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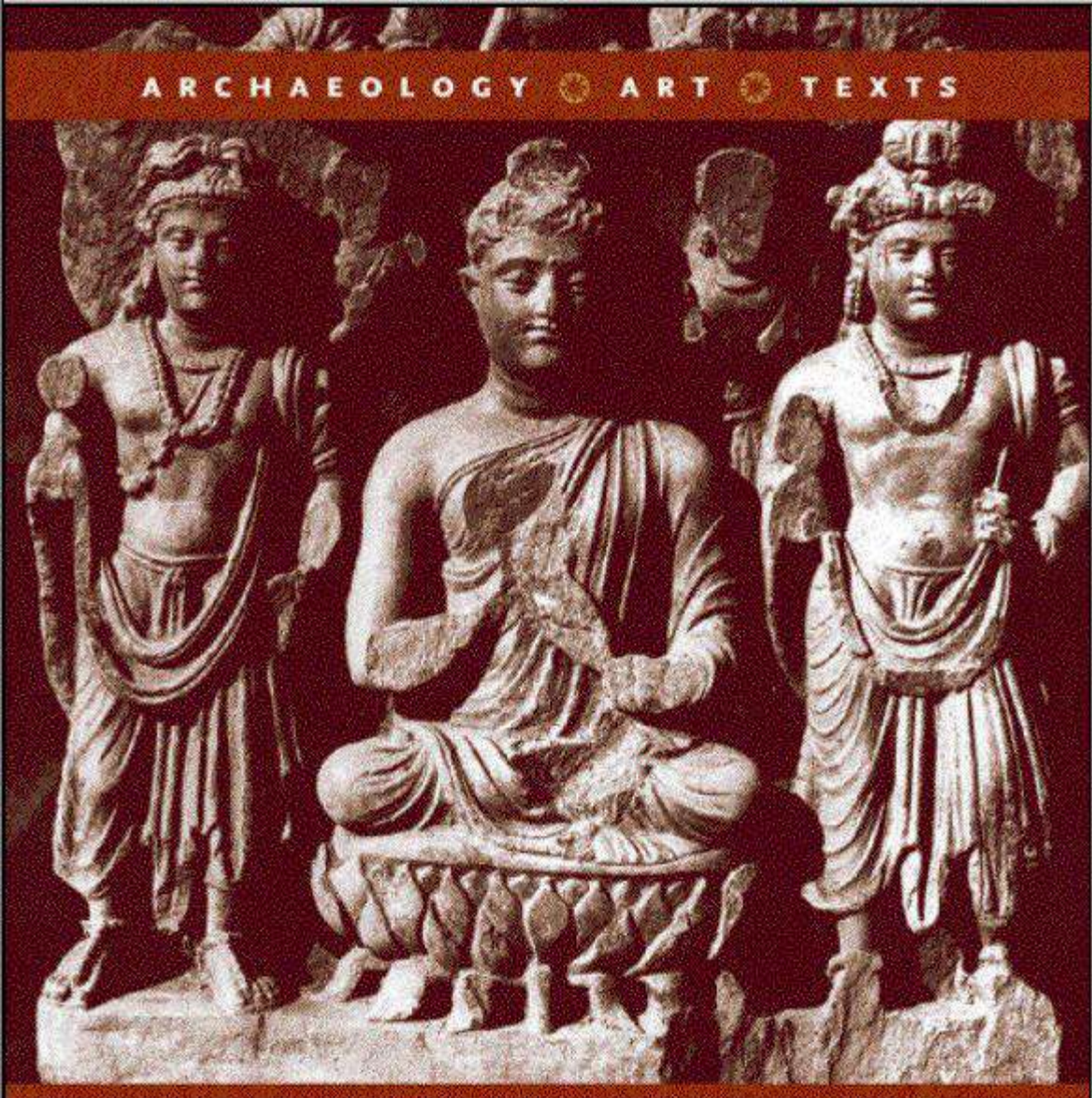

GANDHĀRAN BUDDHISM

Edited by Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt

Gandhāran Buddhism

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GANDHĀRAN BUDDHISM
Archaeology, Art, Texts

UBCPress·Vancouver·Toronto

15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in Canada on ancient-forest-free paper (100% post-consumer recycled) that is processed chlorine- and acid-free, with vegetable-based inks.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Gandhāran Buddhism : archaeology, art, texts /
edited by Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt.

(Asian religions and society series, ISSN 1705-476)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-7748-1080-7
ISBN-10: 0-7748-1080-7

1. Buddhism – Gandhāra (Pakistan and Afghanistan) – History. 2. Gandhāra (Pakistan and Afghanistan) – Antiquities. 3. Relics – Gandhāra (Pakistan and Afghanistan). 4. Art, Buddhist – Gandhāra (Pakistan and Afghanistan). 5. Art, Gandhāra. I. Brancaccio, Pia, 1966- II. Behrendt, Kurt A., 1964- III. Title. IV. Series.

BQ286.G35 2006 294.3'0934 C2006-900161-8

A publication project of the Yehan Numata Program in Buddhist Studies at the University of Toronto at Mississauga.

Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP), and of the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

UBC Press
The University of British Columbia
2029 West Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
www.ubcpress.ca

Photo on facing page by Ellen Raven.

To the memory of Maurizio Taddei

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ANNA FILIGENZI

If we evaluate the framework of Gandhāran narrative art in relation to the hagiographic literature, we cannot help but be amazed by the absence, or the apparent unrecognizability, of one of the key personalities in the life of the Buddha: Ānanda, the faithful servant, the inseparable companion and the adept physically closest to the Teacher.[1] It is difficult to believe that Gandhāran art wilfully ignored the figure of Ānanda or let it be lost in an anonymous crowd; it is easier to suppose that a criterion of transcodification was used that is no longer recognizable.

Buddhist texts offer a strange, nonlinear image of the relationship between the Buddha and Ānanda. In the dialectic juxtaposition of these two apparently distant and different figures, the traditional literature seems to suggest a metaphor of bipolarity. The life of Ānanda, unfolding in the shadow of the Buddha, is full of contradictions. Despite a close intimacy with his Master and a strong devotion, Ānanda is not the best of disciples. He persists blindly in his weaknesses, and although his heart is humbly devoted to the persona of the Buddha, his conscience is wavering and unstable, continually and fatally sucked into the turbulent vortex of passion. Above all he loves women: he cannot get them out of his mind and often has a dangerous complicity with them. Why then does the Buddha choose Ānanda, rather than the many others, as a servant, as the custodian of his physical person, and as confidant privy to secrets and ideas that no one else may hear? Ānanda is the only one in the community of monks who has not reached the state of *arhat,* which he will attain only through great struggle.[2] Yet the Buddha is patient and indulgent with him, even with his weakness concerning women. The traditional literature comes straight to this point, as for example when the Buddha calmly answers Ānanda's insistent questions on how conduct oneself with women,[3] or when he grants Ānanda's request to allow women into the order, stating that in this way the Doctrine in the world will last only half as long.[4] The Buddha completely entrusts his body to Ānanda, who takes advantage of this,

raising the Master's clothes to show his phallus to a group of women, and allowing the women to adore his body and contaminate it with their tears.[5]

So who is Ānanda? Who is this inconstant, wavering figure who, despite being slave to his base nature and to his incurable passions, is allowed to be so close to the Buddha? A normal human being, one would suppose, sincerely converted and full of religious feeling, but incapable of moving in the right direction; one who recognizes his Master, but knows not how to emulate him; one who loves the Buddha's person, who takes care of him but does not really understand him until after a long and almost passive period of learning. Yet it is Ānanda who, more than any other adept, comes to know the dharma to the extent that the Buddha himself praises his wisdom and knowledge.[6] He alone is credited with hearing the enunciation of the Doctrine in its entirety: without Ānanda, who represents the historical memory of the Buddha, the *saṁgha* would be lost. As the Buddha declared, he is the best in erudition (*bahuśruta*) and retentive memory (*smṛtimat*);[7] in Buddhist writings, and even commonly today, he is called the *Dhamma-bhaṇḍāgārika,* the "treasurer of the Dhamma," that is to say, in a certain sense, the physical body of the Dharma.[8] The assembly of monks who meet after the death of the Buddha accuse Ānanda of faults and omissions but cannot do without him. Orphan of the persona of the Buddha, the sole, useless heir of all of his words, Ānanda is forced to measure his inferiority in the presence of the *arhat* assembly. This burning humiliation pushes him to a supreme effort: to conquer the *arhat* state in time to take part in the council. Ānanda pursues this goal painfully and in vain, his mind in torment, until, overcome by exhaustion, he falls asleep. At that very moment, with his feet suspended in the air and his head not yet resting on the pillow, he achieves the *arhat* state, "free from the four postures of standing, sitting, walking and lying down."[9]

In the context of Buddhist ideology, Ānanda seems to represent the *srotāpanna,* the auditor who despite having entered the mainstream remains at an inferior level, or *upāsana*. He lives through a spiritual identification, overflowing with love and devotion, with an immanent entity: the Teacher, the *physical* persona of the Buddha. The decisive psychic event of the reception of the teaching has not yet entered his mind. He knows the Doctrine, but it has not yet transfigured his conscience, as he has not yet realized the intuitive identification with the transcendent Buddha. It is not by chance that, at the moment of the Buddha's passing, the serene composure of the monks finds a pathetic contrast in Ānanda's desperation. Certainly, not all human beings are given to transcendent experiences, yet this does not exclude them from salvation. The fact that they have started along the way means that eventually they will reach detachment, just as Ānanda will, after having experienced the separation from the physical persona of the Buddha.[10] Two important factors

seem to be reflected in this metaphorical tale: the scholastic attitude, documented in literature, that marks the overcoming of certain Hīnayānic ideas and their metaphysical ontology, and the transcendent reevaluation of the Tathāgata.[11]

The very name of Ānanda is full of meaning. According to the Upaniṣadic texts, *ānanda* is the ecstasy of the union with the supreme *ātman,* which man experiences in deep sleep, that is to say in the state where the psyche, detached from the reality around it, opens up to the universal Conscience.[12] Ānanda experiences, and symbolically personifies, two different degrees of ecstatic union: first, the karmic happiness of devotion and physical vicinity to the terrestrial Buddha (achieved by being his servant and inseparable companion), then the ineffable happiness of identification with the transcendent Buddha in the absence of the physical Teacher. For Ānanda, as is written in the destiny of his name, the access to this state comes through the door of sleep, in the void of the psyche, which has finally calmed down.

With his obstinate permanence in the sphere of *kāmadhatu,* Ānanda is not only the symbol of corporeality, of the psychic *dynamis* that chains man to *saṃsāra,* but also illustrates an ideological attitude of Buddhism toward human nature that stigmatizes it as weak and imperfect and yet reveres it as the necessary substratum of the Conscience. Seen from this perspective, Ānanda represents the physical support of the existence of the Buddha himself, his contingent residue, his permanence in history. According to the texts, he was born either on the same day as the Buddha or on the day of his enlightenment.[13] He is, in a certain sense, his double, his earthly and opaque counterpart, the servant who carries the weight of the eternal and dynamic *prakṛti.* In this functional splitting, the burden of corporeality already seems distant to the living Buddha, and at the same time ennobled as the necessary instrument of transmission across history.

If these ideas were to be portrayed in art, as I think they are, such a complex character would face the problem of being made recognizable. Visually, Ānanda could not be a monk among monks, as he is something more and something less. The texts do not even agree on the date of his ordination: in the *Theragāthā* it is even stated that he lived as a *sekha,* a learner, for twenty-five years; he is not an *arhat,* notwithstanding he is the most direct witness of the divinity;[14] he is the inseparable companion of the Buddha, but he is also his servant, the hypostasis of his physical needs—which is to say, in a more general sense, the symbol of the manifest nature whose inferiority can, however, be redeemed. It is precisely because of his attachment to both the earthly sphere and the divine realm that Ānanda is an ambivalent figure whose essential character actually resides in a multiform nature. In fact, a personality does exist in the figurative repertory of Gandhāran art who seems to bring together the fleet-

ing qualities of Ānanda, and that is Vajrapāṇi, the perpetual acolyte of the Buddha.

I am aware that I am touching upon one of the most debated subjects in the field of Gandhāran iconography, and I do not intend to discuss here all the attempts made by different scholars to find a satisfactory explanation of this peculiar character—they are too well known and this space is too limited.[15] I will confine myself to the interpretation proposed by Foucher, who recognizes the *vajra* bearer of Gandhāran reliefs as the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi, the most pertinent interpretation, in his opinion, of the function and iconographic attire assigned to this figure by Gandhāran artists.[16] This opinion, expanded upon by Lamotte, remains widely accepted.[17] Yet such an interpretation has weak points in both its intrinsic and extrinsic value. First of all, it does not explain the iconographic variability of the *vajra* bearer. It is difficult to agree with Foucher when he labels this variability as a mere expedient used by Gandhāran artists in order to avoid monotony;[18] moreover, if these artists, as Foucher himself often argues, carefully tried to avoid risks of misinterpretation, they would not have dressed a *yakṣa* as a monk, as the *vajra* bearer is shown at times.[19] Besides, there are several reliefs in which the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi (this time fully recognizable as the *yakṣa* of the texts) is represented as an independent character and takes part in a scene along with, and therefore different from, the eternal Buddha's acolyte: these relate to the story of the *nāga* Apalāla,[20] or Elapatra.[21] If we accept the hypothesis that the *vajra* bearer of the Gandhāran reliefs is to be identified with the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi, it makes no sense for the artist to have represented the same character twice in a scene where no temporal dissociation is needed; doubled images are often used in Gandhāran reliefs, but only to represent two different moments of the same event, an expedient clearly unnecessary in this context.[22] In the relief illustrated here (fig. 12.1) it seems rather that the artist, in order to avoid confusion, deliberately rendered the two *vajra* bearers as differently as possible, underlining the near-wild nature of the *yakṣa* and the superior nature of the Buddha's attendant by means of an ostentatious difference in clothes and postures.

So high was the value assigned by Gandhāran artists to the iconography of the *vajra* bearer that they changed its attire even within the same frieze.[23] Thus, this variability must be read as a determining sign whose sense might be obscure to us but not, we may suppose, to Gandhāran viewers, who could easily (and correctly) understand it thanks to their living experience of the religious atmosphere of the time and to an intact iconographic context.

The iconographic variability of the *vajra* bearer revolves around two stable points: the constant presence of the *vajra* and his special position with respect to the Buddha. As regards the latter, I do not believe one can deny that it

FIGURE 12.1. The Submission of Apalāla (from Grünwedel, fig. 45).

always appears portrayed as an inferior, ancillary position. The presence of the *camara* underlines, albeit sporadically, a feeling of devoted subordination. The emphasis that the iconography places on this junior position of the *vajra* bearer conflicts with the efforts made by some scholars to recognize in him a sign of the Buddha's regality or magic power, which would have required a more hieratic figure.[24] As for the lack of iconographical uniformity, it loses its disconcerting ambiguity when compared, on the literary side, to the elusive portrait of Ānanda. Sometimes depicted in the lowly dress of a pariah, sometimes in the proud attire of a young Heracles or in the tired and distressed clothes of a mature Heracles, as well as in the faun-like attire of a satyr or of Silenus, the *vajra* bearer (or Vajrapāṇi, if we retain the literal meaning of this name without any confusion with the homonymous *yakṣa*) represents, in the domain of visual art, the fluctuating horizon of a psyche that is still dominated by passion. He is, in my opinion, the iconographical counterpart of the metaphor concealed in Ānanda's life story: a slave to his own inferior nature, like a pariah, but also a servant working toward his own redemption, like

Heracles. Yet, like Heracles, the *vajra* bearer (i.e., Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda) is also a suffering hero who through his labours transfigures himself, taming his own nature and thus elevating and civilizing the entire sphere of human nature. Just as Heracles is the witness of divinity, so is Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda the witness of the Buddha, his faithful companion, who has heard his every word and seen his every gesture. Like a satyr, Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda loves women and excesses (Kassapa would call the aged Ānanda a *kumāraka,* a youngster who did not know his measures).[25] Just like the old Silenus, who, after having sublimated the excesses of his own nature, represents the prototype of the wise educator, so will Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda become the educator of the *saṅgha,* to which he transmits the Doctrine preached by the Buddha in a complete form.[26]

As regards the supposed identity between the Gandhāran *vajra* bearer and the *yakṣa* of the texts, another incongruity can be pointed out: the *yakṣa* should, as a genius or angel, be an invisible presence (except perhaps for rare manifestations). The Gandhāran reliefs often seem to conceive the *vajra* bearer as a passive or quiet character rather than as an invisible spirit; nevertheless, in several scenes the *vajra* bearer is shown in conversation with other characters[27] or held up by a mourning man in the *Parinirvāṇa* scene.[28] In addition, other aspects of the Gandhāran *vajra* bearer are hardly consistent with the *yakṣa,* whereas they could be easily explained if applied to Ānanda. Foucher noted the presence of the *vajra* bearer in some contexts that are not related to the life of Śākyamuni: the story of Dīpaṃkara Buddha and an incomplete frieze showing the seven past Buddhas with Maitreya, each accompanied by his own *vajra* bearer.[29] Foucher sees in these reliefs the proof that the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi is the tutelary genius of every Buddha, thus reinforcing his interpretation of Vajrapāṇi as a mere *emploi* rather than a real character.[30] However, if the texts are silent on this subject, from the beginning they are, on the contrary, much interested in the Buddha's assistants, whose names are recorded by the *Mahāvadāna sūtra,* the last one being Ānanda.[31]

However, as in many other cases, the figurative story is at variance with the written source. Literature relies on the slower rhythm of the word, iconography on the swifter rhythm of the eye. In visual art, the horizontal unfolding of the text has to be replaced with a synthesis that can, within certain limits, remix or annul the temporal succession of events, condensing or emphasizing the content. Ānanda, according to literary tradition, became the Buddha's attendant when the Teacher was fifty-five years old, an age that in the ancient world marked the waning of life.[32] In this phase of heading toward old age the body, which becomes clumsy, shows the limits of matter. This is the moment in which the symbolic detachment of the Buddha from his terrestrial shell becomes inevitable and is externalized in a sort of alter ego (Ānanda) who takes this burden onto himself.

FIGURE 12.2. Buddha with female worshippers and Vajrapāṇi (from Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 3, pl. 221, no. 121).

In visual communication, however, this purely anagraphical limit between a *before* and an *after* becomes a fairly useless sign, not only because the canonical image of the Buddha cannot age but because the chronological boundary in question exists in the psychic rather than the physical sphere; figurative art does not have the extendible space that writing has, but rather exists in an enclosed space where time condenses and meanings expand. Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda therefore appears at the moment of the Great Departure, and in iconography this is the moment marking the split of Siddhārtha both in historic and psychic time. Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda is usually represented in the background, more like a premonition than as a real physical presence. He only rarely appears, before this event, in the depiction of the presentation of Yaśodharā,[33] possibly to underline the most important tribute that Siddhārtha pays to terrestrial life. For the rest, the distance between iconography and literature decreases. Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda is the Buddha's shadow and grieves at his Teacher's death

just as Ānanda, according to the story of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya,* had grieved at the death of his friend Sāriputta, trembling with despair and confusion and so revealing, once again, his lack of detachment.[34] Even Ānanda's complicity with women finds space in a non-narrative dimension, which shows him as a sort of patron in an assembly of female worshippers of the Buddha (fig. 12.2).

In the whole of the story of Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda, the only constant element in the changeability of his forms – which symbolically portrays the singularity of his experiences – is the attribute of the *vajra,* the most eloquent sign of his belonging to the earth, but at the same time of the seed of salvation concealed in his nature.[35] The *vajra,* the weapon Indra employs to divide earth and sky, giving cosmic order his perennial flow, is an attribute used in iconography with a certain variability. The iconographic *vajra,* however, never loses its links with the ancient cosmogonic myths: it is an offensive weapon that destroys in order to give new life, as in the case of the tantric Vajrapāṇi. It is also a phallic symbol, which reminds us of the spermatic force connected to Indra, and it is the symbol of Mount Meru, the place where earth and sky meet. One could say that the *vajra* is therefore connected to the idea of the manifest universe – the world of forms, changeable and impermanent – but, at the same time, to the idea of the divine immanent in this universe, visually represented by the shape of the hourglass in which the two opposite shapes meet.

This particular symbolism of the *vajra* appears to find a more explicit form in the later Buddhist iconography, where a *vajra*-shaped throne often supports seated deities such as the Buddha or the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva.[36] In all these depictions, the *vajra*-shaped throne has a rocky appearance, with clear connections to the sacred mountain. This is particularly evident in the case of Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva (fig. 12.3), linked to a Buddhist version of the stirring of the milk ocean in which Mount Meru is said to have been used as a pivot and the *nāgas* as ropes.[37] Moreover, in Japanese iconography this kind of throne becomes the *sendai-za,* which explicitly traces its origin to Mount Meru.[38]

Yet Buddhist iconography seems to attach a wider meaning to such symbolism; through the odd blending of *vajra* and rock it conveys the idea of the worldly level of existence, an idea vividly illustrated by the distinctly animated human and animal figures inhabiting the recesses of the throne (figs. 12.4 and 12.5). Sometimes these recesses are separated by *vajra*-shaped pilasters (fig. 12.6) or by actual *vajras,* as in Pāla art (fig. 12.7), as if to reiterate the symbolic link of this object with earth and heaven. There is no doubt that the vivid universe lying beneath the deity is the necessary counterpart of heaven, the womb of the manifested dharma. We should then consider the *vajra* as a reminder of the essential identity of the two parts of the cosmos and a promise

FIGURE 12.3. Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva on a *vajra*-shaped throne (from Pal, no. 59).

FIGURE 12.4. Buddha on an inhabited *vajra*-shaped throne (from Pal, no. 22).

FIGURE 12.5. Rear view of fig. 12.4.

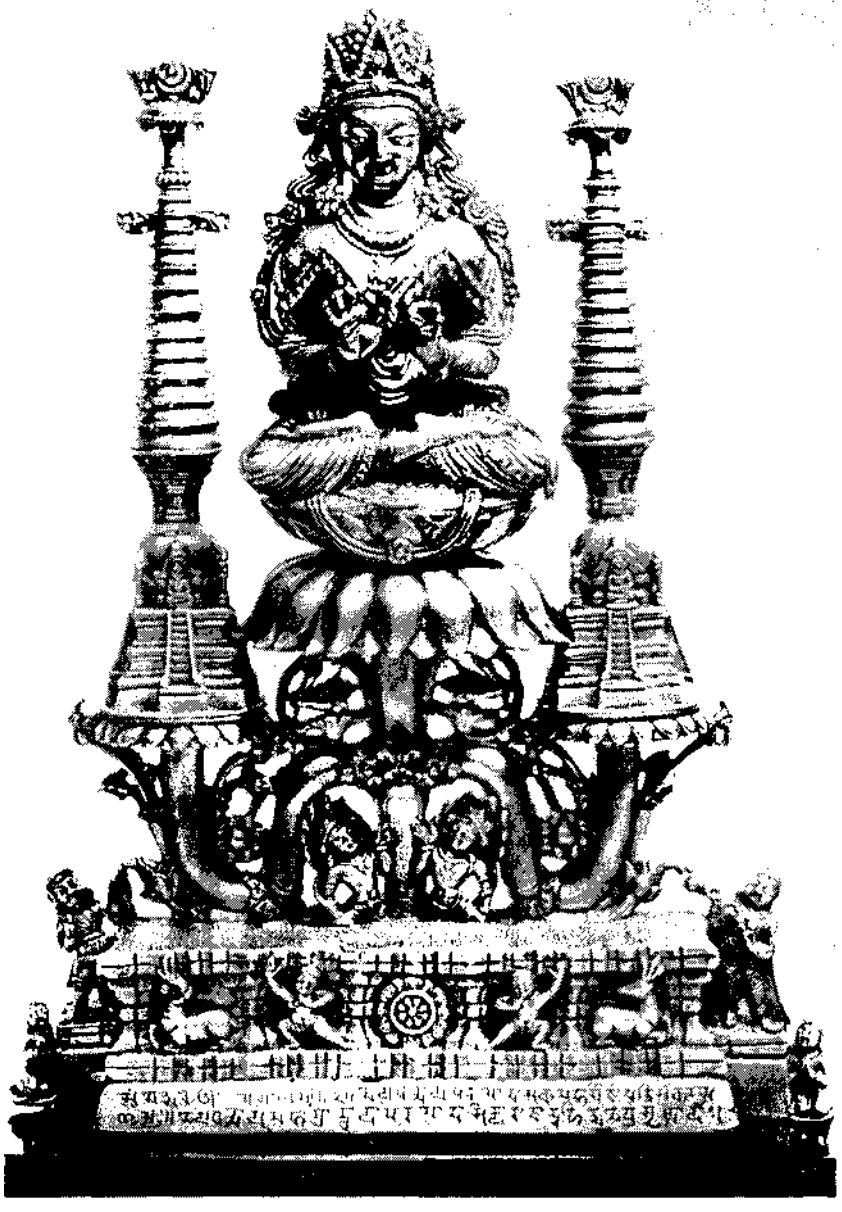

FIGURE 12.6. Buddha *paré* (from Pal, no. 30).

FIGURE 12.7. Buddha image from Benares (from J.P. Vogel, pl. LXIII, p. 3).

of their reunion, like a sort of cosmic pillar. Man is often unaware of this identity until he has released his mind from desire. The *vajra* that Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda abandons in desperation at the Buddha's death is like the overturned torch of Cautes/Cautopates. Death is a passage upwards; this was understood by the monks, but not by Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda, who was still attached to life and to its blinding passions. However, just like his *vajra,* in which at its narrowest point two worlds met, Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda, through painful empathy, seemed himself to experience a regenerating death, which for him would mark the awakening of Conscience.

NOTES

1 The identification of Ānanda in Gandhāran reliefs remains doubtful; see, for example, the relief depicting the story of the *Māṭaṅgī* in Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 501, fig. 250, where, even if the identification is correct, the figure of Ānanda is lost. The same is true for the story called by Foucher "La frayeur d'Ānanda," ibid., vol. 1, 499, fig. 249; the "Intervention of Ānanda," ibid., vol. 2, 272–75, fig. 443; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* nos. 206–7. As regards these last two scenes, Foucher himself points out the ambiguity of the subject, or the discrepancies between the texts and the iconography.

2 In the Pāli stories related to the council held after the Buddha's death to rehearse the dharma, there are repeated allusions to this striving, to which Ānanda is pushed not only by his own desire, but also by the incitement of some monks. See Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* s.v. "Ānanda," 532.

3 Before the Buddha passes away, Ānanda inquires, "How are we to conduct ourselves, lord, with regard to womankind?" "As not seeing them, Ānanda." "But if we should see them, what are we to do?" "No talking, Ānanda." "But if they should speak to us, lord, what are

we to do?" "Keep wide awake, Ānanda." (Rhys Davids and Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* vol. 3, 154). These questions, rather out of place in such a delicate moment, reveal all the human fragility of Ānanda, whom the same text describes as despairing over the imminent death of his Master, as he has yet to work out his own emancipation (ibid., 157).

4 Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* 60–62; Hare, *Book of the Gradual Sayings,* vol. 4, 181–85.
5 Rockhill, *Life of the Buddhas,* 154; Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* 532.
6 Woodward, *Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara-Nikāya), I,* 205.
7 Ibid., 19–20.
8 Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* 531.
9 Ibid., 532.
10 Falk, *Il mito psicologico nell'India antica,* 416–23.
11 Ibid., 429–32.
12 Ibid., 65, 75, n. 2.
13 Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* 529.
14 Ibid.
15 The reader will find a useful and quick review of the different hypotheses in Santoro, "Il Vajrapāṇi nell'arte del Gandhāra," and "Note di iconografia gandhārica V."
16 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 562–65; vol. 2, 48–64.
17 Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde."
18 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 60, n. 1.
19 See the numerous specimens in the synopsis provided by Santoro, "Il Vajrapāṇi nell'arte del Gandhāra," 306–36.
20 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 544–53; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* nos. 214–16.
21 Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* 94.
22 According to Sénart, "Vajrapāṇi dans les sculptures du Gandhāra," 124, the double appearance of Vajrapāṇi in these scenes offers proof of the inseparability of the genius from the Buddha's person. Foucher accepts this view, but also suggests that in this specific context the double Vajrapāṇi is an iconographic expedient that transforms an ancient model (the Hymn of the *nāga* Kālika) into a new one (the Submission of Apalāla). See Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 553; vol. 2, 61. Both hypotheses are reasonable, but not completely convincing.
23 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 60; Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pl. 189; Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pls. D, XL; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* no. 131.
24 This idea has been especially supported by Bussagli in *L'arte del Gandhāra,* 222–27.
25 Woodward, *Books of the Kindred Sayings, Part II,* 146–47.
26 The literature on these mythical figures being so huge, I refer the reader to specialized works, such as the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* or Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.*
27 Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pl. XL; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* no. 217.
28 Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pl. LII.
29 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 61, figs. 140–41 (for the Dīpaṃkara story), and fig. 136 (for the Maitreya frieze). Other specimens of the latter kind have come to light: see for instance Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 1, 27, pl. LXXXIIa, and Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* nos. 118, 121.
30 Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 60–63.
31 Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde," 14, 144–49. We can add, as an indirect proof of the importance of the "assistant" and particularly of Ānanda, the mirrorlike position of Ānanda and the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the Mahāyāna system. They both belong to the Buddha's

intimate entourage (*abhyantaraparivara*) and both are entrusted with the service to the Master: Ānanda as the chief assistant of the Buddha Śākyamuni and the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi as the perpetual assistant of the Buddhas' *nirmāṇakāya*. The Bodhisattva (he too a *vajra* bearer) seems to have drawn his functions from the model offered by Ānanda, the terrestrial assistant of the Buddha, taking over the same role but on a higher level.

32 Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, 530.

33 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 32; Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2, 2, pl. CLXII.

34 Woodward, *Books of the Kindred Sayings, Part V*, 140–43.

35 On this "hidden gem" and the related philosophical problems, see Falk, *Il mito psicologico nell'India antica*, especially 404–15. For an iconographic version of this idea, see Taddei, "Harpocrates-Brahmā-Maitreya."

36 For a quick review of these specimens the reader can refer to Fussmann, "Chilas, Hatun et les bronzes bouddhiques du Cachemire," pls. 23–29, 31, 35–39.

37 Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 49.

38 Dale Saunders, *Mudrā*, 132.

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