Yaksha Cult and Iconography
Yaksha Cult and Iconography

by

Ram Nath Misra

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Dedicated
to the sacred memory of
late Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

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Contents

Preface vii
Abbreviations ix
List of Illustrations xii
Acknowledgements xv

CHAPTER 1
Introduction 1

Origin of the Concept or ‘Being’ of Yakshas 2

CHAPTER 2
The Vedic Yaksha 9

Semantics 11; Setting of the Cult: Rgveda 14; Expansion: Later Vedic Period 17; Theological Aspect: Vedic and Subsequent 21.

CHAPTER 3
Development of the Cult 27

Orthodox Literature 27; The Epics 27; The Purāṇas 31; Centres of Yaksha Worship 34; Heterodox Literature: Buddhist Perspective 35; Assimilation and Supersession 35; The Converted Yakkhas 37; The Malevolent Yakkhas 40; The Benevolent Yakkhas 40; The Ambivalent Yakkhas 41; The Neutral Yaksha 42; Worship of Yaksha 42; Jain Literature 45; Yaksha Worship 50; Yakshas in Mediaeval Works 53; Survival and Resurrection 53.

CHAPTER 4
The Yaksha Pantheon 57

Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera 59; The Iconic Derivations from Kubera’s Images 71; The Yaksha-pair; Hāriti and Pāñciika 73; Subsidiary Yaksha Chiefs 80; Manibhadra 80; Pūrñabhadra 85.

CHAPTER 5
Yaksha-Worship 88

Temples and Sanctuaries 88; Yaksha-Sanctuaries 88; Celestial Abodes 89; Terrestrial Sanctuaries 89; Structured Temples 90; Semi-Structured Sanctuaries 91; Non-Structured Sanctuaries 93; The Modes of Yaksha-Worship 97; Universal 99; Restricted 100; Alternative 102.
Chapter 6

Yaksha Iconography 104

Texts 104; The First Phase (Mauryan) 108; Second Phase (Post Mauryan to 1st century BC) 109; Ajakālaka Yaksha 114; Candrā 115; Virudako Yakho 116; Gaṅgito Yakho 116; Supavāso Yakho 117; Saciloma Yakho 117; Yakshiṇī Sudasanā 118; Sātavāhana-Kushāna Phase 121; Post-Kushāna images 125; Ambikā 129.

Chapter 7

Allied Motifs 132

Animal-Faced Figures 132; Scenes with Yaksha Folklore 135; Yaksha as a Decorative Motif 137; Terracotta Figurines of Yakshas 138; Śālabhaṇḍikā 140; Dress and Ornament Patterns of Yaksha Images 141.

Chapter 8

The Popular Aspect of Yaksha Theology 145

Other Aspects of Yaksha 147; Supernatural Element 147; Maleficence 152; Beneficence 156.

Chapter 9

Survivals of Yaksha-Worship 162

Résumé 165.

Appendix I

The Guardian Yakshas in the Mahāmāyūri

Appendix II

Iconography of Jaina Yakshas and Yakshis 172

Yakshas 172, Yakshiṇīs 174

Bibliography 179

Index 185
Preface

YAKSHAS occupy a unique place in Indian ‘tradition’ and art history and, as is well known, they have fascinated several scholars in the past, including the great inimitables—the late Professors A.K. Coomaraswamy, V.S. Agrawala and Moti Chandra. So, when I was encouraged to take up research on Yakshas I started with some diffidence. I wish to state now that if this work receives some independent attention, which I hope it will, I would still admit that the writings of these scholars have constantly inspired me and given me insight for further exploration.

Yakshas afford an opportunity to comprehend how something which was conceptually fluid in the beginning, eventually assumed a corporeality invested with character and attributes and through a historical process of transformation, altered so much that what had originally started as a nebulous idea, somewhat enigmatic in its content, ultimately assumed demonic attributes and functions. There is a queer touch of both sacred and profane in the character of Yakshas and their worship; though only ‘profane’ survived through the Vedas and Upanishads to the later historical times. Yakshas require to be seen from various angles matching their many facets. In their fully developed form they characterise ‘supernatural’ and in that they seem to have borrowed similar features from other demi-gods as they evolved. This ultimately shaped their personality which was not necessarily anthropomorphic. At the same time, the Vedic literature has a ‘high god’ concept regarding Yakshas which can be seen in the ‘etymologies’ and ‘semantics’ of the word ‘Yaksha’ and its theological aspect. These points have been elaborately discussed in the first two chapters of this monograph with emphasis on a gradual concretisation of their material personality involving attributes of character which made them different from merely ‘amorphous’.

The third chapter deals with development of Yakshas, their different types and functions as also their worship as evidenced by the sectarian and non-sectarian literature. The next chapter discusses formation of Yaksha pantheon highlighting information on prominent Yaksha chiefs like Kubera-Vaishravana, Manibhadra and Pūrṇaprabha, including the tutelary pair represented by Hārīti and Pāncika. The images and iconographies of these demi-gods have also been discussed in their reference.

The details of the habitats of Yakshas and the modes of their worship have been documented in the chapter 5 within certain typologies relevant to these points. Chapter 6 discusses iconography and images of Yakshas, including stylistic considerations of phasing them into three broad categories namely: Pre-Kushana, Kushana and Post-Kushana. Yaksha images and reliefs such as: the animal-faced figures, Śalabhaṇjikā motif, decorative figures, terracottas, as also the dress and ornament patterns of Yaksha and Yakshini images are discussed in the chapter 7. Such a staggering of the iconic types of Yakshas became necessary in view of their variety. So, the images falling under the category of the major cult deities are discussed in chapter 4; the remaining in the chapter 7, and those not conforming to any of those types are separately dealt with in chapter 8. It is necessary to evolve a typology of Yaksha images, and as a postscript to these chapters it may be added here that the four major classes of Yakshas, namely: Malādhura, Sadāmatta, Karotpāni and Jrimbhaka or Yamabhāka mentioned in ancient texts should define a bulk of the non-cult images of Yakshas. This nomenclature seems to
conform with the variability or difference in the manners of Yakshas' depiction on the one hand and their tradition on the other. As such, the recently discovered Yaksha image from Govindanagar (Mathura), or the one known from Pitalkhora, or the other similar ones in the Government Museum, Mathura and elsewhere, may be designated as the *Mālādhara* type. Obviously such images were meant to be installed outside the Stūpas or monasteries with garlands or flowers kept in their depressed portion at the top, meant for picking up by the votaries. The import of the *Sadāmatta* type is obvious. The *Karotpāni* type may define those images or reliefs where Yakshas or Yakshīs were shown holding eatables or toilet objects. The Jrimbaka or Yamṛkā type perhaps stood for the attendants. It thus appears that a classification of some of the Yaksha images conforming to their basic ethos and tradition may be possible by applying these 'definitive' terms in their respective cases.

Having stated this, I wish to record my gratitude to those who have made this work possible: To professor K.D. Bajpai for his encouragement to me to undertake this work; to late Professor K.C. Chattopadhyaya for his help in clarifying certain Vedic passages concerning Yakshas; to professor S. Mallikarjunan for going through the manuscript and offering suggestions for the necessary corrections—mistakes, if any in this work, are mine; to the authorities and the staff of various Museums such as: Indian Museum, Calcutta, Patna Museum, Bodhgaya Museum, Nalanda Museum, Sarnath Museum, Government Museum, Mathura, State Museum, Lucknow, Allahabad Municipal Museum, and National Museum, New Delhi for facilitating my study of the collection in their Museums; to the authorities and the staff of National Library, Calcutta and American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi for similar facility at their institutions; to my Publishers: Munshiram Manoharlal and in particular, to Sri Devendra Jain for their keen and active interest in this work as well as their imaginative and skillful handling of this monograph; to Sri Narendra for the line drawings that have been illustrated in this work; and to my wife Bina for her encouragement and constant learned help throughout the period of my work on Yakshas. Amit and Asit grew while this work progressed, and their interest in Yaksha stories, in a way, prodded me on to satisfy their queries, of which I have fond memories.

Gwalior
26 January 1981

R.N. Misra
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Anguttara Nikāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Anguttara Nikāya Commentary</td>
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<td>ACSB</td>
<td>V.S. Agrawala's introduction to Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut</td>
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<td>Antag.</td>
<td>Antagadadasāīo</td>
</tr>
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<td>App.</td>
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<td>Ātareya Upanishad</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Āvāyaka Sūtra</td>
</tr>
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<td>ASI, AR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report</td>
</tr>
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<td>ASR</td>
<td>See under Reports</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>BSS</td>
<td>Brihat-kathā-līloka, samgraha</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>CHI</td>
<td>Cambridge History of India</td>
</tr>
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<td>CII (Corpus).</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. II part ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coomaraswamy I (1)</td>
<td>Yakṣa I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coomaraswamy II (2)</td>
<td>Yakṣa II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Yakṣa of the Vedas and Upanisads</td>
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<td>Dialogues</td>
<td>Dialogues of Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>DHI</td>
<td>Banerjea's Development of Hindu Iconography</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ep.Ind.</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### YAKSHA CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
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<td>Grihyasūtra</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</td>
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<td>Agrawala’s Studies in Indian Art</td>
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<td>Sūtra-Nipāṭa</td>
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<td>Vāyu Purāṇa</td>
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<td>Vīmāṇa-vathu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Vāstusāra Prakaraṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Illustrations

(Dress and Oraament Patterns based mainly on early images and reliefs:)

**Dress**
- Uttariya:
  - Figs. i, ii
- Turban:
  - Figs. v, vi
- Female Head-dress:
  - Figs. vii, viii
- Hair-style:
  - Figs. xxvii, xxxvii
- Udarabandha:
  - Fig. xlii
- Dhoti (antarlya):
  - Figs. xv, xvi, xviii, xxxii, xxxiii
- Dhoti's frills (paryastaka):
  - Figs. xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxi

**Ornaments**
- Kundala:
  - Figs. xii, xiv, xliii
- Lalāṭikā (iiklii):
  - Fig. ix
- Tattoo-marks:
  - Figs. xiii, xvii, xix, xxi, xl.
- Necklace:
  - Figs. iv, x, xl
- Angada (armlets):
  - Figs. iii, xxvi, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi
- Chhamavira:
  - Figs. xxxv, xxxv
- Bracelets:
  - Fig. xxxviii
- Mekhala:
  - Figs. xxii, xxiii, xxxix

 Anklets

(Images and Reliefs of Yakshas and Yakshinis)

1. Kubera from Moosanagar, Kanpur District, State Museum, Lucknow.
10. Kubera with his Consort and Attendants, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
12. Jain Kubera from Ranimaliya, Chittor District, Rajasthan.
15. Kubera, Dhubela Museum, Chhatarpur District.
17. Kubera from Modi, Mandsor District.
19. Jambhala from Sirpur, Raipur District, Archaeological Museum, University of Saugar, Sagar.
27. Yakshi from Didarganj, Patna District, Patna Museum, Bihar.
32. Yaksha from Pratapgarh, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
33. Yaksha from Sopara, Maharashtra.
34. Details.
35. Yaksha from Bhita, Allahabad District, State Museum, Lucknow.
36. Details.
37. Details.
40. Details.
41. Details.
42. Kubera from Bharhut, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
43. Candrā Yakshiṇī from Bharhut, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
44. Ajakālaka Yaksha from Bharhut, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
47. Cukākā Devatā, Bharhut, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
49. Yakshiṇī from Bodhāyana, Gaya District, Bihar.
50. Yaksha from Bhita, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
52. Yakshiṇī, Mathura District, Government Museum.
55. Yaksha (Bhāravāhākha) Sanchi Stupa I, Western Gate, Vidisa District.
56. Padmapāṇi Yaksha, Sanchi Stupa I, Vidisa District.
57. Śūlapāṇi Yaksha, Sanchi Stupa I, Western Gate, Vidisa District.
59. Yaksha Tors (Back-view) from Dumduma, Puri District, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
60. Mogarappāṇi Yaksha, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow.
61. Yaksha, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow.
64. Yaksha from Nagarjunakonda, Guntur District, National Museum, New Delhi.
66. Yaksha from Ahicchatra, Bareilly District, State Museum, Lucknow.
68. Yakshi-Vrikshakā, Gyaraspur, Vidisa District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.
69. Cakresvart from Deogarh, Lalitpur District.
70. Malini (I) from Deogarh, Lalitpur District.
71. Gomukha Yaksha from Gandharavāl, Dewas District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.
72. Gomukha Yaksha from Hathmo, Jodhpur District, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
73. Padmavati with other two Yakshinis from Tewar, Jabalpur District.
74. Padmavati from Sarangpur, Raigarh District.
75. Ambika from Patiyam Dai Temple, Satna District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
76. Human-beaded Frog: A Decorative Yaksha, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow.
78. Gomukha Yaksha, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow.
79. Gomukha Yaksha from Tumain, Guna District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.
81. Scene depicting the Padakusala-mānava-Jātaka, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura.
82. Scene depicting the Vidhurapandita-Jātaka, Bharhat, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
84. Hospital scene, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura.
85. Bhāravāhaka Yaksha image from Bhojpur, Bhopal District.
86. Apsara Pancācudā from Tamluk, West Bengal, Indian Institute, Oxford.
87. Terracotta figure of a Yaksha, from Kausāmbi, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
88. Terracotta figure of a Yaksha from Kausāmbi, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
89. Terracotta figure of a Yaksha from Kausāmbi, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
90. Salabhanjikā, Sanchi, Stupa I, Vidisa District.
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State Museum, Lucknow: Figs. 1, 11, 20, 35-37, 60, 66, 76, 78.
Government Museum, Mathura: Figs. 2-9, 23, 52, 53, 62, 63, 67, 77, 80, 81, 84.
Sarnath Museum: Figs. 91.
Allahabad Museum: Figs. 32, 38, 50, 75, 83, 87-89.
Bodhgaya Museum: Fig. 49.
Nalanda Museum: Fig. 21.
Patna Museum: Figs. 18, 27, 28.
National Museum, New Delhi: Figs. 33, 34, 51, 54, 64, 65.
Ajmer Museum: Figs. 13, 72.
Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar: Figs. 10, 59.
Dhubela Museum: Fig. 15.
Archaeological Museum, Saugar University: Fig. 19.
Indian Institute, Oxford: Fig. 86.

It is also acknowledged that this monograph is a revised version of my dissertation which was awarded Ph. D. Degree of the University of Saugar in 1968.
CHAPTER

1

Introduction

The natural propensity of the religious traditions in ancient India towards polytheism gave rise to the development of several cults and philosophies in course of time. But, while the mysteries of genesis and evolution of the major religious systems have been profusely investigated, the democratic or popular theistic cults have not received adequate attention. The popular deities had a world of their own, and in this sphere, the Yakshas, along with several other demi-gods, occupied an important status. There will not be found many deities who had such a diversity of functions and such spectacular ups and downs as the Yakshas. In terms of an unbroken time-span of worship, the Yakshas are again matchless. This dissertation will authenticate that, the Yakshas have a queer blend of what is profound and profane, sublime and mundane, and intellectual and democratic. No doubt the emergence of these demi-gods is shrouded in mystery but the development of their worship including cult, pantheon, temples, images, high-priests, votaries, modes of worship and iconography are not only vivid but comprehensible also. The principal upholders of this faith were the common people; but it embraced other votaries also who represented a cross-section of society. It can therefore be easily deduced that the higher cults enriched themselves at the wilt of these demi-gods; they also chose these and other popular deities an ideal media of communication with the masses as well as the elites of ancient society. The sectarian literature however, has a clear bias which shadows the significance of the elevating roles played by these demi-gods. One by one, the different religious systems made a concerted effort to dislodge and supersede the Yakshas. In the process, several anecdotes about the Yakshas got into their scripture. These anecdotes are of great value; firstly, because they are a folklorist's paradise and secondly, because they reveal a uniformity in the Yakshas' concept and image everywhere. This methodical consistency concerning the Yakshas reflects the universal dominance of the cult which percolated into different systems without any significant change in its core. Inspite of several set-backs, the kernel of the belief in Yakshas remained always the same, and exists even today. Yaksha worship, therefore, is not a dead relic of only historical record but a fossilised faith which, by and large, is of contemporary interest.

Eventually, the Yakshas came to be identified as the 'creatures of wild and forest,' the 'remnants of an ancient demonology,' but this was a later concept. Earlier, we have him as a sublime god in the Vedic period. An unconnected and historically segmented study of the Yaksha is bound to result in hasty and ill-founded generalizations, prejudiced and untrue. And such diametrically opposite concepts defining Yakshas require a serious and connected investi-
2 YAKSHA CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY

gation of the evolution of the cult in a wider perspective involving their theology, iconography, pantheon and co-existence with other cults. It is seen that after a strong struggle for survival, this cult spread everywhere in the country and to certain parts of south-east Asia. This ubiquitous prevalence of the Yakshas is equally true of their iconography and their literary tradition. The sculptures of Yakshas are known from several places in all times. As regards their antiquity, the Yaksha sculptures are the earliest known Indian iconic representations and, as such, they have evoked considerable interest amongst scholars. In the field of iconography, again a unified and evolutionary account of them is lacking. There are problems relating to the dating of the Yaksha sculptures, their development and influence with a view to explicating their role in shaping the later iconography and devising several new motifs of art. The diversity of the iconographic features of Yakshas is not fully explored. Also, as regards the identification, a vast material found in literature is still ignored. The analysis of this literary material is pertinent to the problem of iconography, and a proper documentation clearly establishes the fact that in many cases there is no longer any need to denote the identity of Yakshas merely by their place-names. Many Yaksha-figures, inscribed or uninscribed, can be related to the place of their discovery on the basis of several lists available, defining the respective places of Yakshas and their names. The ancient artists found in the Yaksha statues an ideal opportunity for their fancy to run riot; hence, there are animal-faced sculptures which have been considered bizarre and of unusual occurrence when torn out of context. In the Yaksha iconography, even their folklore has been explicated, which seems to establish them as precursors of the later mythological sculptures of higher gods.

Origin of the Concept or ‘Being’ of Yakshas

A study of the Yakshas is both a lively and a challenging one because of its various angles and diversities, and an articulate study of the concept and the cult of Yakshas makes it desirable to examine the central and peripheral settings in which the whole problem seems embedded. Yakshas have been variously designated either in terms of broad groups or specifically, for instance, punyajana, vaiśravaṇayākika deva, amanussa, vaiśarṇamanta, deva, bhummadeva or rukkhadeva. This group of words indicates that they formed a kindred group—a devajīti (Amarakosa, I.1.6)—along with several other demi-gods such as Deva, Gandharva, Apsaras, Kinnara, Guhyaka etc. It would be interesting to study how the Yakshas might have derived some of their characteristics, although as a class they stood distinct. The ensuing analysis will make this point clear. Starting with the Gandharvas, it is seen that Yakshas shared their attributes in so

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1AV, VIII.10.28. (Itarajana in the Paippalada version); Mbh., XVIII.4.18.
3Vin. P., 1.277; D., I. 116; S., 1.91; amanussa is a Yaksha, a spirit, a ghost. The commentary explains that ‘they are either Yakshas or men who have departed desire to return’ cf., Vin. P., I, p. 147 note 2. According to the PED, amanussa is “not human being (but not a sublime god either), a being half-deified and of great power as regards influencing people (partly helpful, partly hurtful).”
4US, 56.206. (Jacobi) or Vyantara deva; cf. Tv. S, IV.1-12 which enumerates four orders of gods of Jain pantheon, namely bhuvanasvāt, vyantara, jvottishka and vairātika and each of these four classes has ten grades, viz., Indra, Sāmanika Trāyastriṃśa, Pārśhadā Aranaraksha, Lokapāla, Aṃtaka, Prakṛṣṭaka, Abhiyogya and Kīvishaka. The gods of the Vyantara region are Kinnara, Kimpurusha, Mahoraga, Gandharva, Yaksha, Rākshasa, Bhūta and Piśāca. All these seven classes of Vyantara gods except Rākshasa live in the uppermost stratum of the first earth: rainaprakāsha.
5D., II.254-257. The word includes other demi-gods such as Nāga, Supaṇṭa, Yaksha, Asura and Gandhabba.
7Some of these gods are vairātika gods ‘genii loci’ in the Buddhist sense of the term. cf. Bailey, H.W., BSAOs, XIX, 1957, pp. 55ff. J., V.171 uses a word bhūtaharṣiyam i.e. fully developed and embryo deities which may include some of the deities of the above list. For bhavya as a class of gods cf. Vishnu Purana, III.12.
8cf. BSS, XIX.140, p. 297 (Yaksha-Karaddama).
far as they liked fragrance, possessed women, and controlled speech, offspring and had the same region as their habitat; they both possessed the highest wisdom as well as great beauty, and were great music lovers. The Apsaras, etymologically meaning ap sārīṇī, moving in waters, also had certain features in common with Yakshas. In the Vedic literature these nymphs are often described as frequenting forests, lakes and rivers; in the later Sāthiśās their 'sphere extends to earth and in particular trees.' They, like the Yakshas, inhabited the banyan and the sacred Alvattā trees, in which cymbals and lutes resounded, or else they inhabited the udumbara and plaksā trees. Like Yakshas, dancing, singing and playing were their favourite pastimes. Also, both Apsaras and Yakshas were fond of dice and bestowed luck at play, both were notoriously capable of causing mental derangement. Admirably beautiful as the Apsaras and Yakṣīs were, human beings are often described as deriving sexual pleasure from them. The Vedic Rākṣasas and Pīśācas stood in close proximity to the Yakshas. Rākṣasas is by far the most frequent generic name in the Rgveda for terrestrial demons and goblins. Like Yakshas they had feathered or beastly forms. Both are represented as deriving pleasure in destroying offspring, just as they had a most uncommon appearance and monstrous deformity. Their food-habits too were akin. The Mahābhārata (XIII.101.60) has it that the food of Yakshas and Rākṣasas consist of a mixture of meat and liquor. In the same context (XIII.101.40) it is said that aguru, a scent, was

1Gandharva, RV, X.85.40-44 and Yaksha in Dh. A, III.208 ff.; VI.194.
2Gandharvas are said to impart to women an auspicious speech according to the Yajñavalkyasūtra, I.3.71, in the marriage ritual. cf. Kubera, Mbb., III.159.1 ff.; Śantī Parva 75.3.
3Pāścavānī Brāhmaṇa, XIX.3.1 where Gandharvas along with Apsaras are prayed for granting offspring, and Yakshas in the Vip. S., VII.28, p. 84 ff.
4Gandharvapadaṁ dhruve padah, RV, I.22.14. Sāyaṇa explains dhruve padah as antariksha and quotes a statement of Nrisimha Tāpantyāyakā, I.2 that the sky is inhabited by groups of Yaksha, Gandharva and Apsara.
Also Sn. A. 1.370 (Ākṣatīta Viṃāna).
Gandharvas are described as the receptacles of secrets, AV, II.1.2. Yakshas are repository of wisdom; they ask questions regarding existence. cf. Yaksha-Praśna, Mbb., III.296-297; Sn., Hare, I.9.10; II.5.
Gandharva SB, XIII.4.3.7 and Yakshas in Meghadūta, II.19.
Gandharvas are celestial singers in the epics but not so in the Vedic literature. Macdonell, A.A., VM, p. 137;
Yakshas in Vr., III.4 ff; Vṛ. A., 131 ff.
Yāṣkā, Nirukta, V.13; RV, X.10.4. calls them apya-yaśā 'aqueous nymths.'
Macdonell, A.A., VM, p. 134; Vedic Yakshas too are immensely connected with waters. cf. AV, XI.1.XI.2.24, GB, I.1.
5AV, IV.37.4.5, for Yakshas, infra, chapter 5.
6TS, III.4.8; for Yakshas, infra, chapter 5.
Cf. Yaksha in Bharata's Nāṭyakśstra, V.20.47.
Apsaras, AV, IV.38; Yakshas in J, VI.137; Kauśā, IX.17.
Apsaras, AV, II.2.5; for Yaksha, Sr. (Hare) I.10, p. 29; Caraka Saṁhitā, Nidānasthānamā, VII.11-15.
Apsaras, SB, XIII.4.3.8, Yakshas, MMK, I.200.
Apsaras in RV, X.95.10-17; Yakshas in MMK, II.293; BSS, XI.75 ff and XIX.130 ff.
Kuvera-Vāsirvāpas, the king of Yakshas according to his fully developed conception, is earlier called the king of Rākṣasas. cf. SB, XIII.4.3.10 Sāṅkhayaṇa SS, XVI.2.16-17; Aśvalāyana SS, uttarashatkhā, IV.7; This transformation of Kuvera confirms the statement of Keith, A.B., Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniḥods; p. 181 in reference to S, I.33, where Pīśācas replace Gandharvas, that 'this is the case where demons are allowed to obtain a name which is not theirs by right; and which has become as result of some obscure or vivid contact.' This proximity between Yakshas and Rākṣasas helps their reciprocal identification. Thus the Krodha in northern Rākṣasas (Mbb., III.152.20; V.50.24) are implied as Yakshas (ibid., III.155.23). Hopkins has remarked that 'Yakṣas and Rākṣasas in the account of battle (in the Yakṣa-yudha Parā) are exchangeable terms.' The relationship between Kubera and Rāvaṇa, the sons of Pulastya in the Rāma yana is too well known but whereas the former is called Yaksha the latter the Rākṣasas.
8Macdonell, A.A., op. cit., p. 162.
9Compare, Sūcīloma 'Porcupine' or kharā 'donkey' in Sr., Hare, II.5. Gardabha in Gīgit MSS, III, part I, p. 16 and Rākṣasas in RV, VII.104; 18-22.
11Compare Yakshas in the I.33.18; Rasovākhīnī, pp. 99 ff. and Rākṣasas in AV, VIII.6.
liked by Yakshas, Rākshasas and Nāgas. As for the Piśācas vis-a-vis the Yakshas, some common habits in them may be discerned inasmuch as they ate raw flesh and corpses. These similarities between the foresaid demi-gods in their Vedic conception and the Yakshas in their later conception confirm the view that Yaksha was a compound of different and, in essence, disparate ideas and that Yakshas obtained different attributes of the various demi-gods to evolve their own ultimate and mature personality.

In the epics the Yakshas are found brushing shoulders with Indra in being the opulent repository of wealth, "As lord of wealth, Kubera shared the role of Indra with whom he shared the northern district ... Indra rains gold in the Epics and his wealth is proverbial; he is sometimes grouped with Kubera Dhaneśvara as contrasted with other divinities." But soon, Kubera, the lord of Yakshas, supplanted the other gods, e.g., Indra, Yama and Varuṇa, and became the "norm of exhaustless wealth."

A common list of attendants is encountered in the Mahābhārata in connection with the Yaksha-King Kubera and Kārttikeya. Thus, certain attendants of Kārttikeya and Kubera (III. 219.42) are called Dhanadā while one attendant of Skanda is called Vasudā 'the giver of wealth,' another has the name Pingākshi, an epithet of Kubera.

The Yakshas and Devas are inseparably interconnected by their nature and attitudes as well as in carrying that ‘deva’ designation. The elements of tree-worship which had been considerably popular during the pre-historic and the Vedic ages, have been found in the Yaksha cult. Sometimes the deity living in a tree has been called devata but can be identified as Yaksha from its various attributes. Besides, there were several common features between the tree-spirits (called devatā) and the Yakshas, such as that they granted wishes, and their modes of worship were more or less similar. Just as trees were the abodes of Devas, they were also the abodes of Yakshas.

In the canonical Pali literature Yakshas have been associated with the Kinnaras and Petas. A later Jain work—the Vividhatirtha Kalpa (p. 33) speaks of a Yaksha whose proper name was Kinnara. The art of singing appears to be a common trait of Yakshas and Kinnaras. In the

1Compare Piśācas in AV, V.29.9ff; Yakshas in Visuddhimagga, II, p. 665; Gilgit MSS, I, p. V.3; Jātaka, III, 132; V.257. However it has been remarked that ‘in many respects they (Yakshas) correspond to the Vedic Piśācas though different in many others and of different origin,’ PED, sv. Yakkha.
2Indira is Dhanada and Dhanapati, in AV, I.32.2.
3Mbh., XII. 29, 22f.
5ibid.
7ibid., p. 146.
8ibid., pp. 145, 229.
10The words Yaksha and devata are identical and voluntarily applicable for each other cf. Kindred Sayings, I.273, 9, note 1.
11K.P. Pandey of the Department of Archaeology, University of Saugar, has collected a number of prehistoric rock paintings from Madhya Pradesh, many of which indicate the idea of tree-worship.
12RF, X.97; AV, VI.136.1; TS, II.1.5 (Plants hinder child-birth and their favour is procured by offering an animal victim). Cult of Vanaprati in RV, X.64.8; cf. also, Keith, op. cit., pp. 184ff and Shinde, Foundations of the Aryan Civilization, BORI, Poona.
13Pv., II.9.9. In sculptures also sometimes the god of a particular tree is called Yaksha; for instance, Yaksha Candramukha of the Yakula tree; cf. Sivaramamurti, C., Amaranavti Sculptures, p. 82.
14Infra, chapter 5.
15Infra, chapter 5.
16The Yakshas 'range in appearance immediately above Petas: many successful or happy Petas are in fact Yakkhas.' PED, sv. Yakkha.
Jātaka stories there are some instances where creatures having a composite human and equine form have been called Yakkha or Yakkhi. The Rāmāyaṇa (IV.42.30) speaks of an Ṭasantakṣṇi woman and her niketa, ‘abode.’ The Kinnaras, as a matter of fact, have been included in the Yakkha-kula in the Lalita-Vistara (ch. 6). Hopkins has cautiously assigned Kimpurushas or Kinnaras a place amongst Gandharvas, Yātudhānas and Rākshasas; and these four demi-gods according to him represented four different classes of the Yakkhas in the Mahābhārata (III.139.5). Elsewhere, in a reference to the four classes of Yakkhas, the Kinnaras have been omitted and the list consists of three classes viz., Karotpâni, Mālādhara and Sādāmatta besides Yambhakkha.

No description of the parallelism and correspondence between Yakkhas and other demi-gods would be complete without a reference to the Guhyaakas. The Guhyaakas were the old-timer attendants of Kubera, the lord of concealment, and, as such, they possessed mysterious powers over hidden treasures. For instance, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Rama is represented as capable of looking at what was hidden because Kubera, through a Guhyaaka, had made available to him an eye-ointment. Hopkins has surmised that ‘Guhyaaka’ was probably a ‘general name for all the spirits of concealment though sometimes (they) made a special class.’ The association of Guhyaakas with Kubera goes back to the Aṭṭhavaveda which refers to the milking of universe by Rajatanābha, son of Kubera. The age of the Dharmasūtras10 witnessed acceptance of Yakkhas as the attendants of Kubera, although Guhyaakas still continued to enjoy that position. It appears that in failing to dislodge Guhyaakas from their propinquity with Kubera, the Yakkhas chose to coexist with them as far as the lordship of Kubera and powers over riches were concerned. The Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali mentions Kubera as Guhyākāriṇḍipati. There appears to be a complete identity between Yakkhas and Guhyaakas12 insofar as assumption of a desired appearance, possession and concealment of riches, and offering service to Kubera are concerned. As regards the lordship of Kubera the Yakkhas inherited it from the Guhyaakas.

The Kumbhāṇḍas were also in the service of Kubera. The name has an interesting etymological interpretation. It is said that they had huge stomachs and their genitals were as big as pots, hence their name.13

This comparative study of the parallelism and synthesis of the demonological traits of Yakkhas and several other demi-gods serves the purpose of obtaining the placement of Yakkhas in the class where they really belonged. At the same time it reveals the process through which the

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1Kurāla, V.222; Padakusalamānava, III.431ff. for Yakkhini Assamukhi, infra, chapter 6.
2The word cātyāgaka here may as well be differently explained, cf. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 148.
3Mahāvāstu, I.25 and II.108.
4Yambhakkha or Jrimbhakkha have been referred to elsewhere also as in the Jaina Kalpasūtra, 89; Jacob, p. 248
5note 1, where it is said that they lived in the tīryaka-world and like Yakkhas served the god Vaiśravaṇa. cf
6Av. S. I, p. 257 Mahāvāstu also makes an interesting reference to Yambhakkha class of Yakkha who were in the
7service (ānhāṭṭiśkarā) of the Kinnaras. The translator remarks that they “do not seem to be mentioned elsewhere,
8nor can their name be etymologically explained. But instead, these few references undoubtedly indicate that
9however less known, they were a class of Yakkha alright.” cf. Mahāvāstu, II.108.
10Mbh., VI.7.32.
11AV, VIII.10.28.
12Mbh., III.273.9-11.
13op. cit., also pp. 144, 148, 189.
14AV, VIII.10.28. Kubera here is son of Viśravaṇa.
16For Yakkha’s power over riches, infra, chapter 7.
17The Vī, ch. 69, says that Punyajana, Guhyaka and Devajana Yakkhas, all fall under the category of
18Guhyaakas; for more about Guhyaakas, see Hopkins, op. cit., p. 148, Jain. J.C., Life in Ancient India, p. 218f.
19and Khaṭāyurisūṣṭi, 1, App. 1, where it is said ‘They are often synonymous with the Yakkhas.’
20Compare Mbh., III.147.22 and MMK, III.626.
21Kubera on the other hand, was earlier the king of Rākshasas. cf. SB, XII.4.3.10. Such types of adjustment
22pertaining to different cults and classes are as interesting as they are numerous.
23PED, sv. Kuṁabhāṇḍa.
concept of the Yaksha and his various attributes might have developed. On the other hand, the origin of the Yakshas' beings finds mention in the literary tradition of India.

In the Epics it is said that Prajāpati-Brahmā created Yakshas, or they sprang from a Cosmic Egg. Sometimes, the sage Pulatsya is also regarded as their progenitor. According to the Purāṇas, however, Yakshas were the progeny of the sage Kesāyapa whose consort was Viśvā or Khashā. In the Vāmana Purāṇa, this role has been ascribed to Kapila (Kampana) and his consort Keśinti. Krodhā, a daughter of Daksha, who was the son of Brahmā, is also mentioned as creator of Yakshas.

These anecdotes about the Yakshas' origin are fundamentally in opposition to the Vedic concept of the primordial Yaksha. Obviously, the Epics and Purāṇas seek to explain the mystery of the origin with a patently authoritarian religious and mythological bias. It will be proper, therefore, to consider other areas which may have relevance to the question of Yakshas' origin. It seems that a series of processes achieved the evolution of Yakshas' concept and being; the literary works have a simple explanation for it, but the other sources in this connection were primitive religion and the borrowings from the other demi-gods. The latter has been discussed above; the former is insuperably allied to the popular tradition of worship. The Yaksha cult was a relic of non-Aryan worship. And the non-Aryan popular tradition coupled with the concept of primitive-religion would have worked together in evolving this deity. It seems likely that the primitive religion in the very beginning contained both the image and popular sentiments about this deity minus his name, from which the final shades of his concept and personality were perfected. Recent researches have established that in a primitive society, religion embodies worship of the supernatural which, in broad outline, consists of nature-worship, animism, ancestor-worship and the like. Taylor has defined animism as 'belief in spirit-beings.' He implies that the soul-concept is at the root of animism. The soul which is the alter-ego in man was apprehended by the primitive man, and he endowed with soul not only men but also the creatures who lived in woods and fields, in air, water and in plants. According to such beliefs, souls turned into ghosts and free spirits after physical death and were held in veneration. To a primitive man the whole word lives; soul animate things and whatever embodies the soul is a spirit-being to be treated with religion or magic or both. This supposition obviously led to the creation and worship of a multitude of nature-spirits associated with trees, mountains, rivers and lakes. Yaksha was one of such spirit-deities. By accepting this imposition of animism and the other elements of primitive-religion, it becomes easier to assume that the primitive religious beliefs, at least, had some, if not the whole, share in framing various aspects of the Yaksha concept. In the literary accounts, passages are not wanting to establish Yakshas as arboreal, aquatic or mountainous deities, or guardian angels; the last has a reference to the illustrious dead who came to stay as

1R, VII.4.12-13; VP, ch. 9, p. 35.
2Mbh, I.1.33.
3infra, p. 60 fn. 4.
4MP, VI.146; BP, II.6.13; VI.8.24; BP, III.32.1-2, MP, 646.
5VP, ch. 69, p. 274; BP, III.7.60, 100-17; 22.41, 41.30. etc. The origin of Yaksha is discussed also in the Vishēh, P., chs. 197-98.
6Agrawala, V.S., Vāmana Purāṇa, p. 48. however refers to Kapila as the consort of Ulākhala-Mekhalā of Kurukshetra.
7MP, 171.61.
8Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 244; Coomaraswamy, 1, p. 2; Moti Chandra, BPWM (no. 3), p. 43f.
12Hoebel, op. cit., p. 551.
13infra, chapter 5.
the ancestors guarding their men from all sorts of perils.¹ The Yakshas seem to imbibe the idea of the supernatural in their acts, form and appearance, to the widest possible extent. And there is hardly any reason to doubt the impact of primitive-religion on it. How the general traits of primitive-religion moulded themselves into the form of a particular deity i.e., Yaksha, is difficult to reconstruct. The earliest mention of Yaksha is found in the Rgveda, but not as a deity inhering in itself the primitive beliefs. What we find there is an intellectual concept in the form of a symbol and abstraction. The semantics of the word Yaksha requires an independent study reserved for subsequent analysis. But it suffices here to say that the word might have been of a non-Aryan origin and the high-god concept applied to it in the Vedic period might have been due to the fact that a section of the Aryans upheld it. They, however, could not eventually sustain it in that form. And this resulted in the relegation of the Yakshas to the lower ranks from where they had arisen. The ambivalence of attitude defining Yakshas as good and evil in the Rgveda may explain the averision to and espousal of Yakshas by two distinct classes of the Aryans. That the Yakshas were originally non-Aryan deities hardly need be doubted, and his non-Aryan character is reflected by the institution of idol-worship, rituals of the cult, the nature of worshippers and the status of the Yaksha priests vis-a-vis the Vedic priests. These points are briefly elaborated here. The Vedic Aryans were not idolatrous; their gods did not have any concrete personality either. But the other section of the Vedic society consisting of the non-Aryans, were definitely idolatrous. Some of these idolatrous classes have been deprecatingly mentioned as the śīśādevas and the māra-devas.² It is likely that the worshipper also carved the images of Yakshas. It is significant that Yakshas' images are the first anthropomorphic representations of any deity in stone and present a uniform iconographic standard in spite of geographical distances between their find-spots. Since image-worship was a pre-or non-Aryan institution and the Yaksha sculptures are the oldest known historical sculptures so far, it may be pleaded that this occurrence is not merely coincidental; it might be indicative of a pattern, flowing from the one to the other. Moreover, a reference to the Śīśā-devas in the Rgveda and the eloquent association of sex with Yakshas both in the later literature and art, confirm this pattern suggesting that this iconographic feature of Yakshas in their images had a natural derivation from a Vedic non-Aryan institution. Could it be possible to find in the phallicism of the Śīśā-devas, the echo of the Yaksha's iconographic trait?³ Although, it may not be said with authority that some sensible Yaksha images did exist in the Vedic society for the common folks, from what has been gathered so far, there is reason to think that some kinds of representation—iconic or aniconic—of Yakshas might have existed in the pre-Vedic times to satisfy the needs of those non-Aryans who also worshipped the Māraś and Śīna.

The rituals of Yaksha-worship also indicate its non-Aryan affiliations. The manner in which Yaksha-festivals used to be held at the sites of their habitat and the sacrificial offerings of human flesh and blood used to be made in order to please them, presents a grim picture of this atrociously diabolic faith,⁴ different from the cults of typically Vedic deities. A study of the nature of Yakshas brings them nearer to the nature-spirits, demonic or beneficent. The Vedic literature presents a short phase of belief in the Yaksha, endowed with a high-god concept. Eventually, Yakshas became pre-eminently folk-deities catering to the worldly needs of people. They were incapable of fulfilling the higher objective of human existence, such as moksha, emancipation, for which they were themselves aspirants and worshipped the Brahmanical cult-gods or supplicated to the Buddha, or Mahavira.

These considerations relate Yakshas to the non-Aryan beliefs; the intrinsic material of the Vedas also seems to confirm it. The dual attitude of respect and disparagement towards the

¹infra, chapter 7.
³infra, chapter 6.
⁴The offering of piglets is current in the present day worship of Jakhaiya at Mahavana in Mathura district.
Yaksha in the Vedic literature clearly hints at the ambivalent Aryan reception accorded to them, before accepting them into the regular religious scheme. The Yaksha-priests did not enjoy any respect either, vis-a-vis, the Vedic priests in the same society. The Maitrāyiṇī Samhitā explicitly admonishes them, calling them ‘thieves,’ and indicating that they should be avoided and kept at arm’s length. This stage, however, did not last long, and by the sixth century BC, the Yakshas had been accepted in the religious scheme of the Indians, in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism and were accorded the status of demi-gods having their own cult.

The emergence of the concept and the being of Yakshas can thus be related to a series of developments, relating to the primitive religion, non-Aryan beliefs and the spontaneous borrowing of different traits by Yakshas from the other demi-gods of the kindred group. All this saga of growth belonged to the popular tradition which was its cradle. The complex processes leading to the development of Yakshas would evidently have crystallised themselves simultaneously; the whole phenomena of this intricate growth must have been a great achievement in itself, although the point has been summarily brushed aside by the epic and Puranic composers in ascribing Yaksha’s creation to some divine, cosmic or Rishic agencies. The acceptance of Yakshas as the divine-beings in the ancient religious scheme had greater repercussions and the whole concept of Yakshas passed through several stages of sublimation and transformation and supersession; and in its sweeping stride, involved itself with the masses as well as the elite.
CHAPTER

2

The Vedic Yaksha

The foregoing chapter makes it clear that the whole idea of the Yaksha might well have crystallised itself from primitive religions, and the pre-Aryan settlers of India might have been its votaries. The period of the Vedas witnessed startling developments pertaining to Yakshas, including the elevation of Yaksha to the higher philosophic or intellectual planes. The Vedic Yaksha does not necessarily imply a personality to start with, and is more of a word-concept which was subsequently converted into a fully developed personage, invested with the attributes of spirit, form, nature and power. Yaksha enjoys a unique place in the Vedic pantheon. It is a word, neuter or masculine, a concept or a personality, benevolent or malevolent, any divinity or a particular sublime and primordial power, beautiful or invisible; and all these contradictions are a fortiori accurate. Several of these aspects of the Yaksha assumed greater distinction in course of time, but their beginnings require attention here. To unravel this mystery, it seems necessary to enquire into the origin of the word yaksha itself. It will be seen that the etymology and the semantics of the word help us in vivifying the implicit essence of symbol and connotation that were bound up with this word. The etymology of the word yaksha is controversial

1 having attracted the attention of scholars since the twenties of this century. Hillebrandt2 supposed that the basic meaning of 'Yaksha' in the Vedas may be 'apparition' or opposite. Keith3 derived it from ŚyaJ 'to worship with offering' and 'honour,' and Sāyana, while commenting upon the Vedic yaksha, consistently explained yaksha (n) as yajñān pājā or pujitam dhanam, 'sacrificial offering.' The yaksha in masculine form, and the yakshin, he explained as pījyādvā or pājaniya, 'worshipful deity' (RV, X.88.13; VII.88.6) Coomaraswamy, in agreement with Hillebrandt, as the former has pointed out, has accepted another derivation of the word Yaksha from yaks, 'to honour.'4 Thus the opinions converge to explain the etymology of the word yaksha as 'to honour,' deriving it sometimes from the Vedic yaks and sometimes from pra-yaks.5 Sāyana and Mādhava6 have connected the word 'yaksha'

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1 Cf. Coomaraswamy, A.K., III, p. 231 referring to Geldner, Vedische Studies, III, 126-43; Grassmann, Wortherbuch; Hettel, Die Aryanische Feuerlehre, 1.43.
2 Hillebrandt, A., Garbe Festschrift, 19, on RV, VII.61.5. His interpretation is 'wesen, Zaubervesen'; cf. Bailey, H.W., Indo-Iranian Journal, 1958, p. 154; Bailey comments that 'this (meaning) might from context tend to monstrous but it does not seem necessary to introduce magical.' Coomaraswamy, II, p. 11 had, otherwise, retained the word 'magical' in his comments on Hillebrandt's derivation.
3 Coomaraswamy, II, p. 11.
4 Coomaraswamy, III, p. 231, says 'yaks in ātmanepada forms, and in Vedic pra-yaks has also the sense, to honour.'
6 RV, I.132.5. Mādhava, prakarsaṇa yajam; RV, III.7.1. Sāyana, prayakṣaṁ prakarṣeṇa satateṁ yastum
YAKSHI CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY

(RV, I.132.5; II.5.1; III.7.1 or I.62.6) with √yaj, and Bailey has pertinently remarked that here "the archaic word has ceased to be familiar and the attempt at interpretation is made by etymology from 'yajati.' It may also be pointed out here that the later Pali commentators also derived the word from √yaj 'to sacrifice' and two relevant citations from them here are (1) yajati tathā upakaranitā ti yakkhā (Vv. A, p. 224) and (2) pūjāṇyā bhavato yakkhī ti veccati (Vv. A, p. 333).

The majority of scholars however, derive the word Yaksha from √yaksh to 'move quickly towards' or 'flash upon.' From this derivation yaksha would mean "a momentary appearance of light flashing upon sight'; this sense eminently satisfies the English word 'phantom.' Rhys Davids and Stede have likewise explained the Vedic yaksha as "quick ray of light." It is said that they were "swift creatures changing their abode quickly and at will' and in this sense they were 'ghosts.' The Pali Buddhist literature abounds in references which tend to confirm the view that the Yakshas could change their appearance and form or even raise spectacles that did not exist (Jātaka, I.102: 233ff; II.89).

So far as the hitherto discussed etymological meanings of yaksha viz. 'worshipful deity,' 'phantom' or 'ghosts' are concerned, it has been remarked that these are "consistent with the fact that yakṣa (m) in Sanskrit and Pali literature generally, is tantamount to deva or devatā, 'deity,' sometimes in the highest sense and sometimes in lower sense of gobin or spook."

In recent years, new light on this point has come from the researches on the New-Sogdian (Yaghnab) dialect of the Yaghna valley. Bailey has stated that Yaksha therein occurs in the form and meaning of the old India Yaksha, the verbal base in that Iranian dialect being Yaš, 'to appear,' Bailey points out that it is "a word of ordinary life there, without any magical alliances and can be brought into connection with the old Indian Yaśā." He believes that, with the expansion of Buddhism, the word also travelled to Khotan where it is still used in dual sense of good and evil; its verbal base, as already pointed out, is Yaś which is linguistically the same as Yaš of the old Iranian. This research takes back the antiquity of the form of the word 'Yaksha' at least to the old Iranian linguistic tradition. We are told Indian Yakṣa and Iranian Yaš are the same, and the etymology explains the meaning of yakṣh in the sense of 'appearing' which is corroborated by the Sogdian Yaghnabish dialect. It will not be irrelevant to recall here that as Yakṣha is often used in a disparaging sense, Coomaraswamy has suggested that it might have had some clandestine association with Yakṣmā, the abominable fever mentioned in the Vedic literature and may be derived from it.

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Vāyu Purāṇa have also attempted etymological derivation of the word yakṣa, testifying to the latter orientation of the word as well as the personality of Yakshas. The Rāmāyaṇa (VII.104.12-13) relates that Brahmā created being to guard the waters and those who cried rakṣamah 'let us guard' became the Rākshasas while those who ejaculated Yakṣamah 'let us gobble,' became Yakshas. According to the Puranic or later belief, Yakshas

Mādhava, prakarśena yādyo; RV, I.62.6. Mādhava, Pāiyatanaṁ. RV, II.5.1. Mādhava offers a present participle for prarukṣaṁ (pādapāḥa - prarukṣaṁ) thus pradat ayasinā dhanāṁ. Sāyaśa here abandoned the pādapatia in giving "pra-yakṣam" thus prarukṣaṁ prakarśena pāyinā; cf. Bailey, loc. cit., p. 156, see also p. 155 for his explanation.

ibid.

Coomaraswamy, III, p. 231.

PED, sv. Yakṣa.

Coomaraswamy, III, p. 232.


cf. Jacob, ff. "As Yaksaṁ means 'magical power,' Yakṣa probably means etymologically 'being possessed of magical power'; and this was without doubt the meaning of the feminine Yakṣīṇī. The original conception of the Yakṣas should therefore be much the same as that if Vidyāharas a word which etymologically and actually means 'possessing spells or witchcraft.' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, II, p. 809 sv. 'Yakṣa' (Brahmanism).


were considered gluttons, hence probably this etymology. The Vyāyu Purāṇa (ch. LXIX) stresses the malevolent character of Yakshas when it says that the infant born of Khashā moments ago tried to devour the mother and in the process got christened as Yaksha by his father Kasyapa. It is explained that since the root yaks is used for 'devouring to dragging the elders' and since the child had tried to do it, he was named Yaksha. It follows from these parables, that now emphasis was more on the evil side of Yakshas. Obviously, when the old word-meaning had become obscure or obsolete, fresh attempts were made to provide a façade of etymology to befit the transformed ideology, and these references indicate attempts towards that end.

Semantics

The word yaksha occurs frequently in the Vedic literature but its meaning in the earlier references is not clearly explicable. "In earlier texts it has generally been thought to mean 'something wonderful or terrible, not clearly definable.' Hillebrandt means by the term 'magician, uncouth-being, unseen spiritual enemy, ...' then simply 'supernatural being of exalted character, and finally Yaksha in the ordinary sense.'" Subsequently, Yakshas represented a class of semi-divine beings, but not only did the Vedic concept of Yakshas survive but, it was at the same time perfected within the framework of their cult-personality. This semantic development of a concept into a deified personage is found almost complete by the time of the Grhyasūtras.

The Vedic ramifications of the word yasha should be examined in this light. One of the most prevalent use of the word is as an appellative or honorific and in the scriptural tradition, yaksha is virtually synonymous or rather coincident with "Brahma, Marītyu, Manas, Agni as also Ātmā and Purusha," and as such it designates that single spiritual principle which assumes multiplicity and diversity of aspects by its immanence in all things, being at the same time manifesting and in this sense recognisable." In its adjectival roles, the word yaksha qualifies Varuṇa (RV, VIII.88.6) and the neuter Brahma1 in the earlier tradition; or Indra,2 Māra3 and Buddha4 or Individual Soul5 in the later tradition. It also designates anything wonderful or unfamiliar comprising a diversity extending from Brahma of the Vedic works to unfamiliar objects of nature. For instance, in the Bhūrīdatta Jātaka,6 we are told, that when the sons of a prince

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2Śrīkṛṣṇa GS, 4.9; Āśvalāyana GS, 5.4; Pārāśara GS, Vāyūdhārṣṭrītā (tarpāśāvidhi) Appendix I.
3Coomaraswamy, III, p. 239; He further remarks that "the same name is often applied to the Deity under both aspects ab-intra and ab-extra. In other words there is always a first and second god essentially one but respectively hidden and revealed incorporeal and incarnate, one and many." ibid, p. 239, fn. 20.
4AV, X.7.38; GB, I.18; BU, V.4; KU, III.15 and J, III, 203.
5M, 1.352.
6Mahābhārata, II, 242. Śrīn, (Fausböll), 448, p. 72.
7M, 1.383. But in the A, II.37, he denies that he is a yaksha. In the context of GB, I.1. Mannātārām dvitisāṃ devaṁ nirnam (let me measure out from myself) a second deity of like measurement with myself—and how Brahma-Yaksha eventually created Prajāpati out of himself—Coomaraswamy remarks, "The manifested likeness of Buddha to whom the designation 'great person' is frequently and that of 'Yaksha' occasionally applied, is in the same way nirmānakāya and nimātta." Coomaraswamy, III, p. 237 fn. 13; see also his "Nirmānakāya" in JRAS, 1938.
8PED, sv. Yaksha, 7. Coomaraswamy, III, p. 1235, explains the phrase in context of the phrase ānavata yakṣa (AV, X.8.32); cf. also ibid, p. 234, where Coomaraswamy quotes AV, X.8.43, 'what spiritu genius' (Yakṣaḥ Ānavata) is within the lotus flower with nine openings (the human body) that the knower of Brahma knows, "and drawing attention to JU, where Brahma-Yaksha is said to have chosen the (body of) person and have entered into him (ātvā śradhyo) and thus having become" the immanent spirit, ānavat, within you and other than that which it indwells" he says that this position survives in Saṁyutta Nīkāya, where Buddha after having described his perfection, concludes "etattvā Yakṣhassu saddhi tathāgata arhati purasāparin, "such is the cleanliness of Yaksha that deserves your o.terings." He also points out that according to Sū, the "cleanliness of yaksha", i., is the same thing as "the cleanliness of man" and "cleanliness of the true Brahmā, Saṁyutta Nīkāya thus manifests the Yaksha with the true 'self' (ātā) in the man as distinguished from the empirical 'self' (ātā) which is "other than the self (amātā)."
9Bhūrīdatta J, VI.83; ibid, p. 89 has Yaksha for the unrecognised Bodhisattva.
got horrified while looking at a tortoise which had suddenly emerged, they exclaimed ‘what Yaksha is this?’ Any unknown beauty, in the same strain, is referred to as a Yakshi, just as a handsome man is said to look like a Yaksha. Besides this, the word yaksha has several other connotations as follows:

Wonderful
Mystery or Mysterious

GB, I.1.11; SB, XI.2.3.5; JUB, IV.20.2; Chh. B, I.7.14.
RV, I.190.4; VII.61.5; AV, VIII.9.8; XI.25-26; X.2.32—That golden receptacle (has) three stands. In that there is kept a Yaksha who is known to the knower of Brahma; X.7.37-38.
TB, III.12.3.1. It was mysterious (or wonderful) Tapas which was first born.

Guile, or Māyā
Invisible enemy

RV, IV.3.13; X.88.13;
RV, V.74.41; VII.6.15.

As explained earlier, Sāyaṇa and Mādhava, have explained the word ‘Yaksha’ (n. or m.) as ‘worshipful deity'; just so they derived Yaksha from yaj ‘to worship’ and both the meanings are consistent with the Vedic Yaksha concept. Bailey also takes up this question in the context of some references and says that the later commentators have tried to reinterpret the word when its original meaning had already become obsolete. Bailey has pointed out that the Ṛgvedic verb

1The term yaksha is applied to a wondrous thing in Jaminiya Brāhmaṇa, III.203.272; “the Rishis seek to see something of this kind (to know the likeness of Brahma) and Indra reveals to them the tortoise aukāpara of boundless dimension.”
2Mbh., III.52.16; 61.115; 119.16.
3In discussion relating to name and form—(nāma and rūpa), yaksha is used as an alternative term for abhya ‘force.’ Eggeling, however, translates Yakṣa as ‘manifestation or elusive representation’—Phantom Magoris, SBE, XLIV, p. 28; Coomaraswamy, III, p. 239 fn. 19. observes—(here) “name and aspect” .. the means of intellectual and sensitive cognition by which the Brahman “descends into these worlds.” (cf. BU, I.4.7) are described as “two great ‘mysterious’ powers .. two great Yaksas (abhive Yakṣe), Abhya is properly “not-being,” and can be equated with atav, ‘not being’ in a good, though awful sense, when praised as possessed by Varuṇa or Agni or the Maruts (RV, I.24.6; I.168.39 and 169.3; II.4.5; IV.1.43) or in a dread sense when Heaven and Earth are besought to protect us from it, i.e. from annihilation or death, or when Indra or the Dawn or Agni drives away the ‘non-entity of darkness.’ Most of these meanings accord with those of Yakṣa as a great unseen power, whether for good or evil, but Abhya and Yakṣa here are not used as if ‘name’ and ‘aspect’ denoted individuals so-called; taken together abhya and yakṣa mean only two mysterious and hidden powers.”
4also Gobhila GS, III.4.28; Khadira GS, II.1.3. Commentary explains yaksha here as—yakṣah saundaryaśīta-yena sarveh stutya devaśātivāśah.
5The mysterious connection of Yaksha in this passage is revealed due to the connection with abhimāya.
6Yaksha—‘monster’ Whitney, op. cit., p. 511.
7Whitney again translates it as a ‘great monster.’
8or, as Coomaraswamy, II, p. 3, translates it—“By concentrated energy I became primal yakṣa.” see also Coomaraswamy, III, p. 235.
9yakṣah in this passage should mean ‘guile’ since it is used with ahura. Hillebrandt translates it as ‘uncouth being,’ cf. Coomaraswamy, II, p. 1; Coomaraswamy, III, p. 232, however says that—‘Yakṣah here or in RV, V.70.4, might mean ‘god’ as much as ‘offering.’
10Righly the ‘Sun’ (here) is referred to as the ‘on looking eye,’ outlook of the Yakṣa (Yakṣham adhyāykṣam); cf. Coomaraswamy, III, p. 232 for details.
11or ‘unseen spiritual enemy,’ Coomaraswamy, II, p. 1; or ‘god’ or ‘offering’ Coomaraswamy, III, p. 232.
12Coomaraswamy, II, p. 2, ‘Yakṣa’ in the sense of ‘invisible’ seems to be contrasted with citra, in the sense of ‘visible.’
13cf. RV, X.88.13; pūjyadeva ‘worshipful deity’ or VII.8.6; I.190.4—pujitaḥ havir ādikām; AV, XI.2.24 pūjya svāraśāni, and such examples may further be multiplied.
14v Airgr, pp. 9-10 and notes.
15cf. RV, II.5.1; I.13.5; III.7.1 and relevant commentary of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava.
yakṣī gives good sense in four passages of the Ṛgveda, 1 which are as follows:

"Here we have (in) II.5.1, "displaying guarded treasure," (in) III.7.1—"they extend long life in display." In I.135.5, we have the sense of successful raid with the dhana set down. The heroes intent on travers show their victories and display themselves. The act (karman, I.62.6) which is most bound up with display is here associated with the dāsīna—"outstanding feat" of the dūṣma 'outstanding' man of powers and skill. 2

In some other Vedic occurrences of the word yakṣa, it is compounded as yakṣadhari and yakṣiḥabhir, and different opinions have been expressed about its real meaning. The former occurs in a verse (RV, I.190-4) in praise of Bhṛṣpati,—"like a steed, may the Intelligent One hold control." Sāyaṇa glosses it as "pūjitaḥ havirāḍikāṁ dadhānabḥ", and Coomaraswamy has observed that it means simply one who proffers sacrificial worship. 3

The other compound is yakṣadhāra, 'appearing like Yakṣa,' (RV, VII.56-10). Coomaraswamy has remarked, in agreement with Grassmann, Geldner and Hertel, that this means 'Yakṣa-aspect' rather than with Hillebrandt, that "Maruts are spiers out of Yakṣa." 4 Bailey, however, says that in it "one may see a richly clad chief-tain."

Thus, in view of such ramifications of the word yakṣa it may be said, in agreement with Coomaraswamy, 5 that the whole content of the word yakṣa (m. or n.) includes the notion of sudden luminosity, wonderful or 'awe-inspiring manifestation of something normally invisible and mysterious power properly to be worshipped.' Despite variations in the meaning of the word, this view broadly holds good.

One of the most important semantic features of the word in the later Vedic period is the emergence of Yakṣa as an 'apparition.' 6 Indeed, in at least one passage in the Ṛgveda (VII.61.5), Yakṣa is regarded as 'invisible enemy.' In some other passages, 9 the Brahma-Yakṣa is manifestly an 'apparitional being.' A similar idea is expressed in the Jātrāniya Brahma (III.203) where Indra describes to the Rishis what the Brahma-Yakṣa looks like. Ultimately this notion of 'apparition' may have led to the concept of Yakṣa as an 'ill-omened portent' or creature in the Kauśikī Sātra (IX.3.3). 10 Yakṣa was thus being invested with his later garb. This development, evidently, heralded the transformation of Yakṣa into a demonic being. Yet it is clear from Vedic literature that in the sense of a deity, he positively lingers there, although in comparison to his later form he is less material, less manifest and incorporeal and, like most of the Vedic deities, symbolic. That this amorphous Yakṣa was conceived of as a Deva or deity

1Bailey, op. cit., p. 155 et seq.
2Cf. F. W. Thomas, JRAS, 1946, pp. 1-12, for this translation which has also been quoted by Bailey.
4Ibid, p. 154. The glory of Bhṛṣpati spreads in dvīloka and on earth like droves of animal (steed) carrying a Yakṣa (?) Yakṣahārī is here, horse.
5Coomaraswamy, III, p. 236. fn. 10 remarks, "In view of AV, X.8.43, where the indwelling spirit or very self in body is called atmanat yakṣa 'that the knower of Brahma knows' … Yakṣahārī may well be tantamount to prāṇāḥst bhūtahārī and bhārīt and jātahārī, as that which is 'support of life, being and birth.'"
6Coomaraswamy, III, p. 235; on the same page, fn. 11, he remarks that, "espying the Yakṣa," while it may well imply the vision of something ordinarily invisible, by no means necessarily implies a disparagement of what is seen.
7Ibid, p. 232. He elsewhere observes, "In any case the idea of wonderful, mysterious, supernatural, unknown of magical power (as also) of invisibility and spirithood are all more or less involved in the early references . . . ." Coomaraswamy, II, p. 1.
8Bailey, op. cit., p. 154. A. Hillebrandt in Garbe Festschrift, 19, on RV, 7.61.5, thought that it could mean "an apparition" or opposite—"Wesen Zauberwesen, cf. supra, p. 9, note 2.
9RV, VII.61.5. KU, III.15ff; JUB, IV.20-21.
10"This idea of ill omen could have arisen from what was essentially uncanny nature (of Yakṣas)." Coomaraswamy, III, p. 236. also fr. there.
is clear from several passages.¹ In the early Vedic usage, Devas are clearly distinguished² from demons although sometimes they indeed perform ungodlike actions.³ Deva, in all probability, was an honourable designation. The same, however, cannot be said of the Vedic Yaksha which carried both good⁴ and evil⁵ connotations. The Gopāla Brāhmaṇa (I.1 ff.) clearly proves the equivalence of Yaksha with Deva. Eventually, these honorific terms expanded in meaning till in the Sūtras, they attained an absolute parity.

In the Vedic passage, we hardly get any clearer idea of his appearance than that he is prodigious⁶ or effulgent, glowing, rich with lustre and endowed with immeasurable strength⁷ or "boundless dimensions."⁸ By reason of this manifested nature, which is always very dim in its material aspect, the Yaksha become, for the first time, familiar to Uma and Indra. But his established position among the demi-gods was still not clear, although in the Atharvaveda (XI.6.10) the Maitrāyaniya Upanishad (I.5) and the Maitrī Upanishad (VII.5.8.) he has been classed with the Gandharva, Asura, Rākshasas, Bhūta, etc. However, "the specification of the term to mean a species of spirit, usually associated with Kubera, is not found until the period of the Gṛhyasūtras,"⁹ and with this the process of demonising the amorphous Yaksha came to a logical conclusion. This is one of the most interesting phenomena revealed by the study of the semantic development of word.

The stage was now set for a cult of the Yakshas, the rudiments of which had already appeared in the Vedic literature. It is likely that the priestly section organised the Yakshas under Kubera, and finally evolved the theological aspect of the cult in the society which accepted it as a popular religion.

**SETTING OF THE CULT: RGVEDA**

A cult can be defined as, the 'practical expression of the religious experience'¹⁰ and as such it is closely related to the 'doctrines,' the theoretical aspect of the religion." In wider sense, all the actions which flow from and are determined by religious experience are to be regarded as practical expression or Cultus. In a narrower sense, Cultus, is 'act of acts of homo-religious worship.' As such, the Yaksha cult would mean a "body of practices and ritual observances associated with the propitiation" of the Yaksha, thus technically entailing the study of the Yaksha, his representations, iconic or aniconic, the modes of his worship, and his worshippers.

The Yaksha cult was a creation of the forces that were latent and silently operative in the substratum of the early Vedic religious life. These forces worked vigorously to recreate an

¹RV, IV.3.13; V.70.4; AY, VIII.10.28 (Punyajana); X.7.38; KU, III.15; JUB, IV.20 etc.
²For the sake of distinction from Deva, other types of deities are called Mārudeva RV (VII.21.5) Śāndeveda (RV, X.99.3) or Adheva (RV, IV.22.11) cf. Keith, op. cit., p. 75f.
³Gods disturb sacrifices (TS, III.5.1), conjuration against gods (AV, III.26.27; TS, IV.5.10); Gods send disease (Māraveda GS, II.14).
⁴IV, X.7.38; (also RV, X.85.5); AV, VIII.10.28 where Yakshas are called punyajana and Gopāla Brāhmaṇa, I.1 ff. for the attitude of high respect. Rgvedic verb Yaksha also gives good sense if associated with Yaksha and the passages of this type are I.123.2; II.5.1; III.7.1.
⁵AV, IV.5.13; V.70.4; Kuśika Sūtra, IX.3.3; for the attitude of fear and dislike. This dual attitude persists in Buddhist texts and Jain tales too. The word Yakṣatvāma in III.11.94; II.57, II.39; Pr. A., 117, meaning 'spirithood' or condition of a higher demon of Yaksha may also be noted here. These references indicate a position of honour with regard to Yaksha.
⁶RV, VII.56.16.
⁷KU, III.15ff.; JUB, IV.20; TB, III.12.1; AV, X.7.38.
⁸TB, III.203.
⁹Keith, op. cit., p. 242; cf. also Śānkhyāya GS, 4.9; Āśvalāya GS, 3.4; Paraskara GS; Pariśiṣṭa, Tarpapaṭikī.
amorphous word-concept into a sentient being and, later on, a body of practices and ritual observances associated itself with the propitiation of Yaksha. Precisely, a cult developed around him.

The beginnings of the Yaksha cult are found in the Rigveda. To make the Vedic Yaksha understandable, the analysis of the references in the Rigveda is necessary. This text has the occurrence of the word Yaksha in the following sequence.

1. आयो न यूं हु वृं मृत वचितवहुः। Rigveda, I.190.4
2. ना कस्य यथ । सर्वस्मार्गस्त। न। ibid, IV.3.13.
3. ना कस्यां ज्वूँ ज्वूँ यथ । सर्वस्मार्गस्त। न। ibid, V.70.4.
4. अधिक बुध्दीय सत्त्वसामात्रिा बान। न यागु विनं दशे न यथ। ibid, VII.61.5.
5. अधिको न ये मति र्वध्वी। यथ । सत्त्वसामात्रिा बान। न यागु विनं दशे न यथ। ibid, VII.56.16.
6. या अधिको वध्वी। यथ । सत्त्वसामात्रिा बान। न यागु विनं दशे न यथ। ibid, VII.88.6.
7. यद्यक्षमुयान । तत्त्वसामात्रिा बान। न यागु विनं दशे न यथ। ibid, X.88.13.
8. Coomaraswamy explains the importance of the Rigveda, I.24.7 by relating it to the Atharvaveda, X.7. and also the Rigveda, X.85.5, thereby explaining that Yaksha here is used in a good sense.\(^1\)

In the passages quoted above, Yaksha, in 1, 2, is something mysterious, not clearly definable; but in 3, 4 he is dreadful and not someone to be consorted with. In 5, he is “beautiful”; in 6, yaksha is an honorific of Varuna, and in 8, in reference to the passage quoted there, Yaksha is a primordial chthonic deity. But he is god in 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, either by overt statement or by implication. In these passages, a striking point is the ambivalent attitude towards the Yakshas, viz., the attitude of high respect as in the Rigveda, VII.56.16, VII.88.6 and the attitude of distrust and disparagement as in the Rigveda, IV.3.13 and V.70.4. This ambivalence, later, became strikingly marked in the twin aspects of the nature of Yaksha viz., benevolence and malevolence.

Yaksha is sometimes neuter, as in the Rigveda (X.88.13).\(^\) Coomaraswamy has said that in the Rigveda, IV.3.13 and V.70.4 Yaksham will be ‘god’ in spite of its evil character. However, his material personality is still very much absent. Except for the Rigveda, VII.56.16, where Yaksha is spoken of as having a beautiful form, we find no reference to his looks or to his features. It seems that in the Rigveda, although Yaksha had come to be accepted as a god, he too was abstract like all the other Vedic divinities. Yaska, in his Nirukta, has later explained the physical aspect of the Vedic gods. He says that according to some, gods were like men while others said that they were apurususvaridhā “not anthropomorphic.”\(^3\) It is found that Yaksha, who in the later Vedic texts has been described as beautiful, has also been regarded “invisible” in the Rigveda (IV.3.13), where we have “Do not (O, Agni) consort with Yaksha or any smooth swindler, intriguing neighbour etc.”\(^4\) On the Rigveda (VII.6.15), Coomaraswamy says that “Yaksha in the sense of

\(^1\) Coomaraswamy, II, addenda, p. 2.
\(^2\) cf. also, AV, X.8.43; GB, I.1.1.f.; JUB, IV.20-21. KU, III.15ff. Sāyana has consistently explained Yaksha in his commentary as a ‘worshipful deity.’
\(^3\) Agrawala, V.S., ACSB, introduction, p. IX. cf. Bailey, supra, p. 13, who, finds a reference to a “richly clad chiefstain” in the passage . . . K.C. Chattopadhyaya says that here the grandeur of Maruts has been compared to that of the bridegroom having appearance of a Yaksha.
\(^4\) Banerjea, J.N., DHI, p. 49.
\(^5\) Coomaraswamy, II, addenda, p. 2, Agrawala, V.S., reads in this a reference to “special places for worship of Yaksha known as Yaksha-Sadana.” ACSB, introduction, p. IX, Coomaraswamy says that Yaksha here may imply both god or sacrifice and that the auspicious meaning here depends on the context, not in the thing itself and the meaning is . . . “may we not take part in the rites of the evil men.” cf. Coomaraswamy, III, p. 235f.
invisible’ seems to be contrasted with ‘citra’ in the sense of ‘visible.’ And in the Rgveda (V.70.4) we have “let us not, O ye gods, of great power, encounter a Yaksha.” Coomaraswamy explains that Yaksha has been regarded here as an invisible enemy of what is being undertaken. He is the “unseen spiritual enemy.” This invisibility of Yaksha materialised in the later Vedic texts Jaiminiya Upanishad Brâhmaṇa (IV.20-21) and the Kena Upanishad (III.15ff) where Indra touches the Yaksha or in the Jaiminiya Brâhmaṇa (III.203) where Yaksha is of boundless dimension having the likeness of a tortoise. The Yaksha changes shape in the Tattiriya Brâhmaṇa (III.3.12.1) where it is mentioned as becoming ‘glowing’ by tapas, ‘austerities.’

All the same, the Yaksha cult had acquired some standing even in the Vedic age. Agrawala, quoting the Rgveda (VII.61.5), says that it was a cult of common folks and not of the developed minds (amûrâvâva), these common folk worshipped Yaksha in the special temples dedicated to him and known as Yaksha-Sadana. Some of the tenets of the cult were also being worked out now. In this connection a passage from the Rgveda (X.88.13) is important; it refers to Agni as the lord of Yaksha (Yaksha syâdhyakshah tavishhaṁ vrihanantam). Subsequently, it is found that before the acceptance of Kubera as the lord of Yakshas, Indra and also Skanda were offered that status. But the name of Agni in one of the earliest references in this context is interesting. He could not, however, retain this place.

Of the different aspects that were developed in connexion with Yaksha, the one signifying the idea of possession makes its first appearance in the Rgveda (VII.61.5); here, as Agrawala has explained, we have the suggestion that ‘Yaksha should not possess the body of the worshippers.’ But the dominant note of the Rgvedic Yaksha is one of a benevolent deity. Bailey confirms it adding four passages from the Rgveda as evidence. He has said that “the Rgvedic verb yaksī occurring three times and in one nominal derivative gives a good sense if associated with ‘Yakṣa.’”

The tradition of the adjectival use of ‘Yakṣa’ seems to start in the Rgveda where the identity of names has been achieved between Yaksha and Varuna. Coomaraswamy has corroborated this identity by reference to certain other passages. Thus, he says that in the Rgveda (X.88.13). Sun is mentioned as the “onlooking eye or the outlook of Yaksha; for sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuna in (the Rgveda, X.37.1) of Mitra, Varuna and Agni in (the Rgveda) I.115.1 and as repeatedly affirmed in the Rgveda “these are aspects of a single essence.” Agrawala, on the other hand, finds in the Rgveda (X.88.13) reference to “Agni being the lord of Yakshas.” If, however, this ‘single essence’ concept is accepted, it will be easier to explain why later, Brahman, Âtman, Purusha or the Buddha and others have been designated as ‘Yaksha.’

A review of the position of Yaksha in the Rgveda establishes the fact that Yaksha had been accepted as a god, sometimes an ‘apparition’ of something dreadful or at other times something good. His followers were gathering around him. His temples might have existed where lower

1Coomaraswamy, II, addenda, p. 2.
2ibid.
3ibid.
4ACSB, introduction, p. IX.
5Rv, IV.3.13.
6ACSB, introduction, p. IX.
7ibid.
8Iranica Et Vedica, p. 155f, in reference to RV, I.132; 5; II.5.1; III.7.1; I.62.6.
9Rv, X.88.6, cf. also Coomaraswamy, II, addenda, p. 2. The associations indicate that “Varuna... elder Brahman, unborn, unbeing, is that ground whence there springs up all that is and as Yaksha, the “simpex chthonic Yaksha” of AV, VII.9.26 “is the invisible great spirit that indwells and manifests itself in the Tree of Life...”
10Coomaraswamy, III, p. 234.
11Coomaraswamy, ibid, p. 232. He says “that Sun... is then... naturally in AV, X.7.33 the eye of that elder Brahman to whom be the homage.”
12ACSB, p. IX.
folks worshipped him. As regard his appearance, he was 'beautiful.' The demoniac aspects were attached to his material personality only when the sublime aspect was eclipsed. But Yaksha as god existed in the Rgveda; as also his worshippers and place of worship. Images are not mentioned. Certain references to the mūrdevas and śhnadevas do occur but what bearing they had on Yaksha images, if they ever existed, is not known and is too difficult to conjecture.

Expansion: Later Vedic Period

During the last stages of the later Vedic period culminating in the Sūtras, the Yaksha cult attained the status which came to stay. But in the earlier phase of this period, the Yaksha seems to be defying the tendency to demonise him. This is amply corroborated by the Atharvavedas; the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. The adjectival use of the word is repeated in this period also, particularly in connection with Brahman,1 Prajāpati, Manas and Mrityu.2 Of equal significance is the emphasis on Yaksha as the primordial or chthonic being. The primordial Yaksha is described in the Gopātha Brāhmaṇa (I.1): 'Verily, the Brahman was this in the beginning just the Single, Self-existent. It considered, 'I am the great Yaksha, just the one only (mahād vai yakṣhaṁ tadd ekam evästi). Come, let me measure out from myself a second Deity (devaṁ) of like measure with myself (I.4.).' The Yaksha accordingly disappears and is replaced by Atharvan-Prajāpati, who is in his likeness in all respects and whom he instructs to emanate and care for creatures.3 Again a reference to the primacy of Brahma-Yaksha is made in the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad (V.4). 'He who knows that Great-Yaksha as the primal born, that is, that Brahma is real, he conquers the worlds.' It is as Brahma-Yaksha that Yaksha is regarded as the primal being in the passages above. In some other passages, on the other hand, he was divested of his Brahm designation, but not of his primacy. In the Atharvaveda (VII.9.25-26), we have yakṣhaṁ prithivyāṁ eka vrata; in the same text elsewhere (X.7.38), we have a great Yaksha—mahād Yakshaṁ—in the midst of the universe, reclining in concentrated energy—tapas—on the back of waters, wherein are set whatever gods there be, like the branches of the tree about a trunk.4 The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III.13.12.1) explains that Yaksha became primal as a result of tapas 'austerities'—tapa ha yakṣhaṁ prahamanā sambabhāva. Comparing the primordial status of this Yaksha with those of the epics and Puranas, it appears strange that various stories of the origin of this svayambhī, self-existent, or prabhājman, the first-born god, should have been devised at all.

However, the allusions to the adjectival or primordial roles of Yaksha prove that this deity was occupying an honourable status in the later Vedic works. Sāyana's commentary on certain passages, and some other contexts corroborate this. Yaksha has been explained as pāyath svarāpāṁ by Sāyana in his commentary of the Atharvaveda (XI.2.24). Yakshas are called itarajanā, other folks, in the Atharvaveda (VIII.10.23); in the Paippalāda version of this text, the word is punnajana, sacred folks. The later lexicons take these words as synonymous with Yakshas. Despite such vivid descriptions, it is found that even in the later Vedic literature sometimes Yaksha is not properly explicable. Yaksha of the Atharvaveda (X.8.14.15) is something mysterious. The same idea is conveyed in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (IV.20.21) and the Kena Upanishad (III.15) where Brahma-Yaksha manifests itself to Indra, Vāyu and Agni who were unable to discover it. Indra, however, ran upon it but it vanished (tiro dadhe). Then Umā Haimavatt explained it as such as something wondrous also occurs in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (III.203, 273)—akūpāro vā ayān kaśyapas samudre antaraṁ mahād yakṣhaṁ. The

1Brahman is Yaksha in JUB, V.20; KU, III.13; BU, V.4; SB, X.1.3.13.
2cf. Coomaraswamy, III, p. 239.
3Coomaraswamy, III, p. 237, commenting upon this passage, connecting it with the Śankhyāṇa Aranyak, XI.1.2, and RV, 1.24.7 and I.182.7, he finds an allusion to the tree of life. However, the modified version of this story of the Brahmam-Yaksha is given in the Aitareya Aranyak, II.1.4, and Aitareya Upanishad, I.1, where Āman has substituted the Brahmam-Yaksha. Coomaraswamy, III, p. 238.
4Coomaraswamy, II, p. 2, also III, pp. 232ff. 'Wherein' here has reference to the Skambha of AV, X.7.
Šatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI.2.3.5) envisages, the similar idea of Yaksha’s ‘manifestation’ or “elusive representation” — Phantom Maqoros. In many passages Yaksha is in neuter gender like Brahman which indicates the absence of a clear-cut conception of the appearance of the Yaksha. His elusive appearance tries to find some material counterpart in the Kena Upanishad (III.15f) and the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (III.203) but even that is not clearly manifested although responsive to the sense of touch in the former. The latter explicates only the ‘boundless dimensions’ of the Yaksha by comparing him with a huge tortoise. As in the Ṛgveda, Yaksha is a more or less wondrous or invisible being although, by way of comparison, his looks are likened to a richly clad chieftain (Ṛgveda, VII.56.16) or a tortoise of huge dimension. In these comparisons however two major material modes of conceiving a deity in the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic forms are clearly evident. Later, Chândogya Brāhmaṇa (I.7.14) transformed Yaksha into something of ‘beautiful looks,’ which may have assisted in formulation of his anthropomorphic appearance.

The great Yaksha of the later Vedic phase is also eulogised as presenting some important cosmological motifs. Commaraswamy has brought out the association of Yaksha with the motif of ‘Tree of Life’ in the Atharvaveda, X.7.38 and 26 with a reference to some other Vedic passages; and he has also pleaded that the connexion with ‘water’ is not contradictory to that with the ‘tree.’ An idea about the aquatic abode of Yaksha may be obtained from the Atharvaveda (X.7.38, salilasya prishaṭhe). Elsewhere, Śāyana has explained ‘Gandharvasya dhruve padaṇi’ (Ṛgveda, I.22.14) as antariksha region, and has quoted a passage from the Nrisinha Tapaniya that the sky is inhabited by groups of Yakshas etc.—yaksha gandharvaparicaryan sevitaṁ antarikshaṁ. It follows that sky, water and trees were regarded as abodes of Yaksha; Water and Tree have been identified as the cosmic elements in which Yaksha found abode but eventually the cosmic form of these elements was shadowed in the later tradition, and these in their most terrestrial form came to be accepted as Yaksha’s abodes. Even then the connexion between the cosmic and terrestrial concepts of water and tree as the haunts of Yakshas is obvious. In the process of transformation, the mystic importance of the cosmic element was lost and ‘Water’ became ordinary water, not that of the Ṛgveda (X.83.26) which bears the primal Germ wherein the Universal deities consorted, and ‘Tree’ the ordinary tree, not the cosmic ‘Tree of Life,’ the trunk of which contains the universal deities. Agrawala has emphasised the sanctified nature of Yaksha’s habitats by adding passages to show that these were known as Brahmapura (Atharvaveda, X.8.29-30; Mbh., Sānti Parva, 171.52) on the ground that Yaksha was also known as Brahma.

Some information can be obtained from the early literature about Yaksha priests. The Sāmarthasyopanishad regards the Yaksha-worshippers a despicable; the worshippers thus viewed may include priests also.

Yakshas have been regarded as intelligent beings with an enviable capacity for asking philosophical questions concerning mind and matter. In the Mahabharata, we have the famous yaksha-
praśna put to Yudhishtihira. The Pali works and their Athāhakathāś have several Yakshas of similar capacity. The tradition of such a praśnotattāra-mālikā, a chain of questions and answers, goes back to the eighteen mantras of the Yajurveda (XXXII.9.45 etc.) which are known as Brahmyadya. Agrawala says that Brahma there was synonymous with Yaksha. The mantra in the Atharvaveda (X.2.28.23) definitely mentions a Brahma-Yaksha, and in the Atharvaveda (VIII.9.25-26) we have a Yaksha-yakshaḥ prihitayāṁ ekavrata—in the riddles.

Some individual Yakshas appeared in the later Vedic texts, and probably the idea of a pantheon followed thereafter. The feminine counterpart of Yaksha probably made a beginning during this phase. Coomaraswamy has introduced the concept of femininity in connexion with the Yaksha of the Atharvaveda (VIII.9.8). This passage refers to Yaksha as 'stirring' (ejate), a word specially connected with quickening of Agni in the womb as for example in the Rāgveda, V.78.7-8 "in the operation (vrata) of Virāj...from whom as explained in the Atharvaveda VIII.10, all things 'milk' their specific qualities; ..., and if the Yaksha is here Agni or the Sun, ... the Magna Mater must be thought of as Yakṣī; m and f introduces nothing new in principle; the duality is already latent in the Supreme Identity. Yakṣī, however, does not appear in her usual garb; she is not a ravishingly beautiful bewitching woman or a cannibal or enticing ogress or a worshipping devotee of the gods, seeking salvation from them. The femininity has been suggested only by parallel references involving Magna Mater and a birth.

Kubera also emerged during this period, but his lordship over the Yakshas was established only later in the Gṛhya Sūtras. In the beginning, he is a Rākṣṣa and the master of robbers. Alternatively, he is associated with the Guhyakas, for we have in the Atharvaveda VIII.10.28, a reference to milking of concealment (tirodha) out of the universe by 'Rājātānabhi's son of Ka(s)u)bera." This emphasis on concealment connects Kubera with Guhyakas rather than with Yakshas. The latter's subordination to Kubera was, however, established in the Gṛhyasūtras and was retained subsequently. With this acceptance, the process of finding a lord of Yakshas that started in the Rāgveda where Yakṣashyādhya) ṭyaksha in Agni, was concluded in the Sūtras, in the final acceptance of Kubera as the lord of Yakshas. One of the early reference to Kubera is found in the Jaimitiśya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (III.41.1) not as the lord of Yakshas but in the list of teachers and as pupil of Jayanta Vārākya. In the later works Kubera was accepted as uncontested guardian of the northern quarter but in the Atharvaveda (III.27.1-5) Soma is ascribed that status. In the Śrī-Śūkta (7) he has been called devasakabh, which may indicate that he was still short of divinity. In the Sūtras his position crystallised and he was accepted as the lord of Yakshas.

Yakshas as a "class of beings" made an unmistakable appearance in the later Vedic period. They were supernatural beings but, as category, they were certainly different from the order of the proper Vedic divinities. They form a class with demons in the Maithrāyiniya Upanishad (I.4.6) and Mātrī Upanishad (VII.6.8) and in various Sūtras. In the Atharvaveda (XI.6.10), however, their function is protective. The ambivalent attitude towards the Yakshas which was apparent in the Rāgveda is recognisable in this period also, and covers both Kubera and the Yakshas. In the...
Šatepathā Brāhmaṇa (XIII.4.3.10), as already noted, Kubera is a Rākshasa and master of robbers. As lord of Yakshas, he is sometimes terrible.1 In the Kaṇiksā Sūtra (IX.3.3) Yakshas are included in a list of ill-omened portents and, as Coomaraswamy2 has said, in the later literature Yaksha in plural may be either good or evil, and it can be easily seen how "the idea of ill-omen could have arisen from what was essentially the uncanny nature of" the Yakshas.

The Sūtras mark the end of the Vedic period, and they contain material which proves clearly the transformation of Yakshas into demi-gods. Their equivalence with various other classes of demi-gods such as Rākshasa, Gandharva, Pitri, Asura3 and Kinnara4 is also evident. This period also offers evidence of caitya-worship. In the Buddhist and the Jain traditions, caityas occupied an important position. And there is sufficient evidence to prove that many such caityas belonged to the Yakshas.5 That the caityas received worship is proved by the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyāśūtra (I.12.1.3) which refers to the offerings and the sacrifice for caityas. Yakshas, according to the Sūtras, received oblations in the Śrāddha rituals6 along with other demi-gods. There were priests who administered the Vināyaka pūjā, and performed worship of the Yakshas also.7 About some important individual Yakshas, besides Kubera,8 who find mention during this period, Mānava Gṛhyāśūtra (II.14.29) supplies useful evidence. Certain names viz., Bhrū, Jambhaka, Virāpāksha and Vaiśramana are mentioned in this text and these evidently are the Yaksha-names for they figure on the list of Yakshas in other texts.9 Moreover, these gods are certainly not the Vedic gods. Pāṇini also refers to four Yakshas viz., Supari, Viśāla, Varuna, Ārya, while referring to the contemporary social convention of naming.10 The Mānava GS (II.14.28), incidentally, provides interesting information about food and other offerings to these deities; these included cooked or uncooked rice, meat, fish and flour-cakes besides fragrant substances, beverages and different types of wreaths as well as garments.

Kubera, however, was more widely known and his other designations known during this period were Mahārāja11 and Vaiśramana.12 But it appears that he was still not assigned the guardianship of the northern quarter, which became his normal function around this time.13 In Pāṇini, however, Māhārāja is only a devatā (IV.2.35) to whom mahārājabali oblation, was offered.14

An important development in this period was the acceptance of Yaksha as tutelary deities in the households.15 This is indicated by the tradition of naming recorded in Pāṇini in connection with Sevala, Ārya, etc. Ārya was associated with child-birth.16 In the rituals of Yaksha worship in Pāṇini and Patanjali we come across mention of their images and temples. Pāṇini

1Ibid, also Sānkhāyana SS, XVI.2.16-17; Āśvalāyana SS, Uttarashatka, IV. 7.
2Ibid., p. 236 note 11.
3Bṛhaddevatā, VII.68.
4Agni GS, II.6.7.11.
5infra, p. 42.
6Sānkhāyana Gṛhyāśūtra, IV.9.
7Mānava Gṛhyāśūtra, II.14.30.
8In his developed form as seen in the Parānas, he looks much different from his early image and Banerjea has pointed out that the twain cannot be related. cf. Banerjea, J.N., DHI, appendix A (d), pp. 574-78.
9VP, Ch. 69; Mahārājāyūrī, I. 97; Kathas, III.133 for the first three; Vaiśramana is same as Kubera. Arbman, Rūtra, p. 58 has attempted an explanation of a number of this "strange variety of names." Keith, A.B., op. cit., p. 242.
10Agrawala, V.S., Panini, pp. 187, 364; the children were named after these gods obviously because they were received as a grace from them.
11Ibid, p. 359.
12Mānava GS, II.14.29.
13J, VI.259, 265; Agrawala, Panini, p. 359.
14Agrawala, Panini, p. 359.
15ibid, p. 187.
16cf. AV, I.11.1; Lüder's List no. 813; Agrawala, Panini, p. 364.
(V.3.99) seems to indicate 'concrete representations of deities.' Here Banerjea precludes the possibility of reference to the Vedic gods; it is more likely that popular gods like Yaksha, Kubera and others might have been meant.¹ The commentary of Patanjali on Pāṇini (III.1.133) throws light on some traits of Kubera's image, stating specifically that the pedestal of the Vaiśravana image was shown raised. The temples (prāśāda) of Dhanapati-Kubera are mentioned in Patanjali's commentary on Pāṇini's Śāstra (II.2.34). In the temple, musical instruments were played in the assemblage of the worshippers.²

**Theological Aspect: Vedic and Subsequent**

The sublimity of the Vedic Yaksha will not be fully realised unless esoteric basis for the belief in them is pieced together. The profundity of this belief manifested itself in a theology pertaining to Yaksha-worship. Theology is generally understood as a science of religion dealing with the knowledge of god obtained through reason, revelation or a methodical arrangement of the truths of religion in their natural setting. The theological concepts enunciated in connection with various roles of this deity are of supreme importance clarifying, as they do, the sublimity of Yaksha.³

An important feature in this connexion in the Vedix texts in his association with the speculations on cosmology. In the early Vedic speculation on cosmogony there are two lines of thinking as regards the coming into being of the universe; the one views regards the universe as the result of mechanical production, the work of carpenter’s and joiner’s skill; the other represents it as the result of material generation.⁴ The early Vedic philosophers made no distinction between the efficient and material cause of the creation of the universe. Several notions were put forward to explain the creation through the agency of some divine power, and one of these attributes to Yaksha the creation of the efficient agency. This Yaksha was created by no one; he was self-existent (stāyambhu) or 'single,' in other words, primordial. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa relates that the Yaksha (Brahma-Yaksha) considered, while floating on the surface of the cosmic water, that He was self-existent and alone. He was from Himself and was only Himself. It considers, ‘I am the great Yaksha, just the only (mahād vai Yaksham tad ekam evāmsi). Come, let me measure out from myself a second deity (devam) of like measure with myself!’ (I.1.4). It thought that It would create another being like Itself and thus It laboured and heated Itself and perspired, and from the moisture, It produced Atharvan-Prajapati who was instructed to emanate and care for creatures. Here the ultimate source of creation is Yaksha Itself, and Prajapati is only Its creation responsible for subsequent creations.⁵ In the Atharvaveda (X.7) dealing with skambha ‘frame of creation,’ we have riddles in the form of questions and answers dealing with the origin of the universe, and Yaksha is described there as ‘lying in the middle of creation (bhuravan) who strode in penance on the back of the sea-in it are set whatever gods there are, like the branches of a tree round about the trunk (X.7.38).’ Besides the element of water, the motif of ‘Tree of

¹Banerjea, J.N., DHI, p. 85.
²Ibid, p. 337.
³A very interesting survey of the evolution of the philosophical import of the term ‘yaksha’ has been made by Wijesekara. He tells that starting from the tenth Mandala of the Rgveda where ‘yaksha’ occurs in a cosmogonic context, it develops finally in the Suttanpāta. It imports ‘Sudden flash of light,’ ‘mystery,’ magic, ‘magical power’ in the earlier books of the Rgveda in its tenth Mandala and in the Atharvaveda it develops into a sense of ‘wondrous being’ and as such it was applied to Hiranyakarṣa-Puruṣa. It is applied to mānas (Vājasaneyam Sāmhitā), as ‘m’crocosmic-psyche.’ Upanishads use it in the sense of Bṛhat or Atman as ‘a mass of intelligence’ (prajñānāyana) or ‘a mass of knowledge (vijñānāyana). It is this idea of the original pure consciousness that seems to be antecedental to the Pāli Yakka.’ Wijesekara, O.H. de A., “The Philosophical import of Vedic Yakṣa and Pali Yakkha,” *University of Ceylon Review* 1(2), Colombo, November, 1943; cf. also Keith A.B., op. cit., II, p. 242.
⁵GB, I.1f.
⁶cf. *BU*, I.4.1ff. for Atman in form of person, who was the creative and efficient agency.
Life' has been indicated here. This simile of tree is used in the context of the origin of the universe in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (II.8.9.6) again, which shows that it was also regarded as one of the Prime Movers. In view of this, the associations of Yaksha with the skambha, the source of all creation cannot be ignored. In this passage of the Atharvaveda Yaksha is represented as the principal primordial source responsible for creation, and the idea is fairly recurrent.1

In the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, however, this primordial Yaksha was designated as Brahmā; in some instances, it is the other way about, which must be noted in order to understand the status of Yaksha clearly. Brahmā was himself a later creation.2 In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI.2.3f) we have Brahma-Yaksha, who was there in the beginning. It created gods and made them ascend beyond the earth. Then it went beyond the sphere where it considered: 'How can I descend again in these worlds?' It then descended by means of 'name' and 'form,' and it is from these two principles that the universe is extended and he, who knows these two great forces of Brahma-Yaksha, becomes himself a great force.3 This idea of the primal Yaksha (or Brahma-Yaksha) is carried through the Upanishads also. The Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (V.4) calls Yaksha-Brahma as Real and 'first-born,' and says that 'He who knows Yaksha as the first-born—namely, that Brahma is the Real, conquers these worlds.' Here again, Brahma designates the Yaksha, who is also Real; by this probably it is intended to be indicated that Yaksha is the final ground of existence in the manner of the Upanishadic mahāvīṣya 'great sayings,' viz., 'Satyasya satya.' In the Kena Upanishad (III.32f). Truth is precisely spoken of as the abode of Brahma-Yaksha.

The equivalence of Yaksha with Brahma is again found in the Kena Up. (III.15ff), where Yaksha manifests itself to the Devas who do not understand it first. It tests the might of Agni, Vāyu and Indra by putting a straw which Agni could not burn, Vāyu could not lift and Indra could not carry. Later, Umā who is allegorised as knowledge,4 explains to the gods that it is Brahma (Yaksha). In the passages of this Upanishad, this Yaksha-Brahma is a material force and is touched by Agni, Vāyu and Indra (III.27f). It is like 'lightning which flashes forth' (III.29).5 It is also called tad-vana (it is the desire, III.31) and represents mystic doctrine of Brahma-Yaksha. Austerity, restraint and work are its foundations, and the Vedas are its limbs, truth is its abode (III.32f).

In some of the passages quoted above, thus, two aspects of the Yaksha's activity are clearly discernible. Sometimes, he himself is the primordial stuff, the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe6 and, in some other cases, he is only the creator.7 In the Atharvaveda (VIII.9.8), Yaksha is mentioned as stirring, which may be indicative of the critical period of creation by the Yaksha.8 On the whole, it appears that Yaksha is either a self-born primordial deity, or the myth of his coming into existence has not been mentioned at all and he is repre-

1 cf. AV, X.8.15, where Yaksha is described as 'in the midst of existence.' ibid., VIII.10.26, has Yaksha 'single on the Earth.' In BU, I.2.1, Purusha is similarly spoken of and this idea of Singleness goes for Primordiality.
2 The conception of Brahma . . . had hardly emerged in the Rgveda; Dasgupta, S.N., op. cit., p. 20. One of the meanings of Brahma was 'Great!' and it is in this sense that He probably designated Yaksha. The practice survives even now in the popular tradition in which the village deities are sometimes addressed as Brahma (Barama) or Deva (Deo).
3 The translation is after Eggeling, SB, SBE, XLIV, pp. 27-28.
5 This simile explains that Brahma (Yaksha) is something that appears for a moment in lightening and then vanishes from our sight. cf. The Upanishad, 1, translation Max Müller, SBE, I, Part I, p. 152 note 1.
6 AV, X.8.15; X.7.38; SB, XI.2.3.5.
7 GB, I.1f.
8 supra, p. 19.
9 TB, III.3.12.1 tapo ha yakshaḥ prathancain sambabhūva; BU, V.4; cf., also AV, XI.2.24. where 'to Rudra belongs the Yaksha within the waters.'
sented as the being who existed since the very beginning.\(^1\) He was there in the beginning, floating on waters. This first-existent being has been described as non-being (asat) or ‘one only without a second’ and it is said that from that non-being, Being was produced.\(^6\) Yaksha, the self-existent, is described as manifesting himself in the Atharvan-Prajāpati or Brahmā (because in the relevant contexts, he is designated as such) or nāma, ‘name,’ and rūpa, ‘form.’ He is also described as having created the universe and the gods. The Yaksha is also described as revealing itself to the gods who touched it. It had a bright form capable of being felt and touched. The presentation of the material personality of Yaksha (Brahma) is rarely found; it is present particularly in the Kena Upanishad. Generally speaking, in the Upanishads sometimes no difference is made between material and immaterial being; Yaksha of the Kena Upanishad is a case in point. Similarly in the Brhadāranyaka Upanishad (IV.2.7f), it (being) is supposed to reside within the space of heart, having the size of only a thumb. In the early reference, particularly in the Brähmaṇas and Upanishads, it is also important to note that Yaksha has been presented both as the first-born (prathamajam) and self-born (svayambhū).

Another feature of the philosophical concept of the Yaksha is its co-incidence or equivalence with other gods.\(^3\) The interchangeability of the term Yaksha is particularly of interest in the case of Brahman and, in several instances, the passages start with the myth of Yaksha who is eventually replaced by Brahma.\(^4\) In certain references, the case is just the opposite i.e., the passage starts with Brahma who is eventually replaced by Yaksha.\(^8\) This indicates beyond doubt, that in the final evolution of the concept of Yaksha, Brahma was included, and thus Brahma supplanted Yaksha almost completely.

In the Atharvaveda, Yaksha has been twice equated with the individual soul and it is thus conceived as Pure Consciousness\(^6\) i.e., praśānta-gaṇa, ‘mass of intelligence’ or viṣṇa-gaṇa, ‘mass of knowledge.’ The Atharvaveda (X.8.43) describes “The lotus flower of nine doors (human body) covered with three strands (guna)—‘what ātmavata Yaksha is within it, that the Brahma knower knows’.” Again in the Atharvaveda (X.2.31-32) is the description—“Eight-wheeled, nine-doored is the impregnable stronghold of the gods; in that is a golden vessel, three-spoked, having three supports—what soul-possessing Yaksha there is in it, that verily, theknowers of the Brahma knower.” This idea of pure-consciousness in the Atharvaveda, with regard to the individual soul may be connected with the attributes of the yaksha of the Kena Upanishad. In the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmāṇā again, Brahma-Yaksha enters the body of person and becomes the immanent spirit within him and other than that which it indwells.\(^8\) In this aspect Yaksha again occurs in the Sūtrapaññā\(^9\) where the phrase etīttvāt yakṣhaṃ suddhi is found. In the Mahānīdesa,\(^10\) yakṭha is explained as denoting satva, nara, maṇḍhāsa, purusa, puggala; jīva and jantu, and suddhi as purification. The phrase thus “denotes the individual soul in identifying yakśha with the true ‘Self’ (ātā) in the man as distinguished from the empirical ‘self’ (attā) which is other than the self (anattā).”\(^11\) These passages from Pali texts evidently represent reverberation of the Vedic psychology pertaining to the Yaksha.

In the Vedic period, thus, the philosophical impact of Yaksha is provided by references to the cosmogonical, psychological and adjectival contexts of the word and the figure and those sublime

\(^{1}\) AV, X.7.38; VIII.9.25-26.

\(^{2}\) Chāndogya Upanishad, VI.2.1ff.

\(^{3}\) supra, pp. 11f.; 16f.

\(^{4}\) Kena Upanishad, II.15ff; BU, VI.4.

\(^{5}\) GB, I.1.1f.; SB, XI.2.35.

\(^{6}\) The idea of Soul as Pure Consciousness later found its expression in the Śānśa System of Philosophy.

\(^{7}\) See also Taittirīya Aranyakā, 1.27.2-3.

\(^{8}\) Coomaraswamy, III, p. 235, quoting JUB (Sic. 24.1.2); 20.3; 23.71 IV.24.

\(^{9}\) Faustboll, p. 478 and p. 75.

\(^{10}\) II, p. 281.

\(^{11}\) Coomaraswamy, III, p. 235.
aspects of Yaksha which could not be sustained subsequently. It appears that on being supplanted by the concept of Brahma, the Yaksha made a diversion towards the Bhakti cult and found a ready place there.

Another significant aspect of the Yaksha theology is the belief in the great intelligence of Yaksha, which is attested by the Mahabharata in reference to the Yaksha and Yudhishtira. In the Suttanipata again, Suchisoma, and Ajavaaka are represented as inquisitive spirits eager to understand the problems of existence. A dialogue between Dharma-Yaksha and Yudhishtira in the Mahabharata entailing metaphysical, spiritual and cosmogonic enquiries illustrates the intelligence of Yaksha. A commentary on the ethicophilosophical yaksha-prashna has been provided by Nilakantha. This Commentary gives further proof that the whole discourse is impregnated with deep spiritual import. According to the Commentary, the Sun of the first question of Yaksha is, in fact, the unpurified soul which, according to the answer, is exalted by Brahma, i.e., Veda or self-knowledge, through the practice of self-restraint and other virtuous qualities. Ultimately, the Soul is established in the Truth or Pure Knowledge. Nilakantha has thus observed that the questions have been started for the purpose of ascertaining the truth about Atman. The Upanishadic view in this connection is that the knower of self transcends sorrow. In the questions, Sun is Atman, according to Nilakantha, and thus the query as to ‘what makes the Sun rise’ is actually ‘what makes Atman rise.’ The whole passage is extremely important in the light of the reference in the Atharvaveda where no other than Yaksha himself is the ‘individual soul.’ The dialogue again, according to Nilakantha, has spiritual meaning, indicating the need for spiritual sacrifice for acquiring pure-knowledge. However, the Yaksha’s questions are of diverse nature pertaining also to learning (III.297.24ff), the divine attributes of the Brahma’s and of other castes and classes, the virtues and vices of human beings, the Vedic lore and cosmogonical enquiries. Among these the cosmogonical enquiries are interesting. Yudhishtira told the Yaksha in response to his query that the universe consists of air alone, that the sun lives alone, the moon takes birth anew, that the Earth is the largest field. Yudhishtira also tells the Yaksha in the same context that the world is covered with darkness, space is only water, the Sun is fire, the days and nights are fuel, the months and seasons constitute the wooden ladle and time is the cook, who is cooking all creatures in the vessel.

All these answers were accepted ultimately by the Yaksha as correct. The whole parable is important as it provides a clue to the Upanishadic speculations on Yaksha. This Upanishadic Yaksha is known only to the knower of Brahma, and has been mentioned in cosmogonic contexts as well as in terms of the individual soul. No wonder, therefore, that Yudhishtira, the knower of srtis could know not only the answers of the questions of the Yaksha, but ultimately him too.

Buddhist literature also has preserved equally important contexts. In the Suttanipata, again the Yakkhas appear as inquisitive questioners, and put metaphysical questions to the Buddha. Instances of Suchisoma, Ajavaaka, Hemavata and Sata may be cited in this connection. In reply to Ajavaaka’s questions, the Buddha says that ‘faith is true wealth, that pursuit of Dharma brings happiness and Truth is Sweetest, while life is best.’ He continues that it is by ‘faith that one crosses the stream of existence, by zeal, the sea, by exaction one conquers pain and by under-

1III.296-97; for a similar story, Devadhamma Jataka, I.23ff.
2Fausboll, pp. 20ff., and pp. 45ff.
3For the antiquity of such riddles, supra, p. 19.
5cf. MBh., ed. Ramachandra Shastri, III.313.45.
6supra, p. 23; cf. also KU, III.31ff.
7This view finds expression in the Greek philosophy in the thoughts of Anaximenes who could well have been a contemporary.
8cf. BU, I.2.4. regarding similar actions of Mrityu.
standing, one is purified.”1 Thus the Buddha inculcates his *Dhamma* whose understanding, it is said, makes one pass away without grief. In this dialogue which was started by the terrible Yaksha, the Buddha preaches his doctrine to influence him. This Yaksha is not like the intelligent Yaksha of the *Mahābhārata* who only elicited the true answers to his questions from Yudhishṭhira. Obviously, the reason of such difference is, firstly, the temptation to edify Buddhist faith, and secondly a change in the concept of Yaksha in the Buddhist system. Hence the fall of status of Yakka here. The account of Sucioma Yaksha has the same theme. He starts by threatening the Buddha but ends up as this disciple. His inquiry leads to the preaching of the Buddhist doctrine that many human emotions like passion, hatred, disgust, delight originate in the body from desire and self ‘like the shoots of the banyan tree.’ ‘Those who know it’ said the Buddha to the Yakka, ‘cross over this stream of existence and come no more.’2 These Buddhist Yakkhas may not be as intelligent as their Brahmanical counterparts but they are at least equally inquisitive.

Some of the Yakkhas have been mentioned in the Pali Buddhist works as *Sotāpanna*, while Yakka Indaka has been described as a *puggalavādī*. Both these words are of great significance. The *Sotāpanna*, ‘stream-winner,’ is addressed to that lay-disciple of Buddhism who fully understands all the five-*indriyas*, ‘senses.’3 Thus the *Sotāpanna* Yakkhas reflect the high degree of attainment reached by these spirits. Indaka’s case is more interesting as he appears to be an animist,4 who wanted to know from the Buddha as to how the soul finds its material counterpart. The Buddha replied to him that the embryo evolves into its final shape by the laws of physical growth and not by soul’s decree. He asked the Buddha how, if material is not the living soul, the soul possesses the body. The Buddha did not accept his view which amounts to materialism, and so preferred to side-track the issue by resorting to a physiological explanation. Similar views were held by Pāyāsi also. Pāyāsi is represented as a ‘materialist,’ denying the concept of any other world, rebirth, *Karmas* and any independent soul-entity.5 This Pāyāsi is also known as Serissaka Yakka6 or Serissaka *devaputta* of Serisa tree.7

In the Buddhist works,8 Hemavata and Sātagiri are the other Yakkhas who put questions to the Buddha. Hemavata enquired of the Buddha about the origin of the world, and was answered that the world has originated from and is afflicted with five pleasures of senses and mind. These Yakkhas are further told, in reply to their enquiry that through moral virtues the stream of existence is crossed.9

All these passages reflect either the great intelligence of Yakshas or their inquisitiveness in regard to the ethical and existential problems of beings of the world. And the knowledge, thus imparted by the Buddha, makes them wiser.10 This again is complementary to the concept of the intelligence of Yakshas. In any case, Yakshas are either the repositories of knowledge themselves

1 *Sn. (Hare)*, pp. 29ff.
3 *Suciloma*, Khara; Suciloma is also represented as *Sakadāgāni*, ‘once-returner,’ in the *Sāratthapakāsī*. For the explanation of both these words, cf. *Kathāvaththu* (ed. Taylor, A.C., PTS, London, 1894-1897), I, 2, pp. 70ff.
4 *D., V.193; 205.*
5 *Puggalavādī, Sn. A., I.301*. Reference to Indaka Yaksha is important as it reveals that in Buddhism a distinction has been made between the Yakshas who were laymen and those who positively belonged to a metaphysical school like *Puggalavādī*. As is well known, this particular view is refuted in details in the *Kathāvaththu*, I, pp. 15-69.
6 *Kidred Sayings*, I.262f; *Sn. A*, I.301f; cf. also *DPPN*, sv. *Indaka*.
7 *D., 11.316ff.*
8 *Vy. A*, pp. 331, 334, 342 etc.
9 *Vy. A*, 331, 333.
10 *Sn. A* (Hare), pp. 25ff.
11 *Sn. (Fausböll)*, I.9.
12 ibid, verse no. 176.
or they attain it through their intelligent enquiries. And in both these aspects, they are capable of great knowledge. To this concept of the supreme intelligence of Yakshas may also be added the Upanishadic concept that Yaksha itself was real and could be known only to the knower of Brahma.

Later, Yaksha was relegated to the lower ranks. In his philosophical and psychological contexts, he was replaced by Brahmā. One of the reasons for this transformation could be the development of his personality to befit the personal god of the Bhakti cult. One of the early references to the Yakshas as cult gods is found in the Mahābhārata (p. 89) where Kubera, Avaruddhaka, Mahībhṛṣṭa, and Pūrnabhṛṣṭa are mentioned. The Yaksha cult as a popular devotional system of the Bhakti order was polytheistic. Although monism may be discernible in Yaksha-worship in the later Vedic texts, such grand aspects do not survive in his case during the post-Sūtra period. The title bhagādān, which refers to the god as a personal deity, is addressed to Kubera and Mahībhṛṣṭa. The exclusive worshippers of Mahībhṛṣṭa and Pūrnabhṛṣṭa have also been described. But a process of transformation and supersession is a recurrent feature of the Yaksha cult. It appears that, due to lack of self-supporting force, the Yaksha cult wilted under the pressure of higher cult gods and sought for other avenues for its expansion. That explains the lack of a regular and articulated theistic background of the cult. From the position of Single, Primordial Deity, Yaksha became absorbed in the Bhakti cult. Later, another mode of Yaksha-worship, viz., the Tantric mode, also made its appearance, and evoked great response.

This Tantric aspect of Yaksha seems to be directly connected with the early concept of Yaksha as ‘magical power.’ Yakshas had protective-functions even in the Vedas, probably, therefore, the idea of obtaining control over Yakshas came into being in the later Vedic period. In the Mathura School of art, a large number of statuettes of Yakshas belonging to the Kushana period are found. Their importance has been missed so far. In these figures Yakshas are sometimes represented as fierce-looking creatures (cf. nos. 721, 783, 2500, 2559, 2606) and it is likely that these were regarded as a kind of cult-object for worship. Similar small śālagrama and the ādyagapatas of the Jain's are also known. The small statuettes of Yakshas might also have served the purpose of abhicāra, ‘incantation.’ This tantric aspect of Yaksha worship is two-dimensional; the first refers to the charms that warded off the Yakshas (RV, IV.3.13; V.70.4), the second refers to controlling them for fulfilment of wishes. Both these forms find ample substantiation.

1The Vedic and Upanishadic Yaksha may have contributed greatly in the development of the concept of Brahmā. In the process, he might have been replaced by Brahmā, and at the conclusion of the process he probably revived in the folds of the Bhakti-cult.
2Mbh., III.231.33; VI.7.21.
3infra, chapter 4.
4ERE, II, p. 809, SV, Yaksha (Brahmanism); also Bailey, H.W., Indo-Iranian Journal, II, p. 154.
5AV, XI.6.10.
6cf. ward-rune like Aśvamedha Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya; also VP, p. 104 for power of Śaivas over Yaksha.
CHAPTER

3

Development of the Cult

The Vedic period witnessed the crystallisation of the material personality of Yakshas, as well as their attributes and their classification in the hierarchy of gods. But the period following it was more spectacular for the evolution of Yaksha’s cult. Yakshas had come to stay permanently and could not be wiped out by any effort howsoever strong. The Buddha and Mahāvīra launched a crusade to eradicate belief in Yakshas. These demi-gods were subjected to the command of the Brahmanical cult-gods but, despite such concerted efforts to dislodge them, the Yakshas emerged unscathed from these conflicts and continued to draw massive support from the popular section where they had originally belonged. The exalted character of the Vedic ‘Yakshas’ was subdued, no doubt, but the diversity of functions now ascribed to them in various spheres was limitless. There hardly appears an aspect of life, during this period, over which the Yakshas were incapable of exerting themselves with benevolent or malevolent designs. The Yaksha cult now incorporated in its fold a large number of individual Yakshas, their cults, functions, provenances of worship, its modes, icons and a popular theology pertaining to the rituals, and a widespread system of belief. This is uniformly reflected by the literary accounts about the Yakshas.

A study of the orthodox and the heterodox literature makes it evident that while there is found a general uniformity about character and attributes of the Yakshas in different texts, there is some variance pertaining to the details. It requires, therefore, an unadulterated narration in which the sectarian bias and individual shades of the different religions could be faithfully retained. In the light of this, we may discuss the Yakshas and their cult as found in the orthodox and the heterodox texts.

Orthodox Literature

The Epics

The Epics portray Yakshas as semi-divine beings, more or less divested of their past brilliance which asserted itself only by fits and starts. Their relegation to the lower ranks was an accomplished fact and, as demi-gods, they were linked with others of that class like Nāga, Gandharva, Deva, Guhyaka, Rākshasa and Apsaras. Their association with Rākshasas is very conspicuous and frequent. It is said that Yakshas and other demi-gods did not belong to the Kṛita Yuga1 and

1 Mbh., III.148.12.
they were brought into being through cosmic,⁵ divine ⁹ or Rishic¹⁰ agencies of creation. The
adjectival propositions of Yaksha recur during this phase. As such we have Dharma as Yaksha,⁴ or Vīṣṇu as Bhṛ ṭa Yaksha,⁸ or Krishna claiming himself to be the ‘lord of treasure’ amongst
Yakshas.⁸ Yakshas are designated puṇyajana which is in the direct tradition of the Atharvaveda.⁷ A
respectful reference is made to the Yakshas when it is said that the fallen warriors joined their
ranks.⁸ These demi-gods are usually represented as benevolent creatures sometimes uncanny⁸ but the malevolence which became their almost essential feature in the Pali works does not seem
to have enveloped them in the epics. They were gods of extreme beauty and brilliance, and
those possessing such attributes were generally mistaken for Yakshas, for instance Yayāti,¹⁹ Nala,¹¹ Kirāta,¹² Hanumān,¹³ Damayantī,¹⁴ Gangā,¹⁵ and Sītā.¹⁸ Damayantī surpassed the beauty
of even the Yakshis.¹⁷
Evil-minded Yakshas are also known and Tāṭaka’s case substantiates the point. She appears
as a violent Yakshi who constantly pestered the people inhabiting Malāda and Kurūsha Janapa-
das; even the sages were not spared by her.¹⁸ But there were others who are represented as devoted
creatures, sometimes even listening to the Mahābhārata-kathā.¹⁹ The reverent Yakshas waited
upon Śrūya whose chariot they followed²⁰ or Brahma whose assembly they inhabited.²¹ A similar
praise is probably meant when he is described as the lord of Yakshas. They also worshipped Śiva
on the Muṇjaṇa.²² These otherwise reverent Yakshas did not know of the higher aspects of
religion or God. For instance, they did not know of Nārāyaṇa or that whence he had sprung,²³
although they have definite associations with him.²⁴ An exception to it is, however, the context of
the yaksha-prāṇa,²⁵ where Dharma-Yaksha questions Yudhishṭhira on various metaphysical
and mundane problems, showing great wisdom.
Yakshas figure in the Epics as well, with their fight usually ending in their own
defeat. One short chapter—yaksha yuddhapharva—in the Āraṇyakaparva has been devoted to their
fight with Bhima in the Mahābhārata. Bhima vanquished them in many rounds of fight, killing
a great number of them including Maṇimata who was a great friend of Kubera. Ultimately, the
fight was stopped when Kubera intervened, telling the Pândavas that Bhima had relieved Maṇi-
mat from some curse. The theatre of this fight is the vicinity of Kailāsa.²⁶ In the Rāmaśāstra,

¹Mbh., I.1.33.
³Mbh., I.60.7. see the pāḍhabhed.
⁴ibid, III.298.10.
⁵ibid, XII.47.28.
⁶ibid, IV.32.23.
⁷ibid, XVIII.4.18.
⁸ibid, XVIII.4.18; 5.22.
⁹ibid, III.140-3ff; 170.48; VI.7.32ff.
¹⁰ibid, V.119.16.
¹¹ibid, III.52.16.
¹²ibid, III.40.30.
¹³ibid, III.147.22.
¹⁴ibid, III.61.115.
¹⁵ibid, IV.92.31.
¹⁶ibid, III.249.1-2.
¹⁷ibid, III.50.13.
¹⁸R., I.23.169f.
¹⁹Mbh., I.1.64.
²⁰ibid, III.3.31.
²¹ibid, II.11.36.
²²ibid, XIV.8.4-8.
²³ibid, XII.47.11 according to the pāḍhabeda.
²⁴ibid, III.187.124.
²⁵ibid, III. Chapters 296ff.
²⁶ibid, III. Chapters 155-72.
Yakshas, led by Manibhadra, fight against Rāvaṇa. Suṇḍa and Upasuṇḍa are also said to have vanquished Yakshas (and Rākshasas) and taken away from them all their jewels. This leads to another popular aspect of Yaksha worship, viz. riches. The Yakshas are regarded as stealing jewels. Kubera’s mountains, such as Mandara and Meru, are made of gold. His palaces with doors and prakāra-enclosures, are all of gold, and embedded with jewels. Although ‘Kubera is chief of the Yakshas,’ certain other Yaksha-chiefs like Pingala and Manibhadra are also known from the Epics. It is strange that Nahusha at one place figures as the lord of Yakshas. Rākshasas also enjoyed their service. The command over Yakshas was bestowed upon Vibhisana. Similarly, millions of Yakshas waited upon Rāvaṇa. The Yaksha population was very large in which some names occur rather prominently. In this list, Amogha, Sthūnakarna, Kimpurusha, Nalakūbara and Suketu deserve special mention. They figure as distinguished personages different from the general class of Yakshas, like the one enumerated in the Sabhā-parva. Tātākā and her son Mātrīci and a monkey-son of Kubera named Gandhamādana are known from the Rāmdyaṇa.

One aspect of the Yakshas that has sometimes been stressed is their so-called immortality. Agrawala has remarked that an “epithet of yakshapura is aparājita, the same as amritendrīrīta and avadhya. This is exactly what the popular belief about Yakshas was, viz., that they had the power of averting death and bestowing immortal life on their worshippers. The symbol of their deathless nature (Amrita, Avadhya, Adhumya) was the nectar-flask held in the left hand of Yaksha images.” In the Rāmdyaṇa, yakhāta and amarattva are mentioned together as boons bestowed by gods. Here again a suggestion of the immortality of Yakshas seems to be implied. These instances, however, present only a partial picture for the Yakshas in the Epics are often described as dying or changing form. Bhimasena killed countless Yakshas; the reason given there is: expiation of the curse of Agastya to which the Yakshas were once subjected. Tātākā was killed by Rāma, Sūryabhaṇu, the door-keeper of Kubera was put to death by Rāvaṇa who also eliminated a large number of other Yakshas. Sometimes Yakshas had to change their species due to some curse. All these instances seem to show that Yakshas were not beyond

1 Mbh., VII.15.1ff.
2 ibid., I.204.2.
3 ibid., XIV.36.23.
4 ibid., VI.7.8; XIII.20.7 and 28.
5 ibid., XIII.20.27 & 34; III.159.34ff; III.157.35ff.
6 ibid., III.221.22.
7 ibid., III.140.4.
8 ibid., V.11.6.
9 ibid., III.255.12; but cf. III.264.58ff; III.259.25.
10 ibid., III.158.28; III.140.5.
11 ibid., III.221.7.
12 ibid., V. Ch. 192-93.
13 ibid., III.155.5.
14 ibid., III.258.15-16; 264.58ff.
15 Rāmdyaṇa, I.24.4.
16 Mbh., II.10.214-17.
17 Rāmdyaṇa, I.24.7-8.
18 ibid., I.16.8; note 498, p. 117.
19 Agrawala, ACSB, introduction IX-X.
20 III.10.91-92.
21 Mbh., III.157.42ff; also 158.
22 ibid., III.158.45ff.
23 Rāmdyaṇa, I.23.29-30.
24 ibid., VII.14.25-29.
25 ibid., VII.14.
26 ibid., I.24.11.
death, although they belonged to the class of celestial spirits. In fact, their span of life as well as their different calendar is mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Therefore it is possible that yakshattāva may refer only to the various attributes of Yakshas, such as were obtained by Ghatotkaca and others after their death, without any suggestion that immortality is one of them.

Such were the Yakshas in the epics. The material relating to their worship, however, is comparatively less, but it seems certain that their worship was achieving sufficient currency now. The epics refer to certain tirthas attributed to some Yakshas and Yakshis. There was one at Kurukshetra dedicated to a far-famed Yakshi, probably Ulûkha-mekhalû of the Vâmana Purâna. Another such tirtha at Kurukshetra was dedicated to Arantuka, and a dip there brought merit equal to that of performing the Agnistoma sacrifice, or Arantuka gave the boon of obtaining gold. There were other dvârapûlas of Kurukshetra, such as Macakruka and Tarantuka, whose worship was profitable and brought the merit of acquiring 100 cows. A Yakshi of Râjagrîha is also known, to whom sacrifices were offered everyday; and she relieved the sin of ‘bhrûna-hatyâ,’ destroying foetus. Kubera, the chief of Yakshas, had himself hallowed a spot on the junction of the rivers Narmadâ and Kâverî which eventually came to acquire the name of Kaubera tirtha. Some idea of nature of the Yaksha temples can be obtained from the velma or bhavana of Yaksha Shiûnâkarana in the Mahābhârata. In the hierarchy of cult gods, the Yakshas had a comparatively better status. It is said that the men of râjasika type worshipped Yakshas, just as those of sattvika (pure), and tâmasika (dark) predilections worshipped Devas, Pretas and Bhûtas. The Yaksha cult had acquired great importance during the time of the Epics and Yakshas had their exclusive worshippers which was a rare privilege. The Mahābhārata refers to Hâlrayâta Varsha which was inhabited by yakshâmgâh ‘the followers of Yakshas,’ who were also wealthy, handsome, and endowed with great strength and cheerful. These traits correspond well with the Yakshas as well as offer a clue to their nature and attributes. Whether these Yaksha-followers were the adherents of any particular Yaksha is not clear. But certain Yakshas are known to have enjoyed special worship. Mapibhadra, for instance, was the tutelary Yaksha of travellers and caravans. Reference to the Yakshini of Râjagrîha has been already made. The original name of Hâriti was Nandâ, who was ‘a Magadhan tutelary deity.’ Shah has attempted the identification of the Yakshini of Râjagrîha with Nandâ on the basis of the Jain sources. According to him, she took different forms as Revati and Shashîthi of the Kâsyapa Sannhitâ, Hâriti of the Buddhists, and Bahuputrikâ, the wife of Mapibhadra. The other Yakshas, who too found place among the worshipped-ones, were Macakruka, Tarantuka, and Arantuka, a reference to whose habitats on the fringes of Samantapancaka and Kurukshetra is found in the Mahābhârata. It is quite probable that they might have been worshipped in special

1 Mbh., VI.7.32ff; XIII.20.22; III.154.15.
2 ibid., III.81.19.
3 ibid., III.81.42.
4 ibid., III.81.171.
5 ibid., III.81.7-178.
6 ibid., III.82.90.
7 ibid., IX.46.22-27.
8 Inbra, chapter 5.
9 Mbh., VI.39.4.
10 ibid., VI.9.6-8; cf. also yakshasattva in the Kâsyapa Sannhitâ, lakshandhyâye, 28, p. 53. Men who are given to nitya-dûna, sleep, fastidiousness in wearing dresses and ornaments, drinking much liquor and taking much food, too much excitement and happiness are grouped under yakshasattva.
12 Coomaraswamy, I, p. 9.
13 Shah, U.P., Jot, III, 1, p. 64. If so, it is probable that the temple was known as Gunaśilâ; cf. Bhagavat Sûra, I.1.
14 Mbh., III.81.7.178.
temples provided for them. Falling down on one's knees and thus paying respect to Yakshas was a common practice.\(^1\)

On the whole, Yaksha cult had spread to the Himalayan region, Hairanyavata Varsha, Kurukshetra, Magadha, Pāncāla, Malada and Kurūsha Janapadas and Lankā, according to the information preserved in the Epics. The eastern region, which is so commonly represented as the mainstay of the Yaksha worship in the Buddhist and Jain works, does not figure as prominently in the Epics; Magadha, however, finds mention as a centre of Yaksha-worship. The Yakshas'\(^2\) pantheon was not very large either, and there are mainly two important yaksha-kulas that find mention now: the first has Kubera with Riddhi\(^3\) and Bhadrā\(^4\) as his wives and Naḷakūbara\(^4\) as son. The second kula consists of Suketu,\(^5\) a pious Yaksha, who had Tāṭaka as his daughter who was married to Śuṇḍa and had a son named Mārtci.

The Purāṇas

These works, in their mythological narration, have ranked Yakshas as secondary deities and have much to reflect the assimilation and supercession of Yakshas by the higher cult gods. It is possible to gather an idea of their cult from the incidental references which are abundant but scattered in the Purāṇas. Yakshas were regarded as Devas:\(^6\) 'semi-celestial beings,' and they frequently come in contact with various other demi-gods; with some of them they are related matrimonially. Certain Gandharva origins of the Yakshas are also described. A Yaksha assumed the form of a Gandharva: Vasuruci, and had intimate relations with Kratushthall, the Apsara, who bore him a Yaksha-son called Rajatánābha.\(^7\) Another of the Gandharva daughters, Susaa, as wife of Pracetas, gave birth to five Yakshas and four Apsaras.\(^8\) Yakshas are also represented as the offspring of Gaṇas of Mahādeva and called Nairriti folk.\(^9\) The origin of the Yakshaśrākhasa tribe is mentioned in some Purāṇas where it is said that they were born of Kapila (or Kampana) and Kesini.\(^10\) Sometimes, Yaksha is mentioned in the list of Rākshasas.\(^11\) In the Vīyu Purāṇa,\(^12\) the marriage of Yaksha Rajatánābhā with Bhadrā, daughter of the Daitya Anuhṛāda is also referred to. Despite such intercourse between Yakshas and other demi-gods all these classes were not treated as equals. A hierarchy among them has been indicated in a sequence, starting from Gandharvas down to Guhyakas, Yakshas, Rākshasas and Piśacs. This hierarchy was based on the consideration of riches, appearance, life-span, strength, dharma, glory, intellect, austerity, learning and bravery.\(^13\) It is also said that because of the espousal of a different set of actions at the time of their creation, they assumed different classes and came to stay in their respective forms as a result of those actions. This reflects the Puranic schematisation in respect of them; the demi-gods were bound to their class and change in their order was not possible.

In the Purāṇas, Yakshims were regarded as creatures of great beauty\(^14\) but the Yakshas are

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1\(^{Mbh.}\), XIV.64.9.
2\(^{ibid.}\), III.140.7; V.115.9.
3\(^{ibid.}\), I.198.6 (Gita Press edition).
4\(^{ibid.}\), III.258.15-16.
5\(^{Rāmāyaṇa}\), I.24.4ff.
6\(^{VP}\), Ch. 8, p. 106.
7\(^{Br.}\), III.7.60, 100.17; \(^{VP}\), Ch. 69, p. 276.
8\(^{VP}\), Ch. 69, 10-13, p. 270f; It is strange that sons of Suyasa were Yakshas while daughters were Apsaras.
9\(^{VP}\), Ch. 69, p. 278.
10\(^{supra}\), p. 6.
11\(^{VP}\), Ch. 69, p. 278, for a reference to Yaksha Akaṃpana among Rākshasas.
12\(^{ibid.}\), Ch. 69, p. 151-52.
13\(^{ibid.}\), Ch. 69, p. 279.
14\(^{ibid.}\), p. 270. Kriśāngi and Viśāla, the daughters of Yaksha & Suyasa.
described invariably as creatures of great strength, sometimes possessing very odd and grotesque features. Kubera, the son of Viśravas and Devavarṇījīt, had also a rather queer combination of limbs. He, it is said, had the learning of Rishis, the form of Rākṣhasas, and the strength of Asuras. He is described as having a huge body with a small head, eight teeth, half-body in yellow complexion (eka-pingala), strange ear, one big hand and the other small. This grotesque appearance naturally earned him the name Kubera, ‘of a weird body.’ Another Yaksha is said to have had a hideous and ugly appearance, but he changed his shape and became a beautiful Gandharva, Vasuruci. Such Yakshas were generally evil-minded. They ruined irāddhas and took pleasure in such devilish activities. No wonder that they appeared as enemies of men.

The Purāṇas, for the first time, present a systematic account of the small and big Yaksha families. The analysis of the description in the Vāyu-Purāṇa supplies the following information:

Genealogy I

Vasuruci-Śravasthi

Rajatanābhā-Bhrā

Manivarā-Devajant

Puraṇabhadra and 28 sons

Hemarathi, Maṇimatl, Nandivardhana,
Kusumburu, Pīśangāma, Śhūlakarna,
Mahājaya, Śveta, Vipula, Pushpadvāna,
Bhayāvaha, Padmaparna, Sunetra, Yaksha,
Bāla, Baka, Kumuda, Kshemaka, Vardhamāna,
Dama, Padmanābhā, Varāṅga, Suvīra, Vijaya,
Kriti, Purṇamāsa, Hiranyāksha and Surūpa.

Genealogy II

Pracetas-Suyāṣā

Kambala, Harikesā
Kāncana, Meghamāli

Sons

Loheyī

Bharatā

Kriṣānti

Vīṣāla (Daughters)

Loheyā (also called Yaksho paśānta)

Bharateya

Kriṣāngēya

Vīṣāleya

1. Ibid., p. 270, 273 and 278.
2. Br. P., III.10.38; IV.2.26; XIV.4. etc. Although they worshipped Pitris.
3. Br. P., IV. Ch. 9-10. The story of the Yaksha who killed Utama, the brother of Dhrūva, who, in turn, fought with them and killed a large number of Yakshas.
5. Br. P., II.36, III.7.111; VP, 69.160, 167, 276. This Rajatanābhā may be identical with that of VP, 69.151-2. Manībhadrā or Manīvara or Manībhadrā is regarded as his son.
6. Punyajātī and Devajantī are described as daughters of Kratusthaili, VP, Ch. 69, p. 277.
7. These 29 Yakshas are described as possessing beauty and ugliness in different cases. The name of Pūrṇabhadra separately appears in MP, 180.5-9, 82.99; VP, 69.12. Harikesā is described as son of Pūrṇabhadra of VP, 69, p. 270 which however, describes him as the second son of Suyāṣā and Pracetas. They are all described as benevolent and pious by both. VP, 69, p. 277.
8. VP, Ch. 69, p. 270. Suyāṣā is described as the daughter of a Gandharva. Her sons were Yakshas, but the daughters were all Apsaras.
These three are the important lines of Yakshas in the Purāṇas. It is interesting that, in case of the first two, the origin of Yakshas is attributed to Apsaras; both Kṛatusthali and Suyaśa were Gandharva daughters, described as Apsaras; the four daughters of Suyaśa have also been described as Apsaras although it again said that all their sons were powerful Yakshas. However, in addition to these genealogical accounts, it is said that Yakshas (and other demi-gods) had their families whose amikarma could not be related even in the course of a century; their royal families too were very large.\(^4\)

Kubera is referred to as the lord of Yakshas. Yakshas, it is also said, milked the cow-earth with Kubera as calf and dina as the vessel.\(^5\) However, this lord of Yakshas abounds in riches and glory. His assembly hall, Viśpura, is decorated with costly objects. His vimāna, ‘aerial carrier,’ is Pushpaka. He is lord of wealth and his eight treasures, namely, Padma, Mahāpadma, Makara, Kacchapa, Kamuda, Śankha, Nila, and Nandana are full to the brim with jewels.\(^6\) Mahādeva is his friend. He lives in the Yaksēvara palace. The river Mandākini, flows through the jewelled ghats of his temple; the other rivers in his territory are Nandā and Alakanandā. Thirty chiefs, subordinate to him, inhabited his domain and their palaces of equal number were situated on the western side of the Mt. Kailāsa.\(^7\) There is not much in this description which may sound new after the Epics, except for the details. One interesting point here, however, is Yaksha’s connection with Śiva, who is the overlord of Yakshas.\(^8\) These demi-gods present themselves in the sūbhā ‘assembly hall’ of Śiva.\(^9\) The prayer of Śiva wards off malevolent Yakshas\(^10\) (and other demi-gods). Kubera helps Śiva in his various fights.\(^11\) In the Vāmanā Purāṇa, a Yaksha, Pañcalika sees the plight of love-stricken Śiva who was affected by the arrows of Kāmadeva, and relieves him of his emotional strain by transferring those strains to himself.\(^12\)That some of the Yakshas left their own practices and joined the ranks of Śiva’s attendants is shown by the story of Harikesa Yaksha.\(^13\) The whole story, completely developed, is described in the Skanda Purāṇa.\(^14\)

\(^1\)Ibid., Ch. 70, p. 290: cf. also BP, IV.1.36-37, VII.1.43, IX.2.32, 10-15. Here the mother of Kubera is called Idaviḍa.
\(^2\)BP, X. Ch. 9-10. Which refers to two sons of Kubera, namely Nalakūbara and Manigrīva who were born as Yamaśārjuna and were delivered by Krishna.
\(^3\)Agrawala, V.S., Vāmana Purāṇa, p. 13.
\(^4\)VP, Ch. 31, p. 106.
\(^5\)MP, 10.22. Agrawala, V.S., Matsya Purāṇa, A Study, p. 82, remarks that “the idea (here) is that the Yakshas represent the principle of non-substantiality, a mere appearance as Nāmaṇḍa which is nothing existed...”
\(^6\)SB, XI.3.25. This is the nature of the uncooked milk pei which may be compared to the perishable body.”
\(^7\)For discussion on rādhikāti as a title of Kubera, see Banerjee, J.N., DHI, appendix A (d) pp. 574-78.
\(^8\)VP, Ch. 41, pp. 130f.
\(^9\)MP, VIII. 5.
\(^10\)Brahmaavaitara Purāṇa, 17.45; various names have been enumerated and many such names may belong to Yakshas. They are as follows: Vana, Pingalakshi, Vikampana, Virupa, Vikrtaa, Manibhadra, Veshkala, Kepilāksha, Dīrghedanshita, Vikate, Tamritocan, Kālghanta, Bālīhi dr, Kālsījhira, Kujīca. cf. Brahmaavaita Purāṇa (Pub. B.L. Sarkar Ce leutre, S:kebde, 1812), 17.5-62.
\(^11\)VP, Ch. 30, p. 104.
\(^12\)MP, 180.3a; 82. 99; VP, Ch. 69.12.
\(^13\)VP, 32. 7-75.
was the son of Purṇabhadra and the grandson of Ratna-(Maṇi)-bhadra. When Maṇibhadra died of old age, steadfast in his devotion to Śiva, he was succeeded by mahātmā Purṇabhadra. He lived happily with his wife Kanakakundalā in their beautiful palace on the mountain Gandhāmadana. After long waiting and by the grace of Śiva, they had a son who was named Harikeśa. The son was like the full moon and had the beauty of Manmatha, the god of love and beauty. And he was by natural predilection, a devotee of Śiva. Even in play, he would carve Śiva-linga out of clay; he called his friends by the names of Śiva, would stay in the temple of Śiva whom he would worship day and night through all his senses of perception. Purṇabhadra did not like this, and wanted him to look after the family estate. In disgust Harikeśa left his father's home and, coming over to Kāśi, he settled at the Avimukta region for his penances under an Asoka tree. He forgot his whole physical existence and worshipped only Śiva, and therefore Pārvatī requested the god to bless him. In consequence, Śiva appointed him his daṇḍadhara, ‘attendant,’ and authorised him to reward or punish people for their good or bad acts. He was named Daṇḍapāṇi; and Sambhraṇa and Udhhrama were made his associates. He was also authorised to liberate persons, dying at Kāśi, from their mortal existence; during their lifetime he ensured their material prosperity. He would punish sinners, and chase them out of Kāśi. He was settled towards the south of the city, and it was essential for the inhabitants of Kāśi first to pay respects to him before doing obeisance to Śiva. Even sages like Skanda and Agastya, chanted the yaksha-rajasīhakam, the eight verses composed in his praise. It is said that those who heard it were delivered from the cycle of existence.

The supremacy of Śūrya and Vishṇu over the Yakshas is also reported from several Purāṇas. The Vishṇu Purāṇa gives the names of Yakshas and others who attended the chariot of the Sun in the different months of the year, in the course of its movement between the extreme northern and southern points. The Yaksha attendants in those months were as follows:

Rathakrit in Cāitra, Rathaujas in Vaiṭākha, Rathasvan in Jyeṣṭha; Rathacitra in Āśadha, Śrotas in Śrāvanas, Apuraṇa in Bhadrapada, Susheṇa in Āsvina, Sencit in Kūrtika, Tārksha in Āgrakayaṇa, Arishṭanemi in Paushya, Ritajit in Māgha and Satyajit in Phāguna.

The Matsya Purāṇa tells us that in the cosmic form of Vishṇu as Vāmana, the Yakshas became the nails of the great God. This was lean period of the Yaksha cult when other gods and their worshippers were trying to wrest from them the popularity that they enjoyed. The Puranic accounts are of great value in such a context.

Centres of Yaksha Worship

The worship of Yaksha was probably in vogue in the Madhyadeśa, Kurukshetra and Varānasi. The Vāmana Purāṇa, especially, has preserved the elaborate accounts of the Kurukśetra mahātmya connected with its various tirthas to which pilgrimage was made. It has been surmised that the boundaries of Kurukshetra were determined by the guardian Yakshas whose shrines were situated on the different spots hallowed by them in the ancient city. The four dvārapāla Yakshas

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1The temple of Daṇḍapāṇi, is now towards the north of the city of Varanasi. Another temple, of Yaksha—Vināyaka is reportedly situated somewhere near the famous Vishwānath lane, a busy shopping centre of Varanasi now. There was some clash over the title to this temple which was ultimately settled in court.

2Agrawala, V.S., Matsya Purāṇa, A Study, p. 280, points to the existence of a spot even today known as Harasū Brahama in the village Chainpur 5 miles from Bhabua in Arrah district. There is a conical image worshipped on the Māgha—Shukla 9 in the year when a big fair is held. Agrawala also identified some Yaksha shrines in the present city of Varanasi and showed the wide prevalence of Yaksha cult there since olden times, p. 280, cf. also Motti-Chandra, BPWM, III, pp. 53ff.

3II.10, p. 30ff.

4246,54.

5Agrawala, V.S., Vāmana Purāṇa, p. 47.
mentioned in the work are Arautaka,² Tarautaka³ (or Rautuka⁴), Kapila along with his consort Ullakhalamekhalà⁵ and Pancaka.⁶ The shrine of these four dvārapālas of Kurukshetra were situated in Prithudaka (modern Pehoa) near the Sannihita pond, in Tarasari near Karnal, near Pundarikka and Muñjivat and probably at a place named Jakhala to the west of the Kurukshetra region.⁶ All these Yakshas were respected and visited by the pilgrims, but the Yakshini Ullakhalamekhalà, had a comparatively dominant status. Her full story is preserved in the Vāmana Purāṇa.⁷ We are told that her shrine was situated near Muñjivat at a spot called Pushkara tīrtha. The pilgrims stayed there during only the day-time, and saved themselves from any nightly misadventure. She was fed with oblations of flesh and blood. Rautuka (or Tarautuka?) the second dvārapāla of Kurukshetra, was pleased if one made offerings to Brahmans.⁸ In the episode of Harikesà⁹ it is related that the offerings to Yakshas consisted of flesh and blood, which were the special ingredients of the food of the Yakshas who were, by nature, evil.

Such details coupled with the Puranic notices of images and attributes of Yakshas hardly leave any doubt as to the existence of the temples and images of the different Yakshas. Their shrines, however, were not tolerated by the Śāivites, which is clear from the Matsya Purāṇa in the legend of the birth of Vāstu.¹⁰ The relevant portions of the description tell us of Rudra’s encounter with and killing of Andhakasura, subsequent to which another Yaksha or Bhūta of terrific form appeared from the brow of Śiva and wanted to devour the whole world. Śiva, on his part, called him Vāstu and asked him to live with other gods at a place of his own choosing. Vāstu, however, was required to occupy the site, lying with his face downwards,¹¹ and receive for his food the offerings made at the time of Vāstu śaṅti and Vāstu Pajà.¹² The implications of the story are interesting and present the effort of taming of Yakshas, and acceptance of his shrines as “models of Rudra-Śiva shrines and later on of other gods and goddesses, following the same tradition.”¹³ The main note of the Purāṇas regarding Yakshas is their supersession by Śaivism and other faiths. Despite that fact, it continued to flourish; and this is shown by the references to their shrines, and worship, their large families and the terror that they exercised over the minds of people. These aspects of Yaksha and his cult are amply borne out by Puranic descriptions. These demi-gods evoked so much awe and fear that their worship could not have been discontinued unless of course this basic attitude of the masses towards them was altered. That, however, was too difficult to achieve.

HETERODOX LITERATURE: BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

Assimilation and Supersession

Yakshas by name or by class are much more familiar creatures in the Pali records of the Buddhists and a notable difference in them from the earlier or contemporary Brahmanical works is that they contain portrayal of the Yaksha in the Buddhist perspective and its popular form.

¹Vāmana Purāṇa, 34.11.
²Ibid, 22.60: 34, 24; Mbh., III.81.171.
³Ibid, 34.24; Mbh., III.81.178.
⁴Agrawala, V.S., op. cit., p. 48; Mbh., III.81.19, refers only to Yakṣī lokapārāsita.
⁵Vāmana Purāṇa, 22.60. He is Mecakruka in Mbh., III.81.178 and Rautuka in Vāmana Purāṇa, 35.37; cf. Agrawala, op. cit., p. 48.
⁶For these identifications see Agrawala, cp. cit., p. 48f also pp. 46 and 65.
⁸Vāmana Purāṇa, 34. 24.
⁹MP, 180. 9-10. The whole idea of opposition to Śiva is contradictory to the Yaksha-worship. Although Yakshes also abhorred such supremacy in some cases generally, they are found serving Śiva in various ways.
¹⁰MP, Ch. 252.
¹¹MP, 353, 16.
¹³Agrawala, V.S., Matsya Purāṇa, A Study, pp. 342-44. Agrawala takes Bhūta as a synonym of Yaksha.
Yakkha worship had considerably increased during this period. It is noteworthy that most of the Yakkhas of the Pali canons are not identical with the *Mahābhārata* or Purānic Yakkhas; they are additional. Moreover, Pali works multiply the centres of Yakkha-worship to an extent unknown till then. Because the largest number of such centres emerged from eastern India, this region has been suggested as the place of origin of this cult.  

In the Buddhist Pali and Sanskrit texts, the Yakkhas or Yakkhas figure as a class or as individual demi-gods of great might. Many Yakkha chiefs are also mentioned; for example, forty-one Yakkha-chiefs in the *Ajātaśatru Sutta* and twenty-eight chiefs in the *Sutta Nipāta*. Some Yakkhas, however, figure in pairs, *viz.*, Hemavata and Sāta-giri, Suvaloma and Kharaloma, while others are mentioned as couples, such as Panḍaka and Harita, or Cetiya and Jutindhara. Some groups of Yakkhas with a train of several thousands of Yakkha-followers are also discernible; for instance, seven Yakkha guards of Jotika *sennu of Rājagaha* are mentioned; their names are Yamakoli, Uppala, Vajirabāhu, Vajira, Kasakandha, Kαtaththa and Disāpamukha.

The Yakkhas are not always a degenerate class of demi-gods; several other applications of the word Yakkha are found in the Buddhist texts and commentaries. The word is sometimes an appellative applied to the Buddha and Sakka. The *Vimānavaṭṭha* commentary (333) explains that the term is applied to Sakka, four regent gods, the followers of Vessavana and to *Purisa* `individual soul'. Sakka seems to be Indra, for he is known to have destroyed Asuras. A Yakkha of the same name is mentioned in the *Samyutta Nikāya*. It has been said that the *Purisa* also is designated Yakkha; and it is explained that this is an exceptional use of the term in the philosophical sense, meaning `soul'. An interesting definition of Yakkha is found in the *Nidānesa* which explains Yakkha by *susa, nara, māna, posa, puggala, jīva, jagu, jantu, indagu, and manuṣa* Yakkha is also referred to in the Buddhist Pali works. These expressions and nuances are helpful towards a better understanding of the Yakkhas before they metamorphosed into demi-gods. It is clear, therefore, that in a restricted sense, some personages or classes were designated as Yakkhas; and on the whole, *yakkha* was an appellation, and referred to a class of demi-gods.

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3 cf. Chadha, R.P., *MA*, III, p. 7. This suggestion seems erroneous for two reasons; firstly, as eastern India was principally the field of Buddha's action, the Buddhist works focus attention on that region. Those Buddhist missionaries who went elsewhere found Yakkha worship prevalent there, and they tried to eradicate it. (cf. Himalayan Yakkhas were converted when Majhanitaka preached to Aravala, *Mh. V.*, XII.21). Secondly, Pāṭimis's references to Yakkhas may indicate towards prevalence of this cult in the Northwestern region and *Mbh.*, speaks of Yakkha-worship in Kurukshetra and Himalayas etc. In view of these, eastern India can hardly be regarded as the place of origin of the Yakkha cult which was cosmopolitan.

2 *Dh.*, II, p. 205f.

3 *Dh.*, II, p. 197. The numbers are conventional. *MA*, II.244 refers to only Mani, Manicara, Digha, Serissaka and Parajana by names although twenty-eight chiefs are intended there.

4 *Dh.*, I, 19.

5 *Dh.*, I, 38.

6 *Mbh.*, I, 252, also *MA*, II.277; *Jātaka*, V.73, III.68ff; *DA*, I.264.

7 *Jātaka*, V.80.

8 *SA*, I.206.

9 *DPPN* and *PED*, sv. Yakkha.

10 *MA*, II.282.

11 There were many interesting references in these canons which identify Yakkha with ethnic groups in the Vijaya legends (Mbh. V., VII.32). The Prince Vijaya finds that the aborigines of Ceylon are Yakkhas, having their chief cities at Sirisavatthu and Lankapura. These Yakkhas were extirpated by the Prince. The Veddas of Ceylon still regard themselves as the descendants of Yakkhas, cf. Coomaraswamy, I, p. 13; for further references see ibid, p. 4 ff, 3, Malalasekera, *DPPN*, sv. Yakkha, says that in all probability the Yakkhas of (Ceylon) were originally considered as humans but later they came to be confused with the non-humans.

12 *Dh.*, II.57; *A*, II.39; *Pr. A*, p. 117.
and sometimes included human beings too. Such uses of the term yakkha seem to be rather rare and of an exceptional nature; and usually the word designates a class of being that falls in the general category of demi-gods. There are at the same time, instances of Yakkhas designated otherwise, such as deva, or devaputta.²

Yakkhas in the texts fall under the category of Bhūmādevatā, Amanussa, and naiyāsikā (local genii). In the Jātakas, the Bodhisattva is often born as a tree-spirit and often called a devatā, the Buddhist tendency being to restrict the designation yakkha to demons, although at many places devatā and yakkha are synonymous.⁴ The two are sometimes equated but sometimes distinguished too. Usually they form a kindred group with the demi-gods such as Devas, Rākṣasas, Dānavas, Gandhārvas, Kinnaras, and Mahoragas. But sometimes a hierarchy is suggested in which they rank below Petas.⁵ Elsewhere they rank between Manussa and Gandhabba.⁶ The Yakkha concept is evidently permeated with animistic beliefs, and the Yakkhas appear as spirits although not disembodied, living in the trees, lakes, deserts and seas. Incorporating animistic beliefs as the Yakkhas do, it is found that they are endowed with the traits of spirits. The material regarding Yakkhas, as preserved in the early Buddhist works helps us to evolve a typology pertaining to their nature. So far, only two types of Yakkhas are prominently noticeable, viz., beneficent and maleficent. But Pali texts seems to indicate certain other types, designated here as converted, neutral and ambivalent, in addition to the already existing types.

The Converted Yakkhas

The case of conversion relates generally to the malevolent Yakkhas, and it marks a new stage of rivalry with Buddhism which was trying to eradicate the Yaksha-worship. It is observed that Buddha converted some Yakkhas, made others ineffectual, and ignored still other Yakkhas who were rather powerful. In most cases, those Yakkhas who were entirely won over have been named e.g., Sucimola; in some cases, those who were rendered ineffective have also been named, e.g., Avaruddhaka. Sometimes this ineffectiveness lasted as long as the Buddha was present, as in the case of Ājavaka and Avaruddhaka. But those Yakkhas who were insurmountable, have been generally ignored and not named. The Buddha seems to have been in a constant war against them and he obstructed and deprecated the fetishes and rituals connected with the Yaksha-worship which will become clear from the instances of Ajakalapaka, Ājavaka, Makkhādeva etc., references to whom will be found at relevant places. The attitude of Yakkhas towards the Buddha, in accordance with this crusade, was of different types; some appear as his enemies and some as friends and counsellors. In the Ājīvanīya Sutta, Vessavanīya is described as telling that generally 'Yakkhas neither believed in the Buddha nor in his teachings; they were generally of middle or inferior ranks and this rank also contained the believing Yakkhas. The reason for this disbelief was in the very nature of the code of Buddha which professed abstinence from killing, theft,

1 S, I.205.
2 P i. A, 113 and 139. V.VA, p. 331.
3 Jātaka, I.247, 253 etc.
4 ibid, 111.96.
5 ibid.
6 PY, II.9.11.
7 Paramathadhūpanta, II, p. 56, Jātaka, 111.97.
8 P i. A, 55. Some of the Petas are called Yakkhas, cf. P i. II.9.
9 A, II.88.
10 In the Gita a different hierarchy is suggested in which Yakshas are regarded as superior to Petas and Bhūtās (cf. Mbh., VI.39.4).
11 Masson, Joseph, S.J., La Religion Populaire dans le Canon Budhique Pali, Louvain, 1942, pp. 126ff, refers to "Trois aspects des Yakkhas: (1) L' aspect (general) des etres qui de 'passent l' humain, qui sont doues des proprietes surnaturelles; (2) une classe (speciale) des: demi-deus ni plus ni moins malvesants que d'autres un certain textes; (3) une (qualification) de cette classe comme plutot malvesante.
12 J, 11.12ff., sneezing and the depreciation of the warding off formulae by the Buddha.
in chastity, lying and intemperance and was, therefore distasteful to them. Sometimes the Yakka did not hesitate in trying to kill eminent Buddhist disciples, their respectful attitude towards the Buddha notwithstanding. The Udāna contains a story where a Yakka wished to kill Sāriputta but was restrained by the other Yakka. Ālava and Sucelema are said to have threatened the Buddha and were pacified only when he answered their metaphysical questions properly. Besides these inimical Yakka, there is the instance of Vessavana who had a sympathetic attitude towards the Buddha, or Sakka, who counselled the Buddha while he was at Gijjhatu, that he should not spend his time teaching others. In many cases the Yakka are “fallen angels,” they attended the Buddha’s teaching so that they could attain a higher sphere of existence. Often, on the other hand, malevolent and frightful Yakka were tamed by the Buddha or his disciples, following which they adopted the Buddhist way of life. Whether this conversion was always final, is difficult to say, for usually with the taming of a particular Yakka the story ends, and the converted creature is supposed to have lived a pious life ever after. Another remarkable point regarding conversion is the change from bad to good nature. Cases of the opposite kind are not found. It is clear that there were both good and bad Yakka, and the Buddha made a constant endeavours towards reforming the bad Yakka; good ones seem to have already accepted its creed, or, those who accepted his creed were regarded as good. But the taming of Yakka was not an easy task for the Buddha who had to bear the brunt of their tussle and defiance. We shall discuss here some typical examples of conversion of Yakka.

Ālava is one of the most prominent Yakka in the Buddhist literature. It is said that he defied the Buddha when the Great Being interfered with the rituals and offerings connected with his worship. He tried to fatigue the Buddha by asking several questions, which were, however, all properly answered. The entire story has been grouped by Watanabe under similar other stories, entitled Kalkashopa stories and its three salient features corresponding with the story are (i) cannibalism of the Yakka, (ii) capture of king and his promise of sacrifice to Yakka, (iii) conversion. Ultimately this Yakka was won over by Buddha, and brought to the service of Buddhism, in which form his name occurs in the list of fortyone Mahāyakka in the Ājñatīya Sutta, who protected the followers of the Buddha from danger from the evil-minded Yakka. The other converted Yakka mentioned in the Pali texts are, for instance, Sucelema,

1 D, III.195.
2 IV.4; Ud. A., p. 244. Paramatthadhāpani, III.103.
4 S, I.207f; Sn. A., I.303f.
5 Some Yakka become Sotāpanna; cf. Haritā—Paṇḍaka and their 500 sons (Mh. V, XII.21), Khara (Sn. A, I, 301ff), Janavasabha (D, II.207); Some have been described as Puggala, ‘animist,’ such as Indaka, who questioned the Buddha as to how the soul finds its material counterpart. The Buddha in reply described how the embryo evolves up to its final shape by the laws of physical growth and anatomy in its flat. (S, I.206). Buddhugosha calls the Yakka Puggala (SA, I.300); Similarly Payast, also known as Serissa—devaputta has been designated Puggaladhi. He held the view that there was no world other than this, no fruits of action and no rebirth, but he was convinced otherwise by Kumara—Kassapa, PV, IV.3; Vr. A, pp. 331-32. These instances give an idea about the philosophical concept of the Yakka theology.
6 Ājñatīya Sutta, D, III.95ff.
7 S, I.206. The Buddha, however, replied that he was doing it out of sympathy and compassion., ibid, also DA, I.302, which adds that the Yakka belonged to the faction of Māra.
8 S, I.209. (Piyankaramātā, S, I.210; SA, I.310f; (Punabbasumātā). Many thousand Yakka attended the preaching of Mahāsusayana Sutta.
9 Kindred Sayings, I, pp. 275ff; Sn. A, I.217.40., SA, I, 310f. In Sn. A, I.228 it is said that these questions were learnt from Kassapa Buddha by Ājavana’s parents who taught them to their son Ājavana; to guard against forgetting them, he had the questions and answers written on a gold leaf with red paint and stored it in his palace.
Khara, Ajakalapa (Adyakalaka? Hultsch), Kumbhakanna and a nameless Yakkha who haunted a hall on the outskirts of Benaras, and devoured the casual inmates boarding there, if they sneezed and did not utter the words ‘long life’ or ‘long life to you.’ The Bodhisatthva, who was born as the son of a trader, Gagga, later established him in five precepts and the Yakkha was appointed a tax-gatherer in Kasi. The story of Sucloma is also interesting. The Buddha is said to have been at the tanki tamaha in Gayâ, which was the haunt of this Yakkha. Sucloma challenged the Buddha and threatened to throw him beyond the Ganges. He bent his needle-haired body against the Buddha who, in turn, bent his own body to the opposite direction to avoid the former’s defiling touch. Subsequently, Sucloma was converted when he asked questions regarding the origin of various persuasions and the Buddha answered him. Sucloma has also been represented as the lay-follower of Kassapa-Buddha and a regular visitor of the Vihara for hearing the dhamma. He is described as needle-haired; he developed such hair because he had done an act of indiscipline in the Sàrîgha.

Some other malevolent Yakkhas are also mentioned in the Buddhist works, who were converted to Buddhist precepts by the disciples of the Buddha, the Bodhisattha or even by the prominent kings of ancient times. There is a story in the Mahavansa (X.53ff), regarding the Yakkhini Cetiyâ who was vanquished by Prince Pandukabhaya. This Yakkhini later helped the prince in slaying his enemies.

In some cases, however, Yakkhas seem to have defied the Buddha, and their evil designs were held in abeyance as long as the Buddha was present in person. An instance may be cited here, which relates to Avaruddhaka Yakkha who got permission from Vessavana to devour a boy Dighayu when the boy was dead. The Buddha helped his parents by instructing them to build a pavilion outside the door of their house where monks recited parittas, ‘warding runes,’ for seven days. On the seventh day, Avaruddhaka came to take away the child but could not do so owing to the presence of the Buddha on the spot. This incident shows that where the Buddha could not convert a particular Yakkha, he rendered him ineffective by his great power. This Yakkha, however, was not converted, although usually when such confrontations occurred they were converted. Some Yakkhas found the teachings of the Buddha so promising that they exerted themselves towards the stage of becoming Sotapanna, ‘stream-winner.’ Prominent among them are Khara and Sucloma, Janavasabha, Hariti, her consort Panjaka and their five hundred sons.

In the types under discussion here, the converted Yakkhas figure rather prominently. Yakkhas of this category should not however, be confused with those Yakkhas, described frequently as attending the Buddha or the other monks instinctively and following a moral path. On the whole, it appears that Yakkhas were tamed and converted either by the Buddha or Bodhisattha

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1 S, I.207f; Sn. A., I.305.
2 Ud, I.7, and Commentary, pp. 64ff; DPPN, sv., Ajakalapa.
3 Bu., XII.5; Bu.A, p. 198f. His story is similar to that of Ajavaka and he was brought under control by Sumedha Buddha. For other similar stories cf. ibid, pp. 125ff (Nàrada Yakkha), pp. 253ff (Naradeva Yakkha), and Rasavâhini, pp. 19ff.
4 Jàtaka, II.11ff.
5 Sn. A, I.301.
6 Mh.V, XII.21. Majjhantaka converted Panjaka and Hariti, and their five hundred sons. These, however, were not violent.
7 Jàtaka, II.11ff; I.137ff.
8 cf. Rattikhi Yakkha who was converted by the king of Ceylon; his story is given in Mh.V, XXXVI.32ff.
11 Dh, A, II.217-8. Vessavana on one hand grants Yakkhas the permission to eat corpses and men and, on the other, tells the Buddha how to keep them under control. cf. D, III.204f.
12 Sn. A, I.305; They became sotapanna at the end of the Buddha’s sermon.
13 D, II.205ff. He is represented as a sotapanna who wants to be a sakadãgami.
or in some cases even by the kings. Usually they gave up their wickedness after such conversion.\(^1\) Some even helped the followers of the Buddha\(^2\) but there were some who defied conversion to the end and resisted the embrace of Buddhism. It is interesting to note that in those cases where the Buddha or Bodhisattva could not achieve success, they only liberated the victim of the Yakkha. In these instances usually, the proper names of Yakkhas have not been mentioned and a reference is found only to their class.\(^3\) This was the usual practice but not a rule, and an exception to it is found in case of the Yakkha in the Gagga Jātaka, who is not named although he was vanquished and made harmless by the Bodhisattva.

### The Malevolent Yakkhas

Closely allied with the type of the converted Yakkhas are the malevolent Yakkhas in the Pali works. Often they are found deriving pleasure by hurting human beings. There was a Rattākhi Yakkha whose very sight produced the jarāroga. This affliction caused the redness of eyes resulting in death of the victim whereupon the Yakkha devoured him. After his conversion, it was arranged that he would receive offerings at every village,\(^4\) and keep peace. Similarly Āḷavaka also used to put questions to the ascetics who were stranded in his glittering palace, and he would drive those ascetics mad (by entering into their heart) who failed to answer question relating to faith.\(^5\) The malevolence of Yakkhas is exhibited in their food habits, for they took pleasure in consuming human flesh and blood.\(^6\) Ajakalāpaka was one such Yakkha.\(^7\) The Buddhavaṃsa Commentary mentions Nārada, Naradeva and Kumbhakamṇa, the Yakkhas, who were all fearful to behold, and evil in pursuits.\(^8\) Āḷavaka,\(^9\) Avaruddhaka,\(^10\) and Kharadāthika\(^11\) were of a similar disposition. There was also a Yakkha Punnakāla who spread in Abhayapura (Ceylon) a pestilence called Pajjāraka.\(^12\)

Sometimes, the malevolence of the Yakkha was averted through certain charms and other aids. Āṭāntīṭya Sutta has been regarded as one of the parittas, which warded off the perils created by Yakkhas. It is said that in order to save the disciples of the Buddha from Yakkhas in the remote parts of the forest, Vessavaṇa told the Buddha the Āṭāntīṭya wardrune (rakkhā). In the Sutta fortyone Yakkha-Chiefs have been mentioned who should be invoked in the event of such danger. As Malalasekera has pointed out, these fortyone gods "are mentioned as a kind of appendix or afterthought... in what are apparently mnemonic doggerels." In Ceylon it is still recited in times of illness to ward off the evil spirits.\(^13\)

### The Benevolent Yakkhas

Not all the Yakkhas were maleficient. The Buddhist records have portrayed them also as bene-

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\(^1\) cf. Suclioma.
\(^2\) cf. Alavaka.
\(^3\) *Jātaka*, 11:89ff; IV.304ff.
\(^4\) *Mh.* V, XXXVI.82ff. *Dīvīyavādana*, pp. 74, 76, refers to a Lohitāksha Yakkha who was fierce and a killer.
\(^5\) *Sn.* A, 1.228.
\(^6\) In this respect they resemble with the Vedic Piśāca; for the latter, cf. Macdonell, *VM*, p. 164.
\(^7\) *Udāna* Comm., p. 64, explains the etymology as follows; (i) aje kalāpavā bandhanena ajakottahāsena saddhīth balīn pātichchati no manathā. (ii) kēcīpana aja-ke viyasaṭte lāpetti aja-kalāpako ti, *DPPN*, sv. Ajakalāpaka.
\(^8\) *Taw* A, I.217ff.
\(^10\) *Jātaka*, I.93 (Hindi Sahitya Sammelana ed.); *Bu.* A, 143. He is said to have first asked for the children of the Bodhisattva and devoured them before the Bodhisattva's eyes.
\(^11\) *Mh.* V, XV.63, Comm., 349; Pajjāraka has been defined as unhaśisabhadha. The event of this Yakkha belongs to the time of Kakasandha Buddha.
\(^12\) *DPPN*, sv. Āṭāntīṭya Sutta.
volent creatures whose grace manifested itself in various areas of human activity. Their protective functions are often dwelt upon. The Mahāvamsa tells of Yakkha Kālavela who saved the prince Pandukākhaya during his pre-natal and infant stages from the evil machinations of his uncle who had his eye set on the prince's throne. Sometimes, the whole community benefited from the protective guardianship of Yakkhas. We have the instance of Kuṇḍa who found a resort in a forest near the Koliyana village of Kundiya, and protected the forest. The lives of merchants and travellers were often endangered by the evil inclinations of Yakshas and they invoked their help and sometimes got it. As Yakshas were capable of guarding the human beings from perils they were accepted as tutelary spirits of persons or towns.

Sometimes individual Yakkhas are represented as helping human beings in various forms. It is interesting to observe that if Yakshas as a class are the enemies of human beings, individual Yakshas are more often either benevolent or converted to goodness; that is to say, that the Buddhist works clearly distinguish between those Yakshas who are simply described as Yakshas and those who have proper names. Some prominent Yakshas found helping human beings are as follows: Kuṇṇa (Mh. V, VII.36) helps prize Vijaya to kill the invisible Yakshas of Lankāpura and Sirisavatthu as has been already mentioned. The Mahāyakshas, fortyone in number and all named in the Ājīvāna Sutta, are always willing to help holy men and the followers of the Buddha, and they constantly endeavoured to prevent wicked Yakshas from hurting them or erring Yakshas from doing evil. Some Yakshas appear as the teachers of good morals. They are willing to save the prospective sinners from committing evil. There are the Yakshas who helped human beings to serve the Buddhist faith. In several other instances, the Yakshas are found coming in contact with human beings, solely with the intention of giving help. For instance, in the Therighāthā Commentary (39) we find the example of Kumbhira Yaksha who transported Bhihīsāra to the court of Ujjeni, or the Yaksha of the Gāgga Jātaka, who was brought to the service of the king of Benaras who appointed him the tax-gatherer. This indicates that Yakshas in some cases used to run errands for human beings. They even granted riches to the human beings. They were the liberal dispensers of underground riches and hidden-treasures, with which they delighted men.

The Ambivalent Yakshas

Pali literature has thus numerous instances of benevolent, malevolent or converted Yakshas. The information about two other types viz., ambivalent and neutral is comparatively very meagre. Considering the ambivalent, it may be said that conversion from one type to the other may in a way represent the ambivalence and there is no dearth of such instances, as will be clear from the earlier discussion. Sometimes a dividing line is difficult to draw in many cases, for, as far as their traits are concerned, some Yakshas who are malevolent were converted and became helpful; as such they possessed the traits of all the three types at different stages. However, the ambivalent type may be seen in the cases of Ājāvaka and Vajirāṇi. Ājāvaka, even after his

1 infra, chapter 8.
2Mh. V, IX.22ff.
3DPPN, sv. Kuṇṇa, Kundiya.
4D, II.35ff.; DA, III.814; Vr. A, pp. 331ff.
5Yaksha Makhatadeva was given settlement at the city-gate; cf. J, III.203; cf. also, Shah, U.P., JOI, III, 1, p. 29ff.
6D, III.204ff.
8PV, IV.1ff.; Sānthera, SA, I.306ff; Dh. A, III.208ff.
9J, II.13f.
10PV, II.9; PV, A, 145; PV, IV.12.
11DPPN, sv. Yaksha, Pañcakusalamāṇa Jātaka, III.300, contains the story of Assamuki Yakkhini who told her son a charm which enabled him to find out hidden wealth. This charm was utilized by the son with great benefit.
confrontation with the Buddha, continued to pester the boarders of his glittering palace and Vajirapâni is also found exercising his malefic power against erring persons.\(^1\)

### The Neutral Yakkhas

As far as the neutral Yakkhas are concerned, their number is small. Some Yakkhas of this class such as Sältagiri\(^2\) and Hemavata were monks who had erred and, as punishment were born as Yakkhas. In this birth, they do not seem to have evil intentions. These two Yakkhas had been monks in their previous birth, and were born as Yakkhas for wrongly adjudicating in a dispute between Dhammavâdi and Adhammavâdi.\(^3\) Another Yakkha of neutral type is Digha,\(^4\) who is constantly associated with the Buddhist order and who is regarded as devarâja.\(^5\) These Yakkhas were specially devoted to Buddhism, and led a life of detachment.

### Worship of Yaksha

It has been aptly said that the cult of Yakshas arose “primarily from the woods and secondarily from the legends of sea-faring merchants.”\(^6\) Yakshas frequented forests, mountains, lakes, trees,\(^7\) city-gates\(^8\) or deserted halls\(^9\) but probably those abodes of Yakshas are more important where they attracted extensive worship. In this connection, the cetiyas\(^10\) which find mention in the Buddhist texts are extremely important. The cetiya-worship was a form of Yaksha-worship, and the Buddha is often seen staying at the sites of such cetiyas and preaching his gospel. Several reputed and ancient cetiyas have been connected with the Yakkhas. Vesâli contained five such shrines viz. Gotamaka,\(^11\) Sârananda,\(^12\) Sattamâna,\(^13\) Cápâla\(^14\) and Bahuputta.\(^15\) An Ananda cetiya, in Bhogangara which was later converted into a Buddhist vihâra is known from the Anguttara Commentary.\(^16\) The Aggalava cetiya, originally a place of spirit worship, is represented as the chief shrine at Ājant.\(^17\) The Udena cetiya, where later a vihâra was built and dedicated to Yakkha Udena, lay to the east of Vesâli.\(^18\) All these Vesâli cetiyas are described as beautiful spots.\(^19\) Rhys Davids regarded these cetiyas as being probably trees or barrows.\(^20\) Special mention

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\(^{1}\)infra, 3.

\(^{2}\)He finds mention also in the Bhisa Jâtaka, IV.197.

\(^{3}\)Sn. A, I, 195f. They figure as two Yakkha-chiefs; also cf. D, II.253.

\(^{4}\)D, III.205.

\(^{5}\)MA, II.244.

\(^{6}\)PED, and DPPN, sv. Yaksha.

\(^{7}\)infra, chapter 5.

\(^{8}\)f, III.203.

\(^{9}\)ibid, II.12.

\(^{10}\)For the literature regarding cetiya or cetiya-worship, cf. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 47; Chanda, R.P., MASI, no. 30, p. 4f; JDL, IV, pp. 51ff; Shah, U.P., Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 43ff.

\(^{11}\)A shrine towards the south of Vesâli, D, III.9; and one of the beautiful spots of the town, D, II.102, 118; dedicated to the Yaksha Gotama, where people prayed for obtaining children. Dh. A, III.246; It was later appropriated for a Vihâra. In Divyâyadana, p. 201, it is referred to as Gautama Nyagrodha in the list of noted places of Vesâli. It has been suggested that the cetiya might have been dedicated to Kâla Gotama Nâga (JPTS, 1891, p. 67) which suggestion seems to be far-fetched, DPPN, sv. Gotamaka cetiya.

\(^{12}\)pre-Buddhistic Yaksha-shrine, D, II.75.102, Ud., VI.1; DA, II.521.

\(^{13}\)Sattambha or Sattambaka; A shrine (D, II.102; Ud., VI.1; S, V.259; A, IV.309) to the west of Vesâli (D, III.9); Originally, like other shrines, it was dedicated to some Yaksha.

\(^{14}\)This was once the residence of the Yaksha Cápâla, where later a Vihâra was made for the Buddha (Ud. A, 322f.; cf. DPPN, sv. Cápâla cetiya.

\(^{15}\)A shrine to the north of Vesâli (D, III.9). This was a pre-Buddhist shrine and according to the commentaries, SA, II.128 etc., was a many-branched nigröda tree where persons prayed to the deva of the tree for sons.

\(^{16}\)S. A, I.1344; S, A, I.268.

\(^{17}\)D, II.102; S, I.185-7; A, IV.309.

\(^{18}\)D, II.110, note 1; cf. Law, B.C., Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 74ff; Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 47.
has been made of Udena and Gotamaka cetiyas in the Dhammapada Commentary it is said that people paid homage to these ‘Rukkhā cetiyas’ and had their wishes fulfilled.

Apart from these different cetiyas, there were many other important regions and places where some prominent Yakkhas found settlement. Pañjakka and Haritā, who belonged to the retinue of the Nāga-king Aravāla are associated with Gāndhāra.3 Pātalī had the Ajakalapaka cetiya in the town. The town Jalvī had a shrine of Ajavaka Yakkha.4 Some Magadh Yakkhas are also known, viz., Maṇibhadha,5 who had his ‘bhavana’, ‘cetiya’ in Magadha, which was called Maṇīmālaka.6 The Gayā-Yakkhas were Suciloma and Kharaloma.7 Rājagaha had two important Yakkhas in the vicinity. One was Kumbhira of Vepulla mountain, who has been called Rājagahika due to his birth there.8 The other Yakkha was Indaka who lived on the Indakūṭa near Rājagaha.9 Kaśi or Benaras was also a prominent place connected with various Yakkhas.10

The Dhammapāda Āṭṭhakathā refers to a Kāli Yakkhini who in a previous birth was one of the two wives of a householder. Kāli got jealous of the other wife, and through successive births, both these women continued the practice of devouring each other’s children. This old enmity was put to an end when Kāli was converted by the Buddha, and made a sotāpanna. She is said to have chosen a place outside a village, where she was invoked for protecting crops, and eight salakabhātta were established in her honour.11 Yakkhas of some other cities also are known, for instance, Nārada Yakkha of Khemavatina,12 Kumbhakāṇṭha of Ātavi,13 Yakkula of Śravasti,14 Udaryā and Kunti Yakkhis of Nandivardhan and Kuntinagara of Kashmir,15 and the Yakkhis of Mathura whose names were Alīkā, Venā, Meghā, and Timisikā.16 The legendary Uttarākuravu, with its fabulous attributes, has been described as the abode of Yakkhas, in the Ājānītiya Sutta.17

The abundant references to the bhavana or the habitats of Yaksha and to the offerings made to them indicate that they were widely worshipped.

Some of the most clear instances of worshippers of particular Yakkhas pertain to the followers of Maṇibhadra and Puṇṇabhadda in the Mahāniddesa.10 It is said there that certain classes of ascetics and recluses worshipped them. Maṇibhadra is mentioned in the Milindapañho (p. 191)

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1III.246.
2Mh. V., XII.9ff; DPPN, sv. Gāndhāra.
3Ud., I.7.
4Neval or Nawal in Unnao district, Uttar Pradesh, According to Cunningham and Hoernle: Law, however identifies the place with Avisa, 27 miles northeast of Etah, Uttar Pradesh, Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 24; Mrs. Rhys Davids says that Jalvi was on the bank of the Ganges (cf. parā-gangāya of SN, p. 32), Pss. of the Brethren, p. 408, but Malalasekera, sv. Jalvi, thinks that the parā-gangāya is only a “hitherto expression having no geographical significance.”
5S, I.208.
6S, I.208.
7S, I.207; Sn., I.47f.
8DA, II.686, Sāta of Sātagiri and Hemavata of Himavant, p. 686.
9S, I.206.
10J, I.27, 131ff, 255; II.103; III.56f, 132f.
12Bu. A, 263f.
13ibid, 198ff.
14Gītī MSS; III, 1, p. 103.
15ibid, III, 1, p. VIII.
16ibid, III, 1, p. 15ff.
17D, III.199f; Yakkhas hold their assemblies on Manosalatāla, Sn. A, I.220; D, III.201; DA, III.567. The Manosalatāla was a locality of Himavā, cf. also Vs. A, 131.
19Mh. V., XXXVI.82ff; Sn. A, I.222ff.
20In its explanation of the term, vattasuddhikā mentions, among others, Puṇṇabhaddavatikā, Vasudevavatikā, Baladevavatikā and Maṇibhadavatikā. It is notable that Vasudeva and Baladeva figure with the Yakkha here.
together with tumblers, jugglers, actors, etc. Yakkhas were deities worthy of worship, which is suggested even from the etymology of the word yakka in the Pali commentaries which explain the word as derived from \( \text{y} \text{aj} \) 'to sacrifice.'

A large number of Yakka- cetiyas or bhavanas, the terrestrial habitats, give us a clue to the extent of the Yakka influence, from Gandhara in the west to Magadha in the east, including the Koliyas and Sakya settlements of Kuqulaya and Kapilavastu and Mallas of Pava. The city of Vesali also had a number of important Yakka shrines. Eastern India appears to be an important region where the cult and the worship were widely spread. It appears that part of present Rajasthan also was once under the Yakka influence. The \( \text{Vim} \text{a} \text{nava} \text{v} \text{ath} \) refers to the legend of Pâiyas- devaputta (also known as Serisaka-deraputta for he had his Vishnu near a Seris tree) who is said to have shown the way to merchants of Anga and Magadha who were going to \( \text{Sindhu} \text{s} \text{o} \text{v} \text{i} \text{r} \) and who were stranded in the desert, which evidently was Maru.

The votaries of Yakkhas included of kings and commoners, recluses, ascetics, the sea-faring and forest-tracking traders. Yakkha temples and abodes were places of worship, where festivals in honour of the Yakkhas were held. Sometimes Yakka images of some kind are also suggested in the description of Yakkhas. It is said that the Yakka Cittarahja was honoured by Prince Pandukabhaya who gave the former a settlement at the lower end of the \( \text{abhaya} \) tank. On the festival days the Yakka occupied a seat beside the king. A Yakka of the same name is mentioned in the \( \text{Kuru} \text{ dhamma} \text{ Jataka} \). The \( \text{Jataka} \) relates that it was a custom for ancient kings, at the time of \( \text{Kattika} \) festival, to deck themselves in great magnificence. The kings would stand in the presence of Cittarahja, and they would shoot arrows to the four quarters. In these cases, an allusion to the image is implied. Temples and images of Yakkhas are amply represented in early Indian art, specially of Bharhat. In the light of this early evidence of art, the references to the bhavana, or vimana, may be taken to imply the images also. The images may not have been necessarily anthropomorphic. It is quite likely that amiconic symbols to represent the Yakka might have served the ritualistic purpose. In the bas-reliefs of Bharhat are found various representations of platforms under trees, decorated with flowers, containing the prints of palms and fingers. These have been regarded as portraying the types of worship-platforms of Yakkhas.

Regarding the mode of Yakka-worship, various references indicate that Yakkhas were creatures of voracious appetite, and one mode of worship was to satisfy it. Yakkhas ate human beings, and sometimes corpses. The other objects in this list were goats, rams and the like.

In some cases it becomes very difficult to determine whether certain human beings might have been mentioned as Yakkhas. It is likely that in the transformation of legends, human beings were accepted as Yakkhas, Yakkhas perhaps represent some ethnological traits. The \( \text{Mah} \text{avarisna} \) relates the story of prince Vijaya who found that Ceylonese aborigines inhabiting the island were Yakkhas. The prince is said to have married one Yakka-maiden, Kuveni or Kuwaan, and had from her

\(^{1}\text{supra, p. 10.}^{2}\text{Vs., VII.10; Vs. A, 331f. The State Museum, Bharatpur has recently recorded acquisition of two Yaksha images, one is a late Mauryan torso, the other shows a Mukhalingam also delineating a Yaksha holding a bowl on its head; find-spot-Aghapur. cf. Indian Museum Review, New Delhi, 1966, p. 46; see also Agrawal, R.C., Animal faced sculptures from Rajasthan, Bharatiya Vidya, XX, XXI, January, 1963, pp. 333-39.}\n
\(^{3}\text{DPPN, sv. Cittarahja. Kajavela, another Yaksha is said to have appeared with the prince on the feast days in a visible form. Mt. V, X.104; It is said that Mahasena afterwards build a sthapa on the site of Kajavela's shrine, ibid, XXXVII.44.}\n
\(^{4}\text{Jataka, II.254.}\n
\(^{5}\text{Dr. Moti Chandra, BPWM, III, p. 48f.}\n
\(^{6}\text{Jataka, 1.3, 131, 233ff; II.11ff; III.132f, etc.}\n
\(^{7}\text{Dh, A, II.237-38.}\n
\(^{8}\text{Ayakuta Jataka, no. 347, III.96; When the Bodhisattva discontinued this practice, Yaksha was deputed to kill him. He was, however, saved by Sakka's intervention.}\n
\(^{9}\text{Chapter 7.}\)
two children, Jivahattha and Dipellá. These children are described as the ancestors of Pulindas, Malalasekera has said that "in all probability the Yakshas (of Ceylon) were originally considered as human, but later came to be confused with the non-human. Their chief cities were Lankapura and Sirisavatthu." Coomaraswamy, however, refers to the Veddas, aborigines of Ceylon, who regard themselves as the descendants of Yakshas.

No description of Yakshas in the Pāli works will be complete without a reference to Kubera or Vessavana who was their chief as well as one of the Caturmahātrājika devas. He figures in the literature as a great devotee of the Buddha, which trait is possessed also by his wife Bhūnjaṭi. Their five daughters, viz., Latā, Sajjā, Pavarā, Acchimaṭi and Sutā, and nephew Puṇṇaka also find mention. His kingdom was Uttara-kuru containing great cities, parks, and lakes and troops of Yakshas. He was the master of Yakshas who served him and, in return, got rewards for their service. It is said that Vessavana also obtained the services of savages. Yakshas were afraid of him. It is said that if he was angry and looked but once, a thousand Yakshas would break up and scatter like 'parched peas hopping about on a hot plate.' But Vessavana appears as an office whose incumbents were subject to change. The Rukkhamhamma Jātaka records installation by Sakka of new king Vessavana on the death of the first Vessavana. Kubera, however, enjoys proverbial luxuries.

In conclusion, it may be stated that Yakshas were one of the most important subjects of the folklore of the time, which preserves the rich traditions of their character and the worship that was extremely popular then. The main point of note about the Buddhist Yakshas is their struggle with the Buddha or Bodhisattvas. Buddhism tried to minimise the importance which the cult enjoyed, by attempting to eradicate the customs of cannibalism and offerings to Yakshas. Sometimes the Buddha and Bodhisattvas succeeded in such attempts, as in the cases of Ajakāla, Jávaka, Avaruddhaka and Makhādeva, but wiping them out was impossible. So Buddhism found a niche for the Yakshas, and accommodated them within its mythology.

Jain Literature

In the Jain literary sources, the information about the Yakshas and their worship compares well with the essential features of the Yaksha-cult elsewhere. The class of Yakshas has been included among vyāntara or vānamentara gods besides Piśacas, Bhūtas, Rākshasas, Kinnaras,

1 DPPN, sv. Yaksha.
3 Athādiya Sutta, D, III, 194ff.
4 D, II.270ff.
5 Vv., III.1ff; Vv. A, 131ff. They were all married to Sakka and were great dancers whose skill was tested on the banks of Anuśatā.
6 Vidyā Pandita Jātaka, no. 545.
7 D, III.199ff.
8 Dh. A, I.237, 310; Jātaka, III.201; I.12, 25.
9 Dā, III.865ff.
10 Abhantara Jātaka, II, 1272.
11 J, I.191.
12 Pr., IV, 3.44. Bhunjāmi Kānakāmī rāja Vessavanavo Yathā; Mh. V, Commentary, p. 676; Vessavannasa Rājaparīkāra Sudhāsa; cf. also, Vaiśravanas dhana Samudittā, Vaiśravanas dhana pratisparī, Speyer, I.S., Avadonakatika, (St. Petersburg, 1906-9), II, 179.
13 Coomaraswamy has remarked that "Jainism and Yaksa-worship could be as closely interrelated as Buddhism and Hinduism have often been." Yakṣas, I, p. 27.
14 supra, p. 2, note 4. The second part of the word vānamentara is "apparently tara 'crossing,' the first seems to contain an accusative form of vānamentara which may be connected with viha or vyaman 'air'" Jacobi, U.S., 122, note 1. Vyāntara, has been explained by the commentators as vividhesha ca sālakandarantara vana vivarddhihi prativasanthiyo, cf. Tattvārdhikārīgama Sūtra, IV, 12, pp. 200-1.
Kīṁpurushas, Mahoragas and Gandharvas. The leading gods of all these eight classes have been described in Jain works. Yakshas, however, in their group had thirteen chiefs. Their names are as follows: Pūrnabhadra, Manibhadra, Śvetabhādra, Haribhadra, Sumanobhadra, Vyātipātikabhadra, Subhadrā, Sarvotabhadra, Manushayaksha, Vasñā, Rūpayaksha and Yakshottama. Kubera appears as their lord, guarding the northern direction. But by far the most important Yakshas in the Jain works are Manibhadra and Pūrnabhadra, who are described as two Indras, 'chiefs,' of these demi-gods. The Triloka-prajñāpti contains a description of their habitat, identifying attributes, families features and appearance under seventeen adhikāras. From this description in the work, it may be seen that the Yakshas had two types of habitatas, bhavanapura and ávāsa, and the vajra tree as their identifying attribute. They had twelve chiefs headed by Manibhadra and Pūrnabhadra. These two chiefs, called Indras, had two consorts each; Kunḍā and Bahuputri to Manibhadra and Tārā and Uttamā to Pūrnabhadra (VI.42, 43), and these consorts were attended by two thousand attendants in each case (32, 33). An island—vajra, by name, has been assigned to Yakshas (60), and it had two divisions, southern and northern, ruled by Manibhadra and Pūrnabhadra respectively (59). The island was divided into five sectors; these sectors have been referred to as madhya (mentioned twice), prabha, Kānta and āvarta; and these appellations, sector-wise, were affixed to the word Yaksha, for instance, Yaksha-prabha and so on (61). The cities had beautiful fortresses and were surrounded by the forests of Asoka, Saptaacchanda, Campaka and Anma trees (63, 64). The houses in such cities were made of silver and gold and were decorated with the jewels (66). Here these demi-gods lived in opulence, splendour and glory. Their power to kill men and move heavy objects has also been described (92ff). Their chief Kubera is proverbially handsome, just as his son Nalakūbara is reputed for his 'pleasing manners.'

According to the Jain works, Yakshas assumed different roles in relation to human beings. Broadly speaking, three types of Yakshas in this connection seem evident, namely, benevolent, malevolent and converted. The benevolence of Yakshas is a familiar trait. Even in the names of the thirteen Yaksha Chiefs the bhadra suffix indicates their auspicious nature. Generally, Yakshas figure as protective deities, fulfilling the wishes of those who worshipped them. The Nāyadhammakāhā refers to a Selaga Yaksha who delivered the merchant Jinapālita of Čampā from an ogress of Ratnadvi. Such protective inclinations of the Yakshas probably led to their

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1US, 36.206; Jacobi, pp. 225-26; TV, S, IV.12; TP, VI, 25; For the division of Jain demi-gods see US, 36.203ff; TV, S, IV, 1-12; This work also informs that vyantara and jyotishka gods have only eight classes—while bhavananis and vanānākika gods have two more classes of trāvastrīnkas and lokapāla gods (IV.5).

2TV, S, IV.12. The list of Yakshas varies in different sources, Bhagavatī Sūtra, III.7.167 offers a list of thirteen Yakshas and the only common Yakshas of the list are Pūrnabhadra, Manibhadra, and Sumanobhadra. The names of these three Yakshas also occur in the list of twelve names in the Kalpasūtra, Jacobi, p. 289; Antag., p. 85 refers to Punabhadra and Sumanabhadda, substituting Moggarparī for Manibhadrā besides giving thirteen other names which might as well be Yaksha names. The names in the Bhagavatī Sūtra, III.7.167; are as follows: Pūnabhadra, Manibhadra, Sūlābhadda, Sumanobhadra, Cakka, Rakkha (Chaanda, R.P., JDL, IV, p. 52 reads Cakshurākṣa, jointly instead of Cakka and Rakkha in the Bhagavatī Sūtra), Punarākṣa, Sāvannā, Savagajasa, Samudha, Amoña, Asanga and Savvākāma. The TP, VI.42-43, has another different list containing only twelve names viz., Purabhadra, Manibhadra, Sūlīabhadda, Manobhadra, Bhradraka, Subhadrā, Subavabhadra, Mūnusha, Dhanapāla, Manoharāna, Svarūpyaksha and Yakshottama. On comparison it is found that this list contain names of Yakshas many of which are similar to, if not, identical with the Tattvārthādhigama sutra list. This latter list is interesting inasmuch as it reflects the sense of benevolence in the proper names of these Yakshas.

3Av, S, II, pp. 330, 384.

4Bhagavatī Sūtra, 15, p. 734; TP, VI.43. The chiefs of the groups of gods in the different heavens are all called Indras. All these orders of gods except Jyotishka, and Vyantara have ten grades; cf. supra, p. 2 note 4.

5TP, VI.2ff.

6US, p. 117, in the Yakshottaka (K.K. Handiqui), Kubera appears as a drunkard, manarata madhupāna parīcyuta mati prakṛta viśte. This passage projects him as the lord of wealth too.

7IX, p. 127, for a similar story, see Velayāhā Jātaka, no. 196.
acceptance as guardian deities, entailing both big and small responsibilities. Kubera is accepted as one of the lokapālas. The Jain cosmology assumes that jagati of Jambudvīpa had four gates, namely, Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparajit, and several gods served as the lords of these gates in this system. Curiously the names assigned here to gates are assigned to gods in the Arthaśāstra which says that the shrines of these popular gods should be made in the centre of the city. These references taken together help in identifying them with the Yakshas. The Vasudevahindī refers to another guardian Yaksha Anadhiya by name who is regarded as the lord of the whole Jambudvīpa. Evidently, these Yakshas discharged protective functions. Some Yakshas also figure as tutelary deities of certain tribes and people. Hiraṣṭa or Aḍambara Yaksha held that status among the Mātangas and Dombas. Ghanṭika Yaksha was similarly worshipped by the Dombas in whose ears he whispered the answers to their questions. The protective function of Yakshas is corroborated by the situation of their shrines on the outskirts of the cities which were centres of folk entertainment and assembly. It was at the site of such temples that people with any desire to be fulfilled used to go and worship the Yakshas. They granted wealth, or sometimes the whole community was benefited by their act of grace. In the Parīlīṣṭaparvava it is said that a Yaksha Bholā (or Bholaka), pleased with her devotion, granted the old woman Buddhist wealth for her subsistence. Manibhadra is known to have put down the small-pox epidemic which raged in the town of Samillā. That shows his controlling power over epidemics and pestilence. A predominantly benevolent Jain Yaksha is Purnabhādra. That his worship was extremely popular is proved by the illustrative description of his temple on the outskirts of the city of Campā. Jain works refer to malevolent Yakshas also. The Brhat-kalpa-bhāṣya tells of a sick man who could not be exposed for the fear of a Yakshi in Gollā. Surapriya was another such evil-minded Yaksha. It is said that his wooden image was compulsorily every year; he punished any default in this obligation with an epidemic. On the other hand, the painter of the image was killed by him on completion of the job so that every artist was reluctant to do the job. An exception, however, was made by this Yaksha in the case of a painter boy who did the job well and got as a boon the ability to paint the whole of any creature seen only in part.

Besides these benevolent and malevolent Yaksha-types, there is the converted type also which figures rather prominently in the Jain works. Usually Yakshas held Mahāvīra and the Jain monks in respect, and were ready to obey their command. The process of subduing Yakshas and converting them to the Jain creed was similar to that followed by the Buddha. Mahāvīra would stay in their shrines or grove, a fight would ensue between them, ultimately resulting in the conversion of such Yakshas. Some Yakshas, however, appear as the worshippers of Mahāvīra instinctively, and their names are found in the list of the important Jain disciples to whom the

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1TP, VIII.303-4.
3II.4.17, also note on 17, p. 80.
6Jain, J.C., Jain Āgama Sāhitya, p. 443, note 4.
7Brhatkāipa Sūtra, 1312; cf. Moti Chandra, BPWM, II, p. 47 as footnotes there.
8Infra, chapter 5.
9III.1.45, also, p. XLIX.
10Pindariravki, 245-6, p. 83. This Yaksha was promised a festival in his honour and after the epidemic subsided his regular worship began. It is interesting to note that the priest, Devaśarmā, was a Brahmin. He was engaged on regular pay, and he kept the shrine always clean.
11Antag., pp. 2-7.
12Jain, J.C., Life in Ancient India, p. 221.
14Av. S, I.282-84, for the cases of Vibhełaga, Kaṭapūṭāna and Salajja.
15Ibid, I.268.
lessons were taught. Among such lists of names, mention may be made of those found in the Antagadadasāna¹ and the Kalpasūtra² which offer the names of sixteen and nineteen prominent male and female disciples respectively. Some of them seem to be Yaksha-names. These disciples were the protectors of their sages.³ They respected the sages for their life of meditation and celibacy.⁴ Among the prominent Yaksha disciples and votaries of Mahāvīra, mention may be made particularly of Bihelata⁵ (or Bihelaga) and Śulapāṇi.⁶ The latter was a Jākha of great power and evil influence. The people visited his deva laya only during the day; those who stayed there during night were killed and devoured by this Yaksha. He could afflict persons with seven types of pains nāptvedanā, namely, pain in head, ear, nose, teeth, nails, eyes and back. His laughter produced terrifying noise, and he frightened people by assuming different forms such as elephant, Piśāca and snake. It was within his powers to raise strange spectacles and sights also. Some other Yakshas, however, were intent upon defiling the purity of the monks. The Brhatkalpabhadhyāya⁷ refers to a Yaksha who took pleasure in feeding the Jain monks during night, thereby violating one of their essential vows. But the wise monks were beyond the reach of such tricks.⁸ Ajjunae, who was possessed by the Yaksha Moggarapāṇi, and was killing indiscriminately, was rendered harmless when he confronted Sudahsane, a devout Jain who had taken the anu and mahāvratas, i.e., minor and major vows.⁹ Various categories of Yakshas in relation to both Mahāvīra and the Jain monks can be deduced from the literary works. Sometimes Yakshas appear as their disciples and devout worshippers; sometimes they are found testing their vows and rewarding them on successful conclusion of the test.¹⁰ Yakshas are sometimes referred to as pestering the Jain monks or defiling their purity and even going to the extent of physical molestation of the sages.

The twenty-four Jain Tirthankaras had each a pair of Yaksha and Yakṣī who waited upon them. The twenty-four sets of Jain Yakshas and Yakṣinīs have been enumerated in different texts such as Rūpamāṇḍana (VI.12-26), Vātusāra (VS, 149-63), Aparājitepriśchā (App. Ch. 221. 10-55), and Triloka Prājanipti (TP, IV, 4963ff)¹¹ and on the basis of a comparative study of the works in the same sequence, the list of names is being reproduced here. The list here, follows the numerical sequence as in the Rūpamāṇḍana from one to twenty-four, and differences of the names with the corresponding numbers in other texts have been indicated within brackets. It will be seen that many names are similar or identical in different texts. But they do not keep in many cases to the corresponding numbers in the other texts.

The twenty-four Yakshas are as follows:

(1) Gomukha (Vrishavaktra, App.; Govadana, TP),
(2) Mahāyaksha,
(3) Trimukha,
(4) Yakshanāyaka (Īvara, VS; Caturānana, App.; Yaksheśvara, TP),

²Jacobi, SBE, XXII, Jaina Sūtras, part I, p. 289.
³US, pp. 51ff. Harikeshabala was protected by the Yaksha of the Tinduga grove. A Tinduga park near Śravasti finds mention in the Av. S, II.402.
⁴US, p. 77, Yakshas etc., "pay homage to a chaste monk who, performs his difficult duties."
⁵Avyayakāmyukti, 485 (in a locality of Vaisālī in a park named after him).
⁷the Yaksha tried upon Mahāvīra, mosquito bite, scorpion and snake bites; bears, elephants, tigers, pigs and Vētālas also had their turn. Ultimately the Yaksha tired, and praying to Mahāvīra, himself went away.
⁸Shah, U.P., JOT, III, 1, p. 59, note 17. For Yaksha defiling the Buddhist monks; cf. Pannasampāti Jātaka,
⁹V.100ff.
¹¹Antar., p. 90f.
¹²Kathākatha, pp. 1ff; Parīśhitaparāvana, III.1ff.
¹³cf. also, Acūradinkara and Pratishṭhāṣṭraddhāra.
(5) Tumburu (Tumburava, TP),
(6) Kusuma (Mātanga, TP),
(7) Mātanga (Vijaya, TP),
(8) Vijaya (Asita, TP),
(9) Jaya (Ajita, VS; BrahmA, TP),
(10) BrahMā (Brahmesvara, TP),
(11) YaksheTa or Ṣvara (Išvara, VS; YaksheTa, APP.; Kumāra, TP),
(12) Kumāra (Shaṅmukha, TP),
(13) Shaṅmukha (Pātāla, TP),
(14) Pātāla (Kinnara, APP.; TP),
(15) Kinnara (Pātāla, APP.; Kīṁpurusha, TP),
(16) Garuda,
(17) Gandharva,
(18) YaksheTa or YaksheNDra (YaksheNDra, VS; YaksheSa, APP.; KuveRa, TP),
(19) Kubera (Varuṇa, TP),
(20) Varuṇa (Bhrikutí, TP),
(21) Bhrikutí (Gomedha, TP),
(22) Gomedha, (Pārśva, APP.; TP),
(23) Pārśva (Mātanga, APP.; TP),
(24) Mātanga (Gomedha, APP.; Guhyaka, TP),

The twentyfour Yakṣinīs, the consorts of the above Yakṣas according to the analysis as indicated above are as follows:

(1) Cakreśwari,
(2) Ajitabhā (Ajitā, VS; Rohiṇī, APP.; TP),
(3) Durita (Prajñāvatī, APP.; Prajñāpatī, TP),
(4) Kālikā (Vajrāśirāka, APP.; TP),
(5) Mahākāli (Naradaṭī, APP.; Vaiṣṇava, TP),
(6) Śyāmā (Maṇi, APP.; Aprati Cakreśwari, TP),
(7) Śantā (Kālikā, APP.; Puruṣadatta, TP),
(8) Bhrikutī (Jvalāmālinī, APP.; Maṇi, TP),
(9) Sutārikā (Sutāraka, VS; Mahākali, APP.; Kālī, TP),
(10) Aśoka (Mānava, APP.; Jvalāmālinī, TP),
(11) Mānava (Gaurī, APP.; Mahākali, TP),
(12) Candra (Pracana, VS; Gāndhārī, APP.; Gaurī, TP),
(13) Vidīśa (Vīrātākhyā, APP.; Gāndhārī, TP),
(14) Ankuṣa (Ankuṣa, VS; Ananta, APP.; Vaiṣṇava, TP),
(15) Kandarpī or Kandarpā (Mahāmāṇaśi, APP.; Mānasi, TP),
(16) Nirvāṇa (Mahāmāṇasi, APP.; Mānasi, TP),
(17) Bāla (Jayā, APP.; Mahāmāṇaśi, TP),
(18) Dhārini (Vijayā, APP.; Jayā, TP),
(19) Dharaṇapriyā (Vaiṣṇava, VS; Aparajītā, APP.; Vijaya, TP),
(20) Nādarakta (Naradatta, VS; Bahurūpā, APP.; Aparajītā, TP),
(21) Gandharvī (Gāndhārī, VS; Cāmuna, APP.; Bahurūpi, TP),
(22) Ambikā (Kūśmāṇḍī, TP),
(23) Padmāvatī or Padmā,
(24) Siddhāyatī or Siddhāyiṇī.

An image of Padmāvati which was in the Pattainī Dāt temple of Pithaurā,1 in the Satnā District of Madhya Pradesh and which is now deposited in the Allahabad Museum, contains the

small figures of the twentythree other Yakshinis on the stele and gives their names which are similar to this list; some important variations are represented by the following names:

Saraswati (no. 3), Bhánusí (no. 12), Bhunija (no. 14) Budhadāghi (no. 21) Prajāpati (no. 22) and Bāhini (no. 23) which all appear to be new names. Still another interesting list of names from Deogarh temples has been discussed by H.D. Sankalia.\(^1\)

It seems that both Digambara and Swetāmbara traditions played their roles while standardising the names of the different Yakshas and Yakshinis of their twentyfour Tirthankaras. It is interesting that most of these names do not occur in the early literary works. It may indicate that these names represent an upsurge of the Yaksha cult inspite of the Jain attempts of subordinating it. Many of these Yakshas received a sanctity by virtue of their privileged position. They have been represented in sculptures and paintings, coming from various parts of India specially the central and western parts of the country.\(^2\)

**Yaksha Worship**

Yakshas received worship from people at the places of their habitats which were situated on solitary places and in the natural surroundings. There were sometimes special mountains for individual Yakshas. The *Triloka Prajñāpi* (IV.144ff) refers to the heavenly mountains Vaitāḍhya which had certain peaks, named after Yakshas, namely, Maṇipadākūṭa, Pūṇabhaddakūṭa and Vaiśramanaṅkūṭa; the last was situated towards east.\(^3\) The Jain works refer to a number of Yaksha āyatanas 'shrines,' some of which were quite old and *ciśāṭa* even in times of Mahāvīra.\(^4\) The *Vipaku Śūtra* supplies an exhaustive list of different Yaksha shrines which were situated in the different cities. The list is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Yaksha</th>
<th>Park</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cāmpā</td>
<td>Puṇabhadda</td>
<td>Duipalaśa(^5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanāyarāma</td>
<td>Suhamma</td>
<td>Amohadārsana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purinatāla(^6)</td>
<td>Amoha</td>
<td>Devaramaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāhanjani</td>
<td>Seyabhadda</td>
<td>Candoyaraṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosāmbī</td>
<td>Sadarsana</td>
<td>Bhandira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahurā</td>
<td>Umbaradatta</td>
<td>Vanasaṇḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padalasaṇḍa</td>
<td>Soriya</td>
<td>Soriyavaddinsaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soriyapura</td>
<td>Dharana</td>
<td>Pudhaviṇadanasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohida</td>
<td>Maṇiḥbadda</td>
<td>Vijayavaddhamāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaddhamānapura</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Gunasila(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajagriha</td>
<td>Dhanna</td>
<td>Thubhakaraṇḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usabhapura</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Manorama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virapura</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Nandanavana or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayapura</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Manorama?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogandhiyā</td>
<td>Sukāla</td>
<td>Nilāso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) *infra*, chapter 6.

\(^2\) Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949. Many more sculptures and paintings have been published by U.P. Shah and M.R. Majumdar and others.

\(^3\) On these Kūṭas were beautiful palaces provided with golden and jewelled gates, *vedī*, garden and flags. They hummed with gods and goddesses (IV.164-65).

\(^4\) *Avastā*, p. 5, in case of Puṇabhadda *caitya* of Cāmpā.

\(^5\) *Av*, S, I, 284.

\(^6\) *ibid.*, II,363; p. 404, the work mentions some other parks also cf. *Av*, S, II,355ff (Naḍandana park—Surapriya’s āyatanas; *ibid*, II,402 (Tinduga Park of Śaṭṭhit); *ibid*, II,406 (Polasa park of Sveṭāṃbī).

\(^7\) *Bhagavati Sūtra*, I,1; cf. *supra*, p. 30, note 13.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kanagapura</th>
<th>Virabhadra</th>
<th>Seyasoga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahāpura</td>
<td>Rattapāṇo</td>
<td>Rattāsoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sughoṣa</td>
<td>Vrasena</td>
<td>Devaramāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāyaya</td>
<td>Pāsamiya</td>
<td>Uttarakuru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these Yakhas and their shrines are referred elsewhere also. The situation of the Punambhadda ceiya at Campa is confirmed by the Auyapāṭika Śātra (su. 3-5) and the Antagadadasāṅa. The names of Yakhas in cases of nos. 11 and 13 are however not mentioned. The Antagadadasāṅa supplies the name of Moggarapāṇi as the Yaksha of Rājagriha. Other Yakhas of the Magadhā janapada are also known. For instance, Salāgām in the Magadha janapada is said to have had a Sumana Yaksha in the Manorama park. In the Vipāka Śātra list here, however, Manorama park is assigned to the city of Vīrapura where the name of the Yaksha is missing. That may locate Vīrapura in the Magadha janapada. Mathura, no. 6 of the Vipāka list, had another Yaksha according to the Āvāyaka Śātra. His name was Hunḍika. The name of Manibhadda (no. 10) is associated with Mithilā (Vardhamāṇapura) in the Vipāka Śātra and with Samīḷa in the Pindamūnukti, whereas Śālapāṇi is another Yaksha of Vardhamāṇapura (Asthikāgrāmā) in the Āvāyaka Śātra. In the Vipāka, Sāketa (no. 19) has been assigned to Pāsamiya Yaksha, while according to the Āvāyaka Śātra Sāketa contained the shrine of Yaksha Surapriya, which was situated towards the north-east of the town.

To this list of Yaksha shrines based on the works cited here, some additions can also be made. The Uttarādhyayana Śātra refers to the Yaksha of Tinduga grove outside Benaras. The shrine of Selaga Yaksha was situated the vanakhaḍa of Ratnadipta. The Bhagavat Śātra provides some 20 names of caityas which were situated at different places. It is to be noticed in the Vipāka Śātra that with few exceptions as in case of nos. 4 and 9, the names of the parks containing the Yaksha shrines are not identical with those of Yakshas. The analysis of the Śātra list and its supplementation above goes to show that in many cases there were more than one Yaksha assigned to different cities. The Yaksha temples in such cases may have been situated in different directions of the town or village. Generally in the Jain works, the Yakshas have been assigned northern and eastern quarters.

Another question of relevance here is whether these shrines of Yakshas contained their images too; if that was not the case, then, what exactly was the nature of these shrines? In some cases, the existence of images cannot be doubted. The Antagadadasāṅa refers to standing image of Moggarapāṇi, holding a great iron mace of 1000 palas. The Āvāyaka Śātra refers to the painting of the image of Yaksha Surapriya. Bhaddā in the Nāyādharmakāraṅ śā is referred to as worshipping

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<sup>1</sup> Āvāyaka Śātra, II, pp. 363, 409.
<sup>2</sup> p. 86.
<sup>4</sup> III, p. 555.
<sup>5</sup> p. 83f.
<sup>6</sup> 1, 268.
<sup>7</sup> II, 1, 355, for his shrine near Samīḷa.
<sup>8</sup> Jacobi, p. 50, note 1.
<sup>9</sup> N.K., IX, pp. 128 ff; VIII, pp. 99 ff. The two brothers, Jinapālita and Jinarakshita were stranded near the Lavana sea where they were enthrined by a malevolent deity who knew their Avasahi dialect. When she went to clean the sea for 21 days they came to know of her cannibalistic designs. Later, they were helped by Selaga Yaksha who delivered Jinapālita; Jinarakshita was tempted by the deity and devoured.
<sup>10</sup> Shah, U.P., JOI, III, 1, p. 62 ff.
<sup>11</sup> cf. Av. S, II, 383 ff, which refers to the ceiya of Vessamanī to the n.c., of the city where this pudhavi sīdhagga was worshipped under the Aśoka tree.
<sup>12</sup> p. 86.
<sup>13</sup> II, 1, 101.
<sup>14</sup> II, pp. 49 ff.
the images of gods including Yakshas, for which act she was rewarded with a child. Similarly, Gangadattā in the *Vipaśā **Sātra** is said to have performed all the worship “in the sight of Yaksha Umbaradatta.” Evidently, this presence implies an image.

Not all the shrines had the idol of the Yaksha for worship. As Coomaraswamy has pointed out, “The essential element of a Yaksha holystead is a stone table or altar ... placed beneath the tree sacred to the Yaksha.” In the case of Puṇgaṭṭhadda Yaksha it is said that “under the Aśoka tree, somewhat close to its trunk, was kept a prihvi-sīlā-patīa” a large dais of earthen blocks. “It was of goodly proportions ... and was black ... It was smooth, massive, eight cornered, (glistening) like the face of the mirror, very delightful and variously figured with wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, elves, rudrī deer, śarabha deer, Yak-oxen, elephants, forest-creepers and padmaka-creepers. It felt as though it were of deer-skin of ṛuta ... It was shaped like throne and was well made and comely.” From this description it appears that what is said to be the sīlā-patīa, standing for Yaksha Puṇgaṭṭhadda may have been some sort of a throne which was soft and beautiful and decorated on all its parts with various animal and floral devices. It is possible that the vacant seat signifying the invisible presence of the Yaksha may have been kept in the Yaksha shrine for worship. In some cases these shrines of Yakshas were structures too, and were not limited to trees alone. The temples of Mañibhadra, Śūlapaṇi, Umbaradatta and Surapriya are such examples.

Giving oblations to the Yakshas was an essential part of the worship. Sometimes pilgrimages were made to such spots hallowed by Yakshas. The Bhandiravana of Mathura, which probably contained the caitya of Suddhārāma Yaksha as mentioned in the *Vipaśā Sātra* was one of such places where persons used to go for worship. The prayers in this case were offered to the Bhandiravata. In the *Āvāya Sātra* (I.275) Bhandiravata is connected with Yakshas: and it is said there that people made pilgrimages to this place of worship in honour of the Yaksha. The antiquity of this *vata* goes back to the *Mahābhārata* which refers to the nyagrodha tree of Vriśālavaṇa which was known as Bhandirā.

The Tantric modes also found their way into the Jain Yaksha-worship. The instance of the *Kahārayana Kośa* where a Kāpālika tried to please a Yaksha of the Vindhya-giri, has already been cited. Kuvalayamāda tells of Siddhas who held control over maṇira, tāntra, Yakshiṇis and Jogiṇīs etc. The *Kahārayana Kośa* also refers to Kālāseṇa of Kalinga who had control over a Yaksha named Lingalakṣaṇa. This Kālāseṇa was a master of *Trilokapaiśācika Vidya.* Siddhasena,

1p. 86.
2Coomaraswamy, I, p. 17.
3Antag., p. 7; Vasudevaśānti, p. 85, refers to Yaksha Sumana and his platform under the Aśoka tree which was called Sumana. The description is similar to that of Yaksha Puṇgaṭṭhadda.
4Pīṇḍanīyakta, p. 83f.
5Av. S, I, pp. 268ff, for a reference to this Yaksha, see, Vividhārthakalpa, 17, p. 29.
6Vip. S, p. 86.
7Av. S, I, p. 101; NK, V, 58, p. 69, also refers to this Jakkha’s shrine on the mountain Raivataka in a park Nandanaṇa in the city Dwārkāpurī. This Yaksha is said to have lived exercising self-control and practising penances. cf. also Av. S, II, 355ff.
9Jivandhara Camphū (ed. Jain, F.L., Kashi, 1958), pp. 8-17, shows this Yaksha as a deity of Jivandhara whom he helped in his various military exploits. Candrodaya mountain is mentioned as the abode of this Yaksha.
10cf. also Av. S, III, 504.
11cf. supra, p. 50. This Yaksha may as well be Huṇḍika whose temple is mentioned in the Av. S, III, 554f; also Vividhārthakalpa, IX, p. 18.
13A Yaksha-gūṇa at Mathura is known from Abhīnārāndjendra Kośa sv. Jakkhaguhā.
14I, p. 126f.
15Singh Jain Series, 45, p. 68; cf. also pp. 14, 115, 119 for Yaksha-worship.
16V, pp. 27ff.
(1181 AD) similarly refers to the Pañcaparameshñi mantra which was chief of all the mantras, and could be used against the supernatural beings like Yakshinis and others. This mantra also contained invocations to the 24 Yakshinis.²

Of all the Jain Yakshas, Manibhadda and Punapbhadda appear by far the most important in their galaxy.³ Their importance surpasses that of Kuvera⁴ who is their lord. Among the families of Yakshas, and not many are known from the Jain works, the most important reference is to Manibhadda. Bahuptrikā, who was the consort of Manibhadda, had an independent caitya for herself⁵ near Viśālā, probably Ujjain. In the Vividhatirthakalpa⁶ Manibhadda along with Nāndi, Yaśomitra, Dhanamitra, etc. is an emancipator (tasyoddhāra)karakāra). Whether they were his attendants or companions or kinsfolk is not certain. In the family of Kubera, only Nalakūbara is reported and he was a favourite son; other sons are not mentioned.⁷ In any case, Yakshara held an important status in the Jain texts in keeping with their popular worship.

**Yakshas in Mediaeval Works**

**Survival and Resurrection**

The mediaeval literary works contain information about various aspects of the Yaksha cult. The details in these works are remarkable inasmuch as they show the status of Yakshas in a period following their fateful trial of strength with a host of other gods or deified personages such as Buddha, Mahāvīra and the Brahmanical gods. These works represent survivals which are impressive. Important Yakshas seem to have never lost their hold over the populace and during the period of ascendance of other cults, they suffered only a temporary set-back. This confrontation, undoubtedly, reduced their status, but it could not obliterate them. The incursions of other gods into the realm of the Yakshas never ceased altogether, but Yakshas had an assured place of their own. In the mediaeval works various names of Yakshas are come across in addition to those which were already known. A mention may here be made of Kālajīva, Viduyūjīva,⁸ Śhūlasīras,⁹ Virūpaksha,⁹ Aṭṭahāsa,¹⁰ Supratika,¹¹ Diptasūka,¹² Dhūma-ketu,¹³ Sātā,¹⁴ Manibhadda,¹⁵ Kuvera,¹⁶ Nalakūbara,¹⁷ and Prithūṣara,¹⁸ who were Yakshas and

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²They are Indra of Yakshas. cf. Av. S. I.296. These Yakshendras worshipped Mahāvīra at Campā where the latter gave them a discourse on dharma and indriyasigrah.
³For his worship, see Av. S. 111.18; ibid, I.194, refers to the nagari of Vaiśramana as twelve yojana, long. In the Kāḻavantaka Koṣa, pp. 197f, his ōyutana is mentioned as situated in Gayā; for his worship and propensities, ibid, pp. 340ff.
⁴Bhagavati Sātra, XVIII.2; cf. also Shah, U.P., *JISOA*, XIX, pp. 40ff; where her various manifestations and identifications have been suggested.
⁵p. 4.
⁶infra, chapter 4 Information on this point is however available in other texts.
⁷Katāsvarītāgara, Penzer, VII, 70; *BKM*, 252, 452ff.
⁸Kathas, IV, 226.
⁹Ibid, 111, 133; *BKM*, 203, 547ff.
¹⁰Kathas, IV.114; *BKM*, 264f, 272, 277.
¹¹Kathas, 1. 7.
¹²BKM, 264, 277. He is son of Pradiptāksha and brother of Aṭṭahāsa. Yakshinis Jyotirlekhā and Dhūmalekhā (*Kathas*, VI.131) are his daughters.
¹³Kathas, VI.130.
¹⁴Ibid, 1.67.
¹⁵Ibid, IX.29; *BKM*, 74. He is brother of Kuvera and husband of Madanmañjari who is daughter of Dundubhi (*Kathas*, IX.12, 29).
¹⁶BKM, Ch. VIII, IX.
¹⁷Kathas, VI.102; *BKM*, 174.
¹⁸Kathas, VI.102; *BKM*, 264.
Yidyutprabhā, Madanamañjarī, Śringotpādini, Saudāmini, Jyotirlekhā and Dhumalekhā, who were Yakshaṇīs. A Sukumārikā Yakshi is known from the Bhākatā ślokasamgraha.

Although the Yakshaṇīs known from these works are very few, they appear to be more important than their male counterparts. One of the reasons for their dignified status may be found in the Tantric practices which embraced the Yaksha cult also. The associations of such practices with the Yakshaṇīs are marked from around fourth century AD and thereafter. Yakshaṇīs were generally regarded as beautiful creatures. A Yakshaṇī in the Kathāsaritsāgara is described as 'a lady of wonderful beauty, surrounded with a hundred ladies-in-waiting, gleaming with brightness like a protecting herb that shines in the night.' The Bhākatā ślokasamgraha refers to the Yakshaṇī Sukumārikā who was extremely beautiful, but she was changed into a 'picture in colours' due to a curse. Her beauty later redeemed her from her lifeless state. Two beautiful maidens "whose measureless beauty seemed capable of maddening the world," were the wives of the Yaksha Manibhadra. But even in their beauty, they could not shed their demoniacal characteristics. Just as beauty was one of the chief attributes of Yakshaṇīs, that of Yakshas was strength. They tested the courage of human beings and rewarded them on successful completion of such tests. We have the story of Nīcayadatta whom the Yakshaṇī Śringotpādini tried to kill, but could not succeed and was herself overcome. Yakshas are also represented as fighting with human beings and being worsted.

Yakshas could assume human form under certain circumstances. One of the reasons for such rebirth or the change in form was 'curse.' Instances of Yakshas being subjected to curse are very frequent in the Kathāsaritsāgara. The case of Virūpāksha and his wife is interesting in that under a curse he became a mortal on rebirth, whereas his wife was turned into a mortal without being born; they remarried after their descent to the earth. Sometimes, the Yaksha or Yakshi was delivered from the curse by virtue of marrying mortals. The Yaksha-birth was possible for

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1 Kathas, II.231.
2 Kathas, IX.12.3; BKM, 414.
3 Kathas, III.186; BKM, 482. 170ff.
4 Kathas, VI.114; VI.102, She is daughter of Prithūdara and is betrothed to At̄jahāsa (VI.102); cf. BKM, 264, 599ff.
5 Kathas, VI.131.
6 XIX. 759ff, pp. 292ff.
7 cf. Jayākhya Sahhitā and MMK for such references. A fuller description of Tantra in the Yaksha cult will be found later.
8 Kathas, VIII.56. of also VI.118.
9 ibid, IX.44.
10 XIX.75ff.
11 Kathas, IX.29. cf. also, supra, p. 46.
12 Kathar, VI.118.
13 ibid. II.52.
14 ibid, ch. XXV.82.88.
15 ibid. III.186. Nīcayadatta and his three other partners were Pāsupata ascetics whom, with exception of Nīcayadatta, the Yakshaṇī devoured in the court of an empty Śiva temple in the city of Puskharāvati. cf. also BKM, pp. 48ff.
16 ibid. VI.72; sometimes Yakshas in their turn are helped by the intervention of humans, ibid, IX, 13.
17 ibid. I.7. Supratikā was changed into a Pāśa by the curse of Kubera; Yaksha Sātā was turned into a lion by curse of Kubera because he married a Rāhi's daughter, I.67; another Yaksha suffered a similar fate, I.109; case of Yakhnī Sumitrā, VIII.56; Virūpāksha, III.133; these references show that Yakshas assumed both human and animal forms.
18 Kathar, III.133.
19 ibid, Case of Sumitrā who marries Nāgaswāmi. In the BSS (XIX. 759f.), Yakshī Sukumārikā marries Manohara, and eventually delivers herself from the curse of Kubera whose consort she had originally been. In the same work (V.309ff.) Pūrabhadra and his wife Bhadrāvati are subjected to a curse by Kubera whereupon they assumed the form of elephants.
human beings too. A story is told in the *Kathāsaritasūgara*, of Kamalagarbha, a pious devotee of Siva, and his two wives who alternated in the Yaksha and human forms in the course of their existence. It is quite possible that such stories present a rationalisation of belief in sexual contacts of Yakshas with human beings, reference to which is found in the Jain works.

The *Kathāsaritasūgara* has the story of a Yaksha who gave his genitals to a prince and was cursed by Bhairava for that reason. The story of the curse by Bhairava shows how Śaivism was still pursuing the Yakshas. It is found that other cult gods were still trying to assimilate the Yaksha cult. Siva had the authority to grant Yaksha-birth. Sometimes the forsaken Siva temples were appropriated by Yakshas. The Yakshi Śringotpādī of Pushkāravati carried out her cannibalistic feast in such a Siva temple. She devoured three Pasupata ascetics before she was outwitted by Niṣcayadatta. These references indicate the subordination of Yakshas in relation to Siva. Brahmā too comes in association of Yakshas as the helper of a Yakshi who was being attracted by the charms of a Kapālikā who wanted her. Vishnu is no less important an opponent of the Yakshas. So great was his power that he forced worship from the lord of Yakshas, Kubera.

As regards the relations of Yakshas with other demigods, it seems that their group stood in opposition as a class against them. The Nāgas are represented as the enemies of Yakshas, and the friendship of a Yaksha with Rākshasa Sthilārasas brought the anger of Kubera upon him. References to some Yaksha temples are found in the *Kathāsaritasūgara*. The temple of a Yakshi is described as a “palace of jewels whose splendour produced the light as of fire.” Another temple of the Yakshi Vandhyā is described as being situated in a garden. But by far the most important references are to the temple of Manibhadra which served as a place for finding out the depravity of unfaithful husbands and wives. These temples may have contained the images of Yakshas. In one instance, however, reference to an image has been clearly made. It was here that different types of persons worshipped Yakshas and got their wishes fulfilled (on successful completion of their worship). The offerings of gifts were almost essential for pleasing Yakshas. An ascetic desiring to become a Vidyādhara, and Devadatta, a gambler, are described as having gone through the act of worship in a corner of a cemetery under a banyan tree during nights. They offered to the tree, rice boiled in milk till the Yakshi Vidyutprabhā, who dwelt in the tree, granted them their wishes. Some virtues such as the observance of upokṣha, which involved speaking of the truth, circumambulation of the images of god, eating only at the time when the Buddhist mendicants did, have been prescribed among the acts of devotion to please a Yaksha. The story has an obvious Buddhist touch. Sometimes minor acts of asceticism pleased Yakshas, which is proved by the case of a Brāhmaṇa Somadatta, who made circumambulation of the

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1 *Kathas*, VI.130ff.
2 ibid, IV.226.
3 ibid, VI.130.
4 ibid, III.185ff; cf. also BMK, pp. 481ff. This Yakshini belonged to Gāndhārā, region. Kashmir region too has certain spots of Yakshas, like Yakshadāra in Kamarāja (Modern Dyargul, according to Stein), and a village Sāritaka, which was the habitat of a Yaksha Aṭṭa. cf. Rājataragini, V.87 and III.349 respectively.
5 *Kathas*, IX.12.
6 ibid, VI.71.
7 ibid, VI.70.
8 ibid, 1.9, the story of Piśāca Kaṇabhāti who was banished to the Vindhyā mountains. In stature he looked like a śala tree. He was, originally, a servant of Kuvera.
9 ibid, VI.118.
10 ibid, IX.44, the temple was dedicated to the Yakshiṇī Vandhyā.
11 ibid, I.162.
12 ibid, IX.17.
13 *Kathas*, II.231; Rājataragini (V.87) mentions that coins and dinars were thrown in the streams, connected with Yakshas in token of their honour.
14 ibid, V.125.
Asvatta tree which was the abode of a Yaksha. He remained under the tree for a day and a night, and ultimately the Yaksha was pleased with him.¹

The Tantra had already come to grips with the Yaksha cult in the 4th century AD, and in the Kathāsaritsāgara, we have a number of instances of Yakshi pis controlled by magic and charms to serve as wives of the person practising them. Sometimes, resort to such practice was made for the sake of obtaining wealth.² A story is also told of a Brāhmaṇa Pavitradhara, who had power over a Yakshini Saudāmini, and obtained wealth through her and lived with her. He is said to have controlled this Yakshi by working on a prescribed charm. That even Brahma could not interfere with the working of a charm is illustrated by the incident involving Maṇibhadra’s wife Maṇanamaṇjari and a Kāpālika.³ The story is important inasmuch as it presents the different aspects of the belief in tantra and its effectiveness on Yakshas.

Among the mediaeval works, the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bhātakathāmaṇjari present various features of the Yaksha cult through anecdotes and stories of folklorist interest. They reflect primarily the beneficent nature of Yakshas. In the entire Kathāsaritsāgara we have only one reference to a cannibal Yakshi who ate three Pāṣupata devotees.⁴ It appears that this cult was popular among the masses; and various stories about Yakshas found in them, prove this. Another interesting feature of the work is reference to some other lords of Yakshas besides Kuvera.⁵

It is thus seen that the ancient scriptural tradition, both orthodox and heterodox, is replete with references to Yakshas. Generally speaking, the image of the Yaksha reflected in them is tainted with their respective prejudices. By reading this vast material along with that found in the secular texts, one can find that there must have existed a core of the beliefs in Yakshas, parts of which crept into the body of the higher cults and broadly speaking, they are complementary to that which is found in the secular texts also.

¹Kathas, II.98.
²Kathas, I.118, where Śrīdatta’s uncle brought a Yakshi under control by means of magic and got from her five thousand horses and seventy million gold pieces.
³ibid, IX.12ff also, pp. 29, 31, 35, etc.
⁴supra, p. 55.
⁵cf. Ratnavarsa (Kathas, II.231) and Dundubhi (ibid, IX.12) are the other kings of Yakshas. Their relation to Kubera is, however, not clear. In the case of Dundubhi, of course, it is said that his daughter Maṇanamaṇjari was married to Maṇibhadra, brother of Kubera.
The Yaksha-Pantheon

In several literary works Yakshas and Yakshiṣis have been enumerated singly or in couples or sometimes mentioned in multitudes. It seems that the Yaksha-pantheon was fairly developed and consisted of various Yaksha-deities of primary or secondary importance. References are also found to the prominent Yaksha kulas and their chiefs.¹

The development of the concept of a pantheon and families of Yakshas has its origin in the later Vedic period. The Atharvaveda² refers to Yaksha as 'stirring' (ejate) and that seems to introduce the feminine aspect of Yaksha. In the texts, however, occurrence of Yakshi's 'being' is not noticed before the Epics and Jātakas. In the Purāṇas, there is a reference to the birth of Yakshas from Krodhā, one of the daughters of Daksha; the latter was one of the sons of Brahmā.³ These Yakshas came into existence without the aid of the male-principle. But this idea is not held consistently for, in the Purāṇas themselves Yakshas are said to be progeny of Viśvā and Kaśyapa or Khaśa and Kaśyapa. In any case, some families of Yakshas do occur in the Epics and Purāṇas, which involve an elaborate genealogy.⁴ Similarly the Buddhist works mention a large number of Yakshas or individual Yakshas who were subdued by the Buddha at different times. An attempt to present them systematically has been made in the Ātāṭiya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāyā. This work refers to fortyone Yaksha chiefs who could be invoked by followers of the Buddha in times of distress.⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inda</th>
<th>Gandhabba</th>
<th>Yugandhara</th>
<th>Maṇi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soma</td>
<td>Nala</td>
<td>Gopāla</td>
<td>Maṇicara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuṇa</td>
<td>Surārāja or</td>
<td>Suppāgedha</td>
<td>Dīgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharādvāja</td>
<td>Sura &amp; Rāja</td>
<td>Hiri</td>
<td>Serissaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañcāpati</td>
<td>Janesabha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Candana</td>
<td>Sātagiri</td>
<td>Hettī</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kāmaśeṇṭha</td>
<td>Hemavata</td>
<td>Mandiya</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kinnughaṇḍu</td>
<td>Puṇḍaka</td>
<td>Pāncałaṇḍa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nighaṇḍu</td>
<td>Gula</td>
<td>Pajjuna</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sivaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sumana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Lalitavistara, ch. 6; supra, p. 32f.
²supra, p. 19.
³supra, p. 6.
⁴supra, p. 31f.
⁵Dialogues, III, Appendix, p. 266; the actual list given consists only of thirtyseven names. For ten more names, cf. Kindred Sayings, I, 262-78.
This list is, however, by no means complete, and many more names may be added to it. These great Yaksha chiefs, as their status would indicate, were probably groomed for serving the cause of Buddhism. They must have evoked worship. Hence probably the need to elevate their status and fit them into the Buddhist hierarchy.

Some more names of Yakshas and Yakshinis are found in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts* and the *Mahāmāyārī*. The Yakshas described in the former are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yakshas</th>
<th>Yakshinis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardabha</td>
<td>Vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śara</td>
<td>Pāncika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimbhira</td>
<td>Mokhala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vraja</td>
<td>Antila</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anila</td>
<td>Indila</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sandhila</td>
<td>Cidala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caudhula</td>
<td>Vikala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vakkula</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Manjibhadra and his son:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśabhada</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The *Gilgit MSS* (III, 1, p. iii), gives the following additional names of Yakshinis.

(i) Nālī  
(ii) Udaryā  
(iii) Kunti, of Kuntnagara, in Kashmir.  
(iv) A nameless Yakshiṇī

By far the most exhaustive list of the Yakshas is supplied by the *Mahāmāyārī*, one of the five great formula of northern Buddhism, which goes under the collective name of *Pancarākṣa*. Regarding the contents of the work it has been remarked that “It (the *Mahāmāyārī*) is a veritable mobilisation of the Buddhist and popular pantheon. It embraces the Bodhi trees of the seven Buddhas, the four Mahārājas, Naravāhana, son of Kubera, the Yaksha guardians of various cities, the twentyeight Mahāyakshas and a host of female divinities who keep watch over the Bodhisattvas from the period of gestation to birth.”

Some more names of Yakshinis are provided by the *Manjuśrīmukulakalpa* which are as follows:

Suločana, Śubhrā, Susvarā, Sumati, Vasmati, Ciṭrākṣi, Prārṇashā, Guhyākā, Suguhākā, Mekhalā, Sumeckhalā, Padmocchā, Abhayā, Jayā, Vījaya, Revatiṇī, Kesīṇī, Kesānti, Anilā, Manoharā, Manovatī, Kusumavatī, Kusumapuravāṇiṇī, Pingalā, Hārīti, Viramati, Vīra, Suvirā, Sughorā, Ghorā, Ghoravati, Surāsundari, Susā, Guhottamārī, Vaṭavāṇi, Aśokā, Andhārāsundari, Ālokasundari, Prabhāvatī, Atiśayavatī, Rūpavatī, Surūpā, Asitā, Saumyā, Kāṇā, Menā,

2cf. *Gilgit MSS*, III (1), pp. 15ff; I, pp. 29ff; in this text the actual number of the Yaksha-chiefs is ten, although the reference is to twelve; to these ten, may be added Manjibhadra, Pārśabhada and Pāčika whose names occur elsewhere in the same text. cf. *Gilgit MSS*, I, pp. 49, 101; the same text (I, p. 49) refers to eighty Mahāyakshinis without, however, naming them. Among the Yakshas, Pāčika is regarded as distinct from the other twentyeight chiefs, cf. *Lalitavistāra*, p. 202; *Divyavadana*, p. 447.
4Ibid., pp. 24ff. For the list of these names, see appendix at the end of chapter 9, cf. also the author's paper, *Yakshon ki Nāma Parāmāparā* (Hindi) *Bhāshā*, March, 1967.
5pp. 20-21; also pp. 564ff.
Nandini, Upanandini, Lokāntara. They are all said to have attended the discourse of the Buddha.

In this vast inventory of names of Yakshas and Yakshiṣas, it appears surprising that the number of couples is extremely small. Even though there is literary evidence of Yaksha couples, such types are totally unknown in the whole range of early Yaksha iconography except for the tutelary pair of Hārīti and Pāncika.

Although exhaustive lists of Yakshas are found in various literary texts, they are not adequately classified there. The Mahābhārata refers to the caturgana Yakshas¹ who figure as protectors. Hopkins includes amongst them Gandharvas, Kinnuruphus, Yaṭuṭhānas and Rākṣasas.² But these evidently are the classes of demi-gods, other than the Yakshas. The Sanskrit Buddhist texts are more useful in this connection. For instance, the Mahāvastu³ refers to the three classes of Yakshas namely, Karotpāni⁴, Mālātāra and Sadāmattata and also Yamabhāka.⁵ The last occurs as Jīriṁbhaka in the Jain Śūra⁶ and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.⁷ The latter work explains that their characteristic trait was yawning, from which the term was etymologically derived. In the Jain works, twelve or thirteen classes of Yakshas are mentioned. But there too the list tends to indicate individuals rather than classes. At the most, it may be accepted that these Yakshas were chiefs of their classes and the latter derived their names from the supreme heads.

In the light of the above evidence, it is possible to reconstruct the Yaksha-pantheon. This can be done on considerations of their royal attributes (Kubera), comparative authority (Maṇipadma and Pārīṣhajār), composite type (Assamukhi) and individual authority (Suciloma, Ajakalāpaka, Vajrapāṇī). Some of these Yakshas are discussed below.

**VAṢRAṆA-KUBERA**

In the literary traditions, these are the two important designations of the same deity; Vaṣravana, because he was son of Viṣravas and Idañḍa,⁸ and Kubera, because of his grotesque appearance.⁹ Hopkins¹⁰ derives Kubera from kub, 'to cover'; so does Bedeker.¹¹ Manfred Mayrhofer explains Kibara (of Nalaṁbarā) as belonging to "pre-Aryan Religiosität." In his opinion, this word, like so many other Indian words, is un-Indo-Germanic and should be traced to 'Austro-Asiatic descent.'¹² The non-Vedic origin of Kubera is often stressed, and it seems that his name as well as the attributes came from the pre-Aryan phase and that he gradually rose to divinity. Other etymological derivations of his name have also been given. Cunningham explained the word Kubera, as ku vīra, ku meaning earth and vīra, the hero, thereby, 'hero of the earth'; on a further analysis the compound Kubera or Kuvira can be interpreted as 'one who dominates the earth,' Kuṇi vīṣṇuḥ eṣa iti Kuberaḥ.¹³ The Purāṇic explanation¹⁴ of Kubera makes him out to be

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¹III.14.5.
²For some generic expressions for Yakshas, supra, p. 2f.
³I.25; Divyāvadāna, p. 218.
⁴In the Pali Buddhist texts Karotpāni appears as a class of spirits, particularly as a name for Supārṇes. They were so called because their food and drink were called Karotpāni.
⁵ante, p. 5 note 4.
⁶Shah, U.P., JOJ, III, i, p. 56.
⁷The word is from Jirivamha 'to yawn,' EP, III.20.41; the Padma Purāṇa, Śrīśti Kanda, V.21 refers to a Nairrīta named Yaṇkeṣa.
⁸WP, 59.90-91; Br. P., 2.33; 98-100; also R., VII.3.3; Atharvaveda, VIII.10.28; Māṇava GŚ, II.14.29; In D, iii, 201 he is called Vessavana because his kingdom is Vīcāra; also, Sn. A, I, 569.
⁹supra, p. 31.
¹³Cf. Cunningham, A., Stupa of Bharhat, p. 22; also, Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 67.
¹⁴Sivamahāpurāṇa, 19.31; Br. P., III.8.40-44; Vāyu. P., III.70.39. However in the Rāmāyaṇa, VII.13.22-24, 31, it is said that he winked at Pārvatī as a result of which he lost his left eye and his right eye was turned yellow.
kutsita vigraha, of ‘grotesque body.’ According to Waddell, however, the name is a compound of ku, ‘the earth,’-pito, ‘a grain-basket,’ (from pit, ‘to collect’) or pida (to heap together). Thus, it would mean: The Heaper up of (the produce of) the Earth.’ This, according to Waddell, would precisely define his attribute as ‘the god of Riches.’ In the Buddhist texts, such as the Lalitavistara, sometimes Kubera and Vessavana have been mentioned as distinct from each other.

Originally Kubera appears as the lord of Rākshasas and a malefic deity. He is probably represented as Devasakhattha in the Śrī Sūkta of the Ṛgveda, and regarded as an important agent in the act of milking tirodhā ‘concealment,’ out of the universe, in the Atharvaveda.

The Aśvalāyana Srauta Sūtra associates him with the Pīṣācas while the Śāṅkhāyana Ghyasūtra couples him with Isāna. In these references, he seems to have been more distinctly associated with the Rākshasas and Pīṣācas in the beginning, rather than with the Yakshas. In the Epics, these associations of Kubera are further expanded. These mutually incompatible and multilateral aspects of Kubera show that his cult-personality and mythology were in the stage of formation in the later Vedic age. As the lord of Yakshas he appears only in the Ghyasūtras. But even after that, in the Epics, his strong affiliation with Rākshasas cannot be ignored. There, in the beginning, he appears as the lord of Rākshasas ruling over Lankā and instrumental in the birth of his other Rākshasa-cousins such as Rāvana, Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhishana. It is said that in order to please his father Viṣravas, he sent him three Rākshasa maidens, Pushpotkaṭā, Rākā and Mālinī who respectively gave birth to Kumbhakarṇa and Rāvana, Khāra and Sūrapaṇakhaṇḍa and Vibhishana. Rākshasas were in Kubera’s train of attendants, for which reason he is often called rakṣasadhipa, Yaksarākṣasadhipa and rakṣasēvīra. One of the chiefs of Rākshasas, Manimat, is his good friend. Kubera resided on the Gandhamādana mountain in the company of Rākshasas. Just as he was the lord of Yakshas and Rākshasas, he was the lord of Guhyakas, Nārīritas and Pīṣācas too.

In the Mahābhārata Kubera shares various roles with Indra, particularly the guardianship of the east, abode on Mandara and Gandhamādana, and lordship over riches. Indra is sometimes specially grouped with Kubera-Dhaneswara. As lord of wealth too Kubera shares the role of Indra with whom he shares also the northern district. As Indra is lord of wealth in the earlier

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2ch. VIII, also Mahāvastu, III.71, 81, Nipāpannayaogavidī, p. 63 distinguishes Dhanada from Vaiśravana.
3VIII, XIII.4.3.10.
4VIII.10.20; also Kunhan Raja, C., Unpublished Upanishads, p. 459, for Kubera’s association with Jvara ‘fever.’
5X.7.6.
6LI.7.
7Harivarśa Purāṇa, III.60.11ff. for, antipathy of Rākshasas towards Kubera. However, Śukra is his minister, R, VII.15-17.
8Keith, A.B., op. cit., p. 242.
9Mahābh., III.258.15-16; 259.1-8; the former has it that Pīṭāmaḥ granted divine status and immortality to Vaiśrāmama because he deserted his father and stuck to his grand-father Pulastya, the son of, Brahmā. The latter had a son, born of a cow, called Vaiśrāmaṇa, who deserted his father, to take revenge the father beget of himself another son: Viśravas. Pulastya’s son, a muni, disliked Vaiśrāmaṇa, the lord of Rākshasas. To win Viśravas’s favour, Kubera sent three women who became mothers of his brother Rākshasas, Mahābh., III.259.5ff.
11Mahābh., III.158.54.
12PP, Ādiśuntarā, III.51.
13Mahābh., III.159.29; R, IV.42.22, cf. also Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 144ff.
14Mahābh., IX.46.27; XII.75.12; R, VIII.3.32.
15Agrawala, V.S., Pātāni, p. 337.
16Mahābh., III.162.4ff; also Hopkins, op. cit., p. 142.
17Ibid, p. 146.
18Ibid, p. 146; cf. also Mahābh., III, ch. 43-44: all the attributes of Kubera are here assigned to Indra.
tradition it appears that Kubera derived this trait from him. According to the Purāṇas, Kubera was made the lord of Yakshas by Śiva after great penances at the confluence of the two rivers Kāveri and Narmadā. The Mahābhārata seems to provide reason for this choice of spot; it is said in the text that Kubera was born in the hermitage of sage Viśravas which was situated in Avanti on the banks of the holy river Narmadā. On the other hand, the Mahābhārata elsewhere says that he was awarded Lankā with its Rākshasas, Pushpaka, the aerial car, lordship over Yakshas, and riches, regency of the northern quarter, friendship with Rudra-Śiva, and Nalakūbara, as a boon by Brahmā. Of these different possessions, Lankā and the aerial car were snatched from him by Rāvaṇa; as a result, he shifted to Mt. Kailāsa where Viśvakarmā constructed for him a brilliant palace.

One important aspect of the mythology of Kubera is his proverbial lordship of wealth. He is the possessor of one quarter of wealth of the golden mountain Meru from which he gives money to human beings. This lordship of wealth he shares with Skanda and the Mothers. The gold of Meru which is possessed by Kubera could make human beings immortal, and enable the blind to see. Kubera also has the gold of Jambūnada which “too gives immortality to mortals, restores the sight and gives youth to the old.” His different mountains and habitats are golden and, in the same way, his palaces and doors are all golden and jewelled. Various titles in this connection are Dhana-pati, Dhanādhipa, Nidhipa, Vittapāla, Vittēsa and the like, which may be found in the Epics and Purāṇas in reference to Kubera. In the Mahābhārata, even his body is mentioned as golden. It is quite possible that the yellow-complexion of Kubera as known from the Purāṇas may have been alluded to here. His bhavanā, ‘palace,’ which was made by Viśvakarmā, shines like white, yellow cloud and is edged with gold. Even his celestial sabhā is described as resplendent with lofty halls of gold. It glitters with coloured pearls, and is delightful for its divine fragrance. The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to the seven nidhis in the sabhā of Kubera which was known as Vipulā and was situated on Kailāsa.

The realm of Kubera befits its master. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakuru was his habitat and a reference to Nalini has also been made there. His other habitats are Gandhamādana.  

1Compare Indra as Dhanada or Dhanapati in the Rigveda, I.33.2.1. Atharavaveda, V.23.2.  
2Mbh., V.16.33, says that Indra bestowed wealth and lordship over Yakshas, upon Kubera.  
4Mbh., III.258.15-16; IX.46.25-27; R, VII.3.15-35.  
5R, VII.11.25-30; Mbh., III.259.32ff.  
7Ibid., IV.42.20-22.  
8PP, Adikhanda, III.39-40; Mbh., VI.7.8.  
10Mbh., III.247.8ff; V.109.20-21.  
11Ibid., V.109.20-21; 62.22-25 or it is honey? As giver of money, he appears in Kahārayaśakas, p. 340.  
12iBid., XIII.20.28; IV.42.19ff; XVI.7.28.  
13Ibid., XIII.20.27-34.  
14Ibid., XIII.158.27.  
15R, IV.42.19ff; cf. also, Mahāvarta, III.73.  
16Mbh., III.110.1-4.  
17p. 130, cf. also Ep. Ind., VII.119, inscription no. 729, which refers to Rajendra Coḷideva I, having conquered the principal mountains which contained nine treasures of Kubera. cf. also R, VII.15.16 for Padma and Sankha as personified treasures of Kubera. The Mark. P., pp. 415ff, contains the description of the different nidhis with each one’s powers.  
19Mbh., III.157.34ff; 155.36ff.
Kailāśa,1 Mandara,2 etc. He is said to have shifted to Gandhamādana after being ousted from Lankā by Rāvana.3 It also appears as the abode of Indra.4 The place is full of groves of deodars and kadali.5 Mandāra has been described as lying east of Meru (and also towards its north, south and west).6 Hopkins has said that "it is more regularly an eastern hill and probably modern Mandaragiri near Bhagalpur." Its 'western' location implies that its roots extend to the western ocean.7 However, Kailāśa has been regularly associated with Kubera. As we have seen, he shifted to this mountain when he was driven out from Lankā by Rāvana.8 Kailāśa is situated in the north,9 and here the Çaitraratha grove was the place where Kubera was consecrated as Dhanada. On this mountain is situated the legendary Alakāpurī which has been beautifully described in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa as sitting on the lap of Kailāśa as if its dress; Gangā had slipped off its beautiful body.10 This was the city of sports and lyrical romance where, besides Yakshas, Kubera also resided.11 The maidens of this celestial city were famous for their beauty12 and were adept in the erotic art.13 The city had Çitraratha14 (Vaibhāra) grove, the Kalpavṛksha,15 and beautiful houses; typical among them is the house of the Yaksha who was separated from his beautiful Yakshi16 as a result of a punishment inflicted by Kubera. The Nandana,17 Nalini and Mandākini18 are the lakes and groves of Kubera. The possessions of Kubera were manifold. He had a special chariot like mountain peaks in height; his horses were endowed with all the noblest qualities and had clear eyes.19 A mango 'aṭulamba' of Kubera is known from the Jātakas.20 He possessed a special weapon, gadāvudha, which was like a boomerang.21 Kubera is called Gaddāhara in the Rāmāyana also.22 In the Harivamśa purāṇa,23 his club is said to have been composed of nails, ‘haṅkanaṅkāṃ.’ He is also said to have granted a divyastra to Arjuna.24 The family of Kubera seems to have been large. The epics refer to Riddhi25 and Bhadrā26 as

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1Jibid, IV.151.1ff; XIII.20.1ff.
2Ibid, V.108.9-10.
3Ibid, III.259.32ff.
4Hopkins, op. cit., p. 10.
5Mbh., III.155.36ff; III.157.34ff, VI.7.32ff.
6Hopkins, op. cit., p. 10.
7Jibid., p. 10.
8R., III.46. 4-5; VII.11.25-50.
9Mbh., XIII.20.7.
10I.11-12, Alakapuri is Vasavaskatari in Rāmāyana, II.88.26; cf., Ep. Ind., XV. 361. where Lokkigundi town of Vikramāditya VI is compared to the realm of Kubera.
11Meghadūta, II.10.
12Meghadūta, II.3-6.
13Ibid, II.10.
14Ibid, II.8. This grove is also known as Çaitraratha (R., II.85.45.) because it was built by Çitraratha for Kubera. The leaves of the grove are jewels, and fruits are girls from heaven. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 142; cf. also R., II.85.16.
15Meghadūta, II.11.
16Ibid, II.12.
17Mbh., III.44.3ff.
18Ibid, XIII.20.7; III.152.10. Anotatta is his lake in the Buddhist works. All these were heavily guarded. MBH., III.151-52.
20I.205.
21Sn. A., 1.225, the Mahābhārata, III.1702, calls his favourite weapon ashiapriya.
22VII.15.16.
23II.60.47.
24Mbh., III.42.34.
25Mbh., III.140.7; V.115.9. The Nārada Purāṇa (84.12) suggests Śrī as the consort of Kubera. Cf., Bedekar, V.M., op. cit., p. 441 note 93, Mark. Pr., p. 639, couples Kuvera, Lakshmi and Nīdhi together while referring to a particular penance Kin 'ischakah', "whatever one wants I will give," a penance in which one binds one's self to satisfy the wish of any applicant.
26Mbh., I.199.6. (Gita Press)
his wives. The wives of Kubera were beautiful. 1 Bhadrā may be yet another name of Lakṣmī who, with Nalakūbara, adorned Kubera’s court. 2 At one place in the Mhābhārata, Ashśāvakra blesses Kubera saying riddhimāna bhara, which may indicate that Riddhi was still in process of being accepted as the wife of Kubera. 3 The Buddhist works refer to Bhūjāti 4 as his wife from whom he had five daughters, Lalā, Sajjā, Pavarā, Acchimati, and Sutā who were all married to Sakka. 5 Among the sons of Kubera, Nalakūbara and Manigrīva are mentioned. An interesting legend indicating Krishṇa’s supremacy over them is found in the Bhāgavata. 6 According to this legend, these two brothers were once engaged in water-sport with their females, naked and drunk, and did not notice the arrival of Nārada. They were cursed to become trees from which state they were delivered only when the child Krishṇa uprooted them while playing. The Tibetan Buddhist works refer to Nakula’s (Na-lo-kiu-po) birth which filled with joy a concourse of gods. 7

Commenting upon Nalakūbara, Hopkins says “Nala is nara, a spirit of water. 8 Mayrhofer is of the opinion that nala probably means a ‘son’; Emeneau, says that nal means ‘good’ in South Indian languages and ‘when applied to persons or action of persons, connotes excellence, virtue, propriety or beauty.’ He suggests that ‘Nala’ is a formation with Sanskrit primary derivative suffix-a from this south Dravidian base (nal), and that the meaning is ‘the good man’ or less probably ‘the handsome man.’ 9 Kubara and Kubera are distinctly related, hence the name Nalakūbara. In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Nalakūbara is mentioned as possessed of ‘pleasing manners.’ 10 Nalakūbara is represented as the husband of Rambha, the Apsaras, 11 and it is said that he was endowed with the qualities of dharma, strength, anger and kshanti. 12 The Purāṇas represent him as the son of Kubara from Riddhi. 13 Various other Indra—named powerful sons of Kubara are also known. 14 Pūṇaka, the master of a celestial horse as well as a jewel of extraordinary merit, was the nephew of Kubera. 15 In the Mahāmāyūrī (l. 40.54) he is mentioned as one of the four great Yaksha Chiefs who guarded the eastern quarter; the other Chiefs are Dirgha, Sunētra and Kapila. Pūṇaka is identified as a figure of local stories of eastern India for in the Gāthā (44) of a Jātaka Pūṇaka calls himself a person from the East. 16

One of the aspects of Kubera which is constantly noticed in literature and art is his lasciviousness. This trait of his character has nothing to do with his otherwise pious attitude. In fact, he is reputed for his penances and austerities in the epics and Purāṇas. He hallowed the spot where he practised penances, and it came to acquire the name of Kauberatīrtha. 17 Yet another place of this kind was the confluence of the Kāveri and the Narmadā, evidently modern Onkarāśwara (Onkar Mandhata) near Khandwa (M.P.). 18 He is a great scholar of Dharma, 19 and lectures

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1 Mbh., III.249.3 (in connection with Draupadi’s beauty).
2 ibid, II.10.18.
3 Mbh., XIII.20.27; cf. also Hopkins, op. cit., p. 147.
4 D., II.270.
5 Yv. A., p. 131f; Sv. A., I.370-1 for a sister of Kubera.
6 X.9-10.
8 Quoted by Bedekar, V.M., op. cit., p. 446.
9 ibid, p. 447.
10 p. 117.
11 R., VII.26.14f; 31-56; Mbh., III.264.58ff.
12 R., VII.26.33-34, A monkey-son, Gandhamadana is also ascribed to Kubera, R., I, n. 12.
13 Yāya Purāṇa, p. 290.
14 D., II.233f.
15 cf., Vihaṇrapandita Jātaka, no. 545.
17 Mbh., IX.46.22-27; an āyatana, ‘temple,’ of Kubera at Gayā has been mentioned in the Kaubhavya Kaśa, pp. 19ff. This temple reminds one of the cetiya of Pūrṇabhadra, and had all the similar accessories including the prathvi-silapatta, ‘the worship platform.’
18 Pr, Adikhandha, 17.1-20; MP, 183.6, 12.
19 Vp, p. 290. It is said here that he was like Rishi in the knowledge of Vedas. cf. R, VII.3.1-6.
Pāṇḍavas and Dhrutṛṣṭi on it. He had a discourse with Mucukunda on the unity of Brahmāpas and Kṣatriyas and how that helps in prosperity of the state. His knowledge of understanding of ethics does not, however, seem to influence his conduct. The scarce Apsaras such as Miśrakeśa, Raṅbhā, Cārunetrā, Ghrītācī, Menakā and a number of others adorned his assembly. While adoring Śiva he does not forget to look at the beauty of Umā, for which he incurs the goddess's wrath. The Śiva Mahāpurāṇa relates that he was born as a Brahma, Guṇanidhi, in the city of Kāmpilya. As he was incorrigibly ill-natured, he was turned out of home by his father. But later, he pleased Śiva by his austerities. When Śiva along with Pārvatī appeared before him to bless him, he winked at the goddess. Angered, the goddess cursed him to turn yellow in half of his body, including the offending eye. But Śiva granted him the boon to be his friend, besides being the lord of Yakshas and a place near Kailāsa. He had his eye upon even mortal women's beauty. In the Yakṣastilaka of Somadeva, we have the instance of Sudattā, a maiden in her nuptial attire, wandering about in the universe and disapproving suitors for her hand on various grounds. She tells Kubera that a confirmed drunkard like him was not fit to converse with a maiden like her. The sculptures of Kubera also bear out this trait of drunkenness.

This lord of Yakshas had various attendants who lived an equally fabulous life; for instance, Brahmadhāna, Mapipbhadra (who is also a Yaksha-chief) and the Yaksha of Mehhadūta. The opulence and beauty of the last Yaksha's possessions are vividly described in the Mehhadūta. Kubera's many sendapatis fought for him and preserved his power. Some Buddhist works refer to his sendapati who presided over the court, during eight days of each month, specially for settling the disputes of Devas and Janavasahha and Bimbisāra (after his death) were some of the important Yakshas who served him in various capacities. He is a hard taskmaster, and some Yakshinis served their arduous and exacting terms for him which sometimes even resulted in death. Any dereliction of duty was severely punished. The Mehhadūta has an instance of the Yaksha who failed to do his duty and was cursed by him. Sometimes the Yakshas were rewarded for faithful performance of their duties. Kubera has in his service not only Yakshas but also Rākṣhasas and Gandharvas. His floating palace is carried by Guhyakas and he sits there clothed in jewels and surrounded by many women. The Mahābhārata also refers to Dhanada, Hemanetra, Pingala and Amogha as Kubera's servants, and Hopkins has remarked that "their names are his own or convey his attributes." Kubera is also called Narivāhana or Nārīvā-
hāna." As Hopkins has observed, "It is just when he rides his (Pushpaka) car that he is described as Naravāhana and as he is never described as being carried by men it is clear that naras are spirits." The naras are variously described in the epics as a special kind of Gandharvas, 'narā nāma.' It is interesting, as Hopkins has indicated, that this epithet is rare in the Rāmāyana but common in the Mahābhārata, especially in the later passages. His mount is sometimes an elephant called sārabhauma, a feature which Indra also shares. In many sculptures, Kubera is shown riding a man as, for instance, in the Bharurat sculpture of this Yaksha (labelled there as Kapriro Yakha).

In spite of such an important status, Kubera was himself dominated by other important divinities. Kubera is himself a Bhagavāna6 but he worships other deities all the same. With Brahmā he is directly connected through Pūlasya and Viśravas and he is often represented in the Śivas and Purāṇas as worshipping and receiving boons from him. According to the Mahābhārata, Brahmagrat him his wish to befriend Rudra. Kshemendra in his Samayamātrika, however, says that all the affluence of Kubera has no meaning for an austere deity like Śiva and one cannot understand the utility of this friendship at all. Kubera's associations with Rudra-Śiva are extensive. Śiva granted him overlordship of Yakshas. He was present in the sabhā of Kubera along with Uma. When Uśana's steal Kubera's wealth, he runs to Śiva for help. In the Buddhist works, Kubera is represented as hearing with respect the discourse of the Buddhist monks and protecting the disciples of Buddhism.12 In the Jain works he appears as a devotee of Mahāvīra. Kubera is represented as guarding the devanirmita Stūpa of Mathura.13

Regarding the time-span of Kubera's overlordship, the Buddhist works present Vessavana's place as an office which changed its occupants from time to time.14 But in the sacred Lāmā text, Padamatasambhava, he is described as having perennial youth.15 In the Brahmanical tradition also he is immortal, although a story of his birth as a Brahmaja of Kampila is found in the Śiva Mahāpurāṇa (Shristikhaṇḍa, XIX.178). One of the most important functions of Kubera was the guardianship of the northern quarter in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain cosmology. The antiquity of the Dīk-pālas goes back to the Ṛṣi period, but at that time Kubera fails to be mentioned as one of the guardians.16 He makes his appearance in the Jātakas17 as the guardian of the northern quarter, and this popular tradition seems to have been accepted later, on all hands. Thus, he is one of the Caturmāhārañjika gods, guarding the north: the other gods are Dhataṛaṭha, Virūḍhaka and Virupakṣha.18 In the

1Sn., A., I.370. This is twelve yojanas long and its seat is of conch. Bu., A., p. 249; In the D., III.200, the Uttarakūras are mentioned as employing men, women, young boys and maidens as vālānes. Kubera is the lord of Uttarakūras.
2Hopkins, E.W., op. cit., p. 145.
4Hopkins, E.W., op. cit., p. 145.
5Rāmāyana, IV.43.34; V.4.19.
6Mbh., Udyoga Parva, 193.47, 49; VI.7.21.
7IV.26.
8Ibid., II.10.20; III.258.16; R., VII.13.25-31.
9Ibid.
10Mbh., XII.278.8-12, particularly, 12.
11Gradual Sayings, IV.35 and 111.
12D. (Ajaṭaṭiya Sutta), III.195, Dialogues, III.189.
13Śrīvindū-Tīrthakalpa, pp. 17-18.
141.1.2; 3.5, Siddhānta Samgraha of Nandinindrasena, VIII.137, p. 201.
15Śrīhūrtcchrya, A.K., Origin and Development of Concept of Yaksha, p. 1. We got the reprint of this paper from Prof. K.D. Bispal but the place of publication could not be verified from it.
17I.271-2, II.165-166; V.12; VI.107.
18Mahāvīra, III.217, 309; Liddahitiṣṭa, ch. XXIV; Divyāvadānakap., p. 147.
developed concepts of these guardians in the Buddhist works, Manjibhadra is also associated with Kubera as a chief of Yakshas in the guardianship of the northern quarter.\(^1\) The Jain works seem to follow the stereotyped list of the later Hindu mythological texts.\(^2\) In the Jain cosmology, Kubera, the guardian god, is referred to as living on the Vijayārtha parvata of Himalayas.\(^3\) The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, in the chapter on *Durgaṇivesa*, recommends building the temples of these guardian deities in the northern sector of the town. The deities are described as Aparājita, Jayanta, Apratihata, Vaijayant, Siva, Vaiśravaṇa and Āsins. The gods of this list differ from those of all the other lists. The worship of Kubera as Mahārāja finds mention as early as Pāṇini. He clearly refers to the *bhakti* of Mahārāja who is styled as a devatā.\(^4\) Patañjali has added to it that ‘bali’ offered to Mahārāja was called mahārāja-bali.\(^5\) These grammarians, however, do not assign any region to Kubera. In the Epics also, we find him assigned to the northern regions\(^6\) although he guards the east with Indra according to some references.\(^7\)

Kubera enjoyed wide popularity and worship, and his images are quite numerous. As a laušika, (folk) god, distinguished from *Vaidika* (Vedic) god, he received worship in his exclusive temples where various kinds of musical instruments were played in the assemblage of the worshippers.\(^8\) His images are also referred to as having a ‘raised pedestal,’ *Uttihā āśakā vaiśravansya-yetu*.\(^9\) Offerings were made to him as Mahārāja.\(^10\) The *Sāṃkhyāya Gṛhyasūtra*\(^11\) refers particularly to Kubera and Manjibhadra, under the Bhūtas, and suggests an offering of meat, sesame seeds and flowers to them.

Kubera did not remain confined to the religious system of India alone; he is worshipped in various other forms in different countries.\(^12\)

The different iconographic texts describe Kubera-Vaiśravana as one of the *lokapālas*. The texts describe mainly two types of his images, viz., four-armed and two-armed. One of such early texts, the *Vishuddhārṣamottara Purāṇa*\(^13\) says that his images should be made with the following characteristics. “He should be pot-bellied, four-handed, wearing *udicya vesha*, ‘northern dress,’ with armour over the body. On his bearded face, two fangs should be shown. He should hold mace and spear in the right hands and jewel (or pot of jewels) and a pot (of riches) in the left hands. Riddhi, his consort, should be shown seated on his lef lap.” The attributes of Riddhi and the Śākha and Padma *nīdhis* have also been described. His left eye, it is said, should be yellowish-brown in colour.\(^14\) This reminds us of Parvati’s curse on him as a result of which one

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\(^3\) *Siddhāntasūtra Sahāra*, p. 159 (translation).


\(^5\) *Sutra*, IV.2.35.


\(^7\) *Mbh.*, X.1125.11f; (Kallasa, situated towards north) R, VII.3.15-17.

\(^8\) *Mbh.*, III.152.4f; Hopkins, op. cit., p. 142.

\(^9\) Agrawala, V.S., loc. cit., p. 337.

\(^10\) Ibid., p. 337.

\(^11\) Ibid., p. 359.

\(^12\) Coomaraswamy, A.K., I, p. 4.


\(^14\) III.53.1-14.

\(^15\) Cf. also Banerjena, J.N., *DHI*, p. 339 ff. and 528 ff; Rao, T.A.G., *Hindu Iconography*, II, Part II, pp. 535 ff. The reason for such prescription as regards the eyes should be found in the story of *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa*, supra, p. 64.
of his eyes had turned yellowish. According to the Rūpamāndana, Kubera’s images should be four-armed and he should be shown holding a club, nidhi, citrus and a water-vessel in his different hands. The Aparajitapriyecchā’s description of Kubera is identical. There are other texts dealing with the two-armed variety of his images. According to the Brihatasamhitā Kubera should be shown mounted on a human being, should be pot-bellied and have a crown placed on the left side of his head. The prescription of the Maitrya Purāṇa is almost similar, with certain additions such as huge body, pot-belly, holding mace, attended by the Guhayakas and eight nidhis, wearing Kundala, stūrībara, hāra, keyāra and mukuta. One of the earliest iconographic description of Kubera is to be found in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, Parisiṣṭha, which describes him as of golden colour, master of nidhis, riding on a horse and holding arrow or spear. According to the Amśudābhadgama, Kubera should be two-armed, with hands in the abhaya and varada mudra or, alternatively, holding a club in the left hand. His vahana here is a ram; also recommended were his consorts and two nidhis Śāṅkha and Padma, bhūsakāram mahābalarām in the form of powerful Bhūtās. According to the Suprakṣetadgama, this god should have a terrifying appearance, two arms, and hold a club in one of his hands. The Śilparatna lays stress on his friendship with Hara (Siva). He was to be shown riding a chariot drawn by men. He should hold a mace in one of his hands, should be pot-bellied, accompanied by Ashṭamanidhis and Guhyakas on all sides. The Pārvakāraṇa describes Kubera as Naravāhāna, accompanied by Śāṅkha and Padma nidhis, and holding a club.

Thus, the iconographic prescriptions for Kubera’s images present a considerable variety, recommending udācayevsha or such attributes as mace, spear, club, royal or the nidhis. Among the vahanas (mounts), mention is made of horse, elephant and ram and a human being. The Brihatasamhitā, as shown above, prescribes that the crown of Kubera should be shown on the left side of his head, which reminds us of Manibhadra’s title parśvamānu. The Vishnudharmottara lays emphasis on his yellow left eye, preserving the story of Kubera’s encounter with Umā, mentioned earlier. These features are evidently based on his early sculptures and to some extent, the substance of his mythology has also been retained there. His images illustrate the points.

Among Yaksha statues, his images are easily the largest in number, and belong to a fairly extended time-span. Yet, it is surprising that among the Maurya-Sunga phase, Kubera’s representations are rare. Even the recently discovered colossal Yaksha statue from Vidisha must be identified with Manibhadra rather than with Kubera. The Rāmdvīna refers to the elephant-mount of Kubera, and the Yaksha images with elephant could represent Kubera. In the mediaeval sculptures this feature occurs prominently. An early example of this sort is the Moosanagar Yaksha-relief [Fig 1] now in the State Museum, Lucknow. (no. 53. 123) But the argument

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1cf. Rūpamāndana, II.37. He is described as naravāhāna (or gajārūḍha, seated on an elephant, according to paṇḍabheda).
2Cf. 213. 15, p. 545.
3L.VIII.57. For his mountain temples designated as Meru, Mandara and Kṛilās, ibid, LVI.17-21.
4260.20-22.
5Bhattatīrtha, T.P., The Canons of Indian Art, p. 494, table, XII; cf. also p. 326 for the date of this work which is assigned to the latest part of the Sūtra period.
6Baneja, J.N., DHI, p. 528f.
7Cf. Śiva’s and Vaiṣṇava’s temples are mentioned together in Arthārātra (II.4.17) and Pāṇini, Agrawala, Pāṇini, p. 363.
8infra, under Subsidiary Yaksha Chiefs.
11infra, chapter 6.
12IIV.41.34; V.4.19.
cannot be stretched too far, because at Bharhut there are inscribed Yaksha-reliefs having elephant as the Yakshas’ mount, and the Yakshas there are specifically not Kubera. The first distinctive image of Kubera is from a Bharhut railing-pillar. Here, he has been shown standing on a crouching, grotesque, male dwarf. Kubera’s hands are in the namaskārā mudrā, pose of supplication, held up to the chest and his left foot firmly put on the left shoulder of a dwarf, while the right leg is a little raised on its toes. He wears a beautiful turban, a dhoti to the knees, with the frill falling to the legs. His ornaments consist of heavy kundalas, three-leafed anagada, ‘armlets’, and bangles. An uttarīya-pāta falls gracefully from his left shoulder.1 The inscription at the top of the figure reads Kupira Yakho, the Yaksha Kubera.2 [Fig. 42]

Mathura, as a single important centre of art, has yielded the largest number of Kubera images. These in the time range of the Kushana to the Mediaeval period presents Kubera alone, (C. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 18, 31, Kt. 55; 138, 240 etc.) or with his consort Hariti (C. 12, 27, 28, 29; 1694 etc.) or consorts (C. 30) and with a number of devotees (C. 8). The oft-presented objects in the hands are cup and goblet or purse, but nectar-(wine?) vessel (C. 8; 1538) mongoose, (240, 242, 528), lotus-flower (594), bijurā, ‘lemon,’ and staff (613) are also found. He is sometimes shown holding his hands in the abhaya mudrā (613, 1518, 1506). His different sitting postures are found in a variety of forms in his sculptures belonging to the Gupta period, for example, Bhadrāsana (1337), European fashion ‘Pralambhāpādāsana’ (1103), or sitting on Kailāsa (C. 9, 138, 254; 1118). The last group of the Mathura sculptures belongs to the mediaeval period.

Among these Mathura images, some need detailed treatment. In one relief [Fig. 2] Kubera is represented as a tree deity, standing under a Kadamba tree. He holds a peculiar object in his right hand. This object has lines in a square-board pattern in the appearance of a caupada, a game of dice. He holds a purse in his left hand and with these two objects portrays his power over the game of chance. A simpler version of this is found in another free-standing image which has Kubera having the right hand in the abhaya mudrā and carrying a purse in the left hand. [Fig. 3] In another relief, which is the part of a torana, Kubera is shown offering prayers to some deity (not shown here). A dwarf Yaksha attendant is carrying the basketful of flowers meant for offering [Fig. 4]. Kubera’s veneration towards the Buddha is well-known, and the instance of the Yaksha of the Meghadūta has it that Yakshas gathered flowers for their lord. The Meghadūta and its commentaries record beliefs about Yakshas that were prevalent during that time and before it. And a representation of the theme is to be seen in this relief of the Kushana art of Mathura. In another sculpture [Fig. 5] Kubera has been shown holding a purse in his left hand and the right hand, broken, seems to have been held in the abhaya mudrā. A mass of flames is shown rising from the shoulders and the head. Coomaraswamy has commented that the ‘flames represent fiery energy inherent in a King.’4 Later on, this trait was absorbed in the sculptures of Agni.5 Some of the sculptures of Kubera represent him as grinning (1432, 1524). The Mathura art presents Kubera as drinking wine in the company of women. In one such example [Fig. 6] Kubera is shown with a group of six persons. Kubera is seated on a rock. Of the other figures on this piece, there are two males, two females and a child. Kubera is drinking from a handled cup, and the female is offering him wine in another similar cup. Behind this female figure, there is another female holding a long-necked bottle. Both these female figures are clad in long-sleeved jackets, skirts and plump shoes which are obviously foreign.

“On the opposite side of the block we find the fat man again in a state of helpless intoxication

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2. Lüders List, no. 794 and references there.
3. Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of Mathura Museum, JUPHS, XXII (1949) under Kubera and Yakshas and Bacchanalian group. The numbers refer to the sculpture in the Museum so numbered.
5. Śālakumārāmādāgāma describes ram as vāhana of Kubera. This, incidentally, is the vāhana of Agni also in the later iconography. Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p. 523f.
seated on a low rock in the centre in tallāsana. His right arm is held by a female figure wearing a Greek costume and his left hand by the male figure. Mr. Agarwala says that although the basic idea behind such sculptures may be similar to the Greek Bacchalianian sculptures, in the Indian iconic tradition the association of Kubera with wine and women is clearly found.

An inscribed sculpture of Kubera from Maholi near Mathura gives epigraphic proof of his worship. Kubera here holds in the right hand a lemon and in the left a goblet. A halo is shown behind his head, and prominent moustaches are also shown. The inscription on the image reads:  
Mahārājaṇaḍa...ya kṣapa...śīñāparatava...[Fig. 7]. A reference here may also be made to two pieces in the Mathura Museum. One, belonging to Kushan period (no. 1346), shows a small figure of Kubera seated in bhadārasana, on the pedestal of the main Buddhist image. This provides iconographic proof of the cult-rivalry between Buddhism and the cult of Kubera, references to which are abundant in the Buddhist literature. The other image (no. 138), which belongs to the mediaeval period, shows Kubera holding a cup, sitting on a Kailasa, flanked by a number of worshippers and attendants on either side. In the purikara steele, Ganesa is also shown sitting on a Vināna at the proper right corner. It is really surprising that despite a great variety of types in the Mathura images of Kubera, there is no image of this god, there, showing his man-mount, although in the iconic tradition of Mathura art, the dwarf as vāhana was well known. In this matter, Mathura figures appear different from those of the Bharhat tradition.

Some sculptures at Mathura show a group of divinities with Kubera. A panel (Fig. 8) represents Aḍhānaṛśvara, Vīṣṇu, Gajaśakshi, and Kubera in that order. A distinctive attribute of Kubera is the spear held under the left arm-pit, besides the purse in the left hand. The spear evidently came from the Gandhara tradition of Pāñcika's images. The Gandhara tradition is seen in another image of Kubera (Fig. 9), where he is shown along with two of his consorts—Lakshmi and Hārīti. Lakshmi holds a comocpila, and Hārīti a child. In this case again, Kubera holds a spear in his right hand, the point of which is clear, although its lower part is broken. These two sculptures indicate that when Pāñčika-Hārīti images of the Gandhara region were accepted in the Mathura art, the Gandhara tradition had to undergo a change. Therefore, probably the need of showing two consorts, instead of one as at Gandhara. The Mathura images of Kubera exhibit the following traits: his consorts Hārīti and Lakshmi, his devotees, his attributes like nectar-vessel, wine-cup, goblet, lotus-flower, staff, lemon and mongoose. The abhyaya and varada mudra, a grinning expression on his face, are the other notable features of his images carved during the Kushāṇa times. In the Mathura images of later date, mūḍhas were personified and attendants multiplied; otherwise most of the distinctive features of Kubera iconography evolved during the Kushāṇa phase.

The post-Kushāṇa phase followed the earlier Mathura traditions although the images multiplied in number. An interesting piece of c. 8th century A.D., has come down from Orissa. It represents Kubera sitting with his consort, and flanked by attendants. Kubera is offering a cup-full of grapes to his consort who has her right hand on another drinking cup filled with grapes (?). The bhaṛavāha, atlantes, Yaksha to the left of the relief is a powerful representation of the

1 Catalogue of Mathura Museum, JUHP, XXII, 1949, pp. 194ff. A similar image had been found by Col. I.R. Stacey in 1836. It is in the Calcutta Museum and is described there as Silenus.
2 ibid, also supra, p. 64.
3 no. 3232, Indian Antiqua, 1947, pp. 8-9, Plate II.
4 cf. Yakshinis on the railing pillars from Mathura, nos. J.2, J.4, J.5, etc. also, Paramathajotikā, I.370; Lalitāvistara, ch. 24, p. 390, for Kubera as nāravāhana.
5 In some other images, this object under the left arm-pit is a staff (maṭṭa); cf. ASIAR, 1916-17, part I, p. 13, pl. VII, d. The right hand is usually in the abhayamudra in such images.
6 For Gandhara's Pāñčika and Hārīti, cf. infra, p. 73ff.
7 no. Ay, 44, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneshwar.
superhuman might which these creatures had [Fig. 10]. Another example of the same period has been reported from Kamban (Bharatpur District, Rajasthan). It represents a two-armed Kubera, seated, holding a bijurā, citrus, in the right hand and a purse in the left. A similar image of Kubera is known from Tumain, and has an interesting feature in that the nudity of the deity is covered with a fig-leaf. Besnagar has provided another image of this deity, in which he is shown standing, holding a purse in the left hand. The other hand is broken.

The Parbhosa image of Kubera is a fine specimen of the deity sitting in lalitāsana on a couch, holding a cup in the right hand and a mongoose by its neck in the left. An elaborate lotus-halo and two jars of nidhis are other interesting features of this piece [Fig. 11]. Although nidhis are often found in Kubera's images, naravāhana, dwarf-mound, is a comparatively rare feature and is known from an image (no. M. 73) deposited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The Eastern Indian art follows the same tradition; so do the western Indian specimen of Kubera's images. An important addition here, however, is the introduction of the elephant as the mount of Kubera, which is supported by texts like Aparājītapricchā, Rūpamāndana and Vastusūra. A Jain Kubera image has come down from Ranimalya (Chitor District, Rajasthan) which shows him with his usual attributes, viz. citrus and purse, but he is sitting under a tree, on a crouching elephant [Fig. 12]. He wears an elaborate headdress which has an inset figure of the 18th Jain Tirthankara, the presiding deity of Kubera in Jain texts. The stone on which the image is carved is black schist. Another image of this deity from Katara (Bharatpur District, Rajasthan) is almost similar to the above, except for the absence of the Jina figure [Fig. 13]. It is now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

Several images of this deity are known from Central India, and some of them have certain exceptional features. An image from Terahi shows his four jars of nidhis and drākṣhakūnpāla. The deity here is shown drinking wine (?) from a cup held at the lips. Another Terahi image shows him seated on a lotus-pedestal. The group of deities on the stele are significant. The conical end of the stele has a Kampaṇḍala-bearing figure (Brahmā); towards its right side, there is a female deity, four-armed, holding a trisāla in one of the hands. On the opposite, corresponding side, is Gaja-Lakṣmī. The central image of Kubera is flanked by two attendants holding flutes [Fig. 14]. The Badoh and Padhavalli images of Kubera represent him as four-armed; in the upper right hand, he holds a huge moneybag supported on the back; in the lower right hand, the Padhavalli image has a mongoose while the Badoh piece shows a rosary. In the left hands, the deity carries jars of nidhi, in both the images. The Dhubela Museum image of Kubera [Fig. 15] is also four-armed, but with different attributes. The two upper hands in this specimen hold stalked lotuses, while a cup and a purse are shown in the lower right and left hands respectively. This variety is closer to the Khajuraho tradition of Kubera's images. A Padhavalli-image of Kubera, now in the Gwalior Museum, is important insofar as it shows the two-armed deity with his consort, Riddhi [Fig. 16]. They are

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3Uttara Bharat, VI, 29, p. 47.
5ibid, p. 3.
6Indian Museum, Calcutta has some images which portray him sitting holding a citrus in the right hand and (i) mongoose in the left (no. 3912); (ii) attributeless left hand kept in the lap (no. 6943, provenance undetermined, Orissa; (iii) mongoose in the left hand, no. A III. 51; Di 3; Cat., p. 159; provenance Panangir, Kamrup, Assam. This last example is etched on a slab; cf. also, Banerji, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculptures, pp. 31, 99, 132 and plates.
7cf. Appendix.
8Thakore's Catalogue, p. 8.
9ibid, p. 17.
10ibid, p. 46.
clapping each other, and are flanked by two female attendants, one on each side, holding a pitcher and cauri. This image partly tallies with the description of Kubera and Riddhi as given in the *Vishnu-dharmottara*. Another such image has been reported from Khajuraho and Kubera there is four-armed, holding lotus, cup and purse. With his fourth hand he clasps Riddhi who, in one of her hands, holds a fish. The nidhis, donors, and attendants are shown around the parikara.

The Maladevi temple at Gyarsapuri (Vidisha Distt., Madhya Pradesh) has an interesting image of Kubera in that it has a ram appearing along with the deity. Kubera stands on the nidhidigvaja, holding a citrus fruit in the right hand and a purse in the left. He is flanked by two attendants, one towards his right holds a cauri, and the other on the left has typical grotesque features e.g. *Janku-karpag*. The ram reminds us of the description in the *Amśumadbhedāgama*.

The wine-and-woman association of Kubera, which started at Mathura during the Kusāṇa period, continued unabated. One such image from Modi, partly broken now, shows him sitting, holding a cup in the right hand; a female serves him drinks from a goblet [Fig.17].

These sculptures, evidently, add many features unknown so far in the iconic representations of Kubera. An image of Kuberi from Naer Mas is also known. It is deposited in the Gwalior Museum, and is described in the *Catalogue* (p. 32) as riding on a corpse. All her hands and the head are broken. A devotee sits at her right elbow. (13th century A.D., measurements, 24′ × 21′ × 8′).

The Iconic Derivations From Kubera's Images

Kubera as the consort of Upārājītā was accepted as the Śāmadevā of the 19th Tirthankara Mallinātha in the Jain works. In Buddhism, his transformation was more complete. In the iconography and literary works, the ramifications of Kubera may be found in the tutelary pair of Hārīti and Pāṇcika, and Jambhala and Vasudhārā. But both these emanatory forms of Kubera received independent status, and an attempt was made to divest them of their previous associations. An elaborate legend was developed around the pair of Hārīti and Pāṇcika. Jambhala as well as his iconography is treated in details in the Śādhanamālā where the deity belongs to the class of Dhyāni Buddhas: Ratnasambhava and Akshobhya. The text envisages mainly three forms of Jambhala. The first form is elaborated with the description of lotiform mandala occupied by Jambhala and Vasudhārā in the centre and eight Yakshas and their Yakshiṇīs distributed over the eight petals spreading towards the four main and four subsidiary directions. All of them were to be depicted in yab-yum pose like Jambhala and Vasudhārā.

In one instance, it is suggested that two identical golden paarś, leaves, should be carved; one

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1 III.51.1-14.
3 The image is now deposited in the Yashwant Rao Holkar Chhatri Museum at Bhanpura; cf. *ASI, AR*, 1912-13, pp. 55-56; 1919-20, pp. 94-95.
4 see Jambhala in *MMK*, I.17; Jambhala, with Sambhala, Kūshmala and others is one of the Yaksha chiefs. With Hārīti, mention of him, is made in *MMK*, III. 608. He is a great Yaksha in the region east of Vārāṇasi, and it is said that those who obtained *siddhi* over him lived in great luxury. III. 644. The same work, III. 606f. associates him with Pātaliputra where Kings worshipped him.
5 Details of Jambhala in these two classes are similar except for minor variations. cf. Bhattacharya, B., *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 237-38.
6 Śādhanamālā, verse nos. 284, 285, 289. The Yakshas are Manjihadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Dhanada, Vasiravana, Kelimallī, Civikutdallī, Sukhendra and Ārendra. They have been conceived of as nude, ithyphallic, embracing their consorts. The eight Yakshiṇīs are Cīrakālī, Dattā, Sudattā, Āryā, Subhradā, Guptā, Devi and Saraswati. Sometimes there is a minor departure from this enumeration and, instead of Devi and Vitthakundallī, Sumandā and Dīrghasuparṇa find mention. cf. Śādhanamālā, pp. 560, 562. In the Visāra-Jambhala-Śādhanāmālā, the meditation, with its *devatānāma* and *aksharānāma*, is described in detail along with the *mantra* and the exact mode of chanting them in worship. cf. also *Nishpannayogāvalī*, p. 61, Śādhanamālā, verse 297, p. 581.
showing Vasudhārā and the eight Yakshinis and the other showing Jambhala and the eight Yakshas. These leaves should be put one over the other, combining the corresponding numbers. This mode is suggested evidently as an alternative to showing the pair in embrace. The Sādhaka is promised success and the attainment of eight Mahāsiddhas or regal status over three worlds as a reward for his worship of this form of Jambhala and Vasudhārā. In one passage the consort of Jambhala is Prajñā and not the usual Vasudhārā.¹ The attributes of Jambhala are usually described as ‘citrus’ and mongoose, and he is conceived of as sitting on a pedestal with his legs on a conch and a lotus; he wears a jewelled crown and a garland of blue lotus. The mode of worship is elaborated with ‘prescription of mantras’ and it is said that if it does not work, the image so made should be offered viṣṇukī, salt, dhūṣakī, long with ash collected from a cemetery. After smearing the image with these, it should be dried with the fire of the cemetery to obtain success.

In the second variation of the placid form, Jambhala is conceived of as a three-headed and six-armed deity holding citrus, goad and quiver in the right hands, and noose and mongoose in the left ones. With the remaining third left hand, he embraces Prajñā who sits on his left.²

In the variations of this placid form, Jambhala is simply conceived of as sitting on a cosmic lotus, holding citrus and nakti in the right and left hands.³ His complexion is golden, and he is supposed to grant the status of mahāpānapati or provide inexhaustible wealth, increasing fortune, freedom from disease, and fulfilment of all desires.

In the third variation of Jambhala’s dhyāna he is terrible, and there are five verses dealing with it. Such images of his are called Kroṭhamārtī, and it is said that he assumed the ucchūshma (terrible) form, moved by the disappointment of human beings lacking in money.⁴ Accordingly, Jambhala is conceived of as terrifying in appearance, black-complexioned, frowning, holding a skull-cup full of blood, either drinking it or merely looking at it; he was to be meditated upon as trampling over Dhanada, the ‘tryambaka-sakha’. Siva’s friend. Dhanada lay either prostrate, with face down or vomiting jewels.⁵ The Kroṭhāmaṛtīs of Jambhala, it is said, were revered by gods like Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva or by demons, sages and the Lokapālas. Lakshmi fanned him with a cīmara.⁶ In such form, Jambhala is usually conceived of either as a dwarf or an adolescent or simply as a five-year-old. As regards the attributes, the description is standard, and refers to him as ithyphallic and having large unpierced ears, eight-nāga garlands and other ornaments.⁷

This form vivifies the rivalry of the Jambhala-cult with the other cults. A special sanctity is conferred on Jambhala by saying that he was revered by the Vedic gods.⁸ However, meditation of this form of Jambhala promised to the devotee the acquisition of respect, intellect, wealth, son, wife, royalty, and the cessation of pains in the after-life. In the verses, Jambhala is addressed as Muni-kumāra, Ratnapattana-nāyaka and single in Guna. Also important is the passage where it is said that the discourses of Jambhala and Vasudhārā could be followed in worshipping the five Dhyāni Buddhhas.⁹

The details furnished here assume greater importance because of the find of a fragmentary Jambhala-mandala from Nalanda (Site 1); this object is now in the Patna Museum (no. 00063).


²Sādhana-nālā, verses 287, 288, 290, 296, 298.

³Ibid, verses 291-95, pp. 569-78.


⁵Cf. Bhattacharya, B., op. cit., p. 179, fig. 30, for one such image in the Sarnath Museum.

⁶Ibid, verse 295.

⁷Ibid, verse 292.

⁸Ibid, verse 290.
The images of Jambhala and some other Yakshas and Yakshis are broken. The five Yakshas, inscribed, from right to left are: Civikundali, Manibhadra, Vajrapāṇi(?), Pratigrāhendra(?); the fifth figure in that sequence is broken. Two of the Śaktis have also been shown, Yakshas hold citron and mongoose, while the Yakshis hold dhūnyamāṇi in the left hands, and their right hands are in the Varadā mudrā [Fig 18]. The image partially tallies with the description of Yaksha-sakataṁ asūṭamāṇḍalam, found in the Sūdhanamāla.¹

The images of Jambhala and Vasudhārā have been found in India, particularly from the eastern region.² Such images carry sufficient indication of the transformation of Kubera into Jambhala. The association of Vasudhārā with Jambhala, is, however, quite independent in origin, and the antiquity of this iconic form goes back to the Kuśāna period.³ Her basic concept is, however, of Vedic origin.⁴ Later she was consorted with Jambhala.

We are illustrating here [Fig. 19], one of the placid forms of Jambhala’s image in which he is shown seated in the pralambhapāḍāsana, over a cushioned seat, elaborately dressed, and wearing many jewels and ornaments and crown. He is accompanied by his nidhi: ṣaṅkha and jar on the pedestal.⁵ A Lucknow Museum image (no. B. 287) has similar features [Fig. 20] and in addition has the third nidhi, i.e. padma on the pedestal.⁶

The terracotta representations of Kubera seem to duplicate the iconic characteristics of Kubera’s images. In one such terracotta plaque showing his torso, he is pot-bellied, squatting and holds a purse in his right hand. The ṣaṅkha nidhi is shown near his leg.⁷ Another Mathura Museum terracotta (no. 4508, ht. 3½)⁸ shows him seated in lalitāsana with a purse in the right hand. (Red clay, Kuśāna period).

THE YAKSHA—PAIR: HĀRITI AND PĀNCIKA

The motif of the child-devouring deity is of constant occurrence, both in literature and art. Hāriti was one such child-devouring deity, and her counterparts are repeatedly found in the Brahmanical and Jain works. Her legend commonly occurs in different Buddhists texts. Her name finds mention in the Yaksha-pair of Hariṇa and Paṇḍaka of the Mahāvamsa.⁹ In this work, they are mentioned as the parents of five hundred children along with whom they were converted to Buddhism by Mahiṣaṭikā thera in their Himalayan country. Her story is developed and perfected mainly in the Sanskrit works through the Mahānovuṣṭu, the Vinaya-Piṭaka of Mālasvaravasīvati School and the Samyutta Rūna Sūtra of Chinese Sūtra Piṭaka of the Hinayāna School. The last two works are available in Chinese alone, their originals having been lost.¹⁰

¹Verse 284.
²For the images of Jambhala; cf. Banerjee, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculptures, pp. 36, 39, 91 and plates there. For Vasudhārā, see, Agrawala, V.S., JIISO, June-Dec. 1939, pp. 13-17; the oldest specimen of Jambhala from Eastern India according to Banerjee, is that discovered at Kurkhera and later transferred to the Indian Museum (no. 3911, Catalogue and Handbook, Part II, p. 271, Kr. 1).
³Agrawala, V.S., JIISO, 1939, pp. 14ff.
⁴Ibid., p. 17.
⁵The image was recovered from Sirpur, during the excavation conducted by the Department of Archaeology of Saugar University; and it is deposited in the Archaeological Museum of the Saugar University.
⁶The image was discovered at Varanasi; cf. ASLAR, 1903-4, p. 219, fig. 1. Several other images of Jambhala are in other museums, for instance, Nalanda Museum image nos. 00110, 00056, 00078, 10998, 00097, 000130, 00068, 10903, 11170, 10995, 00018; Fauna Museum image nos. 8359, 9665, 8446 etc.
⁹XXII.21
¹⁰For literature on Hāriti, see Getty, A., Gods of the Northern Buddhism; Vidyaabhusana, S.C., JBTS, part I (1897), pp. 25-29; Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Ch. V and IX; Coomaraswamy, A.K., Yaksha, I, pp. 9ff; Bhattacharyya, N.K., Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Decca, 1929, pp. 63-67, Pl. XXV; also, Avadāna Kāpiṇḍa (of Somadeva), I, Buddhist Sanskrit Series, no. 22, ed. Vaidya, P.L., Chapter XII, pp. 107ff; Dīvānāvādā, p. 447 (Pāncika as a Great Yaksha Chief).
From her stories as described in different works, a complete picture of the development of her cult-personality may be evolved. Under the name of Kundalā, she was an inhabitant of Vesāli, and gave birth to a hundred sons every year, and ultimately died when her sons were five hundred in number. These children spread a fatal epidemic in the town which continued to destroy the afflicted ones till the Buddha set foot in the city. Another version of the story is to be found in the Vinaya Pitaka of the Sarvāstivādī school, preserved in the Chinese. Kundalā is there called Huanhsi, 'joy,' and she lives in Rājagriha. Originally, she was a protectress of the people of Rājagriha. But as a result of a spiteful wish in a previous life, she started stealing and killing the children of the city for herself and for her five hundred children. The Buddha ultimately brought her under control by hiding her youngest child, Pingala, in his alms-bowl. To provide for her, he ordained a share of food for her and her children in every monastery. It is said in the story that she was named Hārtī by the people of Rājagriha on account of her habit of stealing children.

The Samyutta Vastu contains the legendary accounts of Hārtī in some detail. She is represented there as a daughter of Sāta, the tutelary Yaksha of Rājagriha, and is named Abhirati. She had a brother Sātagiri and was married to Pāncika, the son of the Yaksha King, Pāncāla, of the Gāndhāra region. She had five hundred children, among whom Priyankara or Pingala was the youngest. In her previous birth, it is said, she had been the wife of a herdsman of Rājagriha and, as she was obliged to dance at a festival even though she was pregnant, she harboured the wish to avenge herself for that unfair compulsion, as a result of which she was reborn as a Yakshi. Thus, despite the protest of Sātagiri, this Abhirati, nicknamed Hārtī, constantly devoured the children of Rājagriha. The people of Rājagriha tried to appease her by offering her gifts of food, incense, flowers, etc. or by cleaning and decorating the town. But their efforts were futile. In the end, the Buddha intervened; he hid her youngest child under his alms-bowl, and made her feel the pain caused by that personal loss. When the Buddha’s counsels prevailed upon her, the child was also restored to her. To ensure that she would not return to her old cannibalistic habits, the Buddha ordained that every monastery would provide her a share of eatables. Thereafter, she became a protectress. This goddess appears also in the Samyutta-Ratnā-Sūtra of the Chinese Sūtra Pitaka as a protectress and a giver of children.

Her story is found in the accounts of Huien Tsang and I-tsing; the former locates her at about twenty miles north of Taxila. The latter shifts her to Rājagriha where she is figured as the giver of children and wealth. I-tsing refers to the image of Hārtī, holding one babe in her arms and some more playing about her. Such an image was to be found in the porch or in a corner of the dining halls of all the Indian monasteries.

Thus Hārtī appears as a Yakshi of cannibalistic nature; her name in different versions is Haritā, Kundalā, Huanhsi (Sanskrit—Nandā or Nandini) and Abhirati. She has been associated with Vesāli, Rājagriha and Taxila in different versions of her story. Her sons are five hundred in number and the youngest is Pingala, Priyankara or Chinese Pilengka. It is interesting to observe that in the Mahāvastu it is not Kundalā but her five hundred children who are the bearers of the pestilence that strikes the whole population, including the children. Haritā, as a malevolent goddess responsible for killing and devouring children, is introduced only later. The name Priyankara, as the son of the Yakshi, is found in the Pali text also where he is a little
boy-Yaksha. In that context, it is said that his mother hushed him to sleep, when he was whimpering, so that she could hear the monk Anuruddha reciting some verses, at the Jetavana. Any connection, however, between these two Piyanikaras does not seem to be indicated.

The consort of Hariti is Pāñcika who figures as one of the twenty-eight Yaksha-chiefs in the Buddhist works. His name also seems to appear in the Vāmanapurāṇa as Pāñcika, the Yaksha of the N.W. region, who relieved love-stricken Śiva of his unbearable grief.

The story of this Yakshīṇī has been very often recounted in the Brahmical, Buddhist and Jain works with minor variations of detail, regarding names and the locations. Banerjeea compares Hariti with such Brahmanical or popular goddesses as Jára, Jyesthā and Śitālā. Shah, on the other hand, identified her with Revati, Shashthi or Bahuputrikā. To this list of different popular deities may also be added Kunti Yakshinī of Kuntīnagara.b Jarā in the Makābhāratac is called a Rākshasi, and the people of Rājagriha worshipped her by painting or carving her figure on the walls. Her children were also to be painted along with her and she was offered flowers, incense, food and drinks. Any person who drew her figure along with her children was blessed with plenty, but the one who did not was cursed with poverty. She was particularly fond of the flesh and blood of young babes. Another child-devouring deity is Shashthi-Jālahariṇī or Revati—Bahuputrikā of the Kāśyapa Sāṁhitād who could take away or destroy the newly-born babies or cause still-birth. Revati and Shashthi are similar female demons described in the Brahmical and Jain works. In the Kāśyapa Sāṁhitā, Bahuputrikā and Shashthi e are some of the other names of Revati. Revati is said to have acquired the name Shashthi because she was sixth in position among her brothers and sisters. She was the consort of Skanda, who was one of the gṛchas. There is hardly any doubt that she has the characteristics of Hariti as killer of children. Bahuputrikā, however, in the Jain works, appears as the consort of Mañjihadra; she was worshipped in a caitya of her own.f

Kunti of the Gilgit MSS, whose haunt was Kunfnagara in Kashmir, also appears as a malefic goddess, like Hariti. She used to eat the newly-born babies of the Brahmical householders. Ultimately she was pacified by the Buddha who arranged for her food in the Vihāras. The Dhammapadād Astakathāe refers to a Kali Yakshini, who appears as the devourer of newborn children of a lady for whom she had developed hatred in her previous birth. She too was converted by the Buddha, and given a place in the same house where her old rival lived. She remained peaceful ever after that, and, even though she often changed her habitat, her benevolence towards the lady never waned. Another similar story is found in the Jayadisa Jātaka (no. 513).f

Thus it seems clear that there is no dearth of child-eating ogres in the folk tradition of different ancient religious systems, and Hariti’s legend is but a standardised version of a stock-belief in such popular deities. They probably existed in the nature of different diseases, as

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1Lalitavistara, p. 202; In the MMK, I.44, her Sādhana is described according to which in a manḍala she should be shown with her child Priyankara and consort, Pāñcika; the latter should be shown as ghora ‘fierce looking.’ The same work mentions her along with Jambhala, III.608; cf. also ibid., I.17, for her son Priyankara and others in the list of Yaksha-chiefs.

2supra, Chapter 3.


4IOI, III.1, pp. 64-65, 67; also, by the same writer, Harinagamesi, JISOA, XIX, pp. 40ff.

5Gilgit MSS, II, XVIII.

6II.18.1-6.

7Shah, U.P., JISOA, XIX, p. 40; Many mothers are mentioned in the Mahābhārata, III.219.27ff, who were worshipped by human beings desiring children. Some of them destroyed the foetus. cf. also MP, 179.19.

8Kāśyapa Sāṁhitā, p. 99; cf. also Devi Bhāgavata, IX.46.1ff; MMK, III.667, 680 for Bahuputrikā.

9Kāśyapa Sāṁhitā, p. 100; she was six-faced; for her iconography see, Shah, U.P., JISOA, XIX, p. 38.

10infra, under Subsidiary Yaksha Chiefs, p. 82.

11Burlingame, E.W., I.170ff.

12Mark. P., 246-268 also describes several sons and daughters of Yaksha Daūṣaha who along with their children were a source of fear to children, infants and to foetus.
suggested by Banerjes. In them can be seen the personification of different diseases and epide-
emics such as small-pox, leprosy, etc. Jarā, on the other hand, meant ‘old age’ which itself is
not a very happy situation in the span of life. Hārīti-Kuṇḍalā’s association with small-pox or
leprosy is clearly supported by the description of the pestilence that her children spread in
Veśāli.

Hārīti’s worship received the Buddha’s sanction, and spread in the different regions of India
and abroad. In the Buddhist texts, she has been associated with Veśāli and Rājagriha as well as
Gāndhāra. Hieun-Tsang refers to her Stūpa, erected by Aśoka, which had been identified by
Foucher with that at Sare-Makhe-Dheri in the Peshawar district. It became customary for
the Buddhists to install Hārīti’s images in monasteries everywhere. This is corroborated by I-tsing
who also attests to the custom of installing Pācikas’ images in a similar manner. This bears
out the widespread prevalence of the Hārīti-Pācika cult. About the specific areas of the
currency of this cult, the Mahāvaṃsa, as pointed out above, associates her with the Himalayan
region; and the Mahāmāyārī refers to Pācika as the tutelary deity of Kashmir; their eldest son
is assigned to China (china-bhāmi), and another son to the Kusika people in the north west.
An inscription of the 5th century AD from the old Madhya Bharat region of M.P. indicates
that she was worshipped in that area. The whole legend of Hārīti, according to Coomaraswamy,
“reads more like an explanation or justification of a cult than a true account of its origin; proba-
bly this was the best way to provide an edifying sanction for an ancient animistic cult too
strong to be subverted.” It is almost an invariable feature of the Hārīti group of stories that
the Yakshinis in question were pacified and rehabilitated on the right path.
Hārīti’s images and her temples have been reported from different places in India and abroad,
notably from Mathura and Gandhara. Her cult found a way towards China, Japan, Korea
and some other countries, which have preserved paintings and sculptures of her. Notable
examples among these as described by Foucher are as follows:

1. Hārīti sculptured on the left wall of the entrance corridor of the temple called Chandu-
Mendut, near the Stupa of Boro-Budur, (IX century).
2. Turfan mural painting of Hārīti.
3. A large figure probably of Hārīti brought to light by excavations at the desert of Takla-
Makan near Khotan. It shows a large figure of a woman “painted in tempera on a coating
of mortar in the embrasure of the door of a little Buddhist Sanctuary.”

She was worshipped in China; and I-tsing has referred to the existence of “the portrait of the

1DHI, p. 108.
2Mahāvaṃsa, I.208ff. She struck Veśāli with a disease called adhivāsa, which was different from the same called
māṇḍalaka; adhivāsa is described as attacking the whole district.
3Banerje, J.N., DHI, p. 381; Rosenfield, J.M., quoting Konow, CII, pp. 124-27; however, identifies the spot of
her conversion by the Buddha with the stūpa “erected eight miles north of Skaraha Dheri whence came a notable
image of the deity with an inscription imploring that she protect or heal children,” Rosenfield, DAK, p. 246.
5JUFS, XV, Part II, p. 29.
6Ibid.
7CII, III, p. 78, the inscription at Gāndhāra, Jhalarwa, Rajasthan, which refers to the early Caṇukya kings
as Hārīti-patradihī, the descendants of Hārīti.
8Coomaraswamy, I, pp. 9-10.
9Ibid. Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art, pp. 73-91, under Hārīti.
10Ibid., Journal of Indian Art, VIII, no. 62, Pl. IV.2, Hārīti and Jambhala from Gandhara; cf. also Foucher, A.,
Beginning of Buddhist Art, Pl. XVIII.1-2; Bechhofer, L., Early Indian Sculpture, II, Pl. 150. Härīti from Skaraha
Dhari dated in year 399 (87 AD); Smith, V., History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Pl. 31, fig. B; Marshall, Sir-
J., Art of Gandhara, Pls. 104, 105, 77, fig. 112; also images nos. G.3, G.8, in the Celleuta Museum which represent
Hārīti and Pācika from Gandhara.
12Ibid, p. 264 also pp. 271ff.
goddess-mother of demon sons, named K-Wei-tsu-mu-chen. As Ki-si-mo-jin, Hārīti is known to have reached Japan.11

Some more sculptures and temples of Hārīti have been unearthed in recent years in excavations at different places, notably from Nagarjunakonda (A.P.)7 and Sirpur (M.P. unpublished). The temple of Hārīti at Nagarjunakonda was placed in an enclosure, and was approached by a flight of steps; the shrine was flanked by two bigger rooms; in the shrine there was found a broken image of the deity with the feet hanging down. The excavation of the enclosure provided a stone-bench with an inscription reading kāmasara, 'arrow of love.' Its relevance to Hārīti cannot be explained properly. A deity, who was the giver of children, could also be the giver of erotic desire. But that is at best a speculation. Another inscription on a pillar here records an akṣhoyanīyī, 'perpetual burning of lamp,' on the occasion of some utsava, festival.8

Hārīti's male counterpart, Pāñcika, was probably not less important, and finds mention in the literary texts either along with the prominent Yaksha chiefs7 or as distinct from that group.5 The Divyāvadāna describes him as lord of a strong army which consisted of giant-like men, mountain-like elephants and elephant-like horses.6 The text also describes him as the demolisher of the pavilions of the tirūtikas, heretics, at the time of the famous miracle of Śrāvasti performed by the Buddha.7 Pāñcika belonged to the stock of the Gandhara Yakshas,8 and is represented as son of Pāñcāla, the Yaksha king of Gandhara.9 In the Meñjuśrimūrakalpa, his name occurs with Hārīti and their son Priyankara, and it is said that a magical circle should be drawn in which Pāñcika's figure should be shown terrible in appearance.10 Like Hārīti, he also came to occupy a place of importance in the Buddhist Viṅghāras; and I-sing testifies to the custom of installing the image of a deity, evidently Pāñcika, in the kitchens of the Buddhist monasteries. The deity was carved "in the shape of a man seated on a chair, one foot on the ground."11

Some prominent images of Pāñcika have come down from the Gandhara school of art. Among these, notable are the images found at Takal, Mardan Guide's Mess collection, and the one now in the British Museum.12 The Takal image of Pāñcika is an impressive specimen, "in sheer bulk and imperious mien."13 He sits on a throne, and holds a spear in his left hand; the right hand is broken. The donor-figures and children are carved on the pedestal. These images exhibit Pāñcika as a chief or a war-hero, by displaying his regal demeanour. By and large, his images conform to the descriptions of him in the literary texts.

In the sculptures Hārīti has been shown either with Pāñcika or alone, but always encumbered with children. In the Gandhara art, "most often she is represented as holding on her knees or even suckling her last-born which has caused her to be called the Buddhist Madonna, whilst a number of her sons frolic around her or climbing around her person make her look like an Italian

1Foucher, op. cit., p. 265f. Pls. XLIX, 1-2 and L. 1, 2.
3Ibid., p. 22, report on the Site VII.A.
4Gillett MSS, III (i), pp. 15ff; MMK, I, p. 17.
5Lalitavistara, p. 202; Divyāvadāna, p. 447.
6Divyāvadāna, p. 447.
7ibid., p.
8MMK, p. 325, however, refers to the worship of Pāñcika and Hārīti in the Vanga-region; cf. Moti Chandra, BPWM, III, p. 55.
10MMK, I, p. 44.
12Ibid., p. 245f.
13Ibid., p. 245.
14A lance of Kubera finds mention in a parable reported by Hiuen-Tsang about a Turkish prince who wanted to raid a monastery at Balkh and take away its treasures. The Chinese traveller informs that the prince dreamed that his heart was pierced by Kubera's lance and the next day he died. cf. Rosenfield, J.M., op. cit., p. 249; also supra, p. 69.
allegory of Charity."  The tutelary pair are shown seated on a pedestal covered with coins. Sometimes Hārīti holds a cornucopia which is a symbol of abundance and prosperity. Pāṇḍika wears leggings, tunic and coat, and is shown fondling his consort. And in all these characteristic attributes they look very much similar to their Gaulish counterpart.2

Rosenfield notes the 'irregularity' in the imagery of Hārīti and Pāṇḍika figures; this irregularity, according to him, stemmed from the fact that "they were not among the canonical Buddhist icons,"3 He observes three types in such images, one, in which the pair is shown in a highly 'classical guise' . . . semi-nude, encumbered with many children; two, "in which the seated pair is copulent and highly ornate,"4 and three, in which "the deities can be closely correlated with two familiar members of the Kushan coin pantheon, Pharro and Ardoxsho. In contrast to the other seated pairs, the male figure . . . (in this third variety) is less bulky, wears a tunic and knee-length leggings, and usually carries a staff with a round finial instead of a spear. The woman holds a cornucopia; the many children of the other groups are here reduced in number; coins and money purses are prominently displayed."5

The image-type of Hārīti with Pāṇḍika could not retain its characteristic features; and underwent a change in the other Indian art-schools, where Hārīti was readily converted into Bhadrā, Lakṣmī or Vasudhārā, and Pāṇḍika took on the appearance of Kubera or Jambhala. At Mathura, the cornucopia of Hārīti became the identifying symbol of Bhadrā-Lakṣmī for there is found a literary as well as art tradition to support this.6 Similarly, the staff or lance of Pāṇḍika was replaced by cup and goblet, or cup and purse, to suit the requirements of Kubera's iconography; or, in the form of Jambhala, the images were provided with citrus and mongoose. With such modifications, the Indian schools produced several images associated with Hārīti. At least three types can be distinguished in them, viz., Hārīti with the consort, or alone, or in a multiplied form. In the first variety, some Kushāṇa sculptures of Mathura show the tutelary pair seated together. Pāṇḍika holds a purse in his right hand and a cup in the left; Hārīti-Lakṣmī holds a flower and is accompanied with a child seated on her left knee.7 Another sculpture (no. C. 26, Mathura Museum) represents the childless variation of the above.8 The pair seems to have been very popular and the artists of Mathura tried several iconographic permutations of their images.9

The representations of Pāṇḍikā-Jambhala in the Sarnath school of sculpture appear a little different from the previous types of images. A votive stūpa (no. D (b) 12) has him holding bijapūrika in his right hand, and a mongoose vomiting pearls in the left. Next to him is a representation of Hārīti. Another example, a lintel (no. D(d) 1) is carved with a number of niches in one of which is represented a female figure, probably Hārīti, standing, giving something to her

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1Fourier, op. cit., p. 142.
2Ibid, pp. 142ff.
4For example, cf. Rosenfield, op. cit., fig. 61 (a relief from Kanishka Stūpa) and also Ingholt, J., no. 342, the image from Sahri Bahlol.
7Mathura Museum object no. C. 27; cf. also, Consolidated Report on Archaeological Museum, Mathura, Lucknow, 1961, p. 50, no. 4562. Another object no. 69.9, in the Mathura Museum Register, of which only the lower portion is preserved, shows Kubera wearing a stitched coat and holding a cup in the right hand. An animal figure is shown behind the leg of Hārīti. The Lucknow Museum has an object, no. G. 163, which shows the pair along with a row of children below; one child is in the lap of Hārīti. cf. also Patna Museum, image no. 5838. cf. also, ASIAR, 1943-35, p. 78, Kubera and Hārīti with seven children. The image is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
8cf. also Mathura Museum image nos. C. 29, C. 30 which portray the pair.
9cf. Mathura Museum sculptures no. 1538 pair sitting in European fashion. Hārīti holds her right hand in Abhayā Mudrā (Kushāṇa period), no. 1694; the pair sitting engaged in drinking, Gupta period; 2315 similar; 2329 like 1538 in details; in F. 30 Mathura Museum (Kushāṇa Period), she is accompanied by Kubera, and four children on the pedestal. For one of the earlier representations of the pair, at Sanchi; cf. Marshall, J., Monuments of Sanchi, I, p. 245; III, pl. CIII, e. 3.
children who are shown squatting around. Another niche has a female figure holding a lotus in the left hand and a bunch of buds in the right. Two jars have been depicted along with her, which help in identifying her with Vasudhārā. In the last niche is shown Pāñcikā. This piece appears interesting as two consorts of Pāñcikā-Jambhala, have been shown in it.

In the post-Gupta phase, this tutelary pair seems to have influenced the Jain icons in which corpulent Yaksha and Yakshi figures are shown. Such Jain icons in which a child also appears, are usually taken as portraying Dharaṇendra and Padmāvati, or Gomeda and Ambikā.¹ That they have an unmistakable stamp of the earlier tutelary pair, cannot be doubted. However, among the important post-Gupta specimens of the Hārīti-Pāñcikā images, mention may be made of that from Ajanta, Cave II, and the one from Farrukhabad. The former has a separate chapel for it in the cave, and shows the pair sitting together, Hārīti holding a flower and accompanied by her children.² The other image from Farrukhabad (Uttar Pradesh) is now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. 0.235); in this, the pair is shown seated together; Pāñcikā-Kubera holds a cup, and Hārīti a child.

Another variation of the images of Hārīti shows her with her children but without her consort.³ In this aspect, the Yakshiṣṇī has been likened to the Christian Madonna by Foucher. He has pointed out the great popularity of this motif “spread over nearly twenty centuries and over the whole Far-East.” According to him the motif is of Buddhist origin.⁴ Some of her sculptures of this type are as follows:

Sculpture no. D. 10 (Mathura Museum) shows Hārīti, seated, holding child in her left arm. The child is seated on her left lap. The child is shown touching her breast. She holds a cup in her right hand, a feature reminiscent of Kubera. Two stalked lotuses are shown rising from the pedestal. The Allahabad Museum has a sandstone image (1.74′ × 1.9′, no. 33, mediaeval period) in which Hārīti is shown seated on a lotus in lalitāsana, with a (headless) child on her lap. An image of Hārīti has been published by N.K. Bhattacharjī which is interesting because of some new iconographic features. The image was discovered at the village Paikpad, P.S. Tangibadi, Distt. Dacca. It is made of blackstone (1.7′ × 10′), and represents the goddess seated on a lotus seat, cross-legged. In the two upper hands she holds a fish and a drinking bowl respectively. With her two natural hands, she holds her child in her lap.⁶ As Bhattacharjī has observed, it shows a novel method of representation of Hārīti. She is usually two-armed, but in this case the number of arms is four. The identification of the deity is rendered convenient by the inscription on the sculpture identifying her as Hārīti. The representation of fish in her right hand is also a unique feature.

Hārīti’s bronze images are also known, and in one such specimen from Nalanda [Fig. 21] she is depicted as seated on a lotus, with her child on the lap, and her right foot on another lotus rising from pedestal. The pedestal carries the depiction of a bat and a ball evidently for the child’s sport. The image is now in the National Museum, New Delhi (no. 47, 50).

A third type of the images of Hārīti is also suggested from a number of specimens in Mathura

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¹ Allahabad Museum, sculpture nos. 57, 165, 217.
³ cf. Mathura Museum nos. D. 10, D. 11, F. 54, 35, 37, 40 and 64.7. Also Consolidated Report, op. cit., no. 4001 and 4514 (Lady with cornucopia, identified with Hārīti-Bhadra). Lucknow Museum object nos. O.240, and 60. 180. An image of Hārīti has come from Sahi Bahlol and shows her four-armed, holding a cup and a lance in upper hands and a child and a kamaṇḍālu in the lower hands. Two attendants are shown on her two sides.
⁴ Foucher, op. cit., p. 279.
⁵ Bhattacharjī, op. cit., p. 67, pl. XXV; cf. also Agrawala, R.C., Bhāratiyā Vidya, XX-XXI, pl. I, illustrating vardhi holding a fish in the left hand. The figure is part of a panel from Aṣṭa and is preserved in Amber Museum, Rajasthan.
⁶ Bhattacharjī, N.K., op. cit., p. 62.
and Lucknow Museums. In them, the deity seems multiplied.¹ She is shown generally with the child, and her consort is not associated with her in such images. Images nos. F. 31, 34 of Mathura Museum and no. 241 from the same place but now in the Lucknow Museum, show the deity in her multiplied form. In them are found a collection of three or four figures each holding a child in a different manner. The presence of a child in such sculptures seems to give a clue to the identification of the deity with Hārīti. The number of such sculptures is comparatively small. An image in the Lucknow Museum has three Mātrikās and Kubera sitting in a row. They all have their right hands in the abhaya-mudrā; in the left hand the first figure has a flower, Kubera has a purse. The third figure holds a child in her lap and may be identified with Hārīti. The other details are indistinct. The image belongs to Mathura art of Kushana period. [Fig 22]

The large number of her sculptures shows the popularity of the worship of Hārīti and her legend. Such sculptures must have been in great demand, particularly in the Buddhist vihāras where Hārīti had a niche for herself assigned by the Buddha. Coomaraswamy has suggested that monastic offerings to Hārīti "must have been made originally on an altar set before painted icons of Hārīti... placed within the refectory." The "altars were made of stone in the form of lotus flower expanded towards sky and with its smooth round centre serving as a table..." ¹¹ Eventually, it seems that this practice was superseded by the installation of Hārīti’s images. The discovery of a large number of different types of Hārīti sculptures proves this supposition.

**Subsidiary Yaksha Chiefs**

Besides Kubera and the pair of Hārīti and Pāṇcika, there appear also certain other prominent Yakshas whose authority seems to have been well-recognised. Some of them are discussed here.

**Mañjībhadra**

This Yaksha enjoyed an enviable place in the Yaksha-pantheon, and in the cult-hierarchy, he appears to hold a position next only to Kubera. He was known variously as Manivara, Maniṣvara, Mani or Mañjīmat² but he is most familiar as Mañjībhadra. He shared many titles of Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera, such as Yaksharāja, Yakshiendra, Nidhipati, Dhanapati, Dhanādhipati and Dhanādhyaksha.³ As a Yaksha-chief his position is well recognised in the Jain works also.⁴ The earliest references to this Yaksha-chief are found in the epics and the Buddhist works. As a commander of Kubera, he fought and defeated his counterpart Prahasa of Rāvaṇa;³ he defeated Rākṣhasas with a force of four thousand Yakshas.⁵ Because his crown had slipped to one side on being struck by the mace of Rāvaṇa, he acquired the nickname—Pārvamulit.⁶ In the Māhābhārata, he is described as living on the mountain Śvetagiri and Mandara, waited upon by Yakshas of various shapes, wielding various weapons.⁷ Kubera is his overlord.⁸ As an exclusive deity of traders and travellers, he has been mentioned in the Āranyaka Parva of the Mahābhārata (64.130; 65.22). Yudhishtira paid oblations to him when he went to fetch the treasures of Marut.¹¹ This again confirms his status as the god of travellers and giver of riches. The Mañju-

¹These images may represent the cult of Mātrikas, but the depiction of children in them leads us to the Hārīti's cult images. For another identification, cf. Agrawala, R.C., Lalit Kaṭha, 14, p. 56f. and plate.
²Coomaraswamy, II, pp. 5-6, quoting I-tsing, the Chinese traveller.
³Hopkins, E.W., op. cit., p. 144.
⁴Ibid.
⁵Supra, Chapter 3.
⁶Rāmāyaṇa, VI.19.11.
⁷Ibid, VII.15.1-6.
⁹Mahābhārata III.140.3ff; cf. also, ibid, III.158.54; XII.20.8.
¹¹Mahābhārata, Aśvalāyana Parva, 64.6-9.
śrīmālakalpa (III.608-611) refers to Manicara Yaksha of Haimavata who was worshipped by King Bharata, son of Rishabha.1

That he had a large number of exclusive followers is corroborated by references to his exclusive worshippers in Pali works. The Milindapañha, also tells of certain secrets of this cult which were limited to the fold, and were kept hidden from all others. There is found epigraphic evidence of the existence of the exclusive Manibhadra-bhaktas from an image of this Yaksha discovered at Padam-Pawaya (Gwalior).3

It has been suggested that Manibhadra was a popular deity in the eastern India as he has been often mentioned in the Pali works of the Buddhists, and the Prakrit canons of the Śvetāmbara Jains.4 But the intrinsic evidence of these texts seems to go against the parochialisation of this deity. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (1.208), his caitya, 'shrine,' called Manimāla, is mentioned as being situated in Magadha. In the Mahāmāyūri (1.31) Manibhadra and his brother Pūrṇābhadrā are described as the tutelary deities of Brahmagati, identified with some city in the region of Vapuru or Gandhara. In the Vīpāka Sūtra the caitya of Manibhadra is situated in the Vijayavardhamāna grove at Vardhamānapura, evidently Mithilā, while according to the Pīṇḍāntīyayukti, it was situated at Samillā. In the Sūrya Praṇāpti a reference is made to the caitya of Manibhadra to the north-east of Mithilā.6 However, the evidence of archaeology connects Manibhadra and his cult similarly with Mathura in north India, and Pawaya in the Madhya-Bharat region from where his images have been brought to light. The literary sources too associate this Yaksha with the north-western region besides eastern India. On this evidence it may be said that Manibhadra's cult was prevalent in a fairly wide area in east, north-west, north and central India. In eastern India, however, his worship was comparatively more current. Yet it is interesting to observe that both of his sculptures discovered so far have come from outside eastern India. A temple of Manibhadra is also mentioned in the Kathāsarasvatīgīrī (I.162), but in the absence of any clue in the text, the location of it cannot be decided.

Many Yaksha names with Mani in the first part of them are known from different sources. A Manigriva, as a brother of Nalakūbara, is son of Kubera in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X.9-10). From some other Purāṇas, Manimat and Manimanta are also known. The Aṭānātiya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya refers to him as Manī, the great Yaksha chief. In the Śrī Śūkta of the Rgveda, Kubera has been referred to as Devasakha and Manibhadra probably as Manī. A wish is expressed to Kubera, Kṛṣṇa and Mani may grant glory and abundance. A reference to Manibhadra is also made in the Śāṅkhāyana Grihyasūtra.9

Manibhadra's family has also been a subject of casual mention in the literary traditions. Rajaṭanābha appears to be his father and Bhadrā, his mother.10 The Vāyu Purāṇa tells of his wife Punyajani and twenty-four sons.11 In the Jain works, however, the names of his wives are mentioned as Kuṇḍā and Bahuputrā.12 Madanamañjari, the daughter of the Yaksha-chief Dundubhi.

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1cf. also MMK, I.43; III.549.
2Manibhadlavattikā, in Mahānīdāsī, I.89; and Manibhadras in Milindapañha, p. 191. The former appears to be a class of ascetics and recluses. Manibhadras in the Milindapañha are mentioned along with tumblers, jugglers and actors etc., which shows that the followers of this Yaksha were drawn from the folk element of society. cf. also the Question of King Milinda, SBE, XXXV, pp. 265-66.
3ASI, AR, 1915-16, pp. 105-6 and Plate.
4Moti Chandra, BPWM, III, p. 51.
5supra, Chapter 3.
6Chandra, R.P., JDL, IV, p. 52.
7supra, Chapter 4 (for Manibhadras' image from Vīdīśa (Besnagar).
10supra, Chapter 3; Br., P., III.7.122-125 refers to his mother Mahīvarā and his twenty-three sons.
11supra, Chapter 3.
12TP, VI.42-43; also Kathas, IX.29.
is called the wife of Manjibhadra in the Kathasaritsagara. She is described as having the habit of roaming about happily with her husband on the banks of rivers, hills and charming groves. In the same context, Manjibhadra is mentioned as brother of Kubera. His daughter Taravalli is known from the Daakumutracarita. Purnabhadra is another Yaksha who usually figures along with Manjibhadra. In the Mahanayuri both these Yakshas are described as brothers. Among all these different Yakshas and Yakshis, the names of two wives of Manjibhadra, namely Bahuputra or Bahuputrikā and Kunḍā are most important. While Kunḍā may be an abstraction of Kundaalā-Haritī of the Mahāvastu (1.201f.), the other, Bahuputra, appears to be the designation of Haritī’s proverbial motherhood. In other words both the names may be regarded as the two different versions of Haritī’s tradition. Bahuputra or Bahuputrikā had her own worshippers and her cetiya existing at Visāla (Ujjain) is known. A Bahuputri or Bahuputtaka cetiya finds mention in the Dīgha Nikāya also which was in the neighbourhood of Vesālī to the north of the city. The Commentaries have added that it was a pre-Buddhist shrine, and it derived this name because here people used to pray to a god of the great nigrodha tree for obtaining sons. In the Kāliyapā Śaṅkhita, Bahuputrikā is a synonym of Revati, a bālagraha of the Jain texts, who also appears as an instrument of death to children and therefore called Jātakāharī. It is quite probable that, in the course of development, this Bahuputrikā might have been assimilated by Revati because of similarity of features. But for this indirect connection of Bahuputrikā with Haritī, the motherhood aspect apart, there does not appear to be much evidence for connecting them. It is quite probable that this pair of Manjibhadra and Bahuputrikā might have been the predecessor of the Buddhist tutelary pair of Haritī and Purṇa or Jambhala, or the Jain pair of Ambikā and Gomeda or Sarvaṇa. However, the equation cannot be emphasised too much because of obvious reasons. Firstly, there is no association of Manjibhadra and Bahuputrikā in the early Buddhist works. Secondly, Bahuputrikā in the Dīgha Nikāya is explained in the commentaries as a Deva, who could as well be male. These two, as a pair, appear only in the Triloka Prājñapti and in the Jain Cūrṇī literature at a time when the Haritī legend seems to have been almost completely formed. However, the analogous nature of Manjibhadra and Bahuputrikā on the one hand and other tutelary-pairs on the other, cannot be just ignored. Kubera and Manjibhadra also have very close relations with each other. There is some evidence to suggest that when Kubera was accepted as one of the Lokapālas, some of his functions might have gone to others.

The Jain works particularly represent Manjibhadra as one of the principal Yakshas. In the Jain cosmography he occupied the position of a chief, and was thus called Indra along with Purnabhadra. But there were other reasons also for his status. He saved people from epidemics, and protected the traders. In the Karpuracarita Bhāha (of Vatsarāja) Manjibhadra is the giver of victory in gambling, which confirms his position as giver of wealth. In this work it is also mentioned that he was vallabha, ‘consort,’ of Lakshmi.

1 Kathas, IX, 12.
2 Ed. G.T. Agashe, p. 82.
3 Prof. K.D. Baupai has supplied the information that a Bahuputrikā vrata is observed by ladies in north India.
4 Bhāgaravi Sūtra, 18.2; Mbh., IX, 45.3 for Bahuputrikā and other benevolent and malevolent mothers.
5 D, III.9; II.118; Udāna, VI, I.; S, V, 259 and commentaries on two last texts.
6 p. 99. Nandā, Suananda and Katapatanā are also mentioned as afflicting children at different stages.
7 Her worship is awarded by grant of daughters. MMK, II, 313; cf. also Devi Bhāgavata, IX, 46-47.
8 Shah, U.P., JISOA, XIX, p. 40, says that “Bahuputrikā of the Jain texts can safely be identified with the Bālagraha Revati.”
10 Lāñchana, p. 390. Kubera and Manjibhadra have often been mentioned together in the epics.
11 Upatra, Chapter 3.
12 Upatra, commentary on su. 245f. This again brings out another point of his consort’s connection with Haritī. He was therefore, probably a deity having power over the pestilence caused by his wife, Bahuputrikā.
His shrines are mentioned in different works, and he enjoyed worship in these caityas of his own which existed since pre-Buddhist times. Some of his caityas may have been in the nature of trees but structural temples dedicated to him are also known. The Pindārīyukti (p. 83) refers to his shrine which had a sābhā and it was decorated particularly on ashtamī and some other days. In the Kathāsārītāśāgara,² Devasmitā describes to her mother-in-law the shrine of Mañjībhadra, which was established by her ancestors. It was a place where people came and made petitions and offered various gifts. Incidentally, it was also a place where the faithfulness of men and women towards their partner was tested. The Karpūra-carita Bhāna (p. 31) also mentions Mañjībhadra’s āyatana, ‘shrine.’

Some images of this Yaksha are also known³ but their number does not thereby reflect the great popularity enjoyed by this Yaksha. One of his images has come from Parkham (Mathura) and the other from Pawaya (Gwalior). They are described below:

**Mañjībhadra from Parkham (Ht. 8.8”).** This is a colossal image showing the deity standing, wearing round kundalas in the ears, a close fitting necklace and a torque. His dress seems to consist mainly of a dhoti which is tied at the waist, the tassel of the dhoti, in the gomutrikā fashion, falls from the navel to the knees. The Yaksha is pot-bellied; and a scarf is tied around the body between the chest and the belly [Fig. 23].

The image carries an inscription, read by Vogel as ‘(ni) Bhadapugurinā (ka) . . . (ga) athā. . . pl. . . kunī (ka) tevāsinā (gomitakena) katā “Made by Bhadapugurin . . . Gomitaka, the pupil of Kunika.”³’ The reading of the inscription has been a point of great controversy. Jayaswal⁴ had held that the inscription supplied the name of Ajātaśatrū as Kunika and, therefore, it should be dated 618 BC. But the whole question of epigraphy and iconography has been examined by Chanda,⁵ who came to the conclusion that the image represented a Yaksha. Agrawala has made amendments in the reading of the inscription following N.G. Majumdar,⁶ and identified it with Mañjībhadra.⁷ He has said that this change in reading would give it the meaning that "the image was placed in the pūga or guild of Mañjībhadra, an analogy being available in the gauśhī of the Mañjībhadra-Bhaktāḥ at Padmāvatī."⁸ According to him, the inscription was written in two parts, the “first portion running on the proper right side and between the legs recorded the circumstances, time and locality of establishing the image while in the second half portion on the proper left side was given the name of sculptor by whom the image was made (Konikate vāsinā katā), a peculiarity of construction also found on the Mansadevi (Jhing ka Nagra Yakshini) image.”⁹ No objection has so far been offered against this reading. Thus the image seems to represent Mañjībhadra at a time when even the images of Kubera were not known. As for his attributes, no clue is possible regarding the objects held in the hands. It seems, however, that the right hand should have been in the abhayamudrā. The left hand might have held a purse as in the Pawaya image. The image may belong to the late Mauryan or Sunga period.

**Mañjībhadra from Pawaya (2.5 × 3 × 1”),¹⁰** inscribed and preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Gwalior: This was discovered at Padam-Pawaya by Garde.¹¹ This headless image,

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¹Kathas, l.162 also fn. 1.
²An image of this Yaksha is known from Ajanta (cave no. 27); below the figure is an inscription which reads Mañjībhadra; cf. Gupta, R.S., and B.D. Mahajani, Ajanta Ellora and Aurangabad Caves, p. 267, Inscription no. 28.
³Vogel, Catalogue, p. 83.
⁴JBOIS, V. 1919.
⁵Four Ancient Yaksha Statues, JDL, IV, 1921.
⁶Agrawala, V.S., JUHP, XXII (1949), p. 178; The name of Mañjībhadra with Naka also occurs of an inscription from Bhīta, ASIAR, 1911-12, p. 44.
⁷Agrawala, V.S., JUHP, VI (Jan. 1933), part 1; SIA, p. 117f.
⁸Ibid, p. 117.
⁹Ibid, p. 118. Thus the whole inscription according to Agrawala reads, ‘(Ni) Bhada pugurāna (or rājā) . . . paṭhāpiṭa . . . kunikatevāpīna katā.’
¹¹ASI, AR; 1915-16, pp. 105-6 and plate LVII, b and c, Grade dates it to first or second century AD on paleographic and stylistic grounds.
corpulent and pot-bellied, is represented standing on a pedestal, wearing a beautiful multi-stranded necklace and armlets. His dress consists of a small *uttariya* folded on his right shoulder, and *dhoti* worn around the loins and covering the knees. The tassel of the *dhoti* hangs down to the legs. The right hand is broken but from its upward rise it appears to have been held in *abhaya mudra*. In his left hand he holds a purse [Fig. 24, a, b]. An inscription of six lines on the pedestal reads:

Line 1  Rājyavāṃ svāmi śivanandisyā Samvatsare caturthe grishmapade dṛśiṣya 2 divase  
Line 2  dvādaśe 102 etasya purvāyā gañghyā Maṇibhadrabhaktā garbhhasukhītā 3 bhagavato  
Line 3  Maṇibhadrasya pratimā pratisthīpayanti gañghyāṁ bhagavā āyu balaṁ vacam kalyāṇam.  
Line 4  abhyudayam ca priitau dītatu Brāhmaṇasya Gotamasya kulārasya Brāhmaṇasya Rudradāsasya Śivatrādāyē  
Line 5  Śamabhātīsya jīvasya Khajabalasya Śivanemisyā Śivabhādrasya Kubhakasya  
Line 6  Dhanade vasya dā . . .

Maṇibhadra was identified by Garde as a Yaksha on the authority of Monier William's *Dictionary*. But Mm. H.P. Shastri rejected this identification and said that the epithet *Bhagavāna* in the epigraph helps to identify the image as Bodhisattva Maṇibhadra of the Buddhists. But R.P. Chanda, after examining various literary sources, has conclusively proved the image as that of Yaksha Maṇibhadra. The inscription of the image is extremely interesting in that it refers to the worshippers of Maṇibhadra as forming a guild of their own.

At this early age, it is impossible to find reference to any canon of iconography referring to Maṇibhadra's images. In later times from the Gupta period onwards, some references are available which mention the iconographic formula of Maṇibhadra's images. But the corresponding images have not been found. A reference to this Yaksha is also found in the classes of gods in the Vajrayāna Buddhism. The *Nishpannayogavali* mentions eight lords of Yakshas briefly. One of them is Maṇibhadra and his colour is mentioned as yellow. His representations in the Vajrayāna art, however, have not been encountered. Among the Chinese representations of this group of Yakshas, one is known as Yakshadeva. It might represent Maṇibhadra, but the identification cannot be regarded as certain due to lack of any corroborative evidence.

The worship of Maṇibhadra has survived till the present times, particularly in Bengal and Mathura regions. In Bengal it is a deity which controls the epidemics, and is remembered as Maṇik Pir. Some folk-songs related to him are known. We have been informed of one such song through a Bangali family; the song is as follows:

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Subuddhi goyāler kubuddhi jutilo  
Bātīr bhete dagdo raḵhī,  
Pir ke phākī dilo,  
Maṇik Pir bhobanadir pārē jābar lágī.
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It is a request to the Maṇik Pir to help in getting through the world happily, and reference is also made to the mischief of a cow-girl who deprived the Pir of his share of milk.

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2 *IBORS*, December, 1919, p. 552.
3 *JDI*, IV, p. 49.
4 *infra*, Chapter 6; cf. also *VS*, p. 176 for Maṇibhadra's image and iconography.
It may have been composed evidently for recitation of different unconnected events in which a reference to Maṇik Pir comes only casually without any relevance to those events. Agrawala has identified Manik-Vrtra with Maṇībhadra. He refers to the list of fifty-two Biṣṇas in the Pṛthvirāj Rāsa, and identifies Maṇīk-Rudra with Maṇībhadra. This Maṇik-Bira is worshipped at Banaras to ward off floods. He also found worship around Mathura as Maṇavirā, chief of the viñas, and there he is worshipped at a secluded spot near Mehandipur which is eight miles away from Mahuva road (Mandavara Station) near Mathura. It seems that Mehandipur is a distortion of Maṇībhadrapura. Maṇībhadra's image from Parkham was also being worshipped as Jakhaiyā when it was brought to notice by Cunningham. A fair in his honour was held on every Sunday in the month of Māgha.

Pūrṇabhadra

His name signifies abundance and auspiciousness and literary works have described both his worship and mythology. He seems to be as old as Maṇībhadra, but certainly not as popular, although both of them have been often mentioned together. A serpent of the name of Pūrṇabhadra is also known. In the Matsya Purāṇa (Ch. 180), he is represented as chief of Yaksas engaged in cruel and violent pursuits, particular to their creed. His son is Harikeśa, who is different in nature from his father. Some other texts offer clues to Pūrṇabhadra's family in which Maṇībhadra appears in different roles. The Vāyu Purāṇa (p. 277) refers to Maṇībhadra and Devajani as his parents who have twenty-eight other sons. In the Mahāmāyā, on the other hand, Maṇībhadra and Pūrṇabhadra appear as brothers. Pūrṇabhadra's wives are Tārā and Uttamā. But he is known to have had only one son, Harikeśa. Other sons of this Yakshe are unknown so far. The Bhāratkathā Ślokasamgraha contains a story connecting him with a Bhadravatī Yaksini. Incidentally, the story also presents this Yakshe as an attendant of Kubera, a status in which again he is similar to Maṇībhadra. In the work we have Bhadravatī who sat on the lap of Kubera and inadvertently hit Kubera with a cuirul. As she was engaged in thinking about some elephant when this act happened, Kubera cursed her to be converted into an elephant herself. Pūrṇabhadra, who was also in attendance on Kubera, heard the curse and conveyed the same to her. Thereupon, he also was cursed for having shown her sympathy. They were restored to their forms and status only when Kubera remembered them again later.

As regards the worship of this Yakshe, it seems to have flourished even before the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. The Pūrṇabhadra-vaitikā, 'followers of Pūrṇabhadra,' are mentioned along with those of Vāsudeva and Baladeva, whose cult is as old as Pāṇini.

The most detailed account of the shrine of Pūrṇabhadra Yakshe comes from the Jain works. There he is represented as one of the chief Yaksas. His shrine was established at Cambā. A full description of his ceiya, 'shrine,' based on the Antagadadasa, is as follows:

14Ibid., p. 68.
15This information came to us through Prof. K.D. Baijai.
16ASR, XX, p. 40.
17Nīh., I.31.12, Purnadātshira.
18cf. also MMK, I.17.
19supra, Chapter iv; Skanda Purāṇa, IV.32.10-11 describes Pūrṇabhadra as mahānāma.
20Skanda Purāṇa, IV.32.7, refers to Pūrṇabhadra as son of Ratnabhadra (equivalent to Maṇībhadra, Manī-Rama); in the Devi Bhāgavata, XII.10.90, Pūrṇabhadra is one of the senapatis of Kubera. In the Gilgit MSS, I, p. 49 Pūrṇabhadra is regarded as son of Maṇībhadra. cf. also MMK, I.17.43.
21TP, VI.42-43. The Skanda Purāṇa, IV.32. mentions Kanakakunḍala as Pūrṇabhadra's wife.
22Ibid., 309ff.
23Mahāniddesa, pp. 89, 92.
24Agrawala, V.S., Pāṇini, p. 359ff.
25supra, Chapter 3.
26Vīpāka Sūtra, p. 3; Aṣṭapāṭikā Sūtra, su. 3-5; Antagadadasa, p. 61; Vividhāvibhakalpa, pp. 65-66.
His sanctuary, ‘ceiyá,’ is described as being of ancient origin (ceiśati and porána) and it was decorated with umbrellas, banners, bells, flags upon flags and brushes of peacock-feathers, loma-hattasa.³ It had many daises⁵ which were decorated with coloured handprints in gośrṣha sandal, fresh red sandal and dardara sandal. These platforms were also coated with cow-dung. The caitya contained many ritual pitchers. On (?) beside or above its doorways were ritual jars (vandaraghāde) and well-fashioned arches (torame). The caitya was decorated and littered with the festoons of fresh flowers and smell of Kalaguru, Kundurukka and Turukka.

Then comes the description of the visitors to the sanctuary. They included actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, jumpers, reciters, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers, picture-showmen.⁸ The worshippers and the benefits of worship are also described in the text. It is said that many people visited this shrine which was worthy of prayers and worship through various means. The shrine was auspicious, ‘devaṇi’ and ‘ceiyā,’⁴ and granted wishes.⁹ It is also mentioned that the shrine was situated in the midst of a park called Amraśīlavaṇa and it had in the centre a big and beautiful Atoka tree. Beneath it there was, “somewhat close to its trunk,” a large dais of earthen blocks (pudhavītālā pattae).⁶ The tree itself was decorated with eight auspicious symbols, flags of different colours, bells, fly-whisks and bunches.⁷ The pudhavītālā pattae has been described as black like collium, dark-blue like nilotpala; it was smooth, compact and polished like the surface of mirror; it was beautiful and decorated with carvings (bhitticītta) such as ihāmītta,⁸ bull, horse, naramakara, bird, serpent, kinnara, etc.

This graphic description of the sanctuary of Pārābhadrā near Campā to the minutest detail still leaves some points unanswered; for instance, the nature of the shrine, whether it was structural or non-structural, and secondly, the right significance of the prithvisālāpattas and what it stood for. It has been suggested that probably one or more Śūtras describing the shrine are missing.⁹ But that hardly seems possible as this appears to be the stock description of the Jain ceiya, found in different Jain texts such as the Antagadadasān, the Aupapātika Śūtra and the Rāyapatanapātikā (Śūtra 14) and the like. It is difficult to assume that a lapse on the part of one was not only accepted but also perpetuated in other works. From the description, it follows that the shrine was in the nature of a spacious compound within an enclosure, interspersed with torones; big enough to accommodate persons engaged in different sports and pastimes along with the genuine devotees who came for worship with their petition. In fact, as pointed out by Coomaraswamy,¹⁰ structural shrines of the age are known from the Jain works, particularly the

³Barnett, translates it as “brushes” and Coomaraswamy, I, p. 19 note 5, says that this translation “may be due to the translator’s preoccupation with Jain ideas.” Pali loma-hattaka means “with hair erect, . . . in fear, astonishment or joy. May not the suggestion be here simply ‘marvellous to behold’ rather than the designation of an object? or could Yak-tail fly-whisks . . . more appropriate in a Yaksha shrine have been meant?” Shah, U.P., Studies in Jain Art, p. 55, translates it as brushes of peacock-feathers.


⁵“Probably those who exhibited scrolls (yanapatta), illustrating the reward of good and bad actions,” Coomaraswamy, I, p. 20, note 3.

⁶Devayāni is “divine” and ceiyāni is “image,” according to the commentators; cf. Shah, U.P., Studies in Jain Art, p. 56.

⁷Aupapātika Śūtra, Śūtra 2 and 3.

⁸Ibid, Śūtra 3-5. This stūpaṭṭa has been described as iśīn khanḍasammalline. Abhayadeva, in his commentary, renders it as mānak śkoṇḍhāsamaṇa, which shows that it “rested on a platform, slightly reclining against the stem of the tree since it is said to rest on a stīhavāna,” Shah, U.P., Studies in Jainas Art, p. 68, note 3.

⁹Shah, U.P., op. cit., p. 68; a similar paṭṭa is described in the Avasyaka Śūtra, II.384, and in the Koharaya Koṣa, pp. 19ff. in connection with Vessamana’s ayatana at Gayā.

¹⁰Shah, U.P., op. cit., p. 68, Prīkāb according to Abhayadeva.

¹¹Ibid, p. 56, but on page 67 he says that this is, more or less, the “stock description of a caitya for all Jainas canons.”

¹²Yakṣa, I, pp. 21ff.
shrine of Yaksha Moggarapāpi of Rājagriha mentioned in the Antaṅgaṇaṭāsāha. Providing enclosures to the sacred spots was an ancient practice, and this was evidently followed in case of the Pūrṇabhadra caitya too.\(^1\)

His abode (harṣya, mandira) finds elaborate mention also in the Skanda Purāṇa.\(^2\) It is described there as consisting of courtyards paved with shining slabs (conḍadeśāḥ), windows decorated with pearls, multi-storeyed structures (ajīlāka) studded with diamonds, supported on similarly-built pillars. The walls of the palace were made of glittering crystals and above it fluttered the flags with their jewelled staffs. The palace echoed with tinklings of nipura and pleasing sounds produced by playful peacocks, doves, parrots, geese and beetles. The fragrance of camphor and Kālāguru was there. It also contained beautiful seats and beds in the tastefully decorated mandapaes hung with drapes; and the panels, showing monkeys picking or parrots nibbling fruits rendered it more beautiful. With all its abundance and splendour, the palace looked, it is said, like the second home of Lakṣmī.

The prithviśilāpattā mentioned in the Antaṅgaṇaṭāsāha, offers another knotty problem, but Shah’s interpretation of it appears to be reasonably convincing. He has given another reference from the Vasudevahaṅdi (pp. 85-88) which refers to a Manorama park in the Magadha Janapada which contained the stone-plaque of Jakkha Sumana placed under an Āsoka tree. This plaque was known as Sumana, and was worshipped by a person, Satya by name.\(^3\) The other beautiful śilā,\(^4\) representing Pūrṇabhadra was, according to Shah “placed under a tree reclining a little (ṭīrṇam) against its stem and deposited on a simhasana...”\(^5\) The paṭṭa “rested on a Simhāsana not vertically but horizontally, either slightly raised at the end near the tree or with its one end probably thrust into stem by scraping the latter’s surface, which was possibly the meaning conveyed by ṭīrṇa khana-samālinā.” Such practice in worship is borne out by the evidence of the early art of Bharhut, Amaravati, Bodhagaya and Mathura.\(^6\) It has also been suggested by Shah that the carvings on the śilāpattā were decorative. ‘In the centre might have been the figure of a Yaksha or any spirit or symbol.’ To assume the carving of the figure of Yaksha on the plaque is not warranted by evidence. No image of Yaksha has been discovered so far that may go back to pre-Buddhist antiquity. The plaque in itself might have symbolised Yaksha Pūrṇabhadra and the decoration on it may have been there to lend it an artistic effect. In any case, although the commentators do not explain the significance of prithviśilāpattā, the interpretation of Shah appears plausible. In the Satyāyuta Nikāya, we have tanikhta-mahāko, ‘tam-shaped holystead,’ of Yaksha Susiloma, which is described as his bhāranāra, ‘abode.’ And its analogy with the prithviśilāpattā does not seem to be remote. It has also been suggested by Shah that the śilāpattā was of N.B.P. (Northern-Black-Polished) ware and he compared it with some such N.B.P. paṭṭas excavated from Kauśāmbi and Vaiśāla.\(^7\) If, however, this suggestion is accepted antiquity of the tradition of Pūrṇabhadra’s worship may easily be taken back to about 550 BC. As regards the later limits of the period of his worship, the clue is supplied by the Nispannayogāvali of Abhayaśāraka Gupta (p. 63). In the text, Pūrṇabhadra is regarded as one of the eight Yaksha Kings.\(^8\) He is conceived as holding (like Jamabhala), citrus and mongoose in the right and left hands respectively. His colour is regarded as blue. Clark\(^9\) has referred to an illustration of Pūrṇabhadra in the Chinese collection, under the deity’s name.

\(^1\)Ibid, p. 22f; HIIA, p. 67, note 2, where Coomaraswamy says, “most of the Yaksha-caitya... may have been sacred trees.”
\(^2\)IIV, 32, 13-25.
\(^3\)Shah, U.P., Studies in Jaina Art, p. 66.
\(^4\)Abhayadeva has described that the śilā was inlaid with pearls along its borders. Shah, op. cit., p. 69. note 2.
\(^5\)Ibid, p. 69.
\(^6\)Shah, U.P., op. cit, p. 69; Coomaraswamy, I, pp. 18ff.
\(^7\)Shah, U.P., op. cit., p. 71.
\(^8\)Supra, Chapter 4.
Yaksha-Worship

Temple and Sanctuaries

The tradition of Yaksha temples is fairly old, going back to the time of the Rgveda (IV.3.13) where Yaksha-sadana finds mention. As in the beginning, Yaksha was also designated Brahma and on this analogy, Brahmapura may stand for Yakshapura. Generally speaking, the Yaksha-abodes have been connected with different terrestrial and celestial regions. It appears that the worship of Yakshas might have been carried out at his natural habitats, such as mountains, rivers, trees, forests, tanks, houses, gates, and other consecrated spots such as shrines which were specially established for Yaksha worship. The Mahavarni (XXXVII.40) refers to the practice of erecting thupa, stupa, at the Yakshasthana. These abodes, which were evidently places of worship, have been variously known as Prasada, koshthaka (Arthaśāstra, II.4.17), veima (Mbh., V.193.31), bhavan (Mbh., V.192.20), harnya (Skanda Purana, IV.32.15), devakulika (Pradhanavali, I.83) caityay and jakhâyayana. Certain words, such as ayatan, devagriha or devakula usually denoted any temple, including those of Yakshas. The word caitya is of special importance in this group of words. It is applied to "all edifices bearing the character of sacred monuments . . . but not all caityas are edifices." The tradition of worship also is very old, and can be traced back to the period of Sutras. As the principal cults of India had not developed by that time and as most of the deities mentioned in the Sutras are popular ones, it is possible that some caityas might have been devoted to Yakshas.

A typology of Yaksha abodes can be evolved on the basis of their different places of habitat. The copious references to the Yaksha-shrines might not necessarily mean structured temples in all cases.

Yaksha-Sanctuaries

Celestial
Terrestrial: Structured: Temples

1. ACSI, introduction, IX-X.
2. IV, 154, for a Yaksha of a dunghill.
4. DAS, II.521 refers to the habitat of Yaksha Sārandha as in yaksha nivāsanāsthana and caitya, that was converted into a vihāra. For the literature on Cātya, see Shah, U.P., Studies in Jain Art, pp. 43-55; Pandi Hansaraja Shastri, Cātyavāda Sāṃkṣāra (Hindi) Ambala, VS 2007; Dikshitar, V.R.R., IHQ, XIV, no. 3, pp. 440-452.
5. YCP, S., II, p. 16; The Sādhanaamālā, II.562-63 refers to a Yaksha-saktao-ashṭadala padmikara, over which eight Yakshas with their consorts were to be shown.
7. DHH, introduction, IX-X, op. cit., p. 70 and note.
Semi-structured: Platforms
Gates

un-structured: Arbored
or
Mountainous

Natural
Aquatic

Celestial Abodes

Usually, Yakshas are represented as terrestrial demi-gods, but those inhabiting the celestial regions are also known. Their habitat is antariksha, 'sky,' in the Nrisihhatapiniya Up. (I.2). In the epics, they were found present in the heavenly assemblies of Kubera and Brahma. According to the Jain tradition, they inhabited the vyantara region of heaven, hence their designation as vyantara devatā. In the Buddhist works, their abodes are described as ākāsattha, aerial.¹

Terrestrial Sanctuaries

The cult personality of Yakshas is magnified mainly through their terrestrial abodes which establish them pre-eminently as the spirits of nature. The copious references to the cātuyas assigned to them in the heterodox literature³ lead us to conclude that quite often such hallowed spots developed into centres of worship. This sanctity was sometimes self-acquired but usually it was accorded by the human worshippers who consecrated Yakshas at particular spots. Hāriti is said to have obtained worship in the Buddhist monasteries because the Buddha so ordained. In the same manner, Pandukabhaya is said to have installed Cetiya, Kālavala, Cittarāja and another Yakshī at places like royal precincts, eastern side of the city, lower end of the Abhayā tank and the South gate of the city respectively.⁴ In the Agni Purāṇa, the temples of Yakshas are assigned to the northern sector of the city.⁵ Consecrations notwithstanding, some Yakshas shifted to more agreeable spots, as is found in the case of Kālī Yakkhī. She was established on the rafter of a householder’s hut, but finding that place uncomfortable she was lodged 'successively to the flail hut, the water-chatty, the bake-house, the store-room for nimbus, the dust heap and the village-gate.' She found peace only when lodged at a quiet place where she lived happily and discharged her benevolent functions.⁶

As regards the self-acquired sanctuaries of Yakshas, it is likely that some might have developed into tīrthas, sacred places. The Mahābhārata⁷ refers to the ‘famous’ Yakshini-tīrtha at Kurukshetra which might be the same as the one dedicated to Ulākhala Meckhali of the Vāmanā Purāṇa.⁷ The Kaubera-tīrtha also finds mention there.⁸ A ford on the mahāvāhukā-gangā described as Yakka-Sākara-tīrtha is also known.⁹ That such places had an enormous flow of worshippers is proved by the vivid description of the Punnabhadda cātuyā at Cañhipā.¹⁰ The Kathāsārīt-sāgara¹¹ however indicates that some deserted places were appropriated by these beings, as was done by Yakshini Śringotpādini in occupying a deserted Śiva temple where she carried out her cannibalistic exploits.

¹Vv. A, p. 134; R, V.1.167, refers to antariksha as the habitat of Yaksha; R, V.57.1, mentions them figuratively as ‘lotus in the sea that was sky.’
²supra, Chapter 3.
³Mbh., V, IX, X; cf. also Coomaraswamy, I, pp. 24ff; Gūgita MSS, III (1), p. XVIII, also pp. 15ff.
⁵Dh. A, I. 174ff.
⁶III.81.7; cf. also Mbh., III.81.42—tīrthas of Arantu a on Saraswati.
⁷supra, Chapter 3.
⁸supra, Chapter 4.
⁹Cullavamsa, LXXII.21, Transl., I.321. note 1 (Geiger, W., PTS, 2 vols.)
¹⁰supra, Chapter 4.
¹¹III.86ff.
Structured Temples

One of early notice of a temple is found in the Mahābhārata in the case of Yaksha Sthūnākarna. His temple-veśma—is described there as—coloured and washed-sudhāmrītakalepanam—decorated with different types of garlands and wreaths, garments and flags which hung in the midst of fragrant odours of incense. This shrine was built of high walls—prākāra, gateways—torana, and enclosures vītāna, and had plenty of drinks and dainties particularly lājikā, pop-corn.\(^1\) The temple of Ājāvaka, built by the prince and the citizens of Ājāvā is graphically described in the Buddhist texts. It was situated at a distance of thirty leagues from Sāvatthi, yet near Vessavanā shrine in the propinquity of Himalayas.\(^2\) Provided with walls, gates and gopuraṁ, covered with a kaṁsajāla,\(^3\) it stood on the ground—bhumaṭṭham, near a banyan tree and was known variously as suvarṇa-vimāna, rajatamoli-vimāna and itṭhāgāra.\(^4\) A shrine of Sākyavardhana, the tutelary Yaksha of the Sākyas is described in the Divyāvadāna\(^5\) as devakula where different deities fell at the feet of the newly-born Bodhisattva in obeisance. Naradeva Yaksha's bhavana along with its mangala-paryanka, seat, finds mention elsewhere.\(^6\) Jain literature also refers to certain Yaksha temples like those of Sūlapāṇi at Ashthikagrama;\(^7\) Śankha at Śankhapura and Surapiya at Śaketa.\(^8\) Maṣṭhūnās temple is mentioned as having inner chambers, doors and gates, which would point to its being a big edifice.\(^9\) Usually, these shrines were outside towns, and were situated in gardens. The Kathākōta provides the instance of Śankha's temple which stood at an isolated place within the access of wild elephants. It is interesting to note that the Gujarati commentators have consistently explained the word Jakkhaṅgayana as āyati thānak deha, 'little domed temple,' which is relevant to their shape.\(^10\) The evidence of early art and coins supports this explanations. The reliefs of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati present such structures in a variety of forms. A shrine with barrel-shaped dome provided with finials, arched windows and railing, pillars and enclosures is known from Bharhut.\(^11\) A similar barrel-roofed structure is known from Sanchi.\(^12\) A simple domed-structure with a railing-enclosure also appears there.\(^13\) At Amaravati, a several-storeyed shrine has a barrel roof, and is provided with a series of rich windows and railings.\(^14\) In these different cases, they are provided with stone-dais, decorated with palms, covered with flowers, etc.;\(^15\) and these are encountered in the reliefs. Moti Chandra has identified in them the Yaksha temple forms.\(^16\) In the Punch-marked and tribal coins of ancient India also, some types of domed structures are encountered, some of which may represent prototypes of ancient Yaksha temples.\(^17\) Structural temple architecture was at an advanced stage by the time of the Kushāna period, and the reference, in many cases, to Yaksha images may by natural

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\(^{1}\) Mbh., V.192.21; 193.31-32.

\(^{2}\) Sn A, 1.220.240.

\(^{3}\) ibid, I, 222.

\(^{4}\) ibid, I, 228, 226.

\(^{5}\) ibid, p. 391.

\(^{6}\) Bu A, p. 265.

\(^{7}\) Av S, 1.268.

\(^{8}\) Kathākōta, pp. 71ff.

\(^{9}\) Av S, I, p. 101.

\(^{10}\) Kathā, I,662.


\(^{12}\) Bharus, B.M., Bharhut, III.XLI.37.

\(^{13}\) Marshall, Monuments of Sanchi, Pl. XVIIIb.

\(^{14}\) ibid, Pl. XXXIVa.

\(^{15}\) Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures, Pl. XV, 1.

\(^{16}\) Moti Chandra, BPWM, 3, pp. 48ff.

\(^{17}\) ibid, p. 50.

\(^{18}\) Allan, J., Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Pl. XV, pp. 122-24; Pl. XIV, coin no. 15; Pl. XV, coin nos. 1 to 11; Trigarta Coins, Introduction CXXXIX, Pl. 29. Coin no. 10; for Punch-Marked Coins, ibid, pp. X, XXIII, XXIV, LIX.
inference, indicate the existence of their temples also. Of particular importance among such temples is that of Ambikā Yakshiṇī, situated six miles south-west of Satna on the Sinduriya hills. It is known as Patiyān dār temple. It is a small structure (6½' × 1½' × 7½'), having a flat roof, but complete in all its parts. It contains the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā along with some Tīrthankaras on the torana. The main image has been removed to the Allahabad Museum. The evidence from south India also indicates the existence of certain main or subsidiary temples of Jain Yakshiṇīs. In some cases, the epigraphs refer to Yaksha's images, indirectly showing their worship, presumably in temples. An epigraph dated the Saka era 792 (AD 870) refers to the renewal of the images of Yakshīs at Tiruvaiyur in Palni taluk in Tamilnad. Another epigraph of the 19th regnal year of the Rāṣṭrakūta King Krishna III (dated c. 957 AD), records the gift of a lamp to the Yaksha by a servant of the queen of Krishna. These epigraphs point strongly, to the existence of Yaksha temples.

Just as reference to the icons provides presumably, evidence for the existence of temples, in the same way, the temples also may indicate the existence of images of the Yakshas. The temples with images are known in the cases of Cittā, Moggarapārī, Umbaradatta, Śobhana and Surapriya. Temple without icons also seem to have existed, where the paintings of Yakshas or Yakshiṇīs might have served the purpose of worship in place of the icons. A Yakshi-yojnaśilā, probably 'temple,' is mentioned in the Brihatkathā Ślokasaṁgraha, where the painted image of Yakshi Sukumārīkā was worshipped by the Prince Manohara. Several prescriptions for drawing figures of Yakshīs are known from the Mañjuśrinālakalpa and the Jayākhyā Sainhītā.

Semi-Structured Sanctuaries

All the Yakshas did not have their independent temples. Sometimes they obtained abodes in platforms or gates which, for classification's sake, we may describe as semi-structural sanctuaries. The use of a platform in Yaksha symbolism is exemplified particularly by Pūṇabhaddha of Cāmpa, Sumana of Manorama park at Magadha, and Kubera at Gayā. Puṇabhaddha's shrine had probably a walled enclosure provided with gates, but the place of worship was, in all probability, a śilā decorated with gems and pearls, perched over a simhāsana, 'lion seat.' A sumanaśilā is also known from the Vasudevalīnī and has been described earlier. These evidently refer to the worship-platforms. In the Saunyuttī Nātaka, the bhavamanī of Saucīloma is mentioned as

1Coomaraswamy, 1, p. 17f. for different types of temples cf. HILA, Figs. 42, 43, 45, 62, 69, 70, 142, of these the first three refer to Bhārutt; no. 62 represents the Bódhigaya plaque; nos. 69 and 70 refer a shrine type from a Mathura stone relief; no. 142 a shrine type from Jāmagāpta; fig. no. 70 shows a shrine with gate, inside two jars and a cāitya arch with a śikhara composed of four horizontal tiers.
2Cunningham, Reports, no. 9; Niraj Jain, Anekantā, Vol. 15, no. 4, p. 177f.
3cf. Desai, P.B. Jainism in South India, pp. 39, 47, 173 (for a shrine dedicated to Jvālānālī at Edehāli in Kadur District, and another to the same deity at Navalgund and Javur in Mysore.
4ibid, p. 61.
5ibid, p. 43.
6US, XII, p. 50 and note.
7Malalasekara, DPPN, sv. Cittaraja-2.
8Amagadalamū, p. 86.
9Vip. S, I, 7, p. 79.
10Pārisiṣṭhaparvāṇa, Canio, 2, story 8, p. xlii; also ix for the source of this story. Although a statue is meant here, the temple has not been mentioned specifically.
12pp. 555ff.
13Chapter 28, 109ff, p. 324; Chapter 26, 77-85, pp. 294ff.
14supra, Chapter 4.
15Kahārayaṇakosā, pp. 19ff.
16supra, Chapter 4.
17supra, Chapter 4.
tāhākita-mancō which according to the *Suttanipāta* commentary (1.301), denotes a long slab of rock resting on four upright rocks.¹ This abode also appears to be a platform-like structure.

That the platforms, presented as objects of worship, are known from the early art of Bharhut and Sanchi, and that such objects may have been worshipped, is also upheld by different scholars. It has been said that the “essential element of a Yaksha holystead is a stone slab or altar placed beneath the tree sacred to Yakshas.”² In the early bas-reliefs, the following variations of these may be noted.³

1. Stone slab on brick-platforms under trees (Barua, *Bharhut*, Pl. XX, 16 and 16a).
2. A platform like a solid mass of stone with carving towards the front, containing garland and leaf-motifs.⁴ (Barua, Pl. XXXV, 28).
3. Four-legged stool under a tree. (Barua, Pl. XXXVI, 30).
4. Stone-slab in the form of a chair under a tree fenced with a stone-railing (Barua, Pl. XLVI. 46; XLVII, 47; XLVIII, 48).
5. A stone slab with an umbrella (Barua, Pl. LI. 56).

Similar types of platforms are noticed also from the bas-reliefs of Mathura. The Jain *āyāga-patras,*⁵ “tablets of homage,” have been regarded as a “further stage in the development of the ancient Yaksha-sthānas appropriated by the Jainas in the early centuries of the Christian era.”⁶ It is probable that these pedestals and platforms were accepted in the Buddhist worship, from the Yaksha sanctuaries.

Another class of semi-structural sanctuaries of Yaksha consisted of gates, rafters, and the like. In the *Jātakas*, mention is found of the spirits living on the portals of the gate.⁷ Sometimes sacrifices were made for the consecration of the gate, so that the presiding deity of the town may lived there.⁸ A Yaksha, living on the city gate, is mentioned in the *Suṭana-Jātaka.*⁹ In the Tibetan-sources, a reference is found to a gatekeeper of *Vesāli,* of Buddha-Bhūbisāra time, who was reborn as a Yaksha after his death. A bell was hung round his neck, and he was established on the gate of the city. He agreed to ring the bell in the event of any impending danger in the people of Vesāli.¹⁰ A Yaksha, Madhusugandha, has also been referred to by Coomaraswamy; this Yaksha lived on a gate ‘Jivaka’ and protected people.¹¹ Thus, this type of abode seems to have been one of the favourites of Yakshas. This was also an accepted fact as may be seen in the monuments of ancient times, and scores of instances are available in art, showing Yakshas guarding the gates of *stūpas* at Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura and Amaravati. Kubera, Suciloma, Supavāsa, Gāghito, etc., are shown on the different gates of Bharhut, standing on their vāhana, “mounts,” in *namaskāra-mudrā,* as if they were fulfilling the duty of guarding the sacred monument. At Sanchi, particularly on the Western gate of the main Stupa [Fig. 55], the capitals on

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¹ *Kindred Savings*, I, p. 264 note 3.
² Coomaraswamy, I, p. 17; such *Yaksha-sthānas* are known today as *ṭāna* ‘places’ and are held in respect by the village-folk. cf. Agrawala, V.S., *Bīra Baranaka* (Hindi), *Jānapada*, I, 3, pp. 67ff. Such places are abodes of Bīra or Yaksha and contain conical symbols representing them.
⁴ The description by Moti Chandra is different, cf. *BPWM*, p. 48.
⁵ For the explanation of these cf. Agrawala, V.S., “Mathura Ayagapatas,” *JUPH*, XVI, 1, pp. 58-61.
⁸ *Tākkariya Jātaka*, IV.155.
⁹ J, III-201-203, no. 398. Before being controlled, this Yaksha used to live in a tree.
¹⁰ Coomaraswamy, I, p. 144; cf. also II *Addenda*, p. 8.
¹¹ Ibid, p. 7 citing Peri; *BEFEO*, XVII, iii, p. 12.
the pillars supporting architraves contain the prominent and powerful images of dwarf Yakshas in the act of supporting the edifice on their upraised hands. Mathura has also provided a large number of railing pillars with male-figures, some of which may stand for Yakshas. The function of Yakshas as guardians inhabiting gates or houses etc. was a popular feature, and this was brought into the service of different sects to whose gods these different monuments were dedicated.

Non-Structured Sanctuaries

The natural abodes of the Yakshas were situated on ‘trees, rivers, hills and charming groves' or in ‘waterless and savage woods full of tigers and apes' or on trees, mountains, caves and solitary places rendered dangerous ‘owing to their denizens'. The most numerous instances regarding their habitats pertain to trees and, as Coomaraswamy has suggested, “most of the Yakkhā—Cetiyas referred to in the Buddhist and Jain literature may have been sacred trees’.

Tree-worship in itself was an ancient institution, its antiquity going back to the Indus Valley Civilisation. In the Vedic literature, too, different trees have been mentioned as objects of worship. In the Buddhist and Jain texts, Yakshas are often mentioned as inhabiting trees and forests. Mahēśvara Yaksha had his habitat in a Gosirsha Candana forest. In the Udana Commentary, a Yaksha, Kunḍa, inhabiting a forest named as Kunḍadhānavana after him, is mentioned. A city was built there by the Koliyas, and was named Kunḍiya. Yaksha temples were usually set in gardens containing different species of trees, although the banyan tree is particularly assigned to them. In the Jātakas, many Yaksha-legends are connected with the forests which indicate that their cult arose from woods-faring merchants. As creatures of wilds and forests, they were often called rukkhadevata, tree gods, or bhūmimadevata, earth-gods. They had great liking for trees like Aśoka, Saptacchanda, Cāñhipaka and Āmra which surrounded their abodes. Serissaka Yaksha derived his name from the Serisa tree (Albizia lebbeck) which stood near his abode. Yakshas, associated with the trees like Kadamba (Anantocephalus Indicus), Āmra (Mangifer Indica), Aśvattha and Tīnduga, are also known. In the Kathāśārītūgāra it is said,

1 Agrawala, V.S., Mathura Museum Catalogue, nos. 1.25, 44, 56, 60, 67, 68, F. 10; also 117; 200, 1268. In them, the figures are shown wearing different types of dresses, standing sometimes under trees, holding lotus or other flowers,
2 Kathās., IX.12.
3 bid., I.7.
4 NK, II.38, p. 47, Tv. S., IV.12, p. 201, refers to mountains, caves, forests and other solitary places as the haunts of yakshas.
5 HIIA, p. 47; M. Bh. Sānti Parva, 69.39-40 has the term caitya for trees, cf. also Hopkins, E.W., Epic Myth, pp. 6f.
6 TVS, III.4.8.4.; Chāndogya Upanishad, VI.11.
7 cf. āramadevatā, vanadevatā, Sringādevatā, Gilgit MSS, III (1) 130.
8 Divyavadāna, p. 41; Deep forest as habitats of Yaksha, cf. Mbh., V.192.20.
9 cf. DPPN, sv. Kundadhānavana.
10 Antag., p. 6 refers to thirtythree species of trees besides Aśoka tree in the caitya-narrative; cf. also Kahāra-yogakāśa, pp. 14ff, for the Yaksha image in the garden of Kullāgopura-vanagāra.
11 VP, Ch. 69, p. 277; TVS, IV.12 describes a flag containing vata ensign as Yaksha’s cognizance; Kathās., I.7.
12 J, III.20ff.
13 J, I.23ff; I.119ff; III.132ff; V.237.
14 J, III.201; PV, II.9; Sometimes rukkhadevatā is not specifically a Yakkhā, cf. J, I.259.
15 Pr. A, p. 55.
16 TP, IV.63-64; cf. Kathās., V.179, for tree abode of Yaksha, also Kathākośa, p. 126.
17 DA, III.814.
18 Sīhāḷaṭha Sīkṣa, VIII.850.
19 J, II.271ff; IV.205ff; cf. Śalabhaṭṭhīkā under the mango tree at Sanchi, Stūpa II, East Gate, Randhawa, M.S., The Cult of Tree Worship, fig. 25-26.
20 Kathās., II.98; II.231; V.125.
that the land of king Susheuñya was filled with heaps of gold by the help of Yakshis who had transformed themselves into trees.\(^1\) The Rukkhadhamma Jātaka records how the tree-spirits chose their arboreal abodes in a Sāla forest. After the death of the first king Vessavana, a new Vessavana was installed in the office. He sent word to all trees, shrubs, bushes and plants bidding the tree-fairies each to choose the abodes which suited them best, which was carried out by them.\(^2\) These references exemplify the animistic beliefs which were deeply permeated in the Yaksha cult.\(^3\) In the literature as well as in the art of India, Yakshas have often been represented as residing in trees, and it has been suggested by Chanda that the cult of tree-worship arose in Eastern India.\(^4\) But the early evidence of the Vedic literature in this regard does not seem to support this suggestion.\(^5\) In connexion with Yakshas, however, it may be assumed that the arboreal abodes of these deities must have found worship. The Mahāvaṁsa, for instance, refers to a Yakkhī residing in a tree, and a temple provided with viñña, shade, has been mentioned with her arboreal abode.\(^6\)

Various representations of Yakshas with trees are known in Indian art. There are certain reliefs at Bharhut\(^7\) and other places depicting the tree-deities as offering dainties to human-beings. Yakshas inhabited trees, and offered gifts to human-beings. This idea is indicated at least in the first two of the following reliefs. The rest among the following reliefs do not seem to have any Yaksha affiliation although some scholars have tried to find it there.

1. A relief with an inscription—'jābu Naḍode pavaate,' shows a tree from which issue two human hands, one holding a bowl and the other pouring water from a pitcher into the hands of a man seated below. Cunningham thought that the scene had no connection with the label, and said that a tree-spirit is shown giving food and drink to a devotee.\(^8\) Barua, on the other hand, felt that it could be identified either with Sambūla or Vessantara Jātaka'.\(^9\) Lüders has rejected all these identifications, and has translated the inscription as 'The rose-apple tree on Mount Naḍoda.' The tree in the relief is Jambū.\(^10\)

2. Another similar scene has been reported by Cunningham,\(^11\) which shows a holy tree with an altar beneath it and a standing human-figure in front. Another altar has also been shown in the scene. The man, with projected hand, is receiving a water vessel (kamaṇḍalu) and a plate from the two hands of the tree-spirit.

3. Cunningham has reported another relief from Bharhut, bearing the inscription in two lines:

\(\text{"(B) aluhathika Āsana (Bhaga) vato Mahādevasa"} \) ‘The seat of the lord Mahādeva under the Bahuhaustika.'\(^12\) Mahādeva has been regarded as a inscriber’s mistake for Makhādeva, a Yaksha, known from the Sūtana Jātaka.\(^13\) The story of the Jātaka is of a king of Banaras who was saved from being devoured by the Yaksha Makhādeva due to the intelligent help of Sūtana. The Yaksha had earlier inhabited a tree but was later given a settlement at the city gate. Lüders.

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\(^1\) Kathas., III.25. \\
\(^2\) J. I.182; Kathas., I.9 tells of Kanabhūti who looked like sāla tree in stature. He was a Piśāca, but originally a servant of Kubera. \\
\(^3\) cf. Tylor, Primitive Culture, II, pp. 196ff. \\
\(^4\) MASI, no. 30, p. 7. \\
\(^5\) cf. Macdonell, A.A., Vedic Mythology, p. 154. \\
\(^6\) Mh. V, VII.12, 28. \\
\(^7\) There are various scenes representing Tree-worship at Bharhut cf. Bharhut pieces in Calcutta Museum, nos. C. 29, C. 50, C. 56; also Barua and Sinha, Bharhut Inscriptions, p. 90. \\
\(^8\) Cunningham, Stupa of Bharhut, p. 131, no. 19, pl. XLVIII, fig. 11. \\
\(^9\) Barua, B.M., Bharhut, II, p. 162; cf. also Chanda, R.P., MASI, 30, p. 6. \\
\(^10\) And Plate; Coomaraswamy, JRAS, 1928, p. 393 for its connection with the story of Dh. A, i, 27ff. \\
\(^11\) CIJ, II. ii, p. 170ff. \\
\(^12\) Mahābodhi, p. 13, Pl. VIII, no. 4. \\
\(^13\) Lüders, Ep. Ind., X. Appendix, no. 907; cf. also Chanda, R.P., MASI, 30, p. 6. For another such relief showing six elephants worshipping an altar under a banyan tree, inscribed as Bahuhatthika Nigodh Nadode in two lines, cf. Cunningham, Stupa of Bharhut, p. 135, no. 44. Pl. XV, fig. 3. \\
\(^14\) J., III.201ff.
however, has deciphered the inscription as—\(\text{(B)a}ghuhathi\text{ka} \text{\'{a}sana (bhago) vato Mah\'{a}devasa}\)'. R.P. Chanda's suggestion about the reference to Yaksha Makhâdeva of Sutatā Jātaka was rejected by Lüders who says that the title bhagavāna by 'Buddhists... seems to have been given only to the Buddha.'

4. A scene identified with Dhonasakha Jātaka\(^2\) was also carved on a Bharhat bas-relief, but it is now missing. The label reads—(...) Naḍodapade dhenačhako—'Trim-boughed banyan tree at the foot of Mt. Naḍoda.'\(^3\) The story of the Jātaka quoted above, relates to the act of killing one thousand princes by a king of Banaras who was later killed by a Yaksha. Lüders has rendered the inscription on the label as 'The dhenačhaka (?) at the foot of (Mount) Naḍoda.'\(^4\) Barua's reading, according to him, is obscure and other variants of dhona such as yona, dona, or venâ—are found in the Burmese and Ceylonese MSS. of the Dhonasakha Jātaka, Lüders was inclined to take dhenačhaka as a misprint for dhemenachaka in the label, and thus he suggested that the reading may be 'dhenâtsakha, 'the cow-well,' i.e. a well which yielded milk like a cow,' but, as Lüders himself has said, 'in absence of the sculpture all conjectures are equally futile.'

At Amaravati also some fragmentary sculptures containing the Yakshas of trees have been encountered. One such relief\(^5\) shows a human-face on a tree-trunk. Another fragmentary sculpture 'shows a head and an upper part of a structure with the top-portion of a tree and probably a heap of coins arranged in cylindrical form in the background. The inscription in Brāhmī script of the 2nd or 1st century BC gives out the identity of Yaksha as 'Candramukha... of Yakula tree.'\(^6\) In the Mathura School of art, a number of Yaksha and Yakshini figures on railing pillars are shown standing under the Aśoka, Campaka, Nāgakesara and Kadamba trees. Various motifs have been identified in them, such as Aśoka-dohada, 'pregnancy or the desire of Aśoka tree' and instances of male or female figures are found standing under the trees, for example, J. 7 (Rishyasringa under the mango tree); J. 9, 15, 33 etc., for the male figures, and J. 9, 17, 20, 26, 55 (Aśoka-dohada), 57 and 58 etc., for the female figures. These railing-pillars belong to the Kushāna period. In the Śunga period also at Bharhat, Candrā Yakshi\(^7\) and Cukulokâ devatâ\(^8\) are shown standing under the tree. In the art of Nāgarjunakonda\(^9\) is found a beautiful Yakshi, standing on a lion-makara mount under an Aśoka tree. Her right hand touches the arm of the left hand in which a bunch of the leaves and flowers of the tree are shown. Her right foot is firmly put on the back of the mount, while the left is upraised and kept on the trunk of the tree at the back. The time of the figure appears to be 2nd century AD. Such motifs were the precursors of the Śālākhānjikā motif which became a firm favourite in the art of different ages. Another expression of tree-worship in art was the tree motif within railing. This motif has been found on the early Punch-marked and tribal coins.\(^10\)

In early art, the tree-in-railing motif is found at Bhaja cave. Many dhvaja-stambha, 'flag-staffs,' representing different trees are known, but one such large sculpture from Besnagar\(^11\) representing a kalpavriksha is of special importance. This kalpavriksha represents the banyan tree enclosed by a railing, exuding bags and vases overflowing with coins. A conch shell and a lotus flower similarly exuding coins are shown in this sculpture. Coomaraswamy identified in them the two nīdhis

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1. CH, p. 180 also note 3 (no. B 81, pl. XXIII).
5. Banerjea, J.N., DHI, p. 341, pl. VIII, fig. 5.
10. Ram Chandra Rao, P.N., The art of Nagarjunakonda, Madras, 1956, pl. XXXVI; Randhava, M.S., The Cult of Trees, pp. 43ff, fig. 43; cf. also ASI, AR, 1935-36 pl. XXX, o, d, e, for three similar figures.
12. HIIA, pl. IV, fig. 10; Randhava, op. cit., fig. 3.
of Kubera. Banerjea has suggested that this might have been capital of a column erected before some shrine of Kubera. The sculpture is dated generally as belonging to the 2nd century BC. There are various representations of trees, and their worship by human beings or animals in the early art; but the instances here have been limited only to those representations which can be connected with the Yakshas.

It is quite probable that just as they inhabited trees, the Yakshas may have dwelt in bushes, bowers and the like. In fact, some ancient images of Yakshas, when found, were being worshipped under the trees, and this supports the claim of bowers as a settlement for Yakshas.

In the popular belief the spirits are visualised as being capable of entering anything anywhere. In the Buddhist linguistic usage such spirits were known as naivaksā which word originally denoted a monk who settled in a residence. Gradually it came to acquire a use in the sense of 'local genius.' Yakshas in the sense of naivaksā of lakes and mountains are also known. The Himalayan region is their regular abode in the epics and Purāṇas where they inhabit several mountains viz., Kailāsa, Arishṭa, Gandhamādana, Mandara and Śvetagiri. In the Śaiva Purāṇa Yakshas are said to have inhabited the Mt. Jatudhi. The Buddhist texts also mention several Yakshas and their mountainous abodes. Among them, mention may be made of Sātāgiri of Sātā mountain, Hemavata of Himavā, Jutindhara of Udumbara, Cetiya of Dhūmarakka, Jayasena of Āḍiṇābudda, Haritā and Panḍaka of the Himalayas, Indaka of Indakūta and Kumbhāra of Vepulla mountain, the last two being the hills outside Rājagaha. As the spirits of nature, Yakshas are connected with the lakes, sea and waters. The Jātakas often refer to them as coming into contact with the sea-faring merchants. Yakshas had their sport in the lakes and were born in water. The Mahābhārata tells about the merit of living by the side of tanks because they were supposed to be the abode of demi-gods like Yakshas, capable of fulfilling human wishes. The primeval Yaksha has been conceived as lying on waters.

1Yakṣas, II, p. 72, pl. 1.
2DH, p. 104; Banerjea also suggests the temple of Śrī as an alternative, ibid, p. 105.
3The image of a seated Yakshi, Siddhāyikā, from Shambhurata in the Pudukkottai State, cf. Desai, P.B., Jainism in South India, p. 95.
4The spirit-belief is one of the most primitive forms of religion and this belief finds abundant expression in the Jātakas in which various types of spirits are mentioned, such as those residing in gateways, I.100; umbrella, IV.3; guarding town, IV.155, 237-8; guarding king, III.4, VI. 138; dwelling in trees, V.182, 253, IV.97.294; or sea, IV.100ff; II.302: II.78; or river, II.288ff.
5Bailey, H.W., BSOAS, XIX (1957), p. 50.
6Mbh., III.140.10ff; II.10.
7Ibid, XII.2.17; R., IV.40.22; V.1 to 15.
8R, V.56.35, when this mountain pressed down due to Hanumān's weight, Yaksha moved away.
9Mbh., III.155.36ff.
10Mbh., III.140.4ff.
11Ch. 41, p. 132.
12DPPN, sv.
13Ibid, sv.
14Mbh, V, 289.
15Mbh, V, X. 53. The text describes her abode as great pot full with rising smoke.
16DPPN, sv.
17Mbh, V, XII.21.
18R, VII.1.206.
19P, II.257.
20J, II.89ff; III.11 where Manimekhala a sea-deity is a Yakkhi; J. I.110 refers to a yakshininaagara set amongst the islands. cf. also DPPN, Sv. Vijaya, I.
21R, IV.39.41.
23Mbh., XIII.99.8ff.
24supra, Chapter 2.
With the lakes and rivers are also connected the different Yakshas. They had their sport in the lakes and were born in water. The primeval Yaksha has been conceived as lying on waters. In many cases the Yaksha sanctuaries were on the banks of water. Reference has already been made to the Yaksha Citta, who was given a settlement on the banks of the Abhaya tank by Paññākēhayā Yaksha Suciśoma’s sanctuary too was probably near the bank of Gāṅgā, hence his threat to the Buddha to throw him across the river. In the case of the Yaksha Umbaradatta, it seems that his sanctuary was near the ghat of some river, for Gangadatta is said to have taken a bath before starting on her elaborate worship of the image of this Yaksha.

As regards the location of these different types of sanctuaries, they were generally situated outside the precincts of the city, on the boundaries. In the Jain works, the different Caityas are mentioned as situated towards the north-east of the cities. In the Samyuktavāstu, Yaksha Sāta and his son Sātagiri are represented as living outside the city of Rājagriha and protecting the king, ascetics, Brāhmaṇas, the poor, orphans and merchants. Owing to their presence, the inhabitants felt secure, and no famine visited the city. In the Mahābharata also, Macakrūka is indicated as a guardian settled on the boundaries of Śamantapāṇcaka and Kurukshetra. However, certain exceptions to this general belief about the Yaksha sanctuaries being established outside the town, are found; for instance, the Arthasastra prescribes that the apartment containing Kubera’s statue was to be made inside the northern quarter of the city. Similarly Paññākēhayā is said to have established the habitat of Cetiya within the precincts of the palace itself.

THE MODERNS OF YAKSHA-WORSHIP

The Yaksha cult had a popular appeal and included in its fold a cross-section of society irrespective of the class, caste, profession or creed of its votaries. The Brāhmaṇas, princes, traders, commoners and tribals belonging to different religious sects affirmed their belief in Yakshas by worshipping them time and again and receiving favours from them in return. Probably for this fellowship in a persuasion they have often been classed together and castigated. The Bhagavad-gītā says that only persons governed by the quality of rajas quality, and not the sattva or tamas qualities, worshipped Yakshas. The Maitrāyani Sūtra (VII. 8) is more vituperative in its attack, proclaiming that those who claimed control over Yakshas and wished to live among the seers should be avoided; they have been branded as ‘thieves’—prakāśabhadhā vai te taskarāh. A similar criticism is reflected in the Gilgit MSS, where the worshippers of Yakshas are denounced as persons disposed to backbiting, cruelty and evil-doing. In the Laliṭavistara it is said that the persons who had Yaksha, Rākṣasa and Kurābhagha as their protectors were not liberated from their

1 R, IV.39.41; Mahābh., XIII. 99.8f., for the merit of living on the bank of tanks because they are full of Yakshas and the other demi-gods.
3 GB, I.1.; also Silāśyā prātiḥke, AV, X.7.98.; Setumārītra tīṣṭhānta, Mahābh., III.297.20.
4 S, I.207.
5 Vīp. S. p. 86; cf. also J, VI.83 for Yaksha in water.
6 Cooraraswamy, II, addenda, p. 7.
7 III.81.178; III.81.7; IX.52.20.
8 III.4.17.
9 vante, p. 89.
10 Kathas, V.125; II.98f., AV, S, I.268 refers to Indra-sarmā who was the priest of Śilapāṇi Yaksha.
11 J, nos. 513, 537.
12 Dh. A, p. 321; Kathākātā, 1f.; NK, II.49f.
13 Aṭṭika, p. 43 (ed. Modi); Kathākāta, p. 74f.
14 cf. Shah, U.P., JOI, III (1) p. 59 and notes. In the Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. 41, p. 131, the Mleccha tribes are described as living at the places where Yakshas had permanent abodes.
15 XVI.12.
16 Gilgit MSS, I.13.
existence early. 1 The Yāṣastilaka of Somadeva lists certain customs designated as mudhās 'stupid customs and beliefs'—which were repugnant to Jainism; Yaksha-worship finds mention there. 2 However the Jain monks were enticed to partake in the bālī, sacrifice, to Yakshas and be defiled. 3 The Jain texts have warned the monks from taking the food touched by wicked persons or offered to gods and Yakshas. 4

In spite of such discouragement, the worship of Yakshas grew and braved the obstructions in its stride. Any attempt on the part of worshippers to bypass it was apparently disliked by Yakshas. The Kathāsvaritādāra preserves the instance of the Vidyādhari Vegavati who could not marry the prince Naravaihanadatta because she did not fulfill her promise of sacrifice to a Yaksha; when later she married the prince, she arranged a feast in honour of the Yaksha and offered him wine, flesh and dainties amidst the clang of cymbals and music. All the dainties were prepared by Vegavati herself. The story incidentally indicates that a Yaksha could be instrumental in bringing about a desired marriage. 5 The Skanda Purāṇa confirms the omni-competence of Yaksha. It is said that the Yaksha Harikesa drove out undesirable persons from Kāśi; the persons desirous of living in Kāśi had first do obeisance to him before doing the same to Śiva. 6

The worship of Yaksha is closely allied to the concepts of these inclinations and pursuits. On the basis of these, certain modes or categories of worship e.g., "Universal", "Restricted" and "Alternative," have been worked out in the following pages.

A sect-wise typology of the modes is not possible owing to the broad similarities in this regard found in the ancient religious scheme. This incidentally confirms the popular base of the Yaksha cult. There is hardly any concept in it of the akhiṣṭā of the Jains or the Buddhists; also philosophical concepts about Yakshas, particularly in the later times, are conspicuous by their absence. On the other hand, Yakshas were well-disposed towards certain pleasures and their devotees offered them these in order to win their favour. Yakshas were called Sūmanasa because they gladdened the hearts. 7 Fragrance attracted them and their habitats were usually fragrant with heavenly perfumes of jasmine and lotus-flowers. 8 A particular scent designated as Yaksha-Kardamana 9 is known, but not approved owing to its Yaksha-association. 10 Yakshas liked flowers of different hues such as red, and white. 11 Both honey and spirituous liquors were relished by them. 12 Dances, songs and music were pleasing to them. Bharata has said that a particular instrumental melody—mārgasārūta—pleased Yakshas. 13 Kubera kept the company of great melodists like Turbhur and Nārada. 14 His daughters were skilled dancers and singers, and in their accomplishments they were equal only to each other. It is said that a competition was held on the banks of Anotatta to decide their comparative superiority, and Latā came out as a winner. 15

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1p. 66, also p. 54.
2cf. Handiqui, K.K., Yāṣastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 253, also note 5.
3Irbid., ff. 244, 284 note 3.
5Kathās, VIII.24; cf. also Coomaraswamy, A.K., I, p. 10.
6Skanda Purāṇa, IV.32.156-76.
7Mbh., XIII.101.35ff; They provided all comforts to humans; cf. PV, IV, 11, p. 66.
8f. Gandhāmānātha, Bhb., III.155.36ff; 157.34ff; II.10.6ff; PV, IV, 1.18.
9Amarakoṣa, II.6.34; it was made of a mixture of camphor, aguru and musk. cf. also Mbh., XIII.101.7ff; Amarakoṣa, I.6.29 refers to five types of Yaksha dhūpa, viz., Yaksha-dhūpa, parjñāra, arāja, sarvarasa and bahūraṇa.
10BSS, XIX.140, p. 297.
11Mbh., XIII.101.35ff; 101.59.
12Ibid., XIII.101.60.
13Natyaśāstra, V.47; V.20.
14Mbh., III.156.25.
15Vṛ., III.1ff; Vṛ. A, pp. 131ff. In the Natyaśāstra, it is said that Nāṭya came into being to relieve people from obsession with Yakshas.
No wonder that dance and music played an important part in Yaksha worship also. The great crowd at the Puṇṇabhadda shrine at Cañcāpa is described as having included musicians, jugglers, dancers, etc.\(^1\) It is quite likely that the devotional trance, a form of possession, might have been an implicit article of this faith; hence probably the emphasis on dancing and singing in relation to Yakshas.

The belief in such temperamental inclinations and skills of Yakshas probably influenced and ramified the ritualistic shades of Yaksha worship which will be discussed now according to the scheme envisaged earlier.

**Universal**

Certain ceremonial observances of formal nature that were generally followed in the worship of any Yaksha may be termed as representing the universal mode of worship. In this connection it is found that Yakshas received both collective and individual adoration. The Yaksha temples attracted ‘large gatherings’\(^2\) which suggest festivals that might have been arranged at such spots. The practice of holding festivals on the spots hallowed by Yakshas was widely prevalent. Such festivals were known as Jākkhamaka;\(^3\) those in the honour of Vessamana were known as Vessamanamahā. It appears from the Antogadadasa\(^4\) that during such festivals the jesters, jugglers, rope-walkers, musicians and the like must have contributed to the enjoyment of the assembly.

The Acārānga Sūtra\(^5\) prohibits monks from accepting food at such festivals; which suggests that during such occasions food was offered to Yakshas and their devotees. It is also likely that these offerings may have been non-vegetarian in nature; hence the prohibition on the Jain monks. A Jātaka\(^6\) refers to “strewn fish and meat around courtyards, streets and other places” and the “making of great pots of strong drinks” in connexion with Yaksha-worship, which confirms the nature of those offerings. Some instances provide reasons for holding such festivals. Jātaka\(^7\) refers to the celebration of the Kārtika festival, marking the start of the sowing season, in the presence (of an image?) of Yakkha Cittā-rāja. Apparently, this Yaksha must have been regarded as a promoter of crops. Elsewhere, Serissaka Yakkha is promised a festival in his honour by the traders of Campa for his help in showing the right way to them when they got stranded in a desert while going to Sindhū-Sovīra.\(^8\) The Mahābhārata\(^9\) refers to one such gathering in the Bhandiravana of Mathura, where worship was offered to a nyagrodha, banyan tree. Nyagrodha trees were regular habitats of Yakshas, such arboreal habitats or the other types must have enjoyed incessant worship. Even the Buddha had to accept this practice and he is found counselling the Vajjis not to let their caityas fall into disrepute.\(^10\)

Several instances of individual worship of Yakshas are also known. In the Dhonāsākha Jātaka,\(^11\) we have a king offering elaborate sacrifice to a tree deity. The grim aspect of such sacrifice displeases a Yaksha, who appears to be against such ‘blood-and-flesh’ offerings. The Vasudevaṁiṇḍi refers to a man Satya who stood in the Kayotsarga mudrā for one night in front of a platform representing Sumana Yaksha to please him.\(^12\) The Vipāka Sūtra\(^13\) has the instance of Umbaradatta

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\(^1\) supra, Chapter 4.

\(^2\) Kathās, I.162; Kathākola, pp. 71ff; cf. supra, p. 215 (Puraṇabhadda Caitya).

\(^3\) NK, I.25.

\(^4\) pp. 61ff.

\(^5\) SBE, XXII, I, p. 92.

\(^6\) J, I.255.

\(^7\) J, II.254.

\(^8\) IV, VII.10; VVA, 331ff.

\(^9\) II, Appendix I, 21.785, P 15: A nyagrodha tree near Bhandira on the bank of Yamunā river is mentioned in the Jātaka, VI.87. The Ar S, I.275, also refers to the Bhandira vata.

\(^10\) Mahāpārśvanāma Sūtra, SBE, XI, ch. 1, p. 4.

\(^11\) J, III.105ff.


\(^13\) p. 86.
Yaksha whose image was cleaned with a tuft of wool, sprinkled with water and dried, applied with scent, dressed and decorated with costly flowers and garments. All this was done by a trader's wife in order to obtain a child from him. The examples of such individual worship are quite numerous, and they indicate that often this type of worship promoted the practice of accepting Yakshas as tutelary deities of a particular family or community. An essential part of devotional adoration lies in the offerings that are made to the deity. The offerings to Yakshas comprised of flowers, incense (particularly aguru), meat and wine, a dish consisting of mixed and cooked cereals, fruits and water, rice, fish, flour-cakes either cooked or uncooked, fragrant things, beverages and different types of wreaths and garments. It must be remembered that these objects did not please every Yaksha; some Yakshas, for instance, did not like meat. But in any case the practice of offering them such dainties represented a regular feature.

In the Antagadadasa, it is said that prayers were offered at the Punjabhadda caitya where meetings were held for worship, veneration, celebration, offering largesse and hommage. The Commentary by Abhayadeva on this passage explains the significance of these words, explications that worship was done by means of incense, celebration by means of hymns, veneration by prostration, offerings by gifts of flowers and largesse by gifts of garments. Although the day or time of worship was a matter of personal choice, certain days like cattuthi, ashthami, amavasya and purim, had special sanctity. Ajuna, the florist performed daily-worship of his tutelary Yaksha, and his day began only after he had paid reverence to the Yaksha by falling upon his knees before the deity.

Restricted

This mode of worship was restricted to the followers of tantric tradition, hence the above title. Yakshini or Yaksha sādīna has often been mentioned in the literary works of ancient times, and it refers to different modes through which a Yaksha or Yakshi could be brought under control to satisfy the worshipper. This mode is directly connected with the concept of control, different from the concept of grace regarding these demi-gods. And the antiquity of this concept goes back to the Vedic period. In the Jātakas witch-doctors are mentioned who could know and identify Yakshas. The Padakusalamanāvā Jātaka humorously refers to such a devil-doctor, who mistook for a Yakshi a woman who was hiding inside a cave. He uttered a spell and entered the cave and declared that the woman was a Yakshi. In the Guhyasamajajantara, the Manjūśrimalakalpa and the Jayakhya Sainhitā, the modes of controlling the different Yakshas and Yakshinis are described. In comparison with Yakshas, their female counterparts figure more prominently in these works. It is said that after the completion of rites, the Yakshinis appeared as mother, sister or wife and fulfilled the wishes of their devotees. Yakshas were also controlled by certain

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2Mbh., XIII.101.40; cf. Antag., p. 86 for gift of chiefest and best flowers to Yaksha.
3ibid. XIII.101.60; Kalhas., VI.118; BSS, XIII.3-5.
4J., III.96; Yakshinis eating fowls and dogs and enticing human beings by their beauty for ultimately devouring them also find mention cf., J., I.326; In the Kh. K., (17) pp. 126f. reference has been made to a Yaksha-shrine near the Vindhyas where Kapelika Jnānakāranda sacrificed to Yaksha four goats bathed and be sprinkled with casulata.
5Manu, XI.96.
6Antag., p. 3, note 6.
7NK, IX.88; Pipātaniryūkti, p. 82.
8Antag., p. 86; cf. also NK, IX.5, p. 88f.
9Sūtra, Chapter 2.
10J., III.304.
11Jayakhya Sainhitā, p. 295; MMK, II.293; III.720, in this passage it is said that the devotee attracts the Yakshi, by living on bhikshā for three months and offering sūgula and chanting mantras 8000 times for the same period. On completion of the rites she appears before the devotee as mother, sister, or friend and gives him nectar which produces long life and strength like that of Yakshas.
rituals. The Mañjuśrīmālakalpa² prescribes oblations for three months, consisting of wood of banyan tree, curd, clarified butter, honey and rice; at the conclusion of such rites, Kubera and a host of other Yakshas appeared and granted the wishes of the devotee by giving him nectar or transporting him to the desired place.

A stock mode, followed in such worship, is described in the Jayākhyā Samhitā³ under the title of Yakshini-sādhana. It describes drawing the picture of the Yakshini on a kausāya cloth, depicting different ornaments. She should be offered incense, guggula, etc., at midnight for a week. On the seventh day, she would appear through the cloth amid the chanting of charms. The devotee should not be afraid of her. The Yakshini could satisfy the wish of the devotee. The vañkarana (control) of Yakshi could be obtained by offerings of wood of banyan tree, curd, honey, ghee,⁴ or kumkum, juice of dhaturā, arakākṣira, lākharasa and mrigamada.⁵ A list of many Yakshins who could be satisfied and controlled by these ways is found in the different Tantric works such as Mañjuśrīmālakalpa and the Bhūtādāmaratana.⁶ The latter refers to Surasundari, Manohārini, Kanakamati, Kāmeśvarī, Ratipriyā, Padmāni, Naṭi and Anurāgini.

One of the essential parts of the Tantric mode of Yakshi-worship lay in drawing her figure on a pāṭa. The Mañjuśrīmālakalpa indicates different types of objects for drawing portraits of Yakshinis, such as painting on a wooden panel for Naṭī; pāṭa for Tamasundari, wooden-panel, silk or wall for Guhaśwāmini; silk for Naravirā, showing her resting against the Aśoka tree; birch-bark for Yakshakumārikā, who should be shown holding a citron in the right hand and a branch of the Aśoka tree in the other. On the other hand, rites inside a manḍala, ‘magical circle,’ for Bhatta, and in a hut under Aśoka tree for Manojñā have also been suggested.⁷ The chanting of their respective controlling mantra was also essential for the different Yakshinis. For attaining control over Naṭī, the devotee subsisted on milk or meat; for Tamasundari, the devotee applied oil to his body and washed his hands and feet on the ultimate day of attaining her. The incense and priyangu flowers offered in the fire made of special catachu wood, have been suggested for the oblation. These different Yakshinis satisfied the devotees by bestowing upon them, immortality, nectar, riches in dinars, food and clothing.⁸ They also provided sexual enjoyment to their devotees.⁹ The Yakshinis were also invoked for the normal birth of child.¹⁰

The tradition of controlling Yakshinis has continued till recent times.¹¹ The Karpūramajjari,¹² refers to a Siddha—kāpālika who had the power of controlling Yakshis; he could drag any Yakshi of his choice to the place of his choosing. There was nothing on earth which was impossible

¹Vanakṣavārī, II.13, 51-53, 76f.
²I.293-94, III.689; cf. also Sūdhanā, II.560f, where chanting of mantras for 8 Yakshinis and Jambhala are prescribed which obtain for the devotee kingship or wealth.
³XXVI.77f.
⁴Vanakṣavārī, II.51-53: The Guptadāhana Tantra, edited and translated by B.P. Misra, Venkatashwar Press, Bombay, Saka 1831, describes a Dhanadadevi with Kubera as her rishi. It is said that the latter became lord of riches by worshipping her; cf. pp. 57ff.
⁵Vanakṣavārī, I.20-21.
⁶A MSS, of this name in the collection of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, quoted in the Jayākhyā Samhitā, Introduction p. 29 no. 2.
⁷I.565ff; cf. also Moti Chandra, BPWM, 3, pp. 53ff.
⁸Vanakṣavārī, II.13 for a similar circle with an image.
⁹Vanakṣavārī, II.293; Vanakṣavārī, IV.39, p. 113.
¹⁰Vanakṣavārī, III.686; ibid. II.313 refers to Bhuputrikā’s worship for getting daughters.
¹¹The Saraswati Bhavana Library of Varanasi, contains certain manuscripts, where rituals and rites for pleasing different Yakshinis are described. These manuscripts—such as, Yakshaśāmarin (MSS. no. 24489), Yakshīnkalpa (nos. 25376 and 26353), Yakshaśāmarin Vidhi (no. 25718) and Yakshīnpragāyūgah (nos. 25288 and 25364)—indicate the currency of the tradition of Tantric-worship till recent times. Cf. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., VI, Varanasi, 1960.
for him, this the Kāpālika claimed before a king. The Kathakośa¹ contains the story of a merchant Dhanada from whom fortune had turned its face away. But by no less a personality than a Jina who was his spiritual preceptor, he was told of a charm to win the Yaksha Kapardin. Ultimately, one night in the middle of the fortnight, when he was worshipping with this charm, the Yaksha appeared before him and demanded worship, which was refused. This act proved the steadfastness of Dhanada’s devotion towards the Jina and, as a reward, his wealth was restored to him by the Yaksha. The Kathāsaritsāgara³ refers to the uncle of Śrīdatta who had brought a Yakshi under subjection by means of magic, and obtained five thousand horses and seventy million gold pieces from her. The same work at another place refers to the story of Madanamañjarī, as it was told to Vikramādiya.⁴ She was the wife of Manibhadra, and she used to roam about happily with her husband, on the banks of river or hills and in charming groves. A Kāpālika was charmed by her beauty and tried to win her by a spell and offerings put in fire. When the charm started working, she could not be saved even by Brahmā. The Kāpālika continued to attract her by offering oblations in the fire near a cemetery, and drew her by muttering spells while sitting in a circle with a corpse lying there. The Yakshiṇī felt tormented by the charm and she was drawn along by the power of the spell. Before accepting her, the Kāpālika had to go to a tank to rinse his mouth, where he was killed by a Vetaḷa sent there by Vikramādiya. The story shows that Yakshiṇīs could be controlled even against their wishes; hence an elaborate system of rites and rituals for winning them over. The invisible Yakshiṇīs could be apprehended by using a special type of collyrium.⁴

Alternative

Besides the above, certain other modes are also noticed, which may conveniently be classified in reference to the vegetarian or non-vegetarian Yakshas. Yakshas were pleased by the offerings of goat and rams, and did not appreciate their discontinuance. When a Bodhisattva declared himself against such sacrifice, they made an abortive attempt to kill him.⁵ Meat accompanied with drinks was offered to Yakshas according to the Mānava Grihya Sūtra.⁶ It depended on the men to satisfy the Yaksha’s demands for human flesh. In the Mahāvamsa a Yakshiṇī is mentioned as asking the Prince Vijaya for the favour of human sacrifice. She however, was promised a festival in her honour.⁷ The Mahāsutasaṃa Jātaka⁸ refers to the elaborate process of the sacrifice of human beings, which was promised to a tree-nymph if she healed the wound of a king of Banaras. The king said to the deity, that he would bathe the trunk of the tree “with blood from the throats of 101 princes and would hang the tree with their inwards and offer up a sacrifice of five sweet kinds of flesh.”⁹ The wound of the king was healed and, in fulfilment of the promise, he hanged the princes with a cord from the tree; they revolved, suspended from the tree, “like withered wreaths of flower in the basket.”¹⁰ In the Dhonasākha Jātaka,¹¹ another king, desiring victory in a battle, promised the sacrifice of a thousand kings by putting out their eyes, ripping open their bellies and rimming the circumference of the tree, filling it with blood five inches deep. In the case of Mahāsutasaṃa Jātaka, the sacrifice was offered after the attainment of the wish, while in the case of the Dhonasākha Jātaka, it was offered in anticipation of fulfilment.

¹pp. 1ff.
²I.118.
³Kathā, IX.12ff also pp. 29, 31, 35.
⁴Jayākhya Sāarihāta, p. 323f.
⁵no. 347; III.96.
⁶II.14.28.
⁷Mbh. V. VII. 20; AV.S, I. 101, for cannibalistic sacrifices to Surapriya Yaksha; a man of the same name finds mention in the Kh. K, p. 261.
⁸J, V. 258.
⁹Jātaka, V. 257.
¹⁰Ibid., p. 258. The sacrifice could not come off because of the intervention of another Yaksha.
¹¹Jātaka, III. 106ff. The sacrifice could not come off as the king was killed by a Yaksha.
This type of worship was prevalent, but probably it was not much appreciated. It failed to come off in at least two instances quoted above. Such customs were deprecated, and Yakshas were sometimes forced to give up their cannibalistic habits. Some Yakshas, however, preferred vegetarian type of offerings which are discussed here. In the Nātyaśāstra, a sacrifice of lājikā, ‘paddy,’ and apāpa ‘sweet bread fried in ghee,’ is suggested for Kubera and his attendants. Abstention from taking meat was regarded as merit-earning for human-beings. The Yaśastilaka records the story of a Cāṇḍāla, who was reborn as the chief of Yakshas due to the merit acquired by not taking meat.⁴

The universal, restricted and alternative modes of Yaksha worship exemplify the wide variety in practice. Yakshas were believed to be capable of procuring for human beings almost everything of earthly pleasure. Their grace was invoked for attaining material prosperity, well-being, and the efforts to please them took many forms.

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¹III.45, p. 29 (Part I).
²Handiqui, K.K., op. cit., p. 419ff.
Yaksha-Iconography

Texts

In the realm of art, Yakshas have occupied an important status through ages, and their images or different types of representations have been found throughout India. Most common are their independent images, but they also figure in different scenes, or in the form of decorative motifs such as atlantes, sources of lotus or flower rhizomes, Śalabhaṇḍikās, or animal-headed devils, the Gaṇas, Kirtimukhas or grotesque figures. These indicate that in the process of gradually fading out, the Yaksha motif transformed itself into many shapes. Literary references to the Yaksha images or their aniconic symbols are also abundant. The practice of installing Kubera's images is known from the Arthasastra of Kautilya and from Pāṇini. The different Jain works refer to the images of Surañjana, Surapriya, Umbaradatta, Moggarapāṇi, Šobhana and Manibhadra. The image of Moggarapāṇi was made of wood, and it is said that the mace in its hand weighed one thousand palas. The Buddhist works refer to the images of the Yakshas, Śākyavardhana and Citta. References to the worship of Yaksha images are found also in the mediaeval works. Amongst them, the Kathasaritsāgara refers to a ruffianly gambler of Ujjaini, who once saw the images of Yakshas trembling due to charms and spells. A painting of a Yakshi is described in the Brihatkathā-ālokasāṅgraha. It is said that prince Manohara went to a Yakshi yajñaśāla; there he saw a Yakshi painting which was extremely expressive and appeared as if it were moving or speaking. He worshipped her with flowers and incense; and grew passionate, and pulled off her garments, at which she came out from the painted frame. In the Pādatāṅkakam, it is said, that Yakshas looked beautiful not in reality but only in paintings. Various Yaksha themes are known from art too. In many cases, however, Yakshas were represented in aniconic form. Yaksha Pūrṇabhadra in the Aupapātiśastra and the Antagaddaśāna is a case in this connection. On several seals and coins a śankha, 'conch,' is shown, and the symbol may stand for Kubera. A seal, found at Basar, shows a śankha in outline and a humped bull; another seal, from the same place, shows a conch with the legend – Śri Dhanaḍasya—indicating that it represented the Śankha-nidhi of Kubera. The Yakshas may also have been represented in the form of hand-prints. Originally, these were probably meant for decorating the abodes of Yakshas. Pūrṇabhadra's shrine was decorated with hand-prints. The Palāsa Jñātaka (no. 307, III. 16) refers to palm-prints on the tree where the tree-spirit resided. In the Mathura region still the hand and sole impressions are made and worshipped as Jakhāiyā in whose honour various songs are sung. It appears that originally these impressions were made for decoration; but, in course of time,
they came to be identified with the Yakshas.³

The antiquity of image worship in India, as a non-Aryan institution, may go back to pre-Aryan phase.³ The Yaksha representations have been connected by Banerji-Shastry with the Mūrdeva of the Rigveda.² He derives the word mūrti, 'image,' from Mūras; and has suggested that the term could include the images of Yakshas also. However, Mūrdeva has been variously explained as 'those who believe in vain gods' (Wilson), or 'those who worshipped images which were lifeless' (A.C. Das).⁴

Image-worship grew during the later Vedic period, and the Sūtras refer to Isāna, Kshetrapāla, Mdhushī, Śri, and Dhanapati, whose images were to be worshipped.⁵ The popular gods find mention also in Patañjali,⁶ and Pāṇini refers to two types of artists, grāma-śilpin and Rājaśilpin,⁷ just as Patañjali refers to laukika and vaidika gods.⁸ The Mauryan Kings are known to have made sculptures for collecting gold,⁹ and these images may have included those of Yakshas also. Quintus Curtius has also preserved the information that the army of Porus carried an image of Hercules. Coomaraswamy had suggested that it could represent either Śiva or a Yaksha.¹⁰ All these traditions show that, by the times of Mauryan Kings, the Yaksha images had attained a wide popularity, which is proved also by the discovery of some Yaksha-images of the time.

The extant Yaksha images of different periods have presented various problems regarding their iconography, identification, epigraphy and date. These problems have manifested themselves more particularly in the case of the early images of Yaksha. The iconographic texts have not preserved much information on the Yaksha-iconography, evidently because they were composed at a time when Yakshas had ceased to have an independent status. Hemadri however, characterises Yakshas as 'pot-bellied, two-armed, holding nāḍhis in their hands and fierce (due to drunkenness). Their lord, according to him, holds a club.¹¹ Hemadri mentions Siddhartha, Maṇibhadra, Sumana, Nandana, Kanduti, Pañcaka, Śanka, Maṇimā, Padma, Rāmak etc., many of whom appear to be new names not found in the texts of different religious sects of India. Some more iconographic prescriptions about the Yakshas may be added here. The Mānasāra prescribes the following characteristics of the Yaksha images. It is said that they should be two-armed, two-eyed, huge-bodied, (Rākshasākara) and should be made according to the navatāla measurements. They should be shown wearing karanda crown and caranañābara, holding fly-whisk, standing, or seated with right foot straight and the left bent. Their colour is described as black or yellow, and they are mentioned as bhāragāth, carriers.¹² All the authorities do not agree regarding the navatāla measurement of the Yaksha figures. The Aparaṣṭataprīcchā¹³ prescribes six tāla for them, whereas the Bṛhamāṇa¹⁴ prescribes seven tāla. They are to be shown bigger than Gandharva, Pannaga, Naga, Rākshasa, and Vidyādhars, according to the Samāraṇ-

³For hand-impressions as decorative device; cf. Barua, Barhut, XLV.37.
¹²DHI, pp. 36 and 107ff.
³Banerji-Shastry, A.P., Iconism in India, IHQ, 12.
⁷Agrawala, V.S., JUPHS, X, Part 1, July, 1939, p. 64.
⁸Banerjee, J.N., DHI, p. 337.
⁹ibid., p. 338: Tāranāth also tells of the Yaksha artist employed by the Mauryas; cf. Healey, W.L., Indian Antiquity, IV. The Rūjatarangini (I.151, 159), tells of Kubera and his Gulyakas who helped Dāmodara II Maurya in building a long dam called Godavari.
¹⁰HIA, p. 42, note 5; cf. also Shastri, A.M., Hercules and the infantry of Porus, Journal of Indian History, April, 1964, pp. 119ff. He suggests that the image may represent a Dikpāla.
¹³225.15.
YAKSHA CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY

gana-Sūtradhāra. In the same work, they are also described as drunk. In the Pratīmā-Māna-Tilaka, the six-tala measure for children, senāpati, Vināyaka and Yakshas has been suggested.

Some of the Purāṇas also describe the iconographic features of Yaksha images. In the Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa, it is said that Nalakūbara should be shown holding a pot of jewels and having two fangs in the mouth; Manibhadra is described as having a form similar to that of Dhanada. It is said that he should not be provided with any sīvikā. The images of Naravāhana should be shown with his consort according to the Purāṇa. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, Yakshīśti should be shown as being served by Siddhas and Asuras, and having pitchers on both the sides of her image. On the torāṇa, it is said, that Deva and Dānava should also be shown.

In the Silparatna, a Nāgayaksha, holding a nāga, has been described. It is said that she should be shown with a coiffure like 'black-cloud,' and prominent breasts. She is bountiful, and visits trees near mountains or cities. She is described as beloved of the Nāgāraja. The Mānasūra says that Yakshas should be carved at different places, on the sinhasana, torāṇa, palaces, villages and lintels. As the demi-gods in the group of Vishnu's sculptures, they also figure along with their chief, Dhanada.

In other iconographic texts, there is hardly any information that may supplement the description above. Yakshas figure along with other demi-gods, as attendants of higher cult gods; only a passing reference is made to them. The Buddhist sadhanas and the Jain texts have also preserved the description of some of the Yakshas. In the Sādhanamālā and the Nīlīpanayogvārī, the eight lords of Yakshas have been described. The former work refers to a Yakhashaṭakatan Ashīganamūrta in which these eight lords along with Jambhala should be shown. In the text, Manibhadra, Vaiśravaṇa, Suhkendra and Calendra are described as yellow, Dhanada and Civa-kundali as red, Pūrṇabhadra as blue, and Keliśā as green. Yakshas were to be shown holding citrus and mongoose in their hands. Their Yakshīśṭi have also been described as eight in number, yellow in complexion, holding ears of corn in the right hand, with the left hand in the Varada mudrā. Sādhanamālā also recommends carving Yakshas with their respective Yakshīśṭi, embracing each other. These deities are important as they might stand for the characteristics of the images existing from earlier time. It may however, be pointed out that both citrus and mongoose are abundantly found in the images of Kubera belonging to the Kushāna period onwards. The corn and varada mudra are not common among the Yakshīśṭi images. The yab-yum pose, or for that matter, the Yaksha pair, with the exception of Hārti and Pāñcika, is not met with at all in the early period. There are certain texts dealing with the twenty-four Jain Yakshas and Yakshis. In such Digambara and Svetambara texts, however, their names or their order in

177.6ff. The Triloka Pratīnāpitī, IV.92f. mentions the height of Yaksha as being ten dhanas. 2Samarānganaśūtradhāra, 77.54. 3Chapter 13.95-109; cf. Bhattacharya, T.P., The Canons of Indian Art, p. 348. 4II.73.12-13. 5260, 268, 52 it says that temples of Yakshas should measure seven hastas. 6Chapter 25-67. 7Acharya, P.K., op. cit., p. 301. 8ibid., p. 306. 9ibid., p. 183. 10ibid., p. 45. 11ibid., p. 115. 12ibid., p. 197. 13supra., pp. 71-72. 14Sādhanamālā, pp. 562-63; for a different list, p. 561. 15supra., pp. 71-72. 16Sādhanamālā, pp. 561-63; A Yakshi Anopamā by name is described in the Gilgit MSS, I, p. 72. She was to be represented with the Buddha, wearing garland, a candrākāra, white garments and various ornaments, holding a pālma in one hand while the other hand was held in the abhaya mudrā. The work is earlier, and may offer a clue to the origin of the iconography of the later Yakshinis of the Vajrayāna Cult.
the serial of twenty-four names are not always the same. Sankalia says that by the time of the composition of the *Nirvīṇākolīka* (5th-9th century AD), the names of Yakshis had come to be accepted. However, in the different sources available, a uniformity in names is conspicuously absent. In the central Indian tradition, as preserved in the inscribed Yakshi images at Devgarh and in the Patyān Dai image of Ambika, the names are different from each other. The same is the case in the Digambara and Svetambara traditions. We have made an attempt to classify the iconographic details of these different Yakshas and Yakshis following *Aparājīta-prīchā*, *Rupamāṇḍana* and *Vāstusūra*. These details are included in Appendix II. It is clear from such details, that in the post-Gupta phase of art, Yaksha and Yakshis enriched the art-traditions of the Jains. In that scheme, the pantheon of these deities was quite large, and consisted of different hierarchical positions.

Yakshas were depicted in early art mainly in two forms—in round and in relief, which resolve themselves into two different classes with their separate evolution. The chronology of Yaksha images is a controversial point. Whatever observations have been made in this regard are based either on stylistic considerations or on feature-bound comparisons with other art forms in relief whose dates are more conclusively settled. Such studies have led to divergent views. Early Yaksha sculptures have come mainly from three regions, namely, Patna, Mathura and Vidisha. Among these, the Patna sculptures exhibit a better plastic diction compared to those in the other two places, probably because they were carved under the direct influence of Mauryan power. Scholars have generally regarded the Patna specimens as post-Mauryan because in style these are better-modelled figures than the others, and therefore, less archaic. In short, the aesthetic effect conveyed by different sculptures is more or less the main basis followed in the dating of early Yaksha and Yakshi sculptures; and the consensus appears to be in favour of regarding them as post-Mauryan. For the purpose of dating Yaksha sculptures, some phasing of plastic conventions is necessary; and Mauryan art provides the basis for it. The norms set by the Mauryas are seen in their massive animal figures and the pillars, and it seems that they found further expression in the form of similarly built Yaksha statues. In carving Yaksha images, artists were inspired by the Mauryan plastic diction as well as the hugeness of material form. Stylistically, because the two Patna statues and the Yakshi from Didarganj (Patna) are better modelled and show a superior realisation of anatomical details, equal only to the Mauryan animal figures, they can be regarded as Mauryan. The Mauryan polish on them supports this conclusion (even though objects of later origin with Mauryan polish are also known). These represent the Yaksha sculpture of the "first phase" in our scheme. Subsequent to this phase, Yaksha figures were carved on the railing-pillars of the Stūpas and such portrayals exhibit an altogether different convention in which the massive form and burtness of Yakshas was effectively mellowed. They now appear as subordinated divinities embellishing stūpas. The convention is not seen in the depiction of Yakshas before the time of the *Stupa* of Bharhut which is dated in second century BC. Stylistically, these figures form a class by themselves and may be regarded as belonging to the "Second Phase" in the scheme envisaged here.

The massive and awe-inspiring images of Yakshas continued to be carved during this phase.

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1 Sankalia, H.D., *Volume of Indian and Iranit Studies*, p. 336, note 5.
3 *supra*, pp. 49-50.
6 After the Sungas wrested power from the Mauryas, central India assumed greater political importance; Patna became unsafe, and art traditions must have dwindled there. If therefore, an independent art school existed at Patna, it could have existed only during the rule of the Mauryas. In the post-Mauryan phase of history and art, central India assumes a dominant role.
also and they too form a class of their own. In number they are not insignificant. The details of dress and ornaments of these two classes of Yaksha-figures compare well and establish them as contemporary to each other. In the relief-art, however, some innovation, marking an advance were introduced. Accordingly Yakshas no longer symbolized unharvested energy and strength. Their massiveness was blunted and mellowed to conform them to their newly-acquired role in the Buddhist perspective. The mode of carving them as tamed divinities soon became a convention.

The relief carvings of Yakshas have been reported from several places, and they everywhere emulate the Bharhut tradition of the subdued corpulence of these deities. As regards the other details, it is clear that now the stress was not so much on the personal attributes of Yakshas as on their subordinate status. In keeping with their secondary role, all the Yaksha figures in the Bharhut railings were portrayed as having their hands in the namaskāra mudrā with the sole exception of the Ajākālaka Yaksha.

The third phase of this iconic development of Yaksha figures is noticed in the Sānti Yakshas, which are of two distinct types; the dwarfed and grotesque type found in the case of atlantes figures on the West gate of Stūpa I, and the other type represented by the graceful figures of Yakshas on the western and northern gates of the same Stūpa. Both these convention were maintained during the Kushāṇa period. The atlantes figures of the Yaksha on the West gate of Sānti (Stūpa I), represent a transformation of the Yakshas' massiveness into a diminutive stature, consistent with their role as the popular deities accepted in the Buddhist creed. These, in their turn, encouraged the figures of dwarf Yakshas which are seen at Pītākha [Fig. 54] and Nāgarjñanakonda [Fig. 58]. This mannerism of style was adopted at Mathura also where the pot-bellied corpulent sculptures of Yakshas were carved in sitting postures [Fig. 63]. These, owing to their prominence, have been erroneously described as those of Kūbera. In the phase-study envisaged here, a progressive diminution of Yaksha's original massiveness can be easily noticed. These phases of development were interspersed with older conventions and therefore an incidence of the dominant conventions of one phase in the other cannot be ruled out. But this stylistic regimen helps in establishing at least the limits of the different idioms or mannerisms of art. In adherence to the scheme worked out here, the Yaksha sculptures can be classified into three major categories viz., Pre-Kushāṇa (two phases), Sātavāhana-Kushāṇa and Post-Kushāṇa.

The First Phase (Mauryan)

The tradition of carving out massive figures of Yakshas started at Pātaliputra, the Mauryan capital; and the two Patna Yakshas and the third—a Yakshini from Dīdarganj—are fine specimens of the Mauryan court art which inaugurated an art-convention of wide influence. These portly figures exhibit a superb realisation of the elemental force which reposed in the Yakshas. The Patna statues (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, nos. P. 1 and P. 2) were excavated by B. Hamilton in 1812 and were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by J. Tytler in 1821. In the beginning there was some controversy about their identification but Chanda conclusively identified them as Yakshas. The two statues are inscribed as (i) Bhage achacha-nī vī ka [P. 1, Fig. 26] and (ii) ya kha sa(?) rvata naṇidi [P. 2] according to Chanda. Agrawala identified them with Bhagavān Akṣhayanīvīkā and Servatranandā. No Yaksha in any text has been assigned these names, although Nandi and Vardhana as the two Yaksha of a certain Nandivardhana town


2) JDI, IV, pp. 47-84.

3) SIA, pp. 60, 119: O.C. Gangoly, Modern Review, October, 1919, pp. 419-24, identified them with the tutelary Yakshas of the city of Nandivardhana as mentioned in the Mahānāyuri; and Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 17 has accepted the suggestion cf. also his Yakṣas, I, p. 12.
find mention in the Mahāmāyūrī. The identification of the town is not certain either. The Yakshi from Didarganj is another Mauryan sculpture. She is profusely decked with ornaments, and is comparable only to the other two Yakshas of the same period. She holds a cauri, fly-whisk, in her right hand [Fig. 27, 28]. If local considerations are taken into account, the image may be identified with Hārtī. She finds mention as a Yakshiṇī of Rājagriha, one-time capital of the Magadha Janapada, and the popular tale of her spiteful nature leading to her encounter with the Buddha might have inspired artists to lend her a plastic form. The iconic attributes of Hārtī, associated with her late images are entirely absent in this image, but fly-whisk here illustrates her subdued nature. There is reason to believe that the Kushāṇas popularised her later images which may well have been derived from the representations of Pharo and Arodoksho and her original fierce form was dropped in favour of her more appealing role as a mother and as the consort of Pañcika.

Second Phase (Post Mauryan to 1st century BC)

The older tradition of carving colossal statues continued more vigorously during this phase. At the same time the relief-art also assumed prominence, and several Yaksha and Yakshiṇī figures carved on railing pillars have been found at Bharhut, Bodhagaya, Pauni, Moosanagar and Kausambi. Among the free-standing images, those of Maṇiprabha discovered at Parkham and Pawaya have already been discussed. Another Yaksha image was found at Besnagar with the attribute—a purse—held in the left hand. This attribute became the identifying symbol of Kubera in the Kushāṇa art of Mathura. But, prior to that time, it is consistently associated with Maṇiprabha, at least in two of his above images which, incidentally, are inscribed and therefore leave no doubt about their identity. In the Mathurā relief of Kubera, his distinctive feature is the nara-mount, not purse, and it is therefore likely that at a later stage Kubera assumed the attribute of Maṇiprabha just as he assumed another trait of the later vīṣṇu, Pārvatīmauli, i.e. with crown tilted towards left. This name occurs for Maṇiprabha in the Rāmāyaṇa (VII.15.10, 15). Later on, it is attributed to Kubera’s images according to the Brāhmatantra (LXVII.57). The image from Besnagar is impressive (ht. 12 ft.), and in the details of dress and ornaments and the general style, in treatment of plastic volume, it is akin to another Yakshiṇī image from the same site discovered the same year, 1952. The remarkable similarity in execution of these two images suggest that probably they were conceived by the same artist and were meant to be shown together as a free-standing pair, juxtaposed. If the Yakshi is Maṇiprabha, the Yakshi could be his consort. The texts supply the following names for that Yakshi vīṣṇu, Devajani, Kundā, Bahu-pūtā and Madanamahājārī. The image of the Yakshi is tastefully decked with ornaments. She holds a bunch of flowers in the right hand, and the branch of a mango tree, along with its fruits in the left hand. The Besnagar-Vidishā region has supplied two more Yakshī figures, one of which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and is well-preserved [Fig. 29, 30] but for her both hands being broken. When Cunningham discovered it, the figure was being wor-

1 Supra, XVII.
2 Regarding various suggestions about the probable age of this sculpture; cf. Smith, V. A., History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Revised by Kari Khadealwala, third ed., p. 20; Sivaramamurti, C., Indian Sculpture, also, Dhavalkar, M. K., Nagpur University Journal (Humanities), XVI, no. 2, pp. 216-23.
3 Supra, Ch. 4 also Coomaraswamy, I, p. 9; II addenda, p. 5.
4 Supra, pp. 74ff.
5 Agrawala, R.C., Lalit Kala 14, p. 48; Bajpai, K.D., JMPHS, II, p. 19.
7 Supra, pp. 81-82. Agrawala, R.C., op. cit., p. 47 associates her with “some form of Ambikā (?)”.
8 Agrawala, R.C., op. cit., p. 47, fn. 5, says the object in the right hand can not be a cauri, vajra or flowers. Bajpai, K.D., op. cit., p. 19, also reports image of a Yakshi from Chopera and a similar sculpture is mentioned by H.N., Dwivedi, Vikrama Smriti Grāhth (Hindi), Gwalior, vs 2000, p. 691.
9 cf. Majumdar, N.G., op. cit., p. 7, pl. II c and d.
shipped as Telin.1 A bust of a Yakshi with hands broken was first noticed by Bakshi,2 and it has since been preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The first two Yakshi images from Vidisha seem to be close to each other, from the point of view of ornaments and hair-style. The number and design of ornaments on the neck and bust are similar in them and their hair is interlocked at the back in dviveni, two braids. The third figure, i.e. the bust of a Yakshi, is different in respect of ornaments, although dviveni appears in it too.

Several other Yaksha images have come to light from the Mathura region and its vicinity namely, Palwal and Bharatpur. At least two such statues coming from Baroda3 and Noh4 and the third one—E. 9—of the Mathura Museum5 are very close to the Parkham Yaksha image their ornamentats, size and dress.6 In the Yaksha7 image from Noh, the legs and the left hand are broken. His right hand is raised up to shoulder in the abhaya mudra. He wears a torque and a heavy multistranded necklace whose strings are intertwined at the back and hang there, forming two thick round festoons. The number of these festoons in the Parkham and Baroda images is four.8 The other ornaments of the Noh Yaksha are sapatra-keyūra, and four bracelets. The dress consists of a dhoti reaching below the knees, and an udarabandha covering the middle of the torso, and tied at the left side; from here, the two ends of the bandha hang to the things, clinging there. These images measure a little more than eight feet. The Baroda bust of Yaksha, when complete, would have measured about twelve feet in height. In details, thus the Noh Yaksha is quite similar to the Parkham example and in the details of ornaments it is close to the Yaksha-bust of Baroda. Besides the Noh image, Bharatpur region is reported to have “about half a dozen Yaksha-Yakshi statues within a radius of nineteen miles.”9 Two such statues in the Bharatpur Museum have characteristic Yaksha-features e.g., huge-body and pot-belly. The third one represents a mukhalinga10 also delineating a Yaksha holding a bowl on his head.10 The village Biravai in Bharatpur District has provided another such colossal image of Yaksha similar to the other statues of the region, in respect of dress and ornament. Its singularity lies in the depiction of a “long sword hanging on the left back hip of the Yaksha.” The sword hangs down tied to a belt worn across the right shoulder.11 The Sarnath Museum has another sword-bearing Yaksha-figure, in which the sword is held horizontally at the head. The image is badly broken.12

Faswal near Mathura has afforded a colossal bust of a Yaksha carved in red sandstone. The image is deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. 107). The ornaments shown in the figure are round Kundalas, a torque, a crescent-shaped necklace and four heavy wristslets. The Yaksha also wears a turban. His right hand is raised up to the shoulders, very much like the Noh Yaksha even in wearing four bracelets; he holds in that hand an object described by Agrawala as “conch-like.” It may as well be a flower whose petals are now obliterated.13

These images prove the popularity of Yaksha cult in this region, which is confirmed by the

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1Cunningham, A., Reports, X, pp. 40-45; Smith, V.A., History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, p. 64.
3ASI, AR, 1909-10, p. 76, pl. XXVIII.
5Vogel, J. Ph., Catalogue, p. 108.
7Agrawala, R.C., Lalit Kala, no. 14, p. 48.
8The Pawaya Yaksha wears a long necklace of six strands issuing from a clasp tied at the back and two phullas are shown hanging from it. Another variation of this form of necklace is found in the image of the Didarganj Yakshi.
9Agrawala, R.C., Lalit Kala, 14, p. 47.
11Agrawala, R.C., JOI, XVII, 1, September, 1967, pp. 65 and plates.
12Information is based on the photograph seen in the Archives of the American Academy of Benaras.
details found in the literary accounts of the different sects. The *Mahāmāyūrī* refers to five Yakshas in the region of Rajasthan. They are: Jambhāka of Marubhūmi, Kalmāshapāda of Vaira (Wer, S.E. of Bharatpur) Arjunā, the tutelary Yaksha of the Arjûnāyānas (Delhi-Ajmer Agra region) Dhrṣṭadhanu, the presiding Yaksha of Varuṇa (on the confines of Rajputana to the west of Delhi), and Serissaka who is described as living within the confines of Marukāntūrā. Among these Yakshas, Kalmāshapāda has definite association with the vicinity of Bharatpur. As regards Mathura, Gardabha, Sudarśana, Hupḍikā and Viśālakṣaṇa are mentioned as Yakshas of this place. But the images or the text offer no other clues to warrant a clear identification.

Iconographically the Sarnath Yaksha figures furnish some significant details. The collection of Sarnath Museum has the ram-horned head of a Yaksha figure which reminds us of the similar head from the Mathura Museum (object no. 157). Another interesting piece [Fig. 31] shows a bṛṇavāhaka Yaksha, headless, whose dwarfish stature illustrates a new mode in the Yaksha motif. He wears a torque, a squarish necklace and *sapatra-keyūra*, and has his hands raised upwards in the pose of supporting some thing above.

Sahni discovered a Yaksha figure from Kosam, which shows a triangular flatnecklace, folds of flesh below the breasts, the dhoti and the belt, left hand suspended low and holding probably a purse. In the right hand, he appears to hold a mace. On the basis of these features this statue can be classified with those found at Parkham and Pawaya.

A headless torso of Yaksha image from Paribaghr is deposited in the Allahabad Museum. The arms are broken, but the hands are partly preserved. The right hand seems to have been in the abhaya mudrā; the left is kept on the waist. He wears a torque and a triangular necklace of eight strands. The antariya, lower garment, is shown tied around the waist below the navel [Fig. 32].

The images discussed above are of Yakshas or Yakshis alone. A sculpture has come from Sopara which shows a colossal Yaksha, standing with two attendants flanking him. Of the main figure, only the lower part, below the girdle, is extant now [Fig. 33]. The details of drapery on the lower part of the body are clear; there was probably a vajra near the left foot of the main figure of the attendants, the one towards the left has interesting details [Fig. 34]. He is turned backwards and is being carried by a grotesque looking figure which has a huge (15") head attached to a dwarfish body. Agrawala calls it "a grotesque lion-faced dwarf (with) protruding eyes and manes." But the figure compares well with the grotesque Yakshas of Mara's army as depicted on an architrave of the Stūpa at Sanchi.

The identification of the image is not certain. Agrawala, however, has drawn attention to Vishnu, Asanga, Vira and Pilaka who are mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* as the Yakshas of

1 Agrawala, V.S., *JUPHS*, XV, II, pp. 27-30 and notes.
2 *supra*, p. 43f; also Upacharya, B.S., *Buddhiākēla Bharatiya Bhoegol* (Hindi), Prayag, pp. 148f, who says that reference here is to the Rajputana desert, for a journey in the region entailed crossing of Candraśāya (Chenab) river; and the *Marukāntūrā* was sixty yojanas in length.
3 *Gilgīr MSS*, III, I, pp. 15ff.
7 Sahni, D.R., *Catalogue*, p. 252; no. B. (b) 5; Oertel, F.E., *ASI*, AR, 1904-5, p. 46, fig. 1 D and p. 95, no. 137, for a Yakshi figure from Sarnath; cf. *ASI*, AR, 1920-21, p. 46, pl. XXIb.
8 *ASI*, AR, 1921-22, p. 46, pl. XXId.
10 *SIA*, p. 116.
12 Agrawala, V.S., *SIA*, p. 133.
Dwarkā, Bharukaccha, Karhātaka and Vanavāsī respectively. These sculptures present a monotonous mode of depiction of Yakshas, all shown standing, with their huge bulk, holding sometimes different object, but usually dressed in a similar fashion. Some other sculptures present a deviation from that common pattern, and these conform to mainly two classes (i) in which the figures are carved in a seated posture, and (ii) that in which a huge square block of stone is carved on different faces with Yaksha-figures in relief. The image from Sogar belongs to the former class. Another such figure of a seated Yakshi was discovered at Jhing-ka-Nagra near Mathura, where she was worshipped as Manasādevī. The image carries an inscription read by Chanda as

(i) Sa putehi Kārito
(ii) Yakhilāyāva Kuniāte
(iii) (Vasinā Nāke) na kātā

(This image of) Yakshi Lāyāva has been caused to be established by... together with his sons, and made by Naka, pupil of Kunīka. The deity is shown seated on a wicker-stool (modhā), and is coated with vermilion. Allahabad Municipal Museum contains another seated image, in which a fierce-looking Yaksha is depicted [Fig. 38] squatting on a seat in the pralambhāpādāsana mudrā. He wears a crown, round kuṇḍalas, a torque, a nāga yājnopavita, and wristlets. A dhoti reaching below the knees is also shown. He holds a cup in the right hand; and with his left hand, he his shown hurling down a pig between his feet.

Some of these interesting features are found again in another important sculpture recovered from Bhita. This colossal piece is in the Lucknow Museum (no. 56-394) and shows two well-carved figures standing back-to-back [Fig. 35]. There are two more figures carved on the sides in which the heads are prominently shown, while the rest of the body is depicted in a hazy outline on the pillar, the lower portion of which is occupied by the figures of a lion on one side [Fig. 36] and a pig on the other [Fig. 37]. The pig recalls the similarly carved figure on the Kausāmbrī sculpture. The figures are corpulent; and the dress and ornaments are like those in other free-standing Yaksha statues. In this group, one figure holds a water-bottle similar to those held by Maitreya. But the similarity ends there and the figures on other counts, e.g., corpulence, hugeness, presence of a pig like that in the Kausāmbrī-Yaksha and the ornaments, help to identify the figures as those of Yakshas. The images are so conceived that they portray the idea of their guarding the four quarters of the place where the images were consecrated. As the figures are all different from one another, it is probably reasonable to suggest that four different Yakshas have been portrayed here. Their identification is not certain. The Mahānāyuri, however, refers to two Yakshas of Kausāmbrī- i.e. Anāyasa and a Anābhoja. To us it appears that the figure holding a bottle may represent Kubera, who has been portrayed along with three other local Yakshas. A pig is found in another Yaksha image from Kausāmbrī mentioned above. Other features of the image cannot be satisfactorily explained.

Another image of this type, carved on different faces of a block, is deposited in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Benaras. (Ht. 5’ x Wdt. 1.11’ x girth round the stomach 6.5’). Agrawala describes it as “representing a triple image... on a three-sided block of stone which has a square pedestal.
below, each side is carved with a standing male figure in bold-belief. The figures are rather
dwarfish in stature, plump, and have their hands lifted up as in atlantes Yaksha figures. In
between the legs in front, there seems to be a prop-like object of which the purpose is not clear.\(^1\)
The figure wears a kurtā-like costume but dhoti is found [Fig. 39-41]. Agrawala “tentatively”
identified the image with Trimukha Yaksha, although he concedes that literary sources offer no
such Yaksha-name.\(^2\) The popularity and wide currency of Yaksha images, and its portrayal as
atlantes, support the identification of this image as a Yaksha but calling him Trimukha seems
unwarranted. In the Śunga period, bi-view images were made, and images in case of Yaksha have
been reported from Choperá and the collection of Gwállor Museum, which have been mentioned
earlier. It appears that this image was for a tri-view. Images with similar front and back-views
are known from the Kusāna sculptures of Mathura Museum. The Sarvatobhadrikā Jain images
probably developed from such images. Thus it seems that, far from representing Trimukha Yaksha,
the sculpture represents the three-views of some nameless Yaksha. The name of the Yaksha
is difficult to relate. In the Mahāmāyūrī, Mahākāla is the Yaksha of Vārānasi, while in the Mātya
Purāṇa, Harikēśa Yaksha occupies that place. Both these works are later in origin than the
image. The image was found at Rajghat near Banaras, and may represent a local Yaksha.

Banaras figures as a central place of several Yaksha legends in the Jātaka.\(^3\) The Purāṇas also
refer to Harikēśa Yaksha\(^4\) and his friends Tryaksha, Dandaḍāṇi. Udhrāma and Saṃbhrama.\(^5\)
But, early images of Yakshas are rare in this region.

The sculptures described above are amongst the earliest known figures and they also help in
establishing the places where they were found as important centres of Yaksha-worship. All these
images were provided with pedestals which in some cases are missing, because of the broken lower
part (for example, the Patna Yaksha no. p. 2). They are characterised by heavy and stiff features
and are carved in round. A slight bend on the straight trunk of the body is sometimes shown
by the tilt of one of the feet. Their colossal body must have been awe-inspiring. Coomaraswamy\(^6\)
has correctly expressed the aesthetic quality of some of these Yaksha statues saying—“Magnifi-
cently conceived, they express an immense material force in terms of sheer volume; they are
informed by an astounding physical energy which their archaic ‘stiffness’ by no means obscures.
There is no suggestion here, indeed, of introspection or devotion; this is an art of mortal essence,
almost brutal in affirmation, not yet spiritualised.”

The arcaic effect of the figures is evident in their modelling. In some figures (Parkham, Noh,
Rajghat, Bihá) the different planes of the body have been superposed and interlocked in an
unintegrated manner. A spontaneous linear rhythm is found missing in them. Some other sculpt-
ures are different in this respect (Didarganj, Pawaya), and exhibit a graceful and well-gathered
flow of contours and fleshy volume.\(^7\)

These sculptures also offer clear evidence of the development of iconography. In those sculpt-
ures which are not broken, certain attributes like cup, nurse, (wine-) bottle and caudl are found.
A vajra, thunderbolt, is depicted in the Sopana image. The statues from Sarnath, Kauśāmbi and
Biravai are shown holding a danger, mace and sword respectively and, as such, they display the
vīra aspect of the Yakshas. This suggestion is supported by the sculptures in which Yakshas hold

\(^1\) Agrawala, V.S., JUPHS, XXIV-XXV, p. 189.
\(^2\) For a Trīśāra Rākshasa see Rāmayana, III.22.33; III.26; Devi Bhāgavata, VI.2.1ff; A three headed son of
Tvāshtṛ, as a purūha of Devas, later killed by Indra is known from TS, II.5.1. In the Mahābhārata, XII.329.
23, he is described as reciting Veda, drinking and seeing the universe with his three different faces. None of the
traits of the image, however, tallies with such descriptions.
\(^3\) cf. J, I, p. 27, 131ff, 137, 255; II, 103; III, 90ff, 122ff, 268ff; IV, 204ff; V, 11ff, 257.
\(^4\) supra, pp. 33-34
\(^5\) MP, Chapter 160 also, chapter 183.62-63 for other Yaksha-names e.g. Vināyaka, Kusumāṅga, Gajatunda,
Jayantī, Madhukara etc.
\(^6\) HI 14, p. 16.
\(^7\) Saraswati, S.K., Comprehensive History of India, pp. 694ff.
their right hand in the *abhaya mudrā.* The figures holding flower (Palwal) and *amranañjari* (Bensagar) probably indicate these deities in the form of tree-spirits. Grotesque features are seen in at least two images, Sarnath has supplied the ram-horned head of a Yaksha; and the Sopara image shows an attendant Yaksha having a huge, grotesque face with gaping jaws and bulging eyes. Grotesque features are shown more elaborately in reliefs of Yakshas belonging to this phase. However, in the free-standing images, there are representations of lion and pig, in two instances. Their exact import is not known and it is difficult to say whether these animals appear merely as mounts, or figure as features of some mythic account relevant to the sculptures. Usually, these images are in the *Sthānaka,* standing, pose, but a few seated ones are also found. And, although turban for Yakshas and jewellery on hair for Yakshis was the usual fashion, two sculptures (Palwal, Kauśāmbi, seated) have a crown or a tiara which probably indicates the elevated status of those Yakshas.

Banerjea\(^1\) infers the representation of Yaksha and Yakshi on the early Indian coins from Ujjaini. He particularly mentions variety *b* and variety *c* of Allan's *Catalogue* of Ujjaini coins which bear two and three figures respectively, still unidentified. Banerjea\(^2\) had also published a square coin from Ujjaini, which is identical with variety *b* of class 4 of Allan. The obverse of this coin shows two human figures like those of Yakshas dressed in their manner and represented in the same attitude, even wearing *graiveyaka.* It must be said that Yakshas in early literary traditions do not appear to be associated with Avanti or Ujjaini. The *Mahāmāyuri,* in its list of Yakshas refers to Priyadarśana, Vasubhūti and Nandi with reference to Avanti or its vicinity. But the tradition is quite late.\(^3\) Their absence from the vicinity of Ujjaini is significant. Moreover, Yaksha pairs, in the manner in which they occur on the said Ujjaini coins, were unknown in that period. Gwalior region has produced sculptures carved on front and back-sides of a stone-block,\(^4\) but these can hardly be described as a pair. In view of this, it is not possible to accept Banerjea's identification regarding the Ujjaini coins\(^5\) mentioned above.

The reliefs from Bharhut and elsewhere have figures of Yakshas and Yakshiśas which are, as a class, contemporary to, but distinct in plasticity from, the class of Yaksha sculptures mentioned above. These reliefs are discussed here.

Bharhut has attracted the notice of a large number of scholars since the Stupa was discovered here by Cunningham in 1873 and excavated by him in 1874 with J.D. Beglar.\(^6\) Among the Yaksha and Yakshīśa figures of Bharhut, some are inscribed and are carved on the railing pillars; some other reliefs are not labelled, but from their general style they have been identified with Yakshas or Yakshīśas. Sometimes these demi-gods occur as a part of some scene. However, among the Yaksha and Yakshīśa figures carved on railing pillars, the following may be noted.\(^7\)

**Ajakālaka Yaksha**

In the *Udāna* (I.7), his name is mentioned as Ajakālapaka and he belongs to Paṭāla city in the vicinity of Pāśā. The *Udāna commentary* gives two explanations of his name. According to it, Ajakālaka\(^8\) is (1) either some one, making a bundle of goats, because the Yaksha accepted gifts along with a group of goats tied together; (2) or someone who makes men bleat like goats,

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\(^1\) *DHI,* pp. 150f, referring to Allan's *Catalogue,* pl. XXXVI, figs. 1-3.

\(^2\) *IJO,* X, 1934, pp. 723-25 and plate.

\(^3\) A ceramic pot excavated from Ujjain; the body portion comprises a Yakshi figure; cf. Agrawala, R.C., *Lalit Kala,* 14, p. 49 in.2. For a terracotta figure of a Yaksha from Ujjain; cf. Coomaraswamy, I, p. 40, pl. 12, fig. 4.

\(^4\) *supra,* p. 113; also p. 109 note 8.

\(^5\) According to K.D. Bajpai, these represent Śiva and Uma. Śiva is a common deity on Ujjaini coins.

\(^6\) Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut,* p. iv.

\(^7\) For the image of Kubera from Bharhut, *supra,* pp. 67ff; also, *CII,* II, Part II, p. 73 (B-1).

because people when offering gifts shouted like goats in order to satisfy him.\textsuperscript{1}

His powers were enormous. When he saw the Buddha seated on his throne inside his mansion he cried Akkula-Bakkula, and produced terrific sights. As the commentary explains, he shook the earth, covered it with darkness, raised violent storms and gales which broke mountains and uprooted trees. There was such a commotion in all the Jambūdvīpa as though the final dissolution was near.\textsuperscript{2} This Akkula-Bakkula cry has been variously explained. As Barua writes: "The noise (of the terrific commotion) reached the ears of men in onomatopoeic sound "Akkula-Bakkula." According to some, this jargon was but a Prākrit from of 'Ākula-Vyakula.' Some suggest that by Akkula, the Yaksha meant he was a ferocious destroyer like a lion (or such beast) ... and by Bakkula he compared himself with a venomous snake or reptile, (still) others suggest that (the expression was Akkula-Bhakkula); by the first, he desired to kill and by the second, to devour."\textsuperscript{3}

According to Hultzsch, Ajakālaka is but the Sanskrit Ādyakāla, "A terrible embodiment of ruthless Unborn Time, destroying living beings, whose essence is immortality."\textsuperscript{4} But Lüders has said that it is difficult to regard the local Yaksha, a demi-god in the Buddhist period, as a symbol of 'Unborn Time.'\textsuperscript{5} The rendering of Ajakālaka as Ajakālāpaka has also not found favour. Lüders has said that Aja may stand for goat, but Kalaka, he derived as a causative of a root kal that could as well form the word Kālayati or Kalapayati. Perhaps this Kālayati or Kalapayati had the same meaning as Sk. Kālayati, "to make some one run before oneself," 'to persecute,' 'to scare away,' 'drive off.'\textsuperscript{6}

A relief of a Yaksha inscribed as 'Ajakālaka' has been found at Bharhut. Here he is shown standing on a human figure which is shown touching his jaw with his hands, this figure also has the tail of a fish [Fig. 44]. According to Anderson it is a monster with the body of a fish but with human hands thrust into its mouth.\textsuperscript{7} The Yaksha holds a half-blossomed lotus in the right hand; his left hand is in the Katihasta pose. Among the Yakshas at Bharhut, he alone does not hold his hands in Namaskāra mudrā. He wears the usual dress and ornaments. The element of goat-sacrifice to this Yaksha is of interest. The Mathura Museum has an image (no. 39.2839), which shows a headless Yaksha seated in the European fashion on a long couch; his right hand is broken, but it held a flower whose petals are still intact. In the left hand is placed a bag. There is a pitcher to the right bottom of the figure. Between the legs of the figure is shown a goat-head which is significant in this connection. It may be a late version of this Yaksha in which the iconic form of Kubera has also crept in. The image belongs to the late Gupta period.\textsuperscript{8}

Candrā\textsuperscript{9}

She is carved on the middle face of a pillar (0.5 Calcutta Museum), bearing the label Cādā-Yakhi—The Yakshi Čadā (Candrā); she stands under a Nāga-tree (Mesua ferrea) entwining it with her left arm and leg. In the left hand she holds a branch of the tree with flowers and leaves. 'By her right hand, she is bending the branch of the tree; her right foot is put straight on

\textsuperscript{1}CII, II, Part II, p. 74f, Ud. A., p. 64 explains, aje kalā-petavā bhaṛḍhānena ajakṣīṭhātena saddhiḥ baliḥ pari-

cchati no anahastānd kecīpana ajake viyā satte lapekti, Ajakalāpo ko ti.

\textsuperscript{2}Barua, B.M., Bharhut II, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{3}ibid.; cf. also Mahandale, M.A., Vedle Akkhała Pali Akkula, S.K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, Delhi, 1957.

\textsuperscript{4}Barua, B.M., op. cit., p. 60, quoting Hultzsch.

\textsuperscript{5}CII, II, Part II, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{6}CII, II, Part II, p. 74f, also note 1.

\textsuperscript{7}Anderson's Catalogue, I, p. 24.

\textsuperscript{8}cf. also Mathura Museum Sculpture no. 1581, showing the bust of a male figure, carrying a ram across his shoulder. Kushana period. A terracotta figure described as a doubtful Yaksha is illustrated by Coomaraswamy, Yaksas, I, pl. 12, fig. 4. It shows the figure as holding a ram. Provenance, Ujjain (Kushana Period, Coomara-

swamy collection). Sri V.S. Waskankar of Ujjain has informed us of his discovery of a Yaksha figure, the details

\textsuperscript{9}CII, II, Part II, p. 74, B-2.
a pedestal. The pedestal carries a figure variously identified as 'a sheep or ram with hind part of a fish' (Lüder), or as a horse-faced makara (Banerjea and Barua). The Yakshī's hair is beautifully decorated with different bands of decorative designs [Fig. 45]. She wears large square kundalas, necklaces, bangles, armlets, mekhalas and anklets. An ornament with bead and reel design is worn by her in upavita fashion, and on her forehead appears a round tikuli with star design. Her left upraised foot is on the head of her vāhana [Fig. 43].

Any Yakṣī from the literary works with this name has so far not been encountered, although some suggestion have been offered regarding her identification with Cūndā, the Mahāyāna goddess, or the 'Moon Goddess conceived as a Yakṣī.' These are, at best, only remote suggestions, for Cūndā the Mahāyāna goddess has nothing in common with Yakṣī except the name, one of whose variants is Candrā, as known from Mañjuśrīmālakalpa. We have not been able to trace her name in that text in its list of 46 Yakṣīs. Nor is her name found among eight Yakṣinīs, who appeared along with Vasūdhārā in her yab-yum images. About the other identification of the sculpture with the Moon Goddess, there is nothing at Bharhut in the image to show the lunar association of the Yakṣī. On the other hand, her mount may indicate her either to be a terrestrial or an aquatic deity. She was probably a local Yakṣī, who is carved with the other better known important Yakṣhas, for elevating her status. Waddell[4] identified her with Candā Kinnari of the Jājakas (nos. 485, 358), supporting her Kinnari derivation from her horse-headed mount. According to him, she is represented on the pillar as a wife of Kubera and a precursor of Hārīti. But the suggestion goes against the epigraphic evidence of the image which describes her as a Yakṣī and not as a Kinnari.

Virūḍhaka Yaksha

Virūḍhaka Yaksha,[a] on the south gate, is shown standing straight without any tilt, in the namakāra mudrā, wearing a turban, an utarīya and a dhoti tied at the waist with an additional piece of cloth. The tassel of the dhotī drops between the feet with beautiful folds. His ornaments consist of heavy square kundalas, graiveyaka, a loose necklace, triratna armlets, and bangles. He stands on a rock; a sandal-wood tree and lion have also been shown on the pedestal.

Virūḍhaka or Virūḍhaka is evidently the name of the king of Kuṇḍhāṅḍas, the guardian of the southern quarter among the Caturmahārajaṅka gods.[5] According to Barua, the term yakṣa has been used in the Bharhut labels in a special sense to denote 'a mighty hero, warrior.' Hence its use for Virūḍhaka, the lord of Kuṇḍhāṅḍas.

Gaṅgītī Yaksha

The Yaksha Gaṅgītī,[6] stands in the samapūdāsthānaka pose, holding his hands on the chest in the namakāra mudrā. He wears a head-gear, an utarīya and dhoti with a tastefully decorated tassel falling below the waist in the middle. He wears usual ornaments like other yakṣhas, and his mount is a caparisoned elephant.

This Yaksha, like some other Bharhut Yakṣhas, is still unidentified. Waddell, derived the name as 'Gaṅgītī Yaksha,' the singing Gandharva Yaksha; being shown facing east he was regarded as the guardian king of east.' But this identification lacks authenticity. Barua and Sinha proposed the phonetic identification of Gaṅgītī with Gāṅgēya, and identified him with a snake-king Gāṅgēya,

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1Descupta, P.C., A note on Yakshini Candra of Bharhut Railing, JIH, April, 1963, p. 55ff; also Bhattacharya, B., Buddhist Iconography, pp. 219ff for Cunda.
2ASCB, p. xi.
3supra, pp. 58-59.
4Evolution of Buddhist Cult, p. 144ff.
5CSB, p. 20; Barua, B.M., Bharhut, II, p. 57f; Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 65; CII, II, Part II, pp. 75-76.
6CSB, p. 20; Barua, Bharhut, II, p. 61; Barua and Sinha, p. 68.
“one belonging to Gān̄geś or Gangetic region.” But, as Lüders has pointed out any such reference does not occur in Pali texts, at all.¹ He is evidently a terrestrial Yaksha, which may be seen from his mount, a caparisoned elephant. He is shown standing on an elephant and a tree over which his two feet have been shown. According to Agrawala, he was the male counterpart of a goddess, Gāmātā mentioned in Sabhāparva (11.42) of the Mahañādhārā.² But a phonetic derivation of the name other than Gāmghita is not indicated.³

**Supavāsaka Yakho**

The Yaksha Suprāvrsita. On phonological derivations, the name has been rendered as Suprāvrsita.⁴ The Yaksha is shown wearing usual dress and ornaments. His uttariya however is larger and more prominent than that of other Yakshas and he wears six bracelets instead of usual four. He is shown standing in a relaxed pose, holding his hands in namaskārā mudra, on a kneeling caparisoned elephant who holds a flower, probably lotus, in his extended trunk.

Lüders has observed that his name probably is derived from Suprāvrsita as suggested by Hultzsch. As the reading of the label is quite distinct, Lüders is not “prepared to agree with Barua and Sinha who propose to correct it to Supavaso merely because a lay-sister bearing the name of Suppavāsā is mentioned in Anguttara, l.26.” Supravāsa, according to Hultzsch, was a deity of plentiful rainfall.

**Suciloma Yakho**

The Yaksha Suciloma. In the texts his name is also found as Suciloma (Sk. Śuciloman), ‘white-haired.’ At Bharhut he is mentioned as a Yaksha but in later times he was metamorphosed into a serpent.⁵ He figures prominently in the Sambuttika Nikāya⁶ and the Sutta Nipāta,⁷ which tell of his tan shaped bhavanātha, ‘abode,’ near Gayā. His name is self-explanatory and it is said that as a punishment for his having slept once on a soft rug while he was in a vihāra, his body acquired the hair like needles.⁸ According to the texts, when he found the Buddha occupying his seat, he threatened to throw him beyond the Ganga unless his questions were replied to. There follows a philosophical dialogue between the Yaksha and the Buddha at the end of which the Yaksha was converted to the Buddhism. The temple or the habitat of Suciloma has been described in the Buddhaghosa’s commentary (Sn. A, I.301) as tanhkita-mahāco a tan-shaped elongated platform, and Barua has explained it as a “cell looking from a distance like a mound, consisting of four pieces of stone-slabs, supporting a larger piece spread over them like a roof.” This place was quite dirty on account of spitting, fluid secretions of the nose and other filthy matter excreted by persons.⁹ Suciloma is associated with another Yaksha, Khara, and it has been said that both of them evolved from porcupine and crocodile-like animals and reptiles.¹⁰

On a railing pillar of Bharhut Stupa, the image of this Yaksha stands gracefully on a pedestal

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¹p. 76 note 1; Barua’s reference to ‘a Buddhist Discourse in the form of Gāngeya Sutta’ has been rejected by Lüders as ‘outburst of imagination.’ A Gengā-devatā does, however, and mention in Maccha Udāhana Jātaka.

²Agrawala, V.S., ACSB, p. xi.

³Corpus, p. xi, l, also xxii 20(e), for a discussion of this Yaksha; cf. CSB, p. 20; Barua and Sinha p. 70; Barua, Barhut, II, p. 63.

⁴CII, l, Part II, Introduction xxiii, 24 (a).

⁵CII, Part II, p. 79.

⁶1.207f.

⁷II, 5, p. 42.


⁹Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 69.

¹⁰ibidp., 69; also Barua, B.M., Barhut, II, p. 61f.
carved with a railing-pattern. His hands are in namaskāra mudra, and he wears the usual dress and ornaments. The relief does not bear out the reference to his needle-like hair, mentioned in Buddhaghosa’s Sāratthapakṣāsī and Madhurathva-Vilāsinī. However, a stone head in the Mathura Museum (no. 281, height 6½”) has hair pointed upwards, like Suciloma. Emaciated features and a grin are the other features of this head. On the right side of the hair, above the forehead, a hideous kapāla is also carved, indicating probably the terrifying nature of the figure represented. The representation of suciloma, ‘needle-like hair,’ in the object is interesting.

Yakṣīṇī Sudarśanā

The Yakṣīṇī Sudarśanā,1 In the relief, she stands on a fish-tailed makara2 with right foot firmly set on the mount and the left, raised, placed behind the right one. The index finger of her right hand is raised towards her head, while the left hand holds the antariya in the centre at the navel. She wears elaborate dress and ornaments, particularly a thick antariya different from others [Fig. 46].

She was ‘of beautiful looks’ according to her name. She is not known from the Buddhist sources, although Sudarśanā Yaksha appears in the Mahāmāyūri (I.12) as the tutelary deity of Campā. Lüders identified her with Sudarśanā of the Mahābhārata (XII.2.4.4f) who appears as the daughter of king Duryodhana of Māhishmati and the river goddess Narmadā. She appears in the relief as a river goddess (mark her makara vāhana) and her association with Narmadā and Māhishmati establishes her as a local deity of Central India. Lüders suggests that “the daughter of river goddess and a wife of a god (Agni) may well have been called a Yakṣīṇī in the language of the time.” Although Yakṣīṇīs are known as aquatic deities (and hence their aquatic attributes in the different panels), any Yakṣī with Sudarśanā as name, associated with water, is not known from other sources. Also the statement of Lüders regarding the daughter of a river-goddess being called ‘Yakshi’ remains unconfirmed.

Besides these Yakshas and Yakṣīṇīs, several other demi-gods and goddesses, called either devatā or sometimes not named at all, nevertheless, identified with Yakṣīṇīs, are also mentioned in the case of Bharhat figures.3 Sirimā, Cullakokā and Mahākokā are referred to in their labels as devatās. Barua identified Sirimā with the goddess of Luck,4 and Cullakokā [Fig. 47] and Mahākokā with hunting goddesses on the basis of a reference to a hunter, Kokā, who is mentioned in the Dhammapada Atthakathā. He similarly identified Mahākokā and classed her under the tree-goddesses.5 He also identified, without reference to any relevant textual authority, another figure (Barhat, III, pl. LXV, pl. 76) with Majhhimakokā. She rides a well-carpentered horse, and stands under a tree, whose upper part only is extant now, clasping it. The identification, however, has not found approval.6 As regards the other two Kokā-goddesses, Paranavitanā7 identifies them with the goddesses Kokandā and Cullakonandā the daughters of rain-god Pajjuna of the Sarvyutta Nikāya.8 Barua has identified as Yakṣīṇī certain other representations also,9 although these are not mentioned as Yakṣīṇīs. The pillar bearing the so-called Alakamandā, was at the village Bhatanwara; now it has been removed to Ramvan Museum (Satna, M.P.).10 She is dis-

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1cf. CSB, p. 20; Barua and Sinha, op cit., p. 72; CII, op cit., p. 79f.
3Barua, Barhat, II, p. 74f.
4ibid, II, pp. 73, 71f.
5ibid, II, p. 55.
6Corpus, op cit., p. 81 note 2.
7Artibus Asiae, XVI, 1953, p. 177; he translates Kokanadā and Culla-Kikanadā as ‘Lily’ or ‘Little Lily’; cf. Corpus, p. 81 note 1.
8Lüders has accepted that Kokā is an abbreviated name.
9Barhat, III, fig. 68, 82 a (Srihihikā), 72 Alakamandā, Barhat, II, p. 55.
10Bajpai, K.D., New Bharhat Sculpture, quoted in Corpus, p. viii, the paper has since appeared in the Journal of Indian Museums, XVII-XX, 1961-64, pp. 33-37.
tentatively portrayed as different from the other Yakshi of Bharhut. She is bedecked with many additional ornaments, such as a jewelled veil falling on her forehead [Fig. VII], and a heavily ornamented tassel in place of the usual tassel of sārī which is not shown. She holds a lotus-bud in her raised right hand at her breasts, which again makes her different from other Yakshis.

The design of her ornaments is uncommon in comparison with those of others [Fig. 48]. Apparently she is a woman of authority and her vahana, a dwarf carrying her, directly relates her to Kubera who alone has a dwarf as his mount (besides probably Ajakālaka). Below the Yakshīni’s legs and behind the (nara-vāhaka, there is the carving of a mountain, which confirms that she is probably connected to Uttarakuru in the Himālayas which was the habitat of Kubera. On the basis of these observations it seems reasonable to identify her with Bhūjāti, the wife of Vessavana as mentioned in the Dīgha Nikāya. The text says that she was a devout follower of the Buddha and was seen by Sakka as worshipping the Lord at Salallāgāra, with folded hands. The folded hands are not represented in the Bharhat relief; but as a lady of authority and bearing, she does not fail to impress. The pillar contains an inscription read by Bajpai, as Soriya thabha dāna which has been emended as Sākaya thabha dāna “The pillars (are) the gift of Sakya (Śakra or the Śakyas?). Among the un-identified Bharhat reliefs, the broken figure of another Yakshi identified by Barua with Śīhikā is also interesting due to its ornaments and marks of personal decoration.

Some more railing pillars of Bharhut have been acquired and deposited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum and Bharata Kala Bhavan, Banaras; each of these museums contains one such pillar bearing female figure identified as Yakshīni although not so inscribed.

It has been rightly held that in its reliefs the Stupa has remarkably upheld the belief in the guardians of four quarters, and accordingly depicted Kubera towards north and Virudaka towards south and so on. Stylistically, these reliefs indicate a further development of the Yaksha iconography. All the Yaksha figures are shown in namaskāra mudrā, except that of Ajakālaka, and a mount is invariably present in their cases. Yakshīni and Devatā figures are mainly represented as Vrikshakās ‘tree-spirits,’ (Candrā, Cukakokā, Mahikkokā) or as water-spirits (Sudassanā). It has been suggested that there are two classes of the Yaksha and Yakshīni figures at Bharhut, one, which look like “silhouettes sharply detached from the background,” where a better attempt at modelling is also traceable (Sīrīma devatā and Kubera). “A peculiar abstraction is recognised in treatment of feet or of the hands in attitude of adoration which, irrespective of anatomical accuracy, are turned sideways and presented in their broadest aspect.” The other class is represented by Sudarṣanā and Cukakokā, ‘having ample curves and flows and variegated attitudes.” To Marshall, this difference was because of the existence of two art traditions, indigenous and foreign.6 To Grunwedel also, Kubera and other deities, standing upon their mounts, appeared ‘imitations of Western Asian deities.” Curt Glaser thought that he could detect Greek influence in the cast of the drapery of these Yakshas and Yakshīnis of Bharhut. Bachhofer has, however, rejected all the foreign comparisons saying that, both in figuration and conception, the comparisons are unwarranted.

Bharhut wielded great influence on the other centres of contemporary art, which is confirmed by the relief and sculptures from Pauni, Bodhgaya, Kauśāmbi, Moosanagar, Rajasan, Amin and other places. During recent excavations at Pauni (Bhandara distt, Maharashtra), a railing-pillar

1 D, II.270f; DA, III.705.
3 Kala, S.C., Bharhat Utik, pp. 9ff. and plates.
4 Barua, Bharhat, III, p. 54; Bhara, II, pp. 57ff.
5 Saraiwati, S.K., Comprehensive History of India, p. 687f.
6 Marshall, Monuments of Ancient India, CHI, p. 625.
7 Buddhist Art in India, p. 50.
9 Ibid, p. 26, for a detailed description of the anatomical delineation and principles; cf., ibid, pp. 21ff.
was unearthed which contains a hybrid relief of a donkey-headed Yaksha. In depicting this, Yaksha Pauni completes what had been omitted at Bharhut. Khara is closely associated with Suedolma in texts; but while Suedolma was depicted at Bharhut, Khara finds place at Pauni.2 Bodhgaya has also provided some Yakshi-figures, one of which is shown standing on a plain round pedestal [Fig. 49]. She wears an elaborate coiffure besides the usual dress and ornaments.3 Two other Yakshi figures are exhibited in the Bodhgaya Museum; both are in standing posture and one has a lion as her vahana. The State Museum, Lucknow contains railing-pillars from Kausambi and Moosanagar which portray the same Bharhut tradition of relief carving. Kausambi-reliefs are flat while those from Moosanagar have more rounded anatomical contours. In two such reliefs of Kausambi,4 Yakshis have been represented standing cross-legged; one holds a lotus in her right hand (no. B. 731), the other (no. B. 733) is headless and without attributes. A Yaksha (no. B. 732) from the same place is similarly carved and holds a bunch of flowers in his left hand; his right hand is held at the chest. Bhitai in Allahabad district has also provided railing-pillars with stylistically similar reliefs [Fig. 50]. Other such reliefs are known from Moosanagar which is forty-two miles south-west of Kanpur in Uttara Prades. There are here three figures of Yakshins carved on railing-pillars. They are all shown standing without any vahana, and hold flowers. Among the Moosanagar Yaksha figures, one stands with folded hands while the other holds some object at the chest with one hand; the other hand hangs down.5 In a specimen in the Lucknow Museum (no. 53. 123), one side of the rail-post has the relief figure of a Yaksha;6 the other side is carved with another Yaksha figure whose right hand is held near his head, and left hand at the chest. He is accompanied by an undetermined bird. Amin has provided two pillars, one containing a couple (Yaksha and Yakshi) clasping each other; the Yaksha holds a wine-cup in his left hand. The other pillar portrays a Padmapani Yaksha. The pillars are beautifully carved with floral motifs, the like of which are not found elsewhere in the same scheme of delineation. The dress and ornament patterns are identical with Bharhut figures. The Amin pillar with Yaksha dampati is one of the earliest representations of a pair in Yaksha iconography.

A Yakshi figure on an octagonal column for Rajasan is also worthy of note on account of a turban on its head.7 Among the Yakshi figures, the one on a pillar discovered at Mehrauli is a graceful example in its pose and ornamentation. She stands as a badhabhanikā, under a tree clasping its trunk with her left arm and holding a branch with the other hand. The details of the tree are now missing; so are Yakshi's face, hands and the portion below the knees. But this damage has not completely obscured the beauty of the image. She wears a torque, three necklaces, a six-stranded mehala and a gracefully carved ribbon carelessly dangling down her shoulders and fastened below the navel. All ornaments are distinctive: of the necklaces, first carries a motif of two human heads, the second a square pendant and the third, a round padaka with a floral motif. Her hair is done in dviveșī style, and her dhoti with its beautifully carved folds, and other details, make the image one of the superb examples of the type [Fig. 51].8

1 A Gardabha Yaksha who troubled people of Mathura finds mention in the Gilgit MSS, III, 1, p. 15; Gardabha as a dvārapāla of Ālava Yaksha finds mention in the SA, I, p. 319.
2 cf. Deo, S.B. and J.P. Joshi, Pauni Excavations, 1912, p. 47, pl. xxv, no. 1.
3 Barua, B.M., Gaya and Bodhgaya, II, fig. 25a.
4 These reliefs are now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow.
5 Shrivastava, V.N., Ruins of Moosanagar, Uttara Pradesh, January, 1960, pp. 27-30. Some of these figures have now been shifted to the State Museum, Lucknow.
6 supra, pp. 67-68.
7 ASI, AR, 21-22, p. 47; 1922-23, pl. V, e; Agrawala, R.C., Lalit Kala, 14, 1902, p. 504, pl. XVI, figs. 2.2, b and 2.
8 ASI, AR, 1910-19, Part I, pp. 32-33, pl. IX b. In a Bharhut relief, turban is shown on the head of the Apsara Alambush. The scene has been identified by Lüders as representing celebrations connected with the birth of the Buddha. It is said that here, the Apsara is impersonating Sudhodana; cf. Lüders, CIH, II, Part II, p. 102; CSB, pl. XV, outer face.
A Yakshi figure, now in the Śunga-gallery of Mathura Museum (no. 00. J 24) is another beautiful specimen of art. The Yakshi is shown loaded with ornaments consisting of a torque, three necklaces, the first one with a tāṅkā-cakra, 'disc,' keyūra, 'wristlets,' mekhalā and anklets. She stands cross-legged holding in front a ribbon which girdles her back. She wears a diaphanous antarīya in spite of which her nudity is clear. Her vāhana is a grotesque dwarf with ṣankukarna [Fig. 52].

Pitalkhora has several reliefs of Yakshas and Yakshiśis belonging to the Bharhut tradition in style and iconography.1 In one case a Yaksha guard holds a spear, in another, two dwarf and grotesque Yaksha figures with ṣankukarna are shown in the pose of supporting the balustrade on their uplifted hands.2

The reliefs discussed above carry the unmistakable stamp of Bharhut style, although they belong to far-flung regions quite away from Bharhut. It seems that the guilds of artists who had worked at Bharhut, spread to different places. Guilds were mobile units of co-workers, and it is quite possible that, after completing Bharhut stūpa, artists may have spread out to the regions where they were in demand. This assumption leads to another possibility, viz., sculptures from other places may be dated in the post-Bharhut period. Pitalkhora represents the period of transition from Bharhut tradition to the other leading tradition in Yaksha sculptures as obtained at Sanchi. At Pitalkhora, a dwarf figures of Yaksha carved in round appears for the first time; ṣankukarna was already known at Bharhut.3 A transformation in Yaksha iconography was thus in the offing, and it found bold expression at Sanchi in the grotesque figures of the bhāravāhaka Yakshas. This evolution has left its traces in the western India, and at Bhāja4 and Pitalkhora5 similar reliefs belonging to the second century BC are found.

Sātavāhana-Kushāna Phase

Representations of Yakshas and Yakshiśis of this phase are known from Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Mathura and some other places. Independent Yakshi sculptures are now rare; those of Yakshas are quite numerous. Certain epigraphs of this period furnish evidence of Yaksha images being installed and enclosed with railings. A Nasik inscription (Lüders list no. 1143) refers to the setting up of a rail (veḷā) and a Yaksha by Nandāśrikā. The railing-motif is found carved below the legs of the atlantes Yaksha figures on the Western gate of Sanchi, and it reflects the iconic portrayal of the prevalent convention. An inscribed image of a Yaksha, belonging to this time, has come from Pitalkhora (ancient Pitangalya).6 It is inscribed as Kanhādāśena hiraṅkarenā kata, 'made by Kanhādāsa, a goldsmith.' The image is important for its grotesque features and dwarfish proportions of the body [Fig. 54]. Its grinning face, fine modelling, hairstyle, a bowl supported on head by both the uplifted hands, ornament patterns, particularly the necklace embedded with the amulets in the shape of human heads, all make the figure one of the finest examples of early art. Deshpande points out that Mahāmāyārī refers to the Yaksha Śankarā of Pitangalya,7 thereby suggesting the identification of the Yaksha with the image. How-

1Ancient India, no. 15, 1959, pp. 81ff. (Pl. LVIII, A-D); two Yaksha figure (a, b) exemplify the vīra aspect in that they are shown holding spear and sword; other figures appear as attendants, holding cauri or casket.
2Ibid, p. 73, pl. XLIX A; M.N. Deshpande points to their similarity with such figures at Nasik (cave 3) and Bhāja.
3cf. Lüders, op. cit., pl. XXVIII.
5Ancient India, no. 15, p. 73, pl. XLIX, A; for chronology of Pitalkhora cave, ibid, p. 70.
6Ibid, p. 81 f, pl. LXI, Similar reliefs of Yakshas are known also from Kanheri, Kondane, Nasik (cave 3), in Western India and Ruanweli and Jetavanarama dagobas in Ceylon; cf. Deshpande, M.N., Ancient India, op. cit., pp. 81-82.
7Ibid, pp. 69, 82, quoting Pramoda Chandra.
ever, the image tallies more with the description of Nalakūbara as found in the Vishnuḥarmottara Purāṇa.¹ The text describes him as holding a ratnapātr in hands. The grinning expression, dwarfish proportions and particularly the mode of wearing dhoti connect the image with the Sanchi tradition. Sanchi has supplied several images of Yakshas and Vrikshakas.² Some of the figures have dwarfish and grotesque features; this was a new development during this time. In the other images carved in relief, Yakshas stand gracefully like their Bharhut cousins; in modelling these are different from the preceding type of Sanchi-images. The Western Gate of Sanchi Siupa I has eight bhāravāhaka Yaksha figures, standing back to back, impressive in bulk and volume, but dwarfish in size.³ Their dress and ornaments are the same, although their patterns differ. Some Yakshas are shown grinning, while others have contorted features; all of them support the parts of torana above [Fig. 55]. The second type of Yaksha figure, as mentioned above, is seen in the relief of Padmapāni Yaksha [Fig. 56]. He stands under a tree, holding a lotus-phalaka.⁴ His dress and ornaments are tastefully shown. Another Yaksha-Śūlapāni is similarly shown standing beside a tree, holding a long spear in his left hand; the right hand is put gracefully on the waist. His dress and ornaments are different from those of the preceding figure. Of particular interest is his padmahāra worn loosely around his neck. His sword (or an arrow-case?) hangs on the trunk of the tree⁵ [Fig. 57]. Marshall has drawn attention to the belligerence in his posture of standing, and suggested that the Yaksha might be one of the senāpatis.

It thus seems that Sanchi represents a continuation of Bharhut tradition in the form of these reliefs. On the other hand, in the dwarf and grotesque figures,⁶ it inaugurates a new type which was retained in the Kushāṇa period and merged in the Gaṇa figures of the Gupta period. Another Yaksha of this type has been reported from Nagarjunakonda. He is a pot-bellied dwarf standing with a tribhanga, holding his right hand in the abhayamudrā; in the left hand he holds a bag of jewels? [Fig. 58]. In some Yaksha sculptures found near Bhubaneshwar, the Sanchi tradition of dwarf Yakshas repeats itself. Panigrahi discovered six such sculptures, four at Dum-duma, and one each at Badagad and Panchgan.⁷ These villages are in the vicinity of Bhubaneshwar in Orissa. Of these, the two Dum-duma statues are complete (ht. 5.7’). “Their frontal pose, bulged out bellies, bent knee, broad torques, heavy ear-ornaments, bracelets numbering more than one in each hand...are strikingly similar...” (to the, Sanchi Yaksha figures on the Western Gateway).⁸ Another Dum-duma Yaksha statue is similarly carved; it has elaborate knots of dhoti at the back and also shows “a scarf with borders of beads worn in form of a cross with a rosette at the point of intersection”⁹ [Fig. 59]. The rest of the specimens are similar to these figures. The Dum-duma figures have sockets on the head, which shows that functionally they formed a part of some other architectural piece.

The Mathura images of Yakshas and Yakshinis offer significant features of iconography as evolved during the Kushāṇa period. These sculptures have found their way into various foreign and Indian Museums.¹⁰ Yaksha images of the Mathura school offer a variety of poses and attributes, not noticed so far in many cases. Their grotesque features usually appear

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¹III.73.12-13; the text is late no doubt, but so is the Mahāmāyūrī. The identification suggested here is only tentative.
³Marshall, J., Monuments of Sanchi, II, pl. LIV, LVII, LIX.
⁴Ibid. II, pl. L, a: also XXXVI, a, b.
⁵Ibid., II, pl. LXVI, a, a, a; also XXXII, LIIb, for other Yaksha for guardian figures.
⁶Marshall, Monuments of Sanchi, II, pl. LIV, LVII, LIX.
⁷Panigrahi, K.C., Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshwar, pp. 207-8, figs. 4-5.
⁸Ibid., p. 207.
⁹Ibid., pp. 207-8.
¹⁰Cowasji Jahangir Collection, Bombay; Museums at Calcutta, New Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Mathura and Patna; also Boston Museum; cf. Catalogue of Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sculpture nos, 21, 1701, 21. 1715 for Meggarapāṇa Yaksha.
prominently. Some images are nude: for instance, no. 453 (Ht. 10.4 × 1.8) showing a squatting pot-bellied Yaksha with conspicuous genitals. Some other similar figures are assigned to the Gupta Period (like no. 2500 Kumbhāṇḍa Yaksha; no. 783). A Kūṭa Yaksha, nude but not so conspicuously, is known from Palikhera (no. 721). As carriers also Yakshas occur at Mathura. In the statuette no. 988 is shown a pot-bellied dwarf Yaksha seated in lālīśasana carrying a basket in the upraised hands. In one bas-relief no. 15.995 Moggarāpāṇī Yaksha holding a musala in the left hand, with right hand in abhaya mudrā, is shown. The figure is entirely nude showing a drooping phallus. In another specimen, representing bust of Moggarāpāṇī Yaksha, he is shown inside an arched torana. A mace is in his right hand; his left hand, akimbo, is kept on the belly. His grotesque and corpulent figure has a grinning face [Fig. 60]. Another statuette shows a grinning Yaksha holding a modaka (?) in his right hand. With his left hand, he is touching his left ear. [Fig. 61.] Both these statuettes are now in the State Museum, Lucknow. Two stone-heads may also be mentioned in this connection. Of these, no. 2559 is a grotesque male head (Ht. 5.5') with moustaches and the other no. 2606 (Ht. 4') is a head with fierce features. A Yaksha bust now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (numbered there as A. 25034), has bulging eyes and peculiar eyebrows, curves on forehead and extended moustaches. He is shown blowing a conch which he holds at his mouth with both hands. A bump at the head, representing crown (?) is also noticeable.

Mathura has provided a large number of railing-pillars portraying seductive figures of beautiful maidens. Agrawala identified in them some popular motifs of daily life or festivals. But these identifications do not account for all the railing-pillars. In these figures maidens are usually depicted as standing on the crouching dwarfs of heavy build, for instance J.4, J.6, J.9; J.44 [Fig. 53] etc., or standing under different trees such as Kadamba (J.275 of Lucknow Museum), or Aśoka (J.58, J.64, J.26, J.40, J.55, etc.) or Aśvattha (J.63,4) [Fig. 62]. These images have attracted the attention of most of the Scholars of Indian Art. A stark nudity is their predominant feature, and Coomaraswamy has observed that it was due to the nature of these deities symbolising "the auspicious emblem of vegetative fertility." A marked nudity in the sculptures, particularly Śalaḥbhaṭṭa, seems to have started from Sanchi and Mathura and continued through various ages.

By the manner in which they are depicted, nude and provocative, they fulfill the role of Mārakanyās as found in the Lalitavistara. By their exhibitionist stances and erotic suggestions, these maidens tried to spoil the tapo of the Buddha, but failed to do so. Māra occurs as a Yakṣa and Yakṣi, it is said, composed his retinue. The Gilgit MSS. refer to several Yakṣis of Mathura viz., Alikā, Meghā, Venuḍa, Timisikā. It also refers to a nameless devai of Mathura who appeared nude before the Buddha and was admonished. This tradition stands corroborated in the railing-pillars. The maidens' portrayal, sometimes as Vrikshakās, or as standing on a naravāhana, confirms them as Yakṣi and elaborates the Bharhat art tradition. In such images, sometimes the females are depicted holding some weapon [Fig. 62]; similar images are known from Pāṭalkhora in the second century BC, and illustrate the motif of attendant deities.

Some Yakshas who occur prominently in the Buddhist texts also find depiction in the Mathura

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1 The description is based on personal verification. Agrawala calls it pre-Kushana; cf. Indian Art, pl. XCI and the description.
2 SIA, pp. 155-59.
4 HIIA, p. 64f.
5 ibid, p. 64.
6 supra, pp. 74-75.
7 supra, p. 11.
8 Mahavasta, II, pp. 311-12, 363.
9 III, 1, p. 15f.
10 ibid, p. 14.
art. One such Yaksha is Vajrapāñi. This Yaksha of the Pali Buddhist texts appears as a mentor of the deities of the creed. Buddhaghosa in his *Sumangala Vilāsini* identified him with Sakka. Vajrapāñi is a Yaksha of great power—maharadhistā (MMK, 503) and Yakshendra (I.25) in the *Manjuśrīmālākāla*. He is also one of the Yaksha-chiefs (MMK, III, 547). Various incantation-formulas have been suggested for winning him over. In the same work (II.290f), it is said that strength and physical likeness of this great Yaksha could be attained by worshiping. We learn that his worship him, on completion, results in his appearance in the wake of storm and cloud-burst, attended by Vidyās, Gandharvas, Nāgas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, etc. The devotee is granted skill in various arts, royalty, and the power to disappear at will. He lives a long life and, after death, goes to Vajrabhavana. A *mudrā* named *vajrobhava* has also been mentioned in connection with this Yaksha, and oblations consisting of *aguru* scent have been prescribed.

Coomaraswamy identified an image (E.24) in the Mathura Museum as that of Vajrapāñi Yaksha, but Agarwala has said that on account of the *Vajra* held in its right hand, the figure represents Indra. However, a statuette (no. 2501, ht. 10½) from Mathura shows a corpulent figure of Vajrapāñi holding a double-headed *vajra*.

Mathura Museum has an interesting image (C.3), which came from Maholi. It shows a seated, corpulent Yaksha having a huge body and unusually bulging-out belly. The Yaksha’s moustaches are prominently shown. He wears a torque and *kundikas*. His arms are broken, but from the upward thrust of the shoulders, it seems that these must have been upraised in order to support something (a bowl?) resting on the head. A verification from the image indicated the traces of some carving on the head. The image is erroneously described as that of Kubera. Similar other figures are known from Mathura (e.g., no. C.6 and 2519), but identification of them as Kubera is far from certain. In light of the above observation, it is safer to regard the image as representing some *bhāravāhaka* Yaksha in line with the Sanchi tradition; the sitting-posture is however, an alteration from that tradition. The image is an impressive example showing a masterly handling of massive form; the modelling is perfect although the task of handling such an image was no doubt difficult.

Mathura also has other male figures shown standing with or without a tree in the background, holding *cauri* (J.126, Lucknow Museum), garland (J.270, same Museum) flower or fruit (B.88; H.81) but essentially they are very similar to each other in appearance, corpulence, ornaments and particularly the design of crown. Iconographically, these also seem to belong to the Yaksha-tradition and in them may be identified, Yaksha, princes or deities. Their exact identification is, however, not possible.

Since the preparation of the *Catalogue* of Mathura Museum, more Yaksha figures have been added to the collection there, in which many iconic characteristics are indicated. An *Ahicchatra* terracotta (no. 4791) shows a pot-bellied Yaksha used as a toycart. No. 4662 is a stone fragment showing a grotesque Yaksha (Ht. 8½” × 6½”) stretching the mouth with both the hands. The figure comes from Etawah. No. 4248 is an early Kushan example representing the torso of probably a Yaksha (4’. 6”) wearing a torque. The sculpture nos. 4480 and 4549 are more important for details. The former shows a headless Yaksha seated on the head on animal, a lion; part of the

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1 2.264; cf. also *Divyavadana*, p. 130; *MA*, II, 277f; *Ayakāta Jātaka*, III, 97.
2 MMK, I, 36, 166.
3 Ibid, II, 294.
6 *Yakshas*, I, pl. 15, fig. 2.
8 A. Similar image, smaller in proportion, is in the National Museum, New Delhi.
9 cf. Similar terracottas nos. 5100, 5105 from Kauśāmbi in the Mathura Museum.
belly and the feet of the Yaksha are tied with a scarf. The latter shows a Yaksha as a \textit{Vriksha-devaita} amidst leaves of a tree, holding a basket of flowers on his left hand.\(^1\) A terracotta crouching Yaksha (no. 3564) in the Mathura Museum is shown blowing two long pipes held in the hands.

Amaravati\(^2\) and Nagarjunakonda also have supplied interesting figures of Yakshas. A Nagarjunakonda pillar fragment (National Museum, New Delhi, no. P. 2542),\(^3\) contains four figures of Yakshas in various delectable poses. One stands supporting a huge \textit{daṇḍa}, and hence, he may be called \textit{Daṇḍapāṇi}. The other Yaksha sits holding his right hand in the \textit{abhaya mudrā}, or is holding a rosary [Fig. 64]. The third panel has the Moggarapāṇi \textit{Yaksha}, sitting like a \textit{vīra}, while the Yaksha in the fourth panel is shown delightfully occupied in dancing [Fig. 65]. All these figures all well-conceived in form, and have grotesque features.

A unique image of a Yaksha is known from Ahicchatra.\(^4\) The image [Fig. 66] is carved on a rectangular block of stone whose upper side must have served as a seat. The knees and the arms and legs of the Yaksha figure served as the legs of the seat. The Yaksha is pot-bellied, and is shown stretching the two ends of his mouth with the index-fingers of both his hands. His hair is arranged in three parts, two on the sides and one in the middle of his scalp; the remaining portions in between show the \textit{sīmānas}, partings. The big bulging eyes, teeth peeping through the mouth, the moustaches, large ears and deep navel are the other features worthy of note. He wears an \textit{ghutamā}, and his ornaments consist of a garland around the neck and three bracelets. The image carries an inscription reading: \textit{Bhikshusya Dhamaghoshasya āryam Pharagulavīhārā Ahicchatra}.

The Gandhara region has also supplied some Yakṣini images.\(^5\) Those of Hārītī and Pāncika from Gandhara have already been discussed. Among others, there is one figure of a Yakṣini standing under a palm tree, on a water-vessel carved with three steps.\(^6\) Another Yakṣini is shown with a lotus and a parakeet.\(^7\)

The Kusāna sculptures of Yakshas and Yakṣinis are characterised by the development of such attributes as lotus, staff, cup, sitting or standing or crouching postures and smiling or fierce expressions. On the basis of the predominant characteristics, some individual types such as Kubera, Moggarapāṇi or Padmapāṇi Yakshas may also be identified. The Yaksha images in the Kusāna period are generally not provided with labels; in some cases, there are inscriptions which indicate that they were worshipped. The seated figures Yakshas in the Kusāna art of are comparatively less in number. Yakshas as grotesque-featured dwarfs are also known in this period. Thus it appears that the \textit{mahākāya} concept of Yakshas had been discarded, and they had been reduced to the status of dwarf, losing their previous supreme iconographic importance.

**Post-Kusāna Images**

Yaksha sculptures in the Gupta and mediaeval periods are not so numerous. Although Kubera was a popular subject for images during his time, other Yaksha and Yakṣi representations are rare. One relief from Ucchahra, in Satna district, shows the bust and head of a pot-bellied Yaksha with elegant coiffure. In the image, he is shown hiding his mouth with his left hand. Another Yaksha figure, standing, identified as Ghaṇṭa-kāraṇa from the big pendulous bells in the ears, has been reported from Mathura. He is pot-bellied, nude, and holds a club in the right hand and a vase in the left. A third eye is also shown on his forehead which connects him with

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\(^1\) All the numbers refer to the Register nos. of the different sculptures in the Mathura Museum; for another flower-collecting Yaksha (image no. 47, 111, Lucknow Museum).

\(^2\) Infra, p. 137.

\(^3\) Longhurst, \textit{MASI}, no. 54.


\(^6\) Ibid, no. 359.

\(^7\) Ibid, no. 362.
In the Gupta art, Yakshas either appear as decorative motifs or in the form of Gaṇās, the story of whose origin and association with Śiva and Gaṇeśa makes them an independent image group. The Pramathas or Gaṇas were obviously the image types that were derived from the early Yaksha images. These derivations are confirmed by their attributes such as staff, pot-belly, and various standing or sitting poses. The nudity with conspicuous genitals also continued to the Gupta period in the Yaksha images. But the composite type of figures disappeared. A comparatively small number of Yaksha figures, as also their use as decorative motifs, indicate that they had lost their independent status and merged in the personalities of greater cult gods such as Śiva, Gaṇeśa, the Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the Kusāna and Gupta periods. Therefore, their iconography has not been described in the contemporary iconographic texts which otherwise contain copious material about the other cult gods.

However, that Yakshas and Yakshiṇis were not entirely eliminated is proved by the emergence of 24 Yaksha Upāṣakas and Yakshiṇi Śāsanadevatās of the different Jain Tirthankaras. Other images of Yakshas and Yakshiṇis are also known in the mediaeval times. The Museum at Sanchi contains a figure of a demoniac Yaksha (no. A.122) with moustaches, curly hair, beard and long canine teeth. The tongue of the Yaksha is pressed between his lips, and in the ear-lobes he wears large round buttons. Several Yakshiṇi figures from Ghusai, Gyasarupur, Suhania etc. from the Madhya Bharat region are preserved in the Gwalior Museum. One of the most interesting Yakshiṇi images in the Gwalior Museum comes from Gyasarupur (no 5/72). The figure in relief carelessly wears a short printed garment around her hips with tassel dropping from it between her thighs. Her hair is beautifully done up at the back. The head is decorated with beaded strings (naukālika jāla) in loops. She wears round kunḍalas and a close-fitting necklace in three strands containing different decorative devices. From the third, lowest strand drops a pendant between her breasts, dangling down to the left part of her waist. Another loose necklace covers her breasts. The arms, and the legs (below the knees) are broken. The figure wears a smile [Fig. 68]. Such figures with hands on the robe in the act of disrobing (or wearing such attire) are known from the Kusāna art of Mathura also (for example, railing pillars nos. J.26 and J.71).

A large number of Jain Yaksha and Yakshiṇi images are known from different parts of India, particularly Western, Southern and Central India. The antiquity of these images may go back to 8th century AD. It is significant that among them Yakshis are more numerous. Also, various Brahmānical cult deities, like Śiva, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Brahmā and Manasā may be comprehended in many of the Jain semi-gods such as Gomukha, Brahmā, Īsvara, Garuda, Kubera, Varuna, Ambikā and Padmāvatī.

In the Central Indian iconography of these demi-gods, Deogarh (Jhansi distt.), Pathari (Vidisha distt.), Simhapur (Shahdol distt.), Tripuri and Sohagpur (Jabalpur distt.), are important. Deogarh ...
alone, as an important centre of Jain art, has yielded more than two dozen such sculptures in round or in relief. The place is scattered with some thirty one Jain temples and, on the temple no. 12, twenty Yakshiśis along with their Jinas have been represented. They are all inscribed. The following Yakshiśis have been identified.

Four-armed Cakreśvari (Jina Rishabha); two-armed Saraswatī (Jina Abhinandana); Sulocanā (Jina Padmaprabha); Sumālinī (Candra-prabha); two-armed Bahurupī (Pushpadanta); four-armed Śrīyadevi (Śīlata); two-armed standing Vahni (Śrīyāśīsānātha); two-armed Abhoga-rohini (Vāsu-pujya); two-armed Surakṣitā (Vimala); two-armed Ananta-virā (Ananta); two-armed Sūrakṣitā (Dharma); two-armed Śrīyadevi and similar Ananta-virā (with Jina Sānti); four-armed Arakārabhi (Kunthu); two-armed Tārādevi (Ara); two more unnamed Yakshiśis (Muniśuvrata and Nimi) and four-armed (Padmāvati, Varudhamāna).

On comparison of these names with the others, it appears that these Yakshiśis probably present a local Central Indian tradition different from both Digambara and Śvetāmbara tradition. As far as their dating is concerned, Sankalia regards them to be of 11th century AD although, according to him, some of these like Surakṣitā and Tārādevi may belong to even C. 600 AD.

The difference of names in this list may also indicate that before the standardisation of the names of Yakshiśis, many names were taken into account earlier, but they could not obtain acceptance and eventually these gave way to fresh names. As regards the Deogarh reliefs, the majority of these are shown standing. They are usually two-armed, and their vāhanas have not been always shown.

From Deogarh temple no. 19, two more images of Yakshiśas have been reported. One represents Cakreśvari, eighteen-armed, holding rosary, noose, flowers, wheel, and mirror besides other indistinct objects. She is shown in lalitaśana on the back of a sitting Garuda figure. Around her on the stele, six female and two male figures, probably Yakshiśis and Yakshas, have been carved [Fig. 69]. Another Yakshi, probably Mālinī or Sumālinī, is shown with a bull mount. She is eight-armed, with all her arms except lower left, broken. The parikara, 'stele,' of the image is amply decorated [Fig. 70].

Khajuraho, another centre of art, has yielded many Yaksha and Yakshiśi figures. Among these, an image of Vijaya holding gada and cakra, now in the Jardine Museum, may be mentioned. Gomukha Yakshiśa appears rather prominently on the four corners of the Ādinaśa temple, as a four-handed standing figure holding various ayūdhas and wearing ornaments and yajnopavita. This Yakshiśa, who was the upāsaka of Ādinaśa and who had Cakreśvari as his consort, appears often in the Jain iconography. One of his images is known from Gadharawal of Dewas district in Madhya Pradesh. In the image he appears as a bull-faced, corpulent deity, holding club and lotuses in the different hands [Fig. 71]. In an image from Hathmo in the Jodhpur district, Rajasthan, a four-armed Gomukha is shown seated in lalitaśana on a lotus-seat. In his two upper hands and the lower left hand he holds a parasu, nāga, and citrus, respectively; his lower right hand is in the abhaya mudra. A male attendant is shown towards his right [Fig. 72].

\[1\] Annual Progress Report of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, 1918, pp. 8-9.
\[2\] cf. VS, pp. 164ff, where some similar names of the Jain Vidyādevīs have been given.
\[4\] supra, p. 49f; and Appendix II.
\[5\] Sankalia, H. D., D.C.B., I, p. 163.
\[6\] ibid, p. 163, fig. 8 and 9 respectively; Sankalia thinks that these Yakshiśis may belong to the Śvetāmbara sect of Jains. For similar Yakshiśis at Badami, and Gujarati. cf. Sankalia, H. D., D.C.B., March, 1940, pp. 185-88.
\[7\] ASI, Ar., 1917-18, Part I, pl. IIb and c.
\[9\] Thakore, S.R., Catalogue, p. 46.
\[10\] Several Gomukha images are deposited in the Lucknow State Museum, e.g. nos. 56-418, 56-419 (Mirzapur, shown with his consort Cakreś-vari); G. 385, details similar, Bhagadeva, Mirzapur; the antiquity of this Yakshiśa figure goes back to Kushāṇa period in the Mathura sculptures. In one image (no. J.83, Lucknow Museum) Gomukha stands as an attendant, to the top-right part of the seal of a Tīrthānaka image, which is datable to Kushāṇa period.
graphy also portrayed the *ashtavasus* like Gomukha, bull-faced. Cakreśwāri and Gomukha appear to have been a popular pair. A twelve-armed image of Cakreśwāri with Gomukha is known from Sonda in Karnataka.\(^1\) Recently a bronze image of Rishabhanāth with this Yaksha pair has been acquired by Nagpur Museum,\(^2\) from Rajnāpur-Khinakhini. A twelve armed figure of Cakreśwāri appears on the lintel of the entrance to the Pārśvanāth temple of Khajuraho. On the corners of the entrance other Yakshīṅī figures are also noticeable. In the ubiquitous band of sculptures on the exterior of this temple, Cakreśwāri, Gomukha, Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī and Ambikā may be identified. Padmāvatī also appears in the *mundapā* of the Śāntināth temple along with Dharaṇendra seated under a tree with Tīrthankara. The Yakshi holds a child. Padmāvatī's image is also found embedded in a *bāvalī* behind the Śāntināth temple. She holds a child, a bunch of mangoes, noose and a *pustaka* in her four hands. She occurs also on the left side of the exterior of the Ādināth temple.\(^3\) Siddhāyiṅī Yakshi appears on the main sanctum of the Śāntināth temple. The local Museum at Khajuraho contains a broken image which holds in the only extant hand a noose (*kamala*) her *vāhana* is a horse; on the basis of this *vāhana* she may be identified with *Monovegā* of *Aṣṭajitāparīchha* (ch. 221, verse 20)\(^4\) or with Gāndhārī of *Vāstuśāra* (p. 188). On the exterior of the Ādināth temple, there is an eight-armed goddess with a swan *vāhana* which finds mention in texts in case of at least four Yakshīṅīs, viz., Vajrāśriṅkhālī, Jvalāśramiṇī, Anantamati and Gāndhārī. But it is not possible to decide which one is represented in the figure.\(^5\) An image of Kandarpā as Mānasī has also been identified on the left exterior of Ādināth\(^6\) temple. She holds in some of her eight hands, *mushṭika*, dagger, bow, mace and pitcher. One hand is in the *abhaya mudrā*.

The Dhulebela Museum in Madhya Pradesh contains the images of Cakreśwāri, Gomeda, Ambikā and Gomeda. In an architectural piece (no. 599), there is carved a four-armed seated figure of Gomukha Yaksha with the ears and horns of a bull, holding a cup and a pitcher in the extant right hands. To the left of this relief, there is another similar figure with same attributes with an addition of a rosary in the lower right hand. Some other icons in the Museum are also important. The Yakshi Cakreśwāri, (no. 547), four armed, holding *cakra* in both her upper hands, rosary in the lower right and flower in the lower left hand—is a good specimen. She is riding on a Garuda.\(^7\)

Ambikā also finds a prominent place. In one of her images (no. 126), she is shown with her children and her consort; the latter is given an insignificant status on the *parikara*. In another type of her images, she is shown sitting with her consort under a tree along with her presiding deity (82, 227, 158).\(^8\) All these Dhulebela Museum Yakshīṅī seem to have come from Rewa, or Sinhapur in Shadboli district. Padmāvatī Yakshi is known from Sohagpur.\(^9\)

A stele from Tripuri\(^10\) displays several deities with Padmāvatī, serpent-hooded, occupying the central niche. The extreme corners are occupied by Yaksha figures. To the right of Padmāvatī, is probably Kalika or Vajraśriṅkhālī, four-armed, holding a lotus, nāga and a *ghaja*; to Padmā-

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\(^1\) Desai, P.B., *Jainism in South India*, p. 131.
\(^2\) Anekāṅtā, XV, 2, p. 86.
\(^3\) Agrawala, U., op. cit., p. 108.
\(^4\) She has been variously identified as Kandarpā or Mānasī on the basis of the noose (or lotus) held in her hand. cf. Agrawala, U., op. cit., p. 109 note 1. But these two attributes are very common, on the other hand, horse, which is not so common, may help in identifying her.
\(^6\) Ibid, p. 109, note 3.
\(^7\) Another image of Cakreśwāri, no. 184 is similar; her two lower hands are broken.
\(^8\) For another Ambikā Yakshi image from Sohagpur, cf. Banerji, R.D., *MAI*, Vol. 23, pl. XLI, 1. Padmāvatī has also been illustrated here in pl. XLII.2.
\(^9\) *MAI*, no. 23, pl. XLI, fig. 2.
vati's left is another Yakshi. All the Yakshi figures are four-armed and have their natural right hands in the obhaya mudra [Fig. 73]. Another four-armed image of Padmāvatī is known from Sarangapur (Raigarh distt., M. P.). Her natural right hand is in the varada mudra, the rest of her arms are broken. Pārvanāthā, her presiding Jina is shown seated on her serpent hood [Fig 74].

Among the prominent Yakshinīs of South India, Jvalāmālinī, Padmāvatī, Cakreśvarī and Siddhāyikā may be noted.1 Particularity interesting are the two images of Siddhāyikā as identified by Desai2 from Settipodavu, near Kilakudi in Madura taluk of Tamilnad. In them her terrifying and benevolent forms have been indicated. In one of the sculptures in a group of images there, she is represented as a female warrior seated on a lion, holding a drawn bow and arrow in the right and left hands. Her lion is shown grappling with an elephant ridden by a male warrior. In another image, her placid representation, she sits on a pedestal in lalitāśana holding a fruit in the raised right hand, while her left hand rests in her lap. This Yakshinī enjoyed a fairly prominent status in Tamilnad, which is proved by an inscription dedicated to her. This belongs to 8th century AD and is engraved in a cave on Paścapāṇḍavamalai hills in the North Arcot. It states that ‘some Naranan caused to be incised the image of Pomniyakkīyar, the golden Yakshi,[ probably Siddhāyikā. Inside the cave there is also an image of two-handed Siddhāyikā.3

In the Western Indian School of painting various such themes have been recognised, which further indicates the important status of these demi-gods.4 Some of these Yakshinīs, particularly Cakreśvarī and Jvalāmālinī, found their exclusive worshippers in the South, where a Tāntric cult, with Elācaryā as its founder, developed around Jvalāmālinī, which is indicated by the Tantric work Jvalamālinikalpa.6 In an epigraph from Sedam, (Hyderabad State) are indicated mystic rites for her worship by the mahājanas of that place.7 Another inscription6 refers to the injunction of taking out her image in procession on the occasion of service of Helācaryā. Desai has indicated that the worship of another Yakshi, Siddhāyikā, was also very popular.9 Padmāvatī was another Yakshi who held an important status and received worship from the royal families and aristocracy, and in south India, her name is often found in the epigraphs from 10th century AD.10 Some of these Yakshinīs even acquired the status of Jain Vidyādevīs.11 It is also significant that in the early Yaksha iconography a pair is rarely encountered, while in the Jain system of popular gods as well as their iconography, that is common.

Aṇibikā12

Among all the Jain Śāsanadevatās, she is most prominent. She is the Yakshinī of the twenty second Jain Tirthankara Nemināthā, although in sculptures sometimes she is shown with Ādīnāthā and Pārvanāthā.13 Her story is preserved in certain works14 and her images and traditions of worship are described both in Dīgāmbara and Śvetāmbara Jain works. According to

1Desai, P. B., Jainism in South India, pp. 37, 39, 58, 65, 69, 90, 131-32, etc.
2Ibid, pp. 58ff.
4cf. Moti Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings of Western India, figs. 33, 34, 36, 41, 46; also Shah, U.P., Studies in Jainia Art; Majumdar, M.R., JUPHS, XXIII, Pt. 1-2, pp. 218-27.
5Śrīpāla Kāthā, pp. 32ff, 40ff.
7Ep. Ind., XXIX, p. 203.
9Desai, P. B., op. cit., under Siddhāyikā.
10Ibid, pp. 171ff.
11Bluntacharya, B.C., Malaviya Commemoration Volume, Benaras, 1932.
12For literature on her cf. Shah, U.P., Iconography of Aṇibikā, Bombay University Journal, September, 1940, pp. 147ff; Agrawala, R.C., IHQ, Vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 434ff; Desai, P. B., JIH, Vol. 35, 1937, p. 245; also Jainism in South India by the same author.
13Shah, U.P., op. cit., p. 165, fig. 33 and 34.
14Vividheightakalpa, pp. 107-8.
her legend in the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 107-8), she fed the food prepared for a Śrādiṣṭha to a Jain monk breaking his fast. Being afraid of incurring the wrath of her husband for this act, she fled from her house. The act brought good luck to her and her family; but frightened by the approach of her husband, she jumped into a well, and died with her two sons, Siddha and Buddha. Some variations in the legend are also noticeable. According to another version, she belonged to Koḍināra in Mahārāṣṭra or Girinagara; her name is also given as Agnilā, and her sons are named Subhankara and Prabhakara. As a result of a good act in feeding a Jain monk, she was reborn as Kūshmāṇḍi, and accepted as a Yakṣinī of Neminātha. Her husband, who had committed suicide, was reborn as a lohn; in the iconography, he seems to figure as her *vāhana*.

This Yakṣinī enjoyed a fairly wide worship. Ujjayantā, Raivatakagiri, Hastināpar, Dhipmūrī, Ahicchatrā, Mathura and Pratishthāna were some of the places which had her temples, according to Jina-prabha Sūrya. Her images have been reported from different regions from all over India. It seems that different forms of her worship, including Tantric form, were prevalent.

U.P. Shah has exhaustively treated the subject of her legend and iconography, and his conclusions may be summed up here. Images of this Jain-goddess may be divided into three groups according to the number of arms they bear, namely, (a) two-armed (b) four-armed and (c) having more than four arms. These are further sub-divisible in the Dīganṭhāra and Śvetāmbara classes. There may be variations in other forms of Ambika, but lion is invariably her vāhana, and her complexion is golden. Mention is made of her two-armed variety of images in several dhyānas, namely, the *Urbjaya-tāraka* (V.13), the *Caturviniṭikī* of Bappabhaṭṭi, the *Ambikāśaṅka* of Ambā Prasād, the *Pratishṭha Sāroddhāra* of Pandit Āśīdhara and the *Pratishṭhālāaka* of Nemi-chandra. And her images and figures related to these dhyānas have been found abundantly.

It seems that the two-armed variety of her images provided a basic model for those of her images with four-arms. In such cases, she has been conceived as holding sword, cakra, ānrameñjara, citron, nose and goad. The different works giving her dhyāna in this connection are as follows: the *Trīṣaṃśītsalākāpursa Carita*, the *Praṇavaśāroddhāra*, the *Vividhatirthakalpa*, Ācārādīnākara, and the manuscript of *Rāpāvatārā Nirvāṇakalika*.

Her eight-armed forms have also figured in different dhyānas but of great interest is her terrifying form described in the *Ambikā-tāṅkāḥ* (Bhairava Padvātī Kalpa), in which she is described as *Bhimānādī, Candikā, Candērūpī, Aghorā* and destroyer of the whole of existence. This form of the goddess has been illustrated in an image from Vimalā Saha temple at Mt. Abu.

Among some of her important images, the following may be noted: *Ambikā from Patīyaṇ Daī* (Distt. Satna, Allahabad Museum). She is shown standing, flanked by her children. A lion is shown towards her right. Her four hands are all broken. She wears the usual dress and ornaments. On the different sections of the stele, the other twenty-three Yakṣinīs have been shown along with their inscribed names [Fig. 75]. Several other images of this Yakṣinī are known from other places. In an image now in the Museum at Khajuraho, she is standing, four-handed, with two hands broken and the other two holding uncertain objects. The

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2Ibid.
4Shah, U.P., op. cit., p. 149.
5Ibid, pp. 149ff; for images pp. 152ff; also T.N. Ramechandra's classification. He refers to three dhyānas of Ambikā—(i) in the laudatory verse recited in Canarese by the temple priest at Jina Kāṇchi; (ii) in palmleaf MSS. in possession of the temple-priest of the same place (iii) in some more images such as that of Dharmādevi referred to as the Yakṣinī in place of Ambikā. cf. *Tiruparuttikāram and Its Temples*, p. 209, quoted by Shah.
7Ibid, p. 161.
8Ibid, p. 162.
9Ibid, fig. 25.
10Supra, p. 150.
mangoes are shown at both the sides of her head on the stele. A lion is on the pedestal. In the Dhubela Museum, in Chhatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh, there is an image showing Gomedha and Ambikā. Both are seated under a tree, with their presiding deity Neminātha. Ambikā holds a child in her left lap. On the pedestal, five devotees have been shown, two for Gomedha and three for Ambikā.

At Mathura, in one of her early images (no. D, 7) she figures as the principal deity surrounded by Vishnu, Kuvera, Balarama and Ganeśa. At Khajuraḥo, her images are also found decorating the outer walls of the Pārśvanāth temple and the doorjamb of the Ādinātha temple. In the latter, she is sitting on a lion, holding mangoes in one hand and a suckling child in the other.

The Yaksha pantheon, thus, was quite large. At the same time, it consisted of different hierarchical positions. Most prolific information about them seems to come from Buddhist sources regarding early phase of Yaksha-worship and from the Jain sources about the later phase. The cult may have waxed and waned due to the inroads of the other powerful religious systems, but it never lost its popularity; it is clear that if the old Yakshas were converted or eliminated, the new Yakshas joined in the ranks.

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1 Agrawala, V.S., Some Brahmanical deities in Jaina Religious Art, Jaina Antiquity, March, 1938, pp. 89-92 for some other similar images.
CHAPTER

7

Allied Motifs

Animal-Faced Figures

In the early art related to Yakshas, composite motifs are found rather abundantly. In all probability, such motifs were meant for illustrating the monstrousity of Yakshas. They are in consonance with the belief that Yakshas could assume any form at will. They also indicate the totemistic origins of the Yakshas, if Yakshas are to be regarded as one of the ancient forgotten tribes. Just as the ancestor-worship, expressed by various rebirth stories regarding Yakshas, enriched the Yaksha-cult, the totemistic worship also might have contributed towards the same end.

In Indian art, various animal-headed cult-deities are known, for instance, Naigaila, Aja, Ganes, Nirishita and Varaha; but the earliest sculptures in this art-tradition belong to Yakshas. In course of time, such representations were accepted in the iconography. The Aparajita-priccha (233. 4-6) prescribes the combinations of animals and birds, humans and animals or humans and birds, for depiction in art.

A much earlier text, the Lalitavistara has more vivid and elaborate details of the countless deformities concerning the Maraupras. Among these Maraupras, an explicit reference to Yakshas is also found. Some of the features occur in the Yaksha figures of the second century AD, and these may be related to the contemporary tradition as found in the Lalitavistara. The text says that the Maraupras had ears like those of donkey, elephant, lion and other animals; that they had fierce faces, fearful teeth, long tongue, black and angry eyes; their bodies were of different hues, e.g., flaming yellow, black, blue, or blood red. Some of the Maraupras looked emaciated, while others were pot-bellied. Some of them were short of their limbs, and the faces of some resembled those of jackal, donkey, bull, camel, buffalo, Sarabha and other animals. Some Maraupras had a single head, others had many; some had the feet above and the head below; their hair were like those of ass, boar, goat, cat, monkey and the like; there were some Maraupras who had hair like needles. Some of them had a composite body (anya mukhāni ca anya tarīḍa). The description covers a large number of deformities while presenting theri-anthropomorphic types conceived in relation to the Maraupras who included Yakshas also.

The motif of theri-anthropomorphic Yakshas came into existence in the second century BC and is seen at Bharhut, Bodhgaya, and Pitalkhora. Mathura region has also provided similar figures of the same period. One such representation on a medallion of a railing-pillar shows a human head attached to the body of a frog [Fig. 76]. The corresponding other side of the pillar carries the depiction of a lotus flower, which indicates that both these representations were meant for decorative purpose. This piece is in the State Museum, Lucknow. Another medallion in the Mathura Museum, portrays a nude Vāla-Yaksha, upper half human and lower half serpent.

1 Lalitavistara, p. 223f.
2 CH, II, Part, II, pl. XXVII (Gokarna Yaksha).
3 Barua, B.M., Gaya and Buddhagaya, II, fig. 45 (Gokarna Yaksha).
4 Ancient India, 15, pl. XLIX, A.
His ears are like those of a bull. Serpents’ mouth is unrealistic [Fig. 77]. A cross-bar (no. 3513) in the Mathura Museum is carved with the motif of Gokarna Yaksha on both the sides. The State Museum, Lucknow, however, has a statuette, representing a figure of a two-armed Gomukha Yaksha, with his right hand in the abhaya mudra and the left hand, akimbo, kept on the waist. The horns (pariately broken), big eyes and snout with tongue are clear in the figure [Fig. 78]. The image, stylistically, seems to belong to the Kushana period. In another relief at Mathura (no. 323 Saptarshi mound) a fish-tailed Gokarna Yaksha finds portrayal and the auditory here is concealed by a fig-leaf.

An image of Gomukha Yaksha from Tamain is preserved in the Gwalior Museum, and belongs to circa 7th century AD. The lower part and the right hand of the image are broken. His bull-face is prominent, and a special feature of the figure is the bell hanging from his neck. Moti Chandra has suggested its identification with Ghanatika Yaksha [Fig. 79].

Elephant-headed male and female Yakshas are also known. One such figure had been mentioned by Coomaraswamy. Another representation, of the Kushana period (Mathura Museum bas-relief no. 2235), contains in a band, five such figures. The Museum has recently acquired an elephant-headed figure which has on the reverse a linesketch of a grinning Yaksha. The ancient site of Raith (near Jaipur) has yielded a small terracotta plaque with an elephant faced Yakshini.

Some donkey-faced figures are also known. But as they are late, their Yaksha-connections are not well-established. A Yaksha bearing a personal name Gardadha is known from the Gilgit MSS (III, 1, p. 15). Another Yaksha, Khara, is known from the Samyutta Nikaya (I.207). Khara, as a Raksasa chief, is also mentioned in the Ramayana (III.21-22). A Mathura Museum fragment (no. 1254) shows the bust of a varaha-faced Yaksha holding a long-necked bottle in the right hand, and a basket containing a garland in the left. The figure is carved in round, and may refer to the Sukara Peta mentioned in the Petavaththu Commentary.

Mathura has also provided a head of Meshashrînga Yaksha (Mathura Museum no. 157) [Fig. 80]. Similar depictions in terracotta are known from Kausambi also. These terracotta figurines are deposited in the Allahabad Museum (nos. K. 4232, K. 4944). In some other depictions, although the stress is found on portraying queer types of ears, animal types do not occur in them. One such example, represents a Sankukarna Yaksha, while the other shows a Ghanatkarña Yaksha.

The figures of horse-headed Yakshas and Yakshis are quite common in the early art. The literary accounts support such depiction. The Nâyâdharmamakahô refers to a Selaga (Sasakrit-Sailaka) Yaksha who assumed the form of a horse and tried to save two brothers from the evil

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1Bajpai, K.D; JIM, IV, 1950, p. 91. pl. III (e); cf. also Sivaramamurti, C., Amaravati Sculptures, pl. XVII.4.
2Another relief of Gokarna Yaksha from Mathura is now in the Lucknow Museum, no. 55.18. A terracotta figurine in the Allahabad Museum (no. 3669, Kausambi), carried a similar depiction. For a fish-tailed Yaksha, see object no. 55.18 and 56.395, Lucknow Museum.
3BPWM, III, p. 47.
4Yaksas, I, pl. 23, fig. 1.
5Mathura Museum Catalogue, JUPHS, XXIII, 1950, p. 140.
6We were able to see the object through the courtesy of the Curator. The figure may reflect the popular belief that Yaksha could assume any form at will.
7Agrawala, R.C., Bharatiya Vidyâ, XX-XXI, pp. 303ff.
8On the basement: of the remains of a Gupt temple preserved inside an enclosure at Eran (Distt. Sagar, M.P.), some Krishna-dîl panels are carved. In two such panels, a donkey-faced demon is shown. They represent either a Yaksha or Dhenuka.
9Pr., p. 9f.; cf. also Dh.A, II.300f; DA, p. 666.
10Agrawala, V.S., Handbook of Sculptures (Mathura Museum), pl. XXII, fig. 26; cf. also Lucknow Museum image no. J. 525 having a horned-Yaksha at the bottom.
11Joshi, N.P., Mathura Art, fig. 20.
13IX, p. 127.
designs of an ogress. The myth of a horse-faced Yakshi is older and finds mention in the Jātakas. The Padakusalamānava Jātaka has preserved the myth in some detail. It relates that the queen of a Benaras king swore a false oath, and became a horse-faced Yakshi. As a Yakshi she served Vessavana, and as a reward for her services she obtained his permission to prey upon those human-beings who fell within her sphere of influence. She once caught a rich and handsome Brahmin, and made him her husband. The Bodhisattva was later born to her. She was eventually deserted both by her husband and son. Her habitat, it is said, was on an island where she had caught the Brahmin after a shipwreck. On this evidence, she may be identified with the vallānakā Yakshiṇī of the Mahāvamsa. Her name in the work is Cetiya, and she lived in the Dhumarakha mountain near Tumbariyangana in Ceylon. According to the Mahāvaṁsaṭikā, she was the wife of Yakkhra Jutindhara. This Yakkhini eventually proved to be of great help to a prince who rode with her into battle against the Yakkhas of Ceylon.

This Yakkhini appears in the early Indian art as a very popular motif, represented at Pātaliputra, Sanchi, Mathura, and several other places. According to Banerjea, she is also to be found on the coins of Agathocles and Panteleon, the Indo-Greek kings, where she is usually identified as "dancing-girl" wearing oriental trousers. One of the most conspicuous representations of this Yakshiṇī is at Bodhagaya, where, in three scenes, the different phases of the story of the Padakusalamānava Jātaka are illustrated.

In the first panel the Yakshi is holding the hand of a man shown emerging from the forest in a hill-tract. The hill is suggested by the square blocks of stones strewn all around. A tree is shown behind the male figure. The Yakshi is looking at the male. In the second panel they are shown engaged in a game of dice, with the caupadha spread in their front. The third panel, depicts the figures of the couple with their Bodhisattva child. The figures are broken, but from what remains, it is clear that the man is fondling the Yakshi, who stands in the pose of a Śalabhaṇjikā. Their child is shown playing, towards the left bottom of the panel.

Some of the other representations of Aśvamukhi Yakshiṇī are as follows:

1. Mathura Museum fragment of a railing pilaster (no. 191, Ht. 2'). cut in three facets on the front side. The central medallion shows this Yakshiṇī, standing and touching the shoulder of a young man, standing by her side [Fig. 81]. He is in the pose of entering into conversation with her. (Dated in 1st century BC by Agrawala on the basis of chamfered edges of pilaster and heavy turban of the male figure.)
2. On the medallion of the railing of Stūpa II at Sanchi. She is shown carrying her child towards her left.
3. Lucknow Museum relief no. B.208, from Mathura. She is shown in the representation of a scene of Indāsala guhā.
4. A similar medallion on a railing pillar from Pataliputra, now in the Calcutta Museum. Early second century BC.
5. Perhaps also at Ajanta cave, no. XVII.

1 Padakusalamānava Jātaka, III. 432; Kunāla Jātaka, V. 222.
2Ibid.
3X. 53.
4p. 289.
5Banerjea, J.N., DHI, p. 111, pl. IX, fig. 7.
6Barua, B.M., Gaya and Buddhagaya, figs. 66 a, b, c.
7Agrawala, Catalogue, p. 34.
8Marshall, J., Monuments of Sanchi, III, pl. XC. 86b also pl. XCVI.3
9Coomaraswamy, I, p. 40 (description of pl. 12 fig. 1); also Waddell, Report on Excavations at Pataliputra.
Caleutta, 1903.
10Coomaraswamy, I, p. 10 note 2 quoting Griffith, pl. 142b.
6. Mandora, Rajasthan: A Gupta period Krishnallâ panel from this place shows the Mt. Govardhana. On it, among the wild beasts, a figure is carved which has been identified with the Āśvamukhi Yakshi.¹

Such frequent occurrences of this Yakshiṇī show her great popularity in iconic tradition.

Scenes with Yaksha Folklore

In the early art, Yakshas have occurred in scenes depicting some story. Sometimes, Jātaka stories, with a Yaksha as the central figure, have also been depicted. At Bharhut, one such depiction illustrates the Vidhurapandita Jātaka (no. 545), inscribed as Vijura-Punakiya Jātakatam.² It was first identified by Cunningham.³ The Jātaka story relates the episode of a noble īśhārīya Vidhurapandita and a Yaksha Punṇaka. Punṇaka was the lover of Irandati, a Nāga-princess and to fulfill the condition for marriage with her, he went to the Kuru country, and won Vidhurapandita in a game of dice with the King of Kuru. Vidhura accompanied Punṇaka, by holding the tail of the horse of the Yaksha. When they reached the Mt. Kālagiri, identified with Vepulla⁴ (Vipulari) near Rājagriha, Punṇaka tried to frighten Vidhura by holding him upside down and threatening to throw him down the precipice. The sage, however, remained unmoved and, by a learned discourse, won over the Yaksha. Punṇaka, after this dialogue, took the sage to the Nāga-world. After marrying Irandati by fulfilling the promise, he brought Vidhura back to Indapatha and also presented him a jewel of extraordinary merit.

The relief at Bharhut (Fig. 82) illustrates some of the highlights of the whole adventure. In the lower relief the gambling-scene is represented. Punṇaka is shown along with his horse; a large square jewel decorates his chest. The figure of the king of Kuru is broken. In the gateway, on the left of the relief, a standing figure, probably Vidhura, has been shown.

In the lower left corner of the middle relief, Vidhura is holding the tail of the flying horse and Punṇaka is starting on his aerial journey. The rocks and trees in the upper portion represent probably the summit of Kālagiri. On the right, Punṇaka is suspending Vidhura by his heels upside down. On the left side of the panel Punṇaka stands with raised hands, probably conversing with Vidhura.

In the lower right corner of the relief, both are sitting on a horse on a homeward journey, probably after meeting the Nāga-King. Vidhura is seated in front of Punṇaka on a horse. “Thus the sculptor has inserted the group as a connecting link between the events on the Kālagiri and the arrival in the Nāga world, represented in the upper relief.”⁵ Lüders, has identified Vidhura with Vidura of the Mahābhārata.

No other Jātaka scene with Yaksha seems to occur at Bharhut. The attempt of Barua to identify Valāhassa Jātaka in a Bharhut scene has not found favour. Lüders has pointed out that the figure in question actually represents the donor Suladdha attended by a groom and a soldier.⁶ A representation of the Valāhassa Jātaka is found in the Mathura art. Bacchofar identified the scene on the back of a jamb from Mathura. In three panels from top to bottom, it illustrates the ship-wrecked merchants, in the first panel; in the second panel is carved the

¹cf. Agrawala, R.C., Bharatiya Vidyā, XX-XXI, pp. 303-9. He also reports horse-faced male figures from Rajasthan. A fragment (no. 5054) in the Mathura Museum register, is reported to have several figures on a Śrīya image of mediaeval period. One such figure represents a horse-headed male attendant. He stands in tribhanga pose with a pāṭīghata in the right hand and left hand placed on the thigh.
²CII, II, Part II, p. 146 (no. B. 55).
³CSB, p. 79f; Barua, Bharhut, II, pp. 155f; Barua and Sinha, Bharhut Inscriptions, pp. 94ff.
⁴CII, op. cit., p. 146 note 4.
⁵CII, op. cit., p. 147, The Jātaka has also been represented at Amaravati, Amaravati Sculptures, pl. XXIX, 1, 2; cf. Gupta, R.S. and B.D. Mahajana, Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves, pp. 68-70, for another depiction of this scene.
⁷Early Indian Sculpture, pl. 94; cf. also ASI, AR, 1909, 10, p. 72, pl. 26c; ASI, AR, 1912-13, p. 104, pl. 24, 54.
escape of those who accepted the Bodhisattva's advice and flew away from the island with a white horse. The third panel shows ghastly Yakshiṣas with long fearful tongues, devouring those merchants who had stayed on the island, mindful of the Bodhisattvas' advice.

Some illustrations of the Sūtasoma Jātaka (no. 537) have been reported from Mathura. A fragment (no. 431, Ht. 10½ × 2), shows a human-being carrying a pole on his shoulder. At both the ends of the pole two young boys are shown suspended. A tree is seen in the foreground. There is an expression of fierceness on the face of the Yaksha figure carrying the children. Another panel, (no. J.23) in the Mathura Museum, has on the reverse a broken figure of a man seated on the head of a Yaksha-dwarf. This scene has also been identified by Agrawala, in the Catalogue, with that of the Sūtasoma Jātaka. But it appears that the scene represents only the usual belief in the Yakshas as prompt transporters.¹

In the early art of Bharhut and Mathura, some hospital scenes, with the presence of Yakshas, are also noticeable. In these scenes Yaksha is associated with monkeys; and this seems to lend a comical effect to the scene represented. At Bharhut, in three medallions, a story has been narrated. The first shows a group of six monkeys in the act of capturing and dragging an elephant with ropes. Among these monkey-figures, two hold a pipe and a drum. In the second medallion, five monkey-figures are sitting or climbing over the elephant, while one is goading him to move. Three other monkeys below are beating a drum and a mridanga and blowing a pipe, probably rejoicing at the capture of the elephant. The Yaksha is introduced in the third panel. He is sitting on a stone-seat, with his feet on a foot-stool. A rope tied to the neck of the elephant has a hook which is being attached by a monkey to the left nostril of a Yaksha (not to the tooth as Barua thought). Two monkeys are goading the elephant to move, while two others are playing on drum and conch. One more monkey-figure is holding the finger of the Yaksha. The literary sources, to the best of our information, do not preserve any account that may correspond with the scene. It is likely that the monkeys might be attempting to put down the malefic nature of Yaksha by tickling his nose and cutting his nails. Barua thought that the story in the panel narrates some account of the tooth-ache of a Yaksha which was set right by the monkey—Bodhisattva.² This suggestion lacks any corroborative evidence. At best, it seems that some comical popular story has been delineated here whose significance cannot be properly established. The presence of monkeys in the scene probably embodies some popular tradition for they are found present along with Yakshas elsewhere also. The Mathura Museum has a railing-pillar¹ (J.1) with a rectangular panel at the top, which contains two monkeys seated on stools. One is addressed by a grotesque-featured Yaksha who applies his hand to his eyes. The other monkey seems to be busy in curing the eyes of a bird who is perched on a similar stool of wicker work [Fig. 84]. Agrawala has remarked that it is a scene depicting, in a humorous manner, the eye-ward of an animal hospital. He identified the bird as a parrot. But it appears more likely that it is an owl being cured (?) of his day-blindness since, according to popular belief, the owl cannot see during the day.

The occurrence of monkeys in both the scenes, one at Bharhut and the other at Mathura, is interesting. The association of monkeys with Yakshas is borne out by the Rāmāyanā (I.16.5)³ in which it is said that monkeys were begotten from Yakshis to help Rāma against Rāvana. A son of Kubera: Gandhamādana is also one of the monkeys who served Rāma when the latter went in search of Sītā to the Vindhyas.⁴

² CSB, pl. XXXIII, 1-3.
³ Barua, Bharhut, II, p. 171, III, pl. XCVI, XCVII, fig. 148, a, b, c.
⁴ Catalogue, JUPHS, 1951, p. 3.
⁵ R.16.12 according to a pāṭhahīlga.
Among the scenes connected with the Yaksha-folklore, mention may also be made of those from Gandhara and Amaravati in which Yaksha Śākyavarādhana, the tutelary deity of Śākyas has been shown. The relief slab from Amaravati depicts the scene of presentation of the child Siddhārtha (Buddha) to the Yaksha. Śākyavarādhana Yaksha’s corpulent figure with folded hands has been shown emerging from a platform below the banyan tree. He is in the act of receiving the child to bless him.

Gandhara has supplied some more scenes connected with Yaksha folklore. One such scene from Sirkī Sūta (now in the Lahore Museum) represents the conversion of Yaksha Āṭāvika (Āḷavaka).

In the relief to the right, the royal couple are shown bringing the child Hāthaka Āḷavaka to the Yaksha; the Buddha is in a reassuring pose. Āṭāvika is dishevelled and he places the child on the Buddha’s throne. The male figure behind the child re-presents Vajrapāñi, the Yaksha doorkeeper. Another relief from Sahri Bahol is now in the Peshawar Museum (no. 471) and shows the Buddha sitting on the Yaksha’s throne in abhaya mudrā. The Yaksha stands to the left, about to hurl some object on the Buddha. On the other side, he meekly hands over the child to the Buddha.

Āḷavaka Yaksha figures in a panel from Nagarjunakonda also. The panel illustrates the story as given in the Sūtrāya Nikāya Comm., which says that during the absence of the Yakshas, the Buddha sat on his throne and addressed his females. Āḷavaka rushed to the spot and threatened the Buddha. A dialogue followed between them at the end of which the Yaksha was pacified. The panel shows the Buddha sitting on the throne in the abhaya mudrā; a few female figures are shown in the panel; two of them are pacifying the Yaksha who is in a belligerent pose. A male figure (Gardabha, the doorkeeper?) sits near the throne.

Yaksha as a Decorative Motif

The delineations of Yakshas in art present a limitless variety of forms. They occur as atlantes, bearing or supporting some edifice on their hands or supporting garlands, or engaged in dancing or playing on musical instruments or issuing rhizomes from the mouth or navel. Such forms are known from the art of Amaravati. Coomaraswamy has traced similar figures in the early art of Bharhat and other places. These Yakshas sometimes also form the army or retinue of Māra. But one of the most interesting motifs of Yakshas, known mostly from South India, is that in which grotesque Yakshas contain similar faces carved on their big-bellies. Sivaramamurti has traced the development of this motif at Amaravati and other sites of South India through ages.

A four-armed image of a similar bhūravahaka Yaksha (11th century AD), is known from

2Barrett, D., Sculptures from Amaravati, pl. VII, lower right corner of the slab; cf. also ASI, AR, 1928-29, pl. XLIX, panel for another similar scene.
3cf. Coomaraswamy, I, p. 49, pl. 20.
4supra, p. 38.
5Ingholt, H., The Gandhara Art in Pakistan, p. 87, no. 126.
6ibid, p. 87, no. 127.
7Ramachandra, P.R., Art of Nagarjunakonda, p. 70; cf. also Longhurst, MASI, 54.
8Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures, pl. XXXVII: XIX, 3 (supporting a vase).
9ibid, pl. XXIII, 2 (seated); XV, 2, 3 (Ganesa type); Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati, pl. XXXIX.
10ibid, pl. LVII, LII, 2; Barrett, op. cit., pl. IX, C.
12Yakṣas, I, pl. 1, 23; Yakṣas, II, pp. 13ff, 24ff, p. 55.
14Amaravati Sculptures, pl. III, 5a (Amaravati), (b) Ghantasala, (c) Sarmath, (d) Ajanta, (e) Mahabaleshwar, (f) Kaveripakkam.
Bhojapur in Sehour district of Madhya Pradesh. With his upper hands he supports a ledge above, his lower arms are broken. On his belly a huge additional face is shown, with large eyes, big nostrils and open mouth with thick lips, revealing fangs [Fig. 85].

In all the above instances, the Yakshas' malformed physical features have been emphasised. From these it appears that these Yakshas were precursors of Ganesa.

The river goddesses Gangā and Yamunā, who made their appearance in the Gupta art, may also be iconographically connected with the early Yaksha figures. The Makara vāhanas of Yakshas and Yakshis are known from the art of Bharhut and Amaravati and have been mentioned at relevant places. A transition from Yakshis to the river goddesses should have taken some time to get accepted. And some figures on the door-jamb reflect this stage of indecision and transition. A Gupta figure from Nagod [Fig. 83] now in the Allahabad Museum shows a Yakshi on a door-jamb standing on a nāra figure. The door-jamb at the Parvati templeat Nachna (M.P.) also contain Bacehanalian Yakshis and Śalabhanjikās which iconographically belong to the Yakshi figure in transition towards the river-goddesses. This transformation was completed during the Gupta period.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF YAKSHAS

The terracotta figurines of Yakshas usually follow the sculptural tradition of representing those demi-gods. These terracotta figures are known mainly from Eastern and Northern parts of India. Coomaraswamy in his personal collection had a terracotta figure from Ujjain, which he described, doubtfully, as a Yaksha holding a ram. But several terracotta figures have been excavated from the ancient sites of Basarh, Bhita, and Patna which resemble the early stone figures of Yakshas. Among these early terracotta figures, the one probably from Tamluk, now in the Indian Institute of Oxford, is of special interest. It represents a Yakshi, most elaborately laden with dress and ornaments in which goad, axe, tīrīḍā and probably a dhvaja embedded in the bonnet on her head may be recognised. She wears heavy round discs in the ears, necklaces, heavy wristlets four in number, a three-banded mekhalā with suspended beaded-ribbon dropping down to the thighs. These contain four amulets of small, corpulent, pot-bellied Yaksha-type figures. Two such amulets have been shown on each of her thighs. Her dress consists of "either a 'sleeveless tunic' or a single garment with flounces." Kramrisch identified her with the Āpsa Pancacūḍā who was produced from the churning of the Ocean; Johnston, with the Mother-Goddess Maiyā; and J. N. Banerjea and Saraswati, with a Yakshi. On stylistic considerations, the last identification seems to be probable since highly decorated Yakshini figures (for instance, Bhatanwara Yakshi [Fig. 48] are known. Moreover, the presence of four pot-bellied figures as

2The Lālītavistara (ed. P.L. Vaidya), p. 223, describes the Māraputras as Kecit ekaśīrāde dvīśirā Yāvatasastraśirā, or, ekaśīrā dvīśirā triśīrāca, yāvat sahasrāśiḥ bahuraktaḥ. In this figure the earlier Buddhist tradition continues; such grotesque figures find mention also in the Purāṇas; cf. Agrawala, V.S., foreword to M.A. Dhaky's Vvāla, Varanasi.

3Lālītavistara, pp. 221ff for weird and ghastly Yakshas in the reinuce of Māra.

4Cf. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., pl. XV, 2, 3; IV, 27 for a Yaksha feeding a leonine sisag. pl. XIX, 2; Yaksha Dryad pl. XVI, 3; LXI; Kubera pl. IV, fig. 21; Dwarf Yaksha standing on a gigantie makara, pl. LI, 2.

5Cf. also Coomaraswamy, I, p. 36; Coomaraswamy also traced the development of the images of Śiva and Bodhisattvas (Mairvēya, Vajrapāni and Padmapāni) from Yaksha images; cf. Yakṣa, I, pp. 28ff.; also Agrawala V.S., Studies in Indian Art, pp. 123ff.

6Coomaraswamy, I, pl. 12, fig. 4.

8Bloch, Excavations at Basarh, ASI, AR, 1913-14, 1917, XLIII, b, c, d, c, XLV, c, d etc.

9ASI, AR, 1911-12, 1915; pl. XXII, 9, 10; XXIII,19; XXVIII, 85, 86.

JISOA, III (1935), pl. XXXI.

10Johnston, E.H., JISOA, X, 1942, pp. 94-102; Saraswati, S.K., Early Sculptures of Bengal, p. 98ff. A large number of terracottas are known from Lauriya Nandangarh, some of which betray Yaksha-Yakshini features in dress, ornaments and style. cf. ASI, AR, 1935-36, pl. XXII, g-o.

10JISOA, VII, pp. 100-1.
decorative motifs may add to the probability of this identification. Similar figures are known from Kausambi also; and Kala has held that this figure should therefore belong to Kausambi [Fig. 86].

Kausambi terracottas generally show Yakshas on moulded plaques or as independent figures, holding either some animal or jar. These were used sometimes as the body of a toy-cart also (no. 499). The figures of both Yakshas and Yakshis are found here. An exact stone prototype [Fig. 38], in the Allahabad Museum, of a terracotta (no. 772) is known. This terracotta figurine shows sunken cheeks, prominent belly and a kulah cap. Kala identified the stone figure with the guardian Yaksha of Kausambi on the basis of the Mahāmatya. However, the Dhammapada Atthakathā (II.300ff.) and the Petavatthu Commentary (pp. 9ff) do refer to a Sakāra Peta who had a pig-head, and lived on Gijjakūta near Rājagriha. But his connection with this figure cannot be established. In another terracotta (no. 727) of the Allahabad Museum, a Yaksha wearing a sleeved coat is shown. In another similarly dressed example (no. K, 3236), Kubera is shown nude and holding a cup in the right hand [Fig. 87]. Sometimes, nudity has been emphasised in some terracotta figures of Yakshas [Fig. 88]. The Mathura Museum has the terracotta figures of ithyphallic Yakshas (nos. 61.5; 67.317). Another figurine (no. 5090) there, shows an ithyphallic Yaksha, playing on a fiddle. A hole drilled through its head indicates that it was meant to be suspended from some place. Various poses and types of Yakshas occur in their terracotta figurines e.g., clenched fist (5229, 5264), carriers (3880 Yaksha carrying a female; 3080, similar, but the female is playing a fiddle), Asvamukhi Yakshi (no. 3031) and Kubera (2095, 2639). The Allahabad Museum terracottas have similar figures of Kubera, holding bijaura and cup (Rajghat, no. 2341); or naravāhana (Mathura, no. 2436). A Kausambi specimen there exhibits a Yaksha like a triton (no. 3669). Some terracottas are almost the replicas of similar examples in stone. One such example from Ahichatrā, now in the Allahabad Museum, shows a crouching Yaksha like the one in stone found at Phalgu vihāra of Ahichattra [Fig. 89]. Mathura Museum has a terracotta vase with a spout-shaped as a pot-bellied Yaksha with a leonine and grotesque face. The Yaksha has two applique earrings, and a collar round the neck. His hands are placed below the navel, and small, knob-like stems represents his feet (no. 65.10). These different terracottas belong to the Śunga period. Several terracottas are known from Mathura also. In one such example (no. 4791) from the Mathura Museum, a seated pot-bellied Yaksha, for use in a toy-cart, is shown. Another shows a Yaksha probably Kubera, seated in kalītāsana, holding a purse in the right hand (Red clay, Kushana period, no. 4508). It is likely that in several cases the terracotta figures might have been prepared as models for the bigger stone figures. But in view of the large numbers of terracotta figures, this suggestion cannot be seriously entertained. In another example (nos. 5229, 5264) a Yaksha is shown with clenched fists. Some grotesque-featured figures, probably representing Yakshas, are known from Ahichatrā (no. 5159) and Mathura (no. 5111, 5242, etc.).

As in the sculptures, so also in the terracottas, Yaksha figures became rare in the post-Kushana period. However, among the later specimens, mention may be made of a Yaksha figure

1Kala, S.C., Terracottas from Kosambi, p. 20f; Kala holds that the figure's provenance as Tamuluk is erroneous. But Samswati, op. cit., p. 110, note 9, has traced the history of this piece along with its association with Tamuluk and Bangal.
2Kala, S.C., op. cit., pp. 31ff.
3Kala, S.C., Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, p. XVIII.
4e.g. Allahabad Museum terracottas no. J. 3362, R. 2104, K. 2564.
5supra, p. 125.
6For another Kosambi terracotta; cf. no. 3982 of the Mathura Museum. It shows a Yaksha wearing a peculiar coat with button-holes, and holding a bird in his hand. On his head is a mukha, bedecked with flowers.
7In another terracotta, no. 4680, besides these features a jar with conch-shell is also shown. (Red clay, Kushana).
discovered by Dikshit at Mahasthan.\textsuperscript{1} A panel here shows a pot-bellied, dwarfish Yaksha, seated on his haunches, supporting a ledge on both his upraised hands. Dikshit has said that the figure exhibits the style of Paharpur sculptures and terracottas.

Śālabhaṇjīkā

After the brilliant analysis of this motif in literature and art by Vogel\textsuperscript{5} and Roth,\textsuperscript{8} there seems to be hardly anything that could be added. The word was accepted for a standard description of women bending down the flowery branch of a tree to pluck flowers. In the Mahāvamsa (XXX.91; XXX.99), the motif is mentioned as pippāḷa-sūkṣā-kha-dharaḥ. Vogel has pointed out that Aśvaghoṣa was probably the first writer to use the term ‘Śālabhaṇjīkā.’\textsuperscript{14} According to the Rāyapasaṇa,\textsuperscript{9} such an image was to be carved on both sides of doors, under an Aśoka tree. They were to be shown standing playfully adorned with dress and ornaments. The slender waist and supple bust of their figures have been emphasised here. From the different references to the word in the texts, it appears that the Śālabhaṇjīkā adorned gateways, temples, pavilions, carts and chariots. They were also carved or painted on walls and pillars.\textsuperscript{1} The Śīva Mahāpurāṇa (Sristhti Khanda, 17.57) refers also to Śālabhaṇjīkā holding dīpā, ‘lamp’; The Raghavānśa (XVI.17) seems to indicate that these figures were applied with paints which could fade away due to lack of attention. This motif is also mentioned as Uddālakapuspabhāṇjīkā, tālabhaṇjīkā, Virāṇapuspaprapcāyi, etc., but the term Śālabhaṇjīkā seems to have acquired greater currency.

The motif has also been connected with the madanotsava, ‘the festival of arrival of spring,’ in the Mālavikāgīnīmitra and its association with dōhada, ‘desire during pregnancy,’ is also found.\textsuperscript{7} The motif is particularly connected with the festivities of eastern India\textsuperscript{8} and its antiquity may go back to the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era.\textsuperscript{9}

In early art, the motif occurs at Bharhut, Bodhagaya and Sanchi on the railing-pillars or as bracket capitals.\textsuperscript{11} At Bharhut, both Candrā and Culakokā devatā are shown standing under trees. Candrā touches with her foot the trunk of the tree, illustrating the motif of madanotsava as described in the Mālavikāgīnīmitra. At Sanchi, this motif is illustrated on almost all the toranas.\textsuperscript{12} In one such figure she is shown perched comfortably on a blossomed Aśoka tree. Her prominent ornaments and scanty dress revealing the charms of her figure, have been rendered with great artistic vigour [Fig. 90].

At Mathura also the motif was extremely popular during the Kushana art and four types of trees, viz., Aśoka, Cāmpaka, Kadamba, and Ánira, are mostly seen in these examples. The Aśoka tree, however, was the most popular tree under which various sport-scenes have been sculptured.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{1}ASI, AR, 1928-29 (Mahasthan), p. 96 pl. XLII d; also ASI, AR, 1936-37, pl. XVI, figs. a and g.
\textsuperscript{2}Acta Orientalia, VII, 1929.
\textsuperscript{3}Roth, G., ‘Śālabhaṇjīkā,’ Paper read in the Archaeological Section in All India Oriental Conference, 19th Session, December, 1957, New Delhi.
\textsuperscript{4}Buddhacarita, V.52; cf. also Moi Chandra, Architectural Data in Jainia Canonical Literature, JUPHS, XXII, 1949, pp. 70ff.
\textsuperscript{5}Dosi, ed., pp. 164-66.
\textsuperscript{6}Vogel, op. cit., p. 216.
\textsuperscript{7}Harshācarita, Bombay, 1897, p. 215.
\textsuperscript{8}Kāśika, VI.2.74; Vāṇśyāvāna in the Kāmasūtra similarly mentions other popular Northern Indian Sports as, deśyakrīdā in which the gathering or plucking of flowers was an essential feature; cf. Agrawala, V.S., Pāṇini, p. 160.
\textsuperscript{9}Roth, op. cit., pp. 97.
\textsuperscript{10}Cunningham, A., Mahabodhi, London, 1892, pl. VII, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{11}Coomaraswamy, I, pp. 32-36, discusses this motif, along with that of river-goddesses and birth of Siddhārtha.
\textsuperscript{12}Marshall, Monuments of Sarnáti, II, pl. XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XLIII, XLIV, XLVIII, particularly that on the east gate, under the mango tree.
\textsuperscript{13}cf. Mathura Museum pillars, nos. J. 55, J. 58, J. 64, also 2345.
A toraṇa-Śālabhaṇḍikā in the Lucknow Museum (no. 595 a, b), carved to serve as a bracket, is conceived in the spirit of Bharhut figures. The pillar is carved on both the sides with Yakshi-figures which hold the branch of an Aśoka tree. One of these figures also has a gaja, 'elephant,' as her vāhana.

An example of pre-Gupta Śālabhaṇḍikā is known from Eran in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh. It was first reported by Cunningham, who also noticed the remains of a ruined toraṇa, 'gateway,' in the vicinity. The bust of Śālabhaṇḍikā has a tenon at the top which was meant for being inserted in the beam of the toraṇa. The figure is carved on both the sides indicating thereby that both front and back views of the figure were meant to be seen. The lower half of the sculpture is broken. The female figure stands on one leg, leaning outwards with one arm passed round a tree for support.

Some figures in alto relievo, standing under Aśoka and Āmra trees, are also carved on the pillars of the mantāpa at Rāmacandra temple at Rajin. This motif is also found at Khajuraho and, as a matter of fact, it never lost its appeal in any part of the country.

Dress and Ornament Patterns of Yaksha Images

Before concluding the chapter, a brief notice of dress and ornament patterns of the early Yaksha-images might be of use in illustrating the iconic points.

Usually, the dresses of Yakshas and Yakshinīs, like those of most of the figures of early times, consisted of a pair of upper and lower garments. Both these garments were known from the Vedic period. Among items of male dress, utṭariya (RV, 1.95.7-8), adhiyāsa (RV, 1.140.9) and nīvī were known. The females used to wear vasana, 'dress', (RV, 1.95.7), drāpi, probably embroidered coat (RV, 1.140.9), upavasana (duṣṭiṣṭi) and pratīdhī, 'waist-band' (AV, XIV. 1.7). Besides, adhiyāsa (RV, 1.140.9) and nīvī (AV, VIII.2.16) are also mentioned as lower garments. In the Buddhist literature, Śūtras and the Arthasastra, a number of garments are mentioned. A vāraviṇa, denoting probably a coat-like upper garment, was also known. In the early literature, head-gear (ushnisha) is mentioned in connection with the vīyasas. Also, Moti Chandra is of the opinion that ladies in ancient times generally wore a long piece of cloth to cover their head, on special occasions turbans were used.

As regards the images of Yakshas and Yakshinīs, they were carved as clad, semi-clad or nude. Sometimes, even if they are embellished and laden with ornaments and dress, their nudity is emphasised [Fig. 52]. The turbans are invariably present in the early images or reliefs [figs. V, VI]. The Parkham and Baroda Yakshas have no conspicuous turban, although a Cudāmaṇi, 'a jewelled band,' is noticeable there. The upper part of the body in Yaksha images contains either an utṭariya, 'scarf,' [figs. I, II], or, in the absence of it, an udarabanda (as in the Parkham image) [fig. XLII]. The utṭariya consisted of a large piece of cloth which passed below the right arm and covered the left shoulder, covering in this way also the front of the bust. In the Pawaya image [Fig. 24, back view]. It is shown as falling down to the ankles. Usually, the scarf covered the left shoulder, but sometimes they are also shown as not worn, but simply held on the arms gracie-

1Cunningham, Reports, X, 1880, pp. 83ff, pl. XXVIII.
2Barrett, D. and Dikshit, M.G., Mukhalingam, Shelur and Rajin Temples, Bombay, 1960, pl. 78 and 79.
3Coomaraswamy, I, pp. 32ff, and plates; for, a Yakshi under Śāla tree, from the Gandhara School of Art. cf. Marshall, Art of Gandhara, pl. 61, fig. 89 illustrating Yakshi-Śālabhaṇḍikā from the upper Monastery at Nāthā.
4Das, A.C., Rigvedic Culture, p. 214.
5Moti Chandra, JISOA, VIII, 1940; Pratīṇa Bhāratiya Veshabhūsha.
6Shamsastri, ed., p. 89, note 10; also Agrawala, V.S., Gupta Art (Section on iconography); tāranuktiṣṭhalopaciyamāna vārābhāṣa, in Harshacarita.
7AV, XV.2.1; Pancaviṇika Bhārmanā, XVI.6.13.
8Pratīṇa Bhāratiya Veshabhūsha, p. 69.
9Kausambi, terracotta, no. 727, Allahabad Museum; Kausambi terracotta no. 3982 in the Mathura Museum; In Allahabad Museum terracotta no. 772, a Yaksha wearing a Kulāh cap is shown.
fully [Fig. 44]. In case of the Yakshas of the Western Gate [Fig. 55] neither any scarf nor patta has been shown. From Mathura and Kausarnah some images wearing crown [Fig. 38] on the head, or wearing a coat with buttons are known. Thus it appears that besides an ushatika [Fig. V, VI] on head, Yaksha figures also wear on the upper part of the body uttariya or udarabandha or coat.

The lower garment was usually a dhoti, worn either up to the knees or slightly below it. [figs. XXVIII-XXX, XXXII]. A tassel, arranged neatly in folds reaching up to the toes was invariably indicated. The frill or tassel of dhoti is always found skillfully handled [fig. XXVIII-XXXI]. From the early times various fashions of this particular mode were known. The dhoti was worn in vikaccha fashion [fig. XVI-XVIII, XXXIII]. It appears that this fashion was common in case of both Yakshas and Yakshinis. Besides, a small patta, 'strap of cloth' was also tied upon the dhoti [fig. XXVIII, XXXVIII] at the waist and it served as a belt to keep the dhoti at the place. In an image from Mathura [fig. 52] the Yakshi is shown gracefully holding the patta in her hands, probably in the act of wearing it. The Patna Yaksha images, however, appear a little unusual in case of wearing the lower garment which looks more like a lungi. This feature might have percolated here due to the Persian influence. The image has no trace of kaçchā and recalls the lower part of the costumes worn by the kings and their attendants in the bas-reliefs of Persepolis.8

In respect of the lower garment, the Yakshini figures present an entirely different picture. In the Kushana Yakshi figures, the dhoti is most often absent in the reliefs, and the nudity is greatly emphasised. "The Mathura figures have a singular lack of distinction in their aggressive nudity; they exhibit lasciviousness combined with grossness. Whilst Candā, Culañkā and their sisters (at Bharhat, from whom they are derived) have the appearance of heavenly nymphs, these unworthy descendants are merely courtiers exhibiting their opulent charm and gaudy jewellery." Even in the case of Bharhat Yakshis, the bust is always bare. But at Mathura, both bust and lower-parts of the body are almost completely found bare. The tradition of nudity of Yaksha figure at Mathura, may be traced to the Gīgit MSS (III, 1, p. 14), where an instance is preserved of a Devata who appeared completely nude before the Buddha. The Buddha, instead of getting upset, put her to shame. Coomaraswamy has explained the nudity of these figures by referring to them as the expression of "vegetative sexual motif," and suggesting that the delineations are symbolic of procreation and fecundity. A different explanation for the nudity of Yakshini figures, however, has been offered by Sivaramamurthi, who says that these figures illustrate the Subhāga aspect of women. He corroborates his arguments quoting from the Meghadūta and says that the use of beauty-spots of the body in describing its charms through personal names was quite common, for instance, Arālakeśu, Candramukhi, etc., "passion, love and sex are also similarly emphasised in early Indian sculptures by showing prominently the bhaga beneath the drapery." The nudity is greatly noticeable in the Yakshi and Śalabhanjikā figures. Sometimes an effort is made to hide the nudity with a fig-leaf as in case of Kubera from Tumain.

The busts of Yakshini figures are mostly bare, but dress for that part was also in currency since very early times. A yakshabandha or stamapaṭṭa as pratidhi (AV, XIV, 1.7) was known. Pāṇini refers to the female upper garment as cetā (III, 4.33). As early as the Rigveda (VI, 64, 2).

1cf. Cullavagga, II, 29, 2; which refers to Haritiṣṭhitā, Mattysāvalaka, Catuskaranaka, Tālavintaka, Śatavallīka and Kāyabandha modes of arranging the frill. cf. also, Joshi, N.P., JUPHS, XXIV-XXV, 1931-32, pp. 248ff.
2Coomaraswamy, A., La Sculpture de Bharat, pl. XX, fig. 52.
3Chand, R.P., MAI, no. 30, p. 34.
5HIIA, p. 64.
7Mathura Museum figures no. 783, 453, 2500, etc.
8Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharat, pl. XXXV, fig. 99 and 100.
described as uncovering her breasts, thereby indicating the practice of covering them. In the Mahābhārata (Āranyaka parva), Draupadi is mentioned as unwilling to go to the sabhā because she was ekavastra ekshrī ca vāso mama mandabuddheh sabhind netum nārhasi māmanāra. In the Mahābhārata (III.61-31-31) again the ardha-vastra, ‘upper garment,’ (equivalent to the uttarīya) of Draupadi is described as having fallen down causing great embarrassment to her. The mode of wearing the uttarīya has been described in the Śākuntalam (I.19). In view of such evidence, it is difficult to believe that these figures are nude because ‘partial nudity was a fashion among Indians.’ Among the Yakṣī figures, it appears that the practice of exposing the lower part of the body was given up after Kushana period. The exposure of bare busts could not be discontinued.

Another aspect of these images is their ornamentation. The images of Yakṣīṅīs are found abundantly embellished with ornaments all over the body. The ornaments of Yakṣas were limited, and consisted mainly of kundalā [fig. XV], angada, and graiveya, ‘torque’ [fig. XIX]. The Yakṣas were also shown wearing thread in the upavita fashion [fig. 38], with a nāga-head?) The necklace [fig. XXI] and bracelets [fig. XXIV-XXV] are also found and at Bharhut and their designs are varied and beautiful. Bharhut reliefs show the prakāravāpa kundalas of plain cubical shape [fig. XV] although some of the popular variations are also noticeable elsewhere [fig. 67 bell-shape]. In the image of Kubera from Tumain, the drakṣhakundalas [fig. XLIII] are prominently shown. Kubera here also wears anklets.

The female-images offer a greater variety of ornament patterns. It appears that the square, punch-marked coins and beads of different kinds were used as ornaments. The beads and amulets appear in necklaces [fig. XIII, XIV, XX, XXI, XL]; other designs are also known in the images of Yakṣas [fig. XIX]. The ornaments of Yakṣīṅīs consisted of maṅkīkajāla, [fig. VII, VIII], ‘the strings of pearls and beads covering the head; kundalas, angada, [fig. X, XII], bracelets [figs. XXIV, XXV], mēkhalā (girdle), of various bands [fig. XXXVIII] and thick anklets [figs. XXXIX, XXII, XXIII]. Among the Bharhut examples, Sudassana Yakṣī is comparatively austere but for her beautiful ornaments [figs. XX, XXXVIII]. The ornaments of Bhūnjati (Bhatanwara Yakṣī), Cula-kokā devatā and the so-called Sīṃhikā Yakṣī are especially interesting. Bhūnjati wears an ornamental veil [fig. VII] over her forehead and also a necklace [fig. XI] which contains the triratna symbol. The lsula symbol appears in the necklace of Candara Yakṣī [fig. XIII].

The so-called Sīṃhikā has a peculiar kundala [fig. XII] besides the usual kundala [fig. XV] found in the Bharhut figures. Bhūnjati (Bhatanwara) Yakṣī, on the other hand, has a neat tassel of beads [fig. XXXI] in place of the usual tassels of Bharhut figures. The beaded strings worn in the upavita fashion are found on many Yakṣī figures [figs. III, XXXIV, XXXV]. These sometimes assumed the form of csanīkāvesa [fig. XXVI]. This ornament has been shown in case of Yakṣas [fig. 59] also. It was worn cross-wise in the front and was tucked at the centre and on the extreme corner ends [fig. XXXVII] with the help of floral clips.

The design of angada in the Bharhut Yakṣa figures is interesting. It occurs in the form of three leaves [fig. IV]. It thus represents either a form of the honey-suckie motif or a triratna. Some other forms of these ornaments are also found [fig. X, XI].

The hair-style of the Yakṣī figures has been executed with precision and beauty. The mode of tucking the hair at the back in the form of a bun was a common practice. But interlocking the veni flowing downwards was another mode [fig. XXVII]. Certain other forms are also encountered. For instance, a Śalabhaṅgikā figure with hair arranged in the palm-leaf [fig. XXXVIII] is known from Sanchi. The turban is usually confined to the Yakṣī figures, but a Yakṣīṅī figure from Rajasana (Muzaffarpur district) has her hair held in a turban.2 The Yakṣī figures also present some variety in the hair style.

1Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 91f; A different mode of dressing in which the bust is covered with a buttoned and sleeved coat, is to be seen in sculpture no. 2567 of Calcutta Museum; cf. also, Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhara, pl. 61, fig. 89.

2ASI, AR, 1918-19, Part I, pp. 32-33, pl. IXb; also HIIA, p. 32, pl. XVII.
It is interesting to note that the custom of wearing *tikuli* [fig. XI] and tattoo-marks is found in the Yakshi sculptures. In one case at Bharhut, *ankusha* 'goad,' marks are found on the cheeks of a Yakshi [fig. IX]. These were regarded as marks of personal decoration during this time. Among the ornaments, the amulets with human-head device often occur [fig. XXI] [Fig. 87]. And the practice of wearing leaves and flowers is illustrated in a stone-head in the Mathura Museum (no. 34.2519), in which the leaves of the Aśoka tree are worn in the ears. This stone-head is also remarkable for its grinning expression.

The mediaeval images of Yakshas and Yakshinis are not remarkable from the point of view of their dress and ornament, because they generally followed the stereotypes in such forms. Important variations from them have been indicated on relevant occasions. In the mediaeval images, the upper part either contains an *uttariya* or is shown bare, but *dhoti* is invariably present. The usual ornaments with some variations of designs are also seen. The Yakshini figure from Gyasarapur is interesting in this connection. Besides the usual ornaments, it has a small, *printed* garment, carelessly worn around the hips. The floral motif of the prints is beautiful.

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1Coomaraswamy, A., *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, pl. XXI, fig. 55, for Candra and Sirimā; cf. Cunningham, *CSB*, p. 39f.
CHAPTER 8

The Popular Aspect of Yaksha Theology

It has often been said that the Yakshas belonged to the masses or the common people, and the statement is essentially true. The theistic outlook projected towards the Yakshas, had two distinct developments, intellectual and popular. The intellectual aspect presents a mystic and sublime concept of the Yakshas which is intermittent but sufficiently articulate. This aspect has been discussed above. The other, i.e., the popular or democratic aspect of the Yaksha theology will be discussed below. The popular outlook towards the Yakshas is made clear by examining the comprehensive material on them as found in the texts of the different religious systems. The uniformity of belief contained in those texts makes it clear that the Yakshas were not the creation of any one of the different religious systems. On the contrary, they belonged to a commonwealth of ideas flourishing in the masses and were eventually adopted into the systems of different creeds. As such the popular beliefs present the theological aspects which are emotional in appeal as distinct from the sublime and mystic aspects of intellectual theology. The sublime aspects of theology appear intellectual while the mundane or popular aspect of theology is more often emotional or democratic in substance. Because of its universal appeal, sometimes attempts were made to accord it a sanctified place. We have an interesting instance in Aśoka who, according to Agrawala, took measures to incorporate the worship of the popular gods in to Buddhism as an aid to its propagation. Agrawala thought that this possibility is indicated by a passage—y(i)—maya katya Jambudipasi amisā deva husu te dani mi(1)s-kaṭa—which occurs in an inscription of Aśoka. Religious figures like the Buddha himself also sometimes upheld the status of Yakkhas in Buddhism. In the Ājīvāyya Sutta, the Buddha is represented as ordaining that the monks should invoke the Yaksha-chiefs like Vessavana, Hemavata, Sāta, and others in time of need. It is, however, found that the Buddha adopted a flexible attitude, accepting or repudiating Yaksha worship, according to circumstances.

However, the richest source of Yaksha worship was the popular section of ancient society. This section invested the cult with many tenets and foundations which, due to their recurrent nature, form the basis of the popular theology relating to Yakshas. The richness of its content is found in their various attributes, pertaining to the concepts of their rebirth or their super-natural powers, benevolence and malevolence. While explicating the popular or democratic aspects of Yaksha theology, these concepts also accommodate Yakshas within the folds of the primitive religion which, it is likely, contributed its share in developing the themes of ancestor-worship, nature-worship and Totemistic beliefs in the Yaksha-cult. This is proved by the

1 Supra, pp. 21ff.
3 ACSB, p. 11; Earlier, the passage has been explained as “during that time the men in India who had been un-associated with the gods became associated with them.” cf. Bhandarkar, Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 170; also Ray-chaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India, 1953, p. 357.
4 Dialogues, II, 188f.
animal-names of Yakshas, such as Kumbhira, Khara, and Gardabha. Similarly the ancestor worship in the Yaksha cult is substantiated by numerous references which prove that it was an important constituent of the popular Yaksha theology. As has been previously noted, the belief in Yaksha's immortality is erroneous. They were mortals like any other mortal creature. Often a personage started receiving worship after his rebirth as Yaksha. According to a Jataka (I.109), the Yakkha state of being could even continue through an extraordinarily long cycle of five hundred births. The reason for such an unusual phenomenon is said to be the "ripening sin." Sometimes bad kamma resulted in Yakkha-birth. A spiteful wish also brought about the same result. This state could be due to one's own choosing. Just as bad kamma produced Yaksha-birth, good kamas also led to the same end. The Jaina works say that Yaksha-birth was obtained by righteous men who practised self-restraint. A Cāndala named Canda who lived in Ekānātha town or Avanti is said to have obtained the status of chief of Yakshas because he had abstained from eating flesh. Sometimes, after death Yakshas were reborn as men, or they became men by simply changing their form. Yakshas enjoyed divine pleasures, and lived in the upper-kalpa 'heaven,' for many centuries of 'former years.' That was accomplished as a result of accumulated merits, and on expiry of their lives, it is said they were reborn as men. In the Daśakumāra Carita, we have the story of three successive births of Yakshiṇī Tārāvali, which included human birth also. The instances of conversion of Yakshas into the other forms are also found. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, it is said that two Yakshas were converted into trees, Yamalārjuna. The Kathāśrītisāgarā (I.9) refers to conversion of a Yaksha into a Piśāca. The Brihatkathā Ślokasam graha (V.309f) contains the story of conversion of Pūrṇabhadra and Bhadra into elephants. In another interesting parable in the Kathāśrītisāgarā (VI.130) it is said that a Brāhmaṇa, Kamalagarbha, or Pratishthāna, immolated himself along with his three wives in fire with the object of perpetuating their husband-wife relationship during subsequent births. And they continued alternating between human and Yaksha states of birth. In the Kathākālia it is implied that a Yaksha could retain his memory even during a subsequent birth. Before being born as a Yaksha, he had been in his previous births, a merchant, a Brāhmaṇa and āiravata, the elephant of Indra. It is related that from some previous state of his existence he carried his

1 D. I.277; DA. II.686.
2 SR. Hare, p. 42.
3 Gilgit MSS, III, 1, p. 15; SA, I.319. The cases like this can be supplied ad nonimimum.
4 However, Yakshas were capable of giving long life, for they possessed rasā-raivyana 'herbal medicines.' cf. MMK, II.554f; 566f; III.72f; II.294; but Dialogue, II.286f, tells of 10,500 Yakshas of different places who gathered to hear the Buddha's discourse. The purpose of such large attendance according to DA, II.5096, was to attain deliverance from the Yaksha-state. However, in the Vin. P, II.207 it is said that Dhamma should be taught to Yakshas in not more than six sentences; otherwise it was an offense.
5 Gilgit MSS, III, 2, pp. 11-12; J. III.201; cf. also Commaraswamy, I, Appendix I, p. 43, for a Yaksha of a toll-house.
6 J. II.13; J. II.228 says that those Buddhist monks who, without circumspection use the requisites given to them, may be reborn as Yakka (ogre).
7 J. V.11; V.304; cf. also Dh. A. I.17f.
8 J. III.43f.
9 V. V. A. 133f, Latā Yakkhi was indifferent towards luxuries and anger; she observed uposatha and avoided committing sin. As a result of all these good kammā she was reborn in heaven and stayed in the Latā Vinñāna. cf. also J. VI.62f. (Yaksha mentioned as mighty-being). This Yakka had seven vinñānas and lived in luxury as a result of his former good kamma.
10 US. III.14f.
11 Handiqui, K.K., Yasatitaka and Indian Culture, p. 419.
12 Jacobst, H., US, p. 16 note 1, "one 'former year' consists of 7560 millions of common years."
14 Agishe, ed., p. 234.
15 UP. P. 33 fn 2.
16 p. 32; cf. also Dh. A. I.172, where this is implied in the description of violence of two women, one of whom was born as a Yaksha.
enmity towards prince Sanatkumāra. When he saw the Prince, both had a fist-fight in which the Yaksha could not be killed, although he was defeated. The idea of the long life of Yaksha is found here.

That Yaksha could attain many forms or states of being is thus indicated by various references. Likewise, animals could also apparently be reborn as Yakshas. The Āvasyaka Sūtra (I.268) explicitly refers to the Yaksha Śulapāni who was a bull in his previous birth. The Dhammapāda Commentary¹ refers to a Yakshini (ogress) who had been a cow in each of her hundred existences and, as a cow, she had killed four youths. It is again said in the text² that a woman was reborn as a cat and a dog before being born as a Yakshi.

Thus it appears that the state of being as a Yaksha could be obtained as a result of prayer and austerity,³ spiteful wish, fall from a vow,⁴ a preference for that state, and evil acts. In various anecdotes of Yakshas' births and rebirths, mention is made of both helpful and harmful Yakshas. But it is difficult to decide whether their nature was dependent upon their good or bad karma during their previous lives. In any case these birth-stories of Yakshas seem to illustrate that ancestor-worship had its unmistakable bearing on the Yaksha cult. It will be speculative, no doubt, but it is quite possible that the Yaksha pantheon may have evolved as a result of deification of various departed heroes. And no less a personality than Kubera himself appears as a Brāhmaṇa in one of his previous births. It is said that he was made the lord of Yakshas after great penances, by Śiva.⁵

**OTHER ASPECTS OF YAKSHA**

The different aspects of Yakshas have been discussed in this section under their three main attributes viz., supernatural element, beneficence and maleficence.

**Supernatural Element**

The belief in the supernatural is found in all the popular religions, and also in the Yaksha cult. It is vividly displayed in the descriptions of their appearance as well as their propensities. These spirits were recognised as the embodiments of superhuman attributes and faculties, and were often dreadful on that account. Their appearance was usually ghastly; whether manifest or invisible,⁶ they were equally hideous. Sometimes they helped human beings without being visible. To quote an instance, the invisible Harikēśa Yaksha of Tinduga forest near ancient Banaras delivered a Jain Sadhu from a difficult situation.⁷ Yakshas could assume any form, and even disguise themselves as other demi-gods.⁸ However the pious and accomplished persons were capable of under standing such disguise.⁹

During coitus, calamity, sleep, anger, fear or ecstasy, they had to shed their assumed appearance¹⁰ evidently because they were off their guard. Their voluntary self-transformation into quadrupeds,¹¹ feathered creatures¹² or reptiles¹³ was possible. The waxing and waning

¹I.120.
²Dh. A, I.172f.
³US, I.I.14f; Handiqui, K.K., op. cit., p. 419.
⁴Katḥas., V.125.
⁵supra, p. 64.
⁶R, I.23.24; J, II.12f; Prince Vijaya kills invisible Yakshas with Kuveni's help.
⁷US, p. 51f.
⁸VP, Ch. 69, pp. 160, 167; Br. P, I.I.7.60, 100.17; also VP, Ch. 69, p. 275 the sons of Khasā could assume any form at their will.
⁹M, id., I.448.
¹⁰VP, Ch. 69, p. 277.
¹¹Assumed the form of elephant and lion, J, VI.147; goat, J, I.110, cow; Dh. A, II.120; NK, tells of a Yaksha who first assumes the form of a staff and then changes it to that of a horse. cf. NK, IX.7, p. 39.
¹²Crem, Mbh., III.297, 11, but denied that he was a bird, although Yaksha he was. Mbh., III.297.18.
¹³J, VI.147, Pūnagaha assumes the form of a serpent.
of a Yaksha's appearance finds mention in the *kindred sayings* (XI-3), which records the episode of a Yaksha who was essentially an "ill favoured pot-bellied dwarf." He annoyed gods by sitting over Sakka's throne. He grew ever handsomer and more attractive in proportion to the rising degree of the god's anger, but lost his brilliance and disappeared when he was confronted with humility. This Yaksha evidently fed on anger for his beautiful appearance.

A concealed or transformed embodiment of Yaksha offers some consolation when compared to their actual ghastly appearance, which will be clear from their complete or fragmented physiognomical details. They were huge-bodied,\(^3\) red-eyed creatures having *sankukaraṇa*, javelin-like ears.\(^4\) Their dwarfish stature, fearful faces, blood-red eyes and hunch-backs have also described in addition to their various weapons and their speed like that of the wind.\(^5\) The Yakkhas of terrible looks\(^6\) having weird and ghastly appearance were playmates of Śiva\(^7\) or waited upon Manibhadrā.\(^8\) The Dharma Yaksha, figuring in the famous *Yaksha-prāṣṭha*, is described in similar strain as 'huge bodied, endowed with unnatural eyes, tall as a palm tree, blazing like sun or fire and irresistible and huge like rock.'\(^9\) A later work alludes to the huge mouth of a Yakshi, who tried to frighten a man by raising one lip to heaven and resting the other on earth.\(^9\)

These details of Yakkhas' ghastly features, added to their complete limb-wise description, illustrate the supernatural conception of their physical form in all its fullness. For instance, Sīlesaloma is described as being tall like a palm-tree, possessed of a huge head like an arbour, eyes like a bowl, tusk like a turnip, and beak like that of a hawk.\(^9\) Another Yaksha of a super-hideous appearance, which was a combination of huge body, sabrelike tooth, pot-belly, arms like a palm-tree and mouth like a mountain, finds mention in the *Madhuratīha-Vīlāsini*.\(^10\) Another massive Yaksha having a big face, wide jaws, projecting nose, lips like those of a donkey, pot-bellied, holding a dagger and a mace, is known from the *Rasavāhinī*.\(^11\) Added to it is the Yaksha-son of Khasā. He had four hands and feet, hair all over his body, a bulky head, the hair over his scalp looking like the *muñja* grass, elephant-like lips, horse-like teeth, big beard, red tongue and huge mouth. This fearful Yaksha, (a bear?) no wonder, ran upon his mother for devouring her.\(^12\) It cannot be denied that, in these forms, animals like elephant, bear, or even birds have been clearly conveyed, although they cannot be identified because they are confounded. This is proved also by some other examples in which such composite forms have been explicitly accepted. An Assamkhi Yakkhi is known from Jātakas.\(^13\) The *Mahāvārsha* records a narrative of a Cetiyya Yaksha who lived on the Dhumarakkhā mountain; when she was chased by Panḍukābhaya, it is said, she assumed the form of a mare: *valvāmukha*.\(^14\) An *asarupadhāri* Yaksha-Selaga finds mention in the Jain text.\(^15\) The instances in both the cases are related to accidents at sea.

The Buddhist and Jain texts have offered good or bad *Kamma*, action, as the reason for comely or ghastly Yaksha appearance. The *Uttarādhyāya Sūtra*\(^16\) describes Yakshas as glittering like

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1. *Mahākāya*, III.157.38, 150.36, 290.20; A Yaksha, huge like a mountain finds mention in the *Kathas*, II.52.
3. *Mbh.*, II.110.21-25 (they fed on fat and flesh); III.140.3ff, 170-48, VI.32ff.
5. *ibid.*, XIV.8.7.
7. *ibid.*, III.291.20-21; *Divyāvadana*, pp. 104ff, for other similar huge bodied Yaksha-Rākshasas.
8. *Kathas*, IX.44.
9. *ibid.*, I.138; cf. also, VI.113; VI.238.
12. *ibid.*, Ch. 69, p. 273.
13. *ibid.*, III.41ff; V.222.
16. *ibid.*, p. 60, their hideous shapes find mention in the same works, p. 53.
luminaries, for they were filled with virtues. In the Samyutta Nikāya Comm.,\(^1\) similar reasons are assigned for the bad appearance of Khara and Suciloma Yakshas. Khara's skin was coarse and looked like "tiled roof" while Suciloma's body contained a hairy growth pointed like needles. This was because the former as a monk had applied without permission the community-oin, and the latter had slept over a cosy rug.

The strange and bizarre appearance of some of the Yakshas is indicated by their names e.g., Kuvapā,\(^2\) Khardāthikā\(^3\) (donkey-toothed), and Silesaloma\(^4\) (Sticky-haired), besides Suciloma (needle-hair), and Khara\(^5\) (donkey).

It would be incorrect to say that Yakshas were represented only with grotesque features, for several Yakshas as handsome creatures and Yakshis as damsels of ravishing beauty also find mention. The brilliant-looking Yakshas, because of their golden appearance, have been figuratively described in the Rōmāyaṇa\(^6\) as lotuses floating on the sea that was the sky. The Mahārāṣṭra\(^7\) refers to numerous beautiful and glorious Yakshas whose brightness dimmed the splendour of golden pillars. Their comely appearance is described in the Tattvārtha Sātra vividly. It says that they were good in countenance, had manorama, enchanting and proportionate physique (including pot-belly); their palms, soles, nails, tongue and lips were pink and they wore choicest jewels and crowns on the person.\(^8\) Their dark complexion is described in the Triloka-Prajāhapti also, which measures their height as ten dhanaushas.\(^9\) The Petrauvatthu ascribes their striking appearance to their good Kamma.\(^10\) Like Yakshas, their female counterparts were beautiful creatures. In the Buddhist and Jain works, they are often represented as enticing men by their bewitching beauty, to enjoy pleasure which often ended perilously for men.\(^11\) A beautiful Yakshi, devoted to her Yaksha, is known from the Meghadatta\(^12\) which describes her as slender, dark-complexioned, having well-set line of teeth, and lips red like the ripe bimba. Her heavy breasts made her person slightly bent just as her heavy hips rendered her gait slow. In her beauty she has been visualised as the creator's foremost work of art. So common was the belief in the beauty of Yakshinis that any unknown beauty earned the title of Yakshi inhesitatingly.\(^13\) Even in their beauty they could not shed their demonic characteristics, like the feet turned the wrong way or squinting eyes.\(^14\) The unwinking eyes and a shadowless person were their well recognised attributes.\(^15\)

Coupled with the concepts of beauty and monstrosity, another tradition of designating strange and unfamiliar objects as Yaksha is also found; for instance, the figure of a hare on the moon\(^16\) or an unidentified tortoise\(^17\) are so-addressed.

In addition to their terrible or pleasing appearance, Yakshas were repositories of attributes and qualities of character which indicate their superhuman traits. Some Yakshas were like Brāhmaṇa in learning, like Kshatriyas in prowess, like Agni in anger and like Earth in compa-
As swift creatures they could transport themselves or others to desired places in a moment. But quite often their unobstructed movement extended only to certain specified areas. Tatāka’s sway extended to one and a half Yojana (league), and in her domain she pestered the inhabitants of Mālāda and Kurusha Jonapadas. Assamukhi’s domain was limited to an area of 150 square leagues. Beyond this she was ineffective. Sometimes a Yaksha’s effective control spread only to the extent of his habitat, as in the case of Makhādeva and his arboreal abode. These well-defined territories sometimes aroused differences and hostilities. There is an instance of a row between two Yakshas over the ownership of a corpse that lay between their respective domains. The belief in the restricted domain of Yakshas is found in the Nāyādhamma Kahā, which tells about an ogress of a Lavana Sea. Such superstitions about the limited territorial powers of Yakshas were probably responsible for the attempts to assign them a protective control of every town of ancient India.

Besides restricted sway, other factors like their inefficacy during the day-time also obstructed their omnipresence. Yakshas were nocturnal creatures who were dazed by the brightness of the sun and thereby rendered ineffective during the day. During nights, however, their haunts were abandoned. There were scores of reasons to fear them, one being their omnivorous appetite. The Vāyu Purāṇa says that anything that came into their view was devoured; the list includes even Devas, Asuras, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Piśāca, men, serpents and birds. They could consume the flesh and blood of human beings merely by looking at them. Contrary to it, sometimes they are represented as eating the food passed to them through fire. They also relished fruits. In the Triloka Purāṇa their food is said to have consisted of various dainties and, as is emphasised, not the Kavalāhāra.

The mysterious powers of Yakshas were as dreadful as they were unlimited. They could raise fearful spectacles out of nowhere. To vanquish the Buddha, Ālavaka is said to have planted himself with one foot on the Manosilātā and the other on the Kelāsakūta, shouted his name which was heard throughout the Jambudīpā. He raised the semblances of rains, flames, smoke, and terrible sights and creatures. As a last resort he used his special weapon—Vatthavudha—which was made of cloth and was invested with the power of shattering Mt. Sineru, or stopping rains, destroying trees and crops and drying the whole sea for a period of twelve years. Vatthavaudha was worn as a part of Yaksha’s uttariya. Tatāka of the Rāmāyana similarly possessed various supernatural attributes and Rāma had to break her spell before killing her. Ajakalaka Yaksha also tested the might of his adversary by raising gales and storms which created a commotion.
in the Jambûdîpâ to the state of final dissolution. But even these colossal capacities of Yakkhas were futile before great men like the Buddha, or Bodhisattva. Mahâvîra is also said to have shamed Sâlapâni’s similar feats.

The other capacities of Yakkhas are also recorded. A Yakshi could raise horns on the head of human beings merely by playing a tune on a flute; another Yaksha could create a tank for bath or provide food from nowhere for human beings or even impart the knowledge of science to them, with the aid of supernatural capacities. They could also raise fearful or benevolent rains. An instance of the latter is recorded in the Jîvandhara Cānpi where rains were brought to save the elephants of Jîvandhara from a jungle-fire. Some Yakkhas could convert copper into gold.

As intelligent creatures they possessed enviable memory as well as knowledge of the past. They could also predict future events with astonishing accuracy. The Mahâsutasoma Jâtaka refers to Yakkha who recognised the king of Banaras because of their companionship in the latter’s previous birth. The Kathâkośa similarly tells of Asita Yakkha and prince Sanatkumar who were mutually ill-disposed because the Yaksha had remembered something from their past birth. Such wonderful memory and the premonitory faculty of Yaksha had its useful aspects also. A Brâhmaṇa is said to have saved himself from serpent-bite because of a forewarning from a Yaksha. Another lady received constant help from a Yakshi, Kàli—in reaping a plentiful crop. This Yakshi had fore-knowledge of the spots where rains would pour profusely and the woman always raised her crops at the advised tracts. The belief in the oracular faculty of Yakkhas was open to exploitation, and sometimes a person could hide himself and make a prophecy to trick others. An instance of this is found in the Ummadanti Jâtaka which relates how a king was deceived and persuaded not to go after Ummadanti whom he passionately loved.

Just as the supernatural element is found inherent in Yakkhas’ character, it manifests itself in their material attributes also. The Vatthâvudha of Ālavaka has been mentioned already in this regard. Vajrapâni, another Yaksha is reputed to have possessed a vajra, thunderbolt, of ‘flaming mass’ with which he often terrified Nigânthaputtas. If a person went to the extent of thrice refusing to answer the Buddha, Vajrapâni, it was said, would threaten the defaulter with his vajra. Kubera, likewise possessed a gâdâyudha, which was endowed with the capacity of falling on the head of many thousand Yakkhas and return to him. The Mahâvastu contains a graphic description of Kubera and the other Lokapâlas, which distinguished them as a class. It is said that they had Deva’s span of life, their bliss, their sway, retinue, form, smell, touch, garments and ornaments. The ornaments which they wore in front were visible from behind and vice versa. They cast no shadow and were self-luminous. Riding on their jewelled vimânas, they travelled through the air to any place of their choosing.

\(^{1}\) supra, Chapter 6.

\(^{2}\) Arâvyaka Sûtra, I.268-71.

\(^{3}\) Kathas., III.186.

\(^{4}\) ibid., V.125.

\(^{5}\) J, VI.147.

\(^{6}\) V.23.

\(^{7}\) Kathas., III.161f.

\(^{8}\) J, V.257.

\(^{9}\) Kathâkośa, p. 32. cf. also Kathas., VI.101 where a Yakshi Vidtrakathâ says that her separation from the prince was due to the curse of Nâga.

\(^{10}\) J, III.211.

\(^{11}\) Dh. A, I.175.

\(^{12}\) J, V.111.

\(^{13}\) M. I.231; cf. also J, III.97.

\(^{14}\) Sr. A, I.225.

\(^{15}\) I.25f.
Several animate or inanimate personal articles of great merit find mention as the attributes of Yakshas. Punçaka was the owner of a horse which had ears of gold, hoofs of ruby and mail-armour of molten gold.¹ In addition he possessed an unparalleled jewel which afforded in its gleam a kaleidoscopic view of the sights of the world.² Both these attributes find depiction in a Bharhut relief [Fig. 82]. The land of Yakshas contained celestial trees which produced much desired objects, eatables, luxuries and heavenly nymphs.³ It was generally believed that they could share their joys with human-beings making their life easier and pleasant. They possessed certain ointments of miraculous power. An instance is recorded of a man who concluded his pilgrimage of the holy waters with the aid of an ointment given to him by a Yaksha, which saved him from sufferings.⁴ A Yaksha’s ring—called iti—was capable of averting any calamity.⁵ The rings of Vajrapāni and other Yakshas find mention in the Mañjuśrīmālakalpa,⁶ which names them as peñcamātrā mahāmudrā, and pushpadudrā respectively. An inexhaustible pitcher which provided any desired object is mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara; this was presented to the woodcutter Subhadatta by Yakshas for his service to them. Some attributes of Kubera could be of immense help to men because they were capable of bestowing immortality and restoring eyesight and even lost youth.⁷ The assistance of Yakshas could be profitable for having easy access to hidden treasures. There were spells and charms in possession of Yakshas, the knowledge of which could help in obtaining wealth.⁸ These spells were also supposed to ensure health, provide eatables and increase one’s prestige.¹⁰

Maleficence

Yakshas were enormously capable of hurting or helping human beings because of their supernatural powers. Several instances of their maleficence have found mention in the literary tradition of India. Some predominant roles of Yakshas portray them as enemies of men. They possessed human beings, devoured them or simply killed them. The total impact of the belief in such malevolent acts of Yakshas must have oppressed the common man’s mind. Yakshas delighted in troubling men. They possessed human being by entering into them, and the person’s self was completely confounded as a result of such affliction. The possession by these spirits was known as Yaksha-graha.¹¹ Originally, the faculty of possession was ascribed to Gandharvas;¹² to Yakshas it has been ascribed only by implication.¹³ The later works offer a copious documentation of such affliction in respect of persons, dead or alive. The Pañcatantra records the instance of Yaksha Devagarbha who found a ready abode in the corpse of Chandragupta Maurya.¹⁴ The instances of Yakshas’ possession of living human-beings are numerous. They possessed some persons in order to devour them.¹⁵ Ill-treated servants, who were reborn as Yakshas, were likely to possess

¹J, VI.133, 135.
²Ibid.
³R, II.85.16.
⁴Kathas., IX.44.
⁵Ibid., VI.72; Divyavadana, pp. 104ff, refers to various herbs which grew on the mountains inhabited by Yaksha-Rākshasas. These herbs were of exceptional qualities and are named as—Sankhāraghī, Amogha, Sanmohīṇī and Sanjīvant.
⁶pp. 327, 503.
⁷Kathas., V.3f.
⁸Mbh., V.109.20-21; V.62.24-25.
⁹J, III.300; Kathas., VI.102; III.186ff; IX.17.
¹⁰J, V.257.
¹¹Mbh., II.219.51; Bhagavati Sūtra, III.7.164.
¹²RV, X.85.40-44.
¹³Ibid., IV.3.13.
¹⁴Quoted by, Penzer, N.M., Kathas.
¹⁵Mh, V, XXXVI.82f (Rājatākhi) Lohitākshi Yaksha finds mention in the Vī्रa, p. 223; cf. also Punnakāla and his pujjārakajvara, Mh, V, XV.63, Com., p. 349.
their former masters. Jealousy towards a former co-wife also resulted in such a possession. A Yakshi is said to have possessed her child to set him on the moral path. Her story makes it clear that holy men who stuck to the prescribed religious fasts were beyond such affliction. The Yaksha Ālavaka is described as entering the minds of casual boarders of his vimāna, abode, if they failed to answer his questions relating to the Buddhist faith. The possession produced restlessness and instant imbalance of mind. An interesting example of possession by a Yaksha of his devotee is found in the Antagoda dasa. This devotee—Ajjunae—a florist lived in Rājugriha during the times of king Kujika. We are told that his family deity—Yaksha Moggarapaṇi—possessed him on being admonished for his indifference when the florist was tied crosswise by five gangsters who also molested his wife. On being possessed by the Yaksha, he snatched the latter's mace of 1000 palas, killed the gangsters and his wife and, in the heat of possession, he ran amuck till Sudarśana, a devout Jain, pacified him. The story shows that an afflicted person was likely to lose the discriminating faculty but he was powerless before a person who had strictly adhered to the prescribed au, small, and mahā, big, fasts.

The state of Yaksha-graha was supposed to produce certain symptoms in the afflicted person. Such a victim was thrown into convulsive fits, and sometimes attempted murderous acts. An interesting elaboration of this belief is found in the Mahā-Ummaga Jātaka where such a victim is supposed to bark like a mad dog particularly on the dark fortnight of the fast days. Several reasons such as, consumption of used food, impurity, staying at lonely places and the invocation of Yakshas, were regarded as responsible for such possession. Bharata in his Nāyāyasāstra has suggested that the idea of possession should be portrayed on the stage by simulating heavy breathing, trembling, jumping, falling down, perspiring, foaming at the mouth and licking by one's tongue. The prescription of such acting indicates that the meaning of such symptoms was well-understood by the audience.

The prognosis and symptoms of Yakshomāda find mention in the ancient works on medicine. The Siddhāt Saṁhitā relates that the Yakshha-grahas entered the body of their victims imperceptibly and, to satisfy the graha, the victim was offered those objects which Yakshas liked—such as flowers, scent, garments, barley, honey, wine, meat, blood and milk. The possessed person developed certain characteristic symptoms, viz., red eyes, inclination to wear only thin and red garments, great vigour and strength, restlessness, a tendency to insist on granting boons, and disconsolateness. The Caraka Saṁhitā records almost similar symptoms of Yakshomāda, and elaborates that the possessed person looked benumbed and drowsy, frequently changed his mind, wept or laughed heartily, and showed a great liking for dance and music. It is also pointed out in the work that such a person spoke mysteriously or abused Brāhmaṇas and physicians. A person under possession was not be shown any sympathy, on the other hand, certain remedial measures such as hitting him with violent blows and tying palm-leaf and protective thread

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1 Motichandra, BPWM, 3 p. 47 note 17.
2 Ibid., p. 47.
3 Dh. A., VI.118 ff. (PTS).
4 Sn. A., I.228.
5 Pp. 86-90.
7 SA, I.307; Dh. A., under Sānthera Vaṭtha.
8 BJ, V.194; cf. also J, V.254.
9 Nātyāśṭra, VII.73f. cf. also Jain, J.C., Life in Ancient India, p. 22. Women taking bath in open exposed themselves to Yakshas, according to Narmamudā, II.91.
10 Nātyāśṭra.
11 IX, 6-9, 22; Caraka Saṁhitā, Nidānasthānānī, VII.11-15 particularly 14.
12 Antag, 89-90; Ajjunae's eye were red when he has possessed and he fell down entirely exhausted when Yaksha left him.
13 Cittasāsthānam, IX.20.
around his arms and legs, have been suggested.\textsuperscript{1} Owing to its inscrutable nature, the whole concept of possession was open to fraudulent exploitation.\textsuperscript{2} Its sanctity often degenerated into farce and invited ridicule.\textsuperscript{3}

Another important aspect of Yakshas malevolence lay in their man-eating nature, which represents a popularly accepted belief in the folklore. They were supposed to like both meat and spiriutous drink,\textsuperscript{4} but human flesh was their choicest delight.\textsuperscript{5} Sometimes they ate even corpses,\textsuperscript{6} or human flesh along with rice.\textsuperscript{7} To satisfy their appetite, they could take recourse to any action. They were cruel by nature and eating flesh was in conformity with the traditions of their Kula, family.\textsuperscript{8} They tricked innocent persons with their evil designs, and ate their victims. Gumbiya Yaksha is said to have lived in a forest. He used to poison the travellers by offering them food mixed with poisoned honey so that the victim might fall an easy prey to his cannibalic designs.\textsuperscript{9} They were capable of spreading epidemics in a city and those who succumbed to it belonged to them.\textsuperscript{10} Some Yakshas caught persons who walked into the territory of their maleficent control, and the victim met a sad end.\textsuperscript{11} Even human infants were not exempt from their evil designs.\textsuperscript{12} Some Yakshis were supposed to entice men by their provocative charm, in addition to raising beautiful spectacles of flourishing townships. Marrying such persons, they lived with them till substitutes were available after which they killed and devoured them.\textsuperscript{13} Sometimes Yakshas' violence was directed towards a certain class. The Yakshi Kunti of Kuntinasgara was notorious for abducting new-born babes of the Brâhmanas in the city,\textsuperscript{14} while Gardabha Yaksha terrorised the people of Mathura in the same manner.\textsuperscript{15} Ultimately they were subdued by the Buddha. People could save themselves from Yakshas with some pluck. The Sutano Jātaka records the story of a man-eating Yaksha who could not harm Sutana because he made use of the king's umbrella, slippers and sword, and avoided the shade of the tree inhabited by the Yaksha. Ultimately Sutana subdued the Yaksha by force of reason.\textsuperscript{16}

It appears strange that such acts of Yakkas sometimes happened with the consent of Vessavana, who is also represented as indicating methods of rescue from ill-disposed Yakshas.\textsuperscript{17} The Yakshas, for their part, served Vessavana and in return received such permission. The Assamukhi Yakshi is said to have served him for a term of three years;\textsuperscript{18} another Yaksha for obtaining the same permission had to serve Vessavana for twelve years.\textsuperscript{19} Even in such cruel predictions a Yaksha betrayed his Buddhist bias for he ate only those Buddhist disciples who thought

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\textsuperscript{1}Vin. P., I.147 and notes.
\textsuperscript{2}cf. Moti Chandra, BPWM, III, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{3}Wanditrikā, II.86; Kalāvīla, IX.18.20; cf. Moti Chandra, op. cit., p. 60.
\textsuperscript{4}J, I.113.
\textsuperscript{5}J, I.3; 233ff; Hif. VI.284 (monstrous cannibal).
\textsuperscript{6}Dh. A, II.237-8.
\textsuperscript{7}J, III.201.
\textsuperscript{8}MP, 180.9-10.
\textsuperscript{9}J, III.132.
\textsuperscript{10}Mh. V, XV.6f., Comm., p. 349.
\textsuperscript{11}J, I.233ff; H.89ff.
\textsuperscript{12}J, IV.304; Another Jātaka (V.12) tells of a Yakshi who abducted a child but refrained from devouring him because she developed an affection for him; cf. also J, VI.163; V.12ff, V.304ff, Nāgarakara Carita, VII.10.10; Caraka Samhitā, Sarirasthāna, VI.27, for the bālāvāra destroying foetus; also Mh., III.82.90 for the Yakshini whose worship relieved the devotee of the sin of destroying foetus.
\textsuperscript{13}J, II.39.
\textsuperscript{14}Gilgit MSS., III.1.lxviii.
\textsuperscript{15}ibid, III.1.16.
\textsuperscript{16}J, III.201ff.
\textsuperscript{17}Sukra, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{18}J, III.298.
\textsuperscript{19}ibid, II.11ff.
that 'no refuge was real refuge.' The permission of Vessavanna, however, did not always mean that Yakkha would have his prey. His cannibalistic ventures were often obstructed by Vessavanna himself. The Jātaka notes this point describing that a Yakkhi who had obtained such permission after serving Vessavanna could not abduct to devour the third child of a queen because she was called back to Vessavanna's service. The Buddha also intervened and saved persons from the Yakkhas, which is shown by the case of Avaruddhaka. A Jātaka records the episode of another Yakshi's abortive bid to abduct a child. There were two claimants to the child—the real one and a Yakshi. The Bodhisattva-sage arbitrated in the matter and recognised the Yakkhi from her red and unblinking eyes. The child was therefore restored to her mother.

The belief in the cannibalistic nature of Yakshas is found in ancient mode of punishment. Certain Pali texts record the instances of kings who sent the prisoners to their execution by sending them over to Yakshas. This the princes did to save their own lives. Sometimes Yakshas, as the punishers of evil-doers, were left to decide the guilt of accused persons and kill them by crushing them between the thighs, if the accusation was found to be correct.

The malevolence of Yakshas was dreadful on account of its severity; to escape from it, some charms and spells were also current. By employing certain measures, their evil power could be held at bay. To master the Yaksha, Sutana is said to have asked for the Prince's sword for it is said that 'even goblins feared those who had weapons in their hands.' Similarly iron and palm-leaf were taboed to Yakshas. The child of a prince of Benaras was saved from a Yakkhinī when put inside an iron-cage (ayogara) along with palm-leaves. The Kathāsarit-sāgara also describes a room where Vāsavadatta was confined, and these precautions were taken. Several weapons were hung up in the room. It is said that the mixed gleam of jewel-lamps shed a blaze which protected the child as well as made the room look auspicious. Even the windows of the room were covered with sacred plants. In addition to such warding off devices, certain ward-runes were also helpful in driving away Yakshas. The Āṭānātiya Sutta was one such parītā, ward-rune. Another was Mahāmāyuri which was a part of the pañcarakshā texts accepted in the Northern Buddhism. A later manifestation of this type of belief is found in the Kathāsarit-sāgara which suggests that Yakshas were incapable of troubling persons who had heard the series of twenty-four questions and answers of Vetāla and Vikramādiya. Some Yakshas were capable of inducing sneeze, but those who uttered a formula viz., 'long life', were saved from being devoured. The worship of higher gods was also supposed to protect the devotees from Yakshas. But the Ayākūta Jātaka records the instance of a Bodhisattva whom Yakshas abjectively attempted to kill with a blazing mass of iron for he had declared himself against the practice of offering sacrifices to them.
Beneficence

The Yakshas’ beneficence manifested itself in their various acts of grace. Their sway extended to all the departments of human activity and, as such, they were often invoked for help. Generally speaking, the whole notion of benevolent activity of Yaksha comprises of their faculties for imparting (i) wealth, (ii) progeny, and (iii) giving protection. These may be discussed here in reference to their various implications.

The mysterious power of Yakshas over riches was well-recognized and they were regarded as possessing limitless wealth. They were *kamakāmi*, enjoying all kinds of luxuries.\(^1\) The *Kalpaśūtra* refers to Jrimbhaka-Yakshas in the service of Vessavana as collecting treasures to deposit them in King Siddhartha’s palace on the eve of Mahāvīra’s conception.\(^2\) In the *Petavatthu*,\(^3\) the affluence of Ankura Yaksha has been described picturesquely. The power over gold (*suvarnākṣatī*) was conferred upon Yakshas by Kubera himself.\(^4\) Kubera was the lord of riches,\(^5\) and it is said that he gave away to men a quarter of all the wealth in his possession.\(^6\)

But probably what matters more than the mere enviable possessions of the Yakshas is the belief in their being liberal spenders of riches. In the *Mahābhārata*, Arantuka is mentioned as awarding to his worshippers the merit of obtaining gold.\(^7\) Maniśhadra, Tarantuka and Macakraka are similarly connected with riches.\(^8\) It is said that there was a time when Dhanada, Praushtapada and Śukra gave wealth to men.\(^9\) Yudhishtira is said to have worshipped Maniśhadra, Kubera and others while going to bring the treasures of Marut.\(^10\) Some Yakshas like Puṇṇaka offered riches to extract some favour. To please a Nāga king he made to him gifts of elephants, horses, mules, chariots and waggons (*valabhi*) filled with all sorts of gems, and these different items of presentation in each case were one hundred in number.\(^11\) Puṇṇaka is represented as having had the power of knowing hidden wealth; he knew that the best jewels were to be found at Vepulla near Rājagaha.\(^12\) Elsewhere, another Yaksha who had similar knowledge of the jewels of Malava-country, finds mention.\(^13\) It is interesting to note that they even stole jewels as though their possessions were not sufficient.\(^14\) However, a happy meeting with Yakshas usually resulted in receiving something. The *Kathākosa* relates that a prince and his friends received one jewel each from a Yaksha. Of these jewels, the sapphire had the efficacy of awarding royalty to its keeper while the other, ruby, could gather provisions for daily use. Eventually the sapphire obtained a dominion for the prince and the ruby brought fabulous wealth to his friend.\(^15\) The same work contains the story of a trader, Dhanada, whose wealth was restored to him by Kapardāṇi Yaksha.\(^16\) The same Yaksha as bestower of wealth is mentioned in the *Prabandha Cintāmaṇī* also.\(^17\) Sometimes a Yaksha’s liberality was quite prodigious as in the case of king Susheṇa whose country was filled with leaves of gold by

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\(^1\) *PV*, IV, 3.44.
\(^2\) *Kalpanāṣṭi* *Ṭīkā* on *Kalpaśūtra*, Sū, 52 (1, p. 563) Rajkot, 1958.
\(^4\) *DA*, II.648.
\(^5\) *Mbh.*, V.6.33; VI.6.23.
\(^6\) Ibid, VI.7.21; cf. also *supra*, p. 61.
\(^7\) *Mbh.*, III.81, 171.
\(^9\) *Mbh.*, V.112.3.
\(^10\) Ibid, XIV.64.6-9.
\(^11\) *J*, VI.132.
\(^12\) *J*, VI.133.
\(^13\) *Kathā*, VI.114.
\(^14\) *Mbh.*, 1.204.2, XIV.56.23.
\(^15\) *Kathākosa*, pp. 126ff.
\(^16\) Ibid, p. 1 f. cf. also *Parisisthaparvan*, III, 1ff.
Yakṣiṇīs. By imparting the knowledge of spells, they could lead their worshippers to hidden wealth. But sometimes such hidden treasures went to the rightful inheritor, and Yakṣhas were supposed to guard them during the interim period. The king of Vatsa, it is said, was presented with a fortune of that nature by a Yakṣha who had guarded it. If a Yakṣha failed in this duty concerning treasures awaiting its disposal, he was punished by Kubera. There is an instance of Virūpāksha Yakṣha who had been appointed by Kubera as the chief guardian of an enormous treasures lying outside the town of Mathurā. He was punished by his lord for absenting himself, delegating his job to his companions. That Yakṣhas could be of immense help is proved by Maṇḍusīrīnūlakalpa where they are generally supposed to reach the devotees in the roles of mother, sister or wife, and help them in the manner befitting their roles.

The belief in the opulence and liberality of Yakṣhas took many forms. Gamblers are often represented as seeking their favours wherever stakes were involved. Yakṣhas were themselves invisible gamblers as well as the bestowers of the skill and luck necessary for winning. A gambling session between Puṇḍaka and Dhanarājya Koravya which ended in the latter’s defeat is vividly described in a Jātaka. The Kāmasūtra refers to a festival—Yakṣharājī; a special feature of this was the extensive gambling by people. In the Karpūracarita Bhāṣa, Maṇḍibhadra is mentioned as the giver of victory in gambling but it is said that his oppressive expectations of propitiation from the devotee in return for his favour ultimately brought disgust. But they were worshipped inspite of such greed. A player Nāgila propitiated Virūpāksha, and obtained a magic lamp which brought him wealth. Another ruffian gambler of Ujjaini is mentioned as wishing to win the favour of Yakṣhas for the sake of gaining money.

Another significant aspect of Yakṣhas’ benevolence is concerned with their capacity to grant progeny. It is therefore strange that these demi-gods were often shown to be devourers of children. In the Yakṣha-mythology, however, this fertility motif found various expressions coupled with the conventional reliance on them as givers of children. The other ramifications of the motif are provided by the instances dealing with Yakṣhas’ sexual contact with the human beings, their benevolence to the extent of granting genitals, i.e., virility, or their knack of detecting depravity and infidelity of husbands and wives. The instances of such cases are discussed below. The Vinaya Pitaka prohibits monks from sleeping with Yakṣhas, which was an offence. But the vow of celibacy did not apply to other men some of whom lived with Yakṣhas even taking them as their wives. The Maṇḍuśīrīnūlakalpa provides several references indicating that Yakṣhīs satisfied the erotic desires of their devotees. In the Mahāvinnasa, prince Vijaya is said to have married Yakshi Kuvanśa and had a son and a daughter from her. While Yakṣhīs were supposed to satisfy human lust, it seems that Yakṣhas could not achieve

1 Kathās, III.25.
2 Ibid, VI.114.
3 Ibid, II.52.
4 Kathās, III.133ff. In this work Guhyakas also are said to be guards of treasures. Kathās, I, p. 97.
5 I.I.293; III.720.
6 J, VI.127ff. It also mentions a song of dice, sung by the tutelary deity of the king for his master’s guidance through the game. Various alternatives in choosing a dice and different types of dice such as Mālikā, Savāto, Bāhu, Saṁti, Bhadra are mentioned.
7 Motichandra, BPWM, III, p. 50; NK, IX.88.
8 BPWM, III, p. 60.
9 Ibid.
10 Kathās, IX 17; V.179.
11 Supra, p. 155; cf. also J, no. 510; 513; Nāgakumāra Carita, VII.10.10.
12 J, III.298 also no. 196.
13 MMK, II.564ff. Revati is described as a giver of pleasure, cf. II.566, Kāmabhogarat sadā, Kāmada Bhogadā, etc., Vāmanekśarımataḥ, IV.39, p. 113 records similar tradition.
14 Mh, V, VII.9-68.
15 BSS, XIX, 75ff; XIV; 130ff; Kathās, II.231; VIII.56.
the converse of it. In the Rasavāhinī is found an instance of Jayasena Yaksha who loved the wife of Gothiyambara but he could not succeed in his erotic advances towards her.\(^1\) A Brāhmaṇa damsel is said to have kept a tryst with a Yaksha but avoided his overtures by secretly kindling light which was tabooed to the Yaksha.\(^2\) However, the instance of Yaksha Gandhimaduqa having sexual contact with the daughter of a Kosala king is found.\(^3\)

As a naturally corollary to such belief, Yakshas were supposed to bring about a desired marriage\(^4\) or grant children. The tales which present Yakshas as punishers of depraved women and upholders of the chaste ones, are also relevant in this context. The statues of Yakshas or their temples served as the spots for ordeals to test the females. The Parīśīṣṭaparvanā describes such an ordeal undergone by a woman who was justly accused of adultery. It tells of the statue of Yaksha Sobhana of "such sanctity that no guilty person could pass through between its legs." When confronted with the sculpture within the temple, the woman framed an oath which was literally true but essentially false. This completely flabbergasted the Yaksha and, in his bewildered state, he was at a loss to know how to act and she passed through his legs and came out unscathed.\(^5\) Reference here may be made to the Rājarātarāgaṇī, which affords an instance of a Yaksha who was upholder of faithful women. This powerful and chaste Yaksha lived in a rock, which could be moved only by the touch of a chaste woman. Three crores of depraved women of higher varnas, it is said, tried in vain to move it and the job was finally accomplished by a chaste woman Candrāvati.\(^6\)

Another expression of the fertility motif of Yakshas related to their capacity of changing sex. The Mahābhārata\(^7\) describes Śīkhandi who was the elder daughter of a king of Kasi in a previous birth. To save him from humiliation and disgrace after marriage, the Yaksha Śūṣṇākarna compassionately exchanged his sex with him. This deal, however, was disapproved by Kubera who cursed the Yaksha to remain a female for ever, which period was later decreased to last till the life-time of Śīkhandi. The Kathāśāstriyāgara\(^8\) repeats the story, changing it only in respect of the names. The Yaksha Śūṣṇākarna has been substituted by Śīhulaśiras, the princess is now Vidvādārā and the eunuch prince has been named Prabhākara. The idea of Yakshas' virility is fairly consistent. The Vāman Purāṇa\(^9\) also refers to Pāncalīka Yaksha who took upon himself and endured the obsessive erotic effect of the arrows of Kamadeva on Śiva. This reveals that erotic affections were within the power of Yakshas. Sometimes they projected such emotions towards human beings and sometimes they merely saved others from the pangs of such affection. It may be pointed out here, that Samayamārīkā\(^{10}\) describes yakṣarāga as one of the erotic passions along with the reactions produced by it.

In sharp contrast to these motifs, amplifying Yakshas as fertility-deities, a more simple belief in them as givers of children finds greater occurrence. In deference to them, such children were usually named after them.\(^{11}\) Yaksha Umbaradatta blessed Gangadatta the wife of Sagaradatta with a child, who was christened after the Yaksha.\(^{12}\) The Nāyādevamakahī\(^{13}\) and.

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1. DPPN, sv. Gothiyambara (Appendix).
3. Ibid., p. 443.
5. Parīśīṣṭaparvan, II, 8th story, Dattaveliyacīnī, Radham, 1933, pp. 89-91; Śukasaptail, ed. Schmidtr, Leipzig, 1899, p. 56; Katkha, I.162; Aśkāyaka Śītara, III, p. 462.
7. Mb., V. 191, 192.
8. VII, 23.
10. V., 15-49.
11. DSS, VI, 61 (Naravāhanadatta); Agrawala, V.S., Panini, p. 364; Ep. Ind., XXXI, 205 (Yakshārya); Yaksha Dhanaśīlī, Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, I, 1967, p. 6ff; published from University of Sagar.
Äravakha Sūtra similarly refer to Bhadda and Subhadda who obtained children by worshipping Surambara and Vessavana respectively. In the Uttarādhyayana Tīkā, Guṇamālā is said to have been blessed by a Yaksha with a daughter. It sometimes turned out that the child so granted was unlucky. The child of Gangadattā was subjected to miseries; he eventually took an unrighteous path and passed away. Devadatta of Nāyādhāmakkhāto too was unlucky; he was abducted and killed by a thief. Yakshas sometimes administered some objects which had child-giving propensity. The Abhantara Jātaka refers to Vessavana’s mangoes having the efficacy of inducing conception. Any child born of eating this mango was destined to become the sole monarch of the earth, which is so unlike the Jain belief documented earlier. The mango tree was a prized possession and was heavily secured with iron-nets extending from the bottom to the top of the tree. In addition, a thousand millions of Kumbhanḍa, goblins and the like kept a constant vigil over it. The tree was situated at a place which was hot like the fire of hell (not detrimental to the plant!) and every fruit on it was properly accounted for. An ascetic is mentioned as the regular recipient of four such mangoes from Kubera. The mangoes of Kubera as also the hazards of getting them are also described in the Sunce Jātaka.

Besides bestowing children upon their devotees, Yakshas protected the foetus also. Kājavela has been ascribed such a function in the Mahāvamsa in the case of Dīghagāmini’s son. This case shows that the protective function of the Yaksha did not conclude with the safe birth of the child. On the other hand, it was a permanent responsibility. The Buddhist works usually keep an account of the service of Yakshas from the gestation to the birth of the Buddha. Such a belief in Yakshas as bestowers of children was in spite of their oft-quoted natural inclination to abduct, kill or devour children.

One of the most important functions of Yakshas lay in offering protection to human beings. In consonance with this, they were accepted as tutelary figures. Coomaraswamy has described certain important Yakshas like Śākyavardhana (Dīghavardhana) of Śākyas, Śāta and Śātagiri of Rājagriha, Jivaka, and the quaternity of Yakshas of Pandukabhaya, who eminently fulfilled their roles as guardian angels. The Buddhist text Mahāmyārī contains a large list of such tutelary Yakshas who were assigned to the different ancient Indian towns. Some towns, because of their religious sanctity or for other reasons, had more than one Yaksha guardian. The Mahābhārata, for instance, mentions Arantuka, Macakruka, Tarantuka and a nameless Yakshi who guarded Kurukshetra and received worship. According to the Buddhist and Jain texts almost every city of importance had one or more Yaksha, and in several cases the abodes of Yakshas were known as Cattyas. Inhabiting the cities or having their special abodes made by their particular votaries, they performed their protective functions in a variety of ways. The seven Yakshas of Jotika Sejjī of Rājagriha guarded the seven gates of his mansion, helped by several thousands of their own attendants in each case. Cetiya Yakkhi helped Pandukabhaya in battle to destroy his enemies. There were various departments of human activities in which Yakshas’ help was invoked and received. They often participated in battles, and helped their

1II, p. 386.
3f, II, 27ff.
4V, 20ff.
5IX, 22ff; The child was saved by Yaksha at different occasions, ibid, IX, 84.
6supra, p. 154 note 12.
8Appendix 1.
9supra, p. 30.
10supra, 42f.
11Dh, A, III, 32ff.
12Mahāvamsa, IX; cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 447, where the Yaksha-Senāpati Pāścika provides the Caturangabala consisting of human-fighters, elephants and horses besides mace, noose, wheels and arrows which ultimately helped in victory, and blasting of a fort.
side to obtain victory. They are mentioned as having participated in the battle fought by Sūri Sātakarni Gotamiputra. The *Kathāsaritasūgara* similarly has the instance of the help that Yakshas rendered to Vikramāditya against the king of Simhala. These Yakshas were sent to him by Madanamañjiri, a Yakshi. The story reminds one of the Vijaya-Kuvaṇṇa legend as found in the *Mahāvamsa*. Because they were creatures of wilds and woods, travellers often received their help. The *Divyāvadana* refers to the timely help of Mahēśvara Yaksha which saved the ship-wrecked men from being devoured by a sea-monster. In the *Rāmāyana*, Kausalyā is found praying to Yakshas to ensure Rāma's well-being when he started on his journey into the forest. The Epics represent them as deities of caravans and merchants. In the *Vimāṇavatthu Comm.* is found the instance of Serissaka Yaksha who was appointed by Kubera in a desert tract to guide travellers who got stranded. Some Yakshas also helped human beings as is found in the Sukumārikā-Manohara anecdote, in crossing over the sea. Yakshas helped people in distress and provided to them sumptuous food and drink. They were great builders and, as such, their help could be acquired in such activities. Their activities were all-pervasive. A Yaksha appointed as the tax-gatherer of the king of Kāśi is mentioned. These beings sometimes tested the courage of people and encouraged steadfastness in one's devotion. When Anātha-piñḍaka was daunted by difficulties to see the Buddha, Sīvaka Yaksha guided him through a fearful cemetery in the night and helped him see the Master. Some important personalities, however, did not require their help and were beyond their powers. The Buddha, when threatened by Ālavaṇa and Suciloma, is represented as having told them that 'there was no one anywhere who could harm him.' In the *Rāmāyana*, Rāvana is said to have been free from the affliction of Yakshas, but in the *Mahābhārata* he is subjected to a curse by Nalakanāra when the former molested Rāmbha. Rāvana could never redeem himself from this curse.

A combination of different benefic or malefic activities of Yakshas presents a predominant feature of Yaksha's nature, viz., contradiction and paradox. If there were Yakshas who ate flesh and blood, there were those who took pains to avert such offerings. If certain Yakshas like Hārīti, Rattākhi, Pāṇḍakāla, etc., spread an epidemic, others like Manibhadra suppressed it. If some abducted children and ate them, there were others who reared and protected them. Yakshas even granted children, for which they were greatly respected. There were certain predatory Yakshas who killed people out of spite and vengeance but again there were others who cleared people from the sin of killing.

Thus it appears that the whole concept of Yaksha can only be understood by an analysis of

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2. *IX.31; cf. also, Kathas.*, VI.72, they fought humans and were worsted; sometimes Yakshas, in their turn receive human help; cf. *Kathas.*, IX.13.
12. *Sr., I., 335.
15. *Dāsakumaraśruta*, Ch. IV; Tārāvali, the daughter of Manibhadra is said to have saved a child from a cremation place at Varanasi and reared him under the instruction of Kubera.
16. *Vin. P., I.214 (III.5.25.)*
both the intellectual\(^1\) and the democratic aspects of Yaksha worship. There might be found contradictory beliefs connected with Yakshas, but the fact remains that the whole mythology and the theological aspect of Yakshas appeared as a result of an interaction between the enlightened as well as popular sections of early society. In the process, if mystic aspects of Yakshas were developed, the mundane and earth-bound concept also did not lag behind. In the course of time, the popular aspect of the Yaksha theology edged the other out, and came to have an unchallenged sway. This is proved by a lack of intellectual orientation of Yaksha-worship in the later times.

\(^{1}\)supra, pp. 20-26.
CHAPTER

9

Survivals of Yaksha-Worship

The whole account of Yaksha-worship may be concluded with a brief survey of the survival in modern times of the beliefs connected with the ancient Yakshas. This chapter thus contains their description which will be followed by concluding remarks.

Yaksha had great importance and ritual significance in the ancient popular worship and the tradition of their worship has flourished even to this time. People, worshipping Yakshas or claiming descent from them, are still found to the Himalayan region, northern and western India, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The Jakkulus of Andhra claim to be the descendants of the Yakshas. Western Indians worship some village deities whom they call Jākha or Jākhini. In Mathura region, the worship of Jakhaiyā is still very popular. Kashmir region knows of the Yakshas as Yech or Yach. According to popular belief in Kashmir, they appear as a sprite smaller than a cat but with feet so small that they are invisible. The number of the Yakshinis is about seventy two in Kutch, and there they are worshipped in the form of white horses. The Yakshas or Yaksha descendants are known elsewhere also. There are Veddas of Ceylon who regard themselves as the descendants of Yakshas. Similarly in Cambodia, certain festivals whose antiquity goes back to 13th century AD, may be directly connected with the Yakshas. One such festival known as ‘Ngai-Lan,’ was mentioned by the Chinese ambassador to Cambodia in the first half of the 13th century AD.

A dialect associated with the name of Yaksha is also known as Yākha Bhākhā. It has been explained as belonging to the Chinese stock of languages in the Tibeto-Burman branch. It is prevalent in the Tibetan-Himalayan region, particularly in the north of Darjeeling and Nepal. According to a survey conducted in 1921, there were 1086 persons who spoke it. The dialect also figures as the spoken language of the Andaman Islands. A lipi, ‘script,’ has also been ascribed to the Yakshas in the Lalitavistara; this script was known as Yaksha-lipi.

As regards the popular mythology and folklore of the Yakshas in the modern period, it appears that they have found their place as fertility of protective deities in which their old ambivalent attitude persists. In Andhra, they appear as deities with Gāmini, another deity of the same

1Crooke, W., Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 255.
2Bombay Gazetteer, I, part I, 456; V.95. 235f., quoted by Crooke, W., op. cit., p. 256.
4cf. Ceodes, G., BEFEO, XVIII, no. 9, pp. 8-9; Journal Asiatique, V, 1915, p. 58; I am indebted to Prof. K.D. Bajpai for this information.
5In Nepal, “The Yakṣa is now called Khya. There is a belief in Nepal that the devil Khya is endowed with the capacity of bestowing on his favourite whatever amount of money the latter desires to possess. His picture with two jugs holding money appears alone with that of Lakshmi. The devil is still offered sacrifice.” Regmi, Ancient Nepal, Calcutta, 1969, p. 31.
6Tiwari, Bholanath, Bhashāvijāna Kosa; In the Manjusrinātaka, p. 233, Yakshas are represented as speaking the dialect of Vanga, Samatā and the north, or Māgadhī, MMK, p. 331.
7Leffman, Ch. 10, p. 126.
class, keeping watch over the village where they are established. In this aspect they are similar to other village deities such as Ellamma, Marianma, Bōdrī, Nigamooyā, Poshammā and a host of similar other demi-gods. Their priests are “low-class” people represented by Bainḍa, Potraj, Pamālā or Eruplā. They usually appear as neutral deities, not having any intrinsic powers of doing good or causing harm, and are worshipped only for their divine character. In certain other cases Yakshis are regarded as incarnations of Mahākāli, and are known as Sunkulammā, Maremmā, Gongammā, etc. They are the goddesses of backward people, and are worshipped without any icon, on the grāmapolimeyā, ‘outskirts of village,’ in order to save the inhabitants from epidemics such as smallpox, cholera, etc. The usual items of sacrifice offered to them consists of hen, sheep and goats etc. The concept of possession dominates their folk mythology in the Andhra and Karnataka region. If a lady takes a vow remembering some Yakshi, she will be possessed by her till the vow is complete. The completion of the vow is usually marked with the sacrifice of a healthy animal. The regular sādhakas invoke the help of Yakshīs for killing their enemies during a specific time limit. This practice in Andhra Pradesh is known as ‘Sethabadi.’ But the remedies to it have also been prescribed. A person under Sethabadi, loses health and vomits blood but can alleviate the danger to his life by worshipping Adisakī Mahākāli. If the person escaped from the malevolence of the charm, it is necessary for the upāsaka to provide an alternative sacrifice; otherwise he, it is believed, was himself devoured by the Yakshi. It is also said that Yakshis do not harm pious men.

The Yakshas figure less frequently, but they are known as servants of Kubera, ‘Kuberānu-caruḷu.’ They are also regarded as partakers of amṛutham, ‘nectar.’ They are worshipped only for pretty favours; Moksha, etc., the highest favours, are not within their power.

Andhra and Karnataka regions have still a community, Jakkul, at present inhabiting regions near Peddapur in East Godavari district and Tenali in the Guntur district. The antiquity of this community goes back to 15th century but at present it represents an “inferior” community of prostitutes or a “theatrical” caste whose other occupations include dancing, singing, performing musical plays and wizardry. Their opera-concerts are called ‘yaksha-gāṇa,’ their ballet, Jakkhini, and their musical metres—‘Jakkulu-rekulu.’ the yaksha-gāṇas are simple compositions of melodious rhythms. Besides having a folk vitality of their own, they have also a tāla system, which has beats as follows:

1. takitakitata—takkinąntaka
2. taka-takita kitatakita
3. takitatakata—takkatakata—takitaštata tadhigānātm

The history of yaksha-gāṇa goes back to the 15th century and its first composer was a poet called Prulgaṇi Cenna Saurī. It is said that yaksha-gāṇas should be performed at the places of those persons who wanted children. The Jakkul community has certain legendary accounts of its origin. According to their story, the community originated from two Yakshas devoted to Kāmavalli, one of the seven daughters of Pārvatī. These Yakshas had been given a number of musical instruments, and the people who worshipped them were dear to them. Thus came a class that was later designated as Yakkula. Yaksha-gāṇas of this Jakkul community are ballets, while Jakkhini is mentioned as a form of dance. In these performances

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3. I am thankful to Sarvashri P.R.V. Murti and C.I. Narain Rao for this information.
4. They once inhabited certain places which still carry the echo of their proper names, such as Jakkasānikunāla (Parīkōnda Taluk), Jakkulu Ceruva (Gooyt Taluk) Jakkalsērurva (Penugonda Taluk) Jakkal Samudra (Hindpur Taluk) etc. I am indebted for this information to Dr. S.V. Joga Rao, Lecturer in Telugu, Andhra University, Waltair.
5. Penzer, N.M., Kathāsārītāgāra, I.26.2., mentions Yakshas as deities of prostitutes.
any story, from epical to local anecdotes of bravery and strength, may be sung and enacted through dance. All these practices of the Jakkuls in Andhra and Karnataka regions are only a restatement of the ancient beliefs regarding Yakshas. They show the continuation of the ancient tradition into the modern period.

In Kerala and Tamil Nadu also the belief in Yakshi persists. Yakshis are supposed to be capable of possessing women during the 4-day period of their “impurity.” Late Mr. K. Bharatha Iyer related to us a folk-tale from Tamil Nadu about some woman who had died childless and become a Yakshi.

In Western India, the village deities known as Jakh, Jakhí, Jokhá, Nagulá or Alavanti are direct descendants of ancient Yakshis. They are the counterparts of north Indian Cures, and it is said that those women who had died during pregnancy or child-birth, or during the prescribed period of “impurity,” assume the form of such malevolent village deities.³

In northern India also, the modern counterpart of beliefs in Yaksha are found. According to folklore, many tanks hold a treasure with a Yaksha in charge of it, but the attempts of finding the treasure are never successful.⁴ It is also believed that the benevolent field spirits are Jakh and their consorts the Jakhni. They are also sometimes called Cora and Corant or Coradeva and Coradevi.⁵ Crooke has observed that in the folklore Jakh is an unscrupulous husband and he robs his own village to supply the wants of his consort. So, if one sees a comparatively barren village next to one where crops are thriving, one must be sure that the Jakh lives in one and the Jakhni in the other.⁶ In Mathura, the worship of Jakhya or Jakhaiyya is still very popular. In fact, some of the early sculptures of Yakshas, for instance, of the Parkham Manibhadra, were being worshipped under the name of Jakhaiya and a fair used to be held in their honour. Cunningham, who discovered the Parkham image, has said that in honour of this Jakhaiyya, a fair was held every Sunday in the month of Magha.⁷ However, usually, Jakhaiyya is worshipped by the “lower” castes, such as sweepers, cobblers, etc., but in the ceremonial night-singing known as Ratjaga, various songs of Yakshas are sung which present the malevolent aspects of the nature of this demi-god. Songs like the following are sung on such occasion—

Jakhai Julhála, Teri ajan aváj,
Tu märe Khyálai ka paryon.

On the Sundays of the months of Magha and Ashadh, the aniconic figure of Jakhaiyya represented by a square block of bricks, is worshipped. Animal sacrifice particularly of little pigs is a common feature of that worship.

In Madhya Pradesh, no reference to Yakshas is found in the hierarchy of village gods; no names having similarities with the ancient Yaksha names are found either. There is quite a large number of village gods in worship in M.P., such as Dúngardeo, Muttondeo, Dúladeo, Haradaula, Mántas, etc. Some of these, like Haradaula⁸ and Dúladeo receive worship during the marriage ceremony; they also offer protection, riches and progeny, but similarities and proximities apart from these with Yakshas are not identifiable. Many deities appear in protective roles, but either they are nameless or have names different from those of Yakshas.

Among the individual Yakshas mention has been made of the worship of Manibhadra and Manik pír and Harikesa Yaksha as Harasu Baramha in Benaras and also in Bengal and Bihar.

¹I am indebted to my colleague and friend Prof. A. Raman for this information.
²Crooke, W., op. cit., p. 194.
³Ibid, p. 69.
⁴Ibid, pp. 255ff.
⁵Ibid, p. 256.
⁶Reports, XX, p. 40.
⁷Crooke, W., op. cit., pp. 101-2 also p. 125.
It will be interesting to see how some of the beliefs particularly connected with Yakshas have survived. She Yāch-Yaksha demons of Hindukush it is said, have their feet turned backwards.\(^1\) Sneeze\(^2\) is regarded as inauspicious and it is suggested that certain words or charms such as 'long life,' 'chatrapati' (in M.P.) Alhamdullāh or Yarhamu kā ilahi\(^3\) etc. should be used. Sneezes is curiously explained. It is said that a Bhūta enters the mouth and nostrils and produces the sneeze. Another custom connected with early references is found in the belief of keeping fork, iron, knife, scythe, etc., near the bed of infants.\(^4\) These practices are palpably similar to the superstitions connected with Yaksha in ancient times.\(^5\) Keeping feet bare is not always auspicious and implications of it may be traced back to the story of Sutano Jātaka where the Bodhisattva warded off the evil influence of Yaksha by using the sandals of the king.\(^6\) The custom of asking questions and answering them (Praśnottarāmātikā) still survives in the Malhors of the present day.\(^7\) Similarly prevalent is the belief in the concept of possession by good or evil spirits. In Andhra Pradesh the belief survives particularly in the cases of Yakshinīs and according to the popular modes of worship, there are ojhās, 'priests' who relieve such possessed persons from the great mental strain. All these prevalent beliefs and practices conclusively prove the folk-nature of the Yaksha cult. They also seem to indicate that many such beliefs may, in the final analysis, be related to the Yaksha cult as regards their origin.

Resumé
Thus it appears that Yakshas played an extremely important role in the popular religion. Like any other cult god, Yakshas have a tradition of folklore incorporated extensively in ancient literature. This ancient literature unmistakably illustrates the status of Yaksha as democratic, popular god with non-Aryan source of origin.

On the basis of the intrinsic material of the literary works of the different ancient sects, it appears certain that Yakshas had sanctified status of cult gods. With all the evidence on the large Yaksha-pantheon, widely distributed images of different times, priests, temples and rituals, it is only proper to accept Yakshas as demi-gods who enjoyed enormous following and worship. The incorporation of the ideas of totemism, ancestor-worship, animism and of cannibalism in the body of belief in Yakshas only adds to this conclusion. It must be remarked here that these ideas of totemism, animism, etc. are not found in the case of Yakshas alone. Even the Vedic religion had a place for these ideas. But whereas the Vedic religion eventually manifested itself in so many forms of philosophies and religious practices, Yaksha mythology did not change itself and continued to flourish with fundamentally the same ideas and forms in many regions from the later Vedic period onwards. Such forms and practices were repugnant to the intellectual mind but they could not be undermined because they had special democratic appeal for the masses. Sometimes the higher varnas or classes of society supported their sanctity. The fold of Yaksha-worshippers included common people such as gardeners, gamblers, prostitutes and villagers, tribals, etc., but it sometimes included also Brāhmīns, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Yakshas had the same rewards to offer to all of them without any discrimination as to their caste or creed. These gods satisfied all kinds of wishes of worshippers, and thus attracted a large following. As has been rightly remarked, "a man cannot expect a great incarnation of Vishnu (or other great deities) to cure his cow, to find his lost purse, nor would public opinion tolerate his going to any respectable temple or shrine with a petition that his neighbour's wife, his ox or his ass may be smitten with some sore disease. A respectable minister will not be found to take an

\(^1\)Crooke, W., op. cit., p. 195.
\(^2\)ibid, pp. 223ff.
\(^3\)ibid, p. 224.
\(^4\)Crooke, W., op. cit., p. 224.
\(^5\)cf., Jātaka, II.155 for exactly similar practice; Jātaka, IV.305, for keeping iron by the side of infants.
\(^6\)cf. Jātaka, III.202ff.
\(^7\)Gaur, G.D., Malhor, (Hindi) Janapada, I, 1, January 1955, pp. 75ff.
offering or to use his influence in such silly and scandalous jobs with any saint or deity who values his self-respect." Yakshas, on the other hand, were primarily meant for gratifying such mundane wishes and, therefore, found a sufficiently large following.

As regards the high god concept of Yakshas, the whole frame of such concept may seem to go against their ascription of the non-Aryan character to Yakshas. But that inference is only superficial. That such a high-god concept has been attributed to Yakshas will be clear from the adjectival role of the word Yaksha for the Brahman, Buddha, Sakka, Vishnu, etc. Similarly, the acceptance of Yakshas as primordial deity, creator, and cosmogonic or psychological principle also raise their status. It is quite possible that the cult of Yakshas might have been professed by a section of the Vedic Aryans and their descendants. This section might have tried to uphold their beliefs and, in the process sanctified the status of Yaksha, but it could not successfully fight for its cause and eventually Yaksha was relegated again to its lovely origins, where it had a safe niche for itself.

It is also interesting that Yaksha-mythology is a combination of contradictions. There are good Yakshas and, at the same time, bad ones. Some Yakshas relish human sacrifice; others specifically hate it. Some are benevolent, some malevolent. If some Yakshas grant children, others take them away; some respect the higher faith, others are strenuously non-believers. Even in these cases it is difficult to ignore the fact that the Yakshas changed their evil nature under the influence of greater cult-gods, such as Buddha, Mahavira, Bodhisattva, Jain sages, etc. Those who were not tamed were either rendered harmless or completely eliminated as was done to Tatakä by Rāma. But the influence of their worship cannot be denied. From the literary works it appears that each village or city had its own Yaksha; some larger metropolitan towns like Rājagriha or Mathura or Benaras had even more than one Yaksha.

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1Crooke, op. cit., p. 27 quoting Lyall, Asiatic Studies, I, London, p. 120.
APPENDIX I

The Guardian Yakshas in the Mahāmāyurī

The Mahāmāyurī is of foremost importance in supplying the names of tutelary Yakshas of a large number of ancient towns. Some of these towns have been identified by Sylvan Levi and V.S. Agrawala. These identification along with the names of Yakshas have been incorporated here as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yaksha</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Krakucchanda</td>
<td>Pātaliputra</td>
<td>Pañaliputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparañita</td>
<td>Sthūna</td>
<td>In the Malla country, N.W. of Patna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāila</td>
<td>Bhadrapura</td>
<td>To the east of Pataliputra, towards the delta of Ganges,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māñava</td>
<td>Uttara</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kritālaya (?)</td>
<td>Griddhakūta</td>
<td>N.E. of Rājagriha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrapāni</td>
<td>Rājagriha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citragupta</td>
<td>Sthitamukha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garuda</td>
<td>Vipula</td>
<td>N.E. of Rājagriha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakula</td>
<td>Rājagriha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upakālaka</td>
<td>Kapilavastu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāla</td>
<td>Kapilavastu</td>
<td>Bairat (Old Jaipur State)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maheśvara</td>
<td>Virāta</td>
<td>Wer, S.E. of Bharatapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmāsāpāda</td>
<td>Vairā</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brihaspati</td>
<td>Śravastī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagara</td>
<td>Sāketa</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrāyudha</td>
<td>Vaiśāli</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haripānala</td>
<td>Mallā</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākala</td>
<td>Vārānasī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudarśana</td>
<td>Campā</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇu</td>
<td>Dwārkā</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharana</td>
<td>Dhārapati</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vībhīṣaṇa</td>
<td>Tāmraparṇī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭavaka</td>
<td>Āṭavī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 JUPHS, XV, II, pp. 24-32; Moti Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, p. 15, has reported that an illustrated manuscript of this text is deposited in the collection of the Bharata Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. It seem that this rākṣa-text was in great demand, hence its different types of manuscripts, including the illustrated ones also.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yaksha</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kapila</td>
<td>Bahudhānyaka</td>
<td>Khokarkot and surrounding territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vashubhūti</td>
<td>Avanti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharaka</td>
<td>Bharukaccha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanda</td>
<td>Ānandapura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālyadharā</td>
<td>Agrodaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṇjaketā</td>
<td>Agrodaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ānāṇāda</td>
<td>Morarparpaṭa and Āmraparpaṭa</td>
<td>Wadnagarā, N. of Ahmedabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suvāspū</td>
<td>Agroha, 13 miles N.W. of Hissar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukładanaḥśtra</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Between Śrutudri and Saraswati in Rāmāyāna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dridhanāmā Manasvin</td>
<td>Vidiśā</td>
<td>Swat river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasava</td>
<td>Girinagara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāgiri</td>
<td>Rohitaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttikeya</td>
<td>Vainvātata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatābāhu</td>
<td>Kalīṅga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brihadtrātha</td>
<td>Ārjunāya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjuna</td>
<td>Śrūghna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duryodhana</td>
<td>Maṇḍapa</td>
<td>In the region of Delhi, Jaipur and Agra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardana</td>
<td>Malava</td>
<td>N. of Thanesar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girikula</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Mandu Fort?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadra</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohitāśva</td>
<td>Śākala</td>
<td>Sialkot?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvbhadra</td>
<td>Śautivakā</td>
<td>Prob. at the north end of the ancient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāḷitakā</td>
<td></td>
<td>caravan route leading from east to Punjab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūṭadanaḥśtra</td>
<td>Ajitañjaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasubhadra</td>
<td>Vesālī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivabhadra</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhīṣhaṇa</td>
<td>Śivapurāhāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva</td>
<td>Indrāpura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>Śilāpura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpaketu</td>
<td>Darukapura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daruka</td>
<td>Vargu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapila</td>
<td>Brahmāvatī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapibhadra and his brother</td>
<td>Takshaśīlā</td>
<td>Next to Swat or Sindhu, very near Gandhara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrṇabhadra</td>
<td>Takshaśīlā</td>
<td>In Gandhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhaṃjana</td>
<td>Bhadrāśaila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramardana</td>
<td>Rauraka</td>
<td>Iranian. Capital of Sauvira.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaposhṭha</td>
<td>Hanumāṭrā</td>
<td>Anūpa, in Saurashtra (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaksha</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalahapriya</td>
<td>Lampaka</td>
<td>Between Ghazni and Kabul rivers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardabhaka</td>
<td>Mathura</td>
<td>Lamghan or Laghman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalasodara</td>
<td>Lankā</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suryaprabha</td>
<td>Sūna</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girimandha</td>
<td>Kosala</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaijayanta and Vijaya</td>
<td>Pāṇḍyamathurā</td>
<td>Madura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrṇaka</td>
<td>Malayā</td>
<td>Malabarā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinnara</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandaka</td>
<td>Pratishtāhan</td>
<td>1. A frontier tribe at the limits of Aryan India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. In Orissa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghamāli</td>
<td>Paunḍra</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukhāvaha</td>
<td>Taraṅgavatī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankarin</td>
<td>Pitaṅgalya</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asāṅga</td>
<td>Bharukaccha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundara</td>
<td>Nāsikya</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandīvra and Nandika</td>
<td>Karhātaka</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahābhūja</td>
<td>Kośāil</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambodara</td>
<td>Kalṅga</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swastika</td>
<td>Swāstikatāka</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pālaka</td>
<td>Vanavāsī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrakarṇa</td>
<td>Taṅskandha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanāpaha</td>
<td>Sātpura</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyadarśana</td>
<td>Avanti</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bala</td>
<td>Vairāmaka</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śikharītī</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>— Trans-Sindhu region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomardana (A place name?)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṇājalipriya</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>— Trans-Sindhu region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaidīśa ?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anābhoga</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virocana</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapila</td>
<td>Ekakaksha or Erakaksha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratika</td>
<td>Kausāmbī</td>
<td>— Trans-Sindhu region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrṇaka</td>
<td>Śāntimātī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakula</td>
<td>Kāmpīlya</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasama</td>
<td>Ahicchatrā</td>
<td>— Trans-Sindhu region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naigamesha</td>
<td>Manḍavi</td>
<td>— Central India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ujjijhānā</td>
<td>— Hastināpara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gajasāhvaya</td>
<td>Passala of Ptolemy; East of Gangā; one of the cities of Pāñcāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pañcālī</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaksha</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dridhodhanu</td>
<td>Varuṇā</td>
<td>On confines of Rajputana to the W. of Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purañjaya</td>
<td>Yaudheya</td>
<td>A tribe of Punjab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarārka</td>
<td>Kuruksheṭra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutarārka</td>
<td>Kuruksheṭra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aholūkhala-Mekhalā</td>
<td>Kuruksheṭra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhayātrā</td>
<td>Śrughna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsena</td>
<td>Koṭiṣvarsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purañjaya</td>
<td>Koṭiṣvarsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpadanta</td>
<td>Campā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgadha</td>
<td>Girivraja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parvata</td>
<td>Goyoga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susheṇa</td>
<td>Nagarā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukhāvaha</td>
<td>Kākandi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virabāhu</td>
<td>Śāketa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāyāśa</td>
<td>Kauśāmbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrika</td>
<td>Bhadrikā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṭānkaṭa</td>
<td>Ambashṭha</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aśoka</td>
<td>Kāśi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandaka</td>
<td>Ajitañjaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhārtha</td>
<td>Akakaksha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikāṇana</td>
<td>Saindhava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṭa and Vikāṭa</td>
<td>Kapilavastu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaikratika</td>
<td>Gāndhāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhrusa</td>
<td>Dwārkāṇilaya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mādhyamikīya</td>
<td>Mādhyamikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saubhadra</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairāṭaka</td>
<td>Śarapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamābhaka</td>
<td>Marubhūmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhaṅkara</td>
<td>Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candaka</td>
<td>Jāṭapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāñcika</td>
<td>Kashmirasandha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāñcika’s eldest son</td>
<td>Chhīnabhūmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandaksheti</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ushrtrapāda</td>
<td>Kulinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manḍalāśana</td>
<td>Manḍala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārici</td>
<td>Rāmakakshaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lankeśvara</td>
<td>Kapiṣi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahābhūja</td>
<td>Bāhli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmapāla</td>
<td>Khasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinarshabha</td>
<td>Tukhāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemavata and Sātagiri</td>
<td>Sindhusāgara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramardana</td>
<td>Kaliṅga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triśūlapāśi</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāñcālagaṇḍa</td>
<td>Dramila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. People W. of Sibi and Tri-garta
2. In East between Kāśī and Tāmralipti
3. Central India, Ptolemy

Towards Punjab
Bank of Indus

(near Chittora)

Rajputana desert

Land of Jats.

China
Kuśika in N.W.
Kangra

Kapisa, Begram
Bactria
Himalayan tribe
Oxus.
Delta of Sindhu

Tewar, Jabalpur Distt.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yaksha</td>
<td>Patalene on the mouth of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukamukha</td>
<td>Indus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimkara</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhásvara</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šarmila</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhañjana</td>
<td>Amb, 60 miles above Attock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piṅgala</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātali</td>
<td>(Kapisa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babbaḍa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalakūbara</td>
<td>Seistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suprabuddha</td>
<td>Pārada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankara</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parāśara</td>
<td>Rajshahi Distt. Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piṅgala</td>
<td>Swat Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrṇamukha</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karālaka</td>
<td>Sandy region of Chitral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhodara</td>
<td>Beyond Oxus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaradhvaja</td>
<td>Between Ghazni and Wakk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citrasena</td>
<td>hana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvaṇa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyadarśana</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piṅgala</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhāra</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopāla</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaka</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāli</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandi</td>
<td>Nandiner, near Ujjaini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśravaṇa</td>
<td>Sankissa, near Farrukhabad, U.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśravaṇa</td>
<td>Alakāpuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II

Iconography of Jaina Yakshas and Yakshis

The details contained in the Rāpanaṇḍana, Vāsīṣṭha and Aparājitaprīccha have been tabulated here. All these texts give almost similar descriptions of the Yakshas and Yakshinis. Sometimes, some additional details are also found. Those cognizances which are common in all the texts, and those which are additional have been compiled here as follows. Brackets indicate alternative names at the corresponding place in the different lists found in the texts quoted above.

A. YAKSHAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yaksha</th>
<th>Colour, Cognizance mudra</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gomukha</td>
<td>Golden-white, Four-armed</td>
<td>Elephant, bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varada, rosary, noose and citrus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāyaksha</td>
<td>Black, Eight-armed</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varada, mace, rosary, noose, citrus, abhaya, goad, spear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimukha</td>
<td>Black, Six-arms, Three faces and eyes</td>
<td>Peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mongoose, club, abhaya, citrus, serpent, rosary, battle-axe, conch, wheel, varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakshanāyaka</td>
<td>Black, Four-armed</td>
<td>Elephant, Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Īśvara, Caturānana)</td>
<td>Citrus, rosary, mongoose, goad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serpent, noose, Swan, Vajra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumburu</td>
<td>White, four-armed, Varada, spear, serpent, noose, fruit.</td>
<td>Garuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusuma</td>
<td>Blue, Four-armed; two-armed fruit, abhaya, mongoose, rosary, mace.</td>
<td>Deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātaṅga</td>
<td>Blue, Four-armed vīla, mongoose, goad, noose, mace.</td>
<td>Elephant, ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaya</td>
<td>Green, Two-armed, Four-armed, three eyes</td>
<td>Swan, pigeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wheel, mace, animal (mongoose?), noose, abhaya, varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaya (Ajita)</td>
<td>White, Four-armed</td>
<td>Tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citrus, rosary, Mongoose, kunta, spear, fruit, Varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmā</td>
<td>White, four-armed, six-armed, four-faces, three-eyes.</td>
<td>Lotus, Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaksha</td>
<td>Colour, Cognizance mudra</td>
<td>Vāhana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citrus, mace, mongoose, rosary, Triśūla, fruit, varada.</td>
<td>Swan, peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumāra</td>
<td>White, four-armed,</td>
<td>Swan, peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citrus, bow, arrow, mongoose, fruit, varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṃmukha</td>
<td>White, four-armed, twelve-armed</td>
<td>Peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fruit, wheel, arrow, Khaṅgā, noose rosary, mongoose, bow, vessel, goad, abhaya, vajra, varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātāla (Kinnara)</td>
<td>Red, six-armed, three-faced</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lotus, khaṅgā, noose, mongoose, vessel, rosary, goad, bow, arrow, fruit, varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinnara (Pātāla)</td>
<td>Red, six-armed, three-faced</td>
<td>Tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citron, mace, abhaya, mongoose, lotus, rosary, vajra, goad, arrow, varada, fruit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garuḍa</td>
<td>Black, four-armed, boar-faced.</td>
<td>Boar, parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citron, lotus, mongoose, rosary, noose, goad, fruit, varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandharva</td>
<td>Black, four-armed.</td>
<td>Swan, parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varada, noose, citrus, goad, lotus, abhaya, fruit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakshet, (Yakshendra, Dakṣa)</td>
<td>Black, six-faced, twelve-armed, six-armed.</td>
<td>Conch, donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakshesā</td>
<td>Citrus, arrow, khaṅgā, mace, noose, abhaya, mongoose, bow, a skin-vessel, spear, goad, rosary, vajrārī (??), fruit varada.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubera</td>
<td>Indrāyuḍha (five-coloured), four-faced, (One face like Garuḍa), eight or four-armed, varada, battle-axe, spear, abhaya citrā, sakti, club, rosary, noose, goad, fruit.</td>
<td>Lion, elephant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuna (Apaṃpatī)</td>
<td>White, four-faced, with Jatāmukta, eight or six-armed.</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citrus, mace, arrow, Sakti, mongoose lotus, bow, battle-axe, noose, goad, serpent, vajra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhrīkuṭi</td>
<td>Golden, four-headed, three-eyed, four or eight-armed.</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citrus, sakti, mace, abhaya, mongoose, battle-axe, vajra, rosary, mūlaśakti (??), shield, damaru.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomēdha</td>
<td>Black, three-headed, serpent-like,</td>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakska (Pārśva)</td>
<td>Colour, Cognizance mudra six-armed, Citrus, battle-axe, wheel, mongoose, spear, Śakti, bow, arrow, bhṛṅḍi, (Fig-tree?) mace, fruit, varada.</td>
<td>Vāhana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśva (Mātaṅga)</td>
<td>Black, elephant-headed or serpent-hooded, Tortoise Elephant four-armed. Citrus, serpent, mongoose, fruit, varada, lotus, noose, goad.</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātaṅga (Gomedha)</td>
<td>White(?black) two-armed, mongoose, citrus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B. Yakshinis

| Cakreśvārī (Apratīcakrā, Cakreśi) | Golden, four, eight, twelve-armed, varada, arrow, wheel, śakti, spear, citrus, noose, bow, vajra, goad abhaya. | Garuda, lotus, or both in combination |  |
| Duritāri (Prajāśāvati) | White, four, or six-armed. varada, rosary, fruit, abhaya. | Ram |  |
| Kālikā (Vajra-śrīṅkhalā) | Black, four-armed. varada, noose, serpent, goad, rosary, phalaka, lotus. | Lotus, Swan |  |
| Mahākālī (Naradattikā) | Golden, four-armed, varada, noose, citrus, goad, wheel, vajra, fruit. | Lotus, white-Elephant |  |
| Śyāmā (Acuyā, Manovegā) | Black (Golden), four-armed varada, noose, bow, abhaya, vajra, wheel, fruit. | Man, horse |  |
| Bhrikuti (Jvālāmālinī) | Yellow (Black), four-armed. Khaṅga, mace, shield, battle-axe, ghanṭa (bell), trīśūla, fruit, vara. | Boar, cat, bull |  |
| Sutarikā (Sutarī, Mahākalī) | White (Yellow), four-armed. varada, rosary, pitch, goad, vajra, mace, abhaya. | Bull, tortoise |  |
| Aśokā (Mānavi) | Black (or colour of mudga, greenish-black) four-armed varada, noose, fruit, goad. | Lotus, boar, |  |
| Mānavi (Gaurī) | White (Golden), four-armed. varada, mace, pitch, goad, noose, lotus. | Lion, black deer |  |
| Caṇḍī (Pracaṇḍā) | Black, four-armed, two-armed. varada, śakti, flower, mace, lotus fruit. | Horse, or crocodile |  |
| Gāndhārī | Green (black), four or six-armed, arrow, bow, noose, serpent, varada, Khaṅga, shield. | Lotus, aerial-car |  |
| Vīditā (Virātā) | White (Golden), four-armed Khaṅga, noose, carma-phalaka, goad. | Lotus, Swan |  |
Yakshini  
Colour, Cognizance mudra  
Vahana
Anantamati  
bow and arrow, fruit, varada.
Kandarpī  
White, (Blood-red), four or six-armed, Fish, Tiger.
(Kandarpā)  
Lotus, goad, abhaya, triśūla.
Mānasī  
nose, wheel, damaru, varada.
Nirvāṇī  
White, (Golden) four-armed.
(Mahāmānasī)  
book, lotus, kamāṇḍalu, arrow, conch, vajra, wheel.
Bālā (Jayā)  
White (Golden), four or six-armed.  
Citrus, spear, a wooden-club 
with iron-head (Mushunśī), lotus, vajra, wheel, noose, goad, fruit, varada.
Dhāriṇī  
Black (Golden), four-armed, 
Citrus, lotus, noose, rosary, vajra, wheel, fruit, serpent.
(Vijayā)  
Lotus, Lion.
Dharaṇapriyā  
Black, four-armed.
(Vairoṭyā,  
varada, rosary, citrus, śakti,  
Aparajitā)  
hāṅga, shield, flower 
Bhadrasana, Serpent.
Nādaraktā  
White (Golden), two or four-armed 
(Naradattā,  
varada, rosary, citrus, spear,  
Bahirūṇā)  
Khaṅga, shield.
Gandharvā  
White (Blood-red), four or eight-armed. 
(Gandhārī, Cāmuṇḍā)  
Varada, Khaṅga, Citrus, pitcher 
(Γ Kunta), spear, mace, noose, Vajra, wheel, damaru, rosary.
Aṃbikā (Kūshmāṇḍī)  
Yellow, (Golden, Green), two or four-armed. 
āṃranaṭjarī, serpent, noose, goad, chid, citrus, fruit, varada.
Padmāvatī  
Bronze-red (Golden, blood-red), four-armed. 
Lotus, noose, goad, citrus, fruit, varada.
Siddhāyikā  
Blue, (Green, golden), two or four-armed.  
book, abhaya, arrow, citrus, Veena.
Śaṅtā (Kālikā)  
Golden (black); four-and eight-armed, varada, rosary, spear, abhaya, 
Triśūla, goad, bow, arrow, and wheel.
1. (left) Kuber from Mooanagar, Kanpur District, State Museum, Lucknow
2. (right) Kuber, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura
7. Kubera from Maholi, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura
9. (top) Kubera with his Consort, Manmathpur, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura. 10. (below) Kubera with his Consort and Attendants, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
12. Jain Kubera from Ranimaliya, Chittor District, Rajasthan
13. Kuber from Katara, Bharatpur District, Rajasthan Museum, Ajmer
14. (above) Kuber from Terahi, Shiygpuri District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. 15. (below) Kuber, Dhubela Museum, Chhatarpur District
16. (left) Kubera and Riddhi, from Padhavali, Morena District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. 17. (right) Kubera from Modl, Mandaur District.
20. Jambhala from Varanasi, State Museum, Lucknow
21. Hariti (in bronze) from Nalanda, Patna Museum
22. (top) Kabera with Matrikas, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow. 23. (left) Mabibhadrā from Parkham, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura
24. (left) Mausoleum from Pauvay, Gwalior District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. 25. (right) Back-view
26. Yaksha from Patna, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta
29. (left) Yakshi from Beneragar, Vidisha District, Indian Museum, Calcutta. 30. (right) Back-view
31. Bhāravāhaka Yaksha from Sarnath, Varanasi District, Sarnath Museum
32. Yaksha from Pratapgarh, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad
33. (left) Yaksha from Sopara, Maharashtra. 34. (right) Details
38. (top) Yaksha from Kausambi, Allahabad District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad
39. (below-left) Yaksha from Rajghat, Varanasi District, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.
40. (centre) Details. 41. (left) Details
42. (left) Kabera 43. (centre) Candra Yakshini 44. (right) Ajakalaka Yaksha. All from Bharhut, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
45. Čandrá Yakší, Bharthu, Satna District, Details of 43
47. Culakoka Devata, Bharhut, Satna District, Indian Museum, Calcutta
51. (left) Yakshini from Mebraudi, Delhi District, National Museum, New Delhi.
54. Yaksha from Pataliputra, Aurangabad District, National Museum, New Delhi
37. Śūta-pāṇi Yaksha, Sanchi, Stupa I, Western Gate, Vidisa District
58. Yaksha, Nagarjunakonda, Guntur District, National Museum, New Delhi
59. Yaksha Torso (Back-view) from Dundosama, Puri District, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar
60. (top) Nagaarappani Yaskha, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow. 61. (bottom) Yaskha, Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow.
63. (right) Yaksha from Maloli, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura.
66. Yaksha from Abichatra, Bareilly District, State Museum, Lucknow
68. Yakṣa-Vrikshakā, Gyaraśpur, Vidisa District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior
69. Cakresvari from Deogarh, Lalitpur District
70. Malini (I) from Deogarh, Lalitpur District
71. Gomukha Yaksha from Gandharavat, Dewas District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior
72. Gomukha Yaksha from Hathno, Jodhpur District, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer
73. Padmāvatī with other two Yakshinis from Tewar, Jabalpur District
74. Padmāvatī from Sarangpur, Raigarh District
75. Ambika from Patiyaon Dai temple, Satna District, Municipal Museum, Allahabad
78. Gomukha Yuksha. Mathura District, State Museum, Lucknow
79. (left) Gomukha Yaksha from Tumain, Guna District, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. 80. (below) Meshadriya Yaksha, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura
81. Scene depicting the Padakusala-mañava-jātaka, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura
84. (left) Hospital scene, Mathura District, Government Museum, Mathura. 85. (below) Bhīravābaka Yaksha image from Bhopur, Bhopal District
86. Aparna Pancaculi from Tamluk, West Bengal, Indian Institute, Oxford
87. (left) Terracotta figure of Yahweh. 88. (right) Terracotta figure of a Yahweh. All from Kuntillet ʿÅnåbda, Archeological Museum, Allahabad.
89. (top) Terracotta figure of a Yaksha, Kausambi, Allahabad District. Municipal Museum, Allahabad. 90. (right) Salabhanjikā, Sanchi, Stupa I, Vidisa District
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Index

(y) and (yn) below, stand respectively for Yaksha and Yakśni

Abhayā (yn) 28
Abhaya 97,—pura 40
Abhirati 74
Abhugaroḥā 127
Abode—of Yakshas 18, 91, 92, 93, 96fn.;—in gates 91, 92; in lakes 97; in platforms, 91, 92;—in trees 93-94;—as platform in reliefs 92; see under Habitat, sanctuary, shrine, Temple
Acchimāt (yn) 45, 63
Acyrūti (yn) 174
Adakavati 171
Āđambara (y) 47
Ādeva 14fn.
Ādhītā 76fn.
Ādīpabhata 96
Ādīyākālaka 39
Āgastya 29, 34
Āgni 11, 12fn. 15, 16, 19, 22
Āgniā 130
Āgrodaka 168
Āhibhatra 169, 171, (y)—image of—124fn., 125
Āholūkhalai Mekhalā (yn) 170; see under Uṅkhalai-Mekhalai
Ājīkākālaka (y) 114-15, 150
Ājskalāpaka (y) 37, 39, 40, 40fn., 114, 119
Ājīti (y) 172
Ājītā (yn) 174
Ājītabah (yn) 174
Ājītanjaya 168, 170
Ājīn 48, 100
Ākāshaya-nivika (y) 108
Ālakā (yn) 171
Ālakamandā 118;—river 33
Ālākāra 62, 62n., 171
Ālāvaka (y) 24, 37, 38, 38n., 39n., 41, 42, 160; abode of—150; ātta-vuddha of—150; āśā of—150; āśā of—150; malevolence of—40; possession by—153; rajastavīmāna of—90, relief of—137; temple of—50; vattā-vuddha of—150
Ālāvanti 164
Ālauṭ 43n., 90
Ālikā (yn) 43, 81, 123
Allied Motifs: yakshas and—132—144
Āloksaundari (yn) 58
Amamascā 2n., 57
Āmaraparapatā 168
Ambaṣṭha 170
Ambikā (yn) 79, 107, 126, 128; forms of—130; iconography of—130, 175; legends of—120-130; images of—130-131;—images with Gomehi 128, 131;—'s temple 91
Ambulimā 171
Amogha (y) 29, 64
Amoha (y) 46n., 50—daivasi (y) 50
Ānābhoga (y) 112, 169
Ānanda (y) 168,—pura 168
Āndāhiya (y) 47
Ānantarastati (yn) 128, 175
Ānantarvedya (yn) 127
Ānayaśā (y) 112, 170
Ancestor-worship 6, 145, 146, 165;—and yakshas 145, 146
Andābhā (y) 169
Andhārasundarī (yn) 58
Anictec (y) Symbols 104
Animal-faced;—headed (y) figures 133-135
Animism 6-7, 165
Anīla (y) 58
Anītā (yn) 58
Anjaliṣṭapā (y) 169
Ankurā (y) 156
Ankuśa (yn) 174; Ankuśa 174
Anopamā (yn) 58, 106n.
Anotāta 45n., 62n., 98;—a lake 45n of Kubera 62n
Antīla (y) 58
Anuhrāda 31
Aparantati (y) 173
Aparājita (y) 47;—167.
Aparājita (yn) 175
Appearance of—(y) 19-20, 40, 148, 149; glittering—of (y) 148; golden 149; terrible—40, 148;—of (y) as a class of being 19-20.
Apratikārā (y) 174
Apsaras 2, 3, 31, 32, 33, 120n;—common features of—(y) 3;—in court of Kubera 64; (y)'s birth from—33
Āpuṇāna (y) 34
Arakarabhi 127
Ārāmādevatā 93n.
Aratuka (y) 30, 35, 156, 159; tirtha of—89n.
Ārdoṣho 78
Ārīṣṭa 76 a mountain;—nemi (y) 34
Arjuna (y) 168
Ārjanayana 168
Ārī (y) 71n
Āryamā (y) 20
Āsūga (y) 46n., 169
āvarālipadharth 143 a (y)
Āsīta (y) 151
Āsītā (yn) 58
Karā (yn) 58
Kaṭabhūtī (y) 94n.
Kaṇakakundalā (yn) 34, 85n._Punjabhadrā's wife 34, 85n._
Kaṇeṣa (y) 32
Kaṇḍarpā (yn) 128, 175, iconography of—175
Kaṇḍu (y) 105
Kaṇhadāsa 121
Kasya (y) 32
Kaṭālisha 55
Kaṭārdinā (y) 102, 156
Kaṇila 6n., 31, 168, 169—a Yaksha 35—a Yaksha chief 63
Kaṭilākṣa (y) 33n.
Kaṭilāvastu 44, 167, 170
Kaṭiśā 170, 171
Kaṇagapura 51, Yaksha's park at—51
Kaṭalaka (y) 171
Kaṭahāta 169
Karot 59n.
Karotpāni 5; etymology of—59n.,—class of Yaksha 59
Kaṭṭikīyaka 4—a Yaksha named—168
Kaṭa (y) 170
Kaṭajakṣa (y) 170
Kaśakandha 36
Kaśmir 170, Yaksha of—55n., Yakshīnī of—58
Kaśmirśandha 170
Kaśi 34, 160, 170, Harikesha of—34; Yaksha of—160
Kaṣappā Buddha 38n., 39
Kaśyapa 6, 1,—Yaksha's father 57
Kaṭapatākha (yn) 47n., 82n.
Kataśā 36
Kauśambo 50, 169, 170
Kauśika 170
Kalāśakṣa 150
Kalabhirīyā (y) 169
Kelmāti (y) 71n., 106
Kera 169
Keśāntī (yn) 58
Keśinī (yn) 6, 31, 58
Ketaka 171
Ketumānā (y) 32
Khanda (y) 169
Khara (y) 25, 39, 146—Ioma 43;—Rākṣas chief 133; relief of—119-120, sotāpāna—38n.
Kharaḍāhika (y) 149
Kharaṇepatha (y) 168
Khasa 6, 170,—Yaksha's mother 57
Khotan 10
Khyā 162; Yakshas known in Nepal as—162
Kimbhira (y) 58
Kimkara (y) 171
Kimpurasaha, 5, 29
Kinnara 2, 4, 5, 37—a Yaksha 169; iconography of—173
Kinaugandha (y) 57
Kirti 81
Kohala 171
Kokā 118, kokanada 118
Koliya 44
Kosāla 169
Kosāli 169
Koṭivarsha 170
Krātuchandha 167
Kratushali 31, 32n., 32—a Yakshi 32
Krisangī 31n., 32
Krisangeyā (y) 32
Krishna 28, 35n.
Kritā (y) 32
Krīṭālavya 167
Krodhā—Daksha's daughter 57—a Yaksha's mother 57
Kusma (y) 132
Kushtrapāna 105
Kuṭera, 4, 5, 5n., 14, 16, 19, 29, 20, 26, 31, 45, 53, 53n., 54n., 56n., 58, 78, 78n., 79-81, 85, 96-98, 101n., 103, 104, 103n., 106, 119, 125, 126, 129, 143, 157, 159, 160n., 163,—Alākāparī 62,—s' anger 45, 55, attendants of—64;—Austral-Asian descent of the word—59,—s' birth-stories 63; Brahma's boon to—61; Caturma- hārūjika god—45, 65;—his chariot 62,—s' club 62;—s' consort 62n., 63;—s' curve on Yaksha 54, 54n., 55;—s' daughters 45; were dancers 45n., married to Sakka 45n.; Buddha's disciple—45; drunkard 46n., 64;—s' elephant (Sārva-Bhauma) 65; Etymology of the word—59-69;—s' family 62; festivals 66n.—s' fever 60n.—s' gālāvadūsha 151,—s' gold 29;—s' groves 62;—s' grotesque appearance 32; guardian of northern quarters 65-66, handsome 46;—s' horses 62;_iconic derivations from—71-73; iconography of 66-67; 173, Images and Reliefs of—from Badh 70, Besnagar Bharhat 68, Gyaaras 71, Kambha 70, Katarā 70, Mahoh 69, Msthura 68-70, Modi 71, Moosanagar 68, Naretar 71, Orissa 69, Pahies 70, Padhavali 70, Raimayāla 70, Terahi 70, Tuam 70; Indra and—60-61; Isana and—60;—knower of Dharmā 61;—s' lakes 62;—s' lance 77n;—s' lasciviousness 63; lokapāla—46, 47;—lord of Ghyakas 5, 60, Nairitās 60, Piṣāca 60, Rākṣasas 19, 60, Yakshas 66, 60,—Mahārāja 20, 58, 66,—s' mango 62;—mountains 29; other gods and—65;—s' palace 61;—s' penances 63, 64;—s' parents 32, 33,—s' possessions 33, 64;—pre-Aryan 59;—in Purāṇas 33-34;—s' riches 46n., 61;—s' sāhī 61;—s' senāpattis 64;—s' sister 63n.;—s' temple 63n., 66, 66;—s' stīrha 30, 63, 89;—s' transformation from man to god 61n.;—s' wink at Uma Pārvatī 59n., 64, 64n.;—s' weapons 62;—s' wine-cup 64n.;—s' worship 66, 66n.; see under Vaśravana
Kuberāccharā 163
Kuṇinda 170
Kuṭilāguṇaparāsīgara 93n.; Yaksha image at—93n.
Kumāra (y) iconography of—173
Kumbhakāna 39—a Yaksha 40, 43;—of Ajävi 43
Kumbhanda 5, 37, 116, 159;—images at Mathura 123
Kumbhī (y) 41, 96, 146, 171,—called Rājagabha 43
Kumbhodara (y) 171
Kumuda (y) 32
Kuṇḍa (y) 41, 46, 93 Kuṇḍadānā vana 93
Kuṇḍa (yn) 46, 81, 82, Manibhadra's consort 46, 81, 82
Kuṇḍā 74
Kuṇḍala 82
Kuṇḍi 41, 44—a village 44, 93
Kuṇḍī (yn) 59, 75, 154;—of Kuntiṣa 43, 75
Kuṇṭikshera 34-35, 97, 159, 170;
Yaksha-stha of—30, offerings to Yaksha at—34
Kuṭikshula 71n.—a Yaksha chief 71n.
Kuṭikṣma (y) 113n.
Kuṭikṣma (yn) 175
Kuśika 76
Kuśumbhara (y) 32
Kuśma (y) 172; iconography of—172
Kuśmāvatī (yn) 58
Kuṣmaṇḍaravasini (yn) 58
Kuṭidamāṇī (y) 168
Kuṭārāka (y) 170
Kuṭeṣa (y) 33n.
Kuvaṇṇa (yn) 41, 149
Lakṣmī 62n., 63, 69, 72, 78, 82, 87
Lambodara (y) 169
Lampśa 169
Lanka 61, 62, 169; Kubera's—61
Lankāvāra (y) 170
Lātā (yn) 63, 98; Kubera's daughter
[45—s Pridhna 146n.
Lāyāva (yn) 112; image of—112
Lingalakāy (y) 52
Loheya (y) 32
Lohet (y) 32
Lohitākāhy (y) 39n.
Lohitākhk (y) 40n., 152n.
Lokāntara (yn) 58

Macakura (y) 30, 35n., 97, 156, 159
Madanamāhārā (yn) 33n., 54, 56, 81, 102, 160, Dundubhi's daughter
—56n.
Madhusugandha 92
Mādhyaamikā 170
Mādhyaamikāya (y) 170
Mādiyakata (y) 113n
Māgaṇhdha 43, 44, 51, 81
Māgaṇhdha 162; Yakshas knowing
—162n.
Māgaṇhdha (y) 170
Māhāhūja (y) 169
Māhādevi (y) 58
Māhāgiri (y) 168
Māhājana 32
Māhākāśā (y) 113, 167
Māhākālī (yn) 163, 174; iconography
of—174
Māhākāla 118
Māhātri 51, 171
Māhāsena (y) 170
Māhāmāṇe (yn) 175
Māhāmāṇe (yn) 175
Māhānāyakī 58; Yakshas and place
names in—167-171
Māhāyāj (y) 32
Māhāvīra 27, 53— and Yakshas 47, 48
Māhāyaksha (y) 41, 28, 58; icono-

Māhāyaksha 58n
Māhācvara (y) 93, 160, 167
Mākānīdva (y) 171
Mākānīdva (y) 169
Mākānīdva (y) 37, 41n., 150. relief
depicting—94, 95
Mālādhara 5, 59; a class of Yaksha
—59, 168
Mālāvā 168
Mālaya 169
Maleloence of Yaksha's 47, 152-
154, 155
Mālhar 165
Mālīnī (yn) 127; image of—127
Malla 44, 167
Mānava 167
Mānava (yn) 174
Mānasi (yn) 128, 175

Mānāla 170
Mānāliśana (y) 170
Māndaka (y) 170
Māndakini; a river
Māndala 76.; a fever
Māndapa 168
Māndara 62, 96; a mountain;—Kube-
ra's habitation 62, Mañjhibhadra's—80
Māndarasiöbi (y) 32
Māndravi 169
Māndiya (y) 57
Māṇi 81;—a Yaksha 36n., 57
82,—s'cailiya, named
Mānini 81;—a chief 46, 86;—s' consorts 109;—a deity of travellers
80;—s' family 81-82;—s' exclusive
followers 45, 81, 89n., 89n.,—s' Images
83-84, Pavayu 109, Pukham 109;
as 'Indra' among Yakshas 46;—
as Kubera's brother 56n; Kubera's
servant 80;—as Manik Pīr 84,
85, 164;—s' mother 81;—Kūta 50;
provocative of—s' cult 81;—s' shrines
55, 83;—s' titles 80, Pāvārāna-
in 80
Mani -bhūṣa 80n.;—vara 81, 57, 36n.;—
datta 32;—dhara 32n.; grīva 33, 63, 81;—Kāna 170;—Kandhara
80;—Kārmukādharaka 80n.;—
mān 105;—mat 28, 32, 60, 80n.;
mekhala 96n.;—āravīna 80n.;—vara
32, 32n.
Manohara (y) 158
Manoharāna (y) 46n.
Manohārā (yn) 101
Manorāma 51, 87, a park
Manosilāuang 43n., 150, Yaksha
assembly at—43n.
Manovegā (yn) 128, 174
Montra 52;—attracting Yakshiniā
100n.
Mūnusha (y) 46n.
Manushya (y) 46;—a Yaksha chief
46
Māra 38n., 111, 123;—kanya 123;—
putra 132, 138n, Yakshas of—s'
faction 38n., 111
Mardana 168
Mēremmā 163 a village deity
Māunamā 163 a village deity
Mārici (y) 29, 31, 70
Maru 171;—bhūmi 170
Maruti 12a, 13, 15a, 80, 156
Mātali (y) 58, 171
Mātanga 47; a tribe
Mātanga (y) 172, 174

Mathura 50, 52, 123, 166, 169;—s' images of Kumbaran 123;—
Yaksha images 107, 110, 111, 125;—
Yakshinis 51, 123
Mātrika 4n., 80, 80n.
Māvli (y) 32
Maurian—Yaksha images 107, 108-
109
Māyana (y) 52n.
Mēghā (yn) 43, 58, 123
Meghaanāl (y) 32, 169
Meghaapūpa (y) 32
Mehandiț 85
Mekhā (yn) 58
Menā (yn) 58
Meshainga—Yaksha figures from
Mathura and Sarnath 133
Mēhdavā 105
Mīra 46;—a Yaksha 32
Mihīlā 51, 81
Moggarapūpa (y) 46n., 48, 51, 87, 91,
122, 123, 125, 153
Mokhla (y) 58
Mōparpatā 168
Mučalinda (y) 58
Mūḷhā 98 (superstitious)
Munjaasa (y) 168
Mūrā 105;—deva 14n., 105
Mūrundoe 164; a village deity
Nādarāka (yn) 175
Nāga 170
Nagari 53n. of Valāvana 53n.
Nāgayakī (yn) 106
Nagulai 164 a village deity
Nāhusa 29;—as Yaksha's lord 29
Nāginesha (y) 169
Nairāśikā 37, 96
Nala (y) 57
Nalākubara 29, 31, 33, 63, 81, 106,
122, 160, 171; Kubera's Son—31, 63;
—s' parents 33;—s' 'pleasing
manners' 46;—Yaksha's chief 63
Nail (y) 58
Nalini 61
Nāndā (y) 30, 168;—a river 33
Nāndā (yn) 82n.
Nāndana 32, 105;—a park 50n.,
52n.
Nandi (y) 53, 108, 114, 168, 171
Nandika (y) 169
Nandisinga 171
Nandinis (yn) 59
Nandivardhanas (y) 32, 108, 168
Nandivīra (y) 169
Nāra 109
Nārada 98;—s' curse on Kubera's
sons 63
Nārada (y) 39n.;—of Khemavatina-
gara 43
Naradatta (yn) 175
Naradattică (yn) 174
Naradeva (y) 39n., 40,—s bhavana
90, 67, 123
Narahāna 64-66, 67, 106, 122;
Kubera’s son—58
Naravira (yn) 101
nārāvāhana 64-65
Narmāda 118
Nāśika 169
Naṭi (yn) 101
nātya 98,—originated from Yakshas
98
nālī—66, 67, 95, 96; eight 33; Kube-
ra’s—61, 61n.—pa 61,—pati 33n.;
—of wife of Kubera named—62n.
Nīghaṇṭa (y) 57
Nīghanyā 163
Nīrūḍi (yn) 175
Offerings—io Yakshas 34, 44, 55n.,
99, 100
Ojha 165
Padasanā 50; Yaksha’s park at
—50
Pada (yn) 32, 105
Pādmanābha (y) 32
Pādmanātī (y) 122; relief from Amin
120, Sanchi 122
Pādmanātra (y) 32
Pādmapati (yn) 79, 126, 128, 129, 175
—s image from Sarangpur 129,
Sahaspur 128, Tripuri 128
Pādmcchā (yn) 58
Pājāṇi (y) 57
Pājāra (40n. 152
Pājane (y) 57
Pālska (y) 169
Pārīta (y) 168
Pālaniya 171
Palai 110
Pambala 163 village priest
Panačcāda 138
Pānca (y) 35, 105
Pāncañcārtha (y) 57
Pāncaśaṅga (y) 170
Pāncaśi 169
Pānčālikā (y) 33n., 75, 158, relieved
erotic affliction 33
Pāncaśaravaseṣhā 53
Pāncaśaraśā 58
Pānca (y) 33n., 58, 69, 75n., 170,—
a chief 58n., 77, 159n., Gandhāra’s
—74, 77, images 77-79; Pāncala
—74,—s terrible appearance 77
Pāñcaka (y) 38n., 39n., 73, 96,—a
soiianāṁ 38n.
Pāñcukūbhaya 39, 40, 44, 97;—helped
by Yaksha 39
Pāṇḍyamathurā 169
Pāṇḍya Yaksha’s—56-87
Paraja (y) 36
Pārāśara (y) 171
Pārata 171
Paritta 155 a “ward ruse” 39, 40
Pārūmukha (y) 171
Pārūva (y) 174
Pārūvamalini,—Mañjībhadrā and
Kubera as—109
Parvata (y) 170
Pāsamiya (y) 51
Pātāla (y) 171, 173
Pātāli 114
Paudra 169
Pāvā 44
Pavara (yn) 45, 63
Fāyāśi (y) 25, 38n., 44,—a Puggala-
vādī 38n.
Peta 4, 37, Yakshas below—37
Pārīcch 78
Fingala (y) 29, 58, 64, 74, 171—
Haritī’s son 74
Pīngākās (y) 32
Pīngākaśi (y) 33n,—an epithet of
Kubera 4
Pīla (y) 3, 3n., 4, 4n., 54n., 55n., 94n.,
146
Pīśagama (y) 32
Pīśagamya 121, (Pīśalkhora) 169
Pīśakarā-mātā (ya) 38n.
Pannyakījīyā 129, Siddhāyikā as
—129
Pomāna 163—village deity
Possession: see under Yaksha-graha
Potrā—Yaksha priest 163
Prabhajana (y) 168, 171
Prabhankara (y) 130, 170
Prabhāvatī (yn) 58
Prabhāsara (y) 171
Pracanda (yn) 174
Pracetas 31, 32n,—a Yaksha 32
Pradīptākha (y) 53n.
Pratapya (y) 32
Prabhāvatī (yn) 174
Pratrdana (y) 168, 170
Prathama 126,—images derived from
Yakshas 126
Prasama (y) 169
Prathanakara (y) 168
Pratīṣṭhāpada 156
Pratīṣṭhā (y) 53, 54n
Prathīṣṭalī-uttāti 51n., 52, 86, 87
Priyadasana (y) 114, 169, 171
Priyanka (y) 74, 75n,—son of
Haritī
Punjabhisñūmātā (yn) 38n.
Punḍarika 171
Pundravardhana 171
Pūrṇaka (y) 25n., 45, 57, 71, 135, 156,
169; 157 Kubera’s nephew 45, 63;
—‘s horse 152
Pūrṇa (y) 40, 152n., 160
Pūrṇa-raksha (y) 46n.
Punyajana 2, 5n., 14n., 17, 28
Punyajani (yn) 32, 32n., 81
Pūrṇanātha (yn) 38
Puranjaya (y) 170
Purimātallā 50 yaksha park at
—50
Purupadabha (y) 32, 32n., 44, 50,
54n., 71n., 85-87, 91, 106, 146,
168,—‘s caitya 51, 52, 86-87,—chief
of yakshas 46, 87,—‘s family 83;
—‘s followers 43, 43n,—as Indra
among Yakshas 46; Kubera’s
senāpati 85n.;—Mañjībhadrā’s son
58, 85n.,—‘s palace 87,—‘s moun-
tain 50;—‘s worship 85, 86
Pūrṇamāsā (y) 32
Pūrṇasūpadāra (yn) 71n.
Pūrṣkaravati 55
Pūrṣpadanta (y) 170
Pūrṣpaka 61
Pūrṣpaketa (y) 168
Pūrṣapavāhana (y) 32
Pūrṣpratīṣṭā 171
Rāja (y) 57
Rājavatāka 52; yaksha shrine of—52n.
Rājavrata 36, 43, 74, 156, 166, 167,
171; parks at—50, yakshas of—96,
97; Yakshiās of—109
Rājatanābha 5, 19, 31, 32n., 81;—a
Yaksha 32
Rakhā (y) 46n.
Rākshasa 3, 4, 5, 14, 37, 97
Rāmakā (y) 105
Rāmakakshya 170
Rāmaṭha 171
Rambha 63
Ram-Horned—Yaksha figures 111
Rantuka (y) 35, 35n.
Ratnacitra (y) 34
Ratnagiri (y) 34
Ratnhabiśvā (y) 34
Ratnaugas (y) 34
Ratinka (y) 169
Ratnasabdha (y) 34, 85n.
Ratnasāda 46, 51
Ratnavardha (y) 56n.
Rattakā (y) 39n., 40, 152n., 160
Rattapāno (y) 51
Rādhā 171
Rāma 168
Rāya 29, 160;—a Yaksha 171
Revali 30, 75, 82, 157n.
Revatika (yn) 58
Riddhi 63, 66, 70, 71,—Kubera’s
wife 31, 62
Rishabhā 81
Rishyasringa 95
Rita (y) 34
Rohidā 50—Park of—50
Rohini (yn) 174
Rohitaka 168
Rohitāśva (y) 168
rukkaśīda 2, 93n.
Rūpayakaśa (y) 46
Rupśīvail (yn) 58

Sadhāsata 5,—a class of Yaksha 59
Sadāsana (y) 50
Sagara (y) 167
Sāhanjī 50, Yaksha park at—50
Sāla 167
Sālabhadra (y) 46n.
Sānchādīa 170
Sāgājī (yn) 63,—Kubera’s daughter 45
Sākala 168
Sākūśāemalesa 171
Sāketa 167, 170, yaksha of—51,
Suraprapya’s temple at—90
Sākka 36, 119, 124, 149,—married to
Kubera’s daughter 63; vajrāyuḍha
of—150n.—a Yaksha 38
Sākya 44,—Vardhana Yaksha 159;
relief of—Vardhana 137; shrine of
—Vardhana 90
Sālabhāṣī ṛjākā 95; 140-141
Sambhala (y) 71n.
Sālabhadra (y) 46n.
Sālēyjī (yn) 47n.
Sāliggama (y) 51
Samanatapaśaka 97
Samanta 162; Yakshas knowing
dialect of—162n.
Sambrham (y) 34, 113
Samiddha (y) 46n.
Samillā 51,—Yaksha 51
Sanctuary,—of Yakshin 87-97; celestial
89, non-structural 53-57, semi-
structural 91-93 terrestrial 89; also
97 (location) 92, 100, see under
Abode, Habitat, temple, shrine
Sanchi 122,—inaugurated a new
Yaksha type 122; Yaksha figures
of 122
Sandhiya (y) 58
Śānkara (y) 171
Śāṅkunīya 121, 169
Śanīka (y) 32, 50,—pura 90;—a
temple 90
Śāṃskri 58
Śankamnā 163
Śankhāraka 121, 133,—figures at
Māthura 133
Śāmī (yn) 175
Śāntimati 169
Śara (y) 58,—pura 170
Sarasvatī (yn) 71n., 127
Śārmīla (y) 171
Śarvabhadrā (y) 46n., 163
Śarvāvahā 93n.
Śarvatobhadra (y) 46
Śāta (y) 24, 25, 53, 54n, 97, 145,
159,—‘s family 74;—a mountain
43n, 96
Śātābāḷū (y) 168
Śatavirī (y) 57, 96, 97, 159, 170,
Abhirati’s brother 74; monk 74;—
father of 74
Śatipura 169
Śātya (y) 34
Śabhadra (y) 170
Śaudāmīna (yn) 54, 56
Saumyā (yn) 58
Sāvanā (y) 46n.
Śavvājava (y) 46n.
Śavvākāma (y) 46n.
Śāyāna 51, park at—51
Śeļa (y) 46, 51n, 148
Śeļajī (y) 34
Śēriskaka (y) 25, 36n, 38n, 44, 57, 93,
160
Śevala 20
Śeyabhadra (y) 50
Śeṇāmukha (y) 173
Śasthi (yn) 30, 75
Shrine, 51-52, see under Abode,
Sanctuary, Habita, Temple
Śiddhārtha (y) 32, 105, 170
Śiddhāyā (y) 170
Śiddhāyākā (yn) 96n, 129, 175;—’s
image at Khajuraho 128, Kilkudi
129, Pancapandavamalai Hills 129
Śīkhandī (y) 159
Śilapa (y) 168
Śisaloma (y) 149
Śimilā 119, 143
Śūndhasagarā 170
Śīlāseva 14n.
Śīrāma 118
Śīrvasavathu 36n.
Śīva 28, 33, 34, 35, 55, 61,—a Yaksha
168,—purahāra 22
Śīvabhadra (y) 57
Śīvaka (y) 57, 160
Śīvala 75
Śmanda 4, 16;—a gṛha 75;—a sage
34;—Keshi Yaksha 170
Śnecing 37n, Yaksha association in
—155, 165
Śobhana (y) 91, 158
Śogandāya: park at—50
Śoma (y) 57
Śorīya (y) 50,—pura 50
Śravasti 90, 167; park at—50n.
Śrī 105,—a Yakshini 58
Śrīśānta-devala 93
Śrīnāgīrī 54, 89
Śrīlānkapura 36n.
Śrīyadeva 127
Śrotas (y) 34
Śrughna 168, 170
Śhibamukha 167
Śhūlaśāra 53, 55, 158
Śhūlakarag (y) 32
Śhūrana 167;—Karā Yaksha 29, 30,
90, 158;—Karā’s veṃi 90
Śubhadra (y) 32, 46n, 46
Śubhadra (yn) 71n.
Śubhagā 142
Śubhāna 130
Śubhakarana 130
Śubhru (yn) 38
Śuciloma (y) 3n, 24, 25, 37, 38, 87,
39, 97, 120, 149, 160;—a relief
117-118;—’s temple 117
Śudarsana (y) 32, 52, 167
Śudassāna (yn) 118
Śudātā (y) 71n.
Śughorā (yn) 58
Śughośa 31; park at—51
Śuguyākā (yn) 58
Śuhamma (y) 50
Śukāla (y) 50
Śukumakā (y) 171
Śukara 139, figure of—133;—ṣūrīha
89
Śuket (y) 29, 31
Śukhāvaha (y) 169, 170
Śukhedra (y) 71n, 106
Śuklādāna (yr) 168
Śukrā 155;—Kubera’s minister 60n.
Śukumārī (yn) 54, 54n, 91
Śulakshanā 127
Śulāpū (y) 48, 51, 90, 97n, 147,
151; Sanchi relief of—122; temple
of—90
Śulocanā (yn) 58, 127
Śumālīna 127
Śumāra (y) 51, 52n, 57, 87, 99, 105;
—ṣāla—; a Yakshas 98
Śumanobhadra (y) 46
Śumanta (y) 32
Śumitrā (yn) 54n.
Śumukha (y) 58
Śumati (yn) 58
Śūla 169
Śunanda (yn) 71n, 82n.
Śunā (y) 29, 31
Śundara (y) 169
Śunetra (y) 32, 63
Śupari 20
Śupavāsa (y) 117
Śupāsāda (y) 57
Śuprabuddha (y) 171
Śupratika (y) 53, 54n.,
Śuprāvīr (y) 117
Yāsākṣa (y) 169
Viśvā 6
Viśvakṣarṇā 61
Voykana 171
Vīyakṣhakā 119, 123
Vṛnakāvyanā 52
Virūḷa of Yakshas 157
Vyāla-yaksha 132–133
Vyańavā-Devatā 2n., 45, 45n., 46n.
Vyāptikābhādra (y) 46

Worship: Yakshas 35, 43, 55, 88-155; eradicated 44n.; in Puranas 34-35, special days of yaksha 100; typology of modes of yaksha: Alternative 102, 103; Restricted 100-102; Universal 99-100. Worshipers 55-56, 97, 98, 165

Yaksha: animal-headed deities and −132; appearance of −148, applications of word −36-37, beauty of −28, 149; between Manussa and Gandhāhrā 37; birth as −33, 54-55, 146, 147; − change of form 146, material personality of −15; cities of −46; classes of −5; control of −55, 56, crowns of −149; − s dance and music 99 depravity detected by −157-158; domain of − s power 159; − eastern and northern quarters 51; − eat human flesh and blood 40; and epidemics 15, 154; − s and fragrance 58; − s followers 30; − s as givers of progeny 157-159, protection 159-160; − s immortality 29-30, 146; imitable to Bodhisattva 44n.; − s intelligence 24-26, 151; − s memory 151; and music 98; − s mysterious powers 150; − s and nature-worship 145; opposite concepts defining − i origin of − 6-8, 27, 28, 35, 57; − s priests 8, 18, 20, 47n. 163; primordial − 21-23; − s sexual contacts and efficacy 55, 157, 158; − theology (popular) 145-161, (Vedic) 21; − virhas 30, 35, 89; votaries of − 44, word − s semantics 11-14; − dāsā 152; dāra 55n; − dāśā 98n; − gāna 163; − graha 152, 153, 163, 165; − Kārdama 98; − iṣi 162; pūra 29, 88; rāga 158, rātri 157; rājāśīkā 34; susa 15n., 16; 88; sūtra 106; itva 14n., 30, 36

Yakṣabakumārī (yn) 101
Yakṣahānayaka (y) 172
Yakṣhendrā (y) 53n., 173
Yakṣheśa (y) 173
Yakṣheśa (y) 173
Yakṣhi see under Yakṣhiō; − yajñahātra 91, 104
Yakṣīn 9
Yakṣīnī as beautiful 31, 54, 149; eight − 101n., 106, names of 50; − painting 91
Yakṣīrā 10
Yakṣhōnāda 153
Yakṣhōpaśīnta (y) 32
Yakṣhottama (y) 46n.
Yama 4, − koli 36; − s nayānaviśa 150n.
Yambhāka 5n.; a class of Yakshas 59; see under Jrimbhaka also
Yavika (y) 32
Yudhishṭhīra 19, 25, 80
Yugandhara (y) 57
Hinduism — Yakshas — Iconography
Yakshas — Hinduism — Iconography
Iconography — Yakshas — Hinduism