

culture as represented by the contemporary Sanskrit literature. Let me present an outline of the basic debates that occurred during this era.<sup>47</sup>

From approximately the sixth century BCE, Sanskrit linguists debated the meaning of signs. Some held that signs had intrinsic meanings irrespective of how they are used. Thus, every word had its own meaning and analysis of the lexicon of the culture had to be given priority. A school of linguists known as Yāksa thus engaged in the etymology of words. These linguists were known as the *khandakapaksha* or the analytic school because they dissected sentences into separate words and attempted to interpret the meaning of a sentence, say in a *śloka*, that prescribed and proscribed activities in ritual, legal, literary and perhaps even medical and other procedures. Later, other major linguists such as Pānini, Kathyāyana, Patānjali, Sābara, the Mimānsaka-s, Naiyāyika-s and Vaiseshika-s held the same view.

In contrast, Audumbarayāna, an early linguist, professed that the linguistic sign was constituted of the statement that should be considered in its entirety to determine its meaning, and that the individual words derived their meanings from the way they related to the other words in that context. Audumbarāyana's views were furthered by the Buddhist philosopher Bhartṛhāri. These theorists and their schools of thought were known as *akhandakapaksha* or those who interpreted sentences in *śloka*-s as complete linguistic signs without dividing them into separate words. Hence their emphasis on grammar or *vyākaraṇa*. That brought them the epithet *Vaiyākaraṇika*-s. In modern terms, we could say that the *akhandaka*-s emphasized a holistic approach to the meanings of signs or, to use Kunjunni Raja's terminology, the *khandaka*-s may be called an analytical school whereas the *akhandaka*-s could be called gestalt theorists.

The *khandaka/akhandaka* perspectives were not limited to linguistics and the theory of signs. The Mimānsaka-s, Naiyāyika-s and Vaiśeṣika-s, who adopted the *khandaka* perspectives, were philosophical schools that dealt with the nature of the universe. However, by the turn of the millennium the *akhandaka*-s seem to have gained influence, with Bhartṛhāri making a strong impact on the Buddhist use of signs. Since this essay is about a sign that the Buddhists of his time employed it is necessary to briefly introduce the basic contours of his point of view, particularly his theory of *sphota*.

*Sphota*, in Bhartṛhāri's usage, is an integral linguistic *saṅketa* – a relationship between the sign and the thing it signified. Pre-Bhartṛhāri linguists such as Pānini, Kathyāyana, and Patānjali also advocated this notion but what they, as *khandakapaksha* analysts, had in mind was the individual word as a self-sufficient

---

<sup>47</sup> This discussion is based largely on Kunjunni Raja (1963:17-148) and Kane (1971).

symbol that contained the *sphota*. For Bhartṛhāri and his followers, *sphota* meant the entire expression, the complete arrangement of individual words in a given syntax. According to Bhartṛhāri, words as well as sentences have two aspects: sound patterns or *śabda*, and their meanings or *artha*. Although individual words possess the *śabda* aspect they are never independently meaningful (never carry the *artha* component of an independent *sphota*) and are incapable of conveying intelligible messages unless they are combined with other words to constitute a sentence or an intelligible phrase thereof. The rules for combining words form the grammar of the sentence and only within such a structured context can words become meaningful, only as constituents of a message but not as the message itself. The message dictates the vocabulary to be employed to convey the message. The *khandaka*-s upheld the reverse: the vocabulary contained the message.

These views are important in our contexts for several reasons. The school of Buddhism involved in the construction of the *śālabhañjikā* images discussed here used Sanskrit as its official language and thus was influenced by Sanskrit grammar and poetics. Bhartṛhāri as well as Aśvaghoṣa were monks and were contemporaries. It is likely that the rules of grammar and poetics that they elucidated and employed derived from or were foundational to a larger theory of interpretation of signs where the constituent elements of a signifying statement – a story as told or as depicted in freezes, for example – were meaningful only as parts of a whole but not as independent and self-sufficient units.

The above clarifies the parameters within which signs of the early Buddhist art must be interpreted. Most likely, the *śālabhañjikā* motif in itself had none of the meanings that the indological archaeologists, lexicographers and Coomaraswamy attributed to it. Fertility, prosperity, voluptuousness, harlot, courtesan, *vrkshikā*, demoness are all context bound. If the artist wished to represent a deity or a person characterized by one or more of these properties, they merely employed a motif that carried no inherent meanings but received one or more meanings from the context. In different contexts, the motif acquired different properties. *Śālabhañjikā* herself was only the willowy form of a woman under a tree and nothing more; a convenient and often used casing in which durable goods were elegantly packaged. The use of *śālabhañjikā* to depict Mahāmāyā only expanded the motif's semiotic openness. To use Saussurian terms, the arbitrariness of its use as a signifier increased as it began to float between diametrically opposed notions. In the process the motif itself became merely a decorative element with no inherent meanings except for the graciousness of its form. Exactly how it decorated an idea depended on how, as Wittgenstein would say, its users employed it.<sup>48</sup> The motif was a conventional frame

---

<sup>48</sup> Wittgenstein (212:1953:19970).

employed by craftsmen and poets to portray whoever the female they wished to flatter. *Śālabhañjikā* was an open sign.

But the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars and researchers in search of definite and predictable universals brought the *śālabhañjikā* motif under closure and established for it a fixed set of properties. What in the Bhārhut and Sāñchi phases was an open sign that could be used across a wide field of meanings, was converted to a fixed set of meanings to define the motif itself. They did so by trapping *śālabhañjikā* within a matrix of modernly attributed meanings. What I anticipated as the Buddhist closure of the motif in Amarāvati and Gandhāra actually challenges this modern closure. The *śālabhañjikā* -s of Amarāvati and Gandhāra confirm that there are no necessary or sufficient connections between the motif and the characteristics of voluptuousness and fecundity, attributed to them by the scholars, and compel the viewer to reopen the modern conceptual cage in which they are trapped.

## Appendix

### Introduction

The significations of the *śālabhañjikā* motif are both literary and sculptural. Though my essay focuses upon the sculptural expressions, the literary expressions of the motif are, perhaps, much older. Throughout the essay, I presented materials from various literary sources. But these sources are themselves controversial for many reasons. The original texts, such as the Pali Texts and the Sanskrit works, no longer exist. Copies of the original texts were prepared by scribes at various times in various locations were collected much later and edited by nineteenth and twentieth century European scholars. In studying the texts, I found several problems that demanded separate study within the framework of the main essay. As the issues are too divergent to be addressed in the main essay I present them in this appendix, under following sections.

In Section I, I examine the nature of the earliest sources of the Buddhist corpus that provides information on the bodhisattva's birth drama. I also briefly discuss the early Buddhist sect formation and how these sects constructed the early sources.

Section II discusses the nature of the bodhisattva's birth scene in Aśvaghosha's *buddhacarita* as it is found in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions. I examine how the scribes and translators have introduced various interpretations of the role of Mahāmāya.

In Section III, I present materials from the *mahāvasthu* to show how the earliest information of Mahāmāya's position of the bodhisattva's birth drama was

later ritualized and how the ritual provided impetus to redefine the birth scene by the 4<sup>th</sup> century of the CE. This exemplifies the circular relationship between the textual/oral traditions and the ritual tradition.

In Section IV, I present further materials on the *dohada* literary and sculptural motif and the *dohada* ritual to show how they might have originated from the earlier constructions of the birth drama, as found in the *nidhānakathā*.

## I

The *nidhānakathā* presents the basic elements of the bodhisattva's nativity scene. In the *nidhānakathā*, the bodhisattva was residing in the Tusitha heaven when the time arrived for him to leave for the world of humans. The bodhisattva looked for an appropriate womb to enter and found that queen Mahāmayā fulfilled all the requirements. He entered the womb of Māhamayā as the queen was sleeping and she dreamt that a white elephant had entered her womb. She found herself pregnant with a child. After nine months, Māhamayā went to Dévadaha, where her parents lived. On the way she entered the Luṇbini a forest and stood under a great *sāla* tree. She felt labor pains. A *sāla* branch bent towards her. She held and supported herself with the branch as the bodhisattva was born. The Mahābrahma received the infant and passed him on to the four guardian deities.

In contrast to the *nidhānakathā*, the *āccharyaabbhūtaḍḍhammasutta* focuses on the miraculous nature of the event and gives a detailed account of the conditions under which the conception, pregnancy and birth occurred. The idea is to distinguish the bodhisattva from mere mortals, although he was a mortal. The bodhisattva is a *mahāpurisa*, a great man, inimitable and unusual, whose existence is beyond the lot of ordinary people.

This apotheosis of the bodhisattva is the work of the Lokottaravādin, an early sub-sect of the Sarvāsthivādin. The Lokottaravādin held that the bodhisattva was superhuman and dwelt on these characteristics. Although the *nidhānakathā* also considers the Buddha as superhuman, it does not describe his superhuman character to the same extent as the *āccharyaabbhūtaḍḍhammasutta*.<sup>49</sup> The *āccharyaabbhūtaḍḍhamma* refer to the supernormal or miraculous (*āccharya*) and wonderful (*abbhuta*) nature (*dhamma*) of the hero.

Coomaraswamy considers the *nidhānakathā* account to have been constructed after the *āccharyaabbhūtaḍḍhammasutta* of the *majjhima nikāya*.

<sup>49</sup> The *nidhānakathā* presents the bodhisattva as an extraordinary being with supernatural abilities. It presents the birth drama with a description of the qualities of the mother of the bodhisattva entitled *bodhisattvamātā dhammatā*. (See The Jātaka, I: Fausebøll:Op.Cit. 51-52).



Perhaps, he thinks that the *āccharyaabbhūṭadhammasutta* is older because it is a part of the *tripitaka* whereas the *jātaka*-s, of which the *nidhānakathā* is a part, was developed later.

However, I believe it is likely that the Lokottaravādin expressed their ideas in Pali, *after* the *nidhānakathā* were composed, and incorporated them into the *majjhima nikāya* as a *sutta*. The Lokottaravādi ideas were later elaborated in Sanskrit after the segmentation of the early Buddhist community into the Sthavira (the monastics) and the Mahāsaṅghika (the greater Buddhist community constituted of the Sthavira and Putujjana (laymen)). The Mahāsaṅghika themselves further segmented because of differing conceptions of reality. The Viññānavādin or mentalists among them believed that nothing existed and that everything - including the natural world and the personal and collective definitions and concepts about it, values, customs and the like - was merely a matter of imagination. Others criticized this position and asserted that material reality had an existence independent of an individual's imagination. The Viññānavādin labeled their Sthavira critics Sarvāsthivādin (Skt. sarva: all; asthi: existence). The Sarvāsthivādin subsequently produced many other segments with their own orientations. Among them, the Lokottaravādin focused on the miraculous nature of the Buddha. The *āccharyaabbhūṭadhammasutta* was an early expression of this position, constructed before the segmentation of the early monastic community into the Pali oriented Sthavira and Sanskrit oriented Mahāsaṅghika.

The Lokottaravādi scholasticism entered into the corpus like the *divyavadhāna* and *aśokavadhāna*, *lalitavistara* and the *mahāvasthu* as well as the *buddhacarita* of Aśvaghosha.

These traditions variously constructed the bodhisattva's birth drama. The *divyavadhāna* enacts the scene under a *aśoka* tree, while the *aśokavadhāna* does so under a mango tree. The *lalitavistara* uses a *plakṣa* tree. The *mahāvasthu* concurs with the *nidhānakathā* that the birth drama occurred under a *śāla* tree.<sup>50</sup> Aśvaghosha, in his *buddhacarita*, is silent about the identity of the tree. All, except Aśvaghosha, are in agreement with the *nidhānakathā* regarding all other basic elements.

## II

Aśvaghosha's *buddhacarita* has two versions of the birth drama. The manuscripts edited by Cowell agree with the *nidhānakathā*. However, the

<sup>50</sup> But *mahāvasthu* is inconsistent. As Jones shows, elsewhere it gives *plakṣa* as the name of the tree (Jones:1952:16:n.3).

*buddhacarita* edited by Johnston provides a different scenario. According to Johnston's translation, Mahāmāyā entered the garden of Luṇḍini and proceeded to a couch under an awning and the bodhisattva emerged from her side.

This is a much later rendition of Aśvaghoṣa's *buddhacarita*. Johnston used the *fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, the Chinese translation of the *buddhacarita* by Dharmarakṣa in 420 CE, and a Tibetan manuscript descending from 8<sup>th</sup> century, to fill the lacunae in the Katmandu manuscript that he translated.<sup>51</sup> But, the Tibetan and the Chinese versions of the poem omit the first twenty-four verses in the Sanskrit. The birth drama is described in Cowell's edition in verse 24 of Canto I. Johnston's edition begins with verse 8 of Canto I, describing the birth drama. Both Cowell and Johnston filled the missing verses with materials from Tibetan and Chinese sources that do not always agree with one another. Both editors state that all manuscripts agree in all the major events from this point onwards. However, the most significant event in the Buddhist drama, the birth of the bodhisattva, is presented in two different motifs indicating that even the verse 24, Canto I in Cowell and verse 8, Canto I in Johnston are also thoroughly edited by the scribes. In Cowell, Mahāmāyā's pose in the birth drama is that of *śālabhañjikā*.

"*santāhpurajānā dévi kadācidatha luṇḍini/  
jagāmānusate rājāh sambhūton tamadohada* //(23)  
*śakhāmālambamānayāh pushpabhārāvalaṇḍini/  
dévyāh kuksim vibighāśu bodhisattvoviniryayau*// (24)<sup>52</sup>

Cowell translates these verses as follows.

Then one day by the king's permission the queen,  
having a great longing in her mind,  
went with the inmates of the gynaeceum into the garden of Lumbini (23).  
As the queen supported herself by a bough which hung laden with  
a weight of flowers, the Bodhisattva suddenly came forth,  
cleaving open her womb(24).<sup>53</sup>

Johnston's text reads as:

<sup>51</sup> Beal (1883) and Johnston (1934).

<sup>52</sup> *buddhakarita*: Cowell: 1892.

<sup>53</sup> Cowell:1894:1969:5

*tasminvané shraumati rājapatnau prasūtikālam samavēkshamānā/  
saiyām vitanopahitam prapédé nārausahakhairabhinandanāyall*<sup>54</sup>

He translates this as:

In that glorious grove the queen perceived that the time of her delivery was at hand and, amidst the welcome of thousands of waiting-women, proceeded to a couch overspread with an awning<sup>55</sup>.

Clearly, the Kathmandu manuscript has a different notion about the bodhisattva's birth drama. Interestingly, while Johnston compared this manuscript with the one used by Cowell he did not notice this glaring difference.

Johnston says that a Nepali pundit named Amrtananda introduced many alterations to the editions used by Cowell and asserts that the Katmandu manuscript is older and less corrupt, and therefore more authentic. He shows many instances where scribes have changed the original construction by Aśvaghosha.

Maybe the scribes found the *śālabhañjikā* position unnatural or improper, as the nineteenth century European scholars found it to be, and made it more appropriate for a sacred personage such as Mahāmayā and more like the birthing practices of their own community. On the other hand, it is likely that the Sanskrit traditions carried both these scenarios, depending on the region and the cultural orientation of the community. It is also likely that later scholars and scribes altered many of the scenarios as given in the Kathmandu manuscript and realigned the texts with the *nidhānakathā* version. Against all these speculations it may be asserted that since the iconography of the scene from Amarāvātīand Gandhāra to Nepal and elsewhere follows the *nidhānakathā* scenario, Aśvaghosha also followed the same. It is remarkable that the "couch" scene appears nowhere else, in literature or in iconography that I have yet seen, except in the Chinese text translated by Beal and perhaps in the Tibetan text (I have not seen one yet) and in Johnston's translation of the Katmandu manuscript. Johnston trusted the Chinese and Tibetan versions.

A careful reading of the Katmandu text edited by Johnston reveals that the "couch" is an addition incorporated by Johnston. " *saiyām vitanopahitam* " means "lay down under a canopy." Just as the scribes edited the text instead of only copying it, Johnston introduced materials from the Chinese translation and from his own culture and times. The "couch" is a Chinese invention, a device that Johnston finds agreeable and in accordance with the European birthing practices. He

<sup>54</sup> *buddhacarita*:I:8; Johnston:1934.

<sup>55</sup> Johnston:1934:1984::I:8:3.

introduces it to smoothen the "lay down under a canopy" in the Kathmandu manuscript and to dramatize the text to his European readers. He probably regarded the absence of a couch in the Kathmandu text as an omission in the original text or in the copy that he edited. Therefore, he 'corrected' the perceived 'omission' in the text.<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps, if Johnston had tested his rendition of the text against the iconography of the event he would have drawn very different conclusions about the scene of the nativity and about the relative authenticity of the manuscripts involved. Instead he only used chronological evidence and considered the 14<sup>th</sup> century Kathmandu manuscript as more authentic than the 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts that Cowell edited.

### III

The *mahāvasthu* presents yet another interesting slant to the birth drama of the bodhisattva. In the *mahāvasthu*, King Suddhodhana allows the queen to go to Luṇbini and "break a *sāla* branch" (*śālābhañjakaṇ ca karisyathi*).<sup>57</sup> Here, the term

<sup>56</sup> Samuel Beal translates Canto I, (5-8) of the Chinese text as follows:

"Disliking the clamorous ways of the world. (she remembered) the excellent garden of Lumbini, a pleasant spot, a quiet forest retreat, (with its) trickling fountains, and blooming flowers and fruits.

Quiet and peaceful, delighting in meditation, respectfully she asked the king for liberty to roam therein; the king understanding her earnest desire, was seized with a seldom-felt anxiety (to grant her request).

He commanded his kinsfolk, within and without (the palace), to repair with her to that garden shade; and now the queen Maya knew that her time for child-bearing was come.

She rested on a beautiful couch, (surrounded by) a hundred thousand female attendants;...."

Chinese and Tibetan iconography of the bodhisattva's birth drama is structurally not different from the Amaravati, Gandhara and Nepali versions. There, too Mahāmāya is shown standing under a tree. If the Chinese and the Tibetan iconographers learned about the birth drama from the *fo-sho-hing-tsan-king* and its Tibetan equivalent it is likely that Darmaraksha provided that information, rather than a couch scene, in his translation, and that the couch was introduced by Beal. I have no way of testing this hypothesis at present.

<sup>57</sup> *sarvēṣhaṇ bodhisattvānāṇ mātā pratipūrna daśamē māśe prajāyati. subhūtīnā śākyēna prēshitaṇ rañño. āgacchatu dēvi prajāyishyati. rāja pratishēdhayati. āgamishyati śālabhañjikaṇ ca karishyati*// (Senart:1890:18:7-9).

*śālabhañjikā* refers to the *śāla* breaking woman, not a wooden doll, courtesan, harlot or yakshi.

I hypothesize that the Lokottaravādin supernaturalized the *nidhānakathā* version that states that the queen merely stood under a *śāla* tree. Her pose later became ritualized through their supernaturalization. Women in certain regions break a *śāla* branch in preparation for parturition hoping that their labor pains also might be reduced by this magical act.

Buddhist literature shows that great events were ritualized and individuals performed such rituals to obtain the same results. For example, certain monks of the early Buddhist community ritually meditated under bo (*ficus religiosā*) trees believing that the bo trees had a magical power to cause realization of Truth and buddhahood. This ritual was an imitation of Siddhārtha Gautama's act.

Conversely, it could be that the *nidhānakathā* scenario was itself a literary representation of an ongoing ritual. However, I do not believe this hypothesis likely for numerous reasons.

First, the earliest literature does not speak of a *śāla* branch or flower plucking ritual. Even the *nidhānakathā* only uses the *śālabhañjikā* motif to say that the queen merely held a *śāla* branch and supported herself.

Second, as I argue in the main essay, the *nidhānakathā* motif, given its context, does not implicate any concern with fertility. Therefore it is highly unlikely that Mahāmayā's pose represented a *śālabhañjaka* ritual. Coomaraswamy cites the *avadāna cataka* to show the existence of the *sal* branch breaking ritual in literary motifs.<sup>58</sup> But the *avadāna cataka* is a later work, composed during the first century Common Era.

Third, while Roy believes,<sup>59</sup> and Coomaraswamy affirms, that worshiping a *śāla* tree in full bloom was a pre-Buddhist fertility ritual, this is not the same as the

The mothers of all Bodhisattva's are delivered when the tenth month is completed. The Śākyan Subhūti sent a message to the king, saying, "Let the queen come hither; she shall be delivered here." The king replied that she should come and break the branch of the Sāl tree (Jones"1952:16).

Jones, probably guided by the *nidhānakathā*, footnotes that "...break the branch of the Sāl tree" means that "the Bodhisattva's mother will be delivered as she clings to a branch of this tree. (ibid.:16:n.3).

<sup>58</sup> 1993 :86.

<sup>59</sup> Roy (as cited in Coomaraswamy:1993).

*śālabhañjikā* or *śāla* -branch-breaking ritual. The *nidhānakathā* does not say that Mahāmāya worshipped or broke a branch of a *śāla* tree. She merely held a branch that the *devatā* or deity of the tree pushed down. The *śāla* -branch-breaking notion is associated with Mahāmāya's visit to Luṅbini only in the *mahāvastu*. Even the *avadāna cataka*, as Coomaraswamy indicates, does not associate *śāla* -branch-breaking with the birth scene of the bodhisattva.

Finally, the *mahāvasthu* is a later work, composed around the fourth century of the CE. The ritualization had occurred earlier than the composition of the *mahāvasthu*. The sculptural remains of Mathurā show remnants of a larger structure that included depictions of what might have been the *śāla*-branch breaking rituals. Here a female figure is climbing a tree, holding a branch. Mathurā artistic tradition existed concurrently with the early Gandhāra traditions during the first few centuries of the Common Era. The *mahāvasthu* author seems to have redefined the birth scene by using the ritual practiced in his community as the motif for Mahāmāya.

This shows that there is a circular relationship between oral tradition, literature and ritual formation. Inventions in the oral and literary traditions lead to rituals that, in turn, becomes motif for oral and literary traditions of later periods.

#### IV

Another kindred concept is that of the *dohada*. It means the longing of a pregnant woman or a pregnancy craving. This, too, became ritualized. Ritually, a young or a pregnant woman touches or kicks a tree to cause it to bloom and or bear fruit.<sup>60</sup> Clearly, this is a fertility motif. Coomaraswamy gives Kalidāsa's *mālavikāgnimitra* as his source for this motif. Monier-Williams finds it in Kalidasa's *raghuvansa* as well.<sup>61</sup> These appear to be the earliest Sanskrit literary occurrences of the concept. The word or the concept *dohada* does not appear in the *nidhānakathā*. But *dohada* appears in the *jātaka* stories, as *dohala* and its cognates, indicating that these occurrences could be post-Kalidasa additions.

The *dohada*, as it appears in *mālavikāgnimitra* and elsewhere, cannot explain Mahāmāya's pose in the birth scenario of the bodhisattva since *dohada* is a

<sup>60</sup> Coomaraswamy (Ibid.).

"The word is used to indicate the longing of a pregnant woman for particular objects (figuratively said of plants which at budding time long to be touched by the foot or by the mouth (Raghuvamsa:XIX:12) of a lovely woman; any morbid desire or wish" (Monier-Williams:Op. Cit. 499). Monier-Williams also gives the Prakrit term *daurhrīda* (ibid.). The Pali term is *dohala* and it means the same conditions. Rhys-Davids and Steed give the *jātaka* and *dhammapada atthakathā* as their sources (Op.Cit.:332).

<sup>61</sup> Monier-Williams (Op.Cit.:499).

later cultural construction. We cannot apply meanings of signs retroactively although older meanings of signs may be invoked, depending on the context and the syntax, to define the later applications of the signs. *Dohada* appears in Cowell's edition of the *buddhakarita* as "*jagamānusatē rājah sambhūton tamadohadā*" and is used to show the longing that Mahāmāya had to go to Luṣṭhini. However, these lines in Cowell's edition come from Chinese and Tibetan sources and they are extraneous to the Sanskrit manuscripts that Cowell and Johnston edited. Thus, the notion of *dohada* might have been added by the Chinese and the Tibetans or by the Sanskrit scribes who prepared the manuscripts for the Chinese and the Tibetans later.<sup>62</sup> Clearly, the Chinese and the Tibetans had changed the manuscript to suite their imagining of the Buddha's story. The recasting of the birth scene by the Chinese and the Tibetans as discussed in II above provides further information on this matter.

#### Special Note:

<sup>1</sup> Many individuals helped me with this work. I am specially thankful to Professor Gananath Obeyesekere for reading and commenting on an initial draft and to Dr. Nihal Fernando and Leslie Hurst Goonasekera for editorial suggestions.

Note on transliteration. For the most part, I relied on Gonda (1966). However, I failed to find appropriate diacritical marks in Microsoft Word, for certain Sanskrit syllables. For those, I used ṅ (avaḷaṅbya, vīḷaṅbita) and ṅ (bhaṅjika) as they seemed fit depending on the context.

Figures given here are from Bussagli & Sivaramamurti (1972), Cunningham (1879:1998).

### References

- acchariyaabbhutadhammasuttam (1951) *The Majjhima-Nikaya*, Ed. Robert Chalmers. London, The Pali Text Society.  
 (1995) *Teachings of the Buddha. The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*. A New Translation of the Majjhima Nikaya. Tr. Bhikku Nanamoli and Ed. and Revised. Bhikku Bodhi. Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society.

<sup>62</sup> Dharmaraksha translated the *buddhacarita* into Chinese in the fifth century CE (Beal:Op.Cit.). Kalidasa also lived during this period.

- Apte, Vaman Shivram (1965:1985) *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Fourth Edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas. (1920) *The Student's English - Sanskrit Dictionary*, Delhi, Mrs. Radhabhai Atmaram Sagoon.
- Asvaghosha (1893) *The Buddha-karita*, Ed. E.B.Cowell, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Texts, Documents, and Extracts chiefly from Manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries, Aryan Series, Vol.I - Part IV, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press.  
 (1894:1969) *The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha* (Tr.) in *Buddhist Mahayana Texts*, (Ed.) Cowell E.B. and Others (Ed.), New York, Dover Publications, Inc.  
 (1936: 1984) *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha, Part I - Sanskrit Text of Cantos I - XIV*, Ed. .H.Johnston, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- avadana cataka (1902-1909) *A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hinayana*. Ed. J.S.Speyer, St. Petersburg, Bibliotheca Buddhica.
- Beal, Samuel (Tr.) (1883) *The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King, A Life of the Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, in Sacred Books of the East Vol:XIX*, Ed. F. Max Müller. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1977:1986) *Outlines of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Buddhadatta, A.P. (1955:1989) *English - Pali Dictionary*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.  
 (1957:2002) *Concise Pali - English Dictionary*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.



- Bühler, Georg (Tr.) (1879:1975 & 1882:1984) *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas, as taught in the schools of Apasthamba, Gautama, Vasishtha and Baudhayana.* 2 Vols. In *Sacred Books of the East Vols. 11 & 14* Ed. Max Müller. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- Burgess, Jas (Ed.) (1901? Undated Indian Edition) *Buddhist Art in India*, New Delhi. S. Chand & Company Ltd. (See Grünwedel, Albert. *infra*.)
- Bussagli, Mario (1972) *5000 Years of Art in India, with Calembus Sivaramamurti*. New York. Harry N. Abrams, Inc. & Bombay, The Tulsi Shah Enterprises.
- Clifford, James (1988) *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge. Harvard University Press.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. (1927:1965) *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. New York. Dover Publications, Inc.  
 (1934:1956) *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, New York, Dover Publications, Inc.  
 (1993) *Woman and the Tree, in Yakṣas: Essays in the Water Cosmology*. New Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts and Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Cowell, E.B. (Ed.) (1886) *divyavadana sutra*, with R.A.Neil. Cambridge, At the University Press.  
 (1893) *The Buddhakarita*. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Texts, Documents, and Extracts chiefly from Manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries, Aryan

- Series, Vol.I - Part IV, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press.  
 (1894:1969) The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha (Tr.) in *Buddhist Mahayana Texts, Sacred Books of the East*, Vol:XLIX(Ed.) Max Müller. New York, Dover Publications, Inc.
- Cunningham, Alexander (1879: 1998) *The Stupa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented With Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History In The Third Century B.C.*. Indian Edition: New Delhi, Munishiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- De Silva-Vigier, Anil (1955) *The Life of the Buddha Retold from Ancient Sources*, London, The Phaidon.
- Dehejia, Vidya (1997) *Indian Art*, London, Phaidon Press Ltd.
- Derrida, Jaques (1972:1982) *Margins of Philosophy*, Tr. Alan Bass, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.  
 (1993) *Aporias*, Tr. Thomas Dutoit, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- divyavadana sutra (1886) Ed. E.B.Cowell & R.A.Neil. Cambridge, at the University Press.
- Edgerton, Franklin (1970) *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, First Indian Edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- Fausbøll, Viggo (ed.) (1875-1897) *Jataka, together with its commentary, being tales of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha. In the original Pali*, 7 vols. London, Pali Text Society.

- Fisher, Robert E. (1993) *Buddhist Art and Architecture*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Foucher, Alfred (1934) *On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity*. Archaeological Survey of India Memoir No: 46 Tr. H. Hargreaves. Delhi, The Government Press.  
(1994) *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays and Central-Asian Archaeology*. Tr. L.A.Thomas & F.W.Thomas. New Delhi, Asian Education Services.
- Gonda, Jan (1966) *A Concise Elementary Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*. Tr. Gordon B. Ford, Jr. Alabama Linguistic and Philological Series, 11. University, University of Alabama Press.
- Government of India (1956) *The Way of the Buddha*. Director, Publication Division, New Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Grünwedel, Albert (1893) *Buddhistiche Kunst in Indien*. Tr. Agnes C. Gibson, Revised and Enlarged. Jas. Burgess (1901) as *Buddhist Art in India*, undated Indian Publication, New Delhi, S. Chand & Company Ltd.
- jataka nidanakatha (1875-1897) *Jataka, together with its commentary, being tales of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha. In the original Pali*, Ed. Fausbøll . 7 vols. London, Pali Text Society.
- Johnston, E.H.(Ed. & Tr.) (1936: 1984) *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha, Part I - Sanskrit Text of Cantos I - XIV*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.

- Jolly, Julius (1889:1977) *The Minor Law Books*, Tr. Julius Jolly. In *Sacred Books of the East Vol. 33*. Ed. Max Müller. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- Jones, J.J. (1952) *The Mahavastu*, Vol.II. London, Luzac & Company, Ltd.
- Kane, P.V. (1971) *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- Keith, A. Berriedale (1920) *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Knox, Robert (1992) *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*, London, British Museum Press.
- Kroeber, A.L. (1931:1962) *Diffusionism. Encyclopedia of Social Science Vol:V*. Ed. Edwin R.A.Seligman & Alvin Johnson. New York, The Macmillan Co.
- lalitavistara (1908) *Herausgegeben von Dr. S. Lefmann*. Halle A.S., Verlag Der Buchhandlung des Waisenhaus.
- Levi, Sylvain (1919) *Constitution of the Buddhist Canon*, Tr. J.K.Nariman. In Nariman (1919:1992) infra.
- Liddell, Henry George & Scott, Robert (1925) *A Greek - English Lexicon*, Vol.I, (1940) New Edition, Henry Stuart Jones & Roderick McKenzie. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.
- Luce, Gordon H. (1969) *Old Burma – Early Pagan Vol.III*, New York, Artibus Asiae & The Institute of Fine Arts, New York.

- mahavastu (1891) *Le Mahāvastu - Texte sanscrit*. Ed. Par É. Senart. Paris, À l'imprimerie Nationale.  
(1952) *The Mahavastu*, Tr. J.J.Jones. London, Luzac & Company, Ltd.
- Maisey, F.C. (1892) *Sāñchi and Its Remains*. London, Kegan Paul & Co.
- Malalasekera, G.P. (1960) *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 Vols., London, Luzac & Co., for the Pali Text Society.
- Manu, The Laws of (1991) Tr. Wendy Doniger with Brian K. Smith. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books:
- Marasinghe, M.M.J. (1974) *Gods in Early Buddhism: A Study in their social and mythological milieu as depicted in the Nikayas of the Pali Canon*. Colombo, The Vidyalkara Campus, University of Sri Lanka (Ceylon).
- Marshal, John (1960:2000) *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*. New Delhi, Munishiram Manoharlal Publishers Ltd.
- Marshal, John & Foucher, A.. (1918:1955) *A Guide to Sāñchi*. Delhi, The Government of India Press.  
(1940) *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, 3 Vols. Calcutta, The Government Press.
- Monier-Williams, Monier (1899:1979) *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Müller, Max (1849) Letter to W.H.Morley, in (1879:1975) *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas, as taught in the schools of Apasthamba, Gautama, Vasishtha and Baudhayana*. Tr. Georg Bühler. Vol 1. In *Sacred Books of*

- the East Vol. 11* Ed. Max Müller. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- Nariman, J.K. (1919: 1992) *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath (1981) *Medusa's Hair - An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.  
 (1984:1987) *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*. First Indian Edition. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.  
 (2001) *Was The Buddha Enlightened? A Nietzschean Speculation On The Translation And Interpretation Of Buddhist Texts*. University Seminar Series No.2, Peradeniya. University of Peradeniya.
- Piyatissa, Vidurupola (1926) *Jataka Pali, Part I*. Simon Hewavitarne Bequest, Vol:XX. Colombo. Charles Alwis Hewavitarne and Srinath Kumaradas Moonesinghe.  
 (1949) *The English-Pali Dictionary*. Colombo, The Colombo Apothecaries.
- Raja, K. Kunjunni (1963) *Indian Theories of Meaning*. Madras, Adyar Library and Research Centre.
- Ray, Himansu P. (1994:1998) *The Winds of Change - Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*. Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Rhys-Davids, T.W. and Stede, William, (1921:1979) *Pali-English Dictionary*, London, Pali Text Society. (1993) First Indian Edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas.

- Ricoeur, Paul (1983:1984) *Time and the Narrative Vol.I*, Tr. Kathleen McLaughlin and Davil Pellauer, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Rig Veda, The Hymns of (1963) Tr. T.H.Griffith, 2 Vols. Fourth Edition. Varanasi. Cowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- Said, Edward W. (1979) *Orientalism*. New York. Vintage Books.
- sammoha-vinodini (1923) ed. A.P.Buddhadatta, London. Pali Text society.
- Saussure, Ferdinand De (1966) *Course in General Linguistics*. Tr. Wade Baskin, New York. McGraw-Hill.
- Sivaramamurti, C. (1942) *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum - Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*. New Series - General Section. Vol. IV. Madras. Government Press.  
(1972) *5000 Years of Art in India, with Mario Bussagli*. New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc. & Bombay. The Tulsi Shah Enterprises.
- Sorata, Welivitiye (1956) *Sri Sumangala Sabdakosa*. Maradana, Anula Yantralaya.
- Tapar, Romila (1966:1982) *A History of India, Vol. I*. Hammondsworth, Pelican Books.
- Vogel, J.Ph. (1910) *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Mathura*. Allahabad.  
(1935?:1977) *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon & Java*, Tr. A.J.Barnouw, New Delhi. Oriental Books Reprint Corporation

- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, (1953:1997) *Philosophical Investigations*, tr. G.E.M.Anscombe. Oxford(UK) and Malden(MA, USA), Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Wolpert, Stanley (1977:1982) *A New History of India*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Zimmer, Heinrich (1955:1983) *The Art of Indian Asia, 2 Vols.* The Bollingen Series, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

**SUNIL GOONASEKERA**



Figure 1

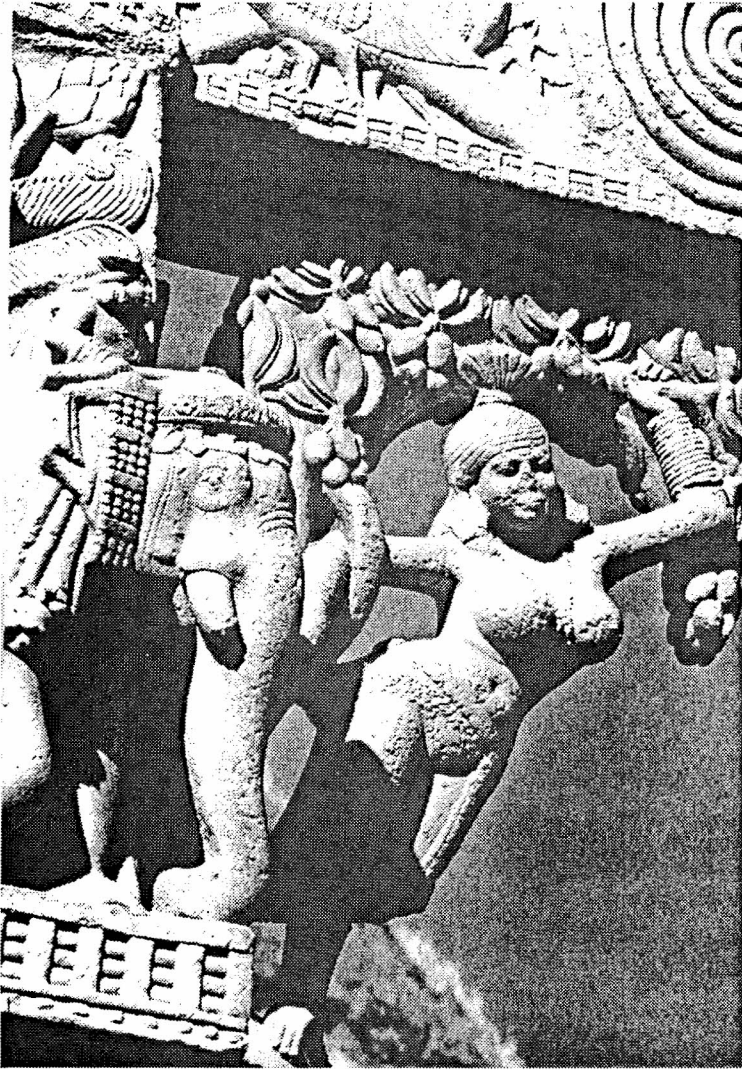


Canda Yakshi



Culakoka Devata

Figure 2



Sanchi

Figure 3



Amaravati

Figure 4



Gandhara