AN INDIAN IVORY CARVING
FROM BEGRAM

by

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ABSTRACT

In 1939, a rich archaeological find was made in Afghanistan when a hoard of luxury objects was excavated in a "palatial residence" at Bagram, site of ancient Kāpiśā. Among the precious articles brought to light were hundreds of Indian ivory carvings which at one time decorated royal furnishings belonging to Kushan kings.

Kāpiśā was once the summer capitol of opulent and powerful rulers who controlled a land extending from the Ganges River into Central Asia. Created by former nomads whose ruling princes gave themselves the dynastic name of Kushan, the Indo-Scythian Empire straddled the routes to Rome, Iran and China and was virtually the centre of the world in the first centuries of our era. Yet no integral record of the Kushans has been found in any traditional source, and their history has been pieced together from fragments of information gleaned over the last century from the study of coins, cryptic textual references, and worn inscriptions. Similarly, the history of India's art from the same period suffers from a paucity of documentation; its chronology, although now receiving the attention of modern scholarship, is still in a state of flux. The discovery of the ivories at Kāpiśā enriches not only our knowledge of the Kushans, but it adds another dimension to our information about early Indian art as it was during Kushan rule, prior to the fourth century when a classical civilization began to emerge under the Gupta dynasty.
One of the ivories, analyzed in this study, is unique in its wealth of symbolic detail. Representing a torana and two standing female figures, the ivory plaque once adorned a royal couch that possibly served as a Kushan throne. The ivory's iconography relates to the Kushan dynasty's concern with legitimacy of rule; there is an assertion of the sacred and worthy character of Kushan sovereigns. Moreover, the ivory makes various references to Śrī-Lakshmi, Indian Goddess of Royal Fortune, a deity analogous with Roma or the Hellenistic Tyche. In the iconography of the two standing female figures, the concept of Śrī-Lakshmi is apparent, but these figures are further shown with overtones of Indian godlings, divine consorts and Near Eastern goddesses whose functions parallel those of Śrī-Lakshmi in assuring the regime political and natural prosperity. The syncretic character of the ivory's iconography corresponds with that of coins and seals from the period of Huvishka, a name taken by one or more Kushan emperors ruling in the second century A.D.

The style of the ivory plaque has often been associated with that of Sāñchī, an Indian monument of the first century A.D. where a torana gateway bears a carved panel upon which is inscribed "Gift of the Ivory Carvers of Vidiśā". With respect to surface treatment, spatial devices, tonal arrangement, naturalism of poses and figural proportions, however, the Sāñchī panel does not compare with the Begram plaque. In tracing the evolution of style during the interval between these
two works, an Indian ivory found at Pompeii, a relief from Amarāvatī, the donor figures at Kārlī, and the Bhūtesvar railing figures from the Mathurā region are examined. The Bhūtesvar figures are believed to coincide with the early part of the reign of Kanishka, most powerful of Kushan monarchs, whose accession initiated an era beginning perhaps about A.D. 110-15. Although the Begram ivory alludes to the Bhūtesvar model, the plaque is closer in style to later Mathurā works. Relief carvings and sculptures accompanied by dated inscriptions disclose a period of cultural transition during the second quarter century of Kanishka's era, when new influences permeate the Indian tradition. This stylistic assimilation is reflected by the Begram ivory; hence in style, as in iconography, the ivory is representative of the period of Huvishka, whose name appears on inscriptions from the year 23 to the year 64 or 67 of Kanishka's era.
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INTRODUCTION:

At Begram, members of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan excavated hundreds of elaborately carved Indian ivories. Some were found in 1937, but a greater number were discovered in 1939. The complete collection was catalogued and published in two parts, the first appearing in 1939\(^1\) and the second in 1954\(^2\). The 1954 publication included a comparative study of the Begram ivories by Philippe Stern\(^3\). Taking into consideration the diverse motifs and varied techniques used on the ivories, Stern dated them over a period extending from the first century A.D. to the middle of the third century, thereby allowing them to correspond with stratigraphic evidence indicating the period of the Great Kushans.

In Stern's study, the ivories are divided basically into two stylistic groups, one earlier, the other later. Those ivories characterized by high relief carving and rather squat figures are assigned to the first group, dating as early as the first century. The second group is typified by elegantly graceful figures outlined on a flat surface and signifies the stylistic evolution of Indian art, in that the supple and elongated figures approach the type known in the Gupta period (320-647)\(^4\). The order of Stern's arrangement implies a progressive refinement of style from the first to the third century, but recent research in Indian art makes it clear that the evolution was not as straightforward as Stern's grouping suggests\(^5\).

The ivory plaque shown in Figure 1, from the time of its
discovery in 1939, has been considered a work from the first century A.D. An illustration of the ivory appeared in 1940 with a report on the Begram excavations by Joseph Hackin, the director of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan. Hackin remarked in the report that the ivory's torana motif was reminiscent of the gateways at Sāñchī, and he further suggested the ivory's relationship with the early school of Mathurā which was developing in the first century of the Christian Era. As one of the finest of the Begram ivories, the plaque is often cited with similar remarks that link it with the reign of the powerful Kushan, King Kanishka, popularly thought to have reigned from A.D. 78.

The date of Kanishka's accession has been the subject of much discussion. A seminar was held at the University of London in April, 1960 and arguments were presented for A.D. 78, 110-15, 128 and 144. More recently, John Rosenfield published *Dynastic Art of the Kushans* wherein he stated his reasons - using Indian and Chinese sources - for tentatively accepting the argument for 110-15. Rosenfield worked with this hypothesis in organizing Kushan coins and portraits and found it acceptable. In the following study of the Begram ivory plaque the 110-15 theory has also proved compatible.

Kanishka's accession marked the beginning of an era which lasted for at least ninety-eight years. From dated inscriptions a chronology within this period has been devised by Rosenfield as follows:
Kanishka I rules 1 to 23
Vāsishka rules 24 to 28
Period of Huvishka(s) 28 to 60
Kanishka II appears 41
Vāsudeva I rules 64/67 to 98

After Vāsudeva's reign a second Kushan era began and the new calendrical system was used for some forty years beginning with the reign of Kanishka III. The reason for the two eras is not known, and it has been observed that there does not seem to be an interruption in cultural continuity with respect to coins and sculpture. The end of the second Kushan era came during the third century, and although it has been suggested that Sasanian invasions were responsible, there is yet insufficient evidence to ascertain why inscriptions ceased to be dated within the Kushan era.

Just prior to, and during the two eras (the period of the Great Kushans) the Dynasty controlled the north and northwestern parts of India. A few of the works from the northwestern part, the Gandhāra region, bear dated inscriptions, but these are written with the Kharoshṭhī script and scholars' interpretations do not always agree. The inscriptions from the Mathurā region are written in Brāhmī script. They have been studied by eminent epigraphists and Indologists who have reached agreement in the interpretation of many. Although a great number come from one site, Kānkālī Tīlā, dated Mathurā inscriptions are believed relatively dependable.

Because the ivory of Figure 1 is the result of Kushan patronage, it is compared in the following study with other
Kushan works, some of which bear dated inscriptions. Without the date of Kanishka's accession firmly fixed, however, these inscriptions cannot be precisely equated with the Christian Era. Thus I have preferred to assign the ivory a place within the Kushan calendrical system.

The art of the Kushans did not develop autonomously and a study of this Begram ivory must include reference to works from India's earlier times and from regions other than those under Kushan domination. Recently, the dating of India's early monuments has been subjected to renewed investigation by Indian and Western scholars, thereby bringing about a revision in Indian chronology. There are, however, certain footholds and these include the decoration of Sāñchī's Stūpa II which is from the last quarter of the second century B.C., and the sculpture of Bhārhut, belonging to the period of decline in Śuṅga power from 72 to 25 B.C. The monuments which have been redated include: the cave temples at Bhāja, now assigned to the early first century B.C., instead of second century B.C.; the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī (also called Sāñchī I) now dated to A.D. 15-30, rather than the first century B.C.; the early sculpture of Kārlī, now placed at the beginning of the second century A.D., while it was earlier thought to be from the first century A.D. Subject to this shifting chronology is a proposal to shorten the period over which Amarāvatī's marbles were worked. This proposal would have Amarāvatī's earliest phase moved up from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. to correspond with Sāñchī I,
while the latest phase would remain as dated in the last half of the second century or at the beginning of the third century to correspond with the early reliefs at Nāgarajunakoṇḍa. 17

Relatively few Indian materials remain from these early centuries and the discovery of the Begram ivories provides a welcome addition. To uncover the wealth of information they hold, a concentrated study of each is necessary with respect to style and iconography. The following study centres upon the ivory plaque of Figure 1 alone, as one of the most outstanding of the Begram ivories. This study is but a beginning in an attempt to widen the dimension of knowledge of India's artistic heritage.
Men have speculated since the 1830's about the mound at Begram. Situated in Afghanistan near the junction of the Ghorband and Panjir Rivers which flow together as the Panjir into the Indus River and finally out to the Arabian Sea (Map: Figure 2), Begram is in a valley surrounded by the mountain ranges of the Paropamisadae and the Hindu Kush. The Europeans who first surveyed the Begram mound connected it with the site of one of Alexander the Great's settlements established during his fabled journey to the borders of India. Perhaps, some thought, Begram was once the Macedonian's Alexandria-ad-Caucusum; others believed the mound covered ancient Niceae, mentioned in a history of Alexander's exploits by Arrian. There was also a third possibility. Begram could be the site of the Kushan stronghold Kāpiśa, a city mentioned in both Western and Chinese records, and a stopping-off place for traders moving between the Roman Empire and the Orient.

Believing Begram to be Kāpiśa, Joseph Hackin in 1936 headed the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan to institute a systematic excavation of the site. The first season of digging determined the main artery of an old city which lay beneath the mound. On either side of the artery, rooms thought to be part of a bazaar yielded decorated and stamped pottery of a utilitarian nature, domestic articles of bronze and iron such as ewers, gridirons and locks, and more important, Kushan coins which Hackin dated between the first and third centuries A.D.
Returning for a second season in 1937, the French team of archaeologists concentrated upon a section where a palatial residence is thought to have stood. Many interconnecting rooms were uncovered and in one, Room Number Ten, Mme. Ria Hackin and Jean Carl found objects suggesting a royal storehouse. Room Number Ten’s collection consisted of several types of ornamental glassware, vases of alabaster, vessels and furniture-parts in bronze, and precious ivory plaques and statuettes.

Digging at Begram continued in 1938 and again in 1939. In this fourth season Mme. Hackin and Carl started work on the site of a great hall adjoining Room Number Ten. The site choice was a happy one; it revealed a walled-in hoard of even more treasure. Here was a fascinating accumulation of Syrian glass, fragments of Chinese lacquer bowls and boxes, plaster models of silver plaques from the Greco-Latin West, Hellenistic bronze figurines, and more of the Indian ivory carvings in even greater quantity.

Such an international assortment of sumptuous objects found at the same level as the Kushan coins confirms that Begram in the first centuries of the Christian Era was indeed the Kushan way-place called Kāpiṣa, and additionally, the residence of Kushan kings. The excavators also uncovered foundations of an earlier city, and at this lower level a coin of Eukratides (circa first half of the second century B.C.) was found. The coin bears the images of a seated person on a throne and an elephant protome which is identified with a Kharoshṭhī legend: Kaviṣiye Nagara-devata - the city god of Kāpiṣa.
In all, there were probably three successive cities that caused the mound at Begram. The first city, which may or may not have been established by Alexander under a name other than Kāpiṣa, was inhabited by the Indo-Greek kings and the first rulers of the Kushan dynasty. The second city was really an extension of the older town. There is evidence that the second city was burned down in the third century. Roman Ghirshman, who headed further Begram excavations in 1941 and 1942, has suggested that an invasion of the Sasanian Shāpūr I in A.D. 241 was responsible for the destruction. Whatever the cause, the city was rebuilt. The third city, however, must have been abandoned by the Kushans sometime during the late fourth or early fifth century, for an Epthalite coin with a portrait of a šar of Garjistan was found at this level, thus announcing the arrival of a people often referred to as the White Huns.

The clues which led to the excavation of Begram-Kāpiṣa are to be found in ancient records. In the first century A.D. Pliny mentioned Capisa as the capital of the region Capisene. Ptolemy, writing in the second century A.D., gave Kāpiṣa's approximate, although not quite accurate, geographical position. Hsüan-tsang, a seventh-century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who journeyed across Asia, wrote in his journal of a city called Kia-pi-shi, giving what proved to be the most precise location for Kāpiṣa. Hsüan-tsang's journal acted as a guide for the French Orientalist Albert Foucher who in 1922 followed the Chinese monk's described route and thus located Kia-pi-shi at Begram, thereby inspiring
Joseph Hackin to undertake excavation of the site.¹³

Hsüan-tsang knew Kāpišā as a "royal city" with "objects of merchandise from all parts". His journal, as translated by Samuel Beal, further states:

"According to tradition, Kanishka Rāja of Gandhāra in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and brought into obedience people of distant countries, he governed by his army a wide territory, even to east of the T'sung-ling mountains. Then the tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river, fearing the power of his arms, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-rāja having received the hostages, treated them with singular attention, and ordered for them special establishments for the cold and hot weather; during the cold they resided in India and its different parts, in the summer they came back to Kāpišā."¹⁴

Hsüan-tsang also claimed to have seen on the walls of a Kāpišā building paintings depicting the hostages who appeared to him to be Chinese. Attempts have been made to correlate Hsüan-tsang's story of the hostages with a report in the Chinese annal Hou Han-shu to the effect that a King An-kuo of Kashgar (A.D. 107-113) sent an uncle and retainers to the Kushan king of the Yüeh-chih tribe, and that the hostages were well treated.¹⁵ The Hou Han-shu makes no mention of the Kushan kings' name, but if Hsüan-tsang's story is taken into consideration with the Chinese annal, they together suggest: 1) the Kushan king was Kanishka; 2) the reign of Kanishka corresponds with that of the Kashgar king, thus supporting the A.D. 110-115 theory for Kanishka's accession; 3) the Kāpišā palace complex with its treasures was inhabited by Kanishka in the early second century A.D.

Chinese annals such as the Hou Han-shu tell something of
the Kushans early history when they were known only as the Yüeh-chih. The nomadic Yüeh-chih tribe dwelt in China at one time, although they are Caucasoid in appearance. During the second century B.C. they were driven westward by invaders and around 135 B.C. they arrived in the Oxus region. They were visited by the Chinese General Chan-ch'ien who reported that by approximately 129 B.C. the Yüeh-chih held Bactria in subjugation. Shortly after the General's visit, the Yüeh-chih moved across the Oxus River and settled in Bactria. There they adopted the urban and commercial modes of the Indo-Greeks who had earlier established Hellenic kingdoms in that area. The Yüeh-chih nation, divided into five principalities, had a total population estimated at 400,000 in about 35 B.C. At this time, one of the five princes took over complete control, thus giving his clan name, Kuei-shang, to the entire nation.

The singular prince responsible for the unification of the Yüeh-chih nation is believed to be Kujala Kadphises. His name appears on early Kushan coins which also show a Roman head of a type generally agreed to be Augustan. Western records tell of Indian embassies sent to the court of Augustus, and it may be, in fact, that these embassies were Kushan.

As traders, the Kushans must have had close connections with the Romans. In Nero's time, according to Pliny, the Romans paid up to the value of one hundred million sesterces a year to India, Seres and Arabia for goods as spices, silks and gems. Pliny wrote that owing to the scarcity of ivory in the Roman
Empire, the highly valued commodity was by the first century "rarely obtained except from India". Kushan trade in such sought-after merchandise brought Roman gold into the area. It has been theorized that, because India's natural gold resources are extremely low, the source of gold for the frequent minting of prestigious Kushan gold coins must have been the Roman Empire.

In their dealings with the Roman Empire and the Orient, the Kushans would have served as middlemen. The old Silk Route, along which Kāpiśa was located, passed through Kushan territory. Cargo coming into the territory by way of the Tarim Basin from China would have been guided by Kushans either overland in a westward direction to Asia Minor, or across the Paropamisadae to be floated on rafts down to the mouth of the Indus River for transshipment westward, or down along the southward road to Mathurā, Ujjayinī and the Indian west-coast ports as Barygaza which had shipping connections with Alexandria. Kāpiśa, as a focal point for trade moving either to or from the Roman Empire and the Orient, was an international centre as testified by the Syrian, Hellenistic, Chinese and Indian finds at Begram.

Although some of the Indian ivories of Begram were clearly intended for royal use, others may have been stored for trade. Perhaps Indian ivory carving, like the ivory itself, was traded with the Romans. A carved ivory mirror handle from India (Figure 3) was found in 1939 at Pompeii. How this mirror handle came to be at Pompeii is a matter for speculation, but it is clear that
Indian ivory carving was known in the Roman Empire before A.D. 2479.

Ivory carving is one of India's most ancient crafts. Even the earliest of sites in India, Mohenjó-Daro and Harappa, have provided ivory carvings. These must date from the third millennium B.C. From a period and location closer to Bagram are the ivory carvings from the mounds of Bhir and Sirkap at Taxila. At the Bhir Mound, an ivory doll was found, said to date not later than the middle of the second century B.C.27 The Sirkap site furnished many ivory objects, among them a finely decorated comb which shows figures of humans and an elephant. The comb is believed to be from the first century A.D.28 The large number of ivories found at Bagram suggests that ivory carving flourished under Kushan patronage, certainly during the period of the Great Kushans, when Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva reigned.

A centre of ivory carving is known through an inscription on the South Gateway at the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī (Figure 4). The inscription states that the relief carving there was the gift of the ivory carvers of Vidiśā.29 Vidiśā, modern Bhilsa, is only a short distance from Sāñchī. Since Vidiśā was within the Kushan Empire, it is possible that this was the school of ivory carvers the Kushans patronized.

That some of the ivories found at Bagram were intended for royal use is obvious from the way in which they were found. Certain plaques, as Figure 1, were lying side by side in positions that suggested they were once sheathing for a now-
disintegrated wooden frame. With the aid of Brāhmī characters on the back of each plaque, the ivories were arranged by the archaeologists and some idea of the shape of the frame can be gained. A reconstruction drawing (Figure 5) suggests that the ivory belonged to a royal couch which might have served as a throne.
II: ICONOGRAPHY

Ancient writers such as Varāha Mihira leave little doubt that the ornamentation of royal furnishings was a matter of great significance. In an early fifth-century astrological text, Brihat-samhita, Varāha Mihira outlines the approved method for carving ivory panels that would adorn regal seats, and he makes clear the necessity of carving upon such panels only images which bring good fortune and prosperity.

The ivory plaque found at Begram (Figure 1), outstanding among its companion panels of the royal couch by virtue of its torana, was indeed carved with propitious images as I will show. All of its emblems are auspicious signs with overtones of concern for material triumph, material abundance and wealth, legitimacy of rule, and divine sanction and support of the ruling house. The torana motifs have an Indian background but one aspect of the ivory that seems particularly Kushan is the way in which two females stand together under the torana gateway. This ivory plaque is unique among the others in that one female appears to attend the other.

While the Brihat-samhita is devoted to the detailing of signs of good augury, no mention is made of a feminine couple such as this. Nevertheless the text does describe the torana and the rules for its representation. The time-honoured symbols it must bear reiterate the basic ideals of a society that fostered Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. The Indian ideals served the Kushans too as the torana and its emblems on the ivory testify.
An investigation of the meaning behind each of torana emblems leads to the matter of Kushan interpretation of Indian principles, and the peculiarly syncretic nature of Kushan ideology as embodied in the representation of the feminine couple.

In a position of great significance along the ivory's top torana architrave are three symbols which indicate that the king is a devaputra or Son of God. The title is a favoured one of Kushan kings for it appears often on donative inscriptions. The Law of Manu tells that the divine Indian king is formed of particles of gods, and the gods are listed to include Agni (fire - the power of purity and destruction), Vāyu (wind - freedom of movement and extension), Sūrya (sun - majesty, wealth and energy), Candra (moon - vegetation and fruitfulness), Yama (Lord of Justice), Kubera (Lord of Wealth), Varuṇa (source of dharma in the sense of order of the state), and Indra (the regulator of dharma). In the Suvarnaprabhasa Sūtra, a text known during Kushan times, the devaputra is called the son of thirty-three "sovereigns of the gods" although he is always dependent upon the gods' favour. In order to remain as king, he must always honor and propitiate these deities. The architrave emblems are placed upon the royal ivory for the very purpose of paying homage to those who control the destiny of the Kushan king and his dynasty.

The symbol appearing at the centre of the torana's top architrave is doubly propituous because it is made up of two venerable Indian assertions of divine presence, the trisula and the cakra. The composite motif must have a long history for it
enjoyed extraordinary currency prior to the Kushan eras. It can be found decorating jewellery at Bhārhut, as an ornament on utensils from Taxila, as a blossom hanging from a "wishing-tree" vine on a relief at Bhārhut, as an emblem on a royal throne shown at Bhārhut and Sāñchi I, as an object of worship atop a pillar in reliefs at Amarāvati, and as a dominant motif upon toranas as at Bharhut, Kankali Tila, and on the Begram ivory. Whether the motif appears at Buddhist or Jaina sites or on a royal ivory, it expresses the deification of a universal king. The emblem appears on Kushan coins from the time of Vima Kadphises, who preceded Kanishka, and as such it became the mark of the ruling house, signifying its divine nature.

To the composite symbol are brought the connotations of its separate parts. The trisūla is Śiva's trident and with this weapon he is triumphant over matters of creation and preservation. Śiva is looked upon as a sort of Father-God; in fact, a prototype of Śiva with trident in his role of controller of productivity is found on a seal from Mohenjo-Daro. In Kushan times, Śiva became the centre of a cult that worshiped him for his procreative powers of the form of the lingam. Siva as OESHO is depicted with the trisūla on Kushan coins, and on the reverse the Kushan king too is shown with the trisūla. As an earthly representative of Śiva, a point so clearly made by the dual representation, the king with his trident symbolizes the dynasty's victorious nature. Further the trisūla shared by both the king and Śiva on Kushan coins attests to the realm's steady
proliferation and the dignity accorded to its rulers.

The other half of the composite symbol on the torana is the cakra which supports the trisūla. Often called the Wheel of the Law, the cakra has many associations. Allied with the sun in shape, the cakra denotes the fiery centre of the universe and brings to mind the Sun Gods Sūrya and Agni. It is moreover, dharma, the principle around which all revolves and thereby it suggests the gods who govern the universe. In its wheel-like form, the cakra indicates infinite motion and perfection and the gods who govern in this capacity. The cakra, additionally, is the all-conquering discus, a weapon of Vishnu and one of the seven gems of the Cakravartin, the Universal Monarch. The Pāli Dīgha Nikāya relates that the wheel belongs as a royal emblem atop the palace, but whenever the king fails in his virtue, the emblem automatically disappears. The cakra on the ivory torana, however, has petals where spokes should be. Thus it becomes imbued with the idea of government of nature and vegetation and suggests for example, the moon deity Candra, plus a whole host of associated spirits whose functions centre upon fertility. The cakra is in essence the great realm of the gods, but at the hub of the system is the divine monarch who connects the heavens with the domain of man.

On either side of this composite motif at the centre of the torana, is a second important emblem called the śrīvatsa. The śrīvatsa appears in the form of two opposing "S" shapes, recalling somewhat two raised snakes or nāgas, known from Vedic times
as guardians. The śrīvatsa's prototype can be seen on a Mohenjo-Daro seal which shows two arching serpent necks rising up from either side of a Tree of Life for they are guarding the sacred source of all existence.²² It is with the same notion of protection that the śrīvatsa is included as one of the thirty-three mahāpurusalaksanās which mark a great man at birth.²³ The so-marked child is to be guarded by the gods, and in this respect the śrīvatsa sign appears on the footprints which signify the Buddha at Amarāvatī, and upon the chests of religious saints at Kaṅkālī Tīlā.²⁵ But specifically, the śrīvatsa is a sign associated with Vishṇu. In developing Hindu theism during the Kushan period, Vishṇu was known as the son of Sūrya and as the keeper of wealth.²⁶ There is evidence of a cult of Vishṇu, as there are indications of a solar deity cult.²⁷ Still the śrīvatsa sign does not appear on Kushan coins, nor does the name Vishṇu appear in coin legends. Yet the name of Vishṇu's human manifestation is Vāsudeva, a name purposely chosen by one or more Kushan kings.²⁸ The śrīvatsa on the ivory's torana may suggest the presence of Vishṇu, but essentially it must represent his sanction and the sacred guardianship the dynasty is to receive.

Beside the śrīvatsas on the top of the ivory's torana are two symbols which must represent the bhadrasana, literally royal throne.²⁹ This emblem is made up of a lotus pedestal surmounted by a triangle and it seems especially related with Śrī-Lakṣmī, Indian Goddess of Royal Fortune. The lotus is Lakṣmī's attribute, and on a relief at Pitalkhora, Lakṣmī is seated in the
padmasāna, or triangular position, upon a lotus which has its petals turning downwards as they do in the bhadrāsana on the ivory.

Another representation of Lakshmī - as Gaja-Lakshmī, the promoter of birth and abundance - shows her standing on the same type of lotus pedestal while elephants lift their trunks to pour water over her in the rite of lustration. Such representations can be seen at Sāñchī II and on early coins from the Kushan territory. At Bhārhut there is a carved medallion which has elephants in the same worshipful attitude, but in the place of the Lakshmī goddess, there is a triangle, a symbol of the life-source best illustrated by the Hindu yantra. Lakshmī then, must be referred to by the bhadrāsana in her dual role; that as royal overseer and that as the personification of the abundance of the regime.

Strangely, Lakshmī is absent on Kushan coinage after the initial appearance of Gaja-Lakshmī. It seems unimaginable that the Kushans forgot Lakshmī's powers for there is additional attestation to her presence on the ivory in the punna-ghata symbol. This is known as the burgeoning vessel or vase of plenty and the sign is placed on the torana posts between the two lower architraves. The body of the vase is made up of lotus petals and it rests upon a support of lotus palmettes while more foliage issues from the top of the jar; thus it pertains to Lakshmī's bountiful nature. The punna-ghata is missing from Kushan coins, although the cornucopia is represented. This is
held by a goddess labeled ARDOXSH0, perhaps a local eastern Iranian goddess associated with water and moisture, and a relative of the Iranian Anahita, called "Mazdean lord of the fertilizing waters entrusted by Ahura Mazdah with the care of all created beings." According to John Rosenfield, the Kushan cult of ARDOXSH0 seems to have been centred upon dynastic and political abundance, whereas another Kushan goddess, NANA, emphasized natural phenomena. NANA has been equated with Ardvi-Anahiti who is often shown on Sasanian coins with a water-jar which, like the cornucopia, relates to the lotus-filled vessel of life-giving waters which is the punna-ghaṭa.

The punna-ghaṭa, along with the trisūla-cakra and the śrīvatsa, commonly appears on early Buddhist toranas, but the bhadrāsana (in the form it appears on the ivory) is not apparent. It is however one of the eight aṣṭamangala of the Jaina, as are the other three of the ivory's motifs above-mentioned. Because the aṣṭamangala of eight auspicious symbols pertains particularly to Jaina saints (Figure 6) one wonders if the adaption of four of the emblems is meant to connect the royal house in some way with the Jainas. Although Kanishka's coins show several Iranian and Hindu deities, as well as the Buddha, there is no reference to Jainism. A legend is recorded which tells of Kanishka stopping at a Jaina site to worship, mistakenly thinking it a Buddhist stupa. The story, from the Sūtrālāmkaṇa, ends with Kanishka saying that the Jaina saints are not deserving of his homage. Major Jaina sites were Mathurā and Taxila, and from the
inscriptions at Kāṅkālī Tīlā (in the vicinity of Mathurā), it is clear that Huvishka and following rulers supported the Jainas. Thus the use of distinctively Jaina symbols with respect to their grouping, suggests that the ivory might have been produced for a ruler who followed Kanishka, and who wished to have the sanction of Jaina deities as well.

In addition to the four astamaṅgala signs, there are further auspicious motifs upon the ivory's torana. The tortoise, shown in the spaces between the ends of the upper and middle architraves, "lends weal to a prince's reign", according to the Brihat-samhitā. Closely associated with Varuṇa, "great king, dispenser of justice and punisher of sin, lord of the rivers and of increase", the tortoise is the embodiment of the creative principle. Appearing as a symbol on the torana, the tortoise implies the blessings of the gods with respect to order and fecundity. The mangoes which appear below the tortoises at the ends of the architraves are similarly symbolic of creation and plenty as are the lotuses decorating the arch and the garlands along the architraves. On the top architrave, the garland issues from the mouth of the crocodilian makara, another animal symbol that, like the tortoise, denotes the Watery Source. While not outstanding on the Begram ivory, the makara motif must have been important to the Kushans, for it is included as a significant symbol denoting fierceness as well as munificence, on the mace held by Kanishka in one of the most imposing portraits of Indian art.
Among the other animal motifs on the ivory are two that pertain to the king as the centre of the universe. The śārdulā, literally "an animal made by art", serves as a bracket joining the lowest torana architrave to the pillars that support the structure. A similar ivory śārdulā excavated at Begram has been included in the reconstruction drawing of the throne as a bracket at the corners of the furnishing (Figure 5). This parrot-beaked, lion-headed creature has an arching neck, a mane of pearls, a pair of raised forelegs, two open wings, and rearing hind legs which merge with a fish tail. One of the most fantastic productions of the Indian imagination, the śārdulā has been given the necessary properties which allow it authority over the three spheres - the water, the land and the air. The śārdulā refers, therefore, to the universal king who functions as the hub of the cakra and who has power over every medium. The birds also share in this mastery, and they are shown outside the pillars of the torana to stand above a railing of a type that surrounds stūpas. These birds seem to be parrots, birds of good augury. Like the Kushan's royal geese (hamsas), as employed on the Kanishka reliquary, they are facing left. Thus it would seem that the birds on the ivory are performing pradakshinā (ritual circumambulation). They are moving in the direction of the sun as they circle hallowed ground. The sacred site must be, in the strictest sense, the king's throne.

The torana itself is proof of the king's exalted state. This gateway structure represents one of the four directions
that cross at the cosmic centre. In India the torana marks the entrance to a stūpa, the centre of which is analogous with the world axis. The stūpa's mound shape represents the dome of heaven and separates the human sphere from the paradise of the gods. The world axis from earliest times was represented as a tree with powers of life-giving, wish-giving and knowledge profferment. The arch below the torana on the ivory parallels the stūpa's dome shape, just as the stalk which grows up from the ground beneath the feet of the standing figure on the right, suggests the primeval tree. Thus the ivory's torana together with the arch and the tree refer to the king's throne as a universal centre where the king joins the glorified domain of deities.

The figures placed in the spaces between the torana's architraves on the ivory are inhabitants of the Northern Quadrant of the paradise in the heavens. The ruler of this realm is Kubera, Lord of Wealth. Kubera is shown on the ivory in the centre of the lower architrave space. Beside him are two Kinnaras, half-human, half-bird creatures which are celestial musicians. In the upper architrave space are the Atlantids. These gnome-like creatures are ruled, as are the Kinnaras, by Kubera. The Atlantids support the uppermost architrave decorated with the garland which issues from the makaras' mouths; Kubera and the Kinnaras are shown with the meandering vine-like motif. These spirits, in their connection with vegetative motifs, exhibit their powers over fertility.
But what of the two figures standing together under the archway beneath the torana? These well-endowed feminine figures wear only sheer drapery hanging from a jewelled belt about the hips, a beaded collar-like necklace, thick anklets, and rows of bracelets. Their hair is swept to one side, knotted and bound with ribbon. Leaves and branches appear immediately behind the figures' heads, and flowers are shown at their side. One of the figures seems to be an attendant for she holds a dish for the other figure. While gazing into a hand-held mirror, the seemingly more important figure dips a finger into the proffered dish. Although I know of no example of figures represented in exactly this way, certain aspects of these figures can be found elsewhere. The compound nature of their iconography reveals that layers of meaning are contained within their representation.

First, because they are shown with the leaves and branches of a tree, the two figures must be Yakshis. These wondrous beings are tree spirits, ruled by Kubera. They have the power of assuming both male and female shapes. These godlings are generally specified as Yakshas although the female aspect requires the designation Yakshi. Yakshas belong to that stratum of folkloristic thought that provided so much of India's fertility symbolism. They are usually benevolent creatures who, when worshiped, secure rain and the flooding of fields for rich harvests. Moreover, they protect the farmers and their villages from malevolent monsters threatening productivity. Yakshas have been an essential part of India's village culture, and they were granted a
place in the pantheon of India's formal religions. The appearance of the female Yakshis upon the Begram plaque affirms that the Kushans too could hardly ignore the Yakshi's power to bring abundance to the regime and to ward off evil influences.

The woman and tree motif, indicating the Yakshi and her power over fecundity, is well known in early Indian art. At Bhārhut the Yakshi holds one branch of the tree and she places her heel against the trunk. Similarly the Yakshis which serve as brackets on the toranas at Sāñchī I touch the tree and foliage appears above them. Yakshis holding trees appear at Bodh Gaya, Amarāvati and at Mathurā. They all wear the jewelled belt (mekhala), which is a life-long charm, and most wear jewellery similar to that of the Begram figures. The Begram figures do not touch the tree with their heels, but one of the figures does hold a branch. Their hairstyle and the leaves which appear immediately behind the head almost as if part of a headdress are unusual. The closest parallel is a Yakshi from Gandhāra (Figure 7), probably dating to the period of Huvishka or Vāsudeva.

A Yakshi figure of a similar period from Gandhāra is also shown with leaves above her head and she demonstrates the Yakshi's capacity for guardianship as she holds a spear. In another Gandhāra relief (Figure 8), two palace sentries, one with a weapon like the Yakshi, protect the residence of Śākyamuni. These paired figures are not shown with a tree, but they do appear together under an arch like the Begram figures.
With the exception of the Begram ivories, the representation of two females side by side at a doorway is rare. As Yakshis, the Begram figures already imply protection even without weapons, and the idea that they stand at a royal entrance like the Gandharan palace sentries suggests they are intended to defend the throne they adorn.

That the Begram feminine figures appear as a pair brings to mind the *mithuna* called for by the *Brihat-samhita* when stating couples should adorn the *torana*. The *mithuna* is not only auspicious in that it suggests the productive couple, but it is associated with the idea of *sakti* or female energy. Although different than the amorous male and female at entrances on reliefs at Nāgarajunakaṇḍa, the two females under the Begram *torana*, and additionally the other feminine couples that appear on accompanying panels of the same royal couch (Figure 5) perhaps allude to the *sakti* concept which proclaims female energy as the source of power. This doctrine was beginning to develop during the Kushan period, thus it could be that the ivory suggests *sakti* as a basis for Kushan ascendancy.

In this light, the females of the ivory can refer to the royal consorts who offer power to kings. The Āśvaghosha *Buddhacarita* describes a goddess who oversees the rules of kings and who was perturbed when Śākyamuni chose to assume the role of a monk. The Junāgadh inscription of A.D. 367 states that the goddess Śrī, as Royal Good Fortune, selected Skandagupta as her husband. Similarly the Śrī-Ratna, one of the Seven Jewels of
the Cakravartin, supports the righteous Buddhist ruler with her presence as his consort, as seen on reliefs at Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta, and Nāgārajanakonda. Further, the Harshacarita describes Harsha as being embraced by the goddess of Royal Glory and then being forced to mount the throne. In the Rāghuvamsa, King Dilipa, even though his harem was full, considered himself wed only to his royal queen and the Goddess of Fortune.

The Begram feminine figures, in addition to suggesting royal consorts, the mithuna and Yakshis with their dual functions, further infer two Kushan deities PHARRO and ARDOXSHO. Like the Begram figures in that both touch a dish, the Kushan deities appear on a seal which is probably from the period of Huvishka (Figure 9). PHARRO, shown on Kushan coins sometimes as a male and at other times as a female deity, on the seal holds the dish, and ARDOXSHO seems to touch it as well. PHARRO is the personification of Khvareno, the Iranian concept of glory and legitimacy of kings. The dish PHARRO holds is a vessel of flames to signify the divine light of Khvareno which bathes the worthy king. According to John Rosenfield, "the light is the talisman of his lawful reign, a guarantee of his ultimate victory." Since the Kushans were acquainted with this concept, the dish which the Begram figures hold may make a similar reference.

The Kushan seal further shows ARDOXSHO as holding a cornucopia, and it has been earlier stated that this Kushan goddess is related to Lakshmī in the sense of political abundance. PHARRO also implies Lakshmī as Sri-Lakshmī, Goddess of Royal Good
Fortune; the Khvareno which PHARRO personifies is translated with both Śrī and Lakshmī in Zoroastrian Sanskrit literature in India.68

The manner in which the figure on the left of the ivory seems to wait upon the lady on the right additionally suggests the Indian Lakshmī. The Pompeii ivory (Figure 4) shows attendants holding cosmetic jars for a central figure who is believed to be Lakshmī and moreover, the Classical Aphrodite.69 Lakshmī is shown at Sāñchī II as well, where two ladies-in-waiting hold jars for her. Thus the placing of the dish-holding figure in a subordinate position on the Begram ivory suggests again the idea of Lakshmī is present.

Although Lakshmī and Śrī refer to the ancient folk goddess known not only for prosperity, success, and glory, but for beauty and radiance as well, the deity is never shown in early Indian art with a mirror attribute. The earliest identified goddess of which I know shown holding a mirror is Ūmā, represented on an early Gupta sculpture (Figure 10). Since Ūmā, the gentle consort of Śiva, is goddess of light, the appearance of the mirror in her hand is fitting. As a reflector of light, the mirror held by the figure on the ivory can make reference not only to Ūmā, but to Khvareno additionally, the miraculous illumination attaching itself to kings.

It has been noted that Lakshmī does not appear on Kushan coins, but Ūmā apparently does, for the legend OMOM is marked on a coin from Huvishka's period. The feminine figure on this coin,
however, does not hold the mirror, but instead she is shown with a flower, like the lotus of Lakshmi, and like the lotus flowers that appear beside the Begram figures. Although the worship of Umā predates the coin of Huvishka, this is the only early representation of the goddess with her name stated. One might speculate that something of Lakshmi's function has been assumed by Umā, and that the ivory makes reference to this.

On the Kushan coin, OMMO is shown with OESHO, who is Śiva; on another coin from Huvishka's period, OESHO is shown with NANA. In studying these coins, Rosenfield has made the assumption that OMMO and NANA were correlated. NANA can also relate to Lakshmi as has already been indicated, for they share a role with respect to natural phenomena. NANA has much in common with ARDOXSHO and draws not only from the Western Asian deities of vegetation, fertile waters, generation and birth, but particularly from the Mesopotamian NANA, described on a Babylonian tablet as: "Lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses, directress of mankind, mistress of the spirits and heaven, possessor of sovereign power; the light of heaven and earth, daughter of the Moon God, ruler of weapons, arbitress of battles; goddess of love, the power over princes and over the sceptre of kings."

Thus the feminine figures on the Begram ivory make a multitude of references, but essentially their meaning is constant. There is ever the insistence upon the divine supporters of the regime, and upon the worthiness of the king, whether the figures are read as Yakshis or the ideal royal consorts of
kings. Basically the Indian concept of Lakshmī is always present, but those deities with similar functions have been absorbed, making the ivory a distinctively Kushan production. Many motifs have been marshalled to announce the Kushans' prerogative to rule as the will of the gods. The syncretic nature of the ivory suggests the period of Huvishka or later, when coins make clear the exchange and condensation of the roles and functions of deities that would sanction the dynasty.
III: STYLE

While the Begram plaque has been connected with the early school of Mathurā, it has also been associated with the first century A.D. carvings of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī. There are three reasons for the association with Sāñchī, namely: the sharing of the torāṇa form; the inscription on the South Gate which mentions the ivory carvers of Vidiśā; and most pertinent, a supposed similarity in style.

Fortunately, the Sāñchī panel bearing the Vidiśā carvers' inscription is still in relatively good condition so that much of the scene's carved detail remains (Figure 3); this is not the case with respect to the sadly deteriorated Āmohiṇī Āyagapeṭṭa, the only relevant and dated example of the early school of Mathurā from the first century A.D.1 In analyzing the style of the Begram plaque, therefore, I have chosen to compare it with the first century ivory carvers' panel at Sāñchī, especially since a stylistic analogy might be expected in works produced by members of the same guild. The following, however, will disclose that the works have little in common because the Begram ivory is not of the first century A.D., but is instead, a later work.

To begin with, there is the matter of surface treatment. Even though the size of the two works differs (the Begram plaque's nine joined pieces add up to an overall dimension of about sixteen by ten inches, approximately half the total surface of the Sāñchī stone relief), and the materials are not the
same, these factors are not sufficient to account for the dissimilarity in handling. On the Sāñchī panel, each detail has been modeled with a desire to express actual volumes. Compared with the Sāñchī carver's loving interpretation of the elaborate meandering vine which decorates the border running down the sides of the pillar, the same vine motif on the ivory's torana seems but a casual exercise, for it is incised in a schematic fashion. Also incised on the Begram ivory is the ribbon and bead design used for the swags which hang from the archway; however, the Begram carver has demonstrated that he can model the swags as well for they are shown in the round on the torana pillars. This deliberate combination of high relief and lightly cut line is not found anywhere at Sāñchī.

In keeping with this rather sophisticated interplay between techniques, the Begram carver has created different kinds of space and additionally, variations in tonal pattern. On one part, he has crowded figures within the spaces between the torana architraves, and has enveloped the figures with shadow, making use of bold contrast. On another part, the two feminine figures have been set against an open archway where ample space is allowed overhead, and where subtle changes in tone are to be found. At Sāñchī, with narrative dictating the arrangement, figures seem to strain one against the other as they surge forward from a uniformly deep background. There is none of the spatial and tonal alternation of the Begram ivory. The ivory in this respect suggests an attitude quite removed from the
prevalent mood of the Sāñchī carvers of the first century A.D.

Regardless of this disparity in approach, the Sāñchī reliefs and the ivory from Begram have been linked together because of a supposed similarity in the rendering of figures. It has been observed that the figures of both are carved in an "additive" manner, that is, the fashioned body was conceived in parts, rather than as an inter-related unit. Even if this description were to apply to the Begram ivory's standing figure on the left, it cannot pertain to the right-hand figure. In contrast with her companion's frontal pose, the goddess on the right is shown in the tribhanga position that involves a complicated placement of body weight, the effect of which can be seen throughout her entire body. Most of her weight is placed over the right leg, and the left knee is slightly bent. The pelvis is turned in the direction that the left knee faces and the hips are thrust accordingly over the supporting right leg. Because she holds the mirror to one side, she turns her shoulder a little, and consequently the turn is reflected by a twist at the waist. If one were to draw in three dimensions a line which touched upon the points of flexion throughout her body, from the legs, to the torso, and to the tilt of the head, a spiral would result. The tribhanga pose without doubt is also shown at Sāñchī, but it is attempted cautiously as the awkwardly bent figures in the scene above the Vidiśā carvers inscription will testify. Even the dancer who appears in the scene below the inscription, while a remarkable figure in itself,
is stiffly represented from head to thigh.

The figure on the left side of the Begram ivory then, suggests a paradox. She has a certain rigidity that comes with being frontal and she does seem "additive" in that, for example, her hands are mis-matched with respect to size. Whatever the reason for the difference in parts, the fact that she has been included with the gracefully swaying figure on the right affirms that she is not of the Sāñchī tradition.

Certainly the proportions of both the Begram figures are not those of female figures at Sāñchī. The difference is most noticeable in the relative size of the heads. The Begram figures have large squarish faces with thick prominent features. Their eyes are particularly distinctive: only the bottom eyelid is definitely visible and if the upper lid is meant to be included, it must fold where the eyebrow is defined; the eyeball protrudes slightly from a tan opening, shaped to draw to a line at the outer edge. A faint double crease in the forehead of the mirror-holding figure is shown as she smilingly approves her own reflection. The figure holding the dish turns her head a little to one side and seems to reflect upon a private thought. Even though their actions inter-relate, their expressions convey separate interests and individual personalities, unlike the figures of Sāñchī which share a common facial expression implying wonderment and awe.

Before continuing with an investigation of the Begram plaque, let us turn elsewhere for a moment, in order to follow
on from the style of the Sāñchī relief. The Sāñchī figures' expression suggests the gentle gaze of each of the figures on the ivory mirror handle found at Pompeii (Figure 4), another work cited in connection with the ivories found at Begram. The Pompeii ivory's finely modeled eye sockets and lids, together with the incised pupils, are features found on certain large figures at Sāñchī as well as at Pitalkhora, a site contemporary with Sāñchī. The stiff torso and rather pole-shaped legs with anklets covering the lower half (proportionately short on the central figure of the Pompeii ivory) also follow the Sāñchī tradition. Further, the straight cross-legged pose is shown on a West Gate relief at Sāñchī.

When the ivory was first dated by Amedeo Maiuri in 1939 to about A.D. 20-50, the reasons given for such a date were: 1) the fact that the statuette shows a "cruder realism" than was characteristic for the style of the flourishing Śuṅga period (185-72 B.C.); 2) the house at Pompeii in which the ivory was found is a structure dating probably from the period of Nero (A.D. 54-58); 3) a terminus ante quem is provided by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius and the destruction of Pompeii in A.D. 79. A second study of the statuette, published by Mirella Levi D'Ancona in 1950, was made in the light of the Āmohinī relief but without extensive comparison with Sāñchī I. In part, this was probably because Sāñchī I was then thought to be from the first century B.C. so that a close stylistic relationship was not expected. However, the study did make
mention of Amarāvatī, another important site for early Indian art, in connection with the ivory's cross-legged pose. No direct relationship was stated because the reference used by D'Ancona dated the pertinent Amarāvatī relief to the third or fourth century. There is, however, an Amarāvatī relief (Figure 11), assigned by Douglas Barrett to the second century "middle phase", which shows a figure with the same stiffly crossed legs, a similar hairstyle with a rosette on the forehead, and a correspondingly large number of anklets. Furthermore, the facial features of this Amarāvatī figure include the jutting chin, the puffy cheeks and the long narrow nose of the Pompeii statuette. Yet none of the figures on the Amarāvatī relief are as stilted as those on the Pompeii ivory, and the cross-legged pose of the Amarāvatī figure does not seem as awkward for there is a greater sense of thrust throughout the hips. Thus it seems to me that the ivory is related to the Sāñchī tradition but can be dated close to A.D. 79 as it represents a style which serves as a bridge between that of Sāñchī and Amarāvatī.

This excursion from the style of Sāñchī to that of Amarāvatī by way of the Pompeii ivory gives some indication of the direction in which Indian art was moving in the period between the first century and the beginning of the second century. During this time artists strived for naturalism, first with respect to volumes and then with respect to movement, leading to full-bodied vitality of the donor figures on the chaitya hall facade at Kārlī (Figures 12 and 13). The Kārlī works have been
compared to those of Amarāvatī, and a relationship can be seen in the shared worshipful female pose of arms raised above the head (Figures 11 and 12) and in a similar representation of male figures with respect to pose, expansiveness, proportions and costume. Additionally, the female figures of Kārlī have been compared with the Bhūteśvar railing figures at Mathura for they have in common the idealized voluptuous proportions and the confident transcending of stone (Compare Figures 13 and 14). The Kārlī figures have been dated to the early second century, possibly as late as A.D. 120, and I believe that the Bhūteśvar figures must also come from the early second century.

The quality of warmth and vivaciousness in the Bhūteśvar figures speaks of a period of great enthusiasm, as must have been the case during the early years of Kanishka's reign when Buddhism was rapidly spreading and when rulers of various parts of India hastened to patronize Buddhist building programs. With the spread of Buddhism came the establishment of models which artists were to follow for centuries. One of the models that certainly inspired artists in the Kushan empire can be seen in the Bhūteśvar figure that stands with a mirror in her hand, her body arranged in a contrapposto pose (Figure 15). It is this figure, not those of Śāñchi I, that would seem to be a prototype for the figure on the right side of the Begram plaque. While the Bhūteśvar and Begram figures share essentially the same pose and attributes, local conventions with respect to costume, rendering of drapery and facial features have been followed.
A figure on a small panel from the Gandhāra region (Figure 16) is also closely related to the Bhūteśvar figure and the Begram plaque. An approximate date for the Gandhāra figure can be gained by its similarity with certain aspects of a sculpture dated in the year 89 of Kanishka's era (Figure 17), one of the few dated works from the Gandhāra region. Representing the Visit of Indra and His Host to the Indrasāla Cave, this sculpture shows figures with narrow slanted eyes like the mirror-holding Gandhāra figure, and to the far right of the base of the dated sculpture a small feminine figure of similar proportions wears an identical costume. The two Gandhāra works further compare in that the drapery folds are represented with a double parallel line (to be observed on the smaller figures of the dated work).

Another relief from Gandhāra (Figure 8), earlier in date than the Indrasāla Cave sculpture, shows a palace scene. This Gandhāran palace scene was mentioned in the preceding chapter on iconography because it shares with the Begram ivory the motif of two feminine figures standing side by side under an arch. Harald Ingholt has assigned the palace scene relief to Group II, a grouping which corresponds with a Buddhist image dated in the year 51 of Kanishka's era, while the Indrasāla Cave sculpture, of the year 89, has been assigned to Group IV. The relief with the palace scene seems to be of a period close to the Begram plaque in that both employ the arch to gain spaciousness, despite the fact that the Gandhāra carver has
additionally made use of Western perspective. Both the ivory plaque and the palace scene depict some figures in more confined compartments than others. Both show high relief combined with pattern incised on a flat surface. Both demonstrate a variation of tonal contrast in different areas.

Although the Begram ivory was found at Kāpiša which is in the Gandhāran region, the facial features, figural proportions and frontal stance it displays are not characteristic of the Gandhāran reliefs just examined. The Brāhmī character on the back of the plaque indicates a carver from the Mathurā region. The Nagarāja figure dated in the year 52 (Figure 18), for example, suggests a certain facial resemblance in the cleft chin, the lower lip with a double curve, the long nose and wide nostrils, the wide-open eyes which bulge slightly at the opening, the distinct lower lids, and the merging of an upper lid with the definition of the eyebrow. The Nagarāja has a slight indentation along the forehead, and the figure on the right of the Begram ivory has a similar characteristic. The Nagarāja is frontal like the figure on the left of the ivory, but his proportions are even more compressed.

As the Nagarāja figure is from Bhūtesvar, the site of the earlier railing figures, it illustrates the dramatic change in the Mathurā style that took place between the first years of
Kanishka's reign and the year 52. John Rosenfield has remarked upon an interruption in cultural continuity during the second quarter century of Kanishka's era with respect to coins and sculpture. He attributes this change to increasing religious domination and the influence of the Iranian sphere to which the Kushans naturally gravitated. The Bhūtesvar female figures represent the Indian ideal and mark the school of Mathurā at its height. They have throughout their bodies an expression of vigour, a quality that becomes more exaggerated at Amarāvatī where the Indian tradition is not interrupted. In Mathurā works, however, the vitality becomes summarized in the intense facial expression, while the body becomes increasingly condensed with respect to proportions and more static with regard to pose. The change can be observed by comparing the following from the second quarter century of Kanishka's era:

a) the figures of a Bodhisattva Trinity fragment dated in the year 39 (Figure 19). The figure's proportions are not unnatural, and the poses are varied. The figures at either side of the seated Buddha sway to one side, with the contrapposto stance of the Bhūtesvar railing figures. The small figures on the left of the pedestal exhibit two positions; the first is frontal with weight placed equally on both feet, and the second suggests a twisting movement, with one leg bending to cross over the other.
b) a Kushan princely portrait statue dated in the year 42 (Figure 20). The pose is frontal, and the figure is squat.

c) the feminine figures of a Kañkālī Tīlā pedestal dated in the year 49 (Figure 21). Unlike those figures of the Bodhisattva Trinity of 39 mentioned above, there is no movement suggested in the poses of any of these figures. All the figures wear the same smiling expression, and their proportions are somewhat compressed.

d) the Nāgarāja dated 52 (Figure 18). Closely related to the figures of the Kañkālī Tīlā pedestal with respect to expression, the Nāgarāja is even more rigid, seeming to be held by the forces of symmetry.

After this transitional period, continuity in the newly-established style can be seen by examining the following works from the next three quarters of a century:

e) a relief representing the Visit of Indra (Figure 22) with figures grouped in series with respect to pose. Their proportions are not too different from the figures on the Kañkālī Tīlā pedestal dated 49 and their expressions are reminiscent of the Nāgarāja from the year 52. The way in which the entire surface is broken up into small sections compares with a relief from
Huvishka's Vihāra (Figure 23) showing similar doll-like figures. Rosenfield has dated the latter relief to the first decade of the second Kushan era.\(^{17}\)

f) an image of Karttikeya, dated in the year 11 of the second Kushan era (Figure 24). Like the figures on the Visit of Indra relief mentioned above, a "frozen" countenance is displayed and the body seems firmly locked in its position.

g) a pedestal for the image of Śākyamuni dated in the year 22 of the second Kushan era (Figure 25).\(^{18}\) The arrangement of the figures is hieratic. The body proportions are further reduced and the pose is restricted. The facial features and expression are emblematic, suggesting the same wide-eyed look of surprise found on the much earlier Nāgarāja.

Where does the Begram ivory fit into this chronological progression? If the ivory's standing figures were to represent the second quarter-century period of transition which precedes the Nāgarāja dated 52 of Kanishka's era, the combination of easy grace and frontality could be explained. This combination is found on the Bodhisattva Trinity of the year 39 (Figure 19) and on an undated Jaina tympanum (Figure 26) from Kaṅkāḷī Tilā, a site where the earliest inscription is dated in the year 29 with the mention of Huvishka.\(^{19}\) On the tympanum, the poses and proportions of certain female figures remind one of the
Bhūteśvar railing figures. Other tympanum figures, for example at the top right corner, approach frontality, like the figure on the left side of the Begram ivory.

There is a second tympanum (Figure 27) from the Mathurā region that indicates the transition period as well. The figures of this tympanum are stockier than the dominant figures standing on the Bodhisattva Trinity of the year 39 (Figure 19), but their roundness hints of the princely portrait statue of the year 42 (Figure 20). Further, like the Begram figures, the tympanum figures display a certain intensity, suggestive of the Kaṅkālī Tiḷā pedestal dated in the year 49 (Figure 21). What makes this tympanum unusual however, is the variation in expression, clearly seen on the faces of the tympanum’s winged creatures. One looks out to the viewer and smiles but the other exhibits an expression of adoration. Such individuality in facial expression is unusual in Mathurā art, and here the manner of depicting particular personalities points to a close connection with the Begram ivory.

Even though these Mathurā tympanums, taken together with the dated works from 39, 42, 49 and 52, suggest that the Begram ivory was carved during the second quarter century of Kanishka’s era, there is yet a puzzling matter to be considered. This concerns the paired, slightly wavy lines which are lightly incised on the legs of the Begram figures to indicate drapery folds. Parallel drapery folds appear sporadically in early Indian art. During the "early phase" of Amarāvatī, for example,
the folds are shown with double lines, but this characteristic disappears by the "middle phase". In Gandhāran art, paired incised lines are regularly used by the time the period of the Group IV reliefs is reached. It is this characteristic that Ingholt considers the Leitmotif for the Group IV sculptures, and, as already noted above, the paired parallel lines are to be seen on figures of the Indrāsāla Cave sculpture of the year 89 (Figure 17).

The drapery folds on the ivory, however, are shown as gently undulating, unlike the representation of folds on the Group IV Gandhāran sculptures. Wavy fold lines are relatively rare in early Indian art, but they do appear on a few reliefs from Kaṅkālī Tīlā. The Kaṅkālī Tīlā reliefs are known to me only through drawings and one (Figure 28) shows the double lines lightly incised upon the legs as found on the Begram ivory. The female figure in this drawing has a set expression and she is stiffly represented. The male figure, on which the paired wavy lines can be discerned, is very much like the dated image of Kārttikeya from the year 11 of the second Kushan era (Figure 23).

The photograph of the dated Kārttikeya image shows no trace of the double wavy lines, and the statue would have to be examined first-hand to determine whether these, in fact, exist. Nevertheless its relationship to the figure on the relief in the Kaṅkālī Tīlā drawing does bring up the possibility that the motif of double wavy lines belongs to a period after the mid-
century point of Kanishka's era. I think, however, that there are additional alternatives in dealing with this problem. It is possible that the motif had a brief early appearance at the time the Begram ivory was carved, only to be dropped from use, and then to reappear again at a later date. In Gandhāran art, for example, the double lines are introduced into a very few of the early Group I sculptures to be used on certain figures only, but this type of fold representation does not predominate until the period of the Group IV works. On the other hand, it has already been noted that little change took place in the Mathurā style for the three-quarters of a century following the Nāgarāja of the year 52. It is quite possible then, that the form of the cult image Kārṭikeya was already established at Kankali Tila by the mid-point of Kanishka's era, and that the drily executed dated image of the year 11 of the next era is simply another repetition. Thus it could be that the Begram ivory and the relief at Kaṅkālī Tīlā are actually not too far removed in date, although the Begram ivory appears to be the earlier. In any case, either of these two alternatives would allow the Begram ivory to remain as representative of the second quarter century of Kanishka's era.

Looking back in summary, the Begram ivory cannot be of the first century A.D., even if the earliest of arguments is used regarding Kanishka's accession. Its style is not of the Sāñchī tradition. Rather the ivory's style has developed from the Bhūtesvar figures; these works, and not the Begram plaque,
belong to the first years of Kanishka's reign. The Begram carver shared with the Gandhāran artist the adaption of the Bhūteśvar model, and he worked similarly with a variety of techniques. Nevertheless, the Begram carver probably came to the Kushan summer palace from the Mathurā region. In fact, he may have been trained in Vidiśā, the town famous for its ivory guild, for it is not too distant from Mathurā and it was included in the Kushan Empire. His manner of rendering figures suggests the transitional period leading to the mid-point of Kanishka's era, as shown by dated Mathurā carvings. The period in which the Begram ivory carver worked was probably that of Huvishka, whose name appears on inscriptions from the year 28 to the year 64 or 67 of Kanishka's era, with an interruption in the year 41 with a short reign of Kanishka II. Should the ivory be of a slightly later date, it must represent the work of a remarkable ivory carver who was still able to impart to his figures a sense of individuality in an atmosphere where this quality was usually denied.
IV: CONCLUSION

Originally a nomadic race with no imposing art of its own, the Indo-Scythians patronized traditions existing in the areas they conquered. In the northern Kushan territory, a former Hellenic realm, Gandhāran sculptures reveal Greco-Roman characteristics. The early productions from the Mathurā region to the south of the Kushan Empire are clearly based on Indian forms. The Kushans drew upon a third culture sphere as well for Iranian influence is apparent in Mathurā works from Huvishka's period. Also in Huvishka's time, coinage appears with Near Eastern and Indian imagery depicting a broadened, international pantheon. Marked with Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī and Greek legends, the coins were intended to appeal to a polyglot of peoples. The cosmopolitan nature of Huvishka's period is further illustrated by the Indian, Iranian, Chinese and Roman titles assumed by Kanishka II on a famous inscription dated in the year 41 at Ārā: Maharājāsa Rājatirājasa Devaputraśa Kāśarasa - "Of the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of God, Caesar".

The analysis of iconography and style of the regal Kushan ivory found at Begram also points to the syncretic quality of the period of Huvishka. The ivory refers to various religious and cultural traditions that worked to cast the Kushan monarch in a role embracing a medley of sacred and princely ideals. The manner in which the ivory was carved reflects a worldly assortment of techniques and an absorption of different stylistic tendencies. Carved to meet aristocratic demands, the ivory
nevertheless reveals an aesthetic implying coexistence of conviction and ideology also apparent in dated Mathura sculptures from around the mid-point of Kanishka's era.

The period of Kushan hegemony drew to a close sometime during the third century A.D., less than a hundred years after the period of Huvishka. Probably at the time of the dynasty's collapse, the plaque and its companion ivories were hidden away in the Kapisa palace to await revival of Kushan power. The treasure remained, only to be uncovered by the Begram excavators. Now in the twentieth century, the ivory plaque offers insight into the nature of authority which held sway over a heterogeneous empire after the reign of Kanishka. It is tangible evidence of a legacy left to the Gupta dynasty, a legacy which must have been a very real factor in the creation of India's classical civilization of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.
NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

AA  Artibus Asiae
AB  Art Bulletin


HJAS  Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.


JA  Journal Asiatique.

JRAS  Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.


Vogel, J. Ph. La sculpture de Mathura. Ars Asiatica, XV. Paris and Brussels: G. Van Oest, 1930.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1 Hackin, RAB, 1939.

2 Hackin, NRAB, 1954. Although Hackin died during World War II, the results of his work were published under his name (cataloguing was undertaken by the Warburg Institute in London). In this catalogue commentaries by A. Foucher, J. Carl, V. Elisseeff, O. Kurz and Ph. Stern appear.


4 Stern, p. 49

5 In reviewing Hackin, NRAB, in HJAS, XVIII (1955) Benjamin Rowland remarked that this arrangement leads to oversimplification. He suggests that to be entirely successful such an allocation should have the foundation of dates marking the beginning and end of the series, pp. 479-488.


7 M. Rogers, "An Ivory Śārdulā from Begram," AA, XV (1952), p. 8 states that this plaque (Figure 1), No. B39.34b, "provides a significant comparison" with the first century school of Mathurā. The comparison he chooses is the "Holi" relief. The "Holi" relief is not inscribed, but in fact, its date is not assured. B. Rowland, AAI, p. 66, has even suggested that the Begram plaque could be a "prototype" for the first century A.D. ivory carvers of Bhilsa who contributed a panel at Sāṅchī. In reviewing Hackin, NRAB, however, Rowland states that Figure 495 (the number allocated in NRAB to the Begram plaque shown here in Figure 1) appears to be related to the Middle Phase of the Amarāvatī style, or late second century A.D. It would appear that he discounted this earlier view.

8 The papers are not available to me, although many are mentioned throughout Rosenfield, DAK.

9 Ibid., p. 257-8. This is A.K. Narain's argument, with which Rosenfield is in agreement.

10 Rosenfield, DAK, p. 28.

11 Ghirshman, Begram, p. 160. This theory is based upon a trilingual inscription of Shāpur I at Naqsh-i-Rustam which mentions the conquest of the Kushan Empire to a certain boundary. This boundary has not yet been agreed upon by scholars. See Rosenfield, DAK, p. 16. Shāpur I ruled from A.D. 241.
One inscription that is not disputed is on a sculpture from Peshawar, from the year 89. See Ingholt, GAP, Pi. 131.

A summary of Mathurā inscriptions is found in Rosenfield, DAK, pp. 263-73.


Zimmer, AIA, p. 235.

Spink, pp. 95-104.

Barrett, SABM, p. 53.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I: PROVENANCE

1 Two such explorers were Charles Masson and C.A. Court. Masson found many coins at the site and published these. See "Memoir on the Ancient Coins Found at Begram," JASB, (1834), p. 153, and "Second Memoir," JASB, (1836), p. 7. Also see H.H. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, pp. 10-11. Court's findings were published as "Conjectures sur les marches d'Alexandre dans la Bactriane," JA, II (1837), p. 373.

2 This was Masson's opinion, as well as Court's.

3 The issue is a tangled one, and according to Hackin, RAB, p. 4, McCrindle, E. Jacquet and H.H. Wilson were of this opinion. Rowland, AAA, p. 24 states "it is conceded by most that it may correspond to the site of Nissa". Spelling of the ancient city seems to be the greatest problem, since interpretations of ancient texts vary. Arrian, Indika, trans. by McCrindle, p. 183, mentions the city Nysa. See Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 96 ff. and pp. 460-482. Deydier outlines the issue in Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra, pp. 94-97.

4 Hackin, RAB, 1939.


6 Hackin, "The 1939 Dig and Begram - I and II," Asia (1940), pp. 525-528; 608-612.

7 The coin and its implications are discussed by Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 213. See also Narain, The Indo Greeks, pp. 63-64, for further references.

8 Ghirshman, Begram, p. 160.


10 Pliny, Natural History, VI, 92, trans. by Rackham and Jones, 1947-56.

11 Ptolemy, Geography VII (49), trans. by McCrindle in R.D. Majumdar, Classical Accounts of India. Mentioned by A. Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p. 16.


14 Hsüan-tsang, Travels, pp. 118-19.
Hou Han-shu, 118.13b. See Rosenfield, DAK, p. 37.

Zimmer, AIA, I, p. 7, has suggested the Kushans were of Mongolian origin. Coin images and portrait carvings show the features to be of the Indo-Scythians without the Mongolian epicanthic fold and without high cheek bones. Rather, they have narrow heads, prominent noses, abundant and heavy hair, and beards. Chinese sources indicate that among the Yueh-chih there were even persons with red hair and blue eyes. See Rosenfield, DAK, p. 9. See also E.J. Phillips, "New Light on the Ancient History of the Eurasian Steppe," American Journal of Archaeology, 61 (1957), pp. 269-280.

Ibid., pp. 7-11 for early history of the Kushans. See also note 12, p. 281-2 for survey of Chinese source material, much of which was adapted from the papers of E. Zürcher and E.G. Pulleybank, offered to the London Seminar, April 1960.

Coins 4, 5, in Rosenfield, DAK. See also note 27, p. 283 for varying views regarding the coins.

Strabo I, XV, 1. 73 tells of an embassy sent from India to Caesar Augustus. Many embassies apparently visited the court of Trajan. For a summary, see R.C. Majumdar, Classical Accounts of India, pp. 474-483. See also H. Rawlinson, Intercourse Between India and the Western World, (Cambridge University Press), 1926, p. 107.

Natural History, xii, 41.19. See also E.W. Warmington, The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India, pp. 272 ff. It is believed that of the grand total, India's share was more than half.

Natural History, viii, 4.

Rosenfield, DAK, p. 21.

Ibid., p. 21.


NOTES TO CHAPTER II: ICONOGRAPHY


3. The title *devaputra* appears on Mathurā inscriptions. At Surkh Kotal the king is referred to on inscriptions as *bagoshao* (God King) and *bagopouro* (Son of God). According to Rosenfield, *DAK*, p. 202, at no time before the Kushans were kings called *devaputra* in Indian literature or inscriptions.

4. Codified in the post-Kushan period, in the third or fourth century A.D. from traditions of varying antiquity. Trans. by Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXV, pp. 216-17. The *Laws of Maṇu* are further discussed by J. Gonda, "The sacred character of ancient Indian kingship," in *Sacral Kingship*, pp. 172-180. Stressed is the point that these conceptions belong more to Vaishnavism than to other Indian traditional religions.

5. The *Suvaranaprabhāsa Sūtra* is a Mahāyana text written in northwestern India. It is now lost, but S. Lévi, using variant Chinese and Nepalese translations of the original Sanskrit text, produced a synthetic version in *JA*, 1934, pp. 3-8. The pertinent passage reads: "The thirty-three sovereigns of the gods each give him a royal portion, metamorphose him, and make him sovereign among men; in order to bar the route to evil actions, destroy that which is contrary to the Law, suppress impiety, smile upon those who do good in order to turn them toward the divine abode."


7. Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, P. XLIII.

8. *Ibid.*., P. XII, XXX.


11. Smith, *Jain Stūpa*, P. XL.


13. For a discussion of the Hindu trinity and the changing role of Śiva with respect to Brahmā and Vishnu, see J. Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, pp. 446 ff. The word Śiva itself means "auspicious".
14Ibid., P1. VII.

15For example, see Coomaraswamy, HIIA, P1. XVIII (66).

16Rosenfield, DAK, see especially P1. VII, IX, X. OESHO coins are analyzed, pp. 92-95.

17According to Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 41, a disc of gold was placed behind the fire altar to represent the sun and it is from this that the Wheel of the Law has developed.

18In this capacity, the cakra was placed upon a pillar of Asoka to announce the Buddhist Law with respect to the government of the universe. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 17. The Vedic gods suggested are, for example, Varuṇa and Indra.

19As for instance, Vāyu who can represent freedom of movement.

20Reliefs showing the cakra weapon of the Universal Monarch are from Jaggayyапęṭa, see Zimmer, AIA, Vol. II, p1. 37; from Amarāvatī, Stern and Benésti, Amaravati, P1. XII (a); and from Nāgārajunakoṇḍa, Rosenfield, DAK, Fig. 159.


22Coomaraswamy, HIIA, P1. II, 6.


24Stern and Benésti, Amaravati, P1. III (b).

25Smith, Jain Stūpa, P1. XC.

26Rosenfield, DAK, p. 194 states that at this time Vishṇu was thought of as Śūrya’s second son. The first son was Brahmā, the third was Śiva, Śūrya’s protector.

27For example, Rosenfield, DAK, Fig. 88 shows a Corinthian capital with Śūrya and his chariot. Fig. 124 shows the solar deity dressed in Kushan garb. Solar deities MIRRO and ELIOS appear on Kushan coinage of Kanishka and Huviskha. The Sāṁba and Bhavishya Purāṇas give accounts of the Sun God in India. See Rosenfield, DAK, p. 305, n. 66 for further references.

28For other implications of the name Vāśudeva, see Rosenfield, DAK, pp. 104-05.

29This term is taken from Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 26, and from Coomaraswamy’s description of the symbol on the Jaina aṣṭamāṅgala, Yakṣas II, p. 79, and P1. 31.

Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas II, Pl. 14 (1).

Rosenfield, DAK, Coin 274.

Cunningham, Bharhut, Pl. XXVIII.

Rosenfield, DAK, Coin of Huvishka, shown as Coin 82.


Rosenfield, DAK, p. 88.

Ibid., p. 88. Ardvi-Anahita appears crowned, carrying a flower or bird as well as the water vase in the relief carvings and toreutics of the Sasanians. See H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, J. Starcky, Receuil des tessères de Palmyre, nos. 238-42, 285, 286.

For a description of each of the astamangala, see Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas II, p. 79. Across the top row they are, from left to right, the fish, mirror, śrīvatsa, and vaddhamanaka. Below appear the triśūla-cakra, panna-pacchi, (or -puta), badhrāsana, and punna-ghata.


Rosenfield, DAK, Appendix III, Inscriptions.


Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas II, p. 37.

In cataloguing this ivory, Hackin, NRAB, no. 34.b.5, referred to "bananas" and followed this with a question mark. I have preferred to think that these are mangoes; mangoes are an oft-mentioned auspicious symbol and are particularly associated with Yakshis in various representations.

connection with vegetation and moisture prevails at Sāñchi, Bodh Gaya and Amaravati, however, the makara is also an emblem of passion and death and this symbolic value is apparent at Mathurā and Bārhut. The latter aspect of the makara has yet to be studied, but cf. Barua, Bārhut, p. 78; Cunningham, Bharhut, Pl. XXIV.2; Hsūan-tsang, Beal trans., Vol. II, pp. 135-36; S. Levi, Bulletin de l'association des amis de l'orient, no. 3 (1939), pp. 19-39.

45 A study of Kanishka's mace appears in Rosenfield, DAK, p. 179. See also Pl. 2(b).

46 Stella Kramrish, The Hindu Temple, Vol. II, p. 333, note 104 "Sārdula is the name of an animal shape 'made by art'. It is also known as Virāla in Orissa or Vīyāla... Sārdula means a tiger, leopard, panther; a demon, a kind of bird, or the animal Sarabha which is stronger than a lion, has eight legs and of which there is no likeness on the earth... The sārdula is also called Simha-virāla if it has the head of a lion..." Millard Rogers, "An Ivory Sārdula from Begram," AA, XV (1952), pp. 5-9, summarizes Kramrish's further remarks as "It is an animal made by art with the body of a lion and may have the beak of a parrot. The sārdula is commonly associated with pearls which often issue from its mouth." Often the sārdula at Begram is shown with a rider who holds the sword of knowledge.

47 In this respect, see Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas II, pp. 50-53.

48 See J. Vogel, The Goose in Indian Literature and Art, pp. 57-8, P1. VI.

49 B. Rowland, AAI, pp. 43-44, 48-49, with respect to the stupa and the pillar. See the seal of P1. II (6) in Coomaraswamy's HILA for an early representation of the sacred tree; later, Tibetan paintings make the role of the tree as the support of the heavens very clear.

50 See Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, pp. 4-14, regarding the various inhabitants of Kubera's paradise.

51 Rowland, AAI, P1. 14(A).

52 Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, P1. 11 (1), (2).

53 Yakṣas, P1. 5.

54 Barrett, SABM, P1. VII.

55 Yakṣas, P1. 6 (2); Yakṣas II, P1. 2(3) and note P1. 18 (2), which shows two yakṣhis together, one holding an object which is probably a mirror.
Ingholt, GAP, p. 150, states that this relief belong to Group III, and for reasons explained in the following chapter, this group should properly fall somewhere between 51 and 89 of Kanishka's era, according to Ingholt's chronology.

Ingholt, GAP, Cat. 361, described on p. 151.

Brihat-samhitā, LVI (15).

Rowland, AAI, PI. 73 (A).

Signs of this developing concept are the Gandharan sculptures which pair Ḫāriti-ARDOXSHO with Pāncika-PHARRO. See Rosenfield, DAK, p. 94 for a discussion of sakti with respect to the Kushans.

Buddhacarita, X.9, trans. by Johnston, p. 142.

Fleet, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors, p. 50. The political background for this statement, according to Rosenfield, DAK, p. 306, n. 102, was the fact that Skandagupta had not been the legitimate heir to the throne as his mother had not been crowned Queen.

See n. 20 above with respect to the reliefs showing the Cakravartin and his Seven Jewels.


Raghuvaṃsa, L.32; see Rosenfield, DAK, p. 199.

Described, Rosenfield, DAK, p. 102. It is placed in the period of Huvishka on the basis of letter types and coin cognates.

Rosenfield, DAK, p. 198.


Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas II, PI. 14 (1).


Rosenfield, DAK, Coin 166.

Ibid., Coin 165.

Ibid., p. 94.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III: STYLE

1 The ayagapetta is inscribed with the date 72 of an era not defined. However, Bachhofer considers this to be the Vikrama era and he dates the Amohini relief at A.D. 14. Most scholars agree in this respect. See EIS, Pl. 74.

2 This is an observation made by Rowland, AAA, p. 27.

3 Rowland, AAA, makes reference to the Pompeii ivory with respect to the Begram works; Mirella Levi D'ancona, "An Indian Statuette from Pompeii," AA, XIII, 3 (1950), pp. 166-80, also believes them to be related, although she compares the ivory mirror handle with a statuette and fragment of a head from Begram, rather than with the ivory plaque.

4 Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, Pl. 10.


7 D'ancona, p. 173, n. 18. The Yakshi from Sāñchi compared with the ivory is a well-worn example and offers little detail with respect to facial characteristics. See p. 174 for a comparison, which concludes that "the ivory statuette is manifestly later". It is dated to the middle of the first century A.D.

8 Ibid., p. 176. The reference consulted was K. de B. Codrington and W. Rothenstein, Ancient India, (London, 1926), pl. 27A.

9 The "middle phase" according to Barrett, SABM, p. 56 can be linked with an inscription of king who may have ruled in A.D. 157. Actually the "middle phase" would seem to cover the early second century as well as the mid-century period. See Pl. 27A.


11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p. 97. Spink has observed that an inscription in the chaitya hall should be dated to A.D. 120, and he assumes that work was completed by this date.

13 Ingholt, GAP, p. 30. The Buddhist image of the year 51 is mentioned but not illustrated in Bachhofer, EIS, I, pp. 101-104. Ingholt also refers to J.E. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, The
"Scythian" Period, (Leiden, 1949), wherein the sculpture is illustrated, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 39.

14 Jeannine Auboyer, curator of the Musée Guimet, who has examined the ivory first-hand, made mention of the Brāhmī character in conversation, May 30, 1969.

15 Rosenfield, DAK, p. 106.

16 The inscription on this pedestal is sometimes read samvat 79; however, I have accepted Rosenfield's listing as the year 49. See Rosenfield, DAK, Appendix I.

17 About the relief, Rosenfield, DAK, pp. 209-10, says: "The descriptive, assertive quality of earlier statements was superseded by a formal principle which was hieratic in spirit. Scenes from the Jātaka tales diminished in quantity and dramatic content; narrative episodes from the life of the Buddha became increasingly condensed in their presentation; conversely cult images became more and more refined as vehicles of artistic expression. The large relief panel from Huvishka's Vihāra clearly reveals these tendencies at work at about A.D. 225.

18 This pedestal was found at Sāñchi, but it is believed that it was transported from Mathura. The date has been subject to controversy, but Rosenfield, DAK, p. 295, states that there is little doubt that the pedestal belongs to the newer Kushan era.

19 See Rosenfield, DAK, Appendix I, for inscription listing. Bachhofer, EIS, I, p. 110 and II, Pl. 103, dates this tympanum to A.D. 127 using for the date of Kanishka's accession, A.D. 78. This would mean that he assigns the tympanum to the year 49 of Kanishka's era.

20 See Stern and Benesti, Amarāvatī, who assign the pertinent reliefs to "first part" of four classifications.

21 Smith, Jain Stūpa, Pl. LXXXVI, LXXXVIII, LXXXXIX, XC VIII. The folds marks also appear on a Bodhisattva from Sarnath. See Vogel, SM, Pl. XXVIII(b).

22 Ingholt, GAP, Pl. IV (1).
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Fig. 1 Women Standing under a Torana. Ivory from Begram.
Fig. 2 Map, Kushan Empire.
Fig. 3 Ivory Mirror Handle found at Pompeii.
Fig. 4 Vidiśā Ivory Carvers' Panel at Sāñchī.
Fig. 5
Scheme of Reassembled Furnishing.
Fig. 6 Jaina Ayagapetta from Kankali Tilā.
Fig. 7 Yakshi from Gandhāra.
Fig. 8 Palace Scene from Gandhāra.
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Fig. 10 Umā and Śiva, Gupta period.
Fig. 11 Amarāvati Railing Pillar.
Fig. 12 Donor Couple from Karli.
Fig. 13  Donor Couple from Kārli.
Fig. 14 Bhūtesvar Railing Figure.
Fig. 15 Bhūtesvar Railing Figure.
Fig. 16 Panel from Gandhāra.
Fig. 17  Indrasāla Cave, dated year 89, Gandhāra.
Fig. 18 Nāgarāja, dated year 52, from Bhūteśvar.
Fig. 19 Bodhisattva Trinity dated year 39, Mathura.
Fig. 20 Kushan Princely Portrait Statue, dated year 42.
Fig. 21  Jaina Pedestal dated year 49, from Kāṅkālī Talā.
Fig. 22 The Visit of Indra from Mathura.
Fig. 23 Fragment of Lintel from Huvishka's Vihāra.
Fig. 24 Kārttikeya dated year 11 (second Kushan era).
Fig. 25  Sāñchi Pedestal dated year 22 (second Kushan era).
Fig. 26 Tympanum from Kanikali Tilā.
Fig. 27  Tympanum from Mathurā region.
Fig. 28 Drawing of Fragment from Kānkālī Tīlā.