

An unique uninscribed image of *Varaha* incarnation of *Vishnu* from *Makhpa*, Bihar, India

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Abstract-

The village *Makhpa* in *Gaya* district of *Bihar*, India is not known among students and scholars of art history and archaeology as a place containing rare specimens of *Pala* art. A visit to this village revealed a sculptural treasure waiting to be studied. This paper aims to present an iconographic analysis of a unique uninscribed *Varaha* incarnation of *Vishnu* which is available in the sanctum of a community temple in this village. Dating back to 10th or 11th century AD, this image carries perhaps the first known example of goddess *Laxmi* with ambrosia, or the Earth Goddess with the *purna kumbha* or *ghata*, seated on the elbow of *Varaha*. This exquisite piece of art embodies an amalgamation of extant artistic traditions since *Gupta* era. This specimen is not just an example of *Pala* art, but rather a rare piece of art that deserves a detailed study.

Introduction

Makhpa is a small village located 1.5-mile NW of the bus stand, *Tekari*, the *tehsil* headquarters in *Gaya* district of *Bihar* province. This village is well connected with a single lane road and has all the basic amenities and communication network. The community temple with the statue under study in its sanctum is located at the entry point in the village. The temple has a number of *Pala* sculptures¹ arranged in and around the sanctum, in *pradakshina path* (or circumbulatory path). Some of the sculptures are supported by the wall while others have been cemented with it.

The Icon

In the small sanctum, the main figure is a *Varaha* sculpture (**Fig.1**), which is rare in this area. This sculpture is about 8 feet tall and about 3 feet broad. It has all the characteristics of *Pala* sculpture which will be described later. At the very first glance, this appears to be an usual *Varaha* incarnation of *Vishnu*, which has got its earliest representation in *Gupta* age rock cut cave no.5 in *Udayagiri*, near *Vidisha* (MP). From the same period, we have a seal (no.54) from *Basarh*, excavated by Spooner in 1913-14, which has no legend but on its oval surface there is a figure of boar or *Varaha* recumbent to its left². This could be considered as the earliest representation of *Varaha avatar* in Indian art. There are various texts explaining and eulogising this scene, where the *Varaha* or Boar incarnation of Lord *Vishnu*

is coming out of the primaeval or cosmic sea, holding goddess Earth on his tusk, defeating the *daitya Hiranyaksha*; and being praised by gods, demigods and sages. These include mostly religious texts like *Puranas* (e.g., *Agni*, *Varaha*, *Matsya*.); *Agamas* (e.g., *Vaikhanas*) and iconographic texts such as the *Vishnudharmottara purana*, *Silparatna*. Besides these texts, there are other secular texts like *Kalidasa's Raghuvamsham*³ and *Hemadri's Chaturvarga Chintamani*⁴ and others, which have given very beautiful and scenic description of this event.



Fig.1 *Varaha*, late 10th to early 11th century, *Pala* dynasty, *Makhpa*

Let us look at the *Varaha* image of *Makhpa*. The image is having four arms. The lower left holding the conch or *Shankha* in inverted position pointing downward, on the elbow of same hand rescued figure of goddess *Prithvi* (**Fig 2**) is seated, who is holding the water vase (*Purna Ghata* or *Purna Kumbh*) in her left hand, while the right hand seems to be in *abhaya mudra*; but it is showing her being shy in front of the great lord *Varaha*, or *Vishnu* incarnated. Her left leg is damaged. In his upper left-hand lord *Varaha* is holding *Chakra* or Wheel. The upper right hand is holding the *gada* or mace, while the lower right hand is resting on the waist (*Katyavalambita* or *kati hasta*). His snout is projecting to the left as mentioned in iconographic texts like *Vishnudharmottara purana*. His left foot is on a lotus pedestal held by a female with snake's hood or *Nagi*, while the male counterpart of her (i.e. the *Adi Shesha*) is in reverence with folded hand (*anjelibaddha*) on the right side. His *Sudarshan chakra* is probably a *prayog chakra* or in action mode, as suggested by the texts, which shows how he was in

action with the demon *Hiranyaksh* inside the cosmic ocean for freeing the goddess Earth. He is wearing *vanamala*, (usually made of lotus, but this one seemed to be made of *naga kesar*, an effect of *Pala* school). Another foot is resting on a tortoise (or *Kurma*) (**Fig.4**).



Fig.2. Goddess *Prithvi* holding *Kalash* (water pitcher)



Fig.3 Details of Pedestal



Fig.4 Right foot on *Kurma* (tortoise); Acc.to *Vishnudharmottara Purana* & *Matsya Purana*

On the lower pedestal (**Fig.3**) of this sculpture three figures can be seen on the same platform. On the right, a lady is worshipping with folded hands, while on the opposite side two more figures are sitting with folded hands, one seems to be a bearded man, while the second one seems to be part of the decoration or a *naga* (snake). In an attempt to understand, it seems to be a *naga* family under the sea, who is asking for the lord's mercy. Traditionally they can be donor or devotees, who are usually depicted at the same level on the lower pedestal.⁵ The scroll like engravings between the two images of lower pedestal present this whole scene as of underwater world, with wavy foliage and snakes. These scroll type engravings can also be found in other *Varaha* images⁶. Whole figure is part of a stela, so in

another word we can call this image as in high relief. Two *vidyadhara*s are flying on top of the frame, holding garlands by both hands. From right side a lotus stalk goes above the head and covers the deity's head as an inverted lotus, in which the deity seems to be emerging from the ocean surface. On both sides of the stela, there are two *Vyala* (leogryph) figures looking in the opposite side of god. An almost circular *prabhamandal* or halo, behind his head can be seen, which is having beaded border, a major characteristic of *Pala* ages. On the whole this seems to be made likely in copy of a bronze statue, as the stela suggested with the leftover gap between the outer frame and the inner one, which hold the main image. This is to keep the image independent from the background but it seems to be more clinging towards the frame, as the postures suggest to be more and more into background and just become a part of it. This type of development started in 9th century to 10th century in *Pala* Sculpture, but leogryph findings with this specimen can be considered of a later development⁷. Huntington categorically states that *vyala* figures are usually represented in both Brahmanical and Buddhist figures alike, but they appeared flat until late 11th and 12th century, when whole frame of stela with all details viz. garland holding *vidyadhara*s, *vyalas*, two or four attendants and devotees or donors on lower pedestal; appeared rather prominently almost free from the background, except one thing, i.e. here *prabhamandal* or halo is not elongated, rather it is near to be circular⁸. There is another representation of *Varaha* sculpture from *Silimpur, Bogra* District (officially *Bogura* district of *Rajshahi* division of *Bangladesh*), with similar details sans *vyalas*, *vidyadhara*s, and devotees on lower pedestal⁹. In the reference of this image Huntington proved her point with chronology and styles that there could be transfer of artists from Bihar to Bengal in late 10th century¹⁰. On this basis we can easily find the image under study as a crude image in appearance, where his snout is very much plain and his head gear is also not a fine one; even his legs are as stiff as a stick, while the other one (from *Bogra*) is in very fine shape including well shaped snout, headdress or *mukuta* and well-shaped left leg with a natural fold on the knee.

The Iconography

Varaha incarnation of Lord *Vishnu* took place to save the Earth from the grip of *daitya Hiranyaksha*, who took Earth to the nether land or *patal loka* under the vast cosmic ocean. *Shatapatha brahman* got its earliest mentions that Emusha, a boar, raised the Earth up (XIV.1.2,11)¹¹. The *Taittiriya-Aranyaka* talks about a hundred arm black boar who saved the Earth. In *Ramayana*, *Vashishtha* says that *Brahma* took the form of a boar to save Earth. *Vishnu purana*, *Linga purana* and *Garuda purana* give the name of *Brahma* as in the form of boar, but also identify him with *Vishnu*¹².

Different *puranas* has given almost similar descriptions that goddess Earth in despair went to *Brahma*, the *Prajapati* (the eternal father or progenitor) and after being further guided to ask Lord *Vishnu*, she moved to the Lord *Vishnu*, who was lying in his Milky Ocean or *Kshir Sagar* on his serpent couch or *Shesha Shaiyya*. After being pursued by Her plea, He took the form of a Boar, who within a second expanded itself into thousand-fold and plunged itself into the deep ocean and came back while holding the goddess on/by the left tusk. After coming back victorious he was praised by

*Virinchi*¹³(*Bhagwat Purana*) or by *Sanandan*¹⁴ (*Vishnu Purana*) along with a number of other rishis (sages) for saving the goddess Earth.

There are other reasons why the subsidence of goddess Earth took place. The subsidence has been attributed to: the excessive weight of an overpopulated Earth; the excess weight of sins of sinful; a great deluge; and, Lord Vishnu's unbearable splendour¹⁵.

In different *agamas and tantras* this incarnation belonged to Lord *Vishnu* specifically. But the iconographical details described here show great variations which can be attributed to variations in texts over ages. This process, which took its initiation from *Gupta* era (*Udaigiri*) to *Badami caves* of *Chalukyan* lineage to *Mahabalipuram* of *Pallava's* affiliation and later to the study period, i.e., in *Pala* period (of 8th to 12th century) have altogether a different tale to tell. The description in ensuing paragraphs would substantiate this claims. *Vaikhanas agam*, which is a vaishnavite text gives its iconographic detail. In the present paper, relevant aspects from this text will be used. The face of boar is a bit tilted up so as to make the muzzle approach the bosom of the goddess as though he is engaged in smelling her. It has four arms, two of which hold the *sankha* and *chakra* as usual. Mythical serpent *Adishesha*, must be sculptured with his wife. The colour of the image is represented by the darkness of twilight. The associated figure of *Bhumidevi* should be decked with flowers and dressed in clothes and should be adorned with all suitable ornaments. Her complexion should be black. Her face should be expressive of shyness and joy¹⁶.

The *Silparatna* gives a slightly different description. *Nrivarahamurti* or the man-boar image of *Vishnu* should have *gada* and the *padma* in its hands and carry *Bhumidevi* on the tusk. One of its feet should rest upon the serpent *Adishesha* and the other on a tortoise. Alternatively, the goddess might be shown as seated upon the left elbow of the *Varaha*, with a *nilotpala* (blue lotus) flower in her hand. Her face should have eyes which are expressive of wonder. One of the two right hands of this *Varaha* image should be made to rest upon the hip¹⁷. Here it is clear that in *Silparatna* emphasizes that the one foot should be upon the tortoise, which is present here and the goddess should be resting on his left elbow and one of his hand should be at the hip or waist (as the *katyavalambita* posture suggests). According to *Vishnudharmottara purana*¹⁸, *Adishesha* should be in *Anjali* pose. And it also says that on the left elbow goddess Earth should be seated and that hand should be holding *sankha* or conch shell. There is another explanation of this image if we go with the description of *Agni Purana*. It says, if he (the *Varaha*) carries the figure of *Laxmi* in left hand, it should be seated upon the left elbow of the god and figures of *Bhumi* and *Adishesha* are to be near his feet¹⁹.

In this image we can find that the goddess, who is holding the pitcher/vessel can be both *Laxmi* or *Bhumidevi*, as per various scriptures. First, in particular; if presented with their consort as of this incarnation; either ones are holding only flowers; *padma* by *Laxmi* and *Nilotpala* flower by *Bhumidevi*²⁰. But if represented independently then Goddess *Laxmi* can be shown holding a pitcher of ambrosia²¹ (or *amrit-ghata*). *Vishnudharmottara purana*²² recommends that goddess Earth should have three vessels containing jewel, corn and medicinal plants in them. Here if we can look at the pitcher itself which

looks like a simple water pitcher, but its mouth seems to be overflowing. This point brings us directly to vessel of abundance or *purna ghata* or *purna kalash* or *purna kumbha*. It is evident that if we put all the three vessels in one it will be everything that Mother Earth provides us, therefore she is the fertility²³ impersonated. Here again an anomaly springs up as till date we don't have any representation of goddess Earth with *purna ghata* symbol. But on other side this symbol of eternal abundance, i.e., *Purna kumbha* is everywhere, whether we look into *Sanchi*, *Bharhut* or in *Mathura Art*, but it is always goddess *Laxmi*, who can be found with the symbol of *purna ghata* or *purna kumbha*. So, if we consider the continuation of ancient tradition of art in vogue in the study period, then this is the figure of *Laxmi*, who is sitting on the left elbow of lord *Varaha* and holding in her hand either a *amrit-ghat* or a *purna kumbha*. And the lady sitting on the side of lower pedestal is goddess Earth. Another iconographic detail gives one more point as according to the *Purva-karanagama*, *Bhudevi should be "...of dark colour and to wear red clothes as well as a golden yajnopavita on her body"*²⁴. As per this description we can actually find an *Yajnopavita* kind of jewel, hanging on her left shoulder and coming down diagonally and resting on her right hip. Now here, if we accept that this is a figure of goddess Earth, then this will be first representation of the goddess holding a pitcher, which could be regarded as a *purna kumbha*. While her hand posture may appear to be in *abhaya* pose, it is not. In the texts, she should be presented as being shy. Indeed, she is shown this way in the image under study since being the one who has been rescued, she could not show *abhay mudra*. A closer look further testifies that she is displaying shyness which is evident by the manner in which of her hand is placed near her bosom. This expression is justified in front of her great saviour, who is none other than the great Lord *Vishnu* himself; who came to save her from the *daitya Hiranyaksha*.

There is an orthodox explanation of the symbolism underlying the boar *avatara* of *Vishnu* given in the *Padma-purana*. The *Vayu-purana* also gives the same passage verbatim. In that passage it is stated that the sacrifice (*yajna*) is symbolised by the boar, and that its various limbs represent the limbs of the sacrifice. The grunt of the boar corresponds to the *Sama-ghosha* and the four legs are the four *Vedas*: the tusk is the *yupastambha* (the sacrificial post); the tongue stands for *agni* (the sacrificial fire) and the bristles constitute *darbha* grass; the head is the *Brahman* priest, the bowels form the *Udgatri* priest, and the genital organ constitutes the *Hotri* priest required to officiate in the sacrifice. The two eyes of the boar are said to be emblematic of the day and the night, and the ornaments in its ear are taken to represent the *Vedangas*. The mucous flow from the nose is the *ghee*, which is delivered into the fire by the spoon (*sruva*) consisting of the snout (*tunda*). *Prayaschitta* is represented by the *Varaha*'s hooves and their knees stand for the *pasu* (the animal victim). The air breathed is the *antaratman*, the bones of the boar constitute the *mantras*, and its blood is the soma juice. The *vedi* (the altar) is symbolised by the shoulders of the boar and the *havis* is its neck. What is called *havya-kavya* is represented by the rapid movements of the boar; the *dakshina* fee paid to the priests is its heart. The wife of the sacrificer is its shadow, while the whole body of the animal is taken as representing the sacrificial chamber. One of the ornaments on the body of the boar is made to represent the ceremony called *pravargya*²⁵.

Puranas have actually called him *Yajna-Varaha* for no reason. According to the *Vishnudharmottara*, again, the philosophic import of this *avatara* is the defeat of ignorance embodied in the shape of *Hiranyaksha* by Eternal Wisdom and Almighty Power incarnated as *Varaha-Vishnu*²⁶. Zimmerman²⁷ brought another point. He observes that it is an eternal cycle of doing and redoing which happens again and again. He quotes the lord saying himself to the goddess Earth: “Every time I carry you this way”. And same is said by the goddess²⁸ when she goes to the Lord *Vishnu* asking for help: “O lord *Krsna*, it behoves you who have in you all the worlds and the entire time, to protect me when I am sinking down”. In repetition of mythical events reiterates the cyclic and eternal nature of time. It is said that because of this event the present *kalpa* (eon) is called as *Varaha kalpa*, when it is believed that the mutual regard between *Vishnu* and Earth was at its zenith²⁹. Perhaps due to this reason the Agni-Purana says that the setting up of the *Varahamurti* for worship brings to one emancipation from *samsara* or this world or life³⁰. In south India, therefore many dynasties in later times, like the *Kakatiyas*, the *Reddis* of *Kondavidu* and the *Hindu* sovereign rulers of *Vijayanagara*, paid particular reverence to *Varaha*, by adopting the boar as their royal crest³¹.

Gaya Kshetra: A local connection

It is very curious to find this image in this village; but if we just go 30 kms to the East we will be at *Gaya*, which is a famous Vaishnavite pilgrimage centre termed as *Gaya Kshetra*³² by *Barua*. Here we have few examples as we will discuss it later. This is a well-known fact that *Gaya* is a famous pilgrimage centre for *shraddha* purpose. But before that this place is a *Vishnu kshetra*, where *Vishnu* is the lead deity, around whom this whole region walks, runs and roams. Being lord *Vishnu* is in centre, it is naturally a centre for other Vaishnavite deities. Therefore, incarnated forms of *Vishnu* are a natural search for scholars and art lovers. A number of images of incarnations of *Vishnu* are available in this region. Here one can find: an image of *Nrisimha* (man-lion), a *Gadalol* or *Gadadhar* (*Vishnu* holding Mace or *Gada* named *koumodaki*). However, it is rare to find independent images of primary incarnations like *Matsya*, *Kurma*, *Vamana* or *Varaha* except *Dashavatara* panels, which is not difficult to locate. These *Dashavatara* panels³³ have different series or orientations as per their location. Most of them are either painted many times or partly mutilated. Therefore, for iconographic point of view these are not as helpful as an actual image can be. There are some findings by *Kshitish Sarcar*. He writes; “On the way from the *Gayeshvari* temple to *Vishnupada* there is a platform of stone. In one face of it is fixed a small panel representing *Vishnu* in the *Varah-avatara* standing in a *chaitya niche*³⁴ on the other side of the *Falgu* river on the foot of the *Rama-Gaya* hill; in a small shrine near *Sita-kund*, a two feet high *Varaha* sculpture can be located. This is in *alidh* pose³⁵, front leg ahead while the left is retreated. It is having four hands with four of his attributes. Earth goddess sits on one elbow with her hand placed on his snout. The pedestal³⁶ comprises of two serpents coiled together, in the shape of the bust of a man and a woman. There is another *Varaha*³⁷ image on the *Surjangiri* or on the hills of *Siddheshwar Mahadeva* near *Barabar* hills. This image is a very crude one but it is in good condition as one can easily identify the deity. It is dated as of late 10th to early 11th century. It is different from the image under study,

because it has lotus pedestal and it seems that both *naga* figures are of females only, which need to be ascertained specifically. Both of his feet are on a brick like base, which is contrary to the description available in the text. Just below a figure can be seen which appears to be that of a lady but is still to be ascertained. Compared to the image under study, left side attributes are shown in reverse manner in this image. Entire stela is bordered with creeper like foliage, which has been stylistically engraved with deep incision. As it is slightly pointed on top so it could be prior to the date as ascribed by Huntington³⁸. This image needs further investigation which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusion

Our piece of investigation definitely represents a continuous line of artisanship stretching back to *Mathura* art. Later *Gupta*³⁹ art had set the parameter for sculpture making for ensuing generations to emulate. Pala art had just put some thematic addition in terms of style and composition as of a stela. This process followed a very long line of scriptural rulings under the prevalent schools of art. It is also obvious that some of the ornamentation styles and elements came through the stylization of early specimens of *Pala* art, which was a direct effect of its religious connection, those of *Mahayana* and later *Vajrayana*. But here, the image under study has little or no effect of Buddhism. Its proximity to the Vaishnavite centre of *Gaya* might have some bearing upon its commencement of execution. As mentioned earlier, this image does not carry any inscription. Therefore, the place and purpose of its making are not discernible. However, its current location clearly indicates that it is definitely a production of *Gaya-Bodhgaya* centre. This image bears an unmistakable localised stylization that makes it lively. Immaturity in the finishing of this image cannot be attributed to the inexperience of its maker but it seems to be an outcome of a number of possible factors working simultaneously. This was definitely an art in developmental phase. In the compound of this temple, there are more sculptures with *Pala* bearing. A study of these sculptures might throw some light on the developmental process going in and around this place. These include a *Uma-maheshwar murti*, a *mahishasura mardini* image, a *yogi shiva*, and some broken pieces, which are ichnographically discernible. These sculptures have a definite potential for further research whose findings are likely to generate fresh insights.

Notes

1. It seems that different heads, having different ideas, but *nevertheless*, these all sculptures, are made of black basalt, which is a characteristic feature of being a *Pala* sculpture, but there are other reasons that prove them as they are categorized. There are usual images of *Uma-Maheshwar murti*, *Mahishasur-mardini* image, image of *Vishnu*, an image of *Yogi Shiv* and other broken images besides the main subject of this article.
2. Banerjea, J.N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p.207
3. Agarwala, V.S., *Gupta arts*, quotes as from (*Raghuvamsa XIII. 8*) p.16.
4. Shastri, H. Krishna, *South Indian images of gods and goddesses.*, p.24.
5. Huntington, Susan.L., *The 'Pala-Sena' Schools of Sculpture*, p.56-57.

6. Banerji, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture. pl.XLV (c) from Nalanda.
7. Ibid; Sahai, Dr. Bhagwant, A note on The Art of The Pala Period, p.4.
8. Huntington, op. cit., p.56-57.
9. Ibid., pl.207.
10. Ibid., p.166.
11. JRAS, 1895, p.178, f.
12. Rao, T.A. Gopinath; Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol I, Part I, p.129.
13. G.Jouveau-Dubreuil, Iconography of Southern India, p.76, footnote.
14. Rao, op. cit., p.131
15. Bhattasali, Nalini Kanta; Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, p.100.
16. Rao, op. cit., p.132-33.
17. Ibid. p.133-34.
18. The famous *Vishnudharmottar purana* holds about the image of *Varah avatara* in further way....“*Varaha*, (is) the glorious Hari, in whom (is) centred (all the) wealth (*aisvarya*) and he holds Earth by the tip of his tusk through the power of his *aisvarya* (i.e., greatness). Or the Human-boar, the Lord should be placed on *Sesha*. *Sesha* should be represented with four hands, with beautiful jewelled hoods, with eyes wide open and beaming with wonder and engaged in, looking at the god. Oh! descendant of *Yadu*, in his hands should be placed the plough and the mace (or club). (He) should further be shown hands joined in the *anjali* pose and with snake ornaments. *Bhagavan* should be on his back standing in the *alidha* posture. Clinging to (his) left arm Earth should be represented as a woman engaged in respectful salutation, beautiful and with two hands. In that hand which supports the goddess (Earth) there should be the conch and his other hands should be rendered carrying the lotus, the wheel and the mace. (Kramrisch, Stella, trans. *Vishnudharmottarapurana*, part III,ch.79,verses 1-11 p.103-04)
19. Rao, op. cit., p.134
20. Rao, T.A. Gopinath; Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol.1, part II, p.374-76.
21. *Silparatna* mentions, that, “she should have four hands. In one of the two right hands she should hold a lotus with a long stalk, and in the other a bilva fruit; the left hands should carry an *amritghata* (a pot containing ambrosia) and a *sankha* respectively”. (ibid., p.374)
22. Oh! delighter of the *Yadavas*, in the hand of *Bhu* (Earth goddess) should be held a jewel-vessel, a corn-vessel, a vessel full of medicinal plants and a lotus. (Kramrisch, Stella, op. cit., ch.61.verse 2, p.85).
23. As Dr.Coomaraswamy put it: “ the vase of plenty...is clearly a life symbol, and the formal offering of such a vase can only be the expression of a wish that the recipient, or in general, all those present, may enjoy health, wealth and long life. The representation in art implies similarly a desired instigation by suggestion of all the vegetative energies involved in the current conceptions of well-being; as a symbol it clearly belongs to the order of ideas characteristic of

- the ancient life-cults of fertility and fruitfulness.” (Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakshas*, part II, pp.62-3).
24. Rao, Op. cit., p.376.
 25. Rao, T.A. Gopinath; *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, Part I, p.144-45.
 26. Ibid., p.135.
 27. Zimmerman, Heinrich, *Myths and symbols in Indian Art & Civilization*, p.18.
 28. Iyer, S. Venkitasubramonia , trans., *Varaha Purana*, part 1, 113.64, p.259-60.
 29. Ibid., 114.12, p.261.
 30. Rao, op. cit., p.134.
 31. Sastri, op. cit., p.24.
 32. Barua, BeniMadhab, *Gaya and Buddha- Gaya*, p.1.
 33. Gerd J.R. Mevissen, *Hitherto unrecorded Dashavatara Stone Panels at Gaya and Related Sculptures from South Bihar; Art,Icon and Architecture in South Asia*, Eds. Anila Verghese & Anna L. Dallapiccola, p.126-128.
 34. Saraswati, Sarasi Kumar and Sarcar, Kshitish Chandra, *Kurkihar, Gaya and Bodh-Gaya*, p.48.
 35. Gupta, SP & Asthana, Shashi Prabha, *Elements of Indian Art*, p.113.
 36. Saraswati & Sarcar, op. cit., p.36.
 37. Huntington, op. cit., Pl.98.
 38. Ibid., p.92.
 39. Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, p.111.

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