Bodhisattva-Cult in Afghanistan: A Critical Review

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The Bodhisattva-cult in Afghanistan appears to have been concentrated around three Bodhisattvas—Siddhārtha, Maitreya and Vajrapāṇi of initially Hinayanist tradition as is attested by the evidences of art and foreign accounts. Most of the art-examples whether images, heads or paintings from Afghanistan are of either Siddhārtha or Maitreya or Vajrapāṇi. Some prominent examples of them may be briefly cited here in order to confirm the hypothesis.

One schist sculpture from Shotorak (2-3rd century A.D.)2 has a triad of the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni standing in abhaya-mudrā in the middle in princely dress flanked by two Bodhisattvas-Maitreya in the right holding a vase and another Bodhisattva on the left. Two worshippers a layman and a monk are found on the right and the left of the Bodhisattvas, respectively. It is in the Gandharan style which became the model for Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna tradition. Another schist sculpture from Shotorak' depicts a Bodhisattva probably Siddhartha or Maitreya flanked by two indistinct figures sitting in European style and is in dharmacakramudrā. The other Shotorak sculpture4known as Dīpankara-Jātaka Buddha has a Bodhisattva-Siddhārtha on the left side of Dīpankara Buddha. On the lower side of the stele is the Bodhisattva Maitreya seated between figures making offerings in dharmacakramudrā. Some scholars' suggest that it may be Siddhartha. Yet another schist sculpture from Shotorak' is that of seated Maitreya having abhayamudrā with Brahmā and Indra. Maitreya has a vase in the left hand and abhayamudrā in the right. The next schist sculpture from Shotorak has Buddha in dharmacakramudrā which has been termed by Foucher⁸ as Maitreya. It has two Bodhisattvas the right one has some vase like object in his right hand and as such may be regarded as Maitreya. We have Siddhartha Bodhisattva in another schist sculpture from Shotorak9 where Siddhartha is shown in astute penance. Another schist sculpture10 from Shotorak has two parts in the lower Buddha is shown seated in abhayamudrā along with worshippers while in the upper part we have Maitreya with right hand in abhayamudrā and kamandalu in the left along with worshippers. There is a headless Maitreya from Shotorak" which has kamandalu in the left hand and figure of Siddhartha12 in the lower side. An intersecting figure is found in the Parinirvana Buddha schist sculpture from Shotorak. 13 We have Maitreya in the upper panel of the image of Buddha venerated by the three Kāśyapas from Shotorak.14 There is no representation of any other Bodhisattva except Siddhārtha, Maitreya and Vajrapāņi at Shotorak.

Many stucco heads from Hadda have been associated with Maitreya because they have the *stūpa* in their *mukuṭa*. ¹⁵ A few bust images of stucco from Hadda have been reported which have been identified as Vajrapāṇi because they possess *vajra* in their left hand. ¹⁶ Stucco stele from Hadda have representation of Vajrapāṇi having *vajra* in his right hand. ¹⁷ A clay image from Hadda (Tepe Shotur) has broken figure of Buddha and a smaller image of Vajrapāṇi in typical Greek style of Heracles. ¹⁸ A schist image of Buddha with Vajrapāṇi to his left has been reported from Tepe Kalan ¹⁹ (Hadda). Two schist bas-reliefs from Hadda depict the scene of Dīpaṅkara Jātaka with Buddha standing along with worshippers etc. and Vajrapāṇi bearded and having *vajra* (indistinct). ²⁰ One schist bas-relief depicts the

mahābhiniṣkramaṇa of Buddha who is sitting on a horse with Vajrapāṇi in the extreme light.²¹ Here the Buddha may be regarded as Siddhārtha. A few other schist bas-relief depict Vajrapāṇi along with the main theme of Buddha.²² Some Vajrapāṇi images have been made in the style of Apollo.²³ Many schist bas-reliefs from Hadda have Maitreya having vase in hand.²⁴ It is to be noted that Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya and some times Siddhārtha are the only Bodhisattvas which have found a place in the art of Hadda. We have no evidence of any other Bodhisattva from Hadda so far.

Paitava has given us a schist bas-relief in which we find Maitreya having vase in the left hand and the right hand is in *varadamudrā*. He is flanked by donors on both sides. In another schist bas-relief from Paitava we have Maitreya in lower panel with vase in the left hand and *varadamudrā* in the right hand. In the main upper portion we have Buddha seated in *dhyāna* having flames coming out of the shoulders. Both these belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.

Tepe Ahingaran (Qunduz) has given us four images of Maitreya²⁷ one headless with small vase in the left and *abhayamudrā* in the right hand, three similar Maitreyas in the lower part while the upper part contains *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* Buddha. Two representations of Siddhārtha²⁸ one leaving Yaśodharā and the other leaving Kapilavastu (*Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*) have been reported from Baghlan (Kuṣāṇa period). Lalma Bodhisattva heads and busts cannot be identified as they have no speciality.²⁹ Basawal (Ning-rahar) has given us many Buddhist heads but it is difficult to identify them. Mizuno^{29A} finds similarity in the hair-style of one of such heads and that of Maitreya from Hadda. The cave having 38 metre-image of Buddha from Bamiyan has given us many Buddhist heads but they cannot be identified in our present state of knowledge. The 53 metre Buddha image of Bamiyan has been interpreted as Maitreya and 38 metre image as Śākyamuni in the light of the statement of Hsuan-tsang.³⁰ The heads of Bodhisattvas from Fondukistan (7th century A.D.) cannot be identified in our present state of knowledge. Gulbahar (Parwan) has given us a fragmentary schist relief of Maitreya³¹ of the Kuṣāṇa period.

While no definite information can be gleaned from the evidence of images from Bamiyan and Fondukistan about the type of Bodhisattva prevalent there, the wall-paintings from these places testify to the popularity of Maitreya. We have representation of Maitreya on the ceiling-paintings in the cave of 38 metre Buddha. Another Maitreya is found painted in the niche in the east of 38 metre Buddha image. Maitreya on the rwall-paintings in the 38 metre cave complex have Maitreya as in group E and I. Maitreya is seated in ease and hand is in dharmacakramudrā or vitarkamudrā. Bamiyan, group K, cave 4 wall-painting (5-6th century A.D.) has a beautiful Bodhisattva representing Bodhisattva Maitreya with a rich diadem on his head and a vase in the left hand. He is in the center of radiate circles all containing figures of Buddha which appears to be the classical design for a manḍala. At Kakrak also we have most probably a representation of Bodhisattva Maitreya in the middle of a circle (manḍala). Maitreya is found in the painting at Fondukistan (Niche E. 7th century A.D.). He appears with a nimbus and a halo, holding a vase in the left hand and a blue flower (nāgakesara) in his right. Thus the painting of Afghanistan also bears witness to the popularity of Maitreya.

In Central Asia, Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna school such as Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Samanatabhadra, Mañjuśrī and Mahāsthāmprāpta became quite popular as is attested by art and literature but Maitreya continued to be popular in Central Asia in spite of

the rise of new saviour gods of the Mahāyāna pantheon. We find Maitreya at Kara Shahr in painting on wood⁴⁰ (6-7th century A.D.). He is wearing princely dress and is seated with his feet cross-legged beneath a horse-shoe arcature. With his right hand he is making the gesture of argument (*Vitarkamudrā*). From Balawaste⁴¹ wall-painting also we find Maitreya seated in European fashion, his feet together resting on a lotus in front of him (6-7th century A.D.). In embroidery from Qoco⁴² (9th-10th century A.D., Turfan region) we have probably Maitreya in crossed feet aspect and the gesture of the hands folded on his chest recalls that of Shotorak and the Chinese Buddhist sculpture in the Wei period.⁴³ The tradition of Maitreya in his Tuṣita heaven is more popular in Central Asia as is evident from the depiction of the pure Land of Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven where the Bodhisattva awaits the moment of his rebirth. In Afghanistan we have a depiction of Tuṣita heaven as Shotorak.⁴⁴ Maitreya bearing a figure of Śākyamuni enthroned in his headgear, is seated under the tree with nāgakesara surrounded by Bodhisattvas in the cave of apsarās at Kumtura (7th century A.D.).⁴⁵ Maitreya is represented enthroned in the Tuṣita heaven, sitting cross-legged in the midst of a gathering in a palace in Kyzyl, Mayahohle III-wall painting (7th century A.D.).⁴⁶

In the Khadalik wall-paintings (7th century A.D.)⁴⁷ we have two Bodhisattvas with a vase both standing on a lotus on two sides of Buddha. The Bodhisattva in the right with a vase and something like a flower in the other hand may be identified as Maitreya. The world of Maitreya (Tuṣita heaven) is a popular theme in Dunhuang such as in the cave No. 25 (Yulin Grottoes, 9th century A.D.).⁴⁸ The popularity of Maitreya in Central Asia may be gauged from the fact that Hsuang-tsang still wished to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven as well as from the rivalry between Maitreya's heaven and Amitabha's Pure-Land and the resultant controversies in the Turfan region. Texts from Khotan also assign a very important place to Maitreya.⁴⁹ We have evidence of a Maitreya temple having been built by the royal family in Turfan in the 5th century A.D.⁵⁰ Many more evidences including inscriptional as shown by Lotika Lahiri may be cited from Central Asia for the popularity of Maitreya even after and side by side the Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna cult.

Vajrapāṇi also remained popular in Central Asia side by side the Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna cult as is evident from representations of Vajrapāṇi in wall-paintings at Kyzyl (peaceful aspect)., Bazeklik (material aspect) and again at Kyzyl (650 A.D.) (Herakles) and in wood-carving from Subashi (5th-6th century A.D.). In short, it may be surmised that Maitreya and Vajrapāṇi remained popular in Central Asia even after the spread of the cult of Mahāyāna with its various Bodhisattva saviours like Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Kṣitigarbha, Mañjūśrī, etc.

Maitreya the Buddha of the future and Śākyamuni seem to be associated with each other as the saviour-god throughout the pilgrim-routes right from Afghanistan to China and this is evident from their association in the numerous Hīnayāna monasteries from Afghanistan to China as Shotorak, Bamiyan, Fondukistan (Afghanistan) and Yun-kang, Long Men (China).⁵²

Vajrapāṇi the Bodhisattva of both vehicles represents the hypostasis of Indra. The vajra the thunderbolt which is his characteristic āyudha represents the force, the indestructible truth which came to be represented in the art of Afghanistan and Central Asia as in Buddha's haloes in Rawak, Dandan Kiliq, Juca (with points), with three prongs in Turfan region in Tantric maṇḍalas. With force with him he became the faithful assistant and

protective genius of Buddha Śākyamuni. His faunlike ears show his Yakṣa aspect and as such he became in Mahāyāna pantheon next to the leading protectors of law. Two types peaceful youth type and atheletic Heracles warrior type existed. Both types persisted in Hīnayānist monasteries in the Tarim basin for some time but soon after the latter type prevailed with more and more Tantric features in Turfan region. It appears that Vajrapāṇi as the protector par-excellence and faithful ally of Buddha became intimately associated with Maitreya.

The popularity of Siddhartha, Maitreya and Vajrapani in Afghanistan and Central Asia is to be traced in certain common element in all these three gods which actually went to associate them with each other. Since there is definite evidence for Afghanistan and Central Asia that Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna both were existing side by side in these regions⁵⁵ and no exclusive area can be marked for either tradition the explanation cannot be limited to regional affiliation of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, or in doctrinal differences.56 These Bodhisattvas with monumentality cannot be explained in terms of the rise of Mahāyāna doctrine as these deities are found before the official rise of Mahāyānism as well as they are initially in the tradition of the Mahāsāmghika-lokottaravādin sect of Hīnayāna tradition in Afghanistan. The secret for the rise and popularity of the cult of Maitreya which associated Siddhārtha and Vajrapāņi with itself because all of them played the role of deliverance of the worshipper from the samsāra lies in the role of a saviour-god par-excellence. The Saviourconcept is quite universal in the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva ideal but it appears that it came to Afghanistan from the West in the wake of Mithraism and it was this saviour aspect which led to the development of the cult of Maitreya and all developments from HinayanatoMahayana and then to Vajrayana it continued its successful journey in Afghanistan, Central Asia and further east.

The development of an intensive cult of Maitreya along with Siddhārtha and Vajrapāṇi in Afghanistan and throughout the pilgrim-route from Afghanistan to China through Central Asia may be understood in terms of socio-religious crisis⁵⁷ that Aftghanistan and beyond had been facing. Broadly speaking, there had been a crisis within Buddhism itself the crisis of Hīnayāna versus Mahāyāna. It has been attested by Fahien, Sung Yun, Hsuantsang and Korean travelerHui Chao that boththe Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna were existing side by side in Afghanistan. The presence of stūpas and scenes from the life of Buddha show that the Hīnayāna was prevalent there. The Hīnayāna with its ideal of the Arhat and orthodox and rigid attitude was getting detached from the laymen and the masses while the Mahāyāna with its charitable and altruistic mass-oriented ideal of Bodhisattva was getting popularity and had been gaining ground among the laymen and the masses in a few centuries earlier and later than the Christian era. It is well-known that within the Hīnayāna sect itself there had been controversies between the orthodox and liberal cults like Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsāmghikas.

The Lion capital inscription of Mathurā of the time of Soḍāṣa⁶⁰ refers to the rivalry between these two subsects and points out that the headquarters of the Sarvāstivādins was at Nagarhāra in Jalalabad. It notices the fact of a dialectian, the Sarvāstivādin monk Budhila from Nagar to teach the foremost Mahāsārighikas the truth. The Kalwan copper plate instription⁶¹ and Taxila casket inscription⁶² indicate the prevalence of Sarvāstivādins school in Afghanistan and northwest India. The Wardhak inscription of the year 51 of Huviṣka⁶³ proves the existence of in Afghanistan. There are references to several monks from Kabul who went

to China for translating Buddhist texts which shows that Afghanistan had a sound base of different schools of Buddhism. The *Mahāsāmghikas* and specially the *Lokottarvādins* believed in the ideal of Bodhisattva and the superhuman aspect of Buddha and it was from this that the way for the Mahāyāna was paved for its official recognition in the time of Kaniṣka. Thus it is indicated that Hīnayāna was facing a challenge within itself as well as without with Mahāyāna and probably it was in response to this social crisis that the concept of the Saviour-god like Maitreya, Śākyamuni and Vajrapāṇi was given an accentuated importance in Afghanistan and Central Asia which had the need for a religion of saviour-god who could protect the laymen, the merchants and the masses from the risks of trade and commerce and life as such.

Buddhism faced another challenge from outside in early centuries of the Christian era. This had been the challenge of Mithraism. Iranian religions as such believed in a future saviour.66 Mithraism believed in a god of protection and Mithra became the prime saviourgod. Mithra was the god of the sun, the mediator, the god of oath, of king and soldiers and of war also. His cult had been very popular in Iran in few centuries before and after the Christian era. It posed a challenge to other religions on account of its popularity among the soldiers, aristocracy as well as among the masses. 67 He was the god of justice and contract. 68 It became popular outside Iran also and posed a challenge to Christianity in the Roman empire. Even in India it became popular in northwest India. Hellenistic religions also emphasized the saviour aspect and saviour gods replaced the priests for salvation. There had been fights and tensions between Mithraism and other cults including Buddhism in the east and west 70 both. There are evidences to the effect that elements of Mithraic-sun cult are absorbed in Buddhist art of Afghanistan and Central Asia. A few examples from Afghanistan and Central Asia may illustrate this point. The Hīnayāna shrines in Afghanistan and the Tarim basin retain traces of the importance attached to cosmic divinities the sun and the moon and there is impact of Mithraism on these representations. This appears to have been due to the impact of the Near and Middle East religions. Foucher's statement is revealing, "The trade of translator of sacred texts and of peddler or maker of images was practiced in the second and third centuries mainly by Bactrians and Sogdians."

The coins⁷³ reveal that the sun and moon cults occupied important position side by side the Buddhist religion before during and after the Kuṣāṇa period. There is solar symbolism in figures of Buddha at Hadda, Rawak, Tumsuq etc. The ceiling of 38 metre Buddha contains a number of cosmic divinities. Such themes have been repeated in the Kuca region by the Hīnayānists. In Bamiyan the divinity in armour is depicted in typical northerner's dress as in the case of Mithra. Besides two wives on the chariot we have figures of the warrior fashion of Mithra. "So this representation contains an entire cosmic symbolism which seems to have combined all the various aspects of the Persian and Vedic astral solar, lunar deities Mithra, Sūrya and Candra in accordance with the great cult-image of Buddha, Lord of the universe." In Fondukistan, we find the figures of Sūrya-Candra dressed as Scytho-Parthian warriors. In the shrines of Kuca such zenithal strips are found. This also contains symbolism of the flight of the soul from the Candra to the Sun and ultimately to Tuṣita. In short, it may be surmised that Buddhism-Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna both have taken over the cosmic symbolism of Mithraism and local cults of Bactrians and Sogdians also. The evolution of a future saviour in Maitreya was also inspired by the Mithraic tradition of a

future saviour. Maitreya has taken elements of Iran also. Zenithal strips are found at Kyzyl, Kiris-simism, Dunhaung etc. ⁷⁶There is similarity in the name of Mithra and Maitreya.

Afghanistan as well as Central Assia had their prosperity through trade and commerce and they did need a saviour for the protection of traders, missionaries and laymen on the trade-routes spread throughout from Afghanistan, Central Asia to China. There had been a social demand for such protection on the way and Buddhism which had been specially associated with the traders and commercial men gave a response to this demand by emphasizing the saviour aspect in their gods like Maitreya, Siddhārtha and Vajrapāṇi. It has rightly been pointed out that "undoubtedly the view that the Buddha or the Bodhisattva was beyond the passage of time gained ground because of a profound social crisis affecting in particular the merchant class which from its beginning had supported heterodox religious movements, first of all, Buddhism itself." Kosambi has pointed out that the monasteries on the borderlands had supported commerce and trade. The following statement of Śāntideva in Bodhicaryāvatāra shows the association of Bodhisattvas with the travellers: Anāthamaham Dātaḥ Sārthvāhaśca Yātrīnām...

The episode of Maitrakanyaka from Kyzyl wall-painting also shows that Maitreya in particular had been a great help to a merchant. He assumes the form of a young merchant and delivers a damned soul from his torment.

The monumentality of Bodhisattva representations in Afghanistan and Central Asia may be taken to be a product of the political ideology of the Kusana who were influenced by the Roman tradition of representing the divinised kings as big and monumental. It is wellknown that Mithraism and political ideology came to be identified wherein the king became the saviour and this aspect could be represented by depicting Buddha and Bodhisattvas on a colossal scale in the mature phase of Gandharan art. 80 This monumental aspect may be seen in meditating Buddha with flames issuing out from his shoulders from Paitava81 and Dīpańkara Jātaka Buddha from Shotorak82 with flames again coming out from his shoulders. The luminosity in them connect them with supreme divinity and kingship.83 The monumental Buddhist images from Bamiyan, Fondukistan, Kakrak and many big figures in Central Asia show the popularity of big images which was meant to show the supernatural, superhuman aspect of these images and the inspiration for this appears to have come from the monumental effigies of Roman and Kusana kings. It became a religious tradition to build a colossal statue of Maitreya at the border of every new country which had been won over to Buddhism.84 Fahien and Hsuan-tsang saw one such image (30 feet high in golden sandal wood) of Maitreya at Darel in the upper Indus. The tradition of building big images continued throughout the rock-monasteries from Bamiyan and beyond (for example the great recumbent Buddha at Adjina Tepe in Tajikistan) as far as China in Kyzyl, Kumtura and Kirish. 85 Besides the existing big Buddha images at Bamiyan, Hsuan-tsang has seen 1000 feet Buddha nirvāna image, which could not be traced so far.

Besides these mundane factors for the popularity of Maitreya there appears to have been a philosophical factor also for its popularity. Maitreya helps and guides the faithful and refreshes and delivers the souls of the *pretas* and allows them to be reborn in his own paradise as Bodhisattvas the last stage before they escape from the cycle of rebirths and reach Buddhahood. This role as psycopomp which was due to Iranian influence (Mithra-cult) appears to have been another factor for the popularity of Maitreya in Afghanistan and Central Asia and beyond.

Beyond Afghanistan other Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna tradition also became popular but it must be remembered that features of Maitreya came to be incorporated by such Bodhisattvas, and only then they could become popular along with Maitreya and Vajrapāṇi. Avalokiteśvara delives like Maitreya the soul from perils. He has a full blown flower and a vase like Maitreya. Kṣitigarbha also assumed the role of a psycopomp like Maitreya as the conductor of souls whom he helps to steer away from the path of evil. This is simply a revival of one of the aspects of Maitreya. He appears to have figured in Maitreya's suite as an attendant. He appears to have been a creation of Central Asia and his popularity was assured only when he revives the psycopomp role of Maitreya.⁸⁷

To conclude, the singular popularity of Maitreya-cult in Afghanistan and beyond may be considered as a product of Hīnayānist responses to two-fold challenges of Mithraism with a popular saviour god and of *Mahāsāringhika* Mahāyānist altruistist philosophy of Bodhisattva in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the second place, the Maitreya cult became intensively popular because it provided a satisfying response to social crisis prevailing in the region due to political destabilization in the wake of ethnic movements at that time. Traders, missionaries and laymen in the routes from Afghanistan to China needed and got a god of their necessity and choice in Maitreya. The impact of royal ideology and divine kingship with saviour element in it as prevalent in the Kuṣāṇa empire under the Iranian and Roman influences also made his cult popular. Lastly, but more fundamentally, Maitreya-cult provided a response of philosophical type in the sense that it promised final deliverance of the soul from *sam̄sāra*. Thus the popularizing of Maitreya-cult may be situated against historical backdrop of contemporary social and religio-philosophical demands of the region.

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- 60. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II (i), pl. 30 ff.
- 61. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, p. 949.
- 62. Puri, B.N. *India under the Kushanas*, pl. 141, ff. Puri in *Buddhism in Central Asia*, p. 103, writes "Sarvāstnādins were facing the stiff opposition of the Mahāsāmghikas".
- 63. Puri, B.N., op.cit., 1987, p. 103.
- 64. Ibid.
- 65. Pande, G.C., Bauddha Dharma ke Vikāsa kā Itihāsa, 313.
- 66. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 24, 86.
- 67. Cumont, Frank, The Mysteries of Mithra.
- 68. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. B, 196. Alberuni, India, Tr. Sachau, Vol. I, London, 1988, p. 21 refers to the imposition of Magism in Balkh and banishment of Buddhism from there.
- 69. See Srivastava, V.C. Sun Worship in Ancient India, Allahabad, 1972.
- 70. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 18, 925.
- 71. Gaulier, op.cit., 34-36.
- 72. Foucher, A. L'Art Grecobouddhique des Gandhara, Vol. II, Paris, 644.
- 73. Srivastava, V.C. Sun-worship in Ancient India, Allahabad, 1972.
- 74. Gaulier, op.cit., 35.
- 75. Ibid., 35.
- 76. Gaulier, op.cit., II, figs. 89-91.
- 77. Snellgrove, op.cit., 184.
- 78. Kosambi, D.D., The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India, Delhi, 1981, 182.
- 79. Gaulier, op. cit., fig. 26, 21.
- 80. See Rosenfield, J.M., Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas, Berkeley Los Angeles, 1976, 200-201.
- 81. Snellgrove, op.cit., pl. 136, p. 186.
- 82. Ibid., pl. 137, p. 187.
- On this aspect see A.C. Soper, Artibus Asiae, vol. 12, 1949, pp. 252-283, 314-330, vol. 13, 1950, 63-85; M. Bussagli, Revista dell'Institute Nationale d' Archaeologia e Storia dell Arte, 5-6 (1956-57), 198-205. M. Taddei, Gururājamanjarikā. Studi in onore di Guseppe Tucci, 2, Naples, 1074, 435-449.
- 84. Quoted by Gaulier, op.cit., p.12.
- 85. Ibid., 12.
- 86. Ibid.
- 87. *Ibid.*, 13-14, fig. 67. Such role has been assigned to him in the *Vajrasamādhi sutra* and the *Mahāvaipulya Dasacakrasūtra*, quoted by Gaulier, *op.cit.*, 14.

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