**TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF AHICHCHHATRA, DISTRICT BAREILLY, U.P.**

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_In Ancient India no. 1 was published a summary classification of some of the principal pottery-types found during the excavations of 1940–44 on the site of Ahichchhatra. The Superintendent of the Museums Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India has now undertaken a similar classification of the terracotta human figurines from the same excavations, leaving the animal figurines for a future occasion. The classification is based upon a rough-and-ready system of stratification which falls short of modern standards but may be allowed a certain weight where the evidence is sufficiently abundant to cross-check itself. Fortunately the terracottas from the site are numerous, and, in respect of recurrent types, the sequence may be regarded as reasonably established. It thus marks a considerable advance upon the diverse typological classifications which have in the past been a source of controversy rather than a substantive contribution to knowledge._

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INTRODUCTORY

CLAY figurines may be regarded as the poor-man’s sculpture and have great value as sources of social and religious history.

In India the art of making figurines of baked clay is of high antiquity. At Harappā, Mohenjodaro and other chalcolithic sites in Sind and Baluchistan, terracottas have been found in large numbers. Historical sites also in North India, such as Pātaliputra, Basārh, Rājghāṭ, Kosam, Mathurā, Sankisā, Besnagar, Pawāyā, Nagarī, Taxila and now Ahichchhatrā, have yielded a mass of terracotta material, most of which still awaits systematic study.

The excavations at Ahichchhatrā were carried out from 1940 to 1944 under the direction of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. During the four seasons’ work an approximate time-sequence was established, and it is on the basis of this time-sequence that the present analysis has been prepared. For purposes of record the whole site was marked out on the general site-plan in 500-foot squares, each square being numbered with a capital letter of the alphabet as A, B, C, etc., on the east-west line and by Roman numerals I, II, III, etc., on the north-south line. Each 500-foot square was sub-divided into 100-foot squares, which were again divided into 10-foot squares, and each of these 100 sub-divisions was numbered 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g, 1h, 1j, 1k, and thus up to 10k.

Further, the ten wholly or partially excavated areas or plots on the mound were designated as ACI, ACII, ACIII, ACIV, ACV, ACVI, ACVII, ACVIII, ACXII and ACXV.

Thus the number ‘ACIII, KIX/P9a, -61’ on a figurine shows that it was found at Ahichchhatrā, plot III, in 500-foot square KIX, in 100-foot square P, in 10-foot square 9a, at the 61-foot level below a datum fixed at the top of the highest mound inside the fortification, about 75 feet above the level of the fields outside. Of these plots, ACIII is the most

1 Ahichchhatrā ending in long ā is the correct spelling supported by ancient texts and also by a clay sealing of the Gupta period (no. 963, ACIV) reading śrī-Ahichchhatrā-bhuktau kumārāmātyādhi-karaṇasya, ‘of the office of the Kumārāmātya in the division of Ahichchhatrā’.

2 The fallaciousness of this system has been pointed out in Ancient India, no. 3 (1947), pp. 144ff. It must be emphasized that the stratification of the Ahichchhatrā excavations was of a summary nature and is valid only for general inferences. Nevertheless, no similar bulk of terracottas of the historic period from India has hitherto received even this degree of documentation, and the main results appear to be well substantiated.
representative in its range. Nine strata, covering approximately the period from 300 B.C. to A.D. 1100 were recognized, and Mr. A. Ghosh, who was in charge of the site, observes that ‘Among the excavated plots it was in ACIII alone that we started from a sufficiently high level to be sure that the area had been in occupation till the last days of the city. Here we reached the natural soil by cutting through successive strata. A cross-section of all the structural stages of Ahichchhatra, however limited in extent, has thus been exposed to view, and the knowledge gained affords a stratigraphical basis for dating objects found elsewhere in the city’. Fortunately, the number of terracotta-finds from ACIII was far in excess of the finds from all other sites put together. Site ACIII therefore may be taken to reveal the norm of the succession of styles and types.

The following chart shows the chronological position allotted to the different strata by Mr. A. Ghosh:

Stratum IX: before 300 B.C.
Stratum VIII: 300 to 200 B.C.
Stratum VII: 200 to 100 B.C.
Strata VI and V: 100 B.C. to A.D. 100.
Stratum IV: A.D. 100 to 350.
Stratum III: A.D. 350 to 750.
Stratum II: A.D. 750 to 850.
Stratum I: A.D. 850 to 1100.

For purposes of description, the terracottas are grouped into subject-categories.

GROUP I. MOTHER GODDESS

TYPE 1. MOTHER GODDESS (STRATUM VIII: C. 300–200 B.C.)

This type is represented by nine figures, seven from ACIII and two from ACV. Only the first four from ACIII can be accepted as evidence for chronological purposes. Nos. 1 and 3 in gray colour are of the same type and style as a considerable group of clay figurines from Mathurā published as ‘early’ by Dr. Coomaraswamy and myself. Outside Mathurā, similar female figurines of the early period are extremely rare and these two figures along with no. 6 (ACIII 3542, found in a later filling) may well have been imports from Mathurā rather than products of the local school. These archaic figures are entirely modelled by hand and, except no. 7 which is worthless as evidence, seem to be the work of skilful craftsmen intent on doing their job well in the absence of moulds.

The figures conform to a pre-determined iconographic pattern. An outstanding feature is the applied and punched decoration used freely and with variation. At times the collar, the necklace and the girdle are appliqué. There is no instance of the applied eye at Ahichchhatra or at Mathurā, although this is a common feature in the Mother Goddess figurines from Gandhāra illustrated by Colonel Gordon.

The dating of the figurines of this group is an important point. All the Mathurā figures were stray finds from old mounds and not from controlled excavations. Their early dating was based solely on their very archaic style. They are all hand-made and the facial

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features are like those of a bird or animal. Both these characteristics exist in the Ahichchhatrā figures also. Although, owing to the very limited exploration of the lowest levels in ACIII, the evidence at our disposal is confined to a few fragmentary specimens, of which two in gray colour are the more relevant to our purpose, the Ahichchhatrā specimens seem to supply firm data for assigning this group of Mother Goddess figurines to the pre-Śūnya period. They belong to Stratum VIII, for which a date between 300 and 200 B.C. is proposed by the excavator. It may be that the type lasted on for another hundred years. Whether the date for the earliest introduction of this archaic hand-made type can be pushed back into the pre-Maurya period, as Dr. Coomaraswamy and myself once suggested on stylistic grounds, can neither be proved nor disproved by the present limited evidence. Subject, however, to verification from strictly controlled excavations at Mathurā or at Ahichchhatrā itself, it appears that the type was known in the third century B.C. and properly belongs to the Maurya period.

The identification of the goddess is another relevant question. That the craftsmen attempted to give expression to a formula comprising certain well-defined features must be readily conceded. The bird-or animal-like face, prominent breasts, broad hips, triple-rosetted head-dress, collar, necklace and conspicuous girdle form the elements of this formula. In none of the figures of this group from Ahichchhatrā or from Mathurā is nudity ever indicated, although any signs of drapery are also wanting. From the popularity and the wide range of the formula at the back of these figures the inference is irresistible that they represent a type of the Mother Goddess. Whether this goddess was Aditi, Indra, Maya, Vasudhara or Padma or even Anaitis is more than we can determine in the present state of our knowledge. The type appears indeed to preserve an earlier tradition of an undifferentiated Mother Goddess.

1. Head and bust of female figure (ht. 1-8") in gray colour with applied and incised decoration. This is a characteristic example of the archaic style in which the whole figure was modelled by hand. It has animal-like features, the nose (now damaged) being almost horizontal. The appliqué eyes and the ears are now chipped off, the right ear being indicated by a slight mark. The hair was indicated by parallel appliqué strands descending on the back up to the line of the arm-pit, but is now chipped off leaving slightly grayish markings on a black surface. The number of strands seems to have been five on a few specimens and three on others. This style of applied hair-braids is shared by a majority of the female figures of this type both from Mathurā and here. An applied collar was fixed round the neck but is now detached; a small perforation-mark in the centre represents former prickings on the collar. Another pendant necklace, passing over the shoulders and above the breasts, was made by a roll of clay, now partly preserved and marked by a series of pin-heads. It is clear that these were produced by affixing seeds of the bājra ( Panicum spicatum) plant. The breasts were also applied but are now missing. The arms extended horizontally from the shoulders but were bent abruptly from the elbow; the fore-arms are now missing. Being found in Stratum VIII of ACIII, the figure should be assigned to the period 300-200 B.C. The specimen is closely related to the type of figure 2 illustrated in my paper on Mathurā terracottas and now provides a sounder basis for its early dating.

No. 8884, ACIII, KIX/P9a, -61' below datum line; Stratum VIII: 300-200 B.C.

2. Fragment of a female figure from breast to thighs (2'). Hips and waist form a well-defined triangle, the former being broad and connecting these figures with a steatopygous type ( prithu-śrōti), and the latter slim (madhye sangrāhyā), an ideal of beauty in early times. The navel is indicated by a perforated mark made with a sharp pointed tool; the girdle is shown by a deep groove underlined by a row of sunken pin-heads; the legs are straight and separated by a prominent arch. Red clay with brown slip.

No. 8934, ACIII, KIX/P9a, -60'; St. VIII.

1 V. S. Agrawala, op. cit.
2 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 2, 5, 16.
3. Fragment (2-25") of the right side of a female figure from waist-line to foot. It is of gray terracotta with traces of black slip. Slender waist; broad hip; short stumpy foot undigitated. The most prominent feature is an elaborate jewelled girdle half an inch broad, marked by three lines of punched circlets enclosed between two grooved lines.

Stylistically it belongs to the same archaic group as nos. 1 and 2. The figure belongs to Stratum VII, corresponding to 200-100 B.C., probably approximating to the earlier limit.

No. 8797, ACIII, CX/L1b, -58' ; St. VII: 200-100 B.C.

4. Torso of a female figure (2-5"), head and portion below girdle missing. Applied collar with two lines of pin-head marks; a pendant necklace passing round the breasts with vertical string between them. The arms, formerly projecting straight from the shoulders, are now broken; prominent breasts with nipple marks and worked from the material of the torso; navel shown by a perforation mark; girdle rendered by a horizontal flat band with indented grooves. Buff clay with brown slip.

No. 8842, ACIII, CX/L1d, -58' ; St. VII.

5. Female head (1-25") with emphatic bird-like features, pointed nose, mouth indicated by a short slit-mark, and the two nostrils by small pin-heads. Diamond-shaped incised eyes with pupil indicated; ears projecting on both sides and stamped with single rosettes. A third rosette is stamped in the centre of the forehead forming the three-rosetted head-dress in its simplified form which later assumes ornate development.

The rosette consists of two intersecting lines with a dot in each angle, and is a symbol found on the early punch-marked coins. Brick-red colour.

No. 8933, ACIII, CX/L2c, -56' 1/2 ; St. VI: 100 B.C. to A.D. 100.

6. Fragment (2") of female figure from abdomen to thighs. Navel marked by a big sunken six-armed rosette resembling a shadara-chakra, another punch-mark symbol. Broad and applied indented girdle similar to that on no. 4. Whitish grey colour blackened in places in firing. The fragment was found in a later filling, doubtless out of context.

No. 3542, ACIII, CX/F5d, -43' ; St. IIIa.

7. Fragment (2-5") of a female figure from waist to left foot. Prominent girdle shown by a single row of punched circlets between two horizontal grooved lines produced by pressing the marking rod on wet clay. Legs separated by an arch and the left foot shown without details of toes. Gray figurine baked to the hardness of over-burnt brick. Both the modelling and stamping show careless work.

The level and the style seem mutually to disagree. Pending fresh evidence, therefore, it is safe to discard both this and no. 6 as evidence for chronology.

No. 1347, ACIII, CX/F7e, -41' ; St. IIIa.

The following three figures (8-10) were found in a refuse-pit with mixed filling in ACV and, although archaic in style, are not firmly dated.

8. Headless female figure (3") with tapering arms extending straight from the bust and ending abruptly without details. Low breasts worked from the material of the torso; slender waist and broad hips; girdle indicated by an applied roll of clay with a row of pin-heads; navel not indicated; legs like short tapering stumps without details of feet. Buff clay with reddish brown slip.

The finds from the refuse-pit in ACV show that the pit was filled with sweepings from the residential quarters of the Paśčahala period (100 B.C.-A.D. 100, corresponding to St. VI and V of ACIII), which presumably covers the date of this figurine.

No. 6196, ACV, QVIII/P5h (Refuse-pit), -79'.

9. Female figurine (3-5") with face mutilated. The head-dress was of the three-rosetted type, of which a boss with punched marks is still preserved at the right ear. Similar punched decoration occurs on the appliqué collar, necklace and girdle. An elliptical necklace passing outside the breasts reaches almost to the line of the navel which is not marked. The design of the necklace with the diametrical string is similar to that on no. 4, unearthed in Stratum VII in ACIII. The prominent round breasts are chipped off, leaving circular marks.
B. 11-17, Type 3, Sub-type (1). Mantua plaques: 18, mound of the same Type; 18a, cast from 18

A. 1-9, Type 1, Mother Goddess; 10, Type 2, female figure related to Mother Goddess
Type 3, Sub-type (i), Mithuna plaques
Short straight arms; girdle marked by a single row of punched points between two lines; broad stumpy legs disproportionately short. Fine kneaded clay, baked very hard. Light brownish colour.

No. 3180, ACV (Pit), -65°.

**TYPE 2. FEMALE FIGURE RELATED TO THE MOTHER GODDESS**

10. Head and fragmentary bust of a female figure (1'6°). In this type the head with its framing head-dress is pressed out of a mould and joined to a body worked by hand. The head-dress is simple but is distinguished by two features: (i) trefoil pattern, and (ii) streamers or bands falling on each side of the head. Of the trefoil head-dress, the two side-projections are each marked by a double circle with a central pellet and the middle one by a symbol consisting of two intersecting lines with a dot in each angle, as seen on no. 5.

The side-streamers consist of an ornament formed by a central axis between two Nāgas. This symbol also occurs on punch-marked coins, and may for the sake of convenience be designated as the Nāga-mudrā symbol. The three streaks of this symbol are punched with small nail-head marks, most probably indicating pearl-strings. The hair is shown by two slight ridges forming an angle above the forehead and adorned by a similar string of pearls. The oval facial type with half-open eyes looking downward is suggestive of an iconographic formula. Heavy round kundalas are worn in the ears. Gray colour, hard-baked fine clay.

This is the only example from the Ahichchhatrā excavations of an archaic female figurine having a moulded head and a modelled body. The presence of the punch-mark symbols and trefoil head-dress and the general style and expression of the eyes point to its unmistakable association with a pre-established Mother Goddess type, as in the case of Type I.

No. 6277, AVC (Pit), -71' 6°.

**GROUP II. EARLY MOULDED PLAQUES**

In this group are classified the early moulded figures, both male and female, produced completely from a mould. Of the forty-five Ahichchhatrā specimens, only eight are gray and the rest red. The whole group may be subdivided as follows:

- **(a)** Couples of the Mithuna and Dampati Types.
- **(b)** Allied female figures.
- **(c)** Allied male figures.

**TYPE 3. MITHUNA FIGURES**

The Mithuna showing a male and a female figure standing side by side is the leading type at Ahichchhatrā, represented by twelve specimens, about 30 p.c. of the figures in the group. This may be attributed to local predilection, since both in Mathurā and Gandhāra the number of Mithuna specimens amongst the moulded figures is very limited.

It is difficult to postulate a precise religious significance for the Mithuna figures and for the individual male and female specimens derived from them. Association with an original cult of fertility may be claimed by the presence of sacred symbols on the head-dress and the necklace, and also in one instance by the indication of nudity. At best they seem to be related to the ideal ‘man-and-woman’ figures represented at Sānci as forming part of the repertoire of the idyllic land of Uttarakuru, where Mithuna pairs endowed with eternal youth and beauty are born from Wish-fulfilling Trees (Kalpavriksha) and spend their lives in continuous pleasure. In the most expressive specimens the male figure holds a lute and the woman embraces him with her right hand and has her left hand placed akimbo.

Both on stylistic and stratigraphical grounds the Mithuna plaques fall into two Subtypes, viz.: (i) an earlier Sub-type of the proper Mithuna or ‘man-and-woman’ figures, and (ii) a later Sub-type in which the male and female figures show affinities with the stone figures of early Indian art and may be styled the Dampati or ‘husband-and-wife’ Sub-type.
In the Mithuna Sub-type the male is the left-hand figure of the pair; in the Dampati one this position is reversed and the female figure invariably fills the left-hand side. The first Sub-type may be dated in the Śuṅga period, c. 200 to 100 B.C. with a probable extension into the Pañchāla period (100 B.C.–A.D. 100) and the second may be assigned to the Pañchāla period proper. The chronology supplied by four specimens from ACIII supports this inference. The rest of the related figurines come from the Pit in ACV and are not of much stratigraphical value.

In all cases, figures from ACIII will be described first and then the corresponding types from ACV.

**Sub-type (i). Early Mithuna plaques**

11. Mithuna plaque (2.3") showing a male and a female figure standing side by side. Portion below waist-line missing. The head-dress of the woman is very elaborate, consisting of two lateral masses of turban and a central boss, all stamped with the same decoration and symbols as in the better-preserved specimen, no. 12 below. The three sacred symbols stuck on the left side consist of an arrow-head (bāna), a banner (dhvaja) and a goad (āṅkuśa). The dependent tassels, the two streaming bands and the knotted lop-sided turban of the male figure are similar to those on no. 12. The man wears an upper scarf passing across the chest and falling from the left shoulder. Red sandy clay with sprinkling of mica.

No. 8820, ACIII, KIX/K9k, –56' 6"; St. VII: 200–100 B.C.

12. Mithuna plaque (5"×3-5") breadth) showing a male on the left and a female on the right. The man holds in his right hand near the girdle the upper end of a lute. The woman is touching with her right hand the girdle of her husband, the left resting on her hip. The left hand of the male figure embraces the woman on her back. He is wearing a turban with a prpuberance on the left side, covering a mass of hair or resting on a globular core. This characteristic style of head-dress is found on all the male figures of this Sub-type. Round the neck is an ornament consisting of five crescents with thickened ends strung together and placed in alternating position. On his shoulders is a rich ornamental scarf with a broad border of plaited plaques and stripes, the folds of the scarf covering the right arm and the double-plaited ends falling on the right side below the knee. He is wearing a dhoti with parallel oblique folds on the right leg and vertical folds on the left, and also a girdle the two ends of which form on the left thigh a bulbous tassel. Marks of stippling on the bust of the male figure indicate a gauze-like garment for the upper part of the body. A piece of straw inserted by chance in the mould has left a scar across the length of the figure from right nipple to right knee.

The decoration of the female figure is much more elaborate. Her hair is adorned with a double pearl-string terminating at the sides in circular rings of pearls near the ears. Similar pearl-strings fringing the hair on the forehead are a feature of the female figures of the Śuṅga period, a notable example being the Kosam terracotta figure at Oxford,¹ with which our specimen has also other points in common. The head-dress consists of two prominent side-rolls of a turban flanking a central boss stamped with a floral design. On proper left side it shows firstly a streaming band falling to the elbow adorned with rosettes alternating with a three-streaked symbol. The next band has a row of three sacred symbols—an arrowhead (bāna), a banner (dhvaja) and a goad (āṅkuśa) (fig. 1, 2)—surmounting a tasseled ornament of four strings attached to a round plaque. The last two symbols appear also in the head-dress of the Oxford figure,² and in the pair of amulet-strings carved on a Sānchī pillar.³ There are three additional symbols woven in her long necklace, namely, a dagger on the left, a puppet (śrīvatsa) in the centre, and, on the right, a vajra with a pointed angle and prongs. This type of necklace (fig. 1,1)⁴ is found not only on all the female figures of the Mithuna Sub-type, but is a regular feature on the archaic terracottas of the modelled-cum-moulded variety from Mathurā.⁵ Of the eight sacred symbols seen on the figure,

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² Ibid., p. 96.
³ J. Marshall, *Monuments of Sānchī* (Delhi, 1940), II, pl. XXXVIIa; also I, pp. 44-45.
⁴ The line-drawings accompanying this article are the work of Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, to whom my thanks are due.
⁵ ‘Mathurā Terracottas’, figs. 6, 10, 12, 13.
FIG. 1. Typical ornaments and hair-dresses. 1 and 2 = no. 12; 3 = no. 90; 4 = no. 303; 5 = no. 175; 6 = no. 137; 7 = no. 144; 8 = no. 148; 9 = no. 108; 10 = no. 265; 11 = no. 155; 12 = no. 157; 13 = no. 160; 14 = no. 164; 15 = no. 168; 16 = no. 102; 17 = no. 286
the presence of the puppet or śrīvatsa is of interest as it virtually reproduces the form of the archaic Mother Goddess classed under Group I (see especially no. 4).

The other ornaments consist of a flat torque, heavy rings in the ears, bracelets, and puffed-up flowery bangles on the hands. The dress consists of a scarf covering both shoulders and a dhōtī with folds drawn in rolls on the sides. In spite of this, a notable feature of this specimen is the indication of nudity, produced by inserting a grain in the mould at the pubic triangle. Nos. 13 and 14 below are from the same mould but without the sign of nudity. Although a common feature in the Mother Goddess figurines from Gandhāra, the indication of sex is practically absent in the Āhichchhāṭi and Mathurā female figures of the early class.

The colour of the terracotta is gray-black; the clay shows a slight mixing of rice-husk and signs of the use of a fibrous brush on the back.

No. 6191, ACV (Pit), -69’.

13. Fragment of a Mithuna plaque (2-5") produced from the same mould as no. 12. Broken in an oblique line from the mouth of the male to the shoulder of the female; the portion below the thighs also missing. Gray colour with traces of black paint.

No. 6212, ACV (Pit), -60’.

14. Mithuna plaque (4-7") from the same mould as no. 12. The only difference is that the draped female figure is without the added mark of nudity. Portion below ankles and right and left upper corners missing. Buff colour with brownish slip. Marks of the use of a scraper on the back.

No. 6134, ACV (Pit), -67’.

15. Mithuna plaque (1-4") similar to above but smaller in size. The lower part of the sound-box of the lute is visible near the leg of the male figure. The feet of the couple, missing in other examples, are preserved here, showing the female figure wearing anklets. Gray colour.

No. 6133, ACV (Pit), -69’.

16. Mithuna plaque (3-5") with details of drapery and decoration similar to the above specimens. The chief difference is that the male figure is holding a flower instead of a lute in his right hand. The woman is touching the girdle of the male figure, indicating a tendency to emphasize the erotic aspect of the subject. Light red colour. Portion below ankles of the male figure and the knees of the female figure missing.

No. 6127, ACV (Pit), -66’ 6’.

17. Lower half of a Mithuna plaque (2-2’). Details similar to no. 16. Red clay.

No. 6132, ACV (Pit), -67’ 6’.

18. Fragmentary mould of a Mithuna plaque (2’), showing the head of a woman and a portion of the male figure. The details of the hair-bonnet and the floral crown, and the lateral mass of turban with sacred symbols are the same as in the preceding figures. The relief from this mould is not so high as in the other figures.

No. 6193, ACV (Pit), -69’.

Sub-type (ii). Later Dampati or ‘husband-and-wife’ plaques

The Dampati plaques comprised under this head are distinguished from the preceding group by the following features:—

(i) The position of the male and the female figures is reversed, the female now occupying the left side.

(ii) The plaques have decorative borders and background stamped with flowers, rosaces, spirals and lozenges bisected into triangles. The edges of the plaques are straight and appear to have been made from regular rectangular moulds. The border of the earlier group follows an irregular outline.
(iii) The details of the decoration of figures are much simpler than in the previous ones.

(iv) Drapery and ornaments, the hair-dress in the female figures, and the conspicuous turban of the male figure, as also the facial types, are related to known examples of early Indian sculpture.

(v) The poses and subjects are voluptuous, pointing to their secular character.

(vi) In three specimens out of four there is a suspension-hole which shows that these were hung on walls as objects of beauty or illustrations of erotic subjects.

The figures are divested of all religious feeling and are types of youthful men and women devoted to love. They conform to the descriptions of the classical poets like Bhāsa, Āsvaghosha and Kālidāsa. In art the type had become established much earlier, at least in the Śuṅga period (second century B.C.), and it continued into the Pañchāla (100 B.C.–A.D. 100), Kushāṇa and Gupta periods, when it is often repeated as a favourite motif in the stone reliefs.

Two of the plaques are from ACIII site. No. 19 belongs to Stratum VI (100 B.C.–A.D. 100), and no. 20, from Stratum IVc, should be about A.D. 100. Possibly the specimen was made a century earlier, in the early Pañchāla period, and has survived into its present level. Although this Dampati type had already been evolved earlier in sculpture at Bharhut about the second century B.C., its adoption in a clay-medium by humble potters on an extensive scale is a later development. In other cases also, types in clay appear subsequently to well-established types in stone, as the popularization of an established theme. There is thus every probability that, amongst the figures of couples, the Mithuna type came first and the Dampati type followed as a derivative with its own special features.

19. Dampati plaque (2-9" × 3-4") showing an amorous couple, with the woman standing on the right side of the man; portion above navel missing. Right hand of the female figure placed on a beautiful girdle of double-beaded string. She is wearing a scarf, a long outer garment consisting probably of combined tunic and skirts fastened round the body by a girdle, and heavy anklets. The male figure wears a flat waist-band and a dhoti falling in folds on sides of the legs, leaving the knees bare. Lower border of the plaque decorated by a row of flowers (phulla-vala) laid between two beaded lines.

No. 8690, ACIII, KIX/P9a, -56' 6"; St. VIIc: 100 B.C.

20. Dampati plaque (5-2" × 3-2") showing a man and a woman with their left and right arms crossed at the back and hands placed on each other’s shoulders. The right hand of the woman is placed on a triple-beaded girdle. Her plaited hair is covered by a bonnet decorated with rows of petals, a design found on numerous Bharhut figures of men and women. She wears pendants in her ears, a flat triangular necklace of three strings, and a triple armlet on the right arm. The male figure wears a knotted turban covered with petalled decoration, flat torque and necklace, a scarf passing across the body to the left side, a cloth with a front fold arranged between the legs, and a girdle knotted in a graceful loop in front, like the cloth girdles on Bharhut figures.

Red plaque with a thin lozenge border, and a suspension-hole in the centre above.

No. 8574, ACIII, KIX/P9c, -52'; St. IVc: about A.D. 100.

21. Fragment of a Dampati plaque (1-5") showing the head of a male figure, from the same mould as no. 20. No. 6128, ACV, QVIII/P4j, -64'.

22. Dampati plaque (6-2" × 4-2") showing the figures in an amorous attitude, the male touching the breast of his partner. On her head a bonnet consisting of pearl-strings covering the hair, which is gathered in a braid towards the right. Ornaments as on no. 20 with the exception of armlets. She is holding with her right hand

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1 L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture* (1929), pl. 32.

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the ends of a scarf tied loosely round her hips, as in some of the Bharhut figures.\textsuperscript{1} The male figure has a two-knotted turban. The slightly projecting base is decorated with four floral bosses and two spirals. A suspension-hole above. Red colour. Break at the neck-line, the two pieces being now joined together.

No. 6692, ACV, QVIII/P1h, -60'.

**TYPE 4. ALLIED FEMALE FIGURES**

The material under this head consists of two Sub-types: (i) The first reproduces the elaborate head-dress and decorative details such as the sacred symbols, streamers and long necklace seen on the female figures of Mithuna plaques of Sub-type 1 of Type 3 (nos. 11–18). A corresponding male type with the same kind of head-dress and the lute also occurs (below, no. 48). (ii) The second Sub-type consists of a free evolution of this type comprising miscellaneous figures. The reliable stratigraphic evidence of a single figure, no. 23 from ACIII, shows that the type was known in Stratum VII, i.e. about the same period as the plaques of the Mithuna type. Special types, such as the dancing female figure and mother and child, come from the Pit in ACV and cannot be used for firm dating. They must, however, have preceded the Kushāna epoch and may be tentatively assigned to the Pañchāla period, between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100.

*Sub-type (i). Allied to the Mithuna Sub-type*

23. Elaborately decorated woman (2-5\textdegree), related to the Mithuna Sub-type (cf. no. 12). Double pearl fringe on forehead; turban with two lateral masses and a central lotus, that on the left side having a long streamer, a pendant of tassels and three symbols, the arrow-head, banner, and goad, and that on the right twisted rolls of turban above a conical mass of hair; button ear-ring in left ear. Elaborate drapery with parallel rows on border. Buff colour with patches of black and brown slip; tongue-relief with its background cut off; portion below waist-line missing.

No. 8878, ACIII, KIX/P10c, -57\textdegree; St. VII: 200–100 B.C.

It is evident that independent figures like these are co-eval in time with the Mithuna plaques of Sub-type (i).

24. Female figure (2-4\textdegree) similar to no. 23, with which details of the head-dress agree closely. The double row of taurine symbols on the streamer is clear on this specimen. The left-side roll of the turban shows an arrow-head and a banner, and the tassel-ornament dependent from a plaque consists of six or more strings with rows of elongated cylindrical beads alternating with spacers. The arms are covered with folds of drapery, but the details of the cloth and necklace are not clear. Gray colour with traces of black slip. Portion below waist-line missing.

No. 6225, ACV (Pit), -71\textdegree.

25. Woman (3-2\textdegree) with elaborate head-dress and ornamentation. This and the following figure have a striking similarity with the Oxford specimen published by Johnston and referred to above under no. 12. The hair is adorned with a double string of pearls terminating in two rosettes near the ears, the line of frontal hair being drawn on the forehead in two angular locks. The two projections of the turban are of equal size, the left one not being bigger as in others. It has four sacred symbols on the right side and five on the left. The streamers are each stamped with a series of four Nāga-mudrā symbols (two serpents flanking an axis), details of which are clear on the following figure (no. 26). Two pendent pearl-tassels are shown on either side below the sacred symbols. Between the masses of the turban rises the crown with rows of pearl-decorations. The ear-lobes have two highly decorative large round plugs, similar to those in the Oxford figure, the one in the right ear shown frontally and the other from the side (the reverse of the Oxford figure). From each hang four strings

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\textsuperscript{1} Bachhofer, op. cit., pl. 20, left.
of pearls or beads. Round the neck is a broad torque, and on the breasts a long necklace. Folds of the scarf are shown on the arms. The right hand is placed on the waist and the left one is missing. Red colour.

No. 3179, ACV, QVIII/P6h, −65' 6'.

26. Woman (2-6') similar to the above in details of drapery and ornamentation.

No. 11147, ACXV, QVIII/Y9d, −51'.

27. Bust of female figure (3-8') with a rich head-dress derived essentially from the trefoil form of the woman’s head-dress on Mithuna plaques, notably the central flowery boss and the two streaming bands punched with circles. Instead of the sacred symbols, the outer framing of the head-dress is achieved by the rich foliage of the palm-tree. This is more in keeping with the unorthodox scheme of decoration, also seen on a terracotta and a stone figure from Mathurā where the decoration consists of plumes and asoka-leaves respectively.¹ The hair on the forehead shows a recessed pattern. A conical pendant in right ear and a double circular ring in left. Red clay.

No. 11315, ACIII, picked up from the surface. The figure may be placed in c. first century B.C.

28. Bust of woman (2-7') showing a simple trefoil head-dress, with two lateral masses and a central projection. Three holes are pierced in each of the side-rolls of the turban obviously to fix amulets or decorative symbols. Two loose bands fall on the sides. A drum-like ornament is worn in the right ear, and a button-ring in the left. A broad collar round the neck consists of three plaques and two taurines. A sash is tied round the waist. Light buff colour.

No. 6185, ACV (Pi), −70' 6'.

29. Fragment (2-5') of a female figurine from thighs to anklets. Legs covered with folds of drapery. By the side of the legs are prominent ends of a long scarf. Left hand wearing bracelets with palm shown outward. Double-looped necklace, the inner one of plaques and the outer one of stripes.² A two-petalled ornament similar to the one on no. 23 is visible inside the loop of the necklace. The schematic arrangement of the necklaces and the scarf and the pose of the left hand indicate that the figure was intended to represent a female dancer. Buff colour partially blackened in the furnace.

No. 6189, ACV (Pi), −70' 6'.

30. Woman (3-5') standing with feet on a short base-plate. Cast from a rough mould with the fingers and toes not distinctly marked. Hands placed near the ridge of the girdle marked by punched circles. The figure is wearing a short flounced skirt and the pose is suggestive of a dansuese. Gray-black colour. Marks of use of scraper to peel off surplus clay from the back.

No. 6566, ACV (Pi), −73'.

31. Fragmentary torso of a female figure (2'). Right hand placed on slender waist; left extended up to the girdle holding a garland. Wears tunic and a dhuti or skirt. Traces of the thunder-bolt (vajra) symbol suspended from the long necklace (cf. no. 12). Gray colour. Marks of scraper on the back and also finger-prints.

No. 6222, ACV, QVIII/P5j, −71'.

32. Standing woman (2-6') wearing tunic and dhuti with folds as on no. 12. Two tassels pendent on each thigh. Right hand resting on waist (kaṭivinyasta) and left extended by the side (latāhasta), suggestive of a dancing figure. Gray colour.

No. 6548, ACV (Pi), −72'.

¹ Gordon, op. cit., pl. XII, figs. 6 and 2.
² A similar necklace and drapery are seen on a figure from Bulandibāgh illustrated by Gordon (op. cit., pl. XI, fig. 6).
33. Fragment of a female figure (1·9") with feet on a base-plate projecting from the plaque. Folds of lower garment drawn on the sides. Red clay.

No. 6188, ACV (Pit), −70' 6".

34. Fragmentary figure (2·8") of a woman enveloped in a mantle so completely that the details of the body are hardly visible. The modelling is flat, almost without relief. The folds are marked with grooves. The style of this figure is distinct from any described so far. Gray colour with traces of black paint, baked to extra hardness.

No. 6537, ACV, QVIII/P5j, −72'.

Sub-type (ii). Miscellaneous figures

35. Woman’s head (1·6") , being part of a moulded plaque with hair gathered in a high decorative crown. This arrangement resembles that on the mother-and-child specimen from Mohrā Morādū (Taxila) published by Gordon. 1 Double pendants in both ears. Dull buff colour.

No. 6154, ACV (Pit), −68'.

36. Mother-and-child plaque (3·5") . Woman carrying in her left arm a nude child wearing beaded girdle and double necklace. A special feature is a long bandolier-like necklace shown across the body. The figure presents a type familiar in Indian classical art. It comes from the Pit in ACV and may be placed anywhere in the Pañčāla period (100 B.C.–A.D. 100).

No. 6129, ACV, QVIII/P8g, −66' 6".

37. Torso of woman (4") holding right hand near breast and left on thigh. Produced from a flat mould with shallow relief. Breasts for the first time shown with nipples. Wearing a scarf, loose-sleeved chiton, and a mantle covering the lower part of the body with two exaggerated folds on the side of the legs. The reliefless modelling, carefully rounded breasts and the drapery are features foreign to the local style. Most probably Parthian. Brick-red colour.

No. 6589, ACV, QVIII/P4j, −73' 6".

Another specimen (no. 6151) cast from an identical mould was found in the same 10-foot square at −68' 6" level.

38. Figure of standing woman (3·2") in the round pressed out of a double mould. Holds a fly-whisk or a flower in raised right hand; left hand placed on thigh; left leg bent at knee; long braid of hair bisecting the elliptical loop of strands of hair on the back, a style of coiffure familiar in other figures of early Indian art. 2

'No. 6681, ACV, QVIII/P3j, −64'.

39. Bust of a woman (2·2") holding a bunch of flowers in raised right hand and wearing a turban with a high spiral topknot and flat torque and pendent necklace between the breasts. Upper right corner broken but traces of suspension-hole in the centre. It is decorated by small stars on the margin, which connect the plaque with those under Sub-type (ii) of Type 3.

The figure is similar to a terracotta illustrated by Gordon, which he assigns to sometime in the first century B.C. 3 and, like figures on the plaques of this Sub-type, is related to early stone sculptures. 4 The figurine comes from ACIII, level 47", Stratum IIId, which puts it about A.D. 350, a date apparently contradicted by its style. It is to be regarded as intrusive in the stratum.

No. 8435, ACIII, KIX/P9h, −47'; St. IIIId: A.D. 350–450.

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1 Gordon, op. cit., pl. XI, fig. 3.
2 Cf. 'Mathurā Terracottas', fig. 33.
3 'Early Indian Terracottas', p. 156, pl. XIV, fig. 1.
4 Bachhofer, op. cit., pl. XXIX, top-left figure from Bharhut.
Nos. 40-45 are recorded below for their types rather than as furnishing evidence of dating, which is not forthcoming.

40. Figurine (1-7") showing lower portion of female figure seated in profile to left with legs pendent and crossed. She is wearing a heavily-folded dhoti, covering both legs like trousers and secured at the waist. Gray-black colour. In material, style of drapery and pose, the figure is related to a single specimen from Mathurā, showing a woman at her toilet. It seems to be an imported figure at Ahichchhatrā, depicting a foreign lady seated on a special kind of settee chair as in the Mathurā figure.

No. 1442, ACIII.

41. Woman standing (4-2") heavily draped in a dhoti with sweeping folds. Hands placed on the girdle. By her side a female attendant holding a mirror. Stylistically the figure is related to a specimen from Mathurā showing a lady with a fan. Brick-red colour.

No. 1373, ACIII, KX/A9a, -36'. The specimen seems to have been thrown to the surface in the course of filling.

42. Woman standing (4’), hands hanging by the side near the girdle which is indicated by a prominent ridge. Indistinct object in right hand. Double anklets.

No. 8743, ACIII, KIX/P10e, -53'; St. V: about A.D. 100.

43. Bust of a woman (3") wearing a wreathed head-dress rendered by twisted rolls. The face is related to that of nos. 25 and 26, but the head-dress is simple and shows Hellenistic influence.

No. 6284, ACV, QVIII/P6g, -66'.

44. Woman (3-2") standing, feeding a parrot with a fruit in her left hand and wearing a sleeved tunic and dhoti. The subject is familiar in the terracottas and sculptures of the Śuṅga and Kushāṇa periods. Although found in the Pit in ACV, the figure may be dated on stylistic basis to about the first century A.D.

No. 6187, ACV, QVIII/P5h, -70' 6''.

45. Woman (2-5") feeding a parrot perched on her left hand with a fruit held in her right hand. Same date as no. 44.

No. 6143, ACV, QVIII/P5j, -67'.

46. Fragmentary torso (2-2") of woman in very low relief wearing a tunic, a girdle, and skirts with flounced edges.

No. 6417, ACIII, KX/Alg, -44'; St. IIIc: c. A.D. 350. Amongst associated finds was a copper coin of Achyā.

47. Female head (1-5") with hair indicated by fine lines on the forehead and fringed by a double pearl-string, locks arranged in two loops, encircling the lateral masses now chipped off. The figure shows a high degree of sophistication and is related to another figure from Mathurā published by Gordon. There is a second figure in the Mathurā Museum and the group seems to be limited to three or four specimens, so far as is known. The specimen from Ahichchhatrā comes from -70' level in the Pit in ACV (QVIII/P5h). Unfortunately, figures from this Pit cannot be dated so firmly as those from ACIII site. The head may be assigned to any date between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. There is a hole in the bottom of the neck showing that it was fixed to a tenon on the bust.

No. 6208, ACV, QVIII/P5h, -70'.

1 'Mathurā Terracottas', fig. 34.
2 'Mathurā Terracottas', fig. 31.
3 'Early Indian Terracottas', p. 164, pl. XIII, fig. 3.
Type 5. Allied Male Figures

Sub-type (i). Allied to the Mithuna Sub-type

48. Male figure (5’7”) holding a lute in suspended left hand. The head has a protuberant turban. Head-dress, rich drapery, ornaments and pose similar to those of the male figure in the Mithuna type of the early class (cf. nos. 12 and 14). Elaborate scarf with minute folds arranged on right shoulder, across the chest and in a loop on left shoulder. Distinct marks of stippling on the bust and neck indicate gauze-like (jālikā) garment. Red colour. Both red and gray terracottas were produced from the same moulds.

Found in ACV, Pit, -72’. On the analogy of no. 11 from ACIII, this may be dated to the period 200-100 B.C., probably nearer the earlier limit.

Nos. 6298 and 6524, ACV, QVIII/P5j, -72’.

49. Nude boy (2’7”), wearing a necklace of two taurine-shaped beads and another pendent necklace on the chest. Holds an indistinct round object in right hand; left arm is akimbo. A richly decorated scarf similar to nos. 12, 13 and 46 covers shoulders and arms with ends falling on the side of the legs. Triple-beaded girdle. This was a special type connected with the male type of no. 47. Gray-black colour. Head and feet missing.

No. 6160; ACV, QVIII/P5h, -71’.

(a) Torso of nude boy (3’5”), similar to above, but larger. Red colour.

No. 6102, ACV, QVIII/P5g, -65’6”.

Sub-type (ii). Miscellaneous male figures

50. Standing figure of an ascetic (3”) with a short beard, and hair tied in a topknot on head; wears a short valkala dress falling to the knees; holds with both hands a basket of flowers (pushpa-chāngerikā). The type is closely related to the young ascetic figures at Sānci.¹

No. 6171, ACV, QVIII/P9k, -63’.

51. Male figurine (2’5”) modelled by hand. Originally three-legged, the third leg at the back serving as a kind of hind-support. Traces of appliqué girdle passing round the loins with a double strip of cloth passing under the pelvic region. The head was probably moulded; arms and legs are missing. The type appears as a male counterpart to the three-legged female figure from Mathurā.²

No. 6596, ACV, QVIII/P5h, -73’.

52. Child’s head with smiling face (1’7”). Hair shown in two side-masses near the forehead.

No. 6527, ACV, QIX/Q4e, -46’. Its smile reminds one of the smiling boy’s head from Bulandī-bāgh near Patna, and the figure seems to belong to the best period of Śuṅga terracotta art. It seems to have been foreign to its present level.

GROUP III. DWARFS

Type 6. Dwarfs and Grotesques

The predominant type under this class is that of a nude dwarf or vāmanaka, comprising about one hundred specimens. The general type is of a nude bow-legged dwarffish figure standing with legs apart, feet joined, and the frame of the lower extremities taking roughly the form of a rhomb. The position of the hands determines the following two Sub-types:

¹ Bachhofer, op. cit., pl. 596.
² Mathurā Terracottas”, p. 19, fig. 14.
Plates XXXVI and XXXVII: Type 6, dwarfs and grotesques.
(i) hands placed on the upper part of the abdomen near the breast, and (ii) hands placed below the abdomen on the hip-joints.

In both cases the fingers of the hands are always fisted, and the shaven heads have a pointed skull and short projecting ears which in two cases have holes bored in the lobes (nos. 56 and 60). In regard to technique, we notice the following distinctions:—

Sub-type (i), hands on breast. (a) Use of double moulds on a solid core of clay. The back and front moulds were pressed simultaneously and then removed, after which the spare clay was peeled off, leaving a mark along the joint. The modeller then retouched the figure and freed the arms and legs from the body. (b) Round holes pierced between the flexed elbow and the armpit. (c) Spare clay between the legs removed with an edged tool to leave a rhomboid space. In some cases a round hole pierces the space between the legs, larger than that under the armpits.

Sub-type (ii), arms akimbo. (a) Use of double moulds in the case of figurines of finer finish and small size; (b) use of single moulds for specimens of cruder execution and bigger size (the biggest being 9·2" high, no. 63); (c) the facial type in the bigger specimens indicates foreign features with a flat face and pointed chin (cf. no. 63g); (d) the free space under the armpits is elongated when double moulds were used, but it is in the form of small circular holes when single moulds were used; and (e) the spare clay between the legs has not been removed except in one or two cases (cf. no. 63).

A special class under Sub-type (i) is that of miniature figurines produced by pressing a roll of clay inside a single mould. In this case only a small hole between the legs was bored optionally, three figures showing it and three others being solid (cf. nos. 65 and 65a).

There are two specimens with arms akimbo produced from double moulds but without holes either under the arms or between the legs.

The evidence for dating supplied by finds from ACIII shows that the type prevailed throughout Stratum IV (A.D. 100–350) but was especially popular in Sub-stratum IVc, between A.D. 100 and 200, which seems to have been the time of its first introduction. It was thus a characteristic type of the Kushana period, and many specimens known from Mathurā can now be assigned to their proper chronological context.

Sub-type (i). Hands on breast

53. Nude standing dwarf, vāmanaka, (4·4") bow-legged, legs separated by removing the spare clay, but feet joined. Arms bent at elbow and hands with closed fists are placed on the upper side of a paunchy abdomen; two circular holes pierced under the armpits; bald head with skull pointed at the back. Produced by pressing two moulds on to a solid core of clay; marks of joining and paring spare clay at the sides. The holes near the elbow were pierced by a sharp-pointed round stick as the opening on the front side is mostly bigger than that at the other end. This is also shown by the clay at the lower end being drawn out a little and not flush with the surface of the back. The same instrument seems to have been used for removing the clay from between the legs. This and other specimens of the group show a coating of yellowish clay with patches of red paint.¹

No. 8536, ACIII, KIX/P10c, –49½⁴.

¹ The Archaeological Chemist in India reports: 'The examination of the yellow coating shows that the colouring material is hydrated ferric oxide. This yellow oxide is converted into red ferric oxide on heating. It does not contain lime or gypsum, but includes an appreciable proportion of sandy and clayey matter. The yellow coating can be described as yellow ochre or Multāni matī. The quantity of the red paint was too small to be subjected to thorough analysis, but spot tests show that it contains ferric oxide. Lead and mercury are absent. This ferric oxide can be regarded as haematite or geru.'
54. Nude dwarf (4·5") similar to no. 53; headless; rhomboid free space between legs. The holes under the armpit are straight and equal at both ends.  
No. 8527, ACIII, KIX/P4e, -50'; Stratum IVc: A.D. 100–200.

55. Nude dwarf as above. Aperture between bandy legs circular. Although with flexed arms, the specimen is unique in having been produced from a deep single mould.  
No. 8656, ACIII, KX/Lle, -52'; St. IVc.

(a) No. 8969 (2·7"), ACIII, KIX/P9c, -51'; St. IVc.
(b) No. 6899 (2·2"), ACIII, KIX/K6k, -46'; St. IIIc: A.D. 450–550.
(c) No. 6454, ACIII, KIX/K10g, -45½'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650.

56. Nude dwarf (3") having ears with bored lobes.  

57. Nude dwarf (3") with hands on chest above paunchy abdomen. No holes under armpits.  
No. 11509, ACI, Locus 85, -50'.

58. Nude dwarf (3·2") as above, with slim normal body.  
No. 11509/3, ACI, Locus 85, -50'.

(a) Nude dwarf (2·6''), back half portion only, showing that each half was produced from its mould separately and then joined together.  
No. 11541, ACI, Locus 85, -51'.

(b) Torso of a nude dwarf (2·6'') showing the front and back halves with hollow space inside the bust.  
No. 11537, ACI, Locus 85, -51'.

59. Head (1·5") of a dwarf.  
No. 11509/5—more than a dozen specimens were found in Locus 85 on temple-site ACI.  
There are other specimens of this Sub-type from ACIII, ACVII and ACXV not recorded here.

Sub-type (ii). Arms akimbo

60. Nude dwarf (4") with arms akimbo and fisted hands, skull pointed at the back; ears bored with holes. An elongated space separates arms from bust. Produced from a double mould.  
No. 11177, ACXV, QVII/Ylf, -51' 6".

(a) Nude dwarf (3·8") with arms akimbo, produced from a double mould, the back mould inadequately pressed.  
No. 6997, ACIII, KIX/P10c, -46'.

61. Nude dwarf (3") with arms akimbo and bandy legs. Coarse micaceous clay; produced from a single mould. Small circular holes between arms and legs, an unusual feature for this Sub-type.  
No. 8615, ACIII, KIX/P10c, -52'; St. IVc: A.D. 100–200.

(a) Nude dwarf. No. 10023, ACI, Room 6, -45'.
(b) Nude dwarf. No. 11540, ACI, Room 85, -51'.
(c) Nude dwarf. No. 10124, ACI, Room 118, -49'.
(d) Nude dwarf with thick bandy legs, pressed from two moulds, the upper and lower ones roughly coinciding. No. 9382, ACVII, GV/D10a, -41'.
62. Nude dwarf (3-4") as above but the clay between the arms and the legs remains uncut, the whole body being in the form of a slab.

No. 6784, ACIII, KX/F9e, 42½'.

(a) Nude dwarf (2-5") similar to no. 62, with solid slab-like body. No. 10811, ACIII, KX/F1c, 49'; St. IVb: A.D. 200-300.

63. Nude dwarf (9-2") with arms akimbo. Produced from a single flat mould; crude workmanship. Impression of potter's full hand on the back. Two very small and unaligned holes at the flexed elbows, showing that the real purpose of this device had been forgotten. Face flat and triangular having affinity with the Seleucian specimen no. 365.1

No. 4030, ACIII, KIX/U10h, 45'.

Nos. 62-63 represent a variety of Sub-type (ii) (arms akimbo), consisting of about a dozen specimens, all save one being from ACIII and sharing the common features of minute holes under armpits, impressions of hand on the back, and use of a single rough mould.

(a) Dwarf, head missing.
No. 4480, ACIII, KIX/E4j, 41'; St. II: A.D. 750-850.

(b) Dwarf (2-9"), head and bust only.
No. 6453, ACIII, KIX/K7g, 45½'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

(c) Fragmentary torso of dwarf (3-4").
No. 6777, ACIII, KIX/K4a, 43'; St. II.

(d) Dwarf (5"), portion above chest missing. Small holes in the angles of flexed elbow, clay between the crutch left uncut.
No. 6938, ACIII, KIX/P6k, 44½'; St. IIIa.

(e) Head of a dwarf (3"), thin tongue-relief framing outline of the head.
No. 6895, KIX/P6f, 46'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550-650.

(f) Head of dwarf, framed as above. Flat triangular head with pointed chin. Three deep marks of fingers at the back.
No. 8735, ACIII, KIX/E5j, 46'; St. IIIId: A.D. 350-450.

(g) Head as above (3"), fistred hands placed much above the breast near the neck.
No. 8972, ACIII, KIX/E10j, 47'.

(h) Dwarf as above (6-2").
No. 10901, ACIII, KIX/P4h, 49'.

(i) Head of dwarf (2-6") with fistred hands similar to (g) above. Both these specimens are varieties of the Sub-type with hands on chest, but are produced from single moulds in crude style.
No. 10229, ACIV, MIX/S5e, 45'.

(j) Head of dwarf (1-9").
No. 3865, ACIII, KX/F8d, 48½'; St. IVa: A.D. 300-350.

1 Wilhelmina van Ingen, Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris (Univ. of Michigan, 1932), pl. XXV, fig. 176.
The stratigraphical evidence furnished by the above group of crude specimens made with single moulds shows that it was later in time than that produced from double moulds, and seems to have made its appearance about the fifth-sixth century A.D.

64. Nude dwarf produced as a plaque from a single mould (2·9').
Pricked ears and a tuft on the head, two spearhead-like objects rising from the shoulders; hands placed on the hips. A later development of Sub-type (ii) assignable to about the seventh century A.D.
No. 9312, ACVII, HV/H9b, −42'.

Sub-type (iii). Miniature dwarfs

Under this Sub-type comes a group of six figurines representing dwarfs in miniature size, all with hands on breasts and produced by pressing a roll of clay into a single mould. The tiny hole between the bow-legs is found in some and is absent in others.

65. Miniature dwarf (2·2').
No. 6976, ACIII, KIX/P7a, −46'; St. IIIc: A.D. 550–650.
(a) Miniature dwarf (2·1') as no. 65, minute pin-hole in crutch.
No. 8623, ACIII, KIX/K10g, −48'; St. IVb: A.D. 200–300.
(b) Miniature dwarf (1·6') as no. 65 but produced from a double mould.
No. 6975, ACIII, KIX/P7a, −46'; St. IIIc.
(c) Miniature dwarf shaped like a crude roll of clay, made from a single mould without much detail.
No. 10078, ACI, Room 75, −26'.
(d) Bust of a miniature dwarf.
No. 10076, ACI, Room 78, −47'.
(e) Miniature dwarf (1·9') with hands on hips and dwarffish legs in squatting posture. Details indistinct; but suggestion of a beard on the triangular face.

Sub-type (iv). Seated dwarfs

66. Miniature headless dwarf (1'), squatting on buttocks with feet in front and hands joined together above flabby abdomen.
No. 8313, ACIII, KX/L2b, −49'.

67. Headless dwarf (2·5') squatting with pendent legs. Protruding navel on pot-belly; right hand on chest holding an indistinct round object, left hand resting on knee; base rectangular; pressed in a double mould, hollow inside.
No. 11169, ACXV, RVII/Y4f, −50½'.

68. Headless dwarfish figure (2·1') with flabby belly, squatting with legs hanging down. Right hand placed on knee holding a round fruit, probably citron (bijapūraka); left hand resting above left knee. Apron-like drapery passing over the knees. The figure shows affinities with Kubera iconography. From single mould with flat back, cut-out outline.
No. 4430, ACIII, KX/A2h, −42'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.
(a) Bust of an obese figure (1·5') with a fruit in right hand; left hand with closed fingers resting on abdomen.
No. 4072, ACIII, KIX/P2a, −38'.
Sub-type (v). Female dwarfish figures

69. Nude female dwarfish figure (2.5") seated in bhadrāsana with suspended legs. Right hand touching right breast, left holding a tray-like object placed in lap. Thick anklets. Round base. From double mould.
No. 8329, ACIII, KX/L1b, -49'; St. IVb: A.D. 200–300.

70. Female figure (3.5") seated on a high seat with legs hanging down, hands touching each other and placed on the lid of a very prominent vase set between the legs, and suggesting that the figure may be Vasudhārā, the goddess of plenty, who is characterized by the presence of such vases. The figure is wearing a flat torque round the neck and sounds like a rattle, with loose bits inside the hollow body.
No. 10125, ACI, Room 115, -49'.

Sub-type (vi). Miscellaneous grotesque figures

71. Bust of a corpulent figure (2.5"). The arms, now missing, were made separately and fixed to holes in the shoulders pierced through from side to side. A hole bored through the abdomen to the back marks the navel.
No. 1449, ACIII, KX/F6d, -43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

(a) Miniature corpulent figure (2.5") with dwarfish extremities seated in profile, left hand on abdomen, right raised to the mouth. Produced from a single mould, the slab of clay at the back being 6" thick.
No. 10129, ACI, R. 115; -48'.

72. Male bust (2.5") produced from two side-moulds joining along the central line of the nose. Head covered with frizzled hair. Arms forming part of the slab-like bust. Facial features awry.
No. 3697, ACIII, KX/F5b, -44'; St. IIIa.

73. Grotesque female head with eyebrows, eyes, short mouth, long ears and collar, all appliqué. Suspension-hole in crest.
No. 8052, ACIV, -45' (ash-pit).

74. Crude hand-made figure (2.25") of a dwarf or child resembling a starfish.
No. 6730, ACIII, KIX/E10g, -44'; St. IIIc: A.D. 450–550.

Such figurines were intended to represent children and have been found sometimes in enormous numbers assembled at one place. They were probably used as votive offerings.

75. Dwarfish figure (1.6") with pinched nose and short stumpy arms, entirely hand-modelled. The lower body forms a cylinder on a round base. The hair is indicated by rows of pin-pricks on the head and nape. Two crossed lines incised on the back and continued in front indicate a chhannavaṇa ornament.
No. 6444, ACIII, KX/F2f, -45'; St. IIIa.

76. Grotesque figure with flattened cylindrical body, stumpy arms, and notched marks for eyes, ears and mouth. Pin-marks on the head to indicate hair; double groove-marks on arms, similar to no. 75 above.
No. 3852, ACIII, KX/F8b, -43'; St. IIIa.

77. Head with grinning mouth. Brick-like hardness. The type is known by two specimens only. The other is also from ACIII.
No. 3691, ACIII, -44'.

78. Man in a kneeling posture, with head resting on hands in an attitude of adoration. A flying ribbon with two knotted ends is tied on the back.¹ The figure represents either an ordinary worshipper kneeling at a shrine or an attendant, Prathārf or Kañchukūl, depicted while delivering a message to the king as bending down in a prostrate posture touching the ground with hands and knees.²

No. 8049, ACIV, MIX/S9a, –43’.

**TYPE 7. DWARF MUSICIANS**

This group of a dozen specimens of musicians and drummers, all hand-made and crude, represents a foreign type pointing towards Iran. The facial type is triangular with pointed chin, eyes diamond-shaped and incised or indicated by appliqué pellets, and head covered with a conical skull-cap or kulah. The hands are often undigitated, a convention due perhaps to long sleeves.

The problem of dating these figures is of some importance. All of them come from ACV, except one (no. 79) which was found in an undisturbed level in ACIII (KX/L2b) at a depth of 51’ 6”. This assigns it to Stratum IVc, i.e. A.D. 100–200. The type therefore belongs to the early Kushāna period. Votive tanks with identical figurines of musicians inside them (see Group IV, Type 8) support this dating (cf. votive tank no. 87 below, belonging to the same Stratum).

It is possible that during that age a class of Scythian or Parthian musicians playing the bagpipe and a short hand-drum was introduced into North India. The figurines in question show how the Indian modellers reacted to that foreign type through the handy medium of clay.

79. Male figure (2’5”) squatting. Pinched-up bridge of the nose; eyes indicated by small pellets fixed into sunken hollows; horizontally-pointing short ears. The head is covered by a high skull-cap ribbed with incised grooves. Four rows of notched coins mark a pair of collars worn round neck. Under the left armpit is held an object resembling a leathern bag which may be the puffed-up bag-pipe. Between the legs is a shallow bowl resting, like the figure itself, on a rough base-plate.

No. 8618, ACIII, KX/L2b, –51½’; St. IVc: A.D. 100–200.

80. Dwarfish figure (3’5”) in squatting posture, similar to no. 79, wearing a short but high skull-cap. Incised eyes; mouth indicated by a short incision-mark; pointed chin; applied collar with notches on it. Bagpipe under armpit as in no. 79.

No. 6660, ACV, QVIII/P2k, –61’.

81. Male figure (3’), squatting with suspended legs. A musical instrument with round back is held in the flexed left arm, and the right hand is shown plucking its strings with a long plectrum. Flat base-plate below.

No. 9229, ACVII, HV/C9e.

82. Squatting male figure holding a small receding drum under the left armpit, the base of the drum being smaller than the top. The instrument resembles a tabā; it was perhaps the instrument referred to in literature as kāhala, which is explained as a big dhakka. High skull-cap sloping backwards, incised sunken eyes, nose and forehead in one line, long pointed chin suggestive of a beard, and applied collar round the neck. Portion below waist missing.

No. 6647, ACV, QVIII/P2k, –69’.

¹ This feature is significantly referred to in the Harshacharita as prishṭha-preṅkhat-paṭāchchara-karpaṭa-ghaṭita-gadita-granthih, ‘the knot fastened up by a ragged clout swinging behind him was hanging loose’. (Harsha-
charita, text, Nirnayasāgar Press, 5th edition (1925), p. 52; Cowell and Thomas, translation, p. 41.)
² Bāṇa designates this pose as kṣhititā-niḥita-karaṭāla (ibid., p. 214), and as prīthvī-pratishṭāpita-paṇi-
pallava attitude (Kādambarī, text, ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 18).
83. Squatting figure (3-2") similar to above, wearing a round-topped cylindrical cap with upright incised lines. Projecting cone-like ears with pin-head marks; applied round eyes with pupils, short slit indicating the mouth; and a collar marked by punches. Surplus clay on the back either indicating a mantle or physical deformity. A short drum under the armpit as in no. 82.

No. 6668, ACV, QVIII/P3j, –63’.

(a) Hump-backed musician (2-8") similar to above, playing with extended right hand on a small drum in left flexed arm.

No. 6649, ACV, QVIII/P2k, –61’.

84. Crude human figurine (2-5") beating a drum held parallel to the chest. Coarse clay with profuse mixture of rice-husk.

No. 6107, ACV, QVIII/P6j, –65’.

85. Drummer as above (2’).

No. 10126, ACI, R. 115, –49’.

86. Grotesque figure (3-1") with a crude monkey-like face; arms flexed towards the chest; undigitated hands in an attitude indicative of clapping (paññavāda-mudrā).

No. 6650, ACV, QVIII/P2k, –61’.

GROUP IV

TYPE 8. VOTIVE TANKS

Several specimens of votive tanks have been found at Ahichchhatrā, mostly on site ACIII. They consist of a wall-enclosure with lamps and birds on the rim and dwarf musicians, similar to Type 7, squatting inside against the walls, with shallow cups placed in front of them. The time of their first introduction, as indicated by specimens from ACIII, appears to be about A.D. 100–200.

The votive tanks or model shrines, as they may be called, suggest Parthian or Indo-Parthian analogues. Similar model shrines have been discovered in the Scytho-Parthian city at Sirkap (Taxila). In an excellent specimen1 the shrine consists of a walled enclosure with lamps at the four corners, birds perched on the walls and a figurine of the Mother Goddess installed under the shrine in the enclosure. This last feature provides definite evidence of their association with the cult of the great Mother Goddess, whose worship in some Iranian form was introduced by the Hellenized Parthians into Gandhāra and which from there spread to various centres in North India. The four tanks at Sirkap were found actually in situ in the place where they were dedicated by the side of a Buddhist stūpa.2 It is said that miniature tanks of a somewhat similar kind under the name of Yama-pukur are still dedicated by maidens in Bengal to Yama, the god of death, and there can be little doubt that their use in India has been current from a very early age.3

The drummers found inside these votive tanks further strengthen their association with the culture of the Parthians. According to Mrs. van Ingen, the drummer type was specially popular at Seleucia during the period of the Parthians, who are credited with its introduction at that time.4 Levels I and II at Seleucia, which are Parthian, range in

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1 Explorations at Sirkap', Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1924-25, p. 50, pl. 13, fig. 3. See also D. H. Gordon, 'The Mother Goddess of Gandhāra', Antiquity, March, 1937, pp. 74-6 and fig. 2.
2 Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1924-25, p. 50, pl. 13, fig. 2.
3 Ibid., p. 50.
date from A.D. 70 to 200, which coincides with the period of Scytho-Parthian influence in Indian history. A votive tank (no. 6673) showing a typical drummer inside it was discovered, along with ten similar Parthian-type drummers, in the same 10-foot square (QVIII/P2k, -60') on site ACV. This may possibly be due to a temporary settlement of some Parthian colony in the old city-area to the east of the partition-wall.

87. Votive tank (5.5' x 4.25') consisting of a walled enclosure with an opening in the front wall. In the centre are three shallow bowls in a line. In the right corner of the front wall is an indistinct miniature figurine, and squatting against the back wall are two musicians, exactly similar to those described under Type 7. The first figure is wearing a notched collar and playing two cymbals, and the second one is wearing a scarf across the chest and is beating a drum held under left armpit. The figures as well as the tank are modelled by hand.

No. 8366, ACIII, KIX/P10d, -51'; St. IVc: A.D. 100-200.

(a) Fragment of a votive tank with a bird.
   No. 3897, ACIII, KX/F8k, -43'.

(b) Fragment of a votive tank.
   No. 3898, ACIII, KX/F4a, -44'.

(c) Fragment of a votive tank.
   No. 1323, ACIII, KX/F5f, -41'.

(d) Fragment of a votive tank showing on the rim a bird before a bowl.
   No. 6979, ACIII, KIX/K8h, -47'. *

(e) Votive tank with a bird perched on the rim.
   No. 8028, ACIV, MIX/S10e, -43'.

(f) Fragment of votive tank similar to above.
   No. 8357, ACIII, Locus 403, -49'.

88. Votive tank (7.25' x 4.25' x 1.7') showing a walled enclosure with lamps at the four corners and a fifth lamp on the front wall. Inside the enclosure are three shallow bowls placed in a line. A drummer seated against the left wall is beating with his right arm a round drum held under the armpit. The figure has a triangular face, pointed chin, incised lozenge-eyes and short skull-cap, all proclaiming his foreign identity. Two more figures seated against the back wall are now seen in traces only. A cut aperture in the front wall marks the gate.

No. 6673, ACV, QVIII/P2k, -60'.

89. Votive tank in fragmentary condition showing four musicians, three of whom are drummers squatting against the back wall with bows in front of them.

No. 3051, ACV, QVIII/P2h, -57'.

GROUP V. GODS AND GODDESSES

Images of Vishnu, Surya, Ganesa and Mahishasuramardini are found amongst the Ahichchhatra terracottas. In ACIII they range from Stratum III to Stratum I, i.e. from the Gupta to the medieval period. They throw light on the dating of figures in allied styles found elsewhere. Noteworthy features of iconographic or other interest are pointed out in their proper places.
Type 8, votive tank
Type 8, votive tanks
90. Torso of a male figure (4-5") wearing the vanamālā garland, looped round the arms and thighs, with marks of indentation along its length; short necklaces round the neck; and armlets on the upper arms in the characteristic Kushāṇa style of a framed peacock-head (māyūra-keyūra) (fig. 1, 3) referred to by Aśvaghoṣha \(^1\) an incised line drawn diagonally from left shoulder to right side marks the sacred thread. The extra arms bifurcate from the elbows. No attributes are now preserved.

No. 8116, ACIII, KIX/E7e, −48'; St. IVa. May be assigned to the end of the Kushāṇa period, about A.D. 300.

(a) Fragment showing the oval chakra (3-6") of a Vishṇu image held aloft in the left hand, with doubled fingers inserted between the spokes.

No. 8173, ACIII, KIX/E7j, −45'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650.

(b) Fragmentary oval chakra (2-6"), as above, with an outer fringe of decorative scroll-work.

No. 8347, ACIII, KIX/P7c (Room 420), −50'; St. IVb: A.D. 200–300. Its depth requires to be explained, as stylistically it should be placed in the Gupta period.

(c) Fragmentary wheel (4-6") of a Vishṇu showing the god’s hand inserted at the axis-hole.

No. 6494, ACIII, KX/F2e, −46"; St. IIIb.

91. Fragment of Vishṇu image (3-6"), showing the two right arms, the upper hand holding a round object and the lower one touching the top of a mace. The garland consists of champakā flowers, showing a central knot formed by two rosettes. A studded wristlet round the lower hand. The fragment belongs to an extremely graceful figure.

No. 3752, ACIII, KX/F8c, −44'. Found below a rammed road of St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

92. Fragment (5") of a Vishṇu statuette wearing the vanamālā, short loin-cloth with pointed end falling between knees. Traces of mace on the figure’s left side now lost. Profuse mixture of rice-husk in coarse clay.

No. 1464, ACIII, KX/F6d, −43 6"; St. IIIa.

93. Fragment of a round plaque (4-25") showing a chakra held aloft in Vishṇu’s left hand with doubled fingers inserted between the spokes. The wheel tends to approximate more to the circular form than the elliptical disc described above. The roundness of the plaque also suggests stylistic relationship with similar plaques of Stṛya, described below (no. 98, etc.). The clay shows a profuse mixture of rice husk. After completion the figure was pressed on a layer of husk which has left its marks in the clay on the back.

No. 4435, ACIII, KIX/E8d, −41'; St. II: A.D. 750–850.

94. Four-armed Vishṇu (7") standing on a projecting base. Holds conch and wheel in the upper and lower left hands; upper right hand placed on the thin tapering end of a full-length mace resting near the leg on its butt end; crown on head adorned with three-arched pattern; ārṇā dot between the eyebrows; single pearl-necklace; sacred thread incised across chest; loop of the heavy garland encircling the knees and appearing above the left shoulder; a short dhoti covers the loins, leaving the knee-caps bare, but with a central fold falling to the ankles. Plaque rectangular in form with a border of double incised lines.

No. 8029, ACIV, MIX/S9a, −43'.

(a) Fragment of a Vishṇu figure (4"). Lower left hand placed on the top of a short mace. Appliqué flower-garland looped round the thighs.

No. 8030, ACIV, MIX/S9a, −43'.

\(^1\) Cf. this style of armlet on a Mathurā Bodhisattva of Kushāṇa period, J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 58, A. 45 and pl. X. Also Sāundarananda, X, 8.
95. Four-armed Vishnu (6.5') holding mace in upper and conch in lower left hand. Drapery and ornaments indicated by grooved lines cast from a mould. Marks of pared tongue-relief on the back left edge. No. 1425, ACIII, KIX/E3d, -37; St. I: A.D. 850-1100.

96. Haloed head (2.5') of a divine figure, probably Vishnu, wearing a cylindrical crown with a double rim. Hair falling in spiral locks. No. 6712, ACIII, KIX/K10e, -46'; St. IIIb.

(a) Haloed head, probably of Vishnu, with a crown on the head consisting of three-arched pattern above a roll of turban. Coarse clay with rice-husk, burnt to brick-like hardness. No. 4033, ACIII, KIX.

**TYPE 10. SūRYA**

Sūrya, the Sun-god, is represented by thirteen fragmentary plaques, eleven from ACIII and two from ACVII. All the ACIII specimens are from Stratum III, Sub-strata a, b and c, proving that the iconographical form furnished by these rounded plaques prevailed between A.D. 450 and 750. A detailed study of the plaques reveals the following special features:

(i) The plaques are circular with the upper half occupied by the deity and the lower half by an array of seven horses. Several specimens of similar large circular stone images have been found in the Mathurā school of sculpture which it should now be possible to assign to the period of these plaques.

(ii) The seven horses are shown standing erect on their hind legs, the one in the centre treated frontally, and the three on each side shown in three-quarters profile. In no. 98(b), horses' trappings include side straps (kakshyā-bandha), girth-band, head flywhisks and a rope round neck (avarakshanī, bandhana-raijī, Harshacharita, p. 205).

(iii) The Sun-god and his attendants stand on a chariot. Its single wheel is shown between the hind legs of the middle horse. Above the horses' heads is a raised platform covered with a flowery mattress serving as the seat of the deity. Cf. no. 98(b).

(iv) An attendant human figure, holding a lasso or a long rope with slip-knot (kamand), a part of the equipment of the Sāsānian soldier, is shown on the plaque. Cf. nos. 97 and 98(b).

(v) The Sun-god wears Northern dress (udichya-vesha) consisting of a buttoned sleeved coat, trousers and padded boots. The costume of the figure in no. 102 is especially noteworthy, being studded all over with streaks of pearls, each streak consisting of four pearls. This was a special variety of costly clothing-material known as stavaraka.1

(vi) In front of the Sun-god is a smaller figure of his charioteer Aruṇa. Cf. nos. 98(b) and 102.

(vii) On the right and left of the Sun-god stands a female figure holding a bow stretched in the attitude of shooting, apparently representing the twin goddesses Ushā and Pratyushā (or Rājñī and Nikshubhā, according to the Vishnu-dharmottara Purāṇa), discharging arrows of light to dispel darkness. Cf. nos. 98, 98(a), 99 and 100. The female figure on no. 98 is wearing a high conical cap and a long cloak continued down to the ankles, apparently Iranian female dress.

(viii) A little below the goddesses appear two attendant Nāga figures, one on each side of the horses. It is said that the Nāgas as sons of Kadrū, the goddess of darkness, enveloped the solar horses until they were chased away by Garuda.

Thus a full-fledged iconographic formula of the Sun-god is presented in the terracotta plaques from Ahichchhatrā. The solar image in the Kushāṇa period represents Sūrya

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1 See Appendix (p. 178).
clad in the same style but seated on a chariot of two or four horses, and without either the twin goddesses or the Nāga attendants and the lasso-bearer. An important feature in these plaques is the absence of two acolytes, Dānda and Piṅgala, who should figure as attendants of Sūrya, dressed like him in coat and trousers. They already appear in Mathurā sculpture of the Gupta period, and also in the marble Sūrya image of the fourth century A.D. from distant Khair Khaneh near Kābul, Afghanistan. Their absence in the Ahichchhatrā plaques is inexplicable.

97. Fragment of a medallion with raised rim marked by incised lines, showing a human figure holding a lasso with a slip-knot. Head missing, and the lower part of the body concealed in a canoe-like projection. The main part of the medallion containing a detailed representation of the Sun-god is now lost. Base of preserved arch 5", diameter of original plaque 11", thickness of rim 1".

98. Fragment of a solar plaque showing a female figure shooting with a bow, apparently goddess Ushā driving away darkness. Beside her the hoods of a Nāga figure are preserved. Her long garment extending from the neck to the ankles is similar to the dress worn by a woman on a Mathurā railing pillar now in the Lucknow Museum, both of which reveal Iranian affinities. Probably it is the same as the foot-length tunic (āprapadina kañçhuka) referred to by Bāñabhadra. Ht. 4.5", diameter of original plaque 9".
No. 3839, ACIII, KX/F3c, −46'; St. IIIc.
(a) Fragment of a round solar plaque, showing head and bust of a female figure in the act of drawing a bow. On her left traces of a bird which surmounted a standard. Ht. 2.5", original diameter 9".
No. 6787, ACIII, KX/A1h, −44'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550-650.
(b) Fragment of a round plaque of Sūrya. Seven horses standing erect in a row, with the leader in the centre and three on each side, just filling the lower half portion of the plaque. The single wheel is carved between the legs of the leader. Two male attendants, the right one better preserved, and each holding a rope, are looking towards the animals. The horses' trappings include side-straps and bosses on the girth and neck-strap. The upper half of the plaque marked off by a projecting ridge was occupied by the god and his attendants. A richly embroidered carpet with flower-patterns hangs in front. Only the left padded boot of the Sun-god occupying the centre is now preserved besides traces of the right foot. Between his feet a smaller figure in seated posture whose forearms are still visible, wearing a pearl-fringed garment represented his charioteer. On extreme left end is a Nāga head with seven hoods wearing the hair in wig-like style. Plaque found in two fragments joined together. Almost the whole of the upper semi-circle with the figure of Sūrya and his attendants and also a portion of the lower one with horses' hoofs and part of wheel are missing. Dia. 9", ht. of the preserved portion 5".
No. 8112, ACIII, KX/A1j, −46'; St. IIIc.

99. Fragment of a round solar plaque showing the goddess Ushā in the attitude of shooting with a bow. On her left a standard surmounted by a couchant bull, with a fly-whisk hanging from the post. Ushā is wearing a single pearl-string (ekāvali) round the neck and circular rings in the ears. She has an attractive coiffure arranged in two honey-comb masses. This is similar to the female figures under Type 17, with which it is also in chronological agreement. Ht. 2.5", diameter of original plaque 10".
No. 6499, ACIII, KIX/E10j, −43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

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2 J. Hackin, Recherches Archéologiques au Col de Khair Khaneh près de Kabul (Paris, 1936), p. 15, pl. XIV.
3 A Short Guide-book to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (1940), p. 11, Railing Pillar no. B. 84.
4 Harshcharita, p. 31.
100. Fragment of a round solar plaque, showing the hand of the goddess Ushā holding a bow and, below it, the head of a Nāga figure, with a canopy of snake-hoods. Ht. 2.75", diameter of original plaque 9".

No. 8147, ACIII, KIX/E, —43'-44'; St. IIIa.

101. Fragment (2.5") of a solar image, showing parts of three standing horses, the wheel of the chariot marked between the legs of the leader.

No. 3766, ACIII, KX/F6a, —46'; St. IIIc.

102. Fragment (2.6") showing a headless bust of Sūrya holding a cluster of lotus flowers in the left arm and wearing a close-fitting sleeved tunic with a waist-band and a broad seamed strip for buttons in front. The tunic is made of a special fabric bedecked with streaks of pearls, each string consisting of four pearls, the first one bigger than the other three (fig. 1, 16). This design covers the tunic on the arms and on the bust both above and below the belt. The pearled-embroidered textile was specially manufactured in Iran during Sāsānian times, and was famous in foreign lands under the name of istabraj. In India it was known under the Sanskrit form stavaraka,1 which was a direct borrowing from Pahlavi istabrat, a kind of silk brocade lavishly patterned with pearls.

In front of the solar figure is the head of another figure, apparently the charioteer Aruṇa.

No. 6739, ACIII, KX/A1j, —43' 6"; St. IIIa.

(a) Fragment (3") of a round plaque, showing four horses of the Sun's chariot.

No. 6312, ACIII, KX/A2k, —43"; St. IIIa.

103. Fragment of a solar plaque (ht. 5.6", diameter of original plaque 12") showing three horses and a male attendant holding a rope near the rim.

No. 6313, ACIII, KX/A1j, —43"; St. IIIa.

104. Fragment of a solar plaque showing three standing horses with ropes tied round their necks, side-girths, and decorative bosses.

No. 9330, ACVII, HV/J1e, —46'.

105. Fragment of a solar plaque, showing the legs and boots of a squatting figure seated in chariot. Ht. 3.6", diameter of original plaque 10".

No. 9091, ACVII, GV/C9f, —37' 6".

(a) Fragment (2.25") showing portions of four horses with a wheel in the centre.

No. 4147, ACIII, KIX/E9f, —40'; St. I: A.D. 850-1100, but stylistically earlier.

106. Plaque showing a symbolical representation of the Sun-god. Sūrya is shown by a prominent orb placed against the rectangular frame of a chariot moving on one wheel. Standing inside are seven female figures with right hands in abhayamudrā, most probably the solar rays shown as 'the Seven Sisters'. The plaque is unique of its kind.

No. 11307, found fixed in a temple-wall at village Ladhāmipur near Ahichchhatrā.

**TYPE 11. MISCELLANEOUS GODS AND GODDESSES**

This group includes figures of miscellaneous deities such as Narasimha, Kubera, Kārttikeya, Nāga, Gaṇeša, and Śiva and Pārvatī. They are from Strata III and II, corresponding to a period from about A.D. 350 to 850, during which time the Brahmanical deities were fashioned both in stone and clay. The figures are of value for the stylistic evidence they furnish in relation to their stratigraphical sequence.

1 Harshacharita, pp. 143, 207. See below, p. 178, Appendix.
Type 10, solar plaque
Agni

107. Image of Agni, god of fire (1' 3-5''), shown as a two-armed male figure, with a halo at the back of the head and an aura of flames (prabhāvālī) all round the body. Matted locks bound by a fillet, leaving a couple of loose locks falling on each shoulder (aṃśāvalambinti jatā). The figure is slightly pot-bellied, and wears a vertically striped loin-cloth (jaṅghikā) covering the thighs to a little above the knees. A twisted scarf terminating in a graceful loop is arranged diagonally in front from the left arm to the right armpit. This follows the style called vaikākshayaka garland in the works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Right arm raised to shoulder, left hand placed on thigh. Coarse micaceous clay with profuse mixture of husk. Back portion completely covered with a layer of paddy husk, which seems to have been a feature of the modeller's art in the sixth-seventh century.


Nṛsiṁha

108. Head and bust (6-5'') of a man-lion (Nṛsiṁha) image having the face of a lion. The angry look is indicated by strained brows and tense muscles of the forehead, forming a puppet-like figure in the centre of the forehead referred to by Bāṇa as ugra-paritikā. The hair falling in loose strands on the sides shows a bee (bhramarā) perched on the crest (fig. 1, 9). Beaded necklace round the neck. Right hand holds the stem of a lotus flower.

No. 6807, ACIII, KX/A2k, —43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

Kubera

(a) Torso (5'') of Kubera, with a purse in the left hand and the right hand in abhayamudrā. Slightly pot-bellied, wears a flat torque, girdle, and scarf arranged across the legs.

No. 6302, ACIII, KIX/K4b, —42½'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750. Stylistically the figure appears to be of an earlier date.

Kārttikeya

109. Fragment of a Kārttikeya image riding on peacock with a bell tied round the bird's neck.

No. 9131, GVC/3g, —38' 5''.

Nāga

110. Nāga figure with a canopy of seven snake-hoods, wearing a crown on the head. Incised eyes with round pupils and slit mouth. Diagonal scarf indicated by an applied roll from the left shoulder to the right armpit. Heavy double chin, prominent nose and mustaches. An indistinct round object held in the raised right hand; left arm akimbo. Punched circlelet marks on the back.

* No. 1011, ACI, Room 1, —48'.

(a) Head of a Nāga figure with a radiating canopy of snake-hoods. Hair parted in the middle and then combed in horizontal locks on either side to hang in curls on the shoulders. The ends of the lips (spikāprānta) and the centre of the lower lip are indicated by slight holes, a feature of the late Gupta style. Coarse clay with a mixture of rice-husk. The wet figure was laid on a layer of husk to finish off the hoods by modelling. A slip of sand and clay was applied before firing, leaving shining particles of mica all over the upper surface and sides.

No. 3727 (X), ACIII, KX/A5k, —43' ; St. IIIb: floor of a Brahmanical temple.

(b) A Nāga figure (3-5'') with three serpent-hoods. Right hand in abhayamudrā. Defaced. Made of coarse clay mixed with rice-husk.

No. 8436, ACIII, KX/F4g, —43'; St. IIIb.
Gaṇeśa

Eight figures of Gaṇeśa were found, including three from ACIII, but none very clearly dated. Stylistically the three moulded figures should be assigned to Stratum III (A.D. 450–750). Amongst iconographic features, the figures show only the right tusk, a fruit in the right hand and a pot of sweets in left, to which the god is helping himself with the tip of his flexed trunk.

111. No. 8085, ACIV, MIX/S6j, −43’ 6”.
112. No. 9367, ACVII, GV/D7d, −44’.
    (a) No. 3806, ACIII, KX/H2c, −43’.
    (b) No. 8087, ACIV, MIX/H4h, −43 1/2”.

Śiva and Pārvati

113. Head of Śiva with matted locks tied in a prominent and graceful topknot.
    No. 10160, from the Śiva temple in ACI, R. 83, −26’.

114. Head of Pārvatī with the third eye and crescent mark on the forehead. Hair beautifully arranged in spiral alaka-locks, with braid fastened by a garland (dhammaīa) and adorned by a floral boss (chandraka); round ear-ring with svastika mark on it. This and the preceding figure are two of the most charming specimens from Ahichchhatrā.
    No. 10164, from the Śiva temple in ACI, R. 83, −26’.

115. Head of Śiva (2’6”) with hair arranged in a high topknot and bound by a fillet in the centre. Loose strands of locks fall on either side in parallel rows. Prominently arched eyebrows, a high nose-bridge, elongated face, extended oblique eyes, round chin. Round button ear-ring in left ear. A beautiful specimen of Gupta art. Bright terracotta colour.
    No. 6025, ACII, north temple-wall, −50’.
    (a) Śiva’s head (2’6”) similar to above with the same kind of hair. Damaged on right side.
        No. 6098, ACII, R. 138, −43’.

116. Head and bust of a female figure (3”) showing hair adorned with a crest and surmounted by a cylindrical topknot of matted locks. Round disc in right ear, left ear elongated.
    No. 10114, ACI, R. 115, −48’.

117. Head, much worn, but showing a style of coiffure in which the right side consists of matted locks and the left of a mass of spiral curls, being the only example of this charming style of hair (jaṭā and alaka combined) from Ahichchhatrā. It is comparable with a group of about half a dozen excellent heads from Rāghat near Banaras.1 These heads may be regarded as of the half-male and half-female Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva-Pārvatī.

118. Torso of an image of the goddess Chāmūṇḍā (11’5”) distinguished by emaciated ribs, pendent breasts and sunken belly. The noteworthy feature is the representation of scorpions and lizards on the lean body of the goddess as a mark of her horrid aspect. We have a literary reference to this iconographic detail in the

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132
Type 11, head of Pārvatī, front and side views
Type 11, torso of Chāmunda
TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF AHICHCHHATRĀ, DISTRICT BAREILLY, U.P.

Tilakamañjāri of Dhanapāla (eleventh century A.D.), where the author describing a vetāla speaks of small reptiles lurking in the intervals of his skeletal ribs.\(^1\)

No. 8768, ACIII, KX/F2c, -46\(^{\frac{1}{2}}\); St. IIIc: A.D. 450–550.

118a. The goddess Chāmunḍā seated on a high pedestal (1' 1-5") distinguished by her emaciated body and pendent breasts. Two corpses are thrown on the front and left side of the pedestal. This agrees with the description of the goddess as preta-vāhanā, ‘borne on corpses’. A nude figure of a young boy on her left shares with her the pedestal. The arms of another figure carried on her back are also visible in front.

No. 6960, ACIII, KX/A3h, -45\(^{\frac{1}{4}}\); St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650.

119. Gaṅgā and Yamunā, two life-size images (the latter illustrated), installed in niches flanking the main steps leading to the upper terrace of the Śiva temple in site ACI. Gaṅgā stands on her vehicle the makara, and Yamunā the tortoise. Kālidāsa mentions the two river goddesses as attendants of Śiva (Kumārasambhava, VII, 42), and this occurs as a regular feature of temple-architecture from the Gupta period onwards, the most notable example being the door-jams of the Brahmanical temple at Devagārh.\(^2\)

TYPE 12. GODDESS DURGĀ KILLING THE BUFFALO-DEMON

The goddess Durgā subduing the Mahisha- (Buffalo-) demon is known as Mahishā-suramardini. Of the twenty specimens found at Ahichchhatrā, seven originate from ACIII and the rest from other plots. The evidence of stratification shows that the goddess first makes her appearance in Stratum IIIc, i.e. about A.D. 450–550, and continues throughout Stratum IIIb, IIIa and Stratum II. The period c. A.D. 550–750 was the time when this goddess enjoyed the highest popularity, as evinced by frequent literary references to her in Bāṇa under the name of Kātyāyani.\(^3\) He also says that she was but a form of Ambikā.\(^4\)

On the iconographic side we find a standing female figure with four hands, later on increased to six and eight. She is engaged in subduing a buffalo standing on its hind legs with head uplifted in front of the goddess and body stretched across her legs. In the two upper arms she holds attributes, her lower right hand is placed on the back of the animal and the left swung around its neck in an attitude betraying affection rather than terror. The lion is conspicuous by its absence in the figures from Ahichchhatrā.

120. Four-armed goddess (4-25") in the act of killing the Buffalo-demon, represented in his animal form. The head is thrown up on the left side, and the goddess is strangling it with her left hand. Neither in this nor in (a) and (b) below is the demon pierced with a spear. The figures are pressed out of a mould with deep furrowed lines marking the ornaments and drapery as well as the horn of the animal. The clay is of brick-like hardness.

No. 6412, ACIII, KX/A2h, -45\(^{\frac{1}{4}}\); St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650.

(a) Four-armed goddess killing the Buffalo-demon (2-5"). A bodice covers the breast of the goddess. Her left arm is swung round the animal’s neck. The plaque is slightly concave at the back due to the pressing of the clay in the mould. A layer of burnt sand is still adhering. All the three specimens are burnt hard, and there is no mixture of husk in the clay.

No. 8106, ACIII, KX/L1a, -47\(^{\frac{1}{4}}\); St. IIIc: A.D. 450–550.

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\(^1\) Tilakamañjāri, Nirmaya Sagar Press edition, p. 47, describing a vetāla says: atikriṣatayā kāyasya dūradasati-tonnatānām parśukānām antarādronyisu niḍārayanāniśausarśripam, ‘in his very emaciated body the prominently exposed ribs showed in their undulating spaces lurking young reptiles’.

\(^2\) A New History of the Indian People, VI, The Vākṣṭā-Gupta Age (Lahore, 1945), p. 454, pl. IX, fig. 2.

\(^3\) Achiramṛidita-mahishāsura-rudhira-rakta-charaṇām = iva Kātyāyanaṃ, Kadambari, p. 11.

\(^4\) Ambikā-triśālam = iva mahisha-rudhirādra-kāyam, Kadambari, p. 31.
(b) Fragment (1.75") in the same style as above.
No. 4171, ACIII, KIX/E7j, —41'; St. I.

121. The goddess Mahishāsura-mardini seated in bhadrāsana (3.25") and piercing the animal with a trident (its end is now broken). In the right upper hand she holds a palm-leaf, in the left upper hand an elongated shield. The shield seems to be made of wicker-work and covered with hide on front and back. On the head of the goddess is a close-fitting helmet. She is wearing a tunic and skirt. It seems that the form with the spear or trident was later than the one in which the hand of the goddess rests on the back of the animal.
No. 10838, ACIII, KIX/E8d, —43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

(a) Lower part of a rectangular plaque (4") showing the goddess Mahishāsura-mardini in a crude style.
No. 6309, ACIII, KIX/E5j, —42'; St. II, a roughly-modelled figure of about the ninth century.

122. Plaque (7.5") showing the six-armed Kātyāyani. A pair of upper hands supports a tray-like object on the head. The lower right hand is placed on the back of the animal, and the left holds a snake. The ornaments and drapery are indicated by grooved lines. A profuse admixture of rice-husk with clay points to Stratum IIIb (A.D. 550–650) as the approximate period of the figure (see no. 107). This is one of a group of Mahishāsura-mardini figures found against the city-wall in association with a collection of twenty-nine other terracotta figurines of the multi-headed goddess described under Type 29.
No. 6586 (23), ACV.

123. Fragment of a plaque (2"×3.5") showing the haloed head of a female figure and a portion of the upper right hand holding a shield. It formed part of a very charming figure of the goddess Mahishāsura-mardini. The hair is arranged in three receding tiers of spiral curls (vallīhrīd-alaka) on the two sides of the head. The central mass of hair is decorated by a flowery boss.

The circular shield shows a fringe of small fluttering fly-whisks on its outer margin. Curiously enough this feature finds mention in that encyclopaedia of post-Gupta culture, namely the Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, in the description of round shields made of a special kind of leather imported from the Kārmaraṅga country. Such shields, according to the author, bore a variegated appearance on account of the white fly-whisks fringing and fluttering on the outer margin.1 Stylistically it is one of the best specimens which may be assigned to the early seventh century.
No. 805, a surface-find from site ACII.

124. The four-armed goddess Kātyāyani (3.5") killing Mahishāsura. Upper right hand placed on the top of a tapering spear piercing the animal, lower right hand on its back, lower left hand on its neck and the upper left holding a round shield by its strap. The shield was padded and embroidered on the upper side. The hair on the head of the goddess is arranged in a frontal mass secured by a fillet and parted in the middle by a simantiya-ornament, and combed in wavy locks to each side. Traces of original red paint on the face.
No. 9436, ACVII, GV/X9n, —38'. Stylistically it is related to figure no. 121 from ACIII (St. IIIa).

**TYPE 13. NAIGAMEŚA, MALE AND FEMALE TYPES**

A peculiar type of clay figurine, both male and female, occurs at Ahichchhatrā in Stratum IIIb and IIIe, roughly between A.D. 450–650. Its special feature is an animal face with goat-like features and long dangling ears having either pierced holes or slit-marks. Below a hooked nose the mouth is indicated by a deep-cut slit. The projecting simple

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1 Chaṅchach-chāmara-kīrmāra-Kārmaraṅga-charma-mandalam, ‘circular shields covered with the dark-coloured leather imported from the Kārmaraṅga country (one of the islands in South-east Asia), made variegated by the fringe of fluttering white fly-whisks’, Harshacharita, p. 207. For the identification of the Kārmaraṅga country with a region of the Malay Peninsula, see Sylvain Lévi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian India, translated by P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta, 1929), p. 105.
topknot on the head is also pierced by one or two holes. The arms extend obliquely from the shoulders and the hands all without details of fingers, are indicated simply by a spoon-like depression. The same feature occurs in the feet when they are preserved (cf. no. 126).

The goat-like head connects this type with that of the god Harinaigamesa with whose iconography we are made familiar by about a dozen stone specimens from Mathurā. Originally he was invoked as the presiding deity of child-birth and was considered to be but another form of the god Skanda under the name Naigameya. In the course of time he became popular in both male and female forms with a goat's head and in female form with a human head. All the forms occur in Mathurā art.\(^1\) Amongst the terracotta specimens too we find three varieties existing together.

The question of identifying the three forms presents a problem. The male goat-headed type is certainly that of Naigameya or Naigameya, which was but another name of Skanda. The female counterpart may reasonably be identified with Shashthi, the consort of Skanda, who as guardian-goddess of child-birth was the object of universal worship, specially during the period from A.D. 450 to 650.

The type in clay appears to have had a wide distribution in North India as specimens are known from such remote places as Mathurā, Ahichchhatrā and Rājghāt. The same type with a human face is present in many specimens from Rājghāt, and in a couple of specimens from Ahichchhatrā. One example is illustrated by Gordon,\(^2\) but incorrectly stated to be as old as the early Mother Goddess figurines of the archaic style. The stratigraphical evidence now available fixes the duration of the type to Stratum IIIb and IIIc, corresponding to the period A.D. 450-650, during which time the worship of Shashthi and her male counterpart had reached its climax.

The first specimen (no. 125) is a miniature clay reproduction of an original Mathurā stone figure distinguished by a male figure with goat's head carrying a child on each shoulder. The other figures both with the goat's head and the human head with long ears are ramifications of the same formula.

Sub-type (1). Male goat-headed figures

125. Head and bust of a male figure with goat's head having projecting horns, carrying a child on each shoulder. Similar to no. E.1 in the Mathurā Museum (Vogel, Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum, p. 107).

No. 6835, KIX/E9j, -44'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

126. Torso (5") of male figure with left arm and left leg ending in a shallow cup-like depression. Traces of parallel black lines on the leg marking folds of the drapery. Hand-modelled.

No. 8500, ACIII, KIX/E6d, -434'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550-650.

127. Head and bust of similar figure (2.5") with goat-like face, hooked nose, slit mouth, dangling pierced ears and projecting hair-crest on head with a hole.

No. 602, ACIII, -44'.

(a) Figurine as no. 126 with slit ears (2.8").

No. 6703, ACIII, KIX/K7h, -46'; St. IIIb.

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\(^1\) For a fuller account of Mathurā specimens of the goat-headed male and female forms and human-headed female form, see my paper, 'The Presiding Deity of Childbirth amongst the Ancient Jainas, with special reference to figures in the Mathurā Museum', Jaina Antiquary, March 1937, pp. 75-79; also G. Bühler, 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurā', Epigraphia Indica, II (1893), p. 316.

\(^2\) 'Early Indian Terracottas', pl. XII, fig. 7.
(b) Head of similar figure (1.7').
No. 8472, ACIII, KIX/K5j, −45'; St. IIIb.

128. Head of similar figure (1.5') with hole in crest and slit incision in ears.
No. 9034, ACVII, GV/D6c, −39½'.

129. Head and bust of similar figure (3') with pierced crest, long gashed ears, open goat-like mouth as if in the act of bleating.
No. 9347, ACVII, GV/D9a, −39½'.

(a) Head of similar figure (1.5') with two holes in the rectangular crest.
No. 11201, ACV/Z6d, −59½'. It appears to be out of its context in this locus.

Sub-type (ii). Female goat-headed figures

130. Female figure (3') with a goat's head, long bored ears, open mouth and prominent breasts. Traces of two holes in the crest at the back of the head.
No. 8835, ACIII, KIX/E10g, −47'; St. IIIc: A.D. 450-550.

(a) Female figure (3.5') as above, with long slit ears and a bleating mouth.
No. 6998, ACIII, KIX/E4e, −46'; St. IIIc.

Sub-type (iii). Figures with human faces

131. Head (1.5') of a female figure with long dangling ears deeply grooved, crest pierced with a hole, vermilion dot between eye-brows, eyelids indicated by raised ridges and round face with narrow chin.
No. 8161, ACIII, KIX/K8a, −45'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550-650.

(a) Head and bust of a female figure (2.5') with long slashed ears, similar to the above.
No. 921, ACIV, MIX/H9c, −37½'.

(b) Female head with tripartite hair and a circular dot on the forehead, raised eyebrows and eyelids and hooked nose; features similar to above, but without the dangling ears which seem to have got detached.
No. 3738, ACIII, KX/A5h, −42'.

132. Female head with round face and short chin allied to the above. In no. 131(b) and this specimen there is a hole at the back. The facial type of these heads has its closest parallel in the faces of the goddess Ardoksho portrayed on the reverse of the later Kushāna coins, which were current in the Punjab and the Kābul-valley from about A.D. 200 to 450.1
No. 6719, ACIII, KIX/E9f, −44'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

133. Standing male figure (5.5') with undigitated legs separated by an arch, torque round neck, diagonal necklace and girdle, applied goat-like eyes, slit mouth, dangling ears with holes and crest behind head with a hole.
No. 4381, ACIII, KX/A1d, −41½'; St. IIIa.

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Sub-type (iv). Feline figures

134-135. Figures of a cat squatting with hands on knees, tail curling up. A prominently pierced hole at the back apparently for the insertion of a decorative head appendage; another hole pierced in the round base from side to side. The head is missing. The pose of the figure suggests that it was not merely an animal but represented some form of deity. In the Kādambarī and Harshacharita of Bānabhaṭṭa we have a reference to a goddess worshipped at childbirth known as Jātmāṭrī-devatā, also called Charchikā, having the face of a cat (māṛjārāṇand, Kādambarī, p. 78; Harshacharita, p. 12).¹

No. 6067, ACII, JVIII/U9f, —64; no. 11074, ACXV, RVII/K9f, —50.

Type 14. Buddhist Images

Specifically Buddhist images from Ahichchhatrā are limited to about half a dozen specimens only. The most important example is an inscribed image with the name of Bodhisattva Maitreya engraved on its pedestal. It is of Mathurā red sandstone and is the only inscribed Maitreya found so far. In style it belongs to the Kushāṇa period; it was apparently imported from Mathurā.

Another fragment of red sandstone (no. 1342, ACIII) shows a seated Buddha statuette of early Kushāṇa period with, on the reverse, the foliage of the Bodhi tree and garlands hanging from it. This is a well-known style of Buddha image in the Mathurā school.²

136. In terracotta, two rectangular plaques have been found, one showing the Buddha seated in padmāsana (no. 11309) and the other showing Buddha standing in abhayamudrā (no. 11318), the former illustrated. The figures wear a profusely-folded saṅghāṭī covering both shoulders. In the seated image an attendant holding a fly-whisk in the right hand waits upon the Buddha. Both are surface-finds from Rāmnagar village, but may be assigned to the sixth-seventh century A.D. on grounds of style.

GROUP VI. GUPTA MOULDED PLAQUES

A very considerable group of terracotta figurines, all from Stratum III, represents men and women conforming to a set art-style. They are cast from single moulds and with moderate relief; parts of the body, such as the suspended arms and legs, are seldom rendered free. The figures are all of small size and made from finely kneaded clay, moderately baked. There is none of the profuse mixing of rice-husk which is found in the larger specimens mostly from Stratum IIIb.

The types, both male and female, are remarkable for the great variety of styles of hair-dressing. The rendering of the human form is simple and restrained, but the form is always elegant and the faces charming, with sharp pointed nose, full eyes, and oval outline. The females invariably have full round breasts pressing against each other, without intervening space as in the preceding Kushāṇa age. It was a feature praised as a mark of feminine beauty by Kālidāsa, who, in describing the blooming youth of the maiden Pārvatī, remarks that her breasts were so closely pressed together as not to admit even a lotus-filament between them.³ Both men and women show minimum of ornamentation, relying more

¹ There was a shrine of Charchikā Devī at Benares (Skanda-Purāṇa, Kāśi Khanḍa, xcvi). In the Bhilasa inscription of the time of the Paramār king Naravarmadeva (1104-33) occurs a panegyric song of the goddess Charchikā, the family deity of the dynasty, to whom a temple was dedicated.
² Cf. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1934 (Leyden, 1936), p. 14, pl. IV, figs. a and b.
³ Anyonyam = upiṇḍrayad = upalākṣhāyāḥ sanadavayam pāṇḍu tathā pravṛddham, mṛṇāla-sūṭrāntaram = apy = alabhyaṃ, Kumārasambhava, I, 40.
on the natural charms of the body than on ornate make-up. But this fondness for elegant simplicity is compensated for by the extreme loveliness of the hair-styles.

The varieties in hair-dressing show that men and women must have been foppish to a degree. The most common way of doing a woman's coiffure was a trefoil style with the hair arranged in two side-masses and a central topknot (fig. 1, 12). The male fashion took the form of twisted spiral curls arranged in parallel tiers and superimposed one above the other on the two sides reaching almost to the shoulder (fig. 1, 7). The spiral curls are referred to in the works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhāṭṭa as alaka or valibhrid-alaka, and rows of frizzled locks (alakāvālī) occur as an accepted mark of beauty.

The different forms of hair-dressing afford a convenient basis for classifying the male and female figures of this important group. As this type is widely distributed, extending from Begrām in Afghanistan to Rājghāṭ near Benares and Pāṭaliputra (Patna), it is of interest for comparative purposes to record the distinctions of hair-treatment in the Ahichchhatrā heads in some detail. The male and female figures, including both detached heads and busts, are equally numerous, about fifty each in a total of one hundred from the excavations.

The male heads conform to the ideal of beauty set forth in Sankrit Buddhist literature of the times. Speaking of a new-born prince, the Divyāvadāna and the Vinayavastu repeat as a mark of beauty that the prince possessed a head of the form of a round parasol, a rectangular broad forehead, twin eyebrows drawn in a single continuous line, and a prominent nose-bridge. The male heads in our group literally illustrate these features with documentary precision.

A. The following styles of hair are noted amongst the men's heads:

(i) Chhatrākāra. The hair crowns the head as a semi-circular parasol with locks arranged like ribs close to each other, all radiating from a topknot (fig. 1, 6). This distinctive style marks about five-sixths of the total number of male heads. On the two sides the spiral locks (alakāvālī) descend in three or more receding horizontal tiers. In all the male and female heads there occurs at times a crest or topknot pierced by a suspension-hole.

(ii) Chattrākāra with parting sīmanta. The hair is arranged parasol-like with locks above and on the sides as in (i), but marked by a central parting referred to in literature as sīmanta or keśavītī (fig. 1, 7). Several specimens with the bust also preserved (cf. no. 144, below, p. 140, and no. 147, p. 141) testify that the parting of the hair was a fashion in vogue amongst men also.

(iii) Trefoil style in which the hair is arranged in two side-masses with or without parting, backed by a crest (fig. 1, 8). This was a favourite style, mostly amongst women, with great variation. The lateral masses are sometimes arranged like pendent honeycombs (as in no. 149(a)) or depend in the form of two very conspicuous bosses near the ears (as in no. 150). In one instance the number of bosses is two on each side (no. 151).

B. Amongst female heads the general style is trefoil, with two side-appendages and a crest (śikhandā) in the centre. The following specialized forms of coiffure should be noted:

(i) Honeycomb style. Only two specimens at Ahichchhatrā show this fashion, with the lateral masses rendered like a honeycomb of cellular structure (fig. 1, 11). This beautiful style of hair-dressing must have appeared extremely attractive, and it had an international
vogue in the ancient world, being patronized by society women in Rome. In Mathurā and specially Rājghāṭ charming specimens of this coiffure have been found.¹

(ii) *Trefoil style* with a plain flat band in the centre (fig. 1, 12). The side-masses and the topknot being a common feature of all female heads, distinctions are based on whether or how the parting band is decorated. In the first set the parting band is without any kind of adornment.

(iii) The hair has a parting in the middle, flanked by two vertical rows of locks (fig. 1, 13, as in nos. 160–163).

(iv) *Simanta with chaṭulā*. Central parting of the hair adorned with a jewel (fig. 1, 14), to which Bāna makes a reference as chaṭulā-tilakamanī² (nos. 164, 166). In some specimens the crest-jewel is behind a raised roll of hair on the head (no. 167) and in one example the side-masses of hair are beautified by three pendent alaka-locks on each side (no. 165).

(v) *Bhramara style*. The combed space above the forehead is beautified by an ornament representing a bee or bhramara with out-spread wings (fig. 1, 15) from which this style was known as bhramaraka. It was a charming mode of doing the hair. Two good specimens were found at Ahichchhatrā (nos. 168 and 169).

**TYPE 15. MALE FIGURINES**

**Sub-type (i). Chhatrākāra-śirāḥ**

137. Man's head (2-3") covered with radiating locks of hair in the form of a parasol, crest (śikhaṇḍa) at the back, and frizzled locks falling on both sides in parallel rows (fig. 1, 6). Extended right lobe cloven, a discoid ring in left ear which is referred to as eka-śravaṇāśraya raṭaṇka by Bāṇabhaṭṭa.³ The disc-ring in the left ear occurs often in both male and female heads of this type.

No. 6806, ACIII, KIX/E10g, —44'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

(a) Head as above (2-6').
   No. 6438, ACIII, KIX/K8f, —46'; St. IIIa.

(b) Man's head and bust (2-5') with hair as above.
   No. 856, ACIII, KIX/K10j, —45'; St. IIIa.

138. Head as above (2-5').

No. 1044, ACIII, KX/A4k, —39½'; St. I: A.D. 850–1100. This is stylistically an anachronism and should belong to a lower level.

(a) Man's head (2-3'), as above.
   No. 1274, ACIII, KX/F7e, —39'; St. I.

(b) Head and bust (2-5'), as above.
   No. 483, KX/A5h, —42½'; St. IIIa.

(c) Male head (2-6'), as above.
   No. 1205, ACIII, KX/F7d, —39'.
(d) Male head (2.4"), as above. Traces of red paint on the cheeks, forehead and locks, showing that these figurines were once painted. This is confirmed by the terracottas of the present type from Rājghāt, Bhītā and Begrām.

No. 8465, ACIII, a surface-find.

139. Man's head and bust (3.5") covered with a gorgeous wig-like top of hair, arranged in frizzled locks as above. The crest is broken but a suspension-hole is preserved. Traces of dark red paint on the face, neck and breast.

No. 9036, ACVII, GV/D7c, — 40'.

(a) Male head (1.5"), as above.

No. 9039, ACVII, GV/D7c, — 40'.

140. Male head (1.5"). Traces of red paint on the face.

No. 9191, ACVII, GV/H9j, — 39¼'.

141. Head and bust, as above.

No. 9041, ACVII, GV/D8c, — 40'.

(a) Head and bust, as above.

No. 9194, ACVII, GV/H9j, — 39'.

142. Male figurine with head (2.7"), as above, traces of red paint all over the body. Right arm suspended, left akimbo.

No. 9021, GV/D6c, — 42'.

(a) Male head, as above.

No. 9201, ACVII, GV/C9k, — 39½'.

(b) Male head and bust, as above.

No. 9457, ACVII, GV/D10f, — 41'.

143. Male head, as above.

No. 11324, ACV, surface-find.

(a) Male head, as above (2.25"), suspension-hole in crest.

No. 10195, ACI.

(b) Male head, as above (2.5"), suspension-hole in crest.

(c) Head with a double parasol-like arrangement of hair on top. Traces of red paint on chin.

No. 820, ACVII, GV/C7c, — 38½'.

Sub-type (ii). Style of parasol-like hair parted in the middle (chhatrākara with simanta)

144. Head and bust (3") with hair parted in the middle, combed in plain surface on the sides and then falling in spiral curls (fig. 1, 7). A leaf-like pendent ornament in left ear, probably a pendant of ivory (dentapātra-karpapāra).

No. 3710, ACIII, KX/A6j, — 44'.
145. Head (1·4") with the style of hair-dressing as in no. 144 but frizzled locks arranged in two receding tiers; profuse traces of red paint.
No. 9191, ACVII, GV/H9j, —39' 6".

146. Head, as above.
No. 4248, ACIII, KX/A7f, —38'; St. I: A.D. 850–1100.
(a) Head, as above. Much worn.
No. 6729, ACIII, KIX/E9h, —43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.
(b) Head, as above. Hair arranged in five receding tiers, dantapatra in left ear and tāṭanka in right.
No. 3571, ACIII, —43'.
(c) Head, as above.
No. 6317, ACIII, KIX/E9f, —41½'; St. I, but stylistically earlier.

147. Head and bust (3") with double parasol-like parted hair on top and spiral curls on sides. Leaf-like ornament in both ears. Three lines on the neck (trivali-griva).
No. 9131, ACVII, GV/C9g, —38½'.
(a) Head, as above.
No. 3816, ACIII, KX/H2c, —43'.
(b) Head, as above. Suspension-hole at base of crest. Round ring in both ears.
No. 8158, ACIII, KIX/E8j, —45'; St. IIIb.
(c) Head, as above, much worn.
No. 4061, ACIII, KX/A3j, St. I; apparently an early piece in a later level.
(d) Head (2·5") with parted hair on top, and side-strands in five receding tiers. Leafy ornament in right and disc in left ear.
No. 8062, ACIV, KIX/S10g, —44'.
(e) Head, as above, but base of topknot bound with garland; three disc-rings in left ear.
No. 6213, ACV, QIX/O6c, —43'.

Sub-type (iii). Trefoil style

In one class the trefoil hair is rendered in the form of two side-masses and a crest with parting in the centre. In the other the masses of hair either become very conspicuous or their number is increased to four.

148. Male figure (3") with trefoil hair on head (fig. 1, 8). Left hand suspended, right akimbo. Dantapatra in right and chakra-kuṇḍala in left ear.
No. 8006, ACIV, MIX/S10a, —42'.
(a) Male figure (2·5") similar to above.
No. 9243, ACVII, GV/B8f, —41'.
(b) Head, as above.
No. 6704, ACIII, KIX/E10g, —43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.
149. Head (1·2") with two side-masses and middle parting in front of crest. Traces of red colour. No. 3807, ACIII, KX/H2c, —43'.

(a) Head (6") with two heavy rolled masses of hair on the sides, central parting and crest, leafy ornament in right and large round kundala in left ear. There is also a crudely incised human face on the back.
No. 6740, ACIII, KIX/E9g, —43'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

(b) Male head with side-masses of hair, as above. Finger-marks on back, much worn.
No. 6471, ACIII, KIX/K10h, —46'; St. IIIa.

150. Head with hair parted in the middle and combed sideways, with pendent locks terminating in two globular masses. Traces of red paint all over. Suspension-hole in crest.
No. 9132, ACVII, GV/C9g, —38f'.

151. Head with two side-masses of hair sub-divided by a middle groove. The facial type in the subgroup with the side-masses of hair is oval, with plump cheeks and a broad chin.
No. 6400, ACIII, KIX/K6d, —43½; St. IIIa.

(a) Head with hair parted in the middle, locks combed sideways and finishing in two lateral masses.
No. 891, ACIV, MIX/H1d, —32'.

Sub-type (iv). Male heads with haloes

A small group of terracotta figurines with hair arranged in flowing curly locks represents men with plain circular haloes. In none of the specimens is the position of the hands now preserved, although it is apparent in two examples that the arms were detached from the bust by removing the intervening clay after casting. There is no sign of drapery on the body. It is not possible to identify the figures with any religious type, although the halo indicates divine rank. Two genuine specimens from ACIII relate the type to Stratum IIIa, which is in stylistic agreement with the other figures of this group. The hair is arranged in one or the other of the foregoing styles.

152. Head and bust (2·6") of male figure with a circular halo rising from shoulders. Curly hair on top falling in locks. Pendants in ears.
No. 6707, ACIII, KIX/E9g, —44'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

153. Figurine (1·9") as above, with hair treated in four side-masses as in no. 151.
No. 8689, ACIII, KIX/K9h, —45'; St. IIIa.

154. Haloed head and bust (2·6") as above, with curly hair parted in the middle.
No. 10189, ACI, R. 153, —24'.

(a) Haloed head and bust (2·3').
No. 1149, ACII, KX/F3a, —38'; St. I, but stylistically earlier.

(b) Haloed head.
No. 10173, ACII, R. 153, —22'.

(c) Haloed head.
No. 10694, ACII; recovered from the débris of Dr. A. Führer's old excavation.
A. Type 15, male figures of the Gupta period, showing styles of hair-dressing.

B. Type 15, male figures of the Gupta period, showing styles of hair-dressing.
A. Type 16, female figures of the Gupta period, showing styles of hair-dressing

B. Type 16, female figures of the Gupta period.
TYPE 16. FEMALE FIGURINES

Sub-type (i). Honeycomb hair-style

155. Head and bust (1·9") of a female figure with trefoil coiffure (fig. 1, 11). The stippling on the side-masses of hair indicates the cellular structure of the honeycomb design. In the central parting is a pendent ornament and in the ears are worn round tāṭaṅka-chakra kuṇḍalas.

No. 3792, ACIII, KX/F3a, -46'; St. IIIc: A.D. 350-450.

156. Female head and bust as above, with hair in honeycomb style but without the crest-ornament. A single string (ekāval) is worn round the neck. It is one of the most charming figurines found at Ahichchhatarā.

No. 921, ACIV, MIX/H7a, -37'.

Sub-type (ii). Trefoil hair style with a plaited plain band in the centre

157. Woman standing (2·3") with right arm suspended and left akimbo. Trefoil coiffure with two side-masses having a plaited band connecting them (fig. 1, 12).

No. 1332, ACIII, KX/F8c, -41'; St. II: A.D. 750-850.

(a) Head and bust (2·2''), as above.

No. 9472, ACIII, KIX/E10j, -43''; St. II.

158. Head and bust (2'') of woman as above. Coiffure similar but with two loose locks falling from the hair-masses on shoulders. A dantapatra in each ear.

No. 6005, ACII, R. 105, -17'.

159. Head and bust (2·2'') of a woman. Trefoil hair, with a plaited band in centre. Red paint all over the surface, with patches of black paint.

No. 9345, ACVII, GV/D8a, -424'.

(a) Head and bust (2·3') of a woman, as above, with round ear-ring in left ear. The impression from the mould is imperfect on the middle portion of the face.

No. 1340, ACIII, KX/F5d, -41'; St. II.

(b) Female figure (1·8''), as above, but from a crude mould. Round ear-ring in right ear.

No. 3684, ACIII, KX/A8k, -44'.

(c) Head and bust (2·2'') of woman with trefoil style of hair, as above.

No. 3968, ACIV, MIX/S8f, -43½''.

(d) Head and bust (1·8'') of a woman, wearing double round ring in left ear shown in profile.

No.8007, ACIV, MIX/S9a, -43'.

Sub-type (iii). Trefoil hair-style with double crest-pendant

160. Woman's head with trefoil hair. The style is distinguished by a double roll decorating the plaited band in the centre, representing two crest-pendants or perhaps simply two raised locks of hair (fig. 1, 13).

No. 3718, ACIII, -44'.

(a) Woman's head with coiffure as above. Suspension-hole at the other end of simanta. Round ring with a diametrical bar in left ear.

No. 1408, ACIII, KX/F4d, -43'; St. IIIa.
(b) Bust and head (2-2') of a woman, with hair as above.
No. 8023, ACIV, MIX/S9b, —43'.

161. Head and bust (2-7') with vertical hair-ridges in the centre. Right arm suspended, left akimbo; round tāṭanka in left ear.
No. 1379, ACIII, KX/F9a, —38 ½'.

162. Woman's head with a central double pendant (chaṭula). A string fringing the hair on the forehead extends to the ears with round ear-rings depending from it.
No. 10602, ACII, R. 176, —42'.

163. Head with a double chaṭula and pearl-string on the forehead. In the cloven lobes of the ear is a round tāṭanka-chakra (wheel-like ear-ring); the lower end of the pearl string being fastened to the knob of the disc inserted in the ear.
No. 9123, ACVII, GV/C9f, —38'.

*Sub-type (iv). Trefoil hair-style with a single crest-pendant adorning the parting (sīmanta with chaṭula-tilakamaṇi or sīkhaṇḍa-khaṇḍikā jewel)*

In this style the central parting is adorned with a crest-jewel (fig. 1, 14). It must be noted that the crest-jewel is exclusively a decorative feature of the female coiffure; none of the male heads ever show it. Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers to this feature in the Kādambarī, speaking of the crest-jewel kissing the sīmanta. Specimens from ACIII with recorded data mostly come from Stratum IIIa.

164. Woman's head with a crest-jewel in the parting of the hair (fig. 1, 14). Round wheel-like kundalas in both ears.
No. 6409, ACIII, KX/F2a, —45'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

(a) Woman's head, as above.
No. 8141, ACIII, KX/L2e, —48'; St. IIIa-IVa: A.D. 300-450.

(b) Woman's head, as above.
No. 8971, ACIII, KX/F9j, —43'; St. IIIa.

165. Woman's head (2-2') with crest-jewel on the sīmanta fastened to the crest by a string. A frontal roll of hair between the two side-masses, having three spiral locks on each side.
No. 6813, ACIII, KX/E9h, —43½'; St. IIIa.

(a) Woman's head with a simple crest-jewel and two round rings in the ears shown in frontal view.
No. 10603, ACII, R. 176, —42'.

166. Woman's head, as no. 165a. The left side-mass of hair ends in a big globular boss.
No. 839, ACII; found 'north of box-chamber no. 86'.

167. Head and bust (2-2') of a woman with simple crest-jewel and a pearl string round neck.
No. 3995, ACIV, MIX/S5d, —44 ½'.

*Sub-type (v). Bhramaraka style*

The style was so called from the bee-like hair in the centre of the head. The effect is produced by arranging wing-shaped plaited hair on the two sides of the crest-jewel (fig. 1,
15. It must have been an attractive style of hair, imparting dignity to the face. In all
specimens of this form there is a suspension-hole in the crest. On male figures this style
of coiffure is seen in no. 108 (fig. 1, 9).

168. Woman’s head (2·5") with bhramaraka style of hair-dress. Plaited hair combed sideways resembling a
bee perched with open wings (fig. 1, 15).
No. 8167, ACIII, KIX/K1b, —45'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

169. Woman’s head (1·75"), as above.
No. 8051, ACIV, MIX/S9a, —43'-45'.

Sub-type (vi). Abhisārikā style

A small group of female heads shows the head covered with a veil (oḍhni). This was
rendered by drawing the edge of the upper cloth over the head to cover the hair, the rest
falling on the two sides. Bāna refers to it in the Kādambarī as avagunantha.¹ The veiled
head is invariably mentioned in the case of abhisārikā women, i.e. heroines going out
disguised to meet their lovers.² Mahāśveta herself at the time of her love-seeking (abhisāra)
is spoken of as veiled with a red cloak.³ These romantic figures must have exercised a
special appeal in an age which was conscious of the formula symbolized in them.
It is remarkable that the treatment of the veil on the female heads at Ahichchhatrā
has a striking similarity with that on the veiled women’s heads at Seleucia.⁴

170. Woman’s head (1·5") with hair in alaka style arranged on the forehead and the two sides covered
by a receding veil. Traces of red paint on the veil and the face.
No. 4432, ACIII, KIX/E1j, —41'.

171. Woman’s head (1·6") with veil drawn on head covering the hair entirely and fastened with a garland
or fillet on the right side. Round ring in left ear. Red paint.
No. 3611, ACIII, KX/F4e, —44'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

172. Woman’s head (1·6") with veil, fillet and round ear-ring as above. Traces of red paint on right
cheek and chin.
No. 4359, ACIII, KX/A2f, —42'; St. IIIa.

173. Woman’s head (1·6"), as no. 172. Faint traces of red paint.
• No. 6014, ACII, R. 112, —43'.

Heads 171–173 are from the same mould.

174. Woman’s head (1·7") with trefoil hair or diadem covered by a veil arranged as a canopy round the
head and falling at the two sides of the face. This style has remarkable similarity to a veiled head from Seleucia.⁵
No. 4390, ACIII, KIX/E9j, —42'; St. II: A.D. 750–850.

¹ Uttaravāsastā uttamāngam = avagunthya, ‘covering the head with the upper cloth’, Kādambarī, p. 251.
³ Raktāṁśukena kritaśirovagunaṁthā, ‘with a red veil trysting in moonlight’, Kādambarī, p. 163.
⁴ Van Ingen, op. cit., pl. LXII, figs. 443, 444, 445.
⁵ Ibid., no. 1069, pl. LXII, figs. 450, 451.
Sub-type (vii). Headless busts of women

A limited number of female busts detached from heads have been found and it is thought fit to record them here for the stratigraphical data furnished.

In one case (no. 175) the fragment shows several concentric striped bands in saffron colour, indicating the rich drapery that was worn at the time (fig. 1, 5). The first band was marked on the neck, the next one passing below it from shoulder to shoulder, the third touching the upper line of the breasts and the fourth, now indistinct, touching the lower edge of the breasts, the last two joined by vertical stripes passing outside the breasts.

The terracotta figurines of this period were richly adorned by colour and painted lines to indicate the striped and chequered drapery, black hair, black eyebrows, etc. A majority of them seem to have been originally coated with a slip, then painted in a monochrome and finally decorated with a variety of colours—red, pink, yellow and white. Kālidāsa only once describes a terracotta figure in his works (Śākuntalā, Act VII) and there he does not fail to notice that the figure representing a toy-peacock was painted with colours (varnachitrita-mritikā-mayūra). Similar striped bands can also be detected on specimen no. 176, both on the neck and on the four sides of the breasts, the whole forming a bodice of striped pattern.

175. Female bust (1*3*). No. 9212, ACVII, GV/D10d. (Fig. 1, 5.)

176. Female bust (1*7*). No. 9195, ACVII, GV/U9j. —39*.

177. Female bust with prominent breasts. A raised line below the neck indicates a tight-fitting bodice. No. 9311, ACVII, —42*.

178. Female bust (2*).

A special feature is the single string of large round pearls named ekāvalī in the works of Kālidāsa and Bāna. Its central bead is cylindrical and bigger than the rest and, according to literary texts, was made of sapphire (madhya indranī). This style of ekāvalī forms a typical feature of the Gupta figures, and is an unmistakable item of ornamentation in many of the Ajanta paintings.

No. 6093, ACII, R. 138, —43*.

179. Bust of a woman (2*') seated in profile. She is wearing a single string of graded pearls but without the elongated bead of sapphire. This kind of string is most probably the nakshatramālā, the star-necklace consisting of twenty-seven graded pearls.

No. 10700, ACII.

(a) Female bust (1*6*). No. 6303, ACIII, KX/A1e, —42*.
(b) Female bust (1*4*). No. 4364, ACIII, KX/A2f, —42*.
(c) Female bust. No. 6705, ACIII, KIX/I10g, —43*.
(d) Female bust (1*8*). No. 473, ACIII, KX/L6b, —42*.

180. Female torso (3*). No. 9439, ACVIII, GV/X9f, —38*.

Type 17. Mother-and-child (Stratum IIIb: A.D. 550–650)

An interesting group of terracottas from Ahichchatra represents a female figure with a child in her arms. Stylistically the plaques are related in every respect to the male and female figurines described above, all produced from shallow moulds, and also, where

1 Ekaṁ muktāguṇam = iva bhuvah sthāla-madhyendranilam, Meghadūta, I, 46.
heads are preserved, as in no. 183, exhibiting the prevailing styles of hair-dressing. The stratigraphical evidence forthcoming permits the type to be assigned to the period covered by Stratum III.

The figures may be classified in the following Sub-types:

(i) Woman with a suckling babe (kṣīrādhātrī).
(ii) Woman with a babe in her arms (ānkadhātrī).
(iii) Woman with a child in the left arm and a ball or rattle in the suspended right hand (krīḍādhātrī).

References in the Divyāvadāna and other works of Sanskrit Buddhist literature show that several classes of female nurses were employed to attend on royal princes and scions of the nobility. ‘For the child Chandraprabha four kinds of nurses were engaged, ānkadhātrī, maladhātrī, stanadhātrī, krīḍāpanikādāhātrī. The ānkadhātrī was so called as she carried the child in her arms. The one who bathed the child and washed the linen was called maladhātrī. The stanadhātrī or kṣīrādhātrī was so called from feeding the child with milk from her breast. And lastly the krīḍāpanikādāhātrī was one who entertained the young and grown up children with different kinds of play-things and toys.’¹ These types of female attendants for children are also recorded in early Jain literature.² There is no doubt that the repertoire of clay figurines assembled in shops and market-places in ancient India represented different types of men and women existing in various walks of life, and incidentally indicates a lively popular appreciation of works of art at the period. It seems as if the skilful modellers of the Gupta age presented in clay a typological inventory of contemporary society for the delectation of an appreciative public.

The specimens of each Sub-type from Ahichchatrā are given below.

Sub-type (i). Kṣīrādhātrī

181. Woman suckling baby (3-5’). The child in standing posture is feeding itself by drawing the nipple of the left breast to its mouth. Its left hand touches the right breast of the mother. The right arm of the woman is rendered free from the body from armpit to hip. Portion above neck and below thighs missing.

No. 8673, ACIII, KX/F1g, −50′; St. IVb : about third century A.D. It is a stylistic anachronism and the figure—an instance of a later specimen found in an earlier level—apparently came from a disturbed level.

182. Woman (1-8’) suckling child at her left breast, pose of the baby as above.


Sub-type (ii). Ānkadhātrī

183. Woman holding child in left flexed arm (4-5’), the child touching her breast with left hand. Trefoil hair beautified by a crest-jewel. Child’s hair also arranged in trefoil style. Woman’s right ear has extended lobe (pralamba-karna-pāśikā) and a round ring in left ear. An excellent specimen with bold relief conceived in the best traditions of Gupta art. Pink clay with traces of red colour all over the surface. Right arm made free from the bust by paring of clay. Suspension-hole in crest.

No. 3991, ACTIV, MIX/S5e, −45′.

¹ Divyāvadāna, text, Cowell, XXXII, 475; also I, 3 and III, 58 where the stanadhātrī is called kṣīrādhātrī. See also Vinayavastu, ‘Gilgit Sanskrit Manuscripts’, describing the child-birth celebration (jātimāha) of a male child and referring to the four kinds of nurses as ānkadhātrī, kṣīrādhātrī, maladhātrī and krīḍāpanikādāhātrī, Indian Historical Quarterly, XIV (1938), 413.

² Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary by Ratna Chandra, II, 577. The krīḍāpanikādāhātrī is here called khelāvāṇadhāi.
(a) Bust of woman (2-2") holding child as above. Fine buff-coloured clay.
  No. 10221, ACIV, MIX/S5d, —44'.

(b) Woman (1-8") holding child in arms, as above. Marks of the use of scraper on the back.
  No. 3700, ACIII, KX/A7j, —43'.

(c) Woman (2") holding baby in the same pose as above.
  No. 4107, ACIII, KIX/E10j, —40'; St. I, but stylistically earlier.

Sub-type (iii). Krīḍādhātrī

184. Woman (2-2") holding child in left arm; her right arm, suspended, held a round ball; round ring in right ear, left lobe extended; bodice over breasts; skirts fastened at waist.
  No. 1416, ACIII, KX/F7e, —43'; St. IIIa.

(a) Woman (2-7") with child in left arm; right arm holding a ball, now broken.
  No. 6850, ACIII, KX/F2b, —45'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550-650.

(b) Woman (2-2") holding child in right arm and ball in suspended right hand. Flat modelling suggests a later date (perhaps ninth century).

185. Woman (1-5") holding child in right arm and a ball in doubled right arm near breast.
  No. 4396, ACIII, KX/A2e, —41'; St. II: A.D. 750-850.

186. Woman (2-6") holding child in left arm and ball in suspended right hand.
  No. 9044, ACVII, GV/C4e, —37'.

(a) Woman (2-5") holding child and ball as above.
  No. 9150, ACVII, GV/C9f, —37½'.

187. Woman holding child in left arm; only the child’s hand touching her breast is now preserved. She holds a rattle in her doubled right hand near right breast.
  No. 9152, ACVII, GV/C9f, —37½'.

Type 18. Worshippers

This type comprises both male and female figures with one common feature, namely, the pose of the two arms, the left akimbo (kaṭivin yasta-vāma-pāṇī, Bāna), and the right hanging by the side (lata-hasta), holding a round object which may be identified as the fruit of the bijāpūraka (Citrus medica) tree. Kālidāsa makes a reference in the Mālavikāgnimitra to a rule of etiquette that visitors waiting on persons of high rank did not go empty-handed, but with some present. The revered lady Parivrājkā directs her attendant to get a citron fruit from the king’s pleasure-garden with which as a mark of honour she would like to wait on the Queen.¹ The type of male and female worshippers (upāsaka-upāsikā) seems to have been fairly common, as shown by the presence of about fifty figures amongst the terracottas of Ahichchhatrā.

A special class under male worshippers is that representing foot-soldiers or palace-attendants, distinguished by their dress which consists of a knee-length coat (kaṇṭhuka)

¹ Sakhi bhavati ājñāpayati ariktapāginā asmādṛisa-janena tatrabhavatī devī drashtavyā. Tad bijāpūrakaṃ suśrūhitum = ichchhāni, Mālavikāgnimitra, III, ‘Friend, Her Ladyship directs that persons like her should not wait upon the Queen with empty hands. She therefore intends to honour her with a citron fruit’.
and a short dagger inserted in the belt on the proper right side. Bāna makes special reference to this feature in his description of uniformed foot-soldiers wearing short tunics, with a dagger secured in the broad belt passing twice round their body. The figures are tall and well-built, having long legs and an erect posture. In two male specimens we find a baton or staff (yasti) held in the right or left hand (cf. nos. 189, 192, 193) which also is mentioned as the distinctive symbol of palace-attendants.

Amongst the female figures also occurs a special Sub-type distinguished by a plain petticoat without folds on the lower body and a scarf (uttarāsāṅga) passing over the breast and on the left shoulder. This agrees with I Tsing’s account of the dress of female nuns, whom the clay figurines seem to represent. He calls the lower dress kusulaka from the similarity of its form to a cylindrical granary (kusula), an apt term to describe the stiff skirt on these figures. He also adds that the nuns did not conceal their busts under a bodice, as confirmed by the uncovered breast on these specimens.

The stratigraphical evidence of specimens from ACIII shows that both the male and the female figures of this class belong to Stratum IIIA and thus to the period A.D. 650–750.

**Sub-type (i). Male figurines**

188. Standing male figure (6-3”) of tall stature (prānśu, Harshacharita, p. 61) holding a round object in right hand, with left placed on thigh. He wears a close-fitting coat (kañchuka) falling to the knees, from which was derived the name kañchukī. A double belt fastened round the waist shows a frontal knot with two loose ends falling on either side. In the right side of the belt is a short sheathed dagger for which several names, such as kartarī, chhurikā, asiputrikā and khadgadhenukā, are recorded by Bāna. In comparison with the broad chest and hips, the waist is much too slender, a feature especially noted in the Prathārī type. Below the double cloth-belt (dviguna-pattā-pattikā) is a broad band tied across from the right hip to the left thigh to serve as a strap for the sword suspended on the left. In the available specimens the relevant projecting portion showing the sword is now missing. Between the legs is a tapering slit made by removing the clay from the knees to the ankles. Traces of red paint still visible.

No. 9423, ACVII, HV/32a, -42’.

189. Standing male figure (4-2”) wearing a kañchuka, a short dagger and a double flat band as in no. 188. The right hand holds the end of a stick or baton, similar to that in no. 192 below. This is in agreement with Bāna’s description of the royal door-keeper styled both prathārī and dawūrika: ‘Grasping in his left hand his sword, its handle rough with the pearls which tightly studded it, and in his right hand his burnished golden staff of office’ (śātakamabhi vetrayastī).4

No. 6708, ACIII, KIX/E10k, -45’; St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650. It seems more nearly to approximate to the lower limit.

190. Fragmentary torso (2-6”) of a standing male figure with a tunic and with a dagger suspended from the belt on right side.

No. 786, ACIV, MIX/N5b, -40’.

191. Torso (2-3”) of a male figure similar to no. 190 with a dagger and a tunic. Right hand suspended but without fruit.

No. 9022, ACVIII, GIV/E6c.

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1 Dvignapattā-pattikā-gādha-granthi-grahhitāsidhunā, Harshacharita, I, pp. 21 and 61.
3 Cf. pārśva-baddhena khadgena prathīṛas = tu dbadva, ‘the chamberlain should have a sword tucked on the side and hold a staff’, Vishnu'dharmottara Purāṇa, III, xlii, 41.
4 Harshacharita, p. 62.
192. Male figure (2-2") holding a staff of office (vetra-yashṭi) in right hand as in no. 189 above, and wearing a round collared tunic. Loop of a sash near right thigh. Flexed arms detached from the bust by removing the clay.

No. 3701, ACIII, KX/A9j, —42'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

193. Torso (1-9") similar to no. 192, but with the right hand suspended and the left holding a staff.

No. 432, ACIII, —43'.

(a) Torso (3") of a standing male figure wearing tunic, with suspended right hand holding fruit and left arm akimbo. This general form occurs in all the remaining figures of this type.

No. 3639, ACIII, KX/A4j, —44'; St. IIIa.

194. Torso (2-5") of a standing male figure wearing short knickers; left arm akimbo and right one suspended by the side, but without any weapon.

No. 3981, ACIV, MX/S3g, —44' 6'.

Sub-type (ii). Female (Bhikṣunī) figurines

The general style is that of a female figure in standing posture with suspended right hand holding a fruit and left placed on hip. In none of the figures of this group, either male or female, is the head now preserved. The upper scarf (uttarāśaṅga) covers the body and the left breast diagonally and is continued on the left shoulder, resembling the style of the ekāṃsikā chīvara (nos. 195, 196, 197). The petticoat is flounced at the lower end, giving it a cylindrical appearance (cf. the kusūlaka described above, p. 149). The feet, preserved, rest awkwardly on a slight base-plate.

195. Female figure of nun (2") with right hand in latāhasta pose and left on hip. Upper scarf covering left breast and shoulder.

No. 9346, ACVII, GV/D10a.

196. Female figure (2"), similar to above with full round breasts. Right hand missing.

No. 6470, ACIII, KIX/K10h, —46'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

197. Female figure (3-1"), similar to no. 195, only the portion below the waist being preserved. From a study of these three figures it appears that one end of the upper scarf thrown over the left shoulder passes on the back and hangs on the left side below the left fore-arm parallel to the leg.

No. 6052, ACII, JIX/R6f, —47'.

198. Lower fragment (3") of a similar female figure. One end of the upper scarf is spread out in front over the petticoat.

No. 445, ACIII, KX/F5g, —40½'.

(a) Standing female figure (3-3") with hands and drapery as above.

No. 4431, ACIII, KX/A1e, —42'; St. IIIa.

(b) Female figure (3") similar to above.

No. 6375, ACIII, KX/A1j, —44'; St. IIIa.

(c) Female figure (2") wearing petticoat, with hands as above.

No. 8127, ACIII, KIX/P7e, —48½'.
TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF AHICCHHATRA, DISTRICT BAREILLY, U.P.

199. Lower half portion (2-25") of a female figure with hands in the usual pose.
No. 10218, ACIV, MIX/S6f.

200. Female figure wearing foldless skirts as above, but with the left end of the upper scarf falling prominently on her left side.
No. 3643, ACIII, KX/A4j, —44'.

201. Female figure with the pose of the two hands as above, wearing a petticoat and a scarf.
No. 9261, ACVII, GV/D8b, —39'.

TYPE 19. NUDE FEMALE FIGURES

A dozen clay figurines show a nude woman either moving with bent body in a dishevelled and disconsolate posture, or simply standing, with the right hand drawn parallel to the body and left akimbo.

Nudity is contrary to the conventions of Gupta art. The present type, however, finds its explanation in terms of a distinct iconographic formula. On the basis of literary evidence it may be identified with the miserable naked woman symbolizing adversity. She is spoken of as roaming in village-streets as a portent of coming misfortune. Bāna refers to her by the name of Koṭavī: ‘Shaking her fore-finger as if to count the dead, a naked woman wandered all day long in the parks’. Hemachandra (twelfth century) explains Koṭavī as an undraped woman moving about with dishevelled hair and oppressed with deep shame. Keśava, to whom we are indebted for further light on her proper place in the pantheon, enumerates Koṭavī as one of the numerous forms of Ambikā. In fact, as Vincent Smith has observed, Koṭavī was an ancient South Indian goddess assimilated in the fold of the Brahmanical deities under one of the forms of Durgā. The rôle assigned to her, however, was inauspicious.

Her admission to the Hindu pantheon seems to have been accomplished about the early Gupta period, at any rate some time before Bānabhaṭṭa, whose reference to her gives the impression that her form and functions were well understood in his time. The terracottas of the Koṭavī type seem to have served an apotropaic purpose, apparently used as offerings to ward off coming evil and ill-luck.

Out of a dozen specimens, all characterized by their emphatic nudity, four were unearthed in ACIII in Strata IIIb and IIIc, indicating a period between c. 450 and 650 A.D.

202. Nude woman (4-75") standing with body turned towards her right, the left leg straight, the right leg bent at knee and crossed behind the left. Right arm flexed, left missing. Produced from a single rough mould in coarse clay.
No. 6879, ACIII, KIX/E6h, —44'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650.

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1 Harshacharita, Cowell's translation, p. 195; text, p. 201, gaṇayantīva gatāyushas = tarjana-taralayā tarjanyā divasam = āta vātakeshu Koṭavī.
2 Abhidhānachintamani, text III, 98, ‘nagnā tu Koṭavī’; commentary, nagnā vivastrā yoshid muktakesity = āgamaḥ, koṭena lajñāvasād yāti Koṭavī.
4 "The most powerful demoness of the southern races, Koṭavai, the "Victorious", has now taken her place in the Hindu pantheon as Umā or Durgā, the consort of Śiva." V. A. Smith, The Early History of India, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1914), p. 457.
203. Nude woman (3") standing as above with fore-part of the body slightly bent to her right. The position of the hands is distinct in this specimen showing the right arm flexed and hand placed on the abdomen, and left akimbo. Three pendent tassels about her legs similar to those in no. 202.

No. 8115, ACIII, KX/F2k, -47'; St. IIIc: A.D. 450-550.

(a) Torso (2.5") of a nude woman standing with bust inclined to left.

No. 6442, ACIII, KIX/K9g, -46'; St. IIIb.

204. Torso (3.5") of a nude woman standing with body inclined a little to her left. Both arms are bent at elbow and thrown outwards.

No. 1108, ACXV, RVII/Y9j, -49'.

205. Legs of a similar figure striding to her right.

No. 11149, ACXV, RVII/X4e, -50'.

Specimen nos. 202-205 are of brick-like hardness; they are from single moulds and are different in style from the following ones:—

(a) Torso of a nude female figure (2.5") standing in a frontal pose.

No. 10060, ACI.

(b) Fragmentary torso of a similar figure, but inclined slightly to the right. The left arm hangs parallel to the body. Cast in a double mould.

No. 11057, ACXV, RVII/X6f, -50'.

206. Torso of a nude female figure, with the left arm hanging by the side, the right arm bent at elbow and stretched outwards; obese belly, but undeveloped breasts. Cast in a double mould.

No. 11509/11, ACI, Locus 85, -50'.

207. Torso (2") of a nude standing woman with the right hand suspended by the side and the left placed on the thigh. Pressed from a single mould in finer clay.

No. 6778, ACIII, XX/A1g, -45'; St. IIIb.

(a) Torso as above (2.5").

No. 9202, ACVII, GV/C9k, -39'.

GROUP VII. RIDERS

TYPE 20. HORSE- AND ELEPHANT-RIDERS (AŚVAPĀLA AND HASTIPĀKA TYPE)

(STRATUM IIIb: A.D. 550-650)

The Rider-type consists of (i) riders on horse-back (aśvapāla), and (ii) riders on elephants (hastipāka). Stylistically the two are linked together, but the former predominates, of the latter there being only three specimens out of twenty-six. Each figure is produced from a double mould by pressing the two moulds on to a solid core of clay and then paring the surplus clay with a sharp instrument, which leaves a mark of cutting along the entire joint. Only in one case (no. 208), the figure was made hollow by pressing each half separately in its respective mould and then joining the two parts together.

The most remarkable thing about these figures is the slab-like body of the rider, with the minimum of detail. There is a close affinity in style between this type and the figures.
of riders from Seleucia. Another foreign feature of this type is the conical skull-cap tilting backwards and worn on a receding forehead. Other details of costume are absent. ‘The horse-rider should wear the Northern dress’, this statement of the Vishnudharmottara can be verified at least in the case of the kulah-like cap on the head. Bāna refers to the kulah under the Sanskritized form of khola (Harshacharita, p. 207).

The horses generally are of light weight, slim and wiry, with the neck rising in a prominent curve in front of the rider. This tallies with the description of Bānabhaṭṭa comparing a horse’s neck to the bent upper portion of a sacrificial post (see no. 210). This type may be identified with the Kamboja horse, a sure-footed wiry animal, referred to by Bāna (Harshacharita, p. 62). Kamboja was the ancient Pamir country coinciding with the headwaters of the Oxus. This horse can be recognized in several paintings at Ajantā, and seems to have been introduced on a large scale in India by the Šakas.

Only in one example (no. 216), which is different from all the rest, do we find the horse entirely modeled by hand showing a large type of animal with broad and heavy muscle. It seems to be a type made familiar by the Huṇas and, at any rate, is reminiscent of the enormous Chinese horses known in the T’ang period. Further evidence from excavation is required to throw definite light on its origin and the time of its first introduction into India. Owing to their large size, steeds of this type came in for special mention by Bānabhaṭṭa as mahāvājī and bhīhadaśva (Harshacharita, pp. 23 and 186).

The details of the horses’ trappings are also preserved in some specimens. They consist of the martingale (talasāraka, according to Bāna; cf. no. 214); flywhisk held erect between the ears (on the same specimen), reins and nose-piece. In one specimen (no. 215), we see the horse cantering and the rider seated like a jockey with his hands free and legs turned backwards.

The stratigraphical evidence of the finds from site ACIII allows us to date this type to the Gupta epoch. Of the five specimens, three come from Stratum IIIb (c. 550–650 A.D.). The modelled figure of the large horse was found at -42’ level in Stratum IIIa (650–750 A.D.), showing that the latter was subsequent to the lightweight horses of the Iranian type.

Sub-type (i). Horse-riders (aśvapāla)

208. Male rider (2-3”) showing only the left half, hollow at the back as each half was pressed separately in the mould and then joined together. Close-fitting kulah cap with a round knobbled top; round ear-ring in left ear. Receding fore-head, long nose, short-pointed chin. The whole body is slab-like with the arms forming part of the bust.


209. Male rider (1-8”) with a thin slab-like solid body, knobbled skull-cap and facial features similar to the above. Short pendants in ears instead of round kundala. Broad mark of the paring of surplus clay on the front side of the body.

No. 4460, ACIII, KX/A2f, -42½’; St. IIIb.

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1 Van Ingen, op. cit., no. 442a.
2 Udichyaveshas = tu kartavyas = turagānām tu sadinah, III, xlii, 38.
3 Yāpānupūrvā prákratadagra-grīva, Harshacharita, text, p. 62.
4 Lady Herringham, Ajantā, pl. XLII; the horse-riders there also wear pointed caps.
5 See the representation of horses with riders on the belt of the image of Chashfahāna from Mathurā, An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1911-12, pl. LV, 7
210. Male rider on horseback (2'-5''). The horse stands in profile with its long raised neck curving in front. The legs of the horse are joined solidly to each other and shaped like a flattened roll of clay. Cast from a double mould, with marks of joining along the whole central line of the figure.
   No. 1098, ACIII, KX/F4d, −44½'; St. IIIb.

211. Male rider (1'-5'') with slab-like body and an exaggerated long nose, which is of double breadth due to awry joining of the seam of the two moulds.
   No. 9090, ACVII, −37½'.

212. Horse's head (1'-2''), being part of a male rider on horseback. Pricked ears and erect flywhisk.
   No. 9365, ACVII, −33'.

213. Male rider on horseback, complete with the feet of the horse resting on the base-plate.
   No. 6878, ACIII, KIX/K10j, −46'.

214. Male rider on horseback similar to above, with an erect flywhisk between the ears and the martingale (talasāraka)² passing from the mouth of the animal to the breast-band.
   No. 838, ACI.

215. Male rider on horseback showing the horse cantering and the rider seated on the back of the animal like a jockey with legs turned backwards.
   No. 9066, ACVII, −37'.

216. Horse with a heavy body, broad neck and large muscles. Long loosely falling manes are indicated by incised lines on both sides of the neck. Double reins on each side are applied and grooved. Two forked spikes on the nose project from the upper end of the bit. This appears to be the kind of rough bridle (kharakhalīna) which, as Bāna says, had spiked ends on the bit pressing against the long muzzle.² He also does not fail to notice that this kind of hard bit furnished with pointed ends was being used for steeds of larger size (mahāvāja),³ probably a reference to the new type of horses introduced by the Hūnas into India.
   No. 6315, ACIII, −42'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

Sub-type (ii). Elephant-rider (hastipaka)

217. Male rider (2'') on the back of a tusked elephant. Style similar to that of the horse-rider. Made from a double mould.
   No. 1247, ACIII, KX/F5b, −39'; St. I-II.

(a) Male rider on elephant.
   No. 9048, ACVII, −37½'.

(b) There is also a third specimen with an unverified number. Although the material is limited to a few specimens only, it appears that the elephant-rider type was later in sequence than the horse-rider type.

¹ Harshacharita, p. 205.
² Dīrgha-ghrāṇa-liṇa-lālikā, Harshacharita, text, I, p. 23; Cowell's translation, p. 18.
³ Harshacharita, p. 23. Another reference to a rider on the back of an enormous horse is found as bṛhadaśvavāra (Harshacharita, p. 186).
GROUP VIII: FOREIGN TYPES

TYPE 21. FIGURES WEARING FOREIGN HEAD-DRESS

There are three heads from Ahichchhatrā wearing a distinctive head-dress of a foreign style.

218. One of them, apparently a soldier’s head, wears a kyrbsia, the two flappets of which are shown on the cheeks. It may be compared with the head of a soldier from Seleucia illustrated by van Ingen.¹

219-220. The other two heads are wearing a kalathos-like head-dress. That from ACI is part of a complete standing male figure with arms suspended by the side. The long raised head-dress is secured by a string of pearls in both. These two heads with kalathos may be compared with the Seleucia figure no. 1081c (pl. LXIII, fig. 454) and no. 1189b (pl. LXVI, fig. 484). The faces are of the oval type resembling those of the Roman figurines.

No. 591, ACI, −40½r; no. 11253, ACXV.

TYPE 22. FIGURES WITH FOREIGN ETHNIC FEATURES (STRATA IIIc–IIIa: A.D. 450–750)

An important group of terracottas from Ahichchhatrā, mostly heads, is distinguished by one general characteristic, namely that the faces betray foreign ethnic types. Their non-Indian character is at once apparent, although it is not yet possible to determine special sub-types amongst the group itself. During the first six centuries of the Christian era a succession of foreign races entered North India, amongst whom the Parthians, the Śākas, the Kushānas, the Muruṇḍas, the Kedāra-Kushānas, and the White Hūnas or Hephthalites, and possibly also the Sāsānians, were masters of settled empires and had left their stamp on the culture and population of the country. Evidence shows that the Indian modellers working through the medium of clay reacted to the presence of these foreign types in their midst and preserved their salient features in the figurines now available.

Of about fifty figures, only half a dozen are from ACIII site with detailed record of level and stratum. On classifying this material according to strata we find that it ranges roughly from Stratum IIIc to IIIa, i.e. from about A.D. 450 to 750. But their precise identification and the fixing of their relative sequence are not yet possible owing to the paucity of reliable material. Pending the determining of the occupation-levels synchronizing with the Kushānas and the Hūnas in India, this important group of foreign heads from Ahichchhatrā can only be classified tentatively. The limited evidence at our disposal tends to show that the heads with goat-like eyes (Sub-type iii) represent the Sāsānian Persians, the heads with round protruding eyes (Sub-type v) the Kedāra-Kushānas, and the large heads with hollow cylindrical bodies (Sub-type vi) the Hephthalite Hūnas. Rājghāt, Mathurā, Ghosī, Bhiṭā and other sites have also yielded terracotta figurines of foreigners, but on all these sites the evidence of stratification is defective, and we are not yet in a position to focus adequate attention on this important question of Indian history.

Sub-type (i). Profile faces to right

221. Fragmentary face (5·25") of life-size male figure with curly moustaches and eyes showing pupils. The face is turned to the right. The coins of the Kedāra-Kushānas show that the bust of the king facing right was a convention followed by the feudatories of the Sāsānian empire, whereas the bust of the king facing front was

¹Figurines from Seleucia, pl. LXVII, fig. 492. See also fig. 462 for a female head wearing the same kind of head-dress.
a privilege of the Sāsānian kings only.¹ The present example agrees with this tradition, and probably belongs to the period of the Kedāra-Kushānas in India. It was found in Stratum IIIc and may be assigned to the middle of the fifth century.

No. 10801, ACIII, KIX/K1c, —47′.

(a) Fragment of male head facing right showing incised eyebrows and diamond-shaped eyes. Modelled by hand.

No. 6130, ACV, QVIII/P4g, —66¼′.

Sub-type (ii). Heads with a projecting broad diadem or turban

222. Male head (3-5′) with a projecting turban-roll at the back of the forehead, marked by incised grooves to indicate twisted folds. Brows and eyes marked by incised lines.

No. 8193, ACIII, KIX/K8b, —46′; St. IIIb : A.D. 550–650.

223. Head (3′) with a much more prominent turban-roll marked by incised vertical grooves. Round face. From a single mould.

No. 9078, ACVII, GV/C7c, —38′.

224. Head (3′) with a projecting turban-roll with deep incised marks.

No. 3028, ACV.

225. Head (2-5′) of a female figure with a chaplet fringing the base of the hair.

No. 6251, ACV, QVIII/Z8b, —56′.

226. Female head (3-5′) with a bicornate rectangular head-dress and broad slit ears.

No. 9392, ACVII, HV/H10e.

Sub-type (iii). Heads with goat-like eyes

This Sub-type is characterized by conspicuously raised eye-balls giving the effect of applied eyes, lenticular in form. It seems to represent the Sāsānian Persians, i.e. the Pārāsikas well-known during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods and engaged in frequent intercourse with India. The face in these figurines almost illustrates the description of the Persians by Ammianus Marcellinus: ‘The Persians were almost all slender with dark or livid complexion, hard goat-like eyes, arched eye-brows meeting in the middle, carefully tended beard and long frizzy hair.’²

227. Female head (2-5′) with projecting roll of hair at the back of forehead, prominent goat-like eyes with pierced holes for eyeballs and long pointed chin.

No. 9198, ACVII, GV/S9j, —38′.

228. Female head (2′) with rectangular head-dress arranged at the back of the head a top-knot of hair projecting on the head, round dot on forehead, lenticular eyes, and squat rectangular face. Suspension-hole in the crest.

No. 8004, ACIV, MIX/S9g, —42¼′.

¹ A New History of the Indian People, VI, pp. 21-22.
² Clément Huart, Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization (London, 1927), p. 166; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXIII, 6, 75–84.
229. Standing female figure (4'-5") with face and eyes similar to no. 228, elongated ears with a double ring in left ear, arms flexed and placed on the hips in the pose of a dancer.

No. 934, ACIV, MIX/H6k, —41'.

230. Head (3') with lenticular eyes and a raised circular dot on the forehead. In all examples of this Sub-type and those of no. (ii), the figures were first pressed out of a single mould and then the arched eyebrows, eyelids, hair, etc., were marked in the form of incised grooves.

No. 9401, ACVII, KX/L1b.

231. Female head with projecting roll of hair adorned by a garland, a dot between the eyebrows and lenticular eyes. A tenon below.

No. 9373, ACVII, GV/E1d, —40'.

232. Woman's head (4') with prominent lenticular eyes, hair arranged in projecting locks adorned by a crest-jewel and a garland on the forehead. Prominent appendages on both sides giving a rectangular framing to the face; conspicuous cheek-bones meeting in a double heavy chin. Baked to brick-like hardness.

No. 11317; a surface-find.

233. Female head (2') with a very prominent nose and cheek-bones as in no. 232.

No. 6721, ACIII, KIX/K10a, —44'; St. IIIa: 650-750 A.D.

234. Female head (5'-5") with broad projecting hair above head. A long tenon below.

No. 3142, ACV, QVIII/Z7b, —55'.

235. Female head (1'-5") showing aquiline nose, a dot on the forehead, lenticular eyes and projecting cheek-bones meeting in a pointed chin, which makes the lower portion of the face look almost triangular. The hair and appendages round the head are now detached.

No. 6722, ACIII, KIX/K7d, —46'; St. IIIa.

Sub-type (iv). Rolled heads in brick-like hardness

236. Male head (4'-25") with an elaborate head-dress consisting of a frontal globe placed between two crossing rolls of turban. A high cylindrical roll of clay forms the background of the head. The features of the face as well as the high cylindrical form of the head-dress show affinities with some of the heads on the coins of the Hūnas.¹

No. 8375, ACIII, KIX/E8h, —46'/4; St. IIIc: A.D. 450-550.

237. Male head (3'-25") wearing a high crown with a broad face and chin, and lips set in a round depression formed by the cheek muscles.

ACV, surface-find.

238. Head (3'-5") wearing a cylindrical kulah cap, embroidered in front by a double row of punched circlets. Tenon below.

No. 10698, ACII, KVIII/D10b, —48'.

239. Terracotta female head with a dot between the arched eyebrows, long ears and full cheeks meeting in a double chin.

No. 3589, ACIII, KX/G9d, —35'.

¹ Cf. A. Cunningham, Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians, pl. X, figs. 9-11.
240. Male figure (4") wearing a high head-dress with a globular knot in front similar to no. 236. Eyebrows indicated by small indentation marks; double collar on neck indicated by punched circlets as on no. 238; arms and bust crudely modelled as in the dwarf type.

No. 10622, ACII, R. 140, −42'.

Sub-type (v). Heads with round eyes

This is a small group marked either (a) with round eyes indicated by circular applied pellets and a short slit mouth, or (b) with protruding goggle eyes. Both these features are traceable in the faces of figures on the coins of the Kedāra-Kushānas, and possibly this type has reference to the peculiarities of the facial type of the later Kushānas who ruled in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. in North-West India.

241. Female head (1-75") with eyes indicated by circular applied pellets, a forehead jewel with pricked surface, slit mouth, and hair arranged in two hanging strands forming a loop at the back of the head.

No. 11117, ACXV, RVII/Y3g, −49½'.

242. Female head with big round pupils, slit mouth, hair arranged in a projecting topknot, and elongated ears wearing flat grooved rings.

No. 9315, ACVII, GIV/E6c, −42'.

243. Female head (2-5") with projecting hair in vertical grooves continued at the back, a round dot on the forehead and eyes with protruding eyeballs.

No. 6170, ACV, QVIII/Z9c, −56'.

Sub-type (vi). Hollow cylindrical bodies

A limited number of figurines from Ahichchhatrā show a hollow cylindrical body with the tenon of a moulded head inserted into it. The workmanship is extremely crude. Most of the figures are from ACIII, Strata IIIa-b, indicating a period c. A.D. 550–750. As figures in this style have been found on other ancient sites also, it appears to be an established type representing some foreign element in the indigenous population. Stylistically the figures seem to be related to the figures of the Hephthalites represented on their coins in a similar round cylindrical style.¹ It is, however, necessary to confirm this from better-preserved specimens than are at present available in the Ahichchhatrā collection.

244. Torso of a female figure (6-5") with a cylindrical body, hollow inside, wearing a broad flat torque, a grooved ring in the ear, bodice and skirts (choli and lañhdā), a scarf thrown diagonally in front and on the back.

No. 8133, ACIII, KIX/K4e, −45'; St. IIIa : A.D. 650–750.

245. Head and bust (6") of a female figure with hollow tenoned head fixed in a round bust and hair falling in two locks on shoulders. Much damaged and worn surface. It is the only specimen with a head preserved in this group.


246. Female torso (6") with splayed conical bust, wearing a sleeved bodice.

No. 8666, ACIII, KIX/K10f, −48'; St. IVa : A.D. 250–350. It appears to be a stylistic anachronism in this Stratum, i.e. a case of a later figure intruding into an earlier level, which must have been disturbed.

¹ Cf. Cunningham, op. cit., pl. VIII, figs. 8, 14 and 16.
A. Type 22, figures with foreign ethnic features. (Central figure in lower row is No. 244.)

B. 258, Type 23, Dampati figure; 263, Type 25, plaque with Kinnara-mithuna
(a) Fragmentary torso of a male figure (3·5''), wearing a necklace and a scarf.
No. 6373, ACIII, KX/A1j, −44'; St. IIIa.

(b) Similar to (a), but without scarf (2·5'').
No. 6776, ACIII, KIX/K8d, −46'; St. IIIa.

Sub-type (vii). Miscellaneous figures

247. Male head (1·5'') with long Pārśī nose in one plane with the receding forehead, wearing a high cap covering the nape.
No. 1409, ACIII, KX/F6g, −41'.

248. Male head (2·25'') wearing a round cap with squat rectangular face.
No. 6674, ACV, QVIII/P3j, −65'.

249. Head and bust (2·2'') of a female figure with incised diamond-eyes and hooked nose.
No. 9109, ACVII, GV/C9f, −37½'.

250. Prominent head (3·5'') with plump cheeks, double round chin and eyes without pupils.
No. 8434, ACIII, KIX/E9h, −47'; St. IIIc: A.D. 450–550.

251. Male head with tenon (3'') of a crudely modelled figure, having deep incised eyes. Face with rectangular outline and short chin.
No. 3514, ACIII.

252. Fragment (7·5'') showing the right leg of a male figure, wearing a striped tunic falling to the middle of the thighs, and trousers which have vertical folds up to the knees and then arched horizontal folds down to the shanks. This kind of lower dress may be identified with the piṅgā of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, explained as jaṅghālā, i.e. long trousers falling to the shanks, worn by kings moving in the train of Harsha. A scarf is arranged in a thick round loop in front of the body. Coarse clay with profuse mixture of rice-husk.
No. 4406, ACIII, KX/A3j, −42'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

253. Young female figure with elaborate coiffure and ornaments. A long braid of hair falls on the left shoulder in a graceful serpentine sweep. The braid on the shoulder appears to have been a style in female coiffure; e.g., it was adopted by the heroine Kādambarī in her love-separation.* She wears many armlets and bangles on the right arm which placed behind the head, possibly an amorous gesture. A scarf passing just above the breasts leaves them bare.
* No. 8096, ACIV, MIX/S3h, −44'.

254. Woman (6'') with moulded head inserted in a round cylindrical body, wearing half-sleeved choli and a crescent-shaped ornament round the neck. She has a hooked nose with squat rectangular face and short chin, slit mouth and a braid of hair falling at the back in a doubled pigtail.
No. 10100, ACI, Locus 87, −46'.

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1 Harshacharita, VII, p. 207. Bāṇa refers to two kinds of trousers, full-length called piṅgā (explained as jaṅghālā), as in the present figure, and half-length or knickers called satulā explained as ardha-jaṅghālā, as in the Kinnara-mithuna plaque (no. 303).
2 Anūṣena veṇīt, Kādambarī, text, p. 253.
(a) Female head with lenticular eyes, a wreath on head and pendants in ears.
No. 10861, ACIII, KX/A3f, —47½'; St. IIIc.

255. Male head (5") wearing a wreath and a turban, and having a tenon below.
No. 10185, ACI, R. 112, —54½'.

256. Female head (2-5") with protruding eyeballs, eyebrow marked by incised lines; hair combed backwards in raised strands.
No. 6227, ACV, QVIII/Z8b, —56'.

257. Head (2") wearing a raised crown surmounted by a topknot. Its drawn-out face, heavy eyelids, pointed chin and the high head-dress covering half of the forehead show affinities with the classic Khmer art of Cambodia. Its discovery in Stratum I (ninth—eleventh centuries) points to the same period as its date.
No. 1419, ACIII, KX/F7g, —42'; St. I.

GROUP IX. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES AND TYPES

TYPE 23. DAMPATI FIGURES

Dampati plaques, which are a common feature of the terracottas from the early levels of the Śuṅga and Pañchāla periods (200 B.C.—A.D. 100), are comparatively rare in the Gupta and post-Gupta age, only two being found at Ahichchhatra.

One is a small plaque (no. 258, ht. 2' 5") showing a man fondling a woman with his right hand on her chin. Typical Gupta features are the honeycomb style of hair on the man's head, round ear-rings in the ears of both, short striped loin-cloth (jaṅghikā) worn by the male figure, ekāvalī pearl necklace round the woman's neck, full breasts touching each other, and a beaded margin on the plaque. It comes from ACIII, KX/A8k, —40', which places it in Stratum II (A.D. 750—850), but on grounds of style it might be a little earlier.

The other specimen (no. 259) is a brick with a round moulding on one of the narrow sides, which was used as part of a jamb. Its upper side bears a Dampati figure in bold relief, the woman on the left being now partially damaged. The hair of the male figure is parted in the middle and then combed into locks on the two sides and falling on the shoulders. On the forehead is a double row of curls disposed in a big sweeping band from the right shoulder to the left.

The most distinctive feature of the decoration of the male figure is the long serpentine necklace, which, descending from the left shoulder, sweeps down to the knees and is held at the breast between the thumb and the index-finger of the right hand with palm facing outward. This conspicuous kind of necklace seems to have been a distinguishing feature of male ornamentation during the post-Gupta period and was known by the significant name of śesha-hāra, i.e. a necklace resembling the serpent Śeṣa, according to Bāṇabhaṭṭa.¹ This style of serpentine necklace also continued in the medieval period and finds mention in the Naishadhacharita of Śrīharsha (twelfth century) under the name of duṇḍubhaka, so called from its resembling in form a duṇḍubha snake.² It is found on some images of the

¹ Kādambarī, pp. 203, 212.
² Mallikā-kusuma-duṇḍubhakena, Naish., XXI, 43. Īśanadeva, a commentator (A.D. 1322), records that the duṇḍubhaka was made by roping together several garlands known in popular language as toḍara. Nārāyaṇa,
medieval period. It was specifically a male ornament and its tradition has come down to our own days in the form of the gajrā necklace worn by men.

258. No. 3610, ACIII, KX/A8k, —40'; St. II: A.D. 750-850.

259. No. 8159, ACIII, a surface-find (ht. 7", breadth 6", thickness of brick, excluding relief, 1-75").

**TYPE 24. HOLLOW ROUND PLAQUES**

Three hollow round plaques, similar in style to those from Rājghāṭ and other sites, have been found at Ahichchhatrā.

260. Hollow plaque (diameter 3' 7"; thickness 5") showing a lion crouching under a tree with fruits resembling by their eyes and suckers a pine-apple. This resemblance is only superficial, as the pine-apple does not grow on a tree, and the fruit is not of much antiquity in India. According to Watt it was introduced by the Portuguese in Bengal in 1594, but being mentioned by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs it its introduction into this country may have been rather earlier. Mr. C. McCann, lately Joint Curator of the Bombay Natural History Society, whom I consulted, is inclined to identify the fruits with those of the Screwpine, Pandanus, female plant. He writes: 'The foliaceous appendages giving them the resemblance to a pine-apple are possibly the sheath of the inflorescence. The Y-branching and the stilt-roots below the lion also point to the plant being a Pandanus. Some forest species of the genus are very large compared with the ordinary keora seen along seashores—P. odoratissima'.

On the reverse is a floral design consisting of a lotus in the centre encircled by a coiled garland, with a beaded border separating the two. At one end is a small lug with a suspension-hole showing that it was used for decorative hanging.

No. 8135, ACIII, KX/L1d, —48'; St. IIId: A.D. 350-450, which agrees with its style.

261. Plaque (diameter 3-5"; thickness 1-15") showing granular indentations, perhaps for use as a foot-rubber, on the reverse, and a soldier holding an elongated concave shield in the left hand and some weapon in the raised right hand, now broken on the obverse. The soldier is engaged in the act of curbing an elephant. This was a familiar type in the post-Gupta period, referred to as vaṇṭha by Bāṇabhaṭṭa. The name was applied to persons who, as bachelors, developed such enormous muscular strength as to enable them to face with reckless courage the might of an elephant. They were enrolled as foot-soldiers whose services seem to have been specially sought in the elephant-wing of the army. King Harsha's elephant-squad contained a number of these reckless heroes.

The figures are in low relief, and the elephant with its crouching legs and rolled body is similar to the animal often depicted in the scene of Māyādevi's dream on Gupta stone-reliefs at Sārnāth.

- No. 3662, ACIII, KX/F3f, —45'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.


2 Vaṇṭhāḥ akritavīvahāḥ tarunā ye daṇḍam = adāya hastinām dāram = ākarshayanti, pattaya ity-anne, Śaṅkara's commentary on Harshacharita, p. 211.


4 Cf. D. R. Sahni, Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth (Calcutta, 1914), pl. XX, the scene of 'conception and nativity' in stone-relief no. C(α)2.
262. Round hollow plaque showing a male figure with his legs terminating in the open jaws of two fish-tailed crocodiles, a motif familiar in the art of Mathūrā.¹

No. 10183, ACI, R. 153, -24'.

![FIG. 2. Plaque showing different poses of elephants (no. 262 (a))](image)

(a) Round plaque carved on one side with a study of elephant poses, and on the other with birds of various kinds. The elephants, including both male and female, young and old, are arranged in three round bands, showing in the centre a full-grown tusker standing facing, in the second band a row of eight, and in the third of twelve elephants. This was one of the most exquisite and interesting finds from Ahichchhatrā, and a unique specimen of its kind in Indian art. Unfortunately before it could be photographed it was reported missing, and its only surviving record is an unfinished pencil-sketch of the obverse side done by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti showing a study of elephants in various poses, full of life and movement (fig. 2).

TYPE 25. KINNARA-MITHUNA PLAQUES

Three clay plaques depicting the Kinnara-mithuna motif have been found at Ahichchhatrā.

263. Rimmed disc from a single mould showing the Kinnara pair standing to right.

No. 9242, ACVII, GV/D7e, -41'.

264. Plaque with a flat base, bearing on both sides a relief depicting the same scene, namely, a galloping horse with human bust ridden by another figure. The anklets round the foot of the rider show that the figure borne on the back was female. The horse is caparisoned and adorned with prominent bosses (chakraka) in the side-girth. The plaque is very similar to the Mathūrā stone sculpture carved on both faces with the figure of a galloping female centaur with her companion.²

No. 6827, ACIII, KIX/K3a, -44'; St. IIIb: A.D. 550–650.

The third (see no. 303 below) is a big square plaque, once fixed in the frieze of Temple ACI, and is in the best traditions of Gupta art, preserving many details of drapery and ornamentation. In it the main figure is a female Kinnari with a human bust combined with the body of a horse, accompanied by her male partner who is shown as a normal human being.


² Ibid., p. 111, relief F1.
A. 259, Type 23, Dampati figure; 265, Type 26, drummer

B. Type 24, hollow round plaques
The Kinnara-mithuna is an ancient motif of Indian art being found at Sānchī, Mathurā, Rājghāṭ, Ahichchhatrā and Bādāmī. The extant specimens show that in all cases, except one at Sānchī (Marshall, III, pl. LXXV) and another at Ahichchhatrā, the principal striding figure is that of the centaurea. Literary evidence refers to two kinds of Kinnaras: one with human head joined to an equestrian body, and the other with horse's head joined to a human body. In art the variety with the face of a horse is found in illustrations of the Aśvamukhi Yakṣī at Mathurā and elsewhere, represented alone. As pairs of romantic lovers, the figures of Kinnaras always show a human face with the body of a horse for the striding figure and a normal human being for the rider on its back.

The correct nomenclature of this motif can be gleaned from the Rāmāyaṇa where the pair is designated as the passionate Kinnara-dvandva, dallying on a hilly terrain. In the Kādambarī, Bānabhaṭṭa also mentions a Kinnara-mithuna beguiling prince Chandrāpiḍa away from his army and then ascending a rocky region, finally to disappear from view. He also describes a Kinnara-mithuna amongst the inmates of a king's palace. In view of this literary testimony, the correctness of the name Kinnara-mithuna as applied to this motif may be accepted.

**Type 26. Drummer or Dundubhika**

265. Fragment of a plaque showing in a sunken panel a squatting figure of a drummer beating a round drum (dundubhi) with an angular stick called kopa. He wears a sleeved and striped tunic and short trousers with a belt fastened in the middle of the body. The face is round and plump, ears long and cloven, and the hair combed and arranged in sweeping locks terminating in voluted curls (fig. 1, 10). This coiffure of the peacock-feather style (barha-bhāra-keśa), common at Rājghāṭ, is rare at Ahichchhatrā. The form of the dundubhika type is confirmed by a similar figure repeated on plaque no. 304.

No. 10655, ACII, R. 127, -43'.

(a) Elongated brick (3-5") showing on the narrow side the projecting head and bust of a male figure depicting a Vidyādhara looking downward (avānmukha-vidyādhrā).

No. 11602, ACII, Room 137, -46'.

**Type 27. Miscellaneous Male and Female Figures**

**Sub-type (i). Female heads**

The female heads noted below are specimens detached from terracottas of larger size. They are distinguished by their bold relief, all being produced from single deep moulds,

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1 Sānchī, J. Marshall, Monuments of Sānchī (Delhi, 1941), III, pl. LXXIX, fig. 81b; pl. LXXV, fig. 7b; Mathurā, Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1934 (Leyden, 1936), pl. IVe; Rājghāṭ, Rai Krishnadasa, ‘A Kinnara-mithuna Terracotta Case from Rājghāṭ, Benares’, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, XV (July, 1942), pp. 43-4 and pl. III. There is a Kinnari figure on a door-jamb in the Malegitti temple at Bādāmī.

2 Kinnarā dviṣṭhāḥ proktā nyāvaktāḥ hayavigrāhāḥ nṛidehāḥ = chāvavaktāḥ = cha tathāyena parikārtītāḥ, Vishiṣṭharmottara, III, xiii, 13-14. See also Kumārasambhava, I, 11 for reference to Aśvamukhi.

3 Śailapraśstheṣu ramyesu paṣy = emān kāmaharṣanān Kinnarān dvandvāsō bhadrā ramamāṇān manasvīnāh, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, xciv, 12. The verse is literally illustrated in the big plaque from Ahichchhatrā (no. 303).

4 Kādambarī, p. 119.

5 Upāhrita-kinnara-mithunāṇī rājakulam, Kādambarī, p. 89.

6 Daṇḍī refers to this hair-style as līlā-mayāra-barha-bhaṅgi in his Daśakumāracharita (N.S. Press edition), pp. 46 and 58.
and are different in style from the terracotta female heads in low relief from shallow moulds, found mostly in Stratum IIIa on site ACIII (Type 16). The heads show a pleasing variety of hair-styles, partaking of the traditions of Gupta art as developed during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

266. Head of a female figure (4') with a roundel framing the head, wearing a triple ring in the cloven side of the right ear and a spiral pendant in the left.

No. 10841, ACIII, KX/F1f, -50\(\frac{1}{2}\)'; St. IVb: A.D. 200-300. Stylistically it should be assigned to about the sixth century.

267. Woman's head (3•25") with projecting top of hair at back, curls on forehead and a fillet fastened in the middle. Long rings in ears.

No. 6374, ACIII, KX/A1j, -44\(\frac{1}{4}\)'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

268. Woman's head (2•25") with wavy hair and round rings in ears.

No. 6710, ACIII, KX/E10h, -43\(\frac{1}{4}\)'; St. IIIa.

269. Woman's head (3•5") with hair combed in plain locks and curls at the sides and adorned with a flowery boss in the middle.

No. 6785, ACIII, KIX/E9h, -42\(\frac{1}{4}\)'; St. II: A.D. 750-850.

270. Woman's head (2•5") adorned with a crescent.

No. 3644, ACIII, KX/A8j, -42'; St. IIIa.

271. Woman's head (2') showing only the face. A grooved line from the centre of the eyebrows to the upper line of the forehead. Coarse clay with profuse mixture of rice husk.

No. 4459, ACIII, KX/A1f, -42'.

272. Woman's head (4') showing only the upper left side. Wavy hair ending in spiral alakāvali on the side. The spirals are indicated by deep winding grooves.

No. 10621, ACII, R. 194, -53\(\frac{1}{4}\').

273. Woman's head (3•5") with beautiful coiffure of plaited strands combed back and gathered in a knot on the nape. A flower-ornament is worn on the head. Double round ear-ring in left ear.

No. 10699, ACII, KVIII/E2j.

274. Woman's head (3') with elaborate coiffure consisting of a row of single locks arranged on the forehead, two loose locks hanging on the cheeks and plaited locks combed backwards and gathered behind the head in a big globular mass interwoven with a heavy garland. Above the left ear is seen a mango-sprig (amrāmañjari) to adorn the hair. Pearl-studded rings in both ears.

No. 10160, ACI, R. 83, -26'.

275. Woman's head (4') with hair arranged in locks on the forehead, above which is fastened a thick garland.

No. 11608, ACII, KVIII/K3k, -54'.

Sub-type (ii). Headless female figures

This group is allied to the female heads of bigger size and bolder relief described above and is represented by a limited number of specimens. Four specimens come from ACIII, three from St. IIIa and one from St. IIIc.
276. Woman’s bust (4") wearing a rich necklace and a bodice with an embroidered fringe in front.  
No. 6468, ACIII, KIX/K7k, -46'; St. IIIa: A.D. 650–750.

277. Woman’s bust (3.5") wearing a typical pearl-necklace of single string with a cylindrical bead in the centre.  
No. 6314, ACIII, KX/A2k, -43'; St. IIIa.

278. Fragmentary plaque (5" x 6") showing a reclining female figure, with her bust raised and its weight resting on the hands. She is wearing armlets, wristlets and a girdle of flattened beads.  
No. 6306, ACIII, KX/F2b, -44'; St. IIIa.

279. Torso of a female figure, hollow inside, wearing a choli fastened between the breasts, a laṅghā and a scarf. This style of dress is typical of the rural costume in North India to this day and seems to have been introduced some time in the post-Gupta period by immigrant tribes. It is conspicuous by its absence in the clay figurines of the Kushāṇa and typical Gupta style. The laṅghā is fastened tightly by a cord called nādā, the ends of which are hanging in front.  
No. 9387, ACVII, GV/E1e, -40'.

280. Fragment showing a seated woman with a child on her left leg. The child is nude and wears a big round plaque (padaka) hanging from a string round the neck. This agrees with Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s description of a child’s neck adorned with a thread-amulet.1 It also wears armlets, bracelets, anklets and a girdle. The face and the hair are similar to those on the figures of nude boys and mridanga-players from Rājghāṭi and of the Nāga figure on a solar plaque from Ahichchhatrā (no. 100).  
No. 1328, ACIII, KX/V9k, -34'.

281. Female bust wearing a necklace of gadrooned and plain beads, and an uttarīya across the breast in what was known as the vaikakṣhyaka style.  
No. 10160, ACI, R. 83, -26'.

Sub-type (iii). Miscellaneous female figures

282. Oval plaque (2-25") showing a miniature female figure standing in a graceful posture holding flowers in both hands. A suspension-hole above head. Four other holes were pierced to render the body free from the framing margin.  
No. 9013, ACVII, GV/H9e, -40'.

283. Miniature plaque (1.5") showing a female figure standing gracefully with left leg placed across the right. Suspension-hole between the feet, another hole at the top, now broken.  
No. 9089, ACVII, GV/C9d, -37'.

284. Torso of a female figure (2") in squatting posture with bust twisted to the right side.  
No. 4270, ACIII, KIX/E5f, -40'; St. I, but stylistically Gupta.

285. Torso (2-5") of a standing woman wearing a long-sleeved tunic which leaves the abdomen bare, and skirts covering the lower part of the body. Right arm hanging parallel to the legs and left raised to the shoulder.  
No. 1374, ACIII, KX/F6f, -43'; St. II(?).

286. Lower portion (1-5") of a dancing female figure with legs placed cross-wise. A remarkable feature is the skirt (laṅghā) falling in folds on the feet. It is made of the same kind of Sāsānian textile (Pahlavi isticbrak,

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1 Gaṇḍakābharāṇā bālagrīva, Kādambarī, p. 20.
Skt. *stavaraka*) embroidered with strings of pearls, as seen on the coat of Sūrya no. 102 (fig. 1, 17). The figure represents a female dancer (*nartaki*) which as a type is mentioned by Bāṇa in the long list of his friends and associates.

No. 9449, ACVII, GV/C9f, —40’.

287. Pregnant woman (2-25") with her hands placed on the inflated abdomen and legs flexed at knees and turned backwards, the characteristic pose of a woman at child-birth. There is a projecting support at the back. The figure was produced from a single mould and may have been used as a votive offering to invoke the blessing of fertility.

No. 3597, ACIII, KK/F3f, —43’.

Another hand-made figure of a pregnant woman (no. 3592) was found in ACIII, St. I, resembling in style the woman in the Dampātī plaques of that age.

288. Fragment (2") used as handle of a pottery bowl showing woman’s body with hands raised aloft. It is concave at the back. Pottery handles of this type adorned with female figures were found in the Sāmbhar excavations in Jaipur State.a

No. 4496, ACIII, KIX/E10j, —43’; St. IIIa: A.D. 650-750.

289. Curved handle as above showing a female figure with folded hands.

No. 10635, ACII, R. 175, —48’.

290. Woman’s head with hair arranged in two lateral masses and a cylindrical topknot.

No. 9060, ACVII, GV/D10c, —41’.  

291. Woman’s head from a tiny figure showing the hair indicated by a raised line on the forehead, a crest-jewel, eyebrows indicated in a continuous line and full lips parted in the middle. As a specimen from Stratum IIIc, it is an example of early Gupta art.

No. 6995, ACIII, KIX/K9c, —47’; St. IIIc : A.D. 450-550.

292. Young woman’s head with exquisite smiling face. Hair arranged in cap-like form above the forehead as in Mathurā figures of the Kuśāna period.

No. 3067, ACV, QVIII/P3h, —50’.

**Sub-type (iv). Male heads**

293. Male head (3’), with hair indicated by a ridge on the forehead, prominent nose-bridge and eyebrows, eyelids and pupils indicated by incised marks. The indication of the two ends of the mouth (*śrīkāṇḍranta*) by deep notches is a special feature. Fine buff clay with traces of red paint.

No. 3661, ACIII, KK/A3j, —44’; St. IIIa : A.D. 650-750.

294. Head (2") with wavy hair arranged on the forehead; eyebrows indicated by a continuous incised line. The two ends of the mouth, the small depression above the upper lip and in the centre of the lower lip, are typical features in this as well as in the preceding head.

No. 900, ACIV, MIX/H1e, —36’.

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1 See above, p. 130 and below, p. 178, Appendix.
Type 27, Sub-type (ii), headless female figures
Type 28, plaque with Śiva-gaṇas, destroying Daksha's sacrifice. (Scale of inches.)
Type 28, plaque with Śiva-gānas, scrambling for sweets. (Scale of inches.)
Type 28, plaque with Śiva as Bhairava.  (Scale of foot and inches.)
295. Head (3.5") of a young man with hair arranged in parallel locks on the two sides of the central parting. The eyeballs are set in sockets but without pupils. The head reflects classical features, and is a unique specimen of its kind from Ahichchhatra.

No. 10152, ACI, R. 147.

296. Head of a smiling boy with curly hair and a knotted ribbon passing on one side.

No. 10026, ACI, R. 2, — 32'.

297. Man's head (2.5") with fierce-looking face, having crooked eyebrows and rolling eyeballs. The type closely agrees with Bana's description of the warrior-lord of the Sbara tribe with special reference to the following particulars:

(i) The angry eyebrows making a three-pronged wrinkle on the forehead. This is called tripataka-brhikuti by Bana and compared with a trident (baddha-tripatakova-brhikuti-karala-lalata-phalaka).

(ii) Hair indicated by slightly incised lines representing the short hair just growing on the youthful chin (udbhidyamana-smasru-rati).

(iii) Loose curly hair falling from the head on to the shoulders (akutilagra-skandhavalambikuntalabharana).

(iv) Long prominent nose (draghityas ghoanavanisa).

(v) Fierce looking eyes.

The above features show that the face was obviously intended to represent a person of a wild tribe and probably depicted a hunter.

No. 803, ACII.

TYPE 28. PLAQUES FROM THE SIVA TEMPLE IN ACI

The Siva temple in ACI is a massive brick structure unique of its kind in North India. On plan it is similar to the quadrangular Buddhist stupa raised in several tiers, diminishing upwards like a gigantic staircase. The structure answers closely to what the Vishnudharmottara Purana describes as an eduka built in three terraces (bhadra-pithas), one above the other, with four stepped approaches and surmounted on the top by a Siva-liṅga. The monument, still having a colossal Siva-liṅga on its top, must therefore be identified as an eduka dedicated to Siva.

The temple was built on the ruins of an apsidal temple of Kushana times and its first construction may be assigned to the Gupta period. Large plaques were fixed in a frieze running round its upper terrace. Several of them are distinguished by excellent workmanship, and on the basis of their style may be assigned to a period between c. A.D. 450 and 650.

The plaques are of great interest for their subject-matter appertaining to Siva's life. His exploits as gathered from the surviving specimens reveal a full-fledged development of Saitite mythology. They illustrate, for example, the theme of his destroying the sacrifice of Daksha Prajapat, his father-in-law, the holocaust wrought there by his playful ganas, his assumption of the terrific form of Bhairava, his peripatetic aspect with the begging-bowl in hand, his ārdhva-retas form as Lakulisa, his dalliances with Parvati in the renewed marital life, and finally his reposeful ascetic form as Dakshinamurti, the lord of yoga and divine

1 Kādambari, text, p. 30, describing a Sbara-senapati.
2 Cf. the description of a monumental (maheshakhyva) stupa with three terraces (tri-medhi) in the Divyavadana, text, pp. 243ff.
4 An earlier reference to numerous edukas worshipped all over the country occurs in the Mahabharata (Vanaparva, cxc, 65-67); The critical edition from Poona gives a variant of the name as jara, apparently a Sanskritized form of ziggurat with which these buildings seem to have had structural resemblance.
wisdom. From a study of the specimens one thing stands out clear, namely, that the iconography of the figures seems to have been quite elastic during that formative period of Purānic Hinduism. The modellers concentrate more on the central theme of the story than on the rigid details of the iconographic formula, such as was insisted upon by the later Śilpa and Āgamic literature.

298. Plaque (2' 2"×2' 1"×5") showing a scene in which nine figures arranged in two rows participate. The figures in the lower register are: (i) a male gāna holding a battle-axe in the right hand; (ii) an angry nude gāna holding a bowl (kapāla) in the right hand and pulling the next figure by his girdle; (iii) a two-armed figure turning away, holding a snake-headed attribute in the left hand, being himself pulled by the next figure; (iv) a two-armed figure wearing a mukāta like that in the figures of Vishnū, his left hand being placed on a long staff or club; and (v) a male figure wearing a high crown and holding in the left hand a thunderbolt which shows him to be Indra.

In the upper row, first from the left is the figure of a gāna wearing a chhannāvīra ornament and a short loin-cloth, with a dagger inserted in his belt, and carrying a sword in the right hand raised above the head and a shield in the left (these two attributes were preserved in a detached fragment which is now missing). The next figure is that of a nude gāna with a dagger inserted in the belt, holding a double-edged straight sword in the right hand, and pulling with the left the bearded face of the figure in front, who is an ascetic or a rishi wearing vañkala and having a rosary in the left hand. The fourth figure is wearing a dhōti, a scarf and a head-dress with three projections, and holding in the left hand a vase.

The scene may be identified as the sacrifice of Prajapati Daksha interrupted by Śiva's gānas or attendants (Daksha-yajña-vidhvaṁsa). The story is related in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, ch. cclxxiv. The figures in the lower row consist of three gods who assembled at the sacrifice and a pair of Śiva-gānas who caused havoc to it. The person with the vajra is undoubtedly Indra. The actors in the upper row are Śiva-gānas again, one of whom is attacking a rishi, probably the officiating priest at the sacrifice; the last figure seems to be that of Daksha himself.

No. 10159, ACI, R. 149, —27’.

299. Plaque (2' 2"×2' 3"×5") showing Śiva-gānas engaged in a scramble for sweets, helping themselves merrily to the contents of two baskets, containing motichūr laḍḍus and gaṇḍhīṛa in one and motichūr only in the other—an important piece of evidence for the history of Indian sweets. Frequent references to laḍḍus balls are found in the Divyāvadāna, p. 513. The scene of the looting of the eatables piled up at the sacrifice of Daksha forms a major episode in the drama as related in the Mahābhārata. The present plaque obviously continues the story of the preceding one. The gānas of Śiva, four in the lower and one in the upper row, are all depicted as nude corpulent dwarfs with conspicuous genitals. They are similar to the pramathas often depicted in sculpture on the door-jambs and friezes of Gupta temples and also recall the group of nude mendicants painted in Cave 17 at Ajanta.1

No. 10158, ACI, R. 148, —27’.

300. Plaque (2' 2"×2' 1"×4.5") with a four-armed figure of Śiva in the terrific form of Bhairava. The back right hand holds a long trident, the front one seizes the right horn of a bull hurled on the shoulder, the hind leg of the animal being grasped by the left arm held aloft on the other side, and the fourth hand holds a khaṭvāṅga (?) or mace with round head marked by radiating grooves. The god has a terrific aspect with yawning mouth, protruding eyes, twisted moustaches, short erect jaṭās, a wrinkled forehead with the third eye, angry eyebrows with a triple contortion between them (the tripāṭāka-bhrīkutī of Bāna), long split ear-lobes and a flabby belly.2 He wears a flat necklace with raised bosses, bracelets, anklets and a short loin-cloth. A

1 Bhavani Rao, Pant Pratinidhi, Ajanta (Bombay), pl. 74.
2 For some of these details of Bhairava's iconography, see T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography (Madras, 1914), II, 177. Cf. also his aspect with flabby belly (lambodara), round eyes (vṛttā-lochanā), broad nostrils (phulla-nāsāpuṣṭa) and serpent-decoration (sarpa-bhūṣhapa), enjoined by the Vishnudharmottara, III, lxxi, 1-2.
serpent descending from the left shoulder is arranged as the sacred thread with a knot on the god’s left formed by its tail looped with the hissing head.

The plaque has suffered from exfoliation of the thick upper crust on the abdomen, right elbow, and knees, which shows that the rough core of hard brick clay was covered with a thick coat of fine clay before firing. The face and other parts of the decoration seem to have been made with separate moulds.

No. 10142, R. 23, —9′.

301. Plaque (2′ 3″×1′ 10″×4″) showing in bold relief an image of a two-armed male figure moving rapidly to right. He holds a bowl (bhikshāpatra) in the left hand which is raised to shoulder, and has the right hand placed on his paunchy abdomen with a flat band (udara-bandha). He wears a sacred thread with small pendant bells (ghargharikā), a vyāghramukha ornament in the centre of the chest, and a kaupinā indicated by incised lines. The figure represents Śiva as a wandering beggar (Bhikṣhūna-mūrti).

No. 10145, ACI, R. 117, —6½′.

302. Plaque (2′ 2½″×1′ 10″×4½″) showing in bold relief a standing male figure with dwarfish legs. The head is covered with spiral locks falling on to the shoulders, and the arms are folded at the elbow with the right hand placed on the breast. He wears a single elongated bead-pendant from a thin string, a short loin-cloth with the front fold passing on the back in the kachchhā style, and a conspicuous rolled scarf of gadrooned folds with forked ends hanging on either side. The figure seems to represent Śiva in one of his many forms. The plaque was found with the Bhikṣhūna-mūrti image.

No. 10146, ACI, R. 117, —6½′.

(a) Plaque (15″×11″×4″) showing a four-armed standing figure with an axe (paraśu) held in right hand. The distinguishing symbol of uḍhva-retas (erect membrum virile) shows him to be Śiva as Lakuṭiśa, an aspect specially worshipped by the Pāśupata sect of Śaivas.

No. 10163, ACI, R. 148, —27″ 6″.

(b) Plaque (1′ 8½″×1′ 8½″×4″) showing a seated four-armed figure with a female figure standing in adoration (aṇjali-mudrā) on his left and an attendant male figure in the upper corner (fig. 3). He holds a rosary in the back right hand and a vase with foliage in the left. The lower right arm was flexed at the elbow and the hand placed on the chest in what seems to have been called the

**FIG. 3. Plaque showing Dakshināmūrti Śiva (no. 302 (b))**

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sanḍaraṇa-mudrā or the 'tong-pose'.\textsuperscript{1} This particular hand-pose, the rosary in the back right hand, the vase in the left (an amṛita-gṛha according to the Vīṣṇudharmottara), the matted locks and the general reposeful attitude of the figure, all suggest that the deity represented is Śiva in his Dakshināmūrti form. Knowledge is called dakshinā, and Śiva as the highest yogī and lord of wisdom was conceived of in this special aspect, immersed in concentration in a secluded spot of the Himalayas.\textsuperscript{2}

The female figure adoring Śiva with folded hands seems to be Pārvatī herself, who according to the story related in the Kumārasambhava, waited upon Śiva while he was performing penance in his hermitage. According to the later texts also, Śiva as Kāmāntaka when he reduced the god of love to ashes, an event which took place in the presence of Pārvatī, appeared in his Dakshināmūrti form, i.e. the aspect of knowledge and yogic wisdom.\textsuperscript{3}

No. 10170, ACI, R. 83, —28'.

(c) Fragment of a plaque (1' 5"×1' 6"×4") showing an amorous couple. The male figure is kissing his partner by drawing her lower lip between his lips (adharā-pāna). Her hair is tied in a braid at the nape, and his hair covers the head in frizzled locks gathered in a topknot at the back fastened by a garland. The scene may be related to Śiva's amours with Pārvatī after their re-union, which forms a subject of elaborate description in the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa.

No. 10198, ACI, R. 155, —35\%.

303. Plaque (2' 2"×2' 2"×4") showing a Kinnara-mithuna or pair of centaurs. The centaurs, with a human bust joined to the lower part of a mare, is galloping on a hilly terrain carrying on her back her husband shown as a normal human being. Her right hand is held in the tripatka-pose. The elaborate head-dress of trefoil pattern consists of two side-masses and a fan-like crest in the middle. The hair on the forehead is indicated by a concave line and then combed backwards, being finally gathered in the form of a heavy spiral braid arranged in a loop on her right. The two ends of its ribbon are shown fluttering behind the shoulder. The corresponding loop on the other side is formed by a beautiful double garland. A pearl-string passes in a sweep from the right to the left ear. The central fan-like crest is decorated by a cluster of flowery arrows attached to a round crest-jewel. She is wearing round ear-rings, a flat torque of rectangular plaques, an ekāvalī pearl-necklace, loose bracelets on the right arm and a ring on the small right finger. Her left hand, placed on the shoulder of the male figure, is wearing a swinging loose bangle (dola-vālaya) (fig. 1, 4). A girdle of lozenge-shaped beads is worn round the hips on her upper body. She is wearing a scarf, the ends of which are seen fluttering on the left side below her arm and on the right side behind the body of the male figure. On the back of the horse is a saddle (paryānapatja) fastened by a broad striped band. From the middle of the saddle hangs a tassel ending in a knob. On the hind quarter of the horse is the side-girth (kakshyābandha) adorned by a medallion (chakraka).

The male figure fondlingly touches the chin of the centaress with his right hand and holds a bow in the left. Above the line of hair on his forehead is a hatched jewel surmounted by a kūrtimukha emitting double pearl-festoons. In his ears is a double ring-pendant with an oblong plaque attached to it. He is wearing a chhanna-vīra ornament with a round padaka on the chest, flat studded wristlets, and a ring on the right small-finger. The bust is covered by a hip-length tunic secured by a belt, with half-sleeves covering only the upper arms. Under the tunic are knickers consisting of parallel folds, leaving the knees bare.

In the upper right corner is a flying garland-bearer and in the left fore-ground a tree growing on rocky ground covered with boulders. The Kinnara-mithuna was a popular motif in the time of Bānabhaṭṭa, who refers to it as being pursued by prince Chandrāpīḍa and then disappearing on a hill-top (achala-tunga-śīkham = ārūka). It is stated that Śiva as Dakshināmūrti should be the object of special adoration by kinnaras, devas and others.\textsuperscript{4} This plaque may, therefore, have been juxtaposed with no. 302(b), in the frieze of the temple.

No. 10141, ACI, R. 23, —7'.

\textsuperscript{1} T. A. G. Rao, op. cit., p. 274, footnote, giving sanḍaraṇa as the variant form of sanḍaraṇa-mudrā, 'exposition-pose', according to the Nātyaśāstras and the Āgamas.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., pp. 274, 277.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 148; Appendix, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., II, 277.
Type 28, plaque with Kinnara-mithuna. (Scale of inches.)
Type 28, plaque with two royal warriors. (Height 28 inches.)
304. Plaque (2' 1.5" × 2' 4" × 3.5") showing two warriors mounted on chariots fighting each other with bow and arrows, both clad in full armour and wearing a chhannavīra ornament having a kūrtimukha clasp on the chest. Each wears on the head an elaborate turban and carries four quivers of arrows, one behind each shoulder and one on each side of the legs.

The hero on the left has a standard topped with the figure of a small boar (varāha), and that on the right has a crescent-topped standard. Two horses are yoked to each chariot and are controlled by a driver seated behind (visible on the chariot on right side). In between the fighters is a drummer (dundūbhiṣaka) whose facial type and attitude is similar to that of the drummer on no. 265.

The scene of battle between two warriors, the small figure of a boar and the provenance of the plaque in a Śiva temple might suggest its identification with the Kīrtārjuniya story in which Śiva as a wild hunter had to take up arms against Arjuna to establish his right to a boar. That view, however, does not appear to be tenable in the light of a detailed examination of the figures on the plaque. The dress of the two combatants mounted on chariots shows them to be royal personages. The boar formed the crest of the royal dynasty of the Chālukyas which made their flag known as pālidhvaja. Vinayāditya Satyāśraya is said to have won this decoration after subduing a northern king and reducing a Ceylonese contemporary to the rank of a tributary. The warrior with the boar-standard may on this basis be identified as a Chālukya ruler, either Vinayāditya Satyāśraya himself (A.D. 688–695), or his grandfather Pulakesin II (A.D. 608–642), whose successful resistance against Harsha, king of North India, was a well-known event in the seventh century. Ahichchhatrā was under the direct influence of Harsha from his capital at Kanauj, and it is possible that the contest between Harsha and Pulakesin supplied the theme of representation for this terracotta panel. Its occurrence in the ruins of a Śiva temple cannot, however, be explained in the present state of our information. Perhaps the final extension and renovation of the Śiva temple on site AC I was undertaken after that event about the middle of the seventh century at the instance of Harsha, whose devotion to Śiva is recorded both by Bānabhaṭṭa and Yuan Chwang. According to the former, the outstanding events in the king’s life were made the subject of popular representation.²

No. 10061, AC I, R. 57, -14½°.

GROUP X. CULT-IMAGES

TYPE 29. MULTI-HEADED CULT IMAGES

A group of about forty clay idols was found lying in fragments on a platform built against the city-wall in the south-east corner of plot AC V. With the exception of two, viz. a head of a large figure wearing a foliated mukuta and another headless figure seated majestically on a raised seat in the manner of Kushāṇa king Vema Takshama, all are female figures and have the following features:

(i) Most of them have three heads arranged frontally in a row except no. 310(f) of which the left head faces at an angle, the corresponding right head being lost. Nos. 308 and 308(a)²³ have only one head and are in good preservation.

(ii) All figures have two arms only, bent at the elbow, and the hands are placed on the knees, the left one generally holding a cup (preserved in numerous specimens), and the right one an elongated object tapering below which is clear in no. 310(a)², and might be either the purse or the mongoose (here held in the left hand) associated with Kubera. The right hand of no. 309 shows a hollow groove in which the purse or mongoose was held.

(iii) The association of the female figures with a cult-goddess presiding over childbirth and fertility is suggested by some specimens holding a child. In no. 309(j)², with three heads, the child is seated on the left thigh and clasps the mother near her breast.

¹ V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, War in Ancient India (1944), p. 375. See also Epigraphia Indica, V, 201, the Vakkaleri plates of Kritivarman II.
² Antahpurikā-jana-prastuta-narapatī-charita-viśambana-kṛiḍā, Kādambarī, p. 89.
³ Numbers marked with an asterisk are not illustrated.
In no. 309(i), the child is squatting with its legs stretched on the pedestal between the feet of its mother. Its hands and feet are undigitated, body roughly worked up, and eyes indicated by punched circlets. In no. 309(j)* remnants of the appliqué legs and feet of the child are seen under the mother’s left breast.

(iv) In all cases breasts are prominently indicated and have pointed nipples.

(v) The drapery consists of skirts (laṅghā) falling below the knees, in some cases bearing vertical stripes. It was fastened at the waist by a cord (māra) falling nearly to the level of the feet in a conspicuous manner (cf. no. 310(b)* and 310(c)*). In no. 309(a)* this cord is richly embroidered and in no. 310(b)* it is indicated round the waist and in front by incised lines.

Signs of a bodice on the bust and breasts are not so clear, but probably it was worn to a little above the navel.

(vi) The ornaments comprise ear-rings, a torque, a necklace falling between the breasts, a medallion in front of the breasts, numerous bangles on the arms and wrists and single anklets. No. 308(b)* shows a prominent channavira.

(vii) The style of hair shows two noteworthy features. First, it is combed backwards and gathered in a single or double ridge projecting above or at the back of the forehead. Sometimes loose strands continue on the back and are indicated by incised lines. Secondly, two plaited locks descend from the head and fall loosely on the shoulders as in no. 308(a)*. In no. 309(a)* there is an elaborate mural crown with two side-rosettes and falling strands.

(viii) The figures are hand-modelled with free use of applied parts, only the face being cast from a mould. On a wheel-turned hollow cylindrical base as high as the knees, the hollow bust was worked up and then the head was joined to it. Usually the head ends in a tenon which was inserted into the hollow bust; this can be seen through the tubular bust from the other end. This technique of manufacture is the same as that of the hollow cylindrical figures of Type 22, Sub-type (vi), for which a period c. A.D. 550–750 is indicated.

(ix) The clay is coarse with a profuse mixture of rice-husk, and there are traces of red colour-wash on some specimens.

(x) The style of the figures is bold, marked by vigorous expression. There is no attempt to render finer details; the modeller has adopted bold relief as the principal means of conveying emphasis.

(xi) The face shows a prominent nose almost in the same plane as the receding forehead and the nostrils are invariably indicated by deep holes. The eyes are of the form of petals enclosed by deep lines and show pupils indicated by round holes. The cheek bones are high and the contour of the face tapers towards a double heavy chin. By their appearance, the figures are distinguished from pure Indian female types of the Kushāna or Gupta period.

The images were found in association with about half a dozen figures of the goddess Mahishāsuramardini. It appears that the platform was being used as a shrine of the Mother Goddesses or mātri-bhavana, as it is called by Bānabhaṭṭa, where different female tutelary deities worshipped by the village people were installed together at one place.

The three heads, an unusual feature, cannot be connected with other known specimens, nor do literary texts throw light on it. As the figures hold a cup and a purse-like object and are often associated with a child, the goddess appears to be a Brahmanical counterpart of the Buddhist Hārīti. The front three heads permit the inference of a similar row at the back omitted in a frontal view. As such the goddess can be identified with Shashṭhi

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1 In a passage of the Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa, Chāmunda is called āntra-mukhā (sic!), for which there is the variant reading trimukhi, meaning ‘three-headed’. The present figures, however, are not emaciated as required by the same text (III, lxxiii, 29).
who was widely worshipped as the presiding goddess of child-birth in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. On the coins of the Yaudheyas we find the representation of the goddess Shashthī with a panel of six heads arranged in two superimposed rows. This style of the superimposed heads was prevalent in the Kushāna period, e.g. in the case of Brahmā, Śiva and Kārttikeya figures. Later it seems to have been dropped, as the convention of portraying figures in the round, so common in Kushāna art, with its inconvenient corollary of showing all the faces of the multi-headed figures, was replaced by an emphasis on the frontal pose in the art of the Gupta period. The upper row of three heads in the present figures also, in case they were intended to portray Shashthī, seems to have been omitted for the same reason.

305. Headless male figure (1' 1.25"; dia. 7") seated majestically on a high cylindrical pedestal with legs hanging down. The pedestal was wheel-turned and a base-plate was added for the feet. The posture is similar to that of the Kushāna emperor Vema Takshama in the Mathurā museum. The figure is wearing a knee-length striped tunic fastened at the waist, a scarf passing from the left shoulder across the chest to the right armpit, a short necklace of flattened beads, and bangles on the upper arms, which are adorned by two pear-shaped appliqué ornaments, perhaps marking embroidered decorations. The figure was found occupying a predominantly central position in the midst of a group of female figurines, with which it seems to have been connected. Each hand was placed on the knee as in the case of the female figurines. The right hand held an elongated tapering object, not distinct, and the left, now broken, probably held a bowl like that in the female figurines.

No. 6586 (1), ACV.

306. Male head hollow inside (10") wearing a projecting crown fastened by a fillet on the forehead and adorned with a foliated rosette and a boss, with petalled flowers on the sides. The back of the head and nape are covered with embroidered cloth, concealing strands of falling hair. This detached head was found touching the neck of the seated male figure in a tilted position, but is disproportionate to it in size.

No. 6586(7), ACV.

307. Female figure with one head (11''), seated in bhadrāsana on a high round seat. An elaborate diadem on the head with a raised wall in front flanked by two flowers and a conical projection behind. A lock of hair falls on each shoulder. On the right cheek is a beautiful leaf-impression from a stamp. A round padaka ornament hangs from the neck and another pendant ornament is seen below the breasts. She wears numerous bangles on the arms. The left hand on the knee holds a cup. The strip of the fastening-cord of the skirt falls between the legs and is decorated with three vertical bands, consisting of punctured circles and pricked holes, the former probably showing stitched glass-pieces and the latter either seed-pearls or tiny glass beads called pota. A threaded ring of small beads is shown in the left ear. This figure was found on the proper right side of the big male figure (no. 305). Traces of red paint.

(a) Female figure (12-25") with one head, seated on a round seat. The hair is arranged in a ridge above the forehead with two free locks falling on the shoulders. She wears three rings in each cloven ear-lobe, a torque, a necklace and skirt marked by lines of folds and notched designs. An appliqué child, whose right hand and two feet are still preserved, clung to the left breast. Although

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3 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, V, pt. 2, fig. 2.
with a single head, there is no doubt that the figure also belongs to the same category as the three-headed mothers holding a child.

No. 6586(16), ACV.

308. Female figure (12") with three heads, elongated face, plump cheeks and heavy chin. She has a single indented ridge above the head, a torque below neck, a band at the narrow waist-line, and low pointed breasts. In the right fist is a round vertical hole to hold an object, now lost.

No. 6586(20), ACV.

(a) Female figure (10") with three heads, now broken, a child in left arm touching breast, a cup in left hand on knee and an indistinct object in right hand. The skirt falling below the knees has stripes on front and back. Elongated anklet (pādakataka). Long broad scarf with indented marks on both shoulders.

No. 6586(14), ACV.

(b) Three-headed female figure (10-25") wearing a chhannavīra ornament knotted between breasts and passing on shoulders and under armpits, and striped skirts. The figure holds a mongoose-like object in the left hand, placed on the knee.

No. 6586(13), ACV.

(c) Three-headed female figure (9-5") with hair arranged on the heads in a double ridge marked by angular lines with small tubular punches between them. On the left cheek are small holes probably indicating tattoo marks. The end of the fastening cord of the skirts falls between the legs. The long tenon of the middle head is visible from the opening at the base.

No. 6586(9), ACV.

(d) Female figure as above with three-heads, defaced.

No. 6586(10), ACV.

(e) Female figure (11") of which only the central head is preserved. Traces of scarf on left shoulder. Groove in left hand to hold an elongated object.

No. 6586(15), ACV.

(f) Female figure (9-5") as above, with single long torque, hair falling on the back and knotted with ribbon, and front fold of the lower garment shown prominently by three grooves.

No. 6586(11), ACV.

(g) Three-headed female figure (10"), with a cup in the left hand; the frontal end of the skirt is shown spread between the knees.

No. 6586(19), ACV.

(h) Three-headed female figure (12") with the legs and the arms of the clasping babe still visible. She is wearing a padaka ornament and a torque. The skirt-fastening cord, also shown on the back, falls as a fold in front. The elaborate coiffure consists of two side-plaits tied in a loop at the nape, the rest of the hair being treated in a fan-like design and fastened at the base by a ribbon.

No. 6586(6), ACV.

(i) Three-headed female figure (8") with a child squatting on the base between the legs.

No. 6586(26), ACV.

(j) Three-headed female figure (10"), holding a purse and a child which clings under the left breast.

No. 6586(30), ACV.
A. Type 29, figure of a male deity. (Scale of inches.)

B. Type 29, head of a male deity
A. Type 29, cult-images. (Scale of inches.)

B. Type 29, three-headed cult-image. (Scale of inches.)
Type 29, three-headed cult-image.
(k) Three-headed female figure (9"), wearing skirts ridged half-way between knee and ankle, numerous bangles on the upper arm and wrist and a broad indented scarf passing across the breast.

No. 6586(12), ACV.

(l) Three-headed female figure (7"), wearing a medallion, a pearl-necklace indicated by round circlets and an ear-pendant of three pearls. The hair is combed backwards and carried on the back. The skirt is of short length falling to the knees.

No. 6586(17), ACV.

309. Three-headed female figure (5'-5") with a torque round each neck, bodice on chest revealing the breasts, and a prominent tenon below the middle head.

No. 6586(8), ACV.

(a) Female figure with three heads (6") each wearing a padaka pendant from the neck. Defaced.

No. 6586(37), ACV.

(b) Female figure (5'-25") showing portion below waist and the sūtra-naddha falling between the legs.

No. 6586(2), ACV.

(c) Female figure (6'-25") as above, showing traces of the legs of the clinging baby, necklace and bodice knotted in front, a scarf passing across the breast and back, and the tail of a mongoose-like object in the right hand.

No. 6586(3), ACV.

(d) Female figure (6'-25") without heads, in poor preservation.

No. 6586(18), ACV.

(e) Female figure (6'-25") as above, with a prominent cord hanging between legs.

No. 6586(4), ACV.

(f) Female figure (10'-5") with three heads, one in front, the left shown sideways and the right lost.

No. 6586(5), ACV.

(g) Female figure (6'-5") as above wearing a padaka, a twisted pearl necklace, a pair of studded bangles on upper arm, three wrislets, and prominent anklets (nāpurās).

No. 6586(27), ACV.

(h) Female figure (6") as above, having a small baby in the left arm.

No. 6586(25), ACV.

(i) Right arm and leg of a similar figure (6'-5"), holding in the right hand an elongated object tapering towards the tail.

No. 6586(37), ACV.

(j) Fragment of a female figure (6'-25") with a pearl-studded band on the breasts.

No. 6586(28), ACV.

(k) Bust of a female figure (4") with baby in left arm clinging to breast, a trefoil torque and a band round the waist.

No. 6586(39), ACV.
GROUP XI. MISCELLANEOUS LATE FIGURES

TYPE 30. MALLAS (STRATUM I: A.D. 850-1100)

A group of male figures in violent action, wearing tight kārupaīna fastened round the loins and tucked in between the legs, seems to represent the Malla type. Such of them as have the right arm raised as if to deliver a blow may be those of pugilists (maushṭika). The right leg is thrust out to the side, and the left, bent at the knee, is pushed to the other side. This posture of the two spread-out legs is also seen in the figures of pugilists from Seleucia.¹ The legs are dwarfish and the feet without toes. Of the five figures four come from ACIII and belong to Stratum I. The type, therefore, may be assigned provisionally to the ninth to tenth centuries, although further evidence for dating seems still to be required.

310. Male figure in violent action (3-75°). The right arm is extended from the shoulder and then raised as if to deliver a blow. The left arm and hand now broken was placed on the knee. The right leg is pushed to the side, and the left bent at the knee to the other side as if in a jumping posture. A tight loin-cloth (kaupīna) is worn round the hips and thighs and secured by a belt fastened on the right side. From the round clasp in the centre issues a band to be tucked on the back. The figure wears a double string round the neck, a ring and pendant in ears, and a turban with a topknot on the head, and has a smiling face. The whole attitude of the figure is that assumed in the act of balancing and throwing a heavy ball with the right hand. Hemachandra (twelfth century), who reflects the cultural background of the period covered by Stratum I, mentions a boyish game played by throwing heavy stone-balls called giriguḍa.²

No. 1174, ACIII, KX/F6d, −39'; St. I: A.D. 850-1100.

311. Torso (2-5°) of a figure with the same pose and dress as above. On the back are traces of a third leg for support, a feature discernible in nos. 310 and 313 also.

No. 1003, ACIII, KX/F3a, −30-2'; St. I.

312. Fragment (3°) showing the right leg of a figure similar to above.

No. 1304, ACIII, KX/F6e, −40'; St. I.

(a) Fragment (2-6°) of the left leg of a similar figure.

No. 1173(a), ACIII, KX/F2g, −38½'; St. I.

313. Fragment (4-75°) showing the right arm and leg of a similar figure, but with the hands placed on the thigh.

No. 6033, ACII, −54'.

TYPE 31. DAGGER-SHAPED HUMAN FIGURINES (STRATUM I: A.D. 850-1100)

The type, represented by ten specimens, shows a very crude human figure. A roll of clay which is flat on the back is roughly modelled in human form. The lower portion is an

¹ Figurines from Seleucia, nos. 421, 422; pl. XXIX, figs. 208, 209, and 211.
² Abhidhammañāṇaṁatā, III, 353.
elongated peg disproportionate to the small head and the projecting arms. In two typical specimens the flexed arms are turned inward beating a small drum in the same manner as the drummers in the musician type of the Kushāṇa period. Almost all the specimens come from ACIII and in cases of recorded level they uniformly belong to Stratum I (A.D. 850–1100). A noteworthy feature of no. 318 is the winglike appearance of the two hands.

314. Crude figurine (1'9") with stumpy arms and dwarfish head surmounting a pillar-like bust.
No. 1254, ACIII, KX/F5d, —40'; St. I: A.D. 850-1100.

315. Same as above (2'6"). A collection of more than 25 similar figurines was discovered at this place.
No. 3727, ACIII, KX/F3b, —46'.

316. Crude figure as above (2'8").
No. 3679, ACIII, —42'.

317. Crude figurine with flexed arms forming volutes.
No. 1473, ACIII, KX/F4b.

318. Crude dagger-like figurine (2") with arms resembling spread-out wings. The projection of the lower body is slightly ridged in the centre.
No. 1344, ACIII, KX/F5d, —42'; St. I.
(a) Figurine as above (2'2").
No. 1236, ACIII, —40'.
(b) Figurine as above (2'4").
No. 1261, ACIII, —39'.
(c) Figurine as above (2'2").
No. 806, ACII, —19'.

TYPE 32. THIN PLAQUES OF DEITIES (STRATUM I: A.D. 850–1100)

From Stratum I comes a group of thin rectangular plaques ending at the top either in a tapering roundel or in a triangle like the sculptured slabs of the Pāla period. They are produced from shallow moulds in extremely low relief. The details of the parts of the body and of the attributes are indistinct. The execution of the figures is crude and the attitude stiff, the damaru-like bust being supported on legs of exaggerated length. The general style resembles that of the Tirthaṅkara images of the late medieval period. In specimen no. 320 an important point to note is the characteristic eye projecting beyond the head, as found in the Jain manuscript paintings.

The subjects are mostly Hindu gods and goddesses, Vishṇu, Mahishāsura-mardini, etc. The plaques seem to have served the purpose of votive offerings at village shrines. Similar plaques are also found made of soft steatite stone with the same low relief and crude workmanship. Both of them represent a popular form of religious worship, enjoying a wide distribution all over North India.

319. Lower portion of a plaque (2'7" × 2'8") of Vishṇu showing a chakra on the left side and a mace-bearing attendant on the right.
No. 1142, ACIII, KIX/E6d, —34'; St. I: A.D. 850–1100. The plaque should be assigned to the latest phase of this period, about the eleventh century.
320. Upper portion of a plaque (2.5" x 2.4") of a four-armed Vishnu holding a mace and a conch in the two extra hands, the normal right hand being held in abhayamudrā. Oblique eyes with their exterior ends project beyond the face, although the figure is in a frontal pose. The general style of the body and the long rectangular face is similar to that of medieval Tirthankara images.

No. 4035, ACIII, -34'; St. I.

321. Upper portion of a plaque (2") of the four-armed goddess Mahishasuramardini, holding a sakti in one of the two raised right arms.

No. 121, ACI, KX/B10k, -36'; St. I.

322. Fragmentary plaque (2" x 3") similar to above showing the legs of a Vishnu figure.

No. 499, ACIII, KX/M8f, -36'; St. I.

**TYPE 33. SATI-SATTĀ PLAQUES (STRATUM I: A.D. 850-1100)**

A number of small plaques (none exceeding 3.6" in height) show a man and a woman standing together. The plaques are thin and rectangular, half of them having rounded tops, and all are made from shallow moulds. The male and female figures stand facing, with the left hand of the male and the right hand of the female figure crossed at the back and placed on each other’s shoulder. The male figure usually stands on the left but in three cases (no. 325 and two more not illustrated here) the position is reversed. The relief is invariably superficial, with no attention to details of ornaments or drapery. The style is crude, showing similarity with the figures on Satī stones.

The plaques served a votive purpose being used as offerings near Satī stones at places called Sati-chaurā. The couples on the Satī pillars in Bundelkhand, where they still abound, are known as Satti-Sattā, a term which has been adopted to designate the figures of this type.

The stratigraphical evidence supported by the style shows the figures to belong to the advanced medieval period. In fourteen specimens the woman wears a petticoat (lāṅghā) as was worn by the Rajput women of that age. Out of thirty-seven pieces, thirty-four come from ACIII and are firmly assignable to Stratum I, ninth–eleventh centuries. No. 323 is an exception, showing an earlier style and originating from Stratum IIIa (about the eighth century). One flat plaque (no. 327) rests on two pairs of small legs. No. 328 shows the two figures treated almost in outline.

325. Satti-Sattā plaque. No. 1397, ACIII, KX/F6d, -42'; St. I.
326. Satti-Sattā plaque. No. 1184, ACIII, KX/A5j, -35'; St. I.
327. Satti-Sattā plaque. No. 1406, ACIII, KX/F7e, -43'; St. I.
328. 1Satti-Sattā plaque. No. 4224, ACIII, KX/K6e, -42'; St. I.

**APPENDIX**

**A NOTE ON THE STAVARAKA CLOTH.**

The pearl-studded tunic worn by the Sun-god (no. 102; fig. 1, 17) and the similar petticoat worn by a dancing female figure (no. 286; fig. 1, 16) show a costly kind of textile, which I have proposed to identify with the stavaraka cloth mentioned in the Harshacharita. It appears that Bāna became acquainted with this fabric after

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1 The photographs illustrating this article were prepared by Mr. Devi Dayal, Photographer of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum.
his introduction to the court of Harsha, since it occurs twice in the Harshacharita and is conspicuously absent in his earlier work the Kādambari. The stavaraka was a cloth studded with clusters of bright pearls, and kings in the train of Harsha wore tunics made from it: tāra-muktā-stabakita-stavaraka-vārabāna. The commentator explains it as a kind of cloth; the word has neither previous nor subsequent history and has no intelligible derivation in Sanskrit language. There can be little doubt that the word came directly into Sanskrit from the middle Persian or Pahlavi language of the Sāsānian empire in the time of Harsha. The Pahlavi form stavra, meaning thick or strong, is used for cloth in the Ardā Virāf referring to ‘glorious and thick splendid clothing’.2 The Pahlavi word stavra with the suffix k, i.e. stavrak, was the original from which the Arabic istabraq and the modern Persian istabraq are derived. The Arabic word istabraq means thick silk brocade.3 It is used in the Qur‘ān ‘only in early passages in description of the raiment of the faithful in Paradise. It is one of the few words that have been very generally recognized by the Muslim authorities as a Persian loan-word’.4

It is evident from this literary and linguistic evidence that the costly silken fabric known as stavaraka was originally manufactured in Persia during Sāsānian times, and that during the seventh century it was being imported into Arabia on the west and India on the east. The credit of throwing definite light on the nature of the cloth goes to Bānabhaṭṭa, whose reference to it establishes two facts: first, that the stavaraka cloth was well-known in the court of Harsha, and, secondly, that it was adorned with clusters of glistening seed-pearls. This latter feature assists us in identifying the fabric on two terracotta figurines from Ahichchhatrā (fig. 1, 16 and 17). The place was situated within the range of direct influence of Harsha’s capital at Kanauj and was also the seat of a division (bhukti) of his empire. One of the two figures on which the stavaraka cloth occurs is that of the Sun-god clad in an Iranian style of tunic, which may naturally have been made of the costly Sāsānian fabric of that name. It should, I think, be possible to detect it on other specimens of Indian terracottas and sculptures.

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1 Harshacharita, text, p. 207; also p. 143. According to the commentator tāra-muktā means bright pearls, but the actual design of the fabric as seen on the terracotta figurines shows that tāra indicated sequins, equivalent of what in Persian was called sitārā. Each streak has a sequin below the top-most pearl.
2 xvarrah-ōmand u stav u vaxšak patmōčan, Ardā Virāf, xiv, 14, p. 164 (Martin Haug’s edition, 1872).
FIG. 1. (See p. 305.)