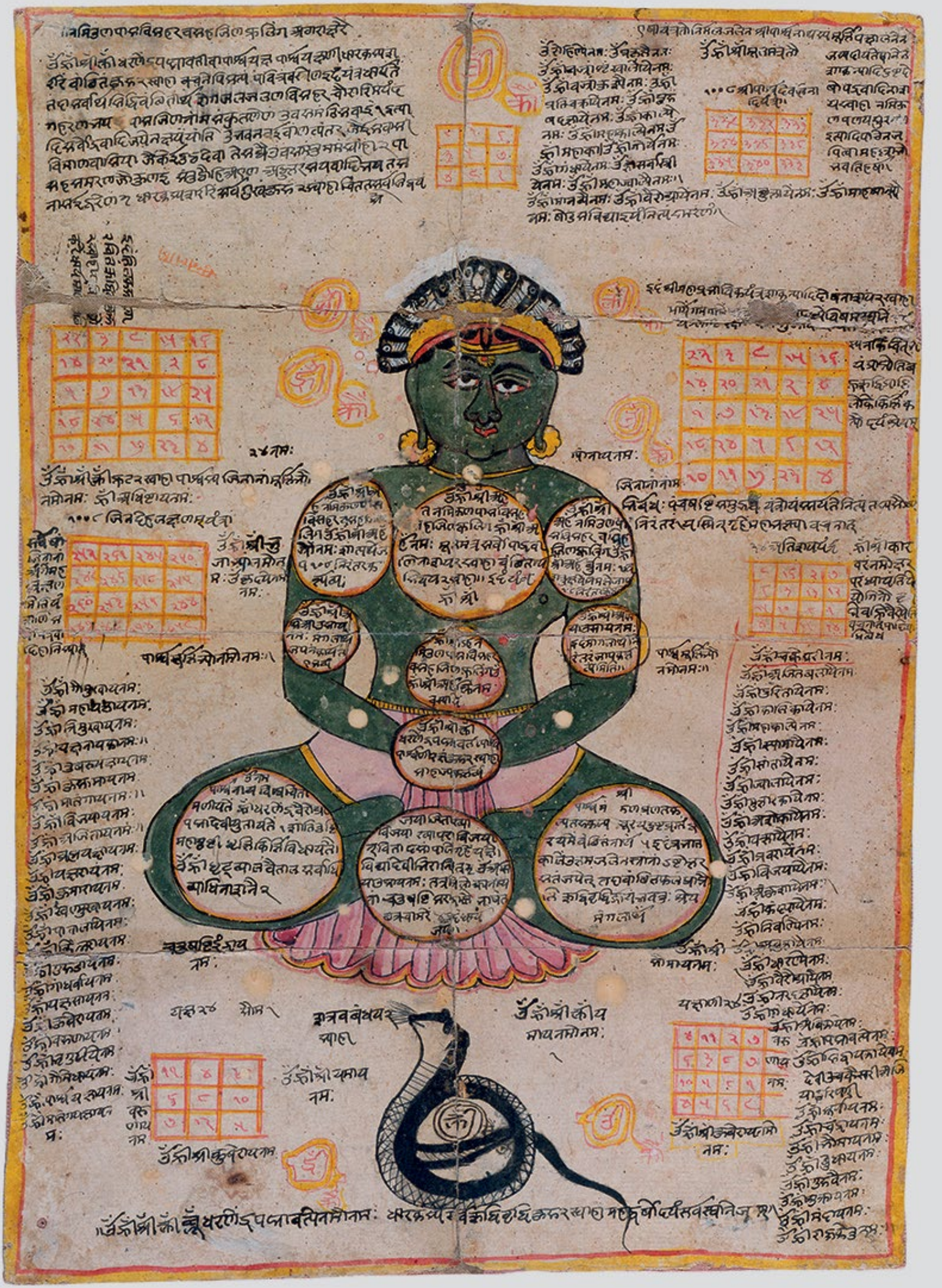

John E. Cort

Devotion at Home, Devotion in the Temple: Patterns of Jain Worship

The Shvetambara Jain monk Hemachandra, who lived from 1088 until 1172, was one of the towering intellectual figures of Jainism. He was rightly known as "the omniscient one of this dark age." His combination of intellectual brilliance and spiritual potential was recognized early: he was just five years old when his mother gave him to the monk Devachandra, who initiated the boy as a novice monk with the name of Somachandra. As a result of his scholarly prowess, Somachandra was promoted to the senior post of *acharya* (religious preceptor and highest leader of a Jain order) at the very young age of twenty-one, and renamed Hemachandra. He became one of the intellectual and literary jewels at the court of the Chaulukya emperor Jayasimha Siddharaja, who reigned over the Gujarat kingdom from 1092 until 1141.

Jain and Hindu historians record that Hemachandra was instrumental in the accession to the throne by Kumarapala (r. 1142–73), the nephew of Jayasimha. While almost all of Gujarat's monarchs of the time were supportive of Jainism (the Jains being economically and socially the dominant community in the region), Kumarapala went one step further and became a Jain himself, with Hemachandra as his personal preceptor. To guide his disciple, Hemachandra wrote the *Yogashastra* (Scripture on Spiritual Discipline). In its first four chapters, Hemachandra presented in great detail the proper religious conduct of a Jain layman.[1]

Before going further into the details of Hemachandra's instructions to his disciple, however, it would be helpful to provide some basic information about Jainism. The Jain tradition focuses upon the lives and teachings of a series of enlightened and liberated Jain teachers, known as Jina ([Spiritual] Conqueror) and Tirthankara (Congregation Founder). According to the tradition, there has been a series of twenty-four Jinas in this part of the cosmos (Jinas live in other parts of the cosmos as well). The last of the current cycle of twenty-four was Vardhamana Mahavira, who lived about 2,500 years ago in northern India and was an elder contemporary of Siddhartha Gautama the Buddha.

Each Jina-to-be is born into a royal family, but renounces the world to become a homeless monk. Through the strenuous practice of renunciation, asceticism, and meditative equanimity, he attains enlightenment and gains insight into the causes of the suffering of all sentient beings. By means of further meditations and austerities, he liberates his pure soul from the bondage of karma that has tied it to a round of suffering and rebirth.[2] After his enlightenment but prior to attaining full liberation from the body, he teaches the path to enlightenment and liberation to others who become the community of

Detail of *Shevetambara Tantric Composition with an Image of Jina Parshvanatha*, Rajasthan, ca. 1775–1800. Cat. 130.

followers of the Jinas, known as Jains. Only Jinas are active teachers after their enlightenment and thus are known as *arhat*s (worthy ones). Other enlightened souls withdraw from all worldly engagement in their perfect dispassion and are known as *siddha*s (perfected ones). Since liberation is the highest state of existence in Jainism, the arhats and siddhas function individually and collectively as "God" for Jains, in that they embody this highest religious ideal and goal.

Jains follow the teachings of Mahavira in two ways. A small minority choose to follow the example of the Jinas and renounce the world, becoming possessionless and homeless wandering monks and nuns. Their spiritual lives are marked by extreme vegetarian dietary restrictions in order to effect as little harm in the world as possible. They engage in other forms of asceticism aimed at wearing away accumulated karma and practicing equanimity in order to become indifferent to the things of the world. Because attraction and aversion are the two primary causes of karmic bondage, Jain monks and nuns seek to be neither attracted nor averse to the inevitable joys and sufferings of worldly existence.

Most Jains, however, choose not to follow this heroic spiritual path, and instead remain in the world as householders. They follow Mahavira's teachings in an alternative, devotionally centered way. They improve their spiritual status through venerating and providing material support to the monks and nuns, and by worshipping the spiritual ideal represented by the Jinas.

Jainism arose in northeastern India, but for the past millennium most Jains have lived in western, central, and southern India. The majority have pursued a life of trade, and the Jains are among the wealthier communities in India. In the past century, several hundred thousand of them have migrated to other parts of Asia, as well as to North America, Europe, and East Africa, in pursuit of opportunities to better their financial well-being.

Doctrinal and ritual differences in the centuries after Mahavira resulted in several sectarian divisions among the Jains. The Digambaras believe that since the Jinas renounced all clothing and were naked (*dig-ambara*; literally "sky-clad"), true monks should also be naked (fig. 1, cat. 128; see also fig. 13, cat. 125). The numerically larger sect of Shvetambaras disagrees, and says that in this less than perfect age, a true monk should wear simple clothes and be "white-clad" (*shveta-ambara*). The two communities also differ on various matters of doctrine and practice and on details in the biographies of Mahavira and other Jinas. The Shvetambaras are further divided into Murtipujakas, who build temples and worship icons of the Jinas therein, and Sthanakavasis and Terapanthis, who reject the ritual culture of temples and icons. In an exhibition of Jain ritual art that focuses primarily on icons, the latter two groups are inevitably underrepresented.

Hemachandra and Jain Devotion

Hemachandra belonged to the icon-worshipping branch of the Shvetambaras. As part of the instructions for his patron and student, he wrote that after waking and bathing, the ideal layman should perform the ritual known as *puja* (literally "honoring") to worship an icon of one of the Jinas in his home. Only after worshipping at home, wrote Hemachandra, should Kumarapala go to a nearby public temple to worship the icons there.[3] This is one of the earliest extant references in Jain literature to the house shrine, an important feature of Jain ritual culture, which has not been adequately noted in scholarship on the Jains. In addition to the thousands of large and small public Jain temples that dot the landscape of India and, increasingly, that of Europe, North America, and wherever else Jains have migrated over the past century, there is a rich architectural tradition of shrines in Jain houses.

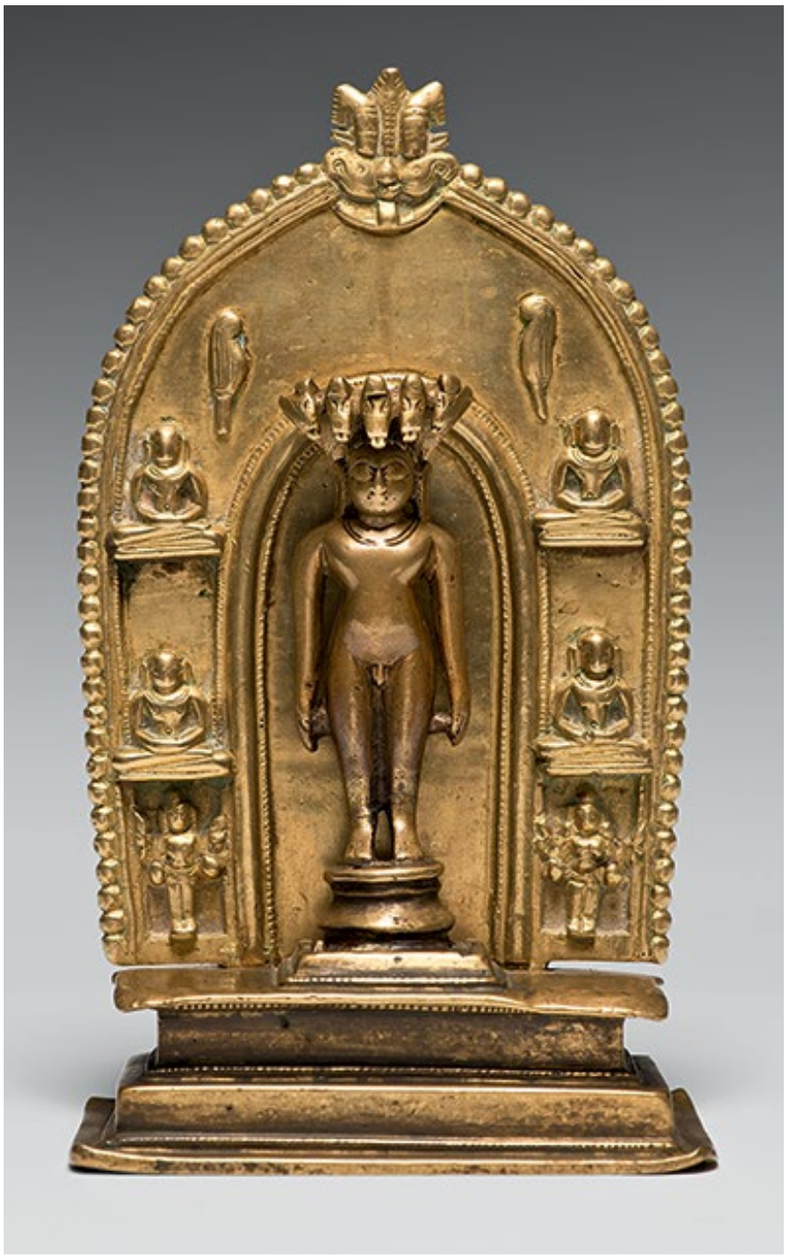

Fig. 1 Digambara panchatirthika icon with Jina Parshvanatha and four other Jinas, Karnataka, 15th century. Cat. 128.

Although we do not know what sort of shrine Kumarapala had in his palace, it was most likely elaborate and decorated in the distinctive regional style of the period. Kumarapala lived at a time when patrons in Gujarat were just beginning to mobilize the required financial resources and materials to build stone temples. The alluvial plain of Gujarat is largely devoid of stone quarries, and neighboring areas rich in the material came under centralized control only in the 11th and 12th centuries. Most earlier substantial religious and secular buildings, therefore, were built of a combination of brick and timber.[4] Kumarapala's domestic shrine may well have been carved from wood. We just do not know. We do, however, have examples of carved wooden household shrines from at least as early as the 15th century. Subsequently, numerous such shrines were installed in Gujarati Jain houses (fig. 2). Carved wooden Jain house shrines (Gujarati: *ghar derasar*) became one of the artistic genres for which Gujarati Shvetambara Jainism is known in the larger art world. More than a dozen of them have found their way into museum collections in India, Europe, and North America, as we see in an impressive example in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art (see fig. 14, cat. 132).

Another monk active in the Chaulukya court at the same time as Hemachandra was Nemichandra. In his *Pravachana Saroddhara* (Uplifting Essence of the Teachings), he wrote that there are five kinds of Jina icons, which he defined according to where they should be located, rather than their iconography.[5] One of these is a *bhakti* or "devotional" icon, which he said is an icon worshipped in the home, as opposed to the other four, which are situated above temple doorways or worshipped on temple altars. Hemachandra's reference to house shrines, therefore, was not unique but presumably indicated a widespread practice of domestic Jain devotion in the 12th century.

A History of Jain House Shrines

The first known prescriptive mention of domestic shrines comes a century and a half after Hemachandra, Kumarapala, and Nemichandra. Thakkura Pheru was a Jain layman who served as an assayer in the mint of Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Khalji in Delhi in the first quarter of the 14th century.[6] The texts he authored for which we have dates come from between 1315 and 1318. In addition to works on coins, metals, and jewels, he wrote a treatise on architecture, the *Vastusara* (Essence of Architecture). Thakkura Pheru described the icons that could be worshipped in a house shrine, but not the shrine itself. In particular, he listed which icons are not suitable for a house shrine. He wrote,

> One should not keep and worship in a house shrine the following kinds of icons: ones made of stone, plaster, wood or ivory; painted pictures; ones lacking the carved surround (*parikara*); and ones taller than eleven fingers. According to earlier experts, one can worship in the home an icon between one and eleven fingers in height. An icon taller than this should be worshipped only in a temple.[7]

The reference to "earlier experts" tells us that the prescription for the ideal size of an icon in a house shrine predates Thakkura Pheru. Eleven fingers is roughly 9 inches (about 23 centimeters), and indeed this is about as large an icon as one could easily worship in most extant house shrines. The need for smaller icons, cast from metal (usually bronze) and including the carved surround, to worship in house shrines helps account for the large number of these, both in India and in museum collections around the world.

Later medieval authors wrote that an icon lacking the carved surround represents the Jina as a siddha, a completely liberated soul, while an icon with the carved surround represents the Jina as an arhat, a liberated but still embodied teacher.

Fig. 2 Shvetambara home shrine in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. Photograph: John E. Cort.

Worshipping the Jina as a siddha, someone no longer present in the world, would be inappropriate in a domestic setting, for Jain householders are still very much involved with the affairs of the world. Thousands of small bronze icons, usually between 6 and 9 inches in height, were cast and consecrated for use in house shrines. Several of the bronze icons in this exhibition would have been suitable for a house shrine and may well have been worshipped in such a setting.

Fig. 3 Man worshipping at a Digambara home shrine in Jaipur, Rajasthan. Photograph: John E. Cort.

The later authors further specified that an icon in a house shrine should have a height that is an odd number of fingers, for an even number is inauspicious. An otherwise unknown late medieval Digambara author named Umasvami, who wrote his *Shravakachara* (Conduct of a Layman) sometime in the 16th or 17th century, said that worshipping icons that are an even number of fingers in height destroys one's wealth and brings other afflictions. The worship of icons that are an odd number of fingers in height, on the other hand, brings results such as an increase in one's wealth, cows, and sons.[8]

Umasvami also explained the proper location of a shrine and other rooms in the house. The women's quarters should be in the east, the kitchen in the southeast, the sleeping quarters in the south, the storeroom for weapons and other such things in the southwest, the eating space to the west, the storeroom of wealth in the northwest, and the bathing space to the north. The shrine, wrote Umasvami, should be in the northeast portion of the house. This should be on a person's left as he enters the house, so the entrance would need to be on the northern side.[9] Several authors added that whereas a public temple should have a flagpole to announce its presence, this is inappropriate for a house shrine.[10] Fieldwork has confirmed that Umasvami's prescriptions fit many extant Digambara house shrines in Jaipur, as they lack a flagpole and are often found in the northeast corner of the dwelling (fig. 3). Umasvami did not discuss multistoried houses; in such cases, the preferred location of a contemporary house shrine in both Digambara and Shvetambara houses is on the top floor, so that no one will be guilty of disrespecting the icon by walking above it.

The later authors also expanded on the idea of which Jina icons were appropriate for domestic worship. They emphasized that a layperson should worship a Jina icon in the house in a manner that would not engender *vairagya*, a sense of aversion to the world that could lead one to renounce material life and become a Jain monk or nun.[11] Instead, a householder should worship a Jina icon in a way that generates an atmosphere of *shanti* (peace); this is an appropriate domestic ideal.

Worship of the Icon of the Jina

In his autocommentary on the verse in which he instructed Kumarapala to worship a Jina icon in his dwelling before going to the temple, Hemachandra briefly indicated what this worship should entail.[12] He said that the icon should depict the Jina as an arhat. The worshipper should adorn it with flowers, sweet-smelling ointment, incense, perfume, cloth, and ornaments. In front of the icon, he should offer a platter of cooked food, fruits, unbroken rice, a lamp, water, and clarified

butter. Finally, he should sing a hymn in which he praises the virtues of the Jina that are embodied in the icon. In particular, Hemachandra recommended singing the *Shakra Stava*. This is a hymn in Prakrit, the ancient liturgical language of the Jains, which the kings of the heavenly realms sing to each Jina on the occasion of his birth.[13] In this hymn, the worshipper recites a long series of honorifics to praise the Jinas as perfected, liberated beings. Hemachandra here prescribed that Kumarapala—and by extension, any pious Jain layman with a house shrine—worship the icon using an abbreviated form of the fuller ritual performed in a temple. Noteworthy is that whereas Hemachandra described at some length the rite of ablution (*abhisheka*, *snana*, *prakshala*) to be performed in the temple, he omitted any mention of this in the house shrine.

Whether or not the worshipper should ritually bathe the icon in a house shrine on a daily basis became a controversial topic in the ensuing centuries. Shvetambara authorities were in agreement that this ritual is necessary for a consecrated icon in a public temple. Writing half a millennium after Hemachandra, the monk Yashovijaya, in his commentary on the *Dharma Sangraha* (Compilation on Dharma) of his colleague Manavijaya, gave a lengthy description of the rite of bathing the Jina icon in the house shrine as part of his discussion of the daily ritual duties of a pious Shvetambara layman.[14] Yashovijaya, who lived from 1624 to 1688, was the most important Shvetambara intellectual after Hemachandra. He was deeply learned and explicitly quoted from Hemachandra's *Yogashastra* in his description of the rituals in a house shrine. Yashovijaya wrote that the worshipper should stir saffron, camphor, herbs, sandalwood, and other sweet-smelling and auspicious substances into pure water, and use this mixture to bathe the icon. While bathing the icon, the worshipper should imagine participating in the ritual of the postnatal bath of each Jina that is performed by an assembly of Indras and other heavenly beings atop Mount Meru. The ritual bathing of a Jina icon has become one of the best-known visual images of Jainism through the spectacular bathing of the giant, 57-foot-tall (nearly 18 meters) image of the Jain saint Bahubali in Shravanabelagola, in the state of Karnataka, an event that takes place every ten to fifteen years and gains worldwide publicity (fig. 4).[15]

Yashovijaya and Hemachandra provided other information on the rite of worshipping the Jina icon. They said that the worshipper must bathe thoroughly before commencing the ritual. Through engaging in the purification of the body by going to the latrine, bathing, brushing one's teeth, and cleaning one's tongue, the worshipper is simultaneously purifying his or her inner spiritual intentions. The worshipper should then don pure clothes that are set aside for this purpose.[16] These are clothes in which one has not engaged in polluting activities such as going to the latrine or engaging in sexual intercourse. A man should don two pieces of cloth: a lower one tied around his waist, and an upper wrap. A woman should don three pieces: a skirt, a blouse, and a sari or other outer wrap. The clothes should be white (although many women wear their brightly colored and auspicious silk wedding saris to perform puja; and men sometimes stretch the meaning of white to include fine cream-colored cloth, also often of silk), should not be torn or burnt, and in the case of the men's cloths, should be unstitched. While performing the ritual, the worshipper should also tie a pure piece of white cloth over his or her mouth. This emphasizes the Jain ethical imperative of *ahimsa*, or nonharm: when engaged in worship, one should be careful not to cause harm to microorganisms in the air through the injurious act of exhaling hot breath, and to prevent impurities in one's breath from getting on the image.

Fig. 4 Monumental icon of Bahubali at Shravanabelagola, Karnataka, end of the 10th century. Photograph: Cynthia Cunningham Cort.

Where Hemachandra simply said that the worshipper should adorn the icon, Yashovijaya specified that sandalwood paste be applied to nine places on the icon: the two big toes, the two knees, the two wrists, the two shoulders (the pairs of toes, knees, wrists, and shoulders being counted as one place each, not two), the top of the head, the forehead, the throat, the heart, and the navel. Many larger stone icons in temples have silver knobs affixed to these points in the stone to aid in this process, and also to protect the underlying stone from being worn away (figs. 5 and 6). Finally, Yashovijaya indicated that the worshipper might also engage in celebratory rites such as dancing, drumming and singing before the Jina icon.

There are significant similarities in form and expression between the Jain ritual of icon-worship on the one hand, and Hindu and Buddhist rituals on the other, as seen in the other essays in this catalogue. This is not surprising, as these ritual cultures have interacted with and cross-fertilized each other for several millennia in South Asia. Nonetheless, when one looks at the multiple intentions and experiences of seemingly similar acts of worship, one can see that there are distinct Jain meanings attached to and generated by the actions of puja. Jain intellectuals have written and preached about this for centuries. While one cannot assume an exact fit between normative prescriptions as found in texts and individual experiences as observed in practice, we can with some degree of confidence discuss the intention and experience of Jain puja.[17]

Fig. 5 Shvetambara woman offering incense in worship of an icon of the Jina Parshvanatha at a temple in Patan, Gujarat. Photograph: John E. Cort.

Fig. 6 Ornamented Shvetambara icon of Jina Mahavira at a temple in Patan, Gujarat. Photograph: John E. Cort.

Jain Theology

According to orthodox Jain theology, the enlightened and liberated Jinas are now pure souls residing at the top of the cosmos. They are completely devoid of any connection with matter and abide in perfect perception, knowledge, bliss, and energy. They do not have any physical or spiritual presence in the world humans inhabit. As a result, it is impossible for there to be any "real presence" of the Jina in the icon.[18] In this, Jain theology differs significantly from many Hindu theologies, which assume that the deity physically enters and inhabits the icon, at least for the duration of the ritual.[19]

Further, according to Jain theology, the Jina in his liberated state is inactive in the world. While infinite potential is one of the attributes of the pure Jina, Jain theologians reason that before acting, one must have the desire to act. Desire is one of the chief causes of karmic bondage, and so a defining characteristic of the liberated Jina is that he is *vitaraga*, someone who has overcome *all* desires, even the desire to act in the world in a benevolent manner. During his lifetime, the Jina out of his infinite compassion spread the message of liberation to all sentient beings; but he himself does not effect the salvation of other beings. Each individual has to strive personally to achieve liberation.

The Jina, therefore, does not respond to the offerings and hymns of a Jain. This does not mean, however, that the ritual is either fruitless or in some other way meaningless. Jain theologians emphasize that in puja the worshipper is not just giving. He or she is also giving up

Fig. 7 Shvetambara painting of a Jina in the samavasarana, 18th-19th century. Cat. 124.

something—and this intention of renouncing attachments to the material world results in a positive transformation in the soul of the worshipper. To underscore the way that a worshipper works upon himself or herself in puja to effect such a positive spiritual transformation, Jain theologians have recommended that when standing before an icon of the Jina, whether in a house shrine or a temple, the worshipper should creatively imagine being in the very presence of the Jina himself, seated in the universal preaching assembly (*samavasarana*; fig. 7, cat. 124). This is the event that occurs after the enlightenment of each Jina. There is no Jina actively preaching today in this part of the cosmos, so a Jain cannot actually hear a Jina preach. In the act of puja, however, a Jain can imagine that he or she is in the presence of the Jina, and the spiritual results are the same.

As we saw above, the theologians also recommend that the worshipper, while performing the ablution of the Jina icon, imagine being present and assisting the heavenly Indras as they give each Jina his postnatal bath. This too has a positive spiritual effect upon the worshipper.

Fig. 8 Shvetambara icon of the Jina Parshvanatha, Gujarat or Rajasthan, ca. 14th century. Cat. 127.

Reflections on Jain Iconography

Jain theologians have written that the Jina icon visually depicts the perfections of enlightenment, renunciation, and dispassion that are the hallmarks of liberation. The icons of other religious traditions, as we see in this exhibition, depict deities who are actively engaged in the world—consider an icon of a dancing Shiva, a fierce Durga, an amorous Krishna and Radha, or even a suffering Christ. A Jina icon, whether seated or standing in meditation, depicts the enlightened and liberated soul in its perfect equanimity. The success of the form of the Jina in visually communicating the Jain spiritual ideal has resulted in a remarkable consistency in Jain iconography for two millennia. By worshipping and meditating upon this visual icon of spiritual perfection, the worshipper can cause those very same virtues to arise in his or her own soul, and thereby advance toward personal enlightenment and liberation.[20]

The four icons of the twenty-third Jina, Parshvanatha, in the exhibition are intended to function in this manner (figs. 8–10 and see fig. 1; cats. 117, 126–28). The three brass icons are deeply abraded, indicative of centuries of being lustrated on a daily basis, as generations of Jain worshippers imagined themselves to be symbolically present at the birth of the Jina. Two of the icons (see figs. 8 and 10) depict above the seated Jina the Indras who lustrate the Jina at the moment of his birth, an act that then serves as the charter for all other

Fig. 9 Shvetambara temple stele with the Jina Parshvanatha and attendants, Karnataka, 13th century. Cat. 117.

lustrations of the Jina and his icon. The attending figures in three of the icons (see figs. 8-10) who are fanning the Jina—an act of royal veneration, here transferred to the Jain icon of divine perfection—also provide models for the worship of the Jina, as fanning the icon is a part of most people's worship.

A fourth Parshvanatha icon (see fig. 1, cat. 128) has a more complex iconography, as the standing naked Digambara figure of Parshvanatha is flanked by four seated Jinas, in an assembly known as a *panchatirthi* (also *panchatirthika*), or "five Jina icon." There are still more elaborate Jina icons (cat. 129), that surround the central figure with twenty-three standing and/or seated Jinas, so depicting all twenty-four Jinas of this period of time in this part of the universe and known as *chauvisi* (also *chaturvimshatitirthika*), or "twenty-four Jina icon."

In this essay, I follow common Jain usage in all languages and refer to the Jina in the singular. There have been twenty-four Jinas on the earth in this period of time; however, time is beginningless and endless, and Jinas also live, teach, and are liberated in other parts of the cosmos, so there are in fact an infinite number of Jinas. While the life of any one Jina may differ in details from that of another, these differences are largely insignificant in contrast to the identical nature of the enlightenment and liberation of all of them. The Jina is a perfected soul, and so each Jina is in essence the same. The singularity of the Jina is shown in single-Jina icons, and in the emphasis on the main Jina in a more complex icon. The multiplicity of the Jinas is shown in the presence of five or twenty-four Jinas in a single icon. The Jina—in other words, God, if by God we mean the ultimate state of Being in any religion—is at once singular and plural. Further, just as a Jain worshipper sees in an icon of a single Jina the spiritual ideal to which he or she aspires, in an icon of multiple Jinas he

Fig. 10 Shvetambara icon of the Jina Parshvanatha and four other Jinas (panchatirthika), Gujarat, 14th century. Cat. 126.

or she sees that *all* souls in their pure state are identical, and therefore the goal is to become a pure soul oneself.[21]

Jain icons can represent the ideal of perfection in two ways. The Jina meditates only in two postures, one sitting and one standing.

Two Digambara icons in the exhibition expand the Jain vision of the spiritual ideal beyond the experience of the Jina to include the fundamental nature of reality according to the Jain worldview (figs. 11 and 12, cats. 118 and 119). This is known as a Navadevata (Nine Divinities).[22] It contains the essence of the Jain teachings in the shape of an eight-petaled lotus. In the center and the four cardinal directions are icons of the five supreme lords of the Jain pantheon: the arhat (enlightened Jina) in the center, the siddha (representing all other enlightened souls) on the top, the acharya (monastic leader) on the right, the *upadhyaya* (monastic preceptor) on the left, and the *sadhu* (symbolizing all other monks and nuns) at the bottom. Together these five represent the complete pantheon of Jain world renouncers, from the enlightened Jina and all liberated souls to the contemporary living monastic community. In the upper right corner is a Jina icon, in the bottom right a temple, in the bottom left the *dharmachakra* (wheel of the teachings), and in the upper left the scriptures, here symbolized by a book stand. The nine items collectively symbolize the virtues of Jainism, and so by venerating and meditating upon them, the worshipper generates these same virtues in his or her own soul.

Most icons in Jain temples are of Jinas; these are not, however, the only figures who are worthy of worship. Over the centuries, the Jains have gradually expanded the pantheon beyond the twenty-four Jinas of this era and this part of the cosmos to include other enlightened or otherwise superior beings.[23] One finds in Jain temples icons of Jinas of the future, or who reside presently in other parts of the cosmos; other enlightened monks; and later monks who lived too late in the current descending era of time to achieve enlightenment and liberation, but who nonetheless were powerful wonder-workers. Prominent in this expanded pantheon is Bahubali, also known as Gommateshvara, represented by a small icon in the exhibition (fig. 13, cat. 125). His icons are found almost exclusively in Digambara temples. The massive icon of Bahubali at Shravanabelagola in Karnataka, to which I referred above, is one of the largest and best-known freestanding monumental icons in the world and has become an eye-catching visual symbol of Jainism. Bahubali was a son of Adinatha, the first Jina. He is famous for his fierce standing asceticism, in which he was so absorbed in meditation on his soul that vines grew around his legs. According to Digambara belief, he was the first person to achieve liberation in this cycle of time, preceding even his father, who at the time had attained enlightenment but not yet liberation and was still actively preaching to his followers.

While the act of worshipping a Jina icon aims at purifying the soul of the worshipper, the reasons for commissioning a temple icon (or a temple) can be more complex. The latter allows one to demonstrate publicly one's financial wealth; this can be very beneficial to a Jain businessman. It demonstrates piety and provides an opportunity to engage in icon-worship. In addition, it provides the opportunity for other Jains to also engage in icon-worship, and some of the merit from their worship accrues to the original donor.

Yet another motivation is apparent from the dedicatory inscriptions found on icons. Even though in theory Jains do not accept that actions in this world can benefit the souls of those who have died and moved on to their next incarnation, the inscriptions show that many icons have been commissioned precisely to benefit deceased

Fig. 11 Digambara stone mandala of the Navadevata, Karnataka, 14th century. Cat. 118.

Fig. 12 Digambara mandala of the Navadevata, Karnataka, 15th century. Cat. 119.

Fig. 13 Digambara icon of Bahubali, Rajasthan, dated 1400 (Vikram Samvat 1457). Cat. 125.

ancestors.[24] Ever since the time of the earliest Jain icons, in the 2nd-1st centuries BCE at Mathura,[25] a majority of them have included such dedicatory inscriptions. The inscription usually indicates the caste and town of residence of the chief donor, as well as relevant family information in order to share the merit with other family members. It also mentions the name and lineage of the monk who either consecrated the icon or urged the layman to consecrate it.[26] These inscriptions are invaluable resources for reconstructing the details of Jain social history.

Domestic Jain devotion also includes portable shrines, reminding us that many Jains as merchants and officers in royal courts led mobile lives. One cannot take an entire shrine, such as the house shrine in the exhibition (fig. 14, cat. 132), on one's travels, but one can take a portable icon. In the exhibition is a small brass portable shrine in the shape of a lotus (fig. 15, cat. 120). When opened, one finds a Jina seated in the center of the lotus, surrounded by the other twenty-three Jinas on the eight petals.

Temples and Jain Devotion

Most Jains who have a shrine in their house, and therefore perform daily puja in the morning, do

Fig. 14 Façade of Shvetambara household shrine, Gujarat, late 18th–early 19th century. Cat. 132.

not then go to the temple to perform puja there as well. They might go briefly to the temple, either immediately after worshipping in the home or after breakfast and on the way to work, and perform a quick, auspicious viewing of the icons in the temple, a ritual known as *darshan*.[27] People who do not have a shrine in their house, on the other hand, are likely to spend anywhere between ten minutes to over an hour in the temple performing the full puja as described above. A person makes all the offerings only to the main icon (or perhaps a subsidiary icon to which he or she has a special attraction), then performs the worship with sandalwood paste of the nine places, and the offerings of the lamp and incense, to all the icons (see fig. 5).

Jain teachers in their sermons and writings have often publicly extolled the merit to be gained from worshipping at a public temple. The 15th-century Shvetambara monk Ratnamandiragani, for example, in his *Upadesha Tarangini* (Waves of Teaching), compared the merit earned from worshipping an icon of the Jina in a temple to performing a fast. Many people associate Jainism

Fig. 15 Digambara portable shrine with twenty-four Jinas, Gujarat, 15th century. Cat. 120.

with its rigorous fasting and control of diet, but Ratnamandiragani maintained that worshipping an icon is much more efficacious. He wrote,

> Just from thinking of going to the temple, a man earns the fruit of one fast. When he rises to go, he earns the fruit of two fasts, and when he sets foot on the way he earns the fruit of three fasts. As he proceeds toward the temple he earns the fruit of four fasts, and he earns the fruit of five fasts as he gets closer. When he finally arrives at the temple, he earns the fruit of a fortnight of fasting. As he enters the temple he earns the fruit of six months of fasts, and when he enters the inner shrine-chamber he earns the fruit of a year of fasts. As he circumambulates the central shrine he earns the fruit of one hundred years of fasts, from worshipping the Jina the fruit of one thousand years of fasts, and finally he gains endless merit from praising the Jina.[28]

Since building a public temple requires a greater mobilization of financial (and other) resources than installing a domestic shrine, Jain monks have also urged their lay followers to build and renovate temples. The thousands of temples throughout India, many of them quite elaborate and rightly judged to be among the artistic masterpieces of Indian architecture and sculpture, stand as testimony to the perception of many wealthy and pious Jains that building a temple earns one both merit to improve one's spiritual condition, and prestige and glory to improve one's worldly position. Elsewhere in the *Upadesha Tarangini*, Ratnamandiragani wrote,

> The man who commissions a Jain temple, installs a Jina image, worships the Jina image, and supports the Jain teachings, earns the fruits of the joys of a human life, a life as a god, and liberation. It is said, "As many atoms as there are of wood and other materials in the temple, for that many years he will enjoy life in a heavenly realm."[29]

Once a temple is built, of course, there is the need to maintain it. No structure remains standing without constant care and supervision, so Jain monks also preached the merits of restoring older temples. Ratnamandiragani's teacher's teacher, Ratnashekharasuri, wrote in 1449,

> Make a special effort to renovate a Jina temple. It is said, "There is eight times as much merit in renovating a temple as there is in building a new temple." There is not as much merit in building a new temple as in renovating an old one. One thinks of a new temple, "this is my temple," and so builds it just for personal fame.[30]

Here we see that Ratnashekharasuri simultaneously wanted to urge his lay followers to consider the merit to be earned from building and especially renovating a temple, but also recognized that the common practice of calling a new temple by the name of its patron could be a source of spiritually harmful pride.

The setting of a temple is much more complex than that of a house shrine. At home, a person will have at most two or three Jina icons, along with icons, paintings, and photographs of other deities (both Jain and non-Jain), photographs of monks who serve as a personal or family guru, and photographs or reproductions in other media of famous, wonder-working icons at pilgrimage shrines. In a temple setting, the multiple altars will be the seat of many icons of Jinas and other Jain deities. Frequently found among the other deities is the icon of a Jain goddess, such as Padmavati (fig. 16, cat. 123). While this goddess is specifically connected to Parshvanatha, the twenty-third Jina, she is so widely popular as a powerful deity that her icons are found in temples dedicated to other Jinas as well. The principal icon in a temple is usually of stone, such as the icon of Parshvanatha in the exhibition (see fig. 9), but many smaller ones are of metal. Some of these were donated to the temple by pious laypeople, while others were formerly in house shrines and were transferred to the temple perhaps when the owners left or rebuilt the houses.

Behind the main icons in a Shvetambara temple are couched and padded embroideries of gold thread on velvet. These are donated to the temple to commemorate a special event in the life of a Jain layperson or his or her guru. The one in the exhibition commemorates the observance of Jnana Panchami (Knowledge Fifth), the day when Shvetambara Jains annually worship the very concept of knowledge as a means of salvation (fig. 17, cat. 140).[31] Other couched embroideries serve as protective canopies over each main icon (fig. 18, cat. 144). The walls of a temple are often painted or otherwise adorned with artwork that illustrates events in the lives of the Jinas, Jain cosmology,

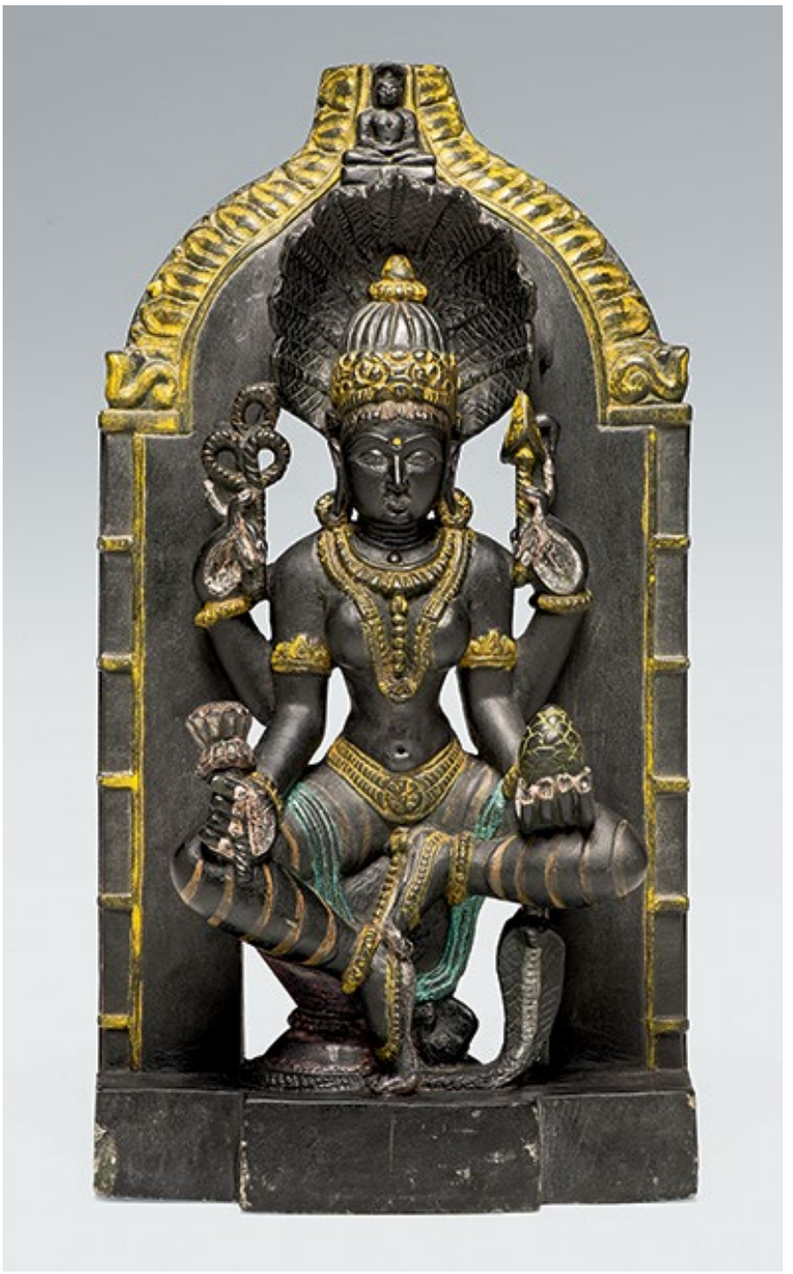

Fig. 16 Icon of Padmavati, Gujarat, late 19th century. Cat. 123.

Jain pilgrimage shrines, and auspicious objects. These are not worshipped in the same way as a Jina icon, but temple-goers briefly take darshan of each, folding their hands and bowing their heads while reciting a short verse of veneration. These various objects in a temple serve both to adorn the temple and the main icon, and to remind worshippers of key elements of the Jain worldview. They are donated to the temple by pious Jains in order to generate merit, usually for a parent or other ancestor.

Among the additional devotional objects in a temple are usually paintings and low-relief carved marble or wooden plaques depicting some of the many pilgrimage shrines that define the Jain sacred landscape of India. In a Shvetambara temple, one will find depictions of the sacred temple-cities atop the mountains of Shatrunjaya and Girnar in Saurashtra, and atop Mount Abu in southern Rajasthan, as well as shrines in far-off eastern India such as Sammet Shikhar and Pavapuri that are associated with the lives of many of the Jinas. Some of these will also be found in Digambara temples, along with representations of distinctively Digambara pilgrimage shrines such as Shravanabelagola in Karnataka and Mahavirji in eastern Rajasthan. Such depictions are often termed *tirtha-avatara*, "shrine incarnation," and the veneration of a distant sacred shrine in the form of a plaque or painting earns the worshipper as much merit as undertaking a pilgrimage to the shrine itself. Especially popular among Shvetambaras are large paintings of Shatrunjaya, the sacred mountain that for the past millennium has been the most important pilgrimage destination for them.[32] Every year, a large festival is held at the end of the rainy season, when the mountain is opened again to pilgrims who can climb it without harming the many minute organisms that generate during the

Fig. 17 Shvetambara embroidered cloth of Jnana Panchami, Gujarat, late 19th century. Cat. 140.

Fig. 18 Couched canopy for a Jain shrine, Gujarat, 18th–19th century. Cat. 144.

monsoon rains. For those Jains who cannot travel to Shatrunjaya, large paintings of the shrine are displayed at temples and other Jain institutions, so that they can come and worship the shrine in its local incarnation (fig. 19; fig. 20, cat. 139).[33]

A temple that enthrones a Jina icon is modeled on a royal palace, and the royal imagery extends to the details of the temple as well. Shvetambaras regularly adorn the main icon of a temple with elaborate ornamentation that clearly depicts the Jina as a king (see fig. 6).[34] Even though Digambaras eschew and criticize ornamenting the icon itself, wealthier Digambara temples are elaborately decorated with gold leaf and royal imagery (fig. 21). The very word *Jina* means "conqueror," although Jains understand this in the sense of a spiritual conqueror who has defeated the bondage of karma, in contrast to the material conquests of a worldly king. The royal imagery is underscored in another common term for the Jina, *Jinendra*, literally "Jina-king."

As we have seen here, the Jain items on display in this exhibition were originally worshipped and venerated in the settings of Jain homes and temples as representations of the highest ideals of the Jain religion. They were once objects of both puja and piety. Here in Santa Barbara, they have been relocated to a new setting. While some visitors to the exhibition may view them with a sentiment of devotion and veneration as sacred objects, most will see them with a sentiment of aesthetic and historical appreciation as examples of some of the finest art from India. It has become a commonplace that museums are among the temples of modernity, so it is only appropriate that we can here view and venerate these eye-catching examples of Jain art with an appreciation that combines the religious sentiments of piety with the secular sentiments of aesthetic enjoyment.

Fig. 19 A painting of Shatrunjaya being venerated by Shvetambara Jain laymen and monks in Ahmedabad. Photograph: John E. Cort.

Fig. 20 Shvetambara painting of the pilgrimage shrine of Shatrunjaya, Rajasthan or Gujarat, ca. 1900. Cat. 139.

Fig. 21 Unornamented Digambara Jina icons in an ornate setting at a temple in Jaipur, Rajasthan. Photograph: John E. Cort.

NOTES

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The best source on Hemachandra remains Bühler 1936.

2 All Jinas are male, with one partial exception: Shvetambaras believe that Mallinatha, the nineteenth Jina, was born female.

3 Hemachandra, *Yogaśāstra*, v. 3.122. See also Cort 1993.

4 Lambourn 2006, pp. 193–97. See also the comments by Lockwood de Forest that as late as 1881 there was very little stone architecture or other stonework in Ahmedabad, but that when one went from Gujarat to Rajputana (Rajasthan), "we had passed from a wooden construction to an entirely stone construction" (de Forest 1919, frames 1159, 1174–75).

5 Nemichandra. *Pravacana Sāroddhāra*, vv. 659–61.

6 Sarma 2012.

7 Thakkura Pheru, *Vāstusāra*, vv. 2.42–43.

8 Umasvami, *Śrāvakācāra*, vv. 100–103. This author is not the same as the famous Umasvami or Umasvati, author of the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, an early authoritative text on Jain doctrine that is accepted by both Digambaras and Shvetambaras.

9 Ibid., vv. 112–13.

10 See, for example, Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura, *Śilparatnākara*, v. 12.208. While the author of this

modern digest of traditional temple architecture was not himself a Jain, he designed many Jain temples and was well versed in the Jain literary tradition. Much of his text is a compilation from earlier architectural and liturgical texts.

11 Upadhyaya Sakalachandragani, *Pratiṣṭhā Kalpa*, p. 3.

12 Hemachandra, autocommentary on *Yogaśāstra*, v. 3.122; vol. 2, pp. 580-81.

13 See Cort 2001, pp. 68-69, for a translation of this hymn.

14 Yashovijaya, commentary on *Dharma Saṅgraha*, vol. 2, pp. 9-38.

15 Doshi 1981; Sangave 1981.

16 See Kelting 2001, pp. 126-30, for a discussion of puja clothes among contemporary Shvetambara Jains.

17 There has been extensive scholarly discussion and analysis of the Jain performance and theories of puja. See Babb 1996, pp. 174-95; Cort 2001, pp. 61-99; Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994; and Kelting 2001, pp. 108-63.

18 This applies only to the Jinas. Jains readily understand that unliberated goddesses and gods are present in their icons. I am simplifying here a much more complex matter. The understanding that the Jina is absent from the icon is a commonplace of Jain theology and is readily stated by Jain monks and laity, intellectuals and nonintellectuals alike. At the same time, however, the rites of consecration of Jina icons explicitly invoke the presence of the Jina in the icon (Cort 2006), and many of the hymns Jains sing as part of their worship also appear to assume the presence of the Jina in the icon. The question of whether or not the Jina is "really present" in the icon, therefore, does not admit of a single answer.

19 Narayanan 1985.

20 Cort 2010a, pp. 54-55.

21 See Cort 2001, pp. 91-93, for more on the Jain theology of God as simultaneously single and plural.

22 Earlier scholarship has also termed this object of devotion as a *siddhachakra* (wheel of perfection). Ellen Gough (2014, p. 86) has recently corrected this misunderstanding. The Digambara siddhachakra is either an eight-petaled, lotus-shaped *yantra* with a *mantra* inscribed in each petal, or a large mandala made of colored powders and including a number of mantras in concentric circles. The Shvetambara siddhachakra, also known as the *navapada* (nine principles) is similar to the Digambara Navadevata, which has caused the scholarly confusion. The Shvetambara siddhachakra has four short Prakrit invocations on the intermediate petals, in place of the Jina icon, temple, *dharmachakra*, and book stand.

23 Cort 2010a, pp. 182-90.

24 Cort 2003.

25 Icons of Jinas are among the earliest three-dimensional religious icons in South Asia; see Cort 2010a, pp. 17-66.

26 There have been sectarian disagreements concerning whether or not a monk can perform the actual consecration of an icon; see Cort 2010b and Dundas 2009.

27 Cort 2001, pp. 85-86; Cort 2012.

28 Ratnamandiragani, *Upadeśa Tarańgiṇī*, p. 148. Since these four verses are in Prakrit, whereas the bulk of Ratnamandiragani's text is in Sanskrit, it is possible that in fact he was quoting an earlier source.

29 Ratnamandiragani, *Upadeśa Tarańgiṇī*, p. 180.

30 Ratnashekharasuri, *Śrāddhavidhi Prakaraṇa*, p. 473. It was not just Shvetambara monks who urged their lay followers to build, maintain, renovate, and worship in public temples. The Digambara Bhattaraka Sakalakirti, who lived from 1387 to 1443 and was therefore a contemporary of Ratnashekharasuri, and who occupied the seat as head of the Digambara monastery in Idar, in northeastern Gujarat, devoted a long passage of his *Praśnottara Śrāvakācāra* (Questions and Answers on Proper Lay Conduct; vv. 20.166-261) to the merits of building, maintaining, and worshipping in temples.

31 Cort 2001, pp. 173-75.

32 Ku 2011, 2014; Luithle-Hardenberg 2011.

33 Cort 2001, pp. 175-79.

34 Cort 2007.

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Christian Luczanits

Puja and Piety in Buddhism

Between one who offers when a Buddha is dwelling,
And one who offers after parinirvāṇa,
If the mental virtue is equal,
There is no difference in the merit.[1]

The ultimate goal of Buddhism is the attainment of awakening (*bodhi*), and with it the release from the cycle of rebirth (*samsara*), but the paths leading to it range between very long and very difficult. The difficult paths are not suited to everyone in this life, so most Buddhists take a gradual approach and expect to improve their conditions over several lives. On the most basic level, piety and *puja* (ritual worship) are both means of this gradual approach. They are practiced on a daily basis both in private and in public, and take different forms over time. The more elaborate and difficult practices, in contrast, presume major changes in one's life, such as abandoning one's worldly possessions and joining the monastic community, and thus are restricted to a select group. Here, too, there have been considerable shifts in the practices over time, which parallel the development of Buddhism in general. This essay summarizes the most important forms of such practices and relates them to works of art in the exhibition.

Among the three Indian religions explored in this publication, Buddhism is exceptional in both its wide reception throughout Asia and its practical disappearance from its homeland in northern India. Its Indian heritage presented in this exhibition is thus largely historic, and this essay uses examples of puja and piety from distinct regional branches of Buddhism in neighboring regions, such as Nepal and Tibet, to reconstruct the practices as they have developed in India. Today, the major historic sites of Buddhism in India, such as the place of Buddha Shakyamuni's awakening at Bodhgaya (see figs. 2 and 3), have been revived through the combined effort of all Buddhist communities, reestablishing them as places of pilgrimage and worship.

The Buddha, his teachings (*dharma*), and the monastic community (*samgha*) take center stage in Buddhism. Referred to as the Three Jewels (*Triratna*), they are the main focus of Buddhist piety. Allusions to and depictions of the Three Jewels in symbolic form are frequent. Most often they are referred to in the form of three wheels or lotuses at the top of columns or auspicious symbols, and metal finials may allude to them in this form (fig. 1, cat. 146).

Fig. 1 Finial with a symbolic representation of the Three Jewels, ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd–3rd century. Cat. 146.

Fig. 2 The seat of awakening at the temple of Bodhgaya, Bihar. Photograph: C. Luczanits 1999.

For lay followers of Buddhism in particular, revering these Three Jewels is a fundamental form of piety, in addition to adopting certain moral precepts and virtuous conduct and supporting the monastic community through offerings (*dana*). With the last, it is emphasized that the material nature of this giving is less important than the mental attitude and effort behind it. This is, for example, expressed in the well-known story of a child offering a handful of dust to the Buddha, who then predicts the child's future kingship as Emperor Ashoka (304–232 BCE), who lived approximately a century after the Buddha and who was instrumental in the spread of Buddhism.[2]

Patterns of Worship

Buddhist worship takes many forms and ranges from bowing and prostrating, making offerings and chanting, to complex rituals performed by monastics and sometimes also by laypersons. These all are forms of puja, ritual acts of worship individually or communally performed before a wide variety of objects that form the subject matter of this exhibition. During the Buddha's life, piety had no material focus, but with his passing into ultimate extinction (*parinirvana*), the places associated with his activities and the burial mounds (stupas) housing portions of his relics became sacred. While we tend to emphasize the historical Buddha Shakyamuni, his immediate

Fig. 3 The area around the Bodhgaya temple, lit with candles. Photograph: C. Luczanits 1999.

predecessors (the Buddhas of the past) and their relics were equally venerated.

Among the places associated with the Buddha's activities, that of his awakening at Bodhgaya, Bihar, while seated on the so-called diamond seat (*vajrasana*) under the tree of awakening (the bodhi tree), takes center stage. This seat is located behind the present temple that commemorates the event (fig. 2). The temple of Bodhgaya is a focus of pious activities for all Buddhist communities, no matter what their doctrinal differences. Figure 3 illustrates how the entire archaeological and religious site of Bodhgaya around the main temple was lit up by thousands of candles when large numbers of Tibetan Buddhists assembled there for teachings.

Further, the stupas housing the material relics of a Buddha, and thus equally establishing a direct connection to him for those born after his lifetime, became an important symbol of Buddhism and thus a primary focus of Buddhist piety and worship. The stupa is treated like the Buddha himself: it is circumambulated, one prostrates in front of it, music is played for it, and offerings are given to it, which may take monetary form. Contributing to the building, expansion, and embellishment of a stupa are common forms of piety recorded in many inscriptions. Pilgrimages developed around these sites, as well as sites into which the original relics were further distributed by Emperor Ashoka. Eventually the relics of other personages, including revered monastics, were

Fig. 4 Veneration of a stupa, sculpture on the north gate of the Great Stupa, Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, 50 BCE–50 CE. After Hallade 1968, pl. 34.

entombed in stupas and venerated, as in the case of Sanchi Stupa 2.[3]

Piety shown toward a Buddha, his relics, and the places where he sat or walked is recorded in the earliest surviving Buddhist art. Its most simple expression is the practice of circumambulation, moving in a clockwise direction around the stupa, seat, tree, or walkway. Early stone stupas have a circumambulation path around them, demarcated by a railing (*vedika*). The earliest railings were mostly unadorned except for auspicious symbols, but those of the stupa at Bharhut, dating to the 2nd century BCE, contain narrative depictions of the Buddha's life and his previous lives. Some of the depictions also illustrate early practices of worship. Figure 4, a scene from the north gate of the Great Stupa at Sanchi, dating between 50 BCE and 50 CE, depicts several such pious activities. The top of the stupa is decorated with umbrellas and banners, symbols of honor and victory. Garlands and blossoms are hung all around the dome, and worshippers who approach the stupa also hold garlands, longer ones rolled up on plates. Others circumambulate the stupa inside the fenced area with garlands in their hands. The gate (*torana*) in the center resembles that on which this relief is found. Visitors kneel and prostrate themselves in front of the gate, and a band of seven musicians offers music.

Similar patterns of worship are extant in Buddhism today, for example at the stupa of Boudha (Buddhanath), one of the main Buddhist sites in the Kathmandu Valley (fig. 5). Circumambulation is still the main activity, be it along the stupa's outer perimeter or on one of its three terraces. Offerings are given to the temples and monasteries around the stupa and to the deity housed in the small temple in front of it. Candles are lit in niches around the dome, in the courtyard of the small temple in front of the stupa, and along the perimeter wall. Flower and water

Fig. 5 Veneration of the Boudha stupa, Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Photograph C. Luczanits 2013 (digitally merged panorama).

offerings are made as well, and there is a dedicated prostration area around the small stupa to the left of the main one. Garlands are hung on the small stupas along the perimeter wall. On special occasions they are also laid out on the roof of the temple in front of the stupa, but they are visually superseded by the prayer flags hung from the very top of the stupa to the edges of the main terrace. Today, music is offered electronically as well as in the form of the chants that are part of the Tibetan monastic ritual. The blue-roofed tent in the left foreground of figure 5 is built for special occasions; here it is for the last days of the Tibetan Buddhist holy month (Saga Dawa), to house monks who gather for prayer and chanting. In addition, one may offer funds for the maintenance of the stupa, especially the repainting of the dome. As in the relief panel in figure 4, where among the worshippers are foreigners from the northwest of the Indian subcontinent (as indicated by their costume), the Boudha stupa is venerated by Buddhists from Nepal, Tibet, and the West alike.

The efficacy ascribed to different forms of piety and puja differs considerably from case to case. Older and more private forms of worship are eventually superseded and sometimes replaced by grander, more public veneration. Equally, the belief in a gradual advance through many lifetimes is eventually surpassed—but not replaced—by practices that promise the attainment of enlightenment within this very lifetime. The development of these forms parallels the development of Buddhism from a vehicle for the hearers (*shravakayana*)—that is, the monastic community—to one for all Buddhists, consequently termed the Great Vehicle or Mahayana.

This expansion also resulted in new modes and concepts of piety and puja, culminating in the accommodation of esoteric ideas characteristic of the latest development of esoteric Buddhism in India, known as Vajrayana (literally

the "Thunderbolt or Diamond Vehicle"), today predominantly practiced in the northern countries such as Nepal and Tibet and beyond in East Asia. These later developments in Buddhism also resulted in a proliferation of the pantheon and the creation of complex forms and images deemed much more efficient than previous ones. However, earlier practices of worship remained in use in all the forms of Buddhism.

Taking this historical development into account, I thus differentiate between forms of piety and worship prevalent in the earliest forms of Buddhism deemed slow vehicles to attain awakening, and those influenced by Mahayana Buddhist ideas, which promise a much faster and more efficient way toward ultimate awakening. In general terms, this differentiation is also true with regard to the ambitions of the individual practitioner. It needs to be said, however, that as the ambitions of the practitioners differ, so does the efficacy ascribed to any of the practices discussed in the Buddhist literature, depending on when and in which context the text was written.

Slow Vehicles

Circumambulation is one of the main practices. Besides the stupa, worshippers may circumambulate temples, monasteries, and entire cities or areas containing temples or holy sites. Prostrating, or even moving round a holy site in a string of prostrations, placing the feet for the next prostration where the fingers reached at the last one, is a more efficient way of worship, as it is thought to multiply the effect of the circumambulation enormously. One of the most holy sites of Tibetan Buddhism is Mount Kailash, one circumambulation of which is said to make up for an entire pious life.

In early Buddhism, the offering of garlands is ubiquitous. Garlands are used to wrap the

Fig. 6 Two intertwined snakes protecting a stupa and garlands decorating its drum. Sculpture on the drum panel at Kanaganahalli, Karnataka, 1st century CE. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2000.

Buddha's relic (see base of fig. 10). Visitors to a stupa hang garlands around its dome (see fig. 4). Figure 6 shows garlands on a drum panel. On the dome of Nepalese stupas, the garland is still present symbolically through painting (see fig. 5), while physically it has been replaced by a string of prayer flags. The text printed on the fluttering flags is believed to be continuously spread far and wide by the wind.

It is not only humans that show piety toward the stupa; nature spirits from the air (*garuda*), the water (*naga*), and the earth (*yaksha*) also do, along with all kinds of fabulous creatures. It appears that the nature spirits were first included in the periphery of the stupa to show that these, too, venerate it. In figure 4, for example, the stupa is flanked by four such spirits, half-bird and half-man, offering garlands. In figure 6, a drum relief from the recently excavated site of Kanaganahalli in Karnataka[4] shows a stupa protected by two intertwined snakes and venerated by a snake spirit, possibly representing the stupa of Ramagrama in Nepal. But such spirits also became the focus of piety within the perimeters of Buddhist sites. For example, yakshas holding donation bowls flank the gateways leading to stupas, as depicted in reliefs of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, and at Ajanta a serpent couple is venerated to control the water of the gorge that the caves surround.

Fig. 7 Fragment of sculpture of the yakshi Hariti with children, Uttar Pradesh, 2nd century. Cat. 158.

Even before the rise of Buddhism, the appeasement of these spirits to create fortunate circumstances was always a concern, and they were therefore widely venerated. Buddhism did not exclude or replace these practices but integrated them in both worship and art. It is in this sense that deities such as Kubera or Hariti (fig. 7, cat. 158) are included in the discussion of Buddhist piety. Of these, the male deities usually bestow wealth, successful crops, and military prowess, while the females are often associated with safe childbirth and the well-being of children as well as fertility and agricultural abundance in general. Clearly, these deities create the favorable conditions needed for a lay follower to practice Buddhism more properly and effectively.

Supporting the monastic community and giving gifts remains an important part of the practice of lay followers, especially on visits to the monastery or on pilgrimage. Pilgrimage to the places associated with the activities of the historical Buddha is already recorded through Emperor Ashoka's visit to the place of the Buddha's birth, but this increased in importance over time with a rising number of sacred sites. In addition to places associated with major events of the Buddha's life, stupas thought to contain fractions of the Buddha's relics also became worthy of pilgrimage. The tree of awakening at Bodhgaya and its alleged direct descendants, transplanted as far as Sri Lanka, are considered sacred as well.

There are also indications that soon other objects considered as relics were venerated separately from the stupa. The earliest hints toward the usage of such transportable relics are scant, but in my view the decorated cave of Bhaja may well have housed such a relic that was shown only on special occasions.[5] In Gandhara, it was common to have a shrine in addition to the stupa

Fig. 8 Four structures at a Buddhist holy site. Sculpture on the upper drum slab at Kanaganahalli, Karnataka, 1st century. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2000.

within the monastic complex, and the Bhaja cave may well have served such a purpose. Among the relief panels of Kanaganahalli, dating to the 1st century CE, is a remarkable one depicting an unidentified sacred complex with four holy structures: a stupa, a stupa-like shrine with a stupa inside, a tree, and an altar (fig. 8).[6] On the right is another shrine enclosing a transportable relic vessel.

In the early period, the progress of the practitioner on the Buddhist path is thought to be rather slow, requiring many lifetimes of puja and pious gifts before reaching the goal. With the emergence of ideas later becoming characteristic of the Great Vehicle around the beginning of the common era, the efficacy ascribed to the practices outlined above accelerates. While early Buddhist texts emphasize practice, the belief element becomes more important in later literature, opening up new paths for Buddhist piety and worship besides those already prevalent.

Acceleration

Compelling evidence of this new path of veneration is the introduction of a cult image of the Buddha, the earliest examples emerging in the northwestern regions of India, namely in Gandhara and Mathura. The Mathura type, in which the Buddha is shown in a posture of

Fig. 9 Seated Buddha, flanked by worshippers, Uttar Pradesh, 2nd century. Cat. 150.

steadfastness flanked by worshippers, is represented in the relief in figure 9 (cat. 150), and the more meditative Gandharan type in figure 10 (cat. 153). Such early Buddha sculptures demonstrate expressions of Buddhist piety from both the highest gods of the pantheon, such as Brahma and Indra, and human lay followers. Showing the Buddha worshipped by brahmanic ascetics, particularly popular in Gandhara, communicates their acknowledgment of the superiority of the Buddha's teachings.

When the Buddha image was introduced, it complemented the earlier use of aniconic symbols for the Buddha's presence, such as his seat under a tree, or a walkway, by being placed in their proximity. But the Buddha image very soon became a focus in its own right, literally replacing the references to a Buddha of the past by his eternal presence. As such, the former historical personage came to be understood as being of a cosmic nature. This shift in the meaning of the Buddha parallels the development of *bhakti* worship in early Hinduism, where images represent the cosmic nature ascribed to the most powerful of the Hindu deities.

Accordingly, older Buddhist monasteries added cult images of the Buddha to their complexes, either along the circumambulatory path or in separate structures with niches created for them. A considerable number of such cult images in stone are preserved from Gandhara (see fig. 10). In later Gandharan monuments, numerous Buddhas decorated the structures, most often done in stucco and assembled in larger configurations.

Whereas in the earliest stupas relief decoration is restricted to the railing surrounding the monument, on later stupas scenes of the Buddha's life adorn the dome (fig. 11). As such, the identity of the stupa with the Buddha and his achievements in the last life is reinforced, and the veneration of the stupa includes these events. That the stupa symbolizes the Buddha becomes explicit in a further development by the representation of the Buddha image seated against the body of

the stupa, as is the case in the cave complexes of Ajanta and Ellora (fig. 12). Images also take the place of relics, be it as the focus of veneration in shrines or in processions.[7]

The Chinese pilgrim Faxian, who traveled to India between 399 and 414 CE,[8] describes an image procession from his stay at Khotan on the Southern Silk Road:

> Beginning on the first day of the fourth month, they sweep and water the streets inside the city, making a grand display in the lanes and byways. Over the city gate they pitch a large tent, grandly adorned in all possible ways, in which the king and queen, with their ladies brilliantly arrayed, take up their residence for the time. The monks of the Gomati monastery, being Mahayana students, and held in greatest reverence by the king, took precedence of all the others in the procession. At a distance of three or four le[9] from the city, they made a four-wheeled image car, more than thirty cubits high, which looked like the great hall of a monastery moving along. The seven precious substances were grandly displayed about it, with silken streamers and canopies hanging all around. The chief image [presumably Sakyamuni] stood in the middle of the car, with two Bodhisattvas in attendance on it, while devas were made to follow in waiting, all brilliantly carved in gold and silver, and hanging in the air. When the car was a hundred paces from the gate, the king put off his crown of state, changed his dress for a fresh suit, and with bare feet, carrying in his hands flowers and incense, and with two rows of attending followers, went out at the gate to meet the image; and, with his head and face bowed to the ground, he did homage at its feet, and then scattered the flowers and burnt the incense. When the image was entering the gate, the queen and the brilliant ladies with her in the gallery above scattered far and wide all kinds of flowers, which floated about and fell promiscuously to the ground. In this way everything was done to promote the dignity of the occasion. The carriages of the monasteries were all

Fig. 10 Standing Buddha, with relic worship depicted on pedestal, ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd–3rd century. Cat. 153.

Fig. 11 Stupa panel from Amaravati, 3rd century, with the life of the Buddha in the dome reliefs. Government Museum, Chennai. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2006.

Fig. 12 Buddha seated against the stupa, sculpture in Cave 26, Ajanta, Maharashtra, late 6th century. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2007.

Fig. 13 Head of a Bodhisatva of the Maitreya type, ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, late 2nd–3rd century. Cat. 159.

different, and each one had its own day for the procession. The ceremony began on the first day of the fourth month, and ended on the fourteenth, after which the king and queen returned to the palace.[10]

Such image processions become an integrative part of the Buddhist calendar.[11]

Images provide a new and more versatile focus of private and public piety not only in their veneration but also through their making. There are occasional references to the making of an image as an obligation and integral part of Buddhist practice. Multiple images of the Buddha, in rows around the platform and dome of a stupa, and on the ceiling, pillars, and so forth, acknowledge the occurrence of Buddhas in succession of each other and in diverse worlds at the same time. Then, it is not one Buddha that is the subject of worship but their multiplicity. Consequently, the merit accrued through worship at such a place is thought to multiply as well. We may recall here that among the eight main places of pilgrimage celebrating the eight great events in the life of the Buddha (four life events and four miracles) is the miracle of Shravasti, in which the Buddha multiplies himself countless times.

In the Great Vehicle, Buddhas are also thought to inhabit neighboring worlds or even worlds they have created for the benefit of all living beings. The first such worlds to be known are the Abhirati of Buddha Akshobhya and the better-known Sukhavati, the "Land of Bliss" of Buddha Amitabha. Buddhist piety thus gets a new focus toward rebirth in these paradisal worlds in the presence of these Buddhas; a form of rebirth that replaces countless cycles of rebirths in our world. These new forms of piety resulted in the creation of new imagery of paradises in Buddhist art, particularly in Gandhara,[12] Central Asia, Tibet, China, and beyond. Increasing importance is also given to the visualization of these worlds to support the attainment of rebirth there.

While the Buddha remains center stage in a more elevated, cosmic form, the most radical contribution of the Great Vehicle is the concept of the Bodhisatva, a name that denotes one aspiring to become Buddha and that originally refers to the historical Buddha Shakyamuni before he became awakened. According to this new conception, a Bodhisatva of the highest stage who would become awakened in his next life vows to postpone this last rebirth until all beings are freed of the cycle of rebirth. One result of this radical altruism is that the Bodhisatva becomes a savior in his own right and thus the focus of devotion expressed through puja for both mundane and spiritual gain. The first such Bodhisatva is Maitreya, the future Buddha in our world. Figure 13 (cat. 159) represents the head of a Bodhisatva of the Maitreya type as recognizable from his loose hair and the mutilated crescent decorating the center of his diadem.

Bodhisatvas of the highest stage, that is, only one life remaining to attain Buddhahood, are soon considered practically equal to a Buddha and thus receive equal attention in worship. Of particular importance are the Bodhisatvas Manjushri and Avalokiteshvara, revered for unexcelled wisdom and compassion, respectively. The façade of Cave 9 in Ellora demonstrates the importance of the Bodhisatva Avalokiteshvara by devoting a space to his triad on the right side and a space to the triad of the Buddha on the left side (fig. 14). Bodhisatvas attained their accomplishments by adhering to the six perfections, among which the perfection of giving, especially one's own body and all possessions, becomes a celebrated feat. Virtuous conduct, forbearance, effort, contemplation, and wisdom are the other perfections to be cultivated. As such, the perfections ascribed to the Bodhisatva are a model for all Buddhists, monks, and lay followers. Thus, one no longer has to give up the household to be able to follow these more effective forms of Buddhist practice.

Fig. 14 Façade of Cave 9, Ellora, Maharashtra, with carvings of intrusive triads of the Buddha (left) and Avalokiteshvara (right), 7th century. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2007.

On a public level, there is an emphasis on royal piety and its beneficial results for both the kingdom and its populace. The ultimate expressions of this royal piety are large image processions, such as the one described by the Chinese pilgrim Faxian at Khotan quoted above for the early 5th century, and the so-called Panchavarshika ceremony as it is described by the other famous Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (ca. 600-664), for the second quarter of the 7th century. (In general, the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims to India are invaluable sources for popular and public piety as practiced in India from the 5th to the 7th centuries.) At Bamiyan, the site of the large standing Buddhas in Afghanistan, which were blasted in 2001, Xuanzang records:

> The king of this country, every time he assembles a great congregation of the Wu-che (moksha), having sacrificed all his possessions, from his wife and children down to his country's treasures, gives in addition his own body; then the ministers and the lower order of officers prevail on the priests to barter back these possessions; and in these matters most of their time is taken up.[13]

Thus, in this liberation (*moksha*) ceremony, better known as Panchavarshika, the symbolic actions of the king are modeled on the example of the Bodhisatva. Such ceremonies provide important opportunities for the king to show his piety publicly.

While early Buddhism communicated the teachings largely orally, the importance of copying

and disseminating books and the merit accrued from this are emphasized in the Great Vehicle. Of particular importance are the texts of the Perfection of Wisdom, *Prajnaparamita*, which prescribe their recitation and reproduction. However, although such books have been copied in great numbers as acts of piety, there is not enough evidence for a cult of a book that parallels the image cult.[14]

Fast Vehicles

With the emergence of esoteric Buddhism, the effects ascribed to traditional expressions of piety and worship further accelerate. A good example is the ultimate result ascribed to the circumambulation of a stupa in the *Verses on Circumambulating Stupas* (*Chaityapradakshinagatha*):

> *By circumambulating stūpas,*
> *One will become a Tathāgata in a pure realm,*
> *Adorned by all noble marks, and*
> *Attain a golden colored body.*[15]

This indicates that the attainment of Buddhahood itself in a paradisal realm is the result of one of the most basic forms of Buddhist piety, though it does not state the time frame. However, those who adhere to the newly established esoteric Buddhist practices, which first become apparent in the middle of the 1st millennium, have the prospect of much more immediate results than have previously been postulated.

In esoteric Buddhism or Vajrayana, deities become both increasingly functional and symbolic, depending on whether their invocation is directed toward worldly or spiritual gain. Deities of protection, wealth, and long life in part develop from the nature spirits venerated earlier and increase in variety and specialization. Thus, there are countless forms of the Bodhisatva Avalokiteshvara, who is invoked for all kinds of compassionate action, and whose compassion reaches beyond the human realm into that of the hungry ghosts (fig. 15, cat. 163).

Goddesses first personify magic spells (*dharani*) used to avoid a specific threat, such as snake bite, before they become the focus of more altruistic ritual worship assimilating that of Bodhisatvas. A good example is the Goddess Tara, who first accompanies Avalokiteshvara, as in the triad in figure 14 (right), but soon takes on many of his qualities and is independently worshipped (fig. 16, cat. 164).

The two votive plaques of Avalokiteshvara and Tara are mass products, probably produced in the hundreds if not thousands, pointing toward another characteristic of esoteric Buddhist practice, that of multiplication. Vajrayana worship often involves the repetition of the same tasks, such as the performance of prostrations or the pronunciation of mantras in the thousands over an extended period. The votive plaques are the material equivalent of these practices, commonly reproduced not to be worshipped or even seen but to fill the hollow spaces of a stupa as relics of the Buddhist teachings (*dharmasharira*) in body, speech, and mind, represented by the image, its mantra written around the image, and remnants of its consecration in the form of grains of rice inside the clay body.

With regard to spiritual gains, deities become increasingly symbolic, as is first apparent in the concept of the three families headed by the Buddha and the principal Bodhisatvas flanking him, Avalokiteshvara and Vajrapani. Countering the three poisons—delusion, desire, and aggression—these three figures head families of deities representing the same principal qualities as they themselves. The three poisons are considered responsible for keeping a being tied to the cycle of rebirth and thus are the main obstacles to attaining awakening, and the deities

Fig. 15 Votive plaque with Bodhisatva Avalokiteshvara, Bihar, 9th century. Cat. 163.

Fig. 16 Votive plaque with Green Tara, Goddess of Compassion, Bihar, 8th–9th century. Cat. 164.

of these families are thought to provide protection from them.

Identifying with such a deity or a member of his family in visualization practice amounts to partaking in the deity's qualities, and is meant to oppose the natural quality (one of the three poisons) considered strongest in the practitioner. The actual deity to be invoked is assigned to the practitioner by a teacher (*guru*). The guru also introduces the practitioner to the worship of the deity through a formal initiation. Such deities are called "wished for deity" (*ishtadevata*) in Sanskrit and are understood as "binding the mind," as the standard interpretation of the Tibetan name (*yi dam*) implies. I tend to call them aspiration deities, because the practitioner aspires to partake in or even attain the qualities of the deity through his or her meditative practice.[16] Through assimilation of the qualities of the deity, the practitioner cuts short the endless chain of rebirths and, in the ideal case, attains awakening in this very lifetime.

The concept of the Five Buddhas represents an extended version of the original three, their qualities now countering five poisons (fig. 17). These Buddhas and their families are understood more symbolically in both spatial and functional terms than the families previously mentioned. The pentad is thought to occupy the center and the cardinal directions, and their spatial configuration forms the basis of the ritual space of the mandala.

At Tabo monastery, in the Spiti Valley of Himachal Pradesh in northwestern India, the assembly hall contains representations of the deities of a mandala assembly based on the Five Buddha concept. Like the Shey rock carving in figure 17, it is centered on Buddha Vairochana, and it is commonly referred to as the Vajradhatu (diamond sphere) Mandala. In the ritual of this mandala, the practice of which was reintroduced in the last decade, the monks perform the

Fig. 17 Rock carving of the Five Buddhas with traces of worship, Shey, Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir, 8th century. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2013.

gestures of the mandala deities while they pronounce their names and visualize them (fig. 18). They thus ritually represent each of the deities with body, speech, and mind as they sit among their depictions in sculptures on the walls of the Tabo assembly hall.

Thus, esoteric Buddhism introduces new forms of private and public practices and rituals, the latter at their core strongly dependent on the classical Hindu fire ritual. While in some ways the development of esoteric Buddhism parallels developments in other esoteric traditions, in particular Shaivism, its late Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan manifestations develop distinct strands emphasizing one particular path of attainment. For example, Yoga Tantra focuses on the ritual identification with the deity, while the highest Yoga Tantra practices emphasize either the attainment of wisdom as a path to awakening or the progress in meditative contemplation, both paths well known from the earliest Buddhist literature. Following any one of these paths and the deities associated with them is thought to be much more effective in graduating toward awakening than any of the previous ones mentioned. While public rituals such as initiations and consecrations are only performed occasionally, the actual ritual worship of the deity, the puja, is done daily and individually, as is the case with pious Hindus.

Mandalas are usually temporary ritual tools, but in Nepal permanent mandalas in copper repoussé are placed in front of stupas at public holy places and are also used to receive private offerings, such as rice and flower blossoms. In the case of Svayambhu, in the Kathmandu Valley, the

Fig. 18 Vajradhatu Mandala ritual in the ancient assembly hall of Tabo monastery, Himachal Pradesh, the central Vairochana dating to ca. 1040. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2005.

mandala is topped by a giant *vajra*, or thunderbolt (fig. 19), the ultimate symbol of esoteric Buddhism or Vajrayana. Thus, in Nepal the ritual implement for the practice has become permanent and the practice itself public.

The practices of esoteric Buddhism as briefly outlined do not replace earlier forms of piety and worship, but complement them for a select few followers, both monastic and lay. New deities thus do not replace older ones; instead, they are added to an increasingly vast and complex pantheon, in which the Buddha occurs in different visual manifestations increasingly removed from the historical personage around which Buddhism originated.

Convergence

Regardless of the specific tradition the practitioner adheres to, the common denominator for all the discussed practices is the attainment of merit. In one conception, Buddhist merit is the positive potential that enables one to reduce the effects of karma, regardless of the level of the practitioner. The principal sources of merit are giving, virtue, and meditation, all of which we have met above as expressions of Buddhist piety and worship.

It is certainly misleading to assume that the speed of success of the practices outlined above is the direct result of merit assembled in similar

Fig. 19 Private ritual offerings to a mandala underneath a giant vajra at the Svayambhu stupa in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Photograph: C. Luczanits 2006.

relative proportions. Instead, the economy of merit relates as much to the context in which it is expressed as to the practices themselves. The notion of merit is just one way of explaining the approach to something that is ultimately unexplainable. Consequently, the *Verses on Circumambulating Stupas* conclude:

> *Thus, the Buddha is inconceivable;*
> *The Buddha Dharma is also inconceivable.*
> *Faith in the inconceivable also*
> *Ripens an inconceivable karmic result.*[17]

NOTES

1 Quoted from *Metered Verses on Circumambulating Stūpas* 2012, p. 8.

2 On Ashoka and Buddhism, see in particular the relevant chapter in Norman 2006. On the story of the offering of dust and its usage in art, see, among others, Taddei 1992. That the Buddha lived approximately one century before Ashoka is deduced from the so-called short chronology, considered most likely in historical terms.

3 On Sanchi Stupa 2, see in particular Taddei 1996.

4 On the extremely important stupa site of Kanaganahalli, see in particular Poonacha 2011; Aramaki 2011; Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014; and a number of shorter articles.

5 For a relatively recent study of this Bhaja cave, called Vihara 19, see DeCaroli 2000.

6 The inscription on this panel provides information only on the donor (see Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014, pp. 106-7).

7 On the question of images as relics as documented in the Buddhist literature, see Rhi 2005.

8 On the issue of dating this travel and the dates of Faxian's life, see Deeg 2005, pp. 22-30, which also includes a German translation of the text.

9 The Chinese *li*, today equivalent to 500 meters, historically ranged between approximately 320 and 650 meters.

10 Quoted from Legge 1886. The same ceremony was recorded later by Xuanzang in the course of his travels (629-645) at Kucha on the Northern Silk Road: "Every year at the autumn equinox, during ten several days, the priests assemble from all the country in this place. The king and all his people, from the highest to the lowest, on this occasion abstain from public business, and observe a religious fast; they listen to the sacred teachings of the law, and pass the day without weariness. In all the convents are highly adorned images of Buddha, decorated with previous substances and covered with silken stuffs. These they carry in idol-cars, which they call 'procession of images.' On these occasions the people flock by thousands to the place of assembly." Quoted from Beal 1969, pp. 21-22.

11 On evidence for image processions in the Vinaya literature, see Schopen 2005a, pp. 128-37, and Schopen 2005b. Interestingly, here the image is that of the Bodhisatva at first meditation.

12 On paradise depictions in Gandhara, see in particular Harrison and Luczanits 2012 (available online) and the earlier works cited there.

13 Quoted from Beal 1969, pp. 51-52, with the brackets and diacritics removed.

14 On the "cult of the book," see in particular Schopen 1975; Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988; and most recently Kim 2013.

15 Quoted from *Metered Verses on Circumambulating Stupas* 2012, p. 7.

16 Commonly used terms for such deities are *personal deity*, *tutelary deity*, and *meditation deity*.

17 Quoted from *Metered Verses on Circumambulating Stupas* 2012, p. 8.

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Pages 138-39 Detail of *Fourteen Auspicious Dreams Seen by the Mother of a Jina upon His Conception (according to Shvetambaras)*, Gujarat or Rajasthan, 18th century. Cat. 141.


मा ला


चंद्र


क लश


पद्मसरोवर


लक्ष्मी मातास्मला


रेढ


सूर्य


ध्वजा


क्षीर समुद्र


विमान


अग्नी

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

The objects in the catalogue are grouped broadly according to the three religions: Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist. It is difficult to identify the precise religious affiliation of an early cluster of small terracotta objects (cats. 1-11) and hence they are characterized as proto-Hindu. They do, however, share some iconographic features with later sectarian deities. Within each major group, the objects are arranged in approximate chronological sequence. See the Glossary for more information about the subjects.

HINDU

Proto-Hindu

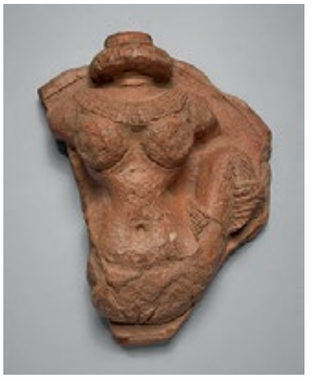
1
Bull, the Vehicle of Hindu Shiva in the Historic Period (see cat. 64)
India, Uttar Pradesh, Kaushambi, ca. 200 BCE or earlier
Terracotta with reddish black slip
1⅛ x 3⅜ x 1⅝ in. (2.9 x 8.6 x 4.1 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.148

2
Goddess of Prosperity Holding a Pair of Fish (an Auspicious Symbol), with Ears of Corn Projecting from Her Hair
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh, ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
5⅜ x 2⅞ x 1 in. (13.7 x 7.3 x 2.5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.43

3
Plaque Fragment with Goddess of Prosperity with Weapons Projecting from Her Hair
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh, ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
3⅜ x 3⅝ x 1¼ in. (8.6 x 9.2 x 3.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.49

4
Elegant Female, Perhaps a Yakshi or Nature Goddess?
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh, ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
8¾ x 2⅝ x 1½ in. (22.2 x 6.7 x 3.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.52

5
Plaque Fragment with Male Attendant Holding up an Offering Bowl to a Goddess
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh, ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
5¾ x 4 3/4 x 1 in. (14.6 x 12.12 x 2.5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.76



6
Fertility Goddess with Lotus Flower Head, in the Birthing Posture
India, Uttar Pradesh, Kaushambi, 1st-2nd century
Terracotta
6⅜ x 4¾ x 2 in. (16.2 x 12.1 x 5.1 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.162

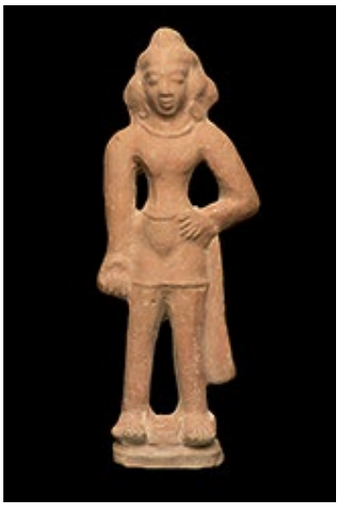
CAT. 5

7
Fragmentary Male Figure Holding a Plant(?)
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh,
ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
3 ⅝ x 2 ¼ x ½ in. (9.2 x 5.7 x 1.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.59

8
Fragment with Turbaned and Bejeweled Winged Male Deity
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh,
ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
2 ½ x 2 ¾ x ⅞ in. (6.4 x 7 x 2.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.90

9
Fragment Showing an Adolescent Supported by the Right Arm of a Yakshi(?)
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh,
ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
2 ½ x 1 ⅝ x ¼ in. (6.4 x 4.1 x 0.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.77

10
Rattle in the Form of a Yaksha Holding a Money Bag, Precursor of Kubera, the God of Wealth
India, West Bengal, Chandraketugarh
Shunga period, ca. 100 BCE
Terracotta
4 ⅛ x 3 ¼ x 3 ¼ in. (10.5 x 8.3 x 8.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.121



11
Male Deity: A Yaksha or Deva
India, Uttar Pradesh, Rajghat, ca. 300
Terracotta
7 ¼ x 2 ½ x 1 in. (18.4 x 6.4 x 2.5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.177

Hindu

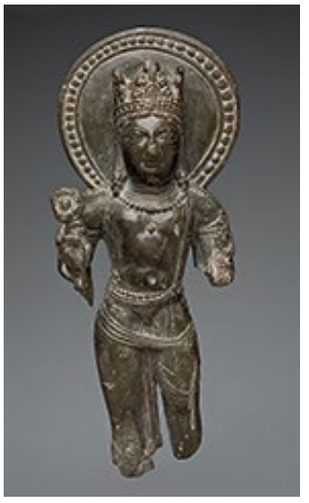
CIRCLE OF VISHNU/KRISHNA

12
Head of Vishnu
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura,
4th-5th century
Sandstone
9 ½ x 6 x 3 in. (24.1 x 15.2 x 7.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Mark and Iuliana Phillips, 2002.85.7

CAT. 12

CAT. 13

13
Head of Vishnu
India, Madhya Pradesh, 7th century
Sandstone
7½ x 6 in. (19.1 x 15.2 cm)
Lent by Gloria Rubin



14
Standing Vishnu with a Lotus in His Right Hand for Personal Devotion
India, Kashmir, 8th century
Green stone
6 x 2½ x 1½ in. (15.2 x 6.4 x 3.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.85

15
Temple Sculpture Representing Vishnu with Club, Wheel, and Conch in Three Hands
Flanked by attendants below; Brahma and Shiva with the ten avatars above
India, Rajasthan, ca. 11th century
Sandstone
35 x 18 x 6 in. (88.9 x 45.7 x 15.2 cm)
Lent by Natalia and Michael Howe

16
Regally Attired Vishnu
Image for a domestic shrine, by the same craftsman as cat. 104
India, Karnataka, Mysore, 19th century
Wood with gesso, pigment, glass, and gilt
14½ x 6½ x 3 in. (36.8 x 16.5 x 7.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

17
Vishnu Appears Before His Devotee Dhruva
By Raja Ravi Varma
India, from Ravi Varma Press, Karla-Lonavala (Maharashtra), early 20th century
Print with silk, sequins, and thread
13⅜ x 9½ in. (34 x 24.1 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

18
Fragment of a Hand of Vishnu(?) Holding a Lotus Stem as Attribute
India, Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh, 10th-11th century
Sandstone
7½ x 8½ x 5½ in. (19.1 x 21.6 x 14 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.6

CAT. 16

CAT. 17

CAT. 18

19
Processional Image of Vishnu Riding Garuda
India, Tamil Nadu, 18th century
Wood with traces of gesso, pigments, and glass
58½ x 33½ x 39½ in. (148.6 x 85.1 x 100.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

20
Procession with Image of Vishnu Seated on Garuda (see cat. 19)
India, Karnataka, early 19th century
Color and gold on paper
8 x 11¾ in. (20.3 x 29.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.45

21
Vishnu on his Serpent Couch Ananta (Eternity), with His Consort Lakshmi and Adorants
Folio from a dispersed series of the *Bhagavata Purana* (Ancient Lore of the Lord)
India, Odisha, 19th century
Ink and color on paper
9¾ x 14½ in. (24.8 x 36.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.20

22
Fragment of a Stele with Lakshmi, Goddess of Wealth and Prosperity, Holding Lotus Stems
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura,
1st century BCE
Sandstone
6¼ x 6¼ x 3 in. (15.9 x 15.9 x 7.6 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, L.2011.5.2

23
Gajalakshmi (Lustration of Lakshmi by Elephants, Symbolizing Rains)
Flanked by two female attendants
India, Madhya Pradesh, 8th–9th century
Sandstone
33 x 21½ x 6 in. (83.8 x 54.6 x 15.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Ramesh and Urmil Kapoor, 2011.50.1

24
Hanging Temple Lamp with Gajalakshmi
India, Kerala, 16th century
Bronze
7½ x 7½ x 6½ in.; 34 in. (chain length)
19.1 x 19.1 x 16.5 cm; 86.4 cm (chain length)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, TR 3500.7

CAT. 21

CAT. 22

25
Goddess Gajalakshmi with Kubera, God of Wealth, and Ganesha, God of Auspicious Beginnings
India, Bihar, 9th century
Phyllite
7½ x 8 x 2⅛ in. (19.1 x 20.3 x 5.4 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, L.2011.5.3

26
Lakshmi in the Shape of a Pot
Used for domestic devotion, popular among Bengali Hindus
India, West Bengal, 18th century
Brass
3¼ x 1¾ in. (8.3 x 4.4 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2013.50.4

27
Panel with Narasimha, Avatar of Vishnu
(see cat. 15 for all ten avatars)
Vishnu appeared as Narasimha to save his devotee, the boy Prahlada, and killed his father, the tyrannical ruler Hiranyakashipu, who was disdainful of the boy's devotion
India, Tamil Nadu, 18th century
Wood
20 x 11¼ x 2½ in. (50.8 x 28.6 x 6.4 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

28
Headpiece Used on Ceremonial Occasions with the Lion Mask Representing the Narasimha Avatar
Surrounded by images of Gajalakshmi and musicians
India, Kerala, 19th century
Wood panels, string
26 x 26 x 7½ in. (66 x 66 x 19.1 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

29
Narasimha Slaying Hiranyakashipu Adored by the God and a Brahman Blessing Prahlada
Illustration to *Bhaktiratnavali* (Creeper of Devotional Gems)
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. 1720
Ink, color, and gold on paper
10½ x 16½ in. (26.7 x 41.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.22

30
Narasimha Slaying the Disbelieving King Hiranyakashipu with the Devoted Prahlada Watching
Folio from an unidentified manuscript of a Vaishnava devotional text translated into Persian and written in Arabic script
India, Rajasthan, Bikaner, 18th century
Ink, color, and gold on paper
14 x 10¾ in. (35.6 x 27.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.24

CAT. 25

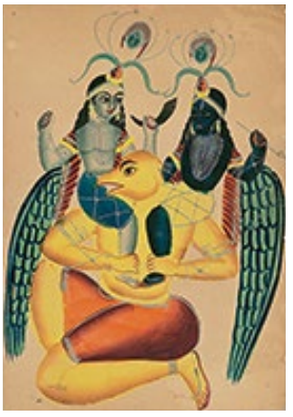
CAT. 27

CAT. 28

CAT. 29

CAT. 30

31
Balarama as the Eighth Avatar of Vishnu and Elder Brother of Krishna
India, Madhya Pradesh, 11th century
Sandstone
31 x 20 in. (78.7 x 50.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Wright S. Ludington, 1968.3



32
The Two Siblings, the Lighter Balarama (with a Horn in Hand) and the Dark Krishna, Astride the Shoulders of Garuda
The presence of Garuda clearly indicates their association with Vishnu
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), 19th century
Color and silver on paper
15 ¾ x 10 ¾ in. (40 x 27.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

33
Pata Painting for Pilgrims Depicting the Trinity of the Puri Temple: Balabhadra (=Balarama), Jagannath (=Krishna) and Subhadra, Their Sister
Surrounded by the ten avatars and other deities and attendants
India, Odisha, Puri district, late 19th century
Ink and color on cotton
24 ½ x 31 ½ in. (62.2 x 80 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, L.2011.5.13

34
Pata Painting of the Jagannath Shrine at Puri
India, Odisha, Puri district, late 19th-20th century
Ink and color on cotton
8 x 9 ¾ in. (20.3 x 24.8 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

35
Rama and Lakshmana Visit an Ashram
Illustration to *Ramayana* (The Epic Story of Rama) by the poet Valmiki
India, Malwa, ca. 1680s
Ink and color on paper
8 x 11 ¼ in. (20.3 x 28.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47. 29

36
Rama with his Spouse Sita, Flanked by His Younger Sibling Lakshmana and His Simian Devotee Hanuman
India, Tamil Nadu, late 19th-early 20th century
Ink and color reverse painted on glass
23 x 17 ½ in. (58.4 x 44.5 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

37
Narrative Illustrations of Scenes from the Ramayana
Used by bards in recitals
India, Maharashtra, Paithan, 19th century
Ink and color on paper
Each: 12 ½ x 16 in. (31.8 x 40.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

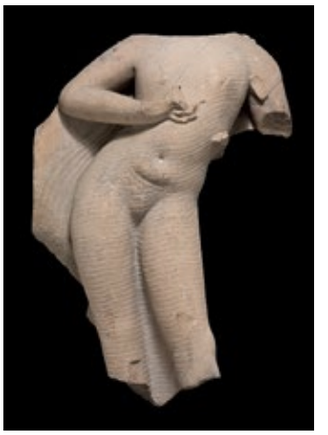
CAT. 37

38
Temple Strut with Hanuman, the Simian Devotee of Rama
India, Gujarat, 18th century
Wood with traces of pigment
30 x 5½ x 13 in. (76.2 x 14 x 33 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

39
Processional Image of Dancing Child Krishna
India, Tamil Nadu, 13th century
Copper alloy
8½ x 13½ x 5½ in. (21.6 x 34.3 x 14 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Museum Purchase, 1970.9

40
Monumental Head of Hanuman
Used in religious processions in Kerala
India, Kerala, 18th century
Wood with pigment
52½ x 21½ x 19 in. (133.4 x 54.6 x 48.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

41
A Tantric Cosmic Form of the Simian God Hanuman as Hanu-Bhairava (Composite Form of Hanuman and Bhairava)
With mantras and texts in Devanagari script
India, Rajasthan, 18th century
Ink and color on paper
24 x 20½ in. (61 x 52.1 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.8



42
Buddha as the Ninth Avatar of Vishnu
From the same series as Balarama (see cat. 31)
India, Madhya Pradesh, 11th century
Sandstone
35 x 26 in. (89 x 66 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of K. W. Tremaine, 1968.2

43
Crawling Infant Krishna with a Butterball in His Right Hand
India, Tamil Nadu, 16th century
Bronze
3¾ x 2½ x 3⅞ in. (9.5 x 6.4 x 9.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.10

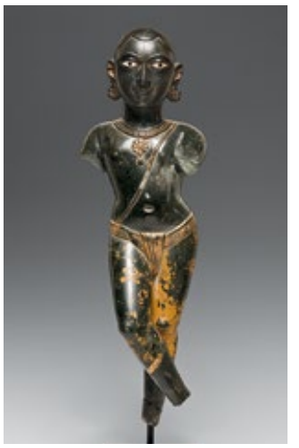
CAT. 39

CAT. 40

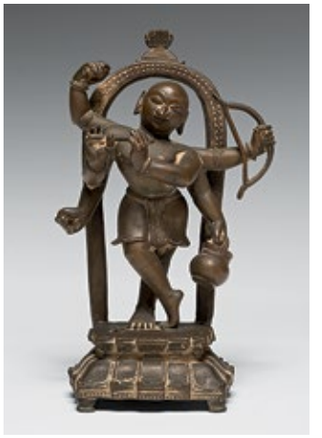
CAT. 41

44
Dancing Child Krishna with a Butterball in His Right Hand
India, Tamil Nadu, 17th century
Copper alloy with gilded ornaments
4¼ x 3 x 1⅞ in. (10.8 x 7.6 x 4.8 cm)
Lent by Pamela Melone in Memory of F. Bailey Vanderhoef, Jr.

45
Krishna, the Flutist Cowherder (Venugopala)
Image for a domestic shrine
India, Odisha, 17th century
Brass
7¾ x 3½ x 3¼ in. (19.7 x 8.9 x 8.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.11



46
Krishna as Venugopala
Image for a domestic shrine
India, Bengal or Bangladesh, 17th century
Black schist with traces of pigment and gold
21 x 7 x 3½ in. (53.3 x 17.8 x 8.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



47
A Six-Armed (Cosmic) Form of Venugopala Krishna
Used in a domestic shrine
India, Odisha or Bengal, 19th century
Bronze
8 x 4½ x 3¼ in. (20.3 x 11.4 x 8.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

48
Door Panel from a Vaishnava Shrine with Venugopala Krishna below a Kadamba Tree
Surrounded by musicians and dancers, with a royal couple in a panel of the right column and a narrow outer border of cows
India, Odisha, 18th-19th century
Wood with traces of pigment
72½ x 34⅝ in. (184.2 x 87.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

49
Scenes of Krishna's Life (Krishnalila), Central Panel Showing Venugopala Krishna and Radha under a Kadamba Tree with Attendants
India, Odisha, Puri district, late 19th-early 20th century
Color and gold on silk
41¼ x 87⅜ in. (104.8 x 221.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Museum purchase with the Peggy Maximus Fund, 2009.26

CAT. 46

50
Krishna in Animated Discussion with Ascetics and Noblemen on a Palace Terrace
India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, ca. 1840
Ink and color on paper
7¾ x 11¼ in. (19.7 x 28.6 cm)
Lent by the Joseph B. and Ann S. Koepfli Trust, L.2005.3.4

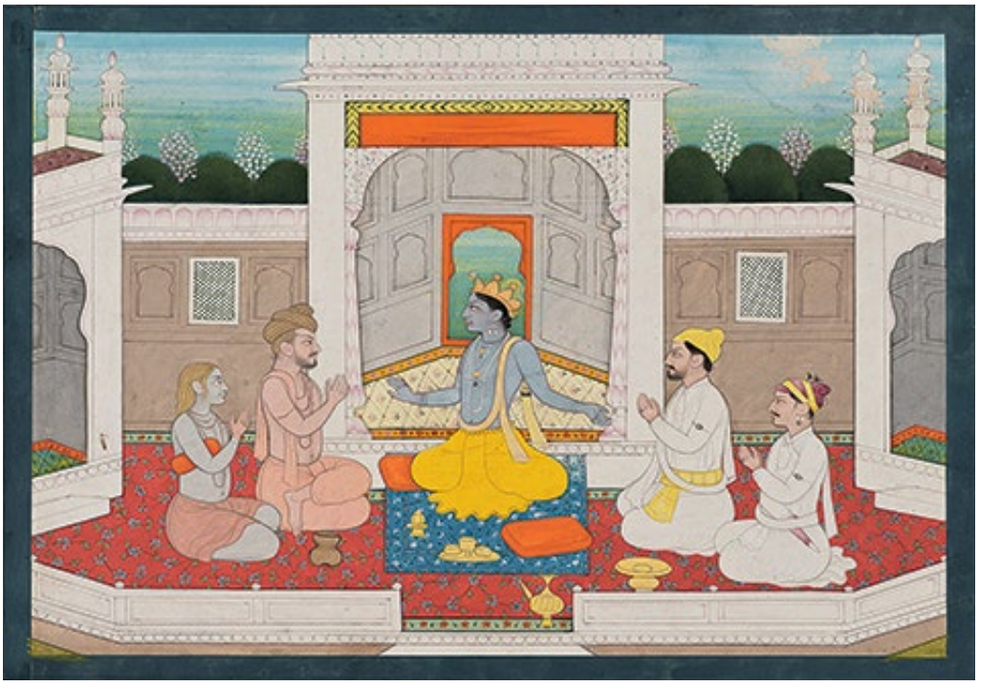
51
Krishna Slaying Demons and Rescuing Cows as Balarama Watches
Illustration from a *Bhagavata Purana*
India, Himachal Pradesh, ca. 1850-60
Ink and color on paper
10 x 13½ in. (25.4 x 34.3 cm)
Lent by the Joseph B. and Ann S. Koepfli Trust, L.2005.3.5

52
An Errant Krishna Begs Forgiveness at Radha's Feet
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), late 19th century
Pencil, color and silver on paper
18 x 11 in. (45.7 x 27.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.50

53
Narrative Scroll with Krishnalila
Depicts Krishna killing various demons including the ogress Putana in the top panel
India, West Bengal, late 19th century
Color on paper
26¾ x 16 in. (67.9 x 40.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.54

54
Cosmic or Universal Form (Vishvarupa) of Krishna
As seen by Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra in the epic *Mahabharata*, as is clear from the facing armies flanking the legs of the deity
India, Rajasthan or Gujarat, 19th century
Ink and color on cloth
52 x 35½ in. (132 x 90.2 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.1

55
Krishna Holding up Mount Govardhana to Protect the Citizens and Bovines of Brindavan from a Fierce Storm
Illustration of the legend for the origins of the Shrinathji image of Nathdvara and the Vallabhacharya sect of Vaishnava devotion
India, Rajasthan, Nathdvara, late 19th century
Color and gold on paper
12¾ x 29⅛ in. (32.4 x 74 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



CAT. 50

CAT. 51

CAT. 52

CAT. 55

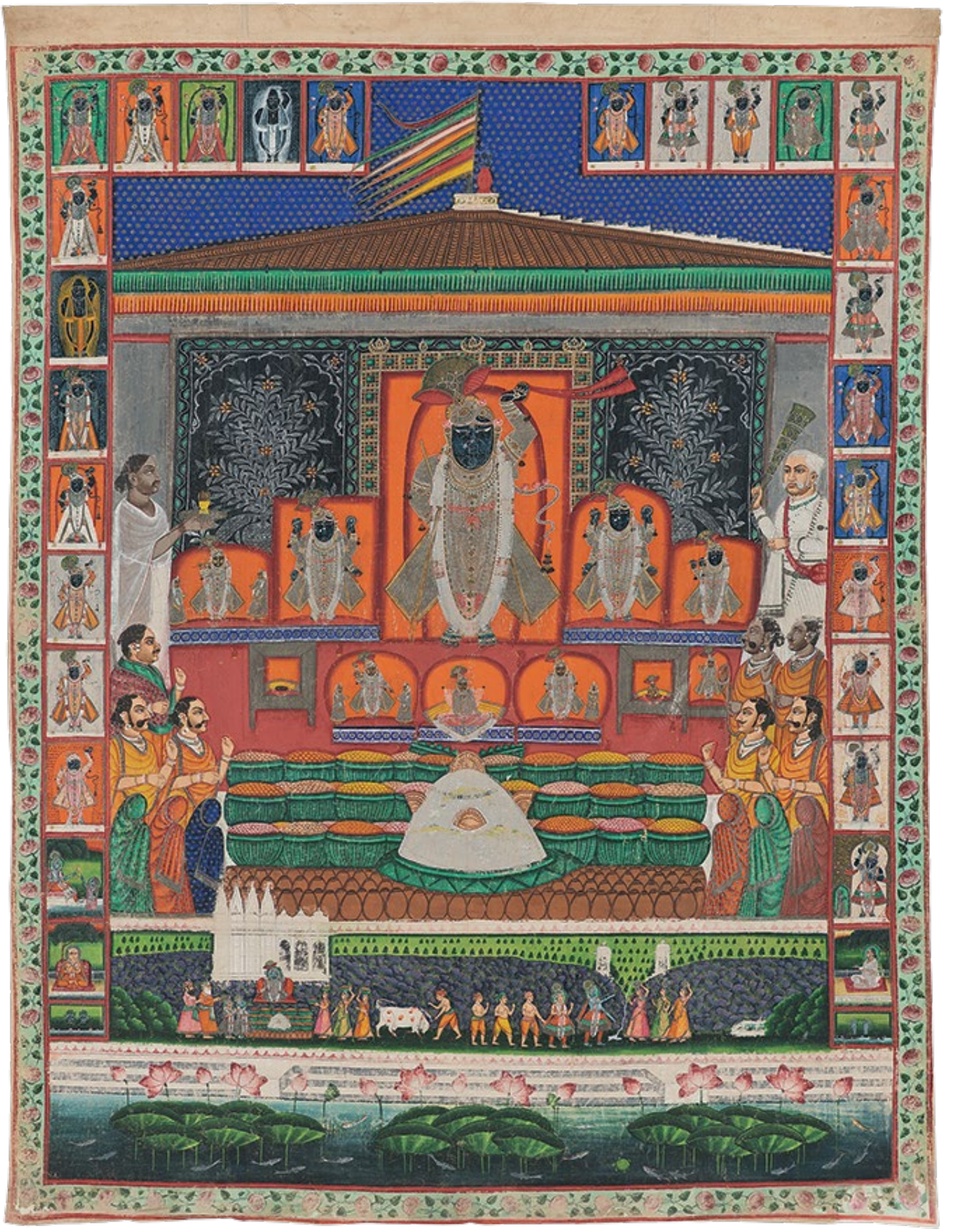
56
Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) Depicting Shrinathji
The form of Krishna worshipped by the Vallabhacharya sect of Vaishnavas, and the principal image of the Nathdvara temple
India, Rajasthan, 19th-20th century
Ink and color on cotton
51 ⅞ x 35 ¾ in. (131.8 x 90.8 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson

57
Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) Showing Food Offering to Shrinathji at the Annakut (Mountain of Food) Festival
India, Rajasthan, late 19th-early 20th century
Ink and color with gold and silver on cotton
90 x 68 in. (228.6 x 172.7 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of James and Susheila Goodwin and Museum Purchase with funds provided by General Acquisitions Fund, 2003.31

58
Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) with Cowherd Girls Adoring Krishna and the Festival of the Autumn Full Moon (Sharat Purnima)
India, Rajasthan, early 19th century
Ink and color on cotton
75 x 65 in. (190.5 x 165.1 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.14

58a
Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) Showing the Worship of Shrinathji at the Autumn Full Moon Festival
India, Rajasthan, Nathdvara, late 19th century
Ink and color on cotton
56 ¾ x 36 in. (144.1 x 91.4 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, L.2011.5.14

59
Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) Depicting Water Festival (Jal Vihara), with Floating Shrine in a Lotus-filled Lake
India, Rajasthan, Kishangarh(?), early 20th century
Ink and color on cotton
91 x 78 in. (231.1 x 198.1 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.4



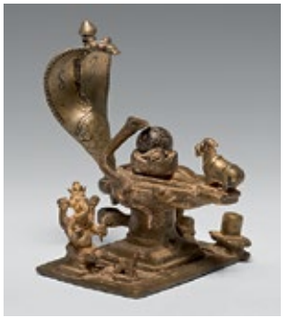
CAT. 57

CIRCLE OF SHIVA AND SHAKTI

60
Head of a Deity, Probably Trishulapurusha (Personification of Shiva's Trident)
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura,
2nd century
Sandstone
6 ¾ x 5 ½ x 5 ¼ in. (17.1 x 14 x 13.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratap and Chitra Pal, 2002.84

61
Ekamukhalinga with One Face (Mukha) of Shiva
Considered both a phallic symbol and a cosmic pillar linking earth and heaven
India, Uttar Pradesh, Kaushambi,
4th century
Terracotta
3 ¾ x 2 ¼ x 1 ¾ in. (9.5 x 5.7 x 4.4 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.147

62
Mukhalinga with Naga (Serpent) Hood Canopy and Naga Body Base
A distinctive form in Maharashtra
India, Maharashtra, 18th century
Brass
26 x 11 x 9 in. (66 x 27.9 x 22.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



63
Folk Altarpiece of Shivalinga
With attendant bull, serpent canopy, and ornament; and below, Ganesha, horse(?), and a smaller Shivalinga
India, southern Maharashtra, 18th century
Bronze and stone
6 ⅜ x 5 x 5 ½ in. (16.2 x 12.7 x 14 cm)
Lent by Stephen P. Huyler

64
Shiva's Bull (Vrisha)
India, Tamil Nadu, 18th century or earlier
Wood with traces of pigment
5 ¾ x 9 ⅞ x 4 ½ in. (14.6 x 25 x 11.4 cm)
Lent by Stephen P. Huyler

65
Bull Supporting a Lotus Stand with Container for a Stone Linga
India, Gangetic Plain, 19th century
Copper alloy
Closed: 12 ¼ x 5 ¼ x 3 ⅝ in. (31.1 x 13.3 x 9.2 cm)
Lent by Stephen P. Huyler

CAT. 60

CAT. 64

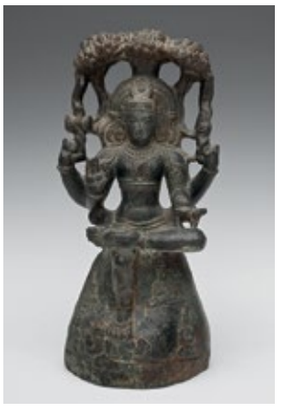
CAT. 65

66
Head of Shiva
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura,
6th century
Mottled red sandstone
9½ x 8 x 6¼ in. (24.1 x 20.3 x 15.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.5

67
Shiva Holding Rosary (Akshamala) and Pot of Elixir
Flanked by two celestials in yogic postures
India, Madhya Pradesh, 9th century
Mottled red sandstone
27 x 22 x 8¾ in. (68.6 x 55.9 x 22.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Ramesh and Urmil Kapoor, 2011.50.2

68
Temple Relief of Shiva Holding Trident, Serpent, Waterpot and Rosary
India, Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan,
11th-12th century
Sandstone
21½ x 12 x 6¾ in. (55 x 30.5 x 17.1 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Mr.
and Mrs. Alan McCracken, 1984.49

69
Temple Sculpture of a Sensuous Divine Couple, probably Shiva and Parvati
India, Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan,
12th century
Sandstone
33 x 13¾ x 9½ in. (83.8 x 34.9 x 24.1 cm)
Lent by Natalia and Michael Howe



70
Temple Sculpture of Shiva as the Supreme Teacher (Dakshinamurti)
Seated on cosmic Mount Meru beneath a banyan tree, holding hand-drum (*damaru*), flame and book, and making gesture of reassurance (*abhaya*), with ascetic students below
India, Tamil Nadu, 12th century
Volcanic stone
17¼ x 8 x 5½ in. (43.8 x 20.3 x 14 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of
Dr. Robert and Dr. Ann Walzer, 2011.41

71
Shiva Seated in Lotus Posture on a Lotus Base with Bull
Displaying the battle-axe and antelope in upper hands and the offering (*tarpana*) and teaching (*vyakhyana*) gestures with the lower hands
India, Odisha, 17th century
Bronze
5¼ x 4 x 3 in. (13.3 x 10.2 x 7.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

CAT. 66

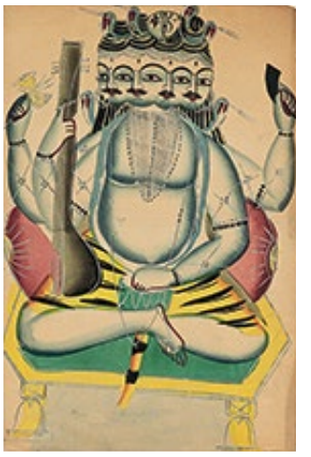
CAT. 67

72
Architectural Fragment with Shiva and Parvati on a Bull at Center
Flanked by two adoring sages and by their sons Ganesha on his rodent and Kumara on his peacock, with two guardians at the extremities
India, Kerala or Tamil Nadu (Chettinad?), 18th-19th century
Wood
8 x 34 x 1¼ in. (20.3 x 86.4 x 3.2 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

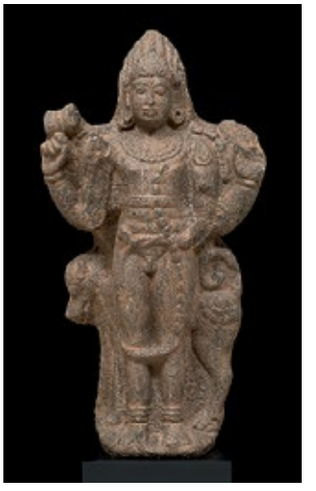
73
Shiva Nataraja (King of Dance)
Probably for a domestic shrine
India, Karnataka, 16th century or earlier
Wood
11¾ x 3¾ x 3½ in. (29.8 x 9.5 x 9 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, TR 3500.5

74
Shiva as Bhairava Dancing with Vishnu and Brahma as Musicians
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, 1750-75
Color and gold on paper
7¾ x 5¼ in. (19.7 x 13.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Julia Emerson, 1994.53.3

75
Shiva in His Cosmic Five-headed Form (Sadashiva)
Accompanied by five identical goddesses, each also with five heads, in a lotus mandala
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, 18th century
Color and gold on paper
13¾ x 9¼ in. (34.9 x 23.5 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.6



76
Five Headed Shiva (Sadashiva) as Lord of Music
Pilgrim painting from Kalighat temple
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), 19th century
Color and silver on paper
16 x 10⅛ in. (40.6 x 25.7 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



77
Bhairava, an Awesome Form of Shiva, with His Dog Mount and Flaming Hair
A typical temple image
India, Tamil Nadu, 14th-15th century
Stone
29¾ x 16 x 6½ in. (75.6 x 40.6 x 16.5 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

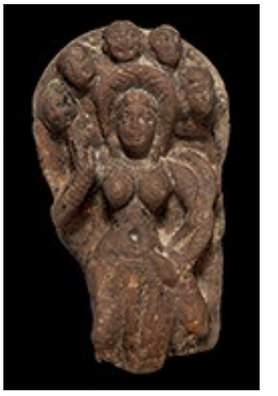
CAT. 75

78
Two Forms of Bhairava Represented as Dwarfs (Vatuka) with Spotted Dogs
A drawing typical of Bengal
India, West Bengal, 19th-20th century
Ink and wash on paper
7⅞ x 11¼ in. (20 x 28.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.56

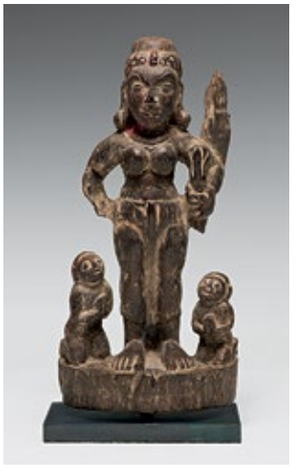
79
A Shaiva Ritual Implement with Depiction of Wooden Sandals Representing Shiva
Used for blessing devotees by being held over their heads
India, Andhra Pradesh, 18th-19th century
Bronze
5 x 5¼ in. (12.7 x 13.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.13

80
A Pair of Wooden Sandals with Fish Motif (see cat. 2)
Used by brahman priests or other holy men
North India, 19th century
Wood with brass caps for toeholds
9½ x 3¾ x 1 in. (24.1 x 9.5 x 2.5 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

81
Annual Religious Festival (Charak) Devoted to Shiva
Held with much revelry with tongue piercing in the month of Chaitra (March-April) in eastern India, especially Bengal
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), early 19th century
Color on paper
7¾ x 10¼ in. (19.7 x 26 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.44



82
The Goddess Shashti (Literally the Sixth), with Six Heads
Worshipped on the sixth day after child-birth to protect the newborn
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura, 2nd century
Sandstone
7 x 4¼ x 1¼ in. (17.8 x 10.8 x 3.2 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, TR 3500.4



83
Goddess (Durga?) with Two Adorants, Possibly Donors
An image for personal use
Bangladesh, 6th-7th century
Wood
8½ x 4 x 2½ in. (21.6 x 10.2 x 6.4 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

CAT. 81

84
Head of Goddess Chamunda
A manifestation of Kali and one of the group of eight Mother Goddesses (Matrika)
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura, 8th century
Sandstone
7 x 4½ x 4¼ in. (17.8 x 11.4 x 10.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Mark and Iuliana Phillips, 2002.85.5

85
Temple Sculpture with Bhadrakali
A fierce embodiment of Durga in her typically south Indian robust form
India, Tamil Nadu or Kerala, 18th century
Wood
36 x 13 x 5¾ in. (91.4 x 33 x 14.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

86
Processional Image Representing Parvati, the Spouse of Shiva
India, Tamil Nadu, 14th century
Bronze
32¼ x 12 x 10¼ in. (82 x 30.5 x 26 cm)
Lent by Natalia and Michael Howe

87
Goddess Durga Holding Club and Rope, with Lion
India, Tamil Nadu, 16th century
Bronze
8¼ x 4⅞ x 3⅜ in. (21 x 12.4 x 8.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.8

88
Amulet or Pendant Depicting Four-armed Goddess Durga Astride Her Lion
With attendants and plants, and pendant bells below
India, Rajasthan, 19th century
Silver
5¾ x 4¼ x ⅝ in. (14.6 x 10.8 x 1.6 cm)
Lent by Stephen P. Huyler

89
Devi (Durga) Holding Conchshell, Lotus and Rosary, and *Devi Triumphant over Titans*
Illuminated manuscript leaves from the *Devimahatmya* (Glorification of the Goddess)
India, Rajasthan or Gujarat, 18th century
Ink, color, and gold on paper
Each (approx.): 4⅞ x 10⅝ in. (12.4 x 27 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.36.1-2

CAT. 84

CAT. 89

CAT. 89 (DETAILS)

CAT. 90

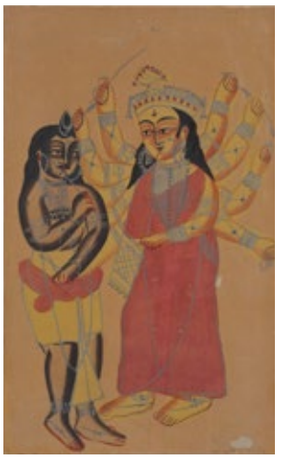
CAT. 90 (DETAILS)

90
Devi Astride Her Lion and Other Scenes
Illuminated manuscript leaves from the *Devimahatmya*
India, Kashmir, 18th–19th century
Color and gold on paper; two volumes, 28 pages of illustration
Each page: 4 x 6¼ in. (10.2 x 15.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

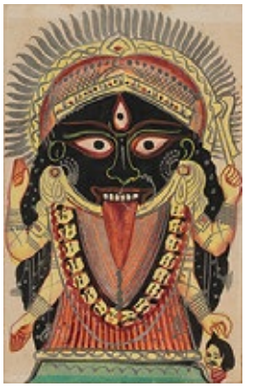
91
The Gods Appeal to the Great Devi for Help
Folio from a *Devimahatmya* series with Sanskrit text in Devanagari script on reverse
India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, early 19th century
Color and gold on paper
Image: 10½ x 12¼ in. (26.7 x 31.1 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

92
Six-armed Goddess Durga with a Goatee on Her Chin Standing before a Lion (Patron Deity of Bikaner)
Holding trident, sword, chopper, skullcup, garland, and *damaru* or hand-drum, with a bag hanging from her left shoulder
India, Rajasthan, Bikaner, 18th century
Color and gold on paper
7⅛ x 4¼ in. (18.1 x 10.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.25

93
Four-armed Durga Enthroned and with the Third Eye and a Golden Halo
Holding a sword, white lotus, and gem-encrusted cup and pot
India, Punjab plains, 19th century
Color and gold on paper
29½ x 23½ in. (74.9 x 59.7 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.42



94
Triumph of Feminism: Durga as Annapurna (Source of Food) and Shiva as a Humble Beggar
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), late 19th century
Pencil, color, and silver on paper
17½ x 10¾ in. (44.5 x 27.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.48



95
Four Manifestations of Devi (the Goddess) from the Group of Ten Mahavidyas (Knowledge Deities)
With labels in Bengali (left to right): Kali (image of Kalighat), Bhairavi, Matangi, and Devi Gandhakali
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), late 19th century
Color and silver on paper
Each: 5½ x 3½ in. (14 x 8.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.51.1-4

CAT. 92

CAT. 93

CAT. 95

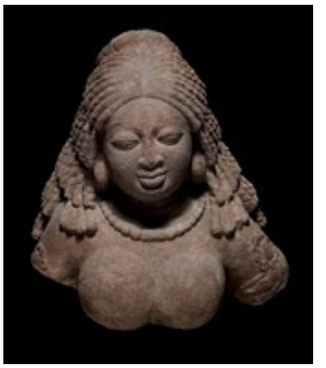
96
The Popular Form of Durga as the Destroyer of the Titan Mahisha (Mahishasuramardini)
Worshipped by Bengali Hindus in the festival of Durga Puja every autumn
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), 19th century
Color and silver on paper
15 ⅞ x 10 ¾ in. (40.3 x 27.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

97
Europeans Visiting a Princely Home in Calcutta (now Kolkata) to Witness Durga Puja
From the series "Indian Scenes and Characters" by Prince Alexis Soltykoff
Russian, active in India (1806–59)
Lithograph, published 1858
11 x 16 ¼ in. (27.9 x 41.3 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.78

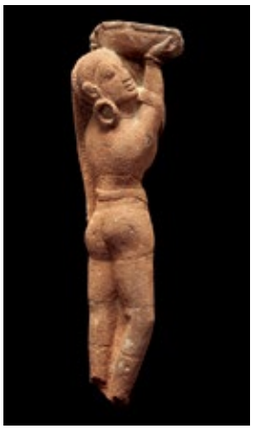
98
A Tantric Astrological Chart (Yantra) for Invoking Devi to Bestow Wealth
India, Rajasthan, 19th century
Ink and color on paper
14 ⅞ x 11 ⅞ in. (37.8 x 30.2 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.11

99
River Goddess Ganga (Ganges) Riding a Makara, a Mythical Aquatic Creature Regarded as an Auspicious Symbol
(see cat. 148)
India, West Bengal, Kolkata (Calcutta), 19th century
Color and silver on paper
15 ¾ x 10 ⅛ in. (40 x 25.7 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

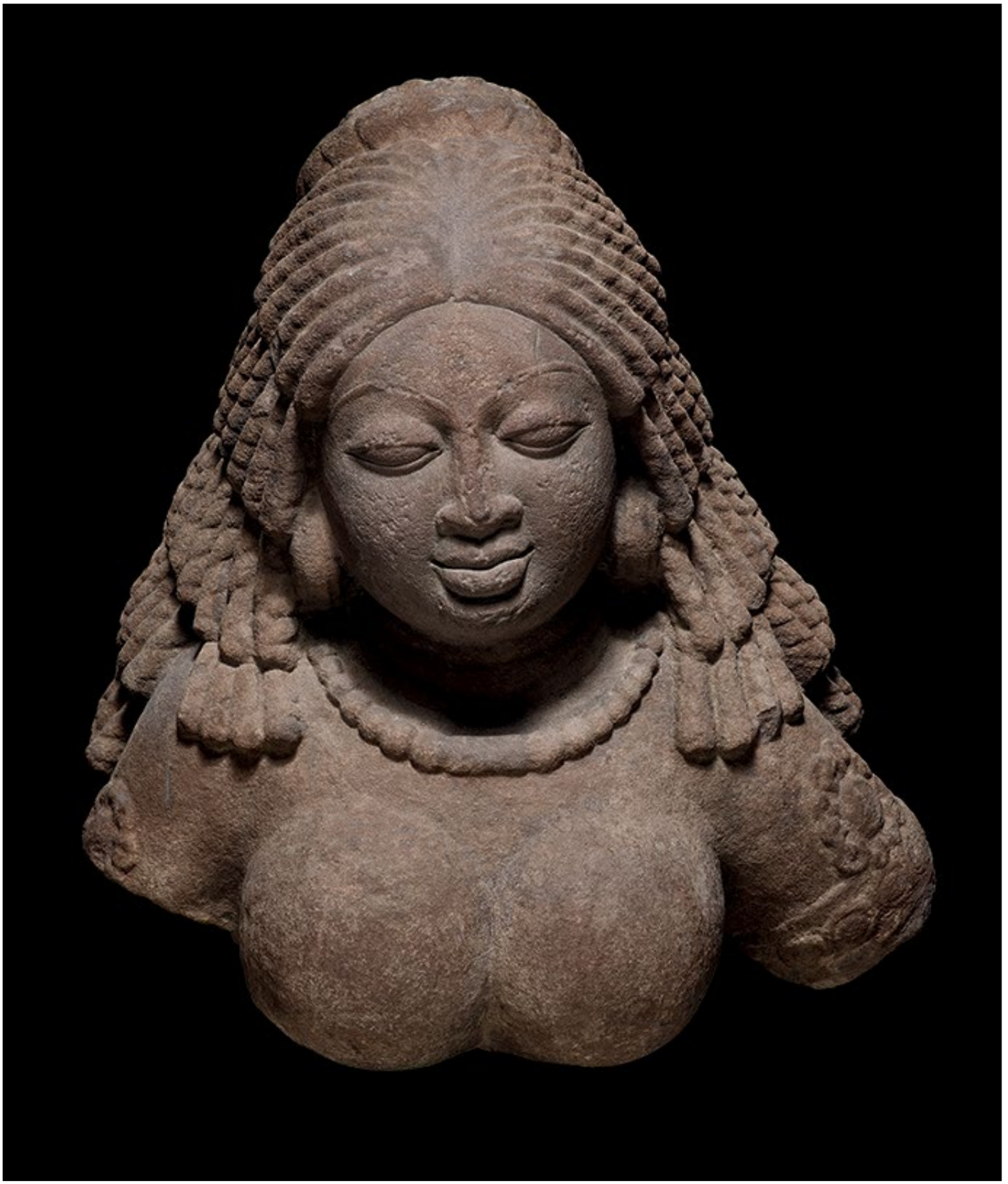
OTHER DEITIES AND DEVOTEES



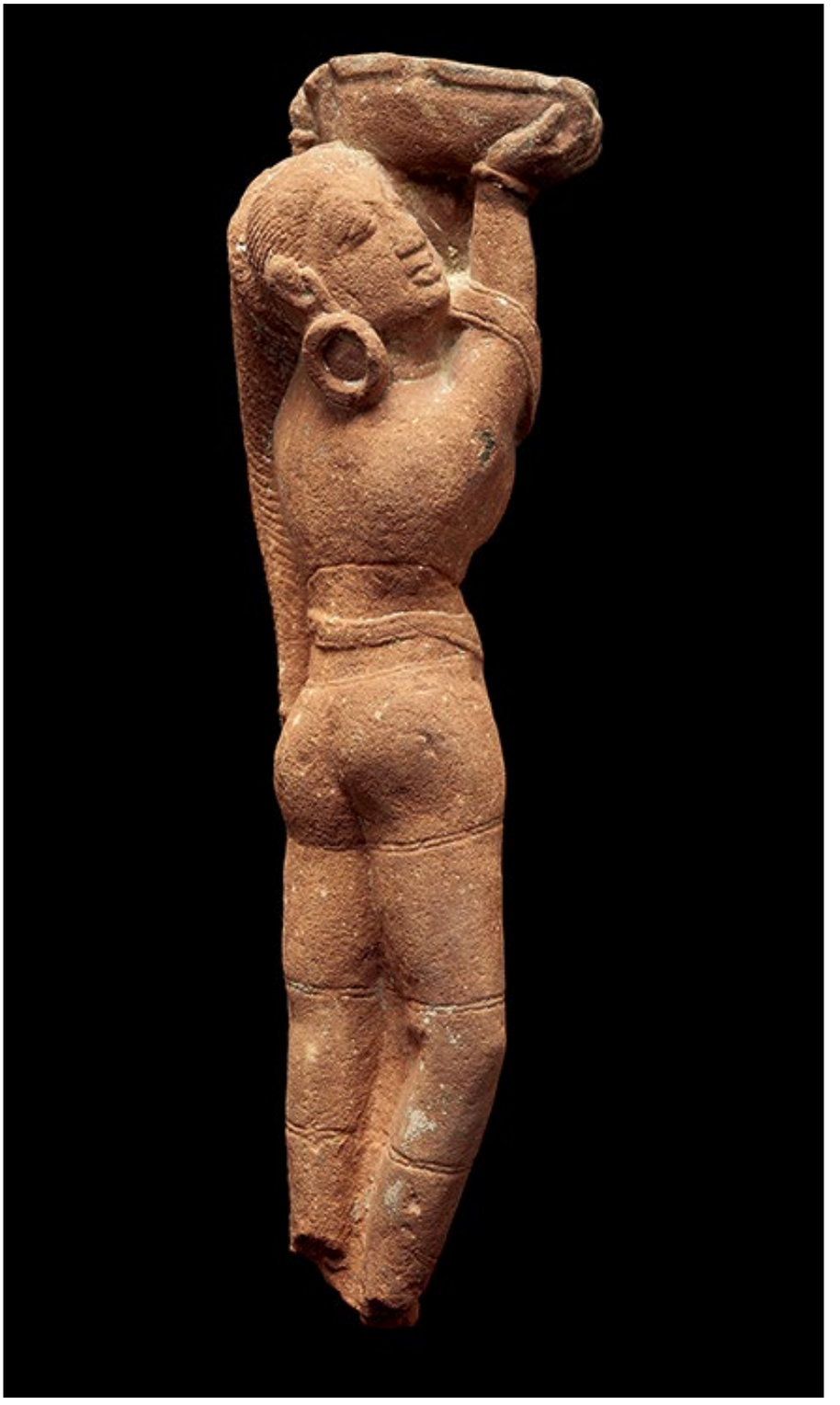
100
Bust of a Goddess
India, Madhya Pradesh, 6th century
Sandstone
16 x 15 x 9 in. (40.6 x 38.1 x 22.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Mark and Iuliana Phillips, 2002.85.6



101
Female Attendant Holding an Offering Bowl
(see cat. 5)
India, Madhya Pradesh, 8th century
Sandstone
13 ¼ x 4 x 5 ½ in. (33.7 x 10.2 x 14 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2013.50.2



CAT. 100



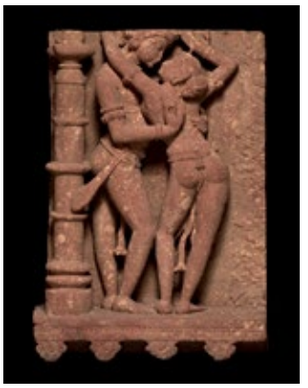
CAT. 101

102
Temple Sculpture with Dancing Ganesha
The popular God of Auspiciousness, distinguished by his elephant head
India, Uttar Pradesh, 11th century
Sandstone
23 x 12¼ x 4½ in. (58.4 x 31.1 x 11.4 cm)
Lent by Anonymous in Memory of Ann Witter

103
Temple Sculpture Representing Ganesha and His Spouse
With two female attendants beyond the columns
India, Madhya Pradesh, 12th century
Sandstone
19½ x 25 x 10¼ in. (50 x 63.5 x 26 cm)
Lent by Natalia and Michael Howe

104
Ganesha Luxuriously Adorned
By the same craftsman as cat. 16
India, Karnataka, Mysore, 19th century
Wood, gesso, pigments, glass, and gilt
14¾ x 6½ x 3 in. (37.5 x 16.5 x 7.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

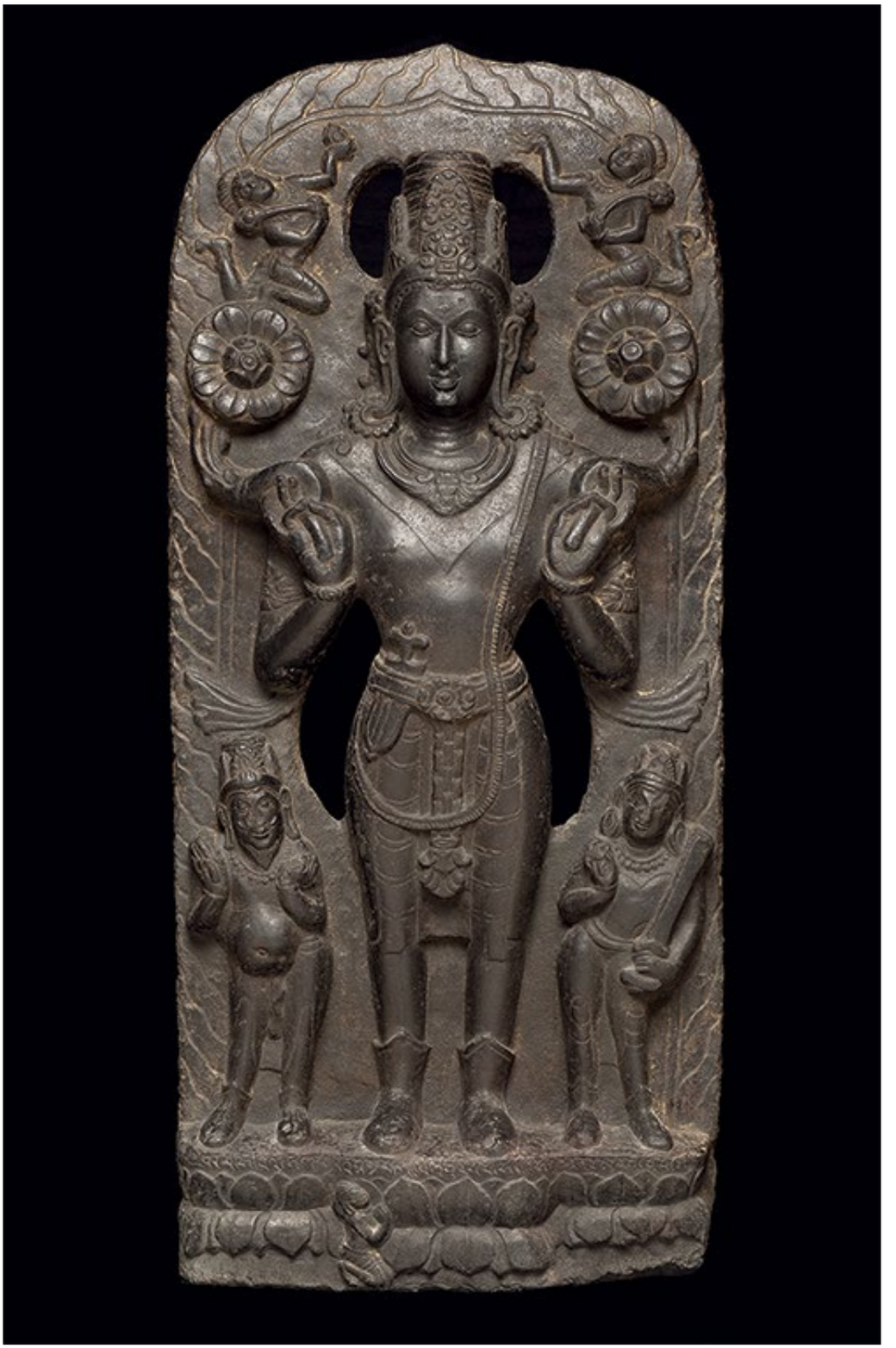
105
Temple Stele of Sun God Surya
With acolytes Dandi (holding sword) and bearded Pingala (grasping writing implements), all three wearing boots
India, Bihar, 11th century
Chlorite
35 x 16½ x 5 in. (89 x 41.9 x 12.7 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Ramesh and Urmil Kapoor, 2007.76



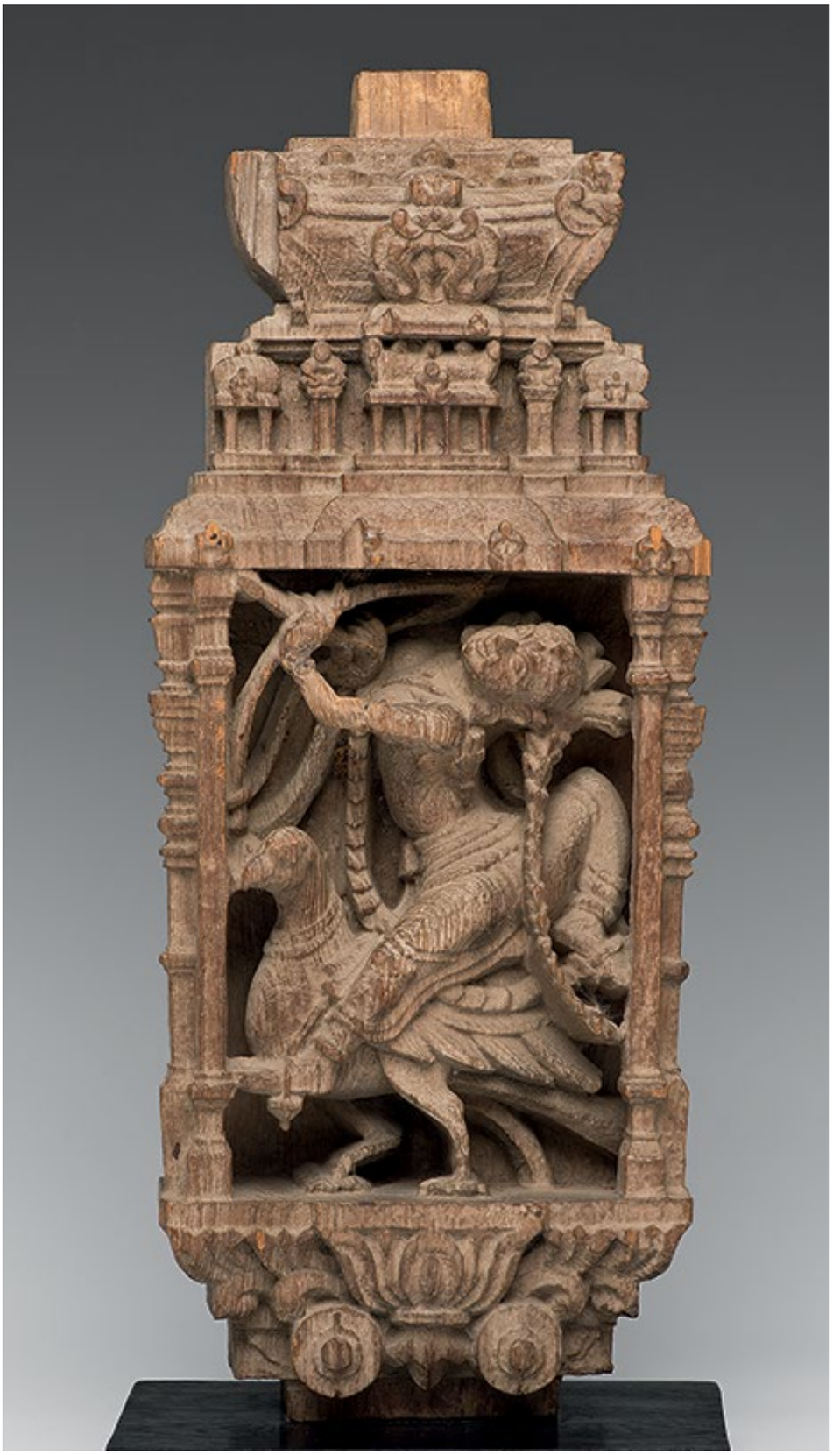
106
Temple Sculpture with Amorous Celestial Couple (Mithuna) as Auspicious Symbol
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura,
11th century
Sandstone
26½ x 18¼ x 6½ in. (67.3 x 46.4 x 16.5 cm)
Lent by Cecille and Michael Pulitzer

107
Miniature Shrine with the Figure of Goddess Rati Riding a Gander (Hamsa)
From a Temple Chariot(?) (see cat. 108)
India, Tamil Nadu, 18th century
Wood
17¾ x 7¼ x 2⅞ in. (45.1 x 18.4 x 7.3 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, TR 3500.6

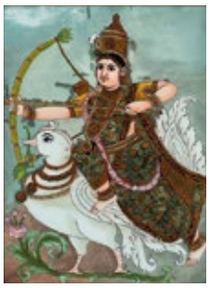
CAT. 103



CAT. 105



CAT. 107



108
Kama (God of Desire) Riding a Parrot and Kama's Spouse Rati on Gander
Both shown shooting arrows of love (see cat. 107)
India, Tamil Nadu, Thanjavur (Tanjore), 19th century
Ink and color reverse painted on glass
Each: 23½ x 17½ in. (59.7 x 44.5 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

109
Scroll with a Series of Meditative Cosmic Chakras and Text in Devanagari Script
India, Rajasthan, 18th century
Ink and color on cloth
72 x 11¾ in. (182.9 x 29.8 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.5

110
Strut from a Chariot with the Mythical Saint Agastyamuni
Agastyamuni is said to have introduced Vedic culture to south India
India, Tamil Nadu, 18th-19th century
Wood
20 x 7 x 4 in. (50.8 x 17.8 x 10.2 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

111
Votive Object with the Figure of a Warrior
India, Tamil Nadu, Pudukottai, 16th-17th century
Bronze
7½ x 2⅜ x 2 in. (19.1 x 6 x 5.1 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.7

112
Parts of a Doorframe or a Temple Chariot with Naga (Serpent) Protectors
India, Tamil Nadu or Kerala, 18th century
Wood with pigment
Left: 38¼ x 13¼ x 3½ in. (97.2 x 33.7 x 8.9 cm)
Right: 39¼ x 13¼ x 3½ in. (99.7 x 33.7 x 8.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

113
Architectural Bracket with Riders and Mythical Animals
India, Tamil Nadu, Chettinad, 18th century
Wood
36¼ x 12¾ x 3¼ in. (92.1 x 32.4 x 8.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

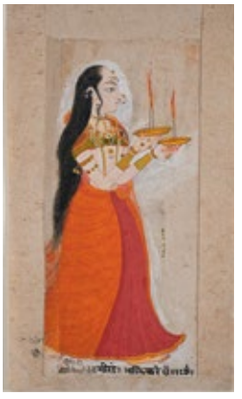
CAT. 108

CAT. 109 (DETAIL)

CAT. 110

CAT. 112 (DETAIL)

114
Processional Image of Chandeshvara, a Shaiva Saint
India, Tamil Nadu, 13th century
Bronze
21½ x 6¼ in. (54.6 x 15.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Lewis Bloom, 1981.24



115
Saint Mirabai, a 16th-Century Hindi Poetess and Devotee of Krishna
Painting by Pemji of Chittor
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, dated 1838
Color and gold on paper
8¼ x 3⅞ in. (21 x 9.8 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.15

116
Vaishnava Saint Vallabhacharya
(active 1481-1533)
Founder of the eponymous sect
India, Rajasthan, Nathdvara, early 20th century
Color and gold on paper
23½ x 10 in. (59.7 x 25.4 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

JAIN

117
Temple Stele with Jina Parshvanatha on a Lion Throne
Surrounded by celestial adorants, with his ensign (deer on either side of a wheel) flanked by a *yaksha* couple below
India, Karnataka, 13th century
Gray stone
19¼ x 11 x 6 in. (48.9 x 27.9 x 15.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of the Joseph and Barbara Krene Family Trust, 2003.22.2

118
Digambara Icon of the Nine Divinities (Navadevata)
With Gajalakshmi and *svastika*s (auspicious symbols) on base
India, Karnataka, 14th century
Granite
16 x 9½ x 4½ in. (40.6 x 24.1 x 11.4 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of the Pal Family in memory of Vineet Kapoor, 2015.40

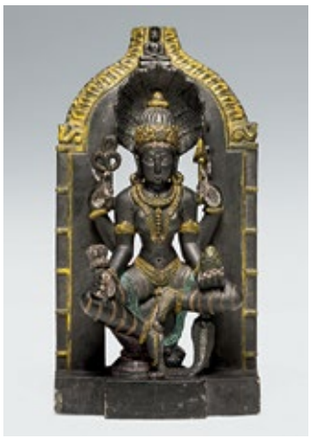
119
Digambara Icon of the Nine Divinities (Navadevata)
With a flame border and a face of glory (*kirtimukha*) in the form of a lion mask at the apex
India, Karnataka, 15th century
Brass
6¼ x 4¾ x 2 in. (15.9 x 12.1 x 5.1 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

CAT. 116

120
Lotiform Mandala of Twenty-four Jinas
India, Gujarat, 15th century
Brass
Open: 5 ¾ x 11 ½ in. (14.6 x 29.2 cm);
Closed: 7½ x 3 ¾ in. (19 x 9.5 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

121
Cosmological Pata Representing the Mortal Middle World with Jinas, Mantras and Texts
India, Gujarat, 16th century
Ink and color on cloth
35 x 34 ¾ in. (89 x 88.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

122
Enthroned Goddess Padmavati with Jina Parshvanatha above Her Head, Flanked by Flywhisk-bearing Attendants
She is seated in a shrine formed with stylized "seed letter" (*bijamantra*) *hrim*; at top and bottom right are two more Serpent Goddesses—that on upper right may also be Padmavati; at top left the God Indra approaches on an elephant to venerate the Goddess; at bottom left is a Shvetambara monk in the teaching posture—this is possibly Gautama Svami, the wonder-working disciple of Mahavira; at center bottom is a shrine with stone footprints of a deceased monk
India, Rajasthan, 20th century
Color, gold, and foil on paper
8 ½ x 6 ½ in. (21.6 x 16.5 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



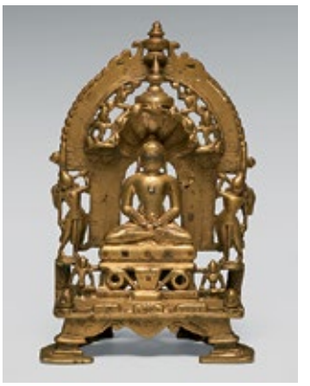
123
Padmavati, Attendant Yakshi of Parshvanatha (see cat. 122)
Seated with *naga* at her feet and a Jina above her impressive nine-hooded serpent canopy, she holds a noose, an elephant-goad, a custard-apple-like fruit, and a lotus (*padma*)
India, Gujarat, late 19th century
Black schist with traces of pigment and gold
15 x 7 ¾ x 3 ½ in. (38.1 x 19.7 x 8.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

124
A Jina in Samavasarana (Hall of the Universal Sermon)
To the right, a woman and a boy stand in devotional attitude below a golden wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpavriksha*) with various fauna and water tanks
India, 18th-19th century
Ink, color, and gold on paper
8 ¼ x 7 ½ in. (21 x 19 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

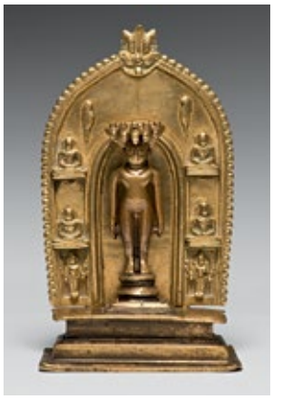
CAT. 121

125
Saint Bahubali Standing in the Kayotsarga (Body Abandonment Posture) His Body Entwined with a Vine
Image for a domestic shrine, with a consecratory inscription on the base giving the names: "Hemakirti deva," guru of the donor and the consecrator of the image, and "Kumarasena," the donor
India, Rajasthan, dated 1400 (Vikram Samvat 1457)
Brass
5 x 2¼ x 1¾ in. (12.7 x 5.7 x 4.4 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, L.2011.5.10

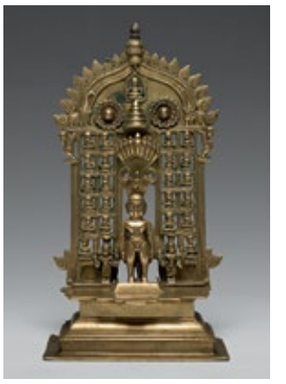
126
Shvetambara Altarpiece with Jina Parshvanatha and Four Other Jinas (Panchatirthika)
Inscription on the back illegible
India, Gujarat, 14th century
Brass inlaid with silver and copper
6¾ x 4¼ x 3 in. (17.1 x 10.8 x 7.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



127
Shvetambara Altarpiece with Jina Parshvanatha
Distinguished by his seven-hooded serpent canopy; there are traces of an inscription on the back
India, Gujarat or Rajasthan, ca. 14th century
Brass with silver and copper inlay
6⅞ x 4½ x 2⅞ in. (17.5 x 11.4 x 7.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



128
Digambara Altarpiece with Suparshvanatha and Four Other Jinas (Panchatirthika)
Suparshvanatha is distinguished by the five-hooded snake canopy
India, Karnataka, 15th century
Brass
7½ x 4½ x 2¼ in. (19 x 11.4 x 5.7 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson



129
Jina Parshvanatha with the Twenty-three Other Jinas forming a Group Image of all the Twenty-four Jinas (Chaturvimshatitirthika)
Parshvanatha is flanked by attendant *yaksha* Dharanendra and *yakshi* Padmavati
India, Gujarat, 16th century
Gilt bronze
10¼ x 5½ x 3½ in. (26 x 14 x 8.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

130
Shvetambara Tantric Composition with a Colossal Image of Jina Parshvanatha
The Jina has medallions of mantras covering his body and a cap-like canopy of more than seven serpents on his head; below him is his attendant *yaksha*, the serpent deity Dharanendra; all around are diagrams and mantras designed to protect the practitioner from all manner of afflictions
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. 1775–1800
Ink and color on paper
18 x 12¾ in. (45.7 x 32.4 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.7

CAT. 129

131
Architectural Column with Four Guardian Deities (Dvarapala) at the Base
Deeply carved smaller figures embellish this column from a domestic Jain shrine, as in cat. 132
India, Gujarat, 17th century
Wood with traces of pigment
51 x 8¼ x 8¼ in. (129.5 x 21 x 21 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

132
Façade of a Shvetambara Murtipujaka (Jain Household Shrine)
With fourteen auspicious dreams seen by the mother of a Jina upon his conception (according to Shvetambaras) on the lintel, and four guardian deities (*dvarapala*) flanking the entrance threshold; the entire surface deeply carved with vegetable, floral, and geometric motifs
India, Gujarat, late 18th–early 19th century
Wood with traces of pigment
48 x 44½ x 14 in. (121.9 x 113 x 35.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Lockwood de Forest, 1976.12.1

133
Throne of Fine Filigree Work in Silver with a Coral Image of Ganesha
Worshipped in a Jain home
India, Rajasthan, 20th century
Silver, coral
7 x 3¾ x 2¾ in. (17.8 x 9.5 x 7 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

134
Illuminated Pages of the Kalpasutra Manuscript
The popular holy book of the Shvetambara Murtipujaka Jains of western India, with illustrated narratives of the lives of Jinas
India, Gujarat, 1519
Ink, color, and gold on paper; 162 pages, 54 illustrations
Each: 4½ x 10 in. (11.4 x 25.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

135
Illuminated Pages of the Kalakacharya Kathanaka Manuscript
The story of the teacher Kalaka, popular after the *Kalpasutra* with the Jains of western India for recitation
India, Gujarat, 17th century
Ink, color, and gold on paper; 11 pages, 6 illustrations
Each: 4½ x 10 in. (11.4 x 25.3 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

136
Embroidered Cover for a Jain Manuscript
The two registers in the wider segment show fourteen auspicious dreams seen by the mother of a Jina upon his conception (according to Shvetambaras); the third panel has the eight auspicious objects (*ashtamangala*).
India, Gujarat, 20th century
Silk, metal threads, and sequins
Open: 9½ x 11 in. (39.4 x 27.9 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

CAT. 131 (DETAIL)

CAT. 135

CAT. 135 (DETAILS)

CAT. 136

137
Lokapurusha or Cosmic Man
Clad in a long dress and flared skirt, with an unusual headdress, the figure represents the cosmos with its three regions—the Heavenly Abodes of the Gods, the Middle Realm of Humans and the Nether Regions Comprising Hell; the Middle Realm is rotated 90 degrees
(see cat. 54)
India, Gujarat or Rajasthan, 18th-19th century
Ink and color on cloth
65¼ x 28 in. (165.7 x 71.1 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

138
Twenty-four Jinas
With their symbols and cognizants and inscribed names
North India, 19th century
Ink and color on paper
Each: 4 x 3¾ in. (10.2 x 9.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

139
Shatrunjaya Pata, a Cartographic Overview of the Famous Jain Pilgrimage Center at Mount Shatrunjaya in Gujarat
Showing the various temples and structures with pilgrims treading the serpentine pathways across the hilly terrain
India, Rajasthan or Gujarat, ca. 1900
Color on cloth
113⅞ x 86 in. (289.2 x 218.4 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. Narendra and Rita Parson, 2013.47

140
Embroidered Composition (Chor) Commemorating the Observance of Jnana Panchami (Literally: Knowledge Fifth)
Showing a teacher in the central field with hearers, and children greeting a man below, framed by the eight auspicious objects (*ashta-mangala*) at top and bottom, and fourteen auspicious dreams seen by the mother of a Jina upon his conception (according to Shvetambaras) on the two sides
India, Gujarat, Surat, late 19th century
Couched gold- and silver-toned twisted wire and metallic sequins on cloth
53 x 31 in. (134.6 x 78.7 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

141
Fourteen Auspicious Dreams Seen by the Mother of a Jina upon His Conception (according to Shvetambaras)
With identification labels, and with supine Trishala (mother of Jina, referred to as *lakshmimata*, or mother Lakshmi) and an adorant couple in the two end panels of the bottom row
India, Gujarat or Rajasthan, 18th century
Ink and color on paper
20⅛ x 16 in. (51.1 x 40.6 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

142
Board for the Game of Jnana-bazi (Jain Game of Chance)
The game (known in the West as *Snakes and Ladders*) is played by the Jains to attain knowledge of the inevitability of good and bad karmic results on the path to liberation; there are 84 numbered and identified squares, with snakes in blue and ladders indicated by narrow red lines, and with elaborate instructions in Devanagari characters
India, Gujarat, 19th century
Ink and color on paper
23 x 19⅜ in. (58.4 x 49.2 cm)
Lent by Julia Emerson, L.2000.1.9

CAT. 138 (DETAIL)

CAT. 142

BUDDHIST

143
Fourteen Auspicious Dreams Seen by the Mother of a Jina upon His Conception (according to Shvetambaras)
With two *svastika*s (auspicious symbols) in bottom row, and crowned with peacocks and a shield; this object is held by the hook at the top by an auspicious woman who walks at the front of a procession of either a mendicant or a Jina icon on a chariot, to purify the path
India, Gujarat or Rajasthan, 19th century
Silver
15½ x 9½ in. (39.4 x 24.1 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

144
Baldachin (Chandarvo) with Sunburst in the Center
Used either for a Jain shrine (see cat. 133) or over a monk delivering a sermon
India, Gujarat, Surat, 18th-19th century
Silk, metal thread, sequins, and silver gilt panel
Diameter: 25½ in. (64.8 cm)
Lent by Narendra and Rita Parson

145
Garlanded Bodhi Tree
Beneath which the Buddha was enlightened
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura, 1st century
Red mottled sandstone
8¾ x 6¾ x 1¼ in. (22.2 x 17.1 x 3.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 2013.48.3

146
Stupa Finial with Symbols Including the Three Jewels (Triratna) and Crescent Moon
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd-3rd century
Gilded metal
8⅛ x 3⅛ x ½ in. (20.6 x 7.9 x 1.3 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, TR 3500.1

147
Fragment of a Frieze from a Stupa
The birth of the Buddha is depicted below (see cat. 149), a gander in the middle, and above, the Buddha's footprints under a parasol flanked by legs of devotees
India, Andhra Pradesh, Nagarjunakonda, 2nd century
Limestone
29 x 15 x 5 in. (73.7 x 38.1 x 12.7 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Museum purchase with the John and Peggy Maximus Fund, 2011.9

148
Fragment of a Stupa
With auspicious symbols: lotus and *makara*s (see cat. 99)
India, Andhra Pradesh, Nagarjunakonda, 2nd century
Limestone
22½ x 13 x 7 in. (57.2 x 33 x 17.8 cm)
Anonymous Loan, L.2013.5.18

CAT. 147

CAT. 148 (DETAIL)

149
Birth of the Buddha under the Sal Tree
Witnessed by divine worshippers, the infant emerges from his mother's right hip
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, Swat Valley, 2nd century
Gray schist
10½ x 10½ x 1¾ in. (26.7 x 26.7 x 4.4 cm)
Anonymous Loan, L.2013.5.1

150
Meditating Buddha and Worshippers
The Buddha displays the reassurance gesture (*abhayahasta*) with his right hand
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura, 2nd century
Sandstone
9½ x 16 x 4 in. (24.1 x 40.6 x 10.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 2015.33.8

151
Meditating Buddha without a Nimbus Seated under the Bodhi Tree
Flanked by divine worshippers Brahma and Indra
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, Swat region, late 1st-early 2nd century
Green schist
11¼ x 10 x 2 in. (28.6 x 25.4 x 5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 2013.48.2

152
Nimbated Meditating Buddha
Protected by Serpent King Muchalinda, who encircles the Master's body during a storm, and with divine attendants
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd century
Green schist
4⅛ x 7¾ x 1¼ in. (10.5 x 19.7 x 3.2 cm)
Anonymous Loan, L.2013.5.3

153
Buddha Shakyamuni
Draped in a voluminous shawl, the end of which he holds in his left hand (the right forearm was separately attached), with a panel on the base depicting devotees approaching the enshrined relics of Buddha
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd-3rd century
Gray schist, face retouched
41½ x 14 x 7½ in. (105.4 x 35.6 x 19 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of the Joseph and Barbara Krene Family Trust, 2003.22.1

154
Buddha Shakyamuni
Displaying the gesture of reassurance (*abhayahasta*) with his right hand and holding the end of his shawl with the left
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd century
Copper alloy
4¾ x 3⅛ x ⅝ in. (12.1 x 7.9 x 1.6 cm)
Anonymous Loan, L.2013.5.10

CAT. 149

CAT. 151

CAT. 152

CAT. 154

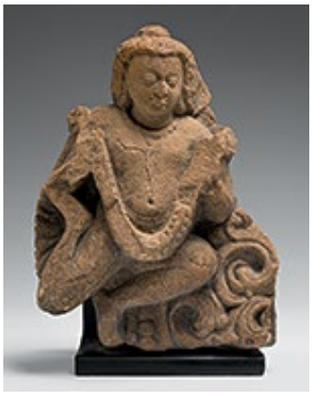
155
Head of Buddha with Prominent Topknot
The head is covered with wavy hair instead of the later short curls (see cat. 161) and there is a painted circle between the brows
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 4th-5th century
Stucco with traces of color
8 ¼ x 4 ½ x 5 ½ in. (21 x 11.4 x 14 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 2013.48.4

156
Panchika, Tutelary Deity of Wealth
With gems below his feet representing riches
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd-3rd century
Gray schist stone
7 ½ x 5 ¼ x 1 ⅜ in. (19.1 x 13.3 x 3.5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.1

157
Panchika with Spouse Hariti, Tutelary Deities of Wealth and Fertility
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, 2nd-3rd century
Gray schist
4 ½ x 4 ¼ x 1 ¼ in. (11.4 x 10.8 x 3.2 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2008.47.3

158
Fragmentary Relief of Hariti (Protector of Childbirth) Here with Children
India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura, 2nd century
Sandstone
8 x 10 x 3 in. (20.3 x 25.4 x 7.6 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, 2013.50.1

159
Head of a Bodhisatva, probably Maitreya the Future Buddha
Mustachioed, with a pensive facial expression, luxurious hairstyle, and a crested hairband
Ancient Gandhara, present-day Pakistan, late 2nd-3rd century
Gray schist
12 x 6 ¾ x 5 ⅛ in. (30.5 x 17 x 13 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Wright S. Ludington, 1967.28



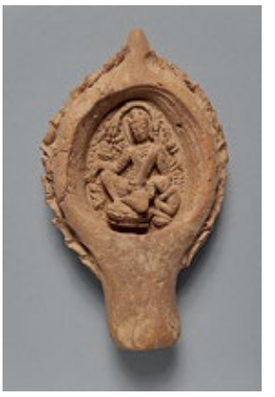
160
Flying Cherubic Celestial with Garland
From the upper part of a Buddha image with scrolling foliage-like clouds (see cat. 165)
India, Uttar Pradesh, Sarnath, 5th century
Sandstone
8 ¾ x 6 ⅜ x 4 in. (22.2 x 16.2 x 10.2 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal, TR 3500.2

CAT. 155

CAT. 156

161
A Votive Shrine in the Model of the Bodhgaya Temple
With images of three Buddhas and stupas, and inscription below
India, Bihar, Bodhgaya, 9th century
Terracotta
8½ x 6 x 3⅝ in. (21.6 x 15.2 x 9.2 cm)
Lent by Pratapaditya and Chitra Pal

162
Oval Votive Plaque with Lotus Petals along Edge
With Manjushri the Bodhisatva of wisdom, and an inscription
India, Bihar, 9th century
Terracotta
3 x 1¾ x 1 in. (7.6 x 4.4 x 2.5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.192



163
Lamp-shaped Votive Plaque
With Avalokiteshvara the Bodhisatva of compassion, and two adorants
India, Bihar, 9th century
Terracotta
5 x 3 x 1⅜ in. (12.7 x 7.6 x 3.5 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.193

164
Folded Lotus-leaf Edged Votive Plaque
With Green Tara, Savior Goddess of Compassion, holding a blue lotus with a stupa above her outstretched right arm and surrounded by an inscribed creed
India, Bihar, 8th-9th century
Terracotta with black slip
2½ x 2¼ x ¾ in. (6.4 x 5.7 x 1.9 cm)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen P. Huyler, 2008.4.191

165
Temple Sculpture Representing Enshrined Bodhisatva Manjushri Seated on a Lotus
Flanked by attendants, with a pair of Buddhas and a pair of flying celestial adorants flanking the foliated arch above, and in the lower portion a Wheel of Law flanked by deer with two mortal adorants at the ends
India, Uttar Pradesh, Sarnath, 11th century
Sandstone
31½ x 17½ x 10 in. (80 x 44.5 x 25.4 cm)
Lent by Natalia and Michael Howe

166
Buddhist Solar Deity Marichi
Depicted as a sow with seven babies, with an idealized image of the donor below
India, Bihar or Bengal, 11th century
Bronze
2¼ x 2¼ x 1½ in. (5.7 x 5.7 x 3.8 cm)
Anonymous Loan

CAT. 161

GLOSSARY OF NAMES AND SPECIAL TERMS

Debashish Banerji

All words that require diacritical marks, except place names, are added within brackets using the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) convention.

Abhirati "Delightful"; the perfect world of the Buddha Akshobhya in Mahayana Buddhism (see Akshobhya).

Adinatha (Ādinātha) "Original Lord"; the first of the 24 "Jinas"; also known as Rishabhanatha (see Jina).

Agastyamuni A Vedic sage supposed to have introduced Vedic civilization to south India and resided there; incorporated into the Shaiva pantheon.

Akshobhya (Akṣobhya) "Indestructible"; originally an epithet of the historical Buddha; later a name of one of the transcendental Buddhas of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism.

Amitabha (Amitābha) "Eternal light"; originally an epithet of the historical Buddha; later a name of one of the transcendental Buddhas of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism.

Annakut (annakuṭa) "Mountain of food"; a religious festival close to Diwali in the Fall, when mounds of cooked rice are offered to Shrinathji at Nathdvara (see Shrinathji).

Annapurna (Annapūrṇā) "Filled with food"; name of a Goddess considered to be a form of Parvati.

Avalokiteshvara (Avalokiteśvara) Buddhist deity of compassion, a Bodhisatva (see Bodhisatva).

avatar (avatāra) Descent of a deity to restore moral order on earth.

Bahubali (Bāhubalī) Also known as Gomateshvara, an arihant (destroyer of enemies), one of the sons of Adinatha.

Balarama/Balabhadra (Balarāma) Also known as Samkarshana (plowman), an agrarian hero, elder half brother of Krishna and eighth avatar.

bhaga (bhāga) "Share"; name of a Vedic solar deity, later signifying the qualities of bliss, fortune (bhagya), divine glory, and the object of devotion (bhakti). (See Bhagavan.)

Bhagavan (Bhagavān) "Possessor of bhaga(s)"; loosely refers to God, used by all three religions freely, such as Bhagavan Vishnu, Bhagavan Buddha, and Bhagavan Mahavira.

Bhagavadgita (Bhagavadgītā) "Lord's song," short form *Gita*; a Sanskrit poem of 700 verses; part of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata*; used today by Hindus in courts of justice to swear by.

Bhagavata Purana (Bhāgavata Purāṇa) An ancient (purana) text of the Vaishnavas (see Vaishnava).

Bhagavati (Bhagavatī) Feminine form of Bhagavan, generic epithet for goddesses of all faiths.

Bhairava "Howling One"; name of the awesome form of Shiva.

Bhaja A town near Pune in Maharashtra with an ancient Buddhist monastic cave site founded in the 2nd century BCE.

Bhaktiratnavali (Bhaktiratnāvalī) "Collection of Devotional Gems"; an anthology of verses from the *Bhagavata Purana*.

Bodhgaya A place in Bihar near Patna where the Buddha is believed to have been enlightened under a bodhi (pipal) tree.

Bodhisatva Commonly spelled Bodhisattva, a Buddha in the making; in Mahayana Buddhism, belonging to a class of beings of either gender, who has postponed his/her own final emancipation to help others reach their goal.

Brahma (Brahmā) The Creator God of the Hindu pantheon.

Brahman (Brahmaṇ) Supreme Being, neuter gender.

Buddha "Wise or Enlightened One"; a status name given to Gautama, a prince of the Shakya clan of Kapilavastu in southern Nepal, who is believed to have lived in the 5th century BCE.

chaitya (caitya) Sacred enclosure for tree or earth spirits in pre-Buddhist usage and co-opted by the Buddhists to denote a devotional shrine.

Chamunda (Cāmuṇḍā) A fearsome aspect of Devi and one of the Saptamatrikas; appears in the *Devimahatmya* as a warrior of Durga and receives her name after slaying the demons Chanda and Munda (see Saptamatrika, *Devimahatmya*, and Durga).

Chandeshvara (Caṇḍeśvara) The earliest of the 64 saint-poet devotees of Shiva in Tamil Nadu, where he is often depicted in Shiva temples.

Charak A springtime folk festival of Bengal dedicated to Shiva.

Dakshinamurti (Dakṣināmūrti) "South-facing form"; also means image of grace (dakshina), used for images of Shiva as the supreme teacher, prominent in Tamil Nadu.

darshan (darśana) "Seeing" (from Skt. dṛṣ = sight); pervasive in Indic religious and philosophical use to mean the vision of the divine through a representative object, or the reciprocal gaze between devotee and deity.

Deva God or deity, a term originally used in the Vedas to indicate the class of Divine Beings. The term is used in all three religions.

Devi (Devī) Feminine form of Deva; used in all three religions (see Shakti).

Devimahatmya (Devīmahātmya) "Glorification of the Goddess"; also known as *Durga Saptashati* (700 verses extolling Durga and Chandi); a seminal text for Shaktas for the worship of Devi.

dharmachakrapravartana (dharmacakrapravartana) "Turning the Wheel of the Law"; applies to a hand gesture of the Buddha with respect to his first sermon at Sarnath.

Durga (Durgā) "Keeper of the fort (durga)"; a warrior form of Devi and presiding deity of *Devimahatmya* (see Devi and *Devimahatmya*).

Gandhara (Gandhāra) Ancient name of present northwestern province of Pakistan and parts of northeastern Afghanistan.

Ganesha (Gaṇeśa) "Lord (isha) of the people or tribe (gana)"; perhaps the most familiar Indian deity outside of the country because of his elephant head; invoked at the beginning of all Hindu worship and human

Detail of *Temple Hanging (Pichhvai) Depicting Water Festival (Jal Vihara), with Floating Shrine in a Lotus-filled Lake*, Rajasthan, 20th century. Cat. 59.

endeavors; son of Shiva and Parvati; venerated by Jains and, to some extent, Buddhists.

Ganga (Gaṅgā) Divine personification of the river Ganga or Ganges, sacred to Hindus.

Garuda (Garuḍa) Hybrid half-bird, half-human creature; mount of Vishnu.

gopi (gopī) "Cowherdess"; the gopis are lovers of Krishna, with whom he enjoys his sports (lila).

Govardhana A hill near Mathura, which Krishna lifted with his little finger to use as an umbrella to protect the villagers from a deluge sent by Indra.

Hanuman (Hanumāna) A superhuman simian who plays a prominent part in the epic *Ramayana* and is considered a prototype of devotion to Rama.

Hariti (Hāritī) Spouse of Panchika; a popular Buddhist female supernatural (yakshi) who protects children and the Buddhist monastery (see Panchika and yakshi).

hasta/mudra (mudrā) Significant hand gestures used in yoga, ritual (puja), and dance (nritya), and forming an essential part of the iconography of Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain images.

Hiranyaksha (Hiraṇyākśa) A demon who dragged the Earth Goddess to the bottom of the cosmic ocean and was slain by Varaha (see Varaha).

Hiranyakashipu (Hiraṇyakaśipu) A demon and brother of Hiranyaksha who was disemboweled by Narasimha (see Narasimha).

Indra Prominent Vedic God of thunder and rain and chief of all the Gods (deva). In Buddhism, he is one of the prime attendants of the Buddha; in Jainism, he serves the Tirthankaras.

ishtadevata (iśṭadevatā) "Chosen Deity," personal god of an individual.

Jagannath (Jagannātha) "Lord (natha) of the World (jagat)"; epithet of Krishna worshipped in the Jagannath temple in Puri, Odisha (see Balarama/Balabhadra).

Jal Vihara (jal vihāra) "Water sport," Krishna's boat ride and dalliances with the gopis in the river Yamuna; celebrated at the temple of Shrinathji at Nathdvara.

Jina/Jinendra "Victor"; epithet of the 24 teachers of supreme spiritual perfection in Jainism (also called Tirthankara).

Kalakacharya Kathanaka (Kālakācārya Kathānaka) A popular Jain text about the teacher Kalakacharya written by Mahesara Suri in the 12th century.

Kali (Kālī) "The Black One," a fierce Goddess described as an emanation of Durga in the *Devimahatmya*; in later Tantric literature, worshipped as the supreme goddess.

Kalpasutra (Kalpasūtra) Most popular Jain sacred text containing biographies of Jain Tirthankaras, and attributed to Bhadrabahu.

Kama (Kāma) Hindu God of desire and love; Indian cupid; shoots flower arrows at his victims.

Kartikeya (Kārtikeya) Hindu warrior God; son of Shiva and Parvati.

Krishna (Kṛṣṇa) "Black"; king of Dwarka, philosopher and supreme Divine incarnate of the *Bhagavadgita*; dark-skinned cowherd hero and lover of Radha and the gopis.

Kubera Lord of wealth and king of the yakshas; a popular semidivine being in Hinduism as well as the Buddhist and Jain pantheons.

Lakshmana (Lakṣmaṇa) Younger brother of Rama and his companion in exile and battle in the *Ramayana*.

Lakshmi (Lakṣmī) Goddess of beauty, riches, and fertility; associated with water and lotuses.

lila (līlā) Play or sport; idea of the cosmos as the play of God in Hinduism.

linga (liṅga) Aniconic form of Shiva; also denotes cosmic pillar; the word *linga* literally means sign or gender (grammar).

Lokapurusha (Lokapuruṣa) "Cosmic Man"; figurative cosmological representation in Jainism.

Mahabharata (Mahābhārata) Sanskrit epic describing an ancient fratricidal war involving kingdoms and tribes of north India; includes the *Bhagavadgita*.

Mahavidya (Mahāvidyā) "Great knowledge"; one of a set of ten goddesses worshipped in Shakta Tantra.

Mahavira (Mahāvīra) "Great hero"; founder of Jainism and last of the 24 Jinas of the present cycle.

Mahayana (Mahāyāna) "Great Vehicle"; one of the main existing branches of Buddhism, based on the ideal of the Bodhisatva; an inclusive path for all (lay and monastic) Buddhists (see Bodhisatva).

Maitreya Son of Mitra, "the friendly one"; name of the future Buddha.

mandala (maṇḍala) "Circle"; used to refer to circular meditation diagrams in Tantric Buddhism and Jainism; equal to Hindu yantra (see yantra).

Manjushri (Mañjuśrī) "One with the sweet voice"; a Bodhisatva of transcendent wisdom important in Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism.

Marichi (Mārīcī) A Buddhist Goddess of light.

mithuna Loving couple.

Muchalinda (Mucalinda) A multihooded snake (Naga) that protected the meditating Gautama Buddha with its outspread hood during a rainstorm.

Mukhalinga (mukhaliṅga) Depiction of Shiva in the form of a face (mukha) emerging from his phallic icon (linga).

naga (nāga) A serpent deity, often multihooded, that resides in the watery underworld and is mythologically important in various contexts in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

Narasimha (Narasiṃha) "Man-lion"; fourth avatar of Vishnu, depicted with the body of a human and the head and claws of a lion; slayer of the demon Hiranyakashipu.

Nataraja (Naṭarāja) "Lord of dance" generally, but literally "King of the Performing Arts"; epithet of Shiva as Cosmic Dancer.

Neminatha (Neminātha) The 22nd Jain Tirthankara.

nirvana (nirvāṇa) Literally to snuff out or blow out; spiritual goal of Buddhism.

Padmāvati (Padmāvati) Protector Goddess of Parshvanatha in Jainism (see Parshvanatha).

panchatirthika (pañcatīrthika) Image with five Jinas.

Panchika (Pañcika) A yaksha and the husband of Hariti; a form or acolyte of Kubera; with Hariti, protector couple of early Buddhist monastery (see Hariti, Kubera, and yaksha).

Parshvanatha (Pārśvanātha) The 23rd Tirthankara in Jainism, distinguished by a seven-hooded snake above his head.

Parvati (Pārvatī) "Daughter of the mountain"; daughter of Himalaya and wife of Shiva.

pata (paṭa) Portable painting on wood or cloth.

pradakshina (pradakṣiṇa) Circumambulation, usually clockwise, around a Buddhist, Jain, or Hindu deity or sacred site.

Prahlada (Prahlāda) Son of Hiranyakashipu and devotee of Vishnu who took the form of the man-lion avatar Narasimha to free Prahlada from oppression and torture (see Hiranyakashipu and Narasimha).

Prajnaparamita (Prajñāpāramitā) "Perfection of Wisdom," a class of texts in Mahayana Buddhism; also a Goddess, embodiment of perfect wisdom.

Purāṇa "Old or Ancient," a body of encyclopedic texts, codified from the 4th century CE, exalting mostly the supremacy of Shiva and Vishnu, describing their mythologies, religious rituals, iconography, etc. with historical (dynastic) and social material; regarded by later Hindus as authoritative.

Puri A city in the state of Odisha, India, containing the temple of Jagannath; one of the principal pilgrimage sites for Hindus, particularly Vaishnavas (see Jagannath and Vaishnava).

Radha (Rādhā) Chief of the gopis and principal lover of Krishna.

Rama (Rāma) Seventh avatar of Vishnu, crown prince of Ayodhya and hero of the Hindu epic *Ramayana*.

Ramayana (Rāmāyaṇa) Sanskrit epic telling the story of the abduction of Sita, the wife of Rama, by the demon king Ravana, leading to a war in which Rama and his allies vanquished Ravana.

Rati (Ratī) "Erotic lust," wife of Kama (see Kama).

Rishabhanatha (Ṛṣabhanātha) Another name for Adinatha (see Adinatha).

Sarnath The place near Varanasi where the Buddha taught his first sermon after his enlightenment.

Saptamatrika (Saptamātṛkā) "Seven Mothers"; a group of seven Tantric Goddesses worshipped in Shakta Tantra and described in the *Devimahatmya* as warriors in Durga's army.

Shaiva (Śaiva) Follower of Shiva.

Shakta (Śākta) Follower of Shakti as the primary aspect of God; worshipper of Devi (see Shakti and Devi).

Shakti (Śakti) "Power," "Energy," the feminine Divine Principle, manifest in all the Goddesses; a term used in Hinduism for all Goddesses seen as embodiments of various forms of power (see Devi).

Shakyamuni (Śākyamuni) "Hermit of the Shakya clan"; an epithet of Gautama Buddha (see Buddha).

Shashti (Ṣaṣṭhī) "Sixth"; a Hindu folk Goddess worshipped as the benefactor and protector of children.

Shatrunjaya Hill near Palitana in Saurashtra, Gujarat; one of the most sacred pilgrimage sites for Shvetambara (white robed) Jains.

Shiva (Śiva) "The Auspicious One"; also known as Maheshvara, Mahadeva, etc.; one of the principal deities for all Hindus, considered the Destroyer in the Cosmic Trinity (see Brahma and Vishnu).

Shrinathji (Śrīnāthjī) Name of Krishna as worshipped at the temple in Nathdvara.

Sita (Sītā) Wife of Rama and principal female character of the *Ramayana* (see Rama and *Ramayana*).

Subhadra (Subhadrā) Stepsister of Krishna, shown accompanying him and Balarama in the Jagannath temple in Puri, Odisha.

Sukhavati (Sukhāvatī) "Land of Bliss"; Western Paradise, refers to the perfect world of Amitabha Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism.

Surya (Sūrya) Sun God, adulated in the Vedas and hence worshipped by Hindus but also important in Buddhism and Jainism.

Tantra (Tāntra) A tradition of practices and texts using rituals, visualization, meditation, and other sensory means to attain supernormal powers (siddhi) and spiritual liberation (mukti). Tantric methods and practices are used in Hinduism, Buddhism (Vajrayana), and Jainism.

tantric (tāntric) Practitioner of Tantra; pertaining to Tantra.

Tara (Tārā) Female Bodhisatva or Savior Goddess in Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism.

Tīrthankara (Tīrthaṅkara) "Ford maker" (see Jina).

tribhanga (tribhaṅga) "Three bends"; a pose in which the human body is bent in three places along the plumb line.

Triratna "Three Jewels"; used in Buddhism to refer to the three primary components of the religion: Buddha, dharma (laws of right conduct), and sangha (monastic community).

Vairochana (Vairocana) From Sanskrit *virochana*, "Illumination"; an epithet of the historical Buddha and a solar or transcendental form of Buddha in Vajrayana Buddhism.

Vaishnava (Vaiṣṇava) Hindu sects that worship Vishnu/Krishna and/or his avatars as the Supreme Divine Being.

Vajrapani (Vajrapāṇi) "Holder of the thunderbolt"; a Bodhisatva attending the Buddha, derived from Vedic Indra.

Vajrayana (Vajrayāna) "The Path of the Thunderbolt (vajra) or Diamond (vajra)"; denotes the third or tantric phase of Buddhism.

Vallabhacharya (Vallabhācārya) Devotee of Krishna and philosopher of the 16th century who founded the school called Pushti Marga.

Valmiki (Vālmiki) Author of the epic *Ramayana* as attributed in the text.

Varaha (Varāha) Third avatar of Vishnu, in the form of a boar; credited with recovering the Earth Goddess from the ocean and slaying the demon Hiranyaksha.

Varanasi City in north India sacred to Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists (see Sarnath).

Veda "Knowledge"; refers to the oldest scriptures of India and the foundations of Hinduism; a set of four texts: *Rig Veda*, *Yajur Veda*, *Sama Veda*, and *Atharva Veda*.

Venugopala (Veṇugopāla) From Sanskrit *venu* = flute and *gopala* = cowherd; a name of Krishna as the flute-playing cowherd.

Vishnu (Viṣṇu) Royal solar deity of the Vedas, supreme God of Vaishnavism and one of the principal deities of Hinduism, considered the Preserver in the Cosmic Trinity (see Brahma and Shiva).

Vishvarupa (Viśvarūpa) Cosmic or universal form of Krishna as described in the *Bhagavadgita*.

Vrisha (Vṛṣa) Bull mount of Shiva; nowadays commonly referred to as Nandi.

yaksha (yakṣa) Male nature spirit or demigod, assimilated as guardian and protector deities in Buddhism, and to a lesser extent in Hinduism and Jainism.

yakshi (yakṣī) Female of yaksha, often fertility spirits.

yantra "Instrument"; geometric meditation or magical diagram used in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain ritual and spiritual practices (see mandala).

yoga Spiritual union with the Divine through the practice of disciplines such as meditation (dhyana), asceticism (tapas), devotion (bhakti), physical exercises (asana), breath control (pranayama), and lifestyle orientations.

yogi A male practitioner of yoga seeking ultimate salvation (not one who does yogic exercises).

yogini (yoginī) Female yogi; also a class of 64 Goddesses worshipped in Tantra.

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