



THE FACE OF BUDDHA: A GREEK CREATION?

A Comparative Study of the Influences on the Artistic Development of the
Buddha Image



‘A dissertation submitted to the
University of Wales Trinity Saint David
in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in
Ancient History, Classical Studies and Education’

2018
REBECCA M. H. NEILL
UWTSD Lampeter

Dedicated to all budding academics:

‘You’re never too old to start learning, and you’re never too young to aim high
and achieve great things’

Asa Hutchinson, 2016

Acknowledgements

After three years of hard-work, sleepless nights, many takeaways (thank you Oscars), and who knows how many gallons of coffee, I have come to the final stages of my BA degree. I am writing these acknowledgements to all those who have helped me over this period, in particular the past year with my dissertation.

Firstly, I would like to thank all the staff at UWTSD Lampeter. You have seen me at my highest and lowest points of my degree, especially our cleaner Simon who has often helped with the clean up on the morning after the night before. I would like to thank the Classics Department for their support over the course of my degree, specifically my dissertation supervisor, Matthew Cobb, as without his support and guidance this piece would not have been possible. I would also like to acknowledge the support of Errietta Bissa, Fiona Mitchell and Kyle Ericson. Additionally, I would like to thank my SSL, Bronwen (Blue) Powell and my mentor, Lyndsy Davies-Annang for their invaluable guidance and making sense of my rambles. Without all of you, I would not be the academic I am today.

Secondly, I would like to acknowledge the external academics who took the time to help with my research, namely Joe Cribb, Robert Bracey of the British Museum, Susan Huntington from the University of Ohio, Wannaporn Kay Rienjang and Peter Stewart of the Gandhara Connections team at the Oxford Classical Research Centre and Shailendra Bhandare of the Ashmolean Museum. The information that they have provided has been of immense importance to my work.

Thirdly, I would like to thank my sixth form teachers, mostly Andy East. Andy, if it was not for you tirelessly attempting to understand Greek history and driving my passion further, I would not be where I am today. I would also like to acknowledge Emma Fletcher for helping me integrate into sixth form and helping me to become the confident person I am today.

Fourthly, I would like to thank those I have met through university, in particular my flatmates, ‘anthrobros’ and study buddies. You have made this university experience all the brighter. I wish to thank my study buddies, especially Deanna Inkson, Cerys Lapworth and my ever-wonderful other half, James Perks for helping me through my dissertation. Together we scream into the aether.

I would like to take a moment to thank the late Lesley Charman, whom I am lucky to have met and who inspired us all.

Finally, I want to thank my family. Without their support, I would not be the woman I am today.

Thank you to everyone who has made my academic experience all the better!

Rebecca Neill

Contents

Introduction.....	7
Chapter 1: Contextualising Gandhara	9
Location of Gandhara	9
Buddhism in Gandhara	13
Chronology	17
Chapter 2: Art History	20
Aniconic and iconic artwork.....	20
Part of Chapter 2 – Section B: Art History – Gandharan Studies origins	22
Identifying Greco-Buddhist Artwork.....	24
Other Artistic Influences.....	27
Chapter 3 – Discussion on Artwork.....	29
Coinage:	30
Ujjain and Maues Coins.....	30
Coinage:	32
Azes and Kadapha Coins	32
Buddha Statues	34
Mathuran Buddhas.....	34
Gandharan Buddhas	36
Buddha and Vishnu.....	38
Bodhisattva	40
The Bimaran Casket.....	41
Summary of Findings and Conclusion.....	45
Reference List	48
Expanded Bibliography	54
Appendices.....	55
Appendix 1.....	55
The Hymns of the Rigveda	55
Appendix 2.....	56
Hymns of The Atharva–Veda.....	56
Appendix 3.....	57
Maps	57
Appendix 4.....	58

Stupas.....	58
Appendix 5.....	59
Indian Artworks	59
Yaksha and Yakshini	59
Naga and Nagini	63
Surya	64
Shiva	65
Indra	66
Vishnu.....	67
Bahurt and Sanchi Reliefs.....	68
Appendix 6.....	70
Greek, Persian and Etruscan	70
Gandharan Buddhas	74
Appendix 7.....	77
Mathuran Buddhas.....	78
Appendix 8.....	79
Aniconic Images	79
Appendix 9.....	79
Coinage	79
Appendix 10.....	83
Bimaran Casket.....	83
References	85

Image List

Figure 1 - Map of Gandhara	57
Figure 2 – Jalalabad	57
Figure 3 - Great Stupa at Sanchi	58
Figure 4 - Stupa No.2 Sanchi - Location where the Bimaran Casket was found	58
Figure 5 - Patna Yaksha With Sketches	59
Figure 6 - Yaksha From Patna	60
Figure 7 - Yaksha from Parkham	61
Figure 8 - Yaskshi from Didarganj	62
Figure 9 - Naga With Attendants	63
Figure 10 - Surya from Mathura	64
Figure 11 - Threeheaded Shiva from Gandhara	65
Figure 12 - Linga and Shiva of Parashurameshvara temple of Gudimallam	65
Figure 13 - Indra's Visit to Indrasala Cave from Kolkata	66
Figure 14 - 5th-century Vishnu at Udayagiri Caves	67
Figure 15 - Vishnu Sculpture Brooklyn Museum	67
Figure 16 – Naga Erdpata Worshipping Buddha (Bharhut)	68
Figure 17 - Teacher and Disciples (Bharhut)	68
Figure 18 - Buddha Triad (Sanchi)	68
Figure 19 - Abhiniskramana (Great Renunciation) (Sanchi)	69
Figure 20 - Crouching Aphrodite	70
Figure 21 - Belvedere Apollo	70
Figure 22 - The Orator	71
Figure 23 - Farnese Herakles	71
Figure 24 - Phrasikeia Kore	72
Figure 25 - Colosseum, Rome - an example of Homme-Arcade	72
Figure 26 - Statue of Darius I	73
Figure 27 - Gandharan Buddha Head	74
Figure 28 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (whole image)	74
Figure 29 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (face)	75
Figure 30 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (Back)	75
Figure 31 - Gandharan Standing Buddha	76
Figure 32 - Statue of the Buddha, Takht-i-Bahi	76
Figure 33 – Bodhisattva	77
Figure 34 - Greco-Christian Christ and Greco-Buddhist Buddha	77
Figure 35 - Mathuran Buddha Head	78
Figure 36 - Seated Buddha, Mathura	78
Figure 37 - Vessantara Jataka (Bharhut)	79
Figure 38 - The Parinirvana (Bharhut)	79
Figure 39 - Ujjain Coin	80
Figure 40 - Kadapha Coin	80
Figure 41 - Kanishka Coin	80
Figure 42 - Maues Coin	81
Figure 43 - Azes Coin	81
Figure 44 - Silver Tetradrachm of Demetrius I	82
Figure 45 - Bimaran Casket 1	83
Figure 46 - Bimaran Casket 2	83
Figure 47 - Buddha Detail, Bimaran Casket	84

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the global reality of the ancient world through the medium of art, specifically the relationship between India and Greece with a focus on Gandharan Studies. Gandharan Studies focuses its research on the region of Gandhara, with particular interest in the artwork of the area. Studies in this field have become increasingly popular in the past five years, with the Gandhara Connections team at the Oxford Classical Research Centre heading research. Culturally, the study of these statues is becoming increasingly important. In 2017, in Haripur province, Pakistan, a 1,700-year-old, 44-foot-long sleeping Buddha was unveiled by the Pakistani Government in a bid to increase tourism into the country. The Pakistani Government aims to use the Buddha for more than just tourism; they wish to use it to project religious unity, an element that has been missing in the country for many years. This is reminiscent of how the icon of the Buddha may have been used by early 1st millennium CE Indian empires due to the syncretic nature of religion found there.

Using the idea of religious unity and syncretism, I will be focusing on the origins of the Buddha image found in Gandhara with a sub-question regarding whether these are the first anthropomorphic Buddhas. This dissertation intends to apply a fresh perspective on the original argument between Foucher and Coomaraswamy, who created Gandharan Studies. Alongside an analysis of this argument, I will be re-evaluating images that have been previously considered in a new light. The main issue with Foucher and Coomaraswamy's argument is its antiquity. From the perspective of the early 20th century, problems arise with the ideas of colonialism and the Eurocentric views of scholars of that day. As a British academic, I face many issues when discussing a topic as sensitive as the origin of the Buddha

image, a famed Indian icon. Qadri Ismail, an associate anthropology professor at the University of Minnesota, mentioned in a 2015 interview that he ‘profoundly disliked contemporary anthropology [because it] unconsciously [creates] ‘others’’.¹ Although this quote directly relates to anthropology, Indology comes from the same colonialist roots and so must heed the same rules.

Bearing this in mind, there is the issue of the ancient sources being used within this dissertation. Much of the literature used will be Greco-Roman, due to the survival of the pieces. Unfortunately, this causes issues with chronology, discussed in Chapter 1, as much information has been lost. This means that much of the contextualisation of this dissertation comes from a very Eurocentric perspective. The structure of this dissertation is as follows.

The first chapter will contextualise Gandhara as a location and religion within the region and will consider the chronological issues that are presented by these two factors. Chapter 2 will focus on the art history, with a study of the terms and origins of Iconism and Aniconism and the origins of Gandharan Studies and its influence. This chapter will end with an explanation of how to identify Greco-Buddhist artwork and a discussion on the other areas that may have aided in the development of the image of Buddha.

Chapter 3 contains the main body of the discussion, as it deliberates the individual artistic pieces. This discussion will then be summarised and concluded in chapter 4, which will also include an insight into future research aims surrounding globalism and religion in the Ancient World.

¹ Ismail, 2015

Chapter 1: Contextualising Gandhara

The ancient region of Gandhara has fascinated western scholars for well over a century. The location of the region made it the perfect passageway between East and West, leading to the creation of a cultural melting pot worthy of lengthy study. The region has interested many civilisations, including the Macedonian Empire of Alexander the Great, the Mauryan Empire and the Kushan Empire, of which the last two provide the most information for this dissertation. The Mauryan Empire of Asoka introduced Buddhism to the region in circa.3rd century BCE but Gandhara attained its greatest cultural dominance under the Kushan Empire of Kanishka. Chapter 1 concludes with a discussion on the lack of chronology, the origin of many issues within Gandharan studies. Therefore, there will be a focus on the discourse concerning the dating of the Kushan king Kanishka and when his reign began.

Location of Gandhara

The first section of this chapter covers the location of the region. Gandhara is located in the modern Peshawar valley of Afghanistan, which may have extended as far as the Swaat and Taxila valleys.² There is a slight debate regarding the exact location of the kingdom, although this definition has largely been accepted by most scholars.³

During Rigvedic times (1500-1200BCE), the people living in the Peshawar valley, and what is now the modern district of Rawalpindi in Pakistan, were known as ‘Gandharas’, with the Rock Edict of Asoka mentioning these people as the

² Mairs, 2010; Salomon, 1999; Swāti 2008; for a map of Gandhara, see Appendix 3

³ Mairs, 2010; Salomon, 1999; Swāti, 2008

‘inhabitants of Gandhara’.⁴ This declaration makes Gandhara a distinct geographical region within the Mauryan Empire, allowing for the people to have some form of autonomy.⁵ Using verse 1.126.7 of the Rigveda (1500-1200BCE), it is possible to place the kingdom in the Kābul valley down to the right bank of the Indus River. Contesting this is a verse (1.22.14) from the Atharvaveda (1200-1000BCE), which THR Griffith argues places Gandhara north-west of Brahmanical India.⁶ There is an issue with the texts being used, as they contain beings called Gandharvas and due to the similarities in the logography, mistakes can be made in confusing the beings with the region.

Gandharvas are the lowest form of deva (deities) in Buddhist cosmology and are cast among the Four Heavenly Kings who live in Cāturmahārājikakāyika, or the realm of the Four Heavenly Kings (Sanskrit: चतुर्महाराज).⁷ The realm of the Four Heavenly Kings is found on the lower slopes of Mount Sumeru or Meru. Some scholars speculate that Mount Meru is located in the Pamirs Mountains, northwest of Kashmir; placing the region of the Gandharvas in the same area as the Griffith places Gandhara.⁸ While there have been many translations of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda since Griffith, the choice has been made to retain his translation of these hymns, as the language is important to Griffith’s belief of Gandhara being to the north-west of the Brahmanical India. This is just one of the many issues that has plagued Gandharan Studies.

⁴ Law, 1954, P.76 cited in Swāti 2008; *Rock Edict – V of Asoka* cited in Swāti 2008

⁵ Law, 1943; Dey, 1899; Bhattacharya, 1991; Wilson, 1839; Beal (trans.), 1906; Swāti 2008

⁶ See appendix 2 for the full verses; Griffith, 1895

⁷ Griffith, 1895

⁸ Chapman, 2003; Curzon, 1968; Walker, 1969; Rosenthal, 1967; Dube, 1972; Singh, 1971

Due to the location of the region, it was a strategically efficient passageway between the East and West, thus the area was subject to many invasions and rulers, the first of which was the Achaemenid Invasion of 518BCE.⁹ Darius the Great took advantage of the political disunity between the main Vedic tribes of the area and penetrated the region.¹⁰ This invasion caused Gandhara to become one of twenty-three administrative districts of the kingdom as recorded in the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great (circa. late 6th century BCE).¹¹ Herodotus states that the Gandharans were in the seventh and poorest tax district of the Achaemenid Empire, dating this list to the reign of Darius.¹² Roughly one generation later, Herodotus gives mention of a band of Gandharan and Dadican soldiers being ordered to fight in Greece.¹³ After this, Gandhara is not again mentioned by Herodotus with the exception of a remark on shipments of wood from the area to build a new palace at Susa.¹⁴

The next conqueror to take Gandhara was Alexander the Great during the 320's (BCE). The region stayed under Hellenistic control until the uprising of Chandragupta and the creation of the Mauryan Dynasty's empire. According to Plutarch, Chandragupta was of noble birth, and he greatly admired Alexander.¹⁵ He [Chandragupta] rose up during the year of 322BCE and conquered the Eastern Satrapies of Alexander's former empire.¹⁶ At the end of the 300's BCE, Seleukus crossed the Hindu Kush to challenge the Mauryan Emperor; it is not known whether a major pitched battle was fought or its precise outcome, but it is known that there

⁹ Tarn, 1966; Marshall, 1960

¹⁰ Tarn, 1966; Marshall, 1960

¹¹ King, L.W. and Thompson, R.C., 1907

¹² Herod. *Hist.* 3.102.1

¹³ Wiesehofer, 2001

¹⁴ Lendering, 2017

¹⁵ Plut. *Alex.* 62.3; *On Praising Oneself Inoffensively*, 542d

¹⁶ Mookerji 1988, p. 36; Kosmin 2014, p. 34; App., *Syr.* 55

was a treaty.¹⁷ The main agreements appeared to include the relinquishing of a number of the Eastern satrapies by Seleukus and a marriage alliance between the two, probably with Chandragupta marrying a female relative of Seleukus.¹⁸

In around 269/8, Asoka became the Mauryan Emperor, and, in the eighth year of his reign, he allegedly renounced all forms of violence and converted to a pacifist form of Buddhism following the Kalinga War.¹⁹ Asoka felt responsible for the death and destruction of the Kalinga.²⁰ He began to spread the Dhamma/Dharma (Buddhist concepts of Universal Law) as expressed through numerous epigraphs.²¹ After the death of Asoka, the Mauryan Empire was ruled by a succession of weaker kings, leading to its downfall.

Subsequently, the collapse of the Mauryan Empire, the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms rose to prominence.²² There is very little textual evidence for rulers during this period, with only a few being worthy of mention from the Greco-Roman perspective, leading to what could be called a dark age due to the seeming lack of preserved literature, adding to the issues already present within Gandharan chronology, which is deliberated later in this chapter.²³

The final and debatably the most important invasion mentioned within this dissertation, was initiated by the Kushan Empire, discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁷ Appian, *Syr.* 55

¹⁸ Strabo, *Geog.* 15.2.9; App. *Syr.* 55; Justin, *Epitome*, 15.4.19

¹⁹ Mairs, 2010; Allen, 2012; Scot, 1985

²⁰ Allen, 2012; Scott, 1985

²¹ Carratelli-Garbini, 1964; Millar, 1983:87-9; Bodel, 2001: 4; Heehs, 2002: 106, 167; De Bary, 1972: 7-8

²² Kaushik, 2015; Baumer, 2012; Doumanis, 2009

²³ The kings mentioned from this period are Diodotus I and II, Euthydemus I, Demetrius [I or II?], Eurkratides the Great, Apollodotus I and Meander I; The Western Literary sources that provide the information for this period include Justin, 41.4-6; PME, 47; Polyb. *Hist.* 10.49, 11.39; Strabo, *Geog.*, 11.9.2-3, 11.11.1-2; Aelian, *On Animals*, 15.8; There have been coin finds of about 40 kings and two queens, but there is little evidence to who many they are.

Buddhism in Gandhara

The existence of Buddhism in Gandhara is largely thanks to the Mauryan Empire of Asoka. However, before discussing the importance of Asoka's choice to spread the *Dharma*, there is an issue within the philosophy of Buddhism that must first be considered; the divide between *Theravada* and *Mahayana* Buddhism.

Buddhism is considered to have emerged from the same school of thought as Jainism, although Buddhism considers the idea of extreme asceticism a 'hinderance on the path to liberation'.²⁴ *Theravada* is viewed by many to be closer to the original form practiced by Siddhattha Gotama, or Siddhartha Gautama, as the Pali canon is the only complete Buddhist canon found to date.²⁵ It is estimated that the Pali canon was committed to writing around the year 29BCE by the Fourth Buddhist Council in Sri Lanka.²⁶ As this is approximately 494 years after the death of the Buddha, there is debate concerning the actual authorship of the Pali canon. Gombrich suggests that the main preachings of the Buddha are 'coherent and cogent, and that they must be the work of a single person; the Buddha himself, not a committee of followers after his death'.²⁷ Arguing against this notion, Harvey takes the stance that there are areas of the canon that were clearly written after the time of Gautama.²⁸ This discussion on the written teachings of the Pali canon can cast some doubt on the authenticity of the canon being the purely original form of Buddhism. However, the age of the Pali canon cannot be denied.

²⁴ Heehs, 2002

²⁵ Heehs (2002) explains the difference to be that Siddhattha Gotama is Pali and Siddhartha Gautama is Sanskrit; in this dissertation, the Sanskrit spelling will be used over the Pali; Gombrich 2006, p. 3; Harvey, 1990, p.3; Magurie, 2001, p.69

²⁶ Wynne, 2003

²⁷ Gombrich, 2006, p.20

²⁸ Harvey, 1990

The other main branch of Buddhism that existed during the period discussed in this dissertation is *Mahayana* Buddhism. The origins of this Buddhist sect are not wholly understood.²⁹ Despite this, Nattier has made an attempt at deciphering where exactly the term *Mahayana* comes from.

Studying the etymology of the word itself, Nattier has concluded that the term *Mahayana* (Great Vehicle) was, in fact, an honorary metonym for *Bodhisattvayāna* (Bodhisattva Vehicle)).³⁰ This was the vehicle of a bodhisattva wishing to attain Buddhahood for the benefit of all sentient beings, thus indicating that the term *Mahayana* developed independently at an early date as a synonym for the teachings of the bodhisattva.³¹

The earliest textual evidence for Mahayana comes from sutras, such as the *Ugraparipṛcchā Sūtra* but it was not until the 7th century CE that there was any attempt to distinguish *Mahayana* and the early Buddhist school, *Hinayana* (Lesser or Smaller Vehicle). The Chinese monk, Yijing made the distinction between the two:

“Both adopt one and the same Vinaya, and they have in common the prohibitions of the five offences, and also the practice of the Four Noble Truths. Those who venerate the bodhisattvas and read the *Mahayana* sūtras are called the *Mahāyānists*, while those who do not perform these are called the *Hīnayānists*.”³²

It seems evident from Yijing’s statement that there is very little difference between them. It was considered by early Western scholars that *Mahayana* was an entirely

²⁹ Akira, 1993, p. 260

³⁰ Nattier, 2003

³¹ Keown, 2003; Nattier, 2003

³² Williams, 2008, p.5

separate school from *Hinayana*, whereas it is now considered to have developed out of the *Hinayana* school of Buddhist thought.³³ This is a significant factor as it throws into question the precise age of these two schools and if they are, in fact, the direct teachings of the Buddha, lost in time. Sadly, it is not the purpose of this dissertation to answer the question of the age of the Buddhist text, but merely to point out the differences between *Mahayana* and *Theravada*. The main difference between these two doctrines is that, where *Theravada* takes directly from the one canon, *Mahayana* has branched off within itself, becoming an umbrella term to various schools. *Mahayana* Buddhism grew and flourished in Gandhara under the Kushan empire.

Buddhism itself was first introduced to Gandhara by the great Mauryan leader, Asoka, who built many great *Stupas* in the region.³⁴ Arguably, Asoka is the most famous of the Asian monarchs who chose to be patrons of Buddhism through what are known as the ‘Asoka (or Asokan) inscriptions.’³⁵ Robert DeCaroli, in his book, *Haunting the Buddha*, states that some of these edicts indicate Asoka’s patronage of many religious and philosophical religions and that he was never exclusively Buddhist.³⁶ This is backed by Nirmal Sinha in *Asoka’s Dhamma*, where he states that only four of Asoka’s edicts were directly relating to Buddhism or the Buddhist population.³⁷ Yet, at the same time these edicts indicate that the Emperor’s interest in Buddhism was more than ephemeral.³⁸ In his paper on Asoka’s spreading of Buddhism amongst the Greeks, D.A. Scott DeCaroli counters his own point on

³³ Williams, 2008

³⁴ See Appendix 4 for images

³⁵ Beckwith, 2015, P.227; McEvilley, 2002, P.367

³⁶ DeCaroli, 2004, p.32

³⁷ Sinha, 1994; The edicts that exclusively mention Buddhism and the Buddhist population are Bairat (Bhabru) Edict, Lumbini and Nigali Sagar Inscriptions and Allahabad-Sanchi-Sarnath Edict

³⁸ DeCaroli, 2004, p.33

Asoka's unexclusive relationship to Buddhism, citing the favourable portrayals of Asoka in the later Buddhist texts.³⁹ This is backed by a point made by DeCaroli on the Sarnath Inscription.⁴⁰ DeCaroli states that Asoka appears to have become directly involved in a dispute that had taken place within the *samgha*, the Buddhist monastic community.⁴¹ Asoka declares that '*Samgha* cannot be torn asunder', decreeing that any monk or nun who attempts to disrupt the unity will be forced to renounce their vows.⁴² As well as this, the Rummindei inscription details Asoka's pilgrimage to the birth place of the Buddha (Lumbini), during which he lowered the taxes of a local village to celebrate.⁴³ DeCaroli believes that this is undeniable evidence for Asoka's patronage of Buddhism.⁴⁴

Mahayana Buddhism was permitted to develop under the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms until the invasion of the Kushan, where rather than just growing, it flourished.

The *Mahayana* doctrine flourished particularly well in the region, shown through the Kushan monk, Lokaksema's translation of the Pure Land sutras into Chinese from Gandhari in circa. 147CE.⁴⁵ Lokaksema is the earliest known Buddhist monk to have translated these sutras and he travelled from his homeland of Gandhara to the Han court to propagate *Mahayana* Buddhism for the Kushan king, Kanishka.⁴⁶ There are obstacles to accessing the development of *Mahayana* Buddhism as

³⁹ DeCaroli, 2004, P.32

⁴⁰ DeCaroli, 2004, P.32

⁴¹ DeCaroli, 2004, P.32

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ DeCaroli, 2004, P.32

⁴⁵ Mukherjee, 1996

⁴⁶ Yijing, 1896

Kanishka brings his own problems concerning the chronology of the art of Gandhara to the table, due to the debate regarding the initial year of his reign

Section C – Chronology

Thus, Gandharan Art is plagued by a lack of absolute dates. Some pieces can vary by centuries depending on the commentator, with many cautiously being placed in the 1st – 2nd century CE.⁴⁷ Within Gandhara, there is a lack of sources, such as art inscriptions, literary evidence, including analytical histories, and any historical knowledge of monuments, or information on the creation or destruction of these monuments.⁴⁸ Alongside the sparsity of evidence directly relating to artwork, authentication of eras is also scarce, with a prime example, as previously stated, being the Kushan emperor, Kanishka.

The Kushan Empire of Kanishka was a syncretic empire formed by the Yuezhi, or Yu-Chi people of China in the Bactrian territories in the 1st century CE and it lasted until circa.230CE.⁴⁹ The Empire encompassed much of Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India, perhaps as far as Saketa and Sarnath near Varanasi (Benares) where an inscription dated to the reign of Kanishka has been found.⁵⁰

Kanishka I was an emperor of the Kushan dynasty in the 2nd century CE (127 – 150 CE) but this date is heavily debated by academics, with some positing dates as early as 57 BCE or as late as 278 CE.⁵¹ Cribb is one of the most recent academics to

⁴⁷ This placement is due to the work done by Foucher during the 1920s which will be discussed further on.

⁴⁸ Salomon, 1999

⁴⁹ Bracey 1999; Si-Yu-Ki, 1884; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.,1906; Hill, 2009, pp. 29, 318–350

⁵⁰ Falk 2001, pp. 121–136; Falk, 2004, pp. 167–176; Hill, 2009, pp. 29, 33, 368–371.

⁵¹ The following academics link Kanishka's Year One to the Vikrama Era of 57BCE: Cunningham, 1871; Fleet, 1906; Kennedy 1912; The following academics choose to place Kanishka's Year One during the Saka Era in 278CE: Bhandakar, 1900; Bhandakar, 1930; Zeymai, 1964.

tackle this issue, taking the stance that Kanishka was ruling in around 127 CE. Nevertheless, he does accept that dating is difficult with the persistence of 78 CE appearing as year one.⁵² This lack of continuity can also be found in the two methods that have been used in attempting to date Kanishka.

The first, and most predominant of these is the attempt to use a ‘killer’ argument; that is a new piece of evidence or a radical interpretation of existing pieces to date Kanishka.⁵³ The problem with this method is that so many convincing arguments have been produced for multiple dates that no faith can be put in any of them.⁵⁴ The most recent attempt with this method is that of Harry Falk, who came to the conclusion of 127CE.⁵⁵ Falk’s takes the *yuga* (epoch) of Sphujiddhvaja and uses it to place the year of the reign of Kanishka.⁵⁶ Falk states that the *yuga* does not provide theory, just fact due to its accurateness in regards to the constellations.⁵⁷ He states that ‘all there is is a statement given in the text giving the means to change a Kushana date into a Saka date: “take the Kushana year and add 149”’.⁵⁸ According to Falk, this leads to the 2nd Kushana century, starting in the spring 227CE.⁵⁹ For the 1st century, he says, we then get the year 127CE.⁶⁰

The second method is to take all the existing evidence and attempt to find a solution that is compatible with as many of the sources as possible. This method was applied by Cribb, bringing him to the conclusive date of 107-120 CE.⁶¹ Despite this, he has

⁵² Cribb, 2017

⁵³ Bracey, 2014

⁵⁴ Bracey, 2014

⁵⁵ Falk, 2003

⁵⁶ Falk, 2003

⁵⁷ Falk, 2003

⁵⁸ Falk, 2003

⁵⁹ Falk, 2003

⁶⁰ Falk, 2003

⁶¹ Cribb in Bracey, 2014

now abandoned his dating for Falks' 127 CE.⁶² Bracey suggests that this is because, although the second method may seem superior, the method used by Falks has been employed over many eras (Greek/Yavana, Azes, Saka, Gupta, Bactrian Letters) and, unlike the second method, can allow for a fixed date.⁶³ Using Bracey's method, the dates of 78 CE, 100 CE, 144 CE, and 230 CE can be excluded as, with the exception of 144CE, these are all minority positions.⁶⁴ Yet what this method has not done is separate the dates of 115CE, 127CE and 128CE, which have been given considerable support in the past. This permits the dates to be narrowed to a 29-year period, allowing for a more concise argument concerning the dating of Kanishka's year 1.

Using this 29-year period, it is possible to stay within the cautious dates given for the artwork by Foucher during the 1900s, although there is a possibility this may cause the discussion to become limited. Using these cautious dates to place the age of iconic artwork becomes a very Eurocentric view as it seemingly ignores the existence of numerous pieces of art from Mathura and Amaravati; in addition to a multitude of other areas. The issue with Eurocentrism is the belief that the world's culture emerged from Europe and ignoring the important areas that have contributed to individual countries own cultural heritage. This lack of interest in Indian art supported this chronological issue, creating a discussion regarding the existence of Aniconic and Iconic periods of artwork.

⁶² Cribb in Bracey, 2014

⁶³ Bracey, 1999

⁶⁴ Bracey, 1999

Chapter 2: Art History

Aniconic and iconic artwork

There is a debate regarding the transfer between Aniconic artwork and Iconic artwork that has been ongoing since the first discussion on anthropomorphic images of the Buddha. It concerns the emergence of said anthropomorphic images, and questions who created the original. This and the subsequent chapters contain the main argument for my dissertation; was the Buddha image a Greek creation?

Before delving further into this question, the exact definitions of aniconic and iconic must first be established. Aniconism is the absence of material representations of the natural and supernatural world in various cultures, with the earliest Buddhist symbols appearing circa 1st century BCE.⁶⁵ Foucher and Krishan agree on the existence of an aniconic period but disagree on the reasons for it, with the former stating souvenirs and the latter arguing the attaining of *nirvana*.⁶⁶ Huntington disagrees with both, suggesting that aniconic symbols are, in fact, *cetiya* (relics) or re-enactments by followers at pilgrimage sites rather than scenes from the life of Buddha.⁶⁷ Yet, Cribb disagrees with Huntington's position, stating that the point she is making comes more from theory than actual evidence.⁶⁸ Alongside Cribb, Dehejia disagrees with Huntington's argument; suggesting that Huntington merely displaced the question further.⁶⁹ She posed the question "what could possibly have led the artist to avoid portraying...the human actor who played the part of the Buddha?" when taking into account Huntington's argument.⁷⁰ Dehejia also considers Huntington's suggestion that the *stupas* were covered in insignificant

⁶⁵ Buddhist Art Frontline Magazine 13–26 May 1989

⁶⁶ Foucher, 1917; Krishan, 1996

⁶⁷ Huntington, 1990

⁶⁸ Cribb, 2018

⁶⁹ Dehejia, 1991

⁷⁰ Dehejia, 1991

images of pageantry, an insult to the builders of these great monuments.⁷¹ Furthering the argument, Dehejia calls attention to the fact that there is no evidence to suggest that Buddhists had such ceremonies.⁷² Taking this as precedent, it can be said that Huntington's argument is wholly misguided; yet, there is still an overhanging question of the development of artwork.

Across India, there are a multitude of art schools, each with their own developments and changes throughout history. Within this dissertation, there will only be time to consider a small selection of the artwork from these schools and their relevance to the development of the Buddha image. These will be Gandhara, Mathura and Amaravati. Each of these schools developed at different rates, throwing some doubt onto the idea of definitive aniconic and iconic periods. To say that this dissertation directly agrees with Huntington's line of thought would not be recommended. Nevertheless, it can be said that it agrees with Huntington on the most basic form of her discussion; that it is wrong to place such constraints on areas developing at different speeds.

Following on from aniconic artwork, there is what has been called the 'Iconic period'.⁷³ Iconic artwork in terms of Buddhist art is the presence of the Buddha figure in an anthropomorphic sense. Focusing primarily on the area of Gandhara, there is a debate between Alfred Foucher and Ananda Coomaraswamy about the existence of the anthropomorphic image. According to Foucher, the use of anthropomorphic imagery started around the 1st century CE and was due to the connections that the area had with the Greeks.⁷⁴ However, Coomaraswamy

⁷¹ Dehejia, 1991

⁷² Dehejia, 1991

⁷³ Foucher, 1917; Williams, 1982; Fisher, 1993; Zimmer, 1984; Iyer, 1958; Coomaraswamy, 1920

⁷⁴ Foucher, 1917

disagrees, stating that the Indians clearly had the tools available to create such figures. He uses figures such as the Naga and Nāgini (Serpent Deities), Yaksha and Yakshini (class of nature spirits) and gods such as Surya (Sun deity) and Indra (a king or guardian deity).⁷⁵ This debate grounds the origin of what is known as Gandharan Studies, a central focus of this dissertation.

Gandharan Studies origins

Gandharan studies is based on the argument between Alfred Foucher and Ananda Coomaraswamy on the main question of this dissertation; the origin of, what we know as the Buddha image.

Alfred Charles Augustus Foucher is considered to be the Father of Gandharan studies and is the first person to have believed the anthropomorphic image of Buddha to be of Greek origin.⁷⁶ He considered the ‘Hellenistic’ free-standing Buddhas to be the most beautiful and perhaps most ancient of the Buddhas.⁷⁷ Disagreeing with the point of the beauty of the free-standing Buddhas, Marshall stated that he could not find anything ‘particularly spiritual in [the statues’] expression’ and believed that the craftsmanship of the modelling of the base of these images to be ‘more than usually clumsy’.⁷⁸

Through his studies, Foucher coined the term ‘Greco-Buddhist’ (Greco-Bouddhique) and in arguably his most famous paper, *L’Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara* covers the notion of the Buddha being a Greek image.⁷⁹ One of the reasons he cites is the similarities between Greco-Buddhist depictions of the

⁷⁵ See appendix 5 for images

⁷⁶ Zwalf 1996; Foucher, 1905

⁷⁷ Marshall, 1960

⁷⁸ Marshall, 1960

⁷⁹ Foucher, 1905

Buddha and Greco-Christian depictions of Jesus, stating the similarities of their robes and hand positions.⁸⁰ Foucher believes that these statues were based on the Orator, an Etruscan bronze statue from the 1st century BCE. He considers the way in which the right hand is draped on their mantels to make these statues cousins.⁸¹ However, this seems to be a tenuous link. Upon looking at both the Graeco-Buddhist and Graeco-Christian statues, it can just as easily be said that the formation of the robes surrounding the legs is cousin to the Yakshi at Bodh Gaya or the Yaksha Manibhadra from Parkham, both from the same period of time, as it is to say they are cousins to the Orator.⁸² Here, a quote from Foucher should be considered:

‘The Indian mind has taken a part no less essential than has Greek genius in the elaboration of the model of the Monk-God.’

The contradiction in terms of the language used to describe each of the nationalities should be taken into account. The use of the word ‘genius’ in comparison to the employment of the term ‘mind’ gives a condescending tone, indicating Foucher’s Eurocentric perspective. This differentiation in terms hints towards the colonial attitude of the early 20th century, giving way to issues with considering Foucher’s argument to the fullest extent. He appears to consider that the Indians did not have access to the same techniques and materials as the Greeks. Arguing against this, Ananda Coomaraswamy believes many of the techniques to already be present in Indian artwork.

⁸⁰ Foucher, 1905; See appendices 6&7 for images

⁸¹ Foucher, 1914

⁸² See appendices 5, 6 & 7 for images

A Ceylonese Tamil philosopher, Coomaraswamy is considered to be the ground-breaking theorist who was largely responsible for introducing ancient Indian art to the West and his paper, *The Origin of the Buddha Image* was part of this effort.⁸³ The paper focuses on Coomaraswamy's disagreement with Foucher's notion of the Buddha being a Greek image, focusing heavily on the pre-existing elements of anthropomorphism in early Indian artwork.⁸⁴ In Buddhist art, the Bodhisattva is found freely represented in human form in Jataka illustrations, side by side with purely symbolic representations of Gautama as Bodhisattva (*Siddhartha*) or as Buddha (*Tathagata*).⁸⁵ Coomaraswamy suggests that the craftsmen who created the Parkham and Patna images and the reliefs at Bharhut and Sanci could easily recreate Gautama in human form if they were required to do so.⁸⁶ The best examples from these craftsmen are the Yakshas and Yakshini figures from Indian folklore. These creatures are a broad class of nature spirits who were often benevolent, but they could occasionally be mischievous or sexually aggressive.⁸⁷ They appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts as well as in various ancient works of art as guardian deities.⁸⁸ The skills needed to create these works of art is clearly equivalent to the skills that the Greeks used during the Hellenistic era.

Identifying Greco-Buddhist Artwork

Greco-Buddhist art is the artistic manifestation of Greco-Buddhism, a cultural syncretism between Classical Greek culture and Buddhism, which developed over a period of roughly 1,000 years in Central Asia, between the conquests of Alexander

⁸³ Fowler, 1947

⁸⁴ Coomaraswamy, 1927

⁸⁵ Coomaraswamy, 1927

⁸⁶ Coomaraswamy, 1927; See Appendix 5 for images and illustrations

⁸⁷ Encyclopædia Britannica, 2018

⁸⁸ Richard, 1995

the Great and the Islamic conquests of the 7th Century CE.⁸⁹ Greco-Buddhist art can be characterised by the strong idealistic realism, the sensuous description of Hellenistic art and the first representations of the Buddha in human form.⁹⁰ This helped define the artistic (mainly sculptural) canon for Buddhist art throughout Asia. The origins of Greco-Buddhism are considered to be found in the Hellenistic Greco-Bactrian Kingdom (250BCE-130BCE).⁹¹ From there, Hellenistic Culture radiated down into the Sub-Continent with the establishment of the Indo-Greek Kingdoms (180BCE-10BCE).⁹² Greco-Buddhism is one of the main types of Iconic Buddhist artwork that seemingly appeared during the 1st century CE, with others being Mathuran and Amaravatan artwork.⁹³ It is also imperative for this dissertation for other areas that may be the home to the ‘original’ anthropomorphic Buddha to be considered and understood; this idea shall be discussed further into this paper.

There are two important figures within Gandharan art; the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. The Gandharan Bodhisattva can be identified as a jewelled Indian prince and the Buddha through the Greek himation, the halo, the *contrapposto* stance of the upright figure, the stylised Mediterranean curly hair and the top-knot.⁹⁴ Stylistically, the art was notably fine and realistic; with Boardman stating there is “a realistic treatment of the folds and on some even a hint of modelled volume that characterizes the best Greek work”.⁹⁵ The top-knot on the Buddha statues has been considered to have been styled after the Belvedere Apollo

⁸⁹ Foucher, 1914

⁹⁰ Foucher, 1914; the 14th Dalai Lama in Wenzel, 2000

⁹¹ Doumanis, 2009; Baumer, 2012; Kaushik, 2015

⁹² Spielvogel, 2016; Zürcher, 1962; Roupp, 2015; Kulke and Rothermund, 2004; Aruz and Fino, 2012

⁹³ Foucher, 1914

⁹⁴ See appendix 7 for images

⁹⁵ Boardman, 1996, P.230

(330BCE).⁹⁶ In his 2012 paper, Kim goes as far as calling the Buddha ‘Apollo-Buddha’ due to the similarities between these two figures.⁹⁷ Agreeing with this, Puzak states that ‘the two forms share a striking resemblance’.⁹⁸ The discourse comparing these two statues is particularly prevalent due to the hair and drapery of each. It is clear that the techniques used for the creation of some of the Gandharan Buddha statues came from the Greek world but conversely, the deportments into which these idols have been set do not come from the Western world. The physical postures of the Buddha statues come from a number of yoga poses from the yoga schools of (possible) Pre-Vedic origins.⁹⁹ This allows for a speculation that the Buddha image comes from the Indian sub-continent, due to a range of evidence from coinage and statuettes.

The other major figure of Greco-Buddhist art is the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattvas, previously mentioned, were detailed as jewelled Indian princes; in contrast to the Buddha’s more plain, serene appearance. Upon looking at the Bodhisattva, it can be said that the details and decoration they display is distinctly Indian, but the face of the Gandharan Bodhisattva has a very Greek appearance. Observing figures 27 & 35 in appendix 7 & 8, demonstrates that the faces of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are nearly identical in the shape of the eyes and nose. This symmetrical nature of these pieces is reminiscent of the Archaic Kore of Greece.¹⁰⁰ Looking in particular at the face of the Phrasikleia Kore, the hooded nature of the eyes is identical to those of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images of Gandharan sculpture. The nature of these similarities cements the notion that the

⁹⁶ Kim, 2012; Harrison, 2009; Karetzky, 2000

⁹⁷ Kim, 2012

⁹⁸ Puzack, 2015

⁹⁹ Flood 1996, p. 87–90; Crangle 1994, p. 4–7; Zimmer 1951, p. 217, 314

¹⁰⁰ See Appendices 7&8 for image

Gandharan pieces have a distinctive Greek origin; yet, there is more to this argument than is immediately apparent.

Other Artistic Influences

Aside from the Greek influence on Gandharan artwork, there is also an array of other areas that may have influenced the development of the artwork. India is, of course, the front runner of these other areas, with Iran and China also being considered.¹⁰¹

Iran has a rightful claim of influence on Gandharan artwork as it was, during the Archaic period, the Achaemenid Empire. As previously discussed in Chapter One, the Achaemenid Empire controlled Gandhara for a period of roughly 200 years, so it would be foolish to cast aside the influence this would have had over the region's cultural development. In their paper, *Persian Influence on Gandhara Civilization*, Wahab and Bashir detail the indications of influence. They consider the wavy/curly drapery of Gandharan artwork to be of Persian origin.¹⁰² Looking at the Statue of Darius I created in Egypt in the 5th century BCE, the drapery on this statue shows similar detail to the Buddha statues in the way that the robes clutch onto the ankles.¹⁰³ Previous discussions regarding the Orator and the use of the term 'cousin', strongly suggest that Persian statues with drapery surrounding the ankles directly influenced the Gandharan statues of Buddha is an incorrect analysis. Although the drapery is similar, there are clearly a number of influences to be found on the statues of the first to third century CE.

¹⁰¹ Nakamura, 1989; Iyer, 1958; Zimmer, 1968

¹⁰² Wahab and Bashir, 2016

¹⁰³ See Appendix 6 for image

Another of these influences is China. The Chinese influence is apparent in Gandhara due to the Kushan dynasty being descended from the nomadic Yu-chi people of China. Looking at some of the Han Chinese pieces of artwork, it is possible to see some form of influence from China, but this is not a convincing connection. Additionally, the majority of Han artwork that is connected to India comes from the first century BCE, leading to more of an Indian influence over Chinese art rather than the other way around.

Overall, the influences on Gandharan artwork come from different regions across the Central Asian belt. These allowed for the culturally syncretic art that is seen today to be created. Nevertheless, this does not answer the question of where the Buddha image came from. In the next two chapters of this dissertation, ‘aniconic’ Indian works of art and Archaic Greek works shall be discussed in comparison to first to third century Buddha pieces to decipher the likely provenance of the Buddha image.

Chapter 3 – Discussion on Artwork

This chapter will consider the artistic pieces that have been chosen for closer study for this dissertation. These pieces were specifically chosen because they reflect particular aspects of the argument concerning the origins of the Buddha image. Through these artworks, both techniques and pictorial inspirations for the Buddha image can be seen. Within this chapter, older pieces such as coins and Indian folk statues will also be considered.

Firstly, there are certain coins that must be examined as they may depict the Buddha on their surface. These coins are the Ujjain Coin, the Maues Coin, the Kadapha (Kadphises I, c.40-78CE) Coin and the Azes Coin. The four coins named here are considered to be the first coinage to depict the Buddha and they shall be discussed individually later in this chapter.

The second lot of artworks to be discussed are the Indian folk statues and reliefs of deities such as the Naga, Yakshini, Yaksha and Surya. These deities are significant to Indian myth, thus the variety of depictions across the sub-continent. The techniques used for these statues can be said to also have been used to create a Buddha image as stated by Coomaraswamy in 1927.¹⁰⁴ Before discussing the artworks, the methodology used must be stated.

As this dissertation focuses on art, there will be a methodological emphasis on the context of the pieces, an analysis of the form and iconographical analysis alongside using some critical theory to discuss the objects. Considering the analysis of form, clarification of the dual meanings of the word form is necessary.

¹⁰⁴ Coomaraswamy, 1927

It can refer to the overall physical appearance of the work or it can refer to a single element of the form within the whole piece.¹⁰⁵ Both of these meanings shall be used in the discussion of the artworks. Additionally, the iconographical method will be implemented. The iconographical analysis focuses on the design elements of the objects and through this investigation, an understanding of the origins of the motifs on the pieces will be pursued.¹⁰⁶ Through these analytical methods, this chapter will be studying Buddhist artworks and analysing the origins of individual elements and a study of the overall form of the pieces shall be conducted. Firstly, proceeding with the coinage under scrutiny, many of the pieces show the lotus formation that is so imperative to the Buddha image.

Coinage:

Ujjain and Maues Coins

The first coin is the Ujjain Coin. Ujjain was a Western capital in Asoka's Mauryan Empire, and it is where his children, who went on to preach Buddhism in Sri Lanka, were born. Ujjain was an important trading link between Northern India and the Deccan, facilitating a suitable environment for a learning centre for Hindus, Jains and Buddhists alike.¹⁰⁷ The syncretic nature of Ujjain means that the coin could have originated from either Mathura, Gandhara or Ujjain itself.

The Ujjain Coin is considered to be the first to show a male squatting in the 'native fashion', which is today called the lotus position.¹⁰⁸ This particular coin is from circa. 200BCE, approximately 300 years before the first anthropomorphic image of Buddha was named by Foucher. Although an argument has been

¹⁰⁵ Tate Modern, 2018

¹⁰⁶ Tate Modern, 2018

¹⁰⁷ DeCaroli, 2004; Ring, Watson and Schellinger, 2012

¹⁰⁸ Coomaraswamy, 1927; Cunningham, 1891

presented to support the identification of this image with the Buddha, several scholars disagree; they take the stance that the coin, rather than showing Buddha, shows Lakulisha.¹⁰⁹ Lakulisha was a prominent *Shaivite* and the 28th reincarnation of Shiva.¹¹⁰ The argument for the coin representing his image originates from his emphasis on yoga practices.¹¹¹ Looking at confirmed Lakulisha coins or seated Shiva types, there is an observable similarity in that a tree, the lotus position and the railings to the side are all depicted.¹¹² Alternatively, this could be representative of Bodh Gaya, where Buddha preached underneath the Bodhi Tree. Cunningham considers that due to these significant factors, the image cannot be portraying anything but the Buddha.¹¹³ Due to the cultural melding at Ujjain, the figure on the coin may be culturally ambiguous, as the lotus position is observed in all three of the major religions found in the city. Thus, even if this is not an image of the Buddha himself, the iconography of the piece is a clear inspiration for the pictorial depictions of the ‘deity’. The word deity is placed in inverted commas here, as the Buddha is not a god, an assertion that will be discussed further on in this chapter.

Following on from the Ujjain Coin, there is the Maues Coin (100BCE).¹¹⁴ Maues was an Indo-Scythian king in the latter half of the 1st century BCE and was one of the many conquerors of the Gandhara Region; placing his capital in Sirkap and minting his coins in Taxila.¹¹⁵ Maues is known for depicting the deities of his subjects on coinage, so it would not be an excessive assumption to agree with

¹⁰⁹ Kothari in Bharucha, 2003; Bhatt, 1985; Handa, 2007

¹¹⁰ Kothari in Bharucha, 2003; Bhatt, 1985; Handa, 2007

¹¹¹ Kothari in Bharucha, 2003; Bhatt, 1985; Handa, 2007

¹¹² See appendix 10 for images

¹¹³ Cunningham, 1891

¹¹⁴ See appendix 10 for images

¹¹⁵ Widemann, 2003

Coomaraswamy that the figure on the coin is that of Buddha.¹¹⁶ However, looking at the iconography of the coin, there is a bar placed across the figure's lap, possibly representing a sword or a sceptre. If either of these items is the identity of the object represented, it is highly unlikely that the figure on the coin could be the Buddha, as he swore an oath of pacifism and renounced all of his kingly duties. It can be hypothesised that the figure on the coin may be an early depiction of Shiva. Looking at later portrayals of Shiva, the god is shown holding a trident. Using this iconographical precedent when investigating the Maues Coin, it is reasonable to conclude that the bar on the figure's lap indicates that the coin represents Shiva. Nevertheless, at this period of time, Buddhism was flourishing in the area and Maues had adopted certain Buddhist symbols including the lion, as first used by Asoka.¹¹⁷

Coinage:

Azes and Kadapha Coins

By casting doubt on the Maues Coin, doubt is also raised regarding the Azes and Kadapha Coins that were identified by Coomaraswamy as possible depictions of the Buddha. These next sets of coins also detail a bar across the lap of the icon on the coin. On one of the Azes Coins, (circa. 48/7 – 25 BCE) the bar has been interpreted as a sword and, in the right hand, there is said to be a whip.¹¹⁸ This indicates that the coin may, rather than depicting a deity, be depicting Azes himself. There is an argument surrounding the postulation of an Azes I and II, as discussed by Falks and Senior, but this is not an integral part of this

¹¹⁶ See appendix 10 for images

¹¹⁷ See appendix 10 for images

¹¹⁸ Coomaraswamy, 1927

dissertation.¹¹⁹ Looking at later Buddha coins, such as those of Kanishka, the horizontal bar is absent.¹²⁰ The bar is only evident in earlier coins, such as those of Maues and Azes, indicating that these figures are less likely to be depictions of the Buddha.

Proceeding from the Azes Coins to the Kadapha Coin (circa.40 – 78CE), a ridge along the centre of the coin is present, possibly indicating that there is a bar across the lap of the figure.¹²¹ However, this is not as prominent as on the previous two coins, which may perhaps be evidence, on this Kadapha Coin, that an error had occurred in the striking of the die for these coins. However, one item not found on the previous coins is a hammer-like object held in the figure's hand. It could be argued that, like the seemingly faded bar across the figure's knees, this is a mistake in the coin die; yet the indentation is far too prominent for that to be the case. Adopting the idea that this is a hammer, provides reasonable argument that this is another of the incarnations of Shiva, due to the associated concepts of creation and destruction. Nevertheless, scholars have argued that the coin depicts the Buddha, with the most recent advocate being Satya Shrava.¹²² Shrava follows Whitehead's logic that the coin must be that of the Buddha due to the substantial Indian presence in the area.¹²³ Whitehead criticises W.W. Tarn's suggestion that the Greek influence in the area led to Kadaphises modelling himself onto coins in the style of previous Greek kings in an attempt to create a connection with them.¹²⁴ Banerjea disagrees with the interpretation that the coin is of the Buddha,

¹¹⁹ See Falks in Salomon, 1998, pp. 182–183, 194–195; Senior, 1995, 43–72

¹²⁰ See appendix 10 for images

¹²¹ See appendix 10 for images

¹²² Shrava, 1993; Michon, 2015

¹²³ Shrava, 1993; Whitehead, 1914

¹²⁴ Whitehead, 1914; Ray, 2017

and falls in line with the earlier mentioned suggestion that the coin depicts Shiva.¹²⁵ Suggesting that the coin depicts Shiva leads to further questions about its origins. Yet, it is not the purpose of this research to identify the origins of the image on this individual coin. Nevertheless, the image on the coin shown is clearly, again, an iconographical inspiration from India for the later images of Buddha. Using this theory as a basis, this chapter will now move onto the later freestanding images of Buddha from Gandhara and Mathura.

Buddha Statues

There are two forms of freestanding Buddha that shall be discussed within this dissertation; the seated Buddha and the standing Buddha. Looking firstly at the seated Buddhas, there will be a focus on the form and the iconographical inspirations for both the Gandharan and Mathuran sculptures. Secondly, the standing Buddhas will be considered in the same terms as the seated Buddhas. This analysis of form and iconographical inspirations will include looking at both Greek and Indian artworks from these and other areas in and before the time-period in question.

Mathuran Buddhas

The first set of Buddhas that will be discussed are those of Mathura.¹²⁶ The Mathuran Buddhas can be identified by their fuller faced depictions, a larger protuberance of the forehead and a seemingly flatter face overall in comparison to those of the Gandharan origin who have more ‘Greek-esque’ features.¹²⁷ The city of Mathura is located in Uttar Pradesh and was a central trading post of Northern

¹²⁵ Banerjea, 1985; Michon, 2015

¹²⁶ See Appendix 8 for images

¹²⁷ See appendix 7 for images

India.¹²⁸ Mathura is considered the birth place of Krishna and is mentioned in both Indian epic and Greek histories.¹²⁹ Mathura seems to have at some point between 180-100 BCE come under the control of the Indo-Greek Kingdoms, lasting until circa. 70 BCE, allowing for Greek influence in the area.¹³⁰ However, the Indian influence clearly outweighs the Greek when looking at the Mathuran Buddhas. Using the Patna and the Parkham Yakshas, depictions of Surya and the Naga, there is an identical nature in the styling of the face and body.¹³¹ Looking directly at the Patna Yakshas (2nd century BCE), these show a fullness of the cheeks as found in the Mathuran Buddha and the pot-bellied body types of the Mathuran Buddhas and the Yakshas. This pot-bellied look can be seen throughout all Indian artwork, including the Four Heavenly Kings, depictions of Surya and Bodhisattva.¹³² Like many historical civilisations, India considered a pot-belly to be a sign of affluence and many gods, including Ganesha, the god of wealth, were depicted with pot-bellies.¹³³ Goddesses were often described in songs as ‘full breasted’ and having many ‘love handles’, showing their large size in comparison to Greek goddesses.¹³⁴ It can be clearly stated that the Mathuran Buddhas demonstrate a distinct Indian influence. Nevertheless, there are some Buddhas from the area depicted in a Greek style. Figure 34 has a heavy-lidded appearance and a sculpted brow, reminiscent of figure 27, which is a known Greco-Buddhist piece.¹³⁵ Both of these figures have drooped earlobes, illustrating the idea of Buddha giving up all wealth, but they differ in the depictions. Figure 34 shows

¹²⁸ Singh, 2008

¹²⁹ Mentioned in the *Ramayana* and Megasthenes’ *Indika*, frag.23

¹³⁰ Megasthenes, *Indika*, frag.23; Quintanilla, 2007

¹³¹ See appendix 5 for images

¹³² See appendices 5, 7 & 8 for images;

¹³³ Brown, 1991

¹³⁴ Chandra, 1998; Rhodes, 2011

¹³⁵ See appendix 7&8 for images

this as large drooping square shaped lobes whereas figure 27 shows them in a more ‘human’ form. As figure 27 is a Greco-Buddhist piece, it can be said that this form is more realistic or idealistic due to the Classical Greek focus on the idealised form.¹³⁶ Looking at Greek statues such as the crouching Aphrodite and the Artemision Bronze, the symmetrical nature of the face, similar to that of the Kore from the Archaic Period, is a clear influence on the styling of the Greek Buddhas.¹³⁷ Interestingly, there is a Gandharan Seated Buddha (3rd-4th century CE) that has the symmetry of the Greek Buddhas but the hair and strong brow of the Mathuran Buddha.¹³⁸ This mix in Gandhara indicates that there was a direct trade of ideas between the Deccan and Northern India. This particular statue comes from the Gupta Period (circa. 240-590CE) and, during this period, Dehejia states that an ‘ideal image’ of the Buddha was created.¹³⁹ This ideal image combined elements from the Gandharan region with the sensuous form created by Mathuran artists.¹⁴⁰ Figure 29 coincides with this idea due to the individual curls of Mathura and the ‘idealistic’ figure of Classical and Hellenistic Greek sculpture.

Gandharan Buddhas

Moving on from the Mathuran Buddhas directly to the Gandharan ones, the more idealistic form that the Greek statues take is evident. These often resemble mythic Greek figures, such as Herakles and Apollo due to their serene and beautified look. Taking precedent from Foucher’s idea that the Greco-Buddhist Buddha and the Greco-Christian Christ are cousins, it can be seen in figure 34 that the statues are of identical nature.¹⁴¹ Both of these statues have a symmetrical shape similar

¹³⁶ Woodford, 1997

¹³⁷ See appendix 6 for images

¹³⁸ See appendix 6 for images

¹³⁹ Dehejia, 2007

¹⁴⁰ Dehejia, 2007

¹⁴¹ See appendix 6&7 for images

to the Kore, with their planted feet and blocky stance.¹⁴² This, alongside the plinth beneath their feet, allows for a stronger stance, preventing them from falling and, looking at the backs of these statues, they are entirely flat, suggesting that they were placed against walls rather than being entirely free-standing.¹⁴³ This gave the statues structural stability.

Both statues have a nimbus behind their heads, yet the one on the Greco-Christian Christ is much smaller than that of the Greco-Buddhist Buddha, indicating that this is stylistic; after all, Christ is seen as the son of God and thus an extension of God. However, Buddha is not considered to be a god as Buddhism is a philosophy rather than a religion.¹⁴⁴ With this in mind, it is probable that the so called ‘halo’ around the Buddha’s head is in fact the Dharmachakra, or Dharma Wheel of Buddhist Law.

Calling the nimbus behind Buddha’s head a ‘halo’ would be understandable if we considered Buddha to be a God or a prophet; instead Buddha is acknowledged to be a philosopher who attained enlightenment.¹⁴⁵ It would be strange to depict a non-god with such a divine symbol during this period (1st – 4th century CE) with the rise of Christianity in the West and the use of the halo to identify gods such as Shiva and Surya.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, looking at the idea of a halo in the Greco-Roman perspective, many rulers and prominent figures have been displayed with halos surrounding their heads but the Greco-Buddhist pieces that are included in this discussion only take inspiration from the Greeks, leaving room for

¹⁴² See appendix 6&7 for images

¹⁴³ See appendix 7 for images

¹⁴⁴ Kuzminski, 2010, P.35; McEvelley, 2002

¹⁴⁵ Kuzminski, 2010

¹⁴⁶ See appendix 5 for images

speculation of the true nature of the nimbus behind the head of the Buddha.¹⁴⁷ The Dharma Wheel is deemed to be one of the most recognisable aniconic symbols of Buddhism to date, representing the 24 qualities of a good Buddhist.¹⁴⁸ The symbol is also used in Hinduism to identify the same qualities.¹⁴⁹ Taking Hinduism into consideration, there is a subsect known as *Vaishnava* Hinduism where it is believed that the Gautama Buddha is the ninth and most recent reincarnation of Vishnu.¹⁵⁰

Buddha and Vishnu

In his book, *The Buddhist Visnu*, John Holt discusses the probability that Buddha is the ninth of the ten reincarnations of Vishnu. Holt uses the *Vishnu Purana* and Vishnu's descent as the *Buddhavatara* to put the Buddha in his Brahmanical place.¹⁵¹ Hindu views on the Buddha being an avatar of Vishnu have never been constant nor consistent; Holt suggests that the persona of the Siddhartha as someone who was born and matured into the Buddha in a Brahmanical system.¹⁵² Holt, alongside Lochtefeld, suggests that this adoption of Buddha was an attempt to assimilate Buddhism and Hinduism.¹⁵³ Although there is an attempt at assimilation, Buddhists do not accept that Buddha was a reincarnation of Vishnu.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, the Buddhist Jataka Tales have Krishna (Vishnu Avatar) and Buddha meeting in several of the tales, including 454, 530 and 536, with the tales often showing the Buddha teaching wisdom to an immature version

¹⁴⁷ Heroes such as Herakles have been shown with nimbus

¹⁴⁸ Grunwedel, 1901

¹⁴⁹ Grunwedel, 1901

¹⁵⁰ Coulter, 2013; Holt, 2008; Jones, 2006

¹⁵¹ Holt, 2008; Brahmanical place is a metaphysical idea from Hindu mythology. It is rejected by Buddhist but in the terms of the *Buddhavatara*, the idea exists as this is an extension of Vishnu.

¹⁵² Holt, 2008

¹⁵³ Holt, 2008; Lochtefeld, 2002

¹⁵⁴ Coulter, 2013; Lochtefeld, 2002

of Krishna. Hiltebeitel, a Professor of Religion at George Washington University, suggests that the later Pali Jataka Tales are, in fact, slanderous versions of Hindu legends.¹⁵⁵ Even so, he goes on to state that this could, in actuality, reflect the complex nature of the local traditions surrounding the interactions of the two religions.¹⁵⁶ Bearing this and the Ujjain and Maues Coins in mind, it is clear that there is a high possibility that there has been a combination of the Siddhartha Buddha and the *Buddhavatara* used to create the nimbus behind the head of the Buddha statues.¹⁵⁷

Looking at images of Vishnu, the deity is clearly depicted with a halo of shining light behind his head; so, if Buddha is a reincarnation of Vishnu, he would have a halo himself. It is very possible that the Greeks did not know the difference between the two religions and so confused the iconography, thus creating the haloed Buddha. Additionally, there is the obvious structural argument that the halo was created to support the thinness of the neck. This would be of similar use as the block found beneath the Buddha's feet, again creating a more stable statue. Overall, the evidence presented for the nimbus behind Buddha's head being a Dharma Wheel can be said to be convincing, but it is not the only argument to be found. Within Buddhism, the nimbus is most likely a Dharma Wheel as Buddha is not considered to be a god, whereas in Hinduism, it can be argued that it is a halo as there is the belief that the Buddha is the ninth reincarnation of Vishnu. Therefore, coming to a conclusion on this discussion is difficult as it ultimately

¹⁵⁵ Hiltebeitel, 1990

¹⁵⁶ Hiltebeitel, 1990

¹⁵⁷ See appendix 5 & 7 for images

depends on the religion from which the argument is being viewed. Alongside looking at the Buddha statues themselves, there are the *Bodhisattva*.

Bodhisattva

The *Bodhisattva* (बोधिसत्त्व) are those who have generated the *Bodhicitta* (enlightened mind), a spontaneous wish and compassionate mind for the benefit of all sentient beings.¹⁵⁸ They are a popular figure of Buddhist artworks and often represent Gautama in his former life.¹⁵⁹ The Jataka Tales often show the Bodhisattva's attempts to embrace qualities such as self-sacrifice and morality.¹⁶⁰ Looking at these tales, Warder believes them to be precursors to legendary biographies of the Buddha that were compiled at later dates.¹⁶¹ Interestingly, although the Jatakas are written describing the Buddha's past lives, there is very little biographical evidence for the life of Gautama.¹⁶² This leads to the issue of the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha as Gautama's appearance was most likely unknown. This lack of description of the Buddha may be part of the reason that there was no anthropomorphic depiction of the Buddha until the 1st century CE. Nevertheless, there is an argument that the Buddha image is actually based on the Indo-Greek King Demetrius I.

W.W. Tarn, the British Classical Scholar, has suggested that the Indo-Greek invasion of India was in support of the Mauryan Empire against the persecution of Buddhism by the Sungas.¹⁶³ Arguing against this, Romila Thapar suggests that some of the accounts may be exaggerations by Buddhist missionaries.¹⁶⁴ Thapar

¹⁵⁸ Gyatso, 2003

¹⁵⁹ Coomaraswamy, 1975; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018

¹⁶⁰ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018

¹⁶¹ Warder, 2000, P.332-333

¹⁶² Warder, 2000, P.332-333

¹⁶³ Tarn, 1938

¹⁶⁴ Thapar, 1960

credits a purely economic motivation to the Indo-Greek invasion of South Asia.¹⁶⁵

Because of this interaction, there is a strong possibility that Demetrius I was used as a model for the Buddha image. Using some of the coins of Demetrius, similarities between him and the Gautama Buddha can be seen.

The silver tetradrachm of Demetrius I is a side portrait of the ruler.¹⁶⁶ The strong bridge of the nose of the portrait of Demetrius can be found in the image of the Buddha.¹⁶⁷ Looking at the neck of the portrait, there is a similar gathering of cloth depicted on the Buddha statues.¹⁶⁸ This minor detail is found on many 1st -2nd century Buddha images, including figure 29, coins of Kanishka and the Bimaran Casket, indicating that there is a stylistic inheritance from this Demetrius Coin.

The Bimaran Casket

The Bimaran Casket is a 1st century CE small gold reliquary, detailing the Buddha with Brahma and Sakra, found in Stupa no.2 at Bimaran, near Jalalabad in Afghanistan.¹⁶⁹ Errington and Cribb, in the book *The Crossroads of Asia*, give a description of the Buddha image found on the Casket.¹⁷⁰ They say that it is a Hellenistic representation of the Buddha due to its *contrapposto* stance, himation, bundled hair, moustache and realistic expression.¹⁷¹ Buddha is flanked on either side by the Indian deities, Brahma and Sakra, important to both Hinduism and Buddhism. They are found in the arched niches, known as ‘homme arcade’ or *caitya*, reminiscent of Greco-Roman architecture found in forums and temples.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ Thapar, 1960

¹⁶⁶ See appendix 10 for image

¹⁶⁷ See appendices 7, 8 & 10 for image

¹⁶⁸ See appendices 7, 8 & 10 for image

¹⁶⁹ See appendix 11 for image; See appendix 3 for map

¹⁷⁰ Errington and Cribb, 1992, P.189-190

¹⁷¹ Errington and Cribb, 1992, P.189-190; See appendix 11 for image

¹⁷² See appendices 6 & 11 for images

The choice of the deities, Brahma and Sakra, appears to be a syncretic choice, as both are important in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. Brahma is one of the leading gods and heavenly kings in Buddhism.¹⁷³ He was adopted from other Indian religions, such as Hinduism that considered him to be a protector of teachings (*Dharmapala*).¹⁷⁴ In Buddhist tradition, it was the deity *Brahma Sahampati* who appeared before the Buddha after his enlightenment and urged him to teach when he was unsure whether to convey his insights to others.¹⁷⁵ Brahma is part of the Buddhist cosmology and lords over the *Brahmaloka*, the heavenly realm of rebirth and the most sought after realm of the afterlife and reincarnation in Buddhist traditions.¹⁷⁶ Brahma is generally represented as a god with four faces and four arms and is often depicted alongside Sakra.¹⁷⁷

Sakra is the ruler of the *Trayastrimsa* Heaven in accordance with Buddhist cosmology.¹⁷⁸ The full title of Sakra is ‘Sakra, Lord of the Devas’ and the name Sakra ‘powerful’ as an epithet of Indra is found in several verses of the Rigveda. Indra is found in all three of the traditional Indian religions; Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism.¹⁷⁹ In Jainism, Indra is the king of the highest heaven, *Saudharmakalpai*, in Hinduism, he is a Vedic deity, and in Buddhism, a guardian deity.¹⁸⁰ Again, the choice of Sakra appears to be a syncretic choice for the Bimaran Casket to depict. In total, there are eight figures on the casket, including

¹⁷³ Krishan, 1996

¹⁷⁴ Buswell and Lopez, 2013

¹⁷⁵ Buswell and Lopez, 2013

¹⁷⁶ Buswell and Lopez, 2013; Trainor, 2004; Fowler, 1999; Gowans, 2004

¹⁷⁷ Buswell and Lopez, 2013

¹⁷⁸ Analayo, 2011

¹⁷⁹ Owen, 2012, P.25; Baroni, 2002, P.153; Berry, 1996, P.20-21

¹⁸⁰ Owen, 2012, P.25; Baroni, 2002, P.153; Berry, 1996, P.20-21

Sakra, Brahma and two attendants who, due to their jewelled appearance, are believed to be Bodhisattva.¹⁸¹

The Bimaran Casket was found by archaeologist Charles Masson during his excavations in Afghanistan (1833-1838) and contained coinage belonging to the reign of the aforementioned Indo-Scythian king Azes II.¹⁸² Regarding Azes II, there is research by R.C. Senior indicating that he [Azes II] never existed.¹⁸³ In the paper, *The Final Nail in the Coffin of Azes II*, Senior suggests that Azes II's reign should be reassigned to that of Azes I.¹⁸⁴ However, recent work by the British academic, Joe Cribb on the dating of the Casket has suggested that the coins are actually that of the Indo-Scythian king Kharahostes or his son, Mujtria; both of whom minted posthumous issues in the name of Azes.¹⁸⁵ The dating of the Bimaran Casket is extremely important to Gandharan chronology as it denotes the possible earliest accepted image of the Buddha. The French Indologist, Gerard Fussman, suggests the dating of reliquary to be between 1 – 15CE, and the coinage suggests some point before 60CE.¹⁸⁶

Susan Huntington nicely sums up the debate, stating:

“The well-known gold and ruby reliquary found at Bimaran in Afghanistan is generally assigned a date of about the second century AD in spite of the virtually incontrovertible scientific evidence surrounding it that suggests that it was made about the first century BC. The resistance to the early dating of the reliquary is based solely on the assumption that Buddha images were not introduced into the

¹⁸¹ See appendix 11 for image

¹⁸² Errington, 2017

¹⁸³ Senior, 2008, P.25-27

¹⁸⁴ Senior, 2008, P.25-27; Cribb, 2015

¹⁸⁵ Cribb, 2015, P.27-35

¹⁸⁶ Fussman, 1986, P.71; Errington and Cribb, 1992, P.192

Buddhist artistic repertoire until the early centuries of the Christian era, and therefore that any work that bears an image of the Buddha must be of a comparably late date”.¹⁸⁷

Taking this into account, the Bimaran Casket is one of the most critical pieces in Gandharan history. Due to the debate around the dating of the piece, there are a plethora of eras that could have produced the casket. Although there are many guesses to the dating of the Bimaran Casket, Cribb suggests that ‘more evidence is needed before all the questions can be answered as to how the casket can be used as a tool in the study of the development of Gandharan art’.¹⁸⁸

Overall, the variety of pieces that have been found across Gandhara and Mathura indicate that there was a clear connection between the Greeks and the Indians. Looking back to the coinage mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, they indicate the beginnings of a syncretic community that continued to grow and created the Buddha image of the early 1st millennium CE.

¹⁸⁷ Huntington, 1990, P.401-408

¹⁸⁸ Cribb, 2015, P.80

Summary of Findings and Conclusion

The final chapter of this dissertation will include an overarching precis of the chronology and artwork and will consider how these findings affect present knowledge of the origin of the Buddha image.

The research question for this dissertation was what the origins of the Buddha image are, with the hypothesis that the image is Indian yet was beautified by the Greeks. This was hindered by the chronological issues caused by a lack of evidence. Nevertheless, through the analysis of the form and iconography, the research question has been answered and the hypothesis proven correct.

The first area in which this hypothesis is proven by the contextualisation of the area. The context proves that Gandhara was a cultural melting pot, due to the invasions of Persian, Greek and Indian conquerors. With them brought culture, artistic expression and perhaps most influentially religion. The two most important invasions are that of the Mauryan and Kushan Empires with their patronage of Buddhism, leading to Gandhara becoming one of the most influential religious centres in the East. Asoka's bringing of *Mahayana* Buddhism to Gandhara allowed for Buddhist culture to grow and flourish in the area, with the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms, with kings such as Maues and Azes patronising the religion. Within this dissertation, the idea that the Buddha image was based on coinage of these two kings, the Ujjain Coin and the Kadapha Coin.

Therefore, the second area in which the hypothesis can be proven correct is the iconography on coinage. The iconography on these coins depicts a figure sitting in the lotus position, something that has been found in many artworks found within the Sub-Continent. As stated in Chapter 3, Shiva is also often depicted in the lotus

position, and the coins mentioned may depict him. Nevertheless, an implication of this, particularly with the Ujjain Coin, is that the iconography found on the coinage indicates that the coins can be identified as a source of pictorial inspiration for the Buddha image. There is abundant room for further progress in researching the coinage that has been mentioned as there was neither the time nor space to discuss where the iconography on the coins themselves can be traced back to. Alongside this coinage, the Buddha images have been compared to both Indian and Greek works of art which will now be summarised.

The main goal of this research was to determine whether or not the Buddha image had directly Greek origins. The third chapter of this dissertation took the basis of the argument between Foucher and Coomaraswamy and reapplied it to artworks alongside personal observation. One of the most significant observations to emerge from this study is that of figure 29, a piece from the Gupta Empire period. This piece, according to Dehejia, indicates the ideal Buddha image and so is of immense importance to the argument surrounding the origins of the Buddha image. The Gupta Buddha brings together what was considered to be the best parts of the Buddha images that existed during the period and they were then used to create the perfect image. It has the perfect combination of Hellenistic Greek artwork and Classical Indian tradition. The investigation of the Gupta Buddha and the coinage begins to build a picture of where the Buddha image emerged from.

A synopsis of the whole argument suggests it is unlikely that either iconic or aniconic periods of Indian artwork existed, due to the variety of schools across the sub-continent. Nevertheless, there is a point where anthropomorphic images of the Buddha became more popular. Looking at the available evidence, it can be concluded that the techniques needed to make the Buddha image, as well as the

pictorial inspirations for this were present in India before the Greek invasion. Yet, it cannot be denied that the Greeks had a strong influence over the creation of the Buddha image. Thus, to conclude this dissertation, the Buddha image is of Indian origin due to the iconographic imagery available but the Greeks Hellenised the image, making it more accessible to a wider population. Future research that will be pursued in the area concerning globalism and religion in the ancient world includes the use of religion to placate a population through the lens of material culture, with a focus on the Gupta Period of India.

Reference List

Ancient Sources

- Aelian, *On Animals*, Schofield, A.F. (trans.), 1971, Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library
- Anon., *Atharvaveda*, Griffith, THR. (trans.), 1895, Gujarat: Leeway Infotech
- Anon., *The Mahabharata*, Smith (trans.), 2009, London: Penguin
- Anon., *The Rigveda*, Griffith, THR. (trans.), 1894, Charleston: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform
- Appian, *The Roman Histories: Syrian Wars*, White (trans.), 1912, Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Herodotus, *Histories*, Holland, T., (trans.), 2013, London: Penguin Classics
- Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-Yu-Ki Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Beal, S. (trans.) 1884, London: Trubner & Co.
- Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, Yardley (trans.), 1994, New York: Oxford University Press
- Megasthenes, *Indika*, Schwanbeck (trans.), 2014, Charleston: Nabu Press
- Polybius, *The Histories*, Waterfield (trans.), 2010, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, Hamilton (trans.), 2013, London: Bloomsbury
- Plutarch, *Moralia: Volume 7: On Praising Oneself Inoffensively*, De Lacy and Einarson (trans.), 1959, Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Strabo, *Geography*, Roller (trans.), 2014, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Valmiki, *The Ramayana*, Sattar (trans.), 2010, London: Penguin

Modern Scholarship

- Allen, C., 2012, *Ashoka: The Search for India's Lost Emperor*. Little: Brown Book Group
- Akira, H., *History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana (Buddhist Tradition)*, Groner, P. (trans.), 2007, New Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass
- Anālayo, B., 2011. Right view and the scheme of the Four Truths in Early Buddhism. The Saṃyukta-āgama parallel to the Sammādiṭṭhi-sutta and the simile of the four skills of a physician. *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 7, pp.11-44.
- Aruz, J. and Fino, E.V., 2012, *Afghanistan: Forging Civilizations Along the Silk Road*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Banerjee, J.N., 1985, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, New Dehli: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers
- Baroni, H. J., 2002, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism* New York: The Rosen Publishing Group
- Baumer, C., 2012, *The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, New York: I.B.Tauris

- Beckwith, C.I., 2015, *Greek Buddha: Pyrrho's Encounter with Early Buddhism in Central Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Behrendt, K. A., 2007, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Publishers
- Berry, T., 1996, *Religions of India: Hinduism, Yoga, Buddhism*, Columbia: Columbia University Press
- Bhandarkar, R.G., 1900. *A Peep Into the Early History of India: From the Foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the Downfall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty (BC 322-circa 500 AD)*. Education Society's Steam Press.
- Bharucha, R., 2003, *Rajasthan: An Oral History - Conversations with Komal Kothari*, London: Penguin
- Bhatt, S.K., 1985, *The Coinage of Native States of Central India*, Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography
- Bhattacharyya, B., 1968. *The Indian Buddhist iconography : mainly based on the Sadhanamala and cognate Tantric texts of rituals* 2nd ed, revised and enlarged., Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay
- Bhattacharyya, P. K., 1977, *Historical Geography of Madhyapradesh from Early Records*, New Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass
- Boardman, J., 1996, *Greek Art* (4th Edt.), London: Thames and Hudson
- Boardman, J., 2015, *The Greeks in Asia*, London: Thames and Hudson
- Bodel, J., 2012, *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History From Inscriptions*, London: Routledge
- Bracey, R., 1999, 'The Era of Kanishka', Kushan.org, <http://www.kushan.org/essays/chronology/kanishka.htm> [Accessed: 05th May 2018]
- Brancaccio, P. and Behrendt, K., 2006, *Gandharan Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts*, Toronto: UBC Press
- Brown, R.L. ed., 1991. *Ganesh: studies of an Asian god*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Buswell Jr, R.E. and Lopez Jr, D.S., 2013, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Chapman, G., 2003, *The Geopolitics of South Asia: From Early Empires to the Nuclear Age*, London: Routledge
- Chandra, S., 1998, *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Gods and Goddesses*, New Delhi: Sarup & Son
- Crangle, E.F., 1994. *The origin and development of early Indian contemplative practices* (Vol. 29). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag
- Cribb, J., 1981. The origin of the Buddha image—the numismatic evidence. *South Asian Archaeology*, 1984, pp.231-244.
- Cribb, J., 2018, March. Numismatic evidence and the date of Kanishka I. In *Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art: Proceedings of the First International Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project, University of Oxford, 23rd-24th March, 2017* (p. 7). Archaeopress.
- Cribb, J., 2015. The Soter Megas coins of the first and second Kushan kings, Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto. *Gandhāran Studies*, 8, pp.79-122.
- Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328.
- Coomaraswamy, A., 1926, 'The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 46 (1926), pp. 165-170
- Coulter, C.R., 2013 *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Deities* London: Routledge

- Cunningham, A., 1872, Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 12, pp.157-185
- Curzon, N. G., 1968, *The Hindu World: An Encyclopaedic Survey of Hinduism*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger
- De Bary, W.T., 1972, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol. 1, Columbia: Columbia University Press
- DeCaroli, R., 2004, *Haunting the Buddha: Indian Popular Religions and the Formation of Buddhism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Dehejia, V., 1991. Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems. *Ars Orientalis*, 21, pp.45-66.
- Doumanis, N., 2009, *A History of Greece*, London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Errington, E., 2017, *Charles Masson and the Buddhist Sites of Afghanistan: Explorations, Excavations, Collections 1832-1835*, London: British Museum Research Publication 215
- Errington, E. and Cribb, J., 1992. The Crossroads of Asia. *Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan, An exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 6.
- Falk, H., 2001, 'The yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 7, pp.121-136
- Falk, H., 2004, 'The Kaniṣka era in Gupta records', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 10, pp.167-76.
- Fisher, R.E., 1993, *Buddhist Art and Architecture*, London: Thames and Hudson
- Fleet, J.F., 1906. XXIV. The Tradition about the Corporeal Relics of Buddha. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 38(3), pp.655-671
- Flood, G.D., 1996. *An introduction to Hinduism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Foucher, A., 1917, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient* (Vol. 1). E. Leroux.
- Fowler, M., 1999, *Buddhism: Beliefs and Practices*, Sussex: Sussex Academic Press
- Fussman, G., 1986. Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 9(2), pp.37-53.
- Garbini-Carratelli, G. 1964, *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Asoka: The First Greek Inscription Discovered in Afghanistan*, Ed. Estrem. Orient
- Gombrich, R., 2006, *Theravada Buddhism: A social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo* London: Routledge
- Gowans, C., 2004. *Philosophy of the Buddha: An Introduction* London: Routledge Grünwedel, A., Agnes C.; Burgess, J., 1901, *Buddhist art in India*, London: Bernard Quaritch
- Gyatso, J., 2003. One plus one makes three: Buddhist gender, monasticism, and the law of the non-excluded middle. *History of Religions*, 43(2), pp.89-115.
- Handa, D., 2007, *Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International
- Harvey, D. 1990, 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80: 418-434
- Heehs, P., 2002, *Indian Religions: A Historical Reader in Spiritual Expression and Experience*, New York: New York University Press
- Hill, J. 2009 *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes during the Later Han Dynasty, 1st to 2nd centuries CE*. Charleston: BookSurge

- Hiltebeitel, A., 1990, *The Ritual of Battle: Krishna in the Mahabharata*, New York: State University of New York Press
- Holt, J., 2008, *The Buddhist Visnu: religious transformation, politics, and culture*, Columbia: Columbia University Press
- Huntington, S.L., 1990. Early Buddhist art and the theory of aniconism. *Art Journal*, 49(4), pp.401-408.
- Ismail, Q., 2015, 'Culture and Eurocentrism' University of Minnesota, <https://cla.umn.edu/english/news-events/profile/culture-and-eurocentrism> [Accessed: 05th May 2018]
- Iyer, K.B., 1958. *Indian art: a short introduction*. New Delhi: Asia Publishing House.
- Jones, C. and Ryan, J.D., 2006, *Encyclopaedia of Hinduism*. New York: Infobase Publishing
- Kaushik R., 2015, *Military Manpower, Armies and Warfare in South Asia*, London: Routledge
- Kennedy, J., 1912. The Secret of Kanishka (Concluded from p. 688). *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.981-1019.
- Kim, S., 'The Beginnings of the East-West Dialogue: An Examination of Dionysiac Representation in Gandhara and Kushan-Mathura' in Huang, M.Y.L. (eds.), 2011, *Beyond Boundaries: East and West Cross-Cultural Encounters*, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholar
- King, L.W. and Thompson, R.C., 1907, *The sculptures and inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia: a new collation of the Persian, Susian and Babylonian texts*, London: Longmans
- Kosmin, P.J., 2014, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in Seleucid Empire* Harvard: Harvard University Press
- Krishan, Y., 1999, *Gaṇeśa: Unravelling An Enigma*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers
- Krishan, Y. and Tadikonda, K., 2012, *The Buddha Image: Its Origin and Development*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers
- Kulke and Rothermund, 2004, *A History of India*. Hove: Psychology Press
- Law, B.C., 1954, *Geographical aspect of Kālidāsa's works*, New Delhi: Indian Research Institute
- Lendering, J., 2017, 'Gandhara' Livius.org. <http://www.livius.org/articles/place/gandara/> [Accessed: 05th of May 2018]
- Lochtefeld, J.G., 2002, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism* New York: The Rosen Publishing Group
- Mairs, R., 2010, *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*, Charleston: University of California
- Marshall, J., 1960, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara: The Story of the Early School, Its Birth, Growth and Decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Marshall, J. 1960, *A Guide to Taxila* (4th ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Maguire, J., 2001, *Essential Buddhism: A complete guide to beliefs and practices* New York; Simon and Schuster
- McEvelley, T., 2002, *The Shape of Ancient Thought. Comparative studies in Greek and Indian Philosophies*, New York: Allworth Press
- Michon, D., 2015 *Archaeology and Religion in Early Northwest India: History, Theory, Practice*. London: Routledge

- Millar, F., 1983, 'Empire and City: Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status' *Journal of Roman Studies* 73, 1983
- Mookerji, R. K., 1966, *Chandragupta Maurya and his times* (4th ed.), New Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass
- Mukherjee, B.N., 1996, *India in Early Central Asia: A Survey of Indian Scripts, Languages, and Literatures in Central Asia of the First Millennium AD*. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House
- Nakamura, H., 1987. *Indian Buddhism: a survey with bibliographical notes* (Vol. 1). New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass
- Nattier, J., 2003, *A Few Good Men: The Bodhisattva Path According to the Inquiry of Ugra: Study and Translation*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press
- Owen, L., 2012, *Carving Devotion in the Jain Caves at Ellora*, Leiden: BRILL Academic
- Queen, C.S., Prebish, C.S. and Keown, D. eds., 2003, *Action Dharma: new studies in engaged Buddhism* (Vol. 23) Hove: Psychology Press
- Quintanilla, S.R., 2017. Transformations of Identity and the Buddha's Infancy Narratives at Kanaganahalli. *Archives of Asian Art*, 67(1), pp.111-142.
- Ray, H.P., 2015. Seafaring in Peninsular India in the Ancient Period: Of Watercraft and Maritime Communities. *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology on the Indian Ocean*, pp.28-61
- Rhodes, C., 2011, *Invoking Lakshmi: The Goddess of Wealth in Song and Ceremony* New York: State University of New York Press
- Richards, R.J., 1995, *South-east Asian Ceramics: Thai, Vietnamese, and Khmer: from the Collection of the Art Gallery of South Australia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Ring, Watson and Schellinger, (eds.) 2012 *Asia and Oceania: International Dictionary of Historic Places*, London: Routledge
- Rosenthal, B.G., 1967, *Geographical Concepts in Ancient India*, Kolkata: National Geographical Society of India
- Roupp, H., 2015, *Teaching World History: A Resource Book*. London: Routledge
- Salomon, R., 1999, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhara: The British Library Kharosthi Fragments*, Washington: Washington University Press
- Scott, D.A., 'Ashokan Missionary Expansion Of Buddhism Among The Greeks (In N.W. India, Bactria And The Levant)' *Religion* (1985) 15, 131-141
- Senior, R.C., 1995, *The Coinage of Hermaios and Its Imitations Struck by the Scythians: A Study*. London: Classical Numismatic Group
- Shrava, S., 1993, *The dated Kushāṇa inscriptions*, New York: Praṇava Prakashan
- Singh, M. R., 1972, *Geographical data in the early Puranas: A critical study*, Kolkata: Punthi Pustak
- Sinha, N. C. 1994, *Asoka's Dhamma*, Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology
- Spielvogel, J., 2016 *Western Civilization: Volume A: To 1500*, Boston: Cengage Learning
- Swati, F., 2008, *Gandharan Sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, Mansehra: Hazara University
- Swearer, D., Germano, D. and Trainor, K., 2004. Signs of the Buddha in northern Thai chronicles. *Embodying the Dharma: Buddhist Relic Veneration in Asia*, eds. David Germano and Kevin Trainor (New York: SUNY Press, 2004), pp.145-162.
- Tarn, W.W., 1966, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Tate Modern, 2018, 'Form', Tate Modern, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/f/form> [Accessed: 05th May 2018]
- Thapar, R., 1960. *Aśoka and Buddhism*. Cambridge: Past and Present
- Warder, A.K., 2000. *Indian Buddhism* (Vol. 6). New Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass
- Wenzel, M., 2000, *Echoes of Alexander the Great: Silk Route Portraits from Gandhara: A Private Collection*, Chicago: Art Media Resources Ltd
- Widemann, François. "Maues King of Taxila: An Indo-Greek Kingdom with a Saka King." *East and West*, vol. 53, no. 1/4, 2003, pp. 95–125
- Whitehead, R. B., 1914, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Wiesehofer, J., 2001, *Ancient Persia*, London: I.B.Tauris
- Williams, P., 2008, *Mahayana Buddhism: the doctrinal foundations*, London: Routledge
- Woodford, S., 1997, *An Introduction to Greek Art*, London: Duckworth & Co.
- Wynne, A., 2005 'The historical authenticity of early Buddhist literature: a critical evaluation' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens/Vienna Journal of South Asian Studies*, 49, pp.35-70
- Yijing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion As Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago* Takakusu, J. (trans.). 1896, Oxford: The Clarendon Press
- Zimmer, H.R. & Campbell, J., 1972. *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press
- Zürcher, E., 1962, *Buddhism: its origin and spread in words, maps, and pictures*. New York: St Martin's Press
- Zwalf, W., 1996. *A catalogue of the Gandhāra sculpture in the British Museum* (Vol. 1). For the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press.

Expanded Bibliography

- Barry, P., 2002, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory* (2nd ed.), Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Bhambra, G.K., 2011. Historical sociology, modernity, and postcolonial critique. *The American Historical Review*, 116(3), pp.653-662.
- Cousins, L.S., 1996, 'The Dating of the Historical Buddha' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Apr., 1996), pp. 57-63
- Csapo, E., 2005, *Theories of Mythology*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Faccenna, D., Callieri, P. and Filigenzi, A., 2003. At the Origin of Gandharan Art. The Contribution of the ISIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in the Swat Valley Pakistan. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 9(3), pp.277-380.
- Jackson, P. and Sjodin, A., 2016, *Philosophy and the End of Sacrifice: Disengaging Ritual in Ancient India, Greece and Beyond*, Sheffield: Equinox Publishing
- Huntington, J.C., 'The Origin of the Buddha Image: Early Image Traditions and Concept of Buddhadar Sanpunya' in Narain, A.K., 1985, *Studies in Buddhist Art of South East Asia*
- Huntington, S., 2015, 'Shifting the Paradigm: The Aniconic Theory and Its Terminology', *South Asian Studies*, 31:2, 163-186
- Prasopchigchana, S., 2011. Symbolic Representation in Buddhism. *International Journal on Humanistic Ideology*, 4(2), pp.101-111.
- Rhi, J.H., 1994. From bodhisattva to buddha: The beginning of iconic representation in Buddhist art. *Artibus Asiae*, 54(3/4), pp.207-225.
- Rhi, J., 2008. Identifying Several Visual Types in Gandhāran Buddha Images. *Archives of Asian Art*, 58(1), pp.43-85.
- Rowland Jr, B., 1936. A Revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture. *The Art Bulletin*, 18(3), pp.387-400.
- Spivey, N., 1997, *Understanding Greek Sculpture: Ancient Meanings, Modern Readings*, London: Thames & Hudson
- Thompson, A., 'In the Absence of the Buddha: "Aniconism" and the Contentions of Buddhist Art History' in Brown and Hutton (eds.), 2011, *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, London: Blackwell
- Wilkinson, Richard H., 'Anthropomorphic Deities' in Dieleman and Wendrich (eds.), 2008 *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles: UCLA Publishers

Appendices

Appendix 1

The Hymns of the Rigveda **[01-126] HYMN CXXVI. Bhavayavya.**

1. WITH wisdom I present these lively praises of Bhavya dweller on the bank of Sindhu; For he, unconquered King, desiring glory, hath furnished me a thousand sacrifices.
2. A hundred necklets from the King, beseeching, a hundred gift-steeds I at once accepted; Of the lord's cows a thousand, I Kaksivan. His deathless glory hath he spread to heaven.
3. Horses of dusky colour stood beside me, ten chariots, Svanaya's gift, with mares to draw them. Kine numbering sixty thousand followed after. Kaksivan gained them when the days were closing.
4. Forty bay horses of the ten cars' master before a thousand lead the long procession. Reeling in joy Kaksivan's sons and Pajra's have grounded the coursers decked with pearly trappings.
5. An earlier gift for you have I accepted eight cows, good milkers, and tree harnessed horses, Pajras, who with your wains with your great kinsman, like troops of subjects, have been fain for glory.
- 6 [Ille loquitur]. Adhaerens, arcte adhaerens, illa quac mustelae similis se abdidit, multum humorem effundens, dat mihi complexuum centum gaudia. [[He talks]. An adherent, they are closely adhering to, those things that he has buried himself like a weasel, a lot of moisture to pour out, She gave me a hundred joys of the complex.]
- 7 [Illa loquitur]. Prope, prope accede; molliter me tange. Ne putes pilos corporis mei-paucos esse: tota sum villosa sicut Gandharidum ovis [[These talks]. I bring near, to come near him; I gently touch. Do you think my hair-a few, all have Gandharidum like shaggy sheep.]

Appendix 2

Hymns of The Atharva–Veda

V, 22. Charm against takman (fever) and related diseases.

1. May Agni drive the takman away from here, may Soma, the press–stone, and Varuna, of tried skill; may the altar, the straw (upon the altar), and the brightly–flaming fagots (drive him away)! Away to naught shall go the hateful powers!

2. Thou that makest all men sallow, inflaming them like a searing fire, even now, O takman, thou shalt become void of strength: do thou now go away down, aye, into the depths!

The takman that is spotted, covered with spots, like reddish sediment, him thou, (O plant) of unremitting potency, drive away down below!

4. Having made obeisance to the takman, I cast him down below: let him, the champion of Sakambhara, return again to the Mahâvrishas!

5. His home is with the Mûgavants, his home with the Mahâvrishas. From the moment of thy birth thou art indigenous with the Balhikas.

6. O takman, vyâla, ví gada, vyánga, hold off (thy missile) far! Seek the gadabout slave–girl, strike her with thy bolt!

7. O takman, go to the Mûgavants, or to the Balhikas farther away! Seek the lecherous Sûdra female: her, O takman, give a good shaking–up!

8. Go away to the Mahâvrishas and the Mûgavants, thy kinsfolk, and consume them! Those (regions) do we bespeak for the takman, or these regions here other (than ours).

9. (If) in other regions thou dost not abide, mayest thou that art powerful take pity on us! Takman, now, has become eager: he will go to the Balhikas.

10. When thou, being cold, and then again deliriously hot, accompanied by cough, didst cause the (sufferer) to shake, then, O takman, thy missiles were terrible: from these surely exempt us!

11. By no means ally thyself with balâsa, cough and spasm! From there do thou not return hither again: that, O takman, do I ask of thee!

12. O takman, along with thy brother balâsa, along with thy sister cough, along with thy cousin pâman, go to yonder foreign folk!

13. Destroy the takman that returns on (each) third day, the one that intermits (each) third day, the one that continues without intermission, and the autumnal one; destroy the cold takman, the hot, him that comes in summer, and him that arrives in the rainy season!

14. **To the Gandhâris**, the Mâgavants, the Angas, and the Magadhas, we deliver over the takman, like a servant, like a treasure!

Appendix 3

Maps



Figure 1 - Map of Gandhara



Figure 2 – Jalalabad

Appendix 4

Stupas

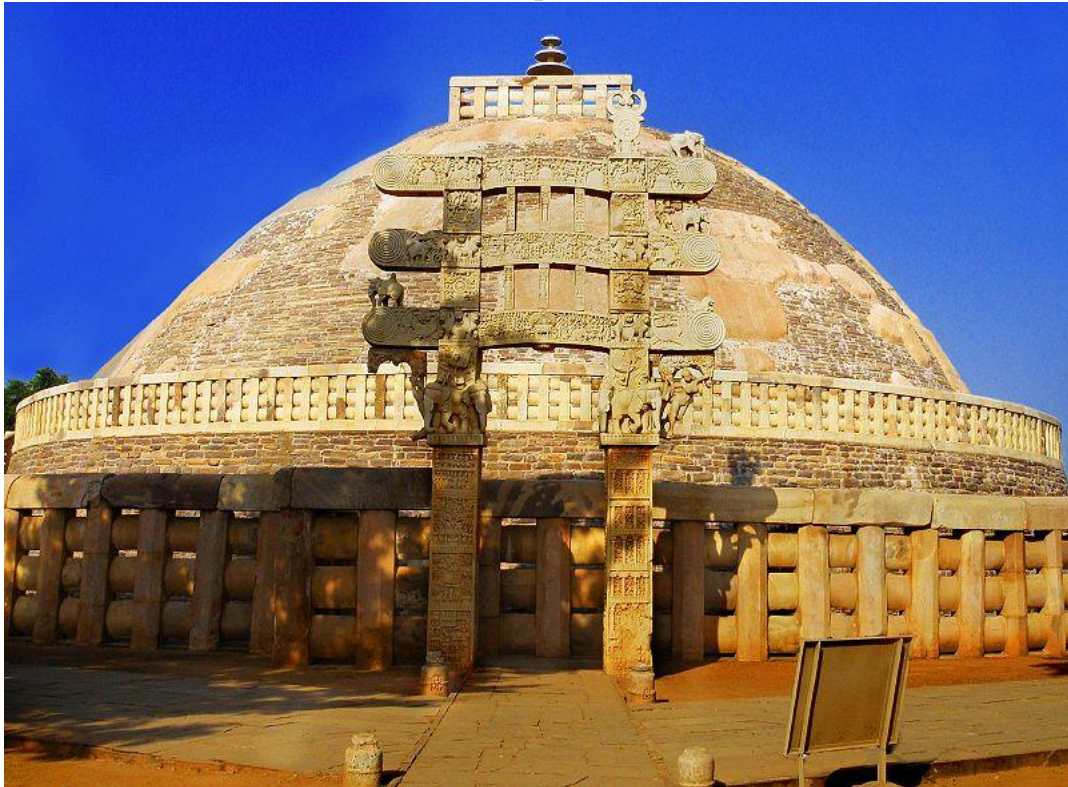


Figure 3 - Great Stupa at Sanchi



Figure 4 - Stupa No.2 Sanchi - Location where the Bimaran Casket was found

Appendix 5

Indian Artworks

Yaksha and Yakshini



Figure 5 - Patna Yaksha With Sketches



Figure 6 - Yaksha From Patna



Figure 7 - Yaksha from Parkham

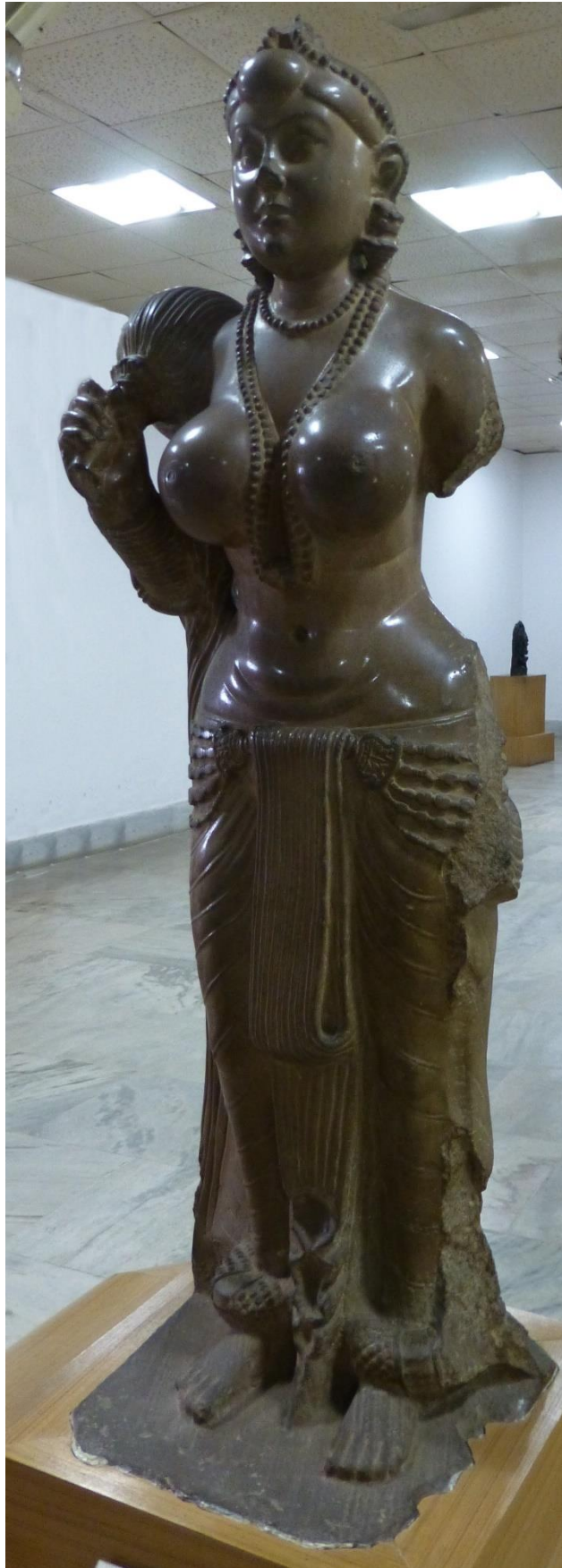


Figure 8 - Yaskhi from Didarganj

Naga and Nagini



Figure 9 - Naga With Attendants

Surya



Figure 10 - Surya from Mathura

Shiva



Figure 11 - Threeheaded Shiva from Gandhara



Figure 12 - Linga and Shiva of Parashurameshvara temple of Gudimallam

Indra

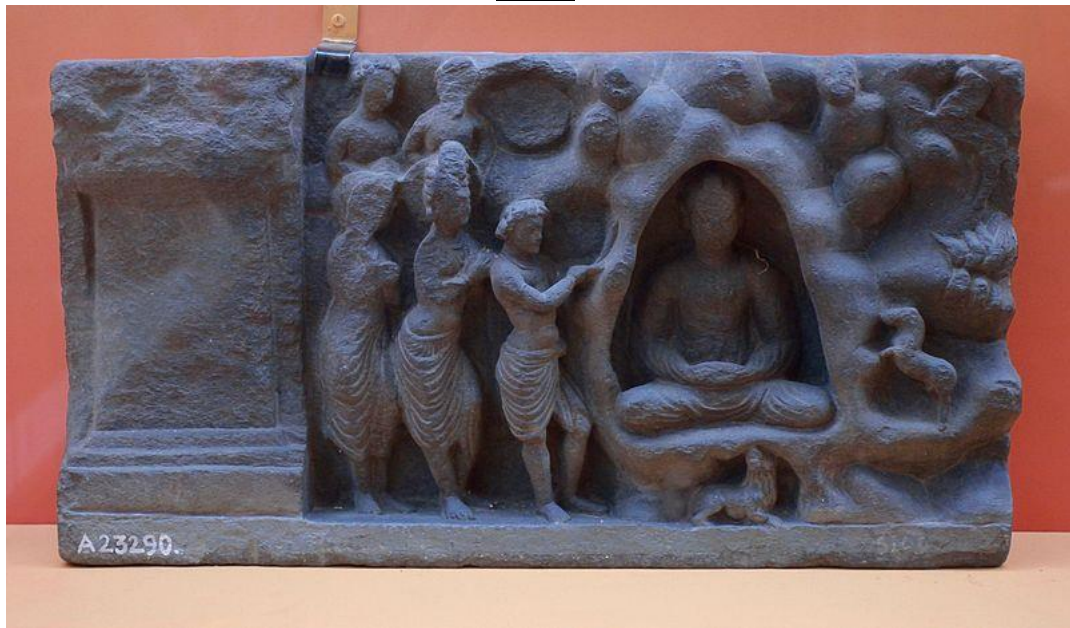


Figure 13 - Indra's Visit to Indrasala Cave from Kolkata

Vishnu



Figure 14 - 5th-century Vishnu at Udayagiri Caves



Figure 15 - Vishnu Sculpture Brooklyn Museum

Bahurt and Sanchi Reliefs



Figure 16 – Naga Erdpata Worshipping Buddha (Bharhut)



Figure 17 - Teacher and Disciples (Bharhut)



Figure 18 - Buddha Triad (Sanchi)



Figure 19 - Abhiniskramana (Great Renunciation) (Sanchi)

Appendix 6

Greek, Persian and Etruscan



Figure 20 - Crouching Aphrodite



Figure 21 - Belvedere Apollo



Figure 22 - The Orator



Figure 23 - Farnese Herakles



Figure 24 - Phrasikeia Kore



Figure 25 - Colosseum, Rome - an example of Homme-Arcade



Figure 26 - Statue of Darius I

Gandharan Buddhas

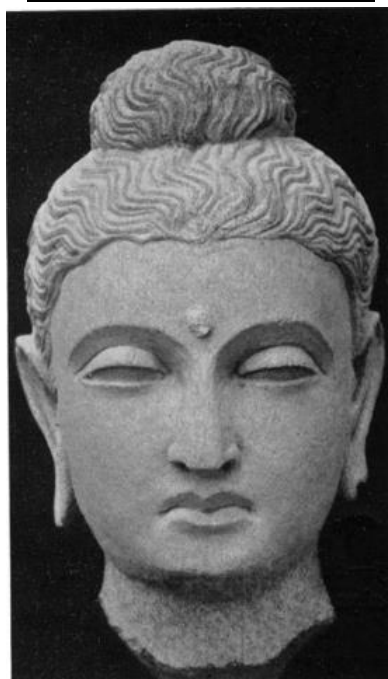


Figure 27 - Gandharan Buddha Head



Figure 28 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (whole image)



Figure 29 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (face)



Figure 30 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (Back)



Figure 31 - Gandharan Standing Buddha



Figure 32 - Statue of the Buddha, Takht-i-Bahi



Figure 33 – Bodhisattva

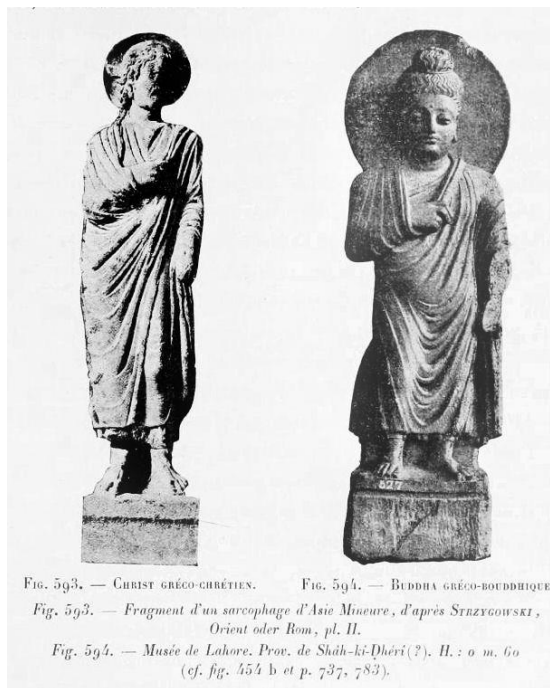


Figure 34 - Greco-Christian Christ and Greco-Buddhist Buddha

Appendix 7

Mathuran Buddhas

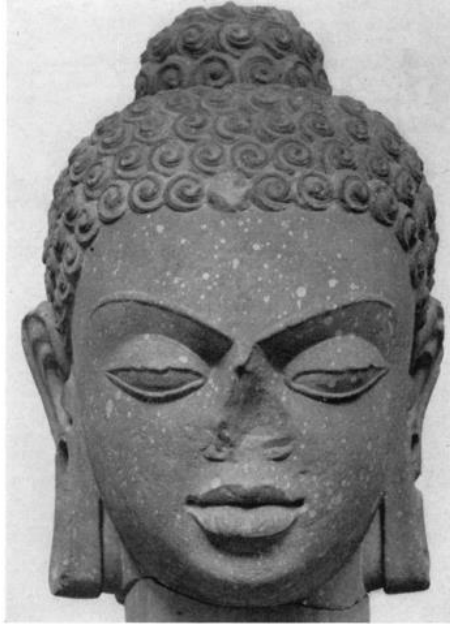


Figure 35 - Mathuran Buddha Head

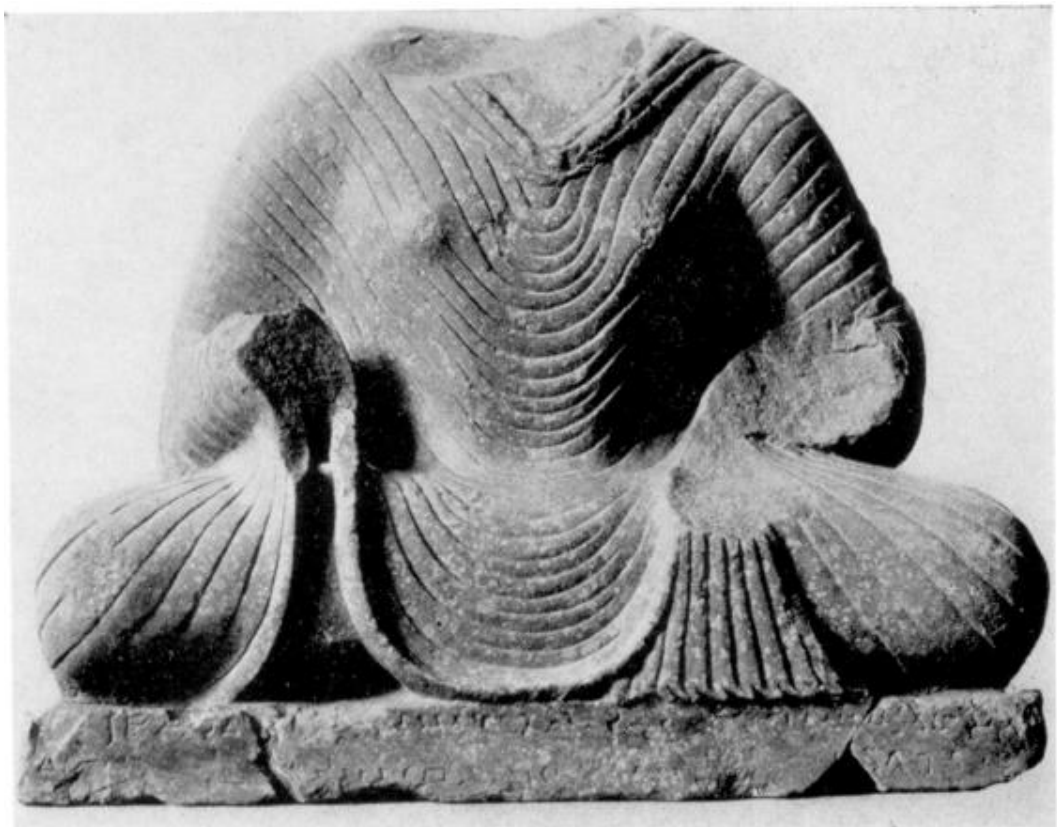


Figure 36 - Seated Buddha, Mathura

Appendix 8

Aniconic Images



Figure 37 - Vessantara Jataka (Bharhut)



Figure 38 - The Parinirvana (Bharhut)

Appendix 9

Coinage



Figure 39 - Ujjain Coin



Figure 40 - Kadapha Coin



Figure 41 - Kanishka Coin



Figure 42 - Maues Coin



Figure 43 - Azes Coin



Figure 44 - Silver Tetradrachm of Demetrius I

Appendix 11

Bimaran Casket



Figure 45 - Bimaran Casket 1



Figure 46 - Bimaran Casket 2



Figure 47 - Buddha Detail, Bimaran Casket

Image References

Figure 1 - Map of Gandhara: Map of Gandhara, Ancient.EU,
<https://www.ancient.eu/image/3943/> [Accessed: 20th January 2018]

Figure 2 – Jalalabad: Location of Jalalabad, voanews.com,
https://gdb.voanews.com/A6FB2BCF-8E06-4061-B5A4-6F9370668935_w1023_r1_s.jpg
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 3 - Great Stupa at Sanchi: The main Sanchi Stupa from the Eastern gate, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Sanchi_Stupa_from_Eastern_gate,_Madhya_Pradesh.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 4 - Stupa No.2 Sanchi: Sanchi Stupa No. 2, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Sanchi_Stupa_No2.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 5 - Patna Yaksha With Sketches: Patna Yaksha with sketches, wikipedia.org,
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/68/Patna_Yashas_photos_drawings_and_inscriptions.jpg/440px-Patna_Yashas_photos_drawings_and_inscriptions.jpg
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 6 - Yaksha From Patna: Patna Yaksha, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Patna_Yakshas.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 7 - Yaksha from Parkham: Yaksha, Parkham, Mathura, wikipedia.org,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yaksha_Parkham_Mathura_with_detail.jpg
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 8 - Yaskshi from Didarganj: Statue of Deedarganj Yakshini at Patna Museum, wikipedia.org, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yakshini#/media/File:Yakshini.jpg>
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 9 - Naga With Attendants: Fig.46, Coomaraswamy, A., p.311, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. The Art Bulletin, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 10 - Surya from Mathura: Fig.44 Coomaraswamy, A.,311, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. The Art Bulletin, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 11 - Threeheaded Shiva from Gandhara: Three-headed Shiva, Wikimedia.org
<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/79/ThreeHeadedShivaGandhara2ndCentury.jpg> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 12 - Linga and Shiva of Parashurameshvara temple of Gudimallam: Linga and Shiva of Parashurameshvara temple of Gudimallam, Andhra Pradesh, India Shunga, wikipedia.org, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:This_Lingam.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 13 - Indra's Visit to Indrasala Cave from Kolkata: Indras Visit to Indrasala Cave, wikipedia.org, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Indras_Visit_to_Indrasala_Cave_-_Schist_-_ca_2nd_Century_CE_-_Kushana_Period_-_Loriyan_Tangai_-_ACCN_5100-A23290_-_Indian_Museum_-_Kolkata_2016-03-06_1519.JPG [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 14 - 5th-century Vishnu at Udayagiri Caves: 5th century Vishnu at Udaygiri Caves, wikipedia.org,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vishnu#/media/File:011_Vishnu_\(32881394093\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vishnu#/media/File:011_Vishnu_(32881394093).jpg)
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 15 - Vishnu Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum: Vishnu and His Avatars, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vishnu#/media/File:Vishnu_and_his_Avatars.jpg
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 16 – Naga Erdpata Worshipping Buddha (Bharhut): Fig.26 Coomaraswamy, A., p.296, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 17 - Teacher and Disciples (Bharhut): Fig.27, Coomaraswamy, A., p.296, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 18 - Buddha Triad (Sanchi): Fig.20, Coomaraswamy, A., p.295, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 19 - Abhiniskramana (Great Renunciation) (Sanchi): Fig.19, Coomaraswamy, A., p.295, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 20 - Crouching Aphrodite: Marble statue of a Crouching Aphrodite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248138> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 21 - Belvedere Apollo: Apollo Belvedere, wikipedia.org
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apollo_Belvedere#/media/File:Apollo_of_the_Belvedere.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 22 - The Orator: The Orator, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Orator#/media/File:L%27Arringatore.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 23 - Farnese Herakles: Herakles Farnese, wikipedia.org,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Herakles_Farnese_MAN_Napoli_Inv6001_n01.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 24 - Phrasikeia Kore: Phrasikeia Kore, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phrasikleia_Kore#/media/File:Korai_01.JPG [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 25 - Colosseum, Rome: Colosseum, romewise.com,
<https://www.romewise.com/images/764xNxcolosseum-back.jpg.pagespeed.ic.VknDdOX27Z.jpg> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 26 - Statue of Darius I: Statue of Darius I, Livius.org
<http://www.livius.org/articles/place/susa/susa-photos/susa-statue-of-darius/> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 27 - Gandharan Buddha Head: Fig.30, Buddha, Coomaraswamy, A., p.307, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 28 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (whole image): Seated Buddha, Victoria & Albert Museum, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O63825/seated-buddha-figure-unknown/> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 29 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (face): Seated Buddha, Victoria & Albert Museum, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O63825/seated-buddha-figure-unknown/> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 30 - Gandharan Seated Buddha (Back): Seated Buddha, Victoria & Albert Museum, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O63825/seated-buddha-figure-unknown/> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 31 - Gandharan Standing Buddha : Greco-Buddhist statue of standing Buddha, Gandhara (1st–2nd century), Tokyo National Museum, wikipedia.org, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhara#/media/File:Gandhara_Buddha_\(tnm\).jpeg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhara#/media/File:Gandhara_Buddha_(tnm).jpeg) [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 32 - Statue of the Buddha, Takht-i-Bahi: Statue of the Buddha, Takht-i-Bahi, wikipedia.org, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takht-i-Bahi#/media/File:Museum_f%C3%BCr_Indische_Kunst_Dahlem_Berlin_Mai_2006_017.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 33 – Bodhisattva from Gandhara: Bodhisattva, Coomaraswamy, A., p.307, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 34 – Greco-Christian Christ and Greco-Buddhist Buddha: Early depictions of Christ (left, Asia Minor, Roman period), and the Buddha (Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara), wikipedia.org, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhism_and_Christianity#/media/File:Early_depictions_of_Christ_and_Buddha.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 35 - Mathuran Buddha Head: Fig.33, Buddha, Coomaraswamy, A., p.307, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 36 - Seated Buddha, Mathura: Fig.51, Coomaraswamy, A., p.313, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 37 - Vessantara Jataka (Bharhut): Fig.29, Coomaraswamy, A., p.296, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 38 - The Parinirvana (Bharhut): Fig. 28, Coomaraswamy, A., p.296, Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1927. The Origin of the Buddha Image. *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), pp.287-328

Figure 39 - Ujjain Coin: Ujjain Coin, Coinindia.com, <http://coinindia.com/ujjain405.jpg> [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 40 - Kadapha Coin: Kadapha (Kadphises I, c.40-78CE) Coin, wikipedia.org, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kujula_seated_cross_legged_facing.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 41 - Kanishka Coin: [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 42 - Maues Coin: Maues Coin, commons.wikimedia.org,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coin_of_Maues_showing_Buddha.jpg
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 43 - Azes Coin: Coin of the Indian-Scythian king Azes, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coin_of_the_Indian-Scythian_king_Azes_I.jpg
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 44 – Silver Tetradrachm of Demetrius I: Silver tetradrachm of Demetrius I. British Museum, Wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demetrius_I_of_Bactria#/media/File:Coin_of_Demetrius_I_of_Bactria_British_Museum.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 45 - Bimaran Casket 1: Bimaran Casket (Devotee), wikipedia.org,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BimaranCasket\(Devotee\).JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BimaranCasket(Devotee).JPG) [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 46 - Bimaran Casket 2: Bimaran Casket, Washington.edu,
https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/religion/buddhism/i_and_i/images/ps246919.jpg [Accessed: 08th May 2018]

Figure 47 - Buddha Detail, Bimaran Casket: Detail of the Buddha, wikipedia.org,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bimaran_casket#/media/File:BuddhaDetail.JPG
[Accessed: 08th May 2018]