

## Understanding A Newly Comprehension

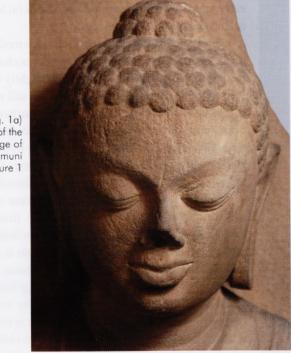
pectacularly beautiful, the stone carving of north-central India during the Gupta period (319-c. 500), and especially that of the late 4th and the 5th centuries, has stood for years as the archetype of all that is wonderful about Indic sculpture. It is therefore both familiar to a broad audience and quite well understood as to its general iconographic content. However, in my opinion, there is more to be learned about and from these 'documents' of human activity. Such documents can be read as easily as a text if the interpreter takes the considerable time to learn the vocabulary of gestures and the symbolic content of the signs and symbols of the image under discussion. Admittedly, this is a rigorous exercise one that I have spent 45 years doing - and I am still far from satisfied with my level of comprehension.

The purpose of this article is to share a number of images and some new observations on the iconography of the great 5th century Buddha images of Sarnath (in today's Uttar Pradesh in north-central India), the site of the historical Buddha Shakyamuni's (d. c. 400 BCE) first (earthly) exposition of the Buddha Dharma to the five mendicants who were his companions during the time when he practised asceticism. Known in the sutras as either the Mrigadava ('Game Reserve', often translated as 'Deer Park') or the Rishipatana ('Place of the Rishis' or 'Sages'), it is one of the initial four places of pilgrimage mentioned in the Mahaparinirvana Sutra, and has been known as a paribhogaka (a 'relic of association', referring to a place of the Buddha's activity or an item used by him) site of Shakyamuni throughout its history. It shares that distinction with the location of Shakyamuni's birth at Lumbini garden (in today's Nepal), his awakening or enlightenment at Bodhgaya (in India's Bihar

(Fig. 1) Shakyamuni From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Gupta period, 2nd half of the 5th century Sandstone Height including chattra 2.13 m (approximately) Sarnath Site Museum

## the 5th Century Buddhas of Sarnath: Identified Mudra and a New of the Dharmachakra Mudra

John Huntington



(Fig. 1a) Head of the image of Shakyamuni in Figure 1



(Fig. 1b) Right hand of the image of Shakyamuni in Figure 1

state), and his death, or *parinirvana* ('complete cessation [from all rebirths]'), at Kushinagara (in Uttar Pradesh) (see this author's series of articles, 'Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus', in *Orientations*, November 1985-September 1986).

In comparison with the other sites, Sarnath is distinctive, in terms of the number of early images discovered there, and also with regard to their iconography, which is only partially site specific. Lumbini has yielded very few sculptures at all, and seems to have been primarily the location of a temple dedicated to the birth that dates back to the reign of Emperor Ashoka (273-232 BCE). Kushinagara also seems to have consisted mainly of a temple of the parinirvana from at least as early as the Maurya period (322-185 BCE), and the sculptural finds there have again been minimal. Although there is a great deal of late sculpture at Bodhgaya, mostly proto-Pala (7th-8th century) and Pala school (8th-12th century), images dating to the 6th century and before are either no longer extant, or have yet to be excavated. However, since the British archaeologist Alexander Cunningham (1814-93) found Maurya and Shunga period (185-72 BCE) material in his late 19th century excavation and restoration of the Mahabodhi temple there, I doubt if Gupta objects actually existed in any quantity, and suspect that



(Fig. 1c) Left hand of the image of Shakyamuni in Figure 1



(Fig. 2) Shakyamuni From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Kushan period, 2nd century Sandstone Height 1.82 m (approximately) Sarnath Site Museum

the temple, as with those at Lumbini and Kushinagara, was the major centre of attention.

The situation at Sarnath is radically different. The site has yielded many – perhaps a hundred or more – 5th and early 6th century images of a standing Buddha making the *abhaya mudra* with his right hand and holding the hem of his robe with his left. Of the several examples on display at the Sarnath Museum, that in Figure 1 is one of the most intact, and is accompanied by the umbrella that protects images of the Buddha Shakyamuni. The umbrella accompanying the image is seen with Buddhas from the Kushan period (c. 78-240) on, and seems to have been one of the early sculptural iconographic conventions (at least 1st or 2nd century in stone images).

The face and head exhibit the sensuous modelling, protuberant thick lips and half-closed eyes characteristic of the Gupta style, and although slightly weathered from burial, the snail-shell curls are still evident in the mass of hair (Fig. 1a). Most important to our understanding of the message of the image are the hands (Figs 1b and 1c). The abhaya mudra made by the right hand, with its graceful, webbed fingers (one of the 32 major marks of a Buddha) and utterly relaxed openness, while generally known as the gesture of 'bestowing the absence of fear', is known from very early (c. 1st or 2nd century CE) Gandharan depictions of the first teaching (in which Shakyamuni is shown seated), and is thus the first known version of the teaching gesture. The left hand of the image holds and proffers to the observer the hem of the robe, or sangati. The meaning of this dual gesture is now lost in art-historical literature, but it survives in vidhi - ritual manuals that are used by Nepalese and Japanese teachers in Buddhist practice to the present day. In general, it is known as the vyakarana mudra, the 'symbolic gesture of prediction'. Interestingly enough, this mudra expresses the strictly Mahayana paradigm of having to receive a prediction of one's own future enlightenment from a samyaksambodhi Buddha (an 'awakened one', one who has absolutely complete, highest awakening). This moment in a person's many lives was the point at which attainment was assured from which one could not fall back into unfortunate rebirths (durgati). The subject of a prediction, an important topic in Mahayana sutras, was a major feature of the Maitreya cult, and early in popular practice became an important ritual aspect of the Buddhist iconographic vocabulary. The number of images, especially of Shakyamuni, depicted making the gesture demonstrates that it was very popular in the Kushan period. While it cannot be said that in the Kushan era it is always Shakyamuni who makes it, however, by the Gupta era this appears to be the case.









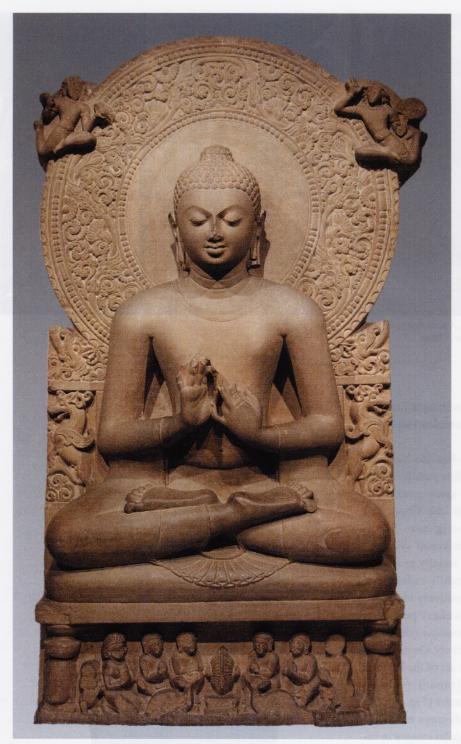
(Fig. 3) From left: Maitreya (east), Vajrapani (south), Avalokiteshvara (west) and Manjushri (north) Chaitya at Nakhachuk Bahal, Nakhachuk tole, Patan, Nepal Licchavi period, c. 6th century Unidentified stone
Overall height (not shown) 1.5 m (approximately)

The dual *mudra* is in evidence at Sarnath in images from the Kushan period as well, such as the (now incomplete) sculpture in Figure 2.

Kushan era sculptural examples of the Buddha Maitreya (the future Buddha who descends from Tushita paradise at the idealized time of Ketumati) make the same gesture as Shakyamuni. However, it appears that by the Gupta era, Maitreya images displayed a variant of the gesture. This is known as the vishvavyakarana mudra ('universal symbolic gesture of prediction'), with the right hand usually in vara or varada mudra (the 'gift-bestowing gesture') rather than abhaya mudra. Regrettably, there are no positively identified 5th century Indian images. Yet, a mid-Licchavi period (c. 400-750) image on the circa 6th century chaitya (shrine) at Nakhachuk Bahal in Patan, Nepal, is positively identified by the fact it is part of a standard iconographic set of the Buddha Maitreya (east) accompanied by Vajrapani (south), Avalokiteshvara (west) and Manjushri (north) (Fig. 3). Because this is the standard iconography for Maitreya in 5th and 6th century Nepal, it suggests that such Buddha images in India are probably Maitreya as well (Fig. 4). This identification would place a cult of Maitreya's descent at the time of Ketumati all across India in the 5th and 6th centuries, setting so-called 'Paradise Cult Buddhism' broadly in India – a major revision of our understanding of Buddhism. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that in early 4th to 6th century Chinese popular Buddhism, meditating to 'see the Buddha' was a common practice for temporary benefit as well as soteriological purposes, and that the same iconographies with the two mudra variations appear in Chinese images of the 4th and 5th centuries. It is generally accepted that, during the Kushan era, Buddhism was being imported into China from



(Fig. 4) Maitreya Buddha From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Gupta period, 2nd half of the 5th century Sandstone Height 1.5 m (approximately) Indian Museum, Kolkata



(Fig. 5) Shakyamuni From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Gupta period, 2nd half of the 5th century Sandstone Height 1.37 m (approximately) Sarnath Site Museum



(Fig. 5b) Detail of the image of Shakyamuni in Figure 5 showing the 'edge-on' wheel and Mount Meru platform



(Fig. 5a) Detail of the image of Shakyamuni in Figure 5 showing his audience and the 'edge-on' wheel

the West, especially from Parthian Iran, and Kushan Gandhara and Kashmir, while in the 5th and 6th centuries it was more likely to have been brought into China from northern and central India. Thus, I think it is appropriate to expect to find that the soteriological practice of 'receiving a prediction of enlightenment' was grounded in Indic images as well.

The ubiquity of such images of both Shakyamuni and Maitreya Buddhas at Sarnath suggests that the prediction of enlightenment was an extremely important practice for visi-

tors to the site, at least from the 2nd to the 6th/7th century. In view of the costly nature of stone sculptures, presumably offered by pilgrims, and their relatively large number, I would like to suggest that Sarnath was an – or literally *the* – important place to receive such a prediction in north-central India.

n spite of being the commemoration site for the 'first teaching', images depicting that event from the Gupta period (by which time the seated Shakyamuni usually displayed a form of the dharmachakra mudra rather than the abhaya mudra in such representations), although generally not rare, are not at all common at Sarnath or at surrounding sites. However, one pre-eminent image does survive, apparently from the late Gupta era (c. 450-75) temple of the first teaching (Fig. 5). By any measure, the image is magnificent in many ways. First and foremost, while the product of a long stylistic development, its original concept that of the historical Buddha teaching his former ascetic colleagues at the Mrigadava - is most eloquently stated. Nowhere in the whole of Buddhist art is there a more clearly and specifically articulated vision of the event than this image.

Nonetheless, true to many 5th century Buddhist images, it conveys far more than the simple idea of the 'first teaching'. The image is also highly nuanced, and to the aware observer has a vastly more complex Buddhological message, to be read on several levels. The Buddha is seated with crossed legs in the vajraparyanka asana (adamantine sitting posture), wearing a clinging robe that is thin to almost non-existent and displaying a version of the dharmachakra parivartana mudra ('the symbolic gesture of completely turning the wheel of Dharma') with his hands. He sits on an elaborate throne, beneath which are seven figures and a wheel, or dharmachakra, seen 'edge-on', with two antelopes in attendance (Fig. 5a). Five of these figures (the third to the seventh from the left) are the five ascetics to whom the first earthly teaching was given, thereby specifically identifying the image as representing the teaching at the Mrigadava. It is usually said that the presence of the antelopes and the wheel (whether edge-on or flatly depicted) are also symbolic of the first teaching; however, by the 5th century in Indic Asia and beyond, the antelope-dharmachakra symbol also refers to the generic teaching of the Buddha in all contexts, and must therefore be understood as both a specific and a generic reference to the teachings. Yet, because other elements indicate that this image is at the Mrigadava, the point of its generic nature is moot: obviously it is the teaching at Sarnath.



(Fig. 6) Shakyamuni as Vairochana, flanked by Avalokiteshvara and Vajrapani Cave 4, Ajanta, Maharashtra, India Gupta period, late 5th century Volcanic 'trap rock' Height 4.27 m (approximately)



(Fig. 7) Lintel of a door or window frame showing 'edge-on' wheel and antelopes
Licchavi period, c. 450-550
Schist

Height 0.3 m, length 1.5 m (approximately) National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu, Nepal

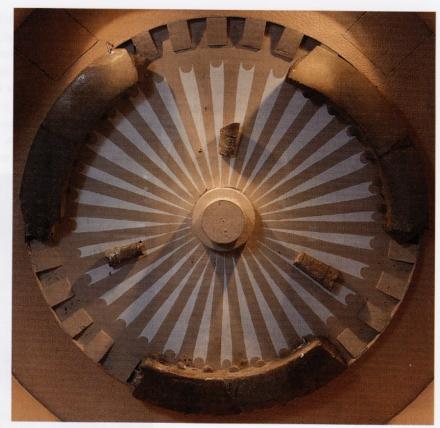
(Fig. 8) Wheel fragments
From the lion capital of Emperor Ashoka
(r. 273-232 BCE) at Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India
Maurya period, c. 250-240 BCE
Sandstone
Diameter 1.07 m (approximately)
Sarnath Site Museum

On the viewer's left are a kneeling female and a standing child, or possibly a dwarf attendant (who are common in this period), but because of the damage to the figure it is impossible to be certain. These are undoubtedly added to the group as patroness-devotee and child or attendant, a common practice throughout the history of Buddhist art.

Three components of the sculpture are deeply rooted in the artistic conception of India, and of the Buddhists in particular. These are the *dharmachakra*, the Mount Meru platform on which the *dharmachakra* sits (Fig. 5b), and the Buddha's throne itself. In addition, the Buddha image also exhibits one of the more innovative features of the time in the *mudra* version displayed by the two hands in front of the chest (see Fig. 12, B and B1).

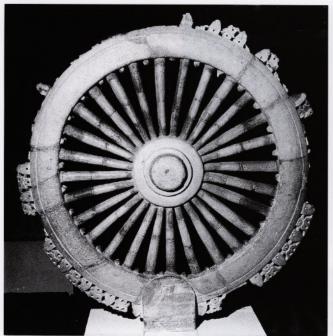
The edge-on view of the dharmachakra has been noted by art historians as a Gupta period stylistic convention found geographically from the Ajanta caves in Maharashtra state to the Kathmandu valley in Nepal (Figs 6 and 7). I am afraid I must disagree with the consensus on the symbol as a stylistic feature. Rather, I am convinced that it is graphic recognition of the fact that the Dharma is to be set in motion (parivartana, lit. 'completely turning'). A flat or side view of a wheel as essentially a disc has no inherent idea of motion and could simply be a display of the wheel affixed to a wall as a symbol. However, an edge-on wheel would have to be in motion in order to balance in an upright position. Further, such a view also indicates that the wheel is rotating forward, out towards the viewer, and therefore that the Dharma will be among those who see it. While sculptures depicting the first teaching from the 5th and 6th centuries are significantly less common than from later periods and we have far fewer examples of the edge-on chakra, it appears to me that the edge-on wheel is still the usual convention during that period rather than the flat type, and therefore that its depiction is motivated by something more forceful, in other words iconographic correctness, rather than simple 'stylistic' considerations.

As can be easily seen, the wheel itself is of the multispoked variety, with an estimated 32 spokes (see Fig. 5b). This seems quite natural, as the wheel that once topped the great Ashokan pillar at Sarnath also had 32 spokes (Fig. 8), as did many early *dharmachakra*, and variants with eight, as well as sixteen and 24 spokes, which are both multiples of eight, are also known. (There are occasional odd-numbered examples.)

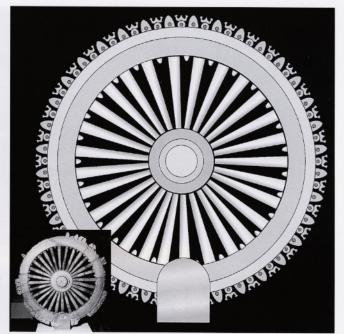


The present understanding of the *dharmachakra* as signifying the teaching of the Eightfold Path according to the Buddha's methodology was probably current throughout the history of the symbol. Indeed, the earliest known representation of an eight-spoked *dharmachakra* is on a coin of the Indo-Greek king, Menander (r. c. 165 or 155-c. 130 BCE), now in the British Museum.

However, it strikes me that in early Buddhism, there was once much more to the symbol of the chakra in the sense of power and authority (the 'universal monarch', called a chakravartin, or 'wheel turner', is ultimately the most powerful and authoritarian of all kings), perhaps specifically engendered by the Mauryan usage at Sarnath and its spread through much of the Indic world in subsequent copies as commonly found in early monuments. One of the most elaborate presently known is the great 2nd century chakra from Amaravati, the site of an Ashokan Buddhist stupa in today's Andhra Pradesh, which is best understood from a reconstruction drawing (Figs 9a and 9b). I think it is based on a description of Indra's vajra weapon or 'bolt' in the Rig Veda, in which it is said: '[the god] Tvastar turned for thee [Indra], the Mighty, the bolt [vajra] with thousand spikes and hundred edges' (Rig Veda VI: 17.10; www.hinduwebsite.com/sacredscripts/ rigintro.asp). Such a symbol would have been instantly recognizable to any educated member of the Brahmin caste who had memorized the Rig Veda as a child. Usurping Indra's ultimate weapon along with well-known representations of Indra and Brahma offering homage to the meditating Buddha, in the cultural context of the time, would have been powerful statements



(Fig. 9a) Wheel From Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh, India Maurya/Shunga period, c. 200-100 BCE Marble Height approximately 1.37 m Amaravati Site Museum



(Fig. 9b) Reconstruction of the wheel in Figure 9a (By the author)

of the primacy of Buddhism over Brahmanism. By the time of this 5th century sculpture, such propagandistic devices were probably more a matter of traditional convention than meaningful communication. Yet their roots run deep, and the great Dharmachakra Buddha of Sarnath is an inheritor of such once hidden messages.

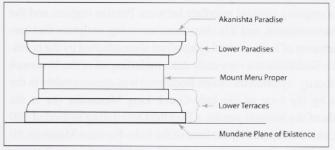
Another tradition-steeped element may be seen in the very specific type of platform on which the *dharmachakra* rests, which is still in common use in the present day. It is a simplified convention for Mount Meru, the meditational cosmological mountain, found ubiquitously throughout the Buddhist world (Fig. 10). While to the casual observer this might seem like over-reading, it is not. Indeed the designation 'Sumeru' (another name for [Mount] Meru) with reference to this type of platform has survived simply transliterated into East Asian languages, where in Japanese, for example, we find 'Sumedan', with the combined meaning 'Platform of the Excellent Mountain'. By the placement of the wheel on the

Mount Meru platform, the statement is made that 'the Dharma abides [eternally] in the heavens above Mount Meru', and the symbol serves as a specific reminder of the five certainties of the teaching of the Dharma to monks. They are: 1) the place is always Akanishta paradise; 2) the teacher is always the Buddha Vairochana; 3) the peers are always tenth-rank bodhisattvas; 4) the teachings are always the Great Vehicle; and 5) the time is always the eternal continuum of past, present and future.

Finally, we must consider the messages of the Buddha's throne (asana) and its accourrements (Fig. 11). By the late 5th century, there were four different types of seats/supports for a Buddha. These are:

- 1) The *vajrasana*, the Buddha's seat of awakening; both a statement of his awakening and inherent in all the following types.
- 2) The *simhasana* or 'lion throne', which is identical to the *rajasana*, the 'seat of a king'; the Buddha is usually considered a *chakravartin* king, thus making a positive identity of the two thrones, which are not physically different from each other.
- 3) The [Mount] Meru asana; the seat at the highest heaven of Mount Meru (i.e. Akanishta paradise), indicating the universality and eternity of the Dharma and the Buddha Shakyamuni's identity with Vairochana.
- 4) The *padmasana*, or 'lotus throne'; essentially a reaffirmation of the Mount Meru *asana* because it is specifically the '1,000-petalled lotus throne of Vairochana in Akanishta'.

These can be combined in any number of ways or used singly, as in the case of the Sarnath Dharmachakra Buddha. Here the throne is the simplest form of *rajasana*, with only mythical



(Fig. 10) Drawing of the Mount Meru platform under the wheel in Figure 5b (By the author)



(Fig. 11) Diagram of the throne components in Figure 5 and their iconography

creatures such as *makara* (a quasi-elephantine water creature) reclining on the cross-bar at the top of the throne back, and the *vyalaka* or *shardula* (originally a winged lion that has many forms in South Asia) addorsed against the uprights on the sides of the throne back. As mentioned in 2) above, this then represents the Buddha as the ruler of mundane space, in other words, the mortal teacher of humans known as a *nirmanakaya*, or 'transformation Buddha', which is entirely in keeping with the nature of the setting as the place of the first teaching.

On the other hand, the halo (prabhamandala) or 'circle of radiance', flying attendants (chauridhara) and the particular version of the dharmachakra mudra add details of information that aid the comprehension of the knowledgeable viewer. The prabhamandala indicates the Buddha's transcendence and illuminating attainment. This is an Indic outgrowth of the Persian royal symbol of khvarnah, signifying 'being chosen to lead' in Sasano-Iranian iconography, and in Buddhism represents the ultimate authority of the teacher. The flying attendants circle the teacher's head and symbolize the gods (deva) of the various heavens honouring the Buddha, his wisdom and his teaching. They simply add to his 'khvarnah' symbolism and reiterate his attainment (see sidebar).

The *mudra*, examined carefully, is quite different from what one might expect from a depiction of the first teaching. We can see clearly that the left *middle* finger is the one pointing to the circle formed by the right hand (Fig. 12, B and B1). As Chaya Chandrasekhar and I have shown elsewhere, there is a hierarchy of teachings

'The divine Glory or farr-e izadi (old Persian: khvarnah) in an everlasting principle of Iranian political ideology .... Yet little attention has been devoted to the visual symbolism of farr and its potential of shedding more light on our perception of ancient Iranian history.' With this introduction in his Preface (p. xi), Abolala Soudavar begins his study of The Aura of Kings: Legitimacy and Divine Sanction in Iranian Kingship (Costa Mesa, California, 2003). This small volume is one of those seminal studies that instantly change one's perspective on a topic. In it Soudavar traces, linguistically and visually, the auras and other elements of royal regalia from recent Mughal usage to the Achaemenid dynasty (550-330 BCE). In doing so, he explains how the halo, ribbons and other paraphernalia are not symbols of direct individual divinity but of investiture by the god(s) of authority and power. This is illustrated by the gods' offering of a beribboned diadem (xvarrah) to the king. This is most commonly known in Indic art on the coins of the Great Kushans. Beribboned, haloed and variously crowned monarchs have existed since Achaemenid times, and flourished in the Parthian (247 BCE-CE 228) and Sasanian (226-651) dynasties of ancient Persia. In the northern Indic regions of Gandhara (now in Pakistan) and Bactria (in modern northern Afghanistan and southern Tajikistan), there was an ongoing cultural interface between Persian regions and the Indic subcontinent, and it is clear from surviving sculpture that certain elements of Iranian royal symbolism were adopted by the northwestern Buddhists at a very early date, including all of the khvarnah or 'authority' symbolism. Since Buddhism was demonstrably in the region by the time of the Indo-Greek king Menander (he is the Milinda of the Milinda panha, a Buddhist text dating to around 100 BCE), and widespread by the time of the Indo-Parthian Maues (c. 90 or 85-60 BCE), the assimilation must have taken place in the very beginning of the formative period of Buddhist art.

(Fig. 12) A and A1: Shakyamuni teaching the 'first' turning of the Dharma wheel while displaying the dharmachakra parivartana mudra with the left forefinger pointing to the wheel From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Gupta period, mid-5th century Sandstone
Height 1.2 m (approximately)
Sarnath Site Museum

B and B1: Image of Shakyamuni in Figure 5 teaching the 'first' turning of the Dharma wheel while displaying the dharmachakra parivartana mudra with the left middle finger pointing to the wheel From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Gupta period, 2nd half of the 5th century Sandstone Height 1.37 m (approximately) Sarnath Site Museum

C and C1: Shakyamuni teaching the 'first' turning of the Dharma wheel while displaying the dharmachakra parivartana mudra with the left middle finger pointing to the wheel From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India Post-Gupta (319-c. 500) or Vardhana period (c. 500-647), late 6th/early 7th century Sandstone
Height 25cm (approximately) Indian Museum, Kolkata



based on the statement in the Avatamsaka Sutra that Shakyamuni, at the very moment of his enlightenment, ascended to Akanishta paradise and, donning his Vairochana robes, gave the first teaching to the bodhisattvas in residence there, the subject of which was the Avatamsaka Sutra itself (Huntington and Chandrasekhar, 2000). This sutra, describing the transcendent glory of the Dharma and of the abode of Vairochana, had gained wide popularity by the 5th century, and culminating in the cult of Brihad (or colossal) Buddhas, which in the 7th and 8th centuries included many images of Vairochana among others (for example, at the Longmen caves in Henan province, China; at Todaiji in Nara, Japan; at Bamiyan in Afghanistan; and at Parihaspur in Kashmir). Given the assumed primacy of the teaching of the Avatamsaka, the teaching at the Mrigadava became the second teaching, which is thus indicated by the left middle (second) finger pointing to the circle made by the right hand. This symbolism is carried through to a third teaching of general Mahayana, using the ring finger, and the very widely known fourth teaching of the Vairochana-based tantras (Mahavairochana Abhisambodhi, Sarvatathagata Tattvasamgraha and Sarvadurgati Parishodana), in which the left little finger points to the circle made by the right hand (see Fig. 6).

What is especially interesting at Sarnath is that a transition takes place in the mid-5th century from the left forefinger being used for the first earthly teaching to the left middle finger, indicating that it was the second teaching (see Fig. 12, A and A1, and B and B1, respectively). The middle finger conven-

tion seems to continue in most, if not all, later images at Sarnath displaying the *dharmachaka mudra* (see Fig. 12, C and C1), providing a clear point (c. 460-70) of transition in belief and teachings at a major Buddhist site.

In closing, I will point out that these are but a few of the more subtle nuances of Buddhist art. The reason for them is simple; much of Buddhist practice was secret, or at least reserved for the initiated. My colleague, Dina Bangdel and I learned this in great detail when we were working on Nepalese (Newar) Buddhism in preparation for the exhibition 'Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art' (2003-04), which we curated. As Buddhism moves to the West, the openness and sharing will become vastly greater as there is little reason to protect the secret methodologies in a pluralistic society.

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